

Neolithic and Bronze Age

by Nigel Brown and Peter Murphy

I. Introduction

A number of accounts of parts of the Five Counties area during the Neolithic and Bronze Age have been published or are forthcoming (*e.g.* Clarke 1960, Hedges 1980, Couchman 1980, Healy 1984, Lawson 1984, Hall and Coles 1994, Holgate 1996, Brown 1996, Ashwin 1996, Malim forthcoming, Pendleton forthcoming). As Bradley (1993) has noted it is important to be aware of links with other areas particularly along the North Sea coast and Thames Valley. Such contacts operated not only within Britain, but also with continental Europe. Important similarities exist between both sides of the North Sea during the Neolithic (*e.g.* Louwe Kooijmans 1976; 1980) and Bronze Age (Smith 1961, Butler 1963, Champion 1994).

The Neolithic and Bronze Age form a convenient block of time for study, from about the 4th millennium BC to the first half of the 1st millennium BC. There are clear similarities and continuities which link the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age across the traditional divide of *c.* 2000BC. However, all such divisions are essentially arbitrary, and there are significant differences between aspects of the archaeology of the Early Neolithic and that of the Late Bronze Age. Similarly, consideration of the Neolithic and Bronze Age together, should not obscure the links between the Mesolithic/Neolithic and Bronze Age/Iron Age. For convenience four broad temporal divisions are followed below:-

Early Neolithic 4,000–2,800BC

Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age 2,800–1500BC

Middle Bronze Age 1500–1000BC

Late Bronze Age 1,000–700BC

This brief account is supported by a lengthy bibliography which includes only works which are published or have a reasonable chance of being published within twelve months. The bibliography is not of course exhaustive, however, most of the works cited also have extensive bibliographies, which should be sufficient to guide the reader through the complexities of the available evidence.

II. Early Neolithic

The East Anglian region has great potential, as yet largely unrealised, for study of the Mesolithic/Neolithic transition (Bradley 1993). The Fens, Fen-edge, river valley bottoms and intertidal zone are all prime locations for recovery of well preserved sites of both Mesolithic and Neolithic date. However, the severe limitations to this potential should not be overlooked (French 1992).

There is some evidence which indicates that Neolithic settlement in these low lying areas followed a shifting pattern, of possibly seasonal occupation, often in the same locations as Mesolithic sites. Plant remains indicate that wild plant resources were at least as important as cultivated ones (Wilkinson and Murphy 1995 and

forthcoming). The numerous pit scatters on higher ground, often revealed incidentally during excavation of later sites, can also be interpreted as resulting from repeated re-occupation of the same general location (Healy 1988, Brown 1988a and forthcoming). It is possible that very extensive sites like Broome Heath (Wainwright 1972) and Hurst Fen (Clark *et al.* 1960) may also result from successive re-occupation and/or 'settlement drift'.

The elm decline is generally dated in Britain to around 5000BP, but in East Anglia the date range for this event is wide: *c.* 6010–4650BP (Bennett 1983, Scaife 1988, Waller 1994, table 6.6). Its causes have been much disputed, but Peglar (1993) has presented results from Diss Mere, which give grounds for thinking that human impacts on woodland placed trees under stress so that they were susceptible to disease. Neolithic coppicing is attested at Etton, where coppiced stools were found *in situ* (Pryor *et al.* 1985a; Taylor 1988). Neolithic activity in woodland, not involving clearance, has come from Purfleet, where an immature soil developed on emergent intertidal sediments produced woodland mollusc assemblages and butchered bone of aurochs associated with lithics, including polished axes (Wilkinson and Murphy 1995, 90–8).

In the Fens, two discrete periods of positive sea-level tendency (Wash III/IV, *c.* 5400–4500BP; Wash V, *c.* 4200–3300BP) resulted in deposition of intertidal sediments (colloquially known as the Fen Clay) well inland, though not synchronously everywhere; but subsequently, from about 3300BP there was a seawards extension of freshwater conditions with widespread peat development (Waller 1994, 66–72). The Thames III transgression, beginning about 3850BP, resulted in expansion of the Essex estuaries towards their present margins, widespread submergence of Neolithic settlement sites, and the development of a Bronze Age coastal economy (Wilkinson and Murphy 1995).

The largest collection of Neolithic plant remains is from The Stumble, Blackwater Site 28 (Murphy 1989 and in prep), dominated by emmer wheat, with einkorn, bread wheat, naked barley and flax/linseed, as well as abundant remains of hazelnut, sloe, bramble, rosehip, hawthorn and crab-apple, pointing to substantial reliance on woodland plant foods. Most other Neolithic sites in the region have produced only sparse charred plant assemblages, though sites on the A41 Berkhamsted Bypass have produced useful material (Murphy, in prep.). Acidic soil conditions in many areas place restrictions on the recovery of bone, however the animal bone assemblage from Etton Causewayed Enclosure (Pryor *et al.* 1985a) included evidence for draught cattle.

The potential for the recovery of house structures would also seem high (Darvill and Thomas 1996) on sites preserved beneath alluvium. However, such structures are known in the region only from relatively unprotected sites at for example Fengate (Pryor 1974), Chigborough Farm (Waughman 1989; Wallis and Waughman forthcoming), and possibly Eaton Heath (Wainwright 1973), Spong Hill



Figure 3 Location of places mentioned in text: Neolithic, Bronze Age

(Healy 1988) and Gorhambury (Neal *et al.* 1990). Interpretation of such buildings is difficult, exemplified by the recent suggestion of a non-domestic function for the Fengate structure (Pryor 1988).

The region is rich in flint which was a widely utilised resource up to the end of the Bronze Age (Saville 1995). Lithic scatters reflecting a variety of settlement density and land use strategies have been revealed by survey work throughout the region most notably in the Fens and Fen-edge (Hall and Coles 1994).

Early Neolithic Grimston pottery occurs widely within the region, as it does within Britain as a whole. Other types include plain bowl assemblages, exemplified by the material from Broome Heath, formerly regarded as of Grimston style; Herne (1988) and Cleal (1992) have clearly demonstrated this to be a misattribution. Decorated assemblages of Mildenhall style are widespread (*e.g.* Clark *et al.* 1960, Hedges and Buckley 1978, Healy 1988). This term may be retained for convenience, however it masks considerable variation within the region. The value of the regional styles traditionally used to describe Early Neolithic decorated pottery is increasingly questioned (Cleal 1992).

