Department of Archaeology



Silchester Roman Town



The Baths 2019

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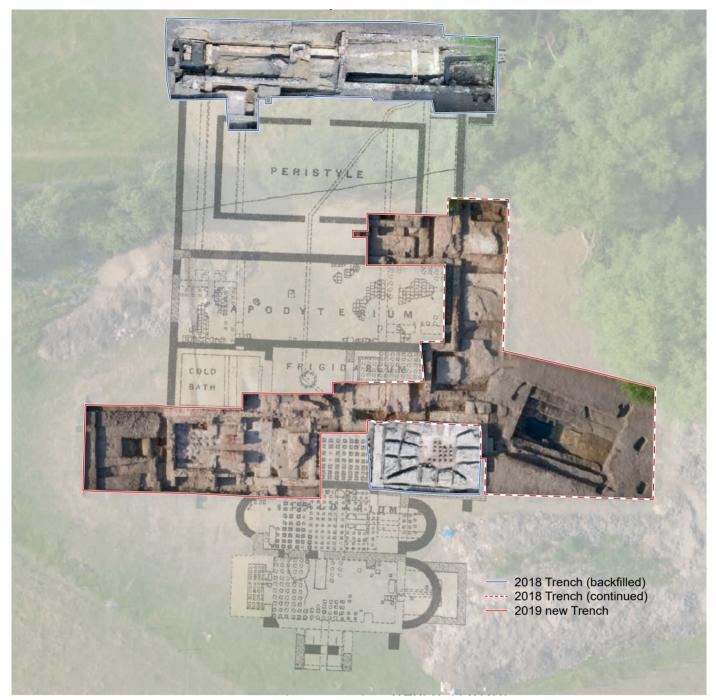


Fig. 1 Trench locations



Fig. 2 The bathhouse looking southeast



Fig. 3 Location map

The Highlights

- The Late Iron Age defensive ditch, scene of ritual deposition
- •A previously undiscovered Claudian bath building

•The Neronian baths: the first civic baths, *c*. AD 55-65, their early demolition, possibly unfinished

• New baths, about 20/25 years later, on a larger footprint

•Through the Roman period: maintaining the tradition of 'bathing', a story of abandoned hypocausts and their replacements

Setting the Scene (Figs 1-3)

We continued our excavation of the Roman public baths over four weeks in June and July 2019 with the same overall objectives as for our first season: to investigate the remains of the building itself in order to gain a better understanding of its development over time and of the changes in the types of material used in its construction; and to explore the deposits which accumulated beside the building in order to gain insight into who and how the baths might have been used over its estimated life of some four hundred years.

Two new areas of the baths were investigated: the south-east corner of the peristyle of the palaestra extending trench 2 and, on the western side, two linked hypocausted rooms (trench 4), interpreted by the original excavators as a tepidarium (warm room). This trench was also extended eastward to link with trench 3 to expose the southern half of a further hypocausted room, partly exposed in 2018, the projected course of the drain from the frigidarium (cold bath), and the foundations found at depth below the robbed-out walls of the late Roman tepidarium re-excavated in 2018. Altogether this trench

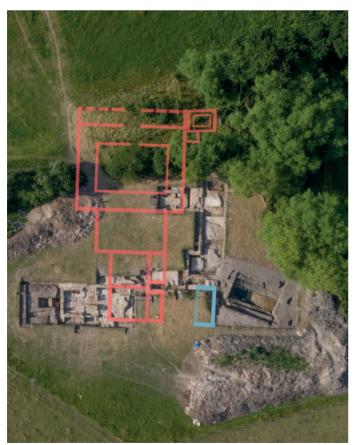


Fig. 4 Claudian building (blue) and the civic Neronian baths (red)

has given us a complete east-west transect across the middle of the building. In addition, to complement the excavation of deposits on the eastern side of the baths, this trench also included an area of external occupation to the west. Meanwhile, excavation of the deposits on the eastern side of the baths continued, including of the ditch, of the so-called 'Inner Earthwork', which is believed to have been the defensive circuit of Iron Age Calleva and here runs right beside the baths. With a predicted depth, established by coring in 2018, of over 4m from the present ground surface, this presented an enormous challenge to excavate, not least because most of its fill lay beneath the modern water table. Our expectation was that any Roman-period fills would contain rubbish discarded from the baths, but that, additionally, the waterlogged deposits would include a wide range of preserved organic materials which would complement the finds from the adjacent 'dry' deposits. Together these finds would enrich our knowledge of life in and around the baths. This did indeed prove to be the case.



