

THE ROMAN FEATURES AT GATEWAY HOUSE AND WATLING HOUSE, WATLING STREET, CITY OF LONDON (1954)

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SUMMARY

An examination of the records compiled in 1954 by Ivor Noël Hume for the archaeological features on the sites of Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, shows three main periods of development. The Neronian-early Flavian Period I is represented only by pits—which included evidence for glass working—and no associated structures were noted. Period II, from the Flavian to the Hadrianic period, followed the contemporary development at Watling Court (Period IV) to the immediate east. Substantial buildings with mortar and opus signinum floors were destroyed in the Hadrianic fire. There followed, at an unknown date, the construction of larger buildings (Period III) which might represent a single structure. Rooms were decorated with plain red and decorated mosaics and one room at least was fitted with a hypocaust system. A 4th century pit cut through the floor of one room and 'dark earth' accumulated on parts of the site.

In the north of both sites, the constant adherence to an east-west alignment suggests a road or thoroughfare outside the areas examined. Encroachment on this line at Gateway House might suggest a realignment slightly north-westwards.

Post-Roman features were not examined in detail.

INTRODUCTION

The two adjacent sites of Gateway House (TQ3227 8107) and Watling House (TQ3231 8105) are located on the south facing slope of the river terrace to the west of the Walbrook stream (Fig. 1). The Gateway House site, the westernmost of the two, is situated between New Change and a public garden on the west and Bread Street on the east. Friday Street, which once separated the two bomb-damaged plots on which Gateway House was built, ran north-south through the site but is now relegated to the status of a pedestrian access route. The Watling House site, also a bomb-damaged site prior to re-development, lies between Bread Street on the west and Watling Court on the east. Both sites are delimited north and south by Watling Street and Cannon Street respectively (Fig. 2).

Between April and November, 1954, Ivor Noël Hume of the Guildhall Museum maintained a regular watching brief and conducted some limited excavations on both sites. In addition, in the previous February, he examined the site of the church of St. John the Evangelist, at the corner of Friday Street and Watling Street, following the clearance of interments from the overlying graveyard by the Corporation of the City of London¹.

On the two sites in question, archaeological features dating from the 1st century AD to the 19th century were recorded, mainly during and after the excavation by contractors of trenches to accommodate the retaining-wall which surrounded each site. At Watling House (WH) additional features were recorded in two of three foundation trenches to the north of the main area of the site (Fig.

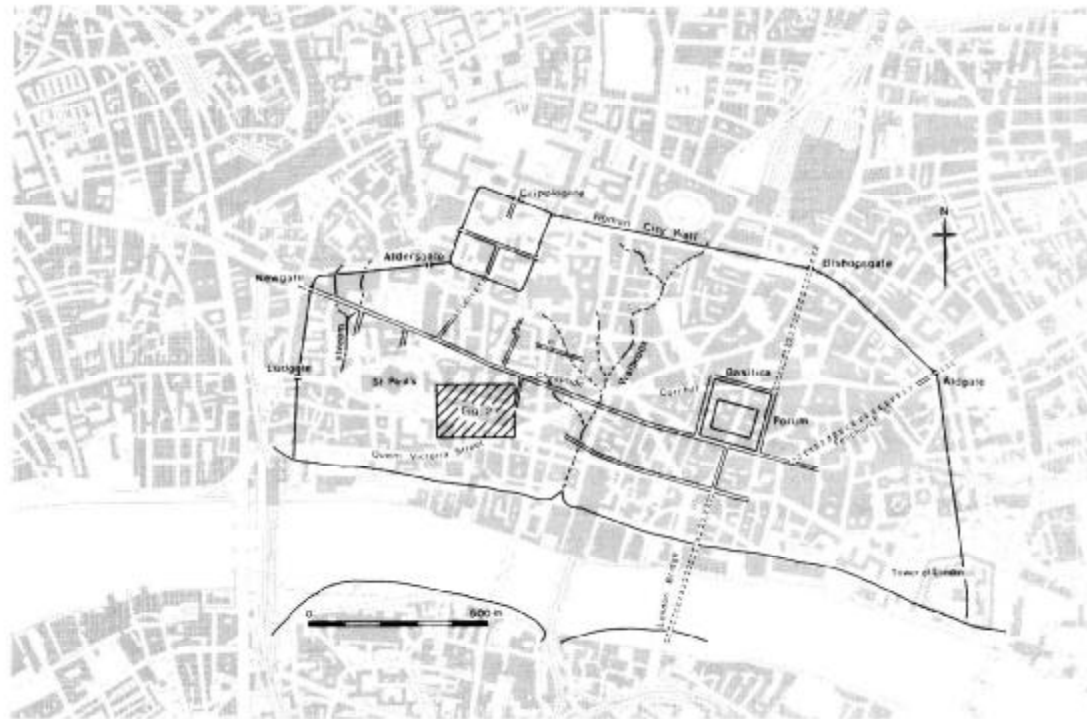


Fig. 1 Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, 1954; Site location map.

3), and in one of two to the west. The subsequent removal of the basement slabs within the retaining-wall trench brought further features to light, especially in the north-west and south-west corners of the site². Unfortunately no record of archaeological features is available for the central and eastern sections of this site, even though the basement slab was removed there also³. At Gateway House (GH) (Fig. 3), in addition to observations made within the surrounding retaining-wall trench, archaeological features were recorded in foundation trenches inside the site and also in areas where the basement slab had been removed and lowered. This occurred especially on the east side to accommodate the cellars of 'The Dandy Roll' public house⁴.

The adverse conditions with which Ivor Noël Hume had to contend during this period in the history of archaeological research in the City of London have been well-documented⁵, and it is hardly surprising that the archaeological documentation of these two sites is often brief and lacking in detail. The records of the observations are in the form of Excavation Notebooks containing Excavation Register (ER) entries (namely the information regarding the location and context of specific groups of finds currently stored in the Museum of London and differentiated by individual 'ER' numbers) and a site file of miscellaneous records including photographs and contractors' dye-line plans for both sites showing pre-development basement details with

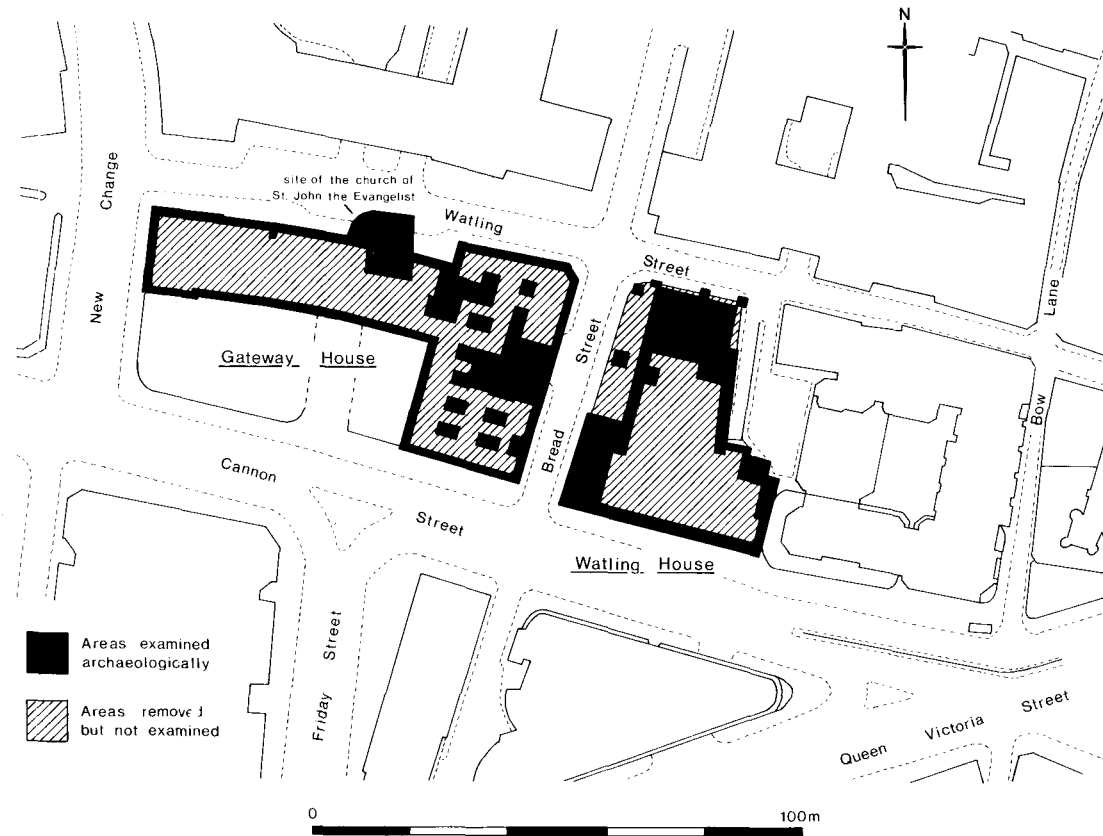


Fig. 2 Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, 1954; Site location showing areas examined in 1954.

archaeological annotations⁶. The records indicate the existence of numerous lengths of mortared ragstone walls, often with tile courses, as well as associated floors of *opus signinum*, decorated and plain red mosaic and mortar. The fills of eight pits were also recorded as well as horizontal stratigraphy in many locations on both sites. Levels consisting of rubble or burnt debris are more numerous.

This apparent bias towards the more solid and visible features results from the excavator's need for haste and his consequent succinctness.

Using such documentation alone, any attempt to interpret these sites might

appear too subjective for consideration. However, the results of more recent excavations conducted by the Department of Urban Archaeology, Museum of London, in the immediate vicinity—namely on the site of St. Mildred's church, Bread Street (1973) to the south of Cannon Street and, in particular, at Watling Court (1978) to the immediate east of Watling House—allow the two sites of Gateway House and Watling House to be considered in a wider context.

