THE EXCAVATION OF A TURF BARROW AT MINSTED, WEST SUSSEX, 1973

By P. L. Drewett

A small, oval turf mound some 1.50 metres high was excavated on top of a natural knoll to the west of Stedham Common sand pit, Minsted (Fig. 1). *The central area had been robbed so no evidence for a burial was found. The finds consisted of flintwork, some being in Mesolithic tradition, and more, perhaps post-dating the barrow. Pollen analysis established aspects of the environment in the Early Bronze Age and exceptionally high concentrations of ivy in the Mesolithic horizon.*

INTRODUCTION

In August, 1973, the Department of the Environment invited the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, to undertake the excavation of this small barrow prior to its destruction by sand quarrying. The excavation was undertaken by the Sussex Archaeological Field Unit, under the direction of the author, in September, 1973. I should particularly like to thank the owners of the sand pit for permission to excavate. I should also like to thank my two principal assistants on the excavation, Richard Williams and Owen Bedwin, and the many archaeologists who visited the excavations and offered valuable advice; particularly Professor J. D. Evans, Dr. G. J. Wainwright, Miss P. A. M. Keef, Mr. E. Holden and Mr. R. Bradley. I am also indebted to Professor G. W. Dimbleby for his report on the pollen and Martin Millett for his report on the Romano-British pottery. Mrs. L. Drewett prepared all the illustrations.

GEOLOGY

The barrow is situated on the Folkestone Beds of the Lower Greensand. The soil is a well-developed humus-iron podzol, with a deep bleached layer and a thick accumulation horizon which extends into the undisturbed Folkestone Sands. The natural knoll on which the barrow was situated originated because of a local ferruginous concretion of the sand, a feature visible in the quarry section as it formerly existed to the east of the barrow. Until commercially planted with conifers, the site held heathland vegetation.

THE BARROW CEMETERY

The barrow excavated in 1973 appears to have been one of two outliers of the Iping Common barrow group. The whole group of twelve barrows is situated on Folkestone Beds heathland (Fig. 1). The barrows tend to be built on the slightly higher ridges or isolated knolls. Several, like the one excavated, show hollows in their highest points, perhaps indicating previous excavations. However, it must be remembered that some may indicate collapsed internal structures. No record has been located of anything being found in these barrows, and indeed, there is little evidence for any Bronze Age material in the immediate area. However, future fieldwork could remedy this lack of evidence. In contrast, considerable evidence for Mesolithic occupation is known from the area.[1]

[1] P. A. M. Keef, J. J. Wymer and G. W. Dimbleby. "A Mesolithic site on Iping Common, Sussex, England", *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 31 (1965), 85-92.

