

A 'PERSISTENT PLACE': LATE MESOLITHIC FLINT-WORKING, EARLY BRONZE AGE BURIALS, IRON AGE SETTLEMENT AND A ROMAN FARMSTEAD AT THE STREET, EASTON

by TOM WOOLHOUSE

with contributions from Barry Bishop, Lawrence Morgan-Shelbourne,
Aileen Tierney, Alison Sheridan and Kevin Rielly

Summary

Excavations adjacent to The Street, Easton found evidence for human activity spanning some seven millennia, from the Late Mesolithic (c.6500–4000 BC) to the end of the Romano-British period, with probably continuous occupation on or near the site for at least a thousand years between the Early Iron Age (c.800–600 BC) and end of the fourth century AD. This article describes and contextualises the principal results of the excavations and considers why this hillside overlooking the middle reaches of the river Deben was a favoured location for settlement and other activity over such a long span of time.

INTRODUCTION

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION was carried out by Pre-Construct Archaeology on land east of Easton Primary School, The Street, Easton (centred on NGR TM 2873 5841) between 4 October and 9 November 2016 (Suffolk Site Code ETN 023) (Figs 188 and 189). The investigation was commissioned by CgMs Consulting on behalf of Hopkins and Moore (Developments) Ltd, in response to a planning condition attached to construction of new homes; its aim was to record archaeological remains prior to development.

The excavation was preceded by a geophysical survey and trial trench evaluation.¹ The latter found a few residual struck flints and sherds of Beaker and Early Iron Age pottery, indicating prehistoric activity, though without a clear focus. The principal discovery was the identification of Roman occupation, including possible structures and surviving surface deposits, finds which reflected domestic activity. The excavation encompassed a 0.45ha rectangular area focused on Roman remains in Evaluation Trenches 7 and 10; four additional trenches were dug before commencement of the excavation to help define its extent.

This article describes the main results of the excavation. Given the variety and significance of the findings, it is not possible to provide full details of every aspect here. Readers are referred to the archive report, available at Suffolk Historic Environment Record (SHER) and the Archaeology Data Service, for full details, complete specialist reports and catalogues of the finds and environmental assemblages.² The site archive will be deposited at Suffolk County Council Archaeology Store.

TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

The site, which was formerly the southern corner of a large arable field, occupies a south-



FIG. 188 – Site location.

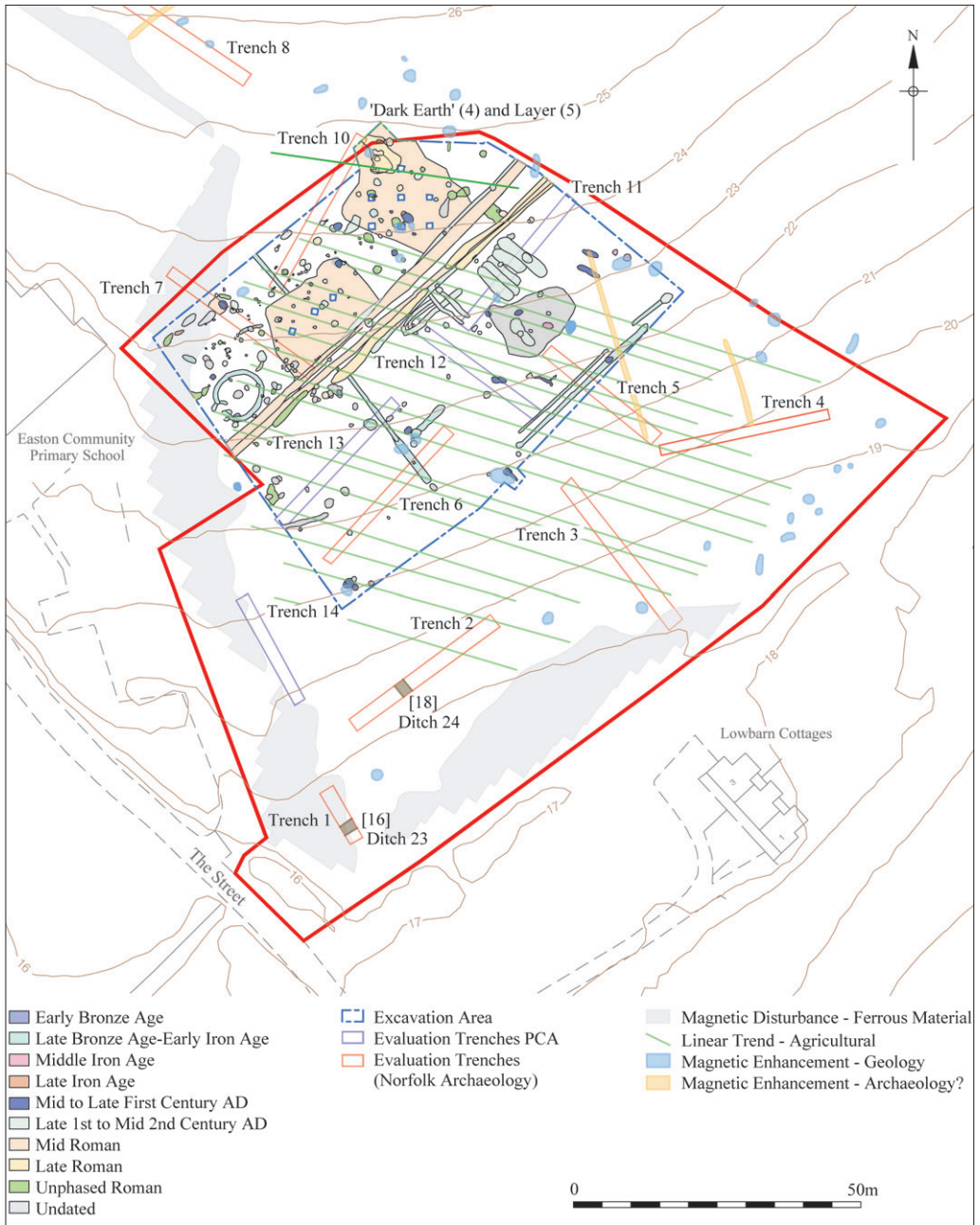


FIG. 189 – Evaluation and excavation plans with geophysics.

Period	Description	Approximate Date	Main Elements
1	Mesolithic–Early Neolithic	10,000–3500 BC	Residual struck flint: intensively exploited flint-source
2	Middle to Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic	3500–2200 BC	Small amount of residual pottery and struck flint
3	Early Bronze Age	2200–1600 BC	Burial ground. Pit containing Beaker vessel and pit containing cremation with faience beads
4	Later Bronze Age–Early Iron Age	1200–400 BC	Ditched field system; EIA occupation shown by pits, pottery deposits and two possible roundhouses
5	Middle Iron Age	400–50 BC	Dispersed pits. Focus to east/ south-east?
6	Late Iron Age	50 BC–AD 40	Dispersed pits. Focus to east/ south-east?
7	Latest Iron Age/ Conquest-Period	AD 30–80	Pits, oven
8	Early Roman	AD 80–150	Part of Roman farmstead: post-structure, ditched settlement boundary, quarry/ rubbish pits, possible stock-handling system
9	Mid-Roman	AD 150–250	Continuation of farmstead: buried soils representing middens
10	Late Roman	AD 250–400+	Continuation of farmstead: buried soil representing a midden, truncated ovens
-	Unphased Roman	AD 50–400+	Dispersed pits, mainly in north of site
-	Undated	N/A	Widespread ‘pits’, many probably natural, and postholes

TABLE 1 – Period Summary

facing slope between 19 and 25m OD. At the foot of the hill, 40m from the excavation, is a tributary stream of the river Deben. The Deben itself is 250m west; the site has commanding views south down the river valley. The geology is Crag Group Sand overlain by Lowestoft Formation sand and gravel.³ The surface geology in the north of the site was moderately fine sand, giving way southwards to coarse flint gravel, partly colluvial in origin; these deposits were overlain by 0.4–0.6m of topsoil and patchy subsoil. A short distance north and east the geology changes to boulder clay and the land rises gradually to a plateau, c.1km distant, which forms the interfluvium between the rivers Deben and Ore. The middle and upper reaches of the Deben, as with the other river valleys in this area, form a narrow band of light and well-drained soils bisecting the High Suffolk clay plain.

EXCAVATION RESULTS

The excavation identified human activity dating from the Mesolithic to the late Roman period, potentially with continuous occupation between the Early Iron Age and late fourth century AD (Table 1). Archaeological features were predominantly discrete except for localised areas where surviving Roman surface deposits sealed some features and were cut by others. In this general absence of stratigraphy, phasing relies on dating associated finds. However, due to the long lived and intensive past human activity at the site, combined with

Context	Cut	Feature Group	Lab Code	Material	Radiocarbon age BP (before AD 1950)	Calibrated date (95.4% probability)	Period	Comments	Other dating evidence
(409)	[410]	Roundhouse 2	SUERC-75722 (GU45321)	Burnt bone (cattle)	5078±29	3959–3797 cal. BC	Early Neolithic	Residual	3 sherds of flint-tempered LBA? pot; cut by drip gully of Roundhouse 2 but presumed to be a related structural feature
(528)	[529]	Cremation Burial	SUERC-75724 (GU45323)	Cremated bone (human)	3441±28	1879–1838 (15.5%), 1829–1792 (8.6%), 1785–1681 (70.0%) or 1675–1665 (1.3%) cal. BC	Early Bronze Age		Associated blue faience segmented beads and copper-alloy fragments; intrusive Roman material
(727)	[741]	Middle Iron Age Pits	SUERC-75725 (GU45324)	Charcoal	2176±30	361–164 (94.9%) or 127–123 (0.5%) cal. BC	Middle Iron Age		Handmade Middle Iron Age-tradition pottery
(172)	[173]	Animal Burial Pit	SUERC-75723 (GU45322)	Sheep bone	1802±31	130–260 (80.2%) or 279–326 (15.2%) cal. BC	Mid- to late Roman		Roman pottery

TABLE 2 – Radiocarbon Dating

the soft sand geology, residuality and intrusiveness (later cultural material being ‘worked into’ the fills of earlier features by natural processes or human activity) are significant problems. Four radiocarbon dates were obtained for intrinsically interesting features (Table 2).⁴ Poor organic survival, particularly from earlier periods, means that not all features that would benefit from radiocarbon dating contained suitable material. Key examples are Early Bronze Age Pit [443], the ditches of the later Bronze Age field system, and the large deposit of Early Iron Age pottery from Buried Soil 2, which is a significant ceramic group for this period in Suffolk but lacked securely associated organic material.

MESOLITHIC TO EARLY NEOLITHIC FLINT-WORKING, c.10,000–3500 BC

with Barry Bishop

Activity of this period was represented by residual struck flints rather than surviving features or surface deposits. A large assemblage of struck flint (757 pieces) was recovered, around a third of it microdebitage (small flakes and fragments produced during knapping) found by extensive bulk soil sampling of features and deposits across the site (123 samples; 2970 litres). Although a small proportion is later prehistoric (later second- to first-millennium BC) and probably contemporary with the Bronze and Iron Age phases of activity, perhaps as much as

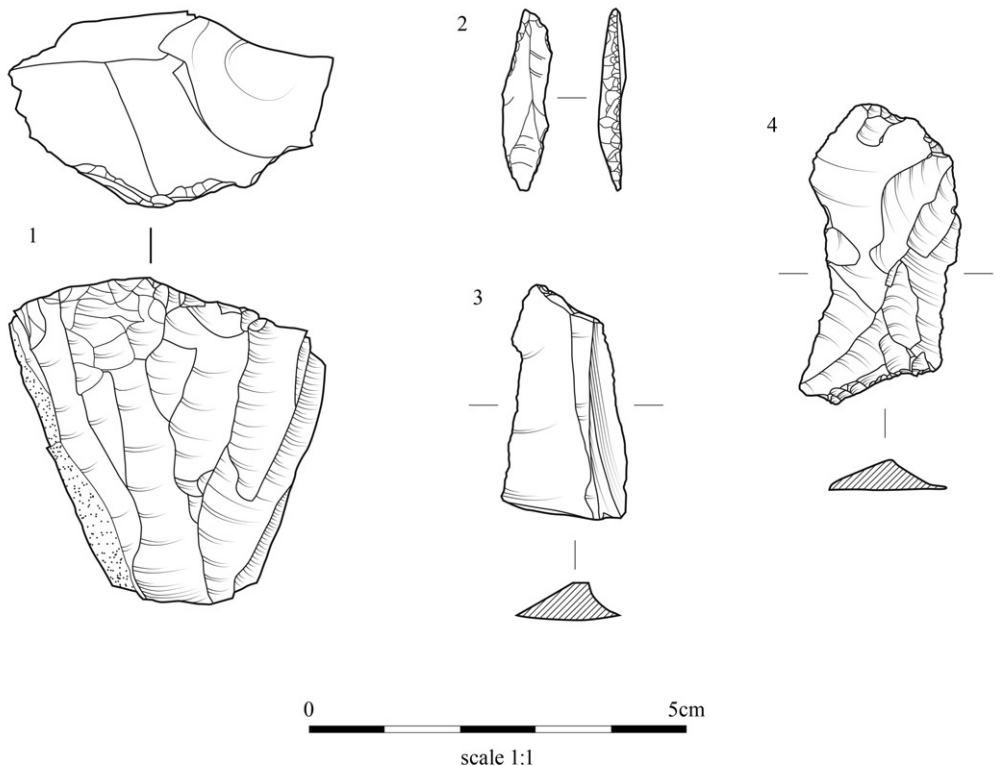


FIG. 190 – Struck flint illustrations: 1. Mesolithic bladelet core from Pit [211] (212). 2. Complete Mesolithic microlith from Pit [211] (212). 3. Complete Mesolithic truncated blade from ring-gully Slot [402] (401), Roundhouse 2. 4. Mesolithic truncated blade from Slot [794] (793), Ditch 13 (illustrations: Cate Davies).

90 per cent was residual in later features or found unstratified in the topsoil and subsoil, and is Mesolithic–Early Neolithic, probably having originally been present in surface scatters or middens. Diagnostic pieces, including several microliths and truncated blades, indicate that much of the activity belongs to the Mesolithic and perhaps specifically the later Mesolithic period, very broadly 6500–4000 BC.

This early struck flint is the product of a systematic and highly skilled blade-based technology. Large proportions of primary working and core reduction waste indicate that the principal focus of flint-working here was the sourcing and initial processing of raw materials. Later Mesolithic people were attracted to the site by the flint nodules present in the surface glacial deposits. The low number of retouched pieces, including the microliths (possibly used as projectile points) and some truncated edge-trimmed blades (Fig. 190), suggest that hunting or other resource gathering may also have taken place to a limited extent. However, the site was primarily an intensively exploited source of flint used to prepare cores that were then taken elsewhere.

Additional evidence for the date and character of the activity comes from small fragments of burnt cattle-sized bone found in the foundations (Pit [410]=[412]) of Early Iron Age Roundhouse 2, one of which was sent for radiocarbon dating in an attempt to date the building. This unexpectedly provided a calibrated date of 3959–3797 BC at 95.4 per cent probability; its presence suggests that Early Neolithic activity at the site included food preparation. The fragments are too small to identify the animal from which they came, in particular, whether it was a wild animal (for example an aurochs) or an early domesticated breed.

