

BATH

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT



*A study of settlement around the sacred hot springs
from the Mesolithic to the 17th century AD*

Emily La Trobe-Bateman & Rosalind Niblett

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by

Emily La Trobe-Bateman and Rosalind Niblett



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Front cover: Gorgon's head (Cunliffe 2000)

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Preface

The origins of this volume lie in the national ‘urban archaeological strategies’ programme which was launched by English Heritage (now Historic England) in 1992. Under this programme, each of about 30 of the most important historic towns and cities in England was to be the subject of a major project. Each was to involve three stages: first the creation of a comprehensive ‘Urban Archaeological Database’ (UAD) for the place in question; second, the production of an ‘Urban Archaeological Assessment’ - a monograph which synthesised existing knowledge and placed it in context; third, the completion, and adoption by the local planning authority, of an ‘Urban Archaeological Strategy’ - a policy document to guide future archaeological planning and conservation.

In the case of Bath, the UAD was produced by the (now-dissolved) Bath Archaeological Trust in the period 1995 to 1996. Following the appointment of Bob Sydes as Bath & North East Somerset (‘BANES’) Council Archaeologist in 1997, it was decided that production of the Urban Archaeological Assessment and Strategy would be undertaken within the Council.

Accordingly, Emily La Trobe-Bateman was employed as a project officer by the Council, and the first draft of the UAA (the present volume) was completed by her in April 2001. A Supplementary Planning Guidance document on ‘Archaeology in the City of Bath’ was also produced. This was adopted by the Council in 2004, and represents the strategy element of the overall urban project. More recently, the continuing importance and role of UAA has been secured in the Bath & North East Somerset Core Strategy, adopted in July 2014. Under policy CP6, the Council will ensure that the Bath UAA is used to inform management strategies and Supplementary Planning Documents for the

historic environment. Both the 2004 Guidance and the 2014 Core Strategy are available on the Council’s website: www.bathnes.gov.uk.

Following the end of Emily’s contract and Bob Sydes’ departure from the Council to take up a post elsewhere, there was a long hiatus in progress on the UAA. Subsequently, Richard Sermon (Bob Sydes’ successor as the Council’s Archaeologist) decided to revive the project. Rosalind Niblett was engaged to revise and update the volume. This work was completed in 2008.

Unfortunately further delays followed. Happily, though, the volume is now published. The text is substantially the same as it was in 2008. Although there has been some further archaeological work in Bath since then, none of it has fundamentally changed the picture presented here (the years following 2008 saw a serious economic downturn, meaning that less development took place than in the preceding years).

Three significant fieldwork projects which have taken place in Bath since this volume was drafted do deserve mention, however. These are the Southgate development, by Museum of London Archaeology, now published (B. Barber et al., 2015, *The evolution and exploitation of the Avon flood plain at Bath and the development of the southern suburb: excavations at SouthGate, Bath, 2006-9*. London: MOLA); the Gainsborough Hotel, Beau Street, where excavations by Cotswold Archaeology in 2007 discovered a hoard of 17,577 Roman coins. This work is being prepared for publication by AC Archaeology who excavated an adjoining site in 2012; and a site at Bathwick Street, excavated by Context One Archaeology in 2012, where 1st century AD occupation and working areas were found.

Roger M Thomas
Historic England
October 2015

Acknowledgements

This volume has had a long history, and numerous people have contributed to its production. Many people owe, and are owed, debts of gratitude for their part in bringing it to fruition.

Historic England would like to thank all the staff of the former Bath Archaeological Trust, and especially its Director, Peter Davenport, and John Clarke for their work on the Bath Urban Archaeological Database. This laid a firm foundation for what followed. Peter Davenport also contributed to the production of the volume in a number of other ways over years. We would also like to thank Bob Sydes and Richard Sermon, successive archaeologists for Bath & North East Somerset Council, for driving this project forward. We are very grateful to Rosalind Niblett for her excellent work on the volume. It is never an easy thing to take on someone else's draft, and Rosalind approached her task with great skill and professionalism. Thanks are also due to David Jones, who did sterling work on resolving numerous bibliographical queries. Finally, particular thanks are due to Emily La Trobe-Bateman. Emily's draft of this volume was an excellent synthesis of a city which had already been heavily studied. Her work made this volume possible, and we are most grateful to her for this, and also for her enormous patience in waiting for her work finally to appear.

Richard Sermon would like to thank Roger M Thomas of Historic England for initiating the project and for his perseverance in steering the UAA through to publication; Barry Cunliffe for his comments, advice and guidance; Rosalind Niblett for her urban expertise and the clarity she brought to the editing and revisions of the text; and Peter Davenport for generously sharing his detailed local knowledge.

Emily La Trobe-Bateman would like to thank a large number of people for their invaluable help. Without them, this volume could not have been written. Bob Sydes, the

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Summary

*Stone buildings stood, and the hot stream cast forth
Wide sprays of water, which a wall enclosed
In its bright compass, where convenient
Stood hot baths ready for them at the centre.
Hot streams poured forth over the clear grey stone
To the round pool and down into the baths.* ('The Ruin', in Hamer 1970)

For centuries, the remains of the great Romano-British bathing and temple complex in the centre of Bath have attracted the interest and imagination of countless visitors to the city; this fragment of the Anglo-Saxon poem 'The Ruin' – thought to refer to the ruined Roman buildings in Bath – dates from the 8th century. But there is more to the archaeology of Bath than its Roman monuments. Human settlement here has spanned ten millennia, dating back to the final retreat of the ice sheets from Britain at the close of the last Ice Age. Antiquarians, archaeologists and scholars have long been drawn not only to the Roman structures, but to the worked flint scattered on the hills and in the river silts around the town, the earthworks surviving on the surrounding uplands, and the great medieval Abbey that dominated the town from the 11th century. As a result,

hundreds of recorded observations have been accumulated, stretching back to the 17th century, but augmented over the last century by increasing numbers of excavations, in many cases combined with meticulous research. This volume provides a collection and rigorous assessment of this accumulated information, much of which has to date been either unpublished or available only in obscure sources, and offers a synthesis of what this information tells us of Bath's past.

Part 1 of this report comprises an overview of the area's natural topography, a summary of antiquarian and early archaeological investigation, and a survey of the archaeological evidence available to us today. Part 2 collates the detailed archaeological evidence, summarising earlier work, assessing the nature of the evidence, and setting out our informed understanding of Bath's past. Lastly, Part 3 offers an overview of the current understanding of the archaeology of Bath, an assessment of the potential of the surviving deposits for providing new data, and suggestions for future research directions.

Résumé

Depuis des siècles, les vestiges du grand complexe thermal et du temple romano-britanniques du centre de Bath ont suscité l'intérêt et l'imagination d'innombrables visiteurs de la ville ; ce fragment du poème anglo-saxon 'Les Ruines' sensé faire référence aux bâtiments romains de Bath en ruines date du VIII^e siècle. Mais l'archéologie de Bath ne se limite pas à ses monuments romains. Ici, l'occupation humaine s'est étendue sur dix millénaires, remontant au dernier retrait des calottes glaciaires de la Grande-Bretagne à la fin de la dernière glaciation. Amateurs d'antiquités, archéologues et savants ont depuis longtemps été attirés, non seulement par les structures romaines, mais aussi par les silex taillés éparpillés sur les collines et dans le limon de la rivière tout autour de la ville, par les levées de terre qui ont survécu sur les hauteurs environnantes et par la grande abbaye médiévale qui domina la ville à partir du XI^e siècle. Le résultat étant que des centaines d'observations répertoriées se sont accumulées, elles remontent jusqu'au XVII^e siècle, mais se sont accrues au cours du siècle dernier grâce à un nombre croissant d'excavations, dans de nombreux

cas associées à des recherches méticuleuses. Ce volume offre une collection et une évaluation rigoureuse de cette accumulation de renseignements dont beaucoup sont restés jusqu'à ce jour soit inédits, soit disponibles uniquement dans des sources obscures, et propose une synthèse de ce que ces renseignements nous racontent sur le passé de Bath.

La première partie de ce rapport comprend une vue d'ensemble de la topographie naturelle de la région, un résumé des recherches des amateurs d'antiquités et des premiers archéologues et une étude des témoignages archéologiques dont nous disposons aujourd'hui. La deuxième partie collationne les témoignages archéologiques détaillés, résumant les travaux antérieurs, évaluant la nature des témoignages et présentant notre compréhension éclairée du passé de Bath. Finalement, la troisième partie offre une vue d'ensemble de la compréhension actuelle de l'archéologie de Bath, une évaluation du potentiel des dépôts subsistants à nous fournir de nouvelles données, et des suggestions pour la direction des recherches dans l'avenir.

Translation: Annie Pritchard

Zusammenfassung

Die Überreste des großen romano-britischen Bade- und Tempelkomplexes im Zentrum von Bath haben seit Jahrhunderten das Interesse von zahllosen Besuchern der Stadt auf sich gezogen und ihre Fantasie beflügelt; dieses Fragment des angelsächsischen Gedichts „die Ruine“ – von dem angenommen wird, dass es sich auf die verfallenen römischen Bauten von Bath bezieht – stammt aus dem 8. Jahrhundert. Aber die Archäologie von Bath hat mehr zu bieten als nur seine römischen Monumente. Menschliche Besiedlung findet sich hier seit zehn Jahrtausenden, seit dem endgültigen Rückzug der Eisdecken aus Britannien am Ende der letzten Eiszeit. Alturforscher, Archäologen und Gelehrte fühlten sich seit langem nicht nur von den römischen Bauten angezogen, sondern auch von den Streuungen von verarbeitetem Feuerstein auf den Hügeln und in den Flusssedimenten in der Umgebung der Stadt, den auf den umliegenden Höhenlagen erhalten Ringwällen und der großen, mittelalterlichen Abtei, die das Stadtbild seit dem 11. Jahrhundert dominiert. Dies hatte zum Ergebnis, dass sich Hunderte von dokumentierten Beobachtungen angesammelt haben, die bis in das 17. Jahrhundert zurückreichen, die aber im Lauf des vergangenen Jahrhunderts um eine stetig wachsende Anzahl

von, oftmals mit gründlichen Recherchen einhergehenden, Ausgrabungen vermehrt wurden. Der vorliegende Band liefert eine Zusammenstellung und gründliche Auswertung der angesammelten Informationen, von denen viele bislang entweder unpubliziert oder nur in schwer zugänglichen Quellen verfügbar waren, und er bietet eine Übersicht darüber, was uns diese Informationen zur Vergangenheit von Bath mitteilen können.

Teil 1 dieses Berichts beinhaltet eine Übersicht der naturräumlichen Topographie, eine Zusammenfassung der Untersuchungen von Alturforschern und frühen Archäologen, sowie eine Bestandsaufnahme des uns heute zur Verfügung stehenden archäologischen Quellenmaterials. In Teil 2 wird das detaillierte archäologische Quellenmaterial zusammengetragen, vorangegangene Arbeiten zusammengefasst, die Beschaffenheit des Materials bewertet und unsere auf diesem Wege gewonnene sachkundige Kenntnis der Vergangenheit von Bath dargelegt. Zum Abschluss bietet Teil 3 eine Übersicht zum aktuellen Kenntnisstand über die Archäologie von Bath, eine Bewertung des Potenzials der erhaltenen Schichten neue Daten zu liefern, sowie Vorschläge für zukünftige Forschungsrichtungen.

Übersetzung: Jörn Schuster

PART 1

1.1 Background and historical overview

The city of Bath is famous for its Georgian architecture (Manco 1984) and its Roman Baths, both of which grew up around the geothermal springs that rise within a loop of the River Avon (see Rochester and Rogers 1996). For centuries they have attracted visitors, and today over 2 million tourists visit the city each year (for example see Morris 1888). In 1987, the city's 'outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view' was officially

recognised when Bath was included on the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites. (See for example Spender and Spender 1922.)

Bath lies in an agriculturally rich area between the Cotswolds to the north and the Mendip hills to the south. To the east are the chalklands of Wiltshire, and 15km to the west lie the major port of Bristol and the Severn estuary (Fig 1.1). The iron-working area of the Forest of Dean lies 45km to the north-west, and the lead deposits around Charterhouse 25km to the south-west. Bath's geothermal springs have had a major influence on its development.

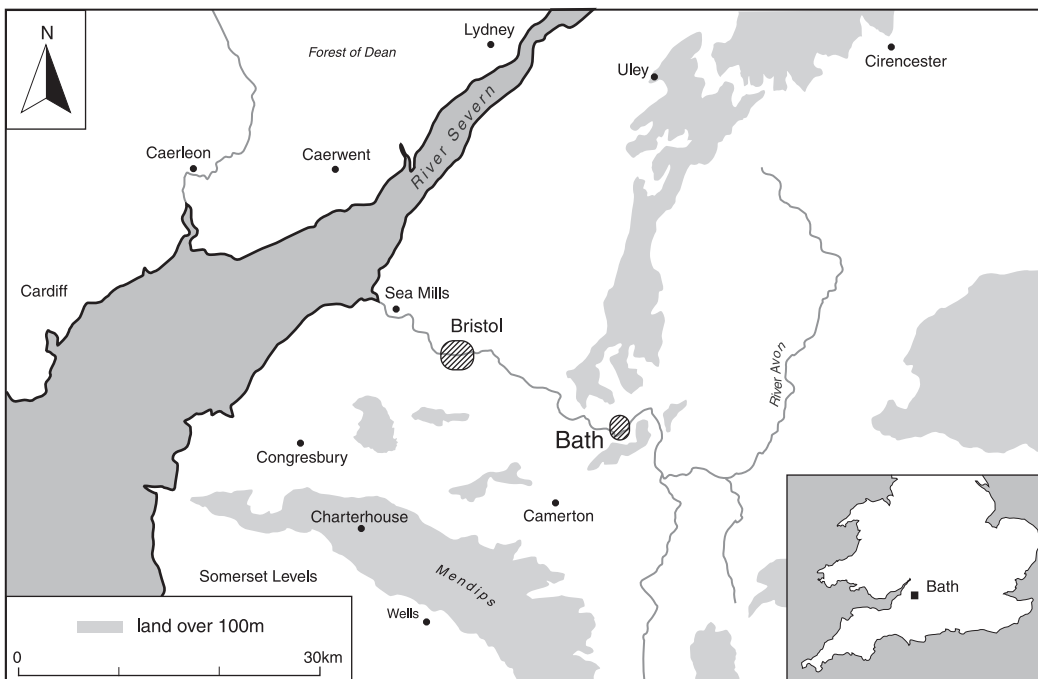


Figure 1.1. Bath in its region with major sites mentioned in the text.

The earliest human activity so far recorded in the town dates back to approximately 8000 BC, when groups of Mesolithic hunter-gatherers placed what appear to have been ritual offerings in the springs. In the Roman period a magnificent thermal and temple complex was established, attracting visitors from across the Roman Empire. According to the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, in AD 577 the city was captured by the West Saxons after the battle of Dyrham (a few kilometres north of Bath), and this event is often seen as marking the point at which the area came under Saxon control. Even if the the chronicle is right about the battle and its date, there is strong suspicion that the imposition of Saxon control was a complex and more drawn-out event. The West Saxons were not necessarily in control after 577 and, in any case, they were themselves defeated by the Mercians or Hwicce in 628.

In 675, a nunnery was established at Bath (a forerunner of Bath Abbey), and the town's position on the frontier between the major Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex ensured its importance in the centuries leading up to the Norman Conquest. In the late 9th century, the town was re-planned and defended as part of Alfred's system of burhs, and in 973, Edgar was crowned first King of all England at the newly reformed Benedictine monastery at Bath. After the Norman Conquest, the Bishop of Wells moved his seat to Bath and the Norman cathedral was constructed – at the time, one of the largest in the country. Throughout the Middle Ages, Bath remained largely confined within the 10 hectares (24 acres) enclosed by the medieval town walls, which themselves probably followed the line of the Roman enclosure of the central area. By the 14th century, it was thriving as a wool market, but with the restoration of Wells to the joint see, and the relocation of the Bishop's seat to Wells in the early 13th century, the Cathedral declined, and by the later 15th century it was in a ruined condition. Rebuilding was still underway at the time of the reformation in 1539 and, although visitors continued to come to the Baths, at the end of the 16th century the population of the town was only about 2000. However, with the increased Royal interest in the spa under the later Stuarts, cemented with the visit of Queen Anne in 1702–3, Bath became a fashionable resort.

The next hundred years saw its establishment as a leading spa and its transformation into the outstanding Georgian town that we see today (Manco 1984). In the course of the 18th century, Bath expanded dramatically with the population increasing to over 33,000 in the census of 1801. Although this rebuilding undoubtedly obliterated much of the medieval town, recent surveys have shown that at least some of the Georgian buildings still contain elements of their predecessors within their fabric, and even today much of the street plan within the walled area reflects the layout of Alfred's 9th-century town.

In the second quarter of the 19th century, the construction of the railway did not halt a decline in the popularity of the town, as development of seaside resorts such as Brighton drew fashionable society elsewhere. Of the city's medieval churches, Michael's Without and St James's were both rebuilt in the Georgian and Regency periods, and St John's Bathwick and Twerton church were replaced by the Victorians. Fortunately, most of the historic core of the city escaped the worst effects of the Baedeker bombing raids of 1942 when the brunt of the destruction was borne by areas outside the line of the medieval town wall.

In spite of the designation of the Roman baths as a scheduled ancient monument, planning laws in the 1960s failed to prevent the destruction of many 19th-century buildings, and it was not until the early to mid-1970s that changes both in local government and in attitudes to historic Bath set the conditions for the proper conservation of the city's architectural and archaeological heritage.

Today the city's population is approximately 84,000. As well as being a major tourist destination, Bath is a key employment centre in the region (mostly in the business and service sectors), boasts two universities, multiple cultural and recreational resources, and has an important economic role as a regional shopping centre. Bath's status as a World Heritage Site places a heavy onus on the city council to conserve the city's heritage, while at the same time encouraging the development of the modern town as a prosperous and lively community. There is significant commercial pressure for growth and development, both to accommodate increased tourism, and to provide improved housing, employment and recreational facilities for residents.

1.2 The purpose and scope of this study

This volume is part of a national programme set up by English Heritage to produce a series of comprehensive assessments of the current understanding of the archaeology of 30 of the most important historic towns and cities in England. The Bath assessment was commissioned in 1998 by Bath City Council with the assistance of English Heritage. It comprises a rigorous assessment of the available evidence, a synthesis of current understanding of the city's archaeology, and an analysis of the potential of the surviving archaeological resource for future research. In 1994, Bath City Council, with grant aid from English Heritage, commissioned the Bath Archaeological Trust (BAT) to collect and access all records relating to the historic town into a database, the Urban Archaeological Database (UAD), which has formed the basis for the present assessment. The assessment itself was commissioned in 1998 following the creation of the UAD, which was compiled by BAT in 1995–6.

The structure of the UAD distinguishes between events and monuments: events are the archaeological activities (such as excavations, surveys or observations); and monuments are the remains or deposits recorded (such as structures, streets, surfaces or burials). This approach allows critical assessment of the accuracy and reliability of records and interpretations that have been made of the basis of archaeological work often stretching back over several centuries. The recognition of 'monuments' is based on the interpretation of evidence retrieved during the 'events'; each monument is based on at least one event, but in many cases multiple events over many years contribute to the interpretation of a single monument. Conversely, a single event – such as a large-scale excavation – might lead to the identification of several monuments. In the Bath UAD, 'events' are referred to by 'site recognition numbers' (srn). Thus, Pownall's recovery of architecture fragments from the Temple Court in 1790–93 is classified as site recognition number (srn) 225; the Temple Complex itself is referred to as monument recognition number (mrn) 30. Gazetteers of site record numbers and monuments are set out in Appendices 1–2.

As with any historical interpretation, this assessment is subject to and coloured by contemporary perspectives and biases, and understanding and interpretation can of course change, as and when new evidence is uncovered. In this sense, any assessment can be only provisional.

The re-planning of the city as a Georgian spa town in the 18th century has been selected as the 'cut-off' point for the archaeological assessment, and developments after 1700 are not included. This decision rests on the fact that Georgian Bath, and to a lesser extent Victorian Bath, is still standing (Manco 1984). Evidence for this period increasingly takes the form of leases, wills, municipal records and architectural and structural analysis – all of which constitute research topics in their own right. Critical assessment and collation of this material was considered impractical in the light of resources available in 1999. The area covered by the project is also to some extent arbitrary. In addition to the Roman baths and temple complex, and the walled area of the medieval town, it covers the Roman settlements at Walcot and Bathwick, and areas that in the past were outside the urban area but which are largely built over today. Rather than following any historic settlement boundaries or modern municipal boundaries, the study comprises 14km² of the Ordnance Survey National Grid, which has facilitated the interchange of information between the UAD and the Bath & North East Somerset Historic Environment Record. The limits of the study area are shown in Figure 1.2.

The information in this volume is arranged according to broad chronological divisions: prehistoric; Late Iron Age; early and later Roman; post-Roman; Saxon; medieval; and post-medieval up to 1700. As with any systematic approach, the use of such a framework has both disadvantages and advantages. The main advantage is its ease of use, as this framework was the one used in the UAD. The principal disadvantage of any period-based study is that it can create points of rupture, and there is a danger that less emphasis is placed on transitional phases or on the exploration of specific motors of change for a particular place.

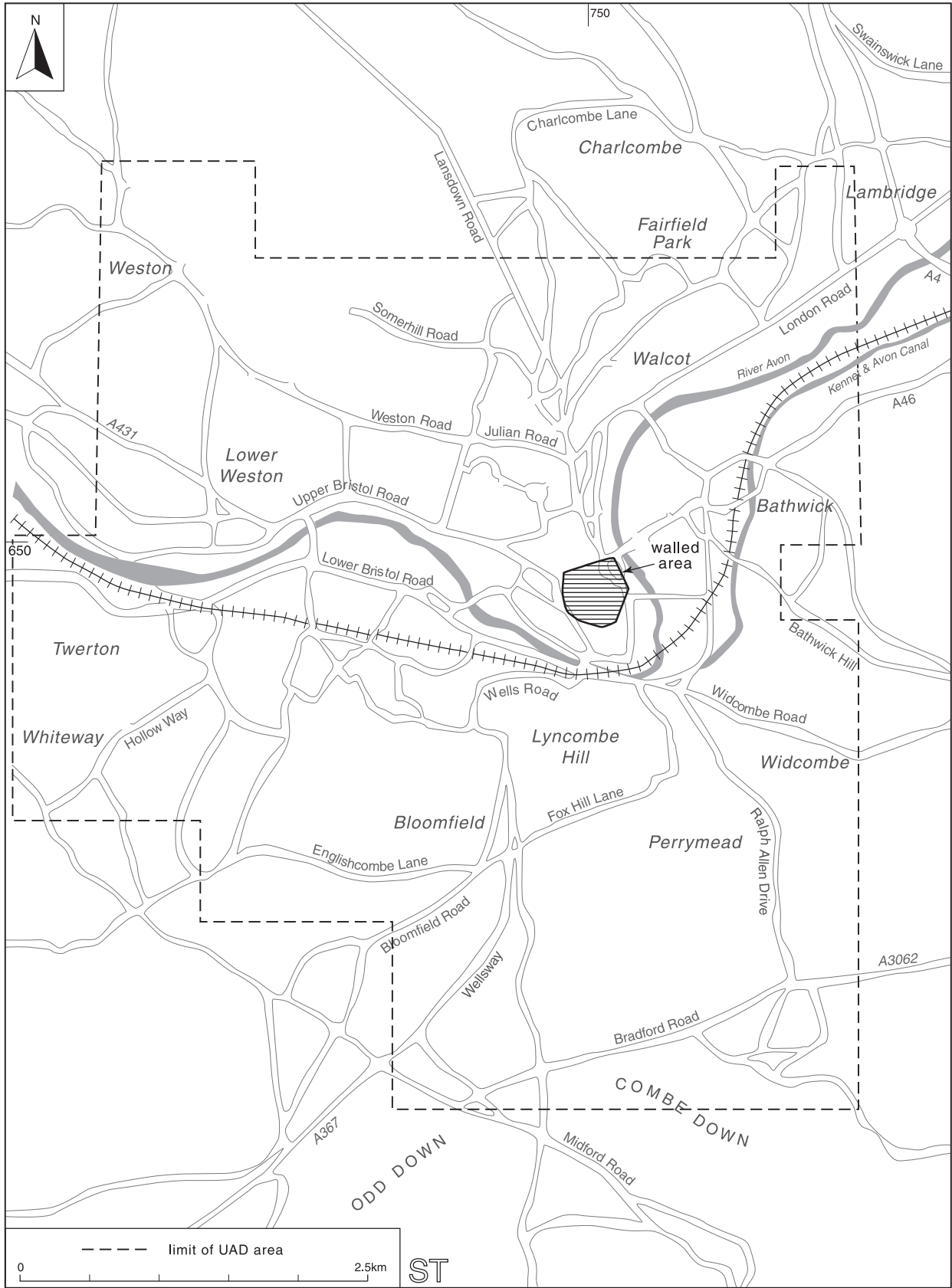


Figure 1.2. Detail of the area covered by the Bath UAD.

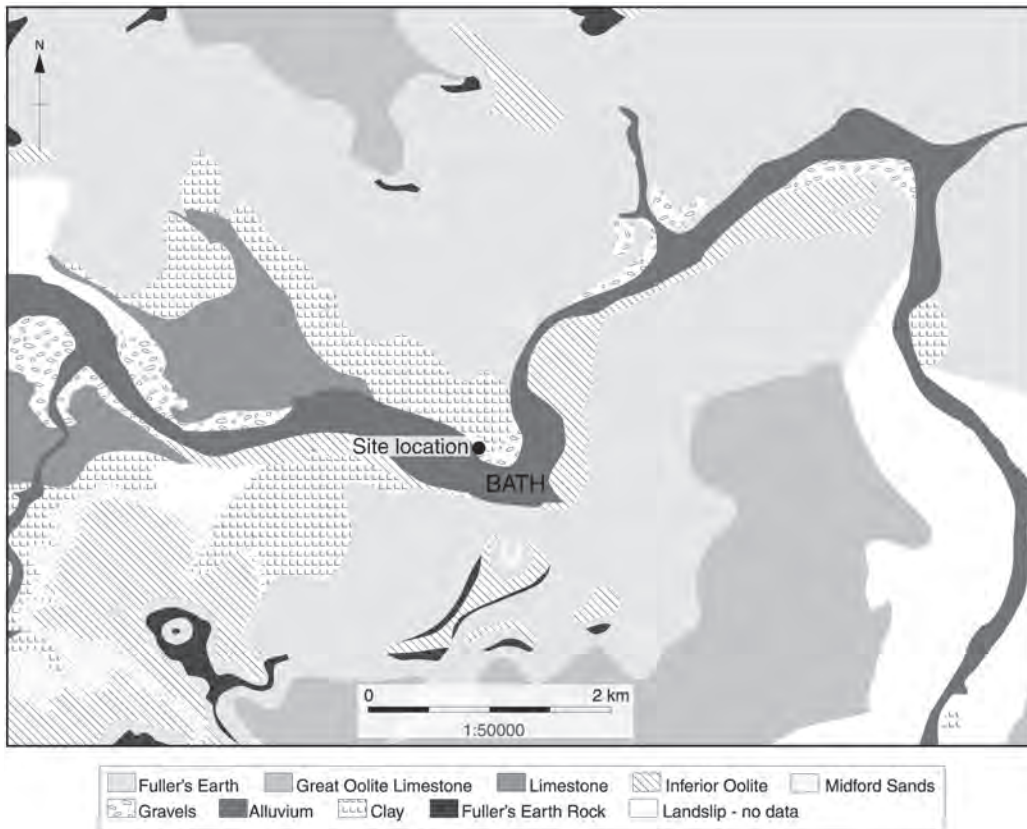


Figure 1.3. The geology of the Bath Region (Davenport et al 2007, fig 1.4).

1.3 Topography of Bath and the surrounding area

Scientific study of the region's geology began with William Smith (not to be confused with the 16th-century William Smith who drew the first plan of Bath in 1588, *see* Fig 2.49), considered to be the founding father of British geology, who remarked that for those interested in the geology of the British Isles there can be few places more suited as a base than Bath and Smith's 1815 Geological Map of Great Britain (Smith 1815; and see Kellaway and Welch 1991). The complex geological history of the Bath region is reflected by the diversity of the local topography, ranging from the carboniferous limestone plateau of the Mendips to the south of Bath, with its famous deeply incised gorges at Cheddar and Burrington Combe, and the similarly high but more dissected landscape of the Jurassic limestone of the Cotswolds to the north and immediate south.

In the Bath region the carboniferous limestone is overlain by impermeable Triassic and Jurassic strata (Lias clays and

marls) culminating with the Lower Jurassic Midford Sands and sealing the water bearing carboniferous rocks. These are in turn overlain first by the Inferior Oolitic limestone, then by Fuller's Earth and ultimately the Great Oolite limestone on the plateau tops. This sequence has been disturbed by deep tectonic earth movements resulting in numerous steeply inclined faults post-dating the formation of the Jurassic strata. These have been fundamental to the origin of the mineral springs of Bath, and to the development of Bath as a spa resort (*see* below; Kellaway 1991a; 1991b).

Bath is centred upon a Lower Lias clay and gravel promontory of the River Avon. The sequence of Lower Lias clay, Midford Sands, Inferior Limestone, Fuller's Earth and Great Oolite strata is exposed in the valley sides. Differential erosion of these varying deposits has resulted in widespread slipped and founded strata and colluviation, while the valley floor is filled with sands and gravels of fluvial or glacial origin. The general stratigraphy of the area is summarised in Figure 1.3. Borehole data from the centre of Bath (the Kingsmead borehole and the Stall Street

inclined borehole) are detailed in Kellaway (1991a).

The differing characteristics of these varied strata as they are exposed on the valley sides determine the position of the springs. Water falling on the plateau permeates through the Great Oolite to the underlying Fuller's Earth, where it emerges as a line of springs and runs across the exposed Fuller's Earth, giving rise to ill-drained and rather hummocky ground. When it reaches the margin of Inferior Oolite outcrop, the water permeates through it to re-emerge as larger springs at the margin of the Lower Lias clay. The topography is further complicated by extensive soil slippage on the valley slopes, and by the presence of gravels and alluvium of fluvio-glacial origin in the valley floor. The river has cut three terraces, partially obscured by later slippage and colluviation, but in Bath the oldest of these terraces – the floodplain terrace – coincides with the spring line at the base of the Inferior Oolite. All the terraces are clearly marked on the Bath Geology Sheet (no. 265).

The hot springs at Bath emerge just below the first floodplain terrace. They can be classified as both *thermal*, that is, having a temperature above that of the mean annual air temperature at the location; and *mineral*, that is, having more than 1000mg/dm³ total dissolved solids (Edmunds *et al* 1970; Edmunds and Miles 1991; see also Falconer 1772). There are three main springs: the Kings spring, the Cross Bath spring, and the Hot or Old Royal spring. Between them, these yield 1.25 × 106 dm³ per day (= 1.25 million litres per day) at temperatures of 46°C, 41–42°C and 48°C respectively (Kellaway 1991a). The thermal waters disintegrate the Lower Lias Clay as they pass upwards, causing a spring funnel to form (c 23m deep), itself filled in with later (Quaternary) gravels. In addition, sideways percolation of the spring waters through the upper strata cut through by the spring funnels means that tepid and warm water can be found during excavation at completely unpredictable places in the centre of town, and sometimes also further afield.

The oolitic limestones of the Bath area have been used as building material since at least the Roman period; all the Roman buildings in and around Bath show early and common use of the local stone, from AD 60–70 onward. The general term 'Bath Stone' has been applied,

although this is really only a general descriptive term for variable oolitic limestones within the Great Oolitic Group (Hudson 1971; Green 1992). Quarries are mentioned in charters from the late Saxon period, and continue to be mentioned throughout the Middle Ages. However, large-scale commercial quarrying activities were undertaken in earnest only from 1720, under the ownership and management of Ralph Allen (1693–1764), and by 1900 more than million cubic feet were being excavated every year from quarries at Combe Down, Odd Down, Box and Corsham, among other places. Fuller's Earth, found below the Great Oolite Group Limestones, was also an important material. It was extracted from beds running from Wellow to Bathampton Down until 1980, and from the Middle Ages at least, was used for the de-greasing of wool and woollen cloth, as well as a dusting powder (Green 1992).

The River Avon (sometimes known as the Bristol Avon, to distinguish it from both the Warwickshire Avon, which likewise flows to the River Severn, and the Wiltshire or Salisbury Avon) dominates Bath, surrounding the central part of the City on three sides. Whether the river was navigable in the Roman period as far upstream as Bath is a question that has not yet been fully resolved; certainly no positive evidence has yet been found either way (pace Aston 1986, 69).

The river, as it swings from south to west around the town centre, has moved further east and south since prehistoric times (Kellaway 1985, 6). This is attested by a band of alluvium, but its date is uncertain. Kellaway suggested that in the Roman period the river ran about 100m north-west of its present day course and the medieval river may also have run closer to the walled area (Jordan in Davenport *et al* 2007, 5). More recent excavations in the Southgate area however have shown that distribution of alluvial deposits is very complex and a reliable model of the river's course over the last two millennia cannot yet be produced. In the past, flooding was a recurrent problem in the historic core, and the recent Southgate excavations recorded numerous episodes of flooding from the 12th century until the early modern period. Flooding patterns could have both constrained and been influenced by development (eg the bridge and any wharfage or later building on the flood plain), and have been an important factor in the precise siting of the inhabited area.

Topographically, the area of the City covered by the UAD study contains hilltop, valley-side and valley-bottom sites. Hilltop sites commonly are on oolitic limestone; valley-side sites on clays and sands, often slipped and founded; and valley-bottom sites on river gravels and sands, alluvium or blue Lias clay (Kellaway and Taylor 1968). The hot springs have also had an effect on the topography of the valley bottom, carving out hollows around the top of the spring pipes and small valleys as they drain to the river, filling them with silt as relative regimes change.

The Roman temple and baths complex and the medieval city were concentrated on a slight spur approximately 20–30m OD, being the remnants of the floodplain terrace of the Avon. The spur extends into a meander of the river, rising approximately 5–8m above the flood plain. It provides an area of relatively level ground above which the land rises at first gradually and then more steeply to the north-west. The springs emerge just below this terrace, carving out hollows around the tops of the pipes and forming small valleys draining to the river.

It has become clear that Kellaway's suggested reconstruction of the geomorphology of the area at the end of the prehistoric period (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, fig 1) is seriously flawed. Attempts to produce a model of the pre-Roman ground surface (PRGS) using archaeological excavation data seem to have few points of contact with Kellaway's model. As a result of more recent work, points on the PRGS have been mapped across the whole of the study area, but the data are not yet adequate to produce an accurate and useful overall model. A useful model has been possible in only a few restricted areas of the UAD zone – predominantly in the central historic core. What is clear, however, is that the present-day relief bears little relationship to the topography prior to human intervention.

1.4 The history of archaeological research in Bath

The 16th century: Leland and Camden

In common with many other places in England, the first written evidence for an interest in the material remains of the past in Bath occurs in the 16th century, when John Leland (c 1506–1552) visited the city. Appointed by

Henry VIII in 1533 as the 'King's Antiquary', Leland travelled around England and Wales between 1534 and 1543 recording place names, genealogies and objects of antiquarian interest (Stephen and Lee (eds) 1964). His description of the 'somewhat decayed' medieval city of Bath and its Abbey is quite detailed, with particular mention made of the incorporation of reused Romano-British stone reliefs into the city walls, including inscribed tombstones (Toulmin Smith 1907, 139–44). Leland's itinerary was not published until 1710, but many antiquarians had access to his manuscripts in the 16th and 17th centuries, and his work exerted considerable influence on subsequent accounts. William Camden (1551–1623), the second antiquarian to write about Bath, owed much to Leland's researches, making additional detailed records of inscribed tombstones in the city. His comprehensive topographical survey of England, *Britannia*, was first published in 1586, went through many posthumous editions, and was translated into English by Richard Gough in 1789 (Stephen and Lee 1964). Several finds in Bath attributed to Camden were 18th-century additions to the original volume. However, even material included in the survey at this later date remains restricted to classical inscriptions, monuments and works of art.

The 17th and 18th centuries

Many of the professional men who wrote about archaeological discoveries in the 17th and 18th centuries were doctors living in Bath, and several had a special interest in the properties of the hot baths and their historical use. The first of these was Thomas Guidott (1638–c 1698; see Guidott 1669, 1676, 1691, 1775), who wrote several papers and articles on the hot baths in the second half of the 17th century (Stephen and Lee 1964). He was followed by the physician William Musgrave (c 1655–1721), who wrote *Antiquitates Britanno-Belgicae*, published in four volumes during the early 18th century (ibid). Musgrave's study of the administrative district of the Belgae is significant because it signals an interest in the pre-classical 'Britons'. It seems probable that Musgrave saw a number of tombstones in Bath, but that he chose to describe only one in detail: the tombstone to the armourer Julius Vitalis, with the inscription 'a Belgic tribesman'. Musgrave was also the

first antiquarian to record burials in the city, both inhumations in coffins (Musgrave 1718) and cremations in cinerary urns (Musgrave 1720 Tab XIV, figs 1 and 2). William Stukeley (1687–1765) is perhaps the best known of the romantically inspired antiquarians who visited Bath. Like many of his predecessors, Stukeley was an Oxbridge-trained physician and was particularly interested in pre-classical remains in the city, recording the tombstone and cinerary urns originally noted by Musgrave, and a tombstone found in the High Street in 1736 (Stukeley 1776, 57).

Although Stukeley noted only a small number of finds in Bath, he exerted an important influence over archaeological endeavour in the city. As a member of the Royal Society of London, founded in 1660 to promote scientific inquiry, he made accurate and detailed descriptions of archaeological finds. Contemporaries of his clearly took note of these advances. No fewer than six antiquarians made records of the coffins recovered in 1755 when Abbey House was demolished to make way for the Duke of Kingston's Baths, in what is now Kingston Street (srn 162): Oliver (1755); Hewitt (1755, 1756, 1759); Lucas (1756); Anon (1761); Hoare (1762) and Sutherland (1763).

During the 17th and 18th centuries, interest in the antiquities of Bath was stimulated by major rebuilding in the city. Little deliberate excavation was carried out but some of the material uncovered as a result of the Georgian redevelopment and expansion was recorded, appearing in a wide range of sources: in published volumes; as essays; in archaeological journals; and in city guides, letters and diaries. However, as Peter Davenport has pointed out (pers comm), the record of antiquities depended entirely on the presence of interested parties. For example, John Wood I recorded antiquities in some detail; his son, despite developing areas known to have ancient remains, not at all.

The rebuilding of the city in the earlier Georgian period was largely the work of the architect John Wood. Inspired by the Palladian style of architecture, and determined to rebuild Bath as a classical city, Wood was keenly interested in Bath's Roman past. Much of the city built by Wood lay outside the area of the medieval city walls, and so beyond the complexes centred on the hot springs.

Nevertheless, working in the city from 1725 to 1754, he was ideally placed to record archaeological remains revealed in the course of rebuilding. Living at a time when there was little certain information about the city's past, he nevertheless attempted to explain the past on the basis of evidence. Inevitably his outlook was coloured by his own very strong preconceptions, which were essentially Biblical and classical, and so some of his conclusions now appear somewhat bizarre. His description of 'ancient Bath' appeared in his book, *A Description of Bath*, published in 1765. He believed that there had been an enormous pre-Roman city founded by the mythical king of Bath, Bladud, which stretched as far as the Stanton Drew stone circle. He could have picked up this belief from the fictitious account of the founding of Bath written by the Welsh cleric, Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the 12th century. (See Holland 1992; Wood 1741, 1749, 1765, 1777.)

Alongside growing interest in the pre-Roman past during the 18th century, classical remains continued to be recorded, most notably by the Scottish-educated antiquarian Horsley (1685–1732) who visited the city in 1727, when the metamorphosis of Bath into a fashionable spa resort was well underway. The construction of a new sewer in Stall Street in 1727, as part of the investment by the Corporation to make the town more attractive to visitors, resulted in the discovery of the great gilded bronze head of Minerva, which was promptly published by Horsley (Fig 1.4). As the 18th century proceeded, more buildings within the walled medieval town were replaced and, increasingly, remains from the Roman bathing and temple complexes were revealed. Wood the Elder recorded Roman buildings at the Mineral Water Hospital in 1738 and noted remains at his earlier developments at St John's Hospital and the Grand Parades. Between 1755 and 1763 the construction of the Duke of Kingston's baths on the site of the earlier Abbey House revealed part of the eastern end of the Roman bathing complex (Fig 1.5), and at about the same time the steps leading to the Roman Great Bath were seen (Oliver 1755; Lucas 1756, 222–30; Hoare 1762; Hewitt 1755, 1759, 159; Anon 1761; Sutherland 1763, 16–22; Haverfield 1906). However, it was the discovery of the façade belonging to the Roman Temple in 1790–3 that drew national attention to the Roman remains in

the city (Englefield 1792; Pownall 1793): more than seventy blocks of sculpted and inscribed stone were revealed during the reconstruction of the Pump Rooms (srn 225 (Holland and Chapman 1999)). These remains were included in Samuel Lysons's study of Roman antiquities in Bath (1802) and in subsequent volumes of his *'Reliquiae Britannico-Romanae'* (1813). Although the majority of inscribed stone from Bath had already appeared in earlier published works, Lysons's descriptions were generally more accurate than contemporary accounts and his reconstruction of the main temple elevation, with its Gorgon's head, has remained essentially unchanged (Fig 2.8).

From the second half of the 18th century onwards, archaeological discoveries, particularly stone coffins, began to appear in the newly established local newspapers, which provided a more accessible forum for recording discoveries: the *Bath Journal* was founded in 1744, the *Bath Advertiser* in 1755 (later the *Bath Weekly Chronicle*), the *Bath Herald* in 1792, and the *Bath and Cheltenham Gazette* in 1812 (Cunliffe 1986a, 179). The first guides to the city were published soon after the early accounts (Anstey 1767; Pope 1770; Crutwell 1799; Browne 1807; Duffield 1811, 1813).

Through the 18th century various references to and descriptions of antiquarian finds in Bath appeared anonymously in Bath Council Minutes, in the Society of Antiquaries Minutes and in local newspapers and magazines (see Anon 1727, 1732, 1736, 1744, 1761, 1776a, 1776b, 1792).

19th-century antiquarianism and the beginnings of scientific archaeology

During the 19th century there was a great growth of public interest in archaeology among the new middle classes, and a consequent proliferation of societies (Henig 1995, 186). The relatively low level of building activity meant that little was recorded in the first half of the century. Articles on the history and archaeology of Bath appear in the proceedings or transactions of several local societies from the 1850s onwards: the *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Society*, which at the end of the 19th century formed an independent branch in Bath; the *Somerset Record Society*; the *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeology Society*; the *University of Bristol Speleological Society*; and the *Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*.



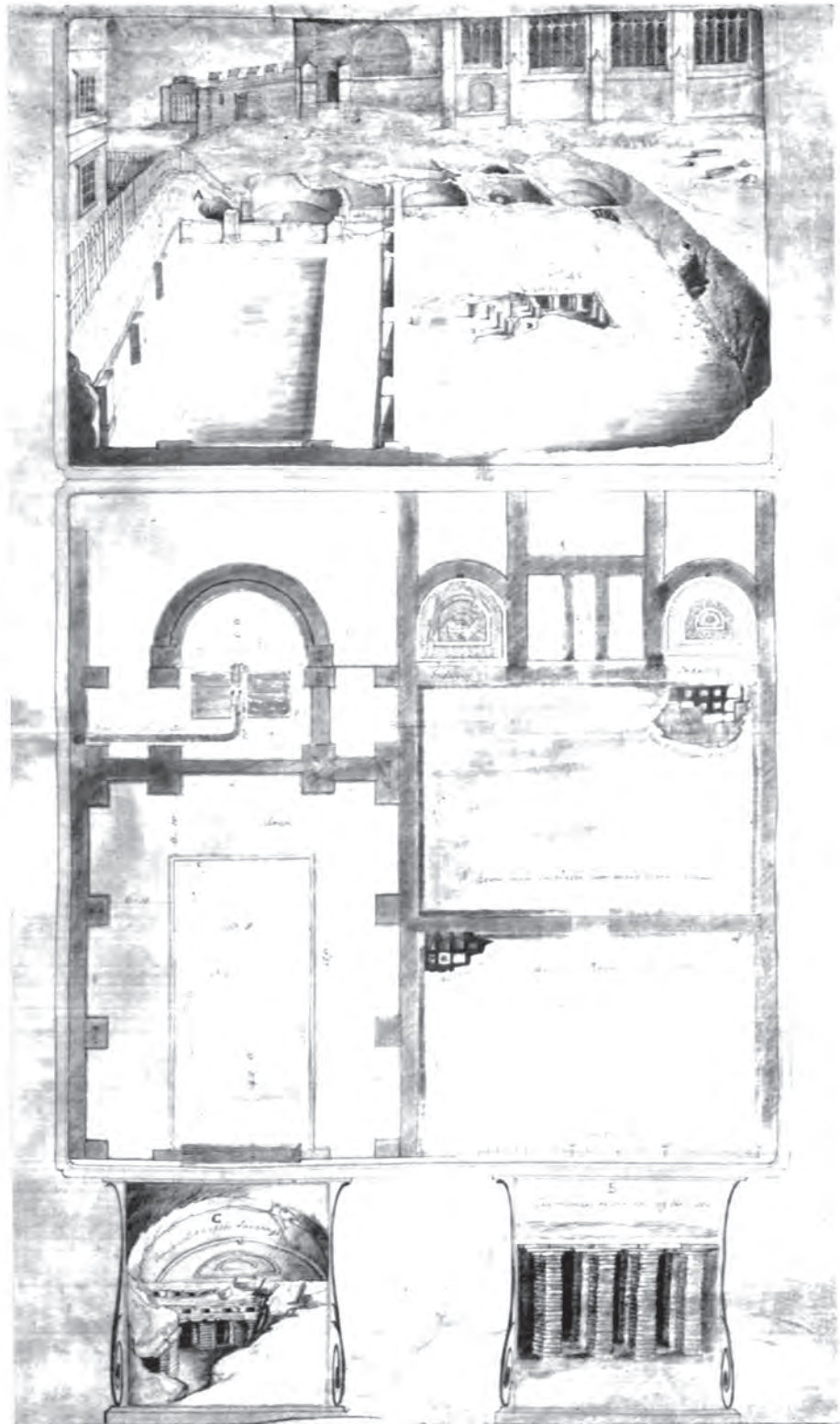
Figure 1.4. The life-size gilded bronze head of Minerva (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985).

The importance of stratigraphic context was increasingly recognised, and many of the finds from Bath made their way into the collection of the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution, which had been founded in 1824 with the aim of furthering 'the advancement of literature, science and art'. While many of the men writing on Bath were still Oxbridge educated professional men, the interest in medieval architecture and art also drew in artists, painters and architects.

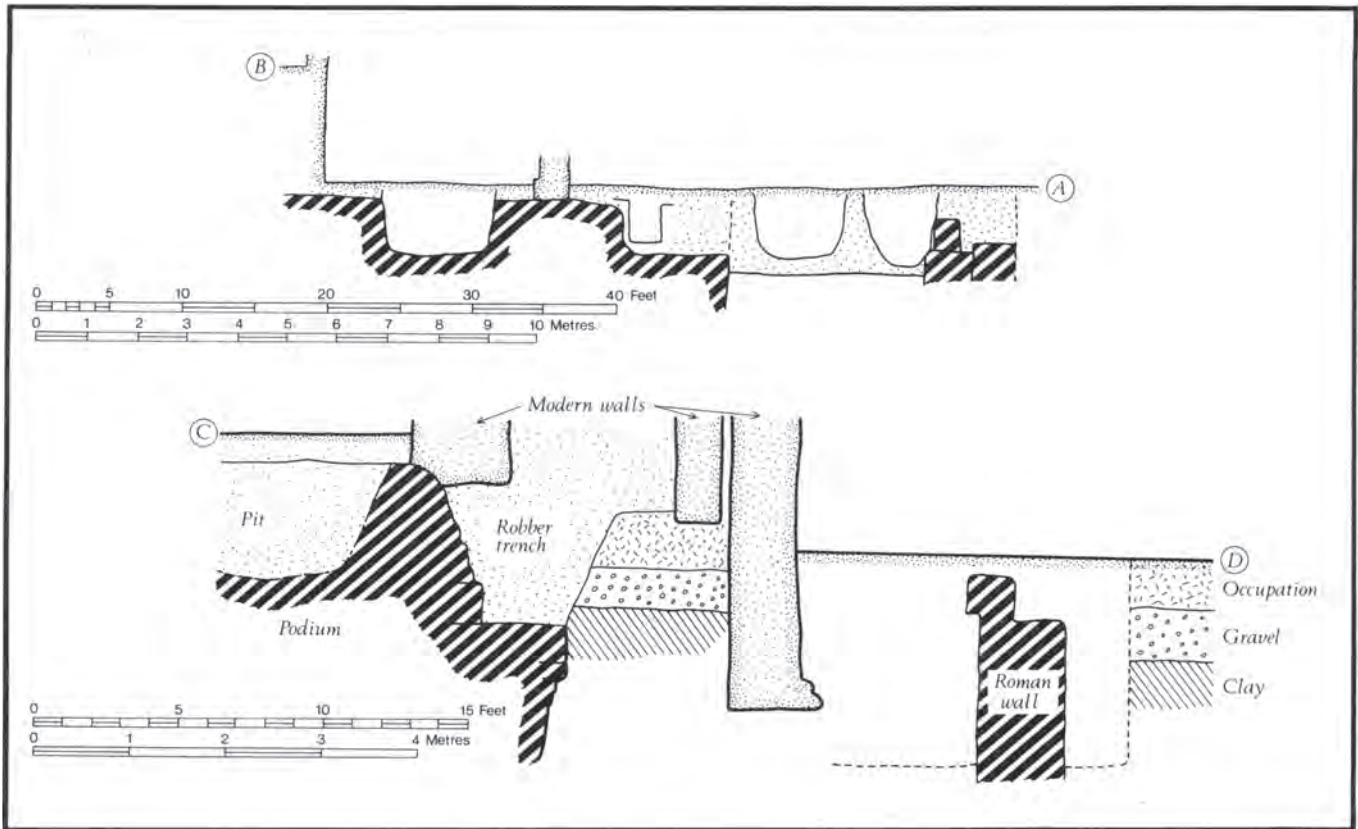
No active investigations were mounted at this time, any more than they had been in the 18th century; discoveries were usually secondary to another kind of disturbance. These were rare, and discovery and record depended on the presence or interest of a competent person (eg Scarth 1853, 1854, 1857, 1861, 1863, 1868, 1872, 1876, 1883, 1889).

Knowledge took a leap forward with arrival in Bath of James Irvine. He came to the city in 1864, when Sir Gilbert Scott was selected to carry out restoration and renovation of the Abbey. Irvine was a conscientious member of Scott's office, and was appointed to act as

Figure 1.5. Excavation in the King's Baths in c 1755 (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, plate xxiii).



Plan of about 1755 showing the east end of the Roman Baths exposed when the foundations of the Kingston Baths were being dug. The original is in the British Museum, No. Add. 21577 Bi (p. 132)



clerk of works, a position he held until the works were completed in 1871. He proved to be a meticulous archaeologist, deeply interested in all aspects of Bath's past. Irvine began his work in the cellars of the old White Hart Hotel in 1864, and by 1868 he had recorded a large portion of the podium of the temple of Minerva as well as parts of the surrounding precinct (Fig 1.6). He also took advantage of the restoration works at the Abbey, rebuilding work at the newly extended United Hospital, sewerage works in Lower Borough Walls, and the construction of the new church of St Andrews, well outside the city walls, to make important and high-quality records of both medieval and Roman remains. Irvine remained active in the city throughout the 1860s, and many of the new records for this period were made by him. In particular, he was the first to take archaeological photographs in the city. (See Irvine 1873, 1882, 1890, Irvine Papers.)

Irvine's work was followed by a second major phase of excavation carried out by the city engineer, Major C E Davis. Davis was a prickly and pompous character who thought himself above the mere business of recording,

let alone site work. He provided reports to the Corporation, which are useful, and he seems to have taken photographs too, but these have not been found (Cunliffe 1986b). For the actual ground work, he employed Richard Mann, a builder and friend of Irvine. Mann carried out and provided the records for the initial clearing work on the King's Bath and its Roman drain, as well as later work at the Cross Bath. Unlike Irvine, Mann did not make detailed stratigraphic records of his discoveries, but he did take notes and make measured sketches, several of which he sent in correspondence to Irvine. Eventually, despairing of Davis's ever providing anything of the sort, Mann produced meticulous watercolour plans, elevations and cross-sections of the remains that had been uncovered up to about 1900, including some limited stratigraphic information that is now in the Society of Antiquaries, London (Mann 1900). It is thanks to these documents that there is some record today of the extensive engineering works carried out at this time. Davis continued to work, albeit sporadically, until 1895, by which time not only had he uncovered parts of the Roman Baths but also

Figure 1.6. Irvine's plan of observations in the Temple of Sulis Minerva (Cunliffe 2000, fig 10).

large parts of the temple precinct (Cunliffe 1979a, 2–3). While Davis will retain the credit for pushing forward the clearance of the baths and their presentation for display, it should also be noted that, even at the time, his disregard for stratigraphic information was a cause for great concern; the destruction of metres of archaeological stratigraphy was not something that has been recognised only with hindsight. The excavations he carried out at the baths resulted in a severe impoverishment of the archaeological potential of the site. (See for example Davis 1864; Mann 1878a, 1878b, 1885, 1893a, 1893b, 1900; and anonymously published descriptions of antiquarian finds in local newspapers and magazines throughout the 19th century, see all ‘Anon’ entries in bibliography dated from 1803 to 1897.)

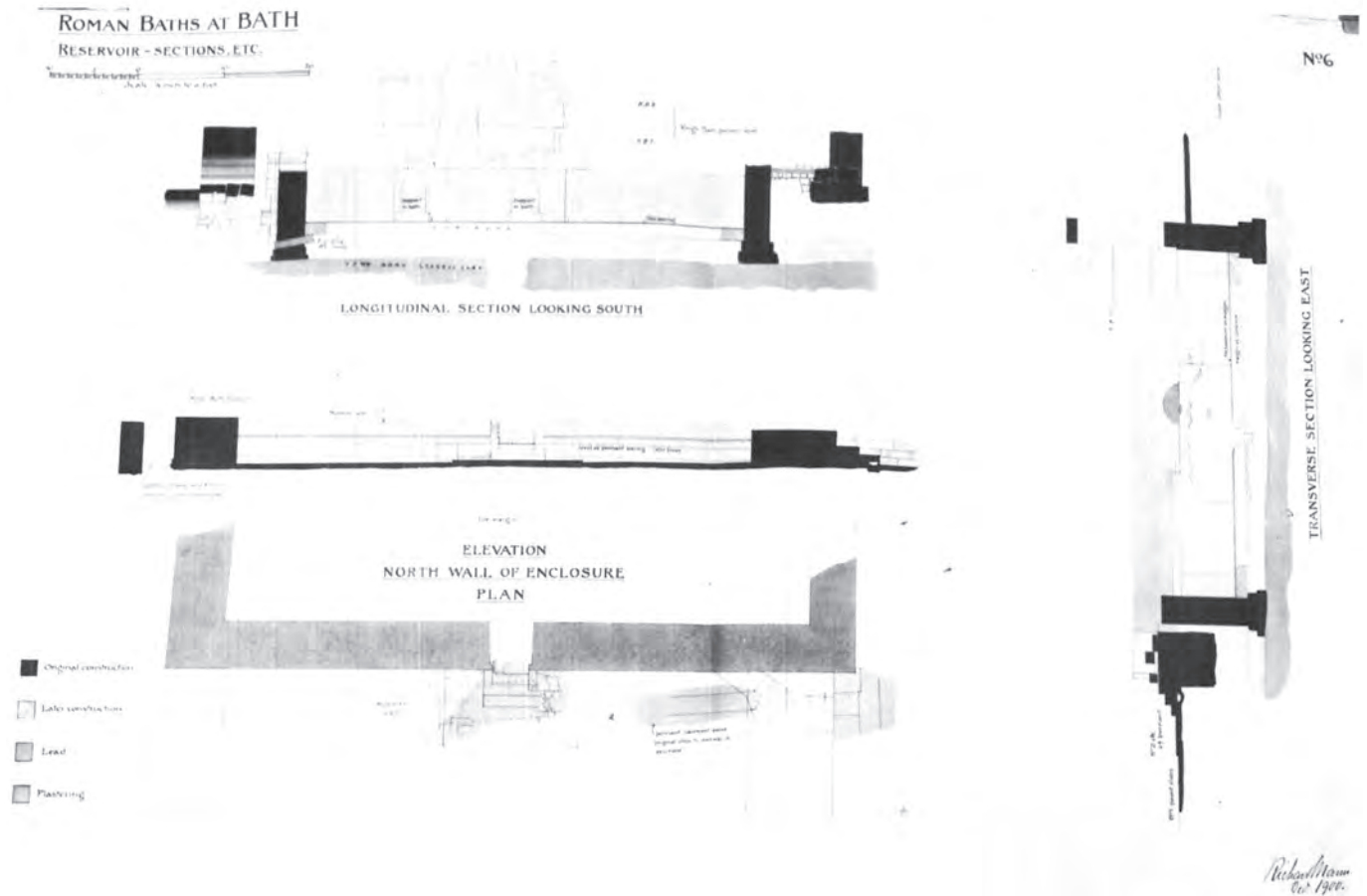
The early 20th century

Although neither Irvine nor Mann had published their findings on the baths (Irvine published his work on the Abbey in 1890; Irvine 1890; but see Mann 1878b, 1885, 1893a, 1893b, 1900), their records were available. However, their work was largely ignored in the account of Roman Bath published by Francis Haverfield in *The Victoria County History* in 1906. Haverfield was probably the leading Romano-British scholar of his day, but failed to appreciate the value of Irvine’s work, and instead paid a fulsome tribute to Davis: ‘we have to thank his indomitable perseverance for the considerable area which was examined’ (Haverfield 1906, 244). As a result, Haverfield’s published account of Roman Bath omitted much of the information recovered by Mann to the north of the reservoir and Great Bath, together with any of the details of the temple precinct recorded by Irvine; extensive areas had been excavated by Davis, but his records were little more than a small-scale overall plan. Later work, particularly by Cunliffe, has shown that Haverfield’s low opinion of Irvine’s work was unjustified, as excavations in the 1970s and 1980s showed Irvine’s measurements to be accurate to within a quarter of an inch (6mm). A J Taylor, an architect who was working in Bath in the early years of the 20th century, published some of these details, and continued to note such remains as were recorded in building work in the 1920s and 1930s (see also Spender and Spender 1922). In 1923, the eastern baths were excavated by Knowles

following the demolition of the 18th-century Kingston’s baths. Fortunately, Knowles was a professional archaeologist, who had been trained in excavation techniques at Corbridge, and although the 18th-century building has destroyed much of the later Roman levels, earlier levels survived. As a result, Knowles was the first archaeologist to address the complex history of alterations that the Baths had undergone in the course of the Roman period (Knowles 1926). On the whole, however, understanding of the Roman town remained as it was in 1908.

The above-ground Georgian and earlier fabric, especially in the walled area, had suffered piecemeal development and destruction in the 19th century, but slum clearance in the early 20th century, and especially in the 1930s, resulted in the destruction of large areas of Georgian fabric, especially south-west of the city centre. The so-called Baedeker bombing raids of 1942 inflicted significant damage to the walled area and the set-piece Georgian buildings, but damage was relatively limited and concentrated on the same area as the slum clearance, leaving large areas here clear-felled and ripe for development after the war. It might be not by chance that this area contained the gas works, a railway junction and an arms factory. The area around the Abbey and walled city generally was relatively unscathed.

Archaeological excavation prior to the necessary post-war reconstruction was a low priority; no major or planned excavations took place. This might have been in part because the area outside the walls was perceived as archaeologically not very significant, but it is important to appreciate the lack of understanding of the potential loss and the potential gain among all but a handful of people at the time. For example, Ian Richmond, then a lecturer in Roman-British Studies at Newcastle University was carrying out elegant but very small-scale excavations in the baths in the early 1950s, but observations outside the known remains were left to the heroic and unfunded efforts of Camerton Field Club (later Bath and Camerton Archaeological Society) under the leadership of Bill Wedlake. Wedlake had been Mortimer Wheeler’s foreman at Maiden Castle, in Brittany and Normandy and at Stanwick, and was a skilled if old-fashioned archaeologist – amateur only in that he was not paid. A significant development



in these years, however, was the transfer of previously excavated material to the Roman Baths Museum.

By the early 1960s the pace of redevelopment in the city, and the destructive power of modern building techniques, made it clear that much more radical steps were required if knowledge of Bath's history was not to be irretrievably lost. In 1963, the Bath Excavation Committee was established under the chairmanship of Ian Richmond, by now Professor of the Roman Empire at Oxford University, with the express purpose of raising funds for and undertaking rescue excavations on development sites. A programme of systematic research into earlier records was also undertaken. In collaboration with Professor Jocelyn Toynbee, Richmond had already underlined the importance of Roman Bath by the publication of a full account of the façade of the Temple of Sulis Minerva, which at that time was thought to lie east of the medieval King's Bath hot spring, close to or under the Abbey (Richmond and Toynbee 1955). In 1964, at the invitation of

the Spa committee, Richmond, by now Sir Ian, undertook a detailed structural analysis combined with limited excavation of the eastern baths, as a result of which he was able to unravel their complex structural history. He then turned to the central section of the Baths – the Great Bath and the Circular Bath, whose development history he also resolved. Sadly, his death in 1965 meant that his study was not completed, but the project was continued by Professor Barry Cunliffe (Cunliffe 1966).

When Cunliffe was appointed Director of Excavations for the Bath Excavation Committee in 1965, it was clear that the proper understanding of the temple and its environment should be the major research objective. Between 1964 and 1968, after exhaustive study of all the available sources (principally records made by Englefield; Pownall, Irvine and Mann) the work begun by Richmond was completed through a detailed re-examination of the west baths, and a limited programme of excavation was undertaken in the cellars and beneath what was then the

Figure 1.7. Mann's plan of excavations in the sacred spring (Cunliffe 2000, fig 11).

Pump Room Museum. As a result, an overall plan could at last be drawn up, showing the temple of Minerva, the surrounding precinct and the reservoir for the hot spring and the great complex of baths to the south. The results of the work of Richmond and Cunliffe was published in 1969, and remains the essential, basic work. The research also established the state in which the Roman work could be expected to survive, enabling Cunliffe to write:

The Temple of Sulis Minerva is still totally unavailable to visitors.... Excavation however, has shown that much of the precinct and surrounding monuments are preserved in a remarkable state 15 to 20 feet below the Pump Room, Abbey Yard and Stall Street. ...While it must be admitted that full excavation would be a costly and difficult business, given sufficient financial support at least half of the entire temple area on the north side of the reservoir could be uncovered and presented to visitors in much the same way as the east baths are now displayed underground. The fragmentary monuments now in the museum could then be reconstructed in their original positions... In fact most of the Roman town centre could be exposed 20ft beneath its modern counterpart in a most dramatic and unique setting. (Cunliffe (ed) 1969)

Not long after the publication of the 1960s' excavations, the City took the decision to realise this vision, and in 1978 the Bath Archaeological Trust was set up to carry out the necessary work. The Trust undertook nearly a hundred excavations or watching briefs, first under the direction of Barry Cunliffe, and after 1982 under that of Peter Davenport. The Trust's work continued until its closure in 2005, and the results of this work, and a discussion of its significance, are included in Part 2. Over the course of nearly 30 years, it was responsible for tremendous advances in understanding of the city's history from the earliest times to the present day.

In 1990, the context in which archaeological excavation was undertaken on development sites was transformed by the publication the Government's Planning Policy Guidance Note 16 (PPG16) '*Planning and Archaeology*'. This recommended that the primary responsibility for dealing with the impact of development on archaeological remains rested with developers. While this led to a significant increase in the volume of archaeological work on development sites, it also meant that much of that archaeological work took the form of small-scale exploratory trenches, designed to evaluate the archaeological potential of each site and look at ways to limit the impact of

proposed building, rather than to explore its history detail. PPG16 also resulted in a serious national backlog in the publication, with the results of many evaluation excavations and watching briefs being published at best only in summary form in local journals, or as historic environment records maintained by local authorities. (For example see the eight references 'Anon nd' in the bibliography; and Beaton 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1995d, 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 2003; Davenport 1990, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1997d, 1997e, 1997f, 1997g, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c; Davenport (ed) 1997, 1998, 1999; Davenport and Beaton 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996a, 1996b; Davenport, Bell and Beaton 1997; Jackson *et al* 1994; Jordan 1999, 2000; Lewcun 1998.)

1.5 *The nature of the evidence*

As a result of this long history of archaeological recording in Bath there is now a substantial volume of evidence for the City's past. This falls into several different categories.

BURIED ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPOSITS

The natural topography of Bath varies between the alluvial valley floor, rather muddy areas along the river terrace on which the springs are situated, and better-drained land to the north and west, and on the steep valley sides at Walcot and Bathwick. These variations, together with fluctuations in population over time, have affected the degree to which archaeological deposits survive. Within the walled area, archaeological deposits dating from the earliest occupation of the site to the present day can survive. The thickness of such deposits, however, varies considerably: some have been eroded or dug away in the past; many have been destroyed by the extensive cellars that have been built across the town, as well as by later pits, foundations and previous archaeological excavations.

18TH-CENTURY RAISING OF GROUND LEVEL

These considerations are common in all historic towns, but in Bath there is the additional complication caused by artificial alterations of the ground level in the 18th century. Saxon and medieval occupation within the walls led to a build up of of 2–3m of accumulated debris and other deposits, and in some areas even more. Therefore, when Wood began the programme

of urban rebuilding in the 18th century, the levels of the new development outside the walls were often substantially lower than those inside. It is clear from excavation and survey work over the last few years that during the 18th century there were various episodes of the deliberate raising of ground level, especially in areas a short distance outside the city walls. Sometimes this was accomplished by vaulting, partly let into the ground, providing cellarage for many properties, and at other times probably by dumping, although the latter point is not proved. The problems and the solution are well illustrated by The Parades development. The Parades butted on to the eastern town wall, and was built up on vaults so high that access was simply over the line of the wall. When Galloway's Buildings, now North Parade Buildings, were built inside the wall abutting North Parade, the entire development was raised up to the new extra-mural street level. This left a considerable drop to Abbey Green and North Parade Passage (both already built on in the 17th century), which was solved by the raising of both areas by about 1.5–2m (these areas were within the Cathedral Close/Abbey precinct, and might not have risen as much as other parts of the city during the Middle Ages). This did not raise the levels completely to those of the new developments, but it made gradual adjustments possible (there is still quite a drop from Galloway's Buildings to Abbey Green, and a slight drop to North Parade Passage). The building of houses and the Kingston Baths over the area south of the Abbey Church in 1755–62, and again in the 1820s, resulted in the ground level being raised by 2m. However, the destructive impact of cellars still occurred, if to varying degrees. The later houses along the south side of Kingston Buildings removed all post-Roman and some Roman deposits: the earlier buildings had left all pre-Norman and some later remains *in situ*, except for the area of the Roman East Baths, discovered and excavated to its upper levels in 1755. Excavations at the rear of Terrace Walk (srn 139) showed similar early 18th-century levelling, raising the ground level by as much as 3m. The early 18th-century houses that back on to the Terrace Walk excavation front on to Orange Grove at the present level. Excavation in the middle of Orange Grove (srn 78) showed that this area had been built up to its present level by the 1730s at the latest.

This emphasises the considerable difference between the levels here and at Orange Grove and those south of the Abbey Choir before 1750. In places, there must have been steps and steep ramps between the different levels. These are sometimes mentioned in leases of the period.

There is no clear evidence of such deliberate raising of ground levels in the rest of the walled area, but it might have occurred. It could be significant that all these examples were within the Abbey precinct.

CELLARS

As mentioned above, the practice of constructing vaults to raise the ground level facilitated the construction of cellars. To date, there has been no comprehensive survey of cellars in Bath, but in cellared areas archaeological deposits can survive, particularly lower lying deposits such as the basal fill of pits and earlier Roman levels.

At the Abbey Heritage Centre (srn 369) and Abbey Chambers, cellars were only partially cut into the contemporary ground surface and the exterior level artificially raised. This left about 1.7–2m of medieval and Roman deposits in place. At Abbey Churchyard (srn 193) and the temple precinct (srn 224–264 and 273–291), nearly 2m of medieval and Roman deposits survived under the cellar floors. An average of about 2m or more of pre-1700 archaeological deposit are calculated to have survived below 18th-century vaults in a limited area. At Abbey Street/Abbey Green, 1.8m of deposits have been recorded below 18th-century cellars. Therefore, few areas can be completely disregarded because they have cellars. Harvey's Buildings (srn 60) and the Empire Hotel (srn 578/616) were areas where, in part, cellars had removed all superficial deposits. While such areas are obviously of much lower potential, they still can be of value, as the survival of the (admittedly truncated) Roman and late Saxon city ditches under the cellars at the Empire shows (see Davenport 1990).

Deposits within the walled area

There is tremendous variation in the degree of preservation of archaeological deposits within the walled area, and at the time of writing it is not possible to map accurately the extent and position of surviving deposits. Even the natural relief prior to any significant

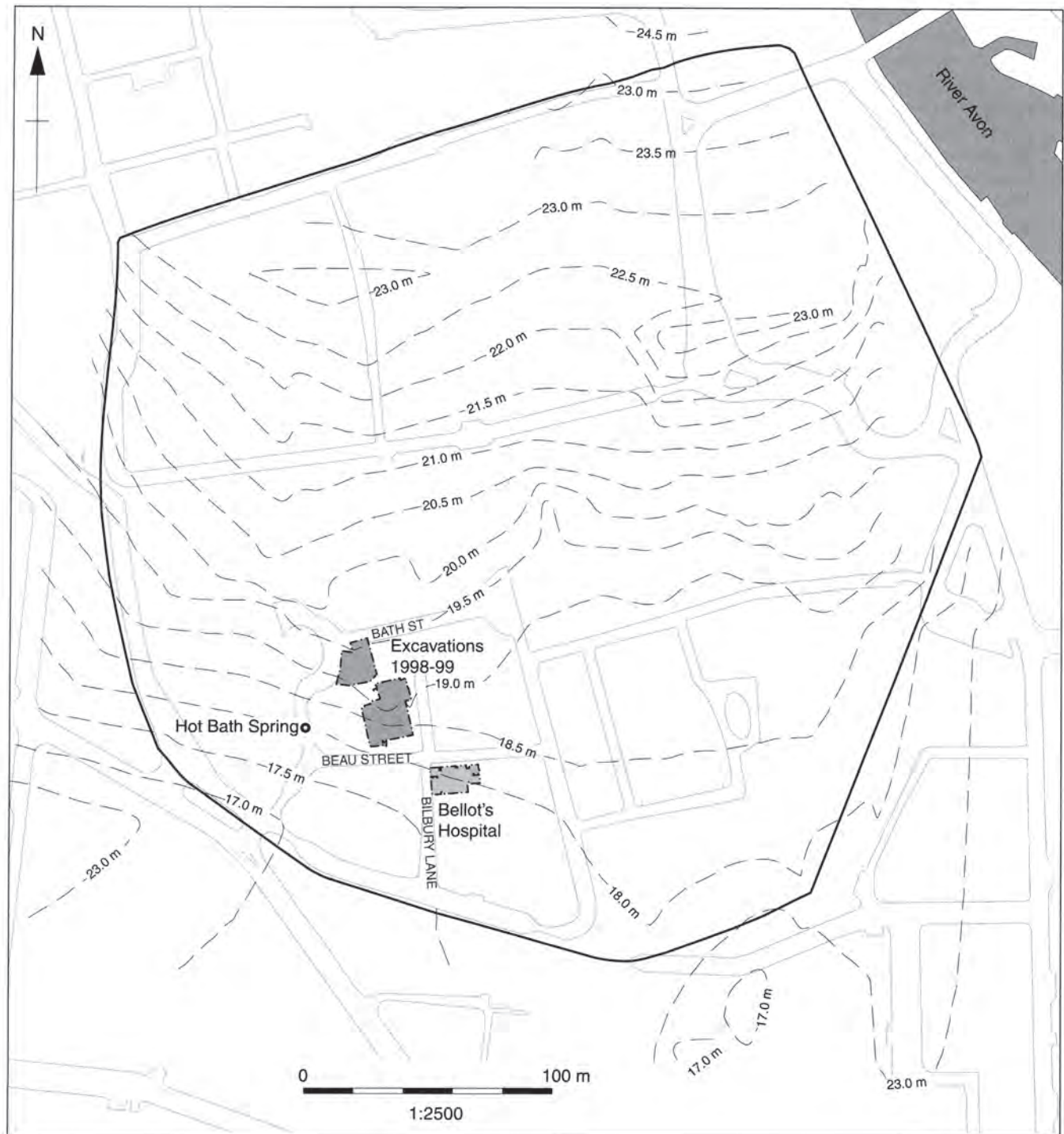


Figure 1.8. Pre-Roman ground surface of Bath (Davenport et al 2007, fig 1.5).

man-made alteration at the start of the Roman period is uncertain. Within the walled area the Pre-Roman Ground Surface (PRGS) is about 2.5–5m below the present surface, but depths of up to 7m have been recorded at the east end of Orange Grove. Therefore only a 'broad brush' survey is given here (Fig 1.8).

Area 1: The Roman temple and baths to the north side of Orange Grove, and south to North Parade Passage

In this area, deposits survive, four, five, six or even more metres below the modern surface. Orange Grove is uncellared, as are large areas south of the Abbey Choir, but 1.5–2m of

archaeological stratification from the Roman period to about AD 1200 can survive cellars, and the bottom layers of features dug into the natural subsoil are often waterlogged. The lowest levels under the Abbey Churchyard and over the temple precinct were waterlogged in one or two isolated places, and organic remains survived.

Under Orange Grove and Kingston Buildings, and to the rear of Terrace Walk are areas without cellars, and here deposits pre-dating 1700 survive to thicknesses of four or more metres. The lowest deposits date to the late 1st century, and earlier levels containing evidence relating to the prehistoric environment might survive here. Roman deposits seem to be about one metre thick, sometimes less, and pre-Norman deposits are also typically one metre, but this varies. Burial earths occur at Orange Grove, in the area south of the Abbey, in Abbey Churchyard, and on the site of Stalls Churchyard. Under the cellars of North Parade Passage, substantial medieval and earlier deposits exist to a depth of well over 2m, based on the sample at Sally Lunn's Teashop, North Parade Passage – an area built up from Cathedral Priory levels in the 17th century.

Area 2: North of Orange Grove and east of High Street

This area has the highest PRGS in the walled area. Investigation and observation has suggested that little survives of any deposits under the Guildhall complex. However, the Market substructures and cellars might have allowed the survival of significant deposits, and informative – although heavily truncated – remains were uncovered under the Empire Hotel during its recent refit.

The city wall itself appears to survive substantially and to a considerable height within these substructures. Reclamation and positive terracing along the River and Bridge Street may also have ensured the survival of early structures and deposits.

Area 3: South North Parade Passage and east of Stall Street to the city walls

The thickness of archaeological deposits here ranges from 2.5m on the north to 5m in parts of the south-east corner of the walled area. Roman deposits might be as much as 2m thick against the south-east corner of the city walls,

but tend to be from less than 1–1.5m thick elsewhere. Most of these deposits will have survived cellarage – eg Abbeygate Street (srn 30/31) and Stall Street. Their upper levels are sometimes truncated by medieval burials, as at Crystal Palace and 2 Abbey Street (srn 89/90), but in others, eg Swallow Street (srn 265), late Roman demolition layers are covered by silts and dumps of soil and mortar of early medieval date. (See for example Green 1991a, 1991c; Lewcun 1991.)

Area 4: South of Westgate Street to the city walls

In this area, the total thickness of archaeological deposits is c 2.5m to 3–4m. Cellarage to the north removed much of the late and post-Roman stratification, but there are areas of no or minimal cellarage in this zone, and, unless removed by later pits or building work, informative deposits can survive. More survives south of Bath Street except where removed by cellars or 19th-century building, as in the case of many of the deposits on the site of the New Royal Baths, where the construction of the 19th-century hot baths had caused significant loss. Observation at Bellott's Hospital in 1998, and next door at 3 Beau Street in 1996, recorded well over 1m of stratified deposits surviving under cellars, and another 1.0m to 1.5m in uncellared areas (Davenport *et al* 2007).

The city wall in this quadrant is not well known. However, substantial lengths and heights might survive, as recently demonstrated in 6, Lower Borough Walls. It may also survive under the roundabout at the junction of Lower Borough Walls with Westgate Buildings and Hot Bath Street, where it was recorded by Irvine (Irvine 1873).

Area 5: North from Cheap Street east of Union Passage west of High Street

North of Northumberland Passage, little stratification survives, due to modern development; only under the vaults under Upper Borough Walls may deposits still be preserved. However, structural remains of the city wall may be found under 18th and 19th-century buildings along Upper Borough Walls.

At the rear of the Christopher Hotel deposits less than 1m thick can be expected in cellared areas, but 3–4m where no cellars exist (Nowell 1997).

Area 6: North of Westgate Street, west of Union Passage

This area has produced the highest concentration of rich mosaics in the town, and there are large, potentially uncellared areas. This is also an area where the oldest post-Roman street layout survives best. Deposits over one metre thick have been recorded under cellars at 33–35 Westgate Street (Davenport 1997g), and along Bridewell Lane, and slightly more is indicated by observations under 1, Union Street (Davenport and Beaton 1997). These deposits are predominantly Roman, but significant medieval deposits and structures have also survived. Roman buildings covered by shallow depths of dark earths are known under cellars at 38, Westgate Street (Davenport 1997b). At the northern and western fringes of this area the city wall survives in differing degrees. It was revealed in a small trench in 1991 just south of the Theatre Royal at Seven Dials where it stood over 4m high with a contemporary rampart. The preserved visible portion of wall at Upper Borough Walls has no known contemporary deposits, but is in good condition.

Deposits beyond the walled area

South and east

The deliberate raising of the level in the 18th century discussed above was particularly pronounced in areas a short distance outside the city walls. Thus the level of Parade Gardens, which before the 18th century was occupied by orchards and pasture, is now as much as 6m lower than the modern street surfaces adjacent to it (North Parade, Grand Parade, and the nameless stretch of road between them) (Anon 1997a). These street surfaces all rest on substructures built in the 18th century or later, or, where they extend over the city wall, on dumped material. The PRGS is 2m or more below the general level (here about 19–20m OD). The Parade Garden investigations suggested that the natural ground level in the early 18th century was even deeper than this and the boreholes of that year confirmed that 'made ground' rested on a base of about 17m (Lewcun 1997). This level remains remarkably consistent across the Ham, as shown by the Southgate investigations, despite the subtle variations discussed later (Bell (ed) 1997). This reflects a stable alluvial flood plain, but recent work at Southgate and elsewhere has shown that the alluviation process is complex,

whatever the level the alluvium settles at. South from Parade Gardens, and west almost as far as Southgate Street, the medieval usage was again pasture, which precluded any significant build up of levels. However, 18th-century development of Old Orchard Street and the Parades on artificial platforms of vaulting and infill raised the level in one operation to match or even exceed that inside the walls (Orchard Street drops gently to match the lower level at Henry Street outside the gate). At much the same time, the western part of the Ham was raised by the deliberate dumping of rubbish, capped with a thick layer of imported top soil. This reflects the deliberate creation of market gardens, and was seen in the evaluation trenches for Southgate (Bell (ed) 1997).

Similarly, the 19th-century development of the rest of the area raised the level: in this case, from a matching 23.48m OD to 21.04m at the Railway Station. The PRGS at Henry Street (srn 202/203) is at only 2.4m deep (about 17.3m OD), ignoring the medieval or Roman city ditch at this point.

SOUTHGATE

In the Middle Ages Southgate Street led to St Lawrence's Bridge over the Avon, and a small suburb grew up along it. Extensive excavations by the Museum of London Archaeological Service in 2006–8 revealed nearly 3m of stratified deposits on the east side of the street, dating from the 12th century to the present day. The street itself was deliberately raised by 2.4m after a fire destroyed the suburb in 1726, but earlier road surfaces and culverts were preserved beneath it. Deposits associated with tenements on the east side of the street were preserved beneath the 1970 Southgate shopping centre, but behind them successive surfaces were interleaved with flood deposits and material dumped to raise the ground level. These deposits resulted in a build up of deposits over 3m thick, and were largely removed during the recent excavations; the PRGS lay 3–4m below the present ground surface.

South and west: The Ham, The Ambry and Kingsmead

Development here in the 18th and 19th century involved dumping and vault-building across this previously open area. Excavations at the junction of Avon Street and James Street (srn

577) suggested that the PRGS was more than 3m below the present surface (about 17m OD or lower), while excavation at the south end of Milk Street (srn 371), where the modern surface is at 18.8m OD, showed the top of alluvium, probably of pre-Roman date, at 16.6m OD. Investigations in Avon Street recorded the top of alluvium at 15.79m and 16.6m (Brown 1997). The evidence here suggests a thickness of archaeological deposits from over 3m at the city wall to just over 2m near the riverside. The lowest half metre or less comprises a 17th- to 18th-century midden, and is overlain by a 1m-thick layer of soil dumped during 18th-century development. Above that is a metre of 18th-century construction and modern demolition, and the rest is 20th century. This general picture is probably true as far out as Green Park or even Norfolk Crescent, and although the deposits will date mainly to the 18th or 19th century, they might seal earlier remains, which stand a reasonable chance of surviving even the cellared development covering much of this area. Until the 18th-century developments, these areas were rural.

OUTSIDE WESTGATE

With the exception of a Fives Court immediately outside the Westgate, the area west of the walled area was not built up until the 1730s, and there are substantial earlier deposits in this area. Early 17th-century garden topsoil survives at 21.3m OD at Seven Dials, and deposits continue here to a depth of 1.8m, with the base of Roman deposits at about 1.5m below the modern surface (srn 296). The present building on the Seven Dials site, dating from 1991, is on concrete piling, as was its predecessor. Relatively little damage was done to the overall deposits during construction. Pits dating from the 12th century, about 25–30m outside the town wall, suggest otherwise unattested medieval occupation along the old Bristol Road, now Monmouth Street.

Excavations north of Beau Nash's house, just north of Seven Dials (srn 308), revealed 2m of 'black soil' below cellar floors, but excavation was discontinued before recognisable features were either reached or recognised. Evidence is not available further west, but it is likely that the layers thin out rapidly. The ground level remains high, as Monmouth Street and Monmouth Place (the old Bristol Road) are raised up on either vaults or dumped material.

The houses have cellars, but gardens behind the houses indicate little or no build up.

North (excluding the Broad Street and Walcot Street suburb)

In the late and post-medieval period, Barton Lane ran immediately north of the city wall, on the berm of the city ditch. Trim Street was laid out in 1710, the first new street outside the walls since the Middle Ages. It was connected by a bridge across Barton Lane (Trimbridge) to upper Borough Walls. To the west, the difference in level is masked by the rapidly dropping natural contours. To the east there is a considerable and sudden rise between Trim Street and rear of the properties on Milsom Street. The ground floor of the Trim Street houses is on a level with the basement of the Milsom Street ones and those on Upper Borough Walls.

Old and New Bond Streets, running just north of the city walls, are built up on vaults to the level inside the walls. Thus Roman deposits are to be found deeply buried and surviving under cellars. This was seen at the excavations at Upper Borough Walls (srn 83), and in what are almost certainly Roman structures under the traffic island, 12m south of St Michael's church. Here natural blue clay was found at 2.87m (25.6m OD), below the pavement, supporting what appears to be over 1m of undisturbed ancient stratigraphy (srn 52). Similar deposits were also found 'between New Bond Street and Upper Borough Walls', at a depth of 3.05m (srn 697).

Apart from the city defences, and in the area outside the Northgate leading to Walcot and Broad Streets, it is unlikely that any substantial deposits survive. The PRGS continues its upward slope northwards from the walls, except along Walcot Street, where it stays relatively level from north to south.

The Broad Street and Walcot Street suburbs

There is evidence that there was significant Roman occupation along Walcot Street, and in medieval suburbs that extended along Broad Street and the lower end of Walcot Street. Broad Street was a significant element of the city in the late Middle Ages and into the 17th century.

BROAD STREET

Little is known of the archaeology of Broad

Street, where 18th-, 19th- and 20th-century development, with cellars along the frontages, seems likely to have removed medieval remains, apart from any surviving deposits to the rear of properties. Observation of small trenches against the southern wall of King Edward's School, and on the western side of the central building in the rear court of Squire's Yard, has suggested that deposits here were all post-medieval, and only about 0.3m deep, while observation of building work on the north side of Saracen Street recorded 4m of dumped post-medieval material overlying natural subsoil. Observations in 2006–8 by Oxford Archaeology in the yard of the restaurant, The Moon and Sixpence, revealed a metre or so of 16th- to 18th-century deposits, and the base of the strata was not found. Therefore, Medieval or even earlier deposits could well have survived here.

WALCOT STREET

Walcot Street runs along an apparently largely artificial terrace that runs parallel to and on the west side of the Avon. The river runs tightly against the flank of Beacon Hill and Lansdown Hill at this point, so there is no flood plain. Consequently, the archaeological deposits are complex in their relationship to the natural surface and later engineering. In addition, ground slip that occurred on the slopes in historic times (as at Hedgemoor Park and Camden Crescent), and that is evident in some prehistoric deposits, has resulted in foundered strata of clay and sand (Kellaway and Taylor 1968). Roman remains at Hat and Feather Yard and Nelson Place do not show any effects of such movement, but the remains reported in The Paragon, London Road seem to have been buried by landslip (srn 33).

THE EAST AND SOUTH-EAST SIDE OF WALCOT STREET

The creation of the underground car park under the Hilton Hotel and the Podium has removed all archaeological layers between the road and the river. Observations by Michael Owen showed that the area had substantial waterlogged deposits. Further north, investigations suggest that Roman and perhaps medieval layers survive increasingly well from The Cattle Market onwards. At the frontage, archaeological deposits are variously truncated. At 86 Walcot Street, only vestigial

deposits up to 0.25m thick and negative features survived under relatively shallow, early 18th-century cellars, while at 98 Walcot Street, medieval cultivation soil survived under the cellar floors to a depth of about 1m, and the assumption was that earlier remains would survive below. At the Tramsheds (Beehive Yard), in some places, Roman stratified deposits were found up to 1.5m thick, with post-Roman dark earths above them, while in other places they were reduced to the slightest of negative features, depending on the severity and the positioning of later development.

This area is the furthest limit of development before the early 18th century, and it is probably outside the medieval suburb. One possibility is that the stream issuing from the Carn Well might have made a small channel in the hillside on its very short way to the river. This might have acted as a boundary, and might explain why the natural level is a little lower here than under 86 Walcot Street.

Observations in 1902 at the nearby Red House Bakery (currently the site of Mastershoe and the nightclub 'Cadillacs') found deeply buried Roman structures ('12 feet down', although it is not clear where it was measured from) and Roman or medieval cobbling, 30 feet back from the frontage (UAD reference no.srn 41). These observations appear to suggest that the Roman occupation and road line is further east, which probably implies that structures on the west side of the Roman road have been more heavily truncated than those on the east, which would be behind the main zone of later cellaring. However, the work at Beehive Yard and at Aldridge's suggests that the street line was never very different from that of the present day. Excavations at Aldridge's (now called St Swithin's Yard) revealed very well-preserved Roman structures with post-Roman soils above them in areas without Georgian cellars, but also indicated that significant remains would survive under cellared areas against the modern street frontage (Green 1991b). The PRGS was at between 27m and about 27.5m OD – that is, about 3m below the present street level. The excavations at Hat and Feather Yard and Nelson Place West, and watching briefs at the Methodist and Walcot Parish Burial Grounds, revealed extensive and intensive Roman occupation. Depths of archaeological deposit vary from 0.5m under some cellars (with occasional total destruction)

to over 2m, and in places there are indications of the PRGS. Terracing has also had an impact on the survival rate.