The following, therefore, is an account of the Roman features recorded on the sites of Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, derived from the

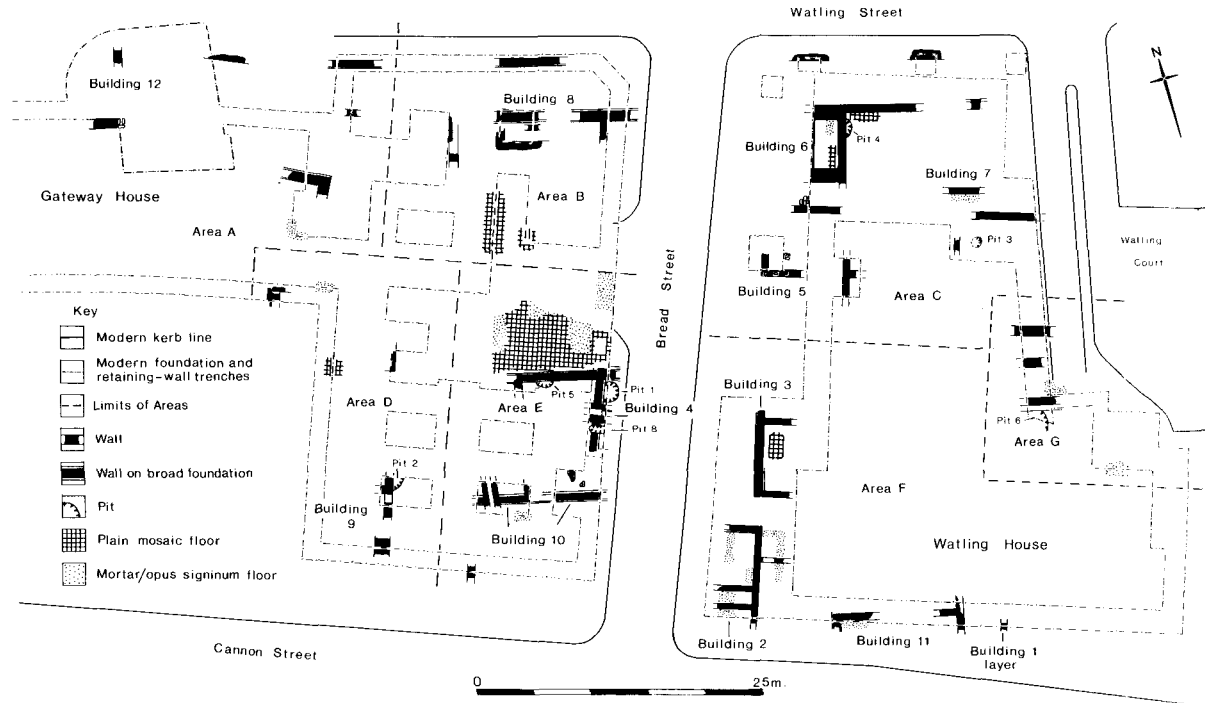


Fig. 3 Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, 1954; Site plans.

records of observations made in 1954⁷. The interpretation of these features takes full advantage of known archaeological sequences on nearby sites.

GEOLOGY

The sites of Gateway House and Watling House are situated on the west side of the Walbrook stream on a river terrace of the Thames above the flood plain terrace. The modern ground surface slopes slightly downwards towards the south at Watling House and towards the south-south-east at Gateway House and, though now less pronounced, probably conforms in general to the natural topography. At Watling Court, to the immediate east, the modern surface slopes both southwards towards the Thames and eastwards towards the Walbrook⁸. The natural subsoil consists of brickearth at varying thicknesses overlying sandy gravels.

The natural pre-urban landscape at Gateway House and Watling House cannot be ascertained—the records give insufficient information. Also, no bore-hole sections are available for either site. At

nearby Watling Court, a bore-hole sample at the north-west corner in the angle of Watling Court itself and Watling Street, revealed the top of natural brickearth to be at 10.55m OD while in the south-west corner of the site excavation revealed its height to be at an average of 9.8m OD.

At Gateway House, however, contractors' sections⁹ give the level of 'ballast' (natural gravel) as being between 9.13m (30.00ft) OD and 10.35m (34.00ft) OD in the sides of the west, south, and east retaining-wall trenches of the eastern section of the site (Fig. 3 GH, Areas D & E).

PERIOD I: NERONIAN/EARLY FLAVIAN

The earliest identifiable human activity on both sites is represented by four pits; two in the southern part of the eastern section of Gateway House (Area E, Pit 1 and Area D, Pit 2) and two in the northern part of Watling House (Area C, Pits 3 and 4). All contained pottery datable to the Neronian-early Flavian periods.

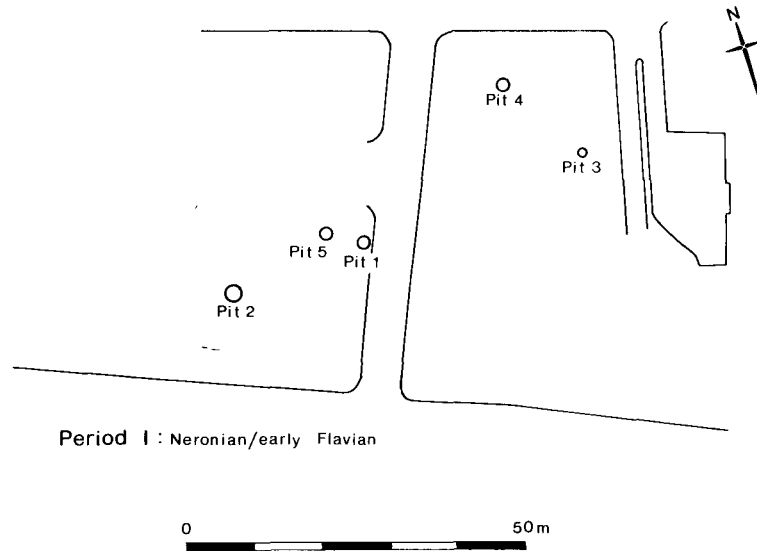


Fig. 4 Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, 1954; Period I features (NB. Pit 5 is Period I or II).

Pit 1. Gateway House—Area E, ER.151, Fig. 4.

This pit was revealed in the eastern side of the eastern retaining-wall trench and was cut by a later (Period II) wall (GH. Context 13) of Building 4. Only a small part could be examined. No details of the nature of the fill of this pit are available.

Pit 2. Gateway House—Area D, ER.169, Fig. 4.

This pit was revealed in a modern foundation trench. It was cut by the wall (GH. Context 6) of Building 9 which cannot be assigned precisely to either of the subsequent periods of activity.

Pit 3. Watling House—Area, C, ER.181, Fig. 4.

This pit on the east side of the northern area of Watling House was revealed in the west face of the eastern retaining-wall trench. It was not associated with any nearby features and so relative dating is not available. It measured 0.76m (2ft 6ins) in diameter, the base terminating at 11.25m (37.08ft) OD¹⁰, and contained in the lower levels a deposit including a large quantity of glass-working waste material (furnace fragments, moils, droplets, cuttings, trimmings and possible cullet—see Appendix) which is well-dated by the associated Neronian-early Flavian ceramic material. The deposit which contained the glass waste was sealed by a 'deliberate filling of brown clay, 1.52m (5ft) thick' (WH, Context 8)¹¹, which must represent a deliberate backfilling associated with, perhaps, a levelling of the area immediately around the pit

itself (see Period IIa below). The layers above this 'clay' layer were obscured by shoring.

Pit 4. Watling House—Area C, ER.225, Fig. 4.

This pit was only partially seen. It was cut by a north-south wall (WH, Context 58) in the northern area of Watling House.

On the evidence of just four scattered features with few details concerning them there is little that can be said of them. It is evident that, on ceramic evidence alone, all four can be grouped together by date—though the date range is broad enough to allow for numerous changes in activity on these sites. One important question is whether any or all of them could be contemporary with any of the buildings recorded on either site. The final answer remains unclear but the indications are that they are earlier than any of the buildings recorded here.

Pit 1 was evidently not contemporary with any recorded buildings in its immediate vicinity. As stated above, it was cut by a substantial wall foundation (GH, Context 13) of a building (Building 4) which was most probably a Period II structure. This building was itself sealed by the walls (GH, Contexts 9 and 35) and mortar floors (GH, Contexts 16 and 17),

of the only other recorded structure in the immediate vicinity (see below, Period III, Building 10, Fig. 12).

The precise relationships to the rest of the site of Pits 2 and 4 are vague, though both were cut by walls of buildings which, unfortunately, cannot be securely dated. It is probable, however, that the wall which cut Pit 4 (WH, Context 58) is a Period III construction (see below, Period III).

As stated above, Pit 3 was not associated with any other features. However, in the light of the evidence from Watling Court¹², it seems that this pit can be relatively dated to a phase before the construction of any well-founded structures. The brickearth dump which underlay the Watling Court Period IV buildings would seem to be represented by the 'deliberate filling of brown clay' (WH, Context 8. See below, Period IIa) which sealed Pit 3.

Considering the intrinsic importance of the glass material from this pit, it is unfortunate that it cannot assist in dating more precisely the deposit from which it came; in fact, on the contrary, it is the deposit which must date the glass. The vessel fragments, which may well be cullet (see Appendix), came from forms which continued to be manufactured well into the second century. The importance of this

group, however, cannot be underestimated. The relative dating of this pit and the actual Neronian-early Flavian date indicated by the pottery is sufficient to identify this glass waste as being the earliest evidence not only for glass-working but, specifically, for glass-blowing in Roman Britain. Unfortunately the location of the glass workshop itself must remain unknown. Presumably it was in the immediate vicinity—Watling Court revealed no likely candidate for a structure of this function—and Pit 3 was simply part of the workshop arrangements. It should be noted, however, that glass furnaces and their accompanying structures would probably leave very little evidence (see Appendix for a brief discussion on this glass-working waste and the probable nature of the workshop).