Intensively worked raw material sources of Mesolithic–Early Neolithic date are virtually unknown in East Anglia. Flint of acceptable knapping quality can be found extensively across the region and raw materials generally appear to have been gathered on an ad hoc basis during routine travels across the landscape. That this location was repeatedly targeted raises the possibility that it, or the flint found here, held a significance that transcended the need to simply replenish raw material stocks. In this light, it is significant that the flint nodules found at the site are in secondary deposits and have been exposed to glacial processes and weathering, meaning that, although adequate, better-quality flint might perhaps have been obtainable elsewhere. The repeated use of the site as a flint source thus appears to have gone beyond purely utilitarian considerations, and in that sense this location may have been a favoured or 'persistent' place in the Mesolithic landscape.⁵ A similar favoured place for sourcing flint during the Mesolithic has recently been identified beside the river Gipping in Needham Market, 20km west of Easton.⁶

By c.6500 BC, the land bridge between East Anglia and the Continent had been severed by rising sea levels and the pine, birch and hazel woodlands which had developed after the last glaciation were gradually giving way to oak- and lime-dominated forests.⁷ The site's location on a sandy rise above the Deben fits the distribution of known Mesolithic sites in East Anglia and across lowland Britain: a preference for river valleys and lighter soils, with more limited activity on the clay uplands.⁸ A number of sites with Mesolithic flintwork are known along the Gipping and Deben, mainly in their lower reaches.⁹ It can be speculated that the repeated visits to this flint source, over a perhaps considerable period, might have been connected with a group's established pattern of movement through the landscape or even within some kind of territory. This might have been the best place within the group's lands or peripatetic circuit to source flint or, in view of the imperfect quality of the material, it might simply have been seen as the appropriate place to do so by virtue of group tradition or some other perceived association or significance.¹⁰ The site's location on a hill with good views over the river may also have been important, either as a vantage point from which to view game and plan hunts or, less practically, to demonstrate the community's presence in or claim to this landscape.¹¹

MIDDLE TO LATE NEOLITHIC AND CHALCOLITHIC, c.3500–2200 BC

Some of the residual flint flakes probably reflect low-level activity during the Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age, the latter perhaps contemporary with the burials discussed below. Two residual flint-tempered sherds, including a heavy 'T'-shaped rim, are probably Middle to Late Neolithic Peterborough Ware (c.3400–2500 BC).

EARLY BRONZE AGE BURIALS, c.2200–1600 BC

Beaker Pit [443] (Figs 191–194) (with Lawrence Morgan-Shelbourne)

Pottery sherds (21; 172g) forming approximately half of a Beaker of probable Early Bronze Age date were found at the base of a pit [443] close to the western edge of excavation. The pit was approximately circular with steep sides, flattish base (1.66m long by 1.5m wide by 0.75m deep) and homogeneous fill of orangey-brown sand (444). The sherds include the whole base, part of the rim, and large parts of the shoulder of the same thin-walled, long-necked vessel in fine flint- and sand-tempered fabric, decorated all over with horizontal lines of hollow circular impressions made with a reed or similar tool (Fig. 194.1). This type of decoration is uncommon, although similarly decorated Beakers have been found at Chippingham, Cambridgeshire, and Hockwold cum Wilton, Norfolk.¹² The form of the Beaker,

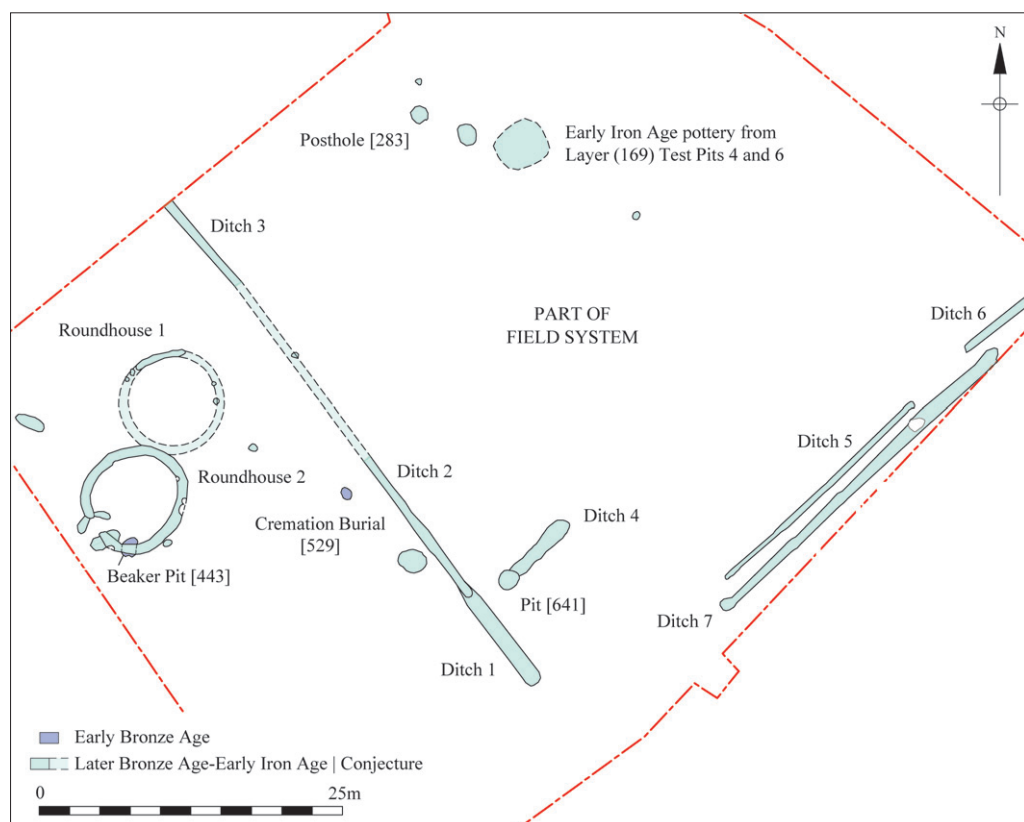


FIG. 191 – Early Bronze Age to Early Iron Age.



FIG. 192 – Early Bronze Age Beaker *in situ*, Pit [443].



FIG. 193 – Close up of Beaker, Pit [443].

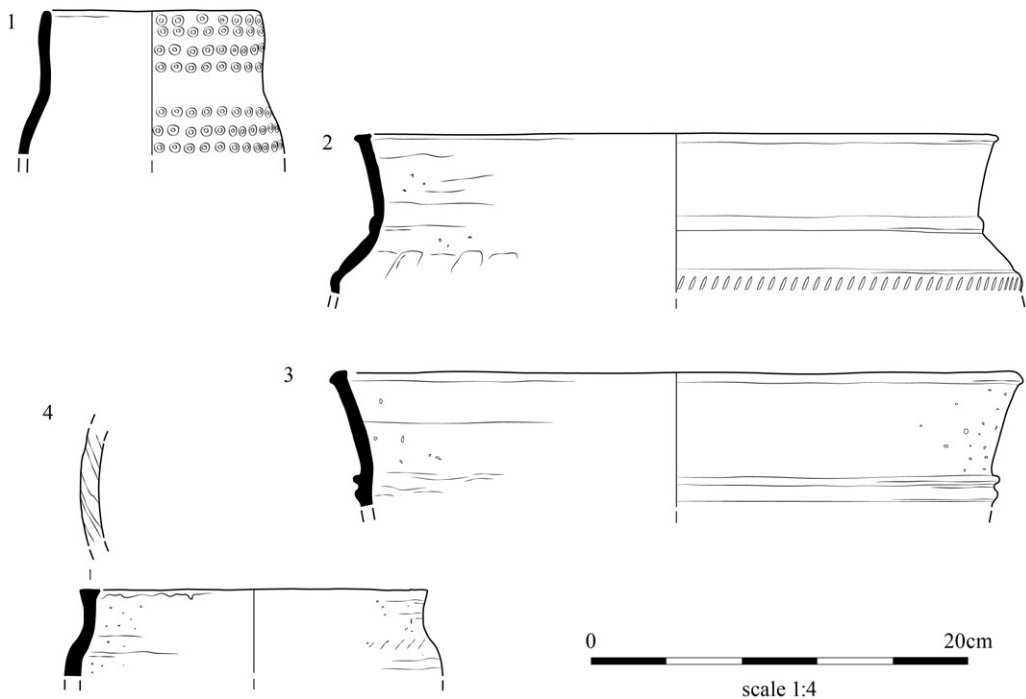


FIG. 194 – Pottery illustrations. Prehistoric pottery: 1. (444), Pit [443], Early Bronze Age Beaker. 2. (169), Buried Soil 2, SF 62, tripartite coarseware jar with everted neck. 3. (169), Buried Soil 2, SF 62, tripartite coarseware jar with everted neck. 4. (232), Posthole [283], fineware jar with pronounced rounded shoulder and upright neck (*illustrations: Cate Davies*).

with its cylindrical neck and globular body, arguably best fits Case's group Bc, a type found in domestic rather than funerary contexts and represented in East Anglia at the settlements at Hockwold cum Wilton and nearby Sutton Hoo.¹³ Beaker chronology in Britain has been reviewed in recent decades.¹⁴ Beakers are generally thought to have been in use in Britain from the twenty-fifth century to the eighteenth century BC,¹⁵ and although the specific form represented at Easton is poorly dated, it is most likely to date within the first quarter of the second millennium BC, if one can take the date of 2040–1660 cal. BC (HAR-3880) for human remains from one of the Chippenham barrows as a general indicator for activity at these barrows.¹⁶ The context of the pottery, at the approximate centre of an otherwise empty pit, strongly suggests that it was a grave good in a grave containing inhumed remains that had since decomposed entirely.

Beakers frequently accompany inhumations, sometimes with other grave goods, such as plano-convex flint knives or bronze daggers. In Suffolk, deposits of whole or substantially complete Beakers have been found with crouched burials at Blood Hill, Bramford, Branham Hall, Risby Poor's Heath, Flempton, Boss Hall, Ipswich, Flixton and Woolpit, sometimes associated with barrows or ring-ditches, but elsewhere without funerary monuments.¹⁷ The absence of human bone in Pit [443] is unsurprising given the acidic sand geology; the moderate preservation of animal bone at the site can be explained by the younger age of the animal bone-bearing deposits and their typical depositional context in dumps of

anthropogenically enriched soil, more conducive to bone survival than the natural sand backfilling the 'Beaker pit'. Despite careful excavation by spit, there was no trace of staining from a body.

There was no organic material in the Beaker pit suitable for radiocarbon dating, the few weed seeds being types that were ubiquitous in features of all periods at the site and very likely intrusive. The few charcoal fragments are small, abraded and probably not contemporary either. Pit [443] was cut by the ring-gully of Early Iron Age Roundhouse 2.

Cremation Burial [529] (with Aileen Tierney)

Cremation Burial [529] was in the west of the excavation area, 17m east of Pit [443]. It was a small circular pit with steep sides, a concave base (0.87m wide by 0.30m deep) and a fill of dark, charcoal-rich sandy silt (528) containing cremated human bone (764g), burnt flint (332 pieces; 1452g), fragments of perhaps four faience beads (SFs 67–73; Figs 195–197) and two copper alloy fragments, most likely from a small knife based on their shape and what has been found in association with faience beads elsewhere. The beads and metalwork are burnt, presumably from the pyre. Slight red staining to the pit's sides shows that this material was hot when buried, indicating the pyre was nearby.

The cremated bone belongs to a young/middle-aged adult (approximately 19–44 years) based on a fused humeral head, cranial suture closure and metrical data. Two sexually diagnostic elements of the cranium (external occipital protuberance [EOP] and the supraorbital margin of the frontal) score, respectively, in the middle range (3: indeterminate) and highly, suggesting a possible male. Due to the diverse nature of individual cranial features, they tend to be used to support sexing drawn from the main sexually diagnostic element of the body, the innominate.

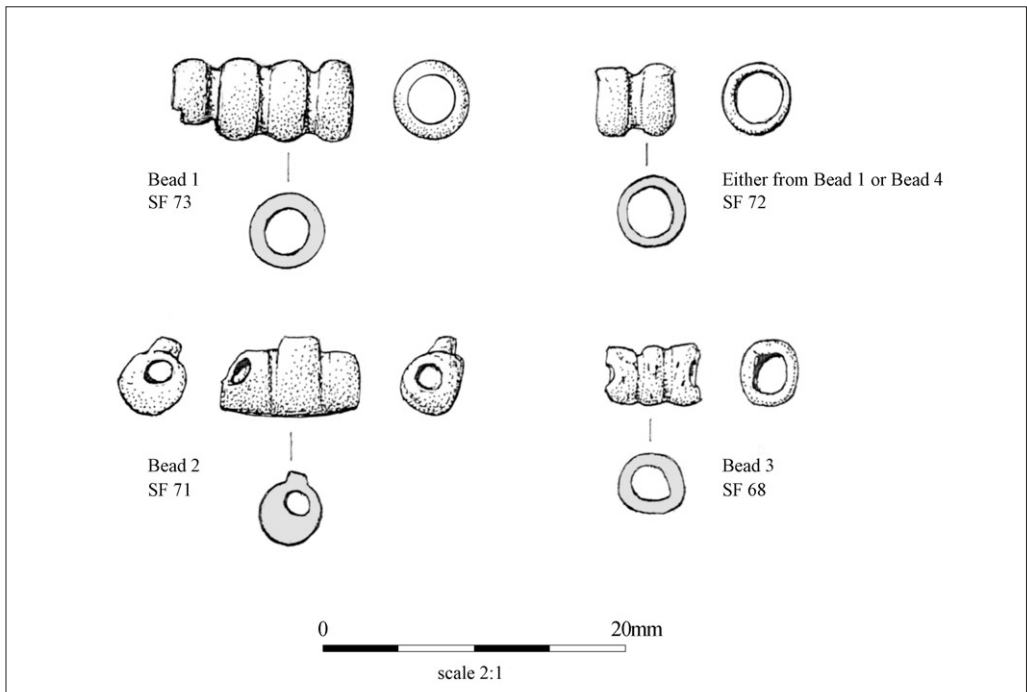


FIG. 195 – Faience beads from Cremation Burial [529]: Top left: Bead 1, SF 73; top right: SF 72, either from Bead 1 or Bead 4; bottom left: Bead 2, SF 71; bottom right: Bead 3, SF 68 (illustrations: Marion O'Neil).

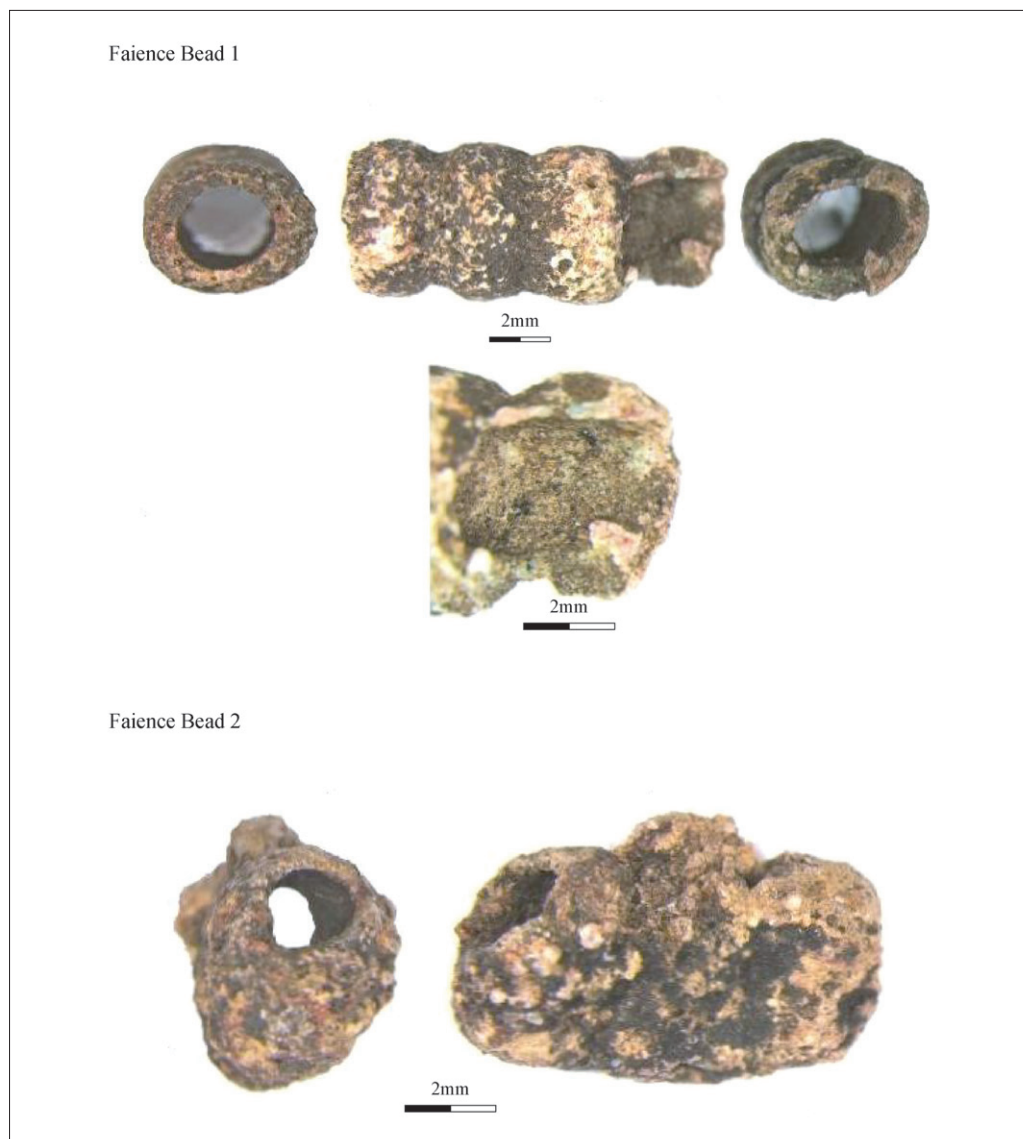


FIG. 196 – Faience Bead 1. Top: end and side view; bottom: detail of interior showing very faint corrugations from the straw support. Also note reddish cuprite areas in fracture surface; Faience Bead 2. Note some incompletely fused quartz grains and reddish cuprite areas (*photo: Alison Sheridan*).

