

THE BELGAE THROUGH HAMPSHIRE ?

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THE recent suggestion that there was a second Belgic invasion of Britain about 50 B.C., and that it landed on the coast of Hampshire, went north to Silchester, and thence conquered Wessex as far as Somerset, has not failed to interest archaeologists in the districts concerned, and I shall therefore offer no excuse for examining in some detail the archaeological features of our county as regards the possible ports of landing, the roads by which the invaders could have travelled, both on their way to Silchester and thence to the west ; as well as the earthworks which must have had some bearing on the progress of the penetration in one direction or the other. The evidence is full of suggestion even on the surface, and future excavation may well provide proof or disproof of this supposed second invasion.

The Problem.

When the Belgae invaded Kent somewhere about 80 B.C. it is not known what tribes came over from Gaul with the exception of the Catuvellauni and Suessiones, but as the Atrebates were north of these tribes and nearer the coast it is exceedingly unlikely that a contingent of their tribe did not form part of the invasion. Caesar says that the Belgic tribes in Britain kept the names of their kinsmen in Gaul, and we know that there was constant communication between the island and the continent, so it is unlikely that the Atrebates on either side of the channel would have lost touch with one another.

Up to Caesar's expeditions in B.C. 55 and 54 they had occupied Kent and the country north of the Thames as far as St. Albans, and by the time of the Roman conquest in A.D. 43 had spread to the north and east and had their capital at Colchester, but there is no historical or archaeological evidence that these south-eastern Belgic tribes ever came south of the Thames into Berkshire and the south-west. Nevertheless, by the time of the Claudian conquest the Belgae are stated to have extended over Berkshire, Hampshire and Wiltshire as far as the border of Dorset and into Somersetshire—that is over the whole of the southern chalk with the exception of the Sussex and Dorset extensions—and their capital was Calleva Atrebatum—the modern Silchester.

Whence came these Atrebates, and when ?

Four possibilities occur to one :—

(a) Calleva may have been founded by the descendants of a contingent of Atrebates who had come over with the original south-eastern invasion of c. B.C. 80.

(b) It is possible that there had been incursions of Belgae on the Hampshire coast contemporary with those of the Belgae into Kent, of which Caesar knew nothing.

(c) There may have been a second Belgic invasion as suggested by Mr. Hawkes, after Caesar's expedition, say about B.C. 50.

(d) There may have been a peaceful penetration of refugees during all the six years of the Gallic wars, as well as before and after them, who subsequently combined under Atrebatian leadership with Calleva as their capital.

For the first two suggestions there is no archaeological evidence. The culture of the south-eastern Belgic area is easily recognisable, their principal form of sepulchral pottery—the pedestal urn—being especially distinctive, and it is not found on the right of the upper Thames. Only seven pedestal urns have been found scattered over the whole western Belgic area and none at Silchester. The second suggestion involves the assumption that the pedestal urn type of pottery was not universal among the Belgae of about B.C. 80.

The other two alternatives which are by no means mutually exclusive, on the contrary have plenty of archaeological support.

The open chalk and heath country of Sussex and what we now call Wessex (but not the woods) had been occupied by Celts from the continent since their incursion in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., and their culture shews an undisturbed local development from late Halstatt to La Tène II times. They lived in open villages, were mainly pastoral, and were grouped into little "Kingdoms" consisting of a feeding ground not without some signs of agriculture, round a Hill Fort acropolis. This was in most cases permanently occupied and no doubt served also as a refuge for the villagers in case of raids.

This culture, which I shall follow Mr. Hawkes in calling Iron Age A,¹ continued to develop in Sussex undisturbed till it was superseded by that of the Romans at their conquest in A.D. 43, but it is agreed that in Wessex there is a break in continuity of development, that it occurred between the middle of the 1st

1. Mr. Hawkes divides the Iron Age invasions and culture in Britain into three periods :— A, B, and C. Iron Age A covers the earlier invasions from the continent which lasted from about 600 to 450 B.C. Iron Age B covers the South Western invasion from Cornwall of about 350 B.C., and that of the east coast of about 250 B.C. Iron Age C covers the period of the Belgic occupation from about 80 B.C. to the Roman Conquest. As the invasions of Iron Age B did not reach the Hampshire and Wiltshire chalk the terms pre-Belgic and post-Belgic are for our district synonymous with Iron Age A and C.

century B.C. and about A.D. 25, the period when the Belgic occupation may be supposed to have been taking place, and that it is marked by the appearance of wheel-turned pottery, a characteristic pot of improved clay and distinctive "beadrim" form, and its association with necked vessels of continental type.

Messrs. Hawkes and Dunning in a most exhaustive paper¹ claim to have "conclusively proved" a second Belgic invasion to account for the change. They base it chiefly on the introduction of the potter's wheel and the Normandy beadrim pot, developed in that Belgic area by about 75 B.C., which was both hand-made and wheel-made and is characterised by zones of burnishing and tooling. They also emphasise the prevalence of the La Tène III brooch, an increase of cremated burials, the introduction of British-made coins, and the abnormal number of pre-Belgic villages and camps which are found to have been deserted at this time by their old inhabitants. Several of these shew occupation by the Belgae—some of the camps being newly constructed by this people. They claim that these camps mark a temporary ill-defined frontier in the advance to the west. They date the invasion at c. 50 B.C. and put it under the leadership of Commius the Atrebate.

Commius was a most striking figure whom Caesar had made king of his tribe in Gaul and had sent as envoy to Britain on account of his being well known in that country. Later he broke his alliance with Caesar, joined the revolt of Vercingetorix, and lastly, after carrying on an obstinate guerilla warfare, escaped with his ships to Britain by a bold and successful manoeuvre. On arrival in Britain on the Hampshire coast Mr. Hawkes makes him pass straight inland to the north of Hampshire where Calleva Atrebatum was founded soon after. It is in the district of the beadrim pottery that the first inscribed British coins are found, and they bear the name of Commius. A most attractive theory, and not in any way incompatible with the archaeological evidence, but hardly, perhaps, conclusively proved.

The fourth supposition is supported by Mrs. Cunningham.² There is no need to stage an invasion. The introduction of the potter's wheel would naturally occur commercially, the beadrim pot was gradually being developed from the native "incipient beadrim," and the potter's wheel would obviously hasten and complete its evolution. The earliest of the few beadrim pots in Wilts which can be dated by association are not earlier than 20 B.C.—most are later. (Mr. Hawkes bridges the gap by paucity of dating evidence.) Mrs. Cunningham points out the weakness of the burial, brooch and coin evidence, and reduces the number of defensive earthworks proved to be of Belgic date of construction

1. *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. lxxxviii, p. 150.

2. *Antiquaries' Journal*, January, 1932, p. 27.

to three, one of which is not a fortress. She points out that villages were abandoned from time to time for reason unknown to us, and that any frontier based on the earthwork evidence is too nebulous to be accepted. She suggests that this area may have been already occupied by people of Belgic origin when Commius arrived as a fugitive, and that this explains his reception and rise to power.

The discussion between these equally equipped protagonists is extremely interesting and instructive, and if we withdraw the word "invasion"—a term which always seems to me to smack too much of modern planning, organisation and deliberate objective to fit the slow haphazard and intermittent advances of ancient incursions, it is not difficult to find common ground between them and imagine, without violating any of the archaeological evidence, how the Belgian ascendancy over Wessex may have been established by Commius or his sons in the ninety years or so that elapsed before it is recorded as an established fact.

Commius must have been a young man—probably about thirty—and is very likely to have landed in Hampshire with his ships and the remnant of his irreconcilable Atrebates—he cannot have had pleasant memories of Kent and his south-eastern compatriots who on his visit as Caesar's envoy had promptly put him in chains. On this coast he would find many refugees who had been escaping from Gaul from the beginning of Caesar's wars—including Belgae and even Atrebates for—*pace* Mr. Hawkes—not all his beloved Belgae would have been "stickers" like Commius.

It seems *prima facie* improbable that the occupation of Wessex by a fresh continental people after 400 years' freedom from invasion should not have been resisted by the Iron Age A people, involving the erection of fresh earthworks, and that these should not shew some evidence of a change of character.

That many of the earthworks of the western Belgic area do markedly differ from the Hill forts of the Iron Age A type, and that this difference becomes more marked as one goes west, is undoubtedly the case. Excavation alone can prove how far this change is due to Belgic influence, but it may be worth while to examine the points of difference that one can recognise on the surface, and see how far grouping and classification may help at least to decide where excavation is likely to prove most useful.

Classification of Earthworks.

One may divide the earthwork enclosures of the chalk into three main classes as regards *strength*—taking the C.D. vert.¹ as the measure of that strength.

