

# Dr V. Seton Williams' excavations at Combe Hill, 1962, and the role of Neolithic causewayed enclosures in Sussex

by Peter Drewett

with a contribution by  
K. D. Thomas

*Combe Hill is a small causewayed enclosure on the north scarp of the South Downs above Willingdon, East Sussex. First published by A. Hadrian Allcroft in 1908, it was sample-excavated by R. Musson in 1949. More extensive excavations were undertaken by the late Dr V. Seton Williams in 1962 but remained unpublished. This article describes these excavations and relates the enclosure to those of similar date in Sussex.*

## INTRODUCTION

The enclosure on Combe Hill (TQ 574 021) is one of the smallest causewayed enclosures in Britain, being only about 0.6 ha in area (Fig. 1). Two circuits of discontinuous banks and ditches are clearly visible although the inner circuit is much clearer than the outer circuit. The bank survives in places to a maximum of 0.5 m high. On the north side the enclosure is open to the steep natural scarp slope of the South Downs (Fig. 2).

Combe Hill was first recorded by A. Hadrian Allcroft in his 1908 *Earthworks of England*. There it was recorded with others as 'small camps . . . where the *vallum* and outer ditch have the slightest relief'. Dr E. Cecil Curwen published a detailed plan of the earthworks in his *Prehistoric Sussex* (1929). For this survey the discontinuous ditches were confirmed by percussion of the ground (bowsing). Dr Eliot Curwen then included Combe Hill in his classic paper on 'Neolithic Camps' (1930).

## R. MUSSON'S EXCAVATIONS, 1949

In August 1949, Mr Reginald Musson excavated two ditch terminals and the causeway between them, together with part of two banks (Fig. 3, X). The bank and causeway excavations revealed no features and only a few sherds of Iron Age-Romano-British pottery were found. All other finds came from the ditch. It appears that nothing was found in a primary context, the bottom 300 mm of the ditch being filled with clean chalk rubble. Between 15 cm and 53 cm was found a dump of some 912 sherds of Neolithic

pottery of the Ebbsfleet tradition. Associated with these were ox and pig bones, an end scraper, a leaf-shaped arrowhead and two sandstone rubbing stones (Musson 1950).

Associated with the Ebbsfleet pottery was a possible hearth, and charcoal identified by J. Cecil Maby as ash, hazel and hawthorn. As Mr Maby points out, 'The ash is a change from common oak, which, with hazel and hawthorn is more usual, and is of some interest here to that extent.' (Musson 1950). Oak is more common on early Neolithic sites, so does the Combe Hill assemblage perhaps represent secondary regeneration of scrub in the area? A sample of this charcoal was submitted for Carbon 14 dating which gave a date of 4590±100 BP (I-11,613). In radiocarbon years this is 2640±100 bc, but if calibrated would indicate a date of about 3400±100 BC.

## V. SETON WILLIAMS' EXCAVATIONS, 1962

Dr Seton Williams' excavations at Combe Hill took place from 1st to 15th July, 1962 with a field team of some 20 volunteers. Twenty-one trenches were excavated in seven areas lettered A-G (Fig. 3). The excavation strategy was a mixture of trenches and a modified grid system. There are clear reasons for the excavation of some trenches but the reason for other trenches is less clear. This may be explained partly by the fact that the project was run as a training excavation.

### AREA A

Area A consisted of a trench 19 m long and 1.8 m wide, excavated across the inner bank and ditch on its eastern side (Fig. 4). Little survived of the bank

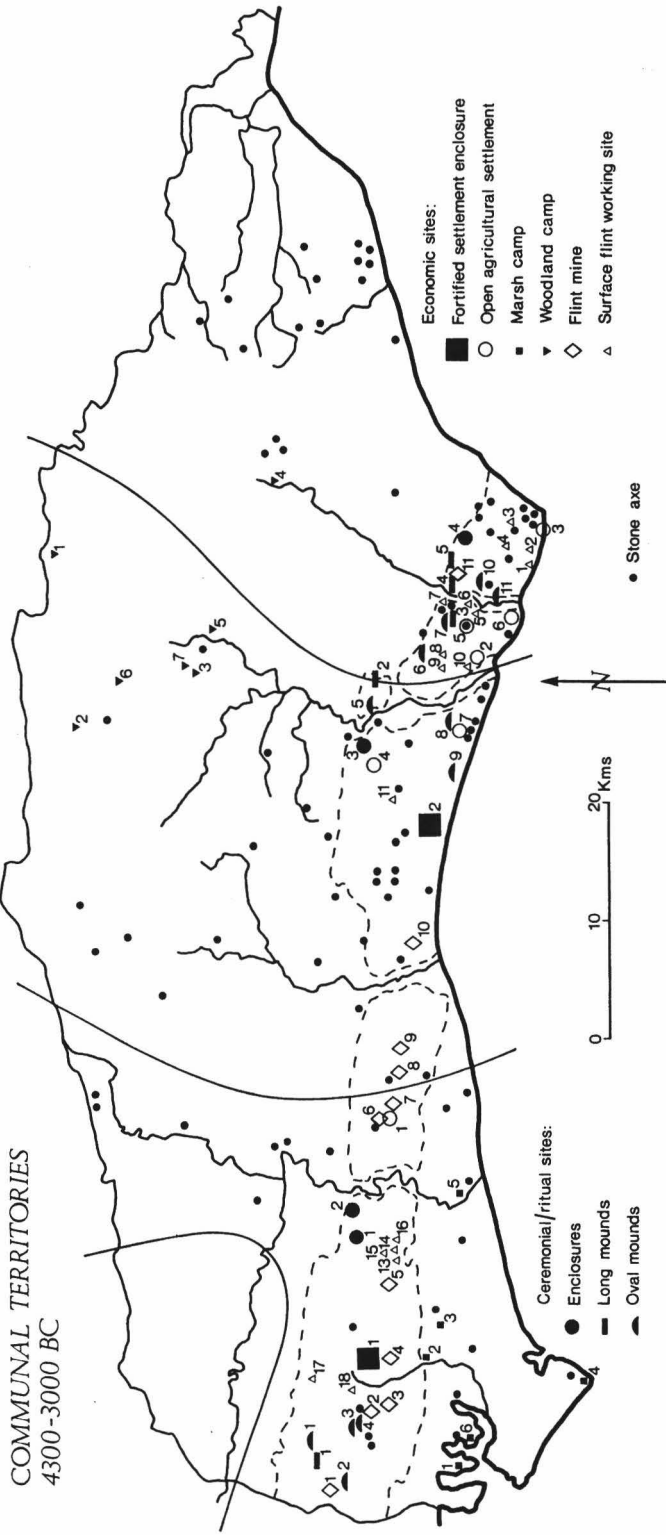


Fig. 1. Combe Hill. Location of Combe Hill in the context of Neolithic Sussex. Enclosure 4.

