John Wood's 'Moon Temple' and other monuments of the Lansdown Plateau

Mike Williams (January 2024)

It has long been speculated upon, and frequently stated as fact, that The Circus and The Royal Crescent were inspired by John Wood the Elder's belief that King Bladud, the legendary discoverer of the hot springs of Bath, built druidical temples to the sun and the moon upon the hill of Lansdown. Although this speculation is often repeated by the tour guides of this city, there has been no serious attempt to locate these 'temples' until very recently.

According to legend, around 860 BCE, long before the Romans arrived, the young Prince Bladud contracted leprosy, which led to his exile from the royal court. He found work as a swineherd (pig herder) near Bath, and eventually the pigs caught leprosy from him. Bladud took the pigs down to a nearby valley where they wallowed in the mud by the hot spring there, and were cured of their condition. Bladud then bathed in the spring and, once cured, he was able to return to his court. He then travelled to Greece to be educated in magic and later returned as King of the Britons (Celts) to found the city of Bath. Wood believed that Bladud brought a group of druids back from Athens and that they built a number of monuments in the area, including the great stone circles of Stonehenge and Stanton Drew, as well as numerous monuments in and around Bath. Bladud eventually died while attempting to fly. Today, this story is generally dismissed as a legend, with the figure of Bladud thought to largely (or wholly) be an invention of Geoffrey of Monmouth in the 12th Century, while the earliest version to include the pigs dates only to the 17th Century. Even in John Wood's day, opinions varied concerning the legend, especially the incident with the pigs – not found in the earliest versions. However, Wood believed in it wholeheartedly and added many elements to the tale derived from his reading of historical and scholarly texts, as well as from his own imagination. In his books and his buildings he weaved this tale into the landscape surrounding his home city.

Besides being Bath's most celebrated architect, Wood was also a keen antiquary and described many of the ancient monuments and landscape features of the Bath area in his book *An Essay Towards a Description of Bath*, originally published in 1742 and followed by a second edition in 1749 that included many alterations and much additional material. His obsessions with ancient monuments, druids, King Bladud and classical and biblical history were reflected back in his architecture, and for better and for worse, were an important factor in how he has been viewed as a person – both during his lifetime and afterwards. However, with the exception of his meticulous plan of Stonehenge, Wood's antiquarian observations have not received the same level of attention as many of his contemporaries such as William Stukeley. Much of this is due to Wood's writings covering a limited geographic area, but also his ideas concerning ancient history have long been viewed as the pinnacle of antiquarian excess, with even Stukeley, himself no stranger to imaginative ideas about druids , referring to Wood's *"wild extravagancys concerning Druids, without the least true foundation and knowledge concerning them… I cannot but smile on this quack in antiquity, with a head stuffed with an indigested farrago chipped out of all ancient and modern authors, and huddled up into a ridiculous fabric, not stronger than the children's house of cards…"*[1] Wood's obsession with Bladud led him to describe numerous features in the Bath landscape that he claimed were the work of the legendary King and his druids. While this is indeed nonsense from a modern perspective, a closer examination of Wood's writings reveals that Wood is usually describing *something*, and even where his interpretations are at their most fanciful, there is usually some value

in his observations, which give the modern reader an insight into the condition of the described features as they were in the mid-18th Century. Indeed, besides the Roman Baths, few paid such features within the vicinity of Bath much attention at all until the early nineteenth-century, and in many cases Wood's writings contain the earliest known descriptions of some of our local monuments and other landscape features – including several that have since been destroyed or damaged. These sites are also closely linked to the creation of some of the grandest set pieces in the World Heritage Site of Bath, as well as being linked to the mythologies that have grown up around both the legendary Bladud and Wood himself. A description, however, is of little use unless matched with a location. While some sites described by Wood can be found with relative ease today, others are much trickier to locate.

In a previous paper[2] by the present author, the focus was on locating the 'Sols Rocks' (Bladud's 'sun temple') and associated features. All evidence pointed to the garden of Hope House near Lansdown Crescent, in a field formerly known as 'Salt Rock' (which, as it turned out, was also the name given to the site in Wood's earliest description of it). Unfortunately, the stones had probably been removed from the site by the end of the 18th century, the grounds had been built upon several times over the centuries and a new development was already well-underway by the time the site could be located. We will likely never know if Wood was describing a genuine ancient monument or if there was another explanation for the three large stones and a circular feature that he described, but there is little doubt that these features were there in the 1740s. The present article deals with its counterpart, the 'Moon Temple', as well as several associated monuments on the Lansdown Plateau.

I feel obliged to state that throughout my research into the location of the 'Moon Temple' that the main concern raised to me by various knowledgeable locals is that many monuments on the Lansdown Plateau are known to have been destroyed and may not have been reliably recorded prior to their destruction. In the case of the 'Moon Temple', I cannot fully discount the possibility that Wood was referring to a site since destroyed that went unrecorded by others. However, if a site can be located that precisely matches all of the elements of Wood's description; it should be considered likely to be the one described by Wood. Such a site does exist.

Mons Badonicus or the Hill of Bath-Onca

Wood claimed that Bladud built a temple to the moon on Lansdown or *'Mons Badonca'*, which he thought to be named after the Phoenician moon goddess Onca, and also claimed it to be the scene of a famous battle associated with King Arthur.

Mons Badonicus, or Mount Badon was the scene of a battle or a siege between the Britons and the Saxons c. 490-520 CE, first mentioned by the near-contemporary Gildas in c. 540 CE, who mentions the battle only in passing and does not provide specific details. Later authors, beginning with the author(s) of the *Historia Britonum* (commonly attributed to Nennius) c. 796 CE, identified King Arthur as the victor of the battle, and by 1136 CE Geoffrey of Monmouth identified the location as Bath; however the exact location of the battle site has long been contested by historians. Several hills around Bath have been claimed as *Mons Badonicus* over the centuries, but the only serious candidate in Wood's time was Bannerdown, as referenced in local books such as Guidott's *A Discourse on the Bath* in 1676[3], and also in a contemporary letter from the antiquary Francis Wise to Dr Richard Mead in 1738.[4] The source of these authors was William Camden's *Britannia* , who calls it

'Bannesdown' in the original 1586 edition in Latin[5], later adding an 'e' (*'Bannesdowne*') in the heavily-revised final 1607 edition;[6] and either spelling is used in all subsequent English and Latin editions published in the 16th and 17th Centuries. Lansdown does not appear to have been claimed as *Mons Badonicus* by anyone prior to the 18th Century, yet Wood states in 1749 that Lansdown was commonly thought to be the scene of the battle. A plausible explanation is found in the specific edition of Camden's *Britannia* read by Wood, *'the last English edition of Camden's Brittania'.*[7] This corresponds with the 1722 second edition of Edmund Gibson's translation (with 'improvements and additions'), considered the standard edition in Wood's day, and within this edition is a crucial error: '*Bannesdown'* is referred to here as '*Lannesdown'*.[8] The error was noted by Tunstall in 1847, although he blamed Camden and not Gibson or his publisher.[9] Tunstall also mentions that *"the writer of an old book in the Chapman Collection says, "Badon Hill, now called Lansdown overhangs the village of Batheaston.""* This 'old book' was probably a copy of *A compleat history of Somersetshire*[10] by John Stuckey, published in 1742[*], which mostly consists of passages directly lifted from Gibson's Camden, and can scarcely be considered an original work. Tunstall rightly points out: *"Both are in error; but whether Arthur beat the Saxons from the fortified Hampton, Bannerdown, Kingsdown, or Solsbury, we leave for the investigation of antiquaries, since these hills may be said to overhang Batheaston, while Lansdown does not."* Nevertheless, Gibson and John Wood claiming Lansdown as the site led one Alexander MacDougall, a local historian and author of a pamphlet on the matter to declare *"…which evidence I think places the location of this hill beyond any doubt or question…"*[11] Wood's error continues to be repeated. In 2000, Castleden[12] stated that in the 17th century Lansdown was known as *Mons Badonica*, citing Burkitt & Burkitt[13] as the source, which assumed that Wood derived his identification of Lansdown from Aylett Sammes' *Britannia*. However Sammes does not specify a location for Mount Badon other than Bath, and he makes no mention of Lansdown. There appears to be no reference to Lansdown being identified as the site of Mount Badon prior to the 18th Century, however those who had only read Gibson's translation of Camden may have started referring to the hill as such after 1722 (as evidenced by Stuckey's statement) – and could be why Wood claimed that it was commonly known as *Mons Badonicus* in 1749.

In the second edition of his *Essay* in 1749, Wood refers to Lansdown as *Mons Badonca*, claiming that it was named after the goddess Onca. This he derived from the antiquary Aylett Sammes, who in 1676 wrote of Minerva, the Roman goddess of the Baths: *"I dare not be too bold as from her name Onca, to derive the famous hill Badonicus, as much to say Bath-Onca, the Temple of Onca…"*[14] This in itself does not require a huge stretch of the imagination - Minerva, the Roman goddess worshipped at Bath, is closely equated with the Greek goddess Athene/Athena, also referred to as Onca by ancient writers such as the 6th Century Stephanus of Byzantium.

There is no evidence that Onca was a moon goddess, indeed very little is known of any attributes of Onca besides those associated with Athena/Minerva, and Wood does not specify his source for this claim. His reasoning appears to be thus: *"Onca, is a Name importing a young maid, and as such it appears to have been made use of by the ancients to express the new moon…"*[15] The Roman Minerva (but not the Greek Athena) likely has her roots in the Italic moon goddess Meneswā[16], but Wood gives no indication that he knew of this. The root of his claim is found in the first edition of the *Essay* in 1742, in which there is no mention of neither Onca nor *Mons Badonicus*, but a passage linking Minerva to the Roman moon goddess Diana: *"For it is certain that the Ancients dedicated these*

[*] "*Bathstone, or Batheneston, a small village over which Badon-hill, now called Lansdown, hangeth*."