The monuments of the region are distinctive and often smaller than similar structures elsewhere in Britain. They are considered below according to the traditional classifications, however, it should be noted that distinctions between the various monuments are increasingly blurred, and new types of site which fit uncomfortably within the traditional categories are being recorded (*e.g.* McAvoy forthcoming, Last 1996). Long barrows are few (Ashbee 1970, Lawson *et al.* 1981, Kinnes 1992) but include the potential for the recovery of examples with outstanding preservation as at Haddenham (Hodder and Shand 1988). Long Mortuary enclosures are rather more common (Buckley *et al.* 1988). Cursus monuments are also fairly frequent though not evenly distributed throughout the region (*e.g.* Hedges and Buckley 1981). Traditionally regarded as Late Neolithic, they can now be seen to have Early Neolithic origins in East Anglia, as elsewhere (Barrett *et al.* 1992; Gibson 1994). Ring-ditches and round barrows also have their origins within the Early Neolithic. The most notable is Launders Lane, Rainham, now in Greater London (Hedges 1980) and the early phase of Swale's Tumulus (Briscoe 1959). A ring-ditch producing large quantities of Mildenhall style pottery has recently been excavated at Brightlingsea. The cropmark and excavated causewayed enclosures in the region show considerable variation (Evans 1988, Hedges and Buckley 1978), again there is potential for the recovery of examples preserved beneath alluvium (*e.g.* Pryor *et al.* 1985a). The distribution of monuments shows marked variation within the region (Healy 1984 and 1995), and a variety of monuments appear to cluster at particular locations (*e.g.* Hedges and Buckley 1981, fig. 5; Martin 1994). A most striking example of this occurs in the Ouse valley at Godmanchester Cambs (McAvoy 1991), where the complex includes an unusual palisaded trapezoidal enclosure.

III. Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age

Settlements of this period are nationally rare, and have long proved elusive; they frequently lack the deep subsoil features which occur in earlier Neolithic sites (Healy

1988). Gibson (1993a) has pointed out the importance of valley floor sites, where settlements of the period may be preserved, and in this respect the potential of the East Anglian region is considerable. Early Bronze Age sites from the Fens and Fen-edge indicate the importance and fragility of the evidence that may be present (Martin 1988; Martin and Murphy 1988; Hall and Coles 1994). Ditched field systems have been revealed at a number of locations (Bradley 1993). Substantial fragments of a settlement including a house and field boundaries have been revealed at Sutton Hoo, preserved beneath later earthworks (Copp 1989; Hummler 1993).

In the later Neolithic, results from East Anglian pollen sites, as elsewhere in Britain, point to woodland regeneration (Scaife 1988; Waller 1994; Whittle 1978). Neolithic pits from Hunstanton and Baldock have produced woodland/scrub snail assemblages (Murphy 1990a, 1993), whilst at Rectory Farm, Godmanchester a Late Neolithic pit, cut into the junction between ditches of an Early-Middle Neolithic enclosure and a cursus, (McAvoy forthcoming), has produced palynological, insect and plant macrofossil data indicating wooded conditions (Murphy, Robinson, Wiltshire, in prep.). Charcoal spreads mostly dating to around 4000BP on palaeosols under estuarine sediments on the Essex coast may relate to localised burning of woodland (Wilkinson and Murphy 1995). River valley alluviation is generally a later phenomenon, though soil erosion and alluviation following clearance in the earlier Neolithic is reported in the lower Welland valley (French 1990; French *et al.* 1992).

In Fenland, sustained Bronze Age impacts on woodland are marked palynologically by a lime decline in the south-eastern Fens and at Holme Fen (Waller 1994), though at low elevations the lime decline may have been more closely related to rising ground-water levels (paludification) than to human activity. Pollen analysis of a buried soil under a complex barrow at Deeping St Nicholas indicated proximity of a Bronze Age pastoral landscape, with some evidence for cereal cultivation (Scaife 1994). Settlement in an open landscape is indicated at West Row Fen, *c.* 3650BP (Martin and Murphy 1988). In the River Snail palaeochannel at Fordham, a very marked decline in alder pollen and a contemporaneous decrease in % loss on ignition of sediments relates to progressive clearance and increased minerogenic alluviation in the Bronze Age (Wiltshire, in prep.). Charcoal, plant macrofossils and molluscs point to activity within valley floor alder woodland, related to production of abundant heat-shattered flint (Gale, Murphy, in prep.). At Godmanchester, pollen and macrofossil data show that the wooded conditions associated with a Late Neolithic pit had been replaced by open landscapes by 3240 ± 50BP (GU-5213: CAL BC, [2 sigma], 1671–1420).

At Hunstanton, a pig-dominated Later Neolithic bone assemblage probably reflecting exploitation of woodland pannage, with cattle, sheep/goat, deer and dolphin and a small Early Bronze Age sheep/goat-dominated assemblage have been recovered (Jones 1993). At West Row Fen, the Early Bronze Age bone assemblage comprised mainly short-horned cattle and Soay-sized two-horned sheep with goats, horse, pigs, dogs and a minor component of wild species. Cattle seem to have been used principally for draught, whereas sheep and goats were being milked (Olsen 1994). Marine food



Plate II How Hill in Icklingham, Suffolk, an Early Bronze Age burial mound. *Photo: Edward Martin*

resources were exploited where available as they were during the Middle and Late Bronze Age (Murphy 1993, 1994, 1995): at Deeping St Nicholas, three oysters were placed with a Bronze Age cremation in a cist.

The extensive flint extraction site at Grimes Graves is outstanding. Whilst research has focused on the Grimes Graves complex, this site is only the most conspicuous end of a spectrum which ranges through smaller mine, quarry and grubbing-out sites, some of them long-known but neglected, like the Norfolk sites of Great Massingham (Plowright 1891), Great Melton (Clarke and Halls 1918) or Ringland (Clarke 1918). Transport of surface flint from the Breckland to the adjoining relatively flint-poor area of the Fen edge also took place (Healy 1991). The Royal Commission's current survey of flint mines is locating and defining some of the neglected industrial sites. Some aspects of their working and their products have been defined (Saville 1981; Healy 1984, 1999), although much remains to be clarified, especially the wider context in which such sites were exploited.

It is clear too that particular flints were consistently selected for the manufacture of axes, which tend to be of different materials from most of the industries in which they occur. Many are of flints far more likely to come from till than *in situ* chalk sources, for example the pale grey flint of the polished axes from the West Stow ring-ditch (Pieksma and Gardiner 1990) and the tortoiseshell-like mottled orange flint of many Fenland axes (Healy 1991). The consistent selection of these materials in the tills may be related to the use of non-flint erratics for stone axes, as well as for objects like pebble-hammers, rubbers and querns (Green 1988). Till deposits in the region and the manner, extent and context of their use remain understudied in comparison to remote sources of stone implements.

