CHAPTER 6

THE TOWNS OF SOUTH-WEST ENGLAND

By Neil Holbrook

INTRODUCTION

In this paper I will consider the gains in knowledge that have accrued from commercial archaeological investigations since 1990 at the principal Roman towns of the South-West of England: Dorchester, Exeter, Ilchester, Bath, Cirencester and Gloucester. Gloucester was a *colonia*; Dorchester, Exeter and Cirencester *civitas* capitals (the latter might conceivably have been a *municipium*, but evidence is lacking: Frere 1984, 68; Holbrook 1998, 91; Wilson 2006a, 32). Ilchester may have become a *civitas* capital, although this is not certain (Fulford 2006). There is no reason to believe that Bath ever attained this level of administrative status, but it would be perverse to exclude it from any assessment of the Roman urban archaeology of the region. I have adopted a loose definition of the extramural areas of the towns, so that the consideration of Exeter includes work at Topsham (6.5 km from the city centre) and at the former St Loye's College site (2.6 km distant). The settlement and burials at Poundbury Farm near Dorchester on the other hand clearly fit within the pattern of rural settlements ringing the town and so this evidence is not further considered (Egging Dinwiddy and Bradley 2011).

The level of knowledge available (or perhaps more precisely published) from work prior to 1990 varies considerably across the towns (Wacher 1995 for the major towns, Burnham and Wacher 1990 for Bath and Ilchester, and Esmonde Cleary 1987 for the extramural areas provide good syntheses of the evidence up to the start of the developer-funded era). In some cases the pre-PPG 16 work is published quite fully, and the conclusions presented in those reports provide a valuable reference point against which to benchmark the achievements of the last quarter century. Dorchester, Ilchester, Bath and Cirencester fall into this category (the most significant reports on pre-PPG 16 work published since the syntheses cited above are Leach 1994; Davenport 1991; Davenport 1999; Holbrook 1998). At Exeter and Gloucester, however, most of the extensive work which took place from the 1960s onwards has not been fully published and knowledge of the findings stems from a variety of interim reports and synthetic accounts. A similar variable applies to the quantity, and scale, of archaeological work undertaken after 1990 and the degree to which this has been published (either formally or as grey literature). Ilchester has experienced the least developer-funded work (that to 2004 is summarised in Holbrook 2010, 39–40); Exeter seemingly the most. Appendix 1 details the principal sites investigated since 1990 and the degree to which the results had been published by the end of 2013. Inclusion within the appendix is inevitably a matter of some personal subjectivity, influenced for the unpublished sites by the availability of summary accounts of the principal findings. In the following sections I will examine the South-Western evidence against a small number of themes and conclude with a broader assessment of the success of the implementation of developer archaeology in these towns since 1990.

DEPOSIT PRESERVATION AND INTEGRITY

As extant urban settlements almost all the work discussed in this paper was associated with

FIG. 1. Excavations at Princesshay, Exeter, 2005–6, the largest excavation undertaken within the walls of a Roman town in South-West England since 1990. The degree of disturbance of Roman levels by later features is apparent. (© *Exeter City Council*)

the redevelopment of previously built-up land, and consequently the degree to which Roman deposits had been impacted by later activity is pertinent. This includes both activity which we would term as later archaeology (of the medieval and post-medieval periods) as well as the effects of more recent nineteenth- or twentieth-century development. Post-War developments of the 1950s, '60s and '70s are now being replaced in many towns and this provides opportunities to revisit sites where some (often quite low) levels of archaeological work occurred prior to the original construction of those schemes. In parts of Dorchester and Cirencester car parks have served to seal and preserve Roman deposits beneath blankets of post-Roman and medieval soils. Elsewhere the effects of development have been more severe, although total destruction of Roman deposits is rare. The largest intramural excavation since 1990 was at Princesshay, Exeter, in 2005–6 (FIG. 1). The whole site occupied *c.* 4.7 ha, lying mainly within the walled city but also extending some distance beyond it. Much of the site had been disturbed by Georgian basements

and 1950s developments, with only 1600 m^2 of archaeological deposits within the walls remaining for investigation (Steinmetzer *et al.* forthcoming). In that area earlier Roman levels were better preserved and more intelligible than the later Roman ones, a typical occurrence in Exeter. Elsewhere Roman deposits often survive in a better state of preservation than might initially have been expected, or indeed suggested by the preliminary evaluation. Examples include Bath where work on both sides of Beau Street has revealed good preservation of stratigraphy associated with two separate Romano-British public buildings. This recent work thus afforded an opportunity to build upon the observations made by James Irvine in 1864–7 during the construction of the buildings that have now been replaced (Irvine's records are reproduced in Cunliffe 1969, 151–4; the recent work is reported in Davenport *et al.* 2007 and Booth 2009, 270–1).

Alongside physical preservation, it is also important to consider the quality of the archaeological deposits investigated. For instance, waterlogged strata where anaerobic conditions proved suitable for the preservation of organic materials have to date been little explored. There is only a single accurate dendrochronological date from a South-Western town, and that from a sample recovered from Exeter in 1982, compared to almost 1,000 from London (Henderson 1988, 115; Tyers 2008). There are, however, hints at the largely untapped potential that exists. In Gloucester excavations at Upper Quay Street in 1989–90 revealed a first-century A.D. planked landing area on an inlet of the river Severn with good preservation of timber structures (Atkin 1991, 16–18; for discussion of this frontage see Hurst 1999, 123–4, although his contention that the main channel of the Severn flowed as far east as this is dismissed by Rhodes 2006, 12–13). The City Bank area within the south-eastern sector of the walled area of Cirencester has also been shown by evaluation trenching to contain braided channels of the river Churn which preserved plant material, branchwood, a writing-tablet and leather (Holbrook 1998, 8–9, fig. 30; Holbrook 1994, 77). Elsewhere isolated features can have potential for the preservation of organic deposits, such as a well at the former St Loye's College site in Exeter which yielded a wooden writing-tablet reused for an ink text (Booth 2011, 384–5; Tomlin 2011, 444–5).

LATE IRON AGE AND ROMAN MILITARY ORIGINS

It has long been recognised that most of the sites which became the principal urban centres of the South-West had origins as forts or fortresses. The role that the army played in the transformation of their establishments into towns is still not clear and probably varied from place to place. The idea that the inhabitants of *vici* outside of the forts formed the nucleus of the new urban population was effectively challenged by Millett (1990, 74–8) who argued that the location of many forts was heavily determined by pre-existing centres of population. Existing orthodoxy would regard Dorchester, Cirencester and Ilchester as examples of a localised shift in location from Late Iron Age centres necessitated by a need to fit more comfortably with the emerging road network of the province (those centres are respectively Maiden Castle, Bagendon and the sizeable defended enclosure to the south of Ilchester which is sometimes referred to as an *oppidum*, although this is a premature classification given the lack of knowledge about the site; Leach 1994, 117–20). Even this picture may not be straightforward, however, as occupation at Maiden Castle was seemingly in decline from the first century B.C., while the function of Bagendon, and its relationship with early Roman Cirencester, may not be as clear cut as is often suggested (Sharples 1991; Moore 2012; Holbrook 2008a). Bath is reasonably assumed to be the site of a pre-Roman sacred spring, although the only evidence so far is a handful of Iron Age coins from the mud of the King's Bath spring, perhaps associated with a gravel ridge which might have served as a causeway extending out to the spring (Cunliffe 1988, 1–3, 279–80). The scarcity of Late Iron Age pottery from the numerous sites excavated in Bath, however, surely precludes any substantial settlement here in the immediately pre-conquest period.

Exeter and Gloucester are usually regarded as essentially new sites selected by the army, a picture which still largely holds true. Two possible roundhouses beneath the legionary fortress at Exeter discovered in 1972–4 appear isolated with no other associated evidence (Bidwell 1980, 16). Another probable Iron Age roundhouse was excavated in 2002–3 at Southernhay East, outside the South Gate of the later Roman town. Radiocarbon dating of residues on two sherds

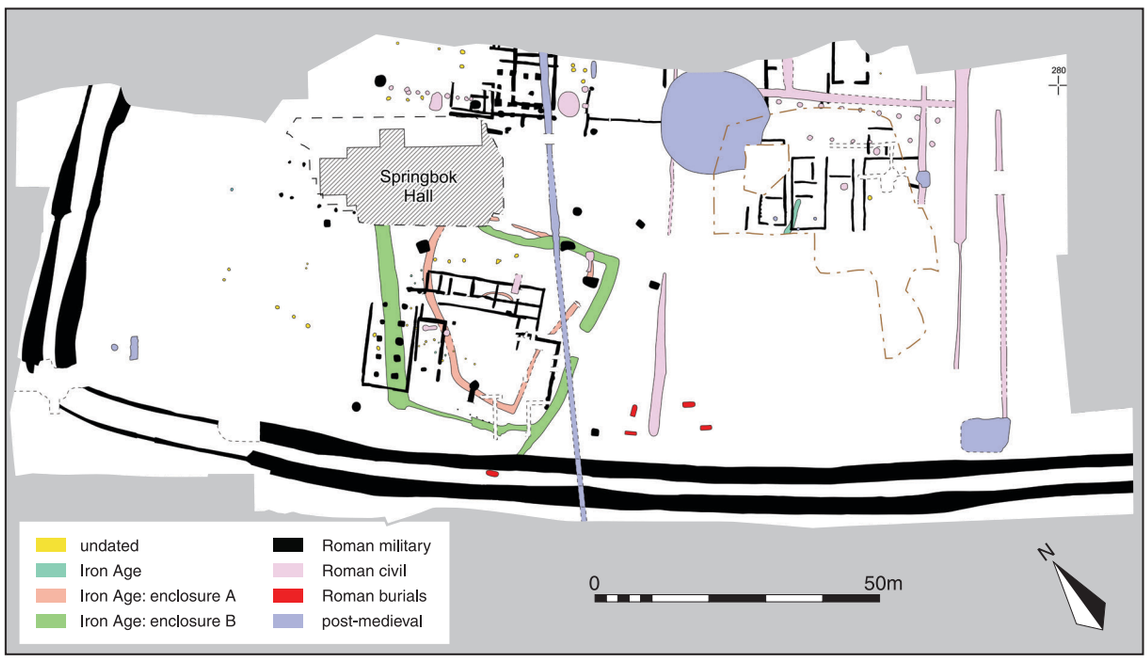

FIG. 2. Late Iron Age enclosure and overlying Neronian to early Flavian defended structures at the former St Loye's College site, Exeter. Note how the Iron Age enclosure is directly overlain by the large Roman courtyard building. (© *Exeter City Council and AC Archaeology*)

