

THE ROMAN OCCUPATION IN THE AREA OF PATERNOSTER SQUARE, CITY OF LONDON

JOHN D. SHEPHERD

SUMMARY

This paper examines the region of the City of London to the immediate east of the River Fleet and to the north-west of St Paul's Cathedral and includes, amongst others, the sites of Paternoster Square (examined 1961-9) and Warwick Square (1880 and 1966). Discussions of these two sites elaborate previously published interims. Emphasis is placed upon the nature of Roman occupation, the siting of cemeteries, and the road systems, whose inter-relationship suggests a westward progression of the Roman city boundary from the pre-Flavian period to the late 2nd or early 3rd century. The city defences are not discussed in detail although their influence upon subsequent occupation is examined. The archaeological sequences from more recent excavations conducted by the DUA are referred to throughout.

INTRODUCTION

The line of Old Bailey marks the westernmost extent of this study area. Its north-western and south-eastern limits coincide with the southern limits of the Roman cemeteries in the vicinity of St Bartholomew's Hospital and with St Paul's Cathedral respectively. At the south-eastern extremity, the area adjoins the site of the Roman remains at Gateway House and Watling House (Fig. 2, no. 14) previously reported by this author (Shepherd 1986).

The main purpose of this study is to survey the general character of Roman occupation as indicated by numerous recorded observations and finds with a view to identifying changes and variations in the pattern of settlement. Many of the sites discussed here have appeared in print in the form of brief interim reports or summaries but there has not yet been a brief study of this kind. Rather than being the definitive report for the sites in this area and for the area itself it is hoped that this paper will encourage interest and debate for an often neglected part of the Roman city.

In general, the nature of archaeological research in this part of the City of London has been characterised by the examination of a few, but large, sites during the course of their redevelopment. It is possible to trace this activity back to Sir Christopher Wren who redeveloped the site of the medieval St Paul's Cathedral (Fig. 2, no. 12), destroyed during the Great Fire of 1666 (Wren 1750, 266). During excavations in 1672 to build the new cathedral foundations he recorded a number of archaeological features which are relevant to the location of Roman cemeteries and industries (see below pp. 26-28).

Detailed records were next made over two hundred years later when large office buildings around Newgate Street, King Edward Street and St Martin's le Grand were constructed. These were the sites of the General Post Office of 1907-8 in King Edward Street, just north of Newgate Street (Fig. 2, no. 1) (Norman and Reader 1912, 274-85), and on the east side of St Martin's le Grand, redeveloped in 1822 and 1913 (Fig. 2, nos 4 and 5) (Lambert 1915, 235-269). The former revealed

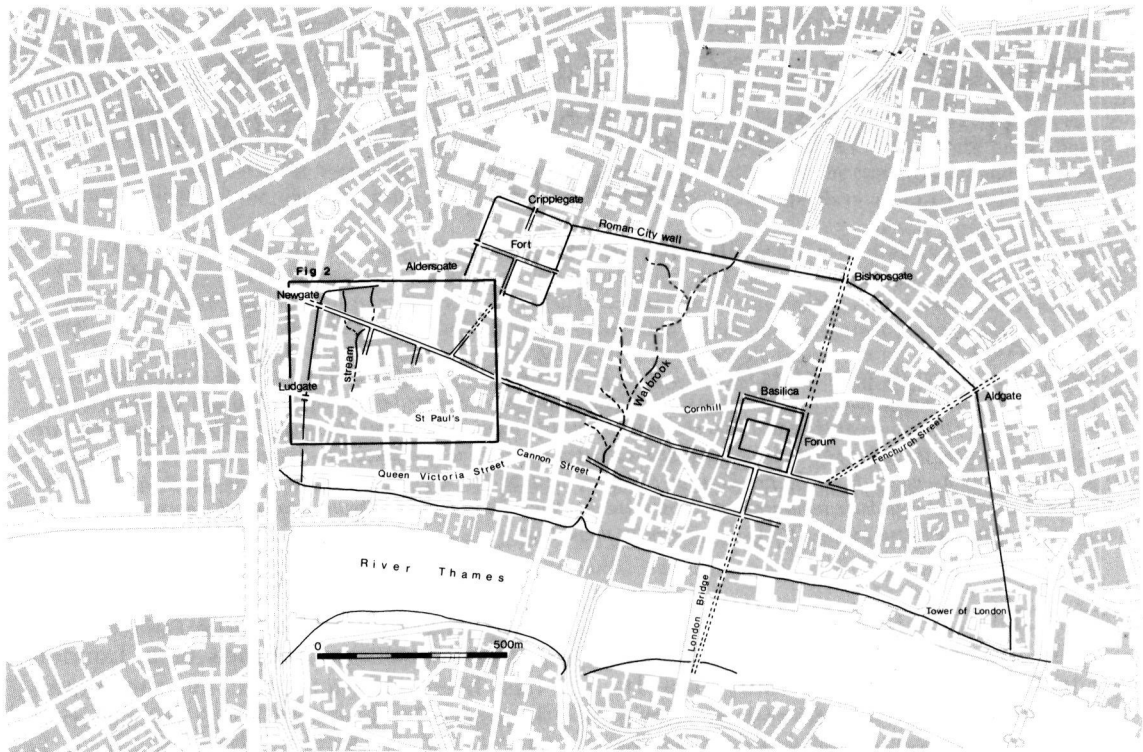


Fig. 1. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Location of study area.

details of the city wall as well as traces of two large north-south streams. One of them had a very large masonry wall on its east side (see below p. 6). Excavations on the St Martin's le Grand site of 1913 revealed a large number of rubbish pits and possible wells. The natural brickearth had been severely truncated by the construction of a vast concrete raft foundation for the previous building, completed in 1825, at which time a number of cremation burials were noted (see below p. 26) (Lambert 1915, 236)¹.

To these can be added the examination in 1880 of a property on Warwick Square by Alfred Tylor (Fig. 2, no. 7) (Tylor 1884), who recorded not only the remains of the medieval Warwick Inn but also at least eight cremation burials. Many of

these were of a quality not normally encountered in Roman Britain.

A more detailed archaeological record, though still limited, began in 1961–2 with the redevelopment of the large area of bomb-damaged buildings around Paternoster Square. During the course of this redevelopment the site, a triangular area bounded by Warwick Lane on the west and Newgate Street and St Paul's churchyard on the north and south sides respectively (Fig. 2, no. 8) was examined by staff of the Guildhall Museum (GM) (Marsden 1963, 75–6), and also by the Roman and Mediaeval London Excavations Council (RMLEC) (Grimes 1968, 148). The investigations by these two bodies, the first directed by Peter Marsden and the other by the late W. F.

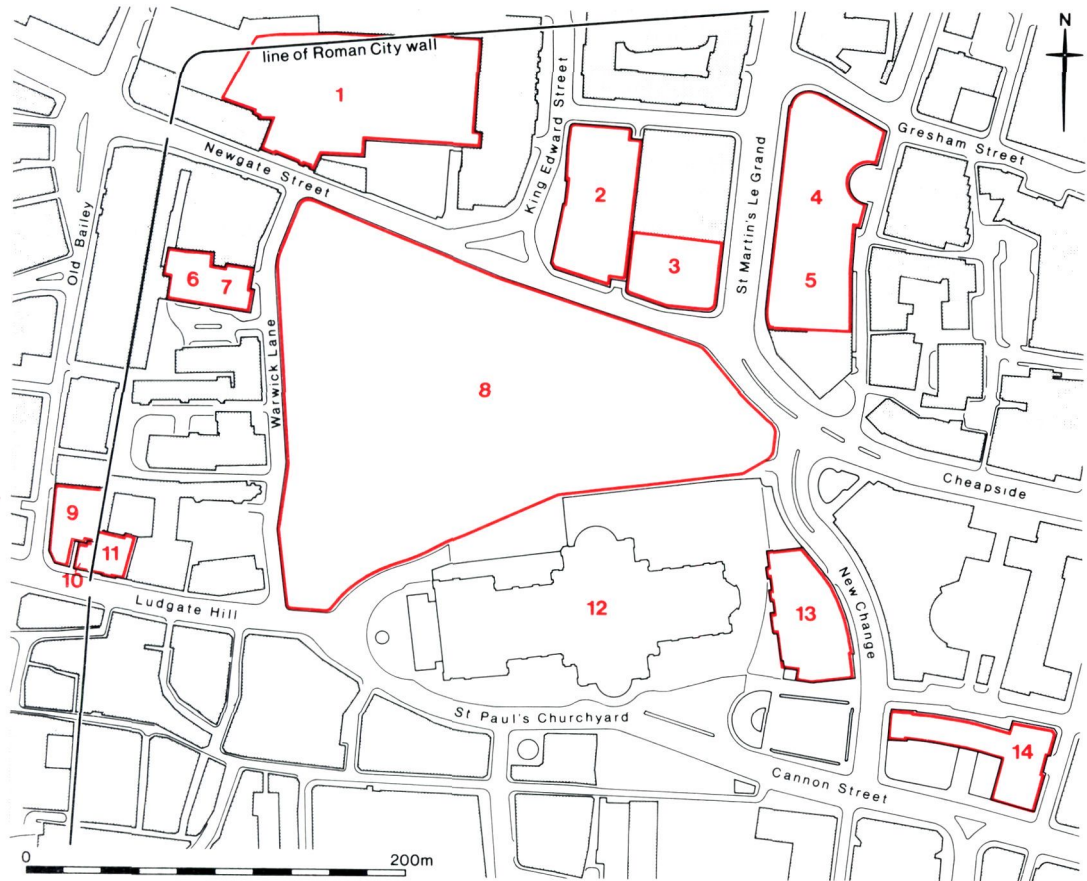


Fig. 2. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Detail of study area, with sites described in the Gazetteer shown in red and numbered.

Grimes, revealed a number of features of Roman, medieval and post-medieval date. Two north-south Roman roads were identified as well as what appeared to be the south side of the main east-west thoroughfare passing under Newgate Street. A large north-south stream was found, corresponding to the two streams recorded to the north of Newgate Street in 1907–8, and nearby was a possible Roman burial, a kiln and traces of masonry, clay and timber buildings (see below p. 17–26).

Unfortunately the mechanical removal of recent buildings and underlying

deposits on the Paternoster site took place at such a speed that archaeologists, especially those from the Guildhall Museum, were unable to record many archaeological features in detail (Marsden 1969b, 41)². Similarly, although Grimes was able to record in great detail the exposed sections of a number of builders' trenches on the fringes of the site during the early stages of redevelopment (Grimes 1968, 148, n. 8)³, the pace of mechanical reduction of the site also hampered his examination of the archaeological record. It should be noted that much of Grimes' work on this site

involved only the cleaning and recording of sections and not the controlled excavation of trenches, a technique he was able to employ on the majority of his other London sites.

In 1966–69 Marsden was able to organise a controlled excavation with volunteers on a site on the north side of Warwick Square, west of Warwick Lane, before its redevelopment as an extension to the Central Criminal Court (the ‘Old Bailey’) to the west (Fig. 2, no. 7) (Marsden 1969a, 2–7). This site was immediately east of the site examined in 1880 by Tylor. Marsden also recorded substantial parts of the medieval Warwick Inn and, of specific interest to this paper, two Roman burials, pits, gullies and the corner of a Roman stone building.

On the west side of the Warwick Square site Marsden excavated the Roman city wall, its associated internal bank and an internal turret. These defences will be discussed in a future paper dedicated to the Roman defences in general, though details of the deposits which pre-date the construction of the defences and the effect that the defences had upon the topography in this area are considered here.

Since the late 1960s and the creation in 1973 of the Museum of London’s Department of Urban Archaeology (DUA), a number of sites have been excavated in a controlled fashion in this area⁴. Of these the most important is the main General Post Office site (GPO75) (Roskams 1980, 403–7) (see below p. 15–17, Fig. 2, no. 2). This site, excavated by Alan Thompson and Steve Roskams, lies on the north side of modern Newgate Street, whose line corresponds approximately with that of the main Roman road leading westward through the city from the Walbrook crossing at Bucklersbury to the gate at Newgate. Excavated from 1975 to 1979, it revealed a continuous sequence of residential and industrial occupation from *c.*

AD 50–55 until the mid-2nd century which is vitally important when trying to understand this region. The nature of this occupation has an important bearing upon the interpretation of the Paternoster Square and Warwick Square sites to the south and south-west. Other recent excavations (42–6 Ludgate Hill—LUD82 (Fig. 2) and 1–3 St Paul’s Churchyard—PCH85 (Fig. 2)) have revealed evidence of the Roman defences and a major north-south aligned stream or ditch corresponding to the major feature discovered in the 1961–62 Paternoster Square investigations.

Details of the Roman features from the two major pre-DUA sites, Paternoster Square 1961–2 and the Central Criminal Court extension (Warwick Square) 1966 are included at the end of this paper. Some details from both sites have been previously published as short interims (Marsden 1963, Marsden 1969). Although the accounts included here should not be regarded as final or definitive (for instance medieval and post-medieval features are omitted and full finds sections are not published) it is hoped that they will be an addition to the sparse record for this area of the city.

Also summarised are other relevant observations made in this study area since Sir Christopher Wren and his contemporaries noted burials and evidence of industrial activity in 1672, including brief summaries of the more recent, controlled DUA excavations.

All records and documentation related to sites referred to in this paper can be examined upon request in the archive of the Department of Urban Archaeology, Museum of London. Only the significant dating evidence has been referred to here, together with those finds which give some bearing upon the nature of past occupation. The finds from the pre-DUA sites were accessioned according to the Ex-

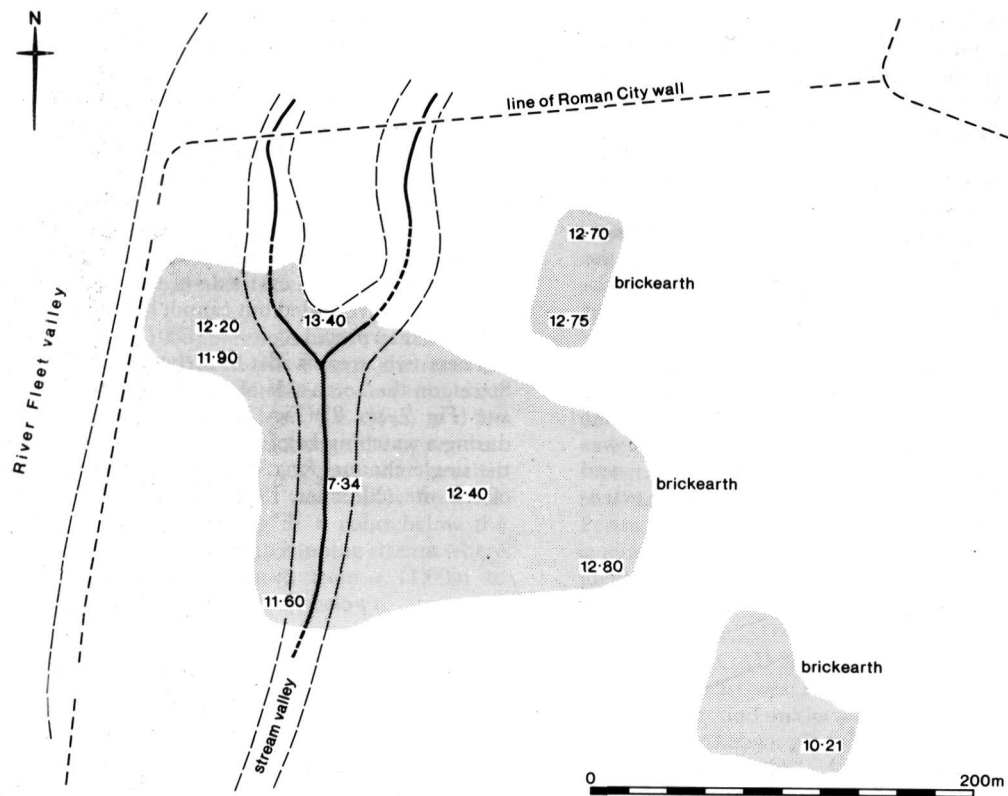


Fig. 3. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Known natural topography showing the recorded brickearth and the stream.

cavation Register (ER) entry system. By this system groups of associated finds were recorded under unique numbers, with details of their specific findspots, in excavation notebooks. These and all quantitative information regarding the finds from any of these sites can be obtained from the DUA archive. All 'spot-dates', a date range derived from the analysis of the pottery from a single context or ER group, have been supplied by staff of the Finds Department of the DUA. It should be stressed again that this paper is concerned only with the Roman period. Researchers interested in the pre-Roman, medieval and later periods in this study area are also referred to the DUA archive.