The absence of identified elements of the innominate in this burial means that the suggested sexing must be viewed with caution; faience beads are overwhelmingly found in female burials. The burnt flint accounts for a large proportion (approximately one third) of the small burnt stone assemblage from the whole site and its presence is therefore significant. The quantity is above what would be expected if it had just been incidentally burnt beneath the pyre (there was negligible burnt flint in the ovens from later periods). The burnt flint might therefore be material from a deliberately constructed cobble bed or platform upon which the pyre was built,

which was then collected, possibly deliberately, for burial with the cremated bone. The associated charcoal is almost exclusively good-quality mature oak stem and branch wood. Oak was a favoured fuel for cremation pyres from the Bronze Age onwards, capable of sustaining high temperatures. A piece of cremated bone provided a calibrated date of 1879–1665 BC at 95.4 per cent probability (1785–1681 BC at 70 per cent).

The cremated bone and associated objects provide interesting evidence to help reconstruct the cremation process and nature of the funerary rite. In brief, this adult individual was cremated accompanied by a copper-alloy knife (?) and probably wearing the faience beads. Although aspects of the skull suggest the individual may be male, the available skeletal evidence is equivocal and faience beads normally accompany females. The body was placed on a well-built pyre of good-quality oak timber, possibly constructed on top of a flint cobble 'platform', and the fire, once lit, was well tended by people with experience of doing so, as indicated by the well-fired (predominantly white-/buff-coloured) appearance of the bone. After the body was burnt, care was taken to collect the cremated bone and other debris, including some of the flint from the pyre platform, and to bury it in a small, purpose-dug pit not far from the pyre. The burnt flints could have formed a small cairn, though this is conjectural.

The faience beads (Alison Sheridan)

Forty-one fragments, plus a few crumbs, of segmented faience beads were recovered from the fill of the Early Bronze Age cremation burial [529] (SFs 67–73). The largest is SF 73 (Bead 1), a fragment with four segments, surviving to a length of 12.5mm (Fig. 195). All the fragments have passed through the funeral pyre, losing most of their glaze in the process, with the three-segment fragment SF 71 (Bead 2; Fig. 195) having been distorted and slightly squashed. This, and the small size of many of the fragments, together with the fact that segmented beads come in different lengths, makes it difficult to assess how many beads were originally present; if we assume that no bead had been longer than six segments, then perhaps we are dealing with three or four beads. Indeed, slight variations in the width of segments between different fragments suggest that the total may well be four. All the fragments were examined under a binocular microscope at magnifications up to x20. Summary descriptions are as follows:

Bead 1 (Figs 195 and 196)

This consists of the four-segment fragment SF 73; the two-segment fragment SF 72 might also belong, but it does not conjoin and might equally belong to Bead 4.

SF 73 Incomplete bead with four segments surviving, one lacking part of its circumference. This damaged segment may well be from the original end of the bead; at the other end the bead had broken around an inter-segment groove. Cylindrical in section and thin-walled, length 12.5mm, diameter 5.1mm, hole diameter 2.8–3.1mm, segment widths *c.*2.2–2.7mm, groove widths *c.*0.6mm. The segments are gently convex. While the inter-segment grooves are not crisp, it may be that the segmentation was achieved by rolling the tube of faience paste against a 'butter pat'-shaped former rather than by scoring or crimping. There are faint hints of internal corrugation from wrapping the paste around a piece of straw to form the bead (Fig. 196). The fabric has a vesicular texture and is matte, the glaze having been burnt away, leaving the core of the bead exposed; this indicates that the glaze had been applied rather than mixed in with the paste. The only trace of the former presence of the copper-based glaze is the greenish tinge of the interior and exterior surfaces and the reddish tinge of the heart of the wall, as exposed in the fracture surface (and most clearly visible under a microscope: see Fig. 196). The red colour is cuprite, which would have been formed by the conversion of the copper within the glaze in the reducing atmosphere of the funeral pyre. Otherwise, the surfaces are a mottled, dull, dark greyish-brown, with buff patches, generally lighter overall, over around a third of the bead's surface. The dark colour of much of the bead may well be due to contact with pyre material, while the buff is the colour of the weathered core.

SF 72 Two-segment fragment, 5.8mm long, diameter *c.*5.1mm, hole diameter 3.3mm, segment widths *c.*2.5mm and 2.6mm, groove width *c.*1mm (Fig. 195). One end may retain part of the bead's original end; the other has an ancient fracture surface. Similar in appearance and

condition to SF 73, including having red cuprite patches and a third of the circumference being lighter than the rest. Does not conjoin with SF 73 and, as noted above, might belong to Bead 4.

Bead 2 (Figs 195 and 196)

This consists of the three-segment fragment SF 71. While it is possible that some of the small fragments among SF 67 and SF 69 might belong to it, SF 71 is too degraded to allow close comparisons to be made.

SF 71 Three surviving segments, the middle one squashed so that part of it stands proud of the others. It measures 9.7mm long with a diameter of 6.2mm by 4.1mm at the middle segment and a hole diameter at one end of 2.2–2.4mm. Its original cylindrical cross-section shape has been distorted into a squashed cylinder and the ends of the fragment have melted and resolidified, making it impossible to tell whether these were the bead's original ends. The hole is asymmetrically positioned, lying close to one side of the bead. Burning on the pyre has also smoothed out the segments, making them less well defined than they would have been and, as with most of the other fragments from Easton, the glaze has been burnt off. (Part of two segments had also spalled off in antiquity.) The fabric is vesicular and matte; there are a few individual unfused clear quartz (sand) grains that are shiny from having their surfaces melted and resolidified. The surface colour is a mottled dark grey-brown and buff, with red patches visible under a microscope.

Bead 3 (Figs 195 and 197)

This consists of three-segment fragment SF 68 (plus the five smaller fragments that constitute the rest of SF 68) and possibly at least three of the fragments recorded as SF 67.

SF 68 Slightly curving fragment consisting of three segments of varying widths, broken at one end around a groove. Length 6.4mm, diameter 4.7–5.0mm, hole diameter 2.1–2.75mm, segment widths (from original end) 1.6mm, 1.3mm and 2.0mm, groove widths 0.3mm and 0.35mm. The original end has ancient spalling. In section, the bead is a slightly squashed cylinder. The segments are minimally convex and the grooves are of very variable depth around the bead: either the paste had been rolled against a former using different degrees of pressure or else the segments were defined by scoring. The fabric is vesicular and virtually all matte, the exception being tiny patches of turquoise glassy glaze on the side with the deepest part of the grooves, where the glaze had not been completely burnt off. Two-thirds of the exterior are a blackish-brown with a green-blue tint and with patches where the buff-coloured core is exposed; the remaining third is a pale greenish-blue-buff colour. Under a microscope, tiny patches of red cuprite are also visible. The black-brown colour extends below the surface at some points.

SF 67 At least three fragments, these consist of half-sections, two with two segments and one with three, of the same colour and appearance as SF 68. One fragment has speckles of cuprite. The largest fragment is 6.1mm long. It may be that some of the other small fragments in SF 68 and SF 69 belong to the same bead.

Bead 4 (Fig. 197)

This consists of at least four fragments among SF 67; as noted above, the two-segment fragment SF 72 might belong with this and it may be that at least one fragment among SF 69 and the two fragments in SF 70 also come from the same bead.

SF 67 All the SF 67 fragments had broken across the bead, as well as at the ends. The largest of the SF 67 fragments measures 6.3mm and is 3.85mm in diameter; its two segments are 2.4mm and 3.2mm wide, respectively, and the groove is c.0.5mm across. The segments are minimally convex, and the grooving may have been achieved by scoring rather than by rolling against a former; it is fairly deep and narrow, and at one point there is an overhang (Fig. 197). The surfaces are a dull grey-brown colour with a faint greenish tinge; under the microscope, two have small, thin patches of glossy pale turquoise glaze and there are small patches of cuprite. One fragment has individual clear quartz grains that have partly melted and resolidified.

SF 70 The two fragments, SF 70, are non-conjoining halves of single segments. One has a clear straw impression on the interior.

The remaining fragments

A further nine fragments from SF 67 and a further 13 fragments (and several crumbs) from SF 69 may well belong to the beads described above but cannot reliably be ascribed due to their small size. Of note is one fragment from SF 67 that has a patch of brilliant turquoise glossy glaze on its interior (Fig. 197). This both lends support to the idea that the glaze had probably been applied (perhaps by dipping the beads in a slurry, with some ending up inside the hole) and shows how the surfaces of all the beads might have originally looked.

Discussion

Faience is an opaque vitreous material, made by firing a paste made from crushed sand (or other silicon-rich material; here, sand) mixed with a fluxing agent, such as plant ash, and coated with (or integrated with) a glaze featuring a copper-based colourant. The knowhow for making faience reached Britain, probably through links with central Europe, around 2000 BC, and faience beads were used as a prestigious type of jewellery, probably ascribed with amuletic properties, a kind of 'supernatural power dressing'.¹⁸ Around 400 Early Bronze Age faience beads have been found in Britain; of the various forms that are attested, the segmented variety is the commonest, and the highest density of finds of this bead type is in Wessex.¹⁹ Finds of Early Bronze Age faience beads are uncommon in East Anglia, this being only the tenth findspot; the others are listed and discussed in the author's report on a find of 17 plus beads from two biconical urns at Flixton.²⁰ At that site, where both segmented and oblate/chunky annular forms were found, the segmentation had been created by scoring around the bead, as seems to be the case with at least one, if not more, of the Easton beads. This contrasts with the situation elsewhere in East Anglia (for example Sutton Hoo) and southern England, where the segmentation had been effected using the 'butter pat' method.²¹

The burning of the beads on the pyre, presumably as jewellery worn by the corpse, is a practice noted at numerous findspots (including Flixton), and the physical and compositional changes associated with this burning have been documented elsewhere.²² Faience beads are most commonly associated with graves featuring cremated human remains, although in some cases they seem not to have been worn on the pyre, being deposited in an unburnt state.

The date of 3441 ± 28 BP (1879–1665 cal. BC at 95.4 per cent probability) for the Easton beads falls well within the overall currency of faience use in Britain.²³ It appears to be slightly earlier than the other radiocarbon-dated examples from East Anglia, the Flixton beads being associated with dates of 3285 ± 35 BP (GrA-34774, 1660–1460 cal. BC at 95.4 per cent probability) and 3305 ± 35 BP (GrA-34775, 1680–1500 cal. BC at 95.4 per cent probability), while a segmented bead from a biconical or bucket urn from East Tilbury, Essex, has been dated to 3365 ± 40 BP (GrA-28739, 1750–1530 cal. BC at 95.4 per cent probability).²⁴ A quoit bead from a composite necklace, found in a biconical urn with horseshoe handles at Little Chesterford, Essex, is associated with a date of 3310 ± 35 BP (GrA-28632, 1680–1510 cal. BC at 95.4 per cent probability).²⁵ In all cases the dates are from the associated cremated bone.

Faience beads are almost invariably associated with females, so the suggestion that the individual at Easton might have been a man is intriguing.²⁶ However, the sex identification is tentative, so one cannot rule out the possibility that the individual was actually female.

Discussion: an Early Bronze Age burial ground

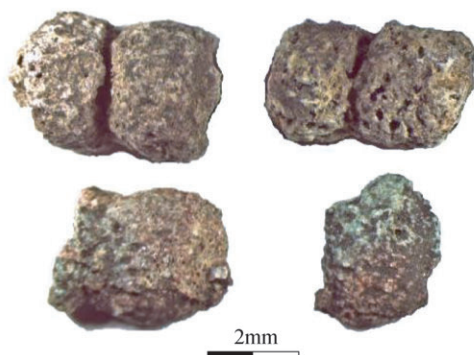
It is likely that the two graves represent funerary activity at different points during the Early Bronze Age, with the Beaker grave predating that with the faience beads by several centuries. If the Beaker had indeed been a grave good in a grave with an inhumed body, then the west of the site would appear to have been part of an Early Bronze Age burial ground, possibly extending north and west.

There is a concentration of cropmark ring-ditches, many probably Bronze Age burial monuments, on the Felixstowe and Shotley Peninsulas and along the Gipping valley. Their distribution along the middle and upper reaches of the Deben is rather sparser, and there are few finds of bronze metalwork, normally the other most archaeologically visible trace of Bronze Age settlement, along this stretch of the river.²⁷ The only possible ring-ditch recorded in Easton

Faience Bead 3, SF 68



Faience Bead 4, SF 67



Faience Bead fragment from among SF 67

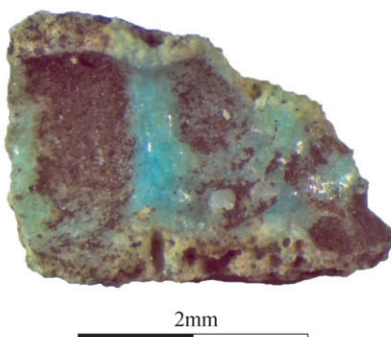


FIG. 197 – Faience Bead 3, largest fragment of SF 68. Note deep groove and patches of turquoise glassy glaze; Faience Bead 4, among SF 67. Note the ‘overhang’ in the groove in the top left fragment, and patches of thin glaze on the bottom two fragments; faience bead fragment from among SF 67, with patch of bright turquoise glassy glaze on its interior (*photo: Alison Sheridan*).

is an undated cropmark 600m south-east of the site.²⁸ Nevertheless, the burials at Easton show that people were living in this part of the Deben valley by the early part of the second millennium BC. The light soil setting is typical for occupation of the period, as is the position of the burial ground on a rise with views over a river valley, also seen, for example, with a recently excavated Beaker grave at Woolpit.²⁹ Early Bronze Age communities were still to some extent mobile, and long-term settlements with clear evidence for dwellings and 'domestic' activities are difficult to identify, if indeed they existed at all.³⁰ If identification of the Beaker as a grave good is accepted, then a further point of interest is the presence of only around half the vessel. The Beaker sherds were found altogether on the pit's base and had not been subject to post-depositional disturbance. A parallel can be drawn with a deposit of approximately half a Beaker in a pit at Alnesbourn Crescent, Ipswich, where its positioning, association with a flint knife, and traces of an overlying mound, make identification as a grave good accompanying a missing burial highly likely.³¹ Another Suffolk parallel may be the partial Beaker accompanying the central burial at Risby Poor's Heath.³² At Lockington, Leicestershire, two partial, worn Beakers were carefully arranged alongside a copper dagger and pair of gold armlets in a later grave.³³ Ann Woodward has discussed the deposition of partial vessels as representing the curation of heirlooms or relics that may have circulated for generations before burial.³⁴ Similarly, many Bronze Age cremation burials were accompanied by broken potsherds rather than complete vessels, and there is evidence from some sites for deliberate breakage of pots at the pyre side, a custom which could be interpreted as symbolically closing the lives or social relationships that those vessels and their contents had maintained.³⁵ The general lack of abrasion to the Easton Beaker sherds and presence of only three clear refits could support an interpretation in which the vessel was relatively freshly broken at the time of burial, perhaps as part of the funerary rite, some sherds being selected for burial and others possibly retained by family members as heirlooms.³⁶

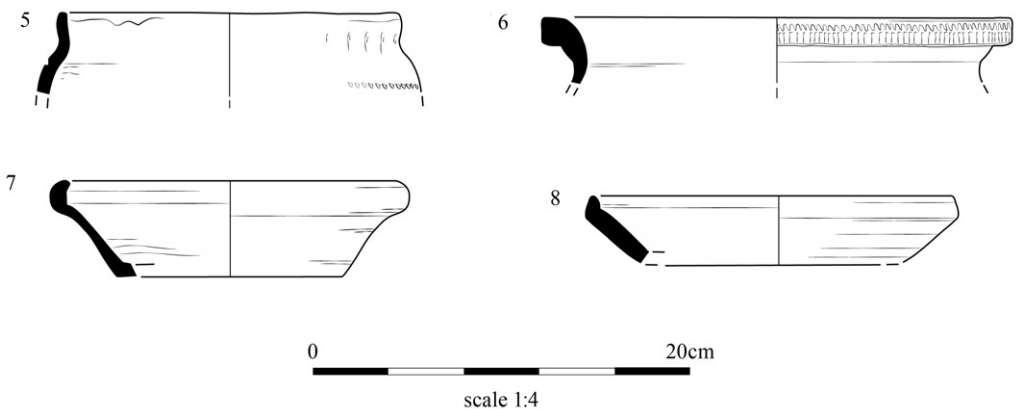


FIG. 198 – Pottery illustrations. Prehistoric pottery: 5. (315), Pit [316], coarseware jar with rounded body and short, everted neck. Roman pottery (nos 6–8): 6. (169), Buried Soil 2, coarse sandy greyware jar with an everted angular rim and rouletted decoration (AD 150–400). 7. (169), Buried Soil 2, coarse sandy greyware imitation Camulodunum 13/27 platter (AD 50–100). 8. (169), Buried Soil 2, black-slipped ware imitation Camulodunum platter with a slightly in-turned rim (AD 50–100) (*illustrations: Cate Davies*).



