

TOWN AND COUNTRY: ROMAN BATH AND ITS HINTERLAND

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Roman Bath, *Aquae Sulis*, was not a city in any legal sense recognised by a Roman civil servant, but it was a wealthy and bustling town, with an architectural grandeur to rival any city in the Province of Britannia. Some of this wealth came direct from the touristic and medico-ritual exploitation of the hot springs. Much came from the services that a local, we might today say market, town provides for its agricultural and industrial hinterland. Bath was a market centre, a route node, and may have played some sort of administrative role, the precise nature of which will always be a subject of speculation, and which could, anyway, have changed over the centuries of Roman rule. In this article we shall look, as far as the evidence allows, for the pattern and extent of that hinterland, and suggest a little of how the one interacted with the other. Defining the hinterland is a subjective process, but it can be based on various considerations. One should look at available resources, the communications network, competing centres, and the distribution of rural settlement itself. We must also glance upwards at the settlement hierarchy to notice that the town itself is part of the hinterland of other cities. Economically, Bath probably looked to Cirencester; administratively, to Winchester. For the purposes of this discussion, however, we shall define our region in a simple way. In an era where the maximum economic speed of long-distance travel was walking pace, a locally cohesive area would not be bigger than could be crossed in less than a day. Therefore, no small town could have a hinterland more than a day's return journey in radius – say 15 to 20km.¹ Ignoring the special status due to it as a spa and religious centre, Bath will be seen to fit well into this pattern.

It might seem obvious to start from a consideration of the transport system. However, the routes of the main roads around Bath are subject to much uncertainty,² and the Avon may not have been navigable in the Roman period.³ The *local* communication network, particularly relevant for our purposes, is almost entirely unknown. The known and likely roads are shown on the maps⁴ (Fig. 1). Nonetheless, the position of *Aquae Sulis* at a route node is important in understanding its relationship to its

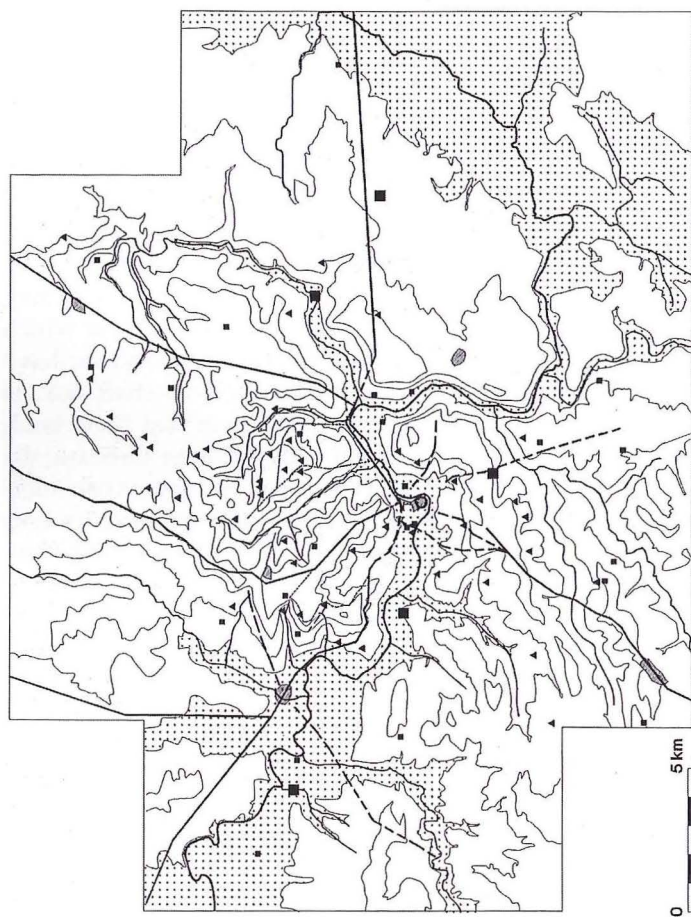


Fig. 1 The pattern of settlement and the topography around *Aquae Sulis*. Squares represent villas (larger squares, the larger, more luxurious ones), and triangles, other farms. The hatched areas are nucleated settlement. Contours are at 50 m intervals, and land below 50 m OD is shaded. Roads are shown as thick lines, probable local tracks and paths as thinner ones. The town is in the centre, with its late walls shown by a thick line.

local region. It sits by the crossing point of the Fosse Way over the Avon, and that road's junction with the roads from London, Poole harbour, Cirencester via Lansdown, and Sea Mills (for the Severn crossing). It is also on the Avon valley route through the Cotswolds. Even locally the traveller is almost compelled by the topography to use the Avon valley eventually. Little traffic would not pass through, or near, the town.