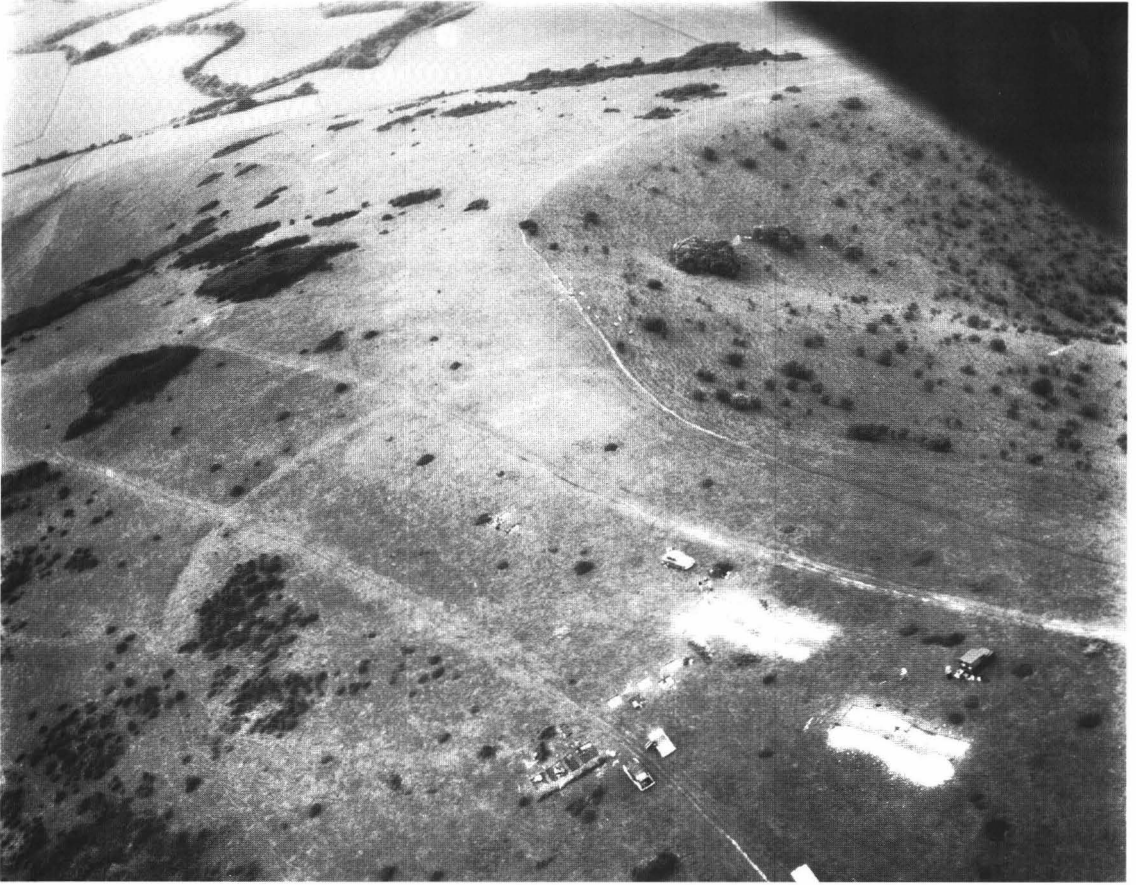


Fig. 2. Combe Hill. Air view of 1962 excavations. (Photograph J. Boyden, copyright reserved.)

other than a low spread of coarse chalk rubble (Fig. 5, Layer 5) over a preserved rise in the chalk (Fig. 5, Layer 6). Given the apparent absence of a buried land surface it is possible that Layer 5 is in fact the eroded surface of the preserved natural chalk. No evidence of revetment was located, so the bank was presumably a simple dump bank.

The ditch excavated was a maximum of 1 m in depth below the current land surface, and some 2 m wide (Fig. 6). The section and photographs indicate natural rapid silting of the ditch with coarse chalk rubble (Layers 11 & 13) followed by gradual silting, probably under grass cover (Layers 7, 8 & 9). Seventy-one flint flakes were found in Layer 1, two in Layer 7, and 19 in Layer 8. Pottery, possibly of Romano-British date, from Layers 1 and 10 is referred to in the site notebooks, but could not be located in the surviving finds. The notebooks also

refer to a now lost leaf-shaped arrowhead from Layer 10.

#### AREA B

Area B consisted of an east-west trench cut across the external bank and ditch, together with the excavation of an area of the ditch to the north (Fig. 3). Layer 6 (Fig. 7) may represent the eroded remains of the bank but Layer 7 appears to be the excavated preserved rise in the natural chalk under the bank (Fig. 8). The ditch was some 1 m deep and apparently naturally silted in, with coarse chalk rubble (Layers 4 & 5). A shallow feature dug into the top of the ditch silts (Layers 2 & 3) appears to be of Romano-British date. Layer 1 produced 22 sherds of Romano-British date, while Layer 2 produced 13. The site notebooks state that 'no significant finds' were recorded from the ditch.

## COMBE HILL 1962

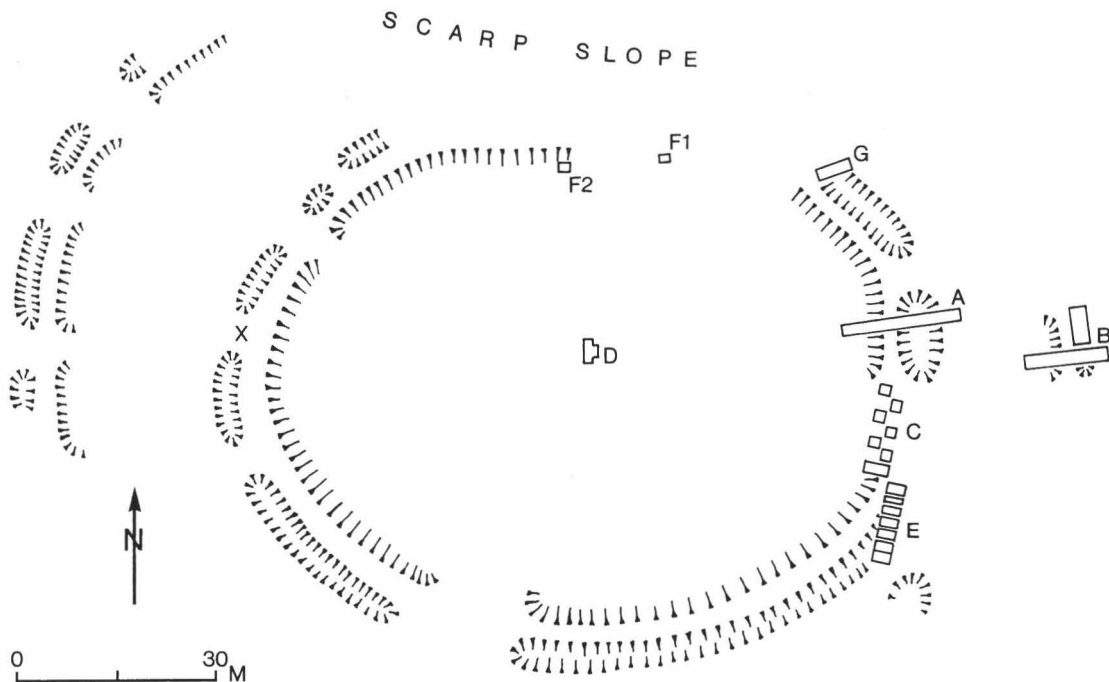


Fig. 3. Combe Hill. Plan of enclosure and location of Musson's 1949 excavations (X) and Seton-Williams' 1962 excavations (A-G).



