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1964

ROMAN CHICHESTER

A  
Survey of its Investigation

by

K. V. PAGAN BA

A dissertation presented for the Degree  
of Master of Arts in the University of  
Durham.

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I N D E X

Acknowledgements	Page i
PART I	Page 1
PART II	Page 135
PART III	Page 342
PLAN OF CRICHESTER.	

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R.V.P.

1954

**THE SOURCES :- PART I**

**BOOKS & SINGLE ARTICLES.**

Ed. and Gibson's translation with additions and improvements of Camden's Britannia was published in 1695.

Camden related the history of the conquest of Britain by the Romans in great detail. He says this about Vespasian, "who being made an officer in this war in Britain by Claudius; partly under Claudius himself, and partly under the conduct of Plautius, fought the enemy 30 times, subdued two of their most potent nations, took above 20 towns and conquered the Isle of Wight."

Later he says, "Some cities were, after the old Roman manner, given to King Cogidunus, that Kings themselves might be their tools to enslave others."

Already in Camden we have a connection between the British Claudia Rufina of Martial and the woman mentioned by St. Paul, as it is not surprising that when an inscription was found bearing the name Pudentinus and an unknown name ending in - ens that some should assume the name to be Pudens and connect it with the Pudens of St. Paul and the other story of Claudia Rufina.

In his introduction to the section of Britain inhabited by the Regni Camden says that they, "called by Ptolemy <sup>Prny</sup> Voi, inhabited those counties we now call Surrey and Sussex, with the sea coast of Hampshire." Camden does not incline to the view that they were called Regni because they were a Regnum or Kingdom," because the Romans granted it

the privilege of continuing under kingly government. For as Tacitus tells us, Cogidunus King of the Britains had certain cities put under his jurisdiction, according to an ancient custom of the Romans; with no other design than that they might have kings their tools and slaves."

He accuses Cocceius to have been the Hottienagus of Ptolemy and the Novionagus of Antoninus.

In the section on Sussex, Camden has nothing to say about the Romans in Chichester. However in Gibson's Additions we see "Hard by Chichester, towards the west, there has been also another large Roman camp called the Droilo .... It lies in a flat low ground, with a great rampire and single graff; and in such a place as renders it probable enough to have been that of Vespasians after his landing."

Camden assumes Ringwood in Hampshire to have been Regnum, "a town of the Regni, mentioned by Antoninus, as we may believe both from the course of the Itinerary, ..."

Although there is very little detailed history of the Romans in Britain, and no mention of Roman Chichester at all, the importance of Camden's work lies in the fact that he has presented a thorough history of Britain, methodically carried out county by county, and as chronologically as possible bearing in mind the limitations of knowledge under which he had to work. As will be seen, most of the subsequent histories whether they concern the

whole country or merely the County of Sussex follow the same orderly pattern. In this Camden led the way, and set the style.

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In 1723 The Chichester Philosophical Society published Roger Gale's account of the discovery of the Neptune and Minerva inscription, together with his restorations of the text. (Philosophical Transactions No.379).

He begins, "This inscription, as curious as any that has yet been discovered in Britain, was found the beginning of last April at Chichester, in digging a cellar under the corner house of St. Martin's Lane, on the north side as it comes into North Street." He then says it was about four feet under<sup>↓</sup>ground, face upwards, broken into four pieces and defaced by the labourers' efforts to raise it, and a part still left behind under the adjoining house. Gale thinks that the inscription is carved upon grey Sussex marble.

Gale then describes the way in which he and Dr. Stanley ascertained the reading which they published, and "by that means found those in the fifth line to have been as we have expressed them above; and not as in other copies that have been handed about of this inscription."

Gale goes on to explain his restorations of the text.

Line 1. only H needed.

Line 2. Templum is self-explanatory, although it was more usual to "express the donation by the word sacrum only."



Line 3. The phrase "Domus Divina" caused Gale some apprehension, as he did not know with any certainty of its being used before the reign of Antoninus Pius. However, a phrase "in honorem domus divinae", as well as these words occurs in several inscriptions in Gruter, so Gale infers that its use here is valid, despite the fact that many of these inscriptions in Gruter were of uncertain date.

Lines 4 and 5. Gale quotes Tacitus: Agricola c.14 in support of the titles and names of Cogidubnus, although Tacitus calls him Cogidunus.

He supplies EX (auctoritate) TIB (Claudius) in line 4, and COgidubni in line 5.

Gale goes on, "It is so well known to have been the custom of the Roman liberti and clientes, to take the names of their patrons and benefactors, that it would be wasting of time to prove the constant usage of that practice."

He says Cogidubnus was "in all probability" a prince of that part of the Dobuni which had submitted to Claudius, and that the Emperor had given him a part of the island to rule, thus he took the names of the Emperor to whom he was indebted for his kingdom. Gale supposes Cogidubnus to have been a prince of the Dobuni, because a part of the Boduni (or Dobuni), who were subject to the Catuellani, submitted to the Romans, on the rout of Cata[r]atacus and Togodumnus, sons of Cunobelin. (Dio Cassius Ek. LX).

He points out that it is difficult to define the extent of his territories but says that the Regni were the people of Surrey and Sussex and that in addition to that area "he might have that part of the Dobuni which had submitted to the Romans, and seems to have been his own principality, together with the Ancalites, Dibreci and Segontiaci, whose countries lay between the Dobuni and the Regni, bestowed upon him."

Gale says that it is important not to confuse Togodunnus and Cogidubnus, as Togodunnus was a son of Cunobelin, King of the Trinobantes, killed in battle by Aulus Plautius. He goes on to say that the titles 'Rex' and 'Legatus Augusti in Britannia' were conferred upon Cogidubnus by Claudius, but their effective power must have been "only over those people that he had given him the government of", as Aulus Plautius, and his successors had the supreme command and were 'legati Augusti in Britannia'.

Line 6. Gale says there can be no doubt that the last letters are COLLEGium.

Gale says that 'collegia' were very ancient institutions at Rome, and that they were established in every part of the Empire as it spread. He goes on to say that several sorts of workmen were included under the name of 'fabri', e.g. "fabri navales" as well as others. These "may have been the authors of dedicating this temple to Neptune, having so near a relation to the sea, from which

the city of Chichester is at so small a distance, that perhaps that arm of it which still comes up within two miles of its walls, might formerly have washed them."

It is possible, Gale continues, that the rest of the fraternity might very well pay the same devotion to Minerva, "the Goddess of all arts and sciences, and patroness of the Daedalian profession."

Line 7. Probably six letters missing. Gale admits that he was uncertain what to put in here. He offers three alternatives, the most likely being the first two.

- (i) A. SACR. S. = a sacris sunt.
- (ii) HONOR. S. = honorati sunt.
- (iii) SACER. S. = sacerdotes sunt.

These 'collegia' had 'sacerdotes', and also those who had passed through the chief offices of them had the title 'honorati' conferred upon them, so any of these readings could be given without destroying the sense.

Line 8. Gale thinks a letter or two of the praenomen must have been at the beginning, unless the inscription was shorter at that end of the last line as well as at the other.

He goes on, "Chichester, by this inscription found at it, must have been a town of eminence very soon after the Romans had settled here, and in process of time seems

to have been much frequented, by the Roman roads, still visible, that terminate here from Portsmouth, Midhurst and Arundel, though, what is very strange, we have no Roman name now for it." Gale says that at first he thought it might have been Anderida, but rejects this on the grounds that the Saxons so utterly destroyed Anderida that it was still desolate in the reign of Henry II. The removal of the bishopric from Selsey to Chichester in 1076 is cited by Gale as proof that Chichester was a place of note.

Gale concludes his article by saying that when the inscription was dug up, "there were also two walls of stone discovered" nearby, one running East, the other North, of three feet in thickness, which joined "in an angle .... which, in all probability, were part of the foundations of the temple mentioned on the marble."

In 1752 John Horsley published his 'Britannia Romana', a scholarly work, which even today is necessary for those wanting to study Roman Britain. Horsley was a great antiquary and a worthy follower in the tradition of Leland and Camden.

He says that under Aulus Plautius and Gstorius Scapula "the nearest parts of Britain were reduced into the form of a province, a colony of veterans was settled, and some places given to King Cogidubnus, who continued faithful to the Romans." In a note at the foot of the page

Horsley writes, "It no where certainly appears over what people Cogidubus was king. Camden speaks of him as King of the Regni, Dr. Gale, as King of the Segontiaci. It is plain in the general that he reigned somewhere in the most southern parts of Britain."

Horsley in an essay on the Antonine Itinerary, has a long section on Regnum. He is writing about the seventh route from Chichester to London. "Ringwood" he says "has been generally supposed to be Regnum, the terminus of this itor." He thinks "ceasing affinity of name" has been the chief cause for this. "Ringwood signifies at most but a wood among the Regni; and therefore does not prove the town ... to be the Regnum of the Itinerary; though it may be an evidence of its being in the country of the Regni." He points out that there is no military way or remains; no coins or any other evidence of its being Roman or a station, and that Dr. Stukeley could make little or no Roman discoveries there.

Horsley goes on, "The distance of Ringwood from Clausentum does not answer well the present numbers of the Itinerary (XX miles). Hampshire is not reckoned among the Regni, but the Belgae, by Camden. This seems agreeable to the situation assigned to these people by Ptolemy; Venta Belgarum, which is Winchester, and probably the capital of the Belgae, farther confirms his opinion. If any military

way had proceeded from Southampton to Ringwood, it must have crossed the broad river, or fetched a larger compass for a narrower passage; and the military way and stations from Winchester to Sarum, renders a way to Ringwood, and a station there less necessary. If these things be considered, a new conjecture may be better allowed. I am then of opinion, that Chichester is Regnum, the station from whence this iter commences."

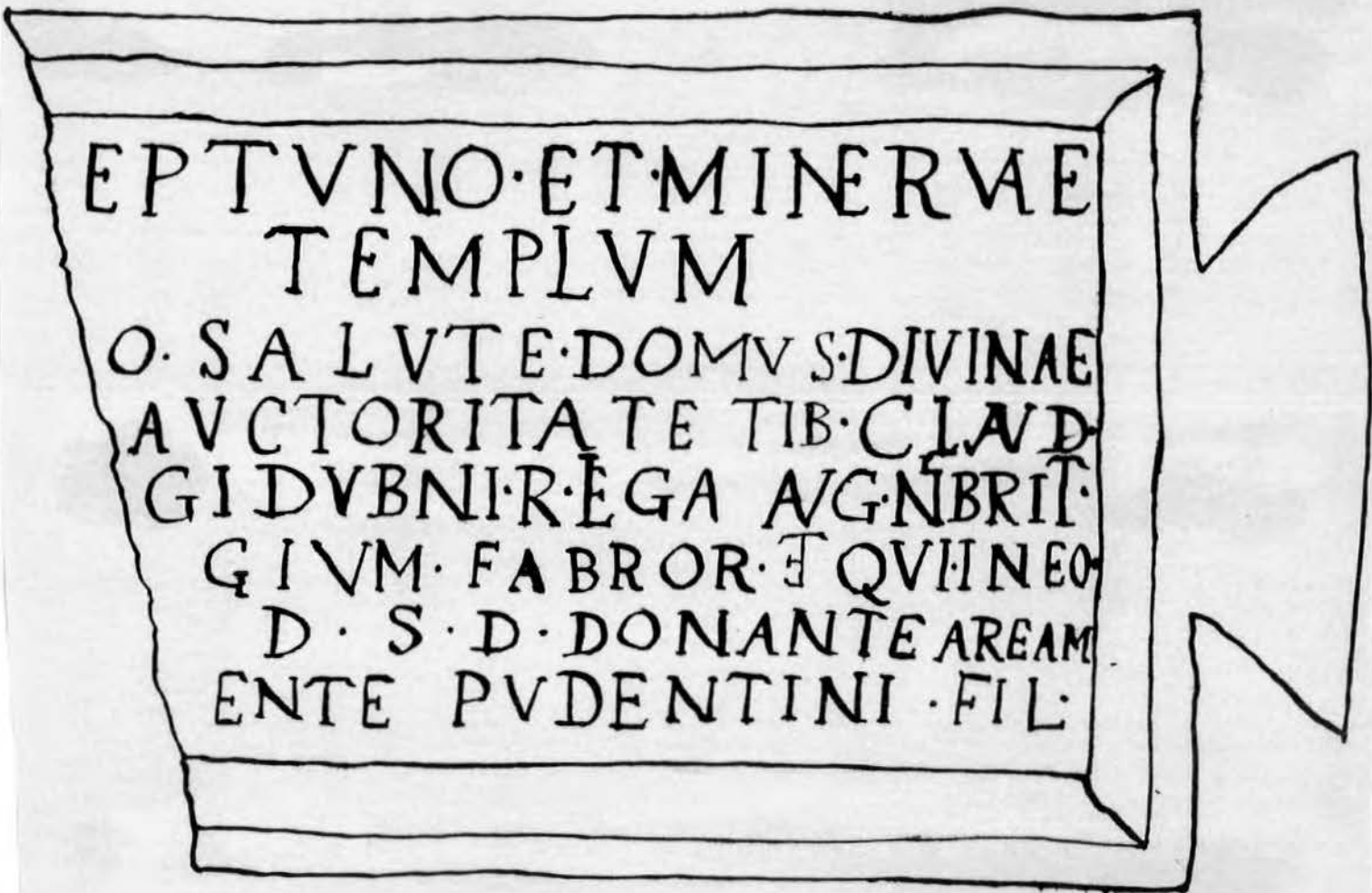
He continues, "This place, I believe, will answer all the demands of the Itinerary relating to Regnum; and I think the regularity and good contrivance of the Roman ways and stations will be better secured upon this hypothesis. Chichester is doubtless situated in the country of the Regni; and the name, together with the Roman antiquities found at it, and some other evidences, have obtained the univereal consent of antiquaries, as to its having been a considerable Roman station or town, and its ancient and present state do farther confirm it. This and its being the utmost station this way, rendered it proper to be a terminus of this iter. And unless this be an Itinerary station, we have not one such in the whole county of Sussex, nor nearer to it than Lemance (Lime) on the one side, and Glaucontum (or perhaps Vindomis) on the other." He then makes this further point, "The military ways that issue out from Chichester are a farther confirmation of this conjecture,

which are Stone Street, and one pointing towards Southampton. A part of this I thought I observed, when I was in that country; and Dr. Stukeley expressly says, 'We found some of the Roman Way upon this ridge, which I suppose went through Fareham and Havant, between Transantun and Caichester, with a vicinal turning out to Portchester, it goes east and west'. This I conclude to be the military way, which must guide us in the beginning of this route, and lead to Claucentum."

Horsley describes the Neptune and Minerva inscription, as a "very curious inscription indeed." He goes on to say that "the learned and ingenious explication of it," by Gale in the Philosophical Transactions (Vol. 32 No. 379) "deserves to be fully transcribed, which I have accordingly done." Also, "I chose to take it from Dr. Stukeley that I might also add the doctor's own remarks." After quoting the whole of Gale's article he concludes by quoting the remarks of a Mr. Ward on the same inscription.

Mr. Ward begins, "Mr. Gale's account of this inscription is so accurate and judicious, that one cannot but wish it was attended with no difficulties." Ward says he finds two main difficulties in Gale's reading.

Firstly, the name "Claudius, together with the title legatus Augusti, here said to be given to King Cogidubnus." He is supposed to have taken the name Claudius, upon his



THE NEPTUNE & MINERVA INSCRIPTION

(From Horsley's *Britannia Romana*).



being Romanized, and adopted into the Glandian family."

"But<sup>4</sup> this was not a complement suitable for foreign princes, nor do I apprehend how it could consistently be made then; for a Roman citizen could not be free of any other foreign state at one and the same time, but was obliged to relinquish one or the other. The mark of respect therefore, which..... was usually paid to other princes, even those who were dependent and tributary, was to style them amici." As to legatus Augusti he says that it does not appear "more suitable to the character of a sovereign prince, of which I believe no instance can be given in the Roman history." Ward refutes the idea that the title was honorary and that he "must have been subject to another, who preceded with the same character at that time in Britain." "That he was a sovereign prince is evident from the words of Tacitus: 'Some states were given to King Cogida(b)nus'!" Over these "he had doubtless a sovereign authority; though at the same time he might be a tributary to the Romans, which was no uncommon case. A sovereign prince therefore and a sublegate are titles, that to me seem scarce compatible." He continued, "Nor can this, as I apprehend, be infered from these words of Tacitus, where he says, this treatment of King Cogidubnus was agreeable to 'an old and long received custom of the Roman state, to make kings their instruments of slavery.'

Tacitus apparently means that the Romans wanted Cogidubnus "to molest his neighbours, and favour their designs against them. They did not want him for a legate, they had another. There were indeed honorary legates among the Romans; but these were merely titular, and invested with no power. Had Cogidubnus therefore submitted to this, the temple could not upon that account be said to have been built ex auctoritate eius." This is Ward's second point.

Ward suggests as a solution to these problems that perhaps a son of Cogidubnus might have become a Roman citizen and have been adopted into the Claudian family, and a grandson might have become legatus Augusti in Britain. As there is a space for three letters at the beginning of the fifth line of the inscription, he suggests the reading N. (nepotis) before Cogidubni, and "some praenomen" in the space before Claudius at the end of the fourth line.

Horaley, however, offers no comment of his own on Mr. Ward's remarks.

Mr. Ward's honest attempt to find an answer to the problem of the king's titles is ingenious, and is of relevance in studying Roman Chichester, but it is very complicated. The most likely explanation is still, that the position of Cogidubnus was unique in the history of the Roman Empire.

The second edition of "Itinerarium Curiosum" by William Stukeley was published in two volumes in 1776.

Stukeley places Noviomagus in Kent somewhere near Crayford, and Regnum he assumes to be Ringwood in Hampshire. Yet he says, "Roman discoveries I could make little; but the name and distances (Antonine Itinerary - Iter VII) seem to establish the matter ...."

He then goes on to describe the Seventh Iter of Antoninus. As to the name of Chichester, Stukeley says that it "appears plainly to have been an eminent and early station: though the journey of Antoninus reaches it not, yet it would be strange if Rovennas should have passed it by, who is very particular in this part of the island." So he then asserts that Mutuantonis is Chichester, because he takes Lavant and Mutuant to be the same words in "the British language." He refers to the Lavant as the river Antona, and regards "Hampnet" as a corruption of Antona. He goes into great detail to show the origin of the word and its meaning. About the Lavant he says, "Dr. Holland in his notes at the bottom of Mr. Camden expressly observes, that this river, though sometimes quite dry, at others, and that very often in the midst of summer, is so full as to run very violently, this no doubt, is owing to its rise in the neighbouring high grounds to the north, for from them it must needs fall with an impetuous torrent."

He goes on " .... or if Mr. Baxter's correction of Mantantonis be thought just, then it signifies the mouth of the river Antona; and Chichester now stands very near its

inlet into the sea, and formerly neaver. What way soever we take it, it seems reasonable to conclude this is the place. Though it was not properly a sea-port town, yet it is plainly near enough for the establishment of the collegium fabrorum here; and the vast plenty of wood from the adjoining forest favoured their work, whether of timber or the forge. Since this inscription (Neptune and Minerva), there was found a Mosaic pavement in Mrs. Downes's garden; and when it was pulled in pieces as usual, a brass coin was discovered under it of Nero and Drusus Caesar, on one side, represented on horseback; on the other C. Caesar Divi Aug. pron. aug. p.m. tr. p. iiiipp. which no doubt was there deposited to show the era of that work."

"A little way out of the city northward, we passed by a Roman camp, called Bril ..."

He says that "we were led to Chichester by the fame of a most ancient inscription lately discovered there, whereof transcripts were handed about, that appeared not exact enough: this has revived the lustre of Chichester; for though the termination of its name, and a Roman road called Stone Street, coming to it, is evidence sufficient of its being a Roman city, yet none has positively affirmed it, because we have not hitherto been able to assign it a name."

"I doubt not but the walls of the present city are built upon the old Roman foundations chiefly." Stukeley gives a

brief description of the city, concluding, "In the middle of North Street was dug up this memorable inscription ... to your (i.e. Gale's) explication of it nothing can be added."

Stukeley quotes Roger Gale's article on the Neptune and Minerva inscription <sup>in full</sup> completely, and includes the same illustration as John Horsley, who probably took it from Stukeley's first edition published in 1724.

Stukeley then adds a section saying that the Pudens who gave the ground "was that Aulus Pudens who married the famous British Lady Claudia Rufina, celebrated for her wit, beauty and eloquence." Thus we see that the romantic interpretation of the Neptune and Minerva inscription arose very soon after its discovery and was spread abroad by no less a person than Dr. Stukeley. He points out that there is room enough in the lost portion for A (for Aulus his praenomen) to be inserted before Pud?/ENS. He discounts the view that Claudia was the daughter of Caratacus and converted by St. Paul; by reason of the date of St. Paul's death and the fact that Martial, a contemporary of Tacitus, wrote two epigrams about her.

Stukeley concludes that she was the daughter of Cogidubnus, receiving the name Claudia in honour of the Emperor Claudius,

as her father had done.

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The year 1804 saw a 'History of Chichester' by the Rev. Alexander Hay published. It is a long work, not always very accurate. He has little respect for the 'Celtae' and 'Belgae', thinking them little better than savages, yet he speaks of the Prehistoric Britons as living in happy innocence and peace. The book is full of such contradictions.

Hay says that Claudius sent Vespasian "into the maritime parts of the country to reduce the inhabitants to subjection," and that Vespasian "fixed his Headquarters at the place now called Chichester."

He goes on "the inhabitants of the Western parts of Sussex were called Regni: what the name of the city was, does not clearly appear." "The site of the Roman camp is plainly to be traced on the Broile near the city, to this day."

"The Roman general made Cogidubnus governor of the Regni and honoured him with the title of King and friend and ally of the Roman people."

As to the Neptune and Minerva inscription which he says was dug up in 1731 and from which it appears that a temple was built on or near the site, in the reign of Claudius, he ~~adds~~ <sup>states</sup> that the inscription is in the Roman character of that time, and that "it is well known that it was not the custom of that people to erect temples in solitary places like the Druids, but in populous cities, and the most frequented

places. From whence it will follow that the Romans did not lay the foundation of the city. But that it was laid before they came hither, and then fully inhabited."

Hay gives the inscription and a translation as a note at the foot of p.17:-

"Neptunę et Minervę templum, pro salute domus divinę, ex auctoritate Cogidubni regis legati Tiberii Claudii Augusti in Britannia, Collegium Fabrorum, et qui in eo e sacris vel honorati sunt, de suo dedicaverunt; donante aream Pudente Pudentii filio."

"The temple of Neptune and Minerva - erected for the health and preservation of the imperial family by the authority of King Cogidubnus, the lieutenant of Tiberius Claudius Augustus in Britain - The company of artificers, with those who were ambitious of the honour of supplying materials, defrayed the expense - Pudens the son of Pudentinus gave the ground."

He then records that the Temple of Neptune and Minerva was built under the auspices of Vespasian, and that Claudius celebrated a naval as well as a military triumph on his return, to Rome. He offers this as a probable explanation for the dedication of the Temple to Neptune.

As regards the "Pudens" reading of the inscription, (which Hay himself puts forward in his note on p.17) he says that the Pudens of the inscription being the Pudens mentioned by St. Paul (II Timothy: 4:21) is not an improbable conjecture.

However, in all fairness to Hay he does close his paragraph with this sentence. "But all these are matters of probable conjecture only, and as such I give them, and not of historical certainty."

"Camden informs us" he continues "that the Cogidubnus mentioned in the inscription was King of the Regni; that is, all Sussex, part of Surrey and Hampshire - that he resided in the city now called Chichester, and that he was called a friend and ally of the Roman people. From whence, as well as from other circumstances, we may surely infer that he was tributary to the court of Rome, and owed obedience to the Emperor. Besides, the inhabitants of this part of the island, (the last emigrants of the Belgae) were a trading people, and could not maintain foreign commerce without the support of, and far less in opposition to the Romans. We may therefore well conclude, that this city, and the whole district of which it was the capital, continued in the hands of that people, till their final departure from Britain A.D. 446."

Throughout the book Hay often repeats points, and in connection with the treatment of the people of the city by the Romans, he is inclined to moralize and look at the excesses of this and later periods of history through puritanical eyes.

He asserts that Chichester was the residence of the propraetor or governor of the province, and that the walls were built during the Roman occupation. On account of his vagueness it is rather difficult to see clearly what he means



by 'governor of the province'. A little further on, however he says, "The residence of the King in Chichester (i.e. The Saxon King, Adelwalch) was on the spot where the Bishop's Palace now stands: which had formerly been the residence of the Roman pro-praetors, or lieutenants, as appears from several coins which were dug up there in 1727, when the Bishop's Palace was rebuilt; at which time also they found a curious pavement which had been laid by the Romans."

After a long section bewailing the decline of the Chichester needle industry, Hay asserts that the Chichester needles factories were set up by the Romans originally.

Speaking of the buildings in Chichester, Hay says "that in the course of a few years it experienced a great and beneficial change, their mean, uncomfortable huts were changed into decent edifices; and the uncultivated inhabitant converted to a respectable member of society, and a denizen of Rome, the mistress of the world, the glory and admiration of the world." Chichester thus, apparently, became "the most opulent and eminent place in the island," quite suddenly! Hay writes that the houses were probably after the Roman model "low and heavy" with very thick walls. He then makes this curious statement. "How partial the Romans were to Chichester, may be inferred from their building here, and nowhere else in Britain a temple to their gods."

As to the Regni, he says, that the Romans shared the

spoils of war with them, protected and extended their trade, taught them the arts and sciences, and transformed their manner of living. Also ~~that~~ while the other peoples of Britain were oppressed the Regni were friends and allies of the Roman People, thus "it is not unreasonable to aver that this place (whatever name it bore) was superior in all respects to every other in Britain."

"There have been found at different times on the old Broile - road, not far from the city, the broken fragments of pipes, made of pottery, of different lengths, the interior diameter about three inches, and having the end of the one inserted into the other ... these are evidently Roman .." Hay suggests that these were used for bringing the water from the springs on the Broile to the city. He thinks that this proves the good quality of the Roman houses.

About the walls he says, "...these they fortified with a strong munition of stone on the outside, raised to the height of about twenty feet; and erected bastions or round towers, about 16 in number at unequal distances. The four gates, with a portcullis to each they built in so strong a manner as to be impregnable to the artillery of that day, and in such a style of elegance and uniformity, that they served as an ornament to the city at the same time." Hay offers no clue as to the date of their erection during the Roman period, but from the run of the narrative it would

appear that he assumed them to have been erected soon after the arrival of the Romans.

Hay concludes that the Roman remains outside the walls at Kingsham (now a southern suburb of the city) formed the country house of the Roman Proprætor. He adds "... the cold bath, there at this day, which is built with Roman bricks, supports this conjecture." He goes on to assert that the lay-out of Chichester has changed little since the time of the Romans. This is still basically so.

In 1731 (whilst digging the foundations of the Council Chamber) Hay says "they found at the depth of nearly three feet, a Roman pavement, reaching as far as they went, about a hundred yards towards St. Martin's square."

Hay then tells us that Earl Roger of Montgomery built a house for himself in the place "now called the Friary" (the present Priory Park). He thinks, however, that it is basically pre-conquest because "... the wall which separates the precinct from the city is built in the same manner, and of like materials as the city walls which are confessedly of Roman fabrication." As to the mount, he says, "That the mount whoever made it, was raised in order to erect a tower or citadel on it is plain; the foundations thereof may be traced all round the top, except the part opposite to the glacis; the mortar, or rather cement is as hard as the stones

themselves. The site, or the situation of the mount, on the very place most proper to defend their lines (the fort without the walls, and joining to the walls on the N.East Corner; the foundation of which still remains) is a satisfactory proof of its being raised by the Romans." It now seems certain that the mound was the motte of the Norman Castle demolished about 1217. His conclusion is that the Roman propraetor, and those connected with the civil department, lived in the S.West quarter of the city, and the military officers were in the North East quarter "in mansions proportioned to their rank and dignity."

"There are in the city" Hay continues "other remains of Roman building besides those in the Friary: Among which I reckon the Canon-Gate, and some of the adjoining building." He asserts that the foundations and "the greatest part of the Superstructure" are Roman, and also that the vaults in South Street (now the Vicar's Hall and Crypt Tea Rooms), the buildings over them "for a considerable way towards the cloisters, including the old concert-room" are Roman. In 1803 some coins were found "among the rubbish dug from under the North walls, inscribed 'dea<sup>a</sup> Faustinae', the goddess of good-fortune ..." He goes on to say that the mortar was very hard, and that the Romans were accustomed to throw coins into foundations of public works.

"On the Broile, near the city, are the vestiges of a camp, about three miles in length, and one mile in breadth.

It is surrounded by a strong rampire inward, and a single graff outward ..." Hay says that the general opinion is that it was built by Vespasian "for the security of the city and the forces under him."

From Hay's detailed and somewhat involved descriptions of "the inner line" and "the outer line" it would appear that he is referring to the remains now known as the "Chichester Entrenchments". He says that these entrenchments encompass an area of seven or eight square miles. He continues, "It is proper to observe that within the inner line, i.e. between it and the city, we discover lines joining to it, and running south and north a considerable way; and in some places the broken traces of others, in an east and west direction, at a moderate distance from the said inner line. From which it would appear, that the Romans had inner camps formed, as places of refuge to retreat to, in case they should be driven from the great camp outwards." After saying that this shows that the Romans had not fully subdued this island he closes with this peculiar sentence, "That such lines did exist is evident from inspection, but by whom they were made does not clearly appear."

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Canon James Dallaway had his 'History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex' published in 1815.

Dallaway in writing of the early history of the British tribes says that the Belgae who had established themselves

here by invasion, "had been joined by the Regni long before the invasion of Julius Caesar, ..." He also asserts that they had been neighbours on the continent.

Dallaway dates the Claudian invasion in 45 A.D. He relates the early campaigns in Britain which gradually <sup>extended</sup> took place further northward after the conquest of the south coast and southern Britain.

He says that Caesar allowed the Britons to keep their own political and religious customs, but Claudius did not allow them such complete freedom. "He gave to Cogidobunus, a British chief, several cities among the Belgae and Regni, out of which he is said to have formed himself a kingdom, and protected him as an ally and friend; but with the restriction, that he should obey the Roman laws and legates. If he were not the original founder of the city of Regnum, there is sufficient evidence that he made it the seat of his regal government, and that a temple rose under his auspices." He concludes this section by saying that the Britons in the south became Romanized some 40 years or so before those in the north.

He places Novio-Magus in Surrey (at Wallington), and thinks it was the capital of the Bibroci. In speaking about Roman Itineraries, he thinks 'a Regno' in the Antonine refers to Chichester and Clausentum to Southampton. He suggests that a reason for going this way to London was that it was impracticable to pass through the Weald. Stone Street is

mentioned as a military way from Regnum to Novio Magus.

"It commences at the east gate of the city of Chichester, and takes a northern direction to West Hamptonet ..." The Broyle earthworks are mentioned only as being similar to those at Highdown Hill.

Roman domestic remains are briefly summarized, including the following; "at Chichester the foundations of a temple; two tessellated floors in 1723; and a bath near Fishbourne, in 1809 ..." These are "ample proof of the former splendour of the Roman province of the Regni."

Concerning the foundation of Chichester, Dallaway says that "we have no account, to which credit can be reasonably given, that the Belgic settlers had founded any town upon the exact site occupied by the modern city of Chichester."

"As a Roman settlement Regnum claims a very early date, having been, in the opinion of accurate antiquaries, the first or second of the military cities founded by them in Britain, when, Claudius determined upon civilizing the country, and annexing it, as a province, to the Roman Empire."

He says that many of the "investigators of our national antiquities" doubted the Roman origin of Chichester, and transferred Regnum to Ringwood in Hampshire as a result.

"In the year 1723, a proof, superior to the previous finding of many Roman coins, occurred in the discovery of the foundations of a building, afterwards ascertained to have

been a temple dedicated to Neptune and Minerva by the company of Roman artificers, in honour of the imperial family."

Dallaway relates the story of the inscriptions<sup>2</sup> discovery and fracture, and that it was found when the council-house was built. He describes the stone and includes a print of it, and, <sup>says</sup> that the learned antiquaries of that day, especially Roger Gale, "have decided from internal evidence, that it is the earliest memorial of the Romans hitherto discovered in any part of Great Britain."

He gives a translation and various comments in footnotes. He names the donor of the site Pudens. "The dedication of this temple (erected by those Fabri, or artificers, who had left Rome, and probably followed Claudius to conduct the building of the new city), to Neptune and Minerva, 'ob salutem Domus Divinae', might possibly have been intended for the safe return of Claudius. It agrees with an inscription preserved in the Barberini Palace, and is confirmed by Suetonius and Tacitus, who describe the expedition of Claudius to Britain. From its date, A.D. 43 to 80 is 37 years, which conjecture, if allowable will fix this marble, originally placed in the front of the temple, in the age of Claudius."

9A Mr. Clarke shows that 'Domus Divinae' was a fairly common expression in the time of Claudius. "Gale's conjectures respecting Pudens and Claudia Rufina, are extremely probable;



and it appears to be nearly certain that the last, as mentioned by Martial was the daughter of Cogidabunus." He concludes this footnote section by saying that "Collegium Fabro<sup>r</sup>um was as ancient at Rome as the reign of Numa Pompilius. It included all workmen concerned in any kind of building ..."

"By this inscription ... the founder of the city of Regnum appears to be identified. Cogi, a British chief, who either having assisted the Romans in repelling the Dobuni, or as having been a native of that province, and its king, obtained from them that name as an adjunct to his own. He was the first who consented to become an ally of Vespasian, when he commanded under the Emperor Claudius in Britain; and he received several of the Belgic districts in reward for his fealty, 'ut inde sibi conderet Regnum', upon which he assumed the title of King."

In a footnote Dallaway suggests that this phrase from Richard of Cirencester could be translated, "that he might found the city of Regnum, as his capital." Civitas, as used by Tacitus, always means a people. Cogi was perhaps princeps Dobunorum, and it is not certainly known how far his territories extended. The word Legatus Caesaris is explained 'qui Caesaribus subditas regebat provincias'." He concludes by saying that the territory he governed by permission of the Romans, included the coasts of Hampshire and Sussex, probably from Chichester, which the Romans called Regnum after the local inhabitants. Dallaway assumes he was still alive in the time

of Agricola, and that the civil and military jurisdiction of the English coasts may have remained in his family until the death of Lucius, the legendary founder of Christianity in Britain.

"In 1809, when a part of the city wall on the south-east was taken down, among its foundations was a square piece of stone, originally oblong, and bearing a sepulchral inscription."



"It would be in vain to conjecture what might have been the praenomen: 'Arius, in the second line, might probably be a part of 'Atriarius', a Roman name, occurring in several inscriptions; as a similar space would be required for VIX. A. or ANN. before the numeral letters LXXXV."

"At the same time was found a fragment of a military

? military

column of granite, but too much obliterated to be deciphered."

"As a sufficient evidence of Roman habitation upon a scale of magnificence, in the year 1727, when the episcopal house was partly rebuilt, several vestiges of rooms with tesserae and coins, were dug up, ... Soon afterward, an apartment 30 feet square was investigated, and so much of the tessellated pavement remained perfect that a drawing was made of it ... In 1811, in digging a cellar in the West Street part of a pavement was found, consisting of a bordure only, of very coarse materials and workmanship. Fragments of Roman tiles and pottery are frequently seen. We have various notices of the discovery of coins within the circuit of the ancient Regnum." From studying the lists of coins found, Dallaway, who has not noticed any of great rarity, gives the duration of Roman rule as from the reign of Nero to that of Tetricus at least, 54-270 A.D. He gives a catalogue of coins found at Chichester in a footnote.

"Appendant to the original city were walls, composed of a mound of earth, externally faced with hewn stone, after the plan invariably pursued by the Romans in all their colonies." Because of the large quantities of Roman materials and fragments in the walls, Dallaway thinks that they are probably not on the site of the Roman ones. He thinks the city was oblong in shape, divided into equal sections by its four gates and streets, "and in each division a public

well was sunk, which still remains in use. Towers were likewise an essential part of Roman castrametation, and the east gate, with its postern, removed in 1773, was decidedly of that style." In a footnote he says that the "camp and earthwork on the Broill, on the north side of the city, and further, on St. Roche's Hill, were all connected with the city as 'castra aestiva'. Dr. Musgrave, in his learned work on the 'Belgae', has given a Roman map, in which he places Vespasian's camp near Regnum, and in this direction."

Dallaway concludes his section on Roman Chichester, :- "It is very probable, during the gradual decline of the Roman power in Britain, and before they had finally determined to abandon it, that Regnum had decreased in extent. At that period, the two capitals of the Regni are shown to have been Anderida and Novio Magus." He clearly never considered the view that Noviomagus and Regnum might be the same place.

Fishbourne: - "In 1812, certain subterraneous remains were found near the great Roman road, which passed through this parish from Regnum to Portus Magnus (Porchester), leading to Southampton. Whether they were of a Lycopcaust or cold bath, is unknown, for the discovery was imperfectly made, and inaccurately reported."

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The Chichester Guide by Richard Dally, published in 1831.

Dally begins by recording that Sussex, Surrey and part of the coast of Hampshire, was "inhabited by people called

Regni and Belgae. The former are said to have been a tribe of ancient Britons, and the Belgae were a people of ancient Gaul ... The Regni continued to possess all Sussex up to the period of the Roman invasion."

"Vespasian, the Roman leader under Claudius, first planted the imperial standard in the Isle of Wight: and it is reasonable to suppose that the contiguous districts soon became subject to the conqueror, ..."

He goes on to say that the Romans by and large left the religion and laws of conquered peoples intact, but if they did make changes it was to "extend the comforts and increase the happiness of life."

"Amongst the British chiefs at the period of the subjugation of the country by Vespasian, was one named Cogi, who in consequence of his having assisted in the conquest of the districts occupied by the Dobuni, a people inhabiting Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire, was named Cogidubnus; and to him Claudius gave, in reward for his services, several cities of the Belgae and Regni, out of which he formed himself a kingdom; but with this restriction that it should be governed by the Roman laws; and this chief is said to have been the founder of the city of Regnum, now called Chichester, and to have made it the seat of his regal government."

He mentions that some antiquarians have doubted whether Chichester be the ancient Regnum, but he says that Richard of

Cirencester applies Regentium to Sussex, "and as it is certain that the Regni occupied Sussex, it is fair to conclude that the Romans, upon their determining to civilize the country, and annex it as a province to the Roman Empire, should form a military settlement at or near Chichester, and designate it 'Regnum'."

Dally says that there is no conclusive evidence as to the state of the city during the Roman occupation, but the houses were probably of timber with thatched roofs. "But the position of the principal streets, as answering to the four cardinal points of the compass and more particularly the materials and fragments of the walls, and the defences of the town by ramparts, formed of mounds or banks of earth, parts of which still remain, and defended by towers long since demolished, are evident marks of Roman origin."

"That the arts were cultivated in the city during its occupation by the Romans, is evident" from the discovery of the Neptune and Minerva inscription in 1723. Dally gives approximately the same reading of the inscription as Hay, but he says that some read line 5 as "Et Cogidubni Regis Legati Tiberii Aug. in Brit.", while others, " 'Regis magni Britannorum' which cannot be maintained." As regards line 7 he says that "one author gives this line thus, 'A.S. sunt D.S.D. Donante Arcam'."

He gives a fairly accurate translation as a footnote

His explanation is rather interesting. "Claudius, on his return to Rome, from his successful expedition to Britain, was decreed a triumph for having conquered the sea, that is, having crossed it from Gaul to Britain. The dedication, therefore, of the temple to Neptune, the god of the sea, and Minerva, the goddess of wisdom for suggesting the conquest, was extremely appropriate on this occasion."

"In digging a cellar, some years ago, in East Street, at the corner of St. Martin's Lane, another stone was found, (The dedicatory inscription to Nero, found 1740) containing the following inscription, the letters being ... beautifully cut." Dally adds in a footnote that it is remarkable that both tablets were found at the corners of streets. The reading given is approximately the same as Haverfield's reconstruction.

Dally continues, "About the same year (1825) in digging a cellar" of a house in North Street adjoining the Little Anchor Inn "and which was probably the corner of the street, a votive altar was discovered, having the following inscription."

He gives the same reading as everyone else for the Lucullus inscription. It is difficult to know what Dally meant by "about the same year," unless he thought that the Nero inscription of 1740 was discovered in about 1822. His explanation of this stone is also rather interesting.

"Lucullus was lieutenant-general of Britain, and contemporary with Agricola, who obtained the government of this country

in the reign of Vespasian, (about the year 47), and on the death of Agricola succeeded him in that office." This explanation is not even remotely correct, as Agricola served Vespasian, Titus and Domitian in Britain from 78-85 A.D., and was then recalled to Rome. Lucullus was governor in the latter part of Domitian's reign. How Dally makes 47 A.D. the reign of Vespasian is impossible to tell unless he mistakenly thought that Vespasian, who was in charge of the South of Britain for Claudius, was then Emperor.

As regards the tombstone found in the wall "near the east entrance of the city," concerning the porter, Dally, after giving the usual reading, adds a conjectural one.

"D. M.

PAULINUS ET

IRIUS

VIX AN. LXXXV.

Sacred to the Gods! Paulinus Attrarius lived 85 years."

He suggests that "the stone was a monumental one of some eminent Roman ... To which is to be added, that the Romans usually interred by the side of a public way, where this monument was located."

"In addition to these facts, tending to show the occupation of the city by the Romans, it appears that when the episcopal house in 1727 was partly rebuilt, several vestiges of rooms



with tesserae and coins were dug up, and a tessellated pavement was found, the latter of which now lying about 20 feet from the south-east angle of the west wing of the house, at a depth of 3 feet, was immediately covered over with turf." The coins (a list is given at the foot of the page, which he states is incomplete) "have also been found within the circuit of the ancient Regnum."

After a few sentences and a large footnote about the coming of Christianity to Roman Britain, Dally says that the dynasty of British tributary princes ended in 165 A.D. with Lucius "the legendary founder of Christianity in Britain."

He concludes this chapter, "From this period (presumably 165 A.D.) to the departure of the Romans from Britain ... the history of Chichester offers no features to distinguish it from the rest of the community."

About the Canon Gate, Dally has this to say. "The Gateway is considered by some as of Roman origin. I do not consider it as of so early a date."

He adds a little more information about the Bishop's Palace in a later chapter. "From the discovery of a Roman pavement and coins, in repairing the buildings, it appears to have been erected upon the scite of a Roman Villa."

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Thomas Walker Horsfield had his two volume book, 'The History, Antiquities and Topography of the County of Sussex' published in 1835.

Horsfield states that when Caesar first decided to invade Britain (55 B.C.) "the southern parts of the island were inhabited by the Regni, - a tribe of Germans, which had originated from the continent about the same period as the Belgae," ~~He continues that~~ They had been neighbours and rivals on the continent and continued to be so here. He continues that Claudius, "gave to Cogidubnus, a British prince, several cities among the Belgae and Regni, and regarded him as a friend and ally of the Roman people."

He begins the section on Chichester by saying that, "Regnum ... is considered ... as the first or second of the military cities founded by the Romans in Britain." He mentions the discovery of the Neptune and Minerva inscription and the foundations of the temple in 1723 as proving this conjecture. He gives a fairly accurate reading and translation of the inscription, except that he gives the name Pudens to the donor of the site.

"The Cogidubnus mentioned in the inscription, was a British chief, named Cogi, who having assisted the Romans in the conquest of the districts occupied by the Dobuni, received from them that name as an adjunct to his own. To this prince, in reward for his services, Claudius gave several Belgic districts, ut inde sibi conderet Regnum."

"A few years after the above interesting discovery, viz., in 1727, when the episcopal palace was partly rebuilt,

several vestiges of rooms with tesserae and coins were dug up. One room was 30 feet square, having a tessellated pavement. In 1811, part of a pavement was found in West Street, consisting of a bordure of coarse materials and workmanship. Fragments of Roman tiles and pottery were frequently exposed, and numerous coins have been discovered within the circuit of the ancient Regnum. Within the walls of the cathedral, at the west end of the south aisle ... in 1830 a grave was opened, when there were found many tesserae and other indications of Roman occupancy."

Horsfield gives the reading, a conjectural reading and a translation of the grave stone found in 1809 near East Gate, mentioning the 85 years old man. He infers that it concerns a distinguished Roman.

He then gives the texts of the dedicatory inscription to Nero and the Lucullus inscription, which he has taken from Dally's Chichester Guide. About the Nero inscription he says that the letters are carved "with singular correctness and beauty, and of the same size as on the inscription to Neptune and Minerva. It is clearly but a few years posterior to that monument ... and affords additional confirmation as to the Roman origin of Chichester."

He says that Lucullus was proprætor of Britain after the recall of Agricola, and <sup>was</sup> ~~to have been~~ put to death by Domitian for allowing a spear he had invented to be called

the Lucullean Spear.

Horsfield dates the discovery of both these inscriptions to about 1823.

He mentions that the East Gate was supposedly of Roman origin and looked remarkably like the Newport at Lincoln.

About the entrenchments he says that, "after the city of Regnum had been established by the Romans, it required additional fortifications towards the north, where the range of Downs protected the Weald country, to which the native Britons had retired, and from whence they frequently made predatory excursions. These entrenchments connected with the city were necessary for its defence, and were occupied during the summer as castra aestiva, by the Roman garrison."

Horsfield states clearly that the site of Regnum is Chichester, and that Cogidubnus was king of the Regni. In the description of the city, he says that the cemetery of St. Pancras "was undoubtedly used as a Roman burial ground, which were always placed near the roadside," St. Pancras cemetery being on the site of the Roman road.

Fishbourne:- "In 1812 certain remains of a Roman bath with tessellated pavement, were found near the great Roman road" from Regnum to Southampton. "From other Roman remains, fragments of Roman brick, Roman coins, and other articles of that description, found in this parish, and from its being so very contiguous to the capital of the Regni, there can be

no doubt that the Roman patricians and chiefs had villas in this neighbourhood, which time will some day bring to light." It is only the last few years that have proved Horsfield's deductions right.

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In 1839 William Hayley Mason published his book, Goodwood its House, Park and Grounds etc..

He mentions the temple erected in the grounds for the Neptune and Minerva inscription. He says it is one of the earliest Roman inscriptions in England, but he gives the date of its discovery as 1731 when the foundations for the Council Chamber were dug. He gives a print of the stone and a restored reading and translation, much as is now generally accepted, except that he gives the name of the donor of the site as Pudens. He also mentions that two stone walls 3 feet thick and 4 feet below the surface were found at the same time, "probably part of the Temple to which this stone relates."

Mason also says that Chichester was a Roman Station, and that its walls are on the site of the Roman ones, and that the city's plan, "with but little alteration, remains exactly as it was when they had possession of Britain."

He also adds that "Tacitus tells us several cities were given to King Cogidubnus after the success of Aulus Plautius and Ostorius Scapula under Claudius for his fidelity to the Romans; and according to the Roman custom he here takes the name of his patron, and styles himself Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus King and Legate of the Emperor in Britain. By

his order a college or company of artists or mechanics like those on Vitalis's epitaph at Bath under which denomination were included several sorts of workmen together, dedicated this spot to Neptune and Minerva, the one the sovereign of the sea, which perhaps came up to the walls of the station, the other the patroness of arts."

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In 1853 The Archaeological Institute held its Annual meeting at Chichester. The following is a resumé of the papers read and the articles exhibited which are concerned with Roman Chichester.

Wednesday July 13th.

Mr. Mills, the Curator of the Museum of the Chichester Philosophical Society, read a paper on the Neptune and Minerva Stone (then at Goodwood), now outside the Council Chamber. In 1723, April, a stone was discovered in digging the foundations of the Council Chamber in the city. He says that it lay about 4 feet under, face upwards and somewhat damaged by the labourers in their efforts to raise it. Also that several letters were defaced and the disinterred portion was broken into four pieces, and that a portion was still wanting. It is stated that this portion is under the adjoining house.

The stone he said is six feet by two and three quarter feet, with letters three inches high. These letters are carefully cut and formed with unusual precision. He pointed out that Roger Gale gave a long account at the time of the discovery. (Philosophical Transactions 1723 Vo.32 No.379).

Gale's reading of the inscription, supplying the defective portions was as follows:-

'Neptunæ et Minervæ templum pro solute domus Æivinae ex auctoritate Tiberii Claudii Cogidubni Regis legati Augusti in Britannia collegium fabrorum et qui in eo a sacris (or honorati) sunt, de suo dedicaverunt, donante aream Pudenti Pudentini filio.'

This valuable inscription has been noticed by various writers who have proposed readings differing from that suggested by Gale. The inscription as given by Dr. Bailey (Preface to Hearne's *Adam de Domerham*, p. XXXVII) differs much from the above. Some have given the conjectural reading "...et Cogidubni Regis legati Tiberii Augusti in Britannia..." Others propose... 'Regis Magni Brittanorum'.

In the memoir in the *Philosophical Transactions* above cited it is said to be cut upon a "grey Sussex marble", an assertion which has been followed by Gough and other writers. It has been adduced as a proof that the Sussex marble was known to the Romans; and amongst others the late Dr. Mantell in his '*Geology of the South East of England*', speaking of Sussex marble, asserts that "there is historical proof of its having been known to the Romans".

In Richardson's *Geology* likewise (Edition II) it is affirmed that "a highly interesting proof of its employment by the Romans was afforded whilst digging the foundation of

the present Council Chamber at Chichester, 1723; the workmen discovered a slab of 'grey Sussex marble' which bore an inscription."

In the Sussex Archaeological Collections (Vol. II p. 63) the Rev. E. Turner observes that "one remarkable instance of this stone having been used by the Romans exists in the well-known slab inscribed to Neptune and Minerva." That the Sussex marble was known to the Romans is very probable, but this stone is erroneously cited as a proof of the fact, since on a careful examination it will be found to be Purbeck and not Sussex marble.

When restored with Sussex marble (i.e. the lost portion) it is obvious that the two materials are different. Thus authors have been led astray, and the need for thorough examination of originals is emphasized.

Monday July 18th.

The Rev. E. R. Perkins read a memoir on the probable origin of different Ancient names of Chichester. Unfortunately it appears that the Institute did not print a copy of this paper in their report.