NATURAL TOPOGRAPHY

The study area is located at the top of the west side of the westernmost of the two low hills around which the walled Roman and medieval cities of London were located. To the west, beyond the extent of the late Roman city limits, the ground falls rapidly towards the River Fleet (Fig. 3) which, in a buried and canalised form, still flows south to meet the River Thames beside Blackfriars Bridge. In the south-west and the south there are gentler slopes towards the confluence of the Fleet and the Thames. However, the area of study itself is fairly flat with only a slight fall towards the south, though to the south-east and east the ground level rises very slightly before falling away towards the Walbrook valley. This almost imperceptible rise in ground level towards the south-east coincides with the highest point of the western hill (now dominated by St Paul's Cathedral) and, followed by Cheapside, continues to the east as far as the

Walbrook valley. To the north, a rather slight rise in the natural topography is recorded (P. Allen *pers. comm.*) but beyond that the terrain slopes gently downwards.

The geology of this part of the City consists of a blue-grey clay (London Clay) overlaid by the terraces of gravel deposited by the Thames. In places this gravel is capped by a yellow-orange brickearth which varies in thickness from *c.* 1m to a few centimetres thick. In the study area, the brickearth capping was generally *c.* 0.50m in thickness (Fig. 3), and it varied in height from about 13.40m O.D. in the north-west corner, between the two branches of the stream on the Paternoster Square site (Fig. 2, no. 8), to *c.* 11.60m O.D. in the south-west corner of the same site. On the remainder of the Paternoster Square site it was fairly flat at between 12.20m O.D. and 12.40m O.D. At the Central Criminal Court exten-

sion site (Warwick Square) 1966 (Fig. 2, no. 7) the top of natural brickearth lay between 11.90m and 12.20m O.D.

Passing through the area from north to south was a stream. This feature was first noted in 1907-8 by Philip Norman and Francis Reader on the then new General Post Office site, Newgate Street (Fig. 2, no. 1) (Norman and Reader 1912, 282f). It comprised two stream beds approximately parallel and also running north-south. A large ragstone wall on the east side of the easternmost of the two was recorded but cannot be satisfactorily dated or interpreted.

These two streams met to the south of Newgate Street, on the north side of the Paternoster Square site (Fig. 2, no. 8) (Fig. 3) (see below p. 18), and during a watching-brief Marsden was able to trace the single channel for *c.* 200m down the west side of the site (Marsden 1965, 136-7). Recently the

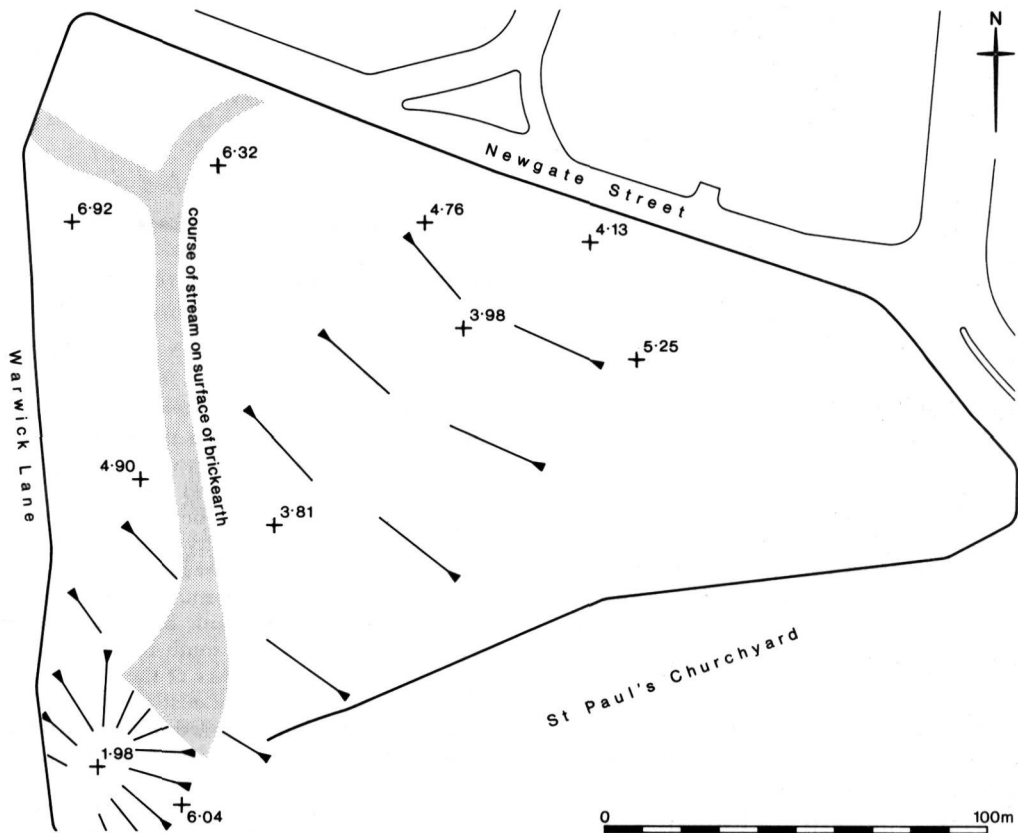


Fig. 4. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Reconstruction of the surface of London clay with the course of the stream on the Paternoster Square redevelopment site, 1961-2.

feature was studied by Bentley, who reconstructed its course southwards towards the River Thames (Bentley 1987).

Bentley concluded that the stream sprang from the river terrace gravels north of the City and flowed for *c.* 600m to reach the Thames near Blackfriars. The succession of fills—alluvial silts overlain by dark organic deposits and dumps of gravel and brickearth—indicated a fast-flowing stream which became sluggish, culminating in a near marsh-like environment before it was back-filled (see below p. 18).

In 1960 and 1963, boreholes made in the south-west corner of the Paternoster Square site revealed the presence of a deep drift-filled hollow extending to *c.* 16.5m below surface level (i.e. down to *c.* 2m O.D.) (Fig. 4)⁵. A reconstruction of the uppermost level of the London Clay suggests that another drift-filled channel ran into this hollow from the north-east (Fig. 4) joining at a point below the south end of the north-south running stream where the latter's width increased from *c.* 11.60m to *c.* 21.35m (see also Figs 11–13 below).

PRE-FLAVIAN TO HADRIANIC OCCUPATION

Since much of this study area was examined under unsatisfactory conditions, it may never be possible to establish the exact character of the earliest Roman occupation. Undoubtedly the best detailed evidence comes from the GPO75 site (Fig. 2, no. 2) (see below pp. 15–17), though it is possible on other evidence to make broader tentative suggestions about the character of occupation and land usage during the early decades of Roman occupation in London.

THE EARLIEST ACTIVITY *c.* AD 50–55

One of the earliest planned Roman features in this region was the main thoroughfare running approximately east-west on the line of modern Newgate Street. A survey of the very small ceramic assemblage from the large Paternoster Square site (Fig. 2, no. 8) on its south side (ER nos 708–709) suggests that there was possibly some occupation here during the earliest period of Roman occupation in London although this is by no means conclusive. The excavations at GPO75 (Fig. 2, no. 2) have revealed early occupation evidence (Roskams 1980, 403). The Period I on that site was represented by a portion of a circular hut and

a short length of gully. Admittedly this gully was the only linear feature dated to this period and so it might be unwise to place too much significance on it; but it should be noted that its alignment differed entirely from all alignments of later periods which respected the line of the Roman road (Road 1). This might imply that Period I features predated the construction of the first road but there is evidence to suggest that Period II features, which appear to align with the road to the immediate south, represent a reorganisation of the properties against that road.

This does not add or detract from the argument that there was no Period I road. It merely stresses that it would be unwise to concentrate too much upon the GPO75 Period I features in an attempt to determine the earliest date for such an important topographical feature as the main east-west road passing through this part of the Roman city (D. Perring *pers. comm.*). Elsewhere on the GPO75 site evidence for small-scale brickearth quarrying was identified.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PRE-FLAVIAN ROAD SYSTEM

The main east-west road (Road 1) running along the higher ground on the east side of the Walbrook is the earliest known planned feature in the Roman city (Merrifield 1983, 42). This road (Fig. 1), beneath Fenchurch Street and the east end of Lombard Street, proceeded westwards and crossed the Walbrook at Bucklersbury. From there it took an oblique course to the south of modern Cheapside, whose line it crossed just beyond Bread Street. At this point the route deviated slightly to the north before returning to its original alignment just before St. Martin's le Grand and immediately east of the Paternoster Square site. It is likely that an early city boundary accounts for this slight 'kink' (Bentley 1985). From there it made a straight line for what was later to become the site of the Roman city gate at Newgate (Fig. 5).

To the east of the Walbrook, in the Forum area, the road lay in a built-up district and was of pre-Boudiccan origin (Marsden 1987, 17), probably dating from about AD 50. Although the number of remetalings of the road on the west side of the Walbrook prior to the date of the Boudiccan rebellion is not known, the Period II evidence from the GPO75 site is of significance because it shows that the extension of this road across the western hill of the city was pre-Flavian. Where seen elsewhere, for example 76–80 Cheapside (Shepherd 1987, 28–33) and 10–13 Newgate Street (Grimes 1968, 148–50), the lowest metalling of this period lay immediately upon natural brickearth, as was

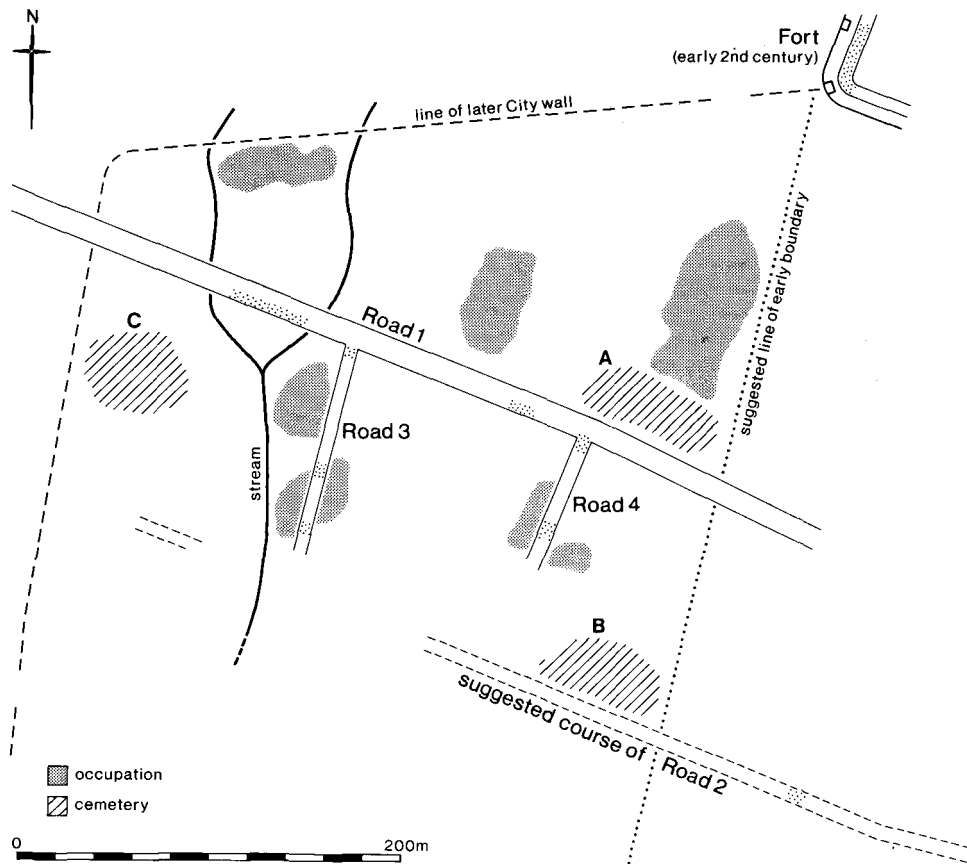


Fig. 5. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Known pre-Flavian to early 2nd-century occupation and cemetery locations.

the case on the north side of the Paternoster site (Feature 8. See below p. 23).

A second road (Road 2) existed on the east side of the Walbrook (Fig. 1). This ran parallel to the road described above but *c.* 420 Roman feet (*c.* 124m) to the south, its course approximating with modern Cannon Street. Evidence for the continuation of this road on the west side of the hill is sparse. A crossing point of the Walbrook was noted in 1954 at the south end of Bucklersbury House (Merrifield 1965, 266–7, no. 251) and a 1.20m thick section of cambered gravel metalling resting on natural brickearth was recorded by Marsden in 1965 at the St Paul's Choir School (Marsden 1968, 2–3). It is possible that the alignments of Flavian buildings at Watling Court (Perring and Roskams forthcoming)⁶, Watling House and Gateway House respect the line of an east-west road to the north which perhaps survives under the modern street pattern (*i.e.* Ludgate Hill and Watling Street) and

which would presumably have crossed the site of St Paul's Cathedral (Shepherd 1986, 141).

It should be noted that the projected line of the realignment of the walls on the Gateway House, Watling Street site crosses the St Paul's Choir School site at the point where the cambered metallings were recorded (Fig. 6). These walls at Gateway House probably date to a post-Hadrianic period, but elsewhere in the northern area later walls were seen to follow earlier alignments (Shepherd 1986, 130, Fig. 5).

