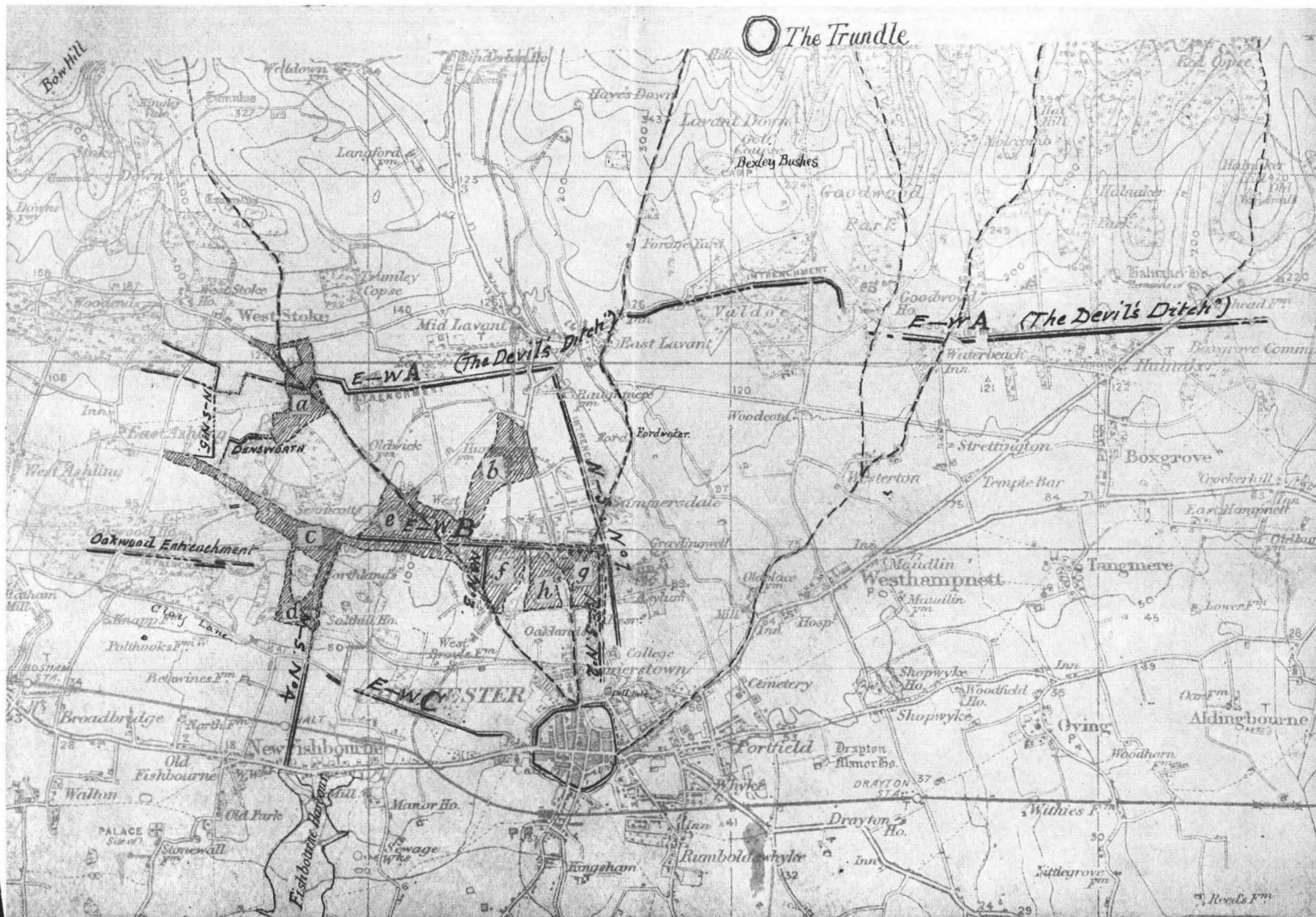
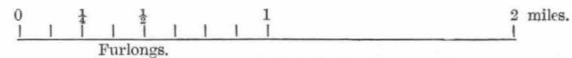


THE CHICHESTER ENTRENCHMENTS.



CHARACTERISTICS.

ENTRENCHMENTS—Certain **=====** Recognisable on the ground or from Descriptions **-----** Surmised **~ ~ ~ ~ ~** ANCIENT TRACKS **- - - - -**
 BROYLES AND COMMONS (1778) **/////////** a Stoke Common ; b Lavant Common ; c Saltbox Common ; d Fishbourne Common ; e The Old Broyle ;
 f The Old Broyle Coppice ; g The New Broyle ; h The New Broyle Coppice.



THE CHICHESTER ENTRENCHMENTS.

BY J. P. WILLIAMS-FREEMAN.

I. GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

APPROACHING Chichester along Stane Street just before coming to the village of Halnaker the road is crossed by the "Devil's Ditch," the most northerly or "outer line" of the remarkable linear earthworks which appear to have been constructed at some time for the defence of the city. These entrenchments to which in Britain in layout and alignment, only the Lexden Entrenchments defending Colchester bear the slightest resemblance, consist of three parallel East and West lines, two covering the city some distance to the north of it and the third proceeding from its western wall, with five North and South lines connected with them. It will make description easier if we call these E.-W. entrenchments A., B., and C., and N.-S. entrenchments Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, numbering the latter from east to west.

E.-W. A. is the most northerly: it is often called the "outer line" in the old descriptions and is popularly known as the Devil's Ditch. It is about two miles north of the city and is six miles in length. It reaches about an equal distance to the east and west of the city, covering its main approaches from the South Downs, viz., the line taken by the Roman Stane Street and the Halnaker, Goodwood and Lavant Down Spurs (the last named crowned by the Trundle), all east of the Lavant; and on the west of that stream, the important West Stoke approach from Bow Hill. Its line is along the edge of the level stratum of valley gravel and it keeps just to the south of where the chalk rises up from beneath it.

E.-W. B., the "inner line" of the old descriptions, is about half way between the Devil's Ditch and the city, and excluding the Oakwood entrenchment is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long.

Its eastern end begins a mile north of the north-east corner of the city walls and it runs west covering the head of Fishbourne Harbour as well as the city itself. It lies also entirely on the gravel.

E.-W. C., not marked on the Ordnance maps, can only be traced running west, a little less than a mile from the western walls of the city. It lies in heavy wet clay in the flat meadows and is chiefly marked by its ditch.

All these entrenchments (except C.) consist of a high bank and deep ditch, and all three face north.

The north and south entrenchments are at right angles to them, which tempted the old describers to speak of the system as if it were a collection of rectangular camps. "Without prejudice" as to this conception it will be best to describe them separately, numbering from east to west.

The three first have portions remaining of their original dimensions, the others can be established from the old descriptions and from definite remains upon the ground.

N.-S. No. 1 is said to have started from the East Gate, and runs for two miles to join the Devils Ditch a little to the west of its centre. It can be traced nearly the whole way running a little west of due north, its northern third keeping its original size. It faces east.

N.-S. No. 2 started from the north-east corner of the city walls, and runs for nearly a mile due north, not more than a furlong west of No. 1, to the eastern end of the E.-W. entrenchment B. It is perfect now only in one short stretch, but its course is quite certain from the old descriptions and maps. It also faces east.

N.-S. No. 3 starts back from E.-W. B. 1100 yards west of the last, runs south for over a quarter of a mile and then disappears, being quite perfect at its northern

end. If its line were continued south it would pass the city walls a third of a mile to the west and reach a bend in the Lavant. There is, however, no record or trace of its course. It faces west.

N.-S. No. 4 is described as running from E.-W. B. to the head of Fishbourne harbour. No certain trace of it remains, but the present dead straight road to that point, now called Salt Hill Road, which carries a pre-conquest parish boundary and has some indications of a bank at its lower end, to my mind without a doubt represents its line—the entrenchment facing west.

N.-S. No. 5 is described as running south from E.-W. A. “west of Densworth House.” The half mile as far as Densworth can still be traced, though in a mutilated and reduced condition. South of Densworth House the description is vague, and I have found no trace on the ground or on the maps.

This westernmost of the N.-S. entrenchments does not bound the west end of the whole system, as there are portions of the Devil’s Ditch, and a detached E.-W. entrenchment in Oakwood Park which may be an extension of E.-W. B., reaching quite half a mile further west.

The north-west corner of the system was evidently of special importance. The west end of the Devil’s Ditch is doubled, and there are right-angled turns in it enclosing hollow squares. There are the remains of the westernmost north and south line, and half a mile behind the Devil’s Dyke are other short lines of E.-W. banks in the copse and gardens round Densworth House where Roman stone cists and urns have been found. It looks as if the important approach to the city from Stoke Down had needed special defences.

One of the old descriptions speaks of broken traces of other lines in both directions nearer the city, but of these apparently nothing now remains.

The banks and ditches, where they have been interfered with, are not easy to trace out. Underwood and bracken grow thick on this gravelly soil and can only be properly searched in winter, and gravel banks are

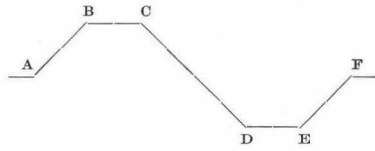
easily removed, and, once levelled by the plough, mix easily with the soil and, unlike chalk, leave no abiding trace. Moreover, all the commons have been enclosed and brought into park-land or cultivation since the date of the descriptions, so that a good deal has disappeared, and the localities mentioned are not always easy to identify.