1. *i.e.*, the vert. height of the crest of the highest bank over the bottom of its ditch, in their present wasted and silted-up condition.

Class A.—Earthworks with a C.D. vert. of over 10 ft. These may be divided into two sub-classes :

Class A 1.—With a C.D. vert. of over 20 ft.

Class A 2.—With a C.D. vert. of less than 20 ft.

This class of earthworks must all have been intended as *defensive* fortresses against serious attack by man.

Class B.—Earthworks with a C.D. vert. of less than 10 ft. but more than about 4 or 5. These I take to have been protective not only against wolves but also against casual attacks and raiding by man.

Class C.—Earthworks with a C.D. vert. below about 5 ft. These were no doubt merely obstructive—fenced-in settlements and cattle enclosures. They would, if surmounted by a wattle fence, keep horses and herds enclosed and be of some use against wolves and other wild animals. These Class C earthworks do not concern the subject of this paper.

The difference between Classes A, B and C may be compared to those between the walls of a city, the wall which protects a house and grounds, and the half-wall that surrounds a farmyard.

As regards *profile*, the defensive Class A forts may be divided into two classes : (I) "univallate"—those with a single bank and ditch with a slight bank on the counter-scarp, such as Old Winchester Hill, near West Meon, and St. Catharine's Hill, near Winchester ; and (II) "bivallate" and multiple—those with a second high bank outside the ditch (bivallate) such as Bury Hill, near Clatford, and Danebury, or with three such banks as at Buckland Rings and Whitsbury, or even rarely with four banks and three ditches, for in this class there is no ditch beyond the outside bank—only a ditch between each.

The two classes seem to me to be very sharply divided. There is nothing to suggest the evolution of the second bank from the bank on the counterscarp of the univallates except perhaps in one or two cases where a second bank is placed across weaker ground or on each side of an entrance. The bivallates may occupy wooded or partially wooded sites, they are much stronger—often coming into the A 1 division—and sometimes have strong and complicated defences to their entrances. All these points are in strong contrast to the univallates, nearly all A 2 as regards strength, on open hilltops, with their simple gap entrances undefended or at most with only in-curved vallums and flanking guardhouses.

Hill forts with one bank and ditch may all be suspected to be like St. Catharine's Hill, of Iron Age A date ; the others may be of the same Age but later, perhaps made or converted out of a univallate in the latter part of that Age as population increased and local wars or raids became more formidable, or perhaps simply

from rivalry (for competition in armaments is no new vice) ; but on the other hand this new or converted form of fortress may be of Iron Age C date, made against the Belgic advance, or by the Belgae themselves to hold their conquered territory. It is this point that calls loudly to be cleared up by excavation. They resemble in profile the huge bivallate ditches, now known to be Belgic, outside St. Albans, and it is a suggestive fact that neither in Sussex nor in Hampshire east of the Test do any Hill forts occur with more than a single bank and ditch. Westwards they increase rapidly in number, strength and complexity.

The next class of earthwork that may be suspected of being late are the fairly numerous "camps" of Class B, small univallates more or less circular, having usually a single entrance and unlike the Class A hilltops often situated in woods. These I formerly called "Woodland Ringworks" (*e.g.*, Bevisbury and Old Pound, Harewood), but they are found on the open plain as well (*e.g.*, Codford Circle and Aughton Down). Their comparatively weak position, undefended entrance, small size and profile, and usual situation in woods which must have been more or less cleared to have made them safe, all proclaim them late and point to a period when pastoral and agricultural pursuits could be carried on in settled conditions. Again they may be suspected to be the work of the Belgae, a people used to forest country who were probably the first to clear the woods in Britain.

A further alleged characteristic of pre-Roman Gaulish castrametation to which Colonel Karslake has drawn attention¹ is the polygonal plan. This is found in France (including Arras) and in the Valley of the Po where the Gauls had settlements, and is clearly recognisable in the cities of Silchester and Chichester.

In his second paper Colonel Karslake enumerates ten earthworks and two settlements which suggest the same lay-out. Of those that I have seen the little camp of Pond Farm, close to Silchester, especially as revealed by air photography, is fairly convincing, but it is difficult to be certain of the others. One of them, the Trundle, has since been shewn by excavation to be of Iron Age A, and of the others within our county, Turnourbury, Norsbury and Oliver's Battery on Abbotstone Down, though they all have some more or less straight sides with definite corners, also have curved ones. Making allowance for the loss of definite outline which occurs in old earthworks especially in clay and loamy soils, I doubt if any camps in Hampshire shew more than the irregular shape that would naturally result from putting gangs of men to work at different places without any definite pegged outline to guide them. The theory that a somewhat polygonal plan is indicative of construction by the Belgic Gauls must be left for future discoveries of dateable objects to decide.

1. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1920, p. 185, and *Antiquaries' Journal*, Oct., 1921, p. 203.

The Routes and the Earthworks up to Silchester.

Most of the Hampshire ports have waterside earthworks, some of them distinctly seafarers' defences. Hengistbury has the cross-neck "Double Dykes"—two large banks and ditches protecting the settlement; Lymington has a peninsular site cut off by a single bank and wide ditch, and what looks like an enlarged natural dock "Ampress Hole" beside it, and also Buckland Rings a strong triple-banked camp on a gravel wooded site 500 yards inland; while at Exbury, at the mouth of the Beaulieu River, there is another peninsular earthwork. On the east bank of the Test at Nursling, the highest point to which the tide reaches, there are the remains of a prehistoric earthwork. At Bitterne Manor (Clausentum) is a peninsular site within a loop of the River Itchen cut off by two Roman banks and ditches, which may well have been a pre-Roman settlement also. Hamble Common is cut off by a single bank and ditch from Southampton Water to the river, where its end could harbour boats. Porchester is a peninsular "fort" with a curving and presumably pre-Roman bank and ditch; and Turnourbury on Hayling Island is a strong camp with a somewhat polygonal enceinte consisting of a single bank and wet ditch at the mouth of the Chichester inlet with a snug creek leading up to it.

All these would be likely landing places as well as being fit spots for Commius to organise and consolidate his adventurers (a work of perhaps several years) and collect his cattle and horses for an advance inland. It is not to be supposed that all the continental refugees would join him—many from Hengistbury and the West would be content to stay in that country and occupy the easily accessible chalk of Cranborne Chase where beadrims abound.

Winchester would be the natural rallying place accessible over heaths and downs from all these possible landing settlements on the coast, though all the roads have some clay and forest country to pass through.

These roads can be traced in most cases without much difficulty and on all west of Southampton Water are earthworks that must have had a bearing on the advance.

The road from Hengistbury would cross the Avon and go up along the high ground to Burley and so to Picket Post: thence along the watershed to Malwood and down to Cadnam, and keeping north of Tatchbury it would cross the Test by the ancient ford at Nursling Mill.

The road from Lymington would also run north-west to Burley, passing the west end of Buckland Rings. This fine, strong triple camp of 7 acres on a gravel spur which would naturally be wooded overlooking the river, has from its western entrance an old road

known as Silver Street which runs without a break for six miles in a straight direction towards Christchurch. Taken with the form, site and freshness of its banks this strongly suggests an important settlement at Lymington contemporary with the Hengistbury settlement of Belgic Age.

From Exbury the road inland would follow the ridge along which the Roman road from Lepe subsequently ran, by Dibden Purlieu and probably Colbury to join the road across the Test by Tatchbury.

The earthworks along these roads are Burley Castle and Castle Malwood at either end of the Picket Post—Stoney Cross ridgeway, and Tatchbury, a mile and a half from the ford at Nursling.

Both Burley and Malwood are just on the edge of large stretches of heathy sands and gravel which would be extensive though poor feeding grounds, but with wooded clay country coming close up to them; both are small, $5\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 acres, both are univallate, occupying strong defensive positions, and neither is very strong; Burley has a C.D. vert. of 12 to 13 ft., and Malwood 8 to 10. Both have a suspicion of slight defences outside their entrances though in either case there has been too much gravel digging to be certain of the plan. Whether they are small Iron Age A camps suitable to the small population the heathland would support, or late Woodland Ringworks can only be determined by their relics. If pre-Belgic they would certainly have to be subdued by any people using this ridgeway as their line of communications.

Half-way along the ridgeway, a mile and a half to the west, is another small 5-acre entrenchment, "Castle Piece," in Roc Wood; but this is a typical Woodland Ringwork both in strength and position.¹

Tatchbury Mount is a triple-banked fort in a very strong position on a sandy knoll 30 ft. above the country at its foot. It lies in a patchy country of sand and clay, mostly clay with thick wood, not a stretch of feeding ground. It overlooks the country for miles round and commands a view of the ford at Nursling and the roads leading to it on both sides of the river. There can be little doubt of its being a late camp (a late Celtic comb has been found there) but late or early it would have to be held by any people who wished to have command of the Test.