One feature that has impacted on the survival of deposits was observed during a watching brief at Walcot Gate. Here the archaeological deposits ended abruptly a few metres south-east of the excavation areas, where they were masked by a dark, brownish-grey loam. It appeared that the river had eroded the deposits at some time in the past, leaving a cliff in the surviving deposits. The river had then receded, and the hollow was filled with plough wash. This hollow was not very deep, but Roman deposits are likely to survive in an area bounded by an arc running from the Cleveland Bridge to the middle of the Walcot Burial Ground.

THE WEST AND NORTH-WEST SIDE OF WALCOT STREET

No excavation has taken place here. The construction of The Paragon on the steeply sloping site required massive terracing and the provision of vaults and undercrofts. It is unlikely that much now survives, and limited observation at Saracen Street supports this view. On the other hand, a retired builder who had been involved in repairs to war damage in 1950 recounted to Peter Davenport that pottery, bone, coins and other Roman metalwork were revealed at a site in Walcot Street just opposite St Swithin's Yard in great profusion, but that the workmen walked off with it all and were told to keep silent so as not to hold up work. This fits with the more conventional record of much Roman pottery being recovered from The Paragon and Axford's Buildings, which were adjacent to this site uphill, and were being rebuilt at exactly the same time (P Davenport pers comm).

Deposits in the outer urban areas

Until the 18th century most of this area was rural. Limited observation suggests that most new buildings between 1750 and 1810 had their foundations and cellars cut sufficiently into the ground to remove the thin deposits that are the most that are likely to have developed. There are many exceptions, however: Queen's Parade, the south side of the Circus, and the green behind the Royal Crescent are three examples of construction built up on dumped

ground. It is also the case that terraces built on steep hills are frequently part negatively and part positively terraced, leaving parts of the pre-urban deposits buried. Cross sections across areas of Bath on display in the Building of Bath Museum demonstrate the case clearly.

Above-ground remains

Apart from the restored elements of the Baths and Temple complex, virtually nothing of Romano-British date is visible today. The 16th-century Bath Abbey survived the 19th-century restoration, and traces of its Norman predecessor are still discernable at the east end and in the Abbey vaults (Eeles 1947–50). A heavily restored section of the medieval town wall is also visible along Lower and Upper Borough Walls. Apart from these remnants, the best evidence for the medieval town are the elements of it preserved in the modern street plan.

Excavation reports and surveys

The vast amount of scholarly interest that the city has attracted has resulted in the publication of hundreds of historical and archaeological studies, along with numerous guides, drawing, prints and maps.

While knowledge of the post-medieval history is largely based on historical research, the current understanding of the city's earlier development is to a large extent dependent on the archaeological evidence recorded since the 16th century. With the exception of excavations carried out in more recent decades, references to remains discovered earlier are both numerous and scattered, and often of questionable reliability. In recent years, some new techniques (such as geophysical survey and photographic survey) have been used on a small scale, but evaluations, excavation and watching briefs have been carried out in increasing numbers, reflecting the impact of PPG16. A breakdown of this pattern by decade over the 20th century shows that the greatest growth occurred over its last 20 years. Aerial photography has not helped to identify any new sites in the study area – an unsurprising finding for the built-up area, but less so for the surrounding countryside. On the other hand, there is little arable land close to the city, and there is little tradition of flying the area by aerial archaeologists.

Environmental evidence and ecofacts (based on comments by Vanessa Straker)

There have been relatively few studies of ecofacts (microscopic and macroscopic plant and animal remains), soils and sediments in Bath (for example see Dimbleby 1969; Davies 1999).

As in many cities, the deep, often multi-period stratigraphy has great potential for the recovery of a wide range of plant and animal remains. As waterlogged deposits are known from many parts of the city, the potential for survival of delicate organic remains such as fruits, seeds, beetles and microflora and microfauna is enhanced.

The predominantly alkaline soils derived from the underlying limestone in some parts of the city, combined with the micro-environments that develop as urban deposits build up, have meant that human and animal bone survives well. Consequently, they have been studied more frequently than other aspects of the biological record. Molluscs might also be expected to survive well, but preservation is variable, often resulting in low numbers of individuals even in a rock-rubble environment such as in the East Baths (srn 618). Mollusc preservation in the alluvium is also poor in some areas, as demonstrated at Milk Street (srn 371), and pollen preservation is also variable, with moderate preservation reported from the temple precinct (srn 239), and very poor preservation noted in a medieval or early post-medieval soil at Circus Mews (srn 691) (see Davenport 1997a). The soil conditions are clearly variable and in some areas are of a relatively neutral pH, such that neither molluscs (which prefer alkaline conditions) nor pollen (which survives best in acid conditions) survive well. Waterlogging usually slows down decay processes and biological analysis of such deposits, which are known to survive in many parts of the city, should be a major component of future projects.

Potential for dating

The survival of organic material means that the potential for Carbon 14 dating is good. However, its value needs to be assessed on a case by case basis against the precision of other dating techniques, such as artefact typologies. Dendrochronology offers a greater chance of obtaining a more precise chronology for Bath's archaeological sequence. Waterlogged wood is

known to survive in some areas, but no samples have yet been submitted for dating. Many oak piles were excavated around the baths, but inspection suggested that trees were fast grown and did not have enough rings for dating (P Davenport pers comm).

Recently, optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) dating has been applied to early post-glacial deposits in Bath (Jordan in Davenport *et al* 2007, 11), which, along with Carbon 14 dating, has produced information on the prehistoric strata in the south-east sector of the walled area.

HUMAN REMAINS

Human remains have mainly been studied from medieval contexts and, although they have been frequently recorded in Roman deposits, only two skeletons from Sion Hill, (found in 1972) have been subject to specialist analysis. A small number of Roman burials have been given a more modern analysis in the last twenty years: Hermitage Road, Bath (Bell and Lewcun 1998), Bathampton Meadows (east of the UAA area) and at the Royal Crescent (BAT archive at the Roman Baths Museum), but have not been published. Most of the findings were made in the 19th century, before the value of detailed recording and analysis was widely acknowledged. More recent discoveries of early medieval and medieval human bone around the Abbey have benefited from specialist study, although restricted funding has limited the scope of this work. Skeletal remains from post-medieval contexts have attracted little attention: only 5% of all remains post-date the medieval period, and none has been studied by a specialist. The disturbance and destruction of human remains buried over the last 300 years has undoubtedly been considerable.

ANIMAL BONES

Animal bones have been retrieved from a wide range of dated contexts (see for example Grant 1979, 1985). They began to be collected systematically as part of excavation strategy in the 1970s. At Upper Borough Walls and Orange Grove there was some recovery from wet-sieved samples, in addition to hand-excavated recovery, and full programmes of environmental sampling and wet-sieving was undertaken at the Spa site (Davenport *et al* 2007). All the specialist reports acknowledge that, as a result, small bones are under-

represented in the record, which means that knowledge of fish, small birds, small mammals and amphibians is very sketchy for all periods and no comparisons can be drawn between the relative importance of the various species in different parts of the city as it developed. Because no small mammals and amphibians were recovered from the site, none of the details on the 'urban environment' in different parts of the city that these animals can provide is available. The lack of sieving also means that fragmentation studies on bone assemblages cannot be carried out with precision, which hampers detailed comparison of assemblages between different parts of the city.

Excavated material

CERAMIC AND CLAY

Pottery sherds are the most frequent find on sites, and, from the late 1970s, pottery specialists have analysed material from the larger excavations in the city. Collection strategies have varied. A type series for Romano-British coarse and fine wares was not developed until the 1980s, when Green and Young studied a large assemblage from the Sacred Spring Excavations of 1979–80 (Green and Young 1985). A pottery type series was developed for medieval pottery found in the city, based on an assemblage recovered at Citizen House in 1970 (Vince 1979; see also Vince 1983). This has now been subsumed in an up-to-date type series compiled by Alexandra Croom and Paul Bidwell, which formed the basis for the reports in Davenport (ed) 1999, Davenport *et al* 2007, and the unpublished reports for Hat and Feather Yard, Nelson Place, Aldridges and Beehive Yard.

FLINT AND STONE

Large quantities of mainly Mesolithic flint and chert artefacts have been recorded and analysed as a result of excavations at the Kings spring, the Spa site and the 2006 Southgate site (*see* Section 2.1). Specialist analysis is now routine for flint assemblages (Care 1985; Brooks 1997; 1999; 2007), but there is no doubt that early antiquarians did not record them, and that many have been lost.

The majority of the 200 or more stone artefacts that have been recorded date to the Romano-British period: about a third of the records comprise 'stone' coffins, sarcophagi and tombstones, and almost

half are architectural fragments found close to the site of the Romano-British temple complex and medieval Abbey. Studies of smaller stone objects are usually confined to items of jewellery and personal adornment: beads, shale bracelets and jet rings. With the exception of gemstones found in the Great Bath (Henig 1969; 1988a, 1988b, 1990, 1992), the provenance of different stones and the skills used to make the artefacts are rarely explored in any detail.

A comprehensive summary of Romano-British inscribed stone was made by Collingwood and Wright (1965), and in 1969 Cunliffe listed all carved and inscribed stone found in the city (1969, 182–206). This synthesis was updated by Cunliffe and Davenport (1985, 114–135); recent discoveries at Bath Street and Beau Street are described by Blagg (1999); and the architectural fragments from the Spa site are fully reported in Davenport *et al* (2007). In addition to these summary papers, two specialist reports have been written that catalogue the medieval architectural stonework found at Orange Grove (Rodwell 1991) and Swallow Street (Davenport 1991b).

METALWORK

Most of the excavated metalwork is Romano-British in date. Like other small finds recovered during excavations, most appear in site catalogues and some pieces are discussed in more detail. Yet, with the exception of coins (*see* p 65), few artefacts have been subject to cross-site synthesis. Specialist study has been carried out on only two assemblages, both found during excavation of the temple complex: a group of metal vessels, principally made from pewter (Sunter 1969; Sunter and Brown 1988, Tomlin 1988a) and curse inscriptions (Tomlin 1988b). Both studies involved the analysis of metal. Metallography was also carried out on a pre-conquest sword discovered at Upper Borough Walls (Salter 1991).

COINAGE

Coins are one of the best-represented categories of finds in Bath and have been found all over the city. Not only do they survive well, but collecting them also became a popular gentlemen's hobby during the 18th century. Records in Bath begin as early as 1727 (srn 93), and almost a third pre-date 1900. As with

so many other artefact types, the coinage is predominantly Romano-British in date. Some records refer to isolated stray finds, others to groups or hoards, but all are dwarfed by the discovery of more than 12,500 coins from the sacred spring excavations carried out between 1978 and 1984 (D Walker 1985; 1988). In addition, a huge 3rd century coin hoard was found in excavations on the site of a bath house/urban building on the site of the Royal United Hospital in 2007. This is currently undergoing specialist conservation and study at the British Museum and may be even larger.

WOOD, LEATHER, BONE, IVORY AND ANTLER

These materials are all particularly vulnerable to attack by biological and chemical agents and consequently they are significantly under-

represented. The alkali soil conditions preserve bone and antler well, and waterlogging in the centre of the city and at low stratigraphic levels elsewhere in the city has ensured the survival of some wood and leather. Unfortunately, the excavation of post-Roman features such as waterlogged pits has not been routine until comparatively recently, and it seems likely that evidence has been missed over the last 50 years (P Davenport pers comm). With the exception of a group of leather shoe fragments found in Walcot Street (srn 49), most artefacts appear in site report finds catalogues (Ambrose 1979). Rare and interesting pieces are sometimes described in more detail but, given the size of most assemblages, the opportunity for detailed analysis is limited.

PART 2 The Archaeological evidence

2.1 Early prehistoric period (8500–1000 BC)

2.1.1 Introduction and chronological framework

The Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods

Although the earliest appearance of man in Britain is now thought to have been between 700,000 and 500,000 years ago, human settlement was interrupted by the series of glacial periods, which culminated in the glacial maximum about 18,000 years before the present, when Britain is thought to have been abandoned. It was not until the climate gradually ameliorated that England was slowly recolonised by late Palaeolithic groups.

In common with much of southern Britain, the evidence for late Palaeolithic settlement in north Somerset is dominated by assemblages of flint implements (Bates and Wenban Smith 2005). A rapid rise in temperatures around 10,000 years ago resulted in the replacement of tundra and steppe-like environments by woodland and the emergence of groups of Mesolithic hunter-gatherers. In south-west England the Mesolithic period falls into two broad divisions. The early Mesolithic is characterised by flint assemblages dominated by broad-bladed flakes with obliquely blunted points, and is dated to *c* 8,000–6,500 BC. Typical of the later Mesolithic (*c* 6000–4000 BC) are assemblages rich in narrow-bladed points and ‘microliths’.

In the Bath area, Mesolithic flint work is known both from surface collections on the higher ground, and from river gravels; it has been suggested that low-lying areas were favoured as camp sites particularly in the

winter, with hunting taking place on higher land.

Neolithic and Bronze Age

Some small-scale, temporary clearance of woodland is now thought to have started in the Mesolithic period, so that by the time domesticated livestock and arable cultivation were introduced in the early Neolithic period (*c* 4000 BC) the primeval forest cover had already been modified. Initially, woodland clearance continued to be small scale and might indicate an economy based on shifting agriculture and pastoralism; although there is evidence for ploughing in the Neolithic there is as yet no evidence for field systems. In the wetlands of Somerset, timber trackways have been dated by dendrochronology to 3807/6 BC (Sweet Track) and to 3838 BC (Post Track) (Coles and Coles in Hillam *et al* 1990, 218). Ground and polished stone axes, some from distant sources, are one of the indications of long-distance trade networks. The Neolithic also sees the appearance of pottery and a range of monuments, chambers, enclosures, cursus and later on in the period, henges, stone and timber circles, stone rows and avenues. Collective burial in long barrows with stone or timber burial or chambered tombs are a characteristic of the earlier Neolithic period in the 4th millennium BC (the Severn/Cotswold group of chambered tombs is now dated to 3800–3400 BC (Darvill 2004, 81), but this practice was limited chronologically and in any case involved only a proportion of the population.

The Early Bronze Age in south-west England has recently been divided into four

broad periods dating from the mid-3rd to the mid-2nd millennia BC. Period 1 saw the appearance of the earliest copper implements in the region. Characteristic of the Earliest phase (*c.* 2500–2300 BC) are round barrows, which are a frequent feature on the uplands around Bath, often arranged in groups. The earliest tin bronze appeared in period 2 (*c.* 2300–2050 BC), while in period 3 (*c.* 2050–1700 BC) new diverse pottery traditions developed. In period 4 (*c.* 1700–1500 BC), bronze implements became more numerous and varied, including the earliest palstaves and tanged spears, while by the end of the period, decorated Deveril Rimbury-type pottery appeared in the Bath area.

The Middle Bronze Age (*c.* 1500–1000 BC) is better understood, as more evidence has survived. Enclosed and unenclosed settlements have been recorded in Wiltshire and Dorset, although in Somerset only the coastal site at Bream Down has been excavated. For the first time there is evidence of fields defined by ditches, banks or lynchets and hoards of metalwork, including tools, weapons and dress accessories, are increasingly common (Taylor 1993). Long-distance exchange is evident for copper, tin, manufactured metal objects, stone and pottery. While flint continued to be used for utilitarian objects such as knives, scrapers and arrow heads it was no longer deposited ritually, its place being taken by metal objects, often found in river valleys, suggesting that they might have been votive offerings in rivers or marshes. By now, cremation had replaced the earlier rite of inhumation and occurred in flat cemeteries or in the south-east quadrant of earlier round barrows.

2.1.2 Past work and the nature of the evidence

Unfortunately, the expansion of Bath in the 20th century has covered most of the low-lying gravel terraces where evidence of early occupation or land use might have survived best.

Antiquarian interest in the 19th century focused on hillforts, barrows and flint scatters in the upland area around Bath; within the city itself only incidental mention is made of flint material (Fig 2.1). In common with many other urban areas in Britain, recorded prehistoric remains within Bath itself have been largely restricted to stray finds – principally weaponry

made from bronze and stone. These artefacts were usually reported to the local newspapers and donated to the city's museum. The earliest record of a probable prehistoric find dates to 1818, when a 'massive' stone axe head was found in Bathwick (srn 43). Other material – such as flint scatters, charcoal and bone – were, until recently, very rarely recorded from pre-Roman layers. One of the earliest records dates to the 1860s, when James Irvine excavated the cellar of the White Hart Hotel (srn 229). Henry Scarth reported the discovery of a 'bronze spearhead, about 6 inches long, and flint flakes and cores, the latter at a depth of 14ft (Scarth 1868, 159), but analysis of flint assemblages by specialists began only in the mid-1980s (eg Care 1985; Brooks 1997, 1998, 1999) and some material remains unpublished (eg Abbey Heritage Centre, srn 369).

While the prehistoric record in the city was dominated by individual artefacts, interest in its hinterland was, initially at least, centred on monuments. There are records for more than 50 round barrows on the downs above Bath. These attracted antiquarian interest from the 18th century onwards, and some might have been dug up well before that. Their importance is clearly indicated on early maps, such as Thorpe's map of 1742, although, sadly, a cavalier approach characterised their investigations: the Reverend John Skinner illustrates this point well when he described the excavation of a barrow on Charney Down in 1822: 'Soon after breakfast Mr. Conybeare despatched labourers to open a tumulus on Charney (sic) Down ... when we returned to the pioneer . we found he had made a large section and thrown out stones of considerable size, apparently used in the cist, but no remains of the skeleton were discovered' (Skinner quoted in Grimes 1960, 216).

Skinner's work in the Bath area was extensive: he excavated several barrows, most notably on Bathampton Down; surveyed and partially excavated Bathampton Camp and Solsbury Hill Camp; and recorded many landscape features such as field boundaries and roads. He followed earlier antiquarians in ascribing pre-Roman features to the 'Belgic Britons' but his work remains an important source of information, and the original manuscripts urgently need to be re-examined. A tantalising glimpse is provided by the few sketches and descriptions copied and retained by the Sites

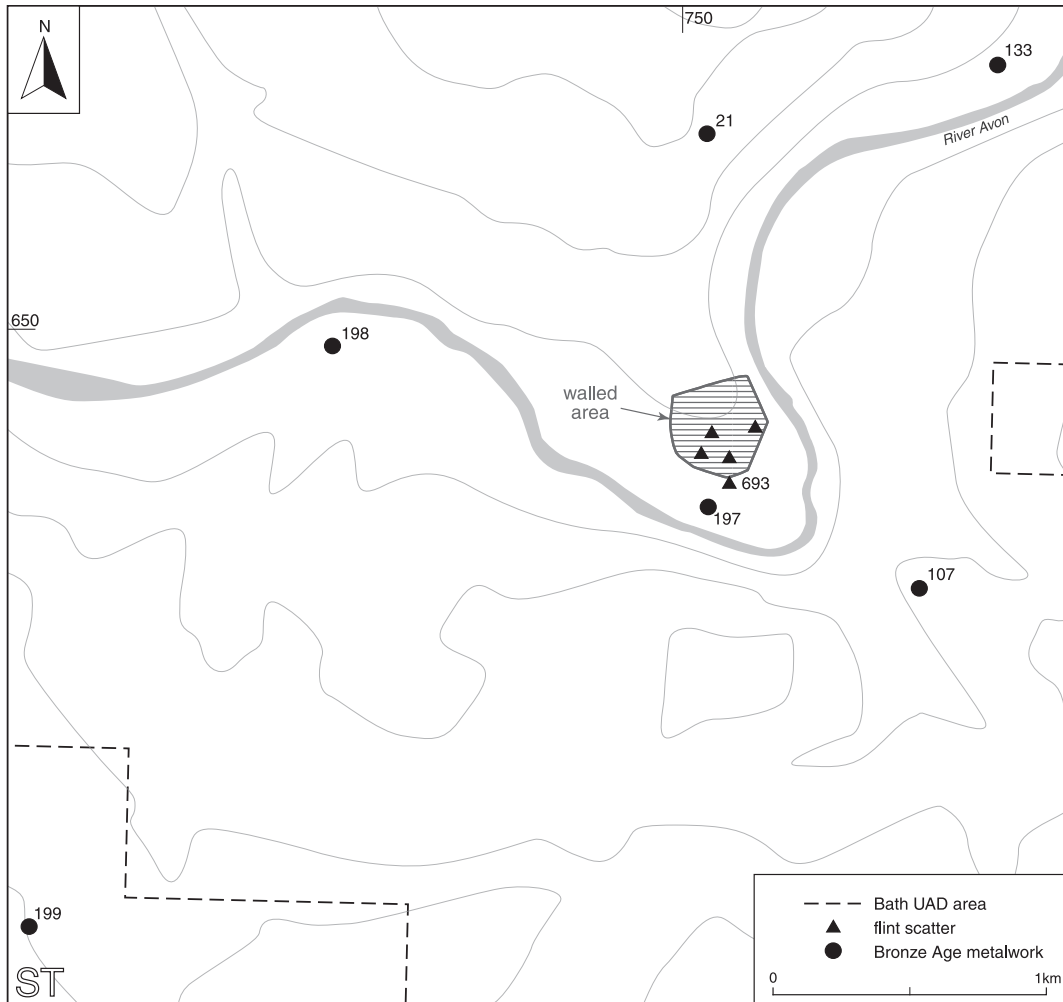


Figure 2.1. Distribution of flint scatters, and early to middle Bronze Age metalwork in the UAD area with site record nos.

and Monuments Record, including a sketch of 'Hampton Down and surroundings'.

Skinner died in the 1890s and, although he had stipulated that his manuscripts, held in the British Museum, should not be opened until 50 years after his death, it is clear that authors such as Scarth were aware of his work (Scarth 1855, 106, 119). Scarth, who studied the Romano-British remains in Bath for many years, was also interested in the uplands around the city. His article on the 'camps and ancient earthworks' around Bath set the agenda for much subsequent research: the description of the field system on the west side of Bathampton Down is particularly evocative: '... a little before sunset in the spring or autumn, you may very clearly discern the enclosures by the long shadows which the mounds cast. Each family or clan seems to have had its allotted space, which was enclosed by a mound.. there are also remnants of hut circles to be seen at various

points [and] several barrows are also contained within the enclosure.' (Scarth 1855, 107.)

These features show up particularly well in aerial photographs (Crawford and Keiller 1928), and several barrows were subsequently excavated by amateur archaeologists of the late 19th and early 20th century, invariably members of the Bath Field Club (whose papers were published from 1866 to *c* 1909) or the Bath Branch of the Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Society (1901–1947), both of which published excavation reports in their proceedings. Eight barrows were excavated on Lansdown (Irvine Papers; Bush in a series of papers 1905–1913 (see Bush, T S 1905 *et seqq* in bibliography; Trice 1906–9, 11–15), and at least three on Bathampton Down (Skrine 1888; Grey 1904; Grey 1905). In addition, partial excavation and survey work was carried out in several hillforts. In 1888, the Reverend Skrine excavated part of the enclosure walls

on the south-east side of Bathampton Down (Skrine 1888, 6); a cist burial was found in 1902 within Solsbury Camp (Collins and Cantrill 1908, 284–5); the south-west corner of Bathampton Camp was excavated in 1904–5 (Winwood 1904; 1912); Lansdown Camp was trenched on the north side in 1906 (Bush 1907; Taylor 1907); and Claverton Down, The Wansdyke and Hampton Down were explored by Winwood (Winwood 1905).

The First World War brought this work to an end, and the following decades were marked by less destructive investigations. Lansdown plateau, Charmy Down, Bathampton and Claverton Down were all extensively field walked by Gardner, Falconer and Shore (Tratman 1973, 153). Two separate and extensive collections were built up between 1908 and 1943, numbering thousands of implements: Falconer's collection, supplemented by Gardner, and Shore's collection. Falconer published some of this work in 1924, but many of the finds appear only in the unpublished manuscripts held in Bath Record Office (Davies 1930). A proportion of the collection was loaned to University of Bristol Speleological Society Museum. Unfortunately, it was destroyed in 1940, and, although the material that did survive was returned to the collection held by Kingswood School Museum (Tratman 1973), its location today is not known. Shore's collection went to Bristol City Museum in 1973 on his death. These assemblages are of great importance because, unusually for this time, the find spots were accurately recorded. In the absence of a re-analysis of the original Davies manuscripts, Grimes and Tratman remain the best published summaries of this work; the earliest example was dated to the Late Upper Palaeolithic, though the majority spanned a period between the fifth millennium and the second millennium BC (Grimes 1960, 203, 214; Tratman 1973, 153).

The analysis of flint material collected on Charmy Down was part of a larger study of the area carried out by Grimes in advance of the construction of an airfield during the Second World War. The report adopted an innovative landscape approach to the evidence, which included a survey of the surviving field system on the downs, the excavation of five barrows, and specialist reports on bone, stone, charcoal, mollusc and geology (Grimes 1960). In contrast, the excavation of

a barrow on Lansdown at around the same time was primarily a site-based approach to the archaeological evidence, and consideration of its wider context was limited (Williams 1950). However, the quality of both excavations was high, and they remain a vital archive.

Field survey work in the upland areas continued in the 1960s under the auspices of the Archaeology Division of the Ordnance Survey. This work was never formally published, appearing instead as site records held by the Sites and Monuments Record. With the exception of an earthwork survey of Bathampton Downs, conducted in the early 1980s (Stephens 1983), little new research has been carried out on prehistoric archaeology in the Bath region over the last 20 years. Indeed one of the few below-ground interventions to produce early prehistoric material was probably the illegal use of metal detectors to dig a number of holes on the top of Little Solsbury in 1982.

2.1.3 The archaeological evidence

The Mesolithic period

Bath is situated in an area of south-west England, which has limited natural fresh flint. Specialist analysis of the flint assemblages from the temple precinct, Southgate and the Hot Bath spring shows that the majority of pieces are small and have worn cortical surfaces. This is indicative of a derived flint source, most probably from flint pebbles found within gravels in the drainage basin of the River Avon (Care 1985; Brooks 1997; 1998; 1999; 2007, 145–9). Although the flint scatters found in Bath in the 19th and early twentieth centuries were not recorded in detail, the ubiquitous description 'small flint flakes' suggests their similarity to later finds (Table 2.1).

In the few cases where the stratigraphical context was recorded, flint scatters have been found many metres deep in the alluvial deposits of the River Avon basin (Wedlake 1979a, 80; Care 1985; Brooks 1999, 69–81). Their distribution pattern close to the springs and the River Avon indicates that flint working is likely to have taken place close to this source (*see* Fig 2.1). Water-worn flint pebbles were found during excavation in Stall Street (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 179–181) and flint gravel close to the main hot spring (srn 243) and the River Avon (srn 295), both in 1989.

SRN	Site name	Description / references
229	Old White Hart Hotel, 1860s	'Flints' of unknown date (Irvine Papers quoted by Scarth 1868, 159)
678	Beneath the Abbey, c 1890	'Flint flakes' of unknown date. (Irvine 1890, 94; Wedlake 1979a, 80)
202	Woolworths, former Church of St. James, 1951	'Small flint flakes' of unknown date, though probably late Mesolithic (Wedlake 1979a, 80) Woolworths is now Marks and Spencer's, Stall Street/Orchard Street corner
237	Arlington Court: the site of the Grand Pump Room Hotel, 1959	'Small flint flakes' of unknown date, though probably late Mesolithic (Wedlake 1979a, 80)
170	Greenway Cottage, Greenway Lane pre-1972	44 flint cores and flakes of unknown date SMR note
240–242	Temple of Sulis Minerva, 1978–84	998 pieces in assemblage (emphasis on blade production) of Late Mesolithic and Neolithic date (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 9, 95; Care 1985)
270	Bath Street, 1984–89	275 pieces in assemblage of late Mesolithic date (included microliths and scrapers) (Brooks 1999, 92)
350	Beau Street, 1984–89	42 flakes of late Mesolithic and possibly Neolithic date (Brooks 1999, 93)
369	Abbey Heritage Centre, 1993	'Flint flake, arrowheads and worked flint' of unknown date (Unpubl.)
693	Southgate, 1997	44 small flakes and blade fragments of early and late Mesolithic date (Brooks 1997, 69–71)
	Bath Spa	745 late Mesolithic flint artefacts recovered from prehistoric soil levels on the site of the New Royal Baths in 1998–9 (Davenport <i>et al</i> 2007, 16–22)
	Bath Spa borehole	440 flint artefacts, mainly early Mesolithic microliths recovered from borehole in the Hot Bath spring in 1999 (Davenport <i>et al</i> 2007, 145–51)

Excavated deposits

It was only with the increased amount of rescue archaeology, under professional direction from the 1960s that the question of pre-Roman activity within the city was seriously addressed. Even then, the evidence was meagre and continues to be so. This is not surprising. Quite apart from any preoccupation with the Roman period on the part of earlier archaeologists and antiquarians, earlier deposits, where they exist, are deeply buried and in many cases much disturbed by Roman and later building work, especially around the three springs. On the whole it is only as a result of large-scale excavations – as at the temple precinct, Bellot's Hospital (Spa site), Hot Bath and Southgate – that indications of man's earliest activities are beginning to emerge.

Temple precinct (srn 242)

Excavations in 1982 (trench 104) on the east entrance recorded a thick layer of black sandy peat at the base of the trench. It had accumulated naturally around the spring head and incorporated small twigs, branches,

hazelnuts and struck flint flakes, most of which dated to the late Mesolithic but which included a small proportion of Neolithic material. The top of this layer was about 2m above the top of a similar layer in the floor of the reservoir, indicating how much had been removed in the Roman period (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 95). The majority of flakes and worked lumps of flint showed signs of thermal heating and fracture; the proportion of thermally heated pieces in other assemblages is much lower. Opinion is divided as to whether this type of fracturing was due to the hot springs themselves (Care 1985), or whether it indicates special treatment of the flint, either in order to improve its fracture quality, or (possibly) as part of a ritual process (Brooks 2007). Unfortunately, this important assemblage is probably only a small fraction of what survived before redevelopment in the Romano-British period.

Beau Street (srn 350) / Bath Street (srn 270)

A collection of late Mesolithic blades, tools and flakes was found in buried soil beneath

Table 2.1. Flint scatters

the earliest Romano-British levels, and more commonly as residual material surviving in later deposits. However, its generally unweathered condition suggested that it had not travelled far. The assemblage also included a small proportion of early Neolithic types (Davenport (ed) 1999, 6 and 105–6). A significant proportion of the flint had been heat treated. (See also Dannell 1999; Shepherd 1999.)

The Spa site (srn 676)

Excavations in 1998 and 1999 on the site of the new Bath Spa recorded nearly 1000 late Mesolithic flint artefacts, of which roughly three-quarters were found in the ancient soil and associated deposits and were, therefore, *in situ*. The remainder occurred as residual material in later deposits. Analysis of the collection showed that it included a large proportion of struck cores, but that it lacked the range of tools to be expected from a domestic occupation site. Macroscopic and microfacies analyses of the raw material suggested that it was derived from the underlying glacial gravels, and it was concluded that the collection probably reflected the presence of small groups prospecting for suitable flint in this otherwise flint-free region. The distribution of the material across the site suggested the possibility that a hollow caused by an uprooted tree provided the initial source of flint, leading on to later pit digging. The late Mesolithic date suggested by the flint typology was supported by an optically stimulated luminescence date of 5780 BC \pm 330 years (Brooks in Davenport *et al* 2007, 16–22).

Southgate development (srn 693) (Based on a summary by the Museum of London Archaeological Service; see also Davies 1997)

Where undisturbed by later features, the surface of the river gravel across the site was overlain by a 0.5m thick deposit of silty clay, banded with layers of darker peaty soil, and showing evidence of widespread root channels and organic pockets, possibly the remains of tree boles. The upper levels of this deposit had been contaminated by overlying levels, but the lower parts, identifiable as ancient soil, produced large quantities of Mesolithic worked flint. This assemblage has yet to be analysed but artefacts recovered during preliminary evaluation excavation in 1999 (srn 676) date back to at least 8000 BC (Brooks 1999, 70), and material dated to the Neolithic (Care

1985) indicates flint knapping activity at this site spanning more than 4000 years. As at the spa site (site 676), the assemblage does not appear to derive from occupation sites, but from temporary camps probably used by flint workers and hunters. However, not all the material found here was local: larger flakes with a relatively unworn cortex were probably exploited directly from chalk deposits, the nearest of which is in Wiltshire, about 25km to the south-east (Rawson *et al* 1978).

The Hot Bath spring borehole

As part of the redevelopment of the Hot Bath into the New Kings Bath in 1998–9, a borehole 230mm in diameter was drilled into the spring funnel. Sand and gravel that had washed into the spring funnel to a depth of up to 12m below modern ground level was sieved by members of the Bath Archaeological Trust, thus retrieving a remarkable collection of flint artefacts. Not only was the volume of flint unusually large (estimated at 1700 artefacts/cu m) but the range of tools was very restricted, with the vast majority being blades and microliths. These must have been produced with extreme care, most had been deliberately heat treated, and only a restricted range of raw material employed. The form of the flakes is characteristic of the Deep Car group of early Mesolithic types, dated to some time after 7500 BC. Overall, the assemblage is quite distinct from the Mesolithic flint assemblages recovered from excavations at the Temple precinct and Spa sites. It is interpreted as a ritual deposit deliberately placed in the spring in a single episode.

Claverton Down

In 1998, pipeline work at Rainbow Wood, just outside the UAD area near Claverton Down produced important flint collections (Lewcun unpubl planning report).

Lambridge

In 1992, machine-dug evaluation trenches on the Bath Rugby Club training ground at Lambridge, close to the river, reached a layer of preserved waterlogged brushwood and vegetable matter below the alluvium and on top of the gravel. This was left *in situ* and its position noted, but it is potentially of early prehistoric date. Its presence highlights the potential of waterlogged sites close to the river (see Borthwick and Associates 1997a).

SRN		Description / reference
42	'Bathwick' c 1818	Stone axe-head of unknown date. Bath Chronicle, 1818
45	Sydney Gardens, 1866	Two flint arrowheads of unknown date (Rock 1867, 60; Scarth 1876, 28; Haverfield 1906, 216; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 266)
25	Julian Rd. (site of St Andrew's Church), 1870–3	Flint hammer-stone of unknown date (Anon 1873; Irvine Papers, volume 6; Haverfield 1906, 264–6; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 211, 217; Davenport 1999b)
–	'Anstey's brickyard'	Neolithic stone axe (Stone and Wallis 1951, 102, 154)
171	90 Hansford Square, c 1985	Flint arrowhead of unknown date, probably Neolithic (SMR note)
179	Julian Road, 1986–87	Flint arrowhead of unknown date, probably Neolithic (UAD note)

The Neolithic and Bronze Ages

Evidence for this period from Bath itself is particularly sparse. Four records refer to isolated finds, only two of which have been accurately located. The poor quality of the records makes it difficult to assess their significance, although petrological analysis of a stone axe has shown that it probably originates from a Neolithic stone axe factory in the Penwith district of Cornwall (Stone and Wallis 1951, 101–103) (Table 2.2).

The Early and Middle Bronze Ages

Not only have the Early Bronze Age barrow clusters on Lansdown, Charmy and Bathampton Downs attracted antiquarian interest since the 18th century, but the bronze metalwork found within the UAD study area has also been recorded sporadically (Table 2.3; see also Fig 2.1). In 1881, Evans included a sword found in Bath in his seminal work on Bronze Age metalwork in Britain (1881, 284), and additional examples have made their way to local museums since then. The assemblage from Bath now totals 21 items: one rapier, one spearhead, two swords, seven palstaves and ten axes. Knowledge of when or where these objects were found is variable and none of the pieces was recorded in a hoard, although nine Middle Bronze Age palstaves were recorded as a group in the Sites and Monuments Record (srn 107) suggesting that they might have been found together. Just over half the finds have been located within the UAD area.

In spite of detailed work by Pearce, most pieces from Bath have been only broadly dated to the Middle Bronze Age or Later Bronze Age (1400–800 BC), and no study of wear analysis or metal composition has been carried out, making more subtle changes difficult

to trace. Illustrations of the finds provide a rough guide to their condition, which is highly variable (Pearce 1983, 629, 630): the palstaves are mainly abraded, though not significantly fragmented, and the socketed axes fall into two groups, one heavily abraded and fragmented, the other apparently complete.

2.1.4 The current state of understanding

The Mesolithic period

Much of the area later enclosed by the city wall was subject to gradual alluviation throughout prehistory. This is represented by the deposit of dark clayey silt interleaved with bands of darker peaty soil, which was examined in detail on the Spa site (Brooks 2007, 11) and on the Southgate development site (MOLAS interim site report). Similar layers recorded beneath the Temple precinct and reservoir suggest that this deposit was widespread over the area. Although this alluvial deposit might have in part been washed out from the hot springs themselves, they are also thought to reflect episodic flooding in an area that was permanently wet. The deposit was some 0.5m thick; the upper sections contained a higher proportion of sand and gravel, which had resulted from contact with the overlying Roman layers. However, the lower section produced only Mesolithic material dating from the early and late Mesolithic. Pollen and other plant remains did not survive well at either the Spa site or Southgate, the only excavations where detailed analyses of buried soils were undertaken. Such evidence as survives suggests a persistently wet, heavily wooded environment, with numerous braided streams. It is therefore not surprising that the Mesolithic flint assemblages here do not suggest domestic occupation sites. Instead they reflect temporary camp sites created

Table 2.2. Individual stone finds

Bath SRN	Bath SMR	Artefact no. (Pearce 1983)	Type	Condition (based on artefact drawing)	Reference
2	–	577	Rapier	Fragment	(Owen 1979b, 136; Pearce 1983, 500)
133	1801	569	Tanged leaf-shaped sword; rib running up into tang; 4 rivet holes	Complete sword	(Anon 1848; Morgan 1861; Evans 1881, 284; Dobson 1931, 96, 254–5; Rowlands 1976, 427; Pearce 1983, 500)
198	–	850	Tanged sword with fragments of bone or ivory handle	Complete sword	(Burgess 1968, 35; Pearce 1983, 549, 666)
107	–	576	Palstave: unlooped wing flanged	Fine condition, very little abraded	(Owen 1979b, 136; Pearce 1983, 500)
107	–	575	Unlooped side flanged palstave with ?central rib	Weathered and broken cutting edge	(Owen 1979b, 136)
–	–	567	Low flanged palstave, unlooped	Heavily abraded	(Rowlands 1976, 255; Pearce 1983, 499, 628)
–	–	572	Low flanged unlooped palstave	Abraded	(Rowlands 1976, 330; Pearce 1983, 500, 629)
–	–	567	Low flanged palstave, looped	Complete	(Rowlands 1976, 255; Pearce 1983, 499, 628)
–	–	571	Low flanged looped palstave	Abraded	(Bruce 1880, 48; Rowlands 1976, 333; Pearce 1983, 500, 629)
–	–	574	Palstave	No drawing	(Pearce 1983, 500)
197	–	570	Flanged axe	Complete	(Pritchard 1904, 327–339; Rowlands 1976, 427; Pearce 1983, 500, 629)
107	–	–	Socketed axe looped	Cutting edge well used	(Owen 1979b, 136)
107	–	–	Socketed axe battered looped	Blade missing	(Owen 1979b, 136)
107	–	–	Socketed axe battered looped	Very battered	(Owen 1979b, 136)
107	–	–	Socketed axe	Only blade end	(Owen 1979b, 136)
–	–	581	Socketed axe with 3 parallel ribs on faces	Complete	(Pearce 1983, 500, 629)
–	–	582	Socketed axe with 3 parallel ribs on faces	Complete	(Pearce 1983, 500, 629)
–	–	583	Socketed axe with 3 converging ribs on faces	Complete	(Pearce 1983, 500, 630)
–	–	584	Socketed axe with 3 converging ribs on faces	Complete / slightly fragmented	(Pearce 1983, 500, 629)
199	–	–	Socketed axe	Unknown	SMR note
241	1903	–	Spear head	Unknown	(Scarth 1868, 159)

Table 2.3. *Bronze metalwork*

by hunters or prospectors searching for and exploiting flint derived from the underlying gravel river terrace.

The flint assemblage from the Hot Bath

spring was, however, altogether distinctive. As it appears to have been deliberately deposited in the spring itself, it is presumably a votive deposit, whose early date pushes the beginning

of the practice of placing votive offerings in watery places back to c 8000 BC, although it was widespread in later periods. The smaller assemblage recovered from the temple precinct reservoir in 1982 also shows a deliberate selection of particular tools, implying a similar practice in the later Mesolithic.

Evidence elsewhere suggests that hunter-gather communities of the 6th and 5th millennia BC were modifying the landscape of southern Britain through limited woodland clearance (Edmonds 1995, 26), but the extent of this practice in the Bath region is not known. The accumulation of approximately 0.5m of alluvial deposits between the two flint assemblages at Southgate (Bell (ed) 1997) suggests that flooding occurred in this period: one contributory factor might have been soil degradation that followed deforestation upstream. The continued accumulation of alluvial deposits up until the Roman period, albeit on a smaller scale could indicate the persistence of this practice for several thousand years.

The Neolithic and Bronze Ages

The association of Earlier Neolithic leaf-shaped arrowheads with Later Mesolithic surface scatters of flint assemblages around the springs might indicate their continued importance over a long period of time; this is hardly surprising in view of the exceptional phenomenon of hot water gushing out of the ground. Scatters of early Bronze Age flints on the uplands imply continued activity here in the later 3rd and 2nd millennia, confirming the evidence for progressive cultivation implied by the continued build up of alluvium in the valley floor. Evidence for domestic occupation, however, is sparse. This might be due in part to the difficulty of recognised sites of this date. Pottery of the period tends to be friable, and unless in 'protected' environments, such as beneath earthworks, in wet deposits or low down in the fill of pits or ditches, it does not survive well. Settlements of this date tend to be short lived, and it is quite likely that sites in the region were occupied only seasonally, or for comparatively short periods. The barrows in the area occur in clusters, and such evidence as there is suggests that these grew up over several centuries, emphasising the continuing importance of 'place', especially for specific events such as the disposal of the dead, which

were significant even in a semi-nomadic society. It is worth noting the distribution of the Bronze Age metalwork, which indicates a striking deposition pattern close to the River Avon (see Fig 2.1). While to some degree this could reflect the areas of antiquarian activity, the practice of ritually depositing metalwork in rivers or marshy places was widespread in both the Bronze Age and Iron Age, and it is possible that at least some of the metalwork from Bath represents deliberate offerings. Equally, the importance of rivers as trading routes should not be forgotten.

2.1.5 The importance and potential of the evidence

Surviving stratigraphy of importance

Alluvial areas in the Avon valley, particularly those adjacent to the river, have the greatest archaeological potential for prehistoric material. They have yielded the best-preserved evidence for flint scatters preserved *in situ* and, crucially, they provide good conditions for the survival of organic evidence. The alluvial zone is also important for understanding the process of alluviation, environmental change and the impact of anthropogenic factors. The concentration of flint scatters close to the hot springs suggests that deep deposits in this area have the greatest potential.

Re-examination of existing material

There is good potential for re-analysing existing flint and metal assemblages. Falconer's collection of artefacts that was found during field walking in the early 20th century needs to be tracked down; it was last recorded in Kingswood School Museum. Davies' unpublished study of this assemblage should be re-examined (the manuscripts are held by Bath Record Office). Shore's flint collection, held at Bristol City Museum, included 125 polished axe fragments and would also benefit from re-analysis. Similarly, original metalwork finds should be re-examined to assess the following attributes: use-wear analysis, date, technique and metallurgical composition (which could confirm a general trend in the South-West, where later forms were made from one specific continental alloy, not yet identified) (see Pearce 1983). The original description for their discovery should also be examined for additional contextual information. Skinner's original manuscripts are known to contain



Figure 2.2. Thorpe's actual survey of the city of Bath, 1742.

detailed accounts of archaeological survey and excavation, and they need to be re-examined for information relating to prehistoric sites around Bath (Skinner 1803–1834).

Future research potential

The research agenda should acknowledge the importance of material from this period. Its value, however, will be fully realised only if a

more holistic approach is adopted: one that integrates material found in the valley with that from the uplands that surrounds it, and draws comparisons with material from adjacent regions. The regional research framework for south-west England has identified a need for much more information on the Mesolithic. Area excavation allowing the distribution of flints to be carefully mapped is frequently

impossible in such an urban site. However, Bath's great value – possibly its unique value – is the further light it could throw on the early development of ritual practices. The excavations on the Southgate site exposed river terraces. The silt and sand fills in a number of channels cut into the river terraces exposed in the Southgate site excavation produced Optically Stimulated Luminescence dates of between *c* 15,000 BC (from basal levels) and 12,000 BC (from the top levels). These preliminary results underline the potential value of these methods for unravelling the problems of Palaeolithic and Mesolithic climatic fluctuations and environmental changes in the region and for the development of the river system in the late Glacial period (Baywell and Webster 2008, 225).

2.2 The Late Bronze Age and Iron Age (1000 BC–AD 43)

2.2.1 Introduction and overview

Less is known about the Late Bronze Age (*c* 1000–700 BC) in south-west England than about the Middle Bronze Age. Burials accompanied by pottery became less common, and pottery styles themselves become plainer. Characteristic of the Late Bronze Age is the occurrence of large metalwork hoards, many of them from wet or low-lying deposits (Taylor 1993). Fowler (1983, 31) sees evidence for change in farming regimes in the Early or Middle Bronze Age, with arable crops becoming more important. One feature of the later 2nd millennium BC in many parts of southern England is the large areas of lynchetts and field systems. In Dorset, linear banks and ditches, sometimes cutting across earlier field systems, have been dated to the Late Bronze Age and might be associated with a regime dominated by livestock. Certainly, Late Bronze Age settlements are less frequently identified than Middle Bronze Age settlements, and this could be linked to a greater importance of pastoralism with transhumance being widely practised. However, very little is known about either the Late Bronze Age or earliest Iron Age in the Bath region, owing to the lack of modern excavation and fieldwork.

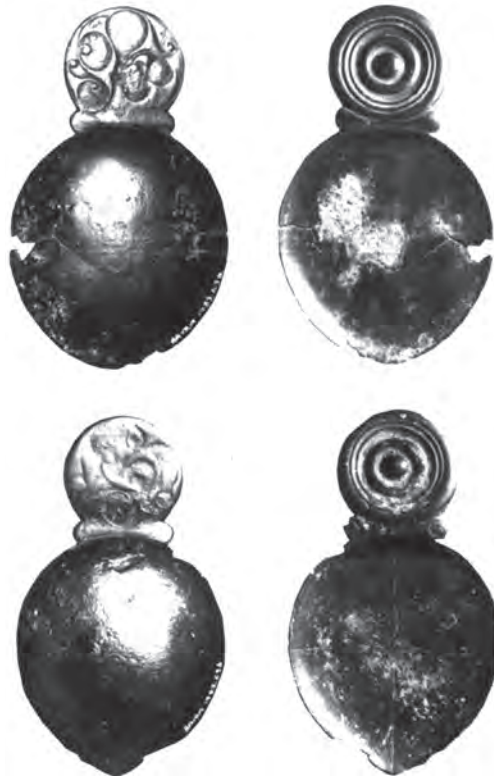
The transition from Bronze Age to Iron Age is marked by a cessation of metalwork hoarding in the 8th century BC. This change must indicate a significant upset in social, ritual

and trade networks, but nevertheless there was considerable continuity in settlement and pottery types. Although there is evidence for the occasional working of iron in the Late Bronze Age, it was not until well into the Iron Age that it was used for large items. Fluctuations in the calibration curve means that radiocarbon dates for the early 1st millennium tend to span several centuries. Partly as a result of this, the transitions between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, and from the early to middle Iron Age are still not fully understood. Iron Age chronology is largely based on pottery styles. The earliest Iron Age, from *c* 800–600 BC, overlaps with the Late Bronze Age, and the characteristic pottery – large bag-shaped or bucket-shaped urns – is ultimately derived from late Deveril Rimbury traditions. The appearance of modified All Canning Cross pottery with furrowed bowls and jars with out-turned rims (familiar from Wessex) signals the Early Iron Age *c* 600–400. The Middle Iron Age, *c* 400–100 is associated with later Glastonbury (South-western decorated) wares, and pottery fabrics originating in the Malverns and the Late Iron Age, from *c* 100 BC to the Roman conquest in the second half of the 1st century AD. The Late Iron Age saw the introduction of wheel-turned pottery and coinage. Recently, some modifications to this scheme have been suggested by which the Middle Iron Age becomes the later Iron Age, and the presence of imports from the Roman world in the 1st centuries BC and AD indicating the latest Iron Age (Needham 2007). For the purposes of this report however, the conventional scheme of Earliest, Early, Middle and Late Iron Age is used. (See also Cunliffe 1991; Haselgrove and Pope 2007.)

2.2.2 Early work and the nature of the evidence

A very small number of stray finds were recorded in the 19th century: two silver coins (srn 61, 85), and a pair of bronze 'spoons' found in 1866 in a stream bed during quarrying for road metal at Weston (Scarth 1872, 112–116; srn 149). The spoons were buried in the old course of a stream (Way 1869, 60), and, although Scarth dated them to the Early Iron Age (Scarth 1872), it is now clear that they are in the Insular La Tène style and so belong to the later Iron Age (Fig 2.3). They are one of a small but well-defined type, which occurs,

Figure 2.3. Weston spoons.



usually in pairs, in burials or votive deposits in southern England from the 4th century BC.

As elsewhere in southern England, Iron Age research in the Bath area before the mid-20th century was largely focused on the hillforts, which were seen as the main centres of settlement; lower lying sites did not receive nearly as much attention. The adoption of PPG16 in 1990 meant that archaeological research became focused primarily on development sites, the majority of which were in lower lying areas. At the same time, there was an increase in large-scale surveys, and it is now becoming clear that, by the later Iron Age, the Severn Cotswold region was densely occupied with numerous enclosed and unenclosed family-sized farmsteads, sometimes in groups, and spreading over much of the lower lying land (Moore 2007, 43). Bathampton Meadows is probably the nearest example in the Bath region.

2.2.3 The archaeological evidence (Fig 2.4)

Within Bath

Victoria Park (Royal Crescent)

Crop marks investigated in 2002 at Victoria Park as part of the Channel 4 'Time Team'

programme turned out to be U-shaped ditches with Late Bronze Age coarse ware in them. Animal bone suggested occupation not far off (Davenport 2004). Geophysical survey by Bath and Camerton Archaeology Society in 2012 has shown that these ditches are part of a sub-rectangular enclosure \approx 35m across east/west and at least that north/south (Pryke and Oswin 2012).

Sion Hill (mnr 39 srn 212)

In 1958, at Sion Hill, a rescue excavation in the grounds of Bath College of Education on the southern slopes of Lansdown uncovered a site identified initially as an Early Iron Age farmstead (Gardner 1966), but which was subsequently described as a 'site occupied in the Iron Age and Roman period' (Gardner 1979, 126; see also Hanley 1985). No plans or sections of the site were published but, according to Gardner, 'trenches were cut in a limited area', and recorded Iron Age deposits overlaid by Romano-British. A pit, contemporary with the Iron Age layer, contained fragments of storage and cooking pots, large portions of a jar in Southwestern Decorated ware, and a perforated bone toggle. Although it was originally described as Early Iron Age by the excavator (Gardner 1979, 127), the assemblage was dated by Cunliffe to the 2nd or even 1st century BC. In 1972, road-works approximately 20m to the east of the 1958 site revealed two ditches, described as 'structural features, of Iron Age and Roman date, [which] are part of the occupation complex noted by John Gardner' (Startin 1979, 129). A crouched inhumation burial probably also dates from the Iron Age (*see* p 42). The poor quality of the excavation and limited publication make it difficult to evaluate the conclusions reached by the excavators, however excavations elsewhere in the vicinity make it clear that there was also Roman occupation here, revealing burials and a possible villa site (*see* p 92, 95).

Lower Common Allotments (mnr 90; srn 208–9)

A research excavation undertaken by Marek Lewcun on vacant plots at the Lower Common Allotments between 1979 and 1983 uncovered evidence for Iron Age occupation, and in 1985 a small team from the Bath Archaeological Trust excavated the entire area of allotment 117, revealing remains of both Iron Age and later Romano-British occupation. Further

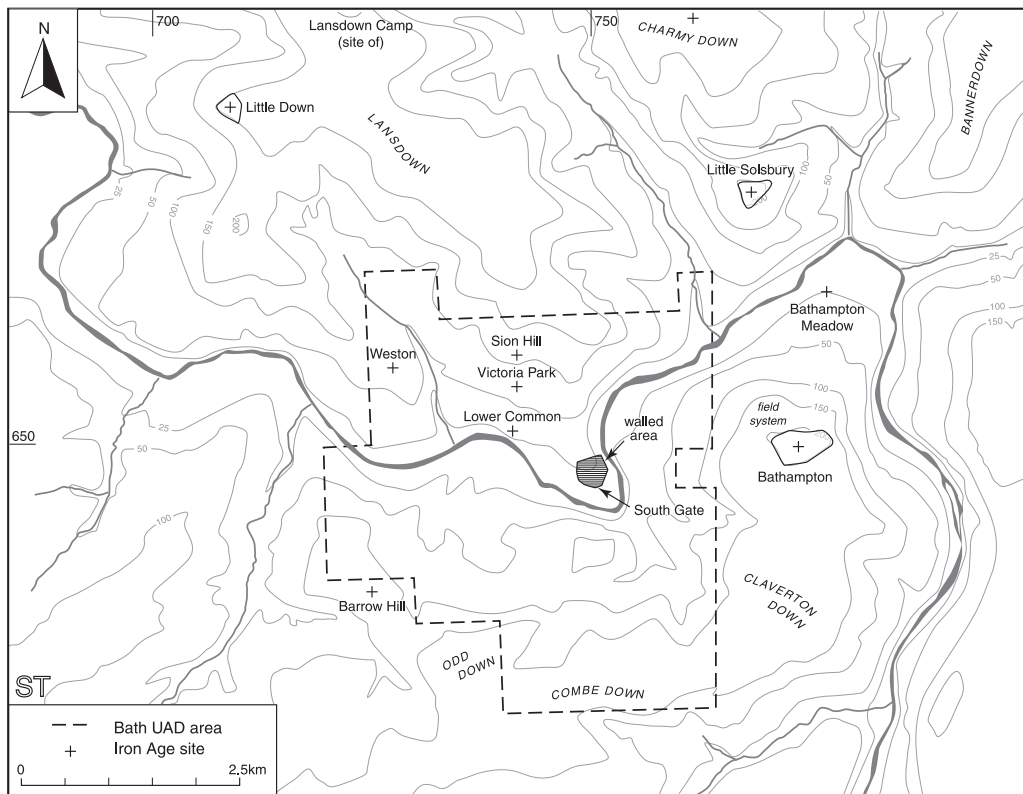


Figure 2.4. Bath region with Iron Age sites.

excavation by Mike Emery for the Bath Archaeological Trust took place in 1987 and 1988. The funding for the excavations did not provide for further analysis, although the original site archives, with site drawings, plans and sections, are preserved together with a short summary by Lewcun (BAT archive site code LC84-88, Roman Baths Museum). It is clear from these that two timber round houses existed and that there was a definite stratigraphical sequence, with one structure showing evidence for three replacements on the same site, all dating from the Iron Age. The earliest building appears to have been 10m in diameter, the later 13m across. An alignment of post-holes, recognised approximately 20m to the east in allotment 20, could represent an additional Iron Age structure. The site was clearly also occupied in the Roman period. West of the roundhouse was a large ditch, which had been re-cut several times. Pottery was recovered from the latest re-cut and, although no full analysis has taken place, Lewcun's summary described it as an 'early Roman ditch system in the second half of the 2nd century' (*ibid*). The roundhouses were later overlain by a rectangular Romano-British

building, interpreted as a 4th-century villa. (See also Betts 1999a.)

Foxgrove housing estate (srn 117)

A small ditch, 1.2m deep and about 1.2m wide at the top, was observed on the Foxgrove housing estate in 1952 when a sewerage system was being constructed for the housing estate at Foxgrove on the northern ridge of Combe Down (Wedlake 1979c, 131). It did not contain any artefacts but it appeared to pre-date Roman pottery found close by, and its filling differed from the dark loamy soil infill observed in a series of shallow Romano-British pits in the vicinity. All this led Wedlake to suggest a pre-Roman date for the ditch but this dating is by no means certain.

Excavations at the Temple of Sulis Minerva

Cunliffe's excavations at the Temple of Sulis Minerva in the 1960s and early 1980s found pre-Roman stratigraphy surviving in three areas: beneath the temple steps in trenches 3 and 103 (in 1964 and 1982 respectively), against the east face of the reservoir in trench 26 (in 1968), and in the area of the eastern entrance in trench 104 (1982).

The comparatively well-preserved condition of the early Roman steps leading up to the Temple of Sulis Minerva allowed the preservation of the original land surface beneath them. This was described as a black peaty turf-line lying above a greyish marl containing small water-worn pebbles and lenses of peat; a similar layer exposed beneath the eastern entrance was described as a thick layer of sandy peat, incorporating small twigs, branches, hazelnuts and struck flint flakes. In both these areas only small portions of stratigraphy were exposed, but they suggest that until the first Roman activity on the site the immediate environment of the main spring was one of wet woodland; apart from struck flint flakes dating from the Mesolithic in trench 104, no associated artefacts were found.

Excavations in 1979–80 in the reservoir above the hot spring itself were more informative (Cunliffe 1980; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 94–5; Cunliffe 1988, 1; snr 241; Dannell 1985; Vince 1985). By the end of the prehistoric period, the funnel through which the spring water reached the surface had become clogged with alluvium and boulders and covered by a thick layer of clayey peat. The hot water would have welled up through this before draining off to the south-east. The cleaning out of the mouth of the spring funnel in the 19th century had already removed material from the centre of the reservoir, but in 1979 a further 1.5m of silt was excavated on the southern side of the reservoir. This excavation identified a gravel ridge extending from the north edge of the reservoir south into the black peat. Although initially thought to be a result of natural silting, its composition of densely packed stone boulders capped with gravel suggested it was an artificial causeway close to the main spring head; along its north side a few small wooden poles had been driven into the mud, perhaps torevet the gravel edge. The excavations in 1979 also recovered 18 pre-Roman silver coins in the muddy sand in the mouth of the funnel (Sellwood 1988). Most were Dobunnic but the collection included a Gaulish minim, possibly from Amoria, a Cunobelin coin, and a Durotrigan quarter stater. These coins were concentrated within 2m of the edge of the gravel, suggesting that they might have been thrown from here. The gravel causeway clearly pre-dated the earliest Roman work, which was dated here to the Flavian period, and it was

probably constructed before the conquest. On the other hand, Haselgrove and others have shown that many pre-Roman coins were in fact deposited in the early Roman period, and the possibility that the causeway dates from the 50s or 60s of the 1st century AD cannot be ruled out (Haselgrove 1996).

Spa site

Excavations at the Spa site in 1999 recorded a small quantity of abraded sherds of later Iron Age pottery (limestone gritted ware and Malvern ware). All the material was found in early Roman or later deposits and was clearly residual. Nevertheless, its occurrence on this low-lying site close to the Hot Bath spring could be significant.

Southgate development

Extensive excavation on the large Southgate development site in 2007 and 2008 did not reveal evidence for structures, but shallow-cut features over much of the site yielded substantial quantities of later Iron Age pottery. At the time of writing, full analysis has not been possible, but there was sufficient material to suggest domestic occupation on or close to the site before the Roman conquest.

Barrow Hill Southdown (Somerset sites and monuments record no.1725)

This lies just outside the UAD area. Iron Age occupation is suspected at Barrow Hill.

Batheaston bypass

Excavations by Bath Archaeology in 1994, in advance of roadworks for the Batheaston bypass, found evidence for Middle and Late Iron Age occupation at Bathampton Meadows, continuing into the late Roman period at least, on the lowest terrace of the valley of the Avon. This was outside the UAD area but indicates the kind of pre-Roman settlement likely to be found in the area, but which has not been commonly discovered due to a relative lack of fieldwork.

The wider area

ENCLOSED AND DEFENDED SITES

Seven hillforts lie on the downs around Bath, all within 8km of the hot springs: Budbury (Wiltshire), Bathampton, Little Solsbury, Lansdown, Little Down, Tunley Hill and Stantonbury. These have attracted attention since the 19th century, but none of them has

Hill fort	Archaeological investigation / reference	SMR	SAM
Bathampton Camp	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extensively quarried in the 18th and 19th centuries (Scarth 1855) Excavated by Skinner in the early 19th century (Unpubl. Skinner manuscripts) Excavated by Skrine 1888–97 (Burrow 1981) Exploratory cuttings in the south-west corner in 1904–5 (Winwood 1904, 1912; Grinsell 1958) Preliminary excavations by Wainwright in 1965 (Wainwright 1967) Desk-top study (Smith 1997) 	1735	61
Little Solsbury Camp	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Excavated by Dr Conybeare in 1819 (Unpubl. Skinner manuscripts) Early 20th-century excavation of cist within ramparts (Collins and Cantrill 1908) Quarrying in 1907 revealed archaeological evidence. Observations recorded during visits in 1929–30 (Falconer and Adams 1935) Excavations in 1955, 1956 and 1958 (Dowden 1957, 1962) Surveyed by the Ordnance Survey Archaeology Division (OSAD) in 1966 (Unpubl. OSAD record card) Surveyed by the National Trust in 1980 (Unpubl. survey held in SMR) Illegal excavation by metal detectors in 1982 	1717	62
Lansdown Camp	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 19th-century antiquarian survey (Witt 1883) Exploratory trenches cut in the early 20th century (Bush 1904–8, 213) Quarried in the 1960s Surveyed by the OSAD in 1966 (Unpubl. OSAD record card) 		
Budbury (Wilts)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited excavation by Wainwright in 1967 (Wainwright 1970) 	Wilts SMR86SW200	
Little Down Camp	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 19th-century antiquarian survey (Witt 1883) East entrance excavated in 20th century (Unpubl. SMR records, Gardiner and Shore) Surveyed by the OSAD in 1966 (Unpubl. OSAD record card) 	1645	73
Stantonbury	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Surveyed by the OSAD in 1962 (Unpubl. OSAD record card) 	1306	72
Tunley Farm	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No formal excavation carried out, but considerable disturbance occurred when the reservoir was constructed Surveyed by the OSAD in the 1960s (Burrow 1981) 	1140	170

Key: SMR = Sites and Monuments Record; SAM = Scheduled Ancient Monument

seen recent or extensive excavation (Table 2.4). All are univallate, but they are highly variable in size, their enclosed areas ranging from 3 to 18 acres.

Two further sites might be additional candidates: Duncarn Hill Camp (sites and monuments record 1777) lies about 6km to the south-west of Bath, and Berwick Camp

Table 2.4. Iron Age sites



Figure 2.5. Bathampton Down photographed from the air in 1924 (Cranford and Keiller 1928, 145).

(srn 206). The latter, though not discernible today, was identified in the early 19th century as a ‘camp’, surrounded by a strong vallum (Phelps 1836, 102, 103; Skinner Unpubl. manuscripts Add. Mss 33669 f11). Later sources refer to a scarp on the edge of the plateau and other traces of the camp, but they were too mutilated by stone quarrying to be identified with certainty (Scarth 1855, 98; Scarth 1877, 21; SMR entry by A T Wicks 1950). By the 1960s, the area indicated by Phelps had been built over by a housing estate and playing fields; the old quarry workings were being used as a dump (OSAD record card entry by Pitcher 1966).

There are still many uncertainties surround-

ing hillforts in the south-west, largely owing to a lack of large-scale excavations. Excavation at Little Solsbury and Budbury produced relatively large quantities of occupation debris, suggesting significant occupation here, while recent evidence suggests that hillforts were primarily used by farming communities. Some had four-post timber structures, interpreted as granaries or racks for animal fodder, and hillforts might also have been used for communal events, or on a seasonal basis (Webster 2007).

Bathampton Camp

Bathampton Camp lies on the ridge of Bathampton Down, on the opposite side of the river, just over 2km east of Bath. Although now partially destroyed by quarrying, it originally covered 33 hectares, and was defended by a stone revetted bank (Fig 2.5). There is no sign of intensive or permanent occupation within the enclosure, but the bank overlay a small quantity of pottery, possibly of late Bronze Age date.

Little Solsbury

Little Solsbury lies 4km north-east of Bath. A rampart internally revetted with drystone walling encloses an area of 8 hectares. The smaller size and comparatively strong defences are a characteristic of the 6th–2nd centuries BC but here, again, little excavation has been carried out, and none in recent years. Earlier work uncovered traces of post-built houses, hearths, weaving combs, and evidence for metalworking, wheat-processing and large-scale sheep-breeding, all suggesting significant occupation (Collins and Cantrill 1908; Falconer and Adams 1935). The site appears to have been abandoned in about the 3rd century BC. In 2012 the entire hill top was subjected to geophysical survey by Bath and Camerton Archaeology Society. This showed an internal quarry hollow all around the bank (called an internal ditch in the report) and a large number of “round house gullies”. This, evidence for pits and enclosures and high magnetic susceptibility readings, indicated intensive settlement in the interior, certainly of Iron Age date (Oswin and Buettner 2012).

Lansdown Camp

Lansdown Camp was quarried away in the 1960s, but has produced Iron Age pottery,

although there was little evidence for permanent occupation on the site (Grinsell 1958, 146).

Little Down and Tunley Hill.

Apart from noting their existence and likely Iron Age date little can be said about either Little Down or Tunley Hill (but see Beddoe 1907).

Stantonbury (ST 673 636)

In Stanton Field, a large open area below the east end of Stantonbury hillfort, rich spreads of Iron Age and Roman pottery were reported after extensive stripping in about 2002, along with earlier material in association with pits and spreads of occupation material. Although situated well to the west of the UAD area, this discovery underlines the potential of the nearby rural areas for prehistoric settlement, despite the lack of much documented material so far.

Camerton (ST 688 563)

Not a hillfort but possibly a central place of some importance is the site at Camerton, also well outside the UAD area, 11km south-west of Bath. Occupied throughout the Roman period, it was clearly already a place of some significance in the Late Iron Age. The site was extensively dug into between 1800 and 1839 by Skinner, and a brief summary of his work appears in the Victoria County History (Haverfield 1906). Further excavations were undertaken by Vince from 1926 and then continued by Wedlake between 1949 and 1956, which showed that, while the site had been occupied from the Neolithic period (although not continuously), there was a system of Iron Age ditches dating from the later 2nd and 1st centuries BC. These were succeeded by a round house, and although this had gone out of use by the time of the conquest, occupation on the site continued (Wedlake 1958, 35, fig 9). That the Late Iron Age site was of some importance is suggested by the discovery by metal detectorists of what appears to be a hoard of currency bars as well as a large collection of mid-1st century metalwork and at least six Late Iron Age silver coins. There was almost certainly a Roman fort dating from the conquest period on the site, one of the chain of forts along the Fosse Way frontier. The Iron Age metalwork was incorporated in a hoard, which included a large number of items

of Roman military equipment, and which has been interpreted as a 'closure' deposit, buried when the fort was abandoned in the later 1st century (Jackson 1990).

FIELD SYSTEMS

There are substantial areas of 'Celtic fields' surviving on the uplands surrounding Bath. These are small rectangular fields, defined by low 'lynchets' or earth banks formed by accumulated soil washed down after ploughing. Fowler's systematic study of 'Celtic' fields (Fowler 1978) demonstrated that in Wessex, where his study was focused, these field systems could date back into the Bronze Age. However, at Bathampton Down, a coaxial field system covering over 4 hectares extended both inside and outside the defences of Bathampton Camp, and was clearly of a later date (Wainwright 1967). Thus they may fall into a general trend that suggests the abandonment of Bronze Age field systems in the Early Iron Age and the development of new systems in the later Iron Age (Bradley and Yates 2007). Field systems such as this, however, could well persist, or indeed develop, in the Roman period (Fig 2.5).

An extensive complex (c 8ha) of co-axial fields, some of them related to enclosures, has also been recorded north-east of Bath on Charmy Down (Moore 2006 162, fig 7.29). Pottery recovered from field-walking suggests Iron Age and Roman dates, and material collected from a third system at Todmarton also dates to the Iron Age. Remnant Magnetism assays in the early 1990s were carried out by Tony Clarke on some small enclosures within surviving earthwork systems at the north edge of Charmy Down, which indicated enhanced readings in the enclosures, suggesting settlement. This was commissioned by BAT prior to proposed pipeline work by Wessex Water, but the work was not carried out. (On Charmy Down see also Clark, J 1997.)

A simplified survey of Roman and prehistoric fields at Bathwick Woods and Claverton Down has also been carried out as part of an assessment inventory of the National Trust holdings here (Beaton 2003) while prehistoric and Roman field boundaries were also recorded at Rainbow Wood (Claverton Down) during survey work for a pipeline (Lewcun unpubl planning report).

COMMUNICATIONS

In the past, the Jurassic Way, running through the Cotswolds and north to Lincolnshire, was seen as the principal trade route in the Iron Age and earlier (Grimes 1951). However, recent critical assessment has led to the rejection of such formalised long-distance ‘trackways’, concentrating instead on the role of rivers. Land routes were nevertheless clearly necessary, and the limestone uplands of the Cotswolds and Mendips provided a vital route to the north and south. The steep-sided Avon valley, with its adjacent marshy land, would have constituted a significant obstacle, and no doubt the more fordable stretches of the river close to the modern Pulteney Weir and Cleveland Bridge were used in the Iron Age. Davenport has pointed out that there also might well have been a pre-Roman track crossing the river by a ford at Bathampton Meadow, east of Bath, and in 1994 a Middle to Late Iron Age site was identified at Bathampton Meadow (Davenport 1994). The whole question of later Iron Age trackways is relevant to the development of the early Roman road system and is discussed in greater detail in the following section (*see* p 81).

BURIALS

Burial practice in the Iron Age was varied. In the Severn Cotswolds area, as elsewhere in Britain, there is increasing evidence for excarnation practices throughout the Iron Age, as well as for the deposition of human bone on occupation sites, often in carefully selected contexts. The two disarticulated human jaw bones from Little Solsbury could be examples of this practice in the Bath region, but the records of the discoveries are not sufficiently detailed to be sure. Excarnation was not the only practice; crouched inhumations in pits were also widespread in the Severn Cotswolds region (Moore 2007). These generally lacked grave goods, and the crouched inhumation from Sion Hill, which clearly pre-dated the late Roman coffin burials on the site, could well have been pre-Roman. In the absence of radiocarbon dating, the question remains open.

Burials were not invariably on occupation sites, and apparently isolated burials away from settlements could also date from the Iron Age. The 19th-century record of an inhumation burial a short distance north-east of Lansdown is a possible example. Here,

again, there is a need for radiocarbon dating (Webster 2007).

Cist burial in the Iron Age was more characteristic of the Dorset area, but there were rare occurrences in Somerset. The cist burial recorded within the ramparts at Little Solsbury could be an example, but all details are lacking from the early 20th-century record. (Collins and Cantrill 1908).

2.2.4 The current state of understanding

While there is good evidence that the immediate environment of the hot springs was dominated by woodland, it is becoming increasingly clear that by the later Iron Age there was also a degree of settlement on the gravel terraces. This is not to say that pre-Roman Bath was in any way built up, but it does seem to be more in line with evidence that suggests a variety of Iron Age occupation sites in the region – open or enclosed, and often on lower lying land. These settlements are interpreted as farmsteads in a landscape that was probably quite densely populated and dominated by farmland and carefully managed woodland (Webster 2007). At the same time, there is evidence for increased specialisation in the later Iron Age, and the development of trade, or ‘exchange’ networks. In the area south and south-west of Bath, Southwestern Decorated wares (Peacock’s Glastonbury groups 2 and 3), and querns from Beacon Hill, Somerset, reflect trading networks in south and central Somerset, while Durotrigan pottery suggests links with Dorset. North of Bath, querns from May Hill in the Mendips and Malvern, and early Severn valley wares predominate. Bath itself seems to be on the periphery of both of these exchange systems, with both Beacon Hill and May Hill querns being recorded in the area, as well as small quantities of Glastonbury, Durotrigan and Malvern wares. Differences in coin distributions have also been noted, with Dobunnic coins of Eisu being more common in Somerset, and those of Bodvoc more common in the Severn Cotswold area, although this distribution pattern does not correlate particularly well with either the quern or the pottery distribution. Van Arsdell saw the two coin areas as evidence for two sub-groups of the Dobunni – the one in the north being more Romanised than that in the south. Opinion now tends to distrust this approach, seeing the back projection of Roman civitas

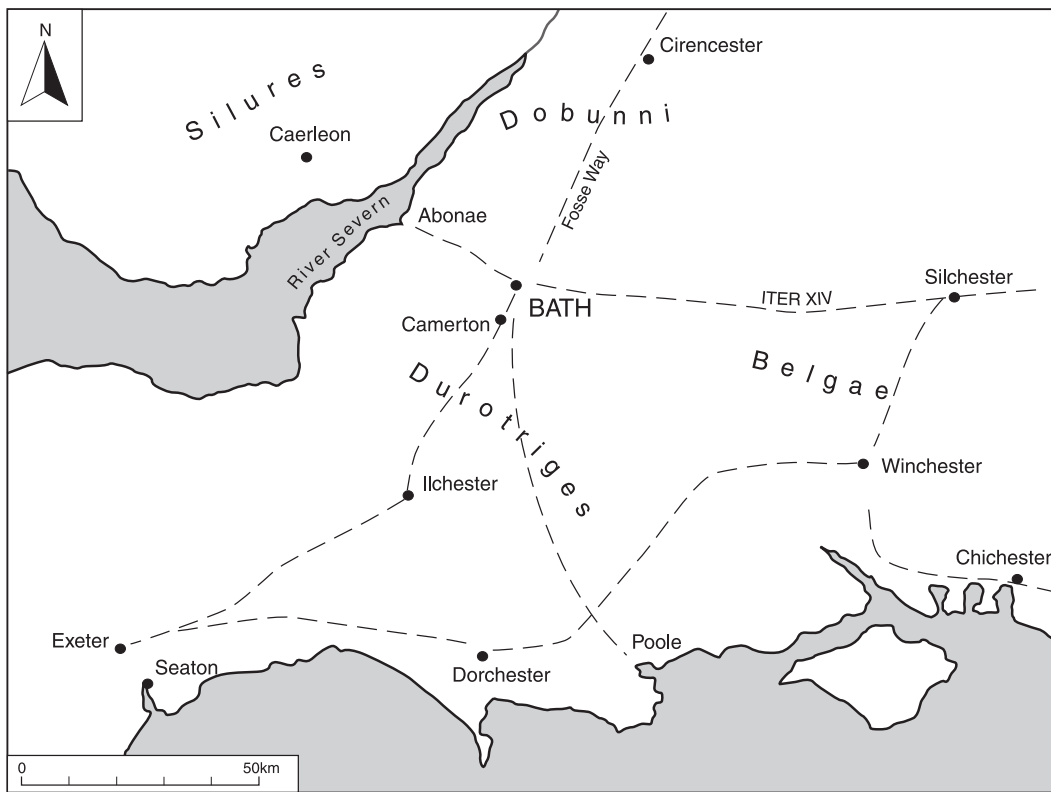


Figure 2.6. Roman Bath in relation to roads, civitates, etc.

divisions into the Iron Age as an artificial construct, and preferring to view the different distributions rather as evidence for different exchange systems (Fig 2.6).

Bath, on a trade route between two major areas of different exchange patterns, falls into a category of site that is increasingly being recognised as developing on the peripheries of different exchange networks. With the added ritual importance of wet places and springs, which the hot mineral water can only have enhanced, Bath might well have enjoyed the position of a ritual and market centre between two rather different exchange networks, which might themselves mask different social organisations.

The role of ritual in landscapes at the end of the pre-Roman Iron Age is still imperfectly understood. The influence of earlier ritual sites persisting over many centuries is seen elsewhere in the region (eg Ditches), and this would surely also apply to the hot springs at Bath. It is now clear that, as early as the Mesolithic period, the mineral springs were honoured, and centuries later this veneration was echoed by the Weston spoons, which are almost certainly votive offerings in a stream bed. How the hillforts

related to a ritual landscape is still not clear, but like many hillforts and hilltop enclosures in the Iron Age, the examples around Bath are all adjacent to, or include, earlier monuments, notably barrows, which presumably provided some sort of ritual focus to the hill-fort builders. There is insufficient excavation to decide what the role of the Bath hillforts was, and, in any case, it could have changed over time. It has been suggested that in the Early Iron Age, society was more communal, with early hilltop enclosures such as Bathampton being primarily communal places. Some see the Later Iron Age as a time when larger social organisations emerged, along with elite sections of the population and a greater emphasis on individuals. There is evidence from Cadbury and elsewhere that some hillforts were re-occupied in the latest Iron Age, although the extent and character of this occupation remains uncertain (Barrett, Freeman, and Woodward 2000). At present there is insufficient evidence from Bath to contribute to the debate, particularly with regard to the relationship of hillforts to ritual sites, although as more sharply defined social organisations developed, neutral ritual and trading centres on the peripheries of different

groups could have played an increasingly important role. It is not inconceivable that Bath might have been developing just such a role at the time of the Roman conquest.

2.2.5 Assessment of importance and potential

The Somerset Research Agenda (Webster 2007) has identified five overriding regional themes requiring research. These are chronological frameworks; settlement patterns; material culture; regionality; and socio-economic changes during the period. Because of the built-up nature of Bath, the extensive cellarage and the restrictive framework within which development-led archaeology has to operate, not all of these themes are likely to be usefully pursued in Bath. Further investigation of Iron Age Bath has the potential to throw light on the emergence of a regional ritual focus, and on developing social organisation at the end of pre-history. Greater attention needs to be paid to pre-Roman Bath in relation to the surrounding area, to reveal more of the ways in which the landscape was used – field patterns, farming regimes, industry and occupation patterns, including its possibly symbolic aspects. The relationship of hillforts to the rest of the landscape, how land was divided up, and how occupation sites fitted into the field patterns and farming systems all need to be addressed. In an urban context, these questions are particularly intractable, especially within the framework of PPG16, with its site-based approach and emphasis on limited and partial excavation. Waterlogged deposits in the valley floor have great potential for environmental remains – pollen, snails, insects, etc – but their investigation needs to be integrated with planned research programmes in the surrounding landscape.

2.3 The Romano-British period (1st–4th centuries)

In AD 43 Emperor Claudius sent an invasion force through southern England and took Camulodunum (Colchester). Following the defeat of the south-eastern tribes, campaigning continued in the South-West under the command of the future emperor Vespasian. Although there was resistance to this campaign, its impact on the Bath area is not known (Fig 2.6; Salway 1981; Webster 1980).

For most of the Roman period, Bath (*Aquae Sulis*) was dominated by the monumental structures associated with the hot springs. Of these, the most important were the classical Temple of Sulis Minerva and the ornate tholos, each standing within monumental precincts, together with the large bathing complex to the south of it. Lesser known are the structures around the other two springs, the Hot Bath spring and the Cross Bath spring.

The wider settlement area is less well understood, though the distribution of mosaic floors below properties and streets adjoining the baths shows that buildings extended beyond the immediate complex associated with the principal hot spring.

2.3.1 The Temple of Sulis Minerva and its precinct (mrn 30)

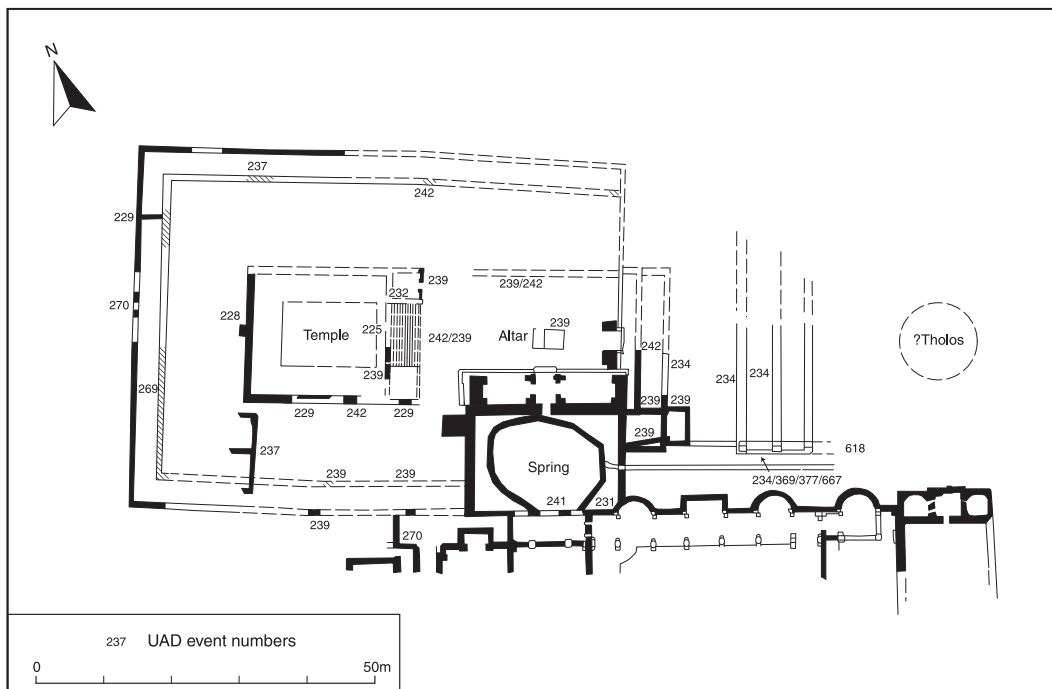
Introduction and overview

By the end of the 1st century AD an elaborate stone-built temple complex had been built around the hot springs – the sanctuary of Sulis Minerva. Its architectural form was highly Romanised. It was enlarged in the late 2nd or early 3rd century and underwent further alterations in subsequent centuries. Associated finds indicate that the complex continued in use into the first half of the 5th century AD.

The temple complex occupied sloping ground, and had been planned on an ambitious scale and in a classical style. The temple stood on a podium facing east across the inner precinct to a large, rectangular sacrificial altar. The hot, or Sacred Spring, rose into a lead-lined reservoir in the south-east corner of the precinct. The reservoir supplied warm water to the bathing complex to the south; three windows allowed visitors to the baths to look across the reservoir to the sacrificial altar in front of the temple. Thus all four structures – temple, reservoir, baths and sacrificial altar – were planned as an integrated unit (Fig 2.7).

This unity of design was maintained in later phases. By the later 3rd century, the temple had been enlarged with the addition of two side rooms, and an outer precinct bounded by a colonnade had been constructed, together with a monumental eastern entrance. By now the reservoir had been enclosed in a massive vaulted structure with an elaborate façade, which was probably balanced by a corresponding façade, the so-called ‘façade of the four seasons’ in the north-east corner of the precinct. Axial to

Figure 2.7. General plan of temple and baths.



the temple, but east of the precinct, was the podium for another monumental building. The podium lies buried beneath the Abbey nave, but it clearly supported an imposing structure, quite probably an ornate circular shrine or *tholos* whose fragmentary architectural remains are known (Cunliffe 1989). An even larger public building, represented by a number of monumental architectural fragments retrieved by Irvine in the late 19th century, probably lay in Westgate Street (Fig 2.17). The temple site has been progressively excavated over the last 45 years, primarily under the direction of Cunliffe. As in other areas of the city, the evidence is complex and fragmentary. It has, however, been extensively published, and the principal monuments identified (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 1980, 1988, 1995, 2000; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985).

Early work and the nature of the evidence

The gilded bronze head of Minerva found in Stall Street in 1727 (srn 93) was probably from the cult statue in the temple (see Fig 1.4). In 1790, foundations were dug for the New Pump room in Stall Street, and some 70 pieces of sculptured or inscribed stone were found. Although these aroused considerable antiquarian interest, less notice was taken of the structural remains that were also uncovered

(srn 225). Englefield gave a brief report to the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1791, noting that 'at about 12 feet below the level of the present street workmen discovered a pavement of large stones with steps fronting to the east. Off the pavement not enough was laid open to discover the form or size of the building to which it belonged' (Englefield 1792). The sculptured stones however, were subjected to a meticulous study by Samuel Lysons, who realised that many of them came from a Corinthian temple. His reconstruction of the façade comprised a triangular pediment with a central male Gorgon's head was published (Lysons 1802); another block found in 1982 provided further details but confirmed the basic accuracy of Lysons' reconstruction). As Cunliffe notes, it is one of the most dramatic pieces of sculpture from the whole of Roman Britain (Cunliffe 1995, 31).

It was not until 1864, however, when Irvine dug in the cellar of the Old White Hart Hotel (now 27 Stall Street), that part of the temple podium was identified (srn 228). Three years later, in 1867, the hotel was demolished to make way for the new Grand Pump Room Hotel, and Irvine again recorded the revealed remains (srn 229). These comprised part of the portico on the north and east side of the temple precinct, as well as further parts of the

Table 2.5. Summary of observations and excavations in the temple precinct area and the area to the east (under the Abbey Nave)

SRN	Site name	Description / references
93	Stall Street, 1727	Excavation of sewer trench revealed bronze head of Minerva (Haverfield 1906, 259; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 34; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 15)
99, 100, 101	Stall Street, 1753	Three inscriptions thought to be from the temple precinct found at the 'lower end of Stall Street' interpreted by Cunliffe as the south end. (Pettingal nd, 181–2; Ward 1754; Gough 1789; Lysons 1802, 10; Scarth 1864, 42, 68; Haverfield 1906, 272–3; Collingwood and Wright 1965, 44; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 154–5, 198–9)
225	The new Pump Room, 1790	An area of pavement, seven steps and 60+ sculptured stones found when foundations were dug for the New Pump Room (Englefield 1792, 325–333; Pownall 1793; Gough 1798; Duffield 1811; Lysons 1813; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 7–8; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 15–16)
228	Old White Hart Hotel, 1864 (37 Stall Street, 1–12 Arlington House)	Part of the temple podium revealed in the cellar of the Old White Hart Hotel (Irvine Papers; Haverfield 1906; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 17–18; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 39–42, 90)
229	Old White Hart Hotel, 1867–69 (37 Stall Street, 1–12 Arlington House)	The portico bounding the north and east sides of the precinct, part of the temple podium, and ambulatory wall recorded by Irvine during the demolition of the Old White Hotel (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 16, 18; Chapman 1990)
231	Pump Room cellars (Roman Baths Museum cellars), 1878–80	Tunnelling below the cellar floors revealed the reservoir enclosure (Mann 1878b; Davis 1880; Mann 1900; Haverfield 1906; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 90; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 18–19; Cunliffe 1988, 6, 9–14, 21, 27)
232	Cellars below Abbey Yard, 1883	Irvine recorded a stone block later interpreted by Cunliffe as the west wall of the room added to the south-west corner of the temple (Mann 1893a); Haverfield 1906; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 43; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 19)
234	Grand Pump Room Hall, 1893 (Roman Baths Museum)	Construction work on the east side of the old Pump Room uncovered remains of the temple precinct flooring, steps, an altar base and monumental architectural fragments (?from a theatre) (Taylor 1928; Mann 1900; Haverfield 1906; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 91, 148–9; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 19, 60–5, 93–5)
237	Arlington Court: the site of the Grand Pump Room Hotel, 1959–60	Excavation on the site of the Pump Room Hotel revealed the western part of the Temple and its precinct. Trenches and a watching brief recorded the north and west walls of the precinct, the south-west corner of the temple podium and foundations bounding it on the west and south; also two rooms of a late building encroaching on the south-west corner of the precinct (Wedlake 1979a, 78–83; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 19–21, 101)
239	Temple excavations in the Grand Pump Room Cellars, 1964–8	Trenches 3–16, 22, 23, 26, 27, 31 and 32 revealed the south and east colonnade, temple steps, evidence for the layout of the inner precinct and a cobbled surface of a possible outer precinct (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 44–64; Cunliffe 1976, 1–32; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 93–106)
241	The Sacred Spring Excavations, 1979–1980	Removal of concrete floor in the King's Bath revealed structural evidence for the reservoir (Cunliffe 1980, 1872–6; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 21–22, 37–45, 49–53; Cunliffe 1988, 53–62)
242	The Pump Room Excavations of the Temple, 1980–83	Trenches 101, 103 and 105–110 below the Pump Room cellars revealed the layout of the inner precinct (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 22, 95, 101, 102, 104–13)
269	Bath Street, 1984–6	Trenches 119–130 dug below northern side of Bath Street revealed evidence of the western side of the outer temple precinct (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, fig 127; Davenport 1999a)

270	Bath Street, 1986–7	Excavation on the north side of Bath Street revealed evidence for the western side of the outer temple precinct (Davenport 1999a)
243	Stall Street trench, 1989	Excavation of a 1m square pit for a lightning conductor revealed the north face of the stylobate of Temple Precinct south portico; the pit formed a northern extension of trench 3, 1964 (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 44; Davenport 1999a)
Area east of the Temple		
79	The Abbey, 1833 and 1867	Roman walling stone, part of a pillar, window glass and Samian pottery discovered in 1833 and 1867 during repairs to the Abbey. Not clear from Irvines's 1867 report whether or not the material was <i>in situ</i> (Irvine Papers; Haverfield 1906, 262–3; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 210)
234	Grand Pump Room Hall, 1893 (Roman Baths Museum)	An extension to the east of the Grand Pump Room exposed precinct flooring, steps and the base of an unidentified monumental structure (Notes by Major Davis 1893b, Bath City Archives, spa, misc, box 4; Richard Mann's set of manuscript drawings 1906; Richard Mann's letter to Irvine, 25 April 1893 (Mann 1993a); Haverfield 1906; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 91, 94 (fig 30), 148–149; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 59–61, 93–4, 179)
377	Concert Room lavatories, 1987	A re-evaluation of Mann's original excavation (1893) by Bath Archaeological Trust revealed the northern revetment wall along the north side of the main outfall drain from the spring (Unpubl; site archive held by Roman Baths Museum)
618	East Baths, 1995 (Kingston Parade)	Two evaluation pits in the cellars north of the East Baths revealed a wall on the alignment of the large Roman structure under the Concert Room suggesting a more complex structure under Abbey than first thought. (Unpubl; original archive held by Roman Baths Museum)

temple podium (Fig 1.6). Since 1869, further parts of the temple have been recorded to various degrees of accuracy on five occasions: by Mann and Davis in 1878–80 (srn 231, Mann 1900) and again in 1893 (srn 234, *ibid*); then by Wedlake in 1959 (site 237, Cunliffe (ed) 1975); by Cunliffe in 1964–8 (site 239, Cunliffe (ed) 1969); Cunliffe and Davenport in 1980–3 (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985) and finally by Davenport in 1986 (srn270, Davenport (ed) 1999) (Fig 2.7; Table 2.5).

