

English Heritage Extensive Urban Survey

An archaeological assessment of

Glastonbury

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SOMERSET EXTENSIVE URBAN SURVEY

GLASTONBURY

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT

by Clare Gathercole

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SOMERSET EXTENSIVE URBAN SURVEY

GLASTONBURY

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT

Somerset County Council would like to thank all the people who assisted in the compiling or editing of this report.

I. INTRODUCTION

This report forms one of a series commissioned by English Heritage and prepared by Somerset County Council with the aim of assessing urban archaeology as part of the Monuments Protection Programme. The work was carried out from 1994 to 1998 by Clare Gathercole and Miranda Richardson (from 1996), managed by Chris Webster. The reports are essentially as completed during that period but have been updated by Chris Webster with new archaeological information in 2003.

English Heritage has funded two programmes assess the urban archaeological resource - intensive and extensive. The former is restricted to the major historic cities, characterised by a great depth of archaeological remains, a wealth of historical documentation and in many cases, by a great deal of archaeological investigation. The extensive urban surveys cover the smaller towns and are based on information in the local Sites and Monuments Record with limited amounts of new information collected during the project. Once the information has been collected and mapped, attention is focused on the analysis of the town plan and defining topographic units within the town. This will lead to the preparation of guidance for planners, developers and others involved in the management of the town.

II. MAJOR SOURCES

1. Primary documents

Glastonbury is exceptionally well-documented. Though most material relates to the medieval and later periods, more than ninety pre-Conquest charters have been identified, the oldest probably 7th century. Much was lost in the great fire of 1184, and, like Glastonbury's chronicles and the saints' lives (many of which were produced at the medieval Abbots' behest), the surviving charters are not wholly reliable sources. But the earliest of the medieval Abbey's chroniclers, William of Malmesbury, was perhaps the most careful; his work, *De Antiquitate Ecclesiae Glastonie*, which was written in the early 12th century, is a valuable historical source, if read carefully.

As well as national and local taxation and governmental records, Glastonbury has an abundance of documentary material, including cartularies, rentals and surveys. Much of this has still not

been fully digested by historians, but some details are given in Dunning's history of Glastonbury (1994).

Glastonbury was much visited in the post-medieval period and a number of travellers' descriptions exist.

2. Local histories

Historical studies of Glastonbury abound, though there is as yet no VCH coverage. Amongst the more recent studies of the town of Glastonbury are those by Rahtz (1993) and Dunning (1994), on both of which this report leans heavily.

3. Maps

The earliest detailed map of part of Glastonbury is dated c1609, though the earliest map showing the whole town in any detail is much later, being dated c1778. A number of post-medieval illustrations of the town also exist, notably those made by Hollar in the later 17th century.

III. A BRIEF HISTORY OF GLASTONBURY

Glastonbury stands on a peninsula which protrudes westward into the Somerset Levels. The peninsula, dominated by the hard-sandstone capped Tor, has for millennia formed a prominent landmark, an apparent island in the often flooded lowlands (though a natural causeway in fact links it with the Mendip uplands to the east). Enough raised limestone, marl and clay beds surround the Tor to form a shelf suitable for occupation, cultivation and quarrying, whilst the Levels below have provided a range of natural resources varying with sea and rainfall levels.

The Brue Valley, which runs to the south of Glastonbury, separating it from Street, and north-west into the Levels, has in the last 150 years been the scene of archaeological discoveries of international importance. The Prehistoric trackways and 'lake settlements' are the remains of thousands of years of exploitation of a wetland environment which has only gradually been domesticated. These remains have been preserved by the alluvial and peat deposits created by the endemic flooding which brought each individual episode of activity to an end. The same deposits are responsible for the potential richness of the land around Glastonbury, and therefore in part for the huge effort that its historic rulers have put into maintaining drainage and controlling sea floods. However, the area has always been, and remains, liable to flooding, with the peninsula of Glastonbury providing a constant focus, always accessible by water, and a less constant refuge, the lower reaches (including the town) having been flooded many times.

There is curiously little firm archaeological evidence (though many beliefs) relating to the role of the peninsula of Glastonbury, and the Tor itself, in the Prehistoric landscapes.

Evidence of a Roman presence at Glastonbury is also fragmentary at present, but coins and the remains of glass, tiles and building materials found in the Abbey area imply that an establishment of some kind existed near there. It has been suggested that at least one of the wells in the Abbey - that in the crypt of the Lady Chapel - may be of Roman date, and that, in a similar process to that seen at Wells, an early sacred place venerated in the Roman period (and perhaps earlier) may

have formed the nucleus of later churches (Rahtz, 1993). Other finds of building materials on Wearyall Hill may represent activity along the Roman road, as it is thought that the southern causeway onto the peninsula, the Street, may have been established in this period. However, much work remains to be done before the Roman period at Glastonbury can be understood.

The legends of Glastonbury suggest that it was an important place in the shadowy years between the collapse of imperial government in Britain and the establishment of Anglo-Saxon power in the west. Glastonbury's associations with post-Roman British resistance to the Anglo-Saxon expansion - and in particular with Arthur - may have been exaggerated by the medieval monks, but are not necessarily wholly without foundation. High status dark age occupation on the Tor, perhaps a chieftain's stronghold (though perhaps a monastic site), has been confirmed by archaeological excavations.

It is also possible that the traditions of a British origin for the Abbey may be based in truth, though this remains more problematical. The first reliable charters for the estates of the Abbey, the driving force of Glastonbury's medieval history, are late 7th century, and there is no *proof* - archaeological or documentary - that the Abbey existed before this. However, an earlier charter of 601, though not considered authentic in its present form, may record an actual grant of land by an unnamed British king of Dumnonia to the Old Church (Bond, c1990). The Saxon charters also show that some (though not the earliest recorded) of the early Abbots had British names, which may support the idea of an existing British tradition, later taken over by the Saxons (Rahtz, 1993), as may the close links between Glastonbury and Ireland.

The interest of the Irish in Glastonbury is recorded in Irish documents (Thomas, 1994). The association with the Irish church was potently expressed in the later Saxon belief that the Abbey had been founded by Patrick, and that it held the remains or relics of a number of saints of the Celtic church; it may also have been expressed in the form of the Abbey and outlying monastic sites in the 7th and 8th centuries. Glastonbury was certainly on the cross-peninsular pilgrim route heading for the Continent, by the later Saxon period, by which time there must have been some kind of settlement servicing the pilgrims. In fact a named settlement is first referred to in charters also of the late 7th and the early 8th century, the name appearing as *Glestingaburg*. The 'burg' element is Anglo-Saxon and could refer either to a fortified place or, more likely, a monastic enclosure; the 'Glestinga' element is obscure, and may derive from a British word or from a Saxon personal name.

Even by the 9th century, the settlement would have been dominated by Abbey, which had a 'special relationship' with the Wessex dynasty (Abrams, 1996). However, there is an indication of the effect that the unsettled years of the Danish incursions had on the Abbey's growth in the fact that Alfred the Great apparently granted it no land at all. Whilst a small number of 9th and early 10th century charters nevertheless indicate the continued existence of some kind of community at Glastonbury (Abrams, 1996), it is possible that it was weakened by the appropriation of many of its lands by the king to reward his men (Costen, 1992), and it may itself have been attacked during the wars (though this is not certain). William of Malmesbury indeed states that Glastonbury was without monks from Alfred's time until the mid 10th century. Whilst the church would probably have continued to function, served by clerks like other minsters, it

would have been a far cry from the rich royal monastery of the previous century.

In this context, Dunstan's reform and virtual refoundation of the monastery as a Benedictine house in the mid 10th century was a true renaissance. He expanded and remodelled the Abbey and one must also assume that he presided over an expansion of Abbey lands to support the building programme, perhaps a recovery of lands lost in the 9th century. Following Dunstan, Glastonbury continued to ride the crest of a wave: witangemots were held there, Kings Edmund (946), Edgar (975) and Edmund Ironside (1016) were buried there; and for a short time the English treasury was held at Glastonbury. The Abbey became "one of the richest, and at times *the* richest, of all the great Benedictine houses in England" (Rahtz, 1993), and its special jurisdiction over the Twelve Hides became established.

There must have been a sizeable settlement serving the Abbey by Domesday, but there is no evidence that it was in any sense urban: there was no mint, and no town was recorded at Domesday. As already stated, the pilgrim trade must have been a major driving force for the settlement. Certainly by the late 10th or early 11th century, several saints (including both Aidan and Patrick) were already popularly believed to lie at Glastonbury and "lives" of famous figures associated with Glastonbury (especially Dunstan himself) were already circulating.

The extent of the lands granted to Glastonbury between the mid 10th and the mid 11th century reflects the importance of the place not only to the populace but also to the English aristocracy. The Domesday Book reveals Glastonbury Abbey to have been the wealthiest in England in the second half of the 11th century, even though the Conquest had disrupted its economic, and its spiritual, life. Perhaps because it was such a Saxon power base, the first Norman Abbot (Turstin, appointed 1082) came in determined to bend the monks to his will, and was not averse to the use of force. He began a new church which was never completed, and his successor, Herlewin, began an even larger one. Just as significantly for the town, Herlewin and Turstin also extensively remodelled the precinct boundary, laying the foundations of a new stage in Glastonbury's development.

The 12th century brought both successes and misfortunes to the Abbey and its settlement. Herlewin's church was completed in the 12th century by Henri de Blois, an aristocrat and an extremely able man. During his term he sorted out the Abbey's finances, and refurbished, improved and extended its buildings and territory. He was also the patron of William of Malmesbury, who wrote his "De Antiquitate..." in the first half of the 12th century (to prove that Glastonbury was more venerable than Westminster). This work, the original text of which does not survive, was manipulated and "improved" in the later 12th century by other Abbey chroniclers, the most important being Adam of Domerham (to 1291) and John of Glastonbury (to the end of the 15th century), and their forgeries have shaped the popularly perceived history of the town.

Part of the reason for the treatment of William's work was the huge and long-lasting financial crisis provoked by the serious fire which took place in 1184, not long after the death of Henri de Blois. This destroyed the Old Church and many books, vestments and relics which had been accumulated. Glastonbury was therefore bereft of some of its greatest "tourist attractions" just

as it needed the income in order to rebuild. Henry II was very supportive of the Abbey but at the time of his death, in 1189, its future must have looked very uncertain. It is in this context that the monks' 1191 exhumation of "Arthur" took place. This 'coup' proved to be a mixed blessing as the Abbot responsible (Henry de Soilly) was quickly promoted to a bishopric and left. His successor, Savaric, who was also bishop of Bath, attempted, sometimes brutally, to subordinate Glastonbury to Bath. The Pope had to intervene, undoing the union of Bath and Glastonbury, and ushering in a period of intense rivalry for the control of the resources of the Levels, leading to lawsuits and physical attacks.

Up to this point, the growth of the medieval settlement had been inhibited by the proximity of Wells and the degree of control exercised by the Abbots (Dunning, 1994). After the fire, in an attempt to foster the revenues, the new precinct was slightly adjusted to form the nucleus of a new medieval town. This, the *Nova Villa* referred to in documents of 1260, was gradually laid out in the late 12th and 13th centuries, probably across the old settlement: archaeology is building up a picture of wholesale reorganisation in the town at this time.

The mid 13th to the 15th centuries were comparatively settled times for the Abbey and the town. The Abbey's buildings and estates continued to expand, as did the legendary associations (such as that between Glastonbury and Joseph of Arimathea), which were vigorously promoted. The town rode on the back of the Abbey's success, attracting many visitors, some of whom left descriptions. These visitors included William of Worcester, who came in 1478 and 1480, and gives much useful information on locations and dimensions of buildings and streets. The town did not entirely depend on the Abbey: the wool trade was also important to it. But the Abbots maintained control of their town, which did not become a free borough; a request to send MPs to Westminster in 1319 was ignored and was not repeated.

One of the latest Abbots, Richard Bere (1494-1525), is also regarded as having been one of the greatest since Dunstan, and a number of his buildings still survive in town. The last Abbot, however, was Richard Whiting (1525-1539), who presided during the Dissolution. Though the Abbey, valued in 1535 as the richest in the land, survived longer than any other Somerset Abbey, its final closure was particularly traumatic. Whiting, then in his 70s, was hanged, beheaded and quartered on the Tor for alleged "robbery" (that is, concealing the Abbey's treasure, which he probably did). The shocked and demoralised monks were pensioned off and a long chapter in Glastonbury's history drew to a close.

One of the earliest post-medieval accounts of Glastonbury is that of Leland, who had actually been entertained by Abbot Whiting when he visited the town in 1533. It was after his second visit, in 1542, however, that Leland wrote his description of the route in across the marsh and the town's layout, market and churches: he did not even mention the Abbey, which was by then closed and being dismantled. The loss of business, status and confidence caused by the Abbey's closure could have crippled the town, and there was some concern amongst the major landlords. An attempt to revivify the economy took place under Edward, though the plantation of a large community of Walloon weavers in the precinct failed on the accession of Mary. An attempt in 1554 to make Glastonbury the county town of Somerset also failed, and in the later 16th century the town experienced intermittent difficulties. A 1598 crown survey of the manor showed some

urban decay, but, significantly, also showed that the inns continued to flourish, for Glastonbury was still in a good location.

Other travellers' accounts - of which there are a good number, including those of Brereton, Savage, Fiennes, Defoe and Stukeley - show that the town continued in reasonably good repair and survived as a communications and local market centre in the 16th to 18th centuries, though the economy was never buoyant, and the Abbey itself was virtually left to rot. Sir William Brereton visited in 1635, and described the town as good and fair, mentioning the precinct wall, the "dainty" market house and the surrounding lands. But by the 1640s, though Glastonbury was still considered one of the "great towns", it was not keeping up with places like Bridgwater and Wells, and its reputation suffered. It was plundered in 1645 by Parliamentary troops on the retreat, and the precinct was used as a campsite by Monmouth's forces in 1685. In the late 17th century Celia Fiennes described the Abbey as "now a ragged poor place" and in the early 18th Stukeley described the awful state of the old Abbey, and the sales of fine stone which he observed. The post-medieval accounts and other documents also show that flooding was still a serious, if occasional, problem.

Despite these problems, the potential for growth was still there. Notwithstanding the failure of the Walloon weavers, clothiers are consistently recorded in the 17th century. The charter of incorporation received in 1705 was perceived as a major boost to the town and Peter King, the first Recorder for the town under its terms, and afterwards Lord High Chancellor of England, was a great local celebrity. The cloth trade and the market continued for a while to grow, though competition from Somerton was a problem in the mid 18th century. The early drainage and enclosure of Common Moor (the 1722 act was the first Parliamentary enclosure Act in Somerset) and the establishment of a small spa (in the 1750s) gave the town an edge for a while, though it was short-lived.

In common with many towns in Somerset, Glastonbury's woollen trade failed in the late 18th century, though the recent agricultural and communications improvements (the enclosures and the turnpikes) buffered the economy to some extent. The town emerged from the Municipal Reform process with a confirmed and amended charter of incorporation, and the mid 19th century saw concerted efforts to boost the economy. Ambitions were concentrated on further enclosure and improvement of the infrastructure. The success of the Brue Drainage (which followed another great flood of 1794) and the early canals prompted a project to connect Glastonbury to the canal network. The opening of the Glastonbury Canal did indeed cause an upturn in trade, especially in the building trade. But the canal soon had drainage problems and the Company almost collapsed, causing a great furore in the town and the suicide of one of the shareholders, who jumped from St John's tower.

The dramatic failure of the canal depressed the economy. In 1848 many houses in the town were empty, and rentals had collapsed. But in that year the Canal Company sold out to the railways. The Somerset Central opened its Highbridge to Glastonbury line in 1852, the line running parallel to the Canal, which had been used to facilitate its construction and was shortly closed despite undertakings to keep it open. Further lines linked Glastonbury to Wells and Blandford by the mid 1860s. Some commercial growth in the sheepskin and footwear industries took place,

largely in Northover and connected to the growth of Street. Moreover, the rise of antiquarianism and the improvement in communications led in the 19th century, and has done so even more in the 20th, to an increase in tourism. Indeed, though there was no dramatic expansion in Glastonbury as a result of the initiatives of the 19th century, the resident population has been rising steadily since 1801, except for minor hiccups in the 1840s and the 1890s.

IV. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF GLASTONBURY

GENERAL COMMENTS

0.1 Archaeological work in the town

A summary of the excavations which have taken place in Glastonbury is given in the table on p68.

There has been a relatively large amount of archaeological work in and around the town - relative to other towns in Somerset, that is - though the bulk of it has until comparatively recently concentrated on a few important sites including the Tor, Beckery, the Mound and, of course, the Abbey. Though it was heavily quarried in the post-medieval period, the Abbey was largely protected from disturbance - including that by antiquaries - in the 19th century. However, in 1907 it was sold to the Church of England, after which an extensive but inconsistently executed programme of low-budget excavations was undertaken between 1908 and 1979. Sadly, the work which has taken place "has not ... always been of the highest quality" (Rahtz, 1993) and much of it has not been properly published: recent attempts to synthesise the Abbey results have revealed numerous inaccuracies and discrepancies. On the other hand, not all of the excavations removed all the archaeological deposits in the opened areas. This fact, together with the amount of undisturbed ground remaining in the Abbey precinct, means that the Abbey precinct is still an area of considerable archaeological potential, despite the missed opportunities of the past.

A number of smaller projects have been undertaken on other sites in and around the town, largely in advance of developments. These have provided extremely important clues to the development of the main elements of the settlement, but have raised as many questions as they have answered. The peat deposits west of the town, which formed from the Prehistoric to the late-Saxon periods, have been extensively studied by the Somerset Levels Project over many decades: though it impinges on the western fringe of the town, much of that work is beyond the remit of this report.

In summary, the proportion of the available resource in Glastonbury which has been examined so far is tiny; much remains to be done in integrating historical and archaeological evidence.

0.2 Standing structures and visible remains

Glastonbury contains a considerable number of surviving buildings of interest, many of which are mentioned in the appropriate sections: as well as the ruins of the Abbey itself, these include a small number of outstanding medieval urban buildings. The medieval town plan also survives fairly well, as does the landscape to the east of the town, around the Tor and towards Ponter's Ball. In contrast, important features on the western margins of the town have been seriously

affected by modern industrial developments.

1. PREHISTORIC

(Map A)

1.1 Archaeological work in the town/ Archaeological knowledge

A summary of the excavations which have taken place in Glastonbury itself is given in the table on p68.

The Wetlands: There have been a number of major excavations on the Levels west of the town in the 20th century which have shown how the wetlands were being exploited in the Prehistoric periods. These are beyond the scope of this report. However, more recent evaluations on the west side of Glastonbury town have also taken place. These have shown the potential of the peat deposits there to provide important environmental information. Preserved wood from trenches near Benedict Street, for example, has helped to extend the Somerset tree ring sequences back into the fifth millennium BC and, therefore, to date the oak used in two prehistoric trackways in the Brue Valley (Brunning, Jones and West, 1996). Though no archaeological features are defined in this area (see below) its potential cannot be disregarded.

The Peninsula: The peninsula has produced less tangible evidence of activity the Prehistoric periods, though it is believed to have been of considerable importance in the landscape. The SMR contains references to a number of finds of Prehistoric flints and pottery in and around Glastonbury: these are described below. Several of the excavations, such as those at Ponter's Ball (Rahtz, 1993), Fairfield (Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b) and Maidencroft Farm, Wick (Hollinrake, C & N, 1988a), have also recovered Prehistoric artefacts; but definite evidence of settlement remains elusive.

1.2 Context

Glastonbury is one of eight out of the 45 historic towns covered by this project in the vicinity of which Prehistoric activity and/or occupation has been shown, and at which there is also evidence (limited, in this case) of settlement on or near the site of the later town - possibly, though not necessarily, implying continuity of settlement. It is probable that the figure is far too low, for it is notoriously difficult for archaeologists to demonstrate a Prehistoric presence in modern urban areas. Though 'towns' were not, generally speaking, a feature of Prehistoric landscapes, many of the same factors which made the site desirable in later periods would already have been operative. In the case of Glastonbury, these would have included control of routes and springs on the peninsula itself, and both access to and refuge from the marshland Brue Valley landscape, which includes the famous Prehistoric trackways and settlements. However, the context of Glastonbury cannot wholly be explained in such terms, for it can reasonably be regarded as being a site of unique ritual importance in the Prehistoric landscape of Somerset.

1.3 Standing structures and visible remains

Though there are few certain visible remains of the Prehistoric period on the Glastonbury peninsula, there is a possibility that Ponter's Ball (SMR 23564) may have Iron Age origins, and

that the Tor itself may have been sculpted in an even earlier time.

1.4 Archaeological features, shown on Map A

1.4.a The peat deposits

See above comments (section 1.1).

1.4.b Water

GLA/101 Chalice Well

Excavations in 1961 at Chalice Well recovered flints, probably Mesolithic, and Iron Age or Roman potsherds at the original ground level (some four metres below that of 1961). These show that the springs were already important as a water source. However, the only archaeological evidence of possible long-standing religious associations was the Roman yew stump found close to the spring: yews still grow around the Well.

For the later history of the Well, see p30.

The marked area is based on information in the SMR and the 1844 map.

1.4.c Religious sites

GLA/104 Glastonbury Tor

The character of any activity on Glastonbury Tor in the Prehistoric periods is not well understood. The theory that the terraces on the slopes of the Tor are the remains of a gigantic Neolithic ritual maze cannot be absolutely ruled out, though there is no archaeological evidence which unequivocally supports it (the theories that the terraces are either natural geological features or medieval strip lynchets are more widely accepted). The 1964-66 excavations on the Tor shoulder and summit recorded no Prehistoric structures, though they did recover flints of the Upper Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, and Neolithic periods, as well as a Neolithic axe: this evidence was considered by the excavator to represent occasional activity on the Tor rather than occupation (Rahtz, 1971).

For main entry, see GLA/302 (p16).

The marked area is from the SMR.

GLA/301 Ponter's Ball

Though the balance of evidence so far is in favour of a Dark Age date for this earthwork (see p16), its origins require further research. The theory that it defends - or at least defines - an Iron Age (or earlier) territory or precinct are also tenable.

The main entry for GLA/301 is on p16.

The marked alignment is from the OS maps and the SMR.