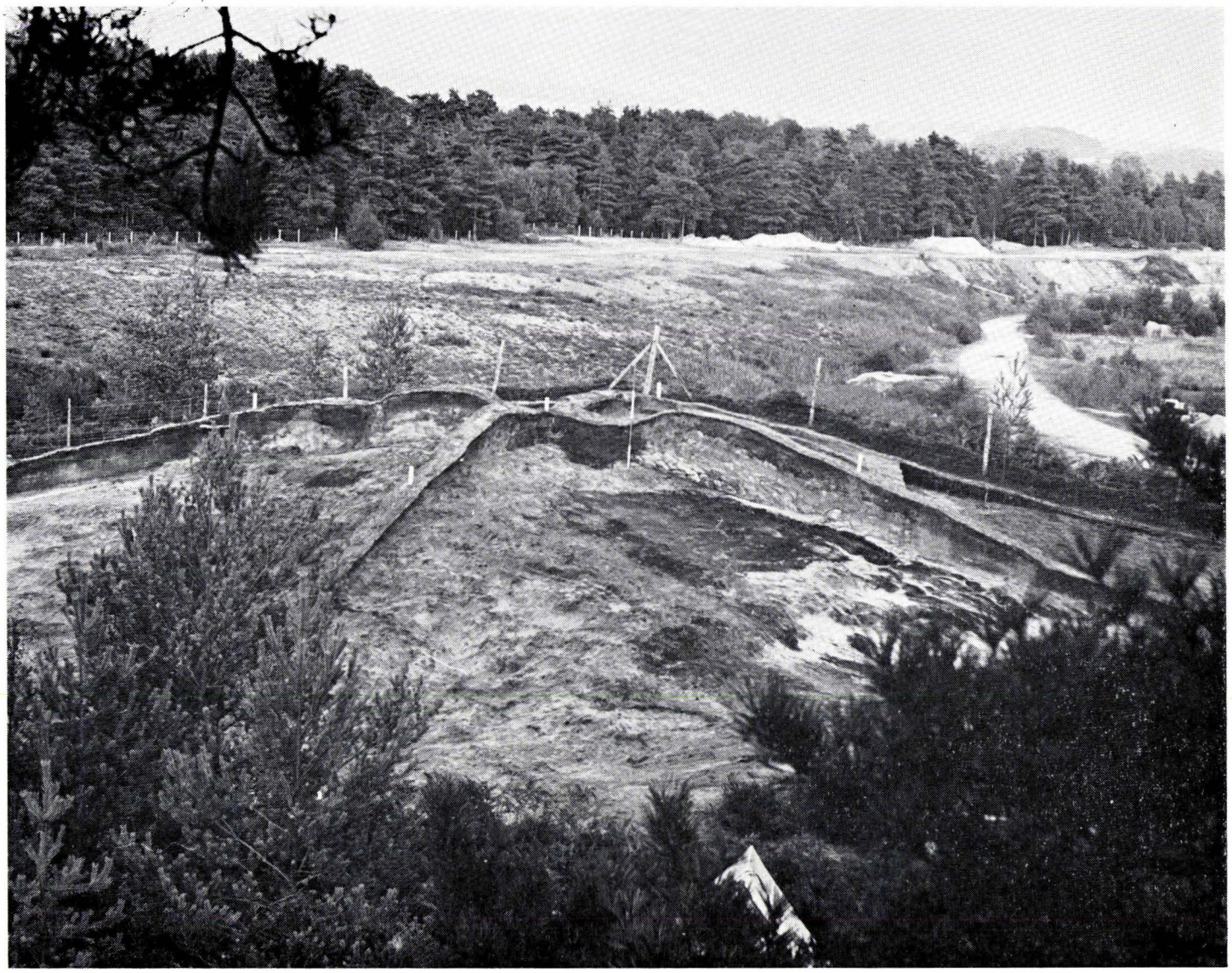

Plate I. Minsted, 1973. General view of the barrow excavation from the south-west. Scale 2 metres
(Photo: P. L. Drewett)

Plate II. Minsted, 1973. Detail of west face of north-east quadrant showing turf mound resting on wind blown sand above Mesolithic horizon. Scale 1·5 metres. (Photo: P. L. Drewett)

FIG. 1. Minsted, 1973. Location map. Black dots on map 3 indicate barrows of the Iping Common group. The Minsted barrow is circled

The 1973 Barrow excavation (Fig. 2)

The barrow was excavated using the standard quadrant method (Plate I) but because of the excessively friable and fine nature of the sand, which blows about readily in the wind, the southern quadrants were partly excavated using a modified strip method.[1] All the material over the turf stack was removed by machine as it was badly disturbed by roots and rabbit burrows. The disturbed material was, however, sorted and flintwork recovered from it. Although a J.C.B. (3c) was used for the stripping, it was most unsatisfactory on this soft sand. In later work on similar sand on West Heath Common, a Massey-Ferguson tractor with bucket and back actor proved much more satisfactory. The north-east quadrant was machined right down to the old land surface in narrow spits, while the turf stack in the other three quadrants was excavated by hand.

[1] P. Ashbee. *The Bronze Age Round Barrow in Britain* (1960), 188.