Fig. 4. Combe Hill 1962. Area A from the east. Scale: 6 ft.

#### AREA C

Area C consisted of the excavation of an inner circle causeway on the eastern side (Fig. 9). The area was excavated using a modified grid system. Solid chalk was found some 300 mm below the surface in all trenches. Within the 300 mm, chalk rubble and two soil layers were noted. All finds other than one fire-cracked flint were recovered from Layer 1. These consisted of 278 pieces of struck flint, including 188 primary flakes with cortex. This perhaps indicates some core preparation on the causeway.

#### AREA D

Area D consisted of two 4 ft squares which were subsequently linked and extended to the east. It was located at what was estimated to be the centre of the site. Removal of turf and top-soil revealed a patch of natural clay-with-flints. No finds were recorded. In 1983 a piece of carved chalk was found at this spot (Thompson 1984). Given the somewhat

COMBE HILL  
Area A

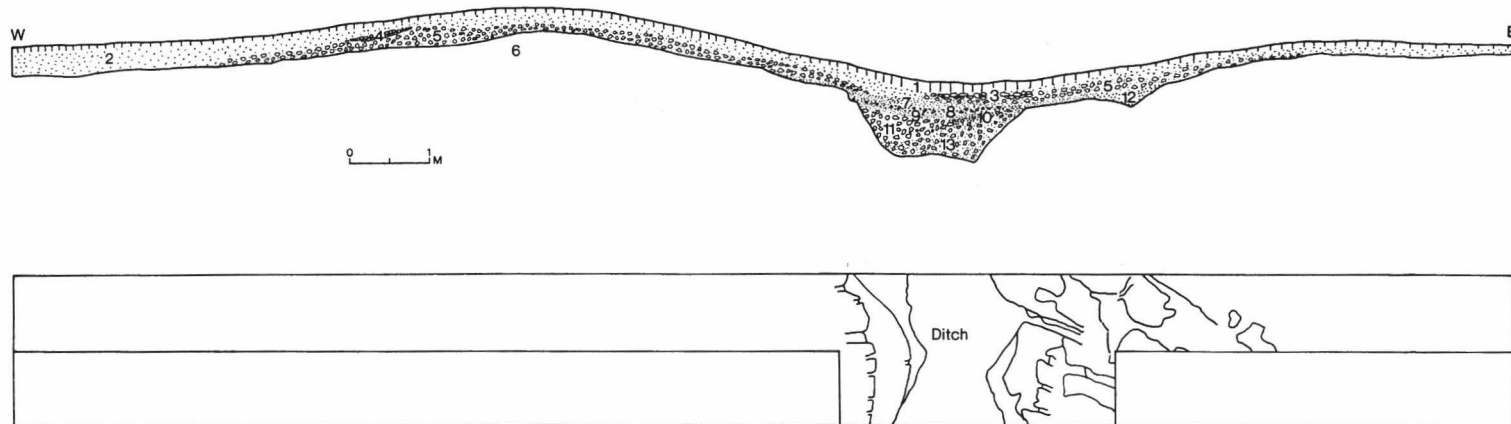
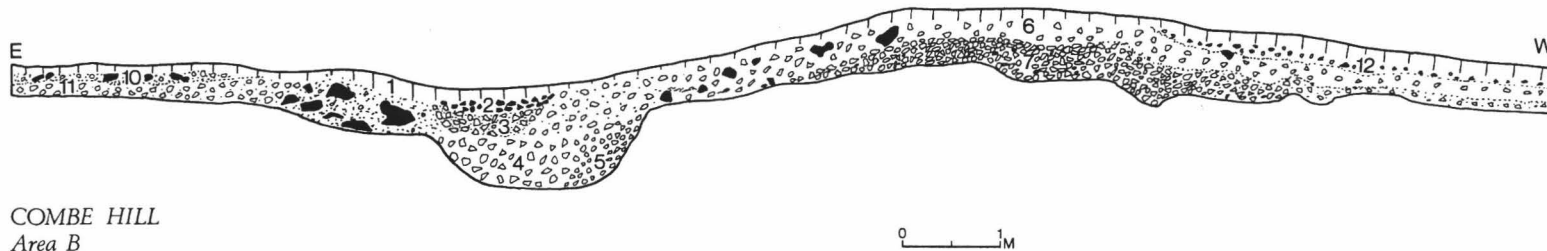


Fig. 5. Combe Hill 1962. Area A. Plan and section.

- |      |   |     |  |
|------|---|-----|--|
| Key: |   | 7.  | Orange-stained graded chalk rubble     |
| 1.   | Turf and top-soil                               | 8.  | Fine chalk rubble with soil and flints |
| 2.   | Dark brown soil. Stone-free worm-sorted horizon | 9.  | Fine chalk rubble and chalky wash      |
| 3.   | Flint nodules                                   | 10. | Orange-stained chalk rubble and soil   |
| 4.   | Coarse chalk rubble                             | 11. | Cemented chalk rubble                  |
| 5.   | Orange-stained chalk rubble                     | 12. | Soft decomposed chalk                  |
| 6.   | Chalk rubble (probably natural)                 | 13. | Loose chalk rubble                     |



COMBE HILL  
Area B

Fig. 7. Combe Hill 1962. Area B. Section of bank and ditch.

- |      |                   |    |   |
|------|-------------------|----|---|
| Key: |                   | 4. | Loose broken chalk                              |
| 1.   | Turf and top-soil | 5. | Small chalk fragments with soil                 |
| 2.   | Flint nodules     | 6. | Compacted small chalk fragments mixed with soil |
| 3.   | Chalk rubble      | 7. | Compacted chalk (probably natural)              |
|      |                   | 8. | Chalk and flint mixed with soil                 |

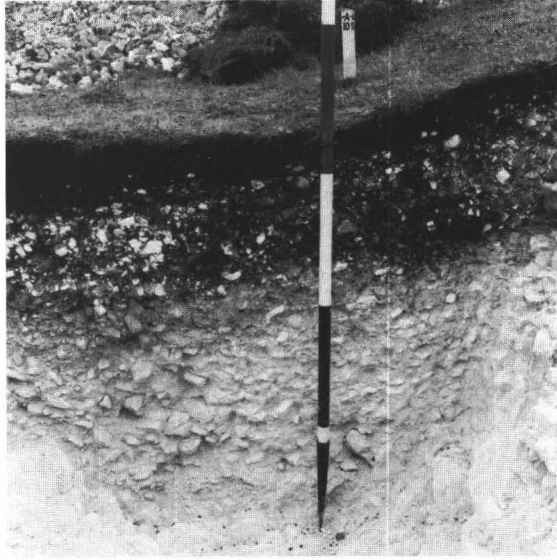


Fig. 6. Combe Hill 1962. Area A. Ditch section. Scale in feet.



