Excavations at Carisbrooke Castle
Isle of Wight, 1921-1996



Wessex Archaeology

by C.J. Young

ENGLISH HERITAGE

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with major contributions from

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Back cover: The gatehouse from the west (Photograph Elaine A. Wakefield, © Wessex Archaeology)

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Contents

List of Figures vi
List of Plates vii
List of Tables viii
Acknowledgements ix
Summary x
Foreign language summaries x

1. Introduction
1. General background 1
2. The Site 1
Geology and topography 1
Summary of the structural sequence 3
Historical background 4
Archaeological background 5
3. The nature of the evidence 5
4. The organisation of the report 8

2. The Excavations
1. The Lower Enclosure 10
Introduction 10
Y11 12
Y12 15
R6 and R7 15
R3 16
Other observations 17
Discussion 17
2. The defences of the motte and bailey 19
Introduction 19
R2 20
R4 21
Y1–Y4 22
R5 26
Y6 26
Angle towers and knights 28
R12 33
R11 35
Y7 37
3. The Interior of the Castle 41
Introduction 41
Sites in and around the great hall 41
R9 44
R10 46
Y10 47
Discussion 51
Sites in the southern part of the bailey 51
Y5 52
R1 63
R8 66
Discussion 67
4. The historical background to the refortification of 1597–1601, *by Jack Jones* 67
5. The artillery fortress 76
Introduction 76
Y8 78

3. Early Saxon Graves and Grave Goods, *by Elaine L. Morris and Tania M. Dickinson with contributions from Jean Cook, Vera Evison, Lorraine Mepham, C. Mortimer, M.E. Hutchinson, B. Knight and S.R. Strongman*
1. Grave 1632: inhumation burial 1607 86
2. Grave 1612: inhumation burial 1651 88
3. Grave 1282: inhumation burial 1295 95
4. Discussion, *by Elaine L. Morris and Tania M. Dickinson* 96
5. Anglo-Saxon pottery vessels from feature 1620, *by Lorraine Mepham* 97

4. Pottery, *by Lorraine Mepham*
1. Introduction 98
2. Methods 98
3. Prehistoric pottery 99
4. Romano-British pottery 99
5. Saxon pottery 99
6. Medieval pottery 102
Imported wares 102
Mainland wares of known type or source 103
Probable local wares 105
Other fabrics 108
Vessel forms 110
7. Post-medieval pottery 112
Imported wares 113
Coarse earthernwares 114
Slipwares 114
Staffordshire/Bristol wares 115
Tin-glazed earthenware 115
Stonewares 115
Fine earthenwares 115
8. Pottery of uncertain date 115
9. The ceramic sequence 115
Phase 3 (Early–Mid Saxon) 118
Phase 4 (11th–early 12th century) 118
Phase 5 (late 11th–mid 13th century) 119
Phase 6 (mid 13th–14th century) 121
Phase 7 (15th century) 122
Phase 8 (16th–18th century) 122
10. Conclusions 123

5. The Finds
1. Catalogue of coins, jetons and tokens, *by Paul Robinson* 132
2. Objects of gold and silver, *by A.P. Fitzpatrick* 134

3. Objects of copper alloy, *by A.P. Fitzpatrick* . . .134
4. Objects of lead, *by A.P. Fitzpatrick* 139
5. Objects of iron, *by M. Fairbrother* 140
6. Glass, *by Rachael Seager Smith* 155
7. Stone, *by Julie Lancley* 160
8. Ceramic building material, *by Rosamund M.J. Cleal* 164
9. Fired clay, *by Rosamund M.J. Cleal* 167
10. Clay tobacco pipes, *by Simon Brereton* 167
11. Worked skeletal material, *by Rosamund M.J. Cleal* 173

6. Environmental Evidence
1. Analysis of the 11th–12th century animal bone, *by Pippa Smith* 177
2. Bird bones, *by Dale Serjeantson* 182
3. Land mollusca, *by Michael J. Allen and Sarah F. Wyles* 185
4. Marine Mollusca, *by Sarah F. Wyles and Jessica Winder* 185

7. Discussion and Conclusions, *by C.J. Young and Lorraine Mepham*
1. Introduction 189
2. Phases 1 and 2: Pre-Saxon use of the site . . .190
3. Phase 3: the 6th century cemetery 190
4. Phase 4a and 4b: Late Saxon occupation and the Lower Enclosure 191
5. Phase 4c: The castle of the Conquest period .194
6. Phase 5: the motte and bailey castle 194
7. Phases 6 and 7: the later medieval castle 195
8. Phase 8: the 16th century castle 196
9. Material culture 196
10. The castle and its hinterland 197
11. Economic and social status 198
12. Conclusions 199

Appendix 1. Woorkes and reparacons, done upon her Graces Castles and forts within the Isle of Wighte, viz. At Caresbrooke, Yarmouth, Freshwater 201
Appendix 2. Building accounts relating to the south bulwark, 1597–1598 207
Appendix 3. A note on the petrology of some medieval pottery from Carisbrooke Castle, *by D.F. Williams* 209

Bibliography 211
Index, *by Barbara Hird* 218
Glossary 231

List of Figures

Fig. 1 Location maps
Fig. 2 Carisbrooke Castle, overall plan
Fig. 3 Carisbrooke Castle, all excavation trenches
Fig. 4 Trenches relating to the Lower Enclosure
Fig. 5 Elevation: west face of Lower Enclosure Wall
Fig. 6 Sections of Lower Enclosure Wall and bank
Fig. 7 Wall footing of Lower Enclosure gateway
Fig. 8 Trenches relating to the defences of the motte and bailey
Fig. 9 Conjectured original form of motte and bailey
Fig. 10 Partial radial section of motte ditch: section of drain soakaway
Fig. 11 Plan of Sites Y1–Y4
Fig. 12. Section through medieval building
Fig. 13 Plan of Site Y6
Fig. 14 Plan of the South-East Knight (The Mountjoy Tower)
Fig. 15 Plan of the South-West Knight
Fig. 16 Plan, location and elevation of Site R12 on wall-walk above gatehouse
Fig. 17 Elevation of south wall of the gatehouse and plan
Fig. 18 Site Y7: lime kilns
Fig. 19 Sections of medieval lime kilns
Fig. 20 Trenches in the interior
Fig. 21 Plan of trenches in and around the Great Hall
Fig. 22 Plan of undercroft of Great Hall (R9)
Fig. 23 Plan of Site Y10, west of the chamber block
Fig. 24 Section across Site Y10
Fig. 25 Plan of the Early Saxon Cemetery
Fig. 26 Phased plan of Site Y5
Fig. 27 Features 260 and 1602
Fig. 28 Building 416
Fig. 29 Buildings 539/298
Fig. 30 Plan of R1
Fig. 31 R1, section
Fig. 32 R8, plan and section
Fig. 33 Site Y8, relating to the artillery fortress
Fig. 34 Plan of the flanker battery
Fig. 35 Sections of the flanker battery
Fig. 36 Grave 1632
Fig. 37 Grave goods from grave 1632
Fig. 38 Grave 1612
Fig. 39 Grave goods from grave 1612
Fig. 40 Grave 1282
Fig. 41 Grave goods from grave 1282

Fig. 42 Anglo-Saxon pottery vessels from feature 1620
Fig. 43 Saxon and medieval pottery
Fig. 44 Medieval pottery
Fig. 45 Medieval pottery
Fig. 46 Post-medieval pottery
Fig. 47 Post-medieval pottery: bellarmine jar
Fig. 48 Copper alloy objects
Fig. 49 Copper alloy objects
Fig. 50 Iron objects: arrowheads
Fig. 51 Iron objects: arrowheads
Fig. 52 Iron objects: armour and horse equipment
Fig. 53 Iron objects: horseshoes and personal items
Fig. 54 Iron objects: implements
Fig. 55 Iron objects: tools
Fig. 56 Iron objects: locks and keys
Fig. 57 Iron objects: structural ironwork, bindings, hooks, and chains
Fig. 58 Iron objects: plate and miscellaneous pieces
Fig. 59 Glass vessels
Fig. 60 Stone architectural fragments
Fig. 61 Portable stone objects
Fig. 62 Fired clay objects
Fig. 63 Clay pipes
Fig. 64 Clay pipes
Fig. 65 Worked bone and antler objects
Fig. 66 Animal bone: butchery evidence
Fig. 67 Phase plans (phases 4-7)
Fig. 68 Phase plans (phase 8)

List of Plates

Plate 1 View of Carisbrooke Castle from the south
Plate 2 Aerial view of Carisbrooke Castle
Plate 3 The south bailey bank *c.* 1923
Plate 4 East side of Lower Enclosure
Plate 5 East bailey bank with Lower Enclosure Wall at base
Plate 6 Lower Enclosure Wall on west side during reconservation
Plate 7 Lower Enclosure Wall at base of east side of motte following collapse
Plate 8 North west angle of footings of entrance to Lower Enclosure
Plate 9 14th century curtain wall on east side of castle
Plate 10 Site R4 during excavation of motte ditch
Plate 11 Site Y4
Plate 12 North wall of garage/coach house
Plate 13 Site Y4: detail of north wall of garage/coach house
Plate 14 14th century blocking wall and flanking tower across motte ditch
Plate 15 Site Y6
Plate 16 Site Y6, garderobe pit
Plate 17 Mountjoy Tower, from south, during reconservation
Plate 18 South-West Knight
Plate 19 Site Y9, Norman angle tower
Plate 20 Site Y9
Plate 21 The gatehouse
Plate 22 Site R11
Plate 23 Site R11
Plate 24 Site R11, rear wall of drawbridge pit 3
Plate 25 Site R11, drawbridge pits 2 and 3
Plate 26 View of area of site Y7
Plate 27 Site Y7, lime kiln 1050
Plate 28 Site Y7, lime kiln 1419
Plate 29 The Great Hall
Plate 30 East wall of Great Hall in the 1960s
Plate 31 Site R9
Plate 32 Site R9, wall of undercroft
Plate 33 Site R9, stone pad
Plate 34 Site R10, external face of west wall of Great Hall
Plate 35 Site R10, external face of west wall of Great Hall
Plate 36 Site Y10, yard surface
Plate 37 Site Y10, drain 1149
Plate 38 Site Y10, cistern 1158
Plate 39 Site Y10, cistern 1158 with arch springer 1187
Plate 40 Site Y5, phase 4b post holes
Plate 41 Site Y5, ditch 260
Plate 42 Site Y5, ditch 260 in section
Plate 43 Site Y5, building 416
Plate 44 Site Y5, building 539
Plate 45 Site Y5, building 298
Plate 46 South bastion
Plate 47 East flanker battery, south bastion
Plate 48 Site Y8
Plate 49 Site Y8
Plate 50 Site Y8, gun embrasure 848
Plate 51 Site Y8, masonry pier 830
Plate 52 Site Y8 after excavation
Plate 53 Site Y8, west entry to sally port passage and rear of battery rear wall
Plate 54 Site Y8
Plate 55 Detail of part of the drinking horn mount

List of Tables

Table 1 Concordance of numbering of Rigold's trenches with those used in this report
Table 2 Concordance of numbering of Young's sites with those used in this report
Table 3 Grouping of trenches within the report
Table 4 Summary of phasing
Table 5 Pottery: fabric totals by period
Table 6 Pottery: vessel form by fabric
Table 7 Pottery: fabric types by phase
Table 8 Pottery: vessel forms by phase
Table 9 Pottery: date range
Table 10 Copper alloy objects: lace tags by phase
Table 11 Copper alloy objects: pins by phase
Table 12 Lead objects: window cames by context
Table 13 Lead objects: shot by context
Table 14 Iron objects: types and numbers of arrowheads
Table 15 Glass: categories by phase
Table 16 Glass: distribution of dateable glass
Table 17 Glass: wine bottles by type
Table 18 Stone: architectural fragment by phase
Table 19 Stone: architectural fragments, stone type by phase
Table 20 Stone: portable objects by phase
Table 21 Ceramic building material: counts and weights by phase
Table 22 Fired clay: counts and weights by phase
Table 23 Fired clay: ceramic balls by phase
Table 24 Clay pipes: types
Table 25 Clay pipes: correlation of bowl types and stamps
Table 26 Clay pipes: chronological breakdown of bowl types
Table 27 Worked bone and antler objects: by phase
Table 28 Animal bone: species distribution
Table 29 Animal bone: ageing data
Table 30 Animal bone: the wild mammals
Table 31 Animal bone: Carisbrooke Castle assemblage compared with Portchester Castle
Table 32 Bird bone: species distribution
Table 33 Bird bone: the wild bird assemblage
Table 34 domestic fowl: anatomical distribution
Table 35 Marine Mollusca: the samples
Table 36 Marine Mollusca: species distribution

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C.J. Young
June 2000

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Summary

Carisbrooke Castle is the only medieval fortification on the Isle of Wight and has retained importance ceremonially almost to the present day. Its buildings and defences are still well-preserved and spectacular. A series of excavations, watching briefs, and other interventions between 1921 and 1996, concentrated mainly 1959–969 and 1976–1982, have shed new light on the history and archaeology of the site, particularly on the period before 1100.

The Castle lies on a hilltop in the centre of the Island, close to a focus of high status activity which goes back at least to the Roman period. Despite past suggestions of Roman and prehistoric activity, the earliest use of the hilltop itself found in these excavations was for a 6th-century Saxon inhumation cemetery, including one very rich burial. The first settlement was not until the late Saxon period, when the hilltop was fortified and large timber buildings erected inside it. The move to the hilltop and its defence was presumably a response to the increased insecurity of the 10th and 11th centuries, when the Island was raided on a number of occasions.

After the Norman Conquest in 1066, the first castle was created by the construction of a ditch and bank cutting off one corner of the late Saxon defences. This in turn was replaced by the present motte and bailey around 1100. This had stone defences by 1136. Two lime kilns possibly associated with their building were found outside the castle gate. Two domestic buildings associated with the first use of the motte and bailey were identified but the presumed great hall of that period still eludes discovery. The castle appears to have assumed largely its present internal plan in the 13th century.

The excavations provided evidence for modifications to the medieval defences in the 14th century and to the domestic buildings in the later 16th century. Light was also shed on the way in which Carisbrooke was turned into a modern artillery fortress between 1587 and 1602. In particular, investigation of one of the flanker batteries on the new defensive circuit showed it to have been a complex structure on two levels.

Finally, the excavations at Carisbrooke have produced, for the first time on the Isle of Wight, good stratified sequence of artefacts for the medieval and post-medieval periods. In particular, it is possible now to characterise the supply of pottery to the Island and the significance of production centres on the Isle itself. Some indications have been revealed for the diet and food sources of the users of the castle.

Résumé

Le château de Carisbrooke est le seul château-fort médiéval de l'île de Wight et il a conservé une importance rituelle presque jusqu'à nos jours. Ses bâtiments et ses fortifications sont encore bien préservées et spectaculaires. Une série de fouilles, d'inspections et autres interventions entreprises entre 1921 et 1996, mais surtout concentrées entre 1959–1969 et 1976–1982, ont jeté une nouvelle lumière sur l'histoire et l'archéologie du site, en particulier sur la période antérieure à 1100.

Le château se trouve sur un plateau au centre de l'île, à proximité d'un centre où se déroulait une activité de haut rang et qui remonte au moins jusqu'à l'époque romaine. Bien qu'on ait suggéré dans le passé que le site était en activité à l'époque romaine et pendant la préhistoire, le plus ancien témoignage de l'utilisation du plateau lui-même retrouvé au cours de ces fouilles consiste en un cimetière à inhumations saxon datant du 6ème siècle qui comprenait une tombe extrèmement riche. Ce n'est que vers la fin de la période saxonne que le site fut occupé pour la première fois, à ce moment-là, le plateau fut fortifié et on érigea à l'intérieur de grands bâtiments en bois. On suppose que l'occupation déménagea sur le plateau et le fortifia en réaction à l'insécurité croissante qui régnait aux 10ème et 11ème siècles, période pendant laquelle l'île fut à plusieurs reprises l'objet d'attaques et de pillages.

Après la conquête normande de 1066, on vit apparaitre le premier château, on creusa un fossé et on construisit un talus qui coupait un des coins des fortifications de la fin de l'époque saxonne. Cette structure fut à son tour remplacée par les douves et les lices actuelles vers 1100. En 1136, le château était entouré de fortifications en pierre. Deux fours à chaux, découverts à l'extérieur de la porte du château, sont peut-être associés à leur construction. On a identifié deux bâtiments à usage domestique associés à la première utilisation des douves et des lices, mais la présumée grande salle de cette période échappe toujours à la découverte. C'est au 13ème siècle que le château semble avoir en grande partie adopté le plan intérieur que nous lui connaissons aujourd'hui

Les fouilles ont fourni des témoignages de modifications apportées aux fortifications médiévales au 14ème siècle et aux bâtiments domestiques dans la deuxième partie du 16ème siècle. On a également mis en lumière la manière dont Carisbrooke a été transformé en forteresse d'artillerie moderne entre 1587 et 1602 En particulier, l'étude d'une des batteries de flanquement sur la nouvelle enceinte de défense a montré qu'il s'agissait d'une structure complexe, sur deux niveaux.

Finalement, les fouilles à Carisbrooke ont révélé, pour la première fois dans l'île de Wight, une bonne séquence stratifiée d'objets fabriqués datant de la période médiévale et post-médiévale.Maintenant, on peut, en particulier, caractériser la provenance de la poterie de l'île et l'importance des centres de production dans l'île elle-même. On a mis au jour quelques indications sur le régime alimentaire et les sources de nourriture des usagers du château.

Annie Pritchard

Zusammenfassung

Schloß Carisbrooke ist die einzige mittelalterliche Befestigung auf der Isle of Wight und hat formell seine Bedeutung bis heute behalten. Die Gebäude und Verteidigungsanlagen sind immer noch gut erhalten und eindrucksvoll. Zwischen 1921–1996 haben eine Reihe Ausgrabungen, Inspektionen und andere Unternehmungen stattgefunden. Neue Erkenntnisse zur Geschichte und Archäologie des Ortes, und dabei besonders der Zeit vor 1100, konnten vor allem in den Untersuchungen zwischen 1959-1969 und 1976–1982 gewonnen werden.

Das Schloß liegt auf einem Hügel im Zentrum der Insel, ein Brennpunkt von hochangesehenen Aktivitäten, die sich mindestens bis in die Römerzeit zurückverfolgen lassen. Obwohl eine römische und prähistorische Nutzung immer angenommen wurde, ließ sich durch die Ausgrabung die erste Nutzung durch ein angelsächsisches Körpergräberfeld aus dem 6. Jahrhundert, zu dem ein sehr reich ausgestattetes Grab gehörte, nachweisen. Die erste Siedlung ist erst aus der spätangelsächsischen Periode bekannt, als auf dem Hügel im Innern einer Befestigungsanlage große Holzbauten standen. Sowohl die Besiedlung als auch die Befestigung des Hügels lassen sich wahrscheinlich auf die zunehmende Unsicherheit während des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, als die Insel auch mehrmals überfallen wurde, zurückführen.

Das erste Schloß wurde nach der normannischen Eroberung des Jahres 1066 mit einer Graben- und Wallan-lage, die eine Ecke der spätangelsächsischen Befestigungen abschnitt, versehen. Diese Anlage wurde wiederum um ca. 1100 durch die heutige Motte und Außenhof ersetzt. Um 1136 kamen steinerne Befestigungen hinzu. Zwei Kalkbrennöfen, die wahrscheinlich jeweils zu Gebäuden gehörten, wurden außerhalb des Schloßtores gefunden. Weiterhin konnten zwei Wohnhäuser aus der Zeit der ersten Nutzung der Motte und des Außenhofes identifiziert werden. Die vermutete große Halle aus dieser Periode konnte bisher jedoch nicht entdeckt werden. Der heutige Innenplan des Schlosses scheint größtenteils aus dem 13. Jahrhundert zu stammen.

Durch die Ausgrabungen konnten Modifikationen der mittelalterlichen Befestigungen im 14. Jahrhundert und der Wohnhäuser im späten 16. Jahrhundert nachgewiesen werden. Weiterhin konnten neue Erkenntnisse darüber gewonnen werden, wie Carisbrooke zwischen 1587 und 1602 in eine moderne Artilleriefestung umgebaut worden war. Besonders zeigte sich bei der Untersuchung einer der Flankenbatterien des neuen Verteidigungsrings, daß es sich um eine komplexe Struktur mit zwei Ebenen handelte.

Schließlich konnten die Ausgrabungen in Carisbrooke zum ersten Mal eine gute stratigraphische Sequenz mit Artefakten aus der mittelalterlichen und post-mittelalterlichen Zeit der Isle of Wight liefern. Jetzt ist es möglich sowohl die Belieferung mit Tonware von außen als auch die Bedeutung der Produktionszentren auf der Insel selbst darzustellen. Zudem gibt es mittlerweile auch Indizien für die Ernährung und die Nahrungsquellen der Schloßbewohner.

Peter Biehl

Resumen

El Castillo de Carisbrooke es la única fortificación medieval en la Isla de Wight, y ha mantenido una importancia ceremonial casi hasta el presente. Sus construcciones y sistemas defensivos están aún bien conservados y son espectaculares. Una serie de excavaciones, inspecciones oculares, y otras intervenciones practicadas entre 1921 y 1996, pero concentradas principalmente entre los años 1959–69 y 1976–82, han aportado nueva luz sobre la historia y arqueología del sitio, particularmente del periodo anterior al año 1100.

El Castillo está emplazado en lo alto de una colina en el centro de la isla, y próximo a un foco de actividad muy escogida que se remonta por lo menos al periodo romano. A pesar de la sugerencia en el pasado de actividades en los peiodos romano y prehistórico, el uso más temprano detectado por dichas excavaciones para la utilización de la colina fué el de un cementerio sajón de inhumaciones en el siglo VI, que incluye una tumba muy rica. El primer asentamiento no se produjo hasta un momento tardo del periodo sajón, cuando la cima de la colina fué fortificada y se levantaron grandes edificios de madera en su interior. El traslado a lo alto de la colina y su fortificación fué probablemente una respuesta a la creciente inseguridad de los siglos X y XI, cuando la isla fue saqueada en varias ocasiones.

Tras la conquista normanda en 1066, se edificó el primer castillo con la construcción de una zanja y terraplén que cortaba una de las esquinas de las antiguas defensas sajonas. Este fue remplazado a su vez por los actuales foso y muralla alrededor del año 1100, que ya contaba con fortificaciones en piedra de 1136. Fuera de la puerta del Castillo se encontraron dos hornos de cal posiblemente asociados con su construcción. Se identificaron dos edificios para uso doméstico asociados con el uso inicial del foso y muralla pero el presunto gran salón de ese periodo todavía no ha sido descubierto. El Castillo parece haber alcanzado en gran parte su presente configuración interna en el siglo XIII.