Missing from this known picture are the local roads and paths linking settlement, town and villa. Prehistoric trackways and footpaths such as Hollies Lane across Charmy Down can be identified, and others can be suggested. A number of present-day lanes and rights-of-way seem to link Roman sites and can be seen from the map (Fig. 1). These tracks, if correctly identified, imply regular contact between the components of the pattern. We must now look at these components: other towns in the area, *Aquae Sulis* itself, villages, farms and villas.

Local Towns and *Aquae Sulis*

Bath's urban neighbours can indicate the likely broad limits of its hinterland. The position of nearby small towns such as *Verlucio* (Sandy Lane, near Lacock), *Abonae* (Sea Mills, near Bristol), and sites such as Camerton and Nettleton, probably confirm Bath's local area as being around 15–20km in radius. They existed as secondary market centres on the borders of the regions of the larger towns. Sea Mills was the port of the region, particularly important to the south Wales garrison. It was occupied early and probably always had a military presence. The site is not well known, but covered a fairly extensive area, and buildings, burials and finds indicate a substantial small town.⁵ Camerton had a conquest-period fort on the site of a high-status native site.⁶ It was little more than a substantial village, but the later industrial specialization in pewter manufacture, and its position on the main road, arguably made it a small town.⁷ *Verlucio* is unexcavated, but its status as an imperial posting station, and the material recovered from it, support the claim that it, too, was a small town. Nettleton Shrub⁸ too was small, but intensively developed, with considerable "public works" in the form of river canalizations, stone revetting of hillsides, streets and public buildings and provision of an elaborate temple to Apollo. The temple and the trade it attracted (made possible by the Fosse Way), plus pewter manufacture, were the reasons for its wealth.

It is possible that *Aquae Sulis* served a wider zone owing to its great distance from the nearest major administrative and market centres. The possibility that Bath was situated in a region under direct imperial control for some of the Roman period (see below) might have encouraged its development as a centre of services for a zone that was separated from the normal civilian administration, and fitted it for an administrative role when the area was demilitarized. However, the existence of the other local small towns, and also Shepton Mallet and Mildenhall, indicates that one centre alone could not deal with all matters. There must have been some hierarchy and presumably interpenetration of spheres of influence, but these towns conveniently limit our area of study.

At *Aquae Sulis* two early foci have been recognised: one around the hot springs; the other around a crossing point of the Avon, just south of Cleveland Bridge (Fig. 2). The nature of the earliest occupation around the springs is unclear. A metalled road existed to the west of the spring, possibly as early as c.50 AD or later in the first century, and at the same time a drain was laid parallel to it a little way south. The baths and temple were erected in the 60s or 70s AD,⁹ but it seems likely that, at first, the area immediately around the great monuments was not intensively occupied at all. There is evidence of timber buildings, streets or yards emerging from recent work, dating to the first and early second centuries, but these may not be strictly urban in nature, merely related to the activities of those running the baths and temple. As at some similar sites in Gaul the complex may well have stood in the countryside at the beginning of the period, perhaps originally as an army facility.

From the later second century onwards we see many buildings with hypocausts and mosaics, probably houses. There was an infilling of open spaces, and a replanning of this central part of the town, with shops and industry appearing. This can all be ascribed to the spa's growth in popularity and wealth. The peak of this growth in the late third and fourth centuries can be related to changes in the countryside described below.

At Walcot, where the Fosse Way joined a newly discovered road leading to the River Avon and Bathwick (destined for Poole harbour), substantial evidence survives of settlement from the earliest Roman period (Fig. 3). The quantity and quality of finds imply a military presence nearby. The flat, but raised and well-drained gravel "island" across the river around St John's church suggests that Bathwick may well be the site of the long-sought Roman fort, and would provide a context for the growth of the settlement and a source for the objects found there.¹⁰ This may also explain why the road system as we know it focuses on this



Fig. 2 The two foci of *Aquae Sulis*, superimposed on the street plan of modern Bath. The walled area is shown, the roads (thick solid and dashed line) and the areas of settlement outside the walls.