Beyond Nursling the road would run north-east by Rownams to Chilworth along the general line taken later by the Roman road. A mile to the left is Toot Hill, a small, round earthwork of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres on a bluff wooded promontory of the ridge overlooking for miles the Itchen basin towards Winchester. It has a C.D. vert. of 15 ft. and a second bank on the counterscarp, 3 ft. to 5 ft. high on one side, but it is not a double camp all round.

1. *Heywood Sumner: Earthworks of the New Forest*, p. 26.

It has nothing, however, in common with the Iron Age A camps, and strongly suggests Iron Age C date, and a use as its name suggests as a look-out camp. On the east of the road in the woods near Chilworth are two typical woodland Ringworks, Chilworth Ring and Ingersley; the former has been carefully excavated but nothing whatever was found. Beyond Chilworth to Winchester the road appears to follow the main Southampton Road, the line of the Roman road in most of its length, and passes the British camp of Merton on the very edge of the chalk three miles to the west.

Merton has the characteristics of an Iron Age A camp, commanding the Farley Mount stretch of open downland west of the Itchen and south of the woodlands of the forest of West Bere. It would certainly not have been left unconquered by Belgae occupying Winchester.

The country that lies directly between Clausentum and Winchester along the east of the Itchen Valley is clayey, wooded and difficult and there is no direct road that suggests antiquity. A road leads through West End, and keeping more or less to the watershed between the Itchen and the Hamble Rivers, reaches the chalk near Upham. A more ancient looking road runs direct north-west from West End through Durley and over Stephens Castle Down to the South Down ridgeway. This is called Salt Lane in its upper part. It is very straight in direction and keeps to the ridges. It would undoubtedly be the old road to Winchester from the settlement on Hamble Common. There are no earthworks in the whole of this country.

From Porchester and Hayling the roads would have to cross the Forest of East Bere to reach the chalk of the South Downs—but by keeping along Portsdown Hill and crossing the Meon about Wickham the worst of the clay would be avoided and Old Winchester Hill left away to the east. Here too there are no other earthworks till one comes to St. Catharine's Hill, abandoned, as we now know, before the coming of the Belgae.

Though there are now no earthworks between the coast east of Southampton and Winchester, there are several "Bury" place names, most of which suggest protected sites—Bury at Alverstoke (?), Rooksbury, Sarisbury, Midanbury, Owslebury—and round the head of Southampton Water and between that and Winchester there are Colbury, Stagbury (?), Hiltlingbury, Cranbury and no doubt others. As no earthworks now remain, they must have been small and many of them are in wooded positions. This is suggestive of a considerable Iron Age C settlement of the district.

From Winchester the road north is fairly open, along the watershed between the Test and Itchen: the feeding grounds of the

camp at Norsbury would be first crossed. This camp for which a polygonal lay-out has been claimed lies $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west ; beyond it, 5 miles from the road, is Tidbury, another Plateau fort which lies half in thin wood, and 2 miles beyond that is the peninsular fort of the Andyke on the bank of the Test. These three camps would appear to be of Iron Age A date : they would certainly have to be dealt with if the line of communication between Silchester and Winchester was to be kept open.

Further north, 14 miles from Winchester, is Winklebury (Hants), a fairly strong univallate Plateau fort dominating the crossing of the Harroway on the saddle between the heads of the Test and Loddon Valleys. This is a strategic point—Battledown—which must have been the scene of much fighting in prehistoric as it was in later times, and it would be surprising if Winklebury did not on excavation give evidence of Belgic occupation.

Beyond it the road to Silchester would be by Wootton St. Lawrence, and by a lane just to the east of Woodgarston. Here it would descend the chalk scarp to Ramsdell and passing through less than half a mile of clay forest would follow the present road through Baughurst and, keeping on the watershed between the Kennet and Loddon basins, would gain the Silchester Plateau without having crossed a single brook in its whole course from Winchester.

This then must have been the route of the Belgic incursion from the coast (if any). Whether it was rapid or a gradual migration taking months or even years, whether they took their herds with them or lifted them as they went, whether, even, there was any opposition we do not know—excavation of the camps mentioned alone might tell us—all we do know for certain is that there was an existing settlement from the continent at Hengistbury in these times with plenty of beadrin pottery, and that Commius's son Epillus had his capital at Silchester, for he struck his coins there.

Why the Atrebates should have chosen the poor heath country to settle on we do not know : we can only infer that they were not yet strong enough to invade the main chalk which is strongly defended against penetration from the coast.

Silchester.

The Silchester group of pre-Roman earthworks consist of three Enclosures :—the British outer entrenchment of the city, Bullsdown and Pond Farm, and some short lengths of Linear Earthworks. None of them has been completely excavated and reported on according to present scientific standards.

The British earthworks of Silchester enclose 200 acres and consist of a bank and ditch with a C.D. vert. of about 15 ft., but the ditch is much silted up and a section cut through both shew

that it was originally over 23 ft.—one of the largest univallate profiles recorded.

At an average of about 200 yds. inside the British Vallum is the Roman wall, like it on a polygonal plan, and it seems pretty clear that its line was determined by a pre-existing British ditch or boundary of some sort, but the evidence of a corresponding vallum is not so clear—the evidence of the excavations is difficult to interpret.

The only entrance in the British earthwork that has been investigated is opposite the small single north-west gate in the Roman wall. It was guarded by a crescent-shaped outwork, the original roadway passing round this outwork and ascending by a somewhat steep slope over the embankment. The road was 10 ft. wide, gravelled and shewed wheel ruts about 4 ft. 8 ins. apart. This road was overlaid by a Roman concreted road 20 ft. wide.

Three miles south-west of Silchester lies Bullsdown, a triple camp not so well known to archaeologists as it should be. It encloses an area of 10 acres and has a C.D. vert of 17 ft. with a very broad middle bank, a feature noticeable also at Buckland Rings and Whitsbury, in the Belgic area.

It is surrounded on three sides by swampy ground, and on two by boggy streams, and lies, like the country between it and Silchester, in the densest of clay forest country through which an ancient trackway can be traced to the east gate of the city. It exactly fits the description of Caesar of the oppida to which the British withdrew with their cattle in time of war, when an enceinte of the size of Silchester would be scarcely defensible.

The little earthwork near Pond Farm about half a mile north-west from the west entrance of Silchester is of distinctly polygonal form; it lies half in wood and is only 4 acres in area. It is univallate with a C.D. vert. of 8 ft., and the only entrance now recognisable is guarded by a somewhat curved bank and ditch set across it like a "clavicula." It falls therefore into the Woodland Ringwork class but as it is within sight of Silchester may have served some purpose as an outwork.

The two or three linear earthworks which can be traced across the lines of approach to the city are rather obstructive than defensive and may have been customs barriers—those marked as entrenchments on the O.S. maps radiating from the British bank are certainly minor roads—British and Roman.

The date of the British earthworks at Silchester has not been determined beyond that they were pre-Roman. It is possible that it may be Iron Age A, but there is nothing incompatible with a Belgic date of the first century either A.D. or B.C.

Whether Commius founded the city *de novo* or whether he found the Berkshire country in the occupation of Iron Age A

people, or of Atrebatas of the south-east Belgic area is unknown. The last theory has been very commonly assumed but the almost complete absence of the pedestal urn culture makes it improbable. It seems more likely that he attracted a large number of his tribe to him with doubtless many others and founded and entrenched this extensive city. Its size bespeaks a population far exceeding the refugees he can have brought from the coast, and there is coin evidence that before his death he, and afterwards his son Epillus, ruled in Kent, which may have been the locality of the original Atrebatian colony. If it is so we may picture much traffic along the North Down ridgeway, bringing the men of Kent to the new city.

At what date did Commius or his sons begin to extend the Belgic ascendancy and his beadrims westward over the Berkshire Downs and central chalk? He was not the man to sit still and probably slave-raiding and cattle-lifting would begin early. The earliest beadrims associated with dateable Arretine pottery have been found at Oare in Wilts, over 30 miles from Silchester, and they cannot be earlier than the end of the century, fifty years or so from the landing, while those published from Silchester itself are as late. But dateable finds are rare and further research may give an earlier date.

The Routes and Earthworks West from Silchester.

From Silchester the Belgae had four roads westward by which they could reach the rich pastoral and agricultural region of the central chalk, and we must assume that they kept their communications open southwards to Winchester and the coast—an obvious necessity.

The road north-west across the Kennet and along the ridge of Bucklebury Common and so on to the great Berkshire Ridgeway would be the first, the second would be along the western road crossing the Kennet at Newbury to the Lambourne Downs, the third would be the North Downs ridgeway by Walbury and across Tidcombe and Wexcombe Downs and the head of the Bourne at Aughton, and the fourth the Harroway running from Battledown round the head of the Test nearly due west by Andover. Only the two last concern us in Hampshire.