On the other hand we fortunately have three partial, but helpful descriptions (see pp. 101-5), one by the Reverend Alexander Hay, in 1804, one by "S" in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1816, and one by the Reverend Henry Smith in *The Sussex Archæological Collections* for 1858. There are also two old maps, the first by Yeakell and Gardiner, a beautiful 2 ins. to the mile survey of 1778, which, though it does not show the entrenchments as such, enables one to identify many of them and most of the places mentioned; and the other a rare map of about the same date on the 6 in. scale engraved by Glot, of which, however, I have only seen two sheets. This does mark some of the entrenchments and is valuable, both for what it confirms, and for what it omits. These descriptions I have given in full further on, together with my own attempts to work out the entrenchments in detail. These, "though not complete," as Mr. Hay says, may, like his, be of some help to others to make them more so.

These banks have a uniformity in size and structure which is very striking. In the whole 14 miles upon the gravel, where their subsequent use as boundaries to woods and hedge banks has not led to their mutilation, the bank always rises four to five feet above the level, the ditch is eight or ten foot wide, the C.D. vertical hardly varies a foot on either side of nine feet (and even this variation would be less if the leaf mould of ages were cleaned away), or the overall horizontal measurement five feet more or less than sixty. A slight rise outside the ditch or change in the herbage often suggests that, as in the digging of most ditches, a little of the up cast was thrown outwards, but there is no sign of a true bank upon the counter scarp.

A typical section measured in Halnaker Park gives the following figures.

| | <i>Hor.</i> | <i>Vert.</i> |
|----|-------------|--------------|
| AB | 12 | 4 |
| BC | 5 | — |
| CD | 21 | 9 |
| DE | 12 | — |
| EF | 12 | 5½ |



This uniformity of the entrenchments is no doubt largely due to the level character of the country, as well as to the nature of the soil in which they are constructed—a clayey gravel which binds to a hard consolidated mass and keeps its shape well. It will stand at a very steep angle, as witness the narrow banks at Densworth. There the sides slope at two in one, and the banks are 4 or 5 ft. high, doubtless the core of full-sized ramparts which have been cut or ploughed away on both sides.

In some places there is such a number of flints in the banks that one wonders if they were specially collected, but there is nothing to suggest any kind of building—the stones are thrown up without order, mixed with the finer gravelly clay which occurs with them.

Though there is naturally no evidence of it on the surface, and no finds of timber construction in the bank after the Gallic fashion have ever been reported, the presumption is that in such a wooded country extra defences of wood such as breast work fences on the bank or the more formidable abbattis upon the counter scarp would not have been neglected.

The two entrenchments on the low lying clay—E.-W. C. and N.-S. No. 4—are very different. Clay banks even under grass, and to an extraordinary degree under cultivation, flatten out and spread out of all recognition under the rain wash of ages, and in a thousand years or so may completely disappear. Were it not for the record of the old descriptions I doubt if these two entrenchments would have been recognised at the present day.

A still more striking characteristic is their absolute straightness—not merely straight as a rule, but

straight as a ruler. Only in one place—between The Cottage in Goodwood Park and the Valdoe Wood—do any of these entrenchments curve with the lie of the ground, and even here I am not at all sure that the bank was not laid out in short straight sections: further west where the same entrenchment—the Devil's Ditch—between Lavant lodge and the edge of the Lavant valley appears to curve, this is markedly the case. The detached fragment at Densworth, where for some unknown reason the line is not taken straight from point to point, is in three short straight zig-zags.

This is most un-British behaviour in a linear earthwork, such earthworks as Bokerly Dyke all follow the curve of the ground, and even on the flat seem, like Nature, to abhor a straight line. Even short ones, like the cross ridge dykes on the Downs where they have hardly space to wander, are not rigidly direct like these entrenchments. Such straightness and uniformity must surely point to the Chichester Earthworks having been made at one period—not necessarily perhaps at one time—by a well-organised people who could plan, and enforce the proper carrying out of a definite well-thought-out system.

Let us now consider the position they had to defend. Chichester lies on the low flat end of the high ground which comes down from the West Stoke spur. None of it is above the 50 ft. contour, and there is not more than 6 ft. fall from its North Gate to its South.

The city has the Lavant stream on the east side and curving round the south; formerly either naturally or by art it flowed north also, for half the length of the western walls, before turning west to fall into the tidal inlet near New Fishbourne. This estuary, a mile to the west, is the nearest connexion of the city with the sea. On the west side there is also a small brook running into the Lavant through low meadows which must in early times have been marsh. The soil of the promontory is gravel and that of the flat meadows "marsh clay." All would in a state of nature be more or less thick forest and the flat meadows very wet. On this slight

elevation is placed the "Roman" city, but the lay out of the walls is not rectangular like that of Winchester, though it well might have been as far as the lie of the ground is concerned, but irregularly polygonal and roughly pentagonal like that of Silchester.

Its vulnerable side was the north and west ; its port on the near side of the Fishbourne inlet must have been vital to it, and must have been an admirable harbour in the days of small ships of shallow draught. There is considerable evidence of Roman occupation between the western walls and the head of the inlet—at least three Roman finds are recorded.

Looking at the walled city and its port as one entity to be defended together, the entrenchments become much more easy to understand. The whole area within the entrenchments must have been more or less wooded : not an acre of chalk down is included—the defences are those of a people who were at home in forest country, and were based on the sea ; settlers who had to protect themselves and their clearances from the Downland natives and their roving cattle. Attacks from the Downland must needs come along the old British ridgeways : either from the north-east along the ridge on the south of the Singleton valley—significantly called the Harroway near Goodwood racecourse—and thence south down the Halnaker, Goodwood and Lavant Down ridges to cross the river at east Lavant or Fordwater ; or from the north-west by the West Stoke spur.

Against these, Chichester was defended on the north by a belt of forest stretching east and west for miles, in its natural state impenetrable except along narrow paths allowing of no rush tactics, and on its east, south, and much of its west side by marsh and low lying ground along the Lavant valley. Two miles west of its harbour was another stream and marshy barrier running south from the woods by West Ashling to the inlet of the sea at Bosham.

Against all the approaches from the Downs the defenders threw up the six-mile-long Devil's Dyke

within the line of the woods—strong evidence surely that they had already been largely cleared and were to be defended rather than relied upon for defence.

That this outer line has undefended ends resting only on wood suggests that the country beyond them was not cleared—perhaps not occupied—the Devil's Dyke may have been the extent of the frontier. The eastern flank of the land to the north of the city was defended naturally by the Lavant Valley and artificially by N.-S. entrenchment No. 1, running up to join the Devil's Ditch at Lavant. Whether there was a corresponding western entrenchment running south "about" Ashling wood and "west of Densworth House," as Mr. Hay states, I much doubt. There is nothing now to be found south of Densworth, and no suggestive line on the old maps, and it is not quite clear that the remains of N.-S. entrenchment No. 5 north of Densworth faced the right way. His description is unfortunately vague and his points not easy to identify: if it existed and went down to the flats it would complete an outer quadrangle—if it did not, this flank must have been left open, and depended only upon the impenetrability of the ground.

The second line of the entrenchments does make a complete frame. On the east is N.-S. entrenchment No. 2 (close behind N.-S. No. 1, but not parallel to it), on the north is E.-W. B., and on the west N.-S. No. 4 running down to the estuary as described by "S" though its northern half is now missing. They form three sides of a square defending the city, its port, and over a square mile of land.

The southernmost E.-W. entrenchment, C, is also, I think, quite clear. With the city walls and N.-S. No. 4, it formed a last three-sided rectangle enclosing the city, with its harbour and such occupation as lay between them.

The main approaches from the north are thus strongly protected. The crossing at Lavant came up against the N.-E. corner of the outer line, and that at Fordwater against N.-S. No. 1, while both lines of

approach had to negotiate the north-east corner of the second line before they could reach the north gate of the city.

The approach from Stoke Down had to pierce the Devil's Ditch near the curious three-sided bastion, according to Glot's map, through a gap now existing in the N.-W. corner, and west of this the line is complicated and doubled in a way which, without being able to see how, we may presume must have added to its strength.

Three furlongs in the rear of this part of the line, and connected with it by N.-S. No. 5, is the Densworth complex of fragments, to which again some importance must be attached, though they are quite unintelligible to me.

There is one more important linear earthwork to be noticed. About half a mile south of Densworth is the detached piece of E.-W. entrenchment in Oakwood park, threequarters of a mile long, with its curious gap in the middle guarded by a short parallel traverse behind it like an internal Roman *titulus*. I have not included this entrenchment as a part of E.-W. No. 2, as Mr. Smith, whose description alone mentions it, apparently does. But, he, like me, confesses that no connexion can be traced across the intervening 1000 yards, and there is no hint of such a bridge upon Yeakell and Gardiner's map. Whether connected or not, the need for this long stretch westward for more than a mile beyond the level of Fishbourne Harbour is hard to explain.

This concludes a review of all the entrenchments mentioned in any of the old descriptions, or that I can find upon the ground—explicable or inexplicable. Two of Mr. Hay's, as I have said, I can find no trace of and am inclined to doubt; the continuation of E.-W. B. from the north-east corner of Salt Box Common to Densworth House, and the entrenchment south from the latter point.

There are other difficulties that I have not touched upon. Where did N.-S. No. 3 end? Did it turn in

to the city wall and with it make another inner quadrilateral? Or did one of Mr. Hay's "broken traces" join it to N.-S. No. 2, and so really complete a "Camp on the Broyle"? What is the bank at the south of Little Tomlin's Copse? Is it an internal *titulus*? What is the fragment of bank and ditch by the Church path north of Oakwood Park?

A further point is the difficulty of making the Densworth group and the detached length of the Oakwood Earthwork fit in with any general view of the layout of the Entrenchments.

