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BRIDGE HOUSE DAIRIES, WORLINGTON ROAD, MILDENHALL, SUFFOLK

RESEARCH ARCHIVE REPORT

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NGR: TL 7088 7415		Report No: 3569
District: Forest Heath		Site Code: BTM040
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Between May and August 2008, Archaeological Solutions Ltd carried out an archaeological excavation in advance of residential/ commercial development at the former Bridge House Dairies, Worlington Road, Mildenhall, Suffolk (centred on NGR TL 7088 7415). The excavation followed an earlier trial trench evaluation, which had revealed traces of Iron Age pits and boundary ditches, as well as signs of earlier prehistoric occupation. The excavation revealed five phases of prehistoric activity, spanning from the early Neolithic period to the late pre-Roman Iron Age. The principal period of activity was in the late Iron Age (100 BC – AD 43). At this time, the site was occupied by the peripheral areas of a rural settlement, the core of which probably lies immediately east of the site under the present Bridge House. The central and western areas of the site were occupied by a system of rectilinear fields or paddocks separated by tracks/ droveways, which went through several stages of evolution during its long use. The more 'open' eastern portion of the site contained dense clusters of rubbish pits, suggesting increasing proximity to 'domestic' areas. Particularly significant features included the skeleton of a young woman, which had been 'dumped' in a pit in an apparently casual manner, and several articulated animal burials (ABGs), which may represent 'special'/ 'ritual' deposits. The Iron Age site would have occupied a slightly raised promontory surrounded by marshes and floodplain along the River Lark. The settlement appears to have shifted away shortly before the Roman conquest. A single ABG, the articulated remains of an exceptionally large dog buried close to the eastern edge of the excavated area, attests to minimal activity during the early Anglo-Saxon period.			
Project dates (fieldwork)	*February 2008; May – August 2008*		
Previous work (Y/N/?)	*Y*	Future work (Y/N/?)	*N*
P. number	*2097*	Site code	*BTM040*
Type of project	*Archaeological excavation (following desk-based assessment and trial trench evaluation)*		
Site status	*None*		
Current land use	*Formerly a dairy; now new residential dwellings and businesses*		
Planned development	*Residential dwellings and businesses with associated access routes/ services*		
Main features (+dates)	*Late Neolithic pit (c. 2900-2100 BC), early Bronze Age pits (c. 2100-1700 BC), late Bronze Age undated un-urned cremations (c. 1300-750 BC), middle to late Iron Age (c. 300 BC-AD 43) pits, ditched enclosures, human 'pit burial' and articulated animal burials, early Anglo-Saxon (c. AD 410-650) dog burial*		
Significant finds (+dates)	*Early Neolithic (c. 4300-3300 BC) struck flint, late Neolithic (c. 2900-2100 BC) Grooved Ware, Beaker pottery (c. 2100-1700 BC), mid to late Iron Age (c. 300 BC-AD 43) pottery, Iron Age/ early Anglo-Saxon (c. AD 410-650) animal bone assemblage (c. 6000 fragments)*		
Project location			
County/ District/ Parish	*Suffolk*	*Forest Heath*	*Barton Mills*
SMR for area	*Suffolk HER*		
Post code (if known)	*N/A*		
Area of site	*2.29ha (total development area)*		
NGR	*TL 7088 7415*		
Height AOD (max/ min)	*8m OD*		
Project creators			
Brief issued by	*Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service Conservation Team*		
Project supervisor/s (PO)	*Gary Brogan*		
Funded by	*Bellway Homes Ltd*		
Full title	*Bridge House Dairies, Worlington Road, Mildenhall, Suffolk: Archaeological Investigation Research Archive Report.*		
Authors	*Tom Woolhouse, Matthew Adams and Martin Brook*		
Report no.	*3569*		
Date (of report)	*June 2010 (Revised March 2013)*		

BRIDGE HOUSE DAIRIES, WORLINGTON ROAD, MILDENHALL, SUFFOLK

RESEARCH ARCHIVE REPORT

SUMMARY

Between May and August 2008, Archaeological Solutions Ltd carried out an archaeological excavation in advance of residential/ commercial development at the former Bridge House Dairies, Worlington Road, Mildenhall, Suffolk (centred on NGR TL 7088 7415). The excavation followed an earlier trial trench evaluation, which had revealed Iron Age pits and traces of contemporary boundary ditches, in addition to signs of earlier prehistoric occupation.

The excavation revealed five phases of prehistoric activity, spanning from the early Neolithic period to the late pre-Roman Iron Age. A single associated bone group (ABG), the articulated remains of an exceptionally large dog buried close to the eastern edge of the excavated area, attests to minimal activity during the early Anglo-Saxon period. The earliest evidence of occupation was a sparse but homogenous scatter of early Neolithic (c. 4300-3300 BC; Phase 1) struck flint, probably reflecting occasional visits by hunting/ gathering parties from a more permanent encampment such as that at Hurst Fen (Clark 1960), 3km to the north.

This was followed in the late Neolithic (c. 2900-2100 BC; Phase 2) by a single small pit containing parts of two Grooved Ware vessels, as well as animal bone and a human skull fragment. The apparently deliberate placement of these objects on the base of the pit, as well as the presence of human skeletal material, might indicate that this was more than a simple dump of 'rubbish'. It has been suggested that such deposits represent attempts by populations who still lived relatively mobile existences to 'fix' the evidence of domesticity in the landscape and thereby domesticate the wild (Thomas 1991). Probably following a gap of several hundred years, two pits containing early Bronze Age (c. 2100-1700 BC; Phase 3) Beaker pottery indicate continued sporadic occupation, perhaps by a transhumant population moving between spring/ summer grazing on the fen edge (e.g. West Row Fen; cf. Martin and Murphy 1988) and winter pastures on the higher, drier Breckland slopes to the east. Two clusters of apparently late Bronze Age (c. 1300 - 750 BC) cremation deposits were also identified. The phasing of these deposits is based on a single calibrated radiocarbon date (Mustchin and Beta Analytic, this report). No 'occupation' material was found in association with these deposits. The evidence suggests that activity before the mid to late Iron Age was low-level and occupation no more than occasional and short-lived.

The principal phase of activity was in the middle to late Iron Age, probably mainly taking place during the latter part of this period (100 BC-AD 43; Phase 5). At this time, the site was occupied by the peripheral areas of a rural settlement, the core of which probably lies immediately east of the site under the present Bridge House. The central and western areas of the site were occupied by a long-lived system of rectilinear fields or paddocks separated by tracks/ droveways, which went through several stages of evolution. The more 'open' eastern portion of the site contained dense clusters of rubbish pits, suggesting increasing proximity to 'domestic' areas.

Particularly significant features included the skeleton of a young woman, which had been 'dumped' in a disused storage pit in an apparently casual manner, and several articulated animal burials (ABGs), which may represent 'special'/ 'ritual' deposits. The former dairy buildings had caused significant truncation to the central area of the site and the excavation was therefore only a small 'window' onto just part of what was undoubtedly a larger settlement area. In consequence, the overall layout and precise character of the settlement could not be determined. The Iron Age site would have occupied a slightly raised promontory surrounded on at least three sides by marshes and floodplain along the course of the River Lark. The settlement appears to have shifted away either shortly before or at the time of the Roman conquest, very likely moving onto lower-lying ground a few hundred metres to the south-east, where numerous chance finds of Roman objects have been recorded. With the exception of an isolated Anglo-Saxon (c. AD 410 – 650; Phase 6) dog burial (SK2126) and a single short length of a post-medieval boundary ditch, there was no archaeological evidence of post-Iron Age activity at the site. It was presumably agricultural land during the Roman and later periods.

1 INTRODUCTION (Fig. 1; Plate 1)

This document comprises the Research Archive Report for an excavation undertaken by Archaeological Solutions Ltd (AS) at Bridge House Dairies, Worlington Road, Mildenhall, Suffolk (centred on NGR TL 7088 7415; Fig. 1) between May and August 2008. The excavation (Plate 1) was commissioned by Bellway Homes Ltd in advance of the proposed redevelopment of the site for residential and commercial use; the archaeological works were carried out in response to a planning requirement (Ref. F/2007/0871/RMA) issued by Forest Heath District Council (based on advice from Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service Conservation Team (SCCAS-CT)). The following report has been compiled in accordance with EH MAP 2, Section 7 and Appendix 6. It follows the Desk-Based Assessment (Doyle and Grassam 2006), Evaluation Report (Adams 2008a), Interim Site Narrative (Adams 2008b) and Post-Excavation Assessment and Updated Project Design (Woolhouse 2009). This report comprises the analytical reports which have arisen from post-excavation analysis, as well as plans/ section drawings (Figs. 1 - 50) and illustrations drawn during finds analysis (Figs. 15, 17, 51 and 52). The significance of the site is discussed, with reference to relevant comparative sites and synthetic studies. Full details of the background to the project, and of all features and contexts revealed by the investigations, can be found in the Desk-Based Assessment, Evaluation Report and Interim Site Narrative.

2 BACKGROUND

2.1 Topography and geology (Figs. 2, 3a and 3b)

The site is located in north-west Suffolk, at the northern edge of the parish of Barton Mills and on the southern outskirts of Mildenhall. The River Lark runs east to west approximately 50m from the northern boundary of the site, on the opposite side of Worlington Road. The site is bordered to the east by farm buildings (Bridge House), to the south by a disused and dismantled railway line, station and goods yard, and to

the west by an arable field, under wheat at the time of the excavation. The site comprises a roughly rectangular plot covering approximately 2.29ha. A large area in the centre of the site was formerly occupied by dairy buildings, which were demolished under archaeological supervision during the trial trenching.

To the north-west of the site, the land gradually drops down into the Fens, several kilometres away. To the east and south, the land rises to a low south-west to north-east aligned chalk ridge, approximately 2km distant. The majority of the modern settlements in the area lie on a strip of (relatively) high ground above the former fen edge (at elevations of *c.* 5 - 10m OD), on the spring line at the foot of this chalk escarpment. The course of the River Lark dissects the area, emerging into the Fen at West Row, 3km west of the site. The river margins are low-lying and marshy and numerous dykes drain the agricultural land along its course. Modern floodplain maps show that the site forms a slightly raised promontory (*c*. 8m OD), bounded to the north by the river and by floodplain to the east. Without the modern drainage dykes in the fields to the south, it is probable that the site would have once formed a dry 'island' between the River Lark to the north and marshes to the east, south and west (Fig. 2). The site is located on a drift geology of Holocene river terrace gravels and alluvium (BGS 1991), present at fairly shallow depths below modern ground level. These deposits overlie Cretaceous Lower Chalk (Totternhoe Stone), which outcrops in many places across the site (BGS 1985). To the north, peaty soils of the Adventurers' 1 association lie in a narrow band along the margins of the river. The site itself has soils of the Swaffham Prior association, comprising well-drained calcareous loam over chalk and chalk rubble, suitable for growing cereals and sugar beet (SSEW 1983a and 1983b). Large parts of the site had been heavily-disturbed during the casting of concrete ground slabs for the 1960s+ dairy buildings and little of the original subsoil survived in places. According to the recently-conducted Suffolk Landscape Characterisation project (Website 1), the site lies within a landscape of 'rolling estate chalkland', characterised by gently-rolling, chalky, free-draining loam used for intensive arable agriculture and stud farming. The landscape appears open and 'tidy', being divided into large, uniform enclosed fields with low hawthorn hedges. To the north, the margins of the River Lark are described as 'valley meadows and fens', with deep peaty and occasionally sandy soils and small drained grassland fields historically used for grazing cattle.

2.2 Archaeological and historical context (Figs. 2, 3a and 3b)

A Neolithic stone axe, a scatter of other Neolithic flints and a single sherd of Neolithic to Bronze Age pottery have been recovered from the area immediately east of Bridge House Dairies (HER[1] BTM002 and MNL499). In addition, a female skeleton was unearthed just to the south, at Station Goods Yard, in the 1930s (HER BTM011). It was thought at the time to represent a Bronze Age burial. Metal-detecting and chance finds in the vicinity of the site also suggest the presence of a Romano-British settlement. Numerous Roman finds have been recovered by metal-detector enthusiasts after ploughing in the fields on the opposite side of the road to Barton Mills (HER BTM039 and MNL499). A Roman cremation urn accompanied by six pottery vessels was found during digging of a garden pond in this area in 1957, although the exact location of the discovery is uncertain (HER BTM001). Further

[1] *Suffolk Historic Environment Record No.*

Roman objects, including a copper-alloy bow brooch (HER BTM029), coins and pottery (HER BTM014 and BTM015), have been found a few hundred metres to the south, in the area around Grange Farm and Grange Lane. The wider area around Mildenhall is known to have rich prehistoric archaeological remains, with a nationally-important Neolithic settlement/ 'pit site' excavated at Hurst Fen, a few kilometres to the north-east (Clark 1960), and an early Bronze Age fen edge settlement at West Row Fen, a few kilometres north-west (Martin and Murphy 1988). An archaeological evaluation (Brett 2009) and subsequent excavation (HER MNL622) by *Cotswold Archaeology* approximately 590m to the north-east of the site revealed part of a substantial Iron Age ditched enclosure with internal features, plus human remains and ?Roman burials. A single sherd of 5th to 8th century AD pottery also provided tentative evidence of Anglo-Saxon activity (Brett 2009, 22). Evidence of the Anglo-Saxon period in the immediate vicinity of the site is restricted to an isolated inhumation (HER BTM009), recorded a short distance to the east-south-east (after Craven 2009, fig. 1). Prior to the evaluation, the site was therefore considered to have high potential for prehistoric and Romano-British remains.

2.3 Excavation strategy and methodology (Figs. 4 and 5)

The trial trench evaluation, carried out in February 2008 (Adams 2008a), comprised the excavation of 20 trial trenches (generally 30-35m long x 1.8m wide) positioned around the site but avoiding some areas of known truncation identified from historic maps (Fig. 4). The trenches revealed numerous Iron Age pits, some of which were possibly disused storage pits, as well as sections of boundary ditches. Low-level Bronze Age and Romano-British activity was also identified. The majority of the surviving features were located around the edges of the site. Few features were revealed in the central area formerly occupied by the dairy buildings, suggesting that large-scale truncation had occurred in this area during its construction.

The natural geology of the site was chalk, overlain in places by orange/ yellow/ grey sandy gravel. This was sealed by a subsoil of loose mid orangey-brown silty sand (0.15m deep), which was in turn overlain by a buried mid to dark greyish-brown clayey silt layer probably representing a buried former ploughsoil horizon (0.16m deep). The uppermost deposit was the present topsoil, which consisted of loose mid to dark greyish-brown sandy silt/ loam up to 0.20m deep. These deposits were undisturbed in Trenches 1, 2, 11, 17 and 20, around the west, south and south-east edges of the site, and partially preserved in Trenches 3, 12, 14, 16 and 19. Elsewhere, particularly in the centre and north of the site where the main dairy buildings had been located (Trenches 4 - 10, 13, 15 and 18), all deposits overlying the natural chalk/ gravel had been stripped away during the construction of the dairy and replaced with made ground and levelling layers.

The principal aim of the excavation was to preserve by record any surviving archaeological deposits likely to be destroyed by the proposed development. The main objectives were to recover as much information as possible on the origins, date, development, phasing, spatial organisation, character, function, status and significance of any Bronze Age, Iron Age, Romano-British and later remains on the site, and on the nature of any social, economic and industrial activities taking place during these periods.

The excavation focused on those areas around the fringes of the site where the trial trenches had identified surviving Iron Age remains. This resulted in an irregularly-shaped excavation area, split into three main areas (Fig. 5) with a large central 'gap'. The designated areas were mechanically stripped of undifferentiated overburden using a 360º tracked excavator fitted with a 1.8m toothless ditching bucket, operating under close archaeological supervision. The exposed natural gravels and chalk were then examined for archaeological features. Exposed surfaces were hand-cleaned as necessary and all further investigation was undertaken by hand. Deposits were recorded using *pro-forma* recording sheets, drawn to scale and photographed as appropriate. The archaeological features were located using a Total Station Theodolite (Nikon NPL 820). In addition, the excavation area and the spoil were checked and scanned for finds with a metal detector (C-Scope CS1220R). Pits and postholes were initially half-sectioned and recorded and were then 100% excavated, while linear features were excavated in slots providing a minimum of 25% coverage. Slots were positioned for optimal determination of inter-feature relationships. Intrinsically-interesting features, such as burials, were 100% excavated. Two hundred and ninety-two bulk environmental samples, generally of 40 litres per context, were taken for the extraction of plant macrofossils and to aid recovery of finds (Appendix 2). The environmental sampling strategy was agreed in consultation with SCCAS-CT (Will Fletcher) and the English Heritage Regional Scientific Advisor (Jen Heathcote).

During the excavation, three additional trial trenches (Trenches 23, 24 and 25) were opened in the central northern part of the site with the aim of assessing the degree of truncation from the former dairy buildings and to see if any features had survived the extensive demolition in this area.

3 SITE NARRATIVE

3.1 Summary of results (Figs. 5 - 10)

The excavation revealed 172 archaeological features, predominantly of late Iron Age date. The Iron Age site was dominated by a system of boundary ditches (frequently only surviving to a fairly shallow depth), which formed several adjoining rectilinear enclosures with interconnecting tracks/ droveways in between. The enclosure system had been subject to extensive re-cutting and redefinition over time and had gone through several stages of development, albeit with clear signs of continuity. Clusters of pits, some possibly disused storage pits backfilled with occupation 'debris' (mainly just pottery and animal bone), were also present, particularly towards the east and south-east of the site. Several intrinsically more significant features were found, including the 'pit burial' of a young woman and several articulated animal burials (Associated Bone Groups; ABGs). Small-scale, but notable, evidence of earlier prehistoric activity was also present, including two clusters of apparently late Bronze Age cremation deposits.

The interim site phasing (Adams 2008b) divided the archaeological remains on the site into five chronological periods: Phase 1: late Neolithic (*c*. 3300 - 2100 BC), Phase 2: late Neolithic/ early Bronze Age (*c*. 2100 - 1700 BC), Phase 3: middle to late Iron Age (*c*. 300 - 100 BC), Phase 4: late Iron Age (*c*. 100 BC - AD 43) and

Phase 5: Romano-British (AD 43 - 410).

Further post-excavation analysis, including the radiocarbon dating of targeted deposits, has resulted in changes to this preliminary phasing. First, analysis of the struck flint has demonstrated that there is a moderately-sized, homogenous assemblage of early Neolithic flint tools and debitage from the site. Rather than simply representing 'background noise', there is enough to represent a discrete phase of on-site activity in its own right. Secondly, radiocarbon dating of Cremation 3, one of various cremations and possible cremations, attests to a discrete period of activity during the late Bronze Age.

There does not appear to have been any significant change in the character of land use on the site between Interim Phases 3 and 4. In terms of archaeologically-visible activity, the site's late pre-Roman Iron Age inhabitants were still digging storage/ rubbish pits, in similar locations, and then depositing pottery, animal bone and other occupation 'debris' within them, in the same way as their predecessors had perhaps a century or more before. Because of this essential continuity, Interim Phases 3 and 4 are now considered to represent one continuous period of activity in the middle to late Iron Age, which probably rapidly declined before the Roman Conquest. A single pit (F2450; Area 2; Fig. 7, Grid Reference (GR): O7), which was originally thought to contain Roman pottery, has now been re-phased as Iron Age following full analysis of the ceramic assemblage. Activity had clearly shifted away from the site by the middle of the 1st century AD.

Radiocarbon dating also revealed an isolated early Anglo-Saxon deposit, the articulated burial of a large dog, close to the eastern edge of the excavation. Evidence from the archaeozoological assessment of this animal supports a post-Roman date.

Interim Phase	Final Phase	Date	Principal features
-	Phase 1: early Neolithic	*c.* 4300 - 3300 BC	• Light but wide scatter of struck flint tools and debitage.
Phase 1	Phase 2: late Neolithic	*c.* 2900 - 2100 BC	• Single pit (F2331) in east of Area 3 - containing fragments of two Durrington Walls-type Grooved Ware vessels.
Phase 2	Phase 3: early Bronze Age	*c.* 2100 - 1700 BC	• Two pits (F2409 and F2415) in west of Area 3 containing fragments of Beaker pottery. • Residual Beaker fragments in two later features.
-	Phase 4: late Bronze Age	*c.* 1300 – 750 BC	• Cremations and possible cremation deposits mostly forming two discrete clusters: one in the south-west of Area 2 and one in the far south-west corner of Area 3
Phases 3, 4 and 5	Phase 5: middle to late Iron Age	*c.* 300 BC - AD 50	• Rectilinear enclosures with interconnecting tracks/ droveways. • 100+ pits, often containing pottery and animal bone. Possibly domestic 'rubbish' or structured/ 'ritual' deposits. Some are disused storage pits. • Human inhumation ('pit burial') (F2257). • Several articulated animal burials (e.g. SK2195 and SK2247, both neonate/ young dogs).
-	Phase 6: early Anglo-Saxon	*c.* AD 410 - 650	• ABG (SK2126) from Pit F2124 (Area 2)
Undated	Undated	-	• Multiple pits • A few postholes • A ditch • A fragmentary perinate baby burial (in Pit F2172; centre of Area 3) • Several articulated animal burials, SK2112 (partial

			dog), F2061 (partial sheep/ goat), SK2143 (complete pig), L2106 (partial pig) and F2129 (two complete sheep)).

Table 1: Phase summary

3.2 Phase 1: early Neolithic struck flint (*c.* 4300 - 3300 BC) (Figs. 11 - 12)

Residual struck flint was fairly common in features across the site. The bulk of the assemblage (comprising some 174 pieces; 1.57kg) displays characteristics associated with earlier Neolithic technology (Peachey, this report). These include the presence of end, side and horseshoe scrapers, piercers, and frequently-occurring blades and blade-like debitage flakes. The assemblage has strong affinities with the early Neolithic struck flint from nearby Hurst Fen (Clark 1960). It includes fragments of seven cores and a hammerstone, which suggest that some flint working was taking place on the site itself.

Plotting the distribution of struck flint across the site does not reveal any obvious patterning or concentrations (see Fig. 11). There was a slight cluster of struck flint finds in the north-west of the site (in the centre of Area 1), a second around the corner of Phase 4 Enclosures 1 and 2 (towards the south-west corner of Area 3), a third in the 'corridor' between Enclosures 2 and 3, and a fourth towards the south-east edge of the site (Area 2). However, this distribution appears to largely reflect the density of later archaeological features in these parts of the site rather than revealing any 'real' focuses of activity during the earlier Neolithic. These were areas where residual Neolithic flint could become included, by chance, within the fills of later features, and thus survive the removal of much of the site's subsoil during the construction of the dairy buildings.

The distribution of flint tools (the 'end products' of working) compared to waste flakes, debitage and core fragments from the process of flint knapping is marginally more informative (Fig. 12). Some of the small concentrations of struck flint in the north-west of the site (Area 1) stand out as comprising fairly high proportions of tools compared to debitage, while in the other concentrations identified above, finished tools generally form a slightly smaller proportion of the struck flint which is present. This is particularly true of the relatively dense distribution of struck flint contained in later pits located in the eastern half of Area 3 and the south of Area 2. It is possible that this represents a genuine difference between areas of the site where flint reduction was carried out and other areas, where the blades, scrapers etc. were actually being used for particular tasks.

However, overall, the amount of debitage found on the site is relatively low (compared, for example, to the dense scatter of early Neolithic flint at nearby Hurst Fen (Clark 1960, 214)), especially in view of the quantities of waste flakes generated during the process of core reduction. Flint reduction on site was probably largely limited to the secondary trimming and retouching of cores and flakes brought to the site from elsewhere. The site was primarily a place where pre-fabricated tools were being used rather than manufactured.

A few notable concentrations of struck flint in individual features stand out, particularly that found in one of the late Iron Age (Phase 4) pits located on the track/

droveway between Enclosures 2 and 3 (Pit F2406; GR: G5). This pit contained four blades, two horseshoe scrapers, an awl and 12 blade-like flakes. It is possible that the three sherds (14g) of Iron Age pottery in the pit were intrusive and that this was actually an isolated early Neolithic feature, although it would have been exceptionally large in comparison to every one of the 200 early Neolithic pits found at Hurst Fen (Clark 1960, 205-8).

Overall, the quantity and distribution of struck flint is enough to indicate fairly frequent activity on site during the early Neolithic. While this activity may not have been that intensive, particularly bearing in mind that the residual tools and working debris could be the products of up to a millennium of sporadic occupation, the site would nevertheless appear to have been fairly regularly visited, perhaps by hunting/ foraging groups from the more 'permanent' settlement at Hurst Fen (see Discussion, below). Its location on a dry and slightly raised promontory/ island overlooking the course of the River Lark perhaps would have made it a favoured spot from which to watch game on the riverbanks and prepare for hunting.

3.3 Phase 2: late Neolithic 'Grooved Ware pit' (*c.* 2900 - 2100 BC) (Figs. 13 - 15; Plate 2)

Late Neolithic activity was represented by a single feature, located in the south of the site, close to the baulk of the large unexcavated central area (east of Area 3; Figs. 9 and 13, GR: L6). This was a small, shallow, circular pit (F2331; 0.74 x 0.67 x 0.20m^2) with steep rounded sides and an uneven base (Fig. 14), which had been disturbed by rooting. It was located close to an area of recorded previous ground disturbance (Fig. 4) and it is possible that its shallow depth was due, at least in part, to vertical truncation caused during the construction of the dairy buildings. The pit contained a single fill of loose mid yellowish-brown sand and flint gravel (L2332).

Relative to its small size, the pit contained a large assemblage of finds. Parts of two well-preserved Grooved Ware vessels (one approximately 50% complete) (24 sherds; 825g) were present on the base of the pit. It was noted by the excavator that the vessels appeared to have been crushed flat, although whether deliberately or as a result of post-depositional processes (e.g. movement of heavy goods vehicles associated with the dairy) was not clear. Fourteen uncorticated struck flint flakes, cattle, pig and dog bones (1kg+) and a cranial vault fragment from an adult human skull were found 'adjacent to the potsherds' (Adams 2008b). It is possible that (in contrast to the rest of the Neolithic struck flint from the site, which was almost entirely residual in later contexts) the struck flint flakes represent an *in situ* deposit of later Neolithic knapping debris, contemporary with the Grooved Ware.

The pottery from the pit (Fig. 15) is in a soft to medium fabric tempered with sparse quartz and sparse to common grog, with oxidised orange-brown exterior surfaces which fade to a dark grey/ black core and interior (Peachey, this report). The majority (20 sherds; 797g) is from a single barrel-shaped Durrington Walls-style Grooved Ware vessel (approximately 50% is present) with fingernail-impressed cordons and panels of combed triangle decoration. The rim is slightly soot-stained, perhaps suggesting use for direct heating of food/ liquid over a fire. Four non-cross-

[2] In all feature descriptions, dimensions are given in the order: length x width x depth

joining body sherds with combed decoration from a second, similar, vessel are also present. These exhibit combed decoration similar to, but distinct from, that on the more-complete vessel. Based on radiocarbon dates for Durrington Walls-style pottery from eastern England, a date of *c*. 2900 to 2100 BC is likely (Garwood 1999, 152 and 158). Although fairly poorly-preserved, the animal bone does have some significant characteristics. The assemblage is dominated by cattle and pig remains, indicating that these species were the focus of domestic husbandry at the time. A preponderance of cattle and pig in the late Neolithic is attested by evidence from other sites in the region, such as Redgate Hill, Norfolk (Jones 1993), Tye Field, Essex (Shennan 1985) and Fengate, Cambridgeshire (Harman 1978). It is notable that the cattle elements have signs of pathology which may have been caused by heavy labour, perhaps by use as draught animals. As well as cattle and pigs, roe deer is also represented in the assemblage, implying that hunting wild game occurred. The presence of roe deer also implies the presence of woodland in the not too distant vicinity, which might also have been used for pig pannage, a practice that has been suggested by evidence from Durrington Walls whereby domestic pigs roamed feral in woodland and required hunting to be caught (Albarella and Serjeantson 2002).

The deposition of Grooved Ware into isolated pits or clusters of pits appears to have been a fairly common practice in the later Neolithic period. Cleal notes that the typical context in which Grooved Ware occurs is the 'small pit or hollow', sometimes in groups but quite frequently isolated (1999, 6). This is particularly true of the first half of the period outlined above (*c*. 2900 - 2500 BC): most early (where radiocarbon-dated) deposits of Grooved Ware, at least in southern Britain, consist of Grooved Ware and other objects found in isolated pits or pit groups. By contrast, from around 2500 BC, deposits of Grooved Ware seem to have been more frequently associated with monuments such as henges (Garwood 1999, 154). Given the position of the single 'Grooved Ware pit' immediately adjacent to an unexcavated baulk, it is difficult to assess whether it was indeed an isolated pit, or whether it was associated with a cluster of contemporary pits or other features just outside the excavation area. However, based on the absence of even residual Grooved Ware anywhere else on the site, it seems very likely that the pit was either completely isolated or part of a small and localised area of late Neolithic activity.

The contents of the pit probably represent the remains of a short episode of late Neolithic occupation. However, rather than simply being leftover 'rubbish', it is possible that the deposit had some significance for the people who left it. The buried objects all have associations with activities which are central to human social life, such as cooking, eating and sharing the warmth of a fire. It has been suggested that such deposits were one way in which Neolithic people who still lived a relatively mobile existence tried to 'fix' the evidence of domesticity in the landscape and thereby domesticate the wild (Thomas 1991, 75-6; see Discussion, below).

3.4 Phase 3: early Bronze Age 'Beaker pits' (*c*. 2100 - 1700 BC) (Figs. 13, 16 and 17)

Following the deposition of the Grooved Ware, there was probably a gap of several centuries in archaeologically-visible activity at the site. In the early Bronze Age, two new pits were dug (F2409 and F2415). Both were located within *c*. 2m of each

other, towards the south-west corner of Area 3 (Figs. 8 and 13, GR: C4). The more easterly of the two (F2409) was a small, shallow, circular pit (0.68 x 0.50 x 0.15m) with moderately-steep concave sides and a flat base (Fig. 16), of similar appearance to the pit containing the Grooved Ware. It was truncated by an undated (pre-Iron Age) gully (F2411). It contained a single fill of loose dark brown/ black sandy silt (L2410), which in places had an organic appearance and which became lighter in colour towards the interface with the natural sand.

Five sherds of Beaker pottery (66g), five pieces of struck flint (57g; comprising a horseshoe scraper, a side scraper and three flakes) and a small quantity of animal bone (8g) were found in the pit. In contrast to the finds from the Grooved Ware pit, the Beaker sherds were recorded as lying 'near the base of the feature' rather than on it (Adams 2008b, 17). This, and the appearance of the pit fill, suggests that they were deposited in the pit within a matrix of general 'midden' material. The Beaker sherds (Fig. 17) are in a soft to medium fabric with oxidised pale to mid orange-brown surfaces and a dark grey core, generally tempered with sparse to common fine quartz and sparse grog (Peachey, this report). The fabric is relatively 'fine' in comparison to some of the coarser flint-tempered Beaker sherds recovered from other features. The five sherds derive from two to four vessels, each represented only by body sherds. One vessel, represented by two cross-joining body sherds, was decorated with finger-pinched rustication; the remaining sherds have bands of horizontal and vertical comb-impressed decoration.

Around 1.5m to the west was a second pit containing Beaker pottery (F2415). This was oval in plan and slightly larger and deeper (1.16 x 0.57 x 0.38m), with a steep rounded side to the north-east and a more moderately-sloping straight side to the south-west. Its fill (L2416) was identical in colour and composition to that of the other Beaker pit and contained three struck flint flakes (36g), a rib from a large-sized ungulate (40g), five small burnt (non-struck) flints/ stones and six sherds (38g) of Beaker pottery, some of which (in the same fabric as the sherds from Pit F2409) belong to a vessel with a slightly everted rim and bands of vertical fingernail impressions (Peachey, this report). The other sherds are from the base of a vessel in a coarser fabric tempered with common calcined flint, with fingernail decoration on the body. There was no discernible pattern to the distribution of the finds within the pit fill.

In addition to these two pits in the south-west of the site, residual Beaker pottery was found in two other features. An Iron Age (Phase 4) pit (F2184) located 30m to the north (Figs. 8 and 13, GR: C7) contained Beaker fragments including the in-turned rim of a vessel with bands and chevrons of comb-impressed decoration. Around 120m away, in the north of Area 2 (Figs. 7 and 13, GR: N10), a few undiagnostic Beaker body sherds with finger-pinched decoration were found in another Iron Age pit (F2097). There might originally have been early Bronze Age features in these parts of the site, which were subsequently obliterated by the intensive middle to late Iron Age activity. Certainly, these residual finds imply that the scale of early Bronze Age activity on the site was slightly greater than the handful of surviving features of this period would suggest.

Although Beaker pottery began to arrive in Britain in the later 3rd millennium BC and could theoretically overlap with the use of the late Neolithic Grooved Ware (Phase

2), this is highly unlikely at Bridge House Dairies. The stylistic affinities of the diagnostic Beaker sherds from the site suggest that the vessels were deposited between *c*. 2100 and 1900 BC (Peachey, this report), probably a considerable length of time after the Grooved Ware was in use.

The association of finer comb-impressed vessels alongside those with coarser rustication, as is the case here, is widely accepted as an indication of domestic sites (Bamford 1982). At nearby Lakenheath, fragments of vessels in both styles found together in pits were interpreted as the archaeologically-visible traces of domestic occupation (Percival 2005, 22). It has been suggested (Martin and Murphy 1988, 357) that the early Bronze Age occupation at West Row Fen, 3km to the west, could have been seasonal and temporary (in spring/ summer, possibly continuing into autumn if weather and ground conditions permitted), with the settlement's population moving to higher, drier grazing on the Breckland edge in winter. Given its slightly raised position relative to the Lark floodplain, the site may also have seen some sporadic/ temporary occupation by the semi-mobile early Bronze Age population of the area during the wetter winter months.

3.5 Phase 4: late Bronze Age cremations (*c*. 1300 - 750 BC) (Figs. 10, 46 and 47; Plate 3)

Thirteen features were identified on site as possible un-urned cremations (F2166 (GR: N7), F2168 (GR: N7), F2170 (GR: N6), F2172 (GR: H5), F2174 (GR: C2), F2176 (GR: C2), F2178 (GR: C2), F2180 (GR: C2), F2182 (GR: C2), F2250 (GR: N7), F2375 (GR: C5), F2426 (GR: I5) and F2459 (GR: E5)). Identification was usually based on the presence of burnt human bone but other small pits with ashy fills, particularly if they were located close to a feature containing cremated bone, were also categorised as probable cremations and were treated as such (*i.e*. they were excavated in spits and 100% sampled).

Following processing of the soil samples and full post-excavation analysis, only four of the 13 'cremations' were found to actually contain burnt human bone (F2168 (Cremation 2), F2170 (Cremation 3), F2176 (Cremation 6) and F2182 (Cremation 9)). However, five of the other charcoal-rich pits which were identified on site as probable cremations (F2166 ('Cremation' 1), F2250 ('Cremation' 10), F2174 ('Cremation' 5), F2178 ('Cremation' 7) and F2180 ('Cremation' 8)) were located in close spatial proximity to confirmed cremation deposits and formed part of the same distinct groups of features (Fig. 46). They were also very similar in size, plan and profile to the pits which did contain cremated bone. Therefore, it seems probable that these were originally also cremation deposits, which had been truncated to a shallow depth by subsequent activity on the site and consequently no longer contained any human bone. Of the remaining putative cremations, one was found, following further analysis, to be the non-burnt remains of a perinate (unborn) baby (F2172 ('Cremation' 4)); the other three (F2426 ('Cremation' 12), F2459 ('Cremation' 13) and F2375 ('Cremation' 11)) were similar in appearance to the confirmed cremations (that is, they were small, shallow, discrete pits with ashy fills) but were not located in close proximity to any confirmed cremations. It is possible that they represented additional, severely-truncated, cremations but this cannot be proven.

As already highlighted, the (confirmed and probable) cremations formed two distinct

groups: one in the south-west of Area 2 (Cremations 1, 2, 3 and 10; Fig. 46, GR: N7 - N6) and one in the far south-west corner of Area 3 (Cremations 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9; Fig. 46, GR: C2). The location of the groups in relation to the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 4) features is notable. The Area 2 group (Cremations 1, 2, 3 and 10) was located to the west of the dense clusters of Iron Age pits, in an area where the distribution of pits noticeably thinned out. The cremations in the far south-west of the site were similarly located in an area where the distribution of Iron Age features was sparse and where little pottery and animal bone seems to have been discarded during this phase. The position of this cremation group immediately adjacent to but not intercut with the western boundary of Enclosure 3 (F2381) is also notable. It was initially thought that the locations of the cremation pits were governed by the positions of middle to late Iron Age features, making them either contemporary to or later than these. However, a calibrated radiocarbon date for Cremation 3 (1208-977 BC), places it firmly within the late Bronze Age. It is more likely therefore that the position of Iron Age features was influenced by the earlier, clustered cremation deposits. It is (tentatively) possible that the locations of these deposits were marked somehow, perhaps by small, ephemeral earthworks or similar, which influenced the layout of the Iron Age site.

The cremation pits were all small and shallow (on average 0.43m across by 0.18m deep) and circular or oval in plan. They tended to have steep rounded sides and concave or flat bases, although some had rather gentler or more irregular profiles. Cremation 3 (F2170) was somewhat larger (0.84 x 0.78 x 0.22m), while possible Cremations 7 (F2178) and 11 (F2375) were no more than shallow scoops (around 0.20m across and no more than 0.10m deep). With few variations, all contained single fills, comprising fairly loose dark grey-brown/ black sandy ash and charcoal.

In each case, the cremations comprised only very small quantities of cremated bone (Leach, this report). Cremation 2 contained 16.6g of burnt (not calcined) bone, probably long bone fragments, Cremation 6 contained only 3.1g of cremated bone and Cremation 9 contained only 1.7g. By far the largest quantity of bone (154.2g) was present in Cremation 3 and comes from an adult, probably a female (though sex cannot be confirmed from the available evidence). Based on the very small quantities of bone present, it is probable either that the cremations had been subject to post-depositional disturbance/ truncation or that they were only ever 'token' deposits, with the rest of the cremated remains of the individuals having been deposited elsewhere or scattered. Certainly, the close proximity of other small pits containing burnt fills but no cremated bone supports the former possibility; however, the two factors may both have played a part. Cremation 3 also contained several burnt animal bones, including a sheep vertebra, and a burnt metal object; it was noted during excavation that an animal scapula was found underneath the burnt bone in Cremation 2, possibly having been placed as a 'foundation' deposit.

3.6 Phase 5: the middle to late Iron Age site (*c.* 300 BC - AD 50) (Figs. 18 - 45; Plates 4 - 16)

3.6.1 Overview

The principal phase of activity on the site, to which the overwhelming majority of the datable archaeological features belonged, was the middle to late Iron Age. This

dating is based principally on the character of the pottery found in association with features (fully described by Peachey, this report). In addition, the interred remains of a single human female (SK2218) from Pit F2257 were radiocarbon dated to 394-207 BC (Mustchin and Beta Analytic, this report), firmly within the middle Iron Age. Three principal pottery fabric groups can be identified in the ceramic assemblage, with sand-and-grass temper being most common and sand-and-flint-tempered/ sand-tempered sherds also appearing fairly frequently. Comparable fabric types dominate the ceramic assemblages from middle to late Iron Age settlement sites elsewhere in northern East Anglia. The bulk of the assemblage consists of a narrow range of handmade forms and is typified by vessels with rounded shoulders, upright or out-bent rims and (if decoration is present at all) burnished or scored decoration.

Although the majority of the pottery could date from any time during the middle to late Iron Age (3rd to 1st centuries BC), the overall composition of the assemblage fits best with a date in the 1st century BC (Peachey, this report). However, occupation probably extended some way to either side of this. A large portion of an early Iron Age carinated bowl with a fingertip-impressed rim was present as residual material within Gully F2424 (Enclosure 3). Although this is the only diagnostically early Iron Age vessel in the assemblage, some of the less diagnostic body sherds in similar sand and flint-tempered fabrics which were found elsewhere on the site could well be contemporary. At the very least, its presence implies some occupation in the vicinity of the site during the earlier part of the Iron Age and adds weight to the broad 'mid to late Iron Age' (300 BC - AD 50) chronological range assigned to the bulk of the assemblage. At the other end of the suggested date range, sparse 'Belgic' sherds, some certainly local products and others possibly imported from elsewhere in the region, attest to continuing activity in the late pre-Roman Iron Age (in this context *c*. 25 BC - AD 50), when south-eastern Britain was increasingly coming into contact with cultural developments in mainland Europe and the Roman world.

The Iron Age site was dominated by a network of boundary ditches demarcating parts of three rectilinear enclosures, with interconnecting tracks/ droveways in between. This system of land division clearly extended beyond the boundaries of the site and should be viewed as a window onto a wider subdivided later prehistoric landscape. The large middle to late Iron Age enclosure identified *c.* 590m to the north-east (HER MNL622) lends credence to this assertion. Evidence of repeated re-cutting and fresh demarcation of the boundary ditches indicated a fairly long period of use. Exactly what the enclosures were used for is uncertain: only one enclosure appears to have lain more-or-less fully within the site (Enclosure 2; Fig. 18), but the majority of its interior had (as demonstrated by the trial trench evaluation) been severely-truncated by the former dairy buildings. The dense concentration of mid to late Iron Age pits, containing pottery, animal bone and other occupation 'debris', shows that there were domestic areas somewhere in the near-vicinity, probably just to the east of the site. However, it is perhaps more likely that the enclosures themselves were arable fields or animal paddocks on the periphery of a settlement just beyond the eastern site boundary. The site offers a valuable opportunity to look at the sorts of activities taking place on the fringes of a later Iron Age settlement but conclusions about overall settlement layout and zoning of activity are limited by the peripheral location of the excavation area and the high level of modern truncation.

3.6.2 The middle to late Iron Age enclosures (Figs. 18 - 28; Plates 4 - 9)

The main feature of the Iron Age site was a system of boundary ditches which formed three rectilinear enclosures: one extending beyond the excavation area to the west (Enclosure 1), one located mainly within the truncated central area of the site (Enclosure 2) and one lying largely outside the site to the south (Enclosure 3).

Unravelling the chronological development of the enclosure system, particularly the complex sequence of re-cuts and redefinitions of Enclosures 1 and 2, poses some problems. The pottery found in what appeared on stratigraphic grounds to be the earliest ditches was little different in fabric/ forms to that found in the ditches associated with the final stages of the enclosure system. In the absence of any diagnostic finds, tracing the evolution of the enclosures over time relies on a combination of stratigraphic analysis and a slightly subjective assessment of the apparent spatial relationships between the different boundary ditches. The suggested evolution of Enclosures 1 and 2 is described below. Enclosure 3 had no direct stratigraphic relationships with any of the ditches of the other two enclosures. It is therefore not possible to say with any degree of certainty how the use of this enclosure related to that of Enclosures 1 and 2.

Enclosures 1 and 2: Stage I

Stratigraphically one of the earliest ditches was F2044=F2163, which survived as a shallow gully beneath later Ditch F2030=F2159 (visible in Plate 7, also see below). It had been identified during the trial trench evaluation as Ditch F1059. It ran north-north-west to south-south-east through Area 1 and the western half of Area 3 for approximately 87m, terminating fairly close to the south-west corner of the site (GR: C13 - C5). To the west, two ditches running on a roughly parallel alignment to F2044=F2163 (F2040 and F2157; GR: B12 - B5) are thought to have been contemporary with it. There is no stratigraphic or finds evidence to support this, but the southernmost of the two western ditches (F2157) terminated to the south exactly in line with the southern terminus of Ditch F2163, suggesting that they were associated parts of the same boundary system. The fairly closely-spaced parallel positioning (5.6m to 12.8m apart, widening to the south) of the two sets of ditches is suggestive of a droveway or ditched track running northwards from the site, possibly leading towards the River Lark. However, although Ditch F2040 was seen to continue beyond the site to the north-west, F2044 terminated within the excavation area and it is uncertain whether the boundary which it demarcated continued any further northwards.

The surviving ditches on both sides of this suggested trackway were narrow and shallow, those on the east side averaging *c*. 0.35m wide x 0.15m deep with moderately-sloping concave sides and rounded bases. The western ditches had not been directly truncated by later re-cuts and were therefore somewhat larger, typically measuring around 0.90m wide by 0.35m deep; they exhibited similar profiles to F2044=F2163, although Ditch F2157 was flat-bottomed for most of its length. All the ditches had similar grey/ brown silty sand fills, although those on the west side of the track/ droveway contained a little more flint gravel and had slightly lighter-coloured, sandier, fills, reflecting the natural variation of the underlying drift deposits that they were cut into. These early ditches contained few finds, generally just a few small

sherds of late Iron Age pottery and a little animal bone. Ditch F2040 contained just over half a kilogram of animal bone; there was also a relatively large (for the 'trackway' ditches) assemblage of just under 200g of animal bone in the southern terminus of Ditch F2157 (Seg. F). The largest assemblage of pottery, comprising just 11 sherds (weighing 60g), came from Ditch F2157 Segment D.

Although partially obscured by an unexcavated baulk (GR: B9 - B10), there was a gap of at least 9m between Ditches F2040 and F2157, indicating the possible position of an entranceway. Other possible entrances were identified on the east side of the trackway, where Ditches F2044 and F2163 did not appear to be present beneath later re-cut F2030=F2159 (in Segments F2030 D (GR: C12) and F2159 B (GR: C8)), although it is possible that all traces of the earlier ditches had simply been completely destroyed at these points. Exactly what these entranceways facilitated access into is unclear, as the western side of the excavation area was very narrow and what lay to either side of the 'trackway' was not revealed. In the later stages of the ditch system's development, traces of at least three ditched enclosures could be discerned: one immediately to the west of the site (Enclosure 1), one in the truncated central area (beneath the demolished modern dairy buildings) (Enclosure 2) and another immediately to the south, lying mostly beyond the southern site boundary (Enclosure 3). It seems likely that the western and central enclosures were already in existence by this time, perhaps having been demarcated partly by ditches which have not survived, and that the entranceways allowed access into them from the track/ droveway.

Enclosures 1 and 2: Stage II

At some point, the eastern track/ droveway ditch (F2044=F2163) was re-cut by a near-identical new ditch, F2042=F2161. This had been identified during the trial trench evaluation as Gully F1060. Again, it only survived as a shallow remnant below later Ditch F2030=F2159 (see below). It ran north-north-west to south-south-east parallel to and cutting the west side of Ditch F2044=F2163 (GR: B13 - C5). To the south, it terminated *c*. 6m short of the terminus of the earlier ditch (F2163) and its course was continued by a short gully (F2385; GR: C5). The latter seems to have been deliberately created in order that the boundary demarcated by F2042=F2161 would continue southwards for the same distance as its predecessor (F2044=F2163) and thereby terminate in line with the south end of Ditch F2157, to the west. This strongly suggests that the track/ droveway continued to be used and that its western boundary, formed by Ditches F2040 and F2157, was still visible. The two entranceways on the east side of the trackway, identified from apparent gaps in the course of Ditch F2044=F2163, appear to have also still been open as there was no trace of Ditch F2042=F2161 at these points (GR: C12 and C8) either.

The short gap between the southern terminus of Ditch F2161 and its southward continuation (F2385) was occupied by the beginning of a boundary ditch running on a perpendicular west-south-west to east-north-east alignment (F2379). This ran eastwards from the east side of the trackway for 30m+, extending into the unexcavated central area of the site (GR: C5 - F5). Like Ditch F2042=F2161, F2379 only survived as a shallow gully beneath a later re-cut (Ditch F2363; see below). Together, Ditch F2042=F2161 and Ditch F2379 appeared to demarcate the right-angled south-western corner of a rectilinear enclosure occupying the unexcavated

central part of the Bridge House Dairies site (Enclosure 2).

Ditches F2042=F2161, F2385 and F2379 generally had moderately-sloping rounded sides and concave bases and contained single fills of loose dark grey or brown sandy silt with flint gravel inclusions. They were uniformly narrow and shallow as a result of severe truncation by later boundary features, Ditch F2161 averaging only 0.32m wide by 0.11m deep, although it was slightly wider to the north (in Ditch F2042) and in its southern extension (F2385). Ditch F2379 was equally ephemeral, averaging 0.37m across by 0.12m deep. Only Ditch F2042=F2161 contained finds in any quantities, comprising 75g of animal bone, five sherds (75g) of mid to late Iron Age pottery and some residual early Neolithic struck flint. Most of this cultural material was concentrated towards the north end of the ditch and petered out in its southern segments. Two sherds (10g) of Iron Age pottery were present in Ditch F2379.

Enclosures 1 and 2: Stage III

The next stage of the enclosure system's development saw a more substantial reorganisation of the boundary ditches. The ditches of the track/ droveway (F2040, F2157, F2042=F2161 and F2385) appear to have become filled in, probably through natural silting and weathering (based on the composition of their fills and the limited finds from the excavated segments) rather than through any deliberate act of backfilling. They were replaced by a series of sinuous, braided, roughly parallel ditches (F2009=F2188=F2369, F2011, F2191, F2365 and F2371), which together formed several successive demarcations of the east and south sides of a large rectilinear enclosure (Enclosure 1), most of which lay outside the site to the west.

The principal boundary ditch, F2009=F2188=F2369, had been identified during the trial trench evaluation as Gully F1017. It entered the site from the north-west and ran south-south-eastwards for 115m+ (GR: B16 - D5) before turning through 90° to a westward alignment and running for at least another 13m (GR: D5 - B4). It appeared to continue in this direction, almost certainly extending beyond the western boundary of the site, but its subsequent course had been obliterated by the footings of a building associated with the dairy complex. Traces of an earlier demarcation of this enclosure boundary survived in places. At the north-west end of the east side of the enclosure, an earlier ditch (F2011=F1019) ran for 31m+ along the eastern edge of Ditch F2009, extending northwards beyond the excavation area (GR: B16 - C13). To the south, it disappeared under Ditch F2009. A short (*c.* 12m) length of this earlier ditch (F2191) was also identified some 42m to the south, again running along the east side of the main surviving enclosure boundary ditch (the latter being recorded as F2188 at this point) (GR: D9 - D8). Although it contained no finds and was originally considered to be undated, its positioning, alignment and size clearly mark it out as being related to this stage of the enclosure system.

At the south-east corner of the enclosure, there were signs of repeated redefinition of its boundaries. This had resulted in two successive ditch re-cuts (F2365=F1041 (GR: D6 - B4) and F2371 (GR: C5 - B4)) which closely followed the course of the original enclosure boundary ditch. Both began close to the southern limit of Ditch F2188, running on a north-north-west to south-south-east alignment, but they quickly turned through 90° to run westwards parallel to and just north of Ditch F2369. As

with Ditch F2369, their subsequent courses were both substantially truncated by the foundations of one of the modern dairy buildings. However, a short length of Ditch F2365 was identified immediately adjacent to the western baulk of the excavation area (GR: B4) and therefore certainly continued beyond the site to the west. It is likely that Ditch F2371 originally did the same. There were no stratigraphic relationships between Ditches F2365 and F2371, so it is uncertain which of the two was in use first.

The repeated redefinition of the south-east corner of Enclosure 1 suggests that its boundary ditches were more prone to becoming silted-up at this point. The site did slope down gradually towards a low-point in the south-western corner and it is likely that surface run-off would have carried silt and sand into the ditches at this point, necessitating frequent scouring-out and re-cutting.

The ditches demarcating this stage of the enclosure system were all, again, fairly narrow and shallow, averaging just 0.73m wide by 0.21m deep. Around halfway down the enclosure's east side (Ditch F2188 Segs. A, B and C) the boundary ditch was larger, being up to 1.40m wide in places. By contrast, one of the re-cuts of the enclosure's south-eastern corner (Ditch F2371) was far narrower and shallower, measuring only 0.45m wide by 0.11m deep. With few exceptions, the ditches had only single fills, comprising loose orangey-brown or greyish-brown silty sand. Ditch F2188 had two identifiable fills in Segments B and C, the lower of which probably represented the surviving remnant of an earlier cut of the ditch. Finds were limited in all of the ditches, generally consisting of no more than a few grams of animal bone and small assemblages of abraded middle to late Iron Age pottery. A moderate pottery assemblage (10; 100g) was present in Ditch F2369 Segment E, at the far south-eastern corner of Enclosure 1 (GR: C4). What finds there were tended to be concentrated towards either the south-eastern corner or the north-eastern edge of the enclosure. The paucity of animal bone is probably partly a reflection of the predominantly sandy geology on the west side of the site.

During this stage of the enclosure system, the north-north-west to south-south-east boundary formed by Ditches F2009 and F2188 appears to have also demarcated the west side of the enclosure located in the truncated central area of the site (the west side of which had previously been defined by the ditch on the east side of the track/ droveway, F2042=F2161). The south side of this central enclosure, which had earlier been formed by Ditch F2379 (see above), was redefined during this stage by several successive ditches running east-north-eastwards perpendicular to the east side of Ditch F2188 (Ditches F2392, F2394, F2396, F2398 and F2434; GR: D5 - E5). Without exception, these only survived as shallow gullies, two of them (F2392 and F2394) being identified in section beneath a later boundary ditch (F2363). None appeared to extend westwards far enough to meet Ditch F2188, generally stopping short of the perpendicular ditch by *c*. 4.5m (in GR: D5). This was also true of those ditches which only survived underneath later Ditch F2363: they could not be identified in the sections dug through Ditch F2363 closest to Ditch F2188. This 'gap' between the south and west sides of the central enclosure probably indicates the position of an entranceway. Although this part of the excavation area had been subject to heavy modern disturbance (Fig. 4), there is good reason to believe that the ditches forming the south and west sides of the enclosure would never have joined up. First, Ditches F2392 and F2394 appeared to be absent at this point even

though they were sealed (and therefore protected from further truncation) below a later ditch (F2363). Secondly, another re-cut of the south side of the enclosure (F2373), which was equally ephemeral and just as likely to have been completely destroyed by the modern truncation, could be traced the whole way across this former entranceway (GR: E5 - C5) even where the subsurface deposits had been badly affected by the dairy buildings. Ditch F2373 seems to have been a late addition to this stage of the enclosure system, intended to close-off the former entrance.

The ditches demarcating the south side of the central enclosure during this stage were all of similar appearance, with moderately-steep straight or rounded sides, narrow concave bases (average: 0.43m wide by 0.15m deep) and loose mid greyish-brown or yellowish-brown silty sand fills. There were very few finds, usually only one or two potsherds. Ditches F2394, F2398 and F2434 contained no finds and are phased on grounds of stratigraphy (where present) and their clear spatial relationships with the dated ditches of this stage of the enclosure system.

Enclosures 1 and 2: Stage IV

The final stage of development of the Iron Age enclosure system saw the renewed demarcation of both Enclosures 1 and 2.

By this stage, the west side of the central enclosure was formed by a large ditch (F2030=F2159=F2363=F1052) which ran from north-north-west to south-south-east for 82m through Areas 1 and 3, following exactly the same alignment as the ditches at the east side of the earlier track/ droveway (F2044=F2163 and F2042=F2161; GR: B13 - C5). After this distance, it turned through 90° to run east-north-east for 32m+, extending out of the excavation area (GR: C5 - F5). This latter part of the ditch re-cut earlier demarcations of the south side of the central enclosure, including Ditches F2379, F2392 and F2394. In its northern portion, the ditch generally had steep, straight sides and a flattish base; its profile became less steep and more rounded as it ran south and then eastwards. It was *c*. 2m wide by 0.53m deep in the north, becoming a little narrower and shallower to the south and east (average 1.83m wide x 0.29m deep in Ditch F2363).

At the north-western limit of the main, western, enclosure boundary (F2030) there was entranceway *c*. 7.8m wide, beyond which the west side of the enclosure was continued by another ditch which had been excavated during the trial trench evaluation (F1021; Trial Trench 1; GR: B14). This had an irregular profile but was generally of similar size and appearance to Ditch F2030=F2159=F2363.

All the ditches of this final demarcation of Enclosure 2 had similar fills, usually comprising brownish-grey or occasionally yellowish silty sand and containing flint gravel and chalk fragments. There were fewer gravel and chalk inclusions in the southern portions of the enclosure boundary. All the ditches contained single fills, except close to the south end of the western boundary (Ditch F2159 Seg. E), where two successive silting layers were apparent; however, apart from the upper fill being somewhat looser and darker, there was little difference between the two. In total, the ditches of Enclosure 2 yielded just under 1.5kg of animal bone and 57 sherds (333g) of late Iron Age pottery. There were no significant concentrations, the largest assemblages of pottery being 10 sherds (80g) from Ditch F2030 Segment B and 12

sherds (54g) from Ditch F2159 Segment A. Ditch F2030 Segment B also contained some 479g of animal bone and an iron nail. Finds, particularly animal bone, were marginally more common in the northern portion of the boundary ditch.

Probably around the same time that this final demarcation of the central enclosure took place, the south-east corner of the adjoining western enclosure (Enclosure 1) was also redefined. A new curving boundary ditch (F2367), which was initially aligned north-north-west to south-south-east but quickly turned to run westwards, was laid out following the same course as earlier Ditches F2369, F2371 and F2365 (GR: D5 - B4). It respected the south side of the central enclosure, terminating to the north just before meeting Ditch F2363. As with the earlier demarcations of the south-east corner of Enclosure 1, Ditch F2367 appeared to continue westwards beyond the site but its course had been obscured by modern truncation. In addition to its positioning with respect for Ditch F2363 (and indeed for Stage III Ditch F2373, which was probably still visible at this time) and the fact that it cut earlier Ditch F2369, the size of Ditch F2367 clearly marks it out as being associated with the final stage of the enclosure system. It was comparable in scale to Ditch F2030=F2159=F2363, averaging 1.69m wide by 0.46m deep and being up to 2.20m wide at its northern terminus (Seg. A). Along most of its length it had moderate to steep rounded sides and a concave or flattish base. Ditch F2367 contained some relatively large finds assemblages, including 27 sherds (170g) of pottery from its northern terminus. However, the pottery from this context is very fragmented and contains no diagnostic sherds. On the outside edge of Ditch F2367, it cut the remnant of an earlier demarcation of the same boundary (F2400).

Enclosure 3

Enclosure 3 was located at the southern edge of the site (south of Area 3). In contrast to the other two enclosures, it was formed by just two main ditches (F2381 and F2345), without the same evidence of successive re-cutting that was present around the Iron Age enclosures to the north. The interior of the enclosure lay largely outside (south of) the site with the identified boundary ditches forming its west (F2381) and north (F2345) sides. The enclosure boundary ditch (F2381) entered the site from the south and ran north-north-west for 15.5m, where it appeared to begin turning eastwards (GR: C2 - C4). At this point it was cut by the west-south-west to east-north-east arm of the boundary ditch (F2345), which began in a rounded terminal and ran east-north-east for 85m (GR: C4 - K4). It appeared to end at this point, perhaps turning southwards, but its subsequent course was obscured by the site boundary. Both the west and north sides of Enclosure 3 had been identified during the trial trench evaluation, as Ditches F1062 and F1077/ F1066, respectively.

The boundary ditch forming the north side of Enclosure 3 (F2345) was generally just less than 1m across and an average of 0.58m deep, with a steep ‘v’-shaped and sometimes stepped profile. The western boundary (F2381) was significantly larger (2.22m wide x 0.70m deep) with similar but slightly more moderately-sloping ‘v’-shaped sides. Particularly in its southern portion, the irregular slope of the east side of the ditch suggests the original presence of an earlier ditch located in the same position and running on the same alignment. However, this could not be fully discerned on site. The greater size of this ditch may have been a response to the southward slope of this corner of the site: groundwater would have run into this area

and the deeper ditch might have been intended to collect and channel the greater volume of surface run-off away from the enclosed space.

The northern enclosure boundary ditch (F2345) contained a single fill along its entire length (L2346), comprising loose mid to dark brown sandy silt with occasional flint gravel. This yielded small quantities of middle to late Iron Age pottery and animal bone, the largest finds assemblages being five sherds (84g) of pottery from Segment I and 511g of animal bone from Segment F. An unusual frilled rim sherd, similar to an example found at West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 62: vessel 87), was found in a slot excavated close to the west end of the ditch (Seg. J; GR: D4). The larger, western, ditch (F2381) had a more variable sequence of infilling, generally representing two or three successive layers of silting. An exception to this was midway along the exposed portion of the ditch (Seg. D; GR: C3) where a shallow lens of plastic black silty clay (L2387) was stratified between two silt layers (L2383 and L2382). Again, small quantities of animal bone were present (188g in total); the only associated pottery (three sherds; 12g) was found in the upper fill (L2382) of the north end of the ditch.

A narrow, shallow gully (L2424; GR: D4-E4) ran parallel to the north side of the enclosure, on its interior, only 1.00m away from the main enclosure boundary ditch (F2345). Its west end was lost due to modern truncation but it did not appear to have ever been more than *c*. 9.00m long. It had a 'v'-shaped profile identical to the other ditches of Enclosure 3 and was *c*. 0.70m wide by 0.20m deep. It was filled by L2425, a loose, 0.10m-deep, dark brownish-grey sandy silt layer which also formed a 6m-wide spread over the surrounding area and overlaid the adjacent portion of the main northern enclosure boundary ditch (F2345). The gully contained (for the enclosure ditches) a relatively large assemblage of pottery (33 sherds; 360g) deriving mainly from a single residual early Iron Age carinated bowl in a sand-and-flint tempered fabric with fingertip impressions on the rim. However, this was present alongside later Iron Age sherds. A small quantity of animal bone was also present. The presence of a localised shallow silt layer (L2425) overlying part of the northern enclosure boundary, together with the considerable size and depth of the western enclosure ditch, reinforce the picture of this low-lying south-western corner of the site as a wet area, which, perhaps particularly later in Phase 5, was prone to becoming waterlogged. Ditch F2381 was present at 6.77m OD, approximately 1.00m lower than the 'high' ground of the promontory on which the site was located.

It is uncertain whether Enclosure 3 was contemporary with or preceded/ post-dated the two enclosures to the north. There was no significant difference in the overall character of the pottery found in association with each enclosure; nor did Enclosure 3 have any stratigraphic relationships with the other enclosures. Suggestions as to its relative date therefore rely solely on guesswork based on perceived spatial associations. In some respects, Enclosure 3 appears to 'fit' best alongside the earlier stages (Stages I and II) of the two northern enclosures (Fig. 19a). By Stage III, the corridor or trackway between Enclosures 2 and 3 would have been increasingly cut off by the ditches demarcating the south-east corner of Enclosure 1, and by Stage IV movement westwards along this corridor would have been completely blocked-off by Ditches F2367 and F2400 (Fig. 19b). However, the positioning of the latter two ditches clearly respected the north side of Enclosure 3 (Ditch F2345), which must therefore still have been visible when they were created.

Overall, the general layout of the three enclosures and the 'corridors' between them suggests that they were contemporary parts of the same system of fields/ paddocks. The enclosure ditches consistently followed the same north-north-west to south-south-east and west-south-west to east-north-east alignments and elements of the different enclosures appeared to respect the positions of the adjacent ones (e.g. the way in which Ditch F2381 of Enclosure 3 lined up almost exactly with the final demarcation of the western boundary of Enclosure 2; also note the parallel alignments of the north side of Enclosure 3 and the south side of Enclosure 2). Therefore, although some of the surviving elements of the enclosure system were certainly later than others, it is quite possible that in their earlier incarnations (now represented, if at all, by only fragmentary traces of the earlier ditches) the three enclosures would have existed side by side.

Functions of the enclosures

The functions of the middle to late Iron Age enclosures are far from clear. Only one enclosure (Enclosure 2) appears to have lain fully within the Bridge House Dairies site but this was mainly within the heavily-truncated central area which was not subject to full excavation. The other two enclosures lay beyond the confines of the site, to the west (Enclosure 1) and south (Enclosure 3). As it was not possible to view the internal area of any of the three enclosures it is impossible to be sure of the kinds of activities taking place within the enclosed spaces.

The finds from the boundary ditches themselves are fairly limited, comprising relatively small quantities of pottery and animal bone. They suggest occupation areas somewhere in close proximity but not necessarily within the spaces actually defined by the ditches. The overall distribution of Iron Age cultural material on the site shows a pronounced increase in the density of activity towards the east and south-east of the site, moving away from the enclosures (see below). However, this cannot be taken as proof that the enclosures themselves were not used for domestic inhabitation. The relative quantities of finds contained in different types of feature at the site (e.g. pits, ditches) strongly suggest that the site's Iron Age occupants preferred to dispose of their unwanted 'rubbish' in sealed pits rather than allowing it to simply accumulate on the ground. Features such as boundary ditches, which needed to be kept open and visible, were probably periodically cleaned-out and the waste disposed of elsewhere (see below). The remaining finds from the enclosure ditches are therefore unlikely to be truly representative of whatever activity was taking place in the enclosed areas.

The overall layout of the enclosure system, particularly in its earlier stages (notably the presence of the track/ droveway and the numerous wide enclosure entranceways in Stages I and II), hints at an association with managing and controlling the movement of livestock. The faunal remains recovered from the ditches were generally limited in size and the species represented in the ditches do not differ substantially from other features, with the exception of the percentage of horse remains present, which was slightly higher in the ditches than elsewhere on the site. Taken alongside the increasing density of 'rubbish' pits towards the eastern edge of the site, it seems most likely that the enclosures represent agricultural land on the periphery of a 'core' settlement area just to the east of the excavated site. Some of the enclosures may have been paddocks for livestock, with interconnecting tracks/

droveways to facilitate movement down to the River Lark. Others were probably small enclosed fields.

3.6.2 The middle to late Iron Age pits (Figs. 29 - 36; Plates 10 - 16)

Overview and dating evidence

The other dominant features of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) site were the numerous pits, typically measuring around 1.5m across and containing moderate quantities of pottery and animal bone. In total, 106 pits have been assigned to this phase (Fig. 29). In the majority of cases, dating is based on the middle to late Iron Age pottery found in the pit fills. In a few cases, pits containing no chronologically-diagnostic finds have been assigned a mid to late Iron Age date solely on the basis of their spatial relationships or physical similarities with other, dated, features. As the majority of the pits were discrete, not having any direct physical contact with the adjacent features, stratigraphy was only a useful chronological indicator in a minority of cases. The obvious difficulty with these phasing criteria is that approximately 30 pits containing no diagnostic material, which have been left unphased, could well also have been Iron Age. However, the alternative approach to phasing, whereby any pit that did not display evidence to the contrary is automatically assumed to have been Iron Age, is rendered unsafe by the presence of an Anglo-Saxon pit (F2124) and handful of undoubtedly modern pits (e.g. F2129, see below) scattered amongst the Iron Age features.

Eight pits contained 'Belgic' pottery, indicating that deposition of occupation debris, at least in the south-eastern part of the site, probably continued into the decades immediately prior to the Roman conquest. With the exception of the pits containing Belgic-type sherds, which presumably date from the late pre-Roman Iron Age, the pottery from individual pits is not diagnostic enough to ascertain the sort of period over which the pits were dug and 'in use'. They may have spanned 100-150 years of occupation; alternatively they may all derive from a far shorter period of activity in the late pre-Roman Iron Age, when local handmade pottery was still in use alongside a small proportion of regional Belgic imports and locally-made imitations. On balance, given the clear longevity of the contemporary enclosure system, the first scenario seems more likely. Nevertheless, the character of the activity and the sorts of material being deposited (whether 'dumped' or placed) in the pits remained the same for the duration of the occupation.

Distribution

The Iron Age pits were most densely concentrated towards the eastern edge and to an even greater extent towards the south-eastern corner of the excavation area but they also occurred fairly frequently elsewhere (Fig. 29).

They appeared to be distributed in several distinct clusters, which were identified during the excavation as discrete 'pit groups' (Fig. 29). This apparent distribution was almost certainly partly a product of the irregular shape of the excavation area and the large unexcavated/ truncated tracts in between, which will have obscured the original layout of features at the site to some extent. For example, prior to the severe modern truncation of the central portion of the site there could have been a

concentration of pits in this area just as dense as that which survived in the south-east corner of Area 2. However, in the northern part of Area 2, where the excavation involved the stripping of a moderately-sized open area of roughly equal length and breadth (rather than just narrow corridors), the individual clusters of closely-spaced pits did indeed appear to be consistently separated by 'gaps' of *c*. 11m, where there were no archaeological features. There does not appear to have been any direct relationship between these apparent 'gaps' in-between feature groups and the areas of heaviest modern truncation (see Fig. 4), that is, the empty spaces were not simply a product of differential preservation. In addition, the pits associated with some of the clusters did display shared characteristics which go some way towards reinforcing their identification as 'genuine' discrete groups; the very similar sizes and consistently circular shapes in plan of the pits in Cluster 3 is a notable example (see below).

Exactly what should be inferred from this apparent grouping is uncertain. A plausible explanation might be that each pit group was associated with a single family or the occupants of a specific building or that the different groups represent separate chronological episodes of activity, with 'rubbish' being deposited in a particular place for a period of months/ years before shifting to a new location a short distance away. Alternatively, the pit groups might have been physically separated by above-ground boundary features which have left no archaeological trace (e.g. banks, fence-lines). However, this latter possibility seems less likely: if hypothetical fence-lines are drawn between the neighbouring pit clusters, equidistant from the outermost pits in each group, the resultant 'boundary' alignments (Fig. 29) bear no relation whatsoever to the north-north-west to south-south-east/ west-south-west to east-north-east orientations which were consistently followed by the main Iron Age boundary ditches.

Morphology and appearance

The pits ranged in size from 0.46 to 3.60m across and varied in depth from 6 to 91cm (Tables 2 and 3, below; Figs. 30 - 34). However, the vast majority were 1-2m across and most were between 20 and 40cm deep, with few exceeding 60cm. This general consistency in size strongly implies that many of the pits had the same original function.

0.40 – 1.00m	1.01 - 1.50m	1.51 - 2.00m	2.01 - 2.50m	2.51 - 3.00m	3.01- 3.50m	3.51m+
8	42	47	5	0	3	1

Table 2: Dimensions (widths) of middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) pits

5-20cm	21-40cm	41-60cm	61-80cm	81-100cm
26	51	18	9	2

Table 3: Depths of middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) pits

The vast majority of the pits were circular in plan (63%) with a smaller but significant proportion being oval (28%). Oblong or roughly square pits were also present but were rare. Profiles varied widely. Most pits had either steep (25%) or moderately-sloping (24%) concave/ rounded sides, although pits with steep and straight (16%), near-vertical (9%) or vertical (9%) sides were not uncommon. Bases were overwhelmingly flat (65%, rising to 78% if flattish but slightly irregular bases are included).