LATE 1ST AND EARLY 2ND-CENTURY OCCUPATION

Apart from the three cemetery zones (see below p. 11) the emphasis of occupation in this area is industrial. On the Paternoster Square site in 1961, Marsden recorded what was first interpreted as a flue to a hypocaust (Marsden 1963, 76) but

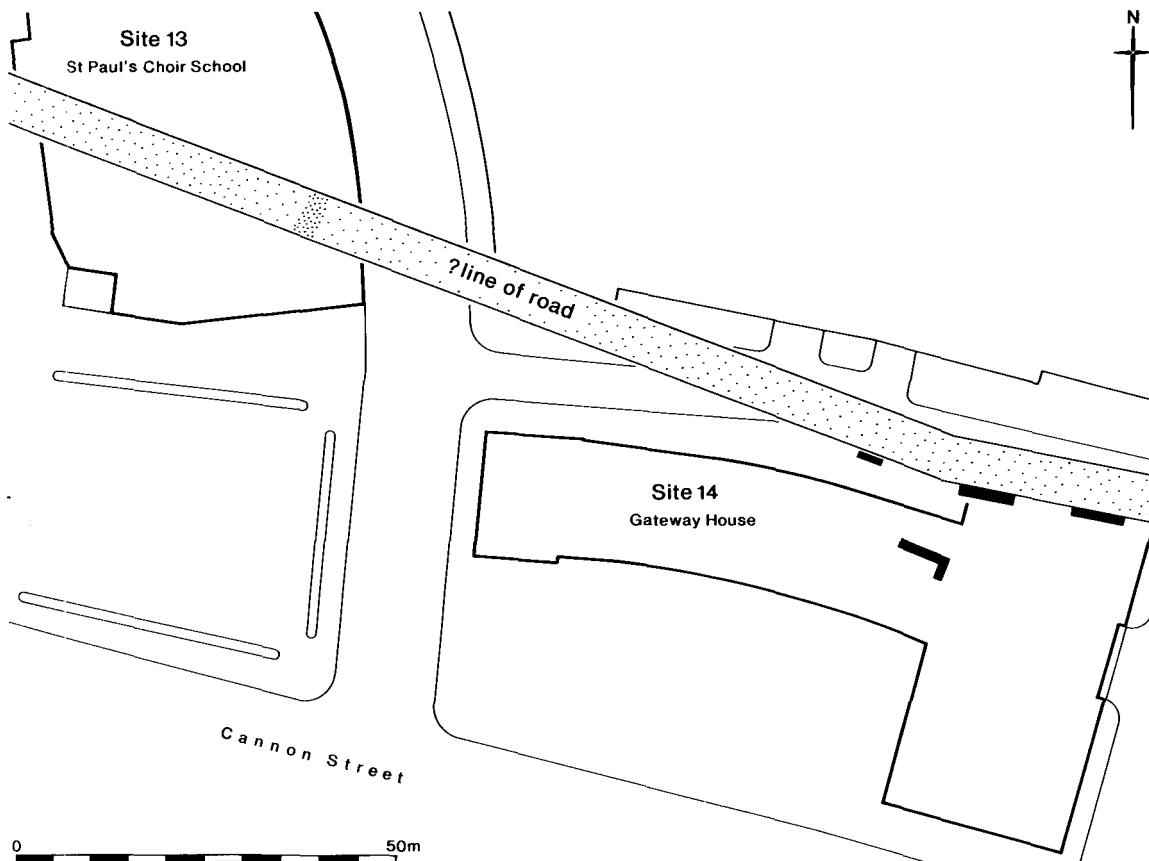


Fig. 6. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Detail of possible road realignment of Road 2 at Gateway House, Watling Street.

subsequently proved to be a pottery kiln (Marsden 1969b, 41).

In addition to this kiln, Marsden drew attention to the other evidence for a Roman pottery industry in the area: (a) an area of prepared white clay on the Paternoster Square site to the south of the excavated kiln (Feature 7, see below p. 23); (b) kilns discovered during the construction of foundations of the north transept of St Paul's Cathedral in 1677; (c) clay pits and other areas of prepared clay on the Christ's Hospital site examined in 1907-8 (Norman and Reader 1912, 285). The material from these kilns would appear to date to the late 1st or early 2nd centuries. Although the presence of the water in the north-south stream must have encouraged the location of such industrial processes in this area, it is interesting to note that they also must have lain on the fringes of

the contemporary city, in keeping with established practices.

Evidence for industrial activity in the area came from the GPO75 site where buildings fronting onto the main east-west road (Road 1) were furnished with hearths in a number of rooms to the rear of the property (see below p. 17). Iron slag, distorted glass melon beads and large quantities of furnace and hearth slag from unspecified industries indicate a range of industrial processes. Furthermore, a crucible was found at Paternoster Square (Pit, 1961-2, ER751), suggesting metal working, and leather-working waste came from the stream. The proportionally large amount of evidence for industrial activities in this area might suggest that it served as an industrial 'quarter'. However, the generally poor nature of the archaeological record should be borne in mind. It is possible that the

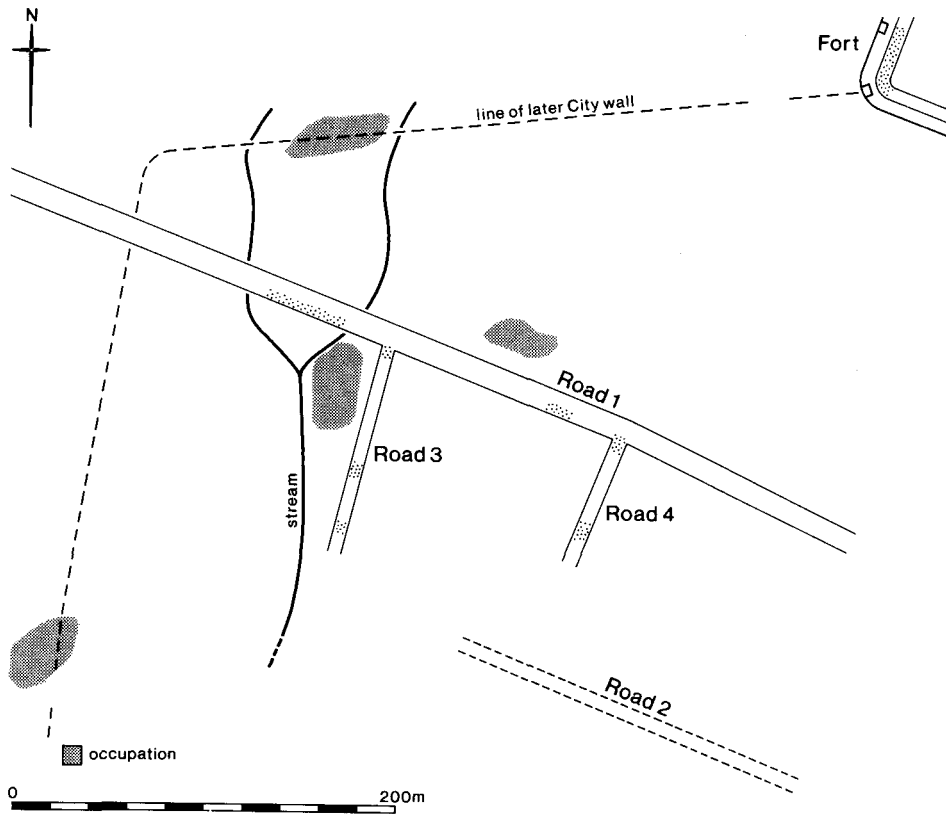


Fig. 7. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Known 2nd-century occupation.

total evidence here merely represents a 'normal' mix of low status housing with industry rather than a specific industrial quarter.

The area south of the main east-west road (Road 1) was served by two north-south Roman roads (Fig. 7, Roads 3 and 4). These may have connected with the suggested road (Road 2) running westward from St Paul's through Ludgate⁷. The dates for their construction can be estimated as Flavian, not only because the earliest metallings lay on the natural surface in an area that was first occupied during the Flavian period, but because the roads were needed to serve the contemporary industries and housing in that area. It should be noted, in support of a Flavian date, that the few sherds of pottery from a pit cutting Road 3 (ER698, see below p. 20) also date to the late 1st century and that this pit was back-filled with rammed gravel suggesting that the road had remained in use. Associated deposits to either side of both north-

south roads suggest that they continued in use into the 2nd century (see below p. 21). Indeed, the four metallings of the eastern road, totalling c. 1.75m thick, and the thickness of the western road (0.60m, at least three metallings), are indicative of their long use.

It would appear that this area was severely affected by the Hadrianic fire, as were the Period VII buildings on the GPO75 site (Roskams 1980, 406). At Paternoster Square layers of fire debris dated to the early 2nd century and probably related to the Hadrianic fire, appear alongside Road 3 (ER711). The nature of this debris suggests that clay and timber buildings lined these streets.

CEMETERIES

The presence of many burials on the western side of the Roman city but within the limits of the city walls has often been a cause for debate. It was the opinion of Wheeler that these represented 'part

of a single cemetery extending from Warwick Square on the west to the southern end of St Martin le Grand on the east' (RCHM 1928, 153). The excavations in recent years at Warwick Square 1966 (Fig. 2, no. 7), Paternoster Square 1961–2 (Fig. 2, no. 8) and GPO75 (Fig. 2, no. 2) show however that the notion of a single continuous cemetery is false. Only two burials were discovered at the first, just one dubious amphora burial at the second and none at the third though it is possible that others might have been machined away at the Paternoster Square site.

More generally, the burials within the confines of the later city defences separate into three distinct groups: (1) St Martin's le Grand/Newgate Street area (Fig. 2, no. 5; Fig. 5, A) (see p. 26); (2) St Paul's Cathedral (Fig. 5, B) (see p. 26); and (3) Warwick Square (Fig. 2, no. 6; Fig. 5, C) (see p. 28). A single tile burial found in 1839 on Paternoster Row (Fig. 14, no. 13) lay on the fringe of the St Paul's Cathedral group (see p. 25). The possible amphora burial at Paternoster Square lies in the middle of that site and is approximately equidistant from all three groups (Feature 2. See p. 19).

- (1) The St Martin's le Grand cemetery (Fig. 5, A) was situated along the north side of the main east-west road (Road 1), and its location supports the hypothesis that an early city boundary lay to the east (Marsden 1976, 47–9; Bentley 1985). The pottery which still survives from the 19th-century excavations in the Museum of London collections (see below p. 26), is predominantly mid- to late 1st century.
- (2) To the south, the St Paul's Cathedral group (Fig. 5, B), for which only notes and sketches survive from 1672 and 1679 (Wren 1750, 266; RCHM 1928, 154) appears to have been a nucleated group close to the street (Road 2) seen at the Choir School in 1965 (see above p. 13) and which ultimately appears to have passed through the later Roman gate at Ludgate (Fig. 5). The pottery illustrated by the sketches appears to be of late 1st or early 2nd-century date⁸. Its location also supports the hypothesis of an early boundary to the east.
- (3) The Warwick Square cemetery (Fig. 5, C), to the west, appears to have been more distant from the main roads, though the pottery and glass from this site also date from the late 1st and early 2nd century showing that it too was contemporary. Its position on one of the highest points overlooking the Fleet valley would have made it conspicuous to anyone on the opposite valley side or approaching the city from the west. Its location and the high quality of the interments might therefore suggest that the cemetery occupies an area especially set aside for

an individual family or for dignitaries and notables. Archaeological excavation at the edge of the cemetery area (see p. 29) suggests that it was not surrounded by an enclosure. It was located within the circuit of the later Roman city defences and it might have been redundant long before the wall was built.

MID-1ST TO EARLY 2ND-CENTURY— CONCLUSION

There is clear evidence that an expansion of the Roman city, from a Flavian boundary to the east of the Paternoster Square site to the later city defences (see below p. 13) in the west, occurred between the late 1st/early 2nd century AD and *c.* AD 200. The position of the Flavian boundary may be marked by the kink in the main east-west road (Road 1) immediately east of Paternoster Square, for no cemeteries occur east of that point.

In addition to cemeteries, the area west of the Flavian boundary was infilled with domestic and industrial occupation. Pottery kilns, clay preparation areas, some leather- and metal-working debris from the Paternoster site, together with hearths and industrial waste from the GPO75 site, indicate a range of industries. These were served by ancillary roads and probably took full advantage of the water-supply offered by the north-south stream. Moreover, the presence of the burials shows that it was officially an 'extra-mural' area beyond the official city limit.

The Warwick Square cemetery to the west of this stream was broadly contemporary with those to the east and, as stated above, would appear in part to be an area especially designated for the burial of the more notable citizens of London.

POST-HADRIANIC OCCUPATION

2ND-CENTURY OCCUPATION

Although the effects of the Hadrianic fire in this area as a whole cannot be precisely determined, it is evident at GPO75 that the burnt Roman buildings had been demolished and levelled. This suggests that their destruction by fire must have been almost complete. The vacant plots were then built upon (Period VIII) (see p. 17) but the earlier property boundaries were still retained⁹.

The post-fire rebuilding of clay and timber buildings on the Paternoster Square site cannot be positively identified but this is probably due to the difficult conditions encountered by the archaeologists rather than an actual lack of evidence. The masonry building (Building 1, Fig. 18) in the north-west corner of the Paternoster site showed no evidence of fire-damage and, at the time of recording,

it was considered to be late in the Roman sequence. It certainly post-dated at least one late 1st or early 2nd-century drain on the same site (P. Marsden *pers. comm.*).

The area immediately to the west of the stream appears to have been left clear of buildings. The cemetery at Warwick Square is the only tangible evidence for the use of the land in that area but that would appear to have been closed sometime during the 2nd century.

On the other hand, there is evidence for some habitation slightly further westwards in the Old Bailey area. Excavations in 1982 at 1–6 Old Bailey/42–6 Ludgate Hill (LUD82—Fig. 2, no. 9; Fig. 7, Site 9) by Peter Rowsome of the Museum of London have revealed circumstantial evidence that some masonry buildings had to be dismantled to allow the city wall to follow a straight line southwards from the gate at Newgate towards the

Thames¹⁰. The examination there of the Roman city wall revealed a layer of broken tiles, chalk, ragstone, wall-plaster, mortar and *opus signinum* some 0.10m thick which were derived from a construction other than the city wall. Although no trace of a demolished structure was noted in plan it is assumed that this material derives from a building which had been in the path of the wall.

A similar example was found at Christ's Hospital in 1907–8 (Fig. 7, Site 1) where a tile pavement had been cut by the construction trench of the city wall (Norman and Reader 1912, 280).

THE WALL, GATES AND ROADS

The masonry city wall and defensive ditch were constructed during the late 2nd or early 3rd centuries (Marsden 1980, 121). They enclosed the top of the terrace, and its western limit followed the upper edge of the deep valley of the River Fleet

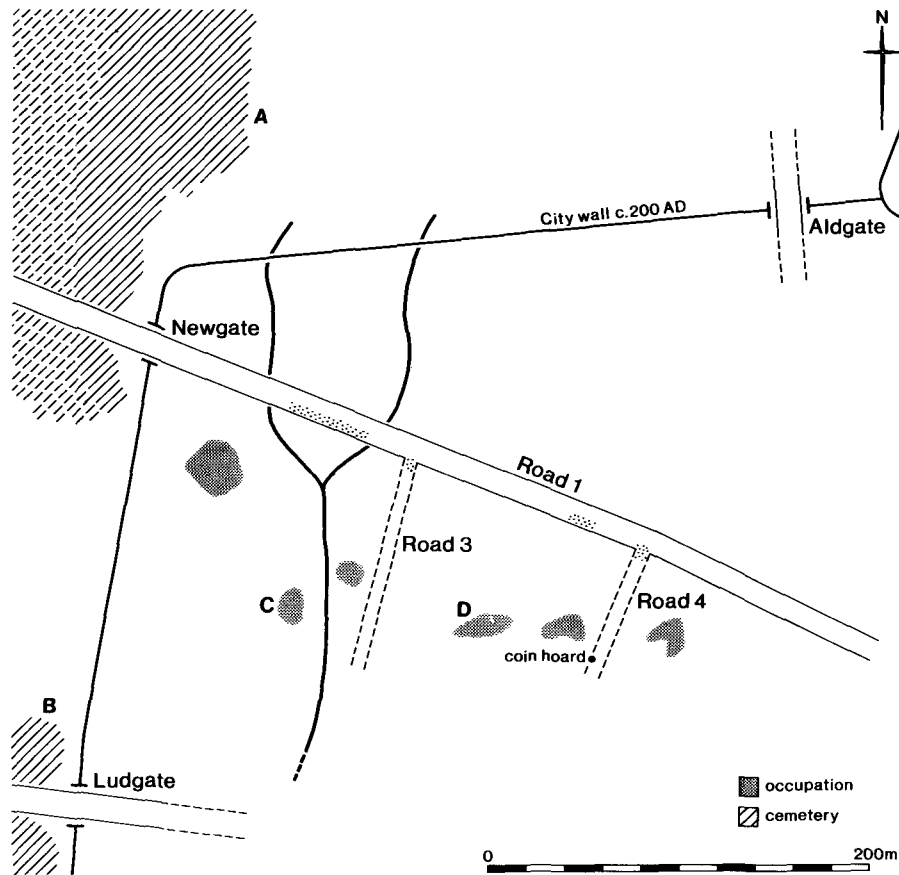


Fig. 8. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Known 3rd and 4th-century occupation.