In 1810, the flow of water in the principal hot spring suddenly diminished and the geologist William Smith was commissioned to restore it. He did so by digging a 5-metre shaft through the floor of the King's Bath. No archaeological evidence was recorded, although subsequent excavation proved that remains were disturbed. It was not until 1878 that the position of the Roman spring was located. In that year, further problems with the water flow prompted renewed work. John Mann was employed by the City Engineer, Major Davis, to clear out the Roman drain (located by Irvine in 1871, after being found, recorded and lost again in 1755;

Irvine 1873), which took excess water from the spring towards the river. Following the drain westwards, from the point where Irvine had located it, involved tunnelling beneath the Pump Room (srn 231). This revealed a Roman masonry wall surrounding a reservoir immediately over the spring head and directly under the medieval King's Bath. Excavation the following year showed that, while the walls of the reservoir were lined with lead sheets, the Roman engineers had left the base unsurfaced, allowing water to well up through the sand and silt. Davis cleared the reservoir down to the level of the base of the surrounding walls, stripped off the lead, and roofed the whole reservoir over with concrete, thus providing a new floor for the King's Bath and sealing the Roman reservoir beneath.

The next major discovery concerned the temple itself, when Richard Mann excavated in the cellar north of the north-west corner of the Pump Room (srn 232) in 1883. His plan is preserved with the Irvine Papers in the Bath Record Office and shows a corner of a chamfered plinth with a paved area to the

east and south. Irvine thought these remains belonged to steps leading up to the temple podium, but later excavation by Cunliffe and Davenport revealed them to be part of the later Roman extension of the temple façade. Finally, in 1893–5 (srn 234) a major programme of clearance by Davis exposed part of the sacrificial altar base, a substantial area of the precinct, and the temple steps. At about the same time parts of a massive structure east of the precinct were uncovered during the construction of an extension to the Grand Pump Room. A set of detailed plans and sections of this area prepared by Mann, along with some detailed notes, are in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, but no proper examination of the structures was permitted by Davies, so they are not easy to understand. Some elements might survive, below what is now part of the Museum building, but, if so, they will have been very badly truncated (recent observations of building work by Peter Davenport suggest that nothing survives below the museum floor in this area). The remains appear to have comprised a massive east–west wall and three north–south walls (mrn 86, srn 234). A continuation of the east–west wall was discovered by Peter Davenport in 1987 (srn 377) and in 1993 (srn 369).

In 1908, Haverfield published an account of Roman Bath in *The Victoria County History*, and included a sketch of Irvine's plan. However, Irvine's interpretation was neglected, with the result that when Sir Ian Richmond and Jocelyn Toynbee published their reconsideration of the Temple façade in 1955, they considered the precise location of the temple to be unknown, but suggested it might be north of the Spring (Richmond and Toynbee 1955).

Richmond and Toynbee's article rekindled interest in Roman Bath, but when the Grand Pump Room Hotel was demolished in 1959 contemporary planning guidance did not make provision for adequate recording of the archaeological remains before rebuilding commenced. As a result, Wedlake had inadequate time to excavate the areas of the temple precinct and the north portico that had first been recorded by Irvine in the 1860s. Nevertheless, he excavated 10 trenches across the north portico, maintained a watching brief on the subsequent building work, and was able to confirm details of the temple podium, portico and the temple precinct.

The difficulties encountered by Wedlake contributed to concerns already being felt over the vulnerability of Bath's outstanding archaeological deposits to modern development. In 1963, the Bath Excavation Committee was set up under the direction of Barry Cunliffe with the express purpose of carrying out research and undertaking rescue excavations in the city. This led to a period of intensive research into all earlier records, one of the most important results of which was the recognition of the value of the records made by Irvine and Mann in the period of Victorian development. This research identified a number of unresolved questions, in response to which, a series of carefully planned trenches in cellars below the Grand Pump Room were excavated between 1965 and 1968 (srn 239). The precinct surface uncovered (although not recorded) by Davis in 1895 was exposed, and parts of the east portico and the temple steps were examined. However, it was not until 1978 that an ambitious scheme supported by the Bath City Council allowed the excavation of 3000 square metres beneath the Pump Room. At the same time, the spring water in the King's Bath, in the south-east corner of the temple precinct, was found to be contaminated, and both the King's Bath and the reservoir beneath it were immediately drained. In order to eliminate the contamination, the concrete raft over the spring head that had been inserted by Davis in the 1870s had to be removed, and the foundations of the reservoir consolidated. At the same time, a fresh source of spring water had to be tapped. All this meant that an archaeological excavation had to be undertaken in the Kings Bath in 1979–80 (srn 241), which was followed by a series of excavations from 1981 to 1984 that were designed to elucidate the development of the temple precinct (srn 242, 269). These excavations were fully published (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985 and Cunliffe 1988) and marked the end of this major period of excavation on the Temple and its precinct. Since then, however, further work has provided important new evidence for the history of the precinct. Excavations by Davenport in Bath Street between 1984 and 1987 provided vital evidence for the date of the portico – evidence that was confirmed in a further excavation in 1989 prior to the installation of a lightning conductor in Stall Street (srn 243, 270) (Fig 2.7).

The 1980s and 1990s saw further work by Peter Davenport on the monumental structure east of the Temple of Sulis precinct. In 1987, some of the walls recorded by Mann at the east end of the concert room were examined (srn 377). The floor of the long narrow room forming the men's lavatories at the east end of the Concert Room was removed (srn 377). The east–west wall and stylobate was recorded in 1993, during excavation for the Abbey Heritage Centre development (srn 369).

The archaeological evidence

THE TEMPLE

The temple is now largely inaccessible, lying 3m to 4.5m below Stall Street and the foundations of Arlington Court, on the site of the Grand Pump Room (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 7). However, it is clear that the temple stood on a podium of hard concrete about 9m wide and 14m long and originally faced with ashlar blocks, although these had been robbed out, leaving only their impressions in the concrete when seen by Irvine in 1867/8. The upper surface of the platform had been cut into by later pits, and no sign of the original surface survived. The architectural fragments found in 1790 included six richly carved stone blocks (a seventh block was found during excavations in 1982), sufficient to allow the reconstruction of a triangular pediment, 9m wide at its base, and so exactly matching the width of the podium. The pediment shows two winged Victories supporting a roundel, bordered by wreaths and enclosing the magnificently carved Gorgon's head. Beneath the Victories are two globes, helmets, and an owl and a dolphin, both of which are symbols of Minerva (Fig 2.8–2.9). The iconography of the temple sculptures is discussed below, but the scale, magnificence and find spot of the fragments make it clear that this was the pediment from the façade of the Temple of Sulis Minerva. The pediment was supported by fluted stone columns, estimated at more than 8m high and with elaborately carved Corinthian capitals and plain Attic bases over a metre in diameter. Some fragments were among the stones discovered in 1790, and more pieces were found in 1879 and again in the temple precinct in 1982 (Cunliffe 1995, 33). The precise form of the temple is unknown, but the proportions suggest that it consisted of a *cella* with an eastern porch (the *pronaos*) and

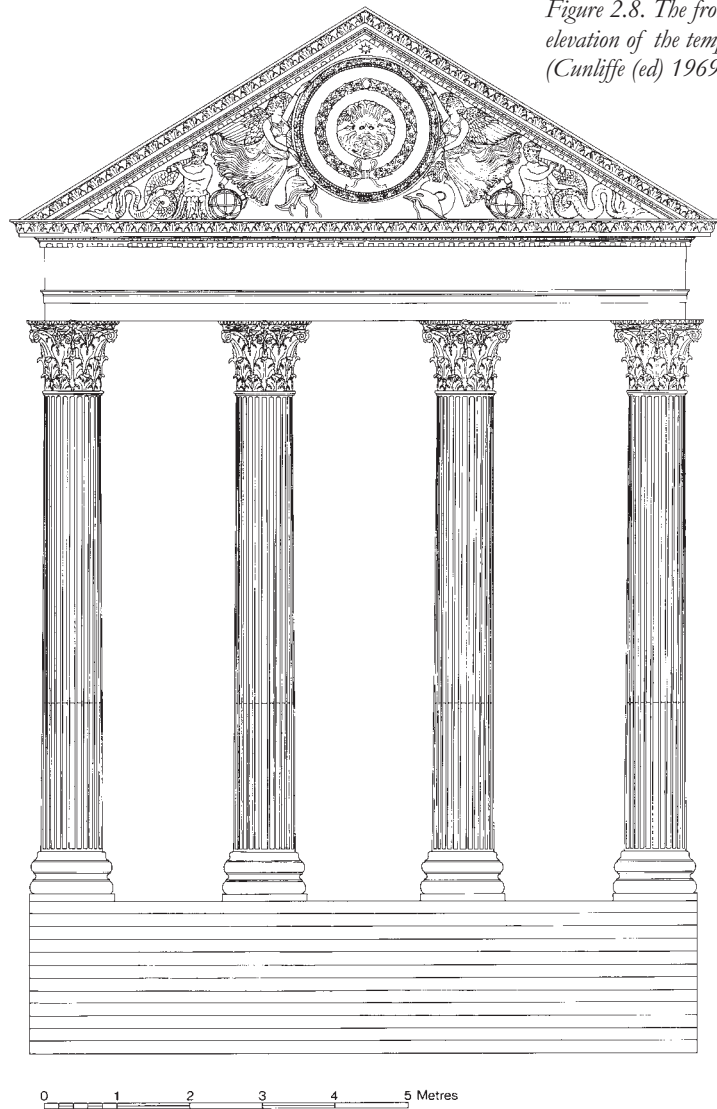


Figure 2.8. The front elevation of the temple (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, fig 3).



Figure 2.9. Gorgon's head (Cunliffe 2000).

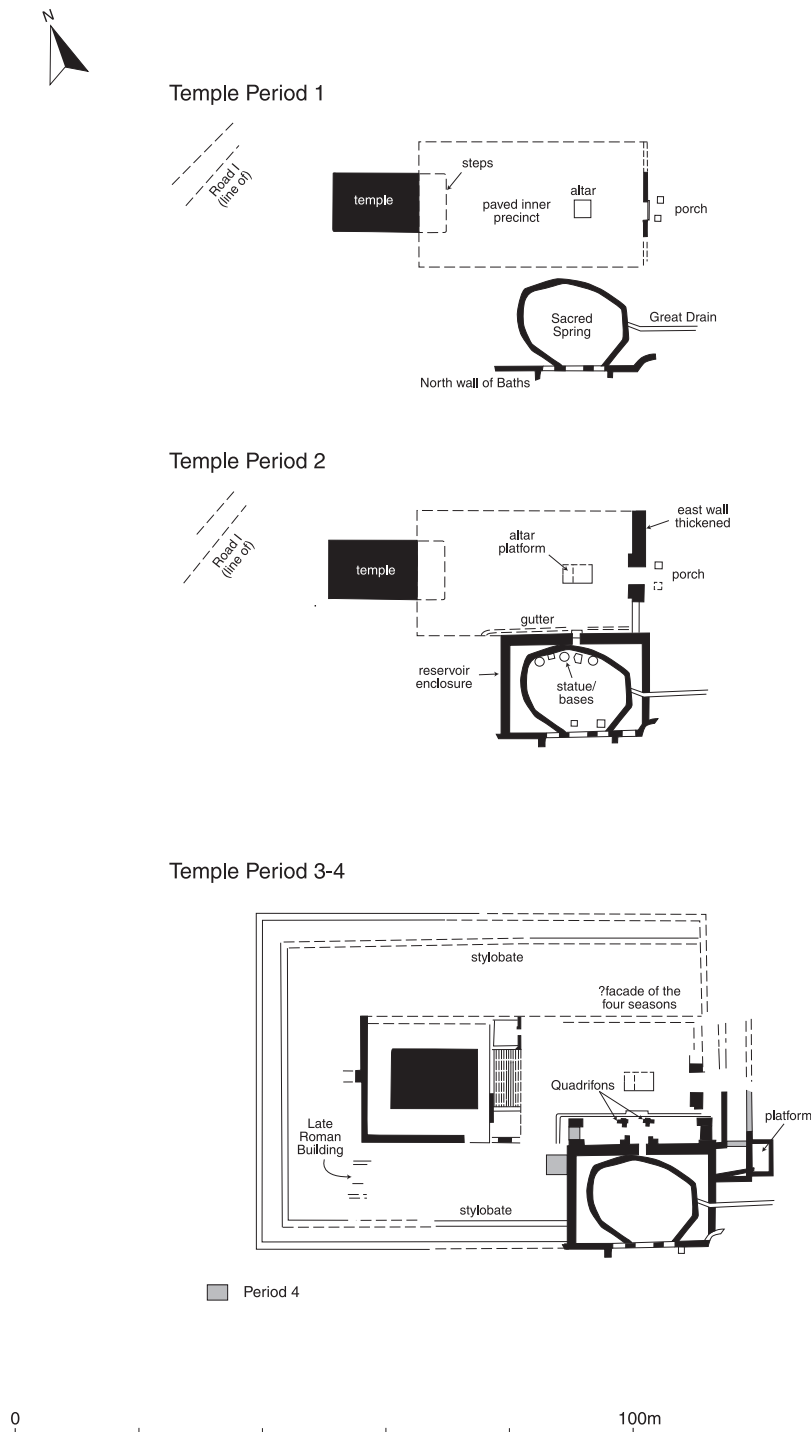


Figure 2.10. Plan showing phases 1–4 of the temple precinct.

four columns (ibid) supporting the pediment. The concrete podium on which the temple stood was raised 1.9m above the surface of the precinct, and was reached by a flight of steps.

Cunliffe's excavations in the cellars of the Grand Pump room in the 1960s (srn 239) produced evidence for two phases of

construction. Excavation in 1980 showed that footings, first been seen by Mann in 1893, and interpreted by Irvine as part of the temple steps, were in fact a later addition, forming a lateral room at the north-east corner of the temple. A corresponding room stood at the south-west corner and at the same time a surrounding ambulatory was constructed. The rebuilding thus incorporated the original temple intact, but altered the earlier strictly classical layout to one closer to that of a Romano-Celtic temple and also doubled the overall size of the building (Cunliffe 1995, 31; Wilson 1980) (Fig 2.10).

Unfortunately, the dating evidence for the temple is scarce and understanding its chronological development is heavily dependent on stylistic interpretation. Blagg's analysis of the earliest architectural features led him to conclude that it was late Neronian or early Flavian in date, ie about AD 60–75/80 (Blagg 1979), while Cunliffe suggests that the addition of the ambulatory and lateral rooms took place in the later 2nd or early 3rd century. This dating is to some extent provisional, as it relies on only a small quantity of stratified pottery, including two sherds of Central Gaulish samian dating from *c* 130–150 and *c* 160–180, both of which were sealed beneath the make-up layers for the period 2 temple, but its actual date could have been rather later.

The sacrificial altar (Fig 2.11)

This stood about 15m in front of the temple on a raised square platform of limestone slabs measuring 2.8m square. It was first exposed by Davis in 1895, but it was not until Cunliffe's excavations in cellars in 1965 that its details became clear. Surviving parts are displayed in the Bath Museum. The altar lay at the intersection of the two principal visual axes of the temple complex. The east–west axis of the temple extended across the altar through the centre of the entrance into the precinct and beyond to the monumental building under the Abbey nave. The north–south axis cut across the sacrificial altar and the reservoir enclosure to the central window in the north hall of the bathing complex. Although nothing remained of the altar *in situ*, two of the decorated altar corners were found, one in a trial trench cut in 1965 across the site of the altar (srn 239, trenches 5–7), and the other in 1790 during the rebuilding of the Pump Room. These

show that the altar was approximately 1.26m high, while wear marks on the limestone base suggest it was 2.4m square. Both altar corners were decorated on two adjacent sides, each depicting a paired deity, one clothed and one naked. A very similar corner block was built into the corner buttress of the church at Compton Dando, 13km west of Bath. In the medieval period, the church belonged to the same religious establishment as Bath, and it seems probable that stone from the centre of the city had been transported to Compton Dando for its construction (Cunliffe 1995, 36–7). Although now very weathered, it is also decorated on two adjacent sides with carved deities, one clothed and one naked, while the size and basal mouldings match those of the blocks found in 1790 and 1965. Consequently, the Compton Dando block has been identified as the third corner block from the sacrificial altar, although Peter Davenport has detected slight but significant differences between the Compton Dando block and the other two, especially in the shape of the frame around the figures, raising suspicions that this identification might be incorrect (P Davenport pers comm). The 1965 excavation also recovered one of the moulded limestone blocks that formed the upper surface of the altar. The block was slightly dished and had a carefully moulded edge. The same excavation uncovered a statue base a little to the west of, and in front of, the altar. The inscription recorded its dedication to Sulis by a *haruspex*, Lucius Macius Memor. It had stood on the latest paving of the precinct, suggesting that it was not part of the original layout. Cunliffe points out that the original abbreviated inscription HAR has been expanded in a later ‘hand’ to HARUSP, strongly suggesting that a *haruspex* was a *rara avis* in Roman Britain (Cunliffe 1995, 37–8).

The sacred spring and reservoir (Figs 2.12–2.13)

The hot spring lay at the heart of the temple and bathing complex in the south-east corner of the inner temple precinct. The location of the Roman reservoir immediately above the spring head on the same site as the medieval King’s Bath was demonstrated by Mann and Davis in 1878, and in the following year Davis drained the King’s Bath, removed the floor, and dug out the material below it to reveal the Roman reservoir (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 42–3; 1988, 37–8). Davis removed sand and silt that



Figure 2.11. *The sacrificial altar (Cunliffe 2000, fig 27).*



Figure 2.12. *Mann’s excavation in the sacred spring (Cunliffe 1995, fig 32).*

DIAGRAMMATIC SECTION THROUGH RESERVOIR

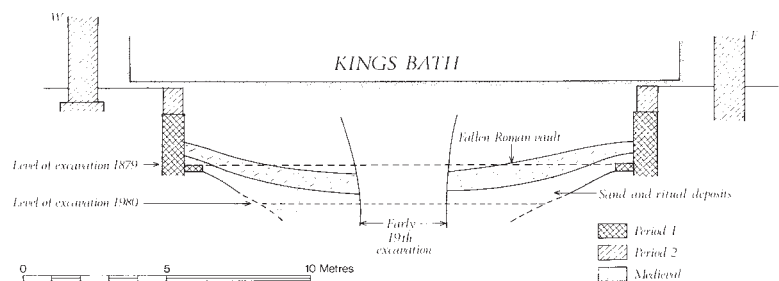


Figure 2.13. *Schematic section across the sacred spring showing Mann’s and Cunliffe’s excavations (Cunliffe 1980, fig 4 and plate XVII).*

had accumulated in the Roman reservoir to the depth of the base of the reservoir wall, but, as these deposits sloped down towards the centre of the reservoir, much stratified material still remained *in situ* in 1979–80 (Fig 2.13). The excavations prior to consolidation removed the remaining stratified material down to the level of the pre-Roman gravels, but were confined to the southern half of the floor, leaving the remainder intact for future research. This work revealed both the pre-Roman levels described above and demonstrated the skill of the 1st-century engineers. Wooden piles had been driven into the mud in order to create a stable working surface and to consolidate the surrounding area, allowing the construction of the great drain. The spring head itself was enclosed in a wall built of Bath Stone and butting up to the north wall of the Baths, which had been already built, at least in part. The tops of the piles were sealed with puddled clay and the inner face of the wall lined with the sheets of lead stripped off by Davis in 1875. The hot water for the Baths was channelled from the top – an ingenious method, which allowed the sand brought up by the spring to settle in the bottom of the reservoir rather than being drawn into the Baths. The accumulated sediment was periodically flushed out into the great drain through a sluice. The drain can still be followed and has been restored to its original Roman function. It was built of rough stone walling and was large enough for a person to walk along it without stooping. In its base was a rectangular timber-lined gully. Originally, the drain emptied into an open leat beyond the temple complex, but today it flows into a complex network of medieval and later sewers before reaching the river Avon (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 121–128).

In its earliest phase, the reservoir was open to the air and surrounded by a wall of stone slabs with an iron railing on the top. On the south side was the south hall of the bathing complex, in which a large central window, flanked by two square-headed openings, was expressly provided to allow a view directly across the spring to the sacrificial altar in the temple precinct beyond. Later alterations changed the appearance of the reservoir substantially, but the unified concept of spring and altar was maintained throughout. As the temple, baths and reservoir were clearly all planned as a unit from the start, the date of

AD 70 proposed on the basis of the temple architecture is also applicable to period 1 of the reservoir and baths. This is to some extent supported by the earliest large group of coins from the spring being Neronian.

Later phases of the reservoir

Period 2: The first major change saw the enclosure of the reservoir in a rectangular chamber (23.4m × 15.3m) roofed with a massive tile-and-concrete vault. Mann recorded the north and west walls of the chamber (Mann 1900, drawings 5 and 7; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, pls I and II). The east and west walls were butted up to the existing south wall (the north wall of the baths), but the north wall was more strongly built to support the tremendous weight of the vault. It has to be presumed that the vaulting in the baths was also put up at this time to provide the necessary counter-thrust. From now on, the approach to the reservoir was up three limestone steps from the precinct to a single narrow door set in the centre of the north wall; when open, the doorway would still have allowed a view from the baths to the altar, but access to the spring itself seems to have been restricted. The wall around the reservoir was also heightened, although not necessarily at the same time, while within the reservoir, seven stone bases were placed against the walls. These were only roughly worked, presumably because they would have been invisible beneath the water. Cunliffe suggested they provided bases for statues and flanking pillars, which in a roofed and steamy chamber might have created the illusion of figures hovering over the spring. As is so often the case, the lack of reliably stratified material makes close dating of these changes impossible. Cunliffe argues that the enclosure of the reservoir occurred as part of the re-roofing of the Great Bath during period 3 of the bathing complex (*see* p 63), but the date of the re-roofing itself relies on a coin of Hadrian mortared into one of the strengthened piers in the Great Bath, which merely provides a *terminus post quem* of AD 140. Possibly of more significance is the pattern of coin deposition within the reservoir, which arguably reflects the restriction of access implied by the single doorway, and suggests a late 2nd- or early 3rd-century date for the alterations (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 65).

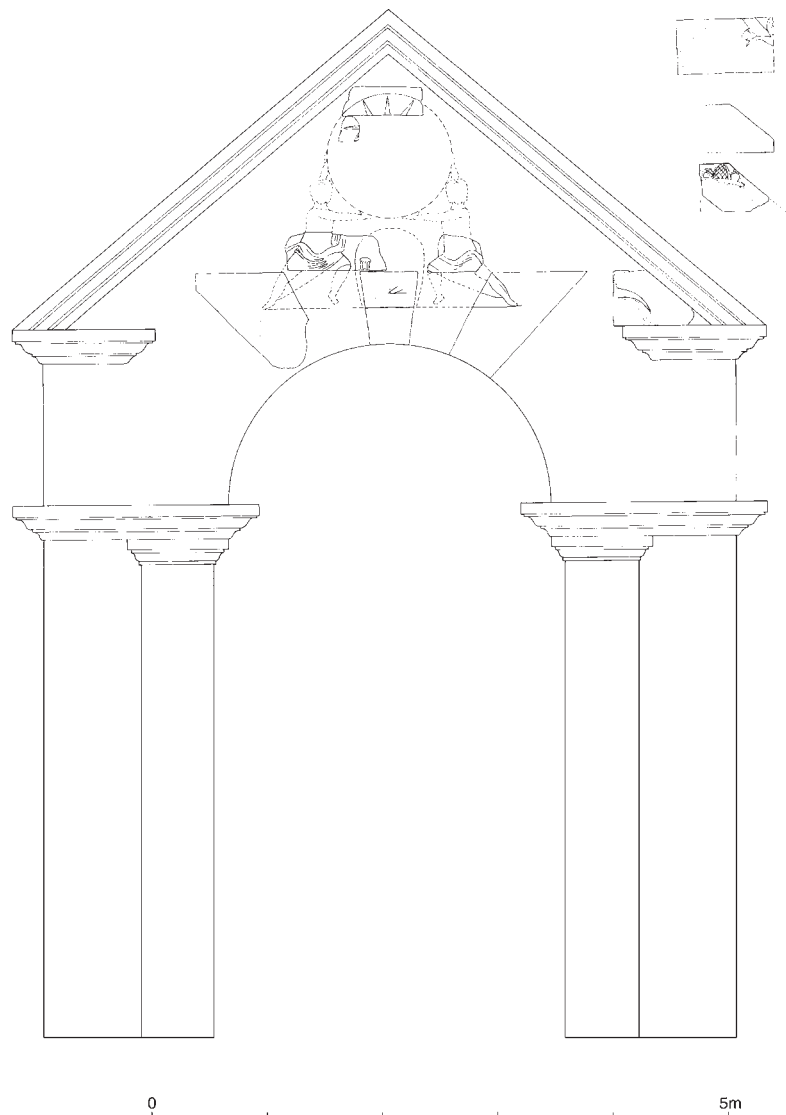
Period 3: This ‘monumentalisation’ of the reservoir enclosure represented a remarkable

engineering achievement, but nevertheless the weight of the vault led to subsidence along the north wall and the shearing away of the north-east corner. In response, a raised portico incorporating three buttresses was built along the entire length of the north wall. The north-west buttress was arched and the north-east buttress had a corresponding arched recess in its western face. The quadrifrons central buttress provided a monumental doorway to the spring reservoir. The lower parts of the front piers remain in position, and blocks of the upper part were found lying in the rubble collapse. These elements suggested that the porch included a main doorway with an arched opening, above which was set an elaborately carved triangular pediment. Only part of the original design survives: it depicts a central rock, with water flowing from it, flanked by two nymphs holding a roundel showing traces of a figure with a radiate crown, presumably representing the sun god, Sol (Cunliffe 1995, 49–50). A small quantity of stratified pottery beneath the portico included a sherd of Central Gaulish samian, Curle 15, which is dated to after *c* AD 160; Cunliffe suggests a date between AD 200 and 300 for phase 3 (Fig 2.14).

Period 4: The construction of the buttresses and portico did not solve the problems with the stability of the north-west corner, and the western arched buttress was replaced later by a new solid buttress, together with a new buttress against the west wall. As part of these alterations, the portico façade was largely demolished and the whole inner precinct re-paved with slabs of blue Pennant sandstone (Cunliffe 1995, 50–1).

No dating material could be securely associated with the construction levels for this phase, but none of the coins dropped on the re-paved precinct predated 350, so an early 4th-century date is suggested for this final modification.

In addition to the remarkable structural survival around the great spring, its fill is of outstanding archaeological importance, preserving a vast quantity of votive offerings. Although only one 1st-century group was stratified, the coin sequence runs from the 1st to the 5th century AD (described in more detail below; Walker 1988, 281). The first discoveries were made by Richard Mann when he opened the great drain in 1878; many items flushed from the reservoir had collected here, including



a bag containing 33 engraved gemstones, and a ceremonial tin mask (Cunliffe 1995, 51–2). Major Davis recovered a large number of coins, pewter vessels and a curse tablet when he excavated part of the reservoir fill. However, it was not until 1979 and 1980 that the deeper deposits were excavated and the bulk of coins recovered. Handled cups (*paterae*) and other metal vessels of pewter, silver and bronze were also found, inscribed with dedications to the goddess Sulis. Particularly important was a large collection of pewter curse tablets (discussed in more detail below).

The inner precinct

This consisted of a rectangular area (20m ×

Figure 2.14. Suggested reconstruction of the quadrifrons pediment (Cunliffe 2000, fig 38).

17.9m) between the temple and the eastern entrance. It was paved with large limestone slabs and contained the sacrificial altar. The north edge of the paved area was established in 1964–8 (srn 239), and was defined by a shallow limestone step. In spite of later intrusions it was possible to show that the limestone pavement ran up to the gutter laid against the reservoir enclosure north wall, and was presumably modified when the latter was built (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, fig 32). The southern edge had been obscured by the later alterations to the reservoir enclosure. Excavations by Cunliffe in 1967 (trenches 11 and 12) and 1983 (trench 109) showed that the original limestone pavement pre-dated the additional room at the north-east corner of the temple (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985 48–51), and it can be assumed that it originally extended right up to the temple steps. The large quantity of building stone and sculptured blocks recovered from excavation in the precinct area also point to the presence of a number of lesser monuments, such as dedicatory inscriptions and small altars. The fragments include part of a stone relief showing a hunting dog and part of a recurved bow – probably associated with the goddess Diana – and two blocks from a free standing quadrangular monument.

The outer precinct

In *c* AD 150 colonnades were constructed to the north, south and west of the temple, creating a large rectangular courtyard aligned east–west and measuring 53m × 74m.

The area between the paved inner precinct and the colonnades forms the outer precinct, and was surfaced with gravel and limestone chips (Cunliffe 1995, 41). It also contained a large number of lesser monuments, such as dedicatory inscriptions and small altars.

Like the temple itself, much of the precinct is inaccessible beneath existing buildings, but the north-west corner and a short length of colonnade were recorded by Wedlake in 1959/60 (srn 237, Wedlake 1979a), the western colonnade (outer wall only) by Irvine (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, fig 26), and parts of the southern colonnade by Cunliffe (1969, fig 26), (srn 239, 243 and 269). Until comparatively recently it was thought that the colonnades were part of the original design, but excavations by Davenport in 1989 yielded a piece of early Antonine pottery (AD 138–180) from

stratified deposits underlying their western edge, providing a *terminus post quem* for their construction (Davenport (ed) 1999, 13). Thus, the extended precinct and colonnades could well be part of the extensive embellishment that included the quadrifrons and extended temple in the 3rd century.

Along the north, west and south sides of the precinct, the inner edge of the colonnade was indicated by a stylobate that would have supported columns; two column bases survived *in situ* on the east side of the precinct (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 94; Mann's drawing of 1900, trench 14). An important excavation by Davenport in 1989 below Stall Street (trench 3x) showed that the stylobate lay 0.7m above the level of the contemporary courtyard, implying that access between the colonnade and the courtyard was by steps placed at intervals along the colonnade. In 1985, available evidence had suggested that the stylobate was originally fronted by a stone gutter, which would have taken rain water draining off an inward sloping veranda roof (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 96). No evidence for guttering was found in 1989, however, although at a later phase the level of the adjacent courtyard was raised and a small gutter inserted (Davenport (ed) 1999, 10–13).

The eastern entrance and eastern boundary wall

In the temple precinct's earliest phase, the inner precinct was bounded on the east by a wall of limestone blocks, in the centre of which was a 2.7m-wide doorway. This lay on the east–west axis of the temple and sacrificial altar. Two metres outside it were two limestone slabs, 2.7m apart. The northern of these two slabs showed signs of setting-out marks cut in its upper surface, suggesting that both slabs were bases for piers or columns supporting a porch or free-standing arch in front of the precinct entrance. A small amount of later 1st-century pottery was found sealed beneath the earliest layers at the entrance, including a pre-Flavian south Gaulish samian sherd (form Dr.24), suggesting it was part of the initial layout.

The eastern boundary wall was later thickened, particularly at the gate opening. This might have occurred when the reservoir was roofed, as part of its aggrandisement (Cunliffe 1995, 43). Later still, the buttressing of the reservoir wall necessitated the removal of part of the eastern precinct wall. It was

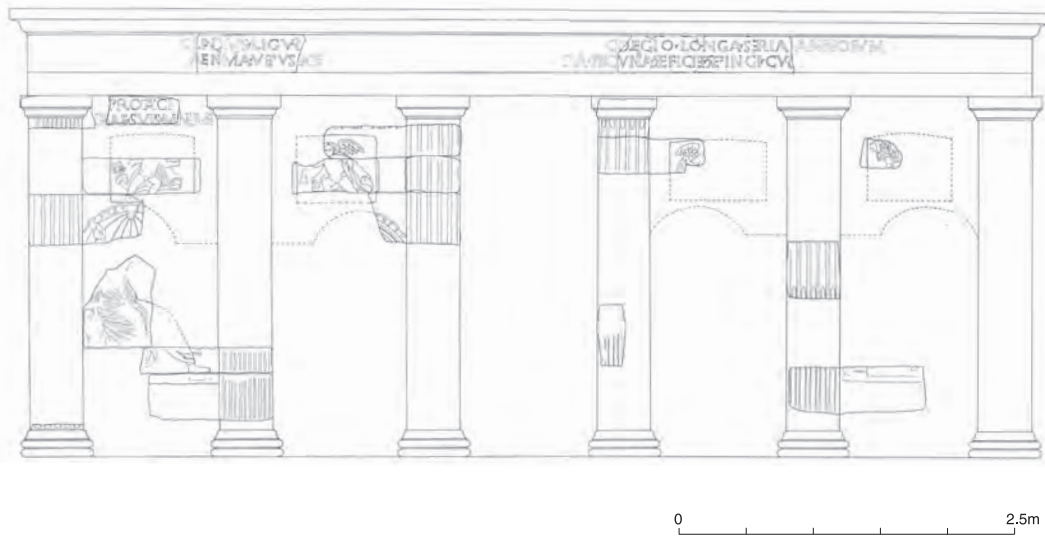


Figure 2.15. Suggested reconstruction of the façade of the four seasons (Cunliffe 2000, fig 43).

rebuilt further east, with a colonnaded walk on the outside.

The façade of the four seasons (Fig 2.15)

The construction of the portico and quadrifrons on the south side of the precinct in the 3rd century could have destroyed the unity of the layout of the whole complex. However, fourteen pieces among the architectural fragments found in 1790 came from an elaborately carved façade, another fragment was recovered by Davis in 1895, and three more fragments by Cunliffe in 1968 and 1982. There have been several attempts to reconstruct the facade – the earliest by Lysons and the most recent by Cunliffe (Cunliffe 1995, 55–6). Cunliffe proposes that six fluted pilasters divided the façade into five spaces, the central space serving as a doorway. The other four were treated in similar ways, each being provided with a large niche with a shell canopy protecting a seated figure. Above the two outer pairs were recesses containing four running cupids, clearly representing the four seasons: one holding flowers, a second carrying corn, a third a bunch of fruit, and a fourth a bill-hook used for cutting firewood (Fig 2.15). Immediately above the cupid recesses ran a two-line inscription referring to the repair and re-painting of a building by a guild (perhaps of craftsmen). The 1790 excavations also recovered three fragments from a triangular pediment with a central roundel containing the head of the goddess Luna. The style of carving is similar to that of the façade inscription, and

the dimensions of the pediment would fit the central doorway, suggesting that the two might well have belonged together. Cunliffe suggests that the façade and pediment occupied the north side of the precinct, with the head of Luna facing across the sacrificial altar the head of Sol on the quadrifrons pediment.

STRUCTURES EAST OF THE TEMPLE (MRN 20 86)

The revetted platform or podium

The area to the east of the temple precinct is not well understood, primarily because much of it is overlaid by the Abbey. Excavation in the network of cellars on its south side and below the Concert Room has, however, confirmed the existence of an important building (srn 377, 369, 618, 667). The earliest recorded intervention occurred in 1864 when Irvine dug a deep trench to investigate the foundations of the west front of the Abbey, and encountered massive concrete walls, which he followed down into the clay subsoil. In 1893, Mann recognised that Davis had uncovered more of the same structure during the construction of the Concert Room, an extension to the Grand Pump Room. Mann's records show a massive concrete structure faced with small stones, with odd compartments in it, surviving to as much as 2m in height. Unfortunately, this part of the monument was completely destroyed by Davis in 1897, although some parts might survive north and north-east of the Concert Room. It sat over an earlier monumental structure that consisted of a wide and strongly built east–west revetting wall incorporating a series of piers

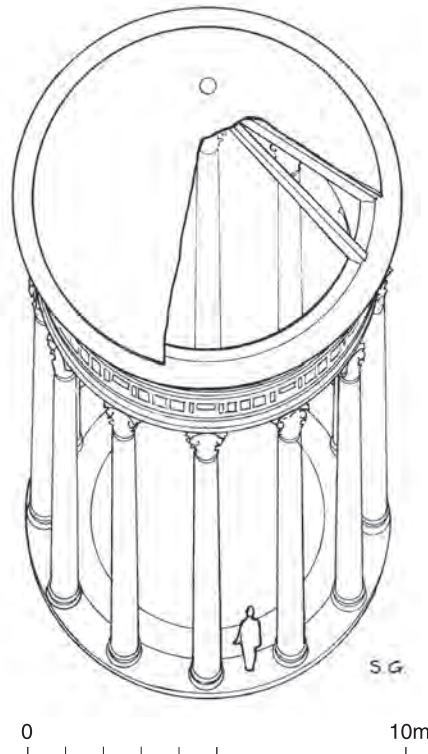


Figure 2.16. (a) Carved fragments from the tholos (Cunliffe 2000, fig 80); (b) suggested reconstruction of the tholos (after Cunliffe 1989).

made of large ashlar blocks, three of which were found. Each block marked the junction of a thick north–south wall with the cross wall (mrn 86, srn 234). The east west wall is visible in the museum, but the north–south elements, were destroyed. This was shown conclusively by observations by Peter Davenport during works in the Museum in 2009–10 beneath the concrete floor of the Museum (Davenport 2011). These works and further study of Mann’s drawings in the original (Mann 1900) raised the strong possibility that this structure was in fact of one period rather than the two long assumed.

In 1987, the floor of the long narrow room forming the men’s lavatories at the east end of the Concert Room was removed (srn 377). This provided the opportunity to re-examine some of the walls of the lower structure recorded by Mann. The footings of the east wall of the Concert Room had destroyed the western face of one of the north–south walls, but the core and eastern face survived to a height of at least 0.80m, although obscured by Victorian footings. The lower part of the east–west revetment wall is made of large ashlar blocks, giving the impression of a stylobate forming the base for the three piers noted by Mann. The east–west wall continued to the east with the face offset southwards. According to Mann’s record, the third pier had been pierced by niche or recess (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 149), but actual inspection of it *in situ* in 1987 made it quite clear that this was a post-Roman well: it had a dry-stone lining where the cut continued outside the pier. In 1987, the offset section of wall was traced for 0.4m along the north side of the main outfall drain from the spring. The revetment was seen again in 1993, during excavation by Bath Archaeological Trust for the Abbey Heritage Centre development (srn 369) and in 1995 further refurbishment led to the excavation of two evaluation pits (test pits 1 and 2) in the cellar floors in Kingston Parade, north of the East Baths (srn 618). Test pit 2 revealed the south face of a Romano-British wall on the same alignment, standing 1.2m high. It was buried in its own demolition or collapse rubble, interrupted by episodes of burning, perhaps hearths. It was left unexcavated, but recorded in section in the side of an 18th-century disturbance.

From the above, it can be seen that there was a monumental structure of perhaps two phases

under the west end of the Abbey. The structure can be interpreted on the evidence currently available to suggest an eastern precinct or platform, supported by a revetment wall, and stylobate bounded on the east by a gravelled area, possibly a north–south road. Its function remains unknown, but it could well have formed a podium for another monumental building, c. 90m east of the Temple of Sulis Minerva and on the same alignment – quite possibly the tholos discussed below. The concrete of the upper part of the monument is puzzling, but full analysis of the works carried out until now (currently underway) may clarify the interpretation. Its construction indicates a Roman date, and it may have required the demolition of the earlier(?) structure. On our present understanding of the evidence, however, nothing more can be said about it.

The tholos

During the excavation of the Baths in 1878–82, four decorated blocks of Bath stone were recovered from the north-east corner of the Great Bath chamber. All four blocks were derived from a large circular or part-circular monument, and all were elaborately decorated on both the inner and outer faces – three from a frieze, and one from an architrave (Cunliffe 1989, mnrn 20). The inner faces of the frieze fragments were ornamented with a continuous floral scroll with a central fleu-de-lis, and the outfaces with a series of panels with floral motifs, and in four cases, standing figures, presumably deities. The architrave was carved with Greek key patterns and bands of leaves and flowing tendrils. Cunliffe points out that the decoration on both faces of the blocks indicates that the building was designed to be viewed from both inside and outside. This in turn implies that the monument was fully circular to allow for sufficient space for the interior frieze to be viewed (Cunliffe 1989, 63). The curvature of the frieze indicates a building approximately 9.1m in diameter, which exactly matches the width of the façade of the Temple of Sulis Minerva. Using Vitruvius’ rules for the proportion of circular buildings (*tholos*) of this kind, Cunliffe tentatively puts forward two alternative reconstructions (Fig 2.16): either a building supported by 8 or 10 columns and 10m high to frieze level, or one supported by 12 columns and 7.2m high. In any case, it is clear that the Bath tholos was a large, imposing



and impressive monument, so far unique in Roman Britain.

It is likely that the figures on the exterior panels of the frieze represent deities, although their incomplete and very weathered condition makes positive identification impossible. One figure appears to be holding lyre, and so might represent Apollo; another is wearing a short cloak, perhaps indicating Hercules; and a draped female figure could be a water goddess. All three deities are also depicted on the corner stones of the sacrificial altar in the temple precinct. Stylistically, the carving on all four blocks dates to the early 2nd century.

Although all that can be said with reasonable certainty is that a classical tholos was erected some time in the early 2nd century, somewhere in the centre of the walled area, it is nevertheless a reasonable conjecture is that it stood on the massive revetted platform first recorded by Mann under the west end of the nave of the Abbey Church, an imposing classical monument standing in a second precinct. The precinct of Sulis Minerva would have added considerably to the grandeur of the whole complex. Both the *tholos* and the Temple of Sulis would have been intervisible across the sacrificial altar, and framed by the eastern entrance to the temple precinct: they would all have been a part of a single, unified concept (see Fig 2.7). It is tempting to see the visit of

Figure 2.17. Carved fragments from the Westgate monument (Cunliffe 2000, fig 83).

the emperor Hadrian to Britain in AD 122 as the occasion for the construction of the tholos.

Apart from the presumed construction date of the tholos in the early 2nd century, nothing is known of the later history of this eastern precinct. The excavations between 1987 and 1993 beneath the concert room and Abbey Heritage Centre (above) showed that the revetted platform, on which the tholos is presumed to have stood, was completely rebuilt some time in the Roman period (but see above). This suggests that the tholos itself might have been dismantled. Mann's records show that two of the frieze blocks were found on the floor of the ambulatory around the Great Bath. As they overlay the collapsed vaulted roof of the bath, Cunliffe suggest that they found their way there only in the sub-Roman period, and that the tholos could have remained standing (Cunliffe 1989, 68). He notes, however, that one block showed signs that it had already been reused, and the evidence for the replacement of the revetted platform reminds us that the tholos might well have been demolished before the end of the Roman period. The whole question of the position and history of the tholos, however, remains essentially speculative, and in the absence of further excavation, is likely to remain so.

The Westgate Street monument

Remains of an even larger monumental building are represented by four fragments of a decorated cornice from a building estimated to be about twice as large as the temple. They came from excavations in 1869, during the rebuilding of the Pump Room Hotel in Westgate Street. The fragments were retrieved by Irvine and are now in the Roman Baths Museum (Fig 2.17). Nothing further is known of the building, but it presumably stood somewhere in Westgate Street to the north of the temple complex. It is possible that the fragments came from a theatre; a theatre would be a normal part of a religious complex of the size and importance of Bath, and the rising land north of the temple would have provided an ideal site for the *cavea*. However, in the absence of further information this remains conjectural.

A watching brief in 1997 at 1 Union Street, just north of the area that Irvine was observing when the large blocks were found, revealed a Roman-style foundation of mortar and stones more than 2.4m wide at a considerable depth. It

was cut by medieval features but was otherwise undated. A possible face was seen on the south. No further excavation was permitted, in the interests of preservation *in situ*. This must at least be a candidate for the building that these large blocks came from (Davenport 1997f).

The later history of the temple precinct

In the inner precinct, Cunliffe and Davenport identified six phases of soil accumulation and cobbling post-dating the mid-4th century (1985, 184–5). The wear patterns for the successive phases suggest a considerable period of use, particularly the paving from phase 4, which demonstrates extensive use of the door in the north wall of the reservoir enclosure. Of even greater significance, however, is the final paving layer, which incorporated a sculptured block from the temple pediment. It indicates the collapse or partial demolition of the temple façade before the period of continuous use had ended. Cunliffe and Davenport argued that given the amount of wear on some of the floors occupation must have continued well into the 5th century, if not later, but a series of radiocarbon dates obtained from material in the latest of these cobbling layers strongly argues that the site was in ruins by the second half of the 5th century (Gerrard 2007).

A number of buildings appear to have encroached on the original area. Wedlake recorded a building to the south-west of the temple, with evidence for a hypocaust and furnace (srn 237). Unfortunately, there was insufficient time to fully excavate the feature and its exact date is unknown. Cunliffe and Davenport suggest that it might have been built at about the same time as a building to the north (1985, 101), now dated to post-AD 330 (Davenport (ed) 1999, 21). This second encroachment was identified during excavation in 1983 (trench 106). The building had at least one tessellated floor overlaid by a series of mortar tips and thin deposits, which had accumulated after the stylobate had been removed. A third building was identified in 1967 at the east end of the precinct (trench 14). It was built over the stylobate on a gravel base, dividing off a small room at the south-east end of the ambulatory. The gravel was sealed by a thick mortar floor, contemporary with the newly constructed walls, and layers of 'occupation rubbish' overlying the floor suggest some kind of intensive use. This

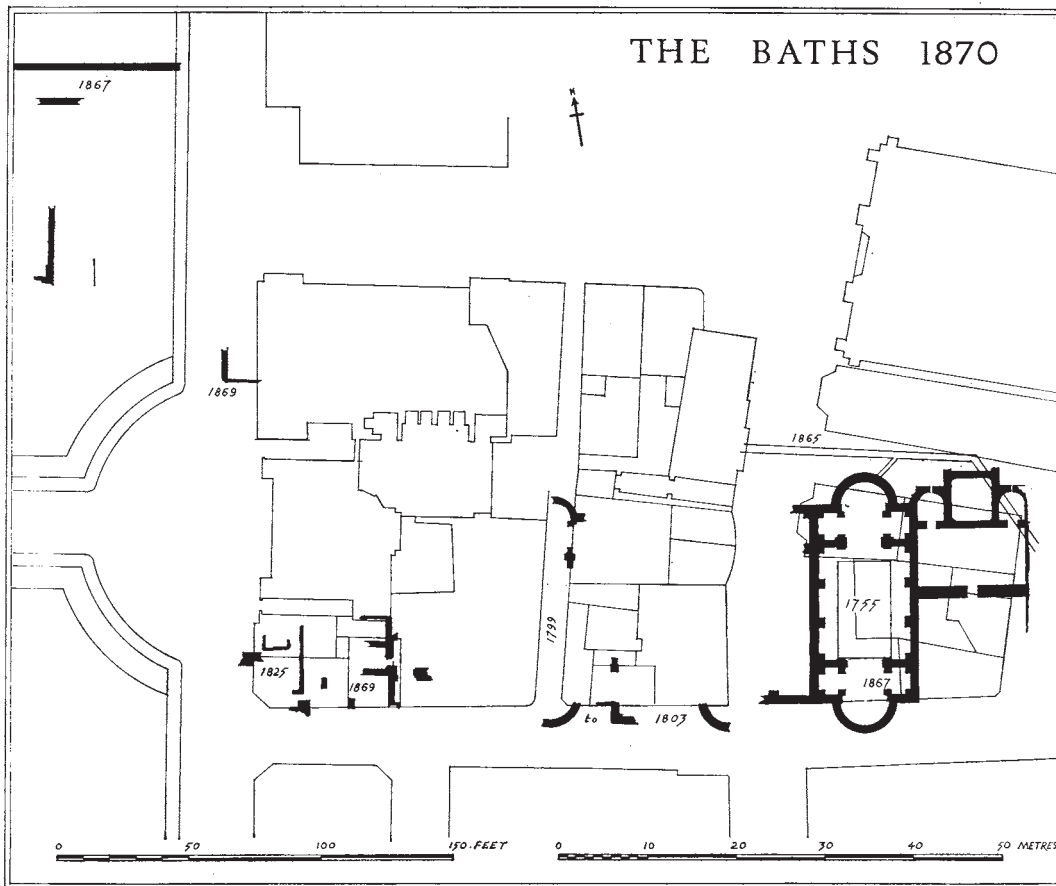


Figure 2.18. The known elements of the Baths prior to Davis' excavations in the late 19th century (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, fig 28).

pattern of encroachment and construction has been interpreted by Cunliffe and Davenport as a new phase in the life of the temple, when the outer precinct was abandoned as a religious precinct and given over to secular building. Evidence along the western side of the outer precinct wall suggests that the ambulatory was demolished, possibly after a fire, and that houses were built over the site (Davenport (ed) 1999, 21).

The bathing complex (mnrn 29)

The plan of the bathing complex was revealed gradually through a series of excavations and observations over several hundred years (see Table 2.6; see also Rochester and Rogers 1996). Most of this took place before the development of modern excavation and recording techniques (Irvine 1873, 1882; Davis 1878, 1880, 1881, 1883, 1884, 1888, 1893a, 1893b, 1895a; Knowles 1926), but work was also undertaken by Richmond (1954–64; Cunliffe (ed) 1969) and by Cunliffe (Cunliffe (ed) 1969 and 1976). The summary presented

below is based on the most recent interpretation (Cunliffe 1995, 61–84). Although some minor changes in phasing at the East Baths will result from work carried out in 2000 (site archive Roman Baths Museum), these have not been incorporated in this report.

The Roman Baths complex was fed with hot water from the Sacred Spring and lay immediately to the south of the temple precinct. It was constructed in the late 1st century and continued in use into the late 4th or even early 5th century. Throughout its life it underwent structural change to enlarge the facilities around its principal feature, the Great Bath. Cunliffe argues that while alterations were probably being made continually, six phases can be distinguished (see p 63), although close dating evidence is slight.

Past work and the nature of the evidence

Unlike the temple precinct, most of which remains inaccessible, large parts of the baths are now open to the public in the Roman Baths Museum. The baths and the building

Table 2.6. Excavations on the bathing complex

SRN	Site name	Description / references
88	35–36 Stall Street, 1727	Excavation of sewer trench on the corner of Stall Street and Bath Street revealed part of a hypocaust floor associated with the western part of the bathing complex (Lens 1727, 64; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 131–2)
224	The East Baths, 1755–63	The eastern bathing complex including the Lucas Bath and the eastern hot baths were exposed. By 1763 some further remains had been uncovered south of the Lucas Bath. It was at about this time that the eastern steps leading down to the Great Bath were seen (Oliver 1755; Lucas 1756, 222–30; Hoare 1762; Hewitt 1755, 1756, 159; Anon 1761; Sutherland 1763, 16–22; Haverfield 1906)
226	The Great Bath, 1799–1803	Parts of the apsidal <i>exedrae</i> on the north and south sides of the Great Bath were exposed at its western end during building works (Spry 1822; Haverfield 1906; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 90)
227	Cellars on the north corner of Stall Street and York Street, 1825	Hypocaust in the south-west corner of the baths (Haverfield 1906; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 90)
396	Cellars below western end of York Street, 1825	Excavations of the south-west corner of the Baths revealed part of a lead pipe at the corner of York Street and Stall Street (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 128, 205)
391	The East Baths, 1867–68 (Kingston Parade)	Limited excavation in the cellar above the Lucas Bath exposed part of the Baths (Irvine Papers; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 133)
392	South-west Baths, 1869	Part of the south-west layout including rooms to the west of the circular bath revealed when a new engine-room chimney was constructed (Irvine Papers; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 133)
230	The Great Bath, 1871	Paving of the ambulatory around the bath close to the north-west corner revealed, along with steps descending into it and part of its lead-lined bottom (Haverfield 1906; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 90)
233	The Great Bath, 1880–1896	Sporadic excavation of the Great Bath by Davis revealed much of the layout. Much of the Great Bath excavated. In 1883 the hypocaust west of the Circular Bath was re-excavated. In 1884–5 the Circular Bath and passage to the north was uncovered. From 1885–1887, the area south of the Circular Bath was excavated. In 1893–5 remains beneath new Pump Room floors extended to the east and beneath the old Pump Room north of the reservoir. In 1896 the westernmost rectangular bath under Stall Street was revealed (Davis 1884, 89–113; Mann 1900; Haverfield 1906; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 91–3)
235	The East Baths, 1923 (Kingston Parade)	Excavation of the eastern Baths (Knowles 1926, 1–18; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 93, 134)
236	The East Baths, 1954–64 (Kingston Parade)	Excavation in advance of exposure and presentation of the Roman remains by Richmond. Eastern complex, the Great Bath and the Circular Bath planned (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 93, 134; Richmond 1969, 95–103, 113–16)
238	South of the Great Bath and Circular Bath, 1964–68	Excavations south of the Great and Circular Baths between 1964 and 1968 in interconnecting cellars. Thirteen trenches were discovered over the south and south-west baths complex (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 134–40)
326	East of the East Baths, 1968 (cellar below Kingston Parade)	Trench 24 excavated, revealing an early wall from an unidentified structure, later incorporated into eastern wall of the apsidal bath (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 140; Cunliffe 1979d, 90; Cunliffe 1980, 190)
393	The Roman Baths, 1969–75 (Museum, Stall Street)	Building at western end of baths demolished in 1969 and replaced with a new building. Most of it cleaned up, recorded and left <i>in situ</i> . Seven trenches were excavated revealing hypocausts, the stokerly, baths (tepidarium and caldarium) and corridors (trenches 40, 35, 36, 36b, 41, 37, 38) (Cunliffe 1976, 1–32)

299	York Street, 1983	A trench cut through the south wall of the baths in York Street (Davenport (ed) 1991, 116–20)
398	Building survey of the Great Bath Apse, 1990	The elevation of the north-west apse was recorded (Davenport (ed) 1991, 147–8)
636	Building survey of the East Baths, 1994 (Kingston Parade)	Detailed survey of the East Baths carried out by Bath Archaeological Trust (Unpubl; original archive held by Bath Archaeological Trust)
637	York Street, 1994	A rescue excavation by Bath Archaeological Trust following emergency structural and engineering work in York Street. The east wall of the Roman Baths located, along with undisturbed deposits running alongside it. Overlaid by probable early medieval features (Unpubl; original archive held by Bath Archaeological Trust)
619	York Street, 1995	A column of stratigraphy was removed by Bath Archaeological Trust to the north of the 1994 trench. The partly demolished hypocaust of the Romano-British Baths was identified at the base of the trench I. Overlaid by probable early medieval features (Unpubl; original archive held by Bath Archaeological Trust)

foundations survive because they were partially filled with the collapsed superstructure and then buried. Raising the ground level in this way helps to explain why subsequent land use left the deepest stratigraphy untouched.

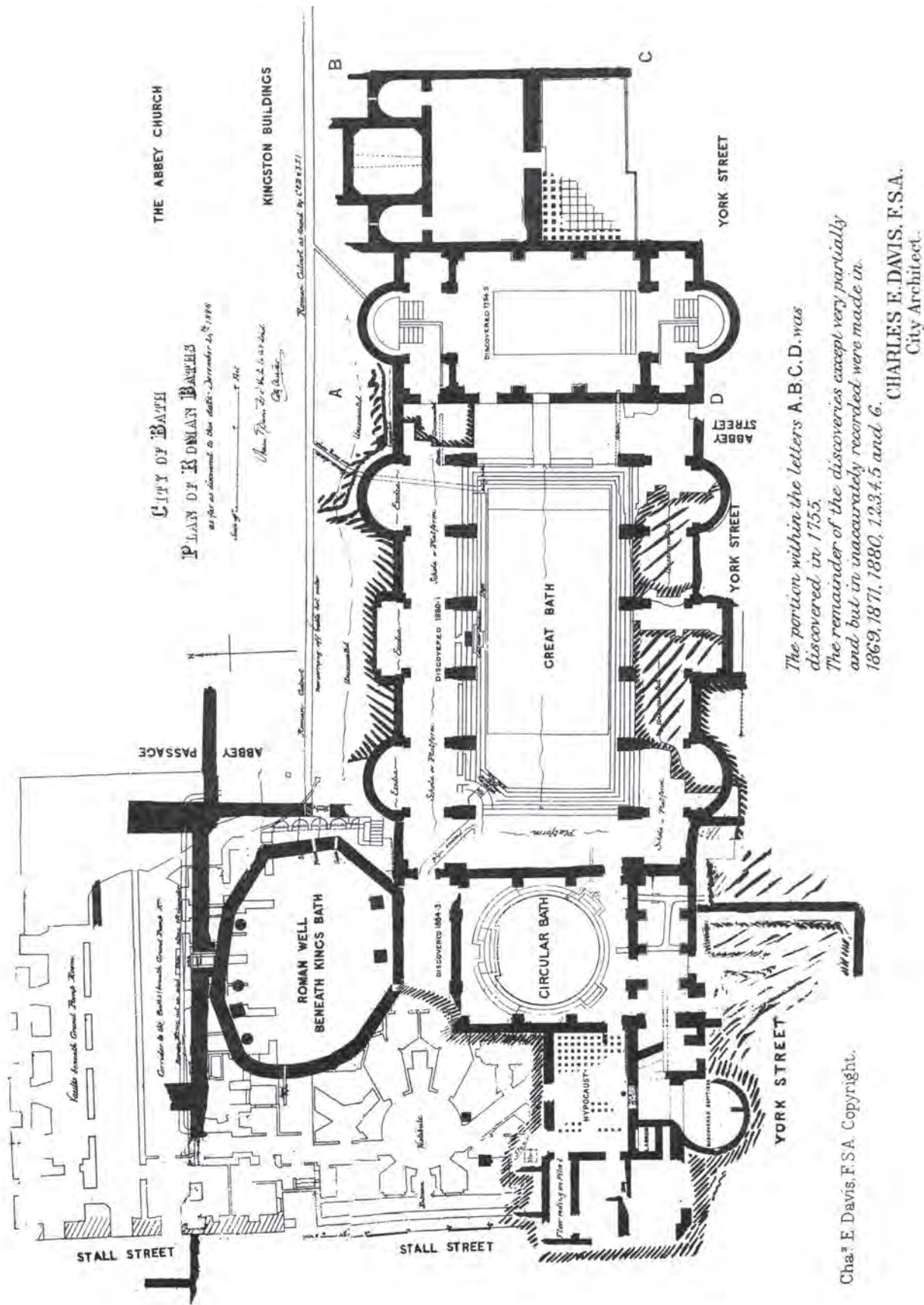
The excavation of the sewer trench in Stall Street in 1727, which led to the discovery of the head of Minerva, also exposed a hypocaust, now known to be part of the western end of the bath complex (srn 88). Nearly 30 years later, in 1755, a much larger area was exposed when the Duke of Kingston's baths were constructed on the site of the western range of the medieval monastic buildings (srn 224). The work exposed what is now known to be part of the eastern baths, and was recorded by the architect John Wood and Dr Lucas, after whom the large eastern Hot Bath was named (see Wood 1777). Unfortunately, much of the site was destroyed when the 18th-century baths were constructed, but William Hoare's contemporary drawings survive (see Fig 1.5). Fifty years later, drainage work in Abbey Passage (srn 226) and Union Street, together with observations in cellars in York Street (srn 227), revealed elements from the northern and southern sides of the complex, so that by the early 19th century the area occupied by the complex was more or less defined (Fig 2.18).

In 1867, James Irvine explored the cellars to the south of the Duke of Kingston's baths, and in 1878 the City Council bought and began to demolish the overlying properties. This allowed Major Davis to uncover the Great Bath, removing the rubble of the vaulted roof

that had collapsed into it (srn 233). Sadly, the bath was cleared without any real regard to archaeological recording, and in 1885 to 1887 the western baths were cleared in a similar way after the demolition of the 16th-century Queen's bath, which had overlain them. Over the course of 16 years, Davis had exposed about two thirds of the bathing complex. The exposed remains of the eastern baths were covered and built over, and the Great Bath itself left open to view (Fig 2.19).

In 1923, the 18th-century Duke of Kingston's baths were demolished, and the eastern baths were excavated by Knowles. Knowles was a professional archaeologist and although the 18th-century building had destroyed much of the later Roman levels, earlier levels survived and, for the first time, the complex history of alterations that the Baths had undergone could be addressed

However, there was still no reliable plan in existence of the entire bathing complex. In 1964, at the invitation of the Spa committee, Sir Ian Richmond undertook a detailed structural analysis, combined with limited excavation, first of the eastern baths and later of the Great Bath. After Richmond's death in 1965, the project was completed by Cunliffe, who undertook a detailed re-examination of the west baths and limited excavations south of the circular bath. In 1969, the douche and massage baths that had been built on the western side of the west baths in 1888 were demolished and the structures first uncovered by Davis were properly planned and analysed.



The portion within the letters A.B.C.D. was discovered in 1755. The remainder of the discoveries except very partially and but in inaccurately recorded were made in 1869, 1871, 1880, 1884, 5 and 6.

CHARLES E. DAVIS, F.S.A.
City Architect.

Chas. E. Davis, F.S.A. Copyright.

Figure 2.19. Plan of the Baths in c 1886 (Cumliffe (ed) 1969, fig 29, after Davis).

The archaeological evidence

Period 1: From their inception, the Roman bathing complex was an integral part of the temple complex. The hot water from the Sacred Spring fed directly into the Great Bath, while a culvert on its eastern side directed water into two smaller swimming baths at the east end: a tepid bath (the Lucas Bath), and a cooler *nataio*. To the west of the Great Bath lay a spacious hall with three windows in the west wall allowing views into the sacred spring and altar beyond. The north wall of the hall structurally pre-dated the wall of the reservoir around the sacred spring, indicating that the period 1 baths were an integral part of the first temple complex, dating from *c* AD 70. A corridor on the south side of the hall opened southwards into a plunge bath, and westwards into a suite of heated rooms (the west baths). These are interpreted as an *apodyterion* (changing room), a warm room (*tepidarium*), and a hot room (*caldarium*) with two small plunge pools in rectangular recesses in the west and east walls of the latter. The plain, bold design of the bathing complex is similar to those of the later 1st-century baths at Exeter (Bidwell 1979) and at Caerleon (Zienkiewicz 1986), and supports the Flavian date suggested for the whole temple and bathing complex (Fig 2.20).

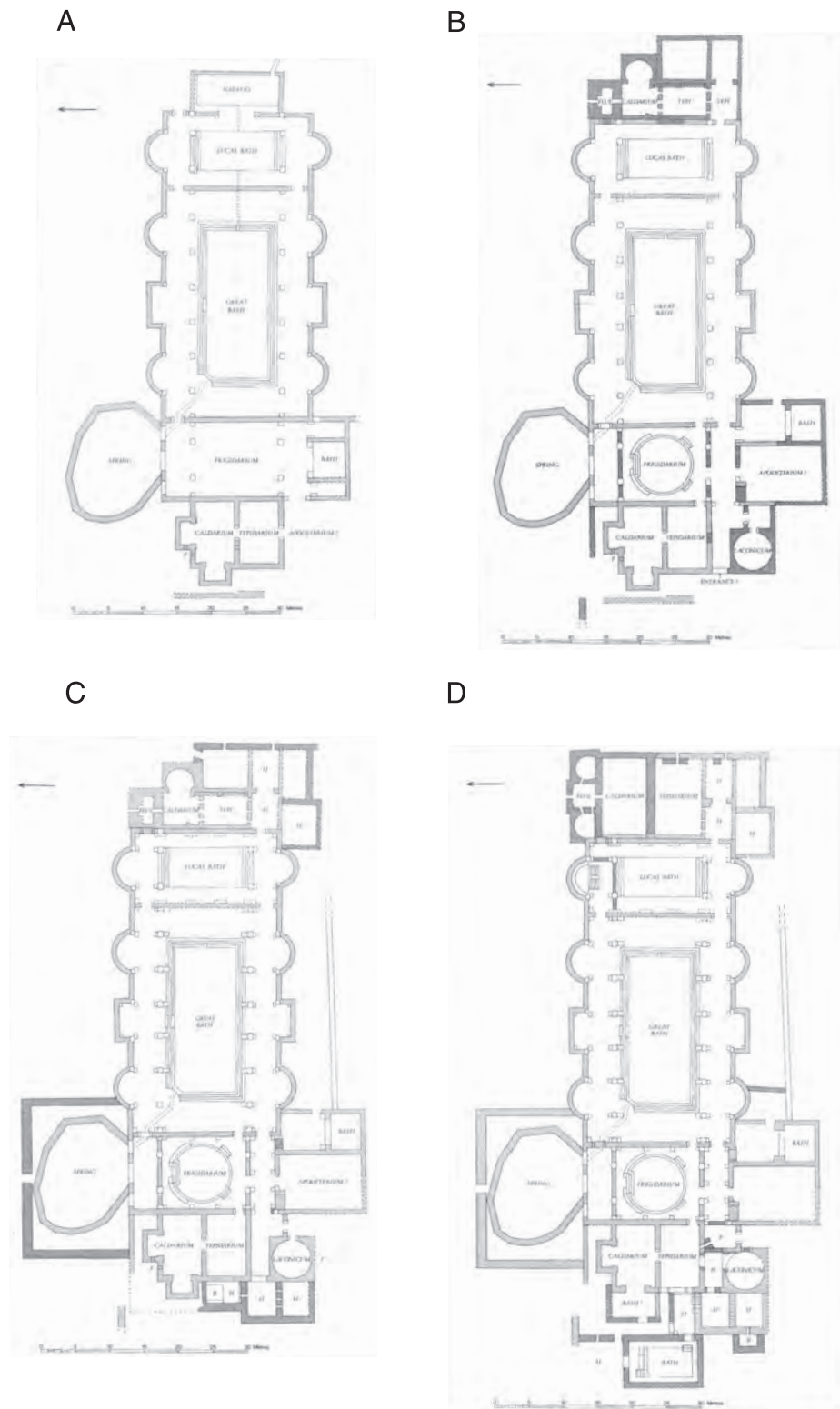
Period 2: Period 2 saw the extension of the original bathing complex. At the west end a circular plunge bath was inserted into the earlier hall to replace the bath on the south of the period 1 hall, which was now buried beneath a new exercise yard. On the east of the exercise yard, on the site of the earlier *apodyterion*, a *laconicum* was constructed with a new corridor and presumably stokehole. The other two rooms of the original western baths continued unchanged during this period, except that the floor level of the *tepidarium* was raised and a small bath added. At the east end, the Period 1 tepid *nataio* was obliterated and replaced by a ‘Turkish’ bath suite, comprising a *caldarium*, a *tepidarium* and several heated rooms, whilst the Lucas Bath now served as a tepid plunge. An early 2nd century date has been tentatively suggested for this period (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 129). Excavation and re-planning in 2000 has suggested that the southern heated room attributed to this phase was actually an entrance hall or vestibule, only later converted to a heated space (excavation archive Roman Baths Museum).

Period 3: The third period saw the re-roofing of the entire central area with a massive masonry barrel vault, and the strengthening of the existing walls and piers. One explanation of the surviving foundations is that a continuous east–west vault now covered the Circular, Great and Lucas Baths, springing from a strengthened version of the arcaded base, which supported the original roof. This would imply that the north and south ambulatories were roofed with parallel but narrower tunnel vaults. A more likely arrangement is that the Circular and Lucas Baths were roofed with north–south vaults. This would have allowed the Great Bath to be lit through the open east and west ends of its vaults. Support for this interpretation comes in the recognition that a segment of brick arch that was preserved in fallen masonry on the west side of the Great Bath came from a large arched opening in the west gable end of the Great Bath (Davenport (ed) 1991, I, 46). Also dating from Period 3, was the addition of heated rooms at the south ends of both the east and west ‘Turkish’ baths, causing some internal reorganisation. Period 3 has been dated by a coin of Hadrian found mortared into one of the strengthened pier bases around the Great Bath, which indicates a *terminus post quem* of AD 140. As noted above, however, the pattern of coin distribution in the Sacred Spring suggests that the changes in access to the reservoir that resulted from the period 3 alterations to the hall in the late 2nd or early 3rd century might represent a more accurate date.

Period 4: This period saw the complex at its grandest. The old East Baths were almost entirely rebuilt to provide a suite of ‘Turkish’ baths in rooms of graded temperature, while the suite at the west end offered an intensely hot room, linked with a cold plunge. Special rooms were provided for hot or cold curative treatment, which could be followed by a gentle swim in the Great Bath. It was probably at this period that the ambulatories around the Great Bath were re-paved with slabs of Pennant Sandstone. Period 4 has not been closely dated, but the use of Pennant Sandstone to re-pave the temple precinct seems to be datable to around AD 300, so might offer a clue to the dating here.

Period 5: In this period, a series of minor rebuildings and additions were carried out. The *caldarium* in the west bath was replaced

Figure 2.20. (a–d) The Baths periods 1–5 (after Cunliffe 2000, figs 54, 60, 64, 71).



by an oblong, cold bath. The *tepidarium* was provided with a new flue and a small warm bath added on the south. The hypocausts below the floors of the eastern baths were

becoming silted up. Analysis of the silt has shown that it derived from the Avon, rather than from the springs (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 142–7), suggesting that it resulted

from more frequent river flooding as a result of rising sea levels. To counteract this, the basement floors of the hypocausts were raised with deposits of puddled clay. Although this might have necessitated the construction of new hypocausts, this was not conclusively demonstrated in the excavations in 2000. (P Davenport pers comm).

Period 6: Finally, in this period, the south-east hypocausts seem to have been abandoned and infilled and the now unheated rooms re-floored with concrete.

2.3.2 The hot springs in the south-west quarter

Two additional hot springs lie in the south-west quarter of the walled area: the Hot Bath spring to the south-east, below the old Royal Private Baths, and the Cross Bath spring at the west end of Bath Street, just under 30m to the north-west.

The Hot Bath spring

The Hot Bath spring – sometimes called the Hetling or Hetlin spring – lies in Hot Bath Street, west of the 18th-century Hot Bath building. Although the Hot Bath spring is smaller than the Sacred Spring, and has a lesser flow, it is the hottest of the Bath springs with a water temperature of 49°C. Otherwise it is assumed to be of similar form to the main Kings spring, ie with a spring funnel rising through the Lias clay and filled with slumped sand, gravel and clay slurry.

Past work and the nature of the evidence

In 1774–6, the architect John Wood excavated c 6m of the upper part of the spring in order to construct a reservoir for the spring water (see Wood 1777). His ashlar-lined shaft is still there, about two metres in diameter, and with a dated inscription naming him at the base. During this work, coins were recovered, as well as two inscribed altars, one dedicated to Sulis Minerva and the other to Diana. In 1985, an area of about 6m north to south and about 4m east to west was lowered around the well head, for some work by the council. Remains of a floor of Pennant sandstone blocks were observed during a watching brief by the Bath Archaeological Trust. The floor survived sporadically around the well head at a depth of about 1m down, and was thought to be possibly the floor of the pre-Wood Hot Bath,

but full recording was not possible. The records are preserved in the Roman Baths Museum.

The Archaeological Evidence

The construction of the New Royal Baths in 1999 involved drilling a borehole 230mm in diameter into the spring from the base of Wood's shaft at 6m, and to a depth of 12m. Staff of the Bath Archaeological Trust were able to wet sieve a substantial sample of the sands and gravels that had been washed into the spring funnel in one section of the borehole. As well as recovering the Mesolithic flint assemblage discussed above, the sieving yielded approximately 330 coins, representing offerings thrown into the spring, of which 219 were identifiable. One of these was a Durotrigian piece; the remainder were all Roman. Although, compared to the 12,595 coins from the Sacred Spring, this number appears modest, it nevertheless represents an estimated overall density of 1100 coins per cu. m (Davenport *et al* 2007, 145). The loss of the upper 6m as a result of Wood's disturbance is another reason for the smaller sample. The coins, however, show a dramatic decline after AD 161, in marked contrast to the coins from the Sacred Spring. In addition to coins, the borehole produced a small amount of Roman pottery (although this was, unfortunately, not closely dateable), and a certain amount of building material.

There is no evidence for veneration of the spring in the immediate pre-Roman period, apart from the Durotrigian coin, but the presence of brick, tile (including a small amount of roofing tile), fragments of *opus signinum*, and tufa, suggests nearby structures in the Roman period, and it is possible that the spring itself was enclosed and/or roofed over. The apparent cessation of votive offerings in the mid-2nd century might be a result of the general re-ordering of this part of Bath at the time (*see* p 67), but it might equally well reflect a change in the type of offering made, with food or other organic material replacing coins.

Potential

At present, the spring lies below the surface of Hot Bath Street, but clearly the material washed into the spring head has a very high potential, while the area immediately surrounding it might also have a high potential.

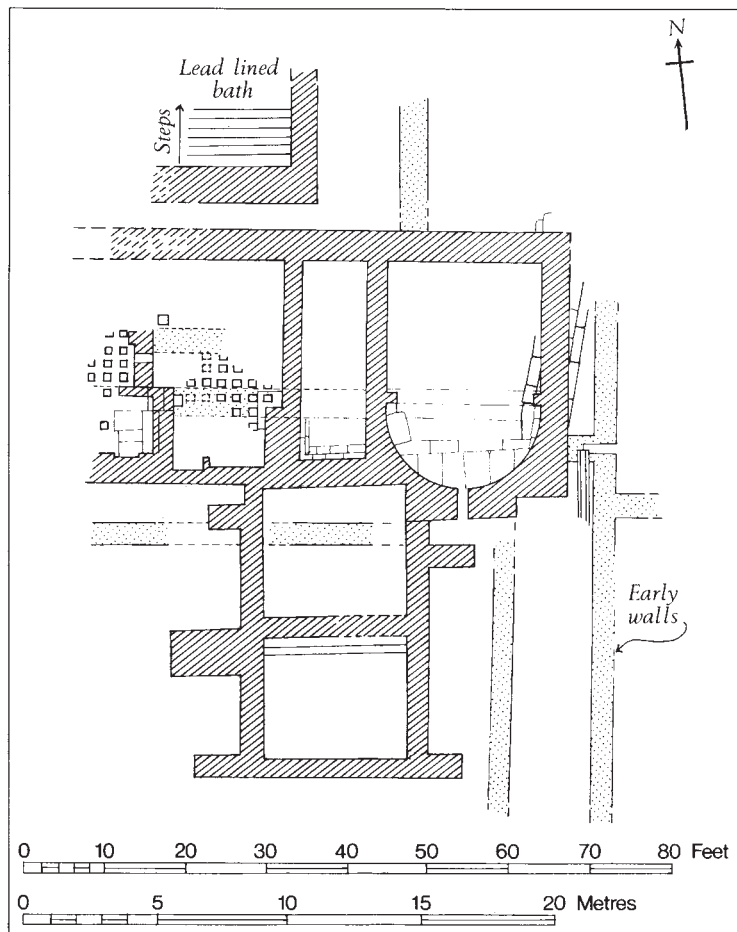
The Hot Bath (mrn 7)

Although little is known about the Hot Bath spring itself, the discovery of a bath complex immediately to the south confirms its use during the Romano-British period. (See Lewcun 1998.)

Past work and nature of the evidence

In 1825, part of an altar set up by a 'son of Novantius' as the result of a dream or vision was found during the construction of the Royal United Hospital, but the identity of the deity is not known (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 153, 198). It was not until 1864–6, during the rebuilding of the Royal United Hospital (now the City of Bath Technical College, Gainsborough Building), that structural evidence was revealed (srn 200). Irvine recorded the remains of a substantial building lying about 3m below the surface. His plans, sections and photographs clearly show at least three different building phases, culminating in a well-preserved bath

Figure 2.21. Plan of the Hot Baths (after Cunliffe 2000).



suite. This suite consists of an apsidal-ended room, a corridor floored with white mortar, and a room(s) with a pillared hypocaust, within which there appears to have been a plunge bath cut through the raised floor and floored itself with stone slabs. To the south were two further rooms, which might have been added to the main building – one with a tessellated floor, the other with a cold plunge bath, floored with stone slabs, and reached by two steps from its north side. To the north lay a second plunge bath, with a lead-lined base. West of the bath, and joining the north wall of the apsidal-ended room, was the dry-stone footing of a possible ambulatory. A gravelled road 10ft wide was also found on the west side of the building (Fig 2.21). This record was confirmed and extended in excavations in 2007–2008 by Cotswold Archaeology and is now undergoing post-excavation analysis by AC Archaeology (P Davenport pers comm).

The archaeological evidence

Irvine's records were examined and reassessed by Cunliffe as part of the research programme in the early 1960s (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 151–4). Cunliffe demonstrated that the hot baths overlay an earlier masonry building of at least two wings, which had been demolished to allow construction of the baths (Fig 2.21). More recently excavations by Oxford and Cotswold Archaeology between 2006 and 2008 have demonstrated the accuracy of Irvine's records. At the time of writing (2009), the results of these excavations have not yet been fully assessed, but it is clear that the site was occupied by buildings whose function was essentially public rather than private. These buildings had a long and complex history, probably starting in the late 1st century and persisting though to the late 3rd or 4th centuries. A large and important hoard of 3rd-century coins was also found on the site (P Davenport pers comm).

Excavations in 1998–9 on the site of the New Royal Baths (Spa site), some 30m to the north-east on the opposite side of Beau Street, found architectural fragments from a high-status building incorporated in the foundations of a large later Roman building (building D). The fragments included ashlar masonry, column bases, stone and ceramic roofing tiles (the latter in fabric typical of the later 1st and early 2nd centuries), wall

and box tiles, voussoirs and painted wall plaster. Associated pottery suggested that the footings containing these recycled fragments were laid in *c* AD 150–160. Consequently, it appears that a large monumental building was demolished somewhere in the vicinity in *c* AD 160. It clearly had not stood on this site of building D itself, and the most likely explanation is that it stood on or near the site of the Hot Bath; the masonry remains recorded beneath the Hot Bath by Irvine might have been part of it. The building had clearly included heated rooms, expensive ashlar masonry, large columns, and very probably a peristyle (Betts 2007, 52–63). The lavishness of the architecture implies a public building, and associated finds show an unusual preponderance of tableware, including a high proportion of flagons, which might indicate a military presence. Davenport (Davenport *et al* 2007, 69) points to the inscription from Combe Down referring to a *principia*, and also to the inscription by a man describing himself as a ‘*centurio regionarius*’. It might be that the architectural fragments beneath building D came from an official, military headquarters responsible for administering the local area. Perhaps a more exciting possibility is that the early, highly Romanised building was built by a client ruler such as Togidubnus, as suggested by Henig for the Baths and Temple complex, and as indicated by evidence for very early Romanised structures in the south of *Britannia* discussed by Fulford (2008, 1–13).

Potential

Fortunately, Irvine was concerned to preserve as much as possible of the Roman structures he recorded, with the result that much of the surviving remains were preserved beneath the Victorian Hospital. In the early 20th century, however, the building was converted for use as a Technical College, and the Victorian vaults filled with rubble and concrete. Further research by Oxford Archaeology in 2005) and excavation by Cotswold Archaeology in 2006–8 (P Davenport pers comm) has shown that very substantial elements of what Irvine recorded were preserved under the Hospital, including the plunge bath and the mosaic. More was found under the 1825 wing and in the area south of it. Some of the latter was truncated by new works, but some survived.



The Cross Bath (mnr 21)

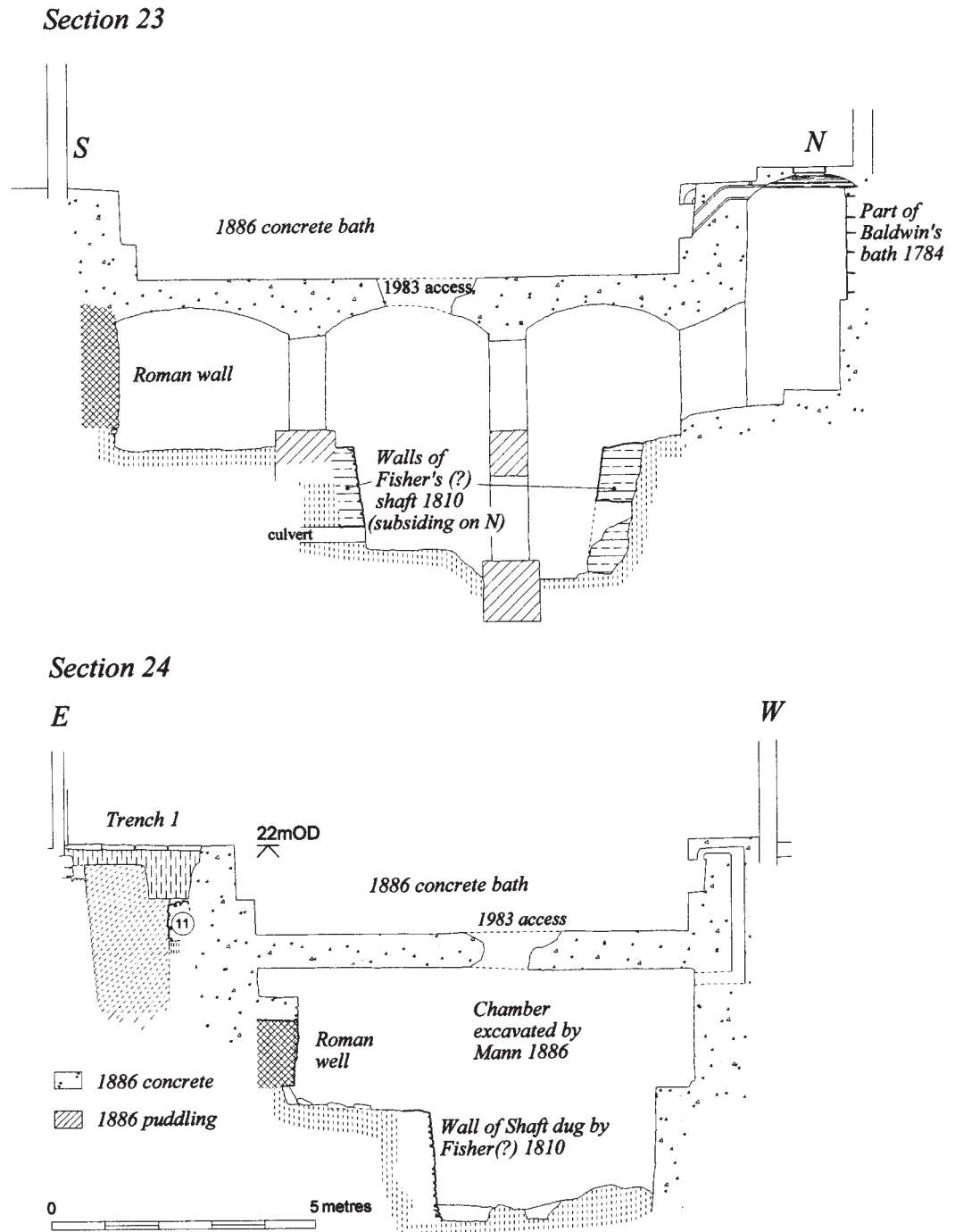
The Cross Bath spring rises on the site of the Cross Bath in Beau Street, 200m west of the Sacred Spring. There was a bath here in the 12th century, which was rebuilt or refurbished in the 16th century and replaced in the late 18th century. Extensive alterations were made in the 19th century, culminating in the construction of a larger pool by Major Davis in 1886.

Past work and nature of the evidence

In 1810, an excavation in the spring funnel was carried out by ‘Mr Fisher’ (Abel Fisher, who also carried out the work at the Kings Bath in that year) in order to restore the flow

Figure 2.22. Irvine's excavations at the Royal United Hospital in 1867 (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, plate LXXX a and b).

Figure 2.23. *The Cross Bath spring* (Davenport (ed) 1999, fig I.38).



identified as being Roman work (srn 86). In two letters to Irvine he refers to an oval bath measuring 40ft (12.2m) north to south by 30ft (9.1m) east to west (letters from Richard Mann to James Irvine held in Bath Record Office, dated 12th September 1885; Anon 1885; see also Anon 1891). The same operations revealed a large number of coins and a sculptured stone block carved with scenes including a tree, a dog, a snake and human figures, which have been interpreted as scenes from the legend of Aesclepius.

Further evidence was found to the south of the spring itself, where water from the elliptical tank drained into a large stone drain in Beau Street, first recorded by Mann in 1884 (srn 687). The drain was large enough to allow access for repair and maintenance. A similar section was recorded by Irvine under the Royal United Hospital building about 25m further south, which Davenport suggests was part of the same drain (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 154; Davenport (ed) 1999, 34–40, fig I.37–I.43).

Restoration work at the Cross Bath in 1983–8 enabled archaeological recording and limited excavation to be undertaken. Part of the curving wall of the elliptical tank was examined and although there was no absolute proof, it was shown to be probably Roman in date (Davenport (ed) 1999, 39). The watching brief also confirmed the line of Mann's drain, and a trench in 1989 revealed a further stretch of it to the south (srn 271).

The archaeological evidence

The Roman tank was built of *petit appareil* masonry and survives in places up to 1.7m in height. It had been built just within the lip of the top of the spring funnel. At the southern end of the length examined in 1983–8 was a (blocked) sluice and culvert opening into the masonry drain first recorded by Mann. Unfortunately, no stratified Roman deposits survived in the areas examined, but a Roman date for both the elliptical tank and the drain seems highly probable. No closer dating is possible on present evidence nor do we know any details of any associated structures; it is possible that it was an open-air pool. However, the sculptured fragments recovered from the clogged-up spring funnel in the 1880s strongly suggest a shrine to Aesclepius somewhere in the vicinity. It is also interesting to note the fragments of two unusual pipe clay figurines

of dogs, probably dating to the 1st or early 2nd century, which, although found in later contexts nearby, might indicate a healing establishment in the area. This material supplements the evidence of the possible Aesclepius altar from the Cross Bath (Davenport *et al* 2007, 69).

Potential

It is clear that the successive engineering works undertaken in the area of the Bath will have caused considerable loss of archaeological deposits. Nevertheless, the survival of Roman walling from the tank is remarkable, and the filling of the spring funnel might well contain evidence of ritual offerings (see Davenport 1997c).