Pottery of the period is remarkably varied. Peterborough Ware is now seen to begin much earlier than hitherto supposed (Gibson 1993b). Grooved Ware may have fairly early beginnings (*e.g.* Kinnes 1985, fig. 4) and radiocarbon dates for Grooved Ware in East Anglia are frequently early (Cleal 1984, Bradley *et al.* 1993). Beaker pottery is well represented in the region (Clarke 1970; Cleal 1984) both from funerary and settlement contexts, notably on the Fen edge (Bamford 1982; Healy 1995). Whilst some classic Early Bronze Age pottery styles such as Collared Urns (Longworth 1988) are widespread, albeit with some marked concentrations, others such as Food Vessels have a much more restricted distribution. These vessels are relatively common in the north of the area (Lawson 1984), but are virtually absent in the south (Couchman 1980). East Anglia is one of the few regions where Collared Urns have been recovered from settlement contexts — notably at West Row Fen. Something of the complexity of the settlement evidence and its attendant pottery is described and discussed by Healy (1995).

Early metalwork also shows marked regional differences being relatively common in the north of the region, with a variety of different objects, whereas in the south there are few metalwork finds, mostly of axes (Couchman 1980, Lawson 1984, Pendleton forthcoming). The dense concentration of finds just outside the Five Counties area in the west of the Greater London region may be relevant here (Needham 1987).

Henge monuments are most famously represented by Maxey (Pryor *et al.* 1985) in the west of the region, with a wide range of cropmark sites in Cambridgeshire (Harding and Lee 1987). In the east of the region, a range of possible, mainly small, henges are known from cropmarks (Harding and Lee 1987; Martin 1982; 1994). However, few have been dated by excavation, the classic exceptions being Arminghall (Clark 1936) and the site at Lawford

(Shennan *et al.* 1985). The presence of Grooved Ware and Beaker deposits at many causewayed enclosures (*e.g.* Hedges and Buckley 1978, Pryor *et al.* 1985), indicates that these monuments continued in use. Activity at Springfield cursus continued throughout the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (Holgate 1996; Brown forthcoming). Long barrows by contrast may broadly have gone out of use, although in some cases deposits were still occasionally made at them (Ashbee 1970). Burial evidence is increasingly focused on round barrows. An early example is the Late Neolithic ring-ditch at West Stow, with numerous cremation burials (West 1990). Round barrows proliferate during the Early Bronze Age (Lawson *et al.* 1981), continuing into the later Bronze Age. Many examples have been excavated throughout the region particularly in Norfolk (*e.g.* Lawson *et al.* 1986; Wymer 1996) and whole barrowfields have been recorded emerging from the eroding peat of the Fens (Hall and Coles 1994). Burials are also known as apparently isolated finds in the Fens (Healy and Housley 1992), and human remains have also been recovered from settlement sites (Martin and Murphy 1988).

IV. Middle Bronze Age

The Five Counties region displays a marked contrast in the range of settlement evidence currently available (*e.g.* Ashwin 1993, Brown 1988a and 1996). This is particularly clear in the Late Bronze Age, but is also apparent for the Middle Bronze Age.

In the south of the region, in Essex, there is extensive, if fragmentary, settlement evidence mostly in the southern half of the county (Brown 1996). This is predominantly of the kind described by Jones and Bond (1980) at Mucking, although the Mucking field system remains exceptional. The most complete settlement plan has been obtained from North Shoebury (Wymer and Brown 1995). Wells are a feature of many Middle and Late Bronze Age settlements in this area (Adkins *et al.* 1984–5; Brown 1988 and 1996; Wallis and Waughman forthcoming). In the north-west of the region there is the extraordinary Fengate/Flag Fen complex, with the large wooden platform at Flag Fen linked by a post alignment to the Fengate ditched field system. This complex began in the Middle Bronze Age and remained a focus of ritual deposition into the Iron Age (Pryor 1992). In the north-east of the region, in Norfolk, settlement evidence is largely lacking (Lawson 1984; Ashwin 1993; 1996). The obvious exceptions are the large quantities of domestic debris, and useful range of environmental data, from the upper fills of the Grimes Graves mine shafts (*e.g.* Mercer 1980; Longworth *et al.* 1988). This general lack of settlement evidence has led to the suggestion that there may be differential settlement development within the region (Healy 1993). This kind of variation in settlement distribution can be seen at a more local level within the region. Thus the settlement evidence from south Essex does not extend into north-east Essex/south-east Suffolk. Here, in the area of the Ardleigh Group, settlement sites are largely lacking (Brown 1996), although a trapezoidal palisaded enclosure recorded at Sutton Hoo may be of Middle or Late Bronze Age date (Hummler 1993).

Deverel-Rimbury pottery is now the classic pottery of the Middle Bronze Age; however, there is no simple progression of ceramic styles. The highly decorated

Ardleigh Group (Erith and Longworth 1960), arguably the most famous version of Deverel-Rimbury pottery from the region, can now clearly be seen to belong as much to the Early Bronze Age as the Middle Bronze Age (Longworth *et al.* 1988; Brown 1995; Healy 1995). There is a fairly neat distinction between the distribution of Ardleigh style urns and Biconical urns within the region (Longworth *et al.* 1988). To the south of the Ardleigh group the Deverel-Rimbury pottery is quite distinct (Brown 1995) and can be seen as part of Ellison's Lower Thames Group. This is most graphically demonstrated by the distribution of some remarkable stamp-decorated bowls which are known from Birchington in north-east Kent (Powell-Cotton and Crawford 1924; O'Connor 1980), North Shoebury in south-east Essex (Brown 1984–5; Wymer and Brown 1995) and Sipson Lane, Middlesex (Cotton *et al.* 1986).

Metalwork finds (Rowlands 1976) also show marked variation across the region, with many finds in the north, and rather fewer in the south (Lawson 1984). This pattern is particularly striking with regard to ornaments, which are relatively common in Norfolk and Suffolk (Lawson 1984; Pendleton forthcoming) and virtually absent in Essex (Couchman 1980). There are also similar variations in the distribution of other types of metalwork, on a smaller scale within the region (Lawson 1984). Burial evidence is dominated by cremations either in urns or unaccompanied, often, but not always, focused on either earlier or contemporary round barrows. In north-east Essex there is a remarkable series of cemeteries characterised by tight clusters of numerous ring-ditches, with burials often placed between rather than within the ring-ditches (Brown 1995; 1996).