(Fig. 8). There were access gates at Aldersgate, Newgate and Ludgate, the latter two being on the sites of earlier streets leaving the city. Unfortunately there have been few opportunities to examine the wall along this side of the city and so it is difficult to reconstruct the landscape immediately prior to the wall's construction. The limited evidence from the 1982 excavation (LUD82) implies the presence of buildings in the path of the wall but this material may have derived from another source. It is just feasible that the masonry construction was wider than an early boundary on the same line.

While the main road passing through Roman Newgate was of 1st-century origin the date of the road passing out of Ludgate to the south is unclear. Indications of its line have been found at Gateway House (Fig. 2, no. 14), through the St Paul's Choir School (Fig. 2, no. 13) and passing south of the Roman cemetery at St Paul's Cathedral (Fig. 5). But this line, when continued to the west, does not meet the wall at Ludgate, and it is possible that the road did not extend that far before the construction of the gate, when an intermediate change in its alignment would have been necessary.

The later history of the two north-south roads (Figs 6 to 8, Roads 3 and 4) on the Paternoster site is unclear. However the presence of a pit cut into the gravel metallings of Road 4, in which a coin-hoard was deposited after AD 276, suggests that some form of encroachment, if not actual abandonment of this road (see p. 22), might have occurred towards the end of the 3rd century (Fig. 8). Similar encroachments upon the edges of roads during the 3rd century were found in the King Street area¹¹.

3RD AND 4TH-CENTURY OCCUPATION

The excavation at Warwick Square (Fig. 8, Site 7) disclosed little trace of later Roman occupation other than dark earth. One 4th-century pit, some traces of early 3rd-century coin-forging (Merrifield 1983, 161–3) and the angle of a stone building were all that was found. The foundations of the building cut a late 2nd-century pit and were in turn cut by the single 4th-century pit referred to above. No associated floors or debris were discovered to assist in the interpretation of this structure.

The GPO75 site (Fig. 2, no. 2) showed that intense residential occupation had ceased before the end of the 2nd century to be replaced by dark earth (Roskams 1980, 406–7). Small stake or root holes suggest some activity, agricultural or otherwise.

Some early references to Roman remains in the Paternoster Square region (Fig. 8, C and D) (see

p. 25) show, however, that there were substantial buildings with plain and decorated mosaic floors and masonry walls. Other later Roman buildings found at Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, to the south-east (Fig. 2, no. 14) (Shepherd 1986, 138–40), post-dated the Hadrianic fire but had ceased or been altered in character by or during the 4th century.

Dark earth was recorded on the north and south sides of the Paternoster Square site and also sealed Room 4 of Building 1 (Fig. 18, see p. 23). This distinctive soil appeared to bury a north-south wall (Fig. 18, Wall A) of the masonry building at Paternoster Square, suggesting that there its deposition occurred after occupation had ceased. A similar sequence was recorded at GPO75 (see p. 17). Of course, the limited nature of the record for much of this area does not permit us to say if this was true for the entire region. It is possible that occupation continued in parts of the area at the same time as dark earth was accumulating.

POST-HADRIANIC OCCUPATION— CONCLUSION

It is frustrating that the archaeological record for such a large part of the Roman city is so fragmentary and that so much has been destroyed by 20th-century redevelopment. Little survives intact and so the full picture of Roman occupation in this area might never be reconstructed but the little which has been recorded does indicate changes in the character of occupation during the 2nd century. No industrial material associated with any post-Hadrianic deposits can be identified and the Warwick Square cemetery ceased to function. To this can be added the probability that the area was scattered with large, well-built and decorated masonry buildings similar to those seen at Gateway House, Watling House, Lloyds Building on Lime Street and elsewhere through the city (Marsden 1980, 150–151).

Finally the construction of the city wall concentrated road communications on the gates of Newgate and Ludgate, and burials now took place outside the defences to the north and north-west of Newgate and, possibly, around Ludgate (Fig. 8) (Bentley and Pritchard 1982).

GAZETTEER OF SITES

LUDGATE HILL 1669 AND 1806

To the west of St Paul's Cathedral a number of inscribed and sculpted stones have been recovered. Most of these were discovered on the site of the

London Coffee House (Fig. 2, no. 10) where, in 1806 a 'singular tower and staircase' was found (Treloar 1892, 128). Another inscribed stone, dating to the 3rd century, was found at St Martin's church in 1669 during Wren's rebuilding (RCHM 1928, 153). The coffee house to the west and the church to the east shared a common property line which coincides exactly with the line of the Roman city wall. It may be possible that the 'singular tower' represents a Roman bastion or gate-tower. The stones, some showing signs of secondary use, perhaps came from such a structure. Re-used

masonry and sculptured blocks are a common feature in the late Roman bastions added to the eastern side of the city wall circuit (Price 1880). There, the recycled tombstones were assumed to have derived from an earlier cemetery in close proximity to the later building work.

NEWGATE STREET (*not located on plan*)

In December 1851, a glass vessel containing burnt bones was found in Newgate Street. The type is not well-dated but it is probably not later than the beginning of the 2nd century. This burial was

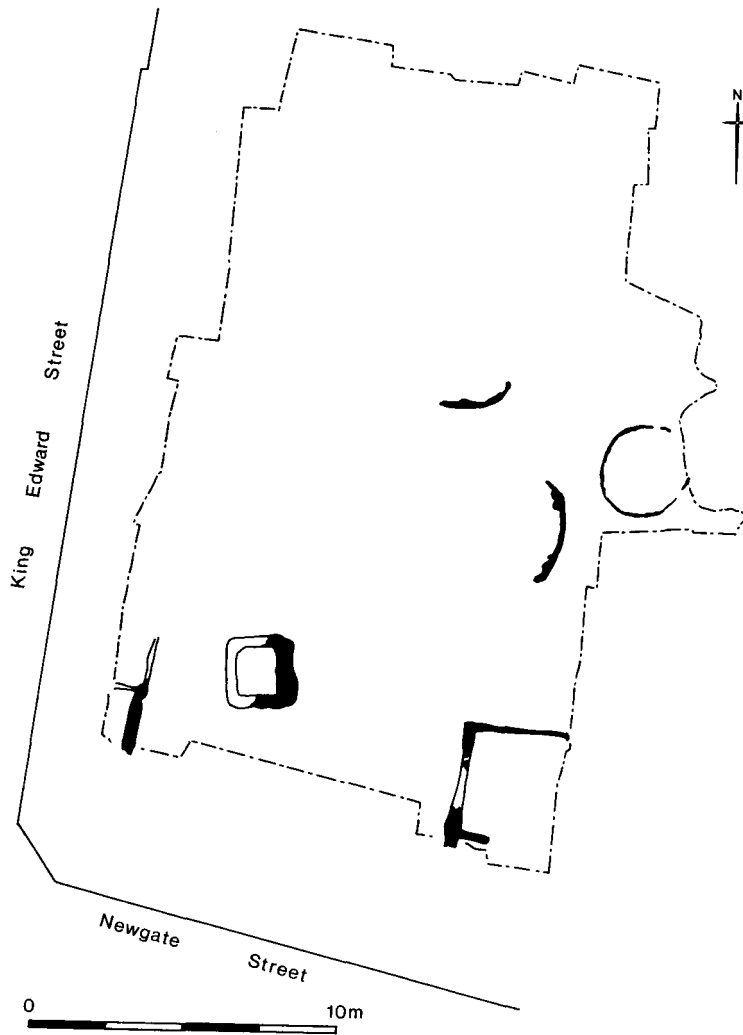


Fig. 9. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: GPO site, Newgate Street, 1975-9. Flavian features, Period III. (After Perring)

probably found within the line of the late 2nd or early 3rd-century Roman defences (RCHM 1928, 154, Fig. 63, no. 10).

GENERAL POST OFFICE, NEWGATE STREET, 1975-9 (Fig. 2, no. 2)

The site of the General Post Office building excavated in 1975 lay between St Martin le Grand and King Edward Street, and was bounded by Newgate Street to the south (Fig. 2, no. 2). The site was excavated by Alan Thompson and Steve Roskams of the DUA, Museum of London over several years, and its significance needs to be

assessed in relation to the Paternoster and Warwick Square sites (Roskams 1980)¹².

The earliest evidence of building activity (Period I, c. AD 50-55), dating to the pre-Boudiccan period, was part of a circular hut found in the southern part of the site. Its foundation trench had been cut into the natural brickearth. No associated floors were noted though a ditch was found to the north, probably marking a boundary and perhaps contemporary. The filling of these two features contained pre-Flavian pottery. The alignment of this ditch did not respect the main east-west Roman thoroughfare running under Newgate Street to the

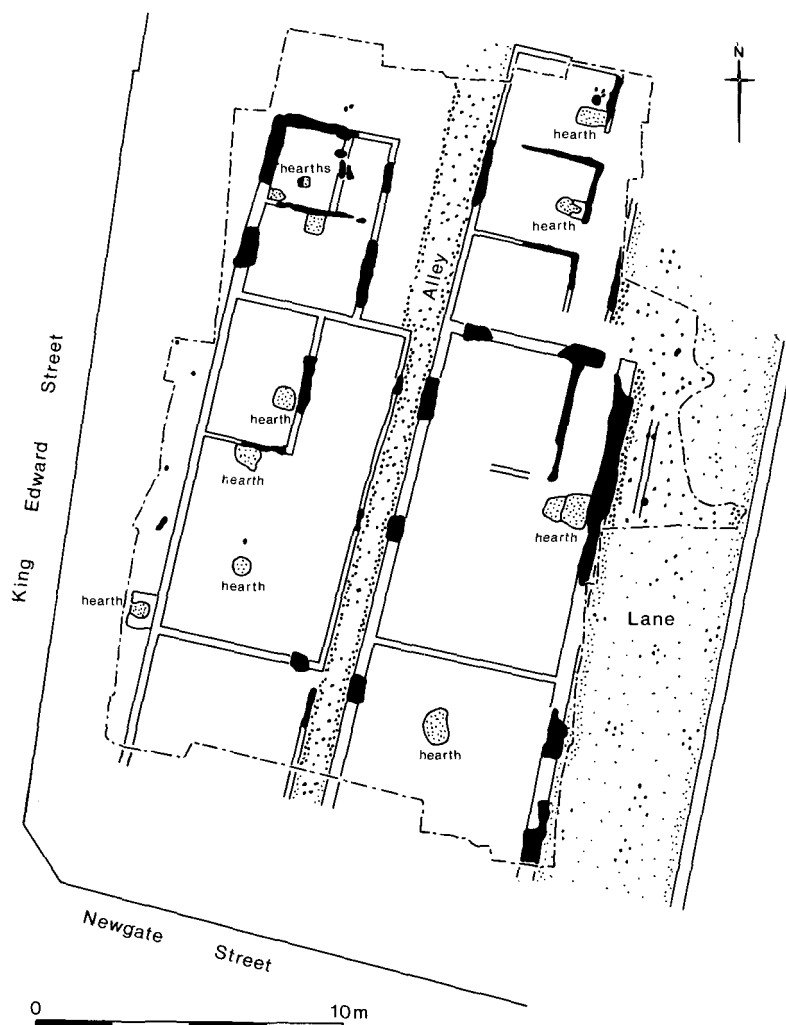


Fig. 10. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: GPO site, Newgate Street, 1975-9. Period VII buildings destroyed in Hadrianic fire. (After Roskams and Perring)

south, in contrast with all other Roman alignments of later periods. This raises the possibility that the ditch was earlier than the road but this cannot be proved. Elsewhere on this site the primary activity was brickearth quarrying on a small scale.

The next period of activity (Period II, *c.* AD 50–55) was represented by the cutting of several ditches draining southwards and perpendicular to the line of the main Roman road, though the road itself lay beyond the site beneath Newgate Street and its south edge lay at the north side of the Paternoster site (see p. 23). These ditches suggest the date at which the road was in use for it is likely that they carried rain water into the roadside drainage system. At the north end of one of them a series of stake-holes probably represented an insubstantial wattle-framed hut or pound.

This phase of land-preparation was followed by the construction of two rectangular timber-framed buildings (Period III, *c.* AD 50–60), with sunken sill-beams and daub superstructures, apparently

fronting onto the main road (Fig. 9). To the north, several circular huts of wattle and daub construction were noted. All these buildings were destroyed by a fire which is thought to be the Boudiccan destruction of AD 60–61. It is interesting to note that both rectangular and the more traditional circular ground-plans were employed together at this time.

Following the destruction of these buildings there was a slight gap in the structural sequence, in which the only activity was the cutting of pits and drainage gullies (Period IV, AD 60–70). Eventually two north-south paths were laid down showing that formalised property planning had begun in this particular area by the early Flavian period.

Strip properties, substantial timber-framed structures with lean-tos against the external north walls, were developed in Period V (*c.* AD 65–85). They suggest an integrated property development, though the two structures had different histories and internal arrangements. In Period VI

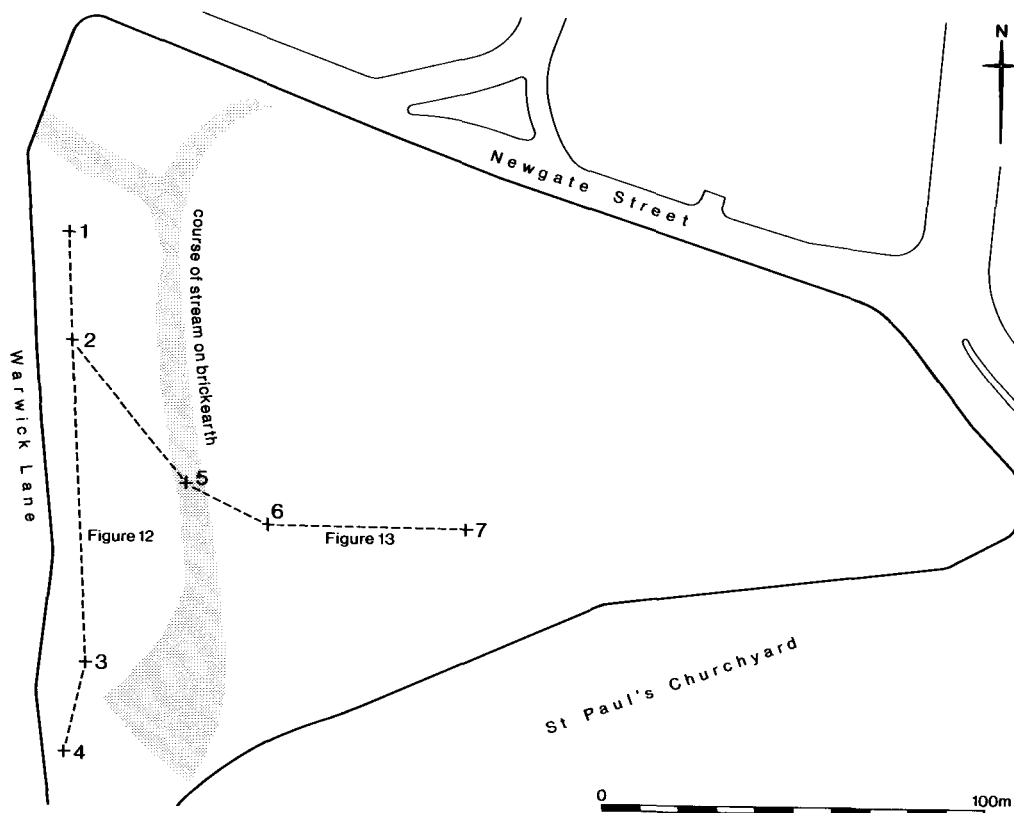


Fig. 11. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Paternoster Square, location of boreholes and sections (Figs. 12 and 13).