PERIOD I or II: NERONIAN-FLAVIAN

Pit 5. Gateway House—Area E, ER. 173, Fig. 4

This pit, recorded *c.* 5.50m to the west of Pit 1, cannot be associated positively with either Period I or II since the finds from its fill no longer exist in the Museum of London. The excavator recorded 'a quantity of amphora fragments' from a deposit within the pit which he dated to the Flavian period¹³. The pit was cut by a Period III wall (GH, Contexts 9 and 35, Building 10, Fig. 12).

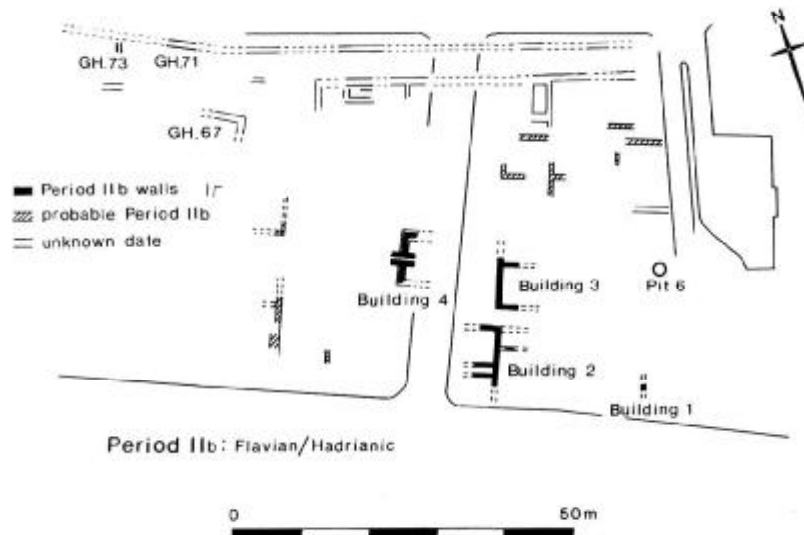


Fig. 5 Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, 1954; Period IIb features.

PERIOD IIa: FLAVIAN

Any Period I structures contemporary with the pits described above must have been destroyed to make way for the substantial buildings of Period II. How this destruction was carried out is unknown. No layers of building debris or any deposits of burnt material were recorded which could pre-date Period II.

As mentioned above there does appear to be some evidence for the dumping of brickearth, termed 'clay' by the excavator, to infill and level off areas of the sites before the period during which the first well-founded buildings were constructed (Period IIb at Gateway House and Watling House). A similar sequence was seen both at Watling Court¹⁴ and St. Mildred's, Bread Street¹⁵ and it is on the basis of these two analogies that the Period IIa activity here is dated to the Flavian period.

The dumping of brickearth can probably be seen in two places, both in the eastern half of the Watling House site, closest to Watling Court. It is, therefore, possible that the examples recorded here may not reflect what occurred across the whole of the Watling House and Gateway House sites.

Pit 3. Watling House—Area C, Fig. 4.

The relation of the 1.52m thick 'deliberate filling of brown clay' to the layer containing the glass waste sealed immediately below it (WH, Context 7, ER.181) and the significance of the latter have been discussed above. It is possible that the dumping of this glass material, of a type one would normally expect to have been recycled, might itself be indicative of a rapid clearance of a nearby building or structure in advance of redevelopment. The thickness of the clay deposit, seen in proportion to the width of the pit (0.76m), then implies an intent, even if only local, to level off and reclaim this part of the site for another purpose¹⁶.

Layer 43. Watling House—Area F, Below Building 1.

This layer of 'dirty clay' was seen in the south face of the southern retaining-wall trench. Since the top of the layer was at *c.* 11.00m OD it was perhaps too high at this point to be considered as natural brickearth¹⁷. It was at least 0.25m thick.

The construction technique used for the wall of Building 1 which rested upon

this layer was exactly the same as that employed for a building at St. Mildred's, Bread Street¹⁸ and Structure 4 at Watling Court¹⁹. In both of the latter two examples, foundation trenches were cut into a redeposited brickearth dump, the extent of which appears to have conformed, in the main, to the maximum dimensions of their respective buildings. These trenches had been backfilled with a mixture of ragstone rubble and mortar and were smoothed off to the same level as the dump. It is therefore possible that the plan of a specific building was laid out in foundation form in the brickearth dump. Upon this were then built the dwarf walls and walls proper (see below Period IIb). Such a procedure is precisely matched by that recorded for Building 1 at Watling House.

PERIOD IIb: FLAVIAN TO HADRIANIC (Fig. 5)

Following the clearance and preparation of the sites, the construction of substantial buildings was undertaken, covering at least the southern area of Watling House (WH, Area F) and the south-east corner of Gateway House (GH, Area E). It is probable that part of the complexes in the northern areas of both sites (GH, Area B; WH, Area C) also belong to this period of development (see below).

Building 1. Watling House—Area F, Fig. 6.

This building is represented by the single wall recorded in section in the south face of the southern retaining-wall trench at Watling House²⁰. A section through this wall (Fig. 6) shows well the construction technique employed. A foundation trench (WH, Context 42) was cut into the 'dirty clay' layer, interpreted above as Period IIa brickearth make-up. This foundation trench was back-filled to the level of the make-up dump with ragstone, mortar and gravel (WH, Context 41). Upon this foundation was constructed a well-dressed ragstone wall, standing to a height of *c.* 0.55m and 0.55m in width. On this was laid, and mortared

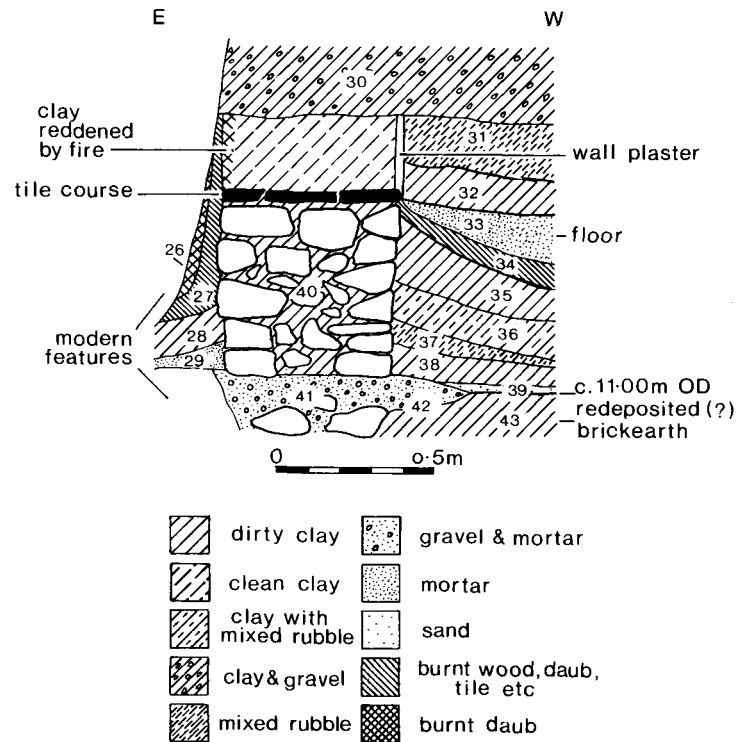


Fig. 6 Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, 1954; Section through the wall of Building 1 (Period IIb).

a single tile course (c. 11.6m OD). This construction acted as the foundation or dwarf wall to a clay superstructure, c. 0.5m in width, with no visible wattling or timber framing. Only the western face of this clay wall was covered with wall plaster. No plaster was recorded on the stone dwarf wall, which appears to have been concealed by a succession of layers on the western side and with a lesser number on the eastern side.

On the western side, a mortar floor (WH, Context 33) sealed a series of make-up layers (WH, Contexts 34–38) which raised the level of the floor to that of the single tile course. A similar practice was recorded at Watling Court for Structure 4²¹ where the area above the brickearth dump contained by the dwarf walls was made up with other brickearth dumps. Here, however, probable brickearth dumps (WH, Contexts: 35, 36, 38) were interspersed with layers containing building debris (WH, Contexts: 34 and 37)²². The source for these is unknown since they were obviously redeposited.

The mortar floor was sealed by a layer of 'dirty clay' (WH, Context 32), which might represent a

floor, or the preparation for a subsequent floor or even the debris from a destroyed clay wall (no plaster fragments were recorded, however). This was, in turn, sealed by 'clay with mixed rubble' (WH, Context 31) which perhaps represents the destruction of this building. This general sequence, i.e. a mortar floor sealed by, first, a dirty clay layer and then by destruction debris, is mirrored on the eastern side of the wall (WH, Contexts: 26–29). However, the mortar 'floor' rests immediately upon the foundation, c. 0.5m below the floor on the west side of the wall. Also, the destruction debris is described specifically as 'burnt wood, daub, tile etc' and 'burnt daub' (WH, Contexts: 27 and 26 respectively) and the eastern face of the upstanding clay wall was severely reddened by fire. It would appear, therefore, that fire played a major part in damaging this building if not actually destroying it.