Nearly 90% of the pits (92 of 106) contained only a single fill. Just 14 pits contained multiple fill layers, generally comprising no more than two different deposits. Analysis of differences in fill composition between the pits is problematic. Definition of soil colour/ make-up is arguably more subject to differences in perception and interpretation on the part of individual excavators than are other physical characteristics such as shape in plan, profile and dimensions. Whereas these latter aspects of features are either directly measurable or recorded in a form (*i.e*. site plans and section drawings) that can be re-evaluated during post-excavation analysis, the former cannot easily be reassessed once the archaeological feature is destroyed, even from a photograph. With these difficulties in mind, some flexibility has been exercised in defining the principal 'types' of fill recorded for the Iron Age pits at the site. Of the identified pit fills, 116 were recorded as being composed of silty sand or sandy silt. Although the relative proportions of these different constituents (sand and silt) in individual fills probably varied, these are all considered to represent approximately the same type of deposit. There were wide variations in colouration but by far the commonest fills were mid grey-brown (32%) and dark grey-brown (13%) silty sand. Without carrying out soil micro-morphological analysis it is almost impossible to define the events and formation processes which account for differences between fills. However, it is tentatively suggested that darker brown or blackish layers might indicate a greater degree of anthropogenic involvement in the infilling of a feature; that is, dark fills are more likely to derive from deliberate dumps of midden-type material. In contrast, lighter-coloured fills might result from either a gradual, largely natural, process of silting-up or, alternatively, a deliberate and rapid backfill using much the same material (*i.e.* the site's natural orange sandy gravel and yellowish-white chalk) as was originally removed during the digging of the pit. This is conjectural but using this principle as a basis for analysis some 28.5% of the pits would appear to have originally contained dumps of midden material, the majority (51.5%) of the pits had probably experienced a degree of deliberate dumping and a small proportion (13%) would appear to have either filled in naturally or been deliberately backfilled with largely natural material.

Preservation

As already described, the site had suffered extensive and in many places severe truncation during the construction of the dairy complex. This was both vertical *i.e.* localised disturbance from deep underground storage tanks, and horizontal *i.e.* total removal, over large areas, of the original subsurface deposits during the casting of concrete ground slabs. Some of the Iron Age pits were no more than shallow scoops (less than 10cm deep) in the surface of the natural chalk/ gravel and it was thought during the fieldwork that this was likely to be a direct result of modern truncation. However, if the locations of the surviving pits are actually plotted against areas of known ground disturbance (comprising the footprints of the dairy buildings as well as those areas which the trial trenching demonstrated had been subject to large-scale subsoil removal) this apparent relationship between pit depth and degree of truncation becomes less clear. Only 21 of the pits were located in areas which had been stripped down to the natural geology during the construction of the dairy. On average, they were not significantly shallower than pits located in non-truncated areas (mean 0.29m deep; median 0.21m deep) and several were within the upper depth range for all the Iron Age pits (0.60m+). In addition, several of the shallowest pits on the site were in apparently truncation-free areas. In order to properly

understand the original functions of the pits and the dynamics of their subsequent infilling it is of course vital to know whether we are seeing them in their entirety or in a truncated form. On the basis of the available evidence, it seems highly probable that we are seeing many of the pits in more-or-less their original state; at least some of the shallow pits were probably never much larger or deeper. This is supported by the observation made on site that the deeper pits tended to be dug into outcrops of natural chalk, while the shallower pits were usually dug into areas of sand and gravel. It is difficult to see how such a pattern could arise through differential preservation. Rather, it must reflect a deliberate choice of location on the part of the site's Iron Age inhabitants, perhaps associated with the intended functions of the different pits.

Finds

The vast majority (91%) of the middle to late Iron Age pits contained finds, usually a combination of pottery and animal bone, occasionally alongside burnt flint/ stone or fragments of baked clay. A 'typical' pit contained seven or eight sherds of pottery weighing around 100g and approximately 200g of animal bone. Plotting the occurrence of the main types of finds (pottery, animal bone etc.) across the excavation area shows an increasing density towards the south-east corner of the site, perhaps indicating proximity to the occupation areas where these objects were used and discarded (see below).

Functions

None of the pits displayed the characteristic bell-shaped profiles normally associated with Iron Age storage pits (e.g. Hill 1995, figs. 3.1 - 3.3). However, a number of pits which were circular in plan, fairly deep in relation to their widths, vertical-sided and flat-based, appear too 'regular' to have simply been created for dumping discarded rubbish. Nine pits, mainly located in the east of the site (Area 2), fall into this category (F2238, F2109, F2115, F2267, F2314, F2269, F2296, F2036 and F2257, the latter two in Areas 1 and 3, respectively; Fig. 39). These deeper pits were usually cut into outcrops of natural chalk and while the extracted chalk may have been utilised for something, the very 'clean' profiles of these features suggest that quarrying was not their primary purpose. The chalk is free-draining and in the absence of obvious clay linings, the pits would not have been much use for holding water. An association with a process requiring liquid, such as tanning or retting, is therefore unlikely. On balance, it seems plausible that these few pits were originally used for below-ground storage, perhaps of grain or other perishable commodities.

One or two of the larger pits, notably F2197 in Pit Cluster 7 (GR: D8; see below), which was roughly rectangular in plan with steep stepped sides and a flat base (3.43 x 1.98 x 0.73m), may have been used specifically for quarrying chalk. However, most of the other fairly small and shallow pits make little sense in terms of sand or chalk quarrying and were probably intended as rubbish pits from the outset.

The site had none of the 'pot-boiler'-type features (*i.e.* pits containing abundant amounts of burnt flint and showing signs of discolouration from high temperatures) which are common on prehistoric sites in the region. The burnt flint assemblages from the pits were all small, the largest in individual features being two pieces

(weighing just under 2kg) from Pit F2241 (Pit Cluster 3; GR: N9), 10 fragments (1079g) from Pit F2224 (Pit Cluster 5; GR: P7), 11 pieces (1131g) from Pit F2333 (Pit Cluster 5; GR: Q7) and seven pieces (973g) from Pit F2291 (Pit Cluster 5; GR: Q6). Heated stones might have been used in cooking and subsequently deposited in some of the pits together with hearth waste. However, as flint occurs naturally in the chalk and gravel geology of the site, these small quantities of burnt flint might simply represent stones that were accidentally incorporated into fires/ hearths rather than deliberately utilised.

Descriptions of the pit clusters

Pit Cluster 1

A loose concentration of pits was located in the north-east of Area 2 and continued beyond the limits of the excavation area (GR: P13 - Q11). During fieldwork, nine pits were assigned to this group (F2054, F2056, F2070, F2060, F2067, F2072, F2074, F2121 and F2117). However, the four smaller of these pits (F2060, F2072, F2074 and F2121) contained no finds (apart from the partial skeleton of a juvenile sheep/ goat and some other animal bone in Pit F2060) and were also rather different in size and profile to the five larger pits in the group, so are now considered to be undated. It is possible that they were modern and associated with the former dairy. The five phased pits (anticlockwise from the east side: F2054, F2056, F2070, F2067 and F2117) all contained small to moderate quantities of middle to late Iron Age pottery (for example, 19 sherds (48g) from the lower fill (L2069) of Pit F2056) and some quite large quantities of animal bone (compared to a 'typical' pit at the site). An assemblage of more than 3.3kg of animal bone from the central pit (F2070 (L2071)) was the second largest quantity found in any of the pits at the site. The appearances of the pits varied but (where visible) they were generally circular or oval in plan and an average of 1.50 x 1.31m across by 0.42m deep with steep straight or rounded sides and flat bases. The central 'pit' (F2070) extended beyond the limits of the site and was exceptionally large (3m+ across); it may actually have been part of a ditch terminus. The pits mostly contained single fills, which varied in colour and consistency but tended (more frequently than the other pit groups) to be fairly dark-coloured. All were composed of silty sand/ sandy silt. The northernmost pit in the group (F2056) was the only one to contain two fills: a lower fill of firm dark brown/ black silty sand with moderate charcoal inclusions (L2069) sealed by a layer of firm dark brown silty sand containing occasional flint and chalk (L2057).

Pit Cluster 2

Ten metres to the west was another cluster of five pits distributed in a north-west to south-east aligned row (described from north-west to south-east: F2062, F2083, F2084, F2076 and F2078; GR: N12 - P11). Only the two pits at the north end of the alignment (F2062 and F2083) contained Iron Age pottery (just a few sherds each). The three other pits are phased on the basis of their very similar dimensions, profiles and fills to the dated pits in the group and on the basis of their strong spatial relationship, continuing on the same north-west to south-east alignment. Two of the pits (F2083=F1120 and F2084=F1118) were recorded during the trial trench evaluation (Trench 9). The pits in this cluster were notably uniform in appearance, all being circular in plan and of similar dimensions (average: 1.53 x 1.34 x 0.28m),

usually with moderately-sloping concave sides and flat bases. Apart from the southernmost of the group (F2078), which had a slightly unusual (for the site) reddish-brown fill, all the pits contained a single fill of loose mid yellowish-brown silty sand. Several of the pits contained animal bone, although only in small quantities; a small fragment (<1g) of a copper-alloy ?ring (SF1a) was found in one pit (F2083=F1120) during the trial trench evaluation. A fragment of modern brick (Peachey, this report) was present in the southernmost of the group (F2078), but this is thought to be intrusive. Overall, the quantities of finds in the pits of Cluster 2 were small compared to the other pits on the site, almost certainly due to heavy truncation from the foundations of the overlying dairy building.

Pit Cluster 3

To the south-west and separated from Cluster 2 by a gap of 12m was a third group comprising 17 pits (described clockwise from the north: F2099, F2097, F2087, F2095, F2089, F2093, F2102, F2104, F2220=F1085, F1099, F2238=F1096, F2232, F2243, F2222, F2241=F1094, F2080 and F2236; GR: M10 - O8 - M9). These had an unusual layout, apparently forming a distinct circle 24m in diameter. As with Pit Cluster 2, the pits were uniform in appearance, almost all of them being circular, around 1.50m across by 0.20-0.30m deep (average: 1.55 x 1.43 x 0.24m) and flat-based. However, the profiles of their sides varied from near-vertical to gradually-sloping and rounded. The majority contained single fills of mid grey-brown silty sand which were typical for the pits on the site. Small quantities of middle to late Iron Age pottery (generally not more than 10 sherds in each) were found in almost all of the pits; animal bone was also nearly always present. By far the largest pottery assemblage (52 sherds weighing 965g; the second largest pottery assemblage from any of the Iron Age pits) came from a pit located on the east side of the cluster (F2238). This was more than twice the depth of most of the other pits in the area (0.51m), had two surviving fills (a lower fill of mid yellow-brown sand with frequent chalk (L2240), similar to the site's natural geology, and an upper fill of mid grey-brown silty sand (L2239)) and also contained the largest animal bone assemblage of the group (1730g). The pottery assemblage from the pit includes substantial portions of four vessels, including two with upright rims and shouldered, burnished bodies, one with an upright rim and ovoid, burnished body and one with an upright, fingertip-impressed rim and an ovoid body with scored decoration (Peachey, this report).

Another large animal bone assemblage (1566g) was found in the pit immediately to the south-west of F2238 (F2222), while the pit at the north-west edge of the cluster (F2099) contained fragments of a jar/ bowl with unusual tooled curvilinear decoration. Five of the pits in the cluster (F2087, F2095, F2093, F2220 and F2243) contained no diagnostic finds and are phased on the basis of their similar appearances to and their spatial relationships with the other pits in the group. One of these (F2087), at the northern edge of the cluster, yielded fragments of a coarse-woven cloth ?bag containing the bones of a neonate pig. While the survival of cloth fragments might suggest a relatively modern date, this pit was identical in appearance to the other pits of the group and formed part of the same 'arc', suggesting that it was a contemporary middle to late Iron Age feature.

The layout of the pits in Cluster 3 is difficult to interpret. Circular configurations of pits on Bronze and Iron Age sites might reasonably be interpreted as foundations for post-built roundhouses. However, the sizes/ profiles of the pits are not consistent with an interpretation as postholes and at 24m across any structure would have been more than twice the size of a typical roundhouse. It is perhaps just possible that the pits were originally postholes, which had been widened as a result of the process of dismantling the structure and removing the timber uprights from the foundations, although this seems unlikely based on the surviving evidence. In this scenario, the resultant large pits would then have formed convenient receptacles for depositing 'rubbish'. Alternatively, the roughly circular void in the middle of this ring of pits might indicate the position of a round structure without earth-fast foundations (possibly turf-walled) which has consequently left no archaeological trace. For convenience or perhaps because of some social (e.g. property ownership) or spatial (e.g. archaeologically-invisible fence-lines) constraint on the space which they were allowed to use, the occupants might have disposed of their rubbish in pits dug immediately outside/ around the building. Possible house sites represented by 10-12m wide empty spaces between clusters/ rows of rubbish pits were identified in the Roman settlement at Hacheston (Moore *et al*. 1988, 39 Ill. 21).

Pit Cluster 4

Approximately 10m east of Pit Cluster 3 was a dense group of 17 pits (described from north to south: F2109, F2141, F2139, F2137, F2146, F2115=F1083, F2321, F2151, F2153, F2155, F2325, F2327, F2323, F2267, F2319, F2317 and F2314; GR: P10 - P8). In contrast to the groups already described, where individual pits were spaced a few metres apart, these pits were tightly-clustered and frequently intercutting. They were generally circular or oval in plan, usually flat-based and on average slightly smaller than the pits to the north and west (average: 1.41 x 1.13 x 0.37m). Their profiles varied but they were frequently vertical or steep and straight-sided (accounting for 50% of the pits in the cluster compared to just 25% of the Iron Age pits overall). Three pits (F2142, F2129 and F2149) and three postholes (F2111, F2119 and F2144) which were initially included in this group (Adams 2008b) are now un-phased as they contained no chronologically-diagnostic finds and did not have any revealing stratigraphic or spatial relationships. One of these (F2129) contained the articulated skeletons of two large sheep (SK2132 and SK2133), which based on their size are almost certainly later post-medieval/ modern specimens (Morris, this report; see below). Pit F2125, containing the remains of an articulated dog, dated to the early Anglo-Saxon period, had also originally been assigned to Pit Cluster 4. Several other pits in the group (F2141, F2325, F2151 and F2155) contained no diagnostic finds but were probably Iron Age: three (F2141, F2151 and F2155) were cut by pits containing middle to late Iron Age pottery, the fourth (F2325) was the latest in a cluster of seven intercutting Iron Age pits. With one exception, the pits had a single fill, generally consisting of mid to dark greyish-brown silty sand. In general, fills in this cluster were often (48% of the pits) fairly dark in colour. One pit at the south end of the cluster (F2314), one of the earliest in the group of seven intercutting pits, survived to a greater depth than the others in Pit Cluster 4 (0.73m compared to the average depth for the group of 0.37m) and had two fills, a lower fill of compact dark brown silt (L2315) and an upper fill of similar colour and consistency, but with a higher sand content (L2316).

The pits in this cluster typically contained moderate assemblages of middle to late Iron Age pottery and fairly large quantities of animal bone. The largest pottery assemblage (72 sherds; 961g), mainly deriving from a complete small jar, came from the two fills of Pit F2314 (Plate 15; see below). Two discrete pits (F2137 and F2115) contained 'Belgic' sherds. The largest animal bone assemblage of the cluster (some 2.2kg+) came from Pit F2325. Other notable finds include 29 fragments (1273g) of baked clay loomweight (from the lower fill of Pit F2314 L2315) and a more-or-less complete cattle skull recorded as having been found 'placed upright at the east side of the base' of Pit F2267 (probably a disused storage pit; Plate 16). A relatively high proportion of the pits in this cluster (28%) contained no finds at all, perhaps suggesting that they were not primarily intended as receptacles for depositing 'rubbish'/ other cultural material. However, it is equally possible that they were used for the disposal of organic waste which has left little archaeological trace, a possibility which perhaps finds some support in the generally dark fill colour of the pits in this group.

Pit Cluster 5

The remaining middle to late Iron Age pit cluster in Area 2 was located towards the south-east corner of the site and comprised 34 pits (described from north to south: F2246, F2269, F2265, F2259, F2224, F2333, F2015, F2355, F2353, F2351, F2347, F2349, F2359, F2361, F2357, F2274, F2450=F1087, F2263, F2278, F2283, F2285, F2287, F2013, F2280, F1132, F1134, F2289, F2305, F2307, F2291, F2294, F2296, F2302, F2312; GR: P8 - N6 - Q6). The pits were far more scattered than in the other groups, although they became increasingly densely-packed and intercutting, and also larger, towards the south-eastern baulk. In comparison with the other better-defined pit clusters to the north their identification as a genuine discrete 'group' is tenuous. Four other pits were initially included within this group (F2261, F2254, F2226 and F2234; see Interim Site Narrative, Adams 2008b). However, these are now considered to be undated due to an absence of diagnostic finds and a lack of any strong spatial/ stratigraphic relationships. Several other pits (F2359, F2361 and F2283) have been included in this phase mainly on the basis of their similar appearances and their proximity to or contact with concentrations of other middle to late Iron Age features.

The pits in Cluster 5 had similar dimensions to those in the other pit groups, averaging 1.57 x 1.31m across by 0.32m deep. A few were slightly larger (2m or more across e.g. F2307 and F2291, in the south-east of the group, and F2450, in the north-west). In plan, the pits were marginally more variable than those in the other pit groups in Area 2: a slight majority were circular with a fairly large proportion being oval; two towards the south-west of the group were oblong (F2305) and square (F2289). They tended to have moderate to steep rounded sides and flat bases but there was again considerable variation. With a few exceptions, they contained single fills. The pits in Cluster 5 displayed the widest variation in fill colour and composition of all the pit groups but the majority nevertheless consisted of mid to dark grey-brown silty sand, typical for the site. Four pits (F2269, F2224, F2296 and F2302) contained multiple fill layers. The kinds and quantities of finds from pits in Cluster 5 were in keeping with those from the Iron Age pits as a whole. Nearly all contained middle to late Iron Age pottery; a notable assemblage of 22 large sherds (737g), deriving from at least five jars, was found in Pit F2333. Six pits in the group (F2246,

F2263, F2013, F2287, F2280 and F2274) contained sherds which are in 'Belgic' fabrics or forms, suggesting that these features were not in-filled until the latter half of the 1st century BC at the earliest. Animal bone was also fairly ubiquitous, with 2kg or more in some pits (e.g. F2246, F2291 and F2278). Part of a cattle skull, recorded as coming from 'the base at the south side of the feature, in a position reminiscent of the cattle skull found in Pit F2267 (Pit Cluster 4)', was found in large Pit F2307. Several of the pits (F2280, F2278 and F2291) are recorded as having horn cores and pig and cattle mandibles 'deposited at their bases'. Burnt flint and residual Neolithic struck flint were also common. Only a single pit (F2361) contained no finds. Overall, the pits in this group had few remarkable characteristics and did not display any clear trends. An intrusive modern mortar fragment (9g) was present in Pit F2280.

Pit in north of Area 1

A single pit (F2007) was located in the north of Area 1 (GR: C16). There were no other pits in the vicinity, but this apparently isolated pit could easily have been associated with a group of features just to the west, beyond the limit of the excavation area. It was oval in plan (1.87 x 1.42 x 0.23m) with near-vertical sides, an irregular flat base and a single fill of loose dark brown silty sand. It contained sand-and-flint tempered Iron Age pottery (7; 112g) and animal bone (168g). Apart from its apparent isolation, the pit was not unusual.

Pit Cluster 6

A small group of pits was located in the centre of Area 1, close to the western site boundary and also to one of the entranceways into Enclosure 2 (GR: B13 - C13). It comprised six pits (described anticlockwise from the north: F2019, F2046, F2022, F2036, F2049 and F2024). They were mainly circular, around 1.50m across by 0.36m deep (average: 1.58 x 1.42 x 0.36m) and flat-based and mostly had steep concave to vertical sides. They had single loose silty sand fills of varying colour, apart from the northernmost pit (F2019; Plate 10), the fill of which had a firmer consistency. All contained middle to late Iron Age pottery and animal bone. While the quantities of animal bone were all fairly small (averaging 106g), there were some notable ceramic assemblages, particularly the group of 53 sherds (1547g) in Pit F2046 (L2047) and the 52 sherds (300g) from Pit F2024 (L2025). All the sand-and-flint tempered sherds from Pit F2046 belong to a near-complete large jar or bowl (*c*. 240mm in diameter) with a slightly everted rim, a sinuous weak-shouldered profile and scored decoration (see below). It is possible that the relatively low occurrence of animal bone and the contrasting abundance of pottery in this small cluster of features points to some zoning of different types of activity at the site, although the pottery distribution is skewed by the presence of the more-or-less complete vessel within Pit F2046. The close spatial relationship between this pit group and a focal point of the enclosure system (an entranceway) contrasts with the apparently open area away from the enclosures where the majority of the middle to late Iron Age pits were concentrated. However, this apparent patterning might disappear if large parts of the site had not been truncated and had the excavation area not been such an irregular shape. One of the pits (F2049) slightly cut the terminus of one of the final ditches of Enclosure 2 (F2030); another (F2024) was cut through one of the ditches of Enclosure 1 (F2009). An additional pit (F2052), located 10m to the south, was

included in this group in the Interim Report (Adams 2008b). However, it was probably earlier than the pits in Cluster 6 (it was cut by Ditch F2030), was separated from them by some distance, was larger and less regular in plan and contained no diagnostic finds (only a small quantity of animal bone and struck flint), so is now considered to be un-phased.

Pit Cluster 7

Pit Cluster 7 was located towards the south-west of the site (west of Area 3). It comprised 12 pits distributed on a roughly north-east to south-west alignment (described from north-east to south-west: F2197=F1124=F1126, F1107, F2212, F1031, F2186, F2184, F2193=F1035, F2202=F1037, F2206, F2208, F2257=F1057 and F2204; GR: D8 - B6). At least one pit (F2186) post-dated the final demarcation of Enclosure 2. Several other pits (F2214, F2377, F2452, F2210 and F2436), mainly located some distance to the south-east (close to the corner of Enclosures 1 and 2), were originally thought to belong to this group but are now un-phased due to a lack of associated finds/ revealing stratigraphic relationships. The pits in Pit Cluster 7 tended on the whole to be slightly larger than the site 'norm', having average dimensions of 1.74 x 1.50 x 0.43m. The range in size between the different pits in the cluster was also greater than with the other pit groups (apart from Pit Cluster 8, see below). Several were exceptionally large, including the pit at the north-east end of the alignment (F2197; 3.43 x 1.98 x 0.73m) and the immediately adjacent pit to its south-west (F2212; 2.15 x 1.81 x 0.21m). The pits were mainly circular in plan with variable but usually rounded sides and largely flat bases. Most had a single fill consisting of silty sand, most often mid grey-brown in colour. They generally contained pottery and animal bone but in small quantities (average five sherds/ 50g of pottery and just 70g of animal bone – some of the smallest amounts from any of the Iron Age pits).

Several of the pits in the group were unusual, both in comparison with other pits in the cluster and relative to the Iron Age pits as a whole. As already described, Pit F2197 (Plate 11) was very large; it was also different in plan (rectangular with rounded corners) and profile (steep, stepped sides) to most of the other Iron Age pits, had five separate fills and contained relatively few finds, particularly considering its size (231g of animal bone, five sherds (25g) of middle to late Iron Age pottery, mainly within its upper fill). The pit was initially identified, in Evaluation Trench 16, as part of an Iron Age ditch (F1124, F1126). The pit was dug into a localised outcrop of chalk in the otherwise mainly sandy western part of the site; it is possible that it was used at least initially for small-scale chalk extraction. Another pit (F2186; GR: C7) located in the approximate centre of the cluster was far deeper than average (0.91m), had steep straight sides and a flattish base, contained two fills, but again contained relatively few finds (184g of animal bone and seven sherds (62g) of Iron Age pottery). At the south-west end of the group, Pit F2257, which was similar to the other pits except for its near-vertical-sided profile, contained an articulated human skeleton (SK1; SK2218) along with six sherds (102g) of middle to late Iron Age pottery (see below). With a few possible exceptions, these were the only human remains found in a securely-dated Iron Age context.

Pit in south-west of Area 3

A single apparently isolated pit was located in the far south-west corner of the site (F2389; GR: B2). As with the isolated pit in the north of Area 1 (F2007), it could have been related to other features just outside the limits of the excavation area. It was circular in plan (1.71 x 1.58m wide) with steep, straight sides and a flat base; it was also fairly deep compared to a 'typical' pit (0.73m). It contained two fills: a basal layer of dark brown/ black silty sand (L2390), which could represent a deposit of decayed organic material, and a more natural-looking loose light orangey-brown silty sand (L2391) upper fill which is more likely to have resulted from natural silting/ infilling with wind-blown sand. The former contained a moderate quantity of animal bone (312g); a couple of small sherds (16g) of middle to late Iron Age pottery and 24g of animal bone were found in the upper fill.

Pit Cluster 8

Seven scattered pits were located in the south of the site in the wide 'corridor' between Enclosures 2 and 3 (described from west to east: F2413, F2406, F2439, F2417, F2428, F2421 and F2419; GR: E4 - L5). Like Pit Cluster 5, the pits were frequently spaced some distance apart and identification as a discrete group is somewhat arbitrary. However, several of the pits did share common characteristics. Typically, the pits in this area were larger than average (mean: 2.10 x 1.71 x 0.41m); several of the largest Iron Age pits on the site were in this group (F2413 (3.50 x 2.10 x 0.26m), F2406 (2.38 x 2.34 x 0.90m) and F2417 (3.60 x 2.80 x 0.30m)). Pits in this area were also a little less regular in shape and they tended to have more gradual or moderately-sloping profiles than usual, with fewer steep-sided pits present than in the other pit groups. A slightly greater than normal proportion had concave rather than flat bases. Although none of these differences in morphology were stark, overall, the variations in form between pits in this group and those in other areas of the site might point to differences of function. Their fills were unremarkable, generally comprising single layers of mid greyish-brown silty sand, although two of the pits (F2406 and F2421) each had two separate fills. The lower fill of Pit F2406 (L2407) and the fill of Pit F2439 (L2440) were both dark brown/ black, possibly indicating the original presence of organic material. Finds assemblages from this pit group were fairly standard, normally comprising small quantities of middle to late Iron Age pottery and animal bone. Only one pit contained no animal bone (F2406). The largest animal bone assemblage from the site (6kg) came from Pit F2417, towards the east end of the group. One pit (F2439) contained sherds from a Belgic vessel.

<u>Unusual pit deposits</u> (Figs. 35 - 36)

'Pit Burial' F2257 (Plates 12 - 13)

One of the pits at the south-west end of Pit Cluster 7 (F2257; west of Area 3; GR: B6) contained an articulated human skeleton (SK1; SK2218). The skeleton was orientated roughly north to south with the skull facing upwards and the jaw open, the left hand resting inside the mouth and the left arm flexed back across the chest. The right forearm was raised above the head with the arm flexed at the elbow and the trunk of the body was twisted over towards the right-hand (east) side. The legs were higher than the rest of the body and extended up the north side of the pit, above the

trunk. Overall, the contorted position of the body strongly suggested that it had been thrown into the pit in a careless or even violent fashion rather than carefully positioned as might be expected in a 'funerary' context.

The skeleton is largely complete and appears to belong to a young woman aged between 17 and 20, most likely at the younger end of this range (Leach, this report). The individual would have been below average size (5′ 1″) and the skeletal evidence indicates that she had lived a relatively hard life. There is evidence of chronic mechanical stress, particularly to the muscles of the upper left arm, reflecting high levels of mechanical loading beyond the capacity of the musculoskeletal system to endure. The individual also has a healed fracture of the right clavicle and dental anomalies/ enamel wear which appear to relate to some form of dental use for processing or gripping *i.e*. as a 'third hand' (Leach, this report).

The burial pit itself was little different to many of the other Iron Age pits on the site. It was circular in plan, measured *c*. 1.40 by 1.35m across by 0.56m deep, had near-vertical sides and a flat base and contained a single fill of loose mid orangey-brown silty sand with occasional flint inclusions (L2258). Seven sherds (112g) of middle to late Iron Age pottery were present in the fill, alongside a residual Mesolithic microlith (4g). The finds are more in keeping with either accidental inclusions or discarded 'rubbish' rather than representing deliberately-placed grave goods. The regular profile of the pit and its greater than average depth suggest that it may have been a disused storage pit. However, unlike the majority of the other former storage pits on the site, it was cut into an area of sandy drift rather than an outcrop of natural chalk. Overall, the context in which the individual was buried appears typical of the Iron Age pits on the site and was in no way unusual or 'special'.

It is clear that the body was disposed of either carelessly or callously, rather than with the care one normally associates with an act of burial. Similar 'pit burials' have been found on numerous other Iron Age sites.

Pig burial in Pit F2087 (Plate 14)

The northernmost of the 'arc' of pits which formed Pit Cluster 3 (F2087; Area 2; GR: N10) contained fragments of a coarse-woven cloth bag (SF1b) and the bones of a partial neonate pig (290g). Although the preservation of textile fragments might imply a relatively modern date for the feature, the pit was of identical size (1.60 x 1.54 x 0.25m) and circular plan to the other middle to late Iron Age pits in Cluster 3 and formed part of the same distinct circular configuration, suggesting that it was contemporary. On the west and south-east sides of the pit, it was flanked (and cut by) by two large postholes (F2107 and F2091, respectively) which probably originally held markers of some kind. The pit itself had moderate rounded sides, an irregular flat base and a single fill of loose dark grey-brown silty sand (L2088). The postholes were around 0.30m across and 0.40 - 0.50m deep.

Complete vessels and other possibly 'placed' deposits (Plate 15)

Only two complete pottery vessels were found on the site, although large portions of numerous other pots were found in some contexts (for example, the substantial portions of four vessels contained in Pit F2238; see Peachey, this report). The

complete vessels were found in Pits F2314 (Pit Cluster 4; Area 2; GR: P8) and F2046 (Pit Cluster 6; Area 1; GR: B13).

Pit F2314 contained the cross-joining body sherds of a complete small jar (diameter 120mm; height 110mm) with an upright/ slightly everted rim and traces of soot on the exterior suggestive of use as a cooking pot (Peachey, this report). It was present alongside small numbers of sherds from several other vessels. The pit also contained some 990g of animal bone, several pieces of residual early Neolithic struck flint including a hammerstone, a burnt flint (6g) and a large piece of a triangular baked clay loomweight (now fragmented; 1273g). The jar sherds were concentrated together within the pit fill, suggesting that the jar had been more-or-less complete when deposited and perhaps only slightly broken. It was probably crushed either during the process of deposition (by being thrown into the pit) or by the weight of the backfill and subsequent movement over the surface of the in-filled feature. The excavator noted that the loomweight fragment appeared to have been placed centrally within the lower fill of the pit (L2315), with the complete vessel found directly above it at the bottom of the secondary fill layer (L2316) (Adams 2008b, 61).

The pit itself (F2314) was large and deep (1.93 x 1.62 x 0.73m) with vertical sides and a slightly irregular flat base. It was probably a disused storage pit. It contained two fills: a lower deposit (L2315) of compact dark brown silt and an upper layer (L2316) of compact dark grey-brown silty sand. It was one of the earliest in a cluster of seven intercutting middle to late Iron Age pits. During fieldwork, the presence of unusual finds (the complete vessel and loomweight fragment) combined with the pit's early stratigraphic position, were thought to be potentially significant, perhaps indicating some form of placed 'foundation' deposit around which the later pits in the group were deliberately clustered.

While possible, other considerations weigh against this interpretation. Perhaps most significant is the evidence for the 'history' of the loomweight immediately prior to its deposition in the pit. Apart from a single small piece (36g) in one of the enclosure ditches (F2369 Seg. A), all the loomweight fragments found on the site were contained in pits located towards the south-east corner of Area 2 (Fig. 43). The largest concentration was that within Pit F2314 but small groups of fragments, usually of just a few grams each, were present in five other pits located to the south and west (F2265 (GR: P8), F2263 (GR: O7), F2450 (GR: O7), F2269 (GR: P8) and F2333 (GR: Q7)). All the pits containing loomweight fragments were within *c.* 20m of one another. The abraded condition and the spatial distribution of the fragments give the strong impression that they all derive from a single weight, originally present as above-ground occupation debris in this area of the site, which subsequently became fragmented and incorporated into the fills of several closely-spaced pits through largely natural processes.

If this is correct, then the large piece of loomweight in Pit F2314 looks less like a deliberate deposit and more like general midden material which became incorporated into the pit by chance. By extension, it is then difficult to see how the complete vessel in the upper fill of the pit could represent a 'foundation' deposit. When it was deposited, the pit would appear to have already been open for some time (following the likely end of its use as a storage pit) and to have been naturally infilling with small quantities of occupation debris from the surrounding area. The

complete vessel may simply represent the deliberate dumping of an unwanted worn or slightly broken/ chipped cooking pot in a convenient open hollow.

The other complete vessel was found in Pit F2046, in the far north-west of the site. The pit was large (2.00 x 1.92 x 0.33m), circular in plan with steep concave sides and a flat base and had a single fill of loose reddish-brown silty sand. Its relatively shallow depth in relation to its width suggests that unlike F2314, it was not a disused storage pit (nor was it located in an area which had been obviously subject to any significant ground disturbance). The vessel is a large (diameter *c*. 240mm) jar or bowl in a sand-and-flint-tempered fabric with a slightly everted rim, sinuous weak-shouldered profile and scored decoration (Peachey, this report). It was found fragmented into some 53 sherds (1547g) and although it was apparent during excavation that the majority of the sherds belonged to a single vessel, they were not found together in a concentration like the in-situ crushed vessel in Pit F2314. The pit also contained 108g of animal bone. The location of the pit immediately adjacent to one of the entranceways into Enclosure 2 (just west of the gap between Ditches F1021 and F2030) may be significant and contrasts with the open area, away from the contemporary enclosures, where the other complete vessel was found. 'Special' deposits of complete whole pots and other unusual objects have been found adjacent to important boundaries and entranceways at other Iron Age sites (e.g. Maiden Castle (Lally 2008)). They might have served to emphasise the 'liminal' nature of such locations or could have been propitiatory offerings intended to secure divine/ supernatural protection for whatever (e.g. crops, livestock or dwellings) was located inside the enclosed space. However, numerous other entranceways to the Iron Age enclosures had no signs of similar unusual/ placed deposits. The fragmented state of the vessel and the distribution of sherds throughout the pit fill suggest that it was already broken when it was buried. Accidental breakage perhaps offers a simple but convincing 'practical' reason for its deposition in the pit.

Pits with large finds assemblages

Thirteen Iron Age pits (F2067 (GR: P12), F2070 (GR: P12), F2238 (GR: O9), F2222 (GR: N9), F2325 (GR: P9), F2246 (GR: P8), F2269 (GR: P8), F2224 (GR: P7), F2333 (GR: Q7), F2278 (GR: O7), F2291 (GR: Q6), F2296 (GR: Q6) and F2417 (GR: K5 - K4)) contained particularly large quantities of animal bone. For the present purposes, this is defined as more than 1kg of bone, compared to the average pit assemblage of 184g (the median weight of animal bone present in all of the Iron Age pits). All the bone-rich pits were located in the east of the site. Half were in Pit Cluster 5, in the south-east corner of the excavation area. This distribution pattern matched the distribution of other types of cultural material, including pottery and burnt flint (see below).

Pits containing large animal bone assemblages tended to be bigger than other pits (1.47 times larger on average), although their depths were generally similar. Morphologically, they were little different to the site norm, generally being circular or oval in plan. Differences in fill between bone-rich pits and 'typical' pits were more pronounced: more than 28% had multiple fills compared to just 12% of the pits overall. Fill composition was also more variable with several bone-rich pits (18.2%) having fills other than silty sand. One pit in Cluster 3 (F2238) had a lower fill (L2240) of compact, natural-looking, yellowish-brown sandy chalk overlain by a layer of loose

mid grey-brown silty sand (L2239) which contained the vast majority of the animal bone and other finds. The overall impression is of a pit which was initially dug for a purpose other than 'rubbish' disposal (probably storage), which was left open and weathering for a time before later having a deposit of midden material dumped into it. A pit in the far south-east corner of the site (Pit F2296; Cluster 5) showed a more complex but similar sequence of infilling comprising alternating layers of brown silty sand (L2297, L2299 and L2301) separated by chalk lenses (L2298 and L2300). All the silty sand layers contained finds, although the majority of the animal bone (1162g of 1455g) was contained in the upper fill (L2301). In this instance, it appears that a pre-existing pit was either being periodically used for depositing small quantities of material or that small amounts of occupation 'debris' were finding their way into the open pit through natural processes. In between, perhaps over several winters, the open sides of the pit were naturally weathered, resulting in collapses of chalk from the sides of the pit. It was probably only the final infilling of the pit that represents a deliberate deposit of 'rubbish'.

Of the fourteen pits that contained large quantities of animal bone, eight contained ABG's. Two features contained more than one ABG; Pit F2246 produced a sheep/goat fore limb, which may not have been articulated in the burial environment, but the remains come from the same animal, as well as an almost complete young dog and Pit F2291 contained white-tailed eagle bones, a cow foot (which may not have been articulated in the burial environment) and a horse mandible and maxilla. Three ABG's comprised cattle and sheep/goat limbs (F2222, F2291 and F2246), however, it is unclear whether these were deposited in articulation. Another cattle ABG contained an articulated vertebral column and ribs. The remaining four large assemblages of animal bones were complete or semi-complete burials of a neonate sheep/goat, a pig and a dog, which have been discussed above. The presence of a neonate sheep/goat suggests that breeding may have been occurring in the vicinity of the site. Such deposits of articulated or associated bone groups are not uncommon and they have been recorded on over 50% of Iron Age sites in southern England (Morris 2008a; 2010).

Where large quantities of animal bone were present, pottery also tended to be far more abundant than usual. On average, bone-rich pits contained around 13 sherds (217g) of pottery compared to just 7.6 sherds (105g) in a 'typical' pit. Finds of other objects, such as burnt flint and loomweight fragments, were also more common in the pits with large animal bone assemblages (being present 43% of cases compared to just 22% overall).

On the whole, rich animal bone assemblages tended to be found in pits which were larger than average, had a more complex and varied sequence of infilling than 'typical' pits and which also contained greater than usual quantities of other finds. The differences were not pronounced, except perhaps the frequency with which animal-bone-rich pits had multiple fills. Given that bone-rich pits were on average little different in depth to other pits (0.40m compared to the site norm of 0.38m), differential preservation is unlikely to account for all of these differences. Several of the pits (e.g. F2238 and F2296, both of which were deeper than average) showed signs of having originally had another purpose rather than being created specifically in order to receive deposits of animal bone. Deposition of large quantities of finds in these pits was a secondary use after they had already been open and left to weather

for some time. The other bone-rich pits had only single fills, but this sheds no light on whether they were dug specifically in order to receive large deposits of waste material or whether they were pre-existing pits, originally with another function, which were quickly and deliberately backfilled with this material simply because they were convenient receptacles for unwanted 'rubbish'.

Quantities of pottery found in the pits were less variable. Five pits (F2238 (GR: 09), F2314 (GR: P8), F2333 (GR: Q7), F2046 (GR: B13) and F2024 (GR: C13)) contained much larger than normal pottery assemblages (averaging 50 sherds weighing 912g compared to the site norm of 7.6 sherds weighing 105g). Three of these (F2238, F2314 and F2333) were located amid the dense clusters of pits in the east and south-east of the site (Area 2; Pit Clusters 3, 4 and 5). Two (F2046 and F2024) were located in the north-west of the site (Area 1; Pit Cluster 6). The location of the latter two pits, close to the Iron Age enclosures and to a focal point of the enclosure system (an entranceway into Enclosure 2), is notable compared to the locations of the other three pottery-rich pits.

Pottery-rich pits tended, like those containing abundant animal bone, to be larger than average (on average 1.49 times bigger than 'typical' pits). They were generally not unusual in plan or profile. All the pottery-rich pits also contained animal bone. The three in the east of the site contained well above average amounts (mean 1367g). However, those in the north-west contained below average amounts (108 and 22g, respectively). A 'normal' proportion of pottery-rich pits contained other finds such as burnt flint and baked clay.

3.6.4 Other Iron Age features (Figs. 37 - 38)

Possible structural features

A single posthole (F2017) with steep straight/ slightly irregular sides and a flat base (0.32m wide x 0.42m deep) was located close to the western edge of Area 1 (GR: C14). It contained frequent medium to large flints, two sherds (8g) of broadly prehistoric pottery and a small quantity of animal bone. Its position immediately adjacent to several of the middle to late Iron Age enclosure ditches, and in the entranceway to the final demarcation of Enclosure 2 (in the gap between Ditches F1021 and F2030), suggests that it may have been related to some kind of gate, fence or other entrance structure.

In the north-west corner of Enclosure 3 (GR: D3), a few metres from enclosing Ditches F2345 and F2381, was a shallow roughly circular spread of loose dark brown/ grey silty sand (F2438; 3.10 x 2.51 x 0.15m). Although another subsoil spread located immediately to the north-east had the appearance of a flood-borne silt layer, this spread was more regular in plan and contained a fairly large quantity of finds, including 15 sherds (126g) of pottery and over a kilogram of animal bone. Both characteristics suggest that this might instead represent an occupation layer, perhaps originally on the inside of a small ancillary structure. Alternatively, though less likely given its regular shape in plan, it might have been the truncated remnant of a surface midden. The pottery assemblage includes both fingernail-impressed middle Iron Age sherds and fragments from a carinated Belgic bowl with a plain shoulder cordon, suggesting a date in the last century before the Roman conquest.

Approximately 50m to the north-east, in the corridor between Enclosures 2 and 3 (GR: H5), was a narrow curvilinear gully (F2402) which is also likely to have had a structural function. The exposed portion of the feature entered the site from the truncated central area and ran south-eastwards for around 4m before being cut by a modern drain. However, the fact that it did not appear to continue on the other side of the drain suggests that it probably originally terminated at about this point. It was 'u'-shaped in section, measuring *c*. 0.25m wide by 0.38m (max.) deep, but had clearly suffered from a degree of horizontal truncation in addition to the localised disturbance from the dairy foundations/ drains. After a gap of at least 3m (GR: I5), another short gully of similar 'u'-shaped profile and dimensions (F2457; 3.70 x 0.32 (max.) x 0.21m (max.)) may have been associated. Although heavily-disturbed by animal burrowing along its north side, the main south-west to north-east aligned portion of this feature was very similar to F2402. Both gullies contained single fills of loose mid to dark greyish-brown silty sand; between them, they yielded four sherds (32g) of middle to late Iron Age pottery. Together, the gullies formed a roughly semi-circular arrangement approximately 11m across, which extended beyond the excavation area to the north. Their shape in plan, together with their narrow, steep-sided profiles, is suggestive of a structural slot for the foundations of a roundhouse. However, their relatively ephemeral nature, combined with the complete absence of any trace of associated postholes, weighs against this interpretation. Interestingly, a small undated pit (F2172), located immediately adjacent to the likely position of the terminus of the western gully (F2402; GR: H5), contained the burial of a perinate baby (see below). Burials of infants and small children in the foundations/ entranceways of buildings is relatively well-attested during the Iron Age, perhaps reinforcing the identification of these features as being related to a structure of some kind. Alternatively, and again based largely on the presence of this unusual burial, the two gullies could have been parts of a lightweight funerary structure or shrine.

Possible fencelines

A narrow linear gully (F2430) ran east to west across the south of the site, through the eastern half of Area 3 (GR: I5 - K5). It had moderately-sloping rounded sides and a concave base (0.29m wide x 0.07m deep) and ran for around 23m on a roughly parallel alignment to the northern boundary of Enclosure 3 (Ditch F2345), which was approximately 6m to the south. Both ends of the gully had been truncated by modern ground disturbance. Although it did not contain any finds, it was cut by a middle to late Iron Age pit (F2428; GR: K5) and shared the alignment of the middle to late Iron Age enclosures, suggesting that it was orientated with respect for them. It was a fairly ephemeral feature but could feasibly have been the truncated foundation slot for a fenceline dividing the corridor between Enclosures 2 and 3 into two. It was located close to the possible roundhouse structure represented by Gullies F2402 and F2457 and could have been associated with the division of space around the building. Alternatively, the fenceline might have formed part of a system for sorting livestock as they moved down the track/ droveway between the central and southern enclosures.

Around 15m to the east was another narrow gully running on the same alignment (F2310; GR: M5 - O5). It was at least 15m long with moderate to steep rounded sides (up to 0.60m wide x 0.35m deep, but frequently narrower and shallower), a

concave base and a loose orangey-brown sandy silt and gravel fill not dissimilar to the site's natural geology. It continued eastwards beyond the site; its west end was disturbed by a roughly circular depression caused by rooting. It contained a single sherd (18g) of Iron Age pottery, a mussel shell and two pieces of residual struck flint. It was not a direct continuation of the fence-line to the west (represented by Gully F2430), as it was slightly offset to the north, but it could represent the foundation slot for a related fence.

3.6.5 Finds distribution and zoning of activity (Figs. 39 - 43)

The distribution of pottery and animal bone across the site (Figs. 39 - 41) suggests several possible focuses of Iron Age activity, where the pottery might have been used for cooking and storage and the animal bones discarded following butchery/ consumption of the animals. There was also some variation in the distribution of different categories of finds, which might indicate 'zoning' of different economic and subsistence activities.

Concentrations of pottery were present in the north-west of the site (centre of Area 1; GR: B13 - C13), towards the south-west (west of Area 3; GR: B6 and D5 - D4) and, particularly, in the east and south-east of the excavation area (south-east of Area 2; GR: O9 - Q6) (Figs. 39 and 40). Pottery was ubiquitous in Iron Age features across the whole of the excavated area but was generally present in fairly small quantities relative to these larger concentrations. The distribution of burnt flint/ burnt stone followed more-or-less the same pattern with by far the largest (although still small) quantities found in pits in the south-east of Area 2 and only occasional pieces in the west of the site (Fig. 42). Although broadly similar, the distribution of animal bone showed some important differences: in contrast to the relatively high concentrations of pottery in features towards the south-west of the site, the quantities of animal bone found here were less pronounced than in many other areas (Fig. 41). Interestingly, a significant animal bone assemblage (1kg+) from a possible occupation layer in the north-west corner of Enclosure 3 (L2438; GR: D3) was not mirrored by a similarly large concentration of pottery in the same location. The largest assemblage of animal bone on the site (6kg), found in a pit (F2417) in the 'corridor' between Enclosures 2 and 3 (GR: K5 - K4), was also located in an area where there was comparatively little pottery. The vast majority of animal bone, like the pottery, was found in pits concentrated in the east of the site (Area 2). However, there were again subtle differences. Whereas pottery tended to be concentrated mainly towards the far south-east corner of the excavation area, large quantities of animal bone were found in pits across Area 2, including the northern part of this area where there were relatively few ceramic finds.

Due to the large central area of the site which had been truncated by the dairy buildings, it is possible that these apparent distribution patterns were a result of differential preservation rather than reflecting 'real' focuses of middle to late Iron Age activity. However, there are some slight indications that the patterns are genuine and could therefore reflect the original distribution of certain kinds of activity on the Iron Age site. Particularly significant is the way in which the pits in Area 2 became increasingly rich in pottery and (to an even greater extent) animal bone towards the eastern edge of the site, away from the central, truncated, area. With the exception of the single large animal bone assemblage (Pit F2417) mentioned above, features

in the 'corridor' between Enclosures 2 and 3 (south of Area 3; GR: E5 - L4) also contained relatively few finds. If the truncated/ unexcavated spaces inside the enclosure ditches had been occupied by domestic dwellings, we might expect to find more occupation debris deposited in this narrow space close to the enclosures. The increasing density of pits and associated cultural material towards the east and south-east of the site mirrors the distribution of features at middle Iron Age Winnall Down, where there was an increasing density of pits and occupation debris towards several substantial roundhouses (Fasham 1985).

However, it should be borne in mind that the distribution of pottery and animal bone within archaeological features does not necessarily reflect the areas of the site where the pottery vessels and animals were originally being utilised. After they had reached the end of their 'functional' lives, objects might have been deliberately disposed of away from direct settlement areas. Such treatment might arise from a concern for cleanliness or a desire (readily understandable from a modern Western viewpoint) not to pollute the area immediately around dwellings with odorous/ potentially hazardous decaying waste material. Hill (1995, 16) highlights the way in which archaeological deposits can reflect everyday attitudes to dirt and pollution and the refuse maintenance strategies adopted in response. With this in mind, it is possible that the 'focuses' of activity suggested by finds distribution actually just represent the areas which were deemed the most suitable locations for disposing of unwanted 'rubbish'. Pottery, animal bone and other 'waste' material may have been gathered up from core settlement areas, perhaps some distance away, and brought to these locations for disposal. As such, it is theoretically possible that dense concentrations of finds might actually, on some settlement sites, reflect increasing distance *away from* occupation areas: the reverse of what is normally argued in excavation reports.

Certainly, there seems to have been a clear preference for depositing pottery, animal bone and other cultural material, such as burnt flint, in pits rather than the enclosure ditches (Figs. 44 & 45). Nearly 82% of the Iron Age pottery was found in pits, compared to just 16.2% in the ditches. The bias in favour of deposition in pits was even more pronounced with animal bone (88.3% was found in pit fills). This distribution pattern might in part be due to preservation conditions *i.e*. preservation of both pottery and animal bone is likely to have been better in pits, which were presumably relatively rapidly filled in, than in open ditches which were left to fill in gradually and were subject to regular re-cutting and scouring clean. However, such a large difference can only be ascribed to a deliberate preference in favour of disposal in pits. Rather than simply allowing 'rubbish' to accumulate and work its way into any open boundary ditches and hollows, the site's middle to late Iron Age inhabitants either regularly or periodically collected it up and deposited it in pits located in specific areas.

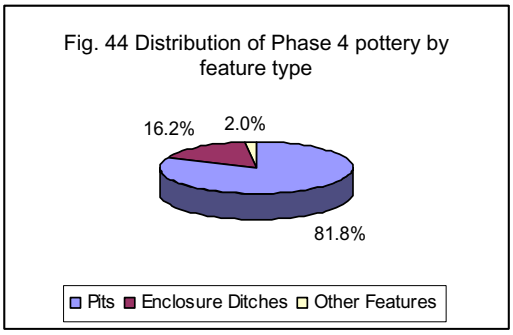

Fig. 44 Distribution of Phase 4 pottery by feature type

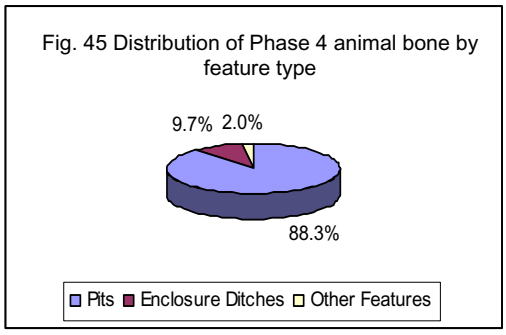

Fig. 45 Distribution of Phase 4 animal bone by feature type

3.7 Phase 6: early Anglo-Saxon (*c.* AD 410 - 650) (Plate 17)

At the northern edge of Phase 5 Pit Cluster 4 was a shallow pit (F2124; Area 2; GR: P10) containing the fully-articulated skeleton of a very large dog (SK2126). Pit F2124 was roughly rectangular in plan with rounded corners and the long axis orientated north to south and had gradually-sloping concave sides and a flattish base (1.55 x 0.90 x 0.15m). It appeared to have been dug specifically in order to bury the dog as it was of exactly the right dimensions to contain the skeleton and the pit's east side appeared to follow the curvature of the animal's body. The skeleton was complete, aligned north to south with the head facing north and appeared to have been laid out carefully with the legs slightly flexed in an approximation of a running position. The elements are particularly robust raising the possibility that the animal is a wolf rather than dog, though the proportions of the skull counter this. The remains also display pathologies consistent with tuberculosis (TB).

As TB is a zoonoses, we could speculate that this disease was also present in the human population. However, there is no evidence of TB in the UK human population until the Romano-British period (Roberts and Cox 2003, 119). The large size of the remains also attest to a later date, being more reminiscent of Anglo-Saxon breeds (Harcourt 1974). Subsequent radiocarbon analysis of SK2126, carried out by Beta Analytic, Miami (USA), returned a calibrated date of AD 560-650, placing it firmly within the early Anglo-Saxon period (Mustchin and Beta Analytic, this report).

The loose dark grey-brown silty sand backfill (L2125) of the pit contained moderate chalk and flint inclusions, an iron fragment (1; <1g), burnt stone (1; 20g), residual struck flint (1; 4g) and one small (<1g) fragment of residual middle to late Iron Age pottery. A similar pit, containing the articulated remains of two large, modern sheep, was located *c.* 7m to the south.

3.8 Significant undated features

3.8.1 Perinate baby burial (F2172) (Figs. 46 - 47)

A small pit (F2172) located in the middle of Area 3 close to the unexcavated central baulk (GR: H5) was initially thought, due to the very small fragments of human bone present, to represent an un-urned 'token' cremation (it was recorded on site as 'Cremation 4'). However, following analysis of the human bone, the deposit was found to be the partial non-burnt remains of an infant, who probably died around the time of birth (Leach, this report). The deposit includes fragments of the cranium, rib and vertebral arches (unfused). A fish (pike) vertebra, which seems to have been

deliberately pierced through for stringing onto a cord (a necklace or bracelet?), was also present (see below).

The baby burial pit was identical in appearance to the Phase 4 cremation deposits, being roughly circular in plan (0.67 x 0.34 x 0.09m) with moderately-steep sides, an irregular flat base and a dark grey-brown/ black silty sand fill. Like the cremations, the pit was located in an area of the site away from the dense concentrations of middle to late Iron Age features, on the 'trackway' between Enclosures 2 and 3. Its location immediately adjacent to the terminus of a small middle to late Iron Age curvilinear gully (F2402; see above) may also be significant.

3.8.2 Unusual Pit F2441 (Fig. 35)

One of the pits in the far south of the site (F2441=F1073; Area 3; GR: F4), on the interior of Enclosure 3, contained an unusual chalk deposit. The pit was circular in plan (1.11 x 1.03 x 0.47m) with near-vertical sides and an uneven base and contained a compacted chalk lining between 60 and 175mm thick (S2449=L1075) which formed a steep-sided, lipped 'bowl' within the pit. The chalk 'bowl' overlaid a basal layer of loose dark grey/ black charcoal-rich sandy silt (L2443) and a secondary fill (0.30m deep) of loose yellowish-brown sand (L2442). To the east, Pit F2441 cut a middle to late Iron Age pit (F2447=F1090), so was no earlier than Iron Age.

The 'bowl' was filled with dark brown/ black silty sand (L1076) containing a piece of burnt flint (14g) and a small quantity of animal bone (20g). The charcoal-rich basal fill of the pit is suggestive of burning, although there were no signs of discolouration around the feature which might be expected if it had been subject to direct heating. It was suggested during excavation that the 'bowl' might have been intended to contain water for use in food preparation. However, even deliberately compacted chalk would not have facilitated particularly good water retention. It has been suggested that Iron Age grain storage pits would often have been lined with wicker or clay and locally-available chalk might have been used as an alternative to these materials. Bulk soil samples taken from the feature contained only a barley grain and an indeterminate cereal grain.

3.9 Other undated and post-medieval/ modern features (Figs. 48 - 50; Plate 18)

In addition to the perinate baby burial described above, numerous additional undated features were identified and recorded. A row of four small postholes (from north to south: F2034, F2032, F2026 and F2028), spaced between 2 and 5m apart, ran north-north-east to south-south-west through the centre of Area 1 (GR: C13 - C12). They were aligned more-or-less parallel to some of the boundary ditches of Enclosures 1 and 2, which were around 4m to the west, and could possibly have been the remains of an associated middle to late Iron Age fence line. However, they lined up more convincingly with a short length of narrow gully a few metres to the north (F2005; GR: D15 - C14), which yielded a few sherds of oxidised glazed post-medieval pottery and is likely to have been part of a relatively recent field system. A few metres to the south-west (GR: B12 - C12) was a fairly large pit (F2052) which yielded a small quantity of animal bone (14g) and struck flint (2; 10g). It was cut by

one of the ditches of Enclosure 2 (F2030), so was no later than Iron Age. However, in the absence of diagnostic finds, nothing more accurate than a broad 'prehistoric' date can be assigned.

To the south, in the west of Area 3, was a loose north to south scatter of undated pits (F1025, F1027, F1033, F1043, F1045, F2214 (=F1115), F1105, F1103, F2452, F2210, F2377, F2436 and F1050; GR: B8 - C4). The first six of these were located in amongst the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) pits assigned to Pit Cluster 7. The remainder were located mainly to the east and south of the cluster of dated pits. They were generally unremarkable, although one (F2452) contained a notable sequence of four fills, comprising burnt lenses and natural sand and chalk capping deposits. Most of these layers contained small quantities of animal bone, some of which was burnt. One of the pits towards the north end of the scatter (F2214=F1115) contained a small piece of slag and an iron nail; another (F2377) was cut by one of the (final) boundary ditches of Enclosure 2 (F2159), so was late Iron Age or earlier. A short length of a narrow, shallow curvilinear gully (F2411; GR: C4; 1.50 x 0.30 x 0.10m) survived on the north side of one of the re-cuts of the south-eastern boundary of Enclosure 1 (F2371). It was mostly truncated by the enclosure ditch, so was clearly no later than Iron Age. Another short gully, running north-north-west to south-south-east, was identified at the south end of Trial Trench 18 (F1039; GR: B6; 6m+ x 0.65 x 0.15m) but could not be traced beyond the southern limit of the trench. Based on its alignment and size, it was probably associated with the early stages of the Phase 5 enclosure system.

On the west side of Enclosure 3, a west-north-west to east-south-east aligned ditch (F2404) ran for 10m+, continuing beyond the limit of the excavation area (GR: D3). It ended in a tapering terminus close to the western boundary of the enclosure (formed by Ditch F2381). Its 'v'-shaped profile (1.00 - 1.82m wide x 0.38 - 0.50m deep, widening to south-east) was similar to that of Ditch F2345, suggesting a possible relationship, although its alignment was at odds with the rest of the middle to late Iron Age ditch system. It contained a few fragments of animal bone. An isolated undated posthole (F1071; GR: C3) was located just outside the enclosure's western boundary.

A scatter of pits and postholes in Area 2 contained no chronologically-diagnostic finds and were not obviously associated with any of the Iron Age features in the vicinity. In the north-east corner of the site, four pits (F2060, F2072, F2121 and F2074; GR: P12 - P11) were initially included in Iron Age (Phase 5) Pit Cluster 1. However, apart from the partially articulated skeleton of a young sheep/ goat and other animal bone in the north-eastern pit (F2060), none of the pits contained any finds. They were also different in appearance to the Iron Age pits in the vicinity, generally being much smaller. Given the level of activity related to the construction, use and demolition of the former dairy in this part of the site, these four pits may well have been modern.

To the south, three small postholes (F2111, F2144 and F2119; GR: P10 - P9) and three discrete pits (F2149, F2142 and F2129; GR: P9 - Q9) were also undated. Pit F2129 (which was roughly rectangular in plan with moderate irregular sides, a flat base and three fills (2.44 x 0.95 x 0.23m)) was notable in that it contained the fully-articulated skeletons of two large sheep (SK2132 and SK2133). These had been

placed long-ways in an interlocking position, aligned north to south. SK2133 appeared to have been placed first, resting on its right side, with SK2132 deposited immediately to the north, on its left side, with its hind legs overlying SK2133. The position of the skeleton, with its head laid back across its body at an unnatural angle, suggested that SK2132 may have had a broken neck, although this could have occurred post-mortem. Both skeletons are larger and considerably more robust than those of recorded post-medieval sheep and are therefore very likely to be modern (Morris, this report). This modern articulated animal 'burial' highlights the important fact that not all deposits of complete or near-complete animals necessarily represent 'special' or 'ritual' deposits, even when found on an almost exclusively Iron Age site. Whether in prehistory or the modern era, animals die/ are killed for diverse reasons and may be deposited complete, for example, as a result of death from disease. Another pit (F1101) and a posthole (F2113), located to the west amidst Iron Age (Phase 5) Pit Cluster 3 (GR: N9 - O9), were also undated; both contained small quantities of animal bone and the former yielded a fragment of red deer antler.

In the south of Area 2, nine additional pits (F2234 (GR: O8), F2252 (GR: P8), F2261 (GR: Q8), F2254 (GR: P7), F2226 (GR: P7), F2230 (GR: P7), F2228 (GR: P7), F1136 (GR: O6) and F2276 (GR: P6)) contained no diagnostic finds and had no revealing stratigraphic relationships. None had any notable or unusual characteristics. One (F2276) was irregular in plan and had a natural-looking sandy fill; it was probably a tree hollow.

Outside the main excavation area, a small undated posthole (F1023) containing animal bone (44g) and a fragment of daub (8g) was found close to the north-west corner of the site in Trial Trench 3. During the open area excavation, three additional trial trenches (Trenches 23, 24 and 25) were opened in the central northern area of the site in order to assess the degree of truncation beneath the former dairy buildings and to see if any archaeological features had survived the extensive demolition in this area. Trench 23, close to the centre of the site, contained two undated postholes (F1140 and F1142), as well as an Iron Age pit (F1138).

Full descriptions of all the undated and post-medieval/ modern features can be found in the Trial Trench Evaluation and Interim Reports (Adams 2008a and 2008b).

4 SPECIALIST FINDS AND ENVIRONMENTAL REPORTS

4.1 Struck flint

Andrew Peachey

The excavations produced a total of 174 fragments (1575g) of struck flint, of which 33.14% by fragment count comprises retouched implements, blades or cores. Also recovered were three hammer stones (963g), two fragments (18g) of burnt flint and a single burnt fossil (16g). The struck flint is generally in a fresh, unpatinated condition, although occasional slightly blunted fragments with light, moderate or heavy white patination do occur.

The bulk of the struck flint was recovered as residual material from middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) features (Table 4) but predominantly has earlier Neolithic affinities, with sparse fragments of late Mesolithic and later Neolithic to early Bronze Age struck flint also present. Apparent concentrations of residual flint occurred in Phase 5 Pit Groups 5 and 8. Phase 5 Pit Group 5 contained a total of 55 fragments (617g) of struck flint and two hammer stones (886g). The assemblage from these pits includes cores, scrapers, blades and debitage; however, this apparent concentration may simply represent the intensity of middle to late Iron Age activity in this corner of the site and the consequent density of later pits and hollows into which the residual flint could become accidentally incorporated. Phase 5 Pit Group 8 contained a total of 32 fragments (336g) of struck flint including scrapers, blades and debitage; however, the bulk of the material was recovered from the fills of a single feature: Pit F2406. Due to these factors, the assemblage is discussed according to core, implement and flake morphology rather than in phased groups, with instances of potentially in-situ deposition highlighted.

Phase	Implement, blade or core		Debitage		Hammer stone/ burnt flint/ other	
	F	W	F	W	F	W
2: late Neolithic	0	0	14	92	0	0
3: early Bronze Age	2	34	3	23	0	0
5: middle to late Iron Age	52	883	98	487	6	997
Unstratified/ unphased	4	55	1	1	0	0
Total	*58*	*972*	*116*	*603*	*6*	*997*

Table 4: Quantification of struck flint in phased contexts by frequency (F) and weight (W, in grams)

Methodology and terminology

The flint was quantified by fragment count and weight (g), with all data entered into a *Microsoft Excel* spreadsheet that forms part of the site archive. Flake type (see 'Dorsal cortex', below) or implement type (after Healy 1988, 48-9), patination and colour were also recorded as part of this data set. Representative examples of implement types were selected for illustration.

The term 'cortex' refers to the natural weathered exterior surface of a piece of flint and the term 'patination' to the colouration of a flaked surface exposed by human or natural agency. Dorsal cortex is categorised after Andrefsky (2005, 104 and 115), with 'primary flake' referring to those with cortex covering 100% of the dorsal face, 'secondary flake' to those with 50-99%, 'tertiary' to those with 1-49% and 'non-corticated' to those with no dorsal cortex. A 'blade' is defined as an elongated flake, the length of which is at least twice as great as the breadth; blades often exhibit parallel dorsal flake scars (a feature that can assist in the identification of broken blades that, by definition, have an indeterminate length/ breadth ratio).

Raw materials

The struck flint is almost entirely derived from locally-sourced, high-quality, mid to dark grey flint. Mildenhall is situated on the chalk belt that runs down through Norfolk and into Suffolk (Orna and Orna 1984, 2; Waddington 2004, 3). Examination of surviving cortex indicates that nodules were sourced from both primary chalk deposits (thick white cortex) and secondary/ tertiary deposits such as boulder clay or surface gravels (thin mid grey cortex). Although the flint mines at Grimes Graves are situated *c*. 17km to the north-east and may have provided some of the highest

quality flint in the assemblage, the favourable local geology probably allowed the bulk of the flint to be sourced from small extraction pits in the vicinity of the site. The assemblage also includes a single red-brown flake probably sourced from local surface or river gravels but without further flakes it is unclear whether this was selected for any particular purpose.

Composition and technology

The earliest struck flint in the assemblage comprises a single late Mesolithic microlith in Phase 5 Pit F2257 (L2258), which also contained a human skeleton and six sherds of middle to late Iron Age pottery. The microlith (Fig. 51.1.1) is rod-shaped and has been retouched on both lateral edges to form a straight-backed bladelet (Clark 1955: type 2a; Jacobi 1978: type 5B). It is also notable that through redepostion and/ or ageing, the microlith has been slightly blunted and polished to a high gloss (but not patinated); a finish that contrasts with the rest of the assemblage. Very similar examples have been recorded at West Stow (Pieksma and Gardiner 1990, 49: microlith 9) and Spong Hill (Healy 1988, 49-50: L13 and L14), while backed bladelets are also common in the late Mesolithic assemblages recorded in the Lakenheath and Wangford area (Jacobi 1984, 53-69), *c*. 8km to the north.

Based on three cores, four core fragments and a core rejuvenation flake, the core reduction technology in the assemblage is homogenous and associated with blade production in the earlier Neolithic. A single platform core (Clark 1960: type A1) was contained in Pit F2283 (L2284), while two cores with two platforms at right angles (Clark 1960: type B3) were contained in Pit F2287 (L2288). All three cores are approximately cube-shaped with blade-like dorsal scars and are relatively small, with weights between *c*. 25 and 55g, suggesting they had been or were close to exhaustion. The core fragments include tablet-shaped core rejuvenation flakes with evidence of pre-prepared platforms and blade-like scars, present in Pit F2067 (L2068) and Ditch F2159 (L2160 Seg.C). Also present, in Pit F2291 (L2292), is a core fragment that appears to have been tested as a single platform core but quickly discarded as unsuitable due to natural flaws, as well as a core fragment with an unidentifiable system of reduction (due to breakage), found in Pit F2289 (L2290). Of the cores recorded, the two cores in Pit F2287 (L2288) were associated with a notched piece (blade) and the unidentifiable core fragment in Pit F2289 (L2290) with three scrapers. The associated implements in both examples have close affinities with earlier Neolithic flint work (see below). The remaining cores were only associated with scarce debitage flakes. Cube-shaped, exhausted, blade cores with one or two striking platforms and core rejuvenation flakes (tablets) are characteristic of earlier Neolithic flint working (Butler 2005, 121) and are a common feature of the Neolithic assemblage from Hurst Fen, Mildenhall (Clark 1960, 216). It has been noted that without the association of more complex, retouched forms, it is difficult to distinguish between late Mesolithic and earlier Neolithic cores and blades (Healy 1988, 45; Jacobi and Healy 1984, 83). At West Stow, similar cores were attributed to the late Mesolithic (Pieksma and Gardiner 1990, 59). However, given the relatively fresh nature of these cores compared to the isolated microlith, which is in a blunted condition with a high polish, it is more likely that these cores originate in the earlier Neolithic.

Clearly related and probably contemporary with these cores are the 23 blades recorded in the assemblage, of which the largest two have been retouched. A total of 16 blades are complete and can have their dimensions measured (Table 5), while seven have been broken. The bulk of the blades (11 examples) are 20-49mm in length and 10-14mm in width (thickness is 3-10mm for all blades). Approximately half the blades exhibit traces of microwear on one or both lateral edges, suggesting that they were discarded after use rather than along with debitage during the process of core reduction. Although scarce numbers of blades continued to be used in the later Neolithic and early Bronze Age, they are far more frequent in earlier Neolithic groups from East Anglia (Healy 1988, 46).

Blade Width (mm)	**Blade Length (mm)**					***Total***
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-70	
10-14	3	2	0	1	0	*6*
15-19	0	4	0	0	0	*4*
20-24	0	0	2	1	1	*4*
25-29	0	0	0	1	1	*2*
Total	*3*	*6*	*2*	*3*	*2*	*16*

Table 5: Quantification of the dimensions of complete blades

The two largest blades (60mm or greater in length) are retouched and might be regarded as deliberately struck or selected with secondary working in mind. The first example, contained in Pit F2406 (L2407), comprises a serrated blade (Fig. 51.1.2) associated with three further blades, two scrapers and an awl (in L2407 and L2408). The serration has been formed by the working of small notches along the entirety of one lateral edge of blade and the implement could possibly be regarded as a long side scraper. The second example, contained in Pit F2287 (L2288), comprises a double-notched blade (Fig. 51.1.3). Two notches have been chipped into one lateral edge, possibly forming a crude denticulate. Both retouched blades would appear to be designed for sawing and, like the other blades, have closer affinities to earlier Neolithic than late Neolithic or early Bronze Age groups (Healy 1988, 46; Butler 2005, 131-2), although a date within either period remains viable.

The assemblage includes a total of 22 scrapers, including eight examples with close affinities to the earlier Neolithic and 14 with potential affinities to Neolithic or early Bronze Age types. The eight scrapers with close affinities to earlier Neolithic types are characterised by being formed on longer, larger, blade-like flakes with limited retouch and a greater degree of cortex left intact. Importantly, these include an end scraper (Fig. 51.1.4) and two side scrapers (Figs. 51.1.5 and 51.1.6) in Pit F2289 (L2290), associated with a core fragment of potentially earlier Neolithic date. Similar side scrapers with retouch on a single lateral edge were contained in Pit F2307 (2293) (Fig. 51.2.7), Pit F2314 (L2315) (Fig. 51.2.8) and Pit F2409 (L2410) (Fig. 51.2.9), while Pit F2269 (L2270) contained a single double-side scraper on a blade-like flake (Fig. 51.2.10). The example in Pit F2314 was associated with a probable awl of earlier Neolithic affinity, while the example in Pit F2409 was associated with a horseshoe scraper of later Neolithic/ early Bronze Age type.

The remaining 14 scrapers include five horseshoe scrapers, five end scrapers, one side scraper and three thumbnail scrapers that are, with one exception, residual in Phase 5 contexts. It is feasible that these scrapers could all have been produced in the earlier Neolithic; however, they all also have affinities with later Neolithic or early Bronze Age flint work from the region. These scrapers are all characterised by the

complete or near-complete removal of cortex and relatively extensive (but not invasive) steep, abrupt retouch of broad, squat flakes. Several flakes were clearly struck from prepared cores. Excluding the thumbnail types, these scrapers generally have a length of *c*. 30-60mm and a width of *c*. 25-50mm, conforming closely to the length: breadth ratios calculated for the large earlier Neolithic assemblage from Hurst Fen, Mildenhall (Clark 1960, 219). The thumbnail scrapers are simply small horseshoe or end scrapers and although their size is indicative of a later Neolithic/ early Bronze Age date, in this assemblage they may simply represent small variants of common earlier Neolithic forms. The range of scrapers compare closely to those recorded in earlier Neolithic groups at Hurst Fen, Mildenhall (Clark 1960, 218; Briscoe 1953, 24) and Windmill Hill, Hurst Fen, Mildenhall (Briscoe 1953, 24). Parallels also occur with the middle Neolithic to early Bronze Age scrapers at Etton (Middleton 1998, 246-7: figs. 223-4) and with the late Neolithic/ early Bronze Age scrapers at West Stow (Pieksma and Gardiner 1990, 51: scrapers 48 and 49) and Spong Hill (Healy 1988: L29-30, L40-1, L104-5 and L129). The only one of these scrapers that is potentially *in-situ* is a horseshoe scraper (Fig. 51.2.11) in Phase 3 Pit F2409 (L2410), associated with a side scraper, debitage and five sherds (66g) of early Bronze Age Beaker pottery. Also notable is Phase 5 Pit F2406 (L2408), which contained two horseshoe scrapers (Figs. 51.3.12 and 51.3.13), associated with an awl, blades and debitage. Further examples of these scrapers include a horseshoe scraper in Pit F2439 (L2440) (Fig. 51.3.14), a thumbnail (horseshoe) scraper in Gully F2369 (L2370 Seg. F) (Fig. 51.3.15) and end scrapers in Pit F2222 (L2223) (Fig. 51.3.16), Gully F2308 (L2309) (Fig. 51.3.17) and Pit F2417 (L2418) (Fig. 51.3.18).