2.3.3 Other Roman sites within the walls

Streets

There is no sign of an organised street grid at any time in the Roman period in the walled area of Bath. It might be assumed that, once the temple and baths complex round the Sacred Spring was built in *c.* 70, a street linked it with Walcot, very probably via the site of the north gate, but there is no evidence for streets linking the different springs. They were presumably reached simply by un-metalled paths. The earliest street within the walled area, road 1 (mrn 26), was found during the excavations by the Bath Archaeological Trust in Bath Street between 1984–9 (Davenport (ed) 1999, 6–31). It was built on solid foundations of rammed oolitic rubble, and surfaced with limestone chippings and gravel held in place by a rubble curb. It had no side ditches but had been carefully laid out following a marking-out trench, and it had been resurfaced several times. A 1st-century date for it is suggested by two pre-Flavian sherds in the gravel road surface, while mid-1st- to early 2nd-century pottery was sealed by a subsequent construction phase (Davenport (ed) 1999, 6–7, 13, 14). Extended north-east, this would have joined the road to the Walcot settlement on the site of the north gate, and could have provided access to the Hot Bath and Cross Bath springs. The construction of the portico round the outer precinct of the Temple of Sulis Minerva some time in the later 2nd century forced the diversion of road 1: road 2 (mrn 96). In 1959, Wedlake noted road 2 under Arlington Buildings (srn 237), but it was first seen in 1867 by Irvine (srn 229), who had made a detailed plan and section of it. In

1986, road 2 was observed in builders' pits immediately west of the earlier road 1, and excavated in two open areas. Taken together these observations suggest that the earlier road was re-routed around the north-west corner of the precinct (Davenport (ed) 1999, 7–13). The lines of both roads were subsequently built over and replaced by road 3. This road, well-cambered and approximately 3.3 metres wide, was identified on the New Bath Spa site in 1999 running north-west–south-east. Dating evidence was sparse, but it suggests that road 3 was not built until some time after the earlier roads had been blocked (Davenport (ed) 1999, 14–16, 21). On the south-east side, it joined an east–west road leading in the direction of the Temple of Sulis Minerva. This southern road was *c* 4m wide, although later resurfacing had increased this to *c* 5m, and had a distinct camber. Dating evidence was not abundant, but the road appeared to have been first laid out when the adjacent Building D was constructed in the late 2nd century (*see* p 74). This ties in with dating for the building blocking roads 1 and 2 in the Bath Street excavations.

In 1976, four surfaces of hard rammed gravel and stone were observed in the cellar below Kingston Buildings and the Abbey Chambers (mrn 85), identified at the time as a possible street or open space (srn 140, Davenport (ed) 1991, 120–3). The feature was re-examined in 1993, during excavation by Bath Archaeological Trust for the Abbey Heritage Centre development (srn 369). The earliest surface sealed a coin of Domitian, providing a *terminus post quem* in the late 1st century. If it was a street, it could have provided a western limit to the monumental structure under the west end of the Abbey. It would also have provided access to the east side of the complex dominated by the Temple of Sulis Minerva, and to the entrance to the bathing complex. Unlike access to the baths in the medieval and Georgian periods, access in the Roman period was presumably from the east. Whatever its function, however, it had gone out of use by the late 3rd century, when a rectangular stone-built 'corridor' building was built across it.

Another north–south street was recorded during development on the Bellot's Hospital site in 2000 (Davenport *et al* 2007, 154). Although much disturbed by later pits it is clear that, as at Hat and Feather Yard, the road was built of three constructional layers. The initial

date of this street could not be determined, as excavation below it was not possible.

In 1870, Irvine noted a 3m-wide street approximately 20m west of Bilbury Lane and the street on the Bellot's Hospital site. Its relationship to the Bellot's Hospital street and the surrounding Roman buildings is not known; it is possible that Irvine's street relates to an earlier layout associated with the building pre-dating the Hot Baths, and that it was superseded by the Bellot's Hospital street.

The south-east quarter

During the Romano-British period much of this area was probably wet, and it is clear that important Romano-British archaeology is likely to survive as the raising of floor levels (recorded in excavations adjacent to the baths and further south) sealed and preserved earlier layers.

EARLY WORK

Weymouth House School (mrn4)

Building work in 1897 revealed a mosaic floor, which was lifted and relaid in the Roman Baths Museum by Major Davis (srn 201). Recent drawing and study of the floor suggests it dates from the later 4th century (Cosh and Neal 2005, 188, 16), but no other details of the site survive.

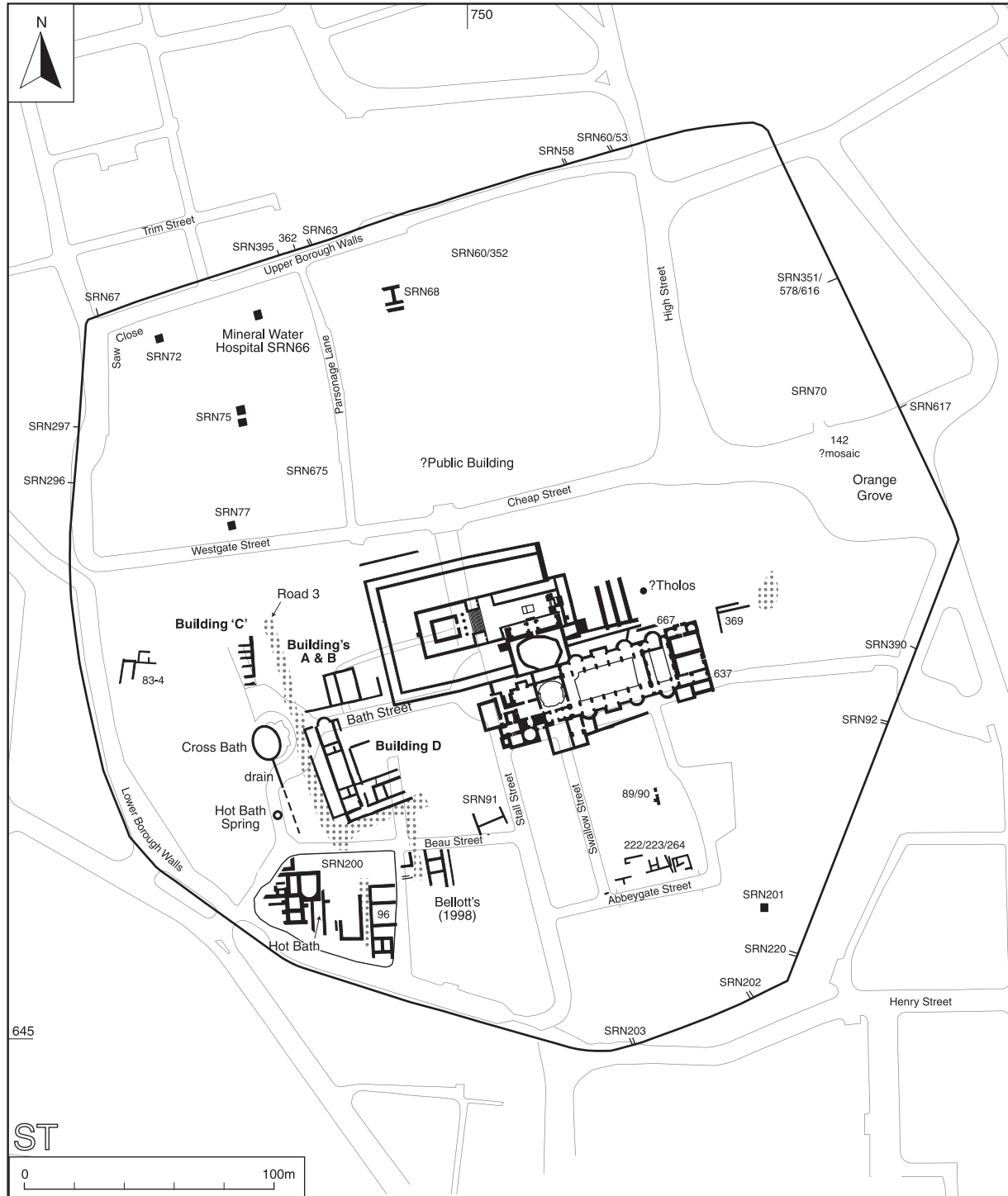
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

30–31 Stall Street (mrn 9) (Fig 2.24)

In 1964–5, Cunliffe excavated several trial trenches in the cellars below 30–31 Stall Street prior to redevelopment (srn 91). The original ground surface was identified at a depth of 4.4m below street level, but much of the later stratigraphy had been truncated. Over the eastern part of the site a series of floors, associated with sill-beams and post-holes, was identified. These timber structures had been levelled to make way for a substantial masonry building standing on a levelling layer of rubble. However, subsequent stratigraphy had been largely destroyed by post medieval cellars.

4 Abbeygate Street/Swallow Street/Abbey Green (mrn 10) (Fig 2.25)

Although two mosaic floors had been found during the 19th century in this area (srn 103, 201), and further Romano-British features noted during building work in 1958 (srn 96), it was not until 1964 that trial trenches in the cellars of 4 Abbeygate Street (srn 222)



demonstrated multi-period use of the site from at least the 2nd century onwards (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 156–65). In 1971, excavation at 7 Abbey Green (srn 223) uncovered a spread of gravel sealing a layer of dark mud, suggesting some sort of hard standing; it was covered by

further layers of soil and silt (Greene 1979b, 72–7). In 1984–5 a further excavation at the corner of Abbeygate Street and Swallow Street exposed extensive deposits of dark blackish-brown mud, suggesting that in the 1st and 2nd centuries the area was largely unoccupied,

Figure 2.24. Sites in the walled area, 2nd–4th centuries after Davenport et al 2007.

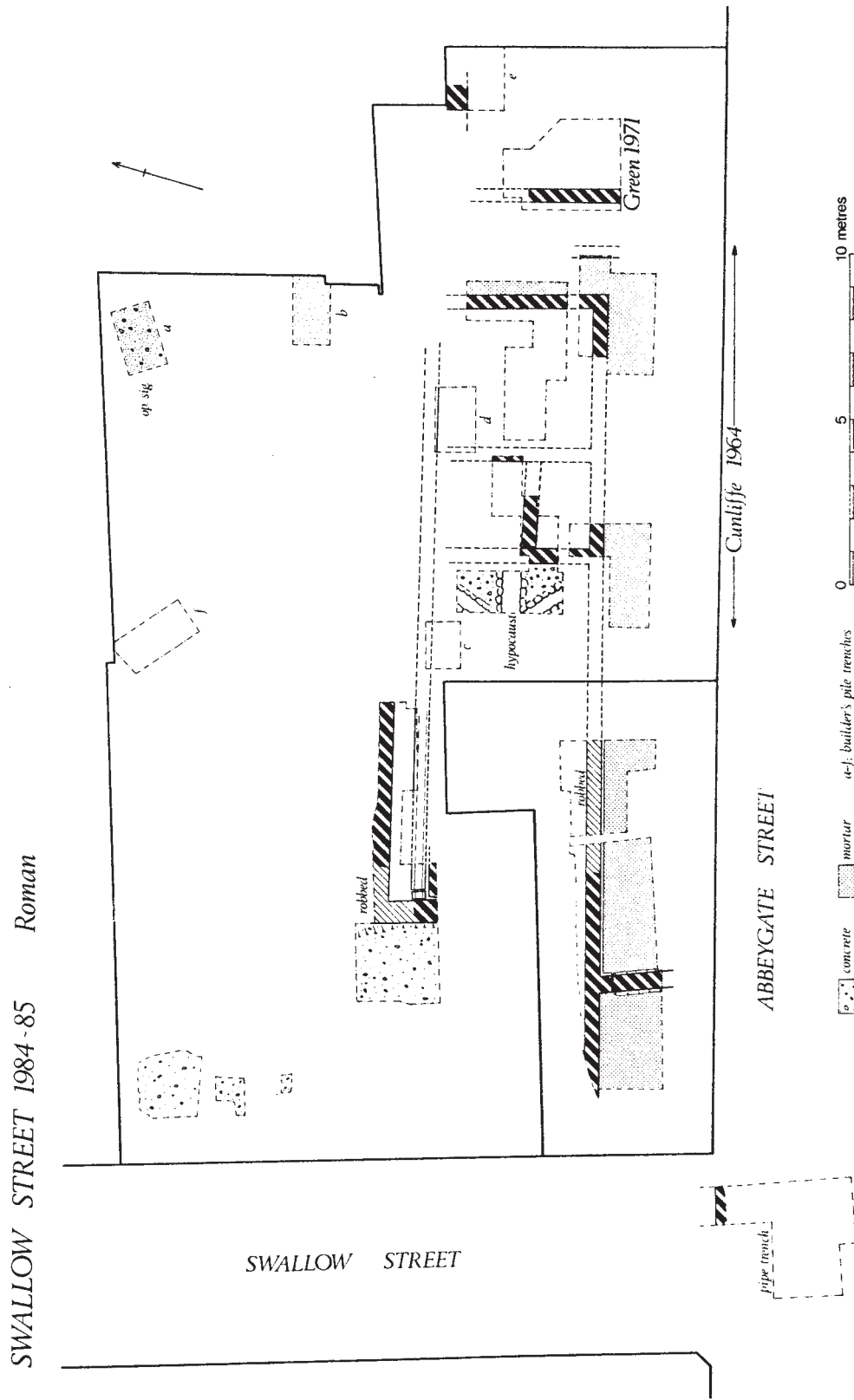


Figure 2.25. Roman buildings in Abbeigate Street (Cumliffe 2000, 86).

apart from light structures and small areas of hard standing, possibly connected with the construction of the temple and bathing complex (Davenport (ed) 1991, 40–103; also Green 1991a; Henig 1991); (srn 264).

These early layers were overlain by masonry remains, but dating evidence for them is sparse. In the late 2nd or early 3rd century, tips of rubble were laid to consolidate the eastern end of the site, and at least one north–south masonry wall was constructed. There was also evidence of metalworking in the form of offcuts from lead sheets, melted lead spillage, and fragments of ceramic tuyères (Davenport (ed) 1991, 40–103). The masonry walls further west appear to have been built slightly later and probably belonged to a separate structure that was first recognised by Cunliffe in 1964. This later building, dated to the 3rd century, consisted of a range of at least four rooms on the north side of a corridor. Late 4th-century pottery shows that the building was in use for at least a century and there is good evidence for alterations to the original layout including new internal partitions, the construction of a large hypocaust and the raising of some floor levels (see Green 1991a).

Observation of builders' trenches in 1984–5 suggests that much of the area to the north of the corridor building was covered by concrete or mortar floors. Beneath 2 Abbeygate Street one such floor had been cut by the footing of a masonry building separated from the corridor building by a narrow alley with an associated gutter or eaves drip. Occupation of many of the structures seems to have ceased in the later 4th century, but the 1964 excavations produced evidence of later Roman walls at the eastern end of the site, associated with a very late Roman oven (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 160).

The Crystal Palace Pub (mrn 11) (see Fig 2.24)

In 1982, a sondage in the cellar of the Crystal Palace pub and in the adjoining cellar of 2 Abbey Street recorded a complex sequence of Romano-British deposits (Bell 1991; Dannell 1991; Shepherd 1991b). Here again there was evidence for only low-level occupation in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, as well as a possible flood deposit of sticky clay. These deposits were overlain by more substantial structures: a masonry building was associated with wall plaster and a mortar floor, and there

was also evidence of a timber structure. A substantial rubble spread, overlain by a hearth and charcoal tips, suggested industrial activity. In the later 2nd century the masonry building was provided with an additional room, this time with a mosaic floor, dated on stylistic grounds to the 2nd century (Cosh and Neal 2005, 186). The building was in use for some time before being demolished and replaced by a mortar-floored timber building associated with late 3rd or 4th century pottery and red, blue and white painted wall plaster.

Structure east of the bathing complex

In 1993, extensive excavations by Bath Archaeological Trust in the cellars of the Abbey Heritage Centre, on the south side of the Abbey, revealed cobbled surfaces underlying a late 3rd-century building, aligned with the Baths (srn 369). It was open-ended to the east; pewter moulds were found in association with the remains. A second building on a slightly different alignment was found further east. Part of the south wall of the podium under the Abbey Church was found to the north of the East Baths, with evidence for a rebuild (srn 369). In 1999, limited rescue excavations were carried out in ten interlinked cellars immediately to the north of the displayed area of the East Baths (srn 667) (Bradley-Lovekin 1999). Five Roman walls, which had been exposed in previous excavations, were recorded, and the excavation of late Roman contexts revealed a robbed-out wall trench, along with a probable furnace. There appears to be a largely unexcavated building or range of structures in this area, on a different alignment to that of the bathing complex.

The south-west area

EARLY WORK

Bilbury Lane (see Fig 2.24)

Between 1864 and 1867, Irvine recorded remains of a substantial house at the south-west corner of Bilbury Lane and Lower Borough Walls, and east of the Roman Hot Bath Complex. The building had at least seven rooms, one with a pillared hypocaust and a geometric mosaic, dated by Cosh to the 4th century (Cosh and Neal 2005, 192). West of the building, Irvine (Irvine papers) recorded a 3m-wide road, leading towards the temple precinct.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Beau Street (mrn 27), The New Royal Baths Site, Spa Site (see Fig 2.24)

The former tepid baths, swimming pool and shops east of the Cross Bath and north of the Hot Bath were developed in 2000 as the New Royal Baths or Spa.

The archaeological potential of the site had been highlighted in an extensive field evaluation carried out in the Bath Street, Beau Street and Cross Bath area between 1984 and 1989 (srn 269–71, 334–5, 350, 583). The results of this work were published in 1999, but subsequent large-scale excavation in 1998–9 altered the phasing and interpretation of the site (Davenport (ed) 1999, 2007).

In 1984, the site was occupied by bathing establishments, some of which went back to the 18th century. John Wood the Younger's Hot Bath of 1776 replaced an earlier structure on the site of the Hot Spring itself (see Wood 1777). In the early 19th century, Wood's Bath was altered and a tepid bath (swimming pool) added. The complex was largely rebuilt in 1925 and altered again in 1956. The Beau Street Baths (the former Mineral Water Baths) occupied the south of the site. Not surprisingly, these long-established bathing establishments had resulted in considerable loss of archaeological deposits. Over much of the site all that remained were cut features. Only over two strips on the eastern and western sides of the site did some Roman stratification survive.

The earliest Roman feature was a substantial, open drainage ditch, flanked on either side by low gravel banks, which cut across the site in a north-east–south-west direction. Deposits identified as the early Roman soil survived in the south-west corner of the site and over a narrow strip on the east. Analysis of this indicated that up until the middle of the 2nd century, the site had been open ground, rather ill drained, and with shrubs and small trees. However, a series of shallow slots excavated within a cellar on Bath Street have been interpreted as possible bedding trenches in a formal garden in this area. Possible supporting evidence is provided by the identification of box twigs found in the filling of the ditch.

In the Antonine period, a large masonry building was constructed, which occupied the site for the rest of the Roman period. The evaluation excavation of 1989 had uncovered masonry structures that at the time were

designated Buildings D, E and F (Davenport (ed) 1999, 42–5). However, the 1999 excavation demonstrated that these were all part of one building (Building D), which consisted of at least two wings on the south-east and west sides of a courtyard, and with streets to the south and west. Material in the construction levels for Building D indicated an initial date of *c.* 150–160, and although later levels were very denuded there was no evidence for any subsequent Roman building on the site. The construction levels also included the architectural remains of the elaborate building assumed to have stood on or close to the Hot Bath in the early 2nd century (see earlier discussion, p 70).

Late Roman robbing and the denudation of much of the stratigraphy made it difficult to suggest a function for Building D. The western range, which included an apsidal-ended room, was reminiscent of the plan of a high-status villa. The provision of hypocausts in all the western rooms, and the hints that some of them at least were vaulted, makes this interpretation unlikely. In plan, the rooms of the western range can be seen as making up three or more 'sets' of two or three rooms. This is a pattern that has been observed in buildings interpreted as *mansiones* or guest suites, and it is possible that Building D provided accommodation for visitors to the springs.

Davenport has pointed out a possible alternative function as a 'library' or suite of public rooms associated with the Baths (Davenport *et al* 2007, 87). The full plan of the building is not known. The proximity of the temple precinct means it cannot have been a fully enclosed courtyard house, but it is possible that the eastern wing comprised porticoed shops lining the east–west street, and perhaps linking Building D with the Temple Baths.

The area adjoining the springs: Bath Street, Hot Bath Street and Beau Street (see Fig 2.24)

Between 1984 and 1989, the Bath Archaeological Trust excavated a substantial area north of Bath Street in advance of redevelopment. The site had been occupied by late Georgian houses on the Bath Street frontage, and, by the 19th century, Spa Treatment Centre. These buildings had caused substantial damage to archaeological levels, especially those beneath the Spa Treatment Centre and its swimming

pool. Nevertheless, significant archaeological remains survived, including three roads (*see* pp 69–70) and three masonry buildings: Buildings A, B and C.

Bath Street (Buildings A and B; mrn 97)

The earliest post-Mesolithic activity here was the construction of a gravel-surfaced road (road 1) running north-east–south-west (mrn 96). It passed beneath the north-west corner of the outer temple precinct. Two sherds of pre-Flavian pottery from the gravel road surface suggest a 1st-century date, while mid-1st- to early 2nd-century pottery was sealed by a subsequent construction phase (Davenport (ed) 1999, 6–7, 13, 14). Contemporary with road 1 were a number of silt and trampled dirt surfaces, patchy mortar spreads and possible hearths. In a section to the north, these had been cut by two gullies lying parallel to the temple precinct. Both showed signs of burning and were buried by a thick dump of carbonised wood and ash. Dating evidence was scarce but significant. A sherd of early Antonine samian (AD 136–92) was found in the backfill of one of the gullies under the outer precinct ambulatory, providing a *terminus post quem* for its construction. The second phase saw the diversion of road 1 by a secondary street, road 2 (*see* p 69). The lines of both roads were subsequently built over by two masonry buildings, Buildings A and B, both on the same alignment as the temple precinct. They might have been of some pretension and comfort: considerable quantities of window glass were found, along with a few pieces of finer stone blocks. Building A yielded only residual early pottery, but a range of finds from Building B contexts date it to the later 2nd century. West of the buildings and apparently contemporary with them was a walled court or yard, while to the north there are possible indications of a formal garden; certainly the area seems to have remained open throughout the rest of the Roman period.

Building C

Excavations in the cellars on the east side of St Michael's Court exposed layers of cobbling, together with post-holes suggesting a timber building with an associated gully, possibly an eaves drip. Pottery evidence indicates a date range between the 1st and 3rd centuries. These features were overlain by a massively built stone

structure, subdivided into many small rooms (Building C). The width of the main wall footings could indicate the existence of upper floors at the ends of the building, perhaps towers. Alternatively, they could relate to the provision of hypocausts. No contemporary stratigraphy survived, but later 4th-century coins and a bone hairpin of similar date were found in the footings of a cross-wall, providing a *terminus post quem* for the structure. The alignment of the building was different from both of the other buildings to the east, and to road 3, but it was similar to buildings identified on the Citizen House site.

Citizen House (mrn 19) (*see* Fig 2.24)

Between 1954 and 1970 the site of the former Citizen House (destroyed by fire in 1936) was redeveloped. In 1954, an extension to St John's Hospital was built in the area on the south side of Chapel Court Lane and the work was watched by members of Bath and Camerton Archaeological Society although there was only very limited opportunity for excavation. In 1967, further rebuilding took place and was watched by Michael Owen. No record was made at the time, but a short note appears in Cunliffe's *Roman Bath*: 'substantial areas of Roman building rubble with traces of what may have been timber building beneath' (1969, 210).

In 1964 and 1979, two small excavations were undertaken on the north side of Chapel Court Lane by Barry Cunliffe (srn 83) and Patrick Greene respectively (srn 84). The 1954 watching brief had identified a substantial flat-bottomed ditch, 2.4 metres wide and 1.8 metres deep, running north–south (mrn19). Its fill contained a small number of worn Roman sherds, but it was cut from a brick-and-gravel surface on which a bronze coin of Hadrian (AD 117–138) was found. No structural features were identified in the earliest layers, but the 1979 excavation recovered oyster shells and pottery including pre-Flavian and Flavian samian ware, while an extensive spread of wall plaster was probably derived from the demolition of timber buildings. The 1964 trenches, north of Chapel Court Lane, recorded abraded pottery including pre-Flavian and Flavian sherds from deposits above 'the contemporary turf-line' (Cunliffe and Owen 1979) and might indicate low-level use during the 1st century. Dating evidence also comes

from the fill of a large clay pit, whose lowest layers contained Flavian and Trajanic sherds. (See also Grant 1979.)

The records suggest a phase of timber building in the Flavian or pre-Flavian period. The first stone structure was put up in the Antonine period, and lay parallel to and south of the 1st century ditch. There was evidence for at least one later phase of demolition, followed by reconstruction and the provision of numerous new floors, all pre-dating the late 3rd century (Wedlake 1979b, 84). Two bowl furnaces, a substantial stone-lined drainage gully containing a coin of Tetricus I (AD 271–3), and a burnt layer of coal and iron slag indicated that this was a workshop. In 1970, Greene recorded a large quantity of rubble and soil, interpreted as a possible rampart, against the western face of the west wall of the building. Layers overlying the building produced heavily abraded and fragmented pottery sherds, along with three 4th-century coins, the latest of which was of Theodosius I (AD 378–95). There appears to have been renewed building activity some time after this date (*see* p 116).

Bellot's Hospital

The original early 17th-century Hospital had been replaced in the 19th century by a building with a full basement, which it was thought would have removed any archaeological deposits here. However, in 1999, when work started on deepening the cellars and providing new under-floor services, Romano-British levels were found to survive. Unfortunately, only minimal excavation was possible, and some stratified deposits, including post-Roman dark earths, were removed by the building contractors' machines.

In spite of considerable difficulties, three Roman masonry buildings were recorded, together with a north–south street and traces of a timber structure, which could have predated the earliest masonry phase. Building 1 had been badly robbed and little is known of its plan, although it appears to have been solidly built, and roofed with Pennant sandstone. More survived of Building 2, including three rooms along the street frontage and a fourth, possibly a later addition, at the rear. This house had also been roofed with Pennant sandstone, and might well have had two stories. Unfortunately, stratified dating

material was sparse, but pottery and coins from the site range from the 2nd to 4th centuries, and it is clear that towards the end of the Roman period, probably in the 4th century, two rooms in Building 2 were converted to be used as a blacksmith's smithy. Building 3 was not dated, but encroached onto the roadway, reducing the roadway to a narrow alleyway, if not blocking it completely. The street itself ran along the western side of the excavated area. It was well built on a stone rubble base and with a cambered gravel surface, but its date is not yet clear. Lack of funding means that it has not been possible to analyse the material recovered from this site, so clearly there is certain potential here for further information. The presence of substantial deposits of post-Roman dark earth, as well as stratified Roman levels, even in this basemented area, must raise the possibility that there are further deposits still preserved beneath adjacent properties.

The north-west part of the walled area

As well as the evidence for a monumental building at the corner of Westgate Street and Union Passage (*see* p 58), indications of several well-constructed and substantial Romano-British buildings have been recorded in the north-west quarter of the city (Fig 2.24).

EARLY WORK

The Mineral Water Hospital site (mrn 5–6)

There was clearly at least one high-status building on the site of the former Mineral Water Hospital on the east corner of Upper Borough Walls and Bridewell Lane. In 1738, John Wood the elder recorded remains of two heated rooms, part of a corridor containing a geometric mosaic, and part of a large room with a mosaic comprising intersecting circles (mrn 6; srn 68) (*see* Wood 1765). This has been dated tentatively to the 4th century (Cosh and Neal 2005, 190). When the foundations for the west wing were dug in 1859, another mosaic (mrn 5; srn 66) was recorded in what must have been a separate building. Part of a dedication to Sulis by Tiberius Claudius Sollemnus, found at the Mineral Water Hospital in 1861, might have come from this site (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 199). Subsequent building work and alterations to the hospital and adjacent properties have revealed further remains, generally between 4 and 5m below ground level (srn 71, 64, 320, 388, 681).

Bridewell Lane (mrn 2)

In 1884, a further extension to the hospital revealed part of another building extending beneath the road. This building contained two mosaics, one with octagonal panels and rosettes (srn 75).

Bridewell Lane/Westgate Street (mrn 3)

In 1814, Scarth noted the discovery of a mosaic floor at 30 Westgate Street on the south-west corner of Bridewell Lane (srn 77). No further details are known, and the floor was apparently broken up.

Bluecoat School (mrn 1)

During the reconstruction of the Bluecoat school in 1854, fragments of a figured mosaic with sea creatures were lifted and are now in the Roman Baths Museum (srn 72). Cosh notes that mosaics showing sea beasts were generally associated with bath suites (Cosh and Neal 2005, 189).

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Chronicle Printing Works (srn 675)

In 1997, excavation on the site of the former printing works demonstrated the survival of up to a metre of *in situ* deposits below basement floor levels, and approximately 3m of deposits beneath uncellared areas. Although much of this material was residual in later deposits, significant stratified assemblages were recovered from Romano-British horizons. The earliest deposits were undated and consisted of compacted sand and lime mortar, comparable with basal layers used to bed mosaic floors. These were sealed by worn mortar floors dating to the 2nd century AD, which, in turn, were sealed by ‘various rubble layers’ – interpreted as the *in situ* collapse of masonry structures (Anon 1997b; Beaton and Lewcun 1997; Crutchley forthcoming).

The north-east quarter

The north-east quarter has been subject to less below-ground intervention than the north-west quarter. With the exception of the possible city rampart and wall, described in more detail below, no structural features have been identified. As with other areas of the city core, the survival of Romano-British deposits is probably highly variable. The evaluation trenches excavated along 23–28 High Street indicated fairly extensive 18th-century levelling and the removal of most material above the

natural clay and gravel beds, whereas some Romano-British features survived below 18 Union Passage (srn 60). In contrast, deposits found at the Christopher Hotel suggest good preservation across the centre of the site (srn 352; Nowell 1997).

In 1824, Roman material including a ‘flue’ was recorded in Boat Stall Lane (srn 70), which could indicate a hypocaust, and the discovery of blue and white tesserae in Orange Grove suggests the former existence of a mosaic (srn 142).

This area has produced the highest concentration of rich mosaics in the town, but, because the vast majority of records in this area were made in the 19th century, little is known of the detail. Large parts of this area are cellared, although some uncellared areas survive, and even under cellared areas some deposits might remain. What information there is suggests that many of the high-status Roman buildings in the area were constructed in the later Roman period. (*see* p 101).

2.3.4 The defences

Bath’s defences enclosed an area of about 10 hectares centred on the Sacred Spring and Temple Complex. They comprised three elements, an internal bank, a masonry wall and an external ditch or ditches. Although they were clearly here in the late Saxon period (*see* p 81; 121), their Romano-British origin is more difficult to determine.

Early work

John Leland visited the city in the course of his journeys around the country between 1534 and 1543. He described the town walls of Bath as being ‘of no great highth’ and the city itself as ‘somewhat decayed’. He made particular note of the stone reliefs (presumably reused Romano-British tombstones and altars) that had been incorporated into the walls remarking that ‘there be divers notable antiquities engravid in stone that yet be sene yn the walls of Bathe betwixt the south gate and the weste gate: and agayn betwixt the west gate and the north gate’ (Toulmin Smith 1907, 139–44).

In 1795, Pownall examined a section of the wall during basement excavations for 11 Old Bond Street, opposite the Mineral Water Hospital (srn 63), and identified two distinct construction phases: the lower wall measured more than 4.5m thick and was faced with large stone blocks with a rubble and concrete core.

Above it lay 'rubble foundation work' built up to within about a metre of the ground surface, with seven stepped offsets that reduced the width of the wall by at least a metre (Pownall 1795, 28). Peter Davenpoint points out (pers comm) that this sounds remarkably like the wall seen in Terrace Walk in 1995 (srn 63).

Similar features had been seen shortly before 1795, in the Saw Close area of the city (srn 67). Here, too, the digging of house foundations revealed an inner core of rubble and concrete, and an outer layer of large stone blocks (Pownall 1795, 29). Massive ashlar blocks were also found near the north-eastern corner of the wall in 1803, when buildings to the west of Greyhound Inn in Upper Borough Walls were demolished and a new terrace erected (srn 58). Lewis describes their location as 'near the place where the old north gate formerly stood' and, although no stratigraphic description was made, the blocks are clearly identified as the foundations of the wall (Lewis 1881). They included much reused Roman architectural material.

The archaeological evidence

Over the last 50 years there have been nine watching briefs and/or excavations relevant to the question of the Romano-British defences. These comprise three on the northern sector, at Upper Borough Walls (srn 395), Union Passage/Northumberland Place (srn60), and Terrace Walk (srn 390); two on the east sector, at the former Empire Hotel (srn 351, 578, 616) and the East Gate (srn 617); two on the south-eastern and south sectors, at Henry Street (srn 202 203 220) and the Abbey Hotel (srn 92); and two on the western sector at Citizen House and Seven Dials (srn 296 and 297) (see Fig 2.24).

THE NORTH SECTOR

Upper Borough Walls (mrn 16–17)

One of the best surviving stretches of the wall – albeit re-faced, patched and re-pointed – is visible today along part of Upper Borough Walls. Although 'impossible to distinguish work of different dates', Cunliffe states that the 'lower courses are of regular ashlar not unlike Roman work' (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 207). Repair work in 1989 below the southern branch of Trim Street (srn 362) revealed a similar pattern of neatly coursed stone in the lower parts and cruder work above. Examples of carefully crafted small ashlar walling were

also recorded in 1951 and 1965, on the site of St James's church and on land to the north of Henry Street. Given the absence of good dating evidence, this construction technique is the evidence generally used to argue for a Romano-British date (Fig 2.27).

Union Passage and Northumberland Place

In 1964–5 the redevelopment in the area bounded by the High Street, Upper Borough Walls, Union Passage and Northumberland Place afforded an opportunity for excavations in cellars beneath the former buildings (srn 60). During the course of the work it became apparent that the line of the city wall lay beyond the northernmost of the available cellars, so permission was obtained to dig in the cellar of 6, Upper Borough Walls, on the north side of the road. This enabled the excavation of a complete, although discontinuous, section across both rampart and wall. The excavations revealed a gravel, clay and turf bank, c 1.8m high. A thin turf line had built up on the surface of the bank, and at least 2m of 'occupation material' interleaved with lenses of mortar and rubble had accumulated over the tail. Adjacent to the line of the wall, the turf line was overlaid by a layer of limestone chippings interpreted as construction debris from the wall. The wall itself (mrn 17) had been robbed in the early 19th century, but the footings survived, cut through layers of clay and gravel that contained two 1st-century samian sherds (Fig 2.27). None of the pottery incorporated within the bank was later than the mid-2nd century, whereas the scant amount of material on and over the turf line dated to the late 2nd century. Cunliffe therefore tentatively suggested that the wall had been inserted into the front of the bank at some time after the late 2nd century, quite possibly in the 3rd or 4th century (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 168–73; 1995, 97).

This dating relied on a very small amount of pottery, and so, in 1980, O'Leary excavated two trenches immediately to the north and east of the earlier trenches: one to examine the inner face of the wall (srn 53), and the other to uncover the area to the north. Like Cunliffe, O'Leary interpreted a 0.10–0.5m dump of gravel and clay as part of a 2nd-century rampart later cut back to receive the wall and fronted by a newly metalled berm; beyond the wall lay a ditch (mrn 16) probably of 4th-century date (O'Leary 1981, 1).

Terrace Walk

In 1995, Robert Bell carried out a survey of the cellars beneath Terrace Walk about 60m to the north-east of Cunliffe's excavations (srn 390). Seventeen courses of masonry set in orange-brown mortar survived *in situ*, to a maximum height of 2m above the level of the cellar floor. The internal face was stepped back a few inches every three or four courses, reminiscent of that seen by Pownall (srn 63).

THE EASTERN SECTOR

The former Empire Hotel (srn 578, 616)

Much of the earlier stratigraphy had been destroyed during the hotel's construction in 1899–1901, but test pits and trenches dug below the cellar floors in 1994 showed that the city wall footings survived, although the distinctive orange-brown mortar was restricted to a mortar spread along the northern side of the wall's foundation trench. The following year a small open area measuring 5.2 by 3.7m was excavated by hand, but all that survived was a 'spread of lime-based mortar' along the northern edge of the foundation trench. It was described as 'orange brown rather than dull grey buff in colour' (Beaton 1995a). The similarity between this mortar and that found binding the lower wall sections elsewhere in the city suggests that it derives from the same building phase, commonly identified as Romano-British. In a watching brief carried out as development continued on the site, Lewcun recorded part of the ditch. It measured at least 3m across and, despite its being truncated by the hotel cellars, more than 2m of stratigraphic deposits survived, with evidence for at least three re-cuts. The lowest layer was pure grey silt with a few sherds of exclusively Romano-British pottery. Overlying this were two successive silt deposits, followed by a layer 'full of exclusively Romano-British pottery' (M Lewcun pers comm). This was sealed by clay, dark grey loam and black silt layers, described as medieval in date. The evidence suggests that a wide ditch or steep terrace was dug on the same alignment as the city wall and that the earliest silt had been washed into it from the up-hill side, while later on there had been episodes of deliberate backfilling. In the absence of a full pottery report, the sequence cannot be accurately dated (Lewcun 1995; see also Davenport 1990); Lewcun 1996.

The East Gate site (srn 617)

While the work was going on below the Empire Hotel, the vaults immediately north of the medieval East Gate were examined. They were constructed as part of a raised area onto which the market and Newmarket Row were built. No formal site drawings were made, but observations by Lewcun suggest that the city wall, although much rebuilt, survives to a height of up to 4m or 5m as the western wall of three of these large vaults. No dating evidence was recorded.

THE SOUTH-EASTERN AND SOUTHERN SECTORS

Henry Street (srn 203, 220)

In 1951, the Bath and Camerton Archaeological Society cut a trench at right angles to the outer face of the city wall on the north side of Henry Street. Examination of the site photographs suggested that the wall on the west side of the trench, although originally thought to be entirely medieval, was in characteristic Roman masonry. Wedlake describes it as built of 'small rectangular blocks of limestone ... set in courses about 5 inches high in the lower part of the wall and ... quite different from the rest of the masonry which contains re-used stones' (Wedlake 1966a, 99). The Society continued to partially excavate trenches along the line of the wall, observing and recording material found during construction work, but Wedlake states that 'most of them were not dug to a sufficient depth to penetrate Roman levels'. Only one area over the south-east corner of the city wall was excavated more extensively and briefly recorded in 1961. Here the wall was 2.7m wide and built of 'well-shaped blocks of the local limestone with a brown cinnamon coloured mortar'. In addition, mixed clay and gravel layers on the inside of the wall were described as the remnants of a bank built up against the wall (Wedlake 1966a, 102–3).

The Abbey Hotel site (srn 92)

In 1965, a trench was cut against the external face of the wall, in the garden of the Fernley Hotel (now Abbey Hotel). It revealed three courses of a dry-stone wall set in a shallow foundation. This appears to have formed a revetment wall behind which the city wall survived to a height of 2.36m. The fillings around and above the revetment wall contained only Roman sherds (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 174).

THE WESTERN SECTOR

Citizen House

Only slight evidence exists for a Romano-British date for the western section of the city wall. The 1970 excavations at Citizen House revealed large quantities of rubble and soil, which Greene interpreted as probably rampart material behind the city wall. The rampart ran west of the substantial Antonine house (*see* p 75), which lay parallel with the probable 1st-century ditch identified on the St

Figure 2.26. Roman Wall at the Fernley Hotel (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, plate LXXXIV).



John's Hospital site in 1954 (*see* p 75) (Wedlake 1979b, 84); both features were on a slightly different alignment to that of the city wall. This raises the possibility that both house and ditch were constructed on the alignment of a defensive boundary on a different line to that of the medieval city wall in this sector. Excavations to the north do not rule out this possibility.

Seven Dials

Redevelopment at Seven Dials has not, to date, produced any evidence for defensive features dating to the Romano-British period. In 1990, Bath Archaeological Trust cut a trench measuring 15m by 2m across the site of a former nightclub and garden centre at Seven Dials. At the east end of the trench, a ditch 1.2m wide and 0.70m deep was cut into the natural clay. It lay parallel to a metalled track that ran north-south, and was interpreted by Davenport as a drainage ditch for the road. The following year a sewer trench revealed a near complete cross-section of the city wall and part of a contemporary rampart behind it (srn 297). No dating evidence from the Romano-British period was revealed, and wall and rampart appeared to be medieval. However, Davenport concluded that earlier levels had not been reached.

The current state of understanding

The evidence currently available suggests that at some time after the early to mid-2nd century an earth bank was constructed along the north side of the later walled area, probably with a ditch to the north of it. It is assumed that this enclosed the area later defended by the city wall.

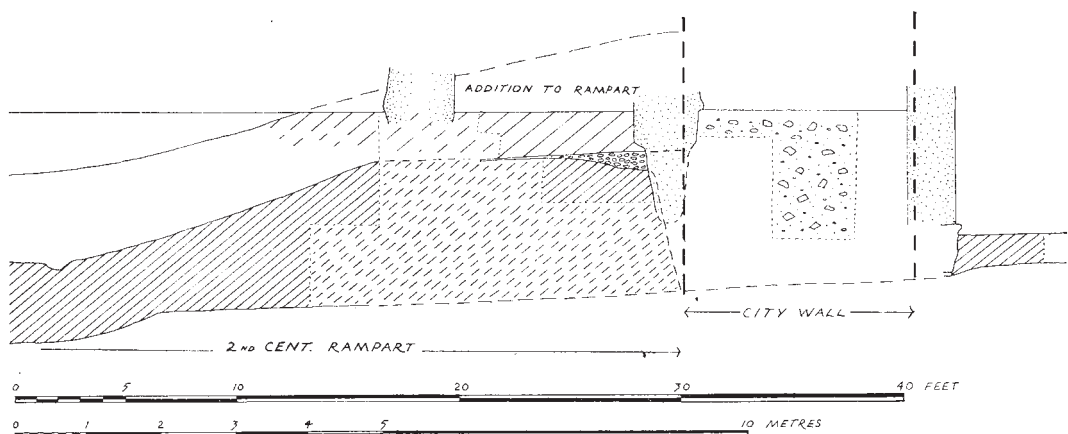


Figure 2.27. Section across Borough Wall (Cunliffe 2000, 78).

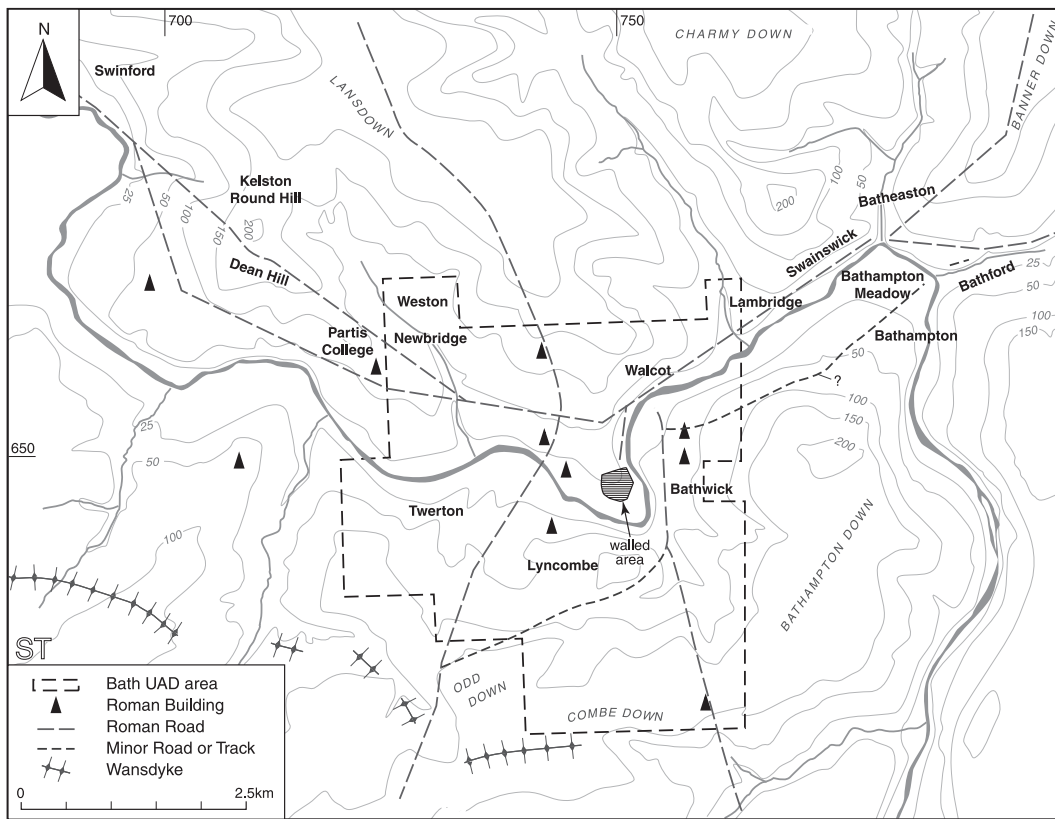


Figure 2.28. Roman roads around Bath with Roman and medieval sites mentioned in the text (see also Margary 1973).

However, it has not been certainly identified at other points around the city, and it might have followed a slightly different line, as hinted at by the evidence from Citizen House. The date at which the masonry wall was constructed is still not absolutely clear. The two styles of construction that have been noted since the 18th century imply a major rebuild, but the inclusion of reused Roman carved stone need not necessarily imply a post-Roman date. The evidence such as it is suggests a later Roman date for the well coursed ashlar work with the distinctive orange brown mortar but conclusive evidence is still lacking.

2.3.5 Extra mural remains

Although for much of Bath's history the hot springs have been the prime influence on the town's development, in the early Roman period its position on the frontier of the area controlled by Rome in the period AD 43–47 gave it a strategic importance.

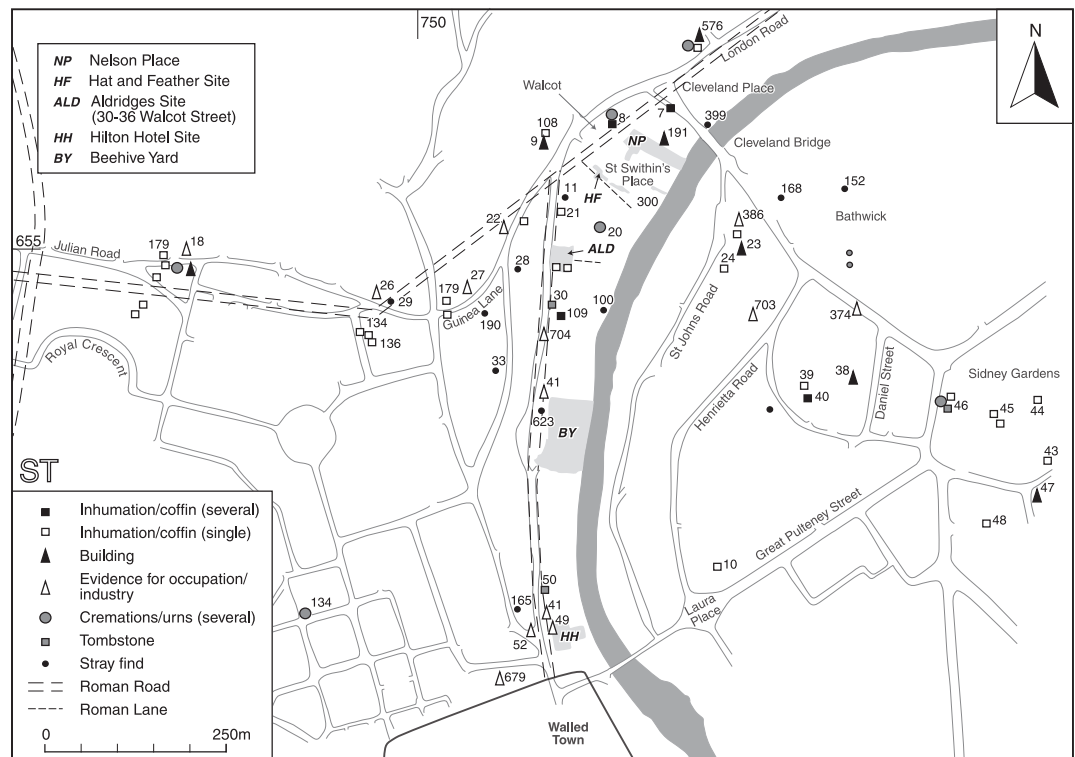
Extra-mural roads (Fig 2.28)

In the conquest period, the Fosse Way was established as a lateral route stretching from

Lincoln in the north-east to Seaton in the south-west and linking Roman forts in the frontier zone of the area occupied in the aftermath of the conquest in AD 43 (see Fig 2.6). The Fosse Way must have crossed the Avon somewhere close to Bath, but in the conquest period it might not have been fully metalled; initially it probably followed existing trackways, perhaps with some additional clearing and straightening. After the military zone was moved west and north later in the later 1st century, some stretches of the Fosse Way probably fell into disuse, although in the case of Bath a link must have been maintained throughout the Roman period with Cirencester, Camerton and Ilchester.

The precise line of the Fosse Way at Bath has interested scholars for many years. (Collinson 1791; Scarth 1864; Davis 1888; Codrington 1918; Wicks 1934; Edmonds 1937). More recently, Keevil (1989), Bird (1991) and Davenport (1994 and 2008) have also written on the subject. In a recent article, Davenport has reviewed the whole question, taking into account the results of recent excavation and observation. The following

Figure 2.29. Detail of excavation in Bathwick and Walcot, showing site record numbers.



summary is based on his work (Davenport 2008).

It is generally accepted that, on the north-east, the Roman road approached the town more or less on the line of the modern B4038 as far south as Bannerdown. From there, Davenport suggests that it continued south-west down the spur of the hill to Batheaston High Street. At Batheaston it joined the road from Silchester (the modern A4) to form a single road to Walcot. Excavations just outside the UAD area, a short distance south-east of Lower Swainswick (at the entrance way to Bailbrook House), uncovered the make-up of a gravel road on a rubble raft, slightly uphill from the 18th-century turnpike road (London Road West), and buried by deposits of hill wash. The road has also been seen in excavation at Hat and Feather Yard) where it was over 5.5m wide, and ran approximately 15m south of the modern road (Fig 2.29).

For a long time opinion was divided as to the point at which the Fosse Way crossed the Avon. It has also been suggested that the Fosse Way may have split into two just south of Cleveland Bridge; one route ran along the line of the present Walcot Street, as far as St Swithin's Church, where it swung south-west along

Guinea Lane to St Julian Road and the other headed directly towards the temple complex crossing the river near the Old Bath Bridge, at the south end of Southgate Street (Davis 1888, 207). Excavation in 2007 however, showed that there had never been a metalled Roman road here, while trenches at Hat and Feather Yard, in Walcot, revealed a branch road leading off the Fosse Way/London Road towards the river. Material from the earliest road ditches was of immediate post-conquest (Claudian) date, and the excavators suggested that it might have been a conquest-period military road leading down to a river crossing. If so, it was short lived as a major road, as it had gone out of use by the later 2nd century. A further possible route for the early Fosse Way, favoured by Cunliffe, by-passes Bath on the east by way of a ford at Bathampton Meadow, to run along Bathampton Down. The recent identification of a Late Iron Age site in Bathampton Meadow suggests that there might have been an existing track here, which the Roman army might have utilised. However, recent excavations suggest that a number of minor roads developed as the Roman period proceeded, and it could well be that some of these had their origin in conquest-period 'policing' tracks (Fig 2.28).

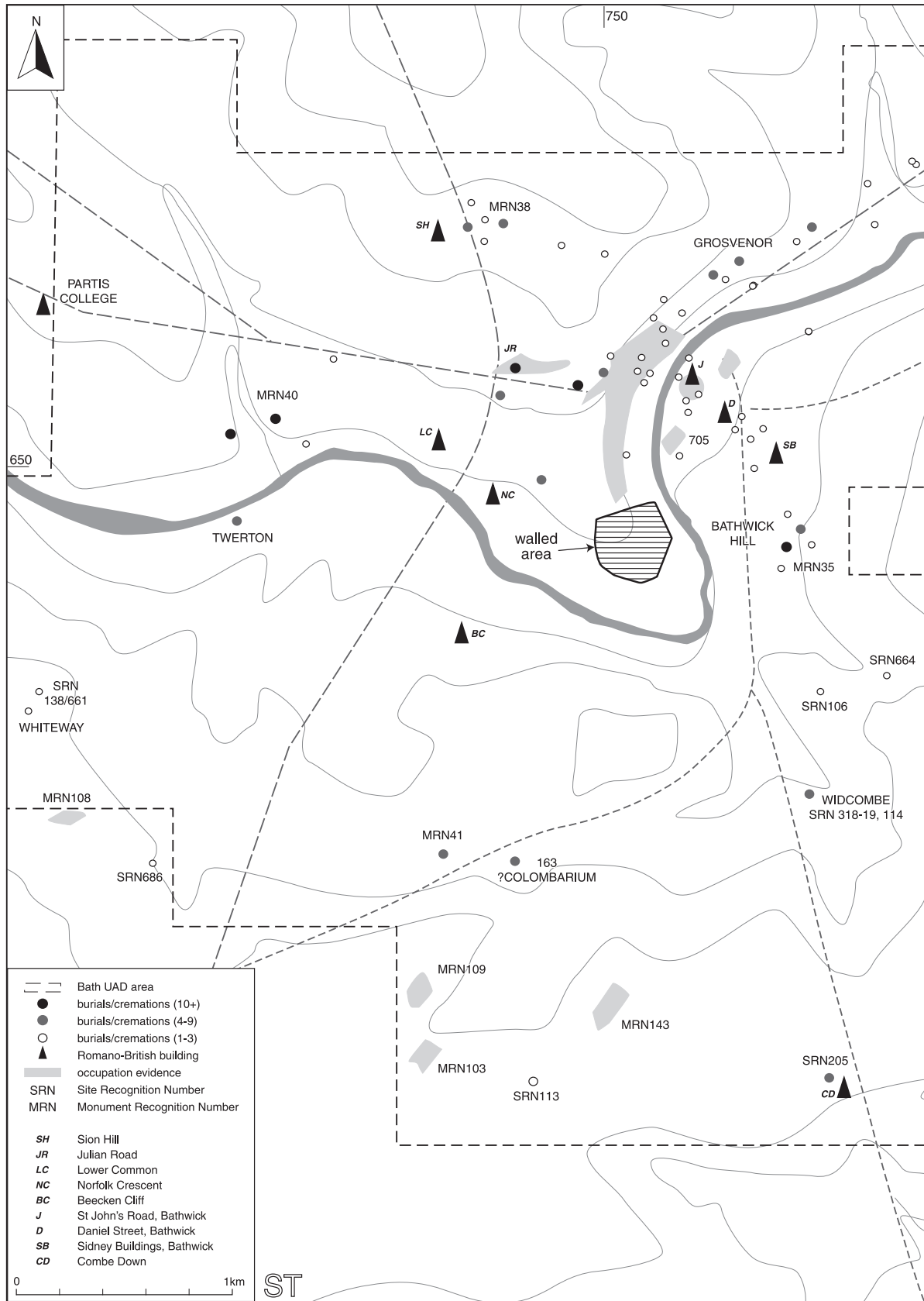


Figure 2.30. Bath in the Roman period, roads and extra-mural sites and cemeteries with monument record numbers.

West of Bath, the Fosse Way shared the same line as the road to Abonae (*see* p 81) as far as the Royal Crescent and Victoria Park. In 1870, when the foundations for St Andrew's church were dug, Irvine recorded a gravel road surface running diagonally across the site in a north-west–south-east direction (Davenport *et al* 1999, 129), where the alignment was questioned (wrongly as it turned out; P Davenport *pers comm*).

In 2001, trenches were cut on the site of the old St Andrew's Church and behind 10–12 Royal Crescent (Davenport 2008, 136, fig 6). These revealed a major road running north to south, continuing the line of Irvine's road southwards. Its line was later confirmed by a geophysical survey and further trenching south of the Royal Crescent (Davenport 2004). It now seems clear that the Roman road to Abonae lay on the north side of the modern Julian Road and that the junction between the Fosse Way and the Abonae road lay just north of the demolished tower of St Andrew's church. From here, and from the trenches in Victoria Park, the projected line of the Fosse Way to the south would cross the river between Norfolk Crescent and Victoria Bridge, where there was probably an existing ford in the early Roman period. South of the river, the same line is followed by parish boundaries between Twerton, Widcombe and Lyncombe (Davenport 2008) to join the known course of the Fosse Way at Odd Down (Fig 2.30).

The Silchester/Abonae road Iter XIV

The other major road at Bath ran roughly east–west from Silchester (and ultimately London) to Abonae (Sea Mills), and beyond that to south Wales. This road was an important strategic link between the provincial capital at London and the legionary fortress of *Isca legionem* (Caerleon) near Newport; it was included in the 3rd-century road map, the Antonine Itinerary, as Iter XIV (*see* Fig 2.6). As discussed above, it ran between Batheaston and the junction of Julian Road and Crescent Mews, sharing the route of the Fosse Way; the junction with the Fosse Way probably lay just north of the demolished tower of the old St Andrew's Church but further west the course is uncertain (Fig 2.28). It was seen in a water main trench in Weston High Street in 2004, and from there, Davenport suggests that it ran up Dean Hill, skirting the

highest ground at Kelston Round Hill and on to its known line at Swineford.

As Davenport notes, this would not be a suitable route for wheeled traffic, and it might be that after the conquest period an alternative route developed partly on the line of the modern A431 past Newbridge. This would have linked the Roman building at Kelston Farm, the building and cemetery at Partis College, and the cemetery at Lower Weston.

Lesser roads

There was probably a road link between Bath and the Roman harbour and pottery centre at Poole. Its course near Bath is hypothetical but it probably ran to Combe Down and Bathwick. It is possible that in the conquest period the road branching off the Fosse Way at Hat and Feather Yard originally linked up with the Poole road. Cunliffe has suggested another possible road running along the south side of the valley between Bathampton and Bathwick, and has pointed to the presence of early coins and samian at Bathwick to suggest that this was the site of a conquest-period fort. The linear arrangement of burials at Englishcombe Lane (mrn 41) suggests that there was a minor road between Bathwick and the Fosse Way via Englishcombe. Another minor road or track might have passed along the northern scarp of Combe Down to the villa site, and, north of the river, a road has been postulated linking the Fosse Way/Abonae road junction at Victoria Park to the road over Lansdown.

Extra-mural settlement: Walcot

EARLY WORK

A large number of archaeological discoveries have been made in Walcot since the early 19th century including traces of substantial occupation and evidence for burials along Walcot Street and London Road. It was not until the late 1980s, however, that conclusive evidence for prolonged, intensive occupation was revealed following excavation behind the Hat and Feather pub and in Nelson Place.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE (FIG 2.29; TABLE 2.7)

The Hat and Feather Yard site (mrn 33)

The earliest features identified in the Walcot area are two gravel roads and associated side ditches. The London Road/Fosse Way was excavated at the rear of the Hat and Feather

pub (150m south-west of Cleveland Bridge), where it coincided exactly with the line of the lane behind the pub. The alignment of structures excavated in Nelson Place (below) suggests that this line ran through Cleveland Place, c 70m north of Cleveland Bridge, as suggested in antiquarian sources. The width of the road was not established but was at least 5.5m. It had been resurfaced three times, apart from minor repairs, and was almost one metre thick. The earliest road ditches produced only immediately post-conquest (Claudian) material.

The other road branched off the London Road to the south-east, and its ditches also contained conquest-period material. The excavators suggest that it might have been a conquest-period military road leading to a crossing point across the river. Initially, the ditches along the London Road respected this branch road, but, later on, the London Road ditches cut across it, and the branch road itself was built over; it was replaced by a cobbled lane that zig-zagged around the buildings that covered the earlier road. The lane had been repaired and resurfaced many times, demonstrating prolonged use.

Between 1989 and 1992 the excavations behind the Hat and Feather pub revealed 2–3m of stratified deposits, although there were varying degrees of truncation of late and post-Roman deposits by the 18th- and 19th-century building. The first building on the site – an octagonal or hexagonal timber structure – stood on a terraced platform but, before long, more extensive terraces were constructed, supported by timber and rubble revetments. The hexagonal building was replaced by a timber building, which was itself replaced by a stone structure that included a probable shrine. This was later replaced or converted into a smithy, one of a collection of close-packed houses, including four strip buildings, all of which clustered around lanes and yards, dating to between the 2nd and early 5th centuries.

There was also evidence of timber buildings along the street frontage, and some of these survived alongside later Roman stone structures. The frontages were separated from the road by well-rammed gravel pavements, which were probably covered by porticos and/or the projecting upper floors of the buildings. Stone pier bases set in slight sleeper walls suggest a degree of architectural elaboration, as do the various pieces of column base and

capital from the vicinity (srn 292, 294). (See Borthwick and Associates 1997b; Dannell 1979; Dannell and Hartley 1979.)

The Nelson Place site (mrn33)

In 1989, the Bath Archaeological Trust excavated a site in Nelson Place, adjacent to Hat and Feather Yard on the north-west (srn 295). The main phase of building on the site dated to the early 2nd century, but levelling material underlying it contained large amounts of Flavian samian and imported coloured vessel glass more typical of military than civilian sites. There were also three items of military equipment – a fragment from a *lorica segmentata*, a buckle, and a strap end – and the early coin list is comparable to those from Romano-British military sites. Overall, the finds from Nelson Place are predominantly 1st and 2nd century in date, although later objects were also present, particularly nearer the street frontage. They suggest a typically urban, civilian population with a reasonably high standard of living. An unusual pipe-clay figurine of a reclining female figure, a piece of coral stem, and the talon of a bird of prey might be evidence for a domestic religious ritual.

In 1982, seven trenches were dug in advance of proposed redevelopment (srn 300). No Romano-British structures were encountered, but pottery was found in the lower levels. Most sherds came from the trenches furthest from the river, and Davenport concluded that in this area there were small fields or paddocks behind the Romano-British roadside development. In the same general area, a watching brief in 1987 near the river behind the Methodist Chapel recorded part of a hypocaust and substantial terraces, probably the foundations for hillside houses (srn 191).

The sloping ground north and west of Walcot Street and London Road has not been subject to significant development pressure in recent years and archaeological finds are comparatively scarce. Burials, pottery and coins were recorded in this area in the 19th and early 20th century (srn 5 and 108), including a tessellated floor in Hedgemoor Park (Camden Road, srn 9) and a mosaic floor in Anglo Terrace (srn 576).

Mid-way along Walcot Street

A paved surface of Pennant sandstone associated with 2nd–3rd-century pottery was

Table 2.7. *Walcot Settlement evidence (excludes burials)*

SRN	Site name	Description / references
704	Walcot Street, <i>c</i> 1743	Road works uncovered 'huge blocks of wrought stone' below the conduit from the Cornwell spring (Wood 1749, 272). Possibly Roman (Keevil 2000, 29)
11	Trinity Court, Walcot St, 1806	Silver coin and copper-alloy medallion recorded (Cranch 1816, 4; Scarth 1864, 287)
9	Camden Street (Hedgemoad Park)	Tessellated floor recorded in building work (Cranch 1816)
576	Anglo Terrace, 1815	Two stone coffins, urns and a mosaic found during the construction of the Walcot Brewery (Haverfield 1906, 263, 265; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 211)
399	Cleveland Bridge, 1827	Roman coins recorded in the Sites and Monuments Record.
33	The Vineyards, Walcot St, 1855	Samian pottery and a coin recovered
27	Guinea Lane, 1854–55	Pottery flue tile and a coin were found following the enlargement of a sewer running down Guinea Lane (Anon 1855a, 1855b, 1855c; Haverfield 1906, 264; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 211)
41	Red House Bakery, Walcot Street, 1902	Romano-British building and possible road recorded in digging foundations for new bakery (Falconer 1904, 316–317; Haverfield 1906, 263; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 211)
697	New Bond Street, pre-1913	Area of pitched paving more than 3m below ground level, similar to SRN 52; recorded between the rear of New Bond Street premises and the Upper Borough Walls (Taylor 1913, 243)
52	Northgate Street, 1913	Sewage trench in Northgate Street uncovered a cobbled surface sealing a pennant pavement 3.5m+ below ground level. Also, Roman tile, pottery and four Vespasian coins (Taylor 1914, 242–3)
28	30–1 The Paragon, 1949	Romano-British pottery including Samian Ware recorded (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 211)
22	Guinea Lane, 1951	Roadworks along London Street from the junction of Guinea Lane with the Paragon to Walcot Church uncovered a wall running north-south, sealed by black layer containing 2nd or 3rd century pottery (Wedlake 1979c, 131)
670	Guinea Lane, 1952	A late 3rd-century Roman coin, and Roman pottery recorded at a depth of 2.7m in a telephone cable trench (Haverfield 1906, 264; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 211)
1	Sim's Garage, 1958	A 1.1m thick 'black layer of Roman date' sealing a cobbled area, recorded at a depth of 1.7m in petrol storage tanks. The only recorded find was a piece of decorated Samian (Wedlake 1979c, 133)
292	Hat and Feather, 1959	A Roman coin of unknown type recorded in the Sites and Monuments Record
49	Walcot Street Carpark, 1971, (Hilton Hotel site)	Waterlogged pit with Romano-British pottery, objects of copper alloy, bone and iron, and a large collection of leather shoe fragments recorded during an extended watching brief (Owen 1979a, 102–22)
165	Saracen's Head, Broad St,	Pottery, including Samian Ware, and glass in the Sites and Monuments Record
188	Chatham Row, 1987	4th-century copper-alloy coin recorded in the Sites and Monuments Record
190	18 The Paragon, 1987	4th-century copper-alloy coin recorded in the Sites and Monuments Record

300	St. Swithin's Place, 1982	Seven trenches were excavated in advance of redevelopment, from which Romano-British pottery was recovered (Davenport (ed) 1991, 128–9; Green 1991b)
191	Walcot Methodist Burial Ground, 1987	Roman wall footings and architectural stone fragments recorded during a watching brief, recorded in the Sites and Monuments Record
380	Walcot parochial Burial Ground, 1988	Badly corroded coin, possibly Roman, recorded in the Sites and Monuments Record
295	Nelson Place, 1989	Evidence for a number of buildings, pits, post-holes, walls, surfaces, hearths and ditches recorded in rescue excavations by Mark Beaton. Unpubl.
623	St Michael's church Hall 1995	Trial trenches dug in advance of alterations to the floor of the building recorded two possible pits of either Romano-British or medieval date, and a fine brown silt containing Roman pottery, which continued to the base of the excavation (Observations made by Marek Lewcun, Unpubl.)
679	Beehive Yard 1999	Rescue excavation recorded evidence for buildings (Crutchley and Leverett 2001)

recorded in deep excavations for telephone cables in Guinea Lane (srn 22, 670), but substantial evidence for Romano-British settlement along the middle section of Walcot Street has come to light only in the last decade. Until then, only a small number of Romano-British finds had been recorded, including a tombstone (srn 30), stone coffins and an urn (srn 109). Given more recent discoveries, it seems probable that a large stone structure identified by Wood below Walcot Street might also be Romano-British in date (srn 704) (Keevil 2000, 29). In 1995, trial trenches were dug in advance of alterations to the floor of St Michael's church. In trench 1, two pits were recorded, of either Romano-British or medieval date, both cutting earlier stratified deposits. In the base of trench 2 a fine brown silt contained Roman pottery (srn 623).

Aldridge's Site; 130–6 Walcot Street

Between 1991 and 1998, small trial trenches were excavated in advance of redevelopment at 130–136 Walcot Street (srn 293), revealing Romano-British deposits beneath existing cellar wall footings, so that, when development started in 1999, an archaeological watching brief was maintained. The land sloped down to the River Avon and had been terraced, allowing occupation to spread up to 60m back from Walcot Street towards the river. Two Romano-British buildings were identified on the site. Both were parallel to and south of a cobbled lane leading east from the Roman street. The wall of the more northerly of the two survived to a height of up to 1.7m, with

18 courses of well-laid, mortared masonry. The various service trenches that ran across the development area showed that this wall belonged to a high-quality house, terraced into the hillside and running back from the line of the present Walcot Street. It was dated to the 2nd century and finds were described as 'typical' of a Roman urban site. The northern house lay adjacent to it, and also dated to the 2nd century. Here, the presence of painted wall plaster, stone column fragments and other architectural elements demonstrate that it was a fairly elaborate building; a stone water tank implies a piped water supply. However, by the mid-4th century, it was partly derelict and was being used to house an industrial-sized oven. Late in the Roman period, inhumation burials, one of them in a lead lined coffin, cut through the surface of the lane, and part of the southern building (srn 669). (See Davenport 1998a, 1998b.)

The south end of Walcot Street

It is likely that Romano-British stratigraphy survives several metres below ground level at the southern end of Walcot Street but large areas to the east have probably been damaged by 18th- and 19th-century cellaring. In 1913, a Pennant sandstone pavement, similar to that recorded in Guinea Lane (srn 22) and possibly from a Romano-British courtyard, was found 3m below Northgate Street (srn 52) and a similar surface was recorded more than 3m below ground level, between the rear of New Bond Street premises and the Upper Borough Walls (Taylor 1913, 243).

The Walcot Street car park

In 1971, a vast area was affected by the construction of a multi-storey car park and hotel (srn 49). The rapid clearance of the site meant that little was recorded, with the exception of a late 2nd-century pit and the immediately adjacent layers. The pit had been dug into underlying blue Lias clay, where waterlogged conditions had preserved organic material. A large number of leather scraps and worn soles survived, along with iron leather-working tools, suggesting a cobbler's workshop alongside the road.

In 1902, the construction of a bakery roughly 200m to the north of the waterlogged pit uncovered a 'flue' and five moulded pier bases, aligned north to south and set 1.6m apart (srn 41), and in 1995 trial trenches confirmed the presence of Romano British deposits (srn 679).

The Tramsheds site, Beehive Yard (mrn 31)

In 1902, part of a Romano-British building and a possible road surface were recorded in digging foundations for new bakery (srn 41). A short distance to the south, 14 trenches were excavated in 1999 across an area of almost 6000 sq m prior to the redevelopment of the former Tramsheds site, Beehive Yard (srn 679). Since the archaeological strategy adopted for the site was in line with PPG16, the underlying principle was to preserve the archaeological deposits intact, so that there would be only minimal excavation of the Roman level (Barber 1999; Crutchley and Leverett (2001). Nevertheless, the results showed that there was a clear sequence of occupation from the 1st to early 5th centuries. As elsewhere in Walcot, the slopes above the River Avon had been terraced and intensively occupied, while the presence of a tessellated floor and high-quality ceramic and glass ware suggested a building or buildings of significant social status. The earliest phase of use was represented by a ditch, and by timber structures, possibly used as animal pens. These were succeeded by timber buildings on dry-stone footings, to be followed in turn by a phase of more substantial masonry construction. Pottery and coin evidence suggests a major expansion of occupation in the Flavian period, but it is also clear that occupation continued here throughout the Roman period, with metalworking perhaps carried out in buildings to the rear of premises fronting the east side

of Walcot Street (Davenport 2000, 7–26) developing in the 2nd century. Although later levels were lacking, coin evidence from the site suggests continued occupation into the opening decade of the 5th century. (See also Betts 1999c; Bircher and Clarke 1999; Burchill 1999; Corney 1999a, 1999b; Crutchley and Leverett 1999; Davenport 1998c; Davies 1999; Mills 1999a, 1999b; Shepherd 1999b.)

*Extra-mural sites south of the river (Fig 2.30, Table 2.8)**Bathwick (mrn 34, 43–4)*

There would presumably have been a river crossing, either by way of the ford or possibly by ferry, linking Walcot with Bathwick, where evidence for Roman occupation has been recorded since the 19th century. Pre-Flavian pottery and coins suggestive of occupation have been recorded in the Powlett Road and Forrester Avenue area, and Cunliffe has suggested the possibility of a conquest period fort at Bathwick, but there is as yet no further evidence for this.

Settlement clearly continued here throughout the Roman period, and subsidiary roads and trackways developed. The distribution of burials, including a possible columbarium on the slopes of Odd Down, suggests a road or track running from Bathwick, or possibly from the walled town, to join the Fosse Way in the Englishcombe area. There might also have been roads south from Bathwick up Ralph Allen Drive, and also up Lyncombe Hill and Beechen Cliff. It is possible that one or more of these acted as additional policing routes in the conquest period.

Haverfield (1906) records the 19th-century discovery of a tessellated floor in Daniel Street (mrn 44, srn 38), as well as what was presumably a substantial house between Sydney Mews and the railway, where a blue, grey and white mosaic (mrn 43, srn 47) was reported in the mid-19th century (Hunter 1873, 479). It seems probable that this building was largely destroyed during the excavation of the railway cutting (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 212). Four coffins and a tombstone have been found on the lower slopes to the north of this building, in what is now Sydney Gardens (srn 43–6).

Occupation evidence also comes from St Johns Road, where a machine-dug trench in 1988 revealed about 0.25m of late Roman occupation levels, including pottery, gullies

SRN	Site name	Description / references
74	Sydney Buildings, 1809	Metal key and lead pig recovered (Hunter 1829, 421; Phelps 1836, 161; Scarth 1853, 108; Scarth 1864, 29, 101; Haverfield 1906, 283; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 128, 205)
47	Sydney Road, mid-19th century	Mosaic discovered close to a railway cutting (Hunter 1873, 479; Haverfield 1906, 263; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 212)
23	St. John's, 1861	A drain, piece of wall, broken column and pottery found 2.13m below the present level during the construction of a drain (Haverfield 1906, 263; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 212)
38	Daniel Street, 19th century	Tessellated pavement identified (Haverfield 1906, 264)
157	1 Sion Place, 1963	Copper-alloy coin recorded in the Sites and Monuments Record (M. Owen's SMR no. 5.160)
152	Powlett Road, 1964	Copper-alloy coin (Haverfield 1906, 266; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 217)
153	Henrietta Park, 1964	Copper-alloy coin Recorded in the Sites and Monuments Record (M. Owen's SMR no. 5.155)
195	Bathamton Down, 1979	Samian Ware recovered recorded in the Sites and Monuments Record
196	Bathamton Down, 1979	Pottery, copper-alloy coins and a lead weight recovered; recorded in the Sites and Monuments Record
168	South-east of the Ambulance Station, 1983	Samian, coarse wares and amphora recovered; recorded in the Sites and Monuments Record
374	Bathwick Street, 1994	Glass and pottery vessels recovered during a watching brief for a pipe trench. Recorded by John Clarke (2000); notes in the Sites and Monuments Record
703	13 Henrietta Road, Bathwick, 2000	Pottery and palaeoenvironmental data (Bell and Moffatt (eds) 2000; Davies 2000)

and post-holes (srn 386). In 1861, 'a drain, a piece of wall, a broken column and potsherds' had been recorded in the same road, and an inhumation in a stone coffin was found close by (Haverfield 1906, 263) (mrn 34, srn 23–4). Recently, a series of east–west ditches and a post-hole of probable Romano-British date have been found a short distance to the south-east in Henrietta Road (srn 703). Almost 700 sherds of pottery, the bulk of which dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries, were recovered from associated contexts, along with butchered bones from domestic cattle, sheep, pig, chicken, mallard, and wild red deer, horse and dog bones (Higbee 2000). Disarticulated human bones were also identified.

The survival of negative features, such as pits and ditches, is a reminder that had earlier sites been excavated to modern standards they might have revealed evidence for occupation. Generally, only stone or ceramic remains were recorded.

Beechen Cliff (mrn 104)

The villa at Beechen Cliff was excavated between 1998 and 2000 in advance of redevelopment on the site of the former Oldfield Boys' School (srn 295, 699, 700). The remains were buried beneath 2.5m of hill wash and topsoil. The site had been extensively robbed, thus destroying much of the stratification. This also made it difficult to develop a clear understanding of the landscape setting, although pre-Roman activity was observed in trench 3, where clay hill wash layers were cut by two north–south linear features and a shallow scoop. Interpretation is uncertain but they possibly represent ard or heavy plough marks.

The staged nature of excavation, the physical separation of the 12 trenches, and the severe robbing, all made it difficult to reconstruct the plan of the building or to correlate different elements. Sufficient wall footings survived to indicate a substantial winged villa, some 70m across and with tessellated floors and a bath

Table 2.8. Romano-British settlement in Bathwick

MRN	name	SRN	Site name	Description / references
92	Sion Hill	211	'Holly Heights', Sion Hill, 1954	Three stone coffins, tessellated pavement, stone foundations and pottery found during building work (Anon 1954, 9; Wedlake 1979c, 132)
		212	Bath College of Education, 1958	Pennant roof slabs, animal bones and pottery were found during building work. (Gardner 1966, 15; Gardner 1979a, 126–8)
36	Lower Common Allotment	208	Lower Common Allotments, 1979–83	Recorded observations indicated Romano-British and Iron Age site. Unpubl; original site archive held by Bath Archaeological Trust
		209	Lower Common Allotments, 1983–88	Research excavation revealed evidence for occupation from the Iron Age to possibly post-Roman period, covering an area at least 100m ² . Unpubl; original site archive held by Bath Archaeological Trust
37	Norfolk Crescent	62	Norfolk Crescent, 1818	A mosaic was found during building work (Anon 1818; Haverfield 1906, 263; Norton 1969, 212)
104	Beechen Cliff	695	Beechen Cliff evaluation, 1997	A substantial building, including a tessellated pavement, was revealed during the excavation of 11 trenches (Beaton 1997b)
		699	Beechen Cliff excavation, 1998	Two addition trenches revealed evidence for a hypocaust (Beaton 1998)
		700	Beechen Cliff excavation and watching brief, 1999	Further finds, structural evidence and a garden terrace revealed during mitigation excavation and a watching brief. (Cater 2000)
42	Combe Down	204	Belmont Road, 1822	Structural evidence for a building observed by Skinner and Warner in 1822 (Anon 1822)
		205	Summer Lane	Excavation by Richard Colt-Hoare revealed the layout of the structure (Anon 1863b; Scarth 1864, 75, 117; Scarth 1876, 21; Haverfield 1906, 309–12; Pitcairn <i>et al</i> 1924], 1, 2, 48; Addison 1995, 16)
109	Odd Down	315	Wellsway, south of Berwicke Farm, 1955	Roof tiles and building stone, Roman and medieval pottery recorded in gas trench (Wedlake 1979c, 133)
108	Barrow Hill			Air photograph of rectilinear enclosure
	Barrow Hill	685/6		Coin found (Collinson 1791, 339;) and three stone coffins found in 1865 (Haverfield 1906, 36)
	Berwicke	315	Wellsway, south of Berwicke Farm	Occupation layer and stone footings found 1955 (Wedlake 1979c, 133)
	Berwicke	187	12 Hawthorne Grove	Late Roman coins found

Table 2.9. Evidence for Roman settlement in the immediate hinterland of *Aquae Sulis* (excluding cemeteries)

suite. There were also traces of a courtyard. Most of the associated finds dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries, with the exception of a strap-mount and bow brooch of late 1st- to mid-2nd century date.

Both Beaton (1997b, 1998) and Cater (2000) interpret the structure as a high-status suburban villa, with similarities to sites at Daniel Street, Norfolk Street and Lower Common Allotments. Cater discounts its

interpretation as a sanctuary because the small finds suggested a domestic rather than religious context, and argues that it lay too far from the main settlement at *Aquae Sulis* to be a *mansio* (2000, 46–7) (Table 2.9).

In the post-Roman period, it is possible that a timber-framed building was constructed. A narrow north–south slot, with dimensions that could house a sill beam, cut through a post-demolition rubble layer. A drain lined with limestone blocks was also identified in a location that suggests it might have served this building. (See also Betts 1999b.)

Combe Down (mrn 42)

The Combe Down site was first discovered when workmen widening Summer Lane in 1822 found a number of stone coffins. Further investigations by Warner to the north of the lane revealed evidence for a Romano-British building, very probably a villa. Skinner noted Roman remains at the site in about 1826; and the site was partly excavated by Richard Colt-Hoare. Three more coffins were found in 1854 during the construction of Belmont House (srn 204–5).

No precise plans survive, but two wings of what appears to have been a courtyard building were partially uncovered. One of the two rooms in the east–west range had traces of a hypocaust cut into the underlying bedrock. An entrance gateway was found on the east side of the building, and there was some evidence for a covered bath building around a nearby spring. A total of 326 coins of mainly 4th-century date (Constantinian) were found, along with iron and bronze ornaments, colourless glass, samian ware and other Romano-British pottery, all of which was donated to Taunton Museum. Addison suggests that the stone used to build the villa came from a site known as Vinegar Down Quarry, between the present Beechwood Road and the main entrance to De Montalt Mill on the south side of Summer Lane (Addison 1995, 16).

Of particular interest is an inscribed slab, later used as a Roman coffin cover, which reads: ‘For the welfare of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Invictus Augustus, Naevius, imperial freedman, procurator’s assistant, restored from ground level these ruined Headquarters’ (Haverfield 1906, 309–312). This implies that there was an official headquarters here that had fallen

into disrepair before the early 3rd century. The reference to a procurator’s assistant suggests it could have been the centre of a state-run enterprise, perhaps connected with stone quarrying. A lead seal from the site, stamped P(rovinciae) Br(itanniae) S(uperioris), shows that official communications were still reaching the site in the later Roman period.

Odd Down (mrn109)

In 1952, a scatter of Romano-British material was found on Odd Down plateau during the construction of houses on Fox Hill estate (srn 148). No archaeological excavation was carried out, but Wedlake made a brief record for the Ordnance Survey Archaeology Division. A series of irregular shallow pits were recorded, one of which contained a child’s skull. Their fill also contained a large amount of Roman pottery, a Roman brick, a flue tile, and part of a bronze bracelet. Where the ground fell away on the northern side of the estate, there were further dumps of pottery (srn 117). A copper-alloy coin has since been found a short distance to the south (srn 143).

Berwicke (mrn 103 srn 187) and Wellsway (srn 315)

In 1955, a gas main was laid beneath Wellsway, to the south of Berwicke Farm. During its construction, workmen cut through a thick layer of black occupation earth containing medieval and Roman pottery (Wedlake 1979c, 133). On the south side of the road the trench cut through a substantial wall of large blocks of Bath Stone associated with a quantity of loose squared blocks of stone, two stone roof tiles, fragments of medieval and Roman pottery, and a large part of a lower stone from a quern. Wedlake interpreted the roof tiles as Romano-British and concluded that there was a building of this date in the vicinity, although the wall itself might have been part of the deserted medieval village of Berwicke. More recently, four 3rd- and 4th-century copper-alloy coins were found a few hundred metres to the east, in the garden of 12 Hawthorne Grove.

Barrow Hill (mrn 108)

A rectangular enclosure has been spotted on aerial photographs of Barrow Hill and, although its date is unknown, its regular shape is characteristic of this period. Three stone coffins were found in about 1865 in a field close to the hill (srn 685–6), along with a coin of

Antoninus Pius AD 138–61 (Collinson 1791, 339; Haverfield 1906, 36). The hill, as its name suggests, was the site of a probable Bronze Age round barrow and a possible Iron Age hilltop settlement (both of which – SMR nos. 4571 and 1782 – lie outside the UAD study area).

*Extra-mural sites north of the river
Sion Hill (mrn 92)*

The Late Iron Age occupation here has been discussed above, but the record in the 1950s of roof tiles, stone foundations, a tessellated pavement and burials indicates continued or renewed occupation in the Roman period. However, neither the extent nor layout of the building is known and its relationship to the earlier settlement is not understood. Wedlake suggests that it formed part of a large complex, possibly a villa (Wedlake 1979c, 132) but it is possible that the structural remains relate primarily to funerary structures rather than domestic buildings (*see* p 36).

Evidence for structural remains was also found a short distance to the north-west, during the construction of ‘Holly Heights’ in 1954. Three coffins were found, along with a small piece of tessellated pavement and building debris, interpreted as a possible Romano-British stone building (srn 211).

Julian Road (mrn 45)

Romano-British occupation was first recorded here in 1855, when 4th-century coins were found by workmen during alterations to Christ Church. In 1856, more artefacts and coins were discovered by workmen excavating the floor of the former riding school near Christ Church (Anon 1856; srn 26, 29). Fifteen years later, James Irvine recorded discoveries made during the construction of St Andrew’s between 1870–73 (srn 25). The only written descriptions of these discoveries consist of two newspaper reports, one of April 1870 (a cutting in the Irvine Papers), the other in the Bath Evening Chronicle for 18 September 1873. Irvine assumed that the buildings he encountered were part of a villa complex, but these surviving accounts are mainly concerned with the Romano-British cemetery on the site (*see* p 94).

In 1951, fragments of Romano-British tile and pottery were found on the north side of Julian Road, during redevelopment between Harley Street and the White Horse (now Dark

Horse) Inn (Wedlake 1979c, 131; srn18), and, in 1986–7, the Bath Archaeological Trust excavated three trenches on the site of St Andrew’s Primary School (srn 179). A cobbled surface at least 16m by 20m in extent was dated to the mid-4th century. A length of possible roadside ditch was also found, predating the cobbling (Davenport (ed) 1999).

The assemblage of coins and small finds from the site was unusual, suggesting the possibility of a religious focus here, possibly a shrine associated with the cemetery. In particular, the high proportion of annular-shaped objects bore comparison with the small finds assemblage from Uley, a temple site to the north of Bath, where pilgrims visiting a shrine to the god Mercury used rings and other annular objects as votive offerings. (Bircher 1999). However, further excavations in 2002 demonstrated that the masonry buildings post-dated the cemetery and were probably workshops or domestic houses built at the junction of the Fosse Way and the road to Sea Mills (Abonae) in the late 4th century.

Norfolk Crescent (mrn 37)

There are 19th-century records of the discovery of a mosaic in Norfolk Crescent, presumably from a high-status building.

Lower Common Allotments (mrn 36)

The excavation at Lower Common Allotments in the 1980s has not been published and only limited post-excavation work has been carried out. Preliminary results suggest the earliest Roman feature was a large ditch dug to the west of the Iron Age round houses discussed above (*see* pp 36–7). This was probably a field ditch and contained late 1st-century pottery in its fill. In the 3rd or 4th century, a corridor building was constructed on a similar alignment to that of the earlier field ditch. It included a bath suite and the complex was bounded by a stone wall to the east and south; a cobbled trackway led up to the east side, passing through a possible gatehouse in the wall. In the late 4th to early 5th centuries, the main building had possibly been converted to a glass workshop, indicated by a succession of small kilns. An archaeomagnetic date of AD 410 was obtained from one of the related hearths.

2.3.6 Cemetery evidence

Although almost 250 ‘burials’ have been

identified, including both inhumation and cremation, most were discovered in the 19th and early 20th centuries and were not recorded in detail. Two superficial studies of burials have been made – by Haverfield (1906) and Norton (1969) – and, as the record quality varies enormously, there is still considerable potential for analytical study. The main burial types are summarised in Table 2.10, and their distribution pattern shown on Figs 2.29 and 2.30. A catalogue of all the Romano-British burials from the UAD area can be found in Appendix 3. While these represent only a limited range of burial practices, they do indicate two principal patterns: a linear one, indicative of roadside burial, and more tightly defined clusters, probably associated with farmsteads or villas. For the purposes of this discussion, they have been roughly grouped together on the basis of their location. A summary of these burial areas is outlined here, followed by an overview.

Roadside burials

The Roman London Road and Fosse Way (Walcot Street, London Road cemetery mnrn32)

Roadside discoveries have been made along both Walcot Street and London Road for more than 300 years, and this north-east route out of the city has long been recognised as a Romano-British roadside cemetery (Camden 1586; Horsley 1732; Wood 1765; Warner 1797; Scarth 1864; Haverfield 1906; Collingwood and Wright 1965; Cunliffe (ed) 1969; see also Reece (ed) 1977). Most of the burials in Walcot Street were discovered during the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries, and, consequently, contexts and position were only briefly recorded. In a number of cases, tombstones had been reused in the city walls (srn 56–8, and 397) or in the foundations of houses (srn 73 and 80). None of the human remains were studied in detail. In spite of these problems, it is clear that they form a distinctive assemblage, comprising tombstones, cinerary urns, and a small number of stone coffins. Several tombstones commemorate soldiers, but the burials were not only those of military men; two inscriptions mention infants, and another, later reused in the Upper Borough city wall, mentions a tribeswoman of the *Mediomatrici* (srn 58).

The military connections and the high proportion of cinerary urns suggest that this

Table 2.10. Summary of burial type

	Tombstone	urn	cremation	Stone and wood coffin	wood coffin	wood cist and interment	lead coffin	stone cist	stone coffin	inhumation in pit	extended inhumation (no coffin)	Human bones	Min. total
Walled area and vicinity	6	9						3				1	19
Walcot Street	2	4				1		3				1	11
London Road	6	6		1			2	16					31
Julian Road								17		7			24
Lower Weston cemetery		2	3				1	23		2		2	33
Sion Hill cemetery	1				2			14	1	9			27
Bathwick	1	3				1		18		21		1	46
Widcombe burials		1						5		1			7
Englishcombe Lane cemetery								7					7
Burials at Tweron and Whiteway estate								9				1	10
Combe Down burials		2	1				1	8	2			1	15
TOTALS	16	27	4	1	2	1	4	123	3	42		7	230

was an early cemetery, probably in use by the 1st century AD. Unfortunately, although pottery, coins and structural remains were found in association with several burials, the absence of detailed contextual information means that the cemetery's lifespan is unknown.