Graphic reminders of the importance of rivers and estuaries within the area, and of the potential for contacts across the North Sea, are the finds of a complete paddle from the Crouch estuary (Wilkinson and Murphy 1995) and a boat from Dover, just outside the Five Counties Region. It is from this period that details of the agricultural economy begin to proliferate (Murphy 1984; 1996). There is also evidence of the growth of other forms of production; loomweights become frequent finds and salt production is known from Fenn Creek (Wilkinson and Murphy 1995). At Grimes Graves a Bronze Age cattle dairying economy has been suggested (Legge 1981). Planned field systems on the Fen-edge at Fengate and elsewhere (Peglar and Wilson 1978; Pryor 1988; Wiltshire and Murphy 1993). The development of the Fengate system, its demise due to rising groundwater levels and the expansion of the Flag Fen basin, and associated landscape and vegetational changes are discussed by French (*in press*). In the Waveney valley at Scole, pollen analysis indicates major clearances of lime/oak/hazel woodland at $3140 \pm 50\text{BP}$ (OxA-6102: CAL BC, [2 sigma], 1530–1300) (Wiltshire, *in prep*). Evidence for Bronze Age woodland management has been provided by intertidal wooden structures (Wilkinson and Murphy 1995, 132–152), whilst data on timber utilisation have come from Flag Fen (Taylor and Pryor 1990). On the Boulder Clay Plateau at Stansted, palynological studies indicate a reduction of tree pollen, and particularly lime, around 3350BP, and intensification of clearance associated with arable farming from about 3000BP (Wiltshire 1991). These trends continue and develop throughout the Late Bronze Age.

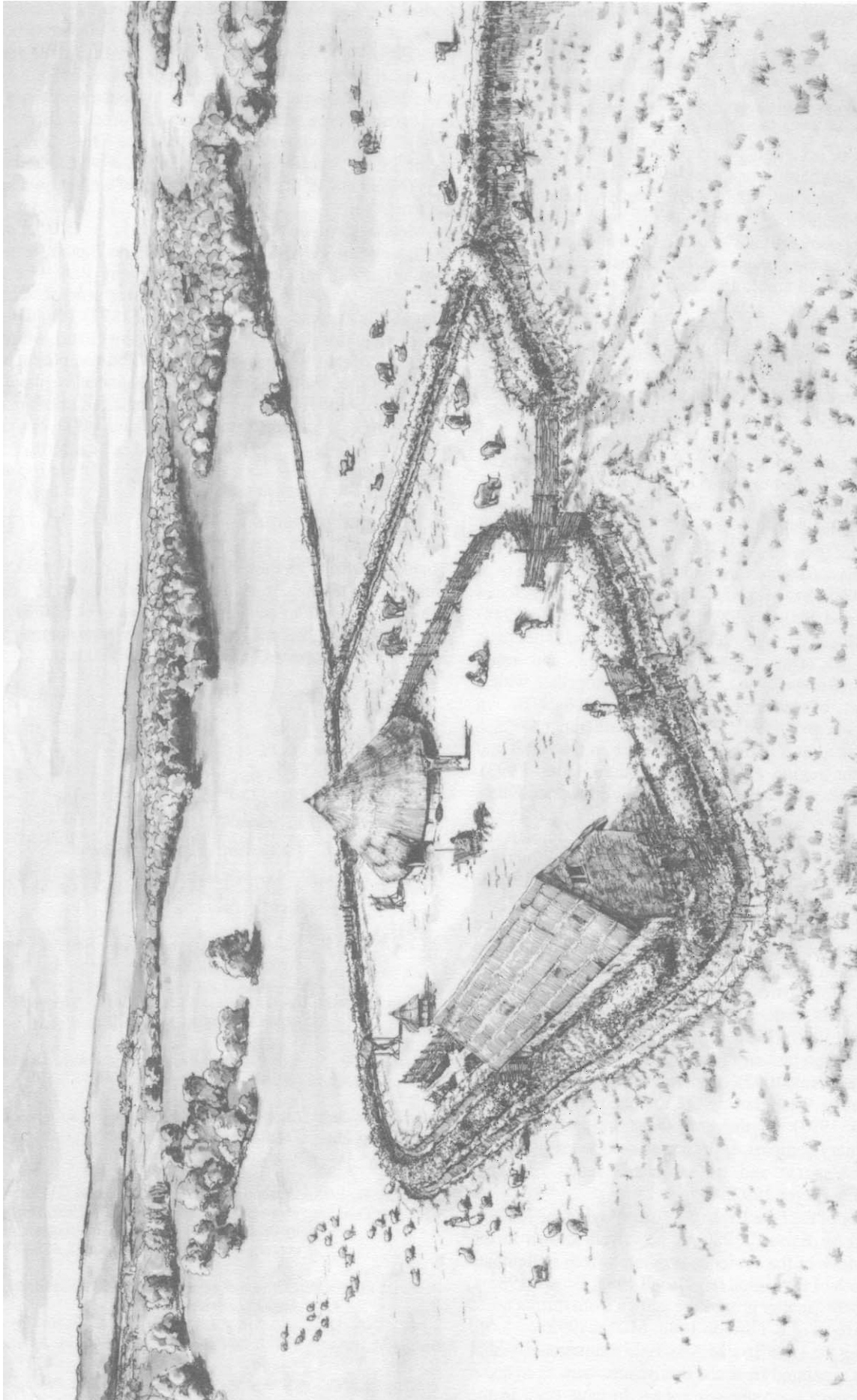


Figure 4 The Late Bronze Age enclosure at Lofts Farm, Essex, as it may have appeared in the 9th century BC. Artefact distributions indicate that the rectangular building functioned as a longhouse, with people at the west end and animals to the east. Plant remains and pollen indicated a locally open landscape of damp grassland, and a primarily pastoral economy. *Drawn by Roger Massey-Ryan, copyright Essex County Council*

V. Late Bronze Age

Spelt wheat was introduced during the Bronze Age in addition to cultivated plants present in earlier periods. The earliest reliable records appear to be from pits at Godmanchester, c. 3240BP (see above). It was a significant or predominant crop at the Late Bronze Age sites at Springfield Lyons, Chelmsford and Lofts Farm, Heybridge (Murphy 1988;1990). Emmer, bread wheat, naked and hulled barley, horse beans, peas, flax/linseed and opium poppy are also recorded from later Bronze Age sites. There is clear evidence for extensive later Bronze Age pastoral and arable landscapes on the Chelmer and Blackwater terrace gravels. At Rectory Farm, West Deeping, macrofossils of dogwood, hawthorn, bullace, sloe, bramble and elder, with the woodland herb three-nerved sandwort, have recently been recovered from a Late Bronze Age field ditch, indicating that it was hedged (Murphy and Fryer, in prep.).