Other retouched forms in the assemblage comprise two awls and a single arrowhead. The awl from Pit F2314 (L2315) (Fig. 51.4.19) was formed by the working of a large notch into the distal edge of a thin flake and may have alternatively served as a borer or spurred piece. The awl in Pit F2406 (L2408) (Fig. 51.4.20) was formed by retouch to both lateral edges to create a pointed distal end on a thin flake and was probably used as a piercer. Piercers such as this example are well-recorded in groups with early Neolithic affinities at Spong Hill (Healy 1988: L66, L112 and L132), while awls in general are more common in earlier Neolithic flint assemblages in East Anglia (Healy 1988, 46).

The single arrowhead in the assemblage comprises a late Neolithic/ early Bronze Age chisel (transverse) arrowhead (Fig. 51.4.21) contained in Phase 5 Ditch F2159 (L2160 Seg. B). The arrowhead was formed on a tertiary flake with a slight white patina; therefore, the flake was probably originally discarded debitage that was later retrieved. The lateral edges and distal end of the flake have all been bifacially retouched; however, a small area of cortex remains, as does the bulb of percussion, although the latter has been slightly reduced. Comparable chisel arrowheads have been recorded at West Stow (Pieksma and Gardiner 1990, 52-54: arrowheads 31, 35 and 45), Spong Hill (Healy 1988: L122) and Etton (Middleton 1998, 250: arrowheads 123-126).

Debitage accounts for 116 fragments (603g) of the struck flint in the assemblage, equating to 66.29% of the assemblage by fragment count. Approximately 94% of the debitage is comprised of tertiary and uncorticated flakes, which have mean fragment weights of 6.2g and 4.26g, respectively. The bulk of the debitage is comprised of relatively thin flakes with slightly irregular but blade-like proportions. These

characteristics suggest the debitage is predominantly the product of Neolithic flint knapping and that flint reduction on the site was probably limited to the secondary trimming and retouch of cores and flakes brought to the site. A small potentially *in-situ* concentration of 14 debitage flakes (92g) was contained in Pit F2331 (L2332), associated with fragments of two late Neolithic Grooved Ware jars and animal bone. However, the remaining debitage is rarely present in any concentration within features, only occasionally exceeding six flakes per feature containing flint and usually less, reflecting the limited nature of flint reduction and the residuality of the struck flint on the site.

The burnt flint is never present in any concentration and does not allow for further conclusions to be drawn. The burnt fossil from Pit F2452 (L2453) is a Micraster echinoid or 'heart-shaped sea urchin', which occurs in the Cretaceous Chalk underlying the region and is common across Europe. It is unclear whether it was deliberately selected to be burnt or was an accidental by-product of a fire-pit or oven.

Illustrated struck flint

Fig. 51.1.1 L2258. F2257. Pit Fill (Phase 5). ?Late Mesolithic microlith.
Fig. 51.1.2 L2407. F2406. Pit Fill (Phase 5). Early Neolithic serrated blade.
Fig. 51.1.3 L2288. F2287. Pit Fill (Phase 5). Early Neolithic double-notched blade.
Fig. 51.1.4 L2290. F2289. Pit Fill (Phase 5). Early Neolithic end scraper.
Fig. 51.1.5 L2290. F2289. Pit Fill (Phase 5). Early Neolithic side scraper.
Fig. 51.1.6 L2290. F2289. Pit Fill (Phase 5). Early Neolithic side scraper.
Fig. 51.2.7 L2293. F2307. Pit Fill (Phase 5). Early Neolithic retouched side scraper.
Fig. 51.2.8 L2315. F2314. Pit Fill (Phase 5). Early Neolithic retouched side scraper.
Fig. 51.2.9 L2410. F2409. Pit Fill (Phase 3). ?Neolithic/ EBA retouched side scraper.
Fig. 51.2.10 L2270. F2269. Pit Fill (Phase 5). Early Neolithic double-side scraper.
Fig. 51.2.11 L2410. F2409. Pit Fill (Phase 3). Neolithic/ EBA horseshoe scraper.
Fig. 51.3.12 L2408. F2406. Pit Fill (Phase 5). Neolithic/ EBA horseshoe scraper.
Fig. 51.3.13 L2408. F2406. Pit Fill (Phase 5). Neolithic/ EBA horseshoe scraper.
Fig. 51.3.14 L2440. F2439. Pit Fill (Phase 5). Neolithic/ EBA horseshoe scraper.
Fig. 51.3.15 L2370. F2369. Gully Fill (Phase 5). Neolithic/ EBA thumbnail scraper.
Fig. 51.3.16 L2223. F2222. Pit Fill (Phase 5). Neolithic/ EBA end scraper.
Fig. 51.3.17 L2309. F2308. Gully Fill (Phase 5). Neolithic/ EBA end scraper.
Fig. 51.3.18 L2418. F2417. Pit Fill (Phase 5). Neolithic/ EBA end scraper.
Fig. 51.4.19 L2315. F2314. Pit Fill (Phase 5). ?Early Neolithic awl.
Fig. 51.4.20 L2408. F2406. Pit Fill (Phase 5). ?Early Neolithic piercer.
Fig. 51.4.21 L2160. F2159. Ditch Fill (Phase 5). Late Neolithic/ EBA transverse arrowhead.

EBA = Early Bronze Age

4.2 Pottery

Andrew Peachey

Introduction

The investigations recovered a total of 1012 fragments (13,764g) of prehistoric pottery and five sherds (16g) of medieval/ post-medieval pottery (Table 6). The bulk of the prehistoric pottery is accounted for by a homogenous assemblage of middle to late Iron Age pottery, including pottery groups from several clusters of pits which were probably related to domestic occupation. The remaining prehistoric pottery comprises late Neolithic Grooved Ware and early Bronze Age Beaker sherds from isolated pit contexts.

Period	Sherd Count	Weight (g)	R.EVE
Late Neolithic	24	825	0.35
Early Bronze Age	11	104	0.10
Middle to late Iron Age	973	12811	5.49
Medieval/ post-medieval	5	16	0.00
Unstratified	4	24	0.00
Total	*1017*	*13780*	*5.94*

Table 6: Quantification of pottery by period

Methodology

The pottery was quantified by sherd count, weight (g) and R.EVE, with fabrics examined at x20 magnification and described below. Rim type, profile and decoration were also recorded in free text comments in accordance with the guidelines developed by the Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group (PCRG 1995). All data was entered into a *Microsoft Excel* spreadsheet that forms part of the site archive.

Commentary and discussion

Phase 2: late Neolithic

Pit F2331 (L2332) was the only feature to contain late Neolithic pottery (Grooved Ware). A total of 24 well-preserved sherds (825g) were contained in the pit, with the bulk of these cross-joining and belonging to a single vessel (Fig. 15), while sparse body sherds from a further vessel were also present. The sherds from both vessels are in a single fabric:

Late Neolithic fabric description

Fabric 5: Grooved Ware. The fabric has oxidised orange-brown exterior surfaces, which fade to a dark grey/ black core and interior surface. Inclusions comprise sparse to common grog (0.25-1.5mm) and sparse quartz (0.1-0.3mm). The fabric is of soft to medium hardness, with slightly soapy to slightly abrasive surfaces. A similar fabric, with orange surfaces, a grey core, and flint and grog temper, was present in a Durrington Walls sub-style vessel at Thetford (Healy 1984, 96: table 5.2: P48).

Late Neolithic commentary and discussion

Of the Grooved Ware in Pit F2331 (L2332), 20 sherds (797g) form approximately half of a barrel-shaped vessel in the Durrington Walls sub-style (Fig. 15). The vessel exhibits several typological and decorative traits indicative of vessels in this sub-style and is closely comparable to vessels recorded in the assemblage from the Durrington Walls type-site (e.g. Wainwright and Longworth 1971, 76: P25). Typological and decorative traits of this vessel include a pointed closed rim with four internal grooves, vertical cordons with vertical and herringbone grooves, filled (combed) triangles between the rim and cordon, and opposed filled (combed) triangles beneath the cordon (Wainwright and Longworth 1971, 57-67). Fragments from the flat base of the vessel are also present but do not cross-join with the body sherds, while traces of burning (soot) are present on part of the rim and above the cordon. The remaining sherds of Grooved Ware in Pit F2331 (L2332) comprise non-

cross-joining body sherds in the Durrington Walls sub-style from a second, otherwise unidentifiable, vessel, with combed decoration that appears similar but distinct from the principal vessel in the pit. A barrel-shaped vessel in the Durrington Walls sub-style in a similar fabric to Figure 15, with interior grooves and vertical cordons (but without filled triangle decoration) has been recorded at Red Castle Furze, Thetford (Healy 1984, 91, 96 and 111: P48), while further examples of Durrington Walls sub-style Grooved Ware have been recorded in the region at Grimes Graves and Flixton (Longworth and Cleal 1999, 190-5) and at the Newark Road sub-site, Fengate (Pryor 1980, 96: fig. 57.13).

Although the Clacton sub-style may be seen as the most representative or common sub-style of Grooved Ware in East Anglia, the Durrington Walls and Woodlands sub-styles are also routinely present (Healy 1984, 112). Based on radiocarbon dates for this style of pottery from Eastern England and elsewhere (notably Durrington Walls and Mount Pleasant), a date range of *c.* 2900 to 2100 BC is probable (Garwood 1999, 152 and 158). The deposition of Grooved Ware into isolated pits or clusters of pits appears to have been a common depositional practice during the first half of this period, whereas deposits of Grooved Ware found in association with monuments such as henges may belong to the latter part of this date range, perhaps from *c*. 2500 BC onwards (Garwood 1999, 154). Examples of Grooved Ware deposited in both isolated and loose clusters of pits were recorded at Flixton (Percival 2004, 37-8), *c*. 45 miles east of Mildenhall. Unfortunately, the location of Pit F2331 close to the 'interior' baulk of the excavation area makes it impossible to accurately assess whether this was truly an isolated feature or whether it was possibly associated with a cluster of contemporary pits or other features outside the limits of the excavation area.

Illustrated Grooved Ware sherds

Fig. 15 L2332. F2331. Pit Fill (Phase 2). Durrington Walls-style Grooved Ware vessel.

Phase 3: early Bronze Age

A total of 11 sherds (104g) of stratified early Bronze Age 'Beaker' pottery were recovered from Pits F2409 and F2415, while a further five sherds (68g) of residual Beaker pottery were also contained (and quantified) in Phase 5 Pits F2097 and F2184. Pits F2409 and F2415 were situated within *c*. 2m of one another, in the west of the site (west of Area 3), while Phase 5 Pit F2184 was *c*. 30m to the north of these pits and Phase 5 Pit F2097 *c*.120m to the north-east. Both finer and coarser variants of Beaker pottery fabrics were recorded (described below), although diagnostic rim sherds are only present in the finer variant. Fabrics such as these, with varying quantities of grog, sand and flint temper, were commonly used in the manufacture of Beaker pottery, including that found at Hockwold-cum-Wilton (Bamford 1982, 23; Healy 1996, 99).

Early Bronze Age fabric descriptions

Fabric 6: Beaker. The fabric has oxidised pale to mid orange-brown surfaces fading to a dark grey core. Inclusions comprise sparse to common quartz (0.1-0.5mm) and

sparse grog (0.2-1.5mm), with occasional flint or organics (0.5-5mm) also present. The fabric is of soft to medium hardness, with a slightly powdery surface.

Fabric 9: Beaker. As Fabric 6, but with common calcined flint (1-5mm).

Early Bronze Age commentary and discussion

Pit F2409 (L2410) contained five fragments (66g) of Fabric 6, which comprise the remains of two to four vessels, each represented by body sherds only. One of these vessels, represented by two cross-joining body sherds, is decorated with plastic finger-pinched rustication. The remaining non-cross-joining body sherds are all decorated with bands of both horizontal and vertical comb-impressed decoration. It is unclear whether these sherds originate from a single or multiple vessel(s).

Pit F2415 (L2416) contained six sherds (38g) in Fabrics 6 and 9. The Fabric 6 sherds belong to a vessel with a slightly everted rim, with decoration comprising bands of vertical fingernail impressions between grooves (Fig. 17.1). The fingernail-impressed decoration is Clarke's motif 5 (1970, 424-8). Comparable and similar vessels have been recorded at East Winch, Norfolk, Ramsey St. Mary, Cambridgeshire (Clarke 1970, 374: fig. nos. 777 and 779) and Hockwold-cum-Wilton (Healy 1996, 147: P286 and P294; Bamford 1982, 84: P93.006, 98: P63.045). The Fabric 9 sherds in Pit F2415 form part of the base of a vessel which exhibits fingernail decoration on the body, similar to vessels recorded at Hockwold-cum-Wilton (Healy 1996, 148: P300).

The residual Beaker sherds in Phase 5 contexts include a further diagnostic rim sherd in Fabric 6. Pit F2184 (L2185) contained the slightly in-turned rim of a vessel with bands and chevrons of comb-impressed decoration (Fig. 17.2). The comb-impressed chevrons are Clarke's motif 3 (1970, 424-8). Comparable vessels have been recorded at Brantham Hall, Suffolk (Clarke 1970, 372: fig. no. 759) and Hockwold-cum-Wilton (Bamford 1982, 96-99: P63.010 and P63.012), while the comb-impressed chevron motif also occurs on a Beaker vessel at Weasenham Lyngs, Norfolk (Petersen and Healy 1986: vessel 3660). Pits F2184 (L2185) and F2097 (2098) also contained further un-diagnostic body sherds of Beaker pottery with comb-impressed and plastic finger-pinched decoration. The assessment of the stylistic affinities of the Beaker pottery is hampered by the limited quantities present and the average sherd size. However the diagnostic rim sherds in Pit F2415 and Phase 5 Pit F2184 appear to belong to Clarke's (1970) Primary Southern British Beaker Group (S1), which equates to Lanting and Van der Waals' (1972) Group 5, Case's (1977, 72) 'Late' style of Beaker pottery and subsequently Case's characteristically East Anglian 'Group E' (1993, 263). The impressed decorative motifs recorded in this assemblage are also strongly represented in the numerous prehistoric archaeological sites at Hockwold-cum-Wilton, especially site 5333 (95/97) (Healy 1996, 103: fig. 66), while plastic finger-pinched rustication is also particularly associated with 'Late' style Beaker pottery at Hockwold-cum-Wilton (Healy 1996, 112). Beaker type pottery began to arrive in Britain at the start of the second millennium BC and could theoretically overlap with late Neolithic Grooved Ware (in Phase 2). However, any substantial overlap between the two pottery types has largely been discounted following a re-evaluation of associated radiocarbon dates, which suggest that very little Beaker pottery was deposited before *c.* 2400 BC

(Garwood 1999, 112). Supporting this conclusion is the fact that the two types very rarely occur in the same contexts, as is the case in this assemblage (neither are the Grooved Ware and Beaker pits located in close proximity to one another). The stylistic affinities of the Beaker pottery in this assemblage, particularly those corresponding to Case's (1977) 'Late' style of Beaker and Case's 'Group E' (1993, 264), suggest that these vessels were deposited between *c*. 2100-1900 BC, although feasibly they could have remained in use until *c*. 1600 BC, by which time Beaker pottery had largely fallen out of use.

Groups of Primary Southern Beaker pottery are well-distributed in the region. Clarke (1970, 201) recorded that the Fen margin and East Anglia had some 30 Primary Southern Beaker groups, including domestic sites at Joist Fen and Undley, Mildenhall. In all, these accounted for *c*. 55% of those in Britain, a number that has certainly risen in the intervening years. The association of the finer comb-impressed vessels with the heavier (coarser) plastic rustication has widely been accepted as a common indicator of Beaker domestic sites (Bamford 1982). This association is an important characteristic of the Beaker pottery recorded at Lakenheath, where the combination of fragmentary remains of vessels in both styles in pit contexts was interpreted as the archaeologically visible remains of domestic occupation, with other debris potentially deposited in surface middens (Percival 2005, 22). If the early Bronze Age pottery in this assemblage can be taken as evidence of sparse domestic occupation, it would be consistent with the evidence from West Row Fen (part of Mildenhall Common Fen), where it has been suggested that occupation could have been seasonal and temporary (in spring/ summer, possibly autumn), with occupation moving to higher pastures on the Breckland slopes in the winter (Martin and Murphy 1988, 357).

Illustrated Beaker sherds

Fig. 17.1	L2416. F2415. Pit Fill (Phase 3). Beaker with everted rim and bands of vertical fingernail impressions between grooves.
Fig. 17.2	L2185. F2184. Pit Fill (Phase 5). Beaker with in-turned rim and bands/ chevrons of comb-impressed decoration.

Phase 5: middle to late Iron Age

A total of 973 sherds (12,811g) were recovered from features dated to the middle to late Iron Age, predominantly pits, gullies and ditches. These can be divided, on stratigraphic, functional or spatial grounds, into further sub-groups (Table 7). The principal pottery groups in terms of quantity and diagnostic sherds are those from Pit Clusters 3, 4 and 5; however, a commentary for all groups has been provided. Five sherds (68g) of residual early Bronze Age Beaker pottery were also present in Iron Age features (discussed above).

Iron Age feature groups	Sherd Count	Weight (g)	R.EVE
Enclosure 1	114	822	0.00
Enclosure 2	86	610	0.17
Enclosure 3	63	668	0.30
Pit Cluster 1: NE of Area 2	35	464	0.05
Pit Cluster 2: N of Area 2	4	52	0.00
Pit Cluster 3: W & centre of Area 2	100	1801	0.89
Pit Cluster 4: E of Area 2	146	2128	1.49
Pit Cluster 5: SE of Area 2	157	2553	1.43
Pit Cluster 6 and other discrete features: Area 1	147	2266	0.82
Pit Cluster 7: west of Area 3	42	430	0.12
Pit Cluster 8 and other discrete features: south of Area 3	73	891	0.22
Gullies between Enclosures 2 and 3: south of Area 3	5	50	0.00
Other Phase 5 features	12	206	0.00
Total	*973*	*12811*	*5.49*

Table 7: Quantification of middle to late Iron Age pottery in Phase 5 feature groups

Middle to late Iron Age fabric types at Bridge House Dairies

The fabrics identified in Phase 5 (described below) have extensive parallels with fabrics in other middle to late Iron Age assemblages from elsewhere in Suffolk and Norfolk. Three principal fabric groups can be identified in the assemblage: Fabric 1a (sand-and-grass temper) as the dominant fabric variant (Table 8), with Fabric 2 (sand-and-flint temper) and Fabric 3 (sand temper) also fairly common. Comparable fabric types dominate (in varying proportions) contemporary assemblages from elsewhere in the region and clearly demonstrate both the consistency and local variations of pottery manufacture in this area of Suffolk/ Norfolk in the middle to late Iron Age. It has been suggested that the rise in use of chaff and grass as temper was an attempt to produce a softer, smoother feel that imitated the finish of grog-tempered pottery (Martin 1999, 80; West with Martin 1990, 68). This may indicate, as the composition of the assemblage is largely homogenous, that the principal period of deposition was in the latter half of the 1st century BC to the early 1st century AD, after grog-tempered pottery had been introduced but before it became more common in the region. At West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 68: phase 2), grass/ chaff-tempered fabrics were dominant, as they are in this assemblage, while at Barnham (Martin 1993, 15), sand and sand-and-flint tempered fabrics were dominant over grass/ chaff-tempered fabrics. At Feltwell (Gurney 1986, 26), Thetford (Gregory 1991a, 158) and Stowmarket (Peachey forthcoming), sand-tempered fabrics dominated and grass-tempered fabrics were virtually absent, although form types remain comparable to those found at Bridge House Dairies.

Fabric type	Sherd Count	% Sherd Count (2dp)	Weight (g)	% Weight (g) (2dp)
Fabric 1a	551	56.63	6847	53.45
Fabric 1b	6	0.62	141	1.10
Fabric 2	185	19.01	3361	26.24
Fabric 3	204	20.97	1918	14.97
Fabric 4	13	1.34	282	2.20
Fabric 7	6	0.62	166	1.30
Fabric 8	3	0.31	28	0.22
(Fabric 6)	(5)	(0.51)	(68)	(0.53)
Total	*973*	*100.01*	*12811*	*100.01*

Table 8: Quantification and proportions of middle to late Iron Age fabric types in the total Phase 5 pottery group (including residual early Bronze Age Fabric 6 sherds)

Fabrics containing chalk, such as Fabric 1b, are a consistent but minor presence in both this and comparative assemblages and may represent a degree of variation in local pottery manufacture. Fabrics with shell inclusions, such as Fabric 4, are always rare and may have been imported from elsewhere in eastern England,

possibly the Bletchley-Northampton area (Martin 1988, 34) or south Essex (Martin 1999, 80).

Of the sparse 'Belgic' sherds, Fabric 7 is almost certainly a local product. It probably represents a response by local potters to the appearance of classic 'Belgic' pottery in south-east Suffolk and Essex, as has been suggested for similar fabrics at West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 68). By comparison, Fabric 8 is classic 'Belgic' pottery and it is unclear whether this fabric represents a local product or regional import.

Middle to late Iron Age fabric descriptions (all are handmade unless otherwise stated)

Fabric 1a: *Sand-and-grass/ organic tempered ware.* The fabric has dark red-brown to black surfaces with a very dark grey to black core. Inclusions comprise common quartz sand (generally 0.1-0.25mm, occasionally to 0.5mm), fine mica, sparse linear grass/ organic voids or charcoal (2-10mm, occasionally larger). Occasional dull brown, rounded conglomerate (0.2-2mm) and flint (<5mm) may also be present but are not consistent inclusions. The fabric is of medium hardness, with very smooth surfaces when burnished or slightly abrasive where not. Fabric 1a is comparable to fabrics at West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 60: phase II - fabric 1), Barnham (Martin 1993, 15) and Burgh (Martin 1988, 43: fabric IIC).

Fabric 1b: *Sand-and-grass tempered ware with chalk flecks*. As Fabric 1a, but with additional sparse chalk flecks (0.1-1mm). Fabric 1b is comparable to fabrics at West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 63: phase II - fabric 4) and Burgh (Martin 1988, 43: fabric IIA).

Fabric 2: *Sand-and-flint tempered ware.* This fabric has orange-brown to red-brown surfaces and a dark grey core. Inclusions comprise common quartz sand (generally 0.1-0.25mm, occasionally to 0.5mm) and sparse to common calcined flint (0.2-3mm). The fabric is of medium hardness, with slightly abrasive surfaces. Fabric 2 is comparable to fabrics at West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 60: phase 1 – fabric 4), Thetford (Gregory 1991a, 155: fabric HM5) and Stowmarket (Peachey forthcoming: fabric IA1).

Fabric 3: *Sand-tempered ware*. The fabric may have red to dark grey/ black surfaces with a very dark grey to black core. Inclusions comprise common quartz sand and iron-rich grains (generally 0.1-0.25mm, occasionally to 0.5mm) and fine mica with sparse flint fragments (<3mm) or chalk flecks (<1mm). The fabric is of soft to medium hardness, with slightly abrasive surfaces. Fabric 3 is comparable to fabrics at West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 60: phase II - fabric 3), Barnham (Martin 1993, 15), Thetford (Gregory 1991a, 155: fabric HM1), Feltwell (Gurney 1986, 26: fabric 1) and Stowmarket (Peachey forthcoming: fabric IA2).

Fabric 4: *Shell-and-sand tempered ware*. This fabric has orange-brown to dark grey surfaces and a dark grey to black core. Inclusions comprise common shell (0.5-5mm, occasionally larger), sparse quartz (0.2-0.5mm) and occasional grog/ clay pellets (0.5-2mm), although the shell may have been dissolved, giving the fabric a vesiculated appearance. The fabric is of soft to medium hardness, with slightly

powdery to slightly abrasive surfaces. Fabric 4 is comparable to fabrics found at Burgh (Martin 1988, 45: fabric III) and Thetford (Gregory 1991a, 155: fabric HM9).

Fabric 7: *Sand-and-grog tempered ware 1*. This fabric has dark grey-brown surfaces and core, with slightly contrasting dark brown margins. Inclusions comprise common sand (generally 0.1-0.25, occasionally to 0.5mm), sparse matrix-coloured grog (0.25-1.5mm), sparse flint (0.25-1mm) and sparse organics/ voids (<4mm). The fabric is handmade but probably finished on a wheel, of moderate hardness, and slightly soapy to the touch. Fabric 7 is probably a locally-produced 'Belgic' fabric, which developed, with the addition of grog temper, from the handmade Fabric 1.

Fabric 8: *Sand-and-grog tempered ware 2*. This fabric has dark grey surfaces and a mid grey core. Inclusions comprise common or abundant well-sorted sand (0.1-0.5mm), with sparse/ occasional dark grey grog (0.25-1mm). The fabric is wheel-made and hard, with a soapy feel. Fabric 8 is comparable to fabrics recorded at Burgh (Martin 1988, 45: fabric IVa).

Summary of mid to late Iron Age form types

The middle to late Iron Age vessel forms present in this assemblage include a relatively narrow range of types associated with the 3rd - 1st centuries BC, with almost all vessels belonging to Cunliffe's (1968, 182; 1978, 51) East Anglian tradition, as is common for the period in this region. Individual vessel occurrence and comparisons (plus illustrations) are referred to in the commentary (below); however, the range of form types is summarised here.

The bulk of the assemblage is typified by a relatively narrow range of handmade forms associated with the 3rd - 1st centuries BC and categorised by Cunliffe (1968, 182; 1978, 51) and Martin (1999, 80) as representing an East Anglian tradition of 'local developments'. According to this classification, the tradition is typified by vessels with rounded shoulders, upright or out-bent rims and burnished or scored decoration. This general categorisation can be broadly applied to the bulk of the middle to late Iron Age vessels in this assemblage. Notable assemblages of similar character have been recorded at West Stow (West with Martin 1990) and Aldwick, Barley (Cra'aster 1961), while extensive further parallels in this tradition occur in the region at Barnham (Martin 1993), Thetford (Gregory 1991a; Gregory 1991b), Feltwell (Gurney 1986), Addenbrooke's, Cambridge (Cra'aster 1969) and Burgh (Martin 1988). Three sub-categories of vessel type within this assemblage may be suggested and can be summarised as follows:

A) Jars with a weak-shouldered profile and an upright/ slightly everted rim. Decoration on shouldered vessels tends to be limited to the polishing or burnishing of exterior surfaces. Comparable types include West Stow 111-112 (West with Martin 1990, 64) and Barley 40 and 43 (Cra'aster 1961, 38).

B) Jars with an ovoid or rounded body and an upright/ slightly everted rim. Decoration on these jars commonly includes fingertip impressions on the top of the rim or the polishing or burnishing of exterior surfaces, while scoring of the exterior also occurs. Comparable types include West Stow 98, 106 and 107 (West with Martin 1990, 64) and Barley 27 and 53 (Cra'aster 1961, 38).

C) Jars or bowls with a slack, slightly sinuous profile and an upright/ slightly everted rim. Decoration on these jars commonly includes fingertip impressions on the top of the rim or the polishing or burnishing of exterior surfaces, while scoring of the exterior also occurs. A single vessel also has a slightly frilled rim. Comparable types include West Stow 78 and 100 (West with Martin 1990, 62-64) and Barley 22 and 31 (Cra'aster 1961, 38).

No attempt has been made to quantify these three sub-types within the assemblage, as due to the handmade nature of the vessels and fragmentation the distinction between types is often blurred, or when rim sherds alone are present, not identifiable at all. These sub-categories are all present as similarly-sized vessels (generally 16-20cm in diameter, but ranging from 10-24cm). It remains unclear if this variation reflects a difference in function or is an illusory distinction resulting from the simple handmade nature of the vessels. In addition to these common types, at least one example of a handmade vessel with incised curvilinear decoration is also present, and likely to also date to the 3rd - 1st centuries BC. The vessel exhibits a small (surviving) section of incised curvilinear decoration, but is otherwise indistinguishable from sand-and-organic tempered (Fabric 1a) jars with ovoid bodies, and may represent a local copy of decorated 'fine' wares imported into the region.

The second important element of the assemblage is the presence of sparse quantities of 'Belgic' vessels, which probably date from between the latter half of the 1st century BC and the first half of the 1st century AD, probably no earlier than *c*. 25 BC (Martin 1999, 81). These vessels include wheel-made and handmade (possibly wheel-finished) necked bowls and jars with either a single cordon or grooves on the neck, and would probably have complemented, rather than replaced, the range of more traditional handmade wares in the final decades of the late pre-Roman Iron Age. Belgic vessels comparable to the form types in this assemblage became common in phase III at West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 68). However, the quantities at Bridge House Dairies are small in comparison.

Commentary and discussion

Enclosure 1

The features forming the western rectilinear enclosure contained a total of 114 non-diagnostic body sherds (822g) in fabrics of middle to late Iron Age date, with a very low average sherd weight of 7.21g. Sherds in Fabrics 1a and 3 are present in very similar proportions in this sub-group (Table 9), which may reflect a slightly earlier date in the middle to late Iron Age. Sherds were generally sparsely distributed in the fills of the gullies and ditches that formed the enclosure, and include a total of 47 sherds (323g) from the excavated segments of Ditch F2009 (=F2188=F2369). The only small concentration of body sherds in this group was present in Gully F2367 (L2368 Seg. A); the assemblage from this ditch terminus, at the south-eastern corner of Enclosure 1, comprises a total of 27 sherds (170g). No diagnostic rim sherds are present in this group.

Fabric type	Sherd Count	% Sherd Count	Weight (g)	% Weight (g)
Fabric 1a	42	36.84	274	33.33
Fabric 2	20	17.54	218	26.52
Fabric 3	49	42.98	304	36.98
Fabric 4	3	2.63	26	3.16
Total	*114*	*99.99*	*822*	*99.99*

Table 9: Quantification and proportions of middle to late Iron Age fabric types in the Phase 5 Enclosure 1 pottery group

Enclosures 2 and 3

The ditches and gullies which formed Enclosures 2 and 3 produced a total of 138 sherds (1148g) of middle to late Iron Age date, with a low average sherd weight of 8.32g. The group is predominantly of middle to late Iron Age character, although Gully F2424, which ran adjacent to Ditch F2345 (Enclosure 3), included the most substantial group of early Iron Age pottery in the assemblage. Fabrics 1a, 2 and 3 are all common in this group, while Fabrics 1b and 4 are rare (Table 10), although this distribution may be skewed by the presence of residual sherds (particularly in Gully F2424).

Fabric type	Sherd Count	% Sherd Count	Weight (g)	% Weight (g)
Fabric 1a	50	36.23	342	29.79
Fabric 1b	1	0.72	17	1.48
Fabric 2	33	23.91	410	35.71
Fabric 3	52	37.68	349	30.40
Fabric 4	2	1.45	30	2.61
Total	*138*	*99.99*	*1148*	*99.99*

Table 10: Quantification and proportions of middle to late Iron Age fabric types in the Phase 5 Enclosures 2 and 3 pottery group

Gully F2424 (L2425) contained a small concentration of 33 sherds (360g) of mixed Iron Age date. The earliest vessel in this group is a Fabric 2 early Iron Age bowl with fingertip impressions on the rim and sharp carination of the body (Fig. 52.1). In terms of fabric, the vessel is indistinguishable from later sand-and-flint-tempered vessels in Fabric 2. The vessel form is comparable to West Harling Class IIB (Clark and Fell 1953, 24) and comprises the only diagnostic early Iron Age vessel in the assemblage, albeit almost certainly in a residual context. The fill of this gully (L2425) also contained middle to late Iron Age pottery in the form of a Fabric 4 jar with an upright rim, as well as Fabric 3 body sherds decorated with three incised grooves that may be part of an incised curvilinear design (such as that found in Pit Cluster 3). However, the sherds are too small for the latter design to be conclusively identified.

The remainder of the group includes small rim fragments from seven vessels, of which only two are of sufficient size to be illustrated. Six of these vessels have simple upright/ slightly everted rims, including the example in Gully F2042 (L2043 Seg. B), which has a burnished exterior and appears to have a weak shoulder (Fig. 52.2). Jars such as these are common in middle to late Iron Age assemblages from across the region, including West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 64-66: vessels 94 and 121) and Barley (Cra'aster 1961, 38: vessel 40). By contrast, the remaining vessel in the group is the only example of its type in this assemblage and appears rare in comparative assemblages. Contained in Ditch F2345 (L2346 Seg. J), it comprises a slightly everted rim that has been frilled by closely-spaced finger-pinching (Fig. 52.3). A similar example with a frilled rim has been recorded at West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 62: vessel 87).

Pit Cluster 1 (north-east of Area 2)

Five pits in this corner of Area 2 contained middle to late Iron Age pottery but in total the assemblage from this group comprises only 35 sherds (464g). The bulk of these sherds are in Fabric 1a, with sherds in Fabrics 2, 3 and 4 also present. Diagnostic sherds are limited to a very small fragment from an upright rim with fingertip-impressed decoration (not illustrated).

Pit Cluster 2 (north of Area 2)

This group produced just four sherds (52g), all in Fabric 1a, and not including any diagnostic rim fragments.

Pit Cluster 3 (west and centre of Area 2)

Pit Cluster 3 contained a total of 97 sherds (1791g) of middle to late Iron Age pottery (a single sherd (2g) of early Bronze Age Beaker pottery was also present in Pit F2097). It is one of the most important groups of pottery in the assemblage and includes a notable concentration of sherds in Pit F2238, which accounts for 55.16% of the group by weight (37.76% by sherd count), with substantial profiles of four vessels present. The group is dominated by Fabric 1a; however, relatively small quantities of Fabrics 1b, 2, 3 and 4 are also present (Table 11).

Fabric type	Sherd Count	% Sherd Count	Weight (g)	% Weight (g)
Fabric 1a	72	73.47	1260	70.30
Fabric 1b	4	4.08	102	5.69
Fabric 2	8	8.16	103	5.74
Fabric 3	12	12.24	230	12.83
Fabric 4	1	1.02	96	5.35
(Fabric 6)	(1)	(1.02)	(2)	(0.11)
Total	*98*	*99.99*	*1793*	*100.02*

Table 11: Quantification and proportions of middle to late Iron Age fabric types in Phase 5 Pit Cluster 3 (west and centre of Area 2)

The group contains a total of 10 vessels but it is the four vessels present in Pit F2238 (L2239) which are exceptional by virtue of the extent of their surviving profiles (although the vessels are still far from complete). Two of the vessels in L2239 have upright rims and shouldered, burnished bodies (Figs. 52.4 and 52.5) and are particularly comparable to examples at Barley (Cra'aster 1961, 38: vessel 40) and Thetford (Gregory 1991a, 157: vessel 3), while also similar to vessels at West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 64: vessels 111 and 112). The third vessel in L2239 has an upright rim and ovoid, burnished body (Fig. 52.6) and is comparable to several examples recorded at West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 64: vessels 102-3) and Barley (Cra'aster 1961, 55: vessels 15-16). The fourth vessel recovered from L2239 has an upright, fingertip-impressed rim and an ovoid, scored body (Fig. 52.7), comparable to an example recorded at Addenbrooke's, Cambridge (Cra'aster 1969, 27: fig. 8).

The remaining vessels in this group include further examples of jars with upright/ slightly everted rims, in Pit F2241 (L2242) (Figs. 52.8 and 52.9), and of jars with fingertip-impressed rims, in Pit F2089 (L2090) (Figs. 52.10 and 52.11). The vessel illustrated in Figure 56.11 is very thick-walled in comparison to other vessels in the assemblage and is manufactured in the relatively rare Fabric 4. It is very similar in

profile and decoration to a large vessel recorded at Burgh (Martin 1988, 47: vessel 160). These factors suggest that it may have been a storage vessel imported from elsewhere in eastern England.

However, it is the final vessel in this group, a jar or bowl with a slightly out-curved rim from Pit F2099 (L2100), which is of particular note. It is the only vessel in the assemblage to exhibit tooled, curvilinear decoration (Fig. 52.12). This type of decoration may represent a local attempt to copy or imitate the decoration found on either the Hunsbury bowls of the south-east Midlands or incised bowls of middle Iron Age origin from Essex (although the Essex bowls often also have stamped decoration). Similar schemes of decoration have been recorded on sherds at Barley (Cra'aster 1961, 39: sherds 88-92), Addenbrooke's, Cambridge (Cra'aster 1969, 27: fig. 8) and Stowmarket (Peachey forthcoming).

Pit Cluster 4 (east of Area 2)

Pit Group 4 contained a total of 146 sherds (2128g) of middle to late Iron Age pottery including a complete vessel in Pit F2314. The presence of this complete vessel results in 48.63% of the group by sherd count (45.35% by weight) being contained in Pit F2314, although sparse sherds from other vessels were also present in the feature. As in Pit Cluster 3, Fabric 1a accounts for over 70% of the Pit Cluster 4 assemblage by sherd count (65% by weight) (Table 12), with Fabrics 2, 3 and 4 present in very low quantities. A single sherd of Fabric 8 is also present in Pit F2137 (L2138), alongside sherds in Fabrics 1a and 3, suggesting that this feature was not closed until the latter half of the 1st century BC at the earliest.

The majority of the large group of sherds in Pit F2314 consists of the cross-joining remains of a complete small jar with an upright/ slightly everted rim (Fig. 52.13). The jar has a diameter of *c*. 120mm and a height of *c*. 110mm; traces of soot on the exterior suggest that it may have been a small cooking pot. Small jars of similar size and profile have been recorded at West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 62: vessels 90-91), Barley (Cra'aster 1961, 39: vessel 70) and Stowmarket (Peachey forthcoming). Limited fragments of four further jars with similar plain, upright/ slightly everted rims, burnished exteriors and similar or larger diameters were also present in Pit Cluster 4. These were recovered from Pit F2314 (L2315 and L2316) (Fig. 52.14), Pit F2153 (L2154) (Figs. 52.15 and 52.16) and Pit F2327 (L2328) (Fig. 52.17) and have numerous parallels at West Stow (*i.e.* West with Martin 1990, 62-64: vessels 92, 98 and 100) and Barley (Cra'aster 1961, 38: vessels 3-5 and 30-40), as well as at Barnham (Martin 1993, 14: vessel 11). Three decorated variants of these types of jar are also present in the assemblage from Pit Cluster 4 and include two jars with fingertip-impressed rims and one with a vertically-scored body. The jars with fingertip-impressed rims were contained in Pits F2153 (L2154) (Fig. 52.18) and F2321 (L2322) (Fig. 52.19); they are comparable to examples from West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 62: vessels 74 and 77), Barley (Cra'aster 1961, 38: vessels 21-22) and Barnham (Martin 1993, 14: vessels 7 and 17). The jar with vertical scoring was contained in Pit F2321 (L2322) (Fig. 52.20) and is comparable to examples from West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 64: vessel 96) and Barley (Cra'aster 1961, 38: vessel 26).

Fabric type	Sherd Count	% Sherd Count	Weight (g)	% Weight (g)
Fabric 1a	115	78.77	1425	66.96
Fabric 2	9	6.16	281	13.20
Fabric 3	19	13.01	344	16.17
Fabric 4	2	1.37	74	3.48
Fabric 8	1	0.68	4	0.19
Total	*146*	*99.99*	*2128*	*99.99*

Table 12: Quantification and proportions of middle to late Iron Age fabric types in Phase 5 Pit Cluster 4 (east of Area 2)

Pit Cluster 5 (south-east of Area 2)

Pit Cluster 5 produced a total of 157 sherds (2553g) of middle to late Iron Age pottery, recovered from 14 pits and forming the largest single group of pottery within the assemblage. The group includes fragments from at least 21 vessels. Pit Cluster 5 included a notable concentration of sherds in Pit F2333, while six pits in the group contained sherds that are in either 'Belgic' forms or fabrics, suggesting that these features were not closed until the latter half of the 1st century BC at the earliest. As in Pit Clusters 3 and 4, Fabric 1a accounts for over 70% of the group by sherd count (65% by weight) (Table 13).

Fabric type	Sherd Count	% Sherd Count	Weight (g)	% Weight (g)
Fabric 1a	117	74.52	1967	77.05
Fabric 1b	1	0.64	22	0.86
Fabric 2	16	10.19	292	11.44
Fabric 3	16	10.19	144	5.64
Fabric 4	2	1.27	11	0.43
Fabric 7	3	1.91	93	3.64
Fabric 8	2	1.27	24	0.94
Total	*157*	*99.99*	*2553*	*100*

Table 13: Quantification and proportions of middle to late Iron Age fabric types in Phase 5 Pit Cluster 5 (south-east of Area 2)

The concentration of sherds in Pit F2333 (L2334), in total 22 sherds (737g), includes fragments from five vessels in Fabric 1a. All five vessels have upright/ slightly everted rims, shouldered profiles and burnished exteriors. The bulk of the fragments are derived from two jars (Figs. 52.21 and 52.22), comparable to examples from Barley (Cra'aster 1961, 38: vessel 40) and Thetford (Gregory 1991a, 157: vessel 3) and also similar to vessels from West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 64: vessels 111 and 112). The remaining three jars (Figs. 52.23 - 52.25) also have strong similarities to examples from West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 64: vessels 103, 106 and 111) and Barley (Cra'aster 1961, 38: vessels 30-40). A further seven jars of this type are present elsewhere in Pit Cluster 5, including in Pit F2269 (L2270) (Fig. 52.26), Pit F2224 (L2256) (Fig. 52.27), Pit F2296 (L2297) (Fig. 52.28) and Pit F2302 (L2304) (Fig. 52.29). Also present in Pits F2305 (L2306) and F2291 (L2292) were two jars with upright, fingertip-impressed rims, comparable to examples from Barley (Cra'aster 1961, 38: vessels 53 and 55). The vessel in Pit F2291 (Fig. 52.30) also has traces of soot adhering to the exterior, suggesting its use as a cooking pot.

The remaining six vessels from Pit Cluster 5 represent a relatively narrow range of Belgic forms, which all occur alongside sherds from handmade vessels such as those described above. The Belgic vessels not only occur in Fabrics 7 and 8, but also in Fabrics 1a and 3, suggesting that classic Belgic grog-tempered fabrics (*i.e.* Fabric 8) were not only being imitated by local potters (Fabric 7), but also that forms were being imitated in existing fabrics (Fabrics 1a and 3). Of these fabrics, only Fabric 8 was manufactured on a wheel, while the remainder were handmade and possibly finished on a slow wheel. Pit F2263 (L2264) contained fragments from two

Fabric 7 Belgic vessels alongside handmade Fabric 1a body sherds. The Belgic vessels comprise a jar with a short everted rim and burnished exterior (Fig. 52.31) (Thompson 1982: type B1-1) and an everted bead rim from a necked bowl (Fig. 52.32). Comparable vessels in sand-and-chaff tempered fabrics (probably locally-produced) were present amongst the latest Iron Age pottery at West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 67: vessels 134 and 136). Fabric 1a fragments from both everted plain and bead rim Belgic vessels, probably bowls, were also present in Pit F2274 (L2275) (Figs. 52.33 and 52.34), but are too small for further comparison. A second jar, with a short everted rim and burnished exterior (Fig. 52.35) (Thompson 1982: type B1-1), in Fabric 8, was contained in Pit F2280 (L2281). It has a hole *c*. 5mm in diameter neatly drilled through the neck and traces of soot on the body, indicating that it was suspended over a fire. The final Belgic vessel in Pit Cluster 5 is represented by small fragments from a bowl with a plain everted rim and shoulder cordon from Pit F2013 (L2014) (Fig. 52.36), probably comparable to an example found at West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 67: vessel 137).

Pit Cluster 6 and other discrete features (Area 1)

Seven pits in Area 1 produced a total of 147 sherds (2266g) of middle to late Iron Age pottery, the bulk of which is accounted for by the near-complete remains of a single vessel in Pit F2046, situated close to the terminus of an enclosure ditch (F2030; Enclosure 2).

Pit F2046 (L2047) contained a total of 53 sherds (1547g) in Fabric 2, all belonging to a relatively large (diameter *c*. 240mm) jar or bowl with a slightly everted rim, sinuous weak-shouldered profile and scored decoration (Fig. 52.37). Similar vessels have been recorded at Thetford (Gregory 1991b, 14: vessels 11 and 19-20) and West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 62: vessels 83 and 86). The remainder of the pottery in the Area 1 pits is limited. Pit F2024 (L2025) contained a moderate concentration of Fabric 1a sherds (52 sherds; 300g). However, these do not include any diagnostic sherds and are probably derived from more than one vessel. Limited fragments from jars with slightly everted plain rims were also present in Pits F2036 (L2037) and F2049 (L2050) (Fig. 52.38); a jar fragment with a fingertip-impressed rim was present in Pit F2022 (L2023) (Fig. 52.39).

Pit Cluster 7 (west of Area 3)

Eight of the pits in Pit Cluster 7 contained middle to late Iron Age pottery, making a total of 38 sherds (364g), with a low average sherd weight of 9.58g. Pit F2184 (L2185) also contained residual early Bronze Age sherds (discussed above). The limited quantity of sherds in the group limits meaningful statistical analysis, but sherds in Fabric 1a appear to dominate, accounting for *c*. 45% of the group by sherd count (*c.* 54% by weight). Sherds in Fabrics 2 and 3 are relatively common; Fabric 4 is rare. The group contains a single rim sherd, from Pit F2208 (L2209), which is from a vessel with an upright rim (Fig. 52.40) comparable to examples recorded at West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 62-64: vessels 78 and 98).

Pit Cluster 8 and other discrete features (south of Area 3)

Nine features in this group produced a total of 73 sherds (891g) of middle to late Iron Age pottery with a low diagnostic element and no notable concentrations. As with the larger pit groups, Fabric 1a accounts for the bulk of the sherds, with Fabrics 2 and 3 sparse and Fabrics 4 and 7 rare.

Pit F2417 (L2418) contained fragments from a Fabric 1a jar with a slightly everted rim, weak-shouldered body and burnished exterior which exhibits traces of soot (Fig. 52.41). It is comparable to examples found at West Stow (West with Martin 1990, 62: vessel 92) and Barley (Cra'aster 1961, 38: vessel 4). Layer L2438 contained a contrasting mix of pottery including Fabric 3 body sherds with fingernail-impressed decoration, probably dating to the middle Iron Age, and a Fabric 7 carinated Belgic bowl with a plain shoulder cordon (Fig. 52.42) comparable to Thompson's (1982) type E3-1, which probably dates to the latter half of the 1st century BC or the earlier half of the 1st century AD. Pit F2439 (L2440) also contained sherds from an unidentifiable Belgic vessel in Fabric 3.

Gullies between Enclosures 2 and 3 (south of Area 3)

This group of features contained only five sherds (50g), in Fabrics 1a and 2, and did not include any diagnostic sherds.

Miscellaneous features

Three features not classified in any of the above groups contained a total of 12 sherds (206g) of middle to late Iron Age pottery. Pits F2038 and F2432 and Gully F2308 each contained negligible quantities of non-diagnostic Fabric 1a body sherds.

Conclusions on the middle to late Iron Age pottery

The moderate distribution across the site of middle to late Iron Age pottery suggests that this was a consistently occupied settlement, with the relatively high concentrations of fragmentary and very homogenous sherds in Pit Clusters 3, 4 and 5 indicating areas which may have been particularly close to focal points of domestic activity (although it is equally possible that domestic 'rubbish' was deliberately deposited away from direct settlement areas). The strong bias towards deposition in pit contexts may indicate their deliberate use as rubbish pits. As the consistent typological comparisons with the large pottery groups from West Stow, especially phase 2 (West with Martin 1990), and Barley (Cra'aster 1961) have demonstrated, the overall character of the form and fabric types in this assemblage are comprehensively paralleled on middle to late Iron Age domestic sites in the region. It is also notable that the range of forms is closely paralleled in the small assemblage from Barnham (Martin 1993, 14-16), *c.* 11.5 miles to the east, although the balance of fabric types varies between the assemblages. Previous truncation of the large central area which the excavated features appeared to surround/ enclose does not allow for further conclusions on the relationship of these seemingly 'domestic' groups with potential buildings close to the excavated area. Statistical comparisons with pottery assemblages from comparable middle to late Iron Age settlements are also likely to be unreliable given the partial nature of the excavated site. Despite the

apparently domestic character of the assemblage, the complete vessel deposited in Pit F2046, close to a ditch terminus (Ditch F2030), hints at a less directly practical side to the use and deposition of pottery at the site. Occasional deliberate placement of objects in key locations may have had ritual/ symbolic significance to the site's Iron Age inhabitants.

The middle to later Iron Age pottery can be broadly associated with the 3rd to 1st centuries BC (and possibly the early 1st century AD); however, certain characteristics suggest a narrower chronological range. The scarce presence of Belgic fabrics and forms suggests that these types had been introduced but not yet achieved common currency; they appear to be contemporary with the final stages of occupation on the site. The proportion of Belgic fabrics in this assemblage never approaches the quantities present in the phase 3 groups from West Stow, which were dated to *c*. AD 1-60 (West with Martin 1990, 68). However, the Belgic component at Bridge House Dairies is not dissimilar in scale to the sparse sherds present in the small assemblage from Barnham, which dates to the same period (Martin 1993, 15). Therefore, if the homogenous middle to late Iron Age pottery group is, as it appears to be, largely contemporary, then it dates to the 1st century BC, possibly the latter half of the 1st century BC and possibly into the early 1st century AD. If it can be accepted that the rise of organic/ chaff-tempered fabrics (*i.e.* Fabric 1a) was an attempt to imitate the finish of grog-tempered fabrics (Martin 1999, 80), then the dominance of Fabric 1a over Fabric 2 (sand-and-flint-tempered) and Fabric 3 (sand-tempered) may be seen as supporting evidence for this hypothesis.

Illustrated Iron Age sherds

Fig. 52.1	L2425. F2424. Gully Fill. Carinated bowl with fingertip-impressed rim (EIA).
Fig. 52.2	L2043. F2042. Gully Fill. Burnished, weak-shouldered vessel with upright rim.
Fig. 52.3	L2346. F2345. Ditch Fill. Vessel with slightly everted frilled rim.
Fig. 52.4	L2239. F2238. Pit Fill. Burnished vessel with upright rim and shouldered body.
Fig. 52.5	L2239. F2238. Pit Fill. Burnished vessel with upright rim and shouldered body.
Fig. 52.6	L2239. F2238. Pit Fill. Burnished vessel with upright rim and ovoid body.
Fig. 52.7	L2239. F2238. Pit Fill. Ovoid vessel with fingertip-impressed rim/ scored body.
Fig. 52.8	L2242. F2241. Pit Fill. Jar with upright, slightly everted rim.
Fig. 52.9	L2242. F2241. Pit Fill. Jar with upright, slightly everted rim.
Fig. 52.10	L2090. F2089. Pit Fill. Jar with fingertip-impressed rim.
Fig. 52.11	L2090. F2089. Pit Fill. Jar with fingertip-impressed rim.
Fig. 52.12	L2100. F2099. Pit Fill. Jar/ bowl with out-curved rim and curvilinear decoration.
Fig. 52.13	L2315. F2314. Pit Fill. Complete small jar with upright/ slightly everted rim.
Fig. 52.14	L2315, L2316. F2314. Pit Fills. Burnished jar with upright/ slightly everted rim.
Fig. 52.15	L2154. F2153. Pit Fill. Burnished jar with upright/ slightly everted rim.
Fig. 52.16	L2154. F2153. Pit Fill. Burnished jar with upright/ slightly everted rim.
Fig. 52.17	L2328. F2327. Pit Fill. Burnished jar with upright/ slightly everted rim.
Fig. 52.18	L2154. F2153. Pit Fill. Jar with fingertip-impressed rim.
Fig. 52.19	L2322. F2321. Pit Fill. Jar with fingertip-impressed rim.
Fig. 52.20	L2322. F2321. Pit Fill. Jar with vertical scoring.
Fig. 52.21	L2334. F2333. Pit Fill. Burnished shouldered jar with everted rim.
Fig. 52.22	L2334. F2333. Pit Fill. Burnished shouldered jar with everted rim.
Fig. 52.23	L2334. F2333. Pit Fill. Burnished shouldered jar with everted rim.
Fig. 52.24	L2334. F2333. Pit Fill. Burnished shouldered jar with everted rim.
Fig. 52.25	L2334. F2333. Pit Fill. Burnished shouldered jar with everted rim.
Fig. 52.26	L2270. F2269. Pit Fill. Burnished shouldered jar with everted rim.
Fig. 52.27	L2256. F2224. Pit Fill. Burnished shouldered jar with everted rim.
Fig. 52.28	L2297. F2296. Pit Fill. Burnished shouldered jar with everted rim.
Fig. 52.29	L2304. F2302. Pit Fill. Burnished shouldered jar with everted rim.

Fig. 52.30 L2292. F2291. Pit Fill. Jar with upright fingertip-impressed rim.
Fig. 52.31 L2264. F2263. Pit Fill. Burnished Belgic jar with short everted rim.
Fig. 52.32 L2264. F2263. Pit Fill. Necked Belgic bowl with everted bead rim.
Fig. 52.33 L2275. F2274. Pit Fill. Plain Belgic bowl with everted rim.
Fig. 52.34 L2275. F2274. Pit Fill. Belgic bowl with bead rim.
Fig. 52.35 L2281. F2280. Pit Fill. Burnished Belgic jar with short everted rim.
Fig. 52.36 L2014. F2013. Pit Fill. Belgic bowl with everted rim and shoulder cordon.
Fig. 52.37 L2047. F2046. Pit Fill. Complete weak-shouldered jar with scored decoration.
Fig. 52.38 L2050. F2049. Pit Fill. Jar with everted plain rim.
Fig. 52.39 L2023. F2022. Pit Fill. Jar with fingertip-impressed rim.
Fig. 52.40 L2209. F2208. Pit Fill. Vessel with upright rim.
Fig. 52.41 L2418. F2417. Pit Fill. Burnished, weak-shouldered jar with everted rim.
Fig. 52.42 L2438. Layer. Carinated Belgic bowl with plain shoulder cordon.
All sherds are middle to late Iron Age unless otherwise stated

Medieval/ post-medieval pottery

A total of five small, highly-abraded sherds (16g) of late medieval to post-medieval pottery were contained in Pit F2220 (L2221) and Gully F2005 (L2006). All the sherds are in oxidised sand-tempered or earthenware fabrics with traces of external lead glaze.

4.3 Baked clay objects and ceramic building materials

Andrew Peachey

The excavation produced a total of 63 fragments (1579g) of baked clay comprising middle to late Iron Age loomweights and two fragments (1579g) of modern CBM.

The middle to late Iron Age baked clay fragments are highly fragmented and abraded but exhibit a homogenous fabric and enough extant edges, surfaces and perforations to conclude that they were part of triangular weights with perforations across each corner, used on upright, warp-weighted looms for weaving textiles (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 44). The fabric of the loomweight fragments occurs in mottled, oxidised tones with inclusions of sparse flint and chalk (0.5-8mm), comparable to fabrics used for loomweights at Burgh (Martin 1988, 63).

Phase 5 Feature Group	No. of features*	F	W
Enclosure 1	1	1	36
Pit Cluster 4	1	29	1273
Pit Cluster 5	5	33	270
Total	*7*	*63*	*1579*

Table 14: Quantification of loomweight fragments in Phase 5 feature groups by fragment count (F) and weight (W, in grams)
*containing loomweight fragments

The assemblage includes two small concentrations of loomweight fragments and an isolated fragment in Gully F2369 Segment A (L2370), part of the Phase 5 enclosure (Enclosure 1) which extended beyond the western site boundary (Table 14). The largest concentration, of 29 fragments (1273g), was contained solely in Pit F2314 (L2315) (Phase 5 Pit Cluster 4). It includes four large fragments, each pierced by a rod-shaped hole (*c.* 10-15mm wide) which would have perforated the corner of an intact weight. A single fragment in this concentration exhibits intact upper and lower surfaces, indicating that the surfaces were smoothed flat and that the weight was originally *c*. 60mm thick. The second concentration, in Phase 5 Pit Cluster 5, comprises small fragments distributed across five pits. Pit F2265 (L2266) contained a total of 28 fragments (198g), while sparse fragments were also present in Pits

F2263 (L2264), F2269 (L2271), F2333 (L2334) and F2450 (L2451). The fragments from Pit F2265 (L2266) include a single fragment with an intact surface and slightly curved edge. Triangular loomweights such as these are relatively common on middle to late Iron Age sites in the region, including Thetford (Gregory 1991, 148), Burgh (Martin 1988, 63), Ingham (Caruth and Anderson 1999, 41), Aldwick, Barley (Cra'aster 1961, 34) and Wimblington (March to Chatteris Pipeline) (Crummy 2003, 59-61).

The modern CBM comprises a fragment of machine-cut brick with a partial maker's stamp (280g) from Pit F2078 (L2079) (Phase 5 Pit Cluster 2) and a fragment of mortar from between brick courses (9g) found in Pit F2280 (L2281) (Phase 5 Pit Cluster 5). Both modern fragments are isolated, highly abraded finds and are probably intrusive.

4.4 Human skeletal remains

Stephany Leach

Introduction

The human remains from Mildenhall include one complete skeleton (SK2218; referred to in this report as SK1) recovered from a pit (F2257); associated ceramic evidence and a calibrated radiocarbon date (394-207 BC; see Mustchin and Beta Analytic, this report) places the skeleton firmly within the middle Iron Age. This individual appears to have been deposited in a rubbish pit in a casual, 'disorganised' manner. During excavation of the site, thirteen potential human cremation pit deposits, of apparent late Bronze Age (Phase 4) date (*ibid.*), were identified. Of these, human remains were identified in four: Cremations 2 (L2167), 3 (L2169), 6 (L2175) and 9 (L2183). The partial remains of an infant (neonate), which show no signs of exposure to fire, were identified in what was originally thought to be another cremation deposit (Cremation 4; L2171). One human cranial vault fragment, from a late Neolithic pit (F2331), was identified amongst the animal bone assemblage.

Methodology

Preservation and completeness of the skeletal remains were assessed and graded following standards set out in Brickley and McKinley (2004). Estimations of the age-at-death of the immature skeletal remains were based on an evaluation of dental development and eruption (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Moorees *et al*. 1963a, 1963b; Smith 1991), appearance of centres of ossification and epiphyseal fusion (Krogman and Iscan 1986; McKern and Stewart 1957; Scheuer and Black 2004; Suchey *et al*. 1984) and diaphyseal length (Hoffman 1979; Fazekas and Kosa 1978; Scheuer *et al.* 1980; Ubelaker 1989). Skeletal degenerative changes and dental wear were also evaluated (Brooks and Suchey 1990; Iscan and Loth 1989; Lovejoy *et al.* 1985; Smith 1984). Assignment of sex was based on the assessment of dimorphic traits of the pelvis and skull, following the development of secondary sexual skeletal characteristics after puberty (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Sutherland and Suchey 1991). These were supplemented by metrical data, specifically the joint dimensions of the shoulder and hip (Chamberlain 1994).

Cranial and postcranial metrics and non-metrics were recorded where present (Bass 1995; Berry and Berry 1967; Brothwell 1981; Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994) and stature estimated from maximum lengths of any completely-fused long bones (Trotter 1970). Pathological lesions, traumatic injuries and activity-related changes were also noted and recorded (Brickley and McKinley 2004; Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Ortner 2003).

The Phase 4 cremated human remains were processed according to standard methodologies (McKinley 2004; 1993). The cremated bone was passed through a stack of three sieves of 10, 5 and 2mm mesh size, recording the weight of bone collected in each sieve. Maximum fragment size was also noted. The identifiable fragments were then divided into four categories: skull, axial, upper and lower limb. Relative representation of the four skeletal zones was noted in order to determine any deliberate bias in the skeletal elements collected for burial. Colouration, texture and evidence of warping and shrinkage were also noted. Demographic characteristics were estimated following the methods stated above.

Results

Pit depositions

Skeleton 1 (SK2218)

The skeletal remains of the individual from the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) pit (F2257) are moderately well preserved, yet quite fragmented, and most elements exhibit a degree of erosion, root etching and some concretions. More than 75% of the skeleton is present, although the bones of the right foot were absent due to prior disturbance. Due to the young age-at-death, a number of the long bones remain unfused; however, most of the epiphyses are present in the assemblage.

Age, sex and stature

The age-at-death of this individual was estimated at between 17 and 20 years, most likely occurring at the younger age in this range. The estimate is based on a general survey of epiphyseal fusion and dental eruption. Unfused elements include proximal humerus, acromial epiphysis of the scapula, distal radius and ulna, iliac crest and distal femur, while fused elements include proximal and distal tibia, proximal femur, proximal ulna and radius and distal humerus. The maxillary third molars remain in their crypts; the mandibular third molars were in the process of eruption when death occurred.

The sexing of sub-adult material is problematic. As death occurred prior to the full development of the dimorphic secondary sexual characteristics, assignment of sex cannot be given with certainty. An evaluation of the skeletal remains indicates a mix of both male and female characteristics, mostly likely due to the young age at death, but overall the osseous evidence is more suggestive of a female than a male individual. The bone metrics strongly imply female characteristics, particularly the joint dimensions of the shoulder and hip. The generally gracile nature of the bones – the hand and foot bones being extremely petite – also reinforces assignment of the skeleton to the category of probable ‘Female?’.

The stature of this individual, calculated from the left tibia (the only long bone exhibiting complete fusion or skeletal maturity), indicates a living height of approximately 156cm, or 5' 1". This is also more suggestive of a young adult female than a male. Stature calculations for Iron Age females range from 154cm to 164cm, with a mean of 162cm (Roberts and Cox 2003, 103); the Mildenhall individual is, therefore, below average height for this period. Male stature ranged from 164cm to 174cm, with a mean of 168cm (*ibid*.); if this individual was in fact male, he would have been exceptionally short in comparison with his contemporaries.

Activity and trauma

Cortical defects and platymeria

Cortical defects or linear depressions located at muscle insertion sites were noted on the clavicle (costoclavicular), proximal humerus (pectoralis major and teres major – more pronounced on the left side than right; Plate 19), proximal femur (gluteus maximus) and tibia (soleus – more pronounced on the right side). These defects are caused by chronic mechanical stress; the insertion sites for the pectoralis major and teres major, on the proximal humerus, being two common locations for these defects (Larsen 1997, 188). It would appear that more strain was being put on the muscles of the left upper arm. The diffuse nature of these lesions implies high levels of repetitive mechanical loading throughout the muscular system, beyond the capacity of the musculoskeletal system to endure, subsequently resulting in bone lesions.

This individual also exhibited pronounced bilateral anteroposterior flattening of the proximal femoral subtrochanteric diaphysis, or platymeria (Plate 20). These bone changes are also considered to be induced by, or a response to, extreme muscle activity or pressure (Wolff's Law), specifically the gluteal and other 'hip-balancing' muscles (Larsen 1997, 223). The bilateral porotic lesions on the anterior surface of the femoral neck may also be related to the mechanical physiological stress placed on the bones.

Roberts and Cox (2003, 96) suggest that increases in agricultural activity during the later prehistoric period, including the clearing and ploughing of fields, crop cultivation, harvesting and processing of crops, and the use of quernstones to grind grain, may be the cause of a higher prevalence of skeletal 'wear and tear' indicators, as noted in the Bridge House Dairies skeleton.

Healed bone fracture

During the Iron Age, there is also evidence for increased levels of interpersonal violence and bone trauma. The Bridge House Dairies individual exhibits a double-healed fracture of the right clavicle; the break is well-healed, with only slight deformity of the bone (Plate 21). It remains unclear whether the cause of this fracture was related to accidental injury or interpersonal conflict. The crude prevalence rate for fractures of the clavicle in Iron Age human skeletal assemblages is 2.1%, with examples found at Yarton, Oxfordshire and East Yorkshire (Roberts and Cox 2003, 100).

Dental anomalies

The Bridge House Dairies individual exhibits quite unusual dental anomalies in the maxillary dentition (Plate 22). On the right side, anterior to the first premolar, is a retained deciduous canine, and adjacent to this is a permanent canine in the position usually occupied by the lateral incisor. The lateral incisor is congenitally absent. On the left side, the lateral incisor is present but reduced in size or 'peg-like' and the left maxillary canine is in the correct anatomical location. The wear or dental attrition is also unusual. Posterior teeth exhibit little enamel wear: stage 2 to 3 (Smith 1984), but the anterior teeth exhibit a greater degree of dental attrition: stage 4 to 5, the incisors being most adversely affected. In consideration of the young age-at-death and the lack of enamel wear of the posterior teeth, this degree of wear on the incisors appears abnormal or atypical and perhaps relates to some form of dental use for processing or gripping, *i.e.* 'third hand' use.

Partial infant remains within 'Cremation 4' (L2171)

The partial remains of an infant, which show no evidence of exposure to fire, were identified in what was recorded on site as a possible cremation burial (Cremation 4; L2171). Elements present include fragments of cranium, rib, vertebral arches (unfused) and the dens or odontoid process of the axis. The age-at-death estimation, at approximately around the time of birth, is based on the appearance of centres of ossification and fusion, and cross-comparison of the elements with more complete infant remains. A fish vertebra was also identified amongst this bone assemblage.

Skull fragment within Pit F2331

A small fragment of frontal bone of adult proportions (sexually dimorphic characteristics are absent) was identified amongst the animal bone assemblage excavated from a late Neolithic (Phase 2) pit (F2331). The dating of the feature is based on the fairly large assemblage of Grooved Ware pottery found in association.

Phase 4 Cremation deposits

During excavation of the site, thirteen potential human cremation pit deposits were identified. Human remains were identified in four of these: Cremations 2 (L2167), 3 (L2169), 6 (L2175) and 9 (L2183). However, as very little bone was present, they appeared to be either heavily-disturbed, or only 'token' depositions. No vessels were found during excavation, although radiocarbon dating of Cremation 3 indicates a late Bronze Age date.

Cremation 2 (L2167)

This cremation deposit is only represented by 16.6g of bone (13.1g >1cm and 3.5g <1cm). The small bone fragments derive from Spits 1 and 2, and, of those identified, all seem to be long bone fragments. The largest fragment measures 22mm. Colouration, black to grey, indicates that the bone was not burned intensely and remained uncalcined. During excavation, it was noted that an animal bone, a

scapula, had been placed, possibly as a 'foundation' deposit, under the cremated remains.

Cremation 3 (L2169)

This cremation deposit was excavated in 3cm spits, retrieving a total of 154.2g of human bone (Table 15).

Spits	> 1cm	< 1cm	SK	UL	LL	AX	UNID	Colour and largest fragment size
1	31.2g	10.5g	4.6g	14.2g	7g	8.8g	7.1g	Brown, black, grey / 37mm
2	21g	10.2g	3.8g	9.3g	3.3g	5.8g	9g	Dark brown, black / 35mm
3	22.9g	14.2g	8.4g	4.6g	3.1g	1.7g	19.3g	Dark brown, black / 25mm
4	19.4g	10.4g	11g	0	5.2	0	13.6g	Dark brown, black, grey / 34mm
5	5.4g	4.1g	5.5g	0	0	0	4g	Dark brown, black / 21mm
6	2.6g	2.3g	2.6g	0	0	0	2.3g	Grey, white / 31mm
Totals	***102.5g***	***51.7g***	***35.9g***	***28.1g***	***18.6g***	***16.3g***	***UNID***	
Total	***154.2g***	***ID 98.9g***	***36%***	***28%***	***19%***	***16%***	***55.3g***	

Table 15: Cremation 3 (L2169), representation by spits and regions of the skeleton
Key: ID – identified bone fragments; UNID – unidentified bone fragments
SK – skull fragments; UL – upper limb; LL – lower limb; AX – axial

Cremation 3 is the largest of the cremation deposits identified at Bridge House Dairies. Most areas of the skeleton are represented in this assemblage (Table 16); nevertheless, the low weight (154g) would suggest either post-depositional disturbance of this material or that the feature only ever contained a 'token' deposit of cremated remains. A few fragments exhibit full skeletal maturity (with fused epiphyses), indicating that the remains belong to an adult individual. The low total cremated bone weight, together with a lack of duplication of elements represented, strongly suggests the assemblage represents one adult individual. The bones do not appear robust, perhaps indicating that they represent a female; however, as no further sexually dimorphic characteristics are present, these remains could perhaps represent a gracile male. The sex of this individual therefore remains undetermined.

Bridge House Dairies		**Expected***
Identified Bone	**%**	**%**
Skull	36	18.2
Axial	16	20.6
upper limb	28	23.1
lower limb	19	38.1

Table 16: Comparison of Cremation 3 identified bone assemblage with expected proportions
* after McKinley (1994, 6)

Table 16 compares Mildenhall Cremation 3 skeletal representation with the expected proportions and representation of skeletal zones if complete recovery were achieved (McKinley 1994, 6). As can be seen, the cranial fragments are overrepresented; however, this is frequently a feature of archaeological assemblages due to ease of recognition of these bone fragments. Lower limb fragments are underrepresented in this assemblage, perhaps indicating that these elements were located mostly in the upper, disturbed, portion of the deposit.

Several burnt animal bones were incorporated in the deposit, including a vertebra of a sheep, and a small, burnt metal object was also identified amongst the cremated remains. The colour of the cremated human bone implies that the material was not

thoroughly calcined or oxidised; the bone mostly ranges from dark brown to grey, with occasional white fragments. The material exhibits evidence of warping and fissuring, suggesting that the body was fleshed when subjected to the cremation fire.

Radiocarbon dating of Cremation 3 yielded a calibrated date of 1208-977 BC, placing this deposit firmly within the late Bronze Age.

Cremation 6 (L2175)

Cremation 6 is only represented by a few small fragments of bone (total bone weight 3.1g). These are consistent with the texture of human rather than animal bone; the largest fragment is 30mm, but the remaining fragments are below 1cm. The bone exhibits warping and fissuring and is only lightly burnt, as opposed to fully oxidised.

Cremation 9 (L2183)

Cremation 9 is similar to Cremation 6, comprising only a few small fragments of bone (total bone weight 1.7g), which are consistent with the texture of human bone but cannot be identified to a specific element or region of the skeleton.