Waters to the Sun and Minerva; and this Goddess, as Mr. Sammes in his Brit., p135, observes, was confounded with Diana, who is the same with the Moon…"[17] Wood's Onca therefore seems to have been an invention of his own, a composite of two classical goddesses, both of whom were linked with Minerva. Wood would have been unaware that the chief deity venerated at Bath was in fact the local Celtic goddess Sulis, whom the Romans also identified with Minerva and from which the Roman name for Bath, *Aquae Sulis* ('waters of Sulis'), is derived. In his day, the Roman name for Bath was thought to be *Aqua Solis*, ('waters of the sun'). This name derived from a single source, the *Antonine Itinerary* (dated to between the 2nd and 4th Centuries CE), and *'Solis'* was potentially a copyists' error. Over the centuries the Romano-British were replaced by the Saxons, paganism by Christianity, and by the 18th Century nobody alive had heard of Sulis. It was not until 1802 that Samuel Lysons interpreted recently-discovered inscriptions at the Baths as referring to the Celtic goddess Sulis.[18]

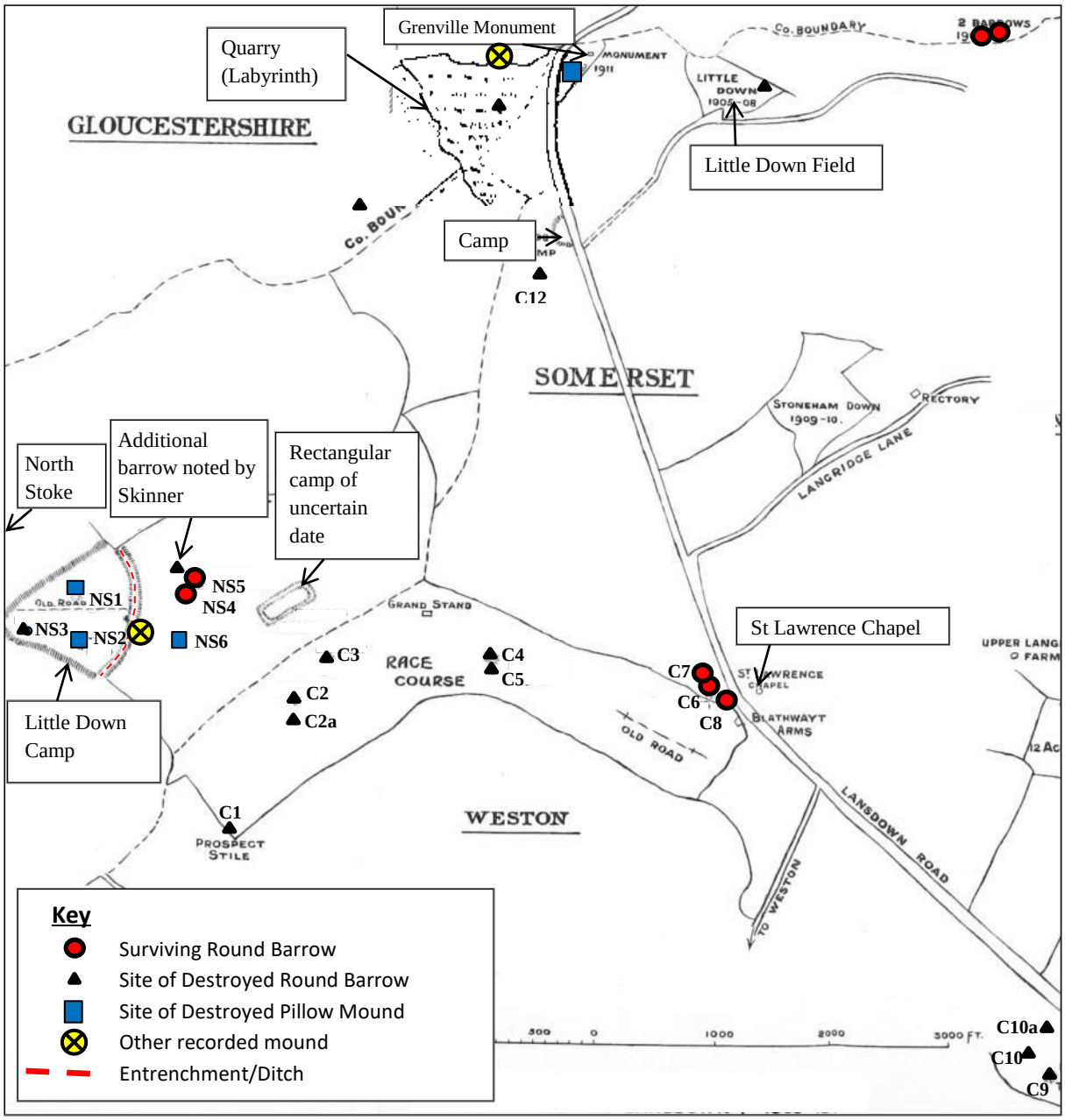

Figure 1: Plan of monuments on the Lansdown Plateau based on Thomas Bush's plan from c. 1913[19] © Bath Record Office, with additions compiled from various sources and barrow numbering follows Grinsell.
NS = North Stoke Barrows, C = Charlcombe Barrows.

The Moon Temple

Certain that Lansdown was the hill of Onca, Wood identified what he believed to have been Bladud's temple to her, which he described as *"…the remains of a circular work, of about thirty feet diameter, near the profaned Chapel on Lansdown: And we also find several barrows or small semi-globular mounts of earth, and several Pits or small semi-spherical concavities in the ground near the same structure."*[20] Of its druidical origin, Wood is certain "*This circular work was undoubtedly a temple of the moon; and the pits seem to have been altars sunk into the ground for the purpose of sacrificing to that luminary when she disappeared towards the change as well as when she was invoked as Queen of the infernal regions upon acts of necromancy, or calling up the dead: For Bladud and his collegues were great necromancers; and the professors of that art offered their libations and sacrifices in holes and ditches directing downward, and contrary to the altars that pointed up towards Heaven."*[21]

The site would therefore need to include all of the following criteria:

- Close to St Lawrence Chapel
- A circular feature of approximately 30ft diameter
- Small barrows
- Pits
- An association with the Lansdown Fair (discussed later)

Wood says very little about its appearance, aside from it being a 30 foot circular 'work'. There is no mention of height, but since he also refers to it as a 'structure' it is likely that it was probably a feature raised at least somewhat above ground-level. It is not likely to have been a stone circle as Wood would have certainly mentioned the stones. The possibility of it being something other than an ancient monument also has to be taken into consideration. To date, no serious attempt seems to have been made to identify its location – the only previous author to have given a location other than 'Lansdown' is Tim Mowl, who thought it to be in the parish of Walcot[22] but had not identified a specific site.

Dozens of ancient monuments exist, or are known to have once existed, on the Lansdown Plateau (Figure 1), however many can be eliminated as candidates for the Moon Temple. Any non-circular feature can immediately be disregarded, as can any circular feature with a diameter significantly greater or lesser than 30 feet. Since Wood's reference point for the location is the chapel, any features within the vicinity of other landmarks also described by Wood are highly unlikely to be the Moon Temple. This excludes those within the vicinity of the Granville Monument and those close to Little Down Camp. Wood states that the Moon Temple is near the chapel, and it therefore seems logical to exclude all monuments some distance and out of visible range from the chapel, as they could not reasonably be deemed 'near'. This excludes the majority of the Race Course barrows and also the Flock Down Barrows (formerly near Beckford's Tower, now destroyed).

The search area is thus limited to a radius of half a kilometre around the chapel. No sites that fit all of the features in Wood's description could be found at a distance further than this on the Lansdown Plateau.

St Lawrence's Chapel and surroundings

Certain that everything written about *Mons Badonicus* referred to Lansdown and not Bannerdown, Wood set about finding evidence of druidical moon worship on the wrong hill. Claiming also that the 'Lan' in Lansdown was a *"British word signifying a church or sacred place"* and that in this instance referred to both, his first point of call seems to have been the remains of the Chapel of St Lawrence, the sole site of Christian worship on the Lansdown Plateau. St Lawrence's Chapel is a medieval structure first recorded as *the* 'Chapel of Lamesdum' in a grant dating from c.1198-1219.[23] The chapel had fallen out of use by Wood's time, leading him to exclaim *"About the middle of the summit of this mountain we see an ancient chapel turned to profane uses!"*[24] Precisely what profane uses the chapel was being used for, he does not say. By 1891 it was used as a receptacle for coal[25], and is presently a residential dwelling.

Figure 2: Chapel and immediate surroundings on the 1766 Giles Coates map © Gloucestershire Archives (ref. D1799/P16)

Plate 1: St Lawrence's Chapel in 1783 © British Library Board (Additional MS 15547 f. 63)

No evidence of any structure fitting Wood's description could be found on the east side of the road on the land surrounding to the chapel. There are, however, two remote possibilities here. The first is that the land attached to the chapel is named 'Conney Gare' on a 1766 plan of Lansdown by Giles Coates (Figure 2) and 'Shepherd's Conigeer' on a 1707 map, indicating that it was at some point used for keeping rabbits (formerly known as coneys). Rabbits on Lansdown and elsewhere were usually kept in artificial warrens known as pillow mounds, two Lansdown examples of which were mistaken for barrows until early 20th century excavations.[26] The pillow mounds found on Lansdown are rectangular, and not circular, structures. This does not rule out the possibility of a circular pillow mound in Conney Gare, but it would be unlikely. The second remote possibility begins with the discovery of a number of burials on the south side of the chapel in the mid-19th century. A letter sent from the Rev. J. Bond to the Rev. Scarth in 1852 is the earliest reference to this discovery: *"In making some repairs at the Chapel Farm, on Lansdown, last year, twelve skulls were discovered on the south side of the house, placed with their faces downwards, and without any trace of the other portions of the skeletons."*[27] A modern archaeological assessment of the evidence by Kim Watkins in 2014 notes that this is not typical Christian burial practice and therefore unlikely to be associated with the chapel, which probably did not have burial rights. Watkins also notes that it is not typical of Bronze Age burials and more suggestive of Neolithic burials, usually contained in a long barrow or causewayed enclosure. Another explanation for the skulls is given by Rev. Shickle writing in 1895

suggests they could be civil war burials from the Battle of Lansdown[28] that took place on the Lansdown plateau in 1643. A skeleton, thought to be a re-burial due to the position, was also discovered at the rear of the chapel in 1911 with a fractured skull and missing limbs, thought to either be a burial of a pilgrim to the chapel or a Civil War casualty.[29] It is plausible that some of the casualties ended up being buried at the chapel – the closest structure there was to a church for several miles – but it is unlikely that they were buried under a circular structure.