FIG. 200 – Early Iron Age Roundhouse 2, mid-excavation, view east with stream valley in background.

LATER BRONZE AGE–EARLY IRON AGE FIELD SYSTEM AND SETTLEMENT, c.1200–400 BC

Several pits and two possible roundhouses demonstrate Early Iron Age occupation (Figs 191, 194, 198, 199 and 200). The site also contained elements of a ditched field system, which might predate the occupation. The characteristics of the handmade, predominantly flint- and sand-tempered pottery assemblage (Figs 194.2, 3 and 4, 198.5) suggest that the occupation mainly belongs to the early part of the Iron Age (c.800–600 BC), Matt Brudenell's 'Early Decorated' and 'Mature Decorated' phases of the Post-Deverel-Rimbury ceramic tradition in East Anglia.³⁷ Activity of this period is also attested by struck flint which displays the characteristic traits of later prehistoric flint-working: products of a simple flake and core based technology, made for *ad hoc* use, displaying limited skill or care in their manufacture, and casually discarded around the settlements and fields where they had been used (Figs 201 and 202).³⁸ These were found in low numbers in features from this period of occupation, but also residually in later features and the overburden, suggesting that later prehistoric deposits were originally more widespread.

Field system (Ditches 1–7)

A set of seven narrow, shallow, north-west to south-east, and north-east to south-west aligned rectilinear ditches formed part of a field or enclosure with a south-facing entrance. The ditches are not well dated. Key evidence comes from Pit [641], which cut the terminus of Ditch 4 and contained eleven sherds (133g) and additional 'crumbs' of quartz sand- and sand- and flint-tempered pottery, possibly from the same coarseware jar, alongside later prehistoric struck flint and burnt flints. The excavated slots across the ditches contained a few Bronze Age–Iron

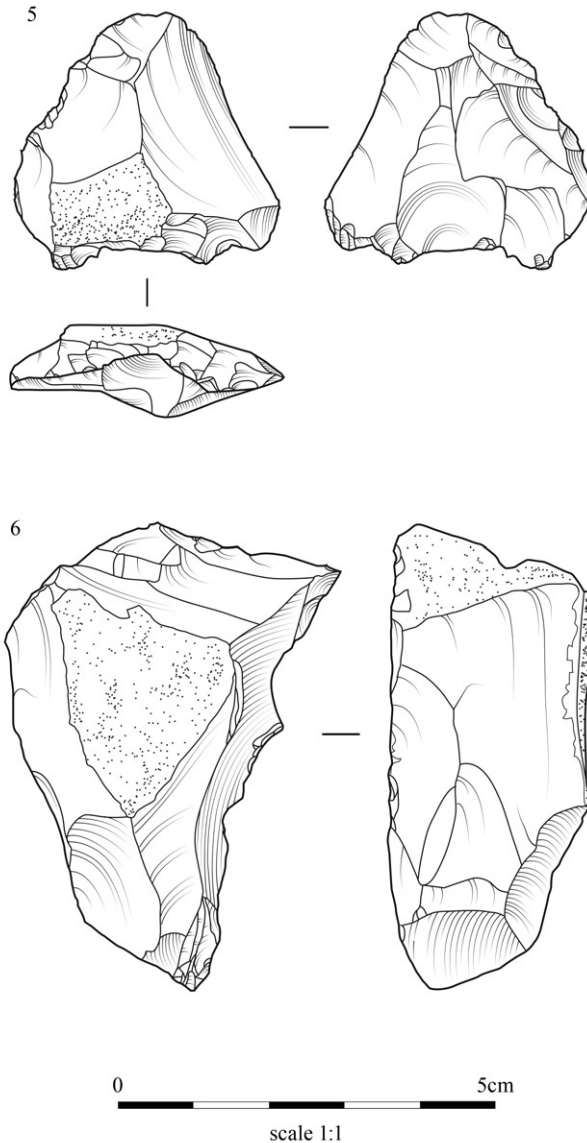


FIG. 201 – Struck flint illustrations: 5. Later prehistoric chopping implement from Pit [458] (457). 6. Later prehistoric core with coarsely denticulated edges from Pit [235] (234) (illustrations: Cate Davies).

positioning to be integral structural features, possibly foundations or drip gullies either side of a projecting porch. The ring-gully was 0.45–1m wide and 0.16–0.25m deep with concave sides, a rounded base and a homogeneous silty sand fill.

The ring-gully had a clean profile, without any evidence that it ever held structural posts,

Age flint flakes and three sherds of prehistoric pottery, one flint-tempered and probably Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age. Ditches 2 and 3 were cut, from the late first century AD, by a sequence of Roman ditches with markedly darker fills.

Roundhouse 1

A possible truncated roundhouse was located in the west of the excavation (Fig. 199). It comprised a short stretch of curvilinear gully, 0.25–0.3m wide and 0.04–0.08m deep, and four postholes continuing the same arc. The postholes were roughly circular, 0.34–0.6m wide and 0.12–0.52m deep, one [33] noted as displaying traces of a post void. The conjectured roundhouse would have had a diameter of around 7m (internally; 8.5m externally). Single sherds (11g total) of flint-tempered, handmade pottery were present in Slot [342] and Posthole [33]; a piece of burnt clay and burnt flints were also present.

Roundhouse 2

Roundhouse 2 was in a slight hollow, accounting for its better preservation (Figs 199 and 200). It comprised a penannular gully with an internal diameter of 6.7m (8.5m externally) and an entrance 1.5m wide to the south-west, facing down the river valley. At the entranceway, each gully terminal cut a curving pit ([404]=[406] and [410]=[412]), which appear from their

so was probably an eaves-drip gully rather than a wall foundation trench. Posts supporting the roof could have rested on the ground surface or on clay pads which had not survived. These would have supported a conical straw- or reed-thatched roof, with rainwater draining into the gully. A ring of jointed timbers on top of the walls could have borne the outward pressure from the roof.

The ring-gully cut Beaker Pit [443]; Pit [410]=[412], which appears to be part of the structure, contained three small sherds of handmade, flint-tempered later Bronze Age-type pottery; the only at all well stratified organic material in the structural remains were small pieces of burnt cattle bone in this pit. One of these returned an Early Neolithic date (see above) and, if the posited functional association between the ring-gully and 'entrance pits' is correct, must be residual on stratigraphic grounds. The only finds from the ring-gully are single 'crumbs' of Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age and broadly prehistoric flint-tempered pottery, a grog-tempered Late Iron Age sherd (3g), a Roman tile fragment (2g), a tiny piece of coke and undiagnostic/residual Mesolithic–Early Neolithic flints. Inside the ring-gully were three shallow pits ([441], [437] and [395]). Pit [441] was large (1.65m wide) and located centrally; it contained a piece of iron sheet, possibly from a socketed tool. Pit [437] contained a sherd (2g) of flint-tempered pottery. There is nothing to securely associate these pits with occupation of the roundhouse.

At other Iron Age settlements in Suffolk and neighbouring counties, penannular gullies

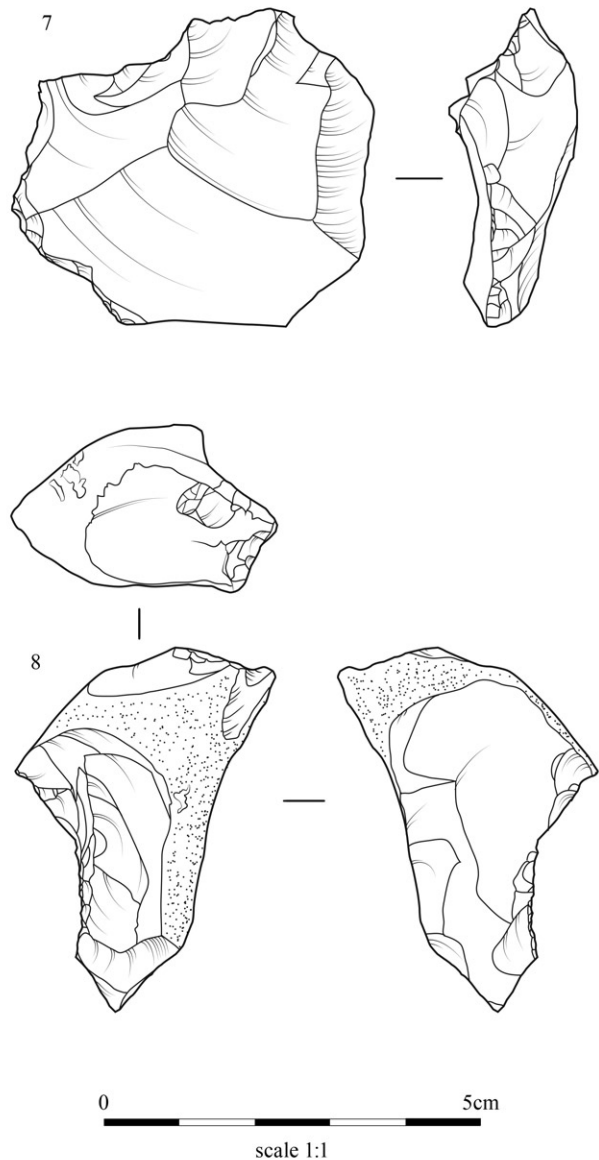


FIG. 202 – Struck flint illustrations: 7. Later prehistoric core with coarsely denticulated edges from Pit [643] (645). 8.

Later prehistoric thermally fractured chunk with a wide shallow notch cut into one side, from Layer (169), Buried Soil 2 (illustrations: Cate Davies).

(whether eaves-drip gullies or foundation trenches for wall posts) seem not to have been part of roundhouse architecture before the Middle Iron Age; earlier roundhouses were post-built.³⁹ Three recently published roundhouses in Haverhill, radiocarbon-dated to the fourth to second centuries BC, were all defined by ring-ditches, one with an internal ring probably forming a wall slot and one with an internal ring of postholes.⁴⁰ A later Iron Age date for Roundhouse 2 is possible but is considered unlikely because of the limited evidence for occupation on the site itself at this time. The indications are that the focus of later Iron Age settlement was further east/south-east, though it is acknowledged that Iron Age sites in Suffolk and Norfolk were generally open and rather sprawling in character, potentially with large gaps between focuses of activity.⁴¹ Nevertheless, an Early Iron Age date makes best sense of the limited finds and draws circumstantial support from the evidence for quite intensive occupation on the site at this time.

Structures defined by penannular gullies are certainly common in Early Iron Age contexts further afield, for example, the Iron Age settlement at Crick Covert Farm, Northamptonshire, where the earliest such buildings were dated to the c.eighth/seventh centuries BC.⁴² Two round structures defined by gullies were present in the Early Iron Age (600–300 BC) settlement at North Shoebury, Essex; both were of similar size to Roundhouse 2 and had west-facing entrances.⁴³ At Martlesham, 13km south-west of Easton, excavation of a later Bronze Age field system identified a shallow ‘u’-profiled penannular gully (4.4m internally; 5.4m externally) with an east-facing entrance, associated with domestic finds including pottery of Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age type.⁴⁴ Two apparently continuous, narrow, shallow rings, one 5.5m in diameter, the other c.13.75m, at Great Bealings in the Fynn valley, were also associated with domestic-type finds (pottery and loom weights).⁴⁵

A further possibility must be considered in view of the uncertainties over the structural identification and dating of ‘Roundhouse 2’, namely that it was a funerary monument, potentially associated with the Bronze Age burial ground. Bronze Age funerary architecture is characterised by a diverse range of circular monuments, including small (c.4–12m diameter) ring-ditches, widespread in cremation cemeteries in north-east Essex and south-east Suffolk and found associated with cremation burials elsewhere in Suffolk.⁴⁶ Similar ‘small rings’ in the Iron Age settlement at Fison Way, Thetford enclosed ‘grave-like’ pits and were interpreted as funerary, though without any definite evidence of burials.⁴⁷ However, with the exception of some of the Iron Age examples, the funerary associations of which are uncertain (notably Fison Way ring-ditch 4), all these ring-ditches are complete circuits; none have entrances or entrance-related features, so are not good matches for Easton.⁴⁸

Early Iron Age pottery from Buried Soil 2 (pottery analysed by Lawrence Morgan-Shelbourne)

Hand-dug test pits into Roman Buried Soil 2, in the north of the excavation, recovered a large assemblage of handmade flint- and sand-tempered Early Iron Age pottery (157 sherds; 2.8kg), including several diagnostic forms (two tripartite jars with everted necks, a bowl with angular shoulder and short inward-sloping neck, and two bases: a shallow-dished omphalos base and a foot-ring base [Fig. 194.2 and 3]). The close distribution of this pottery, mostly found in a single deposit in Test Pit 6, together with its fresh condition and relatively high mean sherd weight, indicate that it probably derives from a pit or other feature underneath the buried soil that was not seen during digging of the test pit. This quantity of pottery certainly indicates people living on or very close to the site in the Early Iron Age, possibly in the identified roundhouses or other dwellings a short distance from the excavated area.

Other features

Seven scattered pits and three postholes can be assigned to the later Bronze Age–Early Iron

Age. Apart from previously mentioned Pit [641], the most noteworthy was substantial Posthole [283], which had a central post void 0.59m in diameter, the fill of which contained part of a triangular fired clay loom or thatch weight, along with two sherds of pottery, burnt flint, assorted animal bones and charcoal. The upper fill contained further potsherds, the partial remains of a notably large (estimated shoulder height 610mm) adult sheep and an iron brooch pin (SF 65). The pottery includes sherds from a pronounced round shoulder, probably of a fineware bowl, and rim sherds with diagonal slashing.