(c. AD 85/90–100), the western structure was removed and since the eastern building remained in use for longer, its western wall was modified. At the same time a large brickearth quarry was dug in the north-east corner of the site which contained a number of discarded bricks in its lower fill. Presumably this quarry supplied the building material, and was later back-filled with organic waste.

The following period (VII, c. AD 90–125) was represented by the construction of two new buildings, essentially timber and clay, which reproduced earlier property boundaries. These buildings appeared to have contained shop units on the roadside frontage (south end) with domestic and minor industrial areas to the rear (north) (Fig. 10). Further floor space for storage and residential purposes would have been available in the upper storey. The industrial evidence consists of small hearths (domestic hearths were also recorded) with, from many contexts, iron slag in abundance and numerous fire-distorted and waste glass melon beads.

These buildings were totally destroyed in the Hadrianic fire and the resulting debris was spread across the entire site. The intensity of the conflagration is shown by the presence of portions of collapsed mud-brick walls, the bricks partially fired, originating from internal and external walls.

New buildings were constructed in Period VIII, (c. AD 120–160) using the earlier property lines. They so exactly followed earlier lines that it can only be surmised that records had been kept and were referred to before rebuilding to prevent boundary disputes. The presence of possible industrial hearths and the continuity of plan indicates a continuity of function.

Before the end of the 2nd century, the Period VIII buildings were intentionally dismantled and levelled and the site became covered by a layer of dark earth. Although this horizon contained numerous stake or possibly root holes, it effectively marked the end of Roman structural activity on this site.

PATERNOSTER SQUARE

REDEVELOPMENT 1961–2 (Fig. 2, no. 8)

This large triangular site, with Newgate Street on the north, Warwick Lane on the west and St Paul's Churchyard on the south, covered approximately 25,000 square metres (Fig. 11), and was examined by Peter Marsden of the Guildhall Museum (Marsden 1963, 75–6; 1965, 136–7; 1968, 2), and by Professor W. F. Grimes for the Roman and Mediaeval London Excavation Council (Grimes 1968, 148). While Grimes was able to examine a number of machine-cut trenches on the fringes of this large site¹³ Marsden had to contend with the difficulties of retrieving archaeological information during the mechanical clearance of the site. Although the information for the larger part of the site is limited, some major features were investigated, particularly a stream, three roads, a pottery kiln, and the remains of a substantial building in the north-western quarter of the site. Remains of one possible cremation burial were also discovered.

Natural topography

Thirty-nine borehole sections were made available by the site contractor¹⁴. Some caution had to be exercised in their interpretation since Roman, medieval and post-medieval pits had all been cut into natural deposits in many areas of the site¹⁵.

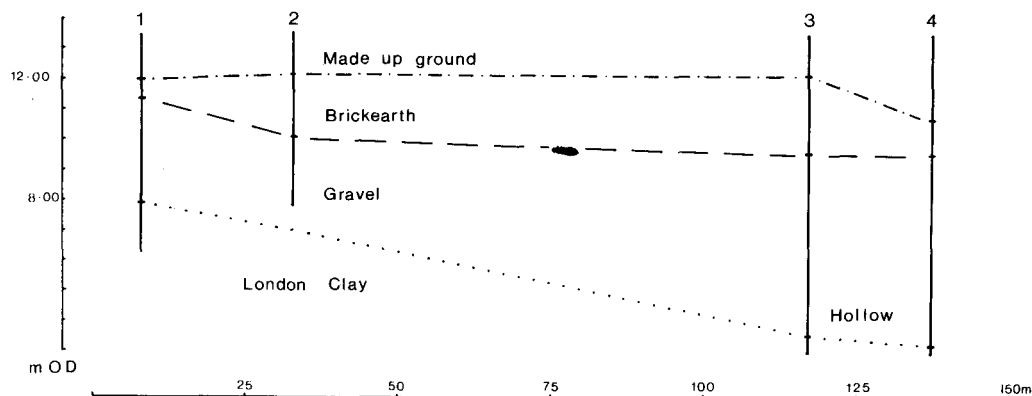


Fig. 12. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Boreholes and reconstructed geological section through drift-filled hollow.

The sub-soil everywhere was brickearth except where cut by the stream (Feature 1, Fig. 13). The highest level of brickearth was between 13.10m and 13.40m O.D. in the north-west corner of the site, between the two converging arms of the stream. The natural surface appears to have been reasonably flat east of this, varying between 12.20m and 12.80m O.D.

At the south-west corner of the site, fifteen boreholes (only seven are illustrated in Figs 11–13) revealed a deep geological feature. This feature extended *c.* 26.5m below surface level (down to *c.* 2.5m O.D.) and has been interpreted as a deep drift-filled hollow in the surface of the underlying London clay (see p. 7 and Fig. 4)¹⁶. The coincidence of this subterranean hollow and the south end of the stream (Feature 1) should be noted (Fig. 4) though their true geological relationship is unknown.

Feature 1. The stream (Fig. 14, no. 1)

This feature was exposed for approximately 200m north-south across the site. At the northern end, two arms converged into the single channel at a point *c.* 30m south of Newgate Street. At the south end of the site it turned slightly to the south-west. Along the entire length the feature showed up as a broad dark stain, contrasting well with the orange brickearths and gravels (Merrifield 1965, pl. 18) through which it cut.

No profiles were recorded but some measurements were obtained. The stream was V-shaped in the north part of the site and was formed by two converging branches or arms each measuring *c.* 9.45m across. South of this, towards the centre of the site, the feature widened to *c.* 11.60m. At the southern end the maximum width of the feature

was *c.* 21.34m, more than twice the width *c.* 80m to the north. In the centre of the stream, a borehole (Fig. 13, no. 5) showed that its fills lay *c.* 4.90m below the surviving natural (i.e. *c.* 7.35m O.D.). Other boreholes give an approximate indication of the profile of this stream's valley and also of the subterranean drift-filled channel in the London Clay running from the north-east into the drift-filled hollow in the south-east corner of the site (Figs 4, 11, 12, 13 and 14).

The fills of this feature were seen in a number of places. In the western arm a deposit *c.* 2.1–2.4m thick of 'black peat and pebbly grey sand' was overlaid by 'yellow sand'. Pottery of the late 1st century came from this peat deposit. Similar deposits indicating a wet environment were recorded midway along the line of the stream ('black silt') and at the south end ('peaty gravel'). At the north end of the site, in the east and west arms, 'clay and brickearth' and 'sandy clay' dumps sealed the earlier deposits described above¹⁷.

To the north of Paternoster Square the two streams noted by Norman and Reader (1912, 282), joined the converging arms recorded by Marsden in 1961–2. The source of the waters feeding this stream can be located at a spring-line running north-east to south-west immediately north of the city wall (Bentley 1987, 333, Fig. 3). The recorded filling in this feature suggests a fast flowing stream which drained a marshy region to the north. Though flowing in the early Roman period, in time the stream was deliberately back-filled, and was blocked up at the northern ends of the two arms by *c.* AD 200 when the city wall was built. It should be noted that the feature coincides with the ward boundary across Paternoster Square for more than 100m, an indication that during the early Middle

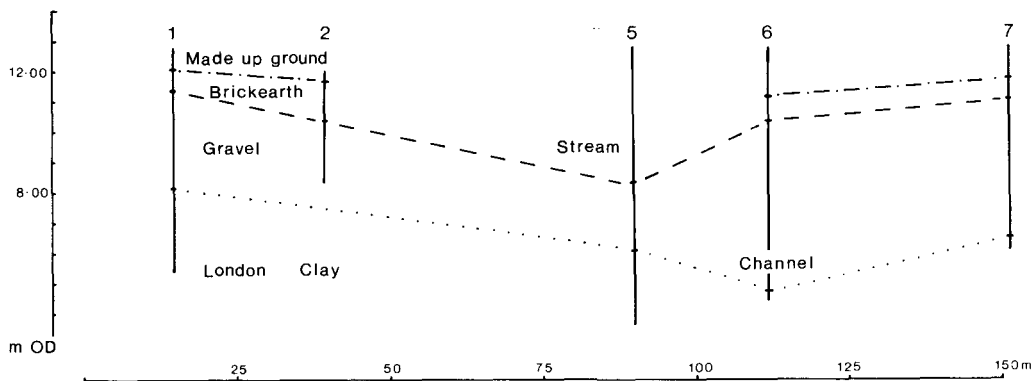


Fig. 13. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Boreholes and reconstructed geological section across stream (Feature 1)

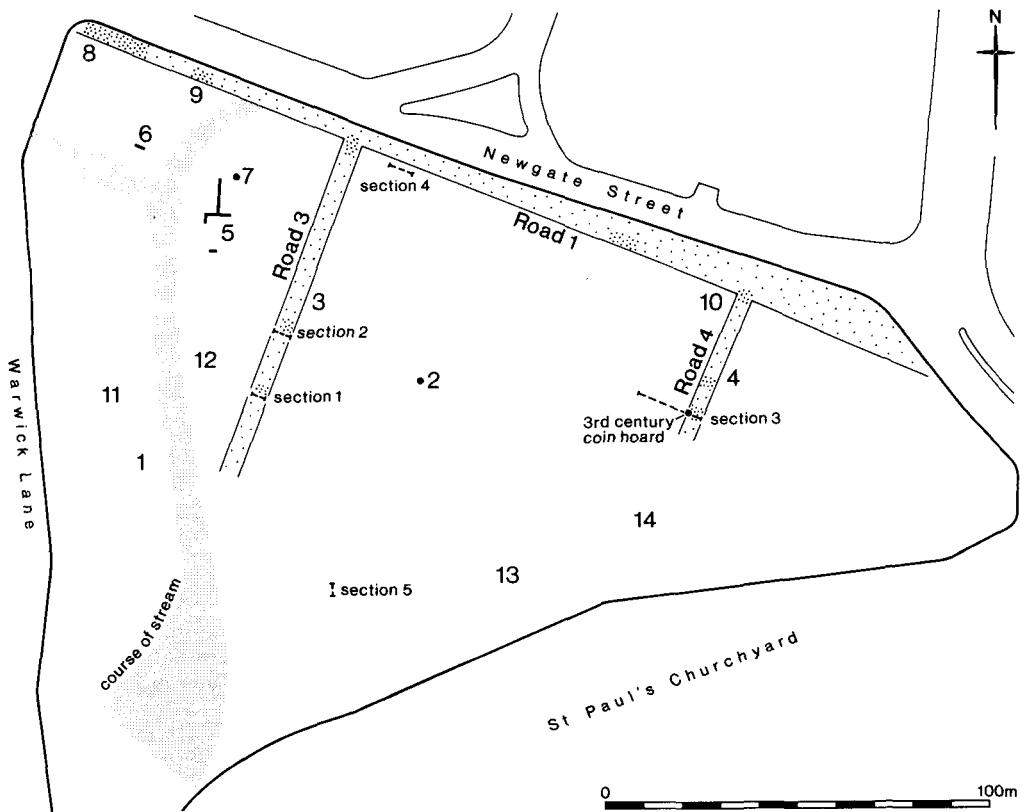


Fig. 14. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Paternoster Square redevelopment site, 1961–2. 1. The stream; 2. cremation burial; 3. Road 3; 4. Road 4; 5. Building 1; 6. Drain 3; 7. Kiln; 8–10. road metallings; 11. Pavement, 1883; 12. Mosaic pavement, 1884; 13. Burial and pavement, 1839–41; 14. Mosaic pavement, 1961.

Ages it was probably still visible as a stream, gully or drain.

Feature 2. Cremation burial (?) (Fig. 14, no. 2)

A possible amphora burial (ER710)¹⁸ was discovered in approximately the centre of the site. The group, consisting of a Brockley Hill ware flagon (MOL Acc. No. 23868) and a fragmentary globular amphora (Dressel 20, MOL Acc. No. 23874) had been badly disturbed by a mechanical excavator. The flagon lay alongside the amphora. There were no traces of cremated bone. The vessels date to the 1st or early 2nd century.

Roads (Fig. 7, Roads 3 and 4)

Traces were discovered of two roads running approximately north-south across the site, one immediately east of the stream and the other on the eastern side of the site.

Feature 3 (Road 3) (Fig. 14, no. 3)

Two sections (Fig. 14, Sections 1 and 2) were seen through this road which ran down the east side of the stream (Feature 1). The road and the stream were not parallel but converged towards the southern end of the site. Both sections were recorded in the centre of the site.

The southernmost of the two sections (section 1, Fig. 15) showed that the top of the road had been truncated by a medieval pit filled with black mud and gravel. The surviving depth of road revealed four thin bands of dirty gravel (each c. 5–15cms in thickness) with three thicker bands of clean gravel between (each c. 15–30cms in thickness). The total surviving thickness of the layers rested upon a layer (thickness unknown) of weathered yellow clay with ash. This in turn lay upon natural brickearth with a weathered interface. Cutting the road on the western side was a pit filled with rammed gravel

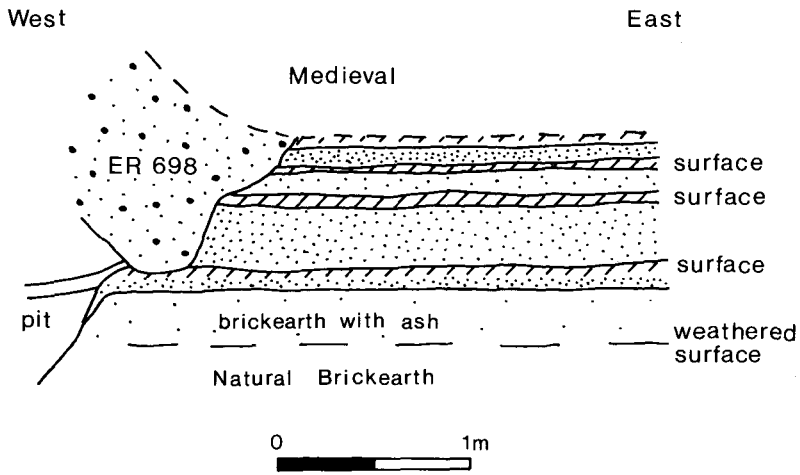


Fig. 15. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Section 1 across Road 3.

(ER 698). The few sherds of pottery from this pit date to the late 1st century, suggesting that the road gravels below had accumulated before that date. The presence of the pit might suggest that some encroachment or abandonment had occurred but its rammed gravel filling indicates that, even if this were so, the surface of the road was con-

solidated for use. The road surface through which the pit was cut cannot be identified. Pottery from one of the road metallings (exact position unknown) can be dated to the late 1st century also (ER 702).