No mention or evidence of a burial mound or other circular feature in the land on the eastern side of Lansdown Road could be found. The grounds of the chapel have been disturbed on numerous occasions since Wood's day, and any trace of such a feature would likely have been destroyed long ago. However, in addition to the chapel, Wood also linked the Lansdown Fair to his Moon Temple, which was formerly held on a piece of land on the opposite side of the road.

The Fair Field Barrows

According to Wood, a key piece of 'evidence' that Bladud constructed his moon temple near the chapel was that the Lansdown Fair, held on the feast day of St Lawrence (10th August), was *"the continuation of something instituted in pagan times"*[30], which led Wood to the *"belief that Bladud extended his works to the furthest extremity of Mons Badonca, or Lansdown, before he began anything upon the other Hills of Bath"*. Presumably unknown to Wood, the earliest known reference to the fair is in a 1304 grant from Edward III for the fair to be held on the feast day of St Lawrence[31] and it is likely that the fair began around this time. By Wood's day the fair had been occurring for over 400 years and its origins potentially forgotten. A 20th Century account mentions that the fair was also known as the 'Lammas Fair'[32] and it may have been known as this in Wood's day. Elsewhere in his *Essay,* Wood notes: *"All the Gods were complemented with a Festival every Lunar Month, and these were celebrated at the Change of every Moon: And the End of every Cycle of Years proved a Festival that crowned all the others, and was celebrated from the Day that ended that Period of Time, till Apollo was presented with an Offering of the first Fruits of the Corn that was gathered the next Harvest, and made up into Loaves of Bread. This Offering was made between the Celebration of the Festival observed in Honour of all the Gods at the Change of the sixth Moon of the Year, and the Celebration of the next Festival observed in Honour of Apollo; it now bears the Name of Lammas Day*".[33] Although the traditional date of Lammas is 1st August, the association of the Lansdown Fair with Lammas, which according to Wood was the most important festival of his druids, might explain why he thought the Fair was the *'continuation of something instituted in pagan times'*.

The fair was held on the opposite side of the road to the chapel in a small field named 'Fair Pleac' on a 1766 map of Lansdown by Giles Coates, and 'Fair Place' on Harry Harford's 1770 copy, later referred to as 'Fair Close' on the 1841 Tithe Map and finally 'Fair Field' by Thomas Bush in 1908.[34]

The most prominent feature within the Fair Field is a Bronze Age round barrow, the largest of the remaining Lansdown barrows. Until recently, the barrow had been inaccessible due to years of scrub growth (Plate 3), which was cleared by Bathscape and the National Trust in 2021 (Plate 4). Two smaller round barrows (together forming a confluent barrow) are found a little to the north on the opposite side of the path running through the field (Figure 3 & Plate 5). Alongside the Moon Temple, Wood also mentioned several altars, described as *'several barrows or small semiglobular mounts of earth'*. These small barrows correspond with Wood's description of the altars.

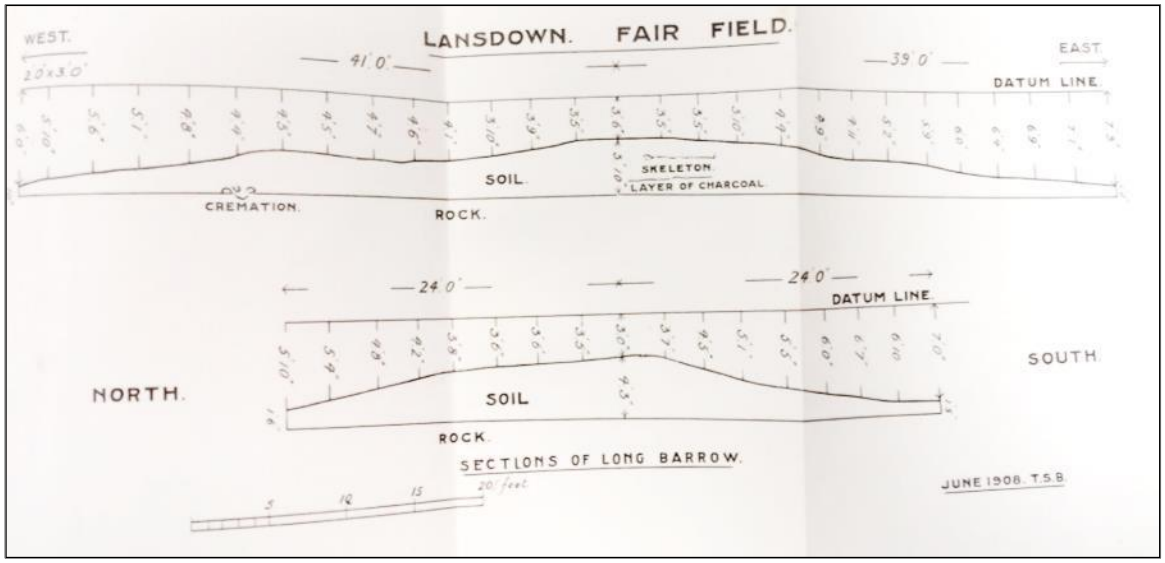

Figure 3: The two smaller Fair Field barrows, C6 and C7, (initially thought to be a long barrow) at the time of their excavation in 1908. Reproduced with kind permission from the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society.

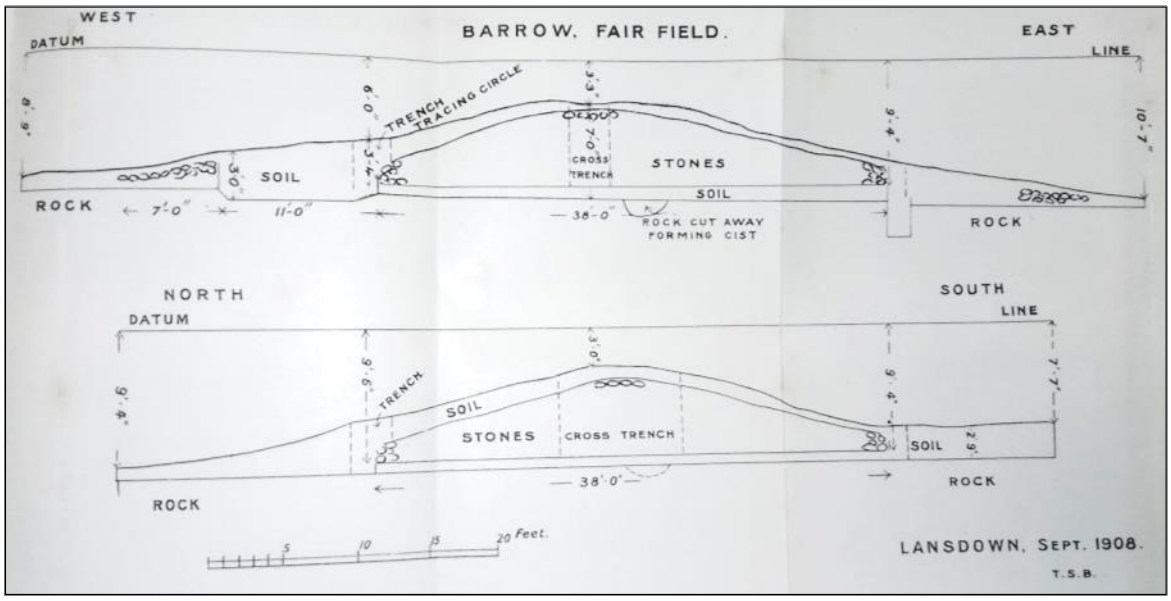

Figure 4: The larger Fair Field barrow (C8) at the time of excavation in 1908. Reproduced with kind permission from the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society.

With no other known barrows or other mounds known to have existed within half a kilometre of the chapel, the Fair Field Barrows, aka Charlcombe Barrows 6 and 7 (Figure 1), are the only recorded candidates for the small barrows described by Wood. At the time of their excavation in 1908 (Figure 3), the height above ground level of the larger of the two was 2 feet 10 inches and the smaller was 2 feet high. The larger barrow in the Fair Field, Charlcombe Barrow 8, towers above these, attaining a maximum height of 7.4 feet above ground level when measured in 1908 (Figure 4). It would likely have been taller than Wood himself – and it is therefore highly unlikely he would regard it as small. It is possible that Wood simply neglected to mention this barrow. The remaining possibility is that he did mention it – that this barrow is Wood's Moon Temple.

The only clue to the appearance of the Moon Temple given by Wood besides its shape is an approximate size – a diameter of about 30 feet. Here we encounter a problem – archaeologists'

measurements of the barrow vary considerably. Grinsell's measurement in 1971 is approximately 65 feet (recorded as 22 paces - his paces, which he checked regularly, are 0.914m, around 3 feet) – more than double Wood's estimate. However, in 1908 Bush reported the diameter as 38 feet, much closer to Wood's estimate. The reason for this discrepancy is that Bush reports the diameter of the cairn within the barrow, whereas Grinsell includes all of the raised soil surrounding the barrow, which continues to slope subtly towards ground level for some distance beyond the cairn itself and the main 'hump' of the barrow. To settle the issue of what a casual estimate of the diameter of the barrow might be, armed with a tape measure, Alex Fermor and I took a measurement on 10th April 2018 of what appeared to the eye to be the main 'hump' of the barrow from east to west – 34 feet (this only a rough measurement due to scrub). This fits with the 1908 drawings of the barrow, as the diameter of the main hump above ground is clearly a few feet shorter than the diameter of the cairn below. The exact size of the barrow is therefore somewhat problematic; as several different figures can be arrived at depending on exactly what it is you measure. Wood would only have been looking at the above-ground portion, which appears to be a little over 30 feet. This barrow is therefore the strongest and indeed, only, candidate for the Moon Temple found during this investigation. It must be acknowledged that there still remains the possibility of lost features around that area, but no concrete evidence of any of circular structures with an approximate diameter of 30 feet could be found within close proximity to the chapel and Fair Field.