Discussion and conclusions

From the late Bronze Age, mortuary treatment of human remains becomes less visible in the archaeological record and there is only minimal evidence for burial rites or mortuary behaviour throughout most of the Iron Age. Only in the latest pre-Roman conquest phase do human remains begin to occur with any frequency in the burial record (Cunliffe 1991, 1995b; Haselgrove 1999; Hill 1995; Wait 1985; Whimster 1981). Disposal of the majority of the dead in the earlier Iron Age was probably by excarnation or cremation followed by scattering of remains. However, deposition of human remains in pits, ditches and postholes was also a feature of this period (Craig *et al*. 2005; Cunliffe 1995a, 1995b, 1992, 1991; Cunliffe and Poole 1991; Green 2001; Hill 1995; Wait 1985; Whimster 1981). Storage pits, following disuse, frequently became repositories for structured deposits. This phenomenon, most common in southern Britain but also noted in other areas, included the deposition of both human and animal remains, in both articulated and disarticulated conditions, or as isolated body parts or skeletal elements, most notably the skull (*ibid*.). Such activities do not appear to have been a common or frequent occurrence and human remains recovered from these contexts represent only a minority of the total Iron Age population (Cunliffe 1995a, Hill 1995; Whimster 1981). It is now widely accepted that these deposits represent more than just casual disposal of human and animal remains in convenient receptacles. Rather, they are thought to imply meaningful, structured activities (*ibid*.); however, the specific purposes/ rationales underlying such behaviour remain a matter of debate. It is also widely accepted that the bodies of the majority of the Iron Age population were subjected to excarnation, followed by a disposal or scattering of their remains, that left no trace in the archaeological record.

The skeletal remains relating to whole corpse inhumations in pits or ditches often indicate that the individuals had been tightly bound or restrained, and are often placed in prone positions, or sprawled as if thrown carelessly into the open pit

(Cunliffe 1995a), as is the case with the Bridge House Dairies individual. Frequently, the overall impression is not one of respectful treatment. Cunliffe (1995a, 76) suggests that these special depositions represent "final resting places of ancestors whose mortal remains were being used in a rare act of propitiation". However, Craig *et al*. (2005, 166) state that "Human bodies placed in unusual or liminal places – perhaps separated from others or treated in a manner different from the norm – may represent social outcasts or those who died in unusual circumstances, rather than ancestors.". In consideration of the range exhibited by the human osteological profiles of 'pit deposits', it is likely that no single explanation will account for every example of this type of deposition activity. Craig *et al*. (2005, 171) also note that the demographic profile of the death assemblage of this type of deposit at Danebury is more reflective of some socially-controlled selection process rather than a natural mortality profile: the greatest number of individuals deposited in pits were in the adolescent age range, a sector that is normally underrepresented in a death assemblage. The Mildenhall pit individual is also within this age-at-death category; however, women are underrepresented in the general demographic profile of pit depositions (Cunliffe 1995a, 78).

The skeletal evidence for this young female suggests that she engaged in quite physically arduous, habitual activity, and that her body was then disposed of in a seemingly 'callous' way. This may perhaps be linked to some form of ritual activity or simply related to convenient disposal of the corpse of a dead individual, which was perceived as no different to other 'rubbish'. The reason for her lack of inclusion in the normal or typical burial rite for this region and time period, generally resulting in a lack of visibility in the archaeological record, remains unclear. The partial remains of the infant recovered may represent a similar deposition activity; however, the date of this material remains undetermined.

No vessels or other finds (with the exception of the burnt metal object) were found in association with the Phase 4 cremated human bone, though a calibrated radiocarbon date for Cremation 3 (Mustchin and Beta Analytic, this report) suggests a late Bronze Age date for these deposits. Cremations 2, 6 and 9 represent only fragments of cremated remains, mostly likely representing heavily-disturbed or perhaps only 'token' depositions. Cremation 3, although represented by a more substantial weight of cremated bone, and although most of the skeletal regions are present, is still only a minimal deposit and again suggests either post-depositional disturbance or that the feature was some form of 'token' deposition (rather than a burial of the complete cremated remains of the individual). The material in general is not highly calcined or oxidised, suggesting lower burning temperatures and inefficient cremation techniques. The warping and fissuring of the bone fragments indicate the corpse was fleshed when subjected to the fire.

4.5 The Animal Bone

Dr James Morris

Introduction

The excavations at Bridge house dairies, Mildenhall produced a faunal assemblage of 3399 fragments, 61.3kg of animal bone. The assemblage was recovered from 169 contexts, from 144 features. A number of articulated partial and complete animal

skeletons were discovered on the site, referred to as ABGs (Associated Bone Groups). A small proportion of the faunal remains were recovered from late Neolithic and Bronze age contexts, however the majority of the assemblage dates to the middle to late Iron Age. Two complete sheep skeletons (2132 and 2133) were recovered in close association within Ditch F2129. The initial assessment indicated that that the animals are very large and robust. the measurement of the metacarpals and tibia indicates that both sheep are larger than any of the post-medieval examples from either Exeter (1979) or London, Chaucer House (Richardson 1977) suggesting a modern date for the animals. They are therefore not included in this report.

Methods

All animal bones were recorded individually into a Microsoft Access database which is deposited with the archive. When possible bones with recent breaks were reconstructed and have been counted as single specimens. Where appropriate, the following information for each fragment was recorded: context; phase; species; anatomy; zone(s) of bone present; fusion data; taphonomic condition; tooth ageing data; pathological data; butchery data; metrical data; other comments. Taxonomic identifications were checked utilising available reference collections.

When fragments can be assigned to a particular size of mammal but not to species, the categories 'SAR' (small ungulate size) for indistinguishable fragments from sheep/goat, pig (*Sus scrofa*) size mammals, and 'LAR' (large ungulate size) for indistinguishable fragments from cattle (*Bos taurus*) size mammals are used. Other unidentified fragments of mammal bones will be recorded as 'MAM' (unidentified mammal). Bird bones will be identified to species where possible, or otherwise recorded as 'BIRD' (Unidentified bird). Where possible sheep and goat were separated using the methods of Boessneck (1969), Payne (1985) and Halstead and Collins (2002).

Counts of the number of identified specimens present (NISP), included any identified limb bone fragments, ribs, skull fragments, loose teeth and vertebral bodies. Minimum numbers of individuals (MNI) calculations were derived from the most common zone of a bone, taking side and epiphyseal fusion into account. To ascertain the effect taphonomic conditions have had upon the assemblage the level of erosion is recorded. These are defined as; none or limited erosion; E1, slightly eroded (c.25% of the bone is effected), E2, moderately eroded (26-50% of the bone is effected), E3, severely eroded (>50% of the bone is effected).

Tooth eruption and wear stages were recorded following Grant (1982). Long bone epiphyseal fusion was recorded and used to estimate the age profiles for cattle, sheep/goat and pig following Silver (1969). Measurements following von den Driesch (1976) were taken and withers heights estimated using those recommended by von den Driesch and Boessneck (1974). Evidence of gnawing, burning, butchery (knife cuts, chopping, deliberate smashing, sawing) pathology and any taphonomic effects were also recorded.

Preservation of the assemblage

Overall the assemblage is well preserved, although this is some variation between the periods. It is notable that the Phase 2 (late Neolithic) assemblage is not as well preserved as the Phase 5 (middle to late Iron Age) assemblage. Of the 66 Phase 2 elements 40 (60%) had been eroded at either E1 or E2 levels (see above). In comparison just 9% (275) of the Phase 5 assemblage had been eroded. The level of erosion seen on the later Neolithic assemblage is likely to be a reflection of its age. Possible weathering cracks were also noted on some of the later Neolithic elements and there was a high degree of fragmentation.

The relatively good preservation of the Phase 5 assemblage means that a high degree of element and species identification was possible. However, some fragmentation has been noted. Canid gnawing was present on a small number of Iron Age elements. The Iron Age assemblage does not appear to have biased by taphonomic factors. The Anglo-Saxon (Phase 6) dog ABG also displayed relatively good preservation.

Results per phase

The identifiable and datable faunal remains recovered come from one of four phases; Phase 2 (late Neolithic), Phase 3 (late Bronze Age), Phase 5 (middle and late Iron Age) and Phase 6 (early Anglo-Saxon). This section of the report discusses the overall species proportions and patterns per phase. Owing to the close physical relationship of Phase 6 Pit F2124 to Phase 5 Pit Cluster 4, the dog ABG from this feature will be quantified below as part of the Phase 5 assemblage; this ABG will be discussed separately however. The undated material of interest will also be briefly discussed.

Of the 3399 faunal remains recovered from the site it was possible to identify 2132 (62.7%) fragments to both species and element. This is a relatively high rate of identification and is indicative of a well preserved faunal assemblage. Domestic mammals make up a total of 94.2% (2010) of the identified assemblage. The rest of the assemblage consists of a small number of domestic birds in the form of domestic fowl, wild birds, small mammals and amphibians. The majority of the small mammals and amphibians were recovered from the wet-sieved samples.

A total of 18 'animal burials' (ABGs) were identified during the excavation and post-excavation processes. The ABGs are predominantly from Phase 5 or undated features, with deposits of cattle, sheep/ goat, pig, horse and dog all identified. A single dog ABG (SK2126) is early Anglo-Saxon in date. Of the 2010 domestic mammal bones identified, 35.8% (721) of the elements are from an ABG deposit. These deposits are discussed in a separate section below.

Species	**Phase**				**Total**
	2	**3**	**5**	**U**	
cattle	12		594 (70)	19	**625 (70)**
sheep/goat	2		536 (18)	46 (29)	**584 (47)**
sheep			4	187 (187)	**191 (187)**
goat			2		**2**
pig	13		124 (63)	48 (44)	**185 (107)**
horse			92 (2)		**92**
dog	5		317 (299)*	9 (9)	**331 (308)**
red deer			5	1	**6**
roe deer	1		3	1	**5**
hare			1		**1**

large mammal, cattle-sized	17	1	444	20	**482**
large mammal, sheep/pig sized	5		601	67	**673**
mammal, indeterminate	11		72	19	**102**
domestic fowl			1	5	**6**
crow			1		**1**
duck			1		**1**
goose			1		**1**
pigeon			1		**1**
white-tailed eagle			5		**5**
woodcock			1		**1**
bird, indeterminate			4		**4**
mouse, indeterminate			2		**2**
vole, indeterminate			2		**2**
water vole			5	5	**10**
small mammal, indeterminate			6		**6**
frog/toad			78	1	**79**
pike				1	**1**
Total	**66**	**1**	**2903 (452)**	**429 (269)**	**3399 (721)**

Table 17: Summary of the NISP counts per species for each phase
**Inclusive of the early Anglo-Saxon (Phase 6) dog ABG from F2124*

Phase 2: late Neolithic c. 2900 - 2100 BC

A small proportion of the assemblage, 1.9% (66) was recovered from Phase 2 (Table 17) Pits F2331 (L2332) and F2415 (L2416). The latter contained a small assemblage of seven remains including fragments of pig femur and fourth metacarpal, sheep/ goat scapular and a cattle rib. The other bones were unidentified large ungulate ribs, or small ungulate vertebra. All the bones from this feature consisted of only a small proportion of the original element. They were also either slightly or moderately eroded.

The majority of the Phase 2 elements were recovered from Pit F2331 which produced an interesting assemblage containing a number of different species. It was possible to identify 29 of the 59 fragments recovered from this feature. As with the remains from the other Neolithic feature, the elements from Pit F2331 were not well preserved. Only seven elements, six of which were loose teeth, were not eroded. The rest of the assemblage was either slightly or moderately eroded. Large longitudinal cracks, indicative of weathering (Lyman 1994), were noted on the two fragments of cow radii. The excellent preservation of material from other periods on the site would suggest that the geological conditions are conducive to bone preservation. The poor preservation of the Neolithic animal bone, the high degree of fragmentation and the presence of weathering cracks indicates that this material may not have been deposited in the feature straight away. Canid gnawing was not noted on any of the elements, but the presence of dog elements indicates canids were possibly present on the site. The poor surface condition of the bone elements could possibly hide gnawing evidence.

The majority of the identified animal remains were from cattle and pig. A small number of sheep/ goat, dog and roe deer remains were also present (Table 18). The high proportion of cattle and pig appears to fit into the overall trend for this time period (late Neolithic assemblages from Redgate Hill, Norfolk (Jones 1993), Tye Field, Essex (Shennan 1985) and Fengate, Cambridgeshire (Harman 1978) are all dominated by cattle and pig remains) and suggest that the later Neolithic community associated with the site were concentrating on cattle and pig husbandry. Due to the small sample size there does not appear to be a distinctive pattern to the cow or pig

elements deposited in the pits, with the majority of body areas represented (Table 18).

Element	Cattle	S/G	Pig	Dog	Roe deer	LAR	SAR	MAM	Total
Skull			1			4			**5**
Maxilla			1						**1**
Mandible				2					**2**
Loose teeth	1		2	2					**5**
Scapula	1								**1**
Humerus	1		1	1					**3**
Radius	2		1		1				**4**
Ulna	1								**1**
Metacarpal	1		1						**2**
Femur		1	1						**2**
Tibia	1								**1**
Fibula			2						**2**
Metatarsal			1						**1**
Phalanx 1	1								**1**
Atlas	1								**1**
Thoracic vertebra	1								**1**
Vertebra fragment						4			**4**
Rib						7	4		**11**
Fragment								11	**11**
Total	**11**	**1**	**11**	**5**	**1**	**15**	**4**	**11**	**59**

Table 18: Summary of the NISP count of elements per species present from Phase 2 feature F2331

A small number of elements from other species were also present in Pit F2331. Sheep/ goat were represented by a single distal fragment of humerus. The dog remains comprise two mandibles, a left and right which appear to be from the same animal. Two loose dog incisors are also present; probably from the same animal as the mandible fragments. The other dog bone was a distal fragment of humerus. The distal epiphysis was in the process of fusing, meaning it was from an animal approximately 8 to 9 months old. The right-hand dog mandible had fully erupted adult dentition present but no sign of wear on the teeth. As the permanent dentition is established by 7 to 8 months old, this could suggest that the elements are either from the same dog, or from dogs of similar ages.

Wild mammals were also represented by a proximal fragment of roe deer radius. Although relativity uncommon roe deer remains were also recovered at Redgate Hill, Norfolk (Jones 1993). This indicates that as well as cattle and pig husbandry some hunting of wild mammals took place. The presence of roe deer also suggests a possible close by woodland habitat. If such a habitat existed it may also have been used for pig pannage, a practice that has been suggested by evidence from Durrington Walls whereby domestic pigs roamed feral in woodland and required hunting to be caught (Albarella and Serjeantson 2002).

Another example of roe deer consumption but on a very different scale was Coneybury anomaly in Wiltshire, which contained 305 roe deer elements (Maltby 1990). The Coneybury assemblage is often viewed as the remains from a feasting event. It is difficult to view the remains from the F2331 in such a way. The mixture of species is unusual, but then we have only a limited knowledge of Neolithic faunal assemblages in this region. It must also be considered that a fragment of human cranium and two grooved ware vessels were also present in this pit. The recovery of fragmented human remains from pits is rare in the region, with none recovered from Kilverstone (Garrow 2006) or Hurst Fen (Clark 1960). It is possible that material was deliberately placed within the pit.

Phase 3: early Bronze Age c. 2100 - 1700 BC

Only one bone was dateable to the early Bronze Age. A unidentified large ungulate rib shaft fragment was recovered from Pit F2409 (L2410). The element was highly fragmented and eroded.

Phase 5: middle and late Iron Age c. 300 BC - AD 50

Phase 5 species composition

As discussed above, the majority of the faunal remains recovered came from features dating from the middle to late Iron Age. Initially, a total of 2903 fragments of animal bone were recorded from features assigned to this period. The Dog AGB from Pit F2124 has since been radiocarbon dated to the early Anglo-Saxon period (Phase 6). It was possible to identify around 60% of fragments to both element and species. This relatively high percentage of identifiable elements is in part due to the good preservational conditions.

Domestic mammals are the most common species, making up *c.* 90% of the Phase 5 identifiable assemblage. A small proportion of wild mammals were also present including red deer, roe deer, hare, mouse (indeterminate), vole (indeterminate) and water vole. A number of bird remains including domestic fowl, crow, duck (indeterminate), goose, wood pigeon, white-tailed eagle and woodcock and 78 frog/ toad elements were also recovered.

Based on NISP counts the most common species are cattle, sheep/goat, dog and pig (Table 17). However, these figures are biased by a number of partial and complete skeletons (ABG's). For example, of the 317 dog fragments, including those latterly reassigned to Phase 6, only 18 were found as disarticulated fragments. The rest of the dog elements are from ABG's. Such Iron Age deposits are often viewed as the result of ritual activities (Morris 2008b), and are discussed in more detail below. If we exclude the ABG deposits then the most common species are cattle (524), sheep/ goat (524), horse (90) and pig (61). The Iron Age inhabitants of the site therefore appear to have concentrated on both cattle and sheep/ goat husbandry.

The minimum numbers of individuals indicate the faunal assemblage represents 14 cattle, 16 sheep/goat, 5 horses and 4 pigs. Therefore, slightly more sheep/ goat than cattle were utilised on the site however as cattle provide double the amount of meat of a sheep/ goat, beef would have been the most common meat consumed on the site. It should be noted that meat does not appear to have been consumed on a daily basis in the Iron Age. A large proportion of the diet would have consisted of cereals and vegetables, with animals also utilised for their secondary products (see below).

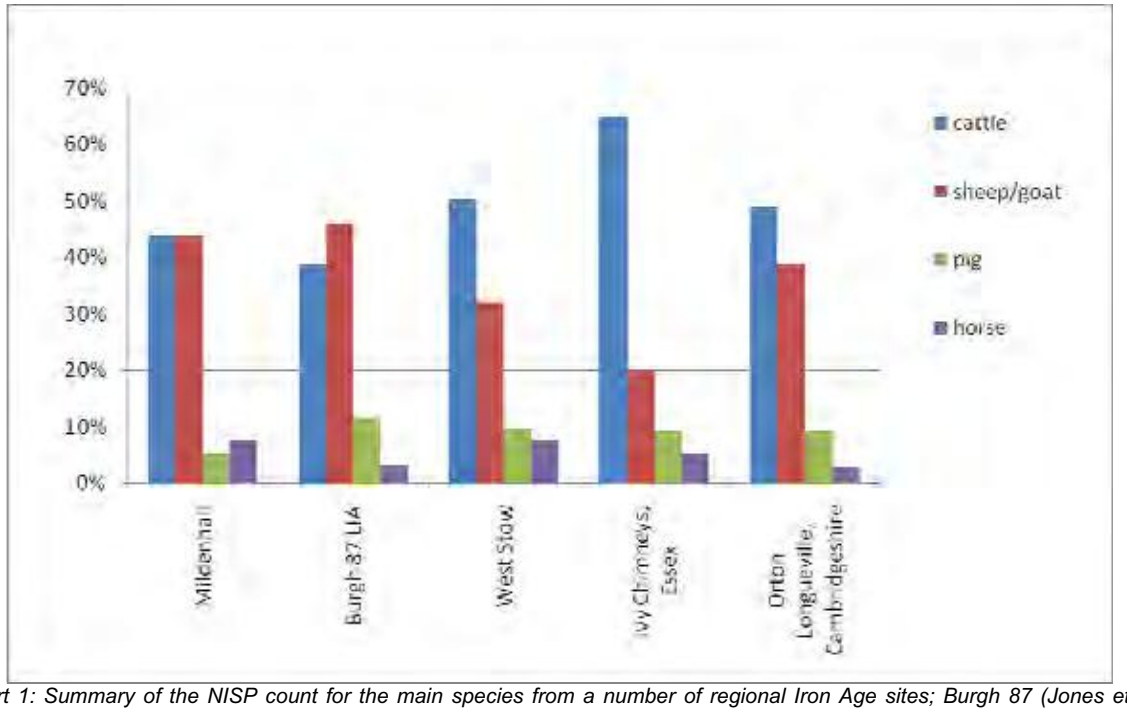

Chart 1: Summary of the NISP count for the main species from a number of regional Iron Age sites; Burgh 87 (Jones et al. 1987), West stow (Crabtree 1990), Ivy Chimneys (Luff 1999)and Orton Longueville (Davies 2001)

Comparison with the NISP counts for other Iron Age sites in the region indicates that cattle and sheep/ goat husbandry was commonplace (Chart 1). Nearby sites such as West Stow (Crabtree 1990) and Burgh 87 (Jones *et al.* 1987) have a relatively even number of cattle and sheep/goat. This pattern is very different to the 'Wessex' Iron Age region where husbandry is dominated by sheep/ goat. Hambleton's (1999) survey of Iron Age faunal assemblages indicates that cattle are much more common in the East Anglian region, possibly due to geographical and cultural reasons.

Phase 5 main domesticates: cattle, sheep/ goat and pig

The element data for cattle, sheep/ goat and pig indicate that all body areas are represented. This suggests that the animals were brought to the site on the hoof and were then killed, butchered and consumed. Despite this, there is some variation in the elements present. For cattle the most common are mandible, tibia and scapula. This is possibly because aspects of these elements are particularly dense and therefore survive the taphonomic process better than less dense elements. They are also relatively easy to identify when fragmented. For sheep/ goat the tibia, metatarsal and radius are the most common. Again these are elements that are often identifiable and durable. A notable aspect of the sheep/goat assemblage is the lack of toe elements (phalanges). Although 90 sheep/goat metapodials are present, only six first phalanges and one third phalanx are present (Table 19). It is possible that these elements were missed during excavation, they are particularly small and experiments by Payne (1972a) have shown that they are often missed without sieving taking place. A higher proportion of pig phalanges were recovered despite their similar size to those of sheep/ goat, however the majority were from an associated bone group (see below). It is possible that the sheep/ goat feet were deposited elsewhere on the site and possibly utilised as a raw material, such as in the making of glue. But it is notable that only a small number of sheep/ goat carapals and tarsals, such as the astragalus are present in the assemblage. As these are a

similar size to the phalanges it would suggest that the lack of such elements is due to taphonomic factors rather than past human activities.

Anatomy	Cattle	Sheep/ goat	Pig	Horse
horncore	6	5		
skull	31	18	7 (1)	5
maxilla	12	18 (1)	7 (1)	5 (1)
mandible	59	57	6 (2)	9 (1)
Loose teeth	42	37	2	13
hyoid	4 (1)	3		
scapula	48	34 (3)	2 (1)	4
humerus	36 (1)	37 (2)	5 (1)	5
radius	29 (1)	55 (4)	6 (1)	4
ulna	15 (1)	7	2	2
pelvis	30 (2)	11 (1)	6 (3)	2
femur	34	36 (1)	10 (2)	17
tibia	53	86	7 (2)	7
fibula			2 (2)	
patella	1			
metacarpus	29	33 (1)	4 (2)	6
carpal	1		3 (3)	1
metatarsus	21	57 (3)	7 (5)	2
metapodial			2	1
astragalus	10	1	3 (2)	1
calcaneum	4	2	1	
tarsal	3			
phalanx 1	19 (2)	6	5 (4)	1
phalanx 2	5 (1)		2 (2)	
phalanx 3	7	1	1 (1)	
atlas	4	1	1 (1)	
axis	2 (1)	2	1	
cervical vertebra	14 (5)	7		2
thoracic vertebra	24 (13)	5	6 (4)	1
lumbar vertebra	10 (6)	2	12 (11)	2
caudal vertebra	4 (3)		2	
sacrum		2	3 (3)	1
sternum	1 (1)		1 (1)	
rib	36 (32)	19 (2)	8 (8)	1
Total	**594 (70)**	**542 (18)**	**124 (63)**	**92 (2)**

Table 19: Summary of the NISP count of elements per species present from phase 5

Although the element data suggests that carcasses of cattle, sheep/ goat and pig were processed and consumed on the site, there is a lack of ribs and vertebral elements. This is easily explained by the difficulty in identifying such elements to species. One-hundred and ninety-five ribs and 23 vertebral fragments are present in the unidentified large mammal assemblage. Given the proportion of cattle to horse in the identified assemblage it is likely the majority of these fragments come from cattle. Two-hundred and seventy-six ribs and 32 vertebral fragments are also present in the unidentified small mammal assemblage respectively. The majority of these fragments are likely to be from sheep/ goat. The rest of the unidentified mammal assemblage is made up of skull and long bone fragments.

The age at which the main domesticates were consumed varies between species. The ageing data for pig is limited but indicates that the majority of the animals were immature young adults at age of slaughter. Of the three pig mandibles with teeth present, two had immature dentition, one with the first molar just erupting suggesting an age of four to six months and the other with the forth deciduous premolar still present, suggesting an age of less than 16 months. Epiphyseal fusion data indicates that only one quarter of the pig population may have lived to 42 months old or older. The majority of the pigs appear to have been culled between 18 and 30 months old (Chart 2). This would correspond with the perceived view that pigs were only kept in

small numbers as a source of meat, as compared to cattle and sheep they only have limited secondary product potential.

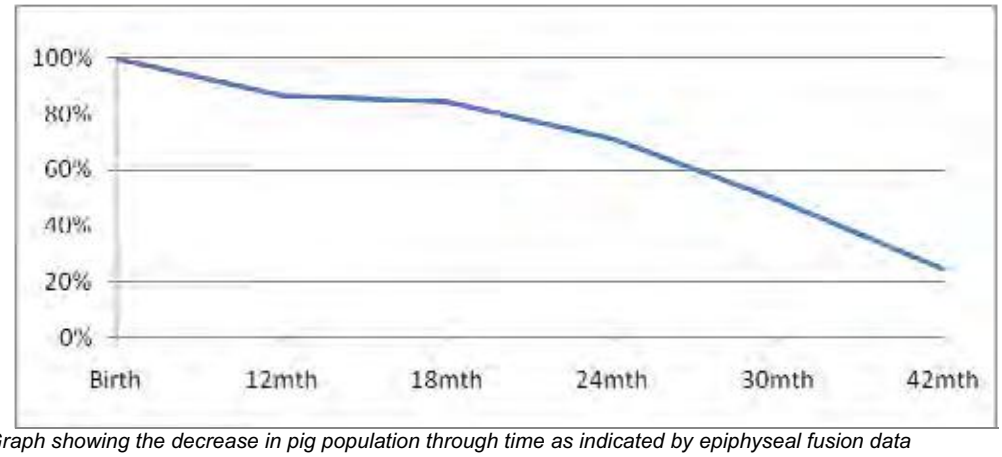

Chart 2: Graph showing the decrease in pig population through time as indicated by epiphyseal fusion data

In comparison, the majority of cattle appear to have been culled after reaching adulthood. In total 78% of the later fusing (42-48 months old) epiphyses present are fused. The fusion data indicates a small proportion of the cattle population are either culled or naturally die in the first year of life. Those that survive appear to live into adulthood with only a small amount of attrition. The animals that do die in the first year of life could represent natural mortalities, especially during the first winter. The presence of very porous neonatal calf bones in Ditches F2159 (L2160) and F2381 (L2383) and Pit F2333 (L2334) does suggest that calving may have taken place on or close to the site, in which case calves may have been kept in the vicinity. Only ten cow mandibles with recordable tooth wear were present. Three of the mandibles are from young animals with the second molar only just erupting. These correspond with some animals dying in their first year. The rest of the mandibles are from much older animals, most with very heavy tooth wear.

The data indicates that most cows were not culled until they were relatively old, suggesting that their secondary products were of greater value to the site's inhabitants. It is possible that cattle were important both as a form of traction and as a source of manure. Using Payne's (1972b) classic model, the lack of a larger proportion of neonatal and juvenile deaths would suggest that milk was not the main secondary product. However, McCormick's (1992) work shows that the calves were not necessarily culled to access the mothers' milk, and sometimes the presence of the calf was required for the cow to give milk. The cattle at Mildenhall may have been utilised for a mixture of secondary products, milk, traction and manure before being culled for meat and other primary products.

The sheep/ goat remains show a similar pattern to the cattle, with a significant proportion of animals living into adulthood. The epiphyseal fusion data shows that a small proportion of animals do not survive their first year. There then appears to be a kill-off event around 2 to 4 years, with approximately 50% living beyond this event. Tooth wear data is available from sheep/ goats and this has a similar pattern to the epiphyseal data, with a small number of early deaths, a peak around two to four years old, followed be gradual attrition of the population (Chart 3). The presence of bones from neonatal and juvenile animals again indicates that lambing may have occurred on the site or close-by, with the young animals kept relatively close to the

site. The peak of animals killed around two to four years old probably represents animals utilised for meat, with the rest kept for secondary product use, most likely wool.

Chart 3: Graph showing the mandible wear stages for Phase 4 sheep/ goat

A number of pathological specimens are present in the assemblage which further informs on animal use (pathological changes noted on the ABGs are discussed below). The majority of the pathological changes noted consist of congenitally absent teeth. Three cattle mandibles from Ditch F2040 (L2041 and L2051) and Pit F2056 (L2059) have the third cusp of their third molars congenitally missing. Such dental anomalies were also noted on sheep/ goat. The second and third premolars were congenitally absent from four sheep/ goat maxilla from Pits F2238 (L2239), F2280 (L2281) and F2314 (L2316). These dental anomalies are thought to have a genetic basis (Baker and Brothwell 1980). Therefore, the sheep/goats with absent teeth are likely to be part of the same breeding herd. Periodontal disease was also recorded on four sheep/ goat mandibles from Pits F2139 (L2140), F2291 (L2292), F2307 (L2293) and F2333 (L2334). All the examples involved the loss of teeth, remodelling of the tooth crypt and reabsorbing of the alveolar bone. Periodontal disease is one of the most common pathologies noted on animals in the archaeological record. It is possible that such pathologies are linked to poor nutrition, or a particularly gritty diet (Davies 2005).

Joint disease was also noted on two specimens. A complete cattle metatarsal from Ditch F2030 (L2031) had evidence of osteoarthritis. This consisted of slight extra bone growth around both the proximal and distal auricular surfaces. Pitting was also present on the proximal surface as was eburnation. Although osteoarthritis is an age related degenerative disease it can be accelerated by ‘hard labour’. Groot (2005) has suggested that such cases of osteoarthritis in cattle may be a sign of being used as a draft animal. Therefore, as discussed above, one of the secondary products cattle were used for on the site appears to be traction. The other example of joint disease was observed on a sheep/ goat humerus from Pit F2238 (L2239). This consisted of exostosis at the lateral epicondyle (Plate 23). Baker (1984) stated that such lesions are common amongst modern sheep and it appears to be associated with penning animals for holding and separating them, referring to it as ‘penning elbow’. The presence of this pathology suggests that the sheep may have been subjected to some form of tight enclosure.

Butchery marks were also noted on elements from the main domestic mammals. In total, thirteen cattle elements had marks on them. Seven of which would have been made using a knife, the rest appear to be chop marks involving a heavy blade. All aspects of the butchery process appear to be represented. Fine knife marks were present on two astragalii, indicating possible skinning and disarticulation of the lower foot. Disarticulation marks on the long bones are the most common butchery marks present on the assemblage. Knife marks are present on the proximal and distal epiphyses of femurs (2) and humeri (4). Marks were also present on the medial aspect of a mandible diastema, possibly associated with removal of the jaw and/ or tongue. Knife marks were also present on the inside of the optical cavity of a cow skull from Ditch F2424 (L2425). This is likely to have been associated with the removal of the eye ball. Some of the chop marks also appear to be associated with the disarticulation of the carcass. Chop marks were present on the lesser trocanter of a cattle femur from Pit F2269 (L2271). The cranial aspect of the body from a first thoracic vertebra had been chopped straight through along the transverse plane. This may represent the removal of the head and neck from the rest of the body. Repeated chop marks were also present on the spine of a scapula from Gully F2379 (L2380). Chop marks were also present on the mid shaft of a radius (Ditch F2424, L2425) and humerus (Pit F2222, L2223). These may be associated with trying to break open the bones to extract the marrow and grease.

Butchery marks were present on seven sheep/ goat elements. All of these consisted of knife marks. As with the cattle all processes appear to be represented. Knife cuts are present on the auricular surfaces of humerus (1), scapula (1), pelvis (1) and femurs (2). Further processing, possibly to remove the meat, is also evident by knife cut marks on the medial aspect of a scapula blade and the ventral aspect of a sacrum. For these marks to occur the elements would need to have been disarticulated from the rest of the carcass. Butchery marks were only present on two pig elements. A chop mark on a humerus distal epiphysis from Pit F2417 (L2418). This is likely to be associated with the disarticulation of the elbow joint. A lumber vertebra from Pit F2236 (L2237) had been split along the sagittal plane. This may be associated with the creation of joints of meat.

Due to the butchery processes and fragmentation only a limited amount of metrical data is available. It was possible to calculate the withers heights for cattle from ten long bones. They showed that the height of cattle ranged from 1.17m to 1.03m. Withers calculation was also possible for sheep/ goat using four elements and the heights ranged from 0.5m to 0.59m. None of the pig bones present were complete and therefore withers heights could not be calculated. A full record of all the measurements taken is present in the animal bone database in the electronic achieve.

Phase 5 other mammals

Although the assemblage is dominated by the presence of the main domestic mammals, especially cattle and sheep/ goat, a number of other mammals are also present (Table 17).

One of the notable aspects of this assemblage is the amount of horse elements. Horse remains make up 8% (90) of the main domestic mammal assemblage,

excluding ABGs. Horse remains are not uncommon on Iron Age sites, although they are often only found in small numbers. Compared to other regional sites such as Burgh 87 (Jones *et al.* 1987), Ivy Chimney (Luff 1999) and Orton Longueville (Davies 2001), this site has a relatively high percentage of horse. However, West Stow (Crabtree 1990) does have the same percentage of horse (Chart 1). A high proportion of horse remains were also noted at the nearby Bronze Age site of West Row (Olsen 1994). All the horse remains appear to be from adult animals which would follow Harcourt's (1979) suggestion that horses in the Iron Age were managed by catching and breaking free living animals. Recent isotopic work has suggested that horses may have been bred/trained at specialist sites and traded between Iron Age communities (Bendrey *et al.* 2009). The high proportion of horses from Mildenhall and close-by sites could be suggestive of some form of horse specialisation taking place in this area. However, the lack of neonatal and juvenile horse elements indicates that if a breeding population was kept then it was probably away from the site. The horse element data shows that all body areas were deposited on the site, but there does appear to be a bias towards femur fragments (Table 19). This bias could be due to a number of factors. The femur is one of the denser horse elements and therefore often survives the taphonomic process. However, the assemblage does appear to be well preserved and therefore only subject to limited taphonomic biasing effects. The femur is one of the easier to identify horse fragments and this may be a factor, but reference material was utilised throughout the recording of the assemblage. It appears likely that the high proportion of femoral fragments are due to the practices of the sites inhabitants.

Perhaps only a small number of horse carcasses were brought to the site, with the majority processed elsewhere, therefore some of the main meat bearing elements were brought onto the site. Butchery marks are present on three of the horse elements. Knife cuts are recorded on the greater trochanter of a femur from Pit F2389 (L2390) and on the acetabulum of a pelvis from Pit F2312 (L2313). These are likely to represent the dismemberment of the hip joint. Saw marks were also present on a metacarpal from Ditch F2345 (L2346). The shaft of the metacarpal had been sawn through (on a medial to lateral direction), splitting the bone in half. This may have been to allow access to the marrow cavity. It may also have been to prepare the bone for working. Due to the thickness of the bone, metapodials are particular useful for bone working. Worked bone consisting of a 'scoop' was recovered from Ditch F2362 (L2364). A sheep/goat metatarsal from Gully F2379 (L2380) had also been worked with holes drilled through the proximal end and all the sides squared off.

The faunal data indicates that horses were of some importance to the inhabitants of the site. They may have been traded and were certainly consumed, although not in as great a numbers as cattle or sheep/ goat. The other domestic mammal represented is dog.

Wild mammals are represented by five red deer, three roe deer and one hare element. With the exception of a metacarpal fragment from Gully F2369 (L2370) all the other red deer elements are fragments of antler. In comparison, all the roe deer elements are bone fragments. A mandible was present in Pit F2155 (L2156), a radius fragment from Pit F2317 (L2318) and a pelvis was recovered from Pit F2347 (L2348). None of the teeth were still present in the mandible but the element was

porous indicating it came from a juvenile animal. The hare element consisted of an ulna fragment from Pit F2197 (L2198). The presence of these wild mammal bones indicates that some hunting was taking place. Hill (1995, 127) suggests that animals such as hare may have only been hunted at certain times and only by allowed members of the community. The wild animal elements may represent such 'ritualistic' hunting activities taking place.

Phase 5 birds and fish

Only a small number of bird and fish remains were recovered from the site (Table 17). With the exception of one domestic fowl (chicken) femur fragment from Pit F2097 (L2098) all the bird remains are from wild species. Although domestic fowl don't appear to have become common in Britain until the Roman period (Maltby 1997), a small number of early and middle Iron Age examples have now been found (Hambleton 2007). Domestic fowl would have been particularly rare as they are not native to Britain, and could have been viewed as expressions of wealth and status.

The most common bird bones from the site are those of white-tailed eagle. The remains include a carpo-metacarpus from Pit F2153 (L2154), a radius and ulna from Pit F2291 (L2292), a radius from Pit F2294 (L2295) and a tibio-tarsus from Ditch F2345 (L2346). The proximal end of the radius from Pit F2294 (L2295) is still porous indicating it came from a young bird. The rest of the elements appear to come from adult animals. The radius and ulna from F2291 (L2292) both come from the same bird and could represent the deposition of the right-hand wing. It is also notable that these two elements are much better preserved than the rest of the faunal remains from this context. This suggests that the white-tailed eagle elements were possibly deposited straight away whereas the other faunal remains may represent secondary deposited midden material. Other associated bone groups were also recovered from this context (see below).

White-tailed eagle remains are relatively rare on Iron Age sites, with only one published Iron Age example from East Anglia, present in Albarella and Pirnie's (2008) study. Today, white-tailed eagles are mainly found in coastal regions, but their distribution has changed through time and it is likely that their past range included inland areas. They are opportunistic feeders and have been recorded feeding on small mammals, carrion, and acting as a kleptoparasite (stealing food from other animals). They have also been recorded travelling and nesting far inland away from water sources (Wille and Kampp 1983). The most famous example of white-tailed eagles from the archaeological record are the remains from the Neolithic Tomb of the Eagles, Orkney (Hedges 1984). Because these elements represent the deposition of a large raptor they are often viewed as having a ritualistic nature. Certainly the white-tailed eagle remains from the site appear to have been treated differently to the 'normal' faunal material. Iron Age corvids are also often viewed as representing ritual deposits (Green 1992). One crow element, an almost complete skull, was recovered from F2294 (L2295). Bird skulls are relatively delicate and the survival of this element suggests it may have been placed in the feature. Serjeantson and Morris (2011) have suggested that feathers from corvids may have been important to Iron Age communities, leading to the deposition of their remains becoming an important act.

The other bird remains recovered from the site consist of; a duck tarso-metatarsus from Pit F2022 (L2023), a goose coricoid from Pit F2220 (L2221), a wood pigeon tibio-tarsus from F2294 (L2295) and a woodcock tarso-metatarsus from Pit F2269 (L2270). The presence of these elements, like the wild mammals above, does show that a small amount of hunting was practiced by the sites inhabitants.

Only one fish element was recovered from the site. This consists of a pike cervical vertebra from a perinate baby burial in Pit F2172 (L2171). The vertebra has a hole drilled through the middle and may have been part of a necklace (Plate 24). Butchery marks consisting of fine knife cuts are also present on the ventral aspect of the vertebra. As the bone is the second or third cervical vertebra the butchery marks may have been caused during the removal of the pikes head. The lack of burning would suggest that this element does not represent a necklace that was worn by a deceased individual but rather a possible object that was placed with the cremation burial. Fish remains are rare on archaeological sites, although the technology to fish did exist. It appears that people chose not to fish, perhaps due to beliefs about creatures from the water. The pike may have been caught from the nearby river and the presence of a fish bone as part of a personal item may therefore have had special meaning.

Phase 5 environment and depositions

As mentioned above, the inhabitants of the site would have been close to water sources in which fish would have been available if they wished to use the resource. The presence of woodcock and wood pigeon does point towards woodland within the vicinity of the site. The woodland may also have been used for pig pannage. However, open areas would also have been close by and used as grazing for cattle, sheep/goat and horses.

The close proximity of a water source is also indicated by the small mammal assemblage. The most common species being water vole (Table 17) with elements recovered from Pit F2331 (L2322), Gully F2400 (L2401), Ditch F2424 (L2425) and Gully F2457 (L2458). Other small mammals recovered include indeterminate mouse from Pits F2155 (L2156) and F2278 (L2279) and indeterminate vole from Pits F2067 (L2068) and F2312 (L2313). A large number of frog/ toad bones were recovered from a variety of contexts (Table 20). The majority of the contexts contained a small number of frog/ toad elements, although some contexts such as Pits F2049 (L2050) and F2085 (L2096) do have a larger number of elements. The small mammal and amphibian remains are likely to have entered the pits as pit-fall victims. Their presence therefore suggests that the features had been open for a period of time.

As well as features being left open it is possible for certain species to be deposited commonly in specific feature types. Maltby (1985), in the study of the Iron Age animal remains from Winnall Down, noted that the elements from larger animals such as cattle and horse tend to the deposited in ditches on the outskirts of settlements; whereas smaller mammals such as sheep and pigs are more common in pits. This pattern does not appear to be present on this site for cattle or sheep/ goat. Both species make up roughly the same proportion of the ditch, gully and pit assemblages (Table 21). This would suggest that there is not structured preference in where the remains from these species are deposited.

Species	Ditch (291)	Gully (157)	Pit (2375)
Cattle	21%	19%	21%
Sheep/goat	19%	21%	19%
Pig	2%	4%	3%
Horse	6%	1%	3%
Dog	0%	1%	13%
LAR	20%	22%	14%
SAR	18%	20%	21%

Table 21: Summary of the percentage of species present in each feature type assemblage

Horse remains do make up a larger proportion of the ditch assemblages compared to the other features and almost all the dog remains were recovered from pits. However, these figures include ABG deposits and the majority of such deposits were recovered from pits.

Phase 5 associated bone groups

As mentioned above a number of articulated complete and partial animal skeletons were recovered during the excavations at Mildenhall. Such deposits are not uncommon and they have been recorded on over 50% of the southern England Iron Age sites (Morris 2008a; 2010). In total (including the early Anglo-Saxon dog) 13 such deposits were recovered, including the white-tailed eagle remains discussed above, the majority consisting of partial rather than complete skeletons (Table 22). Dogs are the most common species deposited as ABGs from the site with four present. They also represent the only complete deposits from the site with the rest of the species only producing partial ABGs. This is likely to be because of the different actions behind the depositions with dog rarely consumed.

Two features did contain more than one ABG. Pit F2246 produced a sheep/ goat forelimb, which may not have been articulated in the ground, but the remains come from the same animal, as well as an almost complete young dog. Pit F2291 contained the right hand white-tailed eagle bones, a cattle foot (which may not have been articulated in the ground) and a horse mandible and maxilla.

The Phase 5 cattle and sheep/ goat ABGs from Pits F2222, F2291 and F2246, which consist of just limb bone elements may not have been deposited articulated. However the bones do represent the deposition of elements from the same animal in the same context. The cattle remains from Pit F2417 were recovered in partial articulation and were therefore deposited with some flesh still attached. The sheep/ goat remains from Pit F2269 like both the pig deposits represent a more substantial deposition. The presence of the neonatal sheep/ goat elements as discussed above does show that lambing took place on or close to the site. It is possible that the remains represent the deposition of still birth.

Feature	Context	Species	No. elements	Notes
2222	2223	Cattle	3	Cow upper front limb consisting of humerus, radius and ulna
2291	2292	Cattle	3	Cow foot, phalanges
2417	2418	Cattle	64	Cow vertebral column and ribs
2246	2247	Sheep/ goat	3	Sheep/goat fore limb. Humerus, radius and metacarpal
2269	2270	Sheep/ goat	14	Sheep/goat, partial neonatal. Both scapular, pelvis, ribs, right humerus, left and right radii, femur and both metatarsals present
2087	2106	Pig	34	Pig, lumber vertebra, left and right upper limbs and right lower limbs. Neonatal animal all bones porous and unfused. Possibly modern
2278	2279	Pig	29	Pig, skull, mandible, vertebra, ribs, pelvis and left forelimb present.
2291	2292	Horse	2	Horse mandibles and maxilla form the same animal
2095	2096	Dog	8	Dog skull, mandible and cervical vertebra. Young adult animal
2186	2195	Dog	46	Dog Skull, upper right and left fore limbs , right upper hind limbs and metapodials present. Neonatal animal.
2246	2247	Dog	83	Dog almost complete skeleton. 15 months old based on bone fusion
2291	2292	White-tailed eagle	2	Radius and ulna from right hand side

Table 22: Summary of Phase 5 associated bone groups

A neonatal puppy was also present in Phase 5 Pit F2186. This consists of fragments of skull, fore limbs and hind limbs. It is possible that the rest of elements did not survive burial as they are especially porous. The only partial adult dog ABG was recovered from Iron Age Pit F2095. This consists of a skull and cervical vertebra from a young adult animal. All the teeth were fully erupted but only very slightly worn. As no other dog elements were recovered from this context this deposit appears to represent an animal which has had its head and neck removed from the rest of the carcass and then deposited within a pit.

One deposit of particular interest was the pig ABG from Pit F2087. The remains consist of the hind part of a neonatal animal. These were recovered in association with a hessian bag and were possibly inside the bag. The survival of organic material from the Iron Age such as a hessian bag is extremely rare and normal only occurs in certain conditions such as water logging. No such preservation conditions were recorded on the site. It is therefore highly likely that the bag and associated pig remains are relatively modern.

Phase 6: early Anglo-Saxon (c. AD 410-650)

The dog ABG (SK2126) from Pit F2124 was recovered almost complete, with only the toes and hind feet missing due to modern truncation. As no baculum was present the dog is likely to have been female. The elements are particularly robust and the animal had a wither height of 0.70 to 0.72m (after Harcourt 1974). This raised the possibility that the animal is a wolf rather than dog. It is larger than the withers heights calculated for three female European wolf skeletons at the Grahame Clark Laboratory Cambridge and the skeleton of a Eurasian wolf held at the Natural History Museum (Pluskowski 2006). However, metrical analysis of the relative length of the upper carnassials (Clark 1996) and the morphology of the skull indicates that the animal is a dog.

The animal also had a number of pathological changes present. Slight pitting was noted on both right and left mandible margins indicative of the beginnings of periodontal disease. A number of limb bones have lipping around the proximal and distal auricular surfaces including both scapular, humerus, radii and femur. Pitting was also noted on the distal planter aspects of both left and right third and fourth metacarpals. Major pathological change was noted on the vertebrae with exostosis on the dorsal aspects of the axis and atlas and lipping on the vertebral bodies of the

second to ninth thoracic vertebrae as well as pitting and lesions on the spinous processes (Plate 25). The eighth and ninth left hand ribs have evidence of infection on the medial aspects (Plate 26).

The pathological changes on the ribs would be consistent with a lung infection and combined with the other changes are suggestive of tuberculosis (TB). Bathurst and Barta (2004) have shown how TB in dogs can cause similar changes to the limb bones. Given this diagnosis, combined with the large size of the animal, the dating of the archaeological feature that the dog was recovered from becomes very important. The dog would have lived in close proximity to humans and as TB is a zoonoses, it is possible to speculate that TB was also present in the human population. However, there is no evidence of TB in the UK human population until the Romano-British period (Roberts and Cox 2003, 119). As such, despite the single sherd (<1g) of Iron Age pottery from F2124, it is difficult to reconcile this pit and its contents with the surrounding Phase 5 features. However, a 95% probability radiocarbon date of this ABG (obtained since the completion of the animal bone assessment) places the dog firmly within the early Anglo-Saxon period.

Summary

Although a relatively small assemblage the faunal remains from Mildenhall inform on many aspects of the site. This report has concentrated on the Iron Age as many of the remains date to this time period. The Iron Age remains show that cattle and sheep/ goat were the most commonly kept animals, probably supplying a mixture of different secondary products as well as meat for consumption. However the sites occupants also utilised horses which appears to be a trend in the local region. Some hunting of wild mammals and birds did take place with the local environment a mixture of wetland, woodland and grazing pasture. A number of interesting deposits are also present on the site including white-tailed eagle. A complete dog, possibly with tuberculosis, was dated to the early Anglo-Saxon period.

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4.6 The environmental samples

Alex Livarda

Introduction

Extensive environmental sampling was carried out for the recovery of archaeobotanical and other organic remains, resulting in two hundred and ninety-two samples. The bulk of the samples were spot dated to the middle to late Iron Age (Interim Phase 4), while a substantial number of samples were not given a preliminary date at all. In addition, a few samples were given a preliminary Neolithic and early Bronze Age date, a few others a late Iron Age to early Roman date and a single sample was spot dated to the medieval/ post-medieval period.

Sampling and processing methods

All samples were taken from sealed dated contexts on a judgement based sampling strategy. Sample size ranged between 5 and 140 litres according to the dimensions of the sampled feature, aiming for a standard of 40 litres where possible and collecting more soil from significant fills. All samples were floated using meshes of 1mm and 0.25mm aperture for the retention of the heavy residue and the flot respectively.

The flots were fully scanned using a stereoscope with magnifications ranging from x7 to x45. The charred plant remains were recorded by category and their abundance estimated (+ = <10 items; ++ = 10-100; +++ = >100) on the basis of the minimum number of characteristic plant parts. Plant names follow Stace (1997). Charcoal fragments and other organic material were also noted, and their abundance estimated with the same rating system.

Results

General results and species representation

Of the two hundred and ninety-two samples thirty-two did not produce any flot. The remaining two hundred and sixty samples provided flots that were mostly sandy in nature and included modern vegetation, with only a few having a distinctive charcoal-dominated character. Charred plant remains were present in one hundred and twenty-one samples, largely in low quantities. The overall preservation of most archaeobotanical remains was poor, hindering their identification to species level in many instances.

The most common archaeobotanical finding was cereal grains, including barley (*Hordeum vulgare* L.) and wheat (*Triticum* sp.) some specimens of which were identified as glume wheat including spelt (*Triticum spelta* L.). Additionally, there were a few possible oat grains (cf. *Avena* sp.) but their poor state of preservation and the absence of florets did not allow inferences regarding their status as cultivated or wild. Chaff was particularly scarce consisting of the occasional straw and culm nodes in only six samples. Pulses were also very rare represented by a couple of poorly preserved, indeterminate seeds of a quite large legume. The only other food plants present were a couple of hazelnut fragments recovered form just one context.

A variety of wild species was present in slightly more than one sixth of the samples but neither their diversity nor their abundance was significant. The most common of these species were grasses (Poaceae), including brome grass (*Bromus* sp.). Other species included stinking mayweed (*Anthemis cotula* L.), docks (*Rumex* sp.), bedstraw (*Galium* sp.), nipplewort (*Lapsana communis* L.), black bindweed (*Fallopia convolvulus* (L.) A. Love), knapweed (*Centaurea* sp.), some seeds of the daisy family (Asteraceae) and a few other indeterminate seeds. Some tubers, possibly of onion couch (cf. *Arrhenatherum elatius* ssp. *bulbosum* (Wild.) Hyl.) complemented the archaeobotanical assemblages of a small number of samples.

Charcoal fragments and land snails were found in variable amounts in most samples and were by far the most common organic remains in all flots. Small and large

mammal bone fragments were found in about a third of the samples, with more substantial amounts being retrieved from some middle to late Iron Age pits, while marine molluscs and fish remains were relatively scarce. Uncharred, intrusive modern seeds were present in about half of the samples but in relatively low quantities, which in combination with the often numerous root fragments and the occasional insect remains may suggest some degree of bio-turbation and mixing of the deposits.

A summary of the assessment results by sample can be found in Appendix 2.

Sample composition by phase

Late Neolithic (*c.* 3300-2100 BC)

A single sample (206) taken from Pit F2331 was dated to this period. Its archaeobotanical assemblage comprised a few poorly preserved cereal grains, including barley, and a moderate number of charcoal fragments. The cereals did not appear to form a deliberate deposition and they were more likely intrusive seeds, mixed into the fill of the pit, which is also corroborated by the presence of various modern seeds and some small mammal bones.

Prehistoric - Iron Age

A small number of samples were attributed a broad date, either 'prehistoric' (Sample 2) or Iron Age (Samples 50 and 244). Sample 2 had no bio-archaeological material at all, consisting solely of sand and modern roots.

The plant remains of Samples 50 and 244, apart from the numerous charcoal fragments, were few. A couple of barley and emmer/ spelt wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*/*spelta*) grains, a culm node and a grass seed were the only items found in these two Iron Age samples, representing possibly domestic waste that was accidentally incorporated into the pits.

Middle to late Iron Age (*c.* 400 BC - AD 43)

Of one hundred and forty-eight samples spot dated to this period (Interim Phases 3 and 4), only sixty-six contained archaeobotanical material other than charcoal. Only two (Samples 1 and 36) contained relatively substantial archaeobotanical assemblages. Sample 1, taken from Pit F2007 inside the enclosure ditches of Area 1, included a moderate number of barley and spelt wheat (*Triticum spelta* L.) grains. Sample 36 derived from Pit F2089 in Area 2 and also contained a few barley and glume wheat grains, as well as some large wild species, such as bedstraw and black bindweed, which were possibly weeds of cultivation that remained with the crop and later discarded during the final cleaning prior to cooking.

Most of the other samples with archaeobotanical material from pits, gullies and ditches presented a homogenous picture of a low quantity of cereal grains, mostly barley but also glume wheat, occasional straw fragments and wild seeds, which could be either weeds of cultivation or plants from the surrounding, local vegetation that were charred either accidentally or as part of fuel burning. Samples 58 (from a

dog burial Pit F2124) and 123 (from Gully F2188B) contained also possible oat grains but these could be also part of the wild vegetation. Some legume and hazelnut fragments were also found among the archaeobotanical assemblages of the Interim Phases 3 and 4 samples (sample 169 and 123 respectively).

Samples with no charred food plants but with wild species were 63 (F2139), 78 (F2159C), 144 (F2206) and 179 (F2257). These species occurred in very low numbers suggesting their accidental incorporation into the various contexts.

Finally, none of the cremations appeared to have any deliberate deposition of material. Most of them had no archaeobotanical remains at all with the exception of Sample 246 from cremation 12, which had a few possible barley seeds.

Late Iron Age to Early Roman

Samples were collected from a series of pits and a layer but only three contained charred plant remains other than charcoal. All three samples (62, 202 and 258) had a low to moderate number of cereal grains, mostly barley but also glume wheat and a variety of wild/ weed species, such as grasses and bedstraw. The assemblages were all possibly domestic waste, which in the case of Sample 258 may have been deliberately thrown into the pit (F2439) together with other food and domestic waste, as suggested by the evidence of burnt bone, flint and pottery.

Medieval/ post-medieval

Sample 164 from Pit F2220 had only a few barley grains and numerous charcoal fragments, which may represent discarded sweepings from hearths/ cooking episodes. The presence of several modern roots, some uncharred seeds and land snails may hint, however, at possible mixing of deposits.

Undated

Forty-seven of the undated samples contained charred plant remains but, similarly to all other phases, in generally low amounts. Cereal grains, mainly barley and to a lesser extent wheat, were occasional findings in many of the pits, gullies and some cremations, although they represented most likely accidental intrusions. Occasional straw and culm nodes and wild species were found in various of these undated samples.

Possible late Bronze Age Cremation 3

In some of the Cremation 3 samples (87, 88, 89 and 90) quite a few (possible) onion couch tubers were noted, which may have been part of nearby grassland vegetation that could have been used as fuel. The amount of cereal grains was particularly low in the cremations to suggest any deliberate offering.

Conclusion

The archaeobotanical assemblage is generally poor, and does not allow significant inferences to be made regarding the agricultural regime and/or the environment of

the site. The material did not indicate any differences between the various periods of occupation, which may suggest a similar subsistence base and continuity in agricultural activities throughout the occupation of the site. However, as the bulk of activity and consequently the majority of the samples were concentrated in the middle to late Iron Age period, it is possible that the earlier and later samples could contain intrusive/ residual material from the main occupation phase. This is also supported by the nature of these samples, including modern vegetation and land snails, indicating potential mixing of the deposits.

The archaeobotanical evidence from Interim Phase 4 suggests the employment of both barley and glume wheat for food and possibly fodder in the case of the former. The almost complete absence of cereal chaff, such as glume bases and rachis fragments, as well as the lack of significant amounts of weed seeds, provide negative evidence for extensive cereal processing taking place nearby and inhibit any discussion regarding the agricultural regime. At the same time none of the pits seemed to be used as storage for plant material, so most of the charred archaeobotanical remains were either accidental intrusions or parts of general, possibly domestic, waste dumped into the pits. The straw and culm nodes that were recovered occasionally from some samples could have remained with the crop after its last processing stages or they could have been stabling/ fodder residues. Their particularly low numbers, however, do not allow any actual interpretations to be made.

The undated samples were similar in terms of their archaeobotanical content to those of the middle to late Iron Age. In addition, some of the possible late Bronze Age cremation samples indicated the use of (possibly) onion couch among the preferred species used as fuel/ kindling.

4.7 Radiocarbon analysis

Antony R.R. Mustchin and Beta Analytic

Three samples of bone were submitted to Beta Analytic, Miami (USA) for radiocarbon analysis (Table 23). The first of these (BTM0402126DO) was from the articulated remains of a very large dog (SK2126) from Pit F2124. This feature was found on the eastern edge of Area 4, close to the northern edge of Phase 5 Pit Cluster 4, and was assigned a middle to late Iron Age date during the excavation based on the presence of a single sherd (<1g) of pottery. The second radiocarbon sample (BTM0402218HU) was from the articulated skeleton of a young woman, aged between 17 and 20, from Phase 5 Pit F2257. This feature was located on the western edge of Area 3 (Pit Cluster 7) and also yielded middle to late Iron Age pottery (six sherds; 102g). The third sample (BTM0402169CR) was from Cremation 3, one of four previously undated (confirmed) human cremation deposits encountered during the excavation.

AS Sample No.	Beta Analytic Sample No.	Source	Conventional Radiocarbon Age	Calibrated Age	Period
BTM0402126DO	Beta-326943	SK2126	1450±30 BP*	cal AD 560-650	Early Anglo-Saxon
BTM0402218HU	Beta-326944	SK2218	2250±30 BP	394-207 cal BC	Middle Iron Age
BTM0402169CR	Beta-326945	Cremation 1	2890±30 BP	1208-977 cal BC	Late Bronze Age

Table 23: Results of radiocarbon analysis
*BP = before 'present' (AD 1950)

Results and discussion

Each sample yielded sufficient carbon for accurate measurements and all the analyses proceeded normally (Hood *pers. comm.*). Calibrated ages (Table 23) have a probability of at least 95%. The large dog (SK2126) from Pit F2124 returned a calibrated age of AD 560-650, placing it firmly within the early Anglo-Saxon period (Phase 6). This date is not unusual however given the large size of the animal. The mean size of Anglo-Saxon dogs was greater than that in all earlier periods (Harcourt 1974), although cremated remains from Spong Hill, Norfolk ranged in size from very large specimens to small, terrier-sized animals (Bond 1996). The ABG from Pit F2124 is approximately the size of a modern wolfhound (Morris *pers. comm.*). Based on the absolute dating evidence, the single sherd (<1g) of middle to late Iron Age pottery from Pit F2124 represents residual material.

The calibrated age (394-207 BC) of the young female skeleton (SK2218) from Phase 5 Pit F2257, Pit Cluster 7, agreed with the assigned spot date for this feature and the other features making up this pit cluster (mid to late Iron Age).

Previously undated Cremation 3 returned a calibrated date of 1208-977 BC, placing this deposit firmly within the late Bronze Age. This date attests to continued Bronze Age activity, albeit on a small scale, between the early Bronze Age (Phase 3) and the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5). Similarly dated remains from the local area include a late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age cremation in association with a roundhouse from NML536 (land to the rear of Smoke House Inn, Beck Row; Craven 2011, 12). The Suffolk HER also reports a concentration of Bronze Age archaeology along the historic edge of Mildenhall Fen (after Mustchin forthcoming). The 'token' nature of the cremation deposits from Bridge House Dairies is in common with an increasingly-recognised late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age cremation tradition (see Section 5, Discussion).

5 DISCUSSION

Neolithic and Bronze Age (Phases 1 – 4)

The landscape context of the Neolithic and Bronze Age activity

The site does not appear to have been occupied on a permanent basis before the later middle Iron Age. However, there is evidence of sporadic activity there from at least the early Neolithic period.

The site lies in an area with relatively rich archaeological evidence of Neolithic and Bronze Age activity. At Hurst Fen, 3km to the north-east, a nationally-important Neolithic 'pit' site was excavated in the 1950s (Clark 1960). Some 200 small pits and hollows, occurring in clusters, contained finds including complete/ re-constructible Mildenhall Ware vessels. No evidence of structures was found and the site appeared to be unenclosed, although two sections of a wide but shallow drainage ditch were recorded. Clark, relying on a somewhat less developed regional ceramic chronology and without the benefit of radiocarbon dating, suggested that the site belonged to the 'closing phase of the local middle Neolithic' (1960, 242).

Hurst Fen was clearly occupied for a considerable length of time, although whether permanently or on a periodic or seasonal basis is difficult to ascertain. By the early Bronze Age, there is more substantial settlement evidence, from West Row Fen, *c*. 5km to the west of Bridge House Dairies (Martin and Murphy 1988). Neolithic occupation had left traces in the form of dense spreads of flint working waste and small pits. One long, shallow pit, containing oak charcoal and well-preserved charred macrofossils, possibly associated with early metalworking, returned a radiocarbon date of 4020± BP. The majority of the settlement remains, including traces of three small roundhouses (on the higher ground), small saucer-shaped pits containing 'domestic' refuse (charcoal, animal bone, pottery and flint flakes), and several larger pits in the lower-lying areas of the site which may have been wells or had industrial functions (e.g. flax retting), were dated to the latter part of the early Bronze Age (*c*. 3420-3190 BP). The site was located on a 'hummock and hollow micro-relief' of low sand ridges and adjoining peat-filled depressions. It was suggested that the site was a seasonal settlement, occupied in spring, summer and possibly autumn (Martin and Murphy 1988, 357). In summer, when water deficits would have reduced the productivity of the dry Breckland grasslands, the inhabitants of the area may have moved here to exploit the fen pastures, particularly for cattle grazing (based on their prevalence in the animal bone assemblage). In winter, the occupants, and probably those of other similar seasonal settlements on the edge of the fen, would perhaps have moved to drier sites on the higher ground east of Mildenhall.

Extensive fieldwalking in West Row Fen and Mildenhall Fen, particularly around Hayland Drove and Cook's Drove, has identified numerous surface scatters of Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery, struck flint, burnt flint and split animal bone (e.g. HER MNL023, MNL041, MNL042, MNL104, MNL130, MNL223, MNL225, MNL233, MNL235, MNL253, MNL254, MNL255, MNL258, MNL259, MNL260-1, MNL264, MNL266, MNL269, MNL270, MNL271, MNL272, MNL283, MNL286, MNL290, MNL301, MNL302 and MNL303). The scatters are usually associated with slight sand rises (often now ploughed flat and only appearing as sandier patches within arable fields), similar to that occupied by the excavated settlement at West Row. Many of these spreads of occupation debris are likely to represent similar settlement sites, and attest to intensive occupation in the area during the Neolithic and Bronze Age. The nature of the contemporary environment is difficult to reconstruct due to the major changes in hydrology in the Fenland basin since the Mesolithic. However, at West Row Fen, the peat in low-lying areas of the site appeared to be Iron Age (Martin and Murphy 1988, 354) and it was suggested that the site was abandoned with the onset of wetter conditions during the middle Bronze Age (*ibid*. 357).

Finds of Mesolithic struck flint at West Row Fen (Martin and Murphy 1988, 355) and abundant early Neolithic knapping debris at Hurst Fen (Clark 1960, 226), as well as struck flint scatters recorded across the Mildenhall fen edge, show that the landscape around what is now Mildenhall was well-frequented by mobile hunter-gatherer populations. The banks of the River Lark and Eriswell Lode presumably would have been rich environments for hunting game and perhaps also for fishing, as would the developing wetland environment in the fenland to the west. Particular places in the landscape would no doubt have been favoured as sites for temporary encampments by local groups out on hunting and foraging expeditions. To judge by the light, but homogenous, scatter of early Neolithic struck flint at Bridge House

Dairies, it was one such site, probably popular because of its topographical position on a slightly raised, dry promontory overlooking the lush ground along the margins of the River Lark. It would have been a good vantage point from which to watch game grazing along the river banks (although undated, the presence of large game such as aurochs is attested by bones dredged from the river e.g. HER MNL501 and FRK020), prepare weapons and tools for the hunt, and to butcher kills. However, other contemporary local sites were clearly frequented more regularly and saw far more intensive occupation: at Hurst Fen, a density of more than 40 flints per square yard was recorded (Hurst 1960, 214), compared to barely one struck flint for every four square metres at Bridge House Dairies. The composition of the struck flint assemblages also highlights the differing character of the two sites. More than 88% of the flint from Hurst Fen consisted of primary flakes with no evidence of further working or utilization, clearly indicating large-scale on-site flint reduction and tool making. In contrast, only 66% of the struck flint from Bridge House Dairies comprises debitage, almost all of which is accounted for by tertiary or uncorticated flakes; flint knapping at the site was largely limited to secondary trimming/ retouching of cores and flakes brought there for use by hunting parties. Hurst Fen already appears, in the early Neolithic, to have been a regularly-used settlement site.

Use of the site continued to be sporadic and on a small scale in the later Neolithic and early Bronze Age. From other sites, there are signs of a more settled population in the area, practising mixed farming (Hurst 1960, 211, 213; Martin and Murphy 1988, 356), but their agricultural economy is likely to have remained dependent on a semi-mobile way of life, with groups probably moving between different seasonal settlements to make the best use of the resources available in the area's landscape. The Bridge House Dairies assemblage, though small, is dominated by cattle and pig remains. A preponderance of cattle and pig in the late Neolithic is attested by a number of other sites in the region, such as Redgate Hill, Norfolk (Jones 1993), Tye Field, Essex (Shennan 1985) and Fengate, Cambridgeshire (Harman 1978). Roe deer is present in the late Neolithic assemblage, implying that hunting wild game occurred in spite of the presence of domestic meat animals. The presence of roe deer also implies the presence of woodland in the not too distant vicinity, which might also have been used for keeping semi-feral pigs, a practice that has been suggested by evidence from Durrington Walls (Albarella and Serjeantson 2002).

The scatter of Grooved Ware and Beaker pits on the site should probably be viewed in the context of this semi-mobile pattern of life. People moving their herds between the rich summer pastures in the Fen and the drier winter grazing on the Breckland slopes to the east probably used the River Lark as a route inland. Higher ground along the river margins, such as the site, may have been used as overnight stopping-off points on the (short) journey, with the Grooved Ware and Beaker pits representing the debris from these sporadic visits. Alternatively, the inhabitants of settlements such as that at West Row Fen continued to supplement their diet with small-scale hunting and fishing (Martin and Murphy 1988, 356) and the pits could represent traces of these occasional hunting trips.

Beaker sites are prolific along the south-eastern edge of the Fenland basin, underlining the importance of this natural environment and the consequent density of settlement there in the late 3rd - early 2nd millennium BC (Bamford 1982, 3). Early Bronze Age sites in this 'Breck-Fen' region, between the higher Breckland to the east

and the Fen proper to the west, tend to be located on slight hills/ outcroppings of chalk and sand, a pattern into which the site at Bridge House Dairies fits. A particularly prolific Beaker domestic site was discovered at Hockwold-cum-Wilton, 15km north of Mildenhall, in the 1960s, while other Beaker domestic sites are known at Reffley Wood near King's Lynn, Methwold, Shippea Hill and Fifty Farm in Mildenhall Fen, 5km west of Bridge House Dairies (Bamford 1982, 5, 32-33). In terms of both its physical location and the character of the activity, the site therefore fits well into the known picture of late Neolithic - early Bronze Age settlement in the area.

Significance of the 'Grooved Ware pit'

Many Grooved Ware and other Neolithic pit deposits certainly have a 'domestic' element *i.e.* the pottery and associated animal bone and struck flint usually derive from 'everyday' processes such as hunting and fishing, cooking, eating and making/ using tools. The soot stains on the rim of the principal Grooved Ware vessel, which suggest its use in food preparation, certainly fit in with this interpretation. The finds from the pit could represent the debris from a short-lived episode of occupation, perhaps a single overnight encampment. However, over the past 30 years, there has been growing support for the view that many such deposits were not just chance assemblages of rubbish but were 'deliberately selected and carefully-placed' (Cleal 1999, 6). Mercer argued, for example, that none of the activities involved in the digging and backfilling of the Neolithic pits at Hambledon Hill were those one might associate with 'normal domestic usage', highlighting the selection of a number of 'specialised' items for deliberate deposition prior to deliberate backfilling (1980, 23-4). Of course, the range of activities taking place within causewayed enclosures, and the sorts of deposits resulting from those activities, may have been very different from those at a small, temporary camp site.

Aspects of the 'Grooved Ware pit' at Bridge House Dairies do stand out as 'atypical' when compared to pits at other Neolithic sites in eastern England. Particularly notable is the presence of the small human skull fragment alongside the pottery, animal bone and struck flint. Of some 236 earlier Neolithic pits at Kilverstone, on the east side of Thetford, none contained any human bone (Garrow 2006), nor did the two later Neolithic pits containing Grooved Ware at the same site. The same is true of the 200 'middle'-Neolithic pits at nearby Hurst Fen. However, it should be borne in mind that preservation of organic material at both these sites was extremely poor due to the sand geology (Clark 1960, 213; Garrow 2006, 13) and absence may simply be a matter of poor survival conditions.

The most visible evidence for treatment of the dead during the Neolithic comes from the impressive extant remains of communal funerary monuments such as long barrows (Malone 2001, 105-108; Barrett 1988). While there are a handful of known monuments of this type in Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, and several possible examples in Suffolk (mainly along the Stour valley) have been inferred from cropmarks of oval enclosures (Ashwin 1996, 45; Martin 1999b), they are less common than in many other parts of Britain. In addition, although some were certainly used for burial (for example, that excavated at Haddenham in Cambridgeshire; Hodder and Shand 1988), others which have been excavated (such as that at West Rudham in Norfolk; Healy 1984, 84) have yielded no human remains

or other evidence for burial and were clearly something more than just 'funerary' monuments (Ashwin 1996, 45; Taylor 2001, 27). Two Neolithic round barrows are known in Suffolk, at West Stow and Worlington (Martin 1999b); many of the other upstanding and ploughed-out round barrows in the county may also have Neolithic rather than Bronze Age origins (Taylor 2001, 31-2). In addition to the known monumental burials, causewayed enclosures are known from aerial photographs at Fornham All Saints, Kedington and Freston (Martin 1999b). Based on the carefully-selected and placed deposits of disarticulated human bone, body parts (sometimes still fleshed when deposited) and complete skeletons found in the ditches at excavated causewayed enclosures (e.g. Haddenham (Evans and Hodder 2006); Etton (French and Pryor 2004); Hambledon Hill (Mercer 1980, 30; Edmonds 1999, 117-119), some of the region's Neolithic population may have been buried at these sites. There was probably considerable local variation in treatment of the dead and we should not expect to see exactly the same rites practised in East Anglia as are found, for example, in the Wessex region. For example, a series of early Bronze Age burials, accompanied by metal and other objects suggesting a date in the mid-3rd millennium BC, have been found in the Norfolk fens around Methwold and Southery. This could represent an alternative rite only identifiable in the peat fen due to the exceptional preservation conditions (Healy and Housley 1992).