Section 2 (Fig. 16) to the north showed a similar picture of alternating thin dirty gravel layers and

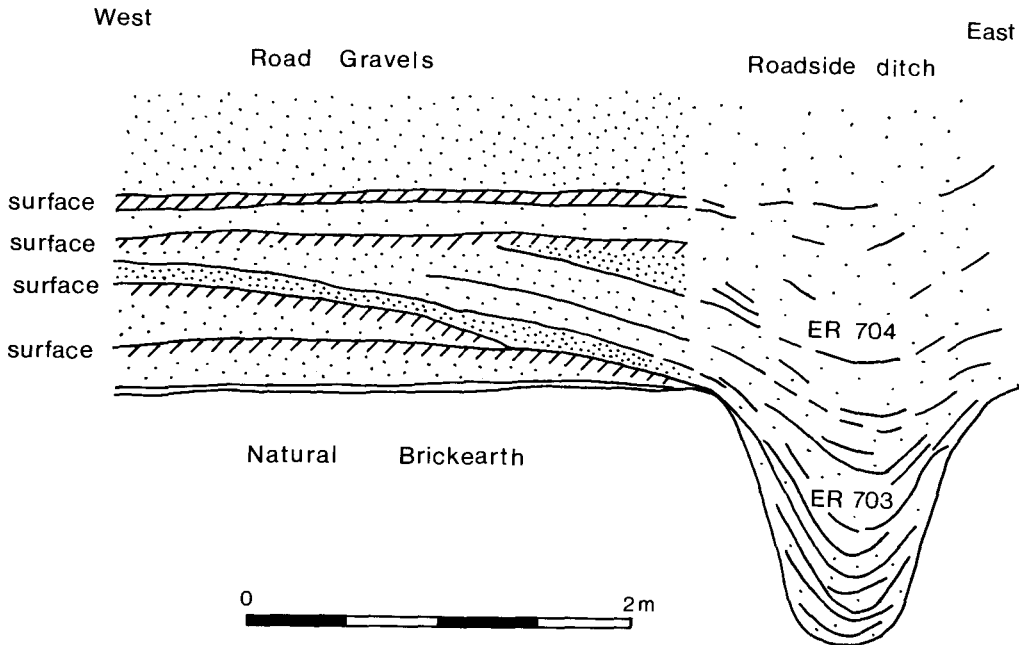


Fig. 16. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Section 2 across Road 3.

thicker clean gravel. On the east side the earliest road-side ditch (ER 703) contained pottery dated *c.* AD 55–80. Pottery (ER 704) from the fill of a later roadside ditch but immediately above ER 703 can be dated to *c.* AD 70–100.

relation of the two sets of records has proved impossible. Indeed it is possible that two different features are represented.

The exact orientation for this road cannot be exactly fixed but, as it was running roughly north-south, it appears to have been approximately perpendicular to the line of the main east-west road to the north (Road 1). It was approximately 6.00m wide. No trace of the road, however, was found on the southern side of the site.

Feature 4 (Road 4), (Fig. 14, no. 4)

This road was recorded by both Marsden and Grimes on the east side of the site, although cor-

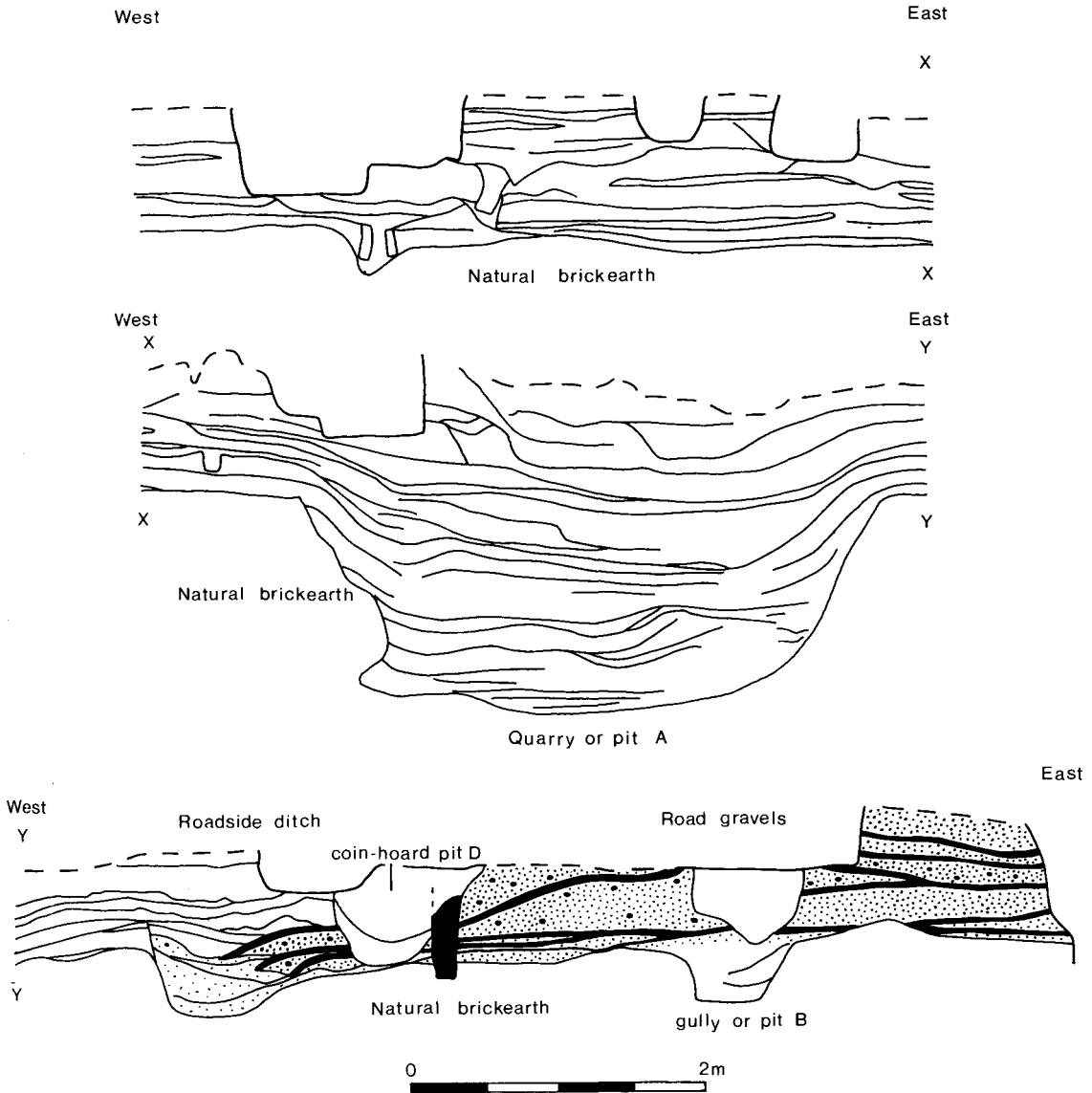


Fig. 17. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Section 3 across Road 4.

Grimes was able to record a detailed section through this road and the deposits on its west side (Fig. 14, Section 3 and Fig. 17). This was located on the north side of the east end of Paternoster Row. About 1.20m of accumulated clay and gravel make-up layers, interspersed with burnt clay debris and occupation layers, spread across the greater part of this site. Many of these layers had subsided into a deep pit (A) which had penetrated the natural gravels, and which was one of the earliest features. A number of gullies or small pits were seen in section, some immediately above earlier examples and suggesting possible continuity of land use in this area.

The gravel metallings were recorded at the extreme eastern end of this section. Although the lowest rested upon natural brickearth it also sealed a shallow pit or gully (B). At least three gravel road surfaces can be identified. Each was sealed by dirty gravel and silt and the total thickness was c. 60cm. A very slight camber was evident.

On the west side of the gravels a roadside ditch (C) showed a number of recuts. Gravel from the road had periodically slumped into this ditch. The road had been cut on the west side by a pit (D) in which was found a hoard of about 530 *antoniniani* deposited after AD 276 (Grimes 1968, 150). The latest road surfaces and the top of that pit had been truncated by post-Roman features.

The road was not seen in the southern part of the site and Merrifield points out that its projected line would be blocked by a building with a tessellated pavement (Merrifield 1965, 193, no. 16; 194, no. 20).

Feature 5 (Building 1) (Fig. 14, no. 5)

In the north-west corner of the site a building with ragstone walls with courses of bonding tiles was recorded (Fig. 18)¹⁹. The plan of the structure is too incomplete to be able to identify positively its form and function. No levels are available for its features.

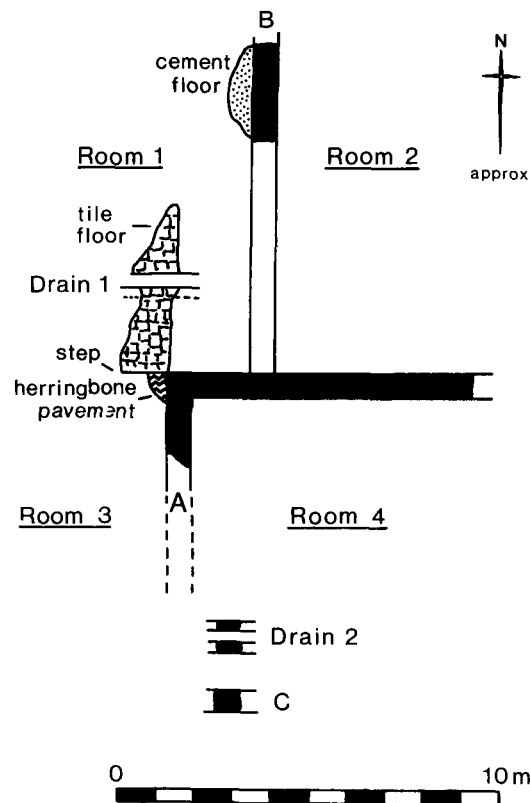


Fig. 18. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Paternoster Square redevelopment site, 1961–2. Details of Building 1.

Wall A of this building was c. 0.60m in width and survived to a height of 1.05m. Two bands of tile coursing, the lowest of two the highest of three, were separated by five courses of ragstone. At least three courses of ragstone rested upon the uppermost tile course. Pink cement or plaster was used as a facing on the west side of the wall.

Inside the building different media were used for flooring materials. In Room 1 bricks had been laid on concrete, through which ran an east-west open tiled drain (Drain 1) (Fig. 18). To the north, perhaps in the same room, a cement floor was noted. The floors of the rooms (Rooms 2 and 4) to the east and south-east were not found. On the west side of Room 4 a grey earth deposit was dumped against Wall A. This was at the same level as the herringbone pavement (see below) on the west side of Wall A. This grey earth deposit (ER 712) contained a single late 2nd-century sherd of a Cologne barbotine decorated beaker.

Room 3 to the south of Room 1 was reached by a step up c. 18cm high. In the north-east corner of this room a small expanse of herringbone pavement set in a 10cm thick layer of *opus signinum* was revealed.

In addition to the open tiled drain (Drain 1) in Room 1, there was another drain (Drain 2), also east-west, to the south of Room 4. This was possibly earlier than the building, for there was no evidence that it was part of the building with the stone walls. Indeed, a search was made and the general impression was that it was most likely part of structures pre-dating the stone building (P. Marsden *pers. comm.*). It was associated with the early Roman deposits, as was a drain (Feature 6) on the west side of the stream (Fig. 14), whereas the building seemed to be associated with later Roman deposits, particularly the 'dark earth' (ER 719).

The southern wall of Drain 2 was vertical while the northern wall arched southwards to meet it. Pottery from its fill (ER 715) was dated to the Flavian-Trajanic period. Material from the construction trench for this drain (ER 717) and a layer overlying it (ER 716) dated to the same period. A small undated brick wall (Fig. 18, C), noted immediately to the south of this drain, may have been part of the later Roman building.

A 'dark earth' layer (ER 719) overlying these features contained pottery normally considered to be 3rd-century in date including Nene valley colour-coated wares and flanged bowls. Some of these fragments are burnt. This layer covered Wall A of Building 1.

The evidence available would suggest that the structure was in use not earlier than the late 1st

and early 2nd century and it may have been in use considerably later. Apart from the few burnt sherds in the dark earth layer there was no evidence for burning or destruction by fire at any time during its history.

The presence of the apparently open drain (1) in the floor certainly suggests that the supply or disposal of water was a necessary task associated with the function of this building. The earlier drain, unassociated with any building, might be more closely related to the late 1st and early 2nd-century industrial activities in the area (e.g. the kiln, Fig. 14 Feature 7).

Feature 6 (Drain 3) (Fig. 14, no. 6).

On the west side of the stream was another drain, without any associated structure. It was c. 40cm wide internally and its two parallel east-west walls had four courses of brick to the north and six to the south. The base was of bricks on a 2.5cm bed of *opus signinum*. At its eastern end the drain began to curve to the south towards the stream.

The fill of the drain was a yellow clay but the only dating evidence came from a layer overlying the southernmost wall. This contained pottery dated to the Flavian-Hadrianic period (ER 721).

Feature 7 (Kiln) (Fig. 14, no. 7)

A small kiln c. 1.20m in diameter was recorded (Marsden 1969b, 41-44). Material from the furnace area dates to the late 1st or early 2nd century (ER 731 and 732). To the south was recorded an area, dimensions unspecified, of prepared white clay (ER 709).

Feature 8 (Road metalling) (Fig. 14, no. 8)

A c. 0.28m thick layer of gravel metalling was noted at the extreme north-west corner of the site. It lay immediately upon natural brickearth, the latter being at 13.10m O.D. This represented part of the southern edge of Road 1 whose upper surfaces at this point had been truncated by modern cellars (Merrifield 1965, 190, no. 5).

Feature 9 (Road metalling) (Fig. 14, no. 9)

To the east of Feature 8 was a small section of rammed gravel road-metalling with the indications of a roadside ditch c. 0.60m wide. It is possible that this 'ditch' was a pit. Gravel spreads extending up to 5.18m south of this probable road edge may not represent road metallings but possibly courtyard surfaces fronting onto the Road 1²⁰.

Feature 10 (Road metalling) (Fig. 14, no. 10)

A thick deposit of gravel metalling was recorded at the north-eastern end of the site. This was on

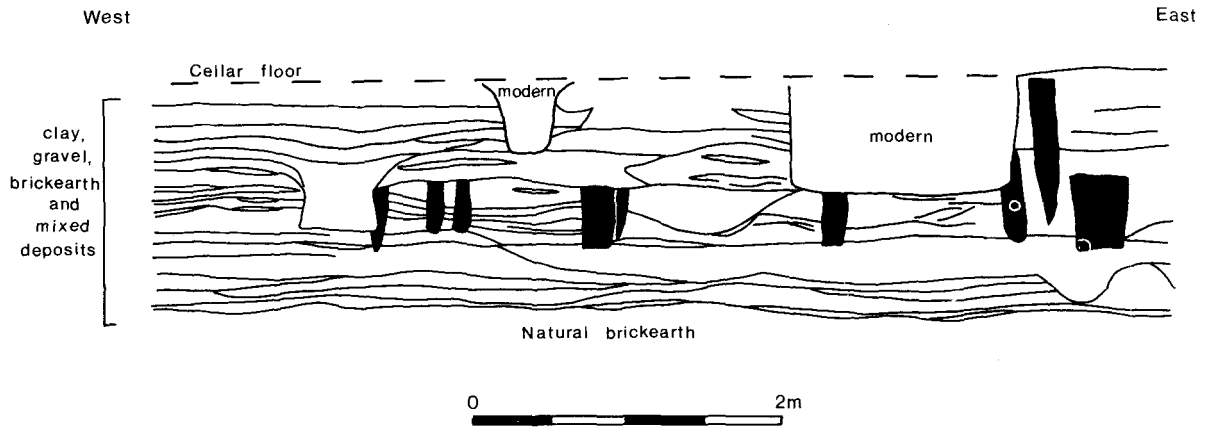


Fig. 19. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Section 4.

the line not only of the main east-west Road 1 but also the postulated north-south Road 4 and might represent part of the junction of the two (Merrifield 1965, 193, no. 15).

