

SAXON BATH: THE LEGACY OF ROME AND THE SAXON REBIRTH

Jean Manco

In 1984 Barry Cunliffe summarised what was known of Saxon Bath with his customary scholarship and insight.¹ However, the intervening years have brought a crop of fresh perspectives nationally and new discoveries locally. That must be my excuse for trampling the footsteps of a master. There has been a growing realisation that the Romano-British way of life did not vanish overnight. *Britannia* was part of the Roman Empire for 400 years, so it is scarcely surprising that elements of Roman culture were absorbed and became part of the British sense of identity. One such element was Christianity. By the time *Britannia* became independent in 410AD, Christianity had been the state religion for nearly twenty years. Evidence is mounting of its survival in the Bath region. The survival of Roman cantonal boundaries is even more significant for local history, for that made Bath a frontier town. In the long run the benefits of that precarious position outweighed the dangers. In war a refuge, in peace a market, Bath thrived as a border crossing. Recognition of the Avon as an early frontier alters our view of Bath's hinterland. Instead of a Roman estate cocooning the city on both sides of the Avon, which survived into Saxon times,² picture a town thrust out under the eyes of the enemy, with its hinterland fanning out behind it. Only in the eighth century did Bath Abbey gain land south of the Avon.

Dobunni to Hwicce

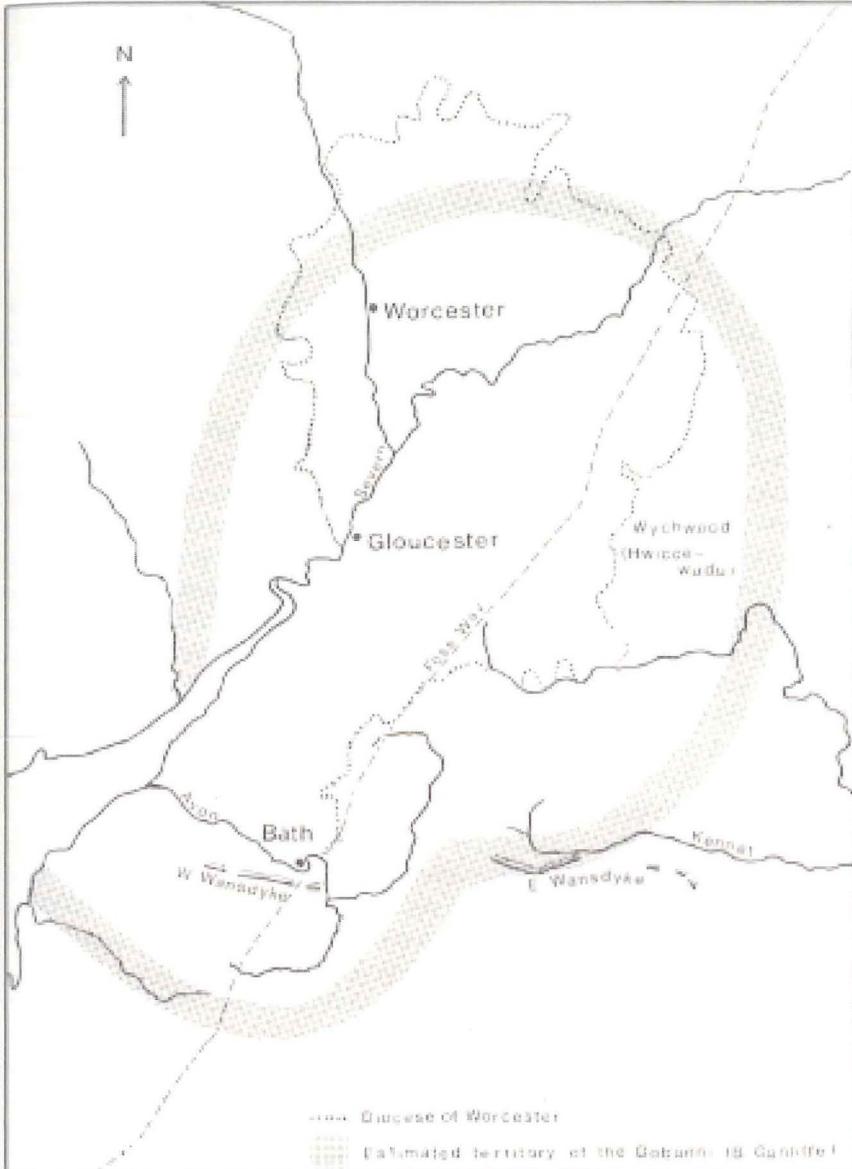
The Romans had found Britain full of warring tribes, among them the Dobunni – the people of the Severn valley and the Cotswolds. The territory of the Dobunni can be estimated from the spread of their coins through North Somerset, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and part of Warwickshire. Differences in pottery may be a clue that those south of the Bristol Avon had formed a splinter group.³ Under Roman administration, tribal areas became *civitates*. A schism between the northern and southern Dobunni would make the Bristol Avon the natural

southern boundary of the Dobunnic *civitas*.⁴ That territory looks remarkably similar to the old diocese of Worcester (fig.1), created for the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of the Hwicce – strong evidence of the continuity of a territorial unit from Roman to Anglo-Saxon. Probably after *Britannia* seceded from the empire in 409, it dissolved once more into local kingdoms, based on the Roman *civitates*.⁵

Within decades Saxons swept over the lowlands. The fifth-century *Gallic Chronicle* reports that the Saxons were in control of a large part of Britain in 441. Debate has raged over this source, while Gildas, our native source for the events of this period, is frustratingly imprecise. However, in a thorough re-interpretation of both, Nicholas Higham suggests that after a period in which victories were divided between Britons and Saxons, the Saxons achieved dominance and could impose treaty terms in 441. This left the highland zone as free British kingdoms and the east under Saxon control. The buffer zone between, including the Dobunni, seems to have remained British, but de-militarised, relying on Anglo-Saxon protection and paying tribute in return.⁶ Such a divide could explain the creation of the Wansdyke. That massive earthwork would have made a sensible defence for the free British of the South-West.⁷ While on their eastern flank the Wiltshire and Hampshire Avon was protected by the New Forest, on the north their best strategy would be a defensive line along the hills overlooking the Bristol Avon and the Kennet. The West Wansdyke was apparently built to a Roman pattern,⁸ as one would expect of a people only decades out of the empire. Archaeological evidence also suggests an early post-Roman date for the East Wansdyke.⁹

Gildas describes the siege of Mount Badon as almost the last of the British victories.¹⁰ Mount Badon was identified as Bath by that weaver of fables Geoffrey of Monmouth and this idea still has its adherents.¹¹ However, Gildas was a Briton writing when the Dobunnic polity was still British, so he would scarcely have described Bath by the Anglo-Saxon name *Baðon* ($\delta = 'th'$). In any case a mount under siege would surely be a hillfort. Gildas seems to have been writing in the area now Dorset and Wiltshire.¹² The one battle he names would probably be that one strong in local memory, making the hillfort of Badbury Rings in Dorset the most likely Mount Badon.¹³

During the peace between Briton and Saxon, a Christian society continued in the British kingdoms with elements inherited from both the Roman and Celtic cultures. Latin continued in use. However, masonry building ceased, as part of a wider dislocation. Gildas bewails the



1. The Diocese of Worcester is shown in its medieval form, adjusted to include Bath. The territory of the Hwicce must have extended further east than this diocesan boundary originally, if it included Wychwood.

destruction of towns: 'The cities of our land are not populated even now as they once were; right to the present they are deserted, in ruins and unkempt.'¹⁴ Although he attributed it to war, there were other forces at work. The Roman consumer-city, sustained by rents and taxes flowing in to town-dwellers, could not survive the end of the Western Empire. Towns decayed across Europe.¹⁵ It is not a story of utter abandonment. While towns ceased to be major production centres, with large populations, some might remain as monasteries, episcopal seats or local markets. Around these foci life continued amid the ruins. Signs of sub-Roman occupation have been found in a cluster of Dobunnic towns and also Camerton, six miles south-west of Bath.¹⁶ Bath itself is a special case. It was first and foremost a spa town. We shall consider later how well it fared in the new economic climate.