However, there is general agreement that monumental burials and deliberately-placed deposits in causewayed enclosure ditches cannot account for any more than a small proportion of the Neolithic population (Ashwin 1996, 50). Large sections of society were probably deposited in settlement contexts or in open countryside, leaving no lasting archaeological remains (Malone 2001, 105; Taylor 2001, 35). Many bodies were probably excarnated (Mercer 1980, 63-64; Edmonds 1999, 119; Taylor 2001, 32), with the bones probably becoming scattered, at least in part, via natural processes, and becoming randomly incorporated into any open pits/ hollows in the vicinity (Malone 2001, 122; Mercer 1980, 24). This sort of treatment of the dead might help to explain the pieces of human bone, including a cut-marked thigh bone and several skull fragments, found in the settlement at West Row Fen (Martin and Murphy 1988, 356). However, as the site at Bridge House Dairies was probably no more than an occasional stopping-off point for late Neolithic/ early Bronze Age people on the move, it is difficult to imagine the process by which a fragment of human bone could have 'naturally' arrived there. It is possible that there was a degree of deliberate selection of the objects which were included in the pit deposit, with the skull fragment brought to the site specifically for inclusion (*cf*. Cleal 1996, 6).

In addition to the inclusion of at least one 'atypical' object in the pit, the way in which the Grooved Ware vessel fragments appeared to have been deliberately placed on the bottom of the pit (and perhaps purposefully crushed *in situ*) rather than being found jumbled-up within the pit fill, also stands out as unusual. Similarly, the excavator noted that the other finds (the struck flint flakes, animal bone and human bone) were found 'adjacent to the pot' rather than randomly distributed throughout the fill matrix. The apparently highly-structured deposits of objects in causewayed enclosure ditches have been interpreted as reflecting important events, such as communal gatherings, feasts, rites of passage and re-affirmation of social bonds, which were brought to a close by the burial of particular residues (Edmonds 1999, 117-119). Such deposits may have been deeply symbolic to the people involved and loaded with meaning. Similar, but more mundane, events and concerns may

underlie deposits of objects in pits/ other features at settlement sites. The buried objects all have associations with activities which are central to human social life, such as cooking, eating and sharing the warmth of a fire. It has been suggested that such deposits were one way in which Neolithic people who still lived a relatively mobile existence tried to 'fix' the evidence of domesticity in the landscape and thereby domesticate the wild (Thomas 1991, 75-6). This does not negate the fact that on one level, the pottery, animal bone, struck flint and even human bone found in these contexts simply represents 'rubbish' from the everyday subsistence processes which took place there.

The site also broadly fits another wider trend which has been noted with regard to the distribution and use of Grooved Ware (Cleal 1999, 5-6). The position of the site on the upper reaches of the River Lark, before it emerges into the Fen, corresponds with a well-attested pattern of Grooved Ware deposition in association with the upper courses/ mouths of rivers.

The 'Beaker pits' and residual Beaker sherds

In contrast to the hints of something more than simple utilitarian waste disposal lying behind the 'Grooved Ware pit', the two pits containing Beaker pottery appear more mundane. Many studies up to the early 1980s assigned Beaker pottery a specialised and prestigious role in early Bronze Age society, emphasising its frequent association with burials (Whittle 1981, 311; Bamford 1982, 2). However, it has now long been recognised that vast quantities of Beaker pottery have also been found on 'domestic' sites, often in particular forms and exhibiting decorative styles which are not well-represented in funerary contexts (Bamford 1982, 2). The association of finer comb-impressed vessels alongside those with coarser rustication, as is the case at Bridge House Dairies, is widely accepted as an indication of 'Beaker domestic sites' (Bamford 1982). At nearby Lakenheath, fragments of vessels in both styles found together in pits were interpreted as the archaeologically-visible traces of domestic occupation (Percival 2005, 22). In addition to the 'everyday' character of the Beaker pottery, there was no evidence to suggest either deliberate placement, or the selection of 'unusual'/ 'atypical' objects for inclusion in the pits. In contrast to the position of the Grooved Ware sherds on the base of the Neolithic pit, the Beaker fragments (where found undisturbed, in their original contexts) appear to have been deposited within a matrix of general midden-type material. It seems reasonable to conclude that the Beaker pits, and the handful of residual sherds from elsewhere on the site, represent the debris from sporadic, small-scale occupation by the transhumant early Bronze Age population of the area.

The late Bronze Age (Phase 4) un-urned cremations

The Phase 4 un-urned cremation deposits are tentatively assigned to the late Bronze Age based on a 95% probability radiocarbon date of 1208-977 BC from Cremation 3. As such, their spatial positioning with respect for the Iron Age enclosures and pit clusters suggests that they were somehow visible in the landscape during the development of the middle to late Iron Age site. It is also possible however that some of these deposits were in fact later in date, perhaps Iron Age, Roman or Anglo-Saxon. The paucity of archaeological evidence of occupation postdating the Iron Age renders earlier date most likely however. The cremation deposits therefore

comprise an important addition to our understanding of treatment of the dead during middle to later prehistory.

It is uncertain whether we are seeing the cremations in more-or-less their original state or whether they had been truncated. The fact that the cremation pits were no more than shallow scoops, as well as the presence of only tiny quantities of human bone, suggest that substantial portions of the features had been destroyed, leaving only the truncated bases of once-deeper cremation pits. This is supported by the small, ash and charcoal-filled 'probable cremations' ('Cremations' 1, 2, 5, 7 and 8) which were identical in appearance to the confirmed cremation deposits and formed part of the same distinct clusters, but which contained no human bone. Presumably, these originally contained deposits of cremated bone which had been removed by later disturbance. Of the eastern cremation group, at least three of the four cremations and probable cremations (Cremations 1, 2 and 3) had very likely been disturbed by the foundations of the overlying dairy outbuilding (Fig. 4; GR: N6 - N7). The fourth, (probable) Cremation 10, was located close to the footprint of another modern structure and may also have been clipped by Trial Trench 13. However, it may have been slightly less truncated, probably explaining its greater depth compared to the other three cremations in its group (see Fig. 46). Of the scattered possible additional cremations, only 'Cremation' 13 (GR: E6 - E5) was in an area of known previous ground disturbance, being located underneath the south-west corner of the main dairy building. The south-western cremation group was in an area of the site where the original subsoil survived to a considerable depth (around Trial Trench 20) and where there was little recorded modern construction/ demolition activity. However, despite the absence of obvious sources of truncation, the deposits were still shallow. It is fairly likely that in addition to the modern construction and demolition associated with the dairy complex, the site had been ploughed at some point in the past. Historic cartographic sources show the site as open agricultural land (Desk-based Assessment; Doyle and Grassam 2006) and given the soil type and free-draining substrate, it is likely to have been in arable use. It is fair to assume that this land use could have 'shaved' away the upper portions of most of the cut features at the site. Based on the known and inferred history of land use on the site, it is likely that the identified cremation deposits and additional probable/ possible cremations represent only the truncated remains of once deeper features, which probably originally contained larger quantities of cremated human bone (that is, more than just the few grams which were found to be present during excavation). However, there is still a possibility that the deposits were only ever 'token' burials of just a proportion of the cremated remains.

As the cremation deposits were almost certainly partially truncated, it is not possible to reconstruct the precise nature of the funerary rite. Only one cremation (Cremation 3) contained enough diagnostic bone fragments to indicate an age range (adult) and possible sex (?female). It is therefore not possible to tell whether cremation was a 'normative' rite at this settlement or whether it was associated with individuals of a particular age, sex or social group. The amount of bone present in all the cremations (even Cremation 3, which contained 154g of bone) was only a fraction of what would be expected had the cremated remains of the bodies been deposited in their entirety. This indicates either severe post-depositional disturbance or that the deposits were only ever 'token' cremations, with the rest of the cremated bone being scattered or deposited elsewhere. The black/ grey colouration of almost all the bone indicates a

relatively low pyre temperature. Either the cremation techniques were inefficient (Leach, this report) or perhaps achieving complete combustion of the body was not a central concern of the cremation rite. Warping and fissuring indicates that the bodies were still fleshed when burnt. Other finds were occasionally present within the cremation pits alongside the burnt human bone. An animal scapula was present with Cremation 2 and it was noted on site as appearing to have been placed under the cremated remains, possibly as a 'foundation' deposit. A few fragments of burnt animal bone, including a sheep vertebra, were present with Cremation 3, as was a burnt iron object. There were no signs of any potentially deliberate arrangement of objects in Cremation 3. It is possible that these objects were deliberate inclusions or 'grave goods' within the cremation deposits, the former perhaps representing the remains of graveside feasting or food for the deceased to take into an 'afterlife'. The animal bones in Cremation 3 appear to have been with the body on the pyre and could reflect a similar underlying rationale. However, it is equally possible that these small quantities of associated finds were no more than chance inclusions of 'waste' material within the cremation pit/ pyre or that the inclusion of small quantities of occupation debris alongside the cremated remains of the deceased had some symbolic significance which is hidden to us. What does seem reasonably certain is that the cremations were all un-urned. Even taking into account the likely level of truncation to the cremation pits, if cremation vessels had originally been present, at least a few fragments of broken pottery would have been present in one or more of the pits.

Cremation was widespread into the late Bronze Age but then appears to have fallen out of use until the late Iron Age (from the beginning of the 1st century BC), at which time cremation cemeteries again began to appear in parts of south-eastern Britain which were in contact with the Roman world. In contrast to the cremation burials at Bridge House Dairies, these south-eastern 'Aylesford-Swarling'-type cremations (named after the two 'type' sites in Kent) were normally buried in an urn, within in a well-defined cemetery area, and were often accompanied by small grave goods such as brooches and other personal trinkets (Cunliffe 2005, 559; Taylor 2001, 68). One of the most extensively excavated of these 1st-century BC cremation cemeteries is Westhampnett in West Sussex (Fitzpatrick 1997). Like the Bridge House Dairies cremations, those at Westhampnett were un-urned and may have originally been buried in fabric or leather containers. Another possible similarity is that the Westhampnett cremations were only 'token' deposits of a proportion of the cremated bone from the pyre; in each case the rest of the cremated remains were either scattered or deposited elsewhere. However, the highly organised formal cemetery context of the cremations at Westhampnett contrasts strongly with the location of the Bridge House Dairies cremations. In any case, Mildenhall is at the far northern edge, if not somewhat beyond, this south-eastern 'zone' of Continental influence.

In many respects, the Bridge House Dairies cremations have more in common with the 'native' cremation traditions of the late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age than with the Continental-influenced Aylesford-Swarling rites of the 1st century BC onwards (also strongly attested by the calibrated date from Cremation 3; 1208-977 BC). In the 8th to 6th centuries BC, the principal method of disposing of the dead was cremation, the ashes being buried, either urned or un-urned, and usually unaccompanied by any grave goods, in cemeteries which were sometimes either associated with pre-existing barrows or placed under individual small new barrows. Such burials were

'direct descendants from preceding Bronze Age traditions' (Cunliffe 2005, 544). Urned cremations dated on ceramic evidence to this period have been found under low mounds at Creeting St. Mary in Suffolk and Warborough Hill in Norfolk (*ibid.*). However, in addition to these formal burials, there is increasing evidence in East Anglia for a late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age tradition of un-urned 'token cremations', comprising just small quantities of cremated bone and located in settlements rather than in designated formal cemeteries. At the late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age farmstead at Thorley in Hertfordshire, small quantities of cremated human bone were found in postholes in or close to three- or four-post structures and in a ditch near an entranceway (Last and McDonald 2001, 116-7). At Gadebridge, also in Hertfordshire, un-urned cremations comprising small quantities of bone occurred in two distinct clusters, one associated with a small enclosure and the other, in which the quantities of bone were larger, in a roughly demarcated area (a 'cemetery'?) on the eastern periphery of the settlement, some distance away from the late Bronze Age roundhouses (Last and McDonald forthcoming). Similar 'token' cremation deposits have been identified on a late Bronze Age settlement at South Hornchurch in Essex (Guttman and Last 2000). Clearly on these sites, there was no simple division between cemetery and settlement. The possible 'token' cremations at Bridge House Dairies, buried in small pits, appear to belong to this increasingly-recognised late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age cremation tradition.

Middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5)

Local landscape context and relationships with other Iron Age sites in Mildenhall

The excavated site is certainly only a small window onto part of a larger Iron Age and Roman settlement. The Iron Age field/ enclosure system could be seen extending beyond the site to the north, west and south, while the density of 'rubbish' pits and the quantities of occupation 'debris' found in them increased towards the eastern site boundary. This pattern of settlement/ land use is likely to relate, albeit indirectly, to the substantial, ditched middle to late Iron Age enclosure found some 590m to the north-east (HER MNL622; Brett 2009). In the fields immediately to the east of the site, on the opposite side of Barton Mills Road, a number of Roman finds have been recovered by metal detector enthusiasts (e.g. HER BTM039 and MNL499). Most have only been reported second or third hand rather than by the finders themselves (Pendleton, *pers. comm*.) and the suspicion must be that the reported finds represent a minimum of what has actually been recovered. Between 100m and 500m further south, other Roman find-spots have been reported. These include a copper-alloy bow brooch found at Grange Farm (HER BTM029), a sherd of Samian ware found during examination of foundation trenches on Grange Lane (HER BTM015) and coins and pottery found by metal detectorists in ploughed fields to the north-west of Barton Mills (HER BTM014). Around 400m east of the site, a Roman cremation urn with six accompanying vessels (including a stamped samian dish) was reportedly found during digging of a garden pond in 1957 (HER BTM001), although the exact location of the find is uncertain. This concentration of finds over a relatively small area suggests that there was an area of Romano-British settlement to the east of Bridge House Dairies.

As activity on the excavated site appears to have come to an end shortly before the Roman Conquest, it is possible that the settlement continued, but simply shifted

eastwards. Alternatively, and more likely, the site may have been only a small part of a larger middle to late Iron Age settlement which continued to the east, into this area of Roman surface finds. Given the metal-poor material culture of the local Iron Age population (as indicated by the paucity of metal finds from the excavation), continuation of their settlement in this direction would be less archaeologically-visible, at least from metal detecting alone, than its Roman successor. In this light, the contrast between the clustering of Roman finds in the fields east and south of Barton Mills Road, and the absence of Roman remains on the excavated site, would suggest contraction of the Iron Age settlement rather than a shift of occupation. Certain aspects of the site's topography help to explain its attractiveness as a settlement location: light soils, proximity to water (for both the inhabitants themselves and their livestock) and probably also its 'nodal' position adjacent to a fording point of the River Lark.

Evidence of Iron Age activity elsewhere around Mildenhall is relatively sparse. Finds of two Iceni silver coins have been reported from Wamil Walk, 500m away on the opposite side of the river (HER MNL141). These came from an area where various Roman metal-detector finds have also been made (HER MNL141 and MNL135) and it may be that there was another fairly long-lived Iron Age and Roman settlement here, mirroring that on the south bank. Other finds, including a possible late Iron Age 'button and loop fastener' (HER MNL166) and Roman pottery (HER MNL166 and MNL127), suggest that occupation extended eastwards along the north bank of the river. Approximately 1.5km north-west of the site, on the western outskirts of modern Mildenhall, two sherds of Iron Age pottery were found within a larger Roman pottery scatter during fieldwalking for the Fenland Survey (HER MNL428). Two Iron Age coins have also been found by metal detector in this area (HER MNL167), and Roman metalwork (HER MNL333), pottery and tile (HER MNL421) have been recovered from the fields to the west. To these find-spots can be added a number of other objects recorded in the Suffolk Historic Environment Record, which do not have accurate grid references (e.g. a Trinovantian/ Catuvellauni coin, an Icenian silver coin, several other Iron Age coins of uncertain type, a La Tene I brooch and a bronze Halstatt-type brooch). More significantly, an extended inhumation flanked by two horses and accompanied by a gold torc, a long iron sword and an axe, was discovered in Mildenhall by antiquarians (HER MNL Misc MSF9311). Its date is uncertain and the recorded details are limited; however, the similarity with middle to late Iron Age 'Arras culture' cart burials from Yorkshire has been noted (Cunliffe 2005, 549-50).

Further afield, several small scatters of Iron Age pottery have been identified in Mildenhall Fen and West Row Fen. Generally, these consist of only a few isolated sherds in amongst scatters of earlier or later material (e.g. HER MNL403). However, several well-preserved cross-joining sherds from a shell-tempered Iron Age vessel have been found near Cook's Drove (HER MNL303) and a concentration of 100 sherds of flint-tempered Iron Age pottery, as well as animal bone and struck flint, was located during fieldwalking for the Fenland Survey (HER MNL370; also MNL371). This suggests that, despite the wet conditions, there were some small settlements/ farmsteads on the fen edge and on any localised hummocks of higher ground within the fen. At Beck Row, 4km north-west of the site, excavation of a Roman maltings revealed part of a small later Iron Age settlement with three possible round structures, a ditched enclosure *c*. 30m across and what may have

been either part of a second enclosure or an associated system of broadly rectilinear ditches (Bales 2004, 7-8, fig. 4). Based on this handful of excavated sites and some of the larger finds scatters recorded in the Suffolk HER, there would appear to have been an Iron Age settlement of some description approximately every 1km in the Breck-Fen area around Mildenhall, although further fieldwork to characterise those sites which are represented only by finds scatters would be necessary to confirm this. A similar density of settlement (one every 700m - 1km) has been found in the Fynn valley, in the south-east of the county (Martin 1999c, 40).

Agriculture and economy

Despite a relatively small faunal assemblage and inconclusive environmental samples, it is possible to make some inferences about the agriculture and the economy of the middle to late Iron Age site at Bridge House Dairies. Domestic animals dominate the faunal assemblage with cattle and sheep/ goat by far the most prevalent species, comprising 44% and 40% respectively of the total domestic species. A reliance on cattle and sheep/ goat husbandry is seen across the region; nearby sites such as West Stow (Crabtree 1990) and Burgh 87 (Jones *et al.* 1987) have relatively even numbers of cattle and sheep/ goat comprising almost half of the entire faunal assemblage.

At Bridge House Dairies all body parts of cattle are represented, indicating that animals were being butchered on site. Herd indices demonstrate that with the exception of a few animals, cattle were killed when they were relatively old, suggesting that they were exploited for their secondary products before being consumed. A neonate calf is present on site which infers that animals may have been being bred, however, there is no evidence for the repeated culling of calves which one might expect to see with a dairying economy (Payne 1972). However, McCormick (1992) has suggested that in fact calves were required for the production of milk, so an absence of young calf remains may not exclude the exploitation of cows for their milk. Some of the cattle remains display pathologies which are indicative of traction. This implies the presence of crop agriculture in the area, in which case cattle may also have been utilised for their manure.

The sheep/ goat remains display a similar pattern of age at death, with over half surviving until they were older than 2 – 4 years and only a small proportion not surviving to adulthood. Similarly to the cattle, this implies a reliance on the secondary products of animals as well as their meat. One can judge that wool was procured from the animals which, when coupled with the presence of loomweight fragments on the site, suggests an active weaving industry. All body parts are represented in the assemblage, making it likely that animals were being kept and butchered on site, a point corroborated by the presence of neonate animals indicative of a breeding herd in the vicinity. The relative dearth of 1st and 3rd phalanges could be taphonomic, but could also imply that animals were stripped for their hides, or that some kind of glue manufacture was present.

Pig and horse were present but in much smaller numbers than cattle and sheep/ goat. It is possible that the pigs that were present on site were feral, and required hunting much like wild game. They are not as exploitable for secondary products during their lifetime, so were probably predominately used for their meat. Though the

proportion of horse is small compared to the other domestic species on site (8%), when compared to other sites in the vicinity of Bridge House Dairies it is relatively high, possibly suggestive of specialist breeding.

As well as the domestic species present on site, a small number of wild species including red and roe deer, hare, goose, and game birds were also represented, suggesting that hunting continued. Given the evidence for the exploitation of domestic species for their secondary products, it may have been the case that the inhabitants of the site were exploiting wild animals for their meat. It should be noted however that meat is not thought to have comprised a predominant part of the Iron Age diet, which would have been primarily based around cereal and vegetables. Unfortunately the environmental samples retrieved from the site were generally poor in terms of their content and did not serve to greatly enhance our understanding of agriculture in the local environment. The presence of sparse barley, spelt and glume wheat grains suggests that these cereals were grown in the vicinity, possibly for food or, given the longevity of herd life-cycles, for fodder. There were also some legume fragments, which might suggest that vegetable cultivation was also carried out.

Settlement pattern and morphology

Owing to the dependence of early agricultural communities on favourable soils and access to water, the distribution of known later prehistoric settlements in Suffolk is directly related to the drainage pattern and main drift geological sub-regions. There is a particularly strong presence in the light soil areas of the north-west and south-east of the county. However, there is good evidence from elsewhere in East Anglia that settlement had expanded onto some heavier clay soils by the late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age transition (e.g. Last and McDonald 2001; Brown 1988) and the same may well be true of parts of the Suffolk clay plateau, although a middle to late Iron Age date seems more likely, on the basis of the current evidence, for expansion onto the central Suffolk and south Norfolk clays (Davies 1996, 68; 1999, 18). By the end of the Iron Age, there was certainly settlement on the Suffolk clay: an enclosed late Iron Age to Roman farmstead has been excavated on the clay hillside above the river Gipping at Stowmarket (Nicholson, forthcoming). Iron Age settlement sites are also largely confined to areas with reasonable access to water and avoid 'dry' areas - most sites lie within 1.6km of a watercourse or mere, the maximum distance recommended by the Ministry of Agriculture that should be walked by cows in milk (Martin 1999c, 40). The Breckland and Sandlings, though offering light soils, are largely devoid of settlements because they were too dry. Access to water played a larger part in determining settlement locations than lightness of soil. On the clay, areas away from watercourses were plagued by poor drainage and their heavy, wet soils were difficult to cultivate. This was probably particularly true of the very flat interfluves of north Suffolk, where Iron Age settlement appears particularly thin (Martin 1999c, 40).

One of the principal features of the Iron Age site at Bridge House Dairies was the system of rectilinear boundary ditches. These consistently followed the same perpendicular north-north-west to south-south-east and west-south-west to east-north-east alignments, and demarcated three separate enclosures separated by wide tracks or droveways. Extensive re-cutting attested to a long period of use but the overall layout of the enclosures remained relatively static over time. Due to the

irregular shape of the excavation area, none of the internal spaces within the enclosures were revealed. The trial trenches suggested that the central enclosure (Enclosure 2), at least, had few internal features, although this could easily have been a result of truncation from the dairy buildings. The distribution of rubbish pits and the increasing density of pottery and animal bone suggested that the main focus of Iron Age activity was to the east, beyond the site boundary. If so, the enclosures themselves were perhaps animal paddocks/ fields on the periphery of a settlement area. Despite the presence and long-term maintenance of ditched boundaries, this was not necessarily an enclosed settlement *per se*. Rather, it was probably part of a subdivided middle to late Iron Age agricultural landscape. The enclosures clearly continued beyond the site to the north, west and south, so we are only seeing a small window onto a wider landscape. It is not possible to speculate about how wide an area might have been subdivided in this way; a search of the NMR oblique aerial photograph collection found no aerial photos of the site and surrounding area in the public domain, perhaps because of security concerns associated with USAF Mildenhall.

Much attention has been focused on the layout of 'core' settlement areas, and more particularly on the supposed dichotomy between enclosed and unenclosed settlements. Many prehistorians have noted that the Iron Age settlement pattern across much of East Anglia was characterised by open settlements (which may have included enclosed elements but not a dominant enclosed domestic area) (Darvill 1987; Hingley 1984, 73, 79; Hill 1999, 191-2). There has been rather less discussion of the way in which the peripheral areas and agricultural land around settlements were organised.

Enclosed Iron Age settlements (in which an enclosed domestic area was the settlement's dominant organisational feature) have been excavated in Suffolk at Cedar's Park, Stowmarket (Nicholson, forthcoming), Darmesden (Craven 2004), Chilton near Sudbury (Abbott 1997), Puddlebrook, Haverhill (Willett 2001) and Foxhall (Martin 1999a, 62 and fig. 3.8). The (?middle to) late Iron Age farmstead at Cedar's Park was located on the south-facing hillside and clay plateau above the river Gipping and comprised two rectilinear (sub-square and sub-rectangular) enclosures, each containing several roundhouses, with an area of four-post structures located outside the southern enclosure but bounded by a large banked ditch (Nicholson, forthcoming, fig. 3). The settlement appears to have been self-sufficient and of relatively low status and continued well into the Romano-British period. Darmesden, on the Gipping river gravels, was similar in character to Cedars Park. Excavations in 1994 and 2003 revealed part of one side (115m) and a corner of a late Iron Age enclosure ditch, surrounding three ring gullies, a post-built structure and a scatter of rubbish pits (Craven 2004, 5, 17 and fig. 2). Chilton was somewhat earlier in date than the main phases at Bridge House Dairies (late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age) and was only partially investigated but the excavated features included roundhouses, four and six–post structures, posthole alignments and two arms of the enclosure ditch (Abbott 1997). Part of another square or rectangular Iron Age enclosure ditch containing a ring gully (a roundhouse?) has been excavated at Puddlebrook, Haverhill, in the far south-west of the county (Willett 2001). In the south-east, several small rectangular enclosures are known on the gravels and riverine deposits between the Deben, Orwell and Stour estuaries (Plouviez and Martin 1978, 20-21; Martin 1999c, 41; 1999a, 62). The only one to have been

excavated is at Foxhall, where the ditched sub-rectangular enclosure surrounded a single roundhouse positioned in its north-west corner (Martin 1999a, 62 and fig. 3.8). Pottery finds indicated a middle Iron Age date and metalworking evidence was also recovered. It was postulated that the site might represent the fortified residence of an important individual.

To these can be added another possible enclosed settlement at Beck Row, 3km west of Bridge House Dairies, where developer-funded excavations revealed an Iron Age farmstead comprising a small ditched enclosure, an adjoining second enclosure or broadly-rectilinear ditch system and three small round structures. Only one of the ?structural ring gullies lay within the enclosure and stratigraphic relationships indicated that it pre-dated the enclosure ditches (Bales 2004, 7, 8 fig. 4). 'Continuations' of this settlement landscape have since been excavated in the immediate area (e.g. Craven 2011; Mustchin forthcoming). At West Stow, two circular buildings, one with an adjacent enclosure of similar appearance and dimensions to that at Beck Row, were positioned alongside a large curving ditched droveway (Moore *et al.* 1988, 17 Ill. 13). It is unclear whether this really represents an 'enclosed settlement' or, perhaps, a settlement where domestic occupation was taking place in and around an enclosed and subdivided agricultural landscape.

With the exceptions of Cedars Park and Foxhall, the circumstances of excavation have only allowed small portions of each of these settlements to be investigated. Interpretations are therefore provisional and many questions relating to dating, site layout and zoning of activity remain unanswered. Given that the excavated site at Bridge House Dairies was undoubtedly also just part of a larger settlement, and that the exact location of the 'core' domestic areas is far from certain, it is difficult to draw meaningful parallels with any of these sites. Had the site not been so heavily-truncated and had larger areas been stripped, it is possible that Bridge House Dairies might resemble the settlements at Cedars Park or Darmesden, both of which appear to have been dominated by large rectilinear enclosures surrounding roundhouse structures and other occupation-related features. The settlement enclosures at both sites were rectilinear in plan and (extrapolating from the exposed portion of the boundary ditch at Darmesden) in excess of 100m across, mirroring the layout and dimensions of the enclosures at Bridge House Dairies. The density of pitting at the present site certainly implies that the settlement was on a slightly greater scale than the smaller enclosed farmsteads at Foxhall and Beck Row, both of which may have also been earlier in date.

However, as discussed above, it is perhaps more likely that the ditched enclosures at Bridge House Dairies were fields/ paddocks on the periphery of a settlement rather than actually surrounding a settlement themselves. In this regard, a 1st century BC/ 1st century AD ditched enclosure at Bournehill, Wherstead (Gill *et al.* 2001) and a middle to late Iron Age enclosure off Bury Road, Ipswich (JSAC 2000) are interesting. While both are convincing as enclosures, no contemporary features were identified within the area enclosed by either and they were probably therefore agricultural in function rather than enclosed settlements. The peripheral zones and agricultural land around settlements are frequently neglected in favour of investigating the main domestic areas. Further afield, where gravel extraction has involved stripping of very large open areas, Iron Age field systems have been excavated at several sites. At Lodge Farm, St Osyth, in Essex, on a gravel spur

adjacent to a tributary of Brightlingsea Creek, a system of rectilinear boundary ditches laid out at approximate right angles to the stream formed a network of long narrow fields, enclosures and trackways, dated to the middle Iron Age (Germany 2007). Later during the middle Iron Age, the field system was replaced by an extensive partially enclosed settlement which developed on a 'T'-junction of ditched trackways. It is possible that during the initial phase, the settlement itself was located just beyond the excavated area, neighbouring the field system. At Slough House Farm, close to the Blackwater Estuary (also in Essex), excavations revealed another 'nucleated' Iron Age settlement with its origins in the early to middle Iron Age, surrounded by a large sub-rectangular ditched enclosure which may have been added during the period of occupation (Wallis 1998). To the west was a (mainly later) Iron Age rectilinear field system, with elements including several narrow strip-like fields and a stock enclosure, suggesting use for mixed farming. Both enclosure systems have strong morphological similarities, in terms of their rectilinear layouts, scale and likely associations with settlement areas, with that excavated at Bridge House Dairies.

Of course, decisions about the layout of settlements and the associated agricultural land must have involved a complex range of considerations. Factors such as soil type, the locations of watercourses, the local contours and relief, the agricultural basis of the settlement, as well as the less archaeologically-tangible influences of social structure and family/ kin interrelationships, must all have played their parts. One common factor that stands out with the locations of the rather extensive field systems at these Essex sites and that at Bridge House Dairies is their shared locations on light river valley soils relatively close to watercourses.

Cultural affiliations

By the late Iron Age, Suffolk was occupied by two major tribal groups, the Iceni to the north and the Trinovantes to the south. The distributions of their coins suggest that the dividing line between them ran along the River Lark and then across the central clay lands towards Hacheston and the Alde estuary (Martin 1999c; Moore *et al*. 1988, 11-13). Bridge House Dairies would have lain on this conjectured border, although the boundary was almost certainly more of a loose border 'zone' of interaction between the two groups than a rigid linear political boundary. Numerous Icenian coins, and a smaller number of Trinovantian issues, have been found in the area, suggesting that north-west Suffolk was largely within the Iceni sphere of influence. Alongside those found in Mildenhall, mentioned above, particularly large numbers of late Iron Age coins have been found in Freckenham (notably a hoard of *c*. 90 gold Iceni staters, HER FRK002, but also HER FRK013, FRK030, FRK033, FRK040 and FRK065) and to a lesser extent in Worlington, a few kilometres to the south-west of the site (HER WGN009 and WGN025).

The distribution of amphorae, Gallo-Belgic pottery and 'Belgic' cemeteries is strongly linked with the Trinovantian/ Catuvellaunian area (Moore *et al*. 1988, 12-14). Iceni areas, by contrast, seem to have followed a more indigenous tradition in terms of both their material culture and the ways in which they disposed of their dead (Moore *et al*. 1988, 13). In some respects, the site fits this pattern. Notably, funerary rites, where these are archaeologically-visible at all, seem to have involved either 'pit burial' or cremation followed by token deposition of a small quantity of bone and then

scattering of the rest of the burnt remains. Both are 'native' customs, the latter possibly having been practised in East Anglia since the late Bronze Age (see above).

Although Belgic pottery was not abundant on the site, some was imported from elsewhere in the region, perhaps from south Suffolk, and other 'imitation' Belgic vessels appear to have been made in long-established local fabrics. Although they may have only had limited access to the trade in Belgic pottery, there was clearly enough demand from the late Iron Age inhabitants of the area to stimulate the production of local copies.

Treatment of the dead

Treatment of the dead during the Iron Age is not well-attested in the archaeological record (Lally 2008, 121). However, when all the evidence is amassed, it is nevertheless possible to distinguish a well-defined series of ritual practices and to discern both changes over time and regional variations (Whimster 1977, 1981; Cunliffe 2005, 543). Cunliffe suggests that three broad chronological stages can be recognised: the eighth to sixth centuries when the late Bronze Age preference for cremation was largely coming to an end, the fifth to first centuries when a complex of practices involving inhumation and excarnation are found across the country, and the first century BC to first century AD when cremation was reintroduced into the south-east (2005, 543).

'Pit Burial'

The young woman found buried in one of the middle to late Iron Age pits (F2257) fits into a well-attested pattern of human remains being found in 'domestic' contexts at Iron Age settlements across the country (Cunliffe 2005, 546). This includes complete human burials, burials of partial but articulated bodies, and isolated human bones, found in pits, ditches, postholes and occupation layers, and often occurring alongside other occupation 'debris' (Cunliffe 2005, 552; Lally 2008, 120). Burial in disused storage pits is especially frequent. In most instances, the body lies flexed, often quite tightly, on the pit bottom and close against one side of the pit; in a number of well-excavated examples heavy stones have been recorded over the body (*ibid*.). In some instances these pit burials are found in contexts which suggest that they were intended as foundation deposits – for example at Hod Hill and Maiden Castle in Dorset, where pit burials predated rampart extensions. However, more normally pit burials are found scattered at random throughout settlement areas. The practice was widespread throughout central southern Britain and appears to be represented in all areas where storage pits were dug, although fewer pit burials have been found in East Anglia. Examples of the latter include a child's body less the legs which was apparently wrapped in a cloth or sack and thrown into a pit at Wandlebury hillfort near Cambridge, and the numerous early to middle Iron Age storage pits containing articulated human body parts which were excavated at Harston Mill in Cambridgeshire.

There is now general agreement that excarnation, in which the body of the deceased was exposed, either instead of or prior to burial, was a major mortuary rite during the Iron Age (Ellison and Drewett 1971; Harding 1974; Wilson 1981; Walker 1984; Wait 1985; Carr and Knüsel 1997). Excarnation may have been perceived as a liminal

stage during which the 'spirit was still hovering' (Cunliffe 2005, 554). It is possible that dead bodies were actually kept for a period among the living, a practice attested in the historical and ethnographic records (Lally 2008, 123). In some cultures (e.g. the Maori), biological death does not necessarily mean social death and deceased bodies continue to be retained among the living and included in social activities such as eating and talking, for considerable periods of time, even years (Barley 1995, 54-55). If the body had been bound and wrapped on death the still-wrapped remains might then have been taken down at the end of the liminal period and interred in graves dug in designated cemeteries. Alternatively, they could have been carried into the settlement for special burial, perhaps as part of propitiatory rites (*ibid*.). Such an explanation would account for both the partial bodies and isolated bones found within the settlement area. While excarnation followed by burial or reincorporation may have constituted the 'normative' rite for much of the Iron Age population, other rites may also have existed. Cunliffe (2005, 554) suggests that some of the bodies in pits could have been deliberate sacrifices, while the numerous finds of disarticulated skulls and pieces of skulls may represent trophies of enemies.

However, 'pit burials' and the other complete and partial human bodies found in settlement contexts still only account for a tiny fraction of the Iron Age population. Wait estimates that only 5% of the inhabitants of Iron Age settlements are actually represented in the archaeological record (1985, 90). This archaeological invisibility is not simply a result of taphonomic factors or poor preservation (Hill 1995); rather, the mortuary record on Iron Age sites represents 'intentionally selective depositional practices' (Lally 2008, 121). In other words, the few human bodies/ body parts which were deposited were in some way set apart from the majority of the population, leading them to be treated in atypical and archaeologically-visible ways (Craig *et al.* 2005, 169). Archaeologists have offered a wide range of explanations for who these people were and why their bodies were treated differently to those of the rest of the population. They may have been social outcasts or enemies (Bishop and Knüsel 2005; Craig *et al*. 2005; Harding 1974; Moore 2006; Wilson 1981), the elite, unclean or sacrificed (Craig *et al*. 2005; Cunliffe 1992, fig. 6; Green 2002; Harding 1974; Moore 2006), those killed in warfare (Bishop and Knüsel 2005; Craig *et al*. 2005; Cunliffe 1992; Moore 2006), victims of head hunting (Green 2002), those associated with fertility rites (Bradley 1984, 159; 1990, 163-5; Cunliffe 1983, 164; 1991; 1992; Cunliffe and Poole 1991, 162; Hill 1995), and those associated with ancestors or ancestral claims to the landscape (Bishop and Knüsel 2005). It has also been argued that rather than being associated with the individuals to whom they had belonged, dead bodies and body parts might have been used to represent undifferentiated, generic ancestors (Brück 1995; Fitzpatrick 1997).

This diversity of opinion highlights the fact that no single explanation is likely to 'fit' all deposits of human remains on Iron Age settlements. Treatment of human remains was clearly highly varied and no doubt reflects complex rationalities and concerns (Lally 2008, 124) and in order to understand these concerns, every deposit of human remains needs to be studied on its own terms rather than applying generalisations.

At face value, several characteristics of the individual buried in Pit F2257 stand out as potentially unusual. However, it must be borne in mind that because of the partial and highly selective nature of the Iron Age mortuary record, there is no reliable demographic baseline against which to judge whether an individual was in any way

different to his or her contemporaries. The individual deposited in Pit F2257 was probably a teenage/ young woman aged between 17 and 20 years. Adolescents (the age-at-death category into which the Bridge House Dairies individual falls) form the largest proportion of Iron Age 'pit burials', which is particularly significant given that this sector of the population is normally underrepresented in the mortuary record. This demographic patterning shows that the individuals buried in pits are more reflective of some socially-controlled process rather than a natural mortality profile; 'pit burials' are not a simple cross-section of Iron Age society (Craig *et al.* 2005, 171). The Bridge House Dairies pit burial is also particularly notable for being a female: women are underrepresented in the general demographic profile of pit depositions (Cunliffe 1995a, 78). The Bridge House Dairies individual appears to have lived a 'hard' life, with signs of acute muscle trauma from repeated heavy lifting, a fractured (healed) clavicle presumably caused by either accidental injury or interpersonal violence, and unusual dental wear which suggests that she frequently used her jaw as a 'third hand', perhaps for a task such as leather working or rope-making. However, it is uncertain whether her short life was unusually 'difficult' compared to that of a typical individual living in a rural settlement of the middle to late Iron Age. It has been suggested that agricultural intensification during later prehistory, including the clearing and ploughing of fields, harvesting and processing of crops, and manual grinding of grain, may be the cause of a higher prevalence of skeletal 'wear and tear' (Roberts and Cox 2003, 96). If so, it is possible that her life was no more difficult than that of her contemporaries and that had more individuals entered the archaeological record, they too would show similar osteological indicators of day-to-day heavy labour. Nevertheless, other pathologies, such as her unusual pattern of dental wear, do stand out as atypical: she was almost certainly regularly involved in some specialised task beyond those normally involved in subsistence agriculture. Long bone measurements indicate that at 5′ 1″, the individual was also below average height for an Iron Age woman. On balance, although our knowledge of the stature and health of the mass of the Iron Age population is limited, the Bridge House Dairies pit burial does stand out as unusual compared to her contemporaries, both in terms of her small stature and the skeletal indicators of hard and/ or specialised work. It is tempting to suggest that she was of relatively low social standing, perhaps a servant or slave involved in menial, repetitive and physically demanding work.

The context of the burial also offers a valuable window onto the underlying rationale behind it. Given its position immediately adjacent to the boundary of the excavation area, it is not possible to speculate about potential spatial associations between Pit F2257 and other significant features (e.g. buildings, enclosure entranceways etc). However, based on the increasing density of features and finds towards the east and south-east of the site, the pit burial was probably located some distance from the core of the settlement, in the area of ditched paddocks and enclosed fields on its outskirts.

'Special' or 'ritual' deposits

Problems of interpretation

Many researchers have drawn attention to the frequency with which certain objects/ combinations of objects occur in seemingly unusual locations or contexts on Iron

Age (and indeed many other later prehistoric and Romano-British) sites. Such deposits are variously referred to in the published archaeological literature as 'special deposits', 'ritual deposits' or 'structured deposits'. The phenomenon first became clear during the large-scale excavations at Danebury hillfort in the late 1970s (Cunliffe 2005, 570) and is now widely recognised on Iron Age sites across the British Isles. While early studies focused primarily on deposits in pits, particularly disused storage pits, it has long since become clear that similar unusual deposits also occur in association with a wide range of other features, including ditches, postholes, occupation layers and structures. The range of material selected for deposition is highly varied and includes human bone (complete bodies, articulated body parts and disarticulated skeletal material) (Whimster 1977, 1981; Wilson 1981; Walker 1984; Wait 1985; Cunliffe and Poole 1991; Woodward 1993), animal bone ('special animal deposits', again spanning deposits of complete/ partial skeletons, articulated limbs and complete skulls) (Grant 1984; Wait 1985), other objects such as complete pots and items of metalwork, and perhaps also deposits of grain, textiles and other perishables which do not usually survive on archaeological sites (Cunliffe 1983, 159-60, 1992, 74-77).

Explanations of the rationale underlying these deposits vary considerably. Cunliffe, focusing particularly on deposits in disused storage pits, argued that such 'non-rubbish depositions' represent offerings to the gods of the underworld in return for safely storing grain (1983, 159). There has been wide discussion of a so-called 'Pit Belief System' in which deposits of human remains and other objects in pits are thought to have been associated with fertility rites (Bradley 1984, 159; Cunliffe 1983, 164). Other prehistorians, focusing on the enclosure ditches around some Iron Age settlements, have linked depositional practices with the possible social and symbolic significance of these boundaries (Bowden and McOmish 1987; Hingley 1990), highlighting the way in which unusual deposits are often associated with focal points of boundaries such as entranceways.

The identification and interpretation of 'special'/ 'ritual' deposits has not been without critics. A major problem with many studies is the failure to adequately define the criteria which distinguish 'special deposits' or 'non-rubbish depositions' from the mass of 'waste' or rubbish generated by everyday life in Iron Age settlements. In relation to so-called 'special animal deposits', for example, Wilson argued that quantities of articulated bone could be deposited as a result of normal (*i.e.* subsistence/ economic) carcass processing activities rather than any animal-bone-related 'ritual' (1992, 348). Maltby (1985) made similar points, arguing that many smaller articulated portions including skulls are simply butchery waste. The same points could equally be made of deposits of complete pottery vessels or of layers of cereal grain in pits and other features: at some point, a pot might be perceived as having reached the end of its functional life, perhaps for reasons of taste, even if it was unbroken and could from a practical point of view still be used; grain deposits might simply have been spoiled, something which might well not be readily identifiable from an archaeological plant macrofossil assemblage. Another problem is the persistence of a theoretical framework which seeks to divide the deposition of different categories of cultural material and different patterns of behaviour on the basis of an overly simplistic ritual vs. rubbish/ sacred vs. profane dichotomy (*cf*. Hill 1995, 15-16). This is heavily influenced by a modern Western worldview and it is increasingly apparent that there was no such division in prehistory; recent studies

have emphasised the ways in which many aspects of everyday domestic life can be highly 'ritualised' (Fitzpatrick 1997; Hill 1996).

The response to these problems over the past 15+ years has been to begin to adopt a more thorough and contextual approach to the material found on Iron Age sites, emphasising the need to understand the formation processes responsible for the archaeological record and the effect of factors such as preservation. Hence Hill (1995) attempted, via analysis of all categories of material (human remains, animal remains, small finds, pottery etc.) found on Iron Age sites in the Wessex region, to establish what constituted a 'normal'/ 'average' deposit and thereby develop a statistical baseline against which to distinguish which deposits were significantly different or 'special'. It has also been increasingly recognised that patterns in the archaeological record can be produced simply by cultural attitudes towards dirt and garbage which were different from our own, or by differential post-depositional preservation (Hill 1995, 17). It is only by considering all classes of material together rather than affording privileged status to certain objects (e.g. human bone) on the basis of our cultural preconceptions, by taking full account of the formation processes behind deposits, and by establishing a baseline of what constitutes a 'normal' deposit at a particular site, that it is then possible to distinguish which deposits are in any way unusual or 'special'. These can then be interpreted only by freeing ourselves of preconceived ideas and considering the full range of evidence in each individual case.

Identification of 'special' or 'unusual' deposits at Bridge House Dairies

Several deposits at Bridge House Dairies were identified during the excavation as unusual or 'special':

- Partial sheep/ goat burial in Pit F2060 (Pit Cluster 1)
- Partial pig burial (and textile fragments) in Pit F2087 (Pit Cluster 3)
- Articulated dog burial in Pit F2124 (adjacent to Pit Cluster 4)
- Articulated double sheep burial in Pit F2129 (Pit Cluster 4)
- Cow skull 'on base' of Pit F2267 (Pit Cluster 4)
- Complete small jar in Pit F2314 (Pit Cluster 4)
- Loomweight fragment 'central within lower fill' of Pit F2314 (Pit Cluster 4)
- Cattle skull 'on base' of Pit F2307 (Pit Cluster 5)
- Mandible 'on base' of Pit F2280 (Pit Cluster 5)
- Horncore and mandible 'on base' of Pit F2278 (Pit Cluster 5)
- Horncore/ mandible 'on base' of Pit F2291 (Pit Cluster 5)
- Large portion of a broken pot in Pit F2024 (Pit Cluster 6)
- Complete pottery vessel in Pit F2046 (Pit Cluster 6)
- Articulated human skeleton in Pit F2257 (Pit Cluster 7)
- Large quantity (6kg) of animal bone in Pit F2417 (Pit Cluster 8)

It is readily apparent from this list that the recognition of a deposit as 'special' during the fieldwork depended on one or more of the following criteria:

1) The presence of complete articulated skeletons or of large enough portions of skeletons as to be readily-recognisable.

2) The presence of complete animal skulls or mandibles.
3) The presence of complete pots.
4) The presence of apparently large quantities of finds (relative to other features).
5) The provenance of an object at the base or in the centre of a feature.

As discussed above, recent research (e.g. Hill 1995) has demonstrated that the only way to confidently identify 'special deposits' of objects is to establish what constitutes a typical deposit on a particular site (the 'site norm') and then use this as a baseline against which to measure. Therefore, some basic statistical analysis was carried out in order to establish the quantity and range of finds present in a typical feature. On this basis, a 'normal' finds assemblage from an Iron Age feature at Bridge House Dairies comprised around seven or eight sherds (*c*. 100g) of pottery and an average (median) of 184g of animal bone, with other types of finds only rarely present. The Iron Age pottery from the site is so homogenous in fabric and forms that there was little sign of any significant differences in the character of the pottery found in different features (Peachey, pers. comm.). The faunal assemblage was a little more variable in terms of deposition context; cattle and sheep/goat remains were found in similar proportions in all feature types, however horse made up a larger proportion of the ditch assemblages compared to the other features and almost all the dog remains were recovered from pits. In addition to some of those features which were noted as unusual during fieldwork, several other features stand out when compared to this 'site norm':

- Pits F2067 (Pit Cluster 1), F2070 (Pit Cluster 1), F2238 (Pit Cluster 3) , F2325 (Pit Cluster 4), F2224 (Pit Cluster 5), F2333 (Pit Cluster 5), F2278 (Pit Cluster 5), F2296 (Pit Cluster 5) and F2417 (Pit Cluster 8) contained significantly larger than normal quantities of animal bone (more than 1kg, compared to the site median of 184g and mean of 466g).

- Pits F2246 (Pit Cluster 5), F2269 (Pit Cluster 5), F2222 (Pit Cluster 3), F2124 (adjacent to Pit Cluster 4), F2291 (Pit Cluster 5), F2296 (Pit Cluster 5) and F2417 (Pit Cluster 8) contained significantly large quantities of animal bone and were identified as ABG's in the process of faunal analysis. The remains from F2124 was later dated to the early Anglo-Saxon period however.

- Pits F2238 (Pit Cluster 3) and F2333 (Pit Cluster 5), in addition to the pits noted on site as containing either complete pots or large portions of vessels (listed above), contained significantly larger than normal pottery assemblages (22 sherds weighing 737g and 57 sherds weighing 1103g, respectively, compared to the site average (mean) of just 7.6 sherds weighing 105g).

Discussion of significance

Articulated animal burials

Of the four burials of complete or near-complete articulated animals which were recognised and recorded on site, only one (F2124) contained any dating evidence, comprising just a single tiny sherd (<1g) of Iron Age pottery which could easily have been residual/ intrusive. Subsequent radiocarbon dating of the ABG from Pit F2124 placed this feature firmly within the early Anglo-Saxon period. Nonetheless, the

remaining burials were assumed to probably be Iron Age based on the fact that the overwhelming majority of the archaeological features on site were dateable to this period. The assumption may also have something to do with many excavators' inherent preconceptions about the frequency of articulated animal burials on later prehistoric sites and their supposed 'ritual' connotations.

However, as discussed above (Section 3.9) there is good reason to believe, based on their very large size relative to post-medieval reference specimens, that the two sheep in Pit F2129 are in fact modern. They might have been animals reared on the farm at Bridge House, which had barns/ outbuildings on the present site prior to its development into a commercial dairy from the 1960s onwards. This highlights the important fact that both in the past and today, animals are buried in a complete, articulated state for a wide variety of reasons, frequently in contexts which cannot possibly have had any 'ritual' connotations, at least not in the 'religious'/ propitiatory sense used by some prehistorians (e.g. Cunliffe 2005, 571 fig. 20.20). For example, farm animals might be buried complete as a result of death from disease, which had rendered them unusable as meat but which would not necessarily leave any identifiable signature in the archaeozoological record. Other complete burials might be of highly valued or loved working animals or pets, a category into which the modern skeleton of an adult male dog buried at Hayhills Allotments in Ipswich almost certainly falls (Sparrow and McDonald 2007). Similarly, an unusually large and heavily-built late medieval/ early post-medieval horse was found buried complete in a pit at Latimer Park House in Buckinghamshire (Grassam 2009, 137). It almost certainly represented a valued working or riding animal to which the owners were attached enough not to send the bones for glue-making or for grinding down into animal feed (the usual fate of deceased working horses in the last few centuries). However, while burial of complete articulated animals for sentimental reasons is highly plausible in the case of dogs and horses, animals with which humans often have close emotional bonds, it is less likely (though not impossible) in the case of the two modern sheep at the site and death from disease therefore seems the most likely scenario.

This also casts some doubt on the antiquity of the other animal burials on the site.

Besides the early Anglo-Saxon dog ABG from Pit F2124 (discussed below), three further dog ABG's were found at the site (F2246, F2186 and F2095), all of which possibly date to the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5). Two of these comprised more or less complete individuals. The high proportion of skeletal material present in the pits is possibly a reflection that they were not consumed as meat animals and therefore never subject to disarticulation, unlike many of the other domestic species. The only example of the disfigurement of a dog prior to burial is from Pit F2095, which contained the skull and vertebral column of a young adult animal.

Cattle, sheep/ goat and pig ABGs were found in Pits F2087, F2222, F2269, F2291 and F2246. Pit F2087 contained an almost complete neonate piglet and F2269 contained a neonate lamb. Aside from these the ABG's comprise limb bone elements may not have been deposited articulated. Two features contained more than one ABG. As well as containing an almost complete dog skeleton, Pit F2246 produced a sheep/ goat forelimb. Pit F2291 contained the right hand white-tailed

eagle bones, a cow foot (which may not have been articulated in the ground) and a horse mandible and maxilla.

'Placed' bones, pots and other objects

The phenomenon of particular skeletal elements, such as skulls and articulated limbs, being found on the bases of Iron Age pits has been noted at numerous sites (e.g. Wait 1985) and has frequently been seen as having a ritual/ propitiatory motivation (Grant 1984, 543; Wait 1985, 139-152; Cunliffe 1983, 156-160). Similar deposition patterns have been noted with regard to groups of pots and sets of other artefacts, and it has been postulated that perishable materials such as cheese, hides and bales of wool might have also been placed within pits, for similar reasons (Cunliffe 2005, 570).

Nine examples of possible 'placed' deposits of this sort were identified and recorded at Bridge House Dairies: two involving cattle skulls, three mandibles/ horncores, three involving complete pottery vessels or large portions of pots, and one of a large loomweight fragment. All were found in pits, mostly on the pit bases, although the complete vessel in Pit F2314 was found centrally within the upper (secondary) fill. Only three, the loomweight fragment and small jar in Pit F2314 and the cow skull in Pit F2267, were found in what appear, on the basis of their depths and profiles, to have originally been storage pits. As discussed above (see Section 3.5.3 on the functions of the middle to late Iron Age pits), the other pits at the site were for the most part not obviously truncated and seem specifically to have been dug for rubbish disposal rather than ever having had another 'primary' function. One possible exception among those presently under discussion was Pit F2280, which lay underneath a dairy outbuilding and had probably had its upper portion removed. Given that many of these possible placed or 'special' deposits occurred in pits which had never been used for storage, interpretations as 'thanks' offerings (Cunliffe 1983, 159) are rendered less plausible. Of course, it does not negate the possibility that some placed objects in what were apparently 'rubbish' pits could in fact have been offerings of a more 'general' nature rather than given in thanks for a specific act of safe storage.

Other aspects may undermine the interpretation of these deposits as deliberately 'placed'. The majority of the pits containing 'placed' deposits also contained numerous other finds which were not noted as in any way 'special' and were excavated as normal bulk finds. In addition to the mandibles/ horncores in Pits F2280, F2278 and F2291 further quantities of disarticulated bone, in the case of Pit F2291 some 2kg, were also recovered; this material may also have had significance to the individual depositing it but equally, there may be no significance to the mandibles and horncores in these features. The observation that these jaw bones/ horncores were deposited 'on the bases' of the pits also poses difficulties when one considers how shallow several of these and many of the other pits were (F2278 and F2280, for example, were not much more than 20cm deep). Most of the finds from these and the other shallow pits would, by physical necessity, be found at or fairly close to the pit bases. Looking at the photographic record of Pit F2267 (Plate 10), the 'deliberately-placed' cow skull recorded as found on the base of the pit can be seen lying immediately against one edge of the pit, extending up the pit's side. This may suggest that it was not a deliberate placement and merely formed part of the

mass of jumbled, disarticulated ribs and other bones which were recovered as bulk finds from the pit. The pre-depositional 'history' of the loomweight from Pit F2314 (discussed above) also poses problems for its interpretation as having been 'placed' in the pit. The smaller loomweight fragments from several of the adjacent pits in Pit Cluster 5 strongly suggest that the loomweight was originally present as above-ground occupation debris in this area of the site and was being moved around/ eroded for a time through natural processes, before finally ending up in abraded fragments in several different closely-spaced pits.

This is not to claim that 'special' deposits, in the sense of objects or combinations of objects occurring in unusual contexts, do not exist and that they never have symbolic or 'ritual' connotations. At Trumpington Park and Ride in Cambridgeshire, for example, Iron Age pits contained structured deposits of human and animal bones, apparently combined and placed together to form human-animal composites/ hybrids (Hinman 2004). Such behaviour is almost impossible to explain in purely functional terms and the conclusion that the deposits had some highly ritualised and symbolic meaning is inescapable. However, it is also clear that some of the putative 'special deposits' at Bridge House Dairies may, when subject to full analysis of the context and taphonomic factors responsible for a particular deposit, be understood through equally plausible practical, rather than 'ritual' explanations.

By virtue of its location and parallels on other Iron Age sites, one deposit does stand out as a more likely candidate for deliberate placement. The bowl/ jar in Pit F2046 is unusual both for being one of only two complete vessels found on the site and for the pit's location immediately adjacent to an enclosure entrance, in contrast to the majority of the pits which were clustered somewhat away from the contemporary fields/ paddocks. There is a well-attested trend of unusual deposits, including complete pots, being located at focal points of boundaries on Iron Age settlements (e.g. South Lodge in Wiltshire, Barrett 1989, 122). It is by virtue of this repeated pattern of depositional behaviour that those deposits which had real meaning and significance for the people who made them can be recognised. The symbolic and social significance of boundaries in later prehistory have been highlighted by Hingley (1984, 1990), Bowden and McOmish (1987) and Rees (2008).

Early Anglo-Saxon (Phase 6) Dog ABG

The dog ABG from Pit F2124 (SK2126) was initially assigned a mid to late Iron Age date based on the position of this pit to other Phase 5 features, notably Pit Cluster 4. However, the large size of this animal, equivalent to a modern wolfhound, is more in keeping with the generally accepted view of Anglo-Saxon breeds (Harcourt 1974). Subsequent radiocarbon analysis of a bone sample from SK2126 returned a calibrated date of AD 560-650 (Mustchin and Beta Analytic, this report), placing it firmly within the early Anglo-Saxon period. The animal appears to have been laid out with some ceremony, fully extended in a pit which followed the contours of the dog's body (and was probably purpose-dug to contain it), and perhaps purposefully laid out in a lifelike running pose with forelimbs and left hind leg flexed (Plate 11). Small quantities of other finds alongside the skeleton (a single Iron Age potsherd, an iron fragment, a small burnt stone and a struck flint) are most likely residual, chance inclusions.

The skeleton displays a number of pathological changes; slight pitting is present at the margins of the mandible, indicative of the beginnings of periodontal disease and a number of the limb bones are also deformed (see Morris this report). The vertebrae were subject to severe formations of bone growth and deformations and also displayed pitting and lesions and the ribs show signs of infection (*ibid.*). These pathologies are consistent with those formed due to a lung infection and combined with the other changes are suggestive of tuberculosis. The dog would have lived in close proximity to humans; it is, therefore possible that TB was also present in the human population (*ibid.*). As Roberts and Cox (2003, 119) note, there is no evidence of TB in the human population in Britain until the Romano-British period. As such, the combined evidence from Pit F2124 supports an early Anglo-Saxon rather than mid to late Iron Age date.

Although sparse in the immediate vicinity, evidence of Anglo-Saxon occupation is generally well attested in north-west Suffolk. The Lark valley, within which the current site sits, was the focus of Anglo-Saxon settlement by the mid-5th century AD (West 1999, 44-5), and the near complete early Saxon settlement of West Stow (West 1985) lies *c.* 9km to the east. In the Mildenhall area, a (possible) Anglo Saxon inhumation (SHER BTM009) was recorded a short distance to the east-south-east of Bridge House Dairies (after Craven 2009, fig. 1), and a single sherd of middle-Saxon (*c.* AD 650-850) Ipswich ware was also found during fieldwalking *c.* 1.3km to the east (NGR TL 7210 7429; SHER MNL127). As such, although the current site was not considered to have a high potential for Anglo-Saxon remains, the date of the ABG from Pit F2124 does not contradict our current understanding of the local archaeological record.

6 DEPOSITION OF THE ARCHIVE

The site archive, comprising paper site records (context sheets, plans etc) and the donated finds from the site, has been deposited at the Suffolk County Archaeological Store in Ipswich. The archive has been quantified, ordered, indexed, cross-referenced and checked for internal consistency.

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Cartographic sources

Barton Mills Inclosure Map and Award, 1796 (SRO Q/RI39)

Tithe Map, 1838 (SRO FL527/3/34)

APPENDIX 1 CONCORDANCE OF FINDS

Feature	Context	Segment	Area	Description	Spot Date	Pottery	CBM (g)	A. Bone (g)	Other
2005	2006		1	Gully Fill	Medieval	(3), 26g			
		B			Post-Medieval	(4), 10g			
2007	2008		1	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(7), 112g		168	Burnt Flint (1), 34g
2009	2010		1	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(7), 58g		61	Burnt Bone (1), <1g
		C			3rd - 1st C BC	(5), 48g		18	
		E			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), <1g		6	
		G			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 9g		28	
		H			3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 14g		<1	Struck Flint (1), 4g
2011	2012		1	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(4), 14g			
		C			3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 33g		156	
2013	2014		2	Pit Fill	1st C BC/Early 1st C AD	(11), 89g		84	
2015	2016		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 16g			Struck Flint (1), 4g
2017	2018		1	Posthole Fill	Prehistoric	(2), 8g		32	
2019	2020		1	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(11), 64g		154	
2022	2023		1	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(9), 127g		62	Struck Flint (1), <1g
2024	2025		1	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(52), 300g		22	
2030	2031	A	1	Ditch Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 17g		307	
		B			3rd - 1st C BC	(10), 80g		479	Fe Nail (1), 7g
									Struck Flint (3), 82g
		C			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 13g		30	
		D			3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 12g		114	Struck Flint (1), 1g
		E			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 11g		34	
2036	2037		1	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(10), 52g		112	
2038	2039		1	Pit/Treebole Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 40g			
2040	2041	A	1	Ditch Fill				204	Struck Flint (2), 6g
		B			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 3g		68	
		C			3rd - 1st C BC	(6), 86g		44	
	2048	A			3rd - 1st C BC	(5), 48g		56	Burnt Bone (3), 4g
	2051	B						186	
2042	2043	A	1	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 7g		24	
		B			3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 59g		11	Struck Flint (3), 25g

		C			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 9g		<1	Struck Flint (1), <1g
2044	2045	A	1	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 15g		17	
		B			3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 18g		52	
		C			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 6g			
2046	2047		1	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(20), 1079g			
		A			3rd - 1st C BC	(21), 254g		48	
		B			3rd - 1st C BC	(12), 214g		60	
2049	2050		1	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(5), 64g		180	Burnt Bone (16), 150g
2052	2053		1	Pit Fill				14	Struck Flint (2), 10g
2054	2055		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(9), 70g		172	
2056	2059		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(8), 92g		304	Struck Flint (1), 12g
	2069				3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 19g		48	
2060	2061		2	Pit Fill				306	
				Goat/Sheep Skeleton - Hind Leg				78	
				Goat/Sheep Skeleton - Fore Leg				34	
				Goat/Sheep - Leg				42	
2062	2063		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 25g		93	Struck Flint (2), 5g
2067	2068		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(7), 48g		1164	Struck Flint (2), 28g
2070	2071		2	Ditch Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(8), 106g		3370	Struck Flint (1), <1g
2076	2077		2	Pit Fill				250	
2078	2079		2	Pit Fill			280	8	
2080	2081		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(5), 150g		216	Burnt Bone (8), 51g
2083	2086		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 27g		186	
2087	2088		2	Pit Fill				162	**SF1:** ?Hessian Bag (11), 102g
	2106			Fill of Hessian Bag				128	
2089	2090		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 112g		20	
2093	2094		2	Pit Fill				409	
2095	2096		2	Pit Fill				310	
2097	2098		2	Pit Fill	IA (with EBA)	(3), 9g		18	
2099	2100		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(8), 96g		375	Struck Flint (2), 14g
2102	2103		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(7), 47g		250	
2104	2105		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 47g		<1	Struck Flint (1), <1g
2109	2110		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(12), 126g		210	

2111	2112		2	Pit Fill				267	
2113	2114		2	Posthole Fill				66	
2117	2118		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 128g		461	
2124	2125		2	Dog Burial Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(1), <1g		15	Fe Nail (1), <1g Struck Flint (1), 4g
	2126			Dog Skeleton - Pelvis and Hind Legs				310	
				Dog Skeleton - Fore Legs and Scapula				400	
				Dog Skeleton - Spine and Ribs				540	
				Dog Skeleton - Skull				420	Burnt Stone (1), 20g
				Dog Skeleton - Misc. Bone				209	
2129	2132		2	Sheep Skeleton 1 - Skull				513	
				Sheep Skeleton 1 - Pelvis and Ribs				984	
				Sheep Skeleton 1 - Fore and Hind Legs				720	
				Sheep Skeleton 1 - Misc. Bone				148	
	2133			Sheep Skeleton 2 - Skull				521	
				Sheep Skeleton 2 - Ribs, Spine and Pelvis				798	
				Sheep Skeleton 2 - Bag 1				87	
				Sheep Skeleton 2 - Bag 2				171	
				Sheep Skeleton 2 - Bag 3				583	
				Sheep Skeleton 2 - Bag 4				116	
2137	2138		2	Pit Fill	?1st C BC - Early 1st C AD	(18), 130g		727	
2139	2140		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 19g		359	
2142	2143		2	Pit Fill				219	
2146	2147		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 23g		597	Burnt Bone (3), 9g
2153	2154		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(16), 333g		732	
2155	2156		2	Pit Fill				78	Burnt Stone (2), 53g
2157	2158	B	3	Gully Fill				7	
		C						3	
		D			3rd - 1st C BC	(11), 60g		42	
		E						28	
		F						189	
2159	2160	A	3	Ditch Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(12), 54g		25	Burnt Flint (1), 106g

		B			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 19g		76	Struck Flint (1), <1g
		C			3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 11g		44	Struck Flint (3), 88g
		D						54	
		E			3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 6g		111	
		F			3rd - 1st C BC	(6), 22g		180	Struck Flint (1), 4g
	2219	E			3rd - 1st C BC	(4), 26g		6	
2161	2162	D	3	Gully Fill				38	
		E						2	
2163	2164	E	3	Gully Fill				10	
2184	2185		3	Pit Fill	IA (with EBA)	(9), 91g		36	Struck Flint (1), <1g
2186	2187		3	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(7), 62g		50	Struck Flint (1), 16g
	2195							134	
2188	2189		3	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(9), 27g		59	
									Struck Flint (3), 11g
		G			3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 8g		<1	
	2190				3rd - 1st C BC	(1), <1g			
2196				Test Pit 4				18	
2197	2198		3	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(5), 25g		138	
	2199							3	
	2201							90	
2202	2203			Pit Fill				38	
2204	2205		3	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(12), 110g		54	Struck Flint (1), 1g
2206	2207			Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 11g		301	Burnt Flint (1), 136g
									Struck Flint (1), 3g
2208	2209		3	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 18g		18	
2210	2211		3	Pit Fill				32	
2212	2213			Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 7g		82	
2214	2215			Pit Fill				219	Fe Nail (1), <1g
									Slag (1), 88g
									Struck Flint (1), 11g
2220	2221		2	Pit Fill	Medieval/Post-Medieval	(2), 4g		42	
2222	2223		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(6), 42g		1566	Struck Flint (1), 22g
2224	2225		2	Pit Fill				28	
	2256				3rd - 1st C BC	(5), 60g		982	Burnt Bone (2), 42g
									Burnt Stone (5), 1025

									Burnt Flint (5), 54g
2232	2233		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 11g		259	Struck Flint (1), 3g
2236	2237			Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(15), 178g		130	Struck Flint (1), <1g
2238	2239		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(52), 965g		1730	Burnt Bone (5), 14g
	2240				3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 50g		381	
2241	2242		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(10), 112g		721	Burnt Bone (9), 68g Burnt Stone (2), 1947g
2246	2247		2	Pit Fill	1st C BC/Early 1st C AD	(7), 90g		1966	Burnt Bone (4), 18g ?Hammerstones (2), 865g Struck Flint (1), 4g
2254	2255			Pit Fill					Struck Flint (1), <1g
2257	2218			Human Skeleton					Right Leg - 306g Left Leg - 392g Right Arm - 121g Right Hand - 12g Left Arm - 109g Left Hand - 4g Skull - 339gg Mandible - 58g Ribs - 102g Vertebrae, Scapula and Clavicles - 163g Pelvis - 167g Sternum (Sample 183) - 54g Skull (Sample 183) - 14 Misc. Bone - 105g
	2258				3rd - 1st C BC	(6), 102g			Struck Flint (1), 4g
2259	2260		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(5), 52g		259	
2263	2264		2		1st C BC/Early 1st C AD	(7), 162g		108	Baked Clay (1), 2g Burnt Flint (1), 12g Struck Flint (1), 4g
2265	2266		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 9g		240	Burnt Bone (1), 8g Baked Clay (28), 198g
2267	2268		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 9g		1195	
2269	2270		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(4), 118g		956	Baked Clay (1), 8g

	2271				3rd - 1st C BC	(14), 134g		661	Struck Flint (1), 10g Baked Clay (1), 14g Struck Flint (1), 2g
	2282				3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 14g			
2274	2275		2	Pit Fill	1st C BC/Early 1st C AD	(3), 42g		286	Struck Flint (1), 3g
2278	2279		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(6), 50g		337	Glass Bottle Fragments (3), 16g Struck Flint (5), 46g
2280	2281		2	Pit Fill	1st C BC/Early 1st C AD	(3), 66g		969	Burnt Stone (1), 402g Mortar (1), 9g Struck Flint (2), 9g
2283	2284		2	Pit Fill				24	Struck Flint (3), 42g
2285	2286		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(6), 68g		46	Struck Flint (1), <1g
2287	2288		2	Pit Fill	?1st C BC - Early 1st C AD	(2), 16g		68	Struck Flint (10), 140g
2289	2290		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 90g		<1	Burnt Stone (1), 106g Struck Flint (10), 178g
2291	2292		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(13), 292g		2109	Burnt Stone (7), 973g Struck Flint (2), 66g
2294	2295		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 22g		317	Struck Flint (2), 1g
2296	2297		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(11), 80g		245	
	2299				3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 6g		48	**SF2:** Struck Flint Blade (1), <1g Struck Flint (1), 2g
	2301				3rd - 1st C BC	(8), 64g		1162	Struck Flint (1), 3g
2302	2303			Pit Fill				82	Burnt Stone (3), 118g Struck Flint (3), 2g
	2304				3rd - 1st C BC	(5), 44g		122	
2305	2306		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 22g		60	Struck Flint (1), 4g
2307	2293			Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 16g		343	Struck Flint (1), 56g
2308	2309			Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(7), 104g		485	Burnt Stone (5), 538g Struck Flint (2), 22g
2310	2311	D E	2	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 18g			Mussel Shell (1), <1g Struck Flint (1)< 12g Struck Flint (1), <1g
2312	2313		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 42g		654	Burnt Bone (4), 6g Burnt Flint (1), 12g

2314	2315		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(24), 424g		273	?Hammerstone (1), 164g Baked Clay (29), 1273g Struck Flint (2), 48g
	2316				3rd - 1st C BC	(48), 537g		717	Burnt Flint (1), 6g Struck Flint (3), 12g
2317	2318		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(9), 76g		207	Burnt Stone (1), 10g Burnt Flint (1), 48g
2321	2322		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(11), 366g		613	Burnt Flint (1), 154g
2325	2326		2	Pit Fill				2264	
2327	2328		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(5), 96g		307	
2331	2332		2	Pit Fill	Late Neolithic (c. 2900-2100 BC)	(24), 825g		1068	Struck Flint (14), 92g
2333	2334		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(22), 737g		1000	Burnt Bone (1), <1g Burnt Stone (11), 1131g Baked Clay (1), 22g Struck Flint (4), 16g
2345	2346		2	Ditch Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(4), 34g		22	
		C	3		3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 6g		94	Struck Flint (1), <1g
		F			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 18g		511	
		H						20	Burnt Stone (1), 200g
		I			3rd - 1st C BC	(5), 84g		205	Struck Flint (1), 2g
		J			3rd - 1st C BC	(4), 24g		<1	
2347	2348		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 20g		418	Burnt Bone (1), 2g
2349	2350		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 6g		176	
2351	2352		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 22g		88	
2353	2354		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 4g		42	
2355	2356		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 6g		174	
2357	2358		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(5), 136g		681	
2359	2360		2	Pit Fill				223	
2363	2364		3	Ditch Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(8), 64g			**SF4:** Worked Bone (1), 4g Struck Flint (1), <1g
		A			3rd - 1st C BC	(5), 16g		50	
		C			3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 14g			
		D			3rd - 1st C BC	(4), 10g		2	Struck Flint (1), <1g