1.4.d Settlement

The Glastonbury Lake Village site (SMR 23637; SM Som 406) lies beyond the urban area and is not included in this Assessment.

GLA/103 Coxwithy settlement site

A settlement at Coxwithy (SMR 23590) has been postulated from place name and aerial photographic evidence, but remains unproven. The area is sloping to the south and contains a number of visible lynchets, and one large rectangular building platform (possibly belonging to a later barn). The evidence is not yet sufficient to confirm the date and character of any settlement here.

From the SMR.

1.4.e Other sites

GLA/308 The Mound, Beckery

The Mound produced evidence of both Prehistoric and Roman activity as well as the later occupation. For main entry, see p27.

From the SMR.

1.4.f Artefact scatters

GLA/102 Prehistoric artefact finds

Well provenanced finds in and around Glastonbury include a Neolithic axe on Wearyall Hill (SMR 23571). A number of other Bronze Age flints and bronze artefacts (including axes, palstaves, spearheads, a dagger and a pin) have been found in the Turbaries to the west of the town. Though the exact provenance of most of these is not known, the approximate focal point of the distribution is marked in the SMR (SMR 23630).

Not mapped Unlocated Prehistoric finds include a perforated stone axe (SMR 23602), two Bronze Age palstaves (SMR 26077), and other small items.

2. **ROMAN** (Map A)

2.1 **Archaeological work in the town/ Archaeological knowledge**

A number of excavations in Glastonbury have shown evidence of some Roman activity in the general area of the later town, though remains *in situ* have been limited. The 1964-66 excavations on the Tor recovered finds of reused Roman building material, which may have been moved to the Tor during the construction of the Dark Age settlement. Reused building material and abraded potsherds have also been found at several other sites, including the Abbey precinct itself (Radford, 1955-1973), the Mound (Rahtz, 1971; Carr, 1985), Beckery Chapel (Rahtz & Hirst, 1974), Fairfield (Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b), Bove Town (Hollinrake, C & N, 1985) and Wick (Hollinrake, C & N, 1988a). The SMR also contains records of Roman material on Wearyall Hill, described below.

The meaning of the distribution of Roman material on Glastonbury peninsula is not yet clear. Possible sites of structures have been suggested on the Abbey site and Wearyall Hill, and these are the sites shown on the map, which necessarily gives only an incomplete picture of the potential of Glastonbury's Roman archaeology.

2.2 Context

The Roman period was one of deliberate, strategic urbanisation. The area which is now Somerset appears to have been less affected than some other areas by this, in that few really urban sites are known, and this probably reflects its marginal position. However, the widespread distribution of Roman or Romanised settlements shows that the county - particularly east of the Parrett - was heavily populated and exploited in this period.

Glastonbury is one of seven of the 45 historic towns covered by this project at which there is evidence of a Roman site at the core of the later town. Four of these towns, including Glastonbury (and Cheddar, Wells and - perhaps - Street) have probable villa sites at their heart, and in each case there is also an apparent association with a (pre-existing?) religious site: each was later reused as a religious precinct. There are signs of further occupation and agriculture elsewhere on the peninsula, which, as in earlier periods, formed a significant island in the Brue Valley.

2.3 Standing structures and visible remains

The only structure possibly remaining from the Roman period is St Jospeh's well in the crypt of the Lady Chapel.

2.4 Archaeological features, shown on Map A

2.4.a Communications

(a) Roads, streets and routeways

GLA/201 Possible Roman roads

Evidence is at present insufficient to allow a convincing reconstruction of the Roman infrastructure immediately around Glastonbury. Old Street Road and Dod Lane have both been put forward as being of Roman origin (Rahtz, 1993). The name of the town of Street suggests that settlement may have flanked a Roman route and finds of Roman material close to the Old Street Road (SMR 23571, 23631) tend to support this idea, though it is also possible that a more direct route to the main Roman site followed the line later used by the Saxon canal (see p14). Dod Lane links the Tor with the Abbeysite, which may have been occupied in the Roman period (see below, GLA/203), but it may also be a continuation of a Roman road from East Street, part of which survives on the east side of Norwood Park (C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997). The existence of a possible further Roman site at Wick (below) also implies an early origin for the lanes serving it.

The Old Street Road alignment is from the 1778 map; the Dod Lane alignments are from Hollinrake, C & N (1993b; in litt., 1997) and Rahtz (1993).

2.4.b Water

GLA/202

Roman wells in the Abbey

The only *in situ* structural evidence of Roman occupation of the Abbey site so far has been the discovery of two probably Roman wells - St Joseph's Well, later incorporated into the Lady Chapel (Rahtz, 1993) and another, under the north transept of the Great Church, which had been cut by Radford's precinct ditch (Radford, 1958).

The significance of St. Joseph's Well has been the subject of much debate since its rediscovery during the 19th century clearance of the crypt of the Lady Chapel. It was immediately dubbed an ancient holy well because of its proximity to the site of the Old Church. An archaeological investigation was carried out in 1991 and 1992 and the results of this support the view that the well is of some antiquity, since the stonework of the lower part is comparable with other Roman wells excavated in the area: a shaft 65cm in diameter was lined with well-laid limestone blocks.

The trouble to which later builders went to make the well-head accessible suggests that it was of significance to the founders of the Abbey. The form which the well took in the days of the Old Church is not known: it would have lain just outside the building and may have determined its location. Subsequent building works incorporated the well, though they may have required the resetting of the well head at its current low level in order to allow the construction of the new chapel foundations (Rahtz, 1993).

The approximate positions of the wells are shown from Rahtz (1993) and Radford (1958).

2.4.c Settlement

GLA/203

Roman occupation in the Abbey area (SMR 23565)

In the Abbey area, around St. Joseph's well (see above, GLA/202), the excavations have produced not only Roman potsherds, glass and coins but also building materials - tiles and so on - suggestive of structures. The Saxon glass kilns (see p22) were partly constructed of Roman box flue tiles which most probably came from a building of some quality, perhaps a small villa (Woods, 1994) and estate centre. The remains were - except for the wells - not *in situ*, being largely found in the 12th/13th century clay levelling deposits. However, they are unlikely to have travelled far, and most unlikely to have been imported onto the site as backfill for the post-medieval fishponds, as has sometimes been stated (C Hollinrake, in litt., 1997).

Though the building itself has not yet been uncovered by the Abbey excavations, not all of which went down to natural, the Abbey area remains the most obvious

location for such a site (C J Webster, pers. comm.; Hollinrake, C & N, 1989b). Nevertheless, the area shown must be regarded as highly conjectural.

The area is conjectural.

GLA/204

Wearyall Hill

Roman pot, coins and other artefacts have been recovered from a number of sites in Glastonbury. The prominent antiquary, Morland, discovered quantities of Roman pottery while he was building his house, 86 Roman Way (SMR 23571). More material has come from the area of the old vineyards south of Roman Way, on the south slopes of Wearyall Hill (SMR 23631). Rahtz suggests that the quantity of material found at these sites, together with evidence of terracing on the hillside suggests substantial occupation, possibly a temple (Rahtz, 1971:5).

The findspots at the west end of the hill are shown, from the SMR.

GLA/320

Wick

There is a possibility that settlement at Wick (a placename possibly deriving from the Latin *vicus*: C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997) may be of Roman or pre-Conquest origin, since some abraded Roman material possibly indicative of Roman/ Dark Age occupation has been recovered from the area. The exact location and extent of such occupation is uncertain, but a possible area is indicated here.

The area shown is conjectural.

Not mapped

The finds at Fairfield (Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b) may also have come from another site at the eastern end of the hill, the location of which is unknown. They could also be from the "villa" site (see above, GLA/203).

3. DARK AGE/ SAXON (Map B)

3.1 Archaeological work in the town/ Archaeological knowledge

Many of the excavations which have taken place in Glastonbury have produced evidence relating to post-Roman and Saxon occupation at Glastonbury. These are mentioned in the text below as appropriate, and listed in the table (p68). Though a considerable amount of information has been obtained, the excavations, particularly the smaller evaluations and watching briefs of the last twenty-five years, have also raised many questions. A number of major sites relating to the post-Roman/ Saxon transition (on the Tor, at Beckery and in the Abbey grounds) have been partially investigated at Glastonbury and, as for the Prehistoric period, it has been suggested that the whole peninsula may have been of importance. It is quite possible, therefore, that there may be further significant sites as yet unlocated around the town.

3.2 Context

Though the Post-Roman and early Saxon periods were characterised by a return to non-urban lifestyles, the later Saxon period (from the 9th century onwards) saw the beginnings of a resurgence of trading places and towns. This was controlled, in England, by the Saxon royal families (though it was part of a wider trend), and took place in the context of a network of royal estate administration centres which was already established (in some cases long-established). The reasons for the changes were many and complex, combining defensive, administrative and ecclesiastical considerations with, increasingly, purely commercial aspirations.

As one of the heartlands of the kings of Wessex, Somerset played an important part in the early re-urbanisation of the south, and there are a number of places amongst those studied for this project which can claim to have been towns before the Norman Conquest. However, there are also a number which can claim to have been ‘central places’ performing more limited, and non-commercial, functions: not all such places developed into towns, but many towns originated in such specialised settlements.

Glastonbury is one of seven of the 45 historic towns covered by this project which, whilst it had not developed any really urban functions by the end of the Saxon period, had both ecclesiastical and administrative functions. It is one of 22 towns associated with a known or probable pre-Conquest minster - in this case also an extremely important monastic house (one of the richest Benedictine Houses in the whole country) - and one of 22 associated with a royal manor centre (though the estate was transferred to the church before the Conquest). Indeed, it was one of only four of the historic towns to appear on the pre-Conquest royal itineraries of Wessex.

3.3 Standing structures and visible remains

Earthwork remains which may date to this period include those of part of the ‘canal’ (SMR 23600) and the bank of Ponter’s Ball (SMR 23564). No other Saxon structures survive.

3.4 Archaeological components, shown on Map B

3.4.a Redevelopment in earlier settlement components

It is possible that the early Abbey precinct represents a reuse of a high status Roman site (see GLA/203, p11), but excavations in the precinct, though they have produced Roman material (not *in situ*) have failed so far to prove this.

3.4.b Communications

(a) Roads, streets and routeways

GLA/306 Modern roads of Saxon or earlier origin

It is not possible at the moment to say with certainty which roads in Glastonbury itself are of Saxon or earlier origin. The probable major routes towards Wells, West Pennard, Edgarley/ Shepton, the Tor and Street/ Somerton are shown, as is the lane towards Wick: some of these may also have served the unlocated Roman sites on the peninsula. The route to West Pennard was apparently altered in the medieval period with the establishment of Norwood Park, previously passing less directly through Edgarley Field (C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997; see below, GLA/305). It is possible that some of the minor lanes may be of pre-medieval

origin too, but archaeological evidence is lacking. The routes to both Wells and Somerton crossed low lying ground and needed to be built up on causeways.

The road lines are from the 1778 map and the origins conjectural.

GLA/310

The pre-Conquest causeway

A causeway (SMR 25522) which possibly dated to the pre-Conquest period (though it was in use until the 13th century) was partially excavated between Northover and Street in 1881 and 1921. The structure, which is now Scheduled (SM 27984), is not visible as an earthwork, but lies not far below the current ground surface. The excavations showed it to be relatively well-preserved, though cut by 19th century drains in several places (the cause of its discovery).

The initial excavation in 1881 was close to the south bank of the river. Here, the road was built on a surface of peat 2.31 metres below the surface of the field. The base of the road consisted of a track of boughs and brushwood forming a layer 0.45 metres deep which was overlain by a mortar spread. On the southern river bank, a framework of large squared timbers was built on the brushwood foundation; this frame was infilled with rough limestone and lias (from quarries near Street) and a further embankment of stones, logs and brushwood sloped out for 9m either side to further support the causeway. These large timber structures were considered by the excavators to perhaps represent the footings for a bridge.

Further excavations north of the river in 1921 picked up the road, though no signs of a bridge head. However, the level of the road on each side was such that there must have been a bridge in such wet land. From the road's surface was recovered a 12th/ 13th century spur, and from beneath it came Roman pottery. However, there was no evidence of any wheeled traffic ever having used the road at that point, though the surface was not as well preserved as to the south of the river.

Though the causeway may have veered towards Northover north of the river, Morland implies that traces of a trackway found in Northover Nurseries directly connected it with the old Street Road.

Mapped from the 1886 map and Morland (1922)

GLA/305

Possible superseded alignments

Vanished road alignments may include a possible continuation of Chilkwell Street to meet an apparent gap in the eastern *vallum monasterii* (monastic precinct boundary) located during the Abbey excavations. C. Hollinrake (*in litt.*, 1997) also suggests on the basis of the parchmark survey (Hollinrake, C & N, 1989c) that this may have run slightly more to the west.

If the suggested old alignment of the West Pennard route is correct, then parts of it have now disappeared. The old lane crossing Ponter's Ball and located in

excavations there may be part of this route (see p16) (Rahtz, 1993).

From Rahtz, 1993 and C. Hollinrake (in litt., 1997).

(b) *Bridges*

GLA/309

The old bridge

The old bridge, the predecessor of the medieval stone bridge, was referred to in documents of 1163, but may have been pre-Conquest in origin. The excavations which located the pre-Conquest causeway north of Street also encountered heavy oak timbers which might be part of the structure of this bridge. However, a 10th century charter appears to refer to a stone bridge carrying this road (Costen, 1992).

The approximate area in which remains of an early bridge is given, based on the causeway alignment suggested by the accounts of Morland (1922) and Rahtz (1993).

(c) *Canals*

GLA/312

The late-Saxon “canal” (SMR 23313)

An artificial waterway ran for over a mile between the centre of town and Northover, fed by the water sources near the Abbey. Its line can still be traced in part from visible earthworks, though most has now been filled in; less visible stretches were located by ground and aerial photographic survey and by excavation in advance of development in the late 1980s. The Fairfield and the visible line of the canal west of the field were surveyed in 1985 and 1986; excavations took place in the Fairfield and the Convent Field in 1987; and at the same time core samples were taken along the waterway’s length (Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b); further excavations at Heritage Court in 1988 *may* also have picked up the Glastonbury terminus (Hollinrake, C & N, 1988b), though the Northover terminus has not yet been located. On the strength of these investigations, the waterway has been provisionally interpreted as a late Saxon canal (though it has also in the past been interpreted as a mill leat). If this interpretation is correct, then the feature must be regarded as of national importance, since few such structures of this period are known in Britain.

The archaeological dating of the canal depends in part on a sample of wood recovered from a bank revetment at the Glastonbury end during the Fairfield excavations. This sample was carbon-dated to the late 10th or early 11th century. The canal feature contained 12th and 13th century pottery in its uppermost fills: the pottery content was therefore consistent with other ditch features in Glastonbury which have been interpreted as late Saxon (see GLA/304, p19) and possibly the work of Dunstan. It also cut earlier ditches, for which carbon-dates were obtained (see GLA/307, p26), and in fact represented a major change of land use on the Fairfield site. The recovery of dating evidence from other sections of the canal is highly desirable.

The shape and gradient of the feature has been taken into account in its interpretation. Sections have appeared to show a flat base, whilst core samples showed that the gradient of the channel was very slight: the waterway ran more or less along the ten metre contour on the north side of Wearyall Hill all the way to Northover (Hollinrake, C & N, 1991). The spoil from the construction of the canal formed an embankment on the north-west side. The post-medieval new road from Street was built along this embankment at least for part of its route: 1989 observations during the construction of a roundabout confirmed this (Hollinrake, C & N, 1989e).

There are few pre-19th century documentary references for the canal. A post-Dissolution survey of Werrall Park, however, refers to a watercourse through the park: this indicates that parts of the canal have only fully silted up in the post-medieval and later periods, though the excavations showed that the town end had silted up or had been filled in by the 14th century. It has also been noted that the postulated existence of a late-Saxon canal may explain the curious account of the translation of St Benignus in 1093 which is given in John of Glastonbury's Chronicle: the cortege, recorded as arriving by water, stopped close to the site on which St Benedict's was afterwards built (Radford in litt. 1987; Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b).

The line of the canal is taken from Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b.

GLA/317

A possible waterway to the Mound

The Hollinrakes suggest that there may have been a minor waterway, with an adjacent causeway, connecting the industrial site on the Mound with the centre of town. This is on the basis of segments of a ditch found in the north part of the excavated area in the Convent Field and Fairfield (Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b) and probably contemporary with the canal (see above). The line of this feature can be extrapolated to connect the Mound and the canal wharf, and this interpretation may be supported by the results of some other work in Wirral Park. The latter includes the Hollinrakes' earthwork survey of Wirral Park (C Hollinrake, *in litt.*) and a watching brief on the Wirral Park development during which the remains of a waterway sealed by peat deposits were observed running between the Mound and the clay rise to the north of it (Hollinrake, C & N, 1989e).

The alignment shown is the extrapolated one shown by the Hollinrakes (1992b). Only a part of this has been recorded in survey or excavation.

(d) Harbour and quays

Not mapped There may have been wharves somewhere along the old course of the Brue, not necessarily in the same location as the postulated early medieval ones at Benedict Bridge.

3.4.c Water

Water levels continued to be high until the late Saxon period and some areas around Glastonbury were probably semi-permanently flooded. Whilst work in and around Benedict Street has produced some information relating to this period(see p8), information is insufficient to map the situation.

GLA/315

The Northload Street ditch

A 1984 watching brief on the rear of 2 Market Place (SMR 25557) showed a ditch (approximately three metres wide) crossing the plot from east to west. The upper fills contained pottery possibly of 10th or 11th century date, and the feature was sealed by layers containing 13th century pottery (and stakes used to consolidate the ground when the medieval plots were laid out at that time). Though only a small section of the ditch has been securely located by this watching brief, it had previously been noted in the next plot to the west and again during work in Northload Street, the line of which it crossed (Hollinrake, C & N, 1989a). Its function is unclear, but since it was at a gradient it may have been principally a drain, carrying running water or sewage (a medieval culvert seen running roughly parallel may represent its replacement, and the stream along the Benedict Street backs a further course extension). However, if it was also a boundary marker it indicates that the layout of this area was quite different before the 13th century. For this reason, and because it is rich in pottery and preserved organic remains, the ditch is considered to be an important find, and any sites which may contain its extensions are of potential importance: C. Hollinrake (*in litt.*, 1997) notes the particular potential in this respect of the undeveloped

tenement behind the Crown Hotel. The relationship with the area around St John's and the Abbey north gate may be of particular interest.

Only a small fragment of this ditch is shown, that actually located in the Market Place.

GLA/314 St Bride's Well

Associated with the site at Beckery (see GLA/313, p24) was St Bride's Well, which was presumably originally by the spring still visible on the site. The well basin and an inscribed stone were noted in situ in the 1920s, but the stone has since been moved to another position.

From Rahtz, 1993.

GLA/311 The Brue

A navigable branch of the Brue skirted the Mound in the pre-Conquest and early medieval period. There has been some archaeological work close to the river near the Morlands site, which has shown the potential of the river deposits for organic preservation and environmental information (Bunning, forthcoming). No associated structures were found at this site, but elsewhere along the riverside remains of wharfs, fisheries, river craft and cargo may be encountered. Any work which helps to pinpoint the old river course will therefore be of value, and any sites along its length may be of potential importance.

The approximate old course of the river is marked from Rahtz (1993) and the 1844 Tithe Map.

3.4.d *Manors and estates*

GLA/301 Ponters Ball linear earthwork, shown on Map A

The origins and significance of Ponter's Ball (SMR 23564; SM Som 402), which separates the peninsula of Glastonbury from the higher ground to the east are still the subject of debate. It could fit into either an Iron Age or a Dark Age/Saxon context, and either a secular or monastic one. The archaeology is also consistent at this stage with an early medieval date; though the orientation of the feature does not fit well into a medieval context, a refurbishment at this time is possible (C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997).

The remains of the bank (which still stands up to 10 metres wide and 3.5 metres high) and ditch (to the east of the bank) can still be seen running for more than one kilometre across the neck of the Glastonbury peninsula. South of the main road, the earthwork formed part of the medieval open field (Edgarley Field), and is disturbed; north of the road, it was in Norwood Park and is better preserved. The earthwork appears to fade out at about 10 metres OD, the approximate limit of flooding, though it is possible that it may have extended further: the areas at each end have not yet been investigated. The highest part is just north and south

of the road, but the interpretation of this fact is not certain: it could mean that the road is a later cut, throwing up earth, or it could mean that there was originally some kind of "gate". References in medieval documents to the New Road to West Pennard suggest the former (C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997), but further research will be necessary in this area.

Bulleid excavated north of the road in 1909. The bank at this point sealed Prehistoric pottery (Bronze Age) beneath it; Iron Age pottery (of Lake Village type) was also found in the lower fills of the ditch. Excavations also took place on a site just south of the road in 1970: the ditch proved to be 2-3 metres deep, and the bank was probably 2-3 metres high, perhaps palisaded and/or revetted. These excavations contrasted with Bulleid's, as the bank at this point sealed not only Iron Age but also late-Saxon or medieval pots sherds. There is a possibility that the southern excavation may have by chance intercepted an old lane (see GLA/305, p13), though this remains uncertain (Rahtz, 1993).

The marked alignment is from the SMR.

GLA/302

Glastonbury Tor Dark Age settlement

Excavations on Glastonbury Tor in 1964-66 uncovered the remains of a settlement in use between the 5th and 7th centuries (SMR 23603). There is insufficient space in this report to fully detail the discoveries: the SMR, the relevant excavation reports, or the English Heritage volume on Glastonbury (Rahtz, 1993) may be consulted for further details.

The nature of the Dark Age settlement has been the subject of much debate. The site, though dominant and highly visible, is inconvenient of access and without an internal water supply (though Challice Well is not far away). It is therefore not an obvious settlement site, but could be regarded as suitable for either a secular stronghold or a monastic establishment, both of which interpretations have been proposed. The artefacts and structures revealed by the excavations are consistent with either interpretation (and medieval 'traditions' can also be adduced in support of each).

In fact, the finds from the Tor settlement, which are earlier than anything found in the Abbey, form an assemblage important in its own right. They include reused Roman pottery and building materials and fragments of high quality imported Mediterranean wares, the latter comparable with sherds found at other high status sites - both secular and religious - in the South West. Many of these are the remains of amphorae believed to have been used to trade wine and oil. Evidence of the survival of trading networks - strictly controlled by the powerful - in the post-Roman South-West is of particular importance as this survival contrasts so strongly with the situation in much of the rest of the country.