Sections 4-6

In addition to the features and sections recorded by Marsden and Grimes and described above, Grimes recorded three other sections which are relevant to this study.

Section 4—Newgate Street. Grimes Site 27 (Fig. 14, Section 4)

The location of this section is approximate only. It was situated east of Ivy Lane and *c.* 4.26m south of and roughly parallel to the 1961 Newgate Street frontages. A total of three sections were examined but only one was recorded in detail (Fig. 19) (Grimes 1965, 148).

Natural brickearth was recorded at between *c.* 12.25m and *c.* 12.75m O.D. Unfortunately, at present it is not possible to calculate a more accurate level from the available records. Above this was a 1.50m accumulation of clay and gravel make-up deposits interspersed with thin black or dark coloured occupation layers. At one level midway up the section were at least eight large, pointed timbers, some in pairs, which had been driven vertically into the ground. These varied in width from 8 to 34 centimetres but were mainly *c.* 10cm wide. Similar posts had been driven into overlying deposits and Grimes refers to others seen at lower levels, but not recorded in his section. These groups of posts presumably fulfilled a similar but unknown

function. As Grimes suggested, this section probably represents a longitudinal section through an often retained boundary approximately parallel with the main Road 1 under Newgate Street.

Section 5—Paternoster Row. Grimes Site 29 (Fig. 14, Section 5)

A section cleaned at the west end of Paternoster Row, south of the road itself, revealed that most of the Roman levels had been truncated by medieval and post-medieval cellars and pits (Fig. 20). At one point, however, the cut and fill of a deep Roman pit or hollow survived. This feature, cut through natural brickearth, was steep sided with a flat bottom which coincided with the top of natural gravel. Its fill consisted of clean clay and silt (1), representing a natural silting, overlain by thick dumps of organic waste (2-4). Oyster shells predominated in the uppermost layer which had been truncated by a post-Roman pit. This feature was evidently a brickearth quarry backfilled with domestic organic refuse. Grimes pointed out its possible association with the pottery industry in the region (see above p. 9).

Section 6—Paternoster Row Grimes Site 26

At the extreme east end of Paternoster Row, a north-south orientated section revealed make-up and occupation layers overlying natural brickearth (not illustrated). The latter, with a height of approximately 12.40m O.D. was seen to be irregular. Pottery from the lowest levels dated to the mid-to late 1st century and a pit cutting through the layers referred to above contained early 2nd-century pottery. No structural elements were noted.

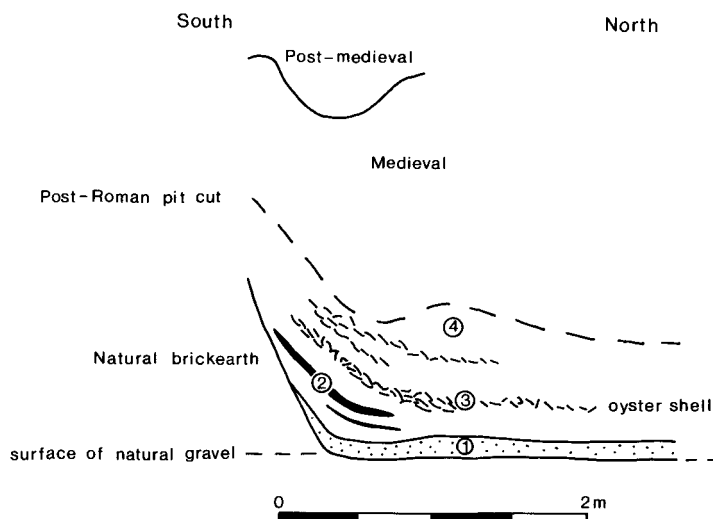


Fig. 20. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Section 5.

Miscellaneous observations

During the 19th century and also during the more recent redevelopment of this site in 1961–2 a number of small observations were made which cannot be accurately located on plan or associated with any of the major features described above. However, their intrinsic importance warrants their inclusion here.

Pavement—1883 (Fig. 14, no. 11)

In 1883, during the excavation for the foundations of a party wall in the Paternoster Square frontage of a building at the corner of Rose Street and the Square itself, a 'quantity of Roman pavement was discovered at a depth of 17ft (c. 5.18m) below the ground line' (RCHM 1928, 135)²¹.

Mosaic pavement—1884 (Fig. 14, no. 12)

In 1884, at the north-west corner of Paternoster Square, was found a plain mosaic pavement and various forms of tiles, including box-tiles and *pilae* (RCHM 1928, 135).

This and the 1883 observation come from find-spots only c. 10–15m apart. However, they were on different sides of the stream (Feature 1) suggesting that they were parts of different Roman buildings. The date of these mosaics is unknown but, when seen elsewhere in this and the Gateway House study area to the south-east, buildings with mosaics occur late in the Roman sequence (i.e. Post-Hadrianic) (Shepherd 1986, 138–40).

Burial and pavement—1839–41 (Fig. 14, no. 13)

A tile burial was discovered in 1839 ('... a skeleton in a framework of tiles, an interment analogous to that found in Bow Lane...') near the corner of Cannon Alley, towards the west end of Paternoster Row. It was found at a depth of c. 3.80m. Roach Smith regarded the burial as 'deposited long anterior to the construction of the pavement' which was found at the same time.

The pavement extended for over 12 metres and had a design of birds and animals in individual zones within a border of guilloche and rosettes (Roach Smith 1842, 155).

Layers—1961–2, ER 708 and 709

Two groups of pottery from the lowest occupation layers c. 9.00m to the west of Section 2 (Road 3). All the fragments came from Neronian types (e.g. Highgate 'B' bead rim jars) and can be broadly dated c. AD 55–80. Many sherds were burnt but cannot be associated with any major fire deposit (e.g. Boudiccan).

Layers—1961–2, ER 706 and 711

These layers were found in the vicinity of ER 708 and 709 described above. Pottery from and beneath the c. 22cm thick red burnt layer (ER 706) can be dated to the late 1st and early 2nd century. Some fragments are burnt. Pottery from the burnt layer itself dated c. 100–120 and showed severe burning. This layer probably represents debris from clay and timber buildings destroyed in the Hadrianic fire.

Pit—1961-2, ER 751

It is not possible to locate this pit on plan. Its approximate position was in the middle of the north side of the site. Pottery from it dates to the late 1st and early 2nd century. Amongst this assemblage was a fragment of a metal-working crucible.

Mosaic pavement—1961 (Fig. 14, No. 14)

A small fragment of *in situ* tessellated pavement in coarse red tesserae was recorded in the south-east corner of the large Paternoster area. It was located 'under the north frontage of Paternoster Row' and to the east of Cannon Alley (both roads now destroyed). There was no indication of any associated walls or other features. No dimensions or levels are available. It is significant that, in the opinion of the archaeologists, this floor lay in the line of the apparent north-south road to the north. However there is no evidence at all to confirm or deny that the road and the pavement were ever contemporary (Merrifield 1965, 194, no. 20).

THE ST MARTIN'S LE GRAND CEMETERY (Fig. 2, nos 3, 4 and 5)

Archaeological features relevant to the Paternoster and Warwick Square sites have been found on the block of buildings bounded by St Martin's le Grand, Cheapside, Foster Lane and Gresham Street (Fig. 2, nos 4 and 5) (Lambert 1915, 235-269), and on another block to the west between Newgate Street and Angel Street (Fig. 2, no. 3) (Lambert 1915, 235-269)²².

An examination of the finds in the collections of the Museum of London reveals many objects from St Martin's le Grand. Of special significance are those which, on account of their completeness and form, can be interpreted as being cremation urns and grave-goods. All of these have only the street name for their provenance and were discovered in or before 1870.

Amongst the earliest list of donations to the Guildhall Museum there is reference, in 1829, to Mr H Cureton's gift of an amphora, a cinerary urn containing burnt bones, some fragments of samian and other objects found in St Martin's le Grand²³. Unfortunately these can no longer be located. It is probable that these references relate to 1822 when a massive concrete raft was laid down as a foundation for the building designed by Sir Robert Smirke²⁴. This was demolished in 1913 and the subsequent excavations by Frank Lambert revealed that the natural brickearth had been heavily truncated by the building works of 1822. Furthermore, the blasting of the concrete foundation of 1822 and the reduction of the site was carried out simultaneously in 1913 so that only the

lower fills of deep pits and wells survived. As a result, no further evidence of burials was forthcoming from the 1913 excavations.

Summary of cemetery contents

The collection of the Museum of London retains only thirteen complete or slightly damaged vessels recovered from the St Martin's le Grand region during building work in the early to mid-19th century²⁵. Of these just one still holds cremated remains (MOL Acc. No. 394). The forms represented include urns, miniature pots (two), a flagon, bottle and strainer²⁶.

ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL CEMETERY AND INDUSTRY (Fig. 2, no. 12)

Burials

All the Roman archaeological observations from the area of St Paul's Cathedral (i.e. the Cathedral itself and St Paul's Churchyard) occurred during the rebuilding of the cathedral following the Great Fire of 1666.

Sir Christopher Wren, during the digging for the foundations of the new cathedral in 1672, discovered the following below medieval interments:

'... Roman urns intermixed: this was 18ft deep or more, and belonged to the colony when Romans and Britains lived and died together. The most remarkable Roman urns, lamps, lachrymatories and fragments of sacrificing vessels, etc., were found deep in the ground towards the north-east corner of St Paul's Church near Cheapside' (Wren 1760, 266).

Conyers, a contemporary diarist, gives some further details. He writes that:

'... at the east end of St Paul's ... on the north side ... there was found a sort of Redd earthen Pottsheards the Pott as Redd and firme as sealing wax ... som glass and potts like broken urnes which were curiously laid one the outside withlike thorne pricks of rose trees and in the manner of raised work this upon potts of murry collour and here and there greyhounds and staggs and hares all in rais'd work, other of these were Cinamon collour urne fashion and were as gilded with gould ... Juggs the sides bent in so as to be six square and these raised work upon them and curiously pinched. ... Many of these potts of the finer sort are lite and thinn and these workes raised or indented were instead of colours. ...'²⁷

Unfortunately none of these appear to have survived or can be identified. A sketch by Conyers, always thought to show material from St Paul's, illustrates a range of vessel forms including narrow-necked jars, flagons, 'poppy-head' beakers, a mortarium, miniature pots, a lamp and a three-handled urn with a spout²⁸ which can be dated to the late 1st and early 2nd centuries. It is probable, however, that this sketch refers to material from an entirely

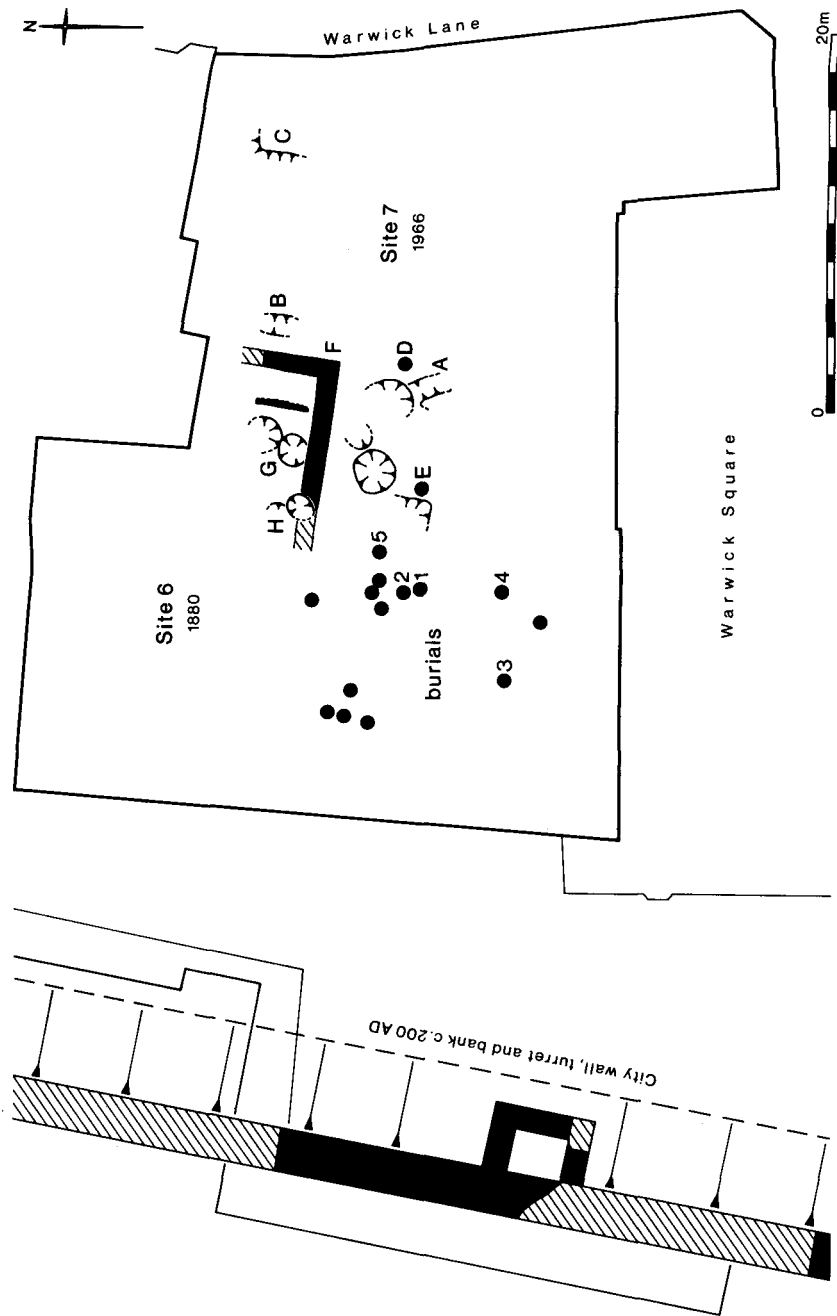


Fig. 21. Paternoster Square and Warwick Square: Warwick Square 1880 and 1966. Location of features of all periods.

different site because the diary entry on the page immediately following this sketch begins:

these potts broken were throwne overboard or at least was the first rubbish brought and layed in laystall for the bounding in the fleet river wch then was without bounds by reason of the then unskillfulness of the old brittains.²⁹

and continues to discuss the River Fleet.

Industry

In 1677, also during the excavation of foundations for the cathedral, four Roman pottery kilns were located.

The kilns, four arranged in a cross pattern with a central chamber, were cut into the 'sandy loam' which presumably indicates the brickearth. Only one survived in a fair condition. This stood to a height of *c.* 1.5m and was of approximately the same diameter. The floor was supported on a single column with vents through the floor itself. The contents of the kiln were coarse wares which appear from an illustration to be 1st or 2nd-century in date. Another kiln was located during the construction of the cathedral. This '... potters kiln, the shape of which was circular was ... on the south side of the said west end ...' (Marsden 1969b, 41).

WARWICK SQUARE, 1880 (*Fig. 2, no. 6*)

During 1880 the excavation of a sub-basement for the building belonging to Messrs J. Tylor and Sons was observed by Alfred Tylor, a member of the same firm (*Fig. 21*) (Tylor 1884). The site was located immediately to the east of the Roman and medieval city wall but no details of this major feature were examined. Tylor recorded at least eight cremations, including some of a type and character not known elsewhere in London.

Tylor's report included a plan of the site which was annotated with section-lines through the medieval buildings and earlier deposits (Tylor 1884, *Fig. 1*). He published only one of these but the present author was able to locate Tylor's original watercolour sections in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries in London³⁰. These show the relative positions of the cremation deposits to the natural features on the site but are primarily concerned with illustrating the medieval and post-medieval remains.