Fig. 5 Potential Claudian building overlaid by later hypocaust excavated in 2018

The Baths: three successive bath buildings within 50 years

The new areas exposed this summer have given a much clearer idea of the development of the baths, *c*. AD 45-85, to the extent that we can now propose three major phases of building, representing three separate bath houses, followed by some major and many minor adjustments of the third, several of which were noted by the Society of Antiquaries in 1903-4.



Fig.6 Corner of foundation of possible Claudian building, looking west



Fig.7 Brick coursing of the possible Claudian building foundations flanked by a plank-lined channel

Claudian (?) Bath Building (Figs 5-8)

Further investigation of the 1.1m wide brick-built foundations found beneath the robbed-out north wall of the late Roman tepidarium re-excavated in 2018 revealed that they continued around the east side as well and that they were fronted by a well-preserved, plank-lined water channel. The excavation of the eastern elevation revealed six courses of brick and none of stone, a style of building not found elsewhere in any other phase of the baths complex. The bricks themselves were unusually small, averaging only 0.21m in width, similar in size to the bessalis, as used typically in the construction of pilae, and therefore distinctively different from the bricks used in the walls of the Neronian bath house. Assuming the overall plan of this structure is echoed by the footprint of the much later tepidarium, we have the foundations of a building which measures 9m by 6.4m. On the basis of what we know so far it is impossible to ascertain its function, but its location right next to the Iron Age ditch suggests two possible and contradictory interpretations: that it might have housed a water-lifting device to store water from the ditch to supply an adjacent bath building, or that it was a latrine, emptying into the ditch. Indeed, the ditch may well have been deepened for either of these purposes at this time (pp. 10-11). However, the discovery of whipworm in the basal sediments of the ditch (p. 10) would tend to favour the second interpretation.



The fact that the style of build and the size of the bricks used have not previously been recognised in the baths complex or in Silchester more widely points to an early date with the implication that this structure was standing before, and respected by, the Neronian and later phases of the baths complex. However, given that we still know so little about it, it is probably premature to think of it as part of a very early civic, as opposed to private bath building. Its place at the beginning of the sequence of building points to it being of an early, probable Claudian date, making it the earliest known masonry building from the Roman town. Strictly, however, we have no independent dating evidence for it, other than its construction would have required the removal of part of the rampart of the Iron Age defensive 'Inner Earthwork'. Whatever purpose and whatever community within the town this structure served, it remained in existence as an integral part of the later civic baths until the fourth century when it was demolished down to its foundations and replaced by a tepidarium.



Fig.9 Pink wall plaster on the inside face of a robbed-out room from the Neronian phase

The civic baths of Nero (AD 54-68) (Figs 4, 9-14)

The exclusive use of materials from the Neronian brick and tile works at Little London, Pamber, just to the south of the Roman town, in the first phase of the frontage of the baths as re-excavated in 2018, and the skewed orientation of the building in relation to the later street grid are powerful proxies for a Neronian date for the first phase of what we perceive as the first public baths of the town. The opening of the three new areas in 2019 the south-east corner of the palaestra, the pair of tepidaria on the west side and the partially revealed tepidarium on the east side - has revealed elements of the foundations of an early phase of monumental bath building which can be tied into the first phase of the frontage as revealed in 2018. Prior to construction the ground was made up and consolidated with dumps of roughly shaped blocks of Greensand observed on the eastern side next to the Iron Age ditch to a depth of at least a metre.



Fig.10 Impressions of opus spicatum flooring laid as opus signinum within Neronian

Although, owing to its subsequent demolition, we cannot be certain whether it was completed, there are several indications to suggest that this was the case. Traces of fine wall plaster remained on the inside face of the robbed-out walls of the room on the east side which was subsequently extended and rebuilt with a hypocaust in the third phase, while the adjacent room to the west had been floored with opus spicatum (bricks laid herringbone fashion). A few remains were also discovered of the treatment of other floors, particularly of the ambulatory of the palaestra, which was dominated by tesserae of hard white chalk, but with some of black Kimmeridgian stone as well. The floor arrangement there also included ceramic hexagonal tiles. Almost none of the tesserae survived in situ, the great majority having been scraped up by the early excavators and dumped in the backfill of one of their exploratory trenches. Hard white chalk tesserae, sometime still mortared together in small clumps, were also found close to the surviving floor surface of the room with the opus spicatum floor and its neighbour.