The Tor site also yielded quantities of animal bones (mostly cattle, but also some

sheep and pig). Since only certain bones were represented, this is interpreted as evidence of meat butchered elsewhere being brought onto site. There was evidence of small-scale, perhaps specialised, metalworking: several metalworking hearths were found in association with crucibles and copper alloy slag. It is possible, too, that a bronze 'mask' (probably part of a pail handle escutcheon or something similar) found on the Tor was manufactured there.

The excavations revealed a series of not particularly substantial timber structures (evidenced by rock-cut post-holes and beam-trenches), hearths and pits, all concentrated on the summit (though there is a possibility that certain building platforms in the area of the Saxon monastery may also have been in use: see GLA/303, p23). Just to the north of the medieval church site there were also two north-south graves which have been associated with the earliest phase of occupation: the much damaged remains of two young people of undetermined sex were recovered. No well defined settlement structure survived, though an entrance area containing the end of a holloway and a crude flight of steps up from the shoulder of the Tor was identified. Nor was any evidence of an obviously substantial hall recovered from these excavations. It should be remembered, however, that erosion and later buildings on the Tor (especially St Michael's Church) have removed whole areas of the earliest archaeological deposits.

Though it was hoped that the 1964-66 excavations would shed light on early Christian Glastonbury, the first published analysis of the site favoured the secular interpretation. The Tor site is comparable to other 'Iron Age style' post-Roman hill strongholds in Somerset (such as South Cadbury), and there was no specific evidence of Christianity on site. Moreover, the north-south grave orientations (not typical of Christian sites) and the evidence of meat eating were thought to be incompatible with early Christian monastic sites. In this scenario, the Tor site, which was close to the 6th and 7th century British/ Saxon frontier, might also be associated with the Ponter's Ball linear earthwork.

However, Rahtz (1993) has revised this interpretation, partly because of more recent archaeological evidence of meat eating recovered from Iona and Whithorn - which were certainly early monastic establishments. He suggests that the Tor could well have housed an early hermitage - either a Christian establishment or an adaptation of an earlier Pagan shrine - and that the excavations did indeed reveal the pre-Saxon religious nucleus of Glastonbury. However, this need not preclude the existence of a secular stronghold successfully targeted by missionaries (or, indeed, a further religious centre on the site of the Saxon Abbey). A major element in Rahtz's interpretation is the later monastic history of the site (though no continuity has been established between the Dark Age and Saxon activity on the Tor - see below): he suggests that though the religious significance of the Tor was recognised by the incoming kings of Wessex, its cramped and inaccessible nature necessitated the use of an alternative site for the

Abbey.

The extent of the site is mapped from the plans of the partial excavations reproduced in Rahtz, 1993.

Not mapped There is a possibility that a major royal site, as yet unlocated, may exist at Glastonbury in addition to the Abbey. Glastonbury was a 'royal central place' in the 8th and 10th centuries (Hollinrake, C & N, 1989b). Witans were held there in both these centuries, and the Hollinrakes suggest that buildings comparable with those at Cheddar would have been appropriate to these; these could have been either within the Abbey enclosure (since there was also an eremitic monastery on the Tor) or beyond it, perhaps in the area later enclosed by the medieval precinct. Ellis agrees that "There is obviously a major monastic and royal site at Glastonbury not as yet located by archaeology" (in litt, 1989).

GLA/319

Edgarley

Traditions of a royal palace at Glastonbury focus on Edgarley, to the south-east of the settlement itself. Edgarley (or *Ederisige*) was a separate landholding of two hides at Domesday; the fact that it had never been rated for geld supports the idea that it was a royal possession. However, the nucleus of the possible pre-Conquest occupation has not been located. Phelps gives a description of the location of the 'old (= medieval?) manor house' and its chapel (see also p47), which might provide important leads into more detailed research than was possible for this report. He says that:

"The ancient manor-house was a spacious building, decorated with sculpture... A large hall called King Edgar's Kitchen, was standing about fifty years since, but it has been pulled down, and fragments of it are still seen... fixed in a handsome cottage or nee built on the site... Here was a chapel dedicated to St Dunstan, now converted into a barn." (Phelps, 1836, p559-60)

One possible site of a Saxon centre might be that on which Edgarley House, now a school, was later built. In the 19th century this was a sizeable house with attached parkland (SMR 23607) including a fishpond (SMR 23608). However, no archaeological work has taken place on the site and considerable further research into its history and archaeology will be necessary before the idea that this may have been a Saxon palace can be regarded as anything other than conjectural.

The area shown is that of Edgarley House on the 1811 and 1821 maps, and its early origins are conjectural.

3.4.e Burial sites, religious houses and places of worship

(a) The Abbey

GLA/304

The pre-Conquest Abbey

The earliest generally accepted date for the foundation of the Saxon Abbey is 7th century, based on the study of the many charters which have been claimed to relate to it. But it is possible that the site of the Saxon Abbey (SMR 23615, SMR 23617) was already of religious significance before the 7th century: the traditions of Glastonbury would certainly suggest that a British monastery (see SMR 23614; Radford, 1978) preceded it. Archaeological evidence of a British monastery is so slight, however, that it can at present only be considered in the light of the Saxon successors.

Nevertheless, on the subject of the pre-Conquest Abbey, far more information is available than could be included in this report. Parts of the 7th to 10th century complexes have been excavated, and for further details the excavation reports (detailed in the source list at the end of the report) may be consulted; or Rahtz (1993) gives an accessible summary.

(i) *Definition of the pre-Conquest Abbey bounds*

A *vallum monasterii* or precinct boundary at Glastonbury is referred to in several early medieval 'Lives'. Excavations both within the Abbey itself and in the surrounding urban area have revealed stretches of bank and ditch which may be part of the pre-Conquest precinct boundary, though, if so, they probably represent more than one phase of its development. However, the Abbey bounds have not been satisfactorily defined. In particular, the question of continuity of area between the pre-10th century Abbey and Dunstan's 10th century enclosure has not been answered. This should be a priority of any further work both within the medieval Abbey precinct and in the town to the west of the medieval Abbey, for within the precinct(s) it is possible that further extremely important archaeological remains of ecclesiastical complexes may survive. Moreover, considerable amounts of organic material, including datable fragments of wood, have been recovered from the excavated stretches, and the ditches themselves represent an important archaeological resource.

The 7th century ditch

Within the Abbey precinct, a bank and ditch (SMR 23617) running north-south beneath the medieval church and chapter house was located in three places and excavated (Radford, 1958, 1981); work in 1978 (SMR 23621) during widening of Silver Street located a further stretch the north-south bank and ditch which may be part of the same feature (Ellis 1982b), though this remains unproven as the dimensions do not match particularly well (C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997). Radford's ditch produced no datable artefacts, but was cut into no earlier features (except for a probable Romano-British well), suggesting it must be of early date. The Silver Street ditch produced part of a stake, perhaps from a palisade, and this has been carbon-dated to the 7th century; in addition, the inner bank sealed a ground surface from which Romano-British pottery was recovered. Though the feature has been provisionally identified with the eastern precinct boundary of the Saxon pre-Conquest Abbey, it therefore remains possible that it is of Romano-

British origin (Ellis in litt., 1989).

Two possible entrances on this side of the precinct have been suggested by the excavators. The orientation of the Silver Street bank and ditch suggested that it *might* have been curving to form an entrance to the enclosure (Ellis 1982b), in a position close to that of the medieval north gate. There may also have been an entrance to the south of the ditch segments excavated by Radford since further work on the projected ditch line failed to encounter the feature (Rahtz, 1993). Indeed, the projected alignments of Dod Lane and Chilkwell Street (see GLA/201, GLA/205; p10) converge on this point.

The excavations showed that this boundary had gone out of use by the 12th century, at which point the ditch had silted up, though the bank remained a visible feature (later buildings were cut into it).

The 10th or 11th century ditches

Other sections of 10th or 11th century ditch have been located. Some of these have been interpreted as part of a ditch documented as having been cut in the second half of the 10th century, during Dunstan's abbacy (Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b; Radford in litt. 1981). Others (see GLA/401, p32) may be part of the early medieval precinct expansion. The situation may have been complicated by the reuse and recutting of pre-Conquest boundary ditches under the Normans.

Work in advance of the Heritage Court development in 1984-5 (Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b) revealed a twenty metre stretch of a very large ditch (SMR 23632), which was running north-south, partly beneath the west side of Magdalene Street. This ditch was probably larger than the 7th century ditch segments, though the full dimensions were not seen in the trench cut. The size discrepancy may be accounted for by later recutting or by the natural drainage of the site (Hollinrake, C & N, 1993b). Indeed, the Magdalene Street ditch appeared to veer or branch westward at the southern end of the site, and may have been feeding the "canal" (see p14). No datable artefacts were recovered and though a small branch from one of the lower ditch fills was carbon-dated at Harwell, two different readings were obtained, one centring on 950 and the other on 1080. It has therefore not been established beyond doubt that this ditch was cut before the Conquest.

In form and content the Magdalene Street ditch is comparable to other fragments of ditch which have been identified to the south of the High Street. These include a ditch located by excavations and bore holes which were positioned just to the east of the medieval north-west gatehouse (Woods 1987, 1989). This ditch was running almost east-west, just to the south of and parallel with the later medieval precinct boundary at this point. It was more than 17.5 metres wide and 3.5 metres deep and it continued beyond the limit of the investigations, running beneath the later medieval gatehouse. The ditch appeared to have been accompanied by a bank which had been razed and the ditch backfilled; the lower fills contained

some 10th and 11th century pottery and a greater quantity of 12th and 13th century pottery.

The extrapolated boundary

The information from the ditch excavations is insufficient to be certain of the extent of the Abbey in the pre-Conquest period. The area shown is based on the work of Leach and Ellis (particularly Leach & Ellis, 1993). While parts of two or more phases of northern, eastern and western ditches have been picked up in the northern half of the precinct, this is not the case in the southern half. The location of the south-eastern and south-western corners of the pre-Conquest precinct, for example, has not been established, though it is possible that the line of early medieval millponds located under Chaingate Mills (see p26) may mark the position of the southern boundary (Ellis, 1982a), and that the Chaingate itself was a relic of a south-western entrance (see GLA/401, p33).

The most notable feature of the suggested pre-Conquest boundary is that it includes the land on which Magdalene Street was later laid out. It is possible that this remained the case until the precinct boundary was again revised in the 13th century (see GLA/401, p32).

(ii) The precinct interior

The excavation campaigns in the Abbey (for details and references, see p68) have recovered evidence which has allowed partial reconstructions to be made (with varying degrees of confidence) of the churches, claustral complexes and other interior features. These suggest that an extensive east-west alignment of churches, chapel and tomb structures, comparable with the situations at Wells, Canterbury and Winchester (Hollinrake, C & N, 1989b), developed. This alignment appears to have included the site of St Benedict's (see GLA/403, p36), and possibly the lines of Benedict Street and Dod Lane.

The churches

Pre-Saxon: Archaeological evidence of an early church is at present very slight. Traces of wattle and daub structures have been found, but the burials which they are associated are not well dated. It remains *possible*, however, that they represent British chapels or oratories and a contemporary cemetery (see also above, GLA/203, p11).

Early Saxon - the "Old Church": The focus of the early Saxon Abbey was probably the Old Church (the *vetusta ecclesia* or *ealderchurche*), to the appearance and location of which there are a number of early medieval references, since it survived until the fire of 1184. There are also transcriptions of a brass plate (itself now lost), which was set up apparently in the late 14th or early 15th century to give details of the (by then elaborate) traditions about the Old Church, including its location and dimensions.

The original appearance of the Old Church remains uncertain, despite the

medieval descriptions. The 'Glastonbury Seal', which is dated to the 1170s, *may* show the west end of the Saxon churches, but cannot be assumed to be a realistic portrayal. William of Malmesbury describes a wattle and plank church which had been incorporated into the later Saxon churches, and partly leaded. Though William believed that the church predated the coming of the Saxons, most archaeologists now consider it more likely that the Old Church itself was originally a 7th century building. The dimensions given on the medieval brass plate (about eighteen by eight metres) are too large for a wattled church but are comparable with major Irish timber churches of the 7th century (Radford, 1981): and there does appear to have been considerable Irish influence at Glastonbury (see p24). However, a timber structure such as William describes must have been much repaired between the 7th and 12th centuries. Details of the interior given in the medieval accounts also make it clear that it was richly ornamented and graced by a decorative stone floor by then.

The Old Church was destroyed in the 1184 fire and no trace of it has been found in the Abbey excavations. Unfortunately, this is almost certainly because the 16th century construction of a crypt for the medieval Lady Chapel obliterated all remains of it. Medieval references explicitly state that the Lady Chapel was constructed on the site of the Old Church, and the transcriptions of the brass repeat these traditions. The brass appears to have been set up to pinpoint the east end of the Old Church but may in fact have marked the east end of Ina's church. We therefore do not have an exact location for the Old Church. However, archaeological excavations have recovered parts of the plans of the adjacent later Saxon buildings, and these plans suggest that the alignments of the Saxon churches were inexact. This evidence neither supports nor undermines the assumption that the alignment of the medieval Lady Chapel echoes that of the Old Church.

Mid-Saxon: Several phases of Saxon churches were distinguished in the Abbey excavations, though their foundations were all badly damaged by those of the medieval buildings. The phases were principally distinguished by variations in mortar; few survived sufficiently to allow the building plans to be confidently reconstructed, though Radford (who excavated 1951-63) produced a series of conjectural plans based on analogy with other known churches. Little trace of the superstructure of any of the buildings was recovered and we do not know that they were wholly of stone: in particular the lack of any roofing tiles may indicate shingle roofing. Some painted wall plaster was found.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records the building of a church at Glastonbury by Ina of Wessex (reigned 688-726). William of Malmesbury also mentions Ina's church, describing it as appended to the east end of the Old Church. Excavators have encountered remains which may be the central part of the floor and foundations of this church. The materials and proportions are comparable with those of the 7th and 8th century in Kent; in particular, the floor materials said to

be reminiscent of Roman *opus signinum* may reflect the direct influence of the Augustinian mission.

The fragmentary floor plan recovered shows that Ina's church was on a slightly different alignment from that of the medieval Lady Chapel, which latter may have echoed the approximate alignment of the Old Church. The west end of Ina's church, which would have showed its relationship to the Old Church, did not survive.

The most distinctive feature associated with this church was the burial crypt or *hypogeum* at the eastern end. This crypt is comparable with a 7th/8th century example at Poitiers, which allowed saints' tombs to be viewed from the outside. However, it is also possible that it predates Ina's church. Again, because the eastern end of the church itself did not survive, the exact relationship of the crypt to it is not known. The Hollinrakes (1989b) also mention a further tomb chamber to the east "not published but noted by Mr W. Wedlake in the 1930s".

The process by which Ina's church developed is not fully understood. Traces of 8th and 9th century building work have been found. These include a courtyard linking the nave to the Old Church (and therefore not built at a right angle to the west end of the later church) and an elaboration of the east end.

The 10th century - Dunstan's work: Dunstan (who was Abbot from 940 to 957) brought the Abbey under the rule of St Benedict and also repaired and developed the physical structure. There are documentary references to his alterations to the church, which included the addition of further side chapels. The most notable addition, however, was the tower: this was built directly above the burial crypt, which was filled in at this time. The foundations of Dunstan's tower were located in the Abbey excavations. Fragments of walling suggesting extensions to the east were also found, but their precise significance is uncertain.

The Chapel of St John the Baptist was also originally built by Dunstan. The foundations of one version of this chapel were excavated by Bond in the early 20th century. Though these may be those of the medieval replacement for Dunstan's chapel, which was also destroyed in the 1184 fire, their overall shape is consistent with that described in the early medieval 'Life' of Dunstan. Rahtz (1993) suggests that the published plan is that of an archway - the gate into Dunstan's monastic complex - and that the chapel itself was in an upper storey.

The cemeteries

The exact extent of the pre-10th century cemeteries is not known, though burials of this date have been excavated to the south of the Old Church site. Details of all these burials, which included a number of apparently important individuals, including "Arthur", and the associated monuments (such as the famous "pyramids") cannot be given here. For further information, see Rahtz (1993),

p88. Not all of the early burials fell within the area of the 10th century cemetery, but it remains probable that the latter marks the core of the earlier monks' cemetery; there may also have been lay burials to the north of the church (see also GLA/318, p22). It was certainly considered in the 10th century to hold the early saints' tombs: these were deliberately sealed and protected by Dunstan under a metre deep layer of clay for which a new wall enclosing and defining the cemetery, which was by then a centre of pilgrimage, served as a revetment. It was also the area in which most of the medieval monastic digs for relics took place. Elements of the 10th century cemetery enclosure have been detected in various excavations, and it has been shown that a number of other minor chapels existed within it.

The pre-Conquest monastic complex

Partial remains of Dunstan's early cloisters have also been recovered by excavation. These buildings are amongst the earliest physical expressions of the 10th century monastic reform movement, and may be an early version of the cloisters Dunstan later created at Canterbury. The remains so far recovered are of the cloisters themselves and flanking ranges, possibly originally two-storeyed, to east, west and south; the southern wall of the cemetery formed the northern range of the cloister.

The remains of many other features which may have existed, including workshops, smithies, barns, fishponds, mills, orchards and gardens, have yet to be located: most excavations so far have concentrated on the churches and cloisters.

The evidence of industrial activity

Important, if fragmentary, evidence of industrial activity within the precinct, at least by the 10th century, has been recovered by excavation. The most significant finds were the two (possibly three) glass furnaces (SMR 23593), so far unparalleled on late-Saxon sites in England. These were located between the precinct boundary and the cloister ranges, and were associated with fragments of glass vessels, beads and window glass, as well as crucibles, glass residue from the blowing irons and structural debris (including reused Roman building materials). Glass making was largely confined to the recycling of waste glass into beads in post-Roman times: the Glastonbury furnaces represent some of the earliest evidence of the resurgence of the technology in England (though they were still probably recycling old glass, rather than making it from scratch).

The marked area and ditch line is from Leach & Ellis (1993) and from information in the SMR.

(b) The lay church (St John's)

GLA/318 St John's Church and churchyard (SMR 23572)

St John's Church, the parish church outside the Abbey, is first referred to in a

document of 1175, but both documentary and archaeological evidence suggests that it is an earlier foundation. The origins of the church may lie in Dunstan's introduction in the 10th century of the rule of St Benedict, which prohibited the monks from having a cure of souls (Radford in litt., 1987). Certainly by the early medieval period it was the mother church of St Benignus' chapel, which became St Benedict's church, and St John's was also one of the seven churches over which the Abbey claimed ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

In 1171, St John's was known as St John's Northbin (hence the later Northbin's Lane), the name meaning something like "the northern enclosure". Whilst this might just mean enclosed land, it could refer to an old lay cemetery enclosure north of the Saxon Abbey. In fact, several small archaeological interventions took place in St John's in the 1980s, and the results support this idea. In 1987, work in the chancel resulted in the discovery of the foundations of a small structure at a greater depth than the 12th century foundations previously encountered (Ellis 1982a; Hollinrake, C & N, 1990). The exact date of this structure is unknown: it may be later 11th century, but it could also be pre-Conquest. This little church could be the first separate church set up beyond the Abbey limits to cater for its lay settlement. The foundations of this structure cut earlier burials, and the churchyard itself is therefore the earliest feature found so far.

The limits of the early cemetery and its relationship to the Abbey enclosure have not been established, and the marked early churchyard area should therefore be regarded as conjectural. It is possible, for instance, that it extended further to the south, across the line of the medieval Great Street, though there is no archaeological evidence for this yet. However, early burials have been proven to extend beyond the modern churchyard, at least to the west: in 1996, a watching brief in Church Lane noted a grave beneath the 12th/ 13th century occupation there (Hollinrake, C & N, 1996). St John's still owned the land to the west of the church and cemetery in the 15th century, by which time considerable secondary development had taken place on the edges of the old cemetery (see GLA/318, p35; GLA/436, p40).

The churchyard underwent considerable alteration in the 19th century. However, any work either within the churchyard or in the adjacent urban and highway areas should address the earliest date of the cemetery, the location and form of the boundaries of its early cemetery, together with the question of its relationship to the Abbey precinct enclosures and the 12th/ 13th century town plan.

The marked area is conjectural, based on the post-medieval churchyard and the Church Lane observations.

(c) *The Tor*
GLA/303

The monastic retreat on the Tor

The 1964-66 excavations on the Tor also found remains which have been

interpreted as those of a Saxon monastic retreat (SMR 23604). This interpretation is supported both by aspects of the plan (which is consistent with known contemporary monastic sites) and by the food remains. The latter contrast with those of the Dark Age settlement, consisting mostly of remains of domestic birds, fish and eggs.

On the summit, the only Saxon structure was a probable cross foundation which may be associated with a wheel-cross head found just below the summit. Together the remains suggest a 10th or early 11th century cross about man height.

More Saxon structural remains - all of timber buildings - were found on the shoulder of the Tor, which was only partially excavated. These included a large north-south building (about 5.5 x 4.2 metres), which has been interpreted as a communal building since its orientation would be unusual for a church. Two possible 'monastic cells' - small, square buildings with sunken floors and the remains of timber superstructures - were also found to east and west of the communal building. Both 'cells' had terraces to the south: that of the larger cell yielded the remains of a pit, a burnt floor and a containing timber wall. North of the communal buildings were hearths and a deep pit (possibly a water tank) as well as part of an enclosing fence.

Continuity of occupation between the Dark Age settlement and the Saxon monastery has not been established, and the latter may be a daughter establishment of the Abbey rather than its direct precursor. The cross date is late Saxon and it is thought that the retreat was still in use after the Conquest; neither of these facts, however, precludes early reuse of the Dark Age site.

The medieval activity on this site is described below, p47.

The marked site is defined from plans and information in Rahtz, 1993.