The different levels on either side of this wall are of interest since, rather suggesting simply two rooms at different levels, this might be an indication that the wall was an external feature of the struc-

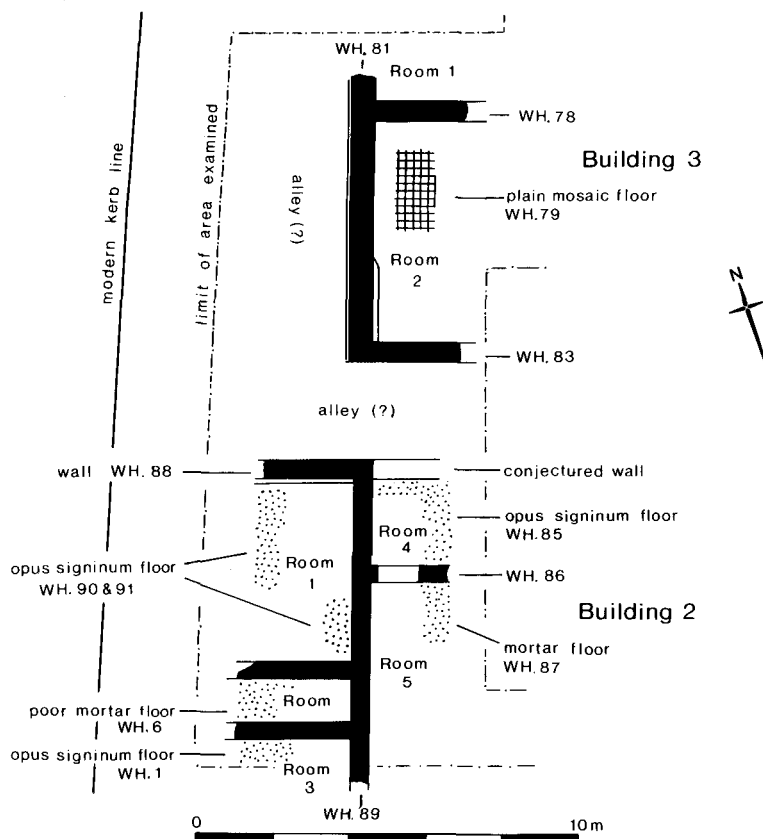


Fig. 7 Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, 1954; Detail of Buildings 2 and 3 (Period IIb).

ture—the east side being outside the building and the west inside. If this were so, in view of the scale of the building at Watling Court to the east, it might be possible that this wall was the eastern limit of Watling House Building 2.

Building 2. Watling House—Area F, Fig. 7.

This structure was recorded in the south-west corner of the Watling House site. Although none of its features were recorded in detail, on the basis of its ground plan, the technique of construction of its walls and some limited datable deposits sealed beneath floors, the date of its construction is almost certainly contemporary with that of Building 1 to the east and of the period IV buildings at Watling Court—especially Structure 4, and at St. Mildred's Bread Street.

There is no reference to any layer in the available record which can be interpreted as pre-dating Period II. The earliest recorded features on this

part of the site appear to be the foundations for the building itself²³. The most complete section through the wall which can be compiled from the excavator's notes was seen across the northernmost wall of this complex (WH, Context 88). When reconstructed, the wall was *c.* 0.50m wide and as high as it was broad. This was then topped by a single course of tiles. The whole stood on a foundation, which was slightly broader than the wall itself, at *c.* 11.60m OD.

At least five rooms can be identified; three to the west of a north-south wall (WH, Context 89), and two to its east (Fig. 7). Room 1 measured internally *c.* 4.7m north-south and at least 2.60m wide. The westernmost wall was not seen. Within this room were two areas of *opus signinum* flooring 0.10m thick (WH, Contexts 90 and 91) both at *c.* 11.94m OD and *c.* 0.13m below the uppermost level of the tile course on the north wall (WH, Context 88) described above.

To the south of this, a narrow east-west orientated room perhaps functioned as a corridor. Its width was only *c.* 1.00m but its minimum length was *c.* 3.20m. A poor, yellow mortar layer (WH, Context 6) within this room might have been a floor surface. It sealed a layer, of burnt clay (WH, Context 7, ER.179) *c.* 0.10m thick, which contained a cone-shaped millstone²⁴ and, according to the excavator, 'fragments of a large olla of hard grey-brown ware with slight vertical combing. Probably AD 50–70'²⁵. The westernmost extent of this room was not recorded.

The west and south limits of Room 3 to the south of Room 2 were not recorded. It measured at least 3.20m east-west by 1.10m. An *opus signinum* floor, *c.* 0.10m thick (WH, Context 1), with a surface at *c.* 11.80m OD, sealed a layer containing wall plaster and ragstone rubble (WH, Context 2, ER.178) which probably acted as an aggregate in the preparation of the floor²⁶. This layer was dated by pottery to the Flavian–early Trajanic periods. This layer and that recorded below the poor mortar floor of room 2 might suggest a slight refurbishment following a partial destruction of the building during its lifetime. It should be noted that the mortar floor of Building 1 to the east, which is suggested above to be part of this Building 2, also sealed a deposit of burnt rubble (WH, Context 34).

All the walls dividing and delimiting the rooms of this western range were *c.* 0.50m in width. On the east side of the central north-south wall, however, an east-west wall of notably narrower width (0.38m) but unknown construction (WH, Context 86) separated Rooms 4 and 5. Room 4, to the north, cannot be delimited on its northern side even though that area was opened in the course of excavation. The probability that a wall, since robbed or of a less well-founded construction, once existed there is high. A Floor recorded within the room terminated with a straight east-west edge and did not extend beyond the projected east-west line of the wall to the west (WH, Context 88). The maximum north-south measurement of this room was 2.20m, its east-west measurement 2.16m. The floor referred to above (WH, Context 85) consisted of a thin skin of *opus signinum*²⁷ on a mortar floor, the latter 0.10m thick. All of this was overlaid by a layer of burnt clay and wall plaster (see Period IIc below) of unknown thickness.

Room 5 was poorly preserved. Its minimum east-west width was 2.15m. However its minimum north-south dimension was 5.35m. A poor mortar floor (WH, Context 87) was recorded against the northern wall at the same level (*c.* 11.85m OD) as the *opus signinum* and mortar floor in Room 4 to the north.

Building 3. Watling House—Area F, Fig. 7.

Walls to the north of Building 2 shared exactly the same orientations. This might suggest contemporaneity but the different construction methods employed indicate that the walls belonged to separate buildings. The walls of Building 3 were of ragstone and tile throughout (see below for details) rather than of a clay superstructure on a ragstone dwarf wall and foundation. The similar alignment of the north-south walls of Buildings 2 and 3 might indicate that they were parts of the same wall but the available evidence indicates the opposite; they were of slightly different dimensions and were built in the two different techniques.

The similarity between the construction technique employed for this building and that used for these walls identified below as belonging to a Period III phase of construction should be noted. However, the technique for this building was also the same as that used for Building 4 on the Gateway House site to the immediate west. Building 4 was sealed by a Period III structure (Building 10), (Fig. 12).

That Building 3 respected the alignments used also by Building 2 justifies, in the absence of strong evidence which would prevent this, its discussion here as a Period IIb structure. However, the plan as recorded might be that of a later phase, though probably still pre-dating Period III.

The walls of Building 3 were constructed on a foundation *c.* 0.85m in width with its top at *c.* 11.10m OD. On this was built the wall, 0.55m wide. At the north end, the wall (WH, Context 81) survived to a height at 12.19m OD, and at the south end to a height of 12.03m OD indicating an average total surviving height of 1.00m. This was at least twice the height of the dwarf walls recorded for Buildings 1 and 2²⁸.

A similar east-west wall recorded at the south end (WH, Context 83) was severely truncated by later features. Since the north-south wall probably did not extend south to connect with Building 2, it is likely that this was an external wall to Building 3 and that the area between it and the north side of Building 2 was a small alley or lane passing between the two structures. Because the east-west walls of Building 3 did not appear to extend westwards it is possible that another such alley or access route ran north-south on the west side of the north-south wall.

Two rooms of Building 3 could be identified. Only a small part of the corner of Room 1, to the north, was noted and no details are available for it. Within Room 2, measuring 5.80m north-south by at least 2.20m east-west, was recorded a small area of plain red mosaic floor (WH, Context 79)

which sealed a 0.30m thick layer of burnt wall plaster, daub, tile etc in yellow-brown clay (WH, Context 80). How this floor, of a type associated more with the Period III buildings, overlying a major destruction deposit can be related to the building is not at all clear.

Building 4. Gateway House—Area E, Figs 8, 9 and 12.

This building overlay Pit 1 (Period 1) and had a complex and confusing history which cannot be satisfactorily interpreted from the available record. The ragstone foundation which cut the pit was built with a well-dressed vertical face (GH, Context 31, Fig. 8). On this was built the wall (GH, Context 13) 0.62m high with six courses of ragstone. Above this, another course was sandwiched between two single courses of tiles. The maximum height of the wall, excluding the foundation was *c.* 0.80m. A floor was indicated by the scorching of a clay layer which sealed the foundation (GH, Contexts 25 and 26) and coincided with *in situ* wall plaster. (Fig. 8, Floor 1). After this, a hard brown mortar floor (GH, Context 18), only *c.* 0.05m thick was laid on a bed of ragstone chippings (GH, Context 23) *c.* 0.30m thick which raised this floor to a level between the two tile courses. Sadly no dating evidence at all is available for this sequence.

The wall of this part of the building was then overlaid by a mortar floor (GH, Context 17) suggesting that it had been demolished. This floor probably relates to the Period III structure which overlay this building.

The plan of this building (Fig. 9) shows that subsequently a stonelined drain was constructed

across the north-south wall (GH, Context 13), and that the wall itself was partly cut away to accommodate this. Sadly, the construction and use of this feature cannot be related to the sequence recorded in the section though it was overlaid by a mortar floor of Period III (Fig. 8, Floor 3 or 4).

Pit 6. Watling House—Area G, ER.197, Fig. 5.

This pit was located on the eastern side of the Watling House site and contained material dated to the early 2nd century. It was overlaid by the foundation of an east-west orientated wall (WH, Context 21) which is in close alignment with Period III structures. Only a short length of this wall was recorded.

Pit 7. Watling House—Area C or F, ER.198.

This pit, containing material of the early 2nd century, was found on the west side of the Watling Court site but cannot now be located on plan.