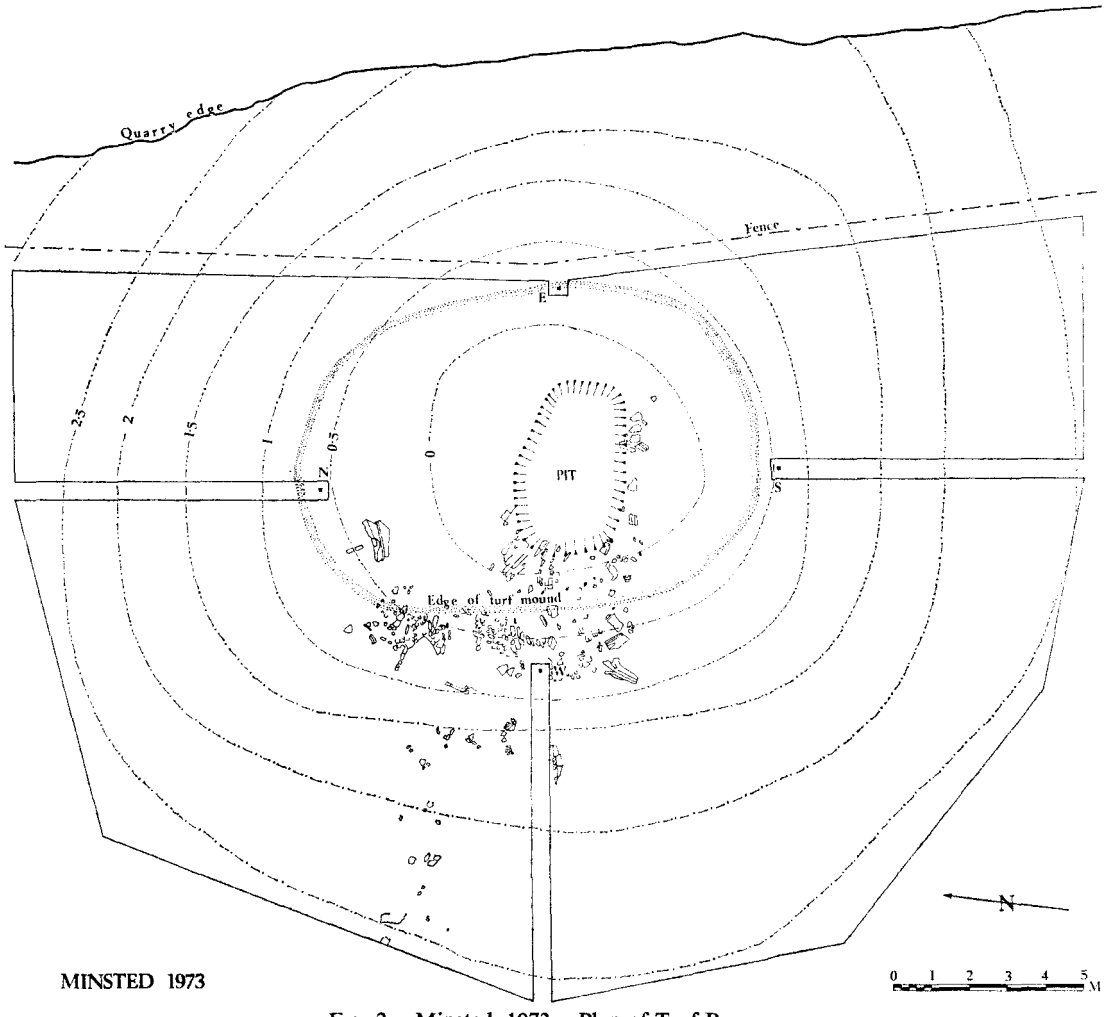

FIG. 2. Minsted, 1973. Plan of Turf Barrow

The Barrow structure

The barrow appears to have been constructed on a localized knoll, perhaps occupied intermittently by small Mesolithic hunter-gatherer bands. Although there was no great concentration of Mesolithic material under the barrow a general scatter, together with more on and around the barrow, indicates at least some occupation. Considerably more Mesolithic flintwork has been found to the north-west of the barrow in areas now destroyed by the sand pit.[1] These appear to have been actual flint working floors. The high concentration of ivy noted by Professor Dimbleby from a horizon under the buried Bronze Age land surface (see below), is explained by him as possibly indicating the use of ivy as a winter fodder, perhaps for red deer. If this is so, the knoll could perhaps be seen as a local feeding point from the height of which the herders could survey the safety of the herd.

[1] P. A. M. Keef, personal communication.

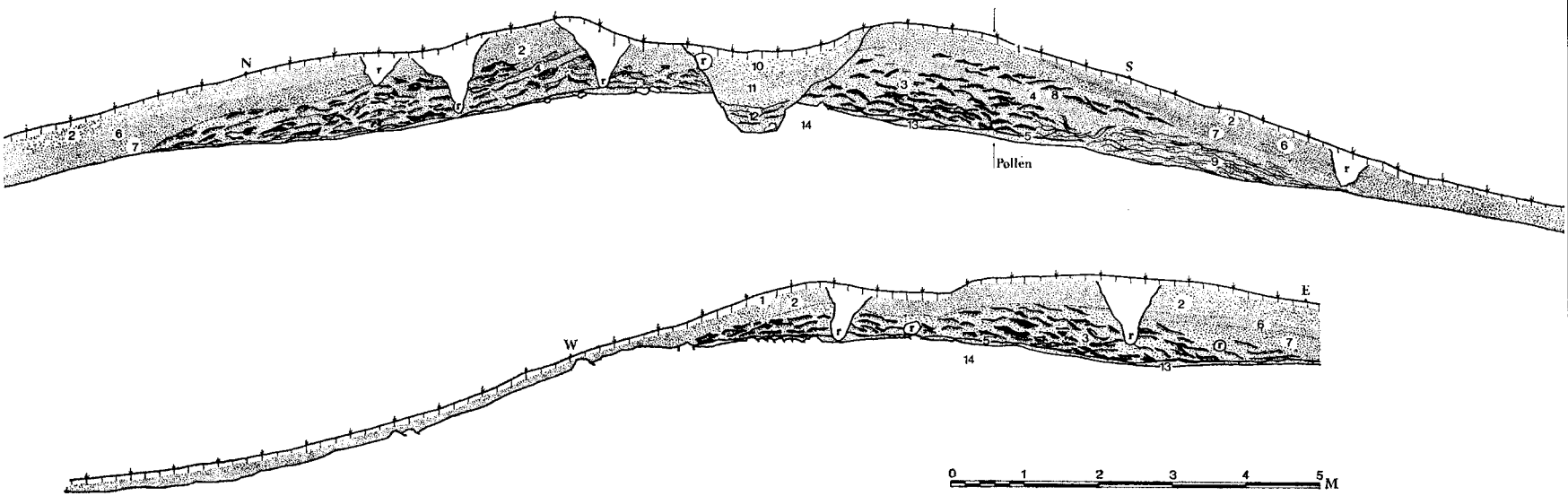

FIG. 3. Minsted, 1973. Sections of Turf Barrow

Key:

1. Top soil with matted heather roots.
2. Light grey sand.
3. Bands of black sand in grey and white sand. Turf mound.
4. Light grey sand.
5. Black sand. Bronze Age land surface.
6. Light grey sand.
7. Dark grey sand.
8. Bands of black sand in grey and white sand. Turves.
9. Fine white sand with thin wavy black bands.
10. White sand with matted roots.
11. Fine light grey sand.
12. Bands of black and white sand.
13. Black sand with white sand above. Mesolithic land surface with wind blown sand above.
14. Natural yellow sand.

r Rabbit disturbance and collapses above rabbit holes.

Towards the end of the Mesolithic period wind-blown sand appears to have buried the Mesolithic horizon (Plate II) and above this a soil horizon developed (Fig. 3, layer 5) on which heather, together with light alder, oak and hazel woods flourished. (See Pollen report, below). The barrow itself is constructed almost entirely of turf, which pollen analysis would suggest came from a similar environment to that indicated by the buried old land surface. Presumably, therefore, a large area round the barrow was cleared of turf. If so, the structure in its original state would have consisted of a turf mound surrounded by a wide zone of clean, white sand. The turves in the stack were not particularly regular in shape or size, although they tended to average some 30cm. square. They were mainly placed on the stack the right way up, although some were inverted (Plate II). After the mound had been constructed to a height of about 70cm., the mound was capped with a layer of grey sand (Fig. 3, layer 4). Finally, this layer was capped with a few more turves. Although it is possible that more sand was heaped over the turf stack (Fig. 3, layer 2), because of the ease with which this sand becomes airborne it is more likely that layer 2 consists of material resulting from the breakdown of turves and the development of a soil cover. Layers 6 and 7 appear to be wind-blown sands that built up against the side of the mound.

No sign of a burial was found, but this is most likely due to the acidity of the soil and the fact that the barrow had been robbed in the past. (Fig. 3 layers 10, 11, 12). Although few artifacts were found in the barrow material, much worked flint was found on the surface of the slopes of the mound. This may possibly be related to some primary ceremony, but it is perhaps better explained by the use of the sheltered slopes around the mound by wandering herdsmen knapping occasional flint tools. The few finds of Romano-British pottery could perhaps be explained in a similar way.