In the latter part of the sixth century the Anglo-Saxons began to expand their territory. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, compiled so long after these events, may not be reliable on the details. It describes a battle at Dyrham in 577 in which the West Saxons killed three British kings and captured three towns: Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath.¹⁷ The repeated use of the number three, so popular in folktales, arouses suspicion. Some have doubted whether the entry is historical at all, but this seems excessively sceptical. If it were a later West Saxon invention to bolster their claim to the former Dobunnic territory,¹⁸ why not add Worcester as well? The omission lends plausibility. We can picture the British leaders retreating beyond the Severn in 577.

A sixth to seventh-century Anglo-Saxon spearhead and knives tossed into a Roman ditch near Bath¹⁹ suggests a small band of Anglo-Saxons captured and disarmed, but if they lost that skirmish, they certainly won the war. Even before 577, it would have been difficult for de-militarised British authorities to resist piecemeal Anglo-Saxon settlement. Angles appear to have drifted into Dobunnic territory from the north-east in the fifth and sixth centuries, leaving their mark in pagan burials and a sprinkling of pagan place-names.²⁰ Anglian settlers might well have resented the West Saxon advance just as much as the British. If the Angles were indeed mercenaries or exacting tribute, then the West Saxon victory would have usurped their position. It was some 60 years before the tide turned. In 628, says *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the West Saxons fought the (Anglian) Penda of Mercia at Cirencester and afterwards came to terms. It is clear from the subsequent history of the area that Penda won, but he had probably forged an alliance with local leaders, for the former Dobunnic polity was not amalgamated with Mercia. Instead it became

the client kingdom of the Hwicce. The West Saxons, their expansion to the west and north blocked, overran the free British territory of the South-West from 658, so the Bristol Avon became a boundary between Wessex and the Hwicce.

Who were the Hwicce? The earliest surviving document to record the name is the Tribal Hidage, now thought to date from 626.²¹ Bede tells us that the South Saxon queen Eafe 'had been baptised in her own country, the kingdom of the Hwicce. She was the daughter of Eanfrith, Eanhere's brother, both of whom were Christians, as were their people.'²² The implication is that Eanfrith and Eanhere were of the royal family of the Hwicce; the context places them in the mid-seventh century. Their names and those of subsequent Hwiccian royalty were Anglo-Saxon. Place names show that Anglo-Saxon settlement was widespread in the Hwiccian area, Anglian in the north, Saxon in the south. However pagan burials seem to cluster to the north-east.²³ Bede, whose aim was to provide a detailed account of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, fails to tell us how the Hwicce became Christian. So the British Church was probably responsible, rather than Pope Gregory's mission to the Anglo-Saxons, the details of which Bede carefully researched. Incoming settlers could have been converted by Christian neighbours. Alternatively the royal family may have sprung from inter-marriage between a British ruling dynasty and an Anglo-Saxon military aristocracy. Bede shows that elsewhere such marriages could pave the way for the conversion of a whole people.

Two *eccles* place-names within the kingdom indicate the survival of Christian communities into the period of Anglo-Saxon incursion. There are also scattered clues to continuity of worship from sub-Roman to Anglo-Saxon. Probable British Christian burials have been found beneath Worcester Cathedral and St Mary de Lode, Gloucester.²⁴

Aquæ Sulis to Aquæmann

In the late Roman period Christianity perhaps made little headway in *Aquæ Sulis* (Bath), where the worship of Sulis Minerva was an integral part of its function as a spa. A fourth-century curse tablet thrown into the Sacred Spring provides evidence of divided loyalties. The writer, Annianus, asks the Lady Goddess to retrieve six silver coins from whoever stole them, 'whether pagan or Christian'. Only a Christian would use such terminology. (Pagans did not refer to themselves as such.) Yet

Annianus did not shrink from invoking the power of Sulis.²⁵ If he attended a local church, it would probably have been outside the city walls. Sites for the churches of this new religion generally had to be found on the edges of towns, rather than the established centre. Those with cemeteries needed to be outside the city walls to comply with Roman law.²⁶ So the churches of St Michael in Broad Street and St Swithin in Walcot are possible sites.²⁷ Although St Swithin suggests a Saxon origin, in fact the medieval church at Walcot was dedicated to All Saints.²⁸

Many pagan temples in Britain seem to have come to an abrupt end around 410.²⁹ Christian militancy was raging across the empire. Impatient with gradual conversion, militants destroyed temples and cult images. The failure of the pagan gods to wreak a terrible revenge undermined the whole pagan belief system. Who would worship a broken idol? At Uley in the Cotswolds the head of the cult image was hacked off and buried.³⁰ In Bath the head of Minerva seems to have been given much the same treatment. Also her temple façades were dismantled and parts turned face down as paving slabs, although the precise date of all this damage is unknown.³¹ The Cross Bath could also have been a target. Two Roman carved stones were found tumbled into its spring. One was dedicated to Sulis Minerva, while the other bore scenes linked with Æsculapius.³²

Uley is one of two pagan temples within a twenty-mile radius of Bath which were replaced by Christian religious sites.³³ So did a church spring up amid the ruins of the temple of Minerva? The medieval church of St Mary of Stalls was built on the site of the temple precinct and apparently on the same alignment, but the earliest burials in its cemetery are late Saxon.³⁴ So was a companion temple taken over by Christians? A Roman circular temple probably stood on or near the site of the present Abbey Church.³⁵ An early church beneath the present one is an attractive possibility. However there would be no compelling reason to convert a temple site if a more suitable building was available nearby. Unlike Roman temples, which were entered only by priests, churches needed to house a congregation. A *basilica* (assembly-hall) was ideal for the purpose.

The name *Aquæ Sulis* could have become an embarrassment in the Christian era. A religiously neutral name would be *Aquæmann*, simply adding the Old Welsh *mann* (place) to the familiar *aquæ*.³⁶ There is no contemporary evidence of a name-change, but the name occurs centuries later in a suggestive context. *Achamanni* and *Aquamania* for Bath suddenly appear in charters of Edgar from 965 to 972,³⁷ and are never used in later charters. Anglo-Saxon versions occur in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in one

place only – the description of the coronation of Edgar in 973. He was crowned ‘in the ancient borough of *Acemannes ceastre* – the men of this island call it by another name – *Bathan*’. Æthelweard, a kinsman and contemporary of Edgar, translated this as: ‘in the city called *Akimannis castrum* by men of old, and by others *Bathum* for its boiling waters’.³⁸ So *Aquæmann* appears to be an antiquarian rediscovery favoured by Edgar. Since this had not regained general currency, the chroniclers felt obliged to explain which town was meant. Such a brief and literary revival is unlikely to explain the name *Akeman Street* for the road to Bath from St Albans.³⁹ Presumably this road name was adopted in the early Saxon period, while lowland Britain was Anglo-Saxon, but Bath remained British.