Las excavaciones aportan evidencias de las modificaciónes habidas en las defensas medievales durante el siglo XIV, y de los edificios domésticos al final del XVI. También se ha arrojado luz sobre como Carisbrooke fué convertido en una moderna fortaleza artillera entre 1587 y 1602. En

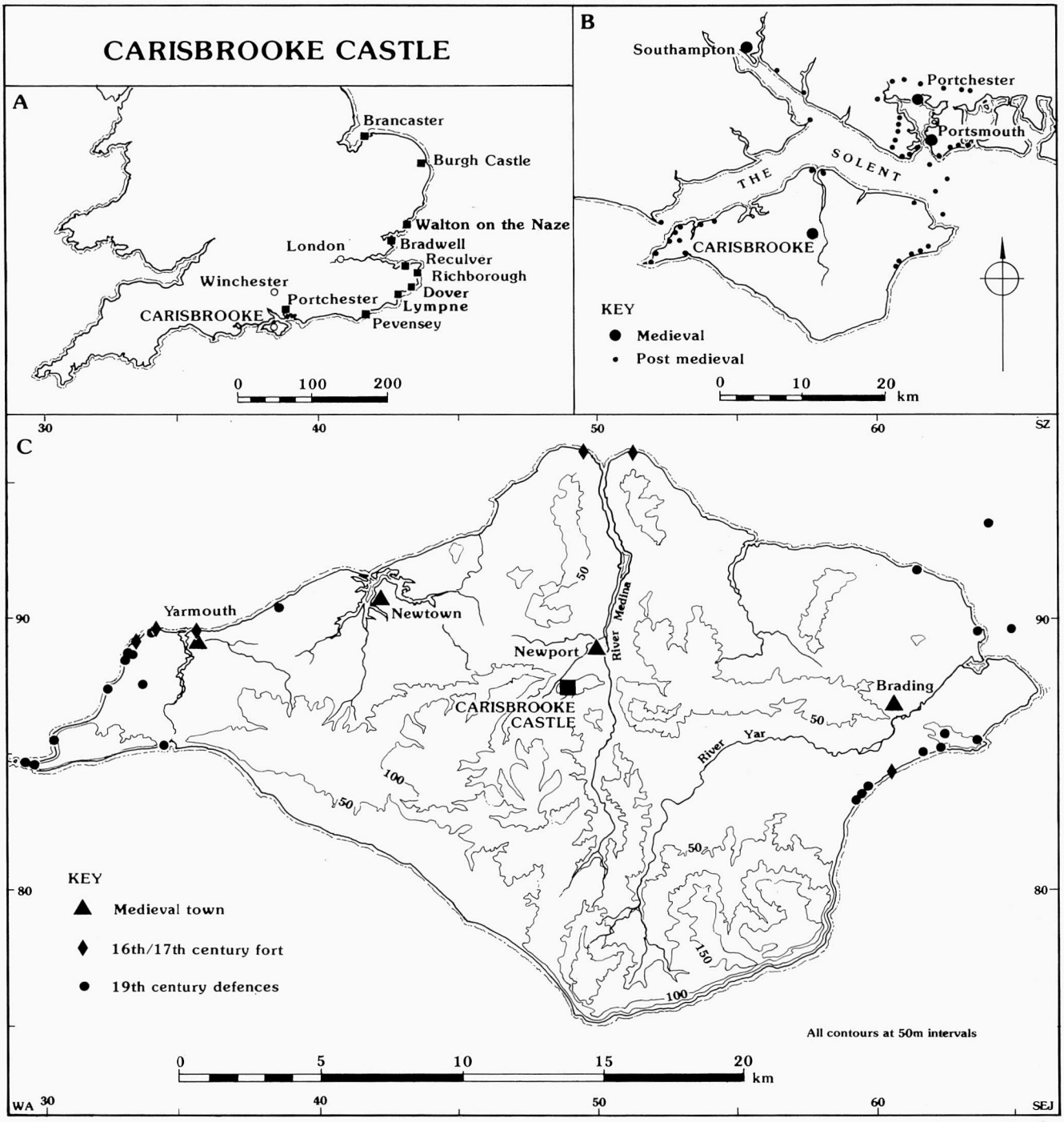

Figure 1 Location maps: A. Southen Britain (showing London, Winchester & Saxon Shore Forts); B. The Solent (showing medieval and later fortifications); C. The Isle of Wight (showing medieval boroughs & post-medieval defences)

concreto, la investigación de una de las baterías laterales del nuevo circuito de defensas demostró haber sido una compleja estructura en dos niveles.

Finalmente, las excavaciones en Carisbrooke han producido, por vez primera en la Isla de Wight, una buena secuencia estratificada de los artefactos de los periodos medieval y post-medieval. En particular, es ahora posible caracterizar el suministro de cerámica a la Isla y la importancia de los centros de producción emplazados en la misma. Se han desvelado algunas indicaciones de la dieta y fuentes alimenticias de los habitantes del Castillo.

Carmen Vida

1. Introduction

1. General Background

One of the major concerns of the rulers of southern Britain has always been to prevent invasion from the Continent. Britain's southern and eastern coasts have a number of navigable inlets and estuaries with good and accessible ports, at no great distance from potential enemies on the other side of the English Channel. These lead directly to the historic power centres of England, and before that of Wessex and the Roman province of *Britannia*.

The Solent, with its sheltered anchorage and ports such as Portsmouth Harbour and Southampton Water, is, after the Thames estuary, the most important of these. It has been heavily defended since increasing insecurity of the seaways in the late Roman period led to the construction of the Saxon Shore forts from Portchester round to the Wash (Fig. 1A). In the Middle Ages, the mainland was defended by castles at Portsmouth, Southampton, and Christchurch and from the 16th century the development of the naval base at Portsmouth led to increasing fortification around the Solent with fixed land defences only finally abandoned in 1956 (Fig. 1B) (Saunders 1967).

The Isle of Wight (Fig. 1C) lies athwart the Solent. Occupation by an enemy could pose a real threat to use of the Solent and, from the early Middle Ages at least, its protection from foreign invasion has been regarded as an essential part of defending the Solent and southern England. From the 16th century onwards its defences were increasingly placed around the coast but in the Middle Ages Carisbrooke was the only fortification on the island, and also the major centre of governance. Even after it was superseded in its defensive task by other and later works it has retained important administrative and ceremonial roles almost up to the present day.

2. The Site

Geology and Topography

The Isle of Wight is divided from east to west by a chalk ridge running from Needles Down in the west to Culver cliff in the east. To the south of this ridge safe anchorages are rare and much of the coast is edged by cliffs. North of the ridge there are substantial inlets at



Plate 1 View of Carisbrooke Castle from the south, with the Norman bailey banks surrounded by Elizabethan artillery fortifications

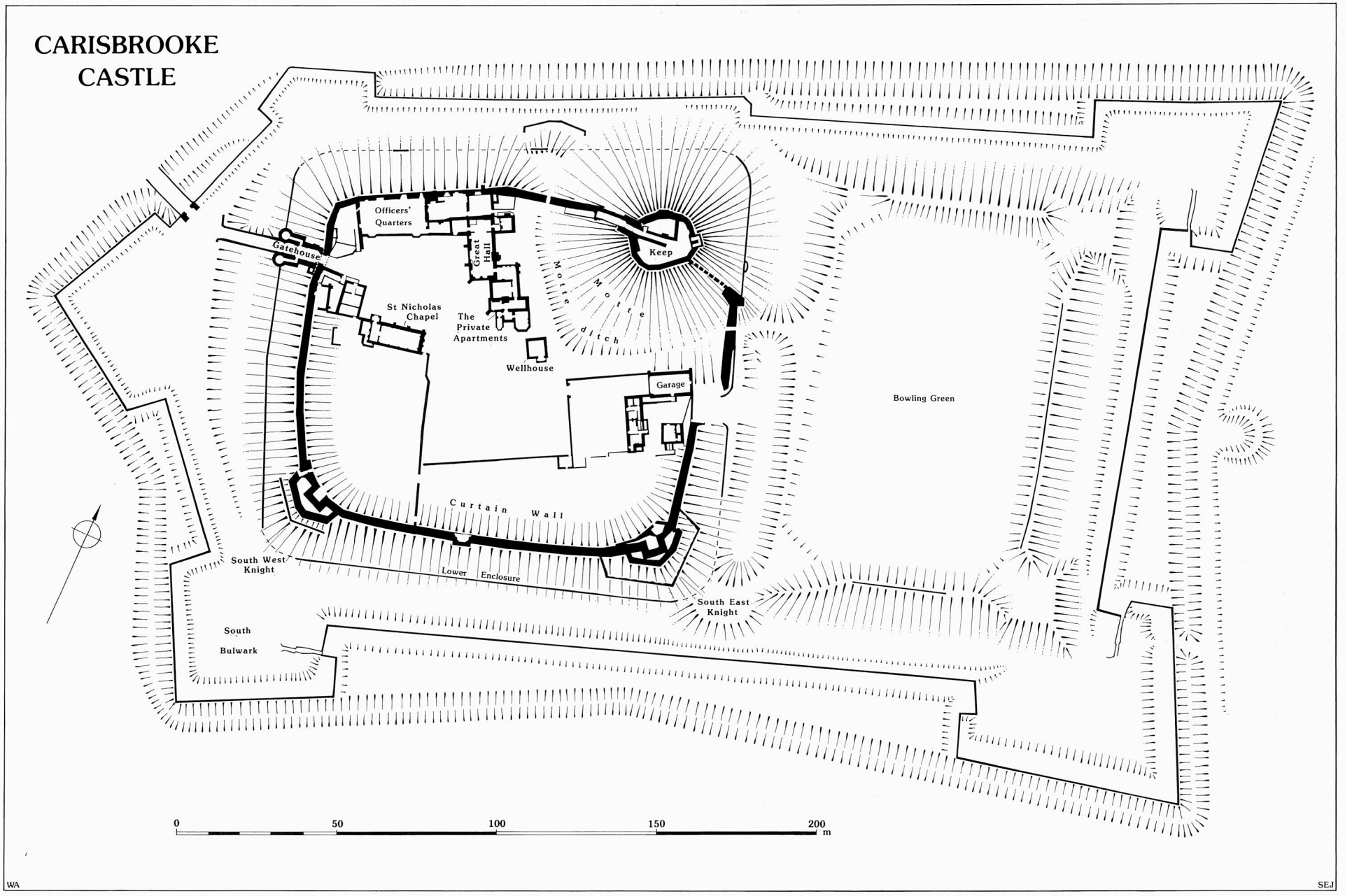

Figure 2 Carisbrooke Castle: overall plan



Plate 2 Aerial view of Carisbrooke Castle from the south-west showing Norman motte-and-bailey, late Saxon Lower Enclosure at base of bailey banks, and Elizabethan artillery fortress

Yarmouth, Newtown, and at Cowes, the last being the largest and also the estuary of the River Medina, navigable up to Newport where the Lukely Brook flows into it. The valleys of the Medina and the Lukely Brook both cut deep into the central ridge and are divided by an isolated steep-sided hill just to the south of Newport. This hill commands much of the Isle and is crowned by Carisbrooke Castle (Pl. 1).

Summary of the Structural Sequence

The site has three visible defensive circuits; the so-called Lower Enclosure, a motte-and-bailey castle and a bastioned trace (Fig. 2, Pl. 2). Of these, the most prominent is a massive motte standing in the north-east corner of a roughly quadrangular bailey and separated from the bailey by a massive ditch. The only apparent entry to the bailey is just south of its north-west corner. Work to the banks in the 1920s showed that they had been constructed on top of the so-called Lower Enclosure – a mortared stone wall of uncertain date presumably revetting a bank. It appears to have an entrance in the centre of its eastern side and to the north of this was what can only be described as a small, incipient bastion.

The motte-and-bailey must originally have had timber defences but these had been replaced in stone by the time the castle was besieged in 1136 when it was described in the *Gesta Stephani* as *ornatissima lapidum aedificata* (Howlett 1886, 28–9). By that date, presumably, the existing shell keep and curtain wall had been erected. The curtain wall, built of coursed rubble with ashlar stone quoins at its angles, has towers at its south-east and south-west corners and had an interval tower mid-way along the south curtain. It would fit this dating stylistically. The north-east corner of the enceinte was protected by the motte, and the north-west corner by the gatehouse just to its south.

The two surviving towers on the south face are rectangular, originally with open gorge, and project only slightly from the curtain wall. The gatehouse, in its present form, is a projecting rectangular tower of 13th century date, pierced by the gate passage and with two upper floors. During the 14th century, probably in 1335, two flanking drum towers with gun loops of inverted keyhole form, were added to the main gatehouse. A small gatehouse was added to the keep at

the same time. The drum towers were heightened around 1380, while the Woodville coat of arms on them suggests further work *c.* 1470.

While there is some indication from 16th century documentary evidence of medieval outer defences, no trace of these can now be seen. To the east of the motte-and-bailey is a further rectangular enclosure with prominent ditch and ramparts. In its present form, with angle bastions, this enclosure must be 16th century or later. In 1587 and between 1597 and 1602 considerable works were carried out to modernise the defences. All that can be definitely attributed to 1587 is the conversion of the two angle towers of the medieval defences to angle bastions (see below). It is possible that this eastern enclosure, subsequently modified to form a bowling green for Charles I, can be attributed originally to the considerable earthworks for which payment was made in 1587 (Appendix 1).

Between 1597 and 1602 a complete irregular pentagonal bastioned trace was thrown round outside the medieval defences and the enclosure to their east, effectively converting Carisbrooke into a modern artillery fortress. Entered on its western side, the circuit had bastions at each angle. On the south and east fronts, there were recessed batteries in the flanks of the bastions.

It is clear that the bones of the present internal plan of the castle were established by the mid 13th century, with the principal chapel free-standing in the south-west quadrant of the inner bailey and the main accommodation along the north side. Subsequently, less prestigious buildings were added in the south-east corner of the bailey.

Substantial buildings survive inside the castle as evidence of its use as a residence and an administrative centre. The motte is crowned by a shell-keep with remains of a number of structures inside it, including one of the Castle's wells. Apart from the keep the most prominent range is the hall and its chamber block. The hall itself is originally 13th century and the chamber block was added to its southern end in the 14th century. Both buildings have been substantially modified over the centuries and their present appearance is largely 19th century. Ruins of the service buildings of the hall lie between it and the curtain wall, and west of these are the ruins of a substantial mansion now known as the Officers' Quarters, constructed by Sir George Carey when Governor in the reign of Elizabeth I.

Other major buildings are the chapel of St Nicholas, just inside the main gateway, an early 20th century building on the foundations of the Castle's principal medieval chapel, and an L-shaped range of buildings on the eastern side of the bailey. Their present appearance is 19th century, but they originated much earlier. Just to the south of the hall is the well-house of the Castle's principal well, the present arrangements of which are 16th century. The well is 49 m deep and is still wet.

Historical Background

The historical framework for the castle is relatively well established. It is first referred to, though not by name, in *Domesday Book*, and so must have existed by 1086. At that time the Isle of Wight was held by the Crown but had earlier been held by William fitz Osbern. Around 1100 the Castle, and probably the whole island, was granted to Richard de Redvers, and his family held it, with short gaps, until Countess Isabella de Fortibus willed it to the Crown on her deathbed in 1296. Rigold (1969, 130–2) has argued convincingly that the island as a whole was treated as a compact lordship, similar to the rapes of Sussex, created at or immediately after the Norman Conquest to provide a firm defence against those who might wish to emulate William the Conqueror. Carisbrooke in the Middle Ages must be seen, therefore, as the *caput* of a powerful fief or castlery, providing a base for defence and also an administrative centre and a suitably grand residence for the Lord of the island.

The Castle fell by siege in 1136 to Stephen when he was suppressing the revolt of Baldwin de Redvers, its then Lord. As noted above, Baldwin's descendant, Isabella de Fortibus, willed it to Edward I in 1296 and it passed to the Crown on her death in the following year. Thereafter its Lords tended to be transient. From the 16th century they were appointed first as Captains and later as Governors. From Isabella's time the documentary record for the castle is good and has been ably collated and analysed by Percy Stone (1891) in his *Architectural Antiquities of the Isle of Wight.*

From these records it is clear that Isabella substantially rebuilt and extended the residential buildings of the castle and that the pattern of use still evident today was established by her. Following her death, there was work on the defences in the 1330s. The principal development was the addition of the two drum towers to the 13th century gatehouse. These are among the earliest structures in England to contain purpose-built gun loops. Around the same time a small gatehouse was also added to the shell-keep. It may be that the motte earthwork was also reshaped at this time. In the 1390s William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury added the surviving chamber block. There were minor improvements to the defences in the 15th century.

The next major period of building activity was in the later 16th century. Apart from the work to the defences in 1587 and in 1597–1602, noted above, Sir George Carey, cousin of the Queen and Governor of the Island from 1582 to 1603, carried out extensive works to the domestic buildings of the Castle to make them a fit habitation for him. He added the substantial

range, now ruined and known as the Officers Quarters, along the north curtain wall. He also heightened the Hall and inserted a mezzanine floor to give it much its present plan.

The Castle came into prominence again in 1647 and 1648 when Charles I was imprisoned there. Thereafter it lost its defensive role, though it remained the official residence of the Governors down to 1947. During the 18th century, particularly in the time of Lord Cutts (Governor, 1693–1706) buildings were altered to make them more convenient for changing styles of living.

During the 19th century, the Office of Works, into whose hands the Castle had passed, treated it more and more as an historic building. In 1856 the hall was restored to something approaching its supposed medieval form and the chamber block followed before World War I. In 1904 Percy Stone, the Castle's historian, caused the chapel of St Nicholas to be rebuilt, having in 1898 planned and executed the restoration of the gatehouse, until then lacking roof and floors. The chapel was, after the Great War, refitted to form a war memorial to the island's dead. Since that time the Castle been preserved as an ancient monument, latterly in the hands of English Heritage.

Archaeological Background

The outline history of the Castle and its buildings is therefore reasonably well understood, particularly from the mid-13th century onwards. Nonetheless there are a number of issues, some of them very important in terms of the Castle's development and more widely, that can only be resolved archaeologically. For the well-documented periods, excavation, combined with analysis of the standing buildings, can illuminate and in some cases elucidate the documentary evidence. Often it can add dimensions not hinted at in the documents.

For the period before the mid-13th century there are more fundamental questions. Before the excavations reported on here, little or nothing was known of the internal planning of the 11th and 12th century castle, or how it attained its present form. Since the 1920s, when it was discovered, the form, purpose, and date of the Lower Enclosure has been uncertain, and it was variously claimed as Roman or Norman (Rigold, 1969, 129–30). If the former, there are considerable implications for our knowledge of the Roman defences of the south coast. If the latter, of what date might be the motte-and-bailey?

Before 1959, there had been little archaeological investigation. The motte was trenched in 1892, and found to consist of alternating horizontal layers of stones and loose and rammed chalk (Markland 1893). The exact location of this trench is uncertain. Some trenches of the 1920s are shown on plans in the possession of English Heritage but little is known of what was found. Of these, two were on the north side of the Castle and a third on the south-east angle tower (see Fig. 3 for locations). The only comprehensible evidence has been included in this report. Some investigation of the east flank of the south-west bastion was carried out in the late 1950s.

Between 1959 and 1982, substantial excavations were undertaken first by Stuart Rigold and later by Christopher Young, to address the questions outlined above, to examine the general development sequence of the Castle, and to discover further details of the 17th century defences. The campaigns involved major formal excavations on some occasions but also took advantage of opportunities for watching briefs and other fortuitous observations. Interim summaries and analyses of particular problems were published by Rigold (1969) and Young (1983 a and b), but no full report has yet been published. This volume provides that report, and relates the results to the standing remains of the Castle and its known history.

No Roman occupation was established and it is likely that the so-called Lower Enclosure, in the past claimed as Roman, is in fact Late Saxon. The earliest definite use of the site was for an inhumation cemetery in the first half of the 6th century. After a considerable interval, the interior of the site was used for large timber buildings which appear to precede the castle and are presumably contemporary with the Lower Enclosure, probably constructed in the late 10th or early 11th century. The earliest, Conquest, phase of the Castle was a ditched enclosure in the north-east corner of the Lower Enclosure, as evidenced by massive ditches. The present motte-and-bailey is thought to date to about 1100. The excavations also established evidence for use of parts of the castle interior during the Middle Ages and investigated fully, for the first time, one of the bastions of the late Elizabethan defensive circuit, demonstrating its considerable complexity of design.

3. The Nature of the Evidence

Reporting the results of excavations and observations carried out over a period of three-quarters of a century by several excavators poses particular problems. Differing recording methods were used as techniques developed. Evidence was recovered not just from formal excavations but also from observations carried out under widely differing conditions. Some of the work carried out at Carisbrooke was done in response to particular research problems but some of it was straightforward rescue excavation in advance of development or was necessitated by the need to record archaeological evidence discovered during conservation

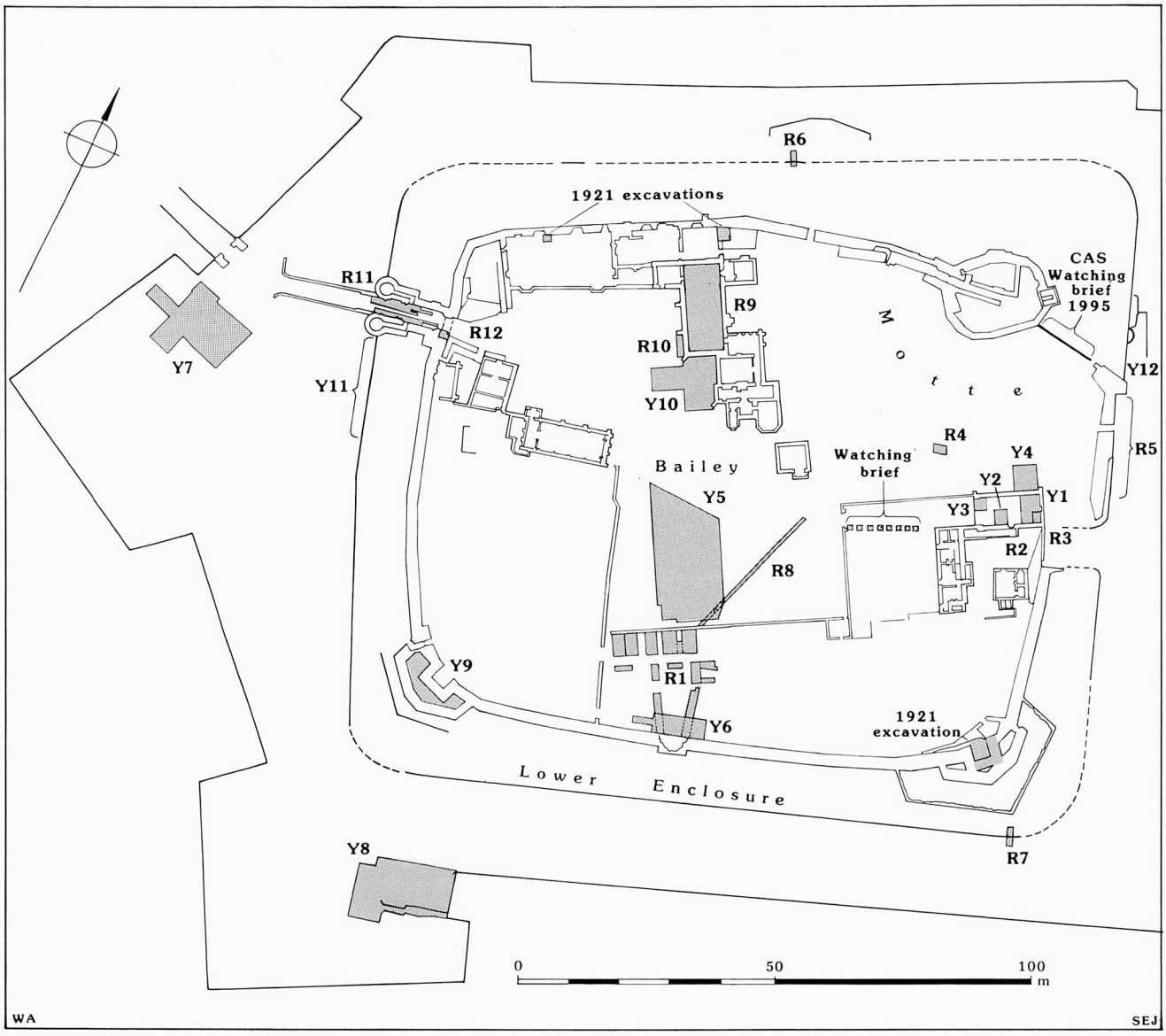

Figure 3 Carisbrooke Castle: all excavation trenches

work to the fabric of the Castle. This affected what was recorded, and the manner in which the records were made. Attention was focused very much on below-ground investigation with less detailed study of the standing buildings than would now be the case.