of pottery suggests that occupation dates to the second or first century B.C., and thus that the site had been abandoned at least half a century prior to the Roman invasion (Stead 2004). Some 2.6 km south-east of the legionary fortress at the former St Loye's College site at least two phases of enclosure ditches surrounding a single, centrally placed, roundhouse were discovered underlying a military-period establishment (FIG. 2). The ditch of the later enclosure, following what appears to have been a short period of abandonment, was deliberately infilled in preparation for the construction of timber buildings in the mid-first century A.D. (Booth 2011, 384–6; Salvatore *et al.* forthcoming). While there was undoubtedly Iron Age activity in the Exeter area therefore, this was seemingly on a level such as might be found over much of East Devon, and there is no suggestion of a nucleated centre here in the immediate pre-Roman period. At Gloucester Hurst (1999, 115–20) has argued that finds of Iron Age coins from the Kingsholm area suggest a sizeable pre-Roman community there. Attempts to elevate the Late Iron Age activity at Kingsholm and its environs to the status of an *oppidum* or similar are, however, difficult to justify and the coins could have been brought to the site by the Roman army (Moore 2006, 150–1, 200; Haselgrove 1993, 57–9).

A combination of research-driven and developer-funded work in the environs of Cirencester has now shown that Bagendon did not exist in isolation but was rather part of a complex of sites occupied in the first half of the first century A.D. (Holbrook 2008a; 2008b, 134–6; Moore 2012 provides a summary of this evidence). These included two rectilinear enclosures examined in advance of the Cirencester bypass and a seemingly isolated pit in Stratton water meadows found during sewer renewal. Reece (2003) has also suggested that two earthen barrows known as Tar Barrows to the east of Cirencester may be Late Iron Age rather than Bronze Age and may have been influential in determining the layout of the road system hereabouts and the siting of the fort and subsequent town (see also Holbrook 2008a and Booth 2009, 267–9 for the results of more recent aerial photography and geophysical survey around Tar Barrows).

In an assessment of the evidence in 1987 only Dorchester of the South-Western towns was not regarded as being either the certain or probable location of a pre-Flavian military base (Maxfield 1987, fig. 1). It is now reasonably assured that a fort did not exist within the area later enclosed

by the town defences of Dorchester as excavations at Greyhound Yard, Charles Street and the former County Hospital were all sufficiently thorough to have detected timber military buildings if they had been present (Woodward *et al.* 1993; Adam *et al.* 1992; Adam and Butterworth 1993; Trevarthen 2008). Despite these findings, Putnam (2007, 28–32) continued to promote the case for a fort at Dorchester in the Victoria Park suburb to the west of Maumbury Rings amphitheatre. There has been no recent archaeological investigation in that area and alternative explanations are possible for the pre-Flavian material recovered from the town (see below). The presence of a fort at Bath has also long been assumed, not by the hot springs but rather to the north near the likely Roman crossing point of the Avon just south of Cleveland Bridge. Locations on the east bank at Bathwick or west bank close to the intersection of London Road, Julian Road and Walcot Street have been suggested (Davenport 2000, 9). Despite a reasonable amount of developer work close to the latter point (principally the unpublished excavations at Nelson Place in 1989 and Hat and Feather Yard in 1989–1995), no conclusive structural evidence for a fort has so far been found (Davenport 2007, 418). Instead it would appear that timber buildings typical of a roadside settlement were constructed here from *c.* A.D. 50 onwards (Davenport 2000,

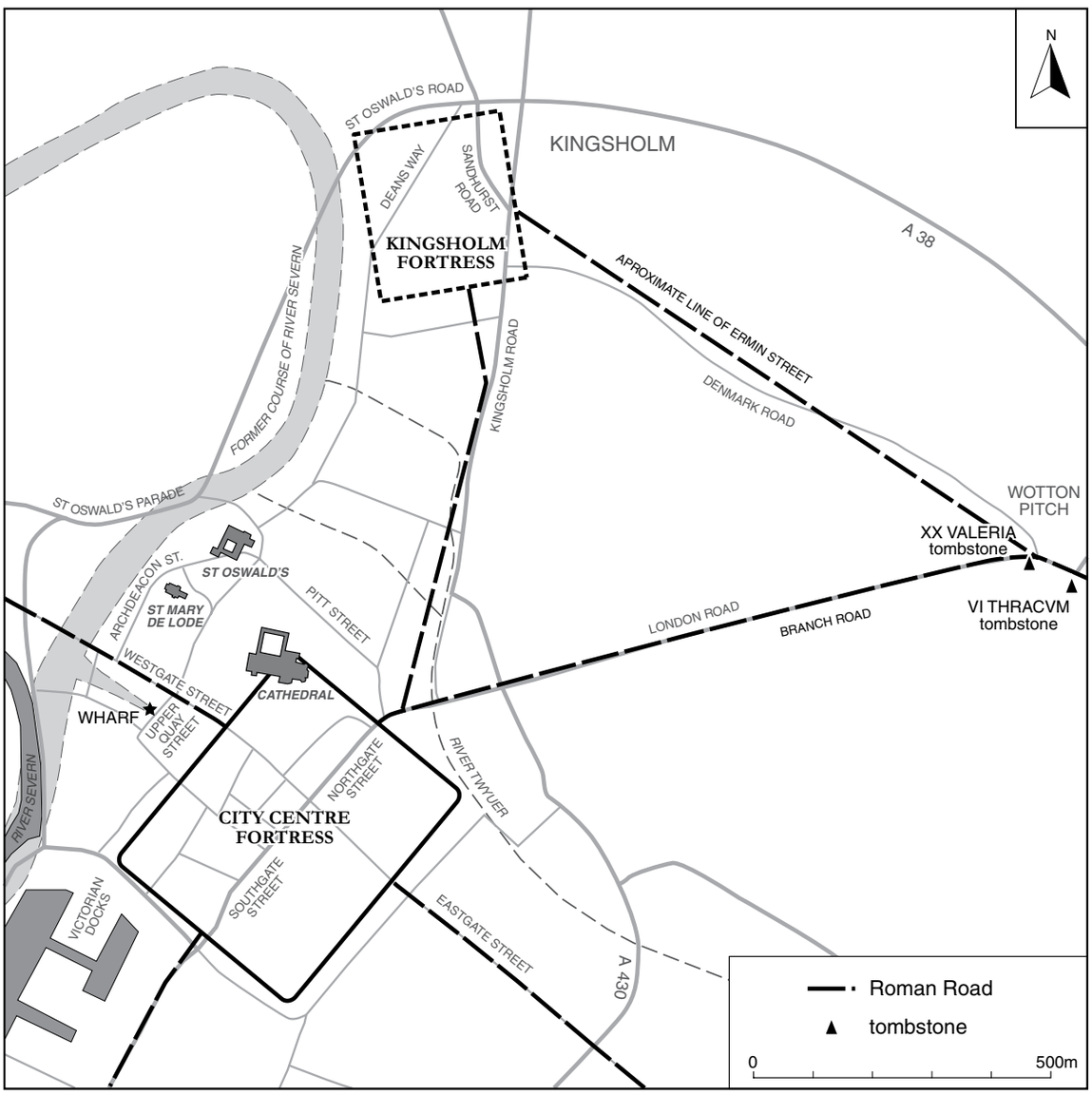

FIG. 3. The relationship of the Kingsholm and Gloucester fortresses. (© *Cotswold Archaeology*)

16–18). The existence of a fort cannot be excluded, however, and the unpublished pottery from Hat and Feather Yard and Nelson Place has close similarities with the military assemblages from Kingsholm, Usk and Cirencester, along with evidence for local flagon manufacture (P. Bidwell pers. comm.). If Henig (1999) is correct that Bath lay at the western edge of the client kingdom of Togidubnus, and his patronage can be detected in the temple-baths complex, then the fort might have provided protection for this ambitious venture which was not too far removed from areas of active campaigning.