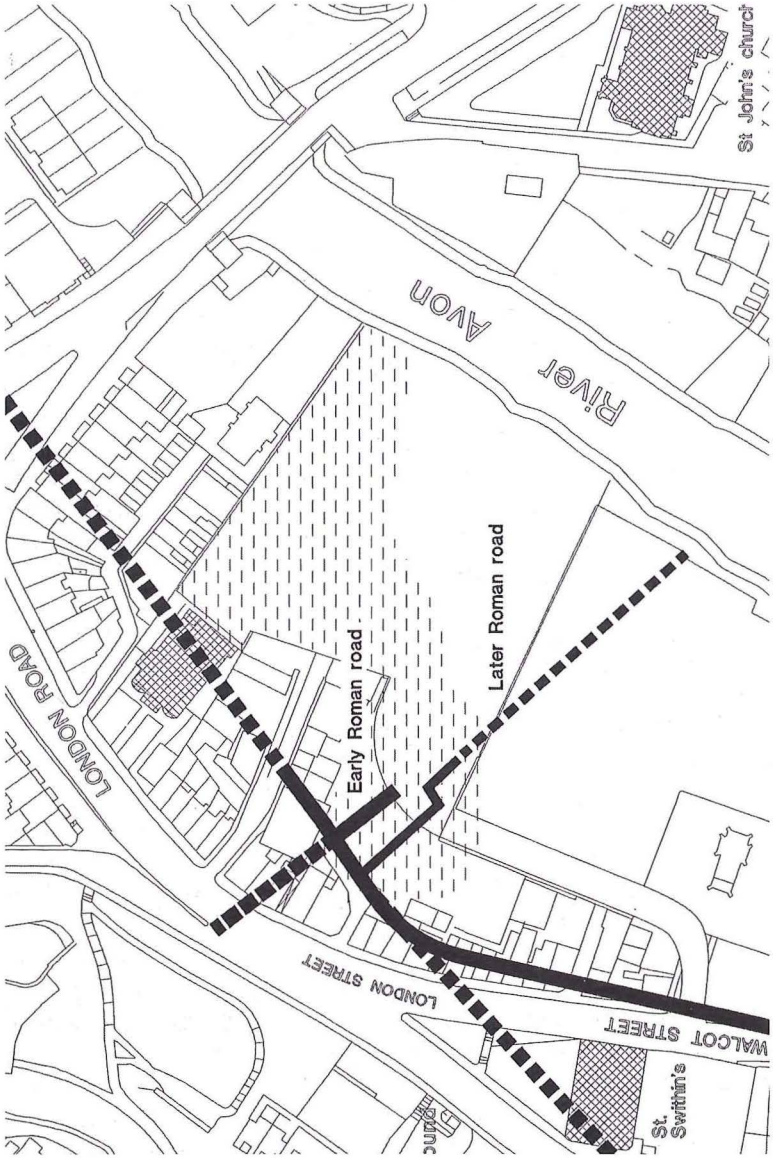


Fig. 3 The Walcot focus. The broken horizontal shading indicates the confirmed spread of intense occupation. Stray finds indicate a much wider area. Based on the 1925 Ordnance Survey 1:1250 map with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown Copyright.

area, not the springs (Fig. 1). It is not just that they meet here, but that they are clearly aligned on this point from some distance away. As in the centre, there is a phase of replanning, perhaps in the late second or third century, but with an increased sense of bustle and activity. While trade and industry seem more important than in the centre, we also find clear evidence of high-quality, probably domestic, architecture. By the third and fourth centuries the two foci had fused, indicating an urban area of about sixty acres.

The Countryside (i): Farms and Villages

Agriculture was the basis of the Roman economy. By far the majority of people would be involved in it as their primary occupation. Even town dwellers were likely to work on the land at times or have an interest in it.¹¹ At the same time we could expect in the Roman countryside a variety of settlements and land uses: villas obviously (in this article meaning substantial Romanised country houses, the majority acting as estate centres), and the less-Romanised farms, hamlets and villages. The latter would be essentially agricultural, but perhaps also involved in specialised industries, such as stone quarrying or manufacturing. There is evidence for all these categories in the vicinity of Bath, but still barely enough to answer questions about the social and economic relationships between town and country. In general, however, drawing on evidence from the rest of southern England, we might envisage an intensively farmed landscape, perhaps with a tree cover similar to today's (certainly less than in the medieval period), producing wheat and other cereals, and cattle, sheep and pigs depending on the suitability of the soil and drainage. The rural settlements would include a variety of small farms, agricultural villages, big private estates, and others owned by local and central government. From their farming practices, however, we should be hard put to distinguish one from another.

Farms are assumed to be individual farmsteads, not particularly Romanised, working to supply themselves, to produce enough surplus to pay their taxes, any rent or debt, and trading the rest for profit. Absentee landlords would certainly expect a profit but the point is that wealth is not obvious on site. Doubtless only a percentage of the sites that must have existed are known. Certain areas have been more intensively prospected, however, and can, with care, be used to suggest what the fuller pattern might have been. Almost none of these sites has undergone recent controlled excavation and none on an adequate scale.