This section, therefore, sets out a brief history of the excavations and of the excavators' initial conclusions, so that the reader is aware of the conditions under which the work was originally carried out and this report produced. The locations of excavation trenches are shown on Figure 3.

As noted above, little is known of the work carried out in the 1920s. Rigold first became involved in archaeological work at Carisbrooke in 1959 when workmen discovered masonry subsequently interpreted as being part of a gateway to the Lower Enclosure. He carried out a number of excavations in the Castle in the early 1960s, and continued to make observations on the site up till 1974. His interest turned early to elucidating the date and nature of the Lower Enclosure and to the early development of the Castle itself. The location of his excavation areas, and other observations, were, however, more often dictated by other needs than those of research.

His preliminary assessment of his results was published in 1969 (Rigold 1969). In it he argued that the Lower Enclosure was a fort of Roman date. The massive motte-and-bailey he considered to be the Castle recorded in *Domesday*, with the present curtain wall and keep being built before the 1136 siege. He had identified one 12th century building under the north end of the present hall and another on the south side

Table 1. Concordance of numbering and naming of Rigold's trenches used in this report with (A) those used in Rigold (1969) and (B) on-site records

Report	*A*	*B*	*Year of excav.*
R1	Site 1	Toiletries, trenches 0–4, A–G	1961 & 1963
R2	Site 2	–	?1961
R3	Site 2	The Garage Hole	1961
R4	Site 3	Soakaway for drain from donkey pen	1967
R5	Site 3	East Curtain	?1970
R6	Site 4	Roman Wall North	?1965
R7	Site 4	Roman Wall South	
R8	Site 5	Lawn Trench	1963
R9	Site 6	Undercroft	1966–8
R10	Site 6	–	?1968
R11	–	The Gatehouse	1968
R12	–	Wallwalk	

Table 2. Concordance of trench numbers used in this report with those used in Young's site records

Report	*Site records*	*Year of excav.*
Y1	I	1976
Y2	II	1976
Y3	III	1976
Y4	IV	1976
Y5	V	1977–82
Y6	VI	1977–78
Y7	VII	1978–81
Y8	VIII	1978
Y9	IX	1979
Y10	X	1980
Y11	Watching brief during conservation of Lower Enclosure, S. of gate-house	1983
Y12	Watching brief during repair of Lower Enclosure, E. side of motte	1984

of the bailey. He suggested that the Norman great hall lay in the centre of the bailey.

In all, Rigold either excavated or carried out watching briefs in twelve places. During excavation and post-excavation work, not all the sites were numbered, but were given names. Some were numbered as 1–6 in his interim report (Rigold 1969) but there were two no. 3s and two no. 4s, and some were not mentioned at all. All are positioned as precisely as possible on Figure 3, and have been numbered for identification purposes on the plan R1 to R12. These numbers are used throughout this report.

Table 1 gives a concordance of the numbering used in this report, Rigold's numbering in his interim report and the names he used for them during work. Broadly, R1, R8, R9, and R10 are concerned with the internal planning of the Castle, R2, R4, R11, and R12 with its medieval defences, and R3, R6, and R7 with the Lower Enclosure. Of these, R4, R5, R6, R7, R8, and R11 were watching briefs with limited opportunities for investigation beyond the limits of disturbance needed for other purposes, and R2, R3, R9, R10, and R12 were very small trenches dug to examine particular questions. R1 was a formal area excavation dug to investigate the area now occupied by the Castle's public lavatories and between them and the curtain wall to the south.

During excavations, Rigold worked either on his own or with the assistance of the Castle's direct labour force. His area excavation was dug on a grid system with standing baulks. Elsewhere the shape and size of his excavations were conditioned by external factors. He recorded his findings with black and white photographs and measured sketches on imperial graph paper. These were made with a variety of coloured ball-point pens, some apparently at different times, and annotated with brief, sometimes cryptic, notes and queries. Sections and elevations predominate over plans in the surviving records, and the scale of both is usually 1:24. No colour slides and no notebooks have been located. Finds, principally pottery, survive mainly from R1.

A certain amount of post-excavation work was done, primarily on R1, in the 1970s. This included the redrawing of some sections, correlation of layers between the various boxes in the grid, and the production of a pottery type series.

Young excavated at Carisbrooke between 1976 and 1981, working in all on ten separate trenches. These trenches are shown on Figure 3 as Y1 to Y10. Also shown are the sites of two watching briefs (Y11 and Y12) carried out by Young or by the then Department of the Environment's Central Excavation Unit (now English Heritage's Centre for Archaeology). Table 2 gives a concordance of the numbers used in this report with those used during work.

The location of the trenches was determined in part by the needs of research and in part by the requirements of the conservation and presentation programme for the site. The underlying research objectives were much the same as those of Rigold – the nature and date of the Lower Enclosure, the early development of the Castle's defences, and interior planning – with the addition of the need to elucidate some aspects of the planning of the post-medieval and

artillery defences. Further possibilities raised during the excavations were the nature of Saxon occupation of the site and the likelihood that the visible motte-and-bailey are not the Castle recorded in *Domesday Book* in 1086.

Young published two short articles on the early developments of the site (1983 a and b). In them he concluded that the Lower Enclosure was not a Roman fortification but more probably a late Saxon *burh*-type defence containing at least one group of large post-built timber buildings. He thought also that there was no firm evidence for Roman occupation of the site, the earliest securely identified use of it being an early Saxon inhumation cemetery.

He further interpreted two massive linear features in the Castle interior as ditches cutting off the north-east corner of the Lower Enclosure to form the Conquest period castle. He saw the motte-and-bailey as being built *c.* 1100 by Richard de Redvers when he became Lord of the Isle of Wight. Like Rigold, he considered the present shell keep and curtain walls to be the stone defences referred to in 1136.

Young used the open excavation method and recorded in metric units on pre-printed context sheets. In his graphic record, plans far outnumber section drawings. After excavations were completed in 1981 a considerable amount of post-excavation work was done. This included the ordering of the archive, the production of archive reports on Sites Y7, Y8, and Y9, and of a pottery type series.

Brief notes on the results of a watching brief in 1995 carried out by the then Central Archaeological Service have been included at the appropriate place in the text.

4. The Organisation of the Report

Ordering the material so that the reader is able both to make his own judgements on the evidence stated and also to grasp the overall pattern of development of the site is complex. There are several reasons for this. First, the sites investigated are widely spread. This can mean that there is little to connect the same developments recorded in separate trenches.

Secondly, the history of the Castle and what went before it is complex and there could be a variety of different activities occurring across the site at one and the same time. In most trenches evidence of more than one phase of activity was recovered and except for the 17th century fortifications, it is not possible to deal with individual trenches on a purely thematic or period basis.

Thirdly, because the site was investigated by more than one excavator, and because trenches were dug under very differing conditions, it is not always possible to establish with certainty, or even to perceive, the relationships between features in different trenches which must have existed.

Table 3. Grouping of trenches within this report

Topic grouping	*Trenches included in section*
Lower Enclosure	R3, R6, R7, Y11, Y12
Defences of motte-&-bailey castle	R2, R4, R5, R11, R12, Y1, Y2, Y3, Y4, Y6, Y7, Y9
Castle interior	R1, R8, R9, R10, Y5, Y10
Bastioned trace	Y8

One approach would be to give a straight-forward account of the site's development, citing each trench as appropriate. If adopted, this would make it very difficult for the reader to assess the evidence on which statements are based or to work out the sequences of events for particular trenches. At the other extreme, it would be possible to report on each trench in turn. This would present the evidence but in a shape from which it would be difficult to draw conclusions on the overall development of the site.

The writer has therefore adopted a combination of the two approaches. Trenches have been grouped according to their major interest and are reported upon in full in those groupings, cross-referring as necessary to other sections of the report. These accounts relate primarily to the evidence of structures and stratigraphy and cite finds evidence mainly, but not entirely, as dating material. This group of chapters is followed by reports on material finds, and a final chapter attempts to assess the evidence overall, and to integrate the archaeological story with what is known of the Castle's history and the evidence of the surviving buildings. Trenches have therefore been grouped together as follows:

- The Lower Enclosure
- The defences of the motte-and-bailey castle
- The interior of the castle
- The bastioned trace (artillery fortress)

Table 3 sets out which trenches are dealt with in which grouping.

Dating what happened on the site poses some problems. Relative chronology within each trench can obviously be established stratigraphically. Where trenches are close together (eg, Y1–4, Y5, and R1), the same features can be identified in more than one trench, thus linking individual stratigraphic sequences.

Providing absolute dating is more difficult. In the 16th century documentary evidence can be directly linked to some archaeological features (eg, on sites Y8 and Y9). Although the early documentary evidence is relatively good, such linkages have not been possible for those medieval structures which have been investigated. It is possible in some cases to draw historical inferences to date deposits indirectly. The accuracy of such dating

depends on the validity of the particular inference and each case must be judged on its own merits.

On the whole, direct dating from artefacts on this site is not close. Apart from the material from the Anglo-Saxon inhumations, there are few closely-dated objects from significant contexts. Except for a few coins, the dating evidence is primarily ceramic. As pointed out in the pottery report, this is the first substantial medieval sequence from the Isle ofWight to be published. It contains relatively few imports from mainland Britain or continental Europe, and local fabrics and types seem to have changed very slowly through the medieval period. As a consequence, the dating brackets for individual wares, types, or ware/type combinations tend to be very wide.

At Carisbrooke also, most of the areas investigated have been the subject of earth-moving on a relatively massive scale, often on more than one occasion. Disturbance of deposits and the enhanced problems of residuality and contamination therefore compound the difficulties of close dating. Because the absolute dating for the pottery is based on its occurrence within the site's stratigraphic sequence as well as analogy with elsewhere, the dates for the ceramic phases that have been identified are inevitably broad. Nonetheless, they do provide essential guidance and underpin much of the dating that can be put forward. Table 4 lists the phases identified from the pottery sequence which can be linked to the stratigraphic sequence on the site.

Table 4. Summary of site phasing

Phase	*Date*	*Archive ceramic phase*
1: Prehistoric		
2: Romano-British		
3: Early Saxon		
4: Saxo-Norman	11th C	50
5: Early medieval	late 11th–13th C	6/621
6: Late medieval	13th–14th C	63/64
7: Early post-medieval	15th C	71/72
8: Later post-medieval	16th–18th C	80
9: Modern	19th–20th C	90, 99

These broad phases are used throughout the report and are examined in more detail in the pottery report (Chapter 4). In some trenches (particularlyY5 and R1) it has been possible to subdivide on stratigraphic grounds within one ceramic phase, and these subdivisions are explained in the appropriate section of the report.

2. The Excavations

1. The Lower Enclosure

Introduction

The Lower Enclosure was discovered in 1923, when the Office of Works recontoured the outer face of the bailey banks and the base of the motte. At various places around the base of these massive earthworks, the workmen discovered a stone mortared wall which had been buried beneath them (Pl. 3). This was located along most of the south face of the bailey bank, and for considerable lengths of the west and east faces, as well as on the eastern face of the motte. It has been found at only one place on the northern side, but is generally assumed to have been followed by the present bailey bank (Fig. 4).

In plan the wall forms an irregular pentagon with two faces joining at a very shallow angle on the west side, and with straight faces on the east, south, and, presumably, the north. It is probable that the intention was to construct a rectangle. The Lower Enclosure has always been shown as having rounded corners at its four principal angles. Rounded corners appear to have been assumed because the later bailey banks have them, and it has also been assumed that the walls of the Lower Enclosure conditioned the plan of those banks. This is probably reasonable, but there is positive evidence for rounded corners only at the north-east angle.

The Lower Enclosure has one known entrance in the middle of its eastern face where its walls curve in to create a wide gap which could have held a gate (Pl.

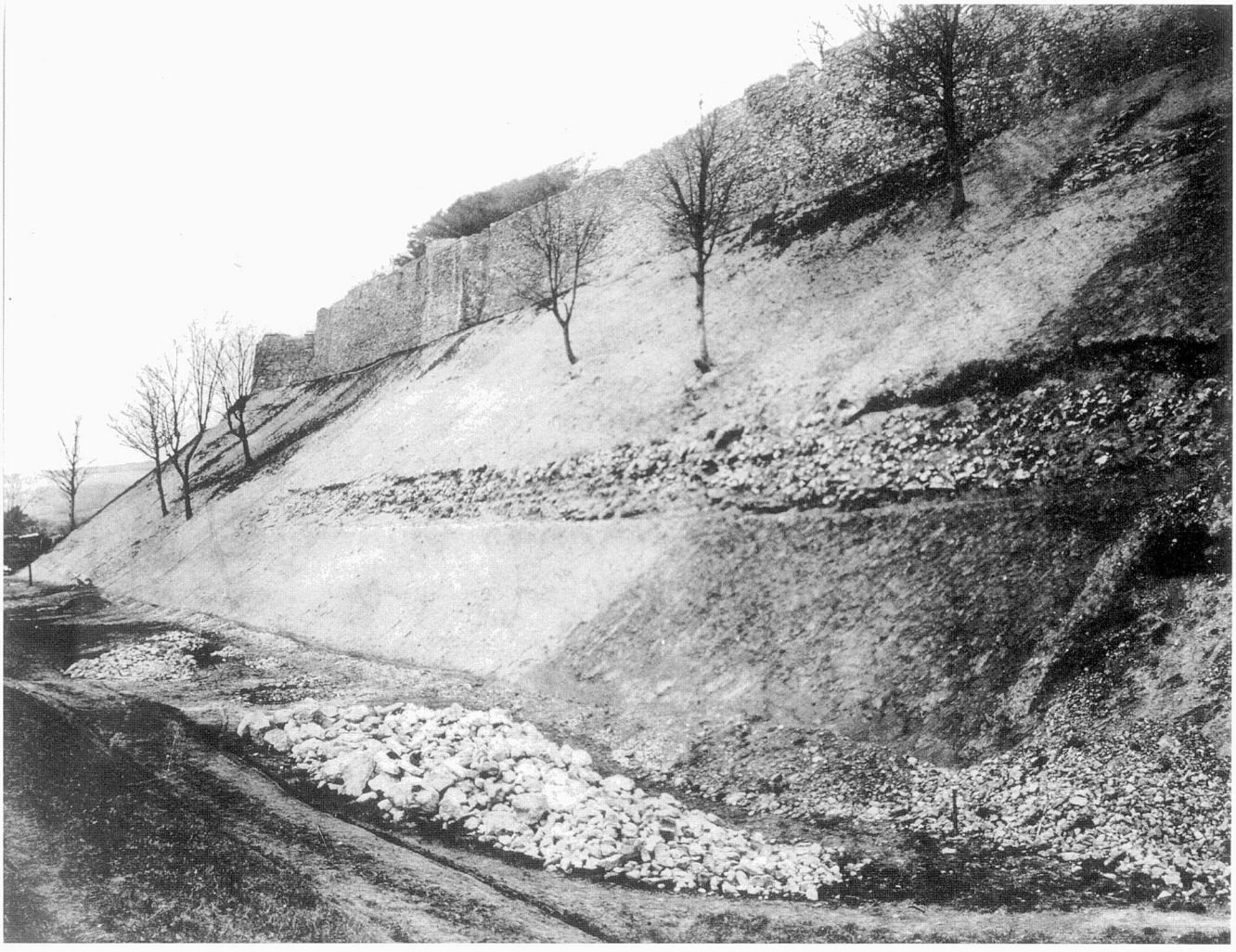

Plate 3 The south bailey bank c. 1923, during recontouring by the Office of Works, crowned by the early 12th century bailey wall and interval tower. The Lower Enclosure Wall is exposed half-way down the bank. The present contours of the bank also reflect recontouring during construction of the Elizabethan fortifications

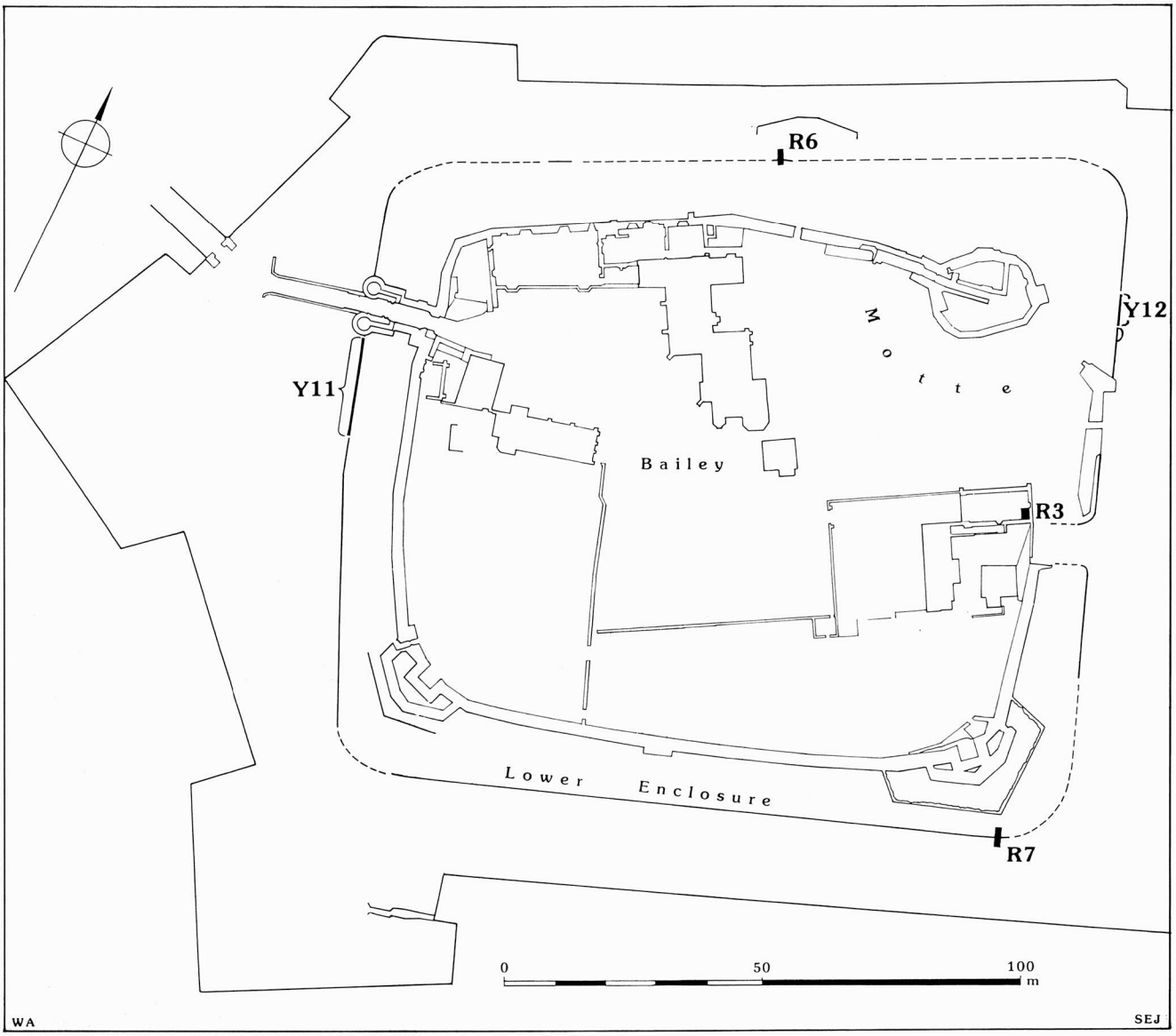

Figure 4 Trenches relating to the Lower Enclosure

4). To the south the curve turns through a tight right-angle, but on the north side the curve is shallower (Fig. 7, inset). The width of the entry passage is, therefore, uncertain. Work in one of the Castle's buildings in 1959 located a massive footing which could be part of a gatehouse at the inner end of this passage. Forty metres to the north of this gap is a shallow semi-circular projection which seems to be a very small bastion.

Where the enclosure wall can be seen, it is founded on large rectangular blocks. The best preserved stretch is on the east face, either side of the entrance. Here, where the wall face survives, the lowest course is of large, well-dressed rectangular blocks (Pl. 5). Above a slight offset, the wall is faced with smaller but still well-dressed stones. In all up to nine courses of the face survive. Apart from this facework, appearances can be deceptive since the wall was given a protective capping by the Office of Works when it was found.

It has always been difficult to examine the Lower Enclosure archaeologically because it is buried beneath the earthworks of the later motte-and-bailey. Rigold managed to examine the rear face of the wall in two places (Fig. 4, R6, R7) in service trenches, and found that it revetted a rampart. Young and Bachelor were able to record its outer face during conservation work (Fig. 4, Y11, Y12). Both Rigold (R3, below) and Young (Y1, see Chapter 2.2) examined the footing of the supposed gateway but were unable to link it stratigraphically to any other deposits because any links had been dug away in 1959. Rigold discovered remains of a bank which may have been part of the Lower Enclosure in his excavations in the 13th century gatehouse (R11, see Chapter 2.2).

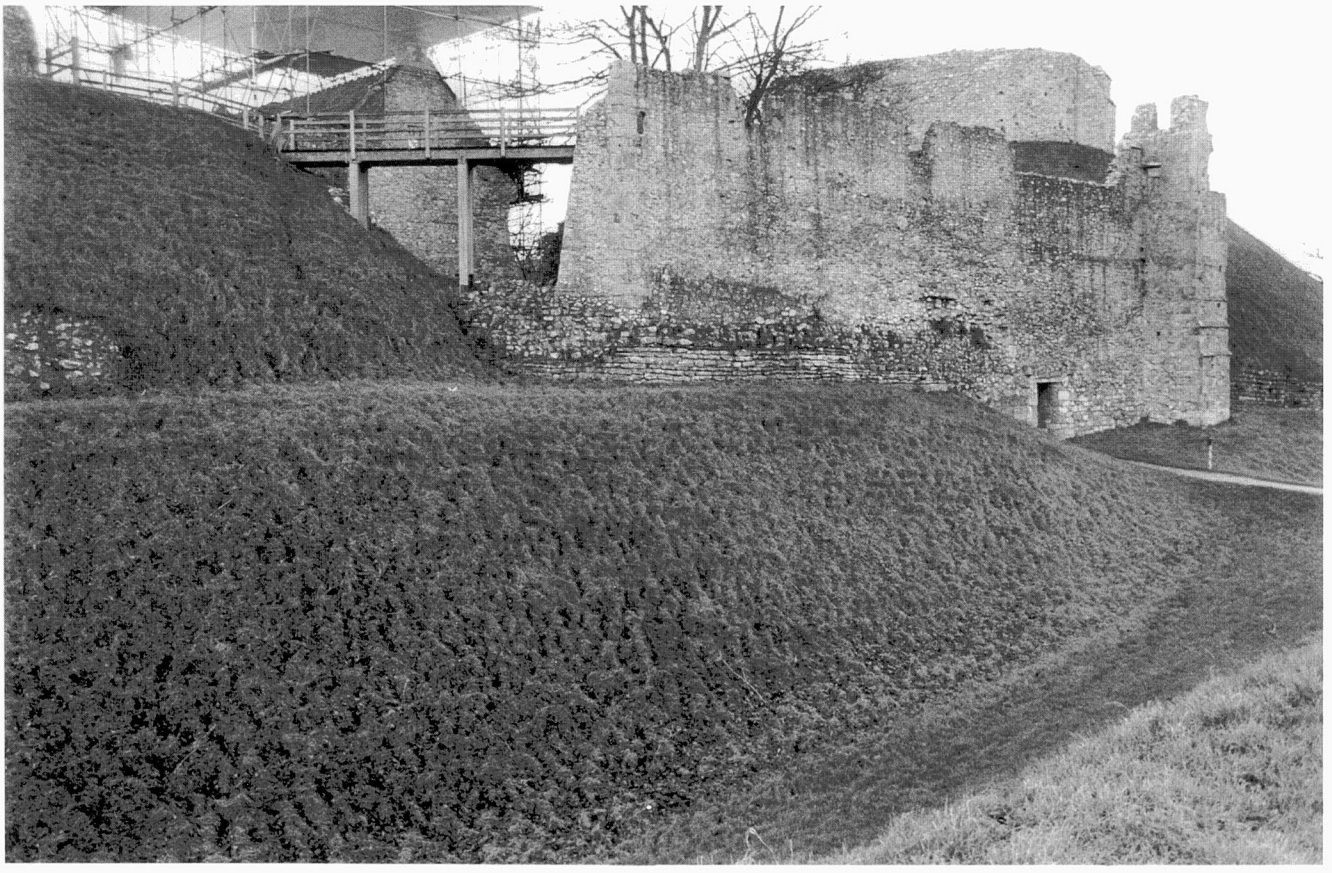

Plate 4 East side of the Lower Enclosure showing walls curving in on either side of entrance and over-ridden by the bailey bank and later blocking wall across motte ditch

The Lower Enclosure was clearly defensive in purpose, though its date and builders have remained uncertain, except that it must antedate the motte-and-bailey. The possibilities advanced over the years have been that it could be Roman, linked in some way to the defences of the Saxon Shore (Rigold 1969), Late Saxon (Young 1983a), or even the first Norman castle (Rigold 1969, 130).