There are no circular features marked on the earliest detailed map of the area from 1707 (Figure 5); however this map does not show features such as barrows or pillow mounds. As the Fair Field barrows have been reliably dated to the Bronze Age, we can be certain that they were there in 1707. The barrows were at this time on the southern end of a larger field known as Shepherd's Great Down. At some point between 1707 and 1766 a wall was built to the north of the barrows, and it is not possible to know if this wall was present when Wood visited.

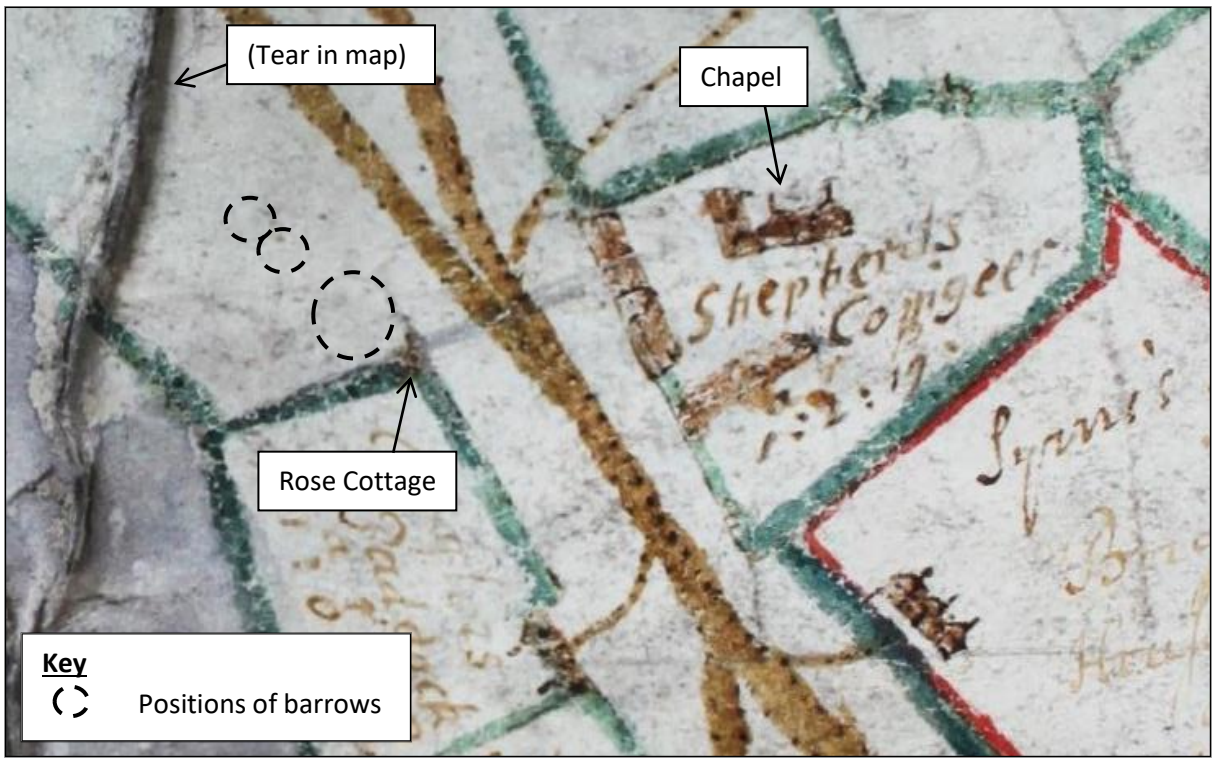

Figure 5: The chapel and surroundings in 1707 from Samuel Jacobs' plan of the manor of Langridge, Lansdown Weston and Charlcombe © National Trust (held at Gloucestershire Archives, ref. D2659/17)

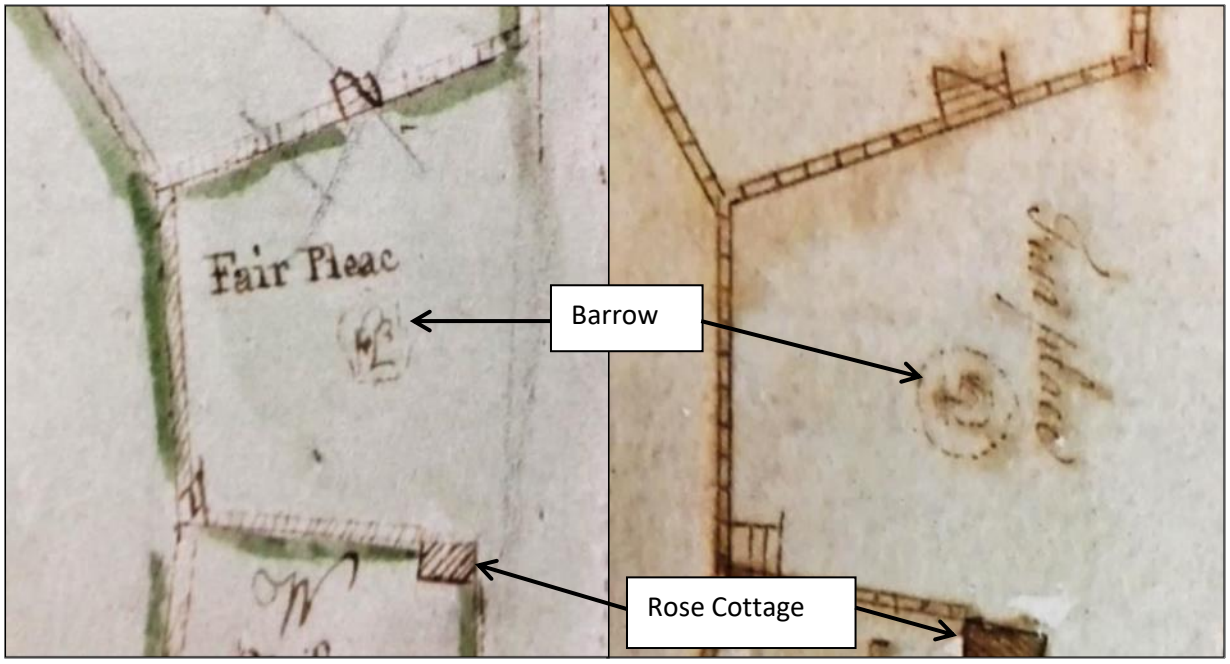

Figure 6:The Fair Field on the 1766 Giles Coates map and the 1770 Harford copy showing the tree within a circle © Gloucestershire Archives (ref. D1799/P16-P17, photo credit Rachel Wales)

Giles Coates' plan of 1766, and the 1770 Harford copy (Figure 6) also do not include the numerous barrows on Lansdown, however both show a circle with a tree growing out of it within the Fair Field, suggesting that this was an important feature. This circle, while being a little further to the north than the barrow, was undoubtedly intended to represent the larger of the Fair Field barrows. This tree can be clearly seen growing out of the barrow in a drawing of the neighbouring Rose Cottage in 1783 (Plate 2), and again on the Harcourt Masters turnpike map of 1786-7 (Figure 7). Wood does not mention the tree, but it might not have been present or was an insignificant sapling in the 1740s when he visited. Still, it is difficult not to see a resemblance to Wood's coat-of-arms – an oak tree growing out of a grassy mound.[35] Curiously, Thorpe's 1742 map labels the Flock Field barrows (Charlcombe Barrows 10 and 10a) some distance to the south as 'Lansdown Barrows', but does not mark the Fair Field barrows, despite the Charlcombe Barrow 8 being an obvious feature close to the road.

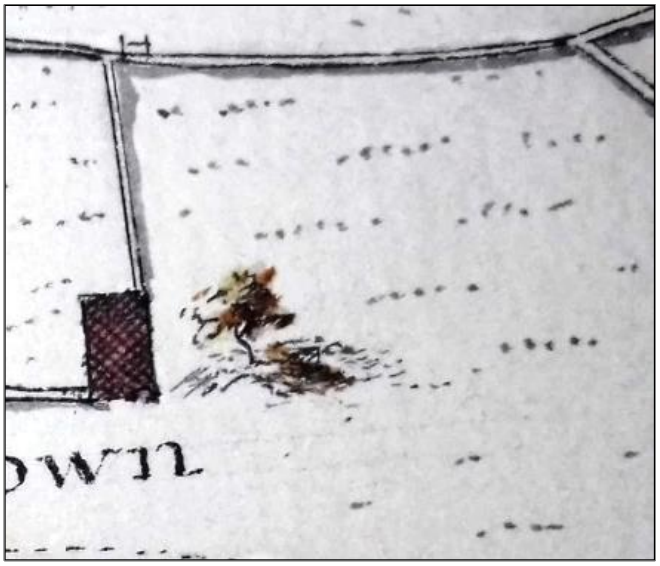

Figure 7: The Fair Field barrow on the Harcourt Masters Turnpike Map of 1786-7 © Somerset Archives and Local Studies (ref. D/T/ba/24, map 5)

Plate 2: Rose Cottage and the larger Fair Field barrow in 1783, Samuel Hieronymus Grimm © British Library Board (Additional MS 15547, f. 65)

Besides the smaller barrows, the other features Wood claims were associated with the Moon Temple were *"several pits or small semispherical concavities in the ground near the same structure"*, which *"seem to have been altars sunk into the ground for the purpose of sacrificing to* [the moon] *when she disappeared towards the change; as well as when she was invoked as Queen of the infernal regions upon acts of necromancy, or calling up the dead"*. An important factor to consider is that the fair had been occurring on that site for over 400 years by the time Wood wrote his *Essay*, and it is quite within the realms of possibility that in during that time somebody would have had a reason to dig a few holes. No obvious pits are recorded in the historical sources relating to the site, and none were found during the field visit in April 2018, although the field was partially covered in scrub and tall herbage at the time of survey and the northern end of the field has been built on since Wood's time. However, a recent geophysical survey of the Fair Field discovered the presence of a circular feature just to the south of the central barrow, interpreted as a filled-in pit or a shallow pond.[36]

In the larger Fair Field, we therefore have a site consistent with all of the elements of Wood's description – a circular structure of around 30ft diameter within close proximity to St Lawrence Chapel, a strong association with the Lansdown Fair, and with two smaller barrows and at least one pit close by. It is therefore highly likely that this is Wood's Moon Temple, and no alternative sites fitting all of the criteria are known to have existed on the Lansdown Plateau.