		G			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 12g		48	
2365	2366	G	3	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 6g			
2367	2368	A	3	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(27), 170g		153	Struck Flint (2), 10g
		C			3rd - 1st C BC	(4), 32g		8	
		D			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 26g		56	
2369	2370		3	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(10), 100g		8	Baked Clay (1), 36g
									Struck Flint (1), <1g
		A			3rd - 1st C BC	(4), 22g		20	Struck Flint (2), 18g
		F			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 14g		10	Struck Flint (2), 8g
		G			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), <1g		6	
2371	2372	A	3	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(2), <1g		16	Struck Flint (1), <1g
		B						18	
2373	2374	B	3	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 20g			
		D			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 6g			
2379	2380	B	3	Gully Fill					**SF3:** Worked Bone (1), 4g
		C			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 4g			
		E			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 6g		10	
2381	2382	B	3	Ditch Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 12g		24	
		C						94	
		D						36	Struck Flint (2), 20g
	2383							34	
	2386							137	
2389	2390		3	Pit Fill				312	
	2391				3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 16g		24	
2392	2393	D	3	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 16g		12	
2396	2397	A	3	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 14g		8	
2400	2401	B	3	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 20g		30	
2402	2403	A	3	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 14g			Struck Flint (1), 6g
		B			3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 6g			
2404	2405	B	3	Ditch Fill				97	
		C						79	
		E						4	Burnt Bone (6), 10g
2406	2407		3	Pit Fill					Burnt Flint (2), 22g
									Struck Flint (2), 24g
	2408				3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 14g			Burnt Flint (3), 18g

									Struck Flint (17), 188g
2409	2410		3	Pit Fill	EBA	(5), 66g		8	Struck Flint (5), 62g
2411	2412		3	Gully Fill				<1	
2413	2414		3	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(1), 4g		92	
2415	2416		3	Pit Fill	IA (with EBA)	(6), 38g		40	Burnt Stone (2), 110g Burnt Flint (3), 6g Struck Flint (3), 34g
2417	2418		3	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(15), 140g		6000	Struck Flint (2), 26g
2419	2420		3	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 36g		157	Burnt Stone (1), 12g Struck Flint (1), 4g
2421	2422 2423		3	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC 3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 38g (16), 108g		116 179	
2424	2425		3	Ditch Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(33), 360g		288	Struck Flint (1), 1g
2428	2429		3	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 80g		10	Struck Flint (1), <1g
2432	2433		3	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(3), 16g		22	Burnt Stone (2), 58g
2438				Layer	1st C BC/Early 1st C AD	(15), 126g		1096	
2439	2440		3	Pit Fill	1st C BC/Early 1st C AD	(12), 329g		248	Struck Flint (6), 54g Burnt Bone (10), 15g
2441	2443		3	Pit Fill				4	
2444	2446		3	Pit Fill				44	
2450	2451		2	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C BC	(2), 10g	26	102	
2452	2453 2454 2456		3	Pit Fill				120 10 40	Burnt Bone (1), <1g Burnt Flint (1), 16g Burnt Bone (1), 12g
2457	2458	B F	3	Gully Fill	 3rd - 1st C BC	 (1), 12g		<1	
U/S				Unstratified Ditch in Trench 17	? 1st C BC/Early 1st C AD	(4), 24g (1), 46g		667	Struck Flint (3), 34g

APPENDIX 2 ENVIRONMENTAL SAMPLES

Sample	Size (l)	Feature	Context	Description	Spot Date	Flot (ml)	Pot (g)	A. Bone (g)	B. Flint	S. Flint	Other
1	20	2007	2008	Pit Fill		45		1			
2	20	2017	2018	Pit Fill		55		1			
3	20	2009 C	2010 C	Gully Fill		35		11			
4	20	2011 B	2012 B	Gully Fill		30		1			
5	20	2019	2020	Pit Fill		25		1		(4) 5g	
6	20	2009 B	2010 B	Gully Fill		15		5			
7	10	2024	2025	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	5	(3) 46g	1		(1) <1g	
9	20	2046A	2047A	Pit Fill		35		1			
10	20	2046B	2047B	Pit Fill		20		9	(3) 1g		
11	20	2011 C	2012 C	Gully Fill		50		7			
12	20	2030 C	2031 C	Ditch Fill		25		5			
13	20	2036	2037	Pit Fill		60		18			
14	20	2030 D	2031 D	Ditch Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	25	(1) 9g	1			
15	20	2040 A	2041 A	Ditch Fill		15		1	(4) 8		
16	20	2042 A	2043 A	Gully Fill		35		10		(2) 26g	
17	20	2042 C	2043 C	Gully Fill		40		1			
18	20	2044 B	2045 B	Gully Fill		45		1			
19	20	2042 B	2043 B	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	25	(1) 1g	1			
20	20	2030 E	2031 E	Ditch Fill		55		1			
21	20	2040 C	2041 C	Ditch Fill		60		1			
22	20	2040 B	2041 B	Ditch Fill		40		5			
23	20	2049	2050	Pit Fill		50		64			
24	10	2044 A	2045 A	Gully Fill		5		1			
25	20	2022	2023	Pit Fill		50		1			
26	20	2009 H	2010 H	Gully Fill		50		1		(6) 19g	
27	20	2054	2055	Pit Fill		5		2			
28	20	2052	2053	Pit Fill		50		1			
29	40	2056	2057	Pit Fill		5		1			Shell 1g
30	40	2058	2059	Pit Fill		45		44			
31	20	2060	2061	Pit Fill		40		3			(6) 23g

32	40	2062	2063	Pit Fill		15		3		(2) 1g	
33	10	2056	2069	Pit Fill		5					
34	40	2067	2068	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	50	(1) 3g	34		(3) 6g	
35	40	2070	2071	Ditch Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	5	(3) 9g	12			
36	40	2089	2090	Pit Fill		30		155			
37	20	2091	2092	Posthole Fill		25					
38	30	2087	2088	Pit Fill		25	(2) 18g	3			
39		2093	2094	Pit Fill		45	(2) 6g	30			
40				VOID		35		26			
41				VOID							
42				VOID							
43				VOID							
44				VOID				5			
45				VOID							
46				VOID							
47				VOID							
48				VOID		45		5		(1) 1g	
49		2102	2103	Pit Fill							
50	40	2097	2098	Pit Fill	Iron Age	15	(1) 3g	78			
51	40	2099	2100	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	10	(1) 31g				
52	40	2095	2096	Pit Fill		15	(7) 5g	166			
53	40	2087	2088	Pit Fill		10		124			Shell 1g
54	40	2104	2105	Pit Fill		15		1			
55	40	2113	2114	Posthole Fill		10		2			
56	40	2109	2110	Pit Fill		10		1			
57	40	2117	2118	Pit Fill		20					
58	40	2124	2125	Burial Fill (dog)		90		1			
59	10		2127	Dog Skeleton							
60	40		2131	Sheep Burial		40		1		(1) 1g	
61	40		2134	Sheep Burial		25					
62	40	2137	2138	Pit Fill	?1st C BC - Early 1st C AD	20	(9) 5g	3			
63	40	2139	2140	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	25	(3) 21g	28	(4) 9g	(2) 7g	
64	10		2135	Sheep Burial		5					
65	10		2136	Sheep Burial		10					
66	40	2142	2143	Pit Fill		80		3			

67	10	2144	2145	Posthole Fill		10					
68	40	2146	2147	Pit Fill		5					
69	70	2056	2069	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	10	(1) 5g	264	(3) 46g		Fe Nail (1) 1g
70	30	2056	2057	Pit Fill		30	(4) 52g	9			
71	40	2151	2152	Pit Fill		5					
72	40	2153	2154	Pit Fill		20		11			
73	40	2155	2156	Pit Fill		10		19			
74	40	2157 A	2158 A	Gully Fill		10		1			
75	40	2159 A	2160 A	Ditch Fill		5					
76	40	2159 B	2160 B	Ditch Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	15	(4) 9g	1			
77	40	2157 C	2158 C	Gully Fill		10					
78	40	2159 C	2160 C	Gully Fill		5		32			
79	5	2166	2165	Creamtion 1 - Spit 1		10	(1) 12g				
80	10	2166	2165	Cremation 1 - Spit 2		10					Human Bone 2g
81	5	2168	2167	Cremation 2 - Spit 1		5					Human Bone 10g
82	5	2168	2167	Cremation 2 - Spit 2		5		10			Human Bone 8g
83	5	2168	2167	Cremation 2 - Spit 3		10					
84	10	2172	2171	Cremation 4 - Spit 1		5					
85	10	2172	2171	Cremation 4 - Spit 2		30					Human Bone 4g
86	10	2172	2171	Cremation 4 - Spit 3		5					Human Bone 4g
87	10	2170	2169	Cremation 3 - Spit 1		20		44	(1) 1g		Human Bone 44g
88	10	2170	2169	Cremation 3 - Spit 2		20			(17) 46g		Human Bone 34g Fe ?Nail Fragment (1), 1g
89	10	2170	2169	Cremation 3 - Spit 3				34	(6) 35g		Human Bone 34g
90	10	2170	2169	Cremation 3 - Spit 4		45					Human Bone 24g
91	10	2170	2169	Cremation 3 - Spit 5		15	(1) 1g				Human Bone 4g
92	5	2170	2169	Cremation 3 - Spit 6		5			(10) 98g		Human Bone 1g
93	15	2174	2173	Cremation 5 - Spit 1		5					
94	10	2174	2173	Cremation 5 - Spit 2		5			(10) 32g		
95	10	2174	2173	Cremation 5 - Spit 3		5			(5) 40g		
96	5	2174	2173	Cremation 5 - Spit 4		5					
97	5	2174	2173	Cremation 5 - Spit 5		5					
98	10	2174	2173	Cremation 5 - Spit 6		5					

99	5	2176	2175	Cremation 6 - Spit 1		5					Human Bone 1g
100	5	2176	2175	Cremation 6 - Spit 2		15		4			
101	5	2176	2175	Cremation 6 - Spit 3		5					
102	5	2176	2175	Cremation 6 - Spit 4		5		1			Human bone 1g
103	5	2176	2175	Cremation 6 - Spit 5							Human Bone 1g
104	5	2178	2179	Cremation 7 - Spit 1		5					Human Bone 1g
105	5	2178	2179	Cremation 7 - Spit 2		5					
106	5	2178	2179	Cremation 7 - Spit 3		5					
107	5	2180	2181	Cremation 8 - Spit 1		5					Human Bone 1g
108	5	2180	2181	Cremation 8 - Spit 2		5	(2) 2g				
109	5	2180	2181	Cremation 8 - Spit 3		5					Human Bone <1g
110	5	2180	2181	Cremation 8 - Spit 4		5					
111	5	2182	2183	Cremation 9 - Spit 1		20		4	(1) 12g		Humans Bone 1g
112	5	2182	2183	Cremation 9 - Spit 2		5		1			Human Bone 1g
113	5	2182	2183	Cremation 9 - Spit 3		20		1			
114	5	2182	2183	Creamtion 9 - Spit 4		20			(1) 18g		Human Bone <1g
115	5	2182	2183	Crematoin 9 - Spit 5		10					
116	5	2182	2183	Cremation 9 - Spit 6		5		2			Human Bone <1g
117	5	2182	2183	Cremaiton 9 - Spit 7		10					
118	5	2182	2183	Cremation 9 - Spit 8		5			(1) 16		
119	5	2182	2183	Cremation 9 - Spit 9		5					
120	5	2182	2183	Cremation 9 - Spit 10		5					
121	5	2182	2183	Cremation 9 - Spit 11		5					
122	20	2188 A	2189 A	Gully Fill		10		13			
123	20	2188 B	2190 B	Gully Fill		15		7			
124	10	2188 B	2190 B	Gully Fill		30					
125	10	2191 A	2192 A	Gully Fill		5		1			
126	20	2188 C	2189 C	Gully Fill		10					
127	20	2188 C	2190 C	Gully Fill		10		2			
128	20	2188 D	2189 D	Gully Fill		5		13			
129	20	2188 E	2189 E	Gully Fill		15		1			
130	40	2182	2183	Cremation 9		10		23		(3) 5g	
131	40	2193	2194	Pit Fill		30		1			
132	20	2159 E	2160 E	Ditch Fill		5		9		(2) 1g	

133	40	2197	2198	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	5	(1) 1g	1			
134	5	2191 B	2192 B	Gully Fill		5					
135	10	2188 F	2189 F	Pit Fill		5					
136	40	2202 B	2203 B	Pit Fill		35	(1) 2g				
137	40	2204	2205	Pit Fill		10					
138		2212	2213	Pit Fill		5		2			
139		2214	2215	Pit Fill		15	(2) 22g	6			
140	20	2163 E	2164 E	Gully Fill		5		1			
141	20	2210	2211	Pit Fill		50		1			
142	20	2159	2160 D	Ditch Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	15	(1) 4g	1			
143	20	2216	2217	Pit Fill		15		5			
144	40	2206	2207	Pit Fill		10		1			
145	20	2161 E	2162 E	Gully Fill		5					
146	40	2206	2208	Pit Fill		10		1			
147	40	2197	2199	Pit Fill		15					
148	30	2197	2200	Pit Fill		20		1			
149	30	2197	2201	Pit Fill		20					
150	20	2163	2164	Gully Fill		5		1			
151	10	2159	2219	Ditch Fill		5					
152	10	2254	2255	Pit Fill		15		1			
153	5	2250	2251	Cremation 10 - Spit 1		5				(1) 5g	Human Bone 26g
154	5	2250	2251	Cremation 10 - Spit 2		5			(1) 10g		Human Bone 30g
155	5	2250	2251	Cremation 10 - Spit 3		5			(4) 18g		Human Bone 88g
156	5	2250	2251	Cremation 10 - Spit 4		5		308			Human Bone 280g
157	5	2250	2251	Cremation 10 - Spit 5							Human Bone 80g
158	5	2250	2251	Cremation 10 - Spit 6		5					
159	40	2236	2237	Pit Fill		25		1			
160	40	2259	2260	Ditch Fill		55		3			
161	40	2241	2242	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	80	(3) 21g	7		(3) 30g	
162	40	2265	2266	Pit Fill		35		1	(1) 7g		
163	40	2243	2244	Pit Fill		30		9			
164	40	2220	2221	Pit Fill	Medieval/Post-Medieval	50	(2) 15g	1			

165	40	2232	2233	Pit Fill		10		20			
166	40	2222	2223	Pit Fill		5		224			
165	40	2234	2235	Pit Fill							
167	140	2234	2235	Pit Fill		30	(1) 2g	31			
168	10	2252	2253	Pit Fill				1			
169	40	2238	2239	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	15	(19) 106g	52	(15) 19g		
170		2238	2240	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	15	(1) 5g	32			
171	40	2274	2275	Pit Fill	1st C BC/Early 1st C AD	60	(1) <1g	3		(2) 5g	
172	40	2224	2256	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	30	(5) 12g	138			
173	40	2080	2081	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	15	(2) 12g	16		(2) 12g	
174	20	2257	2258	Pit Fill (Skele) - Spit 1		5					
175	20	2257	2258	Pit Fill (Skele) - Spit 2	3rd - 1st C AD	25	(3) 10g	46			
176	20	2257	2258	Pit Fill (Skele) - Spit 3		30		2			
177	20	2257	2258	Pit Fill (Skele) - Spit 4	3rd - 1st C AD	10	(1) 1g	1		(1) 1g	Spit 4 Human Bone 1g
178	20	2257	2258	Pit Fill (Skele) - Spit 5		15		7			Spit 5
179	20	2257	2258	Pit Fill (Skele) - Spit 6		10		1			
180	10	2257	2258	Pit Fill (Skele) - Spit 7		5		1			
181	10	2257	2258	Pit Fill (Skele) - Spit 8		5		1			
182	10	2257	2258	Pit Fill (Skele) - Spit 9	3rd - 1st C AD	5	(2) 5g	1		(5) 9g	
183	5		2218	Human Skeleton		5					
184	10	2272	2273	Posthole Fill		10		1			
185	30	2267	2268	Pit Fill		55		8	(1) 8g		
186	40	2246	2247	Pit Fill		20		23			
187	30	2263	2264	Pit Fill	1st C BC/Early 1st C AD		(2) 8g	3			
188	30	2278	2279	Pit Fill		25		1			
189	40	2312	2313	Pit Fill		25		7			
190	40	2269	2271	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	25	(1) 7g	9			
191	20	2269	2270	Pit Fill		20		15			
192	5	2287	2288	Pit Fill							
193	5	2267	2268	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	5	5				

194	5	2307	2293	Pit Fill		5					
195	5	2269	2271	Pit Fill		5					
196	5	2285	2286	Pit Fill		5					
197	5	2296	2297	Pit Fill		5		1			
198	5	2283	2284	Pit Fill		5					
199	40	2283	2284	Pit Fill		20		2			
200	40	2285	2286	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	25	(2) 7g	1			
201	40	2287	2288	Pit Fill		35		1			
202	40	2013	2014	Pit Fill		50		26			
203	40	2224	2225	Pit Fill		15	(4) 70g				
204	40	2333	2334	Pit Fill		50		36			
205	40	2276	2277	Pit Fill		25		3			
206	30	2331	2332	Pit Fill	Late Neolithic (c. 2900 - 2100 BC)	45	(1) 6g	96			
207	40	2280	2281	Pit Fill	1st C BC/Early 1st C AD	35	(2) 6g	12		(1) 4g	
208	5	2375	2376	Cremation 11							
209	40	2314	2315	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	5	(4) 9g	11	(3) 3g		
210	40	2314	2316	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	5	(3) 24g	5			
211	40	2317	2318	Pit Fill		40					
212	30	2319	2320	Pit Fill		65		2			
213	40	2321	2322	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	35	(1) 6g	54			
214	10	2323	2324	Pit Fill		35					
215	40	2325	2326	Pit Fill		20	(6) 5g	8			
216	40	2327	2328	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	35	(1) 5g	2			
217	5	2314	2315	Pit Fill		5					
218	40	2291	2292	Pit Fill		45		2			
219	40	2307	2293	Pit Fill		40		2			
220	40	2294	2295	Pit Fill				10			
221	40	2296	2297	Pit Fill		40					
222	40	2296	2299	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	20	(3) 8g				
223	40	2296	2301	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	40	(1) 8g	1			
224	40	2302	2303	Pit Fill		55		2			
225	40	2302	2304	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	15	(1) 4g				
226	40	2389	2391	Pit Fill		40		12			
227	70	2389	2390	Pit Fill							

228	40	2385 D	2386 D	Gully Fill		10	(1) 6g	1			
229	40	2349	2350	Pit Fill		30		6		(2) 2g	
230	40	2347	2348	Pit Fill		25		38	(2) 10g	(1) 4g	
231	10	2402 A	2403 A	Gully Fill		5		1			
232	40	2402 B	2403 B	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	5	(3) 4g	3		(2) 4g	
233	50	2402 C	2403 C	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	10	(5) 22g	2			
234	40	2406	2408	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	20	(2) 22g	1			
235	40	2406	2407	Pit Fill		5					
236	40	2351	2352	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	45	(2) 10g	14	(3) 12g		
237	40	2353	2354	Pit Fill						(2) 1g	
238	40	2355	2356	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	35	(2) 7g	78	(1) 1g		
239	40	2359	2360	Pit Fill		25					
240	40	2357	2358	Pit Fill		40		12			
241	40	2361	2362	Pit Fill		65	(1) 24g	138			
242	40	2409	2410	Pit Fill	Early Bronze Age		(3) 4g			(1) 2g	
243	40	2313	2414	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	10	(1) 6g				
244	40	2415	2416	Pit Fill	Iron Age (with Early Bronze Age)	10	(8) 36g	17	(4) 12g	(3) 8g	
245	40	2404 B	2405 B	Ditch Fill		10	(6) 10g	138			
246	5	2426	2427	Cremation 12 - spit 1		5					
247	5	2426	2427	Cremation 12 - spit 2		5					
248	5	2426	2427	Cremation 12 - spit 3		5					
249	5	2426	2427	Cremation 12 - spit 4							Human Bone 2g
250	40	2404 C	2405 C	Ditch Fill		20		1			
251	40	2428	2429	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	35	(1) <1g		(1) <1g		
252	40	2419	2420	Pit Fill		35		1			
253	40	2421	2422	Pit Fill		45		17	(4) 22g		
254	40	2421	2423	Pit Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	40	(2) 1g	12	(1) 18g	(3) 12g	
255	10	2347	2348	Pit Fill		10					
256	40	2417	2418	Pit Fill		15		1			
257	40	2438		Layer	1st C BC/Early 1st C AD	15	(4) 4g	86	(1) 4g		
258	40	2439	2440	Pit Fill	1st C BC/Early 1st C AD	25	(21) 22g	48	(6) 122g		
259	Monolit	2439	2440	Pit Fill							

	h										
260	40	2436	2437	Pit Fill		5		5	(1) 1g	(3) 15g	
261	40	2381	2382	Ditch Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	15	(1) 4g	7	(1) 30g		
262	40	2377	2378	Pit Fill		5	(7) 29g	2	(2) 4g		
263	40	2363	2364	Ditch Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	5	(3) 8g	144			
264	40	2379	2380	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C AD		(1) 1g	20		(2) <1g	
265	40	2373	2374	Gully Fill		5		6		(1) <1g	
266	40	2365	2366	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	5	(3) 10g	1			
267	40	2369	2370	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	10	(15) 48g	5	(1) 1g		
268	40	2367	2368	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	5	(7) 20g	8		(1) <1g	
269	40	2450	2451	Pit Fill	Early Roman	35	(6) 13g	5			
270	40	2398	2399	Gully Fill		5	(3) 10g				Shell 1g
271	40	2396	2397	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	5	(1) <1g		5		
272	40	2394	2395	Gully Fill		5	(3) 7g	1			
273	40	2392	2393	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	5	(2) 12g	12	(2) 10g		
274	40	2441	2443	Pit Fill		5	(14) 58g	1			
275	40	2400	2401	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	5	(12) 16	44	(1) 17g		
276	20	2452	2453	Pit Fill		40		26			
277	40	2157	2158	Gully Fill		15	(1) <1g	4			
278	40	2424	2425	Ditch Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	10	(1) 10g	11		(3) 36g	
279	40	2371	2372	Gully Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	5	(6) 18g	50			
280	40	2457	2458	Gully Fill		5		2			
281	40	2430	2431	Gully Fill		35			(5) 10g		
282	40	2424	2425	Ditch Fill	3rd - 1st C AD	5	(1) 18g	170			
283	5	2459	2460	Cremation 13 - Spit 1		5					
284	5	2459	2460	Cremation 13 - Spit 2		5			(2) 1g		
285	5	2459	2460	Cremation 13 - Spit 3		5					
286	5	2459	2460	Cremation 13 - Spit 4		5	(2) 10g		*3) 7g		
287	5	2459	2460	Cremation 13 - Spit 5							
288	Monolith	2345 E	2346 E	Ditch Fill							

289	Monolith	2441	2442	Pit Fill							
290	10	2013	2014	Pit Fill				1			
291	5	2287	2288	Pit Fill				1			
292	70	2389	2390	Pit Fill		10	(7) 16g	6			

Plate 1 The site during excavation (west of Area 3), view SW

Plate 2 Late Neolithic ‘Grooved Ware pit’ F2331 mid-excavation, view N

Plate 3 Un-urned cremations (Nos. 5,6,7,8 and 9) in south-west of Area 3, view NE

Plate 4 Excavated enclosure ditches in south-west of site, view SW

Plate 5 Ditches of Enclosure 2 mid-excavation, view SW

Plate 6 (From far ground) Enclosure Ditches F2157, F2159 and F2188, view NW

Plate 7 Enclosure Ditch F2159 (and earlier Ditches F2161 and F2163 beneath), view N

Plate 8 Enclosure Ditch F2345, view E

Plate 9 Enclosure Ditch F2381, view S

Plate 10 A ‘typical’ middle to late Iron Age (Phase 4) rubbish pit (F2019; Pit Cluster 6; view N)

Plate 11 Pit F2197 (Pit Cluster 7), view SE

Plate 12 Pit Burial F2257 mid-excavation, view S

Plate 13 Skeleton of young woman (SK2218; SK1) apparently thrown into Pit F2257, view E

Plate 14 Neonate pig bones and coarse textile fragments in Pit F2087, view N

Plate 15 Crushed Iron Age jar with upright/ slightly everted rim in-situ in Pit F2314, view NE

Plate 16 Disused middle to late Iron Age Storage Pit F2267 with ?deliberately placed cattle skull, view N

Plate 17 Large, articulated dog skeleton in early Anglo-Saxon Pit F2124

Plate 18 Modern sheep burial in Pit F2129, view W

Plate 19 SK1 (SK2218): Cortical lesions humerous

Plate 20 SK1 (SK2218): Platymeria of proximal femur

Plate 21　SK1 (SK2218): Healed clavical fracture

Plate 22 SK1 (SK2218): Dental anomalies

Plate 23 Sheep/ goat humerous from Pit F2239 with ‘penning elbow’

Plate 24 Pike vertebra from L2171

Plate 25 Dog ABG F2124 third to seventh thoracic vertebrae with pathological change

Plate 26 Dog ABG F2124 eighth and ninth left hand ribs with pathological change on the medial aspect

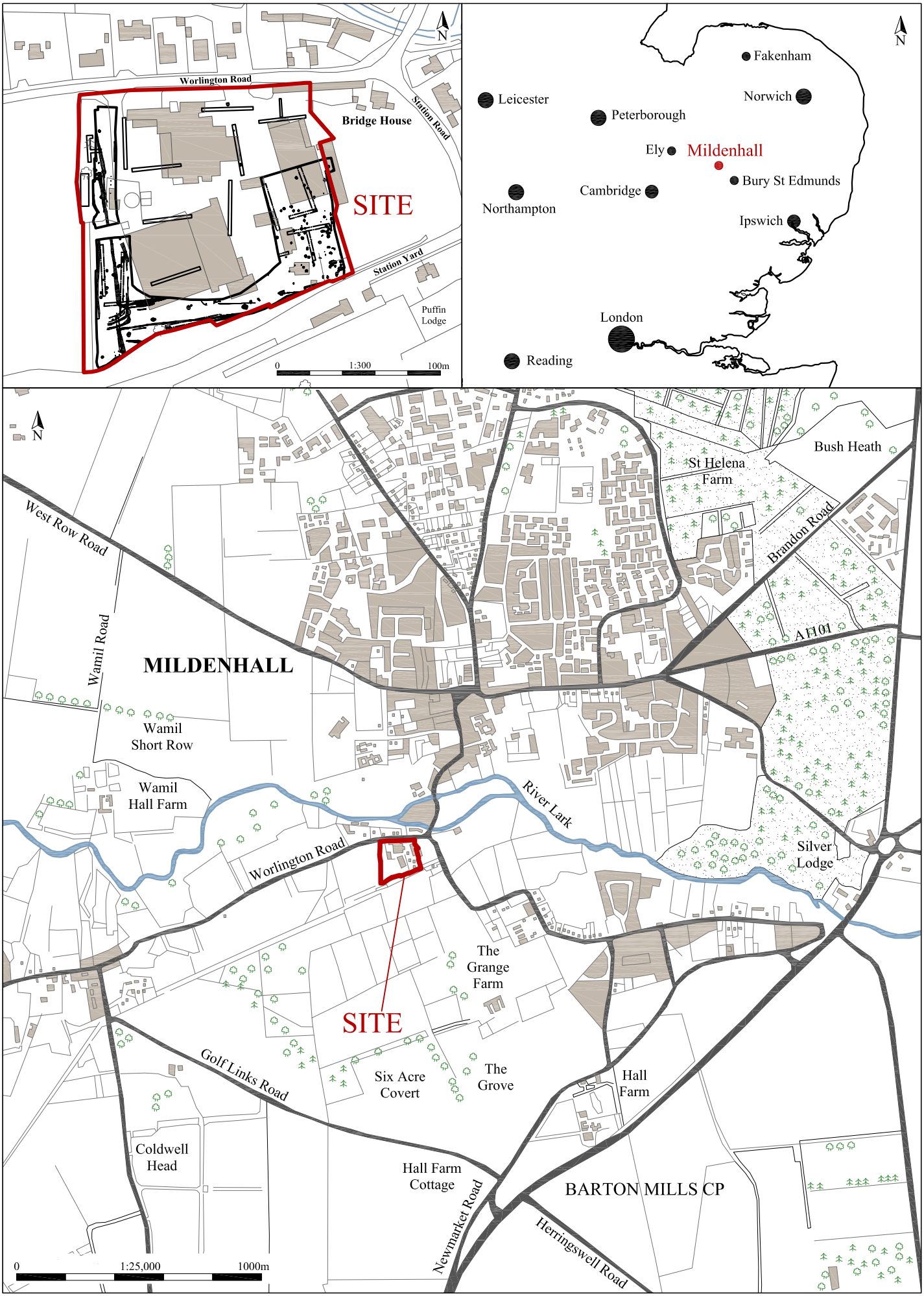
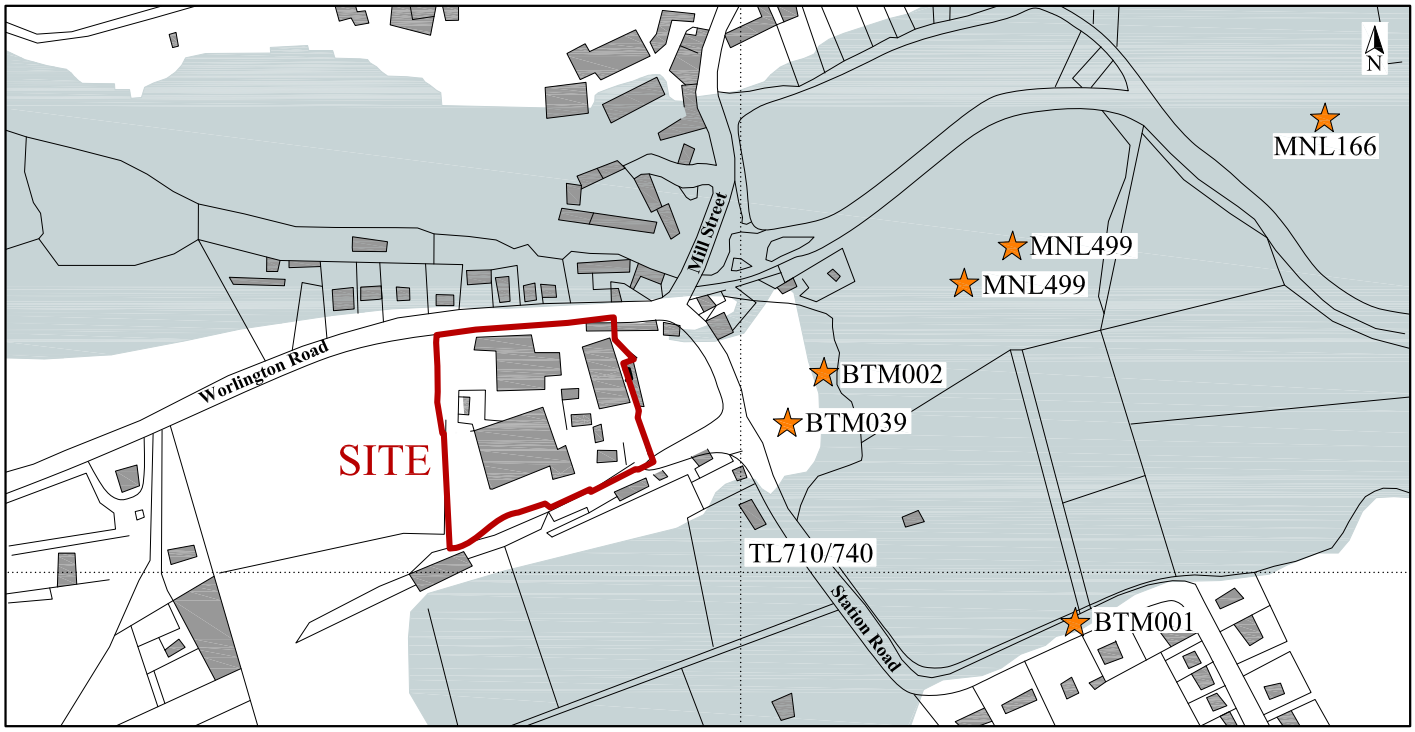


Fig. 1 Site location, scale 1:25,000, insert at 1:300 at A4



Floodplain

HER points

BTM001: Roman cremation burial
BTM002: Neolithic stone axe
BTM039: Roman metalwork
MNL166: Iron Age metalwork, Roman pottery
MNL499: Neolithic flints and pottery, Roman metalwork

'Floodplain model based on data kindly supplied by Suffolk County Council Archaeology Service'

0 250m

Fig. 2 Site location: immediate topographical and archaeological context, scale 1:6000 at A4

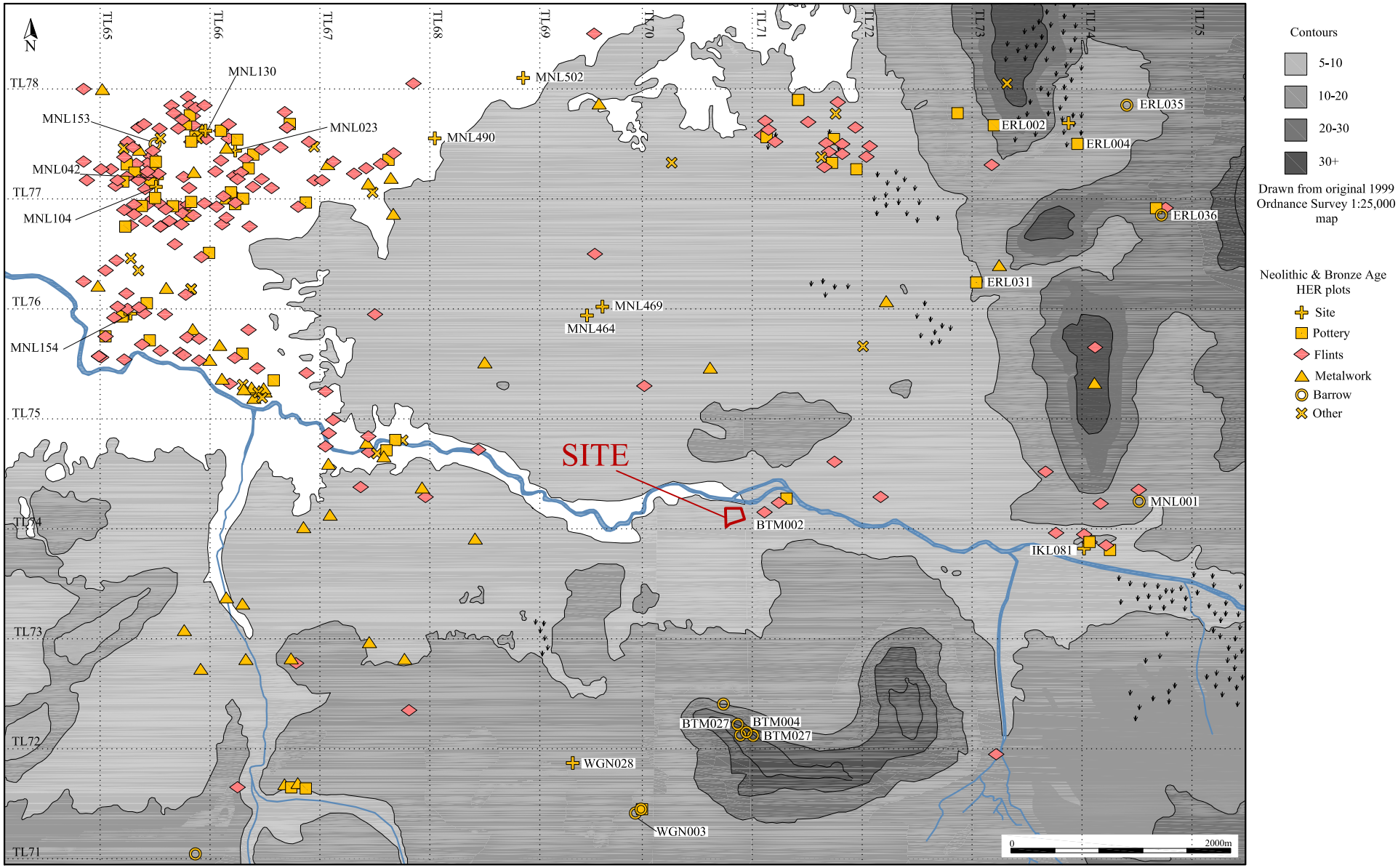


Fig. 3a Neolithic archaeology of the north-west Suffolk fen edge around Mildenhall, scale 1:50,000 at A4

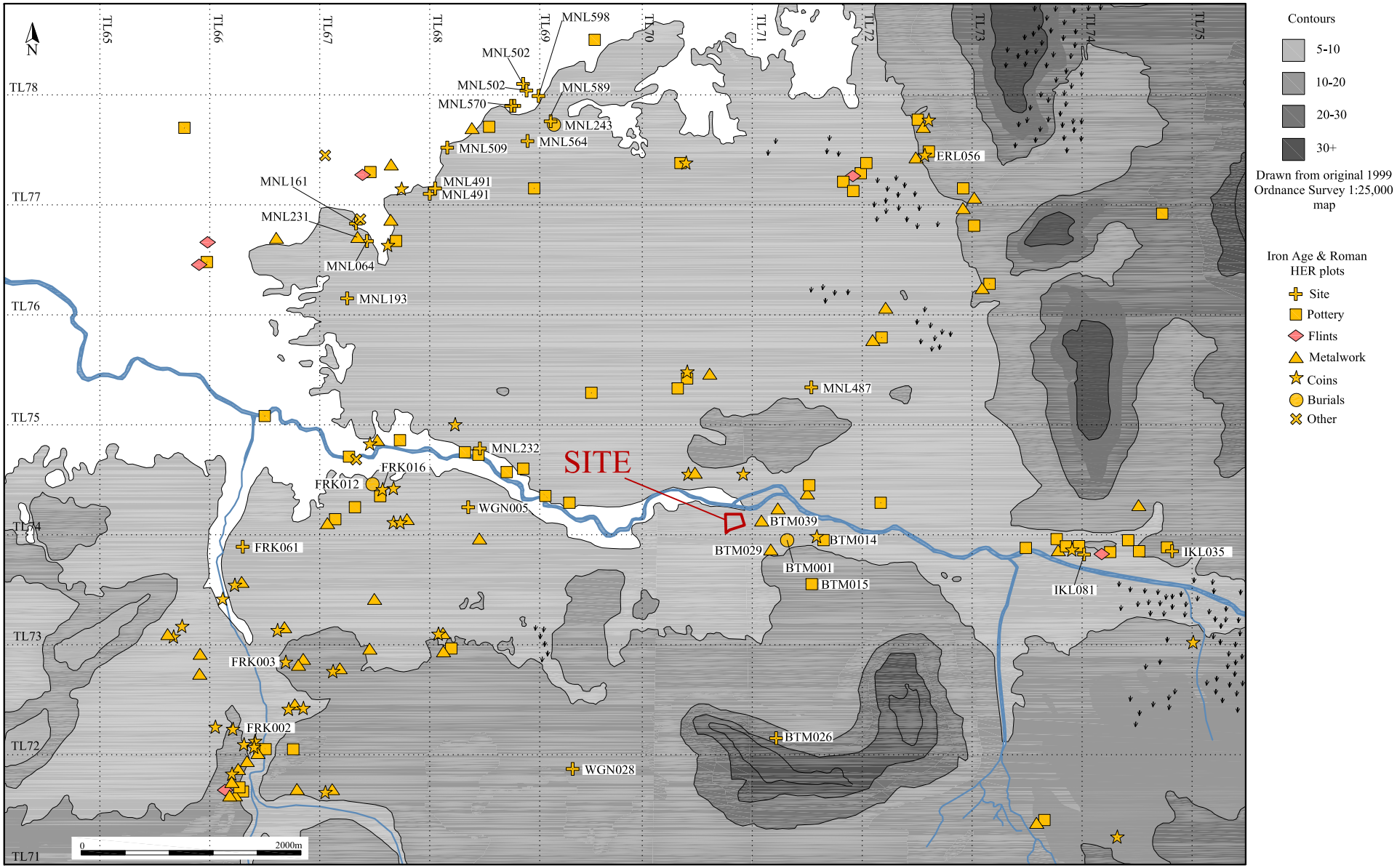


Fig. 3b Iron Age archaeology of the north-west Suffolk fen edge around Mildenhall, scale 1:50,000 at A4

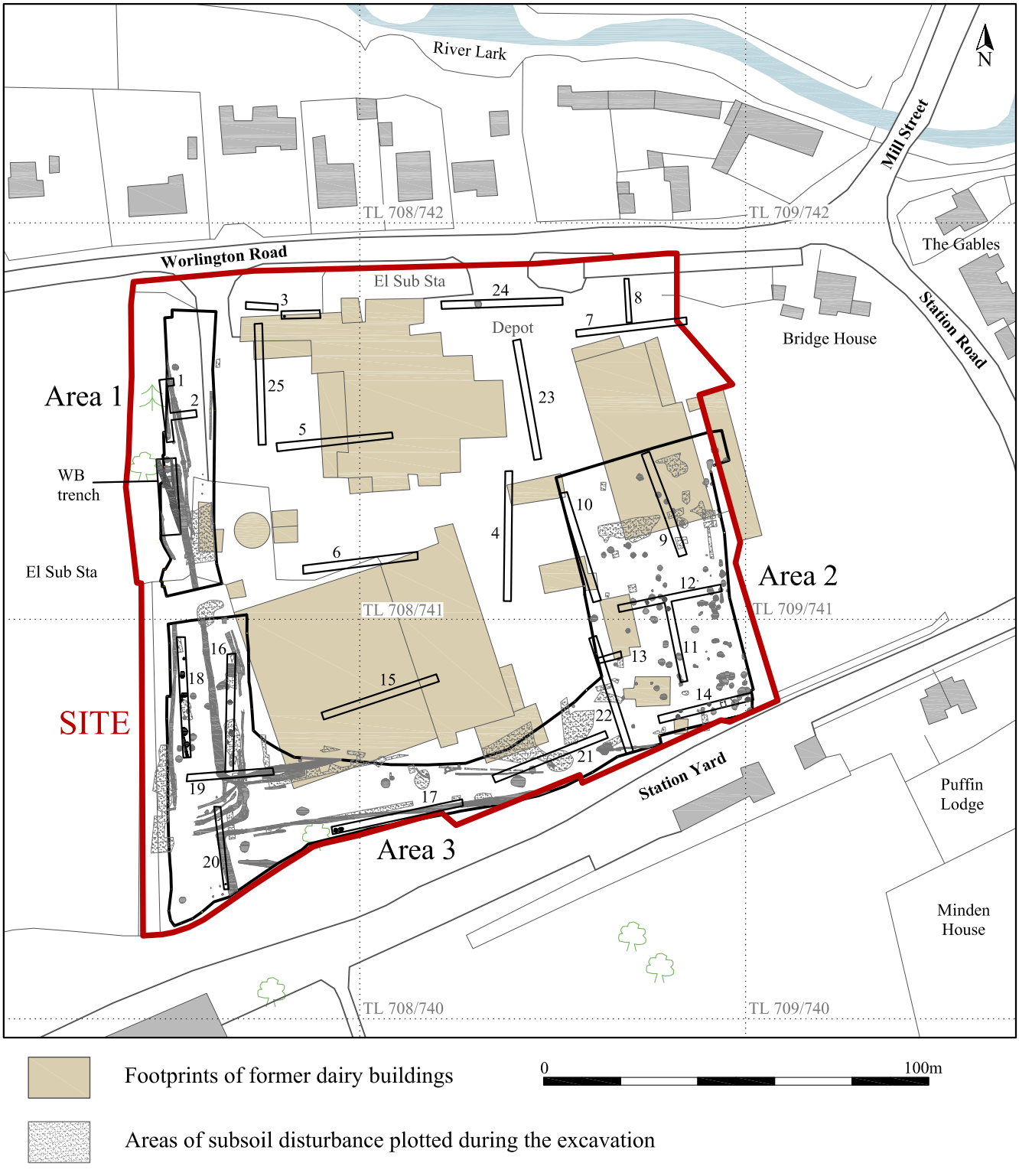


Fig. 4 Disposition of trial trenches and areas of previous ground disturbance, scale 1:1500 at A4

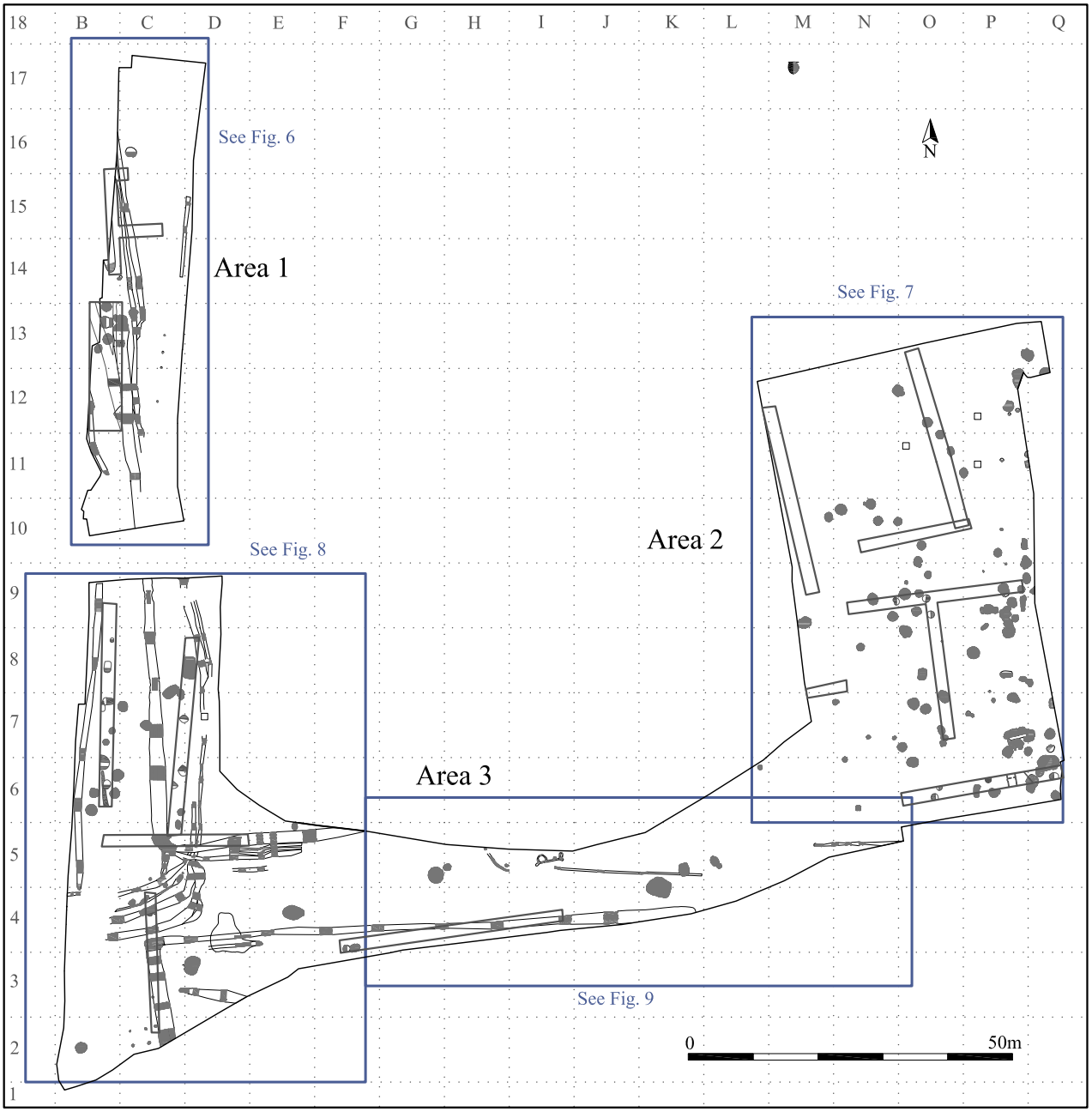


Fig. 5 All features plan (overall site), scale 1:1000 at A4

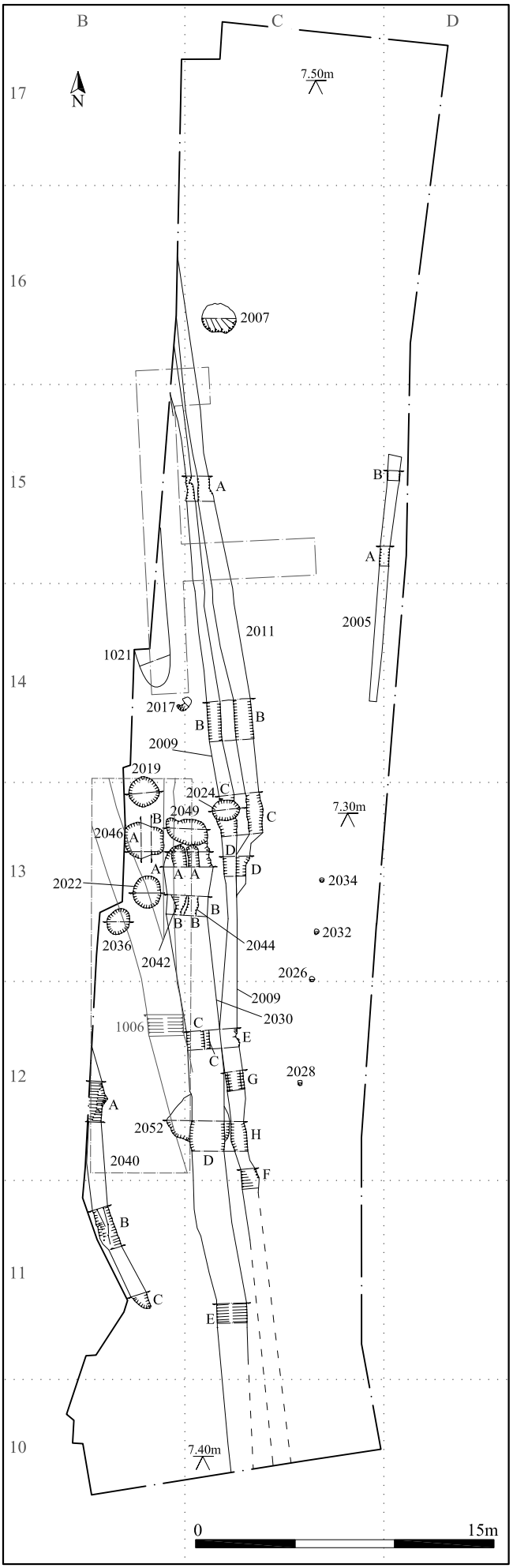


Fig. 6 All features plan (detail Area 1), scale 1:300 at A4

Fig. 7 All features plan (detail Area 2), scale 1:300 at A4

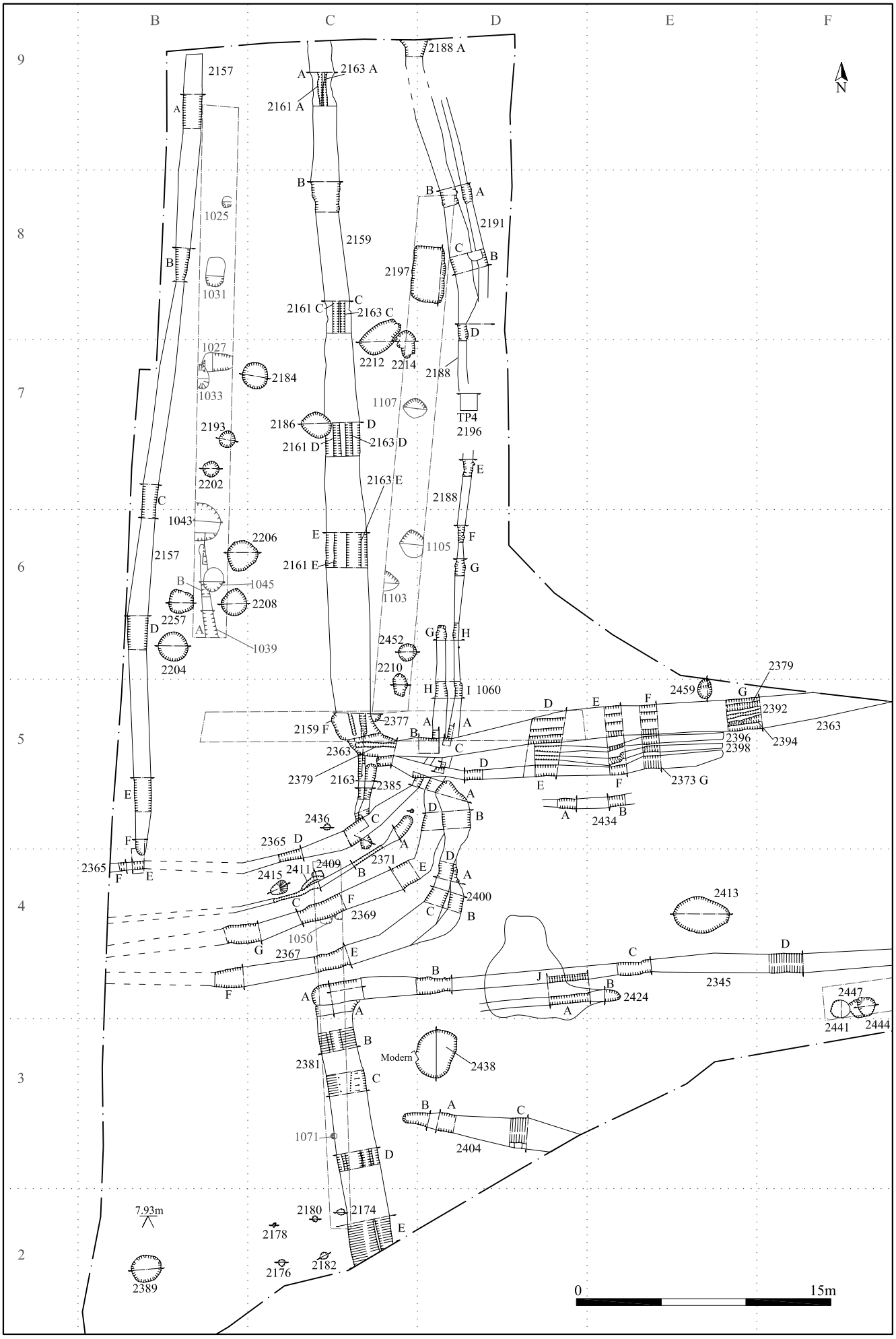


Fig. 8 All features plan (detail Area 3 west half), scale 1:300 at A4

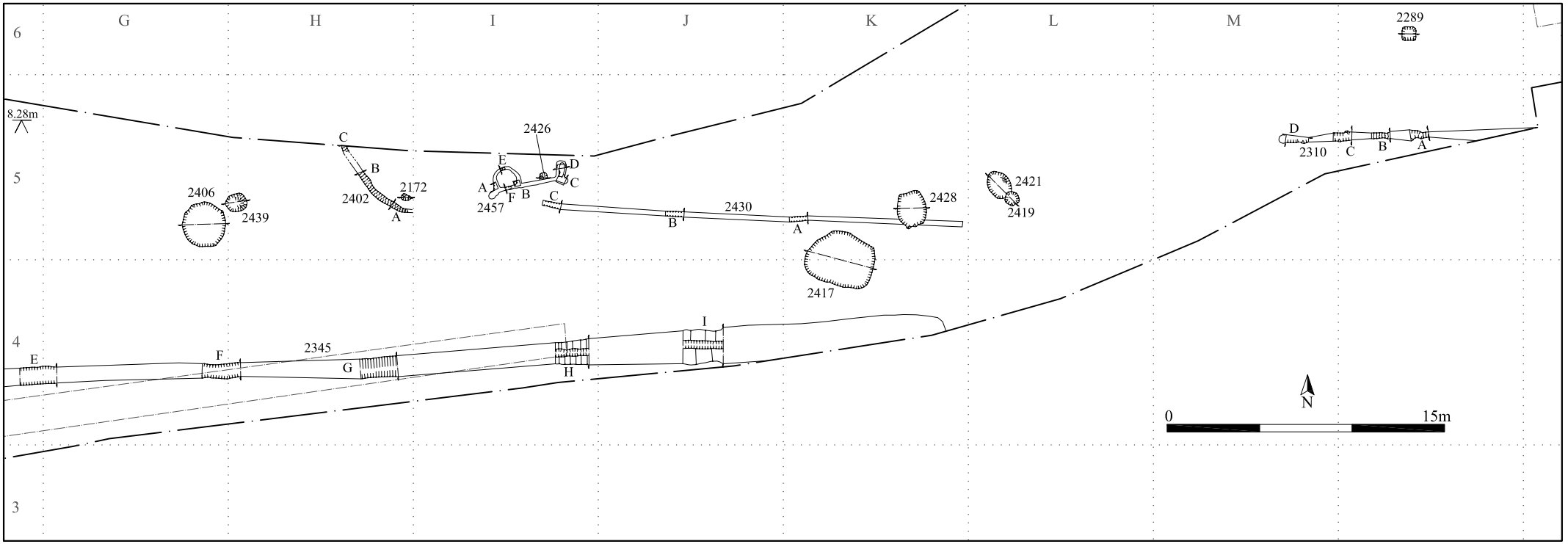


Fig. 9 All features plan (detail Area 3 east half), scale 1:300 at A4

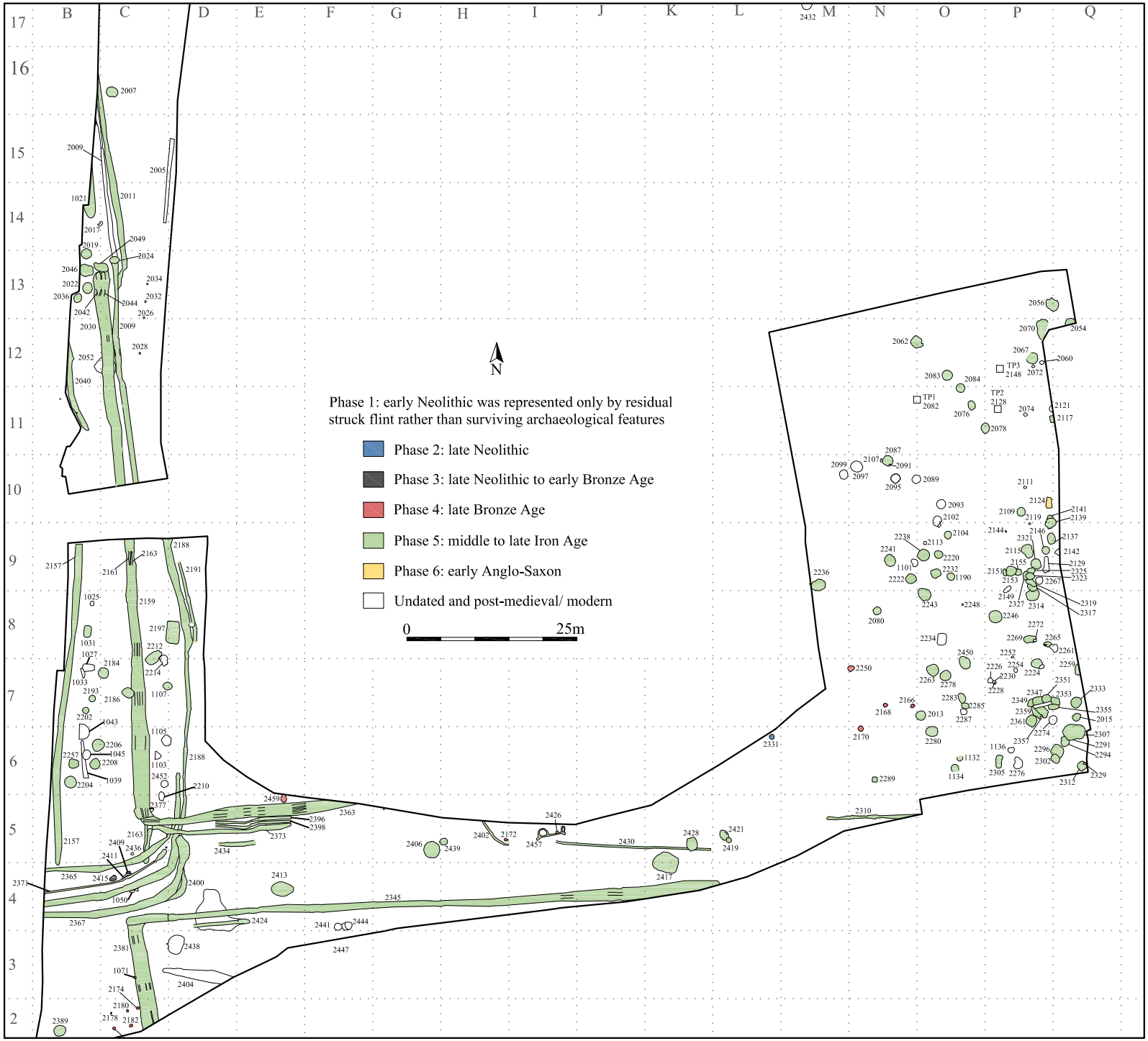


Fig. 10 Phase plan, scale 1:800 at A4

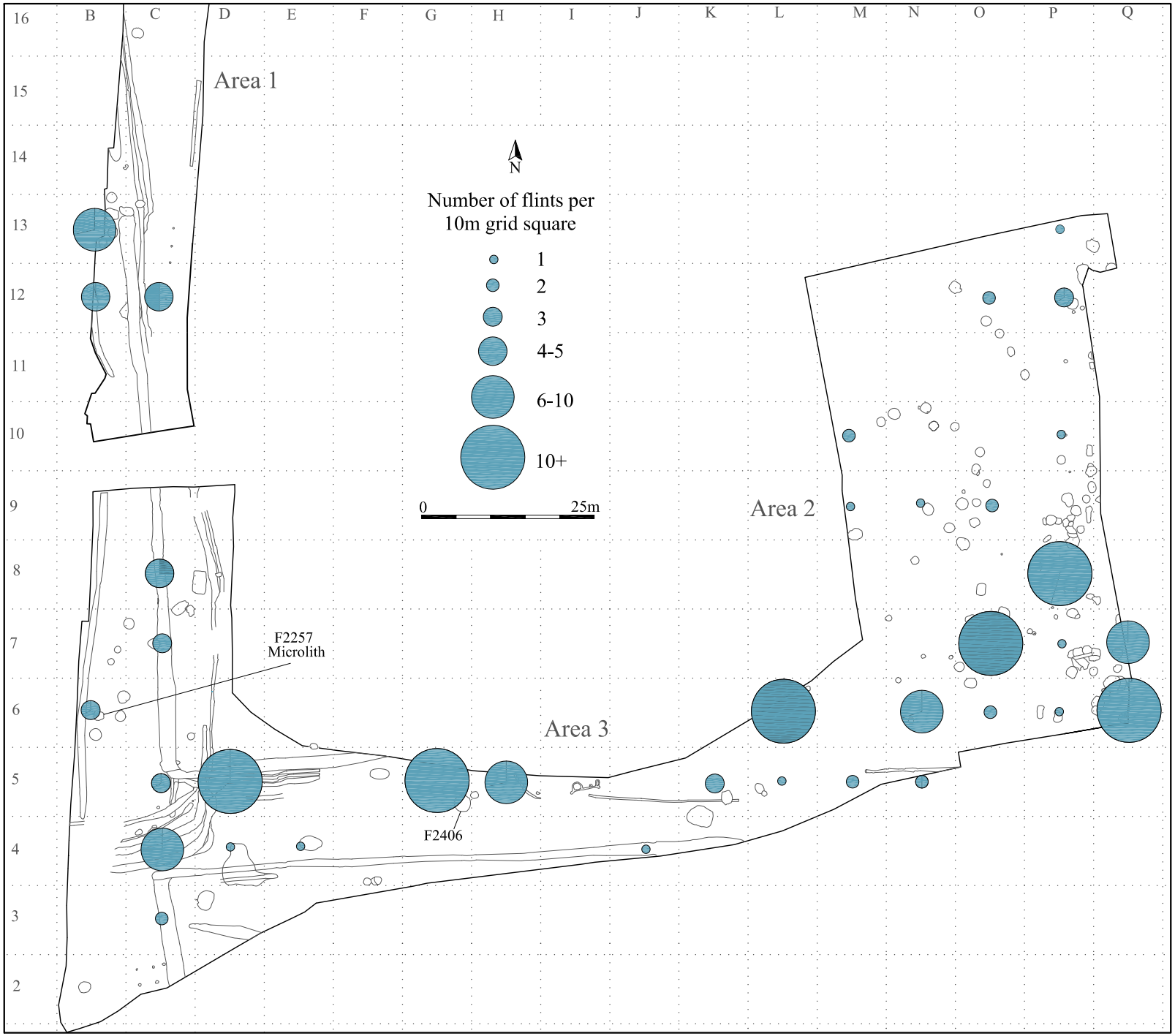


Fig. 11 Distribution of early Neolithic (Phase 1) struck flint, scale at 1:800 at A4

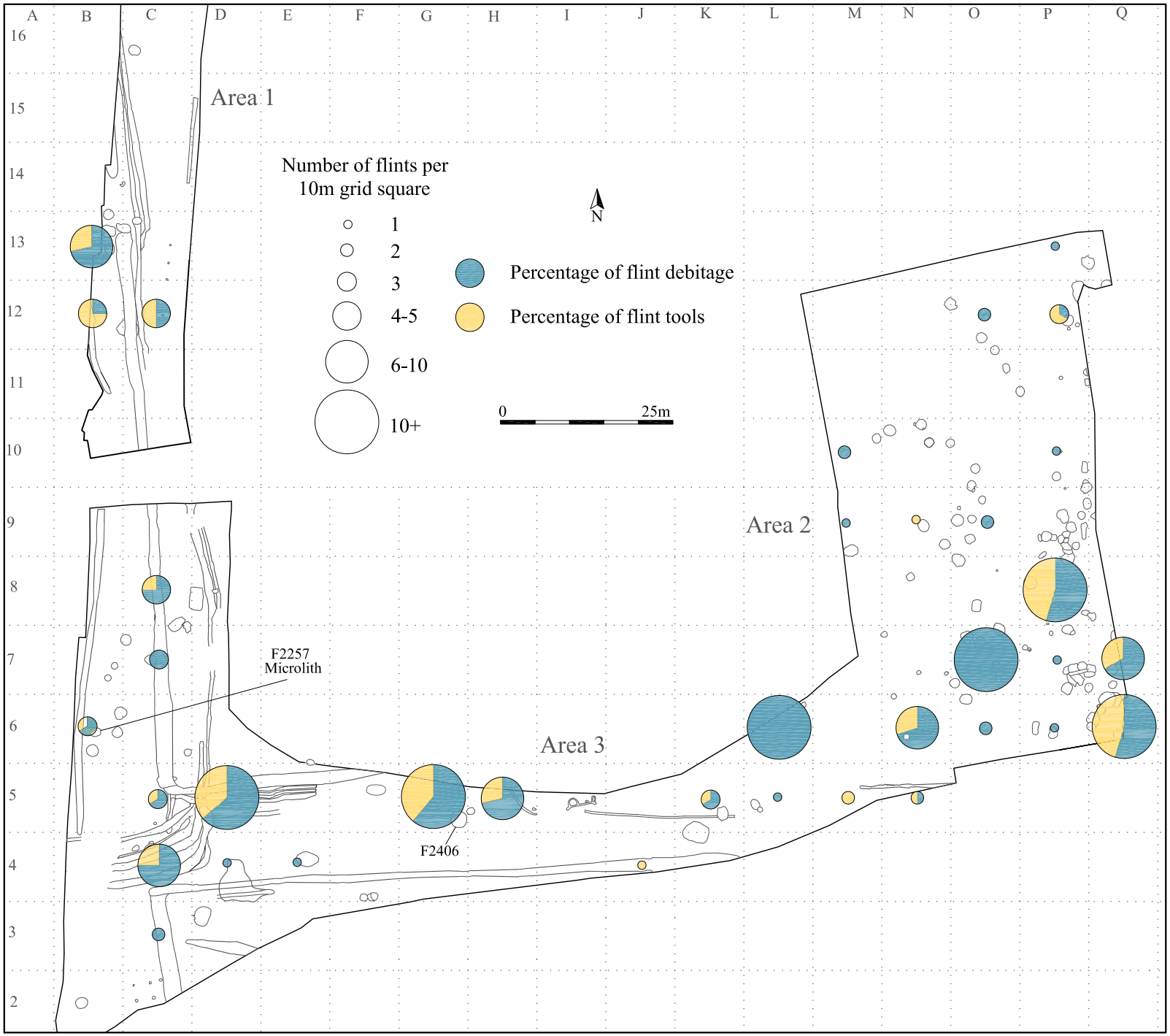


Fig. 12 Distribution of early Neolithic (Phase 1) struck flint: tools vs. debitage, scale at 1:800 at A4

Fig. 13 Late Neolithic (Phase 2) to early Bronze Age (Phase 3) pits, scale at 1:800 at A4