The range of settlement evidence available displays an even more marked variation than that of the Middle Bronze Age. In the north-east of the area in Norfolk there is still a distinct lack of settlements (Lawson 1984; Ashwin 1993) and the evidence from Suffolk is currently also rather sparse (Martin 1993). By contrast in the south of the region in Essex a wide variety of settlement evidence (e.g. Brown 1988a; Brown and Lavender 1994) both enclosed (Buckley and Hedges 1987; Brown 1988a; Bond 1988) and unenclosed (Brown 1988b) is known. These sites have provided an array of domestic, storage, and other structures (Brown 1988a, b and 1996), together with a wide variety of economic and environmental data (Brown 1996 and Murphy 1996). Unenclosed settlement has also been recorded at a number of locations in the south and west of the region e.g. Wicken, Cambs (Bray 1993), Foxholes, Cole Green and along the Berkhamsted/Kings Langley Bypass, Herts (Bryant 1995; McDonald 1993). Survey of the intertidal zone of the Essex estuaries and adjacent land has revealed a range of wooden structures derived from a variety of activities, and dated to the Middle Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (Wilkinson and Murphy 1995; Meddens 1996). Of the known settlements, most striking are the circular enclosed sites of which a number are known in Essex (Buckley and Hedges 1987; Brown 1996). These sites have a distribution in eastern England from Kent to Yorkshire (Champion 1980; Needham 1993). They show a marked variation in internal arrangements (Brown and Lavender 1994; Needham 1993), particularly so if the circular enclosures at West Harling are included (Bradley 1984; Needham 1993). In the north-west of the region the extraordinary complex of preserved wooden structures at Flag Fen/Fengate and its associated metal finds are outstanding (Pryor 1992).

Pottery of the Late Bronze Age displaying the features described by Barrett (1980) is now well known in the region. Much of the evidence is derived from settlements in the south of the region (e.g. Bond 1988; Brown 1988 a, b and 1996). Smaller groups are known from further north in East Anglia (e.g. Lawson 1983; Martin 1993).

During the Late Bronze Age, field monuments, which might be separated from the domestic sphere as in some senses henges and cursuses appear to have been in the Neolithic, appear to be absent. However, as the Flag Fen structures clearly indicate, monumentality was not absent.

Rather it appears more closely integrated with domestic sites, as the circular enclosures clearly demonstrate (Needham 1993; Brown and Lavender 1994). Burials are rare, as they are nationally, although some are known (Needham 1995) and there is some evidence to indicate that barrows were still occasionally constructed (Brown 1996). There is evidence from outside the Five Counties region for the occurrence of human remains on settlement sites (Needham 1993), in the manner now well known in the Iron Age.

Metalwork of the period is widespread (e.g. O'Connor 1980; Lawson 1983; Couchman 1980; Pendleton forthcoming). Finds are dominated by Ewart Park Phase metalwork, the earlier Wilburton phase material is much rarer as it is in adjacent areas (Needham 1987). A notable exception to this pattern is the vast Isleham Hoard, which appears to date from the end of the Wilburton phase. A number of sites within the region have produced fragments of casting moulds for bronze production, notable amongst these are the circular enclosures (Needham 1993), one of which, Springfield Lyons, has yielded a huge array of mould fragments.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to all those who kindly took the trouble to comment on the numerous drafts and redrafts of this text. Whilst it is invidious to single out individuals, particular thanks are due to Frances Healy, some of whose comments have been incorporated *en bloc* in the present text.

Bibliography

- Adkins, P., Brown, N., Murphy, P. and Priddy, P., 1984–5 'Rook Hall' in Couchman, C. (ed.), 'Work of the Essex County Council Archaeology Section 1983–4', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 16, 82–122
- Ashbee, P., 1970 *The Earthen Long Barrow in Britain*
- Ashwin, T., 1993 'From the beginning: Neolithic and Bronze Age Norfolk', *Quarterly* 10, 3–13
- Ashwin, T., 1996 'Neolithic and Bronze Age Norfolk', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 62, 1–22
- Bamford, H., 1982 *Beaker Domestic Sites in the Fen Edge and East Anglia*, *E. Anglian Archaeol.* 16
- Barrett, J., 1980 'The Pottery of the later Bronze Age in lowland England', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 46, 297–320
- Barrett, J., Bradley, R. and Green, M., 1992 *Landscape Monuments and Society: the Prehistory of Cranborne Chase*
- Bennett, K. D., 1983 'Devensian late-glacial and Flandrian vegetational history at Hockam Mere, Norfolk, England. 1. Pollen percentages and concentrations', *New Phytologist* 95, 457–487
- Bond, D., 1988 *Excavation at the North Ring, Mucking, Essex*, *E. Anglian Archaeol.* 43
- Bradley, R., 1984 *The Social Foundations of Prehistoric Britain*
- Bradley, R., 1993 'Where is East Anglia? Themes in regional prehistory' in Gardiner, J. (ed.), *Flatlands and Wetlands: Current Themes in East Anglian Archaeology*, *E. Anglian Archaeol.* 50, 5–13

