Excavations in Trowbridge, Wiltshire, 1977 and 1986–1988

The Prehistoric, Saxon and Saxo-Norman Settlements and the Anarchy Period Castle

Wessex Archæology

by Alan H. Graham and Susan M. Davies

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This volume is dedicated
to the memory of
Bob Smith
1946–1987

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Front cover: An artist's impression by Liz James of Trowbridge Castle and its environs in the 12th century (reproduced by kind permission of Trowbridge Museum for Trowbridge Town Council)

Back cover: Excavation of the medieval graveyard at Trowbridge, March 1988 (Photo: Susan M. Davies)

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Abstract

Excavations were undertaken in advance of major development in the town centre of Trowbridge, county town of Wiltshire, and recovered evidence for a long sequence of settlement from the Bronze Age to the post-medieval period.

Bronze Age fields with evidence for ploughing and a number of features including a palisade were laid out on the sloping ground above the River Biss. These were succeeded in due course by Iron Age and Romano-British fields, the former containing at least one four-post structure.

During the 7th–11th centuries settlement was concentrated on the higher ground. A sunken featured building seems to have been the first in a series of structures representing simple, rectangular, timber buildings, presumably of a domestic nature. These were associated with a range of pits and ditches and the whole eventually sealed by a late Saxon land surface.

A stone church was constructed in the late 11th century, surrounded by a graveyard with a boundary ditch, which contained over 160 inhumation burials. The area seems to have become part of a system of manorial enclosures containing further timber buildings and asssociated features. Surviving buildings were apparently demolished during construction of the castle defences c. AD 1139.

The Anarchy Period castle consisted of a Motte, an Inner and Outer Bailey and associated Moats built over the Saxo-Norman manorial settlement. The church and graveyard continued in use with rows of new graves frequently impinging on earlier ones. At some stage during the later 12th century the graveyard became sealed by a thick layer of clay which probably represents a period of major remodelling of the castle defences. Thereafter the church fell out of use and was adapted for secular purposes. There was no conclusive evidence for castle buildings.

The castle defences were levelled during the post-medieval period and no visible traces now survive. The former church seems to have continued in domestic use until its demolition in the 16th century. A single stone building was identified in the area of the former Outer Bailey.

The finds from the excavations include a small but interesting coin assemblage, many domestic items and a large assemblage of Saxon and medieval pottery. Over 280 skeletons were examined and plant remains from a cess-pit produced a range of dietary information for the Saxo-Norman manorial settlement.

1 Introduction

1. Trowbridge: County Town of Wiltshire

The Town and its Location

Trowbridge is in west Wiltshire, no more than two miles from the borders with Somerset and Avon. The town lies in the middle of an area of relatively flat land that is part of the band of Oxford Clay which runs south-west to north-east, from Dorset to Lincolnshire. In this part of Wiltshire it forms a low-lying strip 2–5 miles wide, separating the high Chalk downland of Salisbury Plain and the Marlborough Downs to the south-east, from the Limestone hills of the Cotswolds to the north-west. Nine miles east of Trowbridge is Devizes and the opening to the Vale of Pewsey, which separates Salisbury Plain from the Marlborough Downs, and forms a natural route to the east. Four miles to the south is Westbury, and the edge of Salisbury Plain; two miles to the north at Bradford-on-Avon, is the valley of the River Avon, leading down to Bath, Bristol and the sea beyond (Fig. 1).

The precise location of Trowbridge was determined by the existence of a low, narrow ridge of Forest Marble Clay which rises up through the Oxford Clays and is capped with Cornbrash, a Limestone bedrock producing a relatively light and fertile soil. This ridge rises above the Oxford Clay to a maximum height of *c.* 15 m, and is bisected by the River Biss, which flows north-westwards across the clay lands to join the River Avon. The early town was established on the crest of the ridge on the north-east bank of the river, above the crossing which gave the town its name; 'Trowbridge simply means tree-bridge, a bridge made of timber' (Rogers 1984, 12).

The modern town covers of an area of approximately two square miles, extending along the ridge on both sides of the river for a distance of about one mile. Much of this area is occupied by housing built in the 20th century, however, and though during the 19th century the town already occupied land on both sides of the river, it was considerably smaller in area. The present town centre lies on the north-east side of the river, on the site of the medieval town (Fig. 1 and Plate 1). It is characterised by two parallel streets, Fore Street and Back Street (part of which is now known as Church Street), which form a quarter circle to the north and east of the area overlooking the river; since the early 19th century this area has been occupied by woollen mills, and became the site of the 1980s redevelopment. To the south, these two streets terminate at Silver Street, which continues to the north-east and becomes the main road to Devizes. To the west, Fore Street, becoming Wicker Hill, leads to the Town Bridge.

Fore Street and Back Street were the main streets of the medieval town. The earliest burgage plots would have been established along Fore Street, extending north and eastwards as long strips terminating on Back Street. The south-eastern part of Fore Street had held the market, at the head of which stood St James's church. That the line of Fore Street, and hence the plan of the medieval town, was determined by the existence of the castle has long been accepted, and when established Fore Street probably followed the line of the castle moat.

The site of the castle itself remained largely undeveloped until the early 19th century. An unfinished drawing of *c.* 1770 (Fig. 2) shows properties along the southern side of Fore Street which would have encroached upon the defences of the castle, but the area within the defences remained as an area of open ground between the town and the river, occupied only by the buildings known as the Court Barn. This open ground, shown on the 1770 drawing covered only by the tenter racks used for stretching and drying cloth, was only lost to the town with the construction of mechanised woollen mills in the early 19th century (Fig. 2 and Plate 2). It is interesting, however, to note that the lines of the castle defences were even then preserved; Court Street reflects the line of the defences of an Inner Bailey (Court Hill on the O.S. map of 1886 was traditionally associated with the site of a motte); and the complex of buildings which made up Home Mills lay specifically within the area of an Outer Bailey. The line of the defences was followed precisely by the substantial, curving wall which was the mills' western boundary.

The Documentary Background

The documentary evidence for the origins of the settlement, the castle and the early medieval town of Trowbridge has been thoroughly presented by Kenneth Rogers in *The Book of Trowbridge* (1984, 11–23). The description which follows draws heavily on his account, extracting those references most relevant to the site of the excavations. It also includes information taken from the a typescript compiled by the late Robert Smith, entitled *Redevelopment of the 'Castle' site in Trowbridge* (1977), the source for much of which was the *Victoria County History* (*VCH* 1975, 125–71).

The earliest reference to Trowbridge is in the *Domesday Survey* of 1086, when it was recorded under the name of *Straburg*. This has traditionally been interpreted as a transcription error (Rogers

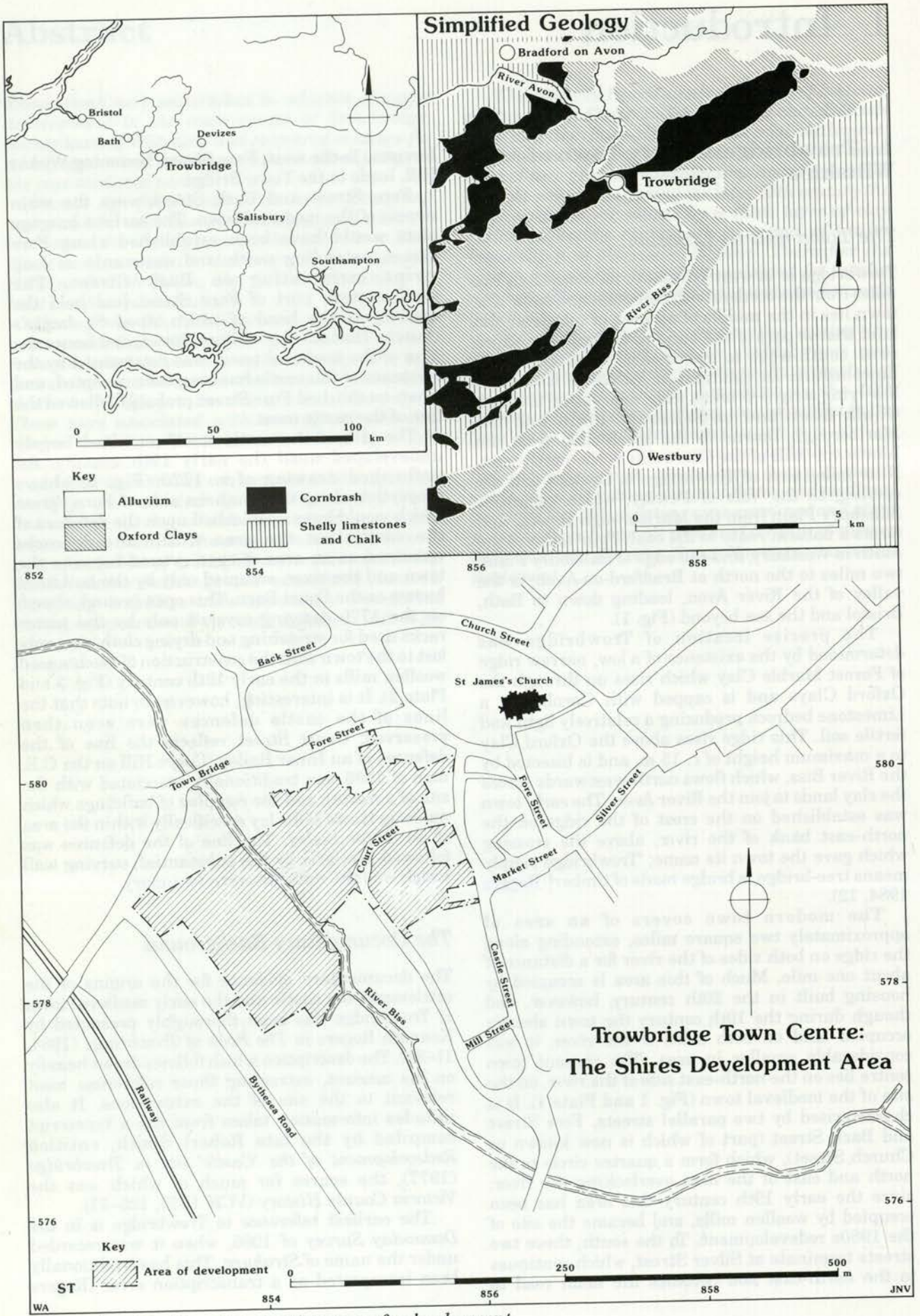

Figure 1 Location plan showing area of redevelopment

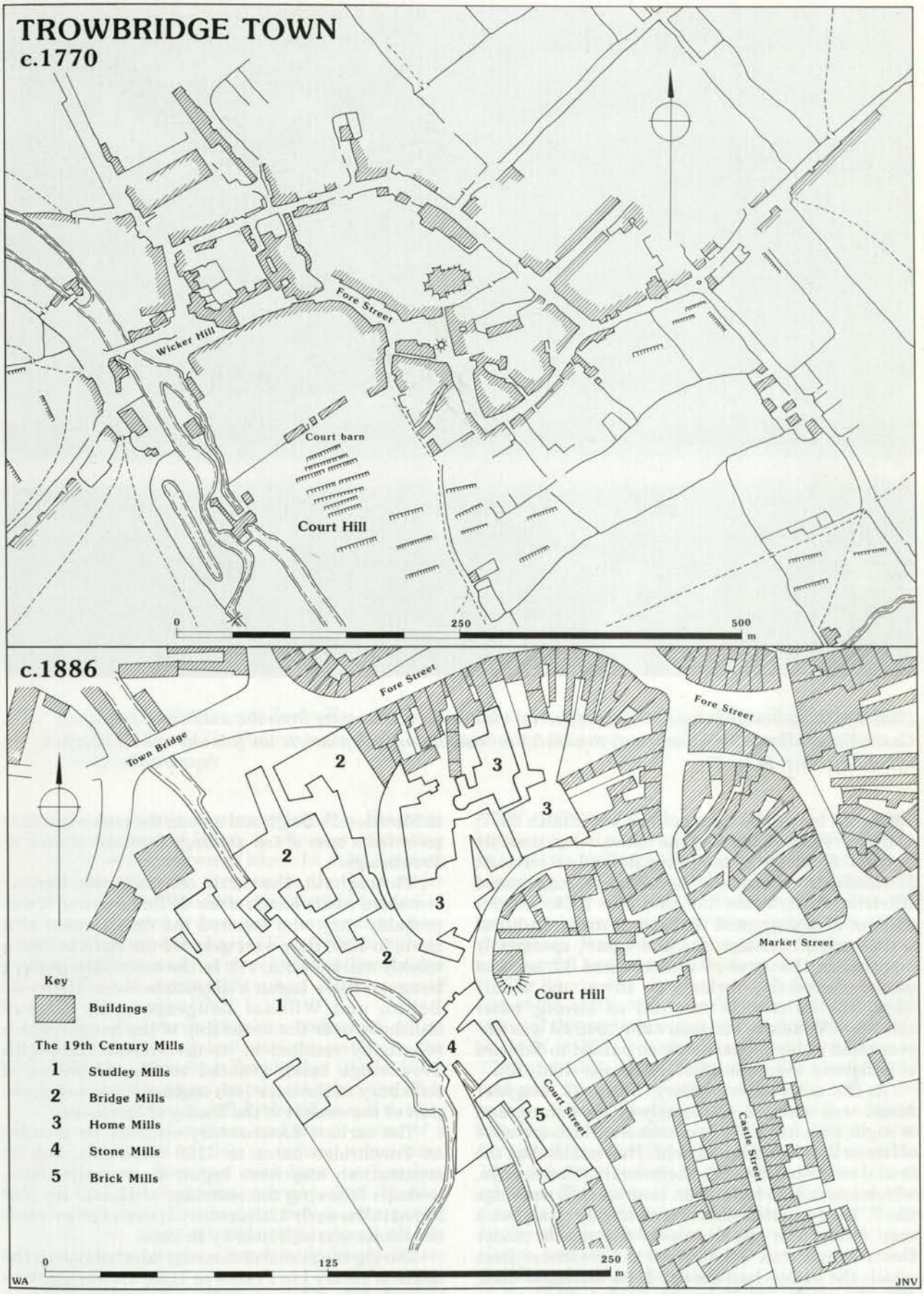

Figure 2 Trowbridge town centre c. 1770 and 1886

Plate 1 Trowbridge between the wars: aerial view of the town centre from the south, looking along Castle Street. Home Mills, adjacent to which the excavations took place, is the five-storey building just left of centre (cf. Plate 3)

1984, 12), but it has been pointed out (Smith 1977, 1) that the last element of the name, *burg*, possibly derives from *byrig* meaning defended site. At *Domesday* the manor was owned by a Saxon named Brictric, whose father had held it in 1066, and the account of it suggested that it was an agricultural settlement of 'average size and value', specifically mentioning '10 acres of meadow and 12 acres of pasture, wood five furlongs by three, and a mill' (ibid, 12). Brictric is recorded as owning other estates in Wiltshire but soon after 1086 he was dispossessed of his property which passed to Edward of Salisbury, then Sheriff of the county (ibid, 12).

In the early 12th century, Edward's daughter Maud was married to Humphrey de Bohun, and brought with her a group of manors which included all those that Brictric had held. This established the feudal complex known as the honour of Trowbridge, which appears to have been centred at Trowbridge itself. The reason for this is not entirely clear, but it may reflect the importance of the manor under Brictric, and that it had been the residence from which the estate had always been managed (ibid, 13). The earliest reference to a church comes in 1125, when Humphrey and Maud founded a priory at Monkton Farleigh and among the endowments is recorded a sum of ten shillings from the church at Trowbridge.

Throughout the 12th century, the honour remained in the hands of the de Bohuns, and it was probably they who fostered the development of a town; in 1200 they were granted the right to hold a weekly market (ibid, 17). In the early 13th century however, there began a dispute between Henry de Bohun and William Longespee, the Earl of Salisbury, over the ownership of the honour which eventually resulted in its division in 1229, with Trowbridge being granted to Ela, Countess of Salisbury. In the later 14th century it was to become part of the estates of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The earliest documentary evidence for a castle at Trowbridge dates to 1139 (ibid, 13), but its construction may have begun at an earlier date, perhaps following the marriage of Humphrey and Maud in the early 12th century or even earlier when the estate was still held by Brictric.

During the period of Anarchy which followed the death of Henry I in France in 1135, Trowbridge was in the hands of the second Humphrey de Bohun, son of Humphrey and Maud, who was related through

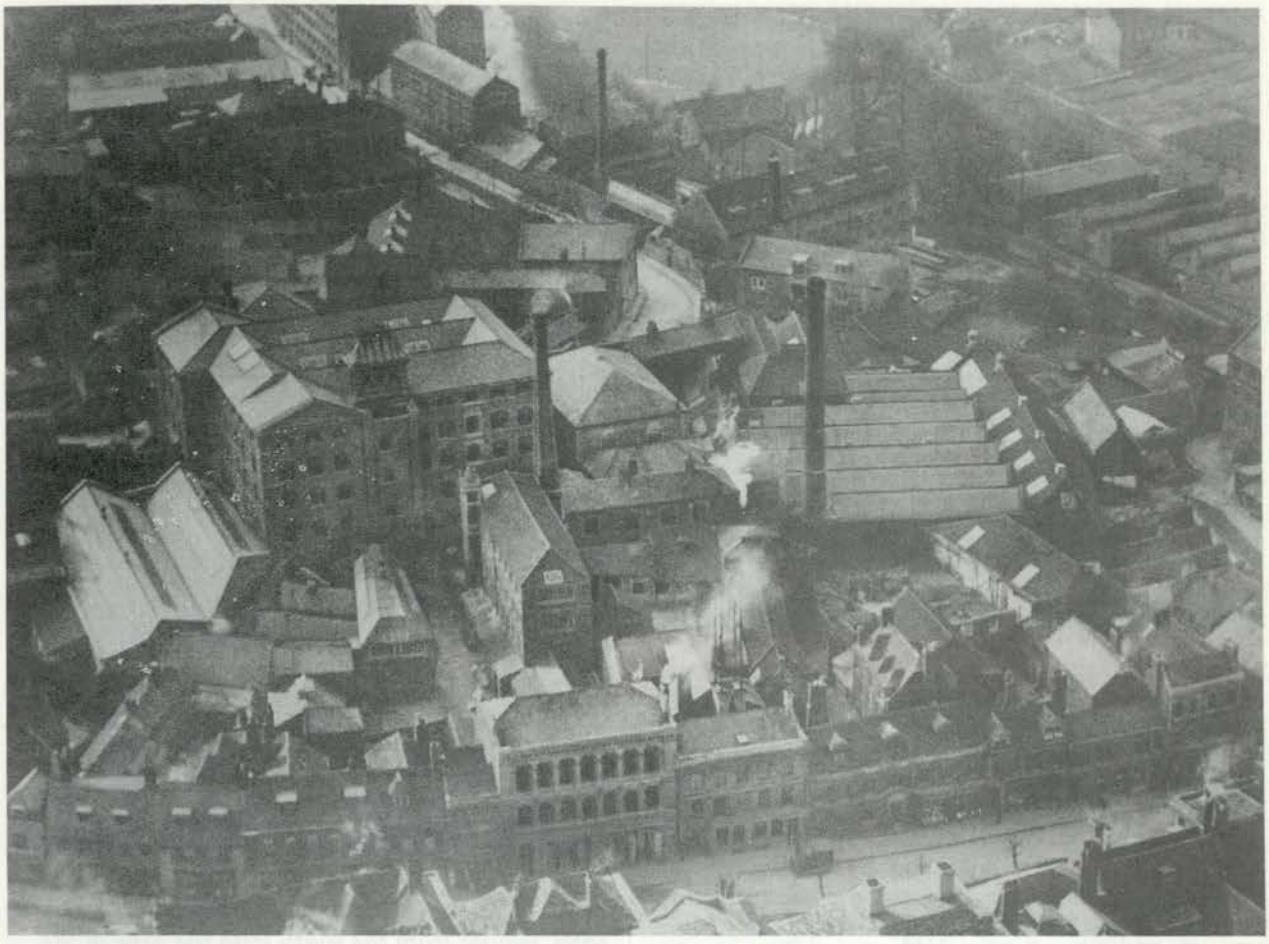

Plate 2 The Trowbridge woollen mills: aerial view from the north, c. 1928. This industrial landscape is dominated by Home Mills; the frontages of the buildings along the south side of Fore Street are at the bottom of the photograph

marriage to families supporting the Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I, who was contesting the throne with Stephen of Blois. In 1139, Devizes Castle was taken by Stephen in the first major military action of the Anarchy. Matilda landed in England at the end of September and on the advice of his father-in-law, the Earl of Hereford, Humphrey de Bohun garrisoned his stronghold at Trowbridge on her behalf, against Stephen (*Dictionary of National Biography* (*DNB*) I, 180).

Shortly afterwards Stephen embarked on an autumn campaign against various castles in the West Country, including Trowbridge (Poole 1955, 138). In *Gesta Stephani* we are told that the King found the place very carefully fortified and despite the construction of engines and the pressing of a long siege he was unable to induce submission. Disenchanted, Stephen withdrew to London, leaving a body of troops garrisoned at Devizes Castle to harass Trowbridge, and in alternating raids the two sides subsequently reduced all the surrounding country to a 'lamentable desert' (Potter 1955, 64).

There is no documentary evidence of the nature of the Anarchy Period castle, but later references (*VCH* 1975, 125–71) suggest the continued existence of structures on its site. In 1295–96 the sum of two shillings was expended on roofing and mending the towers and chapel. In 1306, the surrender of a *placia in fosso* suggests that the castle had lost its military value and the site of the defences was being increasingly used for commercial and residential purposes.

The increasing dereliction of buildings on the site of the castle may be reflected in the fall in the value of the capital manor house which was valued at 6*s* 8*d* in 1311 but considered to be worthless in 1347 and 1361. In 1372 and 1373 the sum of 1*s* 6*d* was paid for eight 'crestes' to mend the hall of the manor and a further 10*d* allocated to their installation. Soon after, in 1375, oak boards were furnished to cover the tower (of the castle) and in 1383 a barn standing in the castle precincts was mended. This spate of renovation in the castle area coincides with Trowbridge becoming part of the Duchy of Lancaster under the ownership of John of Gaunt, and adds some substance to a local tradition that he refortified the castle.

In 1540, Leland described the castle as 'clene down', there having been seven great towers of

which parts of two were still standing (Smith 1964, 137). Jones (1875, 218) makes the important observation that the ruined castle which Leland saw in 1540, had still been standing, according to contemporary records, in 1460, proving that demolition occurred between these two dates. Aubrey, writing in 1670, refers to it as a ruined castle of the Dukes of Lancaster, and within Duchy accounts it is described as a motte and bailey enclosed by a curving wall and ditch.

2. The Redevelopment of the Town Centre and the Archaeological Excavations 1977–1988

The development proposal

The town centre of Trowbridge was characterised in the 1970s by a largely industrial area which lay behind the frontage buildings of Fore Street and Castle Street. Though this lay within the area of the medieval town it had remained undeveloped until the industrial revolution of the 19th century, as open ground on the site of the 12th-century castle.

With the industrialisation of the Trowbridge woollen industry, this land was rapidly built over and became a manufacturing centre within the town which extended to both sides of the river, and included Home Mills, Stone Mills and Studley Mills (Fig. 2). The last of these mills closed down in the 1970s and a large area within the town centre thus became disused and therefore available for large-scale redevelopment.

The earliest proposal was for the redevelopment of the Cooperative Dairy Depot which occupied a considerable area on the southern side of Court Street. This prompted a limited excavation during 1977, but with the postponement of the development to allow for a re-evaluation by the developers, the excavations were not expanded into other areas. There followed a considerable delay before new proposals appeared in the mid-1980s in the guise of the Shires Development.

The Shires Development covered an area which lay on both sides of the River Biss (Fig. 1). To the west, it included the site of the demolished Studley Mills and was an area measuring *c.* 160 m by 100 m between the river and Bythesea Road. To the east of the Biss, it was an area of *c.* 140 m by 160 m, though with irregular edges along the back of properties which fronted onto Fore Street and Castle Street.

The northern part of Court Street was included in the development, and this was to be closed. Within the development area were two Listed Buildings on the north side of Court Street (Fig. 3 and Plate 3), Home Mills and the Bethesda Chapel. Both have been preserved within the development.

Plate 3 Home Mills and the Bethesda Chapel in 1988; viewed from the south with the area of the 1988 excavations in the foreground. Both buildings have been preserved within the modern redevelopment

The Excavation Project

The excavation of the site of Trowbridge castle took place in four stages from April 1977 to April 1988 (Fig. 3). The earlier stages were trial excavations which were intended primarily to assess the extent to which the defences of the castle and any traces of contemporary or earlier settlement had survived the developments of the 19th century. It was on the information from these that the excavation strategy for the larger area of the site was to be based. The 1977 work was carried out by the Archaeological and Museums Service of Wiltshire County Council, and established the existence within the site of the castle and, in an area threatened by the redevelopment, of a late Saxon church and graveyard. This discovery was crucial in establishing the importance of the site and in determining future areas of excavation. Later exploratory excavation was carried out by the Trust for Wessex Archaeology in April 1986 (Fig. 3, W132), and was intended to establish the nature and the line of the castle's western defences within the area of the redevelopment. This established the presence of a

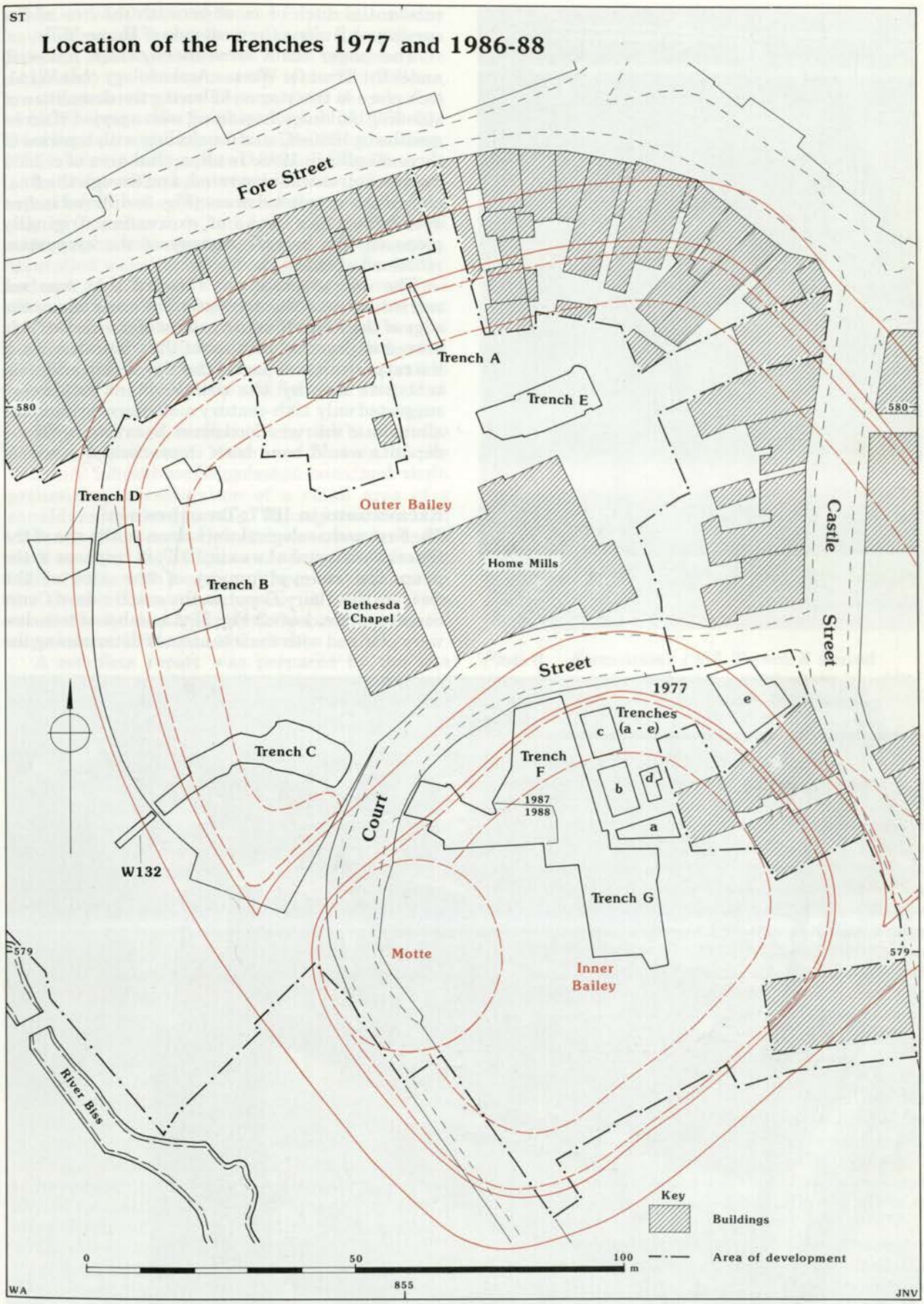

Figure 3 The areas of excavation

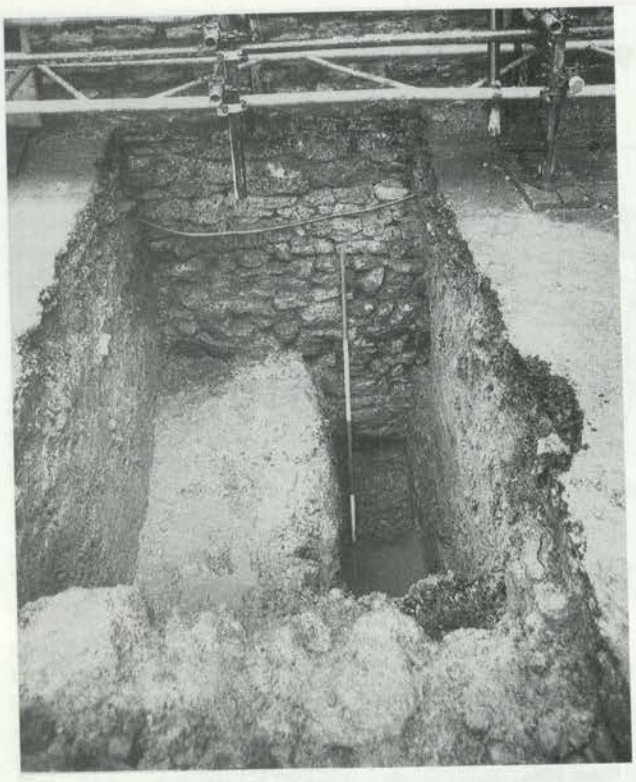

Plate 4 The 1986 trial trench, W132: view from the west, scale 2 m

substantial ditch or moat beneath the line of the curving wall along the west side of Home Mills.

The larger scale excavations which followed, under the Trust for Wessex Archaeology code W141, took place in two stages, following the demolition of standing buildings, beginning with a period of seven months in 1986–87 and concluding with a period of three months in 1988. In all, a total area of *c.* 1430 square metres was excavated, and though the final plan of the excavated areas (Fig. 3) differed in fine detail from the areas of excavation originally proposed, the overall strategy of the excavation remained unchanged.

The one proposal put forward that was not carried out was the excavation of areas along the edge of the River Biss to the west of the castle. This proved impractical because of the continued use of the carpark on that part of the site, and in addition, test pits dug by the development engineers suggested only 19th-century make-up overlying the alluvium of the river flood plain. Excavation of these deposits would have been impractical because of their depth and waterlogged condition.

Excavations in 1977: Trenches a–e

The first archaeological work done on the site of the Shires Development was in 1977, in response to the proposed redevelopment of the site of the Cooperative Dairy Depot on the south side of Court Street (not marked on Fig. 3). A number of trenches were planned with the intention of determining the

Plate 5 Excavation 1987: Trench C viewed from the east. The patch in the tarmac of the carpark immediately beyond the trench marks the position of W132

extent to which the castle and its structures may have survived beneath the modern buildings. Between April and June 1977, five trenches were excavated, a–e (throughout the text which follows, lower case letters have been used for the trenches of 1977; upper case for the trenches of 1986–88). Trenches b, c and d lay within a standing building; trench a in a small yard to the south (Fig. 3).

In some trenches, considerable effort was expended in removing concrete floors, but it was only in Trenches a, b and d that intact medieval stratigraphy was encountered, and in these areas, excavation was completed down to the surface of the bedrock. In Trench c modern stanchions had destroyed the earlier layers to such an extent that the trench was abandoned; in Trench e an area of post-medieval infill was encountered, but after sampling this for groups of artefacts, the excavation was halted due to the time and financial limits that had been imposed.

This work was carried out by the staff of the Archaeological and Museums Section of the Wiltshire Library and Museum Service, and was a preliminary investigation of a small area of a considerably larger site. Though no certain evidence of the castle defences was uncovered, the work revealed the existence of a late Saxon church built of stone with a surrounding graveyard, within the area of the Anarchy Period castle. This conclusively demonstrated the archaeological importance of this area of the town.

A complete report was prepared by the late Robert Smith on the results of these excavations, but following the excavations of 1986–88, it was decided to combine the results of the two periods of work into this single publication.

Excavations in 1986: W132

In early 1986, the now imminent redevelopment of the site prompted trial excavations to be undertaken on the western side of the proposed site of the castle to ascertain what remained of its defences. A substantial stone retaining wall which defined the western side of the complex of buildings which made up Home Mills was traditionally thought to follow the line of one of the castle's defensive walls. Ground level to the west of this wall, in what was then a carpark adjacent to the River Biss, was *c.* 5 m lower than the level to the east of it, and a small trench was therefore dug (Fig. 3, W132) against its western side, to investigate the nature of its footings, during two weeks in April 1986. Though the wall itself was found to have been constructed in the 19th century, it lay along the line of a substantial ditch, *c.* 3 m deep beneath the surface of the carpark (Plate 4). This was considered to have been the moat which defined the western side of the castle, and was the first archaeological identification of any element of the castle's defences which clearly established their line at any point.

A detailed report on the Trench was prepared (Davies and Smith 1986), from which the relevant information has been extracted and included here (*below, Chapter 5.1*).

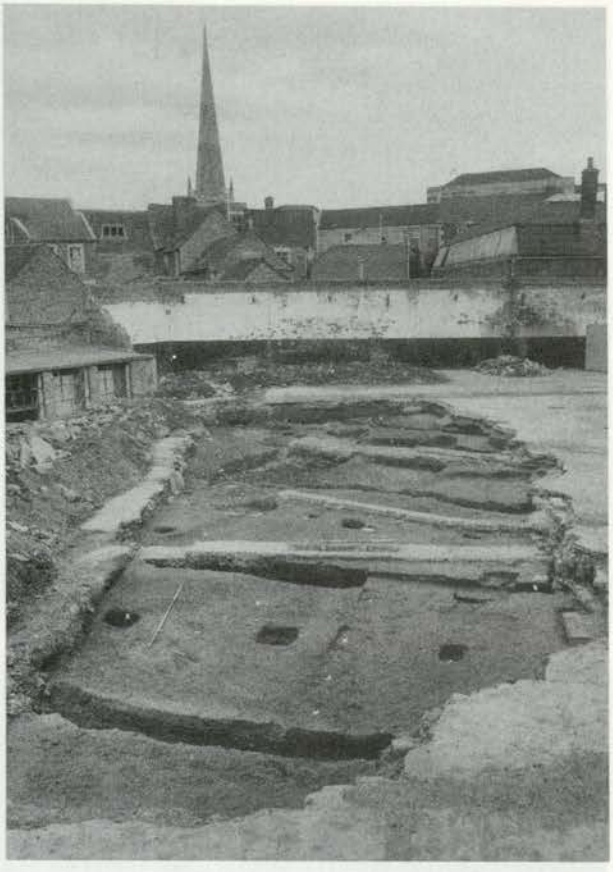

Plate 6 Excavations 1987: Trench E viewed from the west. In the background is the spire of St James's church

Excavations in 1986–87: W141 Trenches A–F

A full season of excavations within the area of the castle was begun in October 1986 and continued until the end of May 1987. The area to the north of Court Street was excavated first, following the demolition of the standing buildings. Excavation to the south of Court Street was planned to follow, but during 1987 was limited in area because of the continued operation of the Cooperative Dairy Depot. The size of the trenches was limited by areas of standing buildings; the location of cellars and other extensive areas of disturbance of the stratigraphy; and by the large quantities of spoil from the machine clearance of concrete floors and rubble which had to remain on site.

Work began with two trenches; Trench A in the northern part of the site; and Trench B on the western part, just within the probable line of the castle's western defences (Fig. 3). These established the sequence of deposits that remained, and demonstrated that there was considerable evidence of earlier settlement sealed beneath the banks of the castle.

Both trenches had been completed by the end of 1986, and the next stage of work involved the opening of larger areas. Trenches C and D were wide strips which crossed the line of the defences on the western side of the castle (Plate 5); Trench E was an

Plate 7 Excavations 1987: Trench F viewed from the north. The curve of Court Street is on the right and the areas to the top and left of the photograph were excavated in 1988 (cf. Plate 8)

area in the northern part of the site, within the defensive line (Plate 6). Trench D included an area in the carpark which lay west of the Home Mills complex of buildings. All areas of excavation had to some extent been disturbed by modern service trenches, wall footings and stanchion pits, but once these were cleared, relatively large areas of intact earlier stratigraphy were exposed. The area of Trench D was, however, severely limited by an infilled cellar which split the excavated area into two. All work on the north side of Court Street was completed by May of 1987, and the five trenches comprised a total of *c.* 600 square metres.

At the beginning of April 1987, hand-excavation was begun on the south side of Court Street, Trench F (Fig. 3). The area of Trench F was limited during 1987 by the presence of standing buildings, and the continued use of the Dairy Depot to the south and east (Plate 7). The Trench lay across the inner defences of the castle, extending eastwards towards the church and graveyard excavated in 1977. Excavation in it was completed by the end of May 1987, and comprised an area of *c.* 182 square metres.

Excavations in 1988: W141 Trenches F and G

Work in 1988 was confined to the area to the south of Court Street, and followed the demolition of the buildings of the Cooperative Dairy Depot which occupied the site until the beginning of January. Work on the northern part of the site had started while the demolition and clearance of the southern part was still taking place. Two trenches were excavated, which formed a single area extending southwards from Court Street (Fig. 3, F and G; Plate 8).

Trench F was an extension of the trench excavated in 1987, and its eastern side was defined by the substantial footings of the building within which the 1977 excavations had taken place. Trench G lay to the south. The area was criss-crossed by modern service trenches, with considerable disturbance along the eastern side of Trench F and the western side of Trench G. Large areas of intact medieval stratigraphy did, however, remain, though towards the south and south-west of Trench G there had been considerable scarping-off of the deposits. The excavation began in early January

and was completed by the beginning of April. An area of c. 650 square metres was excavated down to the surface of the bedrock.

The Excavation Report

Following each of the two main periods of excavation, there was a short period in which the stratigraphic record and drawings were checked, matrices prepared, and the evidence synthesised sufficiently to prepare interim statements of the findings (Davies and Graham 1987; 1988). The final analysis of the excavation record was carried out in May–July 1989 and established a framework of numbered *Stratigraphic Units*. The descriptions of these *Units* form an important part of the archive (*below*) and provided the framework within which the analysis of the finds took place, and from which a final text could be written for publication.

The text was prepared during November, December and January 1989–1990, and has been structured in six chronological Periods from prehistoric to late medieval. Because of the limited evidence from the excavations, no description of the post-medieval use of the site has been written. Chapter 7 contains the descriptions and catalogues of artefacts recovered, and Chapter 8 synthesizes and draws conclusions from the evidence presented in Chapters 2 –7.

Within Chapters 2–6, the evidence has been presented in a standard format. Each Period description begins with an *Abstract*, which summarises the evidence for that Period. The descriptive text which follows presents the evidence at two levels of detail; the main headings within each Period introduce the synthesised description of a number of the main elements of that period, for example, within Period 4, *The Church and Graveyard*. A more detailed level of description specific to individual structures, features or layers follows; for example, *Structure 17; the Stone Church.*

Figure 4 is a diagrammatic representation of the excavated sequence, summarising the stratigraphic relationships between the excavated components of which the sequence is comprised. Figure 4 demonstrates the flexibility which exists within the Period structure; for example, without disruption of the stratigraphic framework, the earlier elements of Period 4 could have been contemporary with the later elements of Period 3.

Chapters 2–6 include evidence from the 1977 excavations, the results of which have been fully integrated with the text of the appropriate Period. Within the text, layer references to the 1977 excavations have been prefixed with the relevant trench letter, a, b, c, d or e. The original report and figures can be found in microfiche (Mf2).

The finds reports have been arranged and grouped according to material category. References in the text generally refer to the published Period and text section, though in some instances to specific layer numbers. With the exception of the coins, full catalogues are to be found in microfiche, where complete contextual references have been given. It was impractical to integrate fully the finds from the excavations of 1977, and reference to these has therefore been limited to specific objects, commented upon in the general descriptive text of each finds category. The descriptions of these objects are those used by the original authors, and are presented fully in microfiche (Mf1 A3–F7). As in previous chapters, the layer numbers have been prefixed with the appropriate trench letter, and followed by the year of excavation (1977).

Plate 8 Excavations 1988: Trenches F and G viewed from the north. The 1987 trench lies beneath the spoil heap middle right and the trenches of the 1977 excavations beneath the heap to the left. The stone blocks of the west wall of the Saxo-Norman church lie immediately adjacent to the long wall-footing of brick on the left. Scales 2 m

The Archive

The archive is housed at Trowbridge Museum, and comprises the following elements.

The excavation record; this is the complete, cross-referenced record of the excavations, including the written and drawn record as well as the photo-

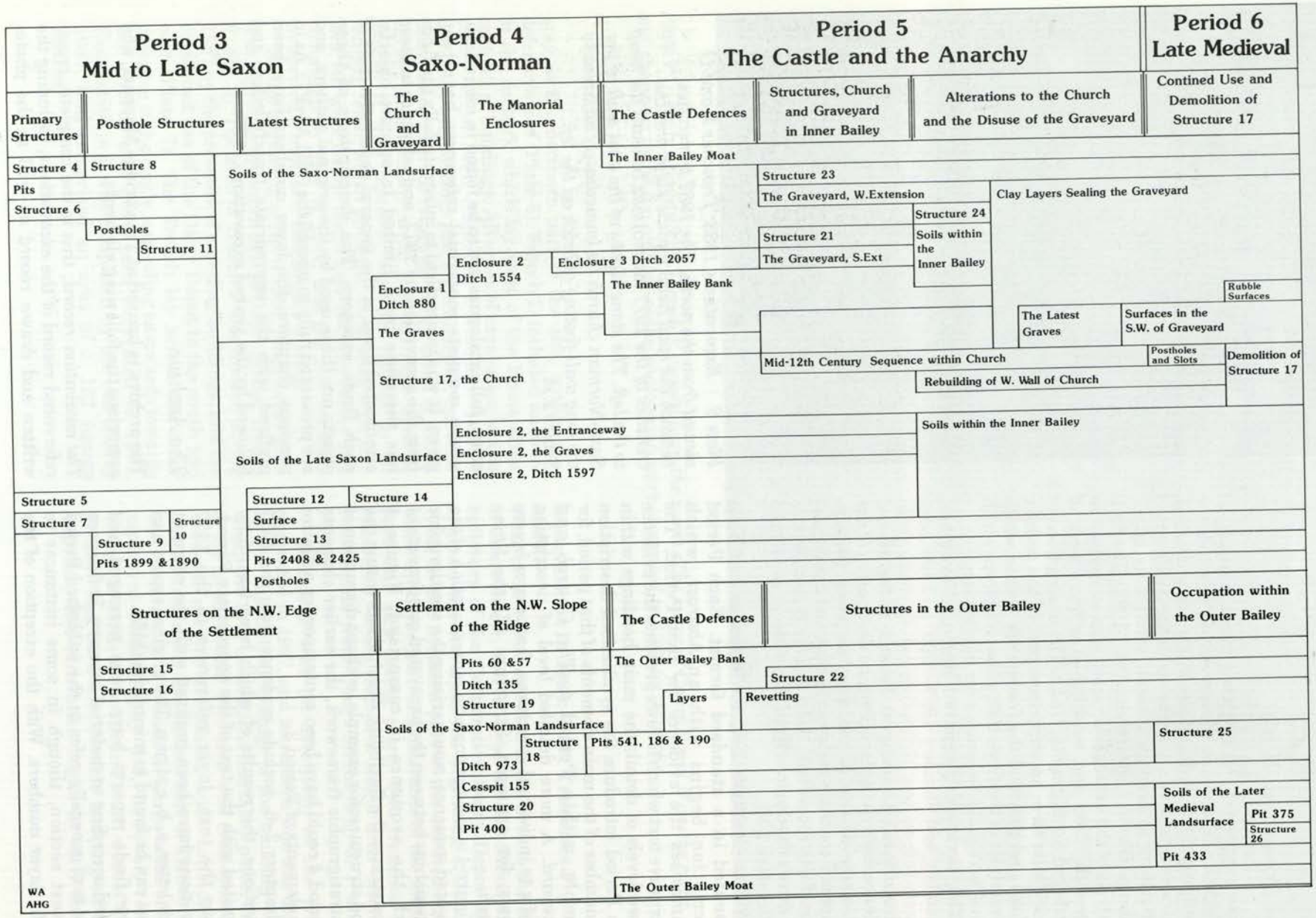

Figure 4 Periods 3–6: block diagram to illustrate the excavated sequence

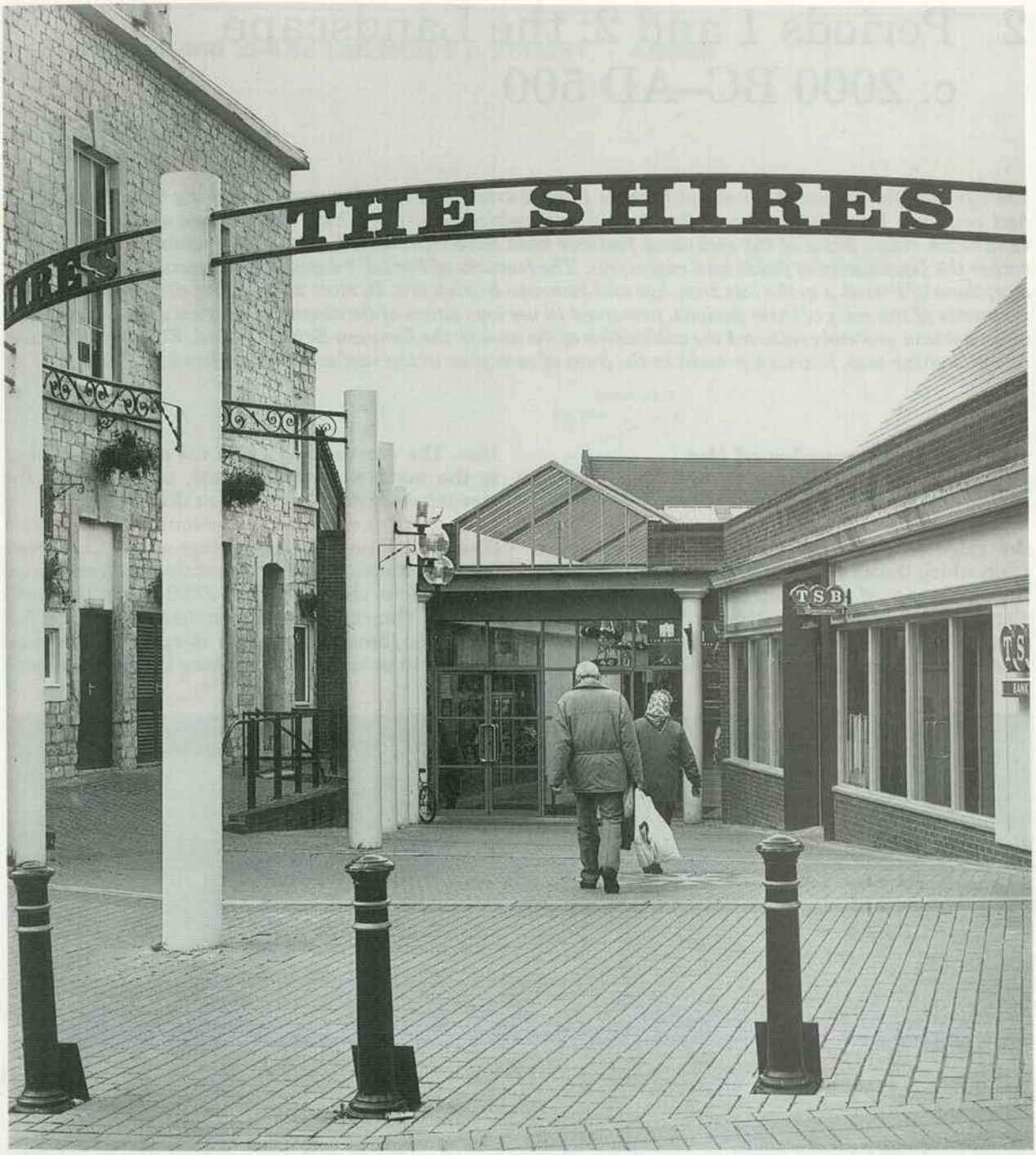

Plate 9 The Shires development

graphic record. It also includes the primary record of the finds, as well as the finds themselves, with the exception of the human remains which have been reburied in Trowbridge.

The stratigraphic archive; this houses the descriptions of the Stratigraphic Units into which the excavated contexts could be grouped, as well as of the stratigraphic Blocks and Phases into which the Units themselves were grouped. It also houses the lists which cross refer the published Periods, Headings and sub-Headings to the Archive Statigraphic Units and *vice versa*, and which cross refer the excavated Contexts to the Stratigraphic Units.

Archive Finds Reports; all unpublished finds reports and the detailed reports and information provided by specialists and used in the preparation of the published text.

A full list of the Archive contents has been deposited with the archive.

2 Periods 1 and 2: the Landscape c. 2000 BC–AD 500

The evidence for the use of the site in Periods 1 and 2 was limited, and suggested nothing more than that it had probably lain within one of the cleared and cultivated areas which surrounded settlement on the Cornbrash ridge. None of the excavated features need have represented parts of an actual settlement, but rather the boundaries of fields and enclosures. The features of Period 1 dated to the Bronze Age/early Iron Age; those of Period 2 to the late Iron Age and Romano-British era. In most areas of the site, there were also remnants of the soils of these periods, preserved in various states of development or truncation, though the main horizon probably reflected the cultivation of the area in the Romano-British period. Evidence of Bronze Age ploughing was, however, present in the form of scratches in the surface of the bedrock.

1. The Topography of the Cornbrash Ridge

Where it is bisected by the valley of the River Biss, the ridge of Cornbrash and Forest Marble clays upon which the site lay is *c.* 750 m wide (Fig. 1). To the north-east of the river, the crest of the ridge slopes gradually down from the north-east to a level of *c.* 39 m above OD where it reaches the edge of a steeper scarp down to the floodplain of the River Biss. The excavations lay on the end of this ridge, to the north-west of the crest, and included the steeper scarp down to the river (Fig. 5).

In the area excavated to the south of Court Street (Trenches F and G), the surface of the Cornbrash fell consistently towards the north-west from a level of *c.* 41.50 m above OD to *c.* 40.50 m. On the north side of Court Street (Trenches A–E) the fall continued, becoming slightly steeper and dropping from *c.* 40 m to *c.* 38.50 m along the northern side

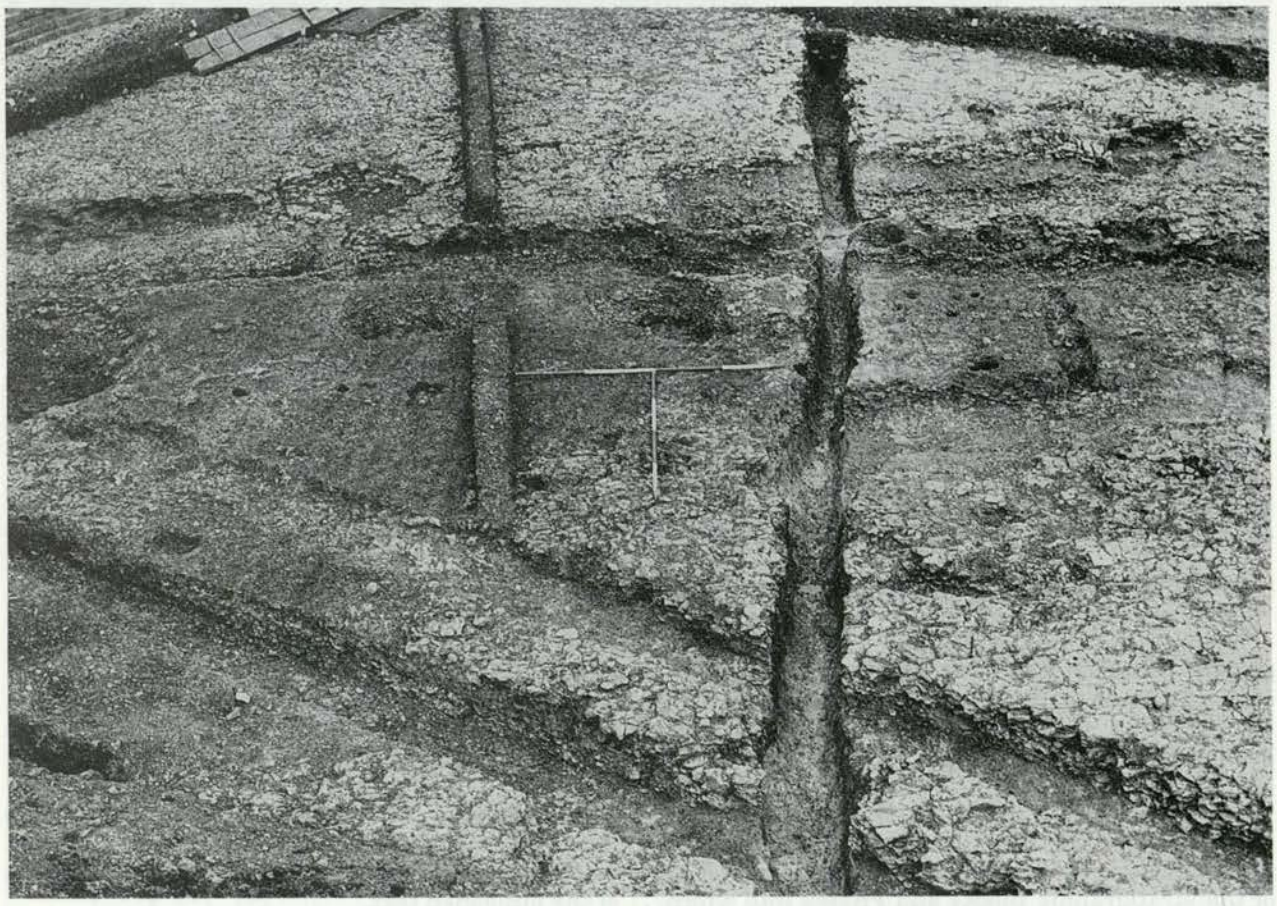

Plate 10 Trench G, Period 1: the surface of the Cornbrash cut by the palisade slot of Structure 2. To the left scratches can be seen, possibly from ancient ploughing. View from the west. Scales 2 m

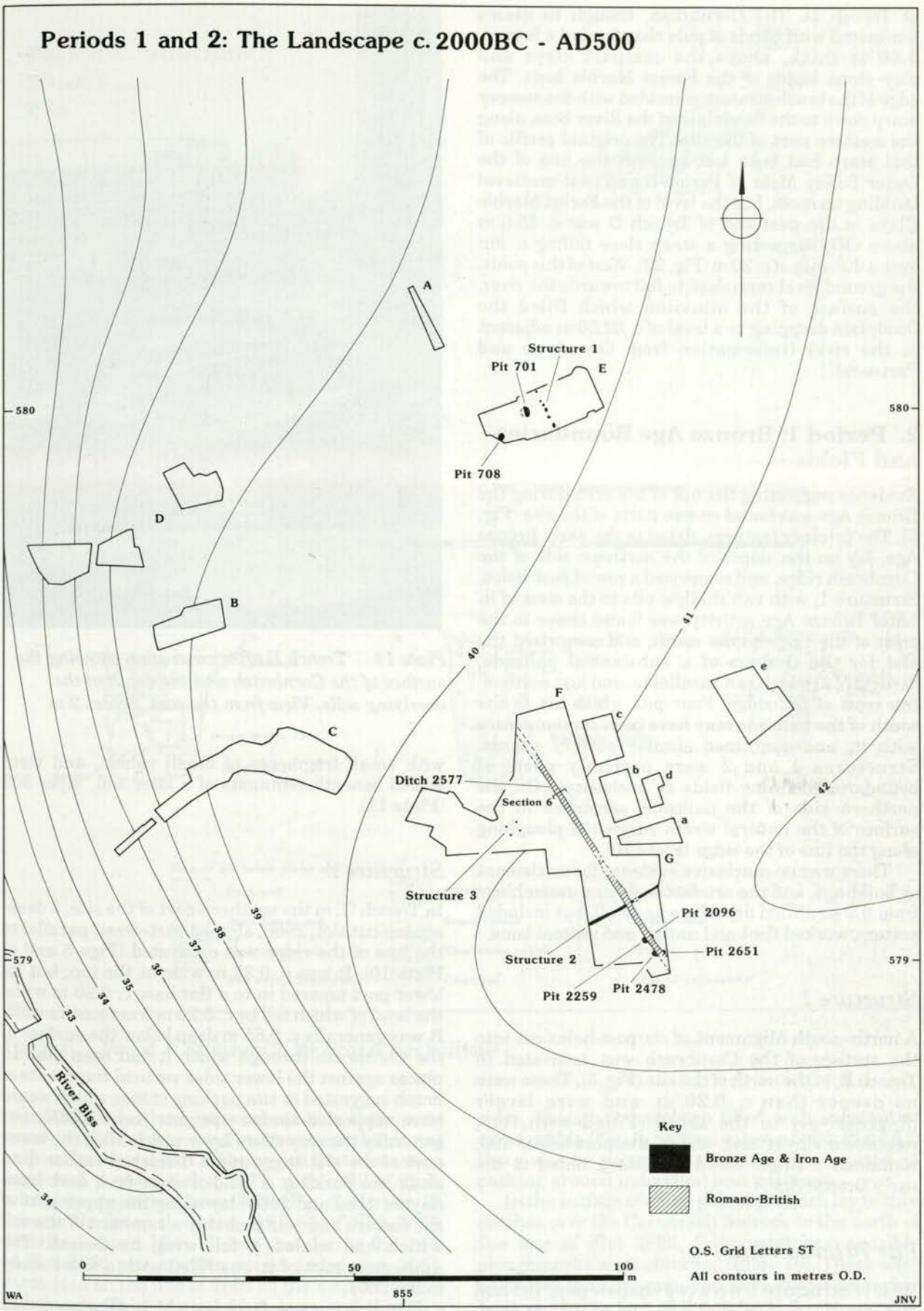

Figure 5 Periods 1 and 2: the landscape c. 2000 BC – AD 500

of Trench D. The Cornbrash, though in places laminated with bands of pale clay, formed a layer *c.* 0.60 m thick, above the compact clays and clay–stone bands of the Forest Marble beds. The edge of the brash stratum coincided with the steeper scarp down to the floodplain of the River Biss, along the western part of the site. The original profile of this scarp had been lost beneath the line of the Outer Bailey Moat of Period 5 and post-medieval building terraces, but the level of the Forest Marble Clays in the west end of Trench D was *c.* 35.5 m above OD, suggesting a steep slope falling *c.* 3m over a distance of *c.* 20 m (Fig. 22). West of this point, the ground level continued to fall towards the river, the surface of the alluvium which filled the floodplain dropping to a level of *c.* 32.50 m adjacent to the river (information from Ove Arup and Partners).

2. Period 1: Bronze Age Boundaries and Fields

Evidence suggesting the use of the area during the Bronze Age was found on two parts of the site (Fig. 5). The primary features, dated to the early Bronze Age, lay on the slopes of the northern side of the Cornbrash ridge, and comprised a row of post-holes, Structure 1, with two shallow pits to the west of it. Later Bronze Age activity was found closer to the crest of the ridge to the south, and comprised the slot for the timbers of a substantial palisade, Structure 2, which ran parallel to, and just north of, the crest of the ridge. Four pits which lay to the south of the palisade may have been contemporary with it, and contained similar pottery sherds. Structures 1 and 2 were probably parts of boundaries defining fields or enclosures. On the northern side of the palisade, scratches in the surface of the natural strata suggested ploughing along the line of the ridge (Plate 10).

There was no conclusive evidence for settlement or buildings, and the artefact and bone assemblage from the stratified deposits was small, but included pottery, worked flint and antler, and animal bone.

Structure 1

A north–south alignment of six post-holes cut into the surface of the Cornbrash was excavated in Trench E, in the north of the site (Fig. 5). These were no deeper than *c.* 0.20 m, and were larger progressively to the south. Filled with fine, red-brown clayey soil, one of the post-holes, 499, contained a single sherd of pottery, dated to the early Bronze Age.

Pits 701 and 708

West of Structure 1 were two shallow pits, 701 and 708, broadly oval in shape and up to 0.15 m deep. They had become infilled with red-brown clayey soil

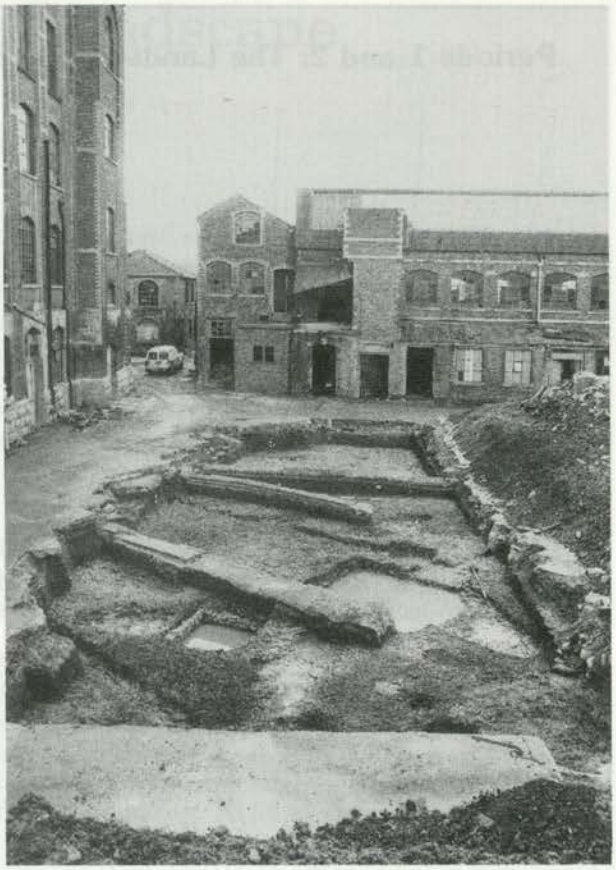

Plate 11 Trench E after excavation showing the surface of the Cornbrash and the depth of the overlying soils. View from the east. Scales 2 m

with small fragments of brash rubble, and were sealed beneath remnants of a later soil, layer 303 (Plate 11).

Structure 2

In Trench G, in the southern part of the site, a deep, square-cut slot, 2666, aligned east–west, parallel to the line of the ridge was excavated (Figs 5 and 6; Plate 10). It was *c.* 0.35 m wide at the top, but its lower part tapered in to a flat base *c.* 0.20 m wide, the level of which fell by *c.* 0.20 m from east to west. It was generally *c.* 0.65 m deep below the surface of the Cornbrash through which it had been dug. In places against the lower sides vertical fragments of brash suggested *in situ* packing stones which would have supported timber uprights (layer 2665), but generally the very stony layer which filled the lower part of the slot suggested a disturbed rather than an *in situ* packing. A band of stone-free, dark loam (layers 2668 and 2663) lay along the upper part of the feature and was probably a remnant of the soil which had sealed it following its disuse. The uppermost part of it was filled with a more stony loam, 2667.

There were two features which suggested that the line of Slot 2666 may subsequently have been

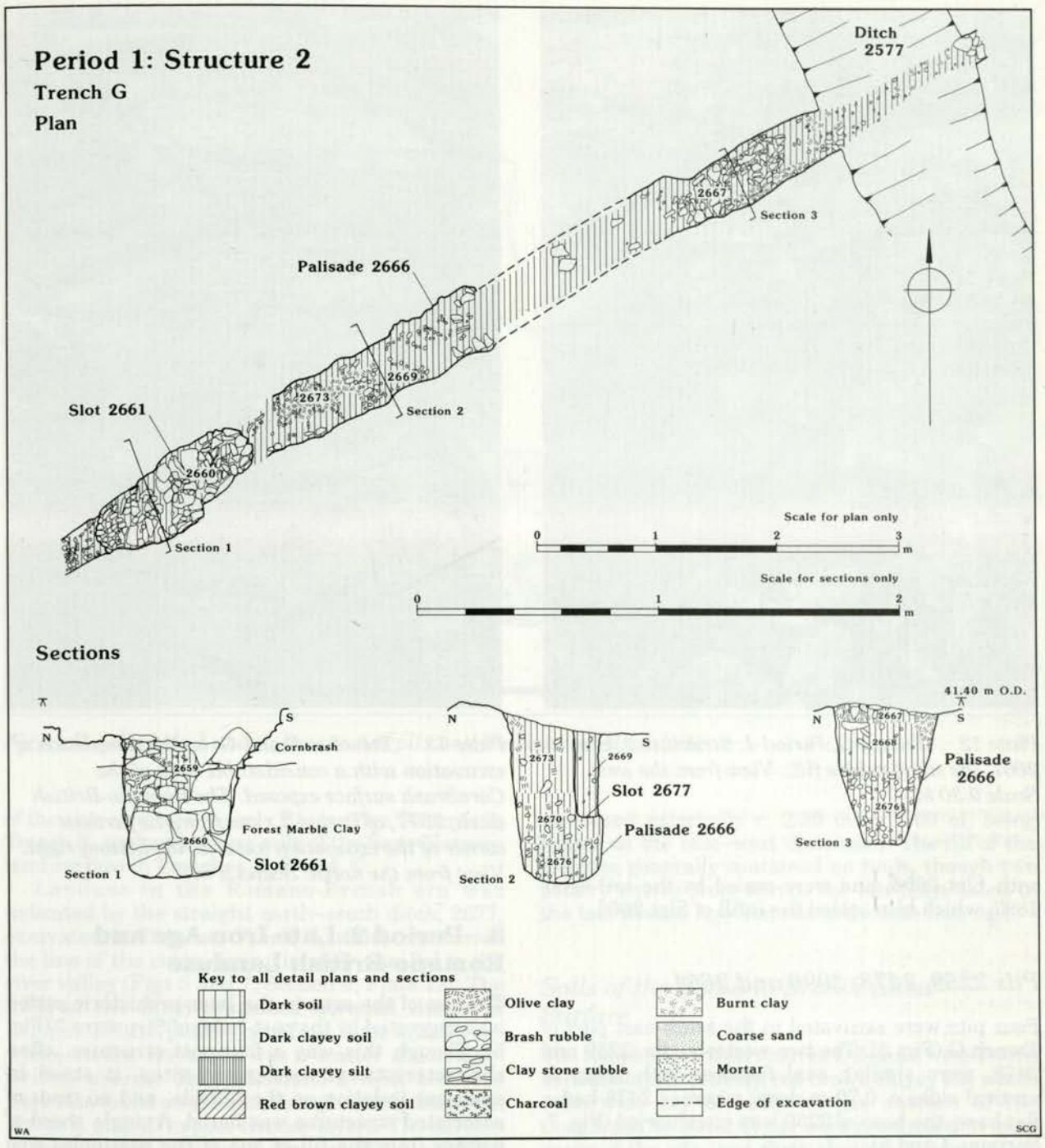

Figure 6 Period 1: Structure 2, the Bronze Age palisade

re-established. Along its southern side there were traces of a line of conjoined post positions, but it was only in the central part of the trench that excavation suggested a narrow slot, 2677, with a fill of dark, relatively stone-free loam 2669 (Fig. 6, Section 2), apparently later than the infilling of Slot 2666, described above. More clearly post-dating the infill of Slot 2666 was a wider, round-ended slot, 2661, excavated on the line of 2666 on the western side of the trench. This was *c.* 1.50 m long, and though a similar depth to 2666, it was wider, with vertical sides. Though it had been filled with substantial stone rubble (Fig. 6, Section 1, layer 2660; Plate 12) there was no suggestion that it had been used as packing around individual post positions.

In the surface of a fine pale clay which lay in thin patches over the Cornbrash bedrock to the north of the line of Slot 2666, faint scratches, possibly ploughmarks were observed (Plate 10). These were no deeper than *c.* 5 mm, and were visible as darker lines on the surface of the natural layers, varying between 0.20 m and 0.30 m apart. They ran parallel

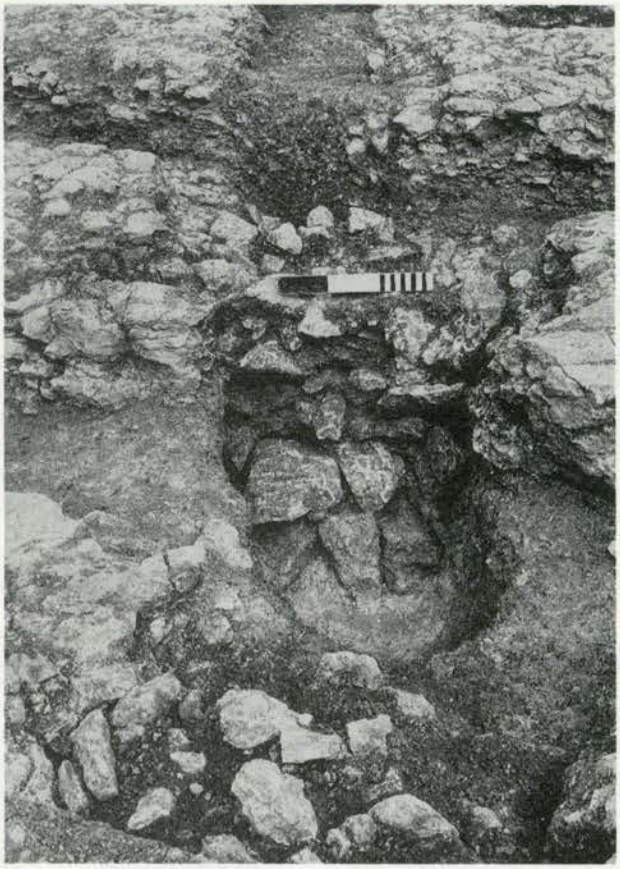

Plate 12 Trench G, Period 1: Structure 2, Slot 2661, the stone rubble fill.. View from the west. Scale 0.30 m

Plate 13 Trenches F and G: on the completion of excavation with a considerable area of the Cornbrash surface exposed. The Romano-British ditch, 2577, of Period 2 runs from the furthest corner of the excavation towards the bottom right. View from the north. Scales 2 m

with Slot 2666, and were sealed by the soil layer 1897, which also sealed the infill of Slot 2666.

Pits 2259, 2478, 2096 and 2651

Four pits were excavated in the south-east part of Trench G (Fig. 5). The two westerly pits, 2259 and 2478, were similar, oval features with steep or vertical sides *c.* 0.70 m deep; whereas 2478 had a flat base, the base of 2259 was more varied (Fig. 7, Sections 4 and 5).

The other pits, 2096 and 2651, were shallower, with extreme undercutting of the eastern sides in places. The fills were invariably clayey loams with a higher proportion of brash rubble towards the base of the pits. They may have been pairs of interlinked pits, each larger feature having a smaller, undercut pit to the east of it. The significance of such an arrangement is unclear, but it is possible that the pits held large posts, braced from the eastern side by a large, angled timber.

The pits contained some sherds of late Bronze Age/early Iron Age pottery, as well as flints and animal bone. The fill of 2259 contained a fragment of worked antler.

3. Period 2: Late Iron Age and Romano-British Landuse

The use of the area in the later prehistoric period was suggested by the post-holes of Structure 3 (Fig. 5). Though this was a four-post structure, often characteristic of settlement sites, it stood in apparent isolation on the hillside, and no trace of associated structures was found. A single sherd of pottery from the fill of one of the post-holes was probably late Iron Age, and it appears therefore to have been considerably later than the features of Period 1, described above.

Structure 3 was sealed beneath the western edge of a horizon of stony soil which covered most of the excavated area in Trenches F and G, and which lay directly over the bedrock except where it had sealed features of Period 1. This layer had, however, been cut through by the Romano-British Ditch 2577 and it was probably therefore the lower horizon of the soils which formed the land surface during the Romano-British period. As such, it was a development of the soils of the prehistoric land surface, and there were comparable layers in the northern part

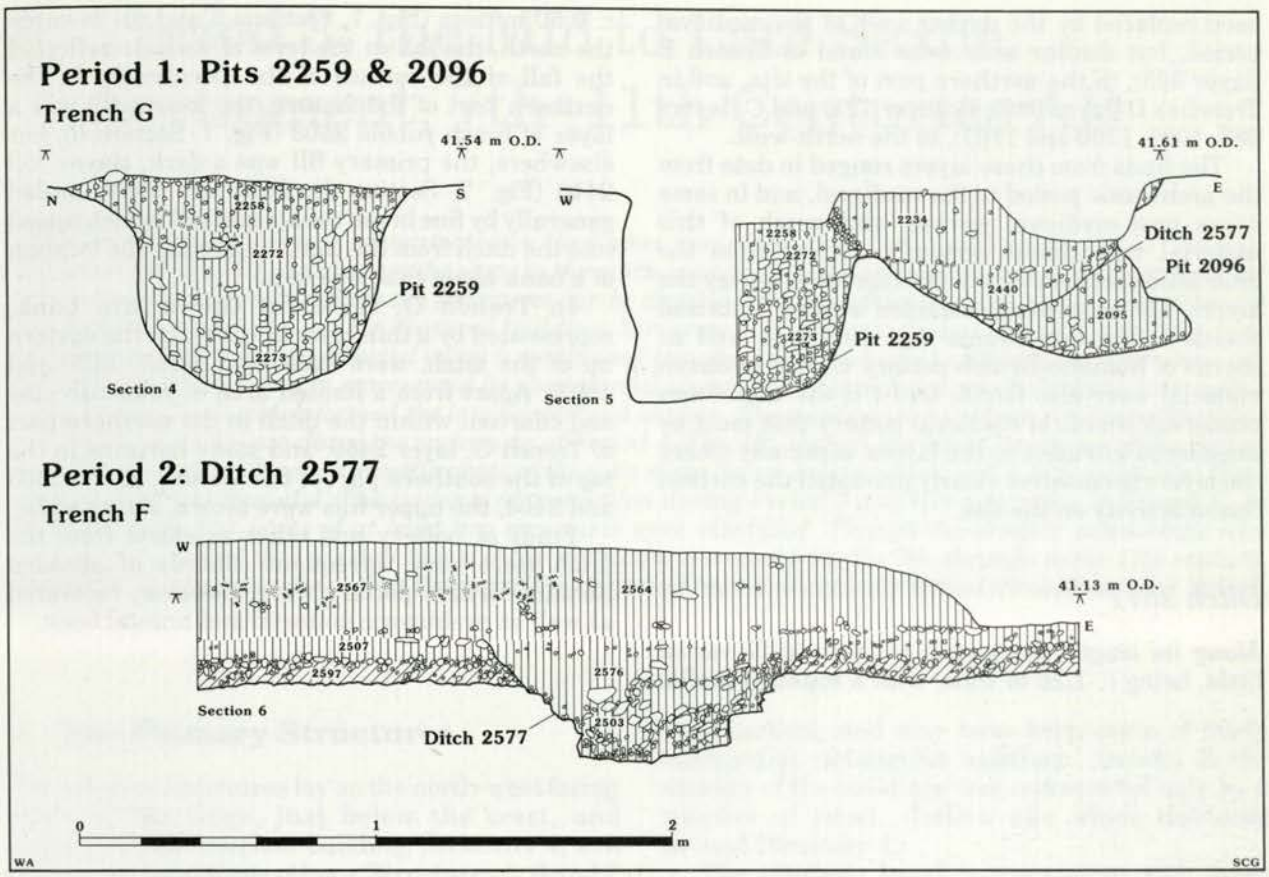

Figure 7 Periods 1 and 2: Bronze Age pits and the Romano-British ditch

of the site, sealing the early Bronze Age features in Trench E, and underlying soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface in Trenches D, B and C.

Landuse in the Romano-British era was indicated by the straight north–south ditch, 2577, excavated in Trenches F and G, which ran across the line of the ridge, approximately parallel to the river valley (Figs 5 and 7, Section 6; Plate 13). The infill of the ditch contained abraded sherds of Romano-British pottery, and from later layers elsewhere on the site there was a scatter of Romano-British sherds. Three Romano-British brooches were also found on the site, though widely scattered across it and all in post-Roman layers. The earliest of these, dated to the 1st century AD, could have been pre-Conquest (Chapter 7.2, 22 and Fig. 29, 1).

Structure 3

Located in the western part of Trench F (Fig. 5), the four component post-holes of Structure 3, 1274, 1266, 1255 and 1276, were sealed by the soil layer 878, which was on the the western edge of the soil horizon descibed below. The post-holes had been dug vertically into the Cornbrash bedrock to a depth of *c.* 0.40 m; they were sub-rectangular in plan and measured *c.* 0.35 m across, with a dark loam fill which contained brash slabs suggesting packing stones. The approximate square that they formed measured externally *c.* 2.30 m by 2.00 m, being longer on the east–west dimension. The fill of the features generally contained no finds, though two pottery sherds were found; one has been dated to the late Bronze Age and one to the late Iron Age.

Soils of the Romano-British Land Surface

The components of Structures 1, 2 and 3 were sealed beneath layers of stony, red-brown clayey soil which otherwise lay directly on the surface of the Cornbrash bedrock. These were recognised in most areas of the site, and their absence in some areas probably reflected the extent of later activity such as ploughing, rather than their original distribution. They were most widespread in Trench F, beneath the area of the later graveyard, and in the northern part of Trench G (layers 858, 879, 1218, 2514, 2596, 2597 and 2598, and layers 1870, 1897, 2086, 2090, 2230 and 2457 respectively). Between the Saxo-Norman graves of Period 4 in Trench F, the layer was up to 0.20 m thick, with in places a thin band of relatively stone-free, darker soil above it. These darker layers were also, however, early in the sequence, predating Ditch 2577 and Structure 4 respectively (Fig. 7, Section 6, layer 2507; Fig. 9, Section 7, layer 878). Beyond the graveyard to the west, these layers had apparently

been replaced by the darker soils of the medieval period, but similar soils were found in Trench E (layer 303), in the northern part of the site, and in Trenches D (layer 939), B (layer 121) and C (layers 983, 1005, 1100 and 1107), to the north-west.

The finds from these layers ranged in date from the prehistoric period to the medieval, and in some cases post-medieval period, and much of this material was almost certainly derived from the later land surfaces which often directly overlay the layers. The assemblage included worked flints and sherds of the late Bronze Age period as well as sherds of Romano-British pottery. Sherds of Saxon material were also found, but it is the sometimes numerous sherds of medieval pottery that must be considered intrusive to the layers, especially where the layers themselves clearly pre-dated the earliest Saxon activity on the site.

Ditch 2577

Along its length the profile of Ditch 2577 varied little, being *c.* 1.25 m wide, with a rounded profile *c.* 0.50 m deep (Fig. 7, Sections 5 and 6). Towards the north, the fall in the level of its base reflected the fall of the surface of the Cornbrash. In the northern part of the feature, the lowest fill was a layer of brash rubble 2503 (Fig. 7, Section 6), but elsewhere, the primary fill was a dark, clayey soil 2440 (Fig. 7, Section 5), 2475 and 2476, sealed generally by fine brash rubble and soil, which tipped into the ditch from the east, suggesting the location of a bank along that side of it.