Individual farmsteads have been excavated in our area at Hill Farm, Priston,¹² at Combe Hay,¹³ at Lower Common, Bath,¹⁴ and at various sites on Lansdown.¹⁵ They tell us a little about the buildings, the date range, and something about the degree of Romanisation and wealth. At Butcombe,¹⁶ the nearest farm recently studied, there were two main phases. The earlier was only partly investigated, but did have a simple rectangular wooden farmhouse at its core. After c.270 AD the farmhouse was rebuilt with a series of stone-walled yards and pens for livestock. The field system beyond the enclosures was a mix of irregular and longish rectangular fields. The system merged into that of a neighbouring farm at Scars Farm.¹⁷ At Hill Farm, there appears to be something rather similar, but excavation was only exploratory. A second-century farm had been laid out with a track leading to it through enclosures. The small farmsteads amid fields on Charmy Down (unexcavated but almost certainly in use during the Roman period), on Bathampton and Claverton Down and on West Littleton Down, indicate that little land was left unexploited, and much was tilled. On Charmy Down lanes and tracks show that the farms were in communication with each other and the world beyond. Only stone buildings are well known in the farms excavated. These generally consisted of very simple one- or two- roomed rectangles, as at Combe Hay, of later third century date, and Butcombe. At Ironmonger's Piece, Marshfield, the native circular style was preferred, at least in the early period. Timber was common as a building material but is generally recognised only in more recent excavations, as at Chew Park, underneath the later small villa.

Villages were common in Roman Britain.¹⁸ The best-known stand on the chalk of Salisbury Plain, often as well-preserved earthwork sites, but they are found over most of Britain. Several sites are known or suspected around Bath, for example at Little Down (Lansdown) and Warleigh Wood (Monkton Farleigh). A village may also have existed at Bitton (Fig. 1), and if this is the *Traiectus* mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary, then it would have grown up around the *mutatio*, or horse-changing station on the imperial post route. Only the Lansdown site has been excavated,¹⁹ but revealed a group of stone buildings. Any timber ones would not have been recognised by the excavators of the time. These were of circular and rectangular plan, among stone-walled enclosures. Although no street was discovered, the consistent alignment of the buildings suggests that they were perhaps laid out along a main street running east-west. Such villages were essentially agricultural, as confirmed at Catsgore, near Ilchester. Little Down had clear evidence of

pewter manufacture, and a hint of stone working, suggesting more than one string to its bow. That such manufacture was to supply an external market is indicated by the evidence of similar activity at Camerton and Nettleton Shrub. The "Temple Plate" discovered at the Temple of Sulis Minerva at *Aquae Sulis* is predominantly of pewter, as are the curse tablets. Indeed the Bath area provides a significant concentration of finds of pewter vessels.

The actual farming and subsistence strategies employed on these farms and villages is based on evidence from a very few sites. Pig bones are rare, and sheep and cattle predominate. Sheep can be shown to be important around Mendip and are guessed to be so on the Cotswolds. Cattle-rearing would make most economic sense on the middle and lower slopes and the valley bottoms. Horse bones are not common, but horses are expensive animals to keep and most traction needs on these sites would be met by oxen. Arable farming produced cereal, mostly wheat with some barley, and vetch and other pulses, the latter for animal fodder. Evidence from the waterlogged site at Chew Park, under the later small villa, shows that fruit was also grown.²⁰

Most sites indicate the presence of iron-working. This was generally forging – blacksmith's work – rather than iron production, but evidence for smelting does occur, not surprisingly on the iron-rich coal measures west of Bath. Some of the products may have been traded away, but most were probably for local use. Coal itself is commonly found on Roman sites (Little Down village and Bath itself, for example) and must have provided income for some settlements. Nothing is known of how it was mined and traded. The same is true of quarrying: this is not readily identifiable, and hard evidence of Roman quarrying is difficult to prove. The sheer quantity of stone employed in towns and countryside, however, makes it clear that the supply of stone was a major rural industry. A proportion of pottery was locally produced, and there may have been kilns at Walcot.²¹

The Countryside (ii): Villas and the Pre-villa Pattern

It has long been realised that, while villas do tend to cluster around towns, the numbers around Bath are exceptional, the highest concentration in Britain. Depending on the criteria used, there are about thirty to forty villas that might be considered within Bath's hinterland. Of the villas known, which must be a large proportion of the original number