- Bradley Rosemary, Chowne, P., Cleal, R., Healy, F. and Kinnes, I., 1993 *Excavations on Redgate Hill, Hunstanton, Norfolk, and at Tattershall Thorpe, Lincolnshire*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 57
- Bray, S., 1993 'Excavation of Bronze Age features at Dimmocks Cote Road, Wicken', *Fenland Research* 8, 17–19
- Brown, N., 1988a 'A Late Bronze Age enclosure at Lofts Farm, Essex', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 54, 249–302
- Brown, N., 1988b 'A Late Bronze Age settlement on the boulder clay: excavation at Broads Green 1986', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 19, 7–14
- Brown, N., 1995 'Ardleigh reconsidered: Deverel-Rimbury pottery in Essex' in Kinnes I., and Varndell, G. (eds), *'Unbaked Urns of Rudely Shape': Essays on British and Irish pottery for Ian Longworth* Oxbow Monogr. 55, 123–144
- Brown, N., 1996 'The Archaeology of Essex 1500–500 BC' in Bedwin, O. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Essex: Proceedings of the 1993 Writtle Conference*
- Brown, N., forthcoming 'A landscape of two halves: The Neolithic of the Chelmer Valley/Blackwater estuary, Essex' in Topping, P. (ed.), *Neolithic Studies Group Monograph*
- Brown, N. and Lavender, N., 1994 'Later Bronze Age sites at Great Baddow and settlement in the Chelmer valley, Essex, 1500–500 BC', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 25, 3–13
- Bryant, S., 1995 'The Late Bronze Age and the Middle Iron Age of the north Chilterns' in Holgate, R. (ed.), *Chiltern Archaeology Recent Work A Handbook for the next decade*, 17–27
- Buckley, D.G. and Hedges, J.D., 1987 *The Bronze Age and Saxon Settlement at Springfield Lyons*, Essex, Essex County Council Occ. Pap. 5
- Buckley, D.G., Major, H. and Milton, B., 1988 'Excavation of a possible Neolithic long barrow, or mortuary enclosure at Rivenhall, Essex, 1986', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 51, 77–92
- Butler, J.J., 1963 'Bronze Age connections across the North Sea', *Palaeohistoria* 9
- Champion, T., 1980 'Settlement and environment in later Bronze Age Kent' in Barrett, J.C., and Bradley, R. (eds), *Settlement and Society in the British Later Bronze Age*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 83, 223–46
- Champion, T., 1994 'Socio-economic Development in Eastern England in the First Millennium B.C.' in Kristiansen, K. and Jensen, J. (eds), *Europe in the First Millennium BC*, Sheffield Archaeological Monogr. 6, 125–144
- Clark, J.G.D., 1936 'The Timber Monument at Arminghall, and its Affinities', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 2, 1–51
- Clark, J.G.D., Higgs, E.S. and Longworth, I.H., 1960 'The excavations at the Neolithic site at Hurst Fen, Mildenhall, Suffolk 1954, 1951 and 1958', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 26, 202–245
- Clarke, D.L., 1970 *Beaker Pottery of Britain and Ireland*
- Clarke, N.G., 1918 'A prehistoric flint pit at Ringland', *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia* 2, 148–51
- Clarke, N.G. and Halls, H.H., 1918 'A Cissbury type station at Gt. Melton', *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia* 2, 374–80
- Clarke, R.R., 1960 *East Anglia*, (Thames and Hudson)
- Cleal, R., 1984 'The Later Neolithic in Eastern England' in Bradley, R. and Gardiner, J. (eds), *Neolithic Studies: a review of some current research*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 133, 135–60
- Cleal, R., 1992 'Significant Form: ceramic styles in the earlier Neolithic of southern England' in Sheridan, A. and Sharples, N. (eds), *Vessels for the Ancestors: Essays on the Neolithic of Britain and Ireland in honour of Audrey Henshall*, 286–304
- Copp, A., 1989 'The Prehistoric Settlement', *Bull. Sutton Hoo Res. Comm.* 6, 14–15
- Cotton, J., Mills, J. and Clegg, G., 1986 *Archaeology in West Middlesex*
- Couchman, C., 1980 'The Bronze Age in Essex' in Buckley D.G. (ed.), *Archaeology in Essex to AD 1500*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 34, 40–96
- Darvill, T. and Thomas, J., 1996 *Neolithic Houses in Northwest Europe and Beyond*, Oxbow Monogr. 51
- Erith, F.H. and Longworth, I.H., 1960 'A Bronze Age Urnfield on Vincens Farm Ardleigh, Essex', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 26, 178–192
- Evans, C., 1988 'Excavations at Haddenham, Cambridgeshire: A "planned" enclosure and its Regional Affinities' in Burgess, C., Topping, P., Mordant, C. and Maddison, M. (eds), *Enclosures and Defences in the Neolithic of Western Europe*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Int. Series 403, 127–148
- French, C.A.I., 1990 'Neolithic soils, middens and alluvium in the lower Welland valley', *Oxford J. Archaeol.* 9 (3), 305–11
- French, C.A.I., 1992 'Fenland Research Priorities: Late Mesolithic/Early Neolithic Transition', *Fenland Research* 7, 2–3
- French, C.A.I., Macklin, M. G. and Passmore, D. G., 1992 'Archaeology and palaeochannels in the lower Welland and Nene valleys: alluvial archaeology at the fen-edge, eastern England', in Needham, S. and Macklin, M. G. (eds) *Alluvial Archaeology in Britain*, Oxbow Monogr. 27, 169–76 (Oxford)
- Green, B., 1988 'The petrological identifications of stone implements from East Anglia: second report', in Clough, T. H. McK. and Cummins, W. A., *Stone Axe Studies Vol. 2*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 67, 36–40
- Gibson, A., 1993a 'Approaches to the later Neolithic and Bronze Age settlement of Britain' in Mordant, C. and Richards, A. (eds), *L'habitat et l'occupation du sol à l'Age du Bronze en Europe*, Actes du Colloque International de Lons-le-Saunier, 16-19 Mai 1990, 41–48 (Paris)
- Gibson, A., 1993b 'Radiocarbon date for a Fengate sherd from Bryndewen, Llandysil, Powys', *Archaeology in Wales* 33, 34–5
- Gibson, A., 1994 'Excavations at the Sarn-y-bryn-caled cursus complex, Welshpool, Powys, and the timber circles of Great Britain and Ireland', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 60, 143–223
- Hall, D. and Coles, J., 1994 *Fenland Survey: An essay in landscape and persistence*, English Heritage Monogr. 1
- Harding, A.F. and Lee, G.E., 1987 *Henge Monuments and related sites of Great Britain*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 175
- Healy, F., 1984 'Farming and Field Monuments: The Neolithic in Norfolk' in Barringer, C. (ed.), *Aspects of East Anglian Pre-History*, 77–104