Buildings 5 to 9 inclusive and 12. Gateway House and Watling House Areas A, B, C and D; Fig. 3.

The complexity of walls in the northern areas of both sites defies interpretation into individual periods—a problem accentuated by the lack of details concerning construction techniques and associated floors etc.

It is, however, significant that all the walls in the northern areas of both sites were on a different orientation from the Period IIb structures in the southern areas. It has been noted elsewhere²⁹ that this northern pattern probably indicates the line of an east-west aligned thoroughfare running beneath the modern Watling Street³⁰. No trace of such a road appears in any of the records for either site³¹.

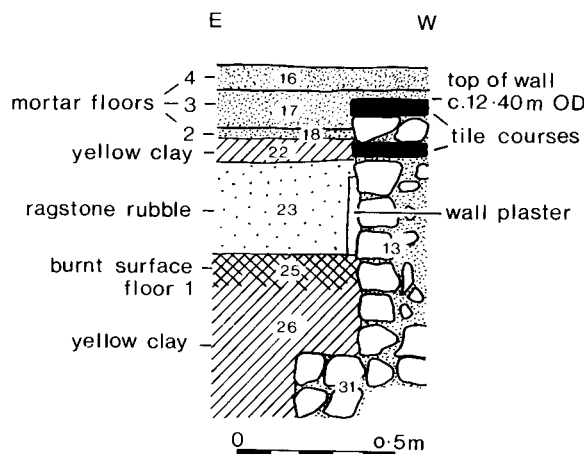


Fig. 8 Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, 1954; Section through the wall of Building 4 (Period IIb). For key see Fig. 6.

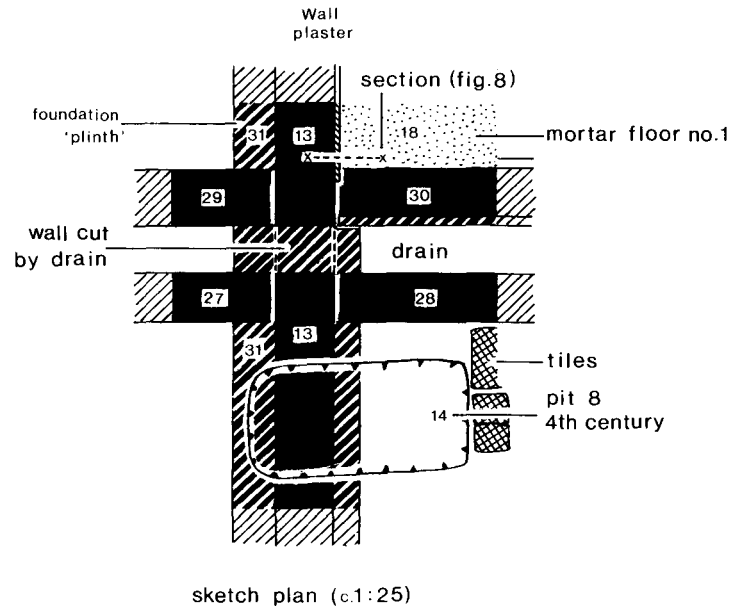


Fig. 10 Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, 1954; period IIc features.

However, the continuity of the east-west walls, extending over 50m, suggests that they respected a fixed line of the same orientation immediately outside the areas examined. At what date this line became established is uncertain.

A gravel surface recorded in the extreme north-west corner of the Gateway House site (Area A, Context 74)³² was too insubstantial to be a road³³. The presence of two substantial walls (GH, Contexts 71 and 73) encroaching upon the western projection of this east-west alignment³⁴ might, however, suggest a realignment of this line to the north-west.

If this realignment is then projected, it falls within the immediate area of the cambered road recorded in section, but believed to be oriented east to west on the site of St. Paul's Choir School³⁵.

PERIOD IIc: HADRIANIC (Fig. 10)

The record of these two sites is insufficient to detail any possible phases of refurbishment of the Period IIb buildings. However, they were severely damaged, probably destroyed, by a major fire. This was represented by many layers composed of burnt clay, wall-plaster, brick

and tile etc, which "appeared all over the site at approximately the same depth"³⁶.

The most extensive of these fire deposits was recorded in the south-east corner of Watling House (WH, Area F, Context 44, ER.209). It was found for a total of c. 6.00m along the southern retaining-wall trench at the level of c. 11.75m OD. Pottery dating to the 'first decades of the 2nd century' came from the east end only³⁷. Seen in section nearby (Fig. 6) were deposits of burnt wood with tile and daub (WH, Area F, Contexts 26 and 27) on the east side of the wall (WH, Context 40) which, if not the same layer, is probably contemporary with it. Other burnt deposits sealing directly Period IIb floors and surfaces were:

Layer. Watling House—Area F, Building 2, Room 2, Context 5; Fig. 10.

Burnt daub mixed with yellow clay which overlaid the yellow mortar floor (WH, Context 6). Thickness unknown.

Layer. Watling House—Area F, Building 2, Room 4, Context 84; Fig. 10.

Burnt clay and wall plaster which overlaid the opus signinum floor (WH, Context 85) of this room. Thickness unknown.

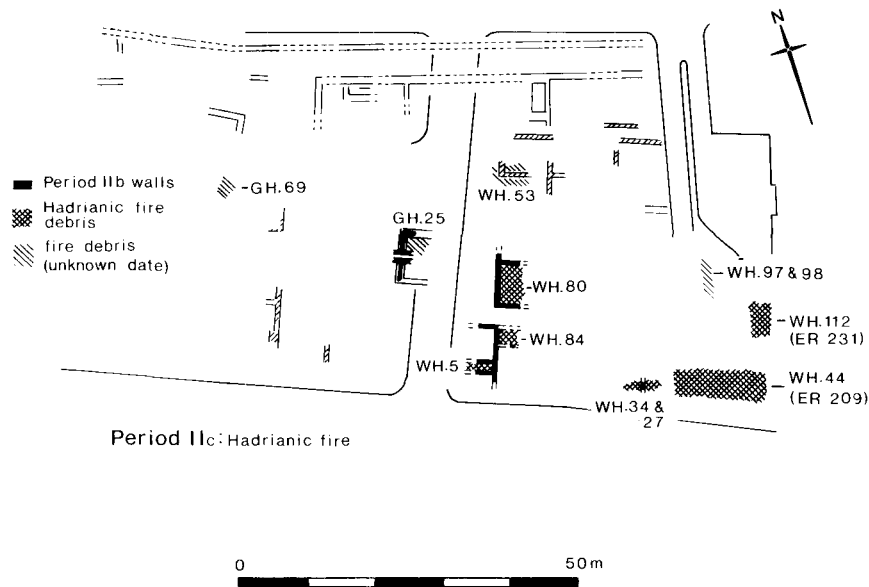


Fig. 9 Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, 1954; Sketch plan (after Noël Hume) of Building 4 (Period IIb).

Layer. Watling House—Area F, Building 3, Room 2, Context 80; Fig. 10.

c. 0.30m thick layer of burnt wall plaster, daub and tile in yellow-brown clay sealed by an area of plain mosaic floor (WH, Context 79).

Layer. Watling House—Area G, Contexts 97 and 98; Fig. 10.

Yellow clay and ash overlying a layer of burnt wood and soil. These cannot be directly related to any Period II structure. Their proximity to the other burnt deposits, described above, in the south-east corner of Watling House and at nearby Watling Court suggests that they too are of Hadrianic date. These include a layer of burnt building debris (WH, Area F, Context 112, ER.231)³⁸ which overlay a deposit of burnt clay and wall plaster in the eastern retaining-wall trench of Watling House (Area F). These could not be precisely located on plan. The presence of a mortar floor *in situ* nearby suggests the existence here of another building not seen in detail by the archaeological investigator³⁹.

At Gateway House, the burnt surface of the clay floor in Building 4 (GH, Area E, Context 25) cannot be satisfactorily related to this event. Elsewhere on this site other references to fire deposits are sparse and cannot be satisfactorily related to any known sequence. Just two are worthy of note:

Layer. Gateway House—Area D, Context 69; Fig. 10.

A layer c. 0.10m in thickness comprising burnt debris with tiles was sealed between two floors of opus signinum (GH, Contexts 68 and 70). These floors cannot be related to any nearby walls.

Layer. Gateway House—Area A (extreme west end). Context 80.

This layer of burnt wood 'etc' lay on top of a mortar floor (GH, Context 81) and is sealed by the gravel surface (GH, Context 79) referred to above. There were no walls in the vicinity to associate with this floor or destruction level.

Naturally it would be unwise to assign every fire deposit on these two sites to a single event. However, that the Period IIb buildings met the same fate as their apparently contemporary structures of Period IV at Watling Court leads to the obvious and acceptable interpretation that they were destroyed by the same fire of Hadrianic date⁴⁰. To these deposits associated with Period IIb structures can be added that 6.0m spread in the south-east corner of Watling House (WH, Area F,

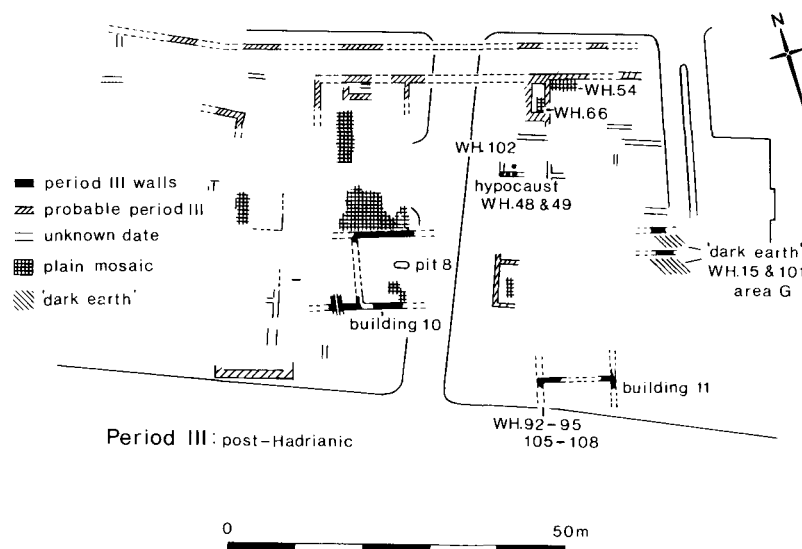


Fig. 11 Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, 1954; period III features.