THE FINDS

Flintwork (Fig. 4)

The flint industry from the site appears to be the result of at least two distinct traditions. The first appears essentially Mesolithic and the second may well be Bronze Age. However, because of the method of construction of a turf barrow, none of the material in the barrow can be seen as strictly contemporary with its construction as it may well have already been incorporated in turves used. Likewise, although the material on top of the barrow may appear to be a homogenous group, it must be remembered that much of it may in fact have been the result of erosion of the top layers of turf. None of the material from this site can therefore be considered as even relatively homogenous, closed groups and so any detailed statistical analysis would have little value.

The flintwork can, however, be divided into four stratigraphical groups although none are closed groups. All the flintwork is made out of black chalk flint with the exception of one flake of honey-coloured flint (Fig. 4, No. 8).

Group I. From Layer 2 over turf stack

(a)	Prepared cores	4
(b)	Rough cores	43
(c)	Rough flint waste	738
(d)	Broken flakes	192
(e)	Waste flakes	278
	Total	1,255
(f)	Fire cracked flints	4

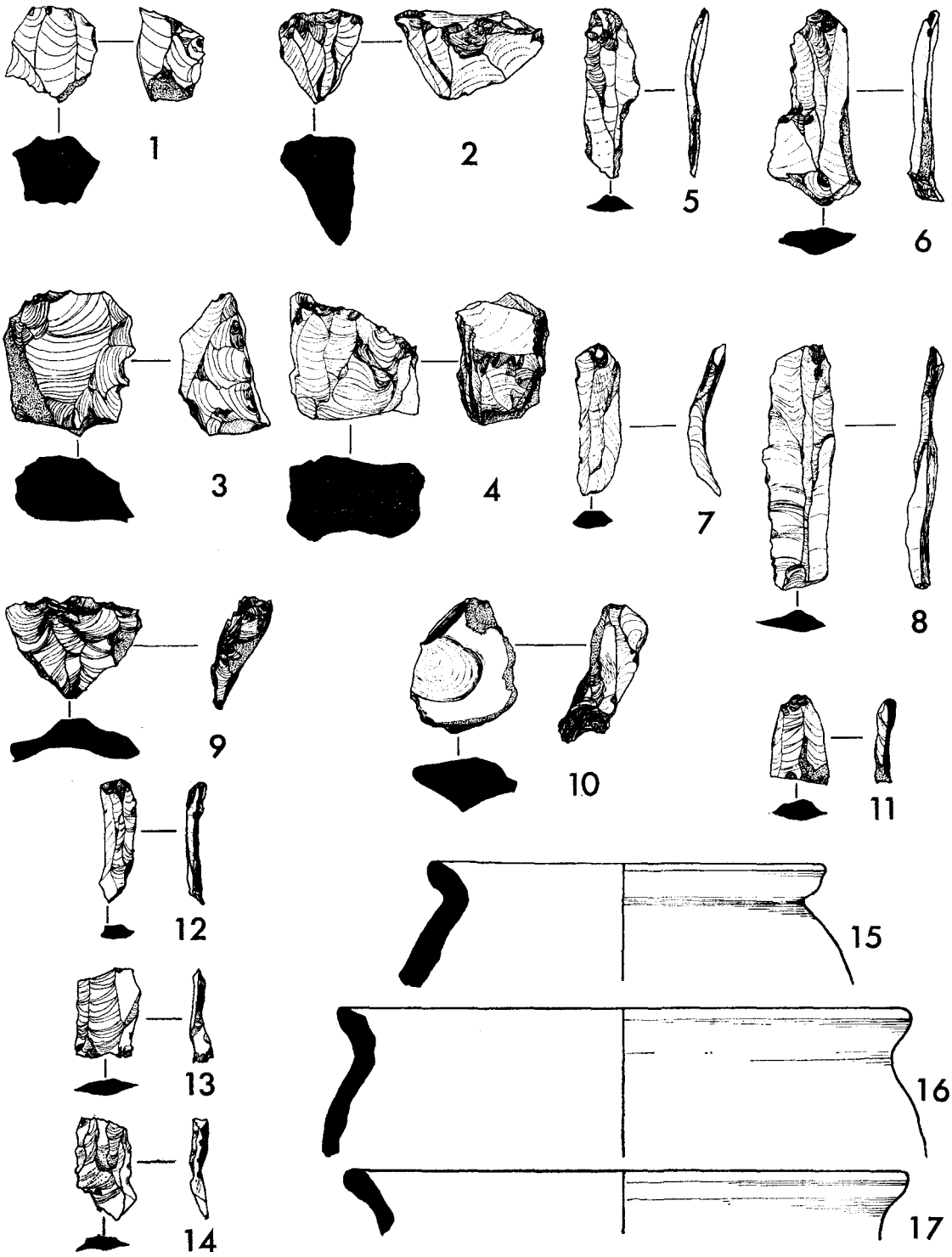

FIG. 4. Minsted, 1973. Mesolithic and later flintwork (1-14) and Romano-British pottery (15-17). (Scale $\frac{1}{2}$)

(a) The prepared cores (Fig. 4, Nos. 1, 2, 3) are almost certainly Mesolithic as they are designed for the removal of small, parallel sided blades.

(b-c) Rough cores consist of flint nodules from which two or more flakes have been struck off, more or less randomly, without preparing a proper striking platform. Rough flint waste is irregularly broken pieces of flint resulting from the use of very rough cores. Many of these pieces have cortex remaining.