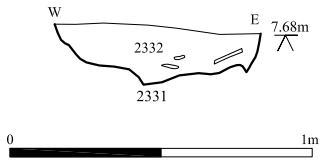


Fig. 14 Section of late Neolithic 'Grooved Ware pit', scale 1:25 at A4

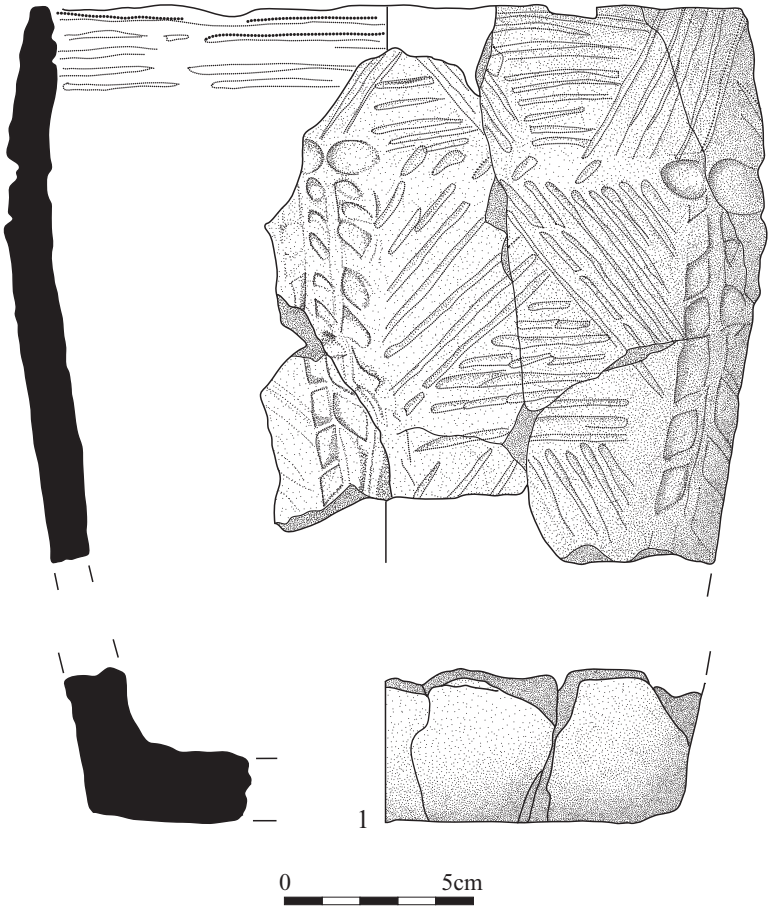


Fig. 15 Grooved ware pottery, scale 1:2 at A4

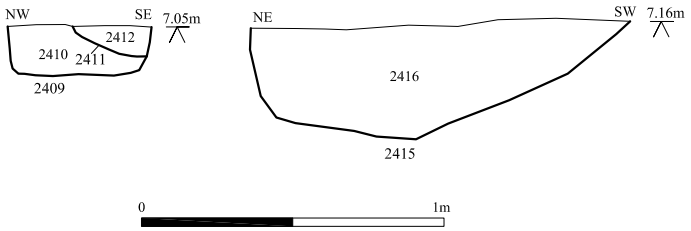


Fig. 16 Sections of early Bronze Age 'Beaker pits', scale 1:25 at A4

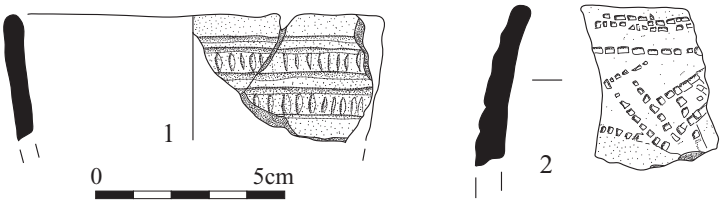


Fig. 17 Beaker pottery, scale 1:2 at A4

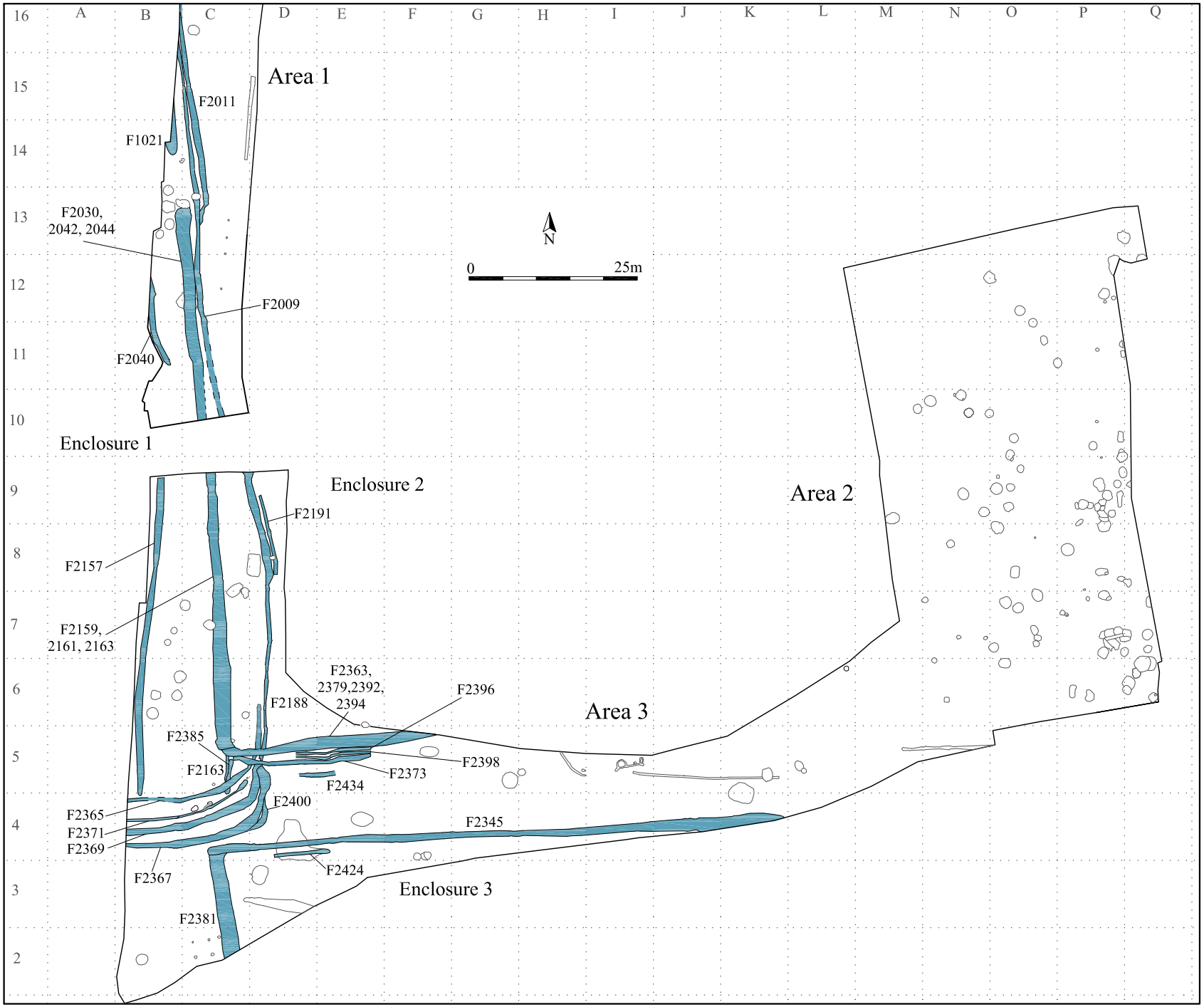
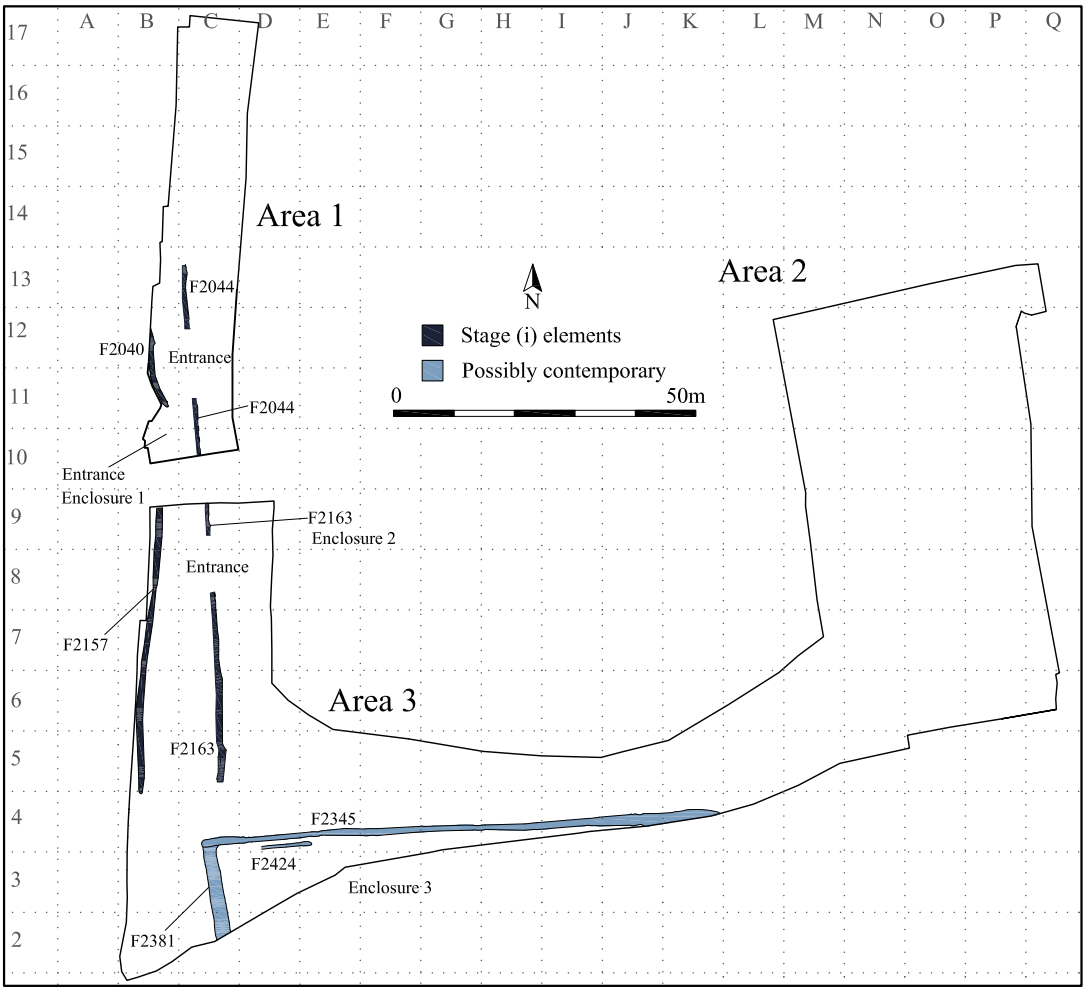
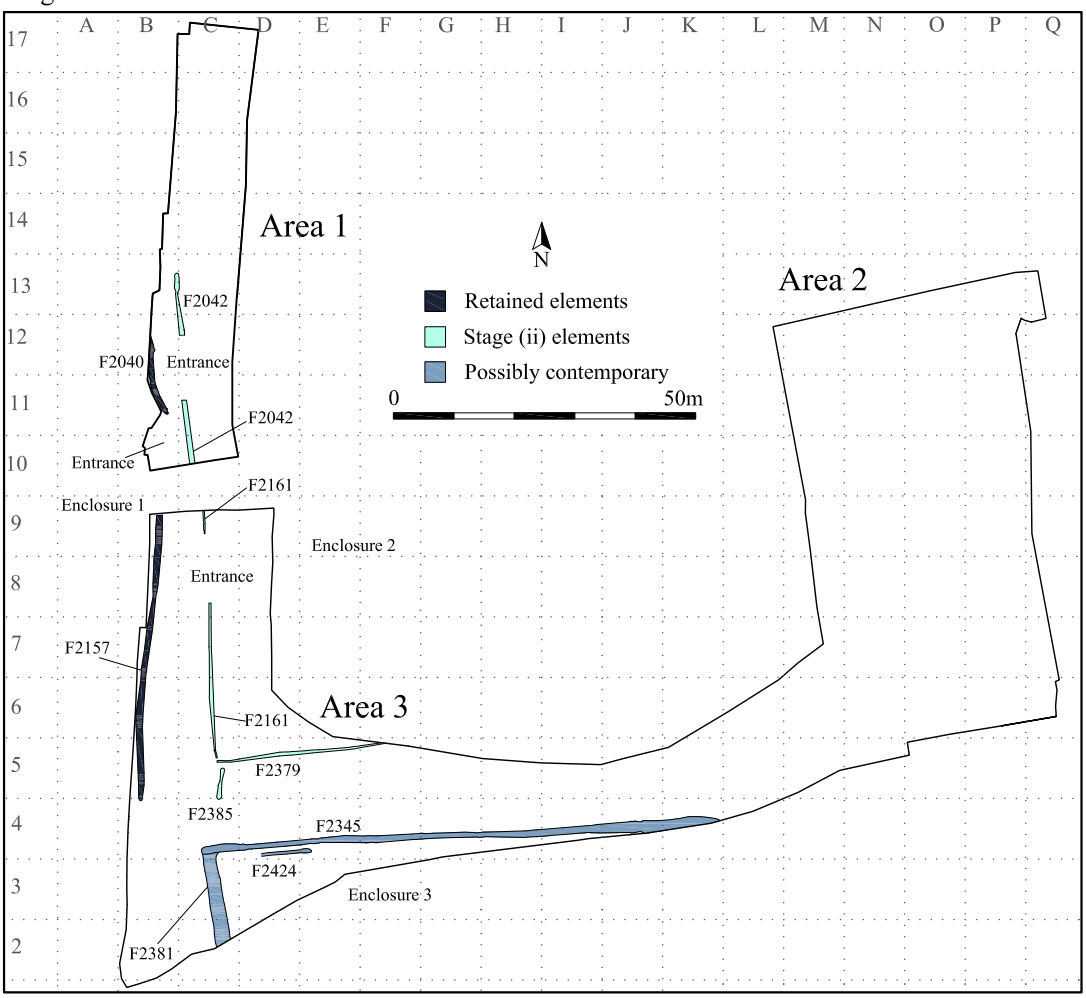


Fig. 18 The middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) enclosures, scale at 1:800 at A4

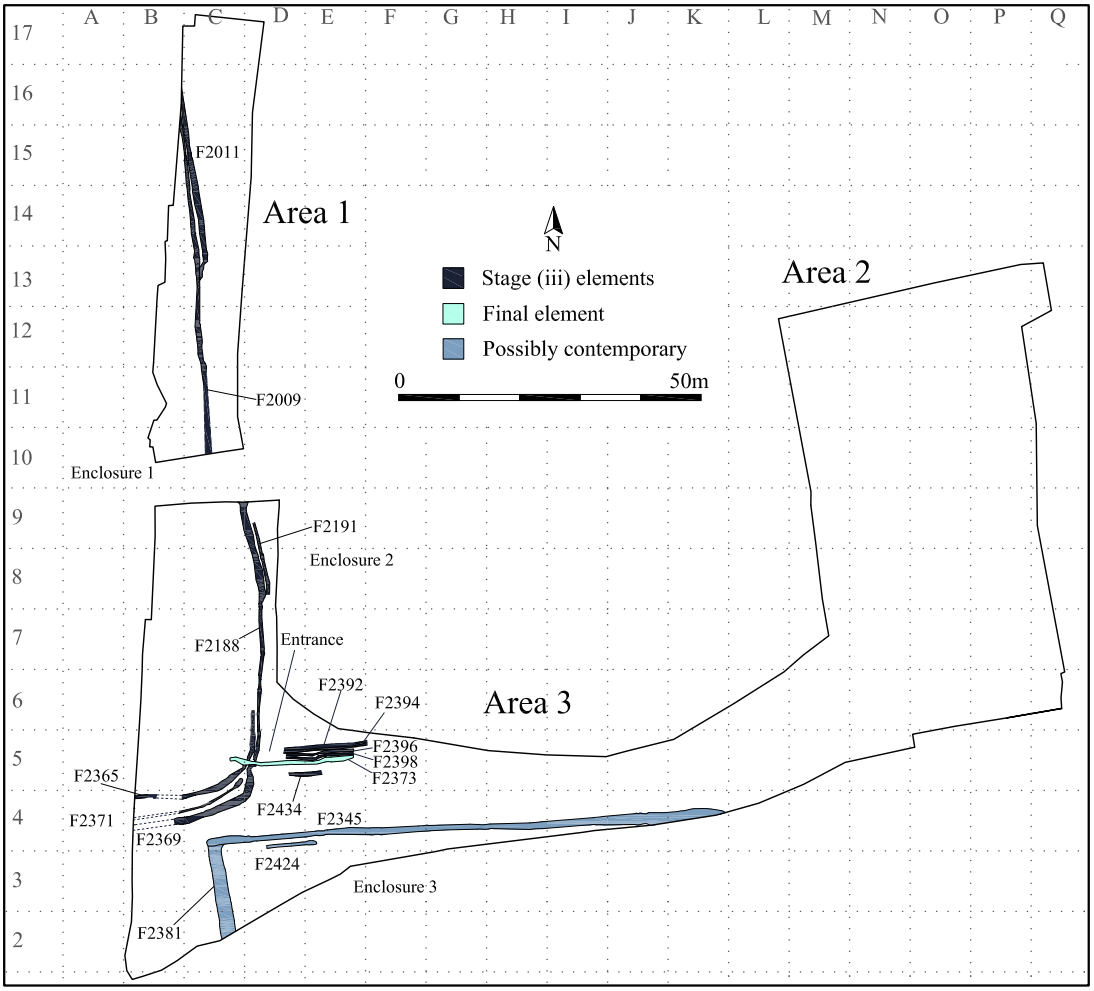


Stage I

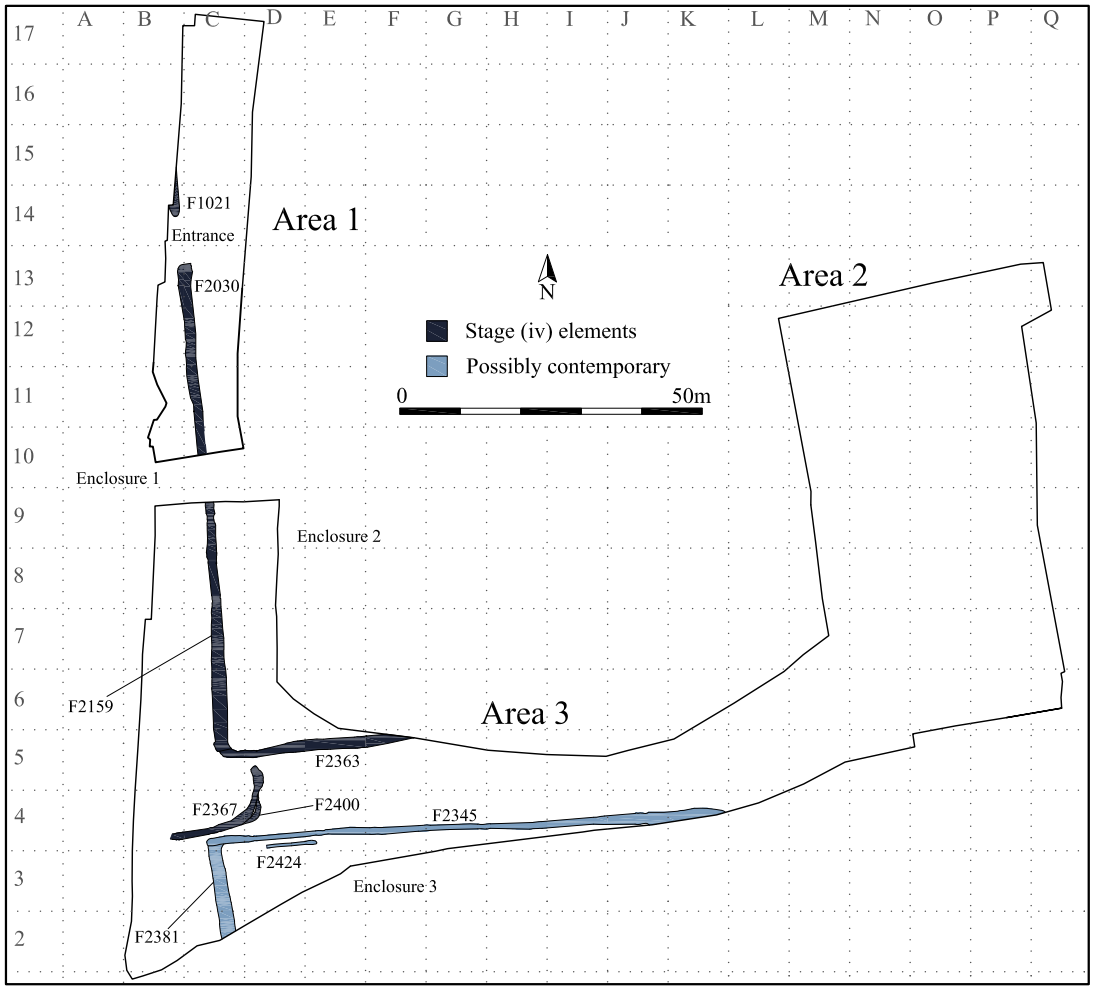


Stage II

Fig. 19a Development of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) enclosure system, scale 1:1250 at A4



Stage III



Stage IV

Fig. 19b Development of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) enclosure system, scale 1:1250 at A4

Stage I enclosure ditches

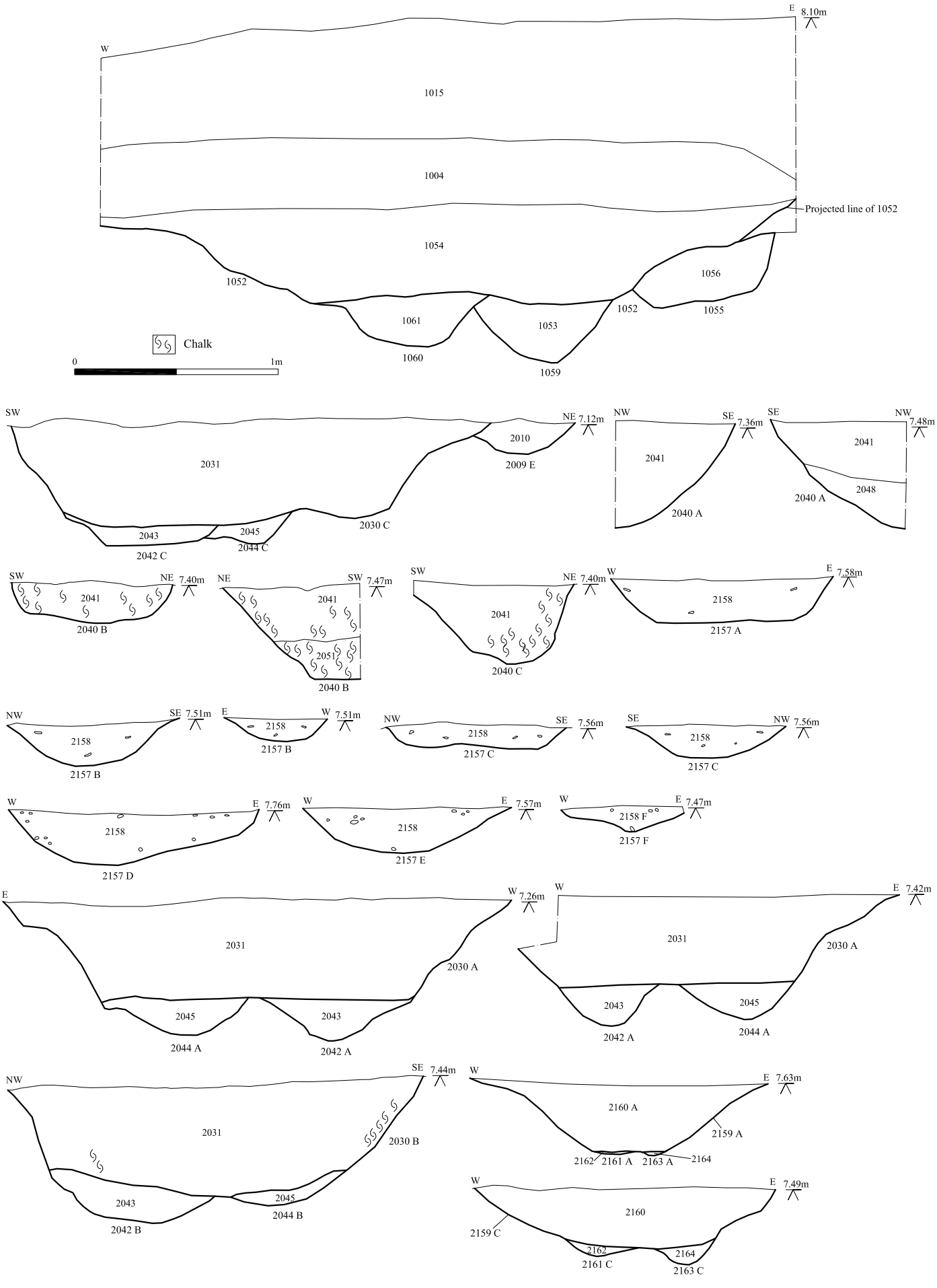
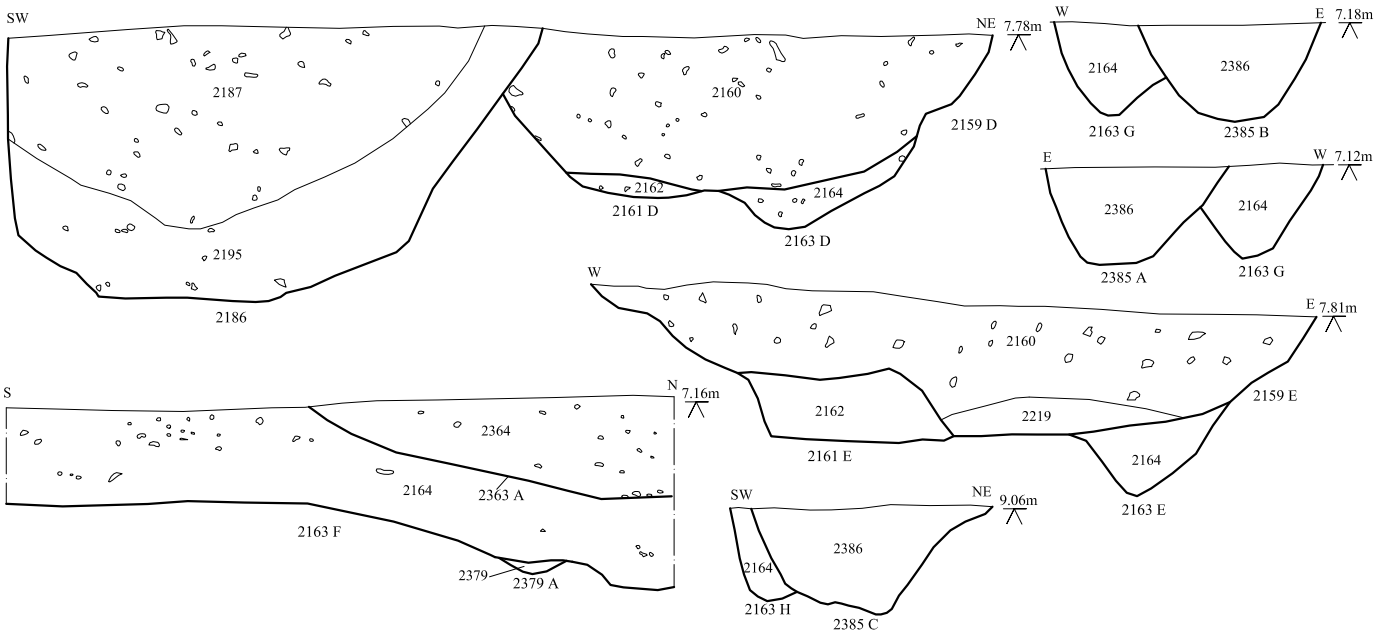


Fig. 20 Sections of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) ditches, scale 1:25 at A4

Stage I enclosure ditches (continued)



Stage II enclosure ditches

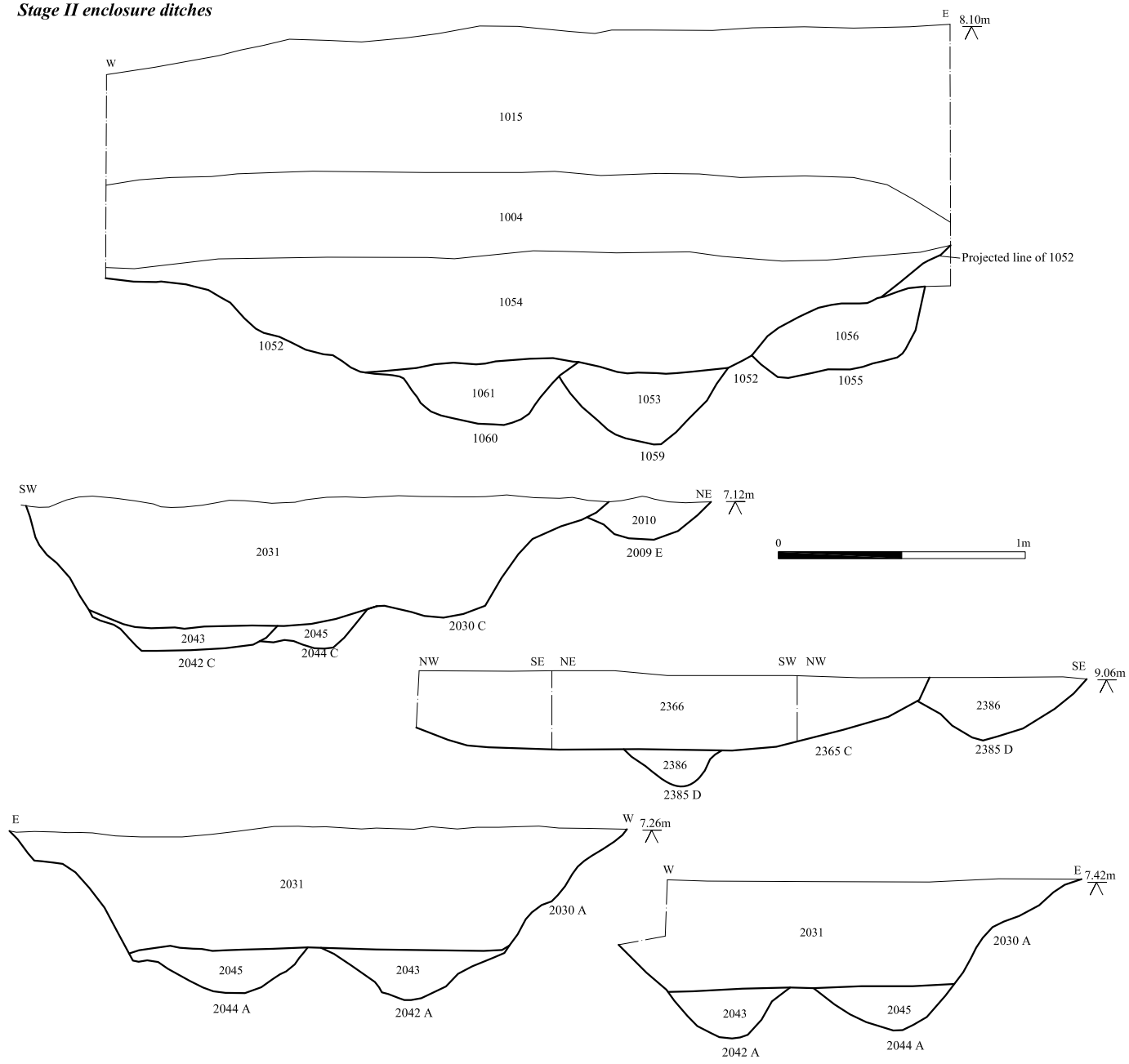


Fig. 21 Sections of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) ditches, scale 1:25 at A4

Stage II enclosure ditches (continued)

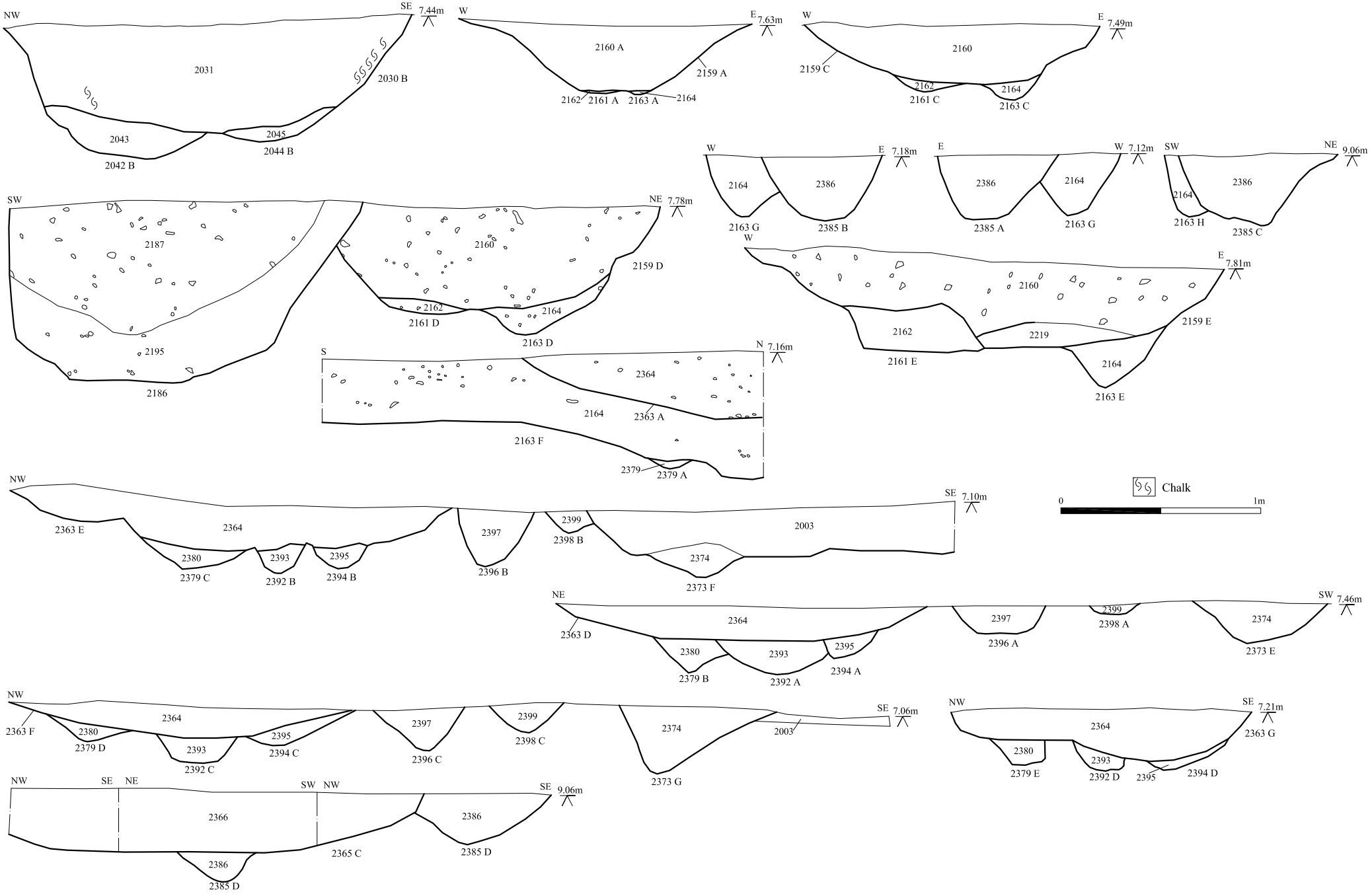


Fig. 22 Sections of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) ditches, scale 1:25 at A4

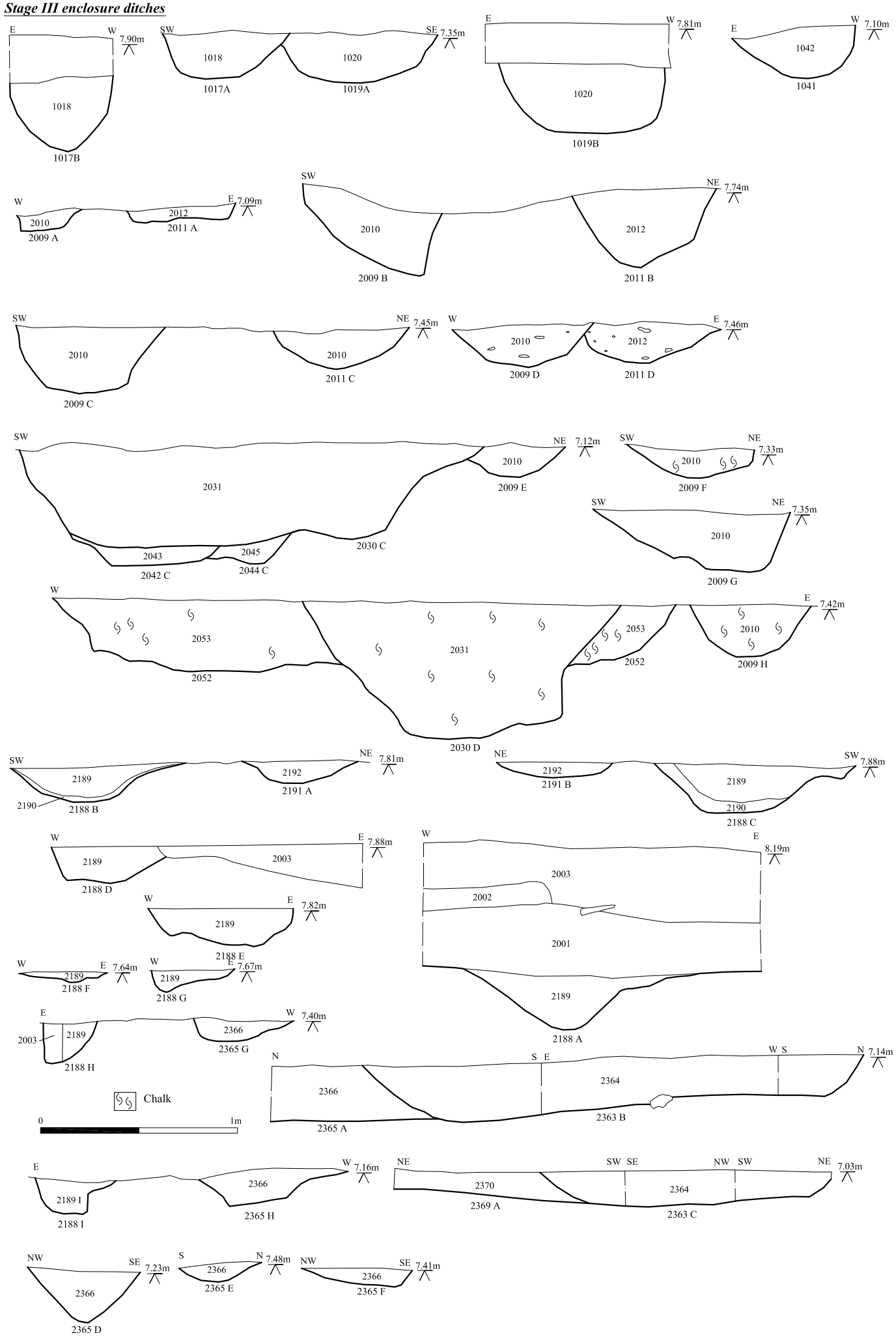


Fig. 23 Sections of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) ditches, scale 1:25 at A4

Stage III enclosure ditches (continued)

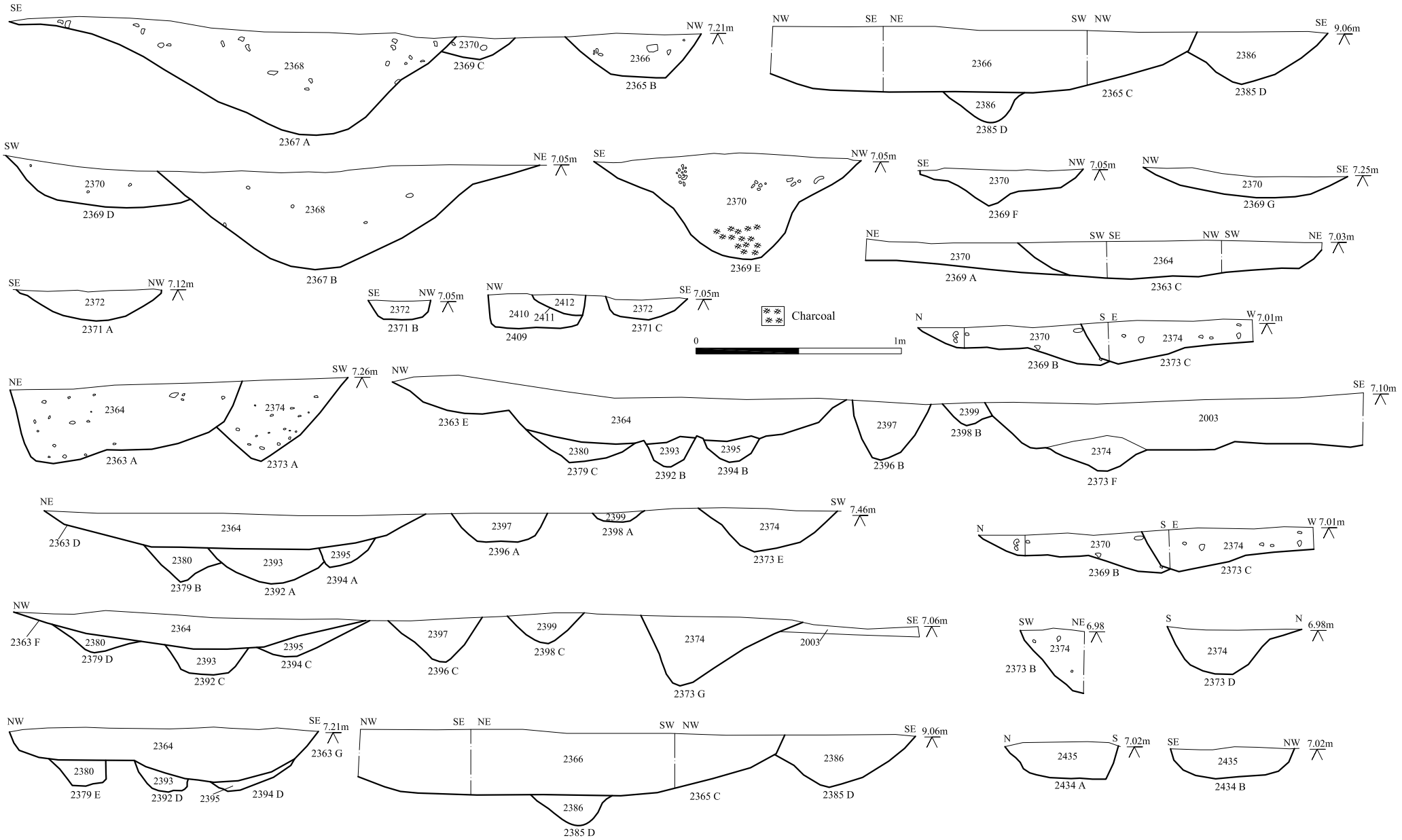


Fig. 24 Sections of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) ditches, scale 1:25 at A4

Stage IV enclosure ditches

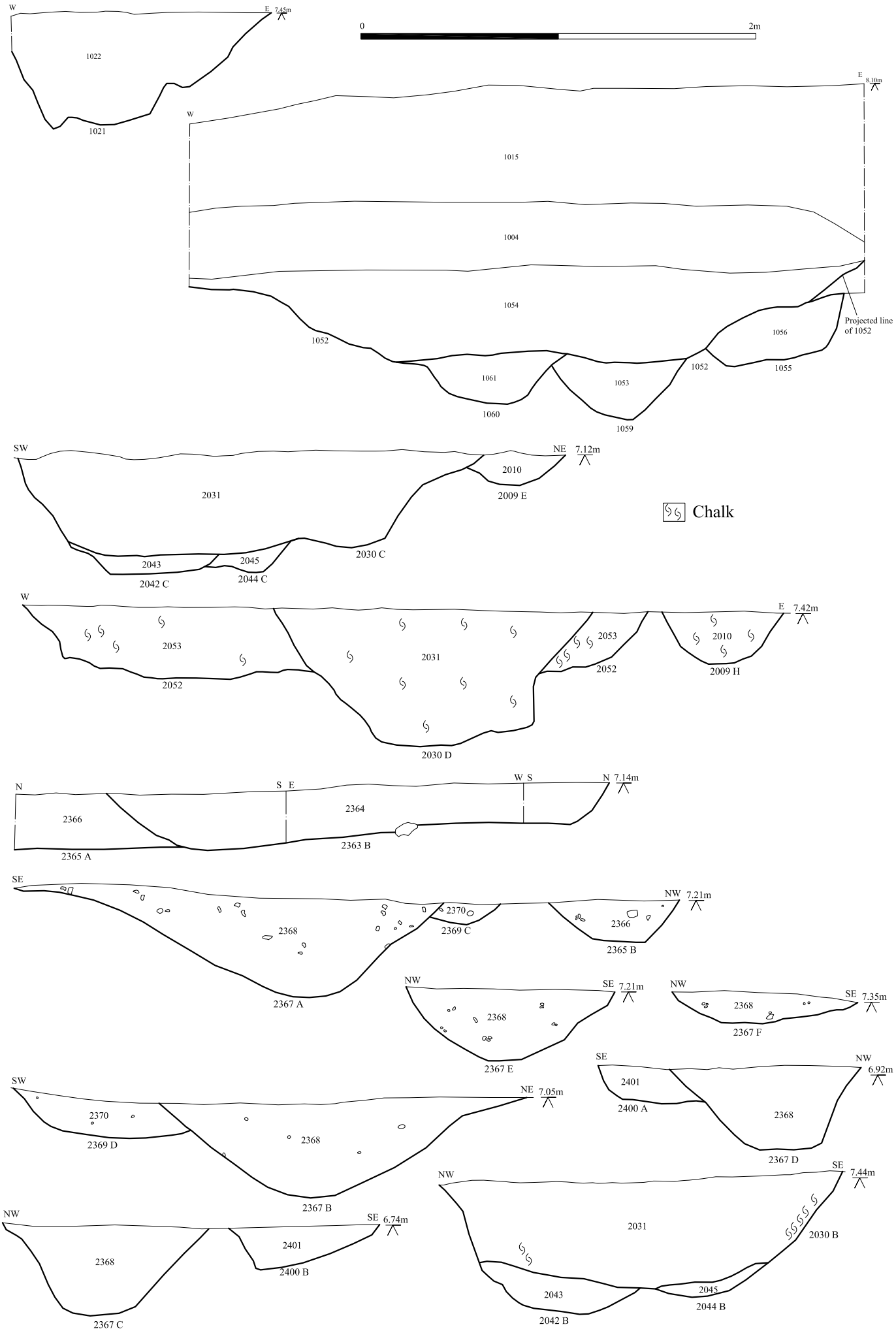


Fig. 25 Sections of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) ditches, scale 1:25 at A4

Stage IV enclosure ditches (continued)

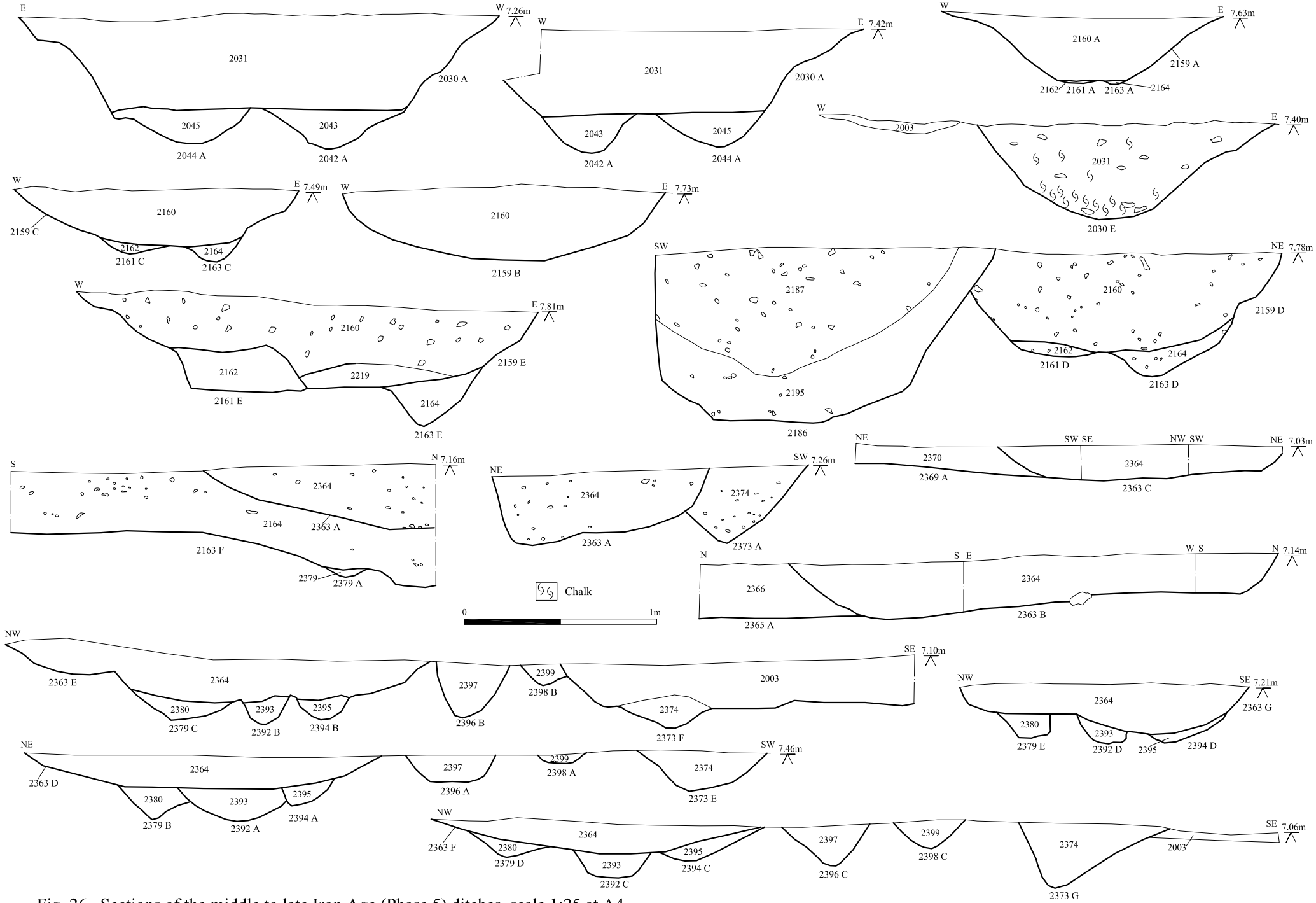


Fig. 26 Sections of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) ditches, scale 1:25 at A4

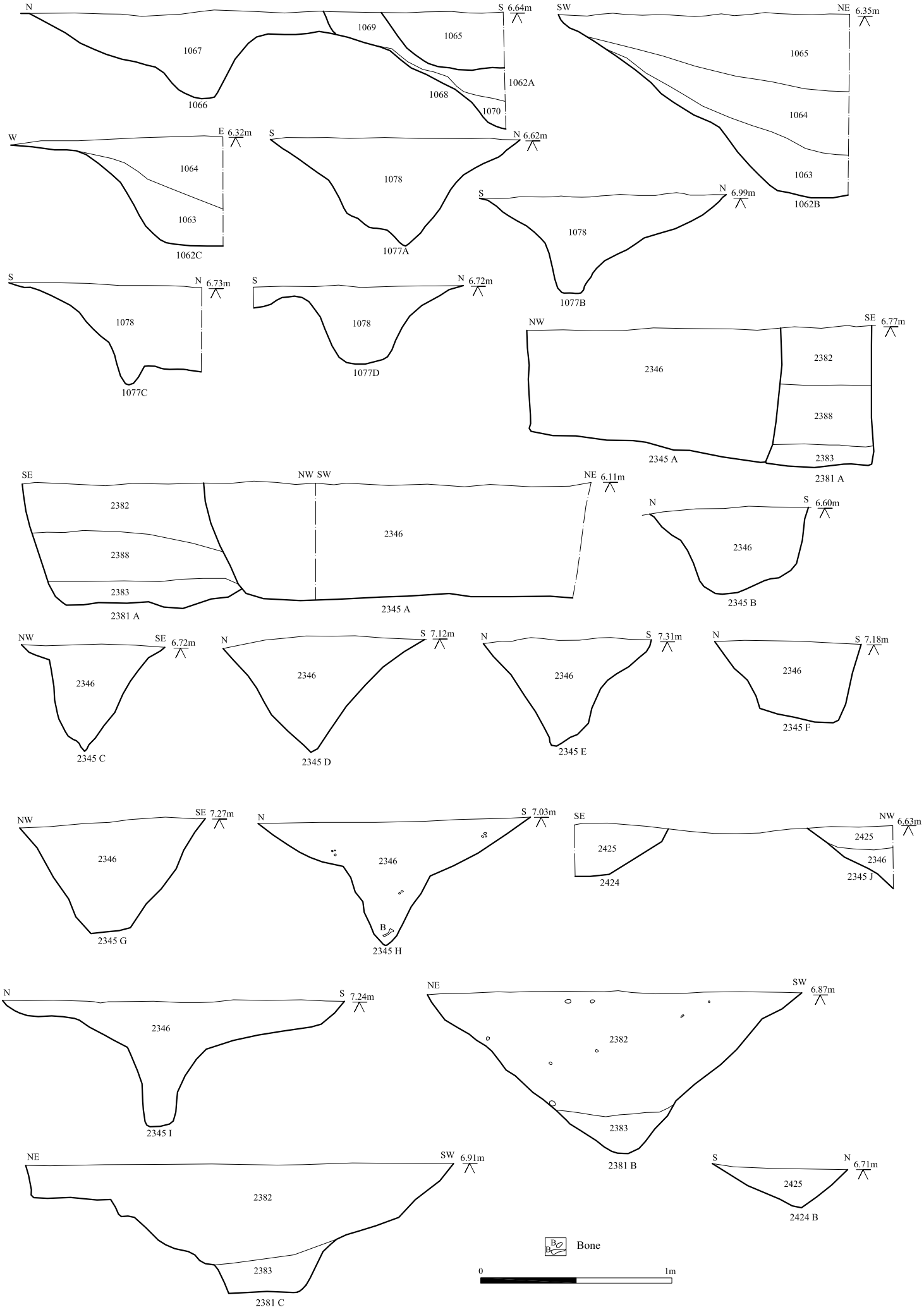


Fig. 27 Sections of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) ditches, scale 1:25 at A4

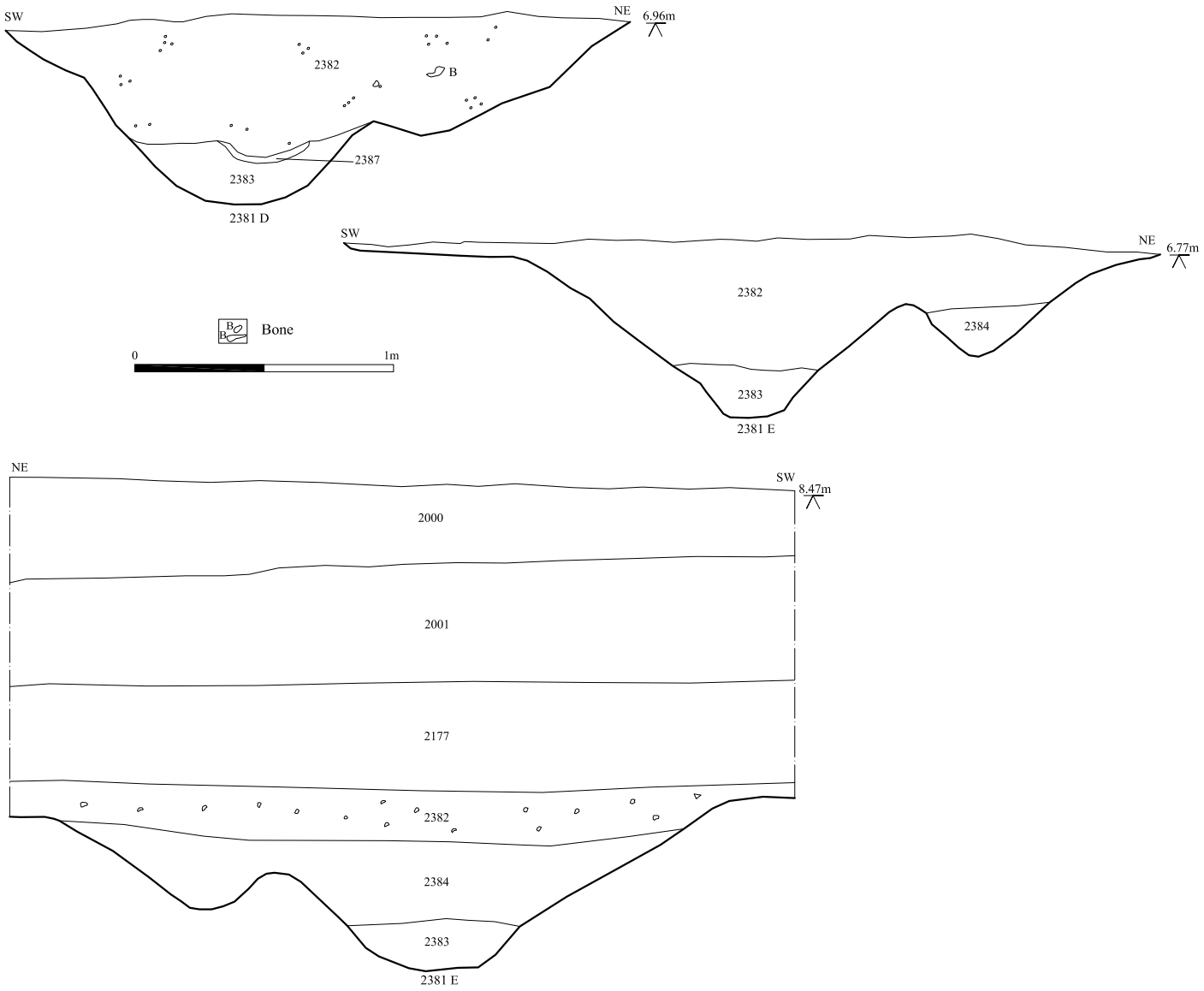


Fig. 28 Sections of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) ditches, scale 1:25 at A4

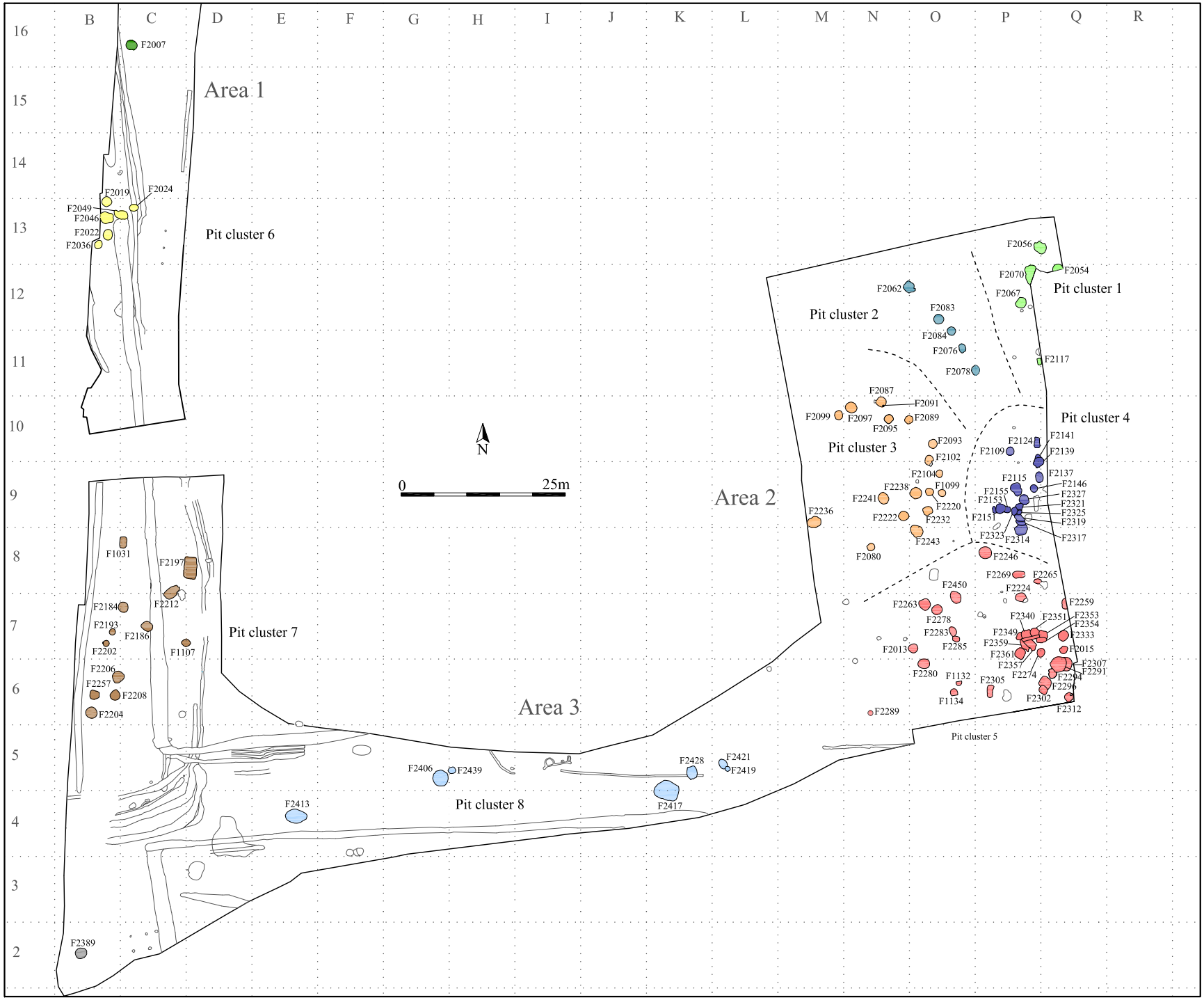


Fig. 29 Middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) pits, scale at 1:800 at A4

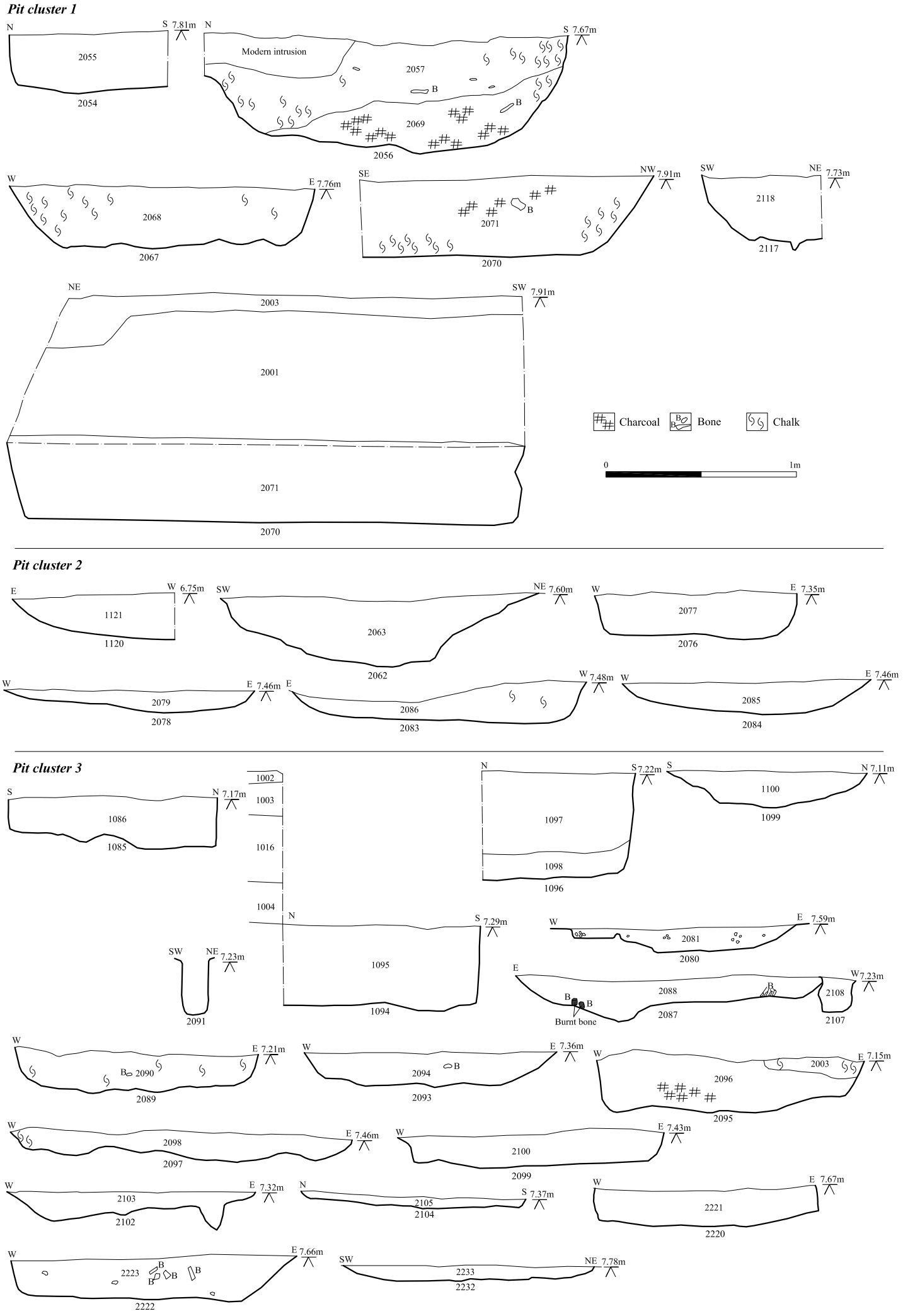
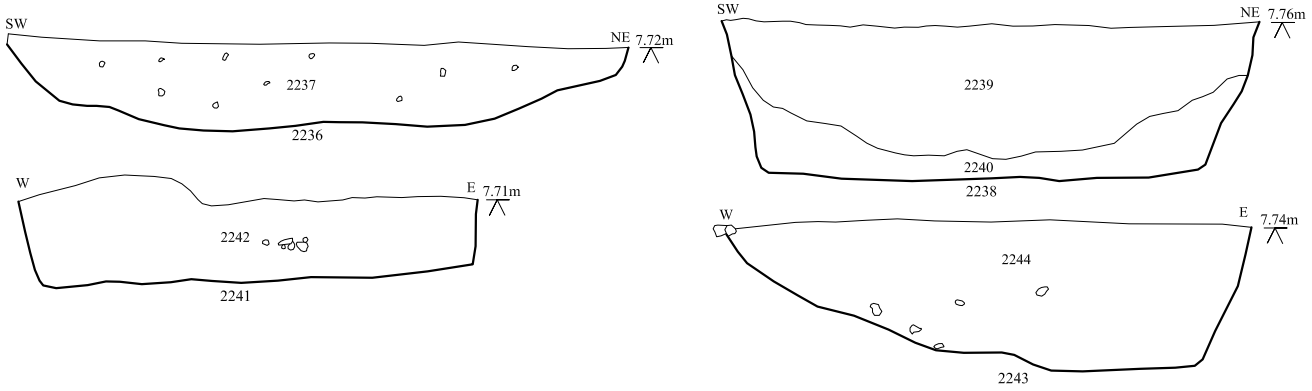


Fig. 30 Sections of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) pits, scale 1:25 at A4

Pit cluster 3 (continued)



Pit cluster 4

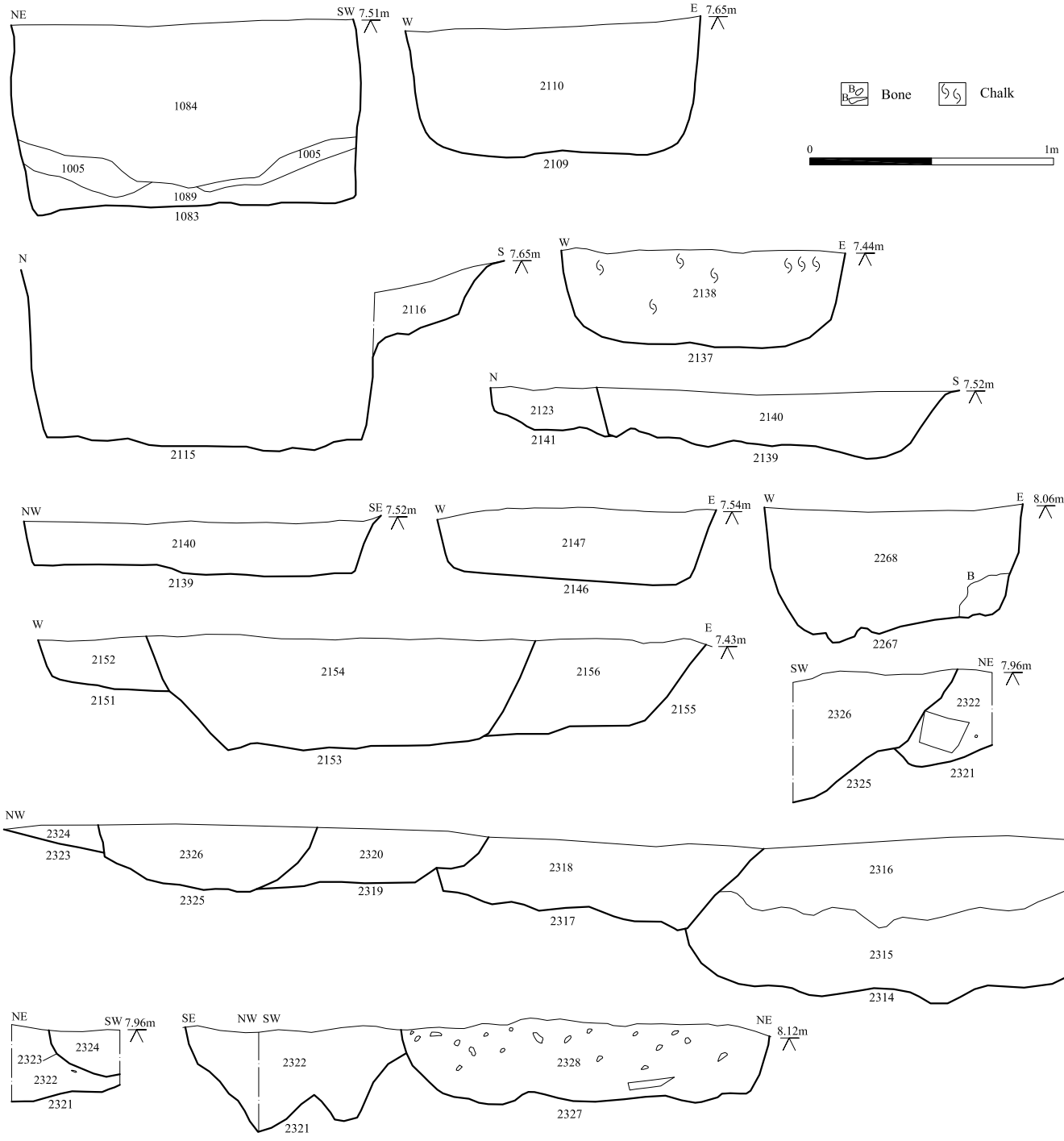


Fig. 31 Sections of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) pits, scale 1:25 at A4