Many Roman articles were exhibited during the Institute's visit in the temporary museum, including the following connected with Chichester.

(1) Several Roman urns and 'reliques' found at various times in Chichester.



Exhibited by Chichester Philosophical Society and  
Mechanics' Institute.

The most remarkable of them was a bottle of brown ware,  
with white ornaments in "slip"; of the pottery made near  
Fordingbridge in the New Forest. It is figured in the  
Journal of the Archaeological Association Vol. IV: p.158:

(Compare, Archaeologia Vol. XXXV, plate 3, fig.I.)

(2) Roman Pottery; found in East Street, in digging the  
foundations for Mr. Mason's house; fragments of "Samian"  
Ware, embossed with figures, and plain; also portions of  
coarse Romano-British ware, some of which were rudely  
ornamented in an unusual manner with rows of round impressed  
markings between parallel bands. Roman tessellated pavement  
extends under a great part of the adjacent churchyard and  
church of St. Andrew; and also in Mr. Mason's garden at a  
depth of four or five feet.

Exhibited by Mr. W. Hayley Mason.

(3) Roman pottery; portions of Samian and other wares dis-  
covered in Chichester Cathedral in forming a vault.

Exhibited by Mr. Joseph Butler.

(4) Portion of a fine Samian bowl with ornaments in low  
relief. It was found on the north side of Chichester;  
and was formerly in the possession of Mr. King of Chichester,  
the antiquary.

A Samian cup and patera, a jug of white ware and other

Roman pottery found at Chichester.

Exhibited by Mr. N. Elliot.

(5) Two earthen vessels, found in 1851, embedded in the wall of St. Olave's Church, Chichester, placed over the arch of the east window, on their sides the mouths facing inwards towards the church.... They are of coarse red ware and were probably formed to serve as cooking pots, the bottom having considerable convexity, so as to bed well amongst the hot ashes. This curious discovery is described by the Rev. P. Freeman (S.A.C. Vol.V.p.223); he supposed them to be Roman, but the ware has no resemblance to that of Roman times. Large wall-tiles were found in the masonry, which gave probability to the supposition...

Exhibited by Mr. Inkson, Church warden of St. Olave's.

(6) Unpublished engraving, representing the remains of one of the Roman gates of Chichester (Regnum), from a sketch in the Burrell Collections.

Also an unpublished etching, three Roman inscriptions found at Chichester: one of them, found in a cellar in East Street, at the corner of St. Martin's Lane, is a tablet dedicated to Nero; another, found in 1823 in North Street, is the lower portion of an altar dedicated by Lucullus, son of Amminus; the third is a votive tablet to Jupiter, dedicated by C. Sallustius Lucullus, propraetor

of Britain after the recall of Agricola, "pro salute Imp. Caes. Domitiani Aug."

Exhibited by The Rev. B.R. Perkins.

The Rev. H.E.C. Walcott had his book the "Memorials of Chichester" published in 1865. Of Chichester, "Roman Regnum" he says that "the streets follow the lines of a Roman camp."

"Vespasian fixed his headquarters here in 47 A.D: and a native prince, a tributary of the emperor, resided in the town."

He mentions the Neptune and Minerva stone dug up in 1723, "bearing the name of Pudens, who is supposed to be the same person who is mentioned by St. Paul" (A picture of the inscription is opposite p.2.) "The Proprætor's House occupied the site of the Bishop's Palace." He also mentions a Roman road to Halnaker from the East Gate. "From the fragments of earthenware pipes found on the spot, water, to supplement the limited supply afforded by the intermittent stream of the Lavant, is supposed to have been brought for the supply of the town from the Broyle (bruillum, a bumpy place), which formed probably the Roman summercamp or outwork."

Later on when describing the Bishop's Palace he again says that it is on the site of a Roman villa.

With regard to Roman Chichester, Walcott displays a rather uncritical approach to his material.

1870 saw the publication of a "History of Sussex" by Mark A. Lower, who has little to say about Roman Chichester except that he supports the 'Pudens' story in connection with the Neptune and Minerva stone.

Opuscula - a collection of papers by G. Roach Smith dated between 1870 and 1887.

(i) The Roman Road from London to Chichester, 1877.

Quoting a Mr. Martin, Roach Smith says, "He concludes that the road was of early date, and made for military purposes only, a theory not to be supported." He gives Noviosagus a position near Epsom.

"Chichester stands alone, and far remote, in the south of Roman Britain, from the great road and its towns from Dover and Lympne to London on the east; and from that by Bittern (Clausentum) and Winchester on the west. It is generally accepted as the Regnum of the seventh Iter of Antoninus, which was evidently prepared to take in this Regnum as a place of importance, and thus the Iter starts from it. Although the distance to the first station, unquestionably Bittern, does not accord with the actual measurement, yet there is no other place, to substitute, for Camden and Gale's 'Ringwood' has none of the remains which invariably survive to determine the sites of all the starting-places in the Itinerary; while Chichester, in its large extent and in its inscriptions, must rank with the

chief towns in Roman Britain. Its walls...I feel convinced that in their entire circuit they are engrafted upon the core of the Roman..."

He saw "a bastion in the south wall near the East Gate, in a fine state of preservation, although beyond it the wall is obscured by buildings." He mentions sepulchral inscriptions cut upon stones which had previously formed part of a public building. "Other worked stones of magnitude, which had belonged to edifices of importance, have also been found. The well known dedicatory inscription of the Temple of Neptune and Minerva, one of the most valuable historical inscriptions of Roman Britain, would of itself show the importance of the town. It has by chance survived in a fractured state the destruction of, no doubt, hundreds of lapidary records more or less valuable."

He concludes by saying that a Mr. J. Harris believes that he has discovered the site of an amphitheatre and possibly that of a theatre also in the fields on the south-east of the town. "Excavations alone can determine the question."

(ii) Roman Chichester. 1887.

"Chichester, without doubt, represents the Regnum of the seventh Iter of Antoninus, although the distance to the next station, Clausentum, Bittern, is some 10 miles short of the actual mileage." Ringwood is dismissed because

it was not walled and "the first and last stations of every Iter were walled towns." Roach Smith thinks Regnum a doubtful form for the name of the capital of the Regni. He then discusses how Chichester got its name in some detail.

"We have seen an interesting revelation of the foundation of a bastion in the southern wall of Chichester, showing, as we believed would be shown, Roman work of the most substantial kind, with the facing stones intact so far as they had been concealed by earth accumulated to the height of 4 or 5 feet." He mentions the bastion near the East Gate, which he describes as "quite perfect", and the detached core of a bastion on the north wall. "The facing is of small squared stones with courses of bonding-tiles common to most of the walls of Roman towns in the south and midland counties... The facing stones in the walls of Chichester have been so completely abstracted throughout the greater part of their wide extent, and so replaced by medieval reparations, that superficial observers have failed to understand them..."

Roach Smith then passes on to the inscriptions. He deals first with the Neptune and Minerva inscription. He quotes Roger Gale at some length, and gives an amended reading, with the name of the donor as Pudens. He says that the dedication to Neptune was on account of the main approach to Regnum being by sea.

Roach Smith quotes Tacitus in connection with the names and titles of Cogidubnus. "The boundary of the territory assigned to Cogidubnus extended to the coast on the south, and on the north it is probable it is in part indicated by the long foss and rampart on the N.E. and N.W. of Chichester..."

He thinks Collegium Fabrorum refers to metal workers, because of the number of iron works in Sussex worked from an apparently early date.

As far as connecting Pudens with Martial and St. Paul is concerned Roach Smith dismisses the matter "as not worth discussing."

"In excavating in 1832 on the east side of North Street, between the spot where this inscribed slab was found and the Cross, an altar was dug up. It was dedicated to the Genius Loci by Lucullus, the son of Aemilius, a civilian whose house and ground stood in a line with the temple to Neptune and Minerva. Altars to this topical and household deity are extremely numerous..."

Roach Smith goes on to mention the dedicatory inscription to Nero, and also a votive tablet to Jupiter, dedicated by C. Sallustius Lucullus, Propractor of Britain after the recall of Agricola. Concerning the Nero inscription he says that it is interesting "as tending to confirm or support evidences of the peaceful condition of the south of Britain

when the eastern part was in rebellion..." He alludes to the fact of the stone's being very early.

He admits being somewhat suspicious about the Sallustius Lucullus inscription because of its historical importance and the lack of circumstantial evidence.

This inscription was attributed to Chichester by the Rev. B.R. Perkins. It runs:-

I.O.M.

PRO SALUTE

IMP. CAES. DOMITIANI

AUG.

C. SALLUSTIUS LUCULLUS

LEG. AUG.

PR. PR. PROV. BRITANNIAE

POSUIT

V.S.L.M.

This inscription was collected by a Samuel Woodford of Wadham College, Oxford, about 1658.

Roach Smith says that the two imperfect funereal inscriptions are "unimportant in themselves, but valuable in relation to the stones upon which they appear. They were found in 1833 in South Street... It would appear that these stones had originally been used in some public building; afterwards adapted for sepulchral uses... and subsequently again used for building purposes. Such



changes are not uncommon in Roman towns, pointing to periods of destruction and renovation."

"There is one more stone, fragmentary, about two feet square, kindly exhibited by the Bishop, which belongs to the sepulchral class. It was found in his garden, having doubtless been used there in some public building. It has contained at least 4 lines, of which only traces of 3 remain:

. . . . . RIAM

. . . NUMA'T

. . . . .

. . . X . . . .

And further, the Bishop exhibited to us a mutilated head in marble, of life, or rather heroic, size, which it was suggested might have been of Neptune. Its being in marble makes its discovery at Chichester suspected."

Roach Smith concludes by mentioning a hoard of small brass coins lately excavated in Chichester.

(iii) A paper on Roman Rochester and Roman Chichester.

In this Roach Smith repeats what he said in his paper on Roman Chichester.

In 1898 a History of Chichester by Adolphus Ballard was published.

In his introductory chapter on Regnum, Ballard says that Vespasian probably conquered the Regni, taking their capital Regnum. He says, quoting Richard of Cirencester,

that the gift of cities and territory to Cogidubnus, was made in 48 A.D., and that they had originally belonged to the Belgae.

Concerning the inscription, of which he gives a translation, he says that it was found in 1723 and must have been erected before the close of the first century. Also the town must have been of some importance, as the Smiths had incorporated themselves into a guild.

Ballard gives a full account of the Pudens legend but considers it highly improbable.

He continues, "Evidence of its (Chichester's) Roman origin is to be found in the disposition of the four principal streets...the East Gate, which was not pulled down until 1783, is said to have been Roman work...."

"In addition to the inscribed stone already mentioned, other inscriptions have been found at the corner of St. Martin's Lane and East Street and in the wall near the East Gate, while tessellated pavements have been found under St. Andrew's Church, and under....a house in East Street, and also in the grounds of the Bishop's Palace and under the piers of the spire and reredos in the Cathedral. A votive altar" was found in the cellar of the Little Anchor in North Street near the Cross (The Lucullus inscription); while adjoining the temple of Neptune and Minerva was found a pavement running along Lion Street for about 100 yards.

Ballard assumes the Entrenchments to have been Roman. He mentions two Roman roads as passing through Chichester. The main road from Winchester and Porchester to Pevensey and Richborough, and Stone Street, which started at Bracklesham Bay and went to London.

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Chichester Past and Present by J. Low Warren, published in 1901.

He assumes that an important settlement existed on the site of Chichester before the Romans came, and that they called it Regnum when they founded it. Proof of Roman foundations is shown by pottery, coins, ornaments, "and variously designed weapons." He mentions finds in the vicinity of Northgate and the Corporation Market, and when drainage excavations were taking place but does not say what they were. He also implies that Chichester was a "fortified urbs" from the beginning of the Roman occupation.

The Neptune and Minerva inscription, the discovery of which he places in 1723, he says, proves that Romans not only lived here, but also erected different kinds of buildings. He assumes that the walls discovered at the same time as the stone were those of the temple. Warren gives a fairly accurate reading and translation of the inscription, except that he too calls the donor of the site Pudens. He says that Claudius was decreed a triumph on his return to Rome for having conquered the sea, so the dedication of

the temple "to Neptune (the god of the sea), and Minerva (the goddess of wisdom) for suggesting the conquest was at least appropriate on this occasion."

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Selsey Bill: Historic and Prehistoric by Edward Heron-Allen, published in 1911.

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In mentioning the "Cogidubnus stone", which he says was found in 1723, Allen again makes the point that it is one of the most important discoveries, because it is one of "the very few Romano-British inscriptions that can be ascribed with certainty to the first century of our era."

Yet Allen falls for the legend, and gives the name of the donor of the site as Pudens, who married the daughter of Cogidubnus, and was mentioned by Martial. He leaves open the question of whether or not this man was the Pudens mentioned by St. Paul, giving some views of each side.

"During 1910, during the cutting of the branch railway line under the Broyle Road, not far from Chichester Barracks, a most important discovery was made of British hut-circles, showing signs of Roman occupation...." These hut-circles or fire places "yielded masses of broken pottery of both British, Romano-British, and Roman manufacture...."

Quantities of Roman roofing tiles (plain and comb-patterned) many of them flanged, found at Dell Quay, lead Mr. Allen to suggest that there was a Roman villa there.

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The Roman Era in Britain by John Ward was first published in 1911.

It is a general work covering the whole of the Roman occupation of Britain. Apart from an occasional passing reference to Chichester nothing detailed is included.

In 1920 W. Victor Cook published his "Story of Sussex". This work is rather a romantic presentation.

He begins his chapter on Chichester thus "....the 'Regni' tribe of Belgae as the Romans called the natives who inhabited Sussex, seem to have had one of their chief settlements at the place which the Romans named Regnum and which we now know as Chichester."

He continues that Regnum seems likely to have been the first or second of the military cities which the conquerors founded in Britain. "Under the name of Regnum (Chichester being Saxon) it became the centre of a district inhabited by a tribe known to the Romans as the Regni, and a British prince, named Cogidubnus, who seems to have given valuable help to the invaders in their conquest of the valley of the Thames, was given the regency of the province."

He mentions the finding of the Neptune and Minerva stone in 1725, and gives the following translation:- "The college of artificers, and they who preside over sacred rites or hold office there, by the authority of King Cogidubnus, legate of Tiberius Claudius Augustus in Britain

dedicated this temple to Neptune and Minerva for the welfare of the Imperial Family, Pudens, son of Pudentinus giving the ground." He says that part of the stone was left under the adjoining house.

He continues:- "It has been suggested that the 'Collegium Fabrorum' was probably a company of Smiths or shipwrights of Chichester, who would naturally regard Neptune and Minerva as their special patrons. It has also been suggested, though upon what grounds of probability I do not know, that the Pudens, son of Pudentinus may have been a British Christian, a disciple of St. Paul referred to in the closing words of the great missionary's second Epistle to Timothy."

He points out that the foundation walls of the ancient temple, running North and East and three feet thick, were discovered at the same time as the inscription.

He says that the Roman fortifications of Chichester were particularly extensive on the north of the city, "a reason given for this is that they were aimed at protecting it from raids by the Britons, who, at any rate in the early stages in the conquest, had probably retired in large numbers to the hills and impenetrable forests of the weald, whence they might as occasion served take advantage of any laxity on the part of the invaders."

He also tells us that Stone Street ran in a straight line to London from the Eastern gateway of Roman Regnum,

passing the spot where the Romano-British citizens are believed to have had their cemetery.

Before closing his chapter on Chichester by telling of the sacking and burning of the city and the flight of the inhabitants, Cook says:- "Regnum, that strong city of the Romans seems to have held its own for more than half a century after the Roman soldiery had gone."

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The Roman Occupation of Britain by F. Haverfield was published in 1924.

Only one sentence bears any real reference to Chichester, and that is of a very general nature. "Chichester, once capital of the Regni, possesses many traces of its Roman period, including inscriptions, the core of its Roman walls, fragments of buildings, and abundance of pottery and other debris of life."

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The Records of Chichester by T.G. Willis was published in 1928.

In his treatment of the city's history Willis includes large extracts from Horsfield, Dally, Walcott and Spershott. On pages 16-17 he has a drawing of the Neptune and Minerva inscription, and a print of the words of the Nero and Lucullus inscriptions. He concludes these copies by saying that "Several of the houses in East Street, between the North Fallant and The Cross, have Roman vaulted sub-structions."

Willis does include three sets of extracts from books or lectures by people other than those mentioned above, which

have a bearing on the study of Roman Chichester.

(i) The Visitors' Hand-book to Chichester, by Charles W. Crocker, published in 1866.

"Under the rule of the Romans it assumed the name of Regnum," thus it implies a pre-conquest settlement on the site of Chichester. "Many testimonies of the occupation of that people have been found in the city and neighbourhood, and coins of that date are constantly being discovered here." He assumes that the entrenchments are the remains of a Roman summer's camp. "Many inscribed stones of this date have, from time to time, been discovered, with scraps of tessellated pavement."

He speaks of a votive altar, found in North Street, and he assumes that the Lucullus mentioned on it, is the successor of Agricola "in the government of the kingdom."

"Many other Roman remains could be mentioned, but it must suffice to say that there is good reason to suppose that a Roman Villa stood near the spot now occupied by the Episcopal Palace; and that even in digging the present foundations for the new spire of the Cathedral, fragments of tessellated pavement were discovered near the old foundations."

(ii) In 1910 a book was published, which had been written by Edwin Wilmschurst, on the Neptune and Minerva inscription. It was entitled "St. Paul and Britain: Notes on the Dedication Stone of the Temple of Neptune and



Minerva, at Chichester, which connects the Roman Senator Pudens, the British Princess Claudia, and St. Paul, with the city of Chichester."

This book states the old story about Pudens and Claudia in Martial's Epigram and in II Timothy c.4. v.21, in an expanded and more romantic form than previously, connecting them with Roman aristocrats, British princes and saints. Wilmshurst quotes Archbishop Ussher, Cardinal Wiseman and many other clerics in proof of his deductions. He asserts that, "The preceding statements are extracted from writings and documents which are accessible to any reader....", he then goes on to say that what follows comes from unpublished sources, including "a very old and secret tradition."

Here he assumes Pudens to be St. Paul's half-brother, through his mother's marriage to Pudentinus, and thus he explains. Romans c.16 v.13. He also assumes (following Eusebius), that St. Paul planted Christianity in Britain, but that it is unlikely that he met Pudens in Britain, travelling here after he had been freed by Nero in 58 A.D. He points out that near Bosham there was a place called Paul's Wharf, "the traditional landing place of the Apostle ....Chichester was then (about 60 A.D.) a most likely landing place for St. Paul, who had many connections with Roman officers.... Thus it is highly probable that....

St. Paul trod the streets of Chichester."

Without minimizing the damage which can be done by such fanciful, romantic story-telling it must, I think, be admitted that Wilmshurst's marshalling and compiling of his facts is ingenious.

(iii) In 1914 Mr. O.N. Wyatt delivered a lecture before the students of Bishop Otter's College and the Y.M.C.A. on his personal recollections of Chichester.

"The foundation of Chichester was laid some years before the Romans came to England.... About the year 45 or 46 of the present era, Claudius, the Roman Emperor, sent generals and soldiers into Britain, and later Vespasian fixed his headquarters at the place now called Chichester, but by the Romans, Regnum. When the Romans left Britain....they left behind them many traces of their occupation, some of which remain to this present day, one being the stone dug up in 1723, with an inscription in Latin, from which it appears that a temple was built near the site of the present Council Chamber on ground given by one Pudens, and dedicated to Neptune and Minerva, in the reign of Claudius the Roman Emperor.... Another trace of the Roman occupation is a Roman bath in the garden at Kingsham Farm, in good preservation."

"As Chichester was the Regnum of the Romans and a fortified town, there is little doubt that the foundations

of the present walls were laid in their time, and as they were a most civilized nation, a water supply was necessary, and for this purpose they laid a conduit from a spring arising just above the Bishop Otter College, through land now Oaklands Park, into the city; this conduit is still in existence, though it is not now used for supplying water."

"The Bishop's Palace was built on the site of the Saxon King's residence which had formerly been the residence of the Roman Proprætors."

"The walls were first built by the Romans, fortified with stone on the outside and raised to a height of about 20 feet and were about 7 feet 6 inches to 14 feet wide. They erected bastions or round towers, about 16 in number, at unequal distances. There were four gates, with a portcullis to each."

"The streets were no doubt laid out in their present formation by the Romans."

Wyatt records Edwin Wilmshurst as writing that, "Some of the houses in the East Street between the North Pallant and the Cross are built on arches of Roman construction, which are under the present cellars...."

In 1935 the third volume of the Victoria County History of Sussex was published. It is a very detailed work and covers Roman Chichester as thoroughly as was then possible.

The introduction to the section on Roman Chichester

asserts that the town of Regnum is beyond doubt the earliest Roman settlement in the county. As there was good arable land around the town, corn was probably shipped from the harbours at Chichester. There is nothing to show how life was lived in Regnum after 410. A.D., though a coin of Valentinian III (425-455) may suggest continuity. It seems appropriate to insert at this point a view held by some present experts as to the continuity of life at Regnum. They think that Chichester may have had a larger population at the end of the Roman period than during the zenith of town-life in Roman Britain. The reason for this is that the local farmers seem to have moved into the town to live, because of the danger outside, while still working in the fields during the day. About the only possible reason for such a course of action would be the Saxon raids, which were increasing in intensity at this period. Moreover Chichester harbour offered a fairly safe anchorage for bands of marauding Saxons, from which they could plunder the lowland zone between the downs and the sea with relative impunity.

[who?]

Concerning the ancient name of Chichester, little is said, apart from a resumé of the views of Haverfield and others. Haverfield suggested that the Regnum of the Antonine Itinerary and the Noviomagus of Ptolemy were the same place, "let us say Noviomagus Regnensium". Roach-Smith points out that the Antonine Itinerary gives the distance from Regnum (Chichester) to

Claudentum (Bitterne) as twenty miles, whereas it is thirty miles. There seem to be two possible ways of explaining this.

(i) A scribal error of XX for XXX.

(ii) The distance is measured from the boundary of the territory of the Regnenses, (which was probably at Havant) thus it is twenty miles.

Haverfield also suggested that Regnum might well be Celtic or an adaptation of some description of the "protected" state of Cogidubnus which Romans would naturally call "regnum". Dallaway says, and Haverfield agreed with him, that the town declined after 270 A.D., but coins and pottery take us from the beginning to well into the fourth century, and the coins still later.

After the general introduction the site is discussed in great detail under various topics.

Firstly the Walls and Gates are discussed.

The walls as they stand now are medieval on Roman foundations. The Roman city was an "eleven sided polygon of about 101 acres (like Silchester, - walled Verulamium was twice the size). The circuit of the walls is 1 (one) mile 810 (eight hundred and ten) yards. "Lines of wall of the same measurements (450 feet) running both north and south of the West Gate, suggest that a beginning was made on this side, the rest of the circuit being fitted to existing houses, and to the course of the Lavant stream on the east, south-east, and south-west sides. Outside the South Gate

there must have been a bridge over the Lavant; along the south-west sides the walls are about 30 yards away from the stream."

The Streets, north to south and east to west were probably straight at first. "The smaller modern streets, though they offer <sup>little</sup> evidence of Roman town-planning with 'insulae', do not contradict the idea. It is obvious that the town was laid out on the usual rectangular plan from the centre, space for a forum being allowed near the middle crossing: and the 'insulae' would develop along the four cardinal roads."

The Gates were taken down between 1772 and 1783, but it is uncertain, despite Dallaway and others, if there was any Roman work in them.

It is certain that Regnum had walls in the Roman period, but little is known of them. Dallaway speaks of large quantities of Roman material in the walls, and states that part of the wall on the south-east side of the city was taken down in 1809.

An inscribed stone and a fragment of a milestone (apparently with no inscription) were discovered 'among the foundations', as Dallaway puts it. These discoveries may have been where the city wall was pulled down to build a house which crosses its line. If the 'foundations' were Roman work in situ, the inscribed stone and milestone were reused material, which would indicate that the Roman wall here was either built at a late date or hastily repaired.

The Roman (like the present walls) may have been backed by an earthen bank. It is also possible that an original vallum was revetted with later walls of stone and flint.

It has been proved that the Roman walls had bastions, as is seen from a description of excavations in 1885 on the Mediaeval bastion opposite the Residentiary's Garden on the south of the city. "Underlying it were the remains of a larger Roman bastion consisting of foundations of rammed chalk and flint, on which lay a rectangular base of two courses of dressed Fulborough sandstone, the upper course set back, the wide joints being of pink Roman mortar. On the base stood the rubble bastion, with a semi-circular end, round which ran a chamfered plinth of masonry." Many pieces of Roman tile and brick were found, but no pottery. "In one place can still be seen three courses of pink mortar joining four courses of stone at the base of the bastion." A small copper coin of Gallienus (253-268) was found, and if it was in the structure, "it is possible that the bastion, not bonded to the wall, was erected shortly before or after 268." The bastions could have been erected as extra defences against Saxon raids. A projecting curtain-wall west of the bastion was examined, but found to have no Roman foundations, the line of the Roman wall was probably behind it, where the mediaeval Deanery stood. The other existing bastions in the south-west and south-east portions of the City wall may be the successors of Roman ones.

"There is reason to believe that there were once bastions in the north portion of the City Wall." Mr. Gordon Hills thought that "the isolated tower, or bastion" outside the north-west wall was probably not of Roman origin. However the one just south of the East Gate "is in form and measurement very similar to those at Anderida, the parallel sides of the rectangular portion measuring about 11 feet."

There follows a list of Buildings, Pavements and Other Finds:

1. North Street:- Wallc found running north and east when the Neptune and Minerva Stone was excavated in 1723, were possibly those of the temple to which the stone belonged.

2. St. Andrew's Church:- The tessellated pavement found in 1853 at a depth of 4 to 5 feet, and extending under a great part of the church and churchyard is mentioned in connection with the foundations of Mr. Mason's house in East Street.

"Embossed and plain Samian and coarse Romano-British ware, rudely ornamented, are also recorded."

3. East Street:- "Part of a tessellated pavement was found in 1881 on the premises of Mr. E.J. Faulkner at a depth of 5 feet 3 inches. It was formed of variously coloured tesserae about one inch square, some of which showed the marks of fire. It seemed to extend under adjacent buildings."

4. North and South Pallant:- In 1931 a Samian pot of Domitian - Trajan period, and a coin of Trajan were found.



5. South Pallant:- In October 1931 work in the road opposite No.5 "revealed the remains of a hypocaust (pillar tiles and box flue tiles and other signs of a house) and also a Samian pot, a Samian flanged bowl, a bone, part of a comb, core of an ox-horn etc." At this point the modern street does not coincide with a Roman street.

6. West Street:- In 1811, when a cellar was being dug "the bordure of a pavement of coarse materials and workmanship was found."

7. The Cathedral:-

(i) In 1830 at the west end of the south aisle, when a grave was being opened "many tesserae and other indications of Roman occupancy were found."

(ii) In 1848 at the west end of the north aisle, when a grave was being dug, "a layer of broken tiles and fragments of Samian ware were found."

(iii) When a vault was being made not later than 1853, "pottery including portions of Samian and other wares were discovered. Among the Samian was a fine ornamented bowl afterwards in the possession of Mr. King, the Chichester antiquary."

(iv) In 1861 when the piers of the tower were being rebuilt, "portions of a tessellated pavement of small red tesserae were found near their bases."

(v) In 1866 during digging for the foundations of the

reredos of the High Altar, "several square yards of a similarly constructed tessellated pavement were found at a depth of about 4 feet."

(vi) In 1878 "in a trench across the nave and aisles of the Cathedral, part of a tessellated pavement made of brick tesserae, with flue-tiles etc., was found."

(vii) "Pottery has been found at various times under the floor of the Cathedral."

8. The Bishop's Palace:- "When the Palace was partly rebuilt in 1725-1727 traces of several rooms of a Roman house were found, with tesserae and coins, including some of Nero and Domitian. At a distance of 20 feet from the south-east angle of the West wing, a room 30 feet square contained much of a mosaic pavement."

9. The Deanery:- "on the lawn, in the drought of September 1929, were discerned the foundations of an apse, exactly 10 feet south of the south-west corner of the Deanery, and other foundations, apparently Roman."

10. "In excavations for new County Offices north of West Street (1933-1934) over an area 320 feet east to west, and 220 feet north to south, a great quantity of Roman and other pottery sherds was found on made-up soil 3 to 4 feet deep."

The next section is headed Kilns.

About 150 yards from the Cross on the north side of East Street, during excavations for the foundations of a house, "two small kilns were found at a depth of 4 feet. The mouth

of the smaller kiln was one foot in diameter, and formed of stones covered by a large stone. The kiln, made of bricks in cement, widened out to a diameter of 2 feet 6 inches and was about 3 feet 4 inches deep; it was entirely filled with charcoal and the sides were partly covered with a siliceous glaze. The larger kiln was a mere hole in the clay, puddled into form, about 4 feet wide and 5 feet 6 inches deep; the interior, partially glazed, contained fragments of the coarse pottery common on Roman sites in Sussex. About the kilns were found the lip of a mortarium and a fragment of the same mended with a large leaden rivet, fragments of Samian ware, and bones of domestic animals. In the cutting was the section of a pavement of concrete and bricks lying about 5 feet 6 inches below the present road level and under the foundations of an adjoining modern house." The section concludes with this comment, "It is curious to find kilns near to the middle of the town and apparently near to a Roman house and some public buildings, and possibly they were both domestic ovens rather than kilns."

The next section deals with Inscriptions. There were 6 known at Chichester in 1935.

1. The famous Neptune and Minerva inscription; one of the most important found in Britain. The Victoria County History tells of the discovery of the stone in 1723, and that it is "an ansate tablet of Purbeck marble," and that after various moves

it was let into the wall of the portico of the Council Chamber in 1907. Then it is stated that, "The inscription is the most important document we have for the Roman occupation of Sussex, and one of the very few Romano-British inscriptions that can be ascribed with certainty to the first century." The reading and translation given are those in the City Guide, which is the reading of R.G. Collingwood and J.G.C. Anderson. (For a full description of the stone, its measurements and lettering see V.C.H. Vol3, p.14)

Some noteworthy points about the inscription are also given.

(a) 'Collegium Fabrorum' referred to a guild of workmen, probably shipbuilders. This is deduced from the dedication to Neptune and Minerva, the god of the sea and the goddess of handicraft.

(b) "'qui in eo sunt' may mean those associated in work with the members of the 'collegium', although themselves not members."

(c) "Cogidubnus, the vassal king, was probably only an honorary 'legatus Augusti'."

(d) The conjectured reading (Pud)ente, although not impossible, has no authority.

(e) The suggested connection of Pudens (of II Timothy: 4: 21) with the inscription is baseless.

(f) "'The very fine lettering (with punctuation dots) is hardly later than the early Flavian age'."

The narrative continues, "This unique inscription, cut by a Roman workman on Purbeck stone, gives evidence of a highly Romanized life in Regnum about the middle of the first century: a temple to Roman deities, and a guild of craftsmen in recognized Roman manner. The vassal king, Cogidubnus is proud of his Roman title, and connection. The donor of the site would appear to be an Italian, probably one of the many business men who followed the legions into Britain."

2. "Part of a large tablet of Purbeck (?) marble was found in 1740, in a cellar in East Street at the corner of St. Martin's Lane; the stone was lost at an early date, but the inscription thereon is recorded in the Ms Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries of London (vol.iv: 19; 18th Sept.1740)."

Haverfield pointed out that older readings (e.g. Corpus Inscr. Lat. vii, 12) and drawings (e.g. Gough's Camden Vol.1, pl.x.v, fig.2.) did not distinguish between the text actually found and the 'supplementa' of editors. "The correct reading and his additions are as follows:-

NERONI            CLAUDIO            DIVI  
 (CLAUDI F G)ERMANI(CI) (CAES N)EPOTI TI  
 (CAES P)RONEPOTI    DIV(I) (AUG ABNEPOTI)  
 CAESARI AUG (T) R. P. IV. IMP. IV. COS. IV  
 S. C. V.

Translation:- To Nero Claudius, son of the divine Claudius, grandson of Germanicus Caesar, great-grandson of Tiberius

great-great-grandson of the divine Augustus, Caesar Augustus, with tribunician power for the fourth time, Imperator for the fourth time, Consul for the fourth time (name of person or body who put up the inscription)."

Attention is then drawn to the fact that filio, nepoti, pronepoti, abnepoti etc. were used by the early Emperors whether they were actually descended from their predecessors or not. "Haverfield points out a slip made by the mason, if he cut T.R.P./M on the stone - the year not agreeing with that of Nero's fourth consulate. The stone seems to have been a dedicatory stone on some building near the centre of the town, and its date is not later than 60 A.D. Here again is evidence of an important early building."

3. "Part of a tombstone, found in 1809, in the south-east wall, which was later built in a wall in the Bishop's Palace garden. Haverfield corrected the mistaken readings as follows:-

(D) M..... .....NUS AT...ARIUS (AN) LXXXV,

which may be expanded to, Dis manibus (.....<sup>r</sup>us? atriarus) annorum LXXXV.

In translation:- To the gods of the Lower World (.....<sup>r</sup>us? the porter) aged 85 years. The suffix ....arius probably denotes that the old man had been of some occupation; e.g. compare '...er' as in baker etc."

The location of this inscription is now unknown.

4. "An altar 3 feet 6 inches by one foot 6 inches was found in

1823 at a depth of 4 feet (?) under the front pavement of the house adjoining the Little Anchor Inn, near the Cross, North Street." Apparently, it is now not known where it is. "The inscription runs:-

GENIO S(ACRUM) LUCULLUS AMMINI

FIL(IUS) D(E) S(UO) P(OSUIT).

The translation is:- Sacred to the Genius, Lucullus son of Amminius at his own charges placed this stone. The letters are said to be good, and in date of about the end of the first century. The name Amminius occurs on a coin found in south-east Kent. Sir John Evans did not think it referred to Adminius, son of Cunobeline, who fled to Gaul, but it may. Amminius is a local Belgic name, and it is interesting to see that his son had a Roman name."

5. "A stone 3 feet one inch by 2 feet 9 inches was found at a depth of 7 feet at South Gate in 1833." After being in the Chichester Museum it seems to have been lost, but is now in the Worthing Museum.

"The inscription, the letters of which are said to be of about the end of the first century, is:-

(BODI)CCA AELIA CAUVA

FIL(IA) AN(NORUM) XXXVI

The translation is:- Bodicca Aelia Cauva, daughter of ....., aged 36 years. 'Bodi' is not an improbable guess, for Bodicca, Boudicca or Victoria, the name of a Celtic goddess,

was adopted by the famous queen of the Iceni and other Celtic women. The occurrence of a Celtic name in combination with a Latin one is not unusual."

However, "Corpus Inser. Lat.vii, 13, suggests that cca being part of a name, CAVVA cannot also be part of a name, and indicates the race or tribe of Aelia, in which case the translation would be 'Bodicca Aelia of the Cauvan tribe'."

6. The Worthing Museum also has the greater part of a tombstone found at the same time and place as the preceding one. "The letters are similar to those of the preceding. The inscription is in three lines:-

CATIA  
CENSORIN(A)  
AN XXIII

- that is Catia Censorina, aged 23.

The lady bore thoroughly Roman names, and may have been the daughter or wife of a Roman official. Catia is the name of a woman in Horace's Satires, and Censorinus was a cognomen of the <sup>gens</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$  "plus Marcia"  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The whole inscription is preserved except the A in the second line." (For a full description of the stone see V.C. H. vol.3, p.15.)

The next paragraph is interesting in that it shows that even competent antiquaries can be deceived. "An inscription concerning C. Sallustius Lucullus, the governor of Britain who succeeded Agricola, was said, as early as 1658, to have been



found at Chichester. It was an invention of some unknown person, possibly a muddled reading of inscription 4 (Genio S.... Lucullus) meanwhile lost and buried, but it deceived Gough and Watkin."

The Victoria County History concludes its section on inscriptions as follows, "This remarkable series of inscriptions proves conclusively that Regnum was a thoroughly Romanized town probably by the end of Vespasian (A.D.79), and strongly suggests the settlement there of Italians, perhaps as part of the 'boom' in Romanization which prevailed in Britain until about A.D.150."

The next section deals with coins.

A great number of Roman coins have been dug up in every part of the city. "Dallaway writes of various discoveries, and of collections of coins made and dispersed; he had himself examined some of these collections and had verified their attribution to various Emperors. The earliest coin was one of Germanicus (Caesar A.D. 4-19). "These coins seemed to stretch from about A.D.41 to about 337.

"As Dallaway says that 'many specimens, including single coins of all these emperors, were dug up in the course of the last century,' it is puzzling that he would date 'the duration of the Roman government' from A.D. 54 to 270, and more puzzling that Haverfield, apparently following Dalhway, says that 'nearly all the coins,....belong to a period before A.D.270.'

It is true that post-Constantinian coins are not common in Chichester and its immediate neighbourhood, but they have been found, and a special warning of the importance of the town after 270 A.D., connected with the building of Pevensey, is not proved by the available coin evidence."

A hoard "of 700 silver denarii 'in the finest state of preservation', from Vespasian to Faustina the younger (about A.D. 69 to 175) was found in 1819" in the Palace Field. "It is difficult to account for the deposition of this hoard in A.D. 175 or soon after." Apparently coins from the foundations of St. Peter, in West Street, were exhibited in 1849.

Two lists of coins and recent additions to them (1935) are set out in V.C.H. vol 3 p.15 and p.69.

The report continues, "Doubtless other coins are known, but cannot be traced. From Dallaway's list" and the lists given in the Victoria County History, "the range of known coins found in Chichester, (including Whyke) is from Germanicus (d. A.D.19) and Claudius (A.D.41-54) to Valens (A.D.364-378) and Valentinianus III (A.D.425-455), several dating from Constantine I (A.D.307-337). They cover practically the whole length of the Roman occupation, except for the last quarter of a century. The Valentinianus III may indicate habitation of Regnum as late as about A.D.442."

The next section deals with Pottery and associated finds.

1. The Palace Field:- "In digging the basin of the canal, a

quarter of a mile south of the City Walls, in 1819, pottery, hand-mills, a burnt burial in a glass vessel 'enclosed in lead', a skeleton, with the head of a spear and, near by two feet down, an urn containing a hoard of 700 denarii (mentioned before), were discovered. Coins, lamps and pottery were also found along the line of the canal, and possibly burials along a Roman road issuing from the South Gate."

2. Cemetery outside the East Gate:-

(i) "In the St. Pancras Burial Ground and in a wide area around it parallel with Stone Street, Roman 'sepulchral remains' had been dug up from time to time before 1838. About that year vessels of light yellow clay and two perfect Samian vessels stamped Cracuvia F. and Reburri(s) of, with 'many interesting objects', were rescued by Mr. Thomas King, whose collection cannot now be traced."

(ii) At Alexandra Terrace, near the corner of the old St. Pancras Burial Ground, and about 320 yards from the East Gate of the city, "draining in 1895 revealed part of a Roman cemetery. Within an area of only ten square feet and at a depth of four feet were found more than 60 vessels, almost all in upright position and in good condition, some containing burnt bones; others were bottles, jugs, vases, paterae and two Samian vessels with potter's stamps, not recorded, two others with ivy leaves (in barbotine). The grave furniture included also three lamps, tweezers and a small bracelet, oyster shells,

skull and horn of bos longifrons. More vessels, including an imitation Samian vase with figures (? Bacchantes) and a small grey two-handled cup, were found in the same place in the following year." The late Councillor Butler's collection from this site, ranging from A.D. 50-200, contains many whole vessels. (A selection of some of the best is described in V.C.H. Vol 3. p.17). This section concludes by telling us that there "was also a small 'steelyard'."

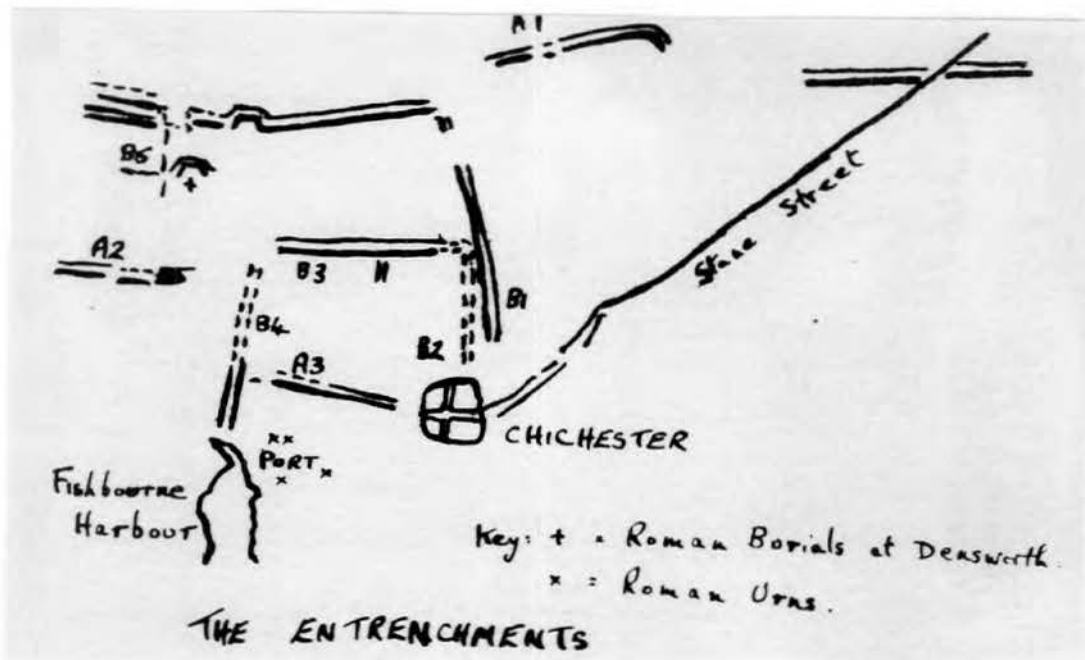
3. The Cattle Market:- "A bronze ligula, 'among other Roman remains', was found when the Cattle Market was made in 1871, and also a Samian pot with ivy-leaf ornament. In recent years south-east of the East Gate in the Cattle Market and to the east of it has been revealed a very extensive rubbish area, from which much pottery has been extracted."

Besides the pottery etc. already mentioned, much has been found at different times in Chichester. Examples of pottery, potter's stamps, mortaria etc., collected from records are to be found on pages 17-18, and page 69 of the third volume of the Victoria County History. (see also a page of photographed coins and pottery found in Chichester inserted between pages 16 and 17.) From these records it is seen that "early Samian ware and mortaria are well represented and other pottery of the second to the fourth century." Fragments of imported Roman-Belgic ware have also been found. "The emphasis falls on the first two centuries, but, as with the coins the whole

Roman period is represented."

The next section is headed "Miscellaneous Finds".

1. "A lion's head cast and chased in bronze, with semi-human features and similarities in workmanship to the Bath bearded Gorgon's head and the Corbridge lion, was dug up in Chichester in 1894 or 1904. It was probably a fountain spout or an umbo of a shield of Romano-Celtic workmanship. It measures  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches, with  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches projection, and weighs half a pound."
2. Waterpipes:- Hay said that Roman waterpipes had been found, at different times, on the 'Old Broile Road', not far from the city, which conducted water from a spring (still used in Hay's time) about half a mile from the North Gate. Dallaway tells of many terra cotta pipes of different lengths, three inches in diameter, found in the 'Old Broill'. "About 15 pipes were found about 1857 on the north of Chichester, 'in the direction of the Broill'; each joint was about four feet long, and was slightly curved; various Roman remains, including coins, were found near the pipes, at a depth of about three feet."
3. Hut-circles:- These together with "British, Romano-British and Roman pottery, (including a late Celtic pot, now in the British Museum) were found" when the now disused Chichester to Midhurst branch line was being constructed "under the Broyle Road, not far from the Barracks."



The last section on Roman Chichester, considers the Chichester Entrenchments, which seem "to be unique in their lay-out in Britain, and appear to have been constructed for the defence of the city." A detailed description of them follows, of which the appended is a plan. In the area near the short lines of banks "in the copse and gardens round Densworth House, Roman stone cists and urns" were found in 1857. (Marked: + in the plan)

From examination there seem to be four main points which can be put forward with a degree of certainty about the entrenchments.

(i) The fact that the entrenchments all face north shows that they were directed against the Down-dwellers.

(ii) Their uniformity of plan, execution and date shows that they were deliberately planned.

(iii) The fact that extensive woods had to be cleared for their erection, shows that they were made by people, who knew how to deal with woods.

(iv) They were made by a people based on the sea, and militarily organized.

There is no historical justification for the theory that the inhabitants of pre-Roman Regnum built them to protect themselves from the Downsmen at Trundle. "It is more likely that they were the work of Vespasian, who, probably making Regnum his base for the conquest of the Isle of Wight and Hampshire, threw up the earthworks to protect his base from Downsmen in the north until he had time to deal with them later." It is then pointed out that there is an objection to "assigning long linear earthworks to Vespasian's time," although he could have been the first to adopt them. The Saxons are known to have used such entrenchments, but it is doubtful if Aella's host (on first landing, when he would most have needed them) would have been sufficient to make and man them. Another theory is that they are mediaeval. Similar earthworks at Lexden, Colchester were proved (1934) by pottery to have been "just prior to the Roman Conquest." However,

the real cause for the uncertainty which surrounds these earthworks is that "they have never been scientifically investigated by digging."

The section concludes with this short paragraph. "The common known as the Broil (or Broyle) is supposed to have been the site of a Roman camp enclosed by the bank and ditch running north from Chichester and turning west and east just north of the Barracks. These earthworks have not been proved to be Roman: they may be pre-Roman, or Saxon."

The Victoria County History (Vol.3: 1935) mentions two main Roman sites at Fishbourne, but a great deal still remains to be done there.

1. "In digging by the roadside', i.e. north and south of the main west road, was found in 1805 a tessellated pavement about 13 feet 6 inches wide; the length was not ascertained, as it ran 'under a hedge'. In the middle of this, occupying a space of about 2 feet diameter, was part of the base of a column. Immediately under the floor, paved with 'small black and white stones', was a fine spring. Two small copper coins of Vespasian." This was "probably a house built under Vespasian or soon after." Also there were "the remains of a bath and pavement, probably the same as the above." This paragraph concludes with the statement that "more was found in two places in 1863."

2. The Old Rectory:- "In the garden was found (1929) a



quantity of Samian sherds, nearly all of the date of Vespasian, only one or two pieces possibly being slightly later (Domitian to Trajan)." (For details of potters stamps etc. see V.C.H. Vol.3, p.56) "Also a mortarium, top quern stone, a small piece of mosaic pavement, and a denarius of Domitian: under the road nearby a denarius of Vitellius. A little south of the road were found Roman water pipes, three feet below the present surface. This evidence points to a Roman villa, probably on the site of the old Rectory, occupied from the time of Vespasian."

Many other Roman sites in the vicinity of Chichester are mentioned.

(i) Appledram:- "Alleged salt pans of Roman date, but no evidence of Roman character."

(ii) Densworth:- In 1857 "a stone cist containing 4 glass vessels and the fragments of a fifth" was found. "At the north-west corner of the cist, cut in the stone, was a projection for a lamp. In the largest vessel, a two-handled jug, the calcined remains of a child. The jug was 12 inches high and 10 inches diameter, and for a stopper it had an inverted glass unguent bottle, the base of which was stamped with the maker's name. Of the two smaller square glass bottles, one contained a brown pasty substance. Sandal nails remained oxidized together. West of this cist was a square walled enclosure 12 feet by 12 feet, which seems to have

contained a tile cist, and a slab of Purbeck stone inscribed with a few good letters, 2 inches high, apparently of the end of the second century. The walls were of flint, and 2 feet thick. West of this were two earthenware urns buried unprotected. To the east of the cist first described was a similar walled enclosure containing another stone cist, with decayed glass vessels, bones, a pottery urn, and fragments of iron. East of this was a broken urn, with bones and a coin of Hadrian; some stones on which had been a fire; and a layer of charcoal 9 feet by 2 feet. Of these relics the Worthing Museum possesses the first mentioned stone cist, and most of the grave furniture, including a big pottery urn, a glass unguentarium, and part of a sandal. A search (c.1869) for traces of a villa near the cemetery was fruitless. The cemetery was in use during the first half of the second century."

(iii) Donnington:- "Stone coffin with Roman pottery."

(iv) Lavant:- "Coins and alleged earthwork. At Bickley Bushes an earthwork said to be Roman 'castra aestiva'."

"The Lavant Caves, on Hay Down, which have yielded Roman material with 'a curious mixture of objects' of earlier and later periods, cannot decisively be assigned to the Roman period."

(v) Rumboldswyke:- "(i) Two Roman urns found during excavation of ballast. (ii) In 1903, two coins: a second brass of Tiberius, rev. Temple of Janus open, and Constantinian,

Urbs Roma, rev. Wolf suckling and two stars. (iii) Bricks and urns in Church, and near. Roman tiles are in the chancel arch. Several interesting Roman coins, including a denarius of Valens 364-378 A.D."

(vi) Westhamptt:- "Roman bricks and tiles built into the church."

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Roman Britain and The English Settlements, (The first volume in the Oxford History of England series), by R.G. Collingwood and J.N.L. Myres was first published in 1936.

In speaking of Sussex before the conquest Collingwood says that "the old hill-fort of the Trundle was evacuated and a new city, Noviomagus, built in the plain on the site of Chichester, defended like many Belgic cities by cross-country dikes running at some distance from the town itself."

Collingwood discusses the titles granted to Cogidubnus, comparing them with those given to M. Julius Cottius. "Cogidubnus accordingly was obliged to give proofs of loyalty. He became a Roman citizen with the name of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, .....and built a temple to Neptune and Minerva, dedicated for the welfare of the imperial house, whose dedicatory inscription, the most elegant and purely classical in Britain, still survives at Chichester to tell the story." About the deities he says, "Chichester stands at the head of the first and most easily accessible of those Hampshire harbours which, even as early as Strabo's time, were connected

by regular trade with the mouth of the Seine; and the god of the sea, named together with the goddess of learning and the arts, suggests that Cogidubnus in building this temple was publicly announcing his attachment to the new civilizing influences which cross-Channel trade was bringing to his coast."