Y11

Represervation of the stretch of the Lower Enclosure wall south of the Castle Gatehouse in 1983 necessitated removal of the protective capping and face added in 1923 (Fig. 5). This enabled Young to observe and record the original fabric of the wall for a distance of 20 m. It was not possible to unpick the wall any further because of the need not to disturb the bailey bank above.

The wall was of two builds, separated by a band of dark soil, between 0.05 m and 0.2 m thick (Fig. 5; Pl. 6). The lower build of the wall and this layer of soil ran with the contour of the ground on which it was built, as did the base of the upper build, although there had been some attempt to level this up.

There were two courses of facing remaining of the lower build. Both were of large undressed lumps of greensand. Parts of the upper facing course were laid in herringbone fashion, as was the lower one in places. Above these only the core survived, because the face had been robbed out or cut back in antiquity, probably when the bailey bank was dumped on top of the wall, or when the castle ditch was redug in the 16th century. The core was composed mainly of flint nodules, set in a buffish mortar with small pieces of flint, and occasional concentrations of large lumps of greensand. The maximum height of this lower build was *c.* 1.25 m. The layer of soil above the lower build was dark brown and loamy, with small fragments of flint and chalk.

Above this soil layer, the base of the core of the upper build was of three or four rough courses of flints set in yellowish–buff mortar with fragments of flint. There had been some attempt to level the top of this flintwork. Above the coursed flint, the core of the wall was built of large lumps of stone from various sources, including Conglomerate, Bembridge, Quarr, and Greensand. The largest pieces were 0.4 m by 0.4 m by 0.5 m. At the north end of the exposed section there were two courses of this build, but at the southern end only one survived. The bottom course was laid on

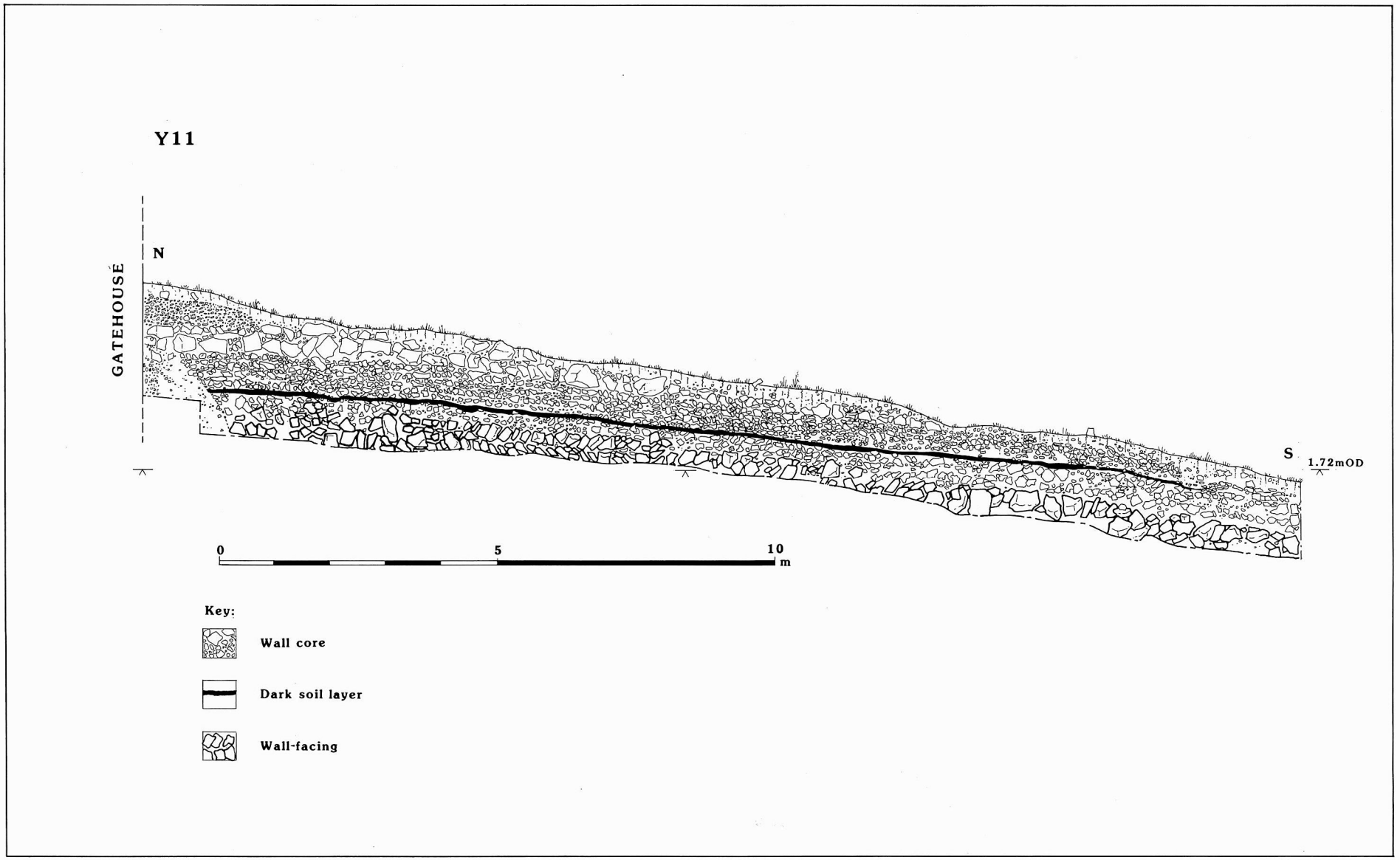

Figure 5 Elevation of the west face of the Lower Enclosure Wall (Y11)

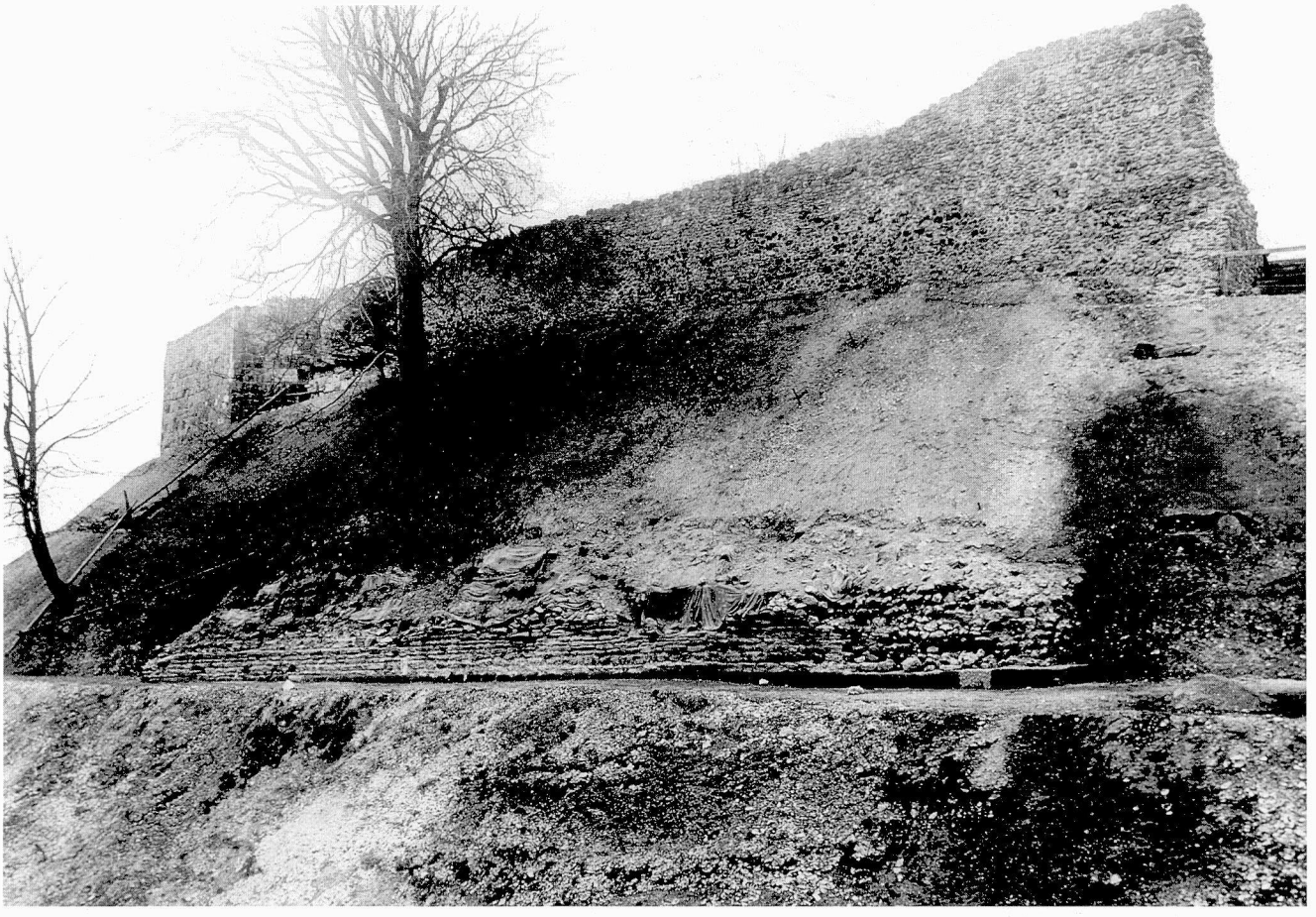

Plate 5 East bailey bank with Lower Enclosure wall at the base c. 1923, showing remains of wall face of Lower Enclosure

mortar, but there did not appear to be any mortar between the stones.

At the north end of the exposed section, the wall of the Lower Enclosure had been clearly cut by the construction levels of the 14th century drum tower and the passage linking it to the gatehouse. From the base of the gatehouse wall, a mass of small stones ran out over the top of the Lower Enclosure wall. These were part of the foundation of the gatehouse.

The Lower Enclosure wall was here clearly built in two phases, divided by sufficient time for soil to build up over the first build. If there was a bank behind the wall, either newly constructed or cut back to allow the wall to be inserted as appears to have been the case, this could have happened quite quickly. In this case, both builds could have been part of the same building campaign. The marked change in character within the upper build might suggest a third phase, but might equally be evidence only of changing style above the wall's footings. The fact that the soil was not removed before the upper build was started is rather curious and suggests that there may have been a hiatus in construction work or that its builders were relatively inexperienced.

Rigold postulated a blocked gateway in the middle of this section of wall (Rigold 1969, 132 and Fig. 2), but the evidence on which he based this was in the protective covering added by the Office of Works in 1923, not in the original masonry. Since he was not able to examine the original face of the wall anywhere on the circuit, there must be some doubt about this



Plate 6 Lower Enclosure wall on the west side during reconservation in 1983, with two phases of wall separated by a band of dark soil

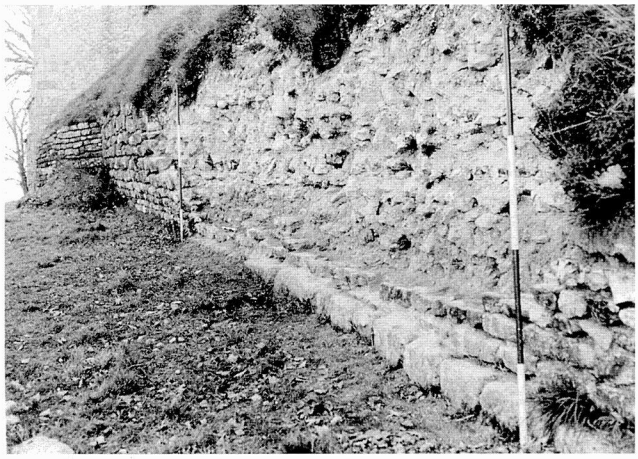

Plate 7 Lower Enclosure wall at the base of the east side of the motte following collapse in 1984, showing base of wall facing and wall core. Scale 2 m

suggestion and that of further bastions in addition to the definite one still surviving on the east face (1969, 133–4 and Fig. 2).

Y12

A short stretch of the east face of the Lower Enclosure wall was recorded by P.J. Pikes of the Central Archaeological Service in 1984 after the partial collapse of the wall at base of motte (Pl. 7). It appeared that the Lower Enclosure wall had been rebuilt and that in doing so the motte deposits had been truncated. As a result the Lower Enclosure wall in this area had become, in effect, a retaining wall for the motte.

R6 and R7

These were small sections dug against the inner face of the Lower Enclosure wall (Fig. 6). R6 was recorded during the digging of a pipe-trench through the north postern of the present castle. R7 was dug near the south-east corner of the Lower Enclosure. The results of the two sections were very similar.

In both cases, the outer face of the wall had been lost in antiquity, either when the bailey banks were thrown up, or perhaps when the castle ditch was redug in the 16th century. The maximum surviving width of the wall was *c.* 2.5 m, which suggests, allowing for the wall's outer face, a minimum thickness of the wall of around 3 m.

Seven courses of the inner face survived in R6 (to a height of 1.25 m) and four courses in R7. Rigold's notes and sections suggest that the inner face was of roughly dressed stones, and that the wall and its core were mortared. In R7, the wall was built upon a layer of mortar overlying weathered chalk. In R6, the wall seems to have lain directly on the original ground surface. In both cases, the wall was built against a pre-existing bank which must have been cut back to a vertical face to build the wall. Rigold (1969, 134) said that mortar had spilt from the joints against the bank. In R7 there is some evidence in the section of a wider

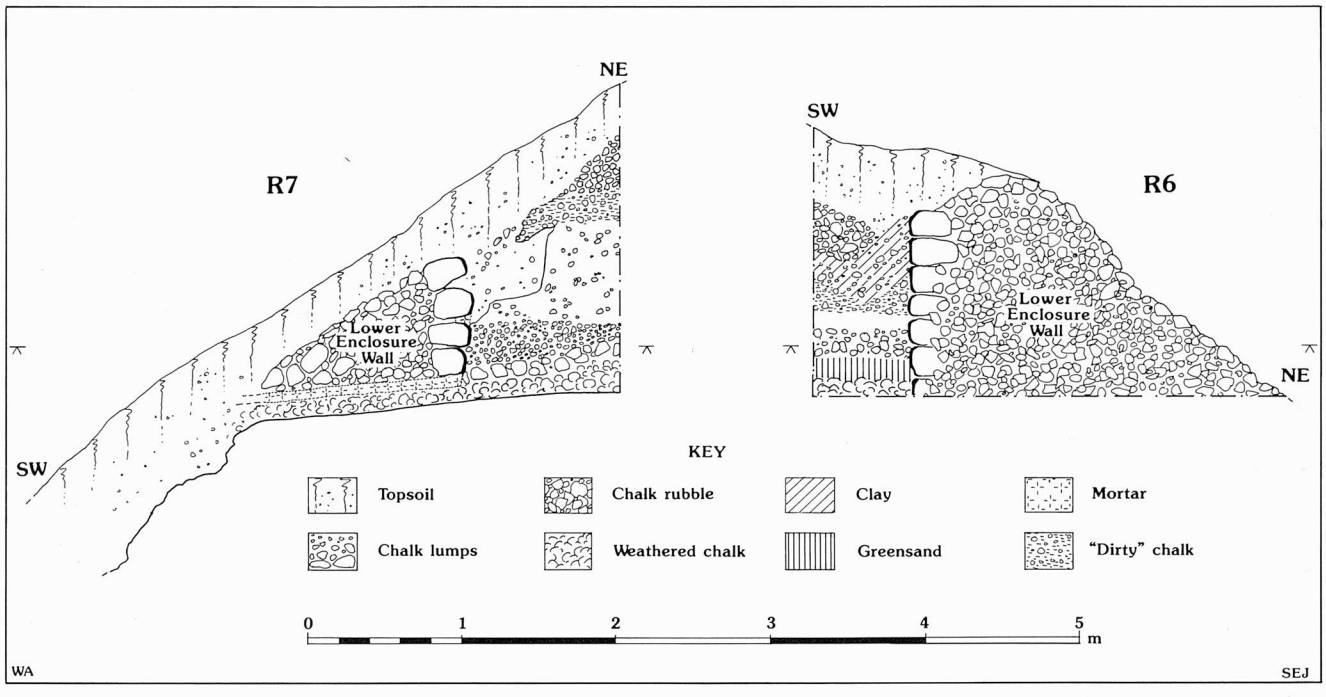

Figure 6 Sections of Lower Enclosure wall and bank (R6 and R7)

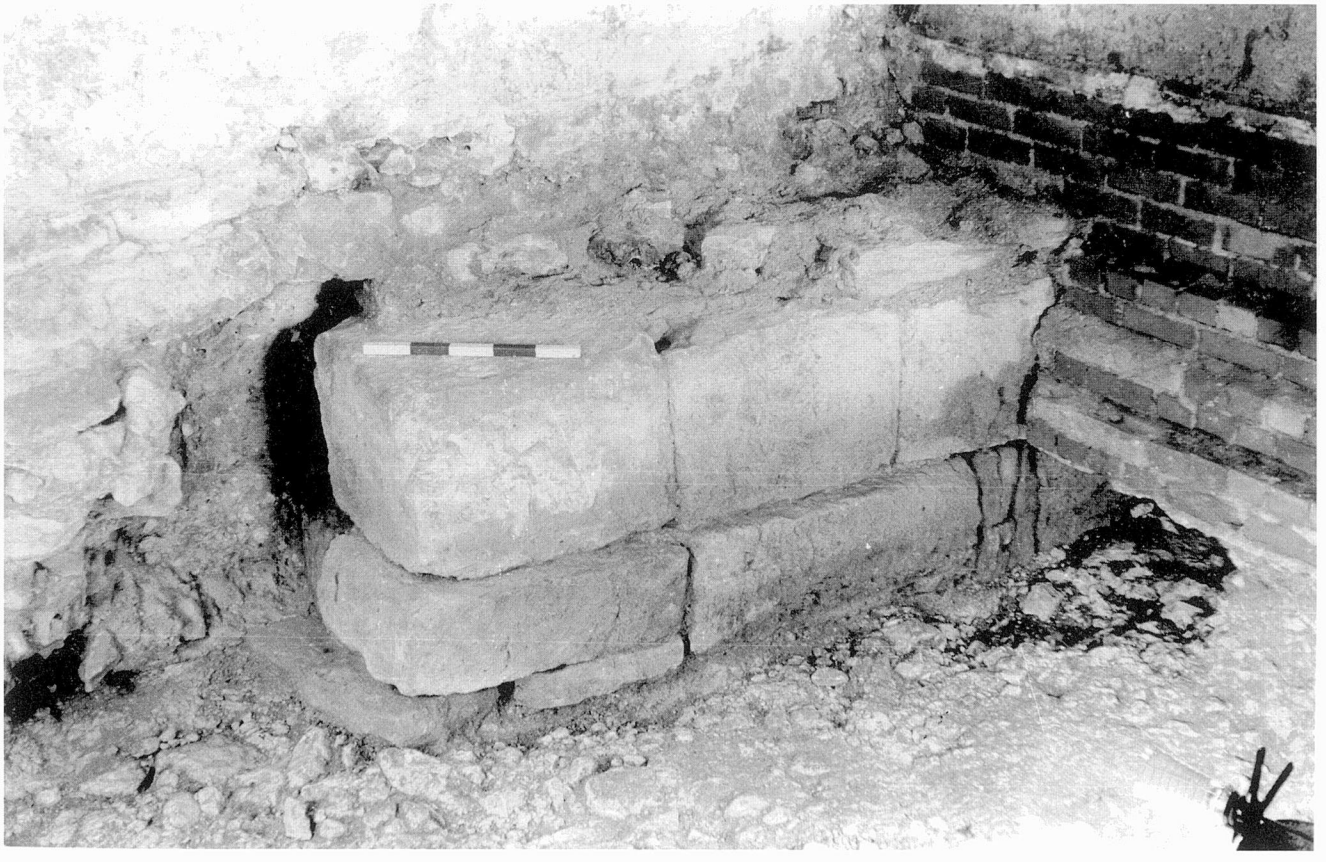

Plate 8 North-west angle of the footings of the entrance to the Lower Enclosure, over-ridden by later walls of the Garage/Caoch house, 1976. Scale 0.5 m

cut into the bank fill to allow the wall to be built. The bank was built of horizontal layers of various fills, with chalk predominating. No finds are recorded from either trench.

The evidence from both trenches is consistent in suggesting that the original form of the Lower Enclosure was a simple bank, subsequently faced with a stone wall of some width. There was no evidence from either of these sections of more than one phase of building of the wall.

R3

This was dug in April 1965 to investigate the large footing found by workmen in 1959 when digging below the floor in one corner of the building generally known as The Garage or Coach house (Fig. 7). This lies immediately to the south of the motte ditch. Rigold dug a trench, 2.5 m by 1.8 m, in this corner of the building. All he was able to do was to examine the footing found six years earlier as all stratigraphy linking it to surrounding layers had been removed then. This trench was later incorporated into Young's Trench Y1 when he investigated the Garage in 1976.

The visible part of the wall (152) found in 1959 is built of massive well-dressed ashlars, and consists of a right-angled corner (Pl. 8). The style of the masonry is unlike anything of the surviving Castle buildings. Two courses survive, though the corner-stone of the bottom course has been packed underneath with thin slabs. The wall lies directly on natural chalk and no dating evidence was found. A layer of yellow mortar containing smaller stones lies on top of the upper course, but could relate to the building of the Garage, whose footings override this wall. Its faces can be traced by probing under the walls of the Garage for a further metre to the east and for 2 m to the south.

The absence of stratigraphic links and the very small part of wall 152 accessible for examination make its interpretation problematic. The only certainty is that it is earlier than the Garage itself, the foundations of which override it. This means that it is earlier than the 14th century. The Garage building had been built in part cut into a massive chalk bank of the bailey and in part over the site of the motte ditch (Y4, see Chapter 2.2). Until this was done wall 152 would have been sealed beneath the chalk bank.