Christian ire was not directed against the baths themselves. After the destruction of the temple façades, the inner temple precinct was repaved and its gateway replaced by a new building, presumably to permit access to the Sacred Spring. It continued in use well into the fifth century and perhaps beyond.⁴⁰ The Sacred Spring fed a grand and sophisticated bathing complex. How much of this survived? In a Welsh compilation of the early ninth century, drawn from earlier British sources, ‘The hot pool in the country of the Hwicce’ was listed among the wonders of Britain:

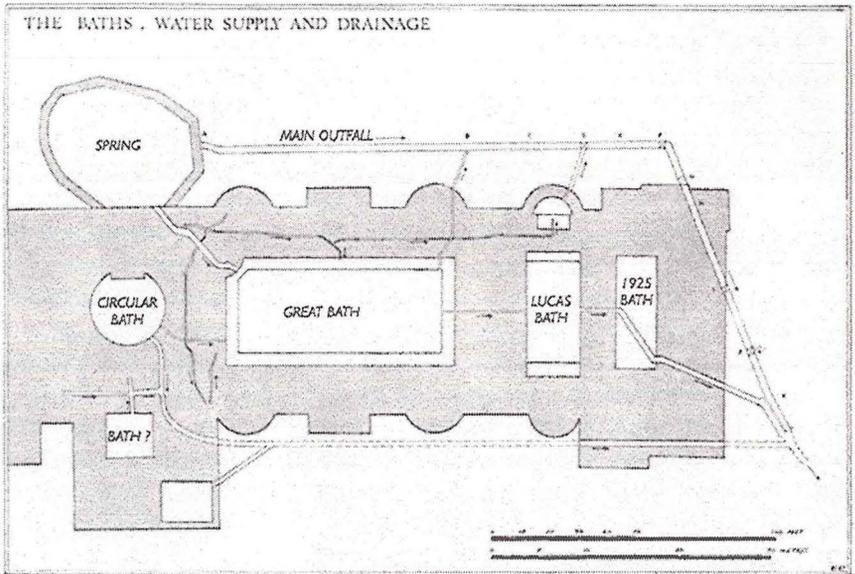
It is surrounded by a wall, made of brick and stone, and men may go there to bathe at any time, and every man may have the kind of bath he likes. If he wants, it will be a cold bath; if he wants a hot bath, it will be hot.⁴¹

It sounds as though the Roman baths were still in use when this was first written. The Romans liked to finish bathing with a cold plunge, so there were both hot and cold pools in the complex. The main spring was indeed surrounded by a wall of brick and stone; the masonry wall had tile bonding courses, characteristic of Roman construction.⁴² But so grand a spa could only be sustained by a stream of paying visitors, the product of a wealthy society. The first decades of British independence seem to have brought an upturn in the economy. The imperial tax burden was a thing of the past.⁴³ But in the decline that followed, Bath would have suffered. Eventually the great baths would have to give way to a more modest spa, operating amid the ruins of once-great buildings. The bustle of shops, workshops and entertainment would cease. Bath would be pared down to its primary function.

Æt Baðum: At the Baths

For the Anglo-Saxons Bath was the town at the baths. The name first appears in a charter of 675 as *Hat Bathu*,⁴⁴ meaning hot baths (in the accusative plural). Thereafter it is always given in the dative plural *Baðum*, *Baðan* or *Baðon*, meaning 'at the baths'.⁴⁵ Bede wrote c.730 that Britain possessed 'warm springs and from them flow rivers which supply hot baths, suitable for all ages and both sexes in separate places and adapted to the needs of each.' This comes in his geographical introduction, drawn largely from earlier authors. However, this particular statement has no known antecedent and presumably reflects the use of the baths in Bede's own day.⁴⁶ By then the city had crumbled into ruin. In the same era as Bede, a Saxon poet described an unnamed city, clearly Bath, as 'Wondrous masonry, shattered by fate':

There stood courts of stone;
where a stream gushed in hot rippling floods,
a wall enfolding all its bright bosom;
baths that heated themselves: how convenient!
Then over the grey stone hot streams poured
to the round pool.⁴⁷



2. Water circulation of the Roman Baths. (Reproduced by courtesy of Barry Cunliffe)

That was not the Roman arrangement. In their time the hot spring fed the great bath and eventually ran down a drain east to the Avon, while the circular pool was a cold plunge (fig.2). The hot water seems to have been deliberately redirected into the circular bath,⁴⁸ probably to reduce the baths to manageable size. From there the water would have run south to the Avon (like the medieval drain).⁴⁹ That would have left the eastern baths dry and they were partly buried beneath a late Saxon cemetery.

The Anglo-Saxons called the reduced complex the *Alron* bath. It is only by lucky chance that the name is not lost to us. Deeds are our best source for place-names within the city and few survive from before 1235, when the name changed to the King's Bath. Geoffrey of Monmouth noted the old name around 1150. He confidently assumed *Alaron* to be a person. A modern editor also translated the *balneum Alrone* in two deeds as 'Alron's bath'.⁵⁰ But no such personal name is known. *Alron* seems to be a compound of *æl* (foreign) or *ald* (old) and *run* (writing). Perhaps Roman inscriptions could still be seen in the complex when the Anglo-Saxon language became the dominant one in Bath.

Abbess Berta's Convent

On 6 November 675 Osric, King of the Hwicce, granted the Abbess Berta 100 hides near Bath for the establishment of a convent.⁵¹ This land would all have been within his territory, north of the Avon. His charter does not explicitly state that the convent was to be built in Bath. However, Bath would be the likely choice, the city wall providing a degree of protection, as with Osric's similar foundation at Gloucester.⁵² Double houses of men and women, presided over by an abbess, were common at this time and it has been assumed that Bath was one such. However, Osric's preamble states his intention to found separate houses for men and women. In the past this has thrown doubt upon the authenticity of the preamble, but scholars now recognise the influence of Archbishop Theodore, who signed the charter. He disapproved of double houses.⁵³

Osric's preamble also explains that his primary purpose was to found a diocese, according to synodal decree. This must refer to the synod of 672, which had proposed more bishoprics.⁵⁴ The idea would be welcome to the Hwicce, who had presumably been swept into the orbit of the newly-created see of Mercia in 656.⁵⁵ In 679 the Hwicce did receive their own bishop, based at Worcester.⁵⁶ The cathedral there was dedicated

to St Peter, as was the convent founded at Gloucester by Osric.⁵⁷ Presumably the convent at Bath was also St Peter's, like the abbey that came after it. Was there a message here? St Peter was a symbol of the papacy. If the Hwicce had earlier come within the British Church, transition to the Anglo-Saxon Church would be eased by a demonstration of loyalty to Rome.