Context 44, ER.209) which Ivor Noël Hume dated, on pottery evidence, as being 'a relic of the Hadrianic fire'⁴¹.

PERIOD III: POST-HADRIANIC (Fig. 11)

The next major activity which can be interpreted was the construction of a series of structures, apparently with large rooms, across both sites. It is possible that they were all originally part of a single building, but in the absence of any firm evidence to support this, groups of walls and their associated floors are described and discussed below as if they represented individual buildings.

Building 10. Gateway House—Area E, Fig. 12.

This is the best recorded building which can be assigned to Period III. Its relatively late date is confirmed by its relationship with other features (Pit 5 and Building 4 were sealed by its walls and floors; Pit 8, of 4th century date, cut through its floors). Two parallel walls⁴², each 0.60m wide, were well constructed with mortared ragstone with at least one single tile bonding course. Each stood on a foundation *c.* 0.75m in width and the height of the surviving remains above this exceeded 1.00m⁴³.

These two walls were orientated east-west with a connecting north-south wall, only 0.45m wide, between them forming at least two rooms. It should be noted that this wall was not recorded along its total length and, furthermore, very little on its west side could be recorded (Fig. 12). Also the area to the south of the southernmost of the two east-west walls could not be examined. However, a third 'room' can be postulated to the north for which a large expanse of its floor survived.

Room 1 was *c.* 9.6m north to south and at least 4.10m wide. Neither a western wall or any floors were recorded. Passing through the south wall was a drain orientated north to south for which there is no indication of its pitch. The drain itself was well built with a tile base and 0.40m wide ragstone walls which had been rendered with plaster (GH, Area E, Context 39–41). Whether it was an original feature of this building or a later addition cannot be discerned.

To the east of this room, and separated from it by the north-south wall, was Room 2. This large room measured 9.60m also north-south but at least 7.70m wide. The floors of this room were probably the mortar floors which overlaid Building 4 (Period IIb). (GH, Contexts 17 and 18; Fig. 8, Floors 3 and 4). In the south of the room, however, with a green and white chequered pattern mosaic floor was found (GH, Context 12) suggesting that internal partition walls, in timber or clay, might have divided the mortar floors from this mosaic.

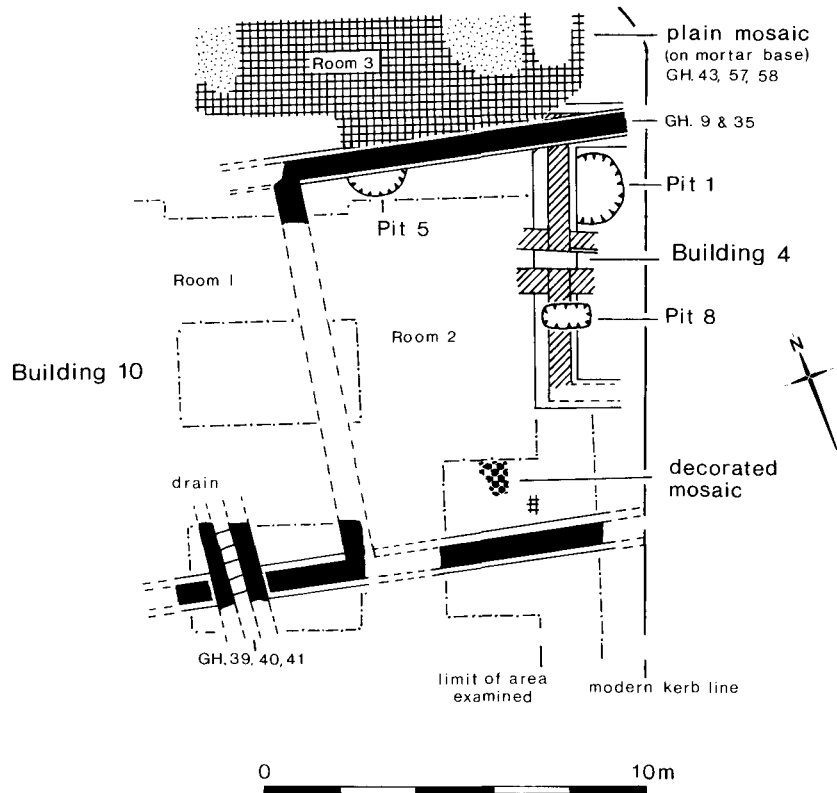


Fig. 12 Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, 1954; Detail of Building 10 (Period III). For key see Fig. 3.

To the north of these two rooms, the area up to the complexity of walls in the northern part of Gateway House (Area B) would appear to have been covered by one large expanse of plain red mosaic pavement set on a mortar base (GH, Contexts 43, 57, and 58). It is possible that this area was also sub-divided into smaller units by partition walls.

Buildings 5 to 9 inclusive and 12. Gateway House and Watling House. Areas A, B, C and D; Fig. 3.

Just as these areas might contain features which can be assigned to Period IIb (see above) so they are likely also to contain Period III structures. Again, however, the picture is confused but it is more probable that the available plan represents the buildings of a late period. Two specific features might indicate this. Firstly two small areas of plain red mosaic floor were recorded, one within a small rectangular room, 2.15m by 4.30m (WH, Area C, Context 66) and the other against the northernmost

wall of the same complex (WH, Context 54, Fig. 11). The other feature was a small expanse of hypocaust which overlaid mortared ragstone walls of an earlier structure (WH, Context 102). The hypocaust was constructed of tile *pilae* on a mortar base (WH, Contexts 48 and 49; Fig. 11) which may have been an earlier floor.

Building 11. Watling House—Area F, Fig. 11.

This structure, in the southern retaining-wall trench of the Watling House site, was on an orientation different from that of Buildings 2 and 3 in its immediate vicinity but similar to that of Building 10 and the east-west alignment of the long walls in the northern areas of the sites. It had three successive mortar floors within a corner formed by two walls (WH, Area F, Contexts 92–95, 105–108).

The demise of these Period III buildings is difficult to interpret. No evidence for their

destruction or demolition was recorded though this does not, of course, exclude such activity.

Three specific points should be noted. Firstly, the floor of Room 2, Building 10, was cut by a 'Fourth century pit' (GH, Area E, Pit 8, Contexts 14 and 15; Fig. 12)⁴⁴. This suggests that this room had gone out of use by that date.

Secondly, on the east side of the Watling House site, the presence of 'dark earth' was indicated in two sections in the eastern retaining wall trench. In one section the 'dark earth', described as 'black filling' by the excavator, was 0.65m in thickness (WH, Area G, Context 15). This overlay two layers which sealed a wall foundation (WH, Context 21) post-dating the late 1st or early 2nd century (see Period II, Pit 6). Whether this layer also covered the wall itself is not certain. To the north-east from this, at a distance of *c.* 1.20m, the other layer (WH, Area G, Context 101) which was also described as 'black filling' rested directly on a mortar floor of unknown date (WH, Area G, Context 104) and was sealed by 'clay and medieval debris'⁴⁵. Whether these deposits accumulated during or after the life of the building in this area cannot be decided.

Finally, it should be noted that medieval walls took advantage of two lengths of these Period III walls as foundations. These occurred at the east end of the southern wall of Building 10 (Room 2), where a north-south orientated medieval wall butted against it on its north side⁴⁶, and at Building 11 where the entire east-west length was employed as a foundation by a medieval chalk block wall⁴⁷. Although this might suggest that the Period III buildings survived in part as visible ruins long after the Roman period had come to an end, it is more likely that their reuse was entirely fortuitous—the walls being 'discovered' during the digging of medieval foundations.

CONCLUSION

Although the records for these two sites are, in many respects, unspecific and confused—through no fault of the exca-

vator—this examination of the two sites has shown that three main periods of occupation can be reconstructed for the Roman period.

The earliest human activity which can be identified was represented by the cutting and infilling of pits during the Neronian–early Flavian period. Unfortunately no associated buildings were recorded but it should be stressed that at Watling Court, the Period II buildings there, contemporary with Period I at Gateway House and Watling House, were slightly founded with timber frames infilled with clay, daub or mudbrick. The walls of these buildings 'could only be determined from the extent of the floor surfaces'⁴⁸. This would explain the absence of Period I buildings at Watling House and Gateway House.

The construction of more substantial buildings (Period II) exactly comparable to Structure 4 at Watling Court and a building at St. Mildred's, Bread St. indicates a more intensive use of the sites, especially in the eastern part of Gateway House and on all of the Watling House site. This merely reflects what was happening at Watling Court. The similarities in construction techniques, plan, use of access routes between structures⁴⁹ and the eventual destruction by fire of these buildings indicates that the Watling Court development may not have been an isolated unit but one of at least two similar plots facing southwards towards the Thames. The different alignment of the Watling House buildings (Buildings 2 and 3) is probably due to natural topography. There is no evidence here to suggest an east-west thoroughfare south of these sites.

At a later date, following the destruction of the Period II buildings by a major fire which occurred during the Hadrianic period, substantial buildings were constructed which had no regard for the

Period II alignments in the southern areas of both sites. Rather, the east-west wall alignment to the north was retained and was followed by all Period III buildings.