The location of wall 152 close to the line of the entrance passage of the Lower Enclosure suggests that it is part of that entrance. If that is the case, the wall could not extend much further to the south than it has been traced without crossing the most likely line of the face of the northern wall of the entrance passage. This

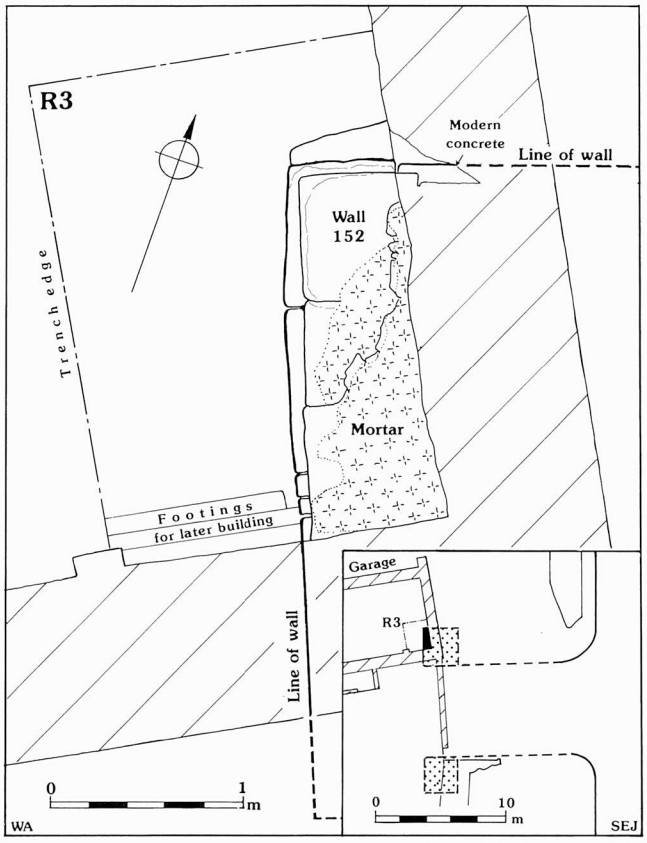

Figure 7 Wall footing of Lower Enclosure gateway (inset shows outline plan of gateway) (R3)

may suggest that the maximum north-south dimension of the feature cannot be more than 4–5 m. The scale of the masonry suggests the corner of a fairly substantial structure such as a small tower or the pier of a gateway. If this is the case, it is likely to have been matched by a similar feature on the south side of the entrance. Assuming that the walls of the passage are parallel, its likely width would be some 7 m. The distance from the front face of the Lower Enclosure wall to the back (visible) face of the footing is around 16 m. It would be possible therefore to reconstruct the entrance to the Lower Enclosure as being a gateway flanked perhaps by small square towers at the inner end of a passage through the presumed rampart of the Lower Enclosure. (see Fig. 7 Inset for possible arrangement).

Other Observations

In his work on the gatehouse of the motte-and-bailey castle (see R11, Chapter 2.2, Fig. 17), Rigold found that the building had been erected over extensive deposits of chalk rubble, 8 m across and 1.5 m deep, which in turn immediately overlay original topsoil. No dating evidence was recovered, but such deposits are most likely to be remains of the Lower Enclosure bank. If so, it is clear that the gateway of the motte-and-bailey was not in a pre-existing opening of any sort. It is just possible that this chalk rubble could be the remains of the bailey bank itself, and that the original gatehouse of this phase lay elsewhere. There is, however, no other evidence to support this, and it seems more probable that the gatehouse of the motte-and-bailey was here from the start.

The consolidation of the east curtain wall where it crosses the motte ditch gave Rigold a chance to observe the relationship of the curtain wall, the Lower Enclosure wall and the original ground surface at the base of the bailey bank (Pl. 9). This showed that the Lower Enclosure wall had been breached by the motte ditch. Rigold was also able in this area to look at the core of the Lower Enclosure Wall which he found to be of coursed rubble set in mortar. The wall face here is of large rectangular blocks at its base, with roughly squared blocks above.

Discussion

The work described above has added to our knowledge of the so-called Lower Enclosure. It was an irregular pentagon in shape and was defined initially by a bank composed principally of chalk and at least 1.5 m high. If the rampart width was the full length of the gate passage, it must have been 16 m wide. Subsequently the front of the rampart was faced by a stone wall, at least 3 m in width. One stretch shows evidence of being built in two phases, but this could just reflect successive seasons in the same building campaign, and has not been noted elsewhere. Where examined, the wall varies in character. The best-built stretch is either side of the only known entrance which is perhaps not surprising since this would be the main approach to the site. Elsewhere, there is some evidence of work being carried out by less-skilled workers.

The only known entrance lies in the centre of the Enclosure's eastern face and appears to take the form of a passage running back through the rampart with, perhaps, a gate structure incorporating two small towers at its inner end. Just to the north of the entrance is a very small bastion. Rigold's suggestion of other entrances and bastions should be discounted unless and until other evidence comes to light.

It is not easy to date the Lower Enclosure. There was no dating evidence from any of the trenches in which it was examined. Stratigraphically, it can be shown only that it is earlier than the motte-and-bailey castle built over it which means it must be early Norman or earlier. Stylistically there is little help either. In plan it is unusual in that it has only one entrance so far discovered. The style of its masonry seems in places tentative as if constructed by builders with relatively little experience of building in stone.

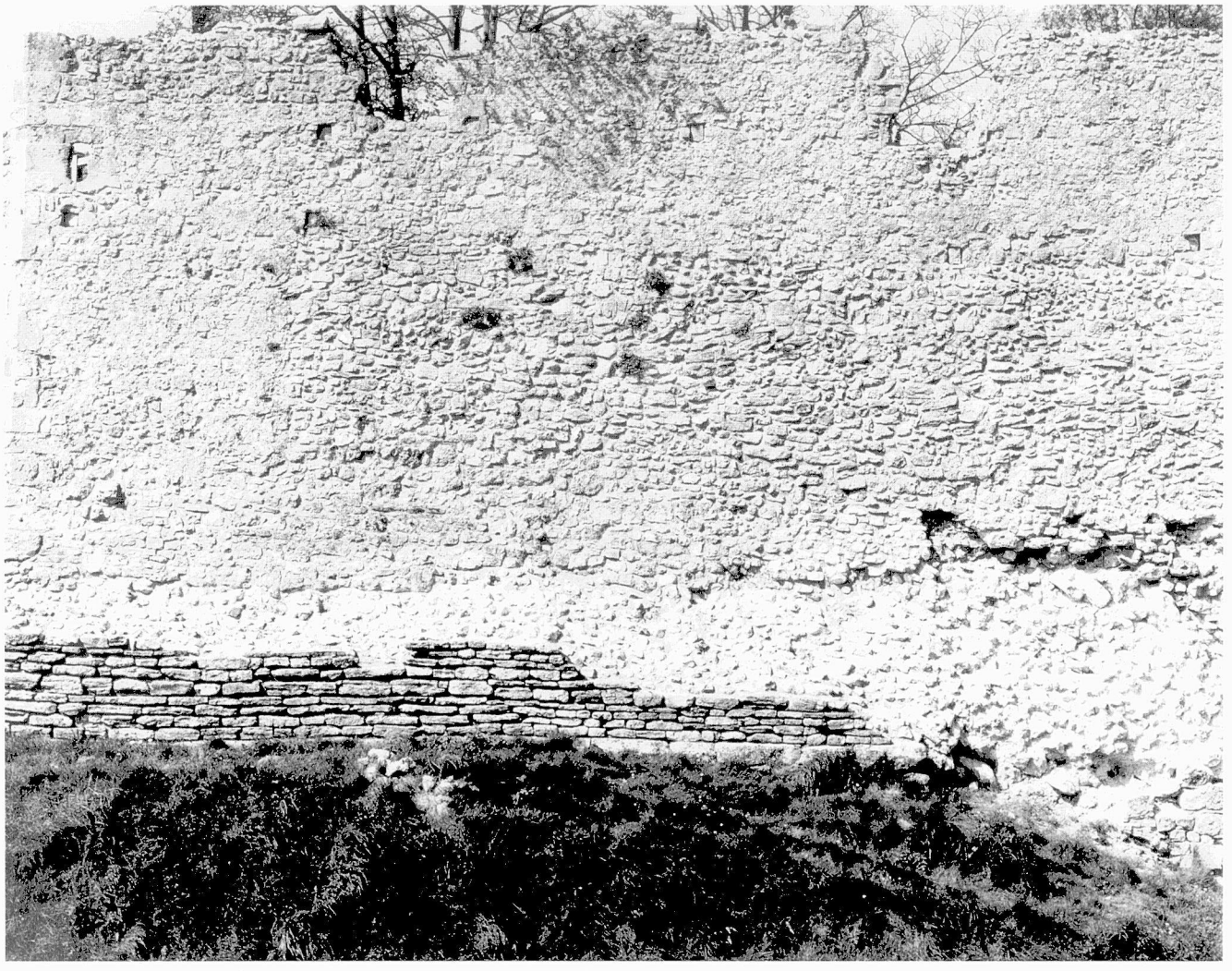

Plate 9 Fourteenth century curtain wall on the east side of the castle, over-ridong the Lower Enclosure wall, in the 1970s

Specific features can be matched to a certain extent elsewhere. Bastions were used in Saxon Shore forts in the late Roman period but were, without exception, larger than that found at Carisbrooke. Saxon Shore forts also had, in some cases, gates recessed behind the wall face (Johnson 1976, fig. 66) but these were much wider in proportion to the length of the entrance passage than is the case here. Another partial parallel is the Ethelredan gate at South Cadbury (Alcock 1995) which featured a long passage, but there the gate was at the outer end. As with the style of the masonry itself, the use of these features seems tentative and uncertain.

There are a number of contexts in the Roman, Saxon, and even the early Norman period into which this defensive work might fit. Given its plan and the tentative nature of its masonry, the Lower Enclosure is clearly not a fort from any part of the Roman occupation. Roman Britain, however, did have defended towns and even defended rural settlements, as at Gatcombe (Branigan 1977), where less polished work might be acceptable. Against any supposition of this sort, however, is the almost total absence of Roman material from the site as a whole. Only eleven Roman pottery sherds have been found, along with one coin of Valens, found in a residual context. Over 150 pieces of Roman building material were found, but those that were stratified were all in medieval contexts and could easily have been collected or imported with other spoil from the nearby Carisbrooke villa during one of the many episodes of major earth-moving on the site. No features of Roman date were found in any of the excavated areas. Given the size and location of the areas that have been dug to natural, it seems almost inconceivable that there was any Roman occupation on the site which would have justified such a major investment as the Lower Enclosure.

Chronologically, if, as is suggested below, the motte-and-bailey castle was not the first Norman castle of Carisbrooke, the Lower Enclosure could be interpreted as that. There are, however, strong reasons against this interpretation. Stone castles earlier than 1100 are uncommon, though not unknown. King (1988, 62)

cites less than a dozen. When castles of the Conquest period were built of stone the work was assured and competent, as at, for instance, Colchester or the Tower of London, not tentative as found here in the Lower Enclosure. Curtain walls were free-standing, not backed by ramparts, while gates and towers were totally unlike what was found here. It may be that the pre-existing Lower Enclosure was used as part of the Conquest castle (see below, p. 194). It is most unlikely that it was built as such.

There remains the possibility of a Late Saxon context for the Lower Enclosure. The Viking raids and invasions of the 10th and 11th centuries necessitated large-scale construction of fortifications across southern England. Where it was not possible to make use of pre-existing Iron Age hill forts or Roman fortifications, and the site was not constrained by topographical considerations, these tended to be rectangular. Excavation at sites of burhs founded *de novo* at Cricklade (Radford 1972), Lydford (Saunders 1980), and Wareham (Hill and Rumble 1996, 21) has shown in all cases an initial earthwork rampart subsequently refaced in stone. These walls were dry-stone but mortar is attested elsewhere, for example at South Cadbury (Alcock 1995). The similarities between the Carisbrooke entrance and the west gate at South Cadbury have already been noted. No bastions have been noted on any such sites, but it is clear that fortification was to some extent experimental. Some of the Roman forts that were reused, for example Portchester, could have provided the inspiration for a bastion.

Viking armies also constructed fortified camps, particularly for over-wintering. In England these seem to have been defended by simple ramparts, not stone walls. Unfortunately the Isle of Wight was not covered by the *Burghal Hidage*, which lists fortified *burhs* through most of Wessex. However, there would have been a clear need for fortification on an island so exposed to sea-borne attack. Wight was indeed raided several times by the Danes in the late 10th and early 11th centuries. In 998 they over-wintered on the island (Whitelock 1961, *passim*). The most likely context, therefore, for the Lower Enclosure is that of a late Saxon *burh*-type defence. The case for this is strengthened by the evidence for 11th century timber buildings in the centre of the site (see below).

2. The Defences of the Motte-and-Bailey

Introduction

The earthworks of the motte-and-bailey are the most prominent remains of the medieval castle (Fig. 8). They are clearly Norman in date and it is generally agreed that these are the defensive circuit which had by 1136 been *ornatissima aedificio lapidum* (Howlett 1886, 28–9), the existing shell keep and curtain wall being those stone fortifications. However, their exact date of construction was uncertain, and both the earthworks and the stone walls which surmount them have clearly been much modified over successive centuries. The only archaeological investigation of them known to have taken place was the trench dug by Captain Markland into the motte in 1892 (Markland 1893), showing the mound to be constructed of alternate horizontal layers of loose and rammed chalk above a layer of stones, principally flint, and an investigation of the south-east angle tower in 1921 (below).

Rigold was interested in establishing the original shape of the earthworks of the motte-and-bailey, whether they were of one construction only or whether the motte had been added to a pre-existing ringwork, their date, and whether the stone defences are genuinely those attested in 1136. He attacked these problems by a survey of the earthworks, a general study of the standing masonry, by investigation of a feature called by him the 'counter-motte' (hereafter east bailey bank) which he identified across the motte ditch from the motte itself, and by excavations and observations in the motte ditch and the gatehouse (Fig. 8, R2, R4, R5, R11, and R12).

Young, apart from more work on the motte ditch (Y1–4), concentrated on the later arrangements on the curtain wall, examining in particular the interval tower on the south curtain (Y6) and the south-west angle tower and its 16th century modification (Y9). He also excavated one trench just outside the gatehouse (Y7) to see whether any evidence survived beneath the post-medieval bastion for the form of the barbican attested in 1587 (see Appendix 1).

Reports on the various excavations have been grouped to collect first the evidence for the east bailey bank and motte ditch (R2, R4, Y1–4), then the defences of the curtain (R5, Y6, Y9, R12, R11 organised in clockwise direction from motte ditch to gatehouse), and finally the search for the medieval outworks (Y7). Before this evidence is addressed, it is helpful first to recapitulate Rigold's conclusions from the resurvey of the earthworks (Fig. 9) and his general study of the masonry (1969, 135–7).

In his view, the resurvey suggested that the motte had originally been more circular than at present, and had been shaved back on its southern, inner side. He also noted that the L-shaped range of buildings to the south of the motte revetted a considerable area of soil build-up to the south-east, far in excess of the bailey rampart alone. He argued that this build-up was the remains of a mound (the east bailey bank) about half the size of the motte, built to support a tower to protect the outer side of the motte ditch. The range of buildings had at a later date been built into this pre-existing

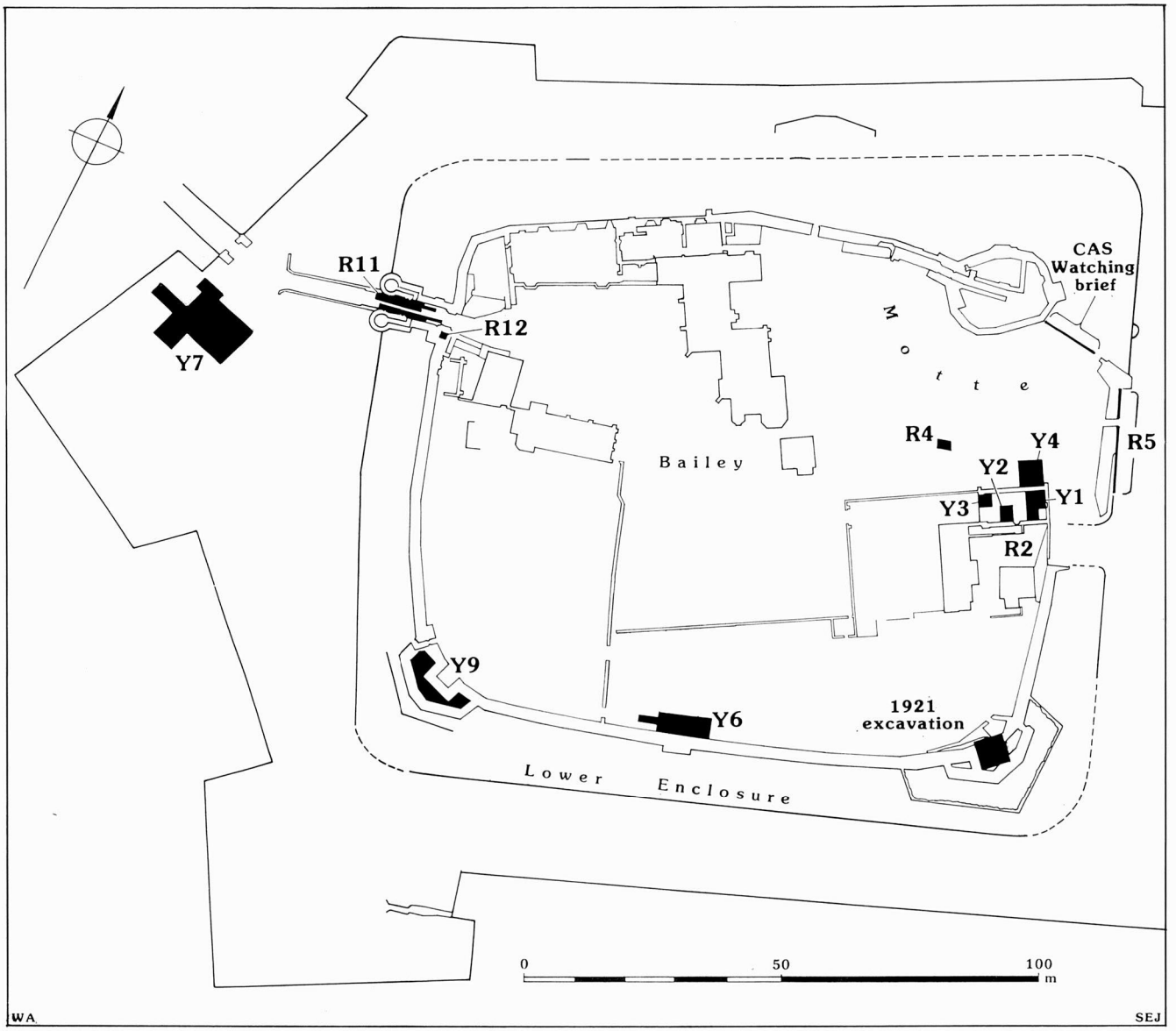

Figure 8 Trenches relating to the defences of the motte-and-bailey, and the medieval outworks

mound. He concluded that the motte-and-bailey banks were contemporary, and that they were the original pre-*Domesday* castle. The first part of this contention is not in doubt, but the dating evidence does need revisiting, particularly in the light of the features discovered in the centre of the site (Chapter 2.3).

Rigold identified the surviving remains of the original stone defences as being the shell-keep and the curtain wall with a gatehouse on the site of the present one (below) and angle towers at the south-east and south-west corners of the circuit. Both had open gorges. There was an interval tower midway along the south curtain and he thought that the outturn of the curtain wall on the counter-motte could be evidence for a further tower there. He found no evidence of any earlier stone defences on top of the bank and was satisfied that these were the defences mentioned in the *Gesta Stephani* (Howlett 1886, 28–9). There is no reason to alter this conclusion.

R2

No records survive of this trench to investigate the east bailey bank. Rigold (1969, 132) described it in print as a sondage 'through the east bank on and just south of the hill-crest' and said (ibid., 135) that one period only was indicated in the build-up of deposits. He argued that the sondage was over the entrance into the Lower Enclosure and this is why the Lower Enclosure wall and bank were not found. Eye witness accounts show that the trench was narrow and very deep, and was dug

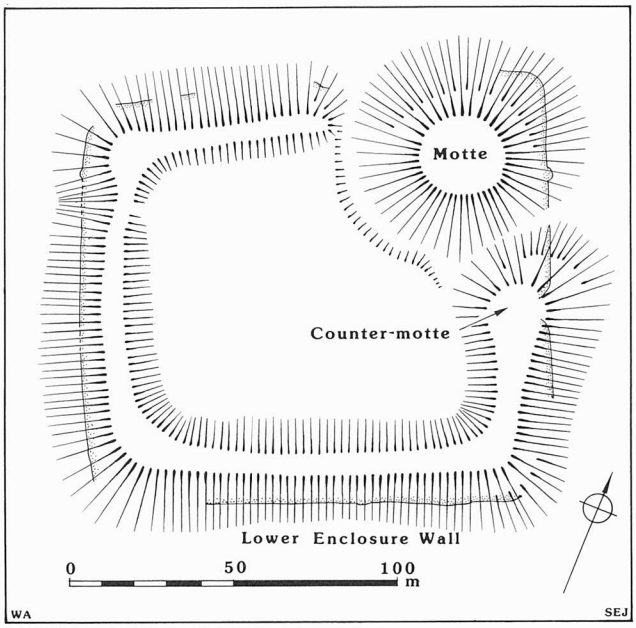

Figure 9 Conjectured original form of motte-and-bailey (after Rigold 1969, fig. 3)

in the courtyard formed by the L-shaped range of buildings. The trench was not sited to allow investigation of the putative tower on top of this mound.

R4

Rigold was able to record the evidence revealed by the digging of a soakaway for a drain from a Donkey Pen. The section was only 2.5 m (8 ft) wide and 3.8 m (13 ft) deep. It was sited in the still-visible ditch between the motte and the bailey south of the motte and 30 m west of the curtain wall. It thus formed a partial radial section on the inner side of the ditch. The ditch was not bottomed (Pl. 10) The only evidence for this trench is a section drawing and some photographs. The drawing has been annotated with layer descriptions, and suggested dates for certain layers, presumably based on the pottery evidence, which does not survive.

The sequence was a straight-forward succession of deposits with two main periods of fill. The ditch was cut into the natural chalk with sides sloping at about 45°. Large chalk pieces constituted the lowest fill reached, which has no layer number. This was overlain by layer 4 of 'dirty decomp. chalk', annotated 'Mid C12'. Layer (3) was a 'dirty grey soil with chalk and pot' and included some 'fallen stones' and 'silt' at its interface with (4). The section was annotated 'Mid C12' and '? or late 12C?'.