Another point of great importance is whether the Entrenchments were contemporary, or even all made by the same people. Looking at the plan, certain points strike one as rather suggesting that they were not made at the same time, but rather in successive steps to meet changing conditions. First there is the great length of the Devil's Ditch with its irregular bulge outwards about the middle and its long stretch east of the Lavant beyond the territory directly facing the city. Next there is the existence of the two easternmost north and south lines so close together and not parallel to each other, the outer running the whole way from the Devil's Ditch, and if its line were continued southward to the Lavant, missing the walled city altogether, and the other definitely springing from the corner of the walls to join E.-W. No. 2 within 70 yards of the first, and apparently quite independent of it. It is true that Mr. Hay says that N.-S. No. 1 strikes out from No. 2 at "Watery Line," and "S" says that it proceeded from the east gate, but there is no confirmation on the ground of either statement, and if there were it would not make their contemporaneity any more obvious. To such questions I can give no answer, but they may be soluble in the light of further knowledge.

The last question to discuss is the one that everyone always puts first, that of the Why? and the When? and the Who? It can only be answered, if at all, when all the available evidence has been summed up

and properly valued generally, archæologically and historically.

The general points which seem to me to be justified by examination of the facts are (1) That the entrenchments all facing north, placed at the edge of the chalk, and especially elaborate where the important roads from the chalk hills come down, point to the enemy being the Down man. (2) That their straightness and uniformity show that they were deliberately planned, erected under skilled and effective supervision, while their uniformity would suggest that they were made by one people and at one period. (3) That the woods must have been cleared at least where the banks and ditches were thrown up, and nearly certainly in the country behind them which they were designed to protect; and that this all shows that they were made by a people that did not shun woods, but had learned to clear and cultivate them and protect them against the enemy and their cattle. (4) That they were made by a people based on the sea, an organised military people, more probably invaders than peaceful penetrators.

Mr. Hay, who like all his generation, put them down to the Romans, thought that the line-behind-line arrangement was to enable the defenders to fall back if hard pressed; I should suggest as equally likely that they were made by an advancing people at different stages, the first to protect their own town and harbour, the next to protect their early clearings, and the Devil's Ditch at the foot of the Downs as the frontier when they had occupied the whole lowlands.

Direct archæological evidence to determine the "When" is unfortunately nil.

No finds have been reported in the entrenchments themselves that might give us *proof* as to date, and even the original profile of the ditch is unknown. Before long we may hope for such direct evidence, but at present we must be content with general archæological considerations and inferences.

The character of the banks and ditches is enough to make it certain that they were not earlier than

the Iron Age, say about the sixth and seventh century B.C.

Extensive clearing of woods is not believed to have taken place in this country earlier than the first century B.C.

Archæological evidence shows that an early Iron Age, presumably Celtic, people had occupied the South Downs from the earliest part of that period; they brought with them Halstatt-La Tène I Culture, and unlike most of the south of England, had been little affected by later Celtic intrusions and civilisations. They were occupying the Downs from the beginning of the Iron Age, and were a pastoral and agricultural people with villages and settlements, with quite advanced developments for their cattle ranches and a field system for their arable lands. Their fortified capital in this neighbourhood was the Trundle, and they were in occupation of it as late as the first century B.C.

An archæological point which must not be omitted is that there does exist in England one set of entrenchments which must be studied with them. The Lexden earthworks, west of Colchester, bear some resemblance to those of Chichester, and are of about the same profile where they are best preserved. They run north and south one behind the other between the Colne and its branch, the Roman river, cutting off the tongue of land between them (about six miles across) on which the city stands. They are not, however, simple "cross-necks," for two of them are prolonged beyond the stream on which they rest, and the other two do not appear to reach them.¹ One cannot but be struck with the coincidence of two native British capitals, both taken over by the Romans, being defended on their vulnerable side by parallel lines of long linear earthworks. And these Lexden earthworks have just been proved to be Belgic.

Quite recently two earthenware vessels with cremated bones were unearthed just outside entrenchment

¹ *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. IV, 1919, p. 146, and *Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, Essex*, p. 72 *et seq.*

N.-S. No. 1, at Graylingwell. The one pot which was not smashed beyond recognition is of Belgic origin, and the date is suggested to be just before the Roman occupation, say A.D. 40-50.

There is evidence in the Selsey neighbourhood of an important trading community during the couple of centuries before the advent of the Romans. Numerous gold British coins have been found dating from B.C. 150 to A.D. 50 some of them bearing the name of Commius the Attrebate of Silchester and his sons, who flourished from B.C. 50 to the Roman conquest,² and this is evidence of Belgic influence, if not rule, in the coastal districts. A pedestal urn has recently been found at Selsey, but there is very little archæological evidence of Belgic civilisation in the rest of West Sussex, and practically none in East Sussex.

Finds of various ages which have been made in and around Chichester are of less importance. The Roman finds in the city itself are numerous; but, as is the case with the British or Saxon objects, they only serve to confirm our knowledge, that it was occupied by these peoples, and perhaps to measure the intensity of such occupation and give some indication of the dates at which the city was most flourishing under their respective régimes. Finds outside the city walls, but within or near the lines of entrenchments, would be of more importance if they were such as would help us to picture the condition of the districts in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. Roman tiles and an urn burial are marked on the O.S. map in New Fishbourne within 300 yds. of each other, and "S" mentions a tessellated pavement half a mile east of the harbour. These establish what might be expected, that there were Roman settlements between the city and its port.

At Densworth very elaborate Roman burials were discovered just inside the larger entrenchments, pointing to the importance of this locality, and confirming the evidence of the earthworks.

² Cecil Curwen, *Prehistoric Sussex*, p. 105.

Lastly, as to the historical evidence, the "Who?"

First there is "Noviomagus," a Celtic word meaning "New Plain." It is first mentioned by Ptolemy the Geographer in the second century A.D., who quotes an earlier geographer that it was 59 miles south of London, and it has naturally been identified with Chichester.

A theory has been suggested that the Trundle folk deserted their Hill Fort and occupied Noviomagus in the plain as civilisation advanced and the clearing of the woods set in. If this were the fact, the entrenchments must be earlier than the migration, or considerably later, when a new danger from the hills had arisen, but it need not detain us as it is only a suggestion and has no historic justification.

The Romans found a tribe called the Regni at Chichester, who became their allies under Cogidubnus, who was granted new territories and called himself *Rex et Legatus Augusti in Britannia*. Nothing is known of the Regni. It has been assumed that they were a Belgic tribe and that they had occupied and ruled over all West Sussex at least; but they may have been quite a small tribe who had arrived earlier and occupied the lowlands only, with Chichester as their chief town, and they may have remained quite separate from the South Down folk.

When we come to the Claudian Conquest of A.D. 43 we are on rather more certain ground. We know that Vespasian came along the coast with his ships, that he conquered the Isle of Wight, subdued two nations on the mainland, and took more than twenty towns, most of which were doubtless hill forts. We do not know that the Regni were one of the nations or that Chichester was one of the towns, but from the fact of the city's position near the head of one of a group of harbours eminently well suited for the ships of the day, from the military impossibility of leaving it unsubdued in his rear, and from the fact that it became the chief Roman city and the seat of government for this part of Britain, we may, I think, infer with certainty that

Vespasian took it, and, with very great probability, that he used it as his base for the conquest of the Isle of Wight and the Hampshire coast, as well as of the Southdowns, with the great Ridgeway leading into the Belgic uplands of Hants, Berks and Wilts.

The next invasion was that of the Saxons. They landed somewhere on the Selsey coast in 477 and took Chichester, from that point getting on to the Downs and driving the Britains eastward to Pevensey, where they finally annihilated them. They took 13 years to do it.

There are thus three periods at which we may have had the conditions of a people based on the sea and either advancing against the Down folk or defending themselves against them.

(1) A tribe from the continent, whether Belgic or not, and, if Belgic, not earlier than the first century B.C.

(2) The Romans in 43 A.D.

(3) The Saxons in 477 A.D.

It is tempting to imagine that a tribe from Gaul, exhausted by Cæsar's wars, but unwilling to accept the Roman yoke, landed and founded Chichester, gradually cleared and occupied the lowlands, entrenching themselves in the methodical manner learnt from their experience of Roman warfare. "But," say the objectors, "where do you find in Gaul or anywhere else any evidence in history or on the ground of either Romans or natives having made long straight entrenchments resembling the Chichester earthworks?" The objection has never seemed to me insuperable—now the answer is plain—at Lexden.

Next, as to Vespasian—assume that he did make Chichester his base for the conquest of the South-West, which probably took him two or three years—what more likely than that he should have made or adapted these Roman-looking entrenchments, or some of them, to protect his base from the hill folk till he had time to deal with them? The objection again is: where is the evidence that the Romans made long linear earthworks in Vespasian's time? It is true that they made straight-sided rectangular camps,

but these entrenchments are not camps, they are far too big; their Hadrian's Wall (A.D. 122) and their "*Limes*" from the Danube to the Rhine are later: long entrenchments are not found before Domitian's reign. The answer seems to be—linear earthworks had to be invented by someone, and Vespasian (the father of Domitian) was a soldier quite capable of being the first to adopt them—moreover, these earthworks turn out to be not simple linear earthworks, but unexpectedly suggestive of quadrilateral castrametation.

And the Saxons? A few years ago such regular straight earthworks would have been scouted as impossible to be Saxon work. Timber work and a few simple enclosures were all that was assigned to them. Now, however, that the huge straight Devil's Dyke and the Fleam Dyke across the East Anglian corridor have been shown to be their work, and Offa's Dyke has been thoroughly investigated and shown to be carefully laid out in straight sections, the possibility of the Chichester earthworks being Saxon must at least be considered. The difficulty of accepting them as early Saxon seems to me to be insuperable. It must have taken a large number of men to make them and to watch them. Ella's numbers must have been small when they first landed, and it must have been in the early years of his invasion that they would have been required.