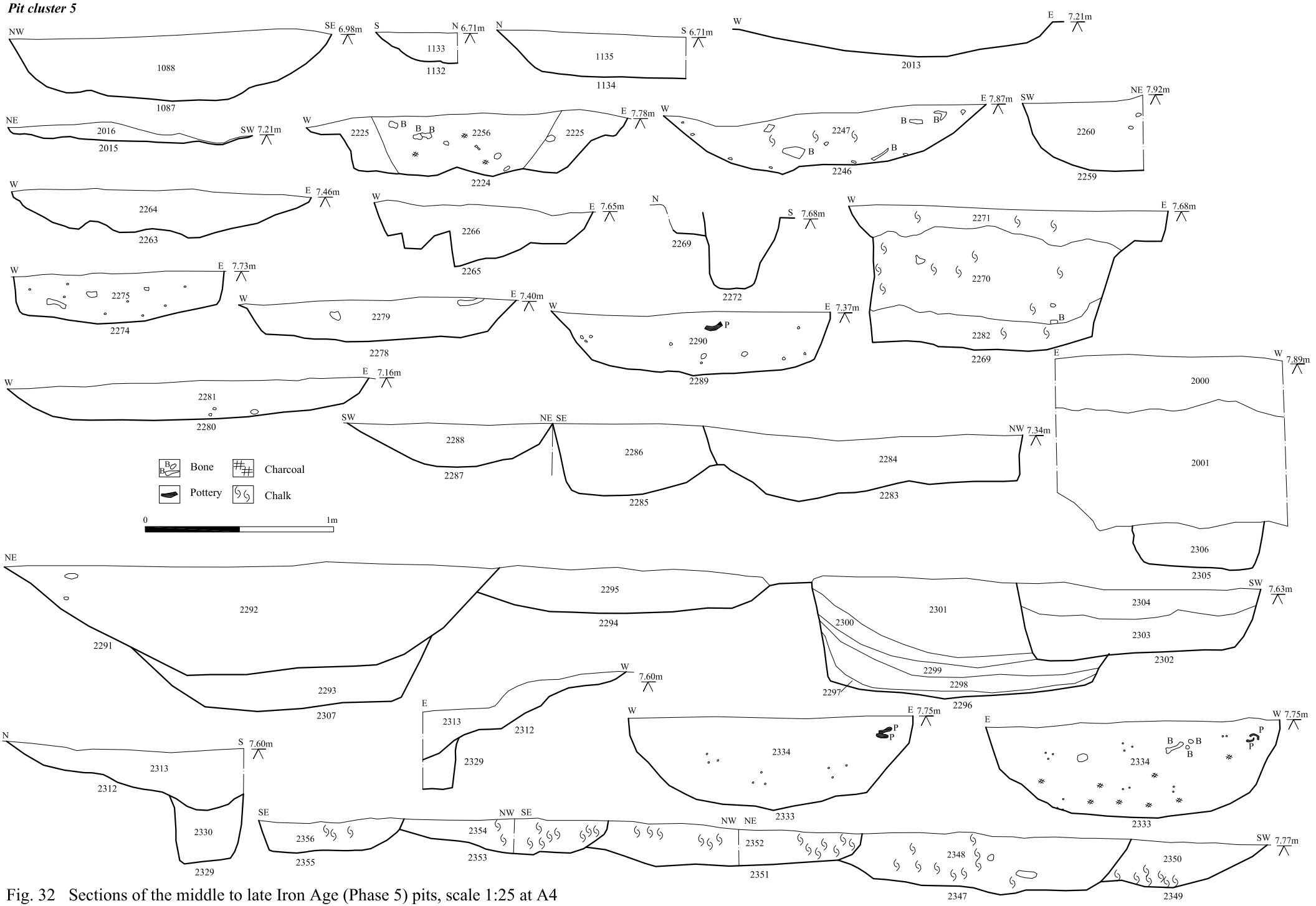


Fig. 32 Sections of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) pits, scale 1:25 at A4

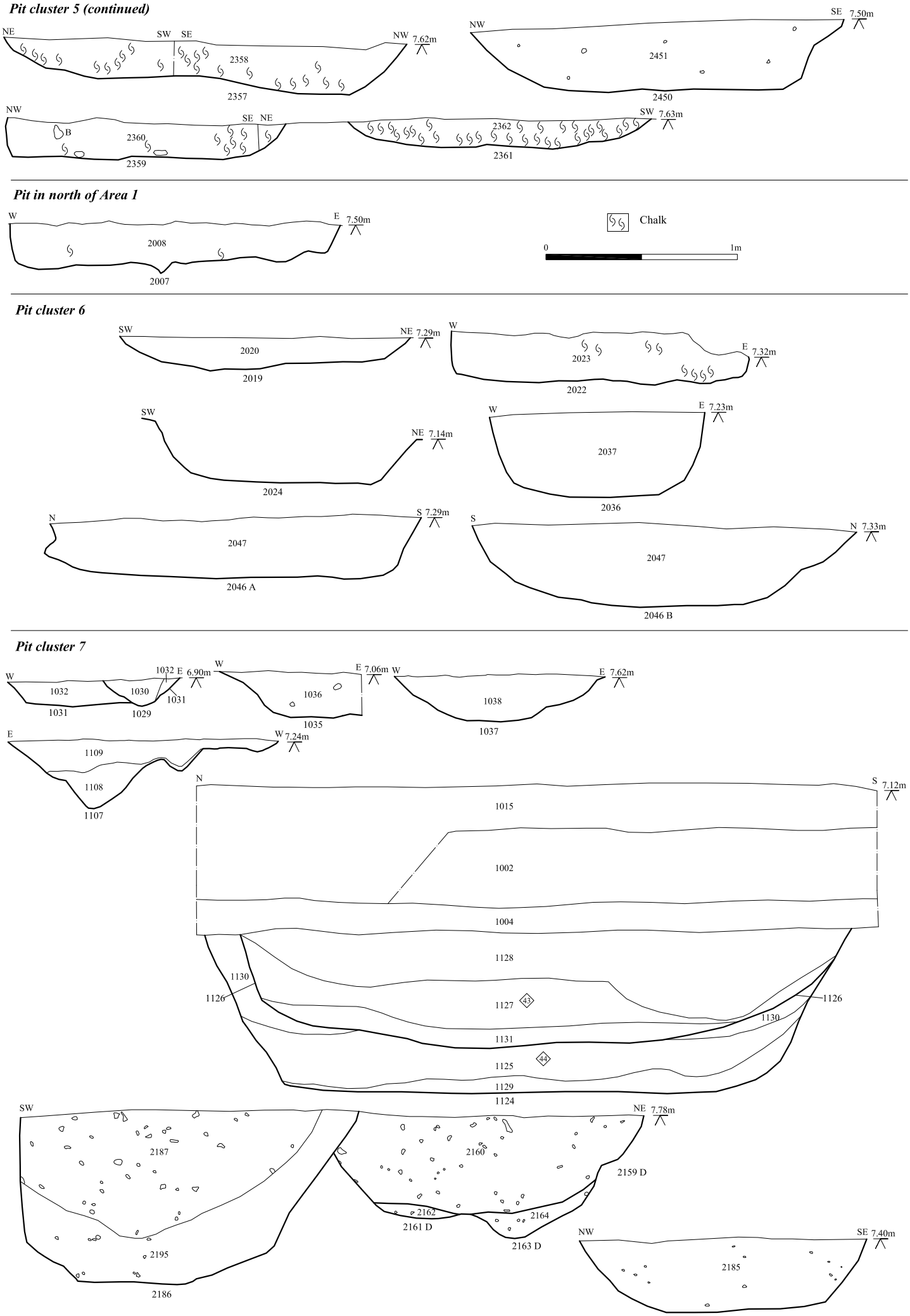


Fig. 33 Sections of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) pits, scale 1:25 at A4

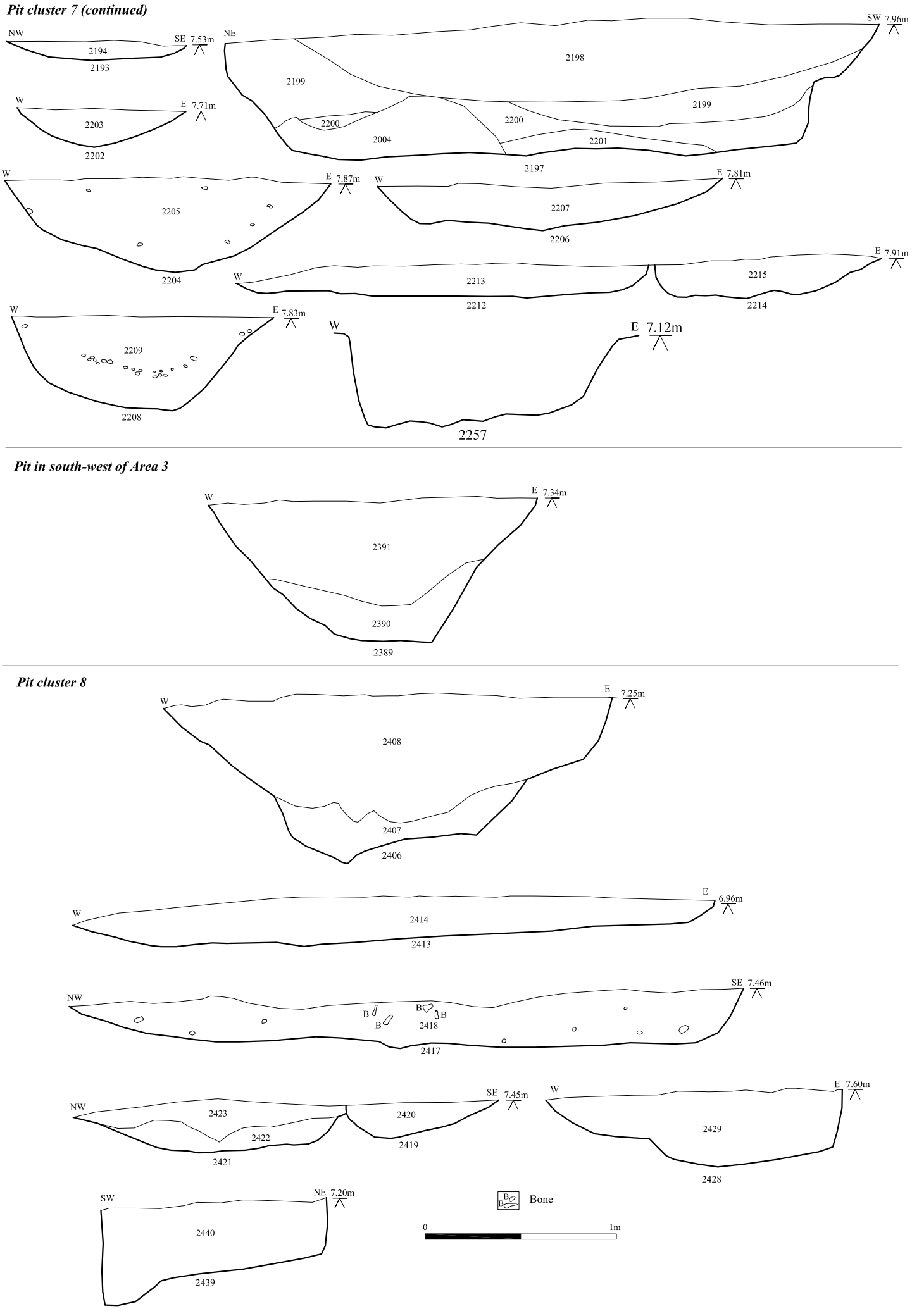
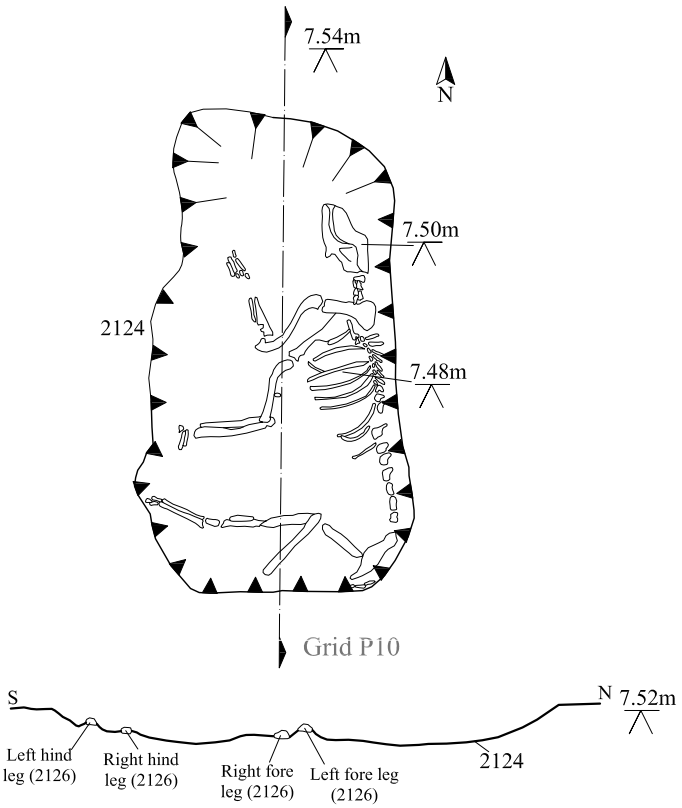


Fig. 34 Sections of the middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) pits, scale 1:25 at A4

Fig. 35 Significant middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) pits and unusual deposits, scale at 1:800 at A4



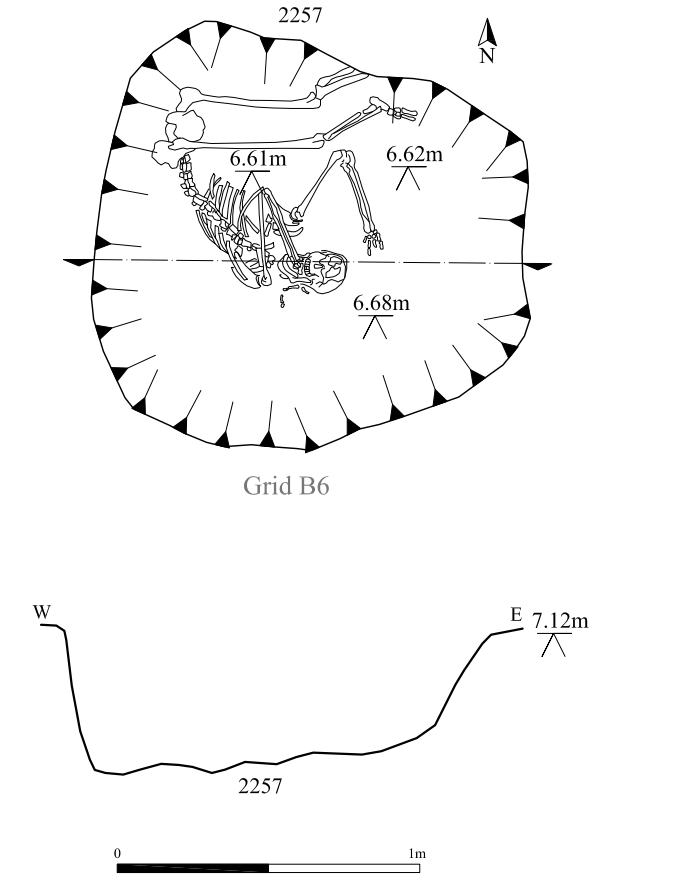


Fig. 36 Detail plans of articulated skeletons, scale 1:25 at A4

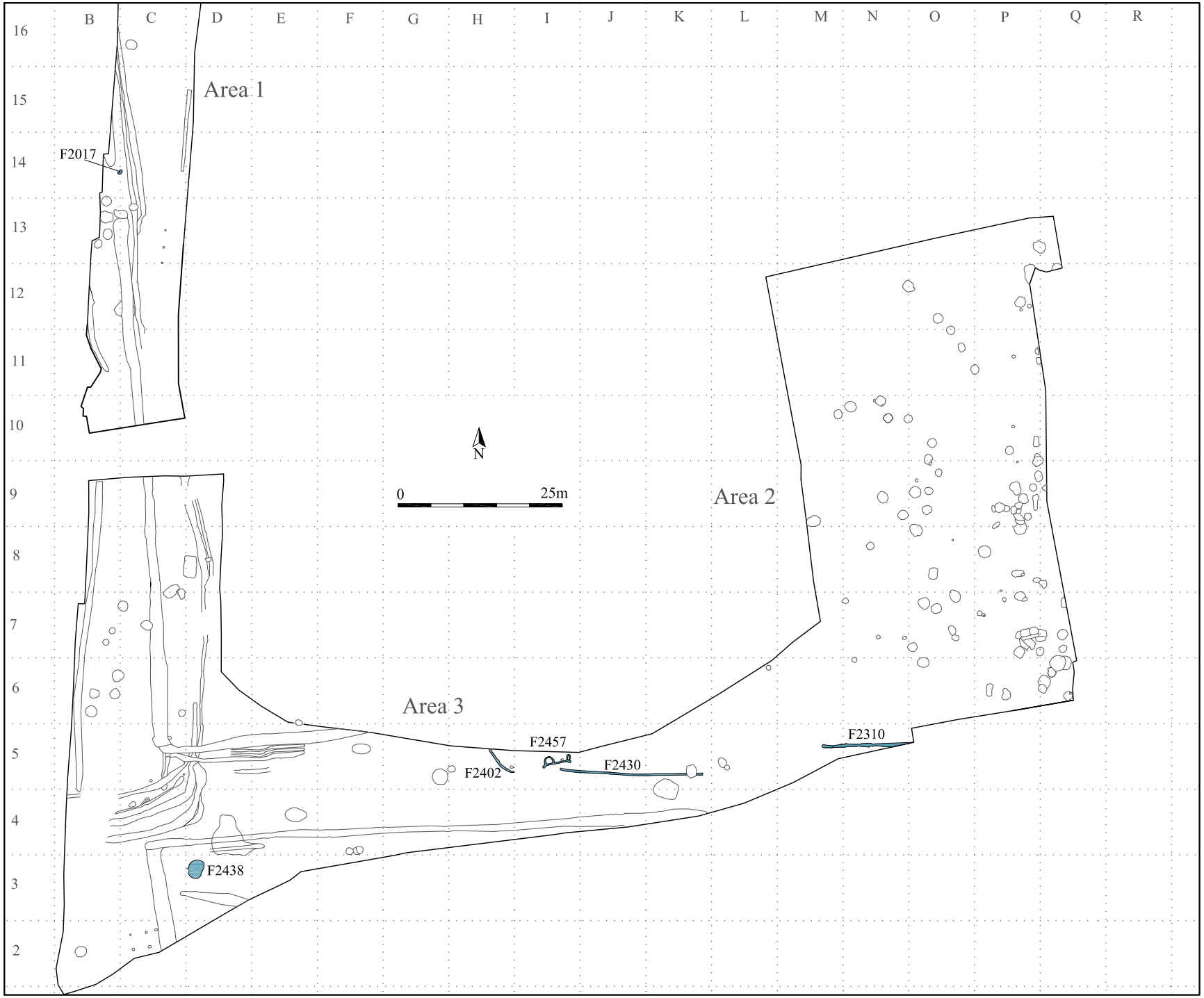
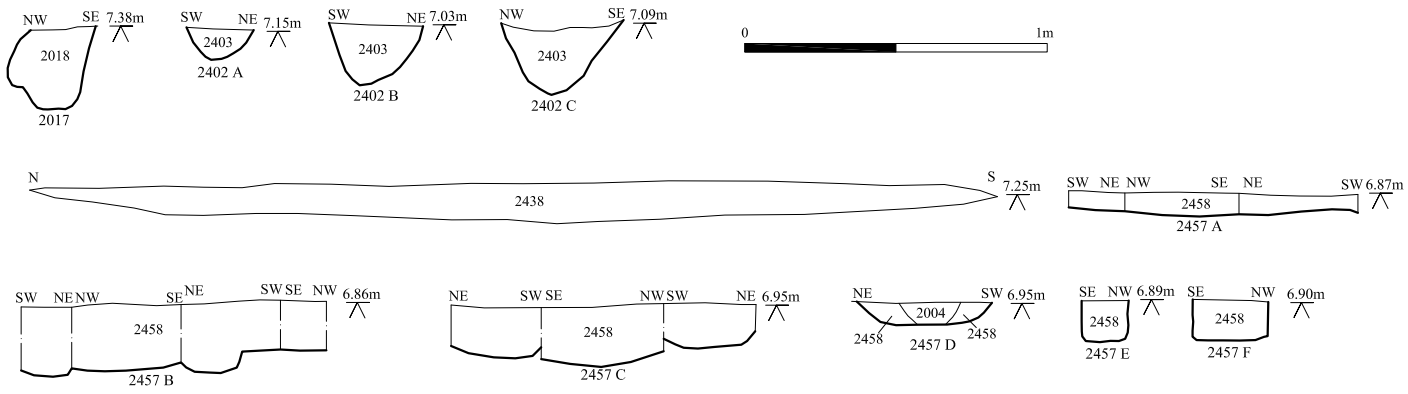


Fig. 37 Other Iron Age (Phase 5) features, scale at 1:800 at A4

Possible structural features



Possible fencelines

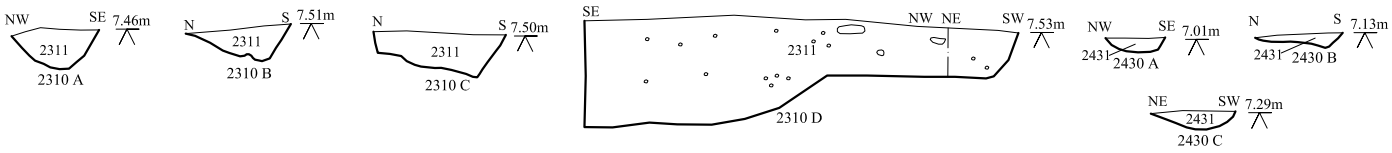


Fig. 38 Sections of other Iron Age (Phase 5) features, scale 1:25 at A4

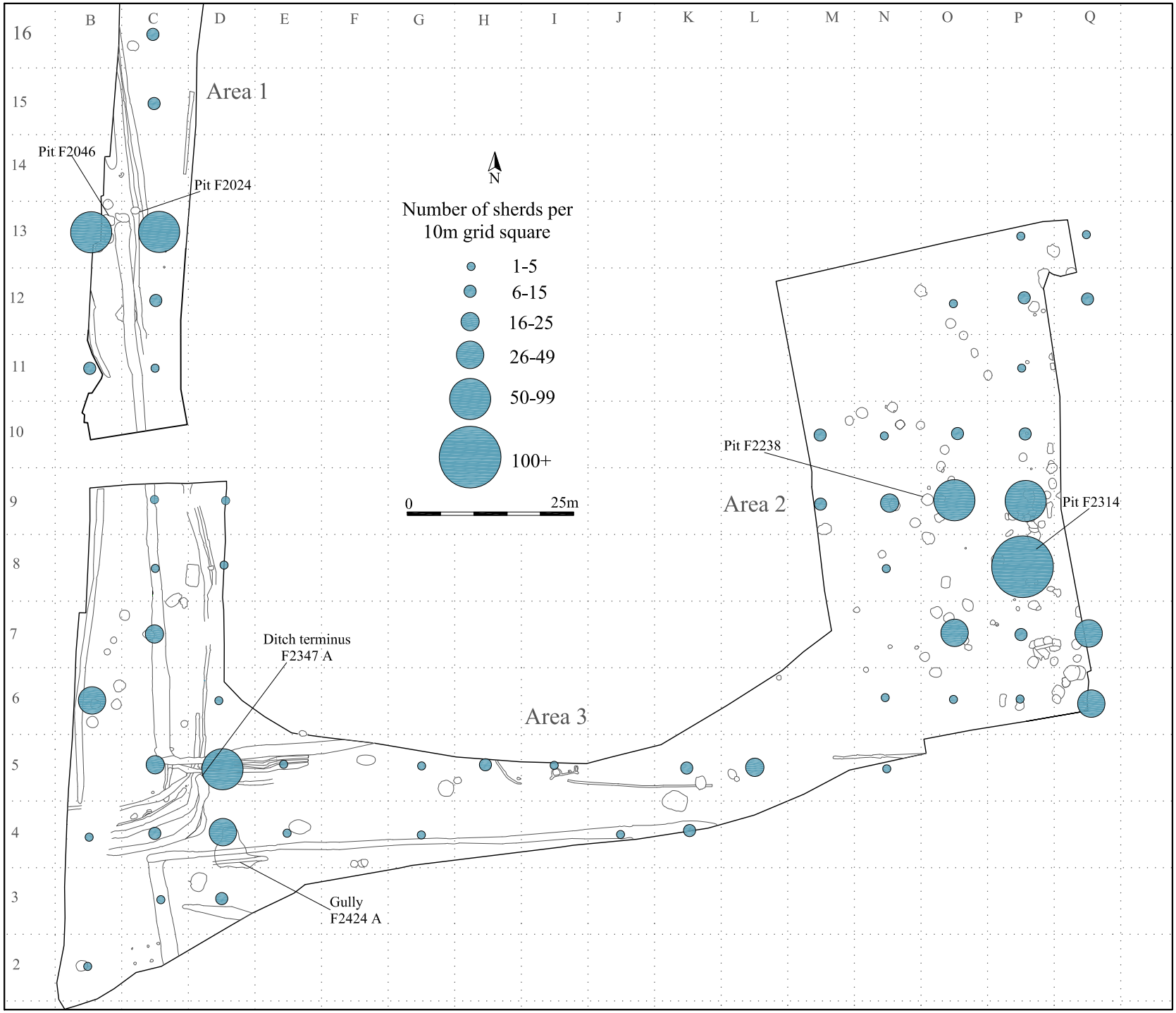


Fig. 39 Middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) pottery distribution (by sherd count), scale at 1:800 at A4

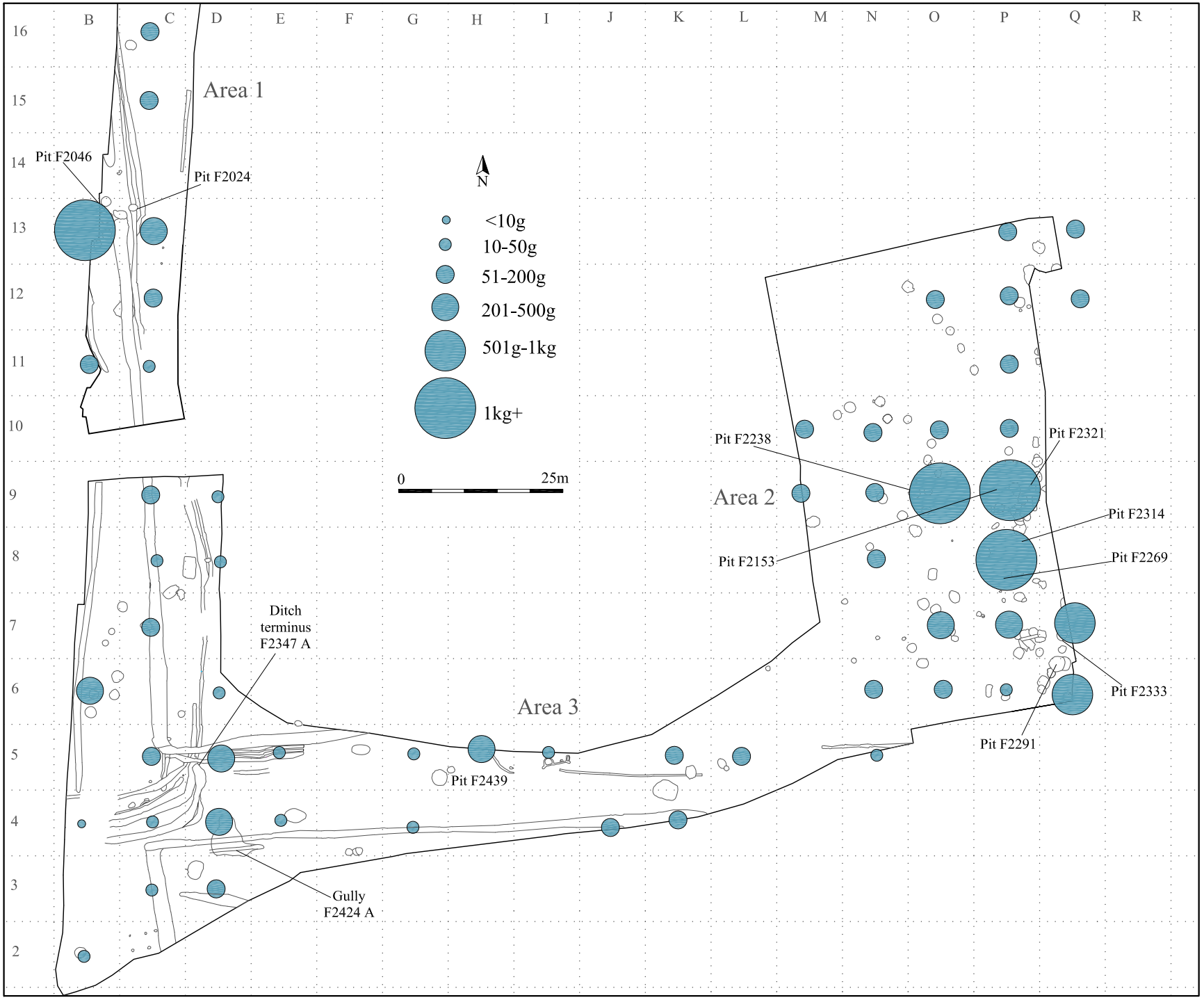


Fig. 40 Middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) pottery distribution (by weight), scale at 1:800 at A4

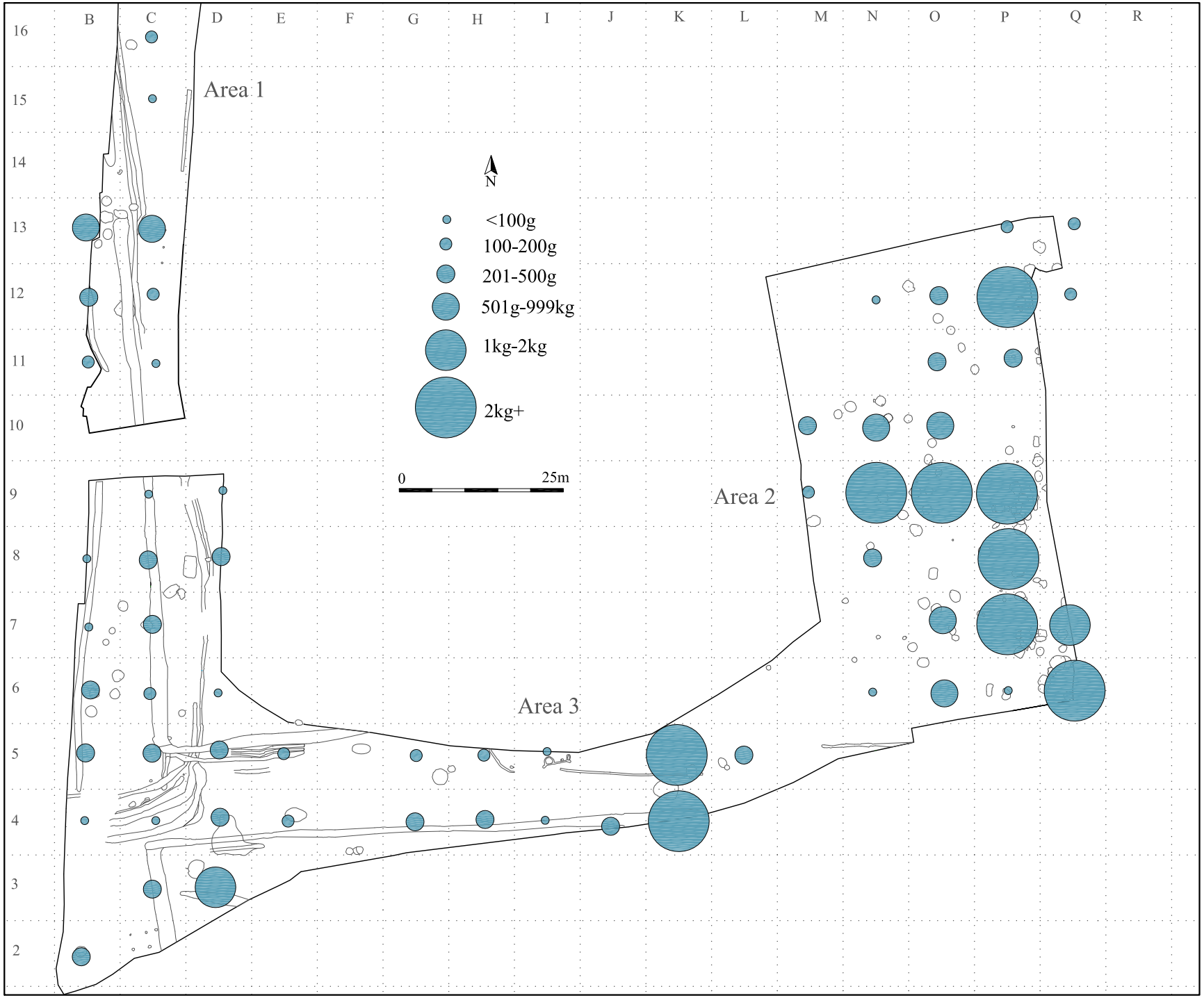


Fig. 41 Distribution of animal bone in middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) features, scale at 1:800 at A4

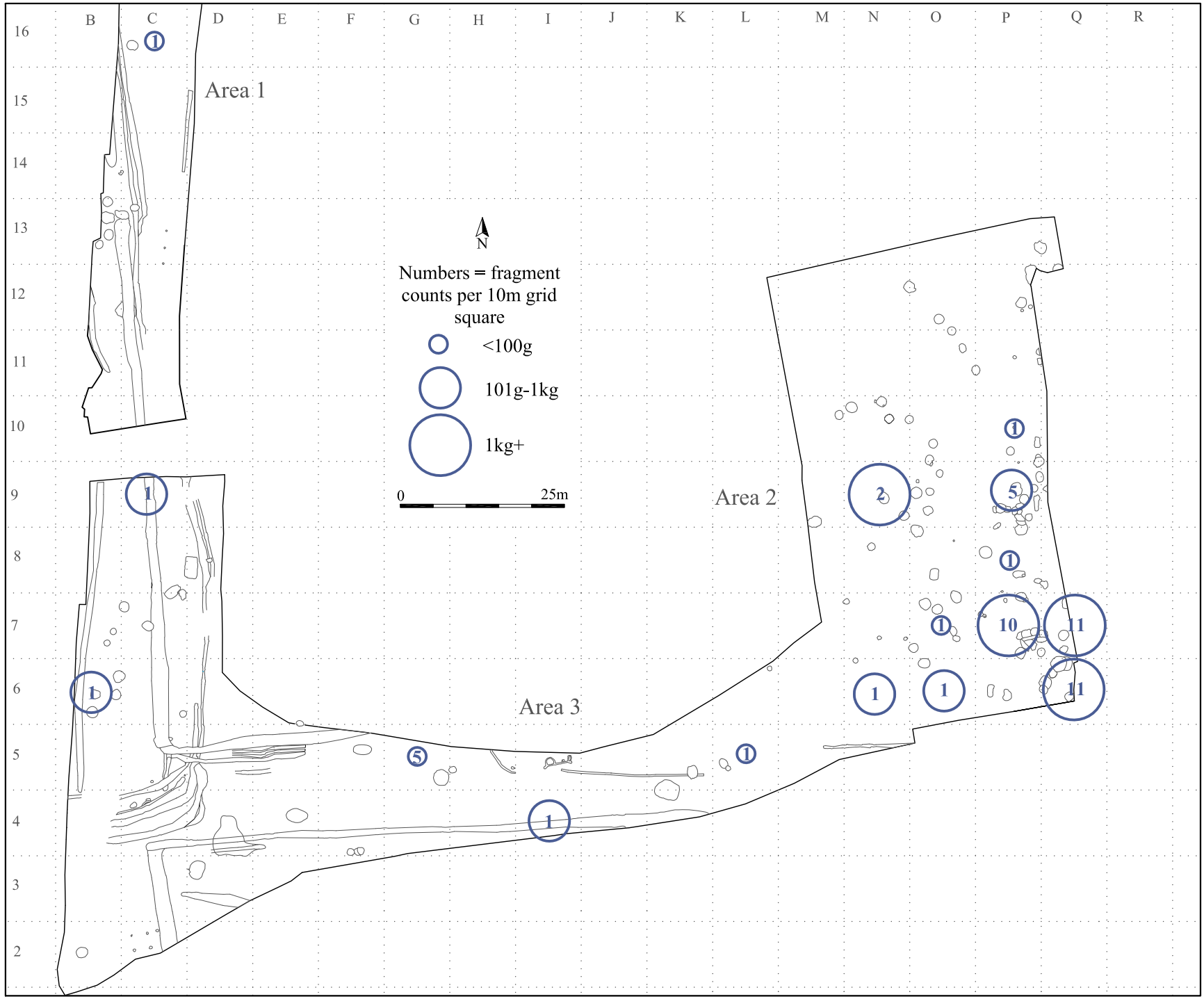


Fig. 42 Distribution of burnt flint/ stone in middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) features, scale at 1:800 at A4

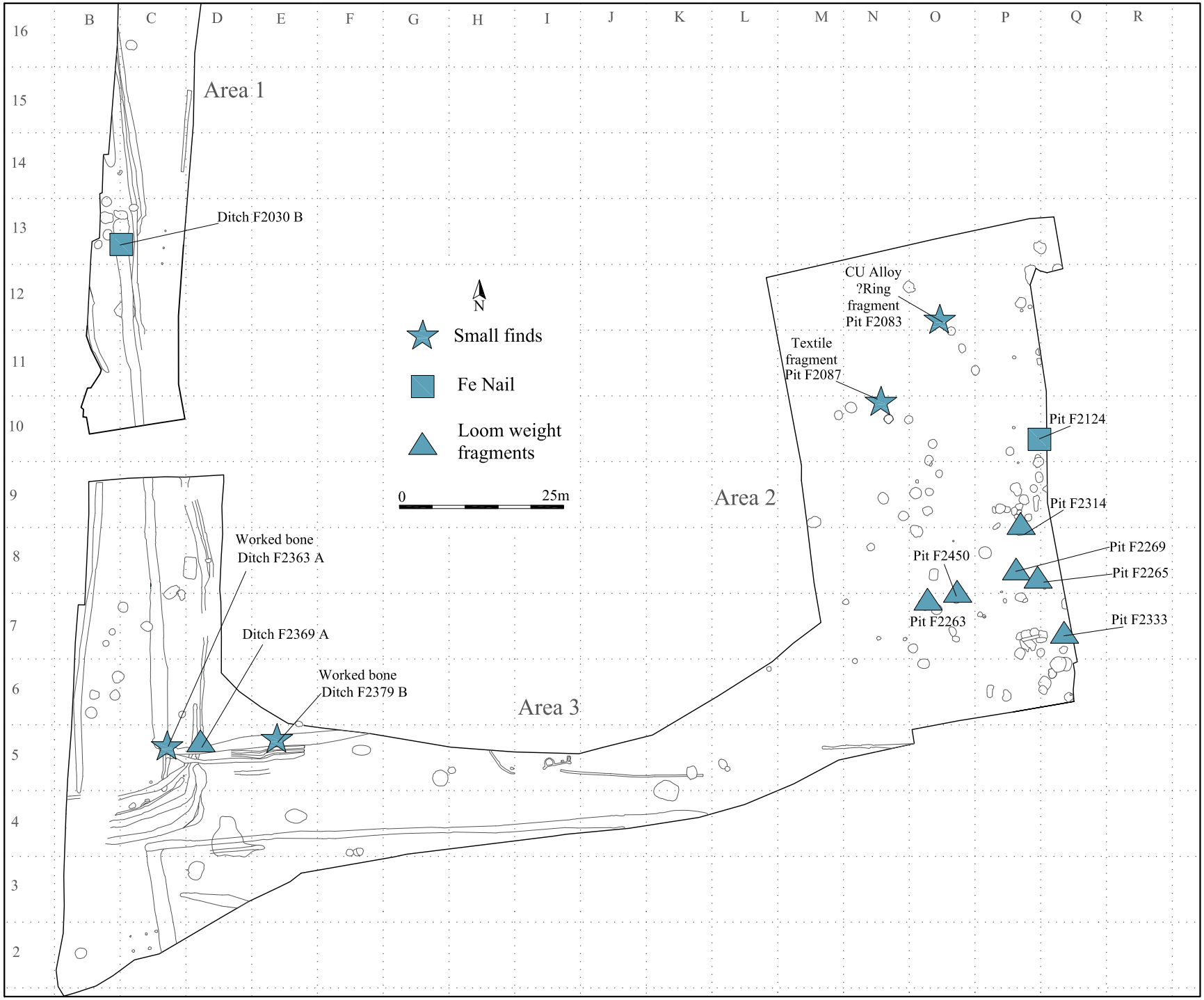


Fig. 43 Distribution of other middle to late Iron Age (Phase 5) finds, scale at 1:800 at A4

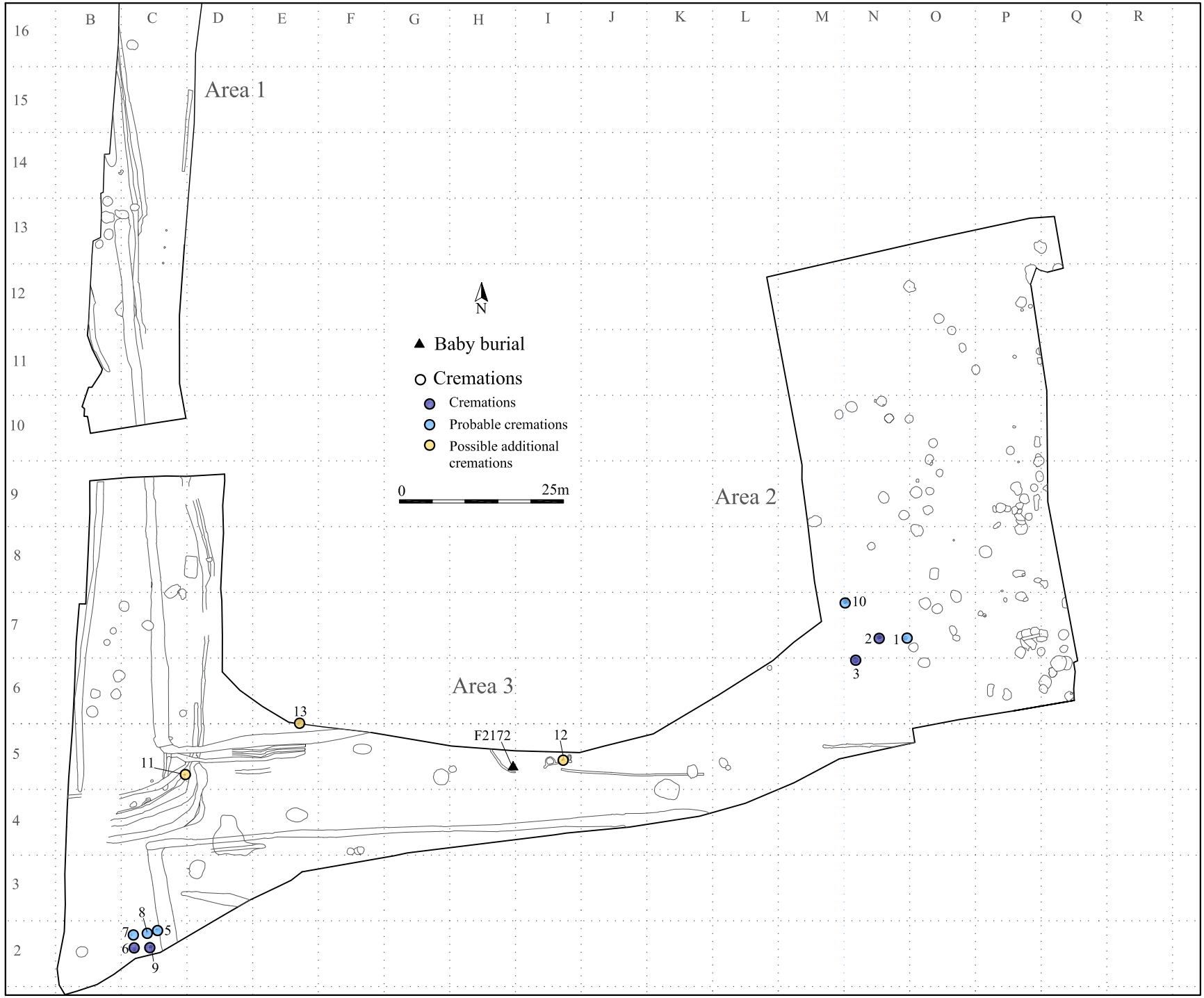
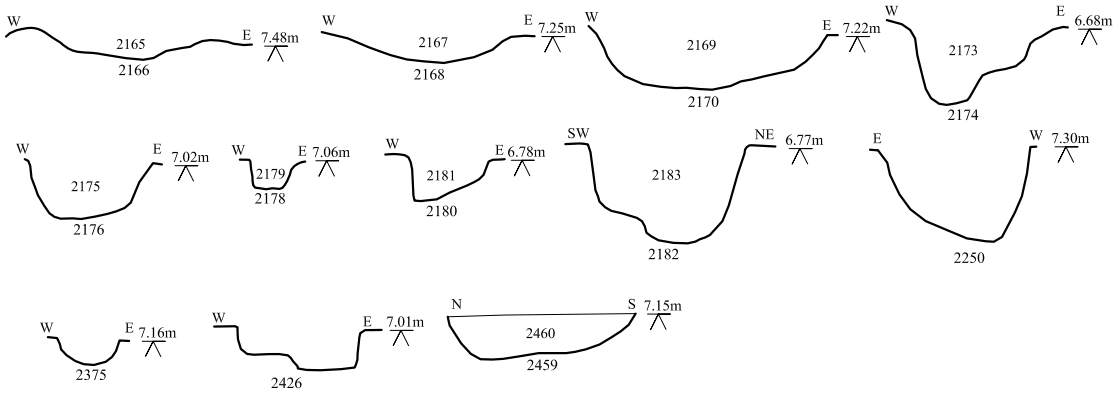


Fig. 46 late Bronze Age (Phase 4) cremations and undated baby burial, scale at 1:800 at A4

Phase 4: late Bronze Age cremations



Undated baby burial

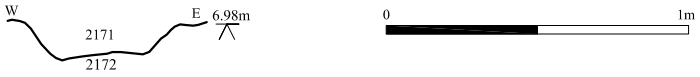
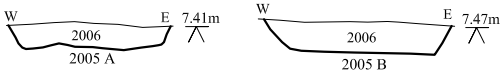


Fig. 47 Sections of late Bronze Age (Phase 4) cremations and undated baby burial, scale 1:25 at A4

Fig. 48 Other undated and post-medieval/ modern features, scale at 1:800 at A4

Post-medieval and modern



Undated

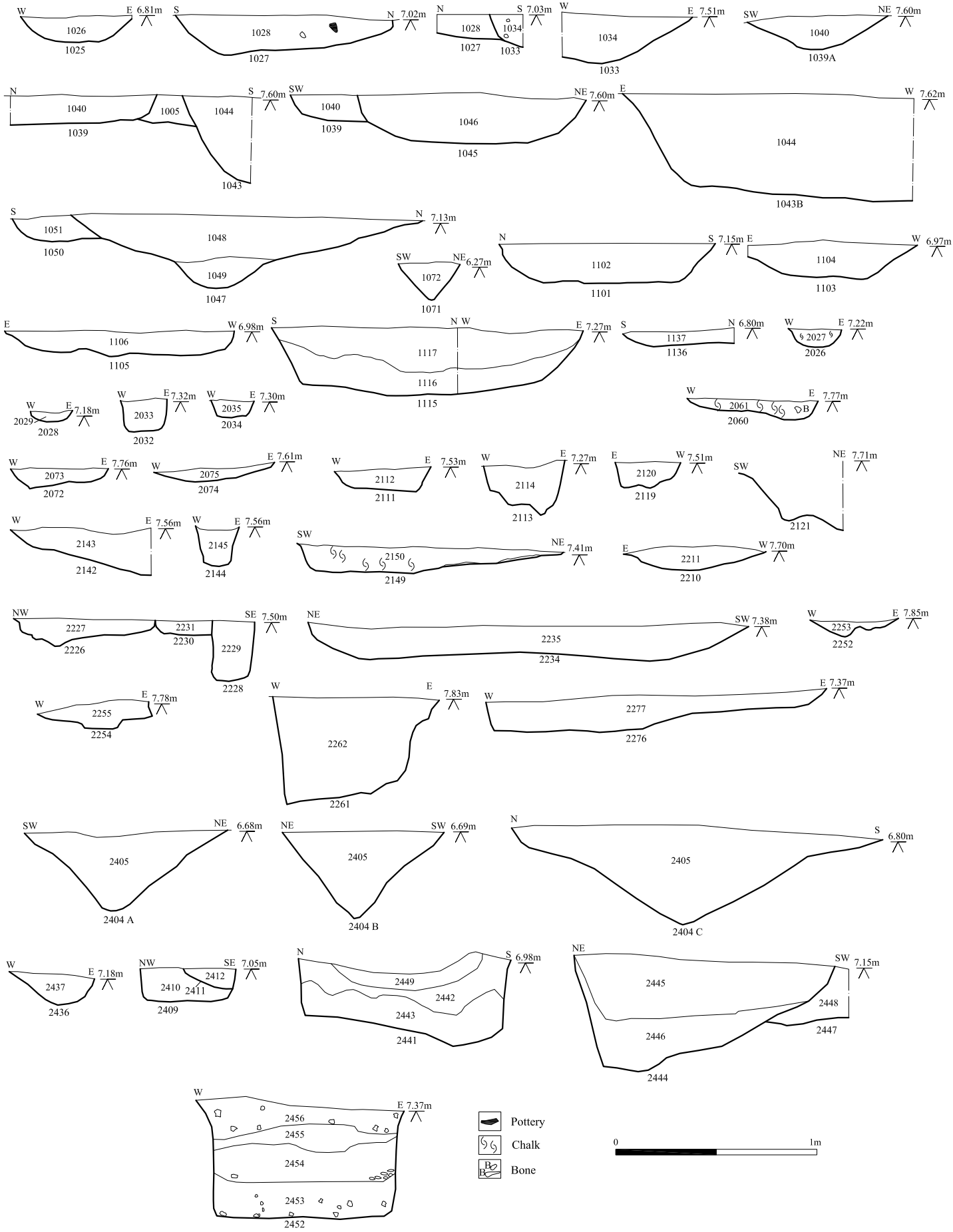


Fig. 49 Sections of undated, post-medieval and modern features, scale 1:25 at A4

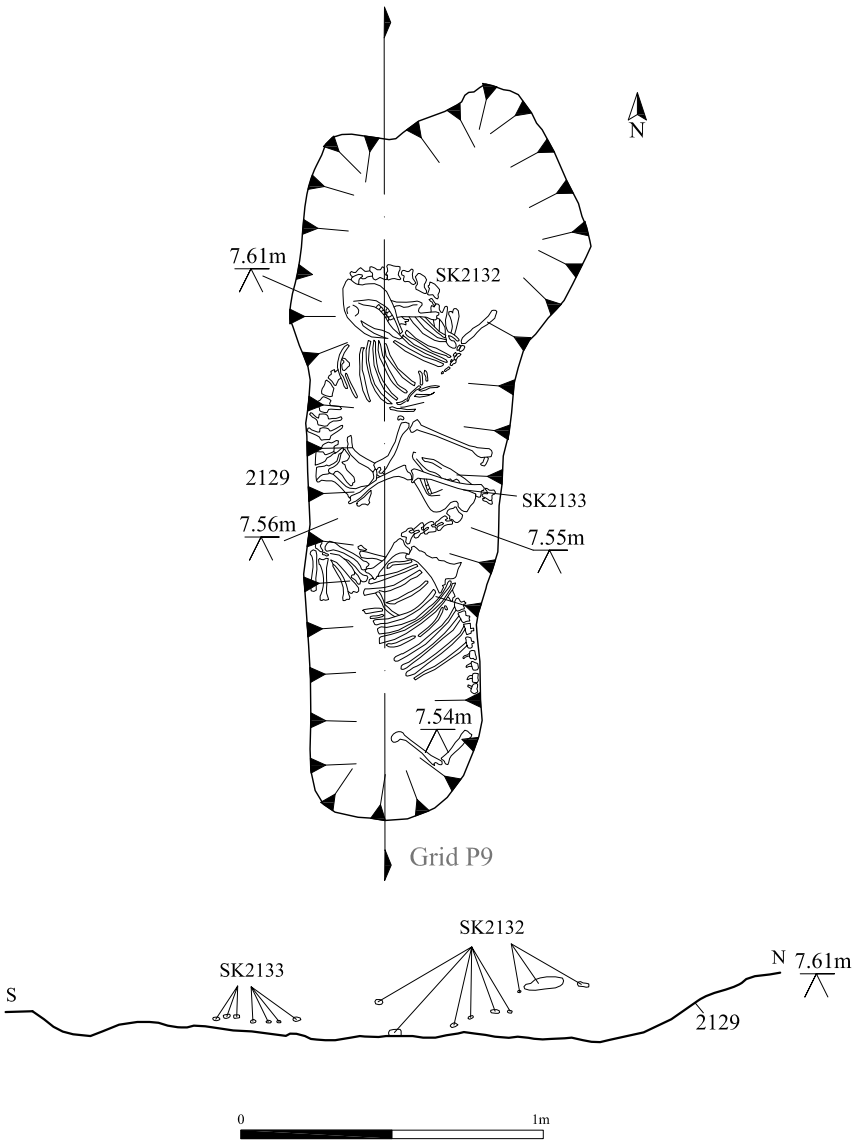


Fig. 50 Modern sheep buial (Pit F2129), scale 1:25 at A4

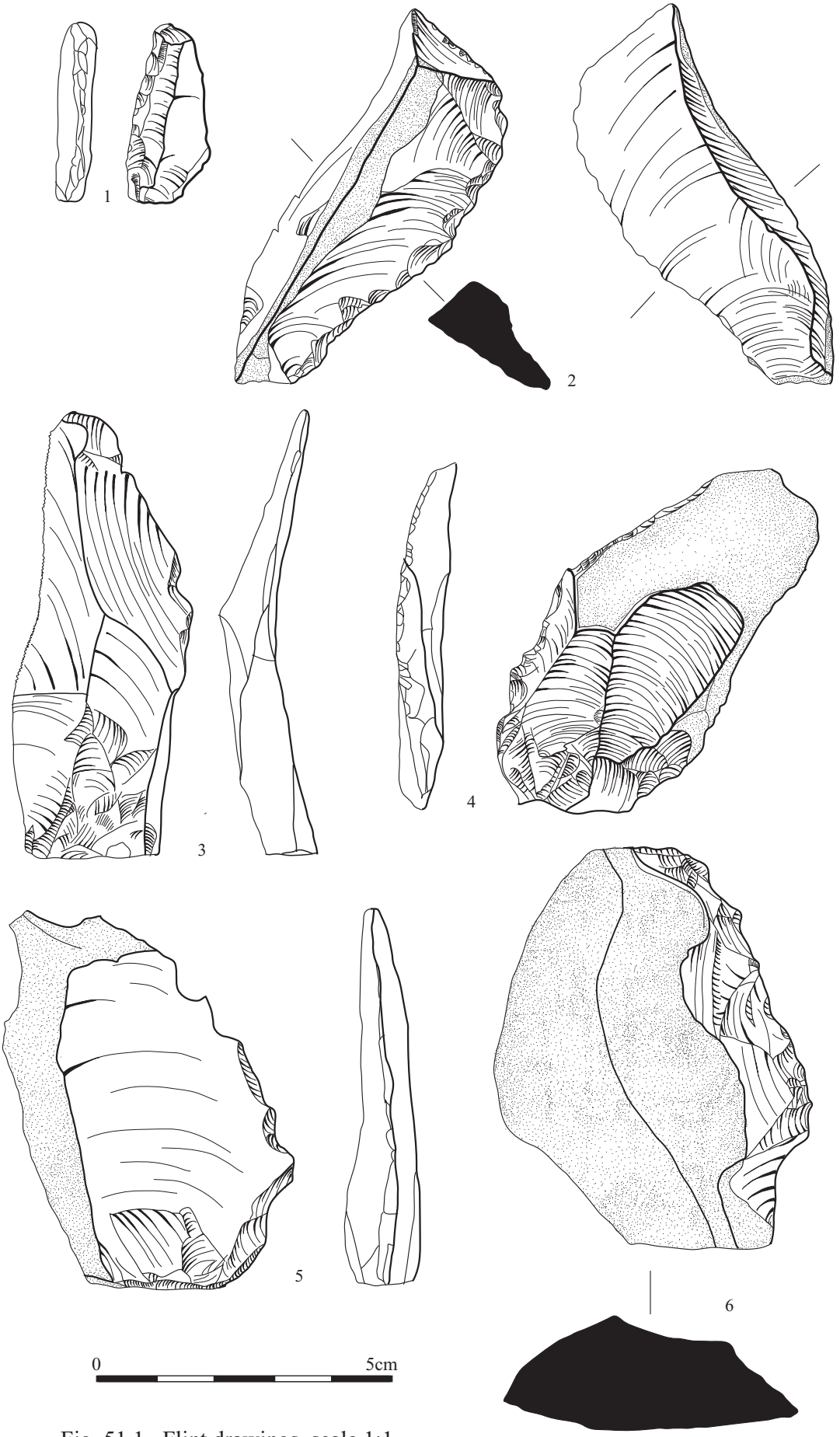


Fig. 51.1 Flint drawings, scale 1:1

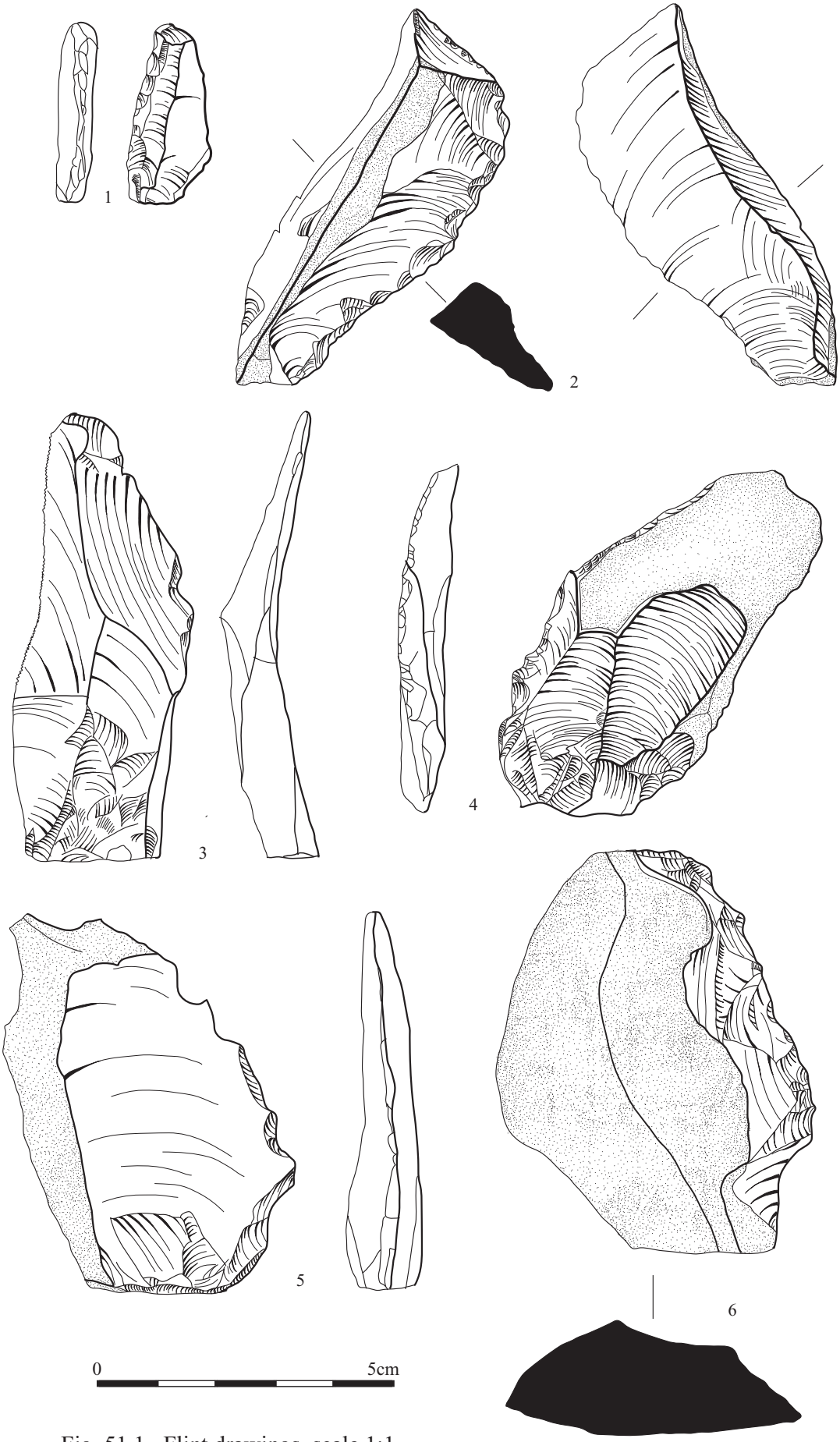


Fig. 51.1 Flint drawings, scale 1:1

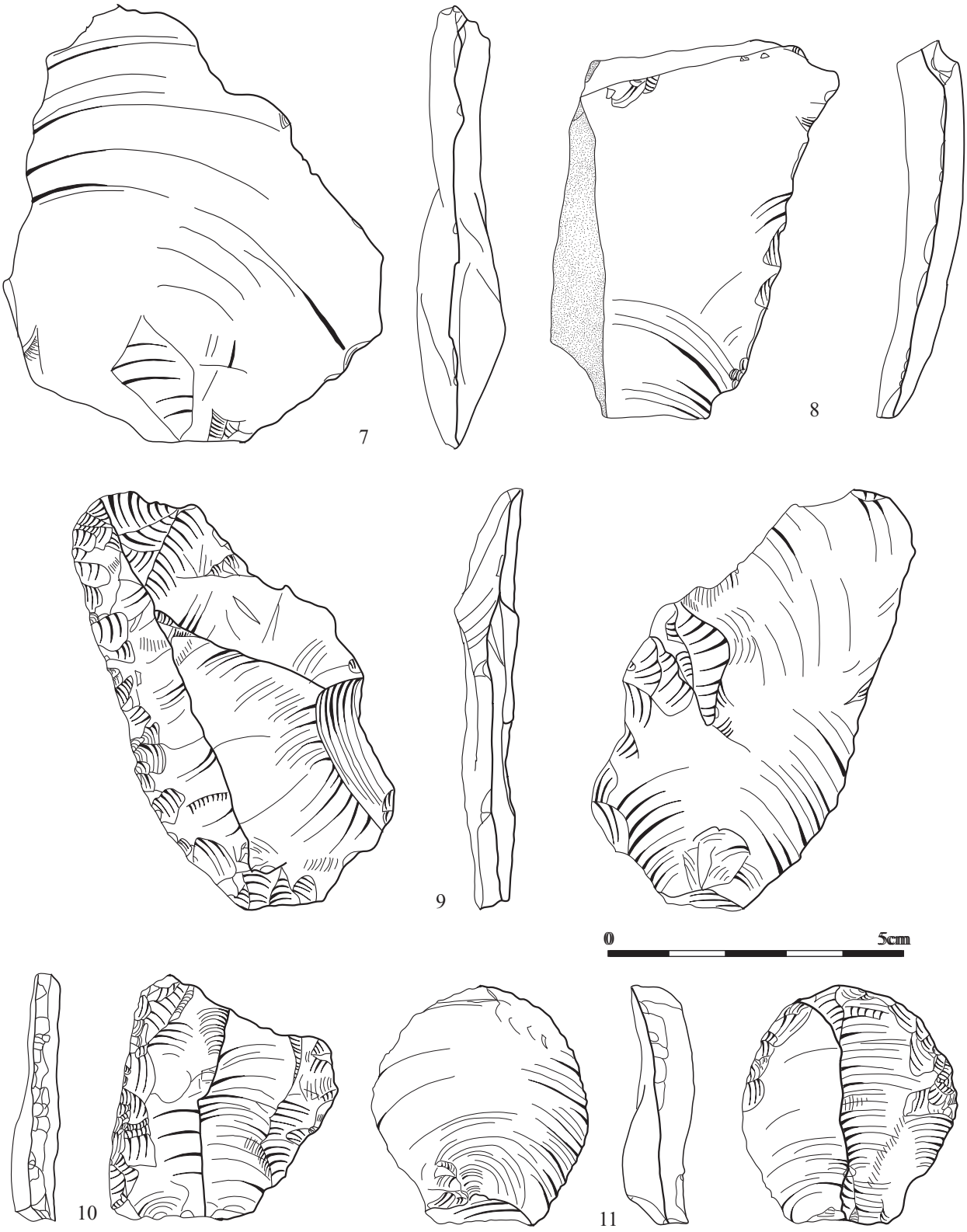


Fig. 51.2 Flint drawings, scale 1:1

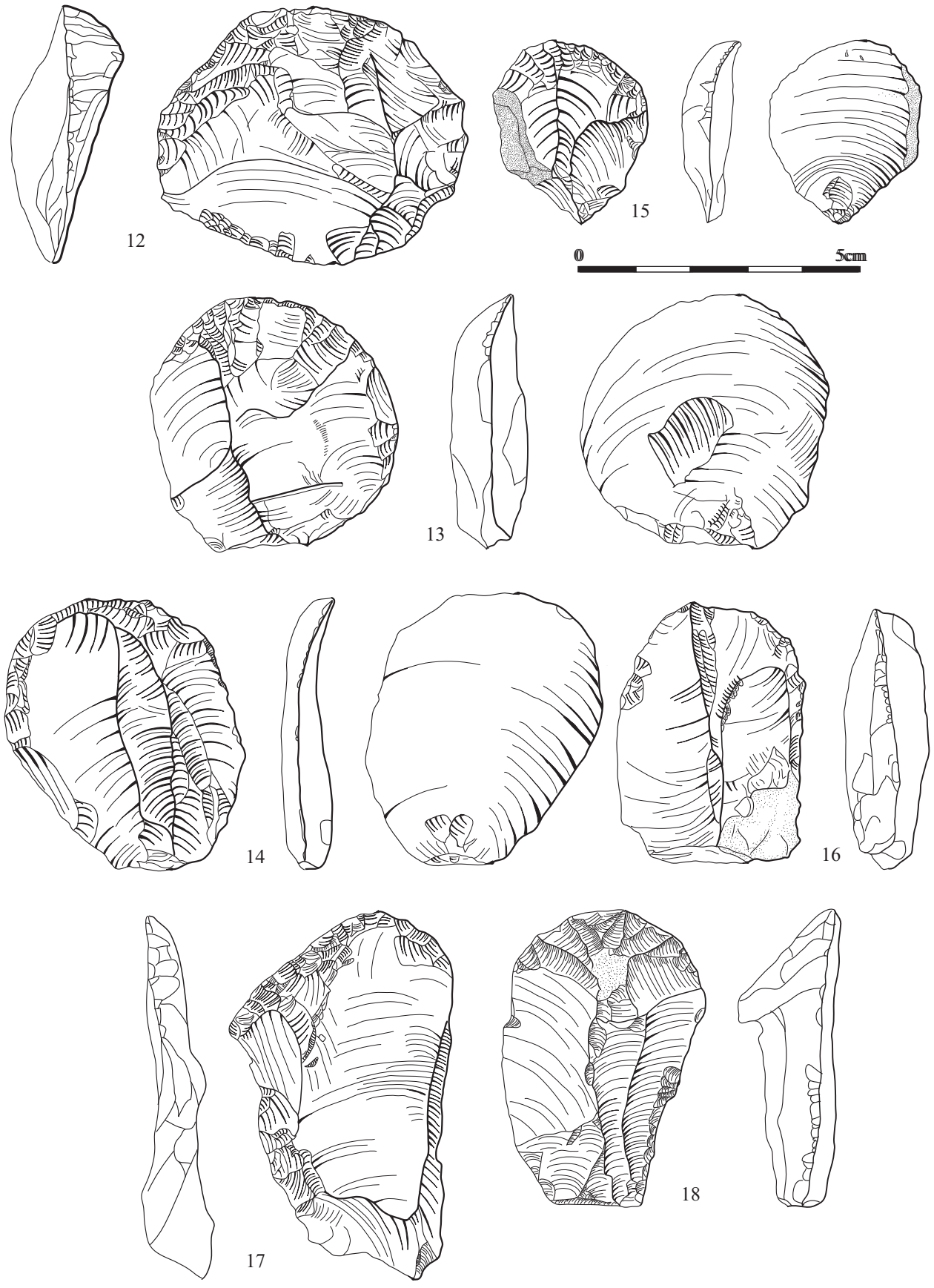


Fig. 51.3 Flint drawings, scale 1:1

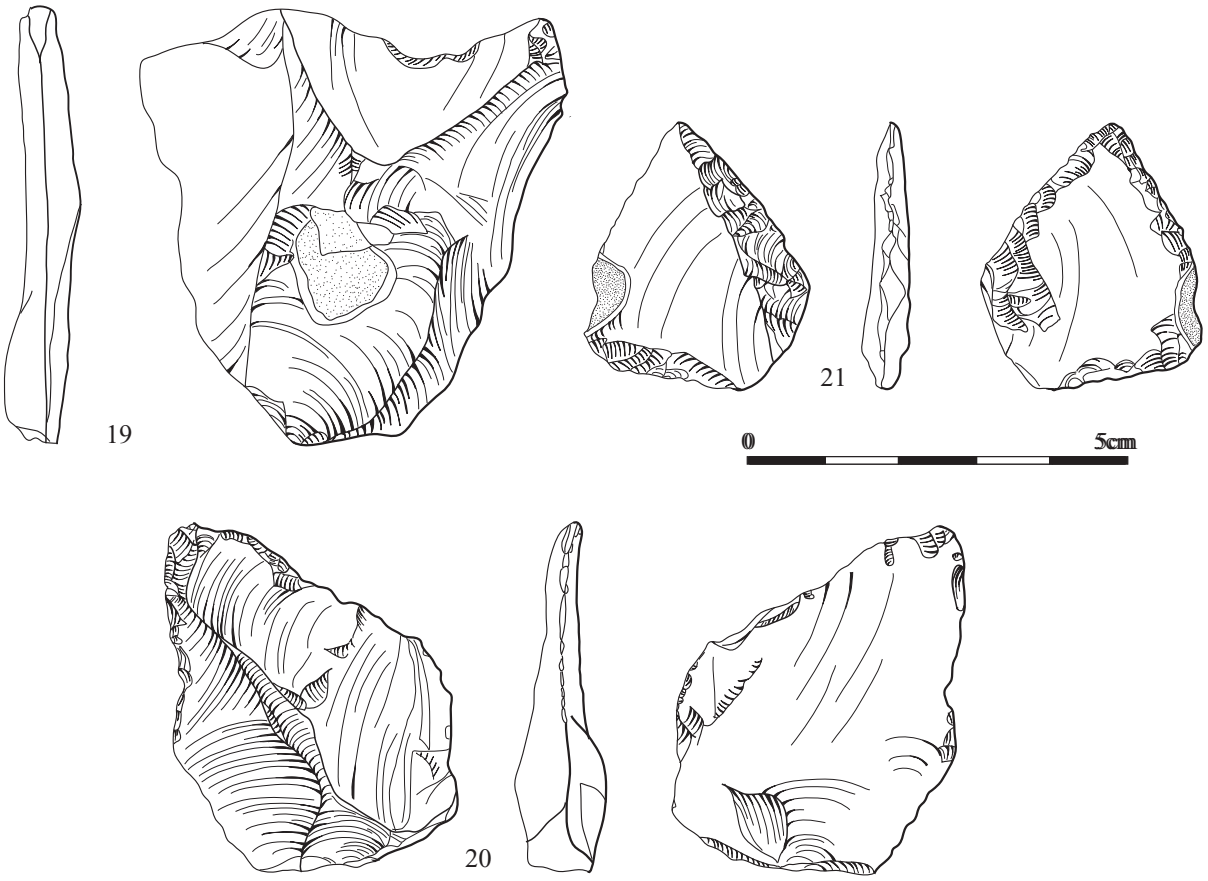


Fig. 51.4 Flint drawings, scale 1:1

Fig. 52 Prehistoric pottery, scale 1:4 at A4