(d) *Beckery*
GLA/313

Beckery

The site at Beckery (SMR 23570; SM Som 427) is known from documentary sources, including William of Malmesbury (c1135) and John of Glastonbury (c1400) to have been an important chapel site, a daughter establishment of the Abbey. Tradition also associates it with Glastonbury's Irish connections, and especially with St Bridget. The site was first excavated in the late 19th century by Morland; further excavations took place in the late 1960s (Rahtz & Hirst, 1974) and a watching brief on a water main trench was carried out in 1985. These have produced a significant amount of information on the site, showing that it has been visited since the Prehistoric period, and that it has housed a series of Saxon and medieval monastic buildings, chapels and burials.

Beckery is mentioned in 7th century and 10th century charters, though the former

may not be genuine. The later charter refers to the site as ‘Little Ireland’. However, though other documents, including the lives of Dunstan, support the idea of an Irish connection, at least in the later Saxon period, it may be mistaken to assume that Irish missionaries dwelt here: the name Beckery can (coincidentally?) be interpreted as *Becc-Eriu* (Irish for Little Ireland), but in English meant ‘Bee-keeper’s Island’ (Rahtz, 1993).

Prehistoric flints and fragments of Roman pottery found during the excavations indicate a long history of activity on the site, which is on a low mound at the end of the Glastonbury peninsula, just above average flood level. However, no structural evidence was associated with these finds.

The earlier Saxon monastery

The earliest structural evidence was that of the first phase of Saxon monastery. The excavations revealed early drainage ditches and recovered vestigial remains of timber buildings, one of which may have been either a chapel or a tomb-shrine. This building contained the stone-lined grave of an important individual, for which radio-carbon dates were inconclusive, placing it between the 6th and 10th centuries. The dates of the earliest foundation are uncertain, therefore, but the large size of the surrounding cemetery implies that, unless the monastery was larger than the physical size of the site would suggest, it may have been relatively early, perhaps 8th century. The monastic cemetery is important because no comparably large groups of burials have so far been excavated and analysed by modern techniques in Glastonbury. At least 63 individuals had been buried there, nearly all adult males (except for one woman and two children), in neat rows and orientated approximately east-west (but influenced by the contour line). Few artefacts of this period were recovered from the site, though the assemblage of animal bones (cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry) suggest meat eating and, perhaps, small-scale wool production.

The later Saxon chapel

In the late 10th or early 11th century, the cemetery was closed; the chapel (or shrine) was rebuilt in stone around the important early grave, and a new timber building about 6 metres by 8 metres was constructed to the north of it. Remains of these structures have been recovered in excavations. The external dimensions of the nave of the chapel, the stonework of which survived to four courses, were 6.7 metres by 4.95 metres: the chancel appeared to have been added later, since it was asymmetric and on a slightly different orientation. With the chapel were associated a number of bronze artefacts which may suggest that it may have been quite richly furnished. About a metre to the south of the chapel was a freestanding wall, which may be connected with the 13th century dedication of a “penitent’s crawl”, and a further revetment wall lay south of this. A domestic hearth (in the timber building) and iron-working hearths were excavated, and new drainage ditches are also associated with this phase of occupation. The archaeological evidence may, however, indicate a *reduction* of activity on the site;

it may represent a transition to the medieval situation, in which a chapel for pilgrims was served by a single priest housed on the site.

The medieval chapel

The late Saxon chapel survived until, probably, the late 13th century, though its surviving stonework showed signs of 12th century repairs (dated by architectural styles). The chapel was then rebuilt, the later shell totally enclosing the foundations of the earlier, smaller building: its external dimensions were 14.77 metres by 6.41 metres. Decorated floor tiles (late 13th century) and slate roof tiles were recovered from these levels. There are no visible remains of the chapel which was in ruins by the 18th century (Collinson, 1791).

The ‘priest’s house’ was also rebuilt into a comparatively substantial dwelling in the medieval period, and was separated from the chapel by a sturdy fence. There were other buildings to the north-west of the house which have not been fully excavated or interpreted; these may have been domestic outbuildings.

The mapped area to the south-west of the chapel represents the rest of the ridge leading down to the river (at which point there was probably a ford) from the chapel site itself, an area which contains the spring formerly marked by the “Beckery Stone”; several ditches probably marking old field boundaries have been traced in this area.

The boundary is taken from the SMR.

Not mapped Medieval documents refer to a ditched close surrounding Beckery chapel, lying mainly to the north of the chapel, as far as the old water course to Meare (Rahtz & Hirst, 1974). The extent of the close is not clear and no attempt has been made to map it. A bank and ditch were encountered during construction of a water pipeline some thirty-five metres to the north-east of the chapel site, though the precise significance of this is unclear (Ellis, 1979). The land appears to have been meadowland, which was let out by the later medieval period: its earlier history is unclear. The fields around the chapel were still known as Brides in the 19th century.

*3.4.f Settlement (Urban)*GLA/316 Possible Saxon settlement

The extent and character of pre-Conquest occupation without the Abbey is far from clear. Whilst the cumulative evidence of excavations and watching briefs in the town is that at least by the late-Saxon period there was some settlement existing in areas later parcelled out in the 13th century, this evidence is mainly in the form of sherds of pre-Conquest pottery. Much of this has come from ditches, though late Saxon pot has also been found on the north side of Bove Town (Hollinrake, C & N, 1985): apart from the precinct ditches, other possible late Saxon boundary ditches have been found (behind 2 Market Place, for example: Hollinrake, C & N, 1989a). But examination of these features has been so limited that their interpretation must be uncertain.

Other structural evidence is sparse, with only one site producing possible pre-Conquest structures so far. The remains of timber structures oriented NW-SE were observed during work on the White's Garage site in 1984-5 (SMR 23632; Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b), close to the terminus of the Saxon canal and to the monastic ditch. Even these structures could have been as late as 12th century.

There is no mention of a town in Domesday, and it is unlikely that any settlement would have been either as extensive or as regular as the established medieval town. However, it may by the late Saxon period have followed a pattern similar to that of other extra-mural settlements of Benedictine abbeys. The conjectural area shown therefore represents a possible small settlement focussed on a market place outside the north-west gate of the Abbey and extending as far as St John's to the east and the site of St Benedict's to the west.

The area shown is conjectural.

3.4.g Settlement (Rural)

GLA/321 Edgarley

Edgarley was a Domesday landholding called *Ederisige*, which may have been a royal centre (see GLA/319, p18). No archaeological work has yet taken place at Edgarley and the exact location and character of any associated early settlement is not known.

The area shown is conjectural.

For Wick, see p11.

3.4.h Industrial sites and areas

Important glass workings have been located within the precinct (see GLA/304, p22).

GLA/307 A possible industrial area south-west of the Abbey

Two excavations have shown that milling and/or other industrial activity may have taken place within this area at various times within the pre-Conquest period, though the evidence is very incomplete

a) Pre-10th century industrial activity near the Fairfield

Excavations in the Fairfield in 1987 revealed three (or possibly four) parallel ditches running SW-NE along the northern edge of a (probably natural) terrace (cf SMR 23627). These were interpreted as a series of boundary ditch cuts, at least one of which was associated with the remains of a bank containing postholes (for a fence). A wooden stake from the initial silting in the deepest of the ditches was carbon-dated, the resulting date centring on the mid 7th century; the ditch concerned must have been cut earlier than this, and the excavators considered that it would be 6th or early 7th century (Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b), but some of the series might predate this. Very abraded Roman sherds (as well as flints) were recovered from some of the early fills of the ditches, which is consistent with late- or post-Roman and/or early Saxon use and the disturbance of a previous occupation site nearby. The ditches therefore predated the 10th century canal, although parts of them were not finally sealed until the 13th or 14th century (judging from the pottery recovered from the sealing layers).

An area south of the ditches, on the terrace, was also examined in the course of the excavations. From this area (and from some of the ditch fills) were recovered signs of post-Roman or early-Saxon industrial activity, including slag and nails. The evidence is not sufficient to characterise the area as exclusively industrial, however, and any opportunity to acquire more details of the character and extent of occupation will be important.

b) Possible milling/ fisheries

The relationship between the canal and the Fairfield ditches implies that the western part of the site at least was significantly altered, probably in the 10th century (see p14). Excavations just to the east of this area on the Chaingate Mill

site in 1979 and 1980 (SMR 23587) have uncovered part of a pre-13th century water system, possibly also associated with this redevelopment, which is likely to extend westwards into the marked area. The remains of a possible dam and a pond or ponds, which had silted up or been backfilled by the 13th century, were found on an east-west alignment directly underneath the Magdalene Street east street frontage. Whilst these have not been directly dated, their position and their apparent inferior relationship to the earthworks to the east suggest that they predate the laying out of the medieval precinct. Several garden walls slumping into a marked ditch feature on the Street Road may indicate the position of associated features west of the precinct (C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997). No sign of a mill structure was located in any of the 1979 trenches, and this too may be located west of the Abbey and within the marked area. However, a late 12th century chartulary entry refers to a messuage extending to the *fishery* in this area (C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997), and it may be that all the water features are associated with this. Either way, it is possible that remains of considerable archaeological importance, including waterlogged deposits, may survive here.

The approximate alignment of the Fairfield ditches is shown from information in Hollinrake, C & N (1992b). The rest of the area is conjectural, based on information in Hollinrake, C & N (1992b) and Ellis (1992a).

GLA/308

The Mound, Beckery

The Mound (SMR 23576), sometimes called Glastonbury Castle, was a knoll of high ground to the south-west of the Abbey and town. Though it was destroyed in the 1970s in advance of development, a number of small excavations had by then taken place, recovering surprising amounts of artefactual evidence relating especially to the late-Saxon and early medieval periods, but also to the Prehistoric and Roman (Bulleid & Morland, 1924; Carr, 1985).

The extent of archaeological evidence relating to the pre-Norman periods rules out Poyntz-Wright's theory that the Mound was the artificial *castellum* recorded as having been constructed by Abbot Henry of Blois in the 12th century. It is now believed to have been a natural clay mound about 5 metres high, which formed the first raised land encountered by travellers coming to Glastonbury from the west. It offered a platform about 40 x 30 metres, which was relatively protected from flood waters and was in use from the Prehistoric period onwards.

The Prehistoric flints recovered from excavations have not revealed the nature of activity on the Mound. Fragments of Roman and imported post-Roman Dark Age pottery, including amphorae, may suggest that the Mound was in that period a landing place. By the 10th century, however, it was a specialised industrial site at which iron was made: the excavations recovered evidence of two smelting furnaces dated to the 10th to 12th centuries. The site probably belonged to the Abbey: Domesday records the existence of several such sites. The advantages of locating heavy industry some way from the town were twofold: the town and,

more importantly, the Abbey were protected from the pollution caused by the smelting; and the raw materials, almost certainly coming in by boat, did not have to be carried long distances overland.

As well as the industrial remains, the Mound also yielded an astonishing amount and variety of refuse, which contained: potsherds (more than 1000); iron tools and part of a set of copper scales; spindle whorls; and over 5000 animal bones, which included those of beaver, swan and pelican as well as the more common species.

The reason for these rubbish deposits is not completely clear. However, they are potentially important for the understanding of the character of the landscape west of the Abbey before the late Saxon and medieval drainage schemes. Taken together with results from other evaluations around Benedict Street and in Wirrall Park, which have produced evidence of high water levels and pieces of beaver-chewed wood from early Saxon strata, they may suggest an environment of shallow ponds (typical of beaver country) between, and exploited from, the Mound and the Abbey.

It is possible that a minor waterway may have connected the Mound with town (see p15).

The site is marked from information in the SMR.

4. MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL

(Maps C, D)

These two periods are considered together. This is partly because information on the development of most sites in and around the town is scanty. Where information is available, it suggests in most cases that the medieval components continued to form the skeleton of the settlement pattern. Exceptions to this, which occurred around the Abbey, for instance, and on Glastonbury Moor, are noted in the text.

4.1 Archaeological work in the town/ Archaeological knowledge

Whilst there has perhaps been more archaeological work in Glastonbury than in any other town in Somerset, major questions about the development and extent of the medieval and post-medieval town remain to be answered. The table (p68) lists the relevant excavations and other investigations, many of which have been concentrated in the Abbey precinct. More recent work, carried out within the context of the development control process throughout the town, is beginning to provide a more rounded picture of Glastonbury's medieval archaeology.

4.2 Context

Both in Britain and on the continent, the medieval period saw the growth of town foundation and, to an extent, urban living (though the bulk of the population continued to live in villages). The reasons for this growth were many and complex. In England they included both general factors - such as the growth of mercantile trade (especially the cloth trade) - and more specific ones - such

as the post-Conquest establishment of a network of (theoretically) loyal magnates and prelates with large estates and commercial privileges. The latter led to the increasing relaxation of the royal stranglehold on the profits of towns and chartered boroughs (where tenants paid cash rents and were free of feudal ties), which in turn enabled the establishment of new purpose-built commercial areas (the majority of places classed as towns in the medieval period have at least some planned elements). Of course, some boroughs were already in existence by the Conquest, and the existing pattern of Saxon urban or semi-urban centres was an important influence on the medieval one. This is evident in Somerset which, like many parts of the south and west (where the majority of the Saxon *burhs* and boroughs had been established), was peppered with small boroughs in the medieval period.

In archaeological terms, the medieval towns are characterised by evidence of partially planned, intensive occupation of restricted areas. Typical features which may occur include: regular, or semi-regular, street layouts; large market places (usually obscured by later encroachments); blocks of regular, long, narrow, plots end on to the commercial frontage; churchyards, either within the medieval layout or outside it - the latter often indicative of a deliberate shift of activity; regular or irregular suburbs or marginal areas occupied by quays, or industrial sites such as mills; and high status sites such as castles, manor sites and large religious precincts.

Glastonbury is one of 20 of the 45 historic towns covered by this project which first acquired urban status (though not in this case borough status) in the medieval period. Glastonbury is one of eight of the towns which had at least one large or important religious establishment - in this case, the Abbey, which remained one of the wealthiest houses in England. Not surprisingly, Glastonbury was one of three of the eight towns (the others being Bruton and Wells) at which the religious house was the major influence on the development of the town in the medieval period. It was one of 19 of the 45 towns at which a planned area was laid out in the medieval period partially across or - more commonly - immediately adjacent to an established settlement.

The basic pattern of towns had been established by the end of the middle ages, and there were very few major changes in the post-medieval period, though the economic fortunes of particular towns rose and fell. Nearly all the Somerset towns depended on either cloth manufacture or cloth trade to some extent. Glastonbury was no exception, and was one of many of the 45 historic towns covered by this project which held its own economically for much of this period. Although it was one of several towns which suffered badly as a result of the Dissolution, it was one of a small number of towns to acquire borough status in this period.

4.3 Standing structures and visible remains

Medieval:

Much of the plan of Glastonbury town as it was laid out in the high medieval period is still visible today, and the town contains a number of high quality medieval structures. Though many of the Abbey buildings (SMR LB 20626, 20627, 20628, SM 33050) are ruinous, the Abbots' kitchen (SMR LB 20629) is said to be "one of the best examples surviving in Europe" (Bond, c1990), and the Tithe Barn (SMR LB 20554; SM 29699) is also complete. St John's Church (SMR LB 20585) is "one of the most ambitious parish churches in Somerset" (from the List), and St Benedict's church (SMR LB 20520) is also medieval, as are the remains of St Mary's Hospital

(SMR LB 20643) and St Michael's Church on the Tor (SMR LB 20667). A relatively small number of 'ordinary' late medieval buildings around the market place have also been identified (including SMR LB 20521, 20638, 20647, 20648, 20650, 20651). In addition there are two outstanding buildings, the George and Pilgrim Inn (SMR LB 20574) and the Tribunal (SMR LB 20579; SM 22075) in the High Street.

A small number of medieval buildings survive on the town margins and in the surrounding area. These include the well house at Chalice Well (SMR LB 20550), the slipper chapel on Bove Town (SMR LB 20525) and a possible farmhouse further east (SMR LB 20532), and a building in Chilkwell Street (SMR LB 20547); Higher Edgarley farmhouse (SMR LB 20514) and the Abbots' residence, Norwood Park Farmhouse (SMR LB 20664).

Post-medieval:

Glastonbury also contains a number of Listed structures of probable post-medieval (or, in some cases, possibly earlier) origin, though only one of these, the Old Pump House in Magdalene Street (SMR LB 20642) is Grade II* Listed. The other buildings are mostly distributed along High Street, the southern end of Chilkwell Street, Magdalene Street and Bove Town, and include a large number of cottages (eg SMR LB 20540, 20593) as well as houses (eg SMR LB 20587, 20590). Outlying buildings include farmhouses at Edgarley (SMR LB 20568), and Wick (SMR 20670, 20671).

The Listed Buildings of these periods in the historic core are shown on Map C.

4.4 Pre-1800 archaeological components (centre), shown on Map C

4.4.a Redevelopment in earlier settlement components

The components defined for the medieval period are those of the town laid out in the 12th and 13th centuries across earlier features.

4.4.b Communications

(a) Roads, streets and routeways

GLA/416 Medieval streets

Documentary and archaeological evidence suggests that many of the existing streets were established by the 13th century. There are medieval references to Great Street (High Street), Chilkwell Street and Lambrook Street (15th century), Northload Street, South or Spittal Street (Magdalene Street), Maidlode Street (Benedict Street), Dod Lane and Gropecunte Lane (part of St Benedict's Close), Cart Lane (Silver Street), Lavendry Lane (Lauder Close), Blind Lane off Chilkwell Street, and Schite Lane and (the last unlocated). St James Street is referred to in the late 15th century: this may be Bove Town.

The medieval streets appear to have been at least in part a planned development and little is known in many cases about their relationship to earlier alignments, and the date at which the existing alignments became established. The roads to the fords (Maidlode and Northload Streets), for example, may have been pre-existing alignments (though Northload Street was realigned in the 19th century).

Any opportunity to examine the deposits underlying the modern roads should be taken in order to accumulate evidence relating both to the date of the road lines and to the character of the frontages. However, full understanding of the development of the street plan will only be attained when the development of the axial features of the town - particularly the Abbey, St John's and St Benedict's - is understood. Excavations have shown that Magdalene Street, for example, must have been created after the alteration of the precinct boundary (probably in the 13th century), having previously been on or just within the line of the precinct ditch (see GLA/401, p32; GLA/433, p38). The first reference to it, as South Street, is in 1302. Other documentary references and descriptions show that until the 19th century the western frontage of this street was quite irregular, with properties projecting some way into the carriageway, especially near the Chaingate (Bullied, 1904).

The line of Great Street (1313: it was called High Street in 1366) lies some metres north of the early medieval precinct ditch (see GLA/401, p32), and the street could therefore have been established in the early medieval period, or conceivably earlier. However, it has been suggested that St John's may have formed the terminus of the street in the early medieval or pre-Conquest periods (Hollinrake, C & N, 1996), at which time an alternative route eastward along the Lambrook towards Dod Lane might have been available. Again, the lane to the north of St John's, Northbyrne, is probably older than Church Lane in its present form, which was laid out in the 19th century. The dating of the streets around St John's and the north gate of the Abbey is therefore of some particular interest.

Most of the road alignments are from the c1609 and 1778 maps.

(b) Roadside crosses

GLA/422 Roadside cross sites

Stickers Cross (SMR 23563) stood at the junction of Bere Lane and Chilkwell Street. It appears in a 17th century illustration by Hollar. It is presumed to have been a medieval cross, but no further details are available concerning its origin or demise.

The position is marked as in the SMR.

4.4.c Water

(a) Springs and wells

GLA/101 Chalice Well (see also p8)

Chalice Well (SMR 23610) is a large chalybeate spring at the foot of the Tor, issuing at the north end of the marked area. It has been in use since the Prehistoric period, and contained and conduited since the medieval period. Excavations took place there in 1960-61, concentrating on the well itself and the area to its north, in an attempt to locate any early settlement around the well. No sign of occupation was found, but the excavations shed light on the well structure.

The excavations showed that until the early medieval period the ground surface was much lower, as the build up of hillwash was prevented by the vigorous issue of water from the spring. This state of affairs was altered when the spring was enclosed in a free-standing well house (SMR LB 20550), probably in the late 12th century: it has been argued that the tooled lias blocks used in its construction were salvage from the destruction of the 1184 fire, after which the Abbey's water supply system was partly rebuilt to take water from sources to the south-east instead of the north-east (Rahtz, 1964). Enclosure of the spring resulted in a dramatic build up of silt (shown by the relatively late date of the silts to the north of the well, which were test-pitted during the excavations), which eventually buried the well-house. The opening known as Chalice Well is in fact a covered hole made in the roof of this well-house, perhaps when the adjacent spa structure was constructed, in brick, in the 18th century.

No evidence was recovered that Chalice Well was regarded as a holy well before the Post-medieval period (except for the Roman yew, for which see p8). The name itself is given as *Chalcewell* (1210) or *Chalkwell* (1306) in the medieval period. It appears to have acquired its reputation relatively late, the name perhaps being read as Chalice Well by the Roman Catholic order who owned it in the late 19th century (Rahtz, 1993).

Chalice Well was converted into a spa in the mid 18th century (see GLA/608, p53), which involved the construction of a second chamber - perhaps a sedimentation tank - next to the medieval well house. The post-medieval alterations have obscured the medieval water supply system fed by the well.

The site is now managed by the Chalice Well Trust (since 1959), who have created gardens and fountains around the ancient spring.

The marked area is based on information in the SMR and the 1844 map.

GLA/414

White Spring

Opposite the chalybeate spring of Chalice Well was a limewater spring. There may have been a medieval hermitage here - if so it was probably destroyed during the construction of the reservoir (Mann, 1986). However, C. Hollinrake disputes the existence of any such hermitage (*in litt.*, 1997).

The area outlined is from the 1844 map.

(b) Watercourses and supply in the town

The complex history of the many ditches and drains in Glastonbury is far from understood and any opportunity should be taken to establish their relative dates.

GLA/431

The Lambrook and other watercourses

For at least part of the medieval period a stream from Bushy Combe, the *Lambrook*, ran down by Laundry Lane (Lauder Close) along the line of what is now Silver Street (Bulleid, 1904; Hollinrake, C & N, 1992c). The course of the stream and of the culvert which replaced it have been picked up in excavations behind High Street (SMR 25526). These showed that the stream deposits are over two metres deep and are a rich source of archaeological material. However, no finds earlier than the medieval period have yet been recovered from the silts of this part of the Lambrook. Moreover, the stratigraphy of the Silver Street excavations appeared to imply that it could not be earlier than the 13th century (Ellis, 1989). The possibility that this was an artificial channel cut (or perhaps recut) in connection with the filling in of the early medieval precinct boundary ditch, and the redirection of the Abbey water supply therefore needs to be explored, though other hypotheses cannot at present be ruled out.