It is however possible that they may have been made two centuries later, when we know the Saxons were makers of large linear earthworks, possibly during the unsuccessful defence of Sussex against Caedwalla of Wessex in 686.

The evidence may not be sufficient to convict, and the verdict had better be an open one "against some person or persons unknown," but I must confess to a strong suspicion against both Regni and Romans.

Possibly Cogidubnus may have been involved in the mystery both before and after the Conquest.

Fortunately the inquest can be re-opened when further evidence has been obtained.

3. DETAILED DESCRIPTIONS OF PRESENT-DAY REMAINS.

- (a) E.-W. Entrenchment A.
- (b) E.-W. Entrenchment B.
- (c) The Oakwood Park E.-W. Entrenchment.
- (d) E.-W. Entrenchment C.
- (e) N.-S. Entrenchment No. 1.
- (f) N.-S. Entrenchment No. 2.
- (g) N.-S. Entrenchment No. 3.
- (h) N.-S. Entrenchment No. 4.
- (i) The Densworth Entrenchments and N.-S. No. 5.

E.-W. ENTRENCHMENT A.

East-West Entrenchment A, the "Devil's Ditch," is 6 miles in length. It first appears about 60 or 70 yards east of Ounces Barn as a wide, spread fold in the ground, with an indication of the ditch to the north. Eartham Thicket lies in the bottom a quarter of a mile to the east, and though it is natural to suppose that the end of the entrenchment rested on this, no trace of it can now be found.

From Ounces Barn westward, as far as the wood of Boxgrove Common, it is an abrupt steep-sided bank about 6 ft. high, but with no trace of a ditch. On the brow of the slope, at the edge of the wood, it first takes on its usual proportions and appearance, a gravelly stoney bank rising $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above the ground, and about 6 ft. wide on the top with a ditch, 9 ft. vertical below the crest of the bank and about 8 ft. wide, to the north, the overall horizontal width being 60 ft. From this point to Stane Street it crosses a bottom occupied by a large pond or flint digging, and is continued to within 20 to 30 yds. of the road as a smooth rounded bank, its ditch being occupied by a cart track.

As to which was constructed first, the entrenchment or the Roman Road, probably nothing but excavation under the road itself would determine. For 20 or 30 yds. on the east of the road, which was probably occupied by the wide mediæval waste, the entrenchment is missing.

Its existence here could be easily determined, but whether it was made before the actual Roman Causeway would not be so easy to prove. One would have to find that causeway, which may be narrow, and may be right under the modern metalling; and having struck it by clearing out the ditch it might or might not be easy in this gravel soil to distinguish between infilling and undisturbed gravel. Still the point is of such archaeological interest that it might be undertaken even if it involved a little tunnelling under the modern highway.

Beyond Stane Street it begins, reduced but clear, right from the hedge, and along the south of Halnaker Park the entrenchment is at its finest, bordered by perhaps the finest Spanish chestnuts in England, one of which has a girth of 24 ft. at 6 ft. from the ground. A measurement here shows a C.D. vertical of 9 ft. and an O.H. of 70.

From Halnaker Park to Waterbeach the entrenchment is perfect and uninterrupted, except for a 100 yds. to the west of Redvins Copse, which is worth examining to observe how completely it disappears when ploughed out in arable land.

At Waterbeach it changes direction a few degrees north of due west and runs on by the side of the road to the end of the garden, beyond which it has been completely removed in Goodwood Park, with the exception of one small heap of the bank about 250 yds. further on. The line across to the wooded gully in the park is marked by the parish boundary, but beyond this to The Cottage there is nothing to guide us unless it be two mounds with oak trees on them, just east of the causeway carrying the road from Valdoe Lodge. It may have struck the south-east corner of the garden, where there is a tempting piece of green bank, or the south-west corner where there is a short fragment of a bank about 2 ft. high and 32 ft. overall, which runs for 25 yds. west into the park. What is certain is that the entrenchment begins again on the west of the out-buildings of The Cottage and runs due north along the

brow of the slope. Here for the only time in its 6 mile length it appears to forsake a rigidly straight course, and is content to follow the course of nature like a true British bank, curving round the lip of the gully before running straight west into the Valdoe wood a quarter of a mile north of its original line. Even here it may be doubtful if its bank was not originally in straight sections, for it is much ploughed away in the grass field, and though the ditch appears to curve with the ground, the appearance may be deceptive, just as it is further west in the lane by Lavant. The entrenchment here is not as well marked as usual owing to the degradation of the bank. Measurements give a C.D. vertical of only about 5 ft., though its O.H. of 53 to 65 ft. is evidence of its original size.

Across the road into the Valdoe, where the dip in the railings shows its crossing, it remains about the same size but in the middle of the wood it is again at its old figure—a C.D. vertical of $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft. and an O.H. of 54 ft. Its course is marked on the O.S. as perfectly straight with a slight change of alignment and direction in the wood, and it is marked as absent for nearly a quarter of a mile in the west. I am told, however, that the ditch is present throughout about 3 or 4 ft. deep, and that there are small portions of the bank to the south of it to be seen, but that it has evidently been removed for the flints, doubtless to make the road through the wood, some years ago. At the western end of the wood, where it has been cleared by Lavant Lodge, the course of the entrenchment is just traceable as a stony bank and ditch south of a cedar tree.

Two other earthworks are marked on the 6 in. O.S. in the Valdoe, one running south-west along the parish boundary and one along the south-west side of the wood. They are both quite small, the former is a ditch only 3 ft. deep and 20 ins. across, and the latter is even slighter, a bank with a ditch to the north-east with a C.D. vertical of about 2 ft. and an O.H. of about 16 ft. They do not appear to have any connection with the main entrenchment.

In front of Lavant Lodge the Devil's Ditch was cleared away in 1779,³ but just west of this it runs due west again for 200 yds., then south-west for 150, and then due west again to reach the edge of the Lavant Valley, where it ceases. It is a noteworthy point that it does not follow the curve of the road as it appears to do, but is in short straight sections of full size, its C.D. vertical is in one place 10 ft. Across the Lavant valley it is absent, nor is it to be traced going straight on west over the high ground by the church. It appears on the west of the valley at the north peak of Rawmere Copse, where it is joined, but for the gap of Pook Lane, by the N.-S. Entrenchment No. 1 at right angles. It is thence continued practically due west up the valley across the Midhurst road and railway, and in front of Lavant House. If "S's" description of it implies that the Devil's Ditch joined an entrenchment running west from Rawmere Copse in Lavant Park it is, I think, wrong. There is no trace of two east and west entrenchments here, and I take that from Rawmere Copse corner to be the one and only. From the Lavant to west of Lavant Park the bank is quite high C.D. vertical 6 to 8 ft. An entrenchment marked on the 6 in. O.S. in front of Lavant House is only a very shallow depression of less than a foot, and is probably only an old approach to the house; it seems to have nothing to do with the system.

West of Lavant Park the entrenchment goes bending very slightly to the north of due west through Little Tomlins Copse, at the south-east part of which there is a detached piece of bank about 70 yds. long. This is a broad rounded bank 6 ft. high and 60 ft. broad with no apparent ditch. The wood is impenetrably thick, and I could make nothing of it. It is about 70 yds. south of the main entrenchment.

Sixty or 70 yds. west of Little Tomlins the entrenchment turns nearly due north for 153 yds., then west again for 230, then south again for 170, and then pursues its course again a little more north of due west,

³ *Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox*, vol. I, p. 298.

enclosing a sort of hollow square, but with somewhat obtuse angles. At the north-east corner of this square Mr. Smith describes a mound, but it is only raised a couple of feet above the rest of the bank, and seems to me no more than is often found at such corners where the bank receives a double share of the upthrow from the ditch. There is nothing in the lie of the land to account for this sort of square bastion, but there is a gap 33 ft. wide at the north-west corner, whether original or not there is nothing to show, through which the Stoke road used to pass according to Yeakell and Gardiner's map.

Across the Stoke road which now pierces the entrenchment just west of the "bastion" the entrenchment, which all along here is of full dimensions (C.D. vertical 9 and even 11 ft. and O.H. about 60), goes west till it crosses Chapel Lane, beyond which it begins to show variations and vagaries. Chapel Lane formed the western boundary of Stoke Common, and it is noticeable with all these entrenchments that it is upon the former commons and "Broiles" that they are least wasted.

West of Chapel Lane the bank has been levelled, but the ditch is plainly visible, and can be traced as far as the oak at the corner of the field 650 yds. from the lane, and perhaps by the faintest fold in the field for 30 or 40 yds. beyond, pointing across to the hedge at the opposite corner, but this is very doubtful.

From the corner by the oak the 6 in. map shows the parish boundary between West Stoke and Funtington making a right-angled turn south, then west, then north again, and then continuing west along the proper line of the Devil's Ditch, thus enclosing a hollow square with sides about 300 yds. This must mean that in Saxon times these sides were well-marked bounds, the western side is so still, but the east and south sides are now ordinary hedges, and the only sign I can detect of a possibly ploughed out entrenchment is that the field enclosed by the east and south hedges is at a distinctly higher level—at least a foot—a point

not to be ignored in these dead flat fields—and the eye of faith can perhaps discern the faintest trace of an inside bank about 12 ft. wide on the west of the eastern hedge.

The western hedge is undoubtedly the remains of an entrenchment. The bank is 6 ft. high, spread and mutilated, 12 ft. wide in places, and covered with scrub at the south end—at the northern end diminishing to 4 and 3. On the western side there is a fall in the field towards the bank which I think certainly indicates the position of the ploughed out ditch.