- Healy, F., 1988 *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham, Part II: Occupation during the Seventh to Second Millennium BC*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 39
- Healy, F., 1991 'Appendix 1 Lithics and pre-Iron Age pottery' in Silvester R.J., *The Fenland Project number 4: the Wissey Embayment and the Fen causeway, Norfolk*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 52, 116–42
- Healy, F., 1992 'Fenland Research Priorities: Neolithic and Bronze Age — A shopping list', *Fenland Research* 7, 3–5
- Healy, F., 1993 'Review of Excavation at Grimes Graves, Norfolk 1972–1976 Fascicule 3. Shaft X by Longworth, I., Hearne, A., Varndell, G. and Needham, S.', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 59, 417–8
- Healy, F., 1995 'Pots, Pits and Peat: Ceramics and Settlement in East Anglia' in Kinnes I. and Varndell, G. (eds), *'Unbaked Urns of Rudely Shape', Essays on British and Irish pottery for Ian Longworth* Oxbow Monogr. 55, 173–184
- Healy, F. and Housley, R.A., 1992 'Nancy was not alone: human skeletons of the Early Bronze Age from the Norfolk peat Fen', *Antiquity* 66, 948–955
- Hedges, J.D., 1980 'The Neolithic in Essex' in Buckley, D. G. (ed.), *Archaeology in Essex to AD 1500*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 34, 26–39
- Hedges, J.D. and Buckley, D.G., 1978 'Excavations at a Neolithic causewayed enclosure, Orsett, Essex, 1975', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 44, 219–308
- Hedges, J.D. and Buckley, D.G., 1981 *Springfield Cursus and the Cursus Problem*, Essex County Council Occ. Pap. No. 1
- Herne, A., 1988 'A time and a place for the Grimston bowl' in Barrett, J. and Kinnes, I. (eds), *The Archaeology of Context in the Neolithic and Bronze Age: Recent Trends*, 9–29
- Hodder, I. and Shand, P., 1988 'The Haddenham long barrow: an interim statement', *Antiquity* 62 (235), 349–352
- Holgate, R., 1996 'Essex 4,000–1,500 BC' in Bedwin, O. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Essex: Proceedings of the 1993 Writtle Conference*
- Hummeler, M., 1993 'The Prehistoric Settlement: An Interim Report', *Bull. Sutton Hoo Res. Comm.* 8, 20–25
- Jones, G.G., 1993 'The Animal Bones' in Healy, F., Cleal, R.M.J. and Kinnes, I., *Excavations at Redgate Hill, Hunstanton, 1970 and 1971*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 57, 61–5
- Jones, M. and Bond, D., 1980 'Late Bronze Age settlement at Mucking, Essex' in Barrett, J. and Bradley, R. (eds), *Settlement and Society in the British Late Bronze Age*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 83, 471–482
- Kinnes, I., 1985 'Circumstance not context: the Neolithic of Scotland as seen from outside', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 115, 15–51
- Kinnes, I., 1992 *Non-Megalithic Long Barrows and Allied Structures in the British Neolithic*, British Museum Occ. Pap. 52
- Last, J. 1996 'A buried prehistoric landscape at Huntingdon racecourse, Cambridgeshire', *Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Mid-Anglia Group Bulletin* Spring 1996, 30–33
- Lawson, A., 1983 *The Archaeology of Witton, near North Walsham, Norfolk*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 18
- Lawson, A., 1984 'The Bronze Age in East Anglia with particular reference to Norfolk' in Barringer, C. (ed.), *Aspects of East Anglian Pre-History*, 141–178
- Lawson, A., Martin, E. and Priddy, D., 1981 *The Barrows of East Anglia*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 12
- Legge, A.J., 1981 'The agricultural economy' in Mercer, R., *Excavations at Grimes Graves 1971–2*, 79–118 (HMSO London)
- Longworth, I.H., Ellison, A. and Rigby, V., 1988 *Excavations at Grimes Graves, Norfolk, 1972–1976, Fascicule 2. The Neolithic, Bronze Age and Later Pottery*
- Louwe Kooijmans, L.P., 1976 'Local Development in a Borderland: a survey of the Neolithic at the Lower Rhine', *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* 57, 228–297
- Louwe Kooijmans, L.P., 1980 'De midden-neolithische vondstgroep van Het Vormer bij Wijchen en het cultuurpatroon rond de zuidelijke Noordzee area 3000 V. Chr.', *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* 61, 113–208
- Malim, T., forthcoming *A brief overview of Neolithic and Bronze Age sites along the middle Ouse Valley*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol.
- Martin, E.A., 1982 'When is a henge not a henge', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.* 35 pt 2, 141–3
- Martin, E.A., 1988 'Swales Fen Suffolk: A Bronze Age cooking pit?', *Antiquity*, 62, No. 235, 358–359
- Martin, E.A., 1993 *Settlements on Hill-tops: Seven Prehistoric Sites in Suffolk*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 65
- Martin, E.A., 1994 'Grasping at straws? — the interpretation of ritual and religion in Prehistoric East Anglia', *Bull. Counc. Brit. Archaeol. E. Anglia* 36, 43–50
- Martin, E.A. and Murphy, P., 1988 'West Row Fen, Suffolk: A Bronze Age fen-edge settlement site', *Antiquity* 62 (235), 353–357
- McAvoy, F., 1991 'Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire', *English Heritage Conservation Bulletin* 14, 16–18
- McAvoy, P. forthcoming *The development of a Neolithic monument complex at Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire*
- McDonald, T., 1993 'The A41 Excavations', *Current Archaeol.* 136 (4), 133–137
- Meddens, F., 1996 'Sites from the Thames Estuary, England, and their Bronze Age Use', *Antiquity* 70 (268), 325–334
- Murphy, P., 1984 'Prehistoric Environments and Economies' in Barringer, C. (ed.), *Aspects of East Anglian Pre-History*, 13–30
- Murphy, P., 1988 'Plant macrofossils' in Brown, N. 'A Late Bronze Age enclosure at Lofts Farm, Essex', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 54, 281–293
- Murphy, P., 1989 'Carbonised Neolithic plant remains from the Stumble, an intertidal site in the Blackwater Estuary, Essex, England', *Circaea* 6 (1), 21–38
- Murphy, P., 1990 'Springfield Lyons, Chelmsford, Essex: carbonised plant remains from Neolithic, Late Bronze Age, Iron Age, Roman, Early and Late saxon deposits', *Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report* 11/90
- Murphy, P., 1990a 'Baldock, Hertfordshire. Land molluscs, carbonised cereals and crop weeds, charcoal, avian eggshell and coprolites from prehistoric and Roman contexts', *Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report* 123/90