Also interesting is the Frankish name of the first abbess – Berta. At this time high-born Anglo-Saxon girls were educated at houses like Chelles, near Paris, known for their learning. Or the nuns could come to them. Chelles supplied nuns and books for teaching and the foundation of convents in England.⁵⁸ Berta may have returned to France after establishing the convent. A charter in 681 granted land to the Abbess Bernguida (Beorngyth, an English name) and Folcburg (Frankish). Apart from a spurious charter to Bernguida copied from this one, there are no more charters to abbesses in the Bath cartulary.⁵⁹

Offa's Abbey

The patronage of Bath later belonged to the Bishop of Worcester. However, there is no charter granting Bath to the see, unless we count Osric's hopeful preamble in 675. So the bishop was helpless in the face of a dubious claim by Offa of Mercia (757-96). Offa argued that the see was wrongly holding the inheritance of his kinsman King Æthelbald of Mercia (d.756), including ninety hides in Bath. The dispute was resolved at the Synod of Brentford in 781, when Bishop Heathored 'restored' to Offa and his heirs 'that most famous monastery at Bath'. In addition to the ninety hides claimed as Æthelbald's (presumably the 100 hides granted to Berta), the bishop granted thirty hides near Bath on the south side of the Avon, which the bishopric had 'bought at a proper price from Cynewulf, King of the West Saxons [757-86]'.⁶⁰

A puzzling entry in the Bath cartulary may be a mangled record of that purchase. It purports to be a charter of 808 by Cynewulf, King of the Saxons, granting North Stoke to the brethren of the monastery of St Peter in Bath, witnessed by Offa and Archbishop Cuthbert (d.758).⁶¹ Clearly the date should be 757 or 758. But a more serious problem is that North Stoke was not in Wessex. Probably a genuine grant by Cynewulf was later reworked to legitimise the Abbey's tenure of North Stoke.⁶² The monks attributed the grant to King Cenwulf of Mercia (796-821),⁶³ and presumably added the spurious date. If the reference to the brethren was

from a genuine charter of Cynewulf, then it is the first record of Bath as a masculine house. Gloucester Abbey also changed from convent (or double house) to monastery after the death of the Abbess Eafe in 757.⁶⁴

Why was Offa anxious to gain control of Bath? The Avon was the dividing line between the rival powers of Wessex and Mercia.⁶⁵ The mighty Offa had subdued other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and could call himself King of all the English. From his time the Hwiccan dynasty, never truly independent of Mercia, were termed under-kings or *ealdormen*.⁶⁶ Wessex however showed fight. Offa had defeated Cynewulf in 779,⁶⁷ but he may have felt it prudent to guard his borders. The acquisition of Bath would put a frontier post under his direct control. From then until after the Conquest, Bath Abbey was a royal *eigenkloster*. Offa even gained papal dispensation for his ownership of several monasteries of St Peter, which he had acquired or erected.⁶⁸ Probably priests administered the estates as part of the royal demesne. That was a pervasive pattern at the time.

But while Bath lost its independence, it might hope to gain from royal interest. Offa had the means and the vision to build on a grand scale. A substantial monastery at Bath would provide useful accommodation for a royal household constantly on the move. Offa was apparently there in 793.⁶⁹ Certainly in the months after Offa's death in July 796, his son held court at the monastery in Bath.⁷⁰ So there seems no reason to doubt the word of William of Malmesbury that Offa built St. Peter's, although he was writing centuries later.⁷¹ William was probably relying on information from the last Saxon monks at Bath. Major benefactors would be remembered in the prayers of the community and possibly in inscriptions on the fabric, so the monks could have been entirely reliable. In 957 Bath monastery was described by King Edwy as 'marvellously built'.⁷² By that time stone churches were no longer so rare in themselves as to excite such comment, so we must suppose that Bath's was exceptionally fine. The architecture may have impressed simply by the reuse of Roman materials, but it is possible that Offa actually revived Roman building methods in emulation of Carolingian work. He certainly matched Charlemagne in striking coins in Roman style. Offa was the greatest of English kings before Alfred and his dealings with Charlemagne betray a conscious rivalry.⁷³

Apart from the church itself, there was probably only a loose grouping of cells for the priests and some communal buildings. But where was Offa's monastery? Saxon burials spread over a wide area south of the present Abbey Church are clearly linked with the abbey. Finds in this area include a



3. Tenth-century lead cross with inscription to 'Eadgyvu ... a sister of the community'. (Photograph by courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford)

tenth-century lead cross inscribed 'Eadgyvu ... a sister of the community' (fig.3). This has been interpreted as a re-interment of one of the seventh-century nuns, but seems more likely to record a benefactress of the monastery. (Patrons had burial rights.) Recently the footings of a substantial Saxon wall have been discovered south of this cemetery, which must be part of the abbey.⁷⁴

Alfred's Borough

Thus far, although Bath continued to be called a town, we may imagine it more as a modest set of baths, presided over by a monastery. It was another great king who made Bath a true town once more. One of the most familiar stories in English history is how Alfred the Great was overwhelmed by Viking marauders at Chippenham in January 878 and had to take refuge in the Somerset marshes.⁷⁵ But the outcome still astonishes. By 886 (on the most recent dating) Alfred had built a chain of fortresses around Wessex.

Bath of course was over the border in Mercia, but that had become an academic point. Mercia had been taken by the Danes. Burgred was the last King of Mercia to hold court at Bath. In 864 he was there with Queen Æthelswith (the sister of Alfred), attended by his nobles and bishops.⁷⁶ Just ten years later he was driven out and replaced by a puppet king. Alfred supported a rival Mercian leader, Æthelred, who married Alfred's daughter Æthelflæd. So Bath was a natural link in the chain of defence. The city was protected on two sides by the curve of the Avon and had at least remnants of its Roman defences.⁷⁷ The city wall would have been about 600 years old by Alfred's day. Even a century and a half earlier the author of 'The Ruin' saw a sadly dilapidated structure:

Wondrous is this masonry, shattered by fate.
The stronghold has burst open; the handiwork of giants is mouldering.
The roofs have fallen, the towers are in ruin;
The barred gate is roofless; there is rime on the mortar.⁷⁸

Although the poetic style is impressionistic, these lines appear to refer to the city walls. The image conjured up is a late Roman wall, with roofed gate-towers.

Alfred generally built in earth and timber for rapid security. A timber barricade, apparently Saxon, was found outside and parallel to the northern city wall in 1980. The length of this timber outwork would correspond more closely than that of the stone wall with the assessment of Bath in the *Burghal Hidage*, the list of Alfred's fortresses now thought to date from 886.⁷⁹ Alfred perhaps threw this outwork around Bath at speed; within its shelter the stone wall could be repaired at greater leisure. With the city full of Roman ruins, the masons would not have far to go for materials. Early antiquaries visiting Bath were fascinated to discover chunks of Roman carving embedded in the upper part of the city wall.

Such repair-work could scarcely date from much later than Alfred. He and his son can be credited with such a thorough re-organisation of the town that Roman ruins would not be much in evidence thereafter.

Although some of Alfred's forts were no more than that, Bath was one of a string of *burhs* created by him and his children.⁸⁰ The charter of Worcester demonstrates their twin purposes. Æthelred and Æthelflæd stated that, having ordered the borough at Worcester built for the protection of the people, they now granted to St Peter's half their rights in the market and borough, including the tax levied for repair of the borough wall.⁸¹ A successful market town would generate revenue and pay for its own defence. As a river crossing on the Foss Way, Bath was in a good trading position.

The Roman street pattern would have been lost under the debris, so the town had to be laid out afresh (fig.4). Alfred's *burhs* follow a standard pattern. A broad main street running between the city gates housed the market. Then lanes ran out from that at fairly regular intervals to join a street circling the city, which gave easy access for those defending the walls.⁸² In Bath the Saxon street plan was later disrupted by the Norman cathedral priory and bishop's palace. These changes need to be mentally peeled away to discern the Saxon pattern beneath. It was logical to suppose initially that the main Saxon artery ran straight down from the North Gate to a Saxon south gate on the site of the medieval Ham Gate,⁸³ but it is now clear that it had to make a detour around the abbey. The northern part – High Street – is still there. The market was there in the medieval period and probably from the first.⁸⁴ The southernmost part became a lane from the priory gate to the Ham Gate in the medieval period. In the middle the street swung west around the abbey. Part of it was apparently adopted as the boundary between the Norman bishop's close and priory.⁸⁵ It would have simplified Norman planning to lay out the close between two Saxon streets, so another Saxon street probably underlies Stall Street.