Significance and use of the later Bronze Age field system

The archaeological evidence for Bronze Age fields in East Anglia has been summarised by Edward Martin, the best evidence coming from the western edge of the Cambridgeshire Fens and the Thames valley in south Essex.⁴⁹ By contrast, the evidence for Bronze Age fields in Suffolk and Norfolk was, until recently, extremely limited, the only published example in Suffolk being Game Farm, Brandon, in the Little Ouse valley.⁵⁰ Elements of early field systems excavated at Sutton Hoo were initially claimed as Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age, but it now seems more likely that the majority of the system visible as cropmarks is Iron Age or Roman.⁵¹ The recent publication of a radiocarbon-dated Middle Bronze Age enclosure with underlying field system at Ormesby St Michael starts to address the 'blank' in Norfolk.⁵² There is also a concentration of recently excavated later prehistoric field systems with probable Middle to Late Bronze Age origins in south-east Suffolk, around Ipswich, on the Trimley/Felixstowe peninsula, and around the lower reaches of the Deben.⁵³

Against this backdrop, the recording of part of a probable Bronze Age subdivided landscape at Easton is an important addition to the small but growing corpus of such sites in Suffolk and Norfolk. The exposed part of the system is limited but appears to be typical of Bronze Age field systems elsewhere in its river valley location, position on light sandy soil, south-east-facing aspect and demarcation by fairly ephemeral ditches. It also suffers from the poor dating typical of many such field systems: as they are often distant from settlement areas, the ditches frequently do not contain artefacts or organic material with which to date them. The stratigraphic relationship between Ditch 4 and Pit [641] shows that this ditch and perhaps, by extension, the spatially associated ditches, were present by the time of the Early Iron Age occupation. Indeed, the scarcity of cultural material in ditches so close to an Early Iron Age settlement and two potential roundhouses suggests they had largely filled in by that time. There is a widespread pattern of field systems established in the Middle Bronze Age continuing in use, sometimes with maintenance/modification, into the Late Bronze Age, but then going out of use, though there are exceptions and the pattern may not be representative of Suffolk.⁵⁴

The topographical position of the field(s) on light, well-drained soil, on a south-facing hillside, with easy access to a stream and a larger river, would suit either arable or pastoral use, though the wide (16m) entrance might suggest that it held livestock, as suggested for many of the Bronze Age field systems on the Fen edge and in the Thames valley.⁵⁵ Of course, even if the ditches had infilled by the Early Iron Age, there may have been banks or mature hedges (such as that suggested by the narrow gap between Ditches 5/6 and 7) bounding the fields by then and the system could have continued in use despite the lack of evidence for ditch maintenance.⁵⁶ The limited evidence for the nature of Early Iron Age agriculture at Easton is thus of some relevance.

The Early Iron Age settlement

The Early Iron Age settlement is likely to continue north/west beyond the excavated area. Based on the exposed part, it appears typical, consisting of a small group of roundhouses and associated features, perhaps occupied by a single family, set within an enclosure or field



FIG. 203 – Prehistoric landscape context (sites and finds data reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Historic Environment Record [SHER]).

system.⁵⁷ The later Bronze Age settlement at Game Farm, Brandon, was similar, as was occupation within the later Bronze Age field system at Main Road, Martlesham.⁵⁸ SHER lists a number of likely Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age settlements overlooking the middle stretches of the Deben and Ore valleys,⁵⁹ including at Kettleburgh, 2km north-west of Easton, where pits containing fingertip-decorated pottery were found during quarrying (SHER KBU 003; Fig. 203).⁶⁰

Finds from the Early Iron Age features, consisting of potsherds from jars and bowls, animal bones, hearth waste, flint flakes, scrapers and chopping implements, and occasional daub, reflect domestic activity. The faunal assemblage, though small, shows that the occupants kept sheep, cattle and pigs; the fired clay object from Posthole [283], if a loom weight, would show that sheep were kept at least partly for wool. There are few plant macrofossils, but the presence of burnt cereal grains and a single pea suggest mixed farming. Notable deposits, such as the large group of pottery in Buried Soil 2, and the objects in Posthole [283], stand out on a site with generally few, scattered finds, and might be more than just casually discarded ‘rubbish’. There is clear evidence that objects, both whole and broken, were sometimes deliberately deposited in ditches, pits and postholes in later prehistoric settlements in order to draw attention to particular points in space (for example, boundaries or entranceways) or to mark important events in the ‘lifecycle’ of a settlement or its inhabitants (for example, the construction or abandonment of a building, or the birth or death of a member of the community).⁶¹

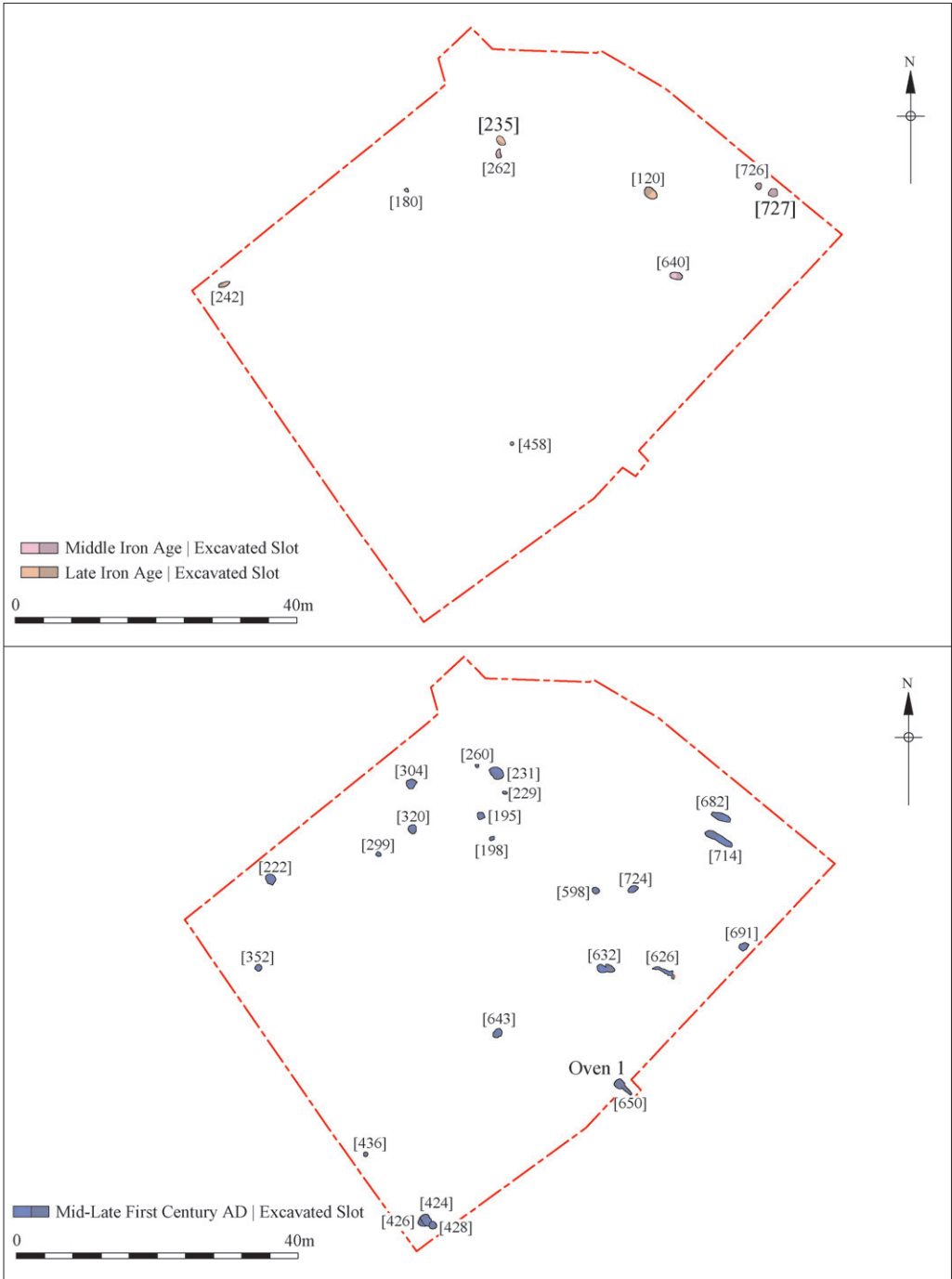


FIG. 204 – Later Iron Age and first century AD.

MIDDLE, *c.*400–50 BC,
AND LATE, *c.*50 BC–AD 40, IRON AGE OCCUPATION

There are problems identifying Middle Iron Age (*c.*400–50 BC) activity (Fig. 204). Some features contained handmade, sand-tempered potsherds, in forms which, where identifiable, consist mainly of the slack-shouldered jars characteristic of Middle Iron Age pottery in northern East Anglia.⁶² However, there is evidence that handmade Iron Age-tradition pots continued to be used at this site up to the mid-late first century AD, as seen at some other sites in the region.⁶³



FIG. 205 – Late Iron Age copper-alloy jug handle (SF 63) from Pit [235] (photos: *Strephon Duckering*).

Nevertheless, definitive evidence for Middle Iron Age occupation comes from Pit [727], in the eastern corner of the excavation. This was circular and of a size (1.1m wide by 0.8m deep) and profile (vertical sides, flat base) consistent with interpretation as a disused grain/food storage pit, although soil samples did not contain concentrations of cereal grain to prove this. The pit contained 44 sherds (426g) of handmade sand-tempered and more crudely made chalk-tempered pottery, nineteen struck flints, including a flake and flake core of later prehistoric type, daub (228 pieces; 6.5kg), a fragmentary circular loom weight, burnt flints (30 pieces; 490g), two cattle bones and 50 sheep/goat and sheep-sized bone fragments, the latter all heavily burnt. Charcoal from the pit fill provided a date of 361–164 or 127–123 cal. BC at 95.4 per cent (94.9 per cent and 0.5 per cent, respectively) probability. There did not appear to be any deliberate arrangement of objects in the pit, which instead appeared dumped, but they could nevertheless represent residues from a

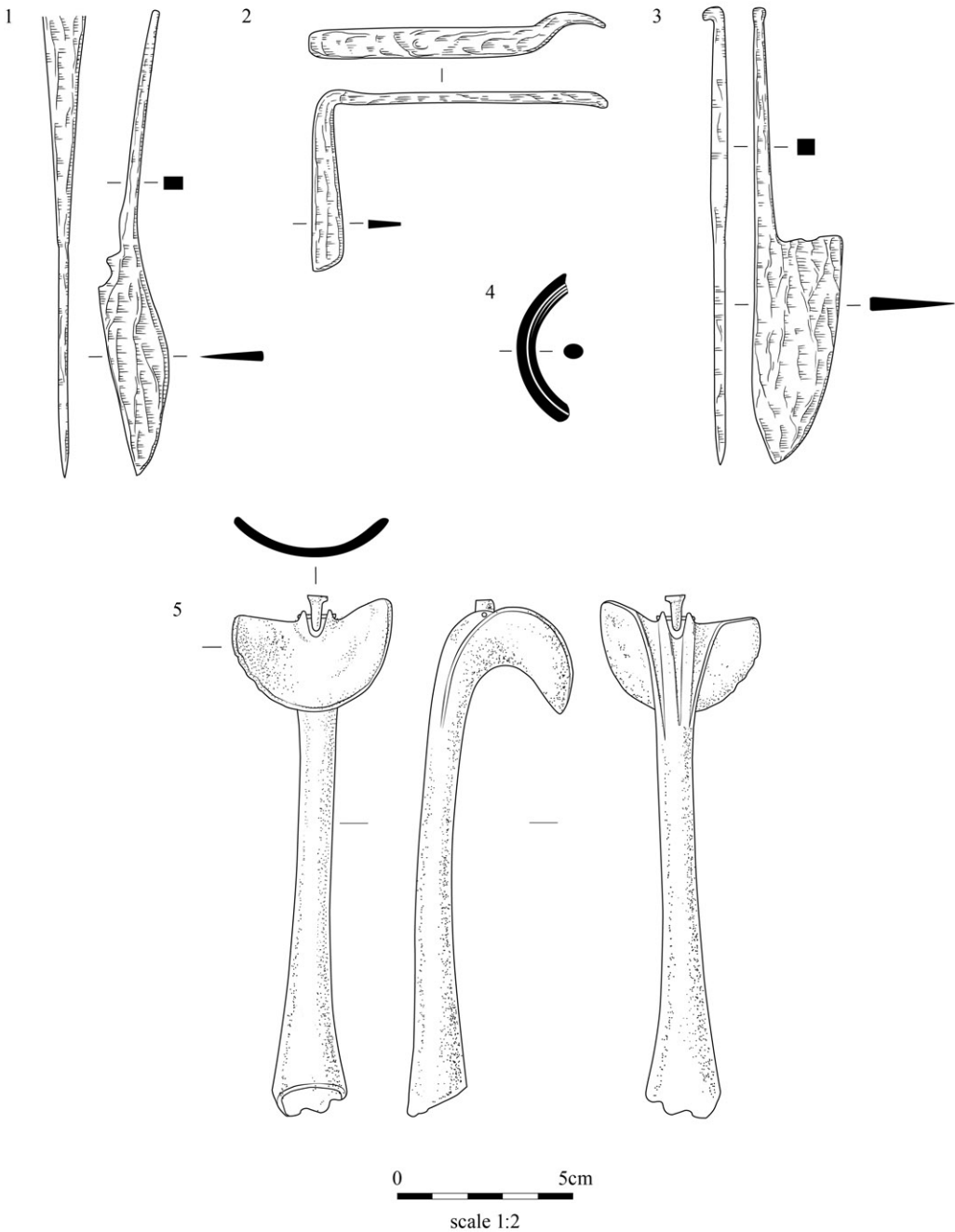


FIG. 206 – Small finds illustrations: 1. SF 21, (169), Buried Soil 2, iron blade and handle of a small pair of shears. 2. SF 40, (169), Buried Soil 2, flat handle of iron latch-lifter. 3. SF 61, (169), Buried Soil 2, iron blade of a knife or (based on the size of the blade and the downturned tip) razor. 4. SF 64, (169), Buried Soil 2, section of undecorated, lathe-turned shale bracelet; ovoid in cross section. The estimated internal diameter, 37mm, suggests it may have belonged to a child. 5. SF 63, (234), Pit [235], imported jug handle (*illustrations: Cate Davies*).

specific event, such as clearance or demolition of a roundhouse, and their deposition could have been 'structured' in some sense. Whatever the rationale behind their deposition, these finds clearly reflect Middle Iron Age occupation nearby, perhaps a settlement east of the excavation area.

The few charred cereal grains, and the animal bones from Middle Iron Age features, indicate mixed farming. The pottery is mainly from cooking vessels, with occasional Scored Ware sherds probably deriving from large, barrel-shaped, storage jars. Daub indicates the presence of buildings. A worked red deer antler fragment and loom weights point to some craft activity. The presence of at least one probable storage pit suggests that Middle Iron Age farming was successful enough to produce surpluses; the settlement's longevity also attests to this.

Three scattered pits which, based on pottery or other finds, belong to the Late Iron Age, are unlikely to represent the totality of activity at the site in the century or so before the Roman Conquest (see below). The most significant was truncated Pit [235], which contained a bronze handle, probably from a jug (SF 63; Figs 205 and 206.5), that does not have a close parallel in Britain. The most similar vessels are products of Italian workshops in the last few decades BC. This is a rare find and suggests that the Late Iron Age settlement at Easton, or at least some of its inhabitants, held high status. A full description of the handle and its affinities can be found in *Britannia*.⁶⁴

Discussion

The distribution of Iron Age settlements in Suffolk in relation to natural topography has been discussed by Martin; proximity to water seems to have been critical, probably largely for livestock.⁶⁵ Iron Age settlements in south-east Suffolk also appear to be preferentially sited on relatively high ground, on spurs overlooking the valleys, as illustrated by sites in the Fynn and lower Deben valleys, which are regularly spaced at 700m–1km intervals along the 30m contour, a pattern also seen in the Gipping and Orwell valleys.⁶⁶ Iron Age occupation at Easton neatly fits the established pattern, being sited close to a river, on a rise and in an area of light soil, though its apparent position around 20–25m OD makes it more a hillside settlement than one of the 'settlements on hill-tops' described by Martin.⁶⁷ Any discussion of settlement morphology is, of course, limited by the small window provided by the excavation.

In the Late Iron Age, the Deben valley was in the border area between the tribal territories of the Icenii, to the north, and Trinovantes of south Suffolk and Essex, to the south.⁶⁸ The Icenii have sometimes been seen as culturally insular and unreceptive to the Roman-influenced material culture and behaviours that gradually became adopted across much of south-eastern Britain in the century or so before the Roman Conquest. Against this backdrop, the imported jug handle is notable, suggesting the presence in Late Iron Age Easton of an elite who had access to imported goods from the Roman world and who were, perhaps, also receptive to the culture of which those objects were part.

MID- TO LATE FIRST CENTURY AD, c.AD 30–80

There was a marked increase in activity in the mid-first century AD, when settlement seems to have expanded or shifted back into the excavation area from an Iron Age focus to the east or south-east (Fig. 204). This phase can be identified from the presence of diagnostically latest Iron Age and Romanising pottery fabrics, including use of grog and grog and sand temper, as well as carinated and rippled vessel forms. There were also several pits (for example, [320], [682] and [714]) which contained early Roman pottery alongside small groups of handmade Iron Age-tradition sherds, in similar condition, possibly showing that native pottery traditions continued into the later first century alongside new wheel-thrown vessels.