Fig.11 Tesserae of hard white chalk from Neronian phase floor surfaces

Although we do not even yet know how far these baths extended south, it seems from the state of the frontage, the plaster on the walls and the floor surfaces which have been partly exposed as far as the south wall of the Frigidarium of the Society of Antiquaries' plan that the Neronian baths were probably completed before they were demolished. It is likely that the heated rooms which were located to east and west of the space the Antiquaries' termed the Apodyterium also belonged to the Neronian baths. These hypocausted rooms were abandoned as such, the stacks of pilae truncated, the spaces in between filled in and then tiled over in the third phase.

Demolition of the Neronian baths was extensive, but not comprehensive. As revealed in trenches 2 and 4, the metrewide outer walls were taken down to foundation level, but the front elevation and latrine block and part of the south wall of the palaestra were retained and extended as part of a new and larger bath house.



Fig.12 Demolished Neronian phase walls (highlighted) covered by later rebuilds

What prompted this very significant change of heart? The construction or part-construction of a civic baths building would have been a very expensive project and in 2018 we saw how materials, such as the well-shaped Greensand blocks, were brought in large quantities from relatively distant sources, probably from the western Weald, in preference to the much more locally available flint, though this was also used in the first phase, notably in the latrine block. Then to demolish whatever had been completed and build again on a larger footprint required more than just the same level of investment as before. We can only speculate as to the reasons. For example, if the project was commenced in the early part of Nero's reign, was it interrupted by the Boudican rebellion of AD 60/1 and then suspended in its aftermath as other more pressing needs were addressed? Or, if its construction was to promote renewed confidence in the province after the rebellion, was work curtailed by Nero's death and the confusion of the civil war of AD 68-9? How then would this building, we assume unfinished, weather several years of neglect before work could be re-started? Perhaps its condition required a new start? Given its low-lying position within the town, it may have suffered damage from flooding. Indeed, the new project took the opportunity to raise floor levels by about 0.5m.



Fig.13 The Neronian palaestra wall (highlighted) is demolished as the baths expand to the east . A tegulae-covered drain is built later to channel water to the outside

A possible parallel

On the other side of the client kingdom of Cogidubnus, just outside Chichester in West Sussex, there is a parallel with the 'proto-palace' at Fishbourne, which was started in Nero's reign but then abandoned, perhaps also unfinished, demolished and replaced by a much larger and more impressive building, the Flavian 'palace'. A further connection between the baths at Silchester and the 'proto-palace' is their shared use of the same building material, Greensand, also in well-shaped blocks. We are no clearer as to the reasons for the radical changes put in place at Fishbourne, but the shared history of the two projects suggests a common explanation.

The New Build: the Flavian (?) Baths (Figs 14-15)

Keeping the same orientation as its largely demolished predecessor, a larger bath building was constructed in the later first century. Its plan, when later modifications are stripped out, is more or less that of the building described and published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1905. If we take the extension to the facade as a guide to the scale of the new build, it represents a substantial, 27 per cent addition to the footprint of the original building. What the 2019 season revealed of this build was the newly extended south-east corner of the palaestra, a large hypocaust on the west side of the building and a further hypocaust on the east side. The width of the western heated room was substantially reduced at its western end where the furnace (praefurnium) was located. This suggests the possibility that, in combination with the mass of the furnace, the foundations would have been capable of supporting a hot pool above.

The style of construction largely replicates that of the Neronian build with the principal walls comprising courses of Greensand blocks, presumably including re-used material from the demolished structure, alternating with courses of brick. These were no longer in the distinctive Little London fabric, but were made from the London Clay Formation fabric, whose typically red-fired bricks dominate consumption at Silchester from the Flavian period onwards. However, flint, with brick quoining, was the sole material used in