The nature of these buildings, which can only be dated to between the Hadrianic period and the 4th century, is not too clear. It is possible that the 'buildings' discussed above (eg 10 and 11) are in fact part of one large premises on the scale of that recorded at Lime St. in 1952⁵⁰ with long corridors, large possibly partitioned rooms with plain red and decorated mosaic floors and private hypocausted suites. It is also a possibility, however, that they represent a number of individual properties.

The possible existence of a Roman street beneath modern Watling Street has been considered, together with the alignment of the Roman walls in the northern areas (see Period IIb).

The coincidence of the wall alignments with the Roman street section at St. Paul's Choir School, and the earlier sighting of a roadway built with a chalk foundation and flint surface at a depth of *c.* 6.10m *somewhere* in Watling Street would make the presence of a road here a strong possibility (Fig. 13).

APPENDIX (Fig. 14)

Pit 3, ER.181 (Watling House, Watling Street, 1954, Area C). Glass working waste.

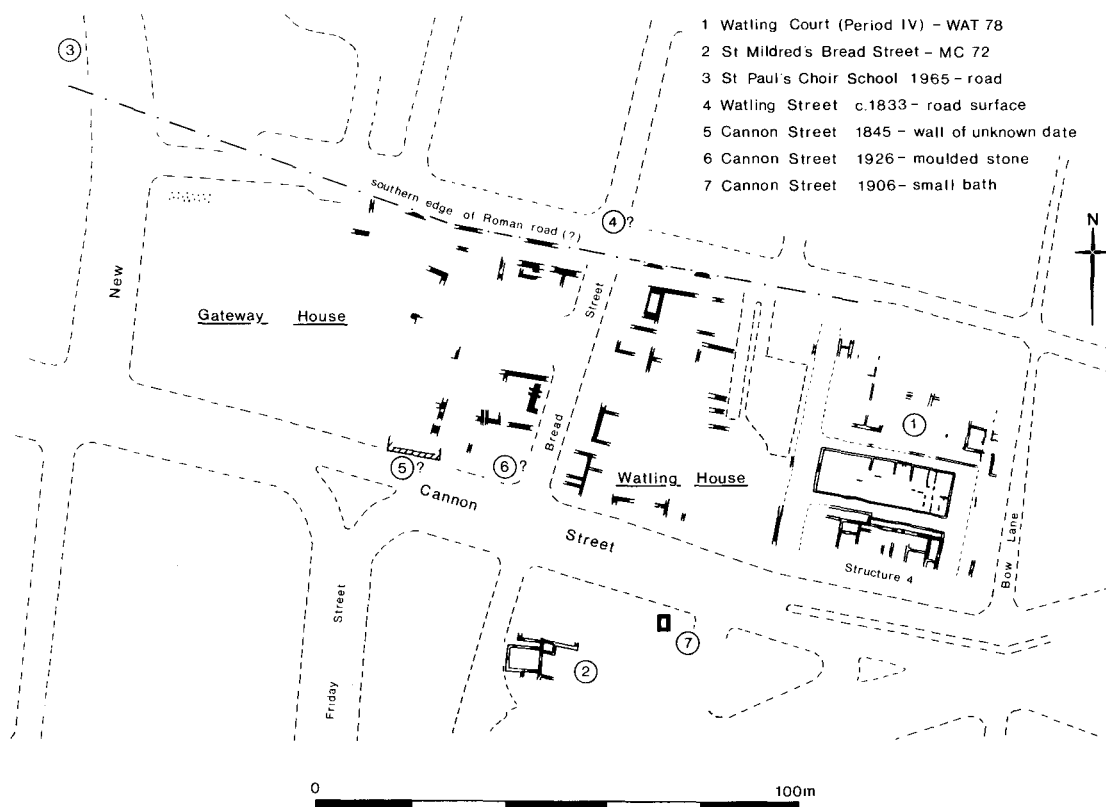


Fig. 13 Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, 1954; Location of other Roman features in the immediate area.

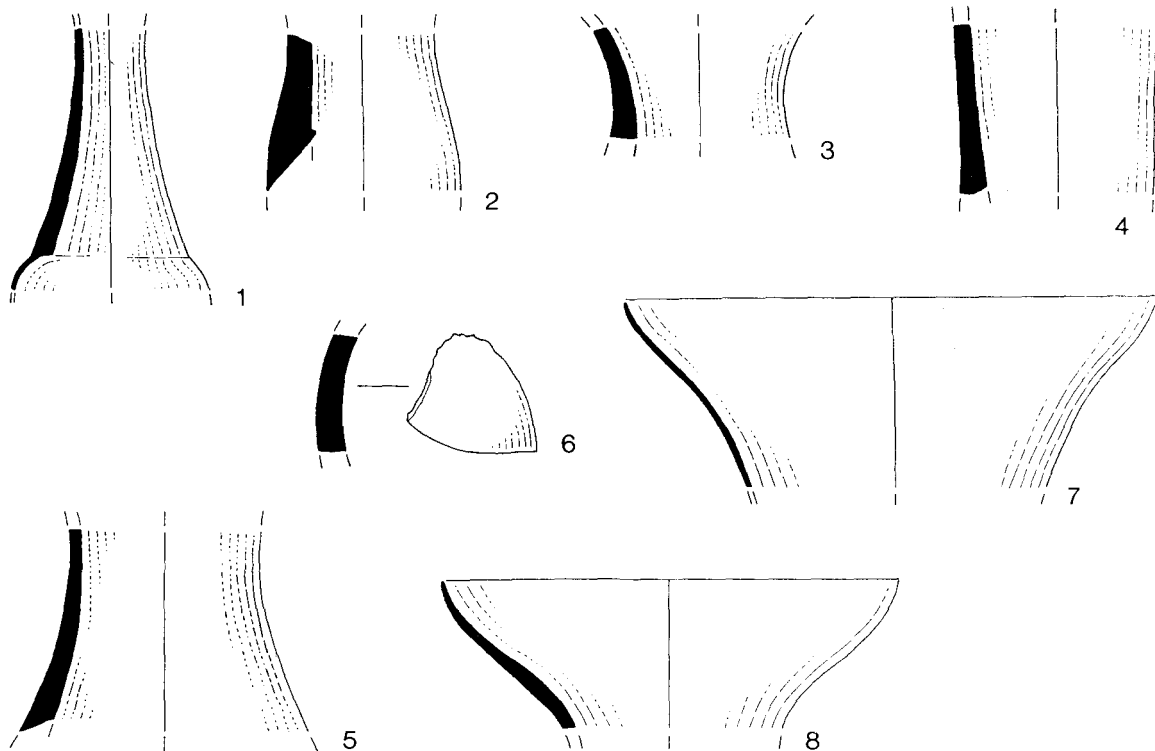


Fig. 14 Gateway House and Watling House, Watling Street, 1954; Pit 3. ER.181. Glass working waste.

In addition to a small group of pottery datable to the Neronian/early Flavian period, this pit contained one hundred and twelve fragments of glass. Ninety-six are vessel glass fragments, two are window glass fragments and the remaining fourteen are waste fragments from the manufacture of glass vessels and include positive evidence for glass-blowing.

The ninety-six vessel fragments include only fifteen which can be identified with certainty as coming from particular forms—six from mould-blown square-sectioned bottles⁵¹ and nine from the free-blown cylindrical variety. It is perhaps surprising that from so many fragments so few could be identified. Not a single rim or base fragment which could give assistance was present. The reason for this strange bias is unknown. The group, however, is peculiar for two other reasons not connected, presumably, with the absence of identifiable fragments. Not only is every fragment of a similar colour, namely naturally-coloured greenish-blue, but among these ninety-six fragments no two join

together. The implication, therefore, is that they do not represent the remains of a group of vessels discarded into the pit but the residue of a larger group of broken vessels. It would seem likely, therefore, that, along with the moils and trimmings, these fragments represent cullet—the fragments of broken vessels collected from any possible source to be re-cycled.

The fourteen waste fragments are, unlike the 'cullet', pieces which have been discarded during the course of a vessel's manufacture—but still with an intent to recycle them. The fragments are of three sorts. Moils—the waste fragment of glass from the end of the blowing-iron which, once the vessel being made has been removed from the end of the iron for the fashioning of the rim, is knocked-off the iron. It is possible that such pieces, while still on the blowing-iron, could be used as the pontilwad attached to the base of a vessel while it is being removed from another iron for subsequent treatment. Six examples of moils can be identified, one virtually complete.

Because once removed from the blowing-iron, the rim of a vessel could be fashioned in many different ways (eg folded in to form jars or splayed out to make bowls or plates) the shape of the moiil gives very little indication of the form of the vessel being produced. However, this almost complete example (Fig. 14, No. 1) is so narrow that it is certain that the vessel taken off of the end was equally narrow-necked and was probably an unguentarium. In addition to the blowing-iron ends of moiils, there are two fragments from larger examples⁵⁵ from immediately above the cut-off rim of a vessel (Fig. 14, No. 7–8). Such fragments have the appearance of knocked-off, rough rims but such rim types are not common during the first century and in an assemblage where no other rims occur at all, their presence would be even more extraordinary. These lip ends of moiils do allow a better interpretation of the form being produced. Their thin walls and their very forms suggest beakers, bowls or cups.

The remaining fragments are simple droplets and trimmings from the process of manufacture. The identification of the latter is still problematical since trimmings—pieces cut from the rims of vessels to level up the lips—can easily be interpreted as fragments simply distorted by fire and vice-versa.

In addition to these, a quantity of heavily burnt clay, two fragments bearing traces of glass runlets and droppings was recovered. This material probably represents furnace fragments. Whether they come from the glass furnace itself or from a structure near to it can not be ascertained. Nowhere on the Watling House site was a structure recorded which could be a glass-furnace. This is not really surprising because a furnace would leave very little evidence. Although no Roman glass furnace has been found intact, they were probably small multi-tiered structures, fire-box below, main chamber for the melting of glass immediately above and, nearby or attached, an annealing oven to allow the completed vessel to cool under a controlled temperature and so not suffer stress on cooling. From such structures, therefore, only the fire-box might survive.