Fig. 8. Combe Hill 1962. Area B. Bank from the east. Scales: 6 ft.

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Fig. 9. Combe Hill 1962. Area C with Area E in background from the north. Scales: 6 ft.



Fig. 11. Combe Hill 1962. Area E. Deposit of polished flint axes *in situ*. Scale: 6 inches.

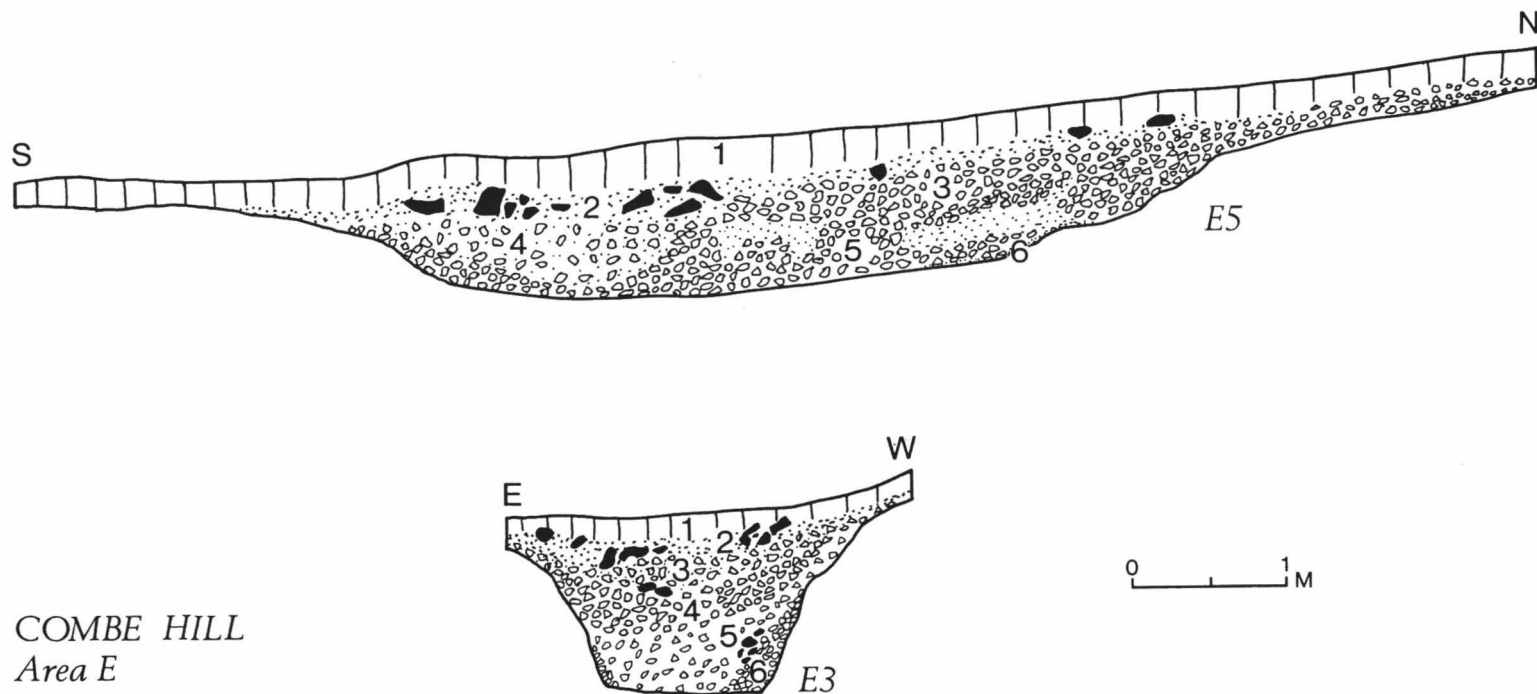


Fig. 10. Combe Hill 1962. Area E. Ditch sections of E5 and E3.

E5 key:

1. Turf and top-soil
2. Flint nodules
3. Chalk nodules
4. Chalk nodules
5. Rapid chalk fill
6. Very fine chalky fill

E3 key:

1. Turf and top-soil
2. Flints
3. Chalky rubble
4. Chalk nodules
5. Rapid chalk fill
6. Chalk rubble



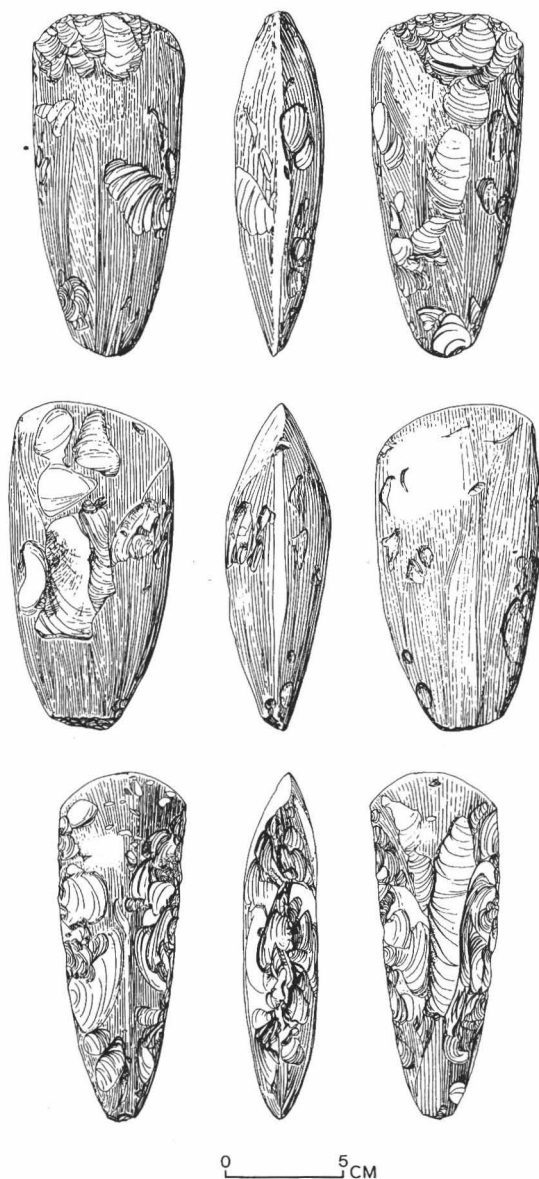


Fig. 12. Polished flint axes from Area E.

unusual nature of this piece, the possibility remains that it was carved during the excavation and is not Neolithic, as has been claimed.

#### AREA E

Area E consisted of a series of small trenches laid out in a north-south line across the ditch of the inner circle. The trenches were labelled E1-E7 from north to south. This modified grid system resulted in a series of ditch sections becoming more acute to the south. The section of Trench E3 (Fig. 10) is therefore more or less the width of the ditch, whereas the section of E5 cuts across the ditch at almost 45° (Fig. 10), making it appear in section to be far wider than it really is.