A stream ran behind the Benedict Street north plots in the 19th century and may

have been in existence in the medieval period: further research might clarify its origins, which could be connected with the ditch seen behind 2 Market Place and crossing Northload Street.

The Lambrook has been mapped from information in Hollinrake, C & N, 1992c. The other stream shows most clearly on the 1844 map, by which time it might have been diverted from an earlier course.

- Not mapped In 1974-5 during alterations to a shop in Magdalene Street a large stone built drain was observed running east-west from the Abbey precinct towards St Benedicts (Aston, 1976b; SMR 25565).
- Not mapped Other ditch fragments have been observed during work in Benedict Street (Hollinrake, C & N, 1992d). These were interpreted by the excavators as possibly medieval, or Saxon, but have not been securely dated. There is insufficient information to extrapolate the courses.
- Not mapped Until the 19th century there was a large horse pond at the top of High Street (Bulleid, 1904). There was also in the market place a conduit, or fountain (SMR 23589), referred to in the 13th century, and appearing on 18th century prints.

4.4.d *Manors and estates*

GLA/426 Northload Manor House

Northload was part of the twelve hides and beyond the remit of this report. However, the Old Manor House in Northload Street may have been associated with it: further documentary research might clarify the connections. The house was the family home of Peter King, the celebrated first Recorder of Glastonbury (under the 1705 town charter): this might provide an alternative explanation for the traditions surrounding the house. The building itself is shown in an illustration of 1825 (reproduced in Dunning, 1994, p56); in the 19th century the site had an orchard and a pond to the rear. The house was demolished in the 19th century (Bulleid, 1904), when the road line was altered, though part of the ground floor continued for some time to be used as the pound (SMR 23580).

The house site is marked from the c1609, 1821 and 1844 maps, and the 1825 illustration, together with information from Bulleid, 1904.

4.4.e *Burial sites, religious houses and places of worship*

(a) *The Abbey*

GLA/401 The medieval Abbey (SMR 23616)

As with the pre-Conquest Abbey, far more information is available than could be included in this report. Parts of the 11th to 15th century complexes have been excavated, and for further details the excavation reports (detailed in the source list at the end of the report) may be consulted.

(i) *Definition of the medieval Abbey bounds (SMR 23618)*

Excavations in 1988 (SMR 25526) and 1992 (SMR 25525) have provided important new information on the boundary of the medieval precinct (SMR 23618), particularly on the northern side. They have shown that there were (probably) at least two major alterations of the boundary in the medieval period.

The first of these was an eastward expansion of the ditched enclosure, which probably took place in the late 11th or early 12th century, to accommodate the Norman churches (though it could have been earlier). On the north side of this enclosure, the remains of a massive bank and ditch running roughly ten metres south of, and parallel with, the High Street, to the east of the northern gatehouse, were located; the form and pottery contents of the topmost ditch fills suggested that it was silted up by the early 13th century and that the bank may have been deliberately levelled into it. The western side of the late Saxon precinct (see GLA/304, p19) may have remained in use at this time; the southern and eastern extents of the probable Norman expansion have not been ascertained.

The second alteration is most likely to have taken place in the 13th century, when the earlier bank and ditch were replaced by a wall: the truncated remains of its foundation were found cut into the top silts of the southern edge of the ditch in the High Street excavations. It may have been at this time that the line of

Magdalene Street was excluded from the precinct in order to facilitate the laying out of the town (see p37).

The stone precinct wall of which fragments survive today is described in most sources as dating to the 15th century and later. If so, it may have differed in alignment from the 13th century wall. However, medieval wall fragments west of the north gate have been identified in a further survey; the wall here retained traces of an abutting structure dated by construction techniques to the 12th or 13th century (Rodwell, 1992; SMR 25564). It may be, therefore, that the 15th century precinct wall was essentially a rebuild or repair of the earlier circuit. The western, southern and eastern walls followed the respective sides of the square defined by the 13th century street layout. The western precinct wall formed part of the eastern side of Magdalene Street as late as 1810 (Phelps, 1836), and is shown in post-medieval engravings. The southern wall along Bere Lane was demolished in the 19th century, though a photograph exists (B.H., 1925).

The principal problem of interpretation arises in Silver Street, along which the precinct boundary was, prior to the High Street excavations, believed to have run. Stretches of apparently medieval walling were identified in surveys of the Silver Street wall in the 1970s and proposed as precinct wall (Aston, 1976a). If so, then the 15th century precinct must have differed from the 13th century one in this area. However, the results of the wall survey have been reinterpreted as part of some unidentified medieval structure respecting the course of the Lambrook (Ellis, 1989); this would allow Silver Street, and therefore the adjacent tenement block, to have been established in the post-medieval period (see p41). But a watching brief on 4 Victoria Buildings, just south of (not exactly on) the projected line of the northern precinct boundary, picked up not the east-west ditch but a much smaller north-south ditch, dated to the late 12th or early 13th century by a coin found in its base. This ditch was interpreted as a possible tenement boundary by the excavators (Hollinrake, C & N, 1989d). If they are correct then the site must have been outside the precinct in the medieval period.

The gatehouses

It is clear that certain details of the phases of medieval precinct boundary remain to be clarified through future archaeological interventions. This is also true of the gatehouses, of which there were at least four, not all of which have been located.

The west gatehouse

Part of the west gatehouse survives (SMR 23623; SMR LB 20626); the structure is 14th century with 16th century refacing. Until the 17th century it was flanked by a substantial porter's lodge and surmounted by the sub-porter's apartments. A hoard of gold coins was found in the mantelpiece when it was taken down (Phelps, 1836). Excavations in the late 1980s (Woods, 1989) showed that the gatehouse is built partly across the late-Saxon/ early Norman precinct ditch.

The north gatehouse

The north gatehouse (SMR 23624) survived (though ruinous) until the 19th century, and an illustration of it c1800 exists. This was the principal entrance to the Great Church and the remains of an associated porter's lodge survived in a court of houses until the late 19th century (Bulleid, 1904).

The Chaingate

Of the possible south-western precinct entrance (SMR 23625), Bulleid says: "It is to be remembered that part of Magdalen Street near the Pump House is called Chain Gate, from the Gate-house supposed formerly to cross the street at that point, though the Gate-house may have been the entrance to the Abbot's lodging within the Abbey enclosure, and lying to the east of Chain Gate." (Bulleid, 1904, p32). A gatehouse straddling Magdalene Street makes sense in the context of the suggested late Saxon and early medieval precincts (qv). The extent to which archaeological remains of the gatehouse may survive is unknown.

Other possible gates

A document of 1313 refers to "the monastery gate that was of old time". The location of this possible fourth gatehouse (SMR 23626) is unknown. The reference could be to the Chaingate. However, it could also be to an eastern gate, conceivably belonging to the pre-Conquest precinct. Other exits to the medieval precinct are likely on the eastern and south-eastern sides.

*(ii) The precinct interior**The churches*

Two phases of post-Conquest building predated the 1184 fire. The earlier of these was begun at the east end of Dunstan's church by the first Norman Abbot, Turstin (1082-1102), but never completed. Herlewin (1101-1126) demolished both this church and the main Saxon church (but not the Old Church or the Chapel of St John) and built on their sites a great new church in the Romanesque style, completed c1140. Only small fragments of these churches have been recovered by excavation.

Parts of the post-fire Great Church and Lady Chapel survive in a ruined state (SMR LB 20628). The construction of the Lady Chapel began in 1184, in response to the fire which had destroyed the Old Church together with most of the rest of the Abbey; it was consecrated in 1186, almost certainly before it was fully completed. The Chapel was built on the same site as the Old Church and deliberately echoed its dimensions and alignment. The speed of the response and the outstanding quality of the new building, of which much of the ruined shell survives, is a testament to the importance of the Old Church even in the late 12th century. The Lady Chapel was not linked to the main church until the 13th century when the 'Galilee' was constructed. Though its foundations are deep (over 3 metres), there was originally no crypt: this was not constructed until c1500, at which time a direct access way to St Joseph's well was also

incorporated. The Chapel was ransacked and wrecked after the Dissolution. Post-medieval accounts (such as that of Stukeley, 1724) describe the subsequent flooding from the underlying springs, but state that many lead coffins had been rescued. The crypt was cleared and stabilised in the 19th century.

Building of the Great Church commenced shortly after the fire and additions and improvements continued until the Dissolution, though the building was dedicated in the early 14th century. It was built partly over the earlier churches, both Saxon and Norman, but also extended eastward, becoming with the construction of the Edgar Chapel in the late 15th and early 16th centuries the longest ecclesiastical building in England.

Other features

The medieval precinct interior is important at Glastonbury because its extent is known with some precision and therefore there is an unusual opportunity to produce a complete plan. The excavations which have taken place so far have not reflected this, either because the excavators were interested principally in the churches, or, more recently, because archaeological investigations have been development led. However, extensive earthwork and parchmark surveys have been completed (Burrow, 1982; Ellis 1982a; Hollinrake, C & N, 1989c), and have revealed that archaeological features extend throughout the precinct, beyond the Scheduled area (SM 33050), and into the grounds of the abbey house.

Other major buildings within the precinct include the pre- and post-1184 monastic complexes (SMR 23616), documented as including chapter house, the monks' dormer and refectory, brewery, kitchens, cloisters, lavatories, a bell tower, infirmary, stables and other elements; and successive Abbot's lodgings. Whilst the former have not been given the same attention as the churches, some details of the layout have already been recovered. The latter could be of exceptional interest, but has been little studied. The Abbots' hall, kitchen and gardens lay to the south-west of the Great Church: the kitchen of the latest version of the complex survives (SMR LB 20629). There were at least three successive halls, the first of which may have been the 12th century "castellum" mentioned by the 13th century historian Adam of Domesday. The final version was demolished c1720, and is portrayed in post-medieval illustrations such as the one by Hollar (reproduced in Dunning, 1994, p15).

Many other minor buildings must have existed within the precinct. Collinson quotes an early 16th century inventory of buildings showing numbers of dwellings and offices, with their own kitchens, butteries, bake houses, as well as still-houses, and private chapels. Excavations in the north-west corner of the precinct (Woods, 1994) revealed traces of medieval priests' accommodation and of St Patrick's Almshouses (SMR 23569). These almshouses, which originally consisted of a hall, domestic buildings and chapel (which survives: SMR LB 20627), were built in the early 16th century by Abbot Bere, and appear to be a

partial refoundation of the 13th century Hospital of St John the Baptist, which had long been succeeded by the Hospital and (men's) Almshouses of St Mary Magdalene (see p36). They were rebuilt in the 19th century but are now demolished. A 1784 sketch of the almshouses before they were rebuilt survives.

The Silver Street excavations in 1978 also found structures at the northern edge of the medieval precinct together with large dumps of material associated with industrial activity, such as bronze working and tile making. Phelps (1836) also states that there was a mint in the late 11th century.

Other features mapped by the earthwork and parchmark surveys are believed to include, as well as precinct buildings, complexes of streams, conduits and fish- or mill- ponds, as well as terraced herb or vegetable gardens. Documentary references to the early 14th century gardens at Glastonbury mention an orchard, a vineyard, a herb garden, vegetable plots, flower beds and pasture. The earthworks (SMR 23622) are relatively slight, perhaps as a result of repeated attempts to level them in the post-medieval period. However, some of them are also likely to be of post-medieval origin, reflecting changing field and plot boundaries (see Burrow, 1978).

Some archaeological investigation into the water features has taken place. In 1980 the fishpond was cleaned and repaired and shown to be, in its present form, 18th century. However, the contours of the pond suggested that it might have replaced an earlier fishpond or other water feature (Ellis, 1980). Work undertaken in connection with the Chaingate Mills excavation (Ellis, 1982a) showed that the fishpond overlies earlier features, which are probably medieval and may be connected with the Abbey's water management. Since these features appear to have been truncated by post-medieval developments on Magdalene Street whilst the pre-13th century ponds (see GLA/307, p26) were not, it is thought that they must represent a later medieval realignment of the area, part of the wholesale revision of the Abbey's water management in the 13th century. The exact form which this took is not known, but the observation of late medieval waterlogged deposits to the north (behind 3a Magdalene Street) may mean that the mill ponds could have been realigned north-south (Ellis 1982a). But much still remains to be learnt about the Abbey Mill, and about its leat and pond system.

The post-medieval period

In the post-medieval period, only the Abbots' kitchen remained structurally sound; it was in use as a Quaker meeting house in 1677. Otherwise, the precinct fared badly, being used as industrial site, campsite, quarry and farmland. It was granted to Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, by Edward VI, and in 1550 he set up a sizeable colony of Walloon weavers (which only lasted until 1554) within the precinct. Documentary sources indicate that they built two dyehouses, a brewhouse and a bakehouse, though these did not long survive the failure of the colony. Monmouth and his army camped in the grounds in 1685; and excavations have found rubbish deposits attributed to this episode. By the early 18th century, stone was still being quarried from the ruins and sold off, St Mary's Chapel was converted to a stable, and the crypt of the Lady Chapel was flooded (Stukeley, 1723). Much of the land was parcelled out for agriculture and houses and barns

built upon it (including SMR LB 20631; see also GLA/510, p42).

The area shown is based on all the above information.

(b) Other
GLA/318

St John's Church and churchyard (SMR 23572; SMR LB 20585)

Though St John's Church, the parish church outside the Abbey, is first referred to in a document of 1175, other evidence suggests that it was an earlier foundation. Archaeological work has proved the existence of a Norman, or earlier, structure, and pre-Conquest burials. It has also been shown that the churchyard must have contracted in the medieval period, probably when the town was laid out in the 13th century (see GLA/318, p22). Though a little 12th or 13th century fabric survives on the north side of the surviving church, the rest of the building dates largely from the 14th and 15th centuries. The surviving 15th century west tower is one of the highest in Somerset, but there was previously a central tower, which collapsed in the mid 15th century. The foundations of this central tower were seen during excavations in 1857, and were shown to be late 12th or early 13th century. Part of an early medieval cruciform church plan was also recovered from these excavations and from further trenches in 1980 (Ellis 1982a).

Until the mid 13th century the Hospital and Almshouses of St John the Baptist (SMR 23569) had existed to the north of the church; fabric from this structure may be amongst that which survives on the north side of the church (Woods, 1995). Though the Hospital was closed and the almshouses moved to Magdalene Street (SMR 23575, see GLA/405, p36) and, later, the Abbey Precinct (see GLA/401, p34), the churchyard was not cleared of its other occupation. Until 1820 it was separated from the High Street by a rank of commercial properties, the entrance to the churchyard being through an archway under the upper chambers of one of these buildings. There is evidence that by the 1360s St John's possessed at least six shops, which could have been these buildings, believed to have originated as market stalls on the edge of the churchyard (Hollinrake, C & N, 1996). 19th century accounts describe the buildings as extending further into the High Street than the churchyard now does.

Maps of the 17th and 19th centuries show rows of small cottages round all four sides of the churchyard, which was itself marked only by hedges and flimsy fences. The cottages were connected by a network of pathways, though Church Lane itself was only created after 1820, when the buildings were cleared. At this time the churchyard was levelled, and "more than 800 loads of earth and bones were ... carted away, and used for manure" (Bulleid, 1891).

There was a vicarage for St Johns in the medieval period. The latest reference to it is 1623 and the site is not known.

The marked area is conjectural, based on the post-medieval churchyard and the Church Lane observations.

GLA/403 St Benignus' Church (St Benedict)

St Benedict's Church and churchyard (SMR 25186) are probably of early medieval origin. There are documentary references to the bringing of relics of St Benignus from the Abbey's properties at Meare to the Abbey in 1091; the construction of the church (a dependent chapel of St John's) was supposedly associated with this event. However, there is little archaeological information on the church's origins, as no excavation has taken place. The earliest surviving fabric is 14th century, but most of the church (SMR LB 20520) was rebuilt in the early 16th century by Abbot Bere. The possibility of an earlier origin - perhaps as a market chapel - should not be ruled out as the church is (approximately) aligned with the Abbey churches and stands close to the possible entrance to the market from the canal.

The marked area is from the 1821 map.

GLA/405 St Mary's Hospital, Chapel and Almshouses

The Hospital of St Mary Magdalene (SMR 23575; SMR LB 20643; SM 33051) originated in the mid-13th century, probably when almshouses previously sited on the north side of St John's Church (see GLA/318, p35) were moved out of town. The move may have been due to the conversion of the almshouses into a leper hospital, which had to be sited out of town (C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997). The St Mary's 'almshouses' were originally just cubicles in a large infirmary hall, of which some 14th century work survives, and to the east end of which was attached a chapel, which still contains some 13th century fabric. The cubicles were converted into two rows of small cottages in the 16th century and repaired in the 18th century: the more southerly was demolished in 1958, and a garden laid out, but the north row survives. Four paving slabs probably associated with the almshouses were found at the eastern end of the garden of 1-17 Magdalene Close in 1992 (SMR 25555).

The area marked is from the 1996 map.

GLA/404 St James' Chapel

St James' Chapel was the third of Glastonbury's medieval pilgrim chapels, the other two probably being on the Tor and at Beckery. It may originally have been dedicated to St Katherine, for there is an early 16th century reference to a cottage previously known as 'St Katheren Chapell in Bovetown', the original St James' Chapel perhaps being a market chapel in the High Street. There are also earlier medieval references to a chapel 'against the windmill' (1260) and to 'la Chapele in North field' (Dunning, 1994). The chapel survives as a cottage (SMR LB 20525).

The site is marked from information in Aston & Leech (1977).

- GLA/402 “Suicides’ graves”
 “When excavating at the junction of the new road with Bere Lane and HillHead, some bodies of suicides were dug up, each with a stake ... driven through it” (Bulleid, 1904).

The site is marked from the above information.

4.4.f Settlement (Urban)

There is documentary evidence, and an increasing amount of archaeological evidence, that a wholesale reorganisation of the earlier precinct and settlement took place in the 12th/ 13th century. This is most reasonably interpreted as the laying out, by the Abbey, of the new medieval town (SMR 23620), possibly at least in part as a consequence of fire damage. Though much of this layout survives, the details of the process by which it was superimposed on existing features are hardly understood and much remains to be discovered.

(i) Market place(s)

- GLA/427 The medieval Tor Fair site (SMR 23588)
 A charter of 1243 granted the right to hold an annual fair “at the monastery of St Michael on the Tor”. Tor Fair was held in the fields south of the Tor. The “fair field” is shown on the Tithe Map, opposite the end of Cinnamon Lane; the fair probably spread into adjacent fields, but there is no good evidence of its extent.

The marked area is the site marked on the Tithe Map as the fair field. It is unlikely to represent the entire fair site.

- GLA/428 Medieval markets
 The surviving town plan, and to a certain extent the documentary evidence, suggest that Glastonbury’s 13th century and later market spaces were linear, with stalls along the High Street (the south side of which may not have been completely developed until the post-medieval period: see GLA/439, p41) and part of Magdalene Street, against the Abbey walls. Whilst it is possible that the area between St Benedict’s and the Abbey formed a market place which became infilled, there is only slight evidence for this (see GLA/420, p38) and the area may represent a relic of a previous Saxon market place. The medieval market cross (SMR 25188) was not demolished until 1808, and appears on both the map of c1609 and post-medieval illustrations, as well as being described by Leland. These show that it was an octagonal pillared structure, in approximately the same position as or slightly to the south of its 1848 replacement. Adjacent to the cross was a conduit (SMR 23589), known as Fabian’s Put in the 13th century and still there in the Post-medieval period. The engravings show that stalls encroached upon the market place; there are also references to a shambles and a market house, the positions of which are unclear.

The central market place is from the c1609 to 1844 maps. The surrounding streets were also market areas.

(ii) *Burgages and tenements*

A number of areas of Glastonbury can be shown from the medieval cartularies to have been laid out by the 13th century. Archaeological investigations in the town have produced evidence supporting a 12th/ 13th century origin for the town in its present form. However, only a small part of the pattern has been uncovered. Moreover, the work which has taken place has shown that the medieval plots may contain unpredicted remains of earlier medieval or pre-Conquest alignments of great importance for the understanding of the earlier settlement (the extent of which is not perfectly understood). These alignments include large infilled ditches offering exceptional preservation.

GLA/420 Benedict Street south/ Magdalene Street west (possible encroachments)

These tenements appear fairly irregular on the 19th century maps, and it is possible that they represent early encroachments on an open market area abutting the late Saxon/ early medieval precinct boundary ditch. Any opportunity to date the tenement boundaries in this area, and establish their relationship to the earlier form of the settlement will therefore be important. No definitely early structures survive, though one with an 18th century facade is probably post-medieval or earlier (SMR LB 20519), and there is one other Listed building of late 18th century origin (SMR LB 20527).

From the 1821 and 1844 maps.

GLA/421 Benedict Street south/ Magdalene Street west

By the early 19th century, this block contained two sets of tenements, one fronting onto Benedict Street and one onto Magdalene Street. These were divided by the medieval Gropecuntlane, for which 13th century property deeds survive. Some archaeological work has taken place in this area (Aston & Murless, 1978 - SMR 25559; Hollinrake, C & N, 1988b - SMR 25556). Watching briefs and small trenches have found evidence not only of the pre-Conquest/early medieval precinct ditch and contemporary occupation (on a different alignment from the later medieval plots), but also iron slag indicative of late 12th and 13th century industrial activity at the head of the canal (GLA/312, p14), which was probably still open. It is possible that this activity is connected with the rebuilding following the 1184 fire. Domestic pottery and wells were found only in association with 14th century layers, post-dating the establishment of the street itself, and the single medieval Listed Building in the block (SMR LB 20638) is also of late-medieval origin.

The archaeological investigations also found evidence that significant industrial activity was taking place in this area in the post-medieval period (the 17th and 18th centuries), with garden soil not being laid down until the late 18th century. They uncovered large pits full of animal bones and skulls and woodchips suggestive of an abattoir and tannery situated close to the market (Hollinrake, C

& N, 1988b). Similar debris has been encountered in extensive rubbish deposits to the west and south of the town (Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b,d; SMR 90011), showing that this must have been a large scale concern. The structures connected with it have not yet been located, however.