From the north-west corner of the hollow square the bank is for the first half a hedge bank, but $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, in the western half it rises to 4 and then to $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high; and though the remains of the ditch are slight, all along the southern side there are slight signs in the field of the spread bank about 30 ft. wide. A secondary parish or property boundary ditch on the top of the bank confuses its profile. Across Lye lane, along the north of Lye Wood, the bank is well marked from 6 ft. to 8 ft. high, though the ditch is for the most part wanting. It is pierced by a holloway about 150 yds., from where, at the corner of West Stoke Park, the Devil's Ditch ends. Its line is continued by a straight ride through the woods for a mile, and "S" states that "it pursues a westerly direction . . . in a straight line to Stanstead and Rowlands (Romans) Castle." I have never heard of any further entrenchments in this direction and must leave these further 6 miles to another enthusiast.

There is, however, another entrenchment about 200 yds. south of the end of the Devil's Ditch which runs west from the south-west corner of the hollow square for about 800 yds., and in size is much the same as this part of the main line. It begins as a slight but distinct fold in the grass field and runs west for a couple of hundred yards to the corner of the hedge-row opposite. In this hedge it is a bank 6 ft. to 7 ft. high above the remains of its ploughed out ditch to the north. Across the lane the bank runs along the south side of Lye wood, somewhat rounded and weathered

and cut into in places, but quite straight and distinct, with a ditch to the north. It has a C.D. vertical of as much as 8 ft. towards its western end and an O.H. of 50 ft. to 55 ft. It ends about flush with the entrenchment on the north.

There is nothing obvious to account for the ends of these ditches. The wood is not more thick than elsewhere, and one can only suggest that they may have reached the western limit of a clearing.

E.-W. ENTRENCHMENT B.

This entrenchment, Hay says, started "at the farther end of the New Broile," by turning at an angle of about 100 degrees from his "inner" north and south line; he traces it West "past Densworth House." "S" starts it "from the north-west angle of the Broile Camp," and says it ran west for more than a mile. Smith starts it "from the line from Chichester to Lavant" and takes it behind the Barracks "just to the north."

Yeakell and Gardiner's 1778 map gives the boundaries of the New Broile with a right-angled north-east corner, and the 6 in. Survey of Glot marks the north and south entrenchments.

From these data there is no doubt that it ran along by the present north wall of the Barracks. Whether it started from the corner of the Broile at the north end of N.-S. No. 2, or from N.-S. No. 1, further east, is not so certain; Hay implies the former, and "S" states that the eastern-most N.-S. line from Chichester passed within 40 yds. of the Roman Camp on the Broile and gives no indication of the gap being made good, nor is any such connexion shown on either of the two old maps.

On the other hand there is Mr. Smith's statement, and the Ordnance Survey MS. Map of 1813 does seem to show an entrenchment across the gap, though it is a little doubtful as the map is in bad condition. There is now no sign of an entrenchment across the arable land, but then there is no trace of the corner of the camp, which must have been in the same field.

The first trace of the entrenchment now (1931) is in the gardens immediately to the west of the Midhurst road, just north of Brandy Hole Lane; then where that lane gives a slight bend the bank appears on the south of it, and from there on across the railway it is quite clear and continuous, running almost exactly due west. Two hundred and fifty yards from the railway, where there is a large gravel pit between it and the road, it gives off entrenchment N.-S. No. 2, which runs south at right angles. The banks are continuous, and there is no gap at the junction.

The profile of the entrenchment is very uniform in strength and appearance during the whole of its course to Butterfly Cottage, and has been very little interfered with. It is exactly like the Devil's Ditch. The bank rises 5 ft. above the level, its crest is 9 ft. to 10 ft. vertical above the bottom of the ditch, and the overall horizontal measurement of the entrance is 60 to 65 ft. The soil is a light clayey gravel and keeps its form well. The cross roads by Butterfly Cottage are at the spot where the south-west corner of the Old Broile and the north-east corner of Saltbox Common merged. From this corner we are in difficulties; Hay says of the entrenchment, "it crosses part of Saltbox Common, passes Densworth house a little beyond which it is terminated by the returning outer line." This suggests that it followed more or less the road to Ashling, though he may have meant that it continued as the Oakwood entrenchments, which of course do pass far west of Densworth house, though half a mile to the south. "S" says, "forming an acute angle on Densworth Common" (which is marked on no maps, but may mean Saltbox common), "it proceeds south to the head of Fishbourn Harbour." Mr. Smith says, "it meets the road leading to Ashling, a short distance to the entrance to Sennicoats. Here it must have crossed the high road, but the remains at this place are not to be traced. At a short distance it may be found in Oakwood, with a deep ditch and high bank, and forms the third line of defence." As he takes the Densworth

entrenchments (in Densworth copse) as his second line it is clear that he found nothing between the Broyle Corner (at Butterfly Cottage) and Densworth.

I can find nothing along the Ashling road except a 5 ft. bank west of Chapel Lane, which, however, has its ditch to the south, and which with a slight fragment in line with it in Sennicoats I take to be the remains of the bounds of the old waste. It must be remembered, however, that the Ashling Road has been properly made since 1804, with much digging of gravel, and the entrenchments may have been destroyed.

There is no trace of the "returning inner line" of Hay, south of Densworth, and there is, as Smith says, no trace connecting E.-W. No. 2 with the Oakwood entrenchments. I will therefore terminate my E.-W. No. 2 at Butterfly Corner and treat The Oakwood Entrenchments as a different entity.

THE OAKWOOD PARK ENTRENCHMENT.

A thousand yards to the west of Butterfly Cottage, and 300 yds. to the south of it, begins the Oakwood Entrenchment. Starting from the east side of Little Cotwood plantation, it can be traced dead straight, nearly east and west (though not quite parallel with E.-W. No. 2), for three-quarters of a mile, with but a few short gaps, where I am told it has recently been cut away.

It has one remarkable feature: rather more than a furlong from its eastern end the main entrenchment is wanting for more than 300 yds., and its place is taken by a smaller entrenchment of the same profile, 30 yds. to the south of it and slightly overlapping. The wood and scrub is very thick, but the main entrenchment seems to have the usual C.D. vertical of about 9 ft., and OH of 50 to 60 ft., while that of the short length is only about 5 ft., and it appears slighter altogether. Its bank is wanting in one part. Both entrenchments have their ditch to the north so that the short piece behind the main line is like an internal *titulus* guarding a Roman entrance.

The east end of the Oakwood entrenchment ends "in the air." As one follows it westward through the more clayey soil and rather thick wood it is a stoney bank, rather wasted (C.D. vertical 5 or 6 ft., but O.H. 53). It ends in Mouthey's plantation as a wide bank about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile west of the level of the end of the Devil's Ditch, and about a mile to the south of it. Another 700 yds. would have brought it down to the wet valley leading down to the Bosham inlet, but it apparently ended before reaching this natural termination. As before stated, no trace of any north and south entrenchment connecting it with the Devil's Ditch has been discovered.

E.-W. ENTRENCHMENT C.

The only allusions to this entrenchment in the old descriptions are that of Mr. Hay, who speaks of a line "which goes on eastward in the direction of the Roman Bank (a bank and deep ditch so-called in the meadows a little way north-west of Mr. Newman's Nursery) (part of the line), till it terminates at the north-west corner of the city walls," and that of Mr. Henry Smith who says "a fourth [line] may be traced still further to the south near the line of the south coast railway." The western part of Mr. Hay's line, which he is very vague about, I have been quite unable to find, but the "Roman Bank" and Ditch, which is evidently Mr. Smith's fourth line, is I think, quite clear, and it is shown in the old 6 in. Survey with its still existing square mound.

Starting from the old flint wall at the north-west corner of the Westgate Brewery Buildings a bank with a ditch to the north goes due west across the grass field. The ditch here is only 3 ft. below the bank, but the latter is wide rounded and much spread (all the soil here being soft clay) so that the O.H. is about 100 ft. and betokens a large entrenchment. At the west side of the field there is a slight change of direction, and the line runs some degrees north of due west dead straight for $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile to the corner of Clay Lane, and for quite half of that distance the bank can be recognised as a

slight hard causeway 20 ft. wide and about 2 ft. above the level of the fields, faint but distinct, with at first little or no ditch, along the hedge on the north. Half way across the second field the ditch becomes the marked feature, having received a large drainage ditch from the north.

The ditch is about 6 ft. deep with nearly perpendicular sides and 10 ft. wide from lip to lip, even increasing to 20 ft. in some places. The ground is dead flat, wet clay and has to be drained by deep ditches, but this ditch is by far the biggest, and is transverse to such fall as there is; I think there can be little doubt that it is ancient and, with the raised causeway to the south, part of a defensive entrenchment.

In the north-east corner of the field east of the Midhurst railway there is south of the causeway a raised rectangular flat platform 45 yds. by 40 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high which is, as already said, marked in the 6 in. Survey of 150 years ago.

In addition to the scrub which covers the sides of the ditch this part of the entrenchment has a narrow belt of trees north of the ditch, and along this, showing in the field to the north, there is a very faint bank or rise of the ground which may be noted, though it is quite likely to be nothing more than a heap of soil from cleaning out the ditch.

About 280 yds. west of the railway the path crosses to the north of the ditch and soon bears slightly to the left, but the line of the entrenchment goes straight on, marked by a slight fold in the ground, and can be traced across the first field and for a short distance across the next to within a 100 yds. of the corner of Clay Lane.

Clay Lane runs nearly north-west from this corner, and the entrenchment must have again made a slight change in direction, for along the south of the lane in a belt of scrub the ditch goes on for 140 yds., 20 ft. wide, but only 3 ft. deep, and there is in one or two places a slight rise to the south of it.