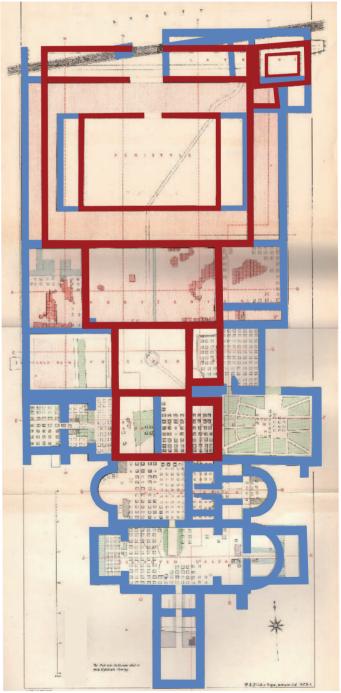


Fig.14 Expansion of the baths from the Neronian (red) to the Flavian and beyond



Fig.15 Greensand and brick coursing within the Flavian walls

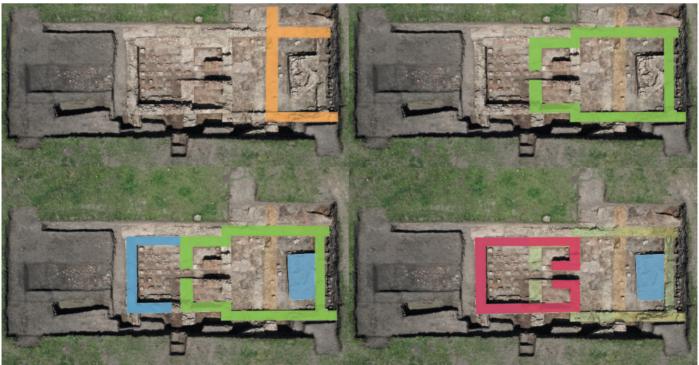
the construction of the inner wall of the ambulatory around the palaestra. Where the footprint of the tepidarium extended beyond the foundations of the west wall of the Neronian baths, its foundations were of flint nodules rather than Greensand.

The only flooring which can be linked to the Flavian baths is next to and on the north side of the western heated room described above, in the part described by the Antiquaries as the Frigidarium. Here the floor level was raised over the Neronian opus spicatum and a new surface of opus signinum with a hard and highly polished, marbled appearance was laid. This in turn was overlaid by coarser, opus signinum, whose finished surface did not survive.

When were the new baths built? As yet we have no independent dating evidence, but the larger footprint of the new baths required adjustment in respect of the small latrine block which had been a separate build in the first phase. Now a major alteration was made on the east side of the entrance to the baths with a substantial enlargement of the latrines. The course of the outer, north wall of the new latrine block was built to accommodate the new east-west street resulting in the creation of a space trapezoidal in plan. This suggests that the new build was later than the setting out of Calleva's Roman street grid. Although we do not know by how much, it seems probable that the two were close together – the rebuild/re-commissioning of the baths was surely a top priority for the town and a Flavian date, from about the mid-80s, seems most likely.

Change over time (Figs 16-21)

Within the part of the baths excavated in 2019 the most substantial change to be recognised was the alteration and then abandonment of the tepidarium on the west side of the building and its replacement by a smaller successor in the late third or fourth century. The alteration involved the construction of a rectangular mass of masonry, measuring 3.4 by 2m and built mainly of flint and re-used ceramic building material close up to the east wall of the tepidarium. This construction was built over truncated pilae, effectively reducing the space which could be warmed by 6.8m², some 20 per cent of the original surface area. It is impossible to know the purpose of this masonry,



.4. Fig.16 The development of the tepidaria within Trench Yellow: Neronian. Green: Flavian expansion. Blue: Subsequent expansion and installation of structural base. Red: Late Roman tepidarium

except that it could have supported a considerable weight, either, perhaps, a pool of water or a statue or group of statues.



Fig.17 Later addition into tepidarium of a large rectangular structure

The replacement involved the addition of a brick- and flint-built extension (5.8m by 3.4m) which was butted on to the western end of the original tepidarium. This appears to have initially been fired through the south wall, but, if this interpretation of the blocked aperture through the wall is correct, it was later heated by a new, brick-built furnace (praefurnium) which replaced the one which heated the original tepidarium, but, in this new context, was oriented to be fired from the east. How the rest of the abandoned hypocaust was then used is unclear, but it is likely that, when account is taken of the space needed to work the furnace and accommodate a supply of fuel, the great majority, if not the entirety of the floor and its associated, supporting pilae were removed at this time. The construction of this new tepidarium would have