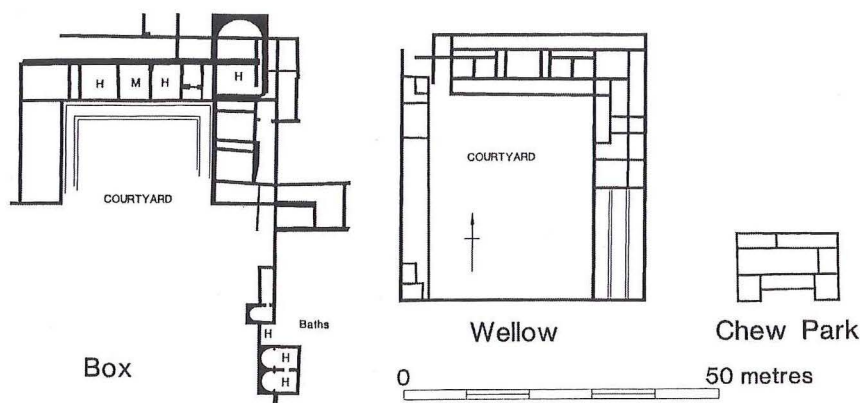


Fig. 4 The large villas at Wellow and Box compared to the small establishment at Chew Park at the same scale (recent work suggests Box may be even bigger). The formality of the arrangement of the rooms in the north range at Wellow is apparent.

given the amount of fieldwork done in the area, a few are particularly grand and luxurious, including those at Box, Atworth, Wellow, Keynsham and Newton St Loe (Fig. 4). It seems unlikely that more than one or two of the others yet to be fully investigated will turn out to be as grand. The rest, although highly Romanised in their architectural detailing and often fitted out with underfloor heating and baths, mosaics and painted plaster, are much smaller and simpler in plan (Fig. 4). Nevertheless, it has been pointed out that the level of Romanisation of the villas around Bath is exceptionally high.²²

Such wealth and *Romanitas* imply that the villas are the centres of profitable estates. However, Branigan makes the point that there may be too many villas for them all to be working farms or estates, bearing in mind the other types of farming settlement to be accommodated. While, crudely calculated, 330 ha (792 acres) of land were available for each villa in the immediate hinterland (not a small estate), other land uses must have reduced this. It may well be that many of the farms and the smaller villas indeed stood on the estates of other villas, or that the villas were engaged in some other economic activity, or none. Such relationships would account for the proximity of certain villas to each other, and the apparent association of some villas to other rural settlements. A good example might be the villa at Hollies Lane, overlooking Ramscombe

Bottom and the Avon Valley. It occupies a spot clearly chosen for its views and its aspect, just below the plateau of Charmy Down. On the down itself several small farmsteads among fields and trackways are unlikely to have been independent of the villa estate. Lye Hole villa may have a similar relationship to Butcombe.²³ At Camerton it has been suggested that the villa-like buildings on the edge of the settlement may have been the homes of the landowners or their managers controlling and benefiting from the industry and trade in the town itself. Other villa-like sites very near to Bath might be regarded more as "suburban" villas than farms. Mosaics at Daniel Street and Norfolk Crescent can only be explained as the remains of such houses. Extensively-excavated villas, however, such as North Wraxall, have more often than not provided evidence of their status as farms²⁴ (Fig. 5). Although doubts have also been raised about the extent of the market for the products of the villa system, a booming Bath and the smaller towns around would easily absorb surplus produce, especially with the pilgrim/tourist trade and the existence of non-productive villas. It must also be borne in mind that Britain was an agricultural exporter throughout the period. There is one remarkable fact about villas, however, which must be taken into account. There is hardly one in the area predating the mid-third century and it is more than likely that none existed prior to about 270. This means that there are two (at least) patterns of settlement to examine around Bath: pre- and post-270.

This absence of villas in the earlier period is remarkable, and has been commented on at length previously.²⁵ Outside the tribal areas of the southern Dobunni/eastern Belgae, and the Durotriges (i.e. Avon and north Somerset, and Salisbury Plain/Cranborne Chase in Dorset and Wiltshire) villas are found from the late first century on. Even in areas where the villa economy did not flourish, they nonetheless occur from the early second century. The Durotriges and the southern Dobunni were heavily opposed to the Roman conquest. Roman policy elsewhere was to develop the countryside with the aid of native landowners who came to terms with, and eventually adopted enthusiastically, the ways of the conquerors. In contrast, it may well be that here the opposition to conquest was so strong that the land was confiscated and administered as an imperial estate. There is some evidence to support this idea. The villa at Combe Down, one of the few that predates 270, has been considered the centre of an imperial estate near or around Bath. This idea is supported by the discovery of inscriptions recording both the repair or rebuilding of the "*Principia*" (official headquarters, a word with a military