The ditch appears to have silted in naturally with chalk rubble (Layers 4, 5 & 6). Twenty-eight pieces of struck flint were found in these layers. Layers 5 and 6 may have formed fairly rapidly in the first year or two after the digging of the ditch. The most important find in this area was the deposit of three polished flint axes found carefully placed in a line within Layer 4 in E6 (Figs 11 & 12). When the ditch had virtually filled in, Beaker activity led to the deposition of 25 sherds in Layer 2.

#### AREA F

Trench F1 was apparently dug in order to establish whether the bank and ditch originally continued around the scarp slope on the northern side of the enclosure. Eroded natural chalk was found immediately below the top-soil and no sign of a ditch was recorded. Trench F2 also produced negative results, with the natural eroded chalk surface being just below the top-soil. Neither trench produced any artefacts.

#### AREA G

Area G excavated the terminal of the inner ditch on the eastern side of the enclosure (Fig. 13). The ditch was found to be just over a metre deep and naturally silted in. Most finds came from the surface layers. Layer 1 produced 31 struck flakes, and the site notebook refers to 'numerous' struck flakes and potsherds from Layer 2. None of the artefacts can be located. One sherd is described as having a 'slashed and chevron decoration'. The other sherds are not described and, given the context, were probably Romano-British.

COMBE HILL  
Area G

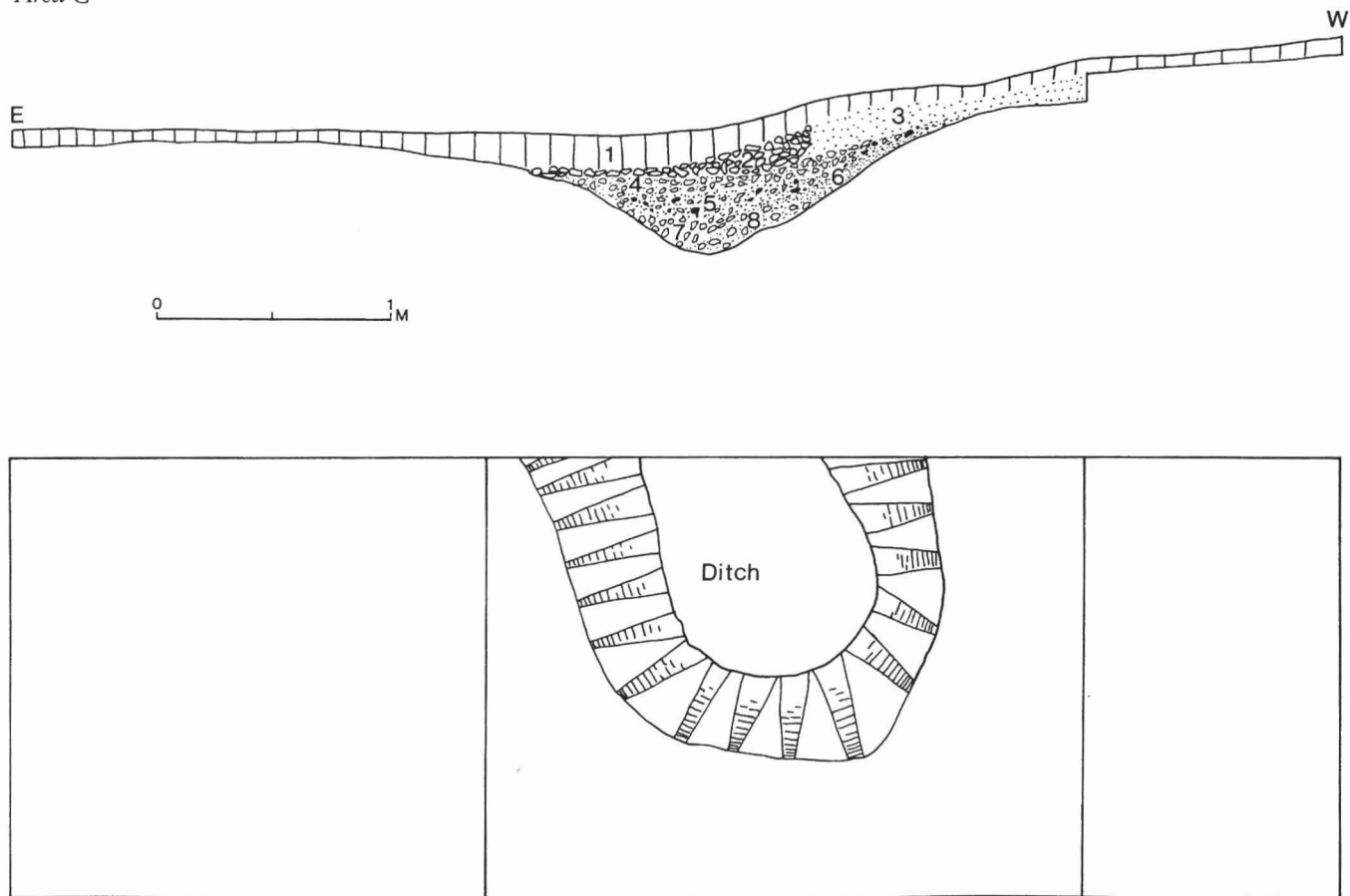


Fig. 13. Combe Hill 1962. Area G. Plan and section.

Key:

- 1. Turf and top-soil
- 2. Flint nodules
- 3. Brown soil. Stone-free worm-sorted horizon

- 4. Orange-stained chalk rubble with soil
- 5. Chalk rubble and soil
- 6. Chaly 'rain wash'
- 7. Cemented chalk rubble
- 8. Chaly 'rain wash'

## THE FINDS

Not all finds mentioned in the site notebooks are present in the collection given to the Society following Dr Seton Williams' death. These reports are based only on the surviving finds.

## POTTERY

Sixty-one pottery sherds were found. Thirty-five of these are Romano-British East Sussex wares. The remaining 26 sherds would all fit into a Beaker context. Five sherds (all from Area E, Layer 2), are comb-impressed Beaker sherds. Nine sherds are of rusticated ware commonly found in Beaker assemblages, e.g. Church Hill, Findon (Musson 1954) and Belle Tout (Bradley 1970). Eight of these sherds were associated with the comb-impressed wares in Area E, Layer 2, and one sherd came from Area E, Layer 5. The remaining nine sherds were plain, but of the same sparsely grog-filled ware with small to medium flint inclusions.

## FLINT

Six hundred and forty-eight pieces of humanly-modified flint survive in the excavated collection (Table 1). It is clear from the records that some flint flakes may have been mislaid, together with the leaf-shaped arrowhead from Area A. The bulk of the assemblage consists of core preparation flakes, both primary (395) and secondary (233). No prepared cores were recovered but 14 chunks of flint with rough (probably trial) flaking were recovered. The only tools surviving in the collection are three round scrapers and three polished flint axes (Fig. 12).

## EVIDENCE FOR THE ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING OF THE NEOLITHIC ENCLOSURE AT COMBE HILL, EAST SUSSEX

By K. D. Thomas

Samples of soil from the excavations of Mr Musson (1950) in the deposits of the western side of the inner ditch of the enclosure were located by Dr Peter Drewett and sent to me for analysis. I am grateful to Caroline Cartwright for help with the laboratory work.