The by now familiar disposition and chronology of military sites in Gloucester was in the main elucidated by rescue work in the 1960s, '70s and '80s, and relatively few new discoveries of note have been made since 1990. The earliest Roman activity in the city was at Kingsholm to the north of the city centre site later occupied by a legionary fortress and subsequent *colonia* (FIG. 3). Pre-Flavian timber buildings, ditches and other features sharing a common alignment and belonging to a military installation have been found over an area of *c.* 18 ha in Kingsholm; samian ware dates this occupation to *c.* A.D. 50–65, while the coins indicate abandonment and demolition *c.* A.D. 67–71 (FIG. 4). There has been considerable difficulty in tracing the defences of this fortress, and in differentiating internal structures from possible extramural activity. The north and south defences were located in small trenches in the 1980s which provide for a distance across the ramparts on this axis of 275 m. Atkin (1986) suggested that the long axis of the fortress lay east–west and inferred an internal area of up to 10 ha. Given the absence of structures to the east of Kingsholm Road, however, the present author suggested that the long axis may have lain north–south and that the fortress was not much larger than *c.* 6.9 ha (Holbrook in Burnham and Davies 2010, 185–6). Some support for this view has come from the recent evaluation of the only remaining substantially undeveloped site in the vicinity of the fortress, the former Civil Service Playing Fields which lay to the east of Kingsholm Road and

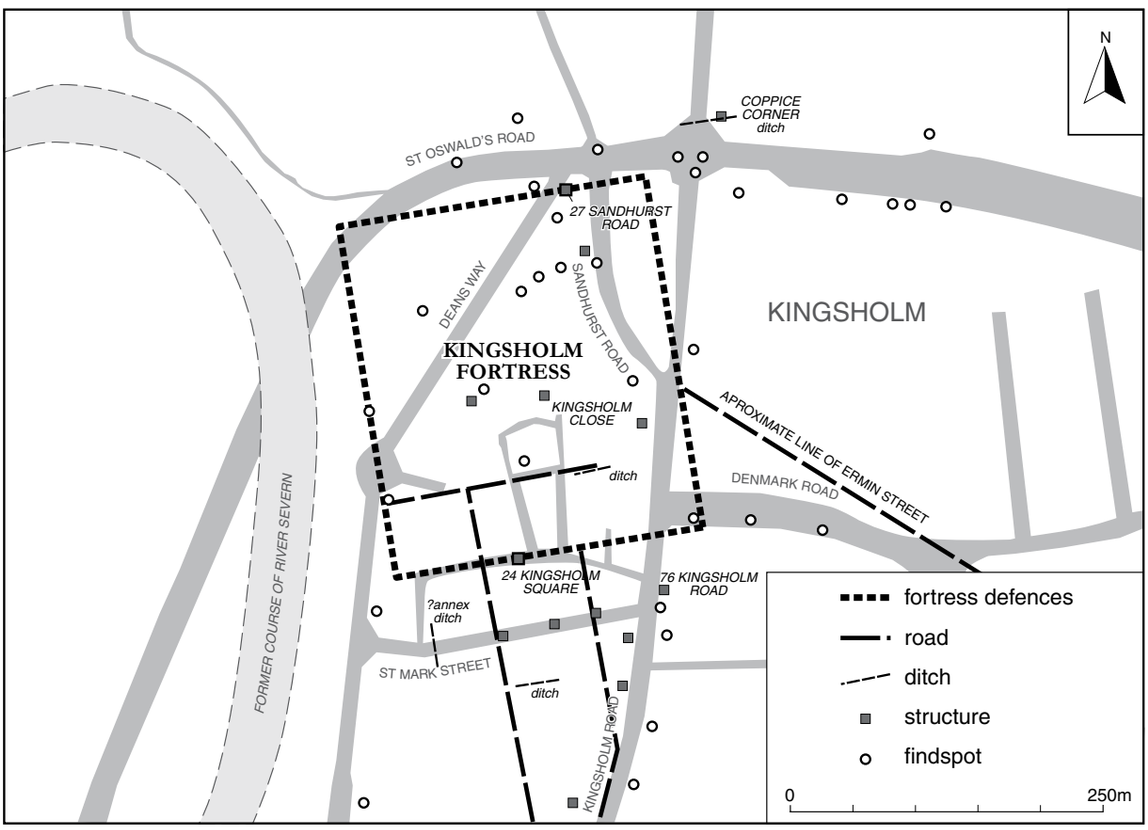

FIG. 4. Plan of military discoveries in the Kingsholm area. The line of the fortress defences is heavily conjectural. (*After Atkin 1986 with additions; © Cotswold Archaeology*)

between the A38 and Denmark Road (Cotswold Archaeology 2014). On Atkin's reconstruction the eastern defences of the fortress should have passed through this area. Evaluation proved that the site had been heavily disturbed by a mass of post-medieval sand pits, but as these were rarely more than 1 m deep, it might be supposed that if the defensive ditches on the east side of the fortress had been present, some trace of them would have survived. In the event no features of clearly Roman date were found in the evaluation, although residual Roman pottery was plentiful. While not conclusive, the evaluation does suggest that the eastern defences lay further to the east and supports the idea that the fortress was somewhat smaller than has previously been thought.

A cremation cemetery at Wotton Pitch, 900 m south-east of the Kingsholm fortress has produced three stylistically pre-Flavian inscribed tombstones (FIG. 3). Those of a soldier of Legion XX and of a trooper of *cohors VI Thracum quingenaria equitata* are old finds (*RIB* 121–2). More recently a further two tombstones were discovered in excavations at 120–122 London Road in 2004 (*RIB* 3072–3; Henig and Tomlin 2008). One of these named a second soldier of Legion XX (although Hurst (2010) questions whether the tombstones can be confidently dated to the pre-Flavian period rather than later in the first century A.D.). These two regiments could conceivably have been in garrison at either Kingsholm or the subsequent city centre fortress, but if the former, Kingsholm would only have been large enough to have accommodated a vexillation of the legion, which might have been brigaded together with the Thracians in a similar fashion to that suggested at Longthorpe. Much remains to be learnt about the pre- and early Flavian occupation of the Gloucester area, and it would be a surprise if significant new discoveries are not made over the coming years which challenge existing orthodoxy.

It is Exeter, however, which stands out as the town where by far and away the most important new evidence has been recovered for first-century A.D. military occupation and the mechanics of army supply. The legionary fortress as we currently know it was brought to light by a sustained period of rescue excavation in the city from 1971–90, but it is now clear that this did not exist in isolation. To the east of the fortress on either side of the road to the port at Topsham there were two areas of military buildings which probably formed part of extramural stores or works depots (for that to the south of the road see Henderson 2001, 45–56; Frere 1991, 281–3; for that to the north Salvatore 2001; Frere 1989, 314 (Acorn roundabout site)). With the exception of the legionary bath-house, all this high-quality evidence from the pre-1990 investigations is sadly unpublished in detail (Henderson 1988 and Bidwell 1980 provide summaries). Since 1990, however, a further four important sites have been investigated which reinforce the significance of the Exeter evidence (FIG. 5). The fortress was occupied between *c.* A.D. 55/60 and 75, although some of the extramural compounds and other forts in the South-West such as Tiverton were not finally abandoned until *c.* A.D. 80 (Holbrook and Bidwell 1991, 3–8; Holbrook and Bidwell 1992, 37).

Exeter occupied a strategic location on the Exe estuary which was well placed to receive supplies from shipping routes across the Channel and along the Atlantic seaboard. In the Roman period it would appear that the Exe estuary was not routinely navigable to sea-going craft above Topsham, 6.5 km downstream. The port is, therefore, likely to have been at Topsham, with goods being brought by road to the fortress and its ancillary installations. The defences of a previously unknown fortress-period military site on the cliffs above the channel of the Exe at Topsham were examined in 2000 (Sage and Allan 2004). This appears to be somewhat smaller than other auxiliary forts in the South-West and may have been either a fortlet or a stores depot (we have no knowledge of the interior layout). Closer to Exeter, and on the line of the road from Topsham, another remarkable fortress-period installation was examined at the former St Loye's College site in 2010 and 2013 (the site is not as yet fully published but summaries are available in Booth 2011, 384–6; Tomlin 2011, 444–5; Steinmetzer and Salvatore 2010; Stead and Payne 2013; Salvatore *et al.* forthcoming). The site contained a series of timber buildings, the largest directly overlying the Late Iron Age enclosure and roundhouse mentioned above (FIG. 2). That structure comprised three ranges set around a courtyard, with an aisled hall to the west and an accommodation block to the north. The excavators interpreted the building as a *fabrica*, similar to that known within the Exeter fortress. To the north of it further rectangular strip buildings fronted the Exeter to Topsham road, with a second row behind them separated, seemingly, by