Westgate Street was part of another important thoroughfare, which probably continued eastwards to the East or Lot Gate (OE *ludgeat* = postern). That would have led out to the town mill. Bath Abbey had a mill at Domesday, probably in the same place as the later Monk's Mill. Mills tend to remain on the same site, however often they are rebuilt. (The medieval lane to the mill made a detour around the Norman priory cemetery, shifting the East Gate to its present position.)⁸⁶ Today the eastern arm of Westgate Street is Cheap Street. Although it sounds convincingly Anglo-Saxon (OE *ceap* = market), it is actually quite a late name. Before 1399 it was Sutor (shoemaker's) Street, which was considered undignified, so the citizens requested a name change.⁸⁷



4. Bath, the Late Saxon Town. Alternative lines are shown for the mid-section of the east city wall. That furthest east is the medieval wall. The Roman and Saxon wall either followed that line or lay further west and was demolished to create more space for the Norman cathedral. (*Adapted with his kind position from a plan by Barry Cunliffe. Alterations are the responsibility of the present author*)

Still today there are remnants of Saxon planning in the blocks of property along the two main streets. Standard burgage plots can be discerned behind the modern map, with narrow houses facing the street and long gardens and yards behind. Merchants and artisans would have been encouraged to settle in this permanently built-up area, while land in the back lanes was probably left open to make camp sites. Then if danger threatened, the villagers around could take refuge within the walls.⁸⁸ This may explain the name Binnebury for the south-west quarter of the city. OE *binnan burh* meant within the fortified place.⁸⁹ Originally Binnebury (now Bilbury) Lane ran north to Westgate Street. A short section of Saxon

street along the route has been excavated.⁹⁰ On the north side of Westgate Street back lanes survive today, though their names have changed. Bridewell Lane was *Plumtreow strete* or *twichen* in the thirteenth century.⁹¹ Here the Old English spelling of 'tree' had been retained, as well as *twicen*, meaning a place where two roads meet. One can picture a plum tree as a landmark on the corner.

If Bath was not already a functioning *burh* by the time of Alfred's death in 899, then it became one soon afterwards, for his son Edward the Elder established a mint there in the early years of his reign.⁹² Mints were confined to *ports*, -which were market towns, both coastal and inland. Essentially they were synonymous with the *burhs*, but the emphasis was on their trading function, which the mints supported (fig.5).



5. Above: the first coin of the Bath mint was issued by Edward the Elder. It bears his name (left). On the reverse (right) is BAD, meaning Bath. Below: Edgar issued the first coin of the Bath mint to bear a royal portrait. (Photographs by courtesy of the British Museum)

Edward ordered that all buying and selling should be done in a *port*, with a reeve as witness, partly to hinder the sale of stolen property.⁹³ The reeve or portreeve was the royal official in charge of a market town. The first known reeve of Bath was one Alfred, whose death in 906 was noted in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

The Domesday survey of 1086 shows just how successful Alfred's policy was. The mint was still flourishing and Bath had become the largest town in Somerset, taxed as the equivalent of twenty hides and with 178 burgesses. While sixty-four of them paid rent to the king and twenty-four to Bath Abbey, ninety were 'burgesses of the king's barons'.⁹⁴ As with other royal boroughs, Alfred or his successors had involved their nobles in Bath's development. Grants of borough land would encourage them to build there and use the market.⁹⁵ Some of the lords of Somerset manors had houses in Bath, either for their own use or for rent.⁹⁶ Centuries later we have a clue to one of their purposes. Walter Hussey of Swainswick leased part of his property in Bath c.1220, with the proviso that he and his heirs could lodge there in time of war.⁹⁷

Lords with a town house might build a chapel for themselves and their tenants, just as they did on their own manors. The evolution of such chapels into parish churches accounts for the high number of churches in towns with Roman or Saxon origins.⁹⁸ Of Bath's medieval churches within the walls, only St Peter's (with St Mary of Stalls) had a cemetery before 1400.⁹⁹ The lack of a cemetery is a strong indication that St Michael Within, All Saints in Binnebury¹⁰⁰ and St Mary Northgate sprang from domestic chapels, either late Saxon or Norman. From the thirteenth century the Champney family held the advowson of St Mary Northgate and rents in Bath along with their manor of Wilmington.¹⁰¹ Possession of the advowson indicates that they or their predecessors had founded the church. The origin of the first church of St James is more intriguing. It lay beside the main Saxon street and was swallowed up by the Norman bishop's close. Burials have been found on the site. Since the bishop would scarcely permit burials in his courtyard, they are thought to be Saxon.¹⁰² The advowson was part of the royal estate in Bath.¹⁰³ So it is possible that Alfred or Edward the Elder built the first church of St James for the people of the new *burh*.

The fact that Edward established a mint in Bath early in his reign shows that the city had been permanently transferred to Wessex. (Mercia, regained from the Danes, was controlled by Edward's brother-in-law Æthelred until the latter's death in 910).¹⁰⁴ The transfer was to have long-term implications for the city. As the shire system crystallised, Bath fell into Somerset, not Gloucestershire. The see of Somerset (based at Wells) was created in 909, so Bath also changed diocese. Evidently for ease of administration the lands owned by Bath Abbey in Alfred's time were embraced by the see and county of Somerset.

The Reform of the Abbey

Alfred's descendants inherited the patronage of Bath Abbey. Athelstan and several of his successors arranged for the Abbey to celebrate the anniversaries of their deaths by the gift of alms to the poor.¹⁰⁵ In 1535 that custom was laconically noted as 'alms distributed to various paupers and lepers ... from the endowment of Kings Athelstan, Edgar, Ethelred and Edwy and many other founders',¹⁰⁶ which is probably the source of the misconception that Athelstan founded a leper hospital in Bath. Athelstan did give several books to the Abbey, including a copy of *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople*, inscribed 'King Athelstan gave this book to God and to the holy mother of Christ and to the saints Peter and Benedict in the monastery of ... Bath'.¹⁰⁷

The dedication to St Benedict is curious at this date, suggesting that Bath had already adopted the Rule of Benedict, but it may simply be that this note was added a few years later. A stricter form of monasticism was reviving across the Channel, but in England it had a mixed reception by the Crown. In 944 King Edmund granted refuge in Bath Abbey to Flemish monks expelled from St Bertin for refusing to live to rule.¹⁰⁸ Edmund did appoint the reformer Dunstan Abbot of Glastonbury, but Dunstan was exiled by Edmund's son Edwy.¹⁰⁹ The young King Edwy held *witans* close to Bath in 956 and 957, which drew his attention to local affairs and produced a spate of charters.¹¹⁰ His reaction to the city crept into them: one refers to the hot springs and another to the 'marvellously built' monastery.¹¹¹ Under Edwy, Bath remained a royal *eigenkloster*, ruled by his chaplain Wulfgar. However, Edwy's brother Edgar admired and supported the reformed monasticism. On his accession he recalled Dunstan, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 961.

Dunstan brought the monastic revival to England, encouraging the adoption of the Rule of St Benedict, with its emphasis on poverty, chastity and communal living.¹¹² In the following years Bath Abbey was presumably reorganised on Benedictine lines, with communal buildings around a cloister and the monks ruled by an abbot. William of Malmesbury tells us that Edgar, delighted by the grandeur of the place, enlarged it 'after his manner'.¹¹³ It was probably not designed for a huge community; in 1077 there were eighteen monks including the abbot.¹¹⁴ Saxon cross-fragments found in various places in Bath (fig.6) probably date from around this period.¹¹⁵

The early years of the reformed monastery were not without problems, some mercilessly recorded by the biographer of St Ælfheah (Elphege).