In speaking about tribal self-government, Collingwood says that in a town like Chichester, "there must have been, for a generation after the conquest, a complete microcosm of the Roman constitution: the King Cogidubnus in the position of vice-emperor, an ordo of local notables representing the senate, and annually elected officers corresponding to the magistrates of the imperial city."

Collingwood thinks that Cogidubnus probably began to "adorn his capital....in the Roman style" during the Flavian period. At first, too, "enthusiastic Britons embraced the worship of the Roman gods; but this lead was not long followed ....."

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With a Spade on Stone Street by S.E. Winbolt, published in 1936.

Winbolt thinks that the Entrenchments are probably of Celtic origin.

He stresses very firmly that Stone Street was not a military road used for subjugating the Regni, but "was from the beginning mainly a road for peaceful travellers engaged in

commerce." It was built to connect London directly to the friendly territory of Cogidubnus.

From excavations and finds it is quite obvious that the road was in use certainly by A.D.70, and the date assigning it to the latter part of the third century is quite wrong. Winbolt favours an even earlier date for its construction, namely 43-55 A.D.

Also settlements sprang up along its length from quite an early date, but there are only four recognised posting stations which may have contained troops for keeping order on the road. (e.g. Hardham, Alfoldean.) The settlements are admittedly few, but Roman roads usually did stand apart from villages. Stone Street was essentially a posting and commercial road.

"In the normal manner of Roman roads leaving cities, Stone Street in leaving Chichester starts with a cemetery..... The tombs have all vanished from Stone Street, but burials in plenty below - ground have been found on the north side close outside the East Gate in and around St. Pancras burial-ground and at Alexandra Terrace. Further burial groups were found here in 1935, when two cottages were demolished. Similar burials might be expected under the houses on the south side also."

Speaking of the Roman bricks in Westhampnett Church, Winbolt says of those in the south wall: "One has a row of four lozenge-shaped impressions done with a wood block.

Another has a Roman graffito, which Mr. R.G. Collingwood is inclined, though not with certainty, to read as CALVI, the CAL being certain. The lettering is cursive, and represents the signature of the maker, Calvus. It was scratched on the brick before it was fired."

These things together with the chancel arch which was found to be built of flat Roman tiles, and the walls and jambs of two small windows which contained Roman tiles, were discovered when the church was restored in 1867. "There were also tiles shaped as arch voussoirs, eight of which still remain in the chancel walls. These bricks and tiles probably denote a Roman building close by, though little transport would have been necessary to bring them from Regnum."

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The Section on Roman Britain by R.G. Collingwood in the third volume of "An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome", edited by Tenney Frank. The book was published in 1937.

In describing communications Collingwood speaks of the Seine - Hampshire route, as still being used in Roman times. "At the beginning of the Roman occupation, Chichester, with its magnificent land-locked harbour, was in the hands of a wealthy, progressive and pro-Roman king....."

Later on when dealing with Religious Public Buildings and works, Collingwood speaks of temples of classical type.

"A third case is attested by an inscription dating from the very early days of the occupation, and recording the

erection of a temple to Neptune and Minerva under Cogidubnus King of the Regni, at Chichester." Collingwood quotes the text giving Clemens as a possible reading for the donor of the site. "The style of the inscription leaves no doubt that the temple must have been a building in the ordinary Roman style."

The Archaeology of Sussex by E. Cecil Curwen, was published in 1937.

In speaking of the City Walls Curwen says, "The bastions, of which sixteen are traceable, were not added to the wall until after A.D.275 when the Saxon raiders became troublesome." Recent excavations have shown "that the Roman city was far from being crowded with buildings, ..... Perhaps the most interesting structural relics of the Roman period which came to light during these excavations were a steened well and some cement-lined pits belonging to a laundry or possibly a small fulling-mill situated in the garden of East Pallant House.

Curwen mentions the Neptune and Minerva inscription and the Lucullus altar inscription. He also mentions the dedicatory monument found on the site of the Post Office. It bears an inscription to Jupiter and a sculpture in relief "depicting the upper parts of the figures of two women, each with her right hand on the other's left shoulder."

He also mentions the three tombstones, (i.e. The 85 year old porter; Catia Censorina; Aelia Cauva.) as well as the large range of coins, Germanicus to Valentinian III, and the

excellent pottery remains, which have been discovered. He concludes the section on Chichester with a short paragraph on the amphitheatre.

Concerning the Entrenchments Curwen says little, except to assign them to either the Belgic or Saxon periods, although "the straightness of many of the earthworks suggests Roman work." He like all others leaves the matter as unsolved.

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H.V. Morton in "I saw Two Englands", writing about Chichester says that the "Minerva Stone" is one of the city's sights. He records the views of those who link the stone with St. Paul and Pudens and Claudia, but does not commit himself except to say that "it is a pretty story, and it is pleasant to think that 'a blue-eyed Briton born' and a Roman who had lived in Chichester may have been among St. Paul's first converts."

Morton, however, elaborates this idea further in another of his books, "In the steps of St. Paul." It is therefore not surprising to find out the extent to which such mistaken views are held, when the popularity of the books which contain them is considered.

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Roman Ways in The Weald by Ivan D. Margary, published in 1948.

With regard to Stone Street he states that the evidence points to an early date for its construction, and <sup>was</sup> probably in use by 70 A.D. Because Stone Street is not mentioned in



the Antonine Itinerary, it has been assumed by some that it was of late construction. Such views are supported by Iter VII which runs from Chichester to London via Clausentum, Venta Belgarum and Calleva Atrebatum. Besides the evidence for an early construction date from many points along Stone Street, it should also be remembered that the Itinerary is known to favour devious routes and leave out well-known highways.

"A Roman linch-pin of iron was found upon the subsoil surface" along the course of Stone Street where it passes through the Westhampnett Gravelpit.

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Miss J.G. Pilmer. A thesis presented for the degree of H. Litt., Durham, on the History and Archaeology of Roman Chichester, with especial reference to the coarse pottery from the site.

Miss Pilmer begins by saying that, coins and pottery bear out the fact that the Regni, were open to Belgic influence, although it has not been proved that they were of the Belgic race. Cogidubnus was ruling in this district when the Claudian invasion took place. Tacitus, Miss Pilmer points out, does not tell us where Cogidubnus had his Kingdom, but that the Neptune and Minerva inscription is sufficient proof that Chichester and district formed part of his dominions, though it does not necessarily prove that the city was his capital at the time of the conquest. From the style of the lettering, which suggests a date about 60-70 A.D., it is likely that

building in the Roman style was going on in Chichester within 20 years of the Conquest.

About the names of Chichester, Miss Pilmer says that it is now generally agreed that the Roman names, Noviomagus, Regnum and Navimagus Regentium, all refer to Chichester. Haverfield discussed the evidence, and "equated the Noviomagus, chief town of the Regni mentioned by Ptolemy as situated in the West Sussex region, with the Regno of the Antonine Itinerary, for this town was the starting point of a road through Clausentum and Venta Belgarum to London. He found additional support for this theory in the Ravenna list, which refers to Navimago Regentium and in Ptolemy's report that his predecessor Marinus had placed Noviomagus 59 Roman miles (almost the exact distance along Stone Street) from London. Thus Chichester became the 'new city' of the Regni, the name of the tribe following the name of the city, as with so many other tribal capitals in Britain."

Miss Pilmer then refers to the difficulty of obtaining information about the appearance of the Roman town, due to the fact that so much of the structural remains has been destroyed, in the digging of cellars chiefly in the eighteenth century. As an example Miss Pilmer quotes an examination she carried out in 1949-1950 in the cellars of 43 North Street. In two of them the Roman levels had been removed completely, and in the third an early pit was found with only a few inches

of soil containing some sherds. It seems that this is a general picture of the state of many structural remains, and not an exception.

As to the Walls, Miss Pilmer quotes Dallaway (I, p.4.) who says that an inscription and an illegible milestone were uncovered "among the foundations" in 1809, when part of the South East Wall was being removed. She continues, "This is the first piece of evidence bearing on the date of the walls, and it proves that they were built some time after the Conquest. The results of excavations support this conclusion and indeed, make it possible to suggest a date about 200 A.D."

Apparently the first attempt at excavation was made in 1885 by Mr. G.M. Hills, who suggested a Roman origin for all except the projecting portion on the South West side, but found little which helped in dating. In 1932 and 1933 Mr. I.C. Hannah made more profitable excavations. He cut trenches through the earth bank in Priory Park and in the Palace Garden. He found the original Roman bank in both places, and reported that bank and wall were contemporary and that the bank contained nothing later than the second century.

In 1947 the City Surveyor cut two trenches in the North Walls, through the bank and up to the wall, in order to test its strength as it was showing signs of collapse. A few sherds of pottery were found which did not conflict with already existing dating evidence.

In 1950-1951 Dr. A.E. Wilson and Mr. A. Rae cut a trench through the bank in Cawley Priory, in the S.E. Quarter. Only a coin of Vespasian and a few datable sherds were found.

Professor Eric Birley "who examined the Samian ware, suggested that the bank could hardly have been built before 200 A.D."

Miss Pilmer continues, "These excavations also uncovered a late third century road, laid over the constructional shaft of a well, which had been cut through the tail of the bank.

Here then we have evidence which enables us to narrow the field still further, and again it seems safe to suggest that the walls were built not earlier than about 200 A.D." She then qualifies this in a footnote by saying that, "a first century date has been mentioned in the preliminary report in the Manchester Guardian (7: 9: 50), and in J.R.S. Vol. XLI p.137, but this is not supported by the pottery. Mr. Rae.....advances the theory that at 'about the end of Vespasian's reign or a little later, Regnum was given the sort of fortifications (earth bank with timber facing) which had been used for the Iron Age fortresses abandoned less than 50 years before', and that this was replaced by masonry about 198 A.D. At the moment there seems to be insufficient support for such a theory." Five reasons are given for this:-

"(1) The evidence of the pottery is against it.

(2) The coin of Vespasian can hardly stand along, as there are many ways in which it could have got into the material used

for the bank.

(3) The lower part has not the profile one would expect in an earlier bank.

(4) There is no evidence to suggest that this 'lower bank' was covered with a turf line, and it would be unlikely that later builders would go to the trouble of levelling when they intended to incorporate the structure in another bank.

(5) There is no sign of disturbance or of a bedding trench cut into the lower bank for the suggested later wall."

1952 also saw excavations on the walls. The pottery from these excavations "included Samian of second century date and some Castor Ware from the lowest levels." Again this suggests, as mentioned before, "that the date of building could not be much if at all before 200 A.D. At the other end, the complete absence, among all the pottery from the wall excavations, of the third century forms of flanged bowls and cavetto ruins, and the late third century road found over the tail of the bank in Cawley Priory in 1950 would suggest that the date of the building of both wall and bank must not be put long after c.200 A.D. And indeed in the disturbance of this period, either the rising in the North in 197 A.D. or in Severus' reorganization which followed, we might well find the reason for the building."

It appears that, "the bank was made up of successive tips, sometimes of clean play, sometimes of dirty clay mixed with

flints and rubbish and the top of the bank was, apparently, covered with concrete, for traces of a mortar line were noticed in Priory Park," (Hannah's excavation) and in the excavations in the North Walls. From examination of the various excavations, it seems that only the lower part of the wall is of Roman date, at least on the North side.

"Both the 1947 and 1952 excavations prove the core of the wall to have been of regular courses of large flints laid in yellowish mortar," and Mr. R. Carlyon Britton told Miss Filmer that, when he made an excavation on the North side of the West Gate, in the garden of Lilac Cottage, North Walls, he found closely packed flints about 5 feet wide, laid on a bed of sand and mortar. "The outer edge was much destroyed here and this may have been the reason why Mr. I.C. Hannah estimated the wall in Priory Park to have been only 3 feet 6 inches thick." Although the 1947 and 1952 excavations did not reach the original level both inside and out in every case, "all suggest a width of at least 5 feet..... Below and immediately above the modern ground level the flints were solidly mortared but rough and uneven as if pieces had been broken off." Miss Filmer also points out that the wall does not seem to have had any very solid foundations.

She also mentions that "another interesting feature of the construction is the stepped arrangement of the inner surface..... No trace of a tile bonding course has been

noticed in any of the excavations. A very similar method of construction was adopted at Canterbury, and here too the mediaeval wall was built on top of the Roman wall, a wall 7 feet thick, though probably of the same date as the Chichester wall."

Now evidence came to light in August 1952 when part of a bastion in the garden of Friary Close, a house in the South East corner of the city, collapsed and laid bare the original surface. "This was made of stone blocks (? greensand) varying in length from 6 inches to over a foot, and laid in regular courses in white mortar. Unfortunately the bastion was not taken right down to the original Roman level and it is impossible, therefore, to say whether there was a plinth."

As regards the 4 gates it would seem that those taken down between 1772 and 1783 contained no Roman work, and the West gate at least does not seem to have been on its Roman site. "In 1935 a workmen's trench close to the gate and opposite No.46 West Street, uncovered 2 feet of tessellated pavement situated 2 feet below the present surface and 18 feet 6 inches from the door. It sloped downwards at the North end, there was a coin of Salonina 254-268 A.D. on the surface and traces of a flint wall on the North side."

"It is also unlikely that the North gate was on the line of the Roman road, for a cutting across North Street in 1950 for a sewage pipe, showed no signs of Roman road metalling,

though there was stratification, beginning about 18 inches below the present surface, in part of the section."

As regards the bastions, it would seem that the map drawn by Speed, about 1610, is correct, showing 9, concentrated chiefly on the South side. Ray (1804) cannot be correct in saying that there were "about 16". In the South West quarter, the only two bastions now visible are the ones in the Palace grounds and behind the Residency. In the South East quarter 3 bastions remain. "Speed draws two bastions in the North West quarter but at the present time only the West one remains, as a detached tower."

"It is not possible to say whether all these bastions are of Roman origin, but there is proof of Roman date for the foundations of 3 of them, the Palace, the Residency and Friary Close..... All the evidence suggests that the bastions were a later addition, even though the coin of Gallienus 253-268 A.D. found in 1885 does not help us very much, since its exact position is not made clear. Mr. Hannah notes that the original facing of the Palace bastion was completely different from that of the wall, and in Friary Close the mortar of the bastion was very different from that of the wall, the latter being white in colour, the former more yellow. Nor would there have been a face of carefully squared blocks if wall and bastion had been contemporary. At the moment it is impossible to say when the bastions were built, though if



Mr. Hannah is correct in suggesting at least two periods of building they can hardly have been the latest of the Saxon Shore defences."

Miss Pilmer continues, "There are traces of a ditch in places outside the walls but it has not yet been proved that this <sup>is</sup> of Roman origin." She says, that there is a record of a mediaeval ditch being dug, which may refer to one of the two ditches which were found recently outside the East Walls at the South end of New Park Road. "It seems likely that a Roman ditch was dug, at least in this area, for the Lavant so close on the South and West runs some distance from the wall at this point and though a change of course is not unlikely the variation can hardly have been great."

She concludes, "Yet however uncertain we may be about the site of the Roman ditches and the exact date of the bastions, we can say that they were a later addition to a wall built about 200 A.D. of flint faced with stone. Much of the lower part of the wall we know today is the original Roman core and patched and broken though it be, it testifies to the skill and efficiency of the original builders."

The city was apparently about half the size of Verulamium and a third that of Londinium. Miss Pilmer assumes the city to have been on the usual chequer board pattern, "though only in the garden of East Pallant house has any trace of road metalling been found and there, the road appeared to be running

roughly East to West."

To show how scanty our knowledge of the buildings is, Miss Pilmer lists 17 known remains.

- (1) 1723. Angle of walls running North and East, found with the Neptune and Minerva inscription.
- (2) 1725-7. Traces of several rooms of a house with tesserae and coins including Domitian and Hadrian. A room 30 feet square and a mosaic pavement. 20 feet distant from the West wing of the Palace.
- (3) 1731. A pavement on the site of the present Council Chamber.
- (4) 1811. Bordure of pavement of coarse material in digging a cellar.
- (5) 1853. Pavement at a depth of 4 to 5 feet extending under adjacent churchyard.
- (6) 1861. Pavement of small red tesserae.
- (7) 1866. Similar pavement at about 4 feet, under reredos in Cathedral.
- (8) 1878. Pavement of brick and tesserae and flue tiles under nave.
- (9) 1881. Pavement of variously coloured tesserae about one inch square, some showing traces of fire.
- (10) 1929. Foundations of an apse 10 feet South of the South-West corner of the Deanery.

- (11) 1931. Remains of a hypocaust, pillar tiles and box flue tiles.
- (12) 1934. Pavement and walls.
- (13) 1935. Pavement and coloured wall plaster.
- (14) 1940. Foundations of a large Roman building about 6 feet below the surface.
- (15) 194? Pillars.
- (16) 1949. Pavement and well.
- (17) 1950. Well, possibly Roman.

"The walling (14) which suggests the most interesting possibilities is that situated below the pavement outside the Dolphin Hotel. Its central position and the fact that it is reported as being substantial, makes one think immediately of the Forum and Basilica. The pillars (15) which were found about 11 feet below the present surface and 36 feet west of the building line when the lift was being installed in No.10 South Street, about 40 yards South and slightly East of the other building might well be taken as further evidence for the important public buildings to be expected in the centre of the town. It cannot be said with certainty that the pillars were Roman, but the sherds which were found near the bases of the pillars are all Roman, and the entry in the Old Museum Accession Book describes them as Roman. Unfortunately the possibility of adding to our knowledge of the Roman buildings in this area so closely covered by modern buildings, is remote."

There is record of some 9 or 10 houses in various parts of the city in addition, "the evidence being in the form of tessellated pavements and hypocausts. A small number compared with the 80 houses of Silchester which so nearly resembles Chichester in shape and size."

Miss Pilmer continues by making this comment, "In no case, where detailed descriptions have survived is there record of a tessellated pavement of a high standard of craftsmanship or beauty. Were the townfolk of Roman days too poor to provide the more beautiful pavements of the kind found at Cirencester, Verulamium and the neighbouring villa at Signor, or is it that the houses of the wealthier citizens have been destroyed or have yet to be uncovered? No doubt this is only a small percentage of the houses, there were if we are to assume for Chichester a population of 1,000, half the figure suggested for Silchester."

She asserts that the temple of Neptune and Minerva is known by inference only, and was presumably situated in North Street, "North of the present Council Chamber and not on the site of it, as so many guide books would have it. The foundations of the Council Chamber were not dug until 1731 and the stone was found in 1723."

Miss Pilmer makes some tentative suggestions about industrial occupations in which many of the inhabitants must have been engaged, although it is generally believed that

Romano-British industries were on a small scale. With the Wealden deposits of iron ore so close, it is likely that the city had its iron workers. (The craft of needle-making has only recently died out); also there are the 'fabri' mentioned in the inscription.

"Excavations in 1949-1950 in the garden of No.43 North Street suggested the presence there of a small bloomery in the first half of the second century. Iron slag has been reported from West Street, and from the middle of the bank behind the wall in Priory Park." The pieces of fused and drawn glass from the same area are really not substantial enough to warrant Mr. Hannah's assumption that they may have been the products of a local factory. "In 1949-1950 fulling pits were found in the garden of East Pallant House," and the vast quantities of oyster shells found nearly everywhere in the city, show that oysters were very popular, and thus oyster fishing must have been a major industry. "Professor Birley opened up another interesting possibility, when he reported on two Samian bowls, suggesting that they may have been of local manufacture. That there were kilns in the district if not in the city making coarse pottery seems likely" in view of the deposits of suitable clay throughout the plain. Miss Pilmer adds an interesting comment to this suggestion. "It is possible that tiles were made at Apuldram in the Roman period. They can be

picked up now on the shore and though trial trenching in 1950 produced no sign of kilns, the clay is suitable and has actually been fired. Erosion may have destroyed what traces there were. An alternative explanation however does present itself. The situation, so close to Doll Quay, could have been favourable for a quay in Roman days, and the tiles could therefore be explained as the remains of those stored at the point of unloading." The owner of the land told Miss Pilmer that, in places, in a neighbouring field the crops tend to wilt more quickly, "and it is possible that the road from the city to the quay is there to be uncovered."

The kilns discovered in East Street were apparently not pottery kilns, but more probably domestic ovens.

Miss Pilmer says that Chichester is more fortunate as regards inscriptions, but of the 7 recorded "only two remain in Chichester, and 3 have been lost completely."

On the description of the Neptune and Minerva stone, Miss Pilmer follows the Victoria County History (Vol3) fairly closely, and gives the reading and translation of the V.C.H., except that she translates "collegium fabrorum" as "the Gild of 7 iron workers". The inscription cannot be later than 60-70 A.D. "It seems likely" Miss Pilmer continues, "that the fabri were metal workers, since metal working was one of the earliest of primitive industries to become organized and Minerva was the patron goddess. The reference

to a collegium suggests that, already by about 70 A.D., the town was sufficiently Romanized to have a body of workmen organized on Roman lines. This might be taken as evidence that craftsmen were established when the Romans came. The period is short, some 20 years, so that if the town were new in 43 A.D., the adoption of Roman ways of thought must have been rapid. On the other hand it could be that there was some influx of Italian business men, for both the man who gave the site and his father had Latin Names." Miss Pilmer discounts the fanciful story connecting Pudens with Timothy and the poet Martial.

Miss Pilmer offers some comments of interest on Cogidubnus and his title. She says, "the title was probably honorary and cannot be taken to include the whole of Britain." The title 'Legatus Augusti' is unusual, although it is known that native kings were used as agents of Roman rule. "The title, 'praefectus civitatum', of M. Julius Cottius, son of Donnus, king in the Cottian Alps, is not apparently, a satisfactory parallel for it is doubtful whether he ever bore the title rex, as stated by Ammianus (15.10.2). The more trustworthy Dio, (60.24.4) states that the title rex was given first to M. Julius Cottius' son in 44 A.D." As she points out, these difficulties do not mean that the Cogidumnus of Tacitus and the Cogidubnus of the inscription is not the same person.

For the inscriptions found at the South Gate in 1833, Miss Pilmer follows the V.C.H. except that she adds that it is possible that both these stones had been re-used in the later Roman period, for they were found together, at a depth of 7 feet, and had been treated similarly, namely an end had been broken off of each and then the edge squared off.

Miss Pilmer then deals with the inscription found in 1935 on the North side of West Street, during the building of the Post Office. "Originally it must have been a free-standing monument, for there has been decoration on 3 of the 4 sides. On the fourth side, set in a panel surrounded by a moulding, is the inscription:-

I O M  
IN HONOREM DO  
MV S DIVINAE

with triangular stops between."

Miss Pilmer then quotes from the Antiquaries Journal XV p.462.

"The right side is more severely damaged; only the right arm of a figure holding a sceptre or spear is visible..... On the fourth side only a fragment of foliage in relief survives but part of a figure of a woman in relief wearing a 'XITWV'; and probably representing Minerva, was found separately and may have formed part of the lower stone. A



late second or early third century date has been suggested."

Miss Pilmer follows the W.C.H. in dealing with the dedicatory inscription to Nero found in 1740. "The stone must have been the dedicatory inscription on some building or statue base and must be dated to 58 A.D., or at the latest, 60 A.D. It is, therefore, further evidence for building activity in the earliest years of the occupation."

Miss Pilmer again follows the V.C.H. with regard to the tombstone inscription found in 1809 and the altar found in 1823. Concerning the altar she adds that, "Thomas King's original drawing is in Worthing Museum and bears the comment 'Lucullus was propraetor of Britain in 84 A.D.' This may help to explain the confusion which led to the accounts of a second altar mentioning Sallustius Lucullus."

She concludes, "A striking fact about this group of inscriptions, is that at least five of them fall into the first century, two being quite early in the Roman period, so that the early establishment of the Roman city is well authenticated. What has still to be determined is the extent of the settlement, though that is a question which may remain difficult to answer."

"Another stone, possibly, though not certainly of first century date, was found recently, resting on a wall in the garden of Friary Close. The original find-spot is not known but it seems possible that it was found when the alterations

to wall and bastion were made in the early years of the nineteenth century, when the house was built."

She says that the stone is somewhat chipped and broken at the edges, and that a female bust is carved on it. "There are traces of drapery on the shoulder, rows of tight round curls worn rather high above the brow and crescent shaped projections on the temples. Professor J. Toynbee, who very kindly examined photographs of the stone, pointed out the 'stylized rendering' of the eyebrows and the bulging eyes reminiscent of the Roman head at Gloucester (J.R.S. 1935 p.218 pl.37), and of 'the obverse "Apollo" heads on Armorican coins.' Such treatment may perhaps suggest that this was the work of a native artist who knew something of Roman portrait heads."

After a description of the rest of the stone, in which Miss Pilmer points out that there is a round hole 3 inches deep and 4 inches in diameter on top, she concludes, "The stone obviously formed part of some larger structure, possibly a funerary monument, in which case the sculpture could have been a portrait head. The date is uncertain, though the hairstyle is reminiscent of certain Flavian fashions." (e.g. Bust of an unknown woman, 892, Pourtales Collection - British Museum.)

Miss Pilmer continues, "In accordance with the common Roman practice, the cemetery was outside the walls and

burial groups were found in 1895-6 and 1954-7 in the St. Pancras region, some 300 yards outside the East Gate on the North side of Stone Street." The pottery in both groups is much the same, and ranges from the first to the third century. "It is possible that another cemetery existed outside the South Gate, for it was here that the two tombstones were found and there is record of an isolated burial near Orchard Street, North-West of the North Gate."

She summarizes Mrs. Grahame Clark's article on the Amphitheatre (Antiq. J. XVI p.149-159). "A date between 70 and 90 A.D. was suggested for its building and it was apparently abandoned by the end of the second century, for the walls were robbed in the Roman period..... The Amphitheatre must have been linked to Stone Street by a road, but this was not discovered."

Stone Street, (which was recognized as a Roman road at least as early as the Mediaeval period) may have been built within 10 years of the conquest, and evidence suggests that it was in use by 70 A.D. a time when "considerable building activity was going on in Chichester. A second road from the East Gate ran through the coastal plain in the direction of Poling and Angmering, where first century occupation has been recorded."

Apparently the roads from the other 3 gates are not so well established, and the exact line of the Portsmouth road

is uncertain, because West Street may not be exactly on its original Roman line either, yet it cannot be far away, "for there are several reports of villa sites quite close to the present road. There are numerous Roman finds from Fishbourne," (a series of rubbish pits were found on the West Mead Estate which extended into the Rectory garden, and a tessellated pavement was found in 1950) "and there are coin finds from Elmworth. There must have been a road branching off to Boham where a harbour existed in Roman days. There are several records of Roman buildings here, and the head of the Emperor Trajan, now in the British Museum suggests that this was a place deemed worthy of a large and impressive imperial statue."

"The road from the South Gate has not been discovered, but the reference, in a Saxon Charter, to a Stanstrete at Kingsham the site of a villa, and Street End near Sidlesham suggests its line. There is no doubt that the Selsey peninsula was well inhabited throughout the Roman period. A villa has recently (1950) been discovered south of Sidlesham and there are numerous Roman finds from Selsey including the hoard of 975 coins dating 220-270 A.D." (V.C.H. Vol.III p.69)

Although there is no doubt as to its existence the line of the road from the North Gate is uncertain, yet "the recently discovered road through Iping Marsh was possibly

the link between the tribal capitals of Silchester and Chichester. The shrine on Bow Hill was visited until the end of the Roman period and there is also plenty of evidence of settlement to the North of the city. Hypocaust tiles and pottery were found when St. Richard's Hospital was built, several coins have been found in College Lane and there was the burial at Densworth. It is probable that water from the springs to the North was led into the city for there are several reports of Roman water pipes being found on the Broyle."

Miss Pilmer concludes, "Thus we may imagine the city of Chichester to have been only the centre of a Romano-British population settled on the coastal plain of West Sussex, tilling the rich soil and during the first and second centuries at least, living in comfort and in peace. And though not all the inhabitants would be as prosperous as the occupants of Angmering and Bignor, even the Downland farmers of Park Brow or Shepherds Garden, cultivating in the manner of their Celtic forbears, were not without their Samian bowls and dishes."

As regards the Entrenchments, Miss Pilmer follows Dr. J.P. Williams-Freeman fairly closely, (S.A.C. 76 p.65-101) yet disagrees with him on certain points.

"In the Voldoe, however, the picture seems to be very different from that described by Dr. Williams-Freeman, for both ditch and bank actually turn South in a curving line.

There is no doubt about the continuity and indeed it is marked on the more recent Ordnance Survey Maps.....

This is apparently one of the two ditches in the Valdoe which the Dr. dismissed as being too small to have had any connection with the system, yet there seems no doubt that it is one with the East end of the Valdoe section of his East-West A.

This being so, we have an argument for suggesting that the ditches were not planned as a whole and at one time, for such a curving line is very different from the straight sections elsewhere. If we add to this the other small entrenchment to the South of the Valdoe, we should have a system of earthworks protecting the Valdoe area. It must be admitted, however, that there seems no adequate reason for this, since no settlement in the area is known."

As to Dr. Williams-Freeman's East-West C, Miss Pilmer suggests that it is another problem "which might be solved by excavation."

As to his North-South S, she adds that there are "the remains of further ditches in the grounds of Densworth House which may or may not have formed part of this series."

Miss Pilmer continues that "there are several other isolated sections of similar works" in the Chichester area. Such a system of earthworks of course "raises at least 4 problems.

1. The purpose for which they were built.

2. The people or peoples who built them.
3. The settlement with which they were connected.
4. The period or periods to which they belong."

There are two possibilities as to their purpose, either they were defensive ditches or boundary ditches. Their size and arrangement renders them unlikely field boundaries, and it "seems equally unlikely that (like Offa's Dyke) they marked out tribal territory, for the various ditches and banks are surely too close together and in Saxon days boundaries here are highly improbable."

Thus the probability is that they were defensive works. It would appear that they are the defences of a people who were "at home in forest country," for the ditches do cover the routes from the Downland to the sea. Miss Filmer continues that "the task of clearing the forested plain would have been beyond the powers of all but the latest of the pre-Roman inhabitants and the need for such defences can hardly have outlasted the Saxon period..... The signs of Belgic occupation in Chichester, ..... are few, too few to suggest a pre-Roman settlement of a size sufficient to explain such extensive works. But need we assume that the ditches were protecting Chichester?" The city's position would suggest otherwise, it is off one corner. "That the earthworks were protecting Fishbourne Harbour is likely but so far no Belgic Settlement on or near the harbour has been discovered." It would appear that Selsey is the nearest

place to offer substantial signs of Belgic occupation.

As to Roman origin she says, "Apparently the Romans were greeted as friends in West Sussex and since the Trundle was already deserted, there would seem to have been no danger threatening from the North. Nor are the Romans known to have thrown up entrenchments of this nature outside their cities. Earthworks for protecting stock are known in the late Roman period but the number of our entrenchments, and the close proximity" of some "makes it unlikely that they could have served such a purpose."

As to Saxon origin Miss Pilmer says that, "the earliest Saxon invaders must have come in small bands and these works, even part of them, would have required a considerable force."

She concludes that, "It may be that a pre-Roman settlement," the closest parallels being Belgic, "still remains to be found." Miss Pilmer feels that the answer may be found near Hainaker, "where Roman road and Devil's Ditch appear to cross."

Miss Pilmer's main topic is the coarse pottery which was found in Chichester chiefly in the years between the wars in the course of building operations.

After listing most of the pottery found, Miss Pilmer passes on to her Chronological Analysis. She says that precise dating was impossible and that the pottery fell naturally into 3 groups, early, middle and late. In the tables she includes to demonstrate her findings Miss Pilmer gives 4 main divisions:-



- (1) Pre-Flavian.
- (2) Vespasian to Hadrian.
- (3) Antoninus to Philip I.

"The division was made c.250 A.D. since this date has been given as the beginning of the earliest period of the New Forest Kilns."

- (4) 250 A.D. - 400 +.

"A striking feature of the diagram based on the tables of coarse pottery, Samian and coins is the consistent pattern presented. It is only in the pre-Flavian group that the proportion of coarse pottery to Samian seems rather less than would be expected. In this case, two explanations seem possible. It may be that the native practice of using wooden vessels was still continuing and on the other hand, some of the forms noted in the second column may have been made in the pre-Flavian period. The latter possibility is one, which only further excavation can settle and it must be borne in mind."

Yet the figures "give no support at all to the theory that there was a native settlement on the site of Roman Chichester. There are only 3 vessels in native ware among the pottery which was taken from sites scattered over the greater part of the city. How very different from the picture in the cities of Verulamium and Colchester, where native vessels are found not only on the native sites, but

also in the early Roman cities. There is, so far, only one native coin recorded from Chichester and one from the harbour. Both are coins of Cunobelinus and could well have come in in the course of trade and not necessarily before 43 A.D."

An examination of the Samian ware tells much the same story. "Yet one would have expected native ware to have been common, if this had indeed been a native settlement. Its absence seems surprising even if one assumes, as on this evidence one surely must, that the city was not founded until the Roman conquest."

She continues that "there are signs of activity on the site in the pre-Flavian period but the total amount of coarse pottery is small," and likewise with the Samian. "Again the coins support the pottery. The total number of pre-Flavian coins from the city and its immediate environs is 24, less than half the number for the period Vespasian to Hadrian."

Samian and coins, then, combine to suggest that settlement was thin before the reign of Vespasian, but that there was occupation, cannot be questioned. (An enamelled bronze boss found in Little London is first century, possibly pre-conquest.) "The Claudian level in North Street, which produced the coin of Cunobelinus, did not suggest heavy occupation, being no more than an inch or two of dirty clay covered by some three feet of clean yellow clay, on top of which the early second century courtyard had been laid."

"The inscriptions" she continues, "do not fit so easily into this picture." The Neptune and Minerva inscription cannot be later than 60-70 A.D., and seems to "suggest that Roman manners and customs were already well established, though it is possible that this could be explained by the presence of Italian influence." Further evidence for at least one other pre-Flavian public building (or statue) is the lost Nero inscription.

She then continues, "This contradiction, however, may be more apparent than real, for public buildings need not be taken to imply that a thriving town was already in existence. If Chichester really were a new town being built to provide a fitting capital for an imperial representative, the early erection of public buildings would not be surprising. The real period of growth would then begin about the time of Vespasian and, in such a settlement of already partially Romanized inhabitants, the absence of native ware would be less unusual."

As regards the pottery in the Vespasian-Hadrian period, Miss Filmer continues that, "we find evidence of rapid growth in the Flavian period. Quite the largest amount falls into the late first and early second centuries..... A glance at the list of coins will show that the numbers increase with Vespasian (15)" and that their number (52) is more than double that of the pre-Flavian period.

In the Antoninus-Philip I period the "pottery seems

to suggest that.....the city was less thickly populated" being considerably less in quantity. The <sup>number of</sup> coins do not show a large difference, 44 as opposed to the 52 for the preceding period. This seems strange in view of the fact that the age of the Antonines was supposed to have been the high water mark of townlife in Roman Britain. Yet, she continues, "there is one fact which gives some support to the pottery. The Amphitheatre, built between 70 and 90 A.D., in what appears to be our most thickly populated period, is apparently abandoned by the end of the second century. On the other hand we have seen that the walls were probably built in the reign of Severus and the Jupiter inscription may also suggest new building in the late second or early third century." Verulamium has produced plenty of evidence of its expansion in this period, but it seems fair to say from "what evidence there is" that it does "not favour the Antonine period as the heyday of Roman Chichester, but would tend to put the period of greatest activity rather earlier."

Concerning the latest period (A.D. 250-400 +) in the life of the Roman city, Miss Pilmer says that from the pottery it would appear "that the population was at least maintained, and probably increased. Too much weight cannot be placed on the very large proportion of the coins (250) which fall into this period, since the abundance of coinage on sites occupied in the fourth century is well known. The

Chichester coins do not suggest any increased activity in the period 384-395 A.D." (as at Richborough), "though the peak falls into the Constantinian period as it did at Richborough." At Verulamium the peak came at the end of the third century, and a restricted occupation was suggested for the fourth century, "but our evidence seems to suggest a situation somewhere between these two." Although in the last years of the fourth and the early part of the fifth century the activity was not so great as that in Richborough, "there seems reason to suppose that the population at Chichester increased. Recent excavations in Cawley Priory favoured the view that the area was largely unoccupied until the late third century, for all but one of the 22 coins were post A.D. 268, and there was also late occupation in East Pallant. Chichester then, may have provided protection from the Saxon raiders for some of the inhabitants of the Sussex plain, strengthening her defences by the addition of wall bastions. The evidence from other sources supports the view that it was at the end of the third century that the raids became really destructive," and occupation at Portfield ended in the third century. "We do not know why, or in what circumstances, the settlers moved from Portfield, but perhaps it was these peoples who helped to swell the population of the city. The coin hoards tell a similar story,"

Miss Pilmer then concludes, "The pottery throws no light

on that most difficult problem, the last years of the Roman city..... Yet there is the presence of the coin of Valentinian III to suggest that occupation continued in Chichester, and the coins, ranging from Nero to Arcadius and Honorius, from the neighbouring shrine on Bow Hill give further, and quite strong support for some occupation well into the fifth century." If a date about 450 A.D. is accepted for the loss of the latest orthodox coins found there, it must be assumed that a Romanized population was in existence in or in the neighbourhood of Chichester until the middle of the fifth century. "This makes the problem of the pottery more baffling, but there seems no intrinsic reason to suppose that local Romano-British pottery ceased to be made in 410 A.D., and we have already seen that first century types continued into the second century and perhaps quite late into the second century. Is it not likely then, that the fourth century types continued into the fifth century? Yet even that suggestion raises difficulties and so the problem must be left for lack of evidence."

Despite the lack of literary evidence, "we may suppose that a reduced population lingered on into the fifth century, clinging to the last remnants of the Roman way of life..... there seems no reason to doubt that the end of the fifth century saw the Saxons settled in the coastal plain of Sussex."

In a section entitled "Typological Analysis" Miss Pilmer points out that although the pottery falls almost entirely into the Roman period, the Romans did not come into an empty land. Before they came, "each successive group of immigrants brought their own pottery with them, pottery which both introduced new fashions and modified existing types."

She continues, "There is, however, strong evidence for saying that West Sussex fell under Belgic influence in the pre-Roman period. The coins of Commius and his sons are so widely scattered as to suggest that the district formed part of the territories of the Belgic dynasty founded by Commius..... The Chichester Gallo-Belgic pottery....seems to favour a post-conquest date."

She includes plans and much detailed description of types.

"Thus, in the first two centuries, the pottery, while showing Belgic influences in certain directions, also demonstrates the persistence of several native features..... and the explanation of a political domination exercised by Belgic migrants too small in numbers to affect the racial strain, seems to be borne out by the Chichester pottery. There is also the possibility.....that Belgicisation was spread by the later Roman influence."

There seems to have been greater variety in the forms in the first and second centuries than in the third and

fourth. "Increasing Romanization apparently meant greater uniformity, so far as Chichester was concerned." Also, some forms seemed to be almost entirely local. ".....and no doubt the growing quantity of well known forms after the second century reflects the increasing Romanization of the people."

From a study of the typology of the Romano-British pottery from Chichester, the theory "that a native tradition survived alongside the growing Belgic influence" is supported. "It is not easy to say just how much this Belgic influence was due to an existing Belgic element in the population, but considering the fact that native wares are almost completely absent and that the familiar bead rim types, even in Romanized form, are comparatively rare, it seems reasonable to conclude that this Belgic element was small. Once the Roman organization in Southern Britain was established, it would have been easy for Belgic influence to spread not only from the surrounding Belgic tribes, but also as a result of increased trade."

Miss Pilmer includes a section on 'The Chichester Hoard'. She follows the account in the Gentleman's Magazine 1830 (part II p.228-229) fairly fully in her description of the coins.

From a study of the coarse pottery, "we may say that there was no pre-Roman native settlement on this particular



site, that a small settlement began in the earliest years of the Conquest, but that this did not expand to any considerable extent until the Flavian period. After this, occupation was continuous until some time in the fifth century."

As to the theory that Chichester was founded by the people of the Trundle, Miss Pilmer says that as the Trundle was deserted about 50 B.C. it would be necessary "to prove almost 100 years of occupation on the site before the Conquest. But native pottery is almost completely absent, so we must surely conclude that the city could not have been founded at so early a date." It was not those peoples who established the new city although their descendants may have come to Chichester. The Trundle peoples may have settled North of Chichester on the Broyle, but this is uncertain - a few hut circles are not proof.

Occupation at Selsey, which had come under Belgic influence, ceased towards the end of the first century, and so the arrival of these people in Chichester would account for the increase in population in the Flavian period. But "so far as Chichester is concerned, one might have expected more signs of Belgic influence, particularly in the shape of coins of the Commian dynasty, if the inhabitants of Selsey had moved to swell the population of Chichester." Yet this theory is not untenable, because Selsey itself did not produce the Belgic coins.

Although it is impossible to say where the earliest settlers came from, it can be said fairly definitely that the Regni could hardly have been Belgic, although they must have come under Belgic influence. "Such a theory is supported by the pottery, by the extreme rarity of Belgic coins from the site and by what we know of Cogidubnus. We are told that he greeted the Romans with friendliness and this fact in itself favours the theory, for it was the Belgic tribes that were most hostile to Rome and the earliest campaigns were in the Belgic areas." Having defeated the Catuvellauni Vespasian moved South West annexing the Isle of Wight, and conquering two powerful tribes (probably the Durotriges and the Belgae). So "the dangers of such powerful neighbours had, no doubt, long been obvious to the local inhabitants and it would be natural for any local leaders to seize this opportunity."

"It must have been under these circumstances that Cogidubnus made the acquaintance of the Emperor-to-be and, in return for services rendered, was given extra territory and the title of King and Legate. Thus it seems likely that it was Cogidubnus who founded the city at Chichester - a new city on the Roman model - so fulfilling his obligations and providing a suitable background for his new dignity. It is probable that the site had already been picked out by the army of Vespasian, for it is unlikely that the harbour would

have escaped his notice, whether he came by land or sea. In either case, many of the supplies must have come by sea and Chichester harbour is well situated for an expedition to the Isle of Wight. It is known that the Regni never took up arms, but a Roman helmet was dredged up from Chichester harbour, and a belt plate was found in the Claudian level in North Street."

"It would not be surprising to find Cogidubnus making use of his earlier acquaintanceship with Vespasian, who might well have given him additional encouragement when he became Emperor. This would fit in well with the expansion in the Flavian period, and Cogidubnus lived until that time." Tacitus (Agricola c.14 "is ad nostram usque memoriam fidiissimus mansit") implies that he was "alive in the seventies, still faithful to Rome and no doubt, continuing to collect around him the traders and metal workers suggested by the early inscriptions." Thus it seems that Cogidubnus was not ruling in Chichester before the Romans came, but was a local chief who seized the opportunity to cast off Belgic domination and founded the new city as a tribal capital, - a move which would encourage settlement.

"The expansion in the Flavian period would accord well with what is known of the policy of the Flavian Emperors, and the enthusiasm for town life would certainly, indeed have to be encouraged by Cogidubnus, King and Imperial

Legate." Yet a city must have trade to make its growth real and permanent, for imperial policy and a "local desire to emulate Roman manners" and the "functions of a tribal capital would not necessarily lead to real prosperity."

Chichester's part in the economic life of Roman Sussex is hard to assess, but it would seem that the city has never been ideally situated to be a thriving trading centre. East and West Sussex are not a unit, for "they showed distinctive features in pre-historic times." Although no second century Roman town is known in East Sussex, which could have hindered the development of Chichester, "there is a certain amount of evidence for suggesting that there were settlements at the mouths of the Adur, the Arun and the Ouse, and even small ports on these rivers could have taken much of the export trade of their own regions."

The silting of Chichester Harbour is fairly recent, for in Roman times West Sussex must have produced large quantities of corn, as both Tacitus (*Agricola* 12) and Pliny (*Nat.Hist.* XVII 4,6,8.) "comment on the fertility and extent of agriculture in South Britain. The many villas (e.g. Bosham, Fishbourne etc.) testify to the presence of a flourishing local aristocracy, their wealth, based on agriculture, helping to support the town."

The iron industry may have been another source of trade for the city, as "iron slag found at several points in the

city, the small bloomery in North Street, and the Cogidubnus inscription itself, all support such a theory, but again, however important locally, it seems doubtful whether it could have been sufficient to support a flourishing town," the chief iron producing areas being further East. This being so the bulk of the trade would probably have passed through the eastern ports such as Pevensey and perhaps London. There is no knowledge of other local industries, which would not have been on a large scale owing to the size of the town.

"Perhaps we may see in these factors the reasons for Regnum's failure to maintain its early prosperity and it is probable that, in the ambitious building programme instituted by Cogidubnus, the city over-reached itself. The mid second century saw the beginning of this decline, during which population decreased and the Amphitheatre was allowed to fall into ruin, there is plenty of evidence for the decline of towns in the third century, not only in Roman Britain but in the Empire as a whole, and no doubt this decline affected Chichester."

"Yet about 200 A.D. the city walls were built, of solidly laid flints faced with stone blocks. Such building in what appears to be a time of economic retrogression, seems difficult to explain. It cannot have been the result of civic pride, but was probably intended to provide protection against dangers either from within the country

or from without." The shock of the removal of forces by Clodius Albinus, the rising occasioned by it and the subsequent devastation of much of Northern Britain must have been felt in the South. "It was Severus who restored order .....and Chichester's walls might well have been built during the general re-organisation."

Miss Pilmer continues that as both pottery and coins show a considerable increase in the second half of the third century and in the fourth century, "the actual peak falling in the Constantinian period," there must have been an increase in population though not necessarily an improvement in prosperity. "Is this a result of the re-organisation of Constantius Chlorus which gave new life to Verulamium, or is it a sign of some economic re-organisation in the surrounding countryside?" The bastions which had been added to the walls somewhat later gave the extra protection necessary in this later disturbance. "Was this additional protection recognized and valued by the population outside the town and did some of them seek the greater safety of its walls?"

"Any influx of population must have come either from the villas or villages. The settlement in the plain at Portfield, apparently ended during the third century, but the population here must have been small." Miss Pilmer points out that lack of scientific excavations at villa sites renders this problem difficult to answer.

Miss Pilmer goes on to say that it has been shown (Antiq. IX 36 P.443-454) that there was extensive cultivation of the Downs in the Roman period, and "it does seem as if the majority of the Downland villages had ceased to be occupied by the beginning of the fourth century." Evidence from villages in the neighbourhood "does support the theory that depopulation of the Downs was taking place during the late third and early fourth centuries. Whatever the reason for this, and there is not enough evidence for saying that there was any change from arable to pastoral farming here..... it may well explain the apparent concentration of population in the city."

"The last days of Roman Chichester are obscure but some population remained, their economic position no doubt steadily deteriorating as the fourth century drew to its close." There are coins of Gratian, Theodosius I and Magnus Maximus and New Forest pottery of the latest period. "Yet the coins from the shrine on Bow Hill and the Valentinian III from the city itself, prove that some population remained well into the fifth century," and so it seems that Aelle's landing was not entirely unopposed.

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'Roman Britain' by I.A. Richmond, the first volume in the Pelican History of England Series was published in 1955.

Richmond mentions Chichester in connection with the spread of Roman civilization. He says that the territory of

Cogidumnus was the springboard of Vespasian's attack upon the west, that Noviomagus "has yielded two remarkable inscriptions, one lost, the other preserved, which illustrate the duties of a client-king. The lost piece was a dedication in honour of the Emperor Nero, dated to either A.D. 58 or 60. The text is an elaborate statement of his Imperial ancestry and expressed with punctilious accuracy the reverence which a subject king was expected to have for his lord the Emperor."

The second stone is of course the Neptune and Minerva inscription. Richmond then goes on to explain the unique title granted to Cogidumnus. He again mentions the Neptune and Minerva inscription in connection with Emperor worship. He continues, "A statue-base dedicated to Nero is also known from Chichester, and later still a second public religious monument was dedicated in honour of the Divine House."

'Town and Country in Roman Britain' by A.L.F. Rivet  
was published in 1953.

Rivet points out that Roman cantonal capitals were not always founded on exactly the same site as the old ones, - Chichester was founded some miles from its Iron Age predecessor at Selsey. He cites the Neptune and Minerva inscription as almost the only evidence of some Romanity among the Britons.

In speaking about defences Rivet says, "we have evidence for the widespread construction of earthwork defences in the first century, and it is not unreasonable to assume that many



of them were the result of the lessons learnt in 61." Chichester has traces of such defences. He dates the construction of the walls at Chichester to about A.D.200, by comparing them with those at Verulamium. He dates the bastions to about A.D.350, by comparing them with those at Caerwent.

Rivet in speaking about the Regnenses says that no coins of Cogidubnus have been found.

Of the numerous, popular county handbooks and guides of the present day, the two following seem to be fairly representative of the different types of approach to Roman Chichester which are to be found. The thoroughly romantic approach, ~~which~~, while filling one with pride and enthusiasm, is not always historically accurate and depends to too great an extent on local stories and legends, some of which do not always fit the facts. <sup>there is</sup> Then, the concise approach with little or no embellishments, which is very often quite accurate historically and brings forward some valid points despite the limited scope of the book.

(1) The King's England - Sussex.

1937. Arthur Mee.

He says that the now disused St. Andrew's Church is built "above a Roman pavement", but offers no more information about it than this.

Mee has a large section on the "Pudens Stone", connecting

it in the most romantic language with St. Paul and the Pudens and Claudia mentioned in II Timothy. 4:21. He begins "it is all wrapped in mystery, but those who are wise will love to think there is something in the story we are now about to tell." He continues that there may have been British Christians in Rome, who heard St. Paul and sent home the "good tidings". He states without any qualification at all that the "Purbeck Marble" stone found in 1723 records that "the donor of the site was one Pudens, son of Pudentius." He then asserts, though not quite so categorically as before that if Cogidubnus had had a daughter, by Roman custom her name would be Claudia, as her father had been allowed to adopt the Emperor's name. He then suggests that it would be very likely that such a daughter might be sent to Rome, "as an honourable pledge of the continued fidelity of Cogidubnus." He goes on to quote from Martial's Epigrams to show that a British woman named Claudia married an Aulus Pudens in Rome, both of whom are mentioned in II Timothy: 4:21.

Mee then concludes that these two are natives of Chichester, and converts of St. Paul. He then further embellishes the story by saying that among the legendary traditions of the church is the belief that, a century later, a son of Pudens took a great part in spreading the Gospel. He closes with this statement, "it is a fascinating theory and it seems to fit the facts as far as we know them."