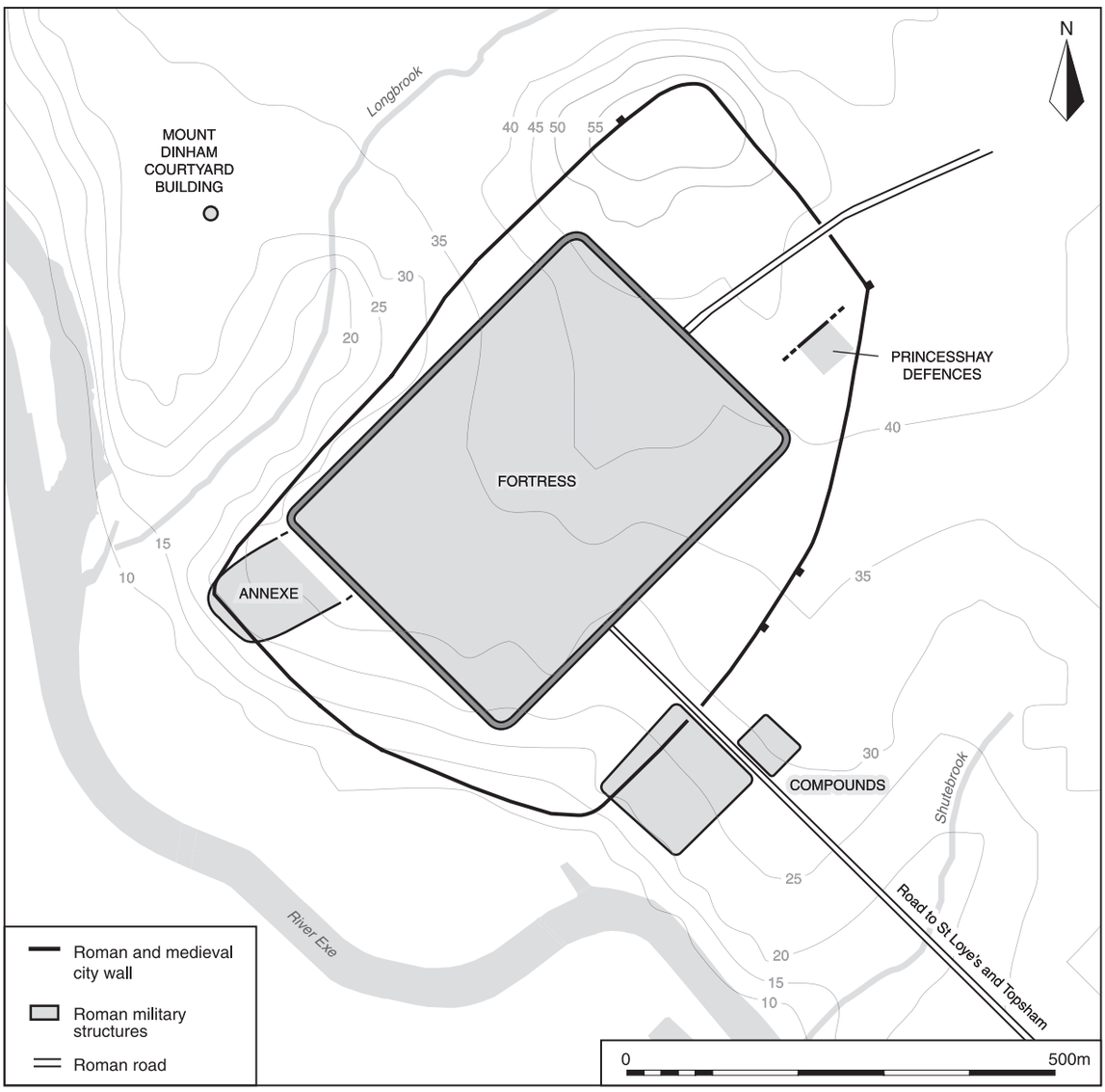

FIG. 5. Plan of the first-century A.D. legionary fortress and associated military installations at Exeter. (*After Henderson 2001, with additions; © Cotswold Archaeology*)

a street flanked by timber porticos (FIG. 6). The buildings were enclosed (on two sides at least) by a pair of ditches, the inner of Punic and the outer of V-shaped profile, and presumably an internal bank or rampart, which extended for over 200 m. Corner and interval towers, invariably components of fort defences, were absent. St Loye's is a site which defies ready interpretation or classification into the canon of Roman military establishments, with large expanses of open space enclosed by the defences. An interpretation as a works and/or supply depot has been proposed in the interim accounts and this is certainly plausible. While detailed discussion of this intriguing site is best deferred until the full report is published, there are manifestly a number of curious features. In particular, it is not clear whether the site is of a single period or whether the defences were a later addition. We might also note that if a timber building of courtyard plan, and indeed potentially of winged corridor type, was found directly overlying the site of a Late Iron Age roundhouse in the countryside of southern Britain, then an interpretation as a villa house where there was continuity of ownership either side of the Invasion would be a commonplace interpretation (as for instance Millett 1990, 92, citing sites such as Gorhambury, Herts.; Neal *et al.* 1990). The presence of substantial defences, timber buildings of post-in-

FIG. 6. First-century A.D. post-in-trench timber buildings under excavation in 2013 at the former St Loye's College site, Exeter. (© *AC Archaeology*)

trench constructional technique and a finds assemblage including military antefixes clearly point to military involvement in the construction of the complex, yet the architectural forms would be equally at home in a first-century A.D. urban context. The army could be involved in the construction of civilian centres, as the Augustan military town at Waldgirmes in Germany or the incipient urban settlement of *Oppidum Batavorum* at Nijmegen demonstrate (von Schnurbein 2003; Willems and van Enckevort 2009). The latter settlement covered *c.* 20 ha and was defended by a Punic-profiled ditch, but this was a later addition perhaps associated with the Batavian Revolt of A.D. 69/70. Perhaps the St Loye's College site was a purpose-built civilian settlement located, for some reason, a few kilometres downstream of the fortress. Perhaps the area around the fortress was a military exclusion zone given over to the importation, storage and marshalling of supplies? And if we may go further, perhaps at some point there was sufficient insecurity (the Boudican Revolt perhaps) to require the military to construct defences for the settlement. Whatever the truth may be of this, the St Loye's College complex was clearly utterly dependent upon the military for its *raison d'etre*, and once the fortress was abandoned it is no surprise that this site was as well.

At Princesshay to the north of the fortress part of a defended installation defined by a rampart with interval towers and an external ditch has been found (Booth 2007, 295–6; Steinmetzer *et al.* forthcoming). Three phases of ditch were represented, although no internal buildings could be detected within the small area of the interior available for examination (which had also been heavily disturbed by later features). The line of the excavated defences ran at a rough right angle to the north-east side of the fortress and faced towards the road which led from the north-east gate (FIG. 5). The absence of recognisable internal buildings hinders interpretation of the Princesshay enclosure, which pottery shows to be contemporary with the fortress rather than

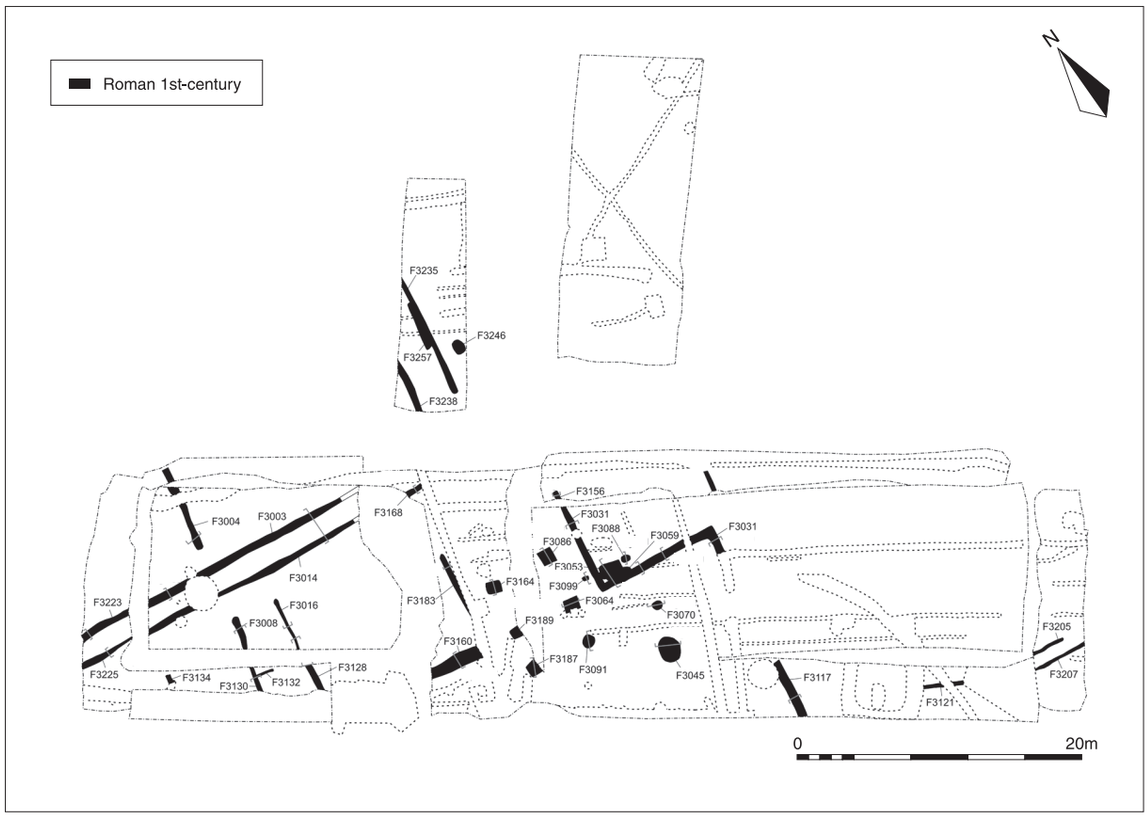

FIG. 7. Plan of a large first-century A.D. timber courtyard building, perhaps a *praetorium*, at Mount Dinham, Exeter. (© *AC Archaeology*)

earlier. It could conceivably have been an auxiliary fort just outside the legionary fortress, or alternatively some manner of works compound or annexe. Wasters demonstrate that this area was used in the second century as a tile works and it is a possibility that this activity might have commenced here in the period of military occupation.

The final site to consider in Exeter is Mount Dinham which lies on a flat plateau 500 m west of the city centre and separated from it by the valley of the Longbrook stream. The site commands good views over the river Exe. Small-scale excavations in 2007–9 revealed a fortress-period building of typical post-in-trench construction. Only a fragmentary plan was revealed but it appears to have been a sizeable building of courtyard plan with an aisled hall and flanking rooms and corridors (FIG. 7). Just inside one of the rooms was a pit containing a purse hoard of 22 bronze coins terminating with issues of Claudius and quantities of pottery and glass which had been broken prior to deposition in the pit (Portable Antiquities Scheme reference DEV–EFF581). In the preliminary report the pit is suggested to be a cremation burial later than the abandonment of the building (Passmore 2013). The absence of any evidence of burning and the isolated location of the pit suggest that it may more plausibly have been a structured foundation or closure deposit associated with the building. Over 50 per cent by weight of the pottery assemblage recovered from the site was amphora, well above average for a military assemblage in the South-West, suggesting that the contents were being dispensed or decanted nearby. In the interim report Paul Bidwell draws comparison between the Mount Dinham building and the plans of timber *praetoria* within the Augustan fortresses at Haltern and Marktbreit in Germany (Reddé *et al.* 2006, figs 62–3). There is no suggestion that a further fort lay on Mount Dinham, but rather the building might have lain within yet another ancillary enclosure and provided accommodation for a high ranking official, perhaps someone involved in military supply.