impacted on the circulation of clients within the baths: it is unclear how it was accessed from the rest of the building and how its users could move to and from either the caldarium to the south or the frigidarium to the north. Indeed, how long the new tepidarium remained in use also remains uncertain as its west wall was built over a backfilled ditch, probably a conduit, on a parallel, northsouth alignment designed to take part of the water supply to the baths. A notable find in the fill of the conduit was a short length of column, 0.25m in diameter and of Bibury (Glos) limestone, possibly derived from the peristyle of the Neronian palaestra. Attempts to address the gradual subsidence of the tepidarium were evidenced by the building of buttresses on the south side and at the south-west corner. A new V-profiled cut was made on a north-south alignment presumably to provide a replacement conduit, if that was the purpose of its predecessor, immediately to its west. At the base of this ditch was found a single wooden pile of *c*.o.25m diameter, probably a continuation of the alignment of piles recorded by antiquarian excavators to the west of the baths.

There seem to have been continuous problems of maintaining hypocausted spaces in the Silchester baths, but the fact of their successive replacement demonstrates their importance to their users. The early excavators had reported that the two hypocausted rooms to west and east of the entrance from the palaestra into the



Fig.18 Trench 4 showing antiquarian trenches and a section of collapsed wall



Fig.19 Switched orientation of the furnace as the tepidarium is redeveloped

baths proper had been filled in and the floors tiled over, probably, we have suggested above, when the Flavian baths were built. In addition to the abandonment of the tepidarium just described, it is clear that the building of the composite hypocaust which was re-excavated in 2018 made the firing of the eastern hypocaust partly uncovered in 2019 impossible. What happened to that space after it was abandoned as a hypocaust it is now not possible to say, since any later flooring, if it ever existed, was removed by the early excavators. The building of the composite hypocaust involved the demolition of the Claudian structure, the backfill of the robbing trench containing fourth century pottery and coins. The latest coin of AD 388+ gives a terminus post quem for the construction of the hypocaust.

Other changes that were noted in 2019 included the construction of a drain along the north face of the south wall of the peristyle of the palaestra which cut through the floor and make up for the Neronian baths and led out through the east wall. It was covered over with a continuous row of complete tegulae. Filled with soil, it was probably originally plank-lined, the wood long since decayed. A long section of the east wall of the baths was re-built in the late third or fourth century using or reusing tegulae in the Minety (Wilts.) fabric in the tile coursing.

Outside the building (Fig 22)

The new area opened on the west side of the building has already been mentioned in the context of the development of the adjacent hypocausts. Here excavation was largely limited to that of antiquarian trenches and to the cleaning of the latest Roman surface. This revealed the remains of a narrow section of collapsed wall, part of the west wall of the baths, but truncated on its north side by an east-west-aligned antiquarian trench. In addition, a new 2m wide trench, also eastwest aligned, was excavated to explore the underlying stratigraphy and revealed the V-profiled ditches discussed above (p. 7)



Fig.20 Ditches flanking west wall of the baths. Column drum visible to the right



Fig. 21 Tegulae-covered drain along the north face of the south wall of the peristyle

A very small area excavated during the exposure of the south wall of the adjacent hypocausts revealed traces of pilae stacks suggesting the possibility of a previous, unrecognized phase of the baths, one which might be connected with the brickbuilt structure to the east and of probable Claudian date.

Excavation continued of the deposits which flanked the east wall of the baths. These comprised alternating spreads of mortar and make up which dipped eastwards towards the edge of the 'Inner Earthwork' ditch. These were cut by successive shallow drains running at right angles from the east wall as well as by the deep robbing of the brick-built structure of probable Claudian date to the south (p. 8). The robber trench was filled with large quantities of broken brick and tile and domestic rubbish.



Fig. 22 Mortar surfaces and drains on the western exterior of the baths, looking

Antiquarian excavations (Figs 13 and 18)

The Antiquaries' methodology within the baths was to excavate down to the latest surviving and usually mortared floor surfaces. Exceptions to this were found in trench 2 which explored the southeast corner of the palaestra. Here the excavators removed the material within the ambulatory which had been used to raise the levels associated with the Flavian building down to what remained of the flooring of the Neronian baths, also revealing the tegula capping of the later drain. This work also revealed the broad foundation of the east wall of the Neronian baths which was further defined by narrow antiquarian trenches on each side. A still deeper cut, which was made in 1903-4 to investigate whether the foundations of the north-south-aligned wall, which we now see as the inner, east wall of the Neronian peristyle, continued any further south, had a negative result.