- Murphy, P., 1993 'Mollusca and plant macrofossils' in Healy, F., Cleal, R. M. J. and Kinnes, I., *Excavations on Redgate Hill, Hunstanton, 1970 and 1971*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 57, 65–9
- Murphy, P., 1994 'The Molluscs' in French, C.A.I., *Excavation of the Deeping St Nicholas barrow complex, South Lincolnshire*, Lincolnshire Archaeology and Heritage Report 1, 79–81
- Murphy, P., 1995 'Mollusca' in Wymer, J. J. and Brown, N. R., *Excavations at North Shoebury: settlement and economy in south-east Essex, 1500BC–AD1500*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 75
- Murphy, P., 1996 'Environmental Archaeology in Essex' in Bedwin O. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Essex: Proceedings of the 1993 Writtle Conference*
- Neal, D. S., Wardle, A. and Hunn, J., 1990 *Excavations of the Iron Age, Roman and Medieval settlement at Gorhambury, St Albans*, English Heritage Archaeol. Rep. 14, 7–9
- Needham, S. P., 1987 'The Bronze Age' in Bird J. and Bird, D. (eds), *The Archaeology of Surrey to AD 1500*, 97–138
- Needham, S. P., 1993 'The Structure of Settlement and Ritual in the Late Bronze Age of south-east Britain' in Mordant, C. and Richard, A. (eds), *L'habitat et l'occupation du sol à l'Age du Bronze en Europe*, Actes du Colloque International de Lons-le-Saunier 16–19 Mai 1990, 49–69 (Paris)
- Needham, S. P., 1995 'A bowl from Maidscross, Suffolk: burials with pottery in the post Deverel-Rimbury period' in Kinnes, I. and Varndell, G., 'Unbaked Urns of Rudely Shape': *Essays on British and Irish Pottery For Ian Longworth*, Oxbow Monogr. 55, 159–172
- O'Connor, B., 1980 *Cross-Channel Relations in the Later Bronze Age*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 91
- Olsen, S. L., 1994 'Exploitation of mammals at the Early Bronze Age site of West Row Fen (Mildenhall 165), Suffolk, England', *Annals of the Carnegie Museum* 63, 2, 115–153
- Peglar, S. M., 1993 'The mid-Holocene Ulmus decline at Diss Mere, Norfolk: a year by year pollen stratigraphy from annual laminations', *The Holocene* 3, 1, 203–222
- Peglar, S. M. and Wilson, D. G., 1978 'The abandoned river channel' in Drury, P. J. *Excavations at Little Waltham 1970–1*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 26, 146–8 (London)
- Pendleton, C.F., forthcoming *Bronze Age metalwork from Northern East Anglia*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep.
- Picksma, E. J. and Gardiner, J., 1990 'The prehistoric flint and stone assemblage' in West S., *West Stow, Suffolk: The Prehistoric and Romano-British occupations*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 48, 46–59
- Plowright, C.B., 1991 'Neolithic man in West Norfolk', *Trans. Norfolk Norwich Natur. Soc.* 5, 250–64
- Powell-Cotton, P. and Crawford, O., 1924 'The Birchington Hoard', *Antiq. J.* 4, 220–226
- Pryor, F., 1974 *Excavation at Fengate, Peterborough, England: The First Report*, Roy. Ontario Mus. Archaeol. Monogr. 3
- Pryor, F., 1988 'Earlier Neolithic Organised Landscapes and Ceremonial in Lowland Britain' in Barrett, J. and Kinnes, I., *The Archaeology of Context in the Neolithic and Bronze Age: Recent Trends*, 63–72
- Pryor, F., 1992 'Current Research at Flag Fen, Peterborough', *Antiquity* 66 (251), 439–457
- Pryor, F., French, C. and Taylor, M., 1985a 'An interim report on excavations at Etton, Maxey, Cambridgeshire, 1982–84', *Antiq. J.* 65, 2, 275–311
- Pryor, F., French, L., Crowther, D., Gurney, D., Simpson, G. and Taylor, M., 1985b *The Fenland Project, Number 1: Archaeology and Environment in the Lower Welland Valley*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 27
- Rowlands, M. J., 1976 *The production and distribution of metalwork in the Middle Bronze Age in southern Britain*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 31
- Saville, A., 1981 *Grimes Graves, Norfolk, Excavations 1971–2: Volume 2 The Flint Assemblage*, Dept. Envir. Archaeol. Rep. 11
- Saville, A., 1995 'The Flint Assemblage' in Atkinson, M., 'A Late Bronze Age enclosure at Broomfield, Chelmsford', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 26, 1–23
- Scaife, R. G., 1988 'Pollen analysis of the Mar Dyke sediments, in Wilkinson, T. J., *Archaeology and Environment in South Essex*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 42, 109–114
- Scaife, R. G., 1994 'The pollen analysis', in French, C. A. I., *Excavation of the Deeping St Nicholas barrow complex, South Lincolnshire*, Lincolnshire Archaeol. Her. Rep. 1, 81–8 (Heckington)
- Shennan, S. J., Healy, F. and Smith, I. F., 1985 'The Excavation of a Ring-Ditch at Tye Field, Lawford, Essex', *Archaeol. J.* 142, 150–215
- Smith, I. F., 1961 'An essay towards the reformation of the British Bronze Age', *Helinium* 1, 97–118
- Taylor, M., 1988 'Some preliminary thoughts on coppicing and pollarding at Etton' in Murphy, P. and French, C. (eds), *The Exploitation of Wetlands*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 186, 93–100
- Taylor, M. and Pryor, F. M. M., 1990 'Bronze Age building techniques at Flag Fen, Peterborough, England', *World Archaeol.* 21, 425–34
- Wainwright, G. J., 1972 'The excavation of a Neolithic settlement on Broome Heath, Ditchingham, Norfolk', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 38, 1–97
- Wainwright, G. J., 1973 'Prehistoric and Romano-British settlements at Eaton Heath, Norwich', *Archaeol. J.* 130, 1–43
- Wait, G. A. and Butler, R., 1993 'An earlier Neolithic Settlement near Fen Drayton, Cambs', *Fenland Research* 8, 51–2
- Waller, M., 1994 *The Fenland Project Number 9: Flandrian Environmental Change in Fenland*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 70
- Wallis, S. and Waughman, M. forthcoming *Archaeology and the Landscape in the Lower Blackwater Valley*, E. Anglian Archaeol.
- Waughman, M., 1989 'Chigborough Farm, Goldhanger: The First Season's Excavations of an Early Settlement', *Essex J.* 24, No. 1, 15–18
- West, S., 1990 *West Stow: The Prehistoric and Romano-British Occupation*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 48
- Whittle, A. W. R., 1978 'Resources and population in the British Neolithic', *Antiquity* 52, 34–42
- Wilkinson, T. and Murphy, P., 1995 *The Archaeology of the Essex Coast I: The Hullbridge Survey*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 71

- Wilkinson, T. and
Murphy, P.,
forthcoming *The Archaeology of the Essex Coast II: Excavations at The Stumble*, E. Anglian Archaeol.
- Wiltshire, P. E. J.,
1991 'Palynological analysis of British Rail sections at Stansted Airport, Essex', Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 8/91
- Wiltshire, P. E. J.
and Murphy, P.,
1993 'An analysis of microfossils and macrofossils from waterlogged deposits at Slough House and Chigborough Farms near Heybridge, Essex', Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 8/91
- Wymer, J., 1996 *Barrow Excavations in Norfolk, 1984–88*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 77
- Wymer, J. and
Brown, N., 1995 *Excavations at North Shoebury: Settlement and Economy in south-east Essex 1500 BC–AD 1500*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 75