Of the section on Roman Chichester, the vast majority is taken up with this very suppositions and conjectural romanticism as to the interpretation of the Neptune and Minerva stone. This sort of approach shows scant regard for the facts as they exist and is surely lacking in historical propriety. But perhaps the most harmful effect of this approach is wrought upon those who read it in trust, as this type of 'myth' dies hard.

(2) The Little Guides - Sussex

1900 F.G. Brabant, revised 1949 by R.F. Jessup.

The guide mentions the Chichester Entrenchments.

"They are extensive East to West, and North to South Linear earthworks evidently built to defend the city and harbourhead of Chichester from the downland to the northward." A date shortly before the Claudian conquest in 43 A.D. is suggested for their erection, the Vespasianic date being rejected.

Concerning the Neptune and Minerva inscription, the restoration and translation given are those in the present City Guide by F.W. Steer. The romance of "Pudens" is discounted as legend, although ".....it has been commended by no less an authority than Sir Charles Oman."

The guide continues that, "no less than nine inscriptions have been found at various times within the city. Seven have been lost.....there is an interesting late second century sculptured dedicatory monument to Jupiter, found in West

Street in 1935," (Translation: To Jupiter noblest and greatest in honour of the Divine House.) Later on we have, "Much pottery and other evidence postulate an intensive occupation from the first to the fourth century A.D."

"When St. Olave's Church was restored in 1851 (Now S.F.C.K. Bookshop) a circular arch of Roman tiles and two embedded Roman pots are said to have been discovered in the East End. Roman tiles etc. have been incorporated into Saint Rumbold's Church, Rumboldswyke, a South-Eastern suburb of the city."

This guide, although only a small book, was written as accurately as possible, and showed good historical sense in dealing with such a complex of theories and ideas as Roman Chichester has aroused.

#### APPENDIX

In 1853 at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Chichester, the Rev. E.R. Perkins read a paper "on the probable origin of different Ancient names of Chichester."

It seems doubtful if the article was ever published, as it cannot be traced in the British Museum.

Also, a certain William Sabatier had a book entitled "Roman Remains in Chichester" published in 1798. The book was a description of the Roman military works in the neighbourhood of Chichester. Presumably it was about the earthworks and entrenchments on and near the Broil. Again the British Museum was unable to trace a copy of the work.

**THE SOURCES :- PART II**

**PERIODICALS**

The Gentleman's Magazine.

1805.

"On the site of the market-house in North Street, in this city, was discovered, anno 1731, a stone sunk in the ground with the following inscription."

The Neptune and Minerva inscription is given but with the emendation '(Clem)ente Pudentini fil(io).' It is interesting that although the wrong date and place are given for the discovery of the stone, the more correct and therefore likely reading of Clemente is incorporated.

"Chichester was early in the possession of the Romans, which accounts for the great number of coins which are dug up in every part of the city. The broil, a common on which barracks are now erected, about a mile north of the city, is the site of a Roman encampment, and the fosse and vallum still remain."

"At Fishbourne.....was discovered about the 20th March, this year, in digging by the roadside for the foundation of a house, a tessellated pavement about 13 feet 6 inches in width. One end runs under a hedge, so that the length has not been ascertained. In the middle is a space about 2 feet in diameter, where the workmen found part of the base of a column. A fine spring immediately under the floor gives probability to the supposition of its having been intended

for a bath. It is paved with small black and white stones, but no figures or anything were found to convey any idea of the time or purpose of its erection, except two small copper coins of Vespasian. Several pieces of Roman cement, however, were picked up on the other side of the road, so that if the discovery were followed up with spirit, some valuable pieces of antiquity might, perhaps, be found."

1816.

In a letter dealing with the Devil's Ditch, the writer explains how it falls into "the lines proceeding from Chichester" at Lavant. These come "to within forty yards of the East side of the Roman Camp on the Broil, by Summers Dale....." On considering it further the writer says that the whole country roundabout Chichester appears to have been defended "by entrenchments, in all probability the work of the Belgic Britons, and partly of the Romans, who might take advantage of the works of their predecessors..."

The writer continues, "From the North gate of the city of Chichester another high bank proceeds, in a North-West direction, passing near the grounds called the Campus..... A few years past, in digging through this bank, it was discovered to be an aqueduct, the water having been conveyed by earthen pipes, neatly fitted into each other." This is presumably the Roman aqueduct often referred to by many sources.

1824.

August:- In a "Compendium of County History", under a section headed "Ancient State and Remains", we are told that the British Inhabitants were called Regni, that the Roman Province was called Britannia Prima, and Chichester was called Regnum. They also state that the Broile and Gonshil are Roman Encampments.

October:- In a chronological resumé of the County's History, for the year 47 A.D. the following entry is made. "Flavius Vespasian, who was commissioned by Claudius to establish the Roman dominion in the maritime provinces in this island, accomplished his commission without much difficulty, and fixed his headquarters at a place now called Chichester."

December:- In a continuation of a "Compendium of County History", under the heading Miscellaneous Remarks, there is the following:- "On the site of the Bishop's Palace, in 1725, was found a Roman pavement; it being the spot upon which the house of the Roman Praetor stood."

1830.

"In the month of September, 1819, whilst the workmen were employed in digging out the soil of a field called Palace Field, in this city, for the purpose of forming a basin for the canal, a considerable number of remains of Roman pottery, of various forms and sizes together with some hand-mills, apparently used for grinding corn, a



glass vessel of a square shape, inclosed in lead, and containing ashes, and a variety of other curiosities of a similar nature, were brought to light. But the most remarkable discovery was made by one of the workmen striking his spade against a coarse earthen urn, about two feet from the surface, which was broken by the collision, and proved to contain about 700 silver Roman imperial coins, in the finest state of preservation." The coins ranged from Vespasian to Faustina the Younger, but of these the greatest number were of Domitian, Trajan and Faustina the Elder. Near the urn containing the coins, was a skeleton and the iron head of a spear.

1831.

"In making a grave lately in St. Pancras churchyard, Chichester, at a depth of 5 feet was found a piece of fine red Samian pottery 8 inches by 7 inches, being part of a circular basin of 9 inches diameter." Mr. King, who possessed it; although he had been collecting pottery fragments for many years had never before been able to make out the fanciful ornaments of the Romanized Britons. "The following he describes as all in relieve; the first border consists of twenty tablets with a tassel between each, resting on a zigzag border, to which are appended five festooned fringed semicircles with tassels between; in the semicircle of the first and second are a swan in each, in the next a star,

and in the two last a dolphin in each; next follows a foliated border of nearly one hundred leaves wreathed round the basin, with a zigzag thread over and under; close to and beneath this border is represented a lion combating a wild boar, both in a salient position and facing each other, the drawing and character very spirited; and, in order to repeat this combat in another part of the pottery, ornaments of bulrushes are interposed, on which are standing small birds admirably delineated; the embellishments finish by a sharp and rich border of the chain ornament, connected by a display of fine chevron work."

1836.

Mr. Charles Roach Smith in a letter followed by a descriptive list of a hoard of Roman coins found near Aldmodington Common, includes a paragraph about Chichester.

"The vicinity of Chichester (the Regnum of Antoninus) has been particularly fruitful in objects of antiquarian interest. A short time previous to the above exhumation, numerous denarii of a higher period of the Roman Empire were found in digging the basin of the canal at Southgate, in the suburbs of the town. I was not present at the time to ascertain from personal observation the extent of the series, but such as I have seen were of Vespasianus, Titus, Domitianus, Nerva, Trajanus, Hadrianus, Sabina, Lucius Aelius, Antoninus Pius, and Faustina the elder.

Throughout the line of the canal numerous coins, lamps, and pottery were from time to time discovered. Among the former may be mentioned a Didia Clara, in silver, found near Mundham."

1838.

"At St. Pancras burial-ground.....sepulchral Roman remains continue to be exhumed from time to time. Mr. Thomas King has recently rescued many interesting objects, which were disinterred on this spot, from destruction; among which is a praefericulum of light yellow clay, of most elegant shape and outline, precisely similar to one procured from the same spot last summer by this gentleman, and two Samian vessels quite perfect. The potters' marks on these are CRACVNA. F. and REBURRIS<sup>o</sup>OF, the S reversed."

1841.

In an article about the Seventh Iter of Antoninus, it states that it started at Regnum and went to London via Winchester etc. The writer then says, "I believe no doubt now exists of Chichester being the Regnum of Antoninus."

We are told that the inhabitants of Surrey and Sussex were called Bibroci in the time of Caesar. "They were afterwards the Regni of Ptolemy."

"Their change of name may be accounted for by the circumstances recorded by Tacitus, who informs us that

Claudius gave certain cities to King Cogidunus, because he remained faithful to the Romans: and Richard of Cirencester, in speaking of this matter, says certain cities were yielded to Cogidunus that he might form a kingdom (*ut inde sibi conderet Regnum* ). I apprehend, therefore, that the Regni continued under the government of their native princes, and were but little interfered with by the Romans. The inscription found at Chichester, more than a century ago, serves, in some measure, to show that Cogidunus was King of the Bibroci."

"Ptolemy speaks of the Regni and their town Neomagus."

Richard of Cirencester said that, "They were also called Rhevi (pro Regni), and are not unknown in record. They inhabited Bibroci, Regentium and Noviomagus, which was their metropolis. The Romans held Anderida."

About the places the writer continues:-

"Regentium (the Regnum of Antoninus) was undoubtedly at Chichester."

"Noviomagus (which seems to have been the chief town of the Regni, as said by Ptolemy) is mentioned in the Second Iter of Antoninus, and in two of the Iters of Richard of Cirencester, and was at Carshalton and Wallington in Surrey. The reasons given for placing this station elsewhere do not deserve much attention." A site near Dorking had been suggested, among others.

"For many ages after the establishment of the Roman power in this island, it seems that no attention was paid to this portion of it by the Romans, in consequence, probably, of the yielding it to Cogidunus, as previously mentioned." Because of a forest the writer supposes communication between London and the Sussex coast to have been difficult. ".....and it is plain from the Seventh Iter of Antoninus, that at that time, the road from Regnum to London was through Winchester, and otherwise very circuitous."

"The fifteenth Iter of Richard of Cirencester describes a journey from Anderida to York. No station is mentioned in it before Noviomagus, which is more than forty miles from Anderida, if we except Sylva Anderida. The meaning of this is, that the route to Noviomagus was through the forest of Anderida....."

On the Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain there are two towns marked Noviomagus, Chichester and Crayford. The distance from Anderida to Chichester is over fifty miles, but the distance from Anderida to Crayford is about forty miles. This Noviomagus was in the territory of the Cantii (or Cantiaci). The distance from Anderida to Dorking is also about forty miles, and the distance from Anderida to Carshalton likewise, so the problem is a very complex one. It can be said fairly definitely that the Noviomagus, which was the chief town of the Regni, must have been

Chichester, and the Noviomagus mentioned by Richard of Cirencester seems likely to have been Crayford as that would appear to fit in best with his fifteenth Iter.

1852.

"The recent discovery of two Roman urns must serve to convince any one that St. Olave's Church, Chichester, was built on the site of a Roman temple, and it is most probable that the urns which contained the ashes of the dead were deposited under the arch." The two Roman urns were found built into the upper part of the wall, at the east end.

1858.

Densworth:- "During the past winter, a shepherd pitching his fold in a field at Densworth, struck his crowbar against what proved to be the covering-stone of a stone cist, and thus accidentally led the way to discoveries, which have proved to be of considerable importance." A second cist and fragments of an inscription upon Purbeck stone were also found a little later. "Within the cists were sepulchral deposits" similar to those found at Avisford about 1816. "Some beautiful glass urns and bottles are among the most striking of the Densworth remains. The urns contained the burnt bones of the defunct. One of them was closed by an inverted long-necked lachrymatory, stamped at the bottom with the maker's name. There are no lamps, as in the Avisford cist; but it is somewhat curious that

the little niches upon which they stood are represented in one of the Densworth cists by an imperfectly-formed stand cut in one of the angles. No sandals in a perfect state have been found; but the nails with which the soles were studded remain oxidized together, the leather having entirely perished."

"The fragments of the inscription are among the most remarkable of the objects. The letters are well cut, and indicate a period somewhat anterior to the time of Severus. The only coin that has as yet been found is of the Emperor Hadrian."

"The cemetery is situated close to the inner side of some very extensive earthworks which run on the eastern side almost close to Chichester. The Rev. H. Smith is making a survey of them, with a view to ascertain their extent towards the west. They have been hitherto but little noticed, and they are not very obviously explainable by ancient systems of military fortifications. It has been suggested that they may be land-boundaries."

#### Sussex Notes and Queries

February 1926.

Alfred Anscombe in an article on the Ravenna Cosmography has this to say about Navimago. It "is the

'Noiomagos' of Claudius Ptolemy whose geography was produced in or about A.D.150 Ptolemy's form omits the Latin V; but there need be no doubt but that we have two erroneous forms of Noviomagus. Ptolemy tells us that 'southward from the Atrebatioi and the Kantioi lie the Rheginoi and the town called Noiomagos'. The connexion between Noviomagus and the Regni is clear. Moreover Ptolemy authoritatively asserts that 'Noiomagos' was 59 miles from London by road. Ptolemy was clearly referring to the capital city of the folk he called Rheginoi, consequently the doublet 'Navimago Regentium' is really a phrase of which the second word is a Latin genitive plural with t miswritten for s. I assume therefore that the phrase should read Noviomago Regnensium."

November 1926.

John E. Ray in an article on Sussex Archaeology in relation to Physical Features writes; "The two chief estuaries that Sussex possessed - those of Chichester in the west and Pevensey in the east - have each influenced the settlements in their neighbourhood." He goes on, "Chichester was the Sussex port for London, and in the Roman period the Roman civilization radiated and penetrated" from it.



May 1930.

Ian C. Hannah writes; "The drought of September 1929, brought out on the Deanery lawn what seemed to be the foundations of Roman buildings. Its northern edge exactly ten feet due south of the South-west corner of the Deanery, there was outlined an apse, about fifteen feet in diameter and open toward the east, of north and south walls there seemed no trace, but joining its curve on the west were confused foundations, decidedly Roman in appearance. The buildings of Regnum have been found in all parts of Chichester, some actually within the cathedral walls, whose Norman builders were content to floor over the site without properly excavating it."

February 1932.

W.J. Andrew in an article about a Bronze Lion-headed ornament found in Chichester, says, after he has described its measurements etc., that it is "Roman in character and period, yet it is not classical, but of our native art. Beautiful as the workmanship is, the sculptor could never have seen a lion in the flesh nor a classical lion in the marble, for I have two in the latter form from Carthage before me for comparison." Its portraiture is half animal and half human. "The nose stands out abruptly from the rounded cheeks and above a very pronounced moustache, the

eyes, with their chased pupils, and particularly the arched brows and front teeth, are very human, whilst the ears instead of almost surmounting the head are brought down to the human level below the eyes."

"These are all Romano-British characteristics and strange as it may seem, there is a remarkable likeness between this lion's head and the famous 'Bearded Gorgon's Head' at Bath, for the eyes, ears, and expression of fierceness are curiously similar, and the lion's mane is curled to the same peculiar design as that of the Gorgon's snaky hair. Similarly, the heavy puckering of the forehead and particularly the raised form of the nose find their counterparts in the well-known Corbridge Lion, which also has very human ears, but not so low as these."

Following R.G. Collingwood, Mr. Andrew says that this lion's head is the product of a Romano-British artist. As to its purpose, he points out that Lion-heads were common to all art of the classical period, and adorned vases, fountains, armour, shields, chariots, furniture and buckets, "but the fine chasing and art of this example probably reduce its purpose to one of the first four named." After pointing out that it is too heavy for ordinary vases or body-armour, he states that the most likely probabilities are the spout of a fountain or the umbo of a shield.

May 1934.

Mr. S.E. Winbolt mentions two coins of Claudius which had been found recently, one having been found at Chichester. He thinks that they may have been connected with the advance of the left wing of the Roman army under Vespasian.

November 1934.

The Rev. A.A. Evans writing about the excavations at Chichester on the site of the new Central Post Office (near the Cross), says that finds of interest have occurred, amongst which was some Roman pottery.

He also mentions that digging had been going on in West Street and Chapel Street, and that "a considerable amount of pottery of several periods has been found, also coins. One of the coins is of unusual interest, that of Didius Salvius Julianus. As he was Roman Emperor only for the space of two months, in A.D. 193, very few coins of his reign exist."

He continues that, "the most remarkable discoveries have been that of the foundations of a villa near and within the N.W. walls. Lines of house walling were found by the workmen and cut through, also a considerable piece of tessellated brick pavement..... Also there were found in West Street a large piece of stone walling of an early date, probably Roman..... Both these lines of building run

obliquely across the street, where they were found, which indicates that the present streets are not, or only approximately, on the lines of those of the Roman period."

November 1943.

Hilda Johnstone describes a Roman Votive figure found at Chichester by a schoolboy, near the Lavant in the fields outside the south wall of the city. "The site was about 200 feet south of the point where the wall borders the gardens of a house in the cathedral close known as the Residentiary, where there is a mediaeval bastion, which on excavation in 1885 was found to be superimposed upon a larger Roman bastion."

The statuette is small, of clay, representing a robed figure, the feet broken off, the hands clasped to the breast, upon which is a round boss. She continues that, "The British Museum authorities say that it is a provincial Roman votive figure, perhaps made for household devotions; that it is impossible definitely to identify it, but it may be intended for a Minerva, the boss in that case being a Gorgon's head."

August 1944.

M.V. Taylor writes about the clay figurine found at Chichester, described by Dr. Hilda Johnstone. Taylor

says that it "probably represents a Gaulish young woman of the Roman period; she wears a long mantle or chiton fastened with a large round brooch or clasp on the breast, and holds in her left hand apparently a vase of flowers and in her right a small round object, perhaps a pot. Her waved hair is twisted back and surmounted by a coil of hair or diadem. She is probably not a deity, but just a cheap counterpart of a bronze statuette of a girl or of the finer attractive clay figurines found in Mediterranean lands. The coarse figurines such as ours were made in Gaul in vast numbers for the local market and served various purposes, ornamental as well as votive. Though found also in Britain they are less common here." (N.B. Antiq. Journal XXIV 1944).

November 1947.

G.P. Burstow includes a small article on a Roman coin from Chichester. A small bronze coin, was found at the corner of North Gate and St. Paul's Road. A description of the coin follows:-

"Ob. URBS ROMA - Helmeted head facing left.

Rv. The wolf facing left suckling Romulus and Remus and turning towards them. Above two stars. PLC preceded by a dot in a crescent." (See Cohen, VII, P.330 etc.)

"These coins were first used during the immediate successors of Constantine the Great in the fourth century A.D. The present specimen is in excellent condition."

August 1950.

Mention is made of excavations then being carried out by Dr. A.E. Wilson at Chichester. A Roman Well being found at East Pallant House in the garden.

November 1953.

A small paragraph inserted under the heading 'Chichester' reads:- "A heavy Roman wall in West Street near the Dolphin Hotel has been found, possibly connected with the Forum. A large storage jar two feet six inches high has been found in Tower Street."

November 1955.

E.J.W. Hildyard describes a collection of Roman Fibulae dug up in Chichester in 1933-1935 by Mr. F. Sadler of Marsden, Little London. The 17 Roman fibulae were dug up in Mr. Sadler's garden on the opposite side of the street to his house.

After describing Mr. Sadler's mode of excavation, he continues, "Structures found included a cobbled path, two walls, two 'middens' and parts of a tiled floor

A surprising quantity of pottery and objects, including 60 coins, were found, most of which, I believe, are now in Chichester Museum. Apart from the fibulae I also have in my collection a restored high shouldered bowl or olla in hard black ware with sharply everted rim, probably a late first century type." Apparently Mr. Sadler dug one of his holes to a depth of 13 feet, at which level "early pottery" was encountered.

For a detailed description of the fibulae and drawings of them, see Sussex N. and Q. Vol. XIV. p.109-112.

Hildyard then closes with this paragraph, "These brooches, which mostly belong to the first generation after the Roman Conquest, form an interesting cross section of the fibulae in use at that time. As might be expected at Chichester imported types predominate, but the native versions of La Tene III are also represented. The comparison, on a small scale, with Camulodunum, is striking."

November 1956.

"Work on a Roman bastion in Chichester." A burial cist dated by accompanying jugs from Whyke Gravel Pits (now in the Chichester Museum), to late first or early second centuries.

May 1958.

Nine courses of un-mortared flint were found at the foot of the Roman wall near Northgate. Also the foundations of the Roman gateway building at North Gate.

May 1959.

Part of a Roman house was found on the site of the demolished church of St. Peter, North Street.

November 1959.

A mosaic floor dated between 250 and the late fourth century A.D., and the site of a hypocaust of a small bath house were found at 30 East Street. (Portions were removed to the museum.)

May 1960.

Further excavations into the defences, by Mr. J. Holmes added considerably to the knowledge of the Roman and Mediaeval ditches, to the relationship of the earth bank to the wall<sup>and</sup> confirmed the method of adding the bastions, examined in Market Avenue. Also a well and part of the walls of an early Roman house destroyed when the defences were made about A.D. 200, were uncovered in the grounds of the Theological College.



November 1960.

Mr. Holmes reported that the site of the Roman Catholic Church at Southgate had yielded signs of a Roman occupation before the Roman Wall was built; but that cellars and other foundations had removed most remains of the Roman Wall and destroyed any evidence there may have been of a Roman gate there.

Dr. Wilson reported that building operations in an extension of the County Hall had revealed a Roman drainage ditch containing pottery which dated throughout the whole Roman period.

May 1961.

A report on the Excavations at Densworth Farm in 1960.

"A linear defensive earthwork, of unproved date, runs zigzag across the plateau here. Very close to this earthwork, on its southern side, is a small Roman cemetery which contained 3 cist burials with glass vessels, as well as several cremations in urns. One of the stone cists, with some of the glass and pottery vessels, are now in Chichester Museum. In 1959 a water pipe was laid across the farm south of the earthwork; at one point the excavator cut through a patch of black earth containing first century Roman pottery. A small group

directed by Mr. & Mrs. Rule, followed up this discovery by digging two trial trenches on either side of the pipe trench; these excavations gave the impression that the Roman pottery lay in a ditch."

"In 1960 the Chichester Civic Society attempted to follow up these discoveries....." The objects of the excavation "were to locate the Roman cemetery again and search for more burials, in the hope that this would help to date the adjoining earthwork; to locate the supposed Roman ditch again and follow it up, in the hope that this would lead to the discovery of the Roman villa which must, almost certainly, lie not far away."

"Neither of these hopes was realized. One of the flintwall enclosures described by the Rev.H. Smith was located but no more burials were found between this enclosure and the earthwork. The site of the cemetery is, however, now known more exactly and has been marked on a large-scale plan. Several cuttings across the line of the supposed Roman ditch, all very close to the 1959 trenches, failed to locate any Roman feature, but did cut into a purely natural channel in the gravel subsoil. It is concluded that the black earth found last year lay in a pit of quite limited extent rather than in a ditch. If this is so, the remains of the villa may lie not far away. A few trial holes were dug elsewhere in

the field but produced nothing."

"The earthwork itself was not dug, but a cutting close against its southern edge revealed a 'scoop' in the ground as if material for the bank had been dug from the back, as well as thrown up from the ditch on the northern side. The opportunity was taken to examine the whole of this earthwork and to measure up profiles at several places. At the eastern end, in Densworth Copse, the bank rises about 8 feet above the present-day bottom of the ditch. The middle and western parts of the bank are much truncated and appear to have been thrown forward into the ditch. The ditch is still, however, clearly visible and now measures about 39 feet wide, from the level ground to the foot of the bank. The bank itself is about 33 feet wide. The earthwork finishes abruptly at each end at the edges of the plateau, where it dips into low ground. The whole earthwork is clearly defensive in character."

In the section concerning Chichester in the report of the Research Committee, Mr. Holmes reported that work in the grounds of The County Hall, had revealed a ditch alongside a Roman Street some 450 feet north of West Street with evidence of occupation throughout the whole Roman period; and that part of a mosaic floor was found in an extension to Morant's shop in West Street. It is hoped that this can be preserved in position.

Under "Other Finds" extensive Roman remains at Fishbourne are mentioned, but nothing is said about them.

November 1961.

Research Committee reports contain a small section on both Fishbourne and Chichester.

Fishbourne:- "As a result of the trial excavation at Easter" it was thought necessary to have a thorough examination of this site. "Occupation of the site had begun in Claudian times and there was a major building with massive stone foundations a courtyard with a verandah supported by columns and with a late first century mosaic floor to one of its rooms."

Chichester:- "Mr. Holmes reported on further work on the site behind Greig's shop and in the garden of The Theological College, where there was more evidence for a Roman house built before the erection of the main defensive wall and ditch of the city."

The Sussex County Magazine

May 1928.

S.E. Winbolt contributed a series of articles on the 'Story of Roman Sussex', the first of which was entitled 'Regnum'. Winbolt here writes from the point of view of

those days, giving an imaginary conversation between two Roman citizens as they strolled around Regnum. A copy and translation of the Neptune and Minerva inscription is included amongst a recounting of the basic points in Regnum's history in the Roman period. (Conjectural map p.189)

September 1930.

Mr. F.P. Jessop submitted a photograph and print of the markings found on the bottom of two vessels found in Chichester to Mr. S.E. Winbolt. (see Vol.4 p.814)

Mr. Winbolt said that, "Of these two Roman pots the larger one is a two-handled water or wine jug, and the smaller a beaker which served the purposes of a modern tumbler."

The wine or water jug was dug up in South Street, the beaker in a garden in North Street.

Mr. Winbolt continues, "The jug handles have perforations for a wire handle by which it was carried. This jug was found filled with black earth. It is not probable that it was a container for the ashes of a burnt body," (as Mr. Jessop had suggested) "as in such case the top of the vessel would have normally been broken off below the handles for convenience of filling. Probably both pots may be dated in the third century. The

graffito 'sic' was probably the owner's little joke!  
 Jovial inscriptions on drinking cups are common."

January 1952.

The Rev. A.A. Evans writing in 'A Countryman's  
 Diary', says that there is much sign of Roman occupation  
 in the Pallant. Amongst his finds the following are  
 mentioned as being Roman: -

A bronze pin for a Roman cloak.

Potsherds of many kinds and qualities, much of it  
 Samian. One piece has the maker's name, DONNAVEJUS.

"Roman bricks in abundance, some flanged for roofing,  
 and a bit, which I retained, beautifully patterned."

"There were also tiles over which dogs had walked and  
 left the impress of their feet."

"Of special interest were a succession of bricks  
 of a slightly concave type as supports, or 'pilae', of  
 a hypocaust. This showed the presence on this spot, and  
 part of the lay-out of a Roman residence."

"A coin of Nerva was found. These are not numerous  
 for he was Emperor of Rome for only two years, 96-98 A.D.,  
 and the coin must have circulated in the hands of folk of  
 Roman Regni, and in their shops just before or just  
 after the first century of Christ. The features are  
 as fresh as when first minted and show a face strong

and pleasing." (Picture p.41. Vol.6.)

"There was a fragment of a Roman's lady's comb, made of bone and double-toothed."

He mentions also a small hone for sharpening, found about four feet down, with a fresh clean surface. He concludes with this statement, "It may have been to keep keen and bright a Roman razor."

February 1932.

The Rev. C.C. Dobson, in an article entitled "Arviragus: A Forgotten British Hero", after writing much about the resistance of the British to the Claudian invasion, makes a curious statement about the Neptune and Minerva inscription. He assumes that the missing name is Pudens, and that he was the man mentioned by Martial, and that the Christian woman Claudia was none other than Caractacus' daughter Gladys who had been adopted by the Imperial Family. Cogidubnus is not mentioned at all, although a picture of the stone is included in the article, which seems to contain more 'legend' than historical fact, it is little more than "a pleasing illusion".

In a letter E.H.R. Tatham comments on the Coin of Nerva. He says it is obviously Nerva, because of its "style", namely IMP. NERVA CAES. (Trajan's "style" was IMP. CAES. NERVA) He points out that it has the name of Trajan on its obverse side and that the coin was a

sestertius. He goes on to say that he has seen the coin and that it appeared to be of the same issue as one found at Wroxeter. Tatham continues as follows: "The device is a female figure (probably 'Fortune') sitting in a curule chair between two 'cornucopias', and beneath it are the letters S.C. (Senatus Consulto). I read the legend above it TR.P. COS IIII, and then there is a rubbed space before the letters P.P. The last two vertical strokes after COS have been rubbed but there is little doubt about them. I suggest that the rubbed space beyond contained the letters COS II. The explanation of these letters is that on January 1st 98 A.D. Nerva entered upon his fourth consulate with his co-Emperor Trajan as his colleague; the latter had served the office once before in 91 A.D. Though (in the first century) there were always two consuls, this was the first instance during the Empire of two associate Emperors; and though there were many such partnerships in later times, each Emperor then had his separate coins. Therefore - if I am right in my reading - this is the first and almost the only, instance of such an association commemorated on a single coin. Owing to Nerva's immediate death, the coin can probably be dated in the first 3 weeks of 98 A.D." He thinks that Regnum may have been then a favourite harbour for Romans arriving in Britain, until it was



displaced by the shorter crossing to Kent.

August 1932.

The Rev. A.A. Evans writing in 'A Countryman's Diary' says that in digging near the cattle market, workmen found what appeared to have been the Roman city's refuse pit. Pieces of Samian ware were found, probably made on the Rhine, as well as coarser ware and Caistor ware. It was all composed of broken seemingly unrelated bits. He apparently found no coins. (A picture of some of the Roman ware found is included on p.493 Vol.6.)

April 1933.

Mr. T.C. Hannah contributed an article entitled 'Chichester in very Early Days'. He writes about some excavations he carried out in the Palace garden in connection with the city wall and a bastion (the furthest west on the south side) in 1932. Much was found including tesserae, bits of roofing tiles, plaster (from walls), Samian ware, other types of pottery, a piece of glass and bones. Hannah suggests that horses' bones being mixed with ox bones and other kitchen refuse may indicate that the horse was an article of food in Roman Britain. Oyster shells were very numerous, as they are in all Roman remains. "The presence of the Early

Iron Age sherds (in the wall excavations) seems to prove a settlement of some sort on the site of Chichester about the end of the Hallstatt period. That is to say that Chichester, or rather Regnum, is contemporary with many of the great Downland towns instead of having been founded when the Trundle was abandoned in the first century B.C."

He goes on, "From the mixture in the banks of Chichester of Roman pottery with that of the Early Iron Age.....it may be conjectured that when the Romans faced the older earthwork with masonry they preserved the general lines of the Celtic defences but as far as possible straightened sections, presumably for the sake of making effective use of flanking fire from the new projecting apsidal bastions." In speaking about the bastions, Hannah says that the one he excavated was bonded in, not merely built against the wall. Apparently the defences of Silchester and Chichester are similar. It also appears that in facing the earth bank the Romans greatly enlarged it, "dumping on its surface some purely Roman material which included the remains of buildings." Hannah places the Roman reconstruction of the walls in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. He gives the reason as "a monument to increase the dignity of a

prosperous city, more than a needful defence against enemies."

In speaking of the town and the sites of buildings he says little is known, but he includes a copy of the Neptune and Minerva inscription and a few comments on it. He describes the efforts of those who seek to identify this inscription with people in St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy and Martial's epigrams as absurd.

Hannah also says that mosaics, hypocausts and other remains of good buildings are abundant evidence of the prosperity of the city in the earlier period of Roman rule. The Lion-headed ornament found in 1932 (one of the best examples of Romano-British art) may show that Regnum "took its share in the development of that remarkably attractive school of Celto-Classic art." He concludes his section on Roman Chichester by saying that the absence of late objects may point to the fact that Regnum was desolate before the end of the fourth century. (Plans and pictures Vol.7. p.220-224.)

March 1935.

The Rev. A.A. Evans writing in 'A Countryman's Diary' says that, "of objects recently disinterred, the largest number belong to the Roman layer. It is quite remarkable that though the occupation of Regnum,

the precursor of Chichester, was probably not much more than three centuries, the impression of this conquering people is most enduring and indelible. Probably it was because they built on a more permanent scale than those who came after, and surrounded themselves with things of art and luxury. To mention some finds which have now arrived at the museum, there are water-pipes found extending along the road outside the West Gate on the way to Fishbourne, of well-baked red clay and well-fitted; some Samian ware, cinerary urns, tiles of several kinds: hollowed for flues, flanged for roofing, and some for walls, having a flowing comb tracery. A paving slab was turned up in West Street at the Roman level, footworn with the passing of many feet. Of special interest was the handle of an amphora with a potter's mark inscribed, IVN MELIS TNELISS. This mark has been found on Roman pottery from Ospringe, Kent, and a piece at Silchester, and seems in modern language to stand for the firm of Melissus and Son." (Picture of 3 Roman metal lamp holders Vol.9 p.170)

May 1935.

In 'County Notes' an article appears concerned with the discovery of a Roman altar on the site of the Post Office. "It consists of large fragments of a dedicatory

altar to Jupiter in honour of the Imperial family, and still bears clearly a part of the original inscription. It seems likely that the whole of the inscription may have been on the stones, but unfortunately they were broken in getting them out before the nature of the find was realized. Even so, however, the rescued portions are substantial, and indicate that the altar was covered with carving on all four sides. The carving appears to represent two figures, believed to be a man's and a woman's - the man with one arm across the woman's chest. The altar stones themselves are about two feet square, and larger stones apparently part of a pediment, were got from the same place. The remaining part of the inscription is as follows:

I.O.M.

IN HONOREM D.... D....

Conjecturally:- Iovi optimo maximo in honorem domus  
divinae.

To Jove, best and greatest, in honour  
of the divine family."

'Divine' is used because "the Imperial authority was so held after the time of Augustus."

The article goes on, "It is rather curious that the place where the stones were dug out has not been considered to be a definitely Roman site, and no other Roman remains

have been found in just this neighbourhood..... Only three similar specimens of such an altar are said to have come to light in England, though they are fairly frequent on the continent."

September 1935.

In 'County Notes' an article appears on the discovery of the site of the Roman Amphitheatre. "The present discovery indicates that the amphitheatre lay with its major axis of about 300 feet roughly north-east and south-west, and its minor axis was about 200 feet. The walls, as has been verified by excavations at selected points suggested by the lie of the ground, were constructed of flint (of which there is plenty to hand) and mortar, faced with plaster which in all probability was painted..... When the lie of the ground suggested the existence of the arena site, an experimental digging was made in what was thought to be the wall, and traces of a Roman flint wall were laid bare at a depth of a few feet, and a coin of Domitian was found there (A.D.93)." A coin of Antoninus Pius was found in the site of the arena. After this, short trenches were sunk along the line of the supposed walls, and verification of the excavators' theories followed. The distance of the amphitheatre from known Roman sites is put forward as a reason for the site not

previously being identified.

October 1935.

'County Notes' prints a letter from Mr. S.E. Winbolt on the subject of the Amphitheatre. Writing about the reason given for the failure to discover the site of the amphitheatre, he says, "Now, one of the known and most eloquent Roman sites, a big rubbish area, is on both sides of Whyke Lane. Further, in looking for the site of a Roman amphitheatre the first thing an archaeologist (knowing, of course, the positions of similar amphitheatres, say at Dorchester, Silchester, Caerleon and Richborough) would do would be to get a map of the Roman Walls of the city, and consider which was the most likely place outside the walls, reasonably near the wall, one of the gates, and a road out of the city."

February 1936.

Miss G.M. White writes about the Roman Amphitheatre at Chichester. After a brief introduction describing the whereabouts of the amphitheatre and how it was discovered, she goes on to say that, "The spread of the influence of Imperial Rome into the provinces of Gaul and Britain in the first century A.D. has no stronger witness than the amphitheatres which are found close

to many of the towns and legionary fortresses of the Roman period in this country."

"Amphitheatres in this country fall into two classes: constructions of stone, earth and wood, or earth and wood alone." The most notable example of the first class is the amphitheatre outside the legionary fortress at Caerleon.

"The excavations carried out in July and October of last year proved that the newly-found Chichester amphitheatre belongs to the first class, although it is an inferior example, for it has a stone-built inner retaining wall to the arena but apparently no outer wall, unless this was of timber and has completely disappeared..... The natural gravel formed the floor of the arena, and there is no evidence that it was sanded. The inner wall of the arena, standing on flint and gravel footings, about 4 feet 6 inches wide, was built of roughly dressed flints and mortar, and the side facing on to the arena was plastered and painted in red, yellow, green and purple on a white ground to resemble marble..... A number of iron nails was found, indicating that timber also was used in the construction possibly for the seats. The wall, however, had been largely destroyed in Roman times and robbed of many of its stones, perhaps to reinforce the city walls about the middle of the third century, so



that now only about one foot remains standing.....

Subsequent to the robbing the site seems to have been deserted, except perhaps to receive a stray burial, as a vessel of third century date, the mouth covered by part of a Roman tile, was found only 2 feet 6 inches from the present surface on the N.E. side." (Plan and picture Vol.10 p.140-141).

"Fragments of Romano-British vessels, flagons and large pots, were found lying on the floor of the arena, and others, together with pieces of Roman tile, had been built into the wall. An iron arrowhead lay just above the floor. Coins of the Emperors Domitian (81-96 A.D.) and Vespasian or Titus (c.80 A.D.) were also found here, and a coin of Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.) lay above the wall. These are evidence for dating the erection of the amphitheatre, which was probably built between the years 80 and 90 A.D."

In Literature Relating to Sussex, B.A., in reviewing Mr. E.V. Lucas' book "Highways and Byways in Sussex", points out that Mr. Lucas reiterates the old romantic story of Pudens in connection with a window dedicated to St. Paul in Glymping Church. B.A. says that Mr. S.E. Winbolt has pointed out that to connect the Pudens of II Timothy \*4\*21 with the local legend is pure assumption.

March 1936.

Mr. S.E. Winbolt in a letter, again reiterates his

reasons for discounting the legend, namely that if 'Pudens' took his father's name it would be 'Pudentis filius' and not 'Pudentini', and that if he did not more letters than 'Pud...' are required to fit the inscription, so that it is equal at each end of the line.

April 1936.

Mr. Lawrence Faraday in an article entitled "Ancient Sussex Culture in the British Museum", says, "Eventually, however, I came across a small bronze figure of a horse with hollowed back, measuring 2 by 2½ inches, which was found at East Street, Chichester." There was also, "an ingenious contrivance in the form of a little bronze horse, 2 inches long, which once did duty as a padlock. This quaint device was discovered near the South Gate."

August 1937.

In an article headed "Chichester Museum" we have these sentences. "Among some of the things discovered in the last few months are tesserae, pilae and hypocausts from a Roman villa unearthed near Bishop Otter College; two levels, one above the other, of another Roman house in Chapel Street. At the litten on the edge of Stone Street, a marvellous collection of Samian ware, a grey ware, mirrors, brooches, urns with bones, and in one of

these, a penny to pay Charon the ferryman to get across the Styx; one coin is of Domitian another of Titus."

September 1937.

County Notes contains a small article on some Roman bricks discovered in the building of a new hospital in the city. The curious thing about these bricks is that they are marked with what looks like a 'Union Jack'. It is, however, the scoring marks of the brickmaker's tool.

December 1937.

County Notes tells of the placing of the 'Butler Collection' of ancient pottery (predominantly Roman) in the Guildhall Museum in Priory Park. It says that "Though not himself a man of much education, Mr. Butler diligently collected Roman and other ancient pottery found in the city and vicinity."

April 1939.

Mr. W. Victor Cook in an article entitled "The Story of Chichester Harbour" makes a few points regarding Roman Chichester. He says that the first historical personage that tradition associates with the harbour was Vespasian. Tacitus tells us he conquered the Isle of Wight, and then

Cook

He quotes Hay's curious remark, that Vespasian was "the first Roman who set foot in a hostile manner in that part of Britain called Sussex. This he did in A.D.47." He continues that tradition also asserts that Vespasian had a palace on the shores of Chichester Harbour. He recounts, that a Charles Longcroft of Havant in a book on Bosham had said that stone walls he had seen slightly off the main road between Chichester and Bosham at a place called Stone Wall were probably Roman. Mr. Cook concludes by saying that, "There is still to be seen at this place an oblong reservoir, now a bullrush pond, with some suggestion of Roman origin."

After saying that Regnum had been an important centre of Roman power in South Britain, he continues, "it is reasonable to suppose that waterways so convenient as the creeks of the Harbour would have been extensively used by the Roman galleys, and at Bosham large quantities of Roman brick are in the old church walls, and fragments of Roman pottery have been found in all parts of the nave."

November 1940.

G.P. Burstow mentions Chichester in an article entitled "Sussex in the Roman Occupation." In writing about the pre-conquest state of Sussex he says that, "The inhabitants of The Trundle removed to a lowland site at Selsey to move

at some uncertain date, probably before the Roman conquest, to Chichester..... It had generally been assumed by historians that the occupation of Sussex was a peaceful one. West Sussex was at the time inhabited by a tribe called the Regni whose chief Cogidumnus, according to Tacitus, submitted to the invaders and was rewarded by their friendship and allowed to continue his rule under their direction."

He continues, "In the peaceful times of Roman Sussex there was only one town, Chichester, whither the Belgicized Celts had moved in the first century A.D. In their former city on The Trundle they had used chalk rubble faced with wooden uprights, or a turf ramp, to make their walls. This in itself was an adaptation of Roman methods of engineering. At Chichester they completed the Roman style by facing their rubble walls with stone. In the city they built houses of stone along the intersecting streets and at least one temple, for it is a temple dedication which has given us the name of King Cogidubnus as corroboration of Tacitus' narrative. Outside the walls they had an amphitheatre, and in quite recent times their cemetery has been unearthed with numerous cremation groups."

Burstow mentions the two main roads from Chichester, Stane Street to London and the other to Clausentum. He stresses the difficulty of excavating in the city and concludes by saying that "large quantities of Roman objects,

pottery, coins and ornaments are frequently being brought to light during modern rebuilding."

January 1941.

The Rev. A.A.Evans writing in "A Countryman's Diary" tells of some recent finds in Chichester. He says that tokens of the Roman occupation are everywhere in Chichester, and mentions that in digging an air-raid shelter below the Dolphin Inn "as usual, signs of the Roman occupation were found in abundance. Oyster shells came with every spadeful of earth, old pots and an occasional coin. Then also was found, unbroken fortunately, the two small earthenware jars shown in the illustration. (Vol.15 p.16). The ware is of typical design, lipped, of creamy paste and of a relatively small base, usual in Roman pottery. Why, I wonder, were these pots, intended to contain liquids provided with so small an understanding. One always sees it even in huge jars intended to hold precious Falernian or Chian wines, bases so small that but a thoughtless touch or movement....would send them over and contents for ever lost."

October 1943.

In 'County Notes' the discovery of a "small reddish clay figure" of Roman date is mentioned. The figure is "wrought with considerable care in detail, and dressed in

some kind of official robes, with a halo-shaped headress." It was dug up near the amphitheatre site in a private garden. "The figure is about 4 inches long, and is hollow. The arms are bent at the elbows, and the hands rest on the chest. There is a small hole at the back, by which the figure appears to have been attached to some solid surface and the back of the figure, which appears to have been so attached, is quite plain and smooth, in contrast to the decorated front." Some people thought it may have come from a Roman church, others that it was a figure of one of the "household gods", "whose emblems marked many a home of the Romans."

December 1947.

In 'County Notes' the results of the work done on the bombed site in St. Martin's Street by archaeologists are recorded. "The footings of a Roman wall were exposed, and a considerable stretch of mediaeval building and Roman walling was discovered." Dr. A.E. Wilson said that a more "extensive examination of this and other bombed areas of Chichester would yield extensive and valuable knowledge of the occupation, and possibly of the lay-out of Roman Chichester....."

November 1948.

Dr. A.E. Wilson, in 'County Notes' is said to have told Chichester Rotary Club that the city provided "the most superb opportunity left in the country" for investigating in detail the lay-out and design of an important Roman city. The reason for this is that there are large areas which have never been disturbed by post-Roman builders. In the garden of East Pallant House, "portions of a Roman villa were uncovered when a gas main was laid in 1936." Apparently many remains were uncovered in 1948 in various places in the city.

October 1949.

From 'County Notes'. During the Middle Ages it is known that Chichester was a "staple" town for wool, but recent discoveries in the grounds of East Pallant House show that the craft may go back even further. Indications of the industrial site of a villa community have been found. "One pit, which had been waterproofed, had at the bottom a thick layer of earth which is stated to be the product of the district round Pompeii, used anciently by the Romans to cleanse the grease from wool before dyeing and after weaving. In the course of the various excavations now going forward in Chichester, considerable additions have been made to the local harvest of Roman coins, portions



of pottery, and parts of rusted iron tools."

November 1950.

County Notes contains a short article entitled 'Chichester's Roman origins'. The excavators seem "to have established beyond reasonable doubt that the old city walls were built, or at any rate begun, in the first century of the Christian era."

"This seems indicated by the discovery of a Vespasian coin of that period in good condition in the earliest bank of the wall in Cawley Priory, while in another spot a first-century brooch has been brought to light, and throughout the area uncovered a quantity of Roman pottery sherds has been found, ranging from the first to the fourth century."

"Indications are that the original Roman wall collapsed in parts at a fairly early period, and that later builders robbed it of material to dress back the untidy ramp face before facing it with masonry. At one point signs were found of the existence of a Roman house, with the remains of a tessellated corridor with much fallen painted wall plaster still in position, and broken roof tiles in a heap." Apparently the date and use of the building were not known at the time of publishing.

November 1952.

From County Notes. "An interesting demonstration

that the city walls of Chichester have the ancient walls of the Roman city as their foundation, at least for a part of their course, has been provided by two experimental cuts through the western end of the existing north wall..... They disclosed plenty of evidence of eighteenth century additions to the wall and bank of original Roman construction, which was found to be still structurally sound and in good condition. The eighteenth century 'skin' of flint and earth.....covered the Roman wall, which was found to be from six to eight feet thick at its base, tapering to a couple of feet at the top. A great many fragments of first century pottery were discovered, suggesting that the construction of the Roman wall took place in that or the following century."

March 1953.

County Notes includes some comments on Chichester's Roman Walls. Cuts were made through the walls after the collapse of a great part of the post-Roman superstructure of the north walls. "A continuous run of Roman walling came to light, of tabular flints set in courses of concrete about 6 feet wide at the base, tapering to 2 feet 6 inches at the top, which was about 9 feet above the Roman ground level. Behind this flint work the original Roman earth bank is still in position. The date of the Roman work is

established by over a thousand sherds of pottery, pointing to the period of about 200 A.D., a figure which corresponds with that suggested by the most recent work on other Roman cities in Britain."

July 1953.

An article by Dr. A.E. Wilson entitled 'The Walls of Chichester'. (Pictures p.316-321)

Dr. Wilson points out that ~~as~~ there is no evidence of pre-Roman Belgic occupation within the walls of the city, but that pottery and coins supply clear evidence of the influence of Roman culture from the time of Claudius.

"From Chichester he (Cogidubnus) ruled his canton during the first years of the Roman occupation." Pottery from the earth bank makes it quite certain that this defence was erected at the end of the second century A.D. and not earlier.

Mr. Ian Hannah got much pottery from the earth bank in Priory Park when he excavated there in 1932-1933, but "the bank contained nothing later than the second century." It is certain that "late second century pottery had collected on the original ground level before the bank was built."

Dr. Wilson then tells of his own excavations on the north walls in 1952. He dug two trenches into the bank. The few sherds from the first were consistent with a second

century date. From the other, the evidence was for a late second century date. "In the main Roman bank there is no pottery which need be later than A.D.200, but there is definitely late second century pottery in the deepest layers at the level near wall-foundation. The amount of probable first century material at the lowest level suggests that there was a scatter of pottery from the Roman occupation when the inhabitants began to build the wall."

These excavations exposed the inner face of the original Roman wall. "The lower courses of un-mortared flints lie on a bed of gravel at the natural subsoil level. Above the two or three courses of loose flints a layer of mortar was spread and then another course of flints and so on upwards. The thickness of the wall was reduced by offsets at irregular intervals on the inner face."

A similar method of construction was used at Canterbury, Winchester and Caerwent, and the pottery from these sites and Silchester would place the date of the building of the walls at about 200 A.D.



Chichester City Walls &amp; Bastion

Dr. Wilson then considers the bastions. He mentions Mr. Hannah's excavation of the Palace bastion in 1933, in which he discovered that a sort of tower about 4 feet wider than the bastion originally existed at that point.

Recent excavation in the garden of Friary Close "has revealed the dressed stone facing of the original second century Roman Wall." Apparently the evidence here does not support the idea of a turret, but <sup>suggests</sup> that the wall was about 8 feet wide at its foundations, and has since been robbed. At this fallen bastion "there is also ample evidence of the utilization in these later additions of disused Roman material - part of a quern stone of mid-Roman date, a block of dressed stone, part of a broken Roman column or shaft."

Dr. Wilson in concluding says that the recent excavations have supplied enough information to show that "in the main the Roman bank still stands to its original height and its contours can be found; and that the flint core of the second century Roman wall is still well coursed and retains in position the outer face of this bank."

April 1956.

In County Notes the excavations on the base of the bastion in Market Avenue car park are mentioned.

June 1956.

County Notes. "Fresh light on Roman history in the fourth century, when the fortifications of civilian towns .....were built against attacks of the Saxons, has come from evidence of excavation of one of the bastions added to Chichester City walls some time after 350 A.D."

Speaking on the question of when the bastions were added Dr. A.E. Wilson is recorded to have said that, "The type of fortification found along the south coast was started about 300 A.D., Pevensey not before 320 A.D. Here in Chichester we have not yet found coins, and the pottery is not so certain. But we have two clues. This bastion was not keyed into the city wall and was therefore later than the wall. The ditch for the wall was filled in for the foundation of the bastion, and the evidence of pottery points to its date as the middle of the fourth century."

"From drawings made by Ian Hammah of the bastions outside the Palace and Residential section of the city walls, others of the six existing bastions in Chichester are very similar."

Sussex Archaeological Collections.

Volume 3.