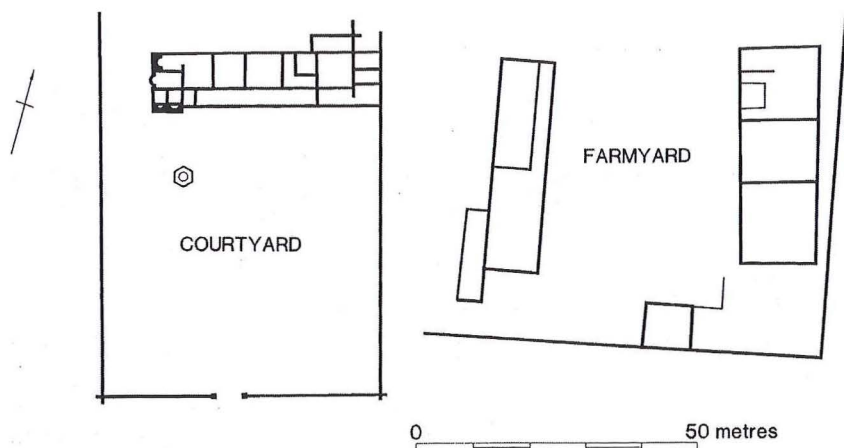


Fig. 5 The villa at North Wraxall, showing the farm buildings attached to a modest but well-appointed villa.

ring as well) by a procurator between 211–218 and the undated activities of the “centurion in charge of the region”. Combe Down also produced an imperial lead sealing. The Mendip lead industry was certainly imperially controlled, although later leased to civilian contractors. On this model, the estate would be controlled from such a headquarters with the native farmsteads and villages remaining at a more-or-less subsistence level after supplying the demands of the imperial landlords.²⁶ In general one would expect the pre-Roman pattern to have continued, as probably at Butcombe and Marshfield, but the Iron Age settlement at Lower Common, Bath, was turned over to fields early in the Roman period.

There were major administrative changes in the Empire from the late third century, following a period of economic and political chaos. This may provide the background for a putative sale of the imperial estates around Bath, the foundation of a series of private estates and the consequent appearance of villas. Few of the pre-villa sites have been examined to the extent that we can tell what they were producing, or how they were organised, or be sure of their date. Without clear evidence to the contrary, however, we shall assume that these sites were in use before c.270 since this is what the evidence more often indicates (Fig. 1). It is striking that the settlements are clustered on the higher ground, especially along valley tops. This suggests that these sites were positioned to exploit both the plateau tops and the valley sides, with their different soils

and potential. Known valley bottom sites are rare, almost certainly due to the bias of preservation and discovery. While the bases of the steep and narrow-bottomed valleys of the southern Cotswolds were unsuitable for settlement, the Avon and its larger tributaries were not. That the lower slopes were settled is demonstrated by the Lower Common site, and by the slight evidence of occupation on the lower slopes of Bathwick Hill. Many of the later villa sites on lower ground may mask earlier farmsteads but others will simply have been buried under alluvium and hill-wash.

The picture we have at the moment is one of small, perhaps family-sized farms, run either on some sort of lease from the imperial estate,²⁷ or directly by slave or hired labour. It is difficult, however, to imagine a mechanism for efficiently controlling a slave estate split into separate farmsteads. The larger settlements may, in this first phase, have been largely slave establishments, being more easily overseen than farms. Alternatively, or in addition, the villages or larger settlements may be where the produce from the outlying farms was assembled on the first stage of its transformation into imperial wealth. In this case we might expect a larger-than-average number of barns and cart sheds, and a good road system linking them with the centre of the system. Sadly, the evidence is not yet forthcoming. Thus, Catsgore, near Ilchester,²⁸ is merely a collection of farms very like the normal medieval model. All the produce would have to be marketed, and this implies some sort of redistributive centre. Bath would be well placed to serve this function. The Walcot focus, at the meeting point of most of the known main roads, probably owed its continued growth and prosperity to this. The presence of imperial officials and soldiers to supervise the business²⁹ would help explain the early development of the baths and temple, which in turn would attract the first of the many visitors on whose money Bath, the tourist centre, came to flourish.

The contrast between the lack of extensive Romanisation in the countryside and that of *Aquae Sulis* certainly needs explaining. Other areas of low or late Romanising, such as Norfolk (explained as a result of the Boudiccan rebellion), also have retarded urban development. It is likely that *Aquae Sulis* itself was part of the imperial estate, as any administrative status would be at the lowest recognisable level, that of a *vicus*. Thus it would be a direct recipient of any imperial development impetus, such as occurred under Agricola (governor under Domitian 77–84) or Hadrian (117–138). Busy commerce and the exploitation of the imperial estate presumably also explain the growth of the smaller roadside settlements such as Nettleton Shrub, *Verlucio* and Camerton.