The London Road assemblage includes two tombstones to soldiers of the Twentieth Legion (srn 14, 16), and the absence from the inscriptions of the title *Valeria Victrix* – awarded to the legion after the Boudiccan revolt – suggests a pre-Flavian date (Cunliffe 1995, 103). More than half the records, however, are for stone coffins, and the dating evidence for these is not as good because most were excavated before 1900: the earliest discoveries were made by Camden in the 16th century (srn 15–16).

Julian Road

Newspaper reports between 1870 and 1873 of discoveries made during the construction of St Andrew's Church in 1871 describe:

a great many deposits of skeletons ..., some unburnt, some partially, and others completely consumed, as evidenced by numerous fragments of vases containing ashes. The skeletons lay mostly north-west and south-east, but some rested in other directions, and in one case, a quantity of bones were found in an upright position. No ornaments were discovered, but a flint bruiser was picked up, and in the angle of the villa laid open, part of a Roman stone column was uncovered, as well as a quantity of Samian and other pottery. These were all found on the east of a Roman gravel road running diagonally north-east and south-west. At the north side of the vestry four stone coffins were laid open, two of which were taken up; and in one case it was observed that a Roman wall had been built upon the coffin. The covers were simply flat stones bearing no inscriptions or marks of any kind ... (Anon 1873).

A plan of the excavations, made by the clerk of works, James Irvine, shows masonry remains at the north-east corner of the church and seven coffins – not the four described in this article (srn 25). It is clear from Irvine's records that cremations and inhumations were made on the east side of a gravel road. Burials have also been recorded to the south (srn 31), while the 19th-century discovery of burials on either side of Julian Road to the east and in Victoria Park to the west suggest that the burial area might have been extensive (srn 34–7, 136).

Irvine's road is now identified as the Fosse Way, and further excavations in 2002 confirmed that the burials lay on its eastern

side. The excavations also showed that the masonry remains recorded by Irvine post-dated the cemetery and probably represented workshops or domestic houses built at the junction of the Fosse Way with the road to Sea Mills (Abonae) in the late 4th century (Davenport 2008). Trenches in 2002 also uncovered two inhumation burials south of the Royal Crescent, cut into the edge of the Fosse Way and apparently late Roman in date. One was in a nailed, wooden coffin (Davenport 2004). Nineteenth-century records indicate at least 18 further burials in Russell Street, on the south side of Julian Road. As noted above (*see* p 92), in 1951 fragments of Romano-British tile and pottery were found on the north side of Julian Road, during redevelopment between Harley Street and the White Horse (now Dark Horse) Inn (Wedlake 1979c, 131; srn 18). There is also some evidence that the cemetery area continued further west. A small sword belt with a buckle 'attached to the lower vertebrae of a skeleton' was found, together with 'other small objects' including pottery, bronze rings and a large gold-plated fibula (Scarth 1864, 110). The artefacts were subsequently sold to three collectors: Worcester Archaeological Institute, Alnwick Castle and the Earl of Cardigan.

Lower Weston cemetery (mnrn 40)

At least 30 burials were found during the 19th century along a 200m stretch of the Upper Bristol Road at Lower Weston. Both Bird (1991, 140) and Davenport (Davenport (ed) 1999) have suggested that, like the Julian Road group, these roadside burials were made along part of the *Inter XIV*, which passed out of Bath towards Kelston and eventually Abonae (Sea Mills). Few grave goods were recorded, and their Romano-British date appears to be based on comparison with stone coffins found elsewhere in the city. The first recorded discovery was in 1815, when a skeleton and an urn were found at the Gasworks site on Upper Bristol Road (srn 122). Ten years later, twelve stone coffins were found behind Partis College, and a further two in front of the College chapel (srn 166). In 1863, 'stone coffins' were found at Windsor Place (srn 121), and in the same year, two stone coffins were found at Locksbrook cemetery Lodge on Newbridge Hill (srn124). They had stone covers and contained skeletal remains. Other burials in the vicinity included

a stone cist and cremation, a number of urned cremations and several human skeletons found in a gravel pit close to the Lodge. No structural evidence was found along with these burials, although Roman pottery was recorded in 1962 in a field to the east of the college (srn 166).

Burials have also been found immediately south of the River Avon and are included in this group because of their proximity to the Lower Weston graves. Four stone coffins and an altar were found during the 19th century in Twerton (srn 145). A detailed description survives for only one coffin, found in 1872, which contained a skeleton, identified as male, whose head had been ‘violently severed’ before burial. Iron hobnails around the feet suggested a pair of boots or shoes were worn by the deceased, or placed next to him.

Other cemetery areas

Bathwick cemetery (mrn 35)

Most of the records of burials in this area date from the 19th and early 20th centuries. They do not lie along a known road, but leaving aside two outlying discoveries (srn 6, 110), a convincing case can be made for a linear pattern stretching over a kilometre along a south-easterly road (Fig 2.30).

Several stone coffins were recovered behind Henrietta Gardens during gravel extraction in the later 19th and early 20th centuries (srn 39–40) and four coffins and a tombstone have been found on the lower slopes to the north in what is now Sydney Gardens (srn 43–6). In 1866, workmen digging for gravel discovered a pair of coffins side by side, one containing an adult skeleton, described as male, the other a horse’s skull (Scarth 1876, 28, srn 45). Further gravel extraction in 1914 revealed another coffin found with the head pointing to the north (Taylor 1914, 53–4, srn 43). A short distance from these burials lay what was interpreted at the time as a place for cooking food, possibly for a funeral feast, although it now seems more reasonable to interpret it as a pyre site (Rock 1867, 60).

The most south-easterly point of the cemetery lay at the foot of Bathwick Hill, where eight stone coffins, a lead coffin and 21 skeletons were discovered in 1819 during the construction of the Sydney Wharf (srn 51, 65, 85). The extended inhumations were allegedly lying in a ‘haphazard manner’ (Anon 1819). Close to one of the coffins was a bronze box

containing eight bronze coins of the ‘Lower Empire’. Probably the most remarkable burials were a pair of stone coffins found by Scarth in the mid-19th century: each contained an adult skeleton, one placed in very fine sand and interpreted as female, the other described as a male, embedded in coarser sand (srn 671). The fine sand was carefully examined under the microscope and yielded particles of a coarse woven garment, particles of pitch, a hair (flaxen) and a bead. The sand itself is thought to have been brought some distance, possibly from Clifton or Calne, in Wiltshire. Its deliberate use to preserve the bodies can be compared with examples where plaster or gypsum was employed for the same purpose (Pettigrew 1861, 232).

In spite of the relative frequency of grave goods at Bathwick, none of the burials has been accurately dated. Of the three tombstones discovered in this area, two are uninscribed (srn 32, 657) and the third does not include any dateable evidence (srn 46). Very few cremation burials have been recorded from this area, but this could be simply a feature of the archaeological record, rather than evidence for a late date for the cemetery. Three urns were discovered in 1857 on the eastern side of the river during gravel-digging in Hampton Row, several hundred metres to the north of the main Bathwick cemetery area. They were found in association with a wooden cist containing a coffin, and it is not clear if the urns contained cremations (srn 6).

Sion Hill (mrn38)

Burials have been recorded on the southern slopes of Sion Hill since the late 18th century. They include at least 13 stone coffins, 10 extended inhumations, one inhumation in a pit, and two wooden coffins. Most appear to have been found in a relatively discrete area, very probably in association with the extra-mural building discussed above (*see* p 92). A couple of outlying discoveries might have been made alongside a road to the site (srn 127, 681).

The earliest discovery on Sion Hill was made in 1792, when the lower part of a broken tombstone was recovered during the excavation of foundations for a new house. It was followed in 1808 by another discovery, about 400m to the south-west, where two stone coffins with covers were found during the excavation of foundations for a new house

at St Catherine's Hermitage (srn 135). One enclosed a wooden coffin and contained an adult skeleton; a second inhumation lay outside the coffin on the same alignment but in reverse orientation, along with the jaw of a horse.

The 1950s' excavation in the grounds of Bath College of Education uncovered a number of stone coffins and inhumations (srn 210, 213–5) and roadworks within the College grounds in 1972 revealed two more stone coffins and an inhumation (Hooper 1979, 130). In 1959, a further stone coffin containing an adult skeleton was discovered on the north side of Sion Road, at Kelso Lodge, and in 1954, three coffins were found a short distance to the north-west (srn 211) – debris and a fragment of tessellated pavement suggesting a nearby building. Bell and Lewcun (1998) have noted the proximity of St Winifred's spring and suggest that the cemetery might have been laid out around a shrine or sacred site linked to the spring. They also argue that the combe on the site of the hermitage could have represented the eastern boundary of the cemetery. However, stone coffins were found to the south-east of this site in 1840, when the foundations for St Stephen's Church were dug on Richmond Road (srn 127). In 1999, five inhumations were identified by the Bath Archaeological Trust in the grounds of 8 Hermitage Road (srn 680–1). Each had been buried with hobnailed sandals or boots, the outlines of which were all well preserved. Two skeletons were removed to the Roman Baths Museum and a palaeopathology report is in existence (the others were left *in situ*).

Widcombe burials

A small number of burials have been found in Widcombe, with a principal cluster on the site of the Abbey cemetery, where four stone coffins were found between 1843 and 1952 (srn 114, 318–9). Later on, an additional stone coffin was recovered further north, in Prior Park Road, 'near the Old White Hart Hotel' (srn 663). In 1860, a single inhumation without a coffin was found in Smallcombe Vale and dated on the basis of a coin of Crispus (srn 664).

Combe Down burials

A small group of burials from Combe Down was probably associated with the Combe Down building (*see* p 91). The group comprised

three cremations and five inhumations in coffins; some were associated with coins dating mainly to the 3rd and 4th centuries (srn 205).

Englishcombe Lane cemetery (mrn 41)

An unspecified number of stone coffins were found some time before 1854 to the south of Englishcombe Lane (srn 394), but their exact location is not known. Two further coffins were found in Englishcombe Lane in 1911 and 1942. Their linear distribution suggests that they were probably made along a road, possibly one that led directly to the springs.

Burials to the south-west of the River Avon: Southdown Road and Whiteway estate

The Whiteway estate occupies a distinctive knoll that overlooks Twerton and Bath City centre on the lower flood plains. Three stone coffins were found in *c* 1865 at what is now 12 Southdown Road, and another in 1984 at Whiteway (srn 138). In 1997, two burials in stone coffins were found approximately 160m due east (srn 661). Both coffins were aligned east–west and were associated with Romano-British pottery, but detailed recording was not possible. The burials were probably related to the suspected Romano-British site to the south-east, on Barrow Hill (*see* p 91). Three stone coffins were found in *c* 1865 in a field close to the hill (srn 685–6) (Collinson 1791, 339; Haverfield 1906, 36).

Columbaria and mausolea

It is likely that a settlement as wealthy as Bath would have had its share of elaborate and monumental funerary monuments and, as noted above, a Roman columbarium was reported to have been found in the early 20th century in Englishcombe Lane (srn 163). Although structural evidence for mausolea, columbaria or house-tombs has not been identified along either Walcot Street or London Road, the carved woman's head found in Walcot in the 17th century, and the fragment of plinth from the tomb of the 80-year old 'Decurion of Glevum' found in the city wall to the west of the Northgate in the 16th century, must both have been from monumental funerary monuments.

The Roman cemeteries: an overview

There is no doubt that only a fraction has so far been found of what must have been

thousands of Romano-British burials made around Bath, and particular burial practices are likely to be under-represented. Nevertheless, the burial records are important because they have allowed the main cemeteries around *Aquae Sulis* to be identified, along with, by inference, the major routes into the settlement. They are also of value as a group: cross-site comparison has highlighted the different contexts in which burials were made, and indicated that there must have been some segregation by social status (see for example Reece (ed) 1977).

The burials along Walcot Street and London Road are of special interest because they are associated with areas of intensive settlement. The chronological relationship between the two is not fully understood, but recent excavations at the Tramsheds (srn 679) and at Aldridge's (srn 669, 672) sites suggest that burials were made on land immediately adjacent to occupation, presumably in small cemeteries.

Just over half the burial records in the UAD are coffins of Bath stone. This fine honey-coloured freestone was quarried locally, very probably at sites such as Combe Down. The coffins were commonly of a simple form, with a rounded head and square foot, tapering in width at the foot (Norton 1969, 214). There were occasional exceptions: a dry-stone sarcophagus was found in London Road and an angular coffin in Bathwick. The west-east burials that have been identified at Bathwick and Widcombe could have been Christian burials, but the practice was not confined to the Christian community (Millett 1995, 127). The two sand-filled stone coffins in Bathwick suggest an attempt to preserve the body, but this again is not necessarily a sign of Christianity.

Grave goods are rare. Finds have included pottery, glass and coins associated with several graves, but they cannot always be distinguished from general settlement evidence, although re-analysis of the original records can help to clarify this problem. A small number of items found in Bathwick, Julian Road and London Road cemeteries relate to burial clothes worn by the deceased. They include rings, pins, a glass bead and a bronze fibula. The sword belt with buckle found with bronze rings and a large gold-plated fibula at Julian Road is of particular interest, and is discussed below (see p 103).

The practice of placing shoes (represented

by clusters of iron hobnails) at the foot of coffins and inhumations is recorded in at least four cemeteries (Englishcombe, Sion Hill, Combe Down and Twerton, and also at Bathampton Meadows just outside the UAA area). At least six instances of decapitation burials have been recorded. Evidence elsewhere suggests that most beheadings took place after death, presumably as part of a specific ritual (Millett 1995, 127–8). Those from Widcombe and London Road were not associated with any grave goods, and at Combe Down three skulls had been placed with a fourth skeleton (Ouvry 1855, 90–1). Horse skulls have been found in association with three burials, usually placed in a stone box or coffin next to the deceased (at Bathwick, srn 45; Sion Hill, srn 135; and Combe Down, srn 205); horse bones have been found less frequently but their presence in burials suggests ritual practice. The skeleton found in Twerton was found with iron hobnails and a horse's tooth (srn 145).

Comparison with other Roman cemeteries suggests that the post-mortem decapitation and the inclusion of hobnailed boots in the grave were rituals whose roots lay in native rather than Roman burial practices. By contrast, concern for bodily preservation is generally attributed to practices introduced from North Africa in the 2nd century (Millett 1995, 129–131). With the exception of decapitation burials, the Bathwick cemetery appears to have contained examples of all the burial practices, while other cemeteries were less mixed. It is interesting that decapitation and horse burials tend to be more frequent in the outlying areas – Twerton, Englishcombe Lane, Combe Down, Widcombe and Sion Hill – while the careful preservation of the body is a practice found closer to the Roman centre of *Aquae Sulis*, along Walcot Street, Julian Road and London Road.

2.3.7 The current state of understanding

As long as the Fosse Way formed part of the *limes* of the newly conquered province, Bath occupied a strategic position on the crossing of the Avon. As the frontier moved west in the later 50s and early 60s the importance of the Fosse Way would have declined, while that of the east-west road between Silchester (and ultimately London) and the military bases at Sea Mills (Abonae) and Caerleon would have increased. As discussed above, the course of the Fosse Way in the conquest period is still a

subject of discussion, but it now seems likely that it joined the Silchester/Abonae road at Batheaston, and that the two roads shared a common route through Walcot, and then along Guinea Lane to Julian Road and Victoria Park, at which point the Fosse branched south, crossing the river a short distance west of Norfolk Crescent, running to Odd Down, and from there on to Combe Hay. The question of a conquest-period fort is also still unresolved, although it is reasonable to assume there was one at this important road and river crossing. Davenport has pointed out that all the significant roads approaching Bath are aligned on Walcot (Davenport 2008, 137, fig 9), and it is now clear that there was significant occupation immediately south of the Cleveland Bridge at Walcot in the pre-Flavian period. The presence of several 1st-century military tombstones along the road to the north provides further evidence pointing to a military presence somewhere in this general area, although it should be emphasised that, as yet, the precise location has not been definitively proved. The 'military' or branch road recorded on the Hat and Feather site implies there was a river crossing somewhere south of Cleveland Bridge, presumably giving access to Bathwick, where pre-Flavian occupation debris has also been recorded, and which has, in the past, been suggested as a possible fort site. Other suggested sites include the Mineral Water Hospital and the area around Citizen House (Cunliffe 1979, 137). Barry Cunliffe edited an overview and assessment of excavations in Bath from 1950 to 1975 (Cunliffe (ed) 1979; see also Ambrose and Henig 1979; Cunliffe, B 1979a, 1979b; Cunliffe and Owen 1979; Dannell 1979; Dannell and Hartley 1979; Gardner 1979; Grant 1979; Greene 1979a, 1979; Hooper 1979; Owen 1979a; Owen, Cunliffe and Dannell 1979; Startin 1979; Wedlake 1979a, 1979b, 1979c).

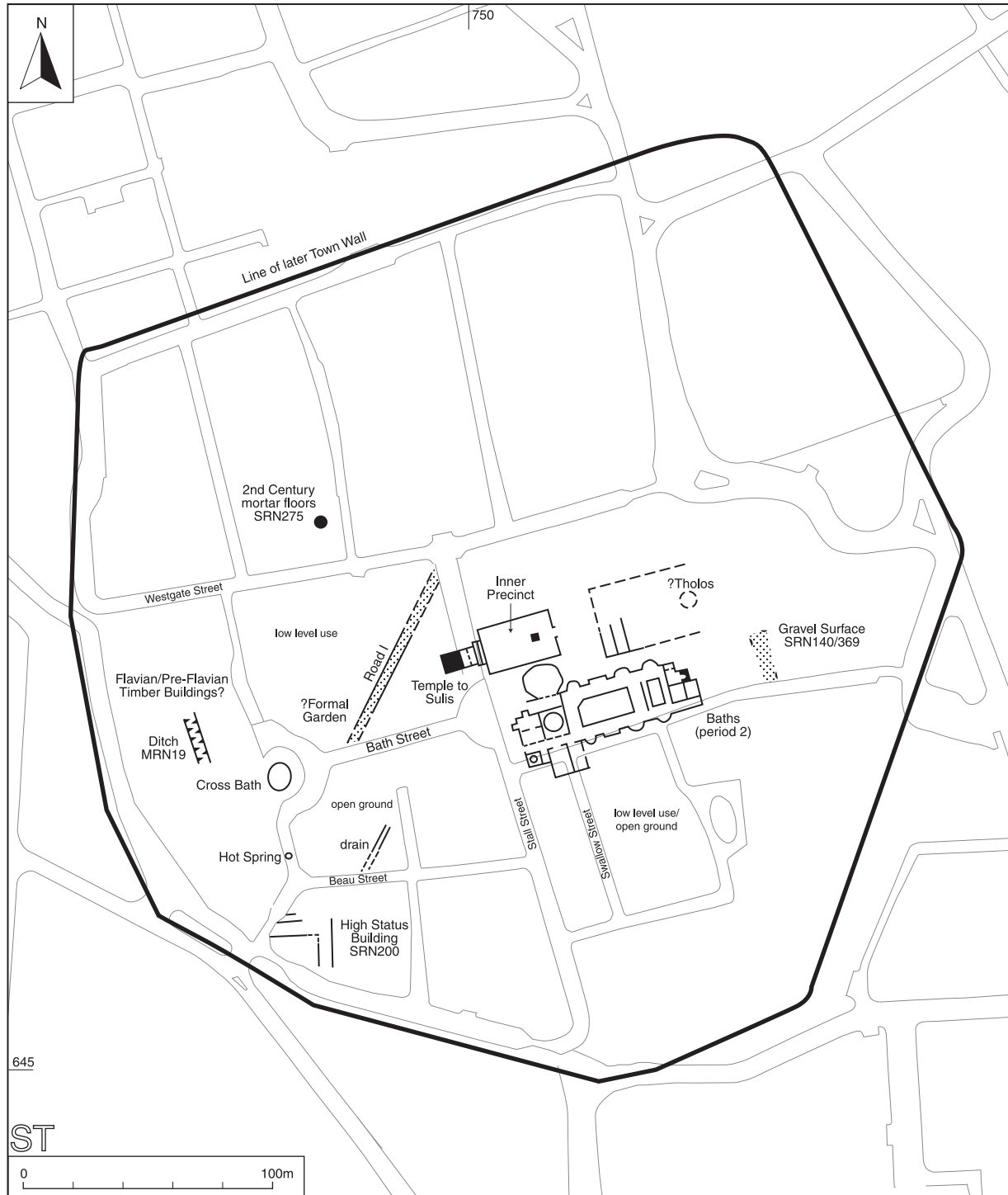
By the Flavian period there was clearly a flourishing settlement at Walcot, a kilometre to the north of the later walled town, and the sites at Nelson Yard and Hat and Feather Yard have both produced substantial quantities of Flavian and early 2nd-century material. At Nelson Yard the main period of building was in the early 2nd century, when the finds suggest an urban community with a reasonably high standard of living. By the 2nd century, settlement might well have spread south to the Tramsheds site,

where a mid-2nd-century house overlay an earlier timber building.

This evidence of an expanding settlement around a major route centre is in marked contrast to the contemporary situation in the later walled town area. Here, environmental evidence suggests that the immediate surroundings of the sacred spring consisted of wet woodland. Such an area could well still have been considered sacred and indeed the presence of Late Iron Age coins in the sacred and hot springs could have been deposited after the conquest. What happened to the local Late Iron Age communities in the conquest period is still unclear. Sion Hill, Bathampton Meadow and, Lower Common Allotment have produced evidence for occupation in the Late Iron Age and as pre-conquest pottery no doubt went on in use for some years, if not decades, after the conquest, some of these sites could well still have continued in use in the early years of the Roman occupation. The presiding deity, Sulis, is likely to have been one of regional significance (Derks 1998), and it is inconceivable that observance of the cult would have been completely forgotten by the conquest period generation.

The dating of the earliest phase of the Temple of Sulis Minerva, the reservoir over the sacred spring, and phase 1 of the bathing complex to *c.* AD 70–80 is generally accepted, although it relies primarily on stylistic dating of the temple pediment carving, and the very simple design of the baths. The presence of the Flavian road, Road 1, beneath the north-east corner of the later precinct suggests that initially the sacred area simply comprised the inner precinct and the temple itself. How this was defined is unclear. No early temenos boundary has been recorded, but, as Derks has pointed out, this might not have been thought necessary: a simple kerb at the edge of the precinct paving could have been sufficient. It is one of the still unanswered questions (see Dark 1993).

The area south of the baths seems to have been largely unoccupied before the later 2nd century, while east of the temple, the excavations in Beau Street recorded an open drainage ditch above an early culvert parallel to and 40m south-east of Road 1. Small areas of surviving deposits indicated that the site here had again been open ground with shrubs and small trees up until the middle of



the 2nd century. Only at Citizen House, on the slightly higher ground south of Westgate Street, has evidence been found for Flavian (and possibly pre-Flavian) occupation. This has led Cunliffe (2000, 13–14) to suggest the possibility of a short-lived fort in this area, but so far there is no supporting evidence for

this, while the pre-Flavian pottery from the site could still have been in use in the Flavian period. There is no formal street grid, the strip buildings and domestic structures typical of a Romano-British town are absent, and there is no indication of a Forum or Basilica (Fig 2.31).

In this setting, the appearance of the

Figure 2.31. Late 1st-/early 2nd-century Bath (walled area).

temple and baths complex is all the more remarkable. The design and construction of the buildings, the carvings on the temple pediment, the Corinthian columns and the Sacred Altar – as well as the whole water-management system – all indicate not only imported craftsmen and engineers, but also state or elite patronage. In concept, scale, and no doubt cost, it bears comparison with other major building projects in southern Britain at the time, notably the temple of Claudius at Colchester, the proto-palace at Fishbourne, and the probable temple to Neptune and Minerva at Chichester.

Once building started, it is reasonable to assume that the road running south from Walcot was laid out – more or less on the line of modern Walcot Street, probably entering the later walled area at the later site of the north gate, and perhaps linking up with Road 1. Nevertheless, until the second half of the 2nd century, the temple and baths complex still appear somewhat cut off and separate from the main area of contemporary settlement around the Walcot/Cleveland Bridge junction. The status of the complex is still a matter of discussion. Henig attributes the foundation of the complex to Cogidubnus, suggesting that Bath lay within his extended kingdom in the post-conquest period (Henig 1999b; Fulford 2008). This assumes that the area controlled by Cogidubnus included the *civitas Belgarum*, and that Ptolemy was right in placing Bath in that civitas. Henig cites the triumphal, classical iconography of the Temple Pediment, with the Victories standing on globes, and draws attention to the similarities of the combination of Minerva and a Poseidon-like deity on the Bath pediment with the dedication to Neptune and Minerva at Chichester. The star in the Bath pediment he links to either Divus Claudius or Divus Vespasianus, underlining Cogidubnus' links with Rome (Henig 1999a).

Ton Derks (1998) has stressed the important role of native elites in the development of Romano-Gallic sanctuaries in Belgic Gaul. He points out that many of the so called 'rural sanctuaries' in Gaul – such as Ribemont, Le Vieux Evreux and Pesch – were cult centres dedicated to local deities that were equated with Roman counterparts. They formed public cults connected with *pagi* (subdivisions of the *civitas*), often on sites that were already cult places in the pre-Roman period. By promoting a local

centre in this way a member of a local elite could demonstrate both his wealth and status and his support of the Roman administration. Basing it at a place that was already regionally significant meant that it could be seen as slightly separate from the administrative centre (the *civitas capital*) that was under closer Roman control. Such a situation could apply at Bath.

Derks also stresses the role of the Roman army in Gaul in promoting thermal cult centres, and a case could be made for military involvement in the development of Bath. The military tombstones from Bath have been mentioned already, as has the possibility of a late 1st/early 2nd century military headquarters building under or near the baths next to the Hot Bath. Coins from the Hot Spring were presumably votive offerings, in the same way as those from the Sacred Spring, and it is quite possible that all three springs were venerated in the late 1st and early 2nd century, under the patronage both of the local elite, and of the local military administration.

This picture of an area centred on the hot springs and dominated by elaborate and expensive buildings, somewhat apart from the main area of settlement, is emphasised still further in the early 2nd century by the construction of what is thought to be a *tholos*, dated on stylistic grounds to the Hadrianic period. Although its precise position is unknown, it must have stood to the east of the Temple of Sulis Minerva, and a site under the later Abbey is the most likely. The podium recorded at several points beneath the Abbey was no doubt part of its precinct, and Cunliffe has emphasised the unity of the whole concept – *tholos*, precinct, Temple of Sulis, Sacred Spring and baths. The gravelled court or street to the east of the baths and *tholos*, with a *terminus post quem* of 96, could also be part of the same complex.

The mid- to late 2nd century saw sweeping changes. Road 1 was diverted and the temple precinct extended with the construction of the outer precinct colonnade. It is tempting to associate this with the roofing-in of the reservoir, and the re-roofing of the Bathing complex (phase 3). Although the only dating evidence for phase 3 is the *terminus post quem* provided by the coin of Hadrian in the mortar of one of the columns, the pattern of distribution of coins in the Sacred Spring suggests that the changes took place in the

early 3rd century. This could well have been contemporary with the addition of two lateral rooms to the north-east and south-east corners of the temple, while the provision of the colonnaded outer precinct some time after 180 might have been part of the same scheme (see Fig 2.24).

It is also tempting to date the construction of the Hot Bath to this period. The inscription from Combe Down tells us that the *principia* building was in disrepair by the early 3rd century and it could be that this was the result of changes in the administration of the region, which could also have accounted for the demolition of the putative administrative building that had stood somewhere near the Hot Bath. It is interesting to note that the deposition of coins in the Hot Bath spring seems to have ceased in the late 2nd century, suggesting at the very least a significant change in ritual at this time. The architectural fragments from a monumental building in Westgate Street could be from a theatre, although its date is uncertain and it is possible that building D, built in the later 2nd century was a *mansio* or even a library connected with the temple and baths complex.

In many ways, the area within the walls resembles the so-called sanctuary sites of Gaul. These were sited either on the outskirts of towns, as at Trier, or in rural locations. Typically they comprised Roman-Celtic temples, baths, *mansiones*, often theatres, and sometimes shops and workshops, presumably serving the needs of devotees. Some, as at Sanxay, were associated with thermal complexes or springs, but they lacked the attributes of urban centres. Recent study of the pewter curse tablets from the Sacred Spring emphasises the large proportion of Celtic names and the relatively humble status of the devotees, judging by the value of the items lost – cloaks, rings, capes, etc – yet there is little sign of correspondingly humble domestic buildings in the area. On the other hand, a substantial number of the tablets suggest people came from considerable distances. As anything more than a half-day's journey would involve overnight accommodation of some sort, we must suppose the provision of inns. A public cult of the importance, which the lavishness and size of the monuments surely implies, would also require houses for priests, (such as the *haruspex* and priest of Sulis, both mentioned on inscriptions) as well

as temple workers of various kinds. Thus, it is not surprising to see a gradual build up of houses, usually with masonry walls south and west of the temple and baths complex in the 3rd century. These include the buildings at Stall Street, Abbey Green, Abbeygate and under the Crystal Palace pub, as well as buildings A and B in Bath Street and possibly also buildings at Citizen House and on the Bellot's hospital site. It was at this time that the earth rampart was put up, more or less on the line of the later town wall. The ditch in front was probably dug to provide material for the bank, and neither need be seen as defensive. They could well have served as a precinct or *temenos* boundary around a large and important sanctuary (see Dark 1993).

Meanwhile, occupation at Walcot, dense in places, was spreading down Walcot Street, side lanes were developing, and the hillside was terraced. There is evidence for substantial buildings, and some colonnades along the street frontage, but it was also here that artisan shops appear – leather and metalworking, and, later on, baking on a commercial scale. By the late 4th century, the settlement area had spread along Julian Road, as far west as the junction with the Fosse Way, and overlay inhumation burials, which themselves were late Roman in date.

Bath in the 4th century was very different from that of the late 1st century and even early 3rd century. In the early 4th century, the inner precinct of the Temple was re-paved with Pennant sandstone (period 4). The first half of the 4th century was a time of prosperity in the area generally, with the development of high-class villas. Cosh and Neal have identified a local 'school' of mosaicists, the Southern Dobunnic Group who were working round Bath in the mid-4th century. They attribute the Weymouth School mosaic in the south-east of the walled area to this group, as well as the fine figured mosaic from the villa at Newton St Loe, 4km west of Bath (Cosh and Neal 2005, 278). Clearly there was still sufficient wealth among the elite in the Bath area in the mid-4th century to support luxury crafts of this sort. Within the walled area of Bath itself there were a significant number of high-status private houses, particularly in the northern sectors, where the majority of the mosaic floors have been recorded. However, in the second half of the 4th century there were substantial

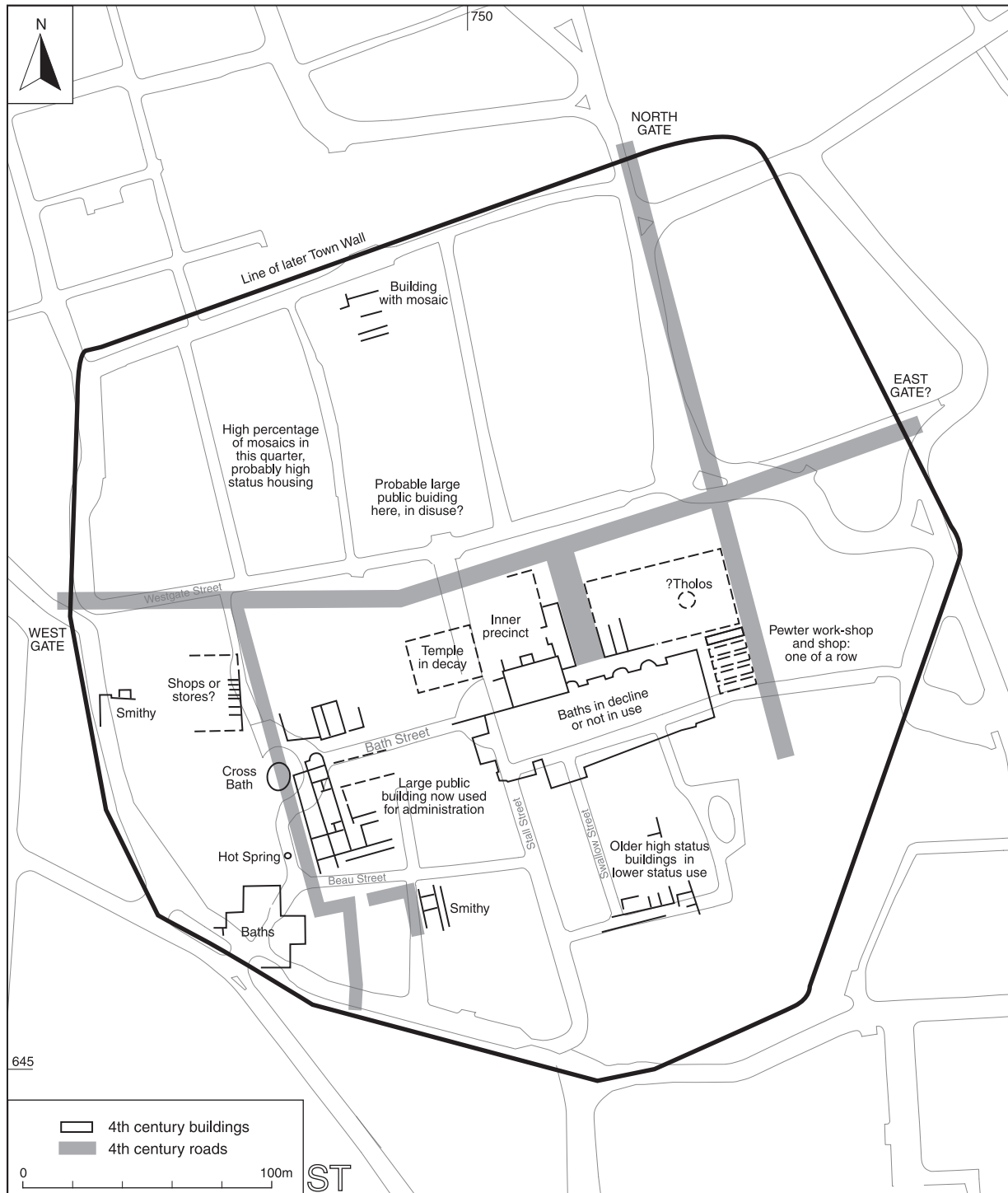


Figure 2.32. Bath at the end of the 4th century (after Davenport et al 2007, 1.3 and Davenport 2002).

changes. The portico at the western end of the outer precinct of the Temple had been partially demolished and private houses built over it. Within the walled area there were an increasing number of more utilitarian buildings (Fig 2.32). A large smithy was established on the Bellot's hospital site, and a pewter workshop east of the

baths. Building C in the west of the area might well have been used as a warehouse or depot. Private houses outside the walls were being converted to new uses. A large, commercial-sized oven or kiln was established on the site of a derelict high-status building on the Aldridge's site, at the south end of Walcot Street, and part



Figure 2.33. Bath in its 7th-century location on the boundary of the West Saxons, bordering the Hwicce and Dumnonia.

of the villa at Lower Common Allotments was converted into a glass-workers' workshop. The strip buildings at St Andrew's church site, Julian Road, were also of late 4th-century date and might well have had an industrial use.

According to the Greek geographer Ptolemy, who was writing in the second quarter of the 2nd century AD, Bath lay in the civitas of the Belgae, whose administrative centre was at *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester), 90km to the east (see Fig 2.6). If Ptolemy was correct, this resulted in a very elongated civitas, and it is possible that in the later Roman period the civitas was subdivided and Bath became the administrative centre of the western division. In spite of the evidence for prosperity among local villa owners, the later 4th century was a period of increasing insecurity in the western Roman empire as a whole. Britain was under pressure from pirates and raiders from beyond the frontiers of the empire, and in AD 367 there were simultaneous raids on Britain by the Scots (from Ireland) the Picts and the Saxons. Increasing insecurity might have led to the provision of well-defended strong points on major roads, where taxes and/or supplies could be protected, and local administration



conducted. Strong points of this type (termed *burgi*) are known from Gaul in the later Roman period, and Bath could have fulfilled this role in the late 4th century. Bath's stone wall cannot be precisely dated, but it might be that it was added to the existing earthwork defence at this time. This might also have been the context for a burial discovered when Victoria Park was

Figure 2.34. Late surfaces beneath fallen masonry in temple precinct (Cunliffe 2000, fig 104).

Figure 2.35. 'Post-Roman' penannular brooch recovered from the Roman spring, 1979 (Cunliffe 1980, pl XIX).



Figure 2.36. Collapsed masonry in sacred spring (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, plate XVIII).



being laid out, between 1829 and 1832 (srn 327). The skeleton was apparently wearing a small sword belt with a buckle 'attached to the lower vertebrae' and was associated with 'other small objects' including pottery, bronze rings and a large gold-plated fibula. The artefacts were subsequently sold to three collectors: Worcester Archaeological Institute, Alnwick Castle and the Earl of Cardigan. They are reminiscent of the official-issue belt sets worn by high-ranking officials in late Roman Britain (Anon 1862; Scarth 1864, 110; Bruce 1880; Haverfield 1906, 266). A large bronze buckle found in Bath Street might also have been lost by a high ranking official at much the same date (Fig 2.38).

The role of Christianity in late Roman Bath is still unclear, although a late 3rd-century

pewter curse tablet referring to a thief 'whether Christian or pagan' provides indirect evidence of the presence of Christians in the town. Although Christianity was tolerated from the early 4th century, and became the official state religion in AD 381, paganism clearly continued. The outlawing of pagan worship by Theodosius in AD 392 might not have been strictly observed, but it would have had a major impact at a prominent site such as Bath. This, combined with the greater difficulty of travelling, and the consequent decline in the numbers of pilgrims to the thermal complexes, not only accounts for the decline of both the temple and the baths in the later 4th century, but must have severely affected the economy of Bath as a whole.

2.3.8 Assessment of importance and potential

In spite of the impressive progress that has been made over the last 50 years in our understanding of Roman Bath, there are still significant aspects about which little is known. This section aims to define these aspects and to explore possible ways of addressing them.

Opportunities for further excavation within the historic core will almost certainly be determined by development proposals following the provisions of PPG16. One of the aims of PPG16 is the preservation intact of buried archaeological deposits. Small, restricted trenches are encouraged, to evaluate the archaeological potential of a site but not to explore it, and a 'mitigation strategy' is then designed in order to minimise disruption of archaeological deposits. While PPG16 has undoubtedly meant that few archaeological deposits have been disturbed, it has also resulted in fewer large-scale archaeological excavations allowing the detailed examination of a protracted sequence of occupation over a significant area. The minor sampling of sites that has replaced full excavation generally makes it difficult, if not impossible, to interpret the history of the site or to place it in the context of Bath as a whole. While a few carefully targeted trenches based on rigorous research can produce important results, as has been demonstrated by the small-scale excavations carried out in the 1960s in cellars around the temple and baths complex, it is difficult to see how some of the major research issues affecting Bath discussed below (*see* section 3.4)



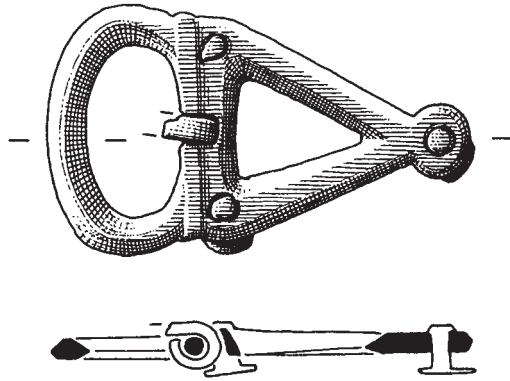
can be approached except through research excavations on a significant scale.

All excavation, whether in the course of development or specifically for archaeological research, involves destruction of archaeological deposits, which, once destroyed, can never be replicated. Consequently, before any research

excavation is undertaken, the contemporary benefit needs to be weighed against the need to preserve archaeological remains for future generations. That this balance can be achieved is exemplified by the excavation in the Sacred Spring in 1979–80, when half the surviving deposits in the reservoir were left intact, and

Figure 2.37. Plan of Bath c 450–500.

Figure 2.38. Late Roman/post-Roman buckle fragment from Bath Street (Davenport (ed) 1999, fig 1.68).



half were fully excavated, leading to important academic results.

A considerable number of sites where Romano-British material has been found since the 1980s remain unpublished, and many of these have not been subject to any substantive post-excavation analysis, although a programme is being developed to deal with the backlog of the more recent excavations. Documentation from many of the evaluations and watching briefs is held by the archaeological organisations responsible for the work, or is contained in the Bath and North-east Somerset Historic Environment Record, although steps are being taken to make this information more widely available on the Internet. Given the quantity and variety of pottery found in Bath over the last 30 years, there is considerable scope for a systematic study outside the strictures of a particular site report. An understanding of fabric types and their associated vessel types and date range is still developing. Similarly, there is considerable scope for cross-site analyses of other finds assemblages.

Assuming that 4th-century Bath had become some sort of official administrative centre, we need to know more about the processes that led to this change, and its economic, social and cultural impact on the surrounding area. Ellen Swift has identified a type of strip bracelet whose distribution centred on the Severn estuary (Swift 2000) and late 4th-century belt buckles (Hawkes and Dunning type 1b) have been shown to be concentrated in Britannia Prima, where their production might have been officially controlled. What does this mean in relation to Bath and its hinterland, where there was a flowering of late Roman villa estates?

Perhaps Roman Bath's greatest potential is the contribution it could make to our understanding of the impact of Rome on different sections of the population. Scheid has emphasized the importance that the Roman state placed on the correct observance of religious ritual and the role played by the elite (Scheid 2003). Approaching the debate from a slightly different angle, Derks has emphasised the role of local cults and the importance of local communities in the context of provincial Roman religion (Derks 1998; see also Scheid 2003). Bath is clearly relevant to these discussions, but, through the medium of the lead curse tablets in particular, Bath also can shed light on the role of ordinary working people, women and slaves. A number of sanctuary sites comparable to those on the continent are known from Britain, for example, Springhead in Kent, Gosbecks outside Colchester, and Frilford, all of which had Late Iron Age antecedents but they developed later than Bath and never achieved its wealth and pre-eminence. With its blending of the local cult of Sulis and the Roman state gods, along with the wealth of evidence provided by inscriptions, the lead 'curses' and the architecture, Bath offers a unique opportunity to study the impact of Rome at a site that was neither a *civitas* capital nor a military site.

There were clearly extensive cemeteries around Bath, only a small proportion of which have been excavated, but of the 230 or more recorded Romano-British burials, most were discovered in the 19th century, and so details are scarce. Skeletal material was not usually retained, so there is relatively little scope for statistical biometric data to be retrieved from existing museum collections. However, details of grave orientation, dating evidence, grave goods and coins, could all potentially lead to a better understanding of the Iron Age to Roman transition. The Late Iron Age tradition of crouched inhumation burial, which was a characteristic of the Severn/Cotswold area, lasted into the Roman period in some places, although there is no indication of this in the Bath cemeteries. Any future excavation in cemetery areas would need to include full provision for the scientific study of the skeletal material, for biometric data, genetic data and pathological data, and for strontium isotope analyses. Radiocarbon dating will also

be essential for any new inhumations to allow a more detailed chronological understanding to be built up.

2.4 *The post-Roman period (5th–mid-7th centuries)*

2.4.1 Introduction and historical framework

There are two basic, but differing views about the fate of Roman Britain in the 5th century: one favours a swift collapse of the whole social and economic structure (eg Reece 1980; Faulkner 2001, 2002); the other, the survival of existing social framework and habits for several centuries (Dark 2000). (See also Wood 1984.)

In 410, the British civitates were left to make arrangements for their own defence. Initially these were likely to have been in the hands of the town councils and local elites, but in time might have led to the rise of petty kingdoms. There is evidence for Saxon infiltration in south-eastern England in the 5th century, but according to the British monk Gildas, writing in the mid-6th century (Giles 1978), the Britons had united under one leader, Ambrosius Aurelianus, and gained a major victory over the invaders at ‘*mons Badonicus*’ (Mount Badon) in about 490. *Mons Badonicus* has been variously identified as Badbury Rings, Cadbury and Cadbury/Congresbury – all sites of Iron Age hillforts – and there is evidence for the reoccupation of some of the Somerset hillforts. Gildas tells us the victory at Mount Badon led to a period of peace lasting until his own time (*ibid*), and certainly there is an absence of early Anglo Saxon evidence from the Severn area generally.

It was probably in the half century after Mont Badon that small British kingdoms began to develop in western Britain. The Anglo Saxon Chronicle records the defeat of three ‘kings’ by the west Saxons at Dyrham, about 12km north of Bath, in 577. Taken at face value, this resulted in the Saxons taking control of Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath, and would imply that the three ‘kings’ were rulers or leaders of some kind and were based at, or near to, these former Roman towns.

The battle of Cirencester in 628 saw the Mercian ruler Penda take control of the area north of the Avon, probably with the support of the local population, who by this time might already have been a mixture of British and



Figure 2.39. *The Wansdyke excavation (Davenport 2002, fig 9).*

Mercian elements. Dumnonia in the South-West remained a British kingdom, but the West Saxons were left in control of Wessex south of the Avon (*see* Fig 2.6). To the north was the kingdom of the Hwicce. This is mentioned in documentary sources (Hooke 1985), and it has been suggested that the diocese of Worcester, founded in the mid-7th century, was co-extensive with the Hwiccan territory. The Bristol Avon was the southern boundary of the diocese of Worcester.

According to an early charter, the Hwiccan King Osric induced the bishop of Worcester to establish St Peter’s nunnery at Bath in 675. Experts are by no means agreed as to the accuracy of the Anglo Saxon Chronicle, particularly in the early centuries, and the charter of 675 is itself of doubtful authenticity. Nennius, writing in the 9th century, places Bath in the territory of the Hwicce, but as this was at a time when Mercian control was extending over lands once controlled by Wessex, this is not necessarily an indication of original Hwiccan territory. What is clear, however, is that Bath lay on or near the frontier between Saxon Wessex and the Mercian controlled kingdom of the Hwicce.

2.4.2 Past work and the nature of the evidence

As in other former Romano-British towns, the principal problem for archaeologists working in Bath is the lack of reliable dating evidence after about AD 420–30, when the manufacture and use of pottery and coins ceases (Davenport 1988, 4). Only a small handful of objects have

been found in the city dating to between the 5th and 10th centuries, and most can be identified in this period only very broadly (Bell 1996, 12). In addition, the widespread cellaring below streets and buildings in the city affected late and post-Roman levels particularly severely. Even in places where deposits might have survived, 18th- and 19th-century excavators generally removed any overlying deposits in order to reach the underlying Roman levels. As Cunliffe commented, they stripped off 'virtually all superincumbent soil and rubble from the area of the Roman baths, stopping only at solid walls and floors of Roman date'. These deposits were all but ignored, appearing as incidental references to 'black soil'. He also pointed out that while substantial deposits undoubtedly still survive in places, they probably lie below 17th- and 18th-century listed buildings (Cunliffe 1979c, 88).

2.4.3 The archaeological evidence

The Temple of Sulis Minerva

By the mid-4th century, the outer precinct appears to have been abandoned as a large public open space and given over to secular buildings. While much of the outer wall remained standing, the colonnade was dismantled and the stylobate and gutter largely removed. In the inner precinct, the deposition sequence was more complex. The inner precinct had been resurfaced at the beginning of the 4th century with well-cut Pennant sandstone slabs. These were overlain by six superimposed layers of silt and humus 'crammed with rubbish' and interleaved with episodes of re-surfacing (Temple period 5). This series of deposits was designated 5a–5f and was finally sealed by a massive masonry collapse (period 6) (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 66–75, 184–185).

In the earliest phase of activity (5a), the eastern part of the portico on the north side of the reservoir, between the quadrifrons and the north-east buttress, was converted into a small room. The north side was walled off, leaving a central doorway with a porch flanked by columns. The reasons for this change are unknown, but Cunliffe and Davenport suggest that the room could have served as a shrine (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 66). By this time, the low-lying part of the precinct had become buried below 0.10–0.2m of deposit described as 'mud and occupation rubbish'. It was covered with a

layer of cobbles, which incorporated several sculptured blocks, together with part of an inscription. More architectural fragments were found in the period 5b surfaces, including part of the Sacrificial Altar, which demonstrates that by now a major change in religious practices is likely to have occurred. Later re-paving (period 5d) included blocks from the entablature of the north wall of the reservoir enclosure and elements from the façade of the four seasons. By this time, the massive eastern entrance to the precinct had been demolished and a substantial timber structure paved with reused slabs was put up in its place. A short length of wattle-and-daub wall was found to the west of the portico end of the precinct, possibly of the same general date (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 68, 71). A coin of the House of Theodosius was associated with period 5d, providing a *terminus post quem* of 388, and the overlying deposits contained a belt plate dated to c 370–450, as well as a composite bone comb probably of late 4th- or early 5th-century date.

Although the temple buildings were gradually being demolished, the stone paving was heavily worn, particularly in the doorways leading to the sacred spring, implying that it continued to be frequented for a considerable period of time. In addition, clipped silver coins and a bronze penannular brooch were found in the spring, all probably dating from the early 5th century (Youngs 1995), while deposits of animal bone and complete pots in the inner precinct imply that religious rites continued even after the demolition of the sacrificial altar in period 5b (see Fig 2.35).

On the basis of all this evidence, it has reasonably been argued that the inner precinct continued in use well into the 5th century, if not beyond. Recently, radiocarbon dating of cattle bones from period 5 deposits have shown that period 5d is likely to date from the last decade of the 4th century, or the first decade of the 5th; period 5e to the 420s or 430s. No samples from period 5f were submitted for dating, owing to the possibility of contamination by later disturbances, but, on the basis of the period 5e date, it is likely that 5f dated to the mid-5th century, after which there was a massive collapse of the masonry buildings (period 6) (Gerrard 2007).

According to Cunliffe and Davenport, this collapse was the result of deliberate

Table 2.11. *Dark-earth deposits and similar*

SRN	Site name	Deposit description / References
392	South-west Baths, 1869	Black soil (Irvine Papers; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 133)
233	The Great Bath, 1880–96	‘Marsh’ (Davis 1884, 89–113; Mann 1900; Haverfield 1906; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 91–3)
235	The East Baths, 1923	(Knowles 1926, 1–18; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 93, 134)
237	Arlington Court, 1959–60	Black soil (Wedlake 1979a, 78–83; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 19–21, 101)
83/4	Citizen House, 196/70	Dark humus and soils (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 175–9; Rodwell and Rowley 1975, 131–8; Greene 1979a, 4–70)
222	4 Abbeygate St, 1964–5	Black soil (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 156–5)
239	Temple Excavations in the Grand Pump Room Cellars, 1964–8	Trampled soil; peat; black silt; grey-black silt; loamy soil; black silty soils; black clayey silt; black soil (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 44–64; Cunliffe 1976, 1–32; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 93–106)
326/ 330	East of the East Baths, 1968 (cellar below Kingston Parade)	Rubble, soil; silty charcoal soil; brown soil (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 140; Cunliffe 1979c, 90; Cunliffe 1980, 190)
393	Roman Baths, 1969–75 (Museum, Stall Street)	Black silt; fine grey clayey silt; rubble and black soil; black clayey soil; grey silty clay; black silty clay (Cunliffe 1976, 1–32)
140	Kingston Buildings, 1976	Soft brown clay; dark grey-brown earth (Owen’s Unpubl. site notes; Davenport (ed) 1991, 120–3)
89	Crystal Palace, 1980	Firm grey clayey silt mixed with mortar, plaster and limestone (Bell and Davenport (ed) 1991, 104–15)
242	The Pump Room Excavations 1980–83	Dark grey soil with mortar, tile and stone; black clayey silt; black silt (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 22, 95, 101, 102, 104–13)
299	York Street, c 1970, 1983	Dark silts mixed with rubble, clay and mortar (Davenport (ed) 1991, 116–20)
265	Swallow Street, 1984/5	Dark silt; dark grey silt; stoney, clayey and mortary silts (Davenport (ed) 1991, 40–103)
269	Bath Street, 1984–6	Black peaty silt (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985; Davenport 1999a)
270	Bath Street, 1986–7	Dark earth deposits (Davenport 1999a)
350	Beau Street Baths, 1988	Pale grey, silty clay loam (Davenport 1999a)
243	Stall Street trench, 1989	Organic silt (Davenport 1999a)
369	Abbey Heritage Centre, 1993	Dark earth deposits (Davenport and Beaton 1994, 1995; Bell 1996)
244 /637 /619	1994–5 (York Street)	Flood silt; silty occupation layers interleaved among thin rubble layers (Davenport and Beaton 1994)
679	Beehive Yard	Small area of dark earth over latest Roman levels. Much contaminated (Crutchley and Leverett 2001)

demolition. What remained of the reservoir portico, the two buttresses and quadrigons and the façade of the four seasons was pulled apart to reclaim the iron clamps and lead seatings, and the stone blocks thrown to the ground in a scree of massive masonry rubble. If the vault of the reservoir had not already fallen in then this would have been the moment of its collapse (Fig 2.36).

The Baths Complex

Like the Temple, the Baths occupied a slight hollow and so were particularly susceptible to flooding. As noted above (*see* p 65), by the end of the Roman period flooding was becoming a serious problem, especially in the case of the East Baths. Excavations in 1994 in York Street (srn 244, 637 and 619) recorded deposits of 'flood silt' (Davenport and Beaton 1994), but how long the East Baths remained in use is still uncertain.

The paving around the Great Bath, like that in the inner precinct, shows signs of heavy wear. Furthermore there is evidence suggesting that this wear post-dates the Pennant sandstone paving laid down in period 4 of the Baths. Although it is impossible to date this wear precisely, it is concentrated on the walkways north and south of the Great Bath, suggesting that there were well-frequented paths linking the East and West Baths at a time when the Great Bath itself had gone out of use in the late Roman or early post-Roman period. It has been suggested however, that the West Baths (and possibly also the East Baths) continued in use on a reduced scale in the post-Roman and Saxon Periods (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 78; Manco 1998a, 34–5).

Settlement evidence

Dark-earth deposits

Dark-earth deposits between Roman and medieval layers are common on urban archaeological sites both in Britain and on the continent (McPhail 1981, 309; 2003, 89–105). They are usually poorly stratified, can be anything up to 1.5m thick, and often contain re-deposited Roman pottery. In Bath, overlying deposits of dark-earth have been recorded at more than 20 sites (Table 2.11; Fig 2.37), and many more were no doubt removed without record in order to reach more comprehensible remains below. Even recent excavations, such as Abbey Heritage Centre (srn 369), did not always

have adequate funding to allow appropriate recording. As a result, detailed analysis has still been possible at only a limited number of sites (eg Swallow Street, Bath Street and Citizen House).

The dark earths in fact vary in composition from pure silts to peaty soils, reworked rubble and soil layers. They have produced little cultural material: some animal bone along with residual Roman pottery and one organically tempered sherd dated to AD 450–900 from Swallow Street (Vince 1991, 72; *see also* Vince 1983), and a fragment of a late 5th-century buckle and (in a later layer) an iron knife of similar date from Bath Street (Fig 2.38). Dark-earth deposits have often been interpreted as evidence for abandonment, squalid settlement or 'squatting'. However, work by soil scientists has started to challenge these ideas by demonstrating the variation in site-formation processes. At Swallow Street, dark earth that accumulated, or was deposited, inside former buildings has been shown to differ from that from outside, implying different activities in the two areas. The deposit outside the buildings was a fine dark silt, and might have been cultivated. Chemical analysis of a late Roman deposit from the temple precinct indicated that it had been flooded several times by slow-flowing water (Rolson and Smythe 1969, 147).

Citizen House (srn 83)

Here, deposits sealing the 3rd- and early 4th-century occupation contained a coin of the House of Theodosius, giving a *terminus post quem* of 395 for overlying wall footings. These in turn were overlain by traces of timber structures, and finally by a timber building on dry-stone footings, tentatively dated to the mid-5th century.

Abbeygate Street, Swallow Street and Abbey Green (srn 222, 223, 89, 265)

The 1964–5 excavations at 4 Abbeygate Street (*see* p 73) showed that the 3rd-century buildings suffered decay and eventual collapse some time in the second half of the 4th century (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 159). Over the western part of the site, black soil began to accumulate and continued to do so until the medieval period, but on the east part a new stone building (mrn 134) was provisionally dated to the early 5th century. A human skull found in the flue for an oven in this building was at one time thought

to denote a period of devastation in the sub-Roman period; it now seems more probable that it derives from a medieval cemetery (*see* p 116).

2.4.4 The current state of understanding

It is clear from the archaeological evidence detailed in the previous section that there was continuing activity in Bath in the post-Roman period, although on a reduced scale. It might be that there was a fall in the population generally; there is evidence for emigration from Britain to Armorica in the 5th century, and Gildas states that the population of towns generally had declined substantially. On the other hand, rural sites could well have continued in occupation. Davenport has pointed out that most of the medieval villages around Bath are on sites occupied in the Roman period, and at Bathampton there is evidence for continuous occupation from the 3rd century BC to the 5th century AD, with 'sporadic evidence from the 7th, early 8th and 10th centuries'. (Davenport 2002, 25) In a similar vein, Aston has argued that the large medieval estate known as the Foreign Hundred was the direct successor of a sub-Roman estate (Aston 1986). Further afield, a large cemetery at Cannington, near Bridgewater, 15km south-west of Bath, was used throughout the 5th and 6th centuries and suggests the survival of a late Roman community into the 7th century at least. Barry Cunliffe edited an overview and assessment of excavations in Bath from 1950 to 1975 (Cunliffe (ed) 1979; *see also* Cunliffe and Owen 1979; Hinton and Cunliffe 1979).

Little is known of the role of the Christian church in the post-Roman period in Bath and its hinterland. There is very little direct evidence for Christianity in Roman Bath. It is possible that the deliberate demolition that appears to have taken place in the mid-5th century on the site of the Temple of Sulis Minerva was caused by Christian iconoclasts, but there is no proof of this. It has been suggested that the careful east–west alignment of the two late Roman inhumations on the Aldridge site in Walcot (srn 293) indicates Christian beliefs, but an earlier suggestion that a cobbled area on the St Andrews Church site in Julian road (srn 179) was associated with a Christian shrine has now been discounted (Davenport (ed) 1999 and 2004). On the other hand, the evidence in Gildas points to a population in western

Britain that was essentially Christian, and it has recently been shown that the late Roman use of the pagan site at Lydney (Gloucestershire), 42km north-west of Bath, was short lived, while at Uley, 30km north of the town, there is evidence for a post-Roman church (Woodward and Leach 1993, 318–21).

The establishment of small British kingdoms in western Britain in the 5th and 6th centuries probably provides the context for the construction of the linear earthwork known as the west Wansdyke (Prosser 1904; Young *et al* 1995). The Wansdyke ran from Portbury on the north Somerset coast to Odd Down just south of the area covered by the Bath UAD. It incorporated earlier hillforts along its route (Stokeleigh, Maes Knoll and Stantonbury) that could have been re-occupied at this time, although archaeological evidence has not been recorded (Fig 2.33) It has never been precisely dated, but it comprised a bank, revetted on its northern side, and a ditch. Some scholars favour an immediately post-Roman date (Eagles 2001; Fowler 2001; Erskine 2007) but Hinton suggested that the western Wansdyke probably related to territorial demarcation that can be discerned in documentary sources from the 6th century onwards (Hinton 1990, 27). A charter of 601 by the British king of Dumnonia suggests that the area south of the west Wansdyke was still in British hands after the battle of Dyrham in 577. It could be that the earthwork marked the boundary between the British kingdom of Dumnonia and that of the Hwicce to the north.

2.4.5 Potential and future research directions

In contrast to south-east England, Germanic influences in the Bath area do not appear to any great extent before the later 7th century. There were therefore at least two centuries during which a post-Roman material culture developed. If, as seems likely, Bath was a local administrative centre and possible strong point in the late Roman period, the question arises as to what sort of organisation took its place in the late 5th and 6th centuries. Questions about the continuity of Roman estate boundary locations, and their relation to possible 'assembly places' in the mid- or late Saxon period need to be examined. This will involve a close consideration of the landscape around Bath, focusing on settlement forms,

ownerships, communications and land-use and field-systems, which could have continued functioning at different levels within this period. Animal-bone assemblages might throw light on the viability of the 'urban centre', for example, were animals brought on the hoof or already butchered? The age of cows and sheep might indicate different agricultural regimes, focusing on milk or meat/leather and wool production.

The monumental and administrative complex within the walled area of Bath was only one element in the local settlement pattern. Very little is known of the post-Roman situation at Walcot. Settlement appears to have continued here into the early 5th century, and there were traces of black-earth deposits on the Beehive Yard/Tramsheds site. It could be that Walcot and other extra-mural settlement sites around Bath are the areas that could shed most light on the fate of the town in the 5th and 6th centuries.

The potential of environmental and soil-study evidence can hardly be overestimated. It is increasingly being recognised that dark-earth deposits can be fully understood only through the detailed analysis of soil micromorphology (MacPhail 1981, 2003; Yule 1990; Dalwood 1992). As techniques advance, it might be that the substantial deposits of dark earth that are known to exist in the walled area, and that could well also exist in Walcot, will shed invaluable light on the post-Roman centuries. The rubble layers themselves within the walled town have not generally received detailed analysis, and there is scope to re-examine building sequences observed in city areas to understand the two models used to explain stratigraphic material: rubble infill versus abandonment and collapse.

2.5 Saxon Bath (late 7th–late 11th centuries)

2.5.1 Introduction and historical framework

According to a 12th-century charter, in 675 King Osric of the Hwicce founded a convent with 100 hides of land at Bath. Further lands were granted to the convent in 681, but in 757 a charter records land granted to 'the brethren of the monastery of St Peter' (Sims-Williams 1974). It is possible that originally Bath had been a double house, for both nuns and monks, but by the mid-8th century it had become an

entirely male community. Clearly the monastery prospered, and at the Synod of Brentford in 781 it was described as 'most famous'. It could have been partly for this reason that King Offa of Mercia claimed the monastery as his own. On the other hand, Bath was by now on the frontier between two major kingdoms, Wessex and Mercia, and it would have suited Offa to have had direct control of a base here.

In the 9th and early 10th centuries, raiding by Danish invaders threatened the whole fabric of English society, until Alfred's defeat of the Danes in 878 ensured the ascendancy of Wessex. Under Alfred, Bath was absorbed into Wessex, and the town was refortified to become a burh, one of a ring of strongly defended places along the border between Wessex and the Danes. This frontier position ensured Bath's continued importance, enabling it to share in the urban growth and monastic revivals that took place in much of southern England in the 10th and early 11th centuries.

2.5.2 Past work and the nature of the evidence

As in preceding centuries, the principal problem for archaeologists working on Saxon Bath is the lack of reliable dating evidence. Only a small handful of objects have been found in the city dating to between the 5th and 10th centuries, and most can only be dated very broadly (Bell 1996, 12). Outside the city's 'historic core' there is an almost complete absence of material. Archaeological remains themselves are ephemeral, especially compared to those of the Romano-British period. In addition, they are more vulnerable to later disturbances than are the underlying deposits, and were often removed without record by 18th- and 19th-century excavators. This scarcity of archaeological evidence means that most authors writing about pre-10th-century Bath have relied on documentary evidence, mainly charters recording donations of land to the church.

Most of the original royal charters are held in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where they were studied by early antiquarians such as Warner (1801). By the later 19th century, copies were available at the Record Office in Bath, in the Guildhall, and in the office of the Chapter Clerk at Wells. A number of antiquarians drew directly on these sources to provide a chronological

framework for the city's history (Hunt 1876; Hallett 1883–4). In 1968, Sawyer published a general summary of Anglo-Saxon Charters, and this was followed by a specific study of the documentary evidence for the 7th-century monastery at Bath by Sims-Williams (1974). The early place names in some charters can also provide useful data. A number of authors have drawn on this evidence to help elucidate early medieval development in the Bath region (Earle 1883–4; Cunliffe 1979c; Cunliffe 1984; Aston 1986; Sims-Williams 1990; Costen 1994; Manco 1993, 1998a) and further work on the use of language in the charters has been published by Manco (1998a).

2.5.3 The archaeological evidence

ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS AND CEMETERIES

The Abbey Church (mrn 20)

The site of the late 7th-century monastic church has not been precisely located. It is possible that it lay outside the walled area, but, as Bell has pointed out, the most obvious site is beneath the floor of the Norman Cathedral (Bell 1996, 13). The Roman podium beneath the western end of the existing Abbey Church would have provided a level and well-drained base, rising above the surrounding accumulations of earth and silt, and an ideal site for the 7th-century builders. In 1993, excavations in cellars on the south side of the Abbey (now the Abbey Heritage Centre) exposed part of the south wall of the podium and demonstrated that at some stage it had been rebuilt (srn 369). The date of the rebuilt section cannot be established but it was marked by a clear difference in construction, and it is possible that it was part of the Saxon church.

The Sacred Spring

In the 7th century, Bath was referred to as *Hat Bathu*, meaning hot baths (Manco 1998a, 34). This suggests that, at that time, the springs were still being visited. According to Bede, writing in the first half of the 8th century, a bath supplied by the hot spring was still in use. Manco draws on the 8th-century poem 'The Ruin' to argue that instead of feeding the Great Bath, as it had in the Roman period, hot water was now redirected into the circular bath, by means of a post-Roman channel cut into the wall between it and the Sacred Spring (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 78; Manco 1998a, 34–5). It is possible that either this or an adjacent cold

plunge bath was used as a baptistery for the Saxon church.

The East Baths wall

In 1994, the partial collapse of a wall on the south side of the East Baths led to an emergency excavation (srn 244). This exposed a wide wall overlying the wall of the Roman Bath and interpreted as Saxon in date. The emergency engineering work also prompted the excavation of part of York Street (srn 637), and here the Romano-British wall was seen to be overlain by a 1.7m wide east–west wall, which itself was sealed by medieval layers and burials. The excavator concluded that it was probably part of the Saxon ecclesiastical complex. These findings were confirmed in an excavation the following year, a short distance to the north (srn 619), and further trenches in cellars below the modern Tourist Information Centre showed that the post-Roman wall ran along the entire length of the cellars south of Abbey Chambers.

The Abbey cemetery (mrn 87)

Some of the best evidence for the site of the Saxon church comes from the position of Saxon cemeteries. Medieval burials in the area to the south of the Abbey have been recorded since 1755, when Abbey House was largely demolished (srn 162). However, the surviving records make it difficult to distinguish between pre- and post-12th-century graves; some antiquarian discoveries classified as medieval in this report could in fact be Saxon in date.

Between 1992 and 1995, the Bath Archaeological Trust excavated trenches in the Abbey Heritage Centre vaults to the south and south-west of the south transept (srn 369). Fifty-one graves were identified, 29 of which lay beneath Norman layers. These earlier burials were laid out in regular east–west rows aligned with the present church. Many of the skeletons had been buried in wooden coffins, but usually only the iron coffin nails or brackets survived, and six others had been buried with their heads held in place by stone blocks on either side of the skull (so-called 'ear-muff burials'). All twenty articulated skeletons were adult, ranging in age from 17 to 45 years old. Just over two-thirds could be sexed: ten male, three female, and seven of indeterminate sex. One female had been buried in a stone-lined grave – a 'cist burial'.

SRN	Site name	Description / references
162	Abbey church excavation, 1755	Three stone coffins and cist burials (Oliver 1755; Hewitt 1755, 1756; Anon 1761; Hoare 1762; Sutherland 1763; Metcalf 1958; Cunliffe 1979, 88–90, 140)
222	4 Abbeygate Street, 1964–5	One skull (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 156–4; Denston 1969, 164–5)
326/330	Kingston Parade, 1968	‘A charcoal burial’ (Cunliffe 1979, 90)
89	Crystal Palace, 1980	Four inhumations (Bell and Davenport (ed) 1991, 104; Grainger 1991)
90	2 Abbey Street, 1981–2	12 inhumations (Bell and Davenport (ed) 1991, 104; Grainger 1991)
298	4 Abbey Street, 1982	Several disturbed and damaged inhumations (Davenport 1991c, 116)
369	Abbey Heritage Centre, 1993	31 graves. Unpubl. excavation. Original site archives, summary reports <i>etc</i> held by Bath Archaeological Trust. Interpretative account published (Bell 1993, 1996)
683	Kingston Parade, 1993	One burial. Unpubl. excavation. Original site archives, summary reports <i>etc</i> held by Bath Archaeological Trust. Interpretative account published (Bell 1993, 1996)
637	York Street, 1994	One charcoal burial. Unpubl. rescue excavation. Original site archives, summary reports <i>etc</i> held by Bath Archaeological Trust
618	East Baths, 1995	Stone cist and two burials. Unpubl. excavation. Original site archives, summary reports <i>etc</i> held by Bath Archaeological Trust
619	York Street, 1995	‘Burials’ Unpubl. excavation. Original site archives, summary reports <i>etc</i> held by Bath Archaeological Trust
667	East Baths, 1999	Six burials (Bradley-Lovekin 1999)

Table 2.12. *Early medieval burial evidence*

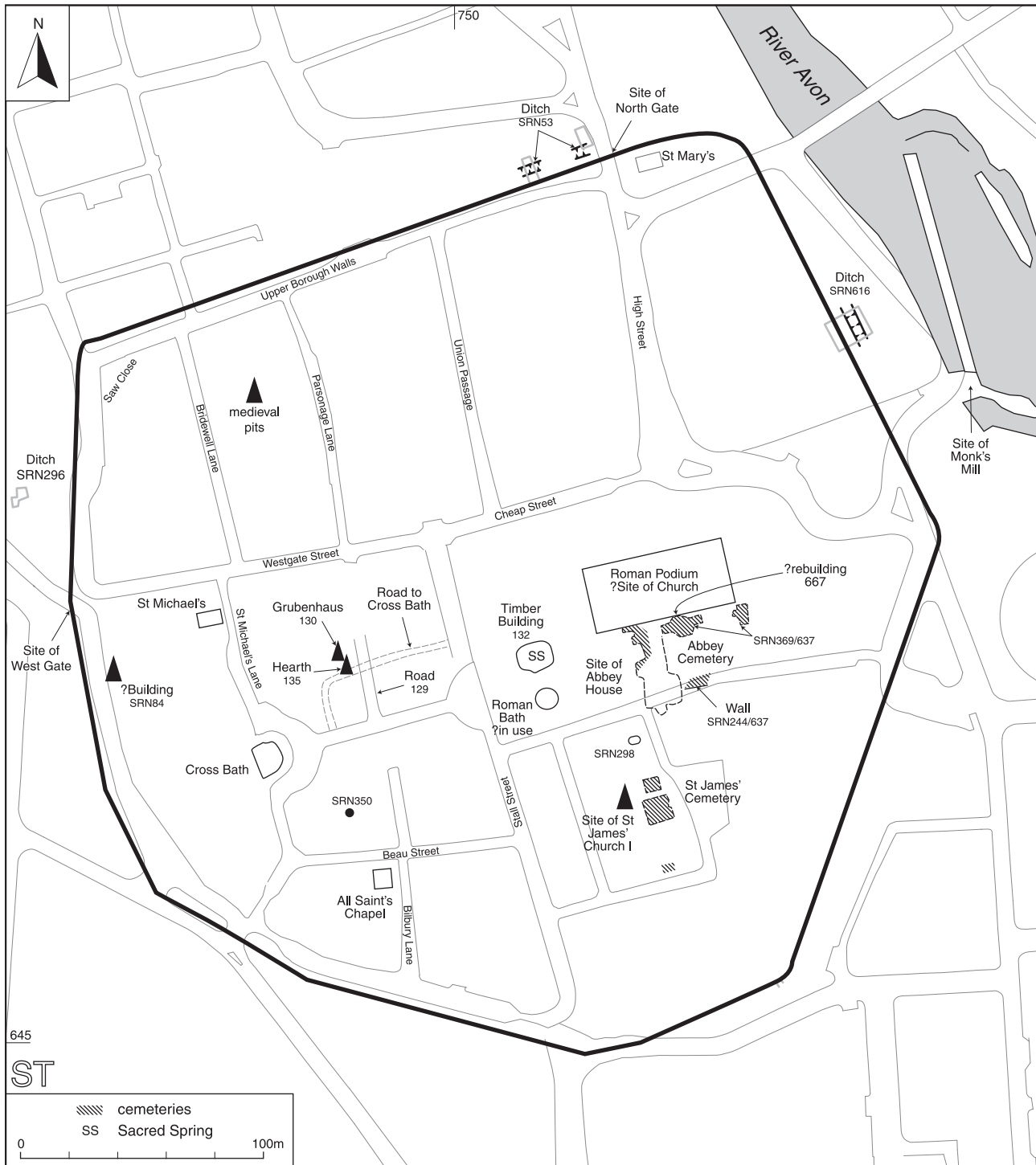
Evidence suggested that cist burials became the dominant burial practice in the later phases of the pre-Norman cemetery. A charnel pit, only part of which was excavated, contained the remains of at least thirty-three adults. They probably represent burials disturbed and reburied during the construction of the Norman cathedral. They included a minimum of 13 males, but only one female.

Between 1995 and 1999, a further five burials were recorded south and west of the Abbey Heritage Centre (srn 618, 667). All the burials followed the same east–west alignment as those already discovered in the Abbey Heritage Vaults, and they might also have been positioned in rows. The badly damaged remains of at least three further burials were found during the excavation of an adjoining radon pit and radon trench. All the burials lay above a late Roman demolition layer and, although no independent dating evidence was recovered, they were tentatively dated to the

late Saxon period on the basis of their similarity to others in the cemetery (Fig 2.40; Table 2.12).

In 1968, the first ‘charcoal burial’ was recorded to the east of the East Baths (srn 326). The skeleton was aligned east–west and lay on a bed of charcoal 1–2cm thick. It was covered by a similar charcoal spread and sealed by the floor of an 18th-century cellar. Cunliffe suggested a late Saxon date on the basis of comparison with other sites (Cunliffe 1986a, 55). Eight of the burials from the Abbey Heritage Centre (mrn 87) were also on beds of charcoal; some of these were in wooden coffins. None of the skeletons found in cist burials were laid on charcoal or had their heads held up by stone blocks. Radiocarbon dating from three skeletons produced dates between the 7th century and 10th century, but with a higher probability for an 8th- or 9th-century date. These dates were taken as a rough guide to the entire group (Table 2.13) (see Fig 2.41).

The area occupied by the Abbey cemetery



has also produced fragments from six carved stone crosses. All dated stylistically to the 10th and 11th centuries, although they were found in later contexts. They probably result from churchyard clearance when the Norman Abbey was built. Certainly one of the fragments,

recovered in 1964–5, appears to have been reused in the foundations for a medieval wall (srn 22), and another part had been reused as a capping stone for a 12th-century cist burial (srn 369) (see Fig 2.13).

Two contemporary accounts exist of a

Figure 2.40. Map of Saxon Bath with streets and early medieval sites mentioned in the text.

Table 2.13. *Abbey cemetery: stone cross fragments*

SRN	Site name	Description / references
162	Abbey Church excavation, 1755	Round-cornered cross head with interlace design (Oliver 1755; Hoare 1762; Sutherland 1763; Hinton and Cunliffe 1979, 140)
327	Pump Room Hotel, 1867	Fragment of cross head with interlace design (Irvine Papers; Hinton and Cunliffe 1979, 140)
328	Near Cross Bath, c 19th century	Fragment of round-cornered cross head with interlace design (Hinton and Cunliffe 1979, 140)
329	North of Bath Abbey, c 19th century	Fragment of cross shaft with interlace design (Hinton and Cunliffe 1979, 140)
222	4 Abbeygate Street, 1964–5	Fragment of round-cornered cross head with interlace design (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 160; Hinton and Cunliffe 1979, 140)
369	Abbey Heritage Centre, 1993	Highly decorated limestone slab. Unpubl. excavation. Site archives, summary reports <i>etc</i> held by Bath Archaeological Trust



Figure 2.41. Late Saxon carved cross-heads (Davenport 2002, fig 23).

coin hoard found in the cemetery in the 18th century: records entered into the minute books of the Society of Antiquaries, and a detailed description by Oliver (Metcalf 1958, 77). Although both accounts describe the discovery of many skeletons – some in stone coffins, but

the majority in stone-lined cist burials – they differ in their descriptions of an associated coin hoard. The Society of Antiquaries' minutes refer to 50 silver coins found in one of the coffins and identified as coins of Æthelred, Edmund and Alfred (Hewitt 1755, 1756). Oliver's account mentions only 20–30 coins and refers to them as found in a wooden box laid below a skeleton that did not appear to have a coffin. Oliver attributed the coins to Athelstan, Edmund and Eadred (Oliver 1755).

It is probable that at least one further coin hoard was found in about 1755. Lewis describes the discovery of a small copper box inside a stone coffin, which contained small silver coins 'resembling the early Saxon sceattae' (Lewis 1845, 169). Thompson suggests they were either the old southern and Mercian types, dating from the late 8th century, or base 'styca' issues from Northumbria, dated approximately to between 830 and 855 (Thompson 1959, 281). This description suggests a hoard similar in some ways to a collection of coins held in the Pump Room at Bath and examined by Dolley in the 1960s. The Pump Room collection comprised 25 copper stycas, two 'medals' and nine coins, all labelled as having been 'found in 1867–8 in the foundations of the White Hart Hotel'. The copper stycas were part of a regal series minted by the Northumbrian kings between 810 and 854, but they were accompanied by nine late 17th-century coins and a medal of 1816. This suggests that the hoard was a comparatively recent antiquarian's collection (Dolley 1965, 197–8). Nevertheless, the significance of the 9th-century coins should not be dismissed; it is possible that post-medieval finds were

recovered in the foundations of the hotel in a different context from the Northumbrian stycas and amalgamated only later.

In 1896, Davis found an inscribed lead disc, in the filling of a robbed hypocaust on the south side of the Abbey (srn 325) (Davis 1898; Haverfield 1906, 380–1). It is roughly 0.1m across, and was probably a coffin plate. It is inscribed with a saltire cross and Latin text recording the death of ‘Eadgyvu... , a sister of the community, on September 17th’. The year in which Eadgyvu died is illegible, but the disc has been dated to the 10th or 11th century on typological grounds (Hinton and Cunliffe 1979, 139–140; Cunliffe 1986a, 55) (Fig 2.42).

St James’s church (1) and cemetery (mrn 93)

The predecessor of the 12th-century St James’s church stood somewhere on or close to the Crystal Palace Public House. No archaeological remains of it have been recorded, but in the 1980s, two small excavations beneath the pub (srn 89) and at 2 Abbeygate Street (srn 90) revealed an area of post-Roman burials. The east–west alignment of the simple graves did not match that of the Norman Abbey exactly, suggesting that they pre-dated it (Bell and Davenport (ed) 1991, 111); presumably they were aligned on the early church of St James, which was removed in 1279 (Wedlake 1966a, 101). Analysis of the skeletal remains from both excavations identified a minimum of 32 individuals, of which 10 were female, 3 were children, 11 were unsexed young adults, and only 4 were adult males (Grainger 1991). In 1982, two inhumations were hastily excavated in the cellar of 4 Abbey Street (srn 298); they had been cut into Romano-British levels and were presumed to be part of the same cemetery (Davenport 1991c, 116). The skull of an adult female in a late Roman or early post-Roman oven flue at the adjacent Abbeygate Street site is now thought to be from a disturbed grave in this cemetery (srn 222).

Settlement evidence

The Roman Baths Museum and Abbey Churchyard

The collapse of the Temple of Sulis Minerva provided a well-drained area above the level of flooding. To the north of the Sacred Spring this was overlain by late Saxon occupation. In its earliest phase (Temple period 7a), this was represented by two successive clay floors, the first was associated with an oven and a

waterlogged pit containing twigs and possibly chopped straw. This was followed by a period of abandonment, after which cobble surfaces were laid down, associated with traces of a timber building (mrn 132, srn 407) (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 76; temple period 7b). Further evidence for timber structures was found in the overlying layers: an area of worn limestone and Pennant sandstone cobbling with evidence of repair appeared to be associated with a silty clay surface to the south. A series of irregular pits and scoops had been cut into it, the latest of which contained a quantity of unweathered Saxon Norman pottery sherds (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 77–78; period 7d).

Bath Street, Beau Street and the Cross Bath (mrn 129, 130, 135; srn 269–71, 350)

Excavations in advance of the New Royal Baths (Spa) site in 1998–9 showed that stratified deposits were confined to the western half of the excavation. Even here, however, very few contexts could be ascribed to the Saxon period (Davenport *et al* 2007, 97–104). Analysis of soil structure indicated that for much of the late Saxon period the area had not been built over. Finds suggested that it was not until the 10th or 11th centuries that the area was re-occupied, and even then the evidence was confined to a few pits.

In Bath Street, more than 60 trenches, together with small open areas, were excavated during the 1980s, but over most of the site post Roman deposits did not survive. Only over a narrow strip across the north of the site was an area of dark earth recorded, suggesting a period of agricultural use rather than intensive occupation (Davenport (ed) 1999, 59). Later in the Saxon period a north–south street (mrn 129) had been laid out along the western edge of the Temple precinct, overlying the rubble from the partial collapse of the wall itself (Davenport (ed) 1999, 60). Six metres west of the street, and possibly contemporary with it, was a sub-rectangular pit, superficially rather like a small *grubenhaus*, with a small post-hole in its south-east corner, but with an irregular base (mrn 130). After only a small amount of silt had accumulated on the road, it was blocked, at least partially, by a clay bank (Fig 2.43). All these elements were sealed by a series of layers, which at the western end of the site consisted of an organic peaty material. This

Figure 2.42. Lead disc from a coffin (image reproduced by permission, Roman Baths Museum).

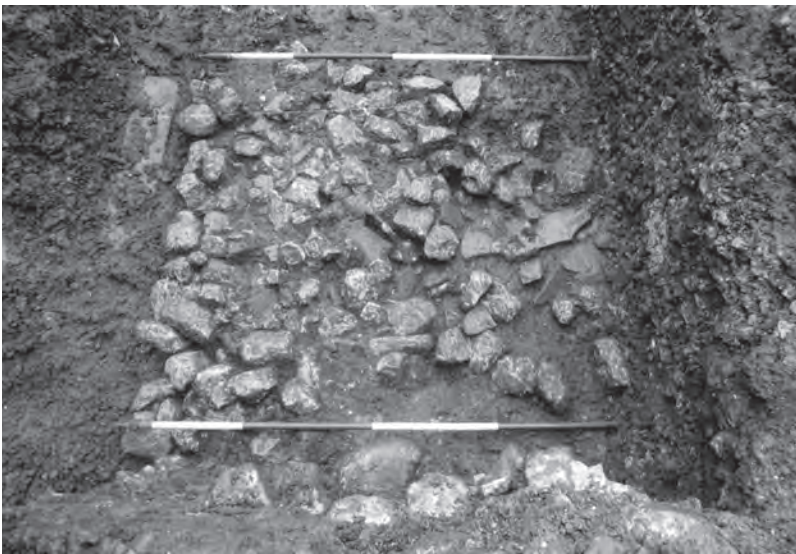


Figure 2.43. The stone base layers of the short-lived Saxon Bilbury Lane, as excavated in 1986 (Davenport (ed) 1999, fig 1.50).

material was semi-waterlogged, and it might be that there was a small perched water table here, largely destroyed by the 18th- and 19th-century building works. The drier more loamy contexts to the east were separated by indistinct lenses of silt, small stones and charcoal. The layers were essentially aceramic and free of finds, except for residual Roman material (Davenport (ed) 1999, 48).

The upper surfaces of these deposits were covered by a series of thin interleaved lenses of charcoal, stone and clay, both burnt and unburnt, interpreted as a series of hearths and rake-out debris (mrn 135). There were

four stone-and-tile hearths, the westernmost of which was particularly large and well built. Ferrous slags were found in and around the hearths. The thin upper stone from a rotary quern was found broken and recycled as a hearth stone. This phase of activity was sealed by a deposit of mixed clays, charcoal and limestone rubble associated with a large quantity of 'Saxo-Norman' pottery and a further hearth. These layers were capped by a thick sequence of cobbling and metalling, interpreted as a street. Unlike the earlier deposits, these layers contained pottery, which in this case could be dated to the 11th century (Davenport (ed) 1999, 48).

While the features recognised during the Bath Street excavations probably represent some of the most detailed information about the early period in Bath, as with previous discoveries, their interpretation is hampered by the absence of good dating evidence and the 'key-hole' nature of the excavation. Only a small number of Saxon artefacts have been found, including a bone thread picker immediately beneath the hearth deposits, and an annular clay loom weight in the clay bank. The final phase of the pre-Norman sequence was represented by a cobbled street associated with a large quantity of 'Saxo-Norman' pottery and apparently leading to the Cross Bath (Davenport (ed) 1999, 48; Fig 2.41).

Citizen House (srn 84)

In 1970, excavations at Citizen House revealed evidence for Romano-British buildings aligned along the eastern edge of the city wall (see pp 75–6). These were overlain by a stone sill supporting a timber superstructure, tucked behind the town wall and built on the buried tail of the Romano-British rampart (Greene 1979a, 9–10). Although the exact date of the structure and its relationship to the city wall is not known, the overlying deposits were unusual in containing a small number of bone objects dating from about the 11th century. The material included a single-sided comb with iron rivets, a cloth burnisher with a triangular head, a thread picker, a pin, and a possible pin beater – all objects associated with the textile production (Ambrose and Henig 1979, 57).

The city defences (mrn 122)

Documentary evidence demonstrates that Bath has been a fortified place since at least the

early 10th century, but the character of these defences and their chronological development is less well understood. Evidence for two distinct building phases for the wall has been noted since the 18th century, with the lower (presumably Roman) course in well cut and laid ashlar blocks, and cruder work above. The reused Roman tombstones noted in the northern stretch of the wall could well be the result of Saxon restoration.

In 1980, excavation at Upper Borough Walls (srn 53) exposed the wide ditch in front of the wall, probably dating from the 4th century. This had been re-cut, and a timber revetment or low palisade constructed along the inner lip of the ditch. This may have been designed to provide a quick 'outwork' defence while the Roman wall was repaired; it was tentatively dated to the Saxon period (Fig 2.46). Silt gradually accumulated in the re-cut ditch, and subsequent deposits were dated to the late Saxon or early Norman period; these included a deposit interpreted as a possible retaining feature for a turf layer, and metalling of the berm between the wall and ditch. Overlying these layers were two mortar deposits, soil accumulations and a charcoal horizon. Unfortunately, no radiocarbon dates were taken from either the wooden stakes or the charcoal layer, but their survival highlights the potential for dating if a similar sequence were to be found again. The most significant individual find was made a few months after the end of the archaeological excavations, when a probable 10th-century iron sword was discovered by a workman from the uppermost surviving fills of the late medieval ditch (srn 304). Traces remained of a fur-lined wooden scabbard; it had been bound with cloth and covered with leather, but no metal binding survived. The pommel and guard were inlaid with fine strips of silver. An inscription on the hilt was only partly legible, it read '*me fecit...*' (O'Leary and Brown 1991).

In 1995, a 3.4m-wide ditch was recorded on the north-eastern section in a watching brief during construction at the Empire Hotel (srn 616). The ditch lay just over 2m to the east of the medieval city wall alignment: it survived to a depth of about 1m. Associated pottery (not yet fully analysed) suggested that it was backfilled in the late 11th or early 12th century, so it might have been late Saxon in origin.