Plate 3: The larger Fair Field barrow (C8), January 2018 (M. Williams)

Plate 4: The larger Fair Field barrow (C8) after vegetation clearance by staff and volunteers from Bathscape and the National Trust, February 2020 (Photo by Tabi Collins, National Trust)

Plate 5: One of the smaller Fair Field barrows (C6), 6 December 2023 (M. Williams)

If this barrow is indeed Wood's Moon Temple, this poses an important question – why did he claim a fairly unremarkable round barrow as being Bladud's a moon temple, when in the same book he correctly identifies other barrows of a similar size? There were plenty of other barrows elsewhere on the Lansdown Plateau that he could have chosen. It is taller than all of the other recorded barrows (although some may have been reduced in height before reliable measurements were taken in the early 20th century), but there is otherwise nothing remarkable about it. Wood did, however believe that the fair was a continuation of a druidical ritual that took place at that site, and the large mound was perhaps the best thing he could find. It is also possible that it had some function at the Lansdown Fair. The stallholders and entertainers at the fair erected tents and booths at the site, and the one spot in the Fair Field it would be impractical to put up a tent is on the sloping ground of the larger barrow. At the very least it would have been an obvious feature at the time of the fair, and conceivable uses include a stage for speakers and performers or a convenient place to sit. Regardless of any particular function it might have been used for, the barrow would certainly have been known to anyone who frequented the fair, and its dominating presence might have been enough to convince Wood that this mound held some special significance.

Interlude: A Fool's Bolt?

Curiously, and as unlikely as it might seem, Wood was not the first person to claim that the name Lansdown referred to a pagan temple. In 1725, the antiquary Thomas Hearne published a collection of writings that included an anonymous essay entitled *A Fool's Bolt soon shott at Stonage*.[37] The main body of the *'Fool's Bolt…'*, thought to have been written around 1670-72, deals with Stonehenge – claiming it to be a British monument, not a Roman monument as the architect and antiquary Inigo Jones had recently claimed. Wood was certainly aware of the existence of *'Fool's Bolt…'* as he quotes a letter from Andrew Paschal to John Aubrey concerning the manuscript copy of it, in the published version of his own work on Stonehenge in 1747[†].[38] However, Paschal's letter gives no details concerning the other topic dealt with in '*Fool's Bolt…*', which would also be of great interest to Wood – King Bladud and his associations with features in the Bath landscape. Like Wood, the anonymous author claimed to be a true believer in Bladud, and in fact gives us the earliest surviving account of the legend of Bladud and the pigs. However, the seriousness of the author of *'Fools' Bolt…'* is debatable.

The author of *'Fool's Bolt…'* places much emphasis on place-name evidence, attempting to find evidence of ancient British terms within the place-names and then using this to 'prove' such claims as Bladud discovering the hot springs and living out his days in a cave on Solsbury Hill, as well as Stonehenge being a construction of British giants. The author referred to this technique as a 'picklock' and claimed to have invented it. Wood also did this on numerous occasions throughout the second edition of his *Essay* – a work that makes a lot more sense if we consider the possibility that he had read *'Fool's Bolt…'*. In Wood's preface to his own work on Stonehenge, he gives a summary of Bladud's works around Bath, but had still yet to claim the existence of a Moon Temple on Lansdown. Although it is clear that Wood had not read *'Fool's Bolt…'* in 1747, it is quite likely that he obtained a copy shortly afterwards, as these elements appear in the second edition of the *Essay,* published in 1749. Wood makes no reference to *'Fool's Bolt…'* in this work, but it is worth speculating that he had read it, given the similarity of its contents to the claims in Wood's *Essay.*

[†] This work purports to be a copy of his letter to Edward Harley, but is clearly heavily revised from the original 1740 manuscript version of this letter, containing numerous additions including the reference to 'Fool's Bolt'.

Of particular note is that the anonymous author uses his 'picklock' to turn 'Salesburie Hill' into 'Solsburie Hill', and from this derived the claim that there was a temple to the sun there. This is also the first recorded instance of the Sols- element being used in the name of this site. In the first edition of his *Essay*, Wood refers to it as 'Saltz-bury' Hill, while his contemporaries all referred to it as 'Salisbury Hill'. In the second edition (possibly after having read *'Fool's Bolt…'*) it becomes the modern spelling of 'Solsbury' and is now the site of a temple built by Bladud. The following passage in *'Fool's Bolt…'* claims that the names of nearby hills refer to the temple on Solsbury Hill: *"For Lansdowne, Lanridge, and Lambrick, (i. e.) Temple downe, Templeridge, and Templebridge, round about* [Solsbury] *hill, intimate, that there was such a heathonish temple on it"*. Wood takes this a step further, claiming that the existence of a separate temple on Lansdown: *"Lan being a British Word signifying a Church or sacred Place, we accordingly find the Remains of a circular Work...This Circular Work was undoubtedly a Temple of the Moon"*.[39] Wood also claimed the existence of a temple at Langridge, although he doesn't identify an exact site. The source of the claim that 'Lan' was a British word for 'Temple' is likely Camden (citing Giraldus Cambrensis),[‡] but no-one besides Wood and the author of *'Fool's Bolt…'* ever claimed that the name Lansdown referred to a pagan temple.

Since the author of *'Fool's Bolt…'* was anonymous, Wood may not have seen reason to give them credit. It also refers to the original state of the hot springs as being a 'quagmire', a term also used by Joseph Glanville in 1669 and by Stukeley in 1724 – this term being used to describe the original state of his beloved Bath clearly upset and angered Wood. The icing on the cake may have been the insult fired at Inigo Jones (an important influence on Wood) – *'out I goe'.*

The author has since been identified as Robert Gay (1601-72), the rector of Nettlecombe. Robert Gay had family in the Bath area,[40] and the landowner Robert Gay (1676-1738), from whom Wood leased the land to build Queen Square and Gay Street, was also a member of this family, however it is unlikely that Wood would have been aware of this connection.[41]

The Moon Observatory

The Moon Temple was just one part of a complex of monuments on the Lansdown Plateau that Wood described and attributed to King Bladud. It is possible to be far more certain about the locations of the other sites.

Wood claimed that there existed a second site associated with Bladud's moon worship on the Lansdown Plateau at which *"we may suppose Bladud to have placed the Priests destined to watch for Onca's first appearance"*[42] after the change (new moon). Wood's description of this site and its location in the second edition of the *Essay* (1749) is thus: *"Upon the southern part of the extremity of Mons Badonca, a piece of ground appears separated from the rest of the down by an intrenchment; this is divided in the middle by a strait bank of earth directing to Cainsham [Keynsham]; and each part is adorned with a quadrangular barrow. To the westward of this work, the village of Northstoke is situated…"*[43] A different description of what is certainly the same site appears in the first edition of the *Essay* (1742), written prior to his ideas concerning moon worship on Lansdown: *"The tops of the*

[‡] *"However (as Giraldus observes) ['Lan'] denotes separately a Church or Chapel; and is of common use, in that sense, throughout all Wales: Probably because such Yards or Inclosures might be places of Worship in the time of Heathenism, or upon the first planting of Christianity, when Churches were scarce"* – Gibson translation of Camden's Britannia, 1722 ed., p711

hills round Bath are adorned with little barrows, Lansdown especially; at the west-end of which, just above North-Stoke, there is a quadrangular intrenchment, and another that is circular, with a bank in the middle of the latter that directs to Cainsham; on each side of which bank there is a quadrangular barrow of about 25 Feet long and 15 feet broad."[44]

These descriptions are sufficient to identify this site as the Little Down Camp (not to be confused with another field named Little Down east of the Grenville monument), aka North Stoke Promontory Fort (Figure 8). Although Wood described the observatory as circular, the shape is more oval and almost triangular. It is drawn as circular on Thorpe's 1742 map and labelled 'Oliver's Intrenchment' as it was believed at the time to have been used by the Parliamentarian forces in the Civil War battle (although Oliver Cromwell was not actually present then). This belief seems to have persisted, with Collinson claiming the same origins in 1791.[45] A long defensive ditch separates it from the rest of the Lansdown Plateau; a straight bank runs through the fort, dividing it into two, with two quadrangular pillow mounds formerly present, one in in each half. The camp is situated just above North Stoke and the bank is aligned with Keynsham. The nearby quadrangular 'intrenchment' mentioned in the first edition of the *Essay* undoubtedly refers to the camp to the east of the Little Down camp.

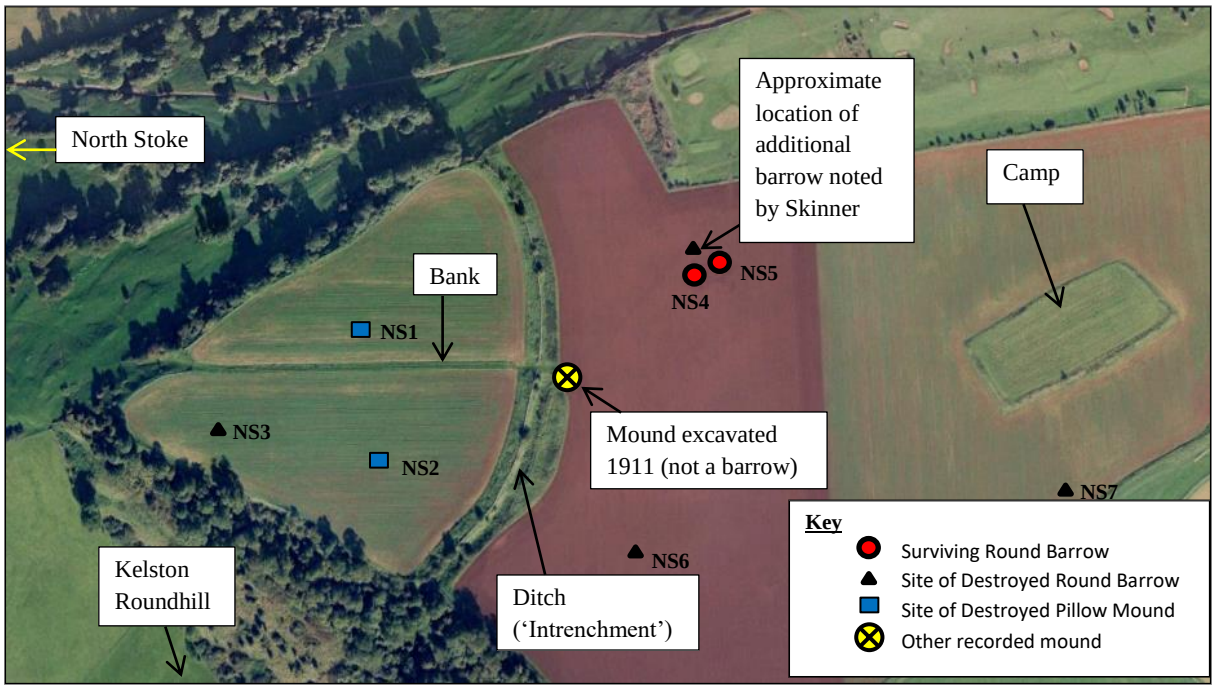

Figure 8: Little Down Camp and surroundings in 1999 (Map data: Google, Infoterra Ltd and Bluesky)

It is here that the unreliability of the field estimates of Wood and later antiquaries becomes most apparent. Wood's 1742 estimate was 25 by 15 feet for both mounds. In the early half of the 19th century, Skinner's estimate of the length of the northern mound was 20 feet.[46] Playne in 1875 gave 25 feet by 9 feet for both mounds.[47] Using his pacing method, Grinsell in 1952 gave the southern mound as 36 feet by 24 feet and the northern mound as 42 by 24 feet. At the time of the excavation in 1911, The Bath Field Club (seemingly the only party to carry an actual measuring device) gave the area of the northern mound as 38 feet 6 inches by 25 feet 6 inches. Grinsell's estimate was by far the closest, but he used a reliable and practised technique. Disused mounds such as these do not tend to shrink, grow and then double in size, so we must presume that they were no smaller in 1749 than

they were in the 20th century. As for the Fair Field barrows, there may be variations in precisely what was being measured, and Wood's figures seem to consistently be under-estimates.

Figure 9: Little Down Camp on Thorpe's 1742 plan ©Bath in Time

Wood does not describe any features within or around Little Down Camp that were not noted by later writers, indicating that there were no major changes to this monument from the 1740s until sometime after 1952 when the pillow mounds were destroyed. Curiously, Thorpe's 1742 map and Ashby's 1787 map show five rectangular shapes within the camp; however since Wood and subsequent authors recorded no more than two rectangular features it is probable that Thorpe was in error (Ashby's map was based on Thorpe's). A third barrow with a 72 foot diameter in the south-western corner of the camp was also noted by Grinsell in 1952, although he gives no details other than 'grass' and a height of 1 foot.

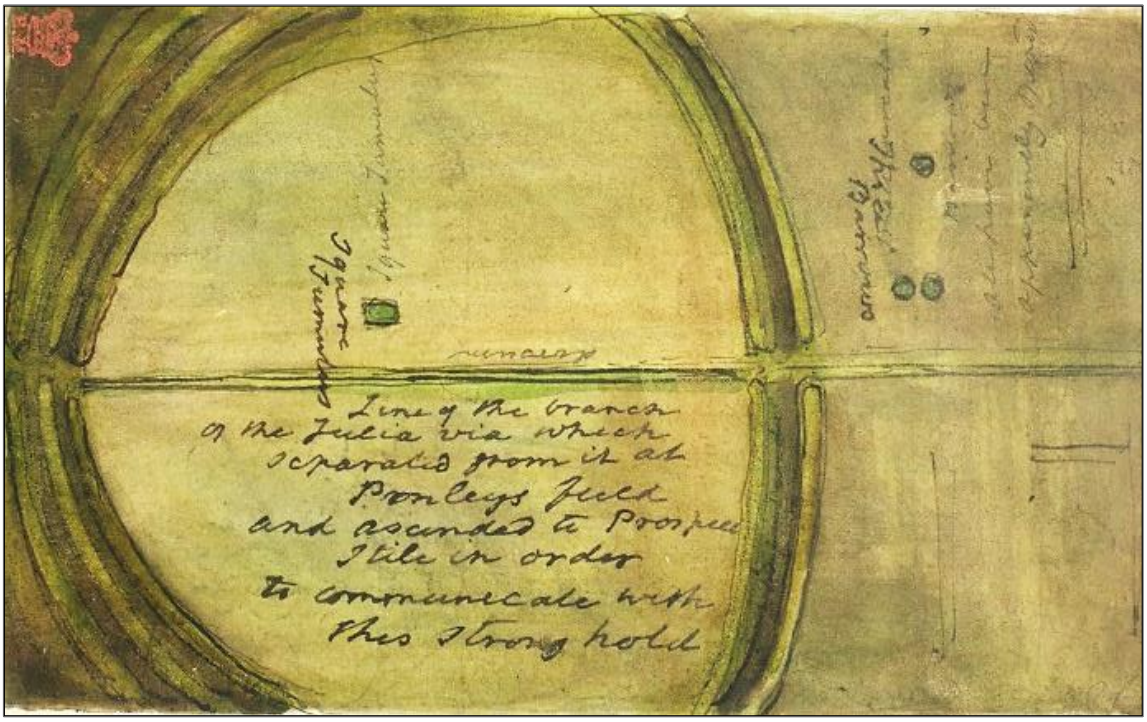

Figure 10: Plan of Little Down Camp, John Skinner, early 19th century © British Library Board (Additional MS 33719, folio 14)

No previous surveyors or cartographers noted this barrow, and it seems that there was very little to be seen of it as far back as 1742, since Wood did not mention it either. Given that it was reportedly crescent-shaped, it seems highly likely that Wood would have mentioned it if he saw it, as to his mind it would have been additional evidence for his belief that druidical moon worship once took place there. The prolific antiquary Rev. Skinner only noticed the pillow mound in the north of the camp, on which he notes the following: *"…a square tump or tumulus, such as I have noticed in several places connected with the Danes; it might have been a place to fix a tent on."*[48]

Before leaving the area surrounding the Moon Observatory, there is one feature in that locality that would have been present in Wood's time that seems to have been overlooked. Unfortunately Wood

did not describe every monument on the Lansdown Plateau, noting *"in several other parts of the summit of Mons Badonca there are barrows and pits, as well as the footsteps of divers intrenchments, whose uses shall be reserved for further consideration, as the works themselves seem to have been subsequent to the former."*[49] Within 5 years, Wood would be dead, leaving no known further observations on the Lansdown monuments. Had he done so, he might have mentioned the barrows in the field between the Little Down camp and the rectangular camp to the east. Two barrows are still present, the easternmost (North Stoke 5) being the barrow in which the famous Lansdown sun disk was found in 1904 – and one can only imagine what conclusions Wood would have drawn from it had it been found in his lifetime. No additional barrows have been recorded here in all but one source – Skinner's plans of the early 19th century (Figure 10) show a third barrow a little way to the north, with the trio labelled as 'three barrows', and provides the following in his notes: *"There are three circular tumuli of the smaller size near the [path]; all seem to have been opened."*[50] There is not a trace of a third barrow left in the field, even on LIDAR maps, but neither is there a trace of the two pillow mounds and barrow in the camp itself, which have been destroyed by the plough. A fourth mound recorded in that locality is just to the south of the entrance (Figure 8) and was excavated in 1911, with no relics or burials discovered.[51] This could not have been Skinner's third barrow since all three barrows are consistently drawn to the north of the entrance.

The Labyrinth

Wood's description of Bladud's final monument on the Lansdown Plateau is an example of the 18th century antiquarian imagination at its most creative. Early on in the *Essay*, Wood quotes several sources claiming that Bladud practised necromancy including Camden and Rev. Joseph Glanville, a former rector of Bath who claimed to have a *"very ancient manuscript chronicle"* that stated "*When Lud Hidibras was dead, Bladud his son, a great nygromancer was made King, and he made the wonder of the hot bath by his nygromancy"*[§]*,* and in another old chronicle seen by Glanville *"King Bladud sent for necromancers to Athens to effect this great business."*[52] That Bladud practised necromancy is mentioned in the earliest known reference to Bladud, Geoffrey of Monmouth's pseudo-historical *Historia Regum Britanniae* (History of the Kings of Britain), written c. 1136. Geoffrey may have meant 'necromancy' in the literal sense (communicating with, or raising of, the dead), or was simply referring to magical arts in general, but regardless, every subsequent attribution of supernatural powers to Bladud derives from Geoffrey of Monmouth's work. Taking this literally, and as historical fact, Wood identified what he thought was the site at which Bladud practised his necromancy: *"To the northward of this intrenchment above* [North Stoke]*, we find a work that makes a mere labyrinth of holes, ditches, banks, and barrows; but, at the same time art discovers itself so much in the figure of the whole, as well as in the several parts, that I shall make no scruple in pronouncing it the work whereby King Bladud and his colleagues feigned themselves able to raise up all the deities and inhabitants of the infernal mansions in the practice of the art of necromancy…".*[53]

The ramparts immediately to the north of Little Down camp include several small banks, however a

[§] The 'very ancient manuscript chronicle' is likely a copy of 'The Cronycles of Englond' by William Caxton, first published in 1480. The original text is: *"Of kyng Bladud / that was Ludibras sone how he regned / and was a good man / and a nygromancer/ And after this Lud Ludibras regned Bladud his sone a grete nygromancer / and thurgh his craft of nygromancye he made the merueyllous hote bath as the geste tellyth/ and he regned xxi yere / And he lyeth at the newe Troye"*

larger area more closely fitting this description is present to the north-north-east, at the presumed Anglo-Saxon quarry to the west of the Grenville monument on the opposite side of Lansdown Road, now known as The Tumps, now part of the 'Congrove Field and The Tumps' Site of Special Scientific Interest, designated for its herb-rich grassland. Presumably this is the *'few old lime scrapings at Lansdown'* that Tim Mowl thought the site to be located at[54], but gave no further details of.

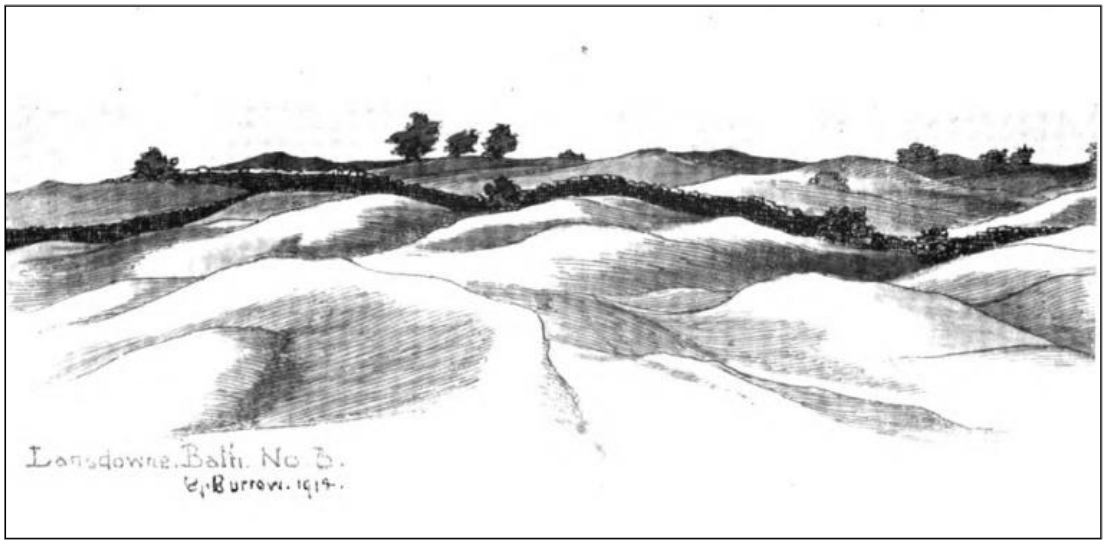

Plate 6: The Tumps (Labyrinth) in 1914 by Edward J. Burrow (public domain, digitized by Google)

Plate 7: The Tumps (Labyrinth), August 2019 (M. Williams)

Nineteen years before Wood described them, the antiquary John Strachey made a brief mention in a letter *"…a cluster of [pits] without any continued ditch are seen by Sir Bevil Granvil's monument at ye end of Lawnsdown near Bath."*[55] This area was described by Playne in 1875 as being *"Some seven or eight acres of the hill top are covered with mounds 10 feet to 15 feet high, with narrow hollows between them. These mounds form a labyrinth or maze… the mounds are too regular to have been the spoil-banks formed in quarrying for stone; they are in some parts of considerable length, and are so connected that the tops can be walked on for a long way without having to cross any of the hollows. There is no mound or ditch enclosing this singular maze of earthworks. If this area was covered with trees, and the works stockaded, they may have formed a well sheltered and defensible site for a large community to dwell on."*[56] This description is attributed to the 'Ancient Camp' marked on the OS map to the south-west of the Grenville monument (Figure 1). However, in this description

it is noted that there is no bank surrounding these earthworks. That camp was excavated in 1908 and the only identifiable features were three banks surrounding the camp – therefore Playne seems to have mistaken the quarry for the camp.

This site might have played a role in the Battle of Lansdown. English Heritage described the site in 1995 as '*numerous back-filled quarry pits'* and identified them as the pits that the Royalists reportedly lodged themselves in during the Battle of Lansdown.[57] It has also been claimed that they were the Parliamentarian's defences, and are marked as 'Waller's Intrenchment' on Ashby's 1797 map and have also been referred to as 'Waller's Pits'.[58] Waller's defences are now thought to have been to the east of here, but Colonel Slingsy's account of the battle claims the Parliamentarians lodged themselves *"…amongst the many little pits betwixt the wall and the wood, from which we gald them cruelly."*[59] Rev. Wright in 1879 doubted that they had been raised as military defences and thought that the holes were there prior to the battle.[60]

Plate 8: The Tumps (Labyrinth) from the air, 6 July 2005. © Infoterra Ltd. and Bluesky

Speculation as to the nature of the earthworks continued long after Wood. In 1879, Rev. Wright considered them *"possibly the remains of a British town"*. In 1919, Burrow, following Playne in confusing the quarry earthworks for the camp, dismissed the notion that they were quarry pits said of the layout of the site *"It will be found that there is a kind of plan with this apparent jumble of banks and ditches… the work is a mystery to archaeologists; and although unlike a fortified place, finds a place here as being technically a series of earthworks."*[61] Wood was clearly not alone in suspecting this site to be something more interesting than a simple quarry; however this seems to have been the dominant opinion of the local antiquaries and archaeologists. Henry Hoyte Winwood

visited the site ion 18th October 1870[62] and thought the pits or hollows to be excavations of Forest Marble for roofing tiles, in 1888 noting *"The numerous irregular pits near Grenville's Monument, on Lansdown, indicate where these fissile slabs have formerly been excavated*."[63] Charles Moore in 1879 was less eloquent, calling them *"only the rubbish heaps of quarrymen who had worked there."*[64] Falconer in 1931 agreed with Winwood, adding that he could *"only see them an irregular maze of mounds and hollows, without any plan…"*, but notes that the date of the excavations is unknown.[65]

The site is mentioned in a Saxon charter from King Cynewulf for North Stoke ('Nordstocha'), dated 808 CE (but presumed to be a transcription of a charter from 757-8, not least because King Cynewulf died in 758).[66] This charter refers to a place called 'Luttes Crundele'. The meaning of 'Luttes' is uncertain (potentially a personal name), while 'Crundele' generally refers to chalk-pits or quarries.[67] No indication is given in the charter of how old it was then, and it could have been there long before the Saxons arrived. As recently as 2000 the matter was not settled, with local archaeologist Ken Appleby pondering if they could be Roman mines.[68] It appears that no serious archaeological study has taken place on this site, if one were to be undertaken it might settle a centuries-old debate.

Final Thoughts

Tim Mowl made a good point when he said that Wood was unsuited to his antiquarian pursuits, as his judgement is often clouded by his theories and fantasies about Bladud and his druids. However, this obsession drove Wood to describe numerous sites that nobody had yet written about. Wood's accounts are often the earliest records we have of these sites, yet this has gone almost completely unrecognised for centuries, as few have attempted to examine his works seriously. As I hope I have been successful in demonstrating here, the features he attributed to the work of King Bladud were genuine ancient monuments. Separating Wood's mythology from his observations provides us with valuable snapshots of their conditions and major features many decades before anyone else wrote of them. As well as this, folklore and legends attributed to such monuments have their place too (something that the renowned archaeologist Leslie Grinsell was more than aware of) – they tell us much about the people and cultures from which they have arisen and they add richness to the study of these places, as well as occasional containing snippets of information useful to the archaeologist and historian. One does not have to believe in the folklore and legends attached to a site to be enthralled or inspired by them.

Concerning the frequently repeated notion that Wood the Elder's The Circus and Wood the Younger's Royal Crescent were based respectively on Bladud's sun and moon temples, there is not a great deal of evidence here that these monuments were an architectural influence. The ditch at the east end of the Moon Observatory is somewhat curved, but is unlikely to have been an influence on The Royal Crescent, as Wood thought it to be straight. The Circus was purposely built to be the same diameter as Stonehenge, a moon temple according to Wood. As his Lansdown Moon Temple was also circular, there is probably more justification for speculating that The Circus is his version of a moon temple than a sun temple. Otherwise, on this matter neither architect said a word, and have left us like Wood the Elder indulging in his favourite pastime of pondering the purpose of an ancient monument with only scraps of unreliable information to work with, having to use our imaginations to fill in the gaps. Perhaps that was the point.

While the grand buildings of the Woods are put on a pedestal as being among the finest buildings ever created by British architects, Wood the Elder did not see himself as the creator of modern Bath, but rather its restorer. What he was attempting to restore was a fantasy – an imagined city created by Bladud and his druids. While Wood's buildings continue to be celebrated, many of the places that inspired him lie overgrown, neglected, seldom visited or in some cases, such as the Sols Rocks, have been destroyed entirely. Although serious archaeological studies of ancient monuments is of great importance, the history of how they have been interpreted down through the ages is often just as, or even more, fascinating than their true purpose. Wood would no doubt be pleased that his buildings continue to be held in such high regard, but I suspect that he would be just as pleased that his antiquarian observations are finally being paid due attention.

Since a recurring theme of this paper has been misinterpretation and/or copyists' errors of certain key words leading later readers to make increasingly wild and erroneous claims culminating in Wood's *Essay*, I shall leave the patient reader with one final thought. The story of Bladud and the pigs cannot be definitively traced earlier than Robert Gay's '*Fool's Bolt…*' (c. 1670-2), although one Henry Chapman (a relative of Wood's) in 1673[69] published a poem recounting this tale in Somerset dialect, which he attributed to Thomas Coryate of Odcombe, who died in 1617 (there are, however, strong grounds to suggest that Chapman himself wrote the poem around 1672, and attributed it to Coryate as a joke[70]). The poem references a table at the Baths upon which the tale of Bladud and the pigs was written, which may have pre-dated Gay and Chapman's writings. Wood mentions that the account on the table was removed after it was the subject of the 'wit' of the Earl of Rochester[71], who is likely to have visited during the 1670s when his father lived in Bath.[72] [73] Since the story of the pigs and the table at the Baths are not referenced by earlier writers, both are likely 17th Century in origin. This also coincides with the popularisation of the identification of Bath with *Aqua Solis* during the earlier half of that century, chiefly via the early editions of Camden's *Britannia,* and first appearing in the local literature in 1632.[74]

Plate 9: A muddy pig wallow, or 'sol', Bath City Farm, 2 January 2024 (M. Williams)

I find in a dictionary of place-names that 'sol' in Old English means 'muddy place, wallowing place for animals';[75] and I shall now place before the patient reader the suggestion that the tale of Bladud and the pigs may have its origins not in any actual event, nor from local folkloric tradition, but from either a clever play on words by some witty individual, or perhaps from an English speaker with no knowledge of Latin or of Roman culture, misinterpreting the erroneous *'Aqua Solis'* as 'muddy pig-bath'.

Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to the following for helpful discussions about various aspects of this project over the years: Mike Chapman, Elizabeth Holland, Dan Merrett (Bathscape), Janet Pryke (Bath & Counties Archaeological Society), Thelma Wilcox (North Stoke Blog), Steve Jones, Max Sellwood and Dan Cullingham.

Alex Fermor and Caroline Van Dierkson provided valuable assistance with fieldwork, and Alvan White and Catherine Turner accompanied me on a final visit to the Fair Field Barrows to tie up a few loose ends.

John Richards (BACAS) and Penny Gay were kind enough to read through an earlier draft of this paper.

Many thanks to Eilidh Auckland of the National Trust for use of the 1707 map of Lansdown.

Tabi Collins of the National Trust provided the photo of the Fair Field Barrow following vegetation clearance

Henry Lowe of the Bath and Counties Archaeological Society provided a copy of the geophysical survey, and also took a look at an earlier draft of this paper.

This work could not have been possible without the staff at Bath Record Office, Gloucestershire Archives, Somerset Heritage Centre and The British Library.

Finally, this paper was originally intended to be published in The Survey of Bath journal, a publication that has now ceased due to the passing of its editor, Mike Chapman. I would like to thank Mike for his encouragement and interest in this project, and for inspiring me to study local landscape history. Few people can claim to have contributed as much to our understanding of the history of the Bath landscape as Mike, and his enthusiasm for the subject was infectious – he is greatly missed!

References

[1] Stukeley, W. (1887) *The family memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley, M.D., and the antiquarian and other correspondence of William Stukeley, Roger & Samuel Gale, etc.* (Vol. III). London, Surtees Society, p276 (diary entry 3 Aug 1763)
[2] Williams, M. A. (2017) The Location of John Wood the Elder's 'Sols Rocks'. *Survey 32, p30-43*
[3] Guidott, T. (1725) *A collection of treatises relating to the city and waters of Bath*. Bath, J. Leake, p73
[4] Wise, F. (1738) *A letter to Dr. Mead concerning some antiquities in Berkshire*. Oxford, for Thomas Wood at the University Printing House, p49
[5] Camden, W. (1586) *Britannia*. London, Radulphum Newbery, p108
[6] Camden, W. (1607) *Britannia*. London, Georgii Bishop & Ioannis Norton, p170
[7] Wood (1749), p14
[8] Camden, W. (1722) *Britannia*. Translated by E. Gibson. Mary Matthews, London, p89
[9] Tunstall, J. (1847) *Rambles about Bath, and its neighbourhood*. London, Simpkin, Marshall & Company, p232
[10] Stuckey, J. (1742) *A Compleat History of Somersetshire*. Sherborne, p20
[11] MacDougall, A. (c. 1940) *"Mons Badonicus" or the Early Battles of Lansdown*. London and Bath, The Mendip Press Ltd, p3
[12] Castleden, R. (2000) *King Arthur: The truth behind the legend*. Abingdon, Routledge, p95
[13] Burkitt, T. & Burkitt, A. (1990) The frontier zone and the siege of Mount Badon: a review of the evidence for their location. *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Society*, Vol. 68, 504-17
[14] Sammes, A. (1676) *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata, Or the Antiquities of Ancient Britain.* London, Tho. Roycroft, p136
[15] Wood, J. (1749) *An Essay Towards a Description of Bath* (2nd ed.). p53
[16] Boda, I. & Szabó, C. (2014) *The Bibliography of Roman Religion in Dacia.* Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega
[17] Wood, J. (1742) *An Essay Towards a Description of Bath* (Vol. 1). Bath, W. Frederick, p67

[18] Lysons, S. (1802) *Reliquiae Britannico-Romanae* (Vol. 1). London: T. Bensley, p9
[19] Falconer, J. P. E. (1924) *Britain's Tut-ankh-amen : an account of the discovery of the burial-place of a Goidelic chief near Bath*, London: James Surman
[20] Wood (1749), p128
[21] Wood (1749), p128
[22] Mowl, T. (1988) Prehistory and Palladian. In Hind, C. (ed.) (1990) *New Light on English Palladianism*. London, The Georgian Group, pp31-50
[23] Shickle, M.A. (1895) Lansdown and St Lawrence Chapel. *Proceedings of the Bath and Antiquarian Field Club*, Vol. 8, 159-67
[24] Wood (1749), p128
[25] Daubeny, W. (1891) Pilgrims' Chapel, Lansdown. *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, Vol. 2, p27
[26] Grinsell, L. (1971) Somerset Barrows. Appended to *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, Vol. 115, p109
[27] Scarth, H. M. (1854) Sepulchral remains in Bath. *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society,* Vol. 5, p59
[28] Shickle (1895)
[29] Bush, T.S. (1911) Discoveries in Bath and Vicinity. *Explorations on Lansdown 1910-12*, Bath, Somerset Archaeological Society, pp111-112
[30] Wood (1749), p128
[31] Chapman, M. (2014) Lansdown and other fairs. *Proceedings of The History of Bath Research Group,* No. 2, p13
[32] A Celebrated Bath Fair (Notes no. 218). (10 July 1937) *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, p26
[33] Wood (1749), p143
[34] Bush, T. S. (1908) Explorations on Lansdown. *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society Bath & District Branch 1904-1908*, pp204-215
[35] Williams, M. (2019) *The Bookplates and Coats of Arms of John Wood the Elder and John Wood the Younger of Bath*. History of Bath Research Group (online). Available at: https://historyofbath.org/images/documents/John%20Wood%206%20Bookplates.pdf
[36] Lowe, H., Pryke, J. & Oswin, J. (2021) *Lansdown, Fair Field Twin Barrows Site 2021.* Unpublished report for Bath and Counties Archaeological Society.
[37] Anon. (c.1670) 'A Fool's Bolt soon shott at Stonage'. In Hearne, M. A. (1725) *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle*. Oxford: Printed at The Theater, pp483-517
[38] Wood, J. (1747) *Choir Gaure, vulgarly called Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain.* Oxford: Printed at the Theatre, p69
[39] Wood (1749), p128
[40] Richards, J. (2016) Who wrote 'A Fool's Bolt…'? *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Society*, Vol. 160, 129-133
[41] Penny Gay, pers. comm. (both Roberts Gay were descended from John Gay of Englishcombe)
[42] Wood (1749), p129
[43] Wood (1749), p128
[44] Wood (1742), p59
[45] Collinson, J. (1791) *The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset (Vol. 1).* Bath, R. Cruttwell, p134
[46] Skinner, J. (n.d.) Skinner's British Library Add. MS 33719, folio 16
[47] Playne, G.F. (1875) On the ancient camps of Gloucestershire. *Proceedings of the Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club*, Vol. 6, p221
[48] Skinner, J. (n.d.) Skinner's Notebooks, British Library Add. MS 33719, folio 18
[49] Wood (1749) p129
[50] Skinner's Notebooks, British Library Add. MS 33719, folio 18
[51] Bush, T.S. (1911) Lansdown Exploration 1911. *Explorations on Lansdown 1910-12*, Bath, Somerset Archaeological Society, pp126-7
[52] Glanville, J. (1670) Observations concerning the Bath-Springs, communicated by Mr Joseph Glanvill, in a letter to the publisher dated June 16 1669 at the Bath. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, Vol 4, pp977-982
[53] Wood (1749), p129
[54] Mowl (1988), p42

[55] Strachey, J. to Pointer, J., 6 May 1730. In McGarvie, M. (1983) John Strachey F. R. S. and the Antiquities of Wessex in 1730. *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, Vol, 27, p87
[56] Playne (1875), p221
[57] English Heritage (1995) English Heritage Battlefield Report: Lansdown 1643, p3
[58] Falconer, J. P. E. (1931) Where laughing cavalier met grim roundhead. *Bath Chronicle and Herald*, 24 October 1931, p14
[59] Slingsby, W. (1643) *Events of the West*. Clarendon MSS. 1738. In Skrine, H. D. (1889) Letters illustrating the battles of Claverton and Lansdown. *Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*. Vol. 6, p179
[60] Wright, J. (1879) An enquiry concerning fortified hills near Bath. *Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*. Vol. 4, p132
[61] Burrow, E. J. (1919) *The ancient entrenchments and camps of Gloucestershire*. Cheltenham, E. J. Burrow & co., ltd., p110
[62] Winwood, H. (1871) Summary of Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquaries Field Club, for the year 1870-71. *Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*. Vol. 2, p
[63] Winwood, H. (1888) Geology. In Morris, J. W. (ed.) (1888) *Handbook to Bath*. Bath, I. Pitman and Sons, p231
[64] Winwood, H. (1879) Summary of Proceedings for the year 1878-9. *Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*. Vol. 4, p158
[65] Falconer (1931), p14
[66] Manco, J. (1998) Saxon Bath: The legacy of Rome and the Saxon rebirth. *Bath History*. Vol. 7, p36
[67] Mills, D. (ed.) (2011) *A Dictionary of British Place-Names* (revised edition). Oxford, OUP.
[68] Appleby, K. (2000) Excursions reports 2000. *Camertonia.* Vol. 39, p26
[69] Chapman, H. (1673) *Thermae Redivivae, the City of Bath Described…*London, no publisher, p16-17
[70] Strachan, M. (1962) *The life and adventures of Thomas Coryate.* London: Oxford University Press, p300-302
[71] Wood (1749), p76
[72] Greer, G. (2000) *John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester.* Horndon, Devon: Northcote House/British Council, p21
[73] Stern, T. (2021) 'Bath and Bladud: The progress of a wayward myth'. *Spa Culture and Literature in England, 1500-1800.* Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, p89-116
[74] Jorden, E. (1632) *A discourse of naturall bathes, and minerall waters*. London: Thomas Harper, p133
[75] Ekwall, E. (1966) *The concise Oxford dictionary of English place-names.* London: Oxford University Press, p430