6. The head of a Saxon cross discovered in Bath. (*Photograph by courtesy of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, © Crown Copyright*)

Ælfheah left Deerhurst monastery for a hermit's cell near Bath, where he attracted followers much against his will. Once a monastery large enough to house them was built, he withdrew again to a solitary life and provision for the community was delegated to a suitable prior, presumably Æscwig, Abbot of Bath in 965 and 970. However, lapses in discipline all too often required Ælfheah's personal attention. He had to chastise those slipping out at night for drunken revels, or reluctant to forsake all personal property. This may explain why Ælfheah was also styled as Abbot of Bath over the same period as Æscwig.¹¹⁶ Ælfheah was later appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, but his name was long remembered at Bath. 'St Alphege's Well' on Lansdown, just north of Upper Weston, may be a clue to the location of his hermitage.¹¹⁷ Centuries later Bath Priory was still giving ten bushels of wheat a year to their tenants in Weston, 'called St Alphegis grist as hath been used in tymes past',¹¹⁸ perhaps the saint's recompense for their kindness to a hermit.

The reformed abbey had powerful supporters. On one of Dunstan's rounds of encouragement and exhortation, he visited the 'place where hot springs burst forth from their hiding place in the abyss in steaming droplets, a place which the inhabitants call *Bathum* in the vernacular.'¹¹⁹ Edgar was a generous patron of the monastery, as were some of those close to him,¹²⁰ and in 973 he chose Bath Abbey as the setting for his splendid coronation by Archbishops Dunstan and Oswald.¹²¹ But on 8 July 975, Edgar died suddenly and was succeeded by his young son Edward. Resentment of Edgar's generosity to the monasteries emerged into the open. Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia, disbanded several monasteries within the diocese of Worcester. According to Leland, he expelled the monks of Bath for a time. Since Bath was in Wessex by then, that seems unlikely. In any case anti-monastic feeling gradually wore away after the accession of Ethelred in 979.¹²²

Saxons Beleaguered

It was in Ethelred's reign that the Vikings returned, more organised, more disciplined, more formidable than before. By 1009 the Danish army had rampaged over every shire in Wessex, so it is not surprising that Ethelred chose to hold a *witan* that year in the relative safety of Bath.¹²³ St Ælfheah, by then Archbishop of Canterbury, was captured in 1012 and murdered when he would not allow himself to be ransomed, but this was not part of a widespread attack on the Church. The Vikings were Christian by this time, so when King Sweyn of Denmark advanced on Bath during his campaign of conquest in 1013, he is unlikely to have sacked the abbey. In fact *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* speaks of nothing more violent than his camping at Bath, where he received the submission of the ealdorman and thanes from the west. However, there are clues that Bath put up some resistance. A memorial rune at Navelsjo, Sweden, presumed to date from this period, says 'Gunnar, son of Rode, was buried by his brother Helge in a stone coffin in Bath'.¹²⁴ A broken tenth-century sword found in the city ditch outside the North Gate (fig.7) could have been simply thrown away, but the position hints at an assault on the city.¹²⁵

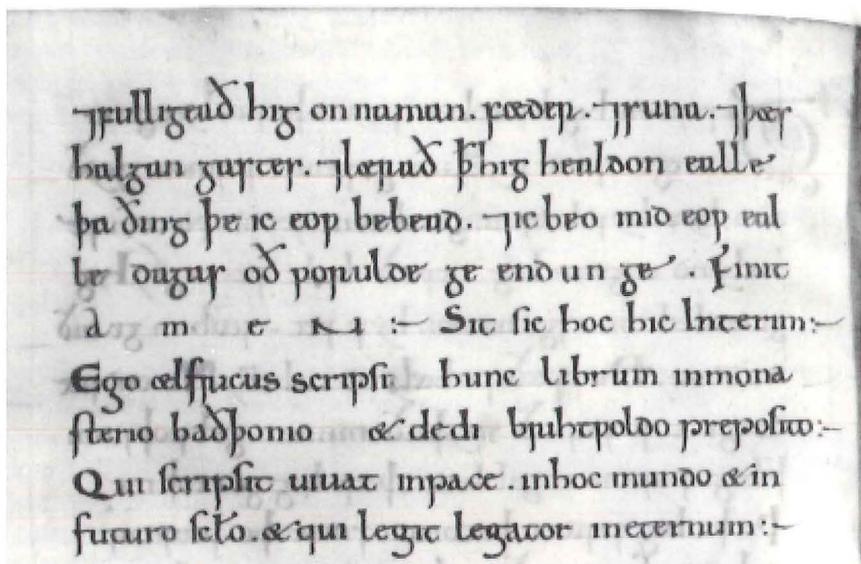
If Sweyn's son Cnut paid any attention to Bath during his reign, we know nothing of it. Only when the English monarchy was restored do royal charters to Bath Abbey resume.¹²⁶ Edward the Confessor and Queen Edith acted as witnesses to a lease of land by Abbot Ælfwig of Bath to Archbishop Stigand.¹²⁷ The queen had a particular interest in Bath; it was



7. Part of a Viking sword found in the city ditch beside the North Gate. The inscription was intended to read ULFBERHT ME FECIT (Ulfberht made me) but was inaccurately copied. It was probably made in an Anglo-Scandinavian workshop in England. (*Photograph by courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford*)

part of her dower. She held it until her death in 1075, so the advent of the Normans had little immediate impact on the city, except for one curious episode. From 1061 to 1084 Abbot Wulfwold held the abbey of Bath and Chertsey, Surrey, in plurality. Chertsey must have been his preferred house, for a second abbot was needed actually to run Bath. In 1066 Sæwold had not long taken over this post from Abbot Ælfwig.¹²⁹ His fear of the Normans was such that at the Conquest he fled to Arras, taking with him many books from the Bath Abbey library.¹³⁰

Happily these did not include the Anglo-Saxon gospels (fig.8) which now belong to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.¹³¹ The four gospels are written in different hands, each on a separate quire; probably four monks worked on the book simultaneously. The scribe of Matthew inserted a colophon, giving his name as Ælfric and saying that he wrote the gospel in the monastery at Bath and gave it to the prior Brihtwold.¹³² That is a clue that Bath was between abbots at the time. Blank pages were then used to record solemn undertakings 'here sworn on this Christ's book', of which the earliest



8. CCC 140, f.45v: The final page of the gospel of St Matthew, on which is written (in Latin): 'I Ælfric wrote this book in the monastery at Bath and gave it to the Prior Brihtwold. May he who writes this live in peace in this world and the age to come and be granted eternity by whomsoever reads it.' (Photograph by courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge)

is a manumission by Abbot Sæwold,¹³³ so the gospels were probably finished just before his appointment. Ælfric was still among the monks in 1077.¹³⁴

The self-exiled Sæwold was replaced by Abbot Ælfsige, who seems to have been an industrious and worthy man. Alsī's Bath (later the Hot Bath) was presumably named after him; he perhaps built a Saxon bath there to replace the ruined Roman one.¹³⁵ He allowed a number of the slaves on the Bath Abbey estates to purchase their freedom, or that of their children, and freed two for the good of his soul.¹³⁶ He made an inventory of the abbey's huge collection of relics. Most were together in the shrine, but relics of St Barbara belonged to the altar of St Mary.¹³⁷ That may have been within the church of St Peter, or in a Saxon predecessor of St Mary of Stalls.