Waste is also a rarity in a glasshouse—all available waste or discarded fragments or vessels being returned to the crucible at a later stage.

These fragments, therefore, indicate glass-blowing probably in the vicinity of the pit in which they were found. The date of the associated pottery and the location of the deposit, sealed beneath probable make-up for Flavian buildings, would make this group the earliest evidence for glass-blowing in London⁵³. Whether glass-making—the preparing

of glass metal from the raw materials—was conducted here cannot be ascertained from the available evidence⁵⁴.

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Mr Ivor Noël Hume's records acknowledge the assistance given by Messrs Trollope and Colls, the contractors for both sites. I would like to offer my thanks to one of their present employees, Mr D. Powell, who kindly allowed me access to their archives and helped much in sorting out basement levels and modern building orientation problems.

Finally, I would like to thank T. Dyson, P. Marsden and D. Perring who each read earlier drafts of this paper and have offered much useful advice. I fear I must still remain responsible for any errors or opinions stated therein.

NOTES

1. Only the Roman features recorded on Gateway House and Watling House are discussed in this report. The information regarding medieval and post-medieval archaeological features on these two sites and also on the site of the church of St. John the Evangelist, Watling Street, exist in archive form only and can be examined in the Department of Urban Archaeology, Museum of London.
2. Pre-development basement levels vary considerably across this site (see note 3) and relate to individual properties. Depth of archaeological features are often given in the original record as measurements 'below basement' or 'BB'. Often some confusion can arise when a feature passes from one property to another, from one basement to another. Reference is made when any possible discrepancy occurs—where an Ordnance Datum is given without comment then no confusion exists.
3. The potential for future archaeological work at Watling House is very poor. The entire area within the retaining wall was lowered to an overall 8.60m (28.25ft) OD from basement levels of 12.30m (40.42ft) OD to 12.79m (42.00ft) OD in the southern part of the site, from 13.24m (43.50ft) OD in the centre and from 13.47m (44.25ft) OD to 14.01m (46.00ft) OD in the north. (Information obtained from the archives of Messrs Trollope and Colls Ltd. Ref: Watling House Plan 10901/1C).
4. At Gateway House, basement levels of the properties prior to development are available, but since many depths of archaeological features are given in the original record as 'below working level' or 'BWL' as well as 'below basement' or 'BB', the former data cannot be computed with accuracy. The excavator differentiated between 'BWL's' and 'BB's' but, sadly, gave no indication of working level depths below respective basement levels.
Little potential exists for future archaeological work on the site, especially in the western carved 'arm' of the building where basement levels are at 10.15m (33.34ft) OD. On the eastern section of the building, basement levels were lowered to 12.30m (40.42ft) OD—allowing some opportunity for future examination, whenever possible, of the southern part of this section (GH, Areas D & E), already much disturbed by modern foundation trenches. The northern area (GH, Area B) must be severely truncated. (Levels obtained from the archive of Messrs Trollope and Colls Ltd. Ref: Gateway House, Plans 740/22A and 3173).
5. Noël Hume I., 'Into the Jaws of Death Walked One' in Bird J., Chapman H. and Clarke J. (eds), *Collectanea Londiniensia: Papers presented to Ralph Merrifield*. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper 2 (1978) 7–23.

6. These records, including an archival account of the Roman features, are located in the Department of Urban Archaeology, Museum of London.
The archive also includes details of the finds from both sites. Sadly their content and the very nature of their retrieval cannot justify their full publication here. All the dates for individual groups referred to in the text are pottery spot-dates (DUA Finds Department). Where the finds are missing, which is often the case, Noël Hume's dating is used.
7. The method adopted to analyse these records is essentially that employed by Mr A. Wilmot (See 'Queen Street 1953-60'. Department of Urban Archaeology Level III Archive Report: Introduction). By these means the Excavation Register (ER), entries have been broken down into a more manageable system based upon the 'context'—thus making subsequent records more compatible with the existing Department of Urban Archaeology archive.
8. All information relating to the geology at the site at Watling Court can be found in WAT 78, Department of Urban Archaeology Archive Report.
9. Messrs Trollope and Colls Ltd. Archive. Ref: Gateway House, Plans 740/13B, insets C, D and E and 740/15A, insets K, L, M, N and P.
10. This level is suspiciously high. Even an alternative nearby basement level of 13.79m (45.25ft) OD gives a level of the base of this pit as c. 11.00m OD.
11. Excavation Register notebook II, p. 18. Department of Urban Archaeology Archive.
12. Perring D., 'Excavations at Watling Court. Part 1: Roman'. *The London Archaeologist*, 4, No. 4 (1981), 103-108. Also WAT 78 Department of Urban Archaeology Archive Report and *pers. comm.* D. Perring.
13. Excavation Register notebook II, pp. 14-15. Department of Urban Archaeology Archive.
14. Perring (*op. cit.* in Note 12), p. 106.
15. Marsden, P., Dyson T. and Rhodes M., 'Excavations on the site of St. Mildred's Church, Bread Street, London, 1972-4'. *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 26 (1975), 171-208.
16. Even though a depth below basement and the thickness of this layer were recorded, an approximate level for the top of the latter, even acknowledging potential thicknesses of sealed deposits, is again suspiciously high (see Note 10). An error on the contractor's basement plans is assumed (the archive copy already has a 1954 alteration).
17. In the south-west corner of Watling Court, natural subsoil was observed at an average of 9.8m OD. Most other levels were between 10.10m and 10.20m OD (WAT 78, Department of Urban Archaeology Archive report. Natural Topography).
18. Marsden, Dyson and Rhodes (*op. cit.* in Note 15), p. 175.
19. WAT 78, Department of Urban Archaeology Archive Report.
20. Merrifield R., *The Roman City of London* (London, 1965), p. 213-3, No. 80.
21. WAT 78, Department of Urban Archaeology Archive Report.
22. One layer, context 37, contained ER.204. The excavator suggests a Claudian date for this group (Excavation Register notebook II, 35) and, therefore, a destruction date at this level of AD 60. Recent analysis, however, indicates that the date of this small group could be as late as the early 2nd century AD (DUA Finds Section).
23. This does not exclude the existence of earlier occupation.
24. MOL. Aoc. No. 18845. It is not known if this object was fragmentary or complete. It is no longer available for study.
25. Material not available for study.
26. *Pers. comm.* D. Perring.
27. Information recorded on contractor's basement plan.
28. See Note 27.
29. Merrifield (*op. cit.* in Note 20) p. 126.
30. The modern Watling Street in the City has no connection at all with the great Roman highway of that name.
31. c. 1833 observation of a road surface c. 6m below modern Watling Street might indicate this road. However, the evidence is vague.
32. Merrifield (*op. cit.* in Note 20), p. 209, No. 68.
33. This gravel surface is only c. 0.10m in thickness and is said to have contained 'one fourth century sherd' (from note on contractor's basement plan).
34. The difference in the alignment of these walls was noted by Merrifield (*op. cit.* in Note 20), p. 209, No. 69.
35. Marsden P., 'Archaeological Finds in the City of London', *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 22, pt 1 (1968), pp. 2-3, Fig. 2.
36. Excavation Register notebook II, p. 42.
37. ER.209 (see Note 36) not available for study.
38. The Excavation Register group comprises an undatable fragment of ironwork.
39. The fact that at Watling House all the detailed observations were in the southern part of the site is probably more a reflection of the nature, of the record for that area compared to that for the area comprising the complex of walls in the north.
40. Perring (*op. cit.* Note 12), p. 105 and 108. This evidence for a fire of probable Hadrianic date on the Watling House site was not noted by Merrifield (*op. cit.* Note 20) in his gazetteer. The use of this by later researchers lead them to believe that 'earlier observations of the same buildings to the west (of Watling Court, ie Watling House) make no mention of the fire, either because it was undetected or had been removed by later intrusions'. (Roskams S. and Watson L., 'The Hadrianic fire of London—a reassessment of the evidence'. *The London Archaeologist*, 4, No. 3 (1981) 62-66). This current study has shown the necessity to refer, wherever possible, to original excavation records.
41. See Note 36.
42. See Note 27.
43. All levels on the contractor's plan are 'Below working level' and so are of little use. The approximate height of surviving wall is taken from photographs (Excavation Register notebook II, Ser II, 53, 61a and b).
44. Excavation Register notebook I, p. 8.
45. Recorded on contractor's plan.
46. Excavation Register notebook II, p. 48, Ser II, 61.
47. Excavation Register notebook II, Photographs ser II, 58-60.
48. See Note 12.
49. Another alleyway running north-south might have existed on the Gateway House site (Area D), the three lengths of walls in this area being the western side of it. However, these walls cannot be dated as much of this area was unexcavated. Likewise, the possibility that other features existed is high.
50. Lime Street (Lloyds site). See Marsden P., *Roman London* (London 1980), 151.
51. Isings C., *Roman Glass from Dated Finds* (Groningen, 1957), 63-9, forms 50 and 51.
52. Larger examples were found in Merida, Spain. Price J., 'Some Roman Glass from Spain', *Annales du be Congres de L'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre*, Cologne, L.973, (Liege 1974), 80-83.
53. Other sites with similar evidence for glass-blowing in London (ie moils) are at 2-3, Cross Keys Court (OPT 81); Inmost Ward, Tower of London (1955) and Moorgate Street (MOG 86 and MGT 87).
54. None of the London sites showed evidence of glass manufacture from raw materials. Only Watling House had firm evidence for cullet. At OPT 81 and Inmost Ward, Tower of London 1955, was found evidence for pot-metal—ie pre-prepared glass ingot or crucible form—which can, if need be, be transported over great distances before being remelted and fashioned.

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