The military occupation of Exeter is manifestly important on an international scale. The

agglomeration of different installations and structures outside of the legionary fortress and stretching 6 km downstream to the port at Topsham brought to light by recent work is without comparison in Britain. At Inchtuthil in Scotland two external defended enclosures were built close to the Flavian legionary fortress, but it is unclear whether these were temporary construction depots or were intended to remain in use alongside the fortress (Pitts and St Joseph 1985). Exeter provides an excellent opportunity to investigate the archaeology of military supply in the Neronian/early Flavian period, as well as at the St Loye's College site the interaction between the Roman state and the local population. It also highlights the value of archaeological examination of areas away from the established later foci at sites which were militarily important in the first century A.D. Further discoveries are also to be expected, as the absence of granaries and warehouses in the riverside corridor to store imported grain and other foodstuffs is surprising and surely likely to be rectified by future work. The first-century grain warehouses on the bank of the river Ouse at Coney Street outside of the York fortress demonstrate the type of high quality evidence which might be expected (Hall 1986; Kenward and Williams 1979). Even in the current state of knowledge the complexity revealed at Exeter invites comparison with continental nodal locations such as Nijmegen in Lower Germany, where there was considerable pre-Flavian military activity on the Kops plateau 400 m east of the legionary fortress on the Hunerberg, including a defended military site (sometimes referred to as a command post) which contained an impressive timber *praetorium* (Willems and van Enckevort 2009). Other encampments lay between the Hunerberg fortress and the *Oppidum Batavorum* to the west. Nijmegen therefore serves to demonstrate the further potential that exists in Exeter for exciting new discoveries in the future.

CHRONOLOGIES AND TRANSFORMATIONS

Within the walled areas of the South-Western towns the application of policies of preservation *in situ* have generated relatively little work of scale compared to the two decades preceding 1990, although substantial excavations have taken place in Exeter (Princesshay), Dorchester (former County Hospital) and Bath (New Royal Baths). Each of these sites provides a wealth of information to assist in the development of individual urban biographies, although some broader themes can be drawn out. Of course small-scale investigations can also produce results of significance, although in some cases the limited areas examined render interpretation beyond the very local almost impossible. There have been some gains in knowledge of major public buildings and urban defences since 1990, but on a much reduced scale to previously and the results are often of ambiguous interpretation. Investigations on the site of the forum in Cirencester and limited exposures of the town defences in Cirencester and Dorchester illustrate the difficulties in contextualisation frequently posed by small-scale work (Simmonds and Smith 2008; Hancocks *et al.* 2008; Adam *et al.* 1992).

The chronology and form of the early Roman towns of South-West England remain poorly understood. In 1989 Malcolm Todd questioned Wacher's assessment that the origin of many of the major towns of southern Britain was an early Flavian phenomenon, preferring the late Flavian and Trajanic period as that when most of the urban infrastructure came into being (Todd 1989). This view has been largely upheld by work since 1990. Before looking at the higher ranking centres, however, it is worth examining what is known from Bath, which by any measure was an exceptional place with an idiosyncratic history. The temple-baths are dated to *c.* A.D. 70 or a little earlier and work for the New Royal Baths development provided an opportunity to investigate a site adjacent to the main complex (Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 65; Davenport *et al.* 2007). Interestingly the plot lay undeveloped until the mid-second century which suggests official control of the temple *temenos* because market forces would surely not have allowed this prime piece of real estate to have lain vacant for 80 years or so. In the mid-second century the site was developed for a public building and architectural fragments reused in its foundations perhaps derived from one or more wealthy residences built around the temple-baths, but not on the New Royal Baths site itself, rather than from the headquarters of a military administration as has been suggested.

Turning to the early history of the *civitas* capitals, reinterpretation of earlier work at Cirencester

prompted by limited developer investigations at Trinity Road suggests that findings previously adduced as evidence for an annexe and *vicus* associated with a mid-first-century A.D. fort might in fact fit better as elements of a slowly evolving Flavian town which was of somewhat different character to the familiar town plan which in large part was a creation of the early second century (Holbrook 2008a, 312–13). Similarly the origins of Dorchester are poorly understood. A date of *c.* A.D. 65 for the foundation of the town was suggested on the basis of the evidence from Greyhound Yard, although firmly stratified and sealed pre-Flavian assemblages are lacking and this date derives to some degree from an assessment of likely historical contexts for urban formation in South-West England (Woodward 1993, 359–62). Pre-Flavian pottery is regularly recovered from the town, and this has been used to support the case for a military origin discussed above. It is telling, however, that purely Claudian samian is almost entirely absent from Charles Street and the former County Hospital sites (it was not published in detail in the Greyhound Yard report), yet this would be expected if a military garrison was present in Dorchester at the same time as the other forts in Dorset were occupied (Dickinson 1992; 1993; Mills and Dickinson 2008; Mills in Powell forthcoming). If a military context for the pre-Flavian material is discounted, then we must infer either that the town had a Neronian origin or else that there was some other form of pre-urban activity here. The possible existence of a Late Iron Age religious shrine in Dorchester which continued as a centre of veneration into the post-conquest period has been suggested on the basis of structured ritual deposition in pits and shafts at Greyhound Yard (Woodward and Woodward 2004), but such deposits are now widely recognised across the province and need not indicate a shrine (see Fulford pp. 202–3). Given the absence of any other evidence for a shrine, a Neronian origin for Dorchester should not be dismissed.

It is against this uncertainty over the chronology and nature of the earliest Roman activity in Dorchester that the results from excavations at the former County Hospital should be considered. The site lay in the south-western quadrant of the walled area and provided an opportunity to partially examine a 90 m-long length of street frontage and back land areas. Some of the work is published in a semi-popular format with specialist reports available from the Wessex Archaeology website (Trevarthen 2008); some of it is not (Hulka and Hodgson 2000 for a note on findings immediately to the north of the Wessex Archaeology site). The frontage was far from intensively developed in the first century A.D. with two small timber buildings, 45 m apart, separated by an open area containing a scatter of pits (FIG. 8). There were at least two further buildings in the back lands. Both were semi-cellared buildings dug into the natural chalk, a local architectural type encountered in Late Iron Age and Roman rural contexts in the Dorchester region and considered to be non-domestic stores or outbuildings (as at Poundbury Farm, Maiden Castle Road, Fordington Bottom and Alington Avenue (Egging Dinwiddy and Bradley 2011, 163–4; Smith *et al.* 1997, 61–2, 213, 301–2; Davies *et al.* 2002, 65–70)). This sequence is clearly of importance to a consideration of the urban origins of Dorchester, but unfortunately the information available (either in the publication or the specialist downloads) is not sufficiently detailed for a full consideration of this evidence to be made. The pits were seemingly being filled up to the middle of the second century, although the earliest (1547) is said to have been 'probably infilled during, or shortly after, the third quarter of the 1st century A.D.' (Trevarthen 2008, 16). This might, therefore, be one of the earliest stratified ceramic assemblages from the town, but little further detail can be gleaned from it.

The broad periods of subsequent transformation at the former County Hospital were the second half of the second century, when stone houses were erected on the frontage and a cob-built aisled building in the back lands, and the late third or early fourth century. By that time the houses on the frontage had been demolished, seemingly not to be replaced, and new masonry buildings erected to the rear. While this broad phasing doubtless holds true, it is far from clear whether these were events of wholesale replanning or (as seems inherently more plausible) piecemeal and incremental rebuilding, with different buildings abandoned at different times. The irregularity in planning, with some structures not aligned on the street grid, and the lack of emphasis on the frontage in the fourth century (when there was a house with mosaics in the centre of the insula) might challenge some preconceptions of the urban geography of Romano-British towns, but in reality this irregularity is much more likely to have been the norm (as, for