In the absence of estate centres these small settlements on main roads could offer the services of craftsmen, and a place to acquire the Roman trinkets and pottery that are common on the farms and village sites.

On this model, of imperial estates and little or no private enterprise, it is possible to argue that Bath might have had a dual or split "personality". While acting as a redistributive centre for the imperial produce and provider of services (exchange, industry, crafts, goods) to the individually poor farming community, it also provided highly Romanised services (baths, religious functions, tourism?) to affluent visitors and to those running or protecting the imperial estates and business – the soldiers, civil servants and freedmen so frequently attested in the epigraphic evidence from Bath.³⁰ This split might be reflected in the dual nature of the settlement evidence in Bath. There is Walcot, sensibly placed to deal with the hinterland, with its craft/industrial activities and shops: and in the centre, nearly a kilometre away, there is the almost absurdly grand spa complex, seemingly standing in isolation in the early period, but later attracting high-status building around it.

Bath and the Villas

The appearance of a plethora of villas from c.270 onwards in the country around Bath implies a major change in the way the countryside was owned and the wealth created was distributed. Following the model used in this article, the imperial estates were parceled up and sold off to aid the ailing treasury. Some farms may have been abandoned by their occupants as the sites were required for the new villas. Some were clearly rebuilt, as at Butcombe, but continued under new ownership. Camerton and Catsgore were replanned and rebuilt at this time, and villas appear to have been built on their edges as if representing the house of the new owner. Great wealth is apparent from the beginning with the establishment of great houses such as Keynsham or Box, and considerable affluence by the construction of luxurious if not always very extensive villas, such as Brislington or North Wraxall (Fig.5).

Villas tended to occupy the lower ground, although this rule is far from inflexible, and in any case, it obviously cannot hold true where the relief is generally high. Some villas seem to have been sited for the view at much as anything. The grander villas were more often on lower ground. The major exceptions to this are Combe Down, which we have seen is likely to be unusual in any case, and Atworth, but these were both

on flat, if elevated, land. Lower-status farms occurred in various spatial relationships to villas. For example, no large villa occupied the high ground north of Bath, and this was an area of many lower-status farms. Most are undated but were probably contemporary with the villa system. This may mean that certain areas (of poorer soil?) were left to the poorer farms and smaller villas. The siting of the larger villas in relation to the smaller is interesting, and may throw light on tenurial and ownership questions. These larger villas are generally located a little way from the others. In fact, if a two-kilometre-radius circle is drawn around them it will be seen that almost no smaller villas exist within the area described, and few farms. At Keynsham the Avon separates two houses otherwise quite close to each other (one grand and one not) and probably represents the boundary between separate estates. Such spacing may be explained by supposing that the larger villas had "home" estates, run directly from the villa, and that the areas outside were either separately owned or leased from the larger estate.

The creation of wealth in the area was not new, but its retention was, and this must have had effects on Bath as well as its region. Previously exported goods and produce would remain in the area, and what did go would bring wealth in exchange. Local trade, in the primary produce of the countryside and in secondary goods and services, must have increased enormously. Parts of the Walcot settlement were certainly rebuilt and extended at this time. More direct evidence perhaps comes from Julian Road, behind the Royal Crescent, where what appears to be a small but intensely used market place was established in about 300 AD on the junction of the Sea Mills road and a possible extension of the western route of the Fosse Way. There must have been a sudden increase in the demand for building workers of all kinds, including the providers of luxury interior decoration and furnishings. Building materials too, especially Bath stone, were required, and the skills to shape and carve them. The mosaic schools or workshops of Cirencester and Dorchester certainly flourished here at this time. It is obvious that there was a boom in the area. While the population of the countryside may not have grown dramatically, that of the town must have.

The town of *Aquae Sulis* came into existence for a complex mixture of reasons: its geographical position, the military / strategic importance of the area, the imperial interest, the hot springs. It continued as a spa and as a market and perhaps administrative centre (that is, within the imperial ambit). It was ready and able, in the changed circumstances of the late third and fourth centuries, to benefit from the greatly increased circulation

of wealth, common to the province, but especially apparent in this area. It flourished in a network of local and wider relationships.