Twenty pits, distributed across the excavation area, can be dated to this period, as can a small 'keyhole'-shaped oven at its south-eastern edge. This had a central clay pedestal in its firing chamber, presumably supporting a suspended floor. In the absence of any particular evidence for pottery manufacture or metalworking at the site, the oven was probably for crop drying or domestic cooking, though soil samples contained only charcoal and low concentrations of indeterminate cereal grains. There were no signs of buildings, probably because the area remained peripheral to the settlement and was used mainly for rubbish disposal and possibly grain/food storage, as indicated by a few pits which had a morphology broadly consistent with such use.

The finds from the pits provide clues to the sorts of activities, predominantly domestic, that took place in the mid- to late first-century settlement, including food preparation, cooking, weaving and the construction and repair of wattle and daub structures. Pit [195], for example, contained thick daub fragments, half of them from a curved sill where the wall and floor of a wattle and daub structure meet. Pit [229] included most of a sand- and organic-tempered jar (SF 60) with holes for suspension, external sooting and internal limescale, datable to c.AD 30–60, together with burnt animal bone, a smithing hearth bottom and daub fragments. Pit [714] included fragments of triangular fired clay loom weights/oven bricks, alongside both Roman and handmade pottery; a further similar possible loom weight fragment was found in Pit [724]. The majority of the pottery used by the occupants was locally produced, but sherds of south Gaulish samian ware and a fragment from a Baetican amphora indicate involvement in some longer-distance trade networks, the latter possibly showing that they had occasional access to imported foodstuffs, such as olive oil. The presence of imports shows that farming was sufficiently successful to generate surpluses for trade.

ROMAN FARMSTEAD, c.AD 80–400+

Late first to mid-second century AD, c.AD 80–150

Activity expanded in the later first and first half of the second century AD (Fig. 207). The most distinctive change was an increasingly organised layout, in particular, the establishment, c.AD 100, of a set of south-west to north-east aligned boundary ditches dividing the settlement, now apparently upslope, from a less intensively used area to the south-east (Fig. 207). The 4–6m spacing of the stratigraphically earliest ditches (Ditches 13 and 14) might indicate that the boundary initially incorporated a trackway with an entrance at the terminus of Ditch 13. Ditches 13 and 14 were both around 1.3–1.5m wide and 0.35m deep.

There may have been a structure close to the northern limit of excavation. Eighteen postholes and eight pits here had a broadly rectangular configuration measuring c.15m east-west by 6m north-south, with the conjectured north wall possibly outside the site. The evidence for the structure is equivocal, the spacing of the features being irregular and some not looking obviously structural, though the various shallow pits and hollows could derive from removal of posts and walls during demolition. However, it is notable that mid-Roman Buried Soil 4 extended up to, but no further than, the south wall of the structure (Fig. 207), implying that something occupied this space. Overall, the evidence suggests either a lightweight building, probably a barn or byre, or a pen for livestock.

Land south of the settlement boundary was perhaps used partly for grazing. An arrangement of five short, shallow, narrow gullies here appeared to be foundation trenches for a timber structure but did not form a recognizable groundplan; instead, their parallel/perpendicular arrangement is reminiscent of 'drafting races' for sorting livestock.⁶⁹ This area was also used for quarry pits, perhaps extracting clay for new wattle and daub structures. Twenty-six other pits, mainly inside the settlement boundary, contained domestic

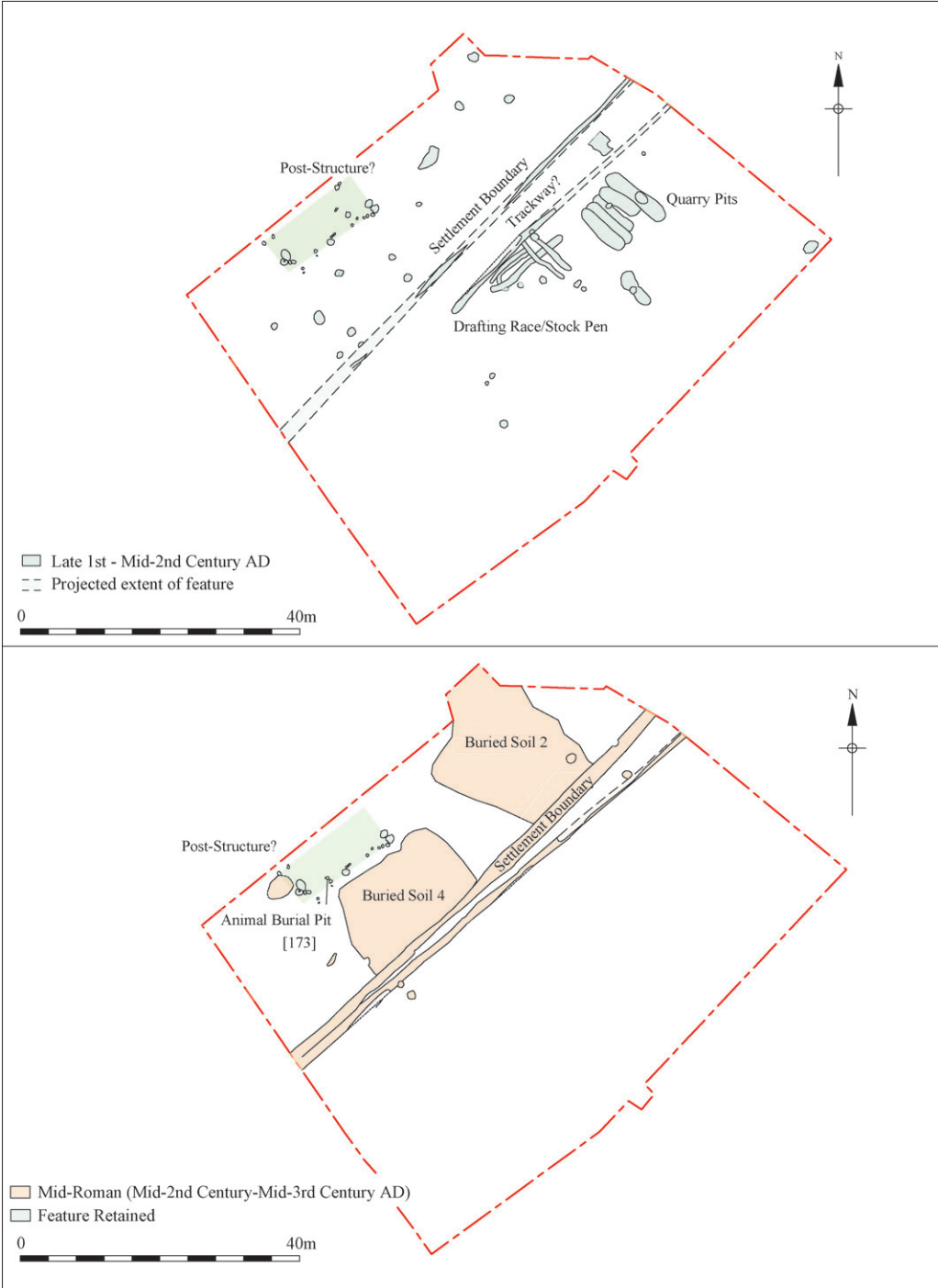
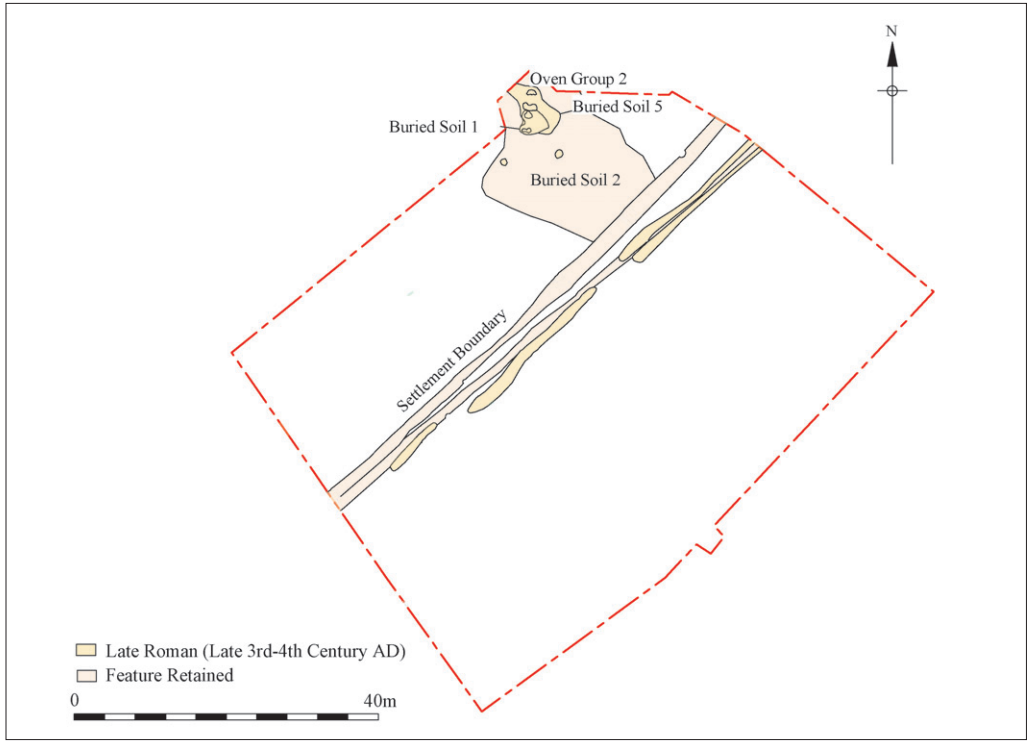


FIG. 207 – Roman farmstead
(and opposite page).



rubbish including potsherds from cooking and storage vessels, and cattle and sheep bones from butchery/food preparation; there is also limited evidence for weaving and iron-smithing.

Mid-second to mid-third century AD, c.AD 150–250

The settlement boundary was recut around the mid-second century (Ditch 15) and again during the late second or early third (Ditch 16). The ditches were substantial, with surviving widths in places of 2m+ and depths up to 0.7m. From around AD 200, there was a reduction in pit digging, most rubbish instead being left to accumulate in surface middens, Buried Soils 2 and 4.

Buried Soil 2 (169), in the north of the excavation, filled a slight hollow. It was a homogeneous dark greyish-brown silty sand containing flint and charcoal inclusions, which extended from the northern edge of excavation to the settlement boundary (22m by 18m by 0.29m [maximum] deep). The majority of the artefacts found in this soil are of Roman date and reflect an ongoing build-up of material, probably through a combination of deliberate dumping, deposition of hill-wash from upslope, and incidental incorporation of debris present on the ground in the settlement. The absence of observable stratification in hand-dug test pits into the soil might indicate that it had been mixed and reworked, by weathering, trampling by animals and people, and probably by more recent agricultural activity. Nevertheless, coins and stratigraphic evidence suggest that the soil (which sealed several later first- to mid-second-century pits) began to accumulate in the mid-Roman period and continued to develop until at least the late fourth century AD.

A large assemblage of Roman pottery (809 sherds; 9.5kg; representing at least 159 vessels), cattle and sheep/goat bones and a total of 93 fired clay, daub and Roman brick, tile and

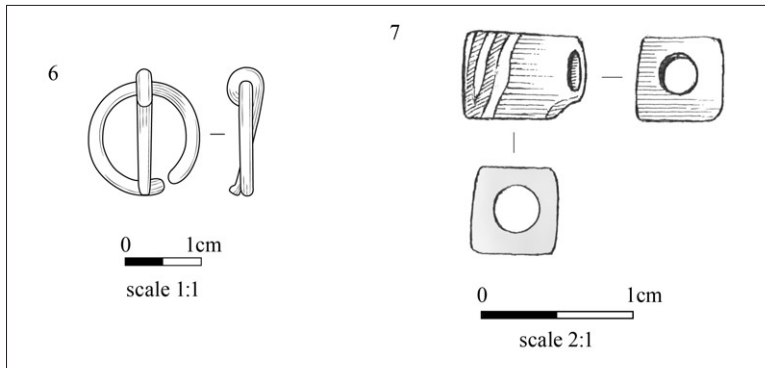


FIG. 208 – Small finds illustrations: 6. SF 8, (169), Buried Soil 2, complete penannular iron brooch, circular in section. The pin is folded around the frame. Internal diameter of 10mm suggests use for fastening items of clothing other than a cloak. 7. SF 66, (149), Pit [150], imported square-sectioned bead of opaque mid-blue glass with an opaque white paste marvered chevron with red line in centre. There are yellow paste vertical stripes cross the red central chevron (*illustration: Cate Davies; bead: Marion O'Neil*).

tegulae fragments were recovered, in addition to a range of metalwork and other small objects including a shears blade and handle (SF 21; Fig. 206.1), a latch-lifter and lift-key (SFs 40 [Fig. 206.2] and 41), part of a possible pitchfork (SF 44), an iron knife or razor (SF 61; Fig. 206.3), part of a child-size shale bracelet (SF 64; Fig. 206.4), a Late Iron Age to early Roman penannular iron brooch (SF 8; Fig. 208.6), several hobnails, numerous nails and other iron objects, a smithing hearth bottom and a tessera (SF 24). A 'dark earth' deposit (4) in Evaluation Trench 10, just north of the excavation, is likely to be part of Buried Soil 2. A nummus of Constans (AD 343–8) was reportedly found 'in the vicinity' of a possible clay and flint cobble floor or structural pad (5), identified beneath this dark earth.⁷⁰

A similar deposit, Buried Soil 4 (227), was present in the centre of the excavation area, also inside the settlement boundary. It was a layer of dark brown silty sand measuring 20m by 12.5m by 0.3m deep. The consistent later second–third-century date of the associated pottery contrasts with Buried Soil 2 and indicates that the formation processes behind the two buried soils were slightly different. A total of 113 sherds (1.4kg; minimum 22 vessels) of Roman pottery were recovered, together with 27 pieces of tegulae, imbrex, box-flue tile and Roman brick, fired clay loom weight/oven brick fragments, 14 nails including two hobnails (SF 58), other ironwork (SF 43 and SF 47), two pieces of glass (one yellow/green piece from a flask or phial and one blue fragment from a bowl or dish rim), 35 pieces of animal bone, mainly cattle and cattle-sized but also bones of dog and horse, and residual struck flint.

The post structure appears to have gone out of use by c.AD 250. Small Pit [173], within the former footprint of the building, contained the near complete, disarticulated remains of a butchered, six- to nine-month-old, polled (hornless) male sheep, probably originally buried in a bag based on the tight distribution of bones.⁷¹ The remains may be feasting waste or, potentially, a series of joints prepared for a feast but not consumed. There are no obvious defleshing marks, which might suggest meat was left on the bone, though not all butchery marks show in the archaeological record. One of the sheep bones provided a calibrated date of AD 130–260 or 279–326 at 95.4 per cent confidence (80.2 per cent and 15.2 per cent, respectively). The scarcity of other material in the pit adds weight to the identification of this 'butchered sheep in a bag' as a deliberately placed 'ritual' or 'special' deposit, perhaps marking

the end of use of the structure.⁷² The deposit stands out in two respects. First, the level of butchery and disarticulation appears unique among excavated Iron Age and Roman animal burials.⁷³ Secondly, although it could be a genetic anomaly, this hornless male might be an early polled type, previously unknown in Britain before the medieval period.⁷⁴ It can be conjectured that this animal's unusual physical characteristics led to its selection for ritual treatment. One of the few other pits associated with this period of occupation [150] contained a square-section blue glass bead with white, red and yellow paste chevron and stripe decoration (SF 66; Fig. 208.7), possibly from north Africa or the eastern Mediterranean.⁷⁵

Later third to fourth century AD, AD 250–400+

Evidence of late Roman activity was limited, but continuing occupation is indicated by the maintenance of the settlement boundary and by pottery and other objects in Buried Soils 1, 2 and 5, most significantly a nummus of Theodosius (SF 3; AD 388–402), which demonstrate that domestic rubbish continued to be dumped/accumulate at the edge of the settlement until at least the late fourth century. Several patches of scorched clay and ash beneath the upper levels of the buried soil in the northern corner of the site are likely to have been truncated bases of one or more ovens, together with spreads of debris from the collapse or demolition of those features (Oven Group 2). One such layer (665) contained a piece of worked red deer antler, but there was nothing else to indicate any particular craft or industrial process and it is most likely that the ovens were for domestic cooking. A sherd of Roman window glass in Buried Soil 1 suggests the presence of a well-built building nearby.