On the southern section, in 1951 the Bath and Camerton Archaeological Society excavated in



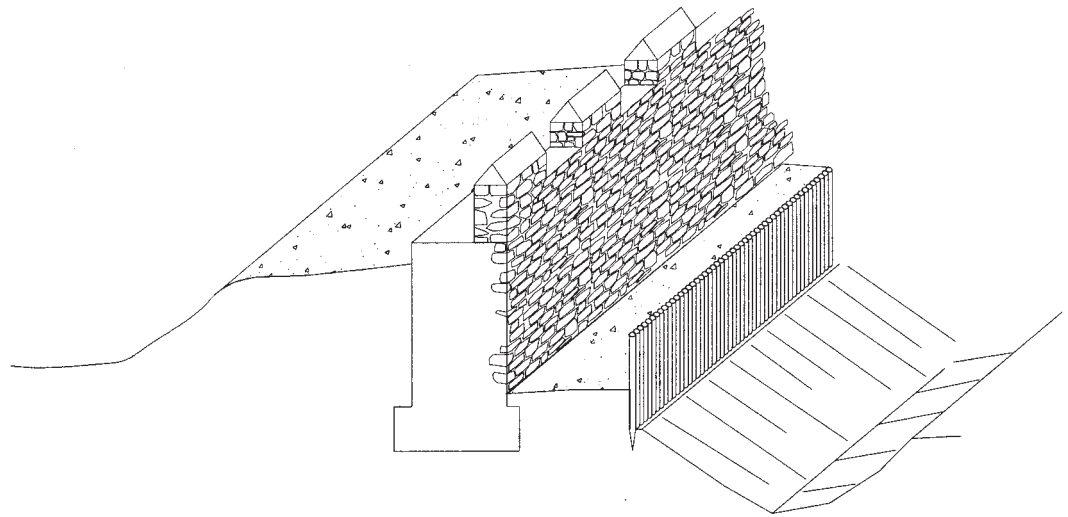
Figure 2.44. The late Saxon or early Norman street leading from the King's Bath to the Cross Bath (Davenport (ed) 1999, fig 1.55).



New Orchard Street, approximately 45m east of the South Gate (srn 202). The excavation exposed a blocked opening in the wall, and below it a straight-sided edge in the masonry, implying a still lower breach. Beneath it was an open ditch, later replaced by a stone-built

Figure 2.45. The city wall during excavations in 1951 on the south-east corner of the walls in Orchard Street (Davenport 2002, fig 54).

Figure 2.46.
Reconstruction of the
defences, Upper Borough
Walls (Davenport 2002,
fig 12).



THE HAM GATE

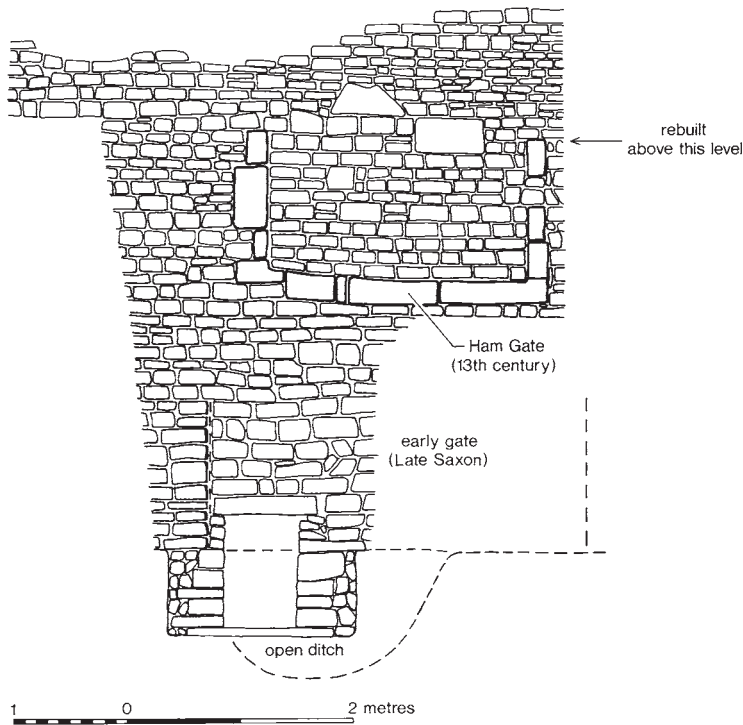


Figure 2.47. Schematic
section of Ham Gate
(Cunliffe 1986a, fig 45).

culvert (Fig 2.43). Wedlake interpreted the blocked opening as the medieval Ham Gate, which is mentioned in a grant of 1279, and the ditch below it as the 'Bum Ditch'. Wedlake suggested that this section of the wall had been entirely rebuilt in the late 13th century and interpreted the lower, straight-sided edge as a trench dug to allow the insertion of the culvert, which replaced the Bum Ditch in this section

and channelled water from the hot spring to the Horse Bath on the south side of the walls (Wedlake 1966a, 98–9). Cunliffe offered an alternative explanation, suggesting that the lower, straight-sided edge was the west side of a late Saxon gate that had probably served as the original south gate of the city. He argued that it was blocked in the early medieval period, when the ditch was replaced by the culvert, and suggested that a new gate, the Ham gate, was cut through the wall at a higher level in the late 13th century, by which time the ground level inside the wall had risen (Cunliffe 1986a, 61). However, Manco argues that the breach lies too far east for it to be this gate (Manco 1993, 82) and Davenport has pointed out that a Saxon gate way in this position is unlikely as there does not appear to have been any street leading to it inside the walled area. As Manco has pointed out, it now seems more likely that the gate revealed by Wedlake was a subsidiary one used for carrying manure direct from the Abbey stables to the garden outside the wall (1993, 82). It is useful in indicating that this section of the wall must date to the 13th century or later, post-dating the silting of the ditch/culvert.

Between 2007 and 2008, excavations and watching briefs were undertaken on the extensive Southgate Street development site immediately south of the walled area (see p 148). A large ditch was recorded, 10m south of, and parallel to, the line of the Roman and Medieval city wall. This could represent a Roman ditch completely cleared out in the Saxon period, or it might have been a new ditch, dug as part of

the defences of the Alfredian burh. A sample from a humic deposit in the primary silt of the ditch gave a radiocarbon date of AD 770–970 (cal) (Baywell and Webster 2008, 227).

On the western section, an unpublished excavation carried out in 1990 at Seven Dials revealed evidence for a possible early medieval ditch (srn 296). The summary in the UAD describes the ditch as originally about 2m deep and 4m wide at the top, cut from a level of about 19.5m OD. Although it contained medieval material in its fill, Davenport suggested that it originated in about AD 900, based on the wider historical context.

2.5.4. Saxon Bath: The state of current understanding

The Saxon church and monastery

As Davenport has pointed out, it is usually assumed that land granted by Osric in 675 was for the construction of a new church, but it is possible, that there was an existing late Roman church in Bath that was simply re-founded (Davenport 2004, 31). Whether or not the late 7th-century church was a completely new foundation, it still remains an assumption that its position was on or close to the site of the Norman Abbey. The 1993 excavation under the Abbey Heritage Centre suggests that the south wall of the Roman podium could have been rebuilt in the Saxon period, but there is still no way of telling whether this took place in the late 7th or 8th century, or whether it was the result of the monastic revival and reforms of the 10th century. So far, the only other apparently Saxon masonry is the wall recorded in York Street, which appears to have been part of the pre-Norman ecclesiastic complex. However, a charter of 957 describes the monastic church as being a ‘wonderful construction’. Supporting evidence is provided by a seal, stylistically dated to the 10th century, showing the east end of the monastic church with three apses, enlivened with ornamental strip pilasters (Fig 2.48). Similarly, the fragments of 10th–11th-century stone crosses that had stood in the Saxon churchyards underline the quality of the ecclesiastic buildings in late Saxon Bath (Fig 2.41).

The town in the 7th and 8th centuries

The 8th-century poem, ‘The Ruin’, is generally thought to refer to Bath, and seems to describe a town where the shells of major Roman buildings were still visible. Although



Figure 2.48. Saxon seal showing Saxon church.

the Temple of Sulis Minerva had collapsed during the course of the 5th century, it is quite conceivable that some buildings, including the eastern baths, were still largely intact; as noted above, the circular bath in the Roman West Baths might have been converted and used as a hot bath in the middle Saxon period. Existing buildings, even if ruined, would have constrained the layout of the Saxon town. This is clearly demonstrated by the late Saxon street revealed on the Bath Street site (mrn 129), which clearly respected the stub of the portico wall on the west side of the former temple precinct.

Documentary sources indicate that in the medieval period the area west of Stall Street and south of Westgate Street was known as Binbury (sometimes referred to as Bimbury). The name is derived from the Old English *Binneburg* or *Binnanburb* meaning ‘within the fortified place’. This has been taken to mean that when Alfred restored the defences of Bath in the late 9th century, there was already a settlement in this well-defined area, distinct from the monastery, and including the Cross Bath spring and the Hot Bath spring. Davenport suggests that Binbury might have developed before the 9th century as a small settlement close to the West Gate alongside but separate from the Abbey (Davenport 2002, 49).

Offa and his successors, Cynwulf, Ecgfrith and the last Mercian king, Burhred, are all recorded as having stayed at Bath in the 8th and 9th centuries, so presumably there was a royal residence somewhere either in, or in the vicinity of, Bath. While this could have

been a royal guest house (or *palatium*) within the monastic complex, charters show that the estate at Barton, a short distance north of the walled town, was owned by the king in the later Saxon period, and the same could have been the case in the 8th century. If so, this is a possible site for a Saxon royal palace, similar to the large timber hall with associated buildings known at the royal estate at Cheddar.

The town in the 9th and 10th centuries

Bath is included in the *Burghal Hidage*, compiled between 911 and 919, listing the chain of defensive towns (burhs) that Alfred and his successor built to protect the kingdom of Wessex from further Danish raids (Hill and Rumble 1996, 86). The renovation of the Roman town wall would have been an indispensable element in the establishment of the burh. From evidence discussed above there are good archaeological indications for extensive refurbishment of the defences in the late 9th or 10th centuries.

Inside the walled area, Bath – like all the Wessex burhs – was carefully laid out according to a basic plan in which a main street crossed the town, linking two major gateways, with lanes running off it dividing the town into blocks of more or less equal size. These lanes connected to a street encircling the town immediately inside the walls, allowing access to all parts of the defences. At Bath, Westgate Street and an eastern extension of the modern Cheap Street linked the West and East Gates. However, the presence of pre-existing structures – notably the Abbey and possibly also the settlement at Binbury – meant that the normal plan for an Alfredian burh had to be adapted. North of the modern Westgate Street and Cheap Street the grid pattern of streets typical of Alfredian burhs is still apparent in the modern townscape (Bridewell Lane, Parsonage Lane, Union Passage and High Street). To the south, the pattern is less clear. St Michael's Street and Cross Bath Street probably represent an original southern projection of Bridewell Lane, and Bilbury Lane would originally have extended north to Parsonage Lane; the Saxon street excavated on the Bath Street site (mrn 129) provided archaeological confirmation of this (Davenport (ed) 1999, 60). In the south-east sector, however, the existing monastery and the baths must have influenced the street layout, although the re-planning of this whole area

in the early 12th century makes it particularly difficult to reconstruct the Alfredian street plan. In the Saxon period, a street could have extended the line of the High Street south past the west front of the Abbey and the east end of the presumed Saxon church of St James, but definitive archaeological evidence is still lacking.

As yet, however, there is little archaeological evidence for settlement until the 10th century, when pottery and other finds provide tools for more precise dating. By this time occupation appears to have been widespread across the walled area, reflecting a population that had presumably been growing since the establishment of the burh, if not earlier. Timber buildings occupied part of the former precinct of the Temple of Sulis Minerva (see p 58, 107), while further west, accumulations of rubbish suggest a period of intensive occupation. Artefacts associated with the processing of wool and cloth have been recorded on a number of sites, including Citizen House (srn 84), Bath Street (srn 270) and Beau Street (srn 350). They are commonly described as 'late Saxon' in date and consist of bone pins, thread pickers, burnishers, beaters and combs, limestone spindle whorls and a glass linen smoother. The cloth industry was important in later medieval Bath, and these finds suggest it was already established in the town in the late Saxon period. At the time of the Domesday survey, Bath was the largest town in Somerset, and Manco has pointed out that, of the 178 burgesses mentioned in the survey, 90 were 'king's barons', or high-status men with a town property where they could build a private chapel. Of the churches inside the walls, only the Abbey and St Mary at Stall had cemeteries prior to 1400, suggesting that St Michael's Within, All Saints' in Binbury, and St Mary Northgate had all started life as domestic chapels, perhaps in the pre-Norman period. Apart from the Abbey, only St James's had a cemetery prior to the 12th century, and it is possible that the latter was built by Alfred or his immediate successors, as a church for the people of the *burh*.

Alfred's son and successor, Edward, established a mint at Bath, and as mints were confined to market towns it follows that there was a market somewhere in the burh. The medieval market lay in the High Street, widened in the Middle Ages to form a triangular open

space. There is evidence that there was already a market in this area in the 9th century, and it might have had its origins even earlier, in the Saxon period. (See also Fowler 1980.)

2.5.5 Potential and future research directions

Barry Cunliffe edited an overview and assessment of excavations in Bath from 1950 to 1975 (Cunliffe (ed) 1979; see also Cunliffe and Owen 1979; Hinton and Cunliffe 1979).

Excavations south of the Abbey, and in Beau Street, and at Citizen House suggest that mid- to late Saxon layers probably survive in restricted areas across the walled town. In many places they are likely to have been truncated by later activity and disturbed by pit- and cellar-digging, so will need to be carefully interrogated. Comparatively little is known about pre-conquest pottery in the West Country as a whole, and what evidence there is suggests that Bath lies on the boundary of two areas. Pre-conquest pottery has been identified from at least eight excavations. The first substantial assemblage of late Saxon and early medieval sherds was recovered in 1970 during the excavation of Citizen House (Vince 1979; see also Vince 1983). Vince has continued to refine the Bath fabric type series in the intervening years, producing many of the specialist pottery reports for sites in the city and, as a result, considerably improving our understanding of early medieval and medieval pottery in Bath. The largest assemblage of pre-conquest wares (52 sherds) was found in the Bath Street and Beau Street excavations (Vince 1999; see also Vince 1983).

Currently there is much academic debate on Anglo-Saxon ethnicity, and how it might be recognised in the archaeological record (Hills 2003). Documentary sources point to a link between the monastery at Bath and the Franks, and the importance of this should be explored. The names of the moneyers inscribed on the 10th-century coinage minted at Bath also give clues to their ethnicity (Grinsell 1973; Smart 1968, 1973). More generally, how easily can the ‘Saxon’ material culture recognised in the city be taken to indicate the presence of this ethnic group? Hines suggests that the appearance of a distinct type of Saxon material culture indicates that it was being deliberately deployed as a symbol of the group’s identity (1994, 52).

Surviving remains of the convent founded

by Osric could provide useful data on the early development of monastic sites, about which many questions remain. The reasons for the choice of a site in Bath need to be explored. Hinton has suggested a number of possible explanations for the adoption of Roman towns as Christian centres (Hinton 1990; 29). The question of whether Offa built a new Abbey church (as stated by William of Malmesbury), or whether he simply rebuilt or re-founded Osric’s church, needs to be resolved.

The importance of the cemetery associated with Bath monastery should not be underestimated. Few monastic cemeteries have been studied in any detail (Coppack 1990, 60), but in Bath more than 140 burials have been found, 60 of which are thought to pre-date the 12th century. It could be worth re-examining some of the original excavation reports for information about the burials, particularly those from Abbey cemetery excavations (Table 2.13).

2.6 *The medieval period (1086–1541)*

2.6.1 Introduction and historical framework

At the time of the Domesday Survey, Bath was the largest town in Somerset – there were 178 burgesses and the monastery was thriving. The Abbot leased out 24 properties in the town and also controlled the water mill and 12 acres of meadow land. Including non-householders, dependents and the monastic community, the total population of Bath is estimated to have been about 1100 – most, if not all, of whom lived within the walled circuit.

In 1088, a local revolt following the death of William I resulted in the sack of Bath. Shortly afterwards Bishop Giso of Wells and Aelfsig, the last Saxon Abbot of Bath, both died. These events combined to provide the new Bishop, John de Villula, with the opportunity to remodel much of the town of Bath. Thirteen years previously, in 1075, the Council of London had decided that, in future, Bishops should be based in towns, so one of Bishop John’s first acts was to move the see from Wells (at that time a relatively unimportant rural settlement) to Bath. The King granted the royal estate in Bath to the Bishop (a grant confirmed in 1091), and John commenced a major programme of rebuilding, including the construction of a massive new cathedral church.

John de Villula died in 1122. The completion of the church and the construction of the claustral buildings was largely the work of Bishop Robert of Lewes, between 1136 and 1166, although a fire in 1137 caused substantial damage, traces of which in the form of fire-blackened stones have been recorded in the church fabric. Building work continued in the 13th century, with the construction of the Lady Chapel, the rebuilding of much of the Bishop's Palace, and the relocation of the parish church of St James. However, the removal of the see from Wells to Bath in the 11th century initiated a series of disputes between Bath and the canons at Wells, and finally, in 1245, Pope Innocent IV decreed that, in future, the Bishop should be known as the Bishop of Bath and Wells. From then on, the Bishops were increasingly based in Wells and, although the Bishop remained the titular abbot of Bath, the day-to-day running of the monastery and church was the responsibility of the Prior; in 1328 the Bishop's Palace was taken over by the Prior and leased out. The acquisition of the palace led to a period of rebuilding, and in the 15th century, Bishop Thomas Bekynton (1444–1465) paid for a new dormitory. Overall, however, the later Middle Ages saw the priory in decline, and by the late 15th century, the church was described as being in ruins.

In the 12th and 13th centuries, the Church authorities, as feudal overlord of the town, would have tried to limit the influence of the merchant guild. But the guild, which included the leading men of the town, steadily gained a measure of independence. In 1189, Richard I granted the guild a charter allowing the guildsmen the right to trade unhindered. Thirteenth-century documents refer to a mayor and his officers, as well as to the guild, and by the 15th century these officials were controlling the general administration of the town. Documentary sources place the medieval Guildhall on the north side of Boat Stall Lane. Research by Elizabeth Holland provides a suggested plan of the building in about 1400 (Holland 1988). It was replaced in 1625, and the 19th-century redevelopment of the area means that it is unlikely that any remains of it survive.

In the late 13th and 14th centuries, Bath benefited from the growing wool trade. Documentary sources indicate that the leading citizens in the 14th century were mainly men connected with cloth production – weaving,

dying and fulling. Like the rest of the country, Bath suffered in the Black Death, and with the removal of the Bishop to Wells, and the growth of Bristol, Bath was gradually eclipsed.

2.6.2 Past work and the nature of the evidence

Archaeological evidence

Comparison with other historic cities in England suggests that archaeological evidence from the medieval period is relatively under-represented in Bath. This is because the extensive remodelling and expansion of the city in the Georgian period resulted in the loss of medieval buildings and levels. It also reflects the fact that in Britain generally it was only in the second half of the 20th century that medieval sites were routinely excavated, and that the value of archaeology as a tool for understanding medieval remains began to be widely appreciated. It is therefore not surprising that 80 per cent of all the UAD records relating to the medieval town post-date 1970.

The archaeology of churches represents an exception to this general rule. During the 18th century there was a growing interest in medieval architecture, which at Bath is reflected in the number of paintings and sketches made of the cathedral church (known as the Abbey).¹ The Abbey was also the subject of a number of surveys, notably John Britton's study of 1825. In 1833, Mr Manners uncovered the crossing piers, along with fragments of tile-flooring in both aisles (srn79). By the second half of the 19th century the Abbey was in poor repair. Gilbert Scott carried out a survey in 1860, in advance of restoration (srn 573) (Jackson 1991, 170–3, 175). Fortunately when the restoration work was carried out between 1863 and 1872, James Irvine was employed as clerk of works. Irvine planned all the Norman features that were revealed, and drew a longitudinal section across the entire length of the Abbey. He also recorded the tiled pavement of the central crossing, just beyond its east end. His plans, manuscript notes and drawings provide a vital archive and have been variously interpreted by Cunliffe (1979c), Davenport (1988), O'Leary and Rodwell (1991), Manco (1993) and Bell (1996). Subsequent work by Davis was far less comprehensive, although he did record 'traces of the ancient cathedral' in Orange Grove (1895b) (srn 705). The excavation cut across

the original eastern apse of the presbytery, and according to Davis, it extended about 30m beyond the present end wall of the Abbey. His findings were confirmed in 1979, when a research excavation was carried out in Alkmaar Gardens, Orange Grove (srn 78) (O'Leary 1991; Oliver and Eames 1991; Reece 1991; Robinson 1991). Additional features were identified within the Abbey by Boyd (1913) (srn706) following the re-construction of the organ in the north transept, and by Bligh Bond (1914) (srn 707).

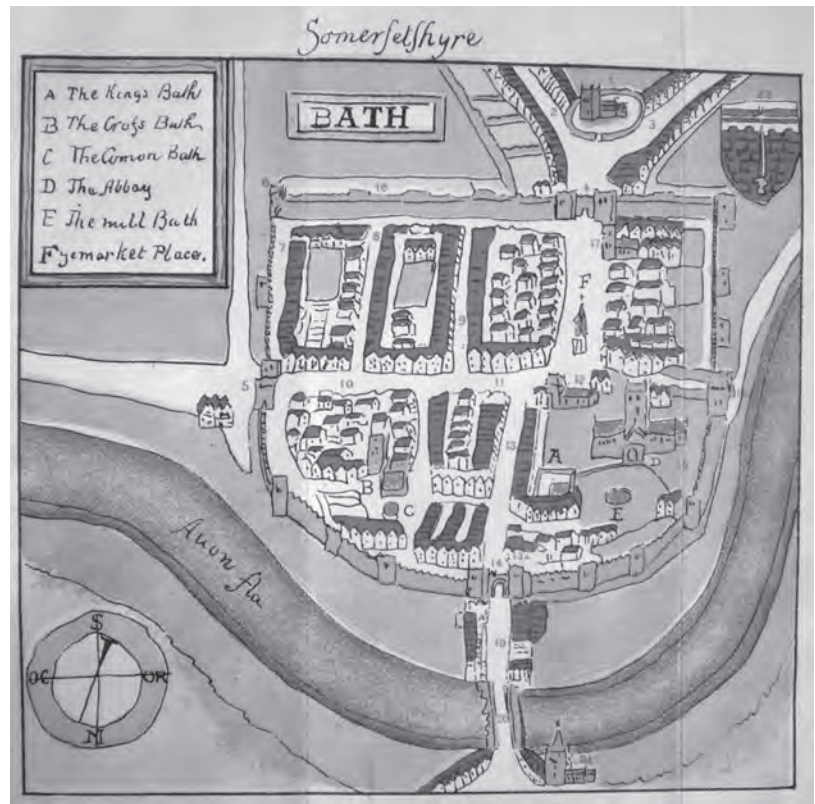
Barry Cunliffe edited an overview and assessment of excavations in Bath from 1950 to 1975 (Cunliffe (ed) 1979; see also Cunliffe 1979c, 1979d; Cunliffe and Owen 1979, Hinton 1979; Owen 1979c; Vince 1979; Vince and Cunliffe 1979; see also Vince 1983).

Documentary sources

In the case of the monastery and the cathedral church, architectural and archaeological study was supplemented by original documentary research in the later 19th and early 20th centuries, much of which provided the basis for subsequent work: Hunt's studies of the ecclesiastical history of the Diocese of Bath and Wells (1885) and of two major Chartularies of the Priory of St Peter (1893) made crucial documentary evidence readily available (Manco 1998a, footnote 1). This was followed by Fowler's article on the Benedictines in Bath (1895), and a summary of the ecclesiastical history in the *Victoria County History*.

For the town outside the monastery precincts, King and Watts (nd) examined municipal records dating from between 1189 and 1604, and Shickle studied the ancient deeds of the city from the 13th to 16th centuries (Shickle 1921). Regional and national surveys also included material from Bath: Toulmin Smith's redaction of Leland's *Itinerary* made it accessible to a much wider audience (1907) and many original documents were published by the Somerset Record Society (eg Weaver 1901, 1903, 1905; Bradford 1911).

These documentary studies were used by archaeologists in the 1970s and 1980s to provide the historical context for new discoveries. The layout and development of the cathedral church and monastery is hotly contested, and a number of studies have been published (Bell 1993, 1996; Chapman 1990; Davenport 1988, 1996; Holland 1990; Manco



1993, 1997, 1998c; Chapman *et al* 1995). Work by Lucas (1991), Bell (1996) and Manco (*see below*) includes extensive documentary research, and see Kelly 2007 for recent studies of the charters. Also, original archives are held at Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, Bath Record Office, Somerset Record Office in Taunton, Bristol Record Office, the office of the Chapter Clerk at Wells, Lincoln's Inn Library and the Public Record Office.

Documentary, topographic and archaeological evidence has also been integrated by Manco in her studies of the Cross Bath (1988), St John's Hospital (1998b) and the south-west quarter of the medieval city known as Binbury (1999b). The Bath Guildhall has been studied by Holland (1988). Incidental references to Bath appear in some of the papers included in Aston and Lewis's edited volume on *The Medieval Landscape of Wessex* (1994), but, unlike Bath's Romano-British archaeology, which has been discussed extensively, its medieval studies have remained the preserve of a relatively small number of historians and archaeologists.

Cartographic evidence

The first depiction of Bath is provided by

Figure 2.49. The earliest map of Bath by William Smith in 1588 (Cunliffe 1986a, fig 53).

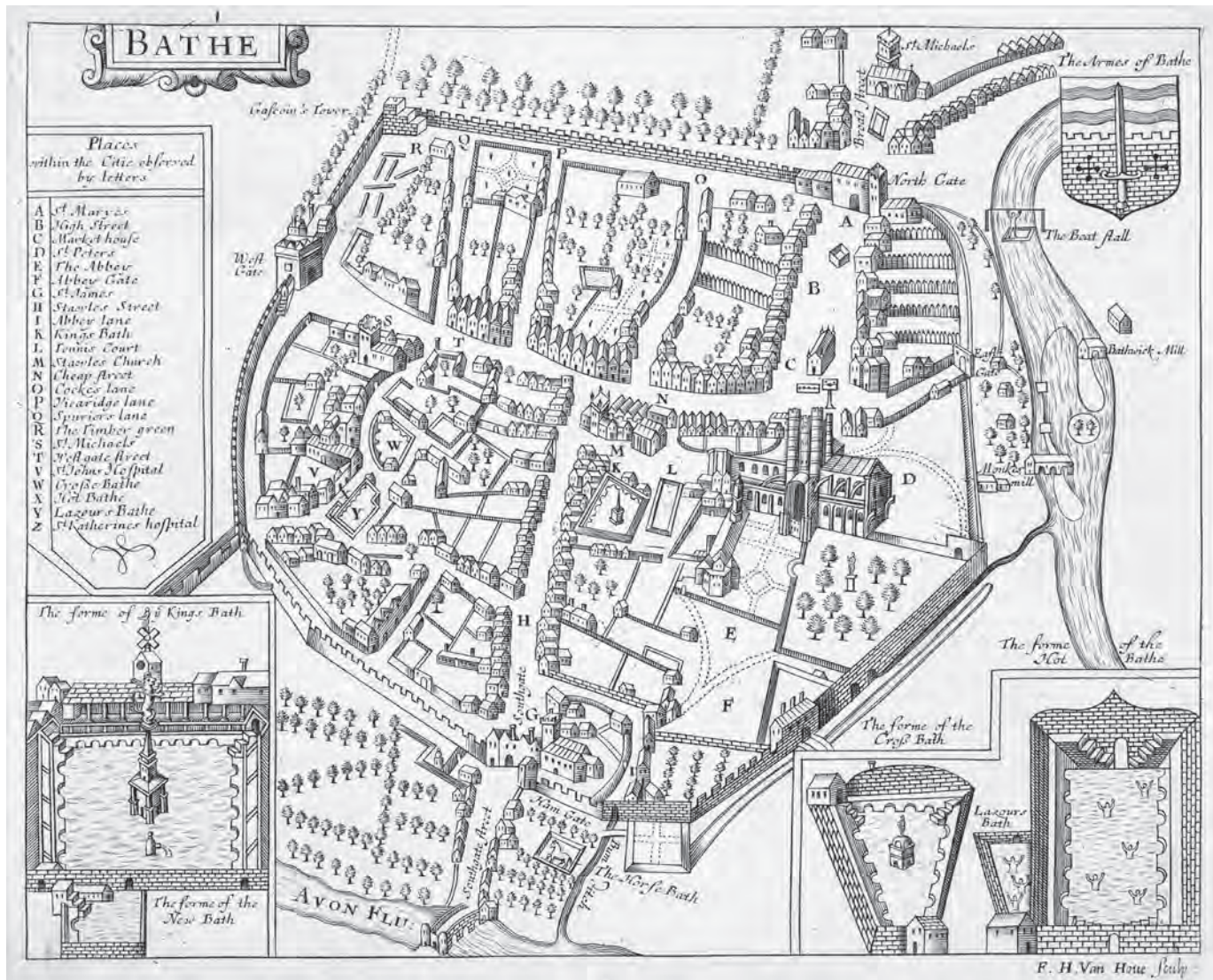


Figure 2.50. Speed's map of Bath, 1610 (Cunliffe 1986a, 109).

Smith's plan of 1588, but the earliest useful plans of Bath date from the early 17th century: the Savile map of c 1600–1604 and Speed's map of 1610 (Manco 1992). Although neither map is a measured plan, they provide an overall picture of the town at the time and can be used to reconstruct the topography of Bath at the end of the Middle Ages (Figs 2.49–2.50).

2.6.3 The archaeological evidence

The cathedral church and monastery

Much of the early work on the archaeology of medieval Bath focused on the cathedral church and monastery. Relevant documentary evidence increases substantially from the 11th century onwards, but while these sources provide a good historical framework, the development and extent of the ecclesiastical

complex as a whole is still only partially understood. With the exception of Norman stonework incorporated into the late medieval Abbey, virtually all pre-16th-century remains survive below ground.

The boundary walls of the monastic precinct

Work on original medieval and post-medieval documents demonstrates that a substantial part of the walled city was in ecclesiastical ownership, including the King's Bath, the cathedral, monastery and cemeteries (Chapman and Holland 1993; Chapman, Davenport and Holland 1995). In the late 11th century, Bishop John de Villula enclosed the monastic precinct in a 'great and elaborate circuit of walls' (Davenport 1988, 8). These have proved difficult to trace, although valuable clues have

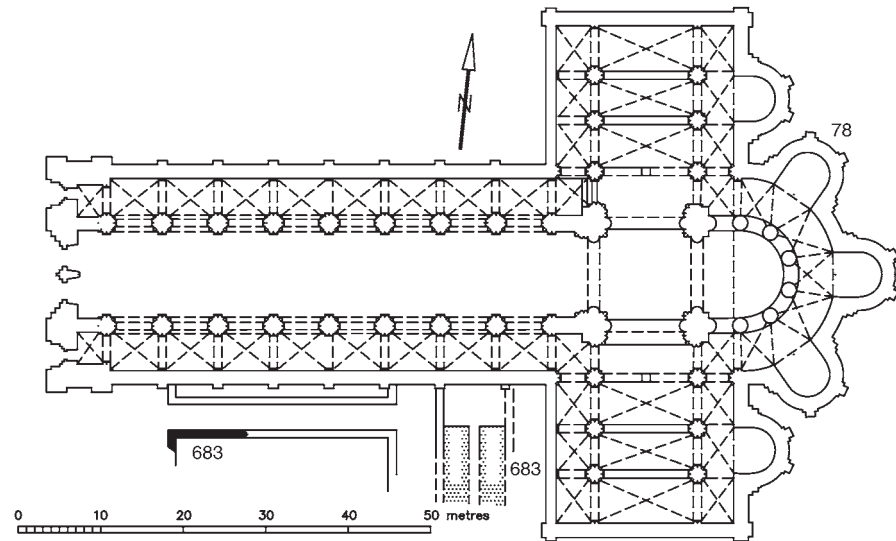


been provided by the cartographic work on the 18th-century property boundaries of the area carried out by members of The Survey of Old Bath (a research project that aims to reconstruct the pre-Georgian topography of the city). To the north, the Norman precinct

extended across the east end of Cheap Street to the south side of Boat Stall Lane. From the west end of the lane, the boundary ran east to the church of St Mary at Stall. From there it ran south along the east side of properties in Stall Street as far as Abbeygate Street,

Figure 2.51. Savile's map of Bath, c 1603 (owner unknown).

Figure 2.52. Plan of the Norman Cathedral and part of the cloisters (after Cunliffe 1986a, fig 49 and Davenport 2002).



where it turned east to join the town wall that bounded the precinct on the east. None of the gateways into the precinct survive; although the main entrance to the monastery is shown on Savile's map to be standing at the east end of Abbeygate Street, it was finally demolished in 1733. Early 17th-century maps (Savile and Speed; see Figs 2.50 and 2.51) suggest that there was also an entrance leading from Cheap Street to the cemetery of St Mary at Stall, and another one in Stall Street providing access to the King's Bath.

The Norman precinct clearly represented a considerable enlargement of its late Saxon predecessor; in 1588 a map of Bath by William Smith shows the former monastic precinct occupying virtually all the south-east sector of the walled town (see Fig 2.49). Within the precinct lay not only the Norman cathedral church and monastic buildings, but also the Bishop's Palace and precinct, and the King's Bath.

THE MEDIEVAL CATHEDRAL CHURCH

Although extending further to the east, the Norman cathedral church (mrn 25) stood on the same site and was on the same alignment as the present Abbey. It was of an aisled cruciform plan, with an apsidal east end and, with an overall length of more than 105m, it was easily the match of its contemporaries, such as Norwich, Winchester, Tewkesbury and Gloucester (Davenport 1988, 14). Evidence for the plan of the Norman church comes from three main sources: the records of

Irvine and Davis made in the late 19th century, excavations in Orange Grove in 1979, and a small excavation north of Kingston Buildings in 1993 (srn 683). The excavated data is supplemented by elements of the Norman church that are still extant in the existing fabric. The combined evidence has been subject to several re-assessments, notably those of Davenport (1988, 1996), O'Leary and Rodwell (1991) and Bell (1996) (see also Fig 2.52).

The east end

In 1895, roadworks in Orange Grove uncovered remains of the Norman east end, which were briefly recorded by Major Davis. He noted the position of an eastern apse, describing it as 'between 90ft [27.4m] and 100ft [30.5m] eastward of the east window of the present Abbey' (Davis 1895b). In 1979, a small research excavation was carried out on the traffic island in the centre of Orange Grove (Alkmaar Gardens, srn 78). This revealed a north-eastern apsidal chapel, and presupposes the existence of a corresponding south-east apsidal chapel on the other side of the central apse recorded by Davis (see Fig 2.52). This plan is closely similar to several French churches of the period, notably those of St Martin at Tours and Notre Dame at Poitiers. The French examples usually had apsidal chapels on the east walls of the transepts, and it is reasonable to suggest that a similar plan was adopted at Bath.

The crossing

As with the original east end, the Norman

crossing lies outside the existing Abbey, but the stumps of the Norman arches between the crossing and the transepts are shown on Speed's map of 1610 (Cunliffe 1979c, 89) and two large piers, still partially visible at the east end of the existing Abbey, were interpreted by Irvine as the western piers of the central tower (Irvine 1890). This interpretation is supported by Cunliffe (1979c) and Davenport (1988), but O'Leary and Rodwell (1991) and Bell (1996) argue that they would not have been strong enough to support a tower. A 12th-century reference to the 'principal' tower suggests there could have been more than one tower, and it is possible that there were two transept towers. Alternatively there might well have been towers on the south-west and north-west corners of the nave. In 1869, during the construction of a cellar at the east end of the present Abbey, Irvine recorded an area of early 14th-century tile paving in the crossing (O'Leary and Rodwell 1991, 35). Two stone coffins lay in the pavement, and at the centre of the crossing were four stone sockets, which Irvine suggested had held the corner posts of a wooden canopy.

The transepts

The arch from the Norman nave into the transept is still visible today at the east end of the south choir aisle (Bligh Bond 1914). O'Leary and Rodwell argue that the transepts were 12m long, but excavation in 1993 (srn 683) suggested that the south transept (and by implication the north transept as well) was larger than previously thought and that a narrow undercroft or stairwell led down to a crypt beyond the east cloister walk (*see* p 130). The work in 1993 also demonstrated that masonry, which had previously been identified as marking the junction of the south wall of the nave (O'Leary and Rodwell 1991, fig 33) and the west wall of the south transept, was in fact a free-standing pier in a southern transept aisle (Bell 1996, Davenport 2002, 85). The arch of the Norman transept screen also survives and is visible on the outside of the north-east corner of the chancel (Davenport 1988, 14–15). At the north-east corner of the north aisle of the nave Irvine observed a flight of four steps, 0.75m high, which had originally led up into the north transept. These steps were necessary because the floor level of the north nave aisle was nearly 1.5m lower than that of

the north transept. This was partly due to the fact that the church occupied slightly sloping ground, but it might also have been done for processional and liturgical reasons.

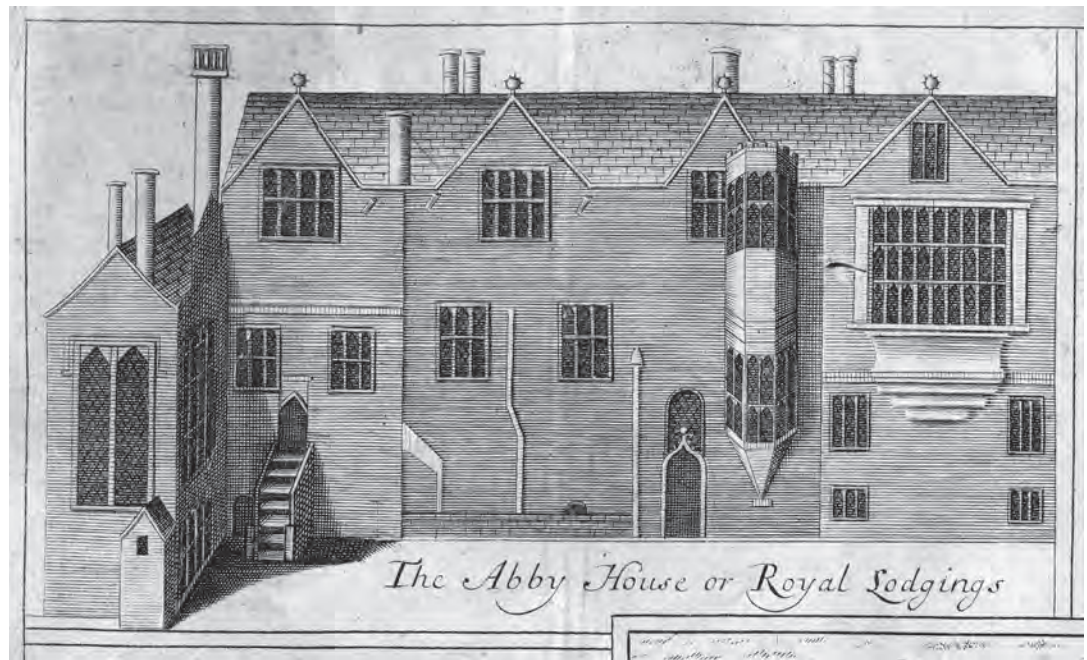
The nave

The Norman nave was as long as the present Abbey, and as the floor of the Norman cathedral church lay up to 2m below its Tudor replacement, part of the original layout survived under the floor and was incorporated into the structure of the existing Abbey. Irvine produced a plan of the surviving Norman work, including evidence for five piers on the north side of the nave, proving that it had nave aisles slightly narrower than those of the Tudor church (Irvine 1890, 87). When the church was rebuilt in the early 16th century, material from the old structure was reused and is preserved in the existing structure. The 19th-century restoration also recovered a large number of medieval architectural fragments. According to Irvine, much of the moulded stonework – including bases, pillar-stones, caps, *abaci*, arch stones, strings, parts of wall arcades, and carved corbel stones from under the parapets – was preserved in the vaults of the Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution (Irvine 1890, 91). Some pieces may still be seen there, while several are now on display in the Abbey Heritage Centre.

The west end

The west end of the present Abbey retains elements from the Norman cathedral church, apparently resting on part of the original wall and part of the foundation immediately in front of it (Irvine 1890). A short distance inside the west door, are the remains of the double portal of the Norman west door (O'Leary and Rodwell 1991, 32). In contrast to the depths recorded under the nave, Irvine found that at the west end the Norman floor lay less than 0.75m below the 19th-century ground level, implying that as in the transept area, there were marked variations in floor level, with the nave floor 1.5m below a raised area at the west end. O'Leary and Rodwell's survey of the Abbey confirmed Irvine's findings, noting that the level of the bases and the plinth agreed with that of the great west door, indicating that the raised floor went right across the west end of the Norman nave. However, they argued that the door jamb in the south-west corner of the

Figure 2.53. Detail of Gilmore's map of 1694 showing Abbey House (Cunliffe 1986a, 106).



church was not, as Irvine suggested, the west door to the south aisle, because it is set hard against the south-west corner. Instead they suggest that the doorway led to the south-west 'tower'. Reasons of symmetry would demand a corresponding tower at the north-west corner.

THE LATER MEDIEVAL CATHEDRAL CHURCH

During the second half of the 13th century, Bishop Bytton rebuilt the easternmost chapel, called the Lady Chapel, on a larger scale. However, by the end of the 13th century, the Bishop no longer resided in Bath, and in 1328 his residence, the 'Bishopsbower' or Bishop's Palace, was rented to the Priory. Soon after it is recorded as being in disrepair, and by the late 15th century, 'most' of the church was described as 'having suffered a sudden ruin' (Davenport 2002, 158).

In 1499, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Oliver King, and the newly appointed Prior, William Bird, decided to rebuild the church. The choir and presbytery were retained for use, but the nave was largely demolished and the new church built on its foundations. It was not fully completed by the Dissolution in 1539, when the church was surrendered to the King, although it had apparently been roofed.

THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS

Following the Danish raids and the general turmoil of the 9th century, the reforming

Archbishop Dunstan had subjected English monasteries to radical reorganisation and had imposed the strict Benedictine rule on them. Bath, as a prominent monastery (King Edgar was crowned there in 973), would certainly have followed this rule. As the layout of Benedictine houses adhered to a standard template, the probable plan of the monastery can be outlined, even though no standing remains survive (see Fig 2.57). The cloisters lay on the south side of the nave and the main monastic buildings were constructed round them. Traces of the cloisters were observed in the 18th and 19th centuries, but the 1990s excavations to the south of the church revealed three short stretches of wall, identified by Bell as part of the east, north and south cloister walks. On the basis of these remains, and the burial evidence (described in more detail below), Bell argued that the early 16th-century rebuilding retained the mid-12th-century layout largely unaltered (Bell 1996).

The eastern cloister range (mrn 118)

In 1993, excavation (srn 683) revealed the west wall of a building in the angle of the nave and the Norman south transept. A short section of the wall had been incorporated in the east wall of the early 17th-century Rector's vestry and still stood to a maximum height of 3.9m above the early medieval ground level. It post-dated the late Saxon cemetery (srn 369) and pre-dated



the cloister, indicating that it was the external, west wall of a building earlier than and east of the Norman cloister (Fig 2.52). When this was excavated, two cut features were exposed – they had been filled with rubble and mortar in the mid- to late 16th century, and were interpreted by Bell as stairwells leading to a crypt beneath

the Norman south transept (Bell 1996, 20). The existence of this building meant that the east cloister lay approximately 15m west of the south transept, rather than close to it, as was normal in Benedictine layouts. It has sometimes been suggested that this unusual position was the result of a later reduction

Figure 2.54. 1725 Map of Duke of Kingston's Bath estate (Bath Central Library, Bath Map 1725).

of an originally large cloister. However, pre-existing building in the angle of the south transept had the characteristics of Norman walling found further east: it was made of tightly laid, coursed and diagonally tooled limestone ashlar blocks, bonded with mortar. Further south, within the cellars now occupied by the Abbey Heritage Centre, the floor of the east walk had been destroyed but, according to Bell, its line was indicated by a concentrated series of medieval graves packed in beneath the walk. Part of the limestone paving of the east walk also survived below and just to the south of the present vestry.

The chapter house and dorter

The chapter house and dorter lay on the east side of the eastern cloister, but they were demolished after the Dissolution, and no archaeological evidence for them has been recorded.

The southern range

The extent of this southern range is not known, although excavation in the cellars of Sally Lunn's House suggests that it might have been at least 60m long (srn 301). As with the eastern stretch, the line of the south cloister walk was indicated by medieval burials. Its southern edge could well have been defined by the east–west wall of late Saxon date in York Street (*see* p 113), described by Bell as a 'Saxon precinct wall' (Bell 1996, 22) (srn 637). This wall, or a replacement on the same line, was incorporated in the Norman cloisters, and its foundations were robbed out only after the Dissolution. In 1984, a small excavation in the northernmost cellar of Sally Lunn's House uncovered the north wall and floor surfaces of a building occupied between the 12th and early 14th centuries. This was interpreted as part of the southern cloister range, but, as it is now generally accepted that the cloisters were rather smaller than previously thought, these remains, lying some 30m south of York Street, probably belonged to another structure. One possibility is that they were part of the kitchen attached to the monks' refectory, or one of the ancillary buildings around the Great Court, roughly the area of present-day Abbey Green (Cauvain and Cauvain 1991, srn 301). Manco has suggested that the burnt stone in the foundations of the wall came from a fire of 1137, attested in documentary sources (1993,

88). The building remained in use until at least the 14th century, with the interior undergoing periodic refurbishing (Davenport and Beaton 1994, 4).

The western cloister range

The Prior's lodging lay at the south-west end of the cathedral, against the west side of the west cloister. It was later known as Abbey House, and survived until its demolition in 1755. It is shown on a number of 17th-century maps, most notably Gilmore's map of 1694, which includes a view of its west side (Fig 2.53). Manco suggests there was more than one building phase, and Gilmore's sketch probably shows the building in its late 15th-century form. According to Manco, the oriel windows of the upper storeys appeared to be Tudor, while the ogee-headed doorway was probably 14th century in date (1993, 88). She suggests that the Duke of Kingston's estate map of 1725, which depicts the range in plan form, could indicate that the narrower stretch was aligned with the west end of the Norman cathedral, presumably preserving the line of the original Norman range (Fig 2.54).

Archaeological evidence for the Norman range is sparse, as most structural remains were observed in the 18th and 19th centuries. Cunliffe ascribed a Norman date to the range on the basis of observations made by Irvine and Mann (Cunliffe 1979c). In 1873, Irvine explored a subterranean passage that ran beneath the Duke of Kingston's Baths. One wall of the passage was built of ancient masonry, which Irvine later described as a 'singular arrangement of pilasters [that] may be part of a very late Norman building' (Irvine papers: letter to Richard Mann). His plan shows a north–south wall of ashlar masonry supported at intervals by shallow pilaster buttresses. However, study of the 18th-century plans of the Roman East Baths makes it quite clear that the wall Irvine studied must have been built after 1755 (P Davenport pers comm).

The northern cloister range

The northern cloister walk is largely inaccessible beneath the modern Choir Vestry, but part of its southern wall and the paved walk was recorded by Bell, along with its junction with the west walk (srn 369).

Further excavation in the 1990s to the south of the Abbey revealed a large number

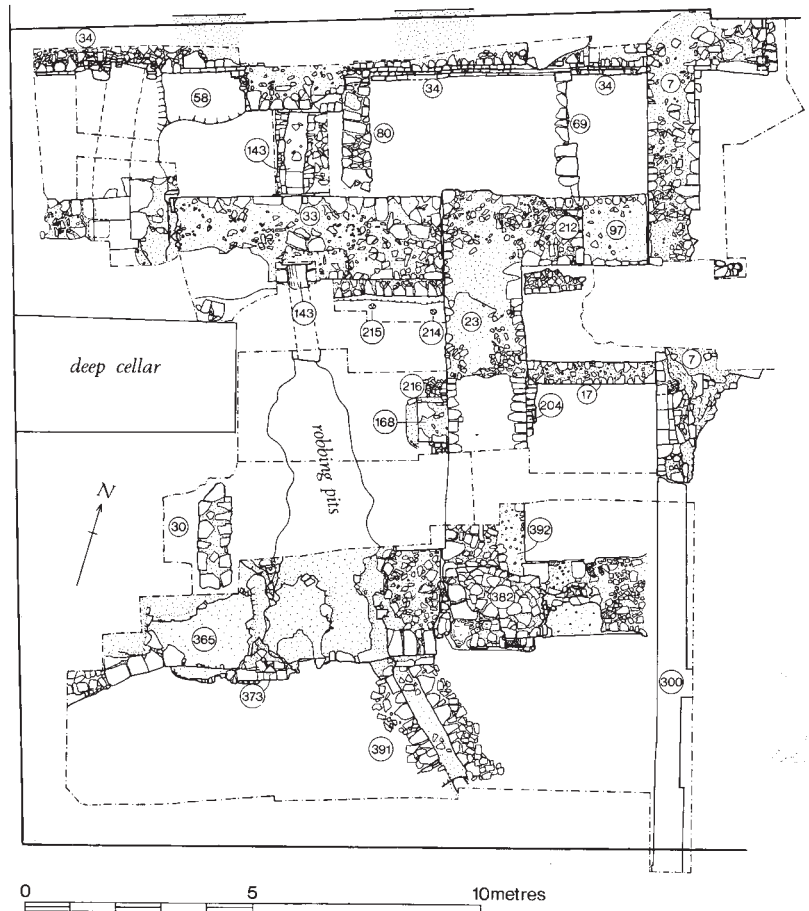
of burials (srn 360, 369, 637), but apart from the results of evaluation in the East Baths cellars (srn 667) (Bradley-Lovekin 1999), and some references by Bell (1996), they remain unpublished (Radiocarbon assays on pre-conquest burials here have turned up with some good 9th to 11th century 'dates').

The Bishop's Palace (mrn 117; srn 222-3, 265)

Documentary and archaeological evidence place the medieval Bishop's Palace and its enclosure to the north of Abbeygate Street, about 100m to the south-west of the Norman cathedral church (Lucas 1991; Chapman *et al* 1995; Davenport 2002, 79). No above-ground remains survive but three excavations in this part of the monastic precinct have revealed substantial masonry remains dating from the medieval period. The first excavation in the area, carried out in 1964-5, revealed evidence for a massive wall footing, more than 2m wide, running east-west across the site (srn 222). A small fragment of a decorated Saxon cross was found in the rubble of the foundations. Cunliffe identified the wall as the 'Abbey Yard Precinct Wall' (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 158-60). The most substantial remains were uncovered in 1984 and 1985, following the demolition of properties at the corner of Swallow Street and Abbeygate Street (srn 265). Three medieval phases were recognised, dating from between *c* 1100 and the early 16th century. The earliest structure was represented by the masonry footings of a buttressed rectangular hall, 10m × 18.3m, and with walls over a metre thick. It was associated with a masonry drain, and footings for what was probably an external staircase suggest that there was a second floor. Only the western end of the building was revealed, but its character, dimensions and alignment led Davenport to suggest that the masonry wall identified by Cunliffe in 1964 as the precinct wall was in fact the southern wall and south-east corner of this building. South of the hall was a cobbled yard. Associated layers produced pottery sherds comparable to Bristol fabric type A, which probably dates from the second quarter of the 12th century or later, while the animal-bone assemblage suggested that the occupants enjoyed high-status food (Browne 1991; Chapman *et al* 1995, 102; Vince 1991, 72; Davenport 1991a, 48-52, 100-101; *see also* Fig 2.55).

In the second phase, the building was

SWALLOW STREET 1984-85 *Mediaeval*



extended to the west, blocking the earlier culvert, which was replaced by two new ones, both draining to the south and suggesting that the Palace was equipped with its own hot bath. Two small groups of early to mid-13th century pottery came from contexts that were probably associated with this phase, but the paucity of good stratigraphic deposits generally made dating difficult (Vince 1991, 72).

In the later 13th century, all but the extreme western portion of the original hall was demolished and replaced by a cobbled yard. Ranges of smaller rooms were added to the second-phase extension. Three Purbeck marble shaft fragments, and fragments of window tracery cut for the insertion of leaded window panes, suggested elaborate architectural treatment.

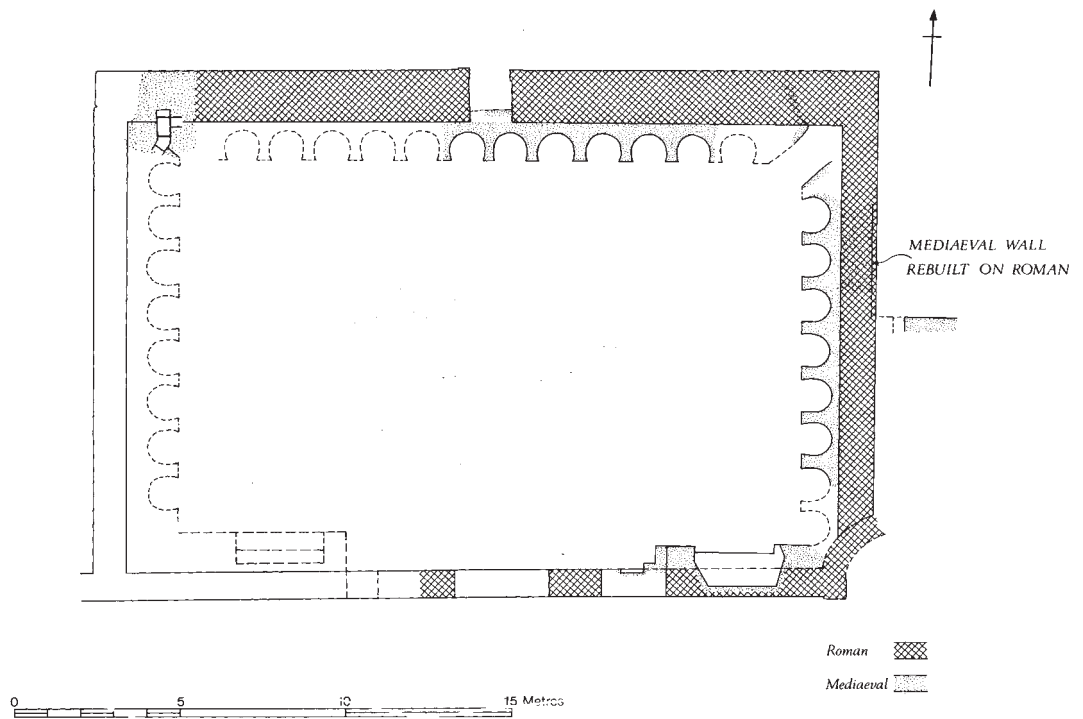
In the early 14th century, these new ranges deteriorated and in the mid-16th century they were largely demolished; only the shell of one room survived to be reused in new buildings.

Figure 2.55. Plan of the bishop's palace as excavated (Davenport (ed) 1991, fig 32).

Figure 2.56. Plan of the medieval Kings Bath (Davenport 2002, fig 40).

THE KING'S BATH

MEDIAEVAL



The hot springs: the King's Bath (mrn 115; srn 233, 241)
John de Villula was a physician, so the thermal springs and their curative properties are likely to have been of particular interest to him (for example see Edmunds and Miles 1991; Falconer 1772). He is widely credited with rebuilding the baths at around the same time as the new cathedral. The medieval bath, known as 'The King's Bath', appears in documents from the first half of the 12th century. Manco has stressed the bath's attraction to royalty during the 12th and early 13th centuries, when the king maintained royal lodgings here (Manco 1993, 83).

The medieval King's Bath lay directly above the earlier Romano-British reservoir enclosure. It was described in the *Gesta Stephani* of 1138 as 'beautifully constructed with arched chambers (*camera arcuata*)'. Some of the original medieval work still survives, most notably along the east wall, where four-and-a-half arched recesses can still be seen largely intact, while on the north side the medieval niched wall sitting on and in front of the Roman work was recorded by Peter Davenport in 1980 (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 80; P Davenport pers comm). The upper parts of the arches above about

1.2m had been rebuilt: evidence of the repair and partial reconstruction, which must have occurred during its hundreds of years' use. As Cunliffe and Davenport note, the rebuilding could have dated back to the 17th or even 16th century (Fig 2.56).

In their discussion of the evidence, Cunliffe and Davenport showed that the medieval arched recesses were built onto the much-reduced Roman walls along the north and east side of the reservoir enclosure (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 80-113; P Davenport pers comm).

Ancillary structure to the hot baths (mrn 119)

Work below the Pump Room between 1981 and 1983 (srn 242, trenches 104 and 105) revealed evidence for a building immediately adjacent to the north wall of the King's Bath (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 78, 79, 82). Two massive wall foundations were found that indicated a building 7.8m wide and at least 12.5m long. With the exception of two ashlar facing blocks belonging to the exterior face of the west wall, nothing of the superstructure survived. The north-wall footing extended out over a conduit, and a buttress was identified

SRN	Site name	Description / References
690	Lindsey's Lower Assembly Rooms (Terrace Walk), c 1728	Several stone coffins and cists (Wood 1765, 244)
162	Abbey Church excavation, 1755	Three stone coffins and cist burials (Oliver 1755; Hewitt 1755, 1756; Anon 1761; Hoare 1762; Sutherland 1763; Metcalf 1958; Cunliffe 1979, 88–90, 140)
82	Terrace Walk, 1815 and 1874	'Several stone coffins' (Hunt 1852a; Hunt Collection, volume 1, newspaper article of 1874)
677	Orange Grove, c 1890	'Two stone coffins' (Irvine 1890, 91)
678	Abbey Churchyard, c 1890	'Two stone slab burials' (Irvine 1890, 93–4)
239	Temple Precinct excavations, 1965	Five cist graves (trenches 5–7, beneath the Pump Room) (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 46–8, plate V; Cunliffe 1979d, 91)
239	Temple Precinct excavations, 1966–7	One inhumation (trench 16, 8 Abbey Churchyard) (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 48–50; Cunliffe 1979d, 91)
139	8 Terrace Walk garden, 1973	Four cist burials and three other inhumations (Bell 1993, 19–20)
140	York Street and Kingston Parade (Kingston Chambers), 1976	Grave earth with inhumations, both with and without stone coffins (Owen's Unpubl. site notes; Davenport (ed) 1991, 120–3)
78	Orange Grove, 1979–80	18 skeletons, a cist burial and disarticulated remains (Gentlemen's Magazine 1843, 521; Haverfield 1906, 263; O'Leary 1980, 16–19; O'Leary 1991, 13–9; Rogers 1991)
242	Pump Room excavations, 1980	Eight or nine inhumations, some in coffins and plank-lined graves. Overlain by 36 more graves (trench 101) (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 78, 82, 106–7; Grainger 1985, 173–6)
368	Abbey Heritage Centre, 1992	'Human bone' Unpubl. excavation by Rob Bell. Original site archives, summary reports <i>etc</i> held by Bath Archaeological Trust
369	Abbey Heritage Centre, 1993	10 cist burials, 10 inhumations and a charnel pit. Interpretative account published (Bell 1996). Original site archives, summary reports <i>etc</i> held by Bath Archaeological Trust. Human remains analysis by Helen Goode
637	York Street, 1994	Cist burial and 2 inhumations. Unpubl. rescue excavation. Original site archives, summary reports <i>etc</i> held by Bath Archaeological Trust
360	City Architects and Planning Office, York Street, 1995	Two cist burials Unpubl. excavation. Original site archives, summary reports <i>etc</i> held by Bath Archaeological Trust
673	Old Police Station and Magistrates Court, 1998	Disarticulated human bone found in three test pits (see SMR 2529)
667	East Baths, 1999	Charnel pit (Bradley-Lovekin 1999)

close to the north-west corner. These features, along with the massive character of the walls, led Cunliffe to conclude that the building might have been a two-storey structure, with a possible vaulted undercroft beneath – very probably the infirmary. The associated pottery was dated to after 1100, suggesting that it was

one of the buildings put up by Bishop Robert of Lewes in the 12th century.

MEDIEVAL CEMETERIES IN THE CATHEDRAL PRECINCT (SEE TABLE 2.14)

In the later 19th century, Irvine recorded two interments 'in the pavement' of the Norman

Table 2.14. Medieval burials

cathedral crossing (srn 678), and he identified the carved cross on the lid of one of the coffins as late Early English style (Irvine 1890).

Burials in Terrace Walk (srn 82, 139, 690)

The first explicit reference to medieval burials was made by Wood, who noted the discovery of ‘a vast number of bodies ... some in stone coffins made of whole stones, others in coffins made of several stones, and others without coffins’ during the building of a house in Terrace Walk known as the Lower Assembly Rooms or Lindsey’s Assembly Rooms in about 1728 (Wood 1765, 242–4). His description indicates that many of the burials were well preserved, and, although they were not precisely dated, that the cemetery belonged to the monastery. In view of later discoveries made nearby, a medieval date is plausible (srn 690). In 1815, Hunt described the discovery of a stone coffin in the garden at the back of ‘Mr Upham’s Library’, Terrace Walk (srn 82) and suggested that it was a Romano-British coffin, reused in the medieval period. Further discoveries were made at Terrace Walk in 1874, when ‘several stone coffins’ were found by Mr Russell while he was digging in his garden. Their exact location or character is not known, but the gardens are close to the Abbey in an area where burials have subsequently been recorded. (See Hunt 1852a, 1852b.)

In 1973, excavations in advance of alterations at 8 Terrace Walk (srn 139) revealed seven burials. The graves were aligned east–west and lay immediately below an early 18th-century construction level. Startin dated them to the 17th century, but both their location and the use of cists suggest a medieval date (Bell 1996, 20; Hinton 1979).

Monks’ cemetery (mrn 94, srn 78)

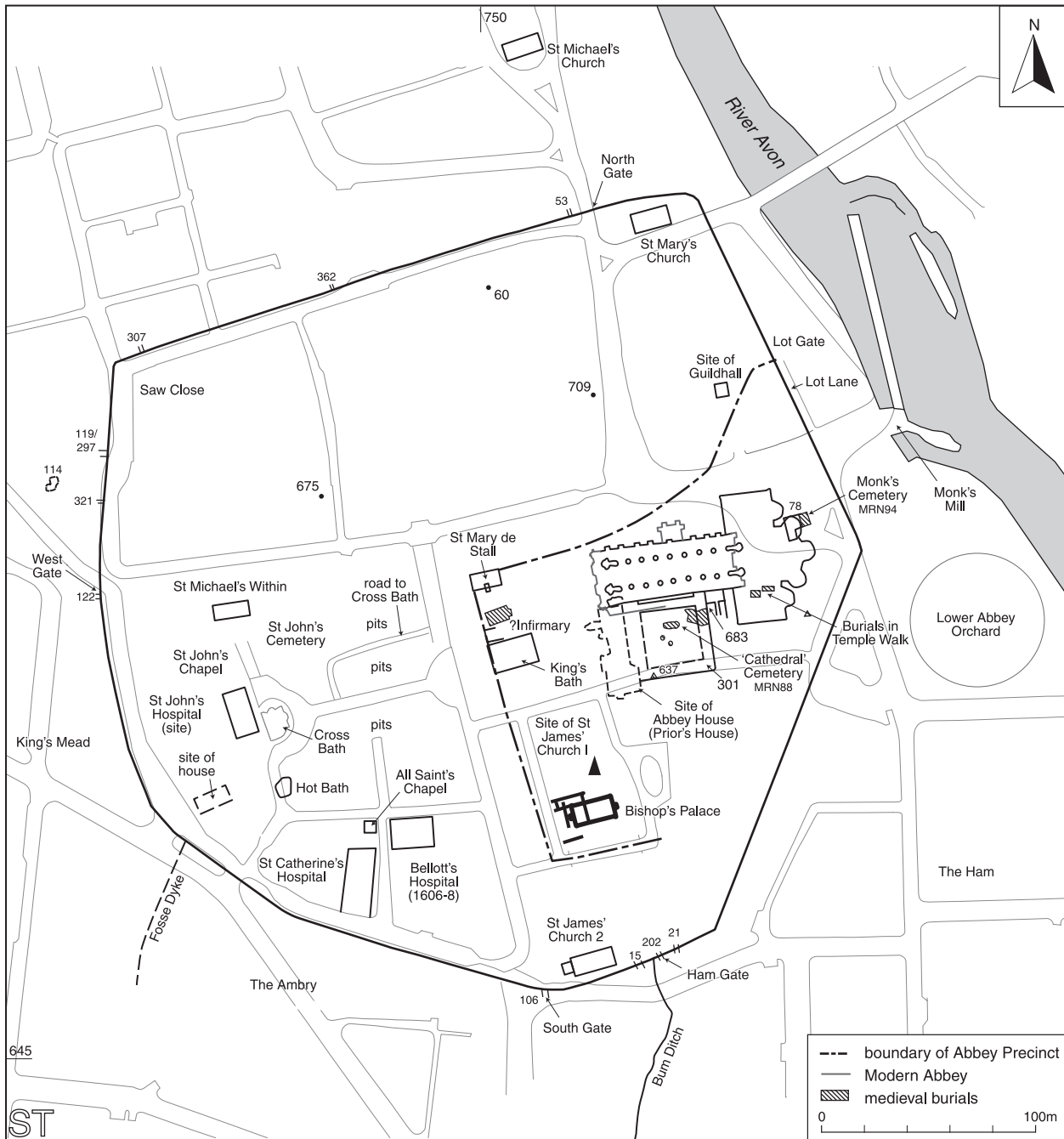
In 1979, burials were uncovered in a research excavation in Alkmaar Gardens, Orange Grove, to the north of Terrace Walk (srn 78). Documentary evidence suggests that this area was part of a burial ground described as the ‘monks cemetery’ (Manco 1993, 78). The earliest burials post-dated the foundation raft for the apsidal east end of the late 11th- or early 12th-century cathedral church. The burials spanned a 300-year period, between the early 12th and 15th centuries. They included 18 articulated skeletons, seven of them adult males. Eleven children were also identified,

ranging in age from 6 months to 13 years (Rogers 1991, 30). Some burials were aligned, with the head pointing towards the chapel to the south-west; the rest were laid out due east–west. All were in simple earth graves, with stone markers. Some of the graves intercut one another, indicating at least two burial phases. Large quantities of disarticulated human bone and bone fragments were also recovered, presumably from medieval burials disturbed when the area was laid out as a public space. Rogers calculated that, altogether, the remains of at least 43 individuals were represented, of which at least three were female and seven male (Rogers 1991, 30–31).

The cathedral cemetery: south of the nave (mrn 88; srn 140, 162, 360, 368–9, 637, 244)

Excavations in 1992–3 in advance of redevelopment in the vaulted cellars below Kingston Buildings revealed at least 20 graves cut into the 11th-century Norman reconstruction layer beneath the cloister walks and garth (srn 368–9). They dated from between the early 12th and early 16th centuries but must pre-date the Reformation, when the area was converted to a private garden. In contrast with the pre-Conquest group in the same area, almost half the burials had been made in stone-lined graves. Part of a highly decorated 10th-century limestone slab had been reused as a capping for one of the cists. Iron nails in three graves are evidence of wooden coffins, but no examples of stone head rests or foot rests were found. Only twelve of the twenty graves were excavated and three of these were empty. Of the nine excavated skeletons all were adults: four male, one female, and three could not be sexed. One unsexed adult and one young male adult displayed evidence for extended ankle joints – so-called ‘squatting facets’. The remains were reburied by the Abbey authorities. In 1755, a number of graves were reported when Abbey House was demolished, and it is probable that some of these were also of medieval date (srn 162).

The boundaries of the cathedral cemetery are not known, but the discovery of at least seven burials below York Street suggests that it extended at least 20m to the south. In 1995, a cist burial and two inhumations were found during emergency work to shore up the cellars below York Street (srn 367). They lay parallel with the south side of the early medieval



boundary wall (described more fully in section 2.5.3). Two other cist burials and two grave cuts were identified in an excavation in the cellars of the City Architects and Planning Office (srn 360). They lay on the same alignment, but north of the wall, and were interpreted by Bell as probably 12th or 13th century in date. Owen also noted the presence of inhumations in this area in 1976 (srn140), although no detailed records were made.

The Church of St Mary at Stalls (mnr 120)

The Church of St Mary at Stalls occupied a plot of land to the west of the cathedral church, bounded on the north by Cheap Street and on the west by Stall Street. On the basis of documentary research, Manco suggests that the church was initially a mortuary chapel in the north-west corner of the lay cemetery (Manco 1993, 90). It was first mentioned around 1190 as St Mary in the churchyard of Bath and 'the

Figure 2.57. Plan of the medieval walled area.

chapel in the cemetery of St. Peter', which paid an annual sum to the cathedral sacrist. Not long after this, payment to the sacrist was made by St Mary at Stalls, implying that the church and the 'chapel' were one and the same thing. Both Manco and Cunliffe draw on documentary evidence to suggest that it was the principal church of the city in the medieval period: its cemetery was known as the 'common cemetery' (Manco 1993, 80), and one aisle was set aside for the Mayor and the Corporation (Cunliffe 1979c, 91). No archaeological evidence for it has been recorded, but excavation below the cellars of 8 Abbey Churchyard in 1966–7 uncovered a skeleton, aligned north to south, and buried over the foundations of a wall (srn 239). The wall could not be securely dated but might have been from the south wall of the church (Cunliffe 1979c, 91; *see* Fig 2.57).

The cemetery of St Mary At Stalls (mnrn 46; srm 239, 242)

Altogether, more than 50 burials have been found in an area beneath the Pump Room and Abbey Churchyard. In the late 19th century, Irvine recorded part of a burial ground here, which he ascribed to the early 16th century, and a small number of inhumations were recovered in the 1960s during the excavation of the Romano-British Temple precinct (srn 239). On the south side of the Abbey churchyard a series of trial trenches were dug in the cellars beneath the Pump Room in 1965. These revealed two graves post-dating the latest Romano-British layers; one had been sealed by the spread from a demolished stone building. (Cunliffe (ed) 1979, 91). In 1966–7, a third grave, aligned north to south was discovered in trial trenches below in the cellars of 8 Abbey Churchyard (srn 239). It overlaid the foundations of a wall, which might have been from the south wall of the church, but it could not be dated (*ibid*, 91).

At least two graves were excavated beneath the Pump Room in 1965; both post-dated the post-Roman black-earth deposit, and one had been sealed by the spread from a stone building (Cunliffe 1979c, 91). Examination of the site photographs suggests that, in trench 5, two (or possibly three) stone coffins lay on top of the collapsed Romano-British masonry, with a further three in trench 6 (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, plate V).

The majority of burials in this area were recorded in 1980 prior to the construction of a cellar for machinery serving the Pump Room

(srn 242). Forty-five graves were recorded from two distinct phases. The smaller and earlier group lay at the lowest levels of the excavation in a black silty deposit (context 101/13) and consisted of eight or nine articulated skeletons and four isolated skulls. Timber from a waterlogged plank-lined grave had a radiocarbon date of AD 580±70 years. However, pottery evidence suggests that the burials cannot pre-date 1000 (Henig 1985, 160) so it is assumed that this 6th-century date was taken from part of a mature tree, which was felled a century or more later, and that, later still, the timber was reused for the coffin (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 78, 82). The site archive shows that burials in this early group were all aligned along the same axis but did not respect the alignment of the medieval church of St Mary at Stall. They were sealed by layers containing building rubble, interpreted as the result of a 12th-century refurbishment of the King's Bath. Above them was 1.4m of soil containing 36 later burials, only four of which were on the same alignment as that of the earlier group. One cist burial was identified but generally grave cuts could not be distinguished. The location of these burials to the south of St Mary at Stalls strongly suggests that at least some of them were associated with it. The cemetery was last used in about 1609, when the Abbey Yard was paved over (Cunliffe 1986a, 61). It is interesting to note that shroud pins (found in four burials) all came from phase 2 burials (Henig 1985, fiche 3, B12), suggesting that, in Bath, simple shroud burials might have been more common in the later medieval period.

The skeletal material recovered from the 1980 excavation included 52 identifiable individuals (Grainger 1985). Wherever possible, their age, sex, stature, pathology and non-metrical variation were determined, but the results were analysed as a whole, and therefore no chronological variation was picked up. Given that the burials were made over several hundred years, this allowed only generalised conclusions. Less than half could be sexed, but those that could be suggest that men and women were equally represented. Grainger described the group as a 'fairly typical community of men, women and children', with evidence for a relatively advanced age in many individuals. The high frequency of osteoarthritis, coupled with fractures,

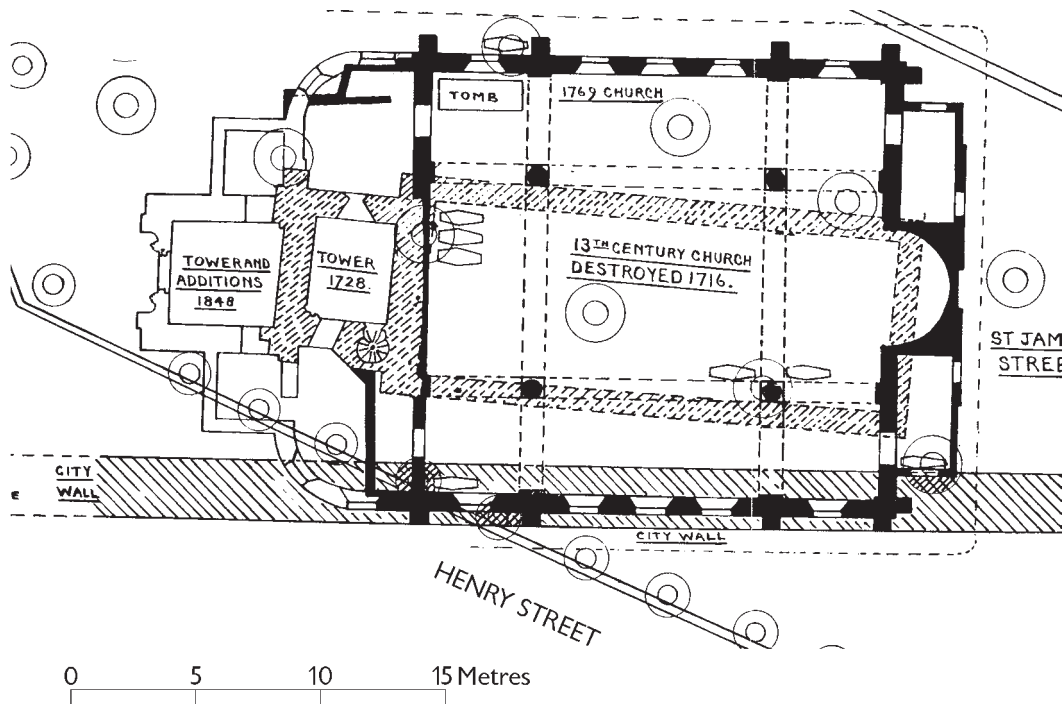


Figure 2.58. *St James's church*, (Davenport 2002, fig 59).

suggested that they led a rigorous lifestyle, and there was evidence for childhood malnutrition among some of the adult population. Three adult skeletons displayed evidence of extended ankle joints – so-called ‘squatting facets’. One adult male skeleton displayed evidence for plate-like periosteal growth at the distal end of their tibia, an interesting pathological feature that could be due to advanced syphilis. The origin of this disease in Europe is still highly controversial, and skeletal evidence has much to contribute to the debate (Mays 1998, 139).

The secular town

THE SOUTH-EAST QUARTER: ST JAMES'S (II) CHURCH AND CEMETERY (MRN 100), NEW ORCHARD STREET

The pre-conquest church of St James (*see* p 136) lay within the precinct of the Norman Bishop's Palace. No doubt the presence of the parish church, and its graveyard adjacent to the Bishop's Hall, was unsatisfactory to all concerned, and in 1279 St James's church was moved. A charter of that date refers to an earlier church that adjoined the bishop's chamber, and a grant of land for a new church close to the south gate of the city. The nave of the older church was converted for use as the Bishop's private chapel.

The medieval church of St James was rebuilt

in the 18th century, but it was largely destroyed during air raids on the city in 1942. It remained in a derelict state until 1955, when the site was cleared for commercial redevelopment. In 1951, limited excavation and recording along the line of the city walls was carried out by members of Bath and Camerton Archaeological Society (srn 202), and, after a watching brief, in 1959 a simple plan of the 13th-century church was made (Fig 2.58; Davenport 2002, fig 59). Before the church was demolished, a number of burials were removed from the crypt for reburial, but no record of the cemetery was made. The only archaeological evidence recovered for medieval burial on this site was a gold cross depicting St Anthony, which was found during the construction of Woolworths in 1966 (srn 203) (Wedlake 1966a; Bircher and Bird 1991, 178). Remains of the church and burial ground are still preserved about 3m below the floor of the modern building (now Marks and Spencer).

THE SOUTH-WEST QUARTER (SRN 335, 350, 269–71)

Until recently, very little had been published on this quarter of the medieval city, although excavation during the 1980s demonstrated the survival of well-preserved medieval stratigraphy in areas that had escaped post-medieval cellaring. Few traces of pre-Georgian

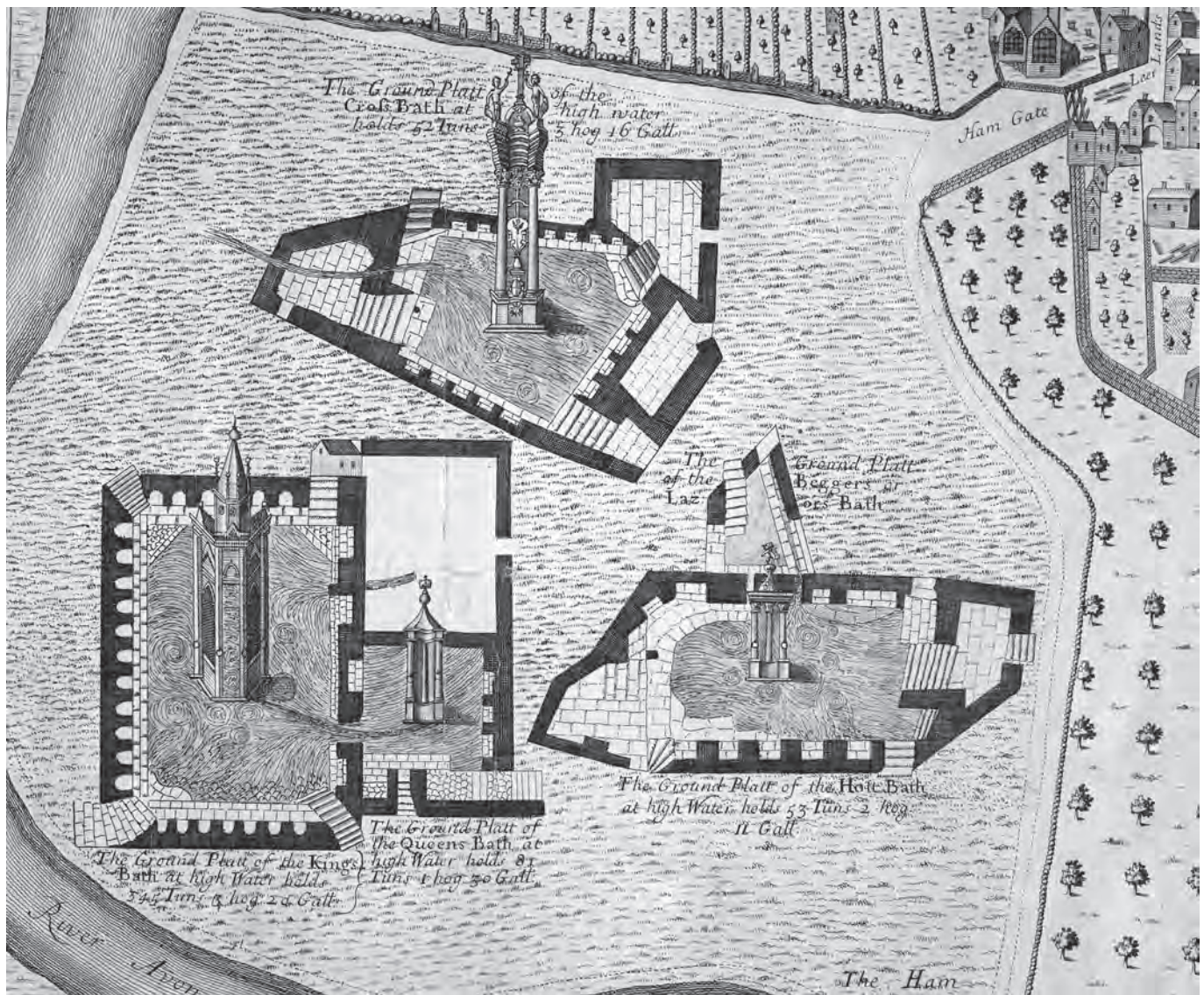


Figure 2.59. Gilmore's drawing of the hot baths, Cross Bath at top (detail from Gilmore's map of Bath 1694).

buildings or property boundaries survived, no documentary research had been carried out, and archaeological interventions were limited. Manco's study of St John's Hospital (1998b), and her article on the 'History of Binbury' (1999), included a large amount of original documentary research and produced much new information.

This quarter of the city, bounded to the north by Westgate Street and to the east by Stall Street, appears to have had an early and distinctive identity as a place of healing and care for the poor. The area was known as the *Binbury* or *Bimbery* area (Manco 1998c), and included the Cross Bath and Hot Bath, St John's Hospital, St Catherine's Hospital and, at the beginning of the 17th century, Bellott's Hospital.

St. John's Hospital, chapel and cemetery (nrn 110–2)

The first scholarly work on the history of the hospital was carried out by the Rev. Charles Shickle, who was master of the hospital between 1899 and 1927. A comprehensive study was commissioned to celebrate the hospital's 800-year history (Manco 1998b), and this work forms the basis for the following summary.

The hospital was founded in about 1180 by Bishop Reginald Fitzjocelyn on land west of the Hot Bath and Cross Bath; in some medieval sources it is referred to as the Hospital of the Baths. It was under the control of the monastery at Bath and, just as other medieval hospitals, it was a place of refuge for the poor and infirm. In the mid-

13th century, the hospital acquired a vacant plot immediately north of the chapel, which was consecrated as a burial ground in 1336 and remained in use for several centuries (a documentary reference to it appears as late as 1734). St John's began to have financial difficulties towards the end of the medieval period, and in 1527 it was amalgamated with Bath Priory, which enabled the rebuilding of the hospital and its properties. The exact character of this rebuilding is not known. Manco argues that the old infirmary was replaced with a range of six rooms on a new site north of the chapel, while the original building was put to other uses. In 1532, John Simons was appointed master of the hospital, but as he was a clerk rather than a monk, the hospital was not demolished at the Dissolution of the Monasteries. It was restored during the Elizabethan period, and rebuilt in the 1720s.

The exact layout of the medieval hospital is only partly understood. According to Manco, the chapel occupies the same site as its 12th-century predecessor, and the burial ground lay on its north side (Manco 1998b). In 1954, a watching brief by members of the Bath and Camerton Archaeological Society (srn 123) recorded human bones and two burials, which Manco's historical study suggests came from the medieval hospital cemetery. A number of architectural stones of late Norman and early English date were also found at this level, which Manco interprets as foundation rubble for the present John Wood House, deposited in the early 16th century when the Norman cathedral was being partially demolished (Wedlake 1966b, 8; 1979b, 84; Manco 1998b, 46, 48).

The Cross Bath (mrn 22)

The Cross Bath is mentioned in the deeds of nearby properties from the late 13th century onwards, appearing as either the Cross Bath or Bath of the Holy Cross. It took its name from the cross in its centre. The front property boundary of St John's Hospital overrides the earlier elliptical Romano-British bath, which suggests either that the bath was built in conjunction with the hospital, or that it was already in use by the 12th century (Manco 1988b, 50–52; 1999, 124). Leland's description of the bath as 'having 11 or 12 arches of stone in the sides for men to stond under yn tyme of reyne' indicates that it was a simple structure,

and Smith's bird's-eye view of Bath (c 1578) shows the Cross Bath as an open square without ancillary buildings (Manco 1999, 124).

Recent archaeological investigations suggest that little of the medieval bath survives. A trench excavated in 1986 revealed a wall, which seemed to be part of the pre-Georgian bath, while a second trench in 1989 uncovered one step of the north-east lip of this bath, also attributed to the pre-Georgian structure (Davenport (ed) 1999, 62–3). In 1986, four medieval pits were recorded during a watching brief carried out on a borehole of the north side of the Cross Bath (Davenport (ed) 1999, fig1.2, 16, srn 335).

The Hot Bath (mrn 94–5; srn 94)

A documentary reference of 1280 refers to the Hot Bath as 'Alsy's bath' (Wood 1765), as does a deed of a house dating to 1292–1312 (Shickle 1921, 142). The name could refer to the last Saxon Abbot of Bath, Ælfsige, and it is possible that he rebuilt or refurbished the Roman bath in the mid-11th century (Knowles 1972, 28). It subsequently became known as the Hot Bath, owing to the almost scalding temperature of the thermal spring water. The medieval bath survived until the 16th century and was described by Leland in 1542 (Smith 1907, 142). As at the King's Bath and the Cross Bath, it was fitted with alcoves, but, because of its small size, there were only seven seats. The bath was enlarged in the Elizabethan period, and a smaller bath for those with skin complaints, called the lepers' or lazars' bath was added at around the same time (James 1938, 64, 68). In 1775, the Corporation commissioned John Wood the Younger to design a new bath, and the site was cleared. Further modifications were made in the late 1820s, when the site to the east of the bath was cleared and a swimming pool built. The Hot Bath was refitted at the same time. This complex became known as the Royal Baths and later the Beau Street Baths. The swimming pool was demolished in 1922 and a new bath constructed in its place, along with the restoration of Wood's bath in 1927. (Manco 1999, 124). However, Wood's bath lay on a site adjacent to the medieval bath, remains of which could well still survive beneath the road (P Davenport pers comm).

St Michael by the Baths (mrn 114)

St. Michael's was a smaller parochial chapel of

the main church of St Michael's, situated outside the North Gate of the city. To distinguish it from its larger mother church, it was known as St Michael by the Baths, Little Michael's or St Michael Within. In the 1180s, Master Eustace of Bath granted land to Bath Priory between the northern city wall and the Chapel of St John's Hospital. This would have included the site of the Chapel of St Michael, although the chapel itself is not mentioned before c 1285. Savile's map of c 1600 shows it as a simple unadorned building less than 50m to the north of the Cross Bath. Manco describes the round-headed door as probably Norman, suggesting an 11th-century foundation. In 1610, it was described as ruinous and it was never restored as a church (Manco 1998b, 41). No remains of the church have been identified, and the plot is now partly occupied by buildings. It is unlikely that the chapel had a burial ground, and documentary evidence indicates that, until the 15th century, parishioners of St Michael's chapel and the chapel of St John the Baptist were buried in the cemetery of St Mary at Stalls.

The Hospital of St Catherine, or Black Almshouse (mrn 126)

The medieval hospital of St Catherine (demolished in the 19th century) was originally situated on the west side of Bimbury (later Bilbury) Lane, on a plot now occupied by the City of Bath Technical College. It was founded in the 15th century by William Philips, a wealthy clothier of Broad Street. He bought five cottages and a yard in Bimbury Lane in 1435, and must have started building on the site shortly afterwards, because, on his death in 1444, his will stated that he built four almshouses 'long ago'. The hospital is depicted on Savile's map of c 1600 as a two-storey range with tall chimneys, but Manco argued that it had gone through several phases of development before 1600 (Manco 1998b, 41–2). The excavation of Roman remains below the hospital site (srn 200) implies that little of the medieval building is now likely to survive.

Bellot's Hospital (mrn 123; srn 668)

Salvage excavations in 1999 revealed pits and scoops, probably of 11th–13th-century date, beneath the basement of the Hospital. Part of the early 17th-century courtyard to the rear of the hospital was also recorded (Lewcun and Davenport 2007). In addition, during the

salvage work, it was recognised that the eastern cellar walls retained considerable elements of fabric from the early 17th-century hospital. The drawings and photographs are in the BAT archive in the Roman Baths Museum.