The archaeological evidence recovered to date indicates that this may be an area of complex and interesting deposits. The sequence of activities has so far only been sketched, however, and any further opportunities to investigate the area should be exploited to the full.

The area is defined from the 1821 and 1844 maps, together with information from the SMR.

GLA/433

Magdalene Street west

There has been no archaeological work within this area, which includes St Mary's Hospital (see GLA/405, p36). The Hospital was established in the mid-13th century, which suggests a date for the establishment of this block, which is currently believed to partially overlie the previous precinct line and, perhaps, the Chaingate (see GLA/401, p33). Documentary references appear to imply that this area, between the Abbots' lodgings and the park, may have been regarded as beyond the town, or even in the park itself. The 19th century maps show relatively broad, gracious plots and Hollar's engraving of c1670 also appears to show large residences, broadside on to the street; on the other hand, surviving structures include two rows of 17th century cottages (SMR LB 20642, 20645) as well as substantial 19th century buildings (such as Somerset House, SMR LB 20639). Further research will be necessary to establish the character of this area.

Defined from the c1609 to 1844 maps.

GLA/434

Dod Lane and Chilkwell Street

Documentary and archaeological evidence suggests that properties along both Dod Lane and Chilkwell Street were laid out by the 13th century. Dod Lane itself is probably an earlier alignment than Chilkwell Street and has been the focus of survey work in recent years. The Bushy Combe earthwork survey revealed possible house platforms along the north side of Dod Lane (sites abandoned by the 18th century); 12th century pottery has also been recovered from the gardens of houses along the lane (Hollinrake, C & N, 1993b). Moreover, excavations (SMR 25568) on the southern corner of the junction with Chilkwell Street revealed part of the foundations of a substantial stone building, as well as ditches, pits and a stone-capped drain, all dated to the medieval period. These were interpreted as perhaps being associated with the Abbey. In addition to the above features a large ditch containing 12th century pottery in its fills and running north-south about 30 metres to the east of Chilkwell Street was observed (Hollinrake, Hollinrake & Hearne, 1993). The exact significance of this ditch has not been established.

Very little other work has taken place in Chilkwell Street, though a watching brief on a sewerage scheme in 1991 (SMR 90012; Wessex Archaeology, 1991) noted no signs of occupation on the western side of the road outside the Abbey. There are references which suggest that at least by the late medieval period, the stream was the focus of small-scale industry, and that there was at least one dye-house there (Bulleid, 1904; see also GLA/401, p35). Much remains to be learnt about the pattern of development along the street to the south-east, where one late medieval Listed Building (SMR LB 20547), and several post-medieval cottages (SMR LB 20543, 20548, 20556, 20557) and houses (SMR LB 20549, 20555, 20560), survive, together with a probable farm outbuilding (SMR LB 20561). A number of other Listed properties of later date also survive along Chilkwell Street and Lambrook Street (eg SMR LB 20544, 20620).

From the 19th century maps; the eastern end of Dod Lane is from Hollinrake, C & N, 1993b.

GLA/435

Bove Town

Little is known archaeologically of the plots along either the south or the north side of Bove Town. Their date of origin is unclear: though the plots are of a form consistent with a medieval origin, there appear to be no references to medieval deeds for this street and no development is shown along on the road on the c1609 map (though this must be misleading). But 12th or 13th century pottery has been recovered from a small east-west ditch in the back gardens of properties south of the road (C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997), and some structures of medieval origin survive. St James Chapel (GLA/404, p36) is one such, and may mark the limit of medieval development on the north side of the road. On the south side another Listed building of possible medieval origin, probably originally a farmhouse, survives further east (SMR LB 20532); other Listed

structures of post-medieval (or earlier) origin include cottages (SMR LB 20535, 20540) and a house (SMR LB 20529). The evidence tends to suggest development from groups of smallholdings and farms rather than from burgage tenements (C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997).

An area behind the Bove Town south plots was noted as containing earthworks, possibly to be interpreted as house sites, in the Bushy Combe environmental assessment (Hollinrake, C & N, 1993b); (SMR 25517, 25518). These have not been excavated or dated. Some may be post-medieval, but the possibility exists that they could be earlier.

A considerable number of Listed properties in Bove Town date from the late 18th and 19th centuries (eg SMR LB 20523, 20530), showing that it retained its importance after the main Wells route was altered. The effect which these buildings have had on the archaeology of the area has not been assessed, but it is likely that potentially important archaeological deposits may remain between them.

The main tenement block is from the late 18th and early 19th century maps. The area of earthworks is from Hollinrake, C & N, 1993b.

GLA/436

High Street northwest

These tenements were laid out, probably in the late 12th or 13th century, in a prime position on the north side of the main market area. Archaeological investigations to the rear of 2 Market Place (Hollinrake, C & N, 1989a) revealed a large east-west ditch only finally infilled and consolidated in the 13th century; and in Church Lane (Hollinrake, C & N, 1996) the first occupation across part of the old burial ground was shown to be of the same date. Medieval documents also show that urban plots, which included administrative buildings, as well as commercial properties, were located here by the 13th century. Abbot Sodbury's 1325 survey mentions a sherrifs' court, gaol, stalls and a tollhouse on the north side of the High Street, opposite the Abbots' court house.

Four Listed late medieval buildings and three post-medieval still survive in this block (SMR LB 20647, 20648, 20574 and 20579; SMR LB 20572, 20581, 20582). The latter two - the George and Pilgrim Inn (SMR 25189, SMR LB 20574) and the Tribunal (SMR 24917, SMR LB 20579; SM 22075) - are Grade I Listed. The George is an outstanding cellared medieval inn, built by the Abbots in the mid 15th century. The Tribunal, the earliest surviving domestic building in Glastonbury, was probably originally a merchants's house, and not the medieval Court House, the name 'Tribunal' becoming associated with it in the 18th century (Dunning, 1991; Rahtz, 1993). Excavations at the Tribunal in 1992 (Hollinrake, C & N, 1993a) revealed evidence of a timber building, probably 12th century, underlying the later medieval stone foundations. The area also includes the Crown Hotel, which may have been the medieval hostelry of Bruton Priory

(C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997).

The area shown includes parts of the Church Lane and Market Place frontages. Excavations in Church Lane in 1996 produced evidence of a north-south plot boundary preceding the east-west ones, which may imply that the High Street burgages at first directly abutted the churchyard - or the property of St John's (which included an open space west of the church and a brewhouse west of the cemetery in the 15th century). One Listed cottage of post-medieval or earlier origin survives (SMR LB 20562). More information is needed to understand the pattern of development here.

The frontages of this part of High Street and Market Place were extensively redeveloped in the 19th century, and Listed survivals include a bank (SMR LB 20575) and hotel (SMR LB 20572) as well as cottages (SMR LB 20661) and houses and shops (eg SMR LB 20583, 20584). The extent to which each of these has damaged the underlying archaeology has not been assessed.

The area shown is from the 18th and 19th century maps.

GLA/438

High Street north-east

Very little is known of the archaeology of this area, though a medieval origin for the plots is likely. A 1977 watching brief to the rear of 51 High St (SMR 23591) recovered medieval and post-medieval pottery and post-medieval hearth and garden features; and a more recent watching brief at 92 High Street found pits containing 12th and 13th century pottery (C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997). A number of Listed structures of post-medieval or earlier origin survive, including houses (SMR LB 20588, 20590, 20591) and cottages (SMR LB 20592, 20593, 20595, 20596).

From the c1609 - 1880s maps.

GLA/441

Northload Street

13th century deeds exist for properties in Northload Street, and archaeological evidence of late 12th and 13th century occupation on its eastern side has also been recovered from an evaluation in George Street (SMR 25572, a site in the backs of the medieval tenements which preceded the street). This found traces of medieval and post-medieval plot boundaries, one of them apparently a major division, together with domestic refuse, including 12th and 13th century pottery, and possible kiln wasters (Hollinrake, C & N, 1994). The evaluation showed that, at least on this site, the plots extended further in the medieval period than they did by the 19th century. The finds of possible kiln wasters also suggest that a kiln may have existed nearby.

Little is known archaeologically of the plots on the western side of Northload Street, but they are likely to have been similar in character to those on the east.

In the 19th century the plots backed onto orchards which occupied the land between the town and the peat deposits. During the Wessex Water sewer trench scheme (SMR 90011) a lynchet and stone spread was noted on the boundary between the peat deposits and the clay.

Only one Listed structure of pre-1800 origin (SMR LB 20663) survives along Northload Street.

Development on Northload Street is marked on the c1609 map and later maps. The exact line of the rear of the tenement plots, which has been obscured by later developments, is estimated from the 1821 map and the results of the George Street evaluation.

GLA/439

High Street south/ (Silver Street)

The pattern of medieval development on the south side of the High Street is far from clear, particularly to the east of the old Abbey north gate. Whilst several small excavations there have shown that Silver Street in its present form is a post-medieval development (Ellis, 1982a,b; 1989; Leach, 1988a; Hollinrake, C & N, 1992c), they have not unambiguously established the medieval layout of the area.

There are documentary references to properties on the south side of the High Street in the medieval period. These include the Abbots' courthouse (1325), which was replaced by three tenements in the late 14th or 15th century when the courthouse was rebuilt elsewhere (Dunning, 1991) by Abbot Bere. The original hospitium, also replaced by Bere, is said by Phelps to have stood on the south side of the High Street and to have survived until the 18th century, when it was replaced by the White Hart Inn. It is possible that both of these buildings stood to the west of the Abbey gate, between the market and the precinct boundary, though their sites have not been archaeologically located. In fact, there has been no archaeological work in the block west of the north gate and it is not known whether short plots were laid out there, or whether the Abbey outbuildings were surrounded by encroaching development or open space. However, two Listed late medieval buildings survive on the Market Place itself (SMR LB 20650, SMR LB 20651).

East of the north gate, excavations south of the High Street and on Silver Street (SMR 25525, 25526) have shown that the precinct boundary formerly extended into plots which now run between the High Street and Silver Street (see GLA/401, p32). These excavations recovered no signs of secular occupation predating the 16th century, and revealed that, at this point, the apparently Medieval plot boundaries in fact postdated the removal of the wall. The accompanying post-medieval foundations were unusually substantial, because of the wet ground. Moreover, no Listed structures of definite medieval origin survive in this area - though there are four of 17th and 18th century date (SMR LB 20604, 20605, 20608, 20616).

The simplest hypothesis based on the Silver Street and High Street excavations is that the medieval precinct boundary continued straight on towards Lambrook Street, leaving some room for possible short plots or other development, the nature of which has not been established, between the precinct boundary and the main street (Leach & Ellis, 1993). Though this is the hypothesis shown on the maps, it is not entirely satisfactory. There is documentary evidence of plots being exchanged in Cart Lane (Silver Street) in 1240 (Hollinrake, C & N, 1989d). Moreover, a watching brief on the rear of 4 Victoria Street (just south of the extrapolated line of the precinct boundary and therefore within the precinct) picked up a north-south ditch, interpreted as a tenement plot boundary, which contained a late 12th century coin. This suggests that tenements *were* laid out here, as elsewhere in the town, at this date. Whether these plots extended as far as the stream, or whether the evidence can be accounted for by a minor variation in the precinct boundary line, remains to be established.

The frontages along the south side of the High Street were extensively redeveloped in the late 18th and 19th centuries, as is shown by the distribution of Listed buildings of those dates (some of which may conceivably conceal earlier structures). These are mostly houses (eg SMR LB 20602, 20607) not extending as far as the precinct boundary; however, two at the eastern end of the street, the Congregational Church (SMR LB 20613) and the former Avalon Museum (SMR LB 20614) do straddle it.

The mapped areas are from the 18th and 19th century maps and the suggestions of Leach & Ellis, 1993.

GLA/440

Benedict Street

There are references to properties on Benedict Street by the 13th century, but little is known of them archaeologically. A pair of late medieval cottages survives, near the Market Place end (SMR LB 20521), and a much-altered post-medieval house on the Northload frontage (SMR LB 20658). There also a few Listed properties which date from the later 18th and 19th centuries (eg SMR LB 20522, 20659).

A stream ran along or through the backs of the plots on the north side of the street, at least in the 19th century. Though this has not been investigated it may be of early origin, perhaps representing, or at least connected with, the continuation of the watercourse picked up in Market Place and Northload Street.

From the 1844 map.

GLA/437

Possible medieval occupation

It is possible that urban occupation extended further at the height of Glastonbury's power; these areas appear as possible remains of tenement layouts on the 1802 and 1821 map (though the former is somewhat stylised). Dunning

(1994) suggests that the suburb of Northbynne lay behind St John's. It is also possible that there was some development along the road which later became the New Wells Road, though this was a minor road leading to the windmill in the medieval period.

From the 1821 map plots - conjectural.

GLA/510

Development within the precinct

The available maps and the results of small excavations at Chaingate Mill (Ellis, 1982a; SMR 25565), the Library site (Broomhead, 1995; SMR 25559) and in the precinct itself show that plots were established along the north side of Bere Lane and the east side of Magdalene Street by the end of the post-medieval period. One pair of Listed 18th century cottages survives (SMR LB 20636). The north-west corner of the precinct was also laid out, though building in this area was limited and may have been largely agricultural.

In the 19th century at least two large houses were built in the Abbey grounds. Abbot's Leigh House (SMR LB 20633) survives (see also GLA/618, p54), together with two other 18th or 19th century houses (SMR LB 20634, 20635).

From the 1811 and 1821 maps.

GLA/512

Suburbs and roadside developments

Small cottages and farms straggled along the main routes out of town in the Post-medieval period. Most of these, some of which may have been of medieval origin, have been lost to redevelopment.

From the 1811 and 1821 maps.

(iii) The Abbey farm

GLA/418

The Abbey Tithe Barn and farm

Between the Abbey and the plots along the southern end of Chilkwell Street stood the buildings of the Abbey farm, the farmland stretching away to the south.

The Abbey's Tithe Barn (SMR 24918; SMR LB 20554; SM 24918) is one of four surviving stone barns associated with Glastonbury's estates (the others are at Doulting, Pilton, and West Bradley; there were others which have not survived). The surviving structure is thought to be 14th century, on the basis of both the architectural style and felling dates obtained by dendrochronology from the roof timbers. However the documentary evidence does not rule out the possibility that the barn shell could be earlier than the roof, which is recorded as a thatched roof in both 1302-1303 and 1364-1365, but as a tiled roof in 1389-1390 (Bond & Weller, 1991).

There are several references to the barn in the Abbey surveys, and these show that

it probably formed part of the home farm. There is reference to a barn-reeve by 1189. In 1274-1275 a barton and barn with an oast house are recorded (though the site is not specified). 14th century references include mentions of a stable, a granary adjoining the barn, and an ox-shed; and in the early 16th century a pigsty, dovecot and slaughterhouse are also mentioned. Of the medieval structures, only the barn now survives. The positions of the other structures, together with other possible features connected with the post-medieval parsonage marked on the c1609 map, are not known. But Bond & Weller note that the slightly odd alignment of the 14th century barn, and its unusual position relative to the contours of the hill, may relate to the earlier form of the site.

The site was largely rebuilt as Abbey Farm in the 19th century. Restoration and survey work was carried out in the 1970s and 1980s (Bond & Weller, 1991) and the barn is now part of the Somerset Rural Life Museum.

The marked area is that shown in Bond & Weller as probably containing the home farm as well as the barn.

4.4.g Industrial sites

Not mapped There are references to saltworks (SMR 23592) in medieval Glastonbury. There may be a kiln site near George Street: an evaluation in that area picked up possible tile wasters (Hollinrake, C & N, 1994). There were probably also a medieval mill and a short-lived weaving settlement in the Abbey precinct (see p35), and there are references to at least one medieval horse mill, perhaps attached to an inn.

4.5 Pre-1800 archaeological components (outlying area), shown on Map D

Medieval and post-medieval features in the outlying area are considered together.

4.5.a Redevelopment in earlier settlement components

The suggested early settlement areas at Wick and Edgarley have been redefined according to their actual appearance on the post-medieval maps.

4.5.b Communications

(a) Roads, streets and routeways

GLA/412 Medieval causeways

In the 13th century the causeway on the southern route was rebuilt, slightly to the west of the earlier causeway, and a new bridge built (see below, GLA/406). Less is known archaeologically of this feature, which has carried the post-medieval roads and has therefore been much altered, than of its predecessor (see GLA/310, p13).

Hartlake Causeway was also a product of the high medieval drainage schemes of Glastonbury Abbey. This feature was described by Leland in the 16th century.

From the 1778 map and Rahtz, 1993.

GLA/415, GLA/502

Main rural routes (pre-1778)

The surrounding routes could not be studied in any detail for this report. Those shown are the main roads to Wells, Edgarley and West Pennard, and Street, and the routes to Wick, Norwood, Butleigh, Meare and Glastonbury Moor. Other lanes, including a number into the open fields, are likely to be of medieval origin.

Mainly from the c1609 and 1778 maps, with extra information from the 1821 map.

GLA/501

Enclosures (droves)

The moor west of Glastonbury was partially enclosed by c1609. The first major enclosure was as early as 1721, and affected both Common Moor and South Moor. Several droves were well-established by around 1800, though these were not studied in any detail for this report. A continuation of Benedict Street which shows on the c1609 map was obliterated by later post-medieval cuts.

From the 1778 and 1811 maps. One early alignment across what became New Close is from the c1609 map.

(b) Bridges

GLA/406

Pomparles Bridge (SMR 23577)

A stone bridge was built in the 12th or 13th century as part of the Abbots' Brue improvements, and this came to be known as Pomparles Bridge, probably a corruption of *Pont Perlus*, the "dangerous bridge" of medieval romance (Morland, 1912). The bridge survived until 1826, and there is both documentary and archaeological evidence for its appearance. The bridge is mentioned in 1502 as Street Bridge; Leland describes it as having four arches, though an illustration in Phelps' history (1839) shows only two, one round and one pointed. Excavations preceding the construction of a new bridge in 1912 located some of the elements illustrated in Phelps and also the remains of a second round arch to the south of that illustrated in Phelps. This was dated to the 12th century, and the excavator concluded that the two round arches were original and spanned the main stream: when the pointed arch was added, in the 14th or 15th century, an extension to the watercourse was cut out of the northern bank (Morland, 1912).

The 1912 excavations did not locate the entire bridge structure, but the extent to which further remains might now survive is uncertain.

The mapped area is from the SMR.

GLA/410

Other medieval or post-medieval crossing points

Other medieval bridges, which may have been of stone, are also recorded from

the 14th century onwards (though they were probably associated with the 13th century water schemes). *Bumbaley Bridge*, as it was known in the 19th century (Morland, 1922) carried the road from Pomparles Bridge over the millstream. Two other bridges over the old course of the Brue, which was feeding the millstream, probably replaced fords in the medieval period, and are marked on the c1609 map: *Maidlode Bridge* (later Benedict Bridge), referred to by 1398, carried traffic from Maidlode Street (later Benedict Street) west onto the moor; *North Bridge* took Northload Street north-west onto the moor. There may also have been a ford near St Bridget's Chapel. To the north of the town was *Hartlake Bridge* (SMR 23579), which was described by Leland as a single-arched stone bridge in the mid 16th century: it was rebuilt in 1775. *Cow Bridge* carried the Butleigh road south across the river. Very little is known archaeologically of any of these early bridges, the exact sites of which are not known. All have remained important crossing points and seen considerable development. The extent of archaeological survival is not known for any of them.

The position of Bumbaley Bridge and Cow Bridge are from the 1778 map. Benedict Bridge and North Bridge are from the c1609 map. Hartlake Bridge is from the SMR.

GLA/507 Other pre-1800 bridges
Cradle Bridge crossed the river onto Hulk Moor.

From the 1778 map.

(c) *Harbour and quays*

GLA/432 Possible wharves

There are references to goods brought in by river being landed at Madelode Bridge (Dunning, 1994) in the medieval period. This implies the possible existence of some form of wharf. Large dressed timbers were seen during the installation of a new sawmill in the 1970s (Hollinrake, C & N, 1992d): though these are said to have “looked machine cut”, and therefore may have been 19th century, there appears to have been no proper archaeological investigation, and it remains possible that they may have been earlier.

The extent of the possible wharf area is conjectural.

4.5.c *Water*

(a) *River canalisations and embankments*

GLA/407 Brue canalisations and embankments

The Brue drainage was extensively managed in the medieval period, and stretches of the river were canalised between Street Bridge and Meare Pool (by 1249), and upstream of Street Bridge. There are documentary references to these ventures in the 13th century; there has also been a small amount of archaeological investigation. The excavations at Pomparles in 1912 showed that the medieval bridge had a considerably higher base than the subsequent 1826 bridge. This was interpreted at the time as meaning that the river was running shallow and therefore probably flooding frequently. However, a more recent archaeological investigation at Clyse Hole has shown that at this point, the watercourse was not cut into the peat, clay dumps instead being built up on a bed of tree trunks (Rahtz, 1993): the reason for this may have been to provide a head of water for the mills (C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997). The water level in this stretch remains up to 60cm higher than the surrounding ground level today. Nevertheless, there were flood embankments: the 1774 map shows the Bere Wall, which may be of medieval origin. Documentary evidence (principally Leland) suggests that the old course of the Brue was still a larger watercourse than the canalisations at the end of the medieval period (Brunning, forthcoming).

The canalisations are marked from information in Rahtz (1993).

GLA/411 The River Hartlake and Fountains Wall

Fountains Wall and the River Hartlake marked the boundary between Wells and Glastonbury lands (C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997). The embankment of Fountains Wall (SMR 23629), described by Leland in the 16th century, extended either side of the causeway across the River Hartlake, which was itself artificially created in

1326 to combine the channels of the Redlake and Whitelake (Dunning, 1994). Hartlake Dam was at the western end of the channel.

The embankments are shown from information in the SMR and in Rahtz (1993). The dam is shown on the 1811 map.

GLA/408

The millstream

The millstream was constructed in the 13th century and fed mills at Beckery and Northover (see GLA/409, p49). The millstream has not been archaeologically investigated.

From the 1778 map.