Under the dowager Queen Edith and Abbot Ælfsige, Bath remained essentially Saxon. In 1077 all the monks still had Saxon names.¹³⁸ The same is true of the witnesses to Ælfsige's transactions, except for the portreeves. The end of Saxon Bath really came on the deaths of William I and Abbot Ælfsige in 1087. In the upheaval that followed, Bath was sacked, but emerged anew as the cathedral city of Somerset.¹³⁹

Notes

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- 2 M. Aston, 'The Bath region from late prehistory to the Middle Ages', *Bath History*, Vol.I (Gloucester, 1986), pp.73-8; A.J. Keevil, 'The Barton of Bath', *Bath History*, Vol.VI (Bath, 1996), pp.26-7.
- 3 B. Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain: an account of England, Scotland and Wales from the seventh century BC to the Roman conquest*, 3rd ed. (1991), pp.170-5.
- 4 The Roman geographer Ptolemy listed *Aquæ Calidæ* as a town of the Belgæ, but he was working from limited information. H. Petre, ed., *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, Vol.I (1848), pp.xiv-xv; A.L. Rivet and C. Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (1979), pp.121, 256; B. Jones and D. Mattingly, *An Atlas of Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1990), p.50 and maps 3:2, 5:11.
- 5 K. Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom: British Political Continuity 300-800* (Leicester, 1994), chaps.2-3.
- 6 N. Higham, *The English Conquest: Gildas and Britain in the fifth century* (Manchester, 1994), chaps.2, 5, 6.
- 7 N. Higham, *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons* (1992), pp.94-5.
- 8 A. Young, Avon Archaeological Unit, personal communication.
- 9 D. Eagles, 'The archaeological evidence for settlement in the fifth to seventh centuries AD' in M. Aston and C. Lewis, eds., *The Medieval Landscape of Wessex*, Oxbow Monograph 46 (Oxford, 1994), pp.23-4.
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- 11 T. and A. Burkitt, 'The frontier zone and the siege of Mount Badon: a review of the evidence for their location', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History (SANH)*, Vol.134 (1990), pp.81-93.
- 12 Higham, *English Conquest*, chap.4; Dark, Appendix 1.
- 13 S.C. Hawkes, 'The early Saxon period' in G. Briggs et al, eds., *The Archaeology of the Oxford Region* (Oxford, 1968), p.67.
- 14 *Gildas*, p.28.
- 15 R. Hodges and B. Hobley, eds., *The Rebirth of Towns in the West AD 700-1050*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report No. 68 (1988), pp.2, 8-15.
- 16 Dark, pp.21-5, 168-9, fig.40.
- 17 *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. D. Whitelock et al (1961).
- 18 P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England 600-800* (Cambridge, 1990), p.23.
- 19 Found in the excavation of Bathampton meadows by Bath Archaeological Trust in 1994 (P. Davenport, personal communication).
- 20 Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, fig.2.
- 21 N.J. Higham, *An English Empire: Bede and the early Anglo-Saxon kings* (Manchester 1995), pp.74-111.
- 22 Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. J. McClure and R. Collins (Oxford, 1994), p.193.
- 23 D. Hooke, *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape: The Kingdom of the Hwicce* (Manchester, 1985), pp.8-10; P. Sims-Williams, 'St Wilfred and two charters dated AD 676 and 680', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol.39, part 2 (1988), p.169.

- 24 C. Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (1981), pp.253-71; Hooke, p.10; C. Heighway, 'Saxon Gloucester' in Haslam, p.375.
- 25 R.S.O. Tomlin, 'Voices from the Sacred Spring', *Bath History*, Vol.IV (Bath, 1992), pp.16-17.
- 26 Dark, p.37.
- 27 Aston, 'The Bath region', p.73 and fig.4.
- 28 F. Weaver, ed., *Wells Wills* (1890), p.178.
- 29 Dark, pp.20, 59-63.
- 30 A. Woodward and P. Leech, *The Uley Shrines: excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire 1977-79* (1993), pp.70-1, 321.
- 31 B. Cunliffe and P. Davenport, *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath, Vol.1: The Site* (Oxford, 1985), pp.68-75, 114.
- 32 J. Manco, 'The Cross Bath', *Bath History*, Vol.II (Gloucester, 1988), pp.49-50. At that date the cross had not supplanted the chi-rho as the dominant symbol of Christianity, so the first cross from which the bath took its name must have been erected later.
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- 34 Cunliffe and Davenport, pp.100, 118, figs. 118, 121.
- 35 Cunliffe and Davenport, p.179.
- 36 R.Coates, *Toponymic Topics* (Brighton, 1988), pp.24-37.
- 37 Also the genitive form *Achumanensi*. *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St Peter at Bath*, Somerset Record Society (SRS), Vol.7 (1893), chartulary 1, nos.23-24; catalogued by P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an annotated list and bibliography* (1968), nos.735, 785; W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, Vol.3 (1899), no.1185 (Sawyer no.808).
- 38 *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. A. Campbell (1962), p.55.
- 39 A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton, *The Place-names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire*, English Place-name Society, Vol.3 (1926), pp.1-2.
- 40 Cunliffe and Davenport, pp.68-75.
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- 42 B. Cunliffe, 'The earth's grip holds them' in B. Hartley and J. Wachter, eds., *Rome and her Northern Provinces* (Gloucester, 1983), p.79; B. Cunliffe, *Roman Bath Discovered*, 2nd edn (1984), chap.5.
- 43 Dark, p.68.
- 44 *Two Chartularies*, chart.1, no.7 (Sawyer no.51).
- 45 *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland During the Middle Ages*, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls (Rolls) (1861); *Two Chartularies*, introduction, appendix 1, chart.1, nos.4, 9, 15, 17, 19, 27, 29, 31; J.M. Kemble, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* (1839-48), nos.171, 290; D. Hill, 'The Burghal Hidage: the establishment of a text', *Medieval Archaeology*, Vol.13 (1969), pp.84-92; L.V. Grinsell, *The Bath Mint: an historical outline* (1973); D. Whitelock, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930), nos.8-9; *Memorials of St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. W.Stubbs, Rolls (1874), p.46; J. Earle, *A Handbook to the Land-charters and Other Saxon Documents* (Oxford, 1888), pp. 268-71.