Overlying (3) were lenses of chalk pieces, 'chalk with clay', 'brown gravel with chalk' and 'red clay'. The clay layer runs out from the north side of the ditch and buts against a line of stones, one course high, on chalk

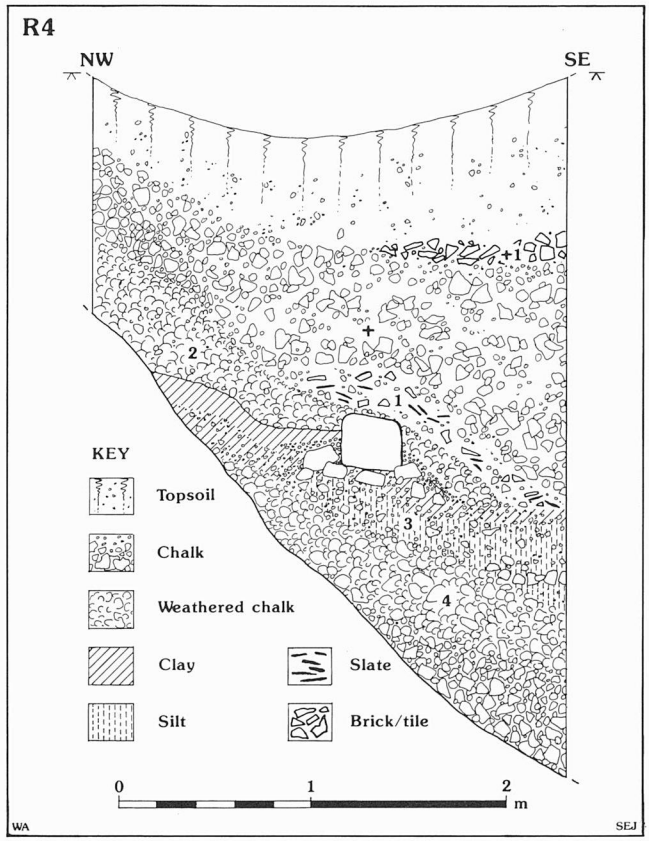

Figure 10 Partial radial section of motte ditch: section of drain soakaway (R4)

footings. Over this was layer (2) of 'decomp. grey chalk' which appears to have been tipped against the line of stones and partially retained by it. Overlying (2) and (3) is layer (1), a 'dirty earth with chalk, pot, tile and slate'. It is additionally labelled C13–C14, while marginal notes add '? 1320's or pre Isabella?'. These layers seem to mark a pause in the silting of the ditch.



Plate 10 Site R4 during excavaton of the motte ditch, showing line of stones holding back fill. Scale in feet

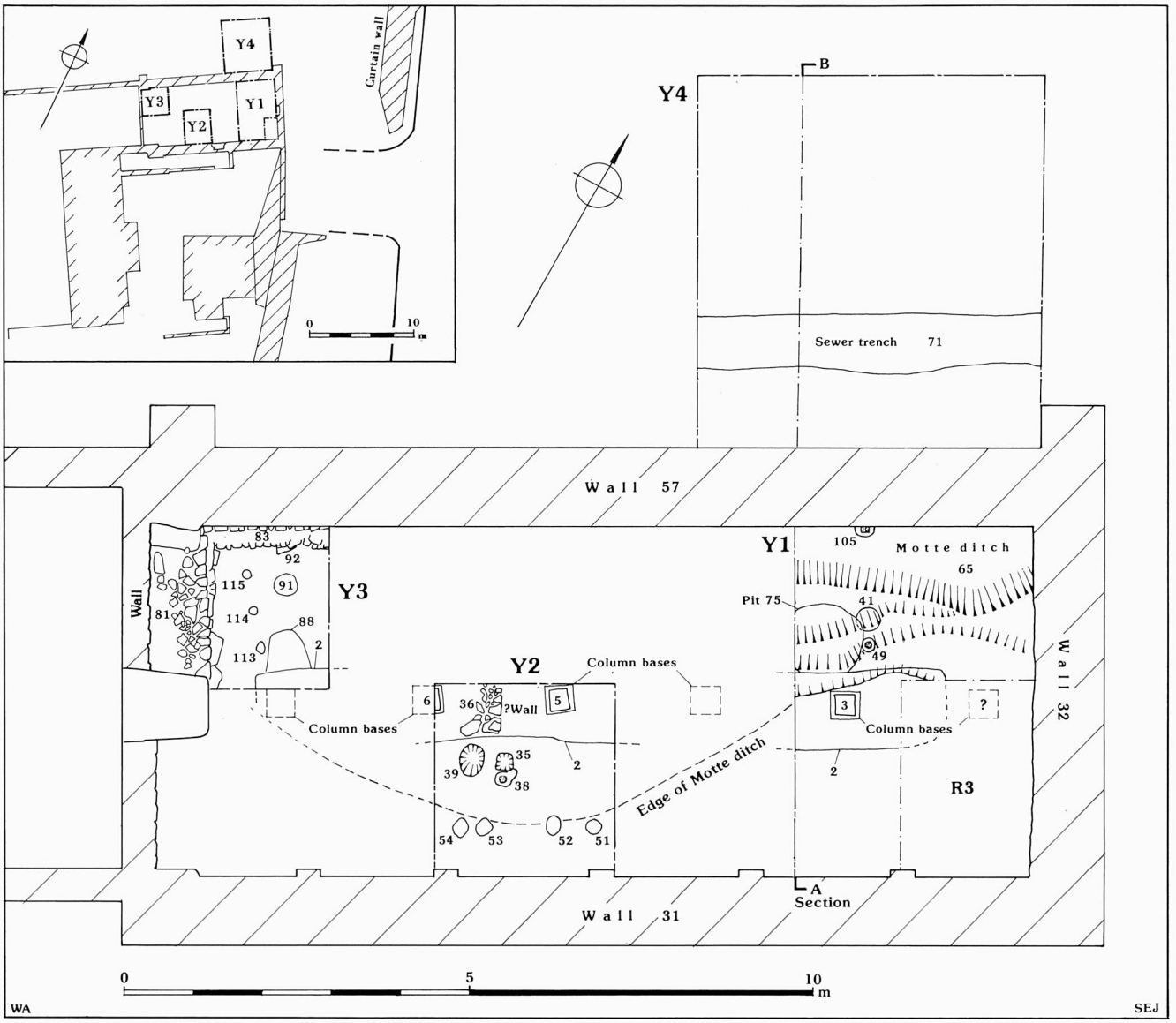

Figure 11 Plan of trenches Y1–Y4

The rest of the ditch fill comprises a tongue of 'white chalk' high on the side of the ditch, a 'yellow dirty crumbled rubble', called layer (+), filling the middle of the ditch, a lens (+1) without description containing 'post med. pot and tile', and lastly 'garden soil'. The ditch was at least 3.6 m deep, and shows no evidence of bottoming out. This suggests that it could be at least 4–5 m in depth. On the basis of the excavator's dating of the pottery from the various fills, it appears that the ditch had filled to within 2 m of its present surface by the 14th century. It is likely also that the filling of the ditch halted for a time thereafter.

Y1–Y4

These four trenches (Fig. 11) were dug in and around the Garage/Coach house (see also R3 and Fig. 7, above). This building in its present form appears 19th century and is the northern arm of the L-shaped range that clasps the so-called 'counter-motte'. Plans and paintings show it to be considerably earlier and to have reached its present form after many changes (cf. Stone 1891, pl. 122, 'Soldiers Quarters'). The building revets the considerable build up between itself and the curtain wall to the south-east and stands on the present edge of the largely filled-in motte ditch. The evidence for the building is included for convenience in this section, although it is obviously not relevant to the Castle defences.

The original intention was to excavate the whole interior of the building to establish the context of the footing believed to belong to gateway of Lower Enclosure (R3, above). However, it was established early on that the footing had been totally divorced from its context when found in 1959. Work thereafter



Plate 11 Site Y4 from the north showing the Garage/Coach house north wall and motte ditch under excavation. Scale 2 m

concentrated on the history of the building, its relationship to the motte ditch and on the ditch itself.

For structural reasons the interior of building could not be totally excavated. Therefore Y1–3 were dug in chequer-board fashion to examine as large an area as possible. Y1 extended the full width of the building, but Y2 and Y3 each went only to the mid-line of the building. Subsequently Y4 was opened against the outside of the north wall of the building to continue the investigation of the motte ditch, after the latter's original edge had been identified inside the building.

In all trenches in the building the earliest deposit was a buried topsoil layer 61 containing a few early-mid Saxon sherds (Phase 3) possibly deriving from disturbed or destroyed graves (below). The relationship of this soil to the gateway footing is unclear. Above this level there were deposits of chalk rubble (eg, Fig 12, Y1, 58). These deposits had been cut by the southern (outer) edge of the motte ditch (see below, p. 58, for discussion of the significance of this deposit). The edge of the motte ditch curved through the building.

Y4 was dug outside to explore the motte ditch further (Pl. 11). For safety reasons, it was not possible to go down more than 4 m and the bottom and sides of the ditch were not reached. The lowest levels reached in Y4 were of chalk rubble, of chalk rubble with greensand inclusions, and of fine chalk wash. This was characteristic of most of the fill in the ditch which had clearly been originally massive. Much of the fill must have been deliberate tipping. As might be expected, finds were not common and there were no good groups. However, there is a clear distinction between medieval pottery in the lower levels, and post-medieval material in the upper 2– 2.5 m of fill. The lowest level containing post-medieval pot was layer 132 (cf. Fig 12, Y4). It appears, as in R4, that there are two major periods of filling in the motte ditch. The second period could be connected with the construction of a path leading down to the east postern, which had been laid, from the evidence of historic plans, before 1723.

The 'Garage' building had been built across the edge of the motte ditch. The foundation of the north wall (context 57) is carried on a series of piers joined by relieving arches (Pl. 12). It is assumed that these piers reach bedrock but this could not be proven for safety reasons. The walling within the relieving arches appeared to rest on ditch fill. The north wall was constructed of regularly coursed masonry blocks, principally greensand, in yellow mortar. Its inner face has a series of offsets with the highest being just beneath the present floor of the building. The lowest offset was the deepest point reached inside the garage, and butted the north wall's inner face up against the side of the ditch.

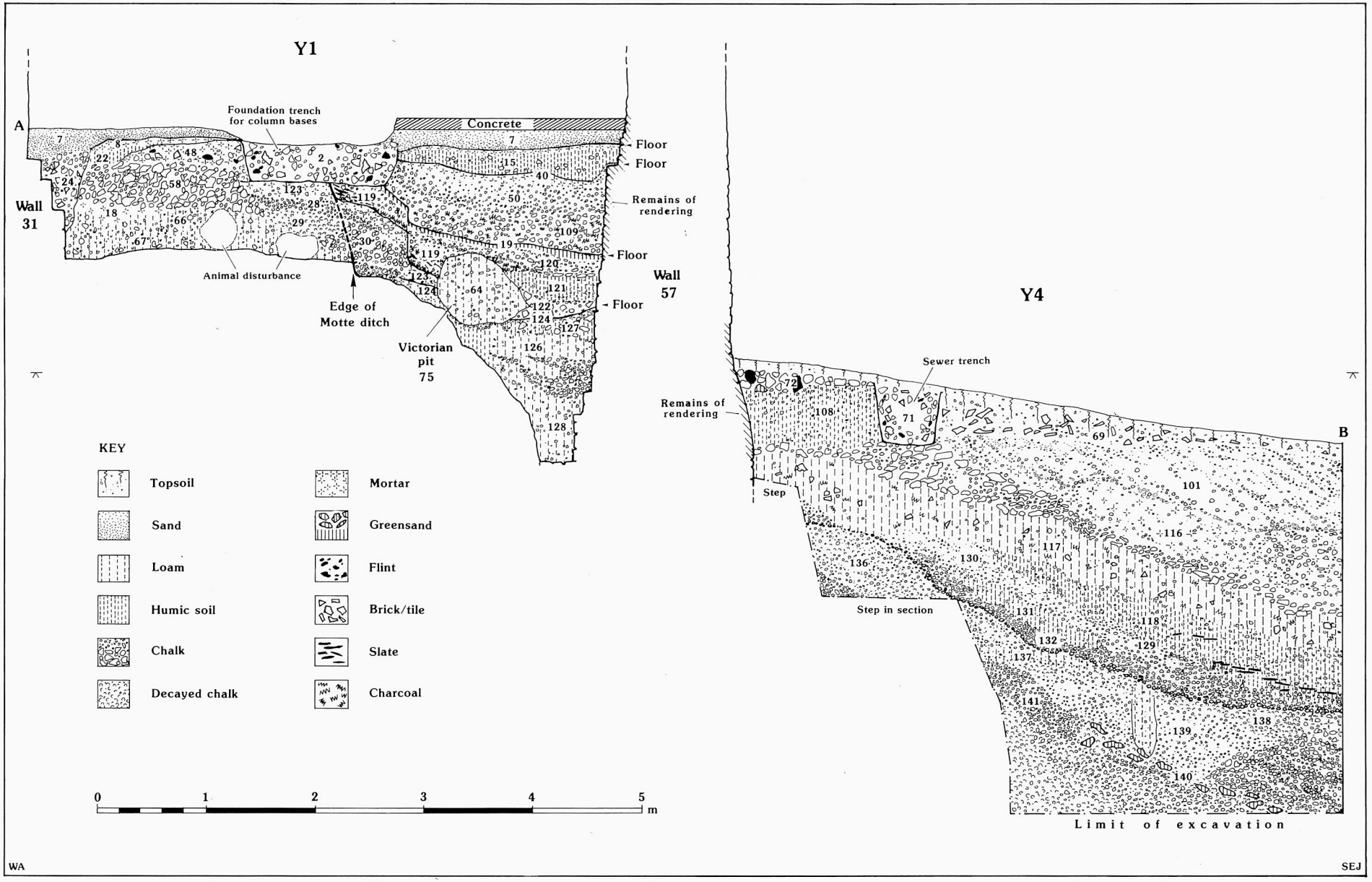

Figure 12 Section through medieval building (Y1–Y4)

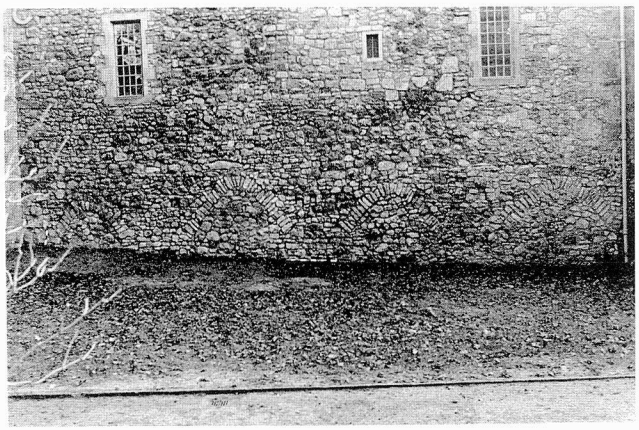

Plate 12 North wall of Garage/Coach house showing relieving arches and later inserted windows, 1997

Below the modern floor level inside the building, yellow mortar render survived on the wall face as far down as context 19, a floor. Outside, the wall below ground level had traces of white mortar render down to the penultimate course of the fill of the relieving arches, suggesting that this was the ground level when the building was constructed (Pl. 13). The east wall (context 32) was of similar build. The original (internal) face of the south wall (context 31) had been concealed by a brick face in the 19th century.

In Y1 and Y3 all the layers which were reached in the excavation were later than the north wall of the building. It was clear that subsidence had been a major problem over the filled-in ditch and evidence survived for a number of floors because they had subsided into the ditch fill. Similar evidence did not survive on the southern side of the building because the successive floors had clearly been at much the same level since it was built.

Despite its present appearance, it is clear that this building was originally medieval. As noted above, medieval layers appear to butt against it outside. The use of relieving arches in this particular way is also paralleled in medieval contexts elsewhere. Inside the building, floor 40 was post-medieval. Below that are two floor levels (Fig. 12,Y1, layers 19, 124) which, with their make-up levels, contain only medieval material. Unfortunately the archaeological evidence is insufficient to give a closer date, or to identify the original use of the building. No evidence of internal divisions has survived.

The building has undergone substantial modifications over the years, the last being the very thorough refurbishment of 1856 (Stone 1891, 102). At this time probably, buttresses were added to the building and the present double-arched entrance at its west end was inserted. Excavation discovered evidence of an earlier phase in which a trench was dug down the centre of the building as the foundation for a series of square brick bases with sockets for timber supports for the first floor



Plate 13 Site Y4: detail of the north wall of Garage/Coach house showing relieving arch and remains of white mortar render on wall. Scale 0.5 m



Plate 14 Fourteenth century blocking wall and flanking tower across the motte ditch (from the east), over-riding the Lower Enclosure wall, in the the 1990s. The sally port in the base of the motte ditch was probably inserted in the 17th century. On the left (south side) are the remains of the counter motte and the counter motte tower

of the building (Fig. 11, contexts 2, 3, 5, 6; Fig. 11, 2). A coin of William III in the backfill dates this not earlier than *c.* 1700, during the incumbency of Lord Cutts who spent £735 on the castle (Stone 1891, 87). The various small post-holes found in Y2 and 3 were presumably for scaffold poles needed during one or more of the building's repairs or refurbishments.

R5

The curtain wall between the east bailey bank and the motte proper is obviously a blocking wall built to close off any possible access into the castle through the motte ditch. It is terminated at its northern (motte) end by a small tower of 14th century appearance. Given the style of the tower, it is reasonable to consider the whole of this wall as a 14th century modification to the defences. Recent observations on the motte by English Heritage's Central Archaeological Service (D. Bachelor, pers. comm.) found evidence of a curtain wall up the motte from this tower to the keep curtain wall (see Fig. 8). There is at present a gap between the southern end of the curtain wall blocking the motte ditch and the bailey bank and it is far from clear how this weakness was dealt with.

Reconservation of this section of wall provided the opportunity for study of its architectural detail by Rigold. The core and the wall-face were examined and mortar samples taken. The wall had a chalk core with ashlar facings. The intersection of the blocking wall, the Lower Enclosure wall and original ground surface was revealed by the removal of material at the foot of the bank. The lowest three facing courses of the Lower Enclosure Wall survived and were built of squared ashlars. Above this was the core of the wall, built of roughly coursed and mortared stones. The Lower Enclosure wall had been cut by the motte ditch and the blocking wall across the ditch rode up over the Lower Enclosure wall. The insertion, probably in the 17th century, of the sally port was very clear (Pl. 14).

Y6

Midway along the south curtain a rectangular projection on the external face of the wall and a corresponding blocking on the inner face mark the position of a former interval tower (Fig. 3 and Fig. 13, inset). Two of the trenches (E and F) dug by Rigold in his 'toiletries excavation' (R1) had identified the rear wall of this tower on the bailey bank (Chapter 2.3). Y6

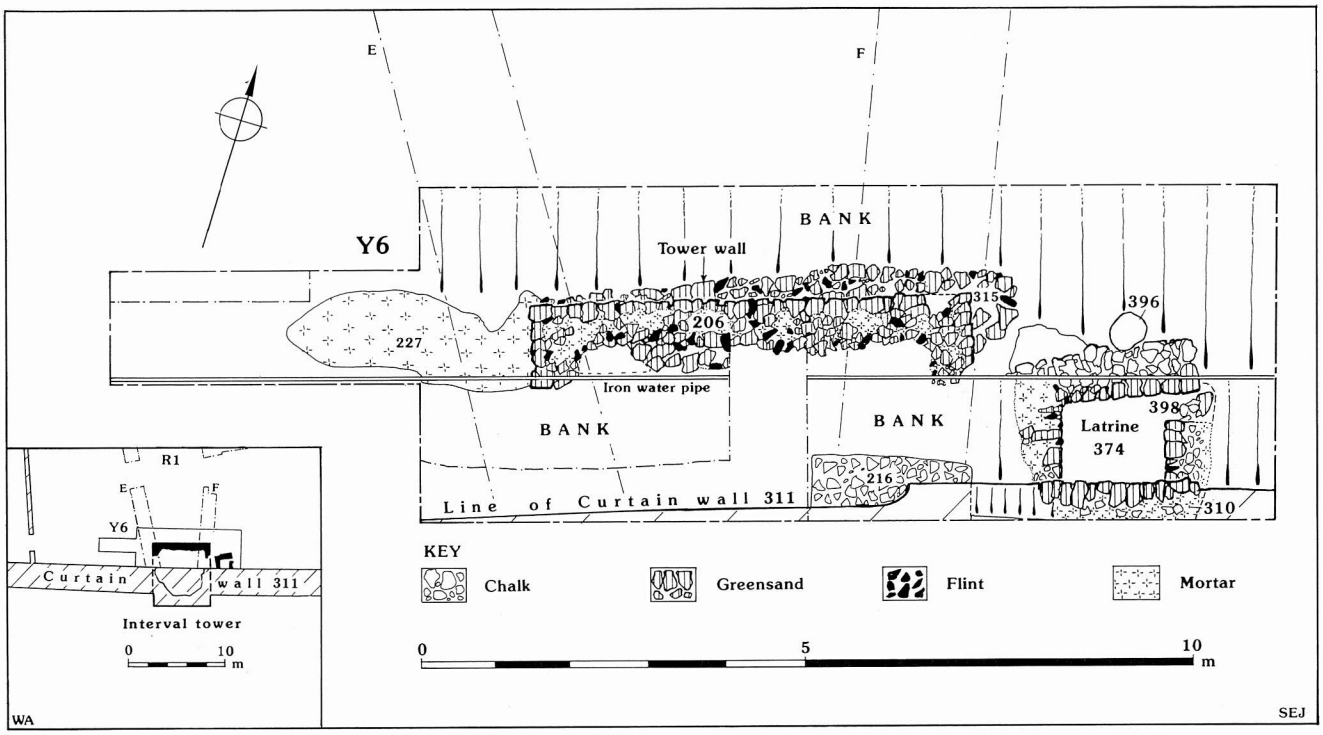

Figure 13 Plan of trench Y6

was dug in 1977 to examine the remains of the tower and to establish its plan. It was laid out against the inner face of the curtain wall and was 11 m long by 4.5 m wide. An extension to the west, 4.0 m by 1.5 m, was added subsequently. In 1978, the need to reconserve this part of the curtain wall made possible examination of the blocking wall and what lay behind it.

The earliest and dominant feature of the trench was the bailey bank. This shows considerable evidence of landscaping and modifications for garden features. The extent to which the curtain wall has been underpinned, and also the absence of any evidence of the footings of the side walls of the interval tower (below), suggests that the original height of the rampart has been reduced over the centuries by erosion. Excavation hardly penetrated into the core of the bank. Such observation as there was suggests that the bank was built of chalk rubble.

The curtain wall had been built on top of the rampart and had no evidence of any footings, possibly because of the erosion suggested above. It is constructed at this point of coursed greensand and chalk rubble with some pieces of Roman tile, set in a creamy mortar. This mortar may in fact be a later repointing since elsewhere the original mortar of the Norman defences is orange.

The interval tower appears to be integral with the curtain wall. Its front face survives as a projection forward of the curtain wall to the height of the curtain. Matching this projection on the inner face of the curtain is a blocking, flush with the curtain, of large squared greensand ashlars. Apart from this there was no evidence surviving above ground (Pl. 15).

Excavation uncovered a wall (Fig. 13, 206) some 2.5 m behind the curtain wall. This was 5.8 m long and 0.6 m wide, with a right angled return at each end. Two to three courses of greensand and large flints, set in dark yellow/orange mortar survived. One surviving quoin at the north-west corner was of limestone. The wall had been built on a foundation (Fig. 13, 315) of large flints and lumps of greensand in yellow mortar set into a construction trench cut into the bank.

This rear wall of the interval tower gives it overall dimensions of 5.8 m east to west by 6.0 m north-south, projecting south of the curtain wall *c.* 3.0 m. Apart from the stubs of the returns of the rear wall, there was no evidence for any side walls of the tower. It must be assumed that the footings had eroded away or been removed at one of the times that the bailey banks were landscaped.

In the angle between the curtain wall and the line of the east wall of the tower there was a rectangular, stone-walled pit (Fig. 13, 374), around 1.3 m by 1 m. This had been dug into the rampart and revetted on all four sides by walls of greensand, flint and chalk, set in yellow mortar and packed behind by orange clay containing lumps of flint, chalk and greensand (Pl. 16). The north wall had been extended past the end of the east wall, leaving a gap 0.3 m wide (Fig. 13, 398). Immediately north of the north wall was a post hole (Fig. 13, 396).