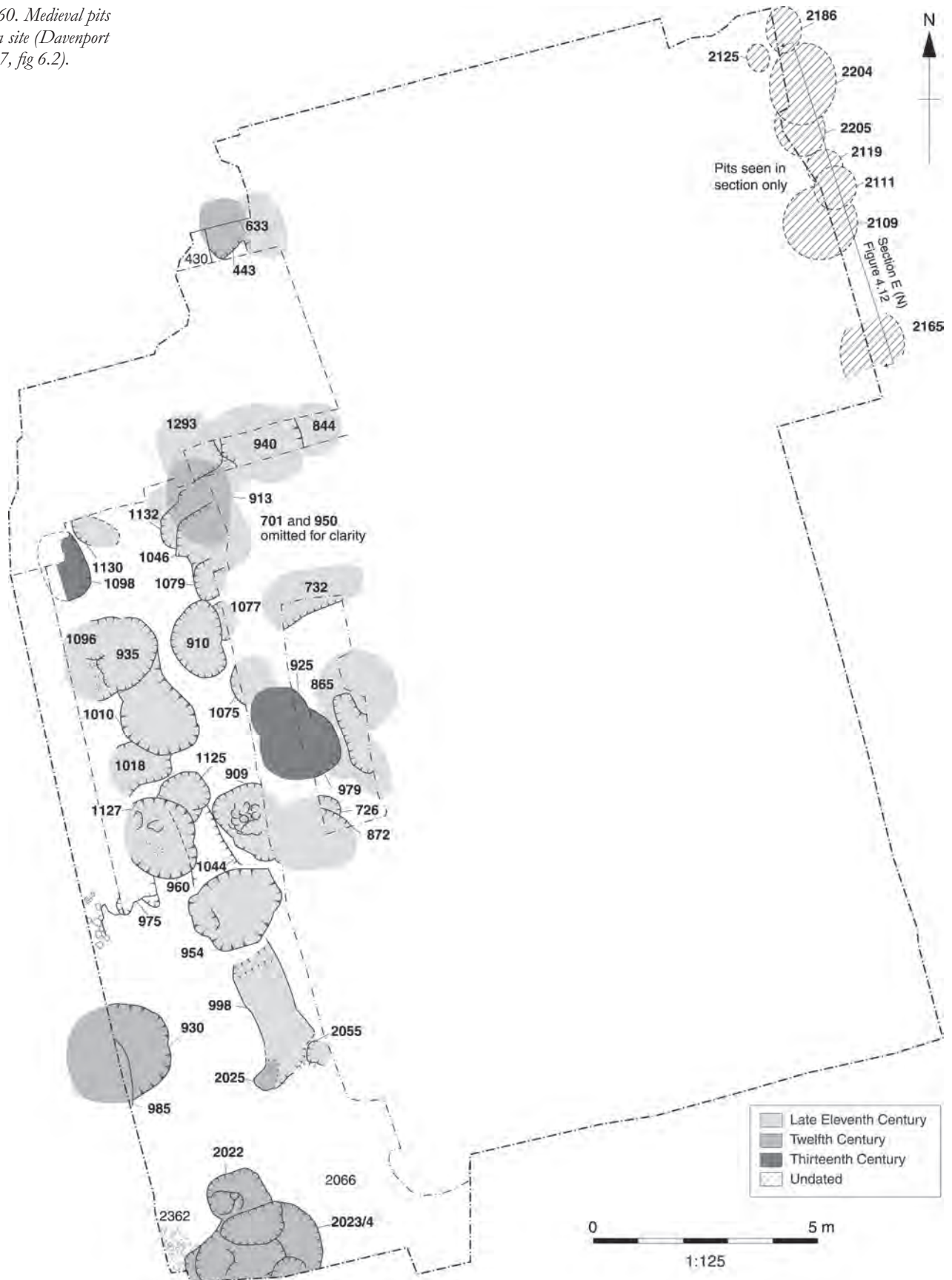
Bath Street, Hot Bath Street and Beau Street (mrn 128; srn 269–71, 350)

Excavations during the 1980s revealed significant Romano-British remains and some post-Roman material (see p 74, 116). As with earlier remains, medieval deposits survived best in the 40m strip of stratified deposits on the north side of Bath Street (area 3). Here, the late Saxon deposits were capped by a series of cobbled and metalled surfaces, interpreted as a street, and associated with a large amount of 'Saxo-Norman' pottery. On the west of the area, the line of the road was interrupted by a thick masonry wall running north to south, which Davenport argues marked the eastern boundary of land owned by the Hospital of St John (mrn 111) from at least the 13th century. In the 17th century, White Hart Lane turned south towards the Cross Bath at just this point, suggesting that the 10th/11th-century street revealed by excavation was the medieval predecessor of White Hart Lane; in medieval documents it is referred to as the 'way to the Cross Bath' (Davenport (ed) 1999, 52).

The presence of the Saxon hearths below the road suggests that houses were demolished in advance of its construction. Davenport argues that the obvious context for this was the large-scale urban re-planning carried out by Bishop John de Villula after 1091. The construction of a new street, linking the baths within the monastic precincts to the Cross Bath, is thus further evidence of Bishop John's ambition to thoroughly reorganise the town plan. The hearths suggest that this project involved some demolition of property, although the way the new street threaded its way around other pre-existing properties shows that others were spared (Davenport (ed) 1999, 66).

The street had been resurfaced several times with stone cobbling, on which silt accumulated. Among the cobbles, and sometimes seeming to separate the cobble layers, were deposits of oxidised compounds. The resurfacings, however, did not continue beyond the late 12th or early 13th century, although in part this might have been owing to the truncation of the site in 1790. Apart from the street, the most significant

Figure 2.60. Medieval pits on the Spa site (Davenport et al 2007, fig 6.2).



surviving remains were 93 pits (mrn 128). None was more than a metre in diameter and about a third of them produced dating evidence, most of it between the 11th and early 13th centuries (Davenport (ed) 1999, 52, 58–59). Evidence for craft and industrial activity was found, most notably horn-scraping residues. Worked wood and leather were also found in one particularly deep pit, and metalworking slags were present in a number of pits. A glass linen smoother and pottery sherds with staining produced from boiling madder for dye suggest clothworking in the area. Analysis of plant macrofossils showed that Fuller's Teasel was also present, a plant used in finishing cloth (Davenport (ed) 1999, 52).

Five of the pits were interpreted as probable cess pits, and 50 more had a least one fine silty layer described by Davenport as probable night soil. All the pits had been truncated with the exception of two pits in the strip of stratified deposits along Bath Street. These two pits indicated that only features more than 1.5m deep had escaped total truncation, so the original distribution pattern of the pits, including reliable evidence for their re-cutting or grouping, could not be retrieved.

The New Royal Baths (Spa site) (srn 676)

Evaluation trenches dug as part of an extensive programme carried out in the Bath Street, Beau Street and Cross Bath area of the city between 1984 and 1989 highlighted the archaeological potential of this area (Davenport (ed) 1999). Open area excavation in advance of construction of the New Royal Baths took place in 1998–9 (srn 676), and these excavations have been fully published (Davenport *et al* 2007).

Analysis of soil structure indicates that for much of the late Saxon period the area was not built over, and finds from the site suggests that it was not until the 10th or 11th centuries that the area was re-occupied. The only medieval remains to survive were pits, some 40 of which dated from between the 11th and 16th centuries, although, as at Bath Street, there had been significant truncation of deposits and any shallow pits would not have survived. Pottery from the pits suggests intense activity in the 11th century, but with much less pit digging after the middle of the 13th century. This could be due to the truncation of later medieval deposits, but pottery residual in later levels suggests a relative sparsity of

late medieval pottery on the site, which could reflect a genuine decline in the intensity of occupation or use of the area. Some 11th-century pits appear to cluster on the line of Roman walls, suggesting that they were dug in order to retrieve Roman building material, but the majority were presumably rubbish and cess pits in backyards. Unlike the pits at Bath Street, pits here did not produce evidence for craft working. The amount of cereal and seed remains recovered in the fills might reflect food-processing activities such as bakeries, while the presence of animal dung could indicate stables or butchers' premises.

Citizen House (srn 84)

In 1970, Green excavated a number of cess pits and areas of burning to the rear of medieval burgage plots. Early medieval pottery ('Saxo-Norman' type) was found, overlain by traces of a 13th-century building with stone foundations, and Greene suggested that the superstructure was also of stone. The picture of increasing settlement density apparent on this site fits the pattern of development observed in other towns, where the rear of plots was used for workshops and other subsidiary buildings (Greene 1975, 131–8; Greene 1979a, 4–70).

All Saints' church (mrn 127)

All Saints' church is first mentioned in 1240, and last mentioned in 1335. Its site is uncertain, but it is thought to lie near the present junction of Bilbury Lane and Beau Street. The construction of the United Hospital here in 1825 means that little survives. However, some medieval deposits were noted nearby in recent excavations within the hospital footprint (P Davenport pers comm).

THE NORTHERN QUARTER

This part of the town covers almost a third of the walled area, yet relatively few significant below-ground deposits have been found. It is an area that was subject to extensive levelling in the 18th century, and there is no doubt that archaeological deposits here have been severely truncated, if not totally removed.

Streets

In 1987, four trenches were excavated in the cellar of Broadley's Public House in Upper Borough Walls (srn 307). Excavations at Upper Borough Walls in 1980 had recorded the Saxon surface of the lane that ran along the outer



side of the Alfredian wall between it and the ditch (srn 53). The 1987 excavation uncovered a later surface, probably dating to *c* 1600. It led between the north and west gates of the city, but, when these were demolished in the 18th century, the lane fell out of use.

The expansion of the monastic precinct in the late 11th century entailed the blocking of the late Saxon east gate, which had provided access to the Monks Mill. A new gate, known as the Lot Gate, was cut through the wall in Boat Stall Lane, and Lot Lane (mrn 98) was laid out, running along the outer face of the city wall to meet the surviving length of the earlier lane to the mill. The renovation of the Empire Hotel in 1995 provided the opportunity to examine the both the town wall and Lot Lane (srn 578, 616). The 19th-century lane surface sealed earlier layers of cobbling, the earliest of which was associated with 11th–12th-century pottery, supporting the suggestion that both lane and gate were the work of John de Villula in the late 11th century.

Buildings and occupation evidence

The recent discovery of a pre-Georgian core in the upper storey of late medieval building

at 19–20 High Street (srn 709) shows that structural elements from medieval buildings might survive in existing buildings, hidden behind later façades and additions. In this case, a roof gable and first-floor side wall of a timber-framed building had been incorporated in the wall of an otherwise Georgian building. The style of construction suggests the original building had been built around 1400–1600. The ground floor had been replaced, but the lack of joint mortices on the underside of the surviving beam for the first floor suggests that it had been stone built.

In 1996, a small excavation at the junction of Westgate Street and Union Street revealed part of a stone cellar, dating to the mid-15th century. Although only small fragments of the rear wall had survived later cellaring, it was clear that the house had extended 7.5m back from the street frontage, and was approximately 6.3m wide.

Three medieval pits were excavated below 18 Union Passage (trench 10), one of which lay more than 2m below the cellar floor and might have been a well.

At the site of the Chronicle Printing Works (srn 675), excavation of six trial pits in 1997 revealed evidence for cess pits of unknown

Figure 2.61. Watercolour of East Gate, 1851 (Davenport 2002, fig 57).



Figure 2.62. Photo of the medieval east gate of the city, c 1900 (Cunliffe 1986a, fig 55).

date, filled with mixed medieval and Romano-British pottery and finds (Heaton *et al* 1997).

At Harvey's Building, Upper Borough Walls (srn 60), 18th- and 19th-century levelling occurred over large areas in this part of the city, as was demonstrated by the excavation on the north-west side of the High Street in the 1960s. Only three medieval pits and a few post holes had survived post-medieval levelling and cellar construction.

The city defences (mrn 7, 14, 122)

The medieval city wall is first mentioned in 1138 during the struggle between Stephen and Matilda. The 'men of Bristol' – supporters of Matilda – brought ladders to scale the city walls, and although the attack failed, when King Stephen came to Bath he ordered the walls to be heightened and outworks to be constructed (Gesta Stephani 1138). By the 13th century, however, there are documentary references to the robbing of stone from the walls (Wedlake 1966a, 92, quoting *Rotuli Hundredorum*, London 1818). There have been 28 archaeological

'interventions' along the line of the walls, but irrefutable medieval evidence has only been found at seven sites.

THE CITY GATES (mrn 13, 15, 105, 106)

The East Gate (mrn 13) is the only one of Bath's medieval gates to have survived, and, as discussed above, it was probably originally built when the monastic precinct was extended in the late 11th century. It was not one of the principal gates into the city, serving simply to provide access to the Monk's Mill. It was rebuilt with a pointed arch in the 13th or 14th century. The other gates are known from post-medieval maps of the city, such as Savile's map of c 1600 and Gilmore's map of 1694. According to Wood, the South Gate (mrn 106) had a statue of King Edward III on its outer face, placed in a niche above the gate, with the figure of the Bishop as Abbot on one side and of the Prior on the other (Wood 1749, 325, cited by Lewis 1879, 142). Lewis suggests that the West Gate (mrn 107) at the bottom of Westgate Street, would have been the most imposing of all. It was the lodging place of royal and distinguished persons when they visited Bath, hence the derivation of the name Westgate House. The 'standard colours upon the Royal Port', that is to say the West Gate, were specially named among the booty of Fairfax's men in taking the city for Parliament in August 1645 (*ibid*, 142–3). By the mid-18th century, only the North Gate (mrn 105) survived in anything like its original form. In his discussion of the walls, Lewis referred to a letter published in the Bath Advertiser in 1755. The letter itself was apparently one of a series and is dated 2 July 1753. It described the North Gate as a:

'superb building, compos'd of three arches, and the whole supporting a high and grand tower, which has long been destroyed The centre arch is 10 feet wide and 15 feet high [3 × 4.5m], and the posterns on each side 5ft 6 inches broad and 11 ft. 8 inches high [1.7 × 3.5m], but these posterns are now filled up to the great damage of the chief way into the body of the city. The front of this gate has been ornamented from the remotest ages with the statue of King Bladud' (Lewis 1881, 147).

The North Gate and South Gate were both pulled down in 1755; West Gate was removed in 1776 (*ibid*, 144).

The Ham Gate

The Ham Gate was also known as the Abbey Gate. It led out of the city to meadowland

known as the 'Hams', an area of land in the Prior of Bath's possession lying between the city wall and the river Avon. These meadows had been granted to the Abbey by Bishop Robert Burnell in a charter of 1279, along with the 'power to make an opening in the city wall between the Close of the Priory and the South Gate for carrying their hay and driving their beasts to pasture in fair time' (Wedlake 1966a, 90). The gateway is shown on several early maps of the city, including Speed's map of 1610 and Joseph Gilmore's maps of 1694 and 1717. They show a small simple opening through which the Bum Ditch passed. Ham Gate was closed in 1643 so that all tolls and dues could be paid at the main gates of the city.

THE CITY WALL

Northern and north-eastern section

Part of the northern stretch of the wall was recorded during a watching brief carried out in 1989 below Trim Street (srn 632). The lower three-quarters of the visible north face of the wall were described as very neat, coursed, small stones, above which lay 'altogether cruder work of certain medieval date.' Finding good stratigraphic and dating evidence for the wall is a recurring problem. Some of the best evidence for the medieval period comes from an excavation in 1980 on the north side of the wall (srn 53). Overlying the late Saxon layers discussed in Section 2.5.3, was a robber trench sealed by a clayey loam layer. Above this lay more than a metre of virtually homogeneous soil accumulation, cut by a series of five roughly v-shaped ditches running parallel to the city wall. Associated pottery ranged from the 13th to 16th centuries but details of the site's development are not clear. The relatively small size of the ditches prompted O'Leary to argue that they were boundary and/or drainage features rather than defensive works. The Georgian cellars have removed all trace of the late medieval berm between the ditches and wall, but documentary sources refer to 'a way by the walls'. O'Leary suggests that the ditches marked the northern edge of Barton Lane, which ran alongside the wall, dividing it from land to the north (O'Leary 1981, 12–13).

The stratigraphy in a trench adjacent to the North Gate revealed a slightly different picture. Here the early medieval ditch had been steeply re-cut at an angle of nearly 70 degrees to an excavated depth of about 1.75m; auguring

established that it had originally been at least 3m deep. The ditch was absent in boreholes 7m to the east, and in trenches 12m to the west, suggesting that the ditch re-cut was confined to the ditch terminal adjacent to the North Gate. Analysis of the upper excavated sediments indicated that they were laid down under water, with the variation in sediment colour explained in terms of seasonal change. On the basis of this analysis, O'Leary concluded that this was a boggy area referred to in 1326 as 'Frogmere'. It lay alongside Vroggmere Lane, an attested medieval road, which followed the same alignment as New Bond Street (O'Leary 1981, 13–14).

The northern and north-eastern stretches of the medieval city wall had more or less vertical faces (apart from a stretch along Terrace Walk where the inner faces were stepped in every few courses). When foundations were being dug for a new building at 11 Old Bond Street in 1795, Pownall dismissed the upper section as of 'little worth notice', but went on to describe it as a 'flight rubble consistency' that is, built up in a series of steps (srn 63). It was just under 3m high and came to within a metre of the street level, but no independent evidence for a medieval date was noted (Pownall 1795, 28).

South and south-eastern sections

The excavations along the north and north-eastern sections of the wall illustrate the difficulties in dating the wall itself, the best opportunities being associated ditch fills or breaches through the wall. Some of the most convincing evidence for a medieval date came from the south and south-eastern stretch of the wall. In 1951, excavation by members of Bath and Camerton Archaeological Society on a site in New Orchard Street revealed a stone culvert and a breach in the wall, marked by large upright stone blocks, which clearly revealed the outline of a blocked gateway in the wall (srn 202). The stone culvert had been built in the silt of a former stream or open ditch, which contained pottery sherds of 11th–13th century date, and has been discussed in the previous section (*see* p 118 and Fig 2.47 above). Wedlake argued that this blocked gateway was the Ham Gate (mrn15). The gateway was 2.25m wide, only 0.1m less than the East Gate and, according to Wedlake, the colour of the mortar used on both gates was similar (Wedlake 1966a, 97). More recently, however, Manco pointed

out that early maps depict the Ham Gate further west; she suggests that the opening revealed by Wedlake might have been used for carrying manure direct from the stables to the garden outside the wall (Manco 1993, 82).

Western section

Archaeological work along the western side of the city defences has also produced good evidence for a medieval ditch (mrn 14) and wall (mrn 18). In 1964, a trench was excavated in the Seven Dials car park, against the wall fronting on to Saw Close (srn 321). A section was cut through more than 1.5m of soil accumulation, which subsequent observation of the engineers' test borings suggested was ditch fill. These findings were confirmed in 1990, when redevelopment at Seven Dials was preceded by an excavation, which revealed the ditch in section (srn 296). The ditch lay a 'considerable distance' west of the line of the walls (Davenport and Beaton 1990). Its original date is not known, but at some time in the 12th or 13th century it was deliberately backfilled, and eight roughly rectangular pits were dug on either side of it and over it. Some contained sawdust, and the proximity of Saw Close suggests that the specialised use of the area for carpentry and related trades goes back to at least the 12th century. The ditch was re-cut, possibly as late as the 13th century, and revetted on its eastern side with large, roughly cut blocks of stone. It gradually silted up and had been completely filled by the time a shallow re-cut was carried out before 1600. The final deposits within the ditch itself were made in the 16th century, and by the 17th century it had become a rubbish dump.

In 1991, the excavation of a sewer trench across Seven Dials and into Saw Close revealed a near complete cross-section of the city wall (srn 267). Unlike the northern and eastern sections of the city wall, the western stretch was built on a base that was stepped on its inner face (in a manner quite distinct from that seen by Pownall or Bell). The outer face had been cut away by a later cellar. The same method of construction was recorded in the section exposed in 1951, where it was seen on the outside of the wall (srn 202), and where it was dated to the 13th or early 14th century.

The medieval town outside the walls

The early medieval administrative unit for Bath

was the Bath Hundred, and this was reflected in the boundaries of the later city. The Bath Hundred extended well beyond the city walls to include Walcot and the area south and east of the city, between the town walls and the river. Beyond this, the Foreign Hundred of Bath covered the rural hinterland and might have had its origin in the a Roman or Saxon estate.

South and east: the Ham

The Monk's Mill, situated on the Avon below Pultney Bridge, and mentioned in the Domesday survey, was finally burnt down in 1883. In the later Middle Ages there was some ribbon development along Lot Lane, which gave access to the mill, but otherwise the area of Lower Abbey Orchard and the Ham consisted of orchard and pasture until the 18th century. Further south, all the land between the walls and the River as far west as the line of Southgate Street was also used as pasture.

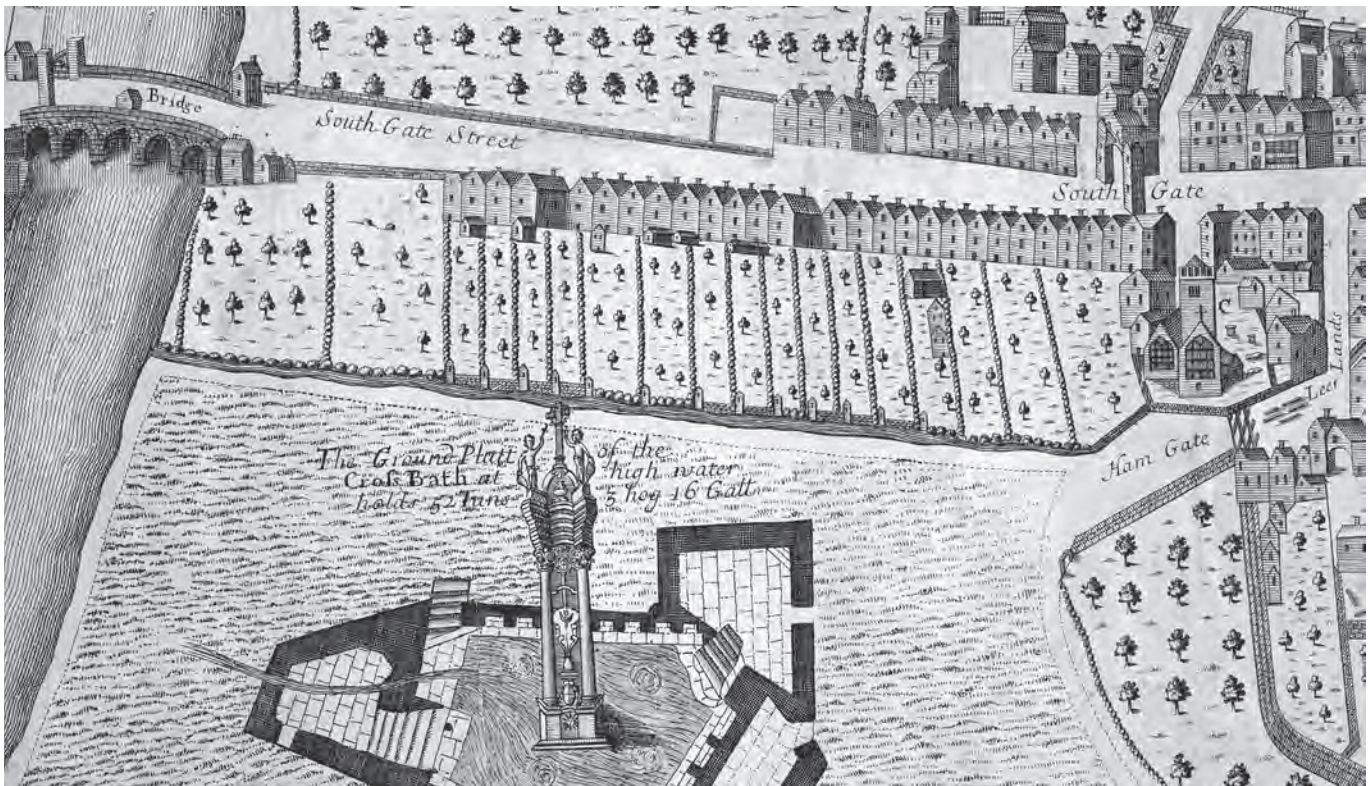
Southgate Street

Southgate is on the line of the medieval road leading south of the city to the river crossing. Originally this was probably by way of a ford near the site of the later Old Bridge, but by the 13th century there are documentary references to a bridge linking Southgate Street with the Holloway on the other side of the Avon. This bridge, known as St Lawrence's Bridge, was demolished in 1755, but an illustration of it by Bernard Lens in 1718 shows a structure that, stylistically, could well be 13th century (Fig 2.63).

The proposed redevelopment of a large site (approx. 35,500 sq m) on the east of the street, immediately outside the walled area led to evaluation excavations by the Bath Archaeological Trust in 1997, followed by further evaluation by the Museum of London Archaeological Service [MOLAS] in 2006–7, and to excavation and watching briefs by MOLAS in 2007–8. There was no evidence for Roman activity on the site, and it is now thought unlikely that there was a Roman road out of Bath at this point. Flooding of the area first started during or after the Roman period, and a small amount of late Saxon pottery recovered in the course of the excavation could indicate early attempts to reclaim the flood plain. The first large-scale development did not take place until after the Norman Conquest. A series of



Figure 2.63. *St Lawrence's Bridge in 1718* (Bath Central Library collection, LP 04/28; and see Buchanan 1990).



cobbled road surfaces under Southgate Street was uncovered, as well as remains of the stone-built footings for at least two houses on the east side of the medieval road. The excavations also exposed the medieval Bum Ditch, which formed the rear boundary of plots along the street frontage, while pits, wells and ditches in the backlands between the Bum Ditch and buildings along the street produced substantial quantities of occupation debris. The excavations also provided evidence of medieval water management in Bath. In 1263, the prior rebuilt a cistern at the

Beechen Cliff springs to bring water in a conduit across St Lawrence's Bridge, and the conduit for a lead water pipe was identified as part of it. Documentary sources from the 13th century refer to the Isobel Mill in this area. It was apparently driven by water from the outflow of the King's Bath, which was carried in large drains beneath the Bishop's Palace and St James's church. A length of mill race excavated on the 2007 site was probably associated with it. At the time of writing only preliminary work has been undertaken on the excavated material, but the results so far

Figure 2.64. *Detail from Gilmore's map showing medieval suburbs outside the South Gate* (Cunliffe 1986a, 84–86).

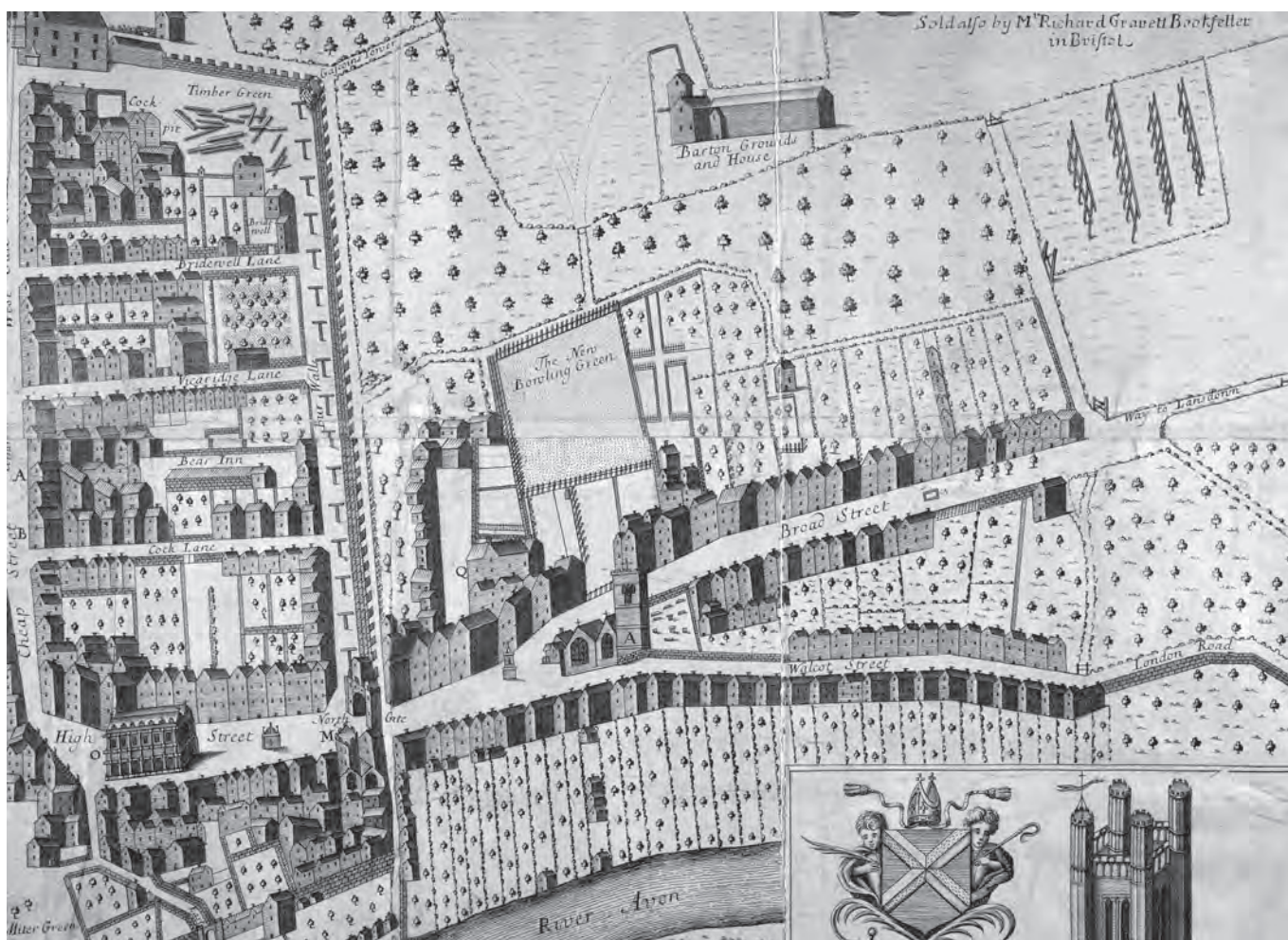


Figure 2.65. Details from Gilmore's map showing medieval suburbs outside the North Gate (Cunliffe 1986a, 84–86).

suggest that although it is possible that the earliest medieval occupation occurred in the Norman period, it appears more likely that this did not take place until the later 12th or 13th centuries (Baywell and Webster 2008, 225–6).

South and west: the Ambry and Kingsmead

West of Southgate Street the area known as the Ambry and further west, Kingsmead, was also open pasture until the 18th century. The Ambry was part of the monastic estate, and Kingsmead was an area of common pasture. The Fosse Dyke, indicated on 18th-century maps, marks the division between the two, and the drain from the Hot and Cross Baths ran along its western side. Over the last two-and-a-half centuries, this whole area received substantial dumps of material in order to raise the level for building (P Davies pers comm). This general picture is probably true

as far west as Green Park or even Norfolk Crescent. However, this extensive post-medieval dumping will have sealed any earlier remains, which stand a reasonable chance of surviving even the cellared development covering much of this area.

Outside Westgate

Excavation at Seven Dials (srn 296) recorded 12th-century pits at about 25–30 metres from the wall, suggesting a certain amount of medieval occupation along the old Bristol Road, now Monmouth Street. On the whole, however, the area west of the walled area was not built up until the 1730s, with the exception of a Fives Court immediately outside the Westgate.

North of the Walls – Broad Street and Walcot

In the Middle Ages, Broad Street and the lower end of Walcot Street were suburbs outside the

city walls, and made up most of the parish of St Michael's Without, whose southern boundary was the city wall. Monastic records mention the church in the later 12th century but nothing is known of the building itself. It was rebuilt in the late 14th century, and again in the early 18th century. The existing church was built in 1835. Although Broad Street was a significant part of the city in the late Middle Ages, little is known of its archaeology. Development in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries seems likely to have removed most medieval remains. Observation of small trenches in Shire's Yard suggested that deposits here were all post-medieval and only about 0.3m deep. However, just south of here, observations in the yard of The Moon and Sixpence showed some thickness of early post-medieval and probably medieval deposits, in some cases pre-dating the rear wing of 3, Broad Street, which is believed to be of late 16th-century date (P Davenport pers comm). On the north side of Saracen Street, observations during massive earthmoving operations found only post-medieval material beneath substantial deposits of dumped material directly overlying the natural clay (srn 400).

Further north at Beehive Yard (srn 679), 11th–12th-century pottery was associated with robber trenches of Roman buildings, suggesting that the site was cleared at about this time. The robber trenches were sealed by medieval cultivation soil, which survived under cellars to a depth of about a metre. This may represent horticultural activities associated with a developing suburb. Further deposits of medieval cultivation soils were recorded in the excavations at 130–132 Walcot Street (srn 293). This is well north of the Walcot Street medieval suburb, and just south of the hamlet of Walcot itself.

The medieval hinterland

Archaeological evidence for medieval settlement in outlying areas around Bath is not extensive and very little has been included in the UAD. The *caput* of the Foreign Hundred of Bath in the medieval period was at the royal manor of Barton, a short distance north of the walled town. Barton Farm was not demolished until the 19th century. A sketch of it in the late 17th century is included on Gilmore's map.

Three buildings in Twerton have surviving medieval features: the earliest example is the church of St Michael and All Angels, which

has a Norman doorway (Pevsner 1979, 272; DoE 1972, 89). Twerton farmhouse (mrn 81) is thought to be of 16th-century origin (DoE 1972, 64), and the barn (mrn 82) associated with it is also of medieval date (DoE 1972, 64). A probable medieval hollow way led from this nucleated settlement (mrn 102). Photographs taken during road improvements in the 1930s between Twerton High Street and Whiteway Road (the B3110) show that Shophouse Road and The Hollow were previously a very deep and steep hollow way. The road was joined by Lymore Avenue (at ST73036430), identified in 13th-century deeds, and Jews Lane, which still survives as an old route to the river.

At the end of the 11th century, Walter Hussey, a tenant of the cathedral priory, gave his house in Lyncombe to Bishop John and the cathedral priory. The house lay conveniently close to one of the springs of Beechen Cliff, less than 1km from the south gate of the walled town. Medieval deeds refer to it as being in Holloway, a name derived from the deeply-cut 'hollow way' that led to Bath, and is still in use today. Manco suggests that he probably wanted it to become monastic and that this, combined with its location outside the city walls, made it an ideal candidate for a lepers' hospital. Manco also suggests that it may have been among the earliest in the country (Manco 1998b, 22–3). By the end of the 14th century, leprosy was dying out in England and many leper hospitals gradually emptied. The hot waters at Bath, however, still attracted lepers, and St Mary Magadalen continued to serve its original purpose until after the Dissolution. Nevertheless, by 1456 the hospital was delapidated, impoverished and in debt. John Cantlow, Prior of Bath (1483–99), repaired both the chapel and hospital, and in 1536 a secular master was appointed. Consequently, when Prior Holloway surrendered Bath Priory in 1538/9, the hospital survived (Manco 1998b, 44, 53).

It is uncertain how much of the medieval structure of the hospital still survives. The chapel contains substantial late medieval fabric. Manco suggests that the house was probably a timber hall, which would have been easily converted into an infirmary. The complex would have included farm buildings, fields and gardens and other documentary references demonstrate that there was also a burial ground. The existing house, Magdalen

SRN	Site name	Description / references
202	Woolworths (now Marks and Spencer), New Orchard Street, 1951	(Dunning 1966)
84	Citizen House, 1970	(Vince 1979)
139	Terrace Walk, 1973	(Cunliffe 1979e)
53	Upper Borough Walls, 1980	(Evans and Millett 1981)
241, 242	The Sacred Spring excavations, 1979–1980	(Vince 1985)
78, 53	Orange Grove, 1979, and Upper Borough Walls, 1980	(Evans and Millett 1991)
265	Swallow Street, 1984–5	(Vince 1991)
301	Sally Lunn's Tea Shop, 1984	(Cauvain and Cauvain 1991)
270, 271, 350	Bath Street and Beau Street, 1984–9	(Vince 1999)

Table 2.15. *Specialist studies of medieval pottery*

House, is probably on or close to the site of the medieval hospital.

The Lazar's hospital, adjacent to the Hot Bath was incorrectly identified by both Collinson (1791) and Warner (1801) as being founded by Bishop Robert of Lewes. In fact, he rebuilt the infirmary of Bath Priory after the fire in 1137. The Lepers' or Lazars' Bath with its tiny hospital beside the Hot Bath belongs to a much later period (Manco 1998b, 22).

At Weston, there is tentative evidence for medieval origins: Pevsner states that Weston Manor was built with fragments of a medieval tithe barn (1979, 335), although the appearance of the house today suggests that the earliest features date to the mid- or late 18th century (DoE 1977, 289).

Weston occurs in documents in the 10th century and, of course, was the home of St Alphege. At Bathwick, no medieval material has been recorded, but this might be largely due to the construction of the Bathwick estate in the 18th century.

While most medieval farmhouses and areas of settlement around Bath have remained in use or been incorporated into the city as a result of 18th- and 19th-century expansion, one example of a deserted medieval settlement might survive on the south side of the city at Berwicke (mrn 103). Wedlake suggested that medieval pottery and a large wall, discovered in 1955 during the laying of a gas main beneath Wellsway (srn 315) might have been part of this site (Wedlake 1979c, 133).

Specialist study: material culture analysis

The vast majority of medieval finds in Bath were found after the 1950s and although medieval pottery has been identified from a large number of excavations, its study is hampered by the lack of good stratified sequences and by funding restrictions; many excavations carried out in the 1990s have not yet been published. A substantial assemblage of late Saxon and early medieval sherds from the excavation of Citizen House included 15 different fabric groups (groups A–O, Vince 1979; see also Vince 1983), most of which appeared to date from the late 10th to early 13th century. Several early medieval wares developed out of the Saxo-Norman traditions, described above (see Section 2.5.5; Vince and Cunliffe 1979, 145; see also Vince 1983). By the early 12th century, orange and green glazed pitchers were supplemented by tripod pitchers, which remained common throughout much of the 13th century. They were made in a variety of fabrics, including Nash Hill and Bristol wares, but the production sites for many others are unknown. These local wares continued in use during the 14th century, but by the 15th century they were replaced by Minety-type ware. Further changes occurred in the 16th century with the introduction of Malvern Chase and South Somerset wares. Unfortunately, there is not yet sufficient evidence to chart these changes in detail, nor to provide an absolute chronology, but it is clear that by the later medieval period Bath received most of its pottery from sources to the north,

SRN	Site name	Description / References
139	Terrace Walk, 1973	(Cunliffe 1979d)
241	The Sacred Spring excavations, 1979–1980	(Foster 1985)
78	Orange Grove, 1979	(Bluer and Eames 1991)

Table 2.16. *specialist studies of medieval tile*

south or east of the city, and relatively little from the west. This distribution pattern is, as Vince has pointed out, all the more remarkable because Bath is situated on the Bristol Avon (Vince 1991, 75; see also Vince 1983).

A large area of tiled floor from the crossing of the Cathedral was discovered *in situ* by Irvine, when he was digging a cellar at the end of the present Abbey in 1869 (O’Leary and Rodwell 1991, 35). Subsequent excavation in the area around the Abbey has revealed encaustic ceramic floor tiles decorated with similar motifs. Bluer and Eames identified 36 different ‘Wessex school’ designs when they looked at the tiles recovered from Orange Grove in 1979 (Bluer and Eames 1991; Oliver and Eames 1991, 14). They were all products of the Nash Hill kilns near Lacock (Wiltshire), but were not of particularly good quality, suggesting that at the time (the early 14th century) the Abbey was not wealthy.

Surprisingly little stone has been identified as medieval in date. More than 50 pieces of architectural stonework are catalogued by Davenport from Swallow Street, the majority of which post-date the 13th century (Davenport 1991b). They include a number of window fragments, such as mullions, bar tracery and window jambs. Stone fragments from Orange Grove derived from three architectural assemblages linked to the construction of the Abbey: early 12th century, late 13th century and 14th century. The earliest group came from the Norman Cathedral built by John de Villula and had been reddened by the fire of 1137; the other two assemblages were attributed to later alterations to the east end, perhaps the Lady Chapel (Rodwell 1991). Additional fragments have been found during construction work at St John’s Hospital in 1954 (srn 123) and 1969 (srn 324).

Medieval window glass has been recorded from three excavations close to the Abbey: at Orange Grove (srn 78) (Chadwick and Shepherd 1991); Swallow Street (srn 265) (Shepherd 1991a); and Abbey Heritage Centre

(srn 369). Analysis of the painted glass found at Orange Grove indicated that it dated to the second half of the 13th century. A small number of pieces from a geometric grisaille design were also recovered, comparable with examples found in Salisbury Cathedral.

2.6.4. The current state of understanding

The enlargement of the monastic precinct after 1090 by John de Villula meant that the whole of the south-east sector of the walled area was now occupied by the ecclesiastical complex. This not only dislocated the existing street grid, but must have resulted in the relocation of a substantial number of households. It is tempting to see the development of the Southgate suburb in the post-Conquest period, and the spread of occupation and horticulture along Walcot Street as a result of this. At the same time, Stall Street was deliberately laid out with the view to the commercial value of stalls and shops between it and the monastic precinct. Extensive remodelling and expansion of the city in the Georgian period, however, indubitably destroyed much archaeological evidence for the medieval town, and this, together with the priority accorded to Roman remains by earlier archaeologists, means that such evidence is still comparatively sparse.

Much of our understanding of medieval Bath is still dependent on late 19th and early 20th-century analysis of mainly ecclesiastical texts. Consequently, the history of the city has been, to a large extent, the history of the Abbey, with relatively little written about the different quarters of the walled town. While it seems probable that ecclesiastical life *did* dominate life in the town, the extent of its influence cannot be assessed without a better understanding of ‘normal’ life both inside and outside the city walls. Recent work by local historians, most notably Manco and Chapman and Holland, has begun to redress the balance. Manco’s study of the medieval hospital of St John suggests that the area around the Cross Bath and Hot Bath, known as Binbury, was one of the poorest

(1998b). It appears to have had a distinctive identity as a place of healing and care for the poor. Saw Close, to the north of Westgate Street, has also been the subject of more detailed study (Chapman and Holland 2000), which has revealed a prosperous settlement but one that declined in status nationally, eclipsed by the more economically successful city of Bristol. (See also Fowler 1980.)

Much of the topography of the late medieval and immediately post-medieval town can be reconstructed from the early 17th-century maps and from the study of medieval leases, wills and deeds, but documentary sources earlier than the late 13th century are limited. Many properties known to pre-date the 18th century rebuilding are on plots that can be traced back to the later medieval period in the documentary record, but only in a very few cases have medieval property boundaries been recognised in archaeological excavation. From the maps it appears that with the exception of the Rampire (the streets running immediately inside the town walls) the street frontages were built up, with the frontages of High Street, Cheap Street and Stall Street being particularly densely built up. By the later Middle Ages, many properties had cellars. The back premises were occupied by yards, gardens and outhouses; it is from the fill of pits in these areas that most medieval pottery, artefacts and environmental data have been recovered. Extensive archaeological excavation has been concentrated in the south-west area of the town, and pits here seem to suggest a period of intense activity between the late 11th and early 13th centuries, followed by a decline. It is possible that this reflects a downturn in the fortunes of the area, perhaps resulting from the gradual decline of the priory after the departure of the Bishops, but it might equally well be a result of the greater destruction of later medieval archaeological deposits, or simply of a change in methods of rubbish disposal. The excavation at Citizen House indicated the construction of a new, stone built house in the 13th century, while documentary records suggest that, by the 14th century, the northern suburbs were expanding, with densely packed tenements along Walcot Street. Even the Black Death did not permanently halt the growth of the town, even though Bath might have lost almost half of its population. In the 14th and early 15th centuries Bath prospered from the

wool industry. It lies close to the Cotswolds sheep pastures, and the Avon provided power for fulling mills. The city's proximity to the port of Bristol was an added advantage.

As yet there is little evidence for particular crafts or trades being practised in specific areas of the town. Excavation in the 1980s in Bath Street (*see* p 142) produced evidence for a variety of different trades, such as metalworking, textile production and horn-working, while the Spa excavation (*see* p 144) suggested possible food-processing activities, such as bakeries or butchers. It has been suggested that Broad Street, immediately outside the North Gate, took its name from the presence of large numbers of weavers' looms, but the name might simply be descriptive of the wide street here.

2.6.5 Assessment of importance and potential

Bath provides a challenge to make links between the documentary record and the comparatively sparse archaeological evidence. The recognition of a surviving late medieval structure within a Georgian building at 21 High Street also underlines the value of expert recording of the fabric of standing buildings. There could well be considerable potential in such work for recognising surviving medieval housing, particularly from the later medieval period.

The poor survival of medieval buildings means that evidence for production (large buildings) and consumption (elaborate fireplaces, chimneys and decorated windows) is less likely to survive, although evidence might be preserved below ground. The 2006–7 Southgate excavations revealed well-preserved stratified medieval deposits, including waterlogged deposits, with the potential to establish extensive sequences of occupation from medieval to post-medieval times. Such sequences will be particularly valuable if they can be tied in with documentary evidence in the form of leases and deeds. The 2006–7 excavation of the Bum Ditch reminds us that in low-lying towns, such as Winchester, timber-lined channels and pits were associated with the diversion of streams through streets and tenements for dyeing and fulling processes. Similar data could well survive for Bath.

The development of the orchard and meadow in Kingsmead, the Ambry, the Ham

and Abbey Orchard in the 18th and 19th centuries involved dumping and vault-building across the whole area. Thus any archaeological remains pre-dating this period are likely to remain relatively well preserved and might include waterlogged deposits. The dumped material itself could be of considerable potential. Dumping of city refuse outside the city walls was substantial in late medieval and Tudor times, until a 'Scavenger' was appointed in 1614, and refuse taken off to the town common. There might be substantial amounts of domestic rubbish surviving against the walls.

Little is known of the medieval market place in Bath. It was situated in the High Street, but its development is not well documented and there is no information as to how it related to markets in the surrounding towns, such as Marshfield, Chipping Sodbury, Keynsham and, more specifically, Bristol. Aston has pointed out that little is known about any of the markets, and archaeological work is needed to reveal what was being traded (Aston 1986, 86).

An interesting question is the extent to which the fortunes of Bath were tied to the presence of a religious house. In spite of its size and importance, particularly in the 11th and 12th centuries, little survives of the medieval Priory. Several sites have been excavated close to the Abbey, but many remain unpublished. The analysis and publication of these sites should be a priority.

There is a general need to assess medieval artefacts found in Bath, in particular those found in association with the monastic precinct. Questions relating to the proportion of luxury goods found, the relative proportion of glazed pottery and imported vessels, and changes in jewellery and dress fittings could all be addressed. A further useful area of research would be the use of stone in medieval Bath – where was it quarried? Are there any distinct patterns of use, which might help identify medieval buildings? (see Tables 15 and 16.)

2.7 Bath in the 17th century

In 1539, the Priory and its lands were surrendered to the Crown. The lands were sold, and the church offered to the town for the sum of 500 marks. The offer was turned down and the lead and glass stripped from the buildings by the Crown Commissioners,

leaving the shell of the building to gradually decay. This effectively marks the end of the medieval history of Bath, but fortunately for historians the town was visited on two occasions by the King's Antiquary, John Leland, once before the Dissolution and once after. He provides a valuable glimpse of the city at the end of the Middle Ages. He found the medieval city 'somewhat decayed' but included useful descriptions of the state of the church: 'Oliver King, bishop of Bath began of late dayes a right goodly new chirch at the west part of the olde church of S Peter and finished a great peace of it.—Oliver King let almost all the old chirch of S Peter's in Bath to go ruins. The walls yet stande' (Leland 1744).

In spite of the neglect it suffered in the years following the Dissolution, much of the church begun by Bishop King at the turn of the 16th century survives today in the fabric of the existing Abbey. A large number of architectural and historical guides to the building have been published, including work by Hick (1913), Brakspear (1939), Wright (1973), Ford (1982) and Stace (1991; 1993). Cobb's (1980) work on the post-Reformation history of the Abbey has been particularly influential. While these studies provide a full and detailed account of its development following the mid-16th century, none has involved a full survey of the building fabric itself. Specific elements are often mentioned but, with the exception of a photogrammetric condition survey of the west front of the Abbey carried out in 1991 (Sampson 1992; Anon 1993), no comprehensive study has been made. Manco has pointed out that the retention of the original Tudor plan may not have been complete (1993, 100), highlighting the urgent need for such a study.

After the reformation, the Abbey lands were sold first to Humphrey Colles, and shortly afterwards to Matthew Colthurst. He presented the church to the Bath Corporation, but they did not undertake immediate works to the structure. In 1572, the north aisle was restored and by the end of the 16th century, the windows and roofing at the east end were repaired. However, the church was not completed until 1611.

The other monastic buildings did not fare so well. The cloister garth was converted into a garden and the buildings forming the south and east cloister ranges demolished. The area to the

east of the garden was planted as an orchard, though by the later 17th century it appears on maps as a bowling green. The Prior's Lodging in the western cloister range was converted into a private mansion, known as Abbey House, but in 1755 this was also demolished in advance of building development by the Duke of Kingston (his baths were erected in 1763, and finally removed in 1923). By the 19th century, the church was the only building from the original complex to survive: a terrace of three houses was built in the later 18th century adjacent to the south side of the Abbey, and in 1819–20 the houses forming the present Kingston Buildings were constructed. The Abbey underwent major restoration in the 19th century, when two major campaigns were carried out: the first under a local architect, Mr Manners, in the 1830s, the second more extensive work by Sir Gilbert Scott in the 1860s.

Barry Cunliffe edited an overview and assessment of excavations in Bath from 1950 to 1975 (Cunliffe (ed) 1979; see also Cunliffe 1979a; Cunliffe and Owen 1979; Owen 1979d; Wedlake 1979a, 1979b, 1979c).

Post-medieval developments of the cloister area

The post-medieval deposits overlying the medieval archaeology were complex, with evidence for considerable ground-level change and the destruction of medieval archaeology. Surviving features have been interpreted by Bell in the light of map and documentary evidence. The east walk was overlain by an area of mortar bedding 0.4m above it, identified by Bell as a garden path. In the later 16th century it appears to have been replaced by a second path, made of pitched limestone blocks, 0.45m above the mortar bedding. Associated with this path was a wooden structure built in the angle between the south transept and the south wall of the Choir, very possibly a privy. All these features were sealed beneath the internal floor make-up of the vestry, constructed in about 1615.

The early Tudor ground level immediately outside the south wall of the Choir was lowered by 0.80m, possibly when the orchard was converted into a bowling green. The ground level was raised again by about 1.1–1.2m in the 1720s when the bowling green was converted into the garden of Ralph Allen's town house. Archaeological evidence was recovered for

the late 18th-century terrace adjacent to the south wall of the nave. New cellars, with their floors about 0.1m below the level of the post-medieval garden, were also built at this time. The houses were supplied with water from a well in the cellars. When they were demolished in about 1830, their basements were partially infilled.

The construction of Kingston buildings in the early 19th century included coal cellars, projecting about 3.6m northwards from the frontages. These caused extensive damage to the medieval deposits, and all the medieval horizons, apart from the deep, infilled subterranean features, were destroyed.

The Church of St Mary at Stalls

Following the Dissolution, this church was annexed to the Abbey, the final transfer taking place in about 1606 (King 1888, 290–2, quoted by Cunliffe 1979e). This ended its use for worship and it appears to have been leased for housing. In 1656 the Council book records that the building was in decay and beyond repair, and Cunliffe states that it fell down three years later (1979c, 91). The church can be recognised on the earliest maps of the town, including Smith's map of 1588 and Speed's map of 1610. However, its exact location in relation to the present houses cannot be determined. Speed's map shows the church with a row of tenements to the north and east, and an open space to the south and north. Cunliffe has suggested that one or both of these spaces are likely to have been used as a burial ground.

The King's Bath

Tracing the sequence of repair and structural alteration is a difficult but essential part of understanding the later development of the King's Bath. To date, it has been highly dependent on documentary evidence and post-medieval drawings of the bath. Cunliffe and Davenport suggest that the medieval bath continued in use largely unchanged to the end of the 17th century, drawing on Leland's account of 1530s and Thomas Johnson's drawing of 1675 (1985, 80). Leland's description of the King's Bath as fair and large, and 'cumpassid with a high stone waalle... in this waal be 32 arches for men and women to stand sperately yn' (Toulmin Smith 1907) compares well with Johnson's drawing, which pre-dated the major 18th-century reconstruction of the baths

(Cunliffe 1980, 204). The 1675 drawing also shows a small bath on the south. This was built in about 1576 and became known as the Queen's Bath after visits by Queen Anne, the wife of James I (Holland 1989).

The Cross Baths

Leland's described the bath as 'having 11 or 12 arches of stone in the sides for men to stonde under yn tyme of reyne' (Toulmin Smith 1907, 142) and Smith's bird's-eye view of Bath c. 1578 shows the Cross Bath as an open square without ancillary buildings. Thomas Johnson, writing about a century later, described it as, 'almost triangular, twenty-five feet long and of equal breddth at the widest part. It has arched seats on all sides, three dressing-rooms and as many flights of steps. It is surrounded by a wall' (Cunliffe 1986a, 104).

The Hot Bath

Leland described this bath as 'lesse in Compace withyn the Waulle than the other having but 7 Arches yn the Waulle' (Toulmin Smith 1907, 142), but it was enlarged in the Elizabethan period and a smaller bath for those with skin complaints – called the lepers' or lazars' bath – was added at around the same time (James 1938, 64, 68).

The City in the later 16th and 17th centuries

The Reformation drastically curtailed the influence of the church in the city, although a number of ancillary structures survived, such as St John's hospital and St Catherine's Hospital. St John's Hospital was rebuilt in the later 16th century, and a sketch on Gilmore's map shows it as a substantial three-story building. St Catherine's Hospital in Bimbury (founded in the early 15th century) also survived until the early 19th century, while Bellot's Hospital was established in 1608 for 'such poor diseased persons being not infected with any contagious disease as shall resorte and come to the said City of Bathe'. The way in which the hot springs were perceived was changing, and the importance of their healing qualities was emphasised at the expense of their sacred, cosmological significance. In the Elizabethan period, many of the houses around the Hot Bath and Cross Bath were bought by physicians, some with private baths fed with hot water from the springs, where they

treated their noble patients, and the city began to develop as a healing centre and spa. In the medieval period, Binbury had been one of the poorest parts of Bath, but the rise of the spa in the Elizabethan period greatly increased the value of properties close to the baths. Thomas Johnson's drawing of the King's Bath in the late 17th century shows it surrounded by densely packed four-storey buildings crammed into medieval burgage plots, and towering over any surviving late medieval houses.

The changes were by no means wholesale, but the plan of the city no longer related to its early medieval and medieval predecessor in a straightforward way. The demolition of buildings associated with the medieval monastery, the construction of new roads, and the widening of others, altered the city's morphology, particularly in the south-east sector.

In addition to its developing spa, Bath continued to thrive as a market town. Leases once held by the monastery were now held by the Corporation, and a survey of 1641 shows that the corporation owned nearly all the properties in the city (Cunliffe 1986a, 110). In 1551, a market hall was built in the centre of the market, and in 1625 this was replaced by a imposing new market hall and Guildhall.

The 17th century was clearly a time of growth and prosperity for Bath, in spite of the disruptions caused by the Civil War. Speed's map of the city in 1610 shows it as still essentially a medieval town, with open ground to the rear of the densely built-up street frontages. The city was largely confined within the town walls, apart from small areas outside the north and south gates. On Gilmore's map of 1694 the city was still largely within the walled areas, although by now there was extensive ribbon development along the main roads leading out of the town to the north and south. However, the areas behind the street frontages, once largely open, were beginning to be built up, while the sketches of buildings in the margin of the map show buildings of three or four storeys, implying that pressure on land was causing houses to be built taller.

In 1789, the Bath Improvement Act proposed a new layout for the city centre that obliterated much of the medieval town. This is largely the plan that survives today. The properties around the baths were demolished, creating new streets and widening old ones

(Neale 1981, 252–3). The newly colonnaded Bath Street was constructed by 1795, but the plans for Beau Street were not fully implemented until 1826. White Hart Lane, which had been the main link between Stall Street and the Cross Bath from at least 1250, was retained as a passage along the rear of the properties on the north side of Bath Street (Manco 1999, 122).

Note

1 eg Vertue 1750 (Bath Central Library Image Reference 15599, Collection Reference SR Illus of Bath & Its Vicinity p 130 IOB 95); Bonnor 1784 (Bath Central Library Image Reference 11824, Collection Reference Box A A5 IOB 79); Malton 1784 (Bath Central Library Image Reference 10796, Collection Reference LP A7 / 548 IOB 36); Malton 1788 (Bath Central Library Image Reference 11829, Collection Reference Box A A7 / IOB 81); Saunders 1793 ((Bath Central Library Image Reference 11631, Collection Reference Box C L35 IOB 664a); Spornberg 1801 (Bath Central Library Image Reference 11823, Collection Reference Box A

A5 IOB 51); Nattes 1805 (Bath Central Library Image Reference 11256, Collection Reference Box 43:472 IOB 96); Storer 1810 (Bath Central Library Image Reference 13893, Collection Reference Box SP A7 IOB 34), Storer 1818 (Bath Central Library Image Reference 40182, Collection Reference Box Hunt Vol. 1 page 42 IOB 25); Le Keux 1815 (Bath Central Library Image Reference 13901, Collection Reference Box SP A37 IOB 110); Anon 1824 (none found); Mackenzie 1815 (Bath Central Library Image Reference 13894, Collection Reference SP A7 IOB 39); Woodroffe 1830 (Bath Central Library Image Reference 11817, Collection Reference Box A A2 IOB 4); Millington 1836 (Bath Central Library Image Reference 11497, Collection Reference LP A2 / 494 IOB 5); Worsley 1838 (Bath Central Library Image Reference 15646, Collection Reference SR Illus of Bath & Its Vicinity p 154 IOB 91a); Maggs 1845 (Bath Central Library Image Reference 11503, Collection Reference LP A10 IOB 106); Newman *et al* 1855 (Bath Central Library Image Reference 13851, Collection Reference SP A1 IOB 94).

PART 3 Synthesis and assessment

3.1 Introduction

In section 2 of this volume the evidence has been discussed on a chronological basis. However, while it is essential to understand the nature of settlement at different periods of the past, the rigid categorisation of archaeological data into specific periods can make it more difficult to discern overall trends, and to understand the processes of change. The diverse nature of the archaeological evidence from Bath reflects its long history, and so offers a valuable opportunity to study periods of transition and change over many centuries. This section starts with a summary of the current understanding of Bath's past on a chronological basis, identifying weaknesses in the archaeological record, and particular period-based research areas. This is followed by a consideration of a number of overarching research themes covering broad time spans, together with an outline for a research agenda for future archaeological work in the city.

3.2 The current state of knowledge and understanding

No evidence for intense settlement in the pre-Roman period has been found, but this does not mean that the hot springs were not seen as significant places. Very little pre-Roman stratigraphy has been excavated around the springs and, in any case, earlier remains here would have been severely damaged by the Romano-British structures. A number of authors have highlighted the dominance of Sulis in inscriptions, and the significance of the 'Gorgon's head' on the temple façade,

as suggesting that a local cosmology was already well established and powerful at the time of the conquest (Scarth 1876; Cunliffe 1995). Whatever form the pre-Roman springs took, they continued in use for at least couple of decades after the conquest before the spectacular stone temple and baths were built.

Although much of the temple and baths complex has been revealed, surprisingly little is known about the rest of the settlement and its morphological development (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 165). It is still unclear whether Bath should be seen as truly urban, at least in the late 1st and 2nd centuries; it might be more useful to compare it to the 'rural sanctuaries' in Gaul and elsewhere. The military presence at Bath is attested by tombstones but the location of a conquest period fort and its effect on any emerging civilian settlement is another area requiring more research. The role of the Roman army in the establishment of the temple and baths complex is unclear, but it may be worth comparing Bath with places such as Baden, in Germany, where a 'spa' was first established at about the same time as at Bath, but which was primarily used by the military. It is worth noting in this context that at Bath the curse tablets were left by civilians of comparatively modest means. The development of Roman Bath, whether as primarily a spa/religious centre or as an urban settlement, should be assessed in comparison with other small towns in the region, and their relationship with the rural hinterlands (see Clark, S 1996).

A scarcity of dating evidence has made it difficult to relate changes to the baths and

Figure 3.1. The temple precinct after excavation looking east across the altar towards the entrance (Cunliffe 2000, fig 36).



temple complex to the adjoining settlement and to occupation along Walcot Street. What can be said is that some kind of occupation or activity took place around the main hot spring in the 1st century AD, no doubt associated in some way with its construction. More substantial stone-built structures do not appear within the area of the later walled town before the mid-2nd century. On the other hand, excavated sites between Walcot Street and the river demonstrate a sequence of timber and masonry structures from the 1st to 5th centuries, with evidence for domestic occupation and industrial activity existing side-by-side. They also show that the sloping land was terraced early on, allowing more intensive settlement. Sweeping changes took place in the mid- to late 2nd century, when the Temple precinct was extended and substantial masonry buildings erected to the south and west, but the most radical changes took place in the late 4th century. Private houses encroached onto the temple precinct, and with the appearance of workshops on previously residential or administrative sites, Bath took on a more utilitarian character. It could have been at this time that the stone wall was constructed.

The decline of the Temple complex in the late 4th and early 5th century culminated in a brief phase of deliberate demolition in the mid- to late 5th century, but left an accumulation of stone and rubble that resulted in a well-drained platform above the level of flooding. It was on this platform that the next phase of occupation was recognised, tentatively dated to the 10th century. Little else in post-Roman Bath convincingly pre-dates this, although substantial dark-earth deposits were found overlying many of the Romano-British remains. It seems certain, however, that this absence of evidence is, at least in part, owing to an absence of archaeological record rather than being an indication of complete abandonment of the site. Pre-10th-century settlement and material culture is notoriously difficult to identify and date, and the formation processes of the dark-earth deposits are not well understood.

Charters from the 7th, 8th and 10th centuries all mention a monastery at Bath, and the town was one of the strongholds listed in the *Burghal Hidage*. The intensity and extent of urban occupation in the late Saxon period is poorly understood. Its importance, however, is well



Figure 3.2. The South Gate excavations in 2007 (with permission, MOL A site archive).

attested in documentary sources. Burials pre-dating the 11th century have been found on the south side of the Abbey, suggesting that the pre-Norman church was close by.

The Norman Conquest marked an important period of change for the fabric of the city. John de Villula was made Bishop of Wells in 1088, and, in the same year, the monastery and church at Bath were given to him. Shortly afterwards, the see was transferred to Bath, prompting the construction of a new cathedral church and monastery. This work resulted in alterations to the layout of the city, although archaeological evidence for this process is not extensive. With the exception of the Norman cathedral, elements of which were retained in the 16th-century church, relatively little archaeological evidence for medieval Bath has been recorded. (See also Fowler 1980.)

3.3 Assessment of importance and potential: a research agenda

The analysis of the extent of our understanding of Bath's archaeological resource enables the weaknesses in the record to be highlighted. However, a glance at any of the plans of

Roman Bath in the previous sections will show how incomplete our knowledge is. Over most of the northern sector of the walled area there is hardly any substantial archaeological information, although the area appears to have been occupied, at least in the middle and later Roman periods. However, data on early medieval occupation in this area is totally lacking, as is that for the prehistoric period.

Where they have escaped destruction by later building or levelling operations, archaeological deposits in Bath can cover extensive time spans (for instance at Swallow Street/Abbeygate Street). The success of small-scale excavations in cellars and basements – as demonstrated by work on the Temple complex and beneath the new Abbey Heritage Centre – means that even in areas covered by existing (often listed) buildings there could be opportunities for new data to be recorded. The scope of urban archaeology is constantly changing. Since the publication of PPG16 in 1990, 'key-hole archaeology', in the form of relatively small evaluation trenches, is now the dominant approach in excavating sites within Bath's historic core. Some of the drawbacks resulting from the implementation of PPG16 have

Figure 3.3. Restricted cellar or basement excavation (with permission, MOLA site archive).



been discussed above (see Section 2.3.8), but it is worth re-iterating them here. While the reliance on small-scale sampling of a site, rather than its full excavation, has increased the preservation *in situ* of significant deposits, it makes the question of its interpretation much more problematic. By concentrating on conservation of the archaeological resource intact, the scope of further research into it is necessarily restricted. In this context, the synthetic analysis and a wider inter-site approach is becoming increasingly important. Notable examples referred to in this assessment include the work on deposit modelling (see pp 13–21), preliminary work on prehistoric flint scatters (see p 28), Romano-British burials (see pp 93–5), dark-earth deposits (see pp 108–11), and medieval burials (see pp 134–8).

The potential of waterlogged deposits in Bath as a resource for understanding past environments is very considerable. There is a danger that modern building methods, although designed to preserve archaeological deposits, could in fact result in their degradation, particularly in the case of waterlogged deposits, which might dry up or become compressed. Quite apart from building

development, the effects of climate change and water-management schemes could also affect these vulnerable deposits.

In common with many other historic towns in England a substantial number of excavations in Bath remain unpublished. Although PPG16 resulted in an increase in funds for rescue archaeology, comparatively few excavations on development sites since 1992 have reached full publication. Scientific advances have increased the scope of archaeological practice, and the potential for deposits to yield information about the past is much greater, thanks to new dating techniques and environmental sampling, and specialist involvement is now crucial on all sites. However, the full analysis and publication of this is often costly and difficult to fund.

The gradual increase in building recording is beginning to reveal more information about the use of buildings, which is rarely recorded in listed-building descriptions, and specialist surveys are revealing the survival of medieval and pre-Georgian structural evidence in later buildings. Plan-form elements, with long antecedence such as roads and property boundaries, are also being given more formal recognition. These developments can, in part, be attributed to the increased professionalism of the discipline and its integration in the planning process through PPG15 and PPG16. In particular, desk-top evaluations have encouraged a more consistent and thorough study of post-medieval history. Documentary and map research is now a standard part of preliminary work on any site, as an understanding of post-medieval development is an integral part of assessing the survival of earlier deposits.

3.4 Period-based research issues

The pre-Roman period

Given that people were living in this part of England for thousands of years before the Roman conquest, the question of what Bath was like in the pre-Roman period is a daunting one, compounded by the rarity of survival of archaeological evidence. The concentration of worked flints around the springs and their date range does, however, demonstrate the repeated use of this site over thousands of years. Further scatters are likely to survive in alluvial deposits on the low land adjacent to the River Avon. There is also a possibility that waterlogging



Figure 3.4. General view of Bath Spa excavation and Bath cityscape (Davenport et al 2007, fig 1.1).

might preserve organic material (for example, during the excavation of the hot spring, small twigs, branches and hazelnuts were found at the bottom of trench 104 along with struck flint flakes) (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985).

The majority of artefacts and structures that date from this period were biodegradable and consequently the survival of any such remains would be highly significant. There is considerable potential for finding further

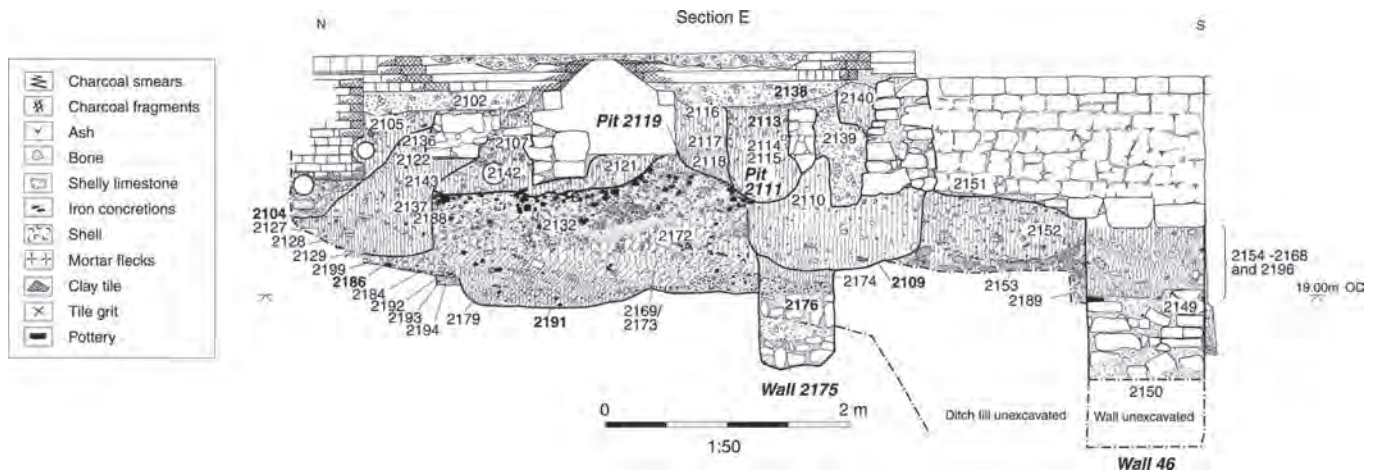


Figure 3.5. Complexity of deposits (Davenport et al 2007, fig 4.12).

prehistoric evidence in the city, as has been demonstrated recently by the discovery of evidence of Bronze Age settlement in front of the Royal Crescent.

The value of any site-based discoveries within the city of Bath would be enhanced by a better understanding of the wider prehistoric landscape, which, to date, has been insufficiently studied. The hinterland of Bath provides opportunities for landscape research: in particular, the barrow cemeteries and hillforts on the surrounding hills have not been studied in detail.

The Roman conquest

The effect on the local population caused by the establishment of the military roads (the road to Abonae and the Fosse Way) in the mid-1st century, together with the likely presence of a fort on the Avon crossing, is still poorly understood. Given the great quantity and quality of material recovered from this period, this is the richest source of information about the response of the indigenous population to the Roman conquest. In spite of the vast array of publications, there is still considerable scope for more detailed analysis of the material. There has also been a small amount of material recovered from 'mixed' sites where Iron Age and Roman material culture has been found, as at Lower Common Allotment (*see* p 36, 92).

Inhumation burials occurred in the Cotswold/Severn area in the Late Iron Age. Greater understanding of these could cast light on changes in mortuary practices brought about by the Roman conquest, when cremation became the predominant rite.

The Roman period

It is important that the nature of the settlement around the hot springs is resolved. Was it essentially a religious precinct, or was it a small town? There is substantial evidence for a change in its character in the later Roman period, and this needs to be examined in relation to changes elsewhere in the social and economic life of Roman Britain in the 3rd century and later. Is it correct to see 4th-century Bath as a local strongpoint, and, if so, what was its relationship to the rich villas in its hinterland? The possibility of late Roman estates persisting into the 5th century and later needs to be addressed. How does late Roman Bath compare with other settlements in the area, such as Camerton?

Future redevelopment along Walcot Street could reveal evidence about the Romano-British settlement pattern here. The eastern limits of the settlement, where it lay adjacent to the River Avon, are of particular interest. The importance of the river has generally been underplayed – the assumption being that the settlement was oriented, as it is today, on the road. While evidence at the eastern end of plots has, to date, suggested that it was less intensive closer to the river, only a very limited area has been excavated. Terracing has been recognised as a crucial process, which allowed dense urban building on the slopes along Walcot Street. It would be interesting to understand how crucial this has been elsewhere in Bath.

The Roman to post-Roman transition

The transition from the Roman to the post-

Roman period is a subject of intense debate nationally. Owing to the late arrival of Anglo-Saxon influences in the Bath region, the area has the potential to provide evidence for an essentially British post-Roman material culture. The later history of the Temple of Sulis Minerva was inextricably linked to changes in organised religion and belief systems and the late Roman and post-Roman deposits in the temple precinct that still survive are potentially important for answering questions about the role of early Christianity in the transition from Roman to post-Roman Britain. At the same time, there is considerable evidence for late Roman paganism in the South-West, and its relationship to Christianity needs to be assessed. Further work also needs to be carried out on late Roman or early post-Roman defended sites in relation to potential sub-Roman territories. The extent of reoccupation of north Somerset hillforts needs to be assessed, together with the role of the west Wansdyke.

The medieval period

Although documentary sources refer to the foundation of a monastery at Bath in the 7th century, and charters from the 8th and 9th centuries indicate its growing importance, no structural evidence for the monastic buildings has been found. In spite of extensive excavation around the Abbey, and the frequent presence of cellars in the city centre, unexcavated deposits still survive in places and are potentially a vital source of information about ecclesiastical life in the city.

Detailed publication of medieval and post-medieval human burials made in earlier excavations is almost non-existent. Human remains continue to be found however; the most recent discovery was made in 1999, when a charnel pit was revealed during excavation in cellars below Kingston Parade (srn 667). Specialist analysis of future discoveries is vital as medieval churchyard burials are potentially important for understanding human population in the past, while scientific advances in detecting dietary patterns, diseases and DNA provide valuable insights into medieval life.

The growth and development of Bath in the course of the Middle Ages are still only perceived in outline and many questions remain unanswered. Re-planned by Alfred as a defended burgh, by the high Middle Ages the city was primarily a market town. What was



Figure 3.6. Pewter [lead] curse tablet (Cunliffe 1995, colour plate 8).

the role of the Church in these developments? How extensive is the archaeological evidence for the wool and cloth trade? How important was the waterfront at Bath? Was it as important as riverside land in other towns such as Gloucester and London? The evidence for mills, fish traps and fish weirs needs to be examined, together with their effect on the river and its possible use for navigation.

The late medieval and post-medieval period

Knowledge about late medieval and post-medieval Bath is patchy. The quantity of information is, however, potentially vast. The records that relate to this period need to be systematically enhanced and a strategy developed for their integration with archaeological evidence. Some types of evidence are relatively accessible – for example, sites that appear on early maps. Other aspects of life are less visible, for example, small-scale industrial activity. In the absence of good stratified sequences, there is a need to link scientific dating techniques



Figure 3.7. Medieval timbers in Saw Place (Davenport 2002, fig 47).

to documented sites. Well-dated structures and waterlogged deposits should be used to develop dendrochronological sequences in order to facilitate the dating of different carpentry techniques, and also applied to structures in Bath where other dating evidence is lacking.

Surviving pre-Georgian buildings

Although very few pre-Georgian buildings survive complete, a number are known to have been incorporated within later structures and many other unrecorded examples are likely to survive. Acquiring information about them has proved a slow and piecemeal process. The standard of recording, and the maintenance of these records, has been very uneven. In particular, relatively little attention has been paid to the roles or functions that buildings might have played. The extent to which

domestic, commercial and industrial functions were integrated before the early modern period can be contrasted with the Georgian model, where industrial sites were physically separated from the domestic houses.

3.5 Thematic research issues

As noted above, there is a need to augment particular chronological and site-based research with broader issues and developments. In order to understand the processes of change there has to be a clear understanding of the nature of settlement here at different times in the past. Earlier research has almost invariably been undertaken with the assumption that Bath has been an 'urban' settlement for more than 2,000 years. More recently, new concepts relating to the highly varied form, function and fortunes of 'central places' have been adopted by archaeologists, and this is an approach that could well be more productive, especially in relation to Roman and pre-Roman Bath. Bath has served various functions over its history, as a ritual and healing centre, as a route centre, a frontier defence, a religious site and a market town. See, for example, issues raised in Mattingly 1997a, 1997b, and in Parkins 1997.

Synthetic studies of excavated artefacts and ecofacts

To understand the difference in settlement here over many centuries a whole variety of techniques and approaches is required, with emphasis on inter-site and inter-period analyses rather than site or period based studies. Research topics here will include analyses of spatial and temporal changes in patterns of consumption, mortuary practices, clothing accessories, butchery practices, trading patterns and industrial practices, building traditions, and environmental conditions. Particularly valuable in this respect are research projects concentrating on specific social and economic topics across different sites and over a broad chronological span. Chronological and spatial variations in the data might reflect changes or continuity in agricultural, cultural, social, economic or religious practices. In the case of Bath, synthetic, cross-site studies are required for assemblages of pottery, metal, stone and bone of all periods. Combining the results of such analyses and comparing data across a wider area will enable hypotheses relating to topics such as ethnicity, environmental changes,

political, social, economic and religious issues to be constructed and explored.

The medieval pottery research group has highlighted the dearth nationally of material evidence for the transition from medieval to post-medieval trade and technologies. Synthetic studies of medieval finds and pottery assemblages from the area are required. Hinton suggests that the reason 12th-century pottery was frequently coarse and hand-made with little decoration, was because it had become a low-status rural industry (Hinton 1990, 141). Does the 12th-century pottery from Bath support this thesis?

Stone quarries

Bath stone has been quarried around the town since the Roman period, but the extent and importance of the industry in the Roman and medieval period has not been studied in detail. The evidence from Combe Down suggests a state enterprise here in the Roman period, but the history of the industry, the associated infrastructure and its economic significance needs further research.

Depositional processes

It is important that when assemblages of whatever period are studied the process of deposition of the material is fully understood. Good environmental data is vital. The recovery of sediment columns for sedimentological and pedological analyses, as advised by a geoarchaeologist, can provide evidence for forest-clearance, agricultural intensification and reforestation. Changes in sedimentation will also reflect the changing history of the river and the effects on it of embanking, bridge

construction and the provision of mills and fish weirs.

Flooding is often assumed to have been an issue throughout Bath's history, but more needs to be known about its extent and intensity at different periods in the past. Did it become a particularly serious issue in the late or post-Roman periods?

Deposits of dark earth have been recorded from a number of sites in Bath, and further deposits no doubt exist both inside and outside the walled area. Little synthesis has taken place however, and neither the character and significance of these deposits, nor the processes of their deposition, are fully understood.

The earlier environments of Bath

Much could be learnt about the pre-urban landscape through the recovery of sediment columns from the alluvium and analysis of molluscs, ostracods and diatoms, and, where appropriate, plant macrofossils and insects. In areas where waterlogged survival is likely, such as the area around the springs and the Southgate suburb, there should be a carefully thought-out programme of sampling and analysis of environmental data. Radiocarbon dating of organic remains (eg hazelnuts) associated with assemblages of flint and pottery would provide useful independent dating for otherwise only broadly dated collections.

Finally, at no period in the past did Bath exist in a vacuum: its place in the wider region must be constantly considered and re-assessed. While a research agenda tailored to the specific questions raised by Bath is clearly vital, it is no less important to relate it to the wider research agenda for the south-west region generally.