Taking finds of beadrims as the criterion of Belgic occupation (it is not clear, by the way, that they are all of the Normandy type—tooled and zoned), the list given by Mr. Hawkes with the more recent additions, shews a distribution with a certain proximity to these roads on the map, but it only illustrates what is known to everyone, that there are more habitation sites and settlements near main roads than at a distance.

The earthworks are more interesting and tempt one into all sorts of speculation as to the part they may have played in the Belgic advance. Colt Hoare's motto, "*Facta non Verba*," becomes a hard saying, and any comfort one may take in the fact that he sometimes departed from it himself is discounted by the equally certain fact that when he did so he was not unfrequently wrong.

The line of advance from Silchester to the west, along the North Downs Ridgeway is a matter of about 25 miles before it spreads out on to Salisbury Plain. Not counting Winklebury, there are five Hill-top Camps along the route—two of them exceedingly strong.

The first camp is the hardly traceable earthwork on Cottingtons' Hill. It can never have been very strong—where for a short length it is fairly preserved it has a C.D. vert. of 8 ft.—it has a single bank and ditch and was probably an Iron Age A entrenchment.

The next camp, Ladle Hill, three miles west along the ridge, has been the subject of much speculation. Its circumvallation is broken into short pieces by no less than thirteen or fourteen gaps of varying widths, while behind the line of the rampart are irregular low mounds of top soil and chalk running inwards for a few yards, which have every appearance of being spoil heaps.

More than one suggestion has been put forward to account for these unique features, but the one put forward by Mr. Stuart Piggott¹ that it is an Iron Age Fort in course of construction whose rampart was to be made of chalk blocks, at present holds the field. Chalk blocks were found at St. Catharine's Hill as the facing of the entrance and at Figsbury in the internal additions to the rampart, but I know of no camp whose vallum has been shewn to be of chalk blocks throughout. If this should be proved to be one in the making it would certainly suggest a late date.² That Ladle Hill was a late construction is however proved by the fact that it took as its setting-out line a curving pre-existing linear earthwork of the so-called boundary type which cuts through some lynchets a short distance away. A suggestion that Ladle Hill camp was being made to resist the advance of the Belgae would therefore be in no way inconsistent with the archaeological evidence. A mile west of Ladle Hill, across a deep natural gap in the chalk, stands the camp of Beacon Hill. The slope down from Ladle Hill is comparatively gentle, but that up to Beacon Hill, 350 ft. above the bottom, is about as steep as a chalk hill can be. The prehistoric track makes a wide detour of more than a mile to the south round the gap, avoiding Beacon Hill altogether, but the camp is so strong that it must have completely dominated the ridgeway

1. *Antiquity*, Dec., 1931, p. 474.

2. The gap where the chalk blocks are exposed is very suspicious of being an entrance.

and the country round for miles. The slopes to the south on either side of the gap are covered with the remains of Celtic fields.

The camp itself, about 15 acres in area, has a single bank and ditch of great strength (C.D. vert, 17 ft.) on its two steepest sides, north and south, but at its east and west ends and on each side of its single entrance at the south-east corner, where the slope is not quite so steep, there is a bank on the counterscarp of about 8 ft. which with the natural slope gives the entrenchments quite the strength of a double-banked camp. A good deal of soil has been dug from the area round the inside of the vallum which may or may not mean a hasty raising of the height of the bank in a time of emergency.

The single entrance is strongly defended by returning the outer bank inwards across the ends of the ditch and for 20 ft. into the area. There are low mounds at the ends of these returns as well as at the ends of the banks evidently marking the position of three gates. In addition to these long flanking defences of the passage there spring from the outer bank about 50 yds. on each side of the entrance two 5 ft. banks with a slight outer ditch which curve inwards and end opposite one another 20 ft. apart ; thus enclosing outer "guard houses."

The single bank and ditch round the camp and its acropolis position are like those of an Iron Age A camp, but the doubling of the bank on its weaker sides, the strongly fortified entrance with outside defences and possibly the strengthening of the inner vallum one may consider to be later features not unlikely to be connected with the Belgic advance.

The area is full of round depressions, probably large hut circles, but unfortunately some excavations by the late Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Woolley¹ in 1912 do not closely record the pottery found, if any. They seem to have struck the site of the brick dwellings of the keepers of the Tudor Beacon.

After circumventing Beacon Hill the ridgeway goes on north-west for six or seven miles, crossing one or two much wasted little cross-ridge ditches of indeterminate character, but not suggesting defence, and then where the ridge turns a little south of west passes through the camp of Walbury on the highest chalk hill in England.

Walbury is a camp of entirely different character to the ordinary hill fort either simple or complex, in its enormous size, 82 acres—far too big to resist serious attack on more than one place at once—its perimeter must be a mile and a half—and though the position is very strong its C.D. vert. is only about 12 ft. Its entrances are undefended except for cross-dykes a few yards outside them from scarp to scarp, and at the western end another slight bank

1. *Mon.*, Vol. xiii, Jan., 1913, No. 1.

and ditch which springs from the bank on the south side and now ends at the ridgeway. These cross-dykes seem much more adapted for dealing with cattle passing through than for defence.

These very large weak camps like Casterly (68 acres), further on on the same road, Ogbury (61 acres) and perhaps Bagsbury (45 acres) seem much more likely to be connected with the cattle trade of the Britons—resting places, toll taking, mustering, markets and so forth—than with any defensive purpose. The area like that of Bagsbury has been under plough in modern times and no evidence of human or bovine occupation is obvious, but Casterly and Ogbury shew much such evidence.

Soon after leaving Walbury the Ridgeway is crossed by one or two slight cross-dykes evidently not military, but in two and a half miles, just beyond where the steep road up from Ham crosses the ridge there is an unmistakably protective cross-dyke facing west. It is a single bank and ditch with a C.D. vert. of $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. and an O.H. of 44 ft., extremely little wasted, clean cut and new looking. Its northern end stops suddenly at the edge of the scarp and its southern end almost equally so, though its line is continued by a hedge bank which is extremely large for a few yards. The ground south does not fall steeply but no trace of bank or ditch can be made out further on. The ridgeway passes through a simple gap near the northern end.

This cross-dyke coincides with no known modern or mediaeval boundaries, so we get no hint of its age or purpose, but it does mark a certain change in the character of the chalk ridge. Behind it to the east by Buttermere and on to Walbury the ridge-top spreads out into a wide nearly level down which must have at all times been an admirable feeding ground: westward it is narrower and with more covering of tertiary debris and more scrub and wood spreading to the south. It is possible that it may have marked the frontier of the open feeding grounds connected with Walbury and been a barrier, perhaps a toll-bar, to cattle travelling towards the east.

From Ham Hill the ridge road to the west gets lower and turning south slowly descends 200ft. to reach in about four miles the gap between Oxenwood and Tidcombe. Here it coincides for a mile with the Roman road from Cirencester to Winchester, and rising again to its old level of over 800ft. reaches the conspicuous point of Tidcombe Long Barrow, whence it bears west again over the high Tidcombe, Wexcombe and Fairmile Downs—the beginning of Salisbury Plain—and descends to cross in another four miles the little stream of the Bourne at Aughton. For some three or four miles round the Long Barrow, especially north-east and south, the country is rich in linear earthworks, mostly in disconnected lengths, that are in great need of working out and

linking up. Most that I have examined appear to have been bivallate roads of the cattle-way type, though one three miles further south is the ditch on Chute Heath said to be connectable with the Andover Devil's Ditch. These may all have a bearing on the Belgic advance—it is impossible to say what until they have been properly investigated.

There are no defensive earthworks, though several barrows, on the stretch between Tidcombe Long Barrow and Aughton; it was doubtless dominated by the very remarkable Hill Fort of Fosbury—little known to archaeologists but of great interest in relation to the road we have been studying.

Fosbury Camp lies two miles nearly due east from the Long Barrow. The road to it goes along a rather narrow ridge—the continuation of the Tidcombe Down Ridge—between the extraordinarily steep and narrow chalk valley of Hippenscombe on the south and the loamy semi-wooded slope of the western Test basin on the north. The ridge ends suddenly and steeply, looking widely over this basin to the north and east, and on its point sits the camp, nearly circular in shape and about 20 acres in extent.