The Rev. E. Turner on 'The military earthworks of the

Southdowns'. He mentions those on the Broil as being an additional outer fortification "to this city, on the north side, at that time the most accessible, and consequently most open to attack." Further on he says, "we also know that the fortified encampments of the Romans were square; to them then we attribute the construction of those situated at the Broil....."

### Volume 5.

On some Antiquities lately discovered in St. Clave's Church, Chichester. A paper by the Rev. Philip Freeman.

An arch recently discovered at the eastern end of the church contains Roman tiles, and smaller types of Roman tile are also to be found in the walls. Freeman goes on, "within a few yards of this very spot Roman remains have been found in abundance. A well-known inscription, belonging to a temple of Neptune and Minerva, was formerly dug up here,.....and for aught we know, these tiles may have been taken from the original temple itself."

Freeman dates the original church to the Saxon period, and shows why the arch is not Roman or the remains of the "very temple already spoken of". He says that the mortar supplies the answer. "Roman mortar contains a small quantity of pounded brick; of this no trace was found,.....therefore, the arch, though of Roman material, is not Roman." The

low-level of the arch would also militate against its being of a later period, for it is only a little higher than the Roman ground level.

"On the north side of the chancel, at the same low level as the arch already mentioned, was found another arch, of low segmental form, overlaid in part with large Roman tiles."

"Two Roman urns, of plain character, were found imbedded in the wall above the arch of the east window. They were placed on their sides, with their mouths facing inwards towards the church; and there was some appearance of their having originally been open." Freeman suggests that some have put forward the idea that the aperture in the wall was part of one of the ancient Roman columbaria. Then Freeman says that in St. Olaves we may have seen first century Roman work.

In answer to a criticism of his dating Freeman says, "the quantity of Roman remains found, beside those in the arch.....has been considerable: other large tiles, both in the north arch of the chancel and the south wall of the nave, and some herring-bone work higher in the east wall, and small square tiles, in vast numbers, all along the lower part of the south walls", and the urns, "All these things indicate, surely, a Roman site, and the existence of stores of Roman materials to draw from, at the time of the first



erection of the church.....free use of Roman materials furnishes, as a general rule, a fair presumption of early date in a building..... It is at least far more natural, if there be no insuperable objection weighing against it, to suppose that this lower structure, consisting in great part of Roman material, belongs to the oldest stage of the fabric; since it would be so clearly convenient for the builders, having some Roman edifice at hand, to draw largely from it for the new structure."

Volume 7.

Mr. Hill's paper on the Neptune and Minerva Inscription.

Hill's relates the usual story of its discovery in 1723 and its being broken in the attempt to raise it. He points out that many variations of reading and of interpretation have been published. "Much error has often arisen from the common practice in Roman inscriptions of uniting two letters into one connected form, which no ordinary type can represent, and from the usual abbreviations not being understood."

In his reproduction of the inscription Hills gives the Pudens reading, but describes him as "the namesake of the Roman husband of the British Claudia, whose beauty and talent, according to Martial, distinguished her among the polished circles of Rome. It will be remembered that St. Paul,

writing from that city, sends the greetings of Pudens and Claudia to Timothy." From this it is hard to discover whether or not Hills would support the romantic Pudens story.

Hills concludes with a section on Sussex and Purbeck marbles, showing that the inscription is on Purbeck and not Sussex marble.

### Volume 10.

The Rev. Henry Smith's account of certain Roman Sepulchral remains at Densworth.

He begins by saying that the "Roman occupation of the country surrounding the ancient city of Chichester, Regnum, the capital of the Regni and Belgae, was probably far more extensive than has hitherto been conjectured." He assumes that the entrenchments were Roman, and describes them as a "most obvious mark.....of the Roman occupation." He mentions that the remains of a Roman bath and pavements were found at Fishbourne, earthenware at Donnington and coins at Lavant.

He gives a description and plans of parts of the entrenchments, assuming that they start from Chichester. As to their purpose, Smith rejects the idea of their being boundary marks and also that of one portion being a road<sup>d</sup> "from the camp to the springs, for a supply of water during a summer encampment." Smith thinks that their purpose was military and that they were intended to defend Regnum.

He suggests that the number of inner works supports the view that their purpose was military, and thus renders the view that <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ greater number of men would be needed to man them than could be spared by the Romans, improbable. Smith has however contradicted himself, as in his opening paragraph he describes the Roman occupation of Sussex as "a peaceful rule and quiet settlement....." If West Sussex was as peaceful as it appears it indeed was, then Chichester would not need such elaborate fortifications.

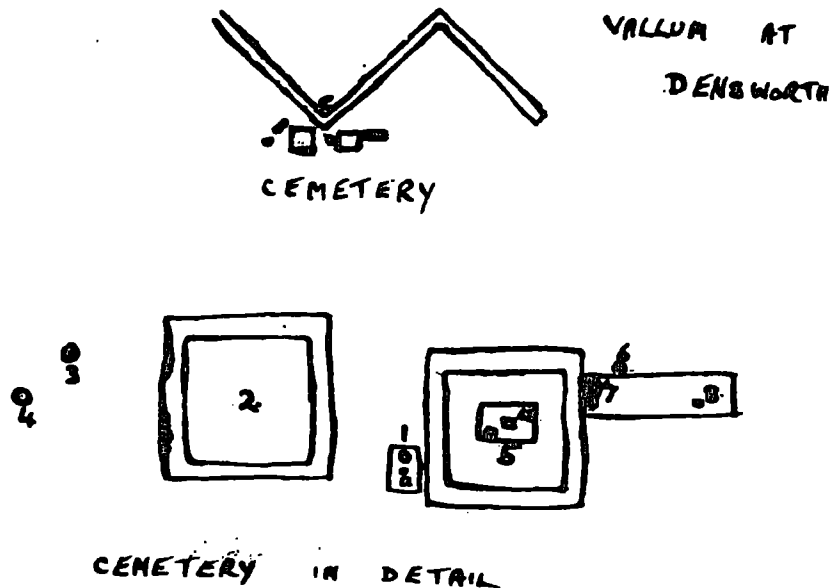
About Densworth he has this to say, "At the spot C marked on the plan, on December 9th 1857, a discovery was made of a stone cist, containing the four glass vessels figured in the accompanying plate." Apparently the cover of the cist was only 14 inches below the surface, and the efforts to move it broke the contents, so when Smith arrived he found "a quantity of fragments of glass lying under the hedge, and many more mixed up with the soil." The cist was of two portions, each hollowed out, and was made from "the lower green sandstone formation." The lid has three of its sides bevelled, but the fourth left square, there is also the slight projection at the north-west corner of the lower stone, which was probably intended to form a bracket for a lamp.

"The contents were, four glass vessels, with fragments of a fifth. The largest, in which were deposited the

calcined bones of a child, is formed of green glass, and is of uncommon form, remarkable at the same time, for beauty of design and roughness in the execution." The lower part is very thin, but its handles very solid, and was it seems blown and shaped by hand, and not made in a mould like the smaller vessels. The handles were apparently fixed on afterwards somewhat carelessly. A hollow lighter coloured piece of glass was used as a stopper. At the bottom of this "is rudely stamped the maker's mark, a human figure, robed, with the arm extended, surrounded with the letters RIM, with parts of others, one apparently an O. The cist also contained two square glass bottles, which were placed in line with the vase. They are of an ordinary form with the reeded handle; one was empty, the other contains a brown pasty substance, clearly of vegetable origin, and resembling the lees of red wine." Other pieces of glass seem to have come from a small bottle interred when it was broken.

Smith was encouraged by these discoveries, and so he excavated more fully, discovering the enclosure 12 feet square which was built of flints without any appearance of mortar or cement being used. "This we were led to conjecture had contained a cist formed of thick tiles, ..... These tiles had all been broken into small fragments.....pieces also of other pottery, and

stone which had been cut and employed for building were found. Amongst the debris were found fragments of a slab of Purbeck marble; "the letters, however, were so few, that no connection could be made, and no meaning drawn from the remains..... The letters are beautifully cut, with great regularity, and are two inches in length."



1. Cist containing bones of child, and four glass vessels.
2. Enclosure, 12 feet square, supposed to have contained a tile cist.
3. Urn of earthenware, buried in the ground without protection.
4. Ditto. Both these have been broken by the plough.

5. Cist containing decayed glass vessels, with bones, earthen urn, and fragments of iron.
6. Urn broken, containing bones, with coin of Hadrian.
7. Stones on which fire had been lighted.
8. Charcoal bed.

Excavations proceeded thus far. All made ground, with pieces of the coffin, stone, and a fragment of iron coated with lead.

3 and 4 are the places where two interments were discovered. "In these instances the bones, after incineration, had been roughly collected, mixed with charcoal and clay, and placed in an earthenware urn." These urns had been broken by the plough owing to their being so near the surface. No coins were found in connection with these interments, but the oxidized remains of a small piece of iron were found in the glass vessel with the bones of the child.

On excavating on the east side of the cist (1), Smith found another enclosure, which "was filled with gravel, so hard and closely compacted....." Eventually, however, he cut a trench through it and discovered, "a flat slab of lower green sandstone" almost in the centre. The lid was opened, and "at the east corner stood an empty urn, perfect as upon the day when it came from the potter's hands: in the centre a mouldering mass of bones

mixed with fragments of glass". Apparently the cist had originally contained "a vase of dark green glass, of considerable thickness, square, and large enough to have contained the quantity of bones,....."

"At the north-east corner, another heap of perishing remains appeared, clearly of metallic origin;..... The iron had been pierced with rivets, having on one side knobs placed side by side about half an inch apart; the other side of these rivets had been formed into screws; the whole had been fastened to some substance non-metallic, .....was it armour? The Romans never buried defensive armour with their dead, otherwise it might have been the remains of the warriors helmet, or his shield, or the fragments of his greaves."

Smith was helped by Roach Smith, who suggested that they were probably sandals or shoes. Smith then concludes that from the amount of debris it would appear that more than one pair was involved.

At 7, where some large flintstones extended beyond the wall, Smith found that "on these a fire had formerly been lighted, as they presented a burnt appearance, and some morsels of charcoal remained." There was also a bed of charcoal, and adjoining it, "a broken urn, of ruder manufacture and thicker pottery than those hitherto discovered. The bones in this had been more completely

burned than in the others, and were mixed with earth and charcoal. At the bottom of the urn was found the only clue which hitherto has presented itself to the age of these sepulchral remains - a coin of Hadrian, brass, in very bad condition:....."

Volume 15.

From an article entitled 'The Merchant Guild of Chichester', by the Rev. Edward Turner.

After saying that the Saxons changed the city's name from Regnum, he goes on, "With regard to the size of Chichester as a city at this early period, it appears, even during the continuance both of the Roman and the Saxon dynasties to have been considerable. In proof of its having been a Roman town of some magnitude its four principal streets, intersecting each other at right angles, about the centre of it, has been adduced. Its importance however in Roman times is more certainly shown by the many relics of this ancient people which have been discovered from time to time in different parts of it. Among these may be reckoned portions of a tessellated pavement brought to light in excavating near to the Bishop's Palace; an ancient tablet of the Temple of Neptune and Minerva, and a votive altar, each with a Latin inscription upon it, found in North Street; together with numerous coins and much pottery, all undoubtedly Roman."



Volume 19.

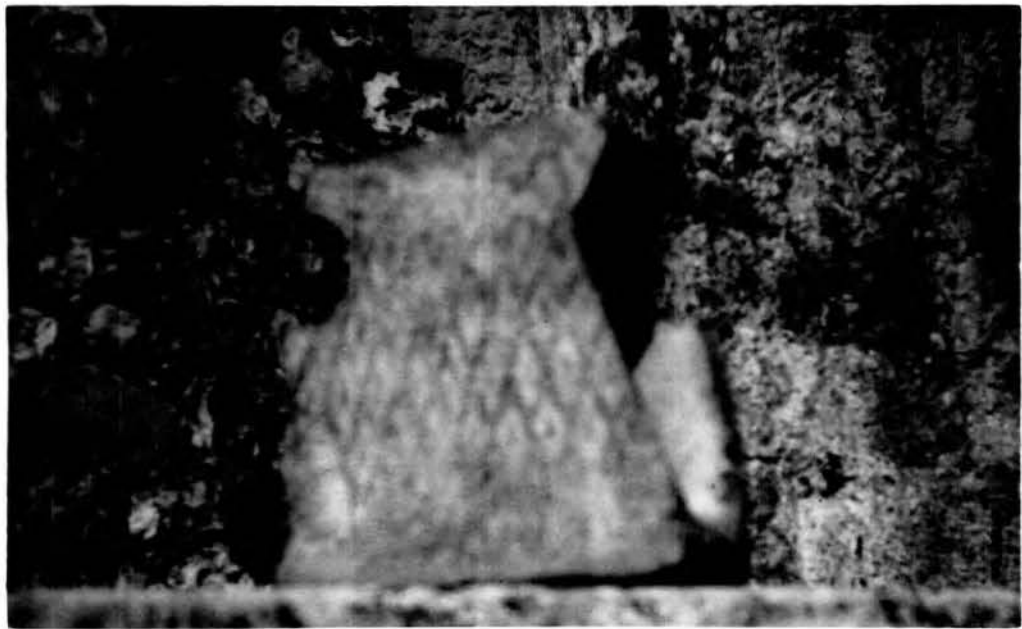
Item 12 in the Notes and Queries section, headed  
Roman Remains at Chichester.

E.T. begins, "That such remains should be found in this city ceases to be a matter for wonder, when we consider that during the Roman occupation of this country, it was the capital of the kingdom of the Regni, which embraced the whole of Sussex, and a portion of Hampshire and Surrey." As proof he cites the Neptune and Minerva inscription, the discovery of which he ascribes to 1731, and a Roman votive altar of Portland stone found in 1823 near the Anchor Inn. Also while constructing some houses near the railway station, much Roman pottery, in a fragmentary state, was found. "Roman coins have been and are still frequently found in and about the city and a Roman pavement is known to exist in the grounds of the Bishop's Palace. Where the Cathedral now stands a Roman Basilica is supposed to have previously stood;.....portions of a tessellated pavement were exposed" near the bases of the new piers built in the reconstruction of the tower and spire. Roman pavement was also discovered in digging foundations for a rercdos. "These pavements were constructed of the small red tesserae so commonly used at that early period."

Volume 21.

An article on West-Hampnett Church by Gordon M. Hills.

During restoration it was found that the chancel arch had originally been wholly constructed "of brick of Roman fashion; and the wall about it to have many fragments of Roman brick intermixed with rubble, stone and flint, laid chiefly in herring-bone courses." The two side walls of the chancel contained similar Roman remains.



The chancel-arch was wholly constructed of the flat Roman building tile. A perfect hollow tile, and fragments of others, often called 'flue-tiles', were also found. Hills thinks that they were used by the Romans for an arch, and "the stamped and scored patterns in their sides and soffits would give a good hold for the superficial plaster with which the Romans would cover them....."

Both sides being stamped or scored, enabled the tiles to be used indifferently for both sides of a wall, and with either side outwards. The holes in the sides enabled the workmen to manipulate the better to fix the tiles, and provided means to fix wood, metal, plaster, terra-cotta, or other ornaments, on the face of the work."

Two fragments of a red and white marble and evidently parts of a pavement were also found. Hills thinks that they came from Devonshire. He does not attempt however to offer a suggestion as to what Roman building stood on this spot close to Stone Street where the church now stands.

#### Volume 22.

The Rev. Henry Smith in 'Notes on Prehistoric Burial in Sussex', says that more excavations were carried out at Densworth in 1859. He begins ".....we subsequently discovered five other interments at that place, all lying to the west of the ground where the stone cists" were found. These newly found burials were so close to the surface that in most cases only fragments of the urns remained. "The urns were deposited about 3 feet apart, the earthenware in general was black, and without ornament, and where the dimensions could be ascertained about 11 inches in height." The fifth interment was the most interesting and consisted of two saucer-shaped paterae of Samian ware, about 6 inches

in diameter. "These were placed in the gravel without any protection, and it is wonderful that one of them should have remained in such a position unbroken."

Close to the paterae "were the fragments of a large vessel of brown clay, differing altogether from the urns, having a handle. Lying beside this were fragments of bronze and glass, some of a very fine quality." Smith says that the search was continued in Densworth field, and that "the absence of verdure in several places appeared to indicate the foundations of buildings," "but on examination no further remains were discovered.

#### Volume 24.

In an article by M.A. Lower on Newspaper Cuttings relating to Sussex, an extract is included from a London paper of June 20th 1723 about the discovery of the Neptune and Minerva inscription when the foundations of a house were being dug.

An article contributed by F.H. Arnold in the Notes and Queries section tells of the discovery of a Roman bronze Ligula.

"Among other Roman remains discovered during the making of the new Cattle Market in Chichester in 1871, not the least curious was that of a little implement, the original use of which was not at once apparent. At length, however,

it was found to be one of those ligulae, which were constructed by the Romans for the purpose of taking unguents and prepared oils from their long-necked bottles." On testing it the metal was found to be bronze, although it looked like gold.

### Volume 30.

In the second part of an article about the Ancient British coins of Sussex by Ernest H. Willett, he comments that Regnum was a post of considerable importance in Roman times, being a station on Stane Street, and in the time of Claudius the district capital of Cogidubnus.

Willett then reminds his readers of the discovery of the Neptune and Minerva inscription, and that Tacitus described Cogidubnus as "our most faithfully."

### Volume 31.

An article by Gordon M. Hills on the measurements of Ptolemy and of the Antonine Itinerary, applied to the southern counties of England.

After a long discussion of the evidence as to the place occupied by the various tribes he includes articles on the various 'iters' concerned with the southern counties.

Concerning ITER VII he says that, "In 1723 an inscribed stone was dug up in the North Street at Chichester....."

It is of the time of the Emperor Claudius; and from the occurrence on it of a part of a name -GIDUENI.... it was concluded that we have here the name (Cogidubnus) of the native Prince, of whom Tacitus relates" that because of his fidelity he was given more land from the conquests of Ostorius Scapula. "This conclusion led to another assumption, viz., that the states given to 'Cogidubnus' Rex' must have been those of the Regni; and lastly to another, viz., that the capital town of the Regni must be Regnum; and that the discovery of the stone here declared Regnum to be Chichester..... We know from Ptolemy that the Regni were a people, and that their town, Neomagus, lay a considerable distance inland; therefore when we read that this 'iter' starts from Regnum I conclude that it started from some place not given by name, but in the territory of the Regni; which territory it is pretty evident from the position we have been obliged to give to their town, Neomagus, stretched across Sussex....."

The Iter states that it is 20 miles from Regnum to Clausentum. In view of what he says above, Hills assures Regnum to be a place somewhere in the centre of the territory of the Regni, in the area of Bramber. He then continues, "From Cissbury I conclude this 'iter' starts." From Cissbury the road runs near Bignor until it joins Stone Street, "which leads directly into Chichester at the

exact distance of twenty miles. Chichester, therefore, was Clausento....."

Although the mileage works out correctly the other places mentioned in the 'iter' are misplaced as a result of identifying Chichester with Cissbury.

### Volume 32.

In Sussex Notes and Queries an article appears concerned with the measurements of Ptolemy and the Antonine Itinerary. It is contributed by H.F. Napper.

After much discussion and criticism of G.M. Hills he concludes that Regnum must be Chichester, although he seems uncertain what to say about Neomagus, Clausentum he puts near Haslemere as the distance tallies from Chichester.

A small article by F.H. Arnold concerns the discovery of a Roman pavement at Chichester.

"At the beginning of September 1881, an interesting exhumation of Roman remains was made in East Street, on the premises of E.J. Faulkner." A portion of tessellated pavement was found 5 feet 3 inches below the surface. "It was quite perfect so far as it was found, and appeared to extend in several directions beneath the adjoining buildings. The tesserae were large - about an inch square - and variously coloured. On some of them were traces of the

action of fire, perhaps from the ashes of a brazier placed upon them. It has been conjectured that this pavement may have formed part of the floor of the kitchen of a Roman magnate's house."

Volume 34.

H.F. Napper contributed another article on the measurements of Ptolemy and the Antonine Itinerary, in which he says the following in connection with ITER VII.

He had been informed that Mr. Roach Smith had said that every station which began and ended an 'Iter' was walled.

"Now, I have said (and still say) that Bitterne is not Clausentum. I, therefore, put these two questions to any that care to answer: If Bitterne be Clausentum, where is the walled town for Regnum at 20 miles distance? And if the walled town of Chichester be Regnum, where is Clausentum at 20 miles distance? Bitterne is nearly 30 miles."

Volume 37.

In Sussex Notes and Queries a letter from Mr. C. Roach Smith concerning Roman Chichester and the Antonine Itinerary is printed.

"I notice that Mr. Napper, in reference to a rule



I have ventured to lay down, fancying he finds an exception in Regnum placed at 20 miles from Clausentum, the situation of which at Bittern Manor is demonstrated by existing remains, and by the Itinerary distance from Venta Belgarum, Winchester."

"If the Regnum be what is now Chichester, a Roman town of the first magnitude, then the distance would be 30 miles, and it must be supposed that an error has crept into the Itinerary. But if we take the Regnum as indicating the territory of the Regni the distance of 20 miles would be correct."

"I do not think that Regnum is to be taken for the city of Chichester. Of most of the chief Roman towns the ancient name has influenced the modern.....and Chichester could never have sprung from Regnum. It may have descended from Civitas (pronounced Chivitas), the chief city of the Regni. This is a reasonable interpretation, and quite in accordance with the general rule I refer to."

### Volume 38.

In Sussex Notes and Queries two items by F.H. Arnold are included.

(1) Silver Denarius of Vespasian, found in Chichester 1890.

"Although brass coins of Vespasian occur occasionally in Chichester, silver coins of this Emperor are rarely met with in the city." This one found in the Recreation Ground was in a good state of preservation, and had many interesting "figures of pontifical instruments on its reverse."

"Obs:- IMP. VESP. AUG. Bust, Laureate, to right.

Rev:- AUGUR, in the exergue EIPO, with simpulum (small pot, with upright handle, used in pouring libations) aspergillum (sprinkler made of horsehair, fastened to a handle) praefericulum (narrow necked metal vase, from which liquid was poured in drops) and lituus (crossier - like staff, used by the augur). "Date about 75 A.D.

(ii) Roman Corn Mortar.

When digging near the North Walls, in March 1891 a Roman relic was discovered. It was irregularly octagonal in shape. "It was of granite and had evidently been much used." It was unique among Roman remains in Chichester.

### Volume 39.

The Corn Supply of the South Coast in British and Roman Times. A paper by the Rev. F.H. Arnold.

He mentions that Vespasian accompanied Aulus Plautius in the invasion of Claudius of 43 A.D. "Vespasian fixed his

head quarters here in A.D.47, and the coins of Vespasian found at Chichester are numerous."

"As the Romans proceeded northwards and gradually subdued the interior they must have drawn their supplies from the districts behind them. During this period we know that Cogidubnus exercised authority here (at Regnum and its vicinity). The Romans held Britain.....allowing native kings to rule under them and thereby keeping on friendly terms with the natives. Tacitus speaks of Cogidubnus as Rex, and on the authority of the Pudens Stone it is evident that he was then the Lieutenant of the Emperor Claudius in Britain. He seems to have submitted with the Regni to the Romans at an early period..... Cogidubnus lived till the reign of Trajan, and doubtless he would insist upon the cultivation of the corn land of his province not only for his own but for Roman supply. In his days the district around Regnum.....was doubtless as now, among the most fertile land in this island and the inference is that much of the corn supply for the Roman troops was obtained here. In his days, too, must have been constructed the Stone Street,....."

Arnold, in speaking of the Romans' methods of grinding their corn says that, in the early periods it was bruised in mortars, one of which was discovered near the North Walls in 1891. Then in later periods handmills or querns

were used, of which several have been found in Chichester, (Picture p.159) the ones illustrated being found in West Street, when the foundations of a house were dug.

Volume 40.

Item 22 in Notes and Queries.

"In June and July, 1895, a number of urns, vases, paterae, Samian vessels and etc., were found at Alexander Terrace, Chichester, by Mr. W. Butler.....almost all the vessels were in a good state of preservation. With these were found three lamps, tweezers, a bracelet, some bones of animals and numerous oyster shells. The site of this discovery was but a short distance beyond the ancient East Gate of the City....."

Volume 41.

An article by the Rev. F.H. Arnold on the discovery of a Roman cemetery at Chichester. (Two excellent photographs are included opposite pages 1 and 2.)

This was the discovery of pottery at Alexander Terrace by Mr. W. Butler in June and July 1895, previously referred to.

Arnold points out the great number of fictile vessels (more than sixty) exhumed within the limited area of about 10 square feet, and their excellent state of preservation.

The vessels were found about 4 feet below the surface.

There appear to have been three lamps, one has a suspender, apparently intended for carrying it with the hand; another has no attachment, and the third has a spike, probably intended for affixing it to a wall. "The tweezers (*volsellae*), similar to those found elsewhere among Roman remains, may have been put to the use usually assigned them, that of forming part of the toilette of a lady, wherewith to pluck the superfluous hairs from her body. It has been suggested, however, that these may have had a more ignoble use - that of trimming the lamps, near which they were found. The bracelet is small and seemingly belonged to a child or young girl."

"The pottery in most instances is of plain ware, consisting of *paterae*, pitchers, vases and cinerary urns, the latter in most instances containing the ashes of persons cremated. Several of the vases (*ollae ossuariae*) were filled with calcined bones. Numerous oyster shells were mingled with the remains, as at Silchester, where they occur in profusion, and the skull and horn of a shorthorned British ox (*Bos longifrons*), which may have been brought there for sacrifice. This was found below one of the vases, which with one exception, which was inverted, were all met with in an upright position."

"The Samian ware.....present no remarkable features.

The two larger specimens have on them the potter's mark and two others have on their margins the usual ivy leaved pattern similar to one which was discovered when the Chichester Cattle Market was made....."

In discussing the reasons for the presence of these remains on this spot, Arnold says that one view was that "it was the site of an ancient potter's shop or store and from the varied character of the pottery this was not untenable. From the circumstances, however, that most of the vessels were filled with ashes, or with calcined bones, it is much more probable that this was the Roman cemetery for the eastern part of the city. We all know that the Romans used to bury their dead outside their city walls, and this spot is but a short distance beyond the East Gate of Regnum." It is a little to the north of Stone Street, near the corner of the old St. Pancras' burial ground. "This cemetery or catacomb of the Roman period has been discovered then exactly where one would have looked for it, and is a most interesting addition to the Roman history of Sussex".

"During 1896 a considerable number of other vessels, differing much in shape and size, have also been exhumed from the same spot by Mr. Butler, among which the most noteworthy were a curious little diota of greyish ware quite perfect, and a vase ornamented with figures, probably

of Bacchantes, resembling those on Samian pottery found at Wallsend, but of ruder execution. It is well known that there were imitations of Samian ware made in Britain during the Roman period, inferior to the original in colour, texture and design, and this is most likely one of them."

Volume 45.

Two articles by F.H. Arnold in Notes and Queries.

(i) Discoveries were made in excavating the foundations of the Old Swan Inn for a new bank.

"Coins: A Roman third brass, in almost perfect condition, with the Obv, head of Salonina, wife of the Emperor Gallienus, with inscription 'Salonina Aug.' .....and fragments of various Romano-British vessels....."

(ii) In July 1902 Arnold was given two interesting Roman coins found in the city.

"One of second brass has -

Obv: 'Imp. Caes. Vespasian. Aug. P. Cos.' Laureated head of Vespasian.

Rev: 'Judaea Capta'. A female figure with sorrowful aspect, seated on a pile of arms beneath a palm tree. This doubtless connects this Emperor with the siege of Jerusalem begun by him and finished by his son Titus, A.D.70."

"The other, a silver denarius, was dug up in a garden at Chichester. It has -

Obv: 'Imp. D. Clod. Sept. Albin. Aug.', with the laureated head of Albinus.

Rev: 'Romae Eternae', with the figure of a woman seated, helmeted and with shield and spear." Arnold suggests that this may be the origin of Britannia on English coins, as she bore a spear until the reign of Charles II. This denarius is rare. Arnold includes a short note about Albinus p.212.

#### Volume 47.

An article by F.H. Arnold in Notes and Queries about Roman coins at Rumboldswyke.

Excavations at Whyke in 1903 produced two Roman coins.

One of these "is of 'second brass', in excellent preservation, with the 'image and superscription' in high relief. It was issued by Tiberius Caesar, mentioned by St. Luke, who records that it was in the fifteenth year of the reign of this Emperor that John the Baptist began his mission. Tiberius reigned A.D. 14-37. On this coin is represented, not the head of Tiberius himself, but that of Augustus, radiated, since he was supposed to be deified. This is evident from the inscription on the Obverse, which reads thus: 'Divus Augustus Pater'. On the Reverse are the letters S.C., of large size, on either side of the temple of Janus, open, as was usual in time of



war." Vaillant describes this coin as rare and remarkable.

"The other coin is of 'third brass' of a common type.

Obv: A helmeted head, with the inscription 'Urbs Roma', and on the Rev. the she wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, with two stars above."

### Volume 48.

An article by F.H. Arnold in Notes and Queries about a coin of Valens found at Whyke.

"Several interesting Roman coins have occurred of late at Whyke, ..... In September 1904, a denarius in good preservation, was found there..... It has on the Obv: the head of the Emperor Valens, with the inscription: 'D.N. Valens, P.F. Aug.' The portrait is that of a young man, unusually good-looking. Havercamp says of this coin: 'Observe the buckle of this Emperor's cloak; it is adorned with gems, and he, has on his neck a string of many pearls.' This he considers a sign of the growing luxury of the Roman Empire. The Rev. has the figure of a helmeted woman seated, with the inscription: 'Urbs Roma'."

### Volume 52.

In an article on the Bishop's Palace, Ian C. Hannah mentions the discovery of the mosaic pavement during the rebuilding of the Palace in 1725-27. This discovery proves

that it stands where a Roman building of some importance stood, but Hannah does not agree with Hay's suggestion that it was the Roman Praetorium. This position would have been a very unusual one for such a building.

In the Palace garden there is the badly damaged head of a colossal Roman statue or bust of white marble, which was brought from Bosham. It was probably one of the Emperors.

#### Volume 53.

An article by K.H. MacDermott, in Notes and Queries, on Roman Remains at Bosham.

About 1850 a life-sized marble head was discovered in an excellent state of preservation near the site of a Roman villa. It is thought to be a portrait head of a member of the Claudian family, perhaps Germanicus. Date would probably be about the first half of the first century A.D. The work is that of a Roman sculptor, but is of a Greek type. (Picture opposite p.272).

#### Volume 57.

In Notes and Queries, Edward Heron-Allen includes a short article on the head of Germanicus found at Bosham. He says it has signs of post-renaissance restoration and was probably brought here during the eighteenth century.

Volume 58.

An article by A. Hadrian Allcroft on Some Earthworks of West Sussex. In this article he gives a section on the Lavant Caves.

Amongst the debris found in the caves the following things relating to the Roman period were found. A small mask showing a female face of Roman character; some tesserae and pottery which included some scraps of Samian pseudo-Samian and fragments of coarser ware. The evidence was so scanty that the excavators were unable to determine either the purpose or the age of the Caves.

Volume 67.

In Notes and Queries W.D. Peckham reports that much pottery was found in Chichester when the drainage and electric light systems were being extended. "They are the usual grey Romano-British funeral urns with occasional scraps of red 'sealing wax' ware. The majority come from excavations, made to some depth, for the construction of sewers close to the line of Stone Street, thus suggesting cases of roadside burial."

Volume 68.

Mention is made of Roman work in an article on Houses in the Close at Chichester by Ian C. Hammah.

Hannah mentions that the basis of the city walls is Roman, and that in the garden of the Residentiary "there remains an obviously Roman bastion, a rounded apse-like projection."

"Bastions projecting outwards.....became usual in the third century..... In the second century they were usually square and projected inwards", as on Hadrian's Wall. "The Roman defences of Regnum are certainly relatively late..... At the base of the bastion, however, there remain a few stones and a little pink mortar that may quite possibly be Roman." He mentions a similar bastion in the grounds of the Palace.

#### Volume 70.

In an article on Excavations in the Trundle, E. Cecil Curwen, states that the people of the Trundle probably migrated to the site of Chichester at the beginning of the Roman occupation, and this would explain why they called it Noviomagus, 'new place'.

#### Volume 72.

The Rev. A.A. Evans reporting on Chichester in Notes and Queries.

He mentions that a trench dug near All Saints Church in West Pallant uncovered a large stone. There were others.

"The portion unearthed was richly tooled, with acanthus leaves and a bit of Greek fret." Evans however offers no clue as to its date.

Some excavations in the cattle market caused a fair amount of Roman tile, some of it flanged, to be found, also broken pottery of the same period, bits of Samian and pseudo-Samian, Upchurch ware, and other types. "It was so abundant as to suggest that this piece of ground, which is close to the city wall and by the East Gate, may have been a dumping ground for castaway articles at that early period."

From an ancient burial ground on the Roman road a little way beyond the East Gate many interesting objects have been taken. Three cinerary urns with calcined bones, a white jar or jug of handsome design assigned to about 150 A.D., and an oil pourer of red ware of the same date, *are among them.*

### Volume 73.

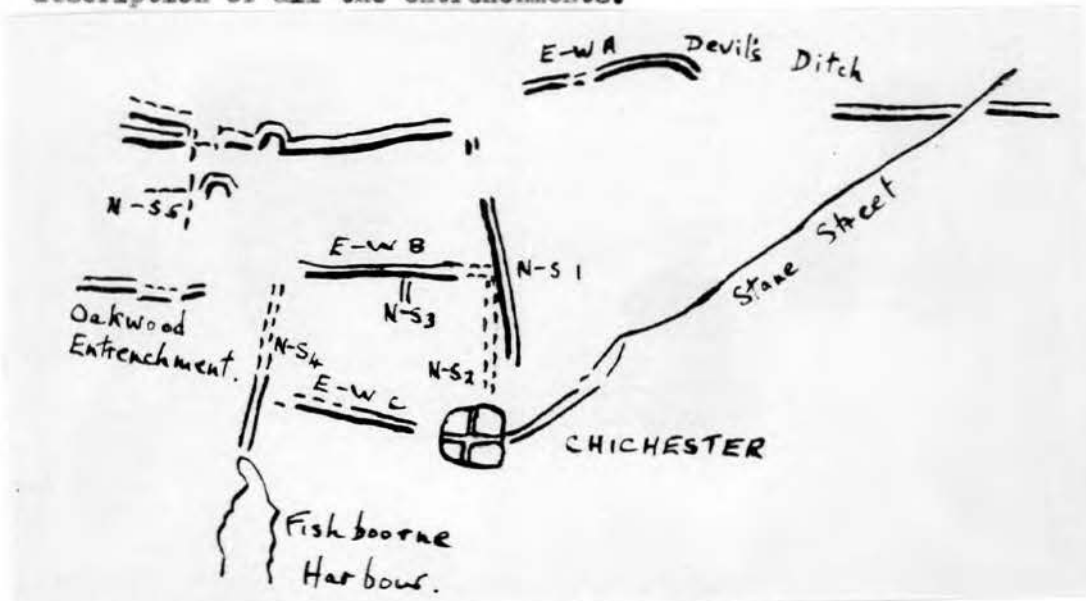
The Rev. A.A. Evans reports on excavations at Chichester in Notes and Queries.

During digging in North and South Pallant many articles were found including the following Roman ones. "A coin of Trajan, having also name of Nerva on it; tiles of a concave pattern and showing the presence of site of a hypocaust; Samian ware and other domestic pottery;

a piece of Samian stamped 'DONNAVEUS'; a bronze pin; portions of a bone hair comb of Roman period;..... in a street on the outside and adjacent to the north wall, a Roman jar was found and several coins of Constantius II and other periods."

Volume 75.

(i) J.P. Williams-Freeman contributes an article on the Chichester Entrenchments, in which he says that they appear to have been constructed for the defence of the city, the only other entrenchments similar to these being at Lexden near Colchester. He gives a very detailed description of all the entrenchments.



He says that it has been suggested that the third E - W entrenchment, E - W C (It begins at the N - W corner of the Westgate Brewery and goes west until it

joins Clay Lane) may have been a Roman road, the ditch being for drainage. But this does not seem likely. Also he mentions that the first N - S entrenchment, N - S I (N.E. part of the city to join 'Devil's Ditch' at Lavant) passes, near Graylingwell Mental Hospital, "the position of the north-east corner of the Roman camp at a distance of not more than 70 yards, and where we seek in vain for the traces of the angle of the camp and of any connecting ditch."

Concerning the Oakwood Park Entrenchment, he says that it may or may not be a detached part of E - W B, but no connection can be traced across the intervening 1,000 yards. He says that the curious gap in the main entrenchment guarded about 30 yards to its south by a smaller entrenchment, "is like an internal titulus guarding a Roman entrance."

About the Densworth entrenchments Williams-Freeman says that they may or may not have been part of the main entrenchments and may not have been contemporary. The ditch faces north.

He mentions their straightness and uniformity as a pointer to the fact that they were made at one period. He adds that Chichester's most vulnerable side was its north and west with its harbour at Fishbourne, as Roman occupation between the western walls of the city and

harbour is well attested. The city and its harbour were an entity to be defended together. This is more clear when it is seen that the 3 East-West Entrenchments all face north and of the 5 North-South Entrenchments 2 are known to face East, N - S I and N - S 2, and 2 West, N - S 3 and N - S 4. "The whole area within the entrenchments must have been more or less wooded..... the defences are those of a people who were at home in forest country, and were based on the sea; settlers who had to protect themselves and their clearances from the Downland natives and their roving cattle."

"Another point of great importance is whether the Entrenchments were contemporary, or even all made by the same people. Looking at the plan, certain points strike one as rather suggesting that they were not made at the same time, but rather in successive steps to meet changing conditions."

Williams-Freeman makes the following statements in answer to the questions Why?, When?, and Who?

Why? (1) "That the entrenchments all facing north placed at the edge of the chalk, and especially elaborate where the important roads from the chalk hills come down, point to the enemy being the Down man.

(2) That their straightness and uniformity show that they were deliberately planned, erected under skilled



and effective supervision, while their uniformity would suggest that they were made by one people and at one period.

(3) That the woods must have been cleared at least where the banks and ditches were thrown up, and nearly certainly in the country behind them which they were designed to protect; and that this all shows that they were made by a people that did not shun woods, but had learned to clear and cultivate them and protect them against the enemy and their cattle.

(4) That they were made by a people based on the sea, an organized military people, more probably invaders than peaceful penetrators."

When? "No finds have been reported in the entrenchments themselves that might give us proof as to date, and even the original profile of the ditch is unknown."

"The character of the banks and ditches is enough to make it certain that they were not earlier than the Iron Age, say about the sixth and seventh century B.C. Extensive clearing of woods is not believed to have taken place in this country earlier than the first century B.C."

He mentions that an early Iron Age, presumably Celtic, people had occupied the South Downs, and that their fortified capital The Trundle, was still occupied

as late as the first century B.C. These were a "pastoral and agricultural people with villages and settlements, with quite advanced developments for their cattle ranches and a field system for their arable lands." The only other entrenchments like these, at Laxden near Colchester, are now known to be Belgic.

Two earthenware vessels with cremated bones "were unearthed just outside entrenchment N - S I, at Graylingwell. The one pot which was not smashed beyond recognition is of Belgic origin, and the date is suggested to be just before the Roman occupation, say A.D. 40-50." The Belgic remains which have come to light at Selsey prove the existence of a trading community there, which must have had some influence in the coastal districts, although there is very little evidence of Belgic civilisation in the rest of West Sussex. The finds made in and around Chichester are helpful only in confirming our knowledge of those people who are known to have occupied the site, rather than in helping us to date the entrenchments. "At Densworth very elaborate Roman burials were discovered just inside the larger entrenchments, pointing to the importance of this locality, and confirming the evidence of the earthworks."

Who? Williams-Freeman suggests that there are 3 periods at which "we may have had the conditions of a people based

on the sea and either advancing against the Down folk or defending themselves against them."

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

He says, we know that a tribe called the Regni inhabited this part of the country, but we know nothing about them. "It has been assumed that they were a Belgic tribe and that they had occupied and ruled over all West Sussex at least; but they may have been quite a small tribe who had arrived earlier and occupied the lowlands only, with Chichester as their chief town, and they may have remained quite separate from the South Down folk."

He continues, that a tribe having fled from Gaul to escape Caesar, may have landed and "founded Chichester, gradually cleared and occupied the lowlands, entrenching themselves in the methodical manner learnt from their experience of Roman warfare." Lexden, he says, is the answer to those who object on the grounds that no natives are known who built long straight entrenchments at this time.

(2) The Romans in 43 A.D.

Williams-Freeman writing about the conquests of Vespasian in this part of Britain assumes that the Regni and Chichester (although there is no proof) were

among the nations and towns subdued by him. Also that he used Chichester "as his base for the conquest of the Isle of Wight and the Hampshire coast, as well as of the Southdowns, with the great Ridgeway leading into the Belgic uplands of Hants, Berks and Wilts."

He continues, assuming that Chichester was Vespasian's base, that he might have "made or adapted these Roman-looking entrenchments, or some of them, to protect his base from the hill folk till he had time to deal with them." He answers the objection that long entrenchments were not made by the Romans until Domitian's reign by saying that Vespasian (Domitian's father) "was a soldier quite capable of being the first to adopt them - moreover, these earthworks turn out to be not simple linear earthworks, but unexpectedly suggestive of quadrilateral castrametation."

### (3) The Saxons in 477 A.D.

The Saxons landed near Selsey, took Chichester, got on to the Downs driving the Britons eastward to Pevensey, where they finally annihilated them after taking 13 years to do it. Williams-Freeman finds it difficult to accept them as early Saxon, because of the numbers it would have required to make and watch them in Ella's first years when they would have been most required.

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

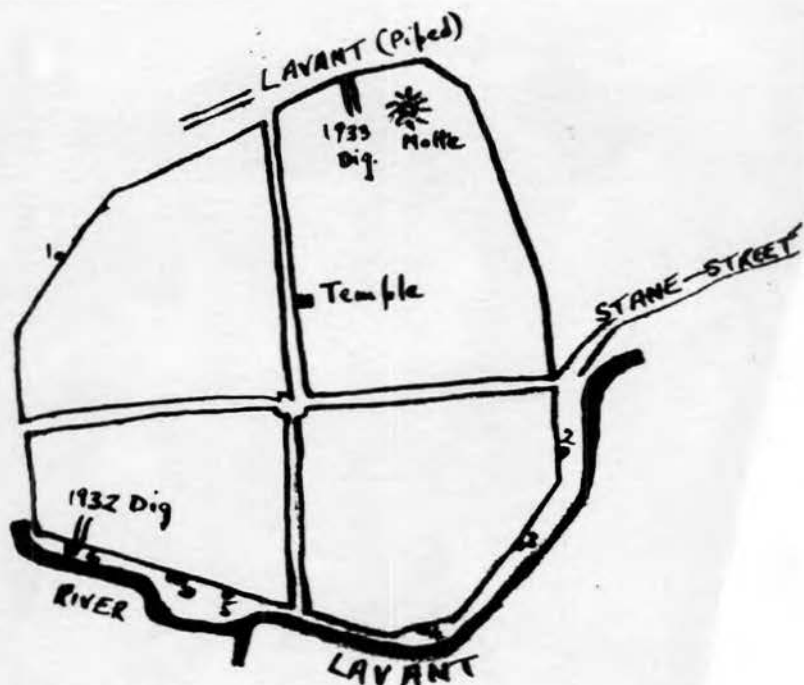
In conclusion he confesses "to a strong suspicion against both Regni and Romans."

(ii) The Walls of Chichester by Ian C. Hannah.

Hannah begins by saying that "the site of the original settlement on the maritime plain was clearly chosen because an island enclosed by the branching river Lavant offered some measure of protection." He says that a masonry wall is backed by an earth slope, the earthwork having been faced with a concrete covering more than a foot thick by the Romans. In the composition of the walls there is no trace of the usual bonding courses as at Silchester, a town which was similar to Chichester. "In several places.....there are traces, very indistinct as a rule, of the fosse which clearly was separated from the foot of the walls by a berm."

"Hypocausts, ovens, and mosaic floors have been uncovered in different sections" of the city. Hannah says that the place of discovery of the Neptune and Minerva inscription is evidence for the position of the temple. "The actual wall is rather poor, being built on no better foundation than about 9 inches of rammed clay.

and flints, upon which was spread a layer of mortar about two inches thick, hardly if at all below the Roman level of the ground. The masonry is of flint; the inner surface..... is of coursed rubble and perfectly vertical." The Roman wall was about 3 feet 6 inches at the bottom and some nine inches or so less at the top, also the Roman foundation layer of mortar was revealed hardly more than a foot below the present level of the ground. "The lower section at least of the original outer facing was coursed flint, not very neatly finished."



D = Mediaeval Deanery.

PLAN OF CHICHESTER.

The Palace Garden Trench: - Early Iron Age pottery (Halstatt - La Tène I) was found in the trench, so the earth used to form the ramp must have contained it. Hannah discounts the view that these Early Iron Age sherds support the idea that the earth bank is pre-Roman, as nothing else earlier than 43 A.D. was discovered. It must have been "one of those small Early Iron Age settlements which are found in different portions of the plain....."

The bank was composed of 3 clearly marked tips. The lowest "was composed of the natural dark clayey soil, and it was divided by a very indistinct line from the undisturbed original surface. Pottery sherds were very few and mostly of the coarse slate-coloured and greyish black or yellow character that appear on all Romano-British sites. At the junction with the next tip were 3 small Samian fragments. The material for this tip seems to have been locally secured, perhaps from the fosse....."

"The next tip gave the impression of being composed of rubbish brought from elsewhere, and while consisting of stiff clay, it clearly contained remains of ruined buildings. There were great quantities of flint, many with mortar adhering, fragments of plaster, pink and white, that had covered rough rubble walls, roofing and other tiles, pieces of window glass, translucent but not very

transparent, iron nails and part of a large amphora."

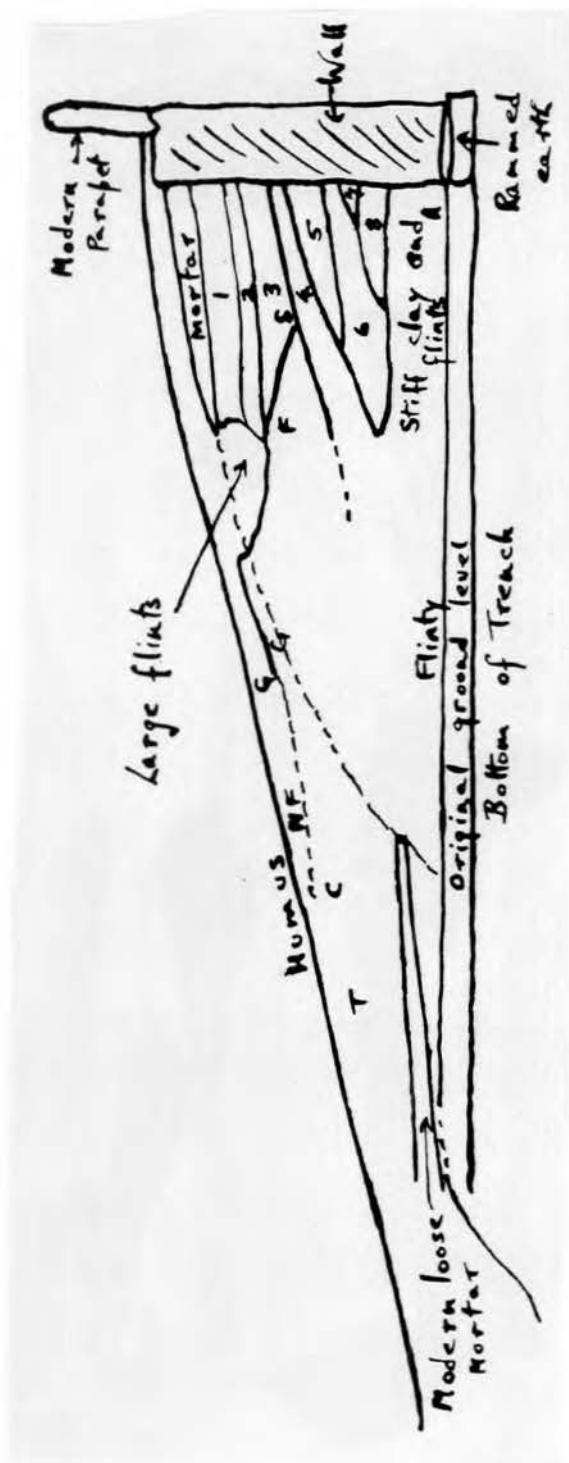
"The pottery from both these tips was identical, nothing later than the second century A.D.", also found was the bottom of a coarse vase which was Samian. The humus was deep and contained objects of all periods.

Other Roman remains included "part of the tibia of a dog, portions of four bones of oxen and three of horses, part of the radius of a sheep and part of the femur of a very large goose. Oyster shells were as usual numerous, and other shell fish represented were the whelk and snail."

The Priory Park Trench:- The bank here is nearly 50 feet wide and the excavation was carried up to the inner surface of the wall and to the depth of just over a foot below the level of the original surface. A little pair of Roman iron tweezers was found.

"There can be no doubt that the wall and the bank are contemporary. Relatively thin and with such poor foundations - or rather with none at all - the masonry could hardly stand without the supporting earthwork, and perhaps certain projections on the outer side. A careful study of the section disclosed seemed to leave no doubt that the earth was shot in over the rising wall from outside, where the different tips remained surprisingly distinct,..... The



PRIORY PARK TRENCH

1. Mould with flints.
2. Stiff clay.
3. Compact mould.
4. Sandy clay.
5. Small flints.
6. Ashes.
7. Clay.
8. Gravel.

- A. Large Amphora fragment.  
 C. Castor Ware.  
 NF. New Forest Ware.  
 T. Roman tweezers.  
 G. Glass.  
 F. Bronze fish.  
 S. Iron fragment  
 (Part of a Strigil).

top layer was mortar, which against the wall was quite hard, ..... It was clearly the remains of a thick concrete facing that protected the earth bank." The great mass of the bank was apparently built by workmen within the city using similar earth as no different tips are distinguishable in this.