Discussion

The excavation revealed only the edge of the Roman settlement, an area used primarily for 'farmyard' activities and rubbish-dumping. As such, the picture of the Roman occupation is incomplete, and this discussion provisional, pending any future excavation of land to the north and west.

Although the presence of particular cultural material does not prove the presence of specific people, the continuing use of some handmade-tradition pottery into the later first century AD, alongside loom weights identical to those used by the Iron Age inhabitants, suggests some continuity of population after the Roman Conquest.

The faunal and environmental assemblages are too small to provide detailed information about agriculture. Cattle appear to have been the main livestock, with sheep/goats and pigs also kept. The presence of young animals suggests stock breeding, some probably being culled before winter to reduce demand for fodder. The good representation of adults shows that most livestock were multipurpose, having some other use (milk, wool) prior to slaughter; pathologies point to use of cattle for draught. Shears (SF 21; Fig. 206.1) indicate clipping of fleeces; loom weights reflect weaving. A few red deer antler fragments imply local woodland, probably on the higher clay. The scarcity of preserved plant remains is typical of dry sand sites. Those cereal grains which survive are distorted from combustion, which may also account for the lack of delicate remains, such as chaff. Alternatively, crop processing may have taken place elsewhere on the farm, which might explain the absence of quernstones. The cereal remains consist of wheat, rye and possible oats; occasional peas might be crop weeds or cultivated in their own right. The position of the buried soil deposits on the periphery of the settlement, adjacent to the possible field system (see below), could reflect deliberate stockpiling of midden material to be spread on arable fields as manure. A possible sickle and part of a pitchfork (SF 44) provide further circumstantial evidence for growing cereal crops and/or harvesting hay or straw.

The farm was productive enough to sustain its inhabitants for the duration of the Romano-

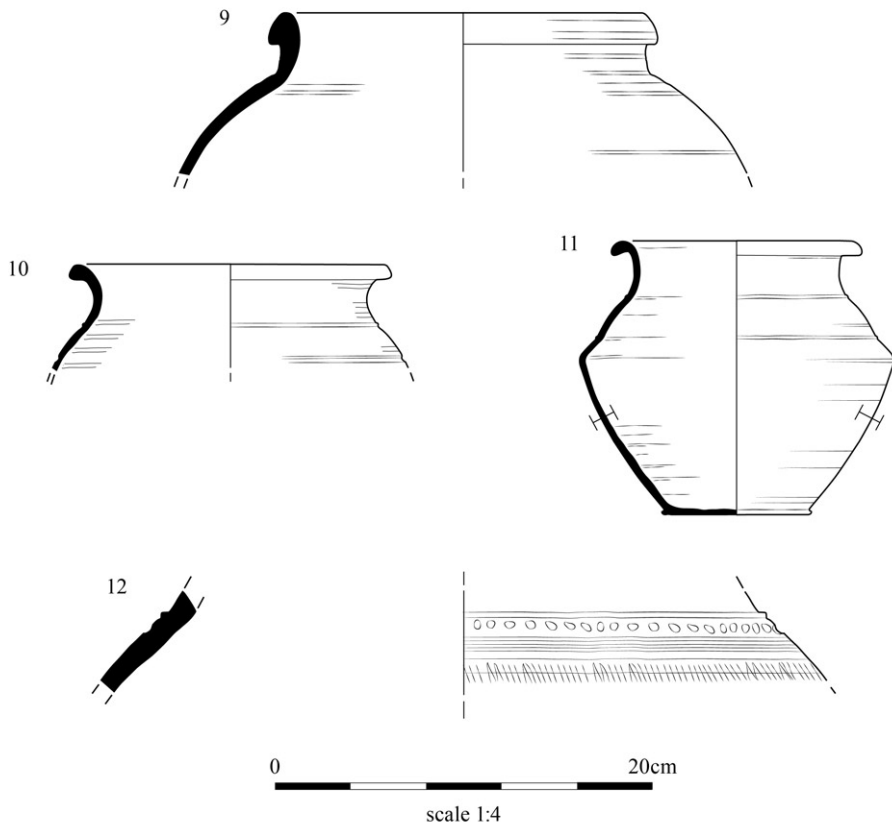


FIG. 209 – Pottery illustrations. Roman pottery: 9. (169), Buried Soil 2, coarse sandy greyware storage jar with beaded rim (AD 50–400). 10. (597), Pit [598], fine sandy micaceous blackware jar with everted rounded rim and thin cordon (AD 30–60). 11. (597), Pit [598], fine sandy micaceous reduced ware carinated jar with everted, slightly hooked rim and cordon decoration (AD 30–60). 12. (230), Pit [231], coarse sandy greyware jar with fingertip and rilled decoration (AD 50–200) (*illustrations: Cate Davies*).

British period, a span of several centuries and perhaps fifteen or more generations. Sufficient surpluses were generated to trade at local markets, almost certainly the nearby ‘small town’ at Hacheston, 3km downstream.⁷⁶ There may have been a trackway in approximately the same position as The Street, which is a natural route along the higher ground on the north side of the river Deben. The inhabitants could also afford, sometimes, to ‘sacrifice’ other livestock for less obviously utilitarian purposes, perhaps including ritual feasts or offerings to gods or protective spirits (the ‘butchered sheep in a bag’).

The similarity in pottery profiles between Easton and Hacheston suggests that the settlement sourced its pottery (Figs 198.6, 7 and 8 and 209) there. Indeed, some of the coarseware may have been produced in the Hacheston kilns, while much of the pottery from further afield was probably traded through the town. Hacheston is also the likely source of other manufactured everyday items, such as tools and ironwork.⁷⁷ More ‘exotic’ imports, such as the shale bracelet, perhaps from north Yorkshire, and the north African/eastern Mediterranean bead, may have also arrived through Hacheston, though Easton was also close

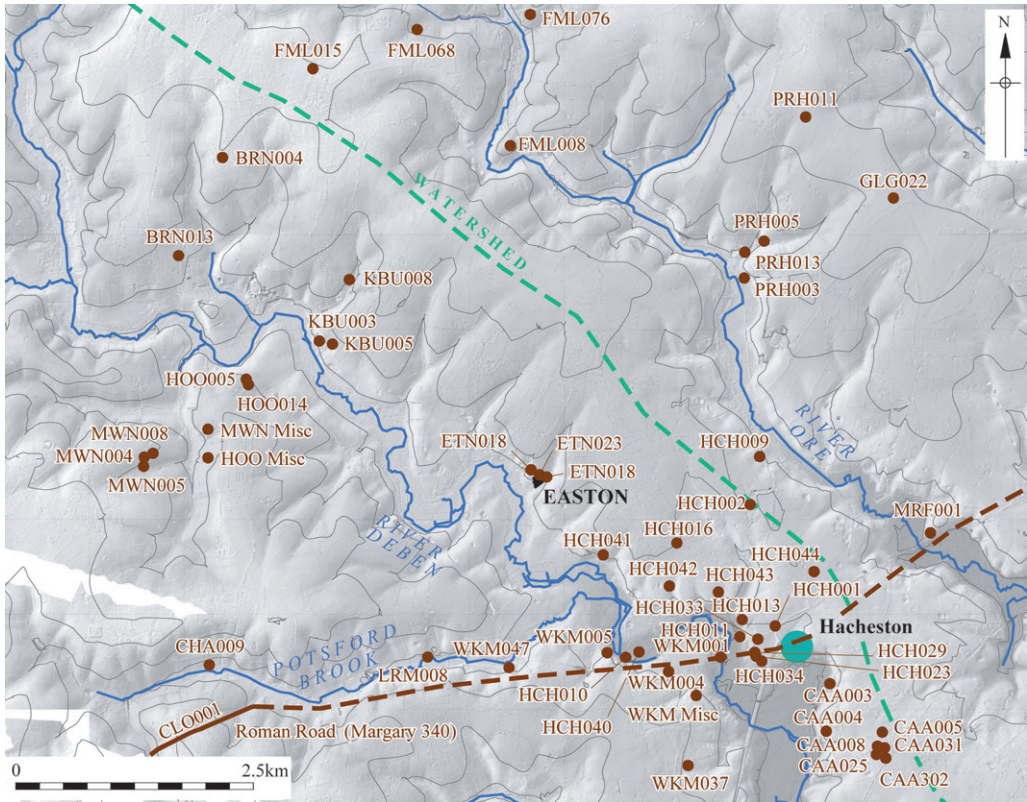


FIG. 210 – Roman landscape context (*sites and finds data reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Historic Environment Record (SHER)*).

to two Roman roads (Margary 340 and Margary 34b, 2km to the south and 7km north-west, respectively; Fig. 210), linking it with other towns, including the Roman port at Felixstowe.⁷⁸

The question of the wealth and status of the inhabitants remains open. Overall, the artefactual evidence suggests a moderately prosperous farming settlement, but the picture from this peripheral area may not be representative. The small quantity of fragmentary Roman ceramic building material and the piece of window glass hint at the presence of a well-built, at least part masonry, building somewhere upslope.

Findspots of Roman artefacts, whether discovered by chance, fieldwalking, or metal-detecting, suggest a fairly regular distribution of settlements in the middle and upper reaches of the Deben, extending up the valley sides, and occasionally onto the clay plateau (see Fig. 210).⁷⁹

Coin use drops off from the mid-fourth century at settlements in the eastern half of Suffolk, including Hacheston.⁸⁰ Jude Plouviez inferred that something was having a negative impact on the countryside in this area; the burden of supplying the Saxon Shore forts or early raiding by Saxon pirates have been suggested as possible causes.⁸¹ Conversely, declines in coin loss might actually be due to a reduced military presence at the coastal forts and thus a reduction in coin supply to the area.⁸² By contrast, a coin of Theodosius (AD 388–402) from Buried Soil 2 shows that occupation at Easton may have continued into the fifth century.



FIG. 211 – Linear cropmarks in fields east and south of site (*imagery reproduced with kind permission of Maxar Technologies; © 2019 Maxar Technologies; map data reproduced with kind permission of Google © 2019 Google*).

Possible Roman field system

Integral to the discussion of Roman-period farming at Easton is the possible presence of a cropmark field system directly south and east of the site (Figs 211–214). Aerial photographs appear to show a set of linear cropmarks/soilmarks forming a coherent boundary system (Fig. 211).⁸³ One of these cropmarks appears to be the north-eastward continuation of the excavated Roman settlement boundary ditch, while Ditches 23 and 24, in Evaluation Trenches 1 and 2 and of likely Roman date, follow the same axes as the cropmarks.

Together, the cropmarks appear to show a regular system of parallel boundaries extending down the south-east-facing slope on which the site is located, terminating in line with the Roman settlement boundary to the north-west, and at the stream to the south-east. Two or perhaps three parallel downslope boundaries are visible as cropmarks. Although less clear, there appears to be a mirroring set of up to six broadly parallel south-east to north-west boundaries on the east side of the stream, all terminating in a common boundary positioned roughly twice the distance away from the stream as the Roman settlement boundary ditch is on the west side. These soilmarks are less distinct than those on the west side of the valley. While they might be natural, they could perhaps represent root disturbance from hedges or result from hill-wash infilling a system of ditches after they ceased to be maintained. The

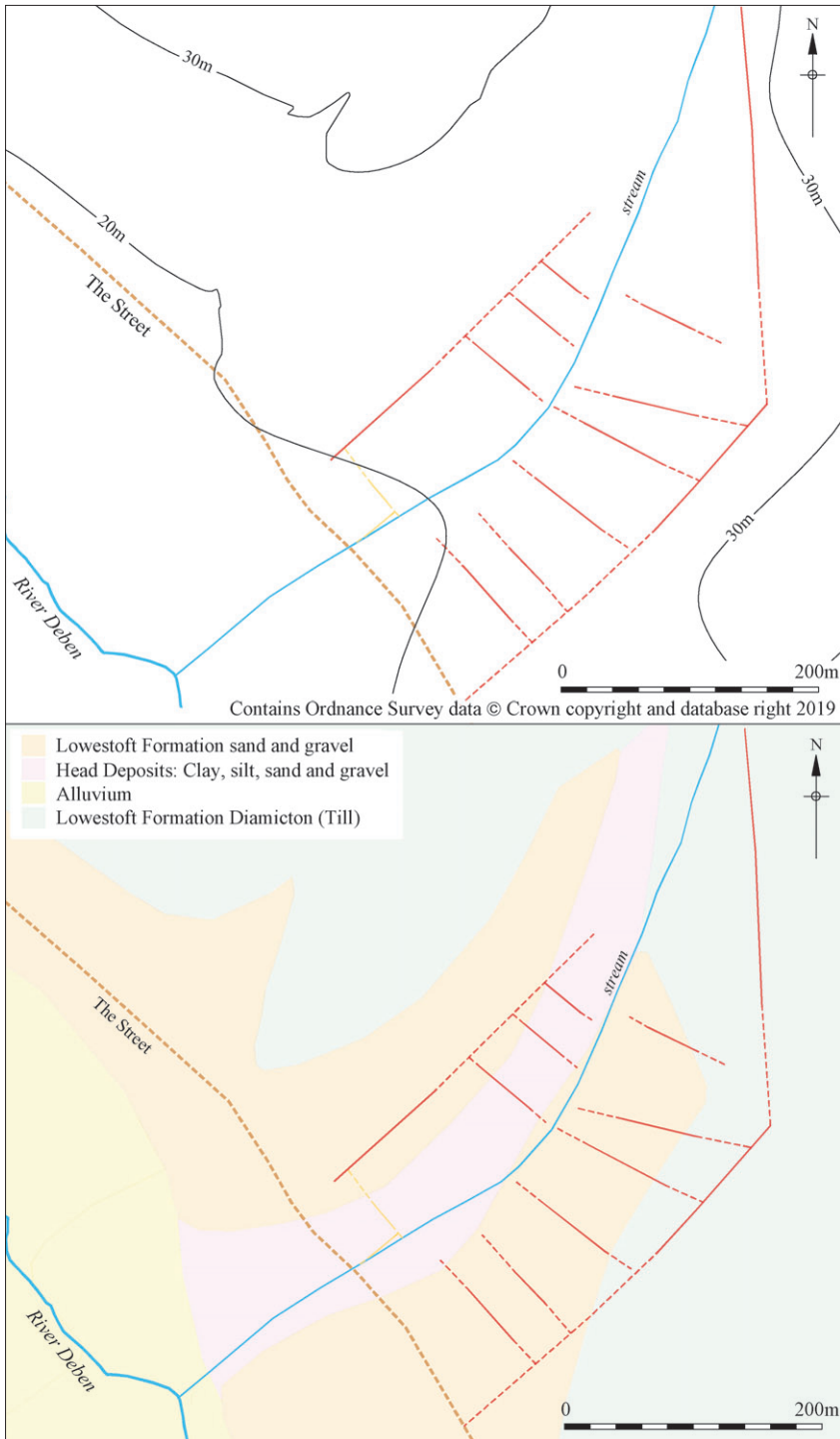


FIG. 212 – Roman field system with topography and geology.



FIG. 213 – Cropmark field system overlain on nineteenth-century maps (reproduced by kind permission of Suffolk Archives, Ipswich and the Diocese of St Edmundsbury and Ipswich, P461/88 and OS 1883 59/9).

evaluation found evidence for precisely this on the lower part of the south-east-facing slope, with Ditches [16] and [18] (Trenches 1 and 2), here grouped as Ditches 23 and 24 (respectively), sealed beneath deep colluvium.⁸⁴

The cropmarks form a system of small, narrow rectangular fields occupying the stream valley, with the watercourse forming its central axis; it closely corresponds with the extent of the light soils in the valley bottom, avoiding the clay of the higher ground (Fig. 212), though poorer cropmark formation and visibility on the clay may be factors.