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 47 R.F. Leslie ed., *Three Old English Elegies* (Manchester, 1961), pp.34-6, 50-2;
 present author's translation.
- 48 A post-Roman channel was cut in the wall between the Sacred Spring and
 the circular bath (P. Davenport, personal communication.)
- 49 J. Manco, 'References to the King's Bath drain' in P. Davenport ed.,
Archaeology in Bath 1976-1985 (Oxford, 1991), microfiche 1:E3-4.
- 50 'Vita Merlini' in P. Goodrich ed., *The Romance of Merlin; an anthology* (New
 York, 1990), p.87; Bath Record Office, Ancient Deeds, bundle 1, nos.13-15
 and bundle 2, no.84; transcribed in *Ancient Deeds Belonging to the Corporation
 of Bath*, trans. C.W. Shickle (Bath, 1921). *Alrone* was probably intended as
 a Latin ablative.
- 51 This charter survived as a copy in the twelfth-century cartulary of Bath Priory:
Two Chartularies, chart.1, no.7 (Sawyer no.51). It is accepted by H.P.R. Finberg,
Early Charters of the West Midlands (Leicester 1961), pp.172-4, and P. Sims-
 Williams, 'St Wilfred'. The latter gives the correct dating. H. Edwards, *The
 Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, British Archaeological Reports,
 British Series, Vol. 198 (1988), pp.210-227, argues that this charter has been
 almost entirely rewritten and does not apply to Bath. That would remove
 the major obstacle to her preferred view of Bath as a West Saxon foundation,
 but she fails to explain why in that case Bath came into the possession of
 the Bishop of the Hwicce.
- 52 C. Heighway, 'Saxon Gloucester' in Haslam, pp.365-6, 370-1.
- 53 Finberg, pp.173-4; K. Harrison, 'The annus domini in some early charters',
Journal of the Society of Archivists, Vol.4 (1970-3), p.553, and *The Framework
 of Anglo-Saxon History to A.D.90* (Cambridge, 1976), pp.67-9; P. Sims-Williams,
 'Continental influence at Bath monastery in the seventh century', *Anglo-
 Saxon England*, Vol.4 (1975), p.8, 'St Wilfred', pp.163-74 and *Religion and
 Literature*, pp.120-1.
- 54 *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*,
 ed. A.W. Haddon and W. Stubbs (Oxford, 1839-48), pp.3, 210.
- 55 Bede, p.145.
- 56 *The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester*, trans. T. Forester (1854), pp.27-8, 423;
 Finberg 'The Princes of the Hwicce' in *Early Charters of the West Midlands*,
 pp.161-71.
- 57 Sawyer, nos.70, 74, 77.
- 58 Sims-Williams, 'Continental influence', pp.1-10.
- 59 *Two Chartularies*, chart.1, nos.6, 8 (Sawyer nos.1167-8).
- 60 *English Historical Documents*, Vol.1, ed. D. Whitelock (1961), p.466.
- 61 *Two Chartularies*, chart.1, no.19 (Sawyer no.265).
- 62 I am indebted to Dr M. Costen for this suggestion.
- 63 *Two Chartularies*, chart.2, no.808, referring to King Cenwulf, father of St.
 Kenelm, i.e. Cenwulf of Mercia, alleged father of the saint.
- 64 Finberg, p.161.
- 65 *Æthelweard*, p.52.
- 66 Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, p.33.
- 67 *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.
- 68 W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), pp.29-31.

- 69 *Mattaei Parisiensis, Monarchi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls (1872-83), Vol.1, p.356.
- 70 J.M. Kemble, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* (1838-48), no.171; no.170 seems to be a poor copy of 171, substituting town for monastery (both Sawyer no.148).
- 71 *Willelmi Malmesbirienses, Monarchi, de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, Rolls (1870), p.194.
- 72 *Two Chartularies*, chart.1, no.18 (Sawyer no.643).
- 73 R. Hodges, *The Anglo-Saxon Achievement* (1989), pp.126-9.
- 74 B. Cunliffe, 'The abbey and its precinct' and D.Hinton 'Saxon finds' in B.W. Cunliffe, ed., *Excavations in Bath 1950-1975* (Bristol, 1979), pp.90, 138-40; R. Bell, 'Bath Abbey: some new perspectives', *Bath History*, Vol.VI (Bath, 1996), pp.14-5, fig.4.
- 75 *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.
- 76 Kemble, no.290 (Sawyer no.210).
- 77 The city wall was largely demolished in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but its line is marked on several earlier maps. Excavations of parts of it have demonstrated a Roman origin. T.J. O'Leary, 'Excavations at Upper Borough Walls, Bath, 1980', *Medieval Archaeology*, Vol.25 (1981), pp.1-30; B.Cunliffe, *Roman Bath, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, No.24 (Oxford 1969), pp.173-5; A Roman ditch was found in 1995 by Bath Archaeological Trust outside the East Gate (Peter Davenport, personal communication).
- 78 R.F. Leslie, ed., p.51.
- 79 C.A. Ralegh Radford, 'Later pre-conquest boroughs and their defences', *Medieval Archaeology*, Vol.14 (1970), pp.83-103; O'Leary, pp.22-23; R.H.C. Davis, 'Alfred and Guthrum's frontier', *English Historical Review*, Vol.97 (1982), pp.807-9.
- 80 M. Biddle and D. Hill, 'Late Saxon planned towns', *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol.51 (1971), pp.70-85; D. Hill, *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981), fig.235.
- 81 *English Historical Documents*, Vol.1, p.498.
- 82 Biddle and Hill, 'Late Saxon planned towns', p.70.
- 83 Cunliffe, 'Saxon Bath', pp.351-52; P. Greening, 'The origins of the historic town plan of Bath', *A Second North Somerset Miscellany*, Bath and Camerton Archaeological Society (Bath, 1971), p.14. On the site of Ham Gate, J. Manco, 'The buildings of Bath Priory', *SANH*, Vol.137 (1994 for 1993), p.82, corrects W.Wedlake, 'The City Walls of Bath', *SANH*, Vol.110 (1966), p.97, Fig.5B.
- 84 A deed of 1319 mentions 'Northgate Street [an earlier name for High Street] where the market is situated' (Shickle, *Ancient Deeds*, bundle 2, no.83).
- 85 Manco, 'Bath Priory', pp.80-82.
- 86 Manco, 'Bath Priory', pp.78, 94-5. Excavation outside the East Gate has dated the medieval lane as post-Norman (P. Davenport, personal communication.)
- 87 Shickle, *Ancient Deeds*, bundle 3, no.66.
- 88 M. Aston and J. Bond, *The Landscape of Towns* (1976), p.69.
- 89 A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements* part 1, English Place-name Society Vol.25 (1956), pp.26, 58.
- 90 P. Davenport, 'Excavations at Bath Street, Bath', *Avon Past*, Vol.16 (1993), p.14.
- 91 Bath Record Office, *Ancient Deeds*, bundle 5, nos.60-61.

- 92 The style of the coin was modelled upon his father's coins from Exeter and Winchester; Edward's coins from 910 are in a different style. C.H.V. Sutherland, *English Coinage 600-1900* (1973), p.28; Grinsell, pp.10-11.
- 93 Campbell, ed., pp.130-1, 176.
- 94 *Domesday Book*, gen.ed. J. Morris, Vol.8: *Somerset*, ed. C. and F. Thorn (Chichester 1980), section 1, no.31; section 7, no.1 and p.313.
- 95 F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1971), pp.530-2.
- 96 *Domesday Book, Somerset*, section 1, no.28; section 5, nos.20, 30, 66; section 40, no.1; section 41, no.1
- 97 Shickle, *Ancient Deeds*, bundle 1, no.19.
- 98 J. Schofield and A. Vince, *Medieval Towns* (1994), p.147.
- 99 Manco, 'Bath Priory', p.80.
- 100 Shickle, *Ancient Deeds*, bundle 4, no.88; bundle 6, no.43.
- 101 *Feet of Fines for the County of Somerset*, ed E. Green, SRS, Vol. 6 (1892), pp.253-4; Vol.12 (1898), p.137; Vol.17 (1902), pp. 82-3; British Library Egerton Charters nos.260, 336; *The Registers of ... Bishop[s] of Bath and Wells 1518 ... [to] 1559*, SRS, Vol. 55 (1940), no.496.
- 102 Manco, 'Bath Priory', pp.80-82; Davenport ed., *Archaeology in Bath*, pp.104, 109, 116, fig.91.
- 103 Sold to Bishop John de Villula c.1090 and re-acquired by the Crown in 1193. In 1274 the advowson was held to be part of that estate. *Rotuli Hundredorum*, Vol.2 (1818), p.123.
- 104 *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; Davis, 'Alfred and Guthrum's frontier'.
- 105 *Two Chartularies*, chart.2, no.808.
- 106 *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Vol.1 (1810), p.177.
- 107 S. Keynes, 'King Athelstan's books' in M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss, eds., *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp.159-64.
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