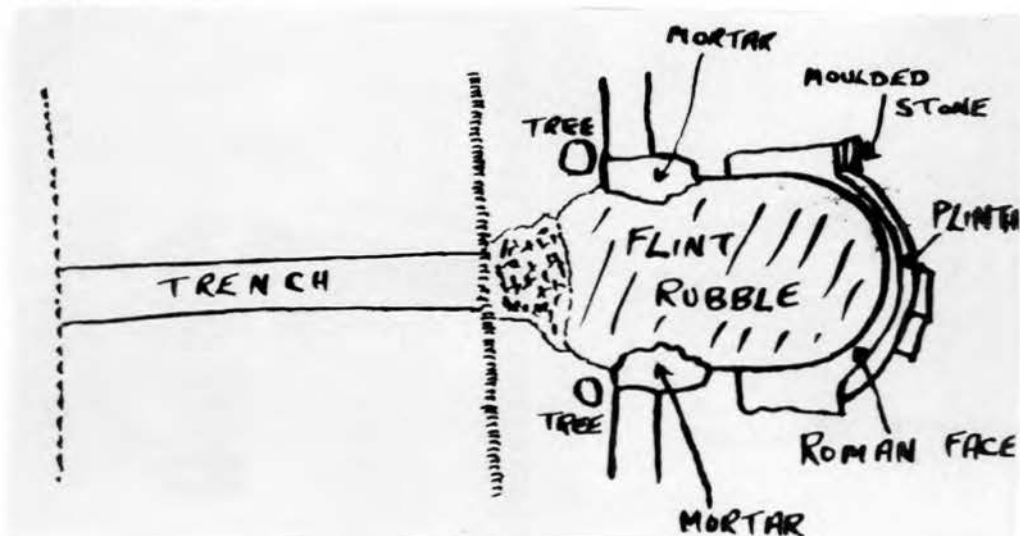
A Belgic pottery fragment dated within the first 50 years of the first century A.D. was found on the original surface. Its place of manufacture was probably Frier. "That the different tips are of the same date is evidenced by the character of the pottery distributed through them. More than 430 sherds and other objects were indexed, and of these over 50 were Samian." A piece of a large amphora was also found. The only inscribed fragment was the base of a Samian vase, stamped PATRI, for Patricius a South-Gaulish potter in Nero-Domitian times. Also found was a very tiny object of bronze in the form of a fish, and a fragment of iron "which looks like part of a strigil."

"As there is nothing later than the second century in the original bank, and as this agrees with the results of the 1932 excavation, the wall may with some confidence be dated during that period." Hannah doubts if the wall was erected for military purposes because of the date, and suggests that it was erected for prestige

value and as a means of controlling access to the town and of keeping bandits and wild beasts out.

"Outside the limits of the original bank were found bits of folded beakers of New Forest ware which may be dated roughly in the third century. Quite near the surface was found a little bit of a dark colour-coated beaker of Castor type," which may be second century. Fragments of mortars, nails and pieces of fused and drawn Roman glass, which "may indicate no more than that vessels of that material had been exposed to a fire, but they look as though possibly they came from a local factory. It is noteworthy that iron slag was recovered from the middle of the Roman bank."

"Well outside this were found several sherds of imitation Samian ware and other fourth century pottery, but nothing that throws any light on the end of the Roman city." Oyster shells, snails and bones were also very numerous.



The Palace Bastion:- Excavations here disclosed the bed of mortar upon rammed earth on which the defences were built as projecting for about 3 feet from the outer edge of the city wall on both sides of the bastion, "proving that some sort of tower, about 4 feet wider than the bastion, originally existed at this point, and this is confirmed by the fact that the flint rubble of the turret projects beyond the inner surface of the wall into the bank, ....."

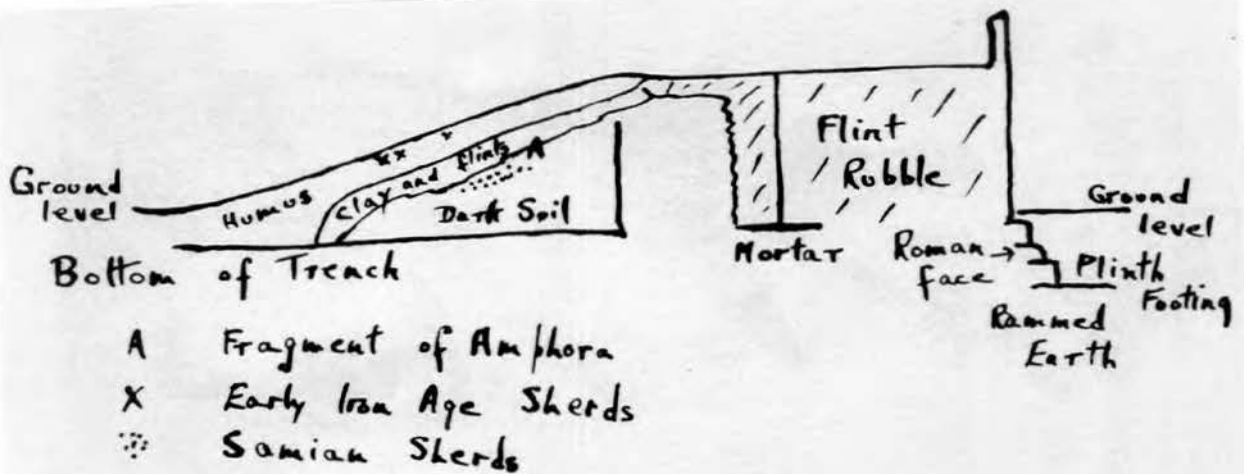
Beyond the mortar the foundations for about 2 feet are loose flints. "The mortar bed can be traced no further, and this, as well as the fact that the original facing of the bastion was completely different from that of the wall, seems to indicate that the turrets in their present form are additions, presumably from their resemblance to those of Portchester and Pevensey, of the period of the Saxon Shore. That they are of the Roman period seems clear,

- (1) from the character of their facing stones;
- (2) from their being composed of Roman materials such as worked ashlar;
- (3) from the nature of the concrete block found on the east side of the Residentiary bastion;
- (4) from the Roman remains found in excavating their foundations."



#### WALL BASE - PORTCHESTER

The excavation of the apsidal part of the bastion disclosed projecting "foundation stones upon rammed earth and flints,..... These footings were worked stones, quite clearly re-used, one in the south-east corner is moulded, and seems to have formed part of a fine cornice..... Upon them rests a low plinth whose top slopes very gently, and on this there still remain some 5 courses of very neat wide-jointed ashlar about two feet outside the present flint surface of the bastion on the west, but only one on the east." The apse is narrower than the original bastion. So much stone has been robbed that it is difficult to reconstruct the original appearance. Hannah

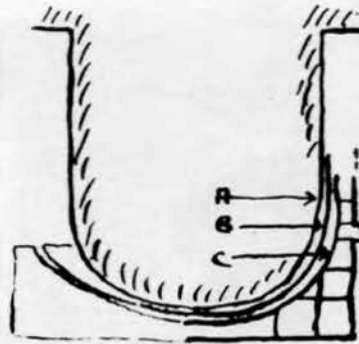


### THE PALACE BASTION

says that there is some ground for the conjecture "that the square part was the approximate width of the berm and that the apse rose from the edge of the fosse....." He thinks more excavation could help in this case.

The Residential Bastion:- The excavations here disclosed the work of perhaps 3 Roman periods. "Belonging to the first was a sloping plinth with a projection of six inches beyond the surface of wide jointed, small stone ashlar, .....extensive though rather clumsy added foundations

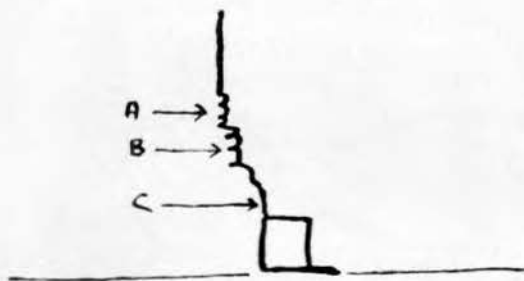
A = Second Roman Face.  
 B = First Roman Face.  
 C = Plinth.



### THE RESIDENTIARY BASTION.

obviously belonged to a later period. A supporting square platform of large rough stones was set against the plinth, .....and underneath was ramm'd clay full of flints....."

"Just at the commencement of the curve of the apse on the east side rough masonry of stone and concrete blocks was built up against the plinth and above it so as completely to cover it up."



A = Second Roman Face  
 B = First Roman Face  
 C = Plinth

### THE RESIDENTIARY BASTION.

A later Roman surface, probably belonging to this second period, though possibly later than this was also discovered, "coinciding with the earlier one at the centre of the apse, ....."

### Volume 76.

An article has been compiled from reports on recent finds at Chichester.

(1) Finds from the County Council Office site by S.H. Winbolt.

During the erection of these new County Offices much Roman pottery was unearthed. No foundation walls were met, and the whole area showed signs of having been disturbed quite often since Roman times. Of the pottery, "Samian, which happens to be in comparatively small quantity is mostly of the first century, extending to about 120 A.D., and this corroborates what is known, namely, that Regnum was one of the earliest occupied Roman towns. In the coarse pottery there are mortaria of the end of the first century, and bowls of the same period, as well as of the first half of the second. Dishes date from the first century, from the Hadrian-Antonine period and later. There are flagons also round about A.D.100, and of the second and third centuries. Jars, especially large store jars, belong to all four centuries. New Forest ware is



represented by one jar (or beaker) only. There are beakers of the second and third centuries, among them specimens of Rhenish and Castor ware, and 'Thundersbarrow ware' of the late fourth century..... Nine coins are distributed fairly evenly over the whole Roman period, from Claudius to Valentinian I (41-375 A.D.)."

He concludes by saying that ~~as <sup>of</sup> ~~concerns~~~~ the recognizable types, there are more from the first two centuries than the last two.

Some of the pottery was submitted to the British Museum for examination, and C.F.C. Hawkes includes an article on this in this section.

This pottery proved to be divisible into three distinct series, Imported Belgic pottery of the first century, Late Roman coarse pottery, and Early Mediaeval pottery.

He describes 4 pieces of pottery found on the site in great detail, in connection with the first division. From a study of these he says that taken as a group the date of their manufacture inclines to a "post-Conquest rather than a pre-Conquest date, though it does not seem that one more than some ten or fifteen years after the invasion of A.D. 43 is possible." To accept this view it has to be assumed that this pottery was exported from somewhere in Belgic Gaul to Chichester during the last years of the life of the industry that produced it. The pottery would

then have been in use in the time of Cogidubnus.

But, he continues, a pre-Conquest date is not impossible for some of this pottery, as there are considerations in its favour. Little of this pottery has been found on Roman sites newly established about the time of the conquest, but at sites "where the pre-Conquest import trade in this ware was flourishing, it continues to appear in reasonable though gradually diminishing plenty throughout the Claudian occupation. It looks as though the incidence of imported Belgic ware in Claudian Britain was determined mainly by the established channels of its distribution by pre-Conquest trade." Such trade might have reached this district as it is fairly certain that there was Belgic domination in West Sussex. Thus there is a distinct possibility for the existence of pre-Roman occupation on the site, and the importing of pottery is less likely to have begun after the conquest, than lasted from earlier beginnings. Because of the friendship between the Romans and Cogidubnus the contrast between native and Roman civilizations may not have been all that apparent.

Winbolt also points out, that the discovery of contemporary native ware as well does not mean that the Regnenses occupied the site of Chichester before the Roman town was built, but should definite evidence of such occupation be forthcoming these discoveries would

corroborate it.

With regard to the late Roman coarse pottery, it appeared that it was a native or local pottery, very similar to 'Thundersbarrow Ware'. This local pottery seems to have been fairly common in the south of England about the second half of the fourth century. "This ware seems clearly to reflect the manner in which this part of Roman Britain, both town and country was being thrown by the circumstances of the later Empire on to its own local resources," and not merely just a reflection of 'village economy'.

(2) In connection with Imported Gallo-Belgic Wares, Miss G.M. White describes some found on other sites in Chichester. "While the series as a whole belongs to the period A.D. 40 - 60, none of the deposits is likely to be pre-Conquest, though that in the garden in Little London is strongly Claudian."

(3) F. Cottrill includes an article on the finds from the site of the New Post Office.

The excavation was carried out in the hope that some Roman buildings would be discovered. "No such buildings were found, but early Roman pottery was recovered from an occupation layer, and above this layer were layers of clay and gravel, also of Roman date." A rare coin of Didius Julianus was found. Some of the trenches indicated occupation in Roman times on the original ground surface,

by means of animal bones, pottery and other debris. This layer, in one trench included "building rubbish (a flanged roofing tile and numerous lumps of stone), and immediately above it was a six inch layer of gravel with traces of cement, while a layer of cream-coloured cement containing small flints", was also noted. These remains may indicate the presence of Roman buildings a little further to the north.

"Wherever it occurred the occupation layer was sealed by a layer of gravel, which included occasional fragments of Roman brick or tile..... No original limits to the gravel layer were found. Where it did not occur in the trenches its place was taken by mixed dark soil containing Roman and mediaeval pottery....." Roman building rubbish (stone and tile) and pink cement was also found in one of the pits which had been dug in the gravel, and filled with loose, black soil.

Most of the Roman pottery from the dark layer under the gravel, may "be assigned to an early and comparatively short period of the Roman occupation. All the Samian sherds fall within the third quarter of the first century, and the coarse ware types admit of a similar dating." Seven Roman coins were found.

He concludes by saying that we have evidence of occupation not long after the Roman Conquest, although no definitely pre-Conquest material occurs, yet building activity near the centre of the town during the latter half

of the first century is implied.

Fragments of a large Roman altar bearing an inscription and figure - subjects were also found on the site near Chapel Street.

Volume 80.

An article by G.M. Clark entitled The Roman Cemetery at Chichester.

A collection of burial vessels excavated in 1895-1896 (The Butler Collection) numbers over 150 and belongs to the first to third centuries A.D. More excavations were carried out on the same site in Alexandra Terrace and St. Pancras in 1934-1937. In both cases the variety of forms is not wide. "Many of them (i.e. The Butler Collection) are clearly derived from native La Tene forms and Belgic prototypes, and another native trait is seen in the practice of marking a cross on the base of the vessels before or after firing..... Many of the vessels are marked also, before firing, on the shoulder just below the rim, with signs which probably represent numerals or individual potters' marks."

R.G. Collingwood examined the 'alphabet-jug', and "the 'vase ornamented with figures, probably of Bacchantes' and supposed to have been a British imitation of Samian ware, is in fact a genuine example of the continental

form Dêchelette 64, such as is usually signed by the potters Butrio or Libertus." The 3 lamp-holders discovered are of lead.

The 1934-1937 excavations were held in order to discover the northerly and easterly limits of the cemetery along St. Pancras. 35 burial groups were recovered from the places where excavation was possible, and the northerly and easterly limits were established.

Further excavations were also carried out in Alexandra Terrace, when the cottages from which Butler recovered the vessels were demolished. Another 30 groups were recovered bringing the total to 65. "The greater part of the cemetery appears to lie immediately under and eastward of Alexandra Terrace..... It may have originally extended westwards into the cemetery of St. Pancras church....."

Many of the burial groups which were fairly near the surface had been disturbed and scattered, "and many of the pots were cracked by the heat of the ashes they contained and showed signs of double firing. In some cases it was obvious that broken pots or kiln 'wasters' had been used for the burial. The bones were in nearly all cases reduced to small fragments, and many iron nails were found in or adhering to the pots."

Many of the vessels are local imitations of Belgic and Gallo-Roman forms. "It is unlikely, however, that

any of the burials can be dated prior to the last quarter of the first century; the majority belong to the second century, and the cemetery continued in use until as late as the fourth century." There are no examples of later New Forest wares, Castor ware or indented beakers. (A detailed description of the pottery p.175-192).

Volume 82.

An article by A.W.G. Lowther entitled A Section through Stone Street near Chichester.

In 1937 a section of Stone Street and other remains thought to be Roman were discovered in Westhampnett Gravel Pits.

Concerning the construction of the road he says that, "Three layers of deposited material (consisting of a spread of dark sand between two layers of gravel metalling) had formed the lower part of the road. The upper part, which must have been reduced, and eventually levelled out, by ploughing, has caused a considerable spread of earthy gravel to extend on either side of the centre of the road."

The ditches are about 45 feet from the centre of the road on either side, a most interesting feature of this section. The road had probably been about 30 feet wide, and "it had had level 'berms', each of the same width as the road itself, between it and the ditches on either side.....

On the original surface of the subsoil of the southern berm was found an iron linch pin....."

The arrangement of keeping the ditches well away from the margins of the road, was also found to have existed at Verulamium during the latter part of the first century. Such an arrangement was a normal feature of road construction in the Flavian period, so an early dating for Stone Street is very likely.

"Little can be said about the fragmentary cremation burial or burials which were found.....a short distance outside the north ditch. The one vessel which it has been possible to reconstruct appears to be of early second century date, and, besides calcined bone and charcoal, it was accompanied by a few fragments of another vessel of a similar hard, light-grey ware, but with a coating of cream coloured slip."

Other examples of this type of linch-pin have been found and from comparison a date in the middle of the second century is probable for its manufacture.

### Volume 86.

An article by E. Cecil Curven and Sheppard Fere<sup>SV</sup> entitled  
L  
A Romano-British Occupation Site at Portfield Gravel Pit.

A quantity of Roman pottery was discovered in 1945 in the Portfield Gravel Pit, but no certain traces of masonry.....



structure were encountered.

"The finds indicate occupation during the first two and a half centuries A.D. Besides Samian and other imported wares dating from the earliest years of the Occupation, there is present some native 'Western Belgic' ware, and also coarse Romano-British pottery of the first, second and third centuries."

A detailed description of some typical examples is given p.137-140.

"It has been seen that a date a few years before A.D.43 would suit some of the vessels of native Western Belgic character, and on general grounds there is no reason why occupation should not have begun on such a site before the Conquest. However this may be, the arrival of the Romans saw a great increase in the prosperity of the site, evidenced by the large amount of Claudian Samian and other imported ware. The settlement lasted throughout the second century, and it becomes a question when it ended." This is difficult as a third century type could easily occur in the fourth century. Assuming that the collection is representative, "The absence of colour-coated wares and even of Castor ware would militate against a date so late, and it is probable that, on the evidence available, the settlement came to an end soon after the middle of the third century, a date quite suitable for a third century type and also for

an unfigured sherd with internal clawed markings....."

Volume 90.

An article edited by Dr. A.E. Wilson, entitled Chichester Excavations, 1947-1950.

1. East Pallant House Garden:

The excavations showed that the Romans had occupied the site from the last years of the first century until the end of Roman Britain. The Roman finds included first century pottery, and a brooch "of late first century style and an early fine Samian cup with rouletted decoration, .....a badly destroyed tessellated corridor, the fallen wall plaster, the well and some of the square shaped pits."

One pit had its walls lined with cement and still contained in its bottom a layer of fuller's earth. "After it had gone out of use there was deposited in it with some animal bones the wall section of a Dr. F. 45 with the lion's head spout, some bone pins and a bronze needle together with coarse pottery of a third century date." Another pit possibly had a "light timber frame lining, for there was a considerable quantity of charred timber in its filling and at the base of the pit. It again contained third century Roman pottery, bone pins, and a bone spindle-whorl. On the surface above the pit, but underneath a later deposit of burnt daub, was an URBS ROMA coin in

good condition." The remains of another pit yielded a considerable number of sherds of New Forest pottery, and on the topsoil was a coin of Julia Maesa. Square pits had been cut through the tessellated floor and the roughly paved courtyard. All these pits show signs of a lining, possibly of cement, except in the case of one which had indications of timber lining. "They differ from other pits of the Roman period on the site not only on account of the square plan but also of their vertical sides and flat bottoms. The whole layout of well, courtyard, and series of square pits, together with the fuller's earth found in one pit, suggests either a Roman 'laundry' or, possibly, a small fulling-mill....."

"An early second century occupation of the site before the building of the house of which there remains a small part of a tessellated corridor with near by wall plaster - a building which seems to belong to the end of the second century and the beginning of the third century. The roof tiles and other rubble from the collapsed building lay on the flints and also on the top of the pit which contained early fourth century pottery. Another pit had late third century or early fourth century pottery, including cavetto rim jars beneath the layers of tumbled wall plaster from the building. Embedded in the wall plaster was a considerable portion of a New Forest thumb pot of the style common in the

first half of the fourth century. Another pit contained later fourth century New Forest wares, including imitation Samian, and had in its upper filling a coin of Constantine II."

"The well went out of use during the fourth century and the debris which gradually filled it up contained 14 Roman coins (6 barbarous imitations of radiate coins; 3 of Constans; 2 of Constantinian House of first half of fourth century; 3 of Constantine II; 1 of Gratian.) From the surrounding courtyard came two other barbarous imitations of radiate coins and a minim." A Saxon hut had been erected over most of this area, thus causing much of the damage to the well-head and courtyard.

## 2. Cawley Priory - Wall Excavations by Alan Rae.

Rae gives a conjectural history of the Roman fortifications in which he says that about the end of Vespasian's reign or a little later, Regnum was given a fortification (earth bank with timber facing), which was repaired with masonry in about 198 A.D. A military track was laid round the inside as well and a culvert to deal with drainage. Bastions were added to the outside during the dangerous period from A.D. 275.

The Roman Bank:- Within the present bank there is a clearly defined bank of yellow-brown brick-earth, with nothing to suggest that its construction was later than the early part of the third century. The lower part could have been

an original fortification with the upper as a repair, or merely a stage in the construction of the bank.

"The lower bank contained a copper as of Vespasian in excellent condition, which suggests that construction is more likely to have been before than after A.D.100. None of the other finds can be precisely dated, but five of the seven resemble pottery found at Angmering in a context of A.D. 80-100. In contrast, the upper part of the bank contained pottery incompatible with so early a date."

Prof. Birley suggests that this bank can hardly have been constructed before 200 A.D. From comparing the dimensions and soil of the two banks it seems that a hurried addition was made to an earlier bank, rather than a single bank erected at once. This is also the case at Silchester.

Rae also points out that the outer face of the earlier bank may have collapsed at some time. This would offer an explanation for a curious dip in the top of the lower bank.

He concludes, however, that such a suggestion can only be proved by thorough excavation on both sides of the wall.

Small pieces of brick were found thinly but evenly scattered throughout the soil which made up the lower bank.

"Below the early bank is a band of flints set in dark soil devoid of any finds: Below it, coombe rock." This flint band is natural, as it shows no signs of human occupation below it.

A metalled track separate from the setting-out trench of a nearby wall and later flint road was also discovered. It "presented a solid, even, and worn surface of flints," and was certainly Roman, "as shown by pottery found immediately below and above the track." The metalling was only a few inches thick, and the track "was not parallel to the alignment of the modern wall, and its northern edge was laid over the 'concrete' which covered the earlier bank (of flintless brick-earth), whilst its southern edge overlay a few inches of later (flinty) brick-earth." Rae without further excavations suggested that the date of its construction was either that of the earlier bank, or that of the later bank. He inclined to the latter view.

Rae carried out a further excavation in the grounds of Cawley Friory to try to trace this track and the culvert at the base of the earth embankment. A well was also found with its shaft heightened on several occasions. The track was found and the pottery beneath and adjacent to it again pointed to the Roman period for its construction. "To the north of the track could be traced signs of a scoop, a flint-lined culvert..... These three features - track, scoop, and culvert - occur in relatively similar positions in both sites and confirm the hypotheses stated" before. If the culvert was Roman it was thoroughly cleared out and in use at a later date as is indicated by the mediaeval

sherds appearing at all levels. "On the other hand, the trench or ditch coming from a northerly direction towards the culvert contained only Roman material - a coin of Tetricus and some fourth century pottery, including a large section of the side of a colour-coated flanged bowl..... There seem, therefore, to be at least three of these north to south trenches of mid-to-late fourth century date..... At the point where the trench approaches the culvert there seems to have been a circular sump."

"In the area so marked were numerous sherds of late third century or fourth century pottery and two coins of Carausius."

"The hole for the well seems originally to have been dug before the flint track was laid down, as the flints overlap the filled-in hole." It appears that the well was re-opened for use, as this would account for the changes in its lining.

The Ditch and Culvert, Lower Section: The soil removed from the ditch in its construction "seems to have been flinty brick-earth, coombe rock, and gravel (brown and grey). A trial trench confirms that brown and grey gravel side by side, lie under the coombe rock: It also showed that a still larger scoop had been taken out at that point, probably to supply material for the bank. One would expect such a scoop outside the defensive bank to provide

material for it and to form a protective ditch; to find it inside is unusual, but not unlikely in view of the Lavant and its marshy banks outside."

"Near the middle of this ditch appeared a culvert of which the south side was carefully faced with boulders. These were mainly flints, but included other stone, three damaged Roman bricks, and one piece of grey, native pottery..... The presence of boulders fallen from it towards the south suggests that the wall was backed with earth, and the ditch behind it left open. The opposite side of the culvert was not faced....." The bottom of the culvert which had become filled with waterborne gravel contained three fragments of cooking-pot (first and second century) and other matter.

Rae suggests three possible dates "The culvert may have been a city boundary, anteceding the defences..... The appearance of the ditch as a whole suggests that the culvert was made either after the ditch had been dug or as part of that operation..... Probably, therefore, the culvert was made not earlier than 200 A.D.,....." In 1949 a ditch was found running north to south, the pottery from this suggests that it may have been constructed in the second century, and was certainly open in the third. "From this and the culvert, comes the interesting speculation that Regnum was crossed by ditches which drained it into culverts, which in turn directed the flow through a tunnel under the wall."



Ditch and Culvert, Upper Section: The culvert was reshaped in the middle ages, but the soil contains some Roman finds as well as mediaeval ones. In the mediaeval bank many Roman sherds were found, probably pointing to restoration and rebuilding.

3. Cawley Priory - Other Sites by A.H. Collins, and A.E. Wilson.

Trial trenches dug in the garden of Cawley Priory revealed "a 'trench' running from north to south", and "a large depression scooped out in Roman times which contained a considerable quantity of Roman coins, and a scatter of later Roman pottery at a level of about 5 feet below the modern surface." The trial cuttings yielded scarcely a sign of post-Roman occupation.

"The square section of the lower part of the trench and the presence of a large number of nails mainly along its eastern side, suggested the possibility that it formed the bedding trench for some timbering." At the southern end the trench is however more like a ditch, so "it seems probable, therefore, that it may have started as a timber-lined culvert. The pottery and coins indicate an early - to mid fourth century date for the last use of this trench." Among the other finds the more noteworthy include a bronze fish-hook and parts of a rotary quern of fourth century type.

Another trench, (parallel to the garden wall dividing

the grounds of Cawley Priory from those of East Pallant House) yielded some sherds of pottery including some of the earlier forms of New Forest Ware, but none of the later stamped or colour-coated wares. These were found in clayey soil, which looked like redeposited brick-earth at the bottom of this scoop. "From the northern end of the trench came a number of coins, including one of Carausius and one of Victorinus, . . . . This evidence suggests that the scoop was made about the end of the third or at the beginning of the fourth century."

There seems to have been a concentration of pottery sherds at a depth of about 5-6 feet. These sherds included "stamped and painted New Forest potteries and point to this being the Roman surface during the last years of the occupation." Coins supply further confirmation of this.

Excavations made to the west of this trench suggest some interesting conclusions. A trench, running from north to south had been cut into the coombe rock and clay layer. "Along its course were many flints and tiles which" in places "are close enough together to suggest the possibility of a wall foundation. The many coins found help to reconstruct the story." The coins show late third and early fourth century date in or below the clay layer, and later fourth century coins with barbarous radiates were found in the gully cut through the clay layer. "The most likely explanation seems not a robbed wall foundation but some sort of drainage gully

....." There was a similar trench in the East Pallant site, but more excavation is necessary before the hypothesis that these gullies form part of the drainage system of Roman Chichester can be tested.

"Is this scoop a natural depression in the coombe rock which got filled up in Roman times, or was it a deliberate excavation to obtain material for one of the rebuilds of the earth bank of the Roman wall? The amount of late third century pottery and coins found on the bottom of this scoop points to the fact that, if it is in fact a quarry, it must be for a late rebuild, not for the formation of the original bank. It would suggest some enterprise connected with the addition of the bastions at the end of the third century."

"The predominance of late coins and pottery and the absence of any signs of major building shows that the town-planners of Chichester, as of other Roman cities, were over-ambitious. The inhabitants found no need to build up to the walls and left plenty of spaces within the precincts which could be used by late squatters in the troublous times of the later fourth century."

4. Excavations in the garden of 43, North Street, by Miss K.M.E. Murray and Miss J. G. Pilmer.

"At the extreme south-west corner of the garden there was some hope of finding more of a villa of which traces of the walls and tessellated pavement were observed in a

gas trench in Chapel Street in 1935."

Trial trenches cut in this area, gave 3 to 4 feet of "unstratified rich black garden soil, containing a good deal of brick rubble and potsherds of Roman, mediæval and modern date. At 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet a well-laid surface of cobbles and gravel topped with a thin layer of very fine crushed gravel and tile was found." A ditch with sloping sides running roughly east to west broke this surface in some places. In one place the ditch was filled with black soil containing snail shells, oyster shells, mediæval and Roman sherds. In another trench the ditch was at a higher level and lined with flints, and there were traces of the foundations of a rough flint wall on the south side.

Where it was possible to uncover a large area, "a more detailed examination showed that the cobbling was of Roman date, destroyed or disturbed in places by mediæval digging and tree roots. There had been two levels of cobbling, each some 5 to 6 inches thick, with a layer of brown clay from 1 to 3 inches thick between. The metalling consisted of flints packed in bright yellow clay, and where well preserved was very solid indeed and could only be broken with a pick. Both surfaces were covered with the characteristic crushed gravel and there was much oyster shell. The surface of the clay between was also covered with a considerable quantity of shells, but was not so dirty as to suggest that it had been

exposed for any great length of time. Indeed, the variation in thickness and the fact that at one place it seems to have filled a break in the earlier surface suggested that it had been used to level up the ground and form a bedding for the second surface. The pottery from the various levels, though small in quantity, would also suggest that very little time elapsed between the two periods of construction. At one place on the clay a small fire had been made, and at the north end of the excavated area were several features which suggested that there had been some sort of iron-working, perhaps a small forge or bloomery. There was a patch of very burnt clay containing part of a rim of Samian (form Dr.18) a few fragments of burnt daub with wattle adhering, and a number of nails and formless lumps of iron and slag. East of this area and lying over the earlier courtyard were several large flints and a patch of yellow puddled clay. This clay was lying partly over the first cobbling, which seemed very thin, and worn at this point, and was partly overlaid by the second." Part of a rim was the only piece of pottery found in this clay.

Below the lowest gravel layer of the Roman courtyard there was more yellow clay. "Lying on the surface of this clay was a fragment of decorated Samian which Prof. Eric Birley identifies as South Gaulish of c. A.D. 120." This

clay contained tiny fragments of charcoal, a considerable number of animal bones, and a small amount of pottery, some bronze and part of a blue glass bead. "On the north sides of the twelfth century excavation the clay showed three thin black levels containing oyster shell, bone, charcoal, and bronze sloping in such a way as to suggest that there had been an early Roman excavation here, perhaps for gravel." The second black level contained a coin of Cunobelinus, a further piece of evidence for a pre-Roman settlement.

"It would seem that there was very early gravel digging on this site, filled in later and levelled as the foundation of the cobbling laid down in the middle of the second century and repaired quite soon after. This cobbling extended over a large area (crushed gravel was found in places where there was no cobbling) and it would seem probable that we have here an outer courtyard of the villa found in 1935."

In one place a Norman oven had been cut through the Roman surface, and also Roman brick incorporated into the construction of its walls. This oven was built over a pit, which had it seems been dug and filled in in Norman times with material from the Roman levels.

Volume 93.

Dr. A.E. Wilson contributes an excellent article on

Sussex on the eve of the Roman Conquest.

Concerning Chichester Dr. Wilson points out that the evacuation from the Trundle cannot have been to the site of Chichester, because only one coin is known from the city (Cunobelinus) and even that was with Roman material. Many Belgic coins have been found though on the Selsey Plain. "With all these coins in the neighbourhood it seems strange that none should have come from Chichester if it were the Belgic capital."

Some sites within the city provided examples of imported Belgic pottery, but even this was found with well-known early Roman types. Thus it seems that R.G. Collingwood was wrong when he said that the Trundle people built a new city Noviomagus in the plain on the site of Chichester.

Volume 94.

The Beginnings of Roman Chichester, an article by Dr. A.E. Wilson.

Dr. Wilson begins by mentioning the willingness of Cogidubnus to co-operate with the Romans on their arrival in 43 A.D. The Neptune and Minerva inscription is mentioned, and its chief point of interest discussed. This point is the titles assumed by Cogidubnus - Rex and legatus Augusti in Britannia. "These titles give legal precision to the general statement of Tacitus" that further territory was added to

the kingdom of Cogidubnus on account of his faithfulness.

In Roman provincial administration the governors (proconsuls) of senatorial provinces had legates to help them govern. In Imperial provinces, where the Emperor was technically the governor, the legates were de facto the governors.

Augustus had divided Gaul into five provinces, the legions being placed in the two frontier provinces (Upper and Lower Germany). The three hinterland provinces without legions had a legatus Augusti propraetore whose task was almost entirely administrative and judicial. The position of Cogidubnus can be compared with this. As the legions advanced, "the emperor not only left Cogidubnus as king of his own territory but also gave him the power of a legatus Augusti over a considerable area south of the Thames, the civitates mentioned by Tacitus." As successive governors found their time fully occupied by events elsewhere in Britain, Cogidubnus would have been a great help to them. It would appear from Tacitus that he was still alive and loyal to Rome in the seventies. The visit of two distinguished Roman lawyers to Britain between 78 and 86 A.D. would suggest that on the death of Cogidubnus his lands were absorbed into the provincial system.

Richmond and Crawford in discussing the Ravenna



Cosmography (Arch.93) correct the name of Chichester from *Novi~~mag~~o Regentium* to *Novionago Reg<sup>n</sup>ontium*. This agrees with the view that "there was no pre-Roman tribe of the Regni but a kingdom assigned to Cogidubnus for his loyalty to the Emperor." The capital then means 'The New Market of the people of the Kingdom'. Thus Cogidubnus was a leader resisting the Belgic pressure in the years before the Roman conquest, so it is not surprising that he was a willing ally and valuable help to Vespasian in his subjugation of the tribes of the South Coast and Isle of Wight, especially if these tribes were the Belgae and Durotriges.

The dedication to Neptune and Minerva would suggest a deliberate attempt to Romanize the capital of this client king.

Dr. Wilson mentions the Nero inscription discovered in 1740 as dating from the time of Cogidubnus. He gives Haverfield's reading and translation. The inscription has since been lost. This stone must have been either a dedicatory inscription for some official building or the base for a statue of the Emperor. The inscription can probably be dated to 58 A.D. as it mentions the fourth year as Emperor. Although it says Consul for the fourth time, IV must be a mistake for III as his fourth year as Emperor was the third of his consulship. Again its wording and style reinforce the evidence for deliberate attempts to

Romanize the inhabitants.

Dr. Wilson then considers the relation of Noviomagus to the Trundle settlement and the Chichester Dykes. The Trundle was deserted about 50 B.C., but there is no evidence to suggest there was a Belgic settlement on the site of Chichester before the Roman conquest. The Belgic pottery found in the city does not suggest this. Dr. Wilson then describes some sites more carefully.

"These comparisons point to a survival in the district around Chichester, as well as in Chichester, of a native tradition which drew its main strength from a non-Belgic people. There was certainly strong Belgic influence on many sites in West Sussex. In Noviomagus itself there has not come to light yet any evidence for a Belgic occupation there before Cogidubnus set it up as the capital of the area over which he ruled as REX and LEGATUS AUGUSTI IN BRITANNIA until some date in the seventies. After his death there began a marked change in the occupation of the city."

#### Appendix I

A very detailed analysis of the Early Roman Pottery from the City of Chichester is included by Miss J.G. Pilmer (p.111-p.139).

#### Appendix II

The Chichester Earthworks by Miss K.M.E. Murray.

Miss Murray says that of the three possible periods for

their construction (First century B.C. Defences of invading Belgae: First century A.D. outer defences for Roman Chichester: Fifth-Seventh century A.D. Boundary of a Saxon settlement) she, like Curwen and Williams-Freeman inclines to the view that the first period is the most likely, especially on account of the analogy offered by the Lexden dykes.

Miss Murray carried out some excavations on the most northerly of the three east-west dykes, or 'Devil's Ditch'. It seems to have been planned "to protect settlers in the plain near Chichester from an enemy using the approaches from the Downs by Hainaker, Goodwood and Bow Hill."

"There is a short break in the dyke south of West Lavant House, and one of the objects in cutting a section at this point was to determine whether this gap was part of the original layout, or whether the bank had been levelled and the ditch filled at some later date."

It was found that the ditch had been filled in and the bank levelled, so it is fairly certain "that the present gap in the line of the dyke is not part of the original layout, although a trial dig in the middle of the gap is needed to prove this beyond question." As far as the bank was concerned no trace of timber strengthening was found, but this does not mean that no such revetment ever existed, as the bank had been greatly disturbed by rabbits, thus

making positive statements impossible. "There was some evidence to suggest that the surface of the slopes of the bank was deliberately cobbled with very large flints."

"In the case of a linear earthwork not closely associated with a settlement, the chance of finding pottery and other datable material is of course very much less than in, say, a city ditch. The finds in this case were few in number but significant." The filling contained only mediaeval sherds, thus supporting the suggestion that the levelling work was associated with building or alterations at West Lavant House.

"The only other pottery found was all pre-Roman..... Two fragments, joining, came from a large pot of coarse flint-gritted grey-ware, with a light brown surface, and with a few tiny fragments were found at 3 feet 6 inches depth in the clay under the bank. They must have been on the surface of the land at the time when the ditch was dug and the bank made. Prof. Hawkes identifies these as belonging to the native culture current locally at the time when the Belgae arrived in the middle of the first century B.C. Pottery of this kind was used by the latest occupants of the Trundle."

"A larger, more important sherd was the rim of a small blackish pot of a coarse flint-gritted hand-made ware..... Prof. Hawkes identifies it as belonging to a slightly convex-sided 'saucepan pot' typical of the A B or La Tene II Iron

Age culture of the local inhabitants of Sussex in the mid-first century B.C."

"A very tiny fragment of brown-grey ware, the exterior fired black and the inside fired red, not flint-gritted but of a hard sandy ware, was found at the very bottom of the ditch."

"The evidence of the pottery, important because of the position in which it was found, together with the V shape of the ditch, makes it possible to state that the Devil's Ditch belongs to the late pre-Roman Iron Age. The probability is that it was dug by the invading Belgae soon after their arrival in this country as a defence against the people living on the Downs."

Miss Murray concludes by pointing out that the dating of the Devil's Ditch does not mean that all the other dykes are of the same date, and that there are still many more features of it which require further investigation.

#### Volume 95.

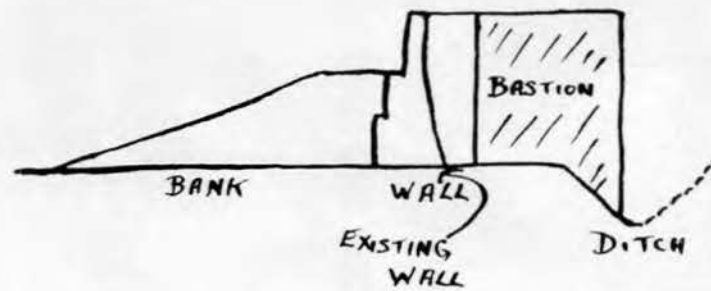
An article by Dr. A.E. Wilson entitled Roman Chichester.

In a previous article Dr. Wilson stated that a distinct change came over the city about A.D.75. Mr. Rae suggested that the two types of material found in the upper and lower levels of the bank of the wall showed early and later building operations respectively. However a study of earlier ex-

cavations and later ones shows that "this distinction between upper and lower levels in the bank arises not from a difference in date but from the nature of the subsoils here."

"The second phase of the history of Noviomagus seems to have lasted from about 75 A.D. to the end of the second century or the beginning of the third, when the defences were constructed along the lines of the present city wall. Excavations made between 1952 and 1956 have established the nature of these defences - earth bank, flint wall, and at least one ditch - and have shown that much of the Roman defences lay hidden beneath and behind later additions."

An excavation in 1952 "showed that when the North Walls Walk was made in 1724 two walls were built on the top of the existing bank..... The outer one rested somewhat precariously on the remains of the Roman wall with the footing partly on the top of the Roman bank. The pottery from the part of the Roman bank excavated belonged to the late first century and second century with nothing later than that." It included some fine Samian sherds belonging to the first half of the second century. "Among the coarse ware a sherd of rusticated urn similar to some found in the Roman cemetery (of Hadrian's date) and a rim of a mortarium of pinkish-orange ware" probably of the late first century.



CHICHESTER : ROMAN DEFENCES -  
TYPE DIAGRAM .

Excavation showed also, that the foundation of the Roman wall was laid directly on the natural clay without a foundation trench. "The outer edge of this foundation was 4 feet farther out than the face of the upper wall, indicating the extent to which the original Roman wall had been robbed back before it received its modern flint facing. Internally the Roman flint layers appeared intact up to a height of 8 feet, protected by the remains of the Roman bank. About 7 feet out from the wall foundation the lip of a ditch became visible,....."

Another excavation at the point where North and West Walls join, yielded, from the Roman bank itself, hundreds of sherds of pottery. The excavation was carried down to the foundations of the wall. "These consisted of some rammed earth and closely packed but unmortared flints

without any sign of a foundation trench. Then came nine layers of large flints separated by wide bands of mortar until the first 'ledge' was reached at just under 6 feet from the foundation.....then there were six layers of mortared flints before the next 'step' 3 feet further up. In this section the lower courses of the upper part of the wall above the second 'step' seem to belong to the Roman period. Similar steps to thin the wall were exposed in a 1947 cutting into North Walls, and in the bank behind the bastion in Friary Close."

Miss Pilmer made an analysis of the sherds found, and it appears that they range in date from the first century to the second half of the second century, as did those found by Mr. Hannah in 1932 in the Friary Park cutting. Professor Birley, however, thinks that the pottery evidence shows that the bank could not have been built before the end of the second century. (For a detailed description of the non-Samian pottery see pp.120-122). Thus the latest pottery from the bank here, points to the end of the second century or the beginning of the third as the time for the erection of the defences of Roman Chichester on the lines of the existing walls.

Another excavation was carried out where the core of a bastion is completely detached from the robbed wall face. This excavation "revealed the original thickness



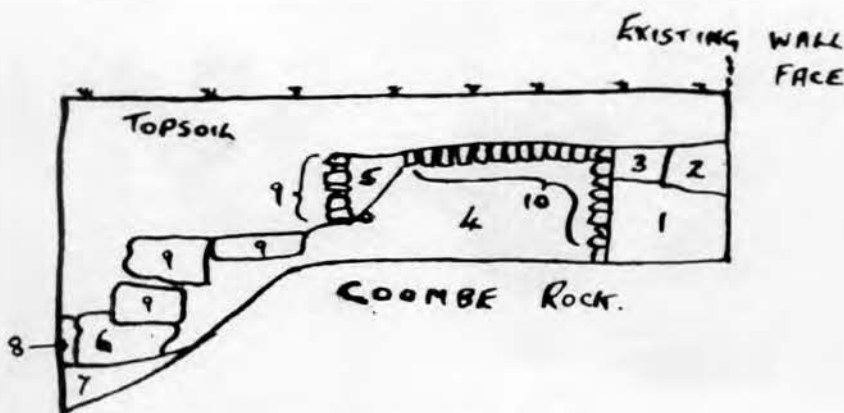
of the flint foundation of the wall and showed that the lowest courses were unmortared flint on the natural soil level. The foundation for the bastion was dug to a deeper depth than the wall foundation, but there was undisturbed soil between it and the wall foundation. The bastion foundations had many chalk blocks among the flints, while the wall foundation was purely flints. In the exposed core of the bastion was building rubble including typical pieces of Roman wall plaster and at least one piece of stone showing a moulding. The only dating evidence was a sherd of second century pottery from the flint foundation of the wall."

Friary Close:- Amongst the rubble left by the collapse of parapet wall, summer house, and part of a bastion Dr. Wilson noticed parts of a Roman quern, probably used in the filling of the bastion.

Excavations were made in the terraco behind the bastion, and at the side of the bastion. The trench behind the bastion was cut down to the Roman bank and exposed the higher 'step'. "From the bank, besides first and second century pottery, came a worn coin of Trajan." The flint footings of the original wall were also exposed, and the line of junction between wall and bastion, so it was possible to determine the original thickness of the wall. "The removal of the loose rubble from the bastion revealed the fact that the original second century Roman wall had had a dressed

stone face, protected at this point by the later bastion. It also became clear that the bastion was not keyed into the wall but mortared against it. Most of the filling of the Roman bastion consisted of flints in white mortar, but mortared against the face of the wall as part of the filling of the bastion was an altar stone. In the mortar, between the stone and the wall face, was part of the rim and shoulder of a cavetto rim jar with very weak shoulder", its date is probably the middle or later years of the fourth century.

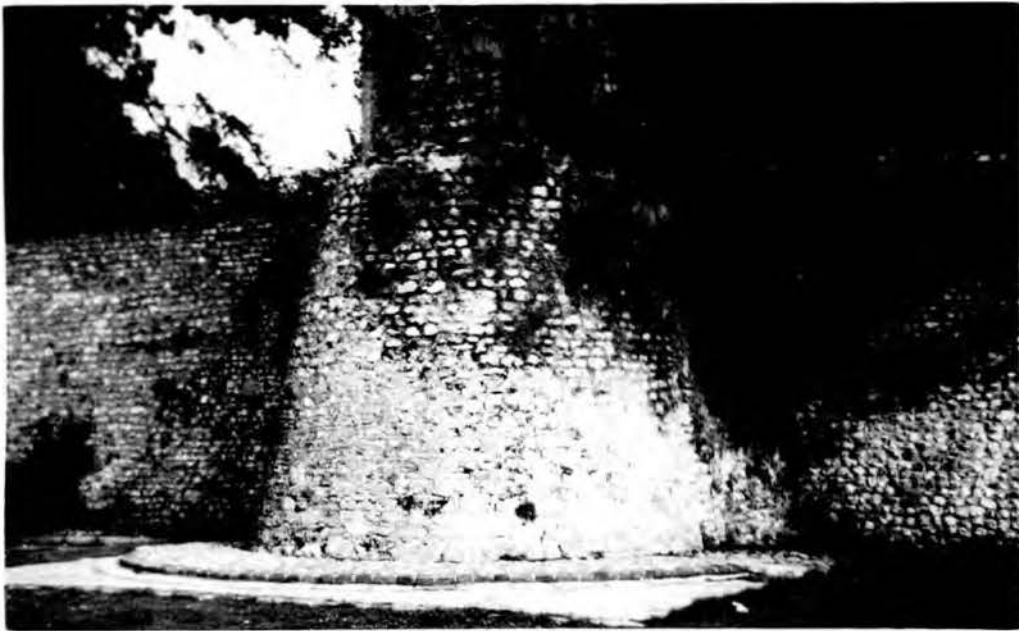
An attempt to discover something about any ditches connected with the defences, was made just north of Eastgate. Two were found, but both had been recut several times, so it was difficult to isolate any purely Roman filling.



#### MARKET AVENUE BASTION

- |                           |                   |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Brick earth.           | 6. Rammed chalk.  |
| 2. Wall foundation.       | 7. Flinty mould.  |
| 3. Flint rubble.          | 8. Rammed chalk.  |
| 4. Flint & mortar.        | 9. Stone.         |
| 5. Flint, chalk & mortar. | 10. Chalk blocks. |

Another attempt was made to excavate a bastion in 1956 in Market Avenue. It was found that a ditch contemporary with the second century wall began about 8 feet from the original wall face. The exact shape and width of the ditch could not be ascertained because of lack of space, so only its inner slope was revealed. "When the later bastion was added rammed clay filled up the ditch around the massive foundations. From beneath this clay there came sherds of second century or early third century pottery, including part of a rim of a mortarium."



"As the bastion would extend over the inner portion of the ditch, the builders took great precautions to have a firm foundation on this rather uncertain gravel and clay. In to the berm they dug a hole to a depth of 3 feet from

the ground level in Roman times. They then started to build up from the bottom of the ditch by first ramming large flints into chalk to fill up to the sloping side of the ditch. On top of this, set back a few inches, they laid in mortar a line of very large, roughly dressed stones. Next came another line of similar stones. The sloping side of the ditch allowed room for this upper line to turn round the flank of the foundation until it touched the side. They filled in the space behind these layers and the hole dug into the berm with flints and chalk blocks set in white mortar. Starting from the point where the berm foundation met the side of the ditch, they erected a semicircular plinth of chamfered stone set in mortar. At the junction where the semicircular plinth joined the berm they erected two flanking 'buttresses'. Later soil accumulation has preserved the three lowest courses of the front of the bastion. These courses, set in pink mortar, are bonded into the very substantial core of the bastion..... The excavation revealed two other interesting features. Between the foundation of the bastion and that of the wall the builders had left about 1 foot of undisturbed brick earth. They had also used many chalk blocks in the filling in of the hole dug in the berm to take the foundation." This was similar to the detached core of the bastion at North Walls.

All the important excavations in connection with the

city walls make it possible to give an overall picture of the Roman defences of Chichester. "Noviomagus, founded at the time of the Roman Conquest in A.D. 43, remained an open town until about A.D. 200, when it received its first defences: (i) a Roman bank about 30 feet wide at base and some 8 feet high against the wall; (ii) a flint wall, over 7 feet wide at base, and faced with dressed stone; (iii) an 8 foot berm; (iv) a steep-sided ditch whose dimensions have not yet been determined. At some time in the fourth century, probably about A.D. 350, a change in military tactics led to the filling-in of the ditch and the building of solid bastions to mount 'artillery'. This would involve a new and wider ditch,..... That such a ditch existed at Chichester in Roman times is not yet proved, though the excavations outside East Walls suggest the possibility, particularly as the outer ditch is at about the same distance from the wall as the outer one at Great Casterton."