(d-e) The waste flakes have been divided into those broken and those whole, as a high percentage clearly have been broken. The whole flakes were all measured for length and breadth (see Fig. 5) simply to demonstrate their relative size.

(f) The four fire-cracked flints may well be the result of heath fires.

Group II. Layers 3 and 4. Barrow material.

(a)	Prepared core	1	(Fig. 4, No. 4)
(b)	Rough flint waste	12	
(c)	Waste flakes	30	
	Total	43	
(d)	Fire-cracked flints	3	

The core and at least one of the waste flakes (Fig. 4, No. 5), would fit well into a Mesolithic assemblage.

Group III. Layer 7. Around turf stack.

(a)	Flint flakes	22	(Fig. 4, Nos. 6, 7 and 8)
(b)	Core rejuvenation flake	1	(Fig. 4, No. 9)
(c)	Rough flint waste	13	
	Total	36	

The core rejuvenation flake and parallel sided blades illustrated are almost certainly Mesolithic. Other flint flakes and waste may well be Mesolithic, but lack diagnostic features. The one long, finely worked parallel sided blade (Fig. 4, No. 8) is made of a honey-coloured flint and bears a high gloss. Although likely to be Mesolithic, it would not be inconsistent with an Upper Palaeolithic industry.

Group IV. Layer 11 in Robber Trench.

This group is almost certainly a mixture of Groups I and II, and is separated both on those grounds and by the fact that the contents of the trench were all sieved using a 5mm. mesh.

(a)	Flint flakes	18	
(b)	Prepared core	1	
(c)	Rough flint waste	1	
	Total	20	
(d)	Fire-cracked flints	4	

The prepared core (Fig. 4, No. 10) is of Mesolithic type as are at least three of the flakes (e.g. Fig. 4, No. 11).

Group V. Surface finds near barrow.

Although no real concentrations of flints were found around the barrow, odd flakes were picked up along all the access paths to the barrow. The majority were Mesolithic in character, and three blades from the west of the barrow are illustrated. (Fig. 4, Nos. 12, 13, 14).

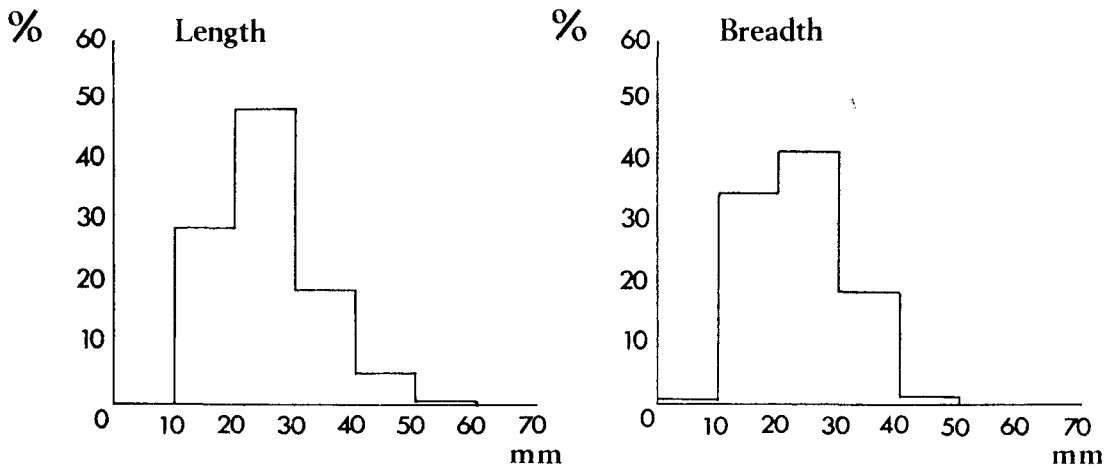

FIG. 5. Minsted, 1973. Length and breadth of flint flakes from layer 2

CONCLUSION

The presence of parallel sided blades, prepared cores and core rejuvenation flakes of Mesolithic type indicate that at least a part of the assemblage is Mesolithic. The absence of microliths in this element of the industry resembles a similar group from West Heath Common, Sussex, where a C-14 date of 6150 ±70 B.C. was obtained from a pit indicating a later Mesolithic industry.[1] It also resembles an industry found on Croham Hurst, Surrey, where again a later Mesolithic date was suggested.[2] These industries contrast with the well known Surrey-Sussex Mesolithic industries characterized by microliths, for example that found under the turf barrow at Deerleap Wood, Wotton, Surrey.[3] The industry from over the surface of the mound, however, contains much coarser elements not normally associated with Mesolithic industries, and so a post-barrow, Bronze Age tradition would not be inconsistent with the material. It is probable, however, that this assemblage is the result of periodic flint knapping on the mound over a long period. The absence of tools in the assemblage is, however, peculiar, so the possibility that this flint knapping was part of some final phase in the burial ritual should not be ruled out entirely.

Romano-British Pottery (Fig. 4) *by M. Millett*

Five sherds of Romano-British pottery were found scattered over the barrow in layer 2.

15. A rim sherd of a wheel-made everted rim jar in dark grey ware with fine sand tempering. The external surface is covered with a thin, lighter grey slip. A very common local type with a broad chronological range, being common throughout the 3rd century A.D., but starting earlier and continuing later. The slip is usually red rather than grey.[4]
16. Wheel-made everted rim jar in dark grey ware with sand tempering. The pottery is rather 'soft' indicating poor firing. A common local type with a broad time range. At Fishbourne the majority of the sherds date to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., although this is not exclusive.[5]
17. Small rim sherd of a wheel-made, everted rim jar in grey ware with a light grey core. Fine sand tempering. This sherd is too small and too common to date accurately, this type having a date range from the late 2nd century to the late 4th century A.D.[6]
18. A small sherd of wheel-made grey ware with a buff core. Sand tempered. Date uncertain.
19. A sherd of wheel-made ware similar to No. 16. Date uncertain.