The soil samples had been taken in spits downwards from the recent land surface; three samples were available for analysis, as follows:

- 12 to 15 inches: dark soil with many flint fragments, abundant roots, some charcoal and a few charred seeds;
- 15 to 21 inches: brown soil with little charcoal but abundant lumps of chalk;
- 18 to 21 inches: dark brown soil with abundant fragments of flint and chalk; few roots and a little charcoal.

Sample 15/21 may be mis-labelled and in fact be 15/18, according to the table of layers given by Musson (1950, 108); this table also shows that all of the samples were from the Neolithic phase of the fill of the ditch.

The samples were extracted for land snails by the method outlined by Evans (1972). The results are shown in Table 2. No shells were recovered from sample 12/15 and only a few from samples 15/21 (18?) and 18/21. The results from sample 15/21 (18?) are summarized in Table 3, in terms of the representation of ecological groups. Both of the samples which contained

Table 1. Finds.

Artefact Layer	Flakes with Cortex	Flakes without Cortex	Struck Flint Flakes	Scrapers	Fire Cracked Flint	Polished Axes	Beaker Period Pottery	Romano -British Pottery
<b>Area A:</b>								
1	56	17						
7	1	1						
8	12	7						
13	17	10	2					
<b>Area B:</b>								
1	12	15		1				22
2	2			1				13
3	1	1						
4	38	51	3					
6	3	5						
<b>Area C:</b>								
1	188	82	8					
3					1			
<b>Area E:</b>								
1	17	11		1				
2							25	
3		1						
4	2	1				3		
5	5	3					1	
<b>Area G:</b>								
1	17	14						
3	4	1						
<b>TOTALS:</b>	<b>395</b>	<b>233</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>35</b>

Table 2. Mollusca from the Combe Hill Neolithic enclosure identified by K. D. Thomas.

Species	Sample 15/21 (18?)	Sample 18/21
<i>Pomatias elegans</i> (Müller)	5	+
<i>Carychium tridentatum</i> (Risso)	–	1
<i>Cochlicopa</i> sp.	1	–
<i>Pupilla muscorum</i> (Linn.)	2	–
<i>Vallonia</i> cf. <i>pulchella</i> (Müller)	1	–
<i>Discus rotundatus</i> (Müller)	2	2
<i>Vitrea contracta</i> (Westerlund)	1	–
<i>Oxychilus</i> sp.	1	1
Limacidae	–	1
<i>Clausilia bidentata</i> (Ström)	3	–
<i>Trichia hispida</i> (Linn.)	3	–
<i>Helicigona lopicida</i> (Linn.)	–	+
<i>Cepaea</i> sp.	+	–
<i>Cepaea/Arianta</i>	3	1
<b>Total specimens:</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Number of taxa:</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>

Table 3. Representation of ecological groups of molluscs in Sample 15/21 (?18) from Combe Hill.

Ecological Group	Percentage	No. of Taxa
Shade-loving	36.4	5
<i>Pomatias elegans</i>	22.7	1
Catholic	31.8	3
Open-country	9.1	1

Table 4. Radiocarbon dates from causewayed enclosures in Sussex.

Location	Radiocarbon date (bc)	Calibrated date (bc)	Lab. No.
<b>Trundle</b>			
1. Primary silt (Ditch 2)	3290±140	4320–4010	I-11615
2. Primary silt (Ditch 2)	3090±170	4190–3900	I-11616
3. Secondary silt (Ditch 2)	2910±100	3690	I-11612
4. Secondary silt (Ditch 1)	2895±95	3690	I-11614
<b>Whitehawk</b>			
1. Primary silt (Ditch 3)	2750±130	3500–3410	I-11846
2. Primary silt (Ditch 4)	2695±95	3500–3410	I-11847
<b>Bury Hill</b>			
1. Primary silt (Ditch)	2730±80	3500–3410	HAR 3596
2. Primary silt (Ditch)	2620±80	3450	HAR 3595
<b>Offham</b>			
1. Primary silt (Ditch 2)	2975±80	3710	BM 1414
2. Secondary silt (Ditch 2)	2790±60	3650–3540	BM 1415
<b>Combe Hill</b>			
1. Secondary silt (Ditch 2)	2640±110	3400	I-11613

shells are dominated by shade-preferring species. The assemblage from sample 15/21 (18?) contains only two specimens of an open-country taxon (*Pupilla muscorum*) and is otherwise composed of shade-loving elements with compatible catholic elements plus *Pomatias elegans*. A few cheek teeth of the bank vole *Clethrionomys glareolus* (Schreber) were recovered from this latter sample; this mammal has a strong preference for woodland

and similarly shaded microhabitats.

Although the data from this site are rather sparse, it appears that the enclosure may have been constructed in shaded conditions or in an area which had only recently been cleared of woodland. Similar and more detailed environmental interpretations have been made for other Neolithic enclosures in Sussex (Thomas 1977).

## THE ROLE OF NEOLITHIC ENCLOSURES IN SUSSEX

Six enclosures in Sussex may be dated with certainty to the 4th millennium BC by Carbon 14 dating or pottery styles. They are the Trundle, Whitehawk, Barkhale, Bury Hill, Offham and Combe Hill. Limited excavations at Court Hill (Bedwin 1984) also suggest a Neolithic date, while excavations at Halnaker Hill (Bedwin 1992) were inconclusive. This discussion is based only on the six certain sites, although Court Hill is almost certainly similar to Combe Hill and Offham.

Carbon 14 dates have been obtained for all the sites other than Barkhale where excavations produced no suitable material (Leach 1983). These dates are shown in Table 4. The dates show clearly that the enclosures are broadly contemporary, but with the possibility that the enclosures were constructed from the west to the east of Sussex. This may relate to the direction of the introduction of Neolithic ideas. Clearly the Trundle was constructed well before Combe Hill.

I have argued elsewhere, based on site location and the total archaeological evidence from each site (Table 5), that it is possible to divide Sussex enclosures in their final phase into two types (Drewett, in Drewett *et al.* 1988). The Trundle and Whitehawk are constructed on hill-tops (Fig. 14) with multidirectional views (Fig. 15). They both appear to have been constructed in areas of open country, and both have some evidence of defence. Both have some internal features and a wide range of artefactual and ecofactual material, suggesting mixed farming and craft activities took place in and around the enclosures. These enclosures I referred to as 'fortified settlement enclosures'. In contrast Barkhale, Bury Hill, Offham and Combe Hill have single-directional views (Fig. 15), were constructed in woodland or areas only recently cleared, have no evidence for defence, no internal features, and only a limited artefactual assemblage. They appeared to have a specialized function, apparently away from areas of farming and settlement. I originally suggested that they were areas

perhaps set aside for exposure burial (Drewett 1977), but later widened the interpretation slightly by referring to them as 'unfortified ceremonial/ritual enclosures' (Drewett, in Drewett *et al.* 1988).