"There exists other evidence suggesting a change in the history of Roman Chichester about the end of the second century." Dr. Wilson cites the demolition of the amphitheatre as an example of this. Its stone was apparently used to help build the walls. Dr. Wilson also mentions inscriptions which bear on this period. He follows Haverfield's dating (end of first century), reading and translation for the tombstones bearing the names of Aelia Cauva and Catia

Censorina. Again he follows Haverfield's reading and translation of the Lucullus altar inscription. Dr. Wilson thinks that the Belgic name of Lucullus' father reinforces the view of its date being at the end of the first century. He goes on to mention that Professor Collingwood dated the dedicatory inscription to Jupiter to the end of the second century or the beginning of the third on stylistic grounds. Connected with this inscription Dr. Wilson says that "among the smaller pieces of stone stored away in the museum from the find-spot of the main blocks is part of a figure in relief of a woman wearing a chiton, probably representing Minerva."

Dr. Wilson then gives Haverfield's reading and translation of the tombstone inscription concerning the 85 year old porter. He concludes, "The date of the last inscription is uncertain but all the others except the Jupiter one seem to belong to the first century, the time of the rapid development of the settlement. No inscriptions datable to the third or fourth centuries have, as yet, come to light. The Jupiter statue which dates to the same time as the fortification of the settlement is of the type often set up in forum or basilica at a time of rebuilding." It seems that it could have been in the forum as it is so near the centre of the town, the area had a gravel courtyard and massive stone walling was found nearby in the cellar of the Dolphin Hotel.

An appendix to Dr. Wilson's article is the second part of Miss Pilmer's detailed analysis of the pottery from Roman Chichester. (pp. 133-145)

### Volume 100

In the report of the Council for the year 1961, the excavations at Fishbourne are mentioned. Traces of a Claudian timber building were uncovered. "The most important and surprising finds.....came from the courtyards and rooms of a magnificent Roman villa, clearly dated to the years immediately following A.D.75. So far the rooms excavated have yielded remains of 10 mosaic pavements, eight of which are certainly earlier than any other Roman mosaics found in Britain." They are of Italian rather than of provincial type. Also the first courtyard and peristyle uncovered points to Italian and Southern French influence. The building was considerably altered in the second century.

### Chichester Excavations 1958-1960.

(i) North Walls and Northgate by A.E. Wilson.

"The stretch of wall from the northwest corner of Priory Park (Priory Lane) to Northgate, and Northgate itself had been levelled to the ground or incorporated in later buildings many years ago." A cut here, revealed "the remains of the lower part of the Roman wall for almost its full breadth. A disused cellar of a house built outside

the wall, had come right up to the previously robbed outer face of the wall foundations and so made it impossible to establish the full width of the foundations at this point."



"The 'top' of the few remaining courses of the Roman wall showed that the core of the wall consisted of large flints set in a cream mortar. The inner face showed that there still remained four or five courses of these flints with one course of roughly dressed sandstone."

The subsoil here was loose and moist, so the Romans did not use the same method of securing a good foundation as at other parts of the wall. "Instead of laying its foundation directly on the subsoil they dug a trench into the subsoil slightly wider than the width which they intended for the wall and filled it with layers of closely



packed but unmortared flints. On top of these they spread a good layer of mortar and then began to build the wall proper." In some slight flint remains in front of the wall a single sherd of pottery of a type in common use in Chichester in the second century was found.

At Northgate itself an eighteenth century cellar, "which had cut away the foundations of the southeast corner of a gate tower adjoining the Roman wall" was exposed. "Part of the original Roman wall reduced here by robbing to about 2 feet wide showed almost to modern ground level." Near it, between it and the cellar foundation, "remained some of the flinty earth Roman bank." There were also large dressed stone blocks, which stood on a heavy layer of flint, which continued under the remains of the flinty earth bank against the inner face of the Roman wall. "Along the side of North Street, showing underneath the pavement behind the cellar wall was a single line of similar dressed stone blocks, obviously broken when the cellar had been built." The lines which the walls of this "tower" had taken were easy to reconstruct, as a "cement" floor starting on the level of the base of the single row alongside North Street was easily seen. The section along Priory Lane showed "the beginning of a ditch alongside the Roman road coming in from the north before the gate was built. Moreover the stony black earth layer sliding in to the ditch looks as if

it might well have been part of the 'camber' alongside the road. This ditch would have had to be filled in when the gate and bank inside the wall were constructed."

(ii) The Defences of Roman Chichester by John Holmes.

The defensive ditches which undoubtedly existed outside the walls had never been properly excavated, so excavations were carried out in order to investigate their relationship to the walls. The excavators expected to find an inner ditch, associated with the Roman wall, and a wider outer ditch belonging to the period of the bastions, but the ditches were found to be more complicated than this.

"There were three phases in the defences:-

I. The town was enclosed by two V-shaped ditches and the material dug from these was used to construct a bank. The front of this bank was revetted with a flint wall more than 7 feet thick. Buildings left outside the enclosing wall were levelled and the ditches were cut through their remains."

Date: about 200 A.D.

II. The defences were re-organized, after an interval during which the V-shaped ditches silted up. "Towers (bastions) were built at intervals along the walls and a wider flat-bottomed ditch was cut, partly into the outer ditch. The material was used to fill in the inner ditch. The towers were based on solid foundations, for which holes were dug down through the clay subsoil until the more solid coombe rock was reached."

Date: about the middle of the fourth century.

III. 1378. Wall, turrets etc. were repaired and a new ditch was constructed. This ditch was found to have destroyed most of the Roman outer ditch.

The present course of the Lavant is of post mediaeval date, and its bed cuts partly into the filling of this ditch (1378) and its Roman predecessors.

One of the surprises of this excavation was the discovery of a Roman well, "the upper part of which had been removed during the digging of the great mediaeval ditch.....we found that its lowest part below water level, had been lined with oak planks set on edge." The well-shaft was lined with flat Horsham stones. The shaft had been packed round with yellow clay to keep the impure water out. It was constructed in exactly the same way as the Roman well found in the garden of East Pallant House.

"This well was associated with some Roman occupation layers (some of them were probably floors) which had also been largely destroyed by the mediaeval ditch. These layers contained Samian and coarse pottery, together with other debris of domestic character, including a few small white tesserae and some red brick tesserae. The pottery all belonged to the period from the late first to the late second century. Clearly there had been a Roman house here before the town was enclosed and the defensive ditches had been cut right through the site." The remains of a substantial wall belonging

to this house were found between the inner and outer ditches. It was about 4 feet thick and built of large flints set in pink mortar. "A small fragment of painted wall plaster was recovered from the wall and there were traces of a mortar floor built against it....."

"It was not possible to study the inner ditch in a single section at the Palace Bastion site because of disturbance not only by the bastion itself but also by rubbish pits of about the seventeenth century." Cuts were made at other spots nearby, and it was found that "the ditch had originally been V-shaped, like a normal Roman military ditch, with a small channel at the bottom, the width of a shovel....." The ditch was probably 6 feet 6 inches deep and about 17 feet wide. A trench outside the West Walls (the site of the house and well) confirmed the results of the cuts near the bastion.

"The various layers filling the inner ditch correspond at the two sites but there is an extra layer at the bastion site. This layer contained many lumps of flint and of roughly worked stone (upper greensand and limestone) as well as pieces of Roman tile and fragments of pink and yellow mortar. This debris corresponds with the materials composing the bastion and the layer must have been deposited at the time when the bastion was constructed. The inner ditch was, therefore, filled in before the upper part of the bastion was built."

"The two lowest layers at each site consist of silt and clay and represent the natural silting of the ditch and the tumble from its sides by weathering. The two layers above the silting represent a deliberate filling of the inner ditch with the material dug from the outer ditch at the time when it was enlarged (bastion period)." Roman pottery, including Samian ware, together with bones and oyster shells, a scrap of green glass and Roman building debris were found in these layers. "This material can only have come from digging into the site of the Roman house (described above) which existed here before the defences were made and lay in the path of the outer ditch."

The lavant and the nineteenth century brick culvert prevented complete sections of the outer ditch being obtained. Both the shape and the filling of the ditch below the broad mediaeval ditch were puzzling. "Instead of the presupposed wide Roman ditch, our sections both showed a ditch, the lower part of which was V-shaped and very similar to the inner ditch." Three layers of silt were found, the second containing flints, particles of brick, mortar and chalk and some fragments of animal bones, and the third being mediaeval. "Each section therefore shows the presence of three ditches, dug at different times, the latest being mediaeval. The earliest so closely resembles the V-shaped inner ditch that we must conclude that they are a contemporary pair; the first defences of Roman

Chichester therefore consisted of a wall and two ditches. The remaining ditch, wider and flatter in shape, must be the one which was dug when the bastions were built."

"The trench alongside the Palace bastion exposed the whole of the east side of its foundation." Hannah apparently did not dig across the front of the bastion, and so this excavation revealed some stonework, "which cannot previously have been seen since Roman times." Hannah did not interpret correctly the remains that he saw. The Residentiary, Market Avenue and Palace bastions were all built in the same way at the same time.

"To construct the foundation, a square hole was first dug, partly into the filling of the inner ditch, partly into the berm in front of the wall, leaving a space 2 feet 6 inches between the wall footing and the edge of the hole;..... This hole was dug until the solid coombe rock was reached..... The bottom of the hole was made firm with a hard core of rammed chalk rubble, edged with large flints."

"Next the large stone blocks were carefully laid along the front edge of the foundation and the space behind them was filled with a rubble of flints and chalk lumps mortared together. The semicircular plinth of chamfered stones was then erected on the flat top of the stone foundation. Five courses of small dressed stones remained above the plinth, forming the curved front face of the Roman bastion. All these

facing stones were set in pink mortar, ..... The core of the bastion.....was of solid flint and chalk rubble which was carried back above ground level until it rested against the front face of the wall. This rubble was set in yellow mortar ..... The Roman core....presumably exists.....hidden behind the modern facing."

By the time when the towers were built the ditches were silted up. "The upper part of the sides had tumbled into the bottom, thus preserving the V-shape of the lower part of the ditch but making the upper part considerably wider. It is for this reason that the lip of the inner ditch is to-day found so close to the wall footing. It was here, at the lip of the silted up ditch, that the Roman engineers built the short retaining walls which terminate the curved masonry front of the Roman bastion."

"During excavation it became apparent that the ground between the wall and the lip of the inner ditch was not wholly natural. When the east side of the bastion foundation was exposed, a small V-shaped ditch was found going under the foundation, which cut into one side of its filling; the wall footing had been dug into the other side. A few scraps of pottery found in the ditch appear to belong to the first century. The ditch, then, had been dug at an early date and had long been filled in and forgotten by the time when the town received its walls." These ditches were not large enough

to have formed part of a defensive system. The ditch mentioned here is "a rather shallow U-shaped depression lined with puddled chalk," and may not be a ditch at all. "Certainly no Roman ditch existed here. Nor was any early Roman ditch found when the Market Avenue bastion was excavated in 1956; the sections obtained there showed solid coombe rock alongside the bastion. We must conclude that the ditch near the Palace bastion and that under the East Walls are purely local features, connected with the early occupation of the town, before the wall was built. They provide further evidence that the early town spread over a larger area than that subsequently enclosed by the defences."

If there had been an early ditch then there would probably have been an early bank, so this was considered when excavations were made in the bank in the grounds of Cawley Priory, but "although it was composed of several layers of different materials, they all belonged to one period of construction." The lower part of the bank was made of natural subsoils. "Pieces of brick and tile, fragments of bone and of oyster shell and some scraps of pottery were scattered throughout the bank", but much of the pottery appears to have been on the surface when the bank was thrown up.

Apparently the clay bank was cut back in order to build the wall. Material was dug out and piled on top of the bank while the wall footing was laid. "The wall was then built up from both the front and the back; it consists of large flints



laid in courses and bound with thick white mortar. When the wall reached a height of about 3 feet, some of the earth was thrown back into the space behind it to provide a platform for the builders;" mortar droppings are found here and at a higher level. In Roman times the wall may have been at least 20 feet high. The cutting back of the bank to build the wall has not previously been recorded.

Mr. Holmes making comparisons with excavations carried out on the defences of Silchester, suggests that, (as the pottery finds from the wall trenches and banks of both cities are similar) the wall "was built a few years later than A.D.200, but the bank was thrown up some years earlier. There has never been anything found in the bank which could be dated early third century, but finds which could be of this date consistently occur in the wall trench."

Recent excavations at Winchester show that that city too reacted in exactly the same way as Chichester and Silchester to the danger which threatened them at the end of the second century - the Roman bank (built several years previously) was cut back to build the wall.

(iii) Excavations at a site in North Street, Chichester 1958-1959, by Miss K.M.E. Murray and Barry Cunliffe.

In 1958 Mr. A.H. Collins had excavated the area east of the site of the church of St. Peter-the-less. The area was found to be very disturbed by mediaeval and later pits, the

bottom of a first century pit being the only surviving Roman feature. Later in 1958 Dr. A.E. Wilson and Miss C. Wilson dug 3 trenches. The last struck a mortar floor and a masonry wall of the Roman period.

As the area to the east of the site of the church was too disturbed by post-Roman pits to warrant further excavation, Miss Murray turned her attention to the piece of land on the north side of the site of the church. Seven phases of occupation, six of them Roman, were discovered.

#### Phase I. Flavian.

Two ditches or elongated pits cut into the natural brick-earth were found here: both were deliberately filled with gravelly clay soon after their construction. A layer of charcoal occurred towards the bottom of the second ditch. "Finds from them can be dated to between the Roman conquest and about 80 A.D."

#### Phase II. Late first century.

"To this phase belong 4 shallow gullies which were cut into the natural gravel and the filling of the second ditch. One at the east end of the site was a beam slot for a timber building, others appear to have been drainage ditches. The occupation debris in and around them belongs to the late first century."

"Iron smelting was carried on in a bloomery at the west end of the site, and the blooms were worked up into wrought iron in a smithy close by. Finds from other iron-making

sites of the Roman period show that the two processes were invariably carried on in close proximity to one another and usually not far from the source of ore.....but Chichester is the first working identified," so far from a known source. Much charcoal and iron slag were found on the site.

#### Phase III 100-150 A.D.

"Round about 100 A.D. the original street on the line of modern North Street was metalled and widened and a section of its eastern edge was exposed" where the site bordered on North Street.

"The metalling was extremely well preserved, carefully laid in even alternate layers of coarse gravel and brick and finer gravel, representing a series of resurfacings and bringing the total depth of metalling to about 3 feet. At the same time a layer of gravel and clay was spread over part of the site and on it was built a small bread oven. This continued in use until the middle of the second century..... Of the oven, which was badly cut by later pits, only the two lower courses remain. It was built of tile fragments set in yellow clay which had subsequently been baked red. The oven chamber was circular,.....in front of it a working surface of a single row of tiles.....had been laid."

In front of the oven was a layer of gravel; also belonging to this phase was a shallow gully and a pit.

#### Phase IV. Mid-second Century

"In the middle of the second century a layer of clay

was deposited over practically the whole site. Two lines of greensand blocks about one foot square were associated with this..... Isolated blocks also occurred in the clay."

Phase V. Second-half of the second century.

"From this phase onwards the levels had been very disturbed by mediaeval pits cutting into them.... At this stage a layer of gravel.....was spread over the whole site."

Two post holes were discovered.

Phase VI. Late third century.

A masonry building with floors of hard pink opus signinum, cream mortar and a tessellated pavement was constructed. This was badly damaged in the mediaeval period by the digging of pits.

The house was flint-built, and 3 rooms were sectioned in the excavations. The room at the east end of the site "was originally floored with a coarse tessellated pavement of red and white tesserae....., but later the whole floor had been destroyed." The wall dividing it from the second room (in between the east and west rooms) was of flint, and survived only as a foundation 3 courses deep.

The second room was floored with a layer of cream mortar. It appeared to extend westwards across the north end of the wall separating it from the third room, which here ended in a course of greensand blocks, but elsewhere was built of flint on a chalk block foundation.

The third room was at the west end of the site, and had

a floor of opus signinum broken by a late pit. "This floor belonged to a room the west wall of which must have lain somewhere between it and the street."

"The dating evidence for this building is scanty, but in the make up beneath the opus signinum floor a few fragments of purple gloss New Forest beaker and a sherd of Castor ware beaker show that its construction must post-date 250 A.D."

"Nothing is known of the history of the site in the later Roman period."

#### Phase VII Early Mediaeval.

The chalk footings for the wall of a mediaeval house built along the frontage of North Street were found.

"The importance of the site lies not in the structures found, but in the closely stratified groups of pottery which were recovered from the excavations." The high percentage of Claudian Samian indicates that the site was occupied from the beginning of the Roman period.

In view of the importance of the pottery found, the article concludes with a detailed analysis of it. (pp.102-110)

The Sussex Archaeological Society's Report for the year 1962.

#### Fishbourne

##### Stages of development.

1. A military timber store building, similar to those at Richborough, dated to the time immediately following the Roman invasion of 43 A.D., followed soon afterwards by two

timber houses.

2. A large masonry building dating to about A.D.75.
3. Alterations and additions to that building about A.D.100.
4. A squatter occupation and demolition of buildings about A.D.270.

"Trial trenches south of the Elmsworth Road indicated considerable remains of a more extensive Roman settlement."

The Journal of the British Archaeological Association.

Volume 2.

A Mr. Smith exhibited drawings of two Roman sepulchral inscriptions, found at Chichester, at the meeting of the Association on January 7th 1846. They are the inscriptions concerning Catia Censorina and Aelia Cauva.

Volume 4.

Mr. Smith again exhibited some drawings at the Meeting of the Association on May 31st 1849. One of them was of a "Roman vessel in dark clay, with white ornamental patterns, seven inches in height, discovered near Chichester during the railway excavations....."

Volume 24.

An article by Gordon M. Hills about Westhampnett Church

"chiefly in reference to its Roman Remains."

Hills begins by pointing out that the church is alongside Stone Street. This article is very similar to one he wrote on Westhampnett Church for the Sussex Archaeological Society. (S.A.C. Vol.21)

Hills also points out that the Saxons must have had plenty of Roman material to hand in this area, and cites the discovery in 1851 and 1866 of the use of similar material in the churches of St. Clave, and Rumboldswyke respectively, St. Clave's being in the city of Chichester, and Rumboldswyke, like Westhampnett, being about a mile outside.

#### Volume 35.

A note from G.M. Hills was read at a meeting of the Association on January 15th 1879.

The note stated that "small fragments of Roman pottery have at various times been found in Chichester Cathedral," when the floor has been disturbed. During the digging of a grave in 1848 in the western part of the north aisle Hills noticed "a stratum of broken Roman tile or brick and fragments of Samian ware."

Hills also exhibited "a piece of a tessellated Roman pavement and of Samian ware, taken out of a trench", when water pipes were being laid across the nave and aisles of the cathedral. Hills also noticed "several pieces of Roman

building tile and two or three pieces of hollow flue tiles, the latter scored, as is often seen on flue tiles, with rough wavy lines." The pavement had tessellae of "common red tile or brick, broken into small fragments of irregular shape, but very even surface."

Volume 42.

(1) The meeting of the Association on August 18th 1885 at Chichester.

Mr. C. Roach Smith described the Roman remains in the museum to the company. He stressed the importance of Regnum in Roman Britain, and after a brief comment on the origin of the city's name and its position on the Antonine Itinerary - the incorrect mileage from Bitterne - he passed on to the inscriptions found in Chichester.

The first one he mentioned was the Neptune and Minerva inscription. He commented briefly on Neptune, Collegia, Cogidubnus and the pacific state of south-eastern Britain. He concluded his remarks on this inscription by saying that he did not believe that the Pudens who gave the site had any relation to the Pudens and Claudia of the New Testament.

He mentioned three dedicatory inscriptions, to Nero, Domitian and the Genius Loci respectively, and lastly the two sepulchral memorials found in South Street.

Dr. Birch then gave his <sup>reasons</sup> ~~opinions~~ for regarding the



connection between the Pudens of the inscription and the Pudens of the New Testament as incredible.

Excavations had been carried out at the base of one of the mediaeval bastions (opposite the Dean's garden) at the suggestion of Mr. Roach Smith. A massive square basement of Roman date was found at the foot of the bastion.

Later the party walked on the walls and saw a fragmentary Roman inscription before inspecting the interior of the Bishop's Palace.

(ii) An article entitled, "Chichester: The City Walls and their Roman Form and Foundation," by Gordon W. Hills.

In setting the scene, by briefly describing the history of Chichester, Hills gives the Roman name of the town as Clausentum, and consequently misplaces most of the neighbouring towns.

He mentions the Neptune and Minerva inscription, also the inscribed stone found in 1809 and the dedicatory inscription to Nero which he says was found in 1825. He goes on to mention the two fragmentary inscriptions found in 1835, the Lucullus altar, and the votive tablet to Jupiter.

Hills then goes into a long digression dealing with the subsequent history of Chichester.

"There was no appearance above ground of Roman workmanship in the faces of the bastion..... When only a few inches of earth had been removed, it was apparent that the flint facing

of the bastion had under it a construction which had formed the base of a larger bastion of similar form..... The original work thus disclosed is of rubble sandstone set in Roman mortar, as is shown by the mixture of crushed brick with the sand and lime of the mortar."

This rubblework was found to stand on a plinth of wrought masonry with a chamfered edge with mortar between. The foundation under the plinth was found to be of two courses of dressed stone with mortar between. "Beneath the under course it was found that the original foundation had been laid in the bottom of the trench dug by the Roman workmen, by filling in about eight or nine inches with flint and chalk rramed and beaten down to a compact mass....." Hills found that the wall here stands on a solid clayey formation. A small copper coin of Gallienus was found, also many fragments of Roman tile, roofing and paving, and Roman bonding brick, but no ceramic or ornamental ware.

A further excavation was made against the main wall 50 feet west of this bastion, to try to find out the reason for the wall projecting 2 feet at this point. No reason was found.

In speaking of the other bastions, Hills says that one of those in the south-east quarter of the city has had its core dug out to form a flight of steps, and "many marks of Roman material are visible." It is in the grounds of a private house built astride the walls, during the building of

which it is probable that the tombstone concerning the 85 year old man was obtained from the foundation of the city wall.

Hills was unable to find any mark of Roman work or material in the bastion (detached) in the north-west quarter of the city.

Hills thinks the citadel or mound in Priory Park was of pre-Roman date because the walls are carried outwards to include it.

### Archaeologia.

#### Volume 26,

Discoveries of a Colossal Head, and of some Roman Remains at Chichester.

November 20th 1834. Mr. Thomas King of Chichester exhibited two sketches of fragments of Roman inscriptions found in June 1833 at the south gate of Chichester. They concerned the inscriptions bearing the names of Catia Censorina and Aelia Gava.

Mr. King also says that in 1823 a votive altar was found. This is the Lucullus altar.

#### Volume 42.

An article entitled "An Examination of the Hill Forts of Sussex" by A.H.L. Fox.

Fox is describing St. Roche's Hill, and the earthworks on Highdown Hill. He says that a line of intrenchment can be

traced towards the south-west in the direction of the Broil, "which is an ancient work of great extent defending the north and east sides of the town of Chichester." In a footnote he recalls that Stukeley thought they were Roman, though Lysons opposed this opinion.

Volume 93.

The question of the Roman name of Chichester was considered by T.A. Richmond and O.G.S. Crawford in a paper on the British Section of the Ravenna Cosmography.

It is noteworthy that in the British section unless a given section can be shown to embody post-Roman material, it may be taken to rest upon Roman road-books in list or map form, resembling the Antonine Itinerary or the Peutinger Map. In the British section there does not appear to be any trace of post-Roman influence. But there is however a connection with a Greek Source, as some words retain a Greek inflexion or case ending.

The Ravenna Cosmography appears to follow a road pattern.

e.g. Venta Velgarum (presumably Venta Belgarum) -

Arms - Ardaoneon - Navimago Reg(n)entium.

(Arms and Ardaoneon are unknown, but supposedly somewhere on the Winchester - Chichester road system.)

1. Navimago:- A scribal error for noviomago (Ptol.Geog.ii:3:28)

ΝΟΙΟΜΑΓΟΣ In the territory of the ΠΗΓΥΟΙ

novio = new

- magus = field, place and thus comes to have the meaning

- fair, market.

## 2. Regentium (Regnentium)

Regnenses = people of the kingdom.

i.e. regnum Cogidubni

The official title of Cogidubnus was 'rex'.

Holder's suggested Celtic derivation is unacceptable in view of the political facts.

### The Journal of Roman Studies.

#### Volume 22.

In a résumé of recently excavated and discovered sites called "Roman Britain in 1931" by R.G. Collingwood and M.V. Taylor, the section dealing with Sussex begins:-

"The Rev. A.A. Evans followed the remains of a pillared hypocaust in excavations for drainage in South Pallant, Chichester."

#### Volume 25.

An article entitled "Roman Britain" in 1934.

"At Chichester Mr. F. Cottrill reports 'the excavation of a site at the corner of West Street and Chapel Street which revealed an extensive layer of gravel surviving to a thickness of three feet, possibly the floor of the Forum. Under it on the original surface of the undisturbed brick earth was a pre-Flavian occupation layer.' Near the north-west walls a tessellated pavement and walling was found crossing Chapel Street obliquely." Pottery dated to the mid first century has been recorded there.

Volume 41.

An article entitled "Roman Britain" in 1950.

"A section cut through the bank behind the southern city wall of Chichester in Cawley Priory gardens showed that it was of clean brick-earth laid on unoccupied ground, possibly at the end of the first century, to judge from the evidence of the Samian ware. The stone wall in front of the bank had collapsed in the second century and the embankment was then raised. Behind the bank was a cobbled track  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide and a few feet beyond it a wide ditch with a flint-faced wall along

the bottom, possibly a culvert."

Volume 43.

An article entitled "Roman Britain" in 1952.

"Dr. A.L. Wilson reports that three cuts made into the earthen bank of the rampart of Chichester in 1951 and 1952 prove (i) that the Roman bank is still in position beneath later additions, (ii) that it stands to a height of between 9 and 12 feet above the foundation of the flint wall which it backs; (iii) that the lower courses of the wall were unmortared flints, above which layers of mortar and flints occur alternately without bonding courses of tiles." The wall was reduced in width by offsets on the inside; "(iv) that its foundations were laid on an occupation layer containing Roman pottery of second century date, and nowhere were they cut into the natural subsoil; (v) pottery finds from all cuttings made into the bank consistently showed that construction took place not before A.D.200. The most prolific cutting yielded sherds from c.200 vessels, and many other fragments, and the late second century pottery was spread throughout all layers."

Dr. Wilson then describes a mortarium, a flagon, and two  
 Castor ware bases from the latest coarse pottery found, and  
 mentions the complete absence of the typical flanged bowls  
 and cavetto-rimmed jars so common in third century sites at  
 Chichester. "Thus the evidence agrees well with that of  
 the excavation of the bank inside Priory Park."

He mentions that the dressed stone face of the original  
 Roman wall, preserved by a later bastion, was exposed by the  
 fall of that bastion in Priory Close. "This bastion is not  
 earlier than the fourth century, to judge from the amount of  
 re-used Roman material from its filling, and from the presence  
 of one potsherd with sharp broken edges not earlier than the  
 fourth century found in the mortar against the face of the  
 original wall. The Roman bank here still stood to nearly  
 11 feet above the wall foundation and was of second century  
 date."

The Archaeological Journal

Volume 14.

At a meeting of the Archaeological Institute on June 5th 1857,



Mr. Freeland of Chichester "gave a short account of the remains of a conduit pipe, supposed to be of the Roman period, recently found on his property on the north side of Chichester, in the direction of the extensive earthworks known as 'The Broil'." Various Roman remains and coins constantly occur in the neighbourhood of the spot where the conduit was found. "The terra-cotta pipes are of unusual length.....they are not straight, but formed with a slight waving curve." About 15 pipes were found.

Volume 37.

An article entitled "Roman Inscriptions Discovered in Britain in 1879" by W.T. Watkin.

In this article the following occurs. "On a Roman cup found at Chichester....there is scratched:

LVPO.X."

Volume 43.

Another article by W.T. Watkin on recently discovered Roman inscriptions. This article is for 1885.

"At Chichester there has recently been found built up into a wall at the Bishop's Palace, the right hand portion of what has apparently been a large sepulchral stone."

Each Smith was only able to decipher it partially.

.....RIAN

...NUMAT

.....

.....

...XV..

Volume 46.

An article entitled "Notes on Roman Britain" by F. Haverfield.

In a section on Roman Roads in Sussex, Haverfield discusses the question of a road from Chichester to Devensey. He works from the thesis that Devensey (Anderida) arose as Chichester declined, as nearly all the datable remains found in Chichester belong to the period before 270 A.D.; whereas Devensey belongs to the fourth century.

Haverfield then comments on the inscribed stone mentioned by Watkin in Volume 43. He found it in a corner of the

Bishop's garden, not "built up into a wall." On examination he gives the reading:

..M.

IIV...AT

.....S

Haverfield does not think it is a new inscription but the one found in 1809 in the S.E. part of the walls which was then more complete. It then read:

...K.

.NUSAT

.ARIUS

LXXXV

Haverfield concludes the article by saying that some fragments of a marble inscription from Densworth are in the museum. He then gives a list of the names of the potters on the Samian ware in the museum.

Volume 78.

Hawkes and Dunning in an article entitled, "The Belgae of Gaul and Britain" show that the hill fort of The Trundle

ceased to be inhabited somewhat abruptly about 50 B.C. It has been inferred that Belgic invaders appeared here and superseded it by a new city on the plain, namely Noviomagus or Chichester, the point being that it may already have been the seat of Cogidubnus' government before the Roman conquest. Cogidubnus therefore must have ignored whatever Belgic influences there were in himself and his people to have so readily welcomed the Romans. Chichester assumed a new importance after the conquest.

The Antiquaries Journal.

Volume 15.

An article by Miss G.M. White entitled, "A New Roman Inscription from Chichester."

Miss White is writing about the site of the new post office, which was "honeycombed with rubbish pits of Roman and medieval date..... In March, 1935, a large irregular block of stone, in a midden of uncertain date, was being broken up for removal when part of an inscription was observed on one side." It was found to be part of a dedicatory

monument to Jupiter. "Three lines remain of the inscription, which was no doubt completed by three or four lines on the missing lower stone. The other three faces are decorated with sculpture, and the monument was thus freestanding. There is an oblong hole for a tie in the centre of the upper side. The material is a soft local sandstone, (from Hythe Beds, an outcrop some twelve miles north of Chichester) which has also suffered from the dampness of the ground in which it lay."

The inscription:- . I . O . M .

IN . HONOREM . DO

MU(S) DIVINAE



"The sculpture on the remaining faces, while following the traditions of Graeco-Roman art, is provincial work, although it cannot be placed among the more naïve products of provincial masons." On one side of the inscription are "undraped figures of two women in three-quarter relief, set in a recess. The lower halves of the figures are missing, but when complete they would have been about 34 inches high. They stand each with her right hand on the other's left shoulder, one facing, the other with her back to the spectator, both looking outwards. The hair of the facing figure is drawn in thick loops across the forehead; that of the other is indicated as a coil at the back of the head. The background is filled with stems and branches of foliage incised in a rather heavy and clumsy manner, and the edge of the panel is marked by horizontal and vertical incised lines broken in places by the foliage and by the heads of the figures, which are cut off at the top of the stone. The position of the figures and their lack of drapery is unusual, and the only analogies that can be offered are the statues of the Gratiae, although in this case three figures form the group."

Of the other side only a third survives "showing in relief the right arm of a figure holding a sceptre or spear, with drapery over the shoulder. The panel is demarcated by vertical and horizontal lines beyond which the sceptre projects, and the background is decorated with incised ornament, perhaps part of a conventional laurel wreath. This figure may represent an emperor or Jupiter himself, or the emperor in the guise of Jupiter."

The side opposite the inscription "is almost completely destroyed, except for a fragment of foliage in relief. There is, however, a fragment, of the same material and found on the same site, showing in three-quarter relief part of the figure of a woman from the waist to the knee, wearing a chiton. It is probable that this formed part of the lower stone which has long been reduced to fragments. The figure may have occupied this fourth side and probably represents the goddess Minerva."

Miss White points out that although the sculpture shows no lack of observation it is in places a little out of proportion. "The modelling of the drapery (on the fragment)

is a careful piece of work, and seems to indicate that the mason was following a classical original fairly closely.

The incised ornament of the background, however, is almost a caricature of the floral designs in relief which were a feature of Roman art in the first and second centuries."

"The monument has been described as an altar, but owing to its large size, and the fact that it would have been composed of three or more stones, it may have been a pedestal for a statue, or even part of a larger structure,....."

The age of the midden could not be determined.

Miss White says that dating is difficult, because "on the grounds of style, the lettering may be as late as the second half of the second century. It recalls first century work of which it would appear to be a copy by a less competent mason, rather than an independent creation." The formula 'in honorem domus divinae' is rare in Britain, yet the Neptune and Minerva inscription bears the formula 'pro salute domus divinae'.

Professor Collingwood on examination suggested, on the grounds of style and lettering, a late second or early third century date.

#### Volume 16.

The Chichester Amphitheatre:



Preliminary Excavations. By Miss G.M. White.

First Miss White describes the site and its position in relation to the town.

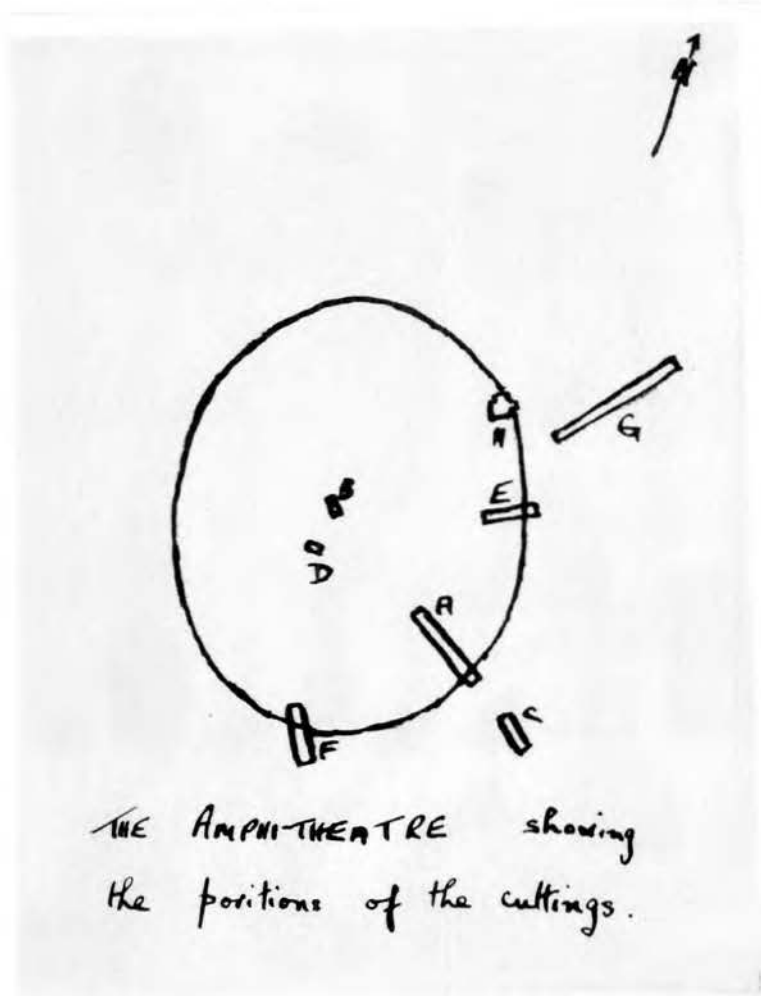


PLAN of CHICHESTER, showing position of AMPHITHEATRE.

The amphitheatre was elliptical in shape, the North-South axis being about 230 feet, and the East-West about 190 feet. The material for the bank seems to have been obtained from two 'quarries' on the N.W. and S.E. sides as well as from the arena.

Several cuttings were made as is seen from the plan. Cutting A:- A thin wedge of decayed mortar began to appear at a depth of 5 feet 6 inches. "Below this was a well-marked

loam band varying in width from 4 to 6 inches, containing Romano-British sherds, oyster-shells, and bones, overlying a rammed gravel floor, below which was natural marl and gravel."



It soon became clear that the retaining wall had been robbed of its stones, and the yellowish-grey mortar remaining had collapsed and fallen forward on to the arena floor. "The mortar contained in its upper part large nodules of flint,

the majority of them roughly dressed on one surface, fragments of broken wall and roofing tiles, sherds, bones, and oyster-shells. Snail-shells were common in the lower part of the mortar spread and in the crevices between the stones,..... where the mortar lay on the loam, many fragments of wall plaster were found, painted light and dark red, purple, pink, orange, yellow, green and grey, streaked and mottled with white. The plaster itself was in some cases a dirty cream colour, elsewhere pink with many coarse fragments of broken brick." The surface was not smoothly finished off in the majority of pieces, and on a few stones, including a sandstone and a granite block, the paint had been applied directly.

The excavations on the arena floor and the wall revealed footings of coarse rammed gravel and flint nodules, 4 feet 6 inches wide, the wall of roughly dressed flints and mortar being about 4 feet wide. The building level was marked by a thin spread of broken brick.

"A few sherds were trodden into the gravel floor, and others were incorporated in the loam band which formed before the collapse of the wall. A quantity of iron nails was found here also, probably indicating that the superstructure was of wood..... Subsequent to the robbing and collapse of the wall, a loose loamy material from the bank had rubbed forward and in this was part of a mortarium of early second century date and

a worn dupondius of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 159 or 160)."

"The sherds incorporated in the wall include small pieces of coarse grey ware and sherds of heavy storage vessels with thumb impressions on the inside, (late first to early second century)..... The sherds found on the arena floor and in the loam band....include a fragment of Samian (95-105 A.D.), the three-ribbed handle and part of the body of a flagon in soft buff ware with darker slip, the neck of another flagon on sandy red ware with lighter surface, and the lip of a screw-neck flagon, all of late first to early second century date.....parts of thick storage jars, thumb-pressed inside, rims of grey *Ollae* and one fragment of amphora. A sestertius of Domitian (A.D.86) was later picked up....."

Early Iron Age sherds are evidence of earlier occupation on the site.

Cutting E:- "Sherds and iron nails were found in the loam band under the collapsed wall, which again contained a number of sherds and fragments of wall plaster. The remains of the wall itself were not uncovered to the full width, but a sherd of a first century cooking-pot was found in the flint and gravel footings."

Cutting F:- "Fallen masonry in this section lay much farther back in the bank than was expected, and it is possible that part of a southern entrance was encountered.....a slight depression in the bank can be seen at the corresponding point

at the north end." Here a band of loamy gravel lay between two tips of collapsed flints and mortar, "and appears to mark some phase in the robbing of the wall. It contained a rim of third century ware."

Cuttings B and D:- "In cutting B the rammed gravel floor was 3 feet below the present surface. A worn as of Domitian (A.D.86) lay at 20 inches from the present surface." Also found was a socketed iron arrow-head. "The blade is leaf-shaped and the socket is broken, but it is probably Roman in date."

"In cutting D the gravel had been excavated to a depth of 3 feet 10 inches, but the level had been made up to 3 feet with dumped material - burnt and decayed matter, sherds, bones, nails etc. - and the gravel floor, 3 inches thick, had been laid on this. The sherds under the floor included fragments of two jugs in buff and pink ware, large grey storage jars, one with a red slip, rim and body fragments of smaller grey ollae with vertical tooling, the base of an olla in sandy ware with footing and black surface; the reeded rim of a carinated vessel, and a dish with flat rim and lattice pattern on side in polished black ware, and a piece of tooled soapy ware of earlier fabric. All are types which are found locally in late first to early second century contexts."

"A much worn copper coin, probably of Vespasian (c. A.D.75), lay just above the gravel floor, and the sherds which had also accumulated since the laying-down of the floor included many

fragments of flagons, coarse grey storage jars thumb-pressed on the inside, part of a vessel with footring in hard sandy red ware with black surface, a few small rims, and one fragment of amphora, most of the material being contemporary with that found under the floor."

Cutting C:- An unsuccessful attempt was made to find the outer revetting wall of the bank.

Cutting G:- "The section here indicated that there was no outer retaining wall to the bank, or that, if such had ever existed, it was made of timber and had left no trace.....

No traces of a metalled road surrounding the structure could be seen.....and the Roman sherds in and on the bank included fragments" of Samian and coarse wares of first and second century date. "An unexpected find in the gravelly outspread from the bank, only 2 feet 6 inches from the present surface, was a beaker of mid third century date, covered by a fragment of Roman roofing tile, and empty, save for a few worm casts. The conical neck with bulbous body is a well-known third to fourth century type, but almost all the black colour-coating has disappeared from the soft red fabric. The decoration consists of rows of rouletting, with dots and interlinking loops en barbotine on the body. The vessel may have formed part of a stray burial, in which case its presence would indicate that the amphitheatre had ceased to be used for its original purpose by the middle of the third century."

Cutting H:- This was made in order to examine the face of the arena wall. It was found to be robbed, and the flints, mortar, and plaster debris had fallen forward on to the arena floor. Samian fragments were found under the collapsed wall.

"On the floor of the arena were three fragments of a straight-sided vessel in light red ware with darker slip and grey core. The rim is outbent and the body is divided by heavy cordons with zones of rouletting between. This is probably a locally made copy in inferior fabric of an imported Belgic type and is not likely to be post-Flavian in date."

"In the collapsed wall itself, but not mortar coated", were Samian sherds dating from the turn of the first century and second century.

From the evidence, Miss White says that the arena does not appear to form a true ellipse; its measurements (185 feet by 150 feet) are similar to those of the Caerleon Amphitheatre (184 feet by 136½ feet). Precise dating is impossible owing to the meagre character of the finds, "but coin and pottery evidence would suggest a date between A.D. 70 and 90 for its erection. Moreover it appears to have been abandoned by the end of the second century and to have been robbed soon after that date, possibly for building material to reinforce the city walls or erect the bastions." Timber may have been used a great deal in the construction of the

Chichester amphitheatre, amphitheatres of the Gallic provinces and the Rhineland being usually of stone and more pretentious.

Volume 24.

Miss M.V. Taylor writes about a clay figurine from Chichester.

It was found in 1943 in the north bank of the Lavant near the bastion adjoining the Residentiary garden.

"The figurine is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, broken towards the bottom, cutting off the feet and possibly a pedestal. The back is plain and unworked and a circular hole in the centre provides a vent-hole for the escape of moisture in baking. It is hollow because made in two moulds and then joined together. The mould must have been much used, the relief of the figurine being worn as well as rubbed. The clay is red and does not seem to have received the usual white clay wash."

"The female figure stands erect in a frontal attitude and wears a long chiton or mantle covering the arms to the elbows and adorned with a large circular brooch or clasp at the breast. It is possible that a necklace with pendent amulet is also worn." The right fore-arm is raised and in her hand she holds "a small round object - pot or box or even an apple or seed - ....." She may have a vase of flowers in her left hand. Her hair is "waved, full all round, and twisted back, being surmounted either by a coil of hair like a diadem



or a diadem itself. Figurines of girls and deities such as the Deae Matres or the goddess Epona are frequently portrayed wearing such a coiffure."

"There is no reason, however, for thinking that the Chichester lady represents a deity or votive offering; (Minerva is not likely as she does not possess the usual accoutrements of that goddess - Gorgon's head, helmet, shield and spear.) She is probably just a Gaulish young woman, and was the proudest ornament of some small dwelling. Altogether it is coarse provincial work, typically Gaulish,.....but interesting as an example of provincial work, which put elegant classical themes into primitive provincial dress."

Similar figurines have been found in Gaul, on the Rhine and Danube. They were used as "ornaments, toys, cult objects etc. and are found in houses, villages, burials, temples, and shrines." They are the cheap counterparts of the bronze statuettes and Mediterranean terra-cottas found in the less wealthy provincial markets. They are "valuable evidence of the tastes, ways and cults of the inarticulate submerged tenth of Gaul and neighbouring provinces....."

#### Volume 42.

Excavations at Fishbourne, 1961: First Interim Report,  
by Barry Cunliffe.

"The group of harbours between Southampton Water and Chichester Harbour owe their survival to the protection

afforded them by the Isle of Wight from the south-west tides and winds. The site at Fishbourne lies at the head of the eastern-most inlet of this group at a point immediately to the north of the crossing of the Roman road from Chichester to Clausentum and the now silted-up end of the eastern arm of Fishbourne creek."

"Three phases of occupation were recognized:

First Period. Timber buildings: c.A.D. 50-75/80.

Second Period. First masonry building: c.A.D. 75/80-100.

Third Period: Additions to and adaptations of, the first masonry building: c.A.D.100-200."

#### The First Period.

"In the first period the waterlogged upper reaches of the eastern arm of Fishbourne creek formed the western part of the site, and settlement took place on the higher ground to the east and north of them. Little work has yet been carried out on the early levels, but the quantity of material found indicates an intensive occupation associated with post holes, a dry stone footing for a timber wall, and clay floors (beneath one of which 3 coins of Claudius were found). Between the occupation area and the creek side, two shallow gullies.....running in a north-south direction were discovered ..... The nature of the silting suggests that they were for drainage; the primary silt of the eastern gully produced a coin of Nero."

A fairly large quantity of Samian pottery belonging to this period was found, giving a date of about 50 A.D. for the beginning of occupation in the immediate area. "Scattered sherds of earlier pottery, however, might hint at an earlier Claudian settlement near by."

Probably towards the end of this period, the main Chichester - Clausentum road was constructed, "across the southern part of the site, cutting off the waterlogged ground to the north." The road here consisted of a layer of consolidated gravel. There was no ditch on the north side.

#### The Second Period.

"The construction of the second period building over previously boggy ground necessitated the laying of a beaten-clay make-up" over a wide area. "In this, unmortared trench-built wall-footings of flints were laid, on which free-standing walls of squared greensand blocks were built."

"The building is arranged around an open area fronting on to the road at its southern end. The eastern limit of the site is provided by a street" running north-south and joining the road. The western limit is unknown, but it may extend at least another 150 feet to a point where a mosaic was discovered many years ago. That mosaic could of course belong to another building.

The building has a North and an East wing.

The East Wing:- "The rooms of the east wing are centred around a peristyle courtyard (4), adjoining, on the west side, the corridor bounding the east of the central open area. The courtyard.....is surrounded on three sides by a stone gutter and stylobate (of Bembridge limestone), large parts of which have been removed by later stone-robbers. Rainwater from the roof of the colonnade was led by means of the gutter to the north-east corner of the courtyard, and from there beneath the stylobate and peristyle by way of a stone - and - tile drain."

"From the robber trench of the gutter were recovered fragments of the columns, including one almost complete capital, and most of a shallow semicircular basin of Purbeck marble which doubtless served an ornamental purpose in the peristyle court."



There may be another courtyard to the south, and the rooms to the east are bounded on their east by a long corridor running along the street.

Below the floors of certain rooms was found the masons' yard. "Sandstone rubbers for polishing and sand for cutting were found, together with a quantity of waste material which included the dressings from the edges of sheets of Purbeck marble, blocks of uncut stone and roughouts for the patterned elements of sectile pavements. These patterned blocks were made of red, blue, white and grey stones in 3 shapes..... These tiles would have been employed in floors composed of squares set obliquely within squares such as are common in Italy after about A.D.63."

The North Wing:- "The north wing consists of more than twenty-two rooms arranged round two courtyards. It appears to have been divided into two blocks by a narrow passage....."

The courtyards "were each surrounded by a colonnade with a stylobate and gutter which were removed by third century stone robbers, leaving only broken gutter-fragments in the robber trench." The size of the first courtyard is not yet known, and the east side of the north wing "opens on to a corridor which forms the western limit of the third courtyard, in which was found a stone base....standing on a projecting tile foundation. Its function is not certain, but it perhaps was one of a series of statue or altar-bases standing within the court."



FISHBOURNE EXCAVATIONS - SECOND PERIOD MOSAIC

"In eight of the living rooms.....mosaic floors in varying degrees of preservation survive..... In the remaining five rooms of the eastern block the floors have been completely removed by ploughing; in the western block" the floor of one room was destroyed prior to the later reflooring, other rooms have not yet been fully explored.

"The mosaic floors of this period have certain common features which serve to distinguish them from those of the third period. A foundation of rammed greensand blocks a foot thick was first prepared and its surface finished off with cream-coloured mortar; on this was spread a one inch layer of pink mortar on which the cubes were laid in a slurry of fine white cement. In every case the mosaic extended up to the walls, having a border consisting of one row of coarse red tesserae."

Of these eight rooms the floor remains are as follows:-

Rooms 6 and 7. "Only the red border and the first 3 or 4 rows of white tesserae survive below floors of the third period."

Room 9. "The red border and about six inches of white mosaic survive in patches, the white tesserae being set in rows diagonal to the border. One diagonal band of black was found."

Room 10. "Patches of a black and white geometric floor were found below a third period mosaic....."

Room 11. It contained an elaborate black and white geometric mosaic.

Room 17. "A badly worn floor of plain white tesserae which may form a wide border to a central design as yet unexcavated."

Room 19. "A fine, though somewhat worn, polychrome mosaic..... The central circular panel has been completely destroyed."

Room 20. Anteroom to Room 19. "It is floored with a striking polychrome geometric design of alternate red and blue panels.... black background....bands of white."

"Nowhere in the building can it be proved that the painted wall plaster recovered from the debris filling the rooms belongs to the second period. In Room 11, which has painted plaster in situ, it can be demonstrated to belong to the third period."

"Large parts of the walls have been robbed, and from the filling of their robber trenches a quantity of marble wall-veneering has been recovered."

#### The Third Period.

The dating of the third period is difficult because, "all stratigraphy above the floors has been completely removed by ploughing and worm action to such a degree that sherds of mediaeval pottery have been found on the floor surfaces, but the bulk of the pottery from the ploughsoil can be dated to the second century. The whole building had certainly gone out of use by the late third century, when it was thoroughly demolished by stone-robbers. The date for the beginning of the period is derived from the facts that the second-period floors show little wear and Samian incorporated in the third period mosaic in room 10 is dated....to the late



first century."