This group represents a minimum of three pots, none of which can be closely dated. The general character, however, points to a 3rd century date. All the sherds have similar tempering of sand which is common throughout the Weald and thus the pots may have been made locally or have come from further afield. None of the sherds are particularly abraded, and this would indicate that they had not been about for long at the time of burial: this is particularly true with Nos. 16 and 19 which are of 'soft' ware and would abrade easily.

Pollen Analysis by G. W. Dimbleby

A series of samples was taken at 1in. intervals from below the estimated position of the old land surface up into the base of the mound. (Fig. 3). They were treated by acetolysis and hydrofluoric acid and analysed in the usual way.[7] Fig. 6 represents the distribution of the important pollen types expressed as both absolute frequencies (grains per gm. soil) and percentages (of total pollen plus fern spores).

[1] P. L. Drewett. "Rescue Archaeology in Sussex, 1974; a Progress report on the Sussex Archaeological Field Unit. *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology*, 12 (1975), 19-24.

[2] P. L. Drewett. "The Excavation of a Turf Walled Structure and other Field Work on Croham Hurst, Croydon, Surrey, 1968/69", *Surrey Archaeological Collections* (hereafter *Sy.A.C.*), 68 (1970), 1-19.

[3] J. X. W. P. Corcoran. "Excavation of the Bell Barrow in Deerleap Wood, Wotton", *Sy.A.C.* 60 (1963), 1-18.

[4] B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Fishbourne*, II, Type 313, Fig. 114, p. 238 (Fig. 4, No. 15).

[5] B. Cunliffe, ibid., Type 316.2, Fig. 115, p. 239 (Fig. 4, No. 16).

[6] C.f. kiln groups in *Sy.A.C.*, "A Survey of the pre-history of the Farnham district", (1939), 221-251.

[7] G. W. Dimbleby, "Soil pollen analysis", *Journal of Soil Science*, 12 (1961), 1-11.

Interpretation

The old land surface at the time the barrow was built is clearly seen at 48in. on the arbitary scale of depth. At this level the absolute frequencies of the pollen of alder (*Alnus*), oak (*Quercus*), hazel (*Corylus*) and heather (*Calluna*) are at high levels and progressively fall off with depth down the profile, the characteristic distribution of pollen in an undisturbed soil with an intact soil surface. At 52in. there is a dramatic change, with ivy (*Hedera*) pollen becoming predominant. The cultural significance of this will be discussed later, but for the present it only needs to be said that at this level there appears to be another buried surface, much earlier than the date of the barrow.

Turning now to the part of the diagram lying above the 48in. level, it is seen that the curves are inverted versions of the distribution already described, with the exception of the topmost sample (44-45in.) which has no close parallel in the rest of the diagram. From this pattern it is apparent that the profile from 45 to 48in. represents an inverted turf, which has been cut from a soil having a pollen sequence closely similar to that seen from 48-52in. From the cultural point of view, both the old land surface and the buried level beneath it can contribute information. Let us dispose of the lower (52in.) level first. At and below this level tree pollen is scarce and what there is, with the possible exception of pine (*Pinus*), could have become incorporated from the overlying soil. This explanation, however, cannot account for the curves of hazel and ivy. Here we have a profile very reminiscent of Mesolithic sites such as Addington[1], Oakhanger[2] or Iping[3], in which Mesolithic occupation layers have become covered over with transported sand of local origin. Indeed, Mesolithic artifacts were recorded in the barrow excavation. If this is so, the dominance of hazel in the pollen assemblage and the paucity of thermophilous trees might suggest a Boreal date for this phase.

The ivy pollen is particularly interesting in such a context, and is a further example of such an accumulation in a Mesolithic context. It has recently been suggested[4] that such high percentages of ivy pollen, which seem inexplicable on grounds of normal pollen distribution, are due to the use of ivy as a winter fodder in animal husbandry. In the Mesolithic this was possibly the herding of red deer. It is interesting to note that the 45-46in. sample of the inverted turf contains an even greater quantity of ivy pollen than in the 52-53in. level of the *in situ* soil.

The 4in. depth of sand which overlies the 52in. level contains the pollen of not only hazel, but also the thermophilous trees. It also contains some ivy pollen, but at much lower frequencies than in the two peak samples. This pollen could have been contained in the sand when it was carried on to the 52in. surface. Taking this 4in. zone as a whole, the pollen assemblage is a forest one. Even excluding ivy pollen, which appears to be artificially introduced to the site, most of the pollen is of woodland species. The light-demanding grasses (*Gramineae*) and herbs (e.g. ribwort plantain, *Plantago lanceolata*), are very poorly represented; nor does the bracken (*Pteridium*) curve show the response which is to be expected when the canopy is opened up. The only curve which does respond in this way is that for heather (*Calluna*), and this clearly shows increasing dominance in the period prior to the construction of the barrow.

What, then had been happening on this site when the barrow was constructed? On the negative side it can be said that there was no arable farming; there is no cereal pollen and weeds of any sort are weakly represented. Furthermore, the clear pattern of pollen distribution in the soil is conclusive evidence that the soil on this spot, at least, has not been disturbed by ploughing. Nor, it must be admitted, is the evidence of pastoral farming much stronger; there are a few weeds of pasture represented spasmodically, but the weakness of the grass pollen curve hardly suggests the dominance of pasture grasses. Heather could provide food for sheep, though grass would normally be preferred, but the increase in heather may be connected with the persistent use of fire, perhaps suggesting that the site was not primarily a farming site, but a site in a woodland setting on which the use of fire was frequent, perhaps seasonal. The NAP/AP percentage of the 48-49in. sample is only 85 (compared with 53 for the whole 48-52in. zone), clearly indicating that such clearance as had been made was quite local in a general matrix of primary forest of Sub-Boreal age.