From the end of the belt to the Salt Hill Road, a

distance of 250 yds., there is now no trace, nor could I find the slightest signs of any entrenchment further west.

There is a possibility that the line under discussion may be a Roman road, the ditch made for drainage purposes ancient or modern, and the supposed line not for a defensive entrenchment at all.

In favour of this hypothesis it may be urged that the line of it is continued along Clay Lane, which is undoubtedly an ancient road, that it is hard and definite just where the low lying soft ground required a made up road; and that though the present Havant road has always been assumed to be the western road, and issues from the west gate, it has never been proved to be Roman, and this one may have turned up to the North gate.

On the other hand, Clay Lane only keeps its straight direction for two or three miles to avoid the low land and leads to no Roman place of importance, there is no obvious need for the Romans to Romanise a British Track, and a ditch on one side only is not their regular construction. Moreover, if they or anybody else wanted to construct an inner defense for the port of Chichester, this bank and ditch with N.-S. No. 4 going down to the head of Fishbourne Harbour would admirably fulfil the purpose.

OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH ENTRENCHMENTS.

N.-S. ENTRENCHMENT No. 1.

The eastern-most is by far the longest of the north and south entrenchments guarding Chichester. It reaches from the north-east of the city for over a mile and a half to join the Devil's Ditch at Lavant, and its line is well marked nearly all the way.

Its actual starting-point from the city walls is uncertain. Mr. Hay says that it "strikes out or separates from the inner line" (my N.-S. No. 2), which starts from the north-east corner of the city walls,

“at the Watery Line above the Pest House, goes eastwards a little way,” and then turns North. “S” says that it “proceeded from the East Gate of Chichester in a northerly direction.” The point cannot be determined for there are no traces south or west of the field whose south-west corner joins the north-west corner of the grounds of the Otter Memorial College. This is about 100 yards east of what I take to be Hay’s “Watery Line,” viz. the spring marked by an old pump, and old watercourse which was the ancient water supply of the north-east part of Chichester.

Along the western side of this field a fold in the ground a few yards from the hedge comes from the north-east corner of the buildings. Following it northwards it becomes in the next field a well-marked bank with its ditch to the east, with a C.D. vertical of 6 ft. and an O.H. of 58 ft. Thence it is quite plain across the grounds of the Mental Hospital, where its bank is much spread and it has an O.H. of 80 ft. and C.D. vertical of 4 ft. Across the field to the Municipal boundary it is ploughed down to a ditch two feet deep, and it is here that it passes the position of the north-east corner of the Roman Camp at a distance of not more than 70 yds. (“S” says 40 yds.), and where we seek in vain for the traces of the angle of the camp and of any connecting ditch. Across Summersdale the line of the entrenchment lies along the east side of the drive, and has been destroyed by the gravel pits, but its course here and all the way from the Otter Memorial College is clear and unbroken on Glot’s old 6 in. Survey.

For the next quarter of a mile, where the entrenchment runs along a belt of wood and the path is along the ditch, both the bank and ditch are in perfection, and are of standard proportions; the bank 4 ft. high, the C.D. vertical 9 ft. and the O.H. 60 ft. At the end of the belt the path goes to the left and the line of the entrenchments is seen quite clearly going on across the field. It passes across the site of Raughmere Farm and the farm buildings, and beyond the gravel pit the bank is clear along the edge of Raughmere Copse, where the

path is 7 ft. below the level of the wood and 3 ft. above that of the meadows. It drops into Pook's Lane, and immediately on the other side is the end of the Devil's Ditch going at right angles to the West.

N.-S. ENTRENCHMENT NO. 2.

This entrenchment is only mentioned in Mr. Hay's description. He says it "begins at the north-east corner of the city walls opposite the Mount in the Friary, goes over the place now called Dell Hole in a straight line to the further corner of the New Broyle, where at an angle of about 100 it turns west." It is clearly shown on Glot's old 6 in. Survey, and its line can be recognised on Yeakell and Gardiners' map.

At the present, time looking over the wall at the north-east corner of the city in the Priory ground, a trace of the beginning of the bank, raised 5 or 6 ft. above the ground to the east, can be seen for 10 or 15 yards at the end of a cottage garden. Within the grounds of Oaklands, 270 yds. from the fence of the Dell Hole, the line can be picked up running for 200 yds. a little west of north to an oak tree at the south-west corner of the garden of Oaklands House. This length is only a very faint bank about 6 inches high and one foot above the remains of a ditch on the east. Inside the garden fence, however, the bank and ditch are quite large for 100 yds, though as they have been converted into an ornamental garden with a water ditch the measurements must not be taken as exactly original. They conform remarkably nevertheless with the standard in other undisturbed sections of these earthworks. The bank rises about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above the level, the C.D. vertical is 9 ft. and the O.H. is 66. There is a slight change of direction here, for outside the grounds of Oaklands the line runs due north, on the east of College lane from a point opposite the corner of the house. The drop down to the road is 6 ft. or 8 ft., but this is not the original bank; it is really the limit of extensive gravel digging which took place on both sides of the road for road making about 1840, the whole of the bank and ditch having been dug away.

Nevertheless, nothing can be more certain than the line of this entrenchment reaching as far as to the corner of the New Broyle on a level with the Barrack wall.

N.-S. ENTRENCHMENT No. 3.

This entrenchment is not mentioned in any of the old descriptions, though Glot's old 6 in. survey shows it distinctly, but not beyond its present position.

It is situated 250 yds. west of the Midhurst railway. The entrenchment runs almost due south at right angles from E.-W. No. 2, 1100 yds. from N.-S. No. 2, and can be traced dead straight for about a quarter of a mile. The banks are continuous and there is no original entrance through the corner; the wide gap in the east-west entrenchment west of it looks modern.

It faces west and has the same strong profile as the other entrenchments. A hundred yards from its origin the bank stands 4 ft. above the level, the C.D. vertical is 10 ft. and the O.H. 62 ft. It keeps the same size for 250 yds. along the east side of the East Broyle Copse, but beyond this along the hedge it gradually peters out and disappears when it reaches the Old Broyle road, though there are confused road banks across the road between it and White House Farm.

Its total length to this point is 450 yds. In East Broyle Copse just outside this entrenchment are the "Roman" or Smugglers' "Caves," which have given the name to Brandy Hole Lane. They are shafts in the ground which look about 20 ft. deep and resemble the "bell" marl-pits of chalk country, but no chalk is visible, several have fallen in and formed "dells." The soil is light clay with very numerous flints. The bank marked "Ancient Earthwork" on the 6 in. O.S. running down the narrow field on the west of the old Broyle Road north of Whitehouse Farm is, I think, an old road running down to the gravel pit, and perhaps the mediæval boundary between the enclosed land and the Old Broyle. The ditch is to the east and the C.D. vertical only $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft.

One can only speculate as to the further course south of this entrenchment. A straight line along its course would pass about 600 yds. west of the city walls. There is absolutely no trace of anything south of Whitehouse Farm except a farm road which is exactly in line, and allowing for the diversion at the railway bridge would bring it to West Broyle Farm in Salt Hill Lane. Just west of the farm buildings on the other side of the lane a straight farm road goes on bearing a little west of its line and strikes the corner of a large drainage ditch which again bearing a little west, goes straight to end at entrenchment E.-W. No. 3. But there is absolutely no trace of the entrenchment anywhere. Another tempting line is that of the Municipal Boundary west of the city, but here again I could see no trace across the fields. A line east from West Broyle Farm along Salt Hill Lane would form the southern side of a square, but there is no suggestion of an entrenchment on the ground.

N.-S. ENTRENCHMENT NO. 4.

The line of this entrenchment is indicated by "S" who, speaking of the entrenchment running west from the north-west corner of the Broil Camp, says "forming an acute angle on Densworth Common it proceeds south to the head of the Fishbourne Harbour." It is not shown on any of the maps, and Densworth Common cannot be identified; but if by this he meant Salt Box Common, the description will fit if we take the line to be that of the road marked on all the old maps and now called Salt Hill Road.

This runs from the old Saltbox Common exactly to the head of the harbour; south of the common it is dead straight, and that it was an important line, at least as early as pre-conquest days, is shown by its being taken as the boundary when New Fishbourne was cut off from the Parish of Bosham.

Following this line from the corner of Butterfly Cottage, where the E.-W. Entrenchment No. 2 ends, the road runs south-south-west quite straight for a quarter of a mile, it then changes direction to south by

west, and runs for exactly a mile dead straight to the head of the estuary.

The old eastern boundary of Saltbox Common is along the side of the belt of trees about 15 yds. to the east of the first part of this road and is bounded by a bank with a ditch to the west; but this, though it has a C.D. vertical of 4 ft. and an O.H. of 37 ft. in places, may be only a mediæval boundary such as is often found fencing off a common from the enclosed ground. It is below the point where Clay Lane crosses Salt Hill Road that the indications of an old entrenchment, though much slighter, seem to me more convincing.