Antiquarian trenching on an east-west orientation was identified in the open area of trench 4 to the west of the late Roman hypocaust. Its east-west orientation, parallel with the Roman streets, associates it with the methodology of Joyce rather than the Antiquaries' whose trial trenching cut diagonally across the insulae, as observed in trench 3 in 2018.

The Iron Age 'Inner Earthwork' Ditch (Figs 23-26)

A major achievement of the season was the completion of the excavation of a section of the Iron Age defensive ditch (the Inner Earthwork) which was bottomed at 4.8m below the present ground surface. As expected, this was filled between the mid-first and the fourth century with successive deposits of building materials and other rubbish from the baths; what was not expected was that Roman-period finds dated the primary fills.

Finds of organic material, including pointed, wooden stakes, leather offcuts and plant remains indicating permanent waterlogging, occurred from a depth of 1.6m. To ensure safe excavation the width of the section was gradually reduced with depth from an initial 7m at the base of the ploughsoil. By the time the bottom was reached, the trench was only 0.4m wide.

Although a considerable amount of work remains to be done on the analysis of the finds throughout the fill of the ditch, some important items from the primary fills deserve immediate comment. First, a human skull, complete except for the mandible, of an adult male aged 25-35, was found at a depth of 2.4m immediately above a tri-



Fig. 23 Ditch slot looking northwest

angular or V-shaped stretcher-like object, 1.35m long with a maximum width of 0.72m. It was made of roughly cut, 5-7-year-old roundwood woven together with numerous 3-5-year-old rod-like pieces of roundwood. Between these were long, flexible pieces of 1-2 year old brushwood. The wood species used include oak and willow/poplar. Second, at a slightly lower depth, and therefore associated with an earlier deposit, were three dog skulls and the mandible of a fourth, all close together suggesting that they had been deposited at the same time. There was no trace of any post-cranial remains. Associated pottery is of Claudio-Neronian date, c. AD 40-60. In her continuing research on the pollen sequence from the ditch Dr Petra Dark has identified the eggs of the parasite Trichuris trichiura (human whipworm) in the basal sediments.



Fig. 24 Human skull sat upon a woven roundwood stretcher-like object

These finds and their date raise many questions. First, we need to consider the nature of the deposit of the human and dog skulls, where it is hard to escape a ritual explanation, albeit not knowing how localised this behaviour was. Are these isolated, chance finds, or do they occur more widely in the primary fills of the ditch? Interestingly, an excavation by George Boon¹ across this ditch in the north-east sector of the town in the 1950s also produced a fragment of a human cranium from the lower fills. Second, there is the question of date, where we have to bear in mind the possibility that finds of post-conquest material resulted from a localised, early Roman cleaning out of the ditch to provide a source of water for the first phase of the baths. Indeed, the ditch is more than a metre deeper than has been recorded elsewhere. However, George Boon also found Claudio-Neronian pottery in the primary fills in all three locations - the northwest, north-east and south, where he was able to excavate what he considered to be complete sections of the ditch. In dating this defence, greater weight has hitherto been attached to the date of the pottery found beneath the truncated rampart of the Inner Earthwork on its southern side than to that of the finds from the primary fills of the ditch, as the latter are clearly later than the cutting of the ditch and the raising of the rampart. While the pottery from beneath the rampart indicates that it was constructed after c. 10 BC, we cannot, of course, be certain how much later, but it is unlikely to be as much as about 50 years and of the same date as the pottery from the primary fills of the ditch. This suggests we might think of an initial construction in the late Iron Age, around the turn of the first century BC and first century AD, coinciding with the



Fig.25 Dog skulls within lower fills of the ditch



Fig.26 Digging the ditch

emergence of Calleva as a major political centre, but with a secondary phase involving the re-cutting of the ditch and presumed refurbishment of the rampart around the time of the Roman conquest. Given the length of the circuit, 1.4 miles (2.25 km), this would have been a major undertaking. Iron Age coins with the legend 'Cara' are interpreted as issues of Caratacus, the legendary leader of resistance against Rome², and, though few in number, their distribution clusters around Calleva, suggesting that is where they were minted. It is very tempting then to associate the re-cutting of the Inner Earthwork ditch with a re-defence of the town by Caratacus in the face of the advancing Roman army at the time of the Roman conquest of AD 43. Although there are no signs of trauma to our skull, it is not implausible to suppose it was from a victim of the Roman assault on Calleva in AD 43-4, though deposited a few years later when the ditch was deepened to serve the first bath building.