The entrenchment is extremely strong “both by nature and by art,” bivallate with a ditch between. The inner bank rises 11ft. above the area and 24ft. above the bottom of the ditch, while the outer bank rises 13ft. above the ditch and 10½ft. above the ground outside which is extremely steep on all sides except across the neck. There is again the marked depression inside the main bank where soil has been taken for its construction. It has two original entrances—east and west; the west is undefended, but the east appears to have its two banks connected by a bank flanking the way through, but the ground is too broken and wooded to be certain. The northern part of the camp lies in thick oak wood, the southern half on open chalk.

The banks are extraordinarily sharp and little weathered and the ditch very little rounded and silted up.

The most unusual feature of the camp is that the crest of both banks is covered with a layer of large flints that shew in many places and are so hard underfoot as to leave no doubt in one's mind that they must be the foundations of what was once a flint breastwork. This is a feature I have seen in only one other camp in Hampshire, Danebury, though there it is less marked. The inner bank at Maiden Castle in Dorset has also in places what appears to have been a revetment of stones from the Purbeck beds, so that in this latter case there can be no chance of an accidental accumulation. The sides of the entrances at Fosbury, especially the western one, are also so covered with large flints as irresistibly to suggest that the ends of the banks were revetted with them. These points, the extraordinary sharpness of outline of the banks

and ditch, the flint breastwork and probable revetment of the entrances and the double banks, all point to a probability of the camp being extremely late ; while another point makes it a certainty—the northern banks could not possibly have been thrown up and the ditch dug until the wood had been thoroughly cleared and grubbed, and probably to a considerable extent, to guard against surprise. The clearing of the woods is thought to have been begun in the first century B.C., and in all probability by the Belgae ; on superficial evidence therefore, unproved by excavation, one could hardly have a clearer case for a Belgic fort than Fosbury.

In the area there were, according to Dr. Joseph Stevens,¹ depressions which might be hut circles, and he records the finding of iron spearheads and an arrowhead which he thought to be Roman, so some not very formidable excavation would probably reveal evidence of the date of occupation at least.

We cannot trespass further into Wiltshire, tempting as it is to follow the road another ten or twelve miles to Casterley on the north of Salisbury Plain, a second Walbury in size and, as I think, in purpose. Capt. and Mrs. Cunington's famous excavations² have proved it to have been an open Iron Age A settlement, but to have been entrenched by the Belgae and continuously occupied by them on into Romano-British times.

Assuming Winklebury to be already in their hands, there is no earthwork in the path of the Belgae along the Harroway route for ten miles till it passes Egbury about two miles to the right connected with the Harroway by a road said to be old. Egbury is a curious diamond-shaped earthwork which one may suspect to be a Roman or Romanised "semi-permanent camp," and corresponds to the position of Vindomis ; there is nothing to connect it with the Belgae. At Hurstbourne Station was a British village in which a gold British coin was found many years ago, but the associated pottery has not been shewn to be Belgic.

Crossing the western head of the Test at Chapmansford in about two miles the Harroway passes through the gap of open chalk a mile and a half wide which lies between Harewood Forest on the south and Doles Wood on the north—the only gap in about ten miles of practically continuous wooded country. Across this corridor runs the Devil's Ditch, a defensive linear earthwork facing west. It is now much ploughed out but was originally formidable, for a cutting in the railway shews its V-shaped ditch to have been about 9ft. deep. Through the woods it is said (but not confirmed) to be traceable southwards nearly to the main Test Valley, and northwards to join another dyke on Chute Heath, five or six

1. *History of St. Mary Bourne*, p. 45.

2. *Wilt's Archaeological Magazine*, Vol. xxxviii, p. 53.

miles away.¹ In Doles Wood, where it crosses the Andover—Newbury Road close to the twelfth milestone, it is only a slight bank and ditch with a C.D. vert. of two or three feet. The Devil's Ditch therefore looks like a boundary ditch raised only to defensive proportions where it goes across the open corridor.

Three-quarters of a mile north of where it crosses the Andover—Newbury Road is the site in Blagdon Copse of the Hurstbourne Tarrant "find" of an important Belgic burial dated early 1st century A.D., and associated with a very small woodland ring-work.

The words "Belgic ditches" may well be a warning against the pleasures of the imagination; but we need not deny ourselves the suggestion that this linear earthwork may well have been Belgic, made as a boundary in a stage of their advance. Its alleged connection with the "ditch" on Chute Heath wants working out, as does this latter ditch itself, but if made good (there appear to be four miles missing!) would be a well chosen line for a temporary frontier just south of the crest overlooking the western head of the Test. A quarter of a mile further on an ancient road from the south comes in on the left, so that the position of the entrenchment has evidently been chosen to block both lines of approach.

Crossing the Anton about half a mile above Andover, about the spot where the founder's hoard of late bronze implements was discovered,² the Harroway goes along the low chalk ridge to Weyhill, keeping about a mile south of the wooded slopes of Doles Wood and Chute Forest.

A mile to the south on the low plateau between the Anton and its tributary the Anna is the large single-banked camp of Bagsbury with an area of 45 acres. It is now much ploughed down, but from what remains it must have had a C.D. vert. of over 12ft. It has every appearance of an Iron Age A camp except for its unusual size and weak position, and I have already made a suggestion as to its possible use.

Opposite it across the valley of the Anna only half a mile due south stands in a much stronger position Bury Hill Camp. This is a true fortress with double banks, a C.D. vert. of 18ft. and an area of 11½ acres. On its north-west side there loops out a bank and ditch now represented by a scarp of 8ft. vertical height which encloses an annexe of another 8½ acres. Though the entrances are undefended it is very strong, and the small amount of wasting of the banks gives one the impression of being late. If it should ever be proved that these double camps are Belgic, one would expect to find that Bagsbury would be an instance of compulsory abandonment, or like Casterley of being taken over by the Belgae.

1. *Hist. of St. Mary Bourne.*

2. Now in the Winchester Museum.

It is not quite easy to see the strategic importance of the Bury Hill position. The fords over the Anton at the Clatfords do not appear to be on any prehistoric route. It is possible, however, that the present Andover—Salisbury Road, doubtless a branch of the Harroway and the most direct road from Silchester to Old Sarum and the Cranborne Chase route to Dorsetshire, may have been of more importance than has been hitherto recognised.

From Andover the Harroway can be traced nearly due west to and across the Plain. It may have crossed the little Bourne River, now a winterbourne but in Belgic days undoubtedly perennial, either at Shipton or at Cholderton—the latter was the better ford. In the former case it would be within two miles of Quarley Hill Camp and in the latter it must have passed right under it. This camp is a typical contour fort on an isolated steep hilltop. It has a single bank and ditch, a C.D. vert. of 16ft. and an area of $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres. One would put it down as an Iron Age A camp, but late, for it has a bivallate linear earthwork passing across the top of the hill *under* the ramparts. Its two end entrances are normal undefended gaps, but its two side entrances strongly suggest that it was at least temporarily occupied by the Romans.

The Harroway across the Plain makes for the crossing at Wylie mainly along the line now followed by the Exeter road. It passes under two strong camps, one of which, Yarnbury, is multiple and has been proved this year to have been reconstructed, but the report of the excavations has not yet been published.

The Routes and Earthworks West from Winchester.

Assuming as I think we should that during the rise of Silchester to be the Belgic capital, Winchester must have been held as a base of communications with the coastal settlements, it seems inevitable that there should have been a penetration westwards from the latter city more or less contemporaneous with that from Silchester.

There are two prehistoric routes leading westward from Winchester, both continuations of the South Down ridgeway. One goes north of the woods of the Forest of West-Bere to cross the Test by Stockbridge to Salisbury Plain, and the other south of them along the Farley Mount ridge and through Parnholt Wood to cross the Test at Kimbridge and go along the ridge of Dean Hill to Cranborne Chase and the Dorset chalk. The first would be the easier and more important expansion from Winchester.

The chalk down west of Winchester and across Salisbury Plain is cut into sections by streams running from north to south so that the roads go across the grain of the country. There are no ridges to follow, only wide rounded hills that lie between the

small tributaries running more or less at right angles to the main streams. The tracks keep mostly to the highest ground, but as a sheep's back is broader than a hog's back they have more room to wander and are much more difficult to define at the present day.

The southern limit of this chalk plateau between Winchester and the Plain is very clearly defined by the edge of the thick forest that stretched with very little break from Crab Wood to Salisbury. The northern limit we may take to have been the valley of the Micheldever stream and the woods which stretched, again with very little break, from the south end of Harewood Forest to Quarley.

This stretch of open chalk from the Itchen to the Bourne River is divided into two blocks by the valley of the Test. Each would form a feeding-ground for a community and each is dominated by hill forts, the western one by two.

The road must have followed more or less the present Stockbridge Road as far as Woolbury and then forked, the northern branch passing in front of the southern entrance of the camp and descending to cross the Test at Longstock, while the southern going half a mile south of the camp and crossing the river at Stockbridge seems to have followed the present main road by Lobscombe Corner to Old Sarum.