In Trench G, traces of the *in situ* bank, represented by a thin layer of rubble on the eastern lip of the ditch, were excavated (1895, 1896 and 1891). Apart from a limited area of yellowish clay and charcoal within the ditch in the northern part of Trench G, layer 2469, and stony horizons in the top of the southern part of the feature, layers 2403 and 2404, the upper fills were brown, clayey soils.

Finds of pottery and other artefacts from the ditch were very infrequent. Sherds of abraded Romano-British pottery were, however, recovered as well as prehistoric material and animal bone.

3 Period 3: the Mid to Late Saxon Settlement, 7th–11th Centuries AD

The Period 3 settlement was concentrated on the higher part of the ridge, just to the north of the crest, and had extended some distance down the slope to the north-west (Fig. 8). The greatest concentration of features was in Trenches G and F, where the structures can be divided into three chronological groups. The primary structures consisted of a sunken-featured building, Structure 4, and parts of what had probably been long rectangular buildings, constructed using a continuous trench or slot in which the timbers had then been set. Subsequent structures were represented by clusters and alignments of post-holes, most of which were sealed by the layers of soil which formed the late Saxon land surface. These appear to have been simple rectangular structures, and they pre-dated the enclosures of Period 4 (Fig. 12), though the latest structures of the Period 3 settlement had cut through specific areas of the soils of the Saxon land surface, and it is possible that their use extended into Period 4. The evidence of occupation during Period 3 was less conclusive in Trench C, to the north-west, but parts of at least two structures were identified. Though the artefact assemblage was limited, it suggested that the date range of the settlement extended from the 7th through to the 11th century, though there was no evidence that the end of the ridge had been continuously settled throughout that period.

1. The Primary Structures

The primary structures lay on the north-west facing slope of the ridge, just below the crest, and comprised one complete building, Structure 4, and parts of at least three others, Structures 5, 6 and 7 (Figs 8 and 11). There was a consistency in the alignment of the structures which suggested that the buildings of the settlement had been laid out with regard to the north-east/south-west line of the ridge. It was, however, impossible, within the relatively limited area of the excavation, to recover the complete plan of the larger timber structures, or to suggest how the area of the settlement may have been laid out. Some of the small slots or gullies which were excavated, for example those of Structure 6, may have defined plots of land rather than the wall lines of buildings.

Structure 4 was a small, sub-rectangular building with a sunken floor and a central post-hole at either end (Plate 14). It was directly comparable with similar buildings known from the excavation of Saxon settlements elsewhere in England. It was the only excavated structure on the site within which the floor levels had remained intact; the Cornbrash bedrock in its base had been surfaced with clay, above which was a thin accumulation of dark soil. Debris within this included fragments of animal bone and pottery, as well as two spindle-whorls on the floor surface.

This was the only structure of this type identified on the site. Although Structure 7, to the south, may have enclosed an area of sunken floor, the slots which represented the wall lines had clearly held closely spaced vertical timbers, suggesting a more substantial building. Both Structures 5 and 7 may have been contemporary with Structure 4, lying to the east and south of it respectively. Both were represented by linear slots which appeared to have held timbers, and may have been parts of fairly substantial rectangular buildings. Activity in the vicinity of the buildings was represented only by a number of small, shallow pits which clustered around Structure 4.

The artefacts found in association with these structures were sparse. Sherds of pottery dated to the mid Saxon period (7th–9th centuries AD) were concentrated in Trench F and the northern part of Trench G, though the bulk of the assemblage came from the layers of dark soil which overlay the structural features, rather than the features themselves. The only clearly *in situ* Saxon pottery, comprising about one third of the total assemblage, came from the floor of Structure 4, the layers which infilled it, and two of the small pits which were adjacent to it. Comparable sherds were found in the slots of Structure 5, but those of Structures 6 and 7 contained no finds.

A spindle-whorl was found on the floor of Structure 4 (Fig. 40, 3) and it is probable that clay loomweights found in the graves which cut the site of the structure, and in the soils in its vicinity, may originally have come from it (Fig. 40, 1 and 2). Comparable loomweights and fragments were also found in the soils in Trench G to the south of Structure 7. Of the four iron knives recovered from the site which were of Saxon type, one came from the infill of Structure 4 (Fig. 30, 1), and one from layers in the the graveyard in its immediate vicinity (Fig. 30, 2).

Structure 4

This structure lay on the gently sloping ground just north of the crest of the ridge. It had been dug into the surface of the brash bedrock to a depth of *c.* 0.10 m, but since it had also cut the stony soil 878 and

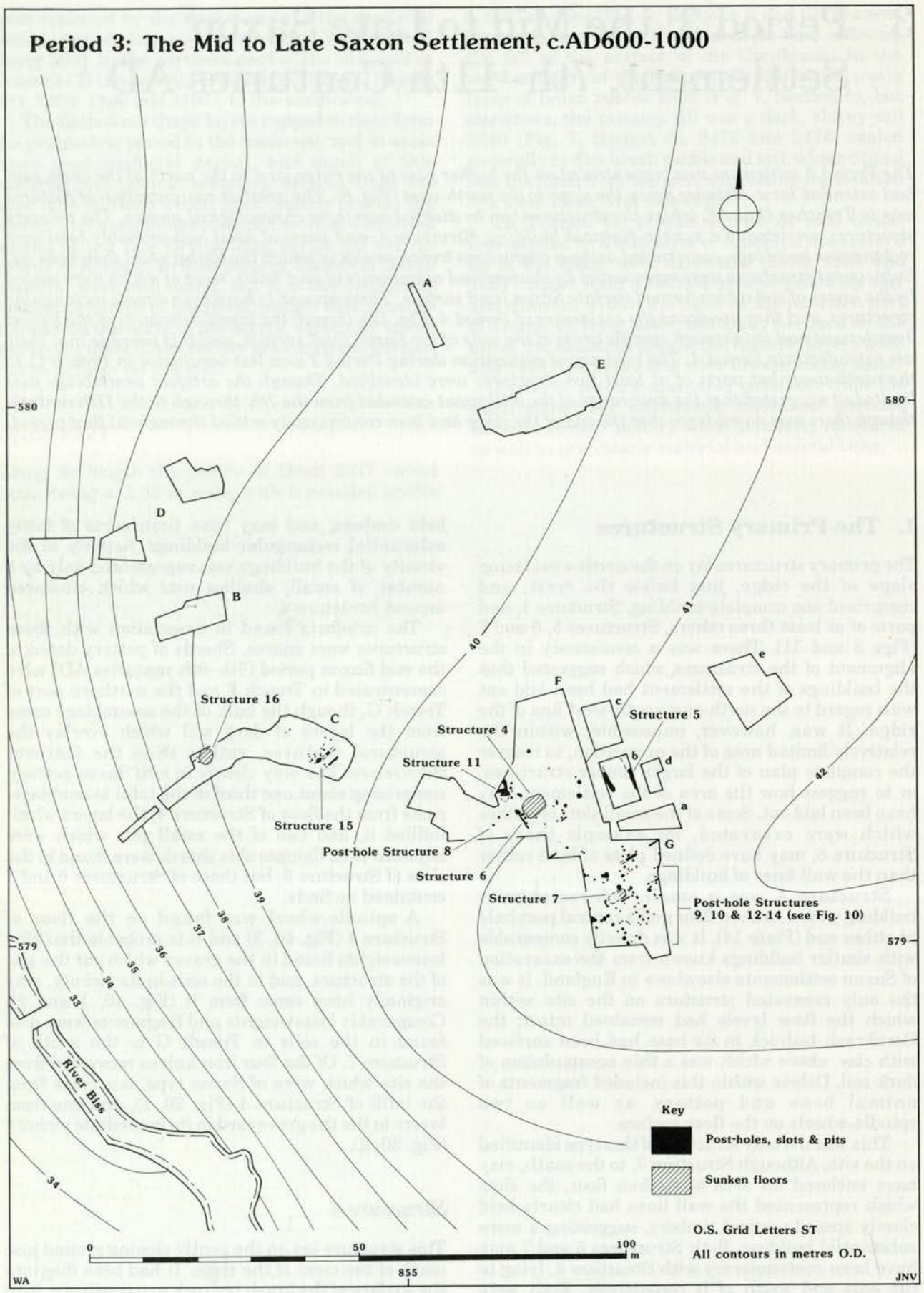

Figure 8 Period 3: the mid to late Saxon settlement, 7th–11th centuries AD

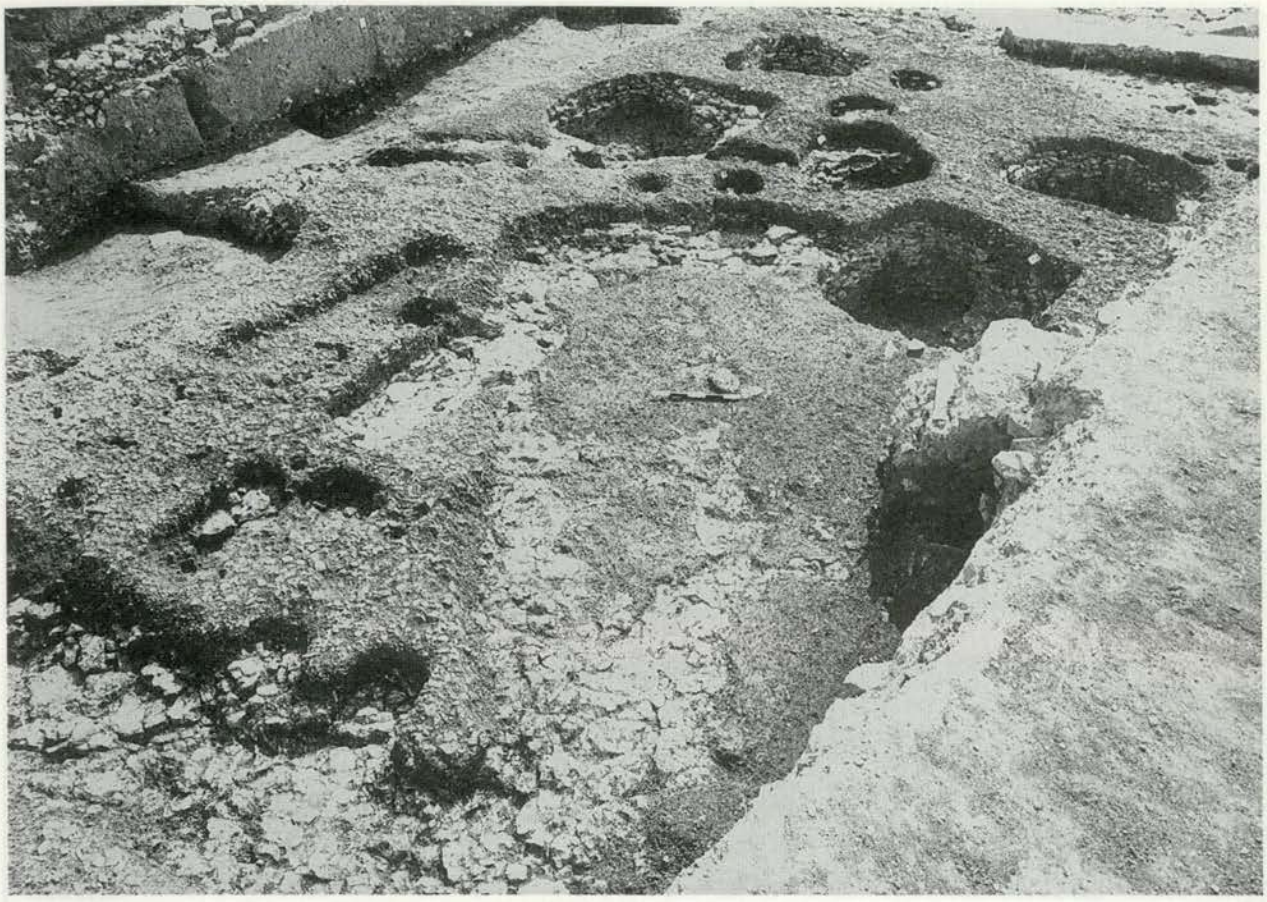

Plate 14 Trench F, Period 3: Structure 4, the sunken-featured building, showing the clay floor. View from the north-east. Scale 0.50 m

858 which overlay the brash, a minimum depth of *c.* 0.25 m below a contemporary ground surface can be suggested (Fig. 9).

The structure was sub-rectangular with its longer side aligned approximately east–west and measuring *c.* 4.50m.; its width narrowed from *c.* 3.40 m in the west, to *c.* 2.60 m in the east. Its sides were steep, but became much shallower against the Cornbrash, sloping to a fairly level floor area of *c.* 4 m by 2.50 m. Centrally located at each end of the structure was a post-hole; at the west end 1268 was *c.* 0.15 m deep below the internal floor level, at the east end 1264 was only *c.* 0.05 m. This difference in size, taken with the narrower east end of the structure, suggested a roof-line which sloped down to the east, and an entrance probably in the western end or one of the sides.

Within the structure, the surface of the Cornbrash had been partially covered with a thin layer of compact, pale clay (1222 and 2512), with a smooth though uneven surface (Plate 14). That this was a floor seemed probable, and embedded into its surface was a clay spindle-whorl (Fig. 40, 3). Overlying it, and covering most of the floor area was a layer of fine, dark clayey soil (1239), up to 0.03 m thick, which contained flecks of charcoal, small pot sherds and fragments of animal bone. It also contained a fragment of a spindle-whorl and part of the lower stone of a quern (Fig. 32, 5). A similar layer (1263) filled a shallow hollow, 1262, in the floor, adjacent to the post-hole at the structure's eastern end. Along the middle of the floor was a linear spread of brash rubble (1252), probably, but not certainly, post-dating the use of the structure (Plate 15).

Following its disuse, the site of the structure became infilled with layers of fine dark soil (875, 1234, 1265, 1269, 2510 and 2511). These layers contained pottery sherds of mid-Saxon type, as well as an iron knife of Saxon type (Fig. 30, 1).

Pits 2579, 2502, 2587, 2581 and 2522

A number of shallow, irregular pits were excavated in the vicinity of Structure 4 (Fig. 10, 2579, 2502, 2587, 2581) and another similar feature some distance to the north, 2522. Though not certainly contemporary with Structure 4, pits 2579 and 2502 contained sherds of pottery comparable to those from the structure. None of the features was more than 0.20 m deep; they were filled with brown

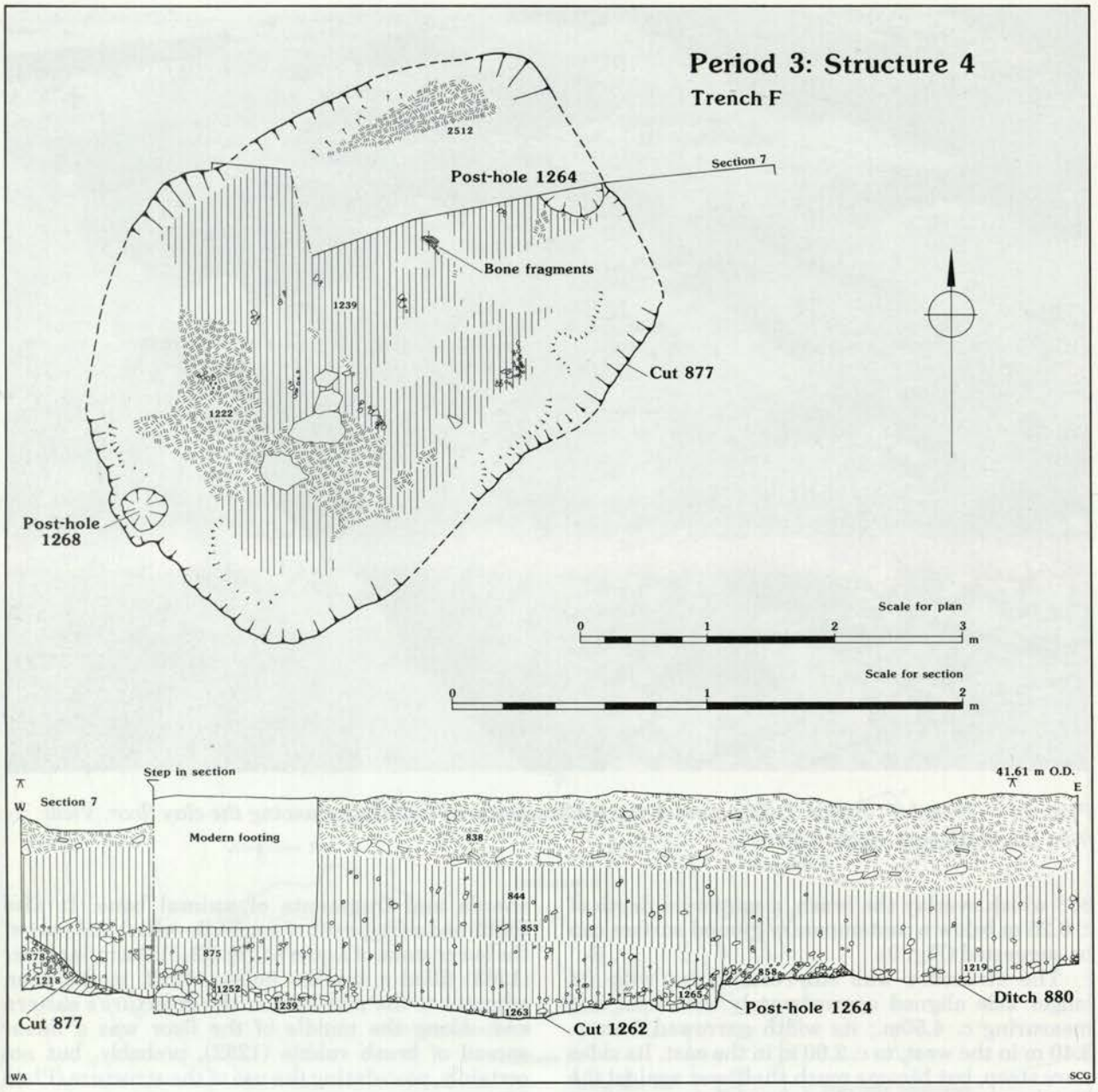

Figure 9 Period 3: Structure 4, the mid Saxon sunken-featured building

loams, with the exception of 2587 which also contained charcoal and fragments of burnt clay.

Structure 5

Two slots representing this structure were excavated in 1977 in Trench b (Figs 10 and 11). Slots b67/68 and b69/74 had been cut through the layer of stony soil b75 of Period 2, which directly overlay the Cornbrash, but had also apparently been cut through the stone-free soil above this, layer b64, which contained fragments of a bone comb and an 'iron harness piece' (*Mills, below, Chapter 7.2*), but no pottery. The slots were *c.* 0.07 m deep and *c.* 0.70 m wide. Within the latter, a band of 'very soft, dark, friable soil' was interpreted as the position of a rotted timber beam. Within b67/68, which seemed to have a distinct curve, there was a dark clayey soil infill above an irregular bottom. In general terms, their alignment
reflected that of Structure 4 and Structure 7 to the south. Their fill contained sherds of 'organic-tempered' pottery, comparable to sherds found in Structure 4 (*below, Chapter 7.6*).

Structure 6

In Trench F (Figs 10 and 11), three slots were excavated, 1236, 2509 and 2073; these were shallow and rounded, between 0.05 m and 0.10 m deep.

Plate 15 Trench F, Period 3: Structure 4, the sunken-featured building, showing the accumulations on the clay floor. View from the south-east. Scale 0.50 m

Their fill was a clean dark soil, and there was no evidence that the features had held timbers. They could as easily have been formed by the eaves-drip from a post-built building (perhaps Structure 8), or simply have represented property divisions within the settlement. Their line was reflected in the lines of Structure 7 to the south, and Structure 5 to the east.

Structure 7

In the central part of Trench G, there was evidence of a building which had been constructed using timber posts set into a trench. Two shallow trenches, 2455 and 2207 (Figs 10 and 11), were excavated, *c.* 0.05 m deep and *c.* 0.30 m wide; the base of 2207 revealed three circular cuts into the Cornbrash, suggesting post positions to some extent reflected by the brash rubble in the fill of the feature. The overall size and plan of the building remains unknown. To the east, the line of slot 2207 was continued by the slot 2435, but though it was similar in size, it lacked the traces of vertical posts, and was not certainly part of the same structure. A similar slot, 2464, lay parallel to 2435, and *c.* 6 m to the north of it. Both these slots were similar to those of Structure 6.

Within the angle formed by the two gullies was a sub-rectangular hollow 1888, *c.* 0.20 m deep, 1.50 m wide, and at least 1.50 m long east–west. There was an homogeneous infill of dark soil within it. Though considerably smaller than the floor area within Structure 4, it could have been an area of sunken floor within Structure 7.

2. The Post-hole Structures

Structures 8, 9, 10 and 12 were timber buildings represented by alignments and clusters of post-holes in Trenches F and G (Plates 14, 16, 24), and occupied the same area on the north-western slope of the ridge as the primary structures described above (Figs 8 and 11). Though it was difficult in some instances to recognise the plans of complete buildings, their general location and alignment was clear, and reflected that of the primary structures, in following the line of the ridge. The stratigraphic evidence that the post-holes were later than Structures 4–7, was limited; post-holes of Structure 8 had cut the fill of Structure 4 and post-holes of Structure 10 (which may have been a direct rebuild of Structure 9) had cut the infilled slot of Structure 7 (Fig. 11). The absence of comparable post-holes in Trench b to the

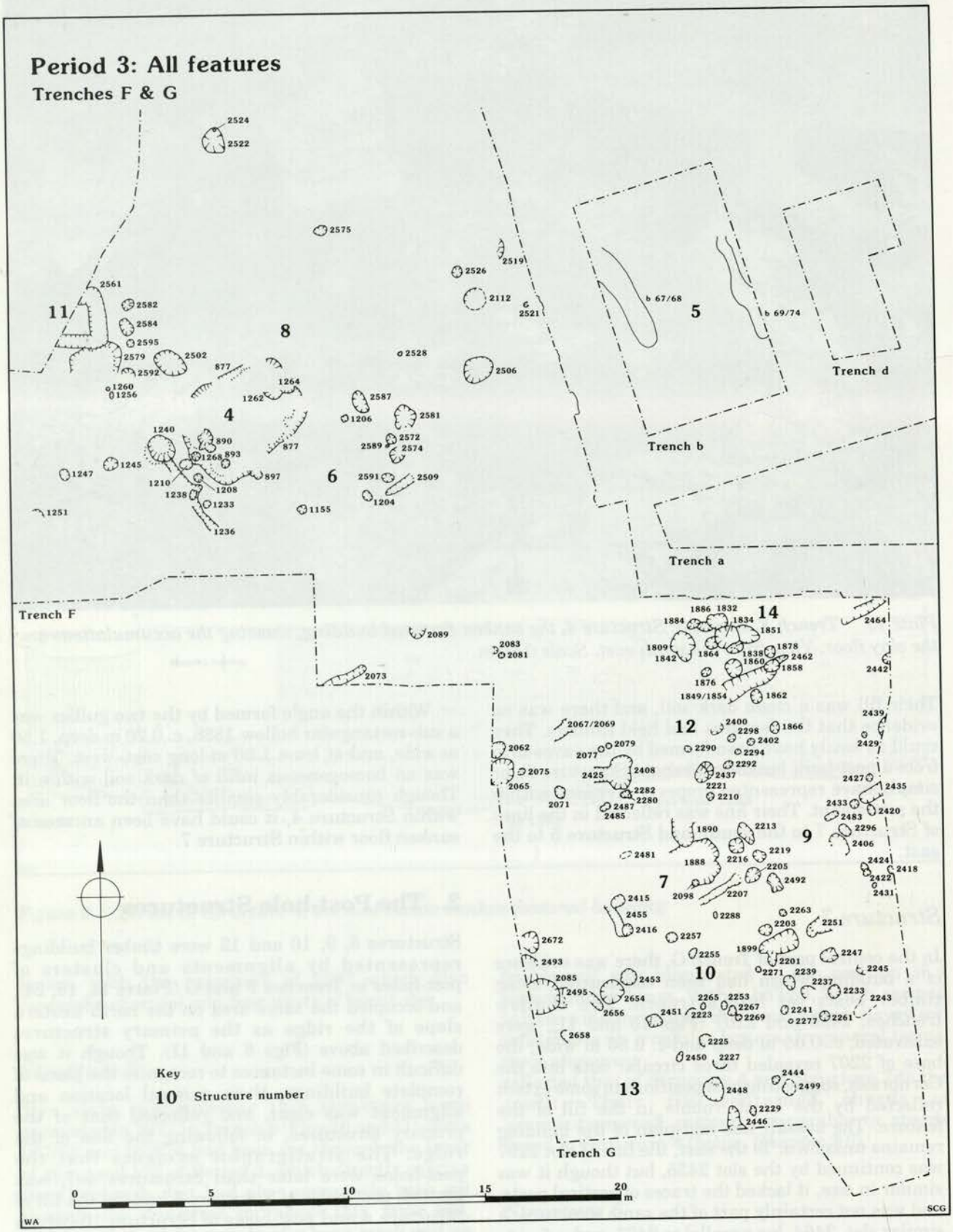

Figure 10 Period 3: features of the mid to late Saxon settlement in Trenches F and G

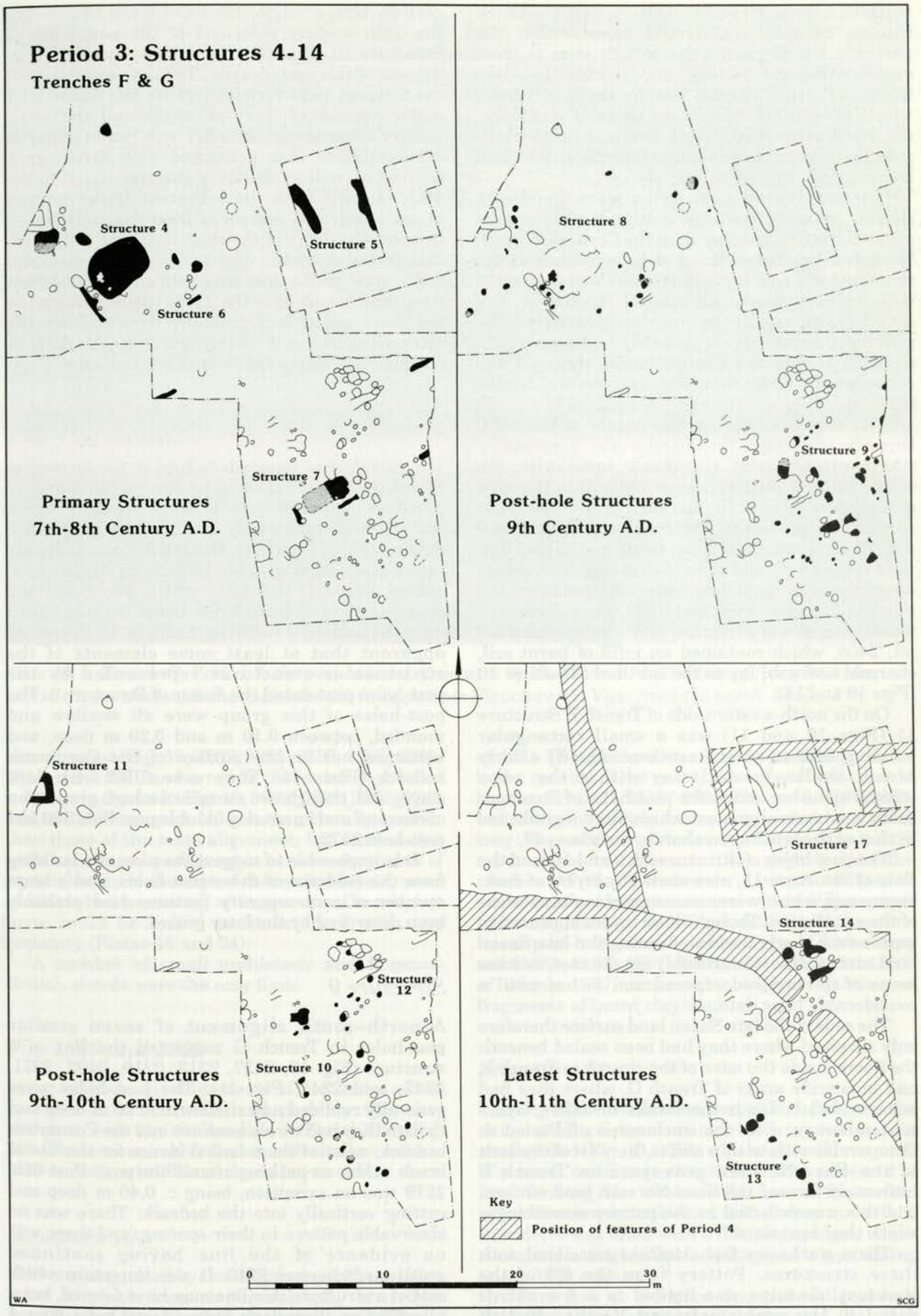

Figure 11 Period 3: the structures of the mid to late Saxon settlement. An interpretation of the excavated features of Figure 10 as a sequence of structures

north-east, beneath and adjacent to the late Saxon church, Structure 17, could suggest that the post-hole buildings and the church were to some extent contemporary (Fig. 11), blurring the edges between Periods 3 and 4. Besides those post-holes which have been grouped as parts of structures described below, there were also post-holes which stood in relative isolation, and have been described below simply as post-holes.

The excavated post-holes were generally shallow, rounded features, cutting the stony soils above the bedrock rather than the Cornbrash itself. Though a number of the post-holes contained the remnants of a rubble packing, there was nothing to indicate particularly substantial structures. The lack of any regularity in the spacing of the post-holes could suggest that they had simply held uprights around which a substantial clay wall was constructed, rather than the uprights of a timber framing.

The only evidence for the nature of the infill between or around the timbers was a spread of fragments of burnt clay/daub, some with the impressions of wattles, above and within the area of Structures 9 and 10. The plan of the post-holes suggests simple rectangular buildings; Structures 9 and 10 were most complete, being *c.* 4 m and 5 m wide respectively and at least 10 m long. There were no surviving areas of floor within the buildings, but two shallow pits, 1890 and 1899, were excavated within the area of Structure 9. A similarly shallow pit, 2408, which contained an infill of burnt soil, charcoal and ash, lay to the north of Structure 10 (Figs 10 and 11).

On the north-western side of Trench F, Structure 11 (Figs 10 and 11) was a small rectangular building, defined on at least three sides by a fairly broad, shallow slot. It lay within the same stratigraphic horizon as the post-holes of Structure 8, but was on an alignment which was only reflected in that of the late Saxon church, Structure 17.

The post-holes of Structures 8, 9 and 10, and the slots of Structure 11, were sealed by layers of dark, clayey soil, which were encountered in many areas of the excavation. Though these layers appeared to represent a single horizon, forming the late Saxon land surface, this was probably not the case, as some areas of it remained exposed and in use until a considerably later date.

The soils of the late Saxon land surface therefore only survived where they had been sealed beneath the floors inside the nave of the church in Trench b, and in specific areas of Trench G, where they had been sealed beneath the banks or other layers contemporary with the enclosures of Period 4. Comparable soils within and to the west of the area of the Saxo-Norman graveyard in Trench F ultimately formed the Saxo-Norman land surface, and this was reflected in the pottery assemblages which they contained.

There were very few artefacts associated with these structures. Pottery from the fill of the structural features was limited to a few sherds dated to the prehistoric and Romano-British periods, with a single sherd which can be dated to the 10th century from one of the post-holes of Structure 10. This was the earliest occurrence on the site of this pottery type. The soils which sealed the features and which formed the late Saxon land surface contained more artefacts, and the small pottery assemblages included both Saxon material comparable to that associated with Structure 4 (above), as well as sherds of the type dated to the 10th century. With the exception of the pottery group which was recovered from the soils sealed beneath the floors of the church, all the soil layers also included sherds of a more general medieval fabric type, with a date range which extended from the 10th century into the 12th. Other material in the soils which had probably derived from the settlement included metalwork (Fig. 29. 4, 7, 9) fragments of loomweights, and worked bone.

Structure 8

The existence of timber buildings in the vicinity of Structure 4 was indicated by the concentration of post-holes found in those areas of Trench F which had not been extensively disturbed by later grave digging (Figs 10 and 11). Though the post-holes lay in the same stratigraphic horizon as Structure 4, sealed beneath the soils which pre-dated the graveyard and its boundaries, two of them had been dug through its infilling, and it is therefore apparent that at least some elements of the structure or structures represented by the post-holes post-dated the disuse of Structure 4. The post-holes of this group were all shallow and rounded, between 0.10 m and 0.20 m deep, and bottomed out on the surface of the Cornbrash bedrock (Plate 14). They were filled with dark clayey soil, though two contained a high proportion of charcoal and burnt clay (double post-hole 890 and post-hole 2572).

It is impossible to suggest the plan of a building from the evidence of these post-holes, and a large number of contemporary features had probably been destroyed by the later graves.

Structure 9

A north–south alignment of seven similar post-holes in Trench G suggested the line of a structure (Fig. 10, 2437, 2213, 2219, 2492, 2251, 2247, and 2243; Fig. 11). The post-holes were generally rounded and shallow, *c.* 0.20 m deep and though they had rarely been cut into the Cornbrash bedrock, most of them had evidence for the use of brash rubble as packing around the post. Post-hole 2219 was an exception, being *c.* 0.40 m deep and cutting vertically into the bedrock. There was no observable pattern in their spacing, and there was no evidence of the line having continued southwards beyond 2243. It was uncertain which side of a structure this line may have formed, but a row of seven, irregularly grouped post-holes lay *c.* 4

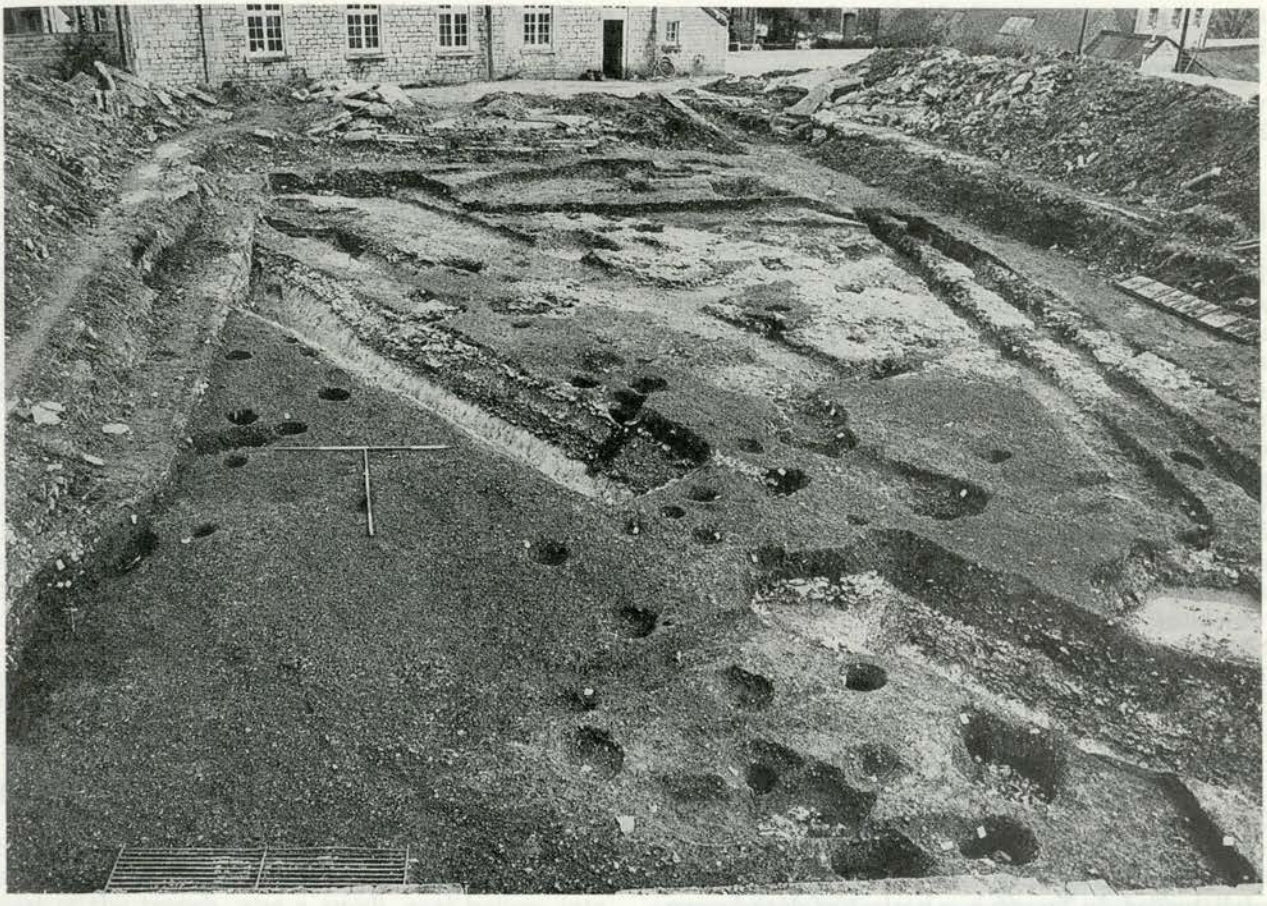

Plate 16 Trench G, Period 3: the post-holes of structures 9, 10, 12, and 14. The line of five post-holes, lower left, parallel with the enclosure ditch, represents Structure 12. View from the north. Scales 2 m

m to the west (Fig. 10, 2257, 2255, 2253, 2267, 2269, 2444 and 2499), and a row of five small post-holes *c.* 2.50 m to the west (Fig. 10, 2098, 2288, 2271, 2241 and 2277). These post-holes were generally smaller than those of the main alignment, but were sealed within the same stratigraphic horizon. A number of post-holes lay to the east of these alignments, some of which had a packing of fragments of brash, but none could be linked to Structure 9 with any certainty (Plates 16 and 24).

A number of small prehistoric and Romano-British sherds were the only finds.

Pits 1899 and 1890

Lying between the alignments of post-holes which comprised Structure 9, and possibly therefore within it, were two similar pits, 1899 and 1890 (Fig. 10). These were oval features with shallow sides *c.* 0.20 m deep, with fills of clean, brown soil.

Structure 10

This was suggested by two alignments of post-holes, some of which were stratigraphically later than specific elements of both Structures 7 and 9 (Figs 10 and 11). Though there was little apparent regularity in the spacing of the posts, pairs of post-holes could be seen in 2415/2216, 2416/2205 and 2227/2233, indicating a building *c.* 5 m wide and at least 12 m long. None of the post-holes was deeper than *c.* 0.30 m, in some instances cutting slightly into the surface of the Cornbrash; several contained evidence of packing stones, and others fragments of burnt clay/daub in their final infilling. The eastern line of post-holes was sealed by layers of dark clayey soil (1881, 1892, 1867, 1868, 1821, 1869 and 1852) of which 1867 contained a high proportion of fragments of burnt clay/daub.

Structure 11

This lay in the north-west part of Trench F, and the excavated evidence comprised a continuous, shallow slot (Fig. 10, 2561) which formed three sides of a small rectilinear structure, *c.* 2 m wide and at least 2 m long. The slot had a flat base on the surface of the Cornbrash, and was *c.* 0.15 m deep and *c.* 0.50 m wide; it was filled with a fine clayey loam, which contained a single sherd of pottery of a type dating to the 10th century.

There was no evidence that the slot had held timbers, either vertical or horizontal, but this

seemed its most probable function. In dimensions, the slot was most comparable to those excavated in 1977, in Trench b (Structure 5), but in alignment, it was only comparable with the stone church, Structure 17 (Fig. 11).

Post-holes 1240, 2506 and 2112

In Trench F, parts of three post-holes were excavated which suggested a fairly substantial structure. Of these, 2506 and 2112 lay beneath the area of the later graveyard, and were in consequence very truncated, but had been at least 0.80 m in diameter, and cut into the bedrock to a depth of *c.* 0.35 m (Fig. 10). Post-hole 1240 lay west of the graveyard and was complete; it measured *c.* 0.90 m in diameter, and had been dug vertically into the bedrock to a depth of *c.* 0.50 m. The use of brash rubble as packing around the post was apparent in all three features, but the structure or structures of which they had been a part cannot be reconstructed. Sherds of medieval pottery were found in the fill of Post-hole 1240.

Soils of the Late Saxon Land Surface

These were excavated in four areas of the site, where they had been sealed by layers of the Saxo-Norman period, and therefore preserved undisturbed. In Trench b, a horizon of dark brown, clayey soil, b40 and b51, sealed the infilled slots of Structure 5, and formed a layer up to 0.25 m thick, pre-dating the construction of Structure 17, the stone church of Period 4. It contained 'domestic and industrial debris', including pottery, worked bone, clay loomweights and a large amount of slag and other metalworking residues.

In Trench G, a comparable dark, clayey soil was excavated, split into three areas by the enclosure ditches of Period 4. Each area would have been sealed by the banks contemporary with these ditches. In the north west of Trench G, within the curve of Ditch 1554 (Fig. 11) the soils were *c.* 0.20 m thick (2275, 2274, 2458, 2456 and 2060). To the east, lying south of Ditch 2057, the depth of soil was similar (1872, 1873, 1871 and 1843).

The third area lay to the south, along the western side of Ditch 1597, where the excavated soils formed a horizon *c.* 0.30 m thick. Within this was a band of fragments of burnt clay with impressions of wattles 1867, which lay above the site of Structures 9 and 10, and above the primary soil layers 1881 and 1892. It was sealed by the later soils 1868, 1821, 1869 and 1852. The soil layers contained a generally small collection of artefacts, but included a complete clay loomweight (Fig. 40, 1), as well as a fragment. Pottery from the layer included medieval fabrics with the date range 10th–12th century, but was dominated by the specifically 10th-century material.

Soils of the Saxo-Norman Land Surface

In Trench F, Structures 4, 6, 8 and 11 of the Period 3 settlement were sealed by layers of soil comparable to those described above. These soils were not, however, sealed until the construction of the castle banks of Period 5, or in some areas later, and though stratigraphically they pre-dated the ditches and graves of Period 4, they had formed the land surface of that period, within and west of the graveyard.

Within the area of the graveyard there were layers of dark clayey soil up to 0.30 m thick, which survived in a number of areas between the later graves (layers 2564, 2118, 2517, 1697, 1714 and 1715). A concentration of charcoal, 2567, lay within the horizon in one area (Fig. 7, Section 6), and between the graves along the western edge of the burial ground there was a shallow irregular hollow, 2566, which was filled with soil layers that were reddened and burnt (1656, 1684, 2563, 2565 and 2566).

Within the soils that were excavated to the west of the graveyard (2553, 2550 and 876), there was also an area of burnt soils (2552, 2556, 2554, 2555 and 1212), possibly comparable. Though within and immediately west of the graveyard, the Saxo-Norman soil layers overlay the stonier soils of Period 2, in the western part of Trench F there was a single layer of very uniform dark clayey soil, 817, lying directly on the surface of the Cornbrash bedrock.

3. The Latest Structures

Both in Trench F and Trench G, post-holes were excavated which had cut through the soils of the Late Saxon and Saxo-Norman land surface, and therefore represented the latest structures in the sequence of settlement of Period 3. There is no reason why the use of these structures, if not indeed their construction, could not have been contemporary with the earliest events of Period 4, and some overlap of the structures of the two periods seems probable.

Parts of three structures were recognised, Structures 12, 13 and 14 (Fig. 11 and Plate 16), and these followed the alignment taken by the earlier buildings. Though two sides of Structure 13 were found within the excavated area, it was not possible to recognise any complete buildings, but the post-holes were comparable to those of the earlier structures, and were probably parts of simple rectangular structures.

Pottery sherds from the filling of the post-holes of Structures 13 and 14 demonstrated, however, their relative lateness in the sequence. To the east of Structure 13, there was a surface of stone rubble and gravel, which may have been contemporary with it. Though this pre-dated the establishment of Enclosure 2 (Period 4), it is not impossible that Structure 13 had continued in use within Enclosure

2, close to the back of the bank along the west side of Ditch 1597 (Figs 11 and 12).

That other structures had existed besides those described below was indicated by two substantial post-holes cutting into the Cornbrash bedrock; in Trench F, 1240, and in Trench G, 2085 (Fig. 10). As isolated features, no idea of the structures of which they were a part can be formed, but they demonstrated at least the likely existence of large timber buildings within Enclosure 2 (*below, Period 4 and Fig. 12*).

Structure 12

The component post-holes of this structure lay in the north-east part of Trench G, and formed a row of five evenly-spaced post-holes (Fig. 10, 1884, 1864, 1838, 1862 and 1866; Fig 11), reflecting the alignment of the earlier structures on this part of the site. They were generally rounded, *c.* 0.25 m deep, and had not been dug into the Cornbrash (Plate 16). No parallel line of post-holes was found, and the plan of the structure of which they had formed a part is unknown.

Pits 2408 and 2425

Some distance to the west of Structure 12, and similarly cut through the late Saxon soils in this part of the trench, was a small, oval hollow, into which a gully ran from the west (2408 and 2425). Neither was deeper than 0.25 m, and the infilling of both features included concentrations of charcoal and burnt loam.

Structure 13

The component post-holes of this structure were unsealed in the south-west part of Trench G, but suggested the corner of a timber building (Fig. 10, 2658, 2656, 2654, 2453, 2451, 2450, 2448 and 2446; Fig. 11). The features were generally rounded and up to 0.20 m deep, and in some instances had been slightly cut into the surface of the Cornbrash; there was limited evidence of a stone packing within two of them. The four post-holes at the corner of the structure contained a small group of pottery sherds of a fabric with a date range of 10th–12th century.

Surface East of Structure 13

In the southern part of Trench G a layer of soil was excavated which contained many small fragments of brash (1840) and in places flint gravel (1826). This formed a distinct surface above the soils of the late Saxon land surface, described above, but was itself cut by the line of Ditch 1597 (Enclosure 2: Period 4). It lay specifically to the east of Structure 13, and on its surface there was a scatter of pottery and animal bone.

Structure 14

A group of features in the north-eastern part of Trench G post-dated the post-hole alignment of Structure 12. These were generally wide post-holes, with evidence of packing within them, but had not been cut to any great depth into the Cornbrash (Fig. 10, 1809, 1832, 1851 and 1834; Fig. 11). They lay specifically to the north of a gully, 1849/1854, *c.* 0.70 m wide and *c.* 0.15 m deep. There was no evidence to suggest the nature or extent of the structure of which these features were a part. A small number of sherds of medieval pottery was found in their fill.

Post-holes 2062, 2065, 2493, 2495 and 2672

These post-holes lay close to the western side of Trench G (Fig. 10). They were generally *c.* 0.70 m in diameter, and all had been cut down into the brash bedrock to a depth of *c.* 0.25 m. The nature of the structure of which they may have been a part is unknown.

4. Structures on the North-West Edge of the Settlement

In Trench C, on the north-west slope of the ridge, a concentration of features was found, sealed beneath the soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface of Period 4, and comparable with the features of Period 3 excavated in Trenches F and G (Fig. 8). The nature of the building or buildings represented by the features of Structure 15 cannot be reconstructed. Some distance further to the west, on the edge of the steeper scarp down to the valley of the River Biss, lay a small oval hollow, Structure 16, which may have been a small shelter, with a sunken floor partly dug into the slope. The presence of these features alone suggested that the area of the Period 3 settlement had extended down the hill slope towards the river, and this was supported by the occurrence in this part of the excavation of an iron knife (Fig. 30, 4) and part of a loomweight, both artefacts characteristic of the Period 3 settlement.

Structure 15

Post-holes and slots excavated in the eastern end of Trench C (Fig. 8) may represent parts of more than one structure, but no obvious plan could be recognised within the relatively small area of excavation. The post-holes were shallow, rounded features which had been dug into the soils above the Cornbrash. The slots were broad and shallow, *c.* 0.45 m wide and *c.* 0.15 m deep. One, 999, contained an iron knife of Saxon type (Fig. 30, 4) and a possible iron heckle tooth (Fig. 30, 9). The slots suggested a general north-east to south-west alignment for the structures.

Structure 16

This was excavated in the western part of Trench C (Plate 28) and had been sited at the top of the scarp down into the river valley. It comprised an oval-shaped hollow 1031, dug into the slope, which measured *c.* 2.50 m by *c.* 3 m (Fig. 8). The sides sloped down evenly towards its centre which was *c.* 0.50 m deep. Above the lowest infill of clayey soil was a compact surface of small brash fragments, 977, with a shallow, dished profile. Five sherds of pottery, dated 10th–12th century, animal bone fragments and a fragment of a clay loomweight, were recovered from this surface. The hollow was infilled with dark, clayey soils, sealed by the general soil layers which formed the Saxo-Norman land surface of this part of the site. Immediately adjacent to the western edge of the feature, on its downhill side, was a square post-hole, 565, into the top of which had been set a roughly squared slab of Oolitic Limestone 566.

4 Period 4: the Saxo-Norman Manorial Settlement, *c.* AD 950–1139

Perhaps during the later stages of the Period 3 settlement a church was constructed surrounded by a graveyard defined by a ditch. Both church and graveyard continued in use throughout Period 4, during which other changes in the settlement took place which suggested a manorial function for the area. The earlier of two enclosures, Enclosure 2, was established to the south-west of the church, on the site of the Period 3 settlement and occupied a dominant position on the end of the ridge (Fig. 12). It was defined by a substantial ditch and bank, with one entrance in its north-eastern side, adjacent to the church, and may have contained substantial buildings. The complex formed by Enclosure 2, the buildings within it, and the stone-built church to the north-east of it, overlooked from its position on the crest of the ridge a contemporary settlement to the north-west, which lay along the top of the scarp overlooking the valley of the River Biss. Though the area excavated was limited, there was evidence of timber buildings and other features, but the overall extent of the Period 4 settlement on the northern slope of the ridge is unknown. Many of its structures were extant until the construction of the castle defences of Period 5, c. AD 1139, and were probably demolished to make way for it.

1. The Church and Graveyard

The stone church, Structure 17, lay just to the north of the crest, on the north-west facing slope of the ridge (Fig. 12 and Plate 8). The building was aligned fairly precisely east–west, and though it overlay the traces of an earlier structure (Fig. 11, Structure 5), there was no evidence that this was an earlier church, and there was probably a considerable period of time between the use of the two structures. The footings of the church showed that it had comprised a rectangular nave, with external dimensions of *c.* 12 m by *c.* 7 m, with a chancel to the east of it which was *c.* 6 m wide, but of uncertain length; the shape of the east end of the chancel is unknown. There was a continuous footing between the nave and the chancel, and there was no evidence to suggest that the rubble footings of the building represented more than a single period of construction. Externally, the walls were of dressed, Oolitic Limestone blocks, and cut blocks from the demolition of the church, found in the churchyard, suggested that finely-cut stone had been used for architectural details such as windows and doors. The nearest known source of limestone of this type is at Westwood, *c.* 4.5 km west of Trowbridge, though there is no evidence of its exploitation at this time.

The church lay within the southern half of Enclosure 1, defined by a shallow ditch and probably an internal bank. Only the western side of this was excavated (Plate 17), but its other sides can be inferred, suggesting an approximately square enclosure. Though the enclosure of the area for a graveyard could have been contemporary with the construction of the church, this cannot be demonstrated.

The construction of the stone church was only related stratigraphically to the layers of soil sealed beneath its floors, and those immediately west of it, which were cut through by its foundation trenches. A *terminus post quem* for its construction was provided by the 10th-century pottery from these layers, and a construction date as early as the mid 10th century can be suggested for the church, so that it was probably contemporary with the latest structures of Period 3, and spanned the transition from Period 3 to Period 4. Whether the area of the graveyard was enclosed from the outset could not be established, but in the context of the extant buildings of the settlement, this seems probable (Fig. 11). It was clear, however, that the enclosed graveyard pre-dated the establishment of the manorial enclosure, Enclosure 2, as the latter slightly encroached upon its south-west corner (Plate 18). The presence of the church and graveyard may indeed have determined the line of the north-eastern side of Enclosure 2, and the location of a gateway on that side.

All the burials of Period 4 lay within the boundaries of Enclosure 1. None was directly related to the structure of the church, and there was no evidence therefore that any pre-dated its construction. The majority of the excavated graves lay to the south, west and north-west of the church, and it is not known whether the density of graves recorded in these areas was similar in the other parts of the graveyard. All the graves were aligned east–west, and in the western part of the graveyard seemed to have taken their alignment as much from the western boundary ditch as from the church. There was evidence of three rows of graves to the west of the church, though the later burials of Period 4 appeared to have formed new rows of graves, inserted between the earlier rows, but inevitably disturbing parts of the earlier burials (Figs 13 and 15). In the excavated area, a total of 156 individual inhumations have been assigned to

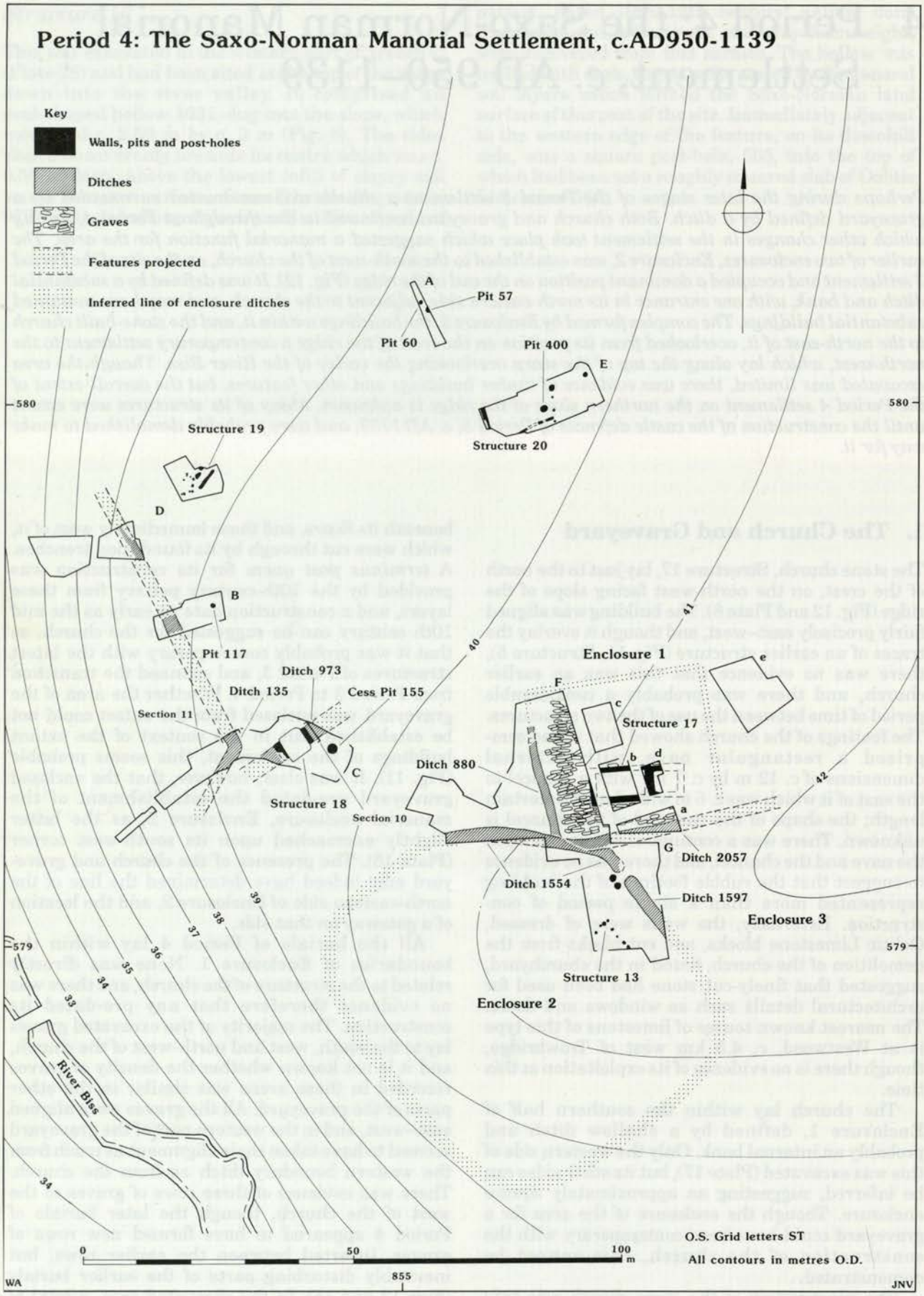

Figure 12 Period 4: the Saxo-Norman manorial settlement, c. AD 950–1139

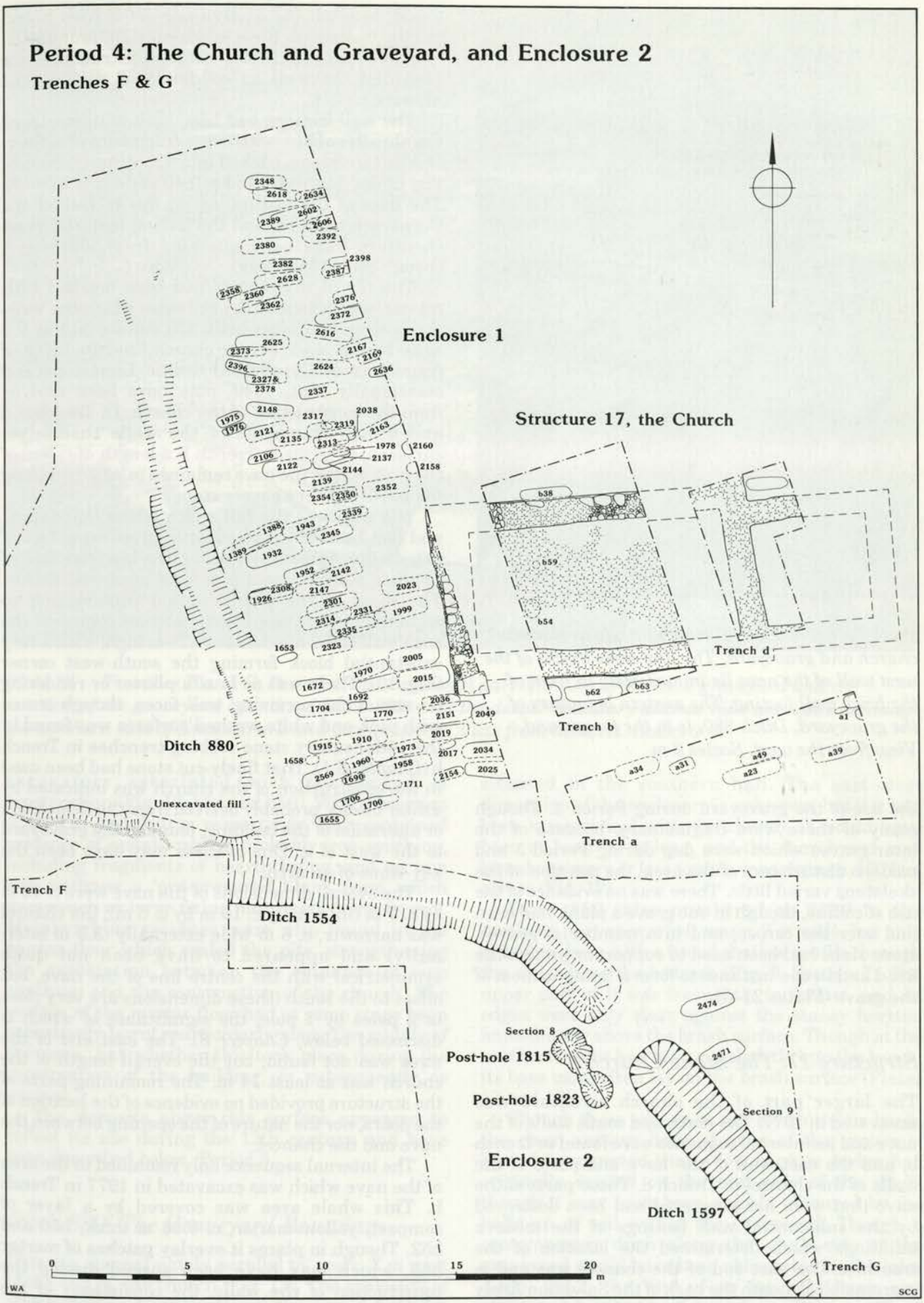

Figure 13 *Period 4: the church and graveyard of the Saxo-Norman settlement, and Enclosure 2*

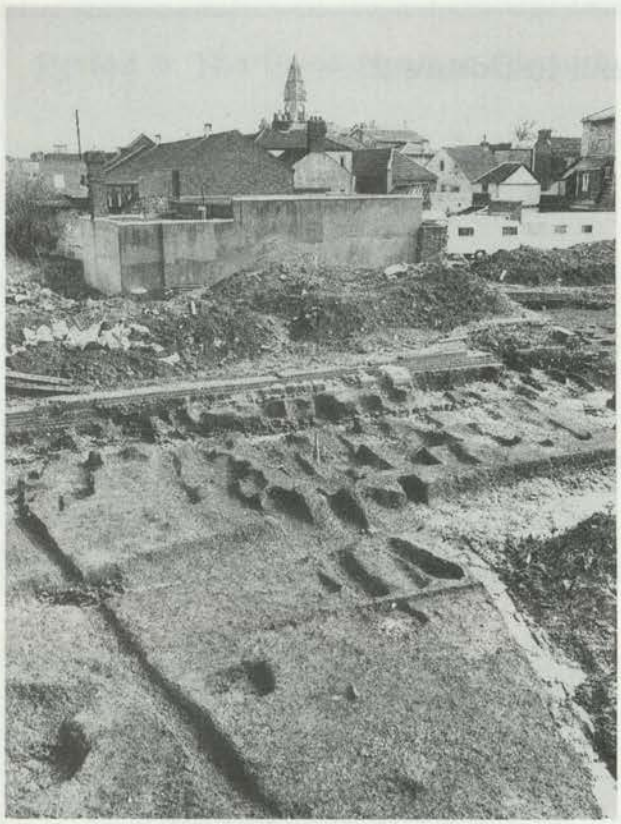

Plate 17 Trench F, Period 4: the Saxo-Norman church and graveyard. The limestone blocks of the west wall of the nave lie immediately in front of the brick wall footing. The western boundary of the graveyard, Ditch 880, is in the foreground. View from the west. Scales 2 m

the use of the graveyard during Period 4. Though many of these were fragmentary, because of the later graves which were dug during Period 5 and modern disturbance of the area, the position of the skeletons varied little. There was no evidence of the use of coffins, though in one grave a plank had been laid over the corpse, and in a number of graves, stone slabs had been used to support or protect the head and in one instance to form a lining to most of the grave (Plates 21–3).

Structure 17: The Stone Church

The larger part of the church structure was excavated in 1977. The north and south walls of the nave and its internal sequence were found in Trench b, and the east wall of the nave and parts of the walls of the chancel in Trench d. Those parts of the nave that were not excavated had been destroyed by the substantial wall footings of the modern buildings which determined the location of the trenches. The east end of the chancel was and is inaccessible beneath the back of the Salvation Army building on Castle Street. In 1988 it was only the outer face of the west wall of the church that was found, beneath the eastern edge of Trench F and partly destroyed by a modern wall foundation (Plates 17 and 18). Details of its construction were recorded, as well as evidence of subsequent alterations to it.

The wall footings had been built of unmortared Cornbrash rubble, with some fragments of a finer, Oolitic Limestone, packed into a continuous trench, just under 1 m wide, and *c.* 0.40 m deep (Plate 19). The base of the footing lay on the surface of the Cornbrash bedrock, and the footing material must therefore have been quarried from elsewhere, though probably nearby.

The top of the footing had been levelled with mortar, which formed the bed upon which the walls themselves had been built. On the surface of the soils to the west of the church, a thin layer of fragments of Cornbrash, Oolitic Limestone and occasionally flint, 1649, may have been derived from the construction of the church. In Trenches d and b only fragments of the walls themselves survived, whereas in Trench F a length of *c.* 5 m of the west wall of the nave remained *in situ*, including the south-western corner stone.

The wall was the full width of the foundation, and had been constructed with an external face of cut, Oolitic Limestone blocks, an internal face of rougher masonry, and a core of mortared rubble. The faces of the blocks varied from square to rectangular, and the *in situ* bottom course of the west wall of the nave was *c.* 0.26 m high, with a very substantial block forming the south-west corner (Fig. 13). There was no *in situ* plaster or rendering on any of the surviving wall faces, though stucco with pink and white washed surfaces was found in the 16th-century stone robbing trenches in Trench b (*Chapter 6.1*). That finely-cut stone had been used in the construction of the church was indicated by ashlar blocks, probably derived from the demolition or alteration of the building, found in the graveyard to the west of it. One of these may have been the key-stone of an arch.

The overall dimensions of the nave were *c.* 12 m by *c.* 7 m (internally *c.* 10 m by *c.* 5 m); the chancel was narrower, *c.* 6 m wide externally (3.3 m internally) and appeared to have been not quite symmetrical with the centre line of the nave, but offset to the south (these dimensions are very close to 2 poles by 1 pole, the significance of which is discussed below, *Chapter 8*). The east end of the nave was not found, but the overall length of the church was at least 14 m. The remaining parts of the structure provided no evidence of the location of the doors, nor the nature of the opening between the nave and the chancel.

The internal sequence only remained in the area of the nave which was excavated in 1977 in Trench b. This whole area was covered by a layer of compact, yellow mortar, *c.* 0.06 m thick, b50 and b52. Though in places it overlay patches of mortar b53, which may have been spread during the construction of the walls, the consistency of the layer suggested that it was a deliberately laid floor. This floor sealed two small pits, which the

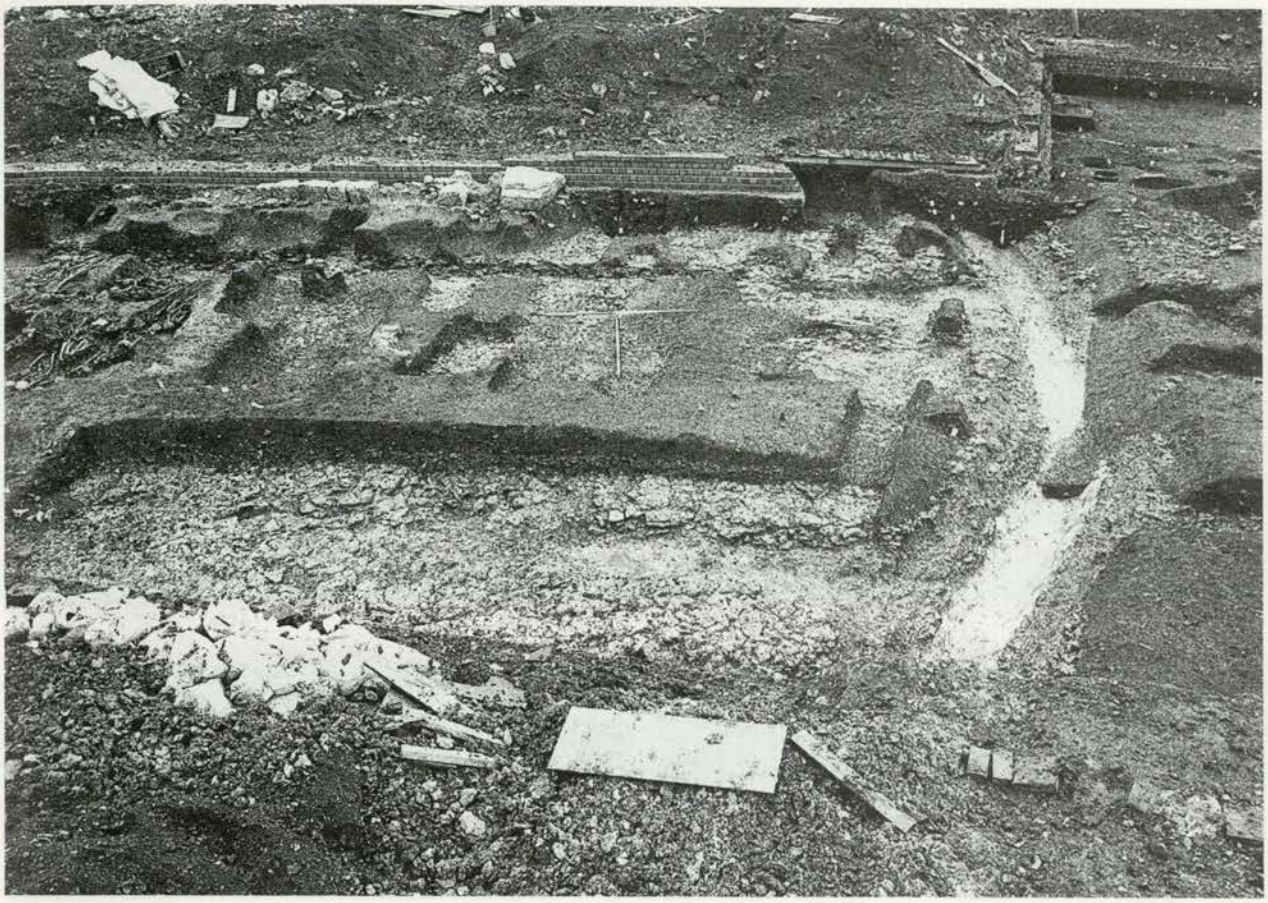

Plate 18 Trenches F and G, Period 4: the south-west part of the Saxo-Norman graveyard and the junction of the graveyard boundary, Ditch 880, with the deeper boundary ditches 1554 and 2057 defining the northern side of Enclosures 2 and 3 respectively. View from the west. Scales 2 m

excavators associated with the period of construction (Fig. 13, b54 and b59). With diameters of 0.50 m and 0.30 m respectively, both contained evidence of metalworking, probably iron-smithing, including fragments of hearth lining, and an iron bar, perhaps a 'pre-prepared blank from which items such as large fixing nails were being forged'. Metalworking residues were also found in the mortar floor which sealed the pits, strengthening the association between the evidence of iron smithing and the construction of the church. The surface of the mortar floor had at some stage been extensively burnt, particularly along the middle of the nave, but whether this took place during the construction of the building, or subsequently, is unclear.

The deposits above this surface appeared to reflect its use during the 12th century, and have been described below, Period 5.

Ditch 880: The Graveyard Boundary

This ran approximately parallel to, and *c.* 7 m west of the end of, the church (Fig. 13). The enclosure of which it was a part (Enclosure 1) measured at least 27 m north–south, and within it, the church was situated in the southern half. The east–west dimension of the enclosure is unknown, but if it had been symmetrical with the church, it would have been at least 27 m long, and the churchyard may have been more or less square, measuring *c.* 100 feet across (Fig. 12).

Ditch 880 (also numbered as 2559 in the northern part excavated) was *c.* 2 m wide, but only *c.* 0.60 m deep, with a broad shallow profile through the soils above the bedrock (Fig. 9, Section 7). The upper part of it was frequently indistinct, and its edges were only clear against the stoney horizon immediately above the brash surface. Though at the southern end it had been cut slightly into the brash, its base more often lay on the brash surface (Plates 17 and 18).

Though there was no *in situ* evidence of a bank, the clear western limit of most of the graves of Period 4 suggested that a low bank or hedge had originally existed on the east side of the ditch, though it may have been quickly obscured by the build-up of soil within the graveyard. Though a contemporary ditch along the south side of the graveyard would have been obliterated by the later ditch, 2057, the line of an internal bank was suggested by the consistent line of the southern limit of the earlier Period 4 graves (Figs 13 and 15).

Plate 19 Trench F, Period 4: Structure 17, the west wall of the Saxo-Norman church. View from the north. Scale 0.30 m

Enclosure 1: The Graveyard

With the church lying symmetrically in the southern half, the graveyard defined by its shallow ditch could have been approximately square, measuring *c.* 27 m across, an area of *c.* 729 square metres. Because *c.* 112 square metres of this area was occupied by the church itself, and some may have been taken up by a bank within the ditch, there was an area of *c.* 600 square metres available for burials, over half of which lay to the north of the church. Within the graveyard, an area of *c.* 210 square metres was excavated, just over one third of its total area, and comprised the area to the west of the church, and parts of the area to the south of it.

Within the area of the graveyard, the dark soils of Period 3 and the band of stony soil of Period 2 which they overlay formed a layer *c.* 0.50 m thick above the surface of the brash bedrock, and it was into this rather than into the brash that the majority of the graves of Period 4 had been dug (Plate 17). These layers remained only as pinnacles between groups of intercut graves, and were generally thicker along the western edge of the graveyard, up to *c.* 0.65 m, which may have reflected the line of upcast from the boundary ditch, 880.

After the removal of the clay layers of Period 5 with which the southern part of the graveyard had been covered, it was difficult to define the shapes of individual graves on the surface of the exposed soils. The only areas of intercutting graves which could be defined on the surface were those which had been cut through the layer of clay that formed the back of the Inner Bailey Bank of the 12th-century castle (Period 5), and which therefore contained fragments of the clay within their fill. The earlier graves, of Period 4, could frequently only be defined clearly against the layers of stony soil which directly overlay the Cornbrash. Above some areas of the graveyard therefore, general layers of soil, which comprised undifferentiated grave fills, were removed and in practice, a grave cut was often identified most clearly where it had cut through an earlier grave and the skeleton or layers of disarticulated bone which it had contained. It was therefore only by the simultaneous exposure of the skeletons in an intercutting group of graves that a sequence could be seen and recorded with any confidence (Plate 20). The problem of the allocation of objects to specific graves was overcome by a generous use of context numbers (layers of undifferentiated grave fill over large areas were removed only in the early stages of the excavation), and by the three-dimensional recording of specific objects. All deposits of the disarticulated human bone which formed the overwhelming bulk of the

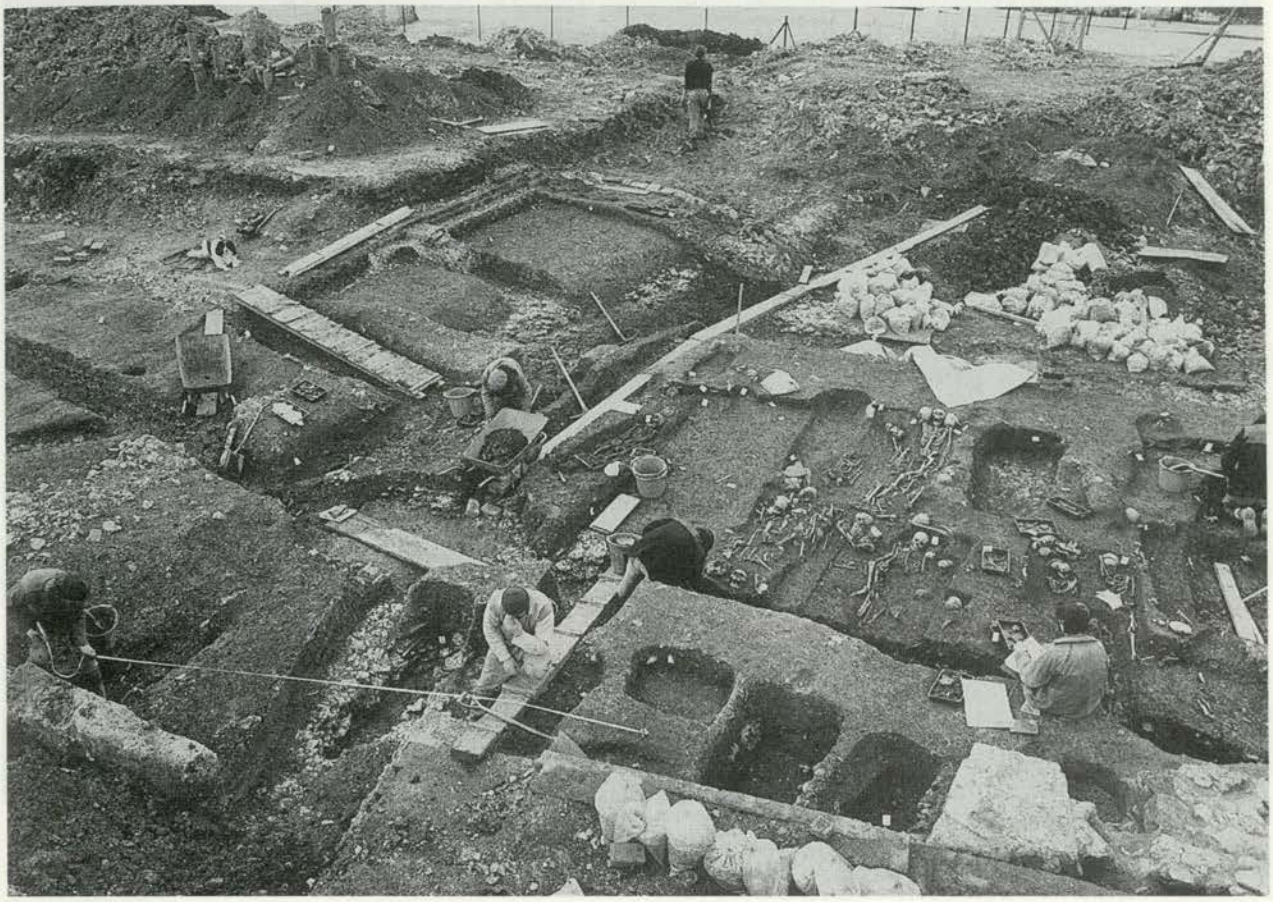

Plate 20 Trenches F and G, Period 4: the south-west part of the Saxo-Norman graveyard during excavation. View from the east

material from the graveyard were drawn in detail, as were the articulated skeletons (Fig. 24) and despite the complex intercutting sequence of graves in many parts of the graveyard, the detailed sequence of burials was clear.

Within Period 4, the graves have been divided into two groups, primary and secondary, which have been illustrated in Figures 13 and 15. To the west and south-west of the church, the primary graves formed three rows between the west end of the church and Ditch 880. Though the spacing of the graves was far from regular, and there was a number of graves which did not obviously conform (Fig. 13, 2331, 1910 and 1960), these rows could be seen continuing to the southern edge of the graveyard. To some extent, the area directly west of the church was less crowded than the areas both to the south-west and the north-west, a trait also apparent in the later graveyard (Fig. 23), though the significance of this is unclear. To the north, the three rows continued, though towards the northern limit of the excavations, only the two more westerly rows lay within the trench, as the rows appeared to have curved towards the east, perhaps reflecting the line of the graveyard boundary.

In general, those graves described as secondary (Fig. 15) conformed to the existing rows, except in the north-west, where a row appears to have been laid out between, and of necessity overlapping, the two primary rows. Though the existence of the rows implied some sort of order in the way that the graveyard was used, there was no evidence to show how the rows may have developed, nor which of them may have been the earlier. That the position of the graves was marked is possible, and in some cases the superimposition of one burial upon another suggested the deliberate reuse of a grave (Fig. 13, Graves 2308 and 1926). It was also possible that children and infants were buried in the top of existing graves, as in Graves 1978, 2137 and 2144 (Fig. 13).

The Graves

In the excavated area of the graveyard, a total of 289 graves was excavated, of which 162 can be assigned to Period 4, with two other burials beyond the graveyard boundaries to the south. There were no obvious differences between the burial practices of Period 4 and those of Period 5, and though in some instances a trait may appear more commonly in one period than the other, the types of inhumation which are described below were never exclusive to one period, and the following description applies equally to Periods 4 and 5.