4.5.d *Manors and estates*

GLA/413

Wirrall Park

Wirrall Park (SMR 23574) is first referred to by name in a document of 1247 though an earlier document of 1210 refers less specifically to a parker at Glastonbury. There are few details of the park in the medieval surveys (Dunning, 1994) and its extent in this period is uncertain. Henry VIII's commissioners after the Dissolution give a relatively short perimeter measurement of about a mile and a quarter. The c1609 map shows that at that date the actual deer park was on Wearyall Hill: the perimeter of the area depicted approximates to that given by the commissioners.

However, a much larger area, including most of the basin between Wearyall Hill, the millstream and Benedict Street, was associated with the park estate in post-medieval landholdings (and therefore probably earlier). The abandonment of both the Mound (see GLA/308, p27) and the waterways (see GLA/312, GLA/317; p14, p15) in the 13th century make more sense in the context of this larger area.

The park area has been shown to contain important archaeological deposits and features., both on the hill and in the basin. The full extent of the archaeology is not known, as it was not possible to undertake a detailed survey before the levelling of parts of the park for development. Nevertheless, rapid earthwork surveys (Hollinrake, C & N, in litt.) have shown traces of banks and ditches (perhaps including parts of the park pale), and possible occupation platforms and terraces, in addition to the major features (the Mound and the canal). Probable pre-Conquest occupation within the medieval park area is indicated by the finds of Roman material and by the results of the Fairfield excavations (see GLA/307, p26). Wearyall Park also contains the "Glastonbury Thorn" (SMR 23613). This tree allegedly marks the site of the ancient tree (destroyed in the 16th or 17th century) which the medieval monks had made into a centre of pilgrimage by inventing the legend of the coming of Joseph of Arimathea to Glastonbury.

Recent archaeological evaluations and watching briefs in the basin (Leach 1988b;

Hollinrake, C & N, 1989e) have shown how wet this area was until late medieval or post-medieval drainage and enclosure. Whilst this means that relatively few occupation features may be encountered in this area, it also means that important environmental information may be obtained, as it has been from the area north of Benedict Street.

The outline of the park is adapted from a sketch map in Hollinrake, C & N (1992b). The park depicted on the c1609 map is also shown.

GLA/425, GLA/506

Norwood Park (SMR 23578)

Norwood was not called a park in the time of Abbot Sodbury (1323-1334), though a residence is mentioned. It was, however, certainly a park by Abbot Beere's time (1494-1525), and was the largest of the Abbey's deerparks. Henry VIII's commissioners described the park as being in two divisions, with a paled perimeter of some four miles. The exact line of the perimeter was not established from the information available for this report: the boundary reproduced here is that in the SMR, but this requires further research. The most notable feature in the park appears to have been the Abbots' residence. The lodge (SMR 25190) built c1480 by Abbot Selwood still survives in part in Norwood Park Farm. The post-Dissolution survey noted a hall, buttery, kitchen and four chambers there; by this time a dairy and sheep farm had also been established on the western edge of the park (the Shepyn and the Nywedayry are referred to in Abbot Beere's time).

After the dissolution the parkland was leased as a unit and continued to be used for deer as well as cows. The 19th century maps show Norwood Farm, which has since disappeared, at its centre. The rest of the park has remained mostly undeveloped.

The park boundary is from the SMR, and the buildings from the 1811, 1821 and 1844 maps.

4.5.e *Burial sites, religious houses and places of worship*

GLA/303

St Michael's church complex on the Tor

The medieval complex which included St Michael's Church (SMR 23605) represents a continuation and development of the Saxon monastic occupation (see above, p23). Excavations in 1964-66 revealed a substantial building complex, which has been interpreted as a possible pilgrimage centre for the cult of St Michael (Rahtz, 1993).

Foremost amongst the medieval buildings was the stone church. The 1964-66 excavations revealed evidence of two phases of building, though interpretation was complicated both by the extensive rock fissuring on the Tor (repaired by boulders difficult to distinguish from actual foundations) and by later stone robbing and other post-medieval and later disturbance.

The earlier phase is believed to have been at least partly 12th century, based in part on the fragments of Romanesque worked stone which were recovered. The possible plan suggested by the excavators was somewhat wider than the later medieval building; its full length was not discovered. There was an entrance on the north side; the later medieval tower may have obscured any western entrance.

There is a medieval reference to the collapse of the early church following an earthquake c1275 and the state of the geology encountered by the excavators is not inconsistent with this. The building of its replacement by Abbot Adam of Sodbury in the first half of the 14th century is documented. This church was about 25 metres in length and 7.5 metres in width, including the 14th and 15th century tower, which still stands (SM 29700). The excavations revealed not only the probable plan, but also details of interior decoration - stucco wall rendering, window lead and glass, and decorated floor tiles - and part of a portable altar. The associated buildings were separated from the church by a boundary wall and a paved footpath to the western tower (in the second phase), and overlay the Saxon structures on the shoulder of the Tor. They were far more substantial than their predecessors and had both glazed windows and tiled floors. Part of the range may have functioned as a kitchen or bakehouse, but the complex has not been fully interpreted yet.

The complex on the Tor has the dubious distinction of being the place of execution of Richard Whiting, the last Abbot. After the Dissolution the church was closed and its stone gradually "quarried". In the 18th century only the partly ruined tower still stood (it was restored in the 19th century and in 1948). However, the Tor continued to be a focus of activity. Isolated artefacts and several later features were encountered by the excavators. These included an 18th century grave, a 19th century beacon, and structures associated with the successive tower repairs. The Tor has also been much disturbed by treasure hunters.

The marked area is from the plans in Rahtz (1993).

GLA/423

St Dunstan's Chapel

There are documentary references to St Dunstan's Chapel (SMR 23566) at Edgarley, which was converted into a barn at the Dissolution. The site is marked on the 1886 map, in a field called "Chapple" on the Tithe Map, but no evidence has been found on the ground that the Chapel was actually located here and the road itself does not appear on the 1778 map. It is therefore possible that the site marked by the OS is wrong, and that the chapel was much closer to the present nucleus of Edgarley (see GLA/319, p18).

The site has been marked from the SMR.

Not mapped

There is a reference in Phelps (1836) to a supposed nunnery site (SMR 23573)

within Wirral Park. However, no further evidence has been forthcoming and the reference may be incorrect.

4.5.f Settlement (Rural)

GLA/508

Edgarley

Edgarley may be an early settlement (see GLA/321, p26). It appears on the early 19th century maps as a dispersed hamlet, focussed on Edgarley House and stretching along the road between Edgarley and Havyatt. One Listed medieval building still survives at Higher Edgarley Farm (SMR LB 20514), and there are two further of post-medieval or earlier origin (SMR LB 20567, 20568). However, no archaeological work has taken place and the extent and character of archaeological occupation on the sites at Edgarley remains uncertain.

The plots shown are from the 1811 and 1821 maps.

GLA/513

Havyatt

Havyatt - the name of which may derive from its position at the eastern entrance to the manor of Glastonbury (C. Hollinrake, *in litt.*, 1997) - has not been studied in any detail for this report. The character and extent of archaeological deposits are not known, though some deserted plots may survive around the road(s) crossing Ponter's Ball. It is likely that some remains of post-medieval or earlier cottages and farmhouses may also survive. One Listed structure of probable 17th century date, Havyatt Farmhouse (SMR LB 20571), and another of 18th century date (SMR LB 20570), still stand.

Those plots west of the parish boundary which appear on the 1811 and 1821 maps are shown.

GLA/505

Wick

The scattered hillside settlement of Wick, or Week, was identified a separate hamlet by Phelps in the early 19th century. It has probably evolved into its present form since the Dissolution, but may be of much earlier origin (see GLA/320, p11). The earliest detailed map, that of 1821, shows a patchwork of small farmyards and enclosures linked by pathways and tracks; the significance of the pattern of field boundaries, which may reflect only the topography, has not been fully assessed. The land appears to have been demesne land (Hollinrake, C & N, 1988a) and it has not yet been established which, if any, of the farmsteads associated with Wick were worked in the medieval period or earlier. Higher Wick Farmhouse (SMR LB 20671) is of 17th century origin; and the cross-passage plan of Middle Wick Farmhouse (SMR LB 20670), a building which certainly incorporates 17th century or earlier masonry, indicates that it may possibly have originated in the medieval period (Hale, 1987). Since Lower Wick Farm appears on the c1609 map it too must be of at least 17th century, almost certainly earlier, origin.

Survey and limited excavations (SMR 25558) took place in 1988 to the east of Maidencroft Farm (Hollinrake, C & N, 1988a), in advance of and during the ploughing out of visible earthworks. They recorded a holloway partially overlain

by ridge and furrow, a long bank and ditch running roughly east-west, and a number of building platforms. One of the latter was the site of a farm, visible on the 1821 map, which had been abandoned by the time the 1886 map was produced. An excavation here produced pottery sherds ranging from the early medieval period to the 18th century, in a layer interpreted as a deep ploughsoil. This was partially overlain by a cobbled way, dated by surface finds to the 18th century, and containing three well-defined wheel ruts, leading towards the house site. A further trench was cut to investigate the bank and ditch; finds within the lower fills indicated a late 17th century origin for this feature, which had been recut several times. The excavations therefore did not produce any evidence specifically indicating earlier settlement on this particular site, though residual Prehistoric flints and Roman and medieval pottery were recovered.

The plots shown appear on the c1609, and/ or the 1811 and 1821 maps.

GLA/503

Brindham

Brindham, another dispersed group of farms, has not been studied in any detail for this report. Lower Brindham Farm dates from at least the early 17th century as it appears on the c1609 map. This shows the early buildings lying to the west of the modern farm buildings, closer to the road junction. Other plots, not all of which survived the construction of the railway, are also shown on this map.

From the c1609, 1811 and 1821 maps.

GLA/504

Northover

A hamlet at Northover is mentioned by Phelps (1836) around the crossing point and the mills (see below, GLA/409). This has not been studied in any detail, but those plots appearing on the 1811 and 1821 maps are shown; the New Inn is marked on the 1811 map. Northover Farmhouse (SMR LB 20655) is late 18th century, but the plot may have been established earlier.

From the 1811 and 1821 maps.

4.5.g *Industrial sites*

(a) *Mills*

GLA/409

Mills on the millstream

A series of mills was built by the Abbey in the later medieval period. Two sites are known. Rahtz suggests there may also have been a third, unlocated, site possibly predating the changes to the river and millstream and being somewhere south of the 15th century mill (Rahtz, 1993).

The earlier of the known medieval mills may have been the one at Beckery (SMR 23594). By the early 14th century two mills are mentioned in documents, possibly representing one watermill and one windmill, or one watermill with two sets of stones (Dunning, 1994). Post-medieval maps show a main house, gardens

to the rear and mill buildings along the leats. Beckery Mill continued in use into the 20th century and further research will be necessary to establish the relationships, and states of preservation, of the series of mills on this site. The area marked is the maximum extent of the 19th century mill.

Documentary sources suggest that the Abbot's mill at Northover was built in the late 15th century by Abbot Beere to complement that at Beckery. It was used as a fulling mill, and the late 15th century Abbot's fulling house (SMR 23598, SMR LB 20654) still survives, having been converted into a caretaker's house for the Morlands factory. There are also references to tanning at Northover, and to a blade mill, where metal was beaten (Dunning, 1994).

The two known mills are from the early 19th century maps. A suggested site for a third mill is taken from Rahtz, 1993, p14.

GLA/430

Medieval windmills

There are 13th and 14th century references to at least one windmill at Glastonbury, at Stonyacre, interpreted by Coulthard and Watts (1978) as being Stone Down Hill. Their suggested site is marked in the SMR (SMR 23634).

There is also a reference in Collinson (1791) to a terrier of Abbot Bere (1493-1524) which mentions a windmill above the town. It is possible that this refers to the site on Edmund Hill, close to Windmill Hill Road (Windmill Field Lane in 1886) suggested by Coulthard & Watts (1978) and marked in the SMR (SMR 23635). There may also have been a medieval windmill at Beckery but extent of any remains of these mills is unknown. Though Edmund Hill has been built up in this century, and Beckery Mill partly redeveloped, other sites may have fared better.

The sites of the mills are from the SMR.

GLA/511

Post-medieval windmills

A pair of engravings of c1775 show a windmill on Wearyall Hill (SMR 23633). Contemporary maps do not show this, but a windmill on Wearyall Hill is shown on the earlier maps (Newcourts, 1660, and Ogilby's, 1675, both small scale). This may be the mill set up by one John Wrinckmore in the mid 17th century in opposition to the town watermill.

From the SMR.

Not mapped The draining of Common Moor by 1722 was achieved by a water pumping engine, possibly wind-powered (SMR 23636). The location is unknown.

(b) *Other industrial sites*

GLA/514 The dyehouse

The dyehouse (SMR 23597) which gave its name to Dyehouse Crossing and Dyehouse Lane is marked on the 1811 map; it may be of post-medieval or earlier origin. The site was extensively altered in the 19th century with the construction of the canal, railway, and adjacent cottages. The extent of survival is unknown.

From the 1811 and 1821 maps.

GLA/509

Brick kiln

The 1811 map shows a brick kiln (SMR 23583) at the junction of the Old and New Wells Roads. The extent of the site is unclear from the map.

From the 1811 map.

4.5.h Agricultural sites

The agricultural features around Glastonbury town could not be studied in any detail for this report. However, the whole landscape, drained and managed by the Abbey in the medieval period and further altered in the post-medieval period, is of considerable interest. Travellers in the post-medieval period, including Leland (1542) and Brereton (1635), remarked on the impressive arable and meadow around the town. Substantial field drains of both the medieval and post-medieval periods have been found in excavations west of the town (Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b) and such structures may be encountered unexpectedly on otherwise blank sites.

GLA/417, GLA/419

The open fields and commons

Glastonbury had two open fields, known as North and South Fields, until the mid 14th century. These predated the medieval drainage schemes and were therefore on the hill slopes. Documentary sources suggest that Glastonbury converted to a three field system in the 14th century, as after this date there are references to East Field (on St Katherine's or Chalice Hill), Torre Field and North Field (known as Windmill Field by the 17th century). Edgarley was a separate landholding and had its own field, south and east of the Tor. See also GLA/424 (below).

The boundaries of the fields have not been mapped, but their rough locations are shown from information in Dunning, 1994.

GLA/424

Medieval lynchets on and around the Tor (SMR 23567)

Traces of earthworks exist on and around Glastonbury Tor. Those in the field called "the Lynches", west of the Tor, show on aerial photographs. Others on the Tor itself have been investigated by a series of test holes and auger holes, which produced only soil and silt. Current archaeological opinion is that the earthworks are probably medieval and the terraces on the Tor either medieval or natural. However, an earlier origin as part of a ritual maze cannot at present be entirely ruled out.

From the SMR.

GLA/419 Commons
 The other common lands around Glastonbury have not been studied in any detail for this report. The fields were gradually enclosed from the 16th century onwards, and part of the area was known as Tor Common in the 18th century, but some strips were still being farmed in the 19th century.

From the 1778 map.

GLA/501 Enclosures
 The Glastonbury enclosures have not been studied or mapped in any detail for this report.
 The process of drainage and enclosure for pasture began in the 12th or 13th century, when the great drainage cuts were made north and south of the town. By the late medieval period, the Abbey held improved land at Brindham (partly shown on the c1609 map), Norwood and South Moor. No medieval enclosures have been mapped for this report.

Further enclosure took place in the early post-medieval period, as Abbey land was freed. So though the 1721 Parliamentary Act was one of the earlier ones, it marked a relatively late stage in the process at Glastonbury. The area of early 18th century enclosures can be seen from the droves which were created across Glastonbury Moor: the positions, though not the boundaries, of the 1722 enclosures (New Close, Common Moor and South Moor) enclosures are marked.

The post-medieval enclosures are from the c1609 and 1778 maps.

GLA/429 Vineyards (SMR 23601)
 The vineyards at Glastonbury are mentioned in Domesday and subsequently in the medieval period. In the early 14th century, there is a reference to thirty acres of vineyard being converted to arable: Dunning suggests that this may imply they were then located on the slopes to the east of the town, which were at that time being incorporated into open field (Dunning, 1994). However, by the late medieval period, if not earlier, there were certainly vineyards on the south side of Wearyall Hill, as they are referred to in Abbot Bere's survey. The 1821 map shows a large area south of the road labelled "Vineyards".

The marked area is based on the 1821 map.

4.5.i Artefact scatters

Not mapped Post-medieval potsherds have been recovered from Wearyall Hill (SMR 26079); evaluations on the drained peat lands (eg Morlands SMR 90113, the SWEB powerline SMR 11613) on the western side of the town have turned up large quantities of 17th and 18th century pottery and general rubbish associated with manuring.

5. INDUSTRIAL (LATE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY) **(Map E)**

5.1 Archaeological work in the town/ Archaeological knowledge

There is very little archaeological information on late 18th and 19th century Glastonbury.

5.2 Context

The late 18th and 19th centuries saw some changes to the urban pattern, with the beginning of the emergence of larger centres (often at the expense of smaller ones), linked by vastly improved communication lines (turnpikes, railways and canals). Somerset was not characterised by the kind of large scale industrialisation and urbanisation seen in other counties - indeed, the virtual collapse of its most important industry, which was cloth, affected nearly all of the medieval and post-medieval towns - but some did take place. The changes were reflected in a series of alterations to town governance, which left the county with a total of only fifteen Municipal Boroughs and Urban Districts by the end of the 19th century.

Glastonbury was one of the thirteen existing boroughs and towns which were either Municipal Boroughs or Urban Districts at the end of the 19th century. These varied in character. Glastonbury was one of eight of the 45 towns (all eight of which were either Municipal Boroughs or Urban Districts) which were connected to both rail and canal networks during the 19th century. Though there was some industrial development at Glastonbury, it was largely overshadowed by its neighbour Street in this respect, but became one of a handful of tourist centres in the county. It was one of a number of places at which there was moderate expansion (though it was not one of the seven towns at which there was large scale growth).

5.3 Standing structures and visible remains

A considerable number of Listed late 18th and 19th century buildings survive in and around Glastonbury. These are concentrated along two of the main streets of the town itself (High Street and Magdalene Street) and also on the more suburban roads to the east (Bove Town and Chilkwell Street/Edgarley Road). Those on the High Street are a mixture of town houses (eg SMR LB 20578, 20589, 20600) and commercial buildings (such as the banks, SMR LB 20573, 20575), as well as the Congregational Church (SMR LB 20613). Magdalene Street contains the Grade II* Listed Town Hall (SMR LB 20630) and several larger properties, including Somerset House (SMR LB 20639) and Abbot's Leigh House (SMR LB 20633), together with a stable block (SMR LB 20637). There are also large houses on Chilkwell Street (eg SMR LB 20522, 20566) and both it and Bove Town are flanked by a number of other Listed houses (eg SMR LB 20538, 20619, 20546); on Chilkwell/ Lambrook Streets are also Avalon Hall, the converted chapel (SMR LB 20625) and the Grade I Listed 18th century bath at Chalice Well (SMR LB 20550). The cemetery on Wells Road contains Listed structures (SMR LB 20515, 20516).

Outlying buildings include the late 18th century Northover Farmhouse (SMR LB 20655) and Home Orchard (SMR LB 20570); late 18th century cottages on Northload Bridge (SMR LB 20656), Northload Road (SMR LB 20657), and New Wells Road (SMR LB 20669); and the 18th and 19th century Edgarley Lodge (SMR LB 20569).

The Listed Buildings of late 18th and 19th century origin are shown on Map E.

5.4 Archaeological components (centre), shown on Map E

5.4.a Redevelopment in earlier settlement components

Whilst the town plan was not substantially altered in the 19th century, a considerable amount of rebuilding took place. The pattern of redevelopment in the 19th century is shown by the distribution of Listed buildings, both in the town centre (particularly on the High Street and Magdalene Street) and the eastern suburbs (Bove Town and Edgarley Road). Those areas described under previous periods are shown lightly shaded on Map E.

5.4.b Communications

(a) Roads, streets and routeways

GLA/601 19th century roads and turnpikes

There were several realignments of the approach roads to Glastonbury in the 19th century, all postdating the establishment of the Wells and the Shepton Mallet Turnpike Trusts in 1753. A number of changes took place within the period, not all of which have been fully analysed (Bentley & Murless, 1987): few details could be included in this report. The construction of the New Wells Road in 1792-4 used a substantial amount of material taken from the Abbey ruins, as did parts of the new roads to Street constructed along the line of the old 'canal' and the medieval causeway in the early to mid 19th century. The Edgarley road was straightened c1780, and a new road made from Cow Bridge in the early or mid 19th century: there is a possibility that this was for a time a main route into the town. The other major realignment was that of Northload Road which was redirected over a bridge over the railway in the mid 19th century.

From the 1844 - 1904 maps and information in Bentley & Murless, 1987.

(b) Railways

GLA/609 Railways

The Somerset Central Railway opened its Highbridge to Glastonbury Line (SMR 25381) in 1852, the line running parallel with the canal (see GLA/607), which the Bristol & Exeter Railway had originally purchased, for much of its approach to Glastonbury: the station was built across part of the canal wharf. The line was extended to Wells in 1859 (SMR 25523), and became part of the Somerset and Dorset Railway in 1862, with a branch to Templecombe and Blandford (SMR 25524) opening in 1862/3. The Wells Branch closed in 1951 and the Blandford and Highbridge lines in 1966.

From the SMR and the 1886 map.

(c) Canals

GLA/607 Glastonbury Canal

Glastonbury Canal (SMR 23609) was opened in 1833 between Highbridge and Glastonbury and closed 21 years later. The hope was that it would both revive the

trade of the town and help to drain the Levels. Though it appeared successful on both counts in the first few years, the canal soon became obstructed (the bed rose up over swelling peat deposits). This both blocked traffic and compromised the drainage of the whole area. The company ran into financial trouble and had been bought out by the Bristol & Exeter Railway Company by 1848, who resold it to the Somerset Central Railway in 1852. When the SCR to Glastonbury was complete the canal was closed in 1854, and the river crossing and wharf area dismantled.

The marked line is from the 1844 map and the SMR.

(d) *Harbour and quays*

Not mapped The Wessex Water pipeline in 1992 (SMR 90011) reported a timber drain and uprights at the end of Porchestall Drove and also quoted an eyewitness account from the 1970s regarding the discovery of large, machine-cut dressed timbers during the installation of a new sawmill. The structure, which has not been identified on the 19th century maps, was removed and the hole, three metres deep, filled with hardcore.