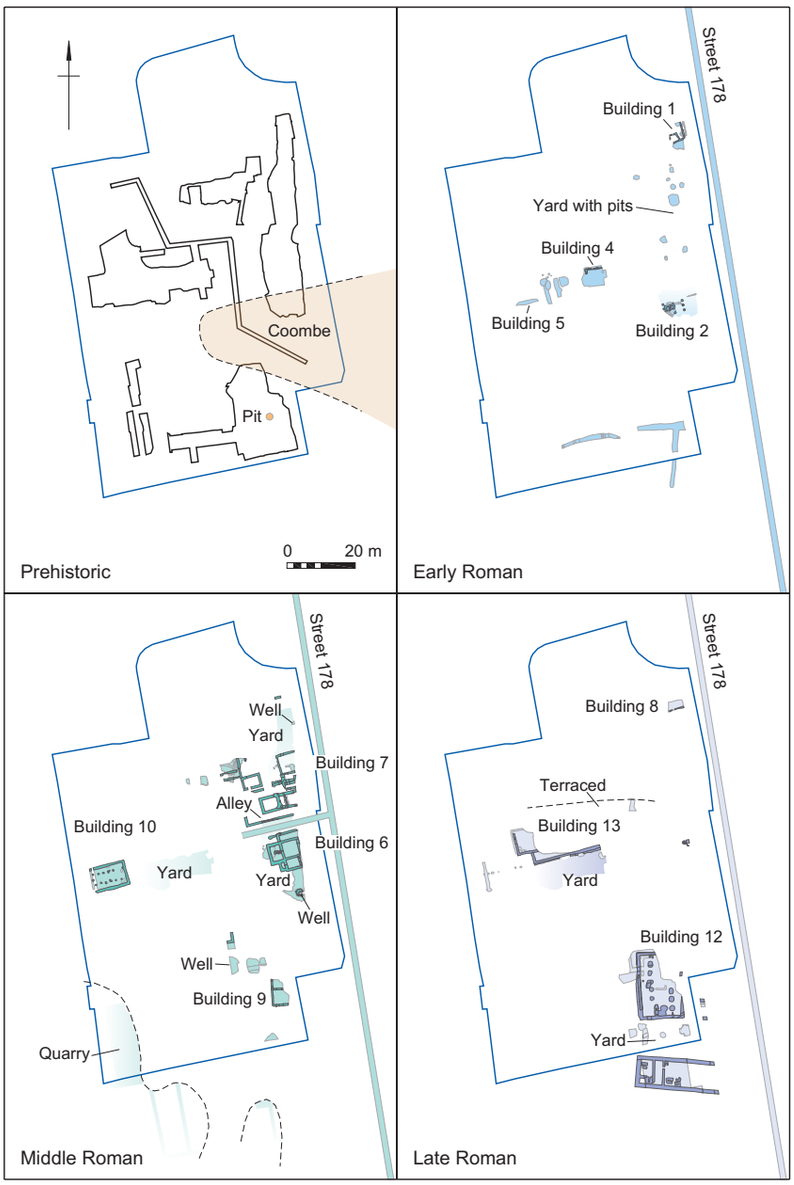

FIG. 8. Development of a part of an insula at Dorchester, as revealed by excavations at the former County Hospital in 2000–1. (© *Wessex Archaeology*)

instance, the detailed aerial photographic and geophysical evidence from Wroxeter makes plain; White *et al.* 2013).

The former County Hospital provides some of the best evidence recovered since 1990 for the layout and development of an urban insula. Elsewhere in the South-West the evidence for domestic housing, craft and industrial processes is much more piecemeal with few substantially complete building plans, although there have been useful observations which help to build a picture of when different insulae where developed for the first time, or houses built at least partly in stone rather than entirely from timber or cob. Other than at Dorchester the only other complete building plan to be recovered is that of a town-house at Princesshay in Exeter, the first complete house plan known from that city (Steinmetzer *et al.* forthcoming). It was a simple row-type building which in its original form comprised three rooms and a verandah. Almost abutting it part of a larger building was found, squeezed hard up against the back of the rampart of the city defences. Two rooms contained channelled hypocausts and formed a heated bi-partite

winter dining-room (Cosh 2001, 233–6). Both buildings date to after the late third century and had been abandoned by the end of the fourth century. Also in Exeter, work at Market Street in the southern quadrant of the early Roman town, whilst limited, yielded valuable results (Stead 2002). Overlying the abandoned fortress buildings was a deposit of cultivation soil, presumably testimony to market gardening. On the Insula XII frontage (the insula numbering is after Bidwell 1980, fig. 37) this soil was sealed by a masonry building, most likely a house, which was probably built in the mid to late second century (the time when the abandoned fortress defences were being levelled and the city wall constructed to enclose a larger area). On the opposite side of the street (Insula XVI) another area of garden soil extended back from the frontage with no evidence for any structures. The early Roman town, which lay within the bounds of the former legionary fortress, was therefore far from intensively developed and while there was some later Roman expansion, an area in the core of the town was always devoted to agricultural or horticultural activities and never built-up.

Given the widespread adoption of strategies to ensure the preservation *in situ* of archaeological remains, it is not uncommon for archaeological work to cease at the uppermost surfaces associated with the latest Roman structures so that concrete rafts for new constructions can be founded at this level. It might therefore be expected that a number of insights would have been gained into the nature of activity in the South-Western towns in the later fourth and fifth centuries. In reality new evidence for this period is meagre. A timber building was constructed on a Roman street surface at the former County Hospital in Dorchester, but nothing more can be said of its form or chronology until the excavations are published (Hulka and Hodgson 2000 provide a brief summary). Elsewhere on that site a Theodosian coin hoard assembled in the early decades of the fifth century was discovered within the demolition deposits of a barn. The hoard was perhaps originally concealed within the superstructure of the barn and dispersed over its interior during demolition, which suggests activity into the early fifth century at least (Cooke 2007; Trevarthen 2008, 39–41).

There have been surprisingly few attempts at the scientific dating of biological remains from the latest 'Roman' structural layers (or indeed the deposits themselves via archaeomagnetism). The only published results derive from research work by Gerrard who radiocarbon dated four animal bones recovered from excavations in 1978–84 in the temple precinct at Bath (Gerrard 2007). This suggests that the temple of Sulis Minerva was demolished in the second half of the fifth century and demonstrates the value that could be derived from the more widespread application of this approach elsewhere. Similarly little or no progress has been made on understanding the formation processes and chronology of so-called dark earth (MacPhail 2010): attempts have been made at Bath and Cirencester but so far with little success. The absence of post-Roman grass-tempered pottery from the numerous test pits sampling the dark earth in Cirencester over the last two decades now assumes greater significance given the recovery of this fabric at four locations just outside the walls, in one case in association with a sunken feature in the former cemetery area at Old Tetbury Road (Holbrook 2013, 32–3, 44).

SUBURBS

Some of the biggest advances in knowledge have come from the extramural areas, through the investigation of both burial practice and suburban occupation and industry. The work in Bath on the Walcot Street/London Road suburb has already been mentioned. The suburb appears to have covered an area of *c.* 25 ha at its maximum extent compared to 10 ha within the walls (Davenport 2007, 419). A series of strip buildings fronted onto the road leading north from the walled town; they were initially of timber construction replaced in stone in the second century. The buildings achieved some level of architectural pretension with stone and timber porticos, at least one tessellated pavement and piped water. Activities undertaken included blacksmithing and pottery making (Davenport 2000; 2007). Work on the opposite side of the Avon crossing at Bathwick in 2012 confirmed the presence of a substantial suburb on this side of the river as well, in the form of masonry roadside strip buildings containing ovens, latrines and pits (information from the Context One Archaeological Services website).

Gloucester had substantial extramural suburbs in contrast to Cirencester where the large walled area was never fully built-up, a contrast that has been remarked upon by a number of commentators such as Hurst (2005, 294–6). Work outside the South Gate at Gloucester in 1989–90 revealed later first- to second-century timber structures replaced by at least three masonry buildings, one of aisled plan, in the second/third century. They lay just outside the defensive *colonia* ditch and extended for *c.* 70 m from the gate, with ditched plots beyond (Atkin 1990, 3–4; 1991, 14–15). Such evidence is lacking at Cirencester: except for a single workshop outside the Bath Gate, suburban activity was limited until recently to two villas just beyond the walls (McWhirr *et al.* 1982, 50–68; RCHME 1976, Cirencester inventory 1 and 7). Excavations at Kingshill in 2009, half a kilometre beyond the walls on the eastern side of the town, revealed two stone buildings of probable second- or third-century construction: an aisled building containing tanks and hearths and an apsidal structure of uncertain function (finds included industrial residues and partial sheep remains; FIG. 9). The buildings were situated within what appears to have been an agricultural landscape of ditched paddocks, terraces, corn-driers and four scattered inhumation burials (Booth 2010, 396). The buildings lay away from the main roads leading from Cirencester and in many respects would not be out of place in an agricultural setting in the Cotswold countryside. Despite their proximity to the town the buildings, therefore, appear to have been intimately involved in agricultural production and can be contrasted with the ribbon development at Gloucester which was focused upon the major roads leaving the town.

The burial and cemetery evidence is considered on a national scale by John Pearce elsewhere in this volume and I will therefore restrict discussion to a few specific points. Of the South-Western towns, Dorchester, Ilchester, Gloucester and Cirencester all had extensive cemeteries, with work on varying scales since 1990 at Gloucester (at least 382 burials excavated), Cirencester (87), Dorchester (29) and Ilchester (3). There has been no modern investigation of a cemetery in Bath where the study of skeletal remains would surely tell us much not only about diseases in the Roman world but also potentially the geographic origins of those who died there. A 'backyard'

FIG. 9. Extramural apsidal building under excavation at Kingshill South, Cirencester, in 2009. (© *Oxford Archaeology*)

burial excavated in the Walcot Street suburb hints at the potential as DNA and lead isotope analysis of a male buried in a lead-lined timber coffin suggest that he may have had a Near Eastern or Mediterranean origin (Davenport 2000, 24–5; Fitzpatrick 2001, 370; the scientific analyses are seemingly unpublished and are not included in the overview of lead isotope work produced by Montgomery *et al.* 2010). Exeter stands apart from the other South-Western towns in its absence of extensive later Roman inhumation cemeteries and in this respect has much closer affinity with Caerwent and Carmarthen in South Wales. Recent work in the environs of the walled area has done nothing to change the picture. Occasional scattered burials have been found at a few sites but the absence of an organised cemetery is telling. Mount Dinham provides a convenient example. There a 6 m-square ditched mortuary enclosure was found containing a single central grave (although no human bone was preserved), but this was an apparently isolated feature and no other burials were found on the site (Passmore 2013).