¹Excavated at Silchester 1955-8, author of *Silchester: The Roman Town of Calleva* (1974).

²Continued resistance to AD 51 when he was defeated in battle and then betrayed by another British leader, Cartimandua and handed over to Rome.

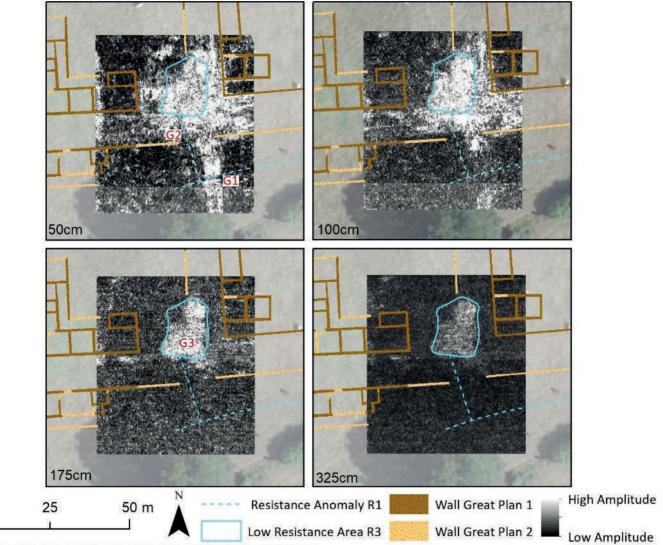
Geophysics (Figs 27-8)

The geophysical survey at Silchester focussed on land at the road junction of Insulae XXXIIIa, XXXIV, XXXV, and VI, to land north-west of the bathhouse excavation. Ground penetrating radar (GPR) and earth resistance surveys were undertaken across the site to investigate the possible traces of underground conduits here, first detected as a negative magnetic anomaly in 2005 (Creighton & Fry, 2016, 138-139), and further highlighted by GPR in 2018 (Fulford et al. 2019, 9). The previous surveys had detected a linear feature leading from the bath house to the road junction, however it was uncertain how far it extended further.



Fig 27 Earth resistance data and interim interpretation

The 2019 earth resistance survey (Fig. 27) was conducted along the extant fence line of the field just north of the bathhouse excavation, which was able to confirm the existence of a (low resistance) linear anomaly, orientated parallel to the east-west Roman road at the northern edge of Insula XXXIIIa [R1] (the linear anomaly previously identified in the magnetic and GPR surveys mentioned above). Interestingly however, at the road junction between Insulae, the low resistance anomaly appeared to cut through the road heading south from the crossing [R2], from where the anomaly then splits into two sections, one continuing in a straight line west, possibly towards a large water tank located within the House 1 complex at Insula XXXV (St John Hope, 1908, 204), and another, heading perpendicular at a north-north-west orientation, cutting through the east-west road, and into a large (approx. 14m x 10m) low resistance rectangular anomaly [R3]. The GPR survey (Fig. 28) targeted at the crossroads, was positioned to attempt to gain a better understanding of these resistance anomalies. The GPR depth slices verified the suggestion that the linear anomaly was cutting through the roads, as gaps in the roads are apparent at depths of 0.25-0.70m bgl [G1, G2], exactly in line with the linear resistance anomaly. The 'rectangular' anomaly within the resistance dataset is also identified within the GPR data as a high amplitude anomaly [G3], however, at shallower depths (<1.75mbgl) it is relatively undefined from the metaling of the crossroad itself. At levels beneath the road however, the anomaly is still clearly detected within the GPR data (even at >3m bgl) suggesting that this feature might be a candidate for a possible lined pond or water storage tank, supplying the bathhouse.



Depths provided are below ground level, and are an approximate guide only.

0

Fig 28 GPR data over the low resistance 'R3' anomaly

Creighton, J. and Fry, R. 2016. *Silchester: Changing Visions of a Roman Town*. Britannia Monograph. 28. Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, London

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