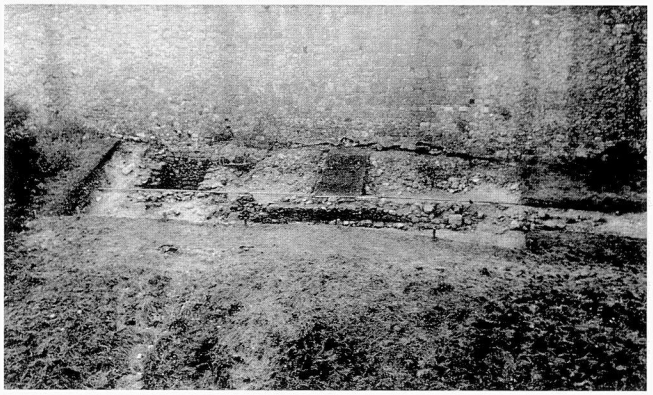

Plate 15 Site Y6 from the north, with the back wall of the interval tower and garderobe pit to the left. Scale 2 m

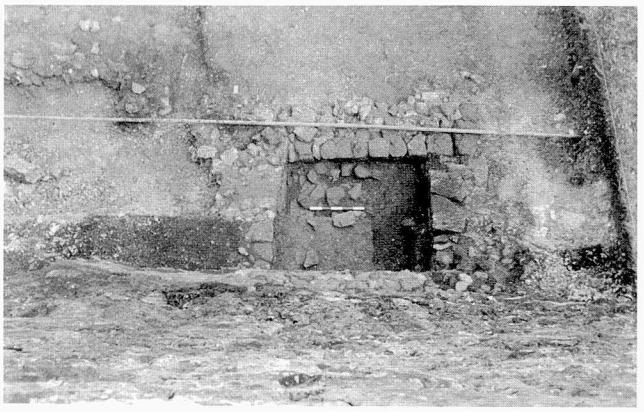

Plate 16 Site Y6, garderobe pit from above under excavation, with the back wall of the tower to the left. Scale 0.5 m

The bottom of the pit was of puddled chalk (context 400). Above this was a series of orange or orange–brown layers characteristic of cess-pit fills (contexts 373, 381, 393). The pottery from these layers was of phase 4 (11th century) and must be residual. The top of the pit had been filled with clay (contexts 361, 374, 319).

The obvious interpretation of this feature is that it was a latrine pit, with the gap 398 being a drainage hole to allow seepage into the bank. It is clearly medieval in date. What is unclear from the excavated evidence is the nature of its superstructure and how it related to the tower or to the curtain wall. The revetment walls of the pit do not look sufficiently robust to have carried a stone superstructure to any height, nor do they seem to have been bonded into either the curtain or the interval tower. A more likely possibility, perhaps, is a timber or half-timbered structure, based on the tops of the pit walls, forming a turret in the angle between the tower and the curtain, and entered either from the latter or from whatever accommodation the tower contained.

The opportunity for examination of the tower interior during reconservation of the blocking wall sheds some light on its later history. The blocking could not be removed in total so only limited investigation was possible. This showed that at least the west wall of the tower had been lined out with brick. Six courses of bricks in an irregular English Bond survived. The bricks are identical to those used in the Officer's Quarters built by Carey in the later 16th century. Traces of a brick floor were found also, apparently bedded on slates. This work is most likely to have been part of Carey's work to improve the accommodation in the Castle during his term as Governor. Evidence of this use is provided also by a blocked brick window jamb at high level in the tower (Peers 1982, 16).

Above the brickwork floor was a raft of yellow mortar containing large greensand blocks and some worked Bembridge stone as well as fragments of brick and slate. This formed the foundation for the present blocking wall. The only archaeological evidence from the excavation for the date of the blocking is a pot, probably from Verwood, lying in a silt layer on top of the brick floor (Chapter 4). This suggests that the blocking took place in the 18th century. A plan of 1742 (reproduced in Stone (1891, pl. 116)) shows the tower as a whole, but the rear part had definitely gone by 1856 (ibid., pl. 117). The ashlar is similar in character to the garden walls now dividing the castle interior.

Following the blocking of the tower, it is clear from the present form of the bailey banks that they had been landscaped as part of the castle gardens. Excavation added little information to this, apart from the discovery of a water main running along the bank.

Angle Towers and Knights

The defences of the castle were extensively modified in 1587, and again between 1597 and 1602 to create a fortress to withstand attack by modern artillery (see Chapter 2.4, 2.5, Appendices 1, 2). Works in 1587 included the addition of 'knights' to the south-east and south-west angle towers of the curtain, both of which had been constructed in the 12th century – at the same time as the curtain wall. These 'knights' are small artillery bastions added to the existing fortifications. The documentary evidence demonstrates that considerable masonry work was involved in these modifications, and also that two towers (presumably the angle towers) were reduced in height. This was part of a larger programme of work which also included the construction of ravelins as outworks to the south, south-east, east, and north of the castle. From the accounts for the work these were primarily earthworks, but had some masonry elements. The accounts for 1601/2 (Appendix 2) record 'the raysinge and buyldinge upp of twoe cavalieres' which may be these bastions at the south-east and south-west angles. Certainly today, they carry date-stones of 1602 and 1601 respectively



Plate 17 Mountjoy Tower from the south during reconservation in the 1970s, showing internal thickening of the 1587 Knight, around the cut-down Norman angle tower

The two knights are the only elements of this building campaign recognisably to survive, since the remainder must have been swept away or modified by the major works carried out twelve years later (see chapters 2.4 and 2.5). It seems that the knights may have been altered at this time.

Both knights were apparently constructed by building them outside their angle-tower and then filling in the space between.

South-east Knight

The South-East knight, known as the Mountjoy Tower, was investigated in 1921. The only record is the plan on which Figure 14 is based. Excavation between the walls of the knight and the 12th century angle tower showed that the latter had been partially demolished (Fig. 14) and that it had plastered external wall-faces. Solid masonry was found in the gap between the two walls at a depth of around a foot (300 mm). Conservation work in the 1970s took off the protective capping of the knight's wall top. This revealed that the wall had been thickened internally at some point (presumably in 1600/1 when work is recorded) (Pl. 17). The bastion has three faces and two short flanks and is somewhat irregular in plan. There is no surviving visible evidence for the number or location of gun embrasures or for any of its other arrangements.

South-west Knight: Y9

The need to renew the wall-walk path across the south-west knight provided the opportunity to examine the face of the 12th century angle tower, concealed since 1587, and the construction and original plan of the bastion. The face of the angle tower, and of the curtain wall (951) adjoining it to east and west, was exposed to a depth of 1.5 m (Fig. 15). The top half metre had been totally repointed, most recently at some time after 1941 (the date of a coin found in the trench dug to allow repointing). Both tower and curtain wall had been built of rubble, principally greensand with occasional flints and chalk, set in orange sandy mortar. The quoins at the angles between the tower and the curtain wall were dressed blocks of Quarr stone similar to those on the angles of the curtain wall. The tower was bonded into the curtain wall (Pl. 18).

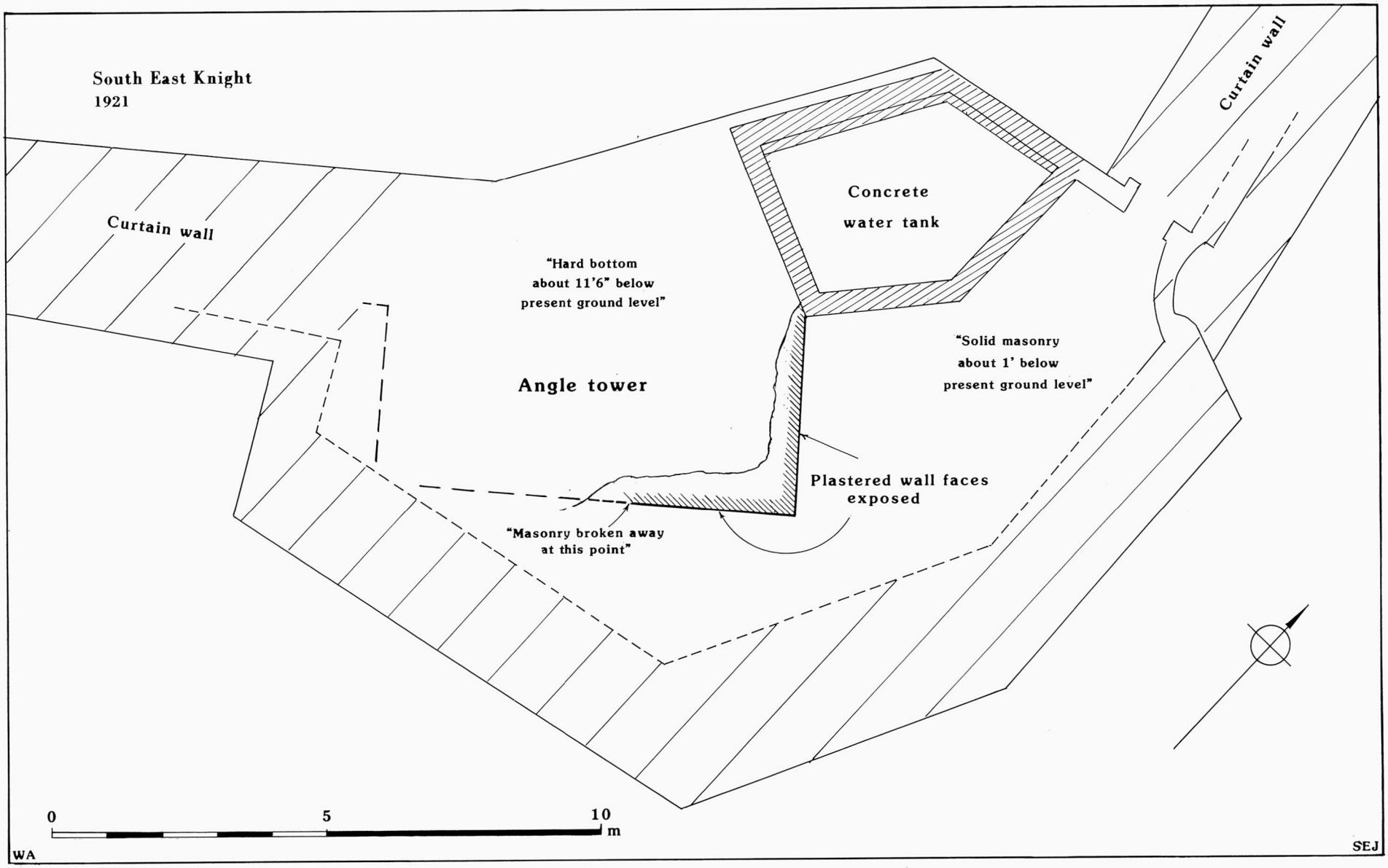

Figure 14 Plan of the south-east Knight (Mountjoy Tower)

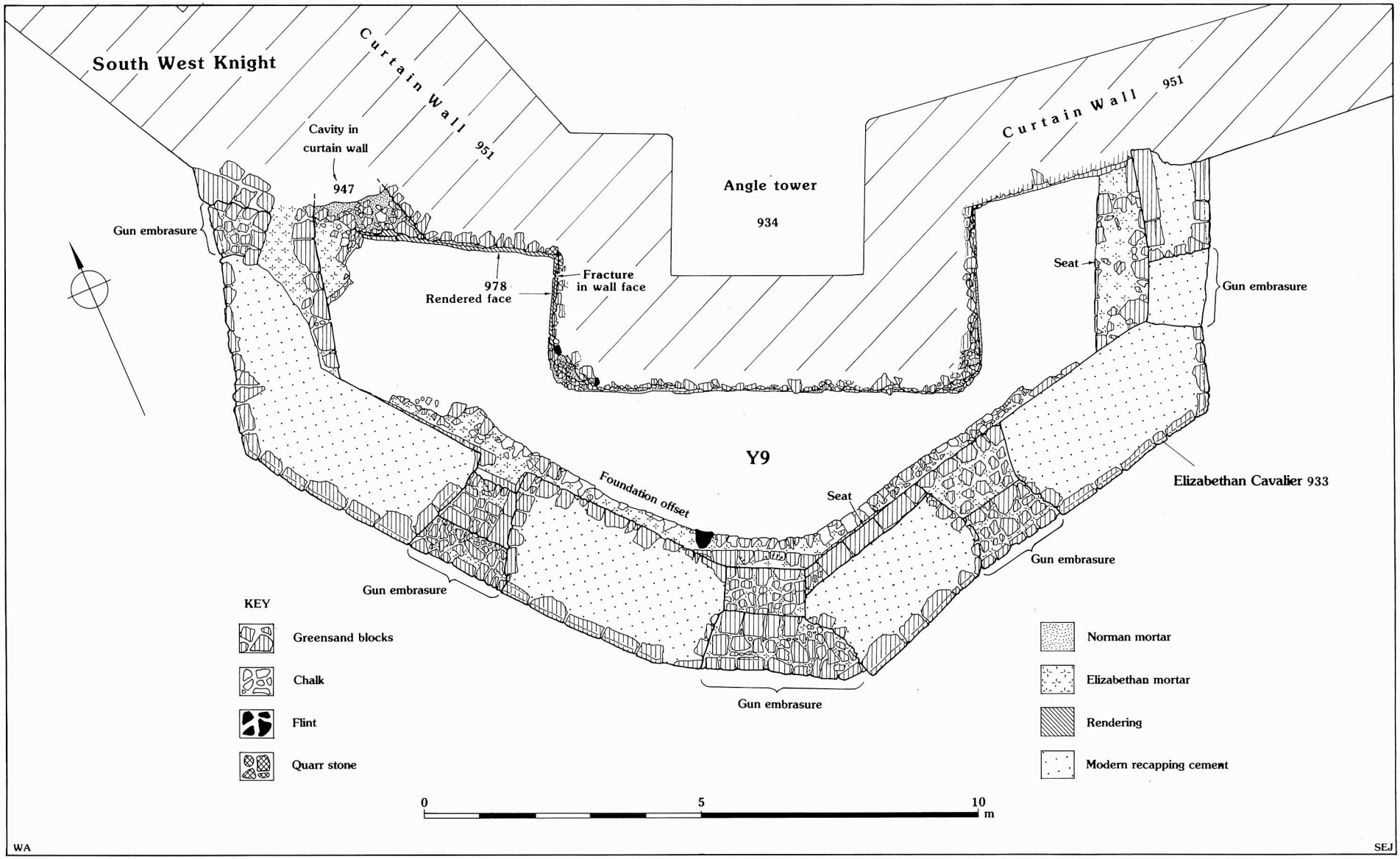

Figure 15 Plan of the south-west Knight (Y9)



Plate 18 The South-West Knight from the north showing the Norman angle tower enclosed by the 1587 Knight

The walls of both had been rendered with a fine white mortar with some gritty inclusions. This was the surface coat to a base layer of coarser mortar with fragments of flint, slate and Roman tile.

In the north-west face of the tower there was a major fracture, some 40 mm wide, running to the full depth of the excavation (Pl. 19). No attempt had been made to repair it. The edges of the render in the fracture were very sharp and uneroded. This suggests that the wall-face was buried very soon after the fracture occurred, and possibly that it was caused by works connected with the construction of the knight.

The knight takes the form of a slightly irregular angle bastion built to the full height of the curtain wall. Its plan is slightly different in detail from the south-east knight. The two flanks are comparatively short, while the two faces are of differing lengths. The actual angle of the bastion is blunted because it was the site of a gun embrasure. The top, visible parapet to the bastion has been much altered in more recent times to provide garden seats and the rear face of the parapet does not coincide in all cases with the original rear of the wall of the bastion which in some places it oversails and in others is inset from it.



Plate 19 Site Y9, the Norman angle tower from the west showing render and fracture in masonry. Scale 2 m



Plate 20 Site Y9, wall of South-West Knight from the north-east with gun embrasures and ?19th century parapet top over original wall. Scale 2 m

The original arrangements of the bastion have been much obscured by these later modifications and by the present capping of the walls. Selective unpicking of this capping established that there were five embrasures, one in each flank, one in the centre of each face, and one at the apex of the two faces. As far as could be established, all were of the standard waisted plan, widening at front and rear to allow maximum traversing of the guns (Pl. 20).

Where it was possible to examine the original walling of the bastion, both faces of the wall were of greensand ashlars, and the core was of chalk rubble set in yellow mortar. It was found that the regular ashlar inner face of the wall went down only for a few courses (presumably those originally visible when the bastion was first completed). Below this, there was chalk rubble bonded with yellow mortar and below that rubble alone. This meant that, below the parapet level, the bastion had been constructed by tipping fill behind its front face which may have made its stability suspect.

Excavation of the fill between the front wall of the bastion and the angle tower showed that the upper levels were of paths and garden-related activities. Below this, the original fill could only be examined to a slight extent for safety reasons. It consisted of layers of rubble, principally chalk, and other building debris. This included greensand, some with traces of white render and orange–brown sand, which may have been decayed mortar, as well as orange mortar. All this probably came from the demolition of the upper part of the tower, which must be one of the two recorded in the 1587 building accounts as having been taken down.

Unlike the South-East knight, there was no evidence for any rebuild or thickening of the wall of the bastion which might indicate two phases of construction, as suggested by the documentary evidence. If indeed work was carried out in 1600, it was either so minor as to have been obscured by later modifications, or so major as to have started below the level reached in excavation.

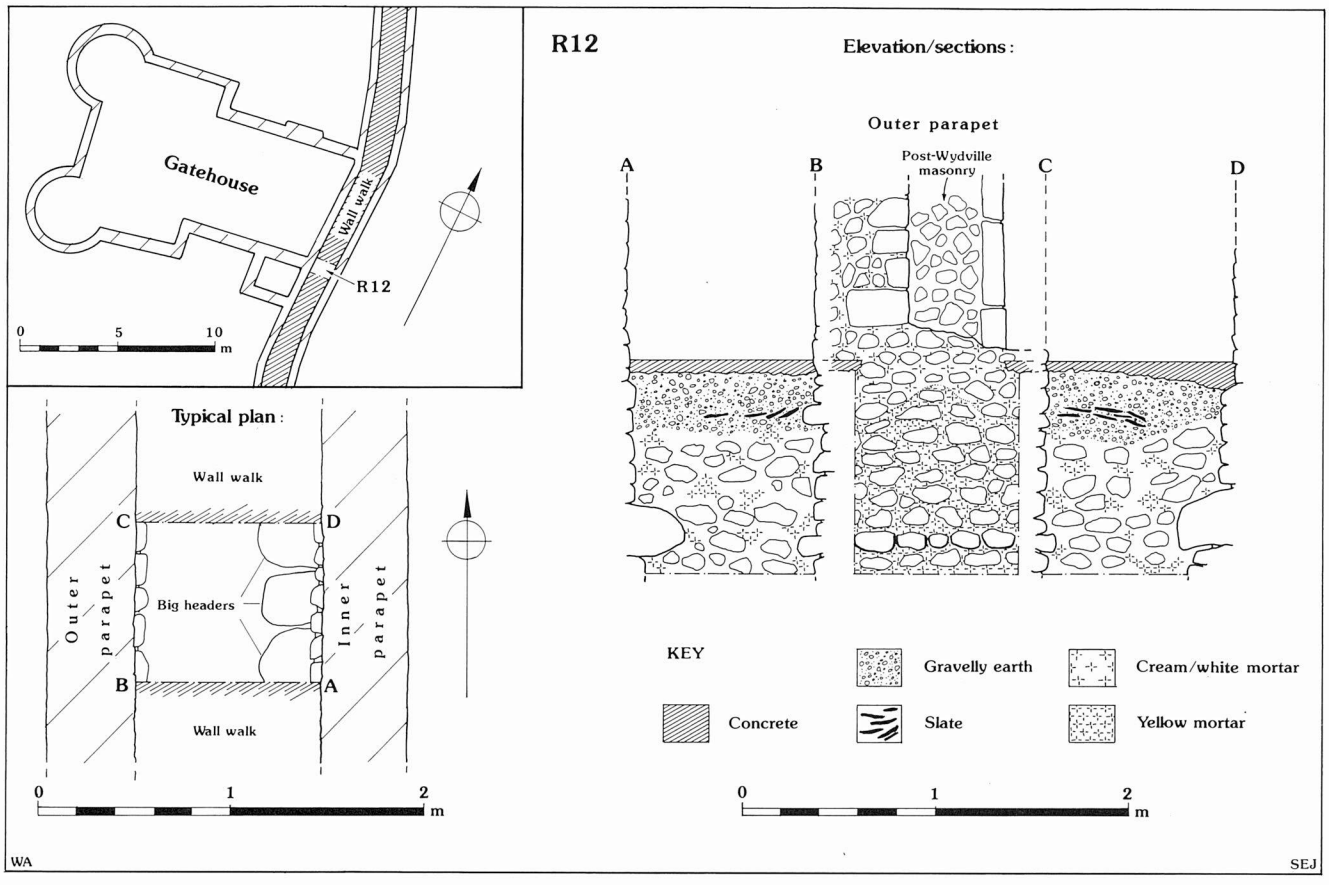

Figure 16 Plan, location, and elevation of Site R12 on wall-walk above gatehouse

R12

This was a small trench dug by Rigold on the wall walk where the curtain wall is pierced by the gatehouse (Fig. 16). At this point the wall walk is now flanked by parapets towards the castle interior, and also between the walk and the flat roof of the gatehouse. He recorded the trench by drawing its south, west, and north faces, and by making a sketch plan.

Beneath the present concrete path and its bedding of gravelly earth, he found the wall-core to consist of rubble set in yellowish mortar between the two wall faces. The sketch plan and section shows that the eastern wall face was tied back into the core by large headers some five courses below the present wall walk. It is possible that the uppermost five courses have been rebuilt more recently.

The west face of the trench was in fact formed by the end of the gatehouse wall which was built of coursed rubble set in yellow mortar. The top of the wall had been rebuilt at least twice. The first rebuild, attributed by Rigold to Woodville's recorded work to

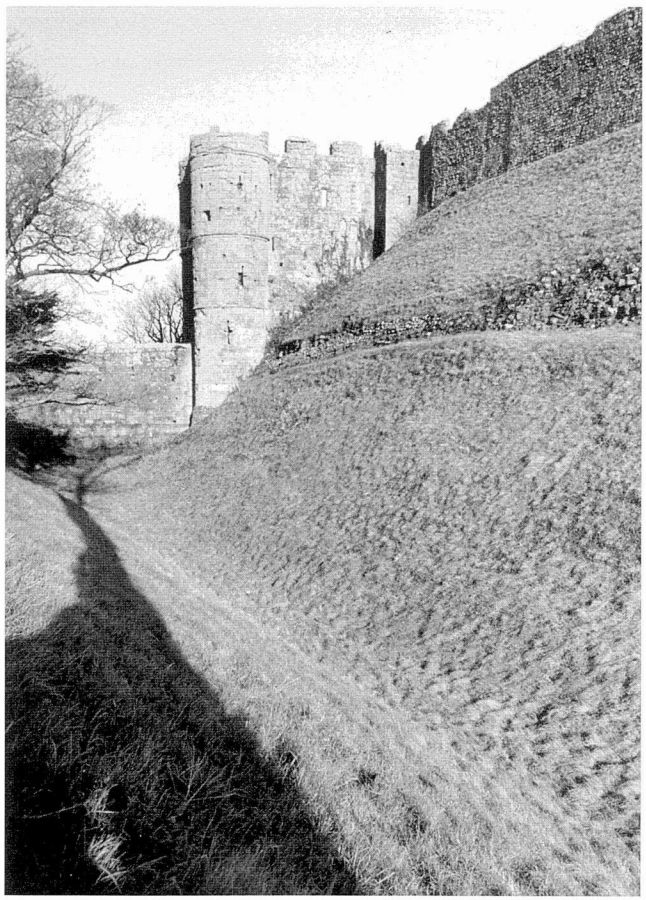

Plate 21 The gatehouse from the south, with 14th century drum towers added to 13th century gatehouse. The photograph also shows the Lower Enclosure wall at the base of the bank

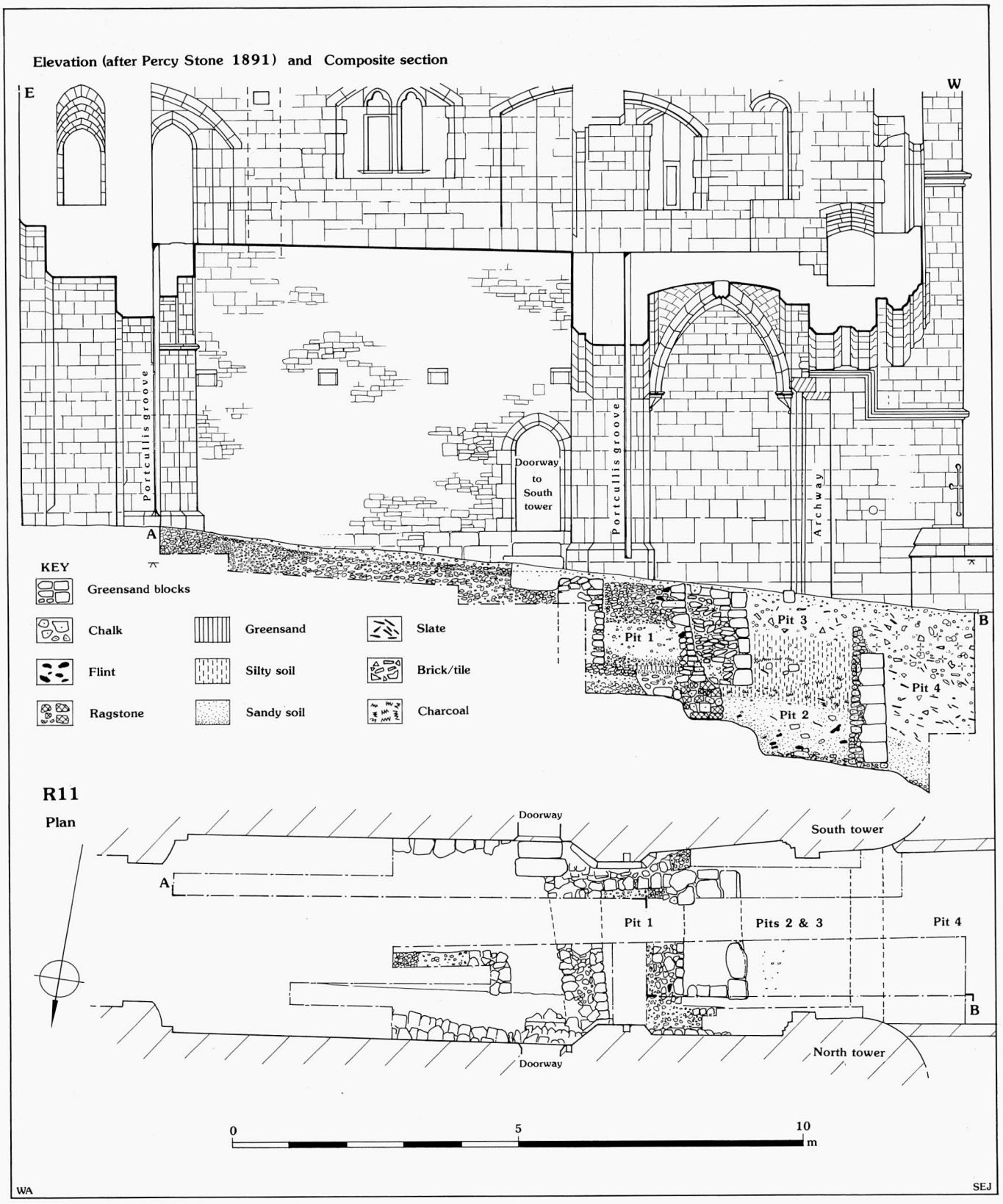

Figure 17 Elevation of the south wall of the gatehouse and plan of R11

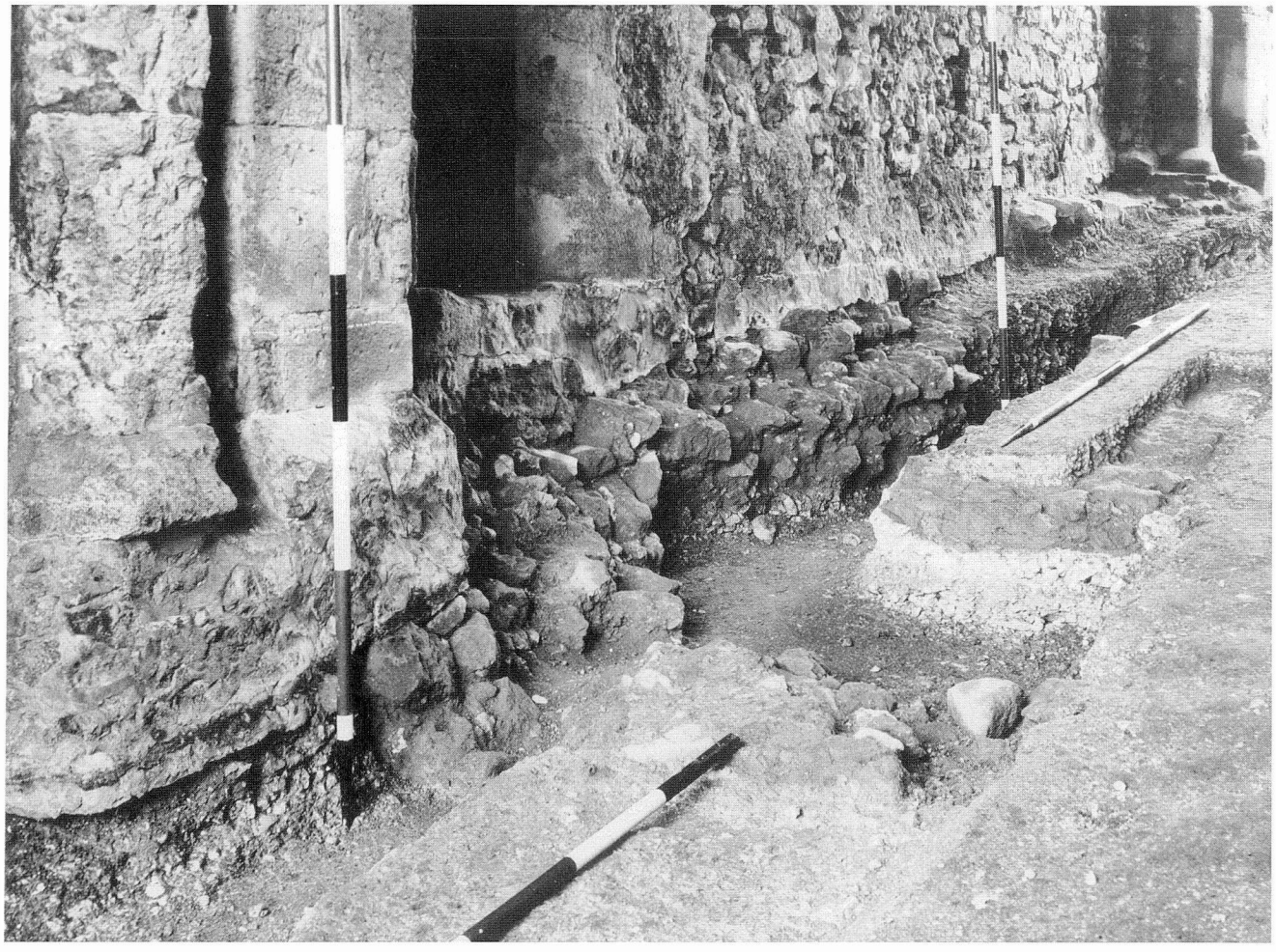

Plate 22 Site R11 under excavation, from the west. Scales in feet

the gatehouse around 1470, had added a narrow parapet on the outer southern face of the gatehouse. Subsequently, at an unknown date, the wall had been thickened.

R11

The gateway of the bailey must always have been on the site of the present gatehouse, since there is no other opening in the bailey banks. The present gatehouse is in origin 13th century (Pl. 21). When first built, it was a square tower over the gate passage which had portcullis and gates at both ends. To this were added, in 1335–6, the drum towers which are such a prominent feature of the Castle, with an early use of inverted key-hole gun loops (Stone 1891, 90–1). The drum towers were heightened in the 1280s and further work carried out during the captaincy of Anthony Woodville, around 1470 (ibid., 91). The gatehouse was rescued from its state as a roofless shell by the energies of Percy Stone who caused it to be reroofed and refloored in 1897 as a memorial to Prince Henry of Battenberg. The outermost gate-arch was restored in 1899.

The extension of mains water and drainage into the Castle necessitated the digging of service trenches through the gatehouse (Fig. 17). Rigold took the opportunity to examine the layers exposed thereby, to excavate those trenches down to natural between the bridge outside the gatehouse and the rear archway of the gatehouse and to record the features and deposits beneath the road through the gatehouse including elevations of the bases of the drum towers. Unfortunately only the last can be tied with certainty to structures currently visible above ground.

Photographs of the work show that, initially, a deep trench was dug along the south side of the gate passage. Subsequently, parts of the remainder of the roadway were stripped off. A deep section was taken down to a depth in excess of 3 m in front of the main gateway (Pl. 22). The excavation was recorded by a sketch plan, a composite section, and by photographs. The principal features found were a series of drawbridge pits.

Beneath the Gatehouse lie extensive deposits, at least 8 m across and 1.5 m deep, of chalk rubble. These immediately overlie the original (pre-Lower Enclosure) buried topsoil. No dating evidence was obtained from either the rubble or the buried soil, but this rubble is



Plate 23 Site R11 under excavation, from the east. Scale in feet

likely to be the lower parts of the bank of the Lower Enclosure. This means that the bank was breached for the construction of the gatehouse, and that the Lower Enclosure did not include one at this position (Pl. 23).

No evidence was found for any timber phase of the gatehouse. Excavation showed that earlier footings, not quite on the same alignment as the present gatehouse, underlie the 13th century gate-tower. These were interpreted by Rigold as being the remains of the 12th century gatehouse (Rigold 1969, 137, n. 20). In front of the 13th century gate tower was a series of drawbridge pits. It is likely that Pit 1, the earliest of the bridge pits, is associated with the 13th century gatehouse.

The principal surviving feature of Pit 1 was its rear, eastern wall. This was built mainly of greensand blocks, some of which had pink mortar on them and were clearly reused. Otherwise, the wall was unmortared. Some lumps of mortar had been used as building stones, as had some pieces of ironstone. The wall was 0.8 m thick and 1.5 m high, revetting chalk rubble to the east. It cannot be proved absolutely that this was the rear wall of the pit for a turning or lifting bridge, as opposed to an abutment for a fixed bridge and it is possible that what appear to be side walls shown on the plan were, in fact, associated with later phases of work.

A second three-sided pit (pit 2) of similar dimensions to pit 1was dug some 2 m to the west of the latter and the intervening space filled with chalk rubble. Pit 2 was deeper than pit 1, with its rear wall founded on a ledge cut into the natural chalk. The bottom six courses of the wall were built of ragstone and chalk, set in rusty brown mortar. Above this foundation were ten courses built of greensand with some flint, set in hard white mortar. The top five courses of the wall had been rebuilt. From its position this feature too must be associated with the 13th century gatehouse. This is supported by the discovery of a 13th century sherd in the foundations. Again it is uncertain whether the pit was associated with a fixed, lifting or turning bridge.

The bottom third of pit 2 had silted up with buff–brown sandy soil when it was succeeded by Pit 3 (Pl. 24). The rear wall of this pit was just over a metre in front of the previous one and was founded on a grey silty layer containing charcoal. The face of the wall consisted of seven courses of large greensand ashlars, set dry. The space between this wall and that of Pit 2 had been packed with greensand rubble set in yellow



Plate 24 Site R11, rear wall of drawbridge pit 3 from the west, overlying the fill of pit 2 over chalk ridge at the rear of pit 2. Scales in feet



Plate 25 Site R11, drawbridge pits 2 and 3 under excavation, from the east, with inserted back wall of pit 4 and footings of north drum tower on right. Scales in feet

mortar. The occasion and date of the building of this pit are unknown. It is possible that it could be linked to repairs of the bridge known from documentary evidence to have happened between 1327 and 1334 (Stone 1891, 76–7).

Pit 4 (Pl. 25), the final phase, can be associated with the construction of the drum towers between 1334 and 1336. Its rear wall stands between the bases of the towers and holes for the chains of the lifting bridge still survive in the front of the gateway. The wall is faced with squared greensand ashlars, of which six courses survive, backed by chalk rubble set in mortar. It is founded on the bottom of Pit 2, and the natural chalk appears to fall away steeply in front of it, presumably into the castle ditch. The space between this wall and that of Pit 3 was filled with silty deposits.

The Newport Ligger Book of 1567 seems to show a solid, stone two-arched bridge, suggesting that the drawbridge had been replaced by then. A new bridge was certainly constructed in 1587 and there were further bridge works in 1597–1602 (see Appendix 1 and 2).

These excavations have added to our understanding of the gatehouse which must always have been one of the castle's most impressive structures. This entrance was probably formed through the Lower Enclosure bank at the time of the construction of the first castle. The form of any timber gatehouse is not known.

The first masonry gatehouse must have been built at the same time as the stone curtain wall and Rigold found traces of its foundations. It was probably a simple tower.

The present gatehouse is in origin 13th century and is probably part of Countess Isabella's work. As originally built, it was a rectangular tower over the gate passage, with a chamber over it. In the angle between the gatehouse and the curtain wall there is a small turret which may once have housed a garderobe. Between 1334 and 1336, the two drum towers were added to the front of the gatehouse. Access to them was originally through a doorway in the gate passage and passages forced through the masonry. Both towers were heightened *c.* 1470.

Y7

The area in front of the gatehouse is now entirely occupied by a 17th century artillery bastion flanking the main entrance to the Castle. Documentary evidence suggests that there was a predecessor to this fortification. The building accounts for 1587 contain one reference to a barbican, while those for 1597–1602 refer to demolition works on a platform before the castle gate. From 1978 to 1981, excavations took place in this area in an attempt to locate some evidence for

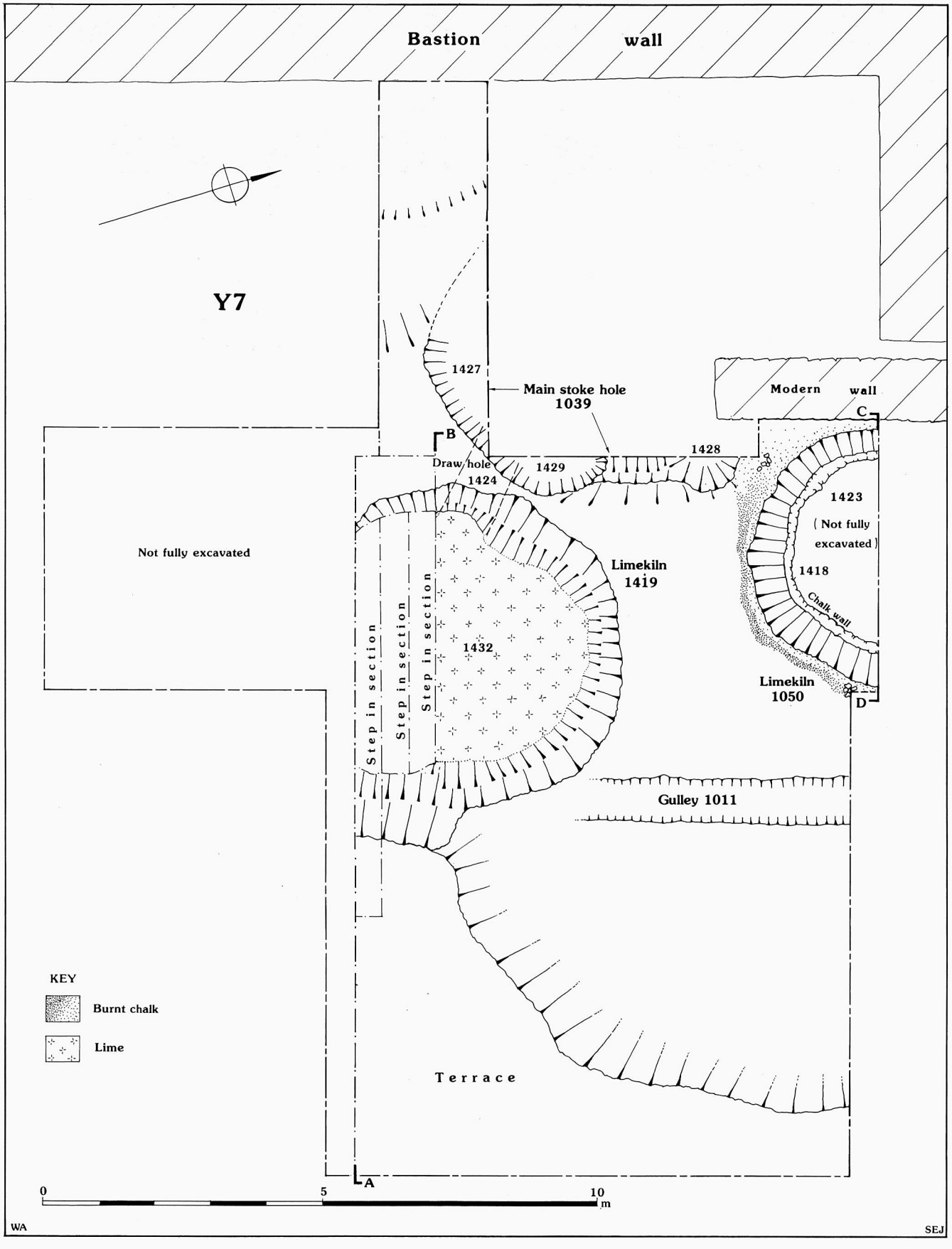

Figure 18 Site Y7, medieval lime kilns

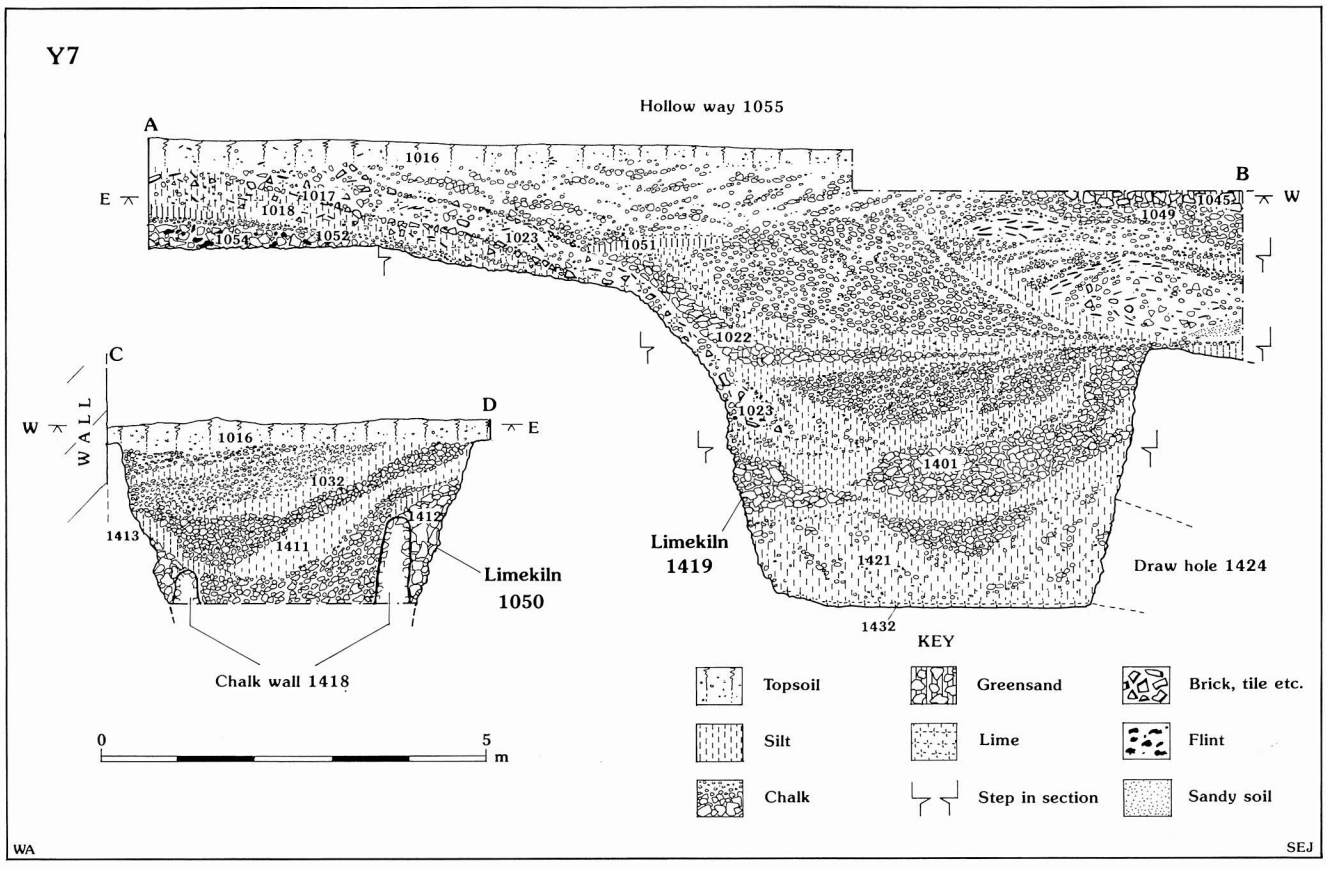

Figure 19 Site Y7, sections of medieval lime kilns

any predecessor to the present bastion. An L-shaped trench, 14 m by 15 m overall, was dug. This was mainly on the site of the demolished Victorian gatekeeper's cottage, with a short extension to the west to link its stratigraphy to the front wall of the 17th century bastion (Figs 18, 19).

The construction of the cottage on a terrace in the bastion had already removed much of the 17th century overburden. Despite this, the conditions of excavation were difficult. The excavated material consisted largely of layers of chalk rubble and fill, much of which was unstable. This limited the work that could be done on the three deep features that were discovered. Otherwise, the trench was carried to natural. No evidence was discovered for earlier outworks, presumably because the work of 1587 and 1597–1602 had removed all traces of them or because any such defences had been outside the confines of the trench. Nonetheless there were some interesting results.

The old ground surface produced a coin of Valens (Chapter 5, cat. no. 1), one of the few pieces of evidence for any Roman presence on the site. Otherwise, apart from the chalk tips which must be associated with the documented artillery bastion, three major features were found. These were a group of three pits in the eastern part of the trench. Because all three were located near the trench edge, and because of the instability of the fills above them, they could not be excavated fully. Nonetheless, it was possible to get an idea of their likely function and date (Pl. 26).

The most northerly (1050) of these pits lay partly outside the trench. It was overlain by chalk fill, and its own fill was very unstable. Because it was not possible to extend the trench, an attempt was made to shore the fill and excavate half of it. The shoring was unsuccessful, and it was not possible to excavate the pit fully (Pl. 27).

Pit 