The cremation graves noted by Tylor formed a dense concentration of very luxurious and elaborate cremation urns and containers. They were found on the level of natural brickearth (*c.* 12.00m O.D.) or just below it, presumably in shallow pits³¹. Not only were lead cists and glass urns discovered but also a fine quality turned stone urn.

Summary of Cemetery contents

Unfortunately, it is not possible to reconstruct the original compositions of all of the original grave groups. All the objects, a total of twenty-eight, from this cemetery were donated by Messrs Tylor to the British Museum in 1882. These include four ceramic urns, two with lids, a two-handled ceramic jar, two ceramic flagons, a ceramic colour-coat drinking vessel, two sherds of coarse pottery, a fragment of scored tile, a two-handled glass cinerary urn with lid, a two-handled stone cinerary urn with matching lid³², two copper alloy bells, two unidentified copper alloy objects, a *dupondius* of Claudius, three cylindrical cinerary urns with lids and fragments of a fourth lead cinerary urn (RCHM 1928, 153).

The stone urn, and its lid, contained cremated bone and the Claudian coin (*Fig. 21, no. 1*). No other grave good was recorded. A cylindrical lead cinerary urn, bearing the relief decoration of a charioteer, was discovered to the immediate north (*Fig. 21, no. 2*). It contained the two-handled glass urn and lid which, in turn, contained the cremated remains. The remaining lead cinerary urns were found to the south and north-east of these two graves (*Fig. 21, nos 3–5*). The remaining graves contained ceramic vessels but it is not possible to correlate the vessels with the known findspots.

It should be noted that there was no evidence for any amphora burials or inhumations such as the examples found in 1966 on the Warwick Square site to the immediate east.

Conclusions

The quality of the graves recorded by Tylor is striking. The material dates from the late 1st–2nd centuries and the burials were contained within an area measuring just *c.* 10 × 14m (20 × 14m including the easternmost 1966 discovery). The northern extent of this group was at least *c.* 50m south of the Newgate road. That the intrinsic quality of these graves is so high and is entirely different from any other cremation group from the cemeteries of Roman London might indicate that this cemetery had been isolated in some way from any other activity in the region. Neither Tylor nor Marsden recorded any features in the adjacent cellar which could be interpreted as being part of the wall of an enclosed cemetery. However the facts that (a) the graves were so densely distributed, (b) were distant from the main road (Road 1) passing to the north, and (c) were separated by a considerable distance from the two cemeteries alongside the contemporary city boundary to the east do suggest that this cemetery was strictly defined in some form.

The social status of the occupants of this cemetery cannot now be established, though the quality of their interments and their apparent isolation from all other topographic features does suggest a high social or economic status within London.

CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT EXTENSION (WARWICK SQUARE) 1966

(Fig. 2, no. 7)

In 1966, the construction of an extension to the Central Criminal Court on the north side of Warwick Square enabled Peter Marsden to conduct a formal excavation of the cellars adjacent to the one in which Tylor recorded the cremation burials in 1880 (Marsden 1969, 2–7)³³.

Deposits contemporary with the burials proved to be fairly featureless. Natural brickearth was recorded across the entire site between c. 11.88 and 12.20m O.D., and where large expanses had been exposed it was noticed that it had not been disturbed by any agricultural activity. Similarly, no traces of pre-Roman or Roman timber buildings were found. The only visible features were numerous small and irregular root holes which did not form any pattern. Above these was a light grey loam layer c. 0.60m thick. Little was recorded in this layer apart from flecks of burnt wood and wood ash and a scatter of pottery, much of it abraded, and other domestic rubbish dating to the 1st and 2nd centuries (ER 1177). This grey loam filled several small drainage gullies which had been dug into the natural brickearth (Fig. 21, A, B, C). A few scattered Roman rubbish pits containing pottery of the late 1st and early 2nd centuries were noted, but it was apparent that no significant activity occurred on the site (Fig. 13) until the deposition of burials during the Flavian period.

Two burials were located during the excavations, one cremation and one inhumation (Marsden 1969a, 4–6). Medieval pits may have destroyed others but it is clear that the eastern and northern edges of the cemetery lay on this site and that no trace of a contemporary walled enclosure existed.

Burial 1 (Fig. 21, D)

This was a cremation within a globular amphora which lay on its side in the bottom of a shallow pit. The rim, neck and handles of the amphora had been removed and discarded prior to the vessel being deposited. Included with the cremated remains were some iron nails, a few small pottery sherds and wood ash. Two clay lamps, apparently well-used and damaged at the time of their deposition, were placed just inside the amphora on top of the cremated remains. The aperture of the amphora had been blocked with a building brick

set vertically on edge and two others had been placed on either side of it on the same axis as the amphora (east-west with the opening to the west). This formed a small box-like structure within which were placed the other accessories i.e. three deliberately smashed cooking pots and three complete lids. A bone pin or spindle had been fixed point first into the ground at the angle between one of the east-west orientated bricks and the brick sealing the amphora aperture, but outside the box-like structure. The analysis of the cremated remains revealed that two individuals were represented i.e. an adult aged at least 20 years and an infant of between 18 months and 2 years old. It dates to the late 1st or early 2nd century.

Burial 2 (Fig. 21, E)

This was the inhumation of an adult who had been placed within the grave in a crouched position without a coffin of any kind. Unfortunately the grave had been severely truncated by medieval rubbish pits and only the leg bones survived. No grave goods were noted, but the burial pre-dates a 3rd-century rubbish pit (ER 1172) which cut through part of the grave fill.

Further evidence of Roman occupation was represented by two walls with foundations of chalk and ragstone set in mortar which formed a corner (Fig. 21, F). These foundations had been overlaid by a tile bonding course. Medieval activity had totally removed all deposits directly associated with these walls and so an absolute date is not available. However, the foundations cut a late 2nd-century rubbish pit (ER 1197) (Fig. 21, G) and were in turn cut by a 4th-century rubbish pit (ER 1187) (Fig. 21, H). These two walls may relate to a wall found on a similar alignment in 1880 (see above p. 28).

Within the area of these walls was discovered a row of shallow angular cuts (Fig. 21, I), roughly square in plan but triangular in section filled with, and overlaid by, the light grey loamy soil containing pottery of the late 1st and 2nd centuries (ER 1208). The alignment of these cuts conforms to that of the walls. Experiments suggested that these had been produced in antiquity by a spade and the additional evidence of the concentration of root holes on the east side of the spade cuts would suggest that this was part of a formal garden.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the many people who have helped in some way with the preparation of this report, in particular Patrick Allen, Gill Andrews, David Bentley, Sue Cole, Francis Grew, Jenny

Hall, Chris Jones, Geoff Marsh, Penny Mac-Connoran, Peter Rowsome, Agnès Shepherd, Peter Stott, Tracy Wellman and the librarians of the Society of Antiquaries, London.

Thanks are especially due to the late Professor Grimes, for giving myself and the Museum access to his archive and Peter Marsden, who had a personal involvement with a number of the sites referred to in this paper.

Finally, I would like to thank Peter Marsden, Tony Dyson and Dominic Perring for reading earlier drafts of this paper. As always, I remain responsible for any errors of fact or interpretation which might still remain.

NOTES

- See also *Illustrations of the Site and Neighbourhood of the New Post Office* (1830)—attributed to W. Herbert, Guildhall Librarian—p.2.
- This echoes the problems encountered by Ivor Noël-Hume when he was responsible for recording London's archaeology as it was being removed by machines in the course of redevelopment (Noël Hume 1978).
- Grimes 1968, 148 and MS notes by Professor W. F. Grimes, Records Office, Museum of London.
- 44–6 Ludgate Hill/1–5 Old Bailey, EC4 (LH74) (Fig. 2, no. 9); Post Office/81 Newgate Street, EC1 (GPO75) and GPO Middle Area Newgate Street, EC1 (POM79) (Fig. 2, no. 2); 42–6 Ludgate Hill/1–6 Old Bailey, EC4 (LUD82) (Fig. 2, no. 9).
- Contractor's plans and notes, Paternoster Square 1961–2, Department of Urban Archaeology Archive, Museum of London.
- See also Watling Court (WAT78), Department of Urban Archaeology archive, Museum of London, and Perring, D. and Roskams, S. with P. Allen, *Development of Roman London West of the Walbrook*, (forthcoming).
- Bentley 1985, 128, refers to a sighting in 1840 of road gravels under Ave Maria Lane. No alignment was recorded. He interprets these as part of a road running on approximately the line of Paternoster Row. This findspot lines up with the St Paul's Choir School and Gateway House observations. The resulting line is parallel to the main Roman road under Newgate.
- Proc. Society of Antiquaries*, 1913–14, 2nd ser. vol. 26, 233–4, Fig. 4.
- Even though there was a discernible interval between the two periods. See Roskams (*op cit* in Note 12) 404.
- LUD82 Department of Urban Archaeology archive, Museum of London.
- 34–5 King Street, 1955, Feature 9 (Shepherd 1987, 45).
- Roskams 1980. See also Museum of London, *DUA Archive Catalogue* (1987), 102–105.
- The Grimes archive is currently stored in the Records Office, Museum of London. It is hoped that this material will provide the basis for future studies.
- DUA archive, Museum of London.
- Similar problems were encountered during the examination of the bore-hole samples and sections at 33–4 Old Jewry. Shepherd 1987, 53–55.
- Sheet TQ 38 SW*, Geological Survey of Great Britain, 1982.
- For details to these references see 'Paternoster Square 1961–2' DUA archive, Museum of London.
- All references to ER nos. (Excavation Register numbers) can be found in the Excavation Register Daybook, VII, 7–72 passim; IX, 1; X, 24.
- Excavation Register Daybook, VIII, 13ff.
- For example, courtyard surfaces adjacent to road at Ironmonger Lane—Norton J., 'Ironmonger Lane', *London Archaeol.* 4 (1982) 171–6.
- RCHM 1928, 135. *The Builder* 1883, II, 226.
- No primary references occur for this site.
- Museum of London object files. Guildhall Museum donor catalogue.
- The pamphlet attributed to W. Herbert (1830) refers to cremations and other Roman objects being found in 1822 during the excavation of the foundation for this building. In an apparent attempt to 'dramatise' his text, the author has used and expanded Wren's (*Paternalia*, 1750, 266) description of objects found during the construction of St Paul's.
- Museum of London Acc. Nos. 356, 374, 388, 392, 394, 404, 412, 2730, 2744, 2960, 2961, 3032, 3325.
- See RCHM 1928, 153–4, Fig. 63, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 for MOL Acc. Nos. 392, 388, 394, 356, 412 respectively. Fig. 63, no. 6 can no longer be located.
- Proc. Soc. Antiqs. London* (1913–14) 2nd ser. xxvi, 222–4 and 92. Burnby 1984.
- Proc. Soc. Antiqs. London* (1913–14) 2nd ser. xxvi, Fig. 4 and Burnby 1984, Fig. 2 for Sloane MS 958 f.107v.
- British Library, Sloane MS.958 f. 108r, Burnby 1984, 76.
- London and Westminster Portfolio, Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London.
- A plan of this site by Henry Hodge (Guildhall Library, 630/WAR) shows the outlines of three 'pot-holes' or small pits. None of these can be related to any of the graves located on Tylor's published plan. Hodge's drawing records the findspots of many Roman, medieval and post-medieval objects, many with no indication of date. Tylor's plan of the locations of the graves is the most complete.
- The stone of this urn has recently been identified by Mr R. W. Sanderson, Petrology Unit of the Geological Museum, as a greyish black *porphyritic olivine-dolerite*. No comparative samples are available to suggest a source for the material.
- Marsden 1969a, 2–7. The Roman wall and an internal turret to the west of this and Tylor's 1880 excavation were also excavated by Marsden. These are not discussed here.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BENTLEY (1985), D. Bentley 'Roman London: a first century boundary' *London Archaeol.* 5, No. 5 (1985) 124–9.
- BENTLEY (1987), D. Bentley 'Western Stream reconsidered: an enigma in the landscape', *London Archaeol.* 5, No. 12 (1987) 328–334.
- BENTLEY AND PRITCHARD (1982), D. Bentley & F. Pritchard 'The Roman Cemetery of St. Bartholomew's Hospital' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 33 (1982) 159–61.
- BURNBY (1984), J. Burnby 'John Conyers: London's First Archaeologist' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 35 (1984) 63–80.
- GRIMES (1968), W. F. Grimes *The Excavation of Roman and Mediaeval London*. (London 1968).
- LAMBERT (1915), F. Lambert 'Recent Roman Discoveries in London' *Archaeologia* 57 (1915) 225–274.
- MARSDEN (1963), P. R. V. Marsden 'Archaeological Finds in the City of London, 1961' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 21, pt. 1 (1963) 70–77.
- MARSDEN (1965), P. R. V. Marsden 'Archaeological finds in the City of London, 1962' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 21, pt. 2 (1965) 135–9.
- MARSDEN (1968), P. R. V. Marsden 'Archaeological finds in the City of London, 1965–6' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 22, pt. 1 (1968) 1–17.
- MARSDEN (1969a), P. R. V. Marsden 'Archaeological finds in the City of London, 1966–8' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 22, pt. 1 (1968) 1–26.
- MARSDEN (1969b), P. R. V. Marsden 'The Roman Pottery Industry of London' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 22, pt. 2 (1969), 39–44.
- MARSDEN (1976), P. R. V. Marsden 'Two Roman Public Baths in London' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 27 (1976) 1–70.
- MARSDEN (1980), P. R. V. Marsden *Roman London* (London 1980).
- MARSDEN (1987), P. R. V. Marsden *The Roman Forum Site in London* (London 1987).
- MERRIFIELD (1965), R. Merrifield *The Roman City of London* (London 1965).
- MERRIFIELD (1983), R. Merrifield *London, City of the Romans*, (London 1983).
- NOËL HUME (1978), I. Noël Hume 'Into the Jaws of Death Walked One' in ed J. Bird, H. Chapman and J. Clark *Collectanea Londiniensia* LAMAS special paper n. 2 (1978) 7–23.
- NORMAN AND READER (1912), P. Norman & F. W. Reader 'Further Discoveries relating to Roman London, 1906–12' *Archaeologia* 53 (1912) 257–344.
- NORTON (1982), J. Norton 'Ironmonger Lane' *London Archaeol.* 4 No. 4 (1982) 171–6.
- PRICE (1880), J. E. Price *On a Bastion of London Wall or, Excavations in Camomile Street, Bishopsgate* (London 1880).
- RCHM (1928), Royal Commission on Historical Monuments *London Vol. III, Roman London*, (1928).
- ROACH SMITH (1842), C. Roach Smith 'Observations of Roman Remains recently found in London' *Archaeologia* 29 (1842), 155.
- ROSKAMS (1980), S. Roskams 'GPO Newgate Street 1975–9: The Roman levels' *London Archaeol.* 3 No. 15 (1980) 403–7.
- SHEPHERD (1986), J. D. Shepherd 'The Roman Features at Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, City of London' *Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 37 (1986) 125–144.
- SHEPHERD (1987), J. D. Shepherd 'The Pre-urban and Roman Topography in the King Street and Cheapside Areas of the City of London' *Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 38 (1987) 11–58.
- TRELOAR (1892), W. P. Treloar *Ludgate Hill: Past and Present*. (London 1892).
- TYLOR (1884), A. Tylor 'New Points in the History of Roman Britain, as illustrated by Discoveries at Warwick Square, in the City of London' *Archaeologia* 48 (1884) 220–45.
- WREN (1750), C. Wren *Paternalia*. (London 1750).