The only earthwork between the Itchen and the Test is Woolbury, seven miles from Winchester—a strong hilltop camp of 20 acres with a single bank and ditch and a C.D. vert. of 16 to 17ft. No prehistoric finds date the entrenchment, but it has all the points of an Iron Age "A" camp commanding the feeding-grounds, much Celtic cultivation and at least three open villages between the Test and the Itchen. The only definitely Belgic site so far claimed in this area is the village on Chilbolton West Down.

From the long ford at Longstock the line of the ancient track can be followed by lane and road for the eight miles to Cholderton. Two miles from the river it passes under the north side of Danebury—one of the most remarkable camps of the whole chalk—a double-banked entrenchment very strong in position, profile and entrance defences, with an extra double bank looping out, as at Bury Hill, on the southern side and a much feebler outside ring encircling the whole at an average distance of about 40 yards.

The great interest of Danebury for our present purposes is firstly that it is, with Bury Hill nearly four miles due north which we took in connection with the Harroway, the first of the strong double or triple camps of the Plain that an invader from the west would encounter if they were made by the defenders, or would construct if he made them to subdue the conquered country. From Danebury the tremendous forts of the west country begin. Secondly at Danebury the evidence of occupation and construction

at different periods is as strong as it can be without excavation, and thirdly the evidence that the last reconstruction was a late one and falls into our period of Iron Age C, is to my mind absolutely convincing.

Very briefly, what we have at Danebury is this. Round the whole hill is a feeble bank and ditch, very worn and old-looking, with the bank on the lower side outside the ditch, a C.D. vert. of only 5 to 10ft., and enclosing 40 acres. Only one entrance remains, a simple undefended gap on the west with the banks turning outwards for a few feet. One may hazard the guess that it was an obstructive entrenchment round a large open site.

Next : at an average of about 40 yards inside this is a much stronger bank following the line of the hill and enclosing a circular area of about 27 acres. It is 9 or 10ft. above the slope outside and at present has no ditch except near the entrance. This entrance, again on the western side, is however extremely strong of its kind. It consists of two cutlet-shaped guardhouses outside the bank (like those at Beacon Hill Camp, but much stronger) with banks still standing 8 and 12ft. on each side of the way in. But here comes the most surprising thing in the whole entrenchments : having passed the guardhouses and forced the entrance you do not enter the camp. On the contrary you are faced with a yawning ditch 12ft. deep and 30 or 40ft. wide with an enormous vallum rising 27ft. beyond it which has no sign of any gap, bridge or entrance of any sort.

This huge inner vallum, with remarkable external defences to its single entrance on the east, must be part of the latest Iron Age C reconstruction of the camp. The most likely explanation one can offer is that the Iron Age A camp was originally a strong one of 27 acres, probably with a single bank and ditch and strong guardhouse entrance defences. The conversion into a double-banked camp of more manageable size was done by adding the inner vallum and filling in the outer ditch, reducing the area to 13 acres by cutting off a long slice of the Iron Age A camp on the south-west side, and apparently doubling its old bank at the same time.

The labyrinthine defences of the new entrance on the east are too complicated to describe : there is nothing equal to them except at Maiden Castle.¹ They are strong evidence of late construction, as are the sharpness of the earthworks in spite of the destruction caused by trees, and the fact that the inner vallum is crowned by a hard layer of flints which strongly suggests a flint breastwork. The only prehistoric finds recorded are a late Celtic comb now in the British Museum and some flints and round

1. For a full description of Danebury see H.F.C. Proceedings, Vol. vi, p. 293, and *Field Archaeology of Hants*, p. 147. Also *Wessex from the Air*, p. 88.

pebble sling stones, which must have been brought from a distance, which were found in an ammunition dump and are now in the Winchester Museum.

From Danebury the road goes by a disused lane to Kent's Barrow, and then by a road called the "Street-way-road" (in the language of three later invaders) under Quarley Hill to Cholderton. Here it leaves our county and goes through the little River Bourne which we should have crossed near its source at Aughton had we invaded the Plain by the North Hants Ridgeway. Beyond Cholderton its line is the same as that of the Harroway.

Returning now to the branch of the prehistoric road which I have supposed to go through Stockbridge to Old Sarum, an earthwork discovered from the air¹ is at present being excavated by Miss Liddell for the Hants Field Club upon Meon Hill a mile west of Stockbridge. Nothing remains above the ground, the bank having been levelled and the ditch filled up either in Tudor or Stuart times. But a habitation site and a small ditch with haematite-coated ware has proved Iron Age A occupation, while beadrim and Romano-British pottery is also present so that another Belgic occupation site may be added to the list.

No further entrenchments occur, except the mutilated and fragmentary earthworks of indeterminate date situated in Ashley's Copse on the wooded scarp a mile from Lobscombe Corner, until the very curious and anomalous camp of Figsbury is reached 11 miles from Stockbridge. This plateau camp of 15 acres is perfectly circular, and consists of a bank rising as much as 12ft. above the area with a much silted-up ditch outside it. There are two entrances, one of which shews traces of an outside bank and ditch. The main ditch is not big enough to have supplied the chalk for the vallum and about a third of the latter is made up from an irregularly cut quarry ditch, also roughly circular, which has been dug in the area about 30 to 40 yards behind it. Why this should have been done and the extra labour of carrying the chalk across the intervening space undertaken it is difficult to see: the arrangement is unique, but excavation by Mr. and Mrs. Cunningham² has shewn that the bank was heightened on the inner side at two different times, for there were two definite turf lines. The enlargements but not the original vallum were made with large lumps of chalk and big flints; and pottery of All Cannings type were found under both enlargements. Trenching excavations were made in the area and inner ditch, but the finds were extremely few—so few as to exclude the supposition that the site was ever inhabited. Only about 100 shards of pottery were found altogether—all but seven of Iron Age A class. Only one fragment of a

1. *Wessex from the Air*, p. 107.

2. *Wilt's Archaeological Magazine*, June, 1925.

beadrim bowl was found, not enough evidence for any occupation by the Belgae. The camp must be put down to Iron Age A, though possibly the enlargement with chalk blocks may have been made against the Belgae.

Opposite Figsbury across the Bourne stands Old Sarum, the strongest of all bivallate camps, both in profile and in position, dominating the great cross roads from the Mendips to Winchester and from Dorsetshire to the north of the Plain, both of which have to cross the Avon by fords commanded by the great fortress.

The last road running south-west from Winchester, that by Dean Hill to the Cranborne Chase chalk and Dorset, may not have been important as a Belgic route. It does not of course go to the Plain and on to Somersetshire, and the penetration of Dorsetshire would have been more easily made direct from the points of landing west of Southampton Water. Moreover it is far from being an open road; it encounters thick wood in more than one place; from Parnholt Wood, down to the Test, and up until it gets again to the chalk is a matter of seven miles—all bad going—while the crossing of the Avon near Downton could not have been easy. The road seems to me to be much more likely to be a post-Belgic short cut to Dorsetshire when the woods had been largely cleared and had lost their terrors.

The only earthworks on the Farley Mount ridge are little pastoral affairs, but after crossing the Test at Kimbridge the road in its long four or five mile climb to the top of the ridge passes between two typical woodland ringworks each about a mile off—Lockerly on the north by the Dunbridge stream, and Dunwood on the south, on a small isolated hill. Both are good examples of their class, about 5 acres in extent with a single bank and ditch with a present C.D. vert. of about 8ft. and both are in ground naturally covered by thick woods. Further west on the other side of the same stream is Holbury, of about 8 acres on a sandy knoll and much destroyed, but surrounded by wood and of the same class. A Roman villa was found close to it and much pottery which was sent to the Blackmore Museum. Though said not to have been found in the camp itself, it would be worth examining for beadrim evidence. At the extreme west of the hill of Dean, about two miles west of the Pepper Box and close to the Avon, are the remains of a camp of 26 acres—Witherington Rings, first recorded by Mr. Heywood Sumner.¹ It has a single bank on the east and south sides, but other banks which appear to be Saxon lynchets have obscured the outline on the north and west. The entrance seems to have been from the east. There are numerous worked flints, late in type, and cooking stones which betoken habitation.

1. *Earthworks of the New Forest*, p. 84.

Its position at the end of the chalk ridge make it likely that it may have dominated the feeding-grounds of the chalk island of the Hill of Dean. There is nothing to indicate that it is later than Iron Age A. This is the only earthwork which could have opposed the Belgae if they came along this route, but the presence of the three little woodland ringworks close to it is at least suggestive of the later use of the road in Iron Age C times.

Recapitulation.