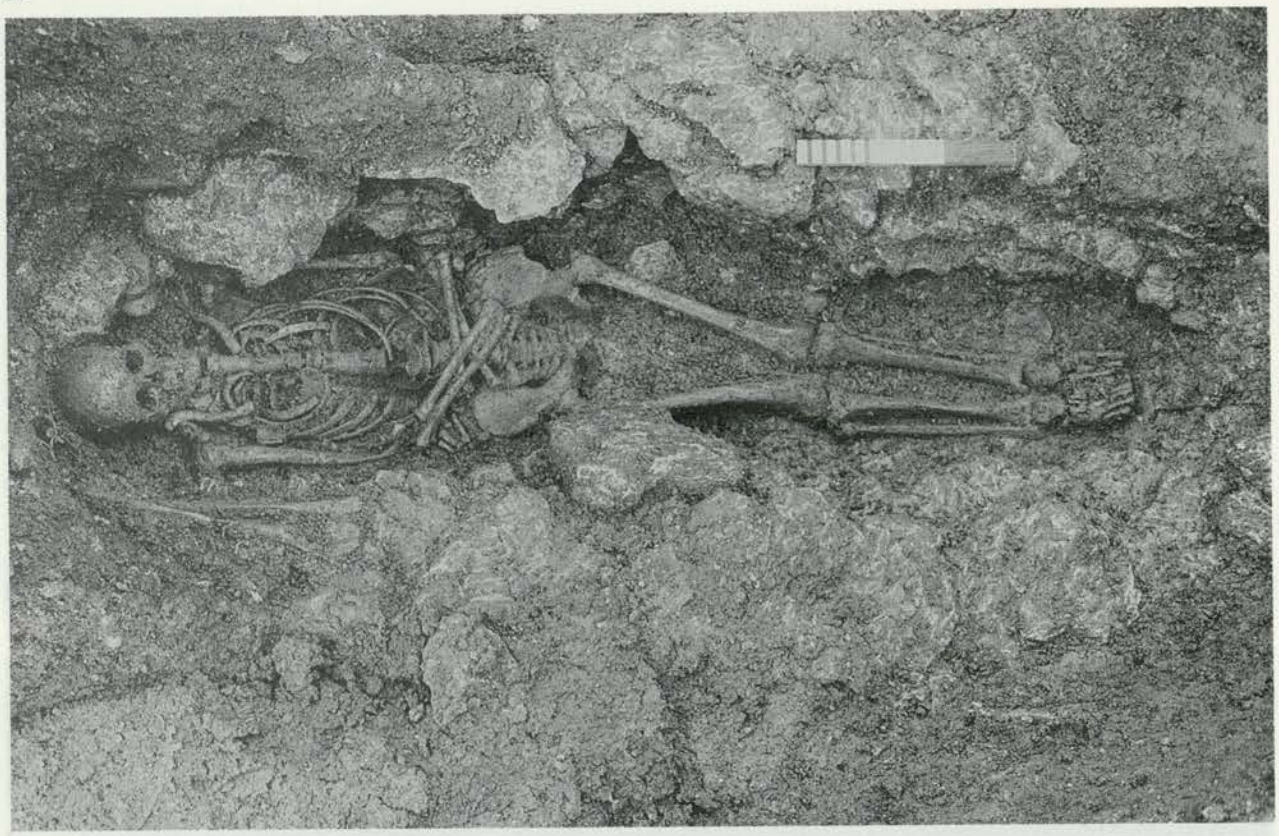

Plate 21 Trench F, Period 5: Grave 1609, cutting beneath the surface of the Cornbrash. View from the south. Scale 0.30 m

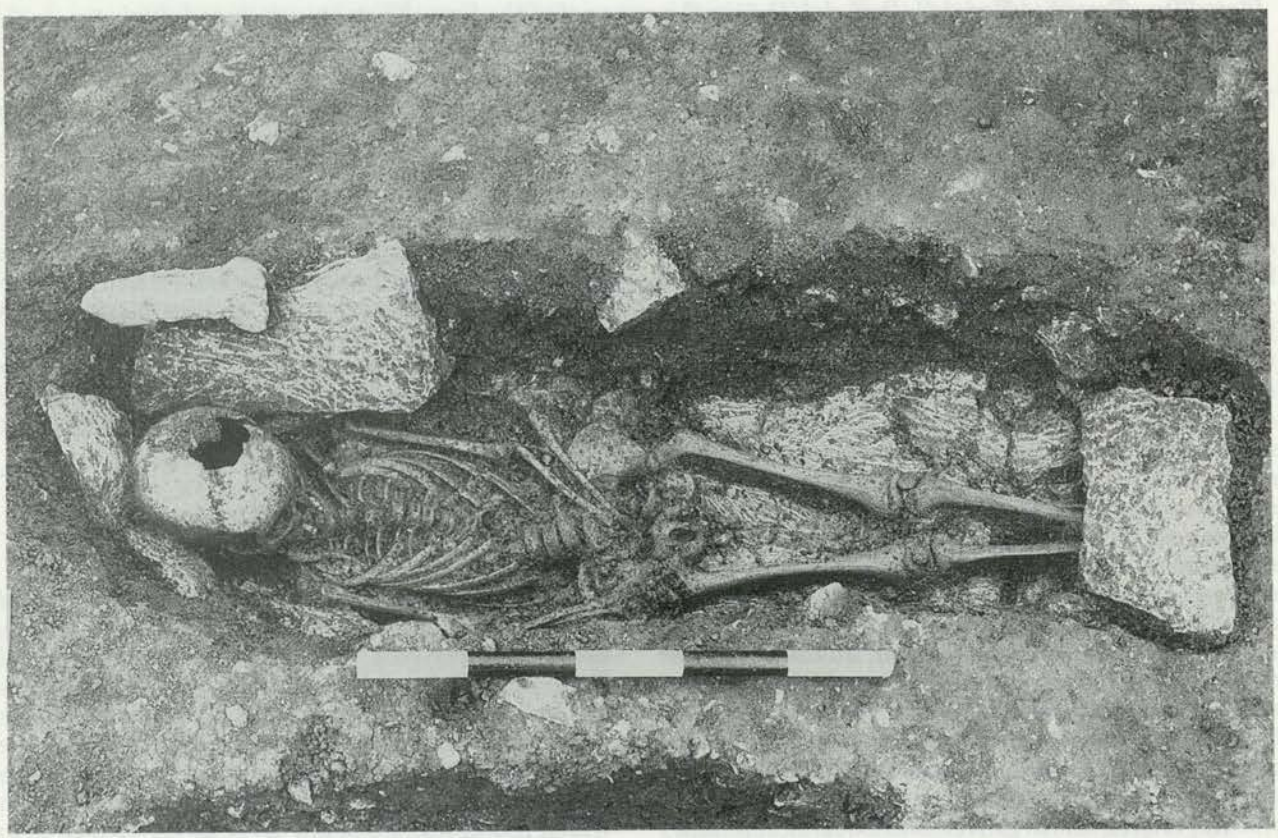

Plate 22 Trench F, Period 5: Grave 1221, showing the use of stone slabs within the grave. View from the south. Scale 0.50 m

Plate 23 Trench F, Period 4: Grave 2625, showing the stone rubble that was packed around the corpse before a wooden plank was laid over it. View from the south. Scale 0.30 m

The graves were generally shallow, and only in a small number of instances had they been cut into the bedrock (Plate 21, Grave 1609). Their sides were vertical, but the ends and the bases were often rounded rather than square cut, and an average depth below the contemporary ground surface was *c.* 0.45 m. Any cut through the Cornbrash was generally narrow, and tightly fitted around the corpse, and in one instance, Grave 2049 at the south-west corner of the church (Fig. 13), the Cornbrash had been cut away to fit the body very precisely, with a narrow, squared niche for the head, as if in imitation of a stone coffin.

Within the graves there was no evidence for the use of wooden coffins, though there were three instances of the partial lining of the sides of graves with slabs of stone; laminated mudstone derived from the Forest Marble Clays in Grave 1952 (Figs 13 and 24; Plate 38), and Cornbrash fragments in the later graves 1360 and 1221 (Fig. 23 and Plate 22). Far more frequent, occurring in thirty-three graves, was the use of stone slabs beneath or at the sides of the skull. Though this occurred in a number of early graves, there were considerably more instances of it in the later graveyard.

Of the twenty-four graves which formed the western extension of the graveyard during Period 5 (Fig. 23), eleven had had stone slabs set around the head of the corpse. A variation of this theme occurred in a single grave in the northern part of the graveyard. In Grave 2625, brash rubble had been laid around the skull and above the shoulders and ribcage of the skeleton (Plate 23), before being covered with a wooden plank, traces of which were found along the whole length of the grave.

There were also a number of instances of the use of the skulls disturbed from earlier graves in place of stone slabs to support the head (Fig. 15, Graves 2390 and 1965), but this occurred more frequently in Period 5, when large quantities of disturbed human bone were included in the graves, as is described in more detail below.

The overwhelming majority of the excavated inhumations were simple extended burials, with the head at the west end of the grave, and the hands at the sides, or less frequently in the lap. The corpses were probably buried in shrouds and the posture of some of the skeletons could suggest that they had been tightly-shrouded.

Pins which may have fastened the shroud were found in a number of graves though only in direct association with *in situ* skeletons in Grave 2108 (Fig. 29, 13), Grave 1616 and Grave 1682 (Fig. 29, 10).

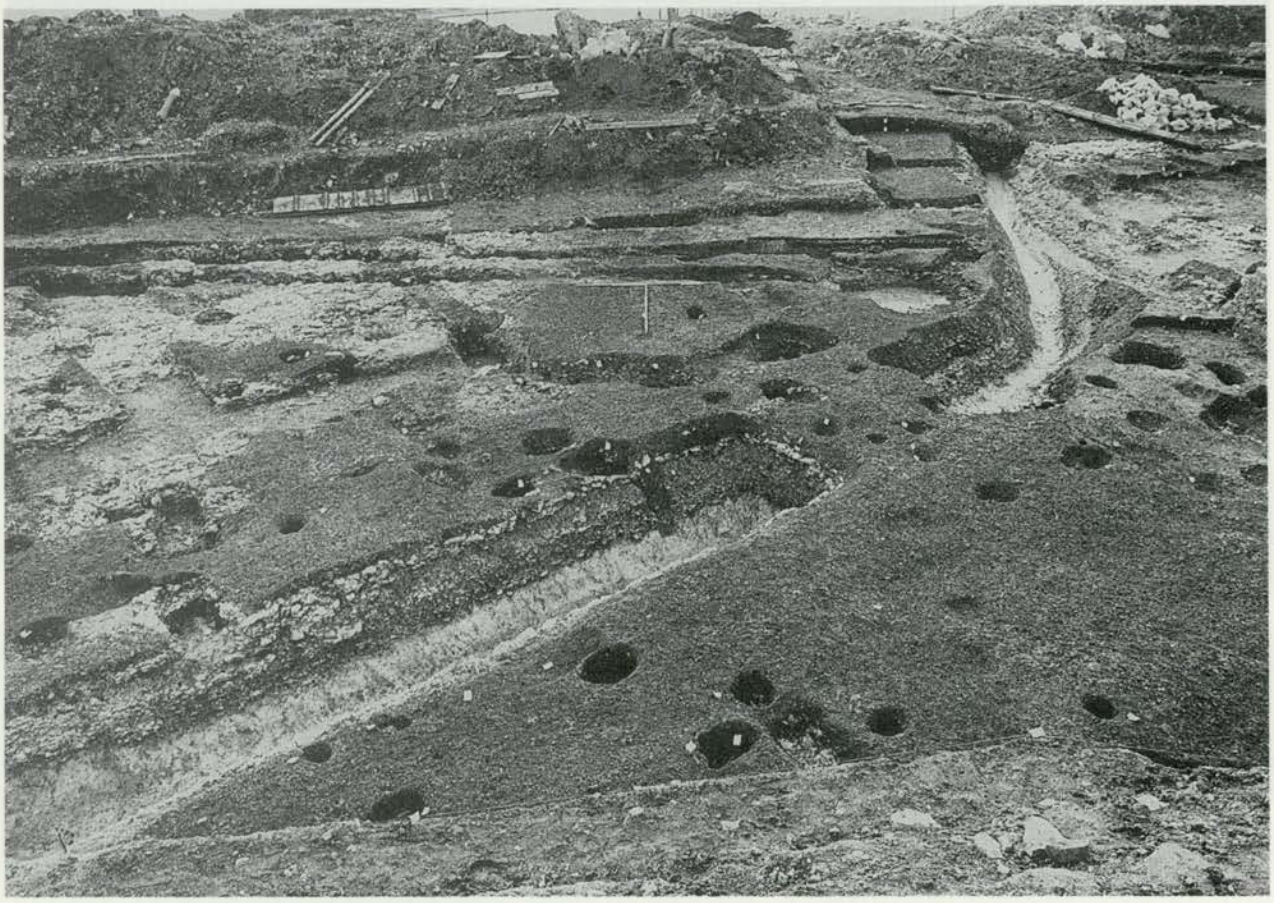

Plate 24 Trenches F and G, Period 4: Enclosure 2, showing the straight section of Ditch 1597, the gateway post-holes and the curving length of Ditch 1554 beyond it. The post-holes of Structures 9 and 10 are visible in the foreground. View from the east. Scale 2 m

2. The Manorial Enclosures

A major change in the appearance of the settlement on the end of the ridge is indicated by the establishment of Enclosure 2, the north-eastern side of which lay within the area excavated (Fig. 12). It was defined by a single ditch, *c.* 1 m deep and *c.* 2 m wide, with evidence of a bank along its inside. There was no evidence of a palisade along the top of the bank, but a gateway in the north-eastern side of the enclosure was defined by a pair of very substantial posts (Fig. 13; Plates 24 and 27).

The excavated lengths of ditch probably represented less than a quarter of the total circuit of the enclosure, and its overall shape is uncertain, though in the area excavated the ditches appear to have been dug as a number of straight sections rather than a continuous curve. Its location and shape were probably influenced by the topography of the ridge, and a possible reconstruction is that of a sub-rectangular enclosure, with its western side following the line of the top of the steeper scarp down to the river.

Such an enclosure would have straddled the cornbrash ridge at the point where it most closely approached the river, with its straight, north-eastern side, which was broken by at least one entranceway, facing the approach along the crest of the ridge. The dimensions of such an enclosure would have been *c.* 55 m from its eastern side to the edge of the river scarp, and *c.* 70 m north–south, though it must be admitted that there was no direct evidence of there having been a complete enclosure.

The position and shape of the north-eastern part of Enclosure 2, and the location of the gateway, may have been determined by the presence of the church and graveyard. Though there was no direct stratigraphic evidence of the sequence, the pottery evidence suggested that the construction of the church was probably earlier than the establishment of the Enclosure 2, taking place in the 10th and 11th centuries respectively. The close juxtaposition of the church and enclosure was perhaps significant, and together they occcupied the high ground on the end of the ridge, overlooking the area of settlement which lay to the north-west. It was unfortunate that it was not possible to excavate a larger area within the enclosure, to provide evidence of its use and status. It is possible that Structure 13 (Figs 11 and 12), the latest structure described within the Period 3 settlement, had actually been contemporary with the enclosure, though there was also evidence of more substantial buildings within it.

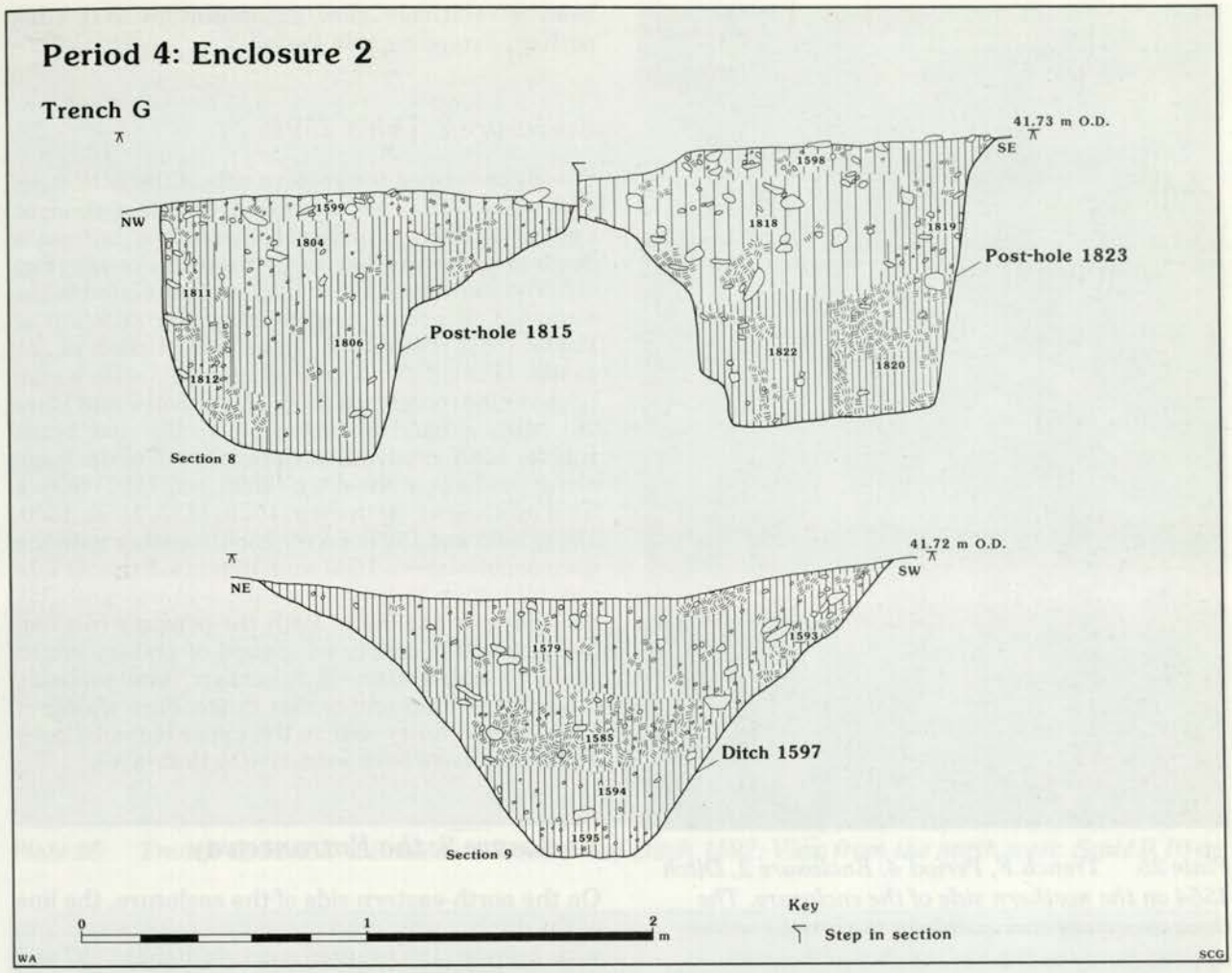

Figure 14 Period 4: sections 8 and 9, the gateway post-holes and ditch of Enclosure 2

Immediately outside the gateway of Enclosure 2, lying just to south of the access to it, were two graves (Fig. 13). Each contained the skeleton of a woman, but the only difference between these burials and those within the graveyard to the north, was the folding of the arms across the torso.

The north-eastern corner of Enclosure 2 was subsequently modified. Though the original gateway was probably preserved, the butt-end of Ditch 1554, immediately to the north of it, was backfilled with the spoil from the newly-dug ditch, 2057, which changed the line of Ditch 1554, and extended eastwards along the southern side of the graveyard (Figs 13 and 15). There was evidence of a bank along the southern side of Ditch 2057. These changes seem to have represented the creation of another enclosure on the ridge (Fig. 12, Enclosure 3), added to the eastern side of Enclosure 2. A continuous bank and ditch defined the northern side of the two enclosures, but the original entranceway in Enclosure 2 remained, providing access between the two enclosures, to the north of the extant Ditch 1597, and the bank which lay to its west (Fig. 15). The stratigraphic evidence suggested that the lines of these enclosures remained visible until the period of the Anarchy in the earlier 12th century, when they were superseded by the defences of the Inner Bailey of the castle in Period 5.

Enclosure 2: Ditch 1554

This ditch formed the northern side of Enclosure 2, and was separated from Ditch 1597 to the south-east by a causeway *c.* 2 m wide which showed the position of an entranceway (Figs 12 and 13). The plan suggested that it had been dug as a number of straight sections, rather than a continuous curve, with the sharpest change in line just north of the entranceway. Ditch 1554 (also numbered as 832 in the western part of Trench F, and as 1847 at its butt-end) was straight-sided, with a V–shaped profile and a narrow, flat base *c.* 0.30 m wide, similar to Ditch 1597 (Fig. 14, Section 9); the overall width was *c.* 2 m and the depth *c.* 1 m. Its butt-end was squared and regular.

The primary fills along the base of Ditch 1554 were dark clayey soils, which pre-dated the digging of Ditch 2057 and the establishment of Enclosure 3, described below. In the butt-end of the ditch (layers

Plate 25 Trench F, Period 4: Enclosure 2, Ditch 1554 on the northern side of the enclosure. The thick deposit of clay visible in the further section derived from the bank of the Period 5 castle during its levelling. View from the west. Scales 2 m and 1 m

1857 and 1856) they were sealed by the layers of upcast from the digging of Ditch 2057, but immediately west of this (layers 1576 and 1578) they lay beneath the later fills which accumulated at the junction of Ditches 1554 and 2057; at this point the distinction between the two phases of infill was not always clear.

In the west end of Trench F, the primary fill was sealed beneath the clay which lay at the back of the castle bank of Period 5, and comprised two layers of dark clayey soil, 837 and 831, which lay in the lowest 0.30 m of the ditch (Plate 25). This gave an indication of the extent to which the ditches which defined Enclosures 2 and 3 had become infilled by the time of the construction of the castle in *c.* AD 1139, and suggested that the upper layers of fill may have accumulated after the construction of the castle.

The butt-end of Ditch 1554 had been infilled with layers of dark soil and brash rubble, which were probably the upcast from the digging of Ditch 2057 (layers 1846, 1844, 1845 and 1836). These layers tipped steeply down towards the south, and the shallow hollow above them was infilled with dark soil layers (1816, 1814 and 1562), which may have been a relatively slow accumulation over time perhaps extending into Period 5.

Enclosure 2: Ditch 1597

This ditch formed the eastern side of the enclosure, and within the area excavated, it was a straight section of ditch running south-eastwards from a squared butt-end adjacent to the entranceway (Fig. 13). The infilling of Ditch 1597 was unrelated to the sequence of events representing the addition of Enclosure 3 (Period 4), or the construction of the castle (Period 5). Three stages of infill could, however, be recognised (Fig. 14, Section 9 and Plate 26), with a band of mixed olive clay and brash rubble, 1585, separating a primary fill of dark soil along the base of the ditch (1595 and 1594) from a final infilling along the top (1579, 1575, 1574, 1560, 1561, 1565 and 1527). Layer 1585, together with the comparable layers 1593 and 1596, had tipped into the ditch from the western side, and was probably derived from the bank. Both the primary fills and the upper fills contained groups of pottery which could be dated 10th–12th century, and probably towards the later end of that range. Four sherds of 13th–14th-century date in the upper horizon (layer 1579) may have been intrusive to that layer.

Enclosure 2: the Entranceway

On the north-eastern side of the enclosure, the line of the ditches was interrupted by a causeway *c.* 2 m wide between the squared ends of Ditches 1597 and 1554 (Fig. 13). At the inner end of the causeway, on the line of the bank which had lain along the inner edge of the enclosure ditches, were two large post-holes, 1815 and 1823. These measured *c.* 0.90 m in diameter, and were *c.* 1 m deep (Fig. 14, Section 8 and Plate 27). Their infilling showed that they had held timbers of up to 0.50 m in diameter, which had been set against the south-east side of 1815 and the north-west side of 1823, effectively narrowing the entrance to *c.* 1.20 m. The posts presumably framed a stout door or gate. They may have been set back from the ditch to align with the top of the bank along its inner edge.

Enclosure 2: Buildings

Though the ditches of Enclosure 2 stratigraphically post-dated most of the timber structures of Period 3, and actually cut across the site of a number of them, it was possible that one of the latest structures in the sequence could have lain within it (Figs 11 and 12, Structure 13). This was a rectangular, post-built building, and could have lain immediately behind the bank of Enclosure 2, adjacent to the entranceway. More substantial structures were suggested by a single large post-hole (Fig. 10, 2085), on the western edge of the excavation. This was a vertical-sided feature with a

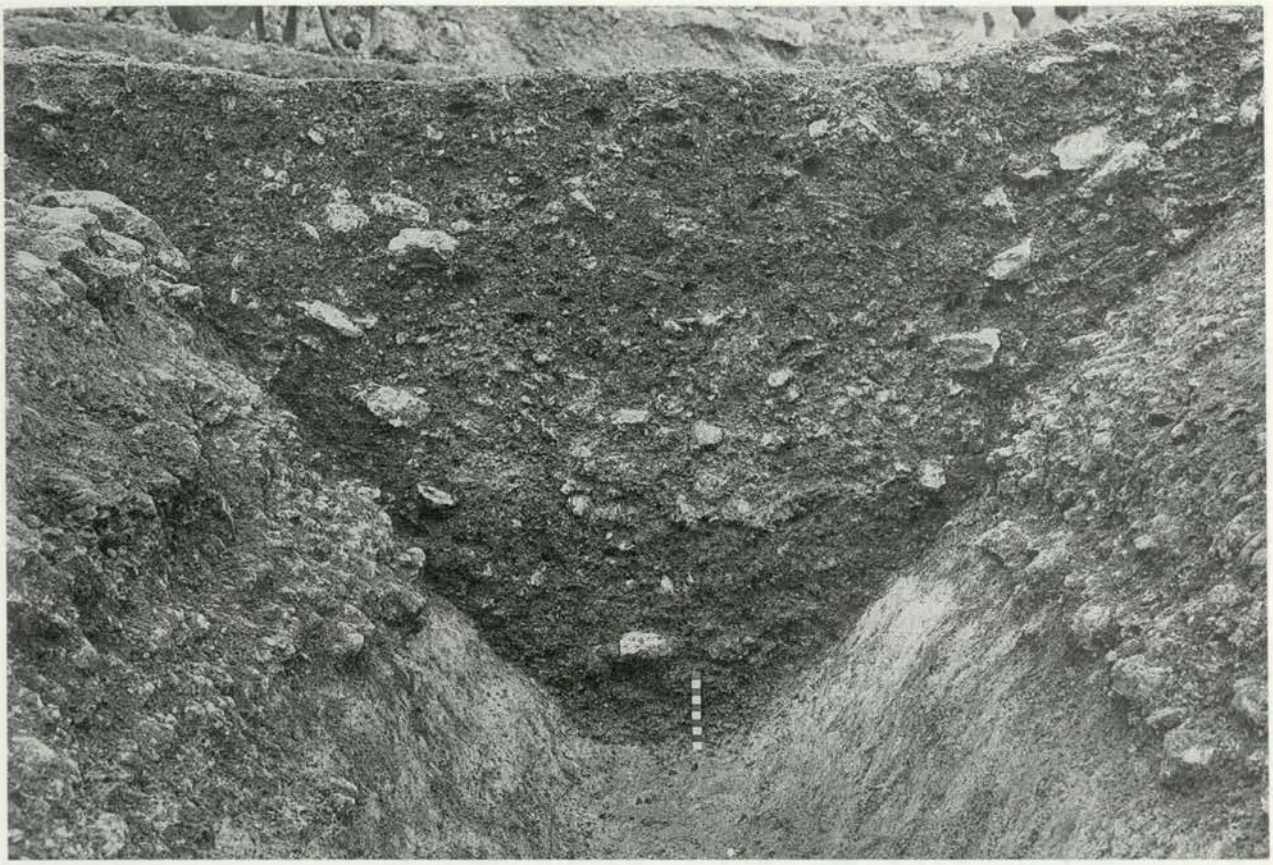

Plate 26 *Trench G, Period 4: Enclosure 2, section of Ditch 1597. View from the north-west. Scale 0.10 m*

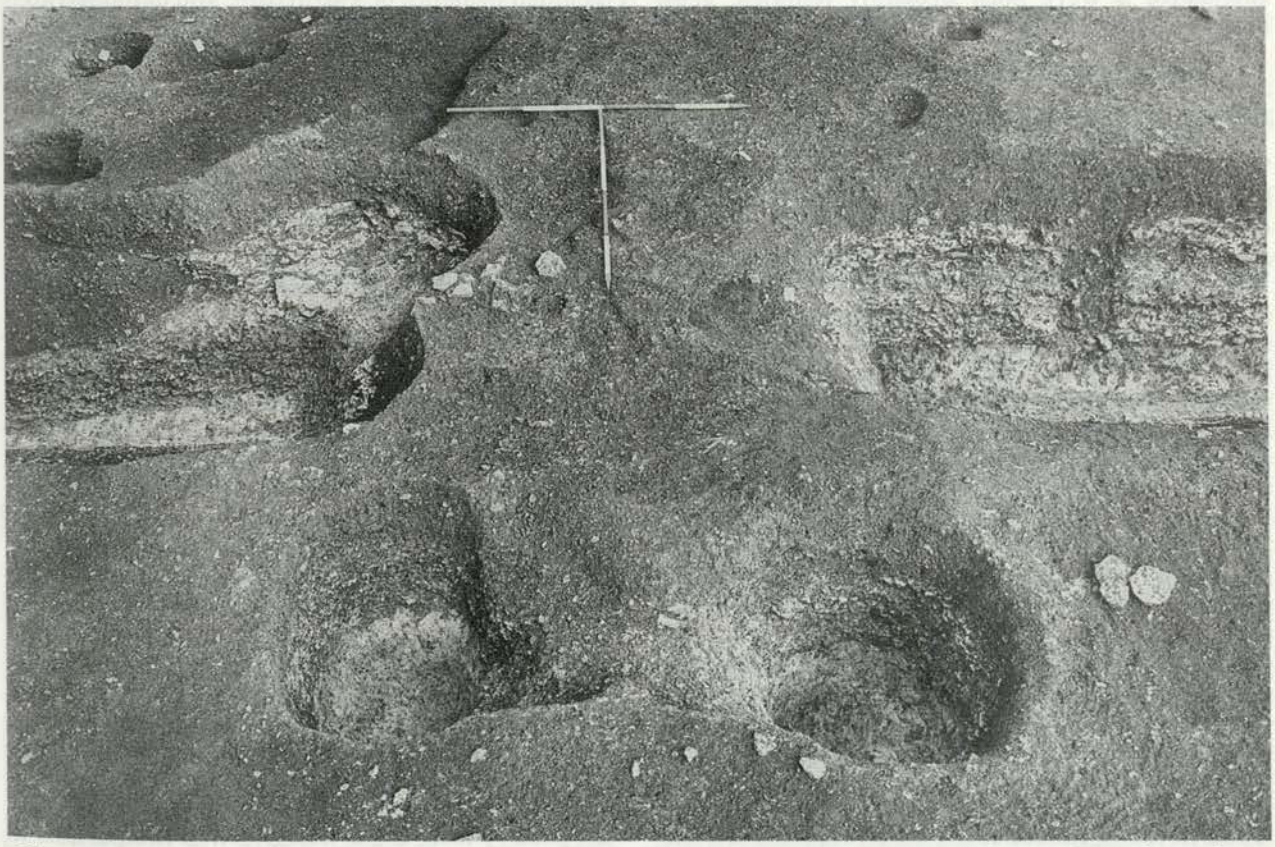

Plate 27 *Trench G, Period 4: Enclosure 2, entranceway and post-holes 1815 and 1823. View from the south-west. Scales 2 m*

diameter of *c.* 1 m, which had been cut into the Cornbrash to a depth of *c.* 0.70 m. Its fills (2084 and 2087) showed the position of a substantial timber, but, in isolation, the feature could give no indication of the type of structure of which it may have been a part, and it could as easily have been part of a structure within the Inner Bailey of the castle of Period 5, as within Enclosure 2 of Period 4.

Enclosure 2: Graves 2474 and 2471

Two graves were found to the east of Ditch 1597, lying immediately south of the causeway between the ditches (Fig. 13, Graves 2474 and 2471). Their location immediately outside the entranceway to Enclosure 2 may have been deliberate, but the significance of their position, *c.* 8 m south of the graveyard, is unclear. Neither grave had been cut into the Cornbrash, and the skeletons lay on the surface of it, in shallow graves no more than 0.40 m deep. In alignment they reflected that of the burials in the graveyard to the north. Apart from location, there was little to distinguish these burials from those in the graveyard, except perhaps the posture, as in both graves, the forearms of the skeletons had been folded across the stomach. Two other apparent instances of this were found (Fig. 23, Graves 860 and 872) both in graves lying to the west of the original boundary of the graveyard, though in the rows which formed the extension of the graveyard. The individuals buried outside the entranceway to Enclosure 2 were both probably females, aged between 17 and 30 (skeletons 5153 and 5159).

Enclosure 3: Ditch 2057

This lay immediately east of Enclosure 2, and only its northern boundary lay within the area excavated. Ditch 2057 ran approximately east from a junction with ditch 1554, in the north-west part of Trench G (Plate 18). The nature of the junction suggested that the extant, partially infilled profile of Ditch 1554 was simply continued eastwards as Ditch 2057, and the spoil was dumped southwards into the butt-end of Ditch 1554. This probably lay beneath the line of the new bank along the south side of 2057 (Figs 13 and 15), though a hollow in the top of the butt-end of 1554, south of this bank, may not have been filled until considerably later (layers 1816, 1814 and 1562). The profile of 2057 was shallower and more rounded than the original profile of 1554, *c.* 0.85 m deep below the contemporary ground surface, and *c.* 2.25 m wide (Fig. 25).

The fill layers within ditch 2057, and in the area of its junction with Ditch 1554, was a uniform dark clayey soil, with brash rubble scattered throughout (layers 2056, 1785 and 1553). This infilling probably spanned the later part of Period 4 and the earlier part of Period 5, though there was no recognisable break in the sequence of fill which represented the construction of the castle.

It is possible that Ditch 2057 obliterated and replaced a shallower ditch which had originally marked the southern side of the graveyard. It was not itself aligned with the church, however, and though it formed the southern limit of the graveyard, its primary function was probably as the northern boundary of Enclosure 3, of unknown dimensions. A bank lying to the south of the ditch was suggested not only by the rubble layers in the butt-end of Ditch 1847, but also by the layers of rubble 1530, 1568, 1555, 1566 and 1586 in the north-east part of Trench G (Fig. 15). These lay to the south of the line of the ditch, extending for a distance of *c.* 5 m from its southern lip. Though possibly the base of a bank, they could as easily have been the remnants of surfaces outside the entranceway to Enclosure 2.

3. The Settlement on the North-West Slope of the Ridge

Evidence of settlement contemporary with the enclosures and the church on the ridge-top was found on the lower slopes of the ridge to the north-west. Of the five trenches excavated on the northern side of Court Street (Fig. 3) it was only in Trenches D, B and C, at the top of the scarp overlooking the river valley, that extensive traces of settlement were found. In Trench E, to the east, and in the small exploratory Trench A, the traces of Saxo-Norman occupation were more limited, but included evidence of a structure, and demonstrated that the settlement had probably covered a considerable area of the north side of the ridge, though perhaps some of the features excavated in Trench E belonged to Period 5.

In Trenches D, B and C the evidence consisted of the dark soils which had formed the Saxo-Norman land surface, the boundary ditch (135) along the top of the scarp which may have marked the western edge of the settlement, and the post-holes and other features which represented the settlement itself (Fig. 12). In Trenches D and B, these were sealed by the thick clay layer which formed part of the bank of the Outer Bailey of the castle of Period 5, *c.* AD 1139, but in Trench C, this clay was only identified where it lay in the top of the Ditch 135 in the western part of the trench. Though layers of clay were excavated which had slumped into the tops of the two features in the eastern part of the trench (Structure 18 and Cess-pit 155), these were not comparable to the clay make-up of the castle bank, and it seemed probable that the eastern part of Trench C had not been covered by it, but had lain within the Outer Bailey (Fig. 20). The groups of pottery from these two features (18 and 155) were, however, comparable to the groups from beneath the castle bank to the north in Trench D, and there is little doubt that they too represented the settlement which pre-dated the castle. Generally, the pottery from these features was comparable to that found in the ditches of the enclosures on the

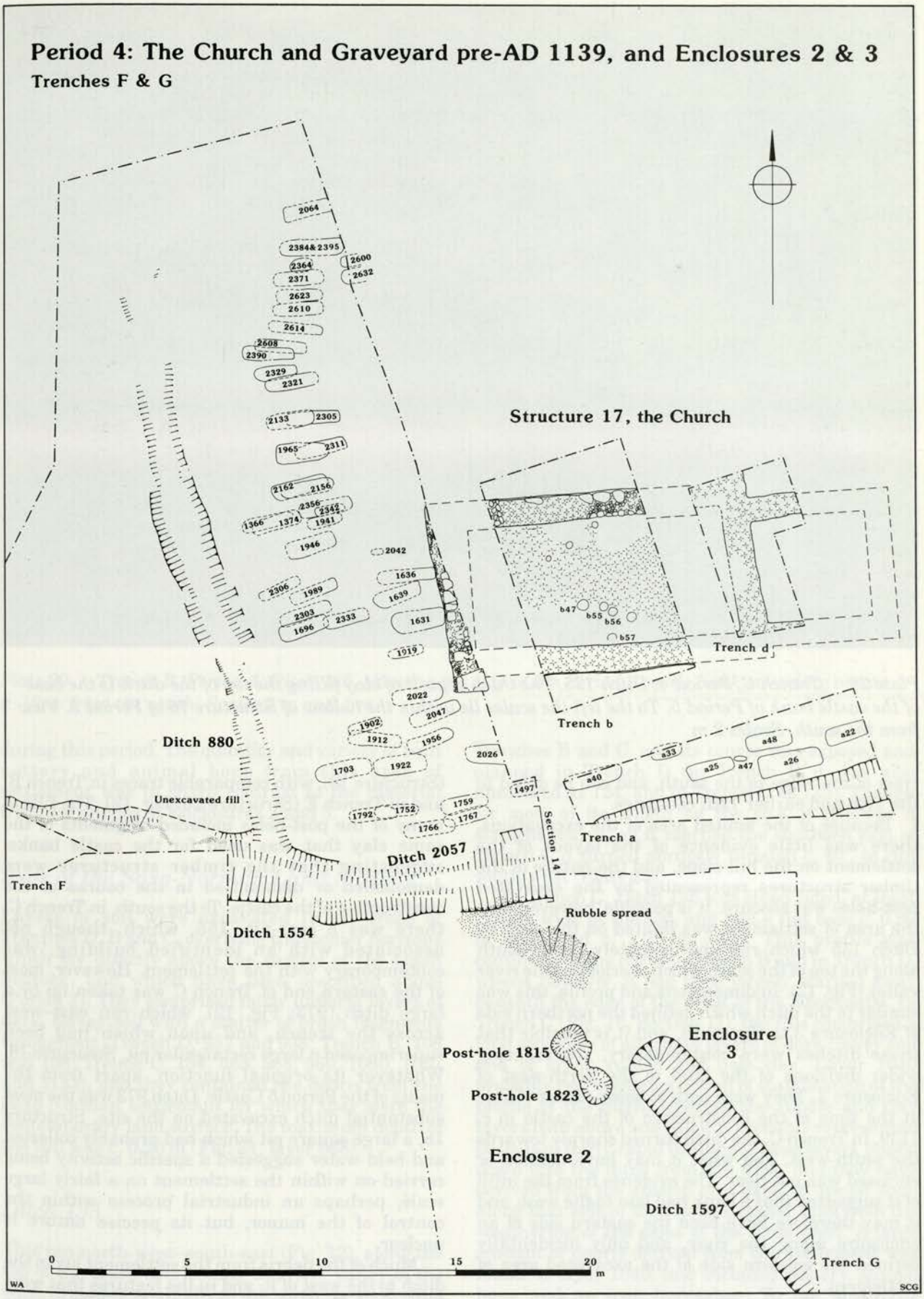

Figure 15 Period 4: the later phases of the church and graveyard of the Saxo-Norman settlement up to c. *AD 1139*

Plate 28 Trench C, Period 4: Ditch 135. The thick deposit of clay filling the top of the ditch is the base of the castle bank of Period 5. To the left the scales lie within the hollow of Structure 16 of Period 3. View from the south. Scales 2 m

crest of the ridge to the south, and can be dated to the 11th and earlier 12th centuries.

Because of the limited area of the excavations, there was little evidence of the layout of the settlement on the hill slope, and the nature of the timber structures represented by the excavated post-holes was obscure. It is possible, however, that the area of settlement was limited on the west by Ditch 135 which ran approximately north–south along the top of the scarp which overlooked the river valley (Fig. 12). In dimensions and profile, this was similar to the ditch which defined the northern side of Enclosure 3 to the south, and it is possible that these ditches were contemporary, representing wider divisions of the land to the north-west of Enclosure 2. They were both to some extent visible at the time of the construction of the castle in *c.* 1139. In Trench C, the ditch turned sharply towards the south-west, and what it may have defined or enclosed was not clear. The evidence from the infill of it suggested that a bank had lain to the west, and it may therefore have been the eastern side of an enclosure along the river, and only incidentally defined the western side of the excavated area of settlement.

Within the area of settlement, there was evidence of a timber structure in Trench D (Structure 19), with comparable traces in Trench B, and in Trench E (Structure 20; Fig. 12). The fills of many of the post-holes included fragments of the same clay that was used for the castle banks, suggesting that the timber structures were demolished or dismantled in the course of the construction of the castle. To the south, in Trench C, there was a cess-pit, 155, which, though not associated with an identified building, was contemporary with the settlement. However, most of the eastern end of Trench C was taken up by a large ditch (973; Fig. 12), which ran east–west across the trench, and upon which had been superimposed a large rectangular pit, Structure 18. Whatever its original function, apart from the moats of the Period 5 Castle, Ditch 973 was the most substantial ditch excavated on the site. Structure 18, a large square pit which had probably collected and held water suggested a specific activity being carried on within the settlement on a fairly large scale, perhaps an industrial process within the control of the manor, but its precise nature is unclear.

Much of the debris from the settlement lay in the ditch to the west of it, and in the features that were excavated. The soils contained much smaller groups of material, and may no longer have been worked

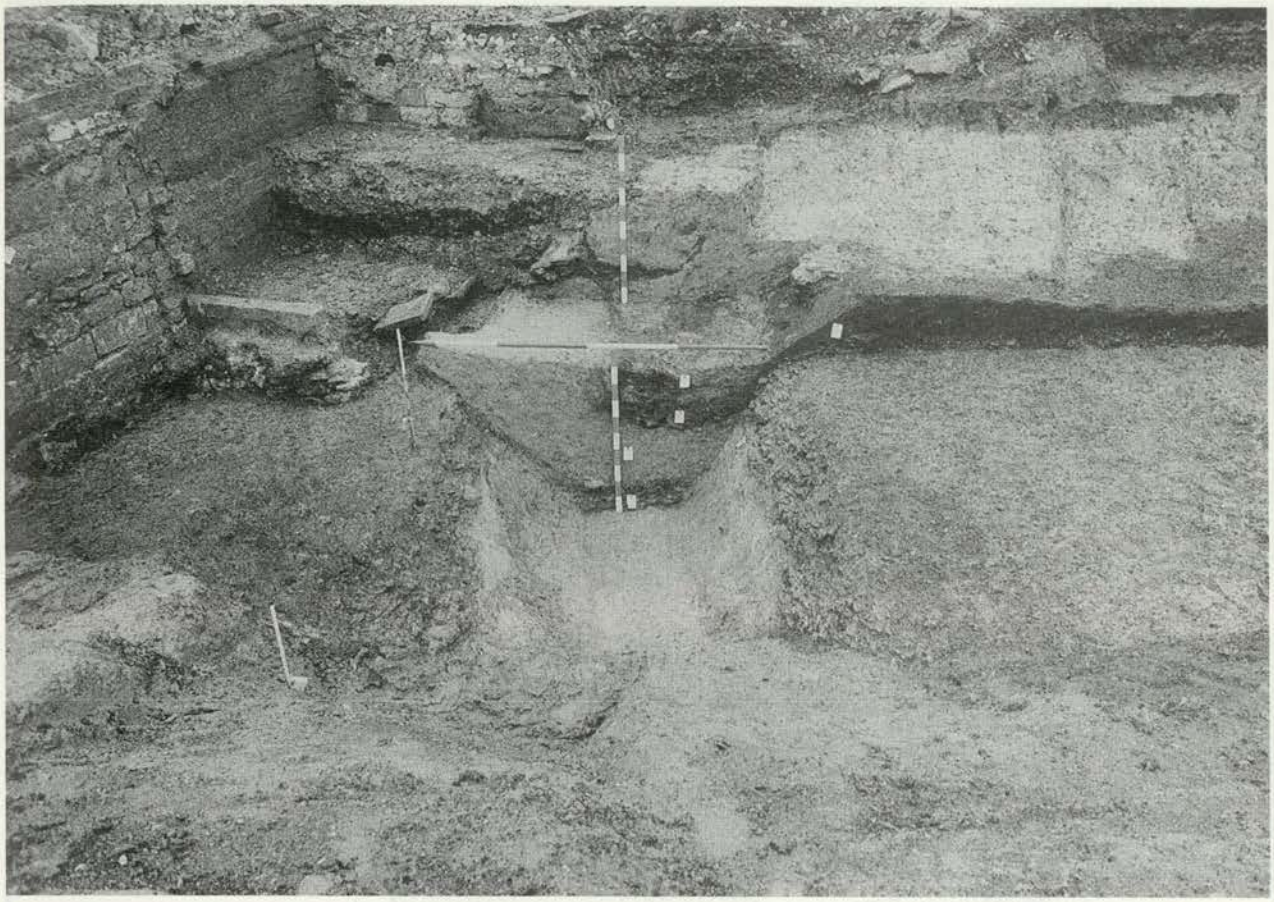

Plate 29 Trench B, Period 4: Ditch 135, showing the clay of the Period 5 castle bank extending across it. View from the south. Scales 2 m and 1 m

during this period. The quantity and variety of both pottery and animal bone from this area of settlement was in sharp contrast to the material from the ditches of Enclosures 2 and 3.

Soils of the Saxo-Norman Land Surface

Layers of soil were excavated in all areas of Trenches D, B and C, overlying the stonier horizons which lay directly above the surface of the brash bedrock, and which have been described above (Period 2). They comprised fairly uniform layers of dark, clayey soil with a scatter of brash fragments throughout (Trench D, 937 and 938; Trench B, 105 and 108; Trench C, 154, 563, 568, 960, 1030, 1057 and 1133), and they contained the debris from the Saxo-Norman settlement for which they were the contemporary land surface. The maximum depth of the soil was *c.* 0.20 m (Fig. 21, layer 938).

Ditch 135

This ran north-west–south-east (Fig. 12), along the top of the scarp overlooking the river valley to the west, dropping gradually to the north, as the ground itself fell away. Sections of it were excavated in Trenches B and C, and its course was exposed and planned in Trench D (in Trench B it was also numbered as 124, and in Trench D as 725). Though for most of its length on the site, it followed a straight course, as it reached the southern side of Trench C it turned abruptly through *c.* 45°, to run south-west (Plate 28).

In Trench C, Ditch 135 was steep sided, at least 2.50 m wide at the top, and had a flat base *c.* 0.80 m wide and *c.* 1.20 m deep. This profile was continued to the north in Trench B and in Trench D, where, however, it had been largely scarped away beneath the edge of the moat of the later castle. In Trench C (Fig. 16, Section 11), the fills comprised a long sequence of alternate layers of dark clayey soil and of brash rubble and pale clay. Layer 1040 probably represented a period of stabilisation of the profile of the ditch, whereas the rubble and clay layers both above and below it probably represented periods of fairly rapid infilling. These layers tipped down into the ditch from the west, and may have derived from the erosion of a bank of upcast spoil along that side of the feature, rather than from the weathering of the sides of the ditch itself. A large amount of debris derived from the settlement was found in layer 1040, and included pottery, animal bone and an iron horseshoe. To the north the sequence of infill was less complex, and in Trench B

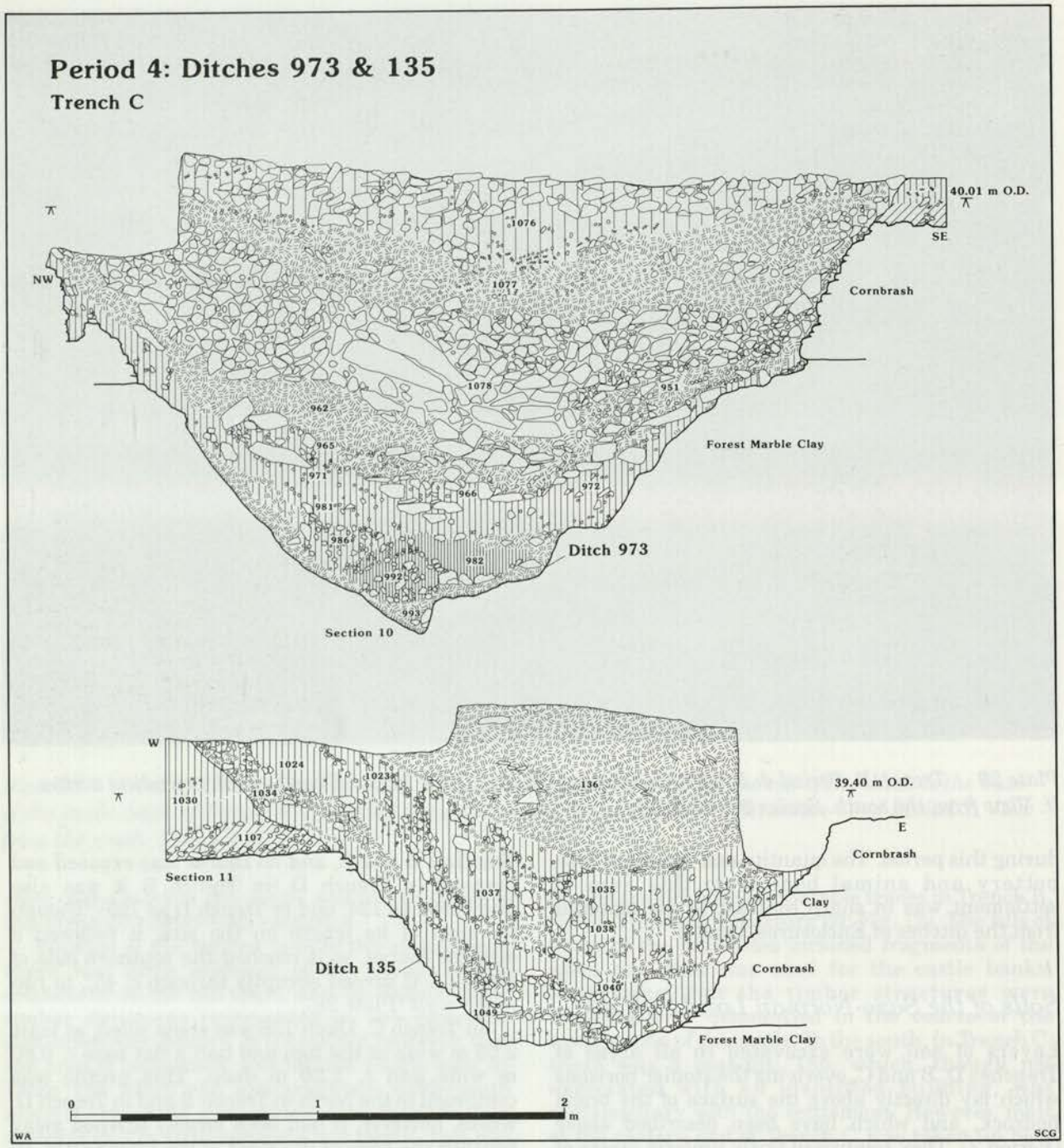

Figure 16 Period 4: Sections 10 and 11, Ditches 973 and 135

comprised a single layer of fine silty soil 127, which was *c.* 0.20 m thick and lay in the base of the ditch beneath the thick band of clay deposited in Period 5 (Plate 29).

The hollow along the top of the ditch, which was considerably deeper in Trench B than in Trench C, was infilled with a compact, pale olive, clay which contained fragments of clay-stone (Fig. 16, Section 11, layer 136). This was clay derived from the Forest Marble beds which underlies the Cornbrash, and has been associated with the construction of the banks of the castle of Period 5.

Cess-pit 155

This lay in the eastern end of Trench C (Fig. 12 and Plate 30), and was the only such feature of early medieval date encountered on the site. It had been cut through the soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface, and was a circular feature, *c.* 1.70 m in diameter and *c.* 2 m deep. Beneath the Cornbrash, where it had cut through the Forest Marble clays, the sides of the pit had become eroded and undercut, and layers of clean clay, collapsed from the sides, lay in the base of the pit, interleaved with the dark,

Plate 30 Trench C, Period 4: the eastern end of the trench after the removal of Structure 18, showing the section of Ditch 973. Cess-pit 155 is in the foreground to the left. View from the east. Scales 2 m

highly organic layers 957 and 1093 which represented the initial period of the pit's use. The later use of the cess-pit was represented by further organic layers, 1029, 1055, 1028, 1059, 1004 and 1027, frequently of a highly laminated appearance, which formed a band *c.* 0.40 m thick. The fills of the pit then appear to have been deliberately sealed with a layer of clean, olive clay 1003, above which were dark soils (156, 157, 170 and 600), which had accumulated or subsided, probably over a considerable period, into a hollow in the top of the feature.

The pottery from the usage fills of the pit, which included a number of large sherds of a single vessel, included nothing that need be later than the 12th century, and the cess-pit may have pre-dated the castle, lying within one of the properties of the Saxo-Norman settlement. Analysis of the contents of the organic layers that had accumulated during the use of the pit for the disposal of ordure showed the presence of seeds and stones of a variety of woodland fruits, as well as cultivated cereals and the seeds of the weeds of both cultivated and hay fields (*below, Chapter 7.12*).

Ditch 973

In the eastern end of Trench C, a substantial ditch was excavated and recorded for a length of *c.* 12 m. It ran approximately north-east to south-west, and was *c.* 3.50 m wide and *c.* 1.90 m deep (Fig. 12 and Fig. 16, Section 10). It had been dug through the soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface of Period 4, into the Cornbrash and clays beneath, and had a V–shaped profile which was steeper on the northern than the southern side (Plate 30). Only the base of the cut remained beneath the base of Structure 18, but complete sections of Ditch 973 and its fills were excavated to the east and west.

The primary fills of the ditch were dark, clayey silts, with lenses of fine brash rubble, 993, 992 and 982 (Fig. 16, Section 10), above which there was a band of fine clayey soil, 971 and 972, which probably represented the stabilisation of the profile after the initial weathering. Above this was a substantial deposit of brash rubble (layer 1078), including slabs up to 0.40 m across, with bands of soft, pale clay.

This dump of material seemed to have been tipped from the northern side of the ditch, and suggested its deliberate infilling, using the brash and clay spoil which had been produced when it had been dug. Stratigraphically, however, this backfilling took place after the construction, and probably the use, of Structure 18, as is described below.

In total, four pottery sherds were found in the primary fills of the feature, all of which could be dated within the general range 10th–12th century.

Plate 31 Trench C, Period 4: Structure 18, showing the burnt timber debris in its base and against the sides. View from the south. Scales 2 m

Structure 18

Structure 18 was stratigraphically closely associated with Ditch 973, and lay symmetrically across the line of it (Figs 12 and 17). It was probably constructed after the primary stabilisation of the profile of Ditch 973, as represented by layers 971 and 972, but before the backfilling of that ditch with rubble and clay (Fig 16. Section 10). Structure 18 was a large, square-cut pit, measuring *c.* 4.50 m by *c.* 5 m, with a flat base *c.* 1.60 m deep. To the east and west of this square chamber, the earlier fills of Ditch 973 had been dug out sufficiently to allow stone walls to be built across it, which conformed to the profile of the ditch, and which included a stone-lined culvert at their base (Fig. 17, Elevation 1). The walls appeared to have been inserted across the ditch before its backfilling, and the culvert had been built within a rounded trench, 954, which had been dug into the soil layer 972 (Fig. 17 and Fig. 18, Section 12).

On the east side of Structure 18, which was most complete, the wall across the ditch was *c.* 1 m thick, and had been built using a mixture of brash rubble and larger, irregular slabs of Oolitic Limestone. Between the coursed faces 592 and 1079 there was a rubble core (Fig. 18, Section 12). The culvert at the base of the wall had been constructed of limestone slabs, which had been set on edge to form the sides, with a large slab as the capstone; it was *c.* 0.35 m wide and *c.* 0.60 m high. On the east side of Structure 18, several stone slabs had been set on edge on either side of the entrance to the culvert, flat against the side of the square chamber (Fig. 17, Elevation 1). The construction of the wall and culvert on the west side of the chamber was the same in all but minor details. On the eastern side of the culvert in the east wall of Structure 18 there was limited evidence of a timber structure in the form of two post-holes, 970 and 968 (Fig. 17), lying close to the face of the wall, framing the opening to the culvert, which may have held supports for a sluice gate.

Within the square chamber of Structure 18, the clay and Cornbrash exposed in the sides and parts of the base had been reddened, as if by burning, to a depth of *c.* 70 mm, and the face of the walls had become similarly discoloured. The explanation for this may lie in the nature of the primary layer which covered the base of the feature. This was a discontinuous layer of charcoal, 591 and 1065, which included visible pieces of burnt beams or planks, frequently angled steeply against the sides of the feature (Plate 31). None of the burnt timbers obviously formed parts of an *in situ* structure, and probably therefore represent a burnt superstructure which had collapsed in flames into the base of the feature, causing the extensive discolouration of the sides. The charcoal was sealed

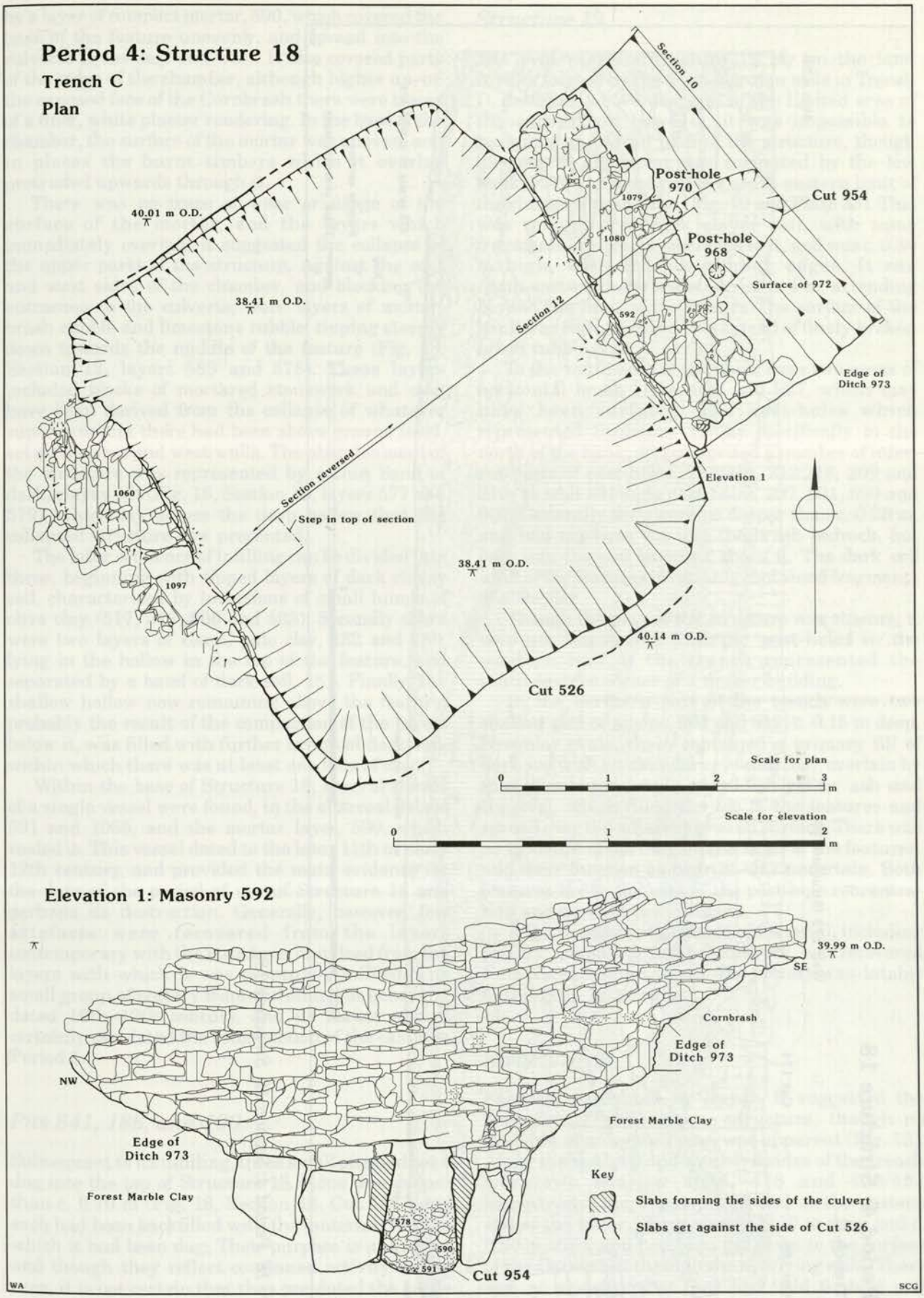

Figure 17 Period 4: the Saxo-Norman settlement, Structure 18

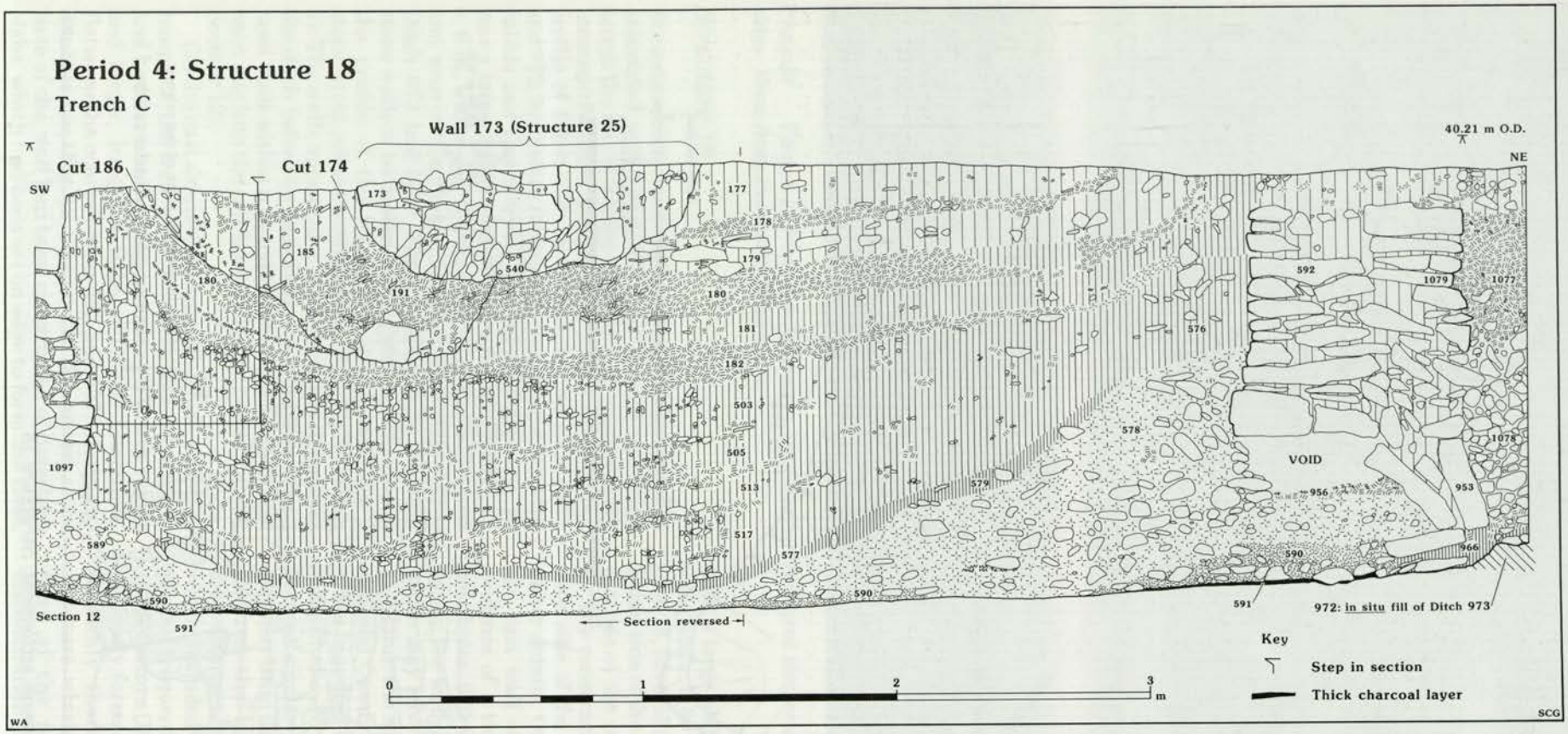

Figure 18 Period 4: Section 12, Structure 18

by a layer of compact mortar, 590, which covered the base of the feature unevenly, and spread into the culverts to the east and west. It also covered parts of the sides of the chamber, although higher up, on the exposed face of the Cornbrash there were traces of a finer, white plaster rendering. In the base of the chamber, the surface of the mortar was uneven, and in places the burnt timbers which it overlay protruded upwards through it.

There was no trace of wear or usage of the surface of the mortar, and the layers which immediately overlaid it suggested the collapse of the upper parts of the structure. Against the east and west sides of the chamber, and blocking the entrances to the culverts, were layers of mortar, brash rubble and limestone rubble, tipping steeply down towards the middle of the feature (Fig. 18, Section 12, layers 589 and 578). These layers included blocks of mortared stonework and may have been derived from the collapse of whatever superstructure there had been above ground level, set on the east and west walls. The abandonment of the structure was represented by a thin band of dark, clayey silt (Fig. 18, Section 12, layers 577 and 579), which lay across the deep hollow that the collapsed structure now presented.

The later sequence of infilling can be divided into three, beginning with tipped layers of dark clayey soil, characterised by inclusions of small lumps of olive clay (517, 513, 505 and 503). Secondly there were two layers of clean, pale clay, 182 and 180, lying in the hollow in the top of the feature, and separated by a band of dark soil, 181. Finally, the shallow hollow now remaining above the feature, probably the result of the compaction of the layers below it, was filled with further layers of dark soil, within which there was at least one lens of clay.

Within the base of Structure 18, several sherds of a single vessel were found, in the charcoal debris 591 and 1065, and the mortar layer, 590, which sealed it. This vessel dated to the later 11th or early 12th century, and provided the main evidence for the date of the period of use of Structure 18 and perhaps its destruction. Generally, however, few artefacts were recovered from the layers contemporary with the structure, or indeed from the layers with which it was eventually infilled. The small group of pottery from within it was generally dated 10th–12th century, and its disuse almost certainly pre-dated the construction of the castle in Period 5.

Pits 541, 186, and 190

Subsequent to its infilling, three small pits had been dug into the top of Structure 18. None was deeper than *c.* 0.70 m (Fig. 18, Section 12, Cut 186), and each had been backfilled with the material through which it had been dug. Their purpose is unknown, and though they reflect continued activity in the area, it is not certain that they pre-dated the castle of Period 5. Pottery from the infill was dated 10th–11th century.

Structure 19

The evidence for Structure 19 lay on the land surface formed by the Saxo-Norman soils in Trench D, described above. Because of the limited area of the excavation, however, it was impossible to recognise an overall plan of the structure, though its general alignment was suggested by the low bank, 924, which defined the south-eastern limit of the cluster of post-holes (Fig. 19 and Plate 33). This was composed of dark clayey soil, with some fragments of olive clay included in it, and was *c.* 0.30 m high, with shallow sloping edges. It ran north-eastwards for a distance of *c.* 4 m, extending beyond the limit of the trench. The surface of the bank was characterised by a spread of finely-broken brash rubble, 923.

To the south-east of the bank were two areas of horizontal brash slabs, 925 and 927, which may have been surfaces. The post-holes which represented Structure 19 lay specifically to the north of the bank, and comprised a number of intercut pairs of post-holes, 223/225, 212/215, 209 and 219, as well as single post-holes, 227, 221, 699 and 902. Generally they were no deeper than *c.* 0.25 m, and had not been cut into the brash bedrock, but only into the soil horizons above it. The dark soil infill of the features invariably contained fragments of olive clay.

Though the plan of the structure was obscure, it was not impossible that the post-holes in the western half of the trench represented the south-eastern corner of a timber building.

In the northern part of the trench were two shallow pits or scoops, 904 and 912, *c.* 0.15 m deep. Irregular ovals, these contained a primary fill of dark soil with an abundance of charcoal, overlain by thin, laminated bands of reddish yellow ash and charcoal, which filled the top of the features and spread over the adjacent ground surface. There was no evidence of burning on the sides of the features, and their function as hearths was uncertain. Both features lay to the east of the post-hole concentration and north of the low bank.

A fairly substantial group of material, including pottery, animal bone and metalwork, was recovered from the excavated layers. The pottery was datable to the 11th–12th century.

Structure 20

Features excavated in Trench E suggested the presence of at least one structure, though no evidence of an overall plan was apparent (Fig. 12). Along the western and southern sides of the trench were two shallow slots, 478 and 440/453 respectively; there was a butt-end at the eastern end of the latter. These were *c.* 0.10 m deep and *c.* 0.30 m wide, and had been cut down to the surface of the Cornbrash through the overlying soils. There was no evidence that they had held timbers and they may simply have been shallow gullies defining plots of ground.

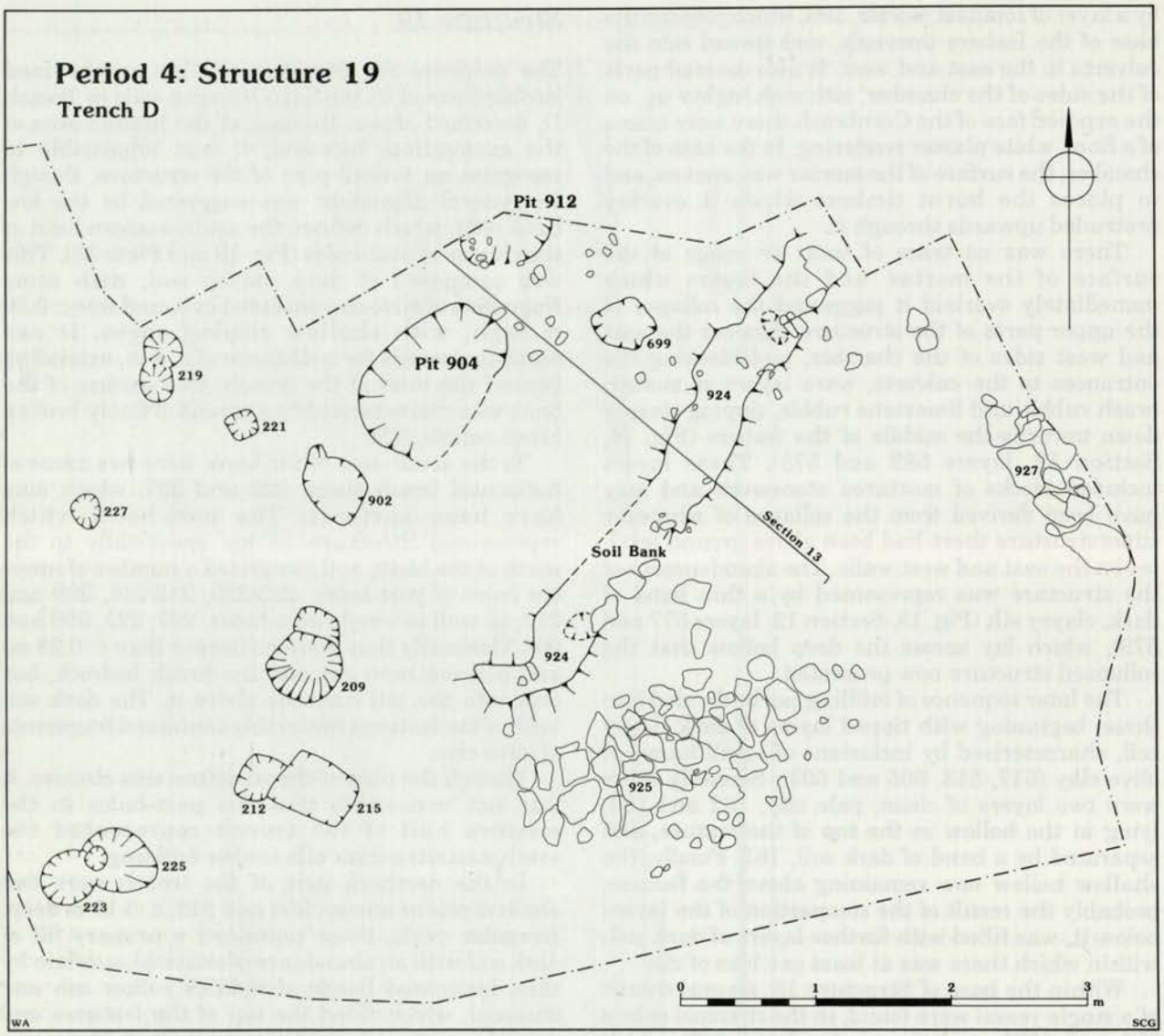

Figure 19 Period 4: the Saxo-Norman settlement, Structure 19

To the east there were a number of post-holes; a north–south row of three small features, 446, 449 and 451; and in the north-east part of the trench, two larger features, 381 and 391, which had a diameter of *c.* 1 m, and had been cut into the brash bedrock to a depth of *c.* 0.40 m. Within each, the position of a post could be seen, with a diameter of *c.* 0.45 m. Though these features suggested the existence of a substantial timber structure, its plan is unknown.

Pit 400

A sub-rectangular feature had been cut into the bedrock to a depth of at least 0.40 m. Its upper sides were sloping and became vertical towards the base. The bottom was not reached, and its fill was a dark, clayey soil, flecked with charcoal. It is not impossible that it was a post-hole similar to those descibed above, Structure 20. Its infill contained sherds of pottery which can be dated to the 10th and 11th centuries.

Pits 57 and 60

Within Trench A, in the northern part of the site, the layers of medieval date had been extensively truncated by post-medieval walls and floors, cut into the slope at the back of the existing buildings along Fore Street. Two shallow pits were excavated, with a fill of dark clayey soil. Neither was deeper than *c.* 0.25 m, and both were rounded (Fig. 12).

5 Period 5: the Anarchy Period Castle, *c.* AD 1139–1200

A castle was built on the site of the manorial settlement of Period 4, on the end of the ridge which commanded the crossing point of the River Biss. It consisted of an Inner Bailey, to the north and east of which lay an Outer Bailey, the extent of which can be suggested by the line of the medieval streets of Trowbridge (Fig. 20). Though there was no archaeological evidence of a Motte within the area of the Inner Bailey, its existence in the north-west corner of the Bailey is suggested by the Ordnance Survey map of 1886 (Fig. 2). The excavations demonstrated the size of the moats and the width of the banks, though evidence of their structure was limited. The Inner Bailey lay on the crest of the ridge, above the manorial enclosure, the ditches of which were sealed beneath the defensive banks. Within it, the church and graveyard continued in use, though the area of the burial ground was reduced. The graveyard was eventually sealed beneath a layer of clay which suggested a substantial modification of the defences in the later 12th century. Contemporary changes to the church suggested the secularisation of the building, and by c. *1200, the graveyard was no longer used. There was little conclusive evidence of other buildings within the Inner Bailey, though Structure 23, a rectangular stone building, could have been 12th century. The Outer Bailey was constructed over the site of the settlement which had lain on the slopes to the north of the church and manorial enclosure. Beneath the line of its banks, it appeared that the settlement buildings had been demolished and the site cleared specifically for the construction of the castle. There was no conclusive evidence, however, of buildings in use within the area of the Outer Bailey.*

1. The Castle Defences

Within the area of the excavation, the evidence for the structure presumed to be the castle of the Anarchy Period was limited (*above, Chapter 1.1*). Along the northern edge of Trench F, the southern side of a deep moat was exposed, which defined the northern side of the Inner Bailey of the castle (Fig. 20). Though this was not fully excavated during the archaeological work, two complete sections of it were exposed for recording during the work of the construction contractor during the summer of 1988. Of the bank which had lain to the south of this moat there was scant trace; in Trench F, there were patches of olive clay which probably formed the base of a bank, but most of the excavated clay layers, which remained *in situ* across the southern part of Trench F, appeared to have been later than the construction of the castle, and have therefore been described below (*Chapter 5.4*) as a later stage of Period 5. Within the area of the Inner Bailey there was no evidence of the postulated Motte, as this lay beyond the excavated area in a part of the redevelopment site extensively disturbed by modern cellars and sub-basements along Court Street. To the north, in Trenches C and D, the line of another deep moat was found, which had defined the western side of the Outer Bailey of the castle (Plate 32). Extensive traces of the contemporary Outer Bailey Bank were found in Trenches D and B, and to a lesser extent in Trench C, in the form of a thick layer of olive clay. The southern lip of the Outer Bailey Moat was also recognised in Trench A, where it defined the northern side of the Bailey.

Though the excavations demonstrated the size and profile of the defences of the castle, they only established their exact line along the north side of the Inner Bailey, and the west and part of the north side of the Outer Bailey. The exposed sections of the Inner Bailey Moat suggested a straight rather than a curving line, and it is possible to suggest that the Inner Bailey was sub-rectangular rather than circular in plan. Its northern side was defined by a moat *c.* 10 m wide and *c.* 4.50 m deep; the width of the contemporary bank was *c.* 10 m, but its profile and height are unknown.