The East Wing:- "The peristyle and courtyard (4)....were completely reorganized to form a small bath building. In this process the colonnade was demolished and a wall built on the stylobate. Between this and the original inner wall of the portico a number of rooms were constructed. Room 28 was turned into a general stoking area, with a flue (which presumably supported a water boiler) opening into the caldarium (36). From here the hot air was led through channels in the north wall into the tepidarium, the floor of which was supported on parallel rows of box tiles. The frigidarium, not yet found, must be in or close to room 40, through which a drain runs, emptying into the gutter of the second period, part of which was still functioning at this time. The southern portico was also divided into small rooms. Against the west wall of room 33 a cist or cupboard of tiles was constructed. The same room had a doorway in its eastern wall, which was later blocked up: the two phases thus suggested are at present the only indication for such changes within the third period."

The North Wing:- "The eastern block of the north wing was hardly modified in the third period, with the exception of a dividing wall across a corridor. The floors in all the rooms were allowed to wear out, and were patched with tiles and wads of clay."

This is in complete contrast to the rooms of the western block, "all of which were completely reorganized. Rooms

7 and 8 and the corridors 12 and 13 were tessellated, room 6 was floored with opus signinum, and room 9 was divided, presumably by a timber partition, the northern part being tessellated and the southern refloored with opus signinum. A hypocaust was inserted into room 4, possibly converting it into part of a second bath-building associated with the tile drain to the north of it; the mosaic floor of room 11 was allowed to remain, but the room was divided by a timber partition, which was plastered and painted in a pink background splashed with blue, yellow and red. At the junction of the wall and floor a quarter-round moulding was laid. The remaining rooms, 3, 5 and 10 were refloored with mosaics."

Room 3 )  
           ) A fine figured mosaic.  
 Room 5 )

Room 10. This mosaic is "ill constructed and irregular, making use of re-used material, including samian and flint."

"In the late third century the building was systematically robbed for building stone. In addition to the small stone blocks comprising the walls, the robbers removed most of the stylobate and gutter stones. Coins from the robber trenches suggest a date of about A.D. 270-80."

Cunliffe concludes by saying that the "importance of the building lies not only in its size and elaboration, but in the recovery of a plan of a masonry domestic building of the first century and of a group of mosaics earlier than any yet

found in the country." Whatever, its purpose, or whoever had it built, "it may be remarked that it is perhaps not surprising that the first discovery of the kind should be so close to the capital of Cogidubnus, the rex et legatus Augusti, whose loyalty to Rome and her culture was so pronounced."

### Volume 43.

Excavations at Fishbourne 1962.

Second Interim Report, by Barry Cunliffe.

The excavations were concentrated on the eastern wing of the period 2 building which was discovered the previous year.

Cunliffe puts forward the following sequence of building phases.

#### "Period I.

Phase A Timber buildings - Claudian

Phase B Timber buildings - Neronian

#### Period II.

The preparation of the site for building in masonry, c.A.D. 75/80.

The masonry building, A.D. 75/80-100.

#### Period III.

Modification of the Period II building, and minor alterations during use.

Early second - late third century.

#### Period IV.

Occupation within the shell of the Period II building, associated with the robbing of the Period II and III masonry buildings.

Late third - early fourth century."

#### Period I.

"It was clear from last year's excavation that extensive remains of timber structures underlay the Period II building. The stripping of large areas to undisturbed subsoil this season enabled the plans of two successive phases to be recovered."

Phase A. A freshwater stream had flowed along the western side of the excavated area. On the north side there was an east-west road with side ditches, the southern one being discontinuous. "To the south of the road and east of the stream lay a simple timber-framed building", running north-south?.....<sup>1</sup> The superstructure was carried on vertical timbers placed in six long foundation - trenches, back-filled with redeposited natural gravel derived from digging the trenches."

"The close spacing of the vertical posts suggests that they were really piles projecting for a short distance above the ground to support elevated sill beams on which plank floors were laid.... Timber buildings of this kind with raised floors to allow free circulation of air beneath the floor in order to keep it dry and cool.....were found in a Claudio-Neronian

context at Richborough, where they were interpreted as granaries." Despite the great similarities, the northern part of the floor at Fishbourne was not supported on piles - thus perhaps only a part of the building was used for stores which required ventilation. The entrance seems to have been at the north end as the road ditch stops at a point opposite the east side of the building.

The building was roofed with tiles, a rare thing at this early date. Although there is no trace of drainage gutters, a gully leading from the north-west corner still survives. There is a second length of gully on the western side, and a third running from north-south across the site. Some nails were found.

"An analysis of the pottery shows Period Ia to be of Claudian date." A date soon after 43 is suggested for the initial occupation because of the amount of pre- and early-Claudian material. No trace of pre-conquest structures has been found.

Phase B. The stream was now filled with clay and a new gully dug along the western limit of the occupied area. The Chichester to Bitterne road can be tentatively assigned to this period.

"Two separate timber-framed houses were built over the area previously occupied by the single Phase A building, but extending farther to the north. Some of the upright

timbers....of the granary were incorporated into the walls of the new buildings..... Most of the walls were, however, based on sill beams".

"Of the southern building, four rooms were excavated; three were floored with clay and one with mortar. A veranda, surrounded by a stone curb was built on to the front of the house at the east end. Sealing the floors was a layer of fine clay which represents the destroyed wattle and daub walls. This contained fragments of wall plaster painted in white, red and pink, and red bands on white."

"The northern building consists of a long range of rooms with floors of clay, sandy clay and mortar. To the east was a working area bounded on the east by a row of posts. The absence of sill beams between the posts suggests that the partition took the form of timber planking. Within the working area an oven and pit were found built up to the fence. At another point a tiled area, with flat stones set in it, may represent paving for an entrance. Evidence of bronze working in the form of bronze slag and a quantity of blobs of metal was evident over the working area as well as in the ditch behind the building." Two beams with a gravelled area between jutting out towards the ditch, may have been a bridge across it.

"In front of both buildings.....a feature of stones and tiles placed together without mortar was recovered.....

The flat, level base thus produced in all probability supported a superstructure. It may well be that this took the form of a facade for the timber buildings to the west. The excavation produced a quantity of half-and-quarter-round tiles,....which would have formed the basis for a stucco colonnade. A structure of this sort might well have stood on the stone foundations."

#### Period II.

The mason's working floor beneath the east wing was completely exposed, the whole area being blanketed by white sand, containing offcuts of various types of stone.

"The products of the workshop included the patterned elements of opus sectile pavements, panels and beadings for wall-veneers, small shapes, possibly for furniture inlay, and such domestic utensils as mortars and pestles. In fact the object of the workshop must have been to supply the new building with its entire quota of stonework.... The iron smiths, working in the area immediately to the west of the stone masons, were probably providing all the ironwork for use in the construction."

"A service road....ran along the east part of the site to provide easy access for loads of building material. It is significant that....some at least of the main timber uprights (Period Ib) were not uprooted until after the decorative stones had arrived on the site. This fact, and the association of hearths built on the collapsed Ib walls

with a new series of timber uprights, suggest that the workmen lived, for at least part of the time, on the job."

The north wing apparently slightly pre-dates the east wing. "Such a relationship is supported by a joint in the structure of the east wall of the building, at which point the southern length is butted on to the wider northern length."

There is another courtyard (5) south of Courtyard 4, bordered on its north and east sides by a colonnade. A range of 11 rooms was found between and to the east of the courtyards. Two rooms were floored with opus signinum, and another had originally contained "a black and white geometric mosaic - fragments of which still survived in the rubble filling. The floors of the other 8 rooms had been completely destroyed. Although the superstructure of the walls had been almost entirely robbed, it is evident from the relative depth of their flint footings that the cross walls were inserted after the two main north-south walls were built."

"At two points in the east wall of the building, arched openings two feet wide ran through it below floor level. Both were completely sealed by the street and the make up of the floor" of the long eastern corridor (31). "Their association with a trench or rumbling drain filled with loosely packed greensand blocks which runs along the inside of the east wall of the corridor, suggests that their function was to prevent excess water from building up against the outer



wall of the building by allowing it to pass through the wall into the soak-away channel. A similar rumbling drain led water away from a soak-away pit on the other side of the street."

The date of 75/80 A.D. for construction was corroborated by the discovery of 3 coins of Vespasian, all minted before 73 and all showing little sign of wear.

### Period III.

The Bath Block. "The removal of the baulk across room 36 (Caldarium) showed that the south part of the room, floored with a tessellated pavement, represented a small bath....." (The floor of the rest of the room which was a little higher was supported on a pillared hypocaust.) The tessellated floor of which "sloped down to a drain, which opened into the gutter of the Period II courtyard, and was made originally of two lengths of tile pipe set at an angle to each other. The V bend thus formed acted as a water-trap to exclude draughts. The trench for a wooden water-pipe, with one iron collar still in position was traced" across the long eastern corridor. "It presumably supplied water, under pressure from a point somewhere to the east of the street, to the boiler above the flue."

"Excavation of another room showed that a small apse had been built..... A flue had been inserted into the apse at a later date, contemporary with minor alterations" such as the blocking of a pipe drain and of a door.

"The Period II drain which led rainwater away from courtyard 4, must have remained in use during the subsequent period, since the drains from the bath block empty into the gutter."

The Well. "In the extreme south-east corner of the Period II courtyard 5, a third period well was found..... It was timber lined..... The filling of the well produced a number of second century pots, a fragment of a large Purbeck marble vessel, and part of a column base."

#### Period IV.

In 1961 much late third century material was found, but no occupation layer was recognized. 1962 showed that some rooms were occupied during the late third and early fourth century. Tiled hearths and rough mortar floors of this period were found. "It was evident from the stratigraphy that in this late period the shell of the Period II building was still standing, ....and the late occupation layer seals the destroyed footings of the Period III apse, providing additional evidence that the bath building had gone out of use by the late third century, when its walls were already being robbed."

#### Fishbourne Village.

The amount of Roman material found in Fishbourne during the last 150 years indicates that a sizeable settlement existed at the harbour head.

The garden of 'The Bays':- Three small trenches were dug.

**Trench I. Junction of main Roman road and side street.**

Period I main road was found, with Period II road - surface.

**Trench II.** The flint footings and mortar floor of a masonry building were exposed. The make-up layers of the floor sealed a clay floor, the occupation layer of which produced a coin of Nero and a quantity of pre-Flavian pottery. "The alignment of this wall with the east wall of the Period II building, across the road to the north, may mean that it represents the eastern wall of building 2 bounding the southern continuation of the side street."

This was supported by Trench III, which cut through road metalling.

**The garden of 65 Fishbourne Road:-**

"A number of trial trenches dug in the front part of the garden revealed the remains of two masonry buildings."

"Building 3 is represented by a robbed wall....on the north side of which is a floor, quarter-round moulding, and wall rendering of opus signinum. This is separated from building 4 by a gravelled area."

"The walls of building 4 are also robbed.... The north wall was buttressed. Nothing is known of the floors, but a quantity of loose black and white tesserae were found within the rubble filling of the rooms. No dating evidence was obtained."

**The by-pass:-** "A small trench was dug on the south

verge of the by-pass at a point where a water-main excavation had thrown up tiles and pottery. The whole trench was cut through estuarine silts, incorporating derived Roman material, which must represent the filling of a former creek."

Cunliffe concludes; "The discovery of a timber storehouse building dated to the years immediately following the invasion of A.D. 43, demands a careful consideration of its historical implications. Buildings of this type were completely unknown in the country before the Roman conquest and at this date must imply official military action." Cunliffe mentions the fact that a united landing in Kent is now questioned, and quotes Prof. Hawkes' view that a landing in West Sussex at Selsey seems politically likely on the grounds that "(a) there is intensive Belgic occupation on the peninsula; (b) the ruler of the area, Verica, fled to Rome to ask for the help of Claudius in restoring his kingdom; (c) it would be reasonable to expect a landing in the area of the friendly kingdom, whence the subjugation of neighbouring hostile tribes could be easily effected..... The possibility of a landing in the sheltered inlets to the west is neither proved nor disproved by the evidence at Fishbourne", coast erosion would have removed traces of a landing at Selsey by now.

Vespasian is known to have subdued the south-west of England and the Isle of Wight at an early stage in the

invasion, a base on the south coast would be suitable for this, so "the discovery of the Claudian military storehouse at Fishbourne suggests strongly that this base may have been situated at the head of Fishbourne Creek, but more excavation will be necessary to show the full nature of the settlement." As the battle front moved forward so this base would fall into disuse. "Thus a base at Fishbourne would have been of military significance only in the initial stage of Vespasian's advance. The short life of the 'granary' is entirely consistent with the excavation evidence."

"Within a few years of its construction, the 'granary' was converted" into buildings of a more civilian nature, as is shown from the ornamentation of the rooms and the bronze-working activities of the occupants. "It is now certain that these buildings are only a small part of the harbour settlement which must have grown out of the supply base."

Lack of evidence precludes generalizations as to the fate of <sup>the</sup> settlement, but "building I can be shown to continue in use in a modified form until the late third century, at which time robbing begins. If future work shows this abandonment to be general, it should be seen in the light of the reorganization of the defences of Chichester at this time - a time when the Carausian revolt and the piracy which sparked it off must have made living in undefended coastal settlements undesirable.

(For room numbers and etc. see the plans in the Antiquaries Journal Volumes 42 and 43.)

The Chichester Papers.

Number 6.

The Archaeology of Chichester City Walls by Dr. A.E. Wilson.

This paper contains much material included in Sussex Archaeological Collections, Volumes 90 and 95.

After pointing out that Chichester's defences resemble, at least superficially, those of other civil settlements in the provinces of the Western Roman Empire, Dr. Wilson continues that, "where, as in the Chichester excavations, coin finds are scarce the archaeologist has to rely mainly on the evidence supplied by pottery for dating. Fortunately one type of pottery, Samian or terra sigillata, furnishes a reliable guide until the latter part of the third century..... There were four main centres of its manufacture: (1) Central Italy with the chief potteries at Arezzo (Arretine ware); (2) South Gaul around La Graufesenque in Montans; (3) Central Gaul around Lezoux in the Loire Valley; (4) East Gaul (Germania Superior) around Rheinzabern. No Arretine Ware has been found on Chichester sites. The South Gaul potteries flourished during the second part of the first century A.D., and exported many

of their wares to Britain. About 100 A.D. Central Gaulish pottery began to replace that from the south, and the Lezoux works continued to be the main source of supply for Britain until the Alamanni destroyed them in their raids of 256-259. During the second century the East Gaulish works, especially those at Rheinzabern, began to export inferior examples based on the later styles at Lezoux. The works continued until the raids of 256-259 destroyed them also."

"Towards the end of the second century A.D., British potteries near Peterborough began to produce a fine ware, known as Castor Ware, which replaced some forms of terra sigillata. As examples of this ware could hardly have reached our southern sites much before 200 A.D. they are most useful for dating purposes. By 270 New Forest Kilns were exporting considerable quantities of their products to the Chichester area, and they fill the gap left by the cessation of imports from the Gaulish works after the raids of the mid third century had destroyed them."

In discussing the Ramp or Earth Bank, Dr. Wilson examines the conclusions of Mr. Ian Hannah, and mentions the excavations carried out in Cawley Priory garden in 1950 and 1951, and in other places around the same date.

"The finds from the earth bank in all quarters of the city tell the same story..... The presence of the types of pottery discussed proves that the bank could not have been

built before 200 A.D. The absence of other types of pottery suggests that it must have been built soon after 200 A.D. There are no flanged bowls, cavetto-rimmed jars or New Forest 'thumb pots' so prevalent in Chichester during the third century."

Dr. Wilson then mentions wall excavations in various parts of the city. He goes on to discuss the ditches and bastions and concludes; "Roman Chichester began as an open town in the mid first century. It remained so at least to the close of the second century when imperial policy decreed that such civilian centres in parts of the Western Empire should be enclosed by suitable walls. The undertakings proved immense for such cantonal capitals....."

"At a date, probably about the middle of the fourth century, parts at least of the Roman ditch were filled in, when a change in military tactics required solid bastions to mount Roman defensive 'artillery' to assist in defence. The siting of these bastions at Chichester is of interest. They are not at the angles where the wall changed its alignment but at some distance away along the straight faces. Their massive remains today show the thoroughness with which their builders worked to obtain a very solid result."

#### Number 7.

Chichester as the Romans Called It, by Edward Donn.



Done begins by saying that it has generally been assumed that Regnum was the city's name until this century, when both Haverfield and Winbolt agreed that the town, called Noviomagus by Ptolemy, was Chichester. Yet they left the question of whether Noviomagus or Regnum was the correct Roman name undecided.

Professor Richmond (Pelican History of England I: Roman Britain) states that Noviomagus was the name of the town and Regnum that of the kingdom of which it was the capital. The Ordnance Survey map of Roman Britain (1956) gives the full name of the town as 'Noviomagus Regnensium'.

The suggestion that Regnum was the Roman name for Chichester was made first by John Horsley in his *Britannia Romana* (1732). He quotes and considers what was said by Gale and Stukeley in connection with the Neptune and Minerva inscription, and then rejects Camden's identification of Regnum with Ringwood, when considering Iter VII of the Antonine Itinerary. 'If these things be considered, a new conjecture may be better allowed. I am then of opinion that Chichester is Regnum, the station whence this iter commences', concludes Horsley.

This conjecture was confirmed in 1747 by the "discovery" of Richard of Cirencester's Itinerary. Until 1867, when it was exposed as a forgery, practically all British antiquaries and historians had made use of it. The effect of this bogus

document (especially its Iter XV, which assumes Regnum to be Chichester and places it 20 miles from Bitterne) was to confuse rather than clarify the question of the Roman name of Chichester.

Many have not accepted Horsley's conjecture, based as it is on the precarious foundation of a single reference from the Antonine Itinerary. Moreover Chichester is 30 miles from Bitterne not 20 as the Itinerary states.

Done rejects the theory that XX is a copyists' mistake for XXX, because there are 5 figures and their total given, so to alter one would need the alteration of either the total or "one of the other figures about which no complaint is made".

He goes on to mention Roach-Smith's suggestion that Regnum was not the name of the city, but of the territory of the Regni, and that the measurement was taken from the boundary of it. So, if the boundary were at Havant then the distance to Bitterne would be 20 miles.

Done then considers the name Noviomagus. It seems to be a compound name of Latin and Celtic derivation.

Novio (Latin) = new, and Magus (Celtic) = open field, plain - then, fair or market, because an open field is a suitable site for a market etc.

Magus is found as an element in several other place names. In Britain the Antonine Itinerary also gives us

Caesarnagus and Sitomagus. Noviomagus is quite common in north-western Europe, as well as occurring at least three times in Britain.

Ptolemy's 'Geographia' was compiled about A.D.150 in Alexandria. Ptolemy's descriptions of coast-line and interior are somewhat vague, "but the names of the chief towns of the various tribes are set out, together with their respective longitudes and latitudes." Ptolemy says, "Below the Atrebatii and Cantii are situated the Regni and their town Noviomagus,  $19^{\circ}45'$ :  $53^{\circ}25'$ ." Ptolemy's sitings are of course not always accurate.

Ptolemy in criticizing the work of his predecessor the geographer Marinus of Tyre, says, "Marinus stated that from London to Noviomagus was 59 miles in a southerly direction, whereas his latitudes show it to be in a northerly direction."

Done makes several comments on this statement, among which he says that Stone Street is 62 Roman miles, that Ptolemy's attention had been specifically drawn to the position of Noviomagus and that he did not challenge the accuracy of Marinus' statement, but merely his system of calculating latitude.

Done feels that Horsley's conjecture is one of the reasons for the reluctance of many to back wholeheartedly Ptolemy's view. He goes on to say that both names are Roman, and so the new city had to have a name and so did the territory of its

king. Done supports the view that Chichester was a new city on a new site, and that the previous settlement was at Selsey. Obviously the site of Chichester, with an inland harbour, in the centre of good corn land, and astride the new roads was a more suitable site than Selsey, for its development into an important urban centre.

Done then offers two explanations of why the new city was called Noviomagus.

(i) Magus had become the name of the tribal capital, and when it was moved to a new site by the Romans it was called 'New Magus'.

(ii) A descriptive name for the new city, bearing in mind its siting.

So Done concludes that 'A Regno' in the Antonine Itinerary must mean from the territory of King Gogidubnus. It seems that Regnum early acquired both a political and geographical connotation.

Done quite clearly sides with those who think Noviomagus was the name of the capital city of Regnum, the Kingdom of the Regnenses.

#### Number 25.

The Roman Site at Fishbourne. An interim report on the 1961 excavations by Barry Cunliffe.

This article first appeared in The Illustrated London News

of 21st October 1961, and is a less detailed account of the excavations than that published in *The Antiquaries Journal*, Volume 42.

Number 32.

The Roman Site at Fishbourne. An interim report on the 1962 excavations by Barry Cunliffe.

Again, this article is a less detailed account of the excavations than that published in *The Antiquaries Journal*, Volume 43.

The Archaeological News Letter.

May 1950.

An article entitled 'A New Roman Road in North West Sussex' by C.W. Phillips.

He mentions the recently discovered Roman road which 'appears' to stop four miles north of the Northgate of Chichester, and passes over Iping Marsh and has at least one fortified mansion along its length.

Phillips says that "It seems therefore, that here is a new Roman road running north-westwards from Chichester in the general direction of Silchester."

Further excavation is necessary before the full importance of this road can be appreciated, Phillips concludes.

**PART III**

**DISCUSSION**

## DISCUSSION

From the number of antiquaries and archaeologists who have concerned themselves with the history of West Sussex or Chichester, either in books of their own or in periodicals, it can be seen that the site has not only aroused considerable interest but has also been fairly well investigated. Interest in archaeology has increased rapidly within the last hundred years, and so Chichester like most other important Roman sites has gradually been excavated with ever greater enthusiasm and thoroughness. The last few years have seen a tremendous advance in our knowledge of Roman Chichester, and at the moment the city is in the forefront of archaeological research due to the thrilling discoveries now being made at Fishbourne. Horsfield's words, that Fishbourne was an important place in Roman times, and that time would one day bring this to light, are only now being proved correct well over a hundred years after he wrote them.

The writers have achieved a greater degree of accuracy as the "scientific approach" to Archaeology has developed. Joan Horsley, following as he does in the steps of Garden, is perhaps the forerunner of the "scientific" archaeologists. His work is thorough and is as accurate as possible, bearing in mind the limitations of knowledge under which he had to work. He developed

the pattern set by Camden and Leland - the pattern of personal examination and careful statement of fact which has been followed ever since. Even now, over 200 years after the publication of "Britannia Romana" Horsley's book is still essential reading for those who wish to make a study of Roman Britain. In one sense Horsley's book is the beginning of the discovery of Roman Britain. It is the main starting point from an historiographical point of view, for Horsley laid the foundations on which others could build.

Now what of the writers themselves? They have pursued antiquarian research from the standpoint of a diversity of occupations. Some were priests, other local inhabitants, but until the arrival of what may be called the professional archaeologists in the middle of the last century, all were amateurs motivated by love of Britain's ancient past. Thereafter the professionals have taken over and carried out the thorough excavations of the important sites. Yet the local amateur antiquarians have continued their activities, and still play an important part in the discovery of Roman Chichester.

There is no evidence to suggest that there was a pre-conquest town on the site of Chichester. All that can be said definitely is that the local inhabitants were a



tribe called the Regni, and that they were open to Belgic influence. It has not been proved that they were of Belgic race, and this seems unlikely in view of the welcome their leader extended to the Romans. Such an act was clearly of an anti-Belgic nature.

When the Claudian invasion took place, the chief ruling in the district was Cogidubnus or Cogidunus, for Tacitus comments on his faithfulness, and records that he was confirmed in his kingdom besides having other states put under his control.

"Quaedam civitates Cogidunno regi donatae (is ad nostras usque memoriam fidissimus mansit) veteris ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges." (Agricola c 14)

Tacitus does not tell us where this kingdom was situated and there is nothing to prove that Chichester was the capital of Cogidubnus at the time of the conquest.

The Roman name of Chichester has aroused much interest and discussion over the years. Camden does not mention Chichester at all, although he assumes Regnum to be Ringwood and Novionagus to be Woodcote. Horsley was the first to equate Regnum with Chichester, which he regards as an important Roman site. ~~As far as Roman times are concerned Horsley regards Chichester's name as uncertain, although he too thinks it was an important~~

~~Roman site.~~ As far as Roman times are concerned Stukeley regards Chichester's name as uncertain, although he too thinks it was an important place then. He assumes Regnum to be Ringwood and Novionagus to be Crayford. Hay says that Chichester is on a pre-Roman site, yet there is no clear indication of the city's name. Dallaway, following Horsley, thinks Regnum is Chichester, but Novionagus he places at Wallington.

Roach Smith at first supported the view that Regnum was Chichester. He placed Novionagus however, near Epsom. Ptolemy had said that Neomagus was the chief town of the Regni in his work, compiled about 150 A.D. In the Antonine Itinerary - I/ter VII - Clausentum is shown as XX miles 'a Regne'. Because of this distance Hills went so far as to re-organise the seventh Iter and call Chichester Clausentum. Regnum he identified with Gissbury. In answer to this Napper kept Chichester as Regnum and placed Clausentum near Haslemere. Roach Smith 341 in reply says that XX miles could be a scribal error for XXX miles or more likely XX miles 'a Regne', means from the territory of the Regni. Thus from the boundary of the kingdom which would probably have been near Havant, it could be XX miles to Clausentum.

Haverfield was the first to suggest that the Regnum of the Antonine Itinerary and the Neomagus of Ptolemy

were the same place. "Let us say Noviomagus Regnensium" he suggests. So 'A Regno' in the seventh Iter of Antoninus in all probability means "from the territory of the Regni", the capital of that kingdom being Noviomagus.

Such a view is supported by Richmond and Crawford in their consideration of the British section of the Ravenna Cosmography. The Ravenna Cosmography appears to follow a road pattern, the last place mentioned being Mayingo Regentium. We may conclude then that Haverfield's view is correct, that the Roman name of Chichester was Noviomagus Regnensium.

Inscriptions are always a great help in dating, and Chichester's are no exception. Chichester has produced seven, five of which fall into the first century. Unfortunately three seem to have been lost completely. The dedicatory inscription to Nero (now lost) cannot be later than 60 A.D., and the Neptuno and Minerva inscription is probably earlier. These point to the erection of important public buildings in the first decades of the occupation.

It is evident from the great amount which has been written in the <sup>quoted</sup> ~~following~~ articles about the Neptuno and Minerva inscription, that the authors of them regarded

this inscription as one of the most important discoveries made in Chichester. However, some of this discussion has not always been as accurate and informed as it might have been. Many writers have given the wrong date for its discovery, while others have indulged in fanciful notions as to the lives of those whom they have conjecturally connected with those mentioned on the stone.

There seems to have been some confusion as to the date of the discovery of the inscription. Mason asserts that it was found in 1731, when the foundations of the Council Chamber were dug. The Gentleman's Magazine of 1805 gives the date of its discovery as 1731 but strangely includes the more correct reading of Clemens as the name of the donor of the site. Hays says that it was found in 1731 when the foundations of the Council Chamber were being dug. He also says that a Roman pavement was found at the same time.

Gale who published his article on the inscription in 1723 says that it was discovered in April of that year "in digging a cellar under the corner house of St. Martin's Lane, on the north side as it comes into North Street." This house may be the market-house referred to in the Gentleman's Magazine of 1805. He also states that two stone walls were discovered at the same time, "one running

East, the other North." These may have been the remains of part of the temple.

However, a Roman pavement was discovered in 1731 while the foundations of the Council Chamber were being dug. The reason for the confusion may be the close proximity of the two sites to one another in North Street.

The most accurate amended reading and translation of the inscription is the one contained in the official guide to the City of Chichester. (Edited by F.W.Steer - published 1957). The amended transcription -

(N)EPTUNO ET MINERVAE TEMPLUM  
 (PR)O SALUTE DO(MUS) DIVINAE (EX)  
 AUCTORITATE (TI) CLAUD (CO)GIDUENTI  
 R(EGIS) LEGAT(I) AUG(USTI) IN BRIT(ANNIA)  
 (COLLE)GIUM FABROR(UM) ET (QUI) IN  
 EO (SUNT) D(E) S(UO) D(ANT) DONATE  
 AREAM (CLEM)ENTE PUDENTINI FIL(IO)

Translation -

To Neptune and Minerva this temple is dedicated on behalf of the safety of the Divine House, on the authority of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, king and legate of Augustus in Britain, by the Guild of (? ship-) wrights and its associate members from their own contributions, the site being presented by (Clem)ens son of Pudentinus.

This stone testifies to the unique position granted

to Cogidubnus by the Emperor. No other native ruler within the Roman Empire is known to have received both the title of King, and the important administrative post of Imperial legate (it had wide powers). Cogidubnus assumed the Emperor's names in acknowledgement of the honour.

In II Timothy c4 v21 we read the name Pudens, and it is this that has given rise to the Pudens legend. But the stone requires four letters at least before the -ens ending and that is the reason for Clemens being used in the conjectural reading.

Neptune was the god of the sea and Minerva was the goddess of craftsmen, thus scholars believe the "wrights" mentioned were shipwrights.

Stukeley was the first antiquary to assert dogmatically the probability of the Pudens legend/. The harm that this has done is evident to all who try to study the history of Roman Chichester.

Consideration of the Neptune and Minerva inscription raises the question of the titles granted to Cogidubnus.

The King's titles were recognised as unusual soon after the discovery of the inscription, for in 1752 John Horsley quoted the remarks of a Mr. Ward on this question. Miss J.C.Pilmer thinks the title (legatus Augusti) was probably honorary, and cannot be taken to include the

whole of Britain. The Roman Empire had often made use of the services and loyalty of client-kings, but no other king is known to have been an Imperial legate as well as a client-king. So it seems that the most likely explanation is still that the position of Cogidubnus is unique in the history of the Roman Empire.

A great number of coins have been found in Chichester in every part of the city. Very few pre-Roman coins have been found, a further proof that Chichester was not built on the site of a pre-conquest settlement. Coins, like inscriptions, are useful as dating evidence, particularly where fairly precise dating is required. The coins cover practically the whole length of the Roman occupation, and one or two late ones (e.g. Valentinianus III 425 - 455) may indicate continued habitation of Chichester for at least a decade or so after 410 A.D.

Pottery is also useful as dating evidence. As with the coins there is little or no pottery evidence to suggest pre-Roman occupation on the site of Chichester. The pottery evidence seems to point to the fact that settlement in Chichester was thin before the reign of Vespasian. Rapid growth then took place in the Flavian period and subsequent reigns. However, a decline in population

seems to have set in from the reign of Antoninus Pius to about 250 A.D. From 250 A.D. to the end of the Roman occupation the pottery seems to show that the population was maintained, if not increased. This may be explained by the fact that the population of many towns increased in this period, because of the growing insecurity of the countryside owing to the Saxon raids. So Chichester then, may have provided protection from the Saxon raiders for some of the inhabitants of the Sussex plain. Many of these would still work their farms during the day but return to the shelter and safety of the city at night.

The pottery evidence at Chichester would suggest that the heyday of the Roman city was in the Flavian period and not the Antonine period as elsewhere. The abandonment of the Amphitheatre in this period (it was built between 70 and 90 A.D. in what appears to be Chichester's most thickly populated period) corroborates the pottery evidence.

Almost all those who have discussed the walls of Chichester have thought that they were Roman originally, with mediaeval modifications and additions. Some of the writers tell us that the four gates contained such Roman work. Despite Ballaway and others this seems uncertain to say the least. Others have even supposed that there



is Roman work in buildings and remains which are quite clearly of mediæval date. May not only think that the walls and gates were Roman, but he even goes so far as to suggest that the mound in Priory Park, which formed the motte of the Norman castle is Roman also.

The defences of Roman Chichester resemble those of other civil settlements in the provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire.

The first defences of Roman Chichester consisted of two V-shaped ditches, the material dug from them being used to construct a bank. The bank was then cut back and a flint wall built. Buildings which had been left outside the enclosing wall were razed and the ditches were cut through the remains of them. Pottery evidence shows that the bank could not have been built before 200 A.D. Thus a date soon after 200 A.D. can fairly confidently be put forward for the building of ditch, bank and wall. Imperial policy decreed the building of these defences in view of the disorders which had prevailed in the western part of the Empire following the murder of Commodus.

Then the defences were re-organised about the middle of the fourth century. The V-shaped ditches had by this time silted up. Bastions were built at intervals along

the walls and a wider flat-bottomed ditch was cut, partly into the outer ditch. The material from it was used to fill in the inner ditch. This change in tactics was brought about by the ever increasing menace of the Saxon raids.

The last time the defences of Chichester were thoroughly repaired was in 1378, when a new ditch was constructed. This ditch was found to have destroyed most of the Roman outer ditch. Apart from the demolition of the gates the walls are now predominantly mediaeval in appearance, although they retain the Roman walls as a core. Buildings have destroyed most of the ditches.

It may not be inappropriate at this point to include a few notes on some recent excavations which have not as yet been reported in full elsewhere.

In 1961 - 1962 excavations were carried out in the grounds of The Theological College.

The earliest remains found seem to be those of a house of the period before the defences were built. This house was demolished to make way for the city wall, which was built about 200 A.D., probably from material taken from the Amphitheatre and the buildings at Fishbourne. The first massive stone villa at Fishbourne dates to about 75 - 80 A.D., and is of a continental type, having close parallels with some at Pompeii.

A well was also found. This can be dated to about 110 - 120 A.D.

The traces of a bastion were also discovered, but in this case there was no heavy masonry found. The bastions were added about 340 - 350 A.D., according to Dr. A.E. Wilson.

Dr. Wilson gives the date of the final departure of the population of the city as about 420 - 430 A.D. 10 years at least after the appeal of the Britons to Honorius for help.

The most exciting Roman remains that the Chickenter area has yielded in the last few years, are undoubtedly in the magnificent discoveries at Fishbourne.

Both Dallaway and Horsfield refer to the discovery of Roman remains there in 1812 (In fact the discoveries were made in 1805). They also mention that other finds have been known in that parish at other times. The Victoria County History Vol. III, mentions the same discoveries, but dates them correctly to 1805. It also mentions further discoveries made in 1929. The Gentleman's Magazine of 1805 mentions the former discoveries (which it says took place in March of that year), and suggests that if they were followed up with spirit "some valuable pieces of antiquity might, perhaps, be found."

Some valuable pieces of antiquity have indeed been

found. They are the remains of a luxurious villa built c. A.D. 75 - 80.

Modification of the building took place around the beginning of the second century, and there were minor alterations during its use, which continued until late in the third century. The area on which this magnificent building was erected was partly occupied earlier by timber buildings belonging to a harbour settlement, and these earliest structures date from shortly after the Claudian invasion of A.D. 43. One of these timber buildings is apparently a granary, and should fit into a military context.

Although present evidence is not nearly conclusive, the discovery is of great significance to theories that there were multiple Roman landing points, rather than a single one in Kent. A supply base in the Fishbourne area would also have been of use in the early stages of the campaigns of the Second Legion, commanded by Vespasian, which conquered the Isle of Wight and subdued the south-west.

Mr. Cunliffe will be returning to this problem next year, having now been working on the main building, whose plan is rapidly becoming clear. Three large wings surrounded three sides of a great court, 240ft wide from east to west. The nature of the south side is not yet known. It had been assumed that it fronted the main Chickoster-Sitterne Roman road, but this has now been disproved, and it may even

have fronted the sea. This area is now partly built over, but excavation will be carried out where space permits, and the nature of the south front will in due course be discovered. The road, now known to pass behind the building, has also to be located.

The north wing proved to have an E-shaped plan, incorporating two courts with peristyle and gutter on three sides. Around these were arranged a total of 30 rooms, all of which had mosaic floors. Three have been uncovered this year which date from the original building of c.A.D. 75: they are black and white, and are unparalleled in England at such an early date.

Alterations to the north wing took place soon after A.D. 100. Parts were retained for domestic use, and here no reflooring took place. In one such room was the flue of an oven; in another, areas of mortar mixed ready for use, and evidently retained by wooden planks. A Roman axle and iron axle ends were also found. This area was destroyed by fire late in the third century, burnt door sills were found, and signs that molten lead from roof fittings had dripped on to the floor. A shelf of pottery had also fallen and smashed, the iron shelf brackets being found with the debris.

Other rooms in the north wing were the main living quarters, and here were superb polychrome mosaics. One is especially fine, and hardly damaged at all. Its 19ft square

design incorporated a centre circle, four semi-circles, and four quarter circles. In the centre is a motif of Cupid astride a dolphin, holding a trident, and elsewhere are sea horses and sea leopards. Fine scroll work forms a border, and among the tendrils one is shown deliberately broken, and a small bird appears. Another floor has a centre design of dolphins and a geometric border, and one with semi-circular ends and a design of shell motifs is unique in England. In the north wing a fine hypocaust has been found, though it was apparently never used.

The west wing has also been located: it had been feared that the north wing would be longer, and that the west wing would therefore, fall outside the area at present available for excavation. Here, too, all the rooms so far examined had mosaics, parts of which survive, including more of the early black and white geometric ones. Work will be continued here next year. The west wing is built terraced into rising ground, and without the extensive prepared platform on which the rest of the building stands. In this area a ditch of earlier date has been found, possibly pre-Roman, although it contained some Claudian pottery.

Among details of the internal decoration recovered are quantities of painted wall plaster, from which it will be possible to reconstruct the designs used, and some fragments of very fine stucco work, with gilded naturalistic figures.

It is indeed a great thrill to know that this very important early Roman site is to be preserved for future generations. For through the generosity of Mr. I.D. Hargary, the land now belongs to the Sussex Archaeological Trust, and eventually the main parts of the building can be prepared for permanent exhibition.

The Entrenchments to the north of Chichester have aroused considerable interest among most of those who have written about Chichester. Camden, Stukely and Hay all tell us that the remains of a Roman camp are to be found on the Droil. This presumably refers to those portions of the Entrenchments which are nearest the city. Ballard on the other hand refers to the entire set of earthworks as Roman. Horsfield regards them as additional fortifications which the Romans had to build to protect the city from the north. A correspondent in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1816 writes about the Devil's Ditch. He goes on to say that the entrenchments are "in all probability the work of Belgic Britons, and partly of the Romans, who might take advantage of the works of their predecessors."

The Victoria County History Vol. III seems to favour Vespasian as the builder of the entrenchments, although it does not rule out the possibility of either Belgic or Saxon dates for their construction.

Williams - Freeman made a fairly thorough ground

survey of the entrenchments. He put forward the following points in an attempt to explain why they were built.

1 They face north, so the enemy must have been the Down man.

Their uniformity shows that they were built by one people during one period of time.

2 They were built to protect not only the people, but also their cattle and crops. So the people within the protected area would have cleared the woods in order to build them. So they were not a people who shunned woods.

3 The builders were a military people based on the sea.

With regard to the date of their construction Williams - Freeman says that they cannot be earlier than the Iron Age, ~~and~~ bearing in mind the wood clearing cannot be earlier than the first century B.C., because wood-clearing is not known before that date.

Williams - Freeman suggests that the builders were either the Regni, or some Belgic tribe from the continent, or the Romans, or the Saxons. If they were the Romans then the entrenchments are the defences built by Vespasian to protect his base camp in the early stages of the occupation. If the entrenchments were built by the Saxons then they cannot be early Saxon because they would require more men to man them than the Saxons would have brought with them in the early stages of the invasion. However, at the time he made his survey Williams - Freeman



inclined to the view that they were built two centuries later still, and were constructed by the Saxons of West Sussex to defend themselves against Cadwalla of Wessex in about 686.

Williams - Freeman does make some very good points, particularly when he suggests that they may not have been built all at once, as a simultaneous operation. He says that the entrenchments may have been built in successive stages to meet changing conditions. If, as most people now believe, they are pre-Roman or Belgic then this point is important, for it is now known that the Belgae came to West Sussex over a period of time and not in one single movement. So they could well have extended the entrenchments as need arose.

Miss H. M. Murray has conducted the only thorough excavation into a section of the entrenchments. She excavated a portion of the most northerly - The Devil's Ditch.

It can be stated with almost complete certainty that this dyke was built as a protection against the Down men. The few but significant sherds of pottery found indicate a late pre-Roman Iron Age date for its construction.

Miss Murray points out that this does not imply that the other dykes are of similar date. More excavation is needed before the exact date of the Chichester Entrenchments

can be determined. An excavation at the point at which Stone Street and Devil's Ditch cross should prove conclusively their Belgic character. Miss Murray has long wanted to organize such an excavation at this point, but has so far been prevented from doing so.

Both Williams - Freeman and Miss Murray have referred to the London Dykes at Colchester and have briefly compared the Chichester Intrenchments with them. So it is appropriate to consider them briefly at this point.

The London or Colchester Dykes are mainly westward facing. They were constructed to protect the peninsula lying between the Roman and Colne Rivers.

They are essentially Iron Age, preceding the Roman conquest of A.D. 43. It seems, however, that their defensive system did not attain finality all at once. How early the original occupation of the site began is not known. The local people at the time were the Trinovantes.

Eventually the Trinovantes and their capital (Camulodunum) came under Belgic influence through their conquest by the Catuvellaunian Cunobelin. Colchester became the capital of a unified Belgic Kingdom under him. So the Colchester Dyke system in its final form attained an unparalleled extent and complexity during his reign. The centre piece of those defences was Sheepen Dyke, begun as late as 10 A.D.

Professor Hawkes thinks the Gosbeck's Temple site was the earliest to be enclosed. He dates this to the pre-Cunobelin Trinovantian period. He thinks that "the straight or angular - course works are everywhere subsequent in date, and form a series all pre-Claudian and all probably attributable to Cunobelin, except for the triple dyke, and the single line running N.W. from the south end towards the Gryme's Dyke entrance: these are Roman (Claudian) work." (For further details and fuller explanation, maps and etc. see *Waxford -* Hawkes and Hull, 1947).

The Gryme's Dyke system of dykes (the name means Devil's Dyke) has obviously grown by stages.

London Dyke proper is of fairly late construction and dates to the Belgic period. The slighting on it is probably Roman.

The large area of land enclosed by the Colchester Dykes as a whole, shows that Cunobelin's idea of a capital was not a city in the Mediterranean sense, but simply a fortified tract of desirable land. Much of the open space within the fortifications may have been used as markets or fairgrounds.

With the exception of Selsoy Belgic remains are sparse in West Sussex. So if they are Belgic it is not likely that the Entrenchments were built to protect

Chichester, for the city is not built in the centre of them. Nor is it built on a known Belgic site like Colchester. In fact it does not seem to have been built on the site of any previous settlement at all. Some writers have suggested that they were built to protect Fishbourne, which was known to be a good harbour. The fact that the Romans used Fishbourne harbour from the time of their arrival, supports such a view. This is a possible explanation, but again there is no known Belgic site there either.

Selsey on the other hand is a known Belgic site. It seems to have been an important trading post. It is known that occupation on the Trundle ceased about 50 B.C. The people migrated, but not to the site of Chichester. They may have moved to Selsey first, then to Chichester in the Flavian period, when occupation at Selsey is known to have ceased. As has been said before, the Entrenchments cover the routes from the Downland to the sea, and are the work of a people who were at home in forest country. The task of clearing the forested plain would have been beyond the powers of all but the latest of the pre-Roman inhabitants. So, bearing in mind the fact that they cover the routes from the Downland to the sea, and looking at them as a whole and at their position on the map, it would seem that the Entrenchments afford protection to the entire Selsey peninsula, and that they enclose

a tract of desirable land. The Selsey peninsula/ cannot be compared with the flourishing Belgic capital of Cunobelin, but the idea behind the construction of both seems to be similar. The evidence points to Chichester being a new foundation on a new site, Cogidubnus himself being the probable founder. So, it seems fair to say that if the Chichester Entrenchments are Belgic (as is most likely) then they were built to defend the Selsey peninsula and not Chichester at all. It was in this fortified tract of desirable land that Vespasian occupied and Rome's ally, Cogidubnus founded his capital of Novionagus.

As one reads what the various authors have said, one sees the history of Roman Chichester opening out before one like a panoramic view. As discussion of the topics developed, antiquary is seen questioning, the conclusions of antiquary. Archaeologist is seen correcting the work of antiquary. As fresh evidence came to light we see it sifted and compared with what had been said before. In view of this it seems best to let the sources speak for themselves, to let them present their own ever unfolding picture of Roman Chichester. They show a developing interest in the subject, an interest which becomes increasingly critical and therefore more accurate. The attempts to reconstruct the past gradually assume a more probable shape as they are moulded to <sup>fit</sup> ~~harmonize with~~ the

known facts. In other words the sources become more reliable and detailed, and so, therefore, does our picture of Roman Chichester.

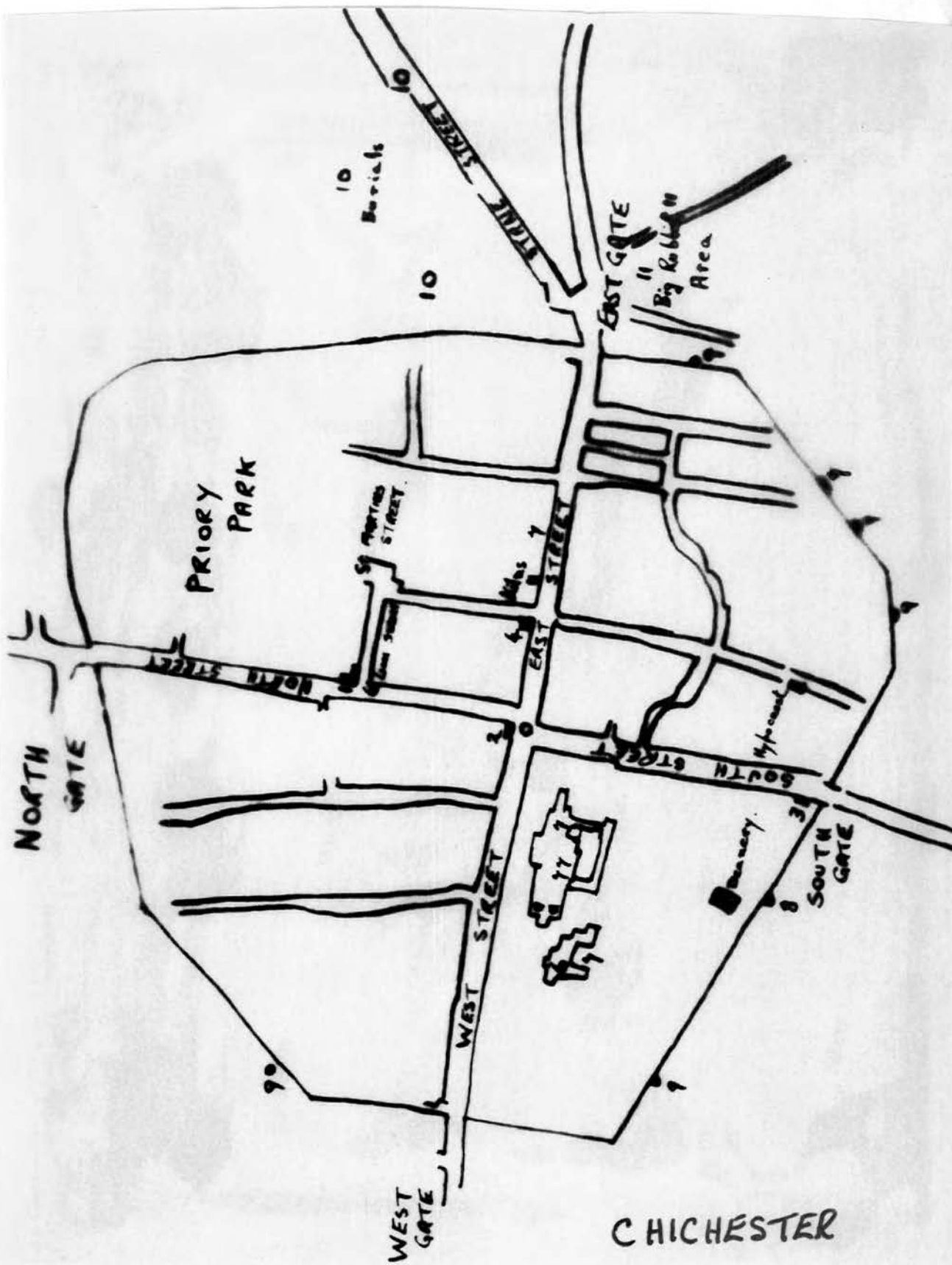
Cogidubnus was being harassed by his Belgic neighbours when the legions of the Emperor Claudius landed in Britain in 43 A.D. Over 400 years after, in about 446, Gildas tells us that the Romanised Britons made their last desperate appeal for help to Aetius the Roman leader in France. "The barbarians drive us back to the sea, the sea drives us back on the barbarians. We can only choose between two kinds of death to be slaughtered or to be drowned." It was the last recorded appeal to the power that stood for law and order, civilization and peace. In the concluding paragraph of his book "The Lost Province" H.P. Charlesworth says "Geo/graphically Britain is a part of Europe, yet sundered from it by a narrow strait/. . . . From that mainland we derive, ultimately, most of the things that have made our life and culture, however much we have moulded them and fashioned them to something of which we may rightly boast, and the Roman occupation was the first and certainly not the least, of those vital sources, the first achievement of a British unity." The durability of Roman remains is manifest wherever they exist. Some years ago when a dam burst near Fréjus (Forum Julii) S. France, the whole town was practically

destroyed by the flood waters. The remains of the Roman temple, however, emerged from the waters almost unscathed. There is plenty of substantial evidence of Roman occupation in Winchester. For this small cathedral city lying quietly at the foot of the Downs, away from the modern developments in Sussex, was once the splendid capital of a loyal client-king. Even today the Roman character of the city is easily seen, and one's mind is carried back to the days of the Roman occupation when Novionagus Regnensium shared the honour with several other ancient towns of being one of the important cities of Roman Britain. But that was in the days before the city was overrun by Aelle's host, and civilisation had fled to the mountains of Wales and the Cornish peninsula. Today Winchester reminds us of the days of Roman rule, when Europe reached a peak of civilisation not known hitherto. Winchester also reminds us of the debt we owe to the Roman Empire, for the city testifies to one of the greatest epochs in the history of the world.

PLAN OF ROMAN CHICHESTER

1. Walls of Temple.
2. Lucullus altar.
3. Tombstones to Aelia & Catia.
4. Dedicatory stone to Nero.
5. Tombstone (inscriptions III V.C.H.III).
6. Neptune & Minerva inscription.
7. Tessellated Pavements.
8. Roman Bastion.
9. Bastions.
10. Burials.
11. Finds of Pottery & etc.





CHICHESTER