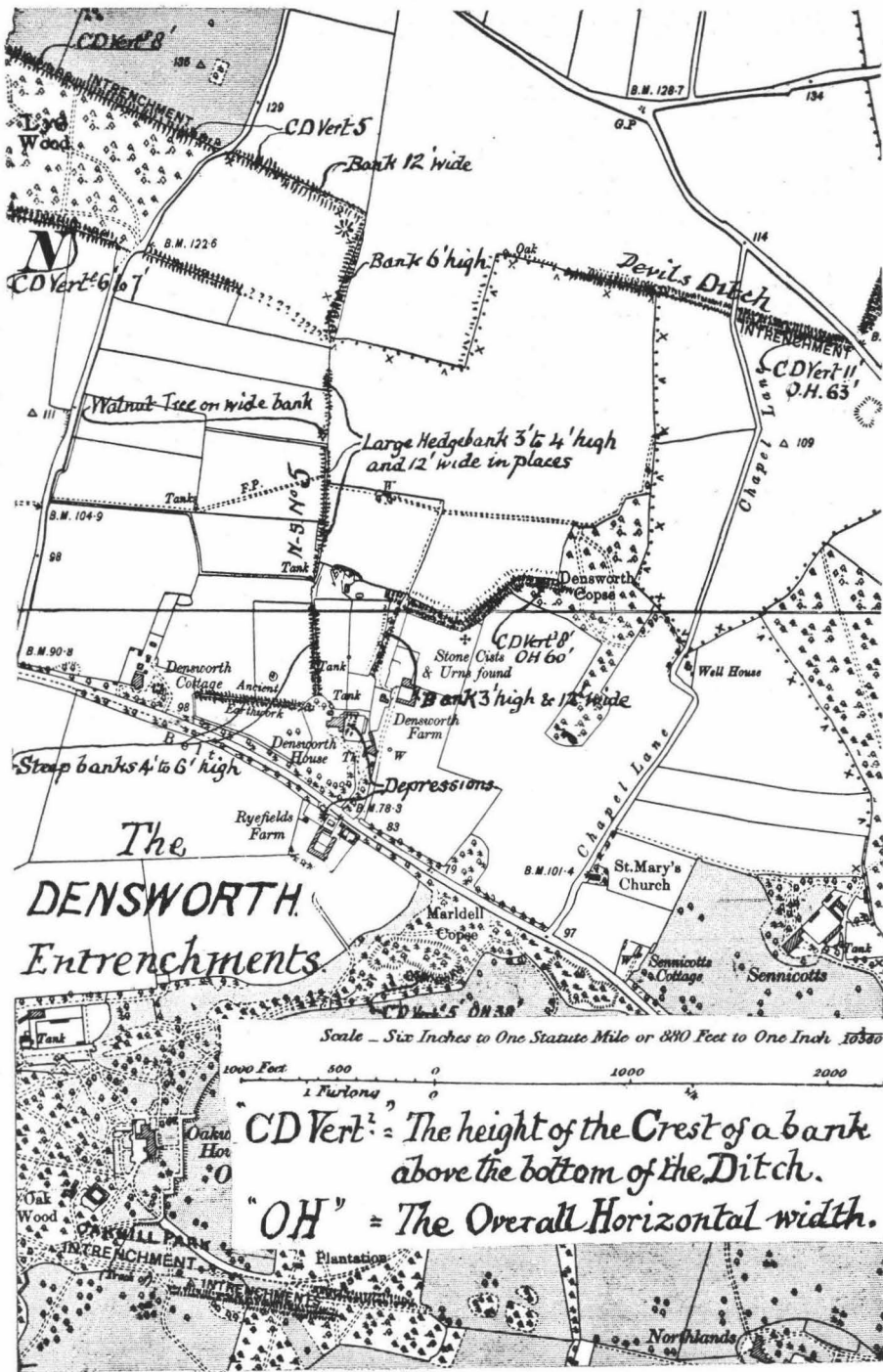
The road right down to the harbour lies in a slight hollow of 4 or 5 ft.

Over the hedge to the west the ground rises naturally and evenly to the level of the clay plateau, but on the east side there is a line in the field some 30 ft. or so away from the hedge where there is a steeper drop of some 2 ft., like a shallow lynchet. This is more or less well marked all the way—opposite Slated Barn it is two feet—below the level crossing it is a drop of 5 ft. in 15 ft.

This is slight evidence, it is true, but knowing how completely banks disappear under cultivation in a clay soil, taken with other points—the straightness, the direction to the head of the harbour and the parish boundary—it seems to me enough to establish the claim of Salt Hill Road to be the line of "S's" north and south entrenchment. Below the level crossing the ground on the east of the road seems to have been excavated and is very suggestive of some sort of slipway for boats.

THE DENSWORTH BANKS AND DITCHES AND N.-S. ENTRENCHMENT No. 5.

In Densworth Coppice and the grounds of Densworth House there are the remains of some entrenchments which may have formed part of the larger system, or have been accessory to it, or may have been independent earthworks and not even contemporary. Mr. Hay



makes his "inner line" (my E.-W. No. 2) go to Densworth House and join a returning outer line to the west of it. "S" makes E.-W. No. 2 turn south on "Densworth Common," which I cannot identify with certainty, but probably refers to the extension of Saltbox Common westwards towards Densworth. There was, at his date, no other locality to name it by. Mr. Smith, in his paper on the Roman Burials found at Densworth, gives a sketch plan of the largest of the entrenchments, and considers them to be the remains of the second of four east and west lines defending Chichester, between my E.-W. Nos. 1 and 2.

I give a plan of such banks as I can now make out strengthened and added to the 6 in. O.S.

The main large east and west entrenchment consists of three straight sections which zigzag across from a steep stoney gully west of the keeper's cottage ("Well House") in Chapel Lane to the edge of the shallower bottom in which stands Densworth House. Both bottoms would no doubt have been wet ground with thicker wood in ancient time, but seeing that the whole country must have been in much the same varying condition it is difficult to see what special importance attached to this particular bit of the plateau. The problem might be soluble if we could be sure of the original extent of the entrenchments, but it was probably dependent on local conditions of clearance and cultivation.

Each of the three straight sections is about 130 yds. long set at angles of about 135 degrees. They are fairly uniform and about the usual strength with a C.D. vertical of about 8 ft. and an O.H. of 60. The ditch though ploughed down in the fields is quite distinct everywhere and faces north. The eastern section is in the copse, the two others in a belt of wood. The eastern end of the entrenchment starts from the bottom of the stoney gully. It is not to be found across it, and a somewhat tempting bank and ditch which starts from its end and runs north, has probably nothing to do with it. The latter is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high

and 20 ft. wide overall, and marks the parish boundary and the old limit of the West Stoke Common; moreover, its ditch is to the east.

The western section ends abruptly at the garden of Densworth House, and it is quite impossible to say whether it ever crossed it.

From where it ends, a belt of thin wood with a path runs south along the side of the grounds, and is very suggestive of being the line of an old bank. There is a bank rising 2 ft. from the green farm road on the east and a drop of 3 ft. to the path, with another of 2 ft. to the garden on the west. It is distinctly shown in the old eighteenth century 6 in. (Glott) map, and is marked like a definite bank. Close to the east side of Densworth House there is a wide trench about 6 ft. deep, now a sunk garden, and just across the high road in the corner of the garden of Ryfields Farm another short deep depression. These may well mark the remains of a ditch, the intervening portion being cut away by the gravel pit.

On the west of Densworth House in the garden there is an extremely uniform steep-sided (2 in 1) gravel bank, hard and consolidated, which starts close to the house and runs west for nearly 300 yds. Where it has been purposely preserved in the garden it is 4 ft. high on the south side and $5\frac{1}{2}$ on the north, where there is a faint trace of a ditch. The bank is 4 ft. wide on the top, along which runs a path. It becomes less well preserved as it goes west, and its last trace is a mound on which grows an oak tree in the garden of Densworth Cottage.

N.-S. ENTRENCHMENT NO. 5.

On the west side of Densworth House, from the last described east and west bank, runs the bank I have named N.-S. Entrenchment No. 5. Tracing it north it begins as an exactly similar bank to the former, but has evidently not been so carefully preserved. It stands 5 ft. to 6 ft. high in the gardens, but loses height when it gets into the field, nevertheless it remains distinctly bigger than an ordinary hedge bank,

seldom less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, with steep sides, and it is very hard and consolidated. In all its southern part it has an O.H. of 14 ft. At one point, 200 yds. from the gardens, there is a walnut tree growing on an irregular mound $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high and 10 ft. wide. In another 170 yds. it strikes the south-west corner of the hollow square in the Devil's Ditch and is continuous with its western side, which, as we have seen, has in places a bank 6 ft. high with a ditch to the west. Its total length from Densworth House to the Devil's Ditch is about 830 yds. Though the middle part might easily be taken to be a hedge bank, there is, I think, no doubt that it is the remains of the old entrenchment, "the return of the outer line" referred to by Hay. There is little indication of which way it faced, but on the whole such traces of a ditch as there are seem to be on its western side, though a farm track on the east has rather lowered the ground on that side.

There is no trace that I can find of any other N.-S. entrenchment further west, nor of any continuation of N.-S. No. 5 further south. The only other fragment I could find in this neighbourhood is about a hundred yards of a bank and ditch which certainly looks like the remains of an ancient entrenchment, by the side of Church Path in the grounds of Oakwood Park just between it and the deep Marldell. This has a C.D. vertical of 5 ft. and an O.H. of 38 ft., but both bank and ditch have been encroached upon; it faces north.

OLD DESCRIPTIONS AND MAPS.

The available descriptions of the Chichester entrenchments that I have been able to discover are:—

- (1) In Haylen's *History of Chichester*, 1804 by the Rev. Alexdr. Hay, p. 539 to 542.
- (2) In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for May, 1816, Part II, p. 19 "S."
- (3) In the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 166, *et seq.* 18, by Rev. Henry Smith, M.A., 1858.
- (4) In the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, Vol. III, p. 144-177, in a paper by Rev. Ed. Turner, April, 1849.

There are also two old maps:—

- (1) Yeakell and Gardiner, 1778, 2 ins. to the mile.
- (2) Two sheets of 6 in. survey engraved by Glot, from internal evidence dating between 1763 and 1780.