Perhaps the most unexpected discovery has been the mass grave at 120–122 London Road, Gloucester, which is unique in Roman Britain (unless two poorly recorded pits discovered in York in the nineteenth century are other examples). Excavations within this previously identified cemetery area recovered over ten cremations and 64 individual inhumations, the latter dating from the late first or early second century A.D., but most surprisingly a further 91 inhumations had been dumped haphazardly into a large pit at some point in the late second century (Simmonds *et al.* 2008). In the report the excavators postulated that these might have been the hurriedly buried victims of a plague or epidemic, perhaps the historically recorded Antonine plague of A.D. 165 and following years. This interpretation has not found favour with reviewers such as Esmonde Cleary (2009) and Hurst (2010) who note that the demographic profile of those in the pit is no different from the remainder of the cemetery, and more generally doubt the validity of attempting to tie an imprecisely dated archaeological feature to a historically recorded event that is not certainly attested in Britain. In the report the excavators considered, but rejected, the burial of slaves and paupers in mass grave pits (*puticuli*) outside of the walls of Rome as a possible parallel for the Gloucester evidence, although this is the interpretation promoted by Hurst (2010) in his review of the evidence. Pearce (2010, 87–8), however, notes the rarity of mass graves in the Roman world and regards the Gloucester pit as evidence for catastrophic rather than attritional mortality. Stable isotope analysis of 21 individuals from the cemetery (10 from individual inhumations, 11 from the mass grave) suggests that six or seven of them spent their childhood in a warmer/more coastal climate than Roman Britain, two most probably in the Mediterranean (Chenery *et al.* 2010; Eckardt 2010a, 118–19, 122–3).

ASSESSMENT

In the preceding sections I have summarised what appear to me to be the highlights brought about by developer-funded investigations since 1990. I will now provide a broader critique of the contribution this work has made to knowledge of the South-Western towns through examination of three themes: degree and scale of work undertaken, priorities and research questions, and publication and dissemination.

SCALE OF WORK

The presumption in favour of the physical preservation *in situ* of nationally important archaeological remains where these are affected by developments requiring planning permission enshrined in various wordings in PPG 16 and its successor policies has undoubtedly been highly successful in conservation management terms, but what have been the consequences in the South-West of England for urban archaeological research? Fears that this approach would stifle, or indeed eliminate, opportunities for substantive investigations in the historic towns have proved unfounded, as the preceding sections of this paper have hopefully demonstrated. New and important discoveries continue to be made, and the research possibilities of each investigation should inform the design and execution of that work. In many cases work in town centres has been on a small scale (especially when compared with the decades before 1990) and usually this is

as part of an engineered design which allows construction to proceed alongside the preservation of the vast majority of buried archaeological deposits. Such work can have a strong research value, but usually only through integration with previous work. The Urban Archaeological Databases are the best means of capturing this information, although the level of detail recorded in these important sources is variable. In this review I have inevitably concentrated on the larger investigations because they are more readily susceptible to a higher level of synthesis. As will have become apparent, the majority of those excavations took place outside of the walled areas. In some cases trial evaluation followed by full excavation has delivered impressive results of a type which could have been broadly (but never precisely) predicted, as for instance at the Brunswick Road cemetery in Gloucester (Booth 2014, 380), but the capacity for genuine surprises is never far away. Notable examples include the complexes at St Loye's College and Mount Dinham in Exeter which were contemporary with the mid-first-century A.D. legionary fortress and the mass grave at London Road, Gloucester. This emphasis on the suburbs looks set to continue, not least because it is rare in these districts for the same build-up of stratigraphy to be encountered as within the walled area. The requirement for excavation rather than preservation is more frequent in these extramural areas therefore and the costs of investigation can more readily be accommodated within development budgets. Preservation *in situ* is not only a conservation and sustainability argument, but frequently an economic one as well.

Work in the suburbs has the potential to address a whole variety of important research questions, especially if evidence for houses, trade and industry survives. The distinction between intra- and extramural areas of course only strictly applies from the second century onwards when town defences were constructed and there is high potential in the areas beyond that subsequently defended for important evidence of pre-urban Late Iron Age or military activity, and also for features contemporary with the early decades of the new towns. Such deposits are usually deeply buried within the walled area and thus seldom examined, so the suburban zone provides important opportunities to obtain valuable contextual data for later first- or early second-century A.D. activity.

PRIORITIES AND RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Successful commercially-driven fieldwork is invariably undertaken as an active piece of research as there is never unlimited time or finance available and decisions have to be made, often whilst on site and in conjunction with the curatorial archaeologist, about where attention is to be focused and where an element of sacrifice can be allowed. The work discussed above has concentrated on urban geography and chronology, which is both inevitable and essential, because without these fundamental building blocks of study no more nuanced account of urbanism would be possible. While this is a traditional approach it should be the springboard for further analysis rather than just an end in itself. To what degree has developer work in the South-West moved beyond these considerations to look at the broader urban landscape as a whole and create a better understanding of what was going on in different parts of each town at different periods? In short just what was it like to live in a Romano-British town in South-West England? As is apparent from excavations at the former County Hospital site in Dorchester, and to a lesser extent Market Street, Exeter and Stepstairs Lane, Cirencester (Brett and Watts 2008), there were considerable open spaces within the towns and it is important to understand what was going on in these areas as well as within individual buildings. This knowledge is likely to derive in large part from the detailed examination of selected high quality deposits, particularly artefacts and biological data captured through the appliance of archaeological science. The potential of scientific analyses for urban reconstruction has been demonstrated in a research context at Silchester, but they have seemingly been little applied in a commercial context at the South-Western towns (Fulford and Clarke 2011). Techniques such as soil micromorphology and geochemistry appear to have made next to no impact: whether this is due to a lack of appropriate deposits, lack of application stemming from concerns about affordability or a lack of final detailed publications is unclear. The early Roman pits at the former County Hospital site might be examples of deposits which could help contextualise the activities being undertaken nearby.

Isotope analyses have been applied to human remains recovered from developer-funded investigations in Gloucester and Bath, as well as fresh analysis of older discoveries in Gloucester and Dorchester. This work has begun to provide telling insights into the cosmopolitan nature of the urban populations in these places (Chenery *et al.* 2010; Chenery and Evans 2012; Molleson *et al.* 1986; Eckardt 2010a). The prevalence of such analyses is only likely to increase in the future and it will be particularly instructive to apply these techniques in Exeter if a suitable human skeletal population is eventually recovered. Artefacts demonstrate Exeter's trading links along the Atlantic seaboard and we might reasonably expect these to be reflected in the make-up of the population (Holbrook and Bidwell 1991, 21).

There are, of course, considerations of what level of analysis, especially scientific, it is reasonable to expect developers to fund and where the boundary is crossed into what might be termed pure research. On the one hand few would argue that the application of absolute dating techniques should not be part of routine developer requirements, although thus far the application of these techniques has made very little impact on understanding of late fourth- and fifth-century deposits in the South-Western towns. Radiocarbon dating of the stratigraphically latest burials within late Roman cemeteries or archaeomagnetic dating of hearths and ovens associated with the uppermost surfaces revealed in excavation seems not to have occurred. The application of more novel techniques such as isotope analyses of humans and animals are areas where partnerships between archaeological contractors and academic institutions could be profitable (the partnership between Oxford Archaeology and the University of Reading to deliver the isotope analyses of the London Road, Gloucester, burials is a good example of what can be achieved). Isotope analyses might also be fruitfully applied to the cattle bones from military deposits in Exeter, which are currently the subject of a fresh study by Mark Maltby. The crucial role that Exeter played in the supply and provisioning of the army during its garrisoning of the South-West peninsula is apparent and it is inherently unlikely that the agricultural economy of the region could have been developed almost overnight to meet the demands of a standing army conceivably in the order of 10,000 men. Supply from elsewhere, most probably from outside of the province, surely occurred and isotope analysis might help in elucidating this.

PUBLICATION AND DISSEMINATION

Appendix 1 makes plain both the number of significant investigations that have occurred since 1990 but also that full and final reports on this work are still comparatively few. The reports on sites that have been published as monographs or journal papers are often of high quality (such as, for example, the 120–122 London Road cemetery in Gloucester and miscellaneous investigations in Cirencester). Elsewhere some sites are reported only in grey literature and this seems to be their final outcome (such as Market Street, Exeter, which is a good report but one lacking in environmental analyses). A number of other reports are in active preparation and will doubtless appear in the coming years, the existing grey literature accounts forming post-excavation assessments or summary interim accounts. The work of analysis and publication can be a lengthy one. A national survey of both urban and rural sites showed that publication within five to ten years of the completion of site work to be the norm, with a sizeable percentage not advancing beyond grey literature (or in some cases not documented at all; Fulford and Holbrook 2011, 333–4). In the towns of the South-West there are a number of significant investigations where there is little prospect that full publication will occur anytime soon (sites excavated in the early 1990s in Bath and Gloucester for instance). There are also plenty of important sites excavated in the two decades before 1990 which are unpublished (and are likely to remain so in the near future, at least). If properly analysed these pre-PPG 16 investigations would not only make a major contribution to knowledge but also allow for the much better design and contextualisation of new work. Exeter, Gloucester, and to a lesser extent Bath, stand out as the towns where the information loss from the lack of publication of pre-1990 work is greatest and most regrettable.

Overall it can be maintained that it is the lack of publication of significant excavations over the last quarter of a century which has been the principal weakness of the developer-funding system:

until it is remedied we will not fully deliver on all of the dividends that the introduction of PPG 16 seemed to herald. There is no one reason behind this state of affairs. Factors include problems in obtaining adequate funding from developers during post-excavation; practical difficulties in securing enforcement of planning conditions years after the completion of fieldwork (and often after the development has long since been finished); as well as differing levels of post-excavation capability and expertise amongst archaeological contractors. The quantities of material recovered from urban projects are likely to require increasing use of web-based modes of dissemination in the future, but where this is supplementary information to a conventionally published report the two must dovetail together so that readers can find the information they are seeking. For instance, there has been renewed academic emphasis in recent years on the ability of artefacts to inform considerations of topics such as the expression of personal identity and pervasive ritual behaviour. Artefact assemblages from commercial investigations therefore need to be adequately catalogued and analysed, and this information made available in a useable format, so that researchers undertaking more detailed levels of analysis and synthesis can use these data to explore new research directions.

