

EXCAVATIONS AT GOOSEHILL CAMP, 1953-5

BY J. R. BOYDEN

SOMETIMES excavation reports begin on a note of apology, as if excavation were a surrender to temptation, excusable only under duress. In excavating Goosehill we¹ did not have the excuse of any threat to its existence for, of all sites, Goosehill seems safest from interference. There was only the very strong temptation of plain curiosity.

Our picking on Goosehill was the result of the paper entitled 'Hill-Slope Forts and Related Earthworks in South West England and South Wales', read by Lady Fox to the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1952.² This paper is a broad study of one of the few remaining types of earthwork whose purpose is still not understood. Previously these earthworks had only been given perfunctory attention; and it was perhaps Lady Fox's paper which established for the first time that a clear-cut type did exist. Their distinguishing features become apparent on comparison with conventional hill-forts. While the latter invariably choose commanding positions on hill-tops, the former lie on hill-slopes. Their banks and ditches are weaker than those of normal hill-forts: their entrances are not the usual reinforced military types, but are simple gaps: although they often have internal banks, these never reinforce the outer works as at great hill-forts like Maiden Castle and Badbury Rings, but

¹ Most of the earth moving was done by boys (and girls) from Bedales School, who were indefatigable. One of their masters, Frank Hawtin, played an important part in all spheres of the investigation. Peter Tennant, of Eastbourne, took responsibility for direction of the excavations at an early stage, but later retired owing to distance. C. H. Byrne, F. Hawtin, and A. E. Sewell helped with the drawings; Mrs. Kenchenton and her son John (12), bicycling to the site from Hampshire, were our most tireless helpers. Professor Stuart Piggott gave us background advice throughout; Dr. A. E. Wilson, A. H. Collins, M.A., and G. P. Burstow, F.S.A., visited the site and were always available for advice. The Ministry of Works—as custodians—and the West Dean estate—as owners—kindly consented to the excavations.

² *Arch. Journal*, cix, 1952.



PLATE I. GOOSEHILL CAMP with its ditches picked out by snow



form independent enclosures separated from the outer-works by fairly wide spaces.

Goosehill is only mentioned as a footnote in Lady Fox's study, because it is well outside the main area of distribution of these earthworks in the West Country. But it has all the qualifying peculiarities in their purest form, and belongs unquestionably to the class.

THE SURROUNDINGS

Goosehill lies $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles north by west of Chichester (Nat. Grid. SU 830127) on the eastern slopes of a ridge known as Bow Hill, which runs in a sweeping curve through the entire depth of the downs from the coastal plain in the south to the main east-west ridge above the Weald in the north (see Fig. 1). Cultivated fields seem slowly to be creeping up the sides of the ridge from the surrounding valleys; and its western flank will soon be covered by the fir plantations of the Forestry Commission. But there is still a continuous tongue of virgin downland from the wild yew forest in Kingley Vale at the southern end of the ridge to a point about 1 mile north of Goosehill, where ploughed fields begin in earnest. It is long since this natural downland has been grazed by sheep; the wild scrub and bramble are steadily encroaching, converting some of it, particularly the area immediately to the north of Goosehill, into impenetrable jungle. Along the ridge runs an ancient track which has probably carried traffic since early prehistoric times. It ascends the southern slope close to the suspected Neolithic flint mines beside Kingley Vale, passes four huge bell barrows, runs beside an undated rectangular earthwork—Bow Hill Camp—which straddles the highest point of the ridge, and then, $\frac{3}{4}$ mile to the north, passes just above Goosehill Camp. At this point on the ridgeway where, one might say, Goosehill ought to have been, stands an isolated but still inhabited flint cottage known as Bow Hill House.¹ From this cottage it is possible to

¹ Upon an internal door are engraved many names with dates between 1755 and 1788, from which evidence Mr. F. W. Steer, F.S.A., County Archivist, considers that the cottage was once used for the isolation of patients after an early form of inoculation against smallpox (see *The Lancet*, cclxx. 200-1).

see the Solent and Isle of Wight to the south-west; the coastal plain as far as Littlehampton to the south-east; and, in northerly directions, a wide expanse of upland

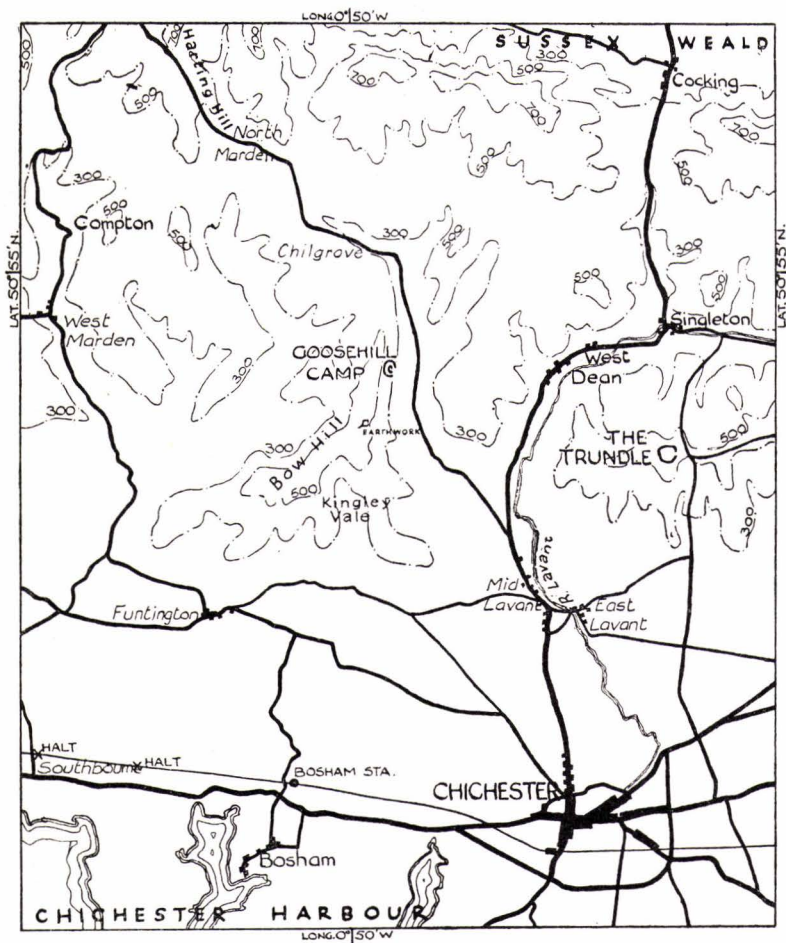


FIG. 1. [Based on the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office]

ridges and valleys. But from the Camp itself, 100 yards away, the prospect closes down to little more than the Chilgrave valley.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE (Fig. 2)

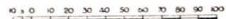
Goosehill¹ is a concentric two-ring earthwork enclosing, in all, some 4½ acres. It now lies hidden behind huge, blue-black yews whose lower branches grow outwards just above the ground, re-rooting and forming impassable barriers to all save the wild deer and badger. Directly downhill from the cottage, the outer ring begins just where the level ground gives way to the slope. This slope becomes uncomfortable in the inner ring, and quite precipitous immediately beyond it. The aerial photograph (Plate I) shows how wild yew-trees follow the boundary banks associated with Bow Hill House. Presumably seedlings were able to gain a footing in loose soil when the banks were first thrown up. As a result the line of trees on the boundary bank running right through the earthwork has done considerable damage. Forming a canopy against the sun, the trees killed the turf below and allowed further seedlings to take root: gradually a grove formed, spreading with the prevailing wind, until the lower third of the earthwork had been overwhelmed. No patch of grass has survived; the soil has lost some of its stability, and the contours of the inner ring—within the grove—are less distinct. The ground here is littered with weathered chalk, and, undoubtedly, water action has carried some of the soil downhill. Whether the missing segment of the outer ring lies buried under this soil, or whether it never existed, we did not determine. Clearly it has been artificially interrupted by the boundary bank at the more southerly of its present terminal points, and was once longer there. But at its other terminal point, the ditch tapers out slowly. This may, in fact, be its original ending, for the hill-slope has become so steep here as to make an artificial barrier almost pointless.

The outer ring is roughly 26 ft. wide from bank to counterscarp, while the inner ring is markedly larger at about 36 ft. wide. The normal arrangement of main

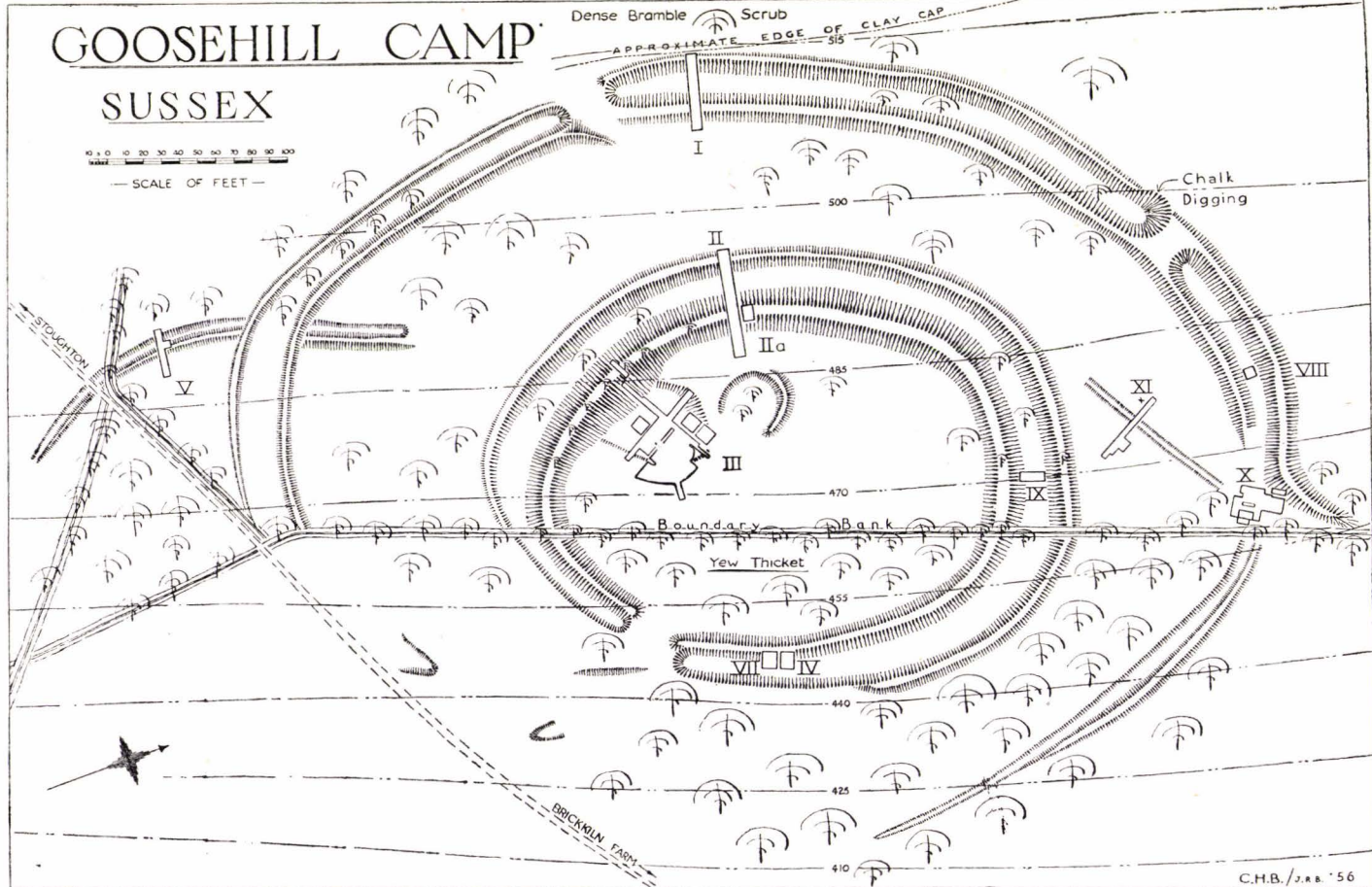
¹ A. Hadrian Allcroft, in *S.A.C.* LVIII. 80, discusses a possible origin of the name 'Goosehill'.

GOOSEHILL CAMP

SUSSEX



— SCALE OF FEET —



bank inside the ditch with slight counterscarp on the outside is adhered to throughout the inner ring, except that for a short distance either side of the entrance gap the outer bank is missing. With the outer ring, the scheme is more flexible; in the north-west quadrant the bank is more or less equal on both sides; while in the north-east the bank is on the outside of the ditch only.

Two entrances have survived—one to each ring. Both appear to be original, and are simple gaps in the earthwork. Their arrangement on opposite sides of their respective rings is very puzzling. The gap in the outer ring is to the west, at the highest point of the earthwork; and there is some indication from soil disturbance that the track entered here in an oblique direction. The gap in the inner ring is to the east, at almost the lowest point of the earthwork; it occurs at the steepest part of the ring, and directs all traffic downhill, whereas the main area of the earthwork lies uphill. Its outlines are much obscured now by old rabbit burrowings and soil movement; but its identity cannot be mistaken; nor is there the slightest evidence of any other entrance to this ring.

In the south-west the outer ring cuts through an earlier ditch. This is an arc, about 240 ft. long, running in a north-south direction. The bank is inside the ditch, but both are feeble. The ends are clear cut and decisive.

THE EXCAVATIONS

Our first task was to cut a number of vertical sections into the ditches to obtain dating evidence: later we made various area excavations to throw light on the purpose of the earthwork. The alignment of cuttings I and II was selected because it gave comparative freedom from trees and undergrowth. Both sections were laid down right through banks as well as ditches on the same radial line.

Cutting I. Outer ring (see Fig. 3). This cutting revealed a V-shaped ditch about 4 ft. 6 in. deep below the silted surface. The lower 2 ft. 6 in. of its walls were clean and unweathered and pick marks still survived. The inner bank was 1 ft. 2 in. deep at its highest point over the old surface-level; but no buried turf-line had survived. There were no traces whatever of post-holes in or beneath the bank. The ditch had silted in a conventional fashion; the lowest layer, 1 ft. 9 in. deep, contained loose clean chalk in large lumps: the middle layer,

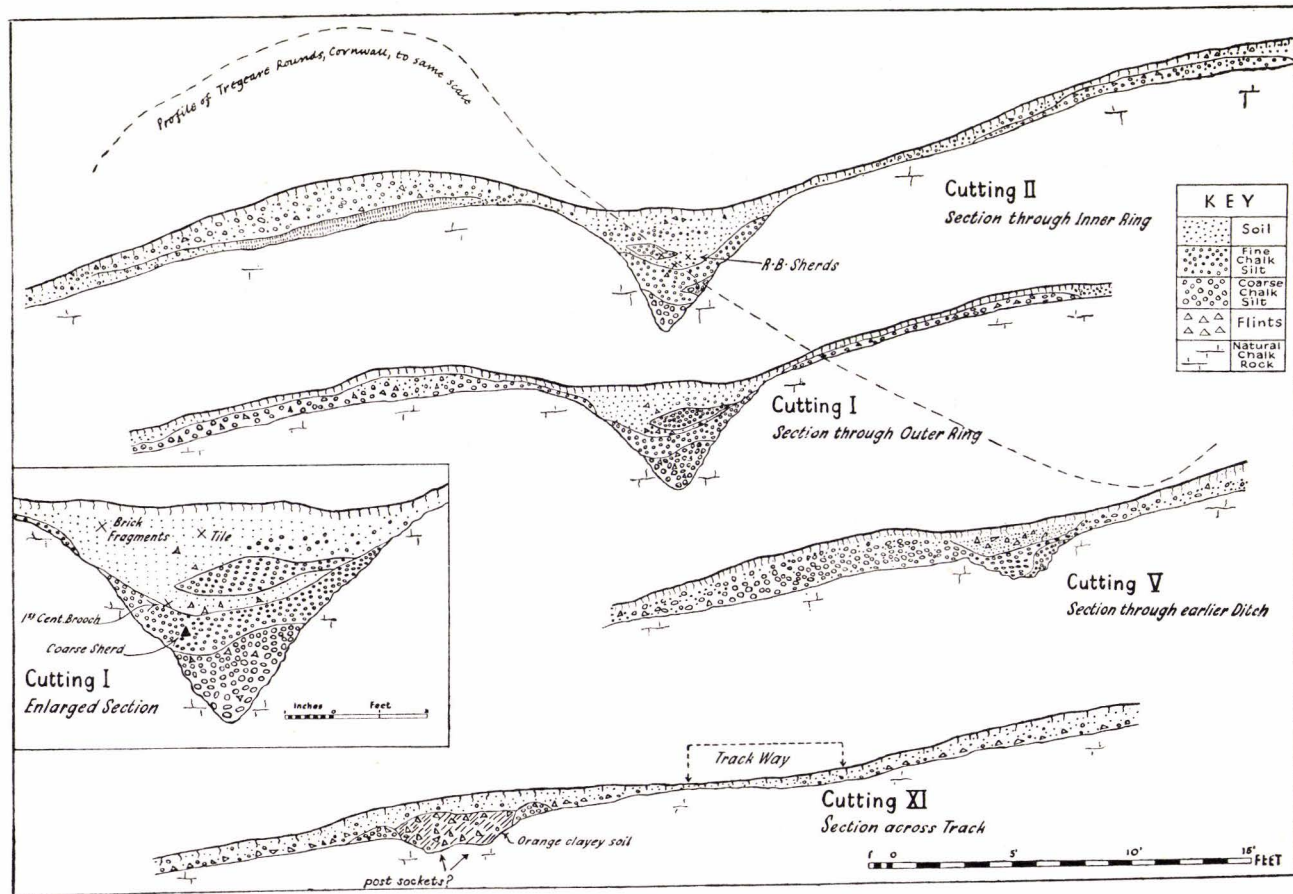


FIG. 3

about 1 ft. thick, was composed of much finer and more compact chalk; and over this lay 2 ft. of soil and humus. The soil-layer yielded a few bricks and tile fragments.¹ On the top of the original silt, where the soil had begun to form, we found, in the wall of our cutting, a late first century A.D. bronze brooch (see Fig. 7, No. 14). Below this, in the secondary and primary silting, were two or three abraded sherds in very coarse paste and with large flint grit.

Cutting II. Inner ring (see Fig. 3). Unfortunately this cutting did not advance our knowledge materially. The main bank was 1 ft. 8 in. deep over the original surface, which was clearly visible as a thick clay band (in contrast to our previous section where the turf-line had rotted away). Once again no post-holes or other evidence of timbering could be detected in the rampart. The ditch resembled the ditch of the outer ring in section. Again the lower 2 ft. 6 in. showed no signs of weathering and preserved tool-marks in the chalk. The silting had formed into three layers as in the outer ditch, but unfortunately the primary and secondary silting proved sterile, save for one or two groups of animal bones; while a few Romano-British sherds lay on the secondary silt, where soil had begun to collect, in the same relative position as the brooch in cutting I. This cutting, then, merely confirmed the evidence of our first cutting that, at some point in the Roman period, the ditches in this sector had reached an angle of rest.

Cutting IIIa. Inner ring. (see Fig. 2). We were loth to believe that these rather feeble banks were not originally reinforced by palisading. We therefore employed a more sensitive technique to try to detect any traces that might still survive of the penetration of posts into the rubble. We removed a 6-ft. length of the rampart by vertical slices 3 in. apart. Although we cut 36 such slices, we saw nothing to suggest timbering, although we sprayed each vertical face with water to accentuate the colours of soil changes.

Cutting IV. Inner ring. To obtain more dating evidence we opened up cutting IV in the wood at the lower side of the inner ring. The ditch hereabouts is so choked with trees as to be almost unsuitable for excavation. But we hoped that it would yield more pottery than elsewhere because there are depressions in the inner ring, and if these mark the positions of former huts, then habitation refuse would probably have made its way downhill into the lower segment of the ditch. The extent of the tree cover is such that we were never able to take a single photograph in the wood owing to absence of light.

The cutting produced a different type of silting. Coarse chalk rubble lay very close to the surface, and persisted right down to the bottom. Amongst this loose filling, soil had penetrated to a considerable depth, and the walls were lined to within 2 ft. of the bottom

¹ We assumed these had made their way down from Bow Hill House. Mr. E. M. Jope, M.A., F.S.A., kindly examined them and considered them to be seventeenth century.

with bands of earth, mixed with fine chalk, that had been brought there by centuries of water action. When we tried to scrape away this muddy deposit the walls, undermined by the water, often flaked off under the trowel. The ditch, 6 ft. 6 in. deep below the silted surface, was more than a foot deeper than our previous cutting into the inner ring, though some of this may have been due to an overlay of soil slip. We found fairly large numbers of pot boilers; but other finds were limited to a few fragments of coarse pottery and a flint axe (or knife: see Fig. 7, No. 12). We therefore cut another somewhat larger section beside IV.

Cutting VII. Inner ring (Fig. 4). We removed the contents of this cutting in uniform spits—each about 5 in. deep—with the trowel. There were 17 spits in all to cover the total depth of 6 ft. 6 in. Apart from the overlying foot or so of soil, we found coarse chalk all the way. In all we counted 800 pot boilers, usually occurring in groups, and often associated with fragments of charcoal and pig bones. The distribution of these pot boilers was not even all the way down: for instance in spits 3 to 6 (counting downwards) there were 400; from 7 to 10 there were very few; from 11 to 13 there were 300; but from 13 downwards, none at all.

Although the silting very much resembled that of cutting IV, we did seem to detect a fugitive band of finer and more compact chalk, perhaps a short-lived angle of rest, say 4 in. or 5 in. thick, at a depth of about 3 ft. from the surface (see Fig. 4), which was stained by earth to a somewhat darker shade than the material above and below it. We began to find pottery at once in this cutting, and eventually it produced more than all other cuttings together. Coarse buff sherds with heavy flint grits were in the majority: there was also a slightly thinner black ware with medium grit, and, finally, 3 ft. from the bottom, and below all the other sherds, we found in our section wall a complete footing or low pedestal base (Fig. 7, No. 9) in thin, fine, burnished, very soft ware. Fig. 4, cutting VII, illustrates the curious disposition of these three distinct grades of sherds, and throws into relief the problem it poses. The coarse fragments in character would suit the Bronze as easily as the Early Iron Age; their position well above the unabraded AB-type pedestal needed some explaining; and so, to establish the true relation between these strongly contrasting types, we decided to make still further cuttings into the ditches.

Cutting VIII. Outer ring (see Fig. 4). This cutting did not come up to expectation. The layering was clear enough, but the sherds obtained were too small and abraded to be classified.

Cutting IX. Inner ring (see Fig. 4). This cutting, made opposite VIII, but in the inner ring, produced, on the other hand, a mass of smooth, burnished sherds, the crushed remains of a large piece of one pot, at a very low level in the primary silting (see Fig. 4, cutting IX). This was unquestionably the same ware as the pedestal base from cutting VII since, apart from its similar appearance, it

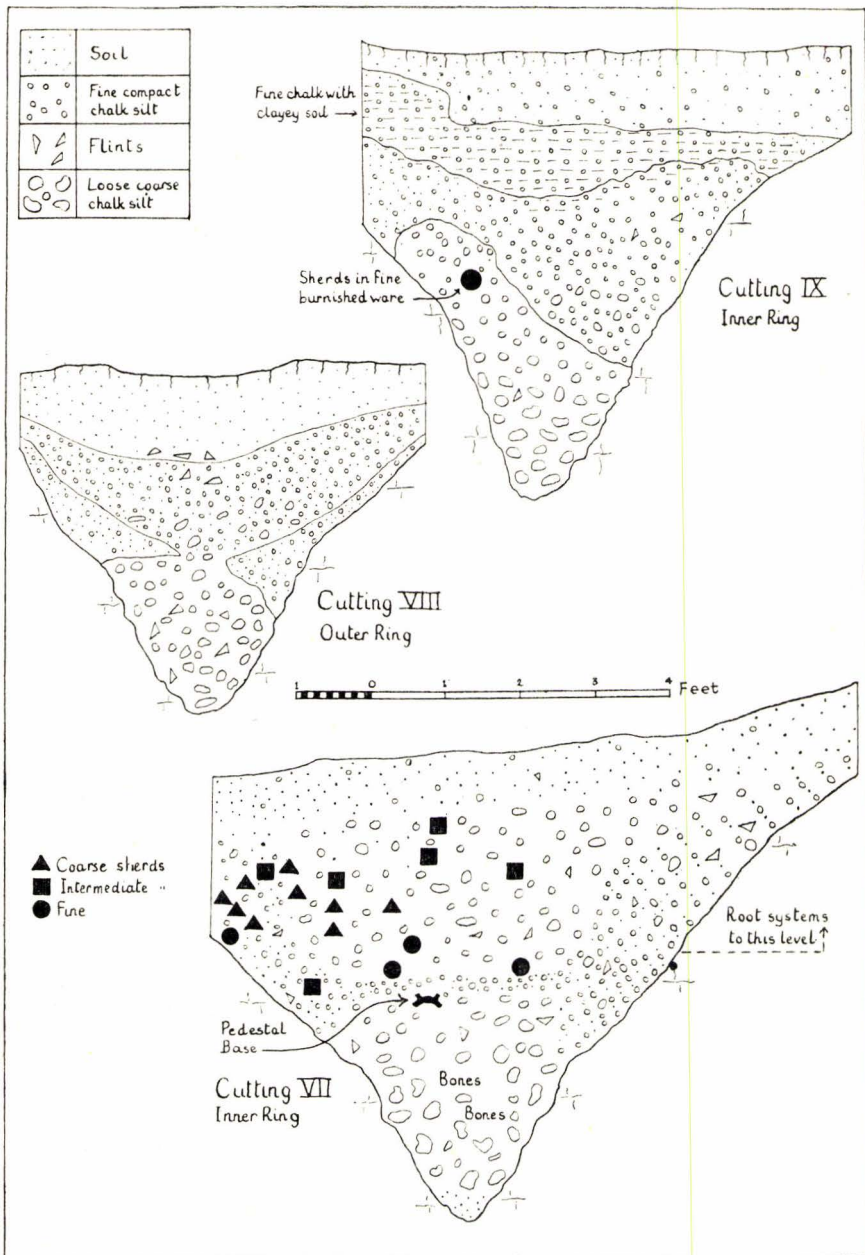


FIG. 4

was in precisely the same condition when found—soft and friable, resembling damp soot. This cutting, then, proved that the pedestal base had been found in its correct position in cutting VII and was, indeed, the dating pottery of the construction of the earthwork (or, at least, of the inner ring).

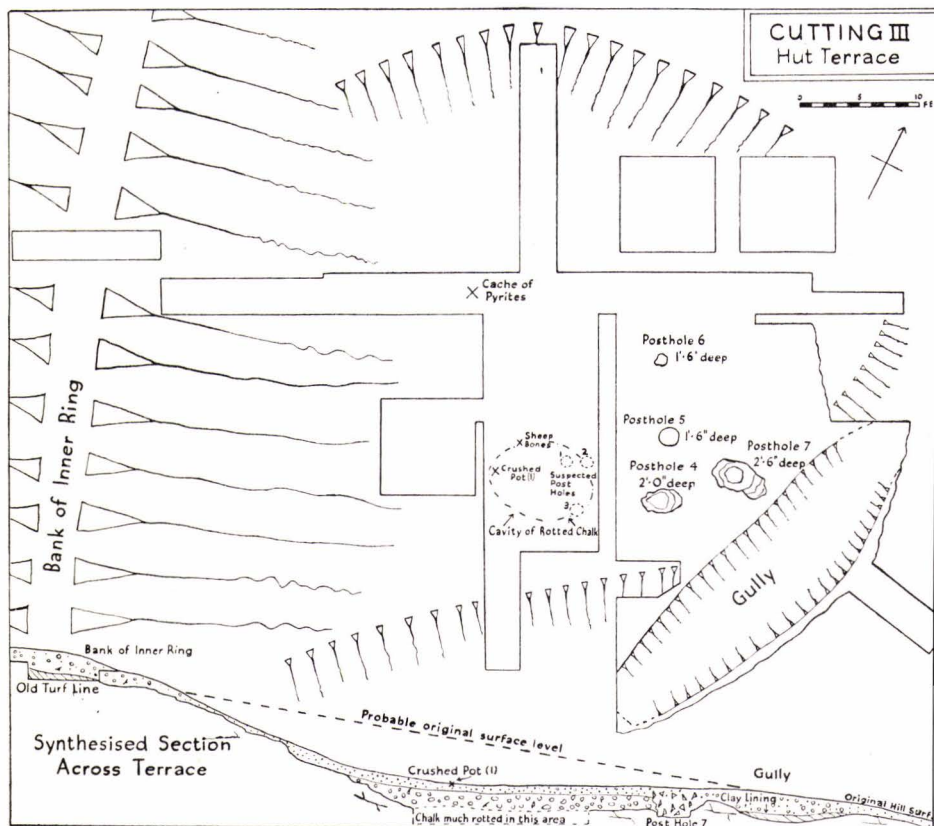


FIG. 5

We never found a confirmative example of the fine and the coarse potteries intermingling in the same layer. But our area excavations did provide some further evidence of the interlocking of these types.

Cutting III. Presumed hut terrace (see Fig. 5). As Hadrian Allcroft noted some 40 years ago,¹ there are marked disturbances in the south-west sector of the inner ring which he called 'pits'. The two southerly depressions, on closer examination, proved to be level platforms

¹ S.A.C. LVIII. 85.

carved from the hill-slope, one being a stage higher than the other. The third disturbance is also a quarried platform having, this time, a markedly circular shape, the negative scarp of the quarry being continued by a positive bank. We began to strip the middle site, since the northerly depression, which has more definite features, has five large yews within its low circular wall.

The area we had selected to strip lay hard against the rampart of the inner ring; and, since the ground-level had been lowered, the appearance of the depth of the terrace is exaggerated. The distances between the upper and lower scarps of the platform, and between the rampart and the opposite edge, are both about 40 ft. The clearance of this terrace involved the removal of about 2,200 sq. ft. of chalk, never much less than 1 ft. 6 in. deep. This chalk, which lay under the thinnest of soil coverings, consisted of broken pieces, much stained with earth, apparently lying in a confused heap, rather than in loose natural bedding. At the outset it was clear that post-holes and other features were unlikely to have survived except perhaps at their lowest levels.

We cleared most of the area in 8-ft. squares, filling in one square with the rubble from the next. We worked in uniform spits, sweeping each new level as clean as possible in the hope of demonstrating post-holes from clumps of packing flints and other suggestive evidence. But unfortunately soil had penetrated deep into the rubble and partially obscured the sort of local changes we were looking for. We continued to remove spits as long as we found pot boilers, for these at least indicated that we were still at a level of human interference; but even after they had faded out the chalk was far from firm. On the other hand, the moment we left the level platform and began to strip the scarp, we found good solid chalk bedding. At one spot to the south-west of the area (see Fig. 5) the chalk was exceptionally soft and stained with orange earth at a level where the surrounding rock was clean and fairly firm. We removed this soft material until we had cleared a shallow depression with firm bottom and sides; but it contained no artifacts nor any sign that it was artificial. We plotted the position of pot boilers found, hoping, in the absence of other clues, that they would serve as a guide to the rough outline of a building. The greatest number did in fact occur over this depression, and between it and the large post-holes we later discovered (see Fig. 5); and very few indeed were found in the northern third of the area excavated.

We had found unusually deep penetrations of earth, pot boilers and pot-boiler chippings over the depression, strongly suggesting post-holes (numbered 1, 2, and 3, Fig. 5). But the surrounding chalk had been too broken to preserve the sides of the holes, and we could not establish their presence beyond doubt. Farther eastward, away from the rampart, the condition of the chalk gradually improved, and we soon came upon four unquestionable post-holes. Two of these (Nos. 5 and 6, Fig. 5) were neat round holes, 18 in. and 10 in. in

diameter, and penetrating 18 in. below the modern surface. They contained pot boilers and their chippings, a few fragments of charcoal and potsherds, but no flint packing. Post-holes 4 and 7, however, were of quite different character. They were very much larger, having been cut in the shape of a figure of eight. They each contained about 100 flints, which had been packed solid by means of pot boilers wedged amongst them. All spaces had been filled up by the powdered fragments of pot boilers, produced, perhaps, as the latter had been driven home. At a low level there were a few pieces of daub, some containing a little charcoal, rims Nos. 4 and 5 (Fig. 7), and a few other coarse and intermediate sherds. It was in the deeper loops of the figures of eight that the posts had probably stood originally—placing them about 6 ft. 9 in. apart.

Close to these post-holes and just beyond the edge of the levelled area, the bedrock, by now reasonably firm, suddenly ran down into a gully, 7 to 9 ft. wide and 14 in. below the surface at its deepest. A 5 to 6-in. seam of orange-brown clay lay in this gully, which ran in a slight curve around the downhill margin of the terrace, gradually rising until it merged with the modern surface.

In order to establish the relation of the terrace to the original hill surface, we laid out two trenches, each 3 ft. wide, one above and one below the level area (see Fig. 5).

The downhill trench immediately showed that the modern and pre-Goosehill surfaces are the same below the gully: while the upper trench, set out as far as the crown of the rampart, and on two alignments to avoid trees, soon picked up the old turf-line at a depth of 2 ft. We were now able to synthesize the section shown on Fig. 5 across the whole terrace.

The finds from the terrace were all too few. Close to post-holes 1, 2, and 3 (see Fig. 5), we came across most of the bones of a lamb or kid which had been buried at a depth of 16 in. and covered with slabs of chalk. A few inches away, but only just under the turf, we found a large part of a pot in fragments. This was an important find that will be discussed later (see Fig. 5 and Fig. 7, No. 1). In the rubble over the flat area there was a thin scattering of coarse and intermediate sherds in approximately equal proportions. Here and there were small fragments of the finer ware, including a minute piece (see Fig. 7, No. 10) from a pedestal base similar to that found in cutting VII. From post-hole 7 came the rim sherds Nos. 4 and 5 in Fig. 7. In the bottom of the gully there were also a few sherds, again in medium and coarse ware.

A minute glass bead (Fig. 7, No. 13) was found beneath the rubble on the solid chalk close to post-holes 1, 2, and 3 (Fig. 5). In the angle formed between the scarp of the rampart and the flat platform, we found a rough hole or niche about 5 in. in diameter and 2 ft. deep beneath the modern surface, in which lay, amongst clay-like sediment, 30 broken pieces of nodules of pyrites (Fig. 5). As these nodules are normally found embedded in the chalk itself, and singly, not in

groups, this may have been a prehistoric store of ironstone for use in fire-making.

Cutting V. Earlier ditch. We investigated the short arc of ditch overlaid by the outer ring at the south of the earthwork (Fig. 2). Our cutting, 3 ft. wide, revealed a shallow, raggedly cut ditch about 2 ft. 6 in. deep below the modern silted surface (see Fig. 3). The filling of this ditch was very tight and contained a large number of medium-sized flints close to the surface. This cutting produced no finds, so we extended laterally in way of the ditch a further 7 ft.; but once again recorded not a single find nor even a pot boiler. There were no post-holes in the bank.

Cutting X. Probable entrance (see Fig. 6). When surveying the surroundings of Goosehill, we had come across two tracks which meet about 100 yds. to the north (see Fig. 8). Both tracks ascend the hill obliquely, one heading south towards the earthwork from the direction of Chilgrove, the other rising out of the valley from immediately below the earthwork and making for the ridgeway some distance to the north of it. The latter track truncates the other, and so must have been later in use; while the track from Chilgrove apparently disappears at the meeting-point. Inside the earthwork is a grooving in the ground, visible only from certain viewpoints, which first emerges from the clump of trees where the boundary bank crosses the outer ring in the north, runs obliquely across the space between the rings, and fades out as it approaches the inner ring. Plotting this feature on a map showed that the grooving within the camp and the track from Chilgrove were on the same alignment; and on examining the ground between the two we found faint traces showing that the track was continuous into the camp. Farther downhill it soon becomes very well defined with a profile resembling a terraced way; and, although now much overgrown, we traced it for nearly a $\frac{1}{4}$ mile running on a severely straight course obliquely down the hill-side, and finally disappearing on level ground on the valley bottom. Unfortunately the modern boundary bank crosses the outer ring, obscuring all detail, at the very point where this track should meet the outer ring. But on very close examination we found that the inner and outer banks of the ring (here about equal in size) come to an end some 20 to 30 ft. above the boundary bank (see Figs. 2 and 6). It looked, therefore, as if we had found another entrance to Goosehill and cutting X was made to confirm it (see Fig. 6).

To our surprise, however, excavation showed that the ditch was continuous right across the course of the track, so that, on the face of it, the track was earlier than the ditch. Although we removed the filling from 21 linear feet of ditch—that is as much as from any four of the other cuttings together—we found not a single sherd or pot boiler. If the ditch had been allowed to silt naturally here, as elsewhere, it should have received a few traces of human activity; so the inference is that it was deliberately filled in not long after its original cutting.

Along $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. of its length, directly across the course of the track, and about 1 ft. 9 in. below the surface, we struck a layer of chalk—3 or 4 in. thick—which was so tightly welded together that when we removed the loose chalk from beneath it, leaving it undercut by 2 or

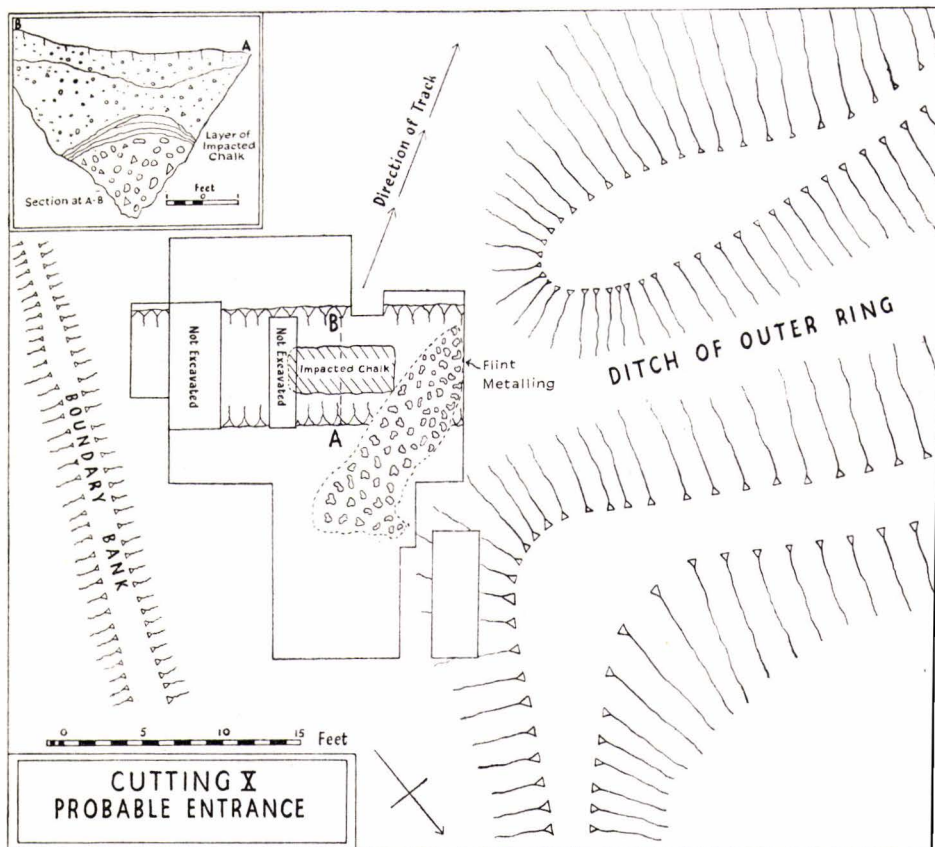


FIG. 6

3 ft., we were still able to support three of our party on the cantilevered platform (see Fig. 6, Section AB). Possibly this layer marks a level at which rubble, deliberately thrown into the ditch, was tamped down to consolidate the crossing; possibly it is a natural arch of resistance to heavy traffic passing above, which formed in the rubble at the point where the sides of the ditch narrow. The actual surface of the ditch crossing may have been a metalling of flints, for the vestige of a carpet of flints was found just below the turf at one side

of the crossing area (see Fig. 6). This carpet ended very abruptly at its lower margin, and appeared to have been robbed.

We stripped quite an appreciable area, both inside and outside the ditch, in the hope of finding the post-holes of some form of gateway system. But the bedrock had not been disturbed. There was no rubble overlay on the space between the boundary bank and the end of the outer bank of the earthwork, so the gap could either have been part of the original plan or have been made later by throwing rubble behind the bank, thus forming the slight outward turn shown in Fig. 6.

Cutting XI. Section across trackway (see Fig. 3). As the evidence yielded by cutting X was confusing and contradictory, we investigated in cutting XI (our last cutting) the nature of the trackway itself, which, superficially, gives a strong impression of careful planning and deliberate engineering in the manner of a Roman terrace way.

There were only a few inches of soil over what must have been the actual road surface. There was no evidence of metalling; nor did the chalk show signs of crushing or wear. A low bank of clay-like soil flanked the road on its lower side, and in the upper levels of this were many flints. In undisturbed formations above and below the road we found a layer of flints between soil and chalk typical of the natural layering everywhere in the immediate neighbourhood. The exceptional quantity of flints in the bank, therefore, appeared to be the result of clearing the soil-layer and underlying flints from the actual surface of the track, and of throwing this material downhill. Our first trench, 3 ft. wide, struck a hole penetrating 8 in. into the natural chalk in the middle of the bank. A widening of our cutting in way of this hole, and parallel to the road, revealed a second hole of similar depth, 8 ft. from the first and equidistant from the centre of the road. In the soil over both holes were concentrations of flints, some of them exceptionally large. Probably posts had been driven lightly into the ground here, and were then consolidated by material from the road.

The relation of this roadway and of its ditch crossing to the earthwork was not, of course, established clearly by our digging; but the clean ditch filling and the gap in the banks of the outer ring both seem to speak for an early date after the construction of the earthwork. The palisade beside the track argues in favour of cattle traffic (for it is difficult to see why it would be required for human beings); and its purpose may have been to prevent cattle wandering downhill towards the entrance of the inner ring. The track within the earthwork seems to be heading for the entrance gap at the top of the outer ring; but the significance of this is difficult to gauge.

THE FINDS

Pottery. In considering how to present our report on the pottery, we had the choice of putting this entirely in the hands of an expert,

from whom we could expect a diagnosis against a wide background, and carrying out a study ourselves on a strictly local basis using for comparison unpublished material available only in the district. In all we recovered only 2 lb. 2 oz. of pottery from Goosehill; and amongst this there were very few, if any, decisive forms. As no framework of West Sussex Early Iron Age pottery types has yet been established, we felt that we could not omit to bring in the local material. But we also had the benefit of discussions on general issues with Professor C. F. C. Hawkes and S. S. Frere, F.S.A., and a valuable written commentary from G. P. Burstow, F.S.A.

It is surprising that in the 35-mile tract of downland between Arundel in Sussex and Winchester in Hampshire only one major excavation—that at the Trundle¹—appears to have taken place. This area lies close to the most important harbour system on the south coast, and so is unlikely to have been neglected by prehistoric peoples. If its pottery possesses distinctive features, these have not yet emerged from the very small quantity of evidence so far available.

The sites with which comparisons will be made are the Trundle, Torberry, and Harting Hill hut shelters. The Trundle is in full view of Goosehill, 3 miles distant as the crow flies. Great Torberry Hill is a contour fort straddling a spur jutting out into the Weald from the north scarp of the downs nearly 6 miles north-west of Goosehill. Its ramparts have mysteriously disappeared; and the fort was discovered only a few years ago by Mr. H. Brightwell of South Harting, who made several cuttings into its ditches in 1947 and 1948.² Two miles south-east of Torberry, in a curious position on the steep north scarp of the downs, Mr. Brightwell also discovered a large number of depressions, two of which he excavated.³ No report has been published on Torberry; but I have been able to borrow the sherds from Lewes Museum, and also the Harting Hill sherds from Mr. Brightwell, whilst writing these notes.

Because of the paucity of rims and bases, it is more convenient to categorize the pottery by composition than by form. Three types of ware can be detected. The coarse ware is buff outside, greyish brown inside, with very uneven surfaces on which the marks of fingernails can be detected: it is fairly hard and thick, and has large—but not uniform—flint grit unevenly distributed throughout the paste. The intermediate ware (which would be classified as coarse on most sites) is black on both surfaces and greyish black in the core; it has slightly smoother surfaces and smaller, more uniform and more evenly distributed grit, and is thinner than the coarse grade. The fine grade is thinner still: it is always black on its inner surface and throughout its thickness, but has sometimes a biscuity brown film on its outer surface, probably the result of firing. This ware—in strongest contrast to the two previous grades—has a smoothed and burnished

¹ See *S.A.C.* LXX and LXXII.

² E. Cecil Curwen, *The Archaeology of Sussex* (2nd edn.), p. 236.

³ See *S.A.C.* LXXXIX. 179.

finish, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish from wheel-turned pottery. The flint gritting is fine; the material is not hard—some pieces being found in a very friable condition.

Each sherd or group of sherds was numbered as found. On the basis of find numbers, 35 per cent. of the pottery was coarse ware, 39 per cent. intermediate, and 26 per cent. fine. On the basis of weight alone, 53 per cent. was coarse, 27 per cent. intermediate, and 21 per cent. fine.

The *coarse group* has only 2 rims and 1 base section (Fig. 7, Nos. 1-3). *No. 1* forms part of a group of sherds from the same pot in a significant position over the hut site that will be mentioned later. *Nos. 2 and 3*, although similar in form, and although found only about 2 ft. from each other in cutting VII (see Fig. 4), have differences in the heights of the thickened bands on the rims which appear difficult to reconcile in the same pot. If they come from different vessels, their significance presumably increases very slightly as possibly representing a characteristic local form of which further examples might be found in the neighbourhood. They are difficult to parallel exactly, though both Mr. Burstow and Mr. Frere considered them of degenerate *situla* type, and Mr. Burstow suggested that they might fit into the amorphous group of rims illustrated in the Trundle report (*S.A.C. LXX*, p. 53, pl. x, Nos. 80 to 93). When rocked on a flat surface, they do not settle very readily in any one position so that their correct inclination is difficult to determine. It is a pity that we found no related shoulders; but Mr. Frere felt that they might well have had finger-impressed ornament typical of the *situla* type.

That is perhaps all the comment the *coarse group* justifies. This is basic pottery, which cannot be pinned down typologically with any certainty.

The *intermediate group*, however (Fig. 7, Nos. 4-7), immediately produces well-recognized Iron Age forms. *No. 4*, from post-hole 7 on the terrace, is exactly paralleled at Harting Hill hut shelters (*S.A.C. LXXIX*, 189, Fig. 6, No. 7). *No. 5*, found in the same post-hole, is from a large vessel; but the rim is so distorted as to be difficult to draw at its correct angle. The bag shape of *No. 6*, from the gully of the hut terrace, is paralleled at Torberry, but indeed at so many other sites of both Bronze and Iron Ages that it can be of little use in chronology. *Nos. 7 and 8* were surface finds. Mr. Burstow pointed out that *No. 8* is not a typical Sussex type, but has a resemblance to the large bead-rim vessel (though this had shallow tool decoration) illustrated in his West Blatchington report,¹ and paralleled there to Hengistbury Head jars in a late first century B.C.-A.D. context.² However, being a surface find it has no great relevance, although its paste is entirely similar to the stratified material of the intermediate group.

¹ *S.A.C. LXXXIX*, p. 47, pl. II. 10.

² Soc. Antiquaries Research Com. Report III, pl. xxiii. 6: Hengistbury Head.

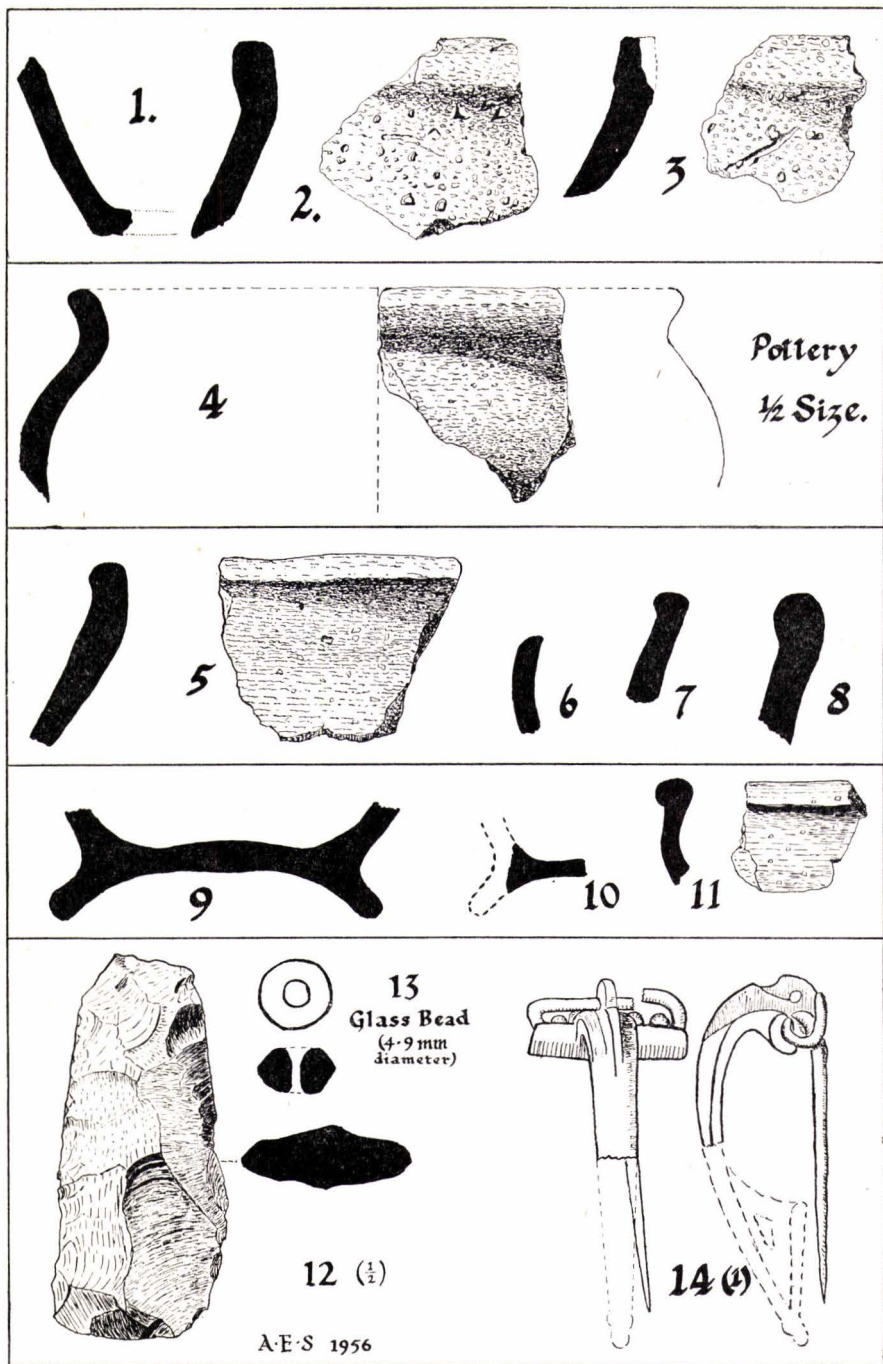


FIG. 7

In the *fine ware group* there seem to be two pedestal bases. *No. 9* is from cutting VII (see Fig. 4) in the ditch of the inner ring from a level below most of the coarse sherds. It is the vital dating piece of our excavations. *No. 10*, although the merest fragment, is almost certainly from a similar vessel, and was found 8 in. deep in the rubble over the flat platform of the presumed hut site. These are the Sussex AB class 3a pottery of Dr. Wilson's and Mr. Burstow's classification.¹ It occurs at Harting Hill, and Mr. Frere's description of it there—'a light, soft, gritty, dumpy pedestal base with burnished surface'—could not fit our *No. 9* better. Torberry also produced a base with low pedestal, very comparable in form though, for once, coarser and in a harder, buff paste. At first glance the ware of *No. 11* (see Fig. 4, cutting VII), a bead rim, seems similar to that of the rest of this group, but in fact there is a difference. It is harder and has more the appearance of being wheel-turned (but can hardly be so as the rim, becoming noticeably wider in its 1 in. of length, is too asymmetrical). The surfaces are black and well burnished; but where these have worn away, a reddish brown colour stares through. Mr. Burstow suggested a possible parallel with a vessel from the Trundle (*S.A.C. LXXII*, p. 136, No. 4); while Mr. Frere pointed out a similarity to AB bead-rim bowls from Blewburton Hill.² But the best parallel is to Nos. 8 and 9 of the Harting Hill report.³ Although the form of the latter is not quite the same, they do have a tendency to beading, while their paste is identical in all respects, although the full force of this is only felt on physical examination of all three sherds.

The only other pottery is a small group of sandy grey-black Romano-British sherds from cuttings I and II (Fig. 3) which Mr. Frere felt would fit in well with the first-century brooch.

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

The *bead*, only 4.9 mm. in diameter (Fig. 7, No. 13), from the surface of the undisturbed chalk beneath the rubble on the hut platform is roughly short oblate in section. It is a dully translucent blue, presumably of glass.⁴

The *flint axe* or knife (Fig. 7, No. 12) was found amongst the coarse silt in cutting IV.

The *bronze brooch* from cutting I (Fig. 3, enlarged section) was examined by Mr. M. R. Hull, F.S.A., who kindly reported that it is a well-known type (with no agreed name) developed from Camulodunum type III. The developed type was not actually found at Camulodunum; but since it has first-century characteristics, it could quite satisfactorily be attributed to the Flavian period.⁵

¹ *S.A.C. LXXXVII*, p. 97, pl. VII.

² *Berkshire Arch. Journal*, I, p. 20, fig. xx.

³ *S.A.C. LXXXIX*, 189.

⁴ Mr. W. J. Lile, lecturer in Chemistry at the County Technical College, Guildford, kindly assessed the bead's specific gravity at 2.58.

⁵ Mr. Hull kindly drew for us the illustration reproduced here (Fig. 7, No. 14); he also mentioned the following parallels, *Arch. xc. 4. 4* (Verulamium); *Richborough*, II, pl. 16. 3.

Coin. Some chance visitors to the site, idly digging with their walking-sticks just beyond one end of the gully on the hut site, found a coin, identified by Mr. Frere as a coin of Constans, A.D. 337-50, in rubble about 4 in. deep.

THE STRATIFICATION OF THE POTTERY

The Goosehill ditches scribe circles on the slope of a hill and, generally, the banks stand within these ditches. At the tops of the circles, therefore, the slope tends to tip the rubble banks away from the ditches which, in consequence, silt perhaps at a slower rate than an earthwork system on level ground. At the bottoms of the circles the slope has the opposite effect; the banks are impelled back into the ditches—and at a rapid rate in view of the increase in the slope at the lower part of the camp. At the sides of the circles, where the ditches lie in line with the slope, the silting is fairly slow, since the banks tend to collapse on to themselves and therefore to be fairly stable. The slowly silting cuttings I and II, at the tops of the circles, were the only ones to reveal a Roman level. Cutting VIII, at the side of the outer circle, had presumably reached something near the modern level by the Roman period since there were no R.B. sherds there; but the Iron Age sherds were small and abraded, and had been well exposed by fairly slow silting. In cuttings IV and VII, at the bottom of the inner circle, silting had been so rapid as to fill the ditch with coarse rubble and to seal and preserve such large and fragile pieces as the pedestal base. Cutting VII, containing more pottery than all the other cuttings together, obviously provides the best information on the earliest period of the ditches; and so it is important to know how far to trust its stratification (or lack of it) whose purport is that all three groups of pottery discussed above are contemporary.

The mass of sherds, of which only one is illustrated in Fig. 7 (No. 1), found together just beneath the turf over the hut site, has some bearing on this problem. These fragments were all from the same pot, and represented a length (say 4 or 5 in. from the base angle upwards) of the whole cylinder of the pot, beyond reconstruction, but quite recognizable. Its paste is similar in all respects to, say, rims 2 and 3 (Fig. 7) of the coarse group. Its position close beneath the rampart is shown in Fig. 5. It appears to have been crushed into the turf, and could hardly be a survival from an earlier occupation of that spot—predating the terrace—because, in digging out this site, the whole of the ground surface and much of the subsoil had been removed entirely. If thrown up into the rampart when this was first constructed, later to roll out over the terrace during a partial collapse of the rampart, a pot would hardly have survived in the very vulnerable form of a cylinder. So we may accept it as contemporary with, or later than, the hut.

It is not so likely that the terrace predates the earthwork, for a glance at Fig. 2 shows that there is a close relationship between all

the terraces and the wall surrounding them, which can only mean that they and the rampart were at some time in simultaneous use.

This pot, then, provides reasonable proof that the coarse group of pottery belongs to the period of the terrace. Since this, in its turn, belongs to the period of the inner ring, and the pedestal base in fine ware from cutting VII also belongs to this period (as confirmed by the discovery of similar ware at the lowest level of cutting IX), then the coarse and fine wares can reasonably be accepted as contemporary. The fragment of a second pedestal base (Fig. 7, No. 10), from the terrace, is not such good proof that the fine ware group is contemporary, because it is a much abraded sherd found only 6 in. deep in loose rubble, where it may easily have been an intruder like—presumably—the fourth-century coin. However, a few sherds of the coarse group lay well sealed in the clay lining of the gully, while rims 4 and 5 came from a low level of post-hole 7. These rims are well-known AB types and, though in the intermediate paste, belong typologically with the pedestal base. We have here, therefore, a second satisfactory linkage providing fairly strong evidence that all three groups of pottery (in fact, all the Goosehill sherds save the Romano-British) are contemporary, and that the association of sherds in cutting VII can be taken at its face value.

It would not normally be necessary to labour this point at such length—for coarse pottery nearly always occurs in association with finer AB ware. But at Goosehill the sherds are considerably coarser than usual, and would anywhere be admitted as of Bronze Age should the context require it.

CONCLUSIONS ON THE POTTERY

I was able to discuss with Professor Hawkes a diagram of cutting VII (Fig. 4) on which the sherds themselves had been set up in their correct positions. He said that the pedestal base showed the influence generally known as 'Marnian'. Typologically no very close reliance could be placed upon this piece until a study, based on a very large number of examples, had been carried out; but its association with coarse, crude, native pottery—if proven—showed a fusion of the intrusive with the native which could only have taken place a stage later than the first arrival of the foreign influence. Therefore he considered that a date after—but not much after—250 B.C. was indicated.

Only three other multivallate hill-slope earthworks have been excavated, Castle Dore¹ and Tregear Rounds² in Cornwall and Milber Down³ in Devon. The datings assigned fell within the second and first centuries B.C. Influenced by the Roman levels in cuttings I and II (and also, no doubt, by what we knew of the dating of the other three earthworks), we had expected a dating slightly later than that tentatively put forward by Professor Hawkes. But our Roman levels

¹ *J.R.I. Cornwall*, n.s. I (1951).

² *J.R.I. Cornwall*, XVI (1904), 73.

³ *D.A.E.S.* IV. 27.

do lie over fairly thick bands of well-consolidated secondary silting at a height where the ditch walls have begun to bell outwards (see Fig. 3, cutting I, enlarged section). And these cuttings were made at the tops of the rings where the rate of silting is at its slowest. Close dating within the AB phase should, perhaps, not be attempted until more West Sussex pottery becomes available, particularly since Dr. K. Kenyon has recently questioned the validity of the 'Marnian' invasions and the value of pedestal bases as precise dating criteria¹ in Sussex.

In any future appraisal of the Goosehill sherds, these seem the main features to be borne in mind. Firstly, they show no sign of any decoration; and in this they are similar to the Harting Hill and Torberry sherds (though there are a few decorated pieces from Torberry). At the Trundle, on the other hand, the earliest and latest pottery is decorated, so that the Goosehill material may belong within this bracket. Secondly, the closest parallel is undoubtedly Harting Hill. Thirdly, the main difference between the Goosehill and Harting Hill sherds lies in the much higher proportion of coarse wares and the much greater degree of coarseness, of the Goosehill sherds. Although coarse A-type pottery certainly exists at Torberry and Harting Hill, it has smoother surfaces; and is in much less contrast to the finer grades.

LYNCHETS (Fig. 8)

In surveying the surroundings we discovered groups of lynchets to the east and west of the earthwork. Those to the west are in the Chilgrove valley, though they run higher up the hill than the modern fields, and appear to respect the buried track, whose entrance to the earthwork we had tried to find, by stopping a little short of it. Just beyond the farthest point to which we had been able to trace this track, there is a lynchet above its presumed course, which, in making a fairly sharp change of direction, appears to flank the track on its upper side (see Fig. 8).

The group to the west is a series of regular contour lynchets 100 paces apart. Along one of these runs a well-worn lynchet road, now much overgrown with yew, which finally fades out on level ground, just when it is apparently heading for the west entrance of Goosehill. In the woodland just beyond the Bow Hill House boundary, the upper limit of this field system is clearly marked by a corner 250 yds. from the Camp.

It thus appears that Goosehill is immediately surrounded by an area in which there were never any lynchets, and which may, therefore, have been pasturage.

To the north, 340 yds. away, buried in dense scrub, we found a linear earthwork, 200 ft. long, at right angles to the ridge (see Fig. 8). Its section resembles that of Goosehill with rampart to the south of the ditch (that is, on the Goosehill side). Midway along this ram-

¹ *Inst. Archaeology, 8th Annual Report*, pp. 56 and 57.

part—and at right angles to it—there are two short, low banks. This earthwork may have no connexion with Goosehill; but a few of the earthworks mentioned in Lady Fox's paper do have short runs of linear earthwork at some distance from the main enclosures (e.g. Wooston Castle and Noss Camp, Devon).

INTERPRETATION

Layout

One of the most difficult problems at Goosehill is the arrangement of the enclosures. The inner ring might be the original enclosure which later outgrew itself. But as the banks of the inner ring are much higher than those of the outer, and there is no sign of levelling or of breaching, the inner ring would always have been—as it remains today—an obstacle to free movement within the earthwork. Alternatively, the outer circle is the earlier which, perhaps, proved too big to be defensible, and so was abandoned for a smaller, stronger ring built within it. This theory would be justified if Goosehill were an isolated phenomenon; but bearing in mind the large number of hill-slope earthworks with multiple enclosures within enclosures that Lady Fox describes, it is more likely that the two rings at Goosehill, whether built together or successively, were eventually in simultaneous use. And therefore the problem of their strange layout remains.

Lady Fox's interpretation of the hill-slope earthworks is that they are fortified cattle enclosures; but this could not provide a precise explanation of the layout at Goosehill. She says 'The daily needs of milking and segregating the herds could explain the building of the multiple enclosures, particularly where they are planned . . . so that movement from one to the other is made easy.' That element of easy movement is just what is lacking at Goosehill. There is no hint of an entrance in the inner ring opposite that in the outer (and if there had been, it would have been blocked by the hut terraces).

Although the basic needs of cattle rearing remain the same today, no similar arrangement has survived into modern use. Nevertheless, it was not, perhaps, the Early

Iron Age people alone who felt the need for concentric multiple enclosures: the Neolithic earthworks, such as Whitehawk and the Trundle, are also built on this plan, and are now generally regarded as having been cattle stockades. There are, indeed, two obvious factors in prehistoric farming which are not relevant today, and whose influence, therefore, we are probably not able to appreciate fully. These are wild animals and untrustworthy neighbours. Possibly Goosehill was not so much a permanently sentinelled fortress as a negative defensive arrangement against neighbours inclined to cattle raiding. In that sense, a position commanding the top of the hill would be pointless, especially as the cattle themselves, penned in the outer ring around their masters' huts, would, to some extent, act as sentries ready to give the alarm in their fright at the arrival of night intruders.

Perhaps the simplest way to steal cattle is to cause an uproar so as to stampede the animals away from their masters into the night. The outer ditch would help to thwart this practice. The idea fundamental to most animal corrals is surely that the circular shape offers no direct obstacle to excitable beasts, but rather guides them gently round in an endless chase, until their energies dissipate.

Siting

Lady Fox suggests that these enclosures may have been placed on hill-slopes to bring them nearer to water. But at Goosehill this could hardly apply. However, the conception of a static, unmanned fortress may once again be the explanation of the siting. As the inner ring contains hut terraces and has the stronger defence system, we may assume that it was the vital part of the earthwork. Its weak link would be its entrance gap—this, no doubt, was why no more than one gap was allowed. The gap occurs where the hill-slope, becoming, suddenly, much steeper, affords protection to the east—the only approach not covered by the outer ring itself. So it seems possible that the position of the earthwork was

dictated by the choice of the least vulnerable position for the main entrance.

There are other possible causes for the hill-slope position. Although Bow Hill must be one of the most wind-swept ridges in the South Downs, Goosehill Camp lies well sheltered on its lee side. Not only is this a consideration with cattle—as any farmer knows—but also it would have been a great protection to fragile buildings. (Some such consideration as this may also have guided the choice of site for the Harting Hill hut shelters.) Another possible cause is that the hill-top immediately above Goosehill is covered with a local clay deposit. The outer ring just avoids this clay; and the original builders of Goosehill may well have wished to exclude this sticky material from ground over which their cattle would constantly be trampling. The hill-slope may also have aided the water-supply. With a higher water table and less porous chalk, it might have been fairly easy to catch surface water in animal skins laid in the ditches or in gullies, such as that discovered beneath the hut terrace.

Such a water supply would not have been sufficient for a herd of animals, which must have been taken daily down to the nearest constant source of water over tracks which would rapidly have become deeply worn. Such trackways are one of the most prominent features of the earthworks mentioned by Lady Fox. At Goosehill the nearest constant water supply would have been in the Chilgrove valley, and there are two tracks from the Camp which could have taken the herds there. One is the path running past the entrance to the inner ring and used until quite recently as a bridle road (see Fig. 2). This path is very steep and appears to have been partially buried from time to time by landslips. It must indeed have been in integral use with the earthwork, for it, alone, serves the main entrance; but quite possibly it proved to be impracticable for animals because of its steepness. This may explain the existence of the second and more heavily worn trackway we discovered, which ascends the hill at a more sensible gradient.

Terrace

The evidence from the terrace is too slight to give much idea of the structure it contained; but the general arrangement does recall that of the smaller Harting Hill shelters (not least in the slope siting). Owing to the condition of the chalk, we cannot be sure that we recovered all the post-holes; but at Harting Hill there were also no post-holes or evidence of other forms of walling around the inner margins, which suggests that the quarried scarps themselves had played some direct part in the construction. This seems even more likely at Goosehill after examination of the adjoining terrace to the north, where the quarried wall forms one-half of a circle which is completed by a rubble bank joined to it. But as this circle is 40 ft. in diameter, which seems rather too large for a hut, it may have been an enclosure around a hut. On the excavated terrace, however, there was no positive rubble bank analogous to that next door, so the scattering of light holes Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6 (Fig. 5) may have some connexion with an outer wall. Lines of holes or sockets were found in somewhat similar relation to the inner scarps of the Harting Hill platforms.

Post-holes 4 and 7 must surely have housed a door frame, and are in the same position as the gap resembling an entrance on the adjoining terrace. If they mark the outer end of a porch, it is difficult to see why these, the largest holes on the terrace, were needed to support an annex not forming part of the main structure (though they may have been required to resist the jostling of heavy beasts passing in and out). Unfortunately an exit here would discharge perilously close to the gully, which throws some doubt on this interpretation.

The clay covering the gully, a pure homogeneous band—about 5 in. thick—seemed to be a deliberate lining, rather than a natural deposit, designed to hold water, not to drain it away. The gully may have been intended to receive drips from the eaves, in which case the main slope of the roof ran towards the outer edge of the terrace. It contained only a few sherds of pottery. This



FIG. 8. GOOSEHILL CAMP WITH ADJACENT FIELD SYSTEMS
 [Based on the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office]

scarcity of pottery suggests that the terrace excavated was not inhabited by man, whilst the deterioration of its chalk floor may have been due to the action of urine from animals stalled there.¹ The northern terrace, with its marked outline and positive rubble wall, appears to have contained a more elaborate structure than the terrace excavated and that to the south of it. Possibly a dwelling hut and two byres once stood here huddled against the rampart so as not to encroach on the grazing.

Parallel Sites

It seems that the nearest good parallel to Goosehill is Buzbury Rings, over 60 miles to the westward near Blandford in Dorset. Buzbury is much the larger, and lies on almost level ground; but its entrenchments are quite comparable to Goosehill in scale, being too weak to have been primarily defensive. Like Goosehill it had two rings, the inner being the stronger. What appear to be hut depressions can be seen on the ploughed fields within this ring. Near to Buzbury—Lady Fox recalls—several third and second-century B.C. Greek coins have been found; and she therefore suggests that this large enclosure may have been an assembly point for the export of cattle or their hides. Goosehill is very near to Chichester Harbour, so a similar suggestion for our earthwork would have fitted well, and would have helped to explain its atypical character in Sussex. But we made no such exotic finds there to substantiate this speculative theory.

In its appearance on a map Tregear Rounds in Cornwall bears a resemblance to Goosehill, apart from the arrangement of its entrances. But, in fact, its walls are considerably greater, and were obviously built with defence primarily in mind. This difference in their profiles is shown in Fig. 3, cutting II, and is so marked as to suggest that the sub-grouping of hill-slope earthworks should perhaps follow the scale of their entrenchments

¹ Mr. Lile, of the Guildford Technical College, was unable to detect any difference in phosphate content by colorimetric tests between chalk from the hut and from an undisturbed spot nearby.

rather than the number of their rings as suggested in Lady Fox's paper.

Whilst on holiday in Pembrokeshire, I stumbled by chance on the earthwork at Puncheston (see Fig. 8), 5 miles south of Fishguard. There is no evidence as to the date of this enclosure; but, considering that it is 250 miles from West Sussex, on an opposite shore of Britain, and in an entirely different geological system, its likeness to Goosehill is astonishing. The profiles of the two rings are definitely larger than those of Goosehill while, true to the main type discussed by Lady Fox, the outer ring is stronger than the inner. On the other hand, here, once again, the earthwork is placed almost ostentatiously just off the hill-top—a hill-top that would have given it one of the most commanding views in Pembrokeshire.¹

The two earthworks are about the same distance from the sea: their areas are not so very dissimilar. At Puncheston there is the trace of a circle that might have been a hut in the inner ring; while the most impressive parallel is the staggering of the entrances on opposite sides of the two rings.

It is beyond the scope of this report to discuss parallels between hill-slope earthworks at greater length. But enough has been said to show that their distribution is very widespread. Lady Fox pointed out that the three excavated hill-slope earthworks (Castle Dore, Tregeare, and Milber) had each produced pottery of the same cultural group—south-western Iron Age B. But the Goosehill sherds fit into the Sussex AB framework and are probably Marnian in cultural derivation, so these mysterious earthworks cannot be the eccentricity of one tribal group alone, and their explanation is more likely to be an economic one. If this was pastoralism, then some other factor must have been at work on this pastoral economy for a fairly short period—but over a wide area—causing a change in methods which have otherwise remained fairly static both before and since.

¹ Once again, however, there is just a suspicion that geology may have decided the siting. A farmer told me that blue granite outcrops on the very summit of this hill, the worst of materials in which to chisel out an earthwork.

As usual, the work already carried out has indicated further digging which should be done in the future, and which we hope one day to do. But if a design, basically economic, has been influenced by magical, religious, or even social factors, its elucidation may well lie beyond the reach of the spade.

There is nothing in the evidence obtained at Goosehill to lessen the likelihood of Lady Fox's interpretation of hill-slope earthworks; in some ways it may even have strengthened it. But, particularly as the oddities of Goosehill are rather extreme examples of the oddities of the genre, one feels—after working there for three seasons—that this interpretation, though it is the truth, is not the whole truth.