For reference to these I am indebted to Mr. O. G. S. Crawford and Mr. Peckham of Appledram. They are invaluable for the identification of the localities in the descriptions, and are useful both for the entrenchments they show and for what they omit.

From Haylen's *History of Chichester*, by the Rev. Alexander Hay, 1804, pp. 539-542.

“On the *Broile* near the city are the vestiges of a camp about 3 miles in length and one in breadth. It is surrounded by a strong rampire inward and a single graff outward (Vespasian resided some considerable time among the Belgian Britons, and therefore it is attributed to him). The inner line begins at the north-east corner of the city walls opposite to the Mount in the Friary mentioned before, goes over the place now called *Dell Hole* in a straight line to the further part of the *New Broyle* where in an angle of about 100 degrees it turns west, crosses the London road in the same direction, passes by the *New Broyle Coppice*, skirts the *Old Broyle Coppice*, crosses the *Old Broyle* and part of *Salibox Common*, passes *Densworth House* a little beyond which it is terminated by the returning outer line.

The outer line strikes out or separates from the inner line at the *Watery Line* above the *Pest House*, goes eastward a little way, turns to the north, crossing *Mr. Miller's fields* and the road from the *New Broyle* to *Grayling-well House*, goes on in a pretty straight line to *Summersdale*, where it forms a small curve, then goes along *Rawmere Lane* over the spot where *Rawmere House* now stands, skirts the small copse there at the north-east corner of which it crosses the London Road about a mile from the inner line; and crossing over the paddock belonging to *Miss Poole* crosses the *Lavant Road* a little way south of her house, over the fields to *Lord Bathurst's park* which it passes not far from the house over *Stoke Common* goes on westwards, almost skirts *Little Tomlins* on the south of it beyond which it turns a little way northward, then goes on westward as far as *Ashling Wood* about which place was the boundary of its western direction, turns southwards and joining the inner line to the west of *Densworth House* in the same (southward) direction passes through the lands belonging to *Mr. Blagden of Chichester*, goes on through part of *Clay lane Common*⁴ and somewhere in the more cultivated fields

⁴ The road from Butterfly Cottage to the crossing of Clay Lane is called “The further Clays Lane Public Road” in the 1837 Enclosure Map. So probably the piece of Common West of this called Fishbourne Common in Yeakell & Gardiner's map is meant.

formed an angle or turning goes on eastward in the direction of the *Roman bank* (a bank and deep ditch so called in the meadows a little way north-west of Mr. Newman's Nursery) (part of the line) till it terminates at the north-west corner of the city wall, after being carried on for a space of nine or ten miles, and encompassing a space of 7 or 8 square miles. This sketch though not complete that I could trace of this famous Roman camp. It is proper to observe that within the inner line, *i.e.* between it and the city we discover lines joining to it and running south and north a considerable way and in some places broken traces of others in an east and west direction at a moderate distance from the said inner line. From which it would appear that they (the Romans had inner camps formed as places of refuge to retreat to in case they should be driven from the great camp outwards.) If this was the case these masters of the world did not at that time look upon the conquest of this island to be complete but judged it necessary to guard against a reverse of fortune and the dangers that might arise from the exertions of a warlike people, who were but half subdued. That such lines did exist is evident from inspection, but by whom they were made does not clearly appear."

From the *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1816. Part II, p. 19.

"The Devil's Ditch, pursued the same direction, and nearly in a line, and might have been a boundary against the Belgae against the original inhabitants when they invaded these coasts from Gaul. It is to be remarked the ditches of all these banks are upon the north side. The Devil's Ditch is to be traced a mile east of Halnaker, through Halnaker Park, by Waterbeach, through Goodwood and Fawley Wood, in a straight direction to Lavant, where it fell into the lines proceeding to Chichester, which proceeding from the east gate of Chichester in a northerly direction to within 40 yds. of the Roman Camp on the Broil, by Summers dale to Ruemere, where it forms an acute angle and proceeds west through Lavant Park, where it was joined by the Devil's Ditch: from Lavant Park it proceeded in a very high ridge to Stoke Common, where it forms an acute angle and proceeds in a south direction for a short distance; where, forming another acute angle, it pursues a westerly direction through Stoke Park and woods in a straight line to Stanstead and Rowlands or Roman's Castle.

From the north-west angle of the Broil Camp a high ridge, with a ditch on the north side, runs west for more than a mile; when, forming an acute angle on *Densworth Common*,⁵ it proceeds south to the head of Fishbourne Harbour, half a mile to the west of the spot where the Roman tessellated pavement was discovered in the year 1805. The whole country, for many miles, appears to have been

⁵ The 1837 Enclosure Map shows Saltbox Common reaching in a peak to Chapel Lane and a waste 50 yards wide by Densworth to Densworth Cottage.

defended by entrenchment, in all probability the work of the Belgic Britons, and partly of the Romans, who might take advantage of the works of their predecessors; and such might have been the origin (at least the hint) of that much larger work, the Picts Wall.

From the North Gate of the city of Chichester another high bank proceeds in north-west direction, passing near the grounds called *the Campus* (which until these few years was used as a play ground by the scholars of the Grammar School in Chichester). A few years past in digging through this bank it was discovered to be an aqueduct the water having been conveyed by earthen pipes, neatly fitted into each other.

Yours etc., 'S.'

From "An account of certain Roman Sepulchral remains lately discovered at Densworth in the Parish of Funtingdon, Sussex."

By the Reverend Henry Smith, M.A.—*Sussex Archl. Collections*.
Vol. X, p. 168. 1858."

P. 169. (The easternmost N.-S. entrenchment). . . "probably divided, one part going eastward in the direction of the Valdoe Copse and thence across Goodwood Park towards Bignor; the other turning to the west outside Rawmere copse . . . proceeds in a nearly direct line for about a mile." He then describes the hollow square jutting out to the north (west of little Tomlins) giving a plan and section and, says the entrenchment, "turns again to the west and proceeds further for nearly a mile where it is lost or untraced in Ashling Wood."

P. 171. ". . . the number of inner works that extend between the outer line and the city appear to strengthen the argument for the military nature of the work. These may be traced well over the late common called the Broil and at the point where they have particularly come under my notice they are found extending line behind line over an extensive district. Thus the first line extends between Stoke and Lavant. The second quarter of a mile to the south is the work at Densworth, which will afterwards be noticed. The third about the same distance to the south leaves the line from Chichester to Lavant behind the barracks; passing just to the north it is found to be at the side of the lane, running from the barracks to Stoke Road crosses the Broil till it meets the road leading to Ashling, a short distance to the entrance to Sennicots. Here it must have crossed the high road; but the remains at this place are not to be traced.

At a short distance to the west it may be found at Oakwood, where with deep ditch and high bank it forms the third line of defence. And a fourth may be traced still further to the south near the line of the South Coast Railway. Here are to be found vallum and fosse line behind line, marks of a strongly armed occupation of the country.

“The second of these lines is to be found on the lands of Densworth. The present remains are formed in three portions, each extending north-west and south-east for 135 yds. There are little remains of a ditch, though part of the bank being in Densworth Coppice the plough has not done its work in defacing the hollow had it existed. The vallum is about 6 ft. high in its most elevated part.”

Mr. Smith then proceeds to give a description of the discoveries, with a plan and section of the entrenchment at Densworth, and a plan of that at Oak wood.

From *Sussex Archaeological Collections*. Vol. III, p. 174–177.

The Military earthworks on the South Downs, by the Reverend Edward Turner. April, 1849.

“The earthworks on the Broil near Chichester, which are constructed as an additional outer fortification to the city on the north side at that time the most accessible and therefore most open to attack. The form is that of two sides of the square, each side being a mile in length.”

NOTE ON IDENTIFICATION OF PLACES.

Broile. “A common forest term for a park or wood stocked with deer or other beasts of the chase, and as a rule enclosed by a wall or hedge v. DuCange s.v. *Brolium*.”—*The Place Names of Sussex English Place Name Society*, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 71.

There were two Broyles:—The East or New Broyle on part of which the Barracks now stand, and the West or Old Broyle now the grounds of West Broyle House. Each had its coppice.

Broil Camp. A rectangular camp about 200 yds. by 150, lying east and west is marked on Glot’s map on the East Broyle where the Barracks now stand. It is also shown on Budgen’s map (1728) about the position of the Drill-ground of the present Barracks.

Commons. Those marked on Yeakell and Gardiner’s map are shown by a dotted line and hatching.

Clay Lane Common. The Enclosure Award Map for the parish of Funtington (Record Office 1837, close roll 208) marks the road running northward from the crossing of Clay Lane to the modern Butterfly Cottage “The further Clay Lane Public Road.” Yeakell and Gardiner’s map marks a nearly detached piece of Saltbox Common, adjoining this road on the west, “Fishbourne Common,” and this (which is not named on the Enclosure Map) may be the piece called by Hay Clay Lane Common.

Densworth Common. The Enclosure Map also shows Saltbox Common extending in a peak up to Chapel Lane and going on as a

waste beside the Ashling road 50 yds. wide as far as Densworth Cottage. This Westward extension may well be the part called by "S" Densworth Common.

Stoke Common. This lies west of Little Tomlins, not east, as Mr. Hay implies. The common east of the coppice is Lavant.

Fawley Wood. In "S" description is obviously the Valdoe.

Mr. Newman's Nursery (in the meadows west of the city walls) (1804) is said to have been just north of the buildings marked Westfield in the 6 in. O.S.

The position of the following I am unable to identify:—

- (a) Lands belonging to Mr. Blagdon of Chichester (1804) (somewhere south of Densworth House).
- (b) "The grounds called the Campus which until these last few year was used as a playground by the scholars of the Grammar School in Chichester" (1817). These are said to lie north-west (?north-east) of the north gate.