This survey has demonstrated, without question, that the potential of commercial archaeology to elucidate the biographies of the Roman towns of the South-West of England is exciting, important and on-going. That potential has not been realised to its full extent, however, due to differential levels of analysis and dissemination. This work is not lost without hope but we do need to find better ways of making the fruits of the significant sums of money expended on developer investigations available to the various communities of people, with their differing interests and requirements, who care about the Roman archaeology of these significant places.

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APPENDIX: SIGNIFICANT INVESTIGATIONS 1990–2013

Key: Organisation: AC = AC Archaeology; Bath = Bath Archaeological Trust; Bristol = Bristol and Region Archaeological Services; Context One = Context One Archaeological Services; Cotswold = Cotswold Archaeology; Exeter = Exeter Museums Archaeological Field Unit/Exeter Archaeology; Foundations = Foundations Archaeology; Glos CC = Gloucestershire County Council Archaeology Service; Gloucester = Gloucester Archaeology Unit; Hollinrakes = C. and N. Hollinrake; Oxford = Oxford Archaeology; Wessex = Wessex Archaeology.
Documentation/References: F = final report; S = summary/interim; N = note; GL= grey literature report.

Site	Year	Organisation	Principal Findings	Documentation	References
Dorchester *Intramural*					
Charles Street	1990	Wessex	Street, buildings.	GL	Adam and Butterworth 1993
Former County Hospital	2000–2001	Wessex	Sequence of 13 early to late Roman houses, buildings and surrounding areas.	F	Trevarthen 2008
Former County Hospital North	2000	AC	Three stone buildings; inter-insulae street with timber building constructed over it.	N	Hulka and Hodgson 2000
Charles Street	2011	Wessex	Partial plan of late Roman town-house.	F	Powell forthcoming
Dorchester *Extramural*					
Little Keep	2007	Wessex	Cemetery: 29 inhumations and a mortuary enclosure.	F/GL	McKinley and Egging Dinwiddy 2009 (F); Egging Dinwiddy 2009 (GL)
Exeter *Intramural*					
Lower Coombe Street	1990	Exeter	First-century A.D. military compound (stores base?) outside of the legionary fortress.	S/N	Henderson 2001, 56 (S); Frere 1991, 281–3 (N)
South Gate	1993	Exeter	South gate of town defences.	F	Henderson 2001
Market Street	2001–2002	Exeter	Fragments of military buildings inside the legionary fortress; later Roman street and fragmentary remains of three masonry buildings.	GL	Stead 2002 (GL)
Princesshay	2005–2006	Exeter	First-century A.D. defended military enclosure outside of the fortress (auxiliary fort; works depot?); wasters from late first- to second-century tile works; later Roman street and two masonry buildings.	N	Booth 2007, 295–6 (N); Steinmetzer *et al.* forthcoming (F)
Exeter *Extramural*					
Topsham, Topsham School	2000	Exeter	Defences of first-century A.D. military installation; 13 later Roman graves.	F	Sage and Allen 2004

Site	Year	Organisation	Principal Findings	Documentation	References
Mount Dinham	2007–2009	Exeter (fieldwork); AC (post-excavation)	Timber building (*praetorium?*) contemporary with occupation of first-century A.D. fortress; later Roman mausoleum.	GL	Passmore 2013
Former St Loye's College	2010 2013	Exeter AC	Late Iron Age enclosure and roundhouse; first-century A.D. fortress-period site containing timber buildings defended on at least two sides by double ditches.	N; GL	Booth 2011, 384–6 (N); Tomlin 2011, 444–5 (N); Steinmetzer and Salvatore 2010 (GL); Stead and Payne 2013 (GL)
Ilchester *Extramural*					
Great Yard	1995	Bristol	Road, structures, and three inhumation burials in the western suburb.	F	Broomhead 1999
Northover Manor Hotel	2002	Hollinrakes	Traces of late first- and second-century A.D. structures in the back lands adjacent to the Fosse Way in the northern suburb.	GL	Leach 2002
Bath *Intramural*					
Beau Sreet, New Royal Baths	1998–1999	Bath	Second-century masonry courtyard building, probably with public function.	F	Davenport *et al.* 2007
Bellott's Hospital	1999	Bath	Timber and stone buildings, one used as a smithy.	S	Lewcun and Davenport 2007
Beau Street, Gainsborough Building	2007–2008	Cotswold (fieldwork); AC (post-excavation)	Partial re-examination of public baths recorded by Irving in 1864–6. Hoard of *c.* 17,500 coins dated to *c.* A.D. 270 in one room.	N/S	Booth 2009, 270–1 (N); *Current Archaeology* 278 (May 2013), 26–32 (coin hoard)
Bath *Extramural*					
Walcot Street, Hat and Feather Yard	1989–1995	Bath	Occupation from mid-first century A.D. adjacent to road. Parts of three later Roman masonry strip buildings.	S/N	Davenport 2000; 2007 (S); Frere 1991, 278 (N); Frere 1992, 296 (N)
130–132 Walcot Street (St Swithin's Yard/Aldridge's)	1991 1998–2000	Bath Bath	Three masonry buildings, two on the road frontage. Fourth-century tile kiln and two inhumation burials.	S/N	Davenport 2000; 2007 (S); Frere 1992, 296 (N); Fitzpatrick 2001, 369–70 (N)
Tramsheds (Beehive Yard)	1998–2000	Bath	First-century A.D. timber roadside structures replaced in stone in the later Roman period.	S	Davenport 2000; 2007, 412–15
Prospect Place (Oldfield Boys School)	1997–2000	Bath	Suburban villa.	S	Davenport 2000; 2007, 422–3

Bathwick Street/ Henrietta Road, Bathwick	2012	Context One	Road and flanking masonry strip buildings (workshops?).	N	Context One website
Gloucester *Intramural*					
Ladybellgate Street	1995	Glos CC	Masonry building (town-house?)	S	Parry and Reilly 1996
Gloucester *Extramural*					
Southgate Gallery, Southgate Street	1989–1990	Gloucester	Timber then masonry roadside structures outside of the South Gate.	S	Atkin 1990, 3; 1991, 14–15
Upper Quay Street	1990	Gloucester	First-century A.D. timber wharf on inlet of river Severn; subsequent land reclamation and later Roman masonry building.	S	Atkin 1991, 16–18
Tanner's Hall	1997–8	Glos CC	Extramural road to the north of the *colonia* with evidence for timber structures and metalworking.	F	Vallender 2009
Parliament Street	2001	Cotswold	Cemetery: eight inhumations and one cremation.	F	Holbrook and Bateman 2008
124–130 London Road	2002	Foundations	Cemetery: 39 inhumations and 19 cremations.	GL; F	Foundations Archaeology 2003 (GL); Ellis and King 2014 (F)
120–122 London Road	2004–2006	Oxford	Cemetery: at least ten cremations; 64 single inhumations and 91 further inhumations in a mass grave pit. Two first-century A.D. tombstones (*RIB* 3072–3).	F	Simmonds *et al.* 2008; Chenery *et al.* 2010 (isotope analyses)
Brunswick Road	2013	Cotswold	Field-system replaced by a later Roman cemetery containing *c.*150 inhumations and three cremations.	N	Cotswold Archaeology website; Booth 2014, 380
167 Barnwood Road	2013	Cotswold	Small pre-/early Flavian ditched enclosure adjacent to Ermin Street and 3 km south-east of the Kingsholm fortress; interior contained a lead cremation vessel.		Ian Barnes, Cotswold Archaeology, pers. comm.
Cirencester, *Intramural*					
Watermoor House	1992	Glos CC	Partial excavation of masonry portico and shops flanking Ermin Street.	F	Parry 1998
Cotswold Mill	1998–1999	Cotswold	Part of masonry public building.	F	Holbrook and Thomas 2008
Trinity Road	2001–2002	Cotswold	Section through town defences.	F	Hancocks *et al.* 2008

Site	Year	Organisation	Principal Findings	Documentation	References
King Street, Bingham Hall	2002	Cotswold	Section across Ermin Street and flanking portico.	F	Havard and Watts 2008
Stepstairs Lane	2002–2003	Cotswold	Part of a masonry building.	F	Brett and Watts 2008
Lewis Lane	2004–2006	Oxford	Limited investigation of deposits associated with the forum.	F	Simmonds and Smith 2008
Corn Hall	2008	Cotswold	Masonry portico and shops flanking Ermin Street.	N	Booth 2009, 266–7
Cirencester, *Extramural*					
Kingsmeadow	1991	Oxford	One or two cremation burials.	F	Roberts 1995
Old Tetbury Road	2004–2006	Cotswold	Cemetery: nine cremations and two inhumations.	F	Holbrook *et al.* 2008
Kingshill North	2008	Oxford	Late Iron Age settlement abandoned in first century A.D.; subsequent agricultural activity and a single cremation.	F	Biddulph and Walsh 2011
Kingshill South	2009	Oxford	Two masonry buildings (one aisled; one with apse) set within agricultural landscape. Four inhumations and numerous neonates.	N	Booth 2010, 396
Old Tetbury Road, Bridges Garage	2011	Cotswold	Cemetery: three cremations; 71 inhumations; mausoleum.	N/S	Booth 2012, 337–8 (N); *Current Archaeology* 281 (August 2013), 28–34 (S); McSloy and Watts 2013 (S)

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