This division is based on the state of the monuments at about 3500 BC. It did not consider how the monuments may have changed in use over time. The importance of 'shifting meanings' in the Neolithic has recently been stressed by Julian Thomas in his seminal work on *Rethinking the Neolithic* (Thomas 1991). He also stressed the significance of the use of space, both the location of the monument within landscape and the use of space within the monument itself.

A case could be made that all enclosures in Sussex started as small non-defended enclosures with a ceremonial/ritual function. The inner circles at the Trundle, Whitehawk, Offham and Combe Hill are all about the same size as the single-ditched enclosure at Bury Hill, that is some 100 m in diameter. Barkhale is a little larger. A possible territorial model published in Drewett *et al.* (1988) suggested that the Ceremonial/Ritual Enclosures were located on the edges of territories, whereas the Fortified Settlement Enclosures may have been more centrally placed. If, however, the Fortified Settlement Enclosures developed out of earlier Ceremonial/Ritual Enclosures, then these enclosures may have originally been on the edges of former territories but incorporated into new territories as the Neolithic shifted from west to east across Sussex. Combe Hill, as the last enclosure in this sequence, may hold the key to their primary use, as here the original function may not be confused by later activity of a different nature.

If we assume Combe Hill was originally constructed on the edge of a territory, it may be assumed that as Neolithic ideas came in from the west and the monument is located with minimal views to the east (Fig. 15), then the site was perhaps on the western boundary of a territory. Monuments may be seen as a way of ordering the existence of peoples (Thomas 1991) while artefacts may be seen as symbols. Axes, for example, have been argued to represent a singularly potent symbol in the Neolithic (Hodder & Lane 1982). In this context the range

LOCATION OF NEOLITHIC ENCLOSURES

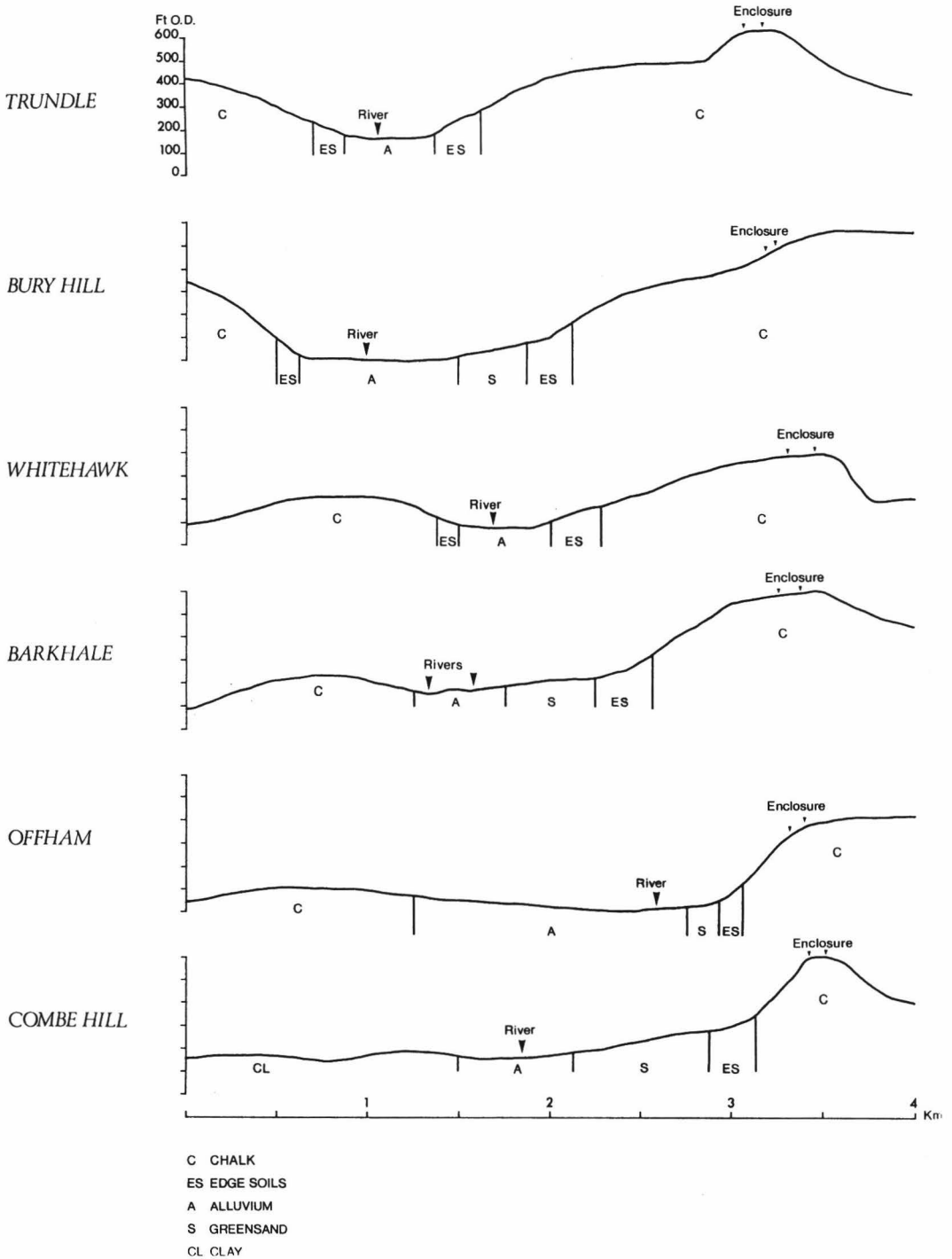


Fig. 14. Location of enclosures in Sussex.