It was the very complexity of the late Roman system which made it vulnerable to the empire-wide changes that swept away the imperial order during the fifth century. The whole inter-related structure of Roman town and country collapsed. This collapse was long-drawn-out and complex, and evidence of it can be seen in town and country. The society that emerged into the light of history after the Dark Ages was very different from what had gone before. The very notion of towns, and the urban civilization they represent, had vanished. Although a place called Bath (and, seemingly, its king) can be found in the shadowy pages of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the late sixth century, it would have been barely recognisable to its citizens or the inhabitants of its countryside of two hundred years before.

Notes

- 1 In the Middle Ages markets or fairs were not generally permitted closer than 10km to each other. There were more successful small towns in that period than in Roman Britain.
- 2 See I. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, 3rd ed. (London, 1973) for a general study; S. Bird, 'Fosse Way: the early military road through Bath', in *Archaeology in Bath 1976-85*, ed. P. Davenport (Oxford, 1991), pp.138-46; A.J. Keevil, 'The Fosse Way at Bath', *Proc. Somerset Archaeol. & Nat. Hist. Soc.*, Vol.133 (1989), pp.75-101.
- 3 G.A. Kellaway, 'The geomorphology of the Bath region', in *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, Vol.1., B. Cunliffe and P. Davenport (Oxford, 1985), p.4.
- 4 The route of the Bath-Sea Mills road has been shown here as going through Kelston to avoid the steep ascent and descent of Kelston Round Hill. It is possible that a line was taken directly over the hill in the conquest period, and modified later. Evidence for either route east of Swineford is slight.
- 5 *A History of Wiltshire*, Vol.1 pts 1-2, ed. R.B. Pugh and E. Crittall (Victoria Hist. of the Counties of England, London, 1957-73), esp. p.447.
- 6 Ralph Jackson, *Camerton, the Late Iron Age and Early Roman Metalwork* (London, British Museum, 1990).
- 7 W.J. Wedlake, *Excavations at Camerton, Somerset* (Bath, 1958).
- 8 W.J. Wedlake, *The Excavation of the Shrine of Apollo at Nettleton, Wiltshire* (London, Soc. of Antiquaries, 1982).
- 9 *The Temple of Sulis Minerva*, loc.cit.
- 10 Various Roman finds have been made here, of the early period, and a wall and a fragment of column actually under the church.
- 11 A.L.F. Rivet, *Town and Country in Roman Britain*, 2nd ed. (London, 1964).
- 12 W.J. Wedlake, *Excavations at Camerton*, op.cit., p.10.

- 13 Rosalind Price and Lorna Watts, 'Rescue excavations at Combe Hay, Somerset, 1968-73', *Proc. Somerset Archaeol. & Nat. Hist. Soc.*, Vol.124 (1980), pp.1-49.
- 14 Unpublished excavations by Bath Archaeological Trust, 1985-8.
- 15 R. Hanley, 'The Romano-British settlements on Lansdown, near Bath' (unpub. dissertation, Univ. of Nottingham Classical and Archaeological Studies Dept, 1985).
- 16 P.J. Fowler, 'Excavation of a Romano-British settlement at Row of Ashes Farm, Butcombe, Somerset', *Proc. Univ. Bristol Spelaol. Soc.*, Vol.11 pt 3 (1968).
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 R. Hanley, *Villages in Roman Britain* (Shire Archaeology no.49, Aylesbury, 1987).
- 19 T.S. Bush, 'Summary of the Lansdown explorations 1905-1912', *Proc. Bath & District Branch, Somerset Archaeol. & Nat. Hist. Soc.*, (1909-13), pp.246-52.
- 20 P.A. Rahtz and E. Greenfield, *Excavations at Chew Valley Lake, Somersetshire* (London, HMSO, 1977).
- 21 Personal communication from Paul Bidwell, Tyne and Wear Museum Service.
- 22 Keith Branigan, *The Roman Villa in South-West England* (Bradford-on-Avon, 1976).
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Ibid. and *A History of Wiltshire*, op.cit.
- 26 Some evidence in support of this is found in the pattern of good-quality meat consumption at Butcombe before and after the beginning of the villa system (and supposed end of the imperial estate) - see Keith Branigan, op.cit.
- 27 We know that other imperial monopolies, such as the Mendip mines, were leased out to private companies at various times.
- 28 R. Leech, *Excavations at Catsgore 1970-3, a Romano-British Village* (Bristol, 1982); P. Ellis, *Catsgore 1979: Further Excavations of the Romano-British Village* (Bristol, 1984).
- 29 Whether or not there was a fort at Bathwick, there was certainly a presence at Sea Mills guarding the crossing of the Severn and the route to the military zone of Wales (with its major centre at the fortress of Caerleon) and almost certainly at Camerton, in the first century.
- 30 R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, Vol.1 (Oxford, 1965).