It is now possible to take a general view of the earthworks that lie in the path of a westward penetration by the Belgae from a line of occupation reaching from Winchester to Silchester, as far as the line of the Bourne on the east of Salisbury Plain.

Does such a view throw any light on the character of this penetration and does the penetration offer any help to the archaeologist who seeks suggestions as to the date and purpose of such earthworks, or guidance as to where excavation is likely to be most fruitful in the extension of knowledge?

It will be found that the chalk from Sussex to the Plain and no doubt in other parts is divided up by natural frontiers of rivers and thick woods into regions each dominated by one and sometimes two hill forts. These are single banked, with simple entrances and are situated on open hilltops. The Trundle, St. Catharine's Hill and others have been excavated and found to belong to the Iron Age "A," and we may take it that they are all of this date and represent the headquarters and strongholds of the tribes which occupied the feeding grounds and cultivated land of the petty kingdoms around them.

West of the Test and across the Plain the double-banked earthworks begin—there are none east of this river either in Hants or Sussex—and still further west the triple ones begin.

These bivallate camps differ in several ways from the Iron Age A class. To recapitulate these differences: They nearly all occupy sites of obvious strategic importance commanding important roads and very often fords, and they do not by any means always choose hilltops or command feeding-grounds. If one considers them in connexion with an "invasion" they suggest a gradual advance by stages from river to river, holding or making good each block of territory as the incursion spread. They do not shun a wooded site—Fosbury, Sidbury and going further west Whitsbury, and others are all camps on the chalk whose sites must have been cleared of woods before they were constructed. Other points of difference are their increased strength, many with a C.D. vert. of over 20ft., their cleaner cut, less abraded banks and ditches, and the strong external entrance defences, and suspicion

of flint breastworks on the vallums of some of them. All these suggest a late date. Several suggestions may be made to account for the change of style: simple rivalry between chieftains, increasing intensity of inter-tribal warfare, pressure by the Iron Age B south-western people, and the Belgic penetration in Iron Age C (in and after the 1st century B.C.).

To my mind the last is by far the most probable for the country we have been reviewing, to which the danger of the south-western invasion never reached, and the questions to be solved are: Are these new-style camps reconstructions of Iron Age A camps, or new constructions for the emergency? and were they made for defence against the Belgae or by the Belgae for the purpose of holding the country?

Probably excavation would reveal instances of all these suppositions—Danebury has been nearly certainly reconstructed, Yarnbury has been shewn by excavation to have been so, though we await details, Fosbury looks like a new construction by a people who had learnt to clear the woods and this is usually considered to be an accomplishment of the Belgae, Chisbury, half double and half triple banked, six miles north of Fosbury and also on a wooded site, has just been shewn to have been apparently exclusively occupied if not built by the beadrims people.¹ Of all these camps Danebury and Fosbury would seem most likely to repay excavation, as regards the inland occupation, and Buckland Rings and Tatchbury for the penetration from the coast.

The next class of earthworks that may be suspected to be of Belgic construction are the woodland ringworks and similar small protective enclosures of Class B strength. There are nine or ten in Hants within touch of the roads we have studied. On the northern routes there is Bevisbury near Chute Causeway about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Fosbury, one in Blagden Copse, Hurstbourne Tarrant, so small that it escaped record before Mr. H. S. L. Dewar's discovery of the remarkable interment of a Belgic chieftain close to it, and the Old Pound in Harewood Forest. The first two are on the ridgeway south of the western head of the Test and may have been influenced by the proximity of the Devil's Dyke and its alleged continuation to Chute. Bevisbury is within a mile of the spot where the hollow flint money-box was found at Chute Forest with its sixty-five British gold coins of Iron Age C. Another group of three lie near the Dean Hill route, and there are three or four on the road from the New Forest to Winchester.

The only excavations into this class of earthwork that I know of were those of Miss Liddell into Chilworth Ring, near Southampton, but it lies in the hungriest of sands, the Bracklesham Beds, which are said even to eat pottery, and no remains of any kind

were found. Excavation of such a camp as Bevisbury is badly needed.

Of the huge weakly entrenched "camps," which I have suggested were more likely to have been cattle depôts, the date of the entrenchment at Casterly was certainly Belgic, but that of the network of inner ditches is indeterminable. The ditches were certainly used by the Belgae, but the occurrence of a very similar set of ditches in Rewel Wood near Arundel, a land where Belgae never trod, makes it quite likely that they were constructed by the Iron Age A people.

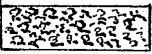
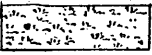
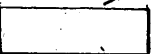
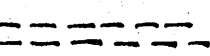
Of linear earthworks of univallate "defensive" type, the cross-dyke on Ham Hill and the Devil's Dyke, both facing west, are the only two encountered. Nothing whatever is known of the date of these banks and ditches, and the archaeologists who say that they are probably all of the Dark Ages or Saxon are just as likely to be wrong as one would be if one claimed them to be Belgic.

Careful tracing, mapping and classification into types of the numerous fragments within four or five miles round Scots Poor on Chute Causeway, including Colt Hoare's supposed branch of the Wansdyke, might give very valuable results.

THE BELGIC AREA IN HANTS IN IRON AGE C

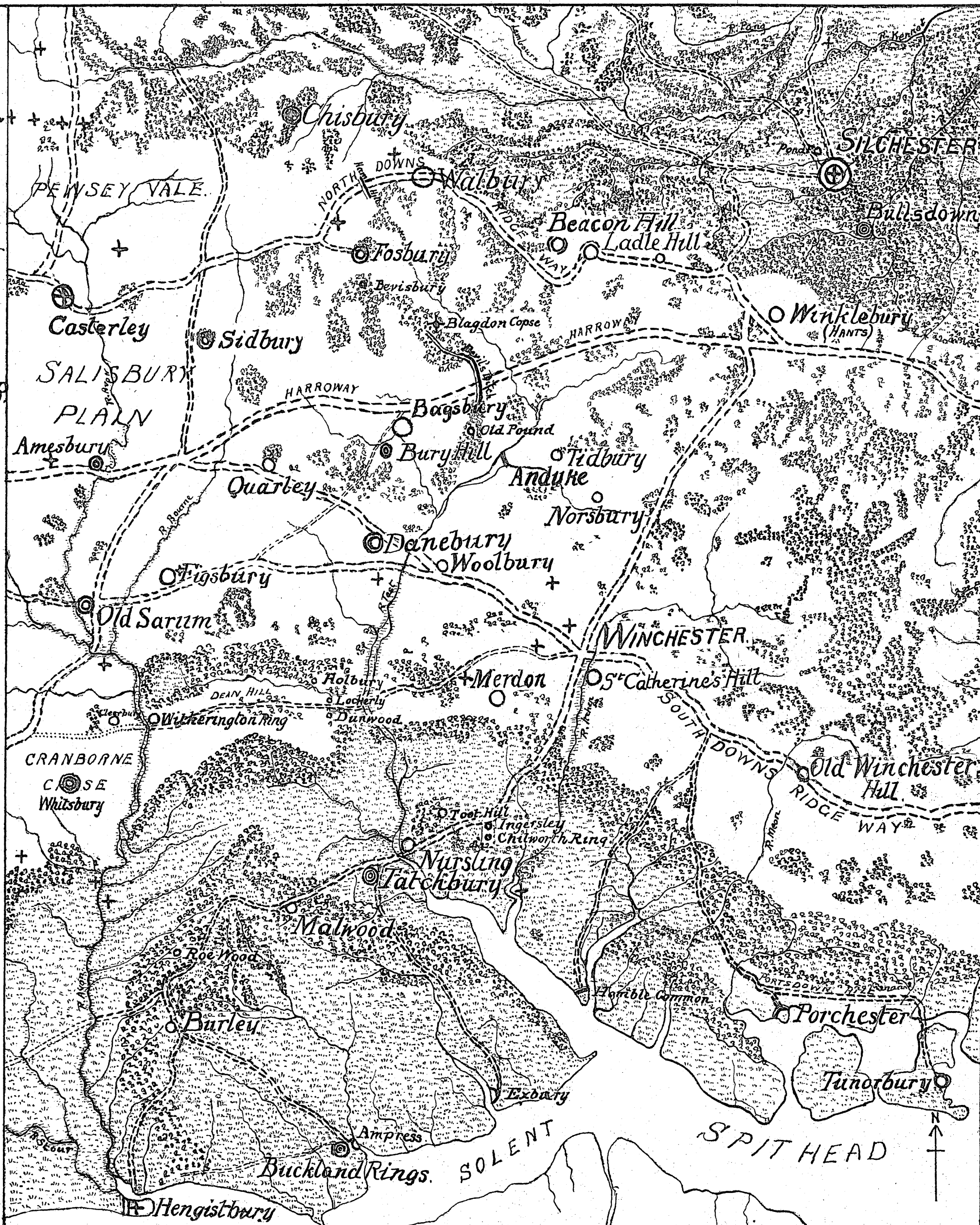
SHewing
ROADS AND EARTHWORKS
FROM THE
COAST PORTS
TO
WINCHESTER AND SILCHESTER
AND THENCE
TO
SALISBURY PLAIN