5.4.c *Water*

GLA/608 The Spa pump rooms

The short-lived mid- to late- 18th century health spa development (built in the 1750s) consisted of a brick header tank adjacent to the medieval well-house at Chalice Well (see GLA/101, p30) and an immersion bath (SMR 23611). Water was also conduited to the Pump Rooms in Magdalene Street (SMR 23612).

The pump rooms are marked from the SMR.

GLA/615 Water supply and reservoirs

Netten Radcliffe described the water supply of Glastonbury in 1871, noting the existence of five conduits carrying water from the north-east, one from the south-east and four further pumps. Some of these are identifiable on the 1886 map and have been mapped on the GIS, though they are not shown on Map E.

In 1872 the White Spring was contained in a reservoir; and another reservoir is marked north of Bove Town on the 1904 map. There was also a reservoir within the chapel grounds on Lambrook Street.

From the 1886 and 1904 maps, and information in Netten Radcliffe (1871).

5.4.d *Manors and estates*

GLA/619 Edgarley Park

Edgarley House had a moderate amount of parkland attached at least by 1904, by which time a number of properties visible on earlier maps had been cleared. The park (SMR 23607) contained a fishpond (SMR 23608) which still survives.

From the 1904 map.

5.4.e *Burial sites, religious houses and places of worship*

GLA/613 Wells Road cemetery

The cemetery was opened in 1854 and expanded by 1904. It contains three Listed structures: the lodge (SMR LB 20515) and two cemetery chapels (SMR LB 20516).

From the 1886 and 1904 maps.

GLA/617 St Andrew's Church, Edgarley (SMR 23606)

From the 1904 map.

5.4.f *Settlement (Urban)*

(a) *Market place(s)*

GLA/602 Markets

Tor Fair was moved to what became known as the Fairfield in the 18th century, having previously been held at the foot of the Tor. Treasure hunters have found thousands of 18th and 19th century coins, as well as other small items, in this field. The excavations there in 1987 (Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b) also found 18th and 19th century debris, including clay pipes, smithing debris, pottery, nails, as well as some postholes probably connected with the fair.

A new cattle market was also established on George Street in 1901.

The Fairfield is marked from information in Hollinrake, C & N (1992b) and the cattle market from the 1904 map.

(b) *Town plots and suburbs*

GLA/612 Town plots and suburbs

Map E shows that whilst some urban expansion took place at Glastonbury in the late 18th and 19th century, particularly on the north side of the town, growth was not dramatic. There are few Listed buildings of the period in that area, the exceptions being to the east and south of the town, round the foot of the Tor, where SMR LB 20564, 20565 and 20566, all suburban houses, survive.

From the 1904 map.

GLA/618 Abbey House

The Church of England retreat house, Abbey House (SMR LB 20552) dates from the first half of the 19th century (1829-30).

From the 1844 map.

5.4.g *Settlement (Rural)*

*(a) Farms*GLA/610 Farms

Some new farms, such as Landmead Farm and Manor Farm on Northload Road, were created in the 19th century along realigned roads and on drained land; others, such as those at Wick, expanded.

From the 1886 and 1904 maps.

*(b) Unclassified*GLA/611 Other unclassified plots

A number of unclassified plots, some of which are probably agricultural buildings, are marked.

From the 1886 and 1904 maps.

*5.4.h Industrial sites**(a) Mills*GLA/614 Chaingate Mill (SMR 25387)

The 19th century Chaingate Mill was demolished in the 1970s. In advance of the demolition a limited building and machinery survey by SIAS took place, and a number of trial trenches were cut, recovering evidence of earlier milling, not necessarily continuous, on the site (see GLA/307, p26).

From the SMR.

*(b) Brickworks*GLA/603 Brickworks

There were several small brickworks in and around Glastonbury in the 19th century. The Avalon Brick and Tile Works (SMR 23581), the Glastonbury Brick, Tile and Pottery Works (SMR 23582) and another works (SMR 23585) were on the New Wells Road. The Glastonbury Tor Brickworks (SMR 23584) predated the Tithe Map (1844). The marked areas contain several small cottages and houses which were either associated with or at least not destroyed by the industrial developments. These include a Listed late 18th century building (SMR LB 20669). Most of the sites have since been redeveloped.

The extents are from the 1886 and 1904 maps, and from the SMR.

(c) Other industrial sites

STREET (see separate report) grew within Glastonbury's industrial hinterland.

GLA/604 The Northover factories

The industrial complex at Northover was only partially developed by the end of the 19th century. A sheepskin rug factory (SMR 23599) had been established between 1844 and 1886. On the opposite side of the road was a smaller site,

perhaps a house/ offices (from the 1886 map). A further rug factory (SMR 23595) also existed closer to Beckery Mill.

From the 1886 and 1904 maps.

GLA/605 Saw mills and timber yards by the Station

A complex of saw mills and timber yards (SMR 23596) lay to the south of the Station by 1904.

From the 1904 map.

GLA/606 Gas works

Two gas holders built to the rear of Northload Street west had gone by 1904. The site is now beneath a 20th century road.

From the 1886 map.

5.4.i *Other*

GLA/616 St Saviour's Hospital

The infectious diseases hospital was located on the north side of the old Street road.

From the 1904 map.

6. 20TH CENTURY **(Map F)**

6.1 Context

The 20th century has seen a vast physical expansion of some existing towns, and some expansion in most of the 45 historic towns covered by the project. However, there have only been limited alterations to the overall pattern of urban settlement. The County Structure Plan still contains fifteen settlements defined as Towns: this is almost identical to the late 19th century list of Municipal Boroughs and Urban Districts.

Glastonbury is one of 15 of the 45 historic towns covered by this project which is classed as a Town in the County Structure Plan. When taken together with Street, it is one of seven towns which has seen extremely high levels of expansion in the 20th century (the same seven as saw large scale expansion in the 19th century).

6.2 Standing structures and visible remains

Listed 20th century structures include two K6 telephone kiosks (SMR LB 25549, 25550), the Post Office on High Street (SMR LB 20536) and Chindit House (SMR LB 20668), which is dated 1903. These are not shown on Map F.

6.3 Settlement components, shown on Map F

6.3.a Redevelopment in earlier settlement components

Components described under earlier periods are shown lightly shaded. There has been some redevelopment in both the 19th century core and the outlying industrial areas of that period. Some components have therefore been redefined, where the shape of the area has changed significantly; others, notably the area of brickworks on Wells Road, have not.

All components are defined from the 1997 OS digital maps unless otherwise stated.

6.3.b Communications

(a) Roads, streets and routeways

GLA/705 New roads

There have been major alterations to the roads on the west side of the town, where the relief road has been constructed. However, since this reused the old railway line for much of its length it has had a limited impact on the town's morphology. There have also been road realignments at Northload and Northover and in Paradise. Of these, only the latter, Sedgemoor Way, has affected the medieval town core.

6.3.c Water

GLA/709 Reservoir

A reservoir was built on Well house Lane.

6.3.d Settlement (Urban)

(a) Commercial core

GLA/706 Urban plots

Whilst there has been piecemeal commercial development on the margins of suburban areas, the only major expansion of the commercial core has been the supermarket development on Convent Field. This destroyed the site used for Roman Catholic meetings in the 1930s, on which treasure hunters had found crucifixes, medallions and thimbles (the nuns used to give sewing lessons).

(b) Suburbs

GLA/704

General suburban development

There has in the 20th century been moderate suburban expansion to the north and south of the town centre and along Roman Way. The areas shown include two large schools and a caravan park which are shaded differently as they contain large open areas.

GLA/702 The open-air theatre

The open air theatre was built c1910 by Alice Buckton, authoress, in the orchard just north of Chalice Well (which she also owned). The foundation platform was still visible when excavations took place in this area in the 1960s. Though the objective of the excavations was not to examine the theatre, a plan of its surveyable remains at that date was produced (see Rahtz, 1964, SMR 23610).

Mapped from information in the SMR.

6.3.e *Settlement (Rural)*GLA/707 General rural settlement

A number of new farms have been established and existing ones expanded. Also shown are several unclassified rural plots.

6.3.f *Industrial sites*GLA/703 Industrial sites

20th century industrial development has been concentrated to the west of the town, with some small developments on the brickworks established in the 19th century. That shown includes the modern expansion of the Morlands factory; Beckery Sewage Works; Wirrall Park industrial estate and business park (not differentiated); and various yards around the old station area. Some of the brickworks extensions, mostly clay pits, are also shown, together with later industrial development on the site. A little suburban development has also taken place along the frontages of the old brickworks since they closed.

V. THE POTENTIAL OF GLASTONBURY

1. *Research interests*

The peninsula of Glastonbury is of exceptional archaeological importance and potential, and only some of the most obvious major research priorities can be identified in one paragraph. For the Prehistoric period, these include the understanding of the role of the Tor itself in the prehistoric landscape, the identification and further investigation of possible contemporary monuments (the 'maze'; Ponter's Ball) and/ or settlement sites, and the continued investigation of the wetlands on the west side of town. For the Roman period, the most pressing issue may be the location of the suspected major Roman site(s) and the understanding of its relationship to later settlement and route patterns. For the Dark Age/ Saxon periods the origins, location and changing morphologies of earlier and later Abbey precincts, adjacent settlements and surrounding landscapes are all of importance, with particular interest, perhaps, attaching to the location of the hypothetical major Saxon royal site. The further elucidation of the establishment of the medieval town plan, with particular reference to its relationship to the changing Abbey precinct, may be a priority for that period; both for the medieval and for the earlier periods, the study of the ditches, canalisations and culverts connected with the boundaries, water supply and drainage both of the town and of the surrounding wetlands is also of great importance. Glastonbury is of lesser importance for the study of the post-medieval and Industrial periods, though its industrial remains

are of some interest.

2. Areas of potentially exceptional preservation

Glastonbury contains extensive wet deposits, both on the west side of town, where alluvial and peat deposits seal and preserve early archaeological remains, and in smaller pockets created by numerous ditches, ponds and watercourses in and around the town. Moreover, the Abbey precinct itself is of exceptional potential, having been relatively little disturbed by later development.

3. Limitations

The potential of some areas of Glastonbury has been slightly limited either by natural factors or by the extent of development. The geology of the Tor, for example, means that its slopes have been considerably eroded. The concentration of medieval and later development within a relatively small area beyond the precinct may have damaged earlier deposits, though there has been little large modern development within the most sensitive areas.

4. Extent of current protection, shown on Map G and Map H

Glastonbury contains a large number of Listed Buildings (not shown on Map H for the sake of clarity). There are eight Scheduled Monuments, which include: the Abbey precinct (SM 33050); the Tithe Barn (SM 29699); St Michael's Church tower and the early occupation site on the Tor (SM 29700); St Mary's Hospital (SM 33051); Ponter's Ball (SM Som 402); Beckery Chapel (SM Som 427); the Tribunal (SM 22075); and the early medieval causeway (SM 27984). An AHAP and a Conservation Area have also been defined.

5. Management Proposals

See the Archaeological Guidance Document.

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3. Maps

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GLA/422	C	GLA/612	E
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GLA/615	E	GLA/704	F
GLA/616	E	GLA/705	F
GLA/617	E	GLA/706	F
GLA/618	E	GLA/707	F
GLA/619	E	GLA/708	F
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VIII. TABLE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

Archaeological investigations in Glastonbury to 2002				
Year	Site	Notes	References	SMR
1881	Street causeway	Excavation of early medieval causeway and possible bridgehead	25522	Morland, 1922
1886	Roman Way	Excavation revealing evidence of RB activity in area	23571	Morland, 1886; Rahtz, 1971
1904	Abbey precinct	Excavation of medieval church	25547	St John Hope, 1904
1908-1921	Abbey precinct	Excavations of Saxon and medieval churches and Medieval claustral buildings	25547	Bond, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1919, 1926
1909	Ponters Ball	Excavation of earthwork, north of modern road (prehistoric material)	23564	not published
1921	Street causeway	Excavation of early medieval causeway	25522	Morland, 1922
1924	The Mound	Excavation on the Mound	23576	Bulleid & Morland, 1926
1926-1927	Abbey precinct	Excavations of Saxon and Norman naves	25547	Fyfe, 1926, 1927
1928-1939	Abbey precinct	Excavations of Saxon and medieval churches and claustral buildings and medieval Abbot's lodgings	25547	Peers & Horne, 1928, 1929; Peers, Horne & Clapham 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1937, 1938
1951-1964	Abbey precinct	Excavations of Saxon and medieval churches and claustral buildings; Roman well (1956/7); Saxon glass furnaces (1956/7)	25547	Radford, 1955, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1963, 1965, 1973
1960s	St Johns/ High St			DoE, unpub.
1960s	Tribunal			DoE, unpub.
1960-1961	Chalice Well	Excavation of medieval and Post-Medieval well structures	23610 23611	Rahtz, 1964
1964-1966	Glastonbury Tor	Excavations of Dark Age settlement, Saxon and mediaval churches and monastic buildings	23603 23604 23605	Rahtz, 1971
1967-1968	Beckery Chapel	Excavation of Saxon monastery/ medieval chapel, with earlier activity	23570	Rahtz & Hirst, 1974
1969	The Mound	Excavation of Mound structure	23576	Carr, 1985

Archaeological investigations in Glastonbury to 2002				
Year	Site	Notes	References	SMR
1970	Ponters Ball	Excavation of earthwork, south of modern road (early medieval material)	23564	Poyntz-Wright, unpub.
1971-1972	The Mound	Excavation and watching brief on specialised industrial site/ landing place	23576	Carr, 1985
1974-1975	Silver St, Abbey Precinct Wall	Survey of medieval/ post-medieval wall	23621	Aston, 1976a
1975	8 Magdalene Street	Observation of medieval drain	25565	Aston, 1976b
1976	51 High Street	Watching brief on medieval and post-medieval backs (pits and pottery)	23591	Dobson, Scutchings & Pearson, 1976
1977	Magdalene St	Watching brief on Med/ Post-Med site	25559	Aston & Murless, 1978
1978-1979	Abbey	Excavation of medieval features	25547	(Radford, 1981)
1978	Beckery	Observation of bank and ditch near Beckery Chapel	23570	Ellis, 1979
1978	Silver St	Excavation of Saxon and medieval Abbey ditches and buildings	23621	Ellis 1982b, 1989
1979-1980	Chaingate Mill	Excavation and survey of C19 mills, post-medieval frontages and early Medieval or Saxon ?millponds	23587 25566	Ellis, 1982a
1979-1980	Abbey	Survey of surviving buildings	25547	Ellis, 1980a
1980	St Johns	Excavations of early medieval foundations	23572	Ellis, 1982a
1980	Abbey, North Wall	Survey and excavation of medieval wall and buildings	23628	Burrow, 1980
1980	Abbey fishpond	Watching brief on post-medieval fishpond	25567	Ellis, 1980b
1982	Abbey, SE precinct	Earthwork survey	23618	Burrow, 1982
1983	Abbey, Chapter House	Geophysical survey	25547	Gaffney, 1983
1984	2 Market Place	Watching brief: late Saxon/ early medieval ditch	25557	Hollinrake, C & N, 1989a

Archaeological investigations in Glastonbury to 2002				
Year	Site	Notes	References	SMR
1984-1985	Whites Garage, Magdalene St	Excavation and watching brief: Saxon occupation, and precinct ditch	23632	Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b
1984-1985	Dod Lane	Excavation of medieval building	25568	Hollinrake, C & N, 1992a
1984-1985	Bove Town	Watching brief: ditches, Roman & Saxon pot	25569	Hollinrake, C & N, 1985
1985-1987	Fairfield & Convent Field	Survey and excavation of early or pre-Saxon ditches and late-Saxon "canal"	23313	Hollinrake, C & N, 1992b
1987	St Johns	Observations of medieval foundations	23572	Hollinrake, C & N, 1990
1987-1993	Abbey, visitor complex	Excavations and bore holes: Saxon ditch and Medieval buildings	25570	Burrow, 1987; Woods, 1989, 1992, 1994
1988	46-48 High Street	Excavation of medieval precinct ditch	25526	Leach, 1988a
1988	Wirrall Park	Evaluation of peat deposits	90027	Leach, 1988b
1988	Maidencroft Farm, Wick	Survey and excavation of medieval earthworks, Post-Medieval farm and earlier residual material	25558	Hollinrake, C & N, 1988a
1988	Heritage Court	Excavation of late Saxon ?canal terminus and post-medieval abbatoir/ tannery	25556	Hollinrake, C & N, 1988b
1988	4 Victoria Buildings	Watching brief: medieval ?tenement ditch	25571	Hollinrake, C & N, 1989d
1989	St Johns	Excavation of early medieval fabric	23572	Hollinrake, C & N, 1990
1989	Abbey precinct	Parchmark survey	25547	Hollinrake, C & N, 1989c
1989	Wirrall Park	Watching brief	90027	Hollinrake, C & N, 1989e
1990	Benedict St (Park Fm)	Negative evaluation	90028	McCrone, 1990
1991	Chilwell & Silver St sewerage scheme	Watching brief	90012	Wessex Archaeology, 1991 (W412)
1992	Wessex Water pipeline	Watching brief: possible medieval or earlier ditch fragments in Benedict Street	90011 25552 25553 25554	Hollinrake, C & N, 1992d

Archaeological investigations in Glastonbury to 2002				
Year	Site	Notes	References	SMR
1992	Dod Lane	Excavation of medieval ditches, pits and a drain; observations of a large early Medieval ditch	25568	Hollinrake, C & N, 1992a; Hollinrake, Hollinrake & Hearne, 1993
1992	North Precinct Wall	Survey of medieval wall	25564	Rodwell, 1992
1992	44 High Street	Watching brief on medieval precinct ditch and watercourse	25525	Hollinrake, C & N, 1992c
1992	High Street, Tribunal	Excavation of early medieval timber building	24917	Hollinrake, C & N, 1993a
1993	Bushy Combe	Earthwork survey: possible medieval/ post-medieval house platforms	25516 25517 25518	Hollinrake, C & N, 1993b
1993	Benedict Street	Evaluation of peat deposits	90029	Hollinrake, C & N, 1993c
1993	Benedict Street	Excavation of peat deposits	90029	Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust, 1993; Jones, West & Strake, 1993
1994	George Street	Excavation of medieval/ post-medieval plot boundaries and tile wasters	25572	Hollinrake, C & N, 1994
1995	SWEB Street-Wells overhead power line	Watching brief: rubbish deposits	11613	Hollinrake, C & N, 1995
1995	Library site, Magdalene Street	Medieval silts and post-medieval make-up layers	25559	Broomhead, 1995
1996	Morlands (Gateway Centre evaluation)	Test pits - peat deposits	90113	Brunning, 1996
1996	2 Church Lane	Watching brief: Saxon graves and medieval occupation	25573	Hollinrake, C & N, 1996a
1996	10-12 Bove Town	Watching brief: medieval pits and pottery	16268	Hollinrake, C & N, 1996b
1997	92 High Street	Watching brief: medieval pits and pot		Hollinrake, C., <i>in litt.</i> , 1997
1997	Chalice Well	Watching brief: little recorded	25607	Hollinrake, C & N, 1997a
1997	Glastonbury Abbey	Watching brief on new pond recorded significant disturbance	15079	Hollinrake, C & N, 1997b
1998	Archers Way	Evaluation: late medieval property boundaries	25784	Hollinrake, C & N, 1998
1998	Wells Road	Evaluation:	90128	Broomhead, 1998

Archaeological investigations in Glastonbury to 2002				
Year	Site	Notes	References	SMR
1998	Wearyall Hill	Small hole dug to locate Abbey treasure. 3 field drains subsequently recorded.	35980	Graham, 1998
1998	Glastonbury Abbey	Watching brief located foundations of almshouses	12271	Woods, 1998
1999	St John's Church	Negative watching brief on cable trench	90133	Broomhead, 1999
1999	Benedict Street	Watching brief	90136	Hollinrake, C & N, 1999a
1999	Chalice Well	Watching brief: large neolithic ditch	44733	Hollinrake, C & N, 1999b
1999	Archers Way	Watching brief: boundaries, some with pre-conquest radiocarbon dates.	44732	Hollinrake, C & N, 1999c
2000	Northload Hall	Evaluation: little found.	44905	Hollinrake, C & N, 2000a
2000	Glastonbury Abbey	Cable trench watching brief confirmed location of several buildings and demonstrated good survival	11654	Hollinrake, C & N, 2000b
2001	Heritage Court	Evaluation located Roman and significant medieval and post-medieval deposits	15089	Hollinrake, C & N, 2001a
2001	Bere Lane	Negative watching brief	15093	Hollinrake, C & N, 2001b
2001	Glastonbury Abbey	Evaluation recorded blocked drain	15165	Hollinrake, C & N, 2001c
2002	Benedict Street	Evaluation recorded mostly nineteenth-century deposits	15374	Leach, 2002
2002	Benedict Street	Negative watching brief	15437	Hollinrake & Mullin, 2002a
2002	Glastonbury Tor	Geophysical survey	15628	Ovendon-Wilson, 2002
2002	Archers Way	Evaluation recorded back of medieval tenements	15897	Hollinrake, C & N, 2002b
2002	Sedgemoor Way	Evaluation recorded part of the gas works	16200	Broomhead, 2002
2002	Church Lane	Watching brief with few results	16294	Callister and Cotrell, 2002

Maps

Map A - Prehistoric and Roman

Map B - Dark Age/Saxon

Key: Components shown on earlier maps are shown in yellow.

Map C - Medieval and post-medieval core

Key: Components shown on earlier maps are shown in yellow.

Map D - Medieval and post-medieval

Key: Components shown on earlier maps are shown in yellow.

Map E - 19th-century

Key: Components shown on earlier maps are shown in yellow.

Map F - 20th century

Key: Components shown on earlier maps are shown in yellow.

Map G - Existing designations (core)

Key: Scheduled Monuments (dark blue)

Listed Buildings	Grade I (light blue)
	Grade II* (light green)
	Grade II (dark green)

Conservation Area (light green)

Area of High Archaeological Potential (pink)

Map H - Existing designations

Key: Scheduled Monuments (dark blue)

Conservation Area (light green)

Area of High Archaeological Potential (pink)