Some of the cropmarks correspond with field boundaries on the 1837 Easton tithe map and 1883 and later Ordnance Survey maps (Fig. 213). One of the downslope boundaries on the west side is close to the boundary dividing Fields 64 (Coney Farrow Field) and 65 (Barr Gate Field) on the tithe map, while the cropmark of the angled 'back boundary' on the west-facing slope is the boundary between Fields 58 (Upper Walnut Tree Close) and 59 (Little Walnut Tree Close), a division still extant in 1957. However, the recording of these boundaries on the tithe map only proves that they were in existence by then, not when they were established. Indeed, in this area of predominantly ancient enclosure, the pattern of fields in the early nineteenth century is likely to preserve at least some semblance of the later medieval pattern.⁸⁵ Although some of the cropmark boundaries appear on the tithe map, the overall system of small half to two and a half acre rectilinear fields aligned on the stream does not appear on historic maps. The cropmark system is therefore likely to predate the late medieval period and, based on its apparent link with the excavated Roman settlement boundary, may be a Roman-period field system associated with the excavated settlement. Boundaries that appear to be integral to the

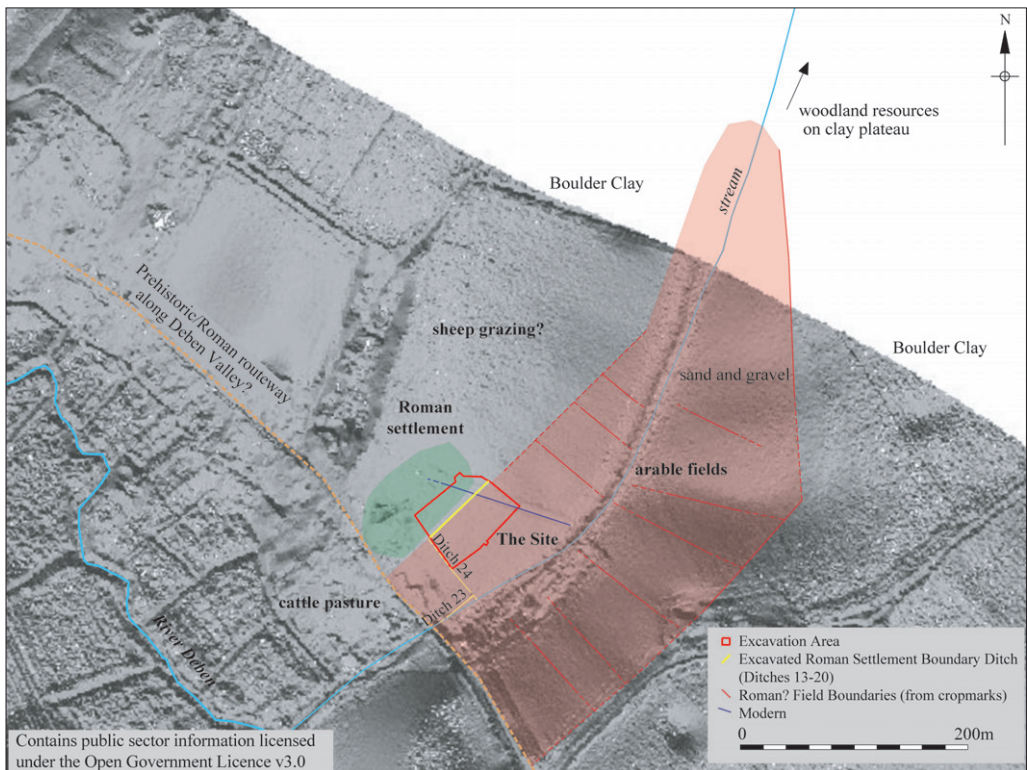


FIG. 214 – Cropmark field system and possible Roman land use.

cropmark system but are recorded on historic maps could represent survivals of Roman land divisions into the post-medieval/modern era, a rare phenomenon in East Anglia.⁸⁶

The position of the field system enclosing the light soil and taking in the south-east facing slope, presumably to maximise sunlight, suggests arable use. It covers an overall area 500m long by 200m wide or 10ha/25 acres in area, with individual fields, where their limits are discernible, measuring c.60–150m long by 30–75m wide or between c.2500 and a little over 10,000m² (c.half to two and a half acres; mean: 6000m² or one and a half acres). These field sizes do not bear any obvious relation to Roman units of area measurement, such as the *uncia* or *jugerum*. The agricultural land attached to the settlement might also have included cattle pasture beside the river Deben, areas of grazing (for sheep?) on the clay to the north, and access to woodland on the interfluvium for foraging, hunting and pannage (Fig. 214).

In terms of layout and size, the Easton fields would correspond closely with the small rectilinear fields established in phase 2 (early Roman: mid-first to mid-second century) of the farmstead at Cedars Park, Stowmarket and with the mid-Roman (third-century) field system excavated at Brandon Road, Thetford.⁸⁷ At Sutton Hoo, another predominantly Iron Age to Roman cropmark field system has individual square or oblong fields of two sizes, the larger 1–1.25ha (two and a half–three acres), and the smaller about 0.25ha (0.6 acres).⁸⁸ Large area excavations at Flixton Park Quarry, in the Waveney valley, have revealed Iron Age and Roman field boundaries demarcating rectangular blocks between 1 and 2.5ha in size (two and a half–five and a half acres), aligned parallel and at right angles to the river.⁸⁹ Excavated rectilinear Roman fields at Carlton Colville, near Lowestoft, were set either side of a trackway curving around a low hillside parallel to a watercourse; they measured about 100 by 80m (two acres).⁹⁰ Roman fields in Suffolk therefore appear to mainly be of two sizes: some around half an acre or slightly less and larger fields measuring two to three acres. The smaller resemble the ‘Celtic fields’ recorded elsewhere in England, which are normally in the range 0.1–0.6ha.⁹¹

Ultimately, the identification of a possible field system associated with the excavated Roman settlement is tentative, being based on the apparent correspondence between the settlement boundary ditch and a set of previously unmapped and not, in all cases, distinct cropmarks. Further field investigation would be required to ‘ground truth’ the observations made here. However, the similarity in form and size between the suggested cropmark fields and Roman fields recorded elsewhere in East Anglia lends some weight to the argument, as does their differing character compared to the presumed later medieval field pattern recorded in the 1837 tithe map.

CONCLUSION

There was activity at this location in Easton from the Late Mesolithic to Late Roman period, a timespan of perhaps seven millennia, with probably continuous occupation on or at least near the site for more than a thousand years between the Early Iron Age and the end of the Romano-British period. This place was attractive to hunter-gatherers because of its river valley location, which allowed easy movement through the landscape, because it was a vantage point to view game beside the river and, perhaps most importantly, because of the knapping flint that could be found here. Later farmers also settled here because of the natural resources and topographical position: light and well-drained soil for cultivation, south-facing aspect, proximity to water, and good views and communications along the Deben valley. By the Roman period, human geography, proximity to the market town at Hacheston and integration into the wider Roman transport and trade network, were added to this location’s ‘pull factors’.

Where the site *is not* is perhaps just as important for understanding its long history of use

and occupation. It is not on the boulder clay, which may have been densely wooded in earlier prehistory and difficult to work for Bronze and Iron Age farmers with few metal tools, no mouldboard plough, and limited labour to try to alleviate the poor drainage. Probably until sometime during the Iron Age, at least, this was in some sense a constrained environment, with settlement and arable agriculture largely concentrated on the lighter soils of this and other river valleys bisecting the 'High Suffolk' clay. Nevertheless, settlements located on the fringes of the clay had the advantage of being able to exploit its resources: where they could be successfully cultivated, they were nutrient-rich, and they also supported pasture and woodland that provided fuel, timber and wild foodstuffs.

A further important factor behind the longevity of activity might be community tradition. This may have been seen as the appropriate place to stop and gather flint, or build a house and live, because earlier generations had always done so. This might explain the site being a favoured source of flint during the Late Mesolithic, despite the fact that its flint is not of the highest quality. The apparent cessation of such a long-lived settlement around AD 400 is testament to the social and economic disruption that accompanied the 'end' of Roman Britain and the Anglo-Saxon migrations. Even a prime settlement site such as this, which had been continuously occupied for over a thousand years, appears to have been abandoned.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

- 1 Harrison 2014; Adams 2014; Site Code ETN 018.
- 2 Woolhouse 2018; <https://www.archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/library/>.
- 3 British Geological Survey 2018.
- 4 Radiocarbon dating was carried out by the Scottish Universities Environmental Research Centre Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory (SUERC); descriptions of the methods used by SUERC can be found in Dunbar *et al.* 2016. All dates are modelled in OxCal v4.3.2, using the IntCal13 calibration curve (Bronk Ramsey 2009; Reimer *et al.* 2013).
- 5 E.g. Barton, Berridge, Walker and Bevins 1995; Pollard 2000; Pannett 2007; Medlycott 2011, 8.
- 6 S[uffolk] H[istoric] E[nvironment] R[ecord] NDM 033; Pooley 2013, 29.
- 7 Wymer 1999, 34.
- 8 Wymer 1999; Reynolds and Kaner 2000, 194; Billington 2018, 10.
- 9 Wymer 1999.
- 10 See Cummings 2000, 87 and 93–4.
- 11 Waughman 1996, 14; 2017, 17; Spikins 2010.
- 12 Chippenham: Leaf 1940, 47, fig. 13.14; see also for list of further regional parallels; Hockwold cum Wilton: Bamford 1982, 88 fig. 5. P.93.031 and 97 fig. 14. P.63.062.
- 13 Case 2001; Hockwold cum Wilton: Bamford 1982; Sutton Hoo: Hummler 1993.
- 14 Gibson 1982; Ambers *et al.* 1992; Case 1993; 2001; Parker Pearson *et al.* 2019.
- 15 Parker Pearson *et al.* 2019.
- 16 Parker Pearson *et al.* 2019, 57.
- 17 Blood Hill Bramford: SHER BRF 068; Sommers 2008; Brantham Hall: SHER BNT 004; Gilmour 1974; Risby Poor's Heath, Flemp-ton: SHER FMP 002; Vatcher and Vatcher 1976; Martin 1981, 69–74; Boss Hall, Ipswich: SHER IPS 400; Everett 2000; Woolpit: SHER WPT 054; Flixton: SHER FLN 061; Boulter 2012, 267–8.
- 18 Sheridan and Shortland 2003; 2004.
- 19 Sheridan and Shortland 2004.
- 20 SHER FLN 069; Sheridan 2011; Boulter 2012, 267.
- 21 Sheridan 2011, table 1; Sheridan and Shortland 2004.
- 22 Sheridan *et al.* 2005.
- 23 Sheridan and Shortland 2004, illus. 21.1.
- 24 Flixton: Sheridan 2011; East Tilbury, Essex: Sheridan 2008.
- 25 Sheridan 2008.
- 26 Sheridan and Shortland 2004.
- 27 Martin 1999b, 39.
- 28 SHER ETN 006.
- 29 SHER WPT 054.
- 30 Topping 1997; Brück 1999a; Ashwin 2001, 28.
- 31 SHER IPS 725; Woolhouse 2014, 13–14, 42–43 and 68, plates 3 and 4.
- 32 Vatcher and Vatcher 1976.
- 33 Hughes 2000, 9–10; Woodward 2000, 58–60.
- 34 Woodward 2000; 2002, 1041 and 1046.
- 35 Brück 2001, 151–2; Tilley 1996, 318–20.
- 36 Woodward 2000, 58–60; 2002.
- 37 Brudenell 2012, 143–57.
- 38 E.g. Holgate 1988; Martingell 1990; 2003; Herne 1991; Young and Humphrey 1999; Humphrey 2003.
- 39 Martin 1999a, 68–9; Brown 1996, 32.
- 40 Heard 2016.
- 41 Cunliffe 1995, fig. 3; Davies 1996, 71; Ashwin 1999; Martin 1999a, 49–51; 1999c, 40; Hill 1999, 192–4; e.g. Ingham Quarry, Fornham St Genevieve; Newton and Mustchin 2015.
- 42 Woodward and Hughes 2007, 190–1 and 193, fig. 5.
- 43 Wymer and Brown 1995, 22 and 31, fig. 22.
- 44 SHER MRM 162; Woolhouse 2016, 49–52, fig. 6.
- 45 SHER BEG 010; Martin 1993, 42–6 and 56–8.
- 46 Crummy 1977; Brown 1999; Clarke and Lavender 2008; e.g. Ingham Quarry; Newton and Mustchin 2015, 344–5.
- 47 Gregory 1991, 34–7 and 53–63; Martin 1999a, 69.

- 48 Gregory 1991, 58–61 and 59, fig. 52.
- 49 Martin 2008, 7–10; Cambridgeshire Fens: Pryor 1980, 23–87 and 169–89; 1991, 58–9; 1998, 89–91 and 109–13; 2002; Malim 2001; Evans and Knight 2001; south Essex: Yates 1999; 2001; 2007; Bradley and Yates 2007.
- 50 Yates 2007, 80; Medlycott 2011, 20; Game Farm, Brandon: Gibson 2004.
- 51 Copp 1989; Hummler 1993; Carver 1998, 94–100; Martin 2008, 9.
- 52 Gilmour, Horlock, Mortimer and Tremlett 2014.
- 53 South-east Suffolk: Woolhouse 2017; Ipswich: SHER IPS 676; Stump 2013; Stump and Hinman 2013; IPS 725; Woolhouse 2014; IPS 756; Jones 2015; Trimley/Felixstowe peninsula: SHER FEX 281; Woolhouse 2013; Woolhouse and Hinman 2013; TYY 068; Jackson 2017; Deben: e.g. SHER MRM 157; MRM 162; Woolhouse 2016.
- 54 Bradley and Yates 2007, 96–7; e.g. North Shoebury, Essex: Wymer and Brown 1995, 20–31 and 170–2.
- 55 Pryor 2002, 24–5.
- 56 See Bradley and Yates 2007, 96.
- 57 Brück 2001, 149–50.
- 58 Game Farm, Brandon: Gibson 2004, 11, fig. 10; Main Road, Martlesham: SHER MRM 157; MRM 162; Woolhouse 2016.
- 59 E.g. SHER MSF1174; FML 008; Flemming 1993; MSF19794; PRH 013.
- 60 SHER MSF 3216; KBU 003.
- 61 Brück 1995; 1999b; 2001.
- 62 Brudenell and Hogan 2014; Brudenell 2016.
- 63 Hill 1999, 202.
- 64 Beveridge and Woolhouse 2020.
- 65 Martin 1988, 68–72; 1993, 56–8; 1999c.
- 66 Fynn and lower Deben valleys: Martin 1993, 56; 1999c, 40; Gipping and Orwell valleys: Blagg, Plouviez and Tester 2004, 196.
- 67 Martin 1993.
- 68 Martin 1988, 68–71; 1999c, 41; Moore, Plouviez and West 1988, 11–14; Gregory 1991, 200, figs 154–5; Gregory and Rogerson 1991, 69.
- 69 E.g. Nicholson and Woolhouse 2016, 57–60, fig. 41.
- 70 Adams 2014, 28.
- 71 Analysed by Kevin Rielly.
- 72 Merrifield 1987, 22–57; Fulford 2001, 214–16.
- 73 Morris 2008, 100–34 and 151–208.
- 74 Ryder 1983, 38.
- 75 Guido 1978, 98.
- 76 Blagg *et al.* 2004.
- 77 Blagg *et al.* 2004, 200–201.
- 78 Fairclough 2011.
- 79 Plouviez 1999, 43.
- 80 Plouviez 1995, 74–5, figs 7.4–7.5; 1999, 42; 2004, 84–5, fig. 60.
- 81 Plouviez 1999; Blagg *et al.* 2004, 197.
- 82 Blagg *et al.* 2004, 199.
- 83 Google Maps 2018.
- 84 Adams 2014, 8–11.
- 85 Suffolk County Council 2011.
- 86 See Rippon, Smart and Pears 2015, 317–18, 320–28; Rippon 2008, 189–91.
- 87 Cedars Park, Stowmarket: Nicholson and Woolhouse 2016, 28–9, fig. 19, and 44–5; Brandon Road, Thetford: Atkins and Connor 2010, 13–15, fig. 7.
- 88 Copp 1989, 16 fig. 8; Carver 1998, 96, fig. 57 and 96–100; Martin 2008, 9.
- 89 Boulter 2000; 2002; 2012, 268.
- 90 Lucy, Tipper and Dickens 2009, 22–3, fig. 2.1.
- 91 Bowen 1961, 20–25; Bonney 1978.

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