LANDSCAPE VISIBLE FROM  
4th MILLENNIUM ENCLOSURES

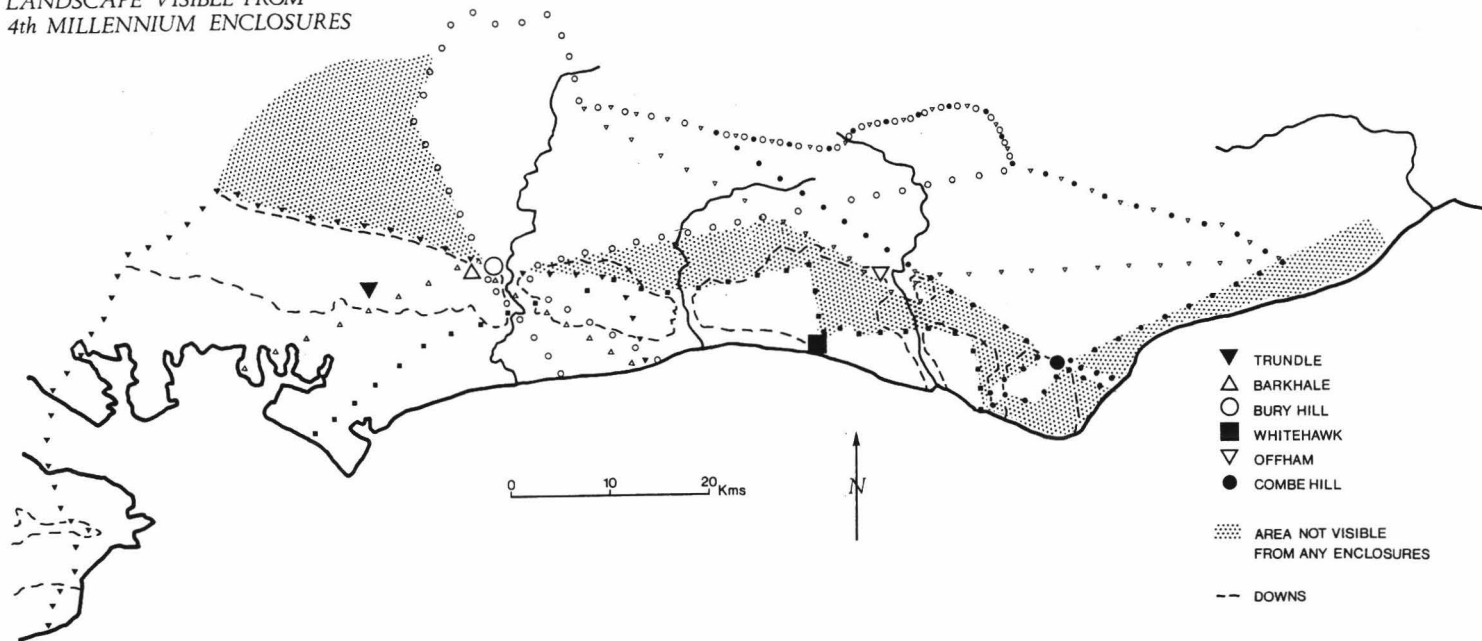


Fig. 15. Landscape visible and not visible from Sussex enclosures.



Table 5. Fourth-millennium enclosures in Sussex.

<b>Trait</b>	<b>Enclosure</b>	<b>Trundle</b>	<b>Whitehawk</b>	<b>Barkhale</b>	<b>Bury Hill</b>	<b>Offham</b>	<b>Combe Hill</b>
<i>Location:</i>							
Hilltop		+					
Saddle			+				+
False crested				+	+	+	
<i>Visibility:</i>							
Multidirectional		+	+				
One directional				+	+	+	+
<i>Environmental evidence:</i>							
Open country		+	+				
Woodland				+	+	+	+
<i>Construction:</i>							
Pit dug ditch		+	+	+	+	+	+
Many causeways left		+	+	+		+	+
One entrance causeway left					+		
Dump bank		+		+	+	+	+
Revetted bank			+				
Gate structure		+	+				
<i>Internal Features:</i>							
Pits		?	+				
Post-holes		+	+				
<i>Construction Tools:</i>							
Antler picks		+	+		+	+	
<i>Construction By-Product Industries:</i>							
Core preparation		+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>Lithic Tool-Kits:</i>							
Wood cutting tools		+	+		+	+	+
Tools for killing animals		+	+	+	+	+	+
Food/skin preparation tools		+	+	+	+	+	+
Fire making tools				+			
Lithic tool making tools		+	+		+		
Wood/bone working tools		+	+	+	+		
Agricultural tools				+			
<i>% of Tools to Waste:</i>							
>2%					+	+	+
<2%		+					
<i>Pottery fabrics (see Drewett 1980):</i>							
I		+	+	+	+	+	+
II		+	+	+		+	
III			+				
IV					+		
V			+		+	+	
VI			+				

Table 5. (cont.)

Trait	Enclosure	Trundle	Whitehawk	Barkhale	Bury Hill	Offham	Combe Hill
<i>Pottery Forms:</i>							
Carinated bowls		+	+		+	+	+
Open bowls		+	+	+	+	+	+
Necked bowls		+	+				+
Cups			+			+	
<i>Other Artefacts:</i>							
Pointed bone tools		+	+				
Antler combs			+				
Hour glass perforated chalk							
(i) small with central hole		+	+				
(ii) large with off-centre hole		+	+				
Chalk cups		+	+				
Incised chalk blocks		+	+				
Sandstone grinding stones		+	+				+
<i>Ecofacts</i>							
<i>Seed impressions:</i>							
(i) Naked barley ( <i>Hordeum</i> sp.)			+				
<i>Animal bones:</i>							
(i) cattle		+	+		+	+	+
(ii) pig		+	+		+	+	+
(iii) sheep/goat		+	+		+	+	
(iv) roe deer		+	+			+	
(v) red deer			+		+	+	
(vi) dog			+		+	+	
(vii) beaver						+	
<i>Marine Molluscs:</i>							
(i) wrinkle ( <i>Littorina littorea</i> )			+				
(ii) cockle ( <i>Cardium edule</i> )			+				+
(iii) mussel ( <i>Mytilus edulis</i> )			+				
(iv) oyster ( <i>Ostrea edulis</i> )			+				
Hazel nuts			+				
<i>Post 4th-Millennium Use:</i>							
3rd-millennium pottery in ditches			+		+	+	
2nd-millennium pottery in ditches			+	+		+	+
1st-millennium pottery in ditches		+		+	+	+	+
Round barrows constructed							
adjacent to enclosures				+	+	+	+
Enclosure replaced by hillfort		+					
<i>Human Skeletal Remains:</i>							
(i) articulated burials (in ditch)		+	+			+	
(ii) articulated burials (elsewhere)			+				
(iii) skulls			+				
(iv) jaws						+	
(v) long bones			+		+	+	
(vi) other bones			+		+	+	

and location of objects within Combe Hill may be important. Although only limited areas of Combe Hill have been excavated, a pattern does appear to be emerging. The western ditches (represented by Musson's 1949 excavations) contain symbols of domestic activity, the tamed landscape, cleared, farmed and grazed. Musson recovered a dump of 912 sherds of Ebbsfleet Ware, associated with charcoal, domesticated ox and pig, and sandstone rubbing stones perhaps used in food preparation. In contrast on the eastern side, perhaps facing an uncleared landscape or wildwood, domestic debris was largely absent. Three polished flint axes were carefully placed in the ditch on the eastern side, perhaps symbolizing the limit of clearance or the limit of human control of the landscape. Flint knapping on an eastern causeway, represented by 278 pieces of struck flint from Area C, may have significance in relation to the manufacture of tools used in the clearance of woodland. Similarly excavations at Offham produced symbols of the wild, e.g. a beaver tooth buried in a small pit in the outer ditch, and woodland clearance in the form of a polished flint axe (Drewett 1977).

Those enclosures that remained on the edge of

cleared and wild landscape remained as Ceremonial/Ritual Enclosures, a role perhaps enhanced by their use as exposure burial areas (Drewett 1977). The role of these, like the Trundle and Whitehawk, changed as Neolithic ideas spread east, and they became inside cleared areas rather than peripheral. The ritual power of these sites perhaps remained as the sites developed into Fortified Settlement Enclosures. Indeed, this ritual significance perhaps became part of the physical expression of the power of the ruling élite who constructed the Fortified Settlement Enclosure around the former Ceremonial/Ritual Enclosure.

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