This interpretation is reminiscent of another round barrow, that at Moor Green (West End), Hants. Here, too, the setting was apparently woodland, though birch and bracken were well represented, showing that the woodland was anthropogenically modified. Here, too, grass pollen was scarce and agricultural weeds were at low frequency and heather showed a similar increase in dominance towards the Bronze Age surface.[5]

1 G. W. Dimbleby. "Pollen Analysis of a Mesolithic Site at Addington, Kent", *Grana Palynologica*, 4 (1963), 140-148.

2 W. F. and W. M. Rankine and G. W. Dimbleby. "Further excavations at a Mesolithic site at Oakhanger, Selbourne, Hants", *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 26 (1960), 246-262.

3 P. A. M. Keef, *et al.*, op. cit.

4 I. G. Simmons and G. W. Dimbleby, "The probable role of ivy (*Hedera helix* L.) in the Mesolithic economy of Western Europe", *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 1 (in press).

5 P. Ashbee. Report on excavation of a barrow at Moor Green (West End), Hants., with report on pollen analysis by G. W. Dimbleby (in preparation).

DISCUSSION

Unfortunately, no direct dating evidence was obtained for this barrow. However, turf structures of this type are usually ascribed to the Early Bronze Age. For example, a Carbon 14 date of 1680 ±100 bc was obtained from the old land surface beneath a similar turf barrow on West Heath Common, Sussex. However, the West Heath Cemetery continued in use for at least 400 years as the latest date is 1270 ±180 bc.[1] Little other direct dating evidence is yet available from Sussex turf barrows as although field evidence would suggest a considerable amount of previous excavation, generally ascribed to the 18th-19th centuries, finds of materials other than flint appear to be non-existent. The absence of primary burials and grave goods such as pottery is generally ascribed to the high acidity of the soil, together with its highly pervious nature, exemplified by the development of well-developed humus-iron podzols. The absence of burials will be returned to below.

The actual shape and structure of the mound is also of little use in suggesting parallels for dating as the shape of this mound appears to be largely predetermined by the contours of the pre-existing mound. The use of natural mounds for burial is of course a widespread phenomenon in the Bronze Age, for example at Maesmynan, Denbighshire.[2] However, on its face value, this barrow is more oval than round and it may have been that the builders deliberately selected an oval natural mound as it was intended to construct an oval turf mound. Oval barrows, as a class defined by Colt Hoare,[3] tended to be considerably larger than this one and were considered a variation of long barrows rather than round barrows. However, some such barrows appear towards the end of the Long Barrow tradition. For example, an oval mound at Winterbourne Stoke covered two axially placed contracted inhumations, one with a beaker. Similarly an oval mound recently excavated at Alfriston, Sussex, proved to be Neolithic in date.[4] In the case of the Minsted barrow, however, it appears best to suggest that the little evidence we have would not be inconsistent with a Bronze Age date, perhaps between 1800 and 1100 B.C.

Ashbee has noted that often turf mound barrows are ditchless[5] and that although most occur on heathland, for example at Beaulieu, Hampshire and Wotton Common, Surrey[6] others occur on a variety of soils, for example at Letterston, Pembrokeshire. It must be remembered, of course, that although actual turf structures rarely survive on the chalk lands due to worm action, many such barrows had substantial turf cores, for example, Barrow 9 on Ashey Down, Isle of Wight.[7] The widespread use of turf for barrow construction on sandy heathlands, at least, may well be a direct result of the most unsuitable nature of fine sand for mound construction. During our excavations considerable amounts of sand were frequently blown off our spoil heaps, whereas turf stacks remained solid. Likewise ditches dug in sand slump very quickly. Ditchless turf barrows are therefore most likely simply a modification of the general barrow tradition to suit local environmental conditions.

[1] P. L. Drewett, op. cit. (Note 4).
[2] P. L. Drewett. " The Excavation of a Bronze Age Burial in a Natural Mound at Maesmynan, Denbighshire, 1969; *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 23 (1970), Part 4, 411-416.
[3] R. Colt Hoare. *The History of Ancient Wiltshire* (1810).
[4] P. L. Drewett, op. cit. (Note 4).
[5] P. Ashbee, op. cit., 44.
[6] J. X. W. P. Corcoran, op. cit.
[7] P. L. Drewett. " The Excavation of two round barrows and associated field work on Ashey Down, Isle of Wight, 1969 "; *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 27 (1970), 33-56.

Finally, we have the problem of a lack of burials from both this mound and all other Sussex turf mounds. It is generally assumed that a lack of burials is the result of the high acidity of the soil, which at best may leave only a soil silhouette. This remains the most likely explanation in this case, although even if such evidence did survive, it may have been destroyed by the robber trench. However, none of the four turf barrows excavated by the Sussex Field Unit in West Sussex during 1973-74 contained any sign of burials.[1] This, together with the absence of previous discoveries in Sussex turf barrows, leaves us in the position that it is impossible to say at present, with any degree of certainty, that these mounds were burial structures at all. However, their resemblance to burial structures is so close that some function in relation to a funerary rite seems most likely. The possibility remains that some or all were cenotaphs, the construction of which is widely known ethnographically, for example in Dahomey[2] and suggested archaeologically, for example at Crig-a-Mennis.[3] However, in the case of the Sussex turf barrows the exceptionally high acidity of the soil remains the most likely explanation for the absence of burials. This property of the soil may well have been known to the builders and indeed, the many examples of hollows in the tops of these mounds, normally considered robber trenches, may have been part of a continuing rite related to this knowledge. Unlike areas on the Chalk, there are few documentary references to the robbing of heathland barrows in Sussex in historic times. Also the Minsted barrow ' robber trench ' has two peculiarities which may suggest that it is not a recent robber trench. Firstly, layer 12 (Fig. 3) consisted of well structured turves and any recent excavation would have destroyed the turf structure. Secondly, no obvious spoil heap was located with a protected turf line as found, for example, adjacent to the robber trench in Ashey Down Barrow 9, Isle of Wight.[4] It may well be therefore that this, and many other such holes in turf barrows were dug in antiquity, perhaps to establish that no trace was left of the human form and that it had departed to wherever it was meant to depart. Mr. F. Petersen has noted numerous burial mounds in the Neolithic and Bronze Age in England, in which bone has been preserved, that contain both incomplete and badly disturbed burials. He interpreted some cases as being the result of disturbance through later additions to the barrow,[5] but it seems likely that some may be the result of deliberate exhumation for some religious reason, perhaps like that suggested for the turf mounds.

The Society is much indebted to the Department of the Environment for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this paper.

[1] P. L. Drewett, op. cit. (Note 4).
[2] M. J. Herskovits. *Dahomey I* (1938, New York).
[3] P. Christie. " Crig-a-Mennis: A Bronze Age barrow at Liskey, Perranzabuloe, Cornwall," *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 22 (1960), 76-97.
[4] P. L. Drewett, op. cit. (Note 21).
[5] F. Petersen. " Traditions of multiple burial in Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age England ", *Archaeological Journal*, 129 (1972), 22-55.

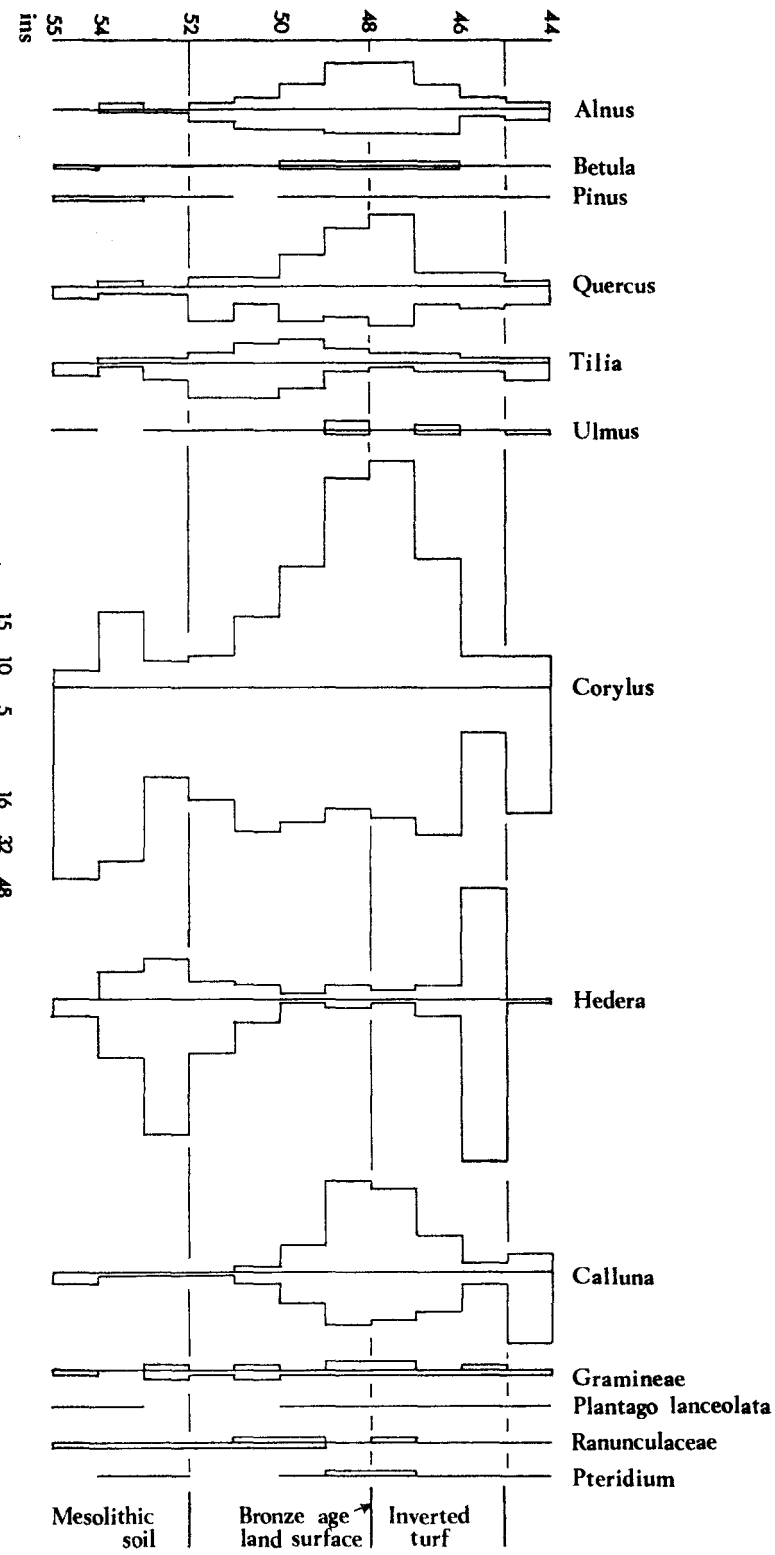

FIG. 6. Minsted, 1973. Pollen diagram