APPENDIX 1 Gazetteer of events

Key to table:

Recognition type:

AS	Air photo survey	PE	Part excavation
BL	Borehole log	PHS	Photographic survey
BS	Building survey	PIC	Pictorial
CD	Cartographic depiction	PNE	Place-name evidence
DR	Documentary record	PO	Personal observation
ES	Environmental sampling	PS	Part survey
EV	Evaluation	RO	Recorded observation
EX	Excavation	SE	Salvage excavation
FE	Full excavation	SFR	Stray finds – recorded
FO	Field observation	SFU	Stray finds – unrecorded
FS	Full survey	SR	Salvage record
FW	Field walking	TS	Topographic survey
GS	Geophysical survey	WB	Watching brief

SRN Site Recognition Number: * exact date unknown

SRN	Site name	Event date	Event type	Ordnance Survey easting	Ordnance Survey northing
1	Sim's Garage, London Road	1958	WB	3755400	1659300
2	4 Pera Place	1950	SFR	3751300	1659000
3	Snow Hill House, London Road	1954	RO	3754600	1658700
4	2 and 3 Walcot Buildings, London Road	1952	SFR	3753900	1658100
5	8 Walcot Parade, London Road	1922	RO	3751900	1657500
6	Hampton Row (north side)	1857	RO	3756000	1656000
7	Cleveland Place	1867	RO	3752900	1656900
8	Walcot Methodist Church, London Road	1815	SFR	3752100	1656700
9	Camden Street (Hedgemoad Park)	1815	RO	3751000	1656500
10	Sainsbury and Acres Malthouse	1815	RO	3752500	1656300
11	Trinity Court, Walcot	1806	SFR	3751300	1656000

12	London Street, Walcot	1718	RO	3751000	1656000
13	London Road	1708	RO	3751000	1656000
14	London Road, Walcot	1859	RO	3750000	1650000
15	'Fosseway', Walcot	1522	RO	3750000	1650000
16	'Fosseway', Walcot	1522	RO	3750000	1650000
17	London Street/Walcot Street	1714	RO	3750000	1650000
18	Phoenix House, Julian Road	1951	RO	3746200	1655500
19	Walcot	1818	SFR	3750000	1650000
20	Walcot Playground	1780s	RO	3751900	1655500
21	London Street (almost opp. Walcot Church)	1900	RO	3750700	1655500
22	London Street	1951	RO	3750500	1655400
23	St John's, Bathwick	1861	SFR	3753700	1655300
24	St John's Road, Bathwick	1923	RO	3753500	1655100
25	Julian Road (site of St Andrew's Church)	1870	RO	3745800	1655000
26	Julian Road (near Christ Church)	1856	RO	3748500	1654700
27	Guinea Lane	1854, 1952	SFR	3750200	1654700
28	30 and 31 The Paragon	1949	SFR	3750600	1654800
29	Christ Church, Julian Road	1855	SFR	3748900	1654600
30	Walcot Street 'near the Bell Inn'	1658	RO	3750900	1654500
31	11 The Royal Crescent	1888	RO	3745300	1654500
32	Powlett Court, Kirkham Buildings	1900	SFR	3755420	1654910
33	The Vineyards	1855	SFR	3750300	1654300
34	Russell Street	1852	RO	3748400	1654300
35	12 Russell Street	1836	RO	3748600	1654100
36	11 Russell Street	1818	RO	3748600	1654200
37	Victoria Park	1829	SFR	3741000	1654000
38	Daniel Street (behind west side)	18**	RO	3755100	1653400
39	Henrietta Gardens (behind)	1931	RO	3754500	1653300
40	Henrietta Gardens (behind)	pre 1953	RO	3754900	1653200
41	Red House Bakery, Old Orchard	1902	RO	3751000	1653200
42	'At Bathwick'	1818	SFR	3750000	1640000
43	Sydney Gardens	1914	RO	3756600	1653000
44	Sydney Gardens	1861	RO	3757700	1652800
45	Sydney Gardens	1866	RO	3757400	1652700
45	Sydney Gardens	1866	RO	3756900	1652700
46	Sydney Gardens	1793	RO	3755000	1652000
47	Sydney Road (near)	1840s	RO	3757700	1651600
48	'Above' St Mary's Church	1818	RO	3756900	1650600
49	Walcot Street Car Park	1971	WB	3750900	1650300
50	Walcot Multi-storey Carpark Entrance	1809	RO	3750800	1650300
51	Sydney Wharf	1819	RO	3757700	1649900
52	Northgate Street	1913	RO	3750800	1649800
53	1-9 Upper Borough Walls	1980	EX	3750500	1649300
53	1-9 Upper Borough Walls	1980	EX	3750700	1649400
54	'The Borough Walls'	1580s	DR	3740000	1640000
55	'Upper Borough Walls'	1600	DR	3740000	1640000
56	Upper Borough Walls (W of N gate)	1600	DR	3750000	1640000
57	Upper Borough Walls (poss. 7, 8 and 9)	1797	SFR	3750400	1649200
58	7, 8 and 9 Upper Borough Walls	1803	RO	3750400	1649200

59	Relief carving, probably somewhere in the City Wall	179*	DR	—	—
60	Harvey's Building, Upper Borough Walls	1963	EX	3750500	1649200
60	Harvey's Building, Upper Borough Walls	1963	EX	3750300	1648800
60	Harvey's Building, Upper Borough Walls	1963	EX	3750800	1649000
61	Dunsford Place, Bathwick	1932	SFR	3759000	1659000
62	'Behind Norfolk Crescent'	1818	RO	3744000	1649000
63	11 Old Bond Street	1795	RO	3749700	1648800
64	Mineral Water Hospital	1914	RO	3749600	1648800
65	Bathwick Hill/Sydney Buildings Junction	1861	RO	3758700	1648700
66	Mineral Water Hospital, West Wing	1859	RO	3749400	1648700
67	Saw Close area	1790	RO	3748900	1648700
68	Mineral Water Hospital, East Wing	1738	RO	3749900	1648700
69	Guildhall	1871	RO	3751500	1648700
70	Boat Stall Lane	1824	RO	3751600	1648700
71	Mineral Water Hospital	1912	EX	3749500	1648500
72	Bluecoat School	1859	RO	3749000	1648500
73	15, 16 and 17 High Street	1736	RO	3751000	1648400
74	Sydney Buildings	1809	SFR	3758400	1648400
75	Bridewell Lane	1884	RO	3749300	1648200
76	Westgate Street (Barclays Bank area)	1869	RO	3749900	1647800
77	30 Westgate Street	1814	RO	3749300	1647800
78	Orange Grove	1979	SFR	3751900	1647800
79	East end of the abbey	1833, 1867	RO	3751600	1647700
80	Westgate House	1776	RO	3748700	1647600
81	Abbey Churchyard/Westgate?	1731	SFR	3750700	1647600
82	Terrace Walk	1815, 1874	RO	3751800	1647600
83	Citizen House	1964	EX	3748900	1647400
84	Citizen House	1970	EX	3748900	1647400
85	21 Sydney Buildings	1823	RO	3758300	1647400
86	Cross Bath	1885	RO	3749500	1646900
87	Cross Bath	1809	RO	3749500	1646900
88	35/36, Stall Street	1727	RO	3750400	1646900
89	Crystal Palace and 2 Abbey Street	1980	EX	3751000	1646700
90	Crystal Palace and 2 Abbey Street	1981	EX	3751000	1646700
91	30–31 Stall Street	1964	EX	3750400	1646600
92	Fernley Hotel	1965	EX	3751800	1646600
93	Stall Street	1727	SFR	3750300	1647100
94	Hot Bath	1776	RO	3749600	1646600
95	Hot Bath	1774	RO	3749500	1646600
96	5 and 6 Abbey Green	1958	SFR	3751400	1646600
97	2–4 Hot Bath Street	1988	RO	3749400	1646500
98	Bath Technical College, Beau Street	1825	RO	3749000	1646000
99	29 Stall Street	1753	RO	3750300	1646500
100	29 Stall Street	1753	RO	3750400	1646500
101	29 Stall Street	1753	RO	3750400	1646500
102	4 Abbey Green	1981	SFR	3751500	1646500
103	'South side of Swallow Street'	1813	RO	3750800	1646400
104	Churchill Bridge	1976	SFR	3750000	1643500
105	River Avon (150m upstream of Churchill Bridge)	1973	SFR	3750500	1643300

106	Widcombe Hill House	18**	SFR	3759400	1640500
107	Great Bath	19**	SFR	3700000	1647600
108	Hedgemoad Park	1888	RO	3751000	1657000
109	Chatham Row (?)	1792	RO	3751600	1654300
110	'Bathwick Meadows'	1794	RO	3750000	1650000
111	Upper Borough Walls	1824	SFR	3750000	1640000
112	'The Borough Walls'	167*	SFR	3750000	1640000
113	Hansford Square, Odd/Combe Down	1936	RO	3746100	1622200
114	Abbey Cemetery, Perrymead	1843	RO	3759200	1635900
115	27 Englishcombe Lane	1942	RO	3741100	1631800
116	Englishcombe Lane	1911	RO	3741500	1632000
117	Axbridge Road, Combe Down	1952	SFR	3752000	1628600
118	102 Haycombe Drive	19**	SFR	3720300	1638900
119	Whiteway Sports Ground	1973	SFR	3723000	1638000
120	Maple Gardens, Oldfield Park	1965	SFR	3742000	1639000
121	Windsor Place, Upper Bristol Road	1863	RO	3734800	1651200
122	Gasworks, Upper Bristol Road	1815	RO	3735800	1651500
123	St John's Hospital	1954	WB	3749300	1647000
124	Locksbrook Cemetery Lodge	1863	RO	3733000	1651000
125	Friends' Meeting House, York Street	1982	WB	375160	1647100
126	Park Road, Lower Weston	1973	SFR	3729000	1652000
127	Richmond Road, Lansdown	1840	RO	3748000	1660400
128	Kensington Meadow	1857	SFR	3760000	1659200
129	Grosvenor Gardens	17**	RO	3762000	1662000
130	'Lambridge'	1824	RO	3760000	1660000
131	10 Lambridge, London Road	1911	RO	3762000	1663500
132	5 Englishcombe Way	196*	SFR	3740800	1631400
133	Twerton	1847	SFR	3730000	1640000
134	Queen Square, NW corner	18**	RO	3747400	1650300
135	St Catherine's Hermitage	1808	RO	3745200	1661800
136	Lansdown Road/Guinea Lane	1862	RO	3749500	1654300
137	Lower East Hayes, London Road	1792	RO	3756500	1659500
138	Whiteway Oval	1984	SE	3722500	1639500
139	8 Terrace Walk, garden	1973	EX	3751800	1647600
140	Kingston Buildings/Abbey Chambers	1976	EX	3751500	1647200
140	Kingston Buildings/Abbey Chambers	1976	EX	3751500	1647500
141	21 Upper Borough Walls	1955	SFR	3750200	1649000
142	Orange Grove	1843	SFR	3752000	1648000
143	45 Sedgemoor Road, Fox Hill	1982	SFR	3750200	1626500
144	Orange Grove	1984	SFR	3751800	1647900
145	Argyle Terrace, Twerton	1866	RO	3732200	1647400
146	Englishcombe Lane	1954	SFR	3742200	1632300
147	The Tumps, Odd Down	195*	FO	3741000	1628000
148	Fox Hill Housing Estate	1952	RO	3750900	1629000
149	Weston Lane	1866	SFR	3731500	1660000
150	'Holmpatrick', Weston Road	1984	SFR	3735500	1657700
151	Acacia Lodge, Kensington	1962	SFR	3758400	1660300
152	Powlett Road, Bathwick	1964	SFR	3755000	1656000
153	Henrietta Park	1964	SFR	3754000	1653000

154	24 Wells Road, Bath	1966	SFR	3748000	1643000
155	Green Park	1973	SFR	3745000	1646000
156	6 Shelly Road	1962	SFR	3749000	1640000
157	1 Sion Place, Bathwick Hill	1963	SFR	3760000	1648000
158	Oldfield Nurseries (as was)	1963	SFR	3741000	1639000
159	Alexandra Park	1964	SFR	3752000	1639600
160	75 Locksbrook Road, Lower Weston	1973	SFR	3728700	1649000
161	209 Haycombe Drive	1973	SFR	3723700	1640600
162	Kingston Parade (as is now)	1755	EX	3751100	1647300
163	Devonshire Cottage, 70 Wellsway	1904	SFR	3745500	1632500
164	9 and 10 High Street	1963	EX	3750900	1648100
165	Saracen's Head, Broad Street	19**	SFR	3750500	1650400
166	Field E of Partis College	1962	SFR	3725000	1657000
167	6 Purlewent Drive, Weston	1959	SFR	3732400	1662400
168	SE of ambulance station	1983	SFR	3754500	1655400
169	2nd field N of Weston Church	1905	RO	3731000	1666000
170	Greenway Cottage, Greenway Lane	19**	SFR	3750900	1635700
171	90 Hansford Square	1985	SFR	3745700	1622800
172	Guildhall, south extension	1893	RO	3751300	1648200
173	'Parkside', 11 Marlborough Lane	1976	EX	3743200	1651700
174	20 Westfield Close	1985	SFR	3742500	1631000
175	Moorlands School Playing Field	1985	FO	3739000	1633000
176	53 Englishcombe Lane, 'top garden'	193*	PE	3739000	1631200
177	13 East Close, Whiteway	1983	SFR	3725000	1639800
178	36 Priddy Close, Twerton	19**	SFR	3730050	1643950
179	Julian Road/Northampton Street	1986	EX	3748000	1654500
180	Lower Common Allotments (no. 179)	19**	SFR	3742200	1651200
181	14 Larkhall Place	1986	SFR	3760200	1666700
182	Claverton Street	1904	RO	3755000	1642200
183	Prior Park Road	1914	RO	3755400	1641400
184	Parade Gardens	1815	RO	3752250	1648100
185	Orange Grove	1870	RO	3751600	1647600
186	30 Rosewarn Close, Whiteway	1986	SFR	3721000	1639000
187	12 Hawthorne Grove, Combe Down	198*	SFR	3747750	1623300
188	Avon river bank, Chatham Row	1987	SFR	3751800	1654300
189	Field 'Eight Acres'/'Little Croniels'	1986	FO	3739000	1664000
190	Garden of 18 Paragon	1987	SFR	3750800	1654000
191	Near Walcot Handicrafts Centre	1987	RO	3752600	1656400
192	Locksbrook Cemetery	1975	SFR	3731500	1652500
193	Abbey Churchyard	1980	EX	3750400	1647500
194	Crescent Gardens	1983	RO	3744500	1651000
195	Western slopes of Bathampton Down	1979	GS	3765000	1653000
195	Western slopes of Bathampton Down	1979	GS	3764000	1653000
196	Western slopes of Bathampton Down	1979	GS	3765000	1649000
196	Western slopes of Bathampton Down	1979	GS	3766000	1650000
196	Western slopes of Bathampton Down	1979	GS	3764000	1650000
197	Bath Bridge	1903	SFR	3750600	1643400
198	Bath Gasworks (near gasometer)	1849	SFR	3737000	1650000
199	Stirtingale Farm, Odd Down	1989	SFR	3735100	1629900

200	Bath Technical College, Beau Street	1864	RO	3749600	1646300
201	Weymouth House School	1897	RO	3751400	1646200
202	Woolworth's/New Orchard Street	1951	EX	3751200	1645800
203	Woolworth's/New Orchard Street	1961	EX	3750900	1645800
204	Belmont Road, Combe Down	1822	FO	3761400	1622100
205	Belmont Road, Combe Down	1860	EX	3761400	1622100
206	Berwick Playing Fields, Odd Down	18**	FO	3741000	1625900
207	Near Pope's Walk, Perrymead	19**	FO	3758500	1632200
208	Lower Common Allotments	1979	RO	3742000	1652000
209	Lower Common Allotments	1983	EX	3742000	1652000
210	Domestic Science College	1954	RO	3743400	1661800
211	'Holly Heights', Sion Hill	1954	RO	3744300	1662300
212	Bath College of Education, Sion Hill	1958	EX	3742600	1662100
213	Bath College of Education, Sion Hill	1958	WB	3743300	1661700
214	Kelso Lodge, Sion Road	1959	RO	3743100	1662700
215	Bath College of Education, Sion Hill	1972	EX	3743300	1662000
216	East Gate	1603	CD	3751750	1648750
217	East Gate	13**	BS	3751750	1648750
218	East Gate	1694	CD	3751750	1648750
219	Behind Marks and Spencer	19**	RO	3751600	1646200
220	South of Manvers Hall	1961	SE	3751600	1646000
221	Lower Borough Walls	1865	RO	3749300	1646200
222	4 Abbeygate Street	1964	EX	3751000	1646400
223	7 Abbey Green	1971	EX	3751100	1646400
224	The East Baths	1755	RO	375060	1647400
225	The Temple	1790	EX	375060	1647400
226	The Great Bath	1799	RO	375060	1647400
227	SW corner of the Baths	1825	RO	375050	1647000
228	The Temple podium	1864	EX	375060	1647400
229	The Temple podium	1867-9	RO	375060	1647400
230	The Great Bath	1871	RO	375060	1647400
231	The Reservoir in the Temple	1878	RO	375060	1647400
232	Foundations N of the Temple Steps	1883	EX	375060	1647400
233	The Great Bath 1880	1880	EX	375060	1647400
234	Area N of the Baths, E of the Temple	1893	RO	375060	1647400
235	The East Baths	1923	EX	375060	1647400
236	The East Baths, etc	1954	EX	375060	1647400
237	Western part of Temple and Precinct (Arlington Court)	1959	EX	375060	1647400
238	South of the Great Bath and Circular Bath	1964-8	EX	375060	1647400
239	Temple excavations	1964	EX	375060	1647400
240	Temple excavations in the Pump Room Cellars	1978	EX	375060	1647400
241	The Sacred Spring excavations	1979	EX	375060	1647400
242	The Pump Room excavations of the Temple	1980	EX	375060	1647400
243	Lightning Pit north of Stylobate of Temple	1989	EX	375060	1647400
244	East Baths	1994	EX	3750600	1647400
245	Great Bath	188*	PIC	3750600	1647400
245	Great Bath	188*	PIC	3750600	1647400
246	Great Bath	188*	PIC	3750600	1647400
247	Great Bath	188*	PIC	3750600	1647400

248	Great Bath	188*	PIC	3750600	1647400
249	Great Bath	1897	PIC	3750600	1647400
250	Great Bath	188*	PIC	3750600	1647400
251	Great Bath	1887	PIC	3750500	1647400
252	Great Bath	1887	PIC	3750600	1647400
253	Great Bath	1897	PIC	3750600	1647400
254	King's Bath	1880	PIC	3750600	1647400
255	King's Bath	1879	PIC	3750600	1647400
256	Great Bath	1893	PIC	3750600	1647400
257	King's Bath	1879	PIC	3750600	1647400
258	Kingston Baths	1923	PIC	3750600	1647400
259	Swimming baths (Beau Street)	1843	PIC	3750600	1647400
260	King's Bath	1731	PIC	3750600	1647400
261	King's Bath	1738	PIC	3750600	1647400
262	King's and Queen's Baths	1764	PIC	3750600	1647400
263	King's Bath	1765	PIC	3750600	1647400
264	Queen's Bath	1804	PIC	3750600	1647400
265	Swallow Street/Abbeygate Street	1984–5	EX	3750900	1646400
266	Monks Mill	1940	DR	375240	1648100
267	Carn Well	17**	DR	375060	1652800
268	Prior Park Road/Ralph Allen Drive	193*	DR	375500	1642000
268	Prior Park Road/Ralph Allen Drive	193*	DR	376270	1620000
269	9–13 Bath Street	1984	EX	374970	1647200
270	9–13 Bath Street	1986	EX	3749700	1647200
271	7 and 7a Bath Street	1989	EX	374970	1646900
272	3, 4 and 5 Broad Street	1979	BS	375020	1650300
273	King's Bath	1610	PIC	3750600	1647400
274	King's Bath	1650	CD	3750600	1647400
275	King's and Queen's Baths	1694	PIC	3750600	1647400
276	Great Bath	1900	PIC	3750600	1647400
277	Great Bath	1900	PIC	3750600	1647400
278	King's Bath	1780	PIC	3750600	1647400
279	King's Bath	1900	PIC	3750600	1647400
280	King's Bath	1900	PIC	3750600	1647400
281	Pump Room/King's Bath	1788	PIC	3750600	1647400
282	King's Bath	1789	PIC	3750600	1647400
283	Great Bath	1880–85	PIC	3750600	1647400
284	Great Bath	1880	PIC	3750600	1647400
285	Great Bath	1888	PIC	3750600	1647400
286	King's Bath	1879	PIC	3750600	1647400
287	Great Bath	1890	PIC	3750600	1647400
288	Queen's Bath	18**	PIC	3750600	1647400
289	East Bath	1938	PIC	3750600	1647400
290	Main Drain from the Sacred Spring	1930	PIC	3750600	1647400
291	Great Bath	1900	PIC	3750600	1647400
292	Hat and Feather, Walcot	1959	SFR	3751500	1656300
293	130–136 Walcot Street	1991	EV	3751200	1655100
294	Hat and Feather Yard	1989	EX	3751500	1656300
295	Nelson Place	1989	EX	3752300	1656400

296	Seven Dials	1990	EX	3748400	1648100
297	Seven Dials: the City Wall	1991	RO	3748700	1648200
298	4 Abbey Street	1982	EX	3750900	1647000
299	York Street sections and trench	1983	RO	3750900	1647000
300	St Swithin's Place, London Street, Walcot	1982	EX	3752200	1656100
301	Sally Lunn's tea-shop	1984	EX	3751600	1646900
302	Abbey Church House	1983	BS	3794200	1646600
303	Abbey Church House	1694	PIC	3749200	1646600
304	Upper Borough Walls (Sword)	1981	SFR	3750500	1649300
305	Beechen Cliff	1978	SFR	3750000	1641000
306	Garden of 4, The Circus	1984	EX	3747200	1652000
307	Broadley's Public House	1987	EX	3748900	1648700
308	Sedan chair	1963	EX	3748600	1648600
309	Blackett Press	1965	WB	3749700	1645900
310	New Bond Street – Upper Borough Walls, 1973	1973	WB	3750700	1649300
311	Southgate Redevelopment Area	1972	WB	3750000	1645000
311	Southgate Redevelopment Area	1972	WB	3750000	1644000
312	Woolworth's	1962	SFR	3750800	1645900
313	Henry Street – Newark Street Junction	1961	EX	3751300	1645700
314	Southgate Street – Lower Borough Walls Junction	1961	EX	3750500	1645700
315	Wellsway, S of Berwicke Farm	1955	RO	3742000	1624000
316	Excavation in Southgate Street	1952	RO	3750500	1644000
317	Excavation at the West End of Westgate Street	1954	RO	3748700	1647700
318	Abbey Cemetery, Perrymead	1859	RO	3759200	1635900
319	A Roman stone coffin in the Abbey Cemetery at Perrymead	1952	RO	3759200	1635900
320	Mineral Water Hospital	1963	RO	3749900	1648400
321	Seven Dials Car Park	1964	EX	3748600	1647900
322	St John's Hospital	1954	SFR	3749300	1647000
323	St John's Hospital	1965	EX	3749200	1646800
324	St John's Hospital	1969	SFR	3749200	1646800
325	Kingston Parade (as now)	1896	SFR	3751100	1647300
326	Kingston Parade (as now)	1968	EX	3751100	1647300
327	Pump Room Hotel	1867	SFR	3749800	1647500
328	'Vicinity of the Cross Bath'	18**	SFR	3749400	1647000
329	North of the abbey	18**	SFR	3751100	1647900
330	Trench 24, East of the East Baths, 1968	1968	EX	3751100	1647300
331	Hot Bath Street, 1983	1983	EX	3749000	1645000
332	Hot Bath Drain, 1986	1986	EX	3749500	1646600
333	Sewer Trench South and East of the Cross Bath	1884	RO	3749500	1646800
334	Cross Bath	1983–8	EX	3749500	1646900
335	Cross Bath	1986	WB	3749500	1647100
336	Cross Bath	164*	CD	3749500	1646900
337	Cross Bath	1610	CD	3749500	1646900
338	Cross Bath	1691	PIC	3749500	1646900
339	Cross Bath	1694	CD	3749500	1646900
340	Cross Bath	1738/9	PIC	3749500	1646900
341	Cross Bath	1895–1902	PIC	3749500	1646900
342	Cross Bath	1895–1902	PIC	3749500	1646900

343	Cross Bath	1967	PIC	3749500	1646900
344	Cross Bath	1982	PIC	3749500	1646900
345	Cross Bath	1985	PIC	3749500	1646900
346	Cross Bath	1986	PIC	3749500	1646900
347	Cross Bath	1986	PIC	3749500	1646900
348	Cross Bath	1989	PIC	3749500	1646900
349	Cross Bath	1993	PIC	3749500	1646900
350	Beau Street Baths	1988	EX	3749800	1646700
351	Empire Hotel	1994	EV	3751900	1648400
352	Christopher Hotel	1995	EV	3750800	1648300
353	Christopher Hotel	1590	DR	3750800	1648300
354	Christopher Hotel	1641	CD	3750800	1648300
355	Christopher Hotel	1694	CD	3750800	1648300
356	Christopher Hotel	1727	DR	3750800	1648300
357	Christopher Hotel	1844	PIC	3748000	1653000
357	Christopher Hotel	1844	PIC	3750800	1648300
358	Kensington Bus Depot (see Jackson <i>et al</i> 1994)	1994	EV	3757000	1659000
359	Prior Park	1994	EX	3761200	1629500
360	City architects and planning office	1995	EX	3751300	1647200
361	Herschel Museum Garden	1992	EX	3745500	1648800
362	City Wall, Trim Street	1989	WB	3749500	1648900
363	St Michael's, Broad Street	1989	WB	3750600	1650200
364	Monmouth Street	1989	RO	3747600	1648800
365	Cross Bath sewer trench	1990	WB	3749400	1647100
366	3 North Parade Passage	1991	WB	3751500	1646900
367	Circus Sewer	1992	WB	3748088	1652783
368	Abbey Heritage Centre	1992	EV	3751400	1647500
369	Abbey Heritage Centre	1993	EX	3751400	1647500
370	'Principles For Women'	1992	WB	3750000	1646900
371	Milk Street social housing	1993	EV	3747700	1646100
372	Bath Rugby Club	1993	EV	3754200	1647500
373	Prior Park	1995	EX	3760500	1630000
374	Bathwick Street pipe trench	1994	WB	3755300	1654400
375	29, The Circus	1987	RO	3748000	1652400
376	Grove Street	1991	RO	3751800	1650200
377	Concert Room lavatories	1987	WB	3750800	1647500
378	Julian Road pipe trench	1994	RO	3746000	1655000
379	Trim Bridge	1986	EX	3759200	1648900
380	Walcot burial ground	1988	WB	3752400	1656600
381	Parsonage Lane	1994	RO	3749400	1648400
382	Roman Baths/East Baths	1983	RO	3750600	1647400
383	Park Lane pipe trench	1994	RO	3737000	1653000
384	St John's Place	1983	WB	3748500	1648200
385	St John's Road	J1987	WB	3752800	1653700
386	St John's Road	1988	EX	3753200	1655600
387	Sydney Gardens	1985	WB	3757300	1652600
388	Sydney Gardens	1986	EX	3757400	1652500
389	Littlewoods	1995	EX	3751200	1646000
390	Terrace Walk	1995	BS	3752000	1647300

391	The East Baths	1867–8	EX	3750600	1647400
392	The SW corner of the Baths	1869	EX	3750600	1647400
393	The Roman Baths	1969–75	EX	3750600	1647400
394	Englishcombe Lane area	18**	SFR	3742000	1632000
395	City Wall opposite Mineral Water Hospital	19**	BS	3749400	1648900
396	Baths (York Street/Stall Street junction)	1825	EX	3750600	1647400
397	Tombstone in City Wall	1533	RO	3750000	1640000
398	Great Bath Apse	1990	BS	3750600	1647400
399	Hat and Feather Yard	1827	SFR	3753050	1655600
400	27–28 Broad Street/Saracen Street	1987	WB	3750200	1651200
401	Conservative Club, London Road	1987	WB	3754000	1657600
402	Walcot Service Station	1989	WB	3755400	1659300
403	King Edward's School, North Road	1987	WB	3762000	1650300
404	King Edward's School, North Road	1989	WB	3762000	1650300
405	11 Russell Street	1987	WB	3748600	1654200
406	24 James Street West	1987	WB	3745200	1648700
407	212–220 The Hollow, Twerton	1987	WB	3723000	1636000
408	Pines Way Roundabout, Lower Bristol Road	1982	EX	3741500	1647200
409	St Thomas à Becket, Widcombe	1995	EX	3759800	1638800
410	The Saxon Abbey	1675	DR	3751300	1647700
411	The Norman Cathedral	1863	EX	3751300	1647700
412	The Medieval Abbey	1499	DR	3751300	1647700
413	Bath Abbey	1805	PIC	3751300	1647700
414	Bath Abbey	1830	PIC	3751300	1647700
415	Bath Abbey	1836	PIC	3751300	1647700
416	Bath Abbey	1855	PIC	3751300	1647700
417	Bath Abbey	1818	PIC	3751300	1647700
418	Bath Abbey	1815	PIC	3751300	1647700
419	Bath Abbey	1810	PIC	3751300	1647700
420	Bath Abbey	1824	PIC	3751300	1647700
421	Bath Abbey	1784	PIC	3751300	1647700
422	Bath Abbey	1814	PIC	3751300	1647700
423	Bath Abbey	1815	PIC	3751300	1647700
424	Bath Abbey	1655	PIC	3751300	1647700
425	Bath Abbey	1694	PIC	3751300	1647700
426	Bath Abbey	1694	CD	3751300	1647700
427	Bath Abbey	1655	PIC	3751300	1647700
428	Bath Abbey	1801	PIC	3751300	1647700
429	Bath Abbey	1784	PIC	3751300	1647700
430	Bath Abbey	1750	PIC	3751300	1647700
431	Bath Abbey	1788	PIC	3751300	1647700
432	Bath Abbey	1793	PIC	3751300	1647700
433	Bath Abbey	1838	PIC	3751300	1647700
434	Bath Abbey	1750	PIC	3751300	1647700
435	Bath Abbey	1805	PIC	3751300	1647700
436	Bath Abbey	1845	PIC	3751300	1647700
437	Bath Abbey	1603	CD	3751300	1647700
438	Plan of Bath Abbey	1821	CD	3751300	1647700
439	Plan of Bath Abbey	1834	CD	3751300	1647700

440	Abbey west front	1853	PIC	3571300	1647700
441	The abbey nave	1860	PIC	3751300	1647700
442	Abbey interior	1873	PIC	3751300	1647700
443	Abbey Church House	1849	PIC	3749200	1646600
444	Abbey Church House	1885	PIC	3749200	1646600
445	Orange Grove	1737	PIC	3751800	1647900
446	View of Bath from the south	1662	PIC	37500	16500
447	View of Bath from the south	1650	PIC	37500	16500
448	Monks Mill	1830	PIC	3752400	1648100
449	View of Bath looking north west	1730	PIC	37500	16400
450	Pulteney Bridge	1788	PIC	3751900	1649500
451	Pulteney Bridge	1794	PIC	3751900	1649500
452	Old Bridge	1603	CD	3750500	1643200
453	Old Bridge	1765	PIC	3750500	1643200
454	Old Bridge	1829	PIC	3750500	1643200
455	Cleveland Bridge	1829	PIC	3753400	1656600
456	North Parade Bridge	1840	PIC	3753700	1647100
457	Grosvenor Suspension Bridge	1830	PIC	3762700	1661200
458	Thomas Gibbs Chamberlain's lodgings	1694	PIC	3750400	1646900
459	Mr More's lodgings	1694	PIC	3750700	1647700
460	Alderman Chapman's lodgings	1694	PIC	3750400	1646900
461	Alderman Barber's lodgings	1694	PIC	3750500	1647900
462	Mr William Chapman's lodgings	1694	PIC	3750600	1647300
463	Alderman John Bush's lodgings	1694	PIC	375000	164700
464	Mr Webb's lodgings	1694	PIC	3751200	1646700
465	Mr Ford's lodgings	1694	PIC	3750400	1646900
466	Mr John Bushill's lodgings	1694	PIC	3750400	1646900
467	Mrs East's lodgings	1694	PIC	3751200	1646700
468	Mr Sloper's lodgings	1694	PIC	3750400	1646900
469	The Three Tuns	1694	PIC	3750600	1647300
470	Alderman John Bush's lodgings	1694	PIC	3751000	1648700
471	Mr West's lodgings	1694	PIC	3748800	1647700
472	Alderman Hix's lodgings	1694	PIC	3749500	1647700
473	Mr Walter Gibbs's lodgings	1694	PIC	3749500	1646900
474	Alderman Stibbs's lodgings	1694	PIC	3749500	1647700
475	Ms Toop's lodgings	1694	PIC	3749500	1647700
476	Ms Pocock's lodgings	1694	PIC	3749500	1647700
477	Ms Grandfield's lodgings	1694	PIC	3749500	1647700
478	The Widden Child's lodgings	1694	PIC	3751000	1648700
479	Mr Beacon's and Mr Orange's lodgings	1694	PIC	375000	164900
480	Mr Henry Parker's lodgings	1694	PIC	3750500	1647900
481	Alderman Gibbs's lodgings	1694	PIC	3749500	1646900
482	Alderman Hayward's lodgings	1694	PIC	3749500	1647700
483	The Abbey House	1694	PIC	3751000	1647300
484	The Hart lodgings	1694	PIC	3750400	1646900
485	Mrs Savil's lodgings	1694	PIC	3749200	1646600
486	The Hot Bath	1603	CD	3749700	1646700
487	The Hot Bath	1634	PIC	3749700	1646700
488	The Hot Bath	1694	CD	3749700	1646700

489	The Hot Bath	1738	PIC	3749700	1646700
490	The Pump Room	1738	PIC	3750400	1647400
491	The Pump Room	1754	PIC	3750400	1647400
492	Prior Park	1750	PIC	376200	163100
493	Prior Park	1754	PIC	376200	163100
494	Temple of the Winds, Prior Park	1845	PIC	376200	163100
495	Grotto, Prior Park (actually Gothic Temple)	1800	PIC	376200	163100
496	Widcombe Church	1786	PIC	3759800	1638800
497	Widcombe Old Church	1850	PIC	375980	1638800
498	Thomas Eastcourt's House	1694	PIC	375000	165000
499	Unidentified houses	1730	PIC	37500	16500
500	I. Billings's House	1728	PIC	3750400	1646900
501	Westgate House (front)	1730	PIC	3749500	1647700
502	Westgate House (rear)	1730	PIC	3749500	1647700
503	St James's Church	1694	PIC	3750800	1645800
504	St James's Church	1784	PIC	3750800	1645800
505	St James's Church	1818	PIC	3750800	1645800
506	St James's Church	1850	PIC	3750800	1645800
507	St James's Church	1849	PIC	3750800	1645800
508	St James's Church	1961	PIC	3750800	1645800
509	St James's Church	1603	PIC	3750800	1645800
510	St Saviour's Church	1851	PIC	3760000	1663500
511	St Saviour's Church	1849	PIC	3760000	1663500
512	St Saviour's Church	1912	PIC	3760000	1663500
513	St Michael's Church	1603	CD	3750600	1650200
514	St Michael's Church	1694	PIC	3750600	1650200
515	St Michael's Church	1786	PIC	3750600	1650200
516	St Michael's Church	1833	PIC	3750600	1650200
517	St Michael's Church (interior)	1833	PIC	3750600	1650200
518	St Michael's Church	1837	PIC	3750600	1650200
519	St Michael's Church	1890	PIC	3750600	1650200
520	Bathwick Old Church	1784	PIC	375400	165400
521	Bathwick Old Church	1818	PIC	375400	165400
522	St Mary's Church, Bathwick	1890	PIC	3756800	1650900
523	St Mary's Church, Bathwick (interior)	1890	PIC	3756800	1650900
524	St Stephen's Church	1842	PIC	3748000	1660500
525	St Stephen's Church	1844	PIC	3748000	1660500
526	St Swithin's Church	1784	PIC	3750900	1655600
527	St Mary Magdalen's Chapel	1829	PIC	3747400	1641700
528	St Mary Magdalen's Chapel	192*	PIC	3747400	1641700
529	The Hospital of St John the Baptist	1603	CD	3749300	1647000
530	The Hospital of St John the Baptist	1694	PIC	3749300	1647000
531	Bellott's Hospital	1694	PIC	3750100	1646400
532	Bellott's Hospital	1845	PIC	3750100	1646400
533	Bellott's Hospital	1858	PIC	3750100	1646400
534	Bellott's Hospital	1853–9	PIC	3750100	1646400
535	Bellott's Hospital	1932	PIC	3750100	1646400
536	Kennet and Avon canal	1805	PIC	3758800	1653400
537	Widcombe Top Lock, Kennet and Avon canal	1994	PIC	3758000	1646600

538	Widcombe Lower Lock, Kennet and Avon canal	1972	PIC	3754100	1643000
539	Widcombe Lower Lock, Kennet and Avon canal	1981	PIC	3754100	1643000
540	St James's bridge and station	1846	PIC	3754000	1644300
541	The Skew bridge	1840	PIC	3751600	1643100
542	The Oblique (Skew) bridge	1846	PIC	3751000	1643100
543	Bath Spa station	1846	PIC	3752600	1643400
544	Bath Spa station	1852	PIC	3752600	1643400
545	High Street, Market Place	1858	PIC	3750900	1648200
546	The Cann Office	1694	PIC	3750500	1647300
547	St Michael's Conduit	1694	PIC	3750700	1649900
548	St Mary's Conduit	1694	PIC	3751000	1648800
549	Lime Kiln, Spaw Porticoe	1749	PIC	3737400	1652500
550	East Gate	1845	PIC	37517500	16487500
551	East Gate	c 1650	PIC	37517500	16487500
552	East Gate	1849	PIC	37517500	16487500
553	East Gate	1855	PIC	37517500	16487500
554	East Gate	1900	PIC	37517500	16487500
555	The Summer House at the end of North Parade	1880	PIC	375400	164700
556	Carn Well	1876	PIC	3750600	1652800
557	Stone coffins from Russell Street	1854	PIC	374800	165400
558	Pope's Walk	1853	PIC	375800	163000
559	The Hot Bath	1900	PIC	3749700	1646700
560	The Saxon Abbey	681	DR	3751300	1647700
561	The Saxon Abbey	757	DR	3751300	1647700
562	The Saxon Abbey	775	DR	3751300	1647700
563	The Saxon Abbey	781	DR	3751300	1647700
564	The Saxon Abbey	957	DR	3751300	1647700
565	The Saxon Abbey	970	DR	3751300	1647700
566	The Medieval Abbey	1534	DR	3751300	1647700
567	The Medieval Abbey	1535	DR	3751300	1647700
568	The Medieval Abbey	1572	DR	375130	1647700
569	The Medieval Abbey	1603	DR	375130	1647700
570	The Medieval Abbey	1609	DR	375130	1647700
571	Bath Abbey	1798	DR	375130	1647700
572	The 19th-century Abbey	1833	DR	375130	1647700
573	The 19th-century Abbey	1864	BS	375130	1647700
574	The 20th-century Abbey	1900	BS	375130	1647700
575	Milk Street	1994	PHS	374760	1646200
576	Anglo Terrace, London Road	1815	RO	375320	1657700
577	Milk Street/Avon Street	1989	EV	374820	1646700
578	Empire Hotel	1995	EX	375190	1648400
579	Empire Hotel site	1853	PIC	375200	1649000
580	Empire Hotel site	188*	PIC	375200	1649000
581	Empire Hotel site	1886	PIC	375200	1649000
582	Empire Hotel site	1898	PIC	375200	1649000
583	Cross Bath Sewer Trench	1988	WB	374960	1646900
584	All Saints' Church, Weston	1400	BS	373080	1664300
585	St Michael and All Angels Church, Twerton	1066	BS	372390	1647200
586	The Hospital of St John the Baptist	1573	BS	374930	1647000

587	The Hospital of St John the Baptist	1727	BS	374930	1647000
588	2 Abbey Street (Elton House)	16**	BS	375090	1646800
589	2 and 2a Abbey Green	16**	BS	375140	1646800
590	3 Abbey Green	16**	BS	375140	1646600
591	34 Broad Street	16**	BS	375040	1650800
592	27–33 Walcot Street	16**	BS	375060	1651300
593	5–11 Stall Street	16**	BS	375050	1646700
594	3 and 4 Beau Street	16**	BS	375030	1646400
595	1 and 2 Church Street, Widcombe	16**	BS	375830	1640000
596	11 and 12 Church Street, Widcombe	16**	BS	375900	1640000
597	108 High Street, Weston	16**	BS	372800	1666000
598	120 High Street, Weston	16**	BS	372800	1666000
599	2 Trim Bridge	16**	BS	374920	1649000
600	14 and 15, Westgate Street	1650	BS	374930	1647600
601	2 Crown Hill, Weston	16**	BS	373080	1663600
602	Bladud and 54 Entry Hill, Combe Down	16**	BS	374650	1626600
603	2, Entry Hill Park and 58 Entry Hill, Combe Down	16**	BS	374650	1626600
604	20–25 High Street, Twerton	16**	BS	372730	1646300
605	109 High Street, Weston	16**	BS	372800	1666000
606	124 High Street, Weston	16**	BS	372800	1666000
607	Rosemount Farmhouse	16**	BS	375600	1638000
608	The Loft, Saw Close	16**	BS	374890	1648100
609	Vaults below Cornmarket, Walcot Street	16**	BS	375140	1651900
610	South Hayes House, Wells Road	16**	BS	374580	1642800
611	Weston Manor/Barn	1066	BS	372900	1663000
612	Twerton Farmhouse	15**	BS	372700	1646300
613	Twerton Farm Barn	1066	BS	372700	1646300
614	7a and 7 Broad Street	1593	BS	375020	1650500
615	Wentworth House, Bloomfield Road	197*	RO	374500	1635400
616	Empire Hotel	1995	WB	375190	1648400
617	Vaults beneath the market hall	1995	BS	375170	1648800
618	East Baths	1995	EX	375060	1647400
619	York Street	1995	EX	375060	1647400
620	Kingswood School, Summerhill, Sion Hill Place	1994	WB	374100	1662000
621	Prior Park Grotto	1995	EV	376000	1630000
622	Prior Park Grotto floor	1996	EX	376000	1630000
623	St Michael's Church House	1995	EX	375000	1653000
624	TA Centre, Upper Bristol Road	1995	EV	374150	1650500
625	Sedgemoor Road, Fox Hill	1995	EV	375000	1627000
626	Christopher Hotel building survey (Nowell 1997)	1995	BS	375080	1648300
627	6 Lower Borough Walls	1996	EX	375010	1645800
628	Julian Road/Burlington Street	1989	WB	374730	1650500
629	Kingswood School, Summerhill, Sion Hill Place	1993	EV	374100	1662000
630	Bath High School gymnasium	1993	EV	374700	1658000
631	Oval Motors, Upper Bristol Road	1993	EV	374200	1651000
632	Fox Hill MoD site	1993	EV	375400	1627000
633	Beckford Gardens	1993	WB	375800	165600
634	Combe Down	1993	WB	375000	162000
635	Englishcombe Lane	1993	WB	374000	163200

636	East Baths Survey	1994	BS	375060	164740
637	York Street	1994	EX	375110	164710
638	Widcombe Primary School	1995	WB	375600	164800
639	Stakis Hotel	1995	WB	375500	164340
640	Bath City Farm	1995	WB	372700	164100
641	Mulberry, Sion Hill	1995	WB	374300	166000
642	10 Sion Hill	1995	WB	374300	166000
643	Granville House, Entry Hill Drive	1995	WB	374800	163100
644	Claremont House	1995	WB	376200	162300
645	The Coach House, Audley Park	1995	WB	373500	165500
646	6 The Circus	1995	WB	374700	165210
647	Old Gaol	1995	WB	375220	165130
648	Hat and Feather	1995	WB	375150	165630
649	Widcombe Manor House	1690	BS	375950	163880
650	21 Broad Street	16**	BS	375030	165160
651	6 Lower Borough Walls	1996	EX	375010	164580
652	Royal Victoria Park, Middle Common pipe trenches	1994	RO	374100	165500
653	Guinea Lane pipe trenches	1994	RO	375000	165500
654	London Street pipe trench	1994	RO	375100	165500
655	Bridewll Lane Clay Pipe Factory	1770	DR	374910	164840
656	Milk Street Clay Pipe Factory	1847	DR	374780	164530
657	Powlett Road, Alter	1910	RO	3740067	1655799
658	Combe Lodge, Combe Down	1993	WB	3762078	1623520
659	Monksdale Road	1996	WB	3737475	1638580
660	Richmond Heights	1996	WB	3748499	1664932
661	222 Haycombe Drive	1997	RO	337239	163949
New additions					
662	St John's Hospital	1967	RO	3749196	1647094
663	Prior Park Road, stone coffin and skeleton	1914	RO	—	—
664	Inhumation at Smallcombe Vale	1860	RO	3762607	1641219
665	Coffin 100 years east of Englishcombe Lane	pre-1969	RO	3741326	1641219
666	Partis College finds	1825	RO	3723419	1657248
667	East Baths	1999	EX	3750920	1647347
668	Bellott's Hospital	1999	WB	3750002	1646372
669	Aldridge's (130–136 Walcot Street)	1998	EX	3741326	1632028
670	Guinea Lane	1952	RO	3750	1655
671	2 stone coffins at the foot of Bathwick Hill	pre-1861	SFR	3758	1650
672	Aldridge's (130–132 Walcot Street)	1999	SE	3751242	1654985
673	Old Police Station and Magistrates Court	1998	EV	3751673	1648397
674	1 Union Street	1999	EV	3750018	1647893
675	Chronicle Printing Works	1997	EV	374950	164800
676	Beau Street Baths	1999	EX	374970	164670
677	Orange Grove	c 1890	RO	375179	164779
678	Abbey Churchyard	c 1890	RO	375070	164770
679	The Tramsheds, Beehive Yard	1999	EX	375114	165252
680	Sion Hill	1999	SE	3745158	1662003
681	Upper East Hayes	1792	SFR	3750000	1660004
682	Kingston Parade	1983	EX	3751180	1647425
683	Kingston Buildings	1993	EX	3751444	1647449

684	R-B coin, 13 Poolemead Road	1964	SFR	3719002	1641005
685	R-B coin, 2 Whiteway Avenue	1786	SFR	3724000	1632009
686	R-B coffin, 12 Southdown Road	1865/6	SFR	37291	16326
687	Sewer Trench, Cross Baths	1884	RO	374960	164683
688	Mineral Water Hospital	1909	RO	374946	164865
689	1 Union Street	1997	WB	3750018	1647893
690	Lindsey's Lower Assembly Rooms (Terrace Walk)	c 1728	RO	375204	16474
691	Circus Mews	1998	EX	375203	164741
692	Stone coffin found in Beechwood Road, Combe Down	1930	RO	3759932	1620889
693	Southgate 1	1997	EV	3751	1642
694	Southgate 2	1998/9	EV	3751	1642
695	Beechen Cliff	1997	EV	374601	164331
696	Stone coffin found in Belmont Road, Combe Down	1854	RO	376147	162212
697	New Bond Street	pre-1913	RO	375026	164953
698	R-B coffin, Belmont	pre-1936	RO	376147	162212
699	Beechen Cliff	1998	EX	374601	164331
700	Beechen Cliff	1999	WB/SE	374601	164331
701	68 and 70 Walcot Street	1999	EV	375072	165243
702	Tram Shed, Generator Hall, Boiler House and Walcot Foundry Building Survey	1999	BS	375122	165282
703	13 Henrietta Road	2000	EX	3753966	1654211
704	Walcot Street	c 1743–1749	RO	3750938	1653952
705	Orange Grove	1895	RO	3751900	1647800
706	Bath Abbey	1913	BS	3751300	1647700
707	Bath Abbey	1914	BS	3751300	1647700
708	Bath Abbey	c 1991	BS	3751300	1647700
709	19–20 High Street	2000	BS	3750920	1648630

APPENDIX 2 Gazetteer of monuments

Key to table:

MRN – Monument Recognition Number

Recognition type:

LPR Later prehistoric

IA Iron Age

RO Romano-British

EM Early medieval

MD Medieval

PM Post-medieval

MO Modern

UN Unknown

WB Watching brief

LB Listed building

Cart/Doc Cartographic/Documentary

MRN	Monument name	Period	OS easting	OS northing	Corresponding srn
1	Stone buildings, Blue Coat School	RO	374900	164850	72
2	Stone buildings, Bridewell Lane	RO	374930	164820	75
3	Stone buildings, 30, Westgate Street	RO	374930	164780	77
4	Stone buildings, Weymouth House School	RO	375140	164620	201
5	Stone buildings, Mineral Water Hospital, West Wing	RO	374940	164870	66
6	Stone buildings, Mineral Water Hospital, East Wing	RO	374990	164870	68
7	Baths, 2–4 Hot Bath Street	RO	374940	164650	331
8	Baths, Bath Technical College, Beau Street	RO	374960	164630	200
9	Stone buildings, 30–31 Stall Street	RO	375040	164660	91
10	Stone buildings, Swallow Street/Abbeygate Street, 1984–85	RO	375100	164640	222–4
11	Stone buildings, Crystal Palace and 2 Abbey Street	RO	375100	164670	89–90
12	Stone buildings, Citizen House	RO	374890	164740	83–4
13	East Gate	MD	375175	164875	
14	Medieval ditch, Seven Dials	MD	374850	164800	

15	Ham Gate	MD	375120	164580	
16	Defensive structure, 1–9 Upper Borough Walls	RO	375070	164940	58
17	Rampart, Harvey's Building, Upper Borough Walls	RO	375050	164920	58
18	Rampart, Seven Dials	MD	374870	164820	67
19	Ditch, St John's Hospital	RO	374940	164720	WB 1954
20	Monumental stone structure, under Bath Abbey	RO	375080	164750	369
21	Cross Bath	RO	374950	164690	687 334–5
22	Cross Bath	MD	374950	164690	335
23	Elizabethan–18th-century Cross Bath	PM	374950	164690	Doc/Cart
24	Late 18th-century Cross Bath	PM	374950	164690	Doc/Cart
25	Bath Cathedral	MD	375130	164770	
26	Roman Road 1, Bath Street	RO	374970	164710	676
27	Beau Street, Roman buildings and drain	RO	375980	164690	269–7, 224–5
28	Bath Suite, City Walls	MD	375030	164770	
29	Roman Baths	RO	375080	164720	224–7, 391,396,230–1,235–6,298–9, 238,326
30	Temple of Sulis Minerva	RO	375060	164740	227–8 231–2,237,239,241–2
31	Stone structure, Red House Bakery, Old Orchard	RO	375100	165320	41 679
32	Walcot Area Roman cemetery	RO	375000	165000	15–16 41,56–8 73 80 679
33	Road, Hat and Feather/Nelson Place area Roman settlement	RO	375200	165600	5 108 292 295 191 300 526
34	Stone structure, St John's	RO	375370	165530	23 24 386
35	Bathwick Roman cemetery	RO	375000	165000	6 25 26 29 32 39–40 43–6 51,65 110 179 657
36	Lower Common Villa	RO	374200	165200	208–9
37	Norfolk Crescent Roman building	RO	374400	164900	62
38	Sion Hill/Lansdown Roman cemetery	RO	374600	165800	127 680–1 210–11 213–15
39	Sion Hill Iron Age settlement	LPR	374300	166200	212 215
40	Lower Weston area Roman cemetery	RO	373500	165100	121–2 124
41	Englishcombe/Perrymead area Roman cemetery	RO	374000	163000	394
42	Combe Down Roman Villa	RO	376140	162210	204–5
43	Sydney Road Roman building	RO	375770	165160	47
44	Daniel Street Roman building	RO	375510	165340	38
45	Julian Road Roman building	RO	374600	165400	25–6 29
46	St Mary de Stalls Cemetery	MD	375040	164750	239,242
47	Sally Lunn's Tea Shop	MD/PM	375160	164690	301
48	Abbey Church House	PM	379420	164690	Doc/cart
49	Hotel, Christopher Hotel	PM	375080	164830	Doc/cart
50	3 North Parade Passage	PM	375150	164690	Doc/cart
51	Cemetery, St Thomas à Becket, Widcombe	PM	375980	163880	Doc/cart
52	All Saints' Church, Upper Weston	PM	373080	166340	Doc/cart
53	St Michael and All Angels, Twerton	MD	372390	164720	Doc/cart
54	3 Broad Street	MD	375020	165030	Doc/cart
54	3 Broad Street	PM	375020	165030	Doc/cart
55	St Mary Magdalen's Chapel	MD	374740	164170	Doc/cart
56	The Hospital of St John the Baptist	PM	374930	164700	Doc/cart
57	2 Abbey Street (Elton House)	PM	375090	164680	Doc/cart

58	2 and 2a Abbey Green	PM	375140	164680	Doc/cart
59	3 Abbey Green	PM	375140	164660	Doc/cart
60	34 Broad Street	PM	375040	165080	Doc/cart
61	27–33 Walcot Street	PM	375060	165130	LB
62	5–11 Stall Street	PM	375050	164670	LB
63	3 and 4 Beau Street	PM	375030	164640	Doc/cart
64	1 and 2 Church Street, Widcombe	PM	375830	164000	LB
65	11 and 12 Church Street, Widcombe	PM	375900	164000	LB
66	108 High Street, Weston	PM	372800	166600	LB
67	120 High Street, Weston	PM	372800	166600	LB
68	2 Trim Bridge	PM	374920	164900	Doc/cart
69	14 and 15 Westgate Street	PM	374930	164760	LB
70	2 Crown Hill, Weston	PM	373080	166360	LB
71	Bladud and 54 Entry Hill, Combe Down	PM	374650	162660	LBt
72	2 Entry Hill Park and 58 Entry Hill	PM	374650	162660	LB
73	20–25 High Street, Twerton	PM	372730	164630	LB
74	109 High Street, Weston	PM	372800	166600	LB
75	124 High Street, Weston	PM	372800	166600	LB
76	Rosemount Farmhouse	PM	375600	163800	Doc/cart
77	The Loft, Saw Close	PM	374890	164810	LB
78	Vaults below Cornmarket, Walcot Street	PM	375140	165190	LB
79	South Hayes House, Wells Road	PM	374580	164280	LB
80	Weston Manor/Barn	MD	372900	166300	Doc/cart
81	Twerton Farmhouse	MD	372700	164630	Doc/cart
82	Twerton Farm Barn	MD	372700	164630	Doc/cart
83	7a and 7 Broad Street	PM	375020	165050	LB
84	Widcombe Manor House	PM	375950	163880	Doc/cart
85	Roman street beneath Bath Abbey	RO	375140	164740	140 369
86	Roman building under Bath Abbey	RO	375140	164750	234 377 369
87	Early medieval cemetery, Bath Abbey	EM	375130	164750	162, 369, 618, 667
88	Cathedral cemetery	MD	375140	164750	82,136–40, 162, 360, 678, 367–9
89	21 Broad Street	PM	375030	165160	LB
90	Lower Common Iron Age round houses	IA	374200	165200	208–9
New additions					
92	Sion Hill Romano-British buildings	RO	3744170	1662333	211
93	St James's Cemetery	MD	3750981	1646689	89, 90, 289,222
94	Monk's Cemetery	MD	3751920	1647940	78
95	Hot Baths	MD	3749705	1646359	94–5
96	Roman Road 2, Bath Street	RO	374970	164710	229 239
97	Roman buildings, Bath Street	RO	3750179	1646459	229, 239
98	Barton Lane	MD	37502	16491	307
99	Lot Lane	MD	37517	16487	351,578,616
100	St James's Church and Cemetery	MD	3751355	1645846	202
101	Isabell Mill	MD			Doc/cart
102	Twerton hollow-way	MD	3723000	1636000	Doc/cart
103	Deserted medieval settlement, Berwicke Farm	MD	3742096	1624045	315

104	Romano-British villa, Beechen Cliff	RO	3746398	1643320	695 699 700
105	North Gate	MD	3750918	1649217	Doc/cart
106	South Gate	MD	3750620	1645732	Doc/cart
107	West Gate	MD	3748642	1647620	Doc/Car
108	Rectangular enclosure	RO	3725705	1634132	685–6
109	Odd Down Romano-British occupation	RO	3742096	1624045	143, 148, 117
110	Chapel of St John the Baptist	MD	3749480	1646900	123
111	St John's Hospital	MD	3749500	1646750	269–71, 350
112	St John's Cemetery	MD	3749500	1646750	123
113	St John's Gateway	MD			Doc/cart
114	St Michael by the Baths	MD	374900	1647600	Doc/cart
115	King's Bath	MD	375050	1647400	Doc/cart
116	The Prior's lodgings	MD	3750920	1647347	Doc/cart
117	Bishop's Palace	MD	3751000	1646400	222–3, 265
118	Cloisters	MD	3751400	1647500	683, 367, 369, 301
119	Monastic Infirmary	MD	375060	1647400	242
120	Church of St Mary de Stalls	MD	375060	1647400	Doc
121	Church of St James (I)	MD	3751000	1646700	89,90
122	The medieval city walls	MD			53,616,202,269
123	Bellott's Hospital	PM	3750002	1646372	668
124	Culvert and opening in city wall	MD	3751200	1645800	202
125	St Mary Magdalen Hospital and Chapel	MD			Doc/cart
126	Hospital of St Catherine	MD	3749600	1646300	200
127	All Saints Church	MD			Doc/cart
128	Area of medieval pits	MD	374970	1647200	269–71, 350
129	Early medieval street	EM	374970	1647200	269–71 350
130	Possible grubenhaus	MD	374970	1647200	269–71 350
131	The early medieval city walls	EM	3750700	1649400	53
132	Timber building and hearth	EM	3723000	1636000	407
133	Occupation deposits	EM	374970	1647200	269–71 350
134	Stone building and hearth	EM	374970	1647200	269–71 350
135	Occupation deposits and hearths	EM	374970	1647200	269–71 350
136	Leper's Bath, Hot Bath	PM	374940	164650	Doc/cart

APPENDIX 3 Romano-British burials in the UAD area

MRN 32 Roadside burials along Walcot Street		
SRN	Site name	Description / references
30	Walcot Street 'near the Bell Inn', pre-1658	Tombstone (Guidott 1669, 40; Horsley 1732, 328; Scarth 1864, 74; Haverfield 1906, 278–9; Collingwood and Wright 1965; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 202)
109	Chatham Row, pre-1792	Two stone coffins and urn (Anon 1792)
20	Walcot Playground, pre-1801	Urns (Warner 1801, 276; Tunstall 1847, 251)
19	Walcot, pre-1818	Urn (Anon 1818)
50	Walcot multi-storey car park entrance, pre-1829	Tomb slab (Hunter 1829, 420; Scarth 1864, 72; Haverfield 1906, 278; Collingwood and Wright 1965, 54; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 201)
21	London Street (almost opposite Walcot Church), pre-1905	Stone coffin (Haverfield 1906, 265; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 215)
293	130–136 Walcot Street, 1991	Fragments of human skull (Beaton 1991)
669	Aldridge's, 1998	Evaluation trench excavated (Site report, in preparation)
672	Aldridge's, 130–132 Walcot Street, 1999	Salvage excavation following watching brief: lead coffin and a number of inhumations uncovered (Site report in preparation)
Tombstones and burial evidence from the walled town		
SRN	Site name	Description / references
56	incorporated into the city wall west of the Northgate	Tomb slab (Collingwood and Wright 1965, 164; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 202)
397	Incorporated into the city wall, c 1533	Inscribed tombstone (Leland 1711; Collingwood and Wright 1965, 165; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 202)
57	Incorporated into the city wall west of the Northgate, pre-1600	Part of the plinth of a monumental tomb (Camden 1586, 203; Collingwood and Wright 1965, 161; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 201)
73	15, 16 and 17 High Street, pre-1736	Tombstone (Anon 1736, 622; Stukeley 1776, 192–3; Collinson 1791, 12; Scarth 1864, 64; Haverfield 1906, 276; Collingwood and Wright 1965, 52; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 201)
80	Westgate House, pre-1776	Inscribed stone – probable tombstone; not necessarily in original position (Anon 1776a; Lewis 1881, 145; Watkin 1881, 300; Haverfield 1906, 280; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 204)
58	7, 8 and 9 Upper Borough Walls, pre-1803	Tombstone (Anon 1803a, 1803c, 1803d; Anon 1804; Browne 1807; Lysons 1813; Duffield 1813, 31; Scarth 1864, 78; Haverfield 1906, 279, 286; Collingwood and Wright 1965, 54; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 201–203)
70	Boat Stall Lane, 1824	Human bones; not certainly Roman (Anon 1824; Scarth 1864, 99; Haverfield 1906, 283)
66	Mineral Water Hospital, East Wing, pre-1859	?cinerary urn (Anon 1859b; Scarth 1863, 187–193; Scarth 1864, 77, 89; Haverfield 1906, 261; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 199, 209)
82	Terrace Walk, 1815 and 1874	'Coffins'; not necessarily in original position (Hunt 1852a; Hunt Collection, volume 1, newspaper article of 1874)

MRN 32 Roadside burials along London Road		
15	Fosseway, Walcot, 1592	Tombstone (Camden 1586, 91; Horsley 1732, 327; Wood 1765, 420; Warner 1797, 21; Scarth 1864, 61–62; Haverfield 1906, 273–275; Collingwood and Wright 1965, 51; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 200)
16	Fosseway, Walcot, 1592	Tombstone (Wood 1765, 420; Horsley 1732, 327; Camden 1586, 91; Warner 1797, 21; Scarth 1864, 61–2; Collingwood and Wright 1965, 51; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 200)
17	London Road, Walcot, 1714	Statue head, possible part of funerary monument (Horsley 1732, 329; Scarth 1864, 27; Haverfield 1906, 285; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 202)
129	Grosvenor Gardens, pre-1714	Tombstone (Musgrave 1714; Warner 1797, 9–10; Scarth 1854, 102; Scarth 1864, 64; Haverfield 1906, 265; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 201)
12	London Street, Walcot, pre-1718	Stone coffin (Musgrave 1718, 204)
13	London Road, pre-1719	Tombstone and two cinerary urns (Musgrave 1720, 192, 204; Horsley 1732, 323; Stukeley 1776, 148; Scarth 1864, 59; Haverfield 1906, 275; Collingwood and Wright 1965, 54; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 200, 215)
137	Lower Hayes, London Road, 1792	Tombstone (Lysons 1813, 11; Scarth 1864, 59; Collingwood and Wright 1965; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 200)
576	Anglo-Terrace, London Road, 1815	Two stone coffins with skeletons and urns; could be the same as srn 10 (Haverfield 1906, 263, 265; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 211)
10	Sainsbury and Acres Malthouse, pre-1815	see below no. 8 (Skinner 1803–34); Cranch 1815; Cranch 1816a, 1, 7–10; Cranch 1816b, 4; Scarth 1864, 98, 132–133; Haverfield 1906, 263, 280–1, 283; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 206, 211)
8	Walcot Methodist Church, London Road, pre-1816	[8, 9 and 10 together] Four stone coffins, two urns (Skinner 1803–34; Cranch 1816a, 1, 7–10; Cranch 1816b, 4; Haverfield 1906, 263, 280–1, 283; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 206, 211)
9	Camden Park, Hedgemoad Park, pre-1816	See above (Cranch 1816a)
130	Lambridge, 1824	Stone coffin (Scarth 1864, 99)
14	London Road, Walcot, pre-1864	Part of a tomb (Scarth 1864, 35; Haverfield 1906, 286; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 202)
7	Clevedon Place, 1867	Three interments; one in a coffin, two cists (Scarth 1869, 9–10, 18; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 215)
108	Hedgemoad Park, pre-1888	Stone coffin (Anon 1888a, 1888b)
131	10 Lambridge, London Road, 1911	Stone sarcophagus; probably included wooden coffin (Bush 1914, 114–116; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 215)
5	8 Walcot Parade, London Road, 1922	Coffin 1922, 169–170; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 215)
3	Snow Hill House, London Road, 1954 and 1956	Four stone coffins (Anon 1955, 140; Anon 1956, 1; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 215)
MRN 45 Roadside burials along Julian Road		
36	11 Russell Street, 1818	Three skeletons (Scarth 1864, 99; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 216)
37	Victoria Park, 1829–1832	‘Skeleton’ (Anon 1862; Scarth 1864, 110; Bruce 1880; Haverfield 1906, 266)
35	12 Russell Street, 1836	Coffin, two skeletons (Scarth 1864, 99; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 216)
34	Russell Street, 1852	Seven coffins (Hunt 1852a; unknown newspaper 1856; Scarth 1864, 102–103; Haverfield 1906, 266; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 217)
136	Lansdown Road/Guinea Lane, 1862	Coffins (Falconer 1904, 316; Norton 1969, 215)
25	Julian Road, 1869–70	Seven stone coffins (Anon 1873; Irvine Papers, volume 6; Haverfield 1906, 262–66; Davenport 1999b; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 211, 217)
31	11 Royal Crescent, 1888	‘Skeleton’ (Haverfield 1906, 266; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 217)
179	Julian Road, 1986–7	Scattered human remains (Davenport 1999b)
MRN 35 Bathwick Cemetery		
110	Bathwick Meadows, pre-1794	Stone coffin (Irvine Papers, volume 1)
46	Sydney Gardens, pre-1797	Tombstone (Warner 1797, 25, 47; Crutwell 1799; Lysons 1813, 9; Hunter 1827, 392; Scarth 1864, 54; Haverfield 1906, 277; Collingwood and Wright 1965, 155; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 200)
48	‘Above’ St Mary’s Church, 1818	Stone coffin (Anon 1818)

51	Sydney Wharf, 1819	Stone coffin, lead coffin, 21 skeletons (Anon 1819, 2; Scarth 1864, 99; Haverfield 1906; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 215)
85	21 Sydney Buildings, 1823	Stone coffin (Anon 1823a, 1823b; Scarth 1864, 99–100; Haverfield 1906, 266; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 216)
6	North side of Hampton Row, 1857	Interment in wooden cist, 3 urns (Scarth 1864, 101; Haverfield 1906, 220; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 212)
45	Sydney Gardens, 1866	Two stone coffins (Scarth 1876, 28; Haverfield 1906, 266; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 216)
671	'at foot of Bathwick hill', pre-1861	Two stone coffins (Pettigrew 1861, 232)
44	Sydney Gardens, c 1861	Stone coffin (Pettigrew 1861, 232; Scarth 1864, 101; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 216)
65	Bathwick Hill/ Sydney Buildings Junction, 1861	Three stone coffins (Scarth 1864, 100–101; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 216)
32	Powlett Court, Kirkham Buildings, pre-1905	Altar (Shickle 1921, 16–19; Haverfield 1906, 263–4; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 212)
657	Powlett Road, pre-1910	Winged altar (Anon 1910, 110)
43	Sydney Gardens, 1914	Skeleton in stone coffin (Taylor 1914, 53–4; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 216)
24	St John's Road, Bathwick, 1923	Stone coffin (Taylor and Collingwood 1922, 266–67; Taylor 1923, 214; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 216)
39	Henrietta Gardens (behind), 1931	Skeleton in stone coffin (Grey 1931, 374; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 216)
40	Henrietta Gardens (behind), pre-1953	'Coffins' (1953 Ordnance Survey map)
386	St John's Road, 1988	Part of a skeleton (Davenport 1988)
703	13 Henrietta Road, Bathwick, 2000	Disarticulated human remains (Bell and Moffatt (eds) 2000)
MRN 40 Lower Weston Cemetery		
121	Windsor Place, 1863	'Coffins' (Haverfield 1906, 266; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 217)
122	Gasworks, Upper Bristol Road, 1815	Skeleton and urn (Scarth 1864, 98; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 217)
124	Locksbrook Cemetery Lodge, 1863	Two stone coffins, stone cist and cremation, urned cremations, human skeletons in gravel pit (Anon 1863a; Scarth 1864, 103; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 217)
666	Partis College, pre-1825	Fourteen stone coffins and one possible wooden coffin (Scarth 1854, 57–8; Yates 1854, 408; Norton 1969, 217)
145	Twerton, 1866	Two stone coffins (Anon 1872a; Anon 1872b; Anon 1937)
145	Argyle Terrace, Twerton, 1872	Stone coffin and altar (Anon 1872a; Anon 1872b; Anon 1937)
145	Argyle Terrace, Twerton, 1879	Stone coffin (Anon 1937)
MRN 38 Cemetery at Sion Hill		
681	Upper East Hayes, 1792 (41 Mount Road)	Part of a tombstone (Lysons 1813; Scarth 1864; Collingwood and Wright 1965, 160; Cunliffe (ed) 1969)
135	St Catherine's Hermitage, 1808	Two stone coffins and one extended inhumation (Cranch 1816a; Scarth 1864, 98)
127	Richmond Road, 1840	Stone coffin (Scarth 1854, 53–4; Norton 1969, 216)
210	Domestic Science College, 1954	Three stone coffins and two or three inhumations (Anon 1955, 140; Startin 1969, 212, 217; Cunliffe 1979a, 126)
211	'Holly Heights', Sion Hill, 1954	Three stone coffin (Anon 1954, 9; Wedlake 1979c, 132)
212	College of Education, 1958	Inhumation in pit (Gardner 1966, 15; Gardner 1979, 126–128)
213	College of Education, Sion Hill, 1958	Several inhumations, including two stone coffins (Wedlake 1979c, 129, 132)
214	Kelso Lodge, Sion Road, 1959	Stone coffin with female skeleton (Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 217)
215	College of Education, 1972	One stone coffin, one wooden coffin (Startin 1979, 129–130)
680	Sion Hill, 1999	Six inhumations, including one stone coffin and a timber coffin (Peter Davenport pers comm 2000; brief summary by Rob Bell and Marek Lewcun in the Unpubl. Bath Archaeological Trust annual report)
Widcombe burials		
114	Abbey Cemetery, Perrymead, 1843	Two stone coffins (Scarth 1864, 102; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 217)
318	Abbey Cemetery, Perrymead, 1859	Stone coffin (Scarth 1864, 102; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 214, 218)
664	Cemetery, Smallcombe Vale, 1860	Inhumation (Scarth 1864, 104; Norton 1969, 217)

663	Prior Park Road, near the Old White Hart Hotel, 1914	Stone coffin and skeleton (entry in the UAD for Englishcombe Cemetery, mnrn 41, by John Clarke)
319	Abbey Cemetery, Perrymead, 1952	Skeleton in stone coffin (Anon 1953, 123; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 217; Wedlake 1979c, 132)
106	Widcombe Hill House, pre-1966	Urn (Ordnance Survey Archaeology Division Record Card 1966)
Odd Down and Combe Down burials		
205	Belmont Road, 1822	Stone coffins (Anon 1822; Neville 1854, 289; Yates 1854, 4089–; Ouvry 1855, 90–1; Scarth 1855, 60–65; Neville 1857, 172; Anon 1863b; Scarth 1864, 75, 117; 1876, 21; Haverfield 1906, 309–12; Pitcairn and Richardson 1924, 1, 2, 48; Addison 1995, 16)
205	Belmont Road, 1854	Three stone coffins, two skeletons, stone cist and cremation, two funerary urns (Anon 1822; Neville 1854, 289; Yates 1854, 408–9; Ouvry 1855, 90–1; Scarth 1855, 606–5; Neville 1857, 172; Anon 1863b; Scarth 1864, 75, 117; Scarth 1876, 21; Haverfield 1906, 309–12; Pitcairn and Richardson 1924, 1, 2, 48; Addison 1995, 16)
692	Beechwood Road, 1930	Stone coffin
698	Belmont House, pre-1936 (1854)	Stone coffin
113	Hansford Square, 1936	Stone coffin (Anon 1936)
148	Fox Hill Housing estate, 1952	Child's skull (Wedlake 1979c, 131)
MRN 41 Englishcombe Lane Cemetery		
115	27 Englishcombe Lane, 1943	Stone coffin (Crook 1943, 145–7; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 218)
116	Englishcombe Lane, 1911	Stone coffin (Bush 1914, 111–112; Anon 1955, 140; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 218)
146	Englishcombe Lane, 1954	Stone coffin (Anon 1955, 140)
163	70 Devonshire Cottage (Wellsway), early 20th century	Columbarium (Pitcairn and Richardson 1924, 35)
394	Englishcombe Lane, pre-1854	'Stone coffins' (Scarth 1854, 59; Cunliffe (ed) 1969, 217)
665	100 yards east of 27 Englishcombe Lane	Stone coffin (Norton 1969, 214)
Southdown Road and Whiteway burials		
686	12 Southdown Road, 1865–6	Three stone coffins (Irvine Papers)
138	Whiteway Oval, 1984	Stone coffin and skeletal material (Davenport 1991d, 136–7)
661	222 Haycombe Drive, 1997	Two stone coffins, each containing a skeleton (Davenport pers comm)

APPENDIX 4 Summary of burials found during excavations at Abbey Heritage Centre, 1993

Phase	Sex	Age	Skeleton ID	Grave ID	Wooden coffin	Stone niche	Charcoal burial	Cist	Stone /rubble lined
3			Not excavated	Grave 2051	Y				
3	F	Adult	Skeleton 6	Grave 262	Y		partial		
3	M	Adult	Skeleton 20	Grave 2039				Y	
3	M	45	Skeleton 1	Grave 214				Y	
2-3			Empty grave	Grave 331					
2-3			Empty grave	Grave 318					
2-3			Not excavated	Grave 2024					
2-3			Not excavated	Grave 2027					
2-3			Not excavated	Grave 2025					
2-3			Empty grave	Grave 324/436				Y	
2-3			Not excavated	Grave 2056				Y	
2-3	M	17-25	Skeleton 29	Grave 2037				Y	
2-3	?	Adult	Skeleton 18	Grave 638					
2-3	?	?	Skeleton 10	Grave 329	Y				
2-3	?	Adult	Skeleton 7	Grave 286					
2			Empty grave	Grave 431				Y	
2			Empty grave	Grave 423				Y	
2			Not excavated	Grave 2053				Y	
2	?	25-35	Skeleton 16	Grave 279				Y	
2	M	Adult	Skeleton 5	Grave 263					Y
1-2			Empty grave	Grave 106					

1			Not excavated	Grave 250				
1			Not excavated	Grave 725				
1			Not excavated	Grave 708				
1	?	?	Skeleton 27	Grave 763				
1	?	Adult	Skeleton 19	Grave 2032				
1	F	33–45	Skeleton 26	Grave 739				
1	F	Adult	Skeleton 25	Grave 737				
1	F	33–45	Skeleton 4	Grave 270				Y *
1	?	Adult	Skeleton 17	Grave 251				Y
1	?	Adult	Skeleton 12	Grave 429				Y
1			Not excavated	Grave 2038				Y
1			Not excavated	Grave 2062		Y		?
1			Empty grave	Grave 296	Y			Y
1			Not excavated	Grave 783				Y
1			Not excavated	Grave 728				Y
1	M	33–45	Skeleton 11	Grave 294		Y		
1	M	33–45	Skeleton 8	Grave 288	Y	Y		
1	M	17–25	Skeleton 3	Grave 248	?	Y		
1	M	33–45	Skeleton 2	Grave 104	Y	Y		
1	M	35	Skeleton 22	Grave 712	Y	Y		Y
1	?	Adult	Skeleton 21	Grave 710	Y			Y
1	M	33–45	Skeleton 15	Grave 2010	Y			Y
1	?	Adult	Skeleton 13	Grave 299	Y			Y
1	?		Skeleton 28	Grave 774	Y			
1	M	Adult	Skeleton 24	Grave 735	Y			
1	M	Adult	Skeleton 23	Grave 723	Y			
1	M	25–35	Skeleton 14	Grave 2004	Y			
1	M	33–45	Skeleton 9	Grave 291	Y			
1			Not excavated	Grave 793				

* included inscribed stone fragment

? sex could not be determined

APPENDIX 5 Burials found during excavations at Abbey Churchyard, 1980

P1: Alignment of skeleton south-west to north-east

P2: Alignment of skeleton west-west-south to east-east-north

P3: Alignment of skeleton west-west-north to east-east-south

A1: Arms straight by sides

A2: Arms bent over abdomen

PINS: shroud pins found

Phase	Sex	Age	West trench							East trench						
			Skeleton ID	P1	P2	P 3	A1	A2	PINS	Skeleton ID	P1	P2	P3	A1	A2	PINS
101/5	?	20–21								Skeleton 27A		Y		Y		Y
101/5	?	Adult								Skeleton 27B		Y				
101/5	M	50+								Skeleton 28			Y	Y		
101/5	F	40+	Skeleton 1	Y			Y									
101/5	M	40–45	Skeleton 2A		Y											
101/5	?	35–45	Skeleton 2B		Y			Y								
101/5	M	45+	Skeleton 3		Y			Y								
101/5	M	25–30	Skeleton 4	Y			Y		Y							
101/5	F	23–25	Skeleton 5													
101/5	?	4–6	Skeleton 6A		Y				Y							
101/5	?	6–8	Skeleton 6B		Y											
101/5	M	30+	Skeleton 7	Y												
101/5	?	25–35	Skeleton 8	Y			Y									
101/5	M	Adult	Skeleton 9	Y												
101/5	M	35+	Skeleton 10A		Y			Y								
101/5	?	10	Skeleton 10B		Y											
101/5	?	5–6	Skeleton 11	Y												
101/5	M	Adult	Skeleton 12		?			Y	Y							
101/5	?	10–11	Skeleton 13	Y				Y								
101/5	?	12–15	Skeleton 14	Y				Y								
101/5	F	20–25								Skeleton 29		Y				
101/5	?	Adult								Skeleton 30			Y			

101/6	F	Adult	Skeleton 15	Y				
101/6	?	?	Skeleton 15A	Y				
101/6	F	25–35				Skeleton 31	Y	Y
101/6	F	Adult	Skeleton 16	Y				
101/6	?	Adult	Skeleton 23	Y				
101/6	?	16–17	Skeleton 22	Y				
101/6	?	12–15	Skeleton 21	Y				
101/6	?	15–16	Skeleton 17	Y		Y		
101/6	?	35–45	Skeleton 24	Y				
101/6	M	45+				Skeleton 32	Y	Y
101/6	?	4–5				Skeleton 33	Y	
101/6	?	6	Skeleton 20A	Y				
101/6	?	30+	Skeleton 20B	Y				
101/6	M	Adult	Skeleton 19	Y?				
101/6	?	?				Skeleton 34	Y?	
101/6	M	40+	Skeleton 18	Y?				
101/6	F	c 25	Skeleton 25		Y	Y		
101/6	?	?				Skeleton 35	Y	
101/6	?	40–45				Skeleton 36	Y	
101/6	?	Adult	Skeleton 26	Y?	Y?			
101/13	?	17–25	Skull 3					
101/13	?	Adult	Skull 2					
101/13	F	25–35	Skull 1					
101/13	M	45+				Skull 4		
101/13	F	35–45				Skeleton 37	Y	
101/13	?	9–10				Skeleton 38	Y	
101/13	F	45+				Skeleton 39	Y	
101/13	?	5–6				Skeleton 40	Y	
101/13	?	9–10				Skeleton 41A	Y	
101/13	?	8–9				Skeleton 41B	Y	
101/13	?	40–45				Skeleton 42	Y	
101/13	?	25–30				Skeleton 43	Y	
	?	10–17	Skeleton 53			Skeleton 53		
	?	4–10	Skeleton 55			Skeleton 55		
	F	35+	Skeleton 57			Skeleton 57		
	M?	Adult	Skeleton 58			Skeleton 58		
	?	45+	Skeleton 59			Skeleton 59		

APPENDIX 6 Early medieval sources

Date	Source	Description/reference
577	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle	<p>Sims-Williams translates the passage as follows: ‘the West Saxon kings Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons and killed three kings, Conmail, Condidan and Farinmail, at the place which is called Dyrham; and they captured three of their cities, Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath’. However, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was compiled in the 9th century, long after these events took place and Sims-Williams notes that the entry raises some suspicions. For example, it is unlikely that Cirencester was in British hands as late as 577, and it might be inspired by later West Saxon claims on southern Mercian territory. Early West Saxon annals were compiled in the context of rivalry with Mercia, and even taken at face value it is difficult to interpret; for instance, the verb <i>genamon</i> meaning ‘captured’ does not necessarily signify permanent West Saxon occupation (Sims-Williams 1990, 23).</p> <p>Manco dismisses this interpretation as ‘excessively sceptical’: if it were a later West Saxon invention to bolster their claim to the former Dobunnic territory, why not add Worcester as well? She believes that the omission lends the document historical plausibility (Manco 1998a, 30).</p>
628	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle	<p>Manco interprets a passage of the Chronicle as follows: ‘the West Saxons fought the (Anglian) Penda of Mercia at Cirencester and afterwards came to terms’. She goes on to argue that the Penda had probably forged an alliance with local leaders because the former Dobunnic territory was not amalgamated with Mercia. Instead it became the client kingdom of the Hwicce (Manco 1998a).</p>
658	?	<p>Manco states that from 658 ‘the West Saxons, their expansion to the west and north blocked, overran the free British territory of the South-West, so the Bristol Avon became a boundary between Wessex and the Hwicce’ (Manco 1998a).</p>
6 Nov 675	Charter (srn 410)	<p>The foundation charter for Bath monastery was described by Sawyer as a Latin copy of the authentic original (Sawyer 1968, charter 51). According to Sims-Williams, the copy was made in the 12th century, and it was held in the Bath cartulary, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 111. It stated that the land for the monastery was granted by Osric, king of the Hwicce (the Mercian sub-kingdom subsequently served by the bishopric of Worcester) to an abbess Berta (<i>Bertanae abbatissae</i>) on 6 November 675 (Sims-Williams 1974, 2). In his later work, he points out that the inclusion of monasteries recorded in 675–700 does not necessarily indicate a sudden upsurge in English monasticism, but rather the promotion by clerics of the charter as a written record of donations to the church. In fact, some of the monasteries with ‘foundation charters’ later than 675 might have long been in existence at the date when their charters were obtained from the Mercian king or his sub-kings (Sims-Williams 1990, 85).</p> <p>Manco notes that the charter does not explicitly state that the convent was to be in Bath. Given the pattern of Anglo-Saxon kings granting former Roman centres to the Church, she argues that we may assume it was founded in Bath. (Manco forthcoming)</p> <p>Bath is referred to as <i>Hat Bathu</i>, meaning hot baths (Manco 1998a, 34).</p>

- 681 Charter (srn560) Cunliffe refers to a charter giving more land to the community in which the name of the Abbess, Bernguida, is mentioned (Cunliffe 1986a, 49). No reference is given. Hylson-Smith (2003) identifies the charter as *Two Chartularies*, chart 1, nos. 6, 8 (Sawyer 1968, nos. 1167–8).
- 757–8 Charter (srn561) This charter is translated by Sawyer as follows: ‘Cynewulf, king of the Saxon, to the brethren of St Peter’s minster, Bath; grant of land at North Stoke, Somerset’. It was written in Latin, with the bounds described in English. The manuscript is held at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The date of 808 is interpreted as a mistake and corrected to 757–8 (Sawyer 1968, charter 265). Sims-Williams interprets the charter as follows: ‘the West Saxon king Cynewulf grants North Stoke *fratribus in monasterio Sancti Petri*, Offa confirming. This implies that Bath had now become an all-male community’ (Sims-Williams 1974, 8). The additional grant of five hides at North Stoke on the north side of the Avon included Little Down Camp, and Sims-Williams interprets the grant by Cynewulf as one extracted under pressure from his then overlord, Offa, who confirmed the grant (Sims-Williams 1990, 160).
- 775 Not specified (srn562) Cunliffe writes that the cathedral was re-established in 775 by Offa, king of Mercia, after destruction by the Danes, after which it housed secular canons dependent upon Worcester (Cunliffe 1979c, 88). No reference is given.
- 781 Report of the Synod of Brentford Part of the report is translated by Sawyer as follows: ‘Hathored, bishop of the Hwicce, with the consent of his familia at Worcester, to Offa, king of Mercia; surrender of the minster at Bath and land by the river Avon in exchange for the confirmation of land at Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwicks Sture (? Alderminster, Warwicks), at Stour in Ismere and Bredon, Worcs... and at Hampton Lucy, Warwicks’. It was written in Latin (Sawyer 1968, charter 1257). A further section was subsequently translated by Sims-Williams as follows: ‘We have a dispute with Offa, king of the Mercians ... about certain estates. For he said that we were wrongly holding in our power without hereditary right the inheritance of his kinsman, to wit King Æthelbald, ie 90 hides in the place which is called Bath ... But the aforesaid cause of dissension being settled in the synodal council at the place which is called Brentford, we restored also to the already mentioned King Offa that most famous monastery at Bath.. we added 30 hides nearby on the south side of the river which is called the Avon, which land we bought at a proper price from Cynewulf, king of the West Saxons ...’ (1990, 159). Thus it is clear that the report concerned Offa contesting this grant, after the monastery had passed into the possession of the see of Worcester. The synod’s decision allowed him only Bath monastery but he was also compensated by the church of Worcester with 30 hides on the south side of the river Avon (Sims-Williams 1974, 9).
- 793 Not specified Offa in Bath (Manco 1998a, 37).
- 796 Charter According to Sims-Williams this charter was issued for Bath monastery by Offa’s son, Ecgfrith of Mercia, in 796 (Sims-Williams 1974).
- 8th century Poem in the Exeter Book This poem, known as ‘The Ruine’ survives in fragmentary form in a collection of manuscripts known as the Exeter Book. The fullest translation is given by Manco: ‘Wondrous masonry, shattered by fate. The stronghold has burst open; the handiwork of giants is mouldering. The roofs have fallen, the towers are in ruin; The barred gate is roofless; there is rime on the mortar. There stood courts of stone where a stream gushed in hot rippling floods, a wall enfolding all its bright bosom; baths that heated themselves: how convenient! Then over the grey stone hot streams poured to the round pool’ (Manco 1998a, 34, 39). Along with many other authors (Cunliffe 1986a, 51), Manco identifies this place as Bath, though Sims-Williams states that these theories cannot be proved (Sims-Williams 1990, 2).
- early 9th century J. Morris (ed. and trans.) Nennius, 81. A Welsh compilation of the early 9th century, drawn from earlier British sources, notes ‘the hot pool in the country of the Hwicce’ as among the wonders of Britain: ‘surrounded by a wall, made of brick and stone, and men may go there to bathe at any time, and every man may have the kind of bath he likes. If he wants, it will be a cold bath; if he wants a hot bath, it will be hot’ (Manco 1993, 76; 1998, 33).
- 864 Charter In 864 the last Mercian king, Burgred, held a gemot at Bath attended by both Queen Æthelswith (the sister of Alfred), and his nobles and bishops, at which another charter was prepared (Cunliffe 1984, 349; Manco 1998a, 39).
- 886 Burghal Hidage The Burghal Hidage was drawn up in the reign of Edward the Elder, King Alfred’s immediate successor. It listed strongholds and each site was assigned a number of hides of land, each hide reflecting a militia of a certain strength. Bath was assessed at 1000 hides (Cunliffe 1986a, 53). The list of Alfred’s fortresses now thought to date from 886 (Manco 1998a, 39).
- 901 Not specified In 901 the Witan (or parliament) was held in Bath under King Edward the Elder (Cunliffe 1986a, 54).
- 909 Not specified As the shire system crystallised, Bath fell into Somerset, not Gloucestershire. The See of Somerset was created in 909, so Bath also changed diocese (Manco 1998a, 43).

931	Charter	Sawyer translated the charter as follows: 'King Athelstan to the familia of St Peter's, Bath; grant of land at Priston, Somerset and at Cold Ashton, Gloucestershire' (Sawyer 1968 charter no. 414). Wessex King Athelstan granted land to St Peter's monastery (Cunliffe 1984, n.10).
944	Inscription	10th-century inscription records Athelstan's gift to St Peter's, Bath: '944 monastery was in the gift of his successor, Edmund. Edmund gave it to monks from St Bertin's in Flanders' (Sims-Williams 1974, 9–10).
946	Charter	Sawyer translated the charter as follows: 'King Edmund to Æthelhere, his faithful minister; grant of land at Weston near Bath'. Latin with English bounds. The manuscript is held at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Sawyer 1968, charter no 508).
956	Charter	Sawyer translated the charter as follows: 'Wessex King Eadwig granted land to St Peter's monastery' (Sawyer 1968, charter no. 610).
957	Charter	Sawyer translated the charter as follows: 'King Eadwig to St Peter's Abbey, Bath and to Wulfgar, abbot; grant of land at Tidenham, Gloucestershire'. It was written in Latin with the description of the bounds in English (Sawyer 1968, charter no. 643).
957	Charter	'King Eadwig to St Peter's Abbey, Bath; grant, at the request of his sacerdos Wulfgar, of land at Bathford, Somerset'. It was written in Latin with the description of the bounds in English (Sawyer 1968, charter no 643).
957	Not specified (srn 564)	According to Cunliffe the church of St Peter was 'known to have been built with marvellous workmanship', a factor that no doubt favoured its later choice by Edgar (Cunliffe 1979c, 88).
961 [p for 956]	Charter	Sawyer translated the charter as follows: 'King Eadwig to the church of St Peter, Bath; restitution of land at Weston, near Bath'. It was written in Latin with the description of the bounds in English. The manuscript is held at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Sawyer 1968, charter no 661).
955 × 957	Charter	Sawyer translated the charter as follows: 'Wessex King Eadwig granted land to St Peter's monastery. Grant of land at Olveston, Glouc. and restoration of land at Cold Ashton (Sawyer 1968, charter no 664).
961	Charter	Sawyer translated the charter as follows: 'Wessex King Edgar granted land to St Peter's monastery. restoration of land at South Stoke, Somerset' (Sawyer 1968, charter no. 694).
966 × 975	Will	Sawyer translated the will as follows: 'Will of Ælfgifu including bequests of land at Wicham to Bath'. It was written in English and held at the British Museum, Add. 15350 (Sawyer 1968, no 415).
968 × 971	Will	Sawyer translated the will as follows: 'Will of Ælfheah, ealdorman, including bequests of land at ? Somerset, to Bath Abbey'. It was written in English and held at the British Museum Add. 15350 (Sawyer 1968, no 415).
965	Charter	Sawyer translated the charter as follows: 'King Edgar to Æscwig, abbot of St Peter's, Bath; grant of land at Stanton Prior, Somerset'. It was written in Latin with the bounds described in English (Sawyer 1968, charter no 735). Manco notes that the charter refers to Bath as <i>Achamanni</i> , a word similar to the combination of the Welsh name for place 'mann' and the familiar <i>aqua</i> (Manco 1998a, 32).
c 970	Not specified (srn565)	In about 970 Edgar introduced regular monks and on 11 May 973, he was crowned king of England in the abbey church in the presence of Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury and Oswald, Archbishop of York. The community was re-established as a Benedictine monastery, and remained until the Dissolution (Cunliffe 1979c, 88; Cunliffe 1986a, 54).
970	Charter	Sawyer translated the charter as follows: 'King Edgar to the church of St Peter, Bath; grant of land at Clifton, near Bath, in exchange for land at Cuntun (Chilcompton or Compton Dando)' (Sawyer 1968, charter no. 777).
972	Charter	Sawyer translated the charter as follows: 'King Edgar to Bath Abbey, grant of land at Corston, Somerset' (Sawyer 1968, charter no. 785). Manco notes that the charter refers to Bath as <i>Aquamania</i> , a word similar to the combination of the Welsh name for place 'mann' and the familiar <i>aqua</i> (Manco 1998a, 32).
973	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle	Manco refers to the description of the coronation of Edgar in 973. He was crowned 'in the ancient borough of <i>Acemannes ceastre</i> - the men of this island call it by another name – <i>Bathan</i> ' (Campbell 1962, 55, quoted by Manco 1998a, 33).
984	Charter	Sawyer translated the charter as follows: 'King Æthelred to the church of Bath; grant of land at Radstock, Somerset' (Sawyer 1968, charter no. 854).

984 × 1016	Will	Sawyer translated the will as follows: 'Will of Wulfwaru including bequests of land at Freshford, Somerset, to Ælfhere, abbot of Bath'. It was written in English (Sawyer 1968, no. 1538).
1013	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle	According to Manco, King Sweyn of Denmark advanced on Bath during his campaign of conquest in 1013, he camped at Bath, where he received the submission of the ealdorman and thanes from the west (Manco 1998a, 46).
1061 × 1065	Charter	Sawyer translated the charter as follows: 'Ælfwig, abbot, and the community at Bath to Stigand, archbishop; lease, for life of land at Tidenham, Gloucs'. It was written in English (Sawyer 1968, charter no 1426).
1061 × 1082 possibly 1061 × 1066	Charter	Sawyer translated the charter as follows: 'Writ of Abbot Wulfwold announcing that he has given to St Peter's minister at Bath land at Evesty and Ashwick, Somerset'. It was written in English (Sawyer 1968, charter no 401).

APPENDIX 7 Gazetteer of historic maps

'Best of Bath maps' compiled by Christopher Pound

Selection of maps to include those of greatest topographical value carried out by the original surveyors.

c 1600 Savile	'The Citie Of Bathe' Henry Savile [575mm × 435mm] Held in private ownership
1610 Speed	Map of Bathe
1694 Gilmore	'The City of Bath' Joseph Gilmore [310mm × 240mm] Many editions of this map: three copies held in the Kings Collection, the British Library; editions held in the Russell, Chapman, Sydenam and Hunt Collections by Bath Main Reference Library
1695 Gilmore	'The Mapp or topographical description of the City of Bath in the County of Somerset' exactly surveyed by Joseph Gilmore, Teacher of Mathematics in the City of Bristol, 'Extracted by Dr. Guidott out of his <i>Antiquities of Bath</i> not yet published 1694' [372mm × 477mm]
1697 Gilmore	Later impression: 'The City of Bath 1697 Jo Savage Sculp. Joseph Filmore delin Teacher of ye Mathematics in Brystoll.' Published in 'Bath Memoirs' by Dr Pierce [241mm × 310mm]
1713 Gilmore	'History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset, Collected by the late Edmund Rack and the Revd. John Collinson FAS. Bath Printed by R. Cruttewell' London: Taylor
1717 Gilmore	Another edition: '...with 40 views of Abbey, churches, conduits and lodging houses. T. Jordan and T. Bakewell, London, 1717'
1726 Gilmore	Re-issue, fourth edition
1731 Gilmore	Re-issue, fifth edition
and Gilmore	'The City of Bath ... (J. Savage. Sc.)' [242mm × 312mm]
1736 Wood	'A Plan of the City of Bath copies from the original survey of Mr. John Wood, 1735, engraved by Pine 1736 published by J. Leake October 27, 1736 According to Act of Parliament' John Wood [322mm × 412mm] Probably more than one edition of this map: copy held in the Kings Collection, the British Library; editions held in the Russell, Chapman, Sydenam and Hunt Collections by Bath Main Reference Library; edition held by Victoria Art Gallery

- 1793 Chantry 'A New and Accurate plan of the City of Bath to the Present Year 1793. T. Chantry fecit – R. Hancock ... sculpt.' Published by W. Taylor and W. Meyler: Bath
[520mm × 450mm]
Large number of copies: six copies in the King's Collection, The British Library; 23 copies in Bath Reference Library; two copies in the Victoria Art Gallery
- 1795 Re-issue with additions
- 1796 Re-issue of 1795 map
- 1797 Re-issue with no alteration
- 1798 Re-issue with no alteration
- 1799 Re-issue with no alteration
- 1800 Re-issue with no alteration
- 1801 Re-issue corrected to 1801
Published by J. Savage and W. Meyler
- 1803 Re-issue corrected to 1803
- 1805 Re-issue unchanged from 1803
Surveyed by T. Chantry, Bath fecit – R. Hancock Sculpt
Published by J. Savage and W. Meyler
[511mm × 450mm]
- 1795 Masters 'Plan of the City of Bath . Engraved by SI Neale. Published January 1st 1795 by C. Harcourt Masters. Orchard Street Bath and the Engraver SI Neale. 352 Strand London, and also sold in Bath by Bull Hensley and Croot on the Lower Walks and all other Booksellers'
[595mm × 820mm]
Only a small number of copies of this large colour map were made, probably because it was expensive to produce: one copy held in the British Library; five copies held in the Reference Library
- 1806 Re-issue of 1795 corrected to 1806
- 1808 Re-issue of 1806 except for a few additional houses
- 1810 Donne 'A New and Correct plan of the City of Bath from a recent Survey by B. Donne D. Wight Sculp. C. Godwin 1810'
[420mm × 500mm]
Many copies were made of this popular map: three copies held in the British Library; at least 14 copies held in Bath Reference Library; three copies held in Victoria Art Gallery
- 1813 Re-issue with additions and marked: 'New Edition 1813'
- 1816 Another edition revised and marked: 'New Edition 1816'
- 1825 Another edition and revised with: 'A New and Correct Plan of the City of Bath from a Recent Survey. Published by and for C. Godwin, Bookseller. Upper Corner of Milsom Street Bath. Sold by Principal map and booksellers in Bath, Bristol and London. D. Wright Sculp. Richard Str Islington'
22 references and notes
[441mm × 517mm]
- 1826 Another edition
- 1828 Another edition
- 1845 Another edition (22 references and notes)
- 1857 Another edition (27 references and reference numbers 283–5)
- 1852 Cotterell 'Plan of the City and Borough and its Suburbs From a Survey by J.H. Cotterell, Engraved by Holloway and Son . S. Hayward, Bath 1852'
[900mm × 700mm]
A very accurate map showing a large area of Bath: two copies held in the British Library; two in Bath Reference Library; one in Victoria Art Gallery
- Ordnance Survey Maps**
- 1882–88 Ordnance Survey map 1:500
- 1900–3 Ordnance Survey map second edition

1914–47	Ordnance Survey map third edition
Parish maps	
1727 Sutton	‘Survey of the Manor of Bathwick. W. Sutton survey, W. Wyeth delin.’
1740 Thorpe	‘A Plan of the Parish of Walcot in the County of Somerset. Survey’d for GAY esq. by Thos Thorpe 1740.’
1799	Map based on the Manor of Lycombe and Widcombe
18th century	Plan of the premises belonging to the Corporation and claimed by parishioners of St Michaels
1807 Cruse	‘Parish of Twerton By Jeremiah Cruse.’
1818 Manners	‘A plan of the parish of St Michaels in the City of Bath. Surveyed in April 1818 by G.P. Manners.’ Very accurate and useful large scale map
1836 Weaver	‘Lyncombe and Widcombe Parish’ T. Weaver
1838 Cotterel	‘Parish of Twerton’ Cotterell and Cooper, Land Surveyors TRC No A10 325
1839 Weaver	Certified copy of the Lyncombe and Widcombe Tithe Map by T Weaver (revised: Cotterell and Cooper 1839) Stamped ‘Tithe Commissioners’ 1841 [132mm × 124mm]
1839	Twerton Tithe map: 1839 Authenticated 1841
1841 Cotterel	‘Plan of Walcot Parish’ Cotterell and Cooper Original plan in the Public Record Office, London
1841	Southstoke December 1841 Tracing of Tithe map
1841	Englishcombe December 1841 Tracing of Tithe map
1842	Tithe map Tithe Redemption Commission A2229
1846 Cotterel	‘The Parish of Weston in the County of Somerset’ Holloway. Lith. Bath. 1846 Reduced and published J. H. Cotterell Another edition but marked Q10325
1849	Twerton Tithe map
1881	Lansdown St Stephen’s parish
1883	Lyncombe and Widcombe Tithe map Tithe Redemption Commission Q2229
1884	Extracts from the Tithe map: June 26 1884
1885	Tithe map June 1885 TRC A2229
1913	Parish of Twerton traced from first class Tithe map Board of Agriculture and Fisheries
No date	‘A Plan of the Commons Belonging to the Freemen of Bath’

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