There was no evidence of structures on or adjacent to the bank, with the exception of Structure 21, which lay immediately behind it, possibly close to its junction with the motte. This consisted of four large post-holes, suggesting a rectangular structure of some strength, and most probably therefore a part of the defences, though its precise function was unclear. The defences along the west side of the Inner Bailey probably ran along the top of the scarp down to the Biss, and on the eastern side skirted the chancel of the Saxo-Norman church. An internal area measuring *c.* 60 m east–west can therefore be postulated (Fig. 20). Its north–south dimension is less clear, but if it straddled the end of the ridge, a width of at least 50 m is likely. The existence and position of a motte within the Inner Bailey is hypothetical. The Ordnance Survey map of 1886 (Fig. 2) shows the southern side of a mound, labelled *Court Hill*, within the curve of Court Street, but whether this was a remnant of a motte, or simply one of the castle banks, is unknown. If it was a motte, then it lay in the western corner of the

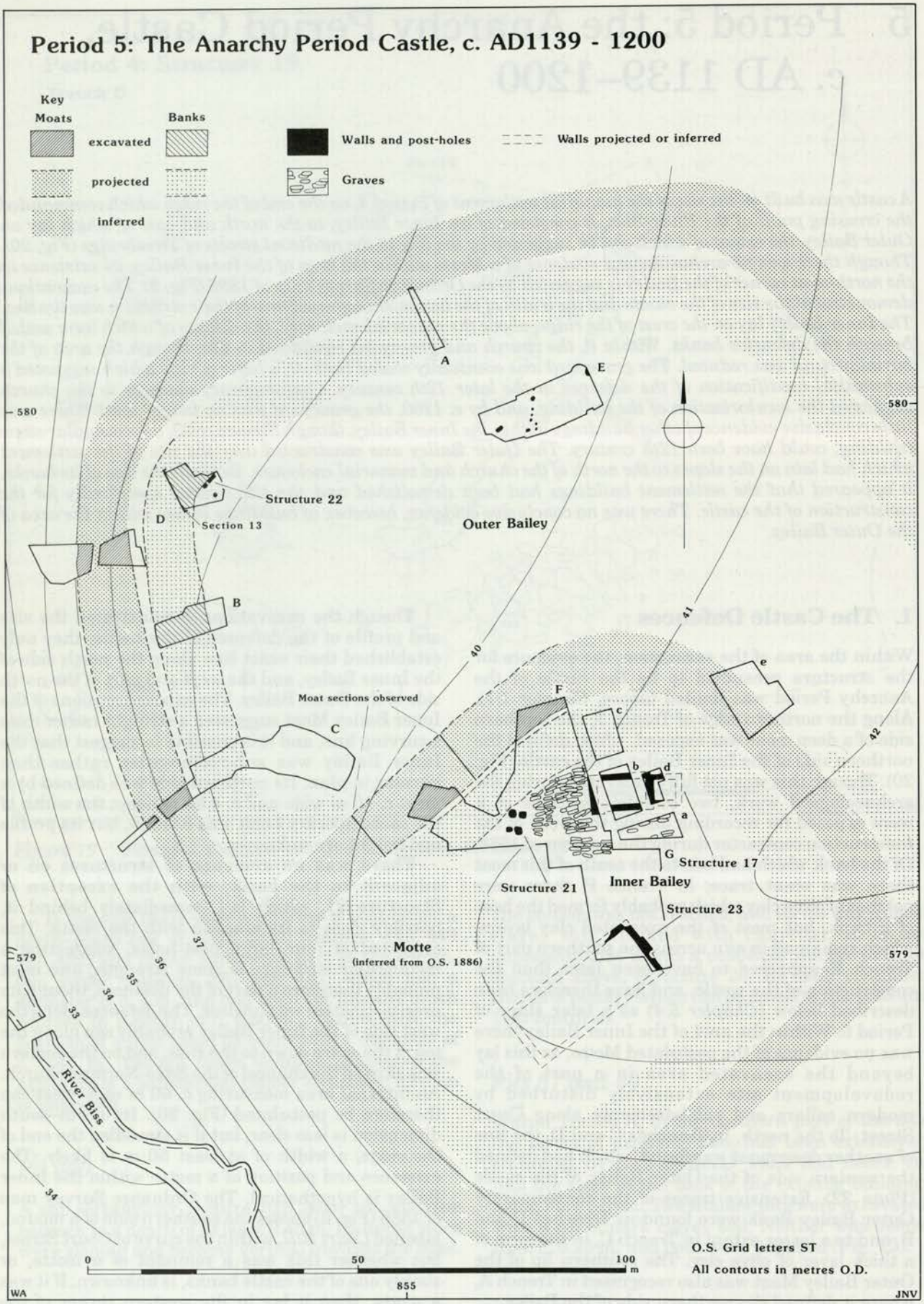

Figure 20 Period 5: the Anarchy Period castle, c. AD 1139–1200 and Period 6 features (Trench E)

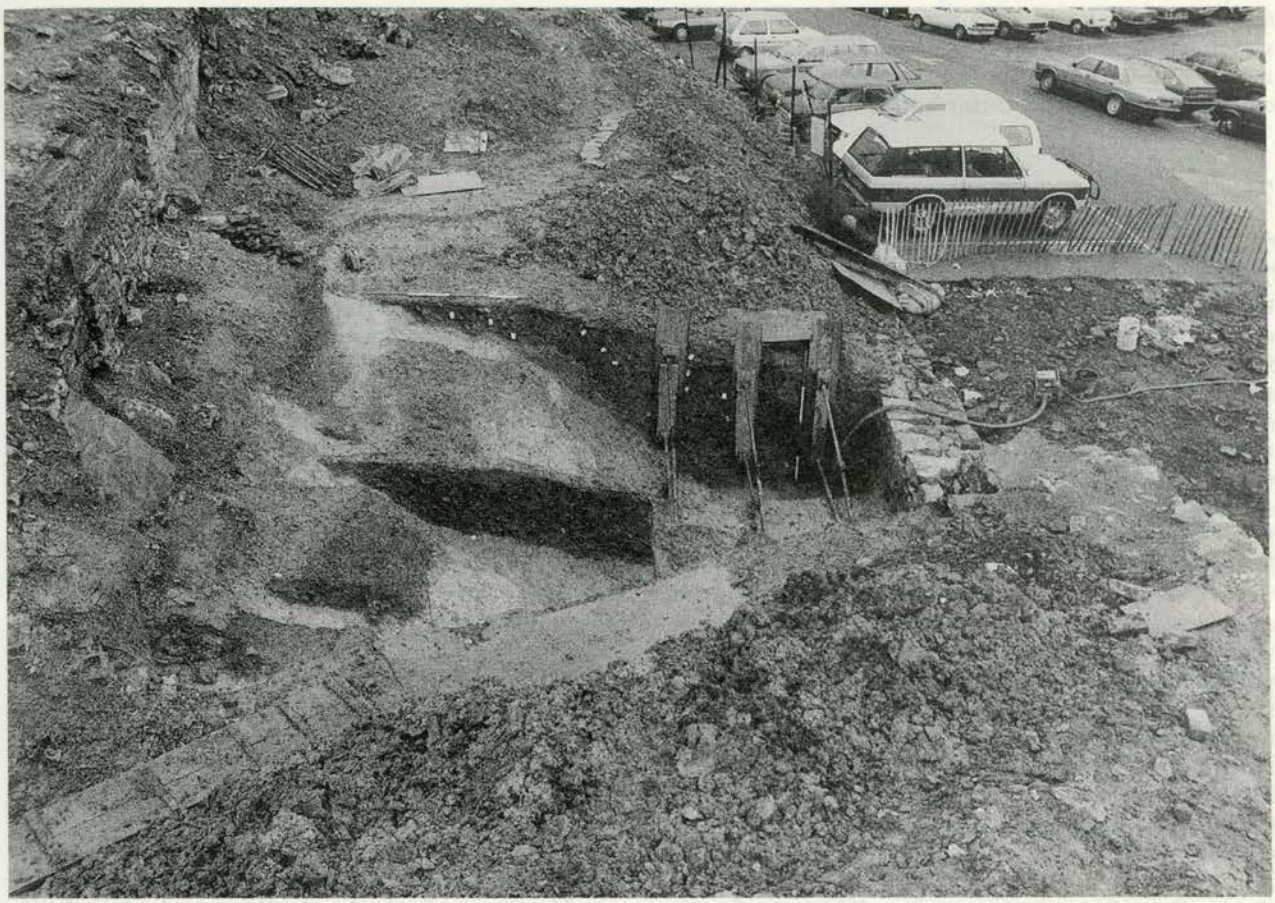

Plate 32 Trench D, Period 5: the inner edge of the Outer Bailey Moat on the western side of the Anarchy Period castle. View from the north. Scales 2 m

Inner Bailey, on the edge of the scarp overlooking the river valley.

The western side of the Outer Bailey was defined by a similarly substantial defence. In the north-west corner of the bailey, clay had been dumped over a large area of the hill slope, extending to the north-west the relatively level area of high ground occupied by the bailey. It was upon this platform that the bank around the north-west side of the bailey had been constructed, overlooking the steep scarp down into the valley of the Biss. In Trench D, where the bank began to curve to the east, the back of it was excavated, suggesting that it had been *c.* 10 m wide, and there was evidence of two periods of construction, the later with a revetment of brash rubble along its back. There was also evidence in this phase of the use of substantial timber uprights at the back of the bank (Structure 22), though whether these formed part of the bank, or part of a structure in its lee, is unknown. The moat to the west of it had been dug into the slope, and was *c.* 10 m wide, and *c.* 4 m deep along its eastern side. The height of the western defences of the Outer Bailey was enhanced by their siting along the top of the scarp (Fig. 22), as probably was the western side of the Inner Bailey and the presumed Motte itself. The inner edge of the Outer Bailey Moat was located in Trench A to the north, and the north-south internal dimension of the Outer Bailey can therefore be defined as *c.* 65 m. Its extent to the east is uncertain, however, though most probably reflected in the line of the eastern part of the medieval Fore Street (Figs 3 and 12). A ditch and wooden piles (Smith 1977) found beneath the block of buildings between Castle Street and Fore Street could be on the line of the eastern defences of the Outer Bailey, suggesting an east–west internal width for the Outer Bailey of *c.* 125 m. Though the Outer Bailey certainly lay to the north and probably to the east of the Inner Bailey, whether it also extended to the south of it is unknown. The overall configuration of the castle may have been of an Inner Bailey in the southern corner of the Outer Bailey, with a motte on the west side of the castle, commanding both Inner and Outer Baileys.

The evidence of the date of the construction of the castle is limited. The date of *c.* AD 1139 provided by the documentary record remains a fixed date, at which time a castle at Trowbridge was besieged, but which if any of the earthworks revealed in the excavations should be associated with this date is uncertain. There was indeed no stratigraphic evidence to prove that the excavated earthworks were part of a single period of construction. A

terminus post quem was provided by the pottery which can be dated up to the mid 12th century and which was found in the layers sealed beneath the clay of the Inner and Outer bailey banks.

The Inner Bailey Moat

The edge of the moat was recorded in two parts of Trench F. In the northern part its line against the top of the Cornbrash was planned but was not excavated further; to the west, however, a narrow section through the upper fills was dug. This showed that its inner edge sloped down at a fairly shallow angle. The full extent of the Inner Bailey moat was exposed in the contractors' excavations, where two complete sections were observed. These showed the moat to have been *c.* 10 m wide at the top, with straight sides sloping at an angle of *c.* 45°, but becoming steeper towards the base. The precise nature of the base of the moat was not visible in either section, though an overall depth of *c.* 4.50 m was clear. The primary infill of the exposed section was a blue-grey clay with a high proportion of brash rubble. The colour of the clay suggested at least intermittent flooding of the moat probably by rain. During the excavation, holes dug into the Forest Marble clay were found to retain rain-water very effectively. Above it were layers of paler clay. These corresponded with the layers excavated in Trench F, which were interleaved bands of sterile clay, sloping down from the inner edge of the moat (layers 1213, 1214 and 1215). The uppermost excavated layers in this part of the moat contained sherds of post-medieval pottery, which, if not intrusive, showed that a hollow along the line of the moat had remained for a considerable period of time.

The Inner Bailey Bank

This was represented in the northern part of Trench F by patches of olive clay (Fig 23, layers 1440, 1394 and 1406). Their original extent to the north is unknown, and they had been largely removed by the post-medieval scarping along the south side of Court Street. To the south, however, though layer 1406 had been cut away by a group of intercutting graves, the southern limit of layer 1394 was extant, where it lay in the hollow above the line of the western boundary of the graveyard. This was *c.* 11 m south of the edge of the Inner Bailey moat, and suggested the most probable line for the back of the clay bank. The graves which had been dug through the clay layer 1406, though they had apparently encroached upon the back of the bank, are unlikely to have been cut through any great thickness of clay. The southern edge of 1394 had been overlaid by later clay layers, which included brash rubble, and the finely-laminated clay-stone that was found in the Forest Marble clay strata beneath the brash (1390, 1391 and 1393). These had extended southwards along the hollow above the earlier boundary, for a distance of *c.* 3 m, but there was no evidence of them beyond the edges of this hollow. They had been cut through by the rows of graves which formed the western extension to the graveyard, described below.

In the western part of Trench F, the evidence for the bank was confined to the layer of olive clay 816. This formed a band *c.* 0.15 m thick tipping down into the northern side of the hollow above the line of Ditch 832, which had defined the northern side of Enclosure 2 (Plate 25). The layer had extended at least 11 m from the edge of the Inner Bailey moat, though its precise south-eastern extent was not defined.

The Outer Bailey Moat

This was excavated in two places along the west side of the bailey, where it lay along the line of the 38 m contour, close to the top of the steep scarp down to the River Biss (Fig. 20, Trenches C and D). Both sections across it were split into two by the substantial *in situ* footings of a stone wall which followed the line of the moat around the western side of the castle. Because of its depth the base of the moat was only reached by hand excavation in the western side of Trench D, though it was exposed by machine in the western side of Trench C (Plate 4).

The profile of the moat varied little between the two trenches. On its inner, eastern side, its upper profile was relatively shallow and though its western side had been truncated by post-medieval scarping, its overall width was probably *c.* 11 m (Fig. 22). Lower down, the sides sloped at an angle of *c.* 45°, to a flat bottom, *c.* 3.50 m wide. The depth of the base of the ditch below the contemporary land surface to the east was *c.* 5 m, and to the west was *c.* 3 m.

The primary fills in Trench D comprised compact, blue-grey clay layers 607 and 288, which formed a band *c.* 1 m thick across the base of the moat. They were overlain by a band of darker, more organic clay, 285, *c.* 0.55 m thick. These layers suggested that the moat was flooded, though this could simply have been the result of accumulated rainwater. The upper fills of the moat were extant mainly along its eastern side (in both trenches D and C), and comprised layers of green or olive clay, tipping down towards the west. A very small number of sherds was recovered from the primary fills of the moat, but included a sherd from a glazed jug of 12th–14th-century date.

In Trench A, on the north side of the Outer Bailey, it was only the inner lip of the moat that was exposed during the excavation, and no detail of it was recovered.

The Outer Bailey Bank

It appeared that prior to the construction of the defensive bank itself, a large area beneath the north-western part of the Outer Bailey was levelled

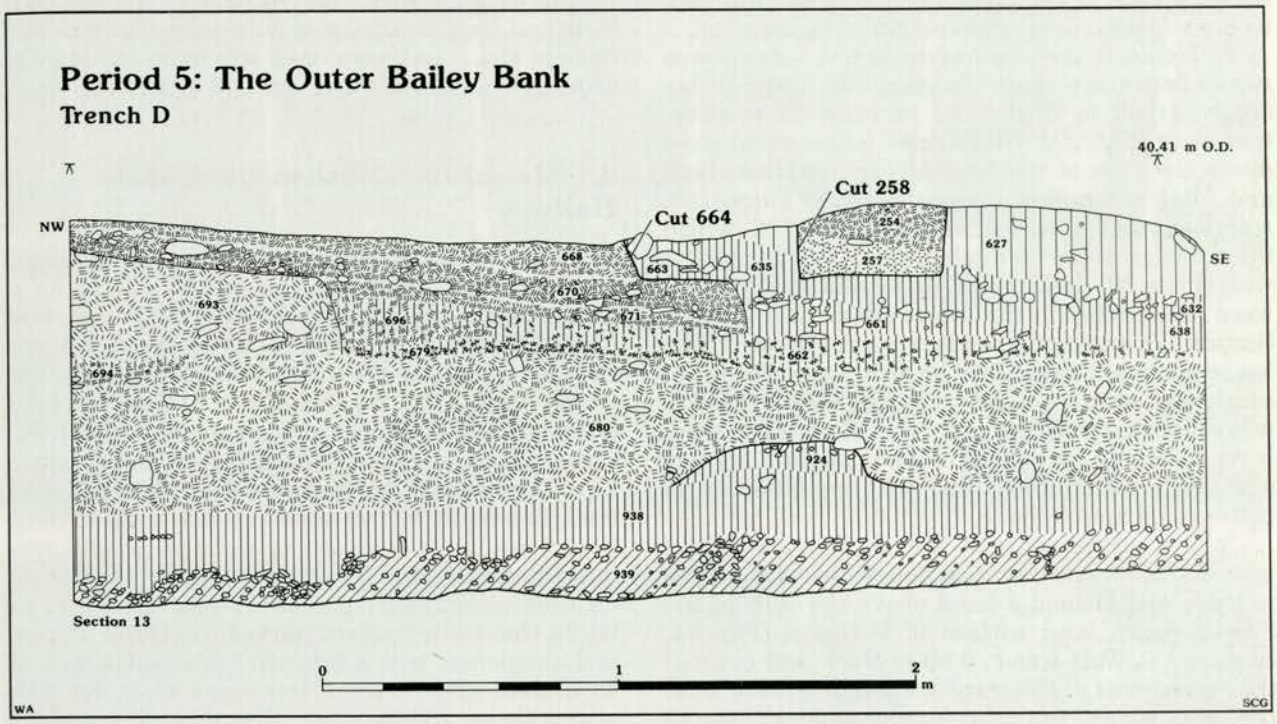

Figure 21 Period 5: Section 13, the Outer Bailey Bank

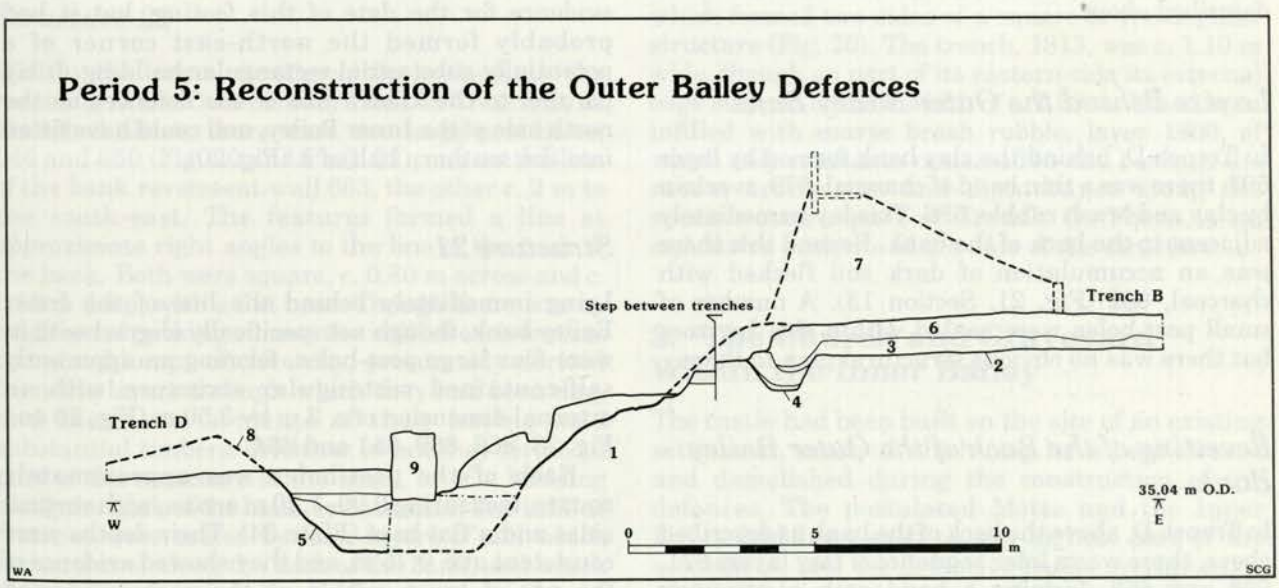

Figure 22 Period 5: reconstruction of the Outer Bailey defences. 1) Forest Marble Clay; 2) surface of the Cornbrash; 3) soil of the Saxo-Norman land surface; 4) Ditch 135; 5) Outer Bailey Moat; 6) clay levelling; 7) Outer Bailey Bank, reconstructed; 8) land surface west of the defences, reconstructed; 9) 19th-century wall along line of moat

up with a dump of clay. This layer was found in Trenches B, C and D, but it was only in Trench D that the base of the bank itself was encountered, where two phases of construction were apparent.

In Trench B, the whole of the excavated area was sealed beneath a layer of apparently uniform clay (104) *c.* 0.60 m thick, and at least 12 m wide, east–west (Fig. 22). This formed a horizontal band above the soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface, and filled the hollow along the top of Ditch 135, where it overlay an earlier clay layer, 126, which filled the lower part of ditch, tipping into it from the west (Plate 29). In Trench C to the south, clay layers were only extant in the top of Ditch 135 (Fig. 16, Section 11), and again two layers were present. The lower of these (1043/1045), which was only in the south-western part of the excavated length of ditch, was separated from the upper and more substantial layer (136/149) by a band of dark, slightly organic soil (137) which contained a large quantity of pottery and animal bone.

In the eastern part of Trench D, a horizontal layer of clay was excavated, 680, which was *c.* 0.50 m thick and formed a band above the soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface of Period 4 (Fig. 21, Section 13). This was *c.* 0.50 m thick and covered the whole area of the trench, extending back from the inner edge of the moat for a distance of over 15 m. This was comparable to layer 104 excavated in Trench B, and it was on the surface of this layer that the defensive bank itself appeared to have been constructed, its back crossing the area of the trench from south-west to north-east. This was represented by a single layer of clay, 693, the surface of which sloped down from the north-west. Within the area of the excavation, its maximum thickness was *c.* 0.40 m, directly overlying the clay layer 680, described above.

Layers Behind the Outer Bailey Bank

In Trench D, behind the clay bank formed by layer 693, there was a thin band of charcoal, 679, overlain by clay and brash rubble, 696. This lay immediately adjacent to the back of the bank. Beyond this there was an accumulation of dark soil flecked with charcoal, 662 (Fig. 21, Section 13). A number of small post-holes were sealed within this horizon, but there was no obvious structural plan to them.

Revetting of the Back of the Outer Bailey Bank

In Trench D, above the back of the bank as described above, there was a later sequence of clay layers 671, 670 and 668, forming a band with a surviving thickness of *c.* 0.25 m (Fig. 21, Section 13). These had extended further to the south-east than the clay of the bank described above, but it was not clear whether they were a deliberate thickening of the bank, or simply a result of its being weathered and eroded. The south-eastern edge of these layers had, however, been deliberately defined by a rubble wall 663, of which the base remained *in situ* (Plate 33). This had been constructed on a ledge cut into the back of the clay layers, and was built of roughly-coursed brash rubble and was *c.* 0.60 m wide.

2. Structures Within the Castle Baileys

The evidence for buildings within the castle baileys, contemporary with the use of the castle as a defensive structure during the Anarchy Period, was limited. Parts of two substantial timber structures were found adjacent to the back of the Inner and the Outer Bailey (Fig. 20, Structures 21 and 22), both of which could have been an element of the defences, rather than a structure within their line. Structure 21 comprised four substantial post-holes which had held timbers up to 1 m across, and seemed to have been an approximately square structure, immediately behind the Inner Bailey Bank, close to its junction with the postulated Motte. Structure 22 lay in the north-western part of the Outer Bailey, and comprised two substantial post-holes, one of which had cut into the revetment wall at the back of the Outer Bailey Bank. The other lay a short distance to the south, and they suggested a structure that had been built into and against the back of the bank, though its overall dimensions are unknown.

A third structure (Fig. 20, Structure 23) lay within the area of the Inner Bailey, in the south of the area excavated. The evidence for it consisted of remnants of a rubble footing set onto the surface of the brash bedrock. There was no conclusive evidence for the date of this footing, but it had probably formed the north-east corner of a potentially substantial rectangular building. It lay parallel to the known line of the defences on the north side of the Inner Bailey, and could have fitted into the southern half of it (Fig. 20).

Structure 21

Lying immediately behind the line of the Inner Bailey bank, though not specifically aligned with it, were four large post-holes, forming an apparently self-contained rectangular structure with an external dimension of *c.* 3 m by 3.50 m (Fig. 20 and Fig. 23, 866, 869, 851 and 854).

Each of the post-holes was approximately square, measuring 0.90–1.20 m across, with vertical sides and a flat base (Plate 34). Their depths were consistent at *c.* 0.75 m, and they showed evidence of the use of brash rubble as the packing around timbers up to 1 m across. Within the fill, there was little evidence of the clay of which the castle bank had been constructed, but stratigraphically the post-holes lay within the same horizon as the Inner Bailey bank.

Plate 33 Trench D, Period 5: the Outer Bailey Bank and stone revetting wall 663. The square post-holes are those of Structure 22. The soil to the left is the Period 4 land surface. View from the south. Scales 2 m

Structure 22

Within the same stratigraphic horizon as the revetting of the Outer Bailey Bank in Trench D, as described above, there were two large post-holes, 646 and 650 (Fig. 20 and Plate 33), one on the line of the bank revetment wall 663, the other *c.* 2 m to the south-east. The features formed a line at approximate right angles to the line of the back of the bank. Both were square, *c.* 0.80 m across and *c.* 0.80 m deep, with a flat base. Though there was no evidence of packing stones, the infill of each feature contained lumps of olive clay, presumably derived from the layers through which they had been dug, and there was evidence of their having held substantial timbers. Whether or not they formed a part of the structure of the bank, or of a building along the back of the bank, is uncertain. The infilled features were sealed by later layers of soil which accumulated along the back of the bank, and which dipped down towards the south-east.

Structure 23

The evidence consisted of a vertical-sided trench dug into the brash bedrock to a depth of *c.* 0.40 m, which formed two sides of a square or rectangular structure (Fig. 20). The trench, 1813, was *c.* 1.10 m wide, though on part of its eastern side its external edge stepped out to a width of *c.* 1.80 m. It had been infilled with coarse brash rubble, layer 1800, of which only remnants remained *in situ* beneath the recent truncation and disturbance along the south-western part of Trench G. There is no conclusive evidence of the date of the structure.

3. The Church and Graveyard Within the Inner Bailey

The castle had been built on the site of an existing settlement, much of which may have been cleared and demolished during the construction of the defences. The postulated Motte and the Inner Bailey had been sited on the highest part of the settlement, and the defensive banks overlay parts of the ditches of the manorial enclosure (Fig. 12, Enclosure 2, and Fig. 20), and an extensive area of the northern part of the graveyard. The church itself was, however, included within the area of the Inner Bailey, and though the defensive bank lay close to its northern and eastern walls, it had continued in use, as did those areas of the graveyard

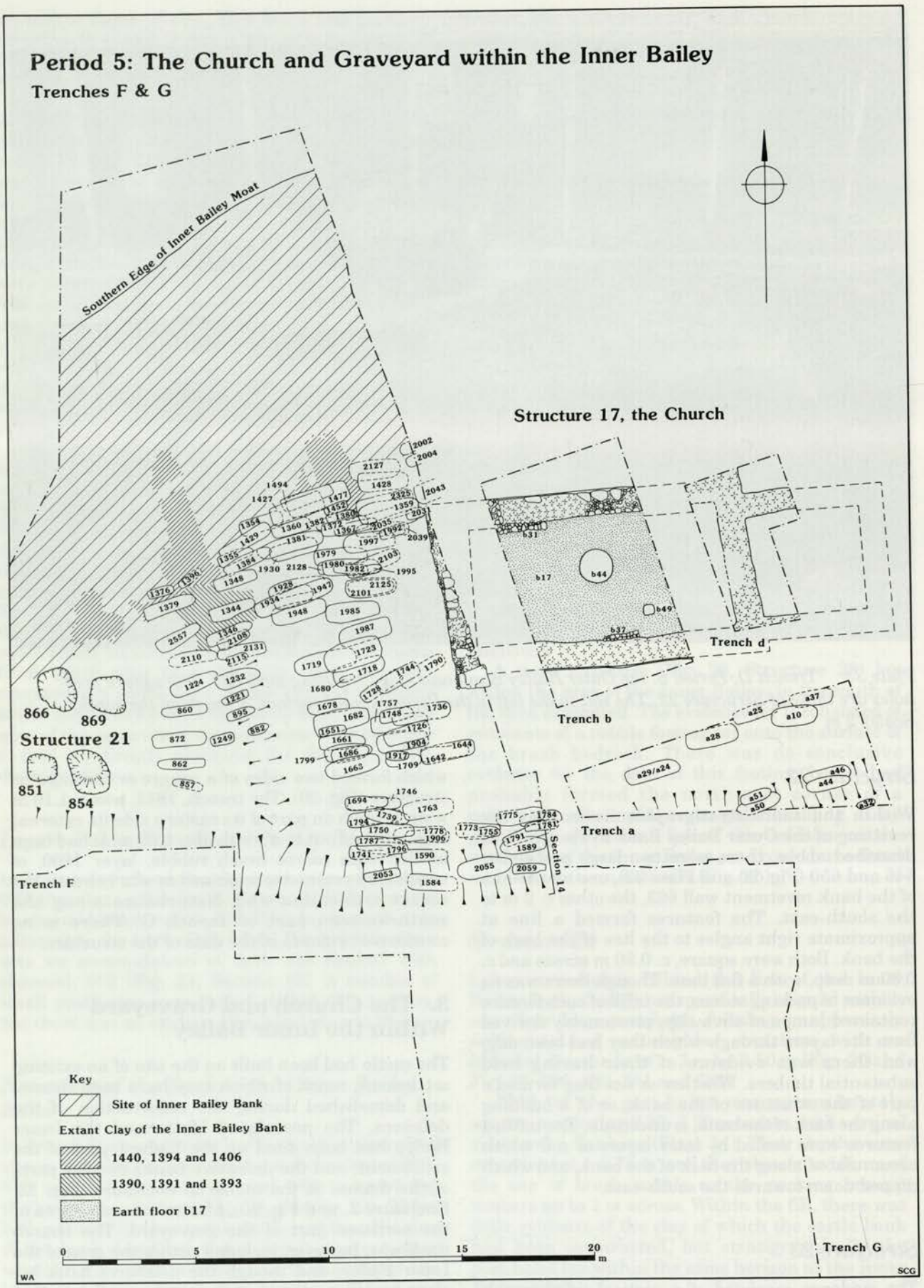

Figure 23 Period 5: the church and graveyard within the Inner Bailey of the Anarchy Period castle

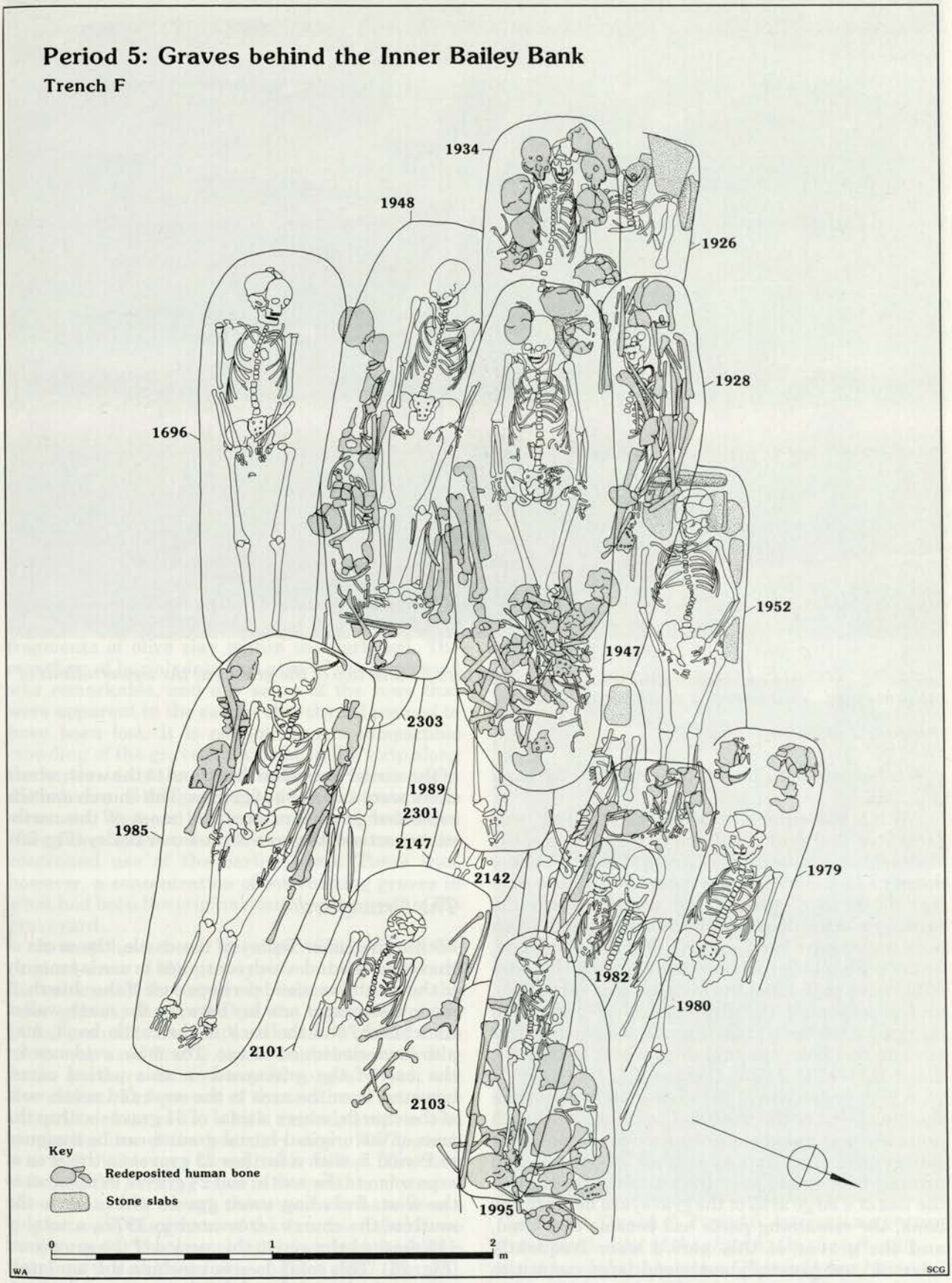

Figure 24 Period 5: Graves behind the Inner Bailey Bank

Plate 34 Trench F, Period 5: the post-holes of Structure 21 and two of the graves at the western limit of the graveyard. View from the south. Scale 2 m

which had not been buried beneath the clay bank (Fig. 23).

Within the church, a sequence of layers was excavated that could be dated to the middle of the 12th century on the basis of a coin of King Stephen, dated *c.* 1135–1154 (*below, Chapter 7.1, 12*). This was found in a layer of soil which covered the primary mortar floor within the church, and which appeared to have been an earth floor. Two drystone, dwarf walls which had been built against the sides of the nave post-dated the laying of this earth floor, and represented the first period of structural change within the church (Fig. 23). Of two features cut into this floor, one contained a coin of Henry I, dated 1134–1135 (*below, Chapter 7.1, 11*).

A high proportion of the excavated burials from the graveyard to the west and south of the church probably post-dated the construction of the Inner Bailey defences, and a number of graves had actually encroached upon the tail of the bank. With the loss of a large area of the graveyard beneath the bank, the remaining parts had become over-used, and the graves of this period were frequently intercut, and generally contained large quantities of redeposited human bones (Fig. 24 and Plate 35). Eventually, the area of the graveyard was expanded to the south, where graves were dug along the line of the earlier enclosure ditch, and to the west, where there were two rows of graves. The church and the expanded graveyard occupied most of the north-east quarter of the area of the Inner Bailey (Fig. 20).

The Graveyard

Within the Inner Bailey of the castle, the areas of the burial ground which continued in use lay mainly to the south, west and perhaps east of the church. A narrow strip that now lay between the north wall of the church, and the back of the castle bank, may also have continued in use. The main evidence for the use of the graveyard in this period came, however, from the area to the west and south-west of the church, where a total of 61 graves within the area of the original burial ground can be assigned to Period 5, with a further 23 graves in the area of expansion to the south, and 24 graves in the area to the west. Including seven graves which lay to the south of the church (excavated in 1977), a total of 115 graves belonged to this period of the graveyard (Fig. 23). This total does not include the ten latest graves which post-dated the deposition of clay over most of the area of the graveyard (described below), and which are shown on Figure 26.

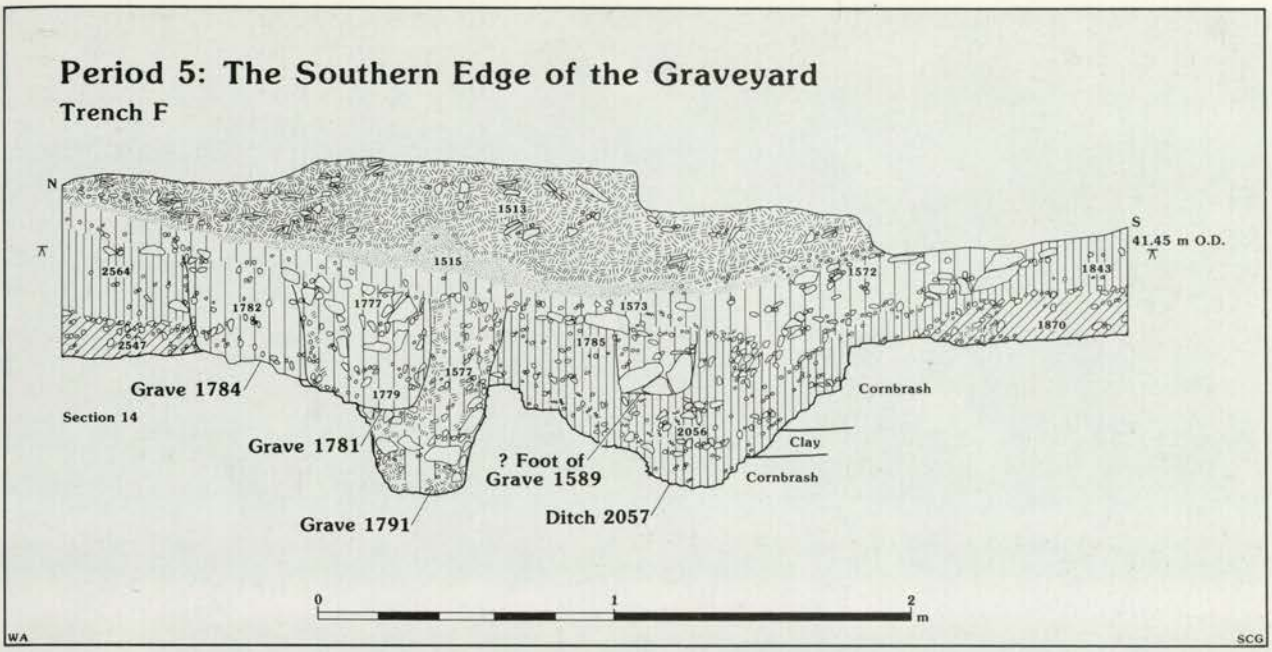

Figure 25 Period 5: Section 14, Ditch 2057; the northern boundary of Enclosure 3

In the excavated area immediately to the north-west of the church there was a concentration of intercutting graves, of which the most northerly actually encroached upon the back of the castle bank, and their grave fill was characterised by fragments of olive clay within the dark soil. The crowding of burials into this area of the graveyard was remarkable, and any sense of the rows that were apparent in the earlier churchyard seemed to have been lost. It is possible that a comparable crowding of the graves took place in the strip along the north side of the church in Trench b, but recent disturbance of the ground made this impossible to ascertain. West and south-west of the church there were fewer graves, and it was possible to see the continued use of the earlier rows. There was, however, a concentration of intercutting graves in what had been the original south-west corner of the graveyard.

It may have been the rapid filling-up of the original area of the graveyard, and the continual disturbance of the earlier burials within it by the later graves, that provoked the expansion of the burial ground to the south and west. Which of these areas was used first is unknown, but the crowding in the southern extension could suggest that it was the earlier. The graves of the southern extension comprised four rows, which extended up to and across the line of the boundary ditch, 2057, which was still visible as a broad linear hollow. The rows reflected the existing rows in the south and west of the churchyard, though there seems to have been a gap between the graves of the extension and those to the north. The most southerly graves had been dug into the southern side of Ditch 2057 (Fig. 25). In the latest stages of the use of this area, graves had been dug between and on top of earlier graves.

The western extension of the graveyard comprised two rows of graves which extended southwards from the back of the Inner Bailey bank,

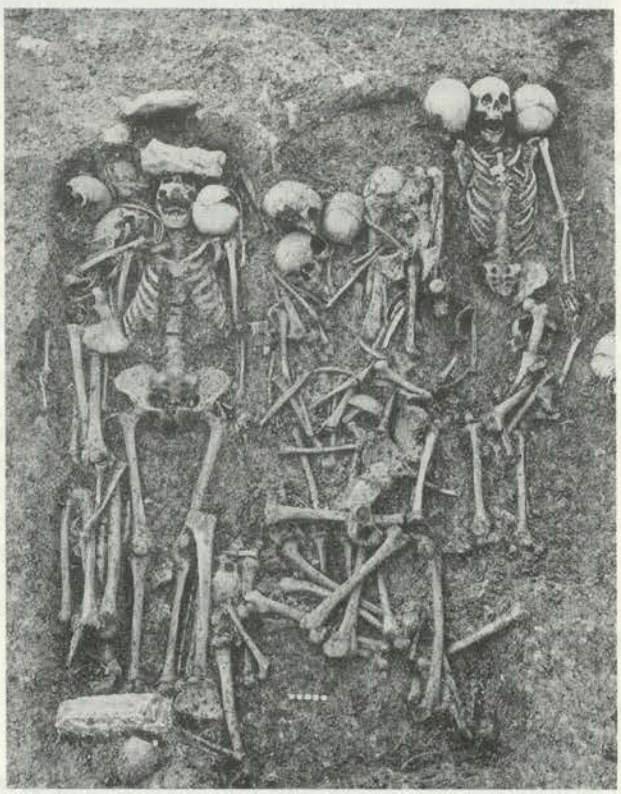

Plate 35 Trench F, Period 5: intercutting graves to the south-west of the church. On the left with the stone slabs at head and foot is Grave 1663, with Graves 1799 and 1686 centre. View from the east. Scale 0.10 m

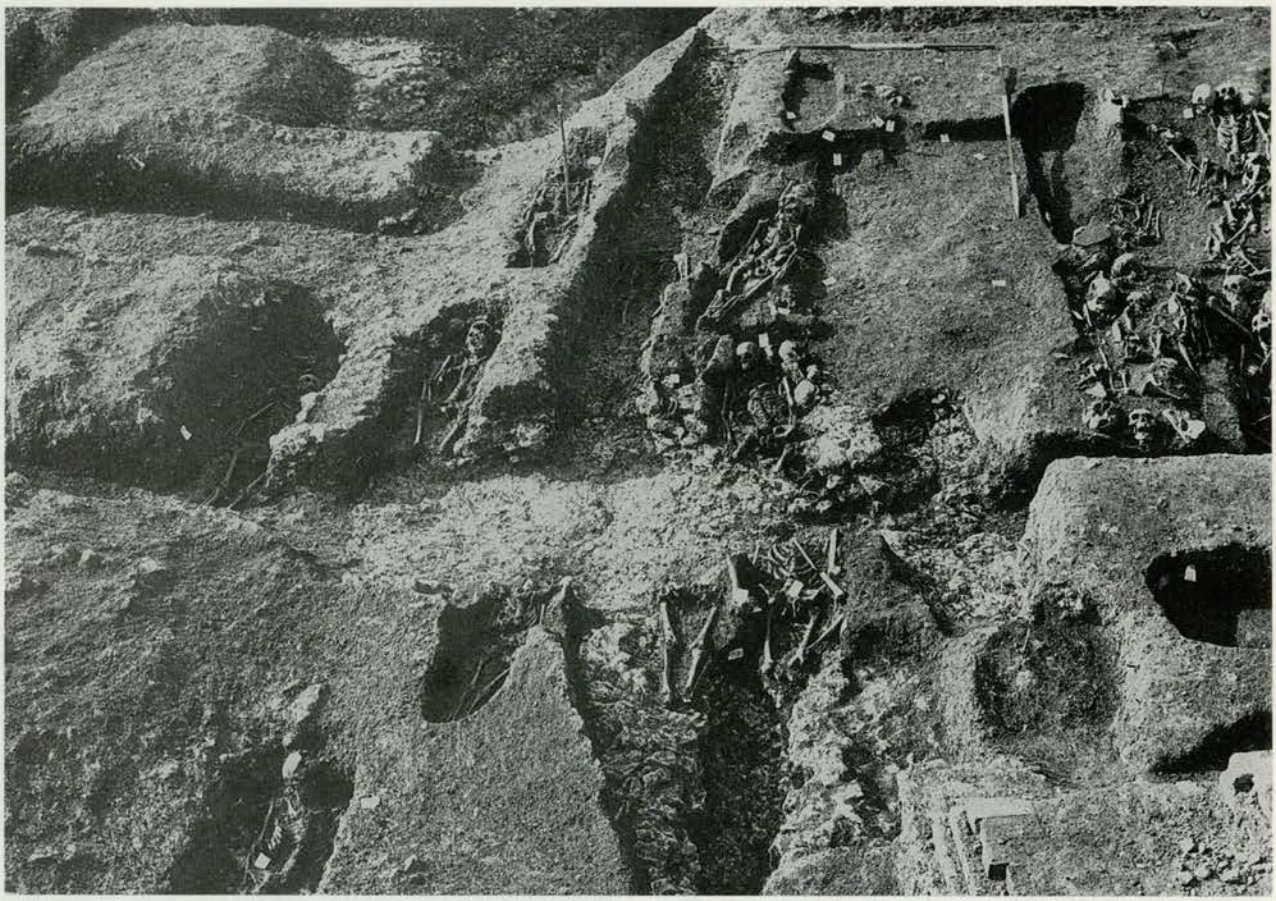

Plate 36 Trenches F and G, Period 5: the southern extension of the graveyard showing graves cut into the line of Ditch 2057. View from the east. Scales 2 m

into which the northern graves had been dug. The eastern row generally lay along the line of the infilled graveyard boundary ditch 2559/880 (Fig. 23), which remained as a shallow hollow, and the western row lay beyond it. The graves of the rows were relatively evenly spaced, and there was little evidence of the intercutting of graves which characterised most parts of the graveyard (Plate 37). In the middle of the eastern row, a child's grave, 2108, had been cut by an adult's grave, 1346, though with little disturbance of the earlier burial; and an infant's grave, 2115, had been inserted over the edge of Grave 2131. At the north end of the eastern row, there were two graves, 1429 and 1384, which closely reflected the line of the castle bank, and had been dug overlapping the eastern row of the extension and the graves in the original graveyard area.

The Graves

There was no difference between the burial rites employed in the graves of Period 5 and those of Period 4. The graves were similarly shallow, rarely having been dug into the brash bedrock, and the burials were extended, with the arms usually at the sides; there was no evidence for the use of coffins. The practice of using slabs of brash partially to line a grave continued, as in Grave 1360, but more frequently stones had only been placed around the head, supporting it on either side, as in Grave 2557 in the western extension of the graveyard. In Grave 1663, one of the latest graves in the south-west corner of the original area of the graveyard (Fig. 23), two slabs of fine, Oolitic Limestone had been set upright in the grave, one at the head and one at the feet, but it was not clear to what extent these may have shown above ground, thus marking the position of the grave (Plate 35).

There was, however, one difference between many of the graves of Period 5 and those of Period 4. Following the loss beneath the castle banks of a large area of the graveyard, those areas which continued in use rapidly became filled, and in consequence the later burials disturbed the earlier, and often contained large quantities of redeposited human bone. The bone seems to have been collected during the digging of the new grave, and returned to the ground with the new burial, and it was generally possible to identify the earlier graves from which the bone was likely to have come. In some graves, for example Grave 1948 (Fig. 24) and Grave 1427, the disarticulated bone had been packed into the sides of the grave, around the corpse; in others simply heaped into the grave, above the new burial. In Graves 1799 and 1686 (Plate 35) the bone had

Plate 37 Trench F, Period 5: the graveyard within the Inner Bailey of the Anarchy Period castle. The line of the western boundary ditch is visible upper right with graves of the western extension of the graveyard beyond it. View from the east. Scale 0.30 m

been spread along the length of the grave, in Grave 1947 dumped in a jumbled heap at the foot (Fig. 24). There was no conclusive evidence of the disturbed bones having been replaced in a semblance of their original position; skulls to the west and long bones to the east. Though the skulls of disturbed burials had frequently been placed in the west end of the graves, this was apparently done as a support or protection around the head of the corpse (comparable to the way in which stone slabs were also used), and it seems possible that accidentally disinterred skulls may have been put aside specifically for this purpose. Three skulls had been placed to support the head of the corpse in Grave 1947, and in Grave 1934, parts of eight skulls had been placed around the surviving upper part of the body, surely more than could have been disturbed in the digging of a single grave (Fig. 24 and Plate 38).

Graveyard Soils

In a number of areas of the graveyard, layers of soil were removed which ostensibly sealed the graves, but in reality were more likely to have been the undifferentiated upper fills of graves. The main groups of such layers lay above the highly intercut graves in the south-western part of the original area of the graveyard and in Trench a to the south of the church. Similar layers were excavated above the two rows of graves in the western extension of the graveyard, before the outlines of the graves themselves became clear. More specific layers were also excavated; a soil layer (1632) which may actually have sealed a number of the graves immediately adjacent to the west wall of the church; and layers of soil and rubble (1498, 1496, 1446 and 1447) which sealed the graves in the western part of the Period 5 graveyard, immediately behind the castle bank.

The Mid 12th-Century Sequence within the Church: Structure 17

In the excavated area within the nave of the church in Trench b, the primary floor of mortar, and the post-holes which had been cut into it, were sealed by a layer of fine brown soil (layer b17), with an average depth of *c.* 0.05 m. The surface of this had been to some extent compacted, and it appeared to have been a deliberately laid earth floor. Very little material was found within it, though it included an iron barrel padlock, and a penny of King Stephen dated *c.* 1135–1154 (*below, Chapter 7.1, 12*).

Structural alterations or additions made to the chapel at this time consisted of the two low, drystone

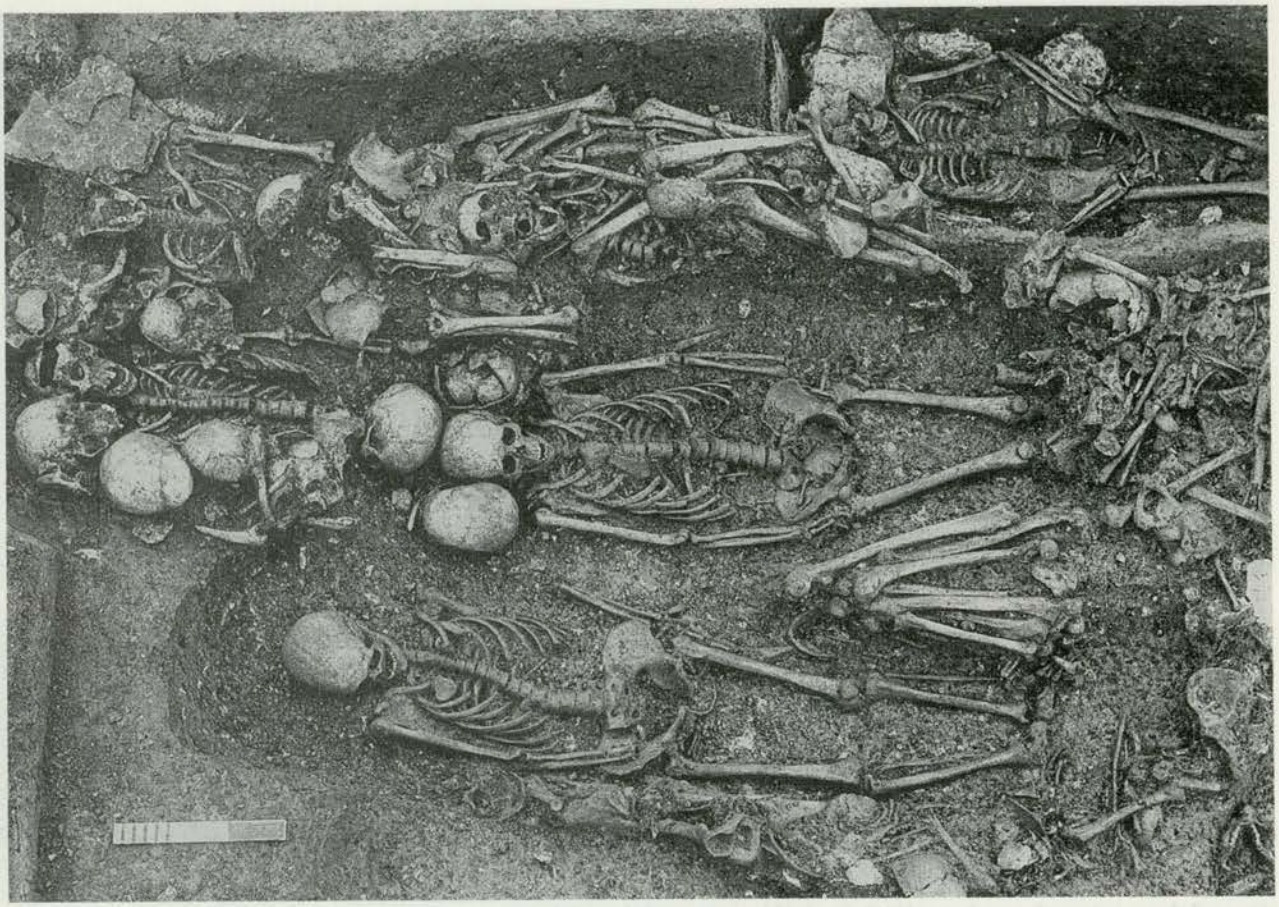

Plate 38 Trench F, Period 5: intercutting graves west of the church. The central skeleton, with three skulls supporting the head, is in Grave 1947. View from the south. Scale 0.30 m

walls built against the side walls of the nave (Fig. 23). Wall b31 had been built against the north wall of the nave, and was *c.* 0.30 m wide and *c.* 0.40 m high. At its eastern end it terminated in a dressed limestone block, though it had been built generally of unshaped rubble of Cornbrash and Oolitic Limestone. Wall b37, against the south side of the nave was similar, but neither end of it was clearly original and it had been extensively disturbed by later features.

Within the nave, two features had cut through the earth floor (Fig. 23). Post-hole b49 was small, with evidence of a packing of brash rubble; Pit b44 was a shallow clay-filled feature *c.* 1.50 m in diameter, which had a deeper conical depression its centre. Its clay infilling may have been a part of the general clay layer which sealed this area of the excavations, and is described below. In the clay at the base of the pit was a cut halfpenny of Henry I, dated to 1134–1135 (*below, Chapter 7.1, 11*).

4. Alterations to the Church, and the Disuse of the Graveyard

Though restricted in area, the use of the graveyard for the burial of the dead continued during the 12th century within the defences of the castle. During this time the graveyard expanded both to the south and west of its original area (Fig. 23), but that parts of it may gradually have become no longer used for burials was suggested by the layers of soil and rubble which sealed the graves along the southern side of the graveyard, and by a very characteristic band of sand and flint gravel which sealed the area immediately to the west of the church and extended south and south-westwards. This layer may have resulted from the demolition and rebuilding of the west wall of the church during alterations which suggested that it was converted into a secular building. The evidence from the surviving part of the west wall of the church showed that it had been largely demolished, and then rebuilt to incorporate a fireplace and chimney, which stood proud of the original face of the wall, central to the west end of the building (Fig. 26). This event could not be related stratigraphically to the sequence within the church that has been described above. Several blocks of ashlar which lay on the surface of the graveyard soils west of the church could have been derived from the demolition of parts of the church.

Possibly contemporary with the changes to Structure 17 was the construction of Structure 24 (Fig. 26), which lay immediately to the west of the extended graveyard. This was a square base of rubble, surviving to a maximum of three courses,

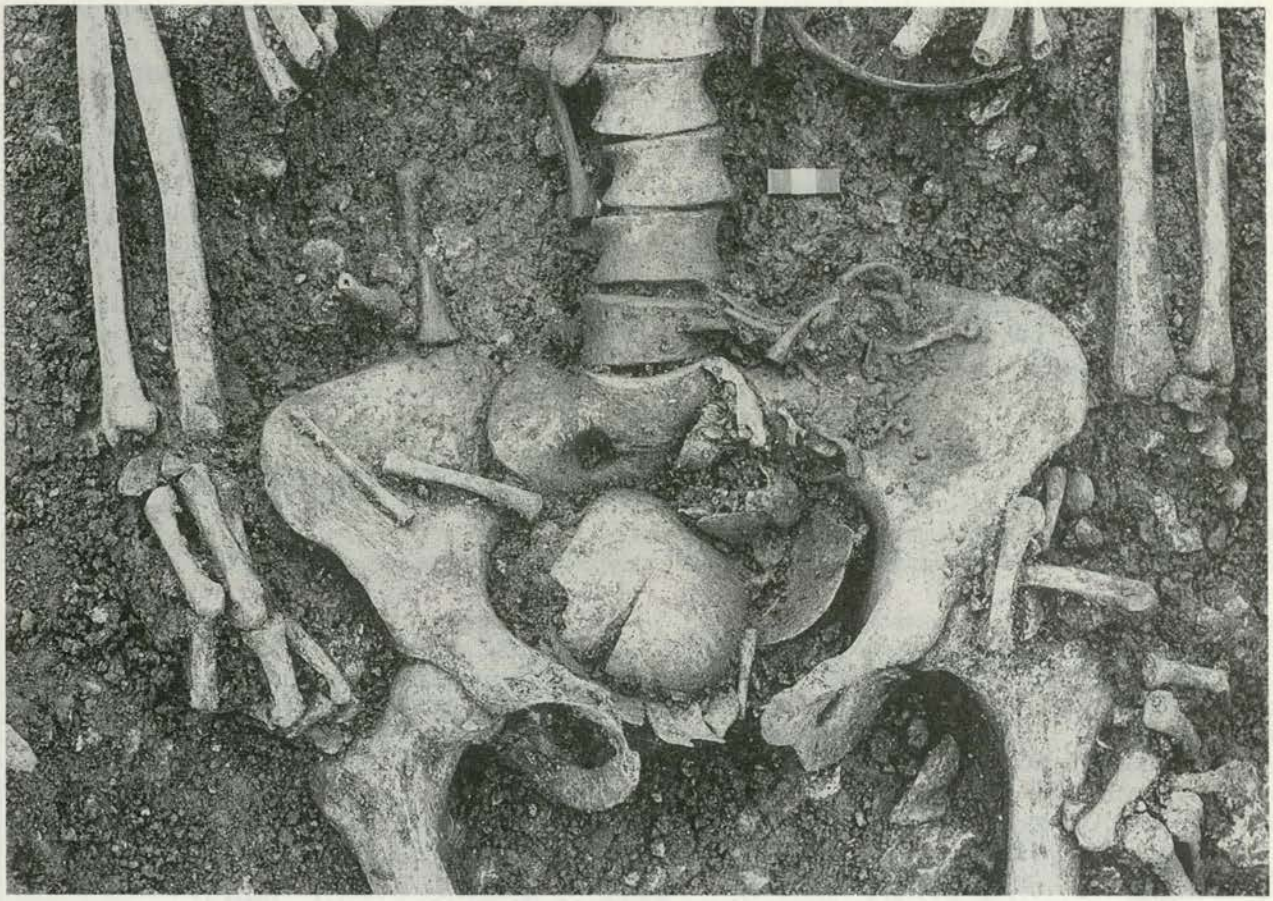

Plate 39 Trench F, Period 5: Grave 1947, skeleton 5024 with unborn foetus 5040. View from the east. Scale 0.30 m

which appeared to have been constructed on the surface of the soils to the west of the graveyard prior to the deposition of the clay which covered this area of the site. This cannot be shown with any certainty, but the base may be part of a period of major structural change within the area of the Inner Bailey of the castle. This square rubble base may actually have replaced the square timber structure suggested by the post-holes of Structure 21 (Fig. 23).

The use of the graveyard within the Inner Bailey was eventually halted by the deposition of a layer of olive clay at least 0.30 m thick, which covered its whole area, as well as the area to the west. The original southern limit of the layer is unknown, however, but it may have extended some distance to the south of the graveyard limits. Though along the south side of the church, in Trench a, the burial of an infant (a32) separated the dump into two stages, there is unlikely to have been any significant time lapse, and the deposition of the clay was basically a single event. The layer did not, however, completely end the use of the burial ground; nine graves clearly post-dated its deposition (Fig. 26), but the extensive use of the graveyard had ended, and none of the latest burials need be later than *c.* AD 1200. The graves excavated in Trench F, which had been dug through the clay, were eventually sealed beneath a sequence of discontinuous surfaces of rubble which infilled a hollow in the clay, but whether this was derived from a period of further alterations to the church is unknown. The dump of clay was also found within the nave. This did not mean that the building had gone out of use, however, and the evidence suggested that it was not finally demolished until the 16th century (Period 6).

The clay layer was of Forest Marble clay, the most obvious source for which at this time would have been the earthworks of the Anarchy Period castle. The volume of the deposit was considerable, and if it had indeed been derived from the castle earthworks, it suggests a considerable modification of the defences of the Inner Bailey, and the partial levelling either of parts of the Inner Bailey Bank or of the Motte.

Soils Within the Inner Bailey

Within the Inner Bailey of the castle, layers of soil were excavated which lay south of the area of the graveyard, and which formed the land surface contemporary with its latest period of use. These layers, though not always sealed by it, stratigraphically pre-dated the layers of clay with which the graveyard was eventually covered (*below*). They lay in three areas; in the hollow along

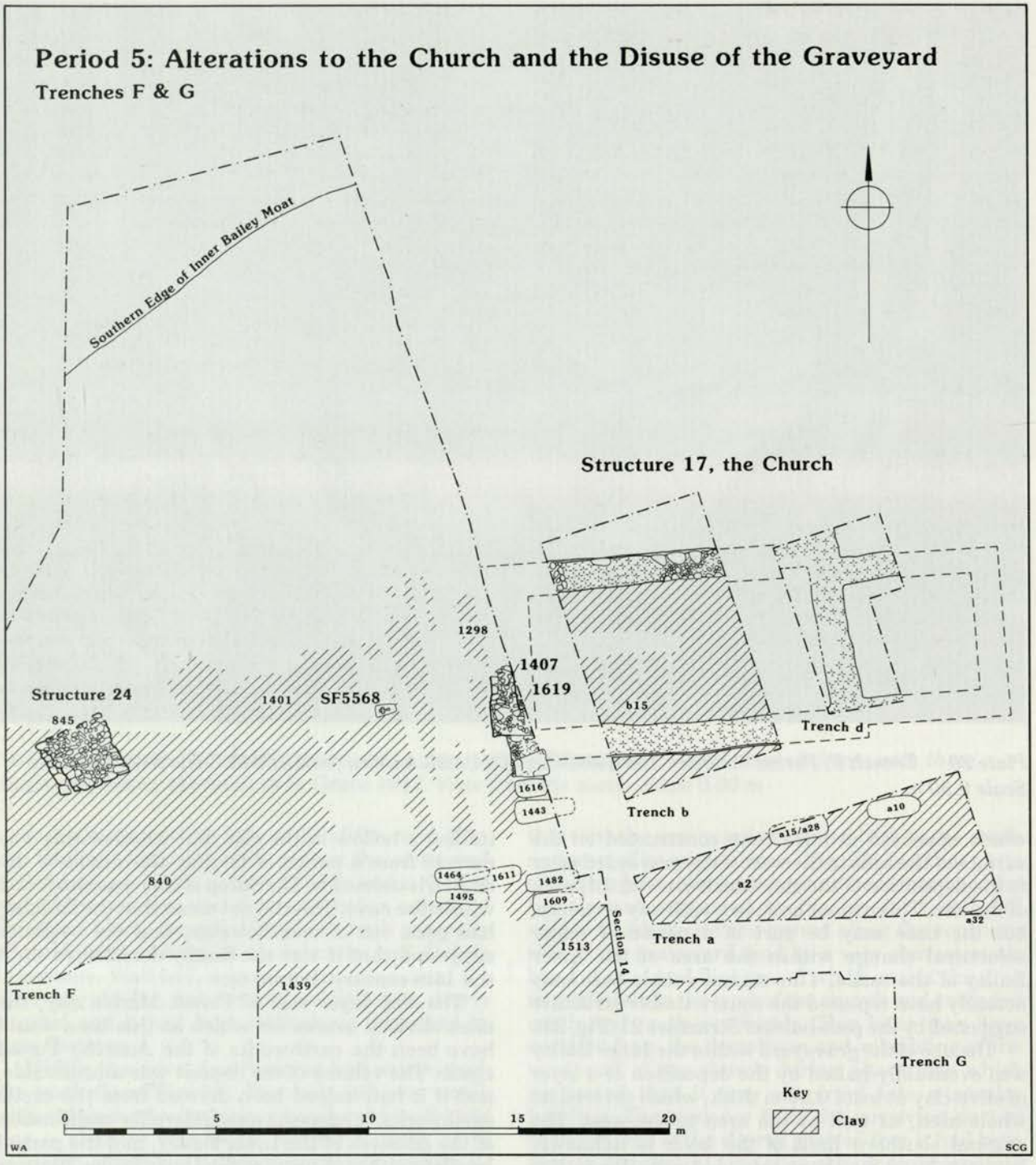

Figure 26 Period 5: alterations to the church and disuse of the graveyard

the line of Ditches 1554 and 2057; in the area immediately south of this ditch, in the north of Trench G; and above and east of the line of Ditch 1597 (Fig. 15).

Along the line of Ditches 1554 and 2057, they formed a layer *c.* 0.25 m thick, which overlapped the back of the clay of the Inner Bailey Bank where that layer tipped down into the ditch at the west end of Trench F (Plate 25). Layers 818, 819, 820, 827 and 1225 formed a continuous layer along the line of the ditch, and continued eastwards as layer 1552, at the junction of Trenches F and G. South of Ditch 2057, layer 1552 was continued as layer 1551, and the two were indistinguishable, dark clayey soils. The final layers within the hollow above Ditch 2057 were more rubbly soils, with frequent brash rubble tipping down from the south (Fig. 25, eg. 1573, 1572). The comparable layers along the western side of Trench G had been truncated, but survived on the eastern side of the trench, above and to the

east of Ditch 1597. Layers 1543, 1538 and 1531 covered a large area in the north-eastern part of Trench G, and were dark, often rubbly soils. It was overlain by the remnants of later layers in the north-east corner of the trench (layers 1539, 1536, 1535, 1532, 1533, 1534 1525, 1517 and 1529).

Along the line of Ditches 1554 and 2057, and close to its southern edge (along the north edge of Trench G), these soils were sealed beneath the clay dump that eventually covered the area of the graveyard (Fig. 25, 1513). The original southern extent of this layer is unknown; it may have covered much of the area within the Inner Bailey, thus effectively sealing all the soils described here.

The Rebuilding of the West Wall of the Church: Structure 17

The western side of the west wall of the church remained *in situ* along the eastern side of Trench F. The central part of the original ashlar block wall had been demolished down to its bottom course, and layers that had potentially derived from this demolition lay to the west of its line, and were sealed beneath the edge of the later rebuilding of the central part of the wall. Layer 1625 was a thin spread of sand and gravel which lay along the west side of the church, and to the south was continued as layers 1550, 1515 (Fig. 25), 1444, 1612 and 1615. To the west of the church, a number of ashlar blocks were recovered from the same stratigraphic horizon, and lay on the surface of the soils beneath the later clay layer. These included a slab with a raised cross (Fig. 33) and two blocks with incised lines (Plates 40 and 41); all may have derived from the demolition of the west end of the church.

The evidence for the nature of the rebuild of the demolished wall consisted of the base of two walls, constructed of cut blocks with a rubble core, which formed the south-west corner of a hearth, and had probably supported a substantial chimney stepped out west of the line of the original wall (Fig. 26, 1407). At the south-west corner of the structure there was a more substantial footing built within a squared cut.

The base of the fireplace or hearth remained *in situ* as a number of thin slabs of limestone brash 1619, set on edge and subsequently reddened by heat. The absolute level of the surface of the fireplace was *c.* 0.15 m above the level of the earth floor b17, excavated to the east, within the nave itself. There was no stratigraphic link between the two, but the fireplace is unlikely to have been contemporary with the latest recorded floor within the building (Period 6), which was considerably higher than it.

There was no direct evidence for the date of these changes, but on the basis of the relationship between the rebuild of the wall and the clay dump over the western part of the graveyard, it is unlikely to have been later than *c.* AD 1200.

Structure 24

This lay immediately west of the extended graveyard of Period 5 (Fig. 26), and comprised a square base, measuring *c.* 2.10 m across, constructed of roughly coursed slabs of brash and brash rubble. A maximum of three courses was extant, and the lowest course lay on the surface of the soils to the west of the graveyard. The precise stratigraphic relationship between this structure and the thick layer of clay which eventually sealed this part of the site was uncertain; in places the edge of the rubble base appeared to have been sealed by the clay.

Clay Layers Sealing the Graveyard

To the west of the church, Structure 17, the whole area of the graveyard within the line of the Inner Bailey Bank, was covered by a layer of compact, olive clay, which, though generally truncated, remained in places up to a thickness of *c.* 0.40 m. Numbered variously according to area (layers 821, 822, 840, 838, 1401, 1402, 1298, 1435, 1453, 1610, 1439 and 1513), they extended southwards as far as the northern edge of Trench G, and were thickest above the hollow along the line of Ditches 1554 and 2057 (Fig. 25, 1513; Fig. 26). Generally these layers formed a single deposit of clean clay, which included fragments of laminated mudstone, and was clearly redeposited clay of the Forest Marble beds. In the western part of Trench F, however, the main clay deposit 840 was in places visibly separated from an upper layer, 838, by a thin band of dark soil 839. Where identified, layer 838 lay in the north-west part of the trench.

In the area to the south of Structure 17, Trench a, there also appeared to have been more than one stage of deposition. The earlier formed an uneven, patchy band of grey-green clay varying in thickness between *c.* 0.10 m and 0.30 m (layers a6 and a14). This was overlain by the later deposit, a compact olive clay, a2, *c.* 0.40 m thick, and which was directly comparable to the layer excavated in Trench F. Between the two deposits there were patches of a layer of mortar and fragments of lime- stone rubble, a5, and apparently an infant burial (Fig. 26, Grave a32), which had been dug through the earlier clay, at the southern edge of the graveyard.

Within Trench b, clay had been dumped both to the north and south of the walls of the church, though little of this remained *in situ*. Within the church itself, however, there was a continuous layer of compact olive clay, b15, on average *c.* 0.35 m thick. Though there was no stratigraphic link between this clay and the clays outside the church, they may have been a contemporary deposit. That the old church was still a standing building when the clay was deposited was shown by traces of timber partitions on the surface of the clay, and the evidence suggested that it was not finally demolished until the 16th century (Period 6).

The Latest Graves

To the south-west of the church, in Trench F, seven graves were excavated which were stratigraphically later than the deposit of clay described above (Fig. 26). The group of five which lay a short distance to the south-west of the church were all burials of adults, in square-cut graves *c.* 0.75 m deep. There was no difference between these graves and those of Periods 4 and 5; they also contained redeposited human bone from disturbed graves of the earlier periods. These graves had been dug within a hollow in the clay dump, apparently where the deposit had either been thin or non-existent. The sequence of the graves was defined by their relationship with the patchy surface of brash rubble or gravel described below.

Two graves lay immediately south of the south-west corner of Structure 17. Grave 1616 was shallow, *c.* 0.20 m deep and contained the skeleton of an infant. Both graves had been sealed beneath one of the rubble layers described below, though within the top of Grave 1616 there was a layer of rubble, 1613, which included a large limestone slab, and an ashlar block, which may have been a deliberate sealing of the grave, rather than a part of the more general horizon. When cleaned, this stone was found to be marked with a lightly inscribed cross, but this was not on the upper face as it lay above the grave (*below, Chapter 7.4*; Plate 41).

To the south of the church, in Trench a, two graves were excavated which cut through the clay deposit a2. Graves a10 and a15/a28 were comparable to the graves to the west in Trench F, and both contained large quantities of redeposited human bone, piled into the grave above the corpse.

Surfaces in the South-west of the Graveyard

Above the seven graves which lay to the south-west of the church, described above, there were discontinuous patches of rubble, mortar and gravel, which may eventually have formed a continuous surface over and around the edges of a hollow in the clay dump which covered this part of the graveyard.

None of the layers was even, and the latest layer adjacent to the south-west corner of the church lay specifically above Grave 1616, and included one large slab of brash rubble, and a cut block of Oolitic Limestone, laid flat across the head of the grave (*below, Chapter 7.4*; Plate 41). Pottery from the layers fell within the general date range 10th–12th century, but a medieval jeton of Edward II dates to AD 1307–1327 (*below, Chapter 7.1, 14*).

6 Period 6: the Later Medieval Occupation of the Site of the Castle, *c.* AD 1200–1600

Evidence for the occupation of the site of the castle after c. *AD 1200 was limited. Within the area of the Inner Bailey, the defences of which may by this time have been largely levelled, there was evidence that Structure 17, which had been the church of the earlier medieval settlement, continued in use and was not finally demolished until the 16th century. Within the Outer Bailey, evidence was similarly restricted; Structure 25, just north of Court Street, was part of a stone building probably constructed in the 14th century and may have been part of the Court Barn, shown on the map of Trowbridge of* c. *1770. On the north of the site, in Trench E, the evidence was relatively more extensive, and showed that the area was open ground, probably behind late and post-medieval buildings along Fore Street. The contents of pits in this area, which dated to the 15th and 16th centuries to some extent reflected the quality of these residences.*

1. The Continued Use and Eventual Demolition of the Old Church, Structure 17

The continued use of Structure 17 after *c.* AD 1200 was shown by the traces of timber walls on the surface of the clay which had been dumped within the building, probably in the latter part of the 12th century. These walls showed as shallow gullies and suggested a row of stall-like divisions along the north side of what had been the nave. Post-holes and slots along the internal wall faces suggested more substantial timbers, and since these appeared to pre-date the demolition of the stone walls, must have been the supports of timber framing within the shell of the old church. There was, however, no evidence of the date of this period of use, nor any build-up of deposits within the building which reflected it. The features were both infilled and overlain by demolition deposits derived from dismantling of the stone structure. Pottery from these layers dated to the first half of the 16th century.

Documentary references to a number of buildings within the area of the castle suggest that Structure 17 did not stand in isolation within the area of the Inner Bailey, though there was no archaeological evidence of the continued use of Structure 23, to the south, nor of the presence of other buildings. Possibly contemporary activity was represented solely by the cobbled surfaces of stone rubble which lay to the south-west of Structure 17, but the precise dating of these is uncertain.

Post-holes and Slots within Structure 17

On the surface of the clay layer b15 which lay within the walls of the western part of Structure 17 (originally the nave), there were a number of small shallow gullies or slots, b24. The largest of these, was *c.* 0.65 m wide and ran parallel to and *c.* 3 m to the south of the north wall of the building. Along its northern side there were four smaller gullies, at right angles to it, which were spaced at intervals of *c.* 1 m. These extended up to the inner face of the north wall, and were only separated from it by a slot along its face, which contained a number of post-holes (b41). Traces of a similar slot were found along the internal face of the south wall of Structure 17. All these features had been cut through the layer of clay which had apparently formed the surface within the building during this period, and they suggested wooden partition walls within the stone shell of the building.

The infilling of the gullies appeared to be an extension of the demolition layer with which they were covered. There were few artefacts in the features and a substantially complete Malvern Chase jug from the filling reflected the demolition date rather than the period of construction and use.

The Demolition of Structure 17

Debris from the demolition of the building lay within the features described above and formed a general layer within Structure 17. The layer was one of brown soil containing clay fragments, limestone and brash rubble, and large quantities of broken stone tile, b8. Within the lines of the gullies, concentrations of complete stone tiles were noted. The two substantial trenches which ran along the tops of the walls of Structure 17, and from which the masonry of the walls had been removed down to the top of the footings, were of later date than the demolition layer within the building. The fill within these trenches was, however, comparable to the debris layer within the structure, and common finds were large, bent iron fixing nails and fragments of stucco with either a pink or white surface wash.

Pottery from the demolition horizon suggested that it had taken place in first half of the 16th century.

Rubble Surfaces

Two layers of stone rubble which formed rough cobbled surfaces, were excavated along the southern side of Trench F, mainly in the area to the west of the site of the graveyard. These lay one above the other (layers 824, 826 and 825 were the lower layer; 812, 811 and 813 the upper), and probably represented successive surfaces. There was little evidence of their date: they could as easily have been 16th century or later as medieval. It is possible that the rubble was derived from a demolished building, and a link with the demolition of Structure 17 is possible.

2. Occupation within the Outer Bailey

Traces of a single late medieval building were found in the eastern part of Trench C, on the northern side of Court Street. The fragment of *in situ* walling which represented Structure 25 was probably constructed in the 14th century, and was therefore part of a building which had occupied the site of the Outer Bailey long after the use of the castle as a defensive structure. It is possible that it was part of the western end of the Court Barn, documented as existing on the site of the castle in the 15th century, and shown on the unfinished map of the town of *c.* 1770 (Fig. 2).

In the northern part of the Outer Bailey, in Trench E, the use of the area was shown by layers of soil which contained pottery with a 13th–17th-century date range. It was clear that the upper horizon of the layers continued to form the land surface until the post-medieval period, and the deposit was probably the soil in the gardens behind buildings along Fore Street. Two pits were excavated, dated to the 15th/16th century. Structure 26, which was a late and post-medieval post-hole boundary between properties, reflected the line of the post-medieval, and therefore probably the earlier properties, along Fore Street to the north.

Structure 25

The evidence for this structure was a short length of stone walling which lay above the filled-in site of Structure 18 (Period 4). This consisted of a construction trench *c.* 1.25 m wide (Fig. 18, Section 12, Cut 174) along the western side of which there was a footing of pitched brash slabs and fragments, 540. Two courses of the base of the wall remained *in situ* above this, and consisted of a rubble core between facings of rough limestone blocks, 173, in all *c.* 0.80 m wide. The wall was aligned approximately north-west–south-east, and a length of *c.* 2 m was extant within the area of the pit. The construction trench to the east of the wall had been backfilled with dark soil.There was no trace of the rest of the building of which this wall was a part, and it is probable that the extant wall was part of a relatively deep footing employed only where the building crossed the relatively soft infill of the earlier feature.

The evidence for the date of the construction of this wall comprised a number of sherds of pottery dated to the 13th–14th century, and fragments of an iron knife with a cutler's mark (*below, Chapter 7.2; Fig. 30, 6*) which is unlikely to have been earlier than the 14th century.

Soils of the Later Medieval Land Surface

These were only excavated in the northern part of the site of the Outer Bailey, in Trench E. Here, several layers of dark, clayey soil were encountered, which though not dissimilar to the soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface described above, contained a significant proportion of later medieval and early post-medieval pottery sherds, besides material dated to the 11th and 12th centuries.

Two horizons were excavated; a lower stonier dark soil (398, 444, 445, 473 and 474) which contained a high proportion of sherds which dated to the 13th–14th century; and an upper horizon of dark, clayey soil (372, 330, 411, 302, 387, 408 and 410), which contained pottery with a 15th–17th-century date range. The deposits formed a layer altogether *c.* 0.35 m thick, and reflected the continued use of an area of open ground throughout the late medieval and post-medieval period. Corresponding soils in all other areas of the site had probably been removed during building work of the 19th century or later.

Pit 433

This pit lay in the western side of Trench E, and was sealed beneath the upper soil horizon described above; it was a small oval feature *c.* 1.40 m across and *c.* 0.35 m deep. Its fill was a dark soil containing brash rubble, and it was dated to the 15th century by the presence of sherds of Tudor Green pottery.

Pit 375

This was a sub-rectangular pit *c.* 1.35 m wide, with vertical sides and a flat base, located beneath the eastern side of Trench E. It had been cut into the Cornbrash to a depth of *c.* 0.60 m, but since it had also cut the upper soil horizon described above, its overall depth was *c.* 0.85m. Its infilling was two layers of fine clayey loam, 378 and 376, separated by a dished band of olive clay 377. The lower fill 378 contained sherds of an imported, tin-glazed albarello, probably from Spain and dated to the late 15th–16th century (Fig. 38).

Structure 26

Aligned approximately north–south across the central area of Trench E, and cutting the soils described above, was a row of substantial post-holes. These were *c.* 0.70 m across, and *c.* 0.40 m deep, and several of them had an *in situ* packing of brash rubble, and in two there was evidence of a recutting. Sherds of pottery from their infilling dated to the 17th century.

7 The Finds

1. Coins, Jetons and Tokens,
by P. H. Robinson

Abbreviations used in this report

BMC: British Museum Catalogue
North: North 1963 (*see bibliography*)
RIC: Roman Imperial Coinage
SCBI: Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles

This catalogue includes coins and tokens from the 1977 excavations (*see also Mf2 D1–2*). All coins, jetons and tokens are of copper alloy (not analysed) unless specified.

Roman Coins

1. **Postumus.** *Antoninianus*
Obverse: IMP [C POSTVMVS P F A]VG
Reverse: [[FELI]CI[TAS AVG]
Date: AD 259–268
Ref: RIC 58
SF 4362, layer 1375, Inner Bailey Bank, Period 5

2. **Claudius Gothicus.** *Antoninianus*
Obverse: Illegible
Reverse: Illegible; unidentified standing figure
Date: AD 268–270, but see below
The coin is pierced with a single large hole, 2.5 mm in diameter, so that it could be used as a charm or piece of inexpensive jewellery. This is not a regular late Roman practice but is frequently found in the pagan Saxon period.

3. **Tetricus I.** *Antoninianus* (imitative copy)
Obverse: [ ]ICVSP
Reverse: LAETIT[IA AVGG]
Date: *c.* AD 270–284

4. **House of Valentinian**
Obverse: Illegible
Reverse: GLORIA RO- MANORUM
Date: AD 364–378
Mint: Arles or Lyons
SF 4113, layer 811, rubble surface, Period 6

5. **Constantine I.**
Obverse: CONSTANTINOPOLIS
Reverse: Victory on prow
Date: AD 341–346
Mint: apparently a blundered copy of a Trier coin.
SF 57, layer b52, Structure 17, the Saxo-Norman church, Period 4 (1977).

Saxon Coins

6. **Cnut.** Silver cut halfpenny of the Quatrefoil type (North, 781)
Obverse: [ ]VTREI[ ]ΛII
Reverse: ^{x}O[ ] INC
Date: *c.* 1017–1023
Mint: Mint and moneyer uncertain but possibly struck at Winchester by the moneyer Oda.
Ref: SCBI 15 no. 4137
SF 4482, layer 1954, Grave 1965, Period 4.
The coin is incomplete and partially corroded. The letters of the mint name on the reverse may be seen on the X– radiograph.

7. **Cnut.** Silver penny of the Pointed Helmet type (North, 787)
Obverse: + CNVT. R·E:XΛN
Reverse: +ÆL•FPINE:ONTOTTΛ•
Date: *c.* 1024–1031
Mint: Struck at Totnes by the moneyer Aelfwine.
Weight: 0.69 g
Ref: From the same dies as SCBI 15 no. 3884 and SCBI 20 no. 1093.
SF 4188, layer 801, Modern overburden in west end of Trench F.
A cut halfpenny of Cnut of the same type, mint and moneyer but from different dies was found at Gastard, Corsham, in 1989 (*Devizes Museum Daybook* no. 1543).

8. **Edward the Confessor.** Silver penny of the Expanding Cross type, heavy series (North, 823), converted into a brooch by the addition of a pin fastening to the obverse (Fig. 27, 1).
Obverse: + EDP[E]RD: R[--]ER• [sic]
diademed bust left; in front sceptre with quatrefoil head
Reverse: + EPIIONLVNDENEEE ⁘
Short voided cross with expanding arms joined at the base by a circle with central pellet. There are two annulets at the outer end of the 6 o'clock limb of the cross. There is a pellet in the centre of the outer ends of the 3 and 9 o'clock arms of the cross (the latter being very faint). The pellets may have also appeared at the ends of the other two arms but would have been obscured by the rivets which adapted the coin into a brooch.
Analysis: Qualitative XRF analysis showed that the composition of the brooch is silver with a trace of copper. The face (the reverse) is mercury-gilded. Traces of lead detected on the rear face (the obverse) may indicate solder where the pin joins the brooch. No solder was detected on the face of the brooch. An unusually high quantity of mercury was detected on the rear surface.
Date: coin *c.* 1050–1053; brooch *c.* 1050–1075

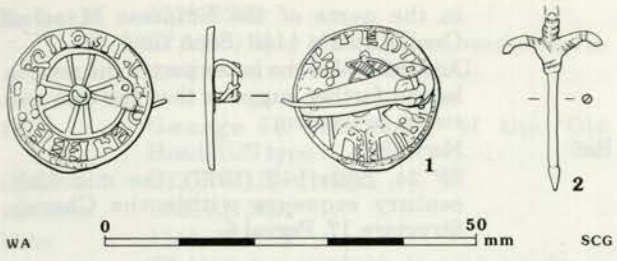

Figure 27 Silver coin brooch 1 (Coin Cat. No. 8) and pin 2 (Non-Ferrous Metalwork Cat. No. 4)

Mint: Struck at London by the moneyer Ewi (or Epi).

Ref: The coins of this type and mint by Epi in the British Museum (BMC 925) and the Fitzwilliam Museum (SBCI 1, no. 870) are both from different obverse and reverse dies. On Ewi/Epi as a moneyer, see Freeman (1985, 157).
SF 4363, layer 1537, Modern overburden in south-west corner of Trench G.

The variety with pellets at the ends of the arms of the cross is not noted in North and other works on Anglo-Saxon coins. Four pellets are shown clearly on BMC 925 but not on a coin in Cambridge by this moneyer (*see below*). They occur only very infrequently on other coins.

A strip of silver 18 mm long and tapering in width towards the catch end has been attached to the obverse of the coin, held in place by two large rivets at each end. From one end two semi-circular flanges turn upwards at right angles. These are perforated and hold a silver swivel pin with hammered ends, on which the fastening pin, also of silver and 20 mm long, freely swivels. The catch plate at the narrow end was attached as a separate piece of metal and held in place by the same rivet. Only the base part survives (as a rectangular, fine plate).

Coin brooches have been discussed most recently by Robinson (1990), who shows that there is a compact group of coin brooches found in Britain which were made from coins struck either in the latter part of the reign of Edward the Confessor or early in that of William I. The inference from this is that these coin brooches are more or less contemporary with the coins from which they were made and do not represent brooches made from 'antique' coins. A probable date for the Trowbridge brooch is therefore *c.* 1050–1075.

It is normal for the reverse of the coin to be displayed on the brooch, clearly because the design was almost invariably based on a cross. While some have the visible face gilded, the majority do not. The place of manufacture of the Trowbridge brooch is uncertain. Robinson (*ibid.*) points out that the coin brooch from Edington, Wiltshire was almost certainly made in south Wiltshire, perhaps by a goldsmith working at either Salisbury or Wilton, and that there is also evidence for a late Saxon goldsmith in north Wiltshire making jewellery from coins. In theory, either might have made the Trowbridge brooch, using a London-mint coin taken from general circulation. However, it is just as likely to have been made elsewhere, such as in Winchester or London itself.

It is unfortunate that the coin brooch came from modern layers, but it may be significant that it was found in the south-west corner of the graveyard (an area of extensive modern disturbance), lying therefore within the boundaries of Enclosure 2, the postulated Saxo-Norman manorial enclosure.

Hiberno-Norse Coins

9. **Silver penny of Dublin.**

Obverse: Pseudo inscription
Bare-headed bust facing left, based upon the Long Cross type of Aethelred II.

Reverse: Pseudo inscription within a border
Expanding cross with rounded end extending to the border with a pellet in the centre of each arm at the end.

Date: see Cat. no. 10

Diameter: 16 mm

Weight: 0.41 g

SF 4505, layer 1695, Grave 1696, Period 4.

10. **Silver penny of Dublin.**

Obverse and reverse: As Cat. No. 9 but from different dies

Date: These two coins of small flan and light weight belong to the latter part of phase V of the Hiberno-Norse series, dated by Dolley (1966a) in the British Museum *Sylloge* to *c.* 1065–1095. The dating of phase V is, however, still problematic, due to the lack of satisfactory evidence. In the present state of our knowledge it is safer to suggest a date for the coins towards the end of the 11th century, probably in the later quarter.

Diameter: 16 mm

Weight: 0.45 g

Ref: These are a new type. Compare, however, SCBI 6 nos. 199–201 and Simon (1810), 'M. Duane plate' no. 23 and 'First Additional plate' no. 8.
SF 4366, layer 1670, Graveyard Soils, Period 5 (the three-dimensional location of this coin showed that it lay directly above Grave 1696, and there can be little doubt that it too had been included in the backfilling of the grave; *see above, Cat. no. 9*).

The design of the reverse is based ultimately on the Jewel Cross type of Harold I and Harthacnut, but the distinctive reverse probably more immediately copies a Danish coin of Svend Estridsen (1047–1075) (Hauberg 1900, pl. X, 42).

These are the first later 11th-century Hiberno-Norse coins to have been found in England. The absence hitherto of the coins from England, and contemporary English coins from Ireland, is discussed by Dolley (1966a, 135f).

Single finds of Anglo-Saxon coins from graves have been discussed most recently by Biddle *et al.*

(1987, 28–32) who conclude that, rather than having been deliberately deposited, as has been suggested for some Scandinavian examples, single coins found in late Saxon graves in England are most likely to be the result of casual loss at markets held in and around churchyards.

Medieval Coins

11. **Henry I.** Cut halfpenny of Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type

Obverse and reverse: Illegible

Date: 1125–1135 (after Blackburn 1991)

Mint: Mint and moneyer uncertain. The coin has been heavily clipped and a small fragment is missing.

Ref: North 871
SF 54, Pit b44 (1977), the mid-12th-century sequence within the Church; Structure 17, Period 5

12. **Stephen.** Silver penny of Watford type.

Obverse: [+S]T IE[FN]E[?] (legend broken by central fleur-de-lys of king's crown. There is space for additional letters after the king's name but no certain traces of them).

Reverse: [ ]MAR:ON:[ ]

Date: Mack originally dated the issue of the Watford type to between *c.* 1135 and *c.* 1141 (1966, 40). Seaman (1980, 55) has more recently re-examined the dating of the type, based upon the form of the obverse legend. He argues that it was in circulation in western England from 1135 to *c.* 1152, and that coins with the king's name rendered STIEFNE (rather than STIFNE) were struck after 1141. However, Seaman's dating has been challenged (summarised in Boon 1986, 50). Archibald has pointed out that the shortest (and supposedly the latest) form of the obverse legend was already in use at the Bristol mint, which cannot have struck coins in Stephen's name after October 1139. There is no reason then why the Trowbridge coin should not have been struck before 1139.
Michael Dolley showed that the earliest form of the obverse legend on the coins of Stephen was STIFNE REX and that the form STIEFNE REX was used at a slightly later date.
In summary, while the coin cannot have been struck and lost at the very beginning of Stephen's reign (say 1135–1136), it could have been lost in c. 1139, at the time of the first historical mention of Trowbridge Castle, or even a year or so before this date.

Mint: Faint traces of a letter C on the reverse immediately before the M suggest that the moneyer is the prolific London moneyer BRICMAR. The alternative possibility, that he was themore minor moneyer SAMAR, at Leicester, is unlikely. BRICMAR, whose name on his London-struck coins is frequently misspelt, is probably to be equated with BRICMER, who struck coins in the name of the Empress Maud at Cardiff from c. 1140 (Boon 1986, 49).
A possible V in the latter part of the reverse legend further suggests that the coin was struck in London.

Ref: North 873.
SF 34, layer b17 (1977), the mid 12th-century sequence within the Church; Structure 17, Period 5.

13. **Edward I or Edward II.** Long Cross penny of Fox 10 c–f type.

Obverse: +EDWAR[ ]GLDNShYB

Reverse: CIVI TAS CAN ITOI (sic.)
double struck on reverse causing blundering of mint name (for Canterbury).

Date: 1272–1327
SF 25 (1977), Post-medieval stone-robbing trenches above the Old Church in Trench b.

Medieval jetons

14. **Edward II.** English jeton

Obverse: Border of pellets. Three Lions of England to sinister

Reverse: Border of pellets. Short Cross moline

Date: 1307–1327

Ref: Berry (1974), (Edward II) type 5b
SF 4351, layer 1489, Surfaces to the South-west of the Graveyard, Period 5.

Post-medieval coins

15. **Anglo-Irish. James II.** 'gun-money' shilling (larger size)

Obverse: IACOBVS•II• DEI•GRATIA

Reverse: MAG•BR•FRA•ET•HIB•REX•1689

Date: September 1689

Ref: Dowle and Finn (1969) 414
SF 4111, layer 801, Modern overburden in west end of Trench F.

This emergency coinage was devalued by William and Mary. Examples of 'gun-money' are not infrequently found in Wiltshire and probably circulated in small numbers unofficially in England, possibly in the 18th century when they would have been tolerated because of the shortage of official coin then.

16. **William and Mary.** Farthing

Obverse: GVLIELMVS ET MARIA

Reverse: BRITAN NIA 1694

Date: 1694

Ref: Peck (1970) 619?
SF 4082, layer 533, Post-medieval pit.

The coin measures 21 mm in diameter, smaller than the range for the issue (22–24.5 mm) given by Peck (1970). The stops (if any) on the inscriptions are illegible.

17. **George I.** Halfpenny of the Second Issue

Obverse: GEORGIVS • REX •

Reverse: BRITAN NIA

Date: 1719–1724
SF 5609, layer 1518, Modern overburden in south-west corner of Trench G.

18. **George II.** Halfpenny of the 'Old Head'/IUS type
Obverse: GEORGIUS• II•REX
Reverse: BRITAN NIA
Date: 1740, 1742–5
SF 4125, layer 801, Modern overburden in Trench F.

19. **George III.** Halfpenny of the First Issue
Obverse: GEORGIVS• III REX
Reverse: BRITAN NIA
Date: 1770–1775
SF 5609 ii, layer 1518, Modern overburden in south-west corner of Trench G.

20. **George III.** Halfpenny of the First Issue Contemporary counterfeit
Obverse: GEORGIVS• III [REX]
Reverse: BRITAN NIA 1773
Date: *c.* 1773–1800
SF 4373, layer 1518, Modern overburden in south-west corner of Trench G.

21. **George III.** Sixpence
Date: 1816
SF 82 (1977), Infill of a modern service trench in Trench b

Post-medieval Tokens

22. **Elizabeth I.** English cast lead or pewter token
Obverse: Illegible, two-headed eagle
Reverse: Illegible, crowned rose between ER
Date: Thirteen examples from an unpublished hoard at Holywell, Oxford (Brown and Dolley 1971, hoard ER 15) were found in association with jetons of Hans Schultes and Hans Krauwinckel (floruit 1580–1620), demonstrating that the tokens must date after 1580 at the earliest. Related cast lead or pewter tokens of Hawkins types 62 and 63 (1885) can now be shown to date to *c.* 1589, the accession of Henry IV of France. The preferred dating of the Trowbridge token is 1585–1595.
SF 13 (1977), Post-medieval deposits in Trench b.

Other examples of this series are recorded in Wiltshire from Toothill (village earthworks near Swindon) and Marlborough. Outside the county they have been recorded at London, Oxford and Lincoln. The place of manufacture is not known.

2. **The Metalwork**, by J. M. Mills

The gold, silver, copper and copper alloy objects were X–radiographed and selected objects were cleaned by L. Wootten of the Wiltshire Library and Museums Service Conservation Laboratory. X–radiographs of the copper and iron objects were taken by M. Brooks, H.B.M.C. conservator at the Wiltshire Library and Museum Service Laboratory, who also cleaned selected objects. M. Heyworth of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory undertook X–ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis of selected objects. Many of the objects were examined by D. A. Hinton, N. Griffiths and P. H. Robinson; their comments are incorporated here and in the catalogue.

The objects recovered from layers in Periods 1–6 are discussed in the text, as well as those objects from later layers which are apparently Romano-British, Saxon or medieval (including the relevant metal objects from the 1977 excavations). A full catalogue appears in fiche (Mf1 A3–D11), with detailed reports on the objects from the 1977 excavations (Mf2 D1–11).

Many objects of both ferrous and non-ferrous metal recovered are of pre-Conquest date. These objects often occurred within the soils of the graveyard and in grave fills in the area of the Saxon settlement of Period 3 and are undoubtedly derived from it. The residuality of other materials has been noted and is discussed below with regard to the pottery (*below, Chapter 7.6*)

Objects of Gold

Three fragments of gold thread were recovered from layers of 11th–12th-century date. Two of the fragments (Cat. Nos 2 and 3) were recovered from grave fills in the south-western area of the graveyard; they are fine and are probably decorative threads from clothing. The third fragment (Cat. No. 1), comprised of two wires, ornamented with diagonal grooves and twisted together, is from the base of Ditch 2057 which ran along the southern side of the graveyard.

Fragments of gold thread have been recovered from Winchester, from graves associated with the Anglo-Saxon cathedral (Crowfoot 1990). These threads seem to come from the decoration of garments or accessories buried with the corpse, and it is suggested that their presence may be taken as a sign of the importance of the occupant (ibid, 471).

Objects of Silver

A single silver object, a small pin (Cat. No. 4, Fig. 27, 2), 24 mm long, with a trifurcated head ornamented with diagonal grooves and a hipped point, came from the Period 6, late medieval soil horizon in Trench E (SF 4074, layer 411). Silver pins of pre-conquest date from Waltham Abbey (Huggins 1976, fig. 41, 1 and 2) also exhibit arrow-shaped points, although both those examples are longer (*c.* 38 mm and *c.* 50 mm) than the Trowbridge pin and have decorated heads and simple moulding at the junction of head and shaft.

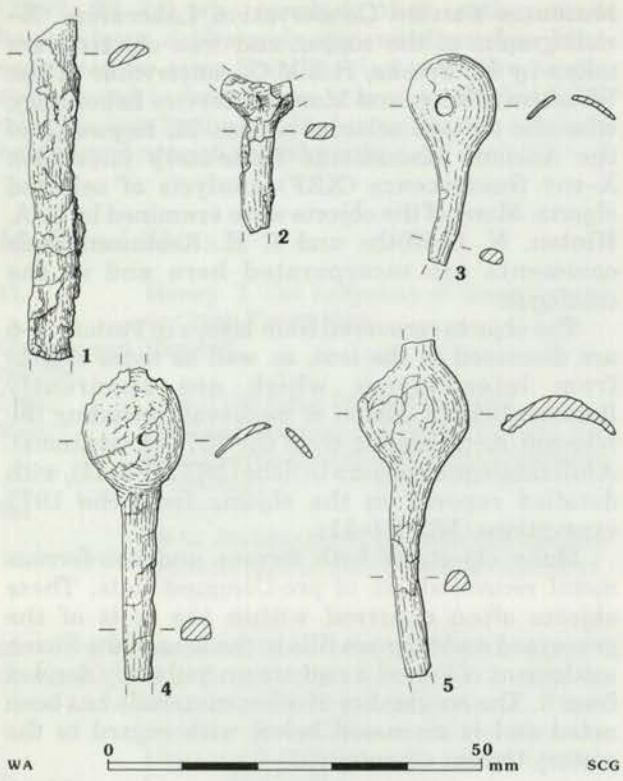

Figure 28 Copper objects 1–5

Despite the similarity of the pin tips there is no other reason to think that this pin is of a pre-Conquest date; the medieval soils in this part of the site were not securely sealed and remained exposed until the 17th century or later. The object may therefore be of post-medieval date.

A second silver object, a penny of Edward the Confessor converted into a brooch, is discussed with the coins and jetons (Coin Cat. No. 8; Fig. 27. 1).

Objects of Copper

A group of five copper fragments (Cat. Nos 5–9) was recovered from the base of the clay layer which sealed the graveyard in the southern part of Trench F, and which probably derived from the levelling of the Inner Bailey Bank in the second half of the 12th century.

The group consists of two strip fragments, one of which is bifurcated (Cat. Nos 5, 6, Fig. 28, 1, 2), and three fragments with hollow bosses, two of which are pierced (Cat. Nos 7–9, Fig. 28, 3–5).

Two of the fragments have D–shaped stem cross-sections. All the fragments are likely to be from bindings, probably casket-mounts, similar to the ones from Portchester (Hinton 1976, 217 and fig. 139, 63; 1977, 204, no. 72 and fig. 110) and Goltho (Goodall, A.R. 1987, fig. 155, 33 and 34) and are common from 12th- and 13th-century castle and manorial sites. They have also been recognised at Winchester (Hinton 1990, 765–6 and fig. 220, 2346–7).

The Trowbridge fragments are unusual in that they are copper, as this type of binding is more usually made from gilded copper alloy.

Fig. 28

1. **Strip** fragment. Cat. No. 5, SF 5598, layer 840, Clay Layers sealing the Graveyard, Period 5.
2. **Bifurcated strip**. Cat. No. 6, SF 5599, layer 840, Clay Layers sealing the Graveyard, Period 5.
3. **Strip** fragment with pierced boss. Cat. No. 7, SF 5600, layer 840, clay layers sealing the Graveyard, Period 5.
4. **Strip** fragment with pierced boss. Cat. No. 8, SF 5601, layer 840, clay layers sealing the Graveyard, Period 5.
5. Fragment with boss. Cat. No. 9, SF 5602, layer 840, clay layers sealing the Graveyard, Period 5.

Objects of Lead

In total, ten fragments of lead were recovered from the excavation. Three pieces, two lumps of molten 'run-off' (Cat. Nos 12, 13) and a small sphere, probably a 'drop' of molten lead (Cat. No. 11) came from medieval soil layers of Periods 5 and 6 in Trenches D and E. A length of strip (Cat. No. 10), probably an offcut piece, folded over twice, was found in a soil layer of Period 3 which pre-dates the graveyard. The paucity of fragments of lead and their distribution across the site suggests that the pieces are miscellaneous scraps and are not evidence of lead-working on the site. In addition two fragments of window came (Cat. Nos 18, 19), a strip/offcut fragment (Cat. No. 14) and three lumps of lead run-off (Cat. Nos 15–17) were recovered from post-medieval layers.

Objects of Copper Alloy

In total, 80 copper alloy objects were excavated. The finds are summarised by period and object type in Table 1. In addition, four copper alloy objects from medieval and earlier layers in the 1977 excavations are discussed here; full details of all copper alloy objects from the latter excavations can be found in fiche (Mf2 D7–8, G9).

Brooches

Three Romano-British brooches were recovered, all residual finds in deposits of medieval and later date widely spaced across the site. The earliest example found is a La Tène III type of 1st-century AD date (Cat. No. 22, Fig. 29, 1) with an internal chord, open catch plate and decorated bow. This brooch can be compared to one from Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943, fig. 83, 13) dated to *c.* AD 25–70. The T–shaped brooch with a stepped head surmounted by a small loop (Cat. No. 20, Fig. 29, 2) is similar to one found near Wimborne, Dorset (Hattatt 1985, fig. 40, 409), a type with a western/Severn valley distribution which dates to the middle of the 1st century AD. A simple plate brooch representing a duck (Cat. No. 21, Fig. 29, 3) is of 2nd-century AD date and is of the

Table 1: copper alloy objects by type and period

Object type	*Period*						
	3	*4*	5	*6*	*PM*	*U/S*	*Total*
Lace tag	1	–	2	1	4	4	12
Button	–	–	–	–	2	2	4
Buckle	–	1	1	1	1	1	5
Strapend	–	–	1	1	–	–	2
Dress-hook/hooked tag	–	1	–	–	1	–	2
Brooch	–	1	1	–	–	1	3
Harness pendant	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Pin	1	1	13	3	3	6	27
Thimble	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
Corkscrew	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
Vessel	–	–	–	1	–	–	1
Wire hook	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
Strip/sheet (misc)	1	–	1	3	1	–	6
Binding strip	–	–	5	1	–	2	8
Decorative fitting/stud	–	–	1	1	–	–	2
'Curtain' ring	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
Ferrule/collar	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Unidentified	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
?Awl	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Total	4	4	28	12	13	19	80

This table does not include objects recovered in 1977

same type as zoomorphic plate brooches, for instance from Colchester (Crummy 1983, fig. 14, 74 and 75) and Waddon Hill, Dorset (Mackreth 1981, fig. 25, 15).

Strapends

An enamelled strapend with interlace panel and a zoomorphic terminal (Cat. No. 23, Fig. 29, 4) of late Saxon type was recovered from a soil layer in the graveyard above the area to the east of the Period 3 settlement, and may be derived from it. D.A. Hinton writes: interlaced knots similar to the one on this strapend are known from a brooch from Beeston Tor, Staffordshire (Wilson 1964, 3), which was found with coins of *c.* 873–875 and from a 10th-century brooch from Canterbury (ibid, 10). The zoomorphic terminal is typical of strapends of this date.

The survival of the enamel is rare, but the probability exists that enamelling was more commonly used on base-metal strapends than has been realised, perhaps due to overzealous cleaning. XRF analysis has detected the presence of copper, lead and tin in the enamel on the Trowbridge strapend, which could produce green, orange, red or white colouring. The use of enamel on strapends has been discussed by Keen (1986, 196).

A second strapend (Cat. No. 24, Fig. 29, 5), was recovered from the late medieval soils in Trench E. It is a plain 13th–14th-century type and may be compared to a 14th-century example from London (LMMC 1967, pl. LXXV, 9) although the Trowbridge strapend has a less ornate top.

In addition, a decorated tag from a strapend of later 9th–early 10th-century date was recovered from the 1977 excavations (Mf2 D7, SF 4), from the graveyard soils of Period 5. The decoration is incised and consists of a stylised plant motif, with a background of stylised foliage, framed by a ladder ornament. The reverse face is plain. The ladder border can be paralleled on a strapend from Ramsbury, Wiltshire, and the plant motif occurs on a tag from Portchester, Hampshire (Evison 1980, fig. 20, 2; Hinton 1975, fig. 136, 48).

Buckles

Three buckle fragments were recovered from medieval phases. A complete loop (Cat. No. 25, Fig. 29, 6), minus the iron pin, from a simple buckle made from a double tapering strip, either a harness or dress buckle, and two fragments with quarter-round cross-sectioned loops from late medieval figure-of-eight-shaped buckles (Cat. Nos 26 and 27) were recovered from medieval layers of 12th-

century or later date within the area of the Inner Bailey.

Hooked tags

A 10th–11th-century triangular, hooked tag (Cat. No. 30, Fig. 29, 7), ornamented with ring-and-dot motifs in incised lozenges, was recovered from the fill of a grave cutting the area of the Period 3 settlement, and is paralleled at Shakenoak (Brodribb *et al.* 1972, fig. 31, 144). A second hook (Cat. No. 31, Fig. 29, 8), from a post-medieval context in Trench E, is an ornate late medieval dress-hook of 15th–16th-century type (Goodall 1981, 68).

In addition, another hooked tag was recovered from the 1977 excavations (Mf2 D8, SF 35), from the mid 12th-century floor in the church (Period 5), comprising a subtriangular plate with incised zig-zag decoration and two rivet or stitching holes. A very similar tag is recorded at Cheddar, Somerset, in a late pre-Conquest context (Wilson 1979, fig. 93, 31).

Lace tags

A total of 12 lace tags was recovered (Cat. Nos 32–9), all from unsealed late medieval or, more probably, post-medieval contexts. Lace tags are a common find from 15th–16th-century and later contexts and indicate the use of laces or ribbons to fasten clothing (Goodall 1981, 68).

Pins

From the total of 19 pins recovered from medieval phases, four main head types were observed: spiral-wound; hollow; conical/globular lead and glass. In addition an unusually large pin, a moulded shank fragment and four plain shank fragments were recovered.

The moulded shank fragment (Cat. No. 59, Fig. 29, 9) is probably from a pin and may be compared to pins with moulded shanks from Anglo-Saxon deposits at Shakenoak (Brodribb *et al.* 1972, fig. 31, 164–173). A large pin of possible Saxon date was recovered from the fill of the Period 5 Grave 1682 (Cat. No. 51, Fig. 29, 10), and may have been used as a shroud pin.

The majority of the pins have spiral-wound heads with a simple one- or two-twist head wire *c.* 2 mm in diameter and are of the type common in 16th-century and later deposits (Cat. Nos 48, 49, 53, 63, 64); they were recovered from unsealed contexts of a late medieval or more probably post-medieval date. An exceptionally large brass pin with a spiral-wound head was found in the later medieval soils in Trench E (Cat. No. 66, Fig. 29, 11).

The pins with hollow spherical, or near spherical, heads (Cat. Nos 52, 56, 57, Fig. 29, 12) are paralleled at Southampton where they are dated to the 16th century (Harvey 1975, 1788 and 1790), However, all three examples from Trowbridge are from well-sealed deposits within the excavated area of the graveyard, probably of 12th-century date, and similar pins have been excavated at Winchester, also in early medieval contexts (Biddle 1990, type E; pins 1457 and 1456). Though hollow-headed pins have therefore previously been seen as a 14th–15th-century innovation, the occurrence of well-stratified examples in early medieval contexts suggest that they were introduced considerably earlier (ibid., 555).

The pins with globular or inverted conical lead heads are all from the area of the graveyard, two (Cat. Nos 60, 61, Fig. 29, 14) from Ditch 2057 along its southern edge, and one (Cat. No. 55, Fig. 29, 13) adjacent to the right side of the skull of the child's skeleton in Grave 2108 (Period 5).

The glass-headed pin (Cat. No. 65, Fig. 29, 15) came from an unsealed medieval soil layer and probably represents post-medieval contamination of that layer.

Of the four other shank fragments two (Cat. Nos. 50, 62) were recovered from graves. It is possible that these, like the the lead-headed pin from Grave 2108 and the large Saxon pin from Grave 1682, were used as shroud pins. One further shank fragment was recovered from the 1977 excavations (Mf2 D8, SF 146), from the graveyard soils of Period 5. The head of this pin may have been of wood or bone impaled on a tang, part of which survives. Similar examples are dated to the 8th century at Shakenoak (Dickinson 1972, fig. 31, 164–5), but are considered to be mid to late Saxon at Southampton (Addyman and Hill 1969, fig. 26, 12–13).

Binding strips and fittings

Several fragments of copper alloy strip, some decorative, were recovered and are likely to have been binding strips from wooden or leather items. A total of four strip fragments (Cat. No. 75, Fig. 29, 16, and Cat. Nos 78–80) and a pierced disc with a denticulate edge (Cat. No. 77) were recovered from the area of the west end of the graveyard. A single strip (Cat. No. 81) came from late medieval rubble in Trench F.

Two incomplete, narrow gilded strips, with pierced terminals, each ornamented with four stamped quatrefoils, were recovered. One (Cat. No. 76) was found within the Outer Bailey Bank and may pre-date the castle; the second strip (Cat. No. 83, Fig. 29, 17) was unstratified in a modern service trench in Trench F but is likely to derive from an early medieval context. These strips are likely to be of similar 12th–13th-century date and function to the copper binding strip fragments discussed above.

A single gilded stud with a crenellated head (Cat. No. 82, Fig. 29, 18) was found in the rubble layers mentioned above, but may be of an earlier date.

Miscellaneous sheet and strip fragments

One sheet, apparently complete, and pierced by six holes (Cat. No. 87) from the late medieval soils in Trench E is of unknown function. Four featureless strip fragments (Cat. Nos 85, 86, 88, 89), and a similar fragment from the 1977 excavations (Mf2 D7, SF 145), all from medieval soil layers, may be offcuts or scrap metal.

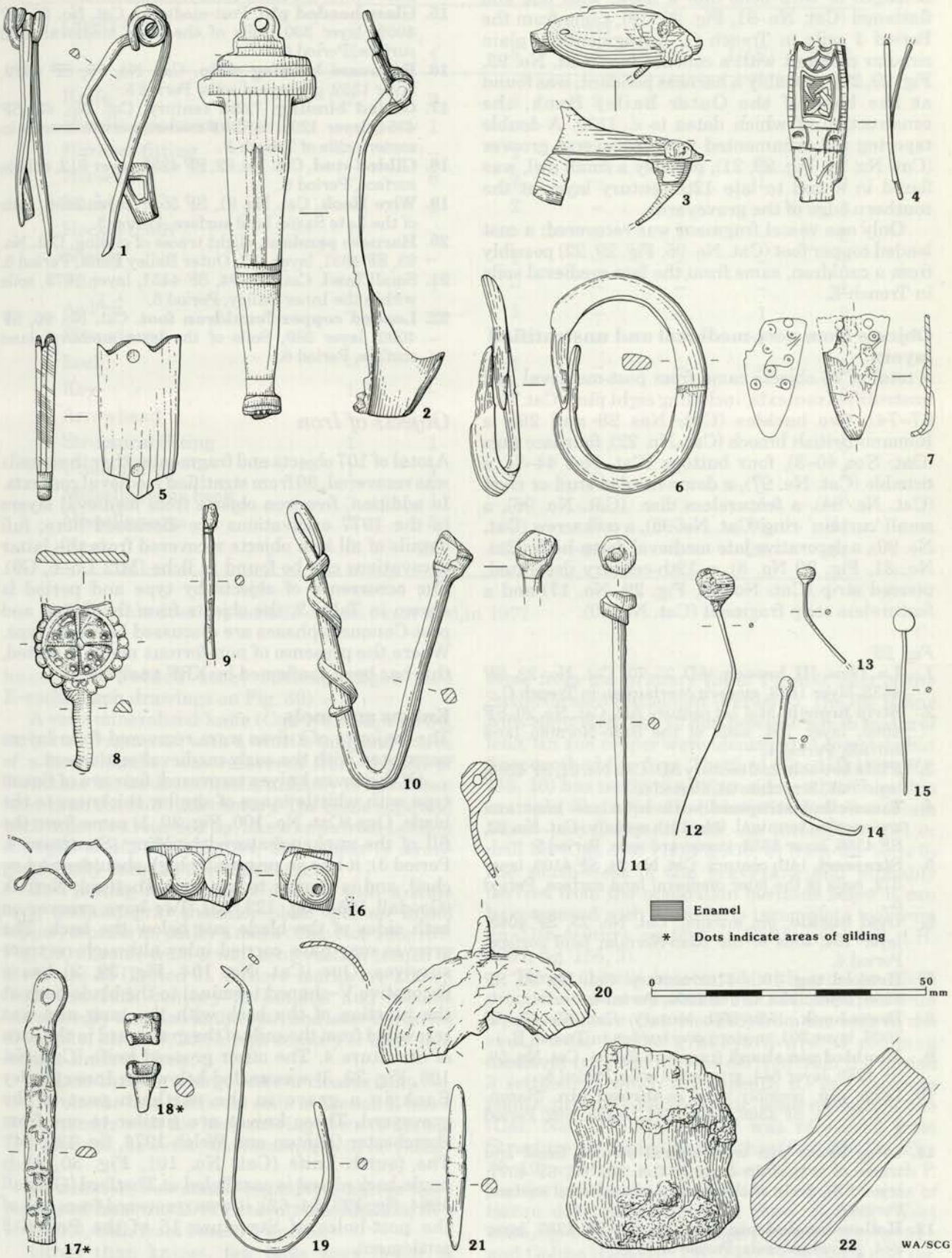

Figure 29 Copper alloy objects 1–22

Miscellaneous objects

A length of wire bent into a hook, with one end flattened (Cat. No. 91, Fig. 29, 19), came from the Period 3 soils in Trench G. A fragmentary, plain circular pendant with a concave face (Cat. No. 93, Fig. 29, 20), probably a harness pendant, was found at the base of the Outer Bailey Bank, the construction of which dates to *c.* 1139. A double tapering rod ornamented with transverse grooves (Cat. No. 94, Fig. 29, 21), possibly a small awl, was found in a mid to late 12th-century layer at the southern edge of the graveyard.

Only one vessel fragment was recovered: a cast leaded copper foot (Cat. No. 95, Fig. 29, 22) possibly from a cauldron, came from the late medieval soils in Trench E.

Objects from post-medieval and unstratified layers

A total of 26 objects came from post-medieval and unstratified contexts, including eight pins (Cat. Nos 67–74), two buckles (Cat. Nos 28 and 29), a Romano-British brooch (Cat. No. 22), four lace tags (Cat. Nos 40–3), four buttons (Cat. Nos 44–7), a thimble (Cat. No. 97), a dome-headed stud or rivet (Cat. No. 84), a featureless disc (Cat. No. 96), a small 'curtain' ring (Cat. No. 98), a corkscrew (Cat. No. 99), a decorative late medieval dress-hook (Cat. No. 31, Fig. 29 No. 8), a 12th-century decorated, pierced strip (Cat. No. 83, Fig. 29, No. 17) and a featureless strip fragment (Cat. No. 90).

Fig. 29

1. **La Tène III brooch**. AD 25–70. Cat. No. 22, SF 4433, layer 1563, modern overburden in Trench G.
2. **Strip brooch**. Mid 1st century AD. Cat. No. 20, SF 4063, layer 154, soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface, Period 4.
3. **Plate brooch**. 2nd century AD. Cat. No. 21, SF 4283, layer 847, Structure 21, Period 5.
4. **Enamelled strapend** with interlace knot and zoomorphic terminal. 9th–10th century. Cat. No. 23, SF 4356, layer 1352, graveyard soils, Period 5.
5. **Strapend**. 14th century. Cat. No. 24, SF 4103, layer 372, soils of the later medieval land surface, Period 6.
6. **Oval buckle**, pin missing. Cat. No. 25, SF 4088, layer 154, soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface, Period 4.
7. **Hooked tag**. 10th–11th century. Cat. No. 30, SF 5556, layer 2353, Grave 2354, Period 4.
8. **Dress-hook**. 15th–16th century. Cat. No. 31, SF 4066, layer 301, modern overburden in Trench E.
9. **Moulded pin shank** fragment. Saxon. Cat. No. 59, SF 4289, layer 844, graveyard soils, Period 5.
10. Large **pin**, possibly used as **shroud pin**. ?Saxon. Cat. No. 51, SF 4369, layer 1671, Grave 1682, Period 5.
11. Large **brass pin with spiral-wound head** and traces of a lead/tin coating. Cat. No. 66, SF 4077, layer 379, Soils of the later medieval land surface, Period 6.
12. **Hollow-headed pin**. Cat. No. 57, SF 4287, layer 844, graveyard soils, Period 5.
13. **Lead-headed pin**. Cat. No. 55, SF 4509, layer 2107, Grave 2108, Period 5.
14. **Lead-headed pin**. Cat. No. 60, SF 4467, layer 1803, soils within the Inner Bailey, Period 5.
15. **Glass-headed pin**. Post-medieval. Cat. No. 65, SF 4069, layer 330, soils of the later medieval land surface, Period 6.
16. **Répoussé binding strip**. Cat. No. 75, SF 4379, layer 1352, graveyard soils, Period 5.
17. **Gilded binding**. ?12th century. Cat. No. 83, SF 4354, layer 1295, infill of modern service trench in eastern side of Trench F.
18. **Gilded stud**. Cat. No. 82, SF 4255, layer 812, rubble surface, Period 6.
19. **Wire Hook**. Cat. No. 91, SF 5557, layer 2456, soils of the Late Saxon land surface, Period 3.
20. **Harness pendant**, slight traces of gilding. Cat. No. 93, SF 4031, layer 137, Outer Bailey Bank, Period 5.
21. Small **?awl**. Cat. No. 94, SF 4451, layer 1573, soils within the Inner Bailey, Period 5.
22. **Leaded copper ?cauldron foot**. Cat. No. 95, SF 4090, layer 380, Soils of the later medieval land surface, Period 6.

Objects of Iron

A total of 107 objects and fragments other than nails was recovered, 80 from stratified medieval contexts. In addition, five iron objects from medieval layers in the 1977 excavations are discussed here; full details of all iron objects recovered from the latter excavations can be found in fiche (Mf2 D5–6, G9). The occurrence of objects by type and period is shown in Table 2; the objects from the Saxon and post-Conquest phases are discussed below by type. Where the presence of non-ferrous metal is stated, this has been confirmed by XRF analysis.

Knives and tools

The majority of knives were recovered from layers associated with the early medieval settlement.

Of the seven knives recovered, four are of Saxon type with whittle tangs of similar thickness to the blade. One (Cat. No. 100, Fig. 30, 1) came from the fill of the sunken-featured building (Structure 4, Period 3); it has an unusually high shoulder and no choil, and is similar to one from Thetford, Norfolk (Goodall 1984, fig. 123, 63). Two have grooves on both sides of the blade just below the back. The grooves may have carried inlay although no trace survives. One (Cat. No. 104, Fig. 30, 2) has a decorative V-shaped terminal to the blade back at the junction of the back with the tang and was recovered from the soils of the graveyard in the area of Structure 4. The other grooved knife (Cat. No. 103, Fig. 30, 3) was sealed below the Inner Bailey Bank in a grave in the northern part of the graveyard. These knives are similar to one from Portchester (Hinton and Welch 1976, fig. 133, 24). The fourth knife (Cat. No. 101, Fig. 30, 4) is angle-backed and is paralleled at Thetford (Goodall 1984, fig. 123, 54–62); it was recovered from one of the post-holes of Structure 15 of the Period 3 settlement.

The edges of two of the knives are worn, by sharpening, to a concave shape at the tang end (Cat. No. 101, 106). Three knives (Cat. Nos 100, 101, 104)

Table 2: iron objects by type and period

Object type	*Period*						
	3	*4*	*5*	*6*	*PM*	*U/S*	*Total*
Knife	2	2	1	2	1	–	8
Handle loop/mount	–	1	–	–	–	–	1
Harness fitting	1	–	1	–	–	–	2
Horseshoe	–	8	2	–	1	1	12
Buckle	–	1	2	–	–	–	3
Heckle tooth	1	–	–	–	1	–	2
Shears	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
File	–	1	–	–	–	–	1
Awl/bit	–	–	1	–	–	1	2
Pliers/tongs	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
Lock	–	1	1	–	–	–	2
Key	1	–	5	–	–	–	6
Arrowhead	–	–	2	–	–	–	2
Structural fitting	1	1	3	–	–	–	5
Unidentified	1	1	2	–	–	–	4
Miscellaneous hook	–	1	–	–	–	7	8
Miscellaneous	2	5	9	9	3	16	44
Total	9	22	30	11	6	26	104

This table does not include objects excavated in 1977

have butt-welded steel cutting edges (see X–radiograph drawings on Fig. 30).

A very mineralised knife (Cat. No. 102, Fig. 30, 5), in two fragments, with a whittle tang and traces of a horn handle, was recovered from the fill of Structure 18; its deposition is unlikely to have been later than the mid 12th century. The blade edge and back taper to a rounded tip, like a knife from London (Cowgill *et al.* 1987, fig. 54, 13), which is stratigraphically dated to the 13th century.

Two joining fragments of a knife with a scale tang and integral shoulder plate and an inlaid copper, cruciform, cutler's mark (Cat. Nos 106, 107, Fig. 30, 6) came from a wall construction trench of Structure 25 (Period 6). Cutlers' marks are known from the 13th century in London and become increasingly common in the 14th and later centuries (Cowgill *et al.* 1987, 20); a 14th-century or later date for this knife is likely.

A blade tip from a large knife or cleaver (Cat. No. 105) from the late medieval soils in Trench E has a straight edge with the back curving down to the tip. The blade is, however, too incomplete to be closely dated.

In addition, two small, incomplete knives were recovered from the 1977 excavations (Mf2 D5, SFs 154, 155), both from Period 5 graves.

Other than knives, few tools were found. A fragmentary finishing file (Cat. No. 109, Fig. 30, 7) came from the primary fill of Pit 400, part of the Saxo-Norman settlement (Period 4). The file is fine with eight teeth per 10 mm between which traces of lead, tin and copper were identified. A complete but finer-toothed file from Thetford (Goodall 1984, fig. 116, 10) has teeth on all four sides; other than this example, files appear to be rare finds on sites of late Saxon–post-Conquest date. An incomplete awl or drill bit (Cat. No. 111, Fig. 30, 8) from the soils in the south-west of the graveyard and probably derived from the occupation horizons below it can be compared with a similarly incomplete tool from an 11th-century context at Goltho (Goodall, I.H. 1987, fig. 156, 3).

Three objects associated with wool or cloth production were recovered. The bow and arms from a pair of shears (Cat. No. 115) from the soils in the south-west of the graveyard are of common medieval type and may be derived from the Period 3 settlement which lay beneath it. Two tapering points, probably heckle teeth, were recovered; one (Cat. No. 113, Fig. 30, 9) was recovered from Structure 15 (Period 3); the other (Cat. No. 114, Fig. 30, 10) was from a post-medieval layer in Trench F. Similar points are known from a range of sites of Saxon date including West Stow, Suffolk (West 1985, fig. 21A, 14), Shakenoak (Brown 1972, fig. 51), and Goltho (Goodall, I.H. 1987, 178, 7–24 and fig. 156).

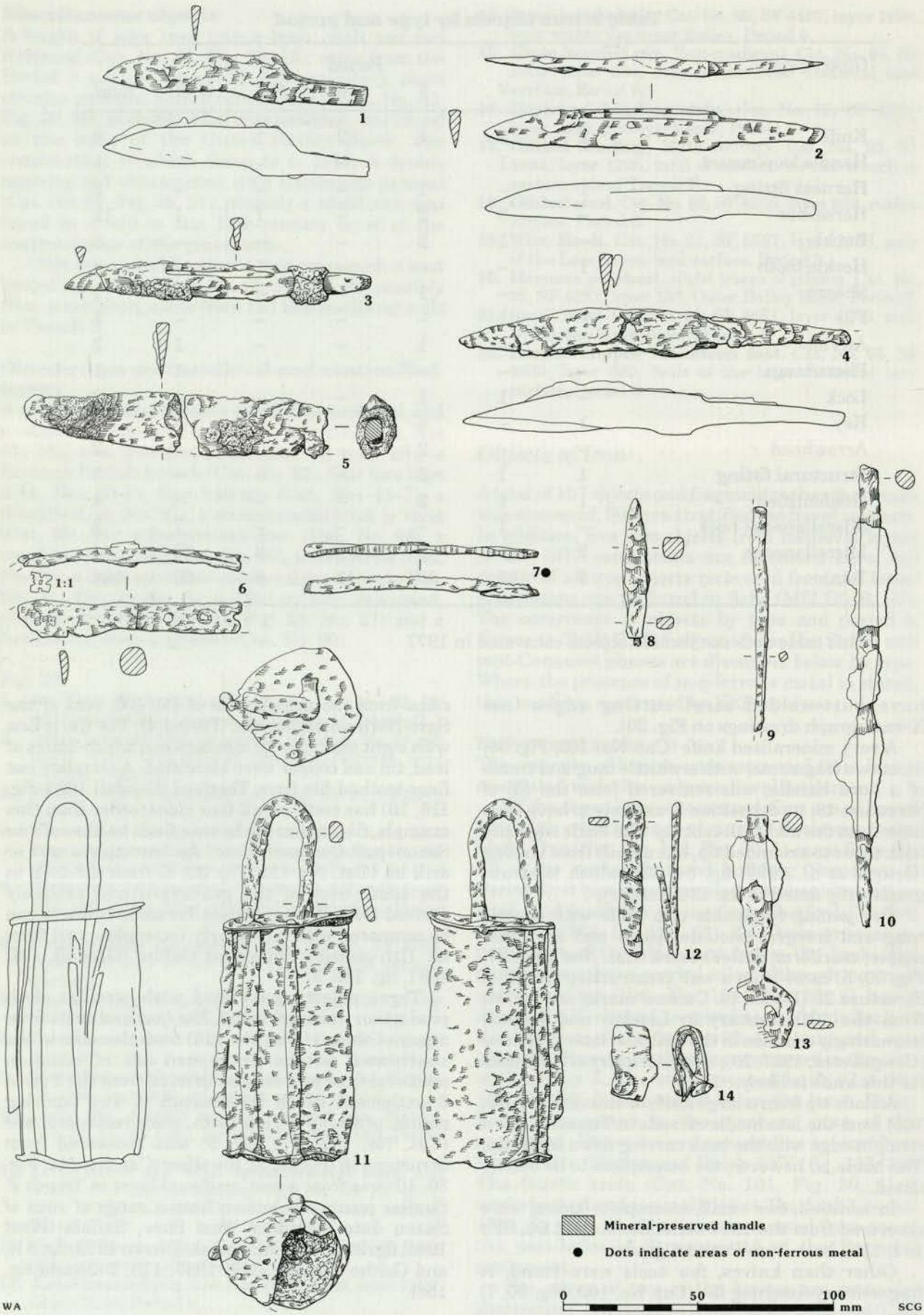

Figure 30 Iron objects 1–14 (the untextured views are parts of objects drawn from X–radiographs)

Locks and keys

An almost complete barrel padlock (Cat. No. 116, Fig. 30, 11) was sealed beneath the Inner Bailey Bank in a Period 4 grave in the northern part of the graveyard, and a probable leaf-spring fragment from a padlock (Cat. No. 117, Fig. 30, 12) was recovered from a 12th-century deposit behind the Outer Bailey Bank. The padlock is strengthened by six longitudinal strips; unlike many, it is not coated with non-ferrous metal nor is there any indication of solder or brazing material.

The bolt from another barrel padlock was recovered from the 1977 excavations (Mf2 D6, SF 153), from the mid 12th-century floor in the church (Structure 17, Period 5). It is comparable to a later 10th–early 11th-century example from Cheddar (Rahtz 1979, fig. 90, 24).

Of the six key fragments recovered, four were from Trench D. A bow fragment from a casket key (Cat. No. 121) is similar to one on a copper alloy key from London (*London Museum Medieval Catalogue* (LMMC) 1967, pl. XXX, 35) and cannot be dated; it was found in the base of the Outer Bailey Bank. A total of four padlock key fragments were recovered. One (Cat. No. 120, Fig. 30, 13), from the base of the Outer Bailey Bank, has an expanded shank and is not decorated but is of the same basic form as keys from King's Lynn, Norfolk (Clarke and Carter 1977, fig. 133, 7), Goltho (Goodall, I.H. 1987, fig. 158, 112 and 113) and Thetford (Goodall 1984, fig. 132, 179). This type of padlock key is common in contexts of 11th–13th-century date. The other three fragments (Cat. Nos 118, 119, 123) are of LMMC type C; a common padlock key type found more usually, although not exclusively, in post-Conquest contexts. The bit fragment (Cat. No. 123) has traces of a tin coating remaining and was recovered from the fill of a post-hole of Structure 22 of a mid–late 12th-century date. Two loop terminal and stem fragments were found separately, one in an 11th–12th-century layer (Cat. No. 118) and one in a grave fill (Cat. No. 119). They are similar, comprising a leaf-shaped plate with a delicately worked loop terminal, and may be compared to the loops on LMMC type 2, 3 and 5 padlock keys (1967, fig. 44). An incomplete lever lock key (Cat. No. 122) from medieval soil layers cannot be closely dated.

Domestic/Household Items

The only domestic item recovered was a handle loop or mount (Cat. No. 124, Fig. 30, 14) formed from a folded strip secured with a flat-headed nail. It was recovered from a the fill of a Period 4 grave at the southern edge of the graveyard.

Buckles

Approximately one half of a figure-of-eight-shaped buckle with tin coating (Cat. No. 126) was recovered from unsealed medieval soil layers in Trench C. It is probably of 14th-century date, as is a smaller fragment of a similar buckle (Cat. No. 127) from the Outer Bailey Bank. Both of these fragments, if of a 14th-century date, appear to be later in date than the layers in which they were found. A sub-rectangular buckle with pin attached (Cat. No. 128, Fig. 31, 15) came from a mid–late 12th-century context within the Inner Bailey of the castle.

Horse furniture

The most common items of horse furniture were horseshoes. Ten were found (Cat. Nos 129–138); with the exception of the shoe from the fill of the Period 4 Ditch 1554 (Cat. No. 129), which has a smooth outline and round nail holes, the horseshoes were of the type with wavy outline and countersunk nail holes suggesting an 11th–13th-century date. Rare earlier instances are known, for example one of pre-Conquest date from Thetford (Goodall 1984, fig. 142, 279). The shoe with the smooth outline is also likely to be of early medieval date.

A harness link bearing traces of a beaten silver coating (Cat. No. 141, Fig. 31, 16) was recovered from the Period 3 soils just to the west of the sunken-featured building (Structure 4, Period 3) and is paralleled by a similar example from a context at Goltho dated *c.* 850–950 (Goodall, I. H. 1987, fig. 160, 160).

An incomplete rod-shaped object with a double-looped terminal with one loop pierced by a flat-headed nail or rivet (Cat. No. 142, Fig. 31, 17) was incorporated in the Outer Bailey Bank. Ornamented with three sets of incised lines and coated with tin, it is similar to the terminal of a curb-bit side-piece (LMMC 1967, fig. 18, 2). The other object recovered which may be an item of horse furniture is discussed below (*Unidentified Objects* Cat. No. 154).

A horse harness cheek-piece was recovered from the 1977 excavations (Mf2 D5, SF 93), from soils adjacent to Structure 5 (Period 3). The snaffle bit is of ring-and-bar type, which is uncommon in England and is unlikely to pre-date its early 9th-century occurrence in Scandinavian grave contexts (LMMC 1967, fig. 19a, type B). A mid 9th–early 10th-century date for the Trowbridge example would seem appropriate, given its stratigraphic position.

Weapons

Two incomplete socketed arrowheads (Cat. Nos 143, 144, Fig. 31, 18, 19) were recovered from a 12th-century deposit behind the Outer Bailey Bank which is thought to have accumulated soon after its construction. It is possible that this deposit, and therefore the loss of the arrowheads, could be contemporary with the siege of the castle in 1139. Both arrowheads are of LMMC type 7 and are paralleled by post-Conquest examples at Goltho (Goodall 1975, fig. 41, 99; and 1987, fig. 160, 184) and Winchester (Goodall 1990, fig. 344, 4009).

Structural and architectural fittings

Few architectural or structural fittings, other than the total of 110 nails and studs from Saxon and post-Conquest contexts (*see below*), were recovered; this is unusual for a collection of ironwork from a settlement site. Notably, hinge pivots, strap hinges and hasps are missing from the assemblage.

Table 3: distribution of iron nails and studs by type and period

Period	*Flat-headed*	*Large*	*Offset heads*	*Large heads (>c. 20 mm)*	*Fiddle*	*Horsehoe T*	*Rods/ Cruciform shanks*		*Total*
3	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	13
4	7	2	–	1	9	1	–	10	30
5	15	4	2	1	15	–	–	18	55
6	4	–	1	1	2	–	–	4	12
PM	22	1	–	1	2	1	1	8	36
U/S	15	–	–	1	–	–	–	12	28
Total	68	7	3	5	28	2	1	60	174*

* total does not include two chisel-ended nails
This table does not include nails excavated in 1977

Two U–staple fragments, one from a surface to the east of Structure 13 (Period 3) (Cat. No. 145) and one from soils in the Period 5 graveyard (Cat. No. 146), were recovered. A large hook, possibly a wall hook (Cat. No. 148, Fig. 31, 20), was recovered from the infill of a Period 4 cess-pit dating from the 11th–early 12th century. A spike, tapering to a point at one end and turned over at the other, was incorporated in the Outer Bailey Bank of Period 5 (Cat. No. 149, Fig. 31, 21). The most probable use for such a spike is for fixing large timbers or boards. A tin-coated, strip-shaped mount (Cat. No. 150, Fig. 31, 22) with flattened terminals and ornamented with diagonal grooves, from soils in the western part of the Period 5 graveyard, is similar to one from a post-Conquest context in Northampton (Goodall 1979, fig. 119, 83); one from a 10th–11th-century context at Thetford was found complete and held a hasp fragment (Goodall 1984, fig. 130, 162).

Nails and studs

A total of 174 nails and nail fragments, three studs and two large chisel-ended nails was recovered from the excavations. Of these, 110 nails and fragments and the three studs derived from stratified Saxon and post-Conquest contexts.

No detailed analysis of the nails was undertaken; they were simply classified on the visual characteristics of head size and relative shank length. The categories of nails observed are:

1. Flat-headed nails — nail heads <c. 15 mm (maximum dimension), shank length c. 40–100 mm. Not intrinsically datable. *Use*: general-purpose nails.
2. Large flat-headed nails — shank length >c. 100 mm, heads usually >c. 15 mm. Not intrinsically datable. *Use*: in major structural work; nails of this type were found *in situ* at Reading Abbey in some of the large wharf timbers (Mills in prep. a, nail type VIII).
3. Nails with offset flat heads — shank size range as 1, head dimensions may be greater or less than 15 mm, usually sub-circular. Not datable. *Use*: may be decorative, or used for fixing planks/boards.
4. Large-headed nails — shank size range as 1, heads set centrally to the shank. Not datable. *Use*: as 1, but nail head likely to be decorative.
5. Horseshoe nails: three types were observed:

i) 'Fiddle-key' — shaped like the tuning pegs of a stringed instrument, overall length up to c. 40 mm. Found *in situ* with early medieval horseshoes at Goltho (Goodall 1975, fig. 42, 124 and 125). Of early medieval date (11th–13th century).

ii) 'T–shaped' — similar in size to 5i); possibly not a separate type, but may be very worn fiddle-key horseshoe nails.

iii) Cruciform-headed — head shape cruciform in plan, size similar to 5i). A late 13th–early 14th-century horseshoe nail type (Clark 1986, 3, fig. 7a).

6. Rods/nail shank fragments — fragments of square- or rectangular-sectioned rod, usually with a notable taper, interpreted as being nail shank fragments.

The occurrence of nails and fragments is summarised by period and type in Table 3. There are no significant concentrations of timber nails/nail shank fragments within any period. The two highest concentrations occur in Periods 5 and 6: 12 fragments from soils in the south-west part of the graveyard (Period 5), and 16 fragments from rubble layers in Trench F (Period 6). Both are likely to be from dumped, or disturbed deposits, which makes further interpretation or analysis of these groups of nails inappropriate. Of the 28 horseshoe nails recovered, 11 were found in Period 4 layers and 15 in Period 5 layers in the area of the Period 4 settlement, which also produced a high proportion of the horseshoe fragments recovered.

The term stud is used to identify short-shanked nails (shank length <40 mm) with decorative heads; such items may be used to ornament wooden or leather items, or to affix plates and binding strips, for example.

The following were recovered: one globular- or 'bun'–headed stud (SF 4027), from soils beneath the Outer Bailey Bank; one large flat-headed (c. 24 mm diameter) stud (SF 4250), from a mid 12th-century context in the graveyard, and one dome-headed stud (SF 4454), from the wall footing of Structure 23.

It is interesting to note that few of the iron objects recovered are structural fittings and that no concentrations of nails were found. This may reflect

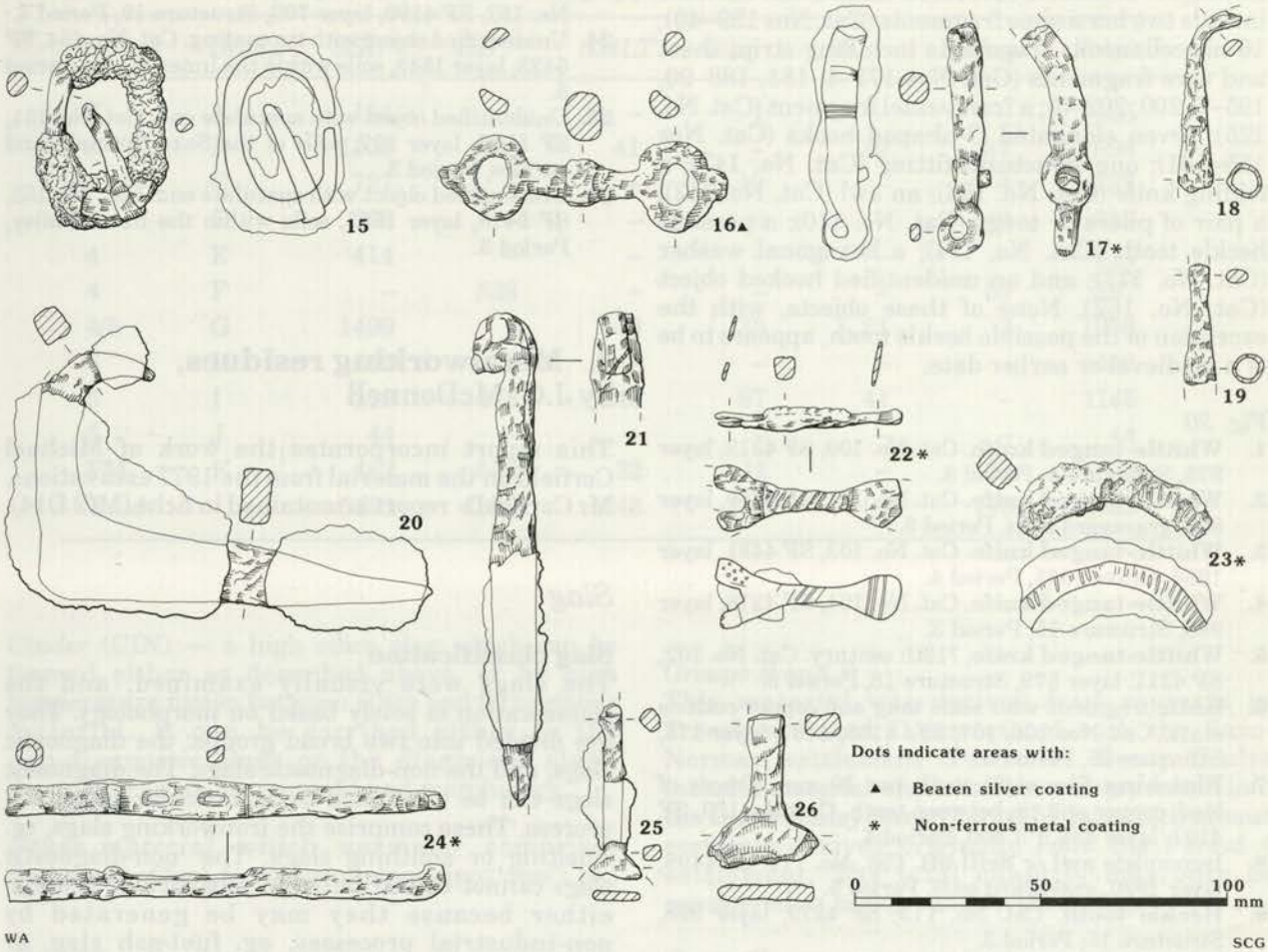

Figure 31 Iron objects 15–26 (the untextured views and parts of objects are drawn from X-radiographs)

an ordered demolition of the settlement in advance of the castle construction whereby timber and other reusable and recyclable commodities were salvaged.

Unidentified objects

Four objects, two of which are coated with tin, have not been identified. A curved strip of rectangular cross-section, ornamented with diagonal grooves and coated or inlaid with tin (Cat. No. 152, Fig. 31, 23) came from the Period 4 settlement in Trench D. It is similar in form to a bracelet; however, the internal diameter, *c.* 50 mm, is a little small and the object may rather be a decorative fitting of some sort.

The second tin-coated object (Cat. No. 154, Fig. 31, 24) is a double tapering strip with one terminal turned up at right angles; the other is socketed. The central portion is flattened and is perforated by two rectangular holes. It was recovered from the Period 5 soils within the Inner Bailey. It is similar in basic form to two cheek-pieces from Thetford (Goodall 1984, fig. 138, 250 and 251), but the socketed end of this example creates some doubt as to how it would have functioned. The cheek-pieces from Thetford were from pits of 10th–late 12th-century date.

Two similar objects with spatulate ends were recovered. One (Cat. No. 151, Fig. 31, 25) came from the Period 4 soils beneath the Inner Bailey Bank in Trench F, the other (Cat. No. 153, Fig. 31, 26) from the Period 5 soils within the Inner Bailey in Trench G. Similar objects came from Goltho (Goodall 1987, fig. 159, 129 and 130).

Miscellaneous fragments

A total of 25 miscellaneous pieces was recovered including ten strip and sheet fragments, some of which may be binding fragments (Cat. Nos 182–7, 191–4); one wire fragment (Cat. No. 201); three rod/bar fragments (Cat. Nos 178–80); two rings, one of which may be a link fragment (Cat. Nos 175–6); two tubular fragments (Cat. Nos 198–9) and eight featureless lumps (Cat. Nos 163–70).

In addition, a binding strip was recovered from the 1977 excavations (Mf2 D6, SF 156), from the graveyard soils of Period 5.

Objects from post-medieval and modern layers

The material from the post-medieval and modern contexts will not be discussed here; however, descriptions of the objects may be found in the

catalogue. Artefacts recovered from these contexts include two horseshoe fragments (Cat. Nos 139–40); 16 miscellaneous fragments including strip, sheet and wire fragments (Cat. Nos 171–4, 181, 188–90, 195–7, 200, 202–5); a ?can/vessel fragment (Cat. No. 125); seven elongated C-shaped hooks (Cat. Nos 155–161); one structural fitting (Cat. No. 147); a folding knife (Cat. No. 108); an awl (Cat. No. 112); a pair of pliers or tongs (Cat. No. 110); a possible heckle tooth (Cat. No. 114); a hexagonal washer (Cat. No. 177); and an unidentified hooked object (Cat. No. 162). None of these objects, with the exception of the possible heckle tooth, appears to be of a medieval or earlier date.

Fig. 30

1. **Whittle-tanged knife**. Cat. No. 100, SF 4313, layer 875, Structure 4, Period 3.
2. **Whittle-tanged knife**. Cat. No. 104, SF 4280, layer 853, graveyard soils, Period 5.
3. **Whittle-tanged knife**. Cat. No. 103, SF 4481, layer 1954, Grave 1965, Period 4.
4. **Whittle-tanged knife**. Cat. No. 101, SF 4278, layer 998, Structure 15, Period 3.
5. **Whittle-tanged knife**, ?13th century. Cat. No. 102, SF 4211, layer 579, Structure 18, Period 5.
6. **Knife** fragment with scale tang and copper cutler's mark. Cat. Nos 106, 107, SFs 4165, 4167, layer 175, Structure 25, Period 6.
7. **Finishing file**, eight teeth per 10 mm. Traces of lead, copper and tin between teeth. Cat. No. 109, SF 4101, layer 436, Pit 400, Period 4.
8. Incomplete **awl** or **drill bit**. Cat. No. 111, SF 4498, layer 1920, graveyard soils, Period 5.
9. **Heckle tooth**. Cat. No. 113, SF 4279, layer 998, Structure 15, Period 3.
10. **Heckle tooth**. Cat. No. 114, SF 4132, layer 802, post-medieval layer in south side of Trench F.
11. **Barrel padlock**. Cat. No. 116, SF 4512, layer 2312, Grave 2313, Period 4.
12. **Padlock** leaf-spring fragment. Cat. No. 117, SF 4197, layer 662, layers behind the Outer Bailey Bank, Period 5.
13. Incomplete **padlock key**. Cat. No. 120, SF 4142, layer 693, Outer Bailey Bank, Period 5.
14. **Handle loop** or **mount**. Cat. No. 124, SF 4508, layer 1769, Grave 1770, Period 4.

Fig. 31

15. Sub-rectangular **buckle**. Cat. No. 128, SF 4471, layer 1592, soils within the Inner Bailey, Period 5.
16. **Harness link** with ?beaten silver coating. Cat. No. 141, SF 4290, layer 817, soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface, Period 3.
17. **Curb-bit** fragment with tin coating. Cat. No. 142, SF 4219, layer 137, Outer Bailey Bank, Period 5.
18. **Arrowhead** fragment; LMMC type 7. Cat. No. 143, SF 4114, layer 662, layers behind the Outer Bailey Bank, Period 5.
19. **Arrowhead** fragment; LMMC type 7. Cat. No. 144, SF 4225, layer 662, layers behind the Outer Bailey Bank, Period 5.
20. **?Wall hook**. Cat. No. 148, SF 4203, layer 600, Cess-pit 155, Period 4.
21. **Spike** with turned over 'head'. Cat. No. 149, SF 4033, layer 137, Outer Bailey Bank, Period 5.
22. **Mount** fragment with tin/lead coating. Cat. No. 150, SF 5587 layer 844, graveyard soils, Period 5.
23. Curved, decorated **strip** object with tin coating. Cat. No. 152, SF 4190, layer 700, Structure 19, Period 4.
24. Unidentified object with tin coating. Cat. No. 154, SF 5423, layer 1543, soils within the Inner Bailey, Period 5.
25. Unidentified object with spatulate end. Cat. No. 151, SF 5595, layer 817, soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface, Period 3.
26. Unidentified object with spatulate end. Cat. No. 153, SF 5418, layer 1543, soils within the Inner Bailey, Period 5.

3. Metalworking residues, by J.G. McDonnell

This report incorporates the work of Michael Corfield on the material from the 1977 excavations. Mr Corfield's report is contained in fiche (Mf2 D14).

Slag

Slag classification

The slags were visually examined, and the classification is solely based on morphology. They are divided into two broad groups: the diagnostic slags, and the non-diagnostic slags. The diagnostic slags can be attributed to a particular industrial process. These comprise the ironworking slags, eg. smelting or smithing slags. The non-diagnostic slags cannot be attributed to a particular process, either because they may be generated by non-industrial processes, eg. fuel-ash slag, or because they could have been generated by a number of different processes, but show no diagnostic characteristic that can identify the process, eg. hearth or furnace lining. In many cases the non-diagnostic residues may be ascribed to a particular process through archaeological association. The residue classifications are defined below.

Ferrous diagnostic slags and residues

Smelting slag (SMLT) — slag generated by the smelting process, ie. the extraction of the metal from the ore. It does occur in characteristic forms, in particular tap slag.

Smithing slag (SSL) — randomly-shaped pieces of fayalitic slag generated by the smithing process.

Hearth bottom (HB) — plano-convex accumulation of fayalitic slag formed in the smithing hearth.

Cinder (CIN) — a high silica smithing debris, often formed at the reaction zone between the smithing slag and the hearth lining.)

Non-diagnostic slags and residues

Hearth lining (HL) — the clay lining of an industrial hearth, furnace or kiln that has vitrified or slag-attacked faces.

Table 4: Slag totals by type and period (in grams)

Period	*Group*	*SSL*	*HB*	*SMLT*	*Cin*	*HL*	*Other*	*Total*
3	A	164	–	–	1	–	–	165
3	B	1108	380	41	–	30	37	1596
4	C	721	–	–	12	–	4	737
4	D	258	–	–	6	–	48	312
4	E	414	–	–	–	–	–	414
4	F	–	538	–	–	–	59	597
4/5	G	1499	–	430	35	21	3	1988
5	H	442	–	–	–	–	–	442
5	I	319	478	240	67	41	–	1145
5	J	44	–	–	–	–	–	44
PM	K	462	550	32	11	–	27	1082
Total		5431	1946	743	132	92	178	8522

Cinder (CIN) — a high silica slag which can be formed either as described above, or by high temperature fusion between silica and ferruginous material. It can be ascribed either to the non-diagnostic slags or the diagnostic slags, depending on its iron content and morphology.

Other material which normally comprises fragments of fuel, ferruginous stones (not 'ores'), etc.

Slag Distribution

The slags have been divided into eleven chronological groups on the basis of the excavated sequence (A–K). Group K includes all the slags from post-medieval and unascribed contexts, and is not discussed in detail here. The total weights of each group by slag type are given in Table 5.

Groups A and B

This material is associated with the late Saxon settlement (Period 3). Both groups of material derived from Trench G. The quantity of slag recovered is indicative of smithing having been carried out in the area, perhaps on a small scale requiring no permanent structures. The smelting slag was identified as tap slag, but is not enough to be significant.

Groups C and D

The slags in Group C were recovered from within the late Saxon manorial enclosure (Enclosure 2, Period 4) and those from Group D from within the later extension of this enclosure (Enclosure 3, Period 4). Both groups were recovered from Trench G, and are considered to contain redeposited material from the Period 3 settlement. The total amount of material recovered from these groups is small, and cannot be ascribed any significance.

Groups E and F

This material was derived from contexts in Trenches C and D, associated with the Saxo-Norman settlement (Period 4). Group F also includes material which had been incorporated into the Outer Bailey Bank (Period 5), but which almost certainly derived originally from the Period 4 settlement. The total quantity may only be considered as background levels of slag.

Group G

These slags were derived from the grave fills and associated graveyard soils in Trench G (Periods 4 and 5). It is probable that all the slags recovered from these contexts derived originally from the earlier settlement of Period 3, ie. were contemporary with Groups A and B, although some may have been generated during the construction of the church (Structure 17, Period 4).

The smelting slag was a single lump of tap slag, and is shown by the widespread occurrence of the smithing slag to represent merely background levels of redeposited material.

Groups H, I and J

Groups H and I derived from graves and soils associated with the latest activity in the graveyard (Period 5), but which probably included disturbed and redeposited earlier material. The smithing slag in Group J was incorporated into the west wall of the church, during rebuilding in the late 12th century (Period 5).

Discussion

The total quantity of smithing debris (SSL and HB) recovered was about 7 kg, and less than 1 kg of smelting tap slag was present. These quantities would normally be considered as typical

background levels of slag recovered from such large areas of excavation. The evidence strongly suggests that the majority of the slag derived originally from the late Saxon settlement (Period 3).

The evidence of the 1977 excavation for metalworking totalled about 10 kg of slag, but no breakdown into different slag types was given, although both smelting tap slag and smithing slag were identified (Mf2 D14). It was also argued in that report that much of the material was Saxon in origin, but evidence for ironworking associated with the construction of the church was also identified.

There can be no doubt that smithing was carried out in the Saxon settlement, but the level of activity cannot be judged. The evidence from permanent Saxon smithies indicates that slag heaps were usually contained within the smithy boundary and only material used for making-up, hard core, etc. would be found in other parts of a site. Consequently the quantity of slag recovered can be small unless the area of the smithy is excavated. Small-scale smithing operations were probably not carried out in permanent structures and the small quantity of waste debris generated would be scattered, not concentrated in one area.

There is no substantial evidence for smithing activity during the construction of the castle (Period 5), and none for a working smithy during its occupation. It is reasonable to expect that both these activities were carried out on the site, and the reasons for the absence of such evidence must be considered. There are two probable explanations for this. Either the evidence does not survive archaeologically, and there is good evidence in both the Inner and Outer Bailey of the removal of the castle occupation layers; or the relevant areas have not been examined.

There is insufficient smelting slag to confirm that iron smelting was carried out in the areas excavated, but it is possible that a smelting operation was carried out somewhere within the Saxon settlement. The smelting slag type was tap slag which is the typical by-product of Roman and medieval smelting technology, but it is less common in the Saxon period.

The small quantities of cinder and hearth lining are probably associated with the smithing activity.

Crucible Fragment

A crucible body sherd (SF 558), possibly part of the base and body, was found in layer 1881, one of the soils of the late Saxon land surface of Period 3. The internal face was not vitrified and was grey in colour. The external face was vitrified and coloured grey/yellow.

Qualitative XRF detected copper and zinc on the inner surface. No metals were detected above background levels on the outer surface. No precious metals (gold or silver) were detected. The relative peak heights indicated that zinc was the most abundant element, but this is typical because zinc is volatile at copper alloy casting temperatures.

The results show that the crucible was used for the melting of copper alloys. The absence of tin should not be taken as significant since it is present in copper alloys at low percentages, and would therefore be present on the crucible surface at very low concentrations, possibly below the minimum detectable level.

4. Worked Stone

Flint and Chert, by F. M. Healy

The composition and incidence of the worked flint and chert recovered during the excavation are summarised in Table 5. Most of the artefacts are abraded and nearly half of them are broken.

Raw material

Chert, presumably derived from the Cornbrash on which the site lies, is represented by two flakes, one from the Romano-British land surface (Period 2) and one incorporated in the Outer Bailey Bank (Period 5). The rest of the assemblage is flint, apparently from a secondary source or sources, characterised by its generally small size. The two complete cores weigh only 10 g and 13 g respectively. A large, slightly-flaked nodule of chalk flint from the Outer Bailey Bank stands out from the rest of the collection and may have been brought to the site as building material.

Distribution

Material stratified in pre-Iron Age contexts (Period 1) amounts to only one core and two flakes (Structures 1 and 2). Area-for-area, however, there seems to be a slight concentration in the primary soil layer 303 in Trench E (soils of the Romano-British land surface), which would suggest a relationship to Structure 1.

Affinities

Most of the material from Trench E and from the rest of the site would be compatible with a Bronze Age date, in the near-absence of blade technology (Pitts 1978) and the presence of denticulates among the retouched forms. An early or middle Neolithic presence may be represented by two leaf arrowheads (Green 1980, 92–7), one from Ditch 2577 (Period 2), and an end scraper on a blade, which derived from the Romano-British land surface (Period 2).

Two barbed and tanged arrowheads of Green's Sutton type and a 'thumbnail' scraper are forms most usually associated with Beaker pottery (Green 1980, 137–140; Smith 1965, fig. 41), and may relate to a Beaker sherd which was residual in the graveyard within the Inner Bailey (*below, Chapter 7.6*).

Table 5: Worked flint and chert

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*Total*
Period 1, Structure 1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Period 1, Structure 2	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
Period 2, Structure 3	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Relict soil Trench E, Romano-British Land Surface	1	13	–	–	–	–	–	–	14
Relict soil, remainder	–	11	–	–	–	4	1	1	17
Other contexts, Trench E	1	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	5
Other contexts, remainder	3	50	2	2	2	2	3	2	66
Total	6	80	3	2	2	6	4	3	106

1 = cores 2 = flakes 3 = blades 4 = leaf arrowheads 5 = barbed and tanged arrowheads 6 = scrapers 7 = denticulates 8 = misc. retouched

Portable Stone Objects, by J. M. Mills

This report includes discussion of four objects from Saxon and post-Conquest layers in the 1977 excavations. Full details of all stone objects recovered from the latter excavations can be found in fiche (Mf2 D9).

The honestones and whetstones

Nine stones, likely to have been used for sharpening iron blades, were recovered from medieval or earlier contexts; the majority were recovered from layers deposited no later than the 12th century. Three further stones were found in 1977. Here, the term whetstone is used specifically for sharpening stones of the narrow, rectangular type, which may be pierced for suspension; honestone refers to a miscellaneous group of basically, broad, flat stones. The stones can be further divided into four groups based on their petrological make-up as follows: Sarsen or Old Red Sandstone, Greensand, ferruginous Sandstone, and Schist.

Sarsen / Old Red Sandstone hones

Of the three recovered, one (Cat. No. 1, Fig. 32, 1) came from the soils of the Romano-British land surface in Trench G and is of a slightly unusual form, reminiscent of sharpening stones of Old Red Sandstone from Greyhound Yard, Dorchester, Dorset (Mills forthcoming). Although incomplete, it has a semi-circular end, with one flat, highly-polished surface; the other surface curves towards the first and is less highly polished. This example is unusual in comparison to others because it does not exhibit a concave sharpening surface; however, the shape and size of the stone seems to preclude its use as a rubber, sharpening being a reasonable explanation for the polished surface.

The remaining two Sarsen honestones may derive from the late Saxon settlement; one (Cat. No. 5) is a fragment of a broad, square-ended stone and was recovered from the fill of a gateway post-hole of Enclosure 2 (Period 4); the other (Cat. No. 2, Fig. 32, 2) was recovered from the late Saxon soils in the area of the sunken-feature building, Structure 4 (Period 3). This example may originally have been triangular in shape; although broken it continued to be used, as evidenced by the polished break.

Greensand hones

A fragment of a Greensand hone (Cat. No. 3) with two concave faces was recovered from the late Saxon land surface. A second fragment (Cat. No. 4), from one of the ditches of Enclosure 2, may originally have been triangular. A third Greensand hone, with burnt surfaces and multiple grooves worn in the top surface, was found in 1977 (Mf2 D9, SF 161), from the soils of the late Saxon land surface (Period 3). A comparable hone was found at Shakenoak (Brodribb *et al.* 1972, fig. 20, 56).

Ferruginous sandstone hones

The two fragments of ferruginous sandstone which exhibit worn sharpening surfaces are thicker than the other honestones which have a maximum thickness of 23 mm. One (Cat. No. 7), *c.* 25 mm thick, came from a Period 5 grave in the area of the sunken-featured building, Structure 4; the other (Cat. No. 6), 30–35 mm thick, came from the soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface sealed beneath the Inner Bailey Bank.

Other sandstone hones

An additional hone, a concavo-convex block of an unidentified buff Sandstone with most surfaces worn, was found in 1977 (Mf2 D9, SF 140), from the soils of the late Saxon land surface (Period 3).

Schist whetstones

The two schist (probably Norwegian Ragstone) whetstones came from layers deposited no later than the 12th century. A very worn whetstone of

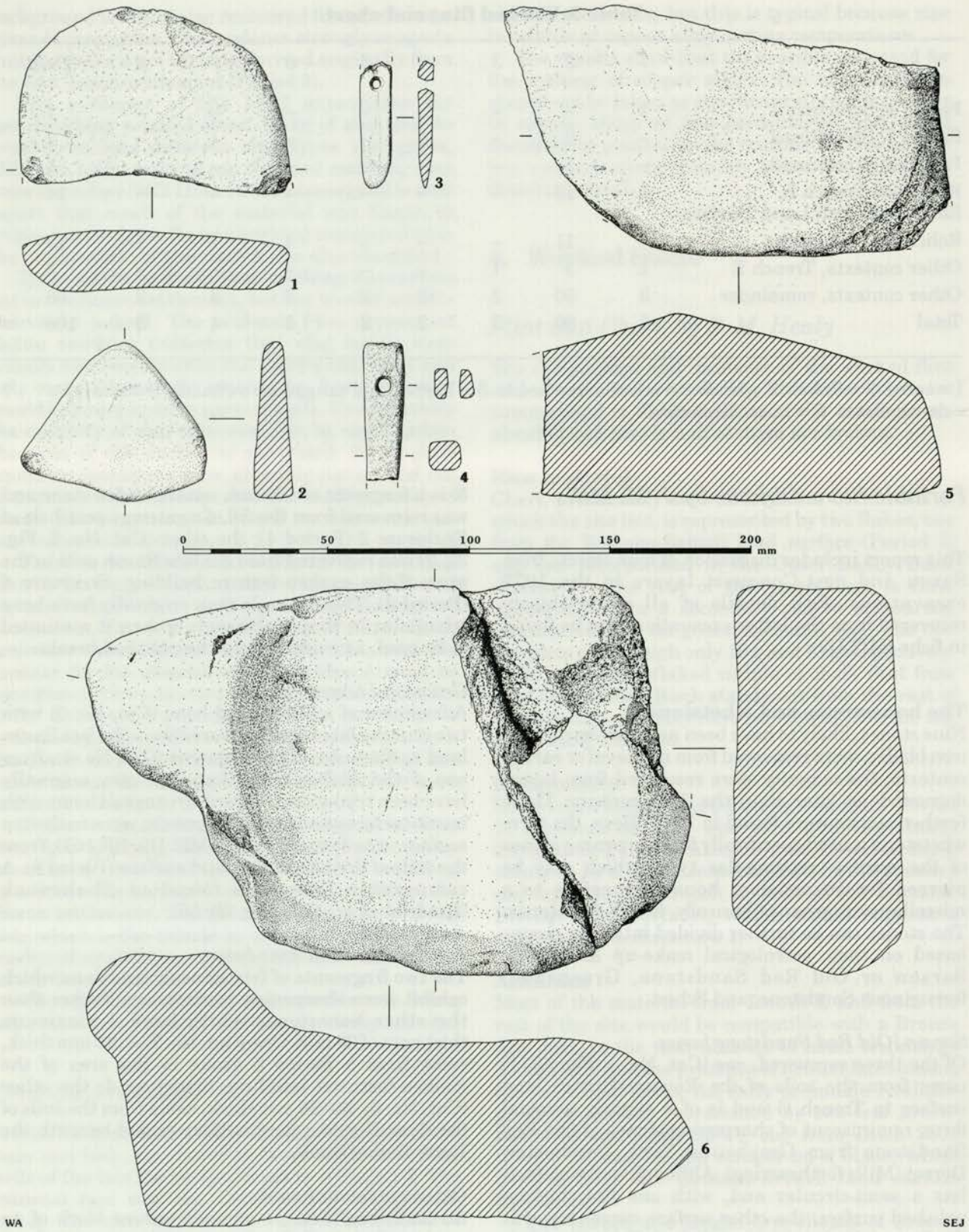

Figure 32 Stone objects 1–6

mica schist (Cat. No. 8, Fig. 32, 3) from the fill of the ditch defining Enclosure 3, has a broken end, below which it is pierced for suspension; it is possible that the stone broke and was then repierced and continued in use. The second, incomplete, whetstone (Cat. No. 9, Fig. 32, 4), of quartz-mica schist, also pierced for suspension, came from the infill of Structure 18.

Other whetstones

An additional whetstone, of an unidentified fine-grained sandstone, was found in 1977 (Mf2 D9, SF 160), from Structure 17 (Period 4). The stone is dated to the 10th century, and comparable stones have been found at Shakenoak and York (Brodribb *et al.* 1972, fig. 17, 42; Waterman 1959, fig. 23, 10).

Querns

Four quern fragments were recovered, two Sarsen saddle-types, both burnt, one of which is almost complete, and two fragments of Rhenish lava quern. A fragment of a burnt Sarsen saddle quern or grinding stone (Cat. No. 10, Fig. 32, 5) was found in the floor of the sunken-featured building, Structure 4. The almost complete example (Cat. No. 13, Fig. 32, 6), was found in the fill of the Outer Bailey Moat and was probably deposited there before the mid 14th century.

The two fragments of lava quern are too small to ascertain either whether they are from an upper or lower stone or the exact quern form; one (Cat. No. 11) is from the area above the sunken-featured building, Structure 4, the other (Cat. No. 12) is from the fill of a grave in the area of the Period 3 settlement. It is probable that both fragments derive from that settlement.

The spindle-whorls

One spindle-whorl fragment (Cat. No. 14) was recovered from disturbed contexts in Trench G. The whorl, of shale, is incomplete and likely to be of Romano-British date, complementing the small collection of residual Romano-British material from the site (*see also glass, pottery and copper alloy*).

A second spindle-whorl was found in 1977 (Mf2 D9, SF 8), in a Period 5 grave. This bun-shaped whorl is of very fine-grained silty sandstone, and is lathe-turned with multiple groove decoration.

Other worked stone

A total of four slab fragments, ranging from 31–4 mm thick, was recovered from Structure 18 (Period 4), three of ferruginous Sandstone (Cat. Nos 16–18) and one of silica cemented Sandstone (Cat. No. 15). The surfaces of the ferruginous fragments are pecked, whilst the surfaces of the siliceous piece are smooth/polished; two of the pieces (Cat. Nos 15 and 17) have chamfered edges. The original function of these 'slabs' is unknown.

In addition, three fragments of possible Marble were recovered. Each piece has one highly polished surface; two are dark green with lighter green patches (Cat. Nos 19 and 20), the other is dark purple with cream spots (Cat. No. 21). Despite the apparent post-medieval nature of these pieces (they have the appearance of fragments of Victorian wash-stand tops), all three are from apparently well-stratified medieval layers. The two green pieces came from the clay of the Inner Bailey Bank (Period 5) (Cat. No. 20) and the fill of Ditch 2057 defining Enclosure 3 (Period 4) (Cat. No. 19), and the purple piece came from the Graveyard soils of Period 5.

Architectural Fragments, by J. M. Mills

The rubble footing of the church wall contained two fragments with worked faces (Cat. Nos 22 and 23), both of Oolitic Limestone. The presence of these fragments in the wall footing suggests either that they derive from an earlier building or that the stones are fragments from blocks intended for use in the construction of the church, damaged, and then utilised in the footings. The latter seems more likely, given that the wall facings of the church, excavated in 1977, were also found to be of Oolitic Limestone (Mf2 D12–13).

The nearest source known to have been worked in the Saxon period is at Box, 12 km north-west of Trowbridge, but it is perhaps more likely that the stone came from the Westwood quarries only 4.5 km west of Trowbridge, although there is as yet no evidence to indicate that these quarries were being exploited at this date.

Stone blocks which may have come from the demolition of the church were recovered from the base of the clay sealing the graveyard (see also sepulchral stone Cat. No. 28), and from immediately above Grave 1616, one of the final graves of Period 5 (Cat. No. 25). Both are Oolitic Limestone.

One of the blocks from the base of the clay is incomplete (Cat. No. 24); on one side a poorly-executed device has been inscribed, comprising a semi-circle and part of a cross formed by two lines almost at right angles to each other; the uppermost terminal ends in a V–shaped arrow (Plate 40). It is possible that the device is incomplete and was originally a circle crossed by two lines which divided it approximately into quarters, the remaining elements being on another block.

The second stone, a complete *voussoir* or keystone (Cat. No. 25, Plate 41), from the surface above Grave 1616, has a lightly engraved cross, possibly to mark the centre of the stone on the largest rectangular face.

The 1977 excavations produced quantities of stone roofing tiles from the church demolition layers, all of a relatively uniform sub-rectangular shape with a single nail hole at one end (Mf2 D12). Small fragments of Pennant Sandstone floor slabs were recovered in 1977, chiefly from layers associated with early use of the church (Mf2 D13). The nearest outcrops are at Stratton-on-the-Fosse, Somerset. The slabs may be reused Romano-British building material.

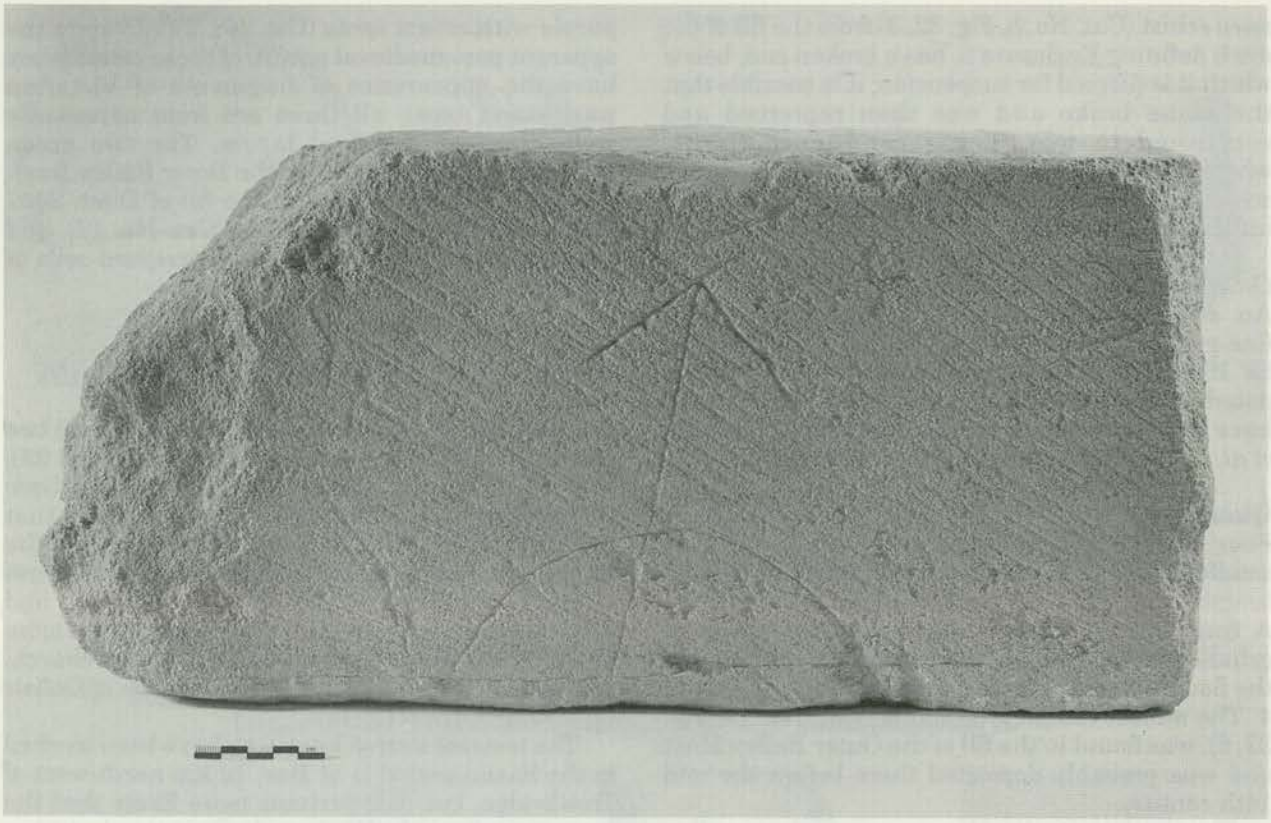

Plate 40 Inscribed stone block, Cat. No. 24. Scale 0.05 m

Sepulchral Stones, by J. M. Mills

The three stones, a grave-marker, a possible coffin/grave cover fragment and a small recumbent slab, are of Oolitic Limestone.

A roughly-worked, tapering block was found at the foot of Grave 1663 and is thought to be a foot marker for that grave (Cat. No. 26). A small, burnt, L–shaped fragment, possibly a corner fragment from the edge of a coffin or grave cover, was recovered from within the soils of the Inner Bailey and may be derived from the clearance of the graveyard (Cat. No. 27).

An almost complete, flat, tapered recumbent grave slab, ornamented with a simple cross, was recovered from the base of the clay that sealed the graveyard and probably derived from the levelling of one of the banks of the castle (Cat. No. 28, Fig. 33, 7). The upper surface of the stone is weathered, indicating that it covered, or marked, a grave in the graveyard rather than inside the church.

The size of the slab may not necessarily relate to that of the deceased (Gilmour and Stocker 1986, 56); it may therefore be incorrect to state that this slab originally marked a child's grave. The slab is similar to one now in Trowbridge Church, which was rescued from the site in the early 20th century (Mf2 E14–15, G13, A); this and two other stones have been dated to the early 12th century. The grave slabs recovered from St Mark's, Lincoln (Gilmour and Stocker 1986, fig. 47) are of similar form and are dated mid 10th–mid 13th centuries.

Fig. 32

1. Fragment, **Sarsen ?sharpening stone or hone**. Cat. No. 1, SF 5623, layer 1870, soils of the Romano-British land surface, Period 2.
2. Fragment, **Sarsen ?sharpening stone**. Cat. No. 2, SF 5572, layer 2550, soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface, Period 3.
3. **Mica schist whetstone**. Cat. No. 8, SF 4401, layer 1553, Enclosure 3: Ditch 2057, Period 4.
4. **Quartz-mica schist whetstone**. Cat. No. 9, SF 4068, layer 193, Structure 18, Period 4.
5. Incomplete **Sarsen ?saddle quern**. Cat. No. 10, SF 4343, layer 1239, Structure 4, Period 3.
6. **Sarsen ?saddle quern**. Cat. No. 13, SF 4270, layer 285, Outer Bailey Moat, Period 5.

Fig. 33

7. **Oolitic Limestone grave slab**. Cat. No. 28, SF 5568, layer 1460, rebuilding of the west wall of the church, Period 5.

5. Glass, by H. E. M. Cool, M. Heyworth, and J. M. Mills

A total of 119 pieces of glass was recovered, the majority of which are post-medieval in date. A single fragment of reticella glass was found within the soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface (Period 3), and two fragments of a Romano-British date were recovered from layers of Period 4. The glass is quantified by type and by period in Table 6.

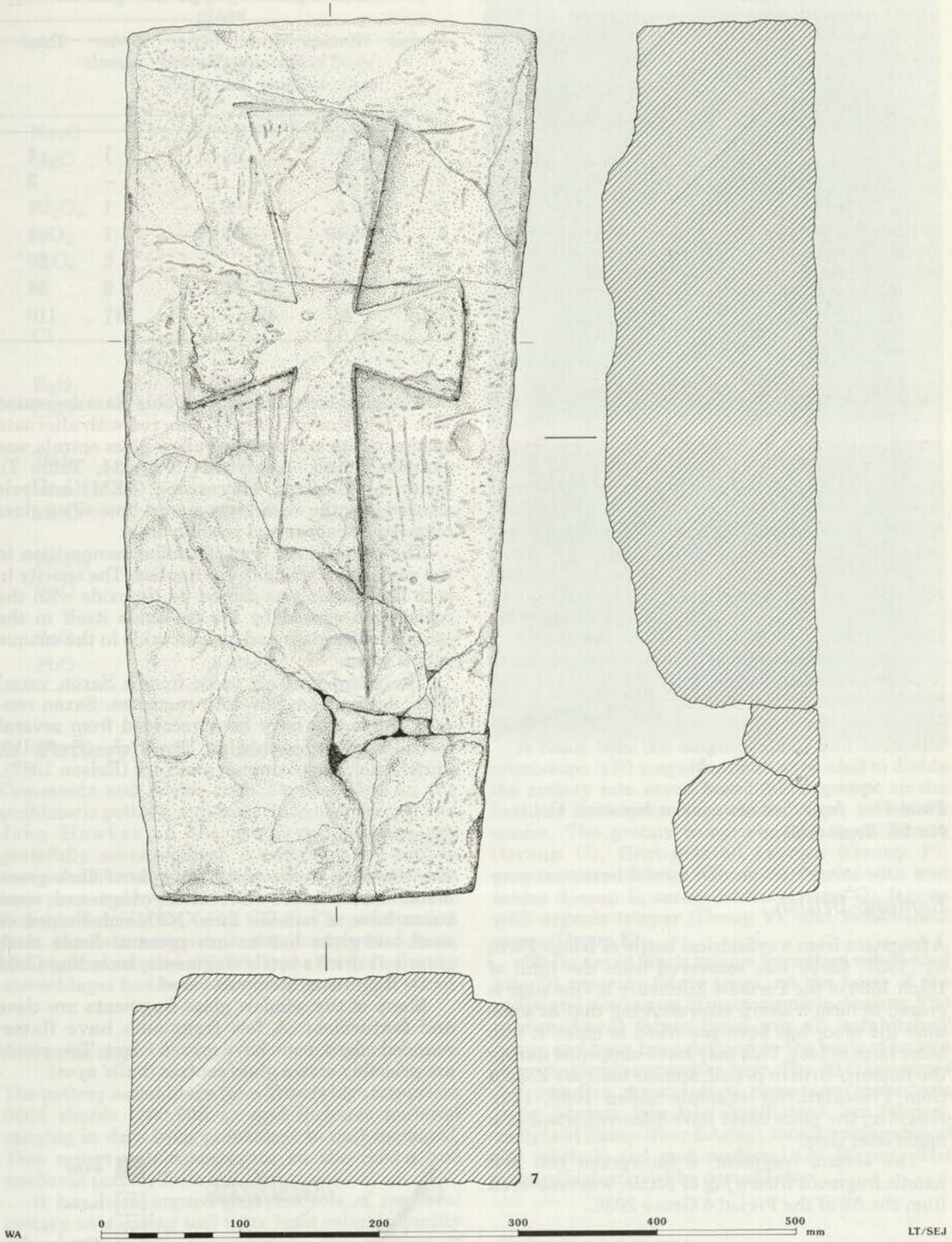

Figure 33 Oolitic limestone grave slab, Cat. No. 28

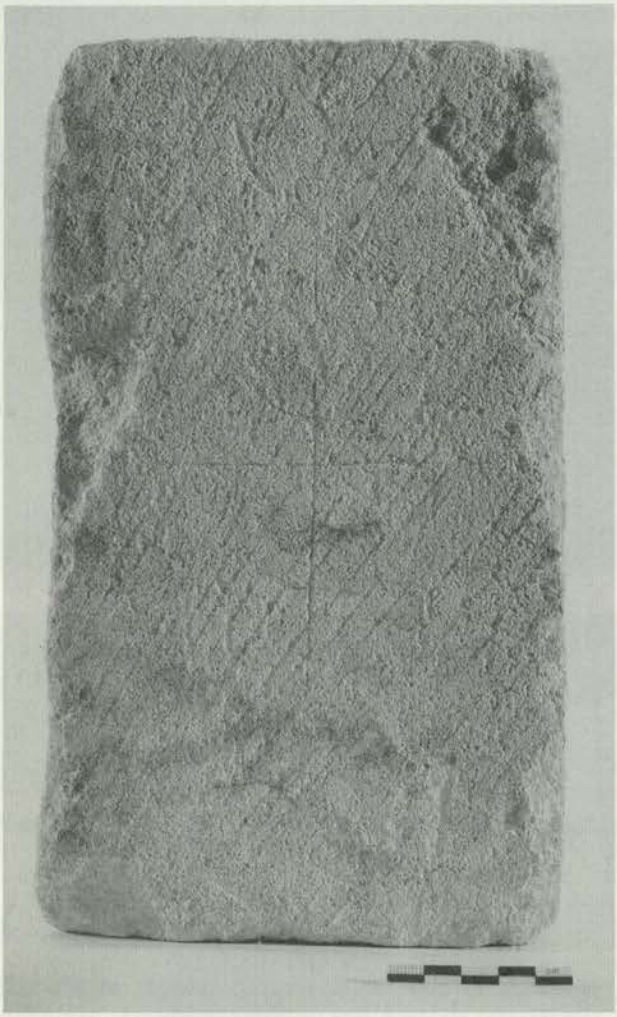

Plate 41 Inscribed voussior or keystone, Cat. No. 25. Scale 0.05 m

Romano-British

A fragment from a cylindrical bottle of Isings Form 51 (1957, 63–9) was recovered from the infill of Ditch 1554 of the Period 4 Enclosure 2. One edge is grozed to form a sharp edge showing that at some time the piece has been reworked to make it into some form of tool. This may have happened during the Romano-British period; similar tools are known from Prestatyn, for example (Allen 1988, 120). However, the piece could have been reworked at a much later date.

The second fragment, a blue/green rim and handle fragment from a jug or bottle, was recovered from the fill of the Period 4 Grave 2036.

Saxon

A full report on the Saxon glass may be found in fiche (Mf1 E6–10).

Table 6: glass by type and period

Period	*Window*	*Wine/ spirit/ beer bottles*	*Other bottles*	*Other vessels*	*Total*
3	–	–	–	1	1
4	–	–	2	–	2
5	–	–	–	1	1
6	–	–	–	1	1
PM	2	18	1	5	26
U/S	44	31	4	9	88
Total	46	49	7	17	119

A small sherd of translucent blue glass decorated with a translucent blue reticella rod with alternate opaque white and opaque yellow glass spirals was examined and analysed (Fig. 34; Table 7). Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM) analysis showed that the vessel was a soda-lime-silica glass coloured by copper and possibly iron.

The reticella rod was of similar composition to the vessel onto which it was applied. The opacity in both the spirals was caused by tin oxide with the colouration caused by the tin oxide itself in the opaque white glass and by lead oxide in the opaque yellow glass.

The sherd is likely to be from a Saxon vessel form, dating from 8th–10th centuries. Saxon reticella fragments have been recorded from several British sites including Ipswich (Suffolk), Portchester, Southampton and York (Evison 1983).

Post-medieval

The majority of the bottle glass is of dark green metal. Some necks have string-rings and some bases have a notable kick. No onion-shaped or shaft-and-globe bottles are present. Some clear glass soft drinks bottle fragments, including Codd bottle fragments, were recovered.

Many of the window glass fragments are clear and featureless. A few fragments have flame-rounded edges; none have grozed edges. Two pieces are probably crown glass centres (bulls' eyes).

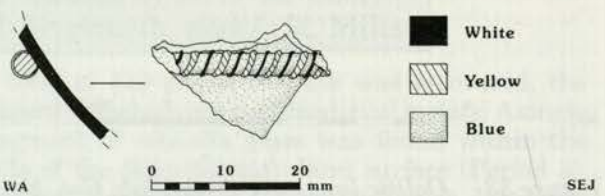

Figure 34 Saxon glass

Table 7: results of SEM analysis of Saxon glass

	Vessel body blue glass	*Rod body blue glass*
Na_2O	19.1%	19.5%
MgO	0.8%	0.7%
Al_2O_3	1.9%	2.0%
SiO_2	69.8%	68.6%
P_2O_5	–	–
S	0.1%	0.2%
Cl	0.7%	0.6%
K_2O	0.6%	0.6%
CaO	6.8%	6.6%
TiO_2	0.2%	0.1%
Cr_2O_3	–	–
MnO	0.6%	0.6%
Fe_2O_3	0.8%	1.0%
CuO	0.4%	0.5%
SnO_2	–	–
PbO	0.9%	0.3%

6. Pottery, by L. N. Mepham

Comments and advice from Dr Ros Cleal on the prehistoric pottery, and from Susan M. Davies and John Hawkes on the medieval pottery, are gratefully acknowledged. A report on the pottery recovered from the 1977 excavations on the site has been prepared by the late Robert Smith, and can be found in fiche (Mf2 C6–14, G6–8). The information from the latter report is not incorporated here, although correlation of fabric types between the two assemblages has been attempted.

Introduction

The pottery assemblage from Trowbridge comprises 8664 sherds (150,202 g), and includes material ranging in date from prehistoric to post-medieval. This report will concentrate on the Saxon and medieval pottery from the site.

It has been argued that the role of medieval pottery as a dating tool is its least reliable quality (Moorhouse 1986). For example, the problem of residuality of sherds must be considered, given the nature of the deposits at Trowbridge where, inevitably, earlier contexts have been disturbed by the cutting of later features; and the contemporaneity of sherds within a single context may be questioned. However, bearing these considerations in mind, it was hoped that an examination of the ceramic sequence would provide some dating evidence to supplement the stratigraphic data, and to indicate the length and extent of occupation on the site, in particular during the late Saxon and medieval periods.

In addition, analysis of the various fabric types and forms present might suggest changing patterns of pottery production and distribution through time, and pick up any fluctuations in pottery supply which might be explained, for example, by disruption of the industry by the Anarchy Period of the mid 12th century (see Hurst 1976, 284).

Methodology

The pottery was analysed using the standard Wessex Archaeology recording guidelines (Morris 1992). The assemblage was divided into fabric types, and then fully quantified, both by number of sherds and by weight, by fabric type within each context. In addition, a maximum of thirteen variables, including details of vessel form, surface treatment, decoration, manufacturing technique and evidence of use, was recorded for all pottery from medieval and earlier contexts, and coded for entry onto a database.

The material from post-medieval contexts was examined in less detail; basic quantification by fabric type, as described above, was undertaken, but no attempt was made to record vessel types, or other variables.

A hand lens (x8 magnification) and binocular microscope (x20 magnification) were used to divide the pottery into seven broad fabric groups on the basis of the dominant inclusion type, or known source. The groups comprise: calcareous fabrics (Group C), flint-gritted fabrics (Group F), grog-tempered fabrics (Group G), fabrics with iron oxides (Group I), sandy fabrics (Group Q), fabrics with organic temper (Group V), and 'established' wares (Group E).

These seven fabric groups were then subdivided into 70 separate fabric types, on the basis of the range and coarseness of macroscopic inclusions. The post-medieval fabric types are all 'established' wares and have been defined on the basis of known or probable source and/or type. The 70 fabric types fall into five chronological groupings: prehistoric (nine fabrics), late Iron Age/Roman (six fabrics), early/mid Saxon (four fabrics), late Saxon/medieval (29 fabrics), and post-medieval (22 fabrics). The pottery is described by period below.

Fabrics and forms

In the following fabric descriptions the terms used to describe the density of inclusions are defined as follows: rare (1–3%); sparse (3–10%); moderate

(10–20%); common (20–30%). Numbers and weights of all fabric types, by chronological group, are given in Table 8, and the correlation of fabric types and vessel forms is given in Table 9. Correlations with fabrics from the 1977 assemblage (*see Mf2 C1–4*) are given in brackets, eg. (Smith: Fabric 16).

Prehistoric (0.6% by weight of total assemblage)
A total of 141 sherds (966 g) of prehistoric date was recovered from the site. Nine fabric types were identified:

C1. Moderate, poorly-sorted subangular Limestone and fossil shell fragments <10 mm; sparse, rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; sparse black iron oxides. Always unoxidised, firing black.
C2. Sparse/moderate, moderately well-sorted oolites <1.0 mm; sparse, rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; rare black iron oxides and mica. Always unoxidised, firing black.
C3. Moderate/common, moderately well-sorted, subangular Limestone and fossil shell fragments <1.0 mm; rare oolites <0.5 mm; rare iron oxides. Firing orange/red to black.
C4. Sparse, poorly-sorted subangular Limestone and fossil shell fragments <4.0 mm; rare rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; sparse black and red iron oxides <4.0 mm. Always oxidised, firing orange/red.
G1. Moderate, poorly-sorted grog <1.0 mm; sparse, poorly-sorted subangular Limestone <1.0 mm. Unoxidised, firing black; soapy feel.
Q1. Common, well-sorted, quartz grains <0.25 mm; rare charcoal/burnt organic temper <5.0 mm; rare black iron oxides. Always unoxidised, firing black.
Q2. Moderate, poorly-sorted, rounded quartz grains <1.0 mm; rare charcoal/burnt organic temper <5.0 mm; rare red iron oxides. Firing orange/brown to black.
Q3. Sparse rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; rare subangular Limestone fragments <6.0 mm; sparse irregular voids <4.0 mm, probably leached Limestone. Firing black with orange/brown exterior.
Q4. Common, moderately well-sorted rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; sparse black iron oxides. Oxidised, firing orange.

Very little diagnostic material was present amongst the prehistoric assemblage, and the occurrence of much of the group as residual sherds in later contexts has made the dating of some fabric types problematic. Fabric G1 is of uncertain prehistoric date, but the grog temper would suggest an early Bronze Age date; this fabric occurs as a single sherd in the earliest stratified feature on the site (Structure 1, Period 1). Fabric types Q3 and Q4 occur as single sherds in later contexts only (the Romano-British land surface and the latest use of the graveyard respectively); Q3 has been identified as Beaker, while Q4 has incised decoration of late Bronze Age/early Iron Age type.

The small group of calcareous fabrics (C1–C4) can be assigned fairly confidently to the late Bronze Age; rim sherds recovered in these fabrics include jar/bowl forms of recognisable late Bronze Age type (eg. Bradley *et al.* 1980, fig. 11; Fig. 36, 1–3). The sandy fabrics Q1 and Q2 occur only as plain body sherds; they are frequently found in association with the calcareous fabrics and are probably of the same date.

Only a small proportion of the calcareous group was derived from contexts in Period 1 which could definitely be ascribed to the prehistoric period (Structure 2, Pits 2259 and 2478). The remainder occurred as residual sherds in later contexts.

Late Iron Age/Romano-British (0.3% of total assemblage)
A small quantity (48 sherds; 398 g) of pottery was identified as late Iron Age/Romano-British. Two fabrics of known source were recognised: samian (E300; source unspecified) and Oxfordshire oxidised ware (E170; Young 1977, 123). In addition, four coarse ware fabrics were observed:

C100. Sparse, poorly-sorted subangular Limestone, including ooliths, <2.0 mm; common, moderately well-sorted, rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; sparse iron oxides. Firing orange/brown with grey core.
I100. No visible inclusions except sparse iron oxides <2.0 mm. Oxidised, firing buff/pink.
Q100. Common, well-sorted rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; rare elongated voids. Firing buff/orange to black.
Q101. No visible inclusions except sparse iron oxides and rare mica. Unoxidised, firing grey with paler grey core.

Apart from some possible hand-made late Iron Age material within fabric Q100, all the coarse pottery was of wheel-thrown, Romano-British type. There was one bead rim in fabric C100, placing this fabric in the mid–late 1st century AD; and one flanged bowl rim of 3rd–4th-century AD type in fabric Q100. Otherwise, diagnostic material was absent.

The possible late Iron Age material derived from Structure 3 (Period 2). The only other feature on the site that can be ascribed with any certainty to this period is the boundary ditch 2577. This contained both prehistoric material, and sherds of fabrics Q101 and Q100; the prehistoric material is likely to be residual in this context as the ditch cuts through remnants of prehistoric soils. No closer dating of the Romano-British material in this feature is possible.

Early–mid Saxon (0.8% of total assemblage)
A small group of pottery was identified as early–mid Saxon, on the basis of a combination of inclusion types and rim forms (135 sherds; 1130 g). Four fabric types were observed:

Table 8: pottery fabric totals by period

Fabric	*No. sherds*	*Weight (g)*	*% of period*
Prehistoric			
C1	51	276	28.6
C2	31	213	22.0
C3	26	173	17.9
C4	4	50	5.2
G1	1	2	0.2
Q1	13	165	17.1
Q2	13	76	7.9
Q3	1	5	0.5
Q4	1	6	0.6
Total	141	966	
Late Iron Age/Romano-British			
E170	8	205	51.5
E300	7	19	4.8
C100	7	54	13.6
I100	1	6	1.5
Q100	9	62	15.6
Q101	16	52	13.0
Total	48	398	
Early–mid Saxon			
C401	12	135	12.0
Q400	56	294	26.2
V400	12	163	14.5
V401	54	531	47.3
Total	134	1123	
Late Saxon–medieval			
C400	2704	29,489	47.3
C402	180	1496	2.4
C403	22	292	0.5
C404	4	35	0.1
C405	2	21	<0.1
C406	215	1811	2.9
C407	72	1181	1.9
C408	15	129	0.2
C409	7	27	<0.1
C411	24	490	0.8
F400	1	6	<0.1
Q401	1448	15,213	24.4
Q402	425	4500	7.2
Q403	403	2976	4.8
Q404	69	1004	1.6
Q405	14	93	0.1
Q406	34	197	0.3
Q407	16	684	1.1
Q408	30	245	0.4
Q409	20	153	0.2
Q410	2	49	0.1
Q411	112	800	1.3
Q412	1	4	<0.1
Q413	41	283	0.4
Q414	32	362	0.6
Q415	5	44	0.1
Q416	7	66	0.1
Q417	59	707	1.1
Q418	1	10	<0.1
Total	5965	62,367	
Post-medieval			
E454: Tudor Green	31	111	0.1
E600: red earthenwares	543	26,594	31.1
E605: pink/buff earthenwares	570	35,626	41.7
E606: Staffs-type brown-glazed	3	53	0.1
E610: white earthenware	1	13	<0.1
E650: Surrey white earthenwares	1	3	<0.1
E655: Cistercian-type ware	1	2	<0.1
E680: slipwares	41	834	1.0
E695: Staffs-type slipwares	140	2109	2.5
E730: tin glazed earthenwares	60	620	0.7
E740: fine white earthenwares	709	12,557	14.7
E745: fine red earthenwares	14	559	0.6
E750: creamware	79	914	1.1
E759: Jackfield ware	8	488	0.6
E770: stoneware, unspecified	83	3569	4.2
E780: Cologne/Frechen stoneware	8	127	0.1
E785: Raeren stoneware	5	74	0.1
E788: Westerwald stoneware	18	277	0.3
E805: white salt glaze	30	518	0.6
E806: Scratch blue	1	3	<0.1
E814: basalt ware	10	210	0.2
E830: porcelain	22	236	0.3
Total	2378	85,497	

C401. Sparse, poorly sorted, subangular Limestone and fossil shell <5.0 mm; moderate rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; sparse elongated charcoal fragments, probably burnt organic temper. Firing brown/black with orange/pink core.

Q400. Moderate, well-sorted rounded quartz grains <0.25 mm; sparse elongated voids, probably burnt-out organic temper. Always unoxidised, firing black.

V400. Common elongated, striated voids <5.0 mm in length; rare iron oxides. Always unoxidised, firing brown/black. (Smith: Fabric 9)

V401. Sparse elongated voids <3.0 mm; sparse rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm. Always unoxidised, firing brown/black. (Smith: Fabric 9)

All four fabrics are hand-made. Fabric Q400 is invariably burnished on exterior, and occasionally interior, surfaces; fabric V401 is occasionally burnished. Rim sherds present derive from baggy, weak-shouldered vessels with short necks and simple upright or slightly everted rims (Fig. 37, 4, 5), or with widely flaring rims (Fig. 37, 6).

Neither of the rim forms recovered has a closely definable date range, and could fall anywhere between the 6th and 10th centuries. The sandy and shelly fabrics cannot be closely dated, but the use of organic-tempered fabrics may give some chronological indication. The tempering of pottery with organic material such as grass or chaff dates from the early Saxon period onwards, and is thought to have disappeared by the end of the 8th century, at least in southern Hampshire (Hodges 1981, 46).

At Southampton, thick-walled vessels made from very densely tempered organic fabrics, similar to V400, have been recognised as belonging to an early Saxon tradition; these fabrics were superseded by the end of the 8th century by sandier fabrics with less organic temper, similar to V401 (Timby 1988, 111). However, there are no diagnostic sherds in fabric V400 to support an early date, and it should be noted that vessel thickness alone is not necessarily a good chronological indicator.

An organic-tempered fabric of this type, which requires no special potting skills and so could easily be used in domestic production, could have been made at any time during the Saxon period, and there is a growing body of evidence to support the survival of organic-tempered pottery into the late Saxon period.

The evidence from the West Country is ambiguous, and a single grass-tempered sherd from Bath, with associated 11th-century material, is likely to be residual (Vince 1979, 30), but at Cheddar a grass-tempered fabric used particularly for crucibles and lamps was associated with 10th–11th-century occupation deposits (Rahtz 1979, 314–5).

Fabrics C401, Q400 and V401 occur in the floor levels of the sunken-featured building (Structure 4, Period 3), and in two adjacent pits (Pits 2579 and 2502); fabric V400 occurs first in later contexts in Period 3, associated with the late Saxon settlement, together with 10th–early 11th-century material. While the presence of other artefacts associated either directly or indirectly with the Period 3 settlement, eg. knives and clay loomweights (*Chapter 7.2, 7.7*), would support a mid Saxon (7th–8th-century) date for the pottery from Structure 4, the Saxon pottery from later contexts in this period, ie. those sherds associated with 10th–11th-century material, need not be regarded as residual.

Furthermore, although the absence of fabric V400 from the sunken-featured building, together with the possible chronological progression from coarse to finer organic-tempered fabrics discussed above, might suggest that fabric V400 was in use on the site at an earlier period, ie. pre-7th century, from which recognisable features have not survived, this suggestion could be challenged in the light of the evidence from elsewhere for the survival of organic-tempered fabrics.

Organic-tempered pottery (Smith: Fabric 9) recovered from the 1977 excavations was found stratified beneath the church floor in Trench b (Mf2 C8).

Late Saxon–medieval (41.5% of total assemblage)

Twenty-nine medieval fabrics were recognised, comprising ten calcareous fabrics, 18 sandy fabrics and one flint-gritted fabric (5963 sherds: 62,318 g):

C400. Sparse, poorly-sorted subangular Limestone <4.0 mm; sparse to moderate rounded quartz grains, black iron oxides and mica. Firing orange/brown to dark grey. (Smith: Fabric 3)

C402. Moderate, poorly-sorted subangular to rounded Limestone <2.0 mm, including fossil shell and ooliths. Firing orange/brown to black; soapy feel. (Smith: ?Fabric 5)

C403. Common, moderately well-sorted subangular to rounded Limestone, including ooliths <2.0 mm; rare rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; rare black iron oxides. Firing dark grey with red/brown surfaces. (Smith: ?Fabric 5)

C404. Rare subangular Limestone and fossil shell <1.0 mm; sparse rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; rare mica. Firing orange/brown to grey.

C405. Rare subangular Limestone <0.5 mm; sparse irregular voids <1.0 mm, probably representing burnt or leached-out Limestone; moderate black iron oxides. Unoxidised only, firing grey.

C406. Rare subangular Limestone <2.0 mm; rare rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; rare iron oxides and mica. Firing buff to dark grey.

C407. Moderate, moderately well-sorted ooliths <1.0 mm; sparse subangular Limestone <0.5 mm; rare rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; rare iron oxides. Firing buff/orange or red/brown; some pitting.

Table 9: vessel form by fabric

Totals are given by number of sherds; rim sherds are used unless otherwise stated

	Cookpots			*Jugs/pitchers*		*Bowls*	*WCD*	*Curfews*	*Costrel*
	SCP	*SNCP*	*LNCP*	*Rim*	*Handle*	*Base*				
C400	–	1	148	–	1	–	–	7	–	–
C401	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
C402	–	16	9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
C403	–	4	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
C404	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
C406	–	–	14	2	–	–	–	1	–	–
C407	–	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	–
C408	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
C411	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Q400	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Q401	–	1	73	2	3	–	–	7	–	–
Q402	–	1	36	2	2	–	–	–	1	-
Q403	–	–	17	–	1	–	4	–	–	–
Q404	–	2	2	1	1	3	–	–	–	–
Q406	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Q407	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–
Q408	–	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Q409	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Q411	–	–	3	2	1	2	–	–	–	–
Q414	–	–	4	1	1	1	–	1	–	–
Q418	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
V401	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	4	27	313	18	14	9	5	16	3	1

Key:
SCP = Saxon cooking pot (early–mid Saxon)
SNCP = short-necked cooking pot
LNCP = long-necked cooking pot
WCD = 'West Country' dish

C408. Rare subangular Limestone and fossil shell <2.0 mm; sparse irregular charcoal, representing burnt organic matter, <3.0 mm; rare iron oxides and mica. Firing buff/brown with black core.

C409. Sparse, well-sorted subangular Limestone <0.5 mm; moderate, well-sorted, rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; moderate black iron oxides. Firing white with dark grey core.

C411. Rare subangular Limestone <0.5 mm; sparse rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; sparse iron oxides. Firing red/brown with black core.

F400. Sparse, poorly-sorted angular flint fragments <3.0 mm; moderate, poorly-sorted rounded quartz grains <1.0 mm; rare iron oxides. Firing buff to dark grey.

Q401. Moderate, poorly-sorted rounded quartz grains <1.0 mm; sparse iron oxides. Firing orange/brown to dark grey.

Q402. Sparse, poorly-sorted rounded quartz grains <1.0 mm; rare angular flint <2.0 mm; rare grog <2.0 mm; sparse iron oxides and mica. Firing orange/brown to black.

Q403. Rare angular flint <2.0 mm; rare rounded quartz grains <1.0 mm; rare iron oxides and sparse mica. Generally thin-walled vessels. Firing buff/brown to black; powdery feel; laminated fracture. (Smith: Fabric 16)

Q404. Common, well-sorted rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm. Firing white or pink/buff to dark grey; hard. (Smith: Fabric 22)

Q405. Common, poorly-sorted rounded quartz grains <1.0 mm; rare iron oxides. Firing dark brown to black; 'pimply' surface; hard. (Smith: Fabric 23)

Q406. Sparse rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; rare carbonaceous material; rare iron oxides and mica. Firing pale grey with orange/brown exterior.

Q407. Rare rounded quartz grains <1.5 mm; rare crushed flint <3.0 mm; rare iron oxides and mica. Firing orange/brown with pale grey core.

Q408. Sparse, poorly-sorted rounded quartz grains <2.0 mm; moderate, poorly-sorted, irregular voids <2.0 mm; rare elongated voids; sparse iron oxides. Firing red/brown, sometimes with grey core. (Smith: Fabric 8)

Q409. Moderate, poorly-sorted rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm. Firing pale grey with orange exterior.

Q410. Sparse, poorly-sorted rounded quartz grains <1.0 mm; sparse iron oxides and mica. Firing buff with very pale grey core.

Q411. Moderate, moderately well-sorted rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; sparse iron oxides and rare mica. Generally oxidised, firing orange, though some unoxidised grey examples; hard.

Q412. Moderate, moderately well-sorted rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; rare iron oxides. Firing buff with grey core; hard.

Q413. Moderate, poorly-sorted rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; rare iron oxides. Firing orange/brown with grey core; hard.

Q414. Moderate, poorly-sorted rounded quartz grains <1.0 mm; sparse iron oxides. Firing red/brown, often with grey core; hard.

Q415. Sparse, poorly-sorted rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; rare carbonaceous material; sparse iron oxides. Firing pale orange with grey core; hard.

Q416. Sparse, well-sorted rounded quartz grains <0.25 mm; rare subrounded Limestone fragments <1.0 mm; rare iron oxides. Firing orange/brown with grey core; very hard.

Q417. Rare rounded quartz grains <0.5 mm; sparse iron oxides and mica. Firing red/brown, often with pale grey core; hard; powdery feel. (Smith: Fabric 18)

Q418. Very fine sandy fabric with no visible inclusions. Firing orange/red.

Two fabrics dominate the assemblage: the calcareous fabric C400 and the sandy fabric Q401. These two fabrics comprise 47.3% and 24.4% respectively of the late Saxon/post-Conquest assemblage by weight.

The two fabrics are found together throughout the late Saxon and later sequence on the site, in very similar vessel forms. Both occur in large quantities throughout the sequence, although there is some evidence to suggest that C400 was losing ground to Q401 by the end of the 11th century (see Fig. 35).

The ratio of fabric C400 to Q401 drops within Period 4 from approximately 3.7:1 in contexts associated with the manorial enclosures to approximately 2.2:1 in the occupation layers of the Saxo-Norman settlement on the north-west slope of the ridge. The ratio drops even further to approximately 1.2:1 in contexts associated with the construction of the castle (Period 5), though it is quite likely that sherds incorporated in the moats and banks of the castle derived originally from the earlier settlement in that area. The lack of contexts which can definitely be dated later than the 12th century is discussed below, and so it is difficult to determine when either fabric went out of use, though a late 12th–early 13th-century date is likely.

Fabrics which would seem to correspond to C400 and Q401 have been identified at Bath, 12 km to the north-west of Trowbridge (Vince 1979, fabrics B and A respectively), although, as Vince has pointed out, sherds sharing common inclusion types and vessel forms need not necessarily be from the same source, but may merely be part of a regional tradition of manufacture (ibid, 31). Certainly, both C400 and Q401 cover a fairly wide range of variation, and could easily include products of more than one source, although the sheer quantity of sherds in both fabrics would indicate sources within a fairly local area. Bath fabric A comprises over 70% of the excavated material from Bath itself, and a river clay, possibly from the Avon valley, is suggested as its source (ibid, 28).

The period of use of fabrics C400 and Q401 at Trowbridge covers the 10th–12th centuries, perhaps into the early 13th century. This would agree with the evidence from Bath, where fabrics A and B were found in contexts dating from the 10th–early 13th century. Bath A has been found in 12th- and 13th-century contexts in the West Country and south Wales, and even in Dublin. Bath B has a more limited distribution in the West Country, but with a similar time-span.

Vessel forms, as noted above, are similar in both fabrics: long-necked cooking pots, generally with rather baggy bodies (Fig. 37, 11, 13, 14, 17, and 20–23). The vessels are all hand-made, but some of the rims may have been wheel-finished, or wheel-thrown and then luted on to a hand-made body; this technique appears to have been slightly more common on rims in Q401 than in C400.

It should be noted here that the term 'cooking pot' is not used in a functional sense, but rather to describe vessels of a particular form within the late Saxon and later assemblage. The observation of sooting on the exterior of these vessels demonstrates that some of them at least were used for cooking purposes; others may have been used for storage. Residues on the interior of some vessels, and their manner of discard, for example in Cess-pit 155 in the Outer Bailey (Period 4), suggests that they were also utilised as chamber pots.

Combed decoration is rare in Q401 and absent in C400; other decoration is limited to a few finger-impressed rims (Fig. 37, 20), three body sherds with stamped rosettes (Fig. 37, 25), and three with stabbed dot decoration (Fig. 37, 26). Rosette stamps are, of course, common on pagan Saxon pottery (Myres 1977, figs. 292–312), but they are also known on sherds of Bath A and B, in 10th–12th-century contexts (Greene 1979, fig. 19, 270).

Total Weight (g)	C400 (g)	Q401 (g)	The Excavated Sequence		
402				1	Bronze Age
424	11	34		2	Late Iron Age/Romano-British
133			Mid/Late Saxon	3	Primary Structures
835	542	412			Post-hole Structures
234	474	51			Latest Structures
52	44	7			Structures on N.W. Edge
162	167	36	Saxo-Norman	4	Church and Graveyard
130	283	215			Graves
644	1977	697			Manorial Enclosures
5052	7482	3545			Settlement on N.W. Slope
3725	6273	5706	Early Medeval	5	Castle Defences
330	909	414			Structures within Baileys
1560	4256	1508			Church and Graveyard in Inner Bailey
2050	3304	775			Alterations to Church Disuse of Graveyard
84	111	16	Late Medieval	6	Further use and abandonment of Structure 17
3298	497	409			Later Medieval occupation in Outer Bailey

Figure 35 Summary of pottery by fabric and period (excluding fabrics C400 and Q401)

Other vessel forms include so-called 'West Country' dishes, with a sharp base angle and small pre-firing perforations in the body wall (Fig. 38, 27). Such vessels were current in Wessex and south Wales in the 12th and 13th centuries (McCarthy and Brooks 1988, 125). No other bowl or dish forms have been recognised in these fabrics.

Evidence for jug/pitcher forms is slight. A single unglazed spouted pitcher with incised curvilinear decoration in fabric Q401 was recovered (Fig. 38, 29). In addition, there are three strap handles in fabric Q401 and one squared rod handle in fabric C400.

Fabrics C400 and Q401 are the only fabrics which appear throughout the late Saxon–early medieval sequence. All other fabrics have a more restricted chronological distribution.

Two fabrics seem to be confined only to the late Saxon occupation. Fabric Q408 is the only wheel-thrown fabric found in these early contexts; it occurs in short-necked cooking pot forms (Fig. 37, 8), in contexts which pre-date the manorial enclosures (Period 3). A very similar wheel-thrown fabric is known at Cheddar, 40 km south-west of Trowbridge (Rahtz 1979, fabric B), dated to the late 10th–early 11th century, although the lug handle from Trowbridge (Fig. 37, 24) is not paralleled amongst the assemblage from Cheddar. Its source is unknown, but is likely to be local to Cheddar (Vince 1981, 311).

Fabric C402 is likely to have a more local source. It occurs in short-necked cooking pot forms (Fig. 37, 7 and 9), in similar contexts to Fabric Q408, though in larger quantities. Its currency may have been slightly longer than fabric Q408, as it occurs not only in Period 3, but also in the ditch fills of the manorial enclosures (Period 4).

The strong association between the calcareous fabric C400 and the sandy fabric Q401 has already been noted, and there is a similar 'pairing' between the calcareous fabric C406 and the fine, micaceous sandy fabric Q403. Both are used for thin-walled, long-necked vessels with sharp neck angles and rounded bodies, all hand-made. Finger-impressed rims are common; otherwise the vessels are undecorated (Fig. 37, 15, 17 and 19). There are also a small number of sherds in fabric Q403 from small, very crude hand-made bowls of uncertain form (Fig. 38, 28). Both fabrics derive from similar contexts, associated with the Saxo-Norman settlement on the north-west slope of the ridge (Period 4, Trenches B–D), although fabric Q403 also appears in small quantities at a slightly earlier date, in the manorial enclosures (Period 4, Trenches F and G). Fabric Q403 may be an early product of the Crockerton area, 15 km to the south of Trowbridge. Nothing is known of the medieval products of the Crockerton area, but potters are known from documentary evidence to have been working there at least as early as the 13th century, and one kiln of late 16th-century date has been discovered (Algar 1968; McCarthy and Brooks 1988, 334). The affinities with fabric C406 might suggest a similar source for the latter fabric.

The source of fabric Q402, a similar but slightly coarser sandy fabric, is unknown. It occurs in hand-made cooking pot forms, both short-necked and long-necked, often with finger- impressed rims, similar to those of Q401 (Fig. 37, 10, 12 and 18) and, like Q401, it is also used occasionally for glazed pitchers (Fig. 38, 30). Both vessel forms are hand-made. Both glazed and unglazed sherds with combed decoration were recovered, and could derive from cooking pots as well as pitchers. A date range similar to that of Q401 is likely; it derives from similar contexts and, like Q401, appears to gain in popularity towards the end of the 11th century (see Fig. 35).

Fabric Q407 is similar, and may derive from the same source. It was used almost entirely for curfews, with applied, finger-impressed strips around the rim (Fig. 38, 38 and 39). This may merely represent a coarser element within fabric Q402. Fabric Q407 occurs almost exclusively in contexts associated with the latest use of the graveyard (Period 5). It is uncertain whether the fabric is residual in these contexts, or whether this represents its actual currency on the site, as it is extremely rare in contexts pre-dating this period.

Two other pitcher fabrics were identified. Fabric Q404 was used for hand-made, glazed pitchers with combed and applied decoration (Fig. 38, 31 and 32). Pitchers in a very similar sandy fabric are common across south-east Wiltshire in the late 11th–12th centuries, and are also known from Bath (Vince 1979, fabric M). At Trowbridge the fabric was also used for unglazed cooking pots; both vessel forms are known from contexts throughout the Saxo-Norman occupation (Period 4). A similar but slightly coarser fabric, Q405, which occurs in similar contexts, may be related. This is found only as unglazed body sherds, one of which is scratch-marked. Scratch-marked cooking pots have a similar distribution area across south-east Wiltshire to the glazed pitchers, and are known from the 12th to the 14th century.

Fabric C407 is invariably glazed, and all sherds could have derived from pitchers. Both hand-made and wheel-thrown examples were identified. The fabric has a distinctive appearance due to the high proportion of spherical, oolitic inclusions. Two oolitic fabrics were identified at Bath, one iron-rich and the other iron-poor (Vince 1979, fabrics H and J respectively), although both seem to be exclusively hand-made. Fabric J has a wide distribution stretching from Bristol through the Cotswolds to Gloucester, and also in South Wales, and is used at Bath to identify 'late', ie. late 12th–early 13th-century, features (ibid, 31). At Trowbridge, fabric C407 appears in quantity only in contexts associated with the Saxo-Norman settlement on the north-west slope of the ridge (Period 4, Trenches B–D).

The general lack of deposits which can definitely be dated later than the 12th century is discussed below. There is, however, a small group of fabrics which would appear, on the basis of manufacturing technique and vessel form, to belong to this later

medieval period, and these are largely associated with the later medieval occupation layers within the Outer Bailey (Period 6, Trench E).

Fabric C411, a fine fabric flecked with fine Limestone fragments, often glazed, can be identified as a product of the Minety area, 35 km north-east of Trowbridge. Pottery production at Minety has been provisionally dated to the 14th–15th centuries on the basis of wasters collected (Musty 1973). Diagnostic sherds in fabric C411 are almost entirely absent; only one wheel-thrown jug rim was recovered, of uncertain vessel form. The Minety industry was also producing glazed ridge tiles, and several thick-walled, glazed sherds in fabric C411 may in fact derive from ridge tiles rather than vessels.

The sandy fabrics Q409–Q417 are all fairly similar. All fabrics are wheel-thrown, with the exception of fabric Q409, which is sometimes hand-made, and fabric Q410, both examples of which are hand-made. Glazed jug forms are common (Fig. 38, 34), although unglazed cooking pots in fabrics Q411 and Q414 are also known. The jugs are frequently glazed over a white slip to disguise the original vessel colour. Handles are invariably strap or pinched-strap forms, often with slashed or stabbed decoration. Bases are occasionally thumbed. There is one base from a baluster jug in fabric Q417, decorated with trailed slip and ring-and-dot stamps (Fig. 38, 35).

Fabric Q411, and possibly Q412, are likely to be products of the Lacock kilns, 12 km north of Trowbridge (McCarthy 1974, fabric B). These kilns are dated to the 13th–14th centuries. Fabric Q417 may be another Crockerton product, possibly a development of Q403. The other fabrics in this small group are of unknown source; apart from fabrics Q413 and Q414, all are found in very small quantities, and diagnostic forms are largely absent. Their occurrence in the same contexts as fabric Q411 would suggest a similar 13th–14th-century date. Fabric C411 appears only in the latest contexts in this period, associated with sherds of Tudor Green and later post-medieval earthenwares.

There is also one stamped and glazed sherd from the end of a costrel in the very fine fabric Q418 (Fig. 38, 37). This is also from an unknown source, and occurs as an intrusive sherd in a late Saxon context (Period 3).

The Ceramic Sequence

The difficulties of dating the beginnings of the Saxon–medieval ceramic sequence on the site have already been discussed. A tentative date of 7th–8th century can be proposed for the pottery associated with the sunken-featured building (Structure 4, Period 3), with a possible earlier element which could be as early as 6th century, although the evidence for the latter is ambiguous.

Examination of the late Saxon and later assemblage reveals a date range from the 10th century through to the post-medieval period, but some problems have been encountered in the determination of separate phases within this chronological range. Close dating of horizons within the sequence depends on the observation of recognisable changes in fabrics and forms over time. However, the whole late Saxon/early medieval sequence is dominated by two fabrics, C400 and Q401, which occur in vessel forms showing very little change through time. The dating of separate phases within this sequence thus relies on other fabrics and forms, which occur in much smaller quantities. Imported wares, which might enable closer dating, are completely absent before the post-medieval period.

The location of deposits which may be *in situ*, rather than earlier deposits reworked, is problematic. For example, the pottery derived from soils within the graveyard is unlikely to be contemporary with the use of the graveyard, and is more likely to be material from earlier occupation on the hilltop, disturbed by the subsequent grave-digging. The pitfalls of residuality have been explored by Moorhouse (1986), who has amply demonstrated the dangers of interpreting apparently contemporary groups of pottery, particularly on sites where a lengthy period of occupation is known. The discovery of conjoining sherds at Trowbridge has shown that pottery was moving not only vertically, earlier material being disturbed by the cutting of later features, but also horizontally across the site.

Bearing these considerations in mind, it is possible to discern some chronological trends within the assemblage, and to pick out fluctuations in the sequence which may be significant in assessing the extent of activity on the site, and also changing patterns of pottery supply. In this discussion of the ceramic sequence, the material from Periods 4 and 5, which derives from contexts within the graveyard, has not been considered in any detail, except insofar as it can be related to earlier settlement on the hilltop in Periods 3 and 4. Figure 35 shows in histogram form the distribution of fabric types (with the exception of the dominant fabrics C400 and Q401) by stratigraphic period, and shows clearly the amount of residual pottery surviving in later contexts, particularly within the soils of the graveyard (Periods 4 and 5).

The earliest late Saxon contexts, associated with the late Saxon settlement on the hilltop (Period 3), are characterised by a very small range of fabrics. Fabrics C400 and Q401 are already present in large quantities. Other fabrics present include the coarse calcareous fabric C402, and the possible Cheddar fabric Q408. The latter fabric is found in quantity only in this period, and is completely absent from contexts associated with the manorial enclosures (Enclosures 2 and 3, Period 4), unlike Fabric C402, which appears to have had a slightly longer currency.

Vessel forms from Period 3 consist entirely of cooking pots, mostly of the short-necked variety, particularly frequent in fabric C402 (Fig. 37, 9). These forms are superseded in Period 4, after the

disappearance of fabric C402, by long-necked cooking pots (Fig. 37, 11–16, 18, 22 and 23). These are already present in Period 3, although scarce.

Apart from a single sherd from the ditch fill of the manorial enclosure (Enclosure 2), sherds from glazed pitchers of late 11th–12th-century type occur first in the fills of the western graveyard boundary ditch (Ditch 880, Period 4). These are all in the south-east Wiltshire pitcher fabric Q404, which is found sporadically in contexts associated with the Saxo-Norman settlement on the north-west slope of the ridge, within the area of the Outer Bailey (Period 4, Trenches B–D), and also in layers sealing the graveyard (Period 5). The fabric is also used for cooking pots, the appearance of which seems to pre-date that of the pitchers, as a single example occurs in the manorial enclosure ditch. A similar pattern is followed by the glazed pitcher fabric Q402, which also occurs in cooking pot forms. The latter appear first in the fills of the manorial enclosure ditch, while the glazed pitchers are found first in the soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface (Period 4), sealed beneath the Outer Bailey bank.

The latter contexts (Period 4, Trenches B–D), contain a greater range of fabrics and vessel forms than the area of the manorial enclosures to the south (Trenches F and G). If we can regard the increase in pottery types as a chronological indicator (see Vince 1981, fig. 21:1), then this group may represent the latest pre-castle material. Long-necked cooking pots dominate the group, particularly in fabrics C400 and Q401. Examples in the fine micaceous fabrics Q403 and C406 are also common; these are thin-walled vessels, with rounded bodies and sharp neck angles, and frequently have finger-impressed rims (Fig. 37, 15 and 16). There are also a few examples of 'West Country' dishes, in fabrics C400 and Q401. Sherds from glazed pitchers in fabrics Q402, Q404, and the fine oolitic fabric C407, are present, as well as a single, unglazed, spouted pitcher in fabric Q401 (Fig. 38, 29).

Deposits relating to the construction and use of the castle (Period 5) are hard to locate, since contexts within both Outer and Inner Bailey moats and banks are disturbed, and contain some obviously intrusive later medieval material. The range of pottery types present within the soils incorporated in the castle banks is the same as that already described for Periods 3 and 4 (Fig. 37, 10, 17, 19, 20; Fig. 38, 27); in fact, there are examples of joining sherds between contexts within the Outer Bailey bank and contexts within the underlying Saxo-Norman settlement (Fig. 38, 30).

The occupation layers within the Saxo-Norman settlement (Period 4, Trenches B–D), contain no material which need be later in date than the late 12th century, and indeed there is no definite evidence to place them later than the construction of the castle, in the mid 12th century, since there are no fabrics or forms which do not also occur in contexts sealed by the Outer Bailey Bank. There are no sherds of Minety or Lacock wares, or any of the other 13th–15th-century wheel-thrown fabrics. The existence of graves which cut the Inner Bailey Bank demonstrate that the graveyard was in use at the same time as the castle, but layers sealing the graveyard also contain no material obviously later in date than the 12th century; the stratigraphically latest diagnostic sherds derive from hand-made glazed pitchers in fabric Q404 (Fig. 38, 31 and 32).

Material which can definitely be dated to the 13th century or later is largely confined to the later medieval occupation layers in Trench E in the Outer Bailey (Period 6). The 13th–14th-century Lacock fabrics (Q411, Q412) are found in quantity only in these contexts, together with other fine wheel-thrown fabrics in glazed jug forms (Fig. 38, 34–36). The 14th–15th-century Minety fabric (C411) occurs first in the very latest medieval contexts in Trench E, where it is associated with Tudor Green, and later earthenwares. These fabrics occur only sporadically over the rest of the site, and generally as intrusive sherds in earlier contexts, or as residual sherds in post-medieval contexts.

Discussion

Analysis of the pottery from Trowbridge largely confirms patterns of trade and supply already suggested for the Saxon and post-Conquest periods (Timby 1988; Vince 1981).

The amount of early–mid Saxon pottery on the site is small. The pottery associated with the sunken-featured building is discrete and the fabrics used are distinctive. All the pottery in this group would fit into a functional, domestic assemblage, and all could have been made locally. The production of such functional wares may have been at household level, using locally available materials, as has been suggested for the Mid Saxon sandy and organic-tempered wares from *Hamwic* (Southampton) (Timby 1988, 110), although one fabric (Q400) shows a better finish and may have resulted from more specialised production, perhaps at the level of household or workshop industry (ibid; Peacock 1982).

It is not until the late Saxon period (later in Period 3) that there is any evidence at Trowbridge for pottery being produced at a more sophisticated, and more regionalised level. In this period, several of the fabrics at Trowbridge can be paralleled elsewhere, for example at Cheddar and Bath. Although, as has been pointed out (Vince 1979, 31), this need not necessarily mean anything more than the establishment of a regional tradition of manufacture, it still marks a development from pottery production at a domestic level governed purely by functional considerations.

The quantity of pottery recovered from late Saxon contexts in Period 3 is still relatively small, and while this may merely represent a low level of activity compared to later periods, an alternative explanation is that it reflects the relative status of pottery during this period. A general absence of pre-Conquest pottery has been noted over a wide area of Somerset, and it has been suggested that

the demand for pottery in the late Saxon period was secondary to vessels in other materials, probably mainly organic (Pearson 1982, 177). This situation changed radically in the later 11th century, possibly as a result (in part at least) of the needs of an expanding urban population.

The range of fabrics in use at Trowbridge in the late Saxon period is a reflection of the wide distributions of a limited number of pottery types, with little or no overlap between the distribution areas (Vince 1981, fig. 21:1, A). In the 11th and 12th centuries a larger number of pottery types were being produced, distribution areas are smaller and tend to overlap more (ibid, fig. 21:1, B and C). This increase in pottery production, not only in the number of types but also in sheer quantity of pottery, can be seen in the increased range of fabrics at Trowbridge, associated with the 11th–12th-century occupation (Period 4).

The production of cooking wares can be contrasted to that of glazed pitchers in the 11th–12th century. While most of the cooking wares seem to have derived from very local sources, probably no more than 15 km distant, the pitchers generally derived from different sources, and were travelling greater distances, for example the south-east Wiltshire pitchers, with a source at least 40 km south-west of Trowbridge. This pattern is found in pottery assemblages throughout the West Country at this time.

Evidence for a possible collapse in the pottery industry in the mid 12th century, as a result of the disruption of the Anarchy Period, is ambiguous (see Hurst 1976, 284). There is a general lack at Trowbridge of pottery which can definitely be dated to the later 12th century, and later deposits contain a markedly different range of fabrics from more distant sources which were apparently not exploited earlier, such as Lacock and Minety. However, Vince has linked the change-over, from the late 12th century onwards, from small to larger distribution areas and the decline of the number of potteries, to a process of wider change, involving increasing specialisation, the clustering of potters into groups, and a greater reliance on non-local supplies (1981, 319). In any case, the quantities of pottery represented at Trowbridge are too small to draw any definite conclusions.

Considering the late Saxon and later assemblage as a whole, the close similarity with other assemblages of the same date from the West Country is immediately apparent, for example, Bath, Cheddar and Ilchester (Greene 1979; Rahtz 1979; Pearson 1982). The range of pottery types present is fairly limited in all cases, with a heavy emphasis on cooking pots, and a scarcity of glazed wares. There is no abnormal element within the pottery assemblage which might suggest an enhanced status for the site. The complete absence of any foreign imports before the post-medieval period might be considered surprising, given the proximity of the major port of Bristol (30 km distant). Connections with Ireland, at least, are indicated by the coin evidence from Trowbridge (*see Chapter 7.1, above*). However, the quantities of imported pottery from any source found in Bristol itself are small, and very few are known before the early 13th century (Ponsford 1983).

Post-medieval pottery (56.9% of total assemblage)

The post-medieval pottery was grouped into very generalised fabric types on the basis of known or probable type and/or source. The bulk of the material (72.8% by weight) consisted of coarse earthenwares. These have been subdivided on the basis of broad colour range: red wares (E600) and pink/buff wares (E605). There is also a very small quantity of coarse white wares (E610, E650). No attempt has been made to subdivide the earthenwares further, although they almost certainly derive from a number of different sources. The pink/buff wares include material comparable to products of the Verwood kilns (Algar *et al.* 1979); likely sources for the red wares exist at Crockerton, Wiltshire (Algar 1968), and also amongst the post-medieval production centres in south Somerset, eg. Donyatt and Wanstrow (Coleman-Smith and Pearson 1988). All three centres were producing very similar wares in the post-medieval period. A small quantity of the red wares are slip-decorated (E680).

Other early post-medieval earthenwares include a single sherd of Cistercian-type ware (E655), and a small number of sherds of Tudor Green (E454), mostly from handled cups. The latter ware has been generally considered to date from the late 15th century (Holling 1977), although recent evidence from London suggests that Tudor Green first appears there in the late 14th century (Vince 1985, 57).

A small group of the distinctive Staffordshire-type combed slipwares was recovered (E695). These buff earthenwares, decorated with cream and/or brown slip designs, were made in Staffordshire from the late 17th century into the second half of the 18th century, but a production centre is also known in the Bristol area.

Bristol may also have been the source for some, at least, of the tin-glazed earthenwares recovered from the site (E730), although a continental source is equally likely. Three sherds of a tin-glazed albarello (Fig. 38, 40) were recovered from a late medieval context (Period 6, Trench E); the vessel is a probable Spanish import of late 15th–16th-century date (J. Draper pers. comm.; see Hurst 1977, fig. 36, 75).

Much of the stoneware recovered from the site is of unknown source (E770), but a small number of sherds of German stoneware have been identified: Raeren and Cologne/Frechen stonewares (E785, E780), imported in quantity from the 16th century onwards; and Westerwald stoneware (E788), found in this country from the mid 17th century.

The bulk of the later post-medieval material (15.8% by weight of the total post-medieval assemblage) is made up of fine white earthenwares.

Creamware (E750), produced from the early 18th century to the end of that century, is the earliest of these found on the site; the remaining white wares, including transfer-printed wares, have been grouped together (E740). Other later fine wares are represented by a few sherds of Jackfield ware (E789), basalt ware (E814), and glazed red wares of unknown source (E745), with engine-turned decoration and lustre glaze. All these were produced from the mid-18th century into the 19th century.

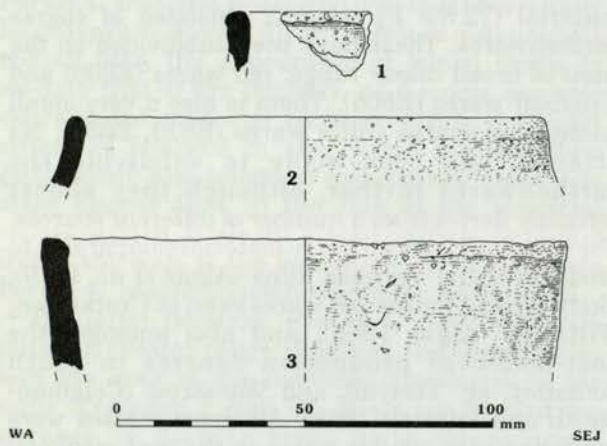

Figure 36 Prehistoric pottery 1–3

Fig. 36

Prehistoric

1. Rim of small **jar** in moderately coarse calcareous fabric (C2). Context 2479; Pit 2478; Period 1.
2. Rim of small **jar** in moderately fine calcareous fabric (C3). Context 2479; Pit 2478; Period 1.
3. Rim of **jar/bowl** in coarse calcareous fabric (C4). Context 2668; Structure 2; Period 1.

Fig. 37

Saxon and medieval

4. Rim of **cooking pot** in moderately fine calcareous fabric (C401), hand-made. Context 2596; soils of the Romano-British land surface; Period 3.
5. Rim of **cooking pot** in organically-tempered fabric (V401), hand-made. Context 1929; Grave 1930; Period 5.
6. Rim of **cooking pot** in organically-tempered fabric (V401), hand-made. Context 1592; soils within the Inner Bailey; Period 5.
7. Rim of **cooking pot** in moderately coarse calcareous fabric (C402), hand-made. Diameter uncertain. Context 1543; soils within the Inner Bailey; Period 5.
8. Rim of **cooking pot** in coarse sandy fabric (Q408), wheel-thrown. Context 1933; Grave 1934; Period 5.
9. Rim of **cooking pot** in moderately coarse calcareous fabric (C402), hand-made. Context 1826; surface to east of Structure 13; Period 3.
10. Rim of **cooking pot** in micaceous sandy fabric (Q402), hand-made. Context 137; Outer Bailey Bank; Period 5.
11. Rim of **cooking pot** in moderately coarse calcareous fabric (C400), hand-made. Context 831; Enclosure 2: Ditch 1554; Period 4.
12. Rim of **cooking pot** in micaceous sandy fabric (Q402), hand-made. Context 591; Structure 18; Period 4.
13. Rim of **cooking pot** in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q401), hand-made. Context 1594; Enclosure 2: Ditch 1597; Period 4.
14. Complete profile of **cooking pot** in moderately fine calcareous fabric (C400), hand-made. Context 1028; Cess-pit 155; Period 4.
15. Rim of **cooking pot** in fine micaceous sandy fabric (Q403), hand-made. Finger-impressed decoration on top of rim. Context 210; soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface; Period 4.
16. Rim of **cooking pot** in micaceous, calcareous fabric (C406), hand-made with wheel-finished rim. Finger-impressed decoration on edge of rim. Context 529; Structure 18; Period 4.
17. Rim of **cooking pot** in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q401), hand-made with wheel-finished rim. Context 654; layers behind the Outer Bailey Bank; Period 5.
18. Rim of **cooking pot** in micaceous sandy fabric (Q402), hand-made with wheel-finished rim. Context 157; Cess-pit 155; Period 4.
19. Rim of **cooking pot** in micaceous, calcareous fabric (C406), hand-made with wheel-finished rim. Finger-impressed decoration on top of rim. Context 662; layers behind the Outer Bailey Bank; Period 5.
20. Rim of **cooking pot** in moderately coarse calcareous fabric (C400), hand-made with wheel-finished rim. Finger-impressed decoration on edge of rim. Context 662; layers behind the Outer Bailey Bank; Period 5.
21. Rim of **cooking pot** in moderately coarse calcareous fabric (C400), hand-made with wheel-finished rim. Context 1625; rebuilding of the west wall of the church; Period 5.
22. Rim of **cooking pot** in moderately coarse calcareous fabric (C400), hand-made with wheel-finished rim. Context 1553; Enclosure 3: Ditch 2057; Period 4.
23. Rim of **cooking pot** in moderately coarse calcareous fabric (C400), hand-made with wheel-finished rim. Context 157; Cess-pit 155; Period 4.
24. **Lug handle** in coarse, vesicular sandy fabric (Q408), wheel- thrown. Context 1821; soils of the late Saxon land surface; Period 3.
25. Body sherd with stamped rosette decoration in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q401). Context 1810; unphased.
26. Body sherd with stabbed dot decoration, in moderately coarse calcareous fabric (C400). Context 1534; soils within the Inner Bailey; Period 5.

Fig. 38

Medieval

27. Base of **'West Country' dish**, in moderately coarse calcareous fabric (C400), hand-made. Small, pre-firing perforation in body wall above base. Context 654; layers behind the Outer Bailey Bank; Period 5.
28. Rim of small **bowl** in fine micaceous sandy fabric (Q403), hand-made. Context 680; Outer Bailey Bank; Period 5.
29. Rim and spout of **spouted pitcher** in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q401), hand-made. Incised curvilinear decoration on body. Context 105; soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface; Period 4.
30. Rim of **glazed pitcher** in micaceous, calcareous fabric (C406), hand-made. Combed decoration on exterior and on top of rim. Context 680; Structure 19;

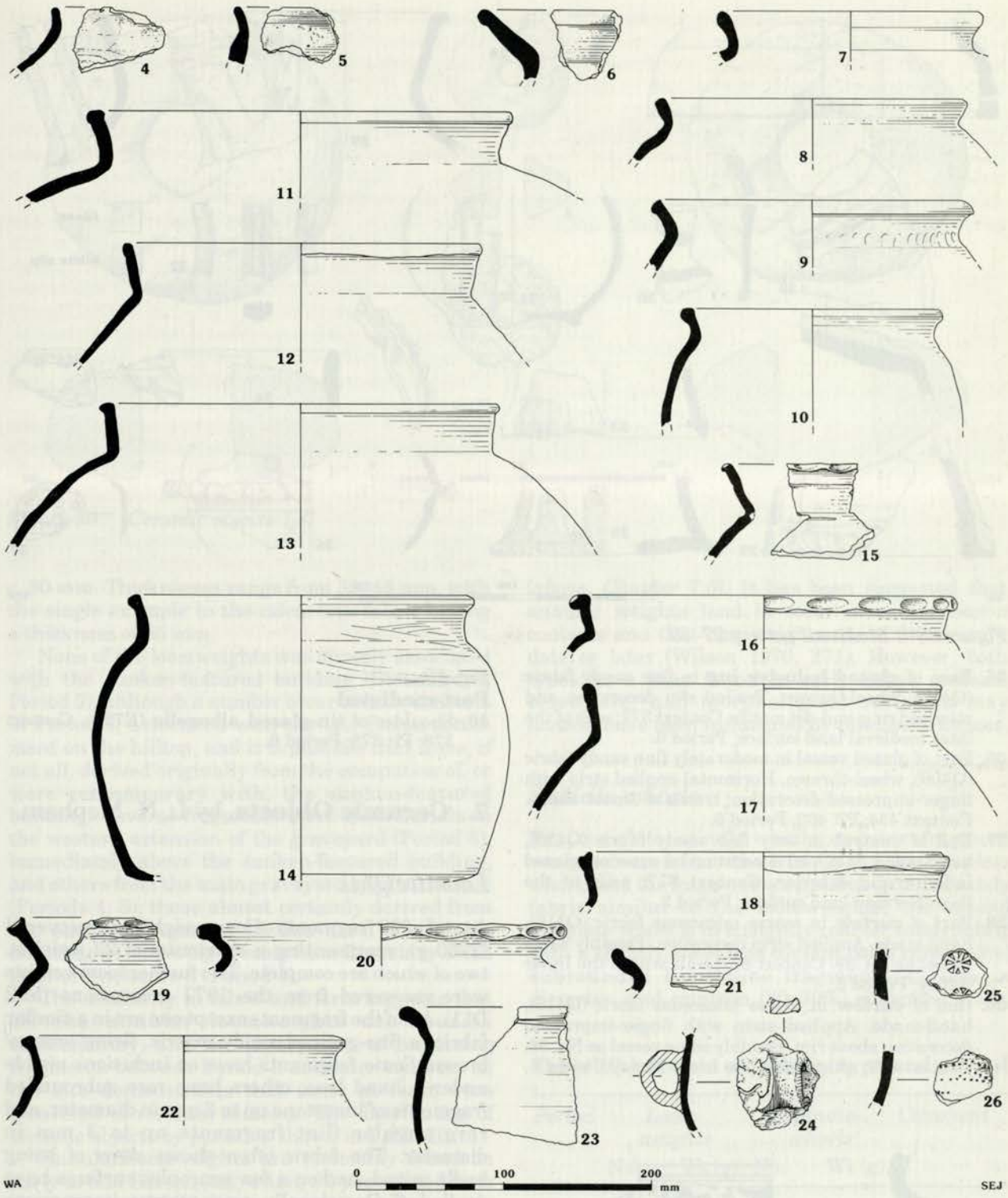

Figure 37 Saxon and medieval pottery 4–26

Period 4; and Context 926; Outer Bailey Bank; Period 5.

31. Base of **glazed pitcher** in coarse sandy fabric (Q404), hand-made. Combed and applied decoration. Context 844; graveyard soils; Period 5.

32. Handle from **glazed pitcher** in coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Pinched strap form, with applied strip and rouletted decoration. Context 1217; graveyard soils; Period 5.

33. Base of **glazed jug/pitcher** in moderately fine sandy fabric (Q406), wheel-thrown. Thumbed decoration around base. Context 688; layers behind the Outer Bailey Bank; Period 5.

34. Rim and handle stump from **glazed jug/pitcher** in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q414), wheel-thrown. Stabbed and slashed decoration on handle. Context 385; Soils of the later medieval land surface; Period 6.

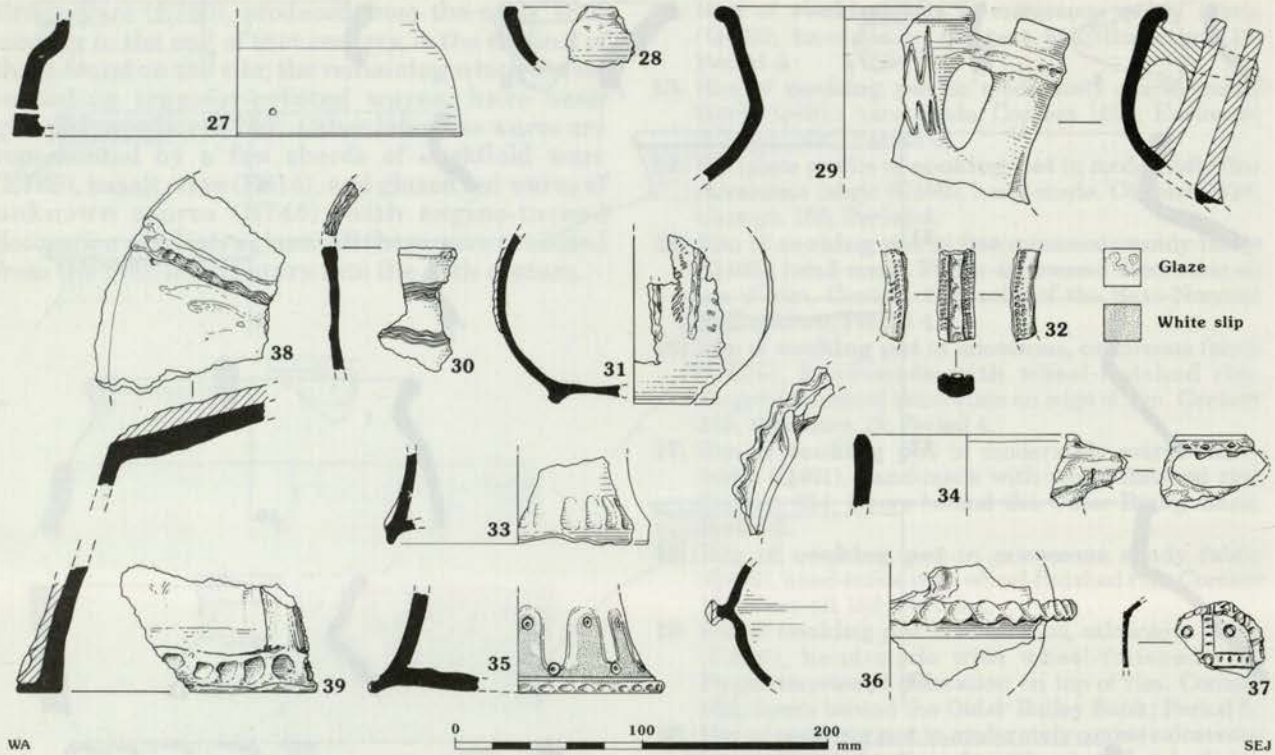

Figure 38 Medieval pottery 27–39

35. Base of **glazed baluster jug** in fine sandy fabric (Q417), wheel-thrown. Trailed slip decoration and stamped ring-and-dot motifs. Context 372; soils of the later medieval land surface; Period 6.

36. Part of glazed vessel in moderately fine sandy fabric (Q409), wheel-thrown. Horizontal applied strip with finger-impressed decoration; traces of ?spout above. Context 434; Pit 433; Period 6.

37. End of **costrel** in very fine sandy fabric (Q418), hand-made. Stamped decoration on exterior; glazed interior and exterior. Context 817; soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface; Period 3.

38. Part of **curfew** in coarse micaceous fabric (Q416), hand-made. Applied strip decoration. Possibly same vessel as No. 39. Context 827; soils within the Inner Bailey; Period 5.

39. Rim of **curfew** in coarse micaceous fabric (Q416), hand-made. Applied strip with finger-impressed decoration above rim. Possibly same vessel as No. 38. Context 827; soils within the Inner Bailey; Period 5.

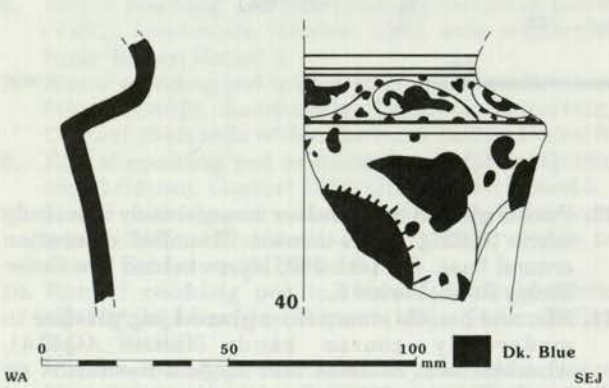

Figure 39 Post-medieval pottery 40

Fig. 39

Post-medieval

40. Shoulder of **tin-glazed albarello** (E730). Context 378; Pit 375; Period 6.

7. Ceramic Objects, by L. N. Mepham

Loomweights

A total of 28 fragments of loomweight was recovered (2750 g), representing a maximum of 23 weights, two of which are complete. Two further loomweights were recovered from the 1977 excavations (Mf2 D11). All of the fragments except one are in a similar fabric: a fine-grained sandy matrix, firing orange/brown. Some fragments have no inclusions visible under a hand lens; others have rare subrounded fragments of limestone up to 3 mm in diameter, and rare angular flint fragments up to 3 mm in diameter. The fabric often shows signs of being badly mixed, and on a few examples surfaces have spalled off. Occasionally, grass or straw impressions are visible on the surface. One fragment is in a slightly different fabric: fine-grained and sandy, but with a slightly lower iron content and with common subrounded limestone and fossil shell fragments up to 2 mm in diameter, and rare angular flint. Again, the fabric is badly mixed, and has occasional grass or straw impressions on the surface.

All the loomweights are of annular form, slightly flattened, with the exception of one bun-shaped weight. Diameters, where measurable, range from 90–110 mm, with a central perforation of diameter

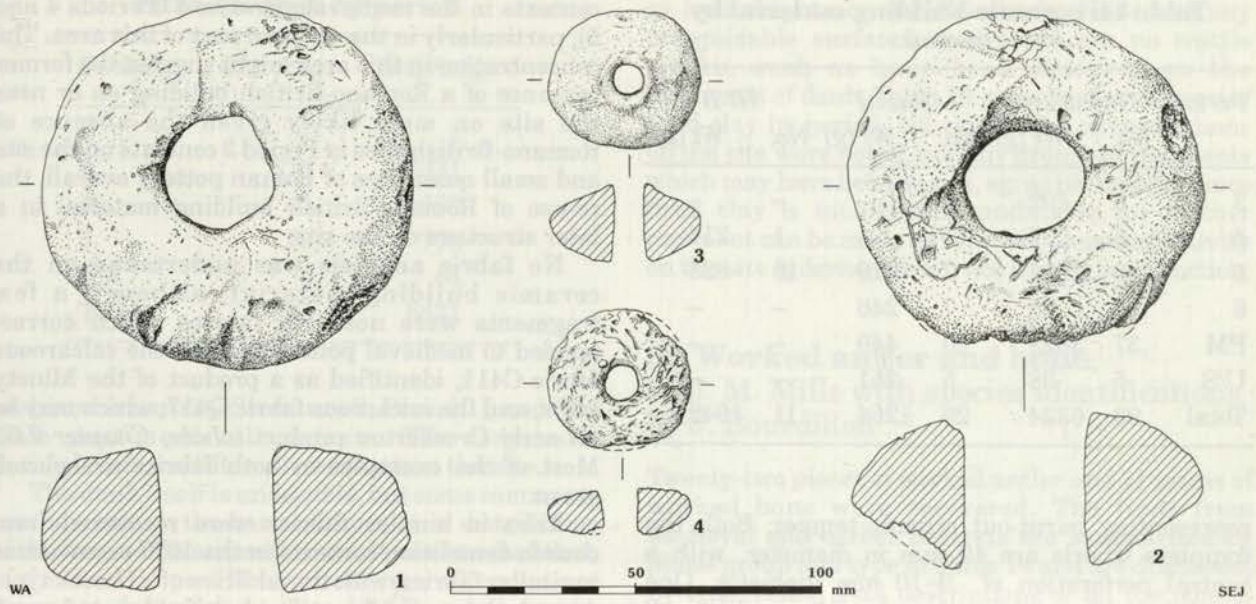

Figure 40 Ceramic objects 1–4

c. 30 mm. Thicknesses range from 33–45 mm, with the single example in the calcareous fabric having a thickness of 55 mm.

None of the loomweights was directly associated with the sunken-featured building (Structure 4, Period 3), although a number occur in later contexts in Period 3, associated with the late Saxon settlement on the hilltop, and it is possible that some, if not all, derived originally from the occupation of, or were contemporary with, the sunken-featured building. Several fragments were from burials in the western extension of the graveyard (Period 5), immediately above the sunken-featured building, and others from the main graveyard area to the east (Periods 4, 5); these almost certainly derived from the earlier occupation in this area. The single bun-shaped loomweight came from Boundary Ditch 2057 of Enclosure 3 (Period 4).

The similarity in fabric and form suggests that all the annular loomweights are broadly contemporary, and the observation of conjoining fragments between Period 3 and later contexts on the site demonstrates that some at least were recovered in residual contexts. The distribution of ceramic objects by period is shown in Table 10.

Annular loomweights are commonly found on early to mid Saxon sites, where they are dated from the 6th to early 8th centuries, and are frequently associated with sunken-featured structures, as at Shakenoak and Portchester (Brodribb *et al.* 1972, fig. 21; Cunliffe 1976, fig. 141, 79). At West Stow, a number of annular loomweights were recovered, including a large group from a single sunken-featured structure of 6th–7th-century date, some of which may have been *in situ* (West 1985, 138).

At Trowbridge, pottery associated with the sunken-featured building is tentatively dated to the 7th–8th century, although some possibly earlier Saxon pottery was also recovered from the site (*above, Chapter 7.6*). It has been suggested that annular weights tend to occur in earlier Saxon contexts and that bun weights are of 8th-century date or later (Wilson 1976, 271). However, both types have been found in early Saxon contexts elsewhere, and morphological variation may instead have been influenced by functional factors.

Spindle-whorls

Two complete spindle-whorls and one fragment were recovered from the site. One of the complete whorls and the fragment are in a fine-grained sandy fabric similar to the loomweights; the second complete whorl is in a slightly coarser sandy fabric with a slightly lower iron content, with rare (1–3%) subrounded Limestone fragments <1 mm in diameter, and common (20–30%) elongated voids,

Table 10: ceramic objects by type and period

Period	*Loom-weights*		*Spindle-whorls*		*Comment*
	No.	Wt (g)	No.	Wt (g)	
3	10	1224*	3	54*	joining fragments in Period 5
4	3	211	–	–	
5	12	1077*	–	–	see above
PM	3	238	–	–	
Total	28	2750	3	54	

* includes complete examples
Table does not include objects excavated in 1977

Table 11: ceramic building material by period

Period	*Unfeatured*		*Glazed*		*?R-B*	
	No.	*Wt (g)*	*No.*	*Wt (g)*	*No.*	*Wt (g)*
3	3	192	–	–	–	–
4	8	117	–	–	1	214
5	38	2921	7	318	10	828
6	2	28	7	246	–	–
PM	37	3028	10	449	–	–
U/S	5	38	5	251	–	–
Total	93	6324	29	1264	11	1042

representing burnt-out organic temper. Both the complete whorls are 40 mm in diameter, with a central perforation of 9–10 mm diameter. One example is 12 mm thick, the other 19 mm thick. All the spindle-whorls were found in contexts in Period 3, two from the floor of the sunken-featured building (Structure 4), and the third, probably residual in this context, from the Saxo-Norman land surface which sealed the structures in this area. (*See also the stone spindle-whorls, Chapter 7.4, above*).

Fig. 40

1. **Loomweight**. SF 5504; Context 1867; soils of the late Saxon land surface; Period 3.
2. **Loomweight**. SF 4258; Context 844; graveyard soils; Period 5.
3. **Spindle-whorl**; sandy fabric. SF 4312; Context 1222; Structure 4; Period 3.
4. **Spindle-whorl**; organic-tempered fabric. SF 5555; Context 2553; soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface; Period 3.

8. Ceramic Building Material, Daub and Fired Clay, by L. N. Mepham

Ceramic Building Material

A total of 133 pieces (8634 g) of ceramic building material was recovered from the excavations. This consisted largely of unfeatured fragments of tile, although glazed and decorated fragments were also observed, as well as a few fragments which are of recognisable Romano-British type. The breakdown of the various types by period is given in Table 11. Ceramic building material from the 1977 excavations has not been quantified; relevant pieces are discussed here, and detailed information is given in fiche (Mf2 D12–13).

Several fragments of tiles of Romano-British type were noted, comprising four *tegulae*, two possible *imbrices*, and two possible flue tiles, together with three undiagnostic fragments from the same contexts in similar fabrics, which may be of the same date. All these pieces were derived from contexts in the medieval graveyard (Periods 4 and 5), particularly in the western part of this area. The concentration in this area might suggest the former presence of a Romano-British building on or near the site or, more likely given the absence of Romano-British tiles in Period 3 contexts on the site and small quantities of Roman pottery overall, the re-use of Romano-British building material in a later structure on the site.

No fabric analysis was undertaken on the ceramic building material, although a few fragments were noted in fabrics which corresponded to medieval pottery fabrics: the calcareous fabric C411, identified as a product of the Minety kilns; and the micaceous fabric Q417, which may be an early Crockerton product (*above, Chapter 7.6*). Most of the examples in both fabrics are glazed green.

Tiles in similar fabrics were recovered from church demolition contexts in the 1977 excavations in similar fabrics, with the addition of a Lacock type. A single decorated floor tile, identifiable as a Lacock product, was also recovered from a demolition context in 1977 (Mf2 D13); the latter is probably of the Group V type datable to the late 13th–early 14th century (Eames 1974).

There are documentary references to the roofing and mending of the tower and chapel of the castle in 1295–6 which accords with the suggested date for the Lacock tile kilns (McCarthy 1974). Tile production so far recorded at Minety appears to be at least a century later (Musty 1973). There is as yet no evidence for tile production in the medieval period from Crockerton. All the Minety tiles occurred in post-medieval contexts, as did most of the possible Crockerton examples.

The ceramic building material occurs from late Saxon contexts, from soils sealing the late Saxon settlement (Period 3), throughout the stratigraphic sequence. Although there are no significant concentrations, and the quantities are small throughout the sequence, it can be noted that the majority of the material derives from contexts on the hilltop (Trenches F and G); there is no ceramic building material from contexts in the Outer Bailey which definitely pre-date the late medieval occupation in Trench E (Period 6).

Daub

A total of 593 pieces of fired clay (8831 g) recovered from the excavations has been subsequently identified as daub, on the basis of the frequent observation of wattle marks on the fragments, and the complete dissimilarity in fabric between this group and the remainder of the fired clay. All except three fragments are in the same white, very calcareous fabric. The remaining three are in a fabric similar to that of the fired clay, firing orange/red, but have been identified as daub on the basis of visible wattle impressions.

The breakdown of daub by period is given in Table 12. Only one fragment was recovered from a

Table 12: daub by period

Period	*No. frags*	*Weight (g)*
1	1	2
3	375	7321
4	43	669
5	70	775
PM	4	64
Total	593	8831

prehistoric context (Structure 2, Period 1), and four from post-medieval contexts. The remainder derived from post-Roman contexts on the site.

The daub itself is undatable, but some comments can be made on the basis of the spatial distribution of the fragments across the site. It can be noted that, of the daub in post-Roman contexts, all except one fragment derived from Trenches F and G, on the hilltop. Only one fragment was found in the area of the Outer Bailey, and it may be significant that this was one of the three fragments in a different fabric.

A large concentration (7321 g) can be observed in contexts associated with the late Saxon settlement in Trenches F and G (Period 3), particularly from Structures 9 and 10, and from the late Saxon land surface sealing these structures. Pottery from these contexts is dated to the 10th–early 11th century. This group comprises 82.9% by weight of the total daub recovered. A further group of fragments (1028 g) was recovered from contexts in the graveyard (Periods 4 and 5) and, given the nature of these deposits, which frequently incorporate residual pottery, it is quite likely that these fragments of daub derived originally from earlier activity in that area, probably in Period 3. Scattered small fragments of daub are noted as having been found in pre-church contexts in the 1977 excavations (Mf2 D12).

Fired Clay

A total of 165 pieces of fired clay (1561 g) was recovered from the excavations. None of the fragments derives from recognisable objects, such as loomweights or spindle-whorls. None has any recognisable surfaces, and there are no wattle marks, such as have been observed on the fragments of daub. Table 13 gives the breakdown of fired clay by period. No significant concentrations on the site were noted, nor any groups of fragments which may have been *in situ*, eg. as pit linings. Since fired clay is intrinsically undatable, no further comment can be made as to which phases of activity on the site it derived from, nor its original function.

Table 13: fired clay by period

Period	*No. frags*	*Weight (g)*
1	4	14
2	7	31
3	43	526
4	49	287
5	48	542
PM	12	154
U/S	2	7
Total	165	1561

9. Worked antler and bone, by J. M. Mills with species identifications by J. Bourdillon

Twenty-two pieces of worked antler and 11 pieces of worked bone were recovered. The finds from medieval and earlier contexts are summarised by phase group and type in Table 14 and are discussed, by type, below. Full descriptions of all the objects may be found in the catalogue (Mf E13–F7). In addition, eight objects recovered from late Saxon and medieval layers in 1977are included here; full details of all worked bone from the latter excavations are in fiche (Mf2 D10–11, G10).

Prehistoric

A small worked antler tine tip came from Pit 2259 (Cat. No. 1). This is the only fragment of worked bone or antler from the prehistoric phase of the site.

Saxon and Medieval

Four fragments of worked antler waste were recovered from medieval layers. The two fragments of antler-working waste from post-Conquest contexts probably derive from the Saxon settlement (Cat. Nos 2 and 4).

One, a very worn fragment of worked red deer antler waste came from the soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface of Period 3 (Cat. No. 2); the second piece, a double tapering, rod-shaped fragment of antler, incomplete at both ends, came from the base of the Period 4 Ditch 135 in Trench C and may be an unfinished pin fragment (Cat. No. 3, Fig. 41, 1). This object has an irregular hexagonal cross-section and displays no surface polish. The two fragments of antler from the late medieval soils cannot be dated closely as the soil layers were unsealed, but they are not likely to be post-medieval. One piece (Cat. No. 5) is a tine tip which was roughly cut from the branch, the polished surface indicative of use, but equally perhaps produced before the antler was shed. The second piece (Cat. No. 6, Fig. 41, 2) is D–shaped in cross-section with six trimming facets visible along its length. The flat side is cut by two longitudinal, meandering, grooves overlain by finer, criss-crossed cuts. This piece could be an unfinished item, such as a comb connecting plate or handle scale. It is not

Table 14: bone and antler objects by type and period

Object	*Period*								
	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*PM*	*U/S*	*Total*
Working waste	1	–	1	1	1	2	–	1	7
?Pin	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1
Pin-beater	–	–	1	1	1	–	1	–	4
Comb fragment	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	1	3
Counters/dice	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	1	3
Handle scale	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
Bead	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1
Button	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
Pierced bone	–	–	–	5	2	1	–	1	9
Unidentified	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Total	1	–	3	8	6	4	3	5	31

This table does not included objects excavated in 1977

possible to infer from so few pieces of waste that bone- or antlerworking was being carried out within any specific part of the excavated area at any time.

Four objects associated with wool- or cloth-processing were recovered. A spatulate pin-beater (Cat. No. 10, Fig. 41, 3) of cattle bone from the Inner Bailey soils may derive from the Saxon settlement. It is similar to one from Portchester (Hinton 1976, fig. 140, 65) and is of a Saxon or early post-Conquest date. Examples have been found at Winchester, dated from the 9th–10th century to the 14th century, and are taken as indications of the use of the two-beam loom (Brown 1990, 227–8 and fig. 47, 199–209).

Three incomplete antler points with circular or oval cross-sections, two of which are complete enough to exhibit a double taper, were recovered from the Saxo-Norman land surface in the area of the sunken-feature building Structure 4 (Cat. No. 8, Fig. 41, 4); the primary fill of a ditch of Enclosure 2 (Cat. No. 9, Fig. 41, 5) and from a feature of post-medieval date which cut Structure 16 (Cat. No. 11, Fig. 41, 6). The size and form of these points suggests that they are probably pin-beaters of the type common on sites of Saxon date, eg. Shakenoak (Brodribb *et al.* 1972, fig 62, 82–93) and Abbot's Worthy, Hampshire (Riddler 1991). The association of these more symmetrical pin-beaters (also known as thread-pickers) with the warp-weighted loom has been established; they are common on early–mid Saxon sites, but less common later (Brown 1990, 226 and fig. 47, 198).

In addition, a pin-beater was recovered from the soils of the late Saxon land surface, Period 3, and a small weaving shuttle from the graveyard soils of Period 5, both from the 1977 excavations (Mf2 D10, SF 86 and SF 99 respectively).

Another antler point (Cat. No. 12, Fig. 41, 7) was recovered from the soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface and is of a slightly different form to that of the pin-beaters; the maximum shank diameter is smaller and the shank tapers evenly to the tip. This point is not as well preserved as the others, and the surface is deeply etched. It is possible that this point may be a shaft fragment from a dress or hair-pin and is similar in appearance to pins of a Romano-British date.

A single modified pig fibula (Cat. No. 13, Fig. 41, 8) came from the Inner Bailey Bank; the shaft tip has been shaped to a point and may have been used as a pin (MacGregor 1985, 120–1, fig. 64, 39).

Two pins were recovered from the 1977 excavations: a plain disc-headed pin from the soils of the late Saxon land surface of Period 3; and a decorated ball-headed pin with a hipped shaft and bored head from the mid 12th-century floor in the church (Structure 17, Period 5) (Mf2 D10, SF 55 and SF 36 respectively).

Of the two comb plate fragments recovered, one (Cat. No. 14), came from the Saxo-Norman land surface (Period 3) to the west of the sunken-feature building Structure 4; the other (Cat. No. 15), from the graveyard soils of Period 5 above Structure 4. The fragments are too small for any detailed comment; the contexts they were recovered from suggest that they are derived from the pre-castle settlement and are of *c.*10th–11th-century date.

In addition, a comb toothplate and a comb midrib bar were found in the 1977 excavations, the former from soils adjacent to Structure 5 (Period 3), and the latter from the graveyard soils of Period 5 (Mf2 D10, SF 92 and SF 44 respectively).

A discoidal antler gaming counter (Cat. No. 17, Fig. 41, 9) of 12th-century type ornamented with ring-and-dot motifs, from the infill of Structure 18 (Period 4), is paralleled at Winchester (Cunliffe 1964, fig. 52, 1–4). One unidentified object of highly-polished antler was recovered from the fill of a grave of mid 12th-century date (Cat. No. 32, Fig. 41, 10).

Eight pierced but otherwise unworked bones were recovered, including four sheep/goat tibiae, a sheep/goat radius, a sheep/goat calcaneum, a cattle phalanx and a pig metacarpal. All of the tibiae are

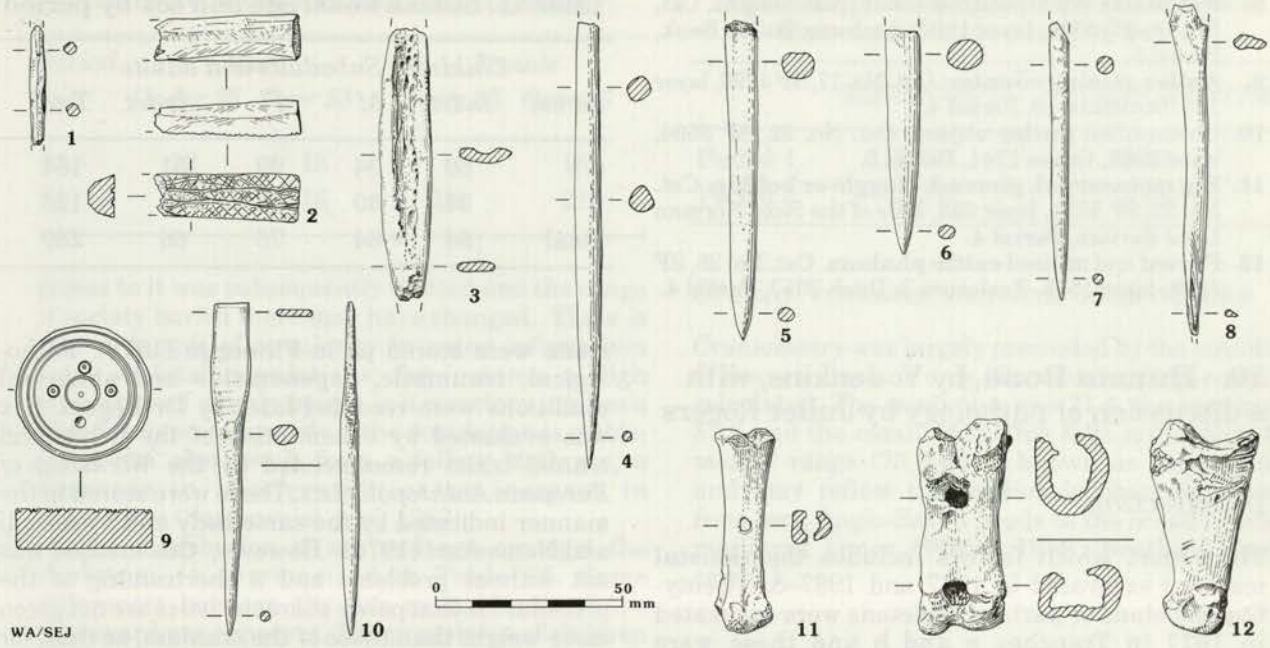

Figure 41 Bone objects 1–12

pierced at the distal end, two with large irregular holes (Cat. Nos 28 and 29), one with small holes (Cat. No. 24) and one with a single hole on one side (Cat. No. 26); a similar bone to the latter was found at Shakenoak (Brodribb *et al.* 1972, fig. 61, 80). The sheep/goat radius (Cat. No. 30) and calcaneum (Cat. No. 27) were also pierced on one side only.

The pig metacarpal (Cat. No. 23, Fig. 41, 11), from the Saxo-Norman soils of Period 4, is the only one of these pierced bones to exhibit regular holes, and may be compared with bobbins or toggles from Northampton (Oakley 1979, fig. 139, 65 and 67) and Winchester (Brown and Lawson 1990, fig. 158). The cattle phalanx (Cat. No. 25, Fig. 41, 12), from the fill of the Period 4 ditch defining Enclosure 3 exhibits two perforations on one side; the surface of the bone is poor but traces may be seen of at least two grooves worn or cut into the bone on one side. It is possible that this bone may have held a cord for some reason, threaded through the two holes and then wound around the shaft.

It should be noted that there is a growing body of evidence to suggest that these objects may have been used as simple musical instruments, by spinning the bone on a taut cord to produce a buzzing sound (Brown and Lawson 1990, 589). The majority of these pierced bones were found in layers of Period 4 and may derive from the Saxo-Norman settlement.

A small, highly polished, antler bead (Cat. No. 21) from the latest phase of activity in the medieval graveyard is likely to be of a very late medieval or post-medieval date, there being no evidence for the manufacture of beads before the late 15th century (MacGregor 1985, 101–2).

Part of a decorated antler tine was recovered from Ditch 2057 (Enclosure 3, Period 4) in the 1977 excavations (Mf2 D10, SF 163). A series of oblique impressions on the shaft may result from clamping during manufacture, and the object is probably a horse harness cheek-piece. A roughly-whittled, double tapering point with knife-cut notches across the centre, recovered from soils of the late Saxon land surface of Period 3 in the 1977 excavations, has been identified as a fishgorge (Mf2 D10, SF 83).

Post-Medieval

Six antler objects came from post-medieval and unstratified layers, including a double-sided comb fragment (Cat. No. 16), two antler dice (Cat. Nos 18 and 19), an antler handle scale fragment (Cat. No. 20), an antler button (Cat. No. 22) and a worked antler tine fragment (Cat. No. 7). In addition a single cattle phalanx (Cat. No. 31), pierced front to back, was recovered from modern overburden in Trench G.

Fig. 41

1. **Unfinished antler ?pin** fragment. Cat. No. 3, SF 4261, layer 1049, Ditch 135, Period 4.
2. **Unfinished antler object**. Cat. No. 6, SF 5642, layer 812, rubble surface, Period 6.
3. Spatulate cattle **bone pin-beater**. Cat. No. 10, SF 4449, layer 1592, soils within the Inner Bailey, Period 5.
4. Incomplete **antler pin-beater**. Cat. No. 8, SF 5546, layer 2567, soils of the Saxo-Norman land surface, Period 3.
5. Incomplete **antler pin-beater**. Cat. No. 9, SF 5558, layer 2459, Enclosure 2: Ditch 1554, Period 4.
6. Incomplete **antler pin-beater**. Cat. No. 11, SF 4326, layer 504, post-medieval Pit/layer.
7. **Antler ?pin** shaft. Cat. No. 12, SF 4485, layer 1869, soils of the late Saxon land surface, Period 3.

8. **Pig fibula with pointed shaft**, possible **pin**. Cat. No. 13, SF 5634, layer 1397, the Inner Bailey Bank, Period 5.
9. **Antler gaming counter**. Cat. No. 17, SF 4096, layer 181, Structure 18, Period 4.
10. Unidentified **antler object**. Cat. No. 32, SF 5506, layer 2050, Grave 1741, Period 5.
11. **Pig metacarpal, pierced; ?toggle or bobbin**. Cat. No. 23, SF 5631, layer 938, soils of the Saxo-Norman Land Surface, Period 4.
12. Pierced and utilised **cattle phalanx**. Cat. No. 25, SF 5633, layer 1555, Enclosure 3: Ditch 2057, Period 4.

10. **Human Bone**, by V. Jenkins, with a discussion of pathology by Juliet Rogers

Introduction

The report which follows includes the skeletal material excavated in 1977 and 1987–8. Twenty-five skeletons or parts of skeletons were excavated in 1977 in Trenches a and b and these were subsequently examined and recorded by J. Rogers. Their reference numbers are prefixed by a or b. In 1987–8, numbers 4900–5169 were assigned to excavated skeletons or parts thereof.

Some of these numbers were, however, assigned to the separated parts of one individual (eg. the head and feet of a skeleton cut through by a later service trench), and were therefore amalgamated during the recording of the bone, giving a number of individuals excavated in 1987–8, of 268. These skeletons were examined and recorded by V. Jenkins, who subsequently incorporated the records of the first 25 skeletons to form a single database of 293 skeleton records. The disparity between this number and the total of recorded graves at 289 (*above, Chapter 4.1*) is a result of three of the graves excavated in 1977 containing two individuals, and one of the graves excavated in 1988 containing a woman with an unborn foetus.

During the excavation, large quantities of disarticulated human bone were recovered, each deposit being numbered and recorded *in situ*. During 1987 and 1988 a total of 240 such groups of bone was excavated (numbers 4600–4739 and 4800–4899). Though much of this material probably consists of the missing parts of the *in situ* skeletons which were recorded, some may represent burials in the graveyard which had been totally disturbed

Though a preliminary list of the bone in each of these groups was made (in Archive), an estimation of the minimum number of individuals represented by the total bone assemblage was not calculated.

All the human bone from the excavations has since been reburied in Trowbridge.

Methodology

Measurements of the bones and assessments of dental wear and development were made as described in Brothwell (1981), while non-metric traits were scored as in Finnegan (1978). Pathological, traumatic, degenerative and abnormal conditions were recorded later by Dr Rogers. Sex was evaluated by examination of the pelvic and cranial traits recommended by the *Workshop of European Anthropologists*. These were scored in the manner indicated by the same body and by Acsadi and Nemeskeri (1970). However, this method was not without problems and a shortcoming of the procedure is that pelvic characteristics are not given more weight than those of the cranium, so that, for instance it is possible that thick-necked, heavy-browed women in the population have been wrongly identified as male.

The age of infants and older juveniles was estimated from the development of the teeth and from the diaphyseal lengths of the long-bones by means of regression equations obtained from published data (Scheuer *et al.* 1980; Bass 1987). Age of post-adolescents was assessed from the state of fusion of the epiphyses of the long-bones. Where fusion was complete then the indicators used were dental attrition and the conformation of the pubic symphysis, and the material was compared with published stages of development (Brothwell 1981).

Stature of adults was estimated using the regression equations of Trotter and Gleser (1952, revised 1958). Although the heights are given to the nearest centimetre, they are accurate only within a range of plus or minus three or four centimetres. This is especially true of the statures of those of undetermined sex, where the mean of the different estimates for males and females has been calculated. No adjustment for age was made.

The detailed results of the examination of the 293 skeletons are presented in Archive.

Table 15: human bone: age and sex by period

	Children	*Subadults and adults*			
Period	*Indet.*	*M*	*F*	*Indet.*	*Total*
4	50	34	29	51	164
5	34	30	43	15	125
Total	84	64	75	66	289

Demography

The Trowbridge burials were made within a Christian churchyard over a period of about two centuries. The churchyard became enclosed by the defences of the castle which allows the skeleton group to be divided between two well-defined chronological periods. In attempting to reconstruct the demographic profile of the population represented by these burials, it should be borne in mind not only that the size and composition of the population of the town may not have remained stable, but also that the enclosure of the churchyard within the castle defences may have meant that

Table 16: adult age and sex by period

Period	*Male*		*Female*	
	Under 35	*Over 35*	*Under 35*	*Over 35*
4	12	18	9	15
5	9	18	18	21

access to it was subsequently limited and the range of society buried there may have changed. There is also a danger of circularity in using information from skeletal populations: for instance a high proportion of elderly people in a cemetery implies a high life expectancy only if the population is stable, for it can also result from a falling birthrate, a decrease in immigration or an increase in emigration (Sattenspiel *et al.* 1983).

The distribution of sex and age amongst the skeletons is summarised in Table 15. Some differences between the two main phases of the graveyard are apparent. The proportion of children (individuals under 17 years) does not change significantly but the proportion of individuals of indeterminate sex falls markedly, that is, there is a significant increase in sexual dimorphism. While the proportion of men rises only slightly, the proportion of women almost doubles. The small change in the proportion of children is more in keeping with a stable population than a growing community. Increased sexual dimorphism has been taken to be an indicator of better nutrition and is more to be expected in rural rather than urban communities (Stini 1969).

Unless it is merely an artefact of the small sample size then these figures show that female mortality was much greater during Period 5 than in Period 4, and in contrast male mortality fell. This may not have been because of any decrease in the health of women, an inference which is at variance with the improved nutrition implied by the greater sexual dimorphism, it may instead have resulted from the emigration of the younger males during the later period. Unfortunately it is not possible to be more certain whether the younger males are under-represented in Period 5 but the idea of emigration of younger males is perhaps supported by the lack of increase in numbers of young children, suggesting that the men are leaving rather than marrying. The actual numbers of individuals of determined age and sex are shown in Table 16.

Stature

The males (N = 47) ranged between 1.57 m (5ft 2 in) and 1.83 m (6ft 2in) with a mean of 1.72 m (5ft 7½in), identical to the figure which Manchester (1983) gives as the average adult male height in medieval Britain, and only 20 mm shorter than the average in 1979 of 1.75 m. The females (N = 56) ranged between 1.44 m (4ft 9in) and 1.79 m (5ft 10½in) with a mean of 1.61 m (5ft 3½ in).

Table 17: percentages of dental caries in male and female teeth by period

	Male (N=871)	*Female (N = 1160)*
Period 4	12.9%	12.2%
Period 5	12.3%	11.4%

Cranial remains: metrical observations

Craniometry was largely precluded by the condition of the remains and only 26 cranial indices could be calculated. The minimum was 71.4, the maximum 81.5 and the mean 75.2. This falls just within the middle range (75.0–79.9) known as mesocranial, and may reflect the previously observed change from long Anglo-Saxon heads to the broad heads of medieval times (White 1988; Brothwell pers. comm.)

Dental health

Dental caries were present in teeth from 82 individuals (24.3% of teeth) and abscesses in 41 individuals (4.7% of teeth), often with more than one abscess present in the same individual. Calculus was almost universally present, sometimes to a considerable degree. A fully quantified assessment of these conditions and of ante-mortem tooth loss could not be accurately made because of the condition of the remains, but the impression was that caries was under-represented through the early loss of the affected teeth. Even so the rate was considerably greater than that reported for the 11th–12th century graveyard cemetery of St Nicholas Shambles, in the City of London, where only 5.5% of the teeth were carious (White 1988). Tooth loss may also result from the alveolar recession which is a consequence of periodontitis. It was possible to examine only 871 teeth in 45 male skeletons and 1160 teeth in 61 females. The proportion of these with caries was surprisingly constant in view of the probable difference in the age profiles (Table 17).

The postulated emigration of the younger men ought to be reflected in a marked deterioration in dental health showing as a large increase in the percentage of carious teeth in the male population. However, the slight increase actually observed does not support the hypothesis.

There were very few dental anomalies: absent 3rd molars were common; two individuals had missing lateral incisors, and only one super-numerary tooth was observed.

Post-cranial remains: non-metric traits

The only trait described by Finnegan (1978) which appeared with sufficient frequency to be considered other than random was the so-called squatting

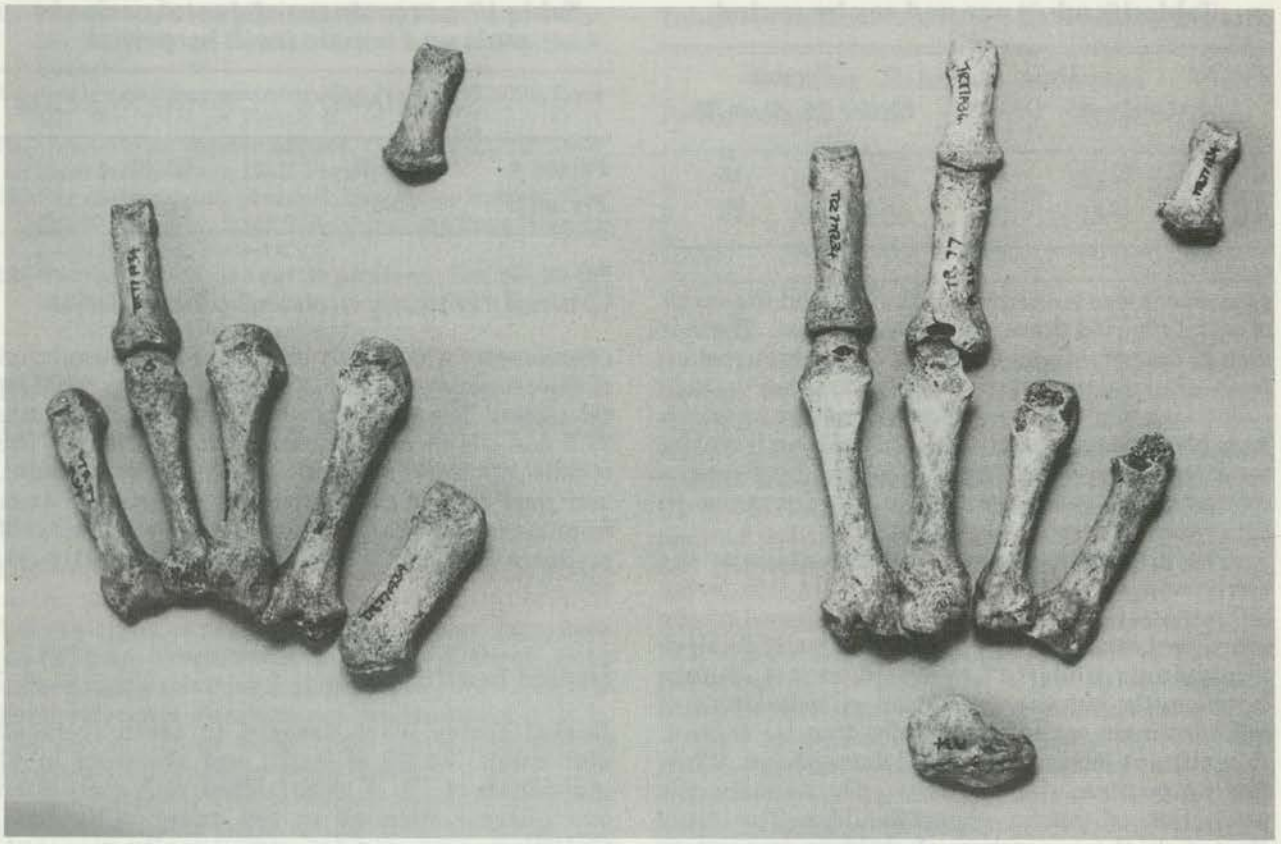

Plate 42 Skeleton a34: erosive changes to the hand bones

facet. Squatting facets are small articulating surfaces on the lower anterior edge of the tibia which have been interpreted as a being the result of habitual squatting (Thomson 1889). They were present in 20 (33%) of the 61 remains which were of sufficient age and condition for the trait to be observable (10 women, 2 men and 8 persons of undetermined sex). This distribution would seem to be consistent with the theory that they result from spending long periods on ones haunches and that the women of the population adopted this posture more frequently than the men as suggested by Thompson (op. cit.).

Palaeopathology, by Juliet Rogers

Two hundred and eighty-six skeletons were examined for evidence of disease (excluding dental pathology). One hundred and seventy-six, including

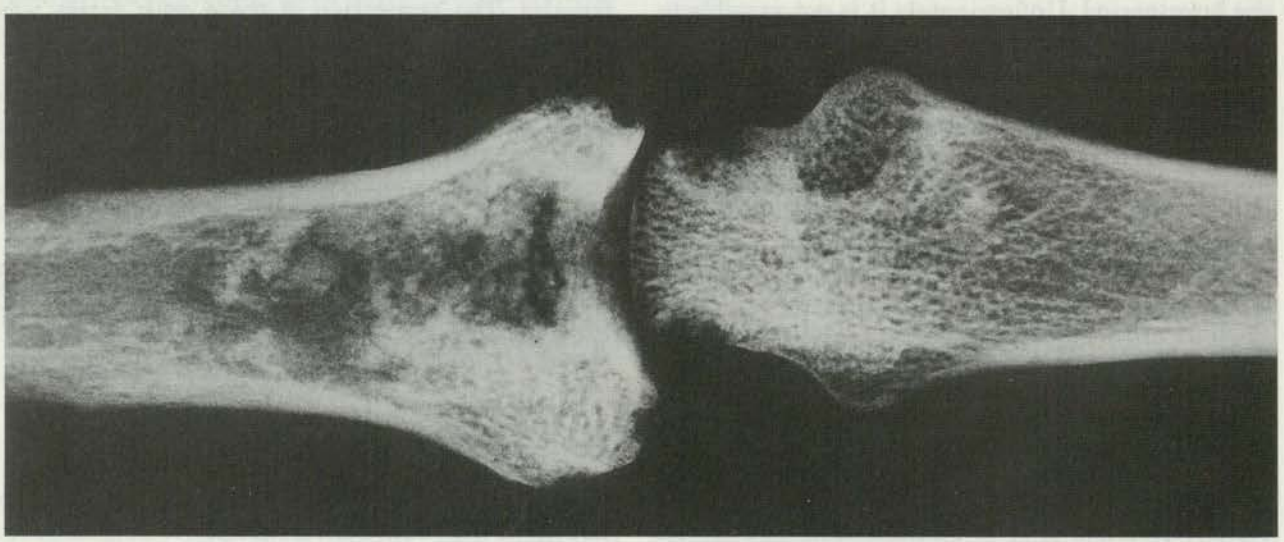

Plate 43 Skeleton a34: X-ray showing lesion at 2nd metacarpo-phalangeal joint of the right hand

all 81 non-adults, had no pathological changes apparent. One hundred and ten (54%) adults had some observable bony change. In 23 skeletons the changes were minor: osteophytes or enthesophytes around joint margins or ligament insertions. These new bone formations are often age-related and they are not always precursors of more serious conditions.

Eighty-seven skeletons did have more serious conditions, although many of these also displayed osteophytosis and enthesophytosis concurrently with the more major pathology. Full details of the pathology can be found in Archive.

Joint disease (or degenerative disease)

As in all skeletal assemblages, joint disease was the most frequently occurring pathological change, found in 45 skeletons. This does not include the 23 with minor joint change discussed above. The arthropathies were classified according to the system of Rogers *et al.* (1987).

Osteoarthritis was the most commonly recognised joint disease; it was deemed to be present where there was eburnation, joint surface pitting and a change in the bony contour of the joint, with or without osteophytes. Forty-one individuals had osteoarthritis, 22 males, 15 females and four who were unsexed. Seventeen individuals had osteoarthritis at more than one site, 10 males, six females and one unsexed.

Table 18: osteoarthritis: frequency of joints affected

Joint	*M*	*F*	*Indet.*	*Total*
Acromio-clavicular	10	5	–	15
Cervical facet	6	2	1	9
Sterno-clavicular	5	2	–	7
Hands	3	3	1	7
Hips	3	3	1	7
Shoulders	2	4	–	6
Elbows	3	1	–	4
Thoracic facet	3	1	–	4
Atlanto-axial	1	2	1	4
Temporo-mandibular	2	1	–	3
Wrist	3	–	–	3
Lumbar facet	2	–	–	2
Knees, medial and lateral	–	1	1	2
Knees, patellar-femoral	–	1	–	1
Ankle	–	–	1	1
Foot	–	–	1	1

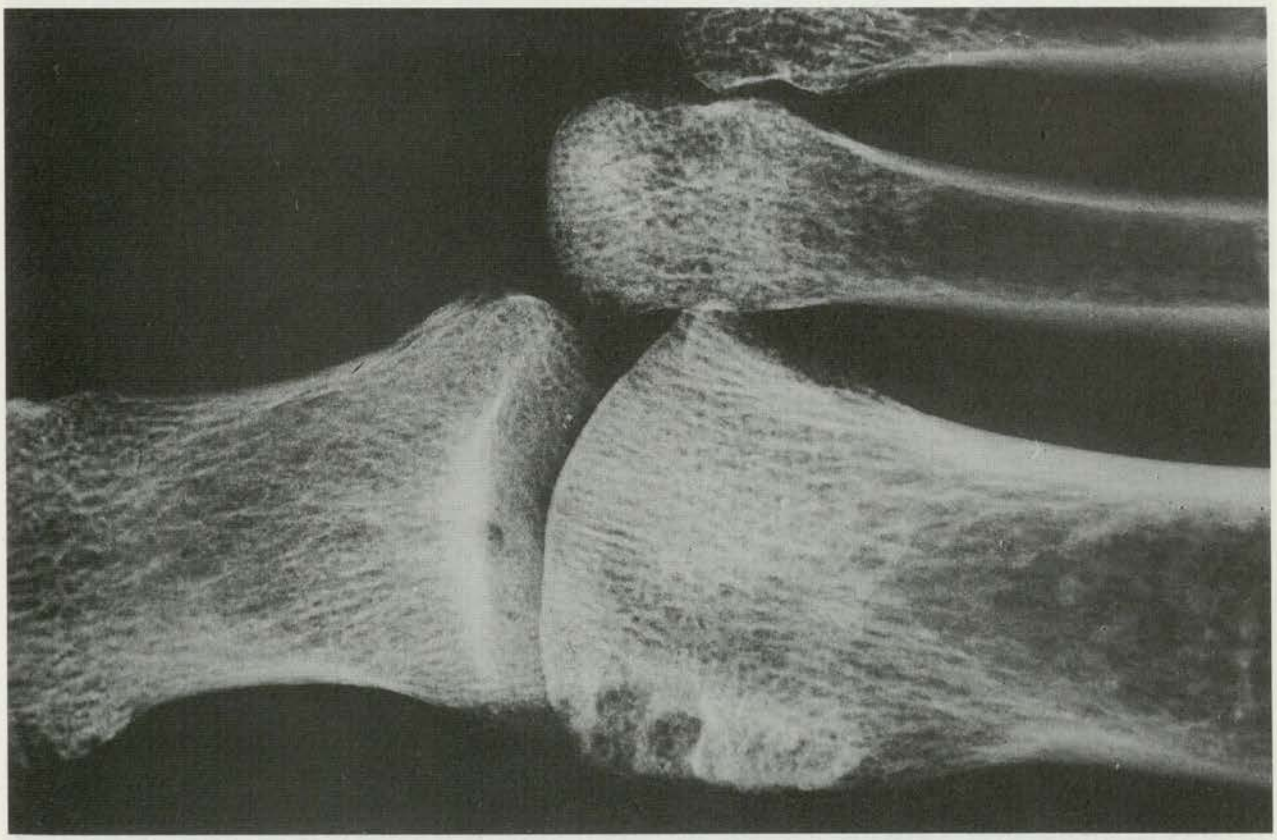

Plate 44 Skeleton a48: X–ray showing lesion on the medial surface of the 1st metatarso-phalangeal joint of the right foot. Comparable to those seen in gout

Table 19: number of skeletons with degenerative vertebral disc disease

All segments affected	*Cervical only CV*	*Thoracic only TV*	*Lumbar only LV*	*CV + TV*	*CV + LV*	*TV + LV*
6	13	4	1	1	1	1

One of these skeletons, a female, was affected in several types of joints; the temporo-mandibular, cervical facet joint, acromio-clavicular joint, shoulder, elbow, lateral condyle of the knee, and first metacarpal-phalangeal joint. The site most frequently affected by osteoarthritis was the acromio-clavicular joint (15 individuals). Table 18 lists the other joints in order of frequency affected.

Two examples of erosive arthropathies were found. The first (a34), a male, had erosive changes of the hand (Rogers 1985;1988). Only one carpal bone had been recovered but it displayed erosions marginal to the articular surfaces.

Similar erosions were also present at the 2nd carpo-metacarpal joint and the 2nd and 5th metacarpo-phalangeal joints of the left hand and the 2nd metacarpo-phalangeal joint of the right hand (Plate 42). In the latter joint the erosions were more prominent with the lesion showing clearly on X–ray (Plate 43). The erosions had smooth edges with no proliferative new bone formation and are consistent with the type of erosion seen in rheumatoid arthritis (RA). However, the distribution of the lesions is not typical of RA and the diagnosis has to be considered unproven. This skeleton also had a fracture of the midshaft of the left radius (*see below*).

The second example of an erosive arthropathy (a48) was also a male from the earlier excavation. The first metatarso-phalangeal joint of the right foot had a small punched out marginal lesion on the medial surface (Plate 44). The X–ray confirms that these lesions are comparable with those seen in gout, and the site of the lesion is typical. This skeleton also had spinal changes which could be classified as those of diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis (DISH) (Rogers 1987). Three other skeletons, 4915, 4952 (Plate 45) and 5138, also had DISH with fusion of the thoracic vertebrae on the right side and often with new bone formation (exostoses/enthesophytes) at sites of ligament insertion.

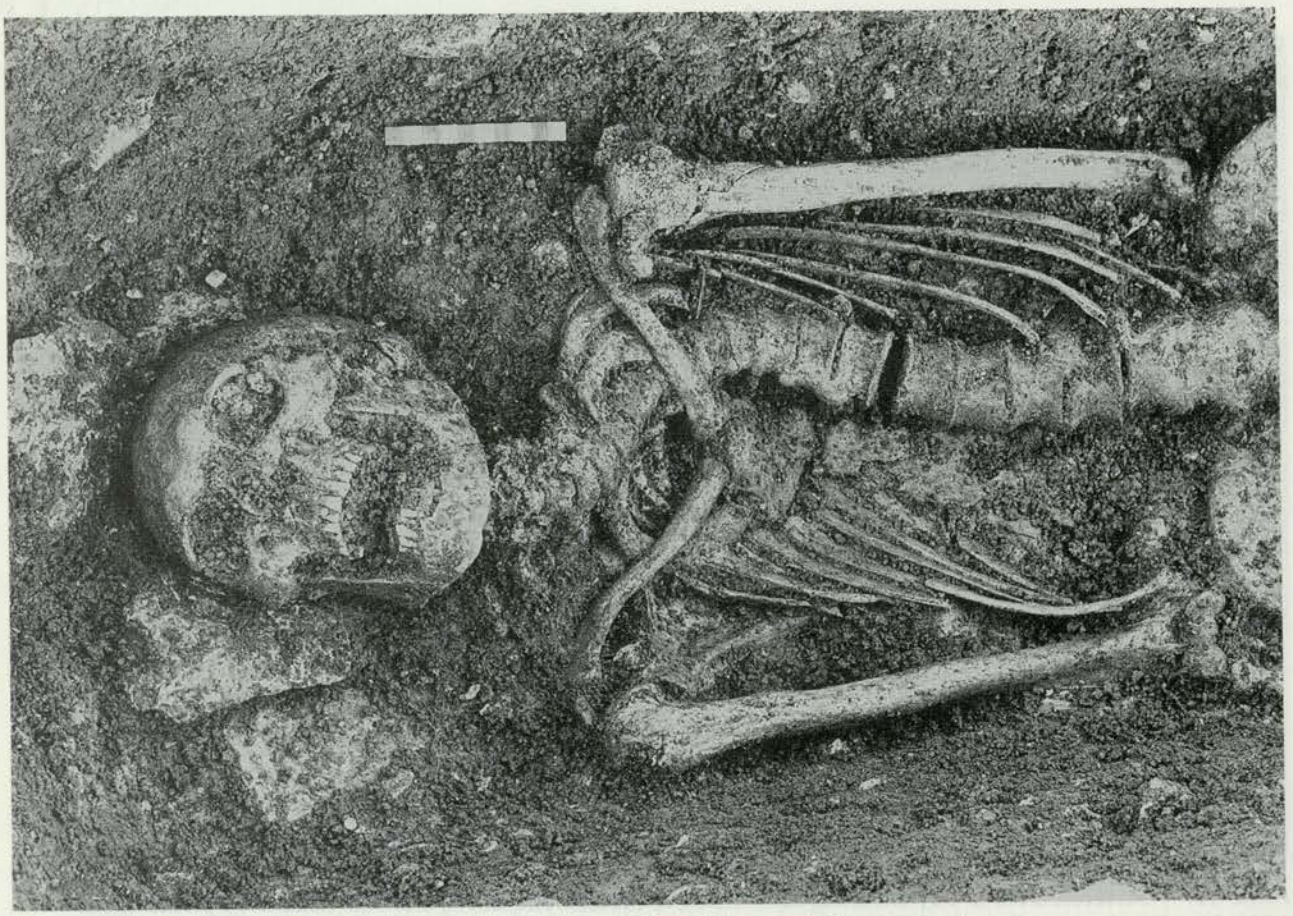

Plate 45 Skeleton 4952: deformed spine due to diffuse idiopathic hyperostosis

Table 20: location of fractures

Skeleton number	*Fractured bone*
4915	R. femur, subtronchanteric. Shortening (Plate 47)
4943	R. radius. Shortening
4944	2 ribs
4961	L. elbow. Ankylosis
5015	R. fibula
5045	R. elbow (Plate 48)
5051	L. clavicle, 2 ribs
5054	3 ribs
5069	1 rib
5105	L. ulna
a34	L radius

Degenerative vertebral disc disease or spondylosis was found on 30 individuals. This is a very common condition and Table 19 shows the distribution of changes within the spines of the skeletons from this site.

Infectious Disease

Nine skeletons had changes that could have been due to an infection, although in three of them the changes were restricted to simple periosteal new bone deposition which can have non-infective causes. Two skeletons had lesions on the discal surface of adjacent vertebrae (5146: thoracic, 5083: lumbar) which could have been infective in origin. There was roughening and pitting of the bone to a much greater degree than that seen in spondylosis.

In two skeletons, 5041 and 5054, the infective changes were confined to joints. In 5041 the left tibio-talar and talar-calcaneal joints were roughened and pitted with severe osteophytosis in the left carpal-metacarpal joint.

The pathological abnormalities in skeleton 4968 were restricted to the right fibula, which had a swollen midshaft and a foramen representing the cloaca of a chronic osteomyelitic condition.

The last case in this section (4970) had changes in several bones. There was a hole in the trochlear area of the left humerus and although there was no bony alteration immediately around this lesion periosteal new bone was present on the distal humerus (Plate 46) and proximal ulna. The upper half of the shaft of the right femur was swollen and also had a deposit of periosteal new bone around it. The most likely explanation of the changes is chronic osteomyelitis after initial infection following a wound to the elbow.

Trauma

Evidence for trauma was mainly confined to the presence of healed fractures in 11 skeletons. Table 20 lists the sites of fractures present. One male skeleton (4915) had a subtrochanteric fracture of the right femur (Plate 47). It was well healed but with considerable shortening of the bone. The femoral head and neck were displaced inferiorly and there appeared to be the development of an area of bone similar to the lesser trochanter just under the femoral head. In skeleton 4961 the left humerus and ulna were fused at the elbow possibly subsequent to fracture, but because of the degree of post-mortem damage it was impossible to be sure of the details.

The changes seen in skeleton 5045 (Plate 48) were also likely to have followed a fracture. In this

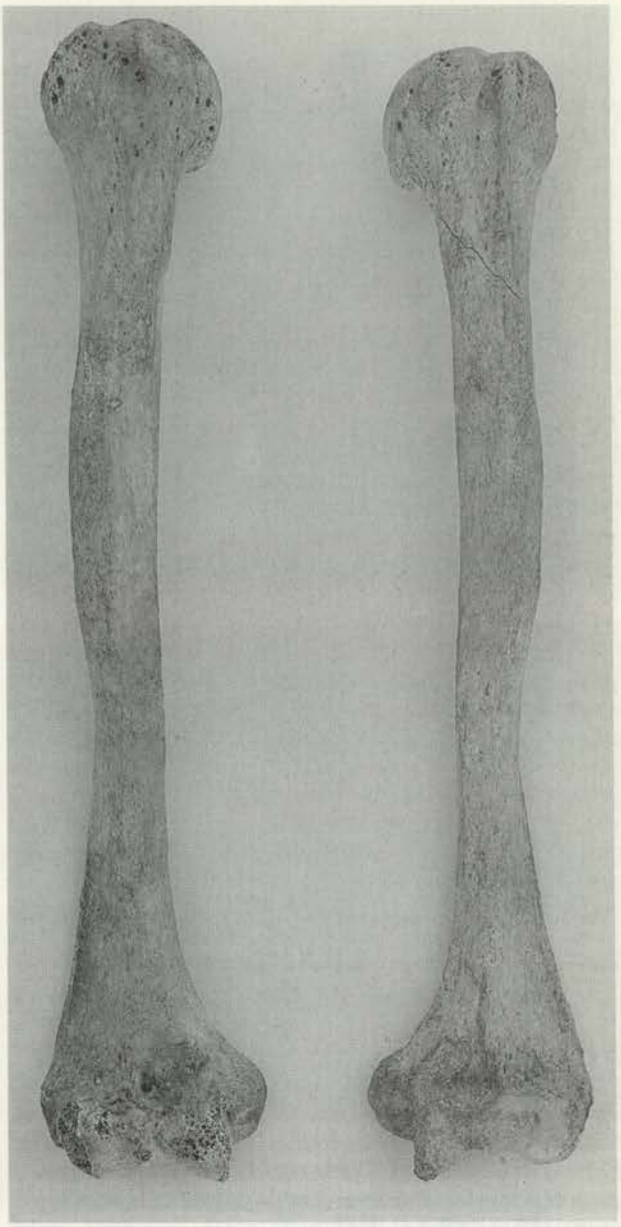

Plate 46 Skeleton 4970: right and left humeri showing periostial new bone on the distal end of the left humerus, probably the result of an infection following injury

Plate 47 Skeleton 4915: right and left femurs showing healed fracture and resultant shortening and twisting of the right femur

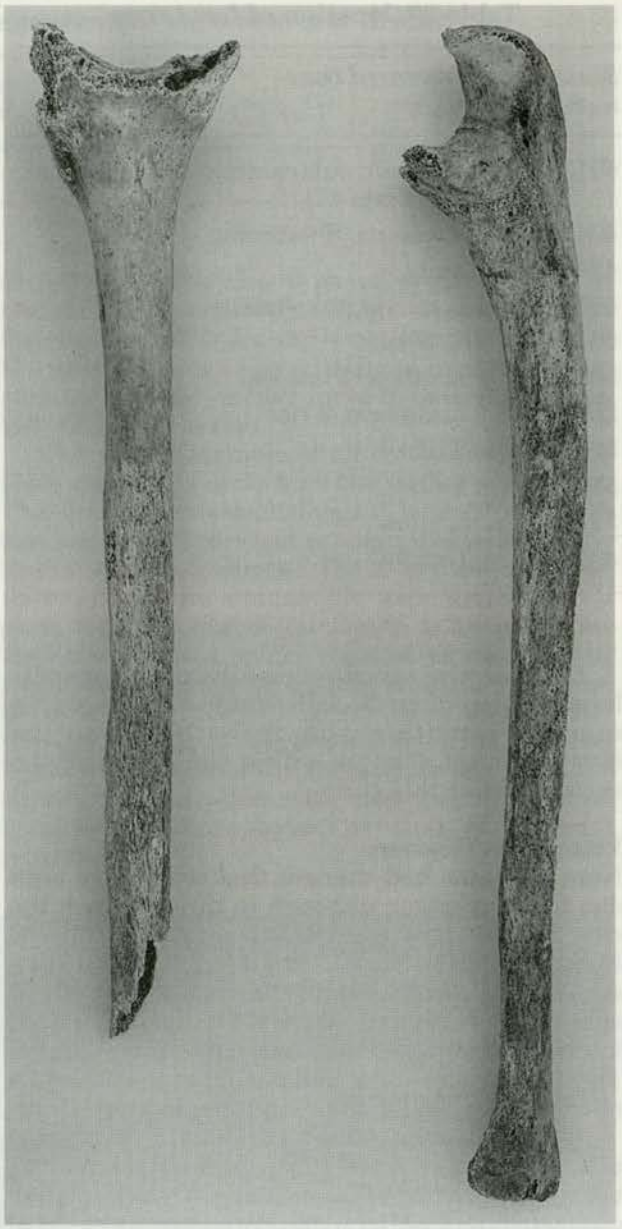

Plate 48 Skeleton 5045: right and left ulnas showing mis-shapen joint of right elbow, probably the result of a fracture

right elbow the olecranon was completely missing and the joint was misshapen.

In addition to the fractures, skeleton 5132 displayed spondylosis of the 5th lumbar vertebra. This is separation of the neural arch from the body of a vertebra and is an abnormality generally considered to be traumatic in origin.

Nutritional

The only evidence for disease which could be classified under this heading is orbital osteoporosis or *cribra orbitalia*. This pitting of the orbital roof is thought to occur in iron deficiency anaemia, although the evidence for this is somewhat problematic (Ortner and Putschar 1985). Eight skeletons from this series had *cribra orbitalia*, three children and five adults.

Developmental

Six skeletons displayed abnormalities which can be categorised under this heading. Three had sacralised lumbar vertebrae. Two of these had a sacralised 6th lumbar vertebra (4966 and 5138) and the third a sacralised 5th lumbar vertebra (4917). In skeleton 4950 the first sacral element was lumbarised. Two skeletons also had fused cervical vertebrae which were possibly developmental in origin. In 4932 the affected vertebrae were the 2nd and 3rd and in 5019 the fusion was between the 3rd and 4th.

Abnormalities in four other skeletons should be considered in this section. They all had mushroom-

shaped femoral heads. One of these skeletons (4926) had developed bilateral osteo-arthritis of the hip. It is not uncommon for displasia of the femoral head to be a contributory cause of osteoarthritis.

Other conditions
A few other changes were noted which could not be assigned to the main aetiological categories. Eleven skeletons had Schmorls nodes and two (4959 and 5033) had pitting at the 1st metatarsal-phalangeal joint which was probably caused by *hallux valgus* (bunion). Two further skeletons had evidence of *osteochondritis dissecans* in knee joints — the site most commonly affected (Ortner and Putschar 1985). In 5136 the lesion was in the left femur and in 5163 the right femur was affected.

Comment
For two aetiological categories, metabolic and neoplastic disease, there were no cases, although the gout case discussed with the joint diseases could have been classified in the latter category.

It is probably impossible to compare the prevalence of the various diseases with that of today because of the difficulties which arise from having different methods of diagnosis. Abnormalities and variations are easily seen and recorded in skeletal material, but they do not correlate with changes seen on X–ray (Rogers *et al.* 1990). The X–ray appearance is the criterion on which the prevalence of disease in modern series is based. Compared with other archaeological series, however, there appears to be no particular variation of prevalence rates of joint disease, trauma, infectious disease or other categories (Rogers *et al.* 1981).

General conclusion

Given the size of the excavated cemetery population the conclusions must be equally constrained. The limited evidence depicts a group who were healthy and long-lived, but who did not look after their teeth. They do not appear to have been free of the chronic infections commonly reported in pre-antibiotic populations (Manchester 1983), vertebral osteophytosis and Schmorl's nodes (Nathan, 1962). But neither do they appear to have been especiallysubject to the characteristic fractures of violent life-styles (Manchester, 1983).

In sum, any disruption or reorganisation of the population of medieval Trowbridge which was brought about by the construction, siege and later destruction of the castle is not unquestionably reflected in the skeletal remains.

11. **Animal Bone**, by J. Bourdillon

Mark Maltby discussed the identification of the wild bird bones; the fish bones were identified by Andrea Bullock. Dr Adrian Lister, of the Department of Zoology, University of Cambridge, confirmed the identification of fallow deer.

Introduction

The main assemblages examined belong to the Saxo-Norman manorial settlement, but bones were recovered from Bronze Age pits as well as late Iron Age and Romano-British deposits.

The animal bone has been studied in five groups by Period. These are further subdivided according to the stratigraphic relationships of the features from which the material is derived.

Periods 1 and 2: *c. 2000 BC–AD 500*
The material from these two periods has been considered in four subgroups: from the Bronze Age Palisade slot 2666, and four pits to the south; from a post-hole of Structure 3, probably of late Iron Age date; from the Romano-British land surface, consisting of bone from several areas of the site, and probably including intrusive material; and from linear ditch, 2577, of Romano-British date.

Period 3: *Mid–late Saxon settlement, 7th–11th centuries*
Six subgroups of material come from: features relating to the sunken-featured building, Structure 4, within which there were intact floor levels, and a single contemporary pit; from all primary post-hole structures of the settlement in Trenches F and G (Structures 5–11); from Structures 15 and 16, which are spatially distinct, downslope to the north-west; from the Late Saxon land surface in Trench G; from the Saxo-Norman land surface in Trench F; and from the latest Period 3 structures, 12–14.

Period 4: *Saxo-Norman Manorial Settlement c. AD 950–1139*
Period 4 contains four subgroups of animal bone: from layers representing the construction of the church, Structure 17 and boundary ditch, 880, which defined the graveyard; from grave-fills though, because of the probability of contamination from layers cut by the graves, this material has only been scanned; from the ditches of the Manorial Enclosures on the crest of the ridge; and from ditches and structures of the settlement to the north-west.

Period 5: *Anarchy Period castle c. AD 1139–1200*
The animal bone from this period has been divided into three subgroups: from the Inner Bailey including bone from the banks themselves, soils within the Inner Bailey, and from the post-holes of the probably contemporary Structure 21; from the Outer Bailey including material incorporated in the Outer Bailey bank (and probably derived from the Period 4 settlement) during its construction as well as bone from the layers which accumulated behind it, and in the lower part of the Outer Bailey Moat; and from the Period 5 graves and associated layers in the area of the church and graveyard.

The material in this group may be largely derived from earlier layers and has therefore only been scanned.

Period 6: *later medieval occupation c. AD 1200–1600*
There was a very limited assemblage of stratified bone from this period and a single group has been examined, consisting of material from the later medieval soils and pits in Trench E.

The Material

Animal bone came from hand recovery from contexts of all six periods but it was found most abundantly in Periods 3, 4 and 5. Most of the bone had been well sealed and it was in generally good condition. The animal bone from the graveyard, however, though it was also well sealed, was often in poor condition, and it is likely that the continual digging of graves had turned up material from the underlying settlement deposits.

Soil samples were taken from several prehistoric contexts as well as medieval. After sieving and sorting a selection of this material for study was made primarily on the basis of the archaeological importance of specific contexts but also on the nature of the bone after a primary scan. Although one context was very rich indeed (378, Pit 375, Period 6), this was from a late medieval feature unrelated to the main sequence and one bag only was examined to indicate its value as a resource. The remaining material was left in the hope that a wider study might be undertaken in the future.

Questions

The present assemblage provides an opportunity for consideration of the past environment and animal economy of the area, especially for the time of Saxon occupation and the Saxo-Norman manor.

The early post-Conquest years are known to have been a time of fundamental transformation, both political and social, but the environmental impact of such change is not so clear. From other parts of Wessex, and indeed more widely, there is a broad idea of animal trends in the main medieval periods — dwindling body size, the expanding wool trade, the exploitation of a greater variety of species — but the momentum for some or all of these may have been underway before the Normans arrived. For this period any well-sealed and closely-dated layers therefore have a special importance. From the present Trowbridge material there are two firm points of reference: the laying out of the manor some time before the Norman Conquest, and the sealing layer of clay representing the Anarchy Period castle of the 1130s.

Methods

For the most part the methods employed were those in general use at the Faunal Remains Unit. Most of the material was recorded bone by bone using the programs of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory (Jones *et al.* 1981). The animal assemblages from the graveyard were scanned and recorded context by context in a special database.

Measurements were taken as recommended by von den Driesch (1976) with vernier calipers to an accuracy of 0.1mm.

Tables 21–23 and microfiche Tables A–P summarise the animal bone information. In Table 21 the fully-recorded fragments are summarised by period. In Table A full data are broken down into the main periods and in Table B by feature type for each period. Table C lists the less common species identified from scanned material from the graveyard. Thereafter the main tables are presented both by period and by feature type.

Nearly all the tables relate to material recovered by hand and to full recording: in the few tables where material from scanning has been included this is clearly distinguished. Fish from the soil samples is tabled separately.

The archive

A list of all contexts which provided animal bone can be found in Archive Table 1. The table makes clear whether the material was fully recorded or whether it was only scanned, since the archive differs for the two methods of study. Copies of the working printouts of all Archive files are also held at the Faunal Remains Unit.

Bone Preservation

Outside the graveyard the preservation of the material was generally good. The incidence of chewing overall showed little change across the periods (Table E; Mf.1, G1). The rate of erosion was more variable. Much material from Period 2 was eroded but that from Period 5 was well preserved. The two land surfaces, late Saxon and Saxo-Norman, again showed the contrast of good preservation on the Late Saxon land surface and poorer on the Saxo-Norman soils.

The incidence of loose teeth in an assemblage may be a good inverse measure of disintegration and disturbance (cf Maltby 1985, 42): on this reckoning, too, Period 5 showed very good preservation, and Period 2 bad. Period 3 was also quite poor, and within this period there was again a contrast between the soils of the two land surfaces.

Species Representation

The wild component (Tables F, G and H; Mf.1, G2 and G3)
There were no remains of wild mammals or wild birds in the small samples from the prehistoric periods. In the Period 3 Saxon settlement bones of wild mammals were fairly common (1.9%) in comparison with 0.07% recorded from middle Saxon *Hamwic* (Bourdillon and Coy 1980, 82), though less common than at the closer middle Saxon settlement of Ramsbury (5–7%; Coy 1980, 51). The figures are slightly higher for Periods 4 and 5 (2.1% and 2.8%). Within the archaeological assemblages therefore the relative rate for wild mammals was at its

highest in the Manorial Enclosure, but it was higher for the late Saxon settlement than the Saxo-Norman.

The corresponding ratios for birds are given on the assumption that the fragments listed as 'Other bird' are all from wild species (*see below*). Period 3 has the highest proportion of wild material in its total fragments of bird bone (15.6%), but domestic poultry was less common in that period than it was later to become: perhaps what is most relevant is the increase in the incidence of bird bone overall, from Period 4 onwards.

Domestic food mammals (Table I; Mf.1, G3)
There is some variation in the relative representation of the main domestic food mammals. Overall, cattle fragments are relatively the most common species represented in the soils rather than structural features or castle bank. Sheep/goat are more concentrated in the structures than in the soils: overall they show a relative increase over time with a high representation in the Saxo-Norman settlement and castle bank. Pig bones are generally less common than the other species with a fairly steady representation in Periods 3–5 (av. 22.8%) dropping to 13.6% in Period 6.

Age

Estimates of age for cattle, sheep/goat and pig were made both from the teeth (Table D) and from the incidence of porous bones representing juvenile animals. All molars and fourth premolars were assessed according to Grant's diagrams (1982) (Archive and Tables J and N (Mf.1, G4 and G10)). The incidence of very young bones, those which are porous and small, is shown in Table K (Mf.1, G5); some of these may be neo-natal or even foetal.

For cattle, each method of ageing shows one young fragment from the small prehistoric assemblage of Period 2. The Period 3 settlement produced no young cattle mandibles yet included many other porous fragments. In Period 4 the few cattle mandibles recovered spanned the age groups, and from the later periods only jaws of old animals were recovered.

Young and neo-natal bones of sheep were present in all periods, but there was a marked change over time in the ageing pattern indicated by their teeth. Half the ageable mandibles in Period 3 came from full adults, but this large group of older jaws was not repeated in the later periods. This might suggest some change in the exploitation of the stock.Many pigs were killed at stage 3, indicating that they were reared for meat, though for Period 3 the evidence of the mandibles suggests that several pigs were killed rather older.

Pathology; general comparisons

Detailed information on pathological and anomalous conditions can be found in the Archive, but some general comparisons may be made here. Anomalies tend to be minor; they are usually genetic in origin and may be of importance perhaps for spotting likely breeding links between sites or over time. It is the other pathological conditions which relate most directly to animal health and to husbandry practices — exostosis (a condition marked by bony accrescences) may come from prolonged hard work or from rough surroundings; infections and injuries from a general lack of care; and dental crowding and disease, perhaps from poor nutrition.

There are relatively few instances of pathological conditions. Within the sheep/goat assemblages there are indications in Period 3 of problems with the mouth, with some occurrence of exostosis in Periods 4 and 5. Three cases of injury or infection were noted in cattle of Period 4 and some cases of exostosis in all periods. Six minor pathological conditions were identified amongst the pigs, three cases of exostosis in horses and two in geese. Bones of domestic fowl revealed no pathology.

Cattle

A total of 1783 fragments of cattle has been fully recorded. In the earlier phases there is a dearth of horn-cores and, since there was no evidence from the skull fragments of any polled individuals, one must assume that the horns had been removed with their cores for working elsewhere. Removal would have been done quite roughly, for there are no neat cuts on the remaining skull fragments. More horn-core fragments were recovered from the later medieval features.

The fewest bones of cattle waste are found in Period 5 deposits of the Anarchy Period castle. The two main groups of soils in Period 3 differ considerably in terms of body parts represented: those of the Saxo-Norman land surface include far more loose teeth. Late Saxon features of Period 3 include a lower proportion of meat bones than those of the Saxo-Norman settlement.

A review of the measurements may support the pattern, found in other parts of Wessex, of some change in cattle sizes over this broad period. Low medieval figures are common for the early post-Conquest centuries, and it has been suggested both from Winchester (Coy 1984) and from Southampton (Bourdillon 1985) that a decrease in size had begun in the late Saxon period and continued in the early medieval, after notably good cattle stature in middle Saxon Wessex.

The withers heights calculated for the Saxo-Norman period at Trowbridge are quite low, two of them are very low indeed (Table O; Mf.1, G13). (That for the radius may be slightly suspect in that it had to be calculated by Matolcsi's factors (1970) which were based on Hungarian *steppe* cattle, but even if some allowance has to be made for this it would still seem that there may have been some drop in cattle size). On the greatest length of the astragalus and the distal breadth of the

Table 21 numbers of animal bones by period (excluding those from soil samples and scanning)

	Main domestic species											
Period	*Cattle*	*Sheep*	*Sheep / goat*	*Goat*	*Pig*	*Horse*	*Dog*	*Cat*	*Total*	*% cattle*	*% ovi-caprid*	*% pig*
6	89	17	72	–	28	3	–	4	213	41.8	41.8	13.1
5	305	21	317	1	213	24	4	7	892	34.2	38.0	23.9
4	619	77	690	4	350	16	6	20	1782	34.7	43.3	19.6
3	718	31	370	14	342	33	1	5	1514	47.4	27.4	22.6
2	29	–	16	–	9	1	4	–	59	49.2	27.1	15.3
1	23	–	14	–	6	1	–	–	44	52.3	31.8	13.6
Total	1783	146	1479	19	948	78	15	36	4504			

	Wild mammals					Birds			Fish	Unidentified		*Overall*
Period	*Red deer*	*Fallow deer*	*Roe deer*	*Hare*	*Other*	*Fowl*	*Goose*	*Other*		*LAR*	*SAR*	*total*
6	–	–	–	2	RT	33	3	1	6	57	61	377
5	13	3	5	4	FX	33	9	7	–	133	270	1370
4	12	4	14	8	–	96	33	13	–	280	676	2918
3	10	–	19	–	BD	20	7	5	–	349	695	2623
2	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	25	47	133
1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	13	15	72
Total	35	7	38	14	3	184	52	26	6	857	1564	7493

LAR = large ungulate fragments, SAR = small ungulate fragments, BD = badger, FX = fox, RT = rat

Percentage figures for cattle, ovicaprids and pig are of total domestic species only

metatarsal it is not possible to plot a change between Periods 3 and 4; but the distal breadth of the radius, of the metacarpus and of the tibia would all bear out some small decrease in size.

There were various limited genetic anomalies on the cattle bones; full details can be found in Archive. One main anomaly was found on the acetabulum. The affected fragments showed indentations or slits on the joint surfaces either medially or laterally, similar to those published for middle Saxon *Hamwic* (Bourdillon and Coy 1980, 92). One such example was found in Period 3, the other five from Period 4. Such a sudden concentration could perhaps relate to new introductions to the stock or to a period of intense inbreeding.

A changing incidence of whole or near-whole cattle bones may reflect a change in butchery patterns or in the selection of the bones. The Period 3 settlement produced few of the larger fragments of long-bone, but a good many of its metapodials were whole. Period 4 had fewer large fragments of metapodials, but it included more large long-bone fragments, both in features of the Saxo-Norman settlement and in the Manorial Enclosures.

Many of the cattle bones had been cut or roughly broken. From Period 3 only one fragment seems to have been cut with special care — a fragment of ilium in the soils above the late Saxon structures in Trench F. More such careful cuts, however, were found amongst cattle bones from Period 4. They occurred on several bones: humerus, tibia, os coxae, femur, and sagittally on several vertebrae, which may indicate a neat division of the carcass. One such careful cut (oblique, on a proximal femur) came from a soil layer within the Manorial Enclosure.

The rest all came from the settlement, mostly from the infill of Structure 18. Signs of similar cutting on the cattle bones were also found in Periods 5 and 6.

Ovicaprids

There were few fragments of goat bone; these were found mainly in Period 3 and consisted mostly of horn-core; it is therefore assumed that the ovicaprid material came overwhelmingly from sheep.

As with the cattle, there were few fragments of horn core. Otherwise there is a great contrast in the parts of the body represented in Period 3 on the one hand and later periods on the other. Far fewer fragments of wastage come from the later assemblages and, whilst it may be appropriate for the Saxo-Norman settlement to be rich in good meat

bones, it is strange to find the same high figure from the castle bank.

Withers heights calculations were made by the factors devised by Teichert (1975) for prehistoric and proto-historic sheep. Only three heights could be calculated for Period 3; these fit centrally within the range of Periods 4 and 5 (Table P; Mf.1, G13) and no contrasts over time may be made. One may simply take the group as a whole and note that there is no evidence of taller stock as there was in many of the sheep from middle Saxon *Hamwic* (Bourdillon and Coy 1980), where the range of withers heights was 50–71 cm with a mean (61 cm) apparently above the tallest of the Trowbridge animals.

Measurements of bone breadth, however, suggest some quite sturdy animals. Only the distal tibia measurements provided a large enough sample size to compare across the periods, from which some fall-off in size over time is suggested. Here the range of 24–28 mm for Period 3 fits well with the figures of 22–30 mm for a far larger sample from *Hamwic*. One should, however, keep a sense of proportion; even in Periods 4 and 5 the tibia breadths spread well above the tiny sizes of the Bronze Age.

It was noted above that there was a greater incidence of pathological disturbance on the fragments of sheep than on those of cattle or pig; in the mid–late Saxon settlement of Period 3 the evidence of such problems was found only on the jaws. There was a strangely-shaped hinge, with medial protrusion, on a left mandible; the cases of impaction occur on the molars of mandibles and on a maxilla where the 4th premolar is lodged against the 1st molar. In addition there was a case of periodontal disease in a mandible jaw, where the teeth were loosely embedded in the swollen jaw of a young adult (3rd molar at Grant's stage E).

Thereafter the balance of the sheep pathology seems to have changed. Periods 4 and 5 each provide only one case of mandible impaction and there were no more signs of oral disease. There were, however, nine cases of exostosis, mostly in Periods 4 and 5. The most serious was a case of spavin where a right metatarsal was fused to the centroquartal and the whole joint was ankylosed. The condition is described for horse and cattle by Baker and Brothwell (1980, 125), but it has also been noted by von den Driesch (1975, 418) for some island sheep and goat. The other cases of exostosis were on the front elbow, which appears to be the point where sheep are most liable to trouble (*see* Bourdillon and Coy 1980, 92) for many cases from Hamwic. Baker and Brothwell (1980, 127) have suggested that this condition may be due to overcrowding in pens. There was also injury from Period 4, with a healed fracture of a rib.

Pig

Fragments of pig were found less frequently than were those of cattle or sheep, but as a percentage of the main food mammals they were fairly constant throughout. There were, however, wide changes in body part representation (Table L; Mf.1, G7). In Period 3 the soils were rich in head waste and also in loose teeth, but the main meat bones were rare. Bones of the feet and ankles were scarce in all periods — surprisingly so since each pig has so many of these bones.

Pigs were mostly killed quite young and it is perhaps a little strange that several pig bones gave signs of exostosis, which is often linked with old age or with hard work. On some of the present material it is more likely to have been linked with mishandling. A likely example of this comes with rough accretions on a whole tibia of a pig which was still fairly young (distal epiphysis fused but proximal unfused). The accretions were found laterally on the shaft near the distal end. It was suggested (Boessneck *et al.* 1971, 78) that pigs from Manching, Germany, had been tethered by their back legs at just this point and the suggestion is perhaps supported by similar material from *Hamwic* (Bourdillon and Coy 1980, 96). The damaged Trowbridge tibia comes from a context in the Saxo-Norman settlement, Period 4. From Period 5 a tibia was found with a fragment of fibula fused to the shaft, again near the distal end and again, this may be a result of tethering.

There are too few pig measurements for any useful comparison to be made between the periods but, on the limited evidence of the lengths of surviving 3rd molars and proximal breadths of radii, the pigs would seem to have been quite small.

Horse

Horse was represented in all periods but only by a left 2nd phalanx in Period 1 and a small fragment of porous skull in Period 2. In later periods horse bones were scattered widely in many different contexts and many fragments were recovered from the scan of material from the graveyard.

The pattern of distribution over the body varies greatly. In Period 3 horse fragments come mainly from the head and feet; they are much fragmented, with many loose teeth. Period 4 also has many loose teeth, but only one skull fragment. There were fewer bones in this period from the feet and ankles but a good number from the upper limbs. Period 5 includes many bones of the upper limbs with a concentration of fragments of femur from the one context where they may represent no more than two individuals. There were no horse head fragments from this period, and only two loose teeth. Period 6 deposits contained few horse fragments.

Apart from the porous skull fragment in Period 2, none of the horse material was immature. All the epyphises were fused. The teeth, however, though all were from adults, spanned a wide range of ages. Few horse bones showed signs of pathology. Exostosis on feet and femurs was recorded in Periods 4 and 5.

Many of the measurable fragments are comparable to bones of a modern New Forest mare

in the comparative collection of the Faunal Remains Unit; some were a little larger. One distal tibia (breadth 69.7 mm) and a humerus (distal breadth 76.5 mm, trochlear breadth 68.7 mm) are indicative of large ponies (14 hands plus). A whole metacarpus, incorporated into the Outer Bailey Bank, Period 5, had a lateral length of 236 mm, which by Kiesewalter's factors gives a withers height of 151.2 cm (15 hands). Alternatively the length of this bone may be seen in the framework of Vitt's system which correlates measurements of bone length into a series of horse types ranging dwarf to giant (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1974, 331); the metacarpus would have come from a beast that was 'larger than average', a horse rather than a pony, but only six points up Vitt's nine-place scale.

A distal, right femur from the same context (129) in Period 5 was a solid and substantial bone having a distal breadth of 115mm. In a layer representing one stage of the construction of the Anarchy Period castle, this powerful femur prompts speculation on the medieval warhorse — an animal which is well documented in the historical sources but one which, if it was indeed of great size, has so far proved embarrasingly elusive among the bones themselves. In his detailed and wide-ranging study Davis sees the mid 8th–mid 11th centuries as a time of the major production of many small horses well-suited to cavalry warfare, and the mid 11th–late 13th centuries as the time when horses were rapidly bred to a size and strength which could carry their own armour as well as armoured knights (Davis 1989, 69). For the time of the Conquest Davis argues (*ibid.* 78) that not many of the horses used for war would have reached a height of 14 hands (roughly 140 cm); this fits with the depictions in the Bayeux Tapestry and it also fits with the general bone record for that time. He suggests that horsebreeding in this country had to wait for the second generation of the Normans, perhaps at the turn of the 11th–12th centuries, and cites references to the import of stallions from Spain and to parks and studs as increasingly significant thereafter. It is not of course legitimate to take Spanish descent as proven for the Trowbridge Castle femur; but it seems fair to view this bone as almost certainly a sign that some outside strain had been introduced into the native stock. It would be jumping to conclusions to assert that one had found the medieval warhorse, but this was indeed a massive bone, sealed within the Outer Bailey Bank of an Anarchy Period castle!

Dog

Fragments of dog are found in several periods (Table 21). Those in Period 2 are of quite a large animal; a second metatarsal has a greatest length of 80 mm. The other fragments are too chewed to measure but are correspondingly large.

Bones from the late Saxon soil of Period 3 indicate a moderately sized dog, while two specimens from Period 4 are from a small creature, though larger than a lap dog, and from a very small dog indeed. Three bones from the Period 5 moat represent three individuals of varying size, one being a complete right tibia with a greatest length of 170 mm. By later medieval times the conformation of dogs could vary greatly, but on Harcourt's (1974, 154) factors for earlier material this would have given a withers height of 50.6 cm, or 49.6 cm by that of Koudelka (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1974, 143). On either reckoning this tibia would have come from an animal of quite moderate size.

Table 22: numbers of bones of deer recovered

Period	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
Red	–	–	10	12	13	–
Fallow	–	–	–	4	3	–
Roe	–	–	19	14	5	–
Total	–	–	29	30	21	–
From scanned graveyard contexts						
Red				4	26	
Fallow				–	1	
Roe				1	17	
Total				5	44	

Cat

Cat bones are more abundant than those of dog, and they occur in more contexts: most frequently in the Saxo-Norman settlement. Many of the cat bones are young and unfused and few measurements could be taken. There is, however, one large fully fused left femur from the Period 5 moat: this has a greatest length of 121.7 mm. A proximal metatarsus from the Saxo-Norman settlement had been cut sharply and horizontally on the front of the shaft, but no other cut material was found.

Wild Mammals: Deer

There are no fragments of any species of deer from prehistoric contexts or from Period 6; but there are many from the other periods, notably from the graveyard. Figures for this are included in Table 22 (in parentheses). The varying incidence of the three species (red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), fallow deer (*Dama dama*) and roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*)), may be seen from Table 22. Save for a few worked objects, which are not included in the present report, the only antler is from roe deer.

The balance between the recovered fragments of the three species of deer is complicated by the graveyard material since some or all of this may

derive from earlier occupation; but if one looks only at the well-established contexts the relative frequencies show some changes over time. Roe deer is comfortably the most common species in Period 3. It is still quite common in Period 4, (Saxo-Norman), but with a smaller margin. It declines in the main recovery from Period 5 in the 12th century. Finds of red deer are more constant. Fallow deer only occur from Period 4 onwards.

For the Iron Age–Anglo-Saxon periods, Grant (1981, 207) has pointed out that red and roe deer would always have been present in the countryside and she suggests that the scarcity of deer remains on most archaeological sites, and their abundance on just a few (mainly in those parts of the country that were the most difficult for arable cultivation), shows that most communities had neither need nor inclination to supplement their domestic meat provisioning. For medieval times it is known of course that hunting had a social importance in itself. There is, however, no reason to view the deer remains from Trowbridge as a sign of poor animal husbandry.

Red deer

Red deer occurs in several of the bone groups in Period 3 but the total of only 10 fragments is quite low compared with the abundance of red deer for this period from Ramsbury (Coy 1980, 51). Two fragments come from post-hole structures — a left distal humerus and a left acetabulum, much chewed and eroded. The eight other fragments are from the soils, in particular from the Saxo-Norman land surface. Several have been butchered, either firmly and cleanly or more roughly, and few measurements could be taken. Nearly all the material is, however, far larger than the modern red deer bones in the Faunal Remains Unit's collection. The only useful measurements are both of distal tibia — a fragment of quite modest size (Bd 42.6 mm) and a fine specimen, again a right one, (Bd 52.7 mm).

There are 12 fragments of red deer from Period 4. Of these, eight come from the Manorial Enclosures; the rest from the Saxo-Norman Settlement to the north-west. Again the material is much butchered and few measurements could be taken though the indication is of good-sized individuals. A left distal scapula from layer 1846 has been cut obliquely but provides distal measurements (greatest length GLA 55.5 mm; glenoid length GL 42.1 mm); a left tibia fragment has a proximal breadth of 65.5 mm. Four fragments of red deer come from graveyard features of this period.

Thirteen fragments of red deer occur in Period 5 contexts. There is also a sudden richness (36 fragments) from features of this period in the graveyard, from graves, soils and from sealing layers. Much of this graveyard material might be residual from the mid–late Saxon settlement beneath and if so it could well indicate a greater Saxon richness more comparable with the assemblage from mid Saxon Ramsbury; but one cannot be sure of this, and even if it were so the contrast in the graveyard between Periods 4 and 5 has not been explained. A left tibia provides a distal breadth of 46.4 mm.

Fallow deer

Just four fragments of fallow deer were recovered from Period 4 and three from Period 5. To have finds of fallow deer from the main years of the 12th century (Period 5) is pleasing but not critical. All three fragments (a pair of fused tibiae, badly chewed but otherwise almost complete (Bd 35.2 mm and 35.7 mm for left and right respectively) and a small fragment of metatarsus shaft) came from soils within the Inner Bailey.

The appearance of fallow deer in good archaeological groups from Period 4, however, is a question of particular interest since this period spans the date of the Conquest, and the presence of fallow deer has not been established beyond doubt, at least for Wessex, at any point between the Mesolithic and the Norman. Grant (1975, 382) found fragments of fallow deer from likely Roman contexts at Portchester, Sussex, but these may have come from medieval contamination and she is careful to make no definite claim in her later overview (Grant 1981, 206). No fallow deer was found from the major Melbourne Street assemblage from mid Saxon *Hamwic* (Bourdillon and Coy 1980, 113), nor has any been found there since. None was found among the many deer bones from Ramsbury (Coy 1980, 46); indeed, the Trowbridge material represents the earliest certain fragments of fallow deer from post-glacial Wessex known to the Faunal Remains Unit. For the country as a whole, Chapman and Chapman (1975, 49) suggest with caution that, following a much earlier extinction, the species was reintroduced into Britain by the Normans. More recently Lister (1984, 222), while tentatively supporting this suggestion, has called for more evidence from the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods. Because of the importance of the topic, the identification of all the Trowbridge fallow deer fragments (and of those red deer fragments where there could be any doubt) has been checked by Dr Lister, and he is warmly thanked for his help.

The layers which contained the fallow deer bones were well sealed and date to the period *c.* 950–1139 (Period 4). Though they could therefore have been deposited before the Norman Conquest, there is no positive evidence to show that this was the case. A left distal tibia from ditch 2057 (layer 2056) which defined one of the Manorial Enclosures had a distal breadth of 37.8 mm. The other fragments are from the Saxo-Norman Settlement. A right os coxae fragment from layer 1026 in Cess-pit 155 is an exact match for the bone of a male fallow deer in the modern reference collection of the Faunal Remains Unit (AL 41.4 mm). The Trowbridge specimen has been cut sharply and obliquely on the shaft of the ilium. A right proximal femur shaft and a whole left astragalus are both from Structure 19 (layers 214 and 926). The astragalus has a greatest length of 40.2 mm and an inner length of 38.1mm. There are light cuts on several of its surfaces. These occurrences in Period 4 could reflect the Norman

ownership of the manor at Trowbridge, which probably began in the late 11th century. The material therefore does not conflict with the thesis of a Norman introduction into this country, and indeed their first appearance in the assemblages at that time might be seen as perhaps a pointer to new Norman tastes.

From outside Wessex, one must, however, draw attention to records of fallow deer from excavations at the sequence of late Saxon and Saxo-Norman manors at Goltho in Lincolnshire (Beresford 1987). From the late Saxon fortified enclosures there, spanning *c.* 850–1000, three fragments of fallow deer were found (Jones and Ruben 1987, 202); these, though, were all of antler which may have been imported. Much more difficult to explain is the abundance of fallow deer (25 fragments, all of them post-cranial) in or around the fine hall of the subsequent fortified enclosure, *c.* 1000–1080. These finds were published without discussion. With a final date of 1080 for the Goltho phase it might be possible for the fallow deer to have reached that area only after the Norman Conquest; but the size of the the assemblage is large by any standard and particularly in the context of a total period assemblage of only 863 retained bones including unidentified fragments (2.9%). Barring fuller archaeological discussion one has to assume that fallow deer may well have been at Goltho in late Saxon times.

Roe deer

The earliest fragment of roe deer (an os coxae) was found in layer 875, the fill of Structure 4, Period 3. A right mandible fragment, with a well-worn fourth deciduous premolar, and many other fragments come from other layers of this period. In Period 4 roe deer occurs both in the area of the Manorial Enclosure and the Saxo-Norman Settlement. Three fragments from the Outer Bailey of the castle in Period 5 (two tibia shafts, left and right, and a whole right metatarsal) are from a single layer and could have come from a single individual. Fragments of roe deer are also relatively common in the graveyard, though probably residual and mainly in features from Period 5.

There are two fragments of roe antler, both still attached to the skull. One from Period 3 shows neat cuts at the base and also sagittally on the skull; that from Period 4 is roughly scraped.

Other Wild Mammals

The only other wild mammal to be commonly exploited was hare (*Lepus* sp., perhaps *Lepus timidus*). No fragments were found from any Saxon or late Saxon contexts, but there are eight from Period 4 and four from the castle moats and banks of Period 5. More were found in the graveyard. It is of interest that no fragments of rabbit (*Oryctolagus cuniculus*) were recovered.

A whole right radius of badger (*Meles meles*) was recovered from the Saxo-Norman land surface in Period 3. The animal may well have been used for its fur, but no cutmarks can be seen on the bone; there are, however, many small sharp cuts on the distal surface of a femur of fox (*Vulpes vulpes*) recovered from the Outer Bailey Bank of Period 5.

Potentially of the greatest interest is the find of a large incisor of beaver (*Castor fiber*) from Period 5, but this is from a group of late burials in the Inner Bailey and is probably residual. It is quite badly eroded. The latest secure find of beaver in Wessex comes for Ramsbury (Coy 1980, 46). The Trowbridge find may well have come from Saxon occupation layers below the later graveyard, but even this cannot be taken for granted. It could be older still.

A few fragments a small mammals were recovered. A left pelvis of rat was found in the fill of Pit 375, Period 6 (an exact match for that of a male black rat, *Rattus rattus*, in the Faunal Remains Unit's collection). All other small mammal material came from the graveyard, including a mouse species from a primary grave in Period 4.

A scapula of mole (*Talpa europaea*), a femur of stoat (*Mustela erminea*) or weasel, most likely stoat on the basis of size, and two further fragments of a mouse species, are from Period 5 contexts.

The only bone of amphibian, a pelvis almost certainly of frog (*Rana* sp.), was found in the graveyard in a layer of Period 5.

Domestic Fowl and Goose

The earliest fragments of domestic poultry were found in Structure 4, the sunken-featured building of Period 3: one of fowl, four of goose. Occasional other finds of poultry occur throughout the deposits of Period 3 and in the area of Enclosures 2 and 3 of Period 4.

Within the area of the Saxo-Norman settlement, however, to the north-west of the enclosures, there is a sudden great increase, especially within Structures 18 and 19 and Cess-pit 155. This higher rate of poultry continues in Period 5, with a similar concentration within the area of the Outer, rather than Inner, Bailey. The fowl bones consistently outnumber those of goose by about 3:1, except within Structure 4 of Period 3 and Ditch 135 of the Period 4 settlement.

Most of the bones are good meat bones. There are very few vertebrae, but some skull fragments and bones of the lower leg.

Wild Birds

Fragments of wild birds are also concentrated in the area of the Saxo-Norman settlement and within the Outer Bailey of Period 5 (Table M; Mf.1, G9). The later layers of Period 3 produced five fragments of wild bird, but three of these are small and unidentifiable and the other two are woodcock (*Scolopax rusticola*), a species relatively common on Wessex sites in Saxon and medieval times (see for example Bourdillon and Coy 1980, 118).

Table 23: numbers of fish bones recovered from soil samples, Periods 4 and 5

Period	*4*	*5*	*Total*
Herring	59	26	85
Eel	15	13	28
Cyprinid	1	2	3
Salmonid	–	1	1
Mackerel	–	1	1
Serranid	1	–	1
Indeterminate	154	96	250

In Period 4 woodcock is still the most common species, all from the area of the settlement, north-west of the Manorial Enclosures. A proximal humerus and a furcula of duck from one of the enclosures match a wild male mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*) in the collection of the Faunal Remains Unit. In the settlement area of Period 4, a single bone of a duck species, possibly teal (*Anas crecca*), together with a chewed femur of a greylag goose (*Anser anser*) probably also represent wild fowl; the latter is much smaller and more gracile than any of the domestic material. Other identified fragments include snipe (*Gallinago gallinago*), pigeon (*Columba* sp. cf rock/ stock dove) and raven (*Corvus corone*).

All three of the wild bird fragments from the fill of the Outer Bailey Moat, Period 5, are medium-sized mallard, probably female. Also from this period are two new species: partridge (*Perdix perdix*) and common buzzard (*Buteo buteo*).

The only wild bird fragment from Period 6, from Pit 375, is of a small wader, but a species larger than a snipe. It is surprising that this was the only wild bird bone fragment found in this feature in view of the good preservation within the pit and the number of domestic bones present.

A few fragments of wild bird are also present in scanned graveyard material, all from contexts ascribed to Period 5. These include woodcock, mallard; blackcock (*Lyrurus tetrix*) and a chewed distal tibiotarsus of rook or crow (*Corvus* sp.).

No sea birds are recorded; this is not surprising for an inland settlement, but it offers a contrast to the fish.

Fish

A few fins of fish were found by hand recovery, but only in two late medieval contexts and only minimally there: the majority were recovered by sieving from soil samples.

Eleven contexts were chosen for study. Seven from the Period 4 settlement; three from the Period 5 Moat; and one from the primary fill of the Moat.

The species list has been provided by Andrea Bullock and it is summarised in Table 23. In this table the material classed as 'indeterminate' consists overwhelmingly of fins and scales. The amount of material which may be further identified is quite limited, however it is of considerable interest. For an inland site which is barred from the sea by the Cotswolds and Mendips to the west and south-west and by Salisbury Plain to the south and east, the balance of species is unexpected, for there is little freshwater material. Two fragments of cyprinids (the one a pharangeal tooth, probably of dace, *Leuciscus leuciscus*, and the other a vertebra which could not be identified to species) and one of a salmonid (a vertebra of *Salmon gairdneri*) come from the Moat. A branchiostegal ray of a further cyprinid, possibly *Leuciscus* sp., comes from the Saxo-Norman settlement. Eel (*Anguilla anguilla*) migrates and the eels represented here could have been caught either inland or by the coast.

The rest of the material is certainly of seafish. This includes a vertebra of mackerel (*Scomber scombrus*) in a Period 5 context, and a serranid fragment from the Saxo-Norman Settlement — a fin ray from a large creature (<100 cm), posibly bass or perch; but easily the most abundant species is herring (*Clupea harengus*), which occurs regularly both in the Moat and the settlement. The herrings represented seem consistently to have been of average size and they must have been traded from the sea. They may well have been preprocessed (dried or salted) for they were probably traded headless — the recovered head bones (otic bullae, sphenoids, basioccipitals) were all from the posterior region of the skull where it articulates with the vertebral column and it is possible that the rest of the skull had been removed.

Samples both from the settlement and from the castle include bones of herring and eel which show signs of distortion consistent with damage caused by chewing (Jones 1986, 54). This confirms that the fish from both periods had been eaten.

Summary and Discussion

The small amount of material from the prehistoric periods includes no wild species. There is evidence in both Periods 1 and 2 of cattle, sheep, pig and horse and fragments of quite a large dog from the Iron Age/Romano-British period. There are no unambiguous fragments of goat and few very young animals are represented, though these do include some of cattle, sheep, pig and horse. The two sheep measurements from the Bronze Age are tiny.

Occupation adjacent to the mid-Saxon sunken-featured building of Period 3 again provides a limited sample, but an interesting one. Roe deer is now included, and domestic fowl; and there are four fragments of goose. There is a fragment of goat, and sheep are more plentiful than cattle. Horse is again represented. Pig numbers though are very low.

The later soils and settlement features of this period provide a fuller sample. How far these assemblages foreshadowed those of the Saxo-Norman Manorial Settlement of Period 4 is a

matter for debate: do they mark a change of direction in animal exploitation, or a speeding up of a broad enrichening already evident in the late Saxon settlement? At Goltho, where the series of defences from c. AD 850 had enclosed a succession of houses and halls of high status (Beresford 1982, 29–84), the sample of animal bone recovered from the earlier periods had allowed for few comparisons over time. At Trowbridge the good recovery and sample sizes both from the late Saxon and from the Saxo-Norman layers enable, at the least, some tentative points to be made.

The late Saxon layers at Trowbridge (Period 3) contain cattle in good numbers; there are rather fewer sheep, but pigs are quite plentiful. The presence of some young porous bones probably indicates breeding and husbandry close by the settlement, but many animals were quite old. Some exostosis on the bones of cattle suggested quite hard work; but though some of the sheep and pigs had mouths in poor condition, possibly reflecting diet, their bones showed no signs of rough usage. The sheep seem to have been quite short, without the taller individuals that were found at *Hamwic*; but on the evidence of bone breadths some at least would seem to have been sturdy.

Horse bones occur both in the soils and in the settlement. Only one dog bone was recovered, from an individual of medium size, and there are no fragments of cat. Some wild bird species are present but domestic poultry is quite poorly represented. Since no soil samples were taken from deposits of this period no comment may be made on fish. The richness of the period lies in its deer, with many bones of roe deer and also a fair number of fragments from red deer of good size; the residual material from the graveyard may account for many more.

In the Saxo-Norman layers (Period 4) the domestic animals show some changes. A cluster of genetic anomalies on cattle acetabula may suggest the introduction of some new stock, the results of inbreeding, or a localisation of supply in the settlement itself resulting from some selection in the herds. There are more sheep but not so many older animals, and there is evidence of limb troubles perhaps from crowding into pens.

Pigs are present in reasonable numbers as before, but with few old animals. An injured back leg may suggest that the pigs were tethered. Fragments of horse occur in several contexts, and (especially in the settlement) there are many occurrences of cat. Though few dog bones were found, there are two small individuals which may have been a likely sign of status.

Bones of domestic poultry show a great increase in the Saxo-Norman settlement and there are also more fragments of wild birds from a wider range of species. There are also several occurrences of hare, all from the settlement. A few bones of fresh-water fish and eels were recovered from sieving whilst herring and a few large fish were brought from the sea. Comparisons are not possible here, but the Saxo-Norman record seems impressive. One would like to suggest that in many ways the establishment of a manorial settlement at Trowbridge marked a rich and significant break.

The evidence from the deer may be more subtle, and the cutting of the graves through earlier occupation must hamper close comparisons over time. Roe deer were apparently taken in the Saxon period as a useful addition to the diet, quite easily caught and readily available, and large red deer were also valued and exploited at the time, though their fragment count is less. The main Saxo-Norman assemblages also include relatively large numbers of deer bones, with large red deer nearly as common as roe deer. The occurrence of fallow deer at this time is noteworthy. This indeed marks a richness, but one based perhaps on practices that had been evident at Trowbridge from the time of the late Saxon settlement. The three species of deer occur commonly during the castle occupation in Period 5, especially in the Inner Bailey soils. There are none in the small assemblages from Period 6.

The other interest of the animal bone from the castle itself in Period 5 lies in the quick clean incorporation of bone in the building of the defences, in the continuing pattern of fish from the soil samples, and in the impressively large horse femur.

12. Carbonised, Mineralised and Waterlogged Plant Remains from Cess-pit 155, by W.J. Carruthers

Methods

Cess-pit 155 was located within the area of the Period 4 Saxo-Norman Manorial settlement. A number of samples of *c.* 10 litres of soil were taken for the recovery of environmental remains from two distinct phases of deposition in the pit. A detailed examination of three of these samples was undertaken by the author and two other samples were rapidly scanned.

Subsamples of 500 ml volume were taken from the primary faecal deposits, layers 957 and 1093. These subsamples were soaked in warm water and gently poured through a stack of sieves (minimum mesh 250μ). The residues were sorted in water under a binocular microscope. As layer 957 proved to contain well-preserved waterlogged and mineralised plant remains, a bulk sample of 5 litres was sieved through a 1 mm meshed sieve in order to recover greater quantities of large fruit seeds and cereal grains. The residue from this subsample was sorted by eye.

Samples of 500 ml and bulk (5 litre) samples were examined from a second phase of use of the pit, layer 1029. In the upper part of this deposit a pot was recovered containing further material. This sample was processed and sorted before being sent to the author (layer 1028). The plant remains were rapidly scanned but, as they were poorly preserved and similar in nature to the remains in 1029, the

sample was not examined in detail. A block sample from layer 1029 containing laminated organic remains was excavated and sent to the author intact. A small fraction of this deposit was examined under the microscope in order to determine the nature of the remains.

Results

The species list for the three 500 ml samples and two bulk samples examined in detail is given in Table 25. The taxa have been arranged in rough habitat groups in order to assist in the interpretation, but it should be noted that several species could be placed in different groups, as they occupy a range of habitats. In addition, some taxa might have either grown as weeds or have been consumed, for example *Brassica* sp.

Only large fruit seeds and cereal grains were extracted from the bulk samples and in some cases these have not been quantified in order to save time. Blackberry (*Rubus fruticosus* agg.) seeds and spermoderm (bran) fragments were numerous and so have been given a frequency rating (eg. **** = numerous). *Prunus* sp. seeds were also frequent and often required measuring in order to assign them to species, so the seeds from the bulk samples were not quantified. All of the *Prunus* sp. stones from the 500 ml samples, however, were measured. The results from layer 957 are presented in Figure 42. Although the sloe and bullace dimensions grade one into the other, two rough groupings corresponding to the two different species can be seen in the diagram. The rounded shape of most of the bullace stones suggests that they might fall into Behre's (1978) A group, a type which is said to predominate in the 9th–10th centuries in stones from northern Germany and to be constant thereafter.

The species list shows whether the plant material was recovered in a carbonised, mineralised or waterlogged state. However, in many cases, remains which had the surface texture of waterlogged material, ie. the seeds were still soft, were probably also partially mineralised. In some seeds the testa had been preserved anaerobically but the embryo was hard in texture and amber coloured, as is found in material preserved by calcium phosphate replacement (Green 1979). Since some taxa were found in both a waterlogged and mineralised state, eg. corn cockle (*Agrostemma githago* L.) and stinking mayweed (*Anthemis cotula* L.), it is clear that conditions were suitable for both types of preservation to take place.

Discussion

The finding of waterlogged, highly organic deposits within a late 11th–early 12th-century cess-pit suggested that valuable dietary information might be recovered from botanical analysis. As the pit appeared to contain two distinct phases of use it was hoped that a comparison could be made between the

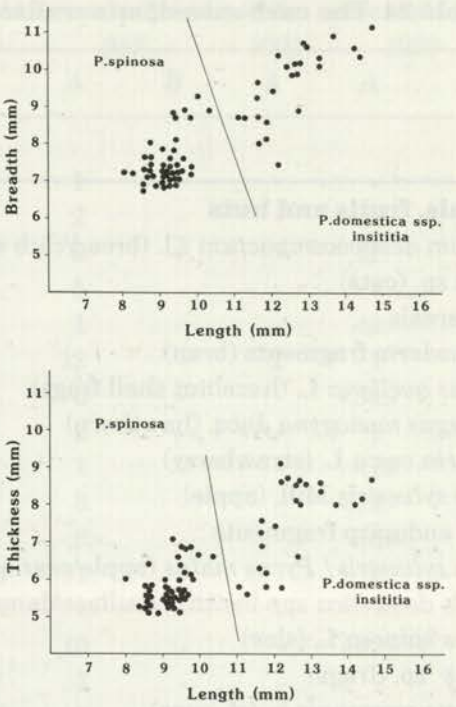

Figure 42 *Measurements of* Prunus *stones*

range of taxa found in each phase. This has been possible to some degree, but it should be noted that differences in the extent of waterlogging of the sediments may have affected the results.

The lowest sample from the primary deposit (957) contained well-preserved waterlogged remains as well as mineralised seeds and concretions. The upper part of this deposit (1093) contained very few seeds and patches of layered organic material which appeared to be grass culms. Above this primary deposit, a second phase of use was investigated (1029). This also contained both waterlogged and mineralised plant remains, but there was some evidence of decay in the waterlogged seeds.

Although large numbers of anaerobically-preserved remains were present, the species range was smaller than in the primary deposit and most of the seeds were woody blackberry pips. The occurrence of mineralised seeds, however, was greater. Mineralised remains accounted for 21% of material in the second phase as opposed to 6% in the first. It appears that the slightly drier conditions in the upper part of the pit were more favourable to mineralisation and less favourable to anaerobic preservation. These differences in preservation might account for some of the variations in species composition between the two phases, but clearly not all of them.

As shown in the species list (Table 25), the cess-pit assemblages were composed of taxa representing three main habitat groups. These comprise the edible remains consisting of cereals, fruits and nuts which were consumed and deposited as faecal waste; weeds of cultivated and disturbed

Table 24 The carbonised, mineralised and waterlogged plant remains from Cess-pit 155

Taxa	*Habitat*	*Primary fills*			*Secondary fill*	
		957		*1093*	*1029*	
		A	*B*	*A*	*A*	*B*
Cereals, fruits and nuts						
Triticum aestivocompactum s.l. (bread/club wheat)		-	-	-	-	[8]
Avena sp. (oats)		-	-	-	[1]	-
NFI cereals		<4>	-	2	<6>	<2>
Spermoderm fragments (bran)		<***>	-	<**>	<***>	-
Corylus avellana L. (hazelnut shell frags)	HSW	4	7	4	-	-
Crataegus monogyna Jacq. (hawthorn)	HSW	38	178	-	-	-
Fragaria vesca L. (strawberry)		19	-	-	108	-
Malus sylvestris Mill. (apple)	HSW	<12>	<22>	-	-	-
Apple endocarp fragments		***	-	*	-	-
Malus sylvestris / *Pyrus malus* (apple/pear embryos)	HSW	<8>	<68>	<2>	-	-
Prunus domestica spp insititia (bullace/damson)	HSW	25	***	-	1	*
Prunus spinosa L. (sloe)	HSW	45	***	1	8	**
Prunus sp. (frags)		8	**	3	5	***
cf. *Pyrus communis* L. (cf. pear)		-	<2>	-	-	-
Rosa sp. (rose)	HSW	44	129	-	-	-
Rubus fruticosus agg. (blackberry)	HSW	247	****	11	540	****
R. cf. *idaeus* (raspberry)	HSW	2	-	-	8	-
Rubus sp. (blackberry/raspberry frags)	HSW	20	-	-	43	-
Vitis vinifera L. (grape)		37	198	1	-	*
Arable/disturbed ground weeds						
Aethusa cynapium L. (fool's parsley)	C	-	-	-	4	-
Agrostemma githago L. (corn cockle)	A	21f	<8>	1f	-	-
Anagallis arvensis L. (scarlet pimpernel)	CR	3	-	-	2	-
Anthemis cotula L. (stinking mayweed)	ADh	99<11>	-	15<7>	<44>	-
Brassica cf. *rapa* (cf. turnip)	ABD	-	-	-	<1>	-
Brassica sp./*Sinapis* sp.		6	-	-	-	-
Bupleurum rotundifolium L. (thorow-wax)	Ac	-	-	-	<1>	-
Caryophyllaceae NFI		-	-	-	<1>	-
Centurea cyanus L. (cornflower)	A	1	-	-	-	-
Centurea sp. (knapweed/cornflower)	ADGH	<2>	-	-	-	-
Chenopodium album L. (fat hen)	CDn	1	-	-	-	-
Chenopodium sp./*Atriplex* sp.	CDn	<4>	-	-	<18>	-
Odontites verna / *Euphrasia* sp. (red bartsia/ eyebright)	CD	1	-	-	1	-
Papaver dubium / *hybridum* (poppy)	AD	-	-	-	1	-
P. rhoeas / *hybridum* (poppy)	AD	-	-	-	3	-
Picris echioides L. (bristly ox-tongue)	DHRc	1	-	-	-	-
Polygonum aviculare agg. (knotgrass)	DR	3	-	-	<2>	-
Scandix pecten-veneris L. (shepherd's needle)	A	1	-	-	-	-
Silene alba (Mill.) E.H. Krause (white campion)	CDH	-	-	-	1	-
Sonchus asper (L.) Hill (spiny sow-thistle)	CD	4	-	2	-	-
Stellaria media (L.) Vill. (chickweed)	CD	3	-	1	-	-
Tripleurospermum maritimum(L.) Koch (scentless mayweed)	AD	-	-	-	<3>	-
Urtica dioica L. (stinging nettle)	CDHWn	4	-	-	2	-

Taxa	*Habitat*	*Primary fills*			*Secondary fill*	
		957		*1093*	*1029*	
		A	*B*	*A*	*A*	*B*
Grassland taxa						
Bellis perennis L. (daisy)	G	1	-	-	-	-
Carduus sp./*Cirsium* sp. (thistle)		2	-	-	<4>	-
Carex sp. (sedge)	DGM	2	-	-	11	-
Chrysanthemum leucanthemum L. (ox-eye daisy)	G	5	-	-	-	-
Daucus carota L. (carrot)	Gc	1	-	-	<3>	-
Eleocharis subg. *Palustres* (spike-rush)	BM	12	-	2	1	-
Gramineae NFI	DG	8	-	-	<34>	-
Linum catharticum L. (purging flax)	EGc	2	-	-	1	-
Prunella vulgaris L. (self-heal)	DG	1	-	-	<1>	-
Ranunculus acris/bulbosus/repens (buttercup)	DG	3	-	-	<13>	-
Rhinanthus sp. (yellow rattle)	G	<6>	-	-	<6>	-
Rumex acetosella agg. (sheep's sorrel)	CEGa	1	-	-	1	-
Rumex cf. *maritimus* L. (golden dock)	BM	4	-	-	-	-
Rumex sp. (dock)		10	-	-	<32>	-
Silene dioica (L.) Clairv. (red campion)	DHW	1	-	-	-	-
Stellaria graminea L. (lesser stitchwort)	EGWl	6	-	1	1	-
Torilis japonica (Houtt.) D.C. (upright hedge parsley)	GHR	3	-	-	-	-
Viola sp. (violet)		3	-	-	-	-
Total		702<47>		44<9>	634 <169> [1]	

[ ] = carbonised; < > = mineralised; no brackets = waterlogged; f = fragments; * = occasional; ** = several; *** = frequent; **** = numerous

A = 500 ml sample, complete analysis B = 5 litre sample, large seeds only

Habitats: A = arable; B = pond/river bank; C = cultivated; D = disturbed; E = heath; G = grassland; H = hedgerow; M = marsh; R = roadside; S = scrub; W = woodland

Soil preferences: a = acidic; c = calcareous; h = heavy; l = light; n = nitrogen/phosphate-rich; w = wet/damp

Remains are seeds and fruits unless stated otherwise

land, including many arable weeds providing a clue to their probable origin; and several grassland taxa, including species characteristic of hay meadows.

The edible taxa

Of the edible remains, seeds of blackberry were numerous in both phases of cess-pit use. Raspberry (*Rubus* cf. *idaeus*) was identified with some uncertainty, since blackberry seeds can be very variable in shape. Strawberry (*Fragaria vesca* L.), sloe (*Prunus spinosa* L.) and bullace (*P. domestica* ssp.*insititia*), were also present in both phases although they were much less numerous and more distorted and decayed in the later phase of use. The presence of quantities of large fruit stones in faecal material has been commented on by Greig (1988) who provides evidence that the stones were actually swallowed. For such large numbers of the sour fruits of the sloe bush and the slightly sweeter bullace to be eaten, some sort of fruit compote must have been made, or they may have been used to make verjuice. Sloes and blackberries can also be used in dyeing, although no other evidence of dye plants was recovered from the pit.

The presence of rose seeds in the assemblage suggests that perhaps not all of the fruit remains were swallowed. Although rosehips have been valued as a rich source of vitamin C and used to make desserts in the past, the seeds possess stiff hairs which are said to be a dangerous internal irritant (Mabey 1972). It is possible that the large number of fruit stones and woody seeds present in the pit contains an element of kitchen waste from the preparation of desserts and beverages.

Grape (*Vitis vinifera* L.) pips were concentrated in the primary deposit, although one small

fragment was present in the later sample. As this seed is often found in the mineralised state this distribution is not an artefact of preservation. Several other fruits were found only in the lower level, namely hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna* Jacq.), apple (*Malus sylvestris* Mill.), cf. pear (cf. *Pyrus communis* L.), rose (*Rosa* sp.) and hazelnut (*Corylus avellana* L.) shell fragments. Since the apple and pear were present as mineralised remains, their absence from the upper deposit was not due to the drier conditions. The other taxa were present as waterlogged material, and as they are only occasionally found in the mineralised state, these absences could be due to the different conditions of preservation. However, as all are woody in nature this seems unlikely. Other explanations for the absences are that the later phase of use occurred through a different season when fresh fruits and nuts were not available. The fewer fruit remains present may represent preserved foods such as jams or dried fruits. The range of taxa preserved, however, does not give further weight to this suggestion as any of the fruits and nuts could have been preserved by cooking or drying.

Although some of the fruits such as apples and pears might have been cultivated, all except the grapes could have been gathered from local woodlands. The absence of plums and cherries and the predominance of sloes amongst the *Prunus* stones suggests that little or no orchard cultivation occurred on this site. There was clearly no reduction in the availability of blackberries, but these may have grown in areas of scrub and along hedgerows. Strawberries also grow in such habitats, or may have been cultivated. It is also possible that the virtual disappearance of grape pips from the later deposit could indicate a lowering of status of the site over a period of time, although admittedly the evidence for this is slight.

One notable absence is that of elderberries. This nitrophilous shrub is usually found growing around settlements and the tough, woody seeds are common inclusions, both waterlogged and mineralised, in cess-pits and garderobes. The fruits are also useful in dyeing. No explanation can be given for the absence except that of the personal preference of the inhabitants for certain foods.

The only non-native species recovered, grape, could have been grown in the manorial gardens during the period of warmer weather experienced in early medieval times. Grapes might also have been imported as dried fruits. Other exotics which were likely to have been imported such as fig, walnut and mediterranean herbs were not found on this site but are usually present in faecal material from urban sites from around the 13th century.

As these deposits are earlier in date, the absence of more exotic foodstuffs or of cultivated fruits such as plums is not surprising even though the site was of a high status. However, remains of this type have been recovered from some early sites, for example, dill was recovered from 9th-century Stafford (Moffett, pers. comm.) and a plum stone was found in a middle Saxon pit fill at Brandon, Suffolk (Murphy 1983).

Most of the evidence for the consumption of cereals was present as mineralised fragments of spermoderm (bran) many of which could be seen in the mineralised concretions recovered from the residues. These were not identified or quantified, but their frequency suggested that bread or other cereal products were important components of the diet. The few carbonised cereal grains identified as bread/club wheat (*Triticum aestivocompactum* s.l.) and oats (*Avena* sp.) might have been consumed in 'overcooked' bread or deposited in waste. However, very little other carbonised material was recovered indicating that burnt waste was not a major component of the deposit.

The bread/club wheat caryopses were not measured, as most of them were distorted, but in form they were extremely compact suggesting that they were probably club wheat (*T. compactum* Host.). This is a cereal which was important in Roman times but whose cultivation in Britain in later years is incompletely understood.

Weeds of arable and disturbed ground

The second habitat group represented in the cess-pit is the weeds of cultivated or disturbed land. Amongst these, several taxa are typical cornfield weeds, such as corn cockle (*Agrostemma githago* L.), cornflower (*Centaurea cyanus* L.) and thorow-wax (*Bupleurum rotundifolium* L.). Their presence amongst faecal waste probably means that they were consumed as contaminants of grain which had not been thoroughly cleaned. The recovery of small fragments of corn cockle seed indicates that this notorious contaminant had been milled with the grain. The various soil preferences of the weed taxa, such as the preference for calcareous soils shown by thorow-wax and stinking mayweed's (*Anthemis cotula* L.) preference for heavy, damp soils, indicate the range of soils cultivated in the area. Both calcareous and heavy clay soils are available for cultivation in the immediate area around Trowbridge.

Some of the weeds included in this group may have entered the cess-pit amongst domestic waste, as ruderals such as stinging nettle (*Urtica dioica* L.) and fat hen (*Chenopodium album* L.) are likely to have been common around the settlement area, particularly where organic waste was allowed to accumulate. No obvious differences in the quantity or range of weed seeds in this group were observed between the two phases of pit use, although factors such as a change in the type of soils cultivated would be very hard to detect.

Grassland taxa

As in the previous group, some of the taxa placed under this category might have occurred as weeds of disturbed habitats, such as buttercups and grasses. However, the presence of hay meadow species such as yellow rattle (*Rhinanthus* sp.), ox-eye daisy (*Chrysanthemum leucanthemum* L.) and purging flax (*Linum catharticum* L.) and the

recovery of compressed and laminated deposits of cf. grass culms indicates the presence of hay.

The quantity of culm fragments was quite considerable in some areas of the deposits, both in the primary and secondary fills. The examination of a block sample of this material revealed some cut ends of the culms and some alignment of the stems in patches suggesting that they had been laid down in a bunch. As suggested in the case of a 15th-century barrel latrine (Greig 1981), the hay may have been waste flooring material added to the pit to stifle bad odours, or more likely was used as toilet paper, since no other fabric or mosses were present in quantities to serve such a purpose.

Comparisons with Other Sites

As sites of this date are rare, no directly comparable plant assemblages of faecal origin are available. Analysis of material from later medieval pits is more common, such as a late 13th–14th-century cess-pit in Winchester (Carruthers *et al.* forthcoming), a mid 13th-century pit at Chester (Greig 1988) and a 15th-century barrel latrine at Worcester (Greig 1981). These are generally found to contain greater ranges of imported fruits and spices, notably fig whose numerous small seeds tend to be characteristic of medieval faecal deposits. Spices such as dill and coriander are often present in higher status deposits, as are a greater proportion of cultivated fruits such as cherry and plum.

Prior to the period of increasing trade with the continent in medieval times, Saxon faecal deposits are less common. The 6th–7th-century rural site at Abbots Worthy, near Winchester, produced a number of cess-pits containing a variety of mineralised wild food remains, such as apple, blackberry, sloe, elderberry and hazelnut shell fragments (Carruthers 1991). One pit also contained large quantities of pea hilum and testa fragments. Introduced taxa are seldom found on these early sites, although earlier still, many Roman sites have produced a wide range of imported foodstuffs (Willcox 1977).

A 9th-century well at Stafford produced food remains including apple, bullace, sloe and dill (Moffett, pers. comm.) and dill has been recovered from Anglo-Scandinavian York (Hall *et al.* 1983). Grape pips have been recovered from some late 8th–early 9th-century deposits in Southampton and 10th- and 13th-century contexts in Winchester (Monk 1977).

The remains from Trowbridge, therefore, fall somewhere between the simple Saxon diet of cereals, legumes and gathered wild fruits, and the more varied diet of the medieval period when a range of fruits and spices was imported from the continent. The high status of the site is reflected in the possible cultivation of grape vines or the importation of dried grapes.

No remains of leguminous taxa were recovered, but these do not preserve well under waterlogged conditions and are not often mineralised. Cereals were obviously an important part of the diet, but sloe and bullace stones, blackberry seeds and apple pips were also numerous.

8 Synthesis and Interpretation

Trowbridge lies within the Wiltshire clay lands, which are part of the belt of Oxford Clay that extends from Dorset in the south to Lincolnshire in the north-east, and which is a major geological and geographical boundary, separating south-east England from the Midlands and the West Country (*Geological Map of Great Britain, Sheet 2*, Geological Survey 1957). In the vicinity of Trowbridge, the clays form a narrow, level plain *c.* 5 miles wide, between the Chalk escarpment of Salisbury Plain and the Marlborough Downs to the south-east, and the Limestone hills of the Cotswolds to the north-west. The River Biss, a tributary of the Avon, flows northwards across this plain, and it is on the banks of this river, at the point where it cuts through a low ridge rising above the plain, that the modern town of Trowbridge stands (Fig. 1). The excavations in the town centre have shown that the present town occupies the site of a long sequence of earlier settlements.

1. Prehistoric and Roman Land-use: Periods 1 and 2

The low, cornbrash ridge upon which Trowbridge stands supports a relatively light, fertile soil which appears to have attracted settlement from the earliest times and traces of use from the early Bronze Age were found during the course of the excavations. Though there was no evidence of a settlement, the excavated features indicated the clearance and use of the ridge in the Bronze Age and subsequently. In the Bronze Age, Period 1, a fairly substantial palisade was suggested by Slot 2666, which ran in a straight line parallel with, but just north of, the crest of the ridge. The nature of this boundary suggests a clearly defined enclosure, perhaps other than simply a field, and perhaps specifically located on the end of the ridge overlooking the river (Fig. 5). Four pits which lay to the south of the palisade may have been contemporary, but were the only evidence of activity within the suggested enclosure, the function of which is unknown. Downslope to the north of the palisade there was evidence of a post-hole line, possibly a boundary, and perhaps earlier than the palisade.

Occupation in the Iron Age, Period 2, and perhaps the proximity of a settlement, is suggested by the four post-holes of Structure 3, representing a structure *c.* 2 m square. Similar structures are commonly identified on Iron Age sites, from large scale hillforts such as Danebury, Hampshire (Cunliffe 1984, fig. 4.36) to smaller enclosed settlements such as Gussage All Saints, Dorset (Wainwright 1979, fig. 16) and have been interpreted as above-ground grain stores. A single sherd of pottery from one of the post-holes has been dated to the late Iron Age, but the only material of comparable date was found in a later deposit, and was a La Tène III brooch, datable to the mid 1st century AD. Though isolated within the area of the excavation, Structure 3 is likely to have been within or close to an area of Iron Age settlement on the ridge. Probably comparable to the smaller settlements of this period excavated elsewhere, its nature cannot be further ascertained within the modern urban context of Trowbridge.

The continued use of the land and its changing aspect are demonstrated by a long, straight field boundary, Ditch 2577, which ran across the line of the ridge (Fig. 5). There were a few sherds of Romano-British pottery in the infilling of it, though these cannot be precisely dated within the Period. There was a wide scatter of Romano-British material from the later deposits, which included two brooches dating to the later 1st–2nd century; sherds of 1st–2nd century samian; fragments of glass which ranged in date from 1st to 4th century; and four coins, none earlier than the late 3rd century.

2. The Mid to Late Saxon Settlement: Period 3

In the Saxon world, Trowbridge lay in the western part of Wessex, facing westwards towards Somerset, and during the 6th century is likely to have come increasingly under Saxon influence and control. Evidence of contemporary settlements in this area is limited, though a comparable settlement is likely at Westbury, also on the east bank of the Biss (Fig. 1) where 89 sherds of 'grass-tempered' pottery of mid–late Saxon type have been found on the site of a Romano-British settlement (Fowler 1966, fig. 1). The monastery at Bradford-on-Avon is known to have been founded by 705.

Period 3 was the first period for which there was evidence of the settlement within the excavated area and it was perhaps the beginning in the 7th century AD of a sequence of occupation to a great extent continuous up to the present day. Traces of twelve structures were recorded, Structures 4–16, and the limited amount of associated pottery suggested that the earliest structures of Period 3 dated to the 7th or 8th century and the latest to the 11th century (Figs 8 and 11). The late Saxon settlement of Period 3 developed without apparent break into the settlement of Period 4, and there may have been considerable overlap between the structures of the two periods. It is likely indeed that the stone church, Structure 17, was constructed within the late Saxon settlement (Figs 4 and 11).

The extent to which the structures of Period 3 themselves represent continuous settlement is unclear. With a timespan of 400 years or more, it is certainly possible that there were considerable periods when the site was not occupied, but the only

stratigraphic evidence of this was the horizon of soil which sealed Structures 4–11 and pre-dated Structures 12–14, and the church, Structure 17. Though this contained artefacts derived from the features and occupation which it overlay, it also contained significant numbers of pottery sherds datable to the 10th century and perhaps later. The layer may represent a period of abandonment or agricultural use of the site, of uncertain duration, but representing a break between a pre-10th-century, mid Saxon settlement, and a late Saxon settlement of the 10th and 11th centuries. It is not known whether such a break in occupation may have been caused by the Danish incursions into this part of Wessex in the later 9th century. The re-establishment of the settlement in the later Saxon period, could reflect the relative security and prosperity of the post-Alfredian kingdom of Wessex. It was within that settlement that the stone church was eventually built at the beginning of Period 4, and it is possible that this 10th-century settlement became the manor of *Straburg* recorded in the *Domesday Survey* of 1086.

The settlement of Period 3 was situated on the end of the ridge adjacent to the river valley, probably across the line of the approach to a river crossing (it was the location of the Period 5 castle that barred this line of approach and resulted in the medieval and later river crossing being further to the north, at the present Town Bridge). It was located to take advantage of the relatively high ground close to the river itself, and would have had access both to the lighter soils of the brash ridge and the heavier clay soils below it, with the different habitats that these offered. It also lay across a natural line of communication, broadly east–west, through the Wiltshire clay-lands.

The maximum spread of the features of the settlement was *c.* 100 m east–west, and it covered an area of at least half a hectare (Fig. 8). Within the excavated area there was little evidence for any formal layout of the structures, though their alignment was consistently square to the broadly north-east–south-west line of the ridge. The location of the settlement on the end of a ridge approaching a river valley is closely paralleled at Cowdery's Down, Hampshire (Millett 1983, figs 1 and 2), where the buildings, though over a much larger area, were also aligned consistently with the ridge. Sites such as Cowdery's Down and Chalton, also in Hampshire (Addyman *et al.* 1972), covering areas of approximately three and six hectares respectively, also produced evidence of fences enclosing small plots of land around and adjacent to the buildings. Though this could not be conclusively shown in the settlement at Trowbridge, the small gullies or slots which formed Structure 6 (Fig. 11) could have been land divisions rather than the lines of buildings.

Of the ten structures for which there was evidence in this period of settlement, three were 'sunken-featured' structures, using the term as defined by Rahtz (1976, 70). Structure 4 was the most complete, and comprised a sub-rectangular area of sunken floor *c.* 4 m by 2.5 m, surfaced with fine, compact clay. It is an example of a widely recognised type of structure (ibid, figs 2.10, 2.11 and 2.12), in which the sunken area was the main or total floor space of the building; the clay floor in it showed clear evidence of use in the compaction of its surface and the debris and artefacts trampled into it. Two post-holes lay within the sunken area, one central at either end, and the structure is directly comparable in this to several of the buildings excavated at Old Down Farm, near Andover in Hampshire (Davies 1980, fig. 4 buildings 2740 and 2041; fig. 5 building 621).

The other sunken-featured structures were less clearly defined; Structure 7 may have been a relatively large building within which was a smaller area of sunken floor; Structure 16 (Fig. 8) may have been no more than a covered working hollow in the slope overlooking the river.

Sunken-featured buildings such as Structure 4 are most characteristic of the early and mid Saxon periods. They are usually only one element of a settlement, the main structures of which are larger rectangular buildings, constructed using a frame of vertical timbers. These have been excavated on a number of sites in Wessex, and the framing can be set either within individual post-holes or within a continuous slot: at Cowdery's Down (Millett 1983, figs 36, 37 and 39) and at Chalton (Addyman *et al.* 1972), the former were earlier but it is unknown whether this was always the case. The size of the buildings varies from *c.* 11 m by 6 m to as large as 18 m by 8 m. That large, timber-framed buildings were present in the Trowbridge settlement was indicated by the slots of Structure 5 and by the concentrations of post-holes grouped as Structures 8, 9 and 10 (Fig. 11). It was only the limited area of the excavation which prevented the clear recognition of specific individual buildings, but the evidence suggested rectangular buildings up to 12 m long and 5 m wide, broadly comparable to those known from other Wessex sites. Though there was an almost total absence of pottery from the post-holes of these buildings, they lay beneath the soils which pre-dated the later Saxon structures.

There was a characteristic, though limited, assemblage of artefacts associated with the mid Saxon settlement of Period 3, a proportion of which was recovered from the layers and features of Periods 4 and 5 which overlay it. The pottery, which comprised a total of 135 sherds, was hand-made, probably a domestic product and for that reason difficult to date, though the use of vegetable temper in some fabrics may be an early trait (*above, Chapter 7.6*). Sherds were found in all areas of the Period 3 settlement. The late Saxon settlement produced much larger numbers of pottery sherds, dated to the 10th century onwards, and these first occurred in quantity in the soils which formed the late Saxon land surface and sealed the structural features. Evidence of weaving was recovered in all areas of the settlement, in the form of clay loomweights (*above, Chapter 7.7*), bone tools and iron heckle teeth (*above, Chapter 7.2*). Commonly

associated with sunken-featured buildings, one loomweight fragment was recovered from the infill of Structure 16, the others from layers adjacent to Structures 4 and 7. In addition, two clay spindle-whorls were found in Structure 4, one actually embedded in the floor.

The metalwork from this period of the site (*above, Chapter 7.2*) included four iron knives of Saxon type and minor personal items. Other metalwork included harness fittings inlaid with silver, probably not earlier than the 10th century, but perhaps suggesting the increasing status of the site in the later Saxon times. Though there was evidence of general iron-smithing (*above, Chapter 7.3*), this need not have been anything beyond what was needed within the confines of the site. A single fragment of a crucible was found, which had been part of a vessel used for melting copper alloy. This amounts to much less evidence of metal production than has been found at comparable sites such as Netherton, Hampshire (Fairbrother 1990) or urban sites such as Southampton or Winchester (Addyman and Hill 1969; Biddle 1990), and may not merely reflect the relative sizes of the areas excavated.

Within the animal bone assemblage of Period 3, bones of wild animals and birds were fairly common (*above, Chapter 7.11*), and those of red deer notable for their size. All the common domestic animals were present, but, in contrast to Periods 4 and 5, sheep were poorly represented, and included a high proportion of adults, perhaps a reflection of their importance for milk and wool rather than meat.

A number of objects were found which showed the wider contacts of the settlement, and which could also suggest a relatively high status. Two fragments of Rhenish lava quernstone from the Period 3 settlement could reflect a high status for the site, as suggested for Ramsbury, in the Kennet valley to the east (Haslam 1980) or may simply show that this lava reached a large number of different sites. A single small fragment of reticella glass would also have been imported to the site and could reflect the wealth of at least some of the inhabitants of the site, as might the fragments of horse harness mentioned above. In general, however, the location, the structures and the artefacts of Period 3 were consistent with a small, largely self-contained, rural settlement of the Saxon period.

3. The Saxo-Norman Manorial Settlement: Period 4

Period 4 saw major changes in the settlement, with the construction of a stone church, the establishment and continued use of a graveyard, and the laying out of a ditched and banked enclosure on the ridge where the buildings of the Period 3 settlement had previously stood. The settlement itself appears to have shifted north-westwards, onto the lower slopes of the ridge, possibly expanding over a considerable area. These changes did not, however, happen simultaneously, and there may have been a considerable overlap between the latest structures of Period 3 and the earliest structures of Period 4. The earliest element of Period 4, the stone church, was indeed probably built within the late Saxon settlement in the middle or later part of the 10th century and it was this building that between *c.* AD 950 and 1200, was to be the one constant feature of a landscape that underwent rapid change, culminating in the construction of the castle in Period 5.

The late Saxon church at Trowbridge (Structure 17) was a simple two-cell structure built of stone, with a nave measuring internally *c.* 10 m by 5 m and a slightly narrower chancel *c.* 3.3 m wide and at least 3 m long. Nave and chancel appear to have been built at the same time, but it is not known whether the east end of the chancel was apsidal; there was no evidence of porches or other ancillary structures. The internal dimensions of the nave are very close to 2 rods by 1 rod (10.06 m by 5.03 m) and it is likely therefore to have been built on a rod-based modular unit comparable to that used in St Martin's church, Wareham (Hinton and Webster 1987, 47). The internal width of the chancel, at *c.* 3.3 m is also very close to two thirds of a rod, exactly as at Wareham.

The evidence suggested that externally the church walls had been constructed of finely dressed ashlar; internally, rougher masonry had been finished with stucco, painted white and pink. In its architectural style and use of fine ashlar detail, it may have been similar to St Laurence's Chapel at Bradford-on-Avon (Taylor 1973, fig. 3), which is considered to have been constructed in the late Saxon period, perhaps just after AD 1001 (ibid, 159), and which was also constructed on a modular unit of measurement, though not rods (Fernie 1985). The two cell church is a form of church that was widespread in Europe by the 8th century (Cherry 1976, 160) and can be found on sites of widely different types in England. In dimensions and ground plan the Trowbridge church can be be compared with the late 10th-century chapel at Cheddar (Rahtz 1979, figs 13 and 73), which served the royal palaces there; and with the 11th-century church at Raunds in Northamptonshire (Boddington and Cadman 1981, fig. 7.5), which was the church of a rural settlement perhaps similar in character to Trowbridge.

There was no evidence of an earlier ecclesiastical structure on the site, though there might have been a predecessor in another part of the cemetery, as at Raunds. The endowment for the construction of such a church would have been considerable, and clearly connects the Trowbridge settlement with a family of some wealth, though the use of stone rather than timber in the 10th century could reflect the proximity of good local stone rather than above average expenditure. Its construction could also suggest that such a family was in residence at least for a part of the year. The *Domesday Survey* names the Saxon Brictric as the owner of the manor in 1086, and states that his father held it at the time of the Conquest. Brictric owned other estates in

Wiltshire and was an important land owner, but whether the connection of Trowbridge with his family extended back into the 10th century is unknown.

Whoever endowed the church, it is clear that it served the needs of the wider community, at least in the provision of a final resting place. The church lay in the southern half of an approximately square, ditched enclosure measuring *c.* 30 m across, within which the population of the village buried their dead; about one third of the area of the graveyard was excavated, in which 289 graves were recorded. On the basis simply of the excavated graves it was impossible to recognise any social differences between specific graves or areas of the graveyard. That wealthier elements of the population had been buried in the churchyard was shown by the carved grave slabs. One of these was found on the surface of the graveyard to the west of the church during the excavations in 1988 (Fig. 33). Other slabs were found during drain digging in 1903 and 1924, and though it is not known precisely how many were found, three carved slabs were removed and are now housed in St James's Church Trowbridge.

Evidence from the 1977 excavations suggested that these slabs were found to the south of the church which could suggest that the southern side of the graveyard was favoured by the wealthier members of society for the burial of their dead. It may be significant that three fragments of gold thread, probably from garments buried with a corpse (*above, Chapter 7.2*), came from layers in the south-western part of the graveyard. Gold threads from graves adjacent to the Anglo-Saxon cathedral at Winchester (Crowfoot 1990) have been taken as indicative of the importance of the occupant of that grave. In general, however, there was no evidence in the Trowbridge graveyard of special treatment or placing within the graveyard of any sector of society, based on wealth, age or sex.

The graves had been laid out in north–south rows and, though there was no evidence that the majority of graves had been marked, the preservation of these rows throughout the period of use of the graveyard suggested that they were, at the very least, visible mounds of earth. As the ground had become crowded in the later part of Period 4, new rows appeared to have been established between, rather than above, the earlier rows (Figs 13 and 15) and a conscious effort may have been made to avoid disturbing earlier burials. Even during Period 5, when the area available for burials had been severely restricted by the bank of the castle, the line of the earlier rows was preserved, though during this time the intercutting of graves became inevitable and resulted in extensive disturbance of the earlier burials. When the graveyard expanded to the west, however, ordered rows were once again used, and disturbance could be avoided (Fig. 23). Similar rows can be seen in the rural graveyard at Raunds (Boddington and Cadman 1981, fig. 7.7).

The graves were generally shallow, on average *c.* 0.45 m deep, and had only rarely been dug to a depth below the surface of the Cornbrash bedrock. This lack of depth is characteristic of late Saxon and medieval graveyards and is paralleled at many other sites (White 1988, 26, note 7).

There was no evidence for the use of wooden coffins, and in a proportion of the graves, stone slabs had been used to support the head of the corpse. Though the use of stones within wooden coffins has been recorded (Rodwell 1981, fig. 71), their use generally suggests burial in a shroud rather than a coffin, and this was probably the general practice at Trowbridge. Only three possible shroud pins were found, though whether this reflects the lack of wealth of the population, or simply that they were not customarily used, is unknown. Traces of wood were found in only one grave, which was exceptional in other ways as well; small stones had been packed around the head and over the chest of the corpse (Plate 23), which had then been covered with a wooden board.

The graves fell therefore into two categories; simple burials with no evidence of a coffin; and burials with no evidence of a coffin, but in which stones have been used, either beneath or around the head as 'pillow stones', at the feet, or in rare instances, to form a very incomplete grave lining. These two categories of grave occurred throughout the use of the graveyard, though in Period 5, when many of the earlier burials were disturbed, skulls disinterred from the earlier graves were frequently used as pillow stones (burial practices, and particularly the reburial of disinterred bones, are discussed below). Both types of burial practice are known from other sites; at Raunds (Boddington and Cadman 1981, 111) 60% of the graves included slabs of stone, and the use of pillow stones and partial grave linings has been found in London (White 1988, fig. 12).

Possible evidence of graveside ritual was found in two instances. In Grave 1696, lying west of the church, two Hiberno-Norse coins were found in the infilling of the grave, and could have been a deliberate inclusion, cast into the grave during its backfilling. They have been dated to the final quarter of the 11th century (*above, Chapter 7.1*), and are the first of the type to have been found in England. Whether these Dublin coins had any significance to the dead person, a young woman aged 17–18, is unknown. The other instance was in Grave 1965 to the north-west of the church; the fill of the grave included a coin of Cnut, dated *c.* 1017–1023. Though this was not certainly a deliberate inclusion in the grave fill, it is probably too late a coin to have been derived from the occupation which preceded the graveyard. This coin was in the grave of a man, aged 45 or more. Coins in graves are not unknown in southern England, though their deliberate inclusion as part of a ritual or superstition is uncertain. The accidental inclusion of the coins remains possible, as graveyards were probably put to a far wider variety of uses in the medieval era, than they are today.

One hundred and sixty-four burials were assigned to Period 4, of which 113 could be identified

as children, male or female. There was a more-or-less even division between men and women with a slightly higher proportion of children. In general the population seems to have been fairly healthy although a relatively high incidence of carious teeth was observed. Not surprisingly, the most common pathological conditions relate to diseases of the joints, mostly of an osteoarthritic nature. Only nine individuals provided evidence of infectious disease and only eight (three children and five adults) had cribra orbitalia, possibly resulting from an iron deficiency in the diet.

The church and graveyard together formed one of two probably focal elements in the settlement of Period 4, the other being Enclosure 2. This would appear to have been established in the 11th century, but whether before or after the Norman Conquest is not certain. Though only the north-eastern part of the enclosure was excavated, its topographical position across and on the end of the ridge makes a reconstruction of it justifiable (Fig. 12). The enclosure measured *c.* 55 m by 70 m, and was defined by a ditch *c.* 2.20 m wide and 1.20 m deep. Though there was no surviving trace of it, there had been an internal bank, and the narrow entranceway in the north-eastern side of the enclosure had been barred by a substantial gate. The nature of any barrier along the top of the bank is unknown, but some form of timber palisade, continuing the line of the gateway post-holes (Fig. 13) is suggested. The lines of this enclosure remained throughout Period 4, and were only partially obscured beneath the banks of the Inner Bailey of the castle of Period 5.

Though it was not possible to investigate a large area within this enclosure and thus establish the nature of any activity or buildings within it, its possible nature can be suggested. The plan of many medieval villages shows a consistent proximity between the site of the church and that of the manor, the dwelling in which the owner of the estate would have stayed when in residence. Enclosure 2, located on the crest of the ridge, adjacent to the church could have been the enclosure within which such buildings had stood.

A number of sites have produced evidence of earthworks enclosing the site of the manor. One is at Goltho in Lincolnshire, where the 11th-century earthworks enclosed an oval area of *c.* 100 m by 75 m. The enclosing ditch was considerable, *c.* 4.5 m wide and *c.* 2 m deep (Beresford 1987, figs 71 and 72), and the circuit has been reconstructed with a palisade and walkway. The excavator has stated that these were 'constructed for serious defence rather than to create an impressive boundary setting the demesne apart' (ibid., 32), but for Trowbridge it seems probable that this statement could be reversed, as the earthworks were considerably smaller than at Goltho.

The reference to the settlement in 1086 as *Straburg* could suggest, however, that there was, or had been, a defended or fortified element to the settlement. A bank and ditch partly sealed beneath a later motte at Castle Neroche in Somerset (Davison 1972) could be a similar instance, though again more substantial than the work at Trowbridge. In the scale of 11th-century defensive enclosures, Enclosure 2 at Trowbridge may therefore have been relatively small, but it probably stood in the same relationship to the contemporary settlement to its north-west, as did the enclosure at Goltho to its contemporary settlement (Beresford 1987, fig. 4). The recently-published manorial complex excavated at Faccombe Netherton in north-west Hampshire was partially enclosed by an earthwork closer in scale to that at Trowbridge (Fairbrother 1990, figs 3.5 and 3.6)

The settlement of Period 4 lay on the north-west slope of the ridge and covered an area of at least one hectare (Fig. 12). It lay to the north-west of the church and Enclosure 2, away from the settlement area of Period 3, but whether this movement of the settlement was a direct result of the establishment of the manorial enclosure on the crest of the ridge is unknown. Within the area of the excavation, there was no evidence for the overall layout of the settlement, and little evidence of its individual structures. A number of ditches were excavated, however, one of which appeared to have defined a second enclosure on the crest of the ridge, adjacent to Enclosure 2, and another the western edge of the settlement. A third ditch (Fig. 12, Ditch 973), was considerably larger than the others, *c.* 4 m wide and 2 m deep. This was much more on the scale of a defensive ditch, and was relatively early in the sequence, but what it may have defended or enclosed is unknown.

The evidence of structures consisted of the post-holes of Structure 19, but no reconstruction can be offered; potentially the dwellings of the settlement were simple rectangular structures with an irregular framing of vertical posts (cf. Beresford 1975, fig. 18), and in this may have been little different from the post-hole structures of Period 3.

Within the area of the settlement, Structure 18, the large rectangular pit with its sluices and timber cover, remains enigmatic. Of unknown function, though some process associated with the production of woollen cloth is possible, its size suggested a process pursued on a large scale, perhaps semi-industrialised.

In Period 4, the majority of the artefacts were found in the area of the settlement which lay to the north-west of the church and manorial enclosure, and this may reflect the scale of activity or occupation in these two areas of the site. In the pottery, a slight difference was observed in the proportions of the main fabrics present, between the assemblage from the ditches of the manorial enclosure and that from the area of the settlement (Fig. 35), but this could as easily reflect a slight chronological difference as anything social.

The presence of coins minted at Totnes in Devon and possibly Winchester are not exceptional in this period. The London-minted coin (*above, Chapter 7.1*) is unusual but not exceptional, unlike the two late 11th-century Dublin coins which had been included in the backfill of one of the graves. The ironwork from the area of the settlement included

knives, locks and keys and horseshoes, but few domestic or personal items, and the assemblage is notable for the relative absence of structural fittings. This may reflect the deliberate demolition of the settlement buildings to clear the site of the Period 5 castle, with careful salvaging of the reusable iron.

There was extensive evidence of the diet and economy of the settlement in the wide range of animal bone recovered from the ditches, the soils and the pits. All the common domesticated animals were represented, but the assemblage differed from that of Period 3, in that sheep became more important as a proportion of the total. It was also noted that as a proportion of the assemblage, sheep were more common in the settlement area than in the area of the manorial enclosures. Domestic fowl and geese were apparently eaten in large numbers, and bones of a number of species of wild bird were found of which at least mallard may have been eaten.

That hunting was still of importance is shown by the continued presence of the bones of deer, with red deer becoming more common than roe. Of some significance is the presence of bones of fallow deer in layers of Period 4, though whether pre- or post-Conquest is unknown. Long considered to have been introduced to England after the Norman Conquest (*above, Chapter 7.11*), its presence probably links the site with the aristocracy of the Saxo-Norman period, and its occurrence could be a direct result of the ownership of the manor falling into the hands of the Normans in the later 11th century. Fish was also an element of the diet, and herring was the most common. This demonstrates contact with the coast, though the fish was probably transported after some form of preservation.

The analysis and identification of organic remains from a cess-pit within the area of the settlement (Cess-pit 155) suggested the nature of the surrounding landscape, and the uses to which it was put as a source of food (*above, Chapter 7.12*). Of the fruits identified, most could have been collected in surrounding woodland, and the absence of fruits such as plum and cherry may suggest that little or no orchard cultivation was practised at the site.

The only exotic fruit recovered was grape, which could either have been grown on the site, perhaps nurtured within the garden of the manor, or imported as dried fruit. Cereals consisted of bread/club wheat and oats, but it was the weed seeds which reflected to a larger extent the nature of the surrounding habitats. These included cornfield weeds, as well as grassland species indicating the presence of hay fields. The range of seeds suggested that both the relatively calcareous soil of the Cornbrash ridge and the heavier clay soils adjacent to the ridge were cultivated at this time.

While remaining a fundamentally rural, agriculturally-based settlement comparable to that of Period 3, the Saxo-Norman settlement of Period 4 showed some evidence of the changes in its nature that made it recognisably into a manorial village dominated by a ruling aristocracy of Saxon and subsequently Norman ancestry.

4. The Castle and the Anarchy: Period 5

Chronologically, Period 4 began with the construction of the church in the later part of the 10th century, and ended with the construction of the castle in the earlier part of the 12th century. It therefore included the period of the Norman Conquest of England, and the subsequent loss of the manor of Trowbridge by the Saxon Brictric to the Norman Sheriff of the county, from whom it passed to Humphrey de Bohun in the early 12th century. This was to be a significant event, and it is the De Bohun family who may have begun the construction of the castle which involved a profound disruption of the existing settlement and marked the beginning of Period 5.

The historical background to the events of the Anarchy at Trowbridge has been described above (*Chapter 1.1*). The description in the *Gesta Stephani* (Potter 1955) describing the defences at Trowbridge suggested the scale of the fortifications and the excavations confirmed the presence of a substantial earthwork castle. In comparison with the likely total area covered by the castle, the excavated area was small, confined to sections of the moats, and parts of the clay banks (Fig. 20). The excavations confirmed that the castle had had an Inner Bailey measuring internally *c.* 70 m by 50 m, to the north and east of which lay an Outer Bailey *c.* 60 m wide to the north and at least 40 m wide to the east. The overall area occupied by the castle and its defences was *c.* 160 m by 160 m (about 2.5 hectares). Within the Inner Bailey there was no conclusive evidence of a Motte, but its existence is suggested by 18th-century evidence and its position has been suggested on Figures 2 and 20.

Though considerably smaller in area than the contemporary castle at Devizes (*VCH* 1975, 243), Trowbridge Castle was nevertheless strongly defended. The northern side of the Inner Bailey was separated from the Outer Bailey by a V–shaped moat *c.* 10 m wide and 4.50 m deep, with an internal clay bank, the base of which was *c.* 10 m wide. The Outer Bailey defences may have been more substantial, with a flat-bottomed moat *c.* 11 m wide and 5 m deep, which probably encircled the Inner Bailey banks as well, on the west and south (Fig. 20). The precise nature of the junction of Inner and Outer Bailey defences is unclear as it could not be investigated. Along the west side of the Outer Bailey there was a bank *c.* 10 m wide at the base and a reconstruction of this suggests a height of *c.* 4 m, which would have been topped by a timber palisade and walkway (Fig. 22). Along the west side of the castle, and probably to a lesser extent along its south and north sides, the defences would have been enhanced by the topography of the ridge on which the castle was sited. Only along the ridge to the north-east did the ground rise beyond the defences.

Though there was a castle at Trowbridge in 1139, the chronology of its construction and development remains undefined. It is not known whether the three elements of the castle, ie. the presumed Motte,

the Inner Bailey and the Outer Bailey, represented a single period of construction, carried out in haste following the first conflicts of the Anarchy Period, or whether the construction of the castle began earlier in the 12th century, when the de Bohuns came into possession of Trowbridge. It is not impossible that it was only the Outer Bailey that was an Anarchy Period work, added to the existing Motte and Bailey stronghold of Humphrey de Bohun. The documentary evidence could be read as suggesting this, and though none of the excavated objects can be closely dated, it may be significant that a difference in the pottery assemblages was noted between material sealed beneath the Inner Bailey earthworks, and those beneath the Outer Bailey earthworks (*above, Chapters 5.1 and 7.6*; Fig. 35).

The Inner Bailey occupied the site of Enclosure 2 (Figs 12 and 20), and the coincidence of motte and bailey castles with the site of earlier ring-works of Saxo-Norman or Norman date has been recorded at Castle Neroche in Somerset (Davison 1972) and Goltho, Lincolnshire (Beresford 1987, figs 71 and 89). The common theme is that in the 11th and 12th centuries many castles were established on existing seats of power, and were often linked with the take over of Saxon lands by the Normans, and the consequent need to establish their authority and demonstrate their power. The castle at Trowbridge could be seen in this context, established by the first de Bohun in the early 12th century.

The Inner Bailey included within its circuit the church of Period 4, which now lay within its north-eastern corner (Fig. 20). Though the defensive bank covered the northern half of the graveyard, the southern part apparently continued in use inside the defences, and out of a total of 289 excavated graves, 125 can be assigned to Period 5. There was no change in the burial practices of this period, though with the loss of much of the area of the original graveyard, a great deal of intercutting of graves took place, with the consequent disturbance of the earlier bones. Perhaps because of this, there was frequent use of disinterred skulls as 'pillow stones' in the graves of Period 5, and the graves were often characterised by the reburial in them of earlier bones, either in a jumble over the new corpse, or packed along the sides of it (Fig. 24). Though in some graves long bones appear to have been stacked together, in other graves the deposits included the smaller bones such as ribs, vertebrae and finger bones. This over-use of the ground may have prompted the expansion of the graveyard across its original boundaries, first perhaps to the south, and then when that area also became crowded, to the west, where two rows of graves were established (Fig. 23). These rows may therefore have included many of the latest burials in the graveyard. This was the only area of the graveyard in which there was no intercutting of graves, probably because of its subsequent disuse.

From the evidence of the skeletons, there is no reason to suspect that a different population was now being buried in the graveyard from that of the Period 4 settlement. The same observations with regard to health and demography as seen in Period 4 also apply to the Period 5 burials, except for the observation that there is a noticable drop in the proportion of young adult males. One possibility here is that there was a significant emigration of young males at this time, though the sample size is too small to make a more positive statement.

Though without doubt the construction of the Outer Bailey forced the movement of the settlement, probably to the north, the population continued to bury their dead in the graveyard enclosed by the Inner Bailey defences. This continuation of use is interesting and contrasts with excavation evidence from elsewhere, for example Norwich (Ayers 1985) where burial appeared to have abruptly ended with the construction of the north-east Bailey of the castle.

There was no conclusive evidence of the 12th-century structures within the area of the castle baileys, though south of the church and graveyard, part of a large rectangular building with stone footings was excavated, occupying the southern half of the Inner Bailey (Fig. 20, Structure 23). There was no evidence for the date of the construction of this building, but it appeared to have been aligned with the Inner Bailey defences, and was of a size to have been a substantial hall. The reconstruction of the motte and bailey at Goltho, with its long hall in the bailey (Beresford 1987, fig. 113), gives an impression of what Trowbridge may have been like. The Trowbridge bailey was considerably larger, however, containing as it did the church and graveyard, and for this reason, in times of peace at least, may have been a place of relatively free access to the population of the settlement.

In the archaeological record, the siege of 1139 cannot be recognised, unless it is in the two iron arrowheads (*above, Chapter 7.2*), found in the soils behind the castle bank in the north- west corner of the bailey. Nor can the 12th-century occupation of the castle following the Anarchy be conclusively recognised, except in the continued use of the church and graveyard within the Inner Bailey. This, however, came to an end in the later 12th or early 13th century, when the church appears to have been converted to a dwelling, or some other form of secular building, with the construction of a hearth and chimney at its west end. This can be compared with the Saxon church at Raunds, which became part of the later manor house (Cadman 1983, fig. 2). The disuse of the graveyard at this time was indicated by the thick layer of clay which was dumped over it, and actually within the structure of the church itself. Though ten burials post-dated this event, these were the final burials in the area of the old graveyard.

The source of the clay layer is uncertain, but it suggested that at least parts of the Inner Bailey defences had been levelled, perhaps along with the Motte, and spread over the area of the Inner Bailey, converting it into a level platform, surrounded by a now partially-infilled moat. These events, taking place in the late 12th or early 13th century,

suggested a change in the nature of the site, perhaps its conversion to a moated site, enclosing the buildings of the manor, all lying within the lines of the former Outer Bailey. Similar conversion of 11th- and 12th-century earthwork castles are recorded, again at Goltho, where the motte and banks were levelled (Beresford 1987, fig. 120) to form a raised platform within the moated area.

The documentary record shows that despite having taken the side of the losers in the Anarchy wars, the de Bohun family retained the honour of Trowbridge until the early 13th century, when, after a long wrangle it became the property of Ela, Countess of Salisbury. Whether the dismantling of the Inner Bailey defences was a direct result of this change of ownership is unknown.

5. Later Medieval Occupation of the Site of the Castle: Period 6

The documentary evidence records the continued maintenance of buildings on the site of the castle, and specifically mentions a chapel as late as 1295–96 (*above, Chapter 1.1*), though this need not be the Saxo-Norman church. This structure appears, however, to have continued in use until its demolition in the 16th century and it was probably one of a number of secular buildings within the lines of the former Inner Bailey.

Evidence of the later medieval occupation of the area of the Outer Bailey was equally limited. A fragment of a stone wall footing on the north side of Court Street was part of a building constructed in the later 14th century, and this may have been part of the Court Barn (Fig. 2), repairs to a barn within the precincts of the castle being recorded in the later 14th century. The medieval town developed in the later 12th century, receiving a formal right to hold a weekly market in 1200 (Rogers 1984, 17). That the site of the castle determined the position and plan of the medieval town is clear, and there is great similarity in this between Trowbridge and Devizes, with the town streets curving around the site of the castle. Though the site of the castle therefore remained, there is no evidence in the centuries which followed the Anarchy for its use or enhancement as a defensive structure, and when Leland visited Trowbridge in 1540, he described it as 'clene down'.

The medieval skeletons from the Trowbridge excavations were reinterred in 1991. The ecumenical service was conducted jointly by clergy from the Church of England and the Catholic Church and attended by Wessex Archaeology staff Lorraine Mepham and Elaine Wakefield, who photographed the occasion.

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Excavations in advance of major development produced evidence for Bronze Age, Iron Age and Romano-British fields and boundaries.

During the 7th–11th centuries a lengthy sequence of occupation began with a sunken-featured building followed by a series of rectangular timber structures and associated features which were eventually sealed by a late Saxon land surface.

A stone church, constructed in the later 11th century, was surrounded by a bounded cemetery containing at least 160 inhumations. The area seems to have become incorporated into a manorial enclosure system with timber buildings destroyed *c.* 1139 by the construction of the Anarchy Period Castle.

The castle had a motte, an Inner and an Outer Bailey. The church and graveyard continued in use until the late 12th century when the defences were apparently remodelled and the church adapted for secular use. No other castle buildings were identified.

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