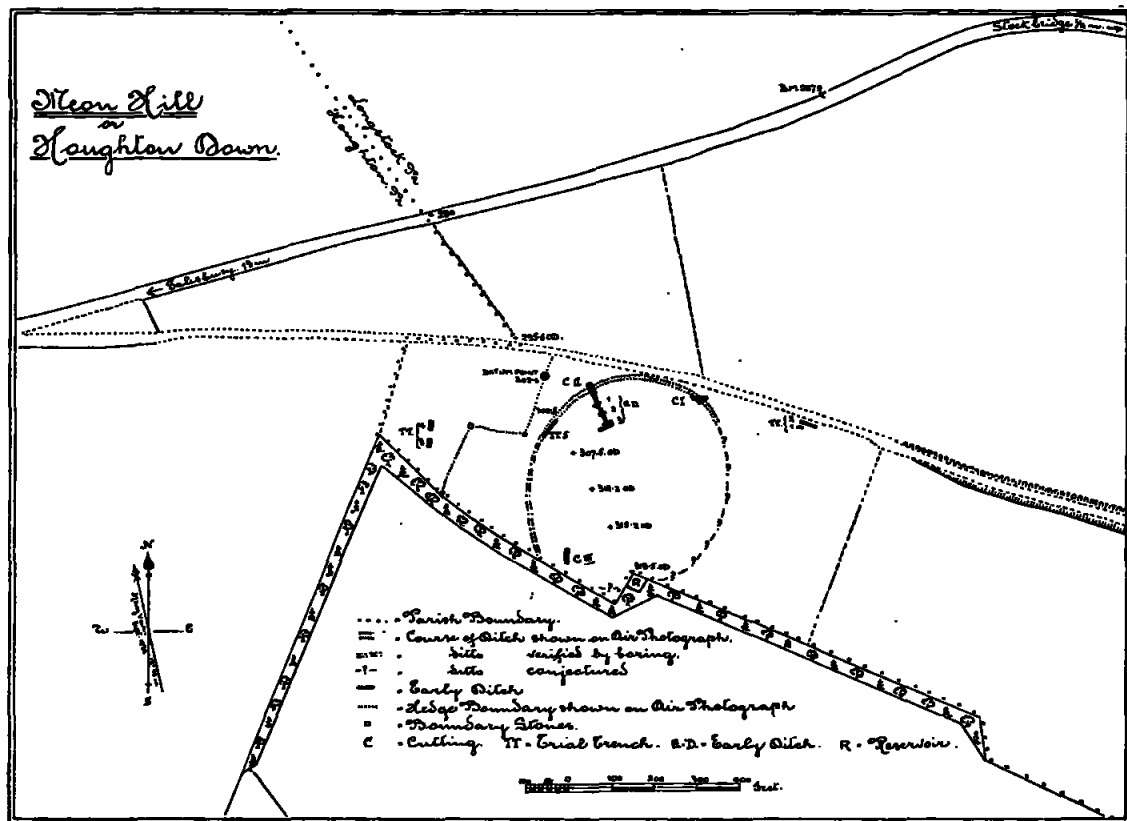
References.

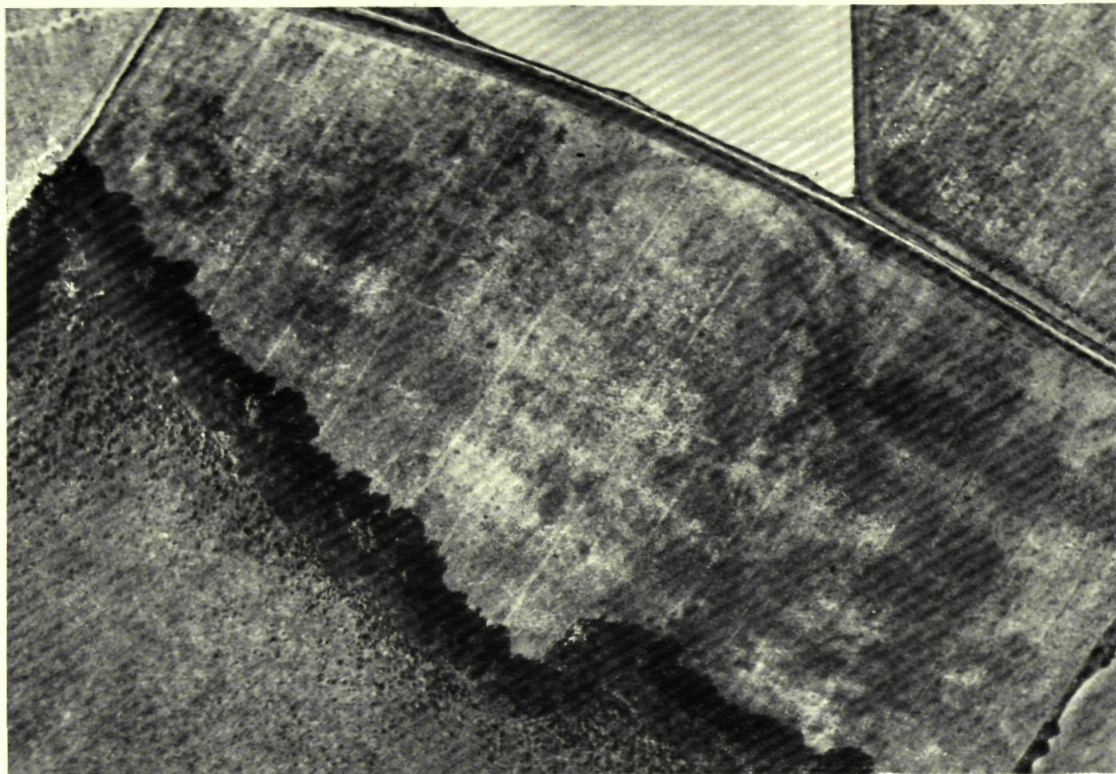
- Dense Clay Wood 
- Heath and Scrub 
- (Gravel Wood with light Undergrowth not shown)
- Chalk 
- Univallate Earthworks 
- Bivallate & Trivallate " 
- Univallate Linear " 
- Roads 
- Beadrim Pottery found. +

Scale.

4 miles to 1 inch.



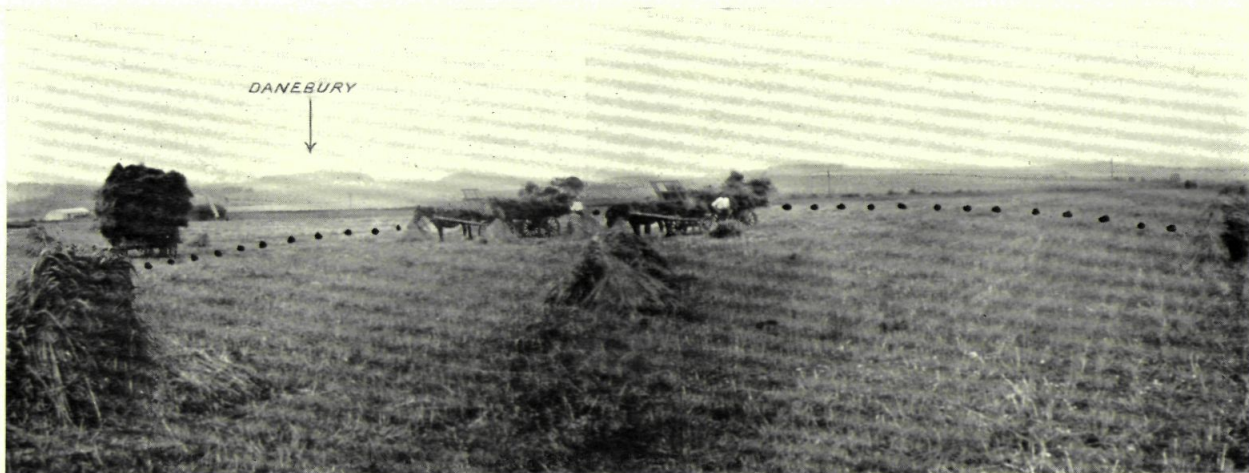




To face p. 126]

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Plate I. VIEW OF THE SITE FROM THE AIR.
The dark ring shows between the road and the belt of trees.



To face p. 127]

Plate II. VIEW OF THE SITE LOOKING N. FROM THE RESERVOIR CORNER.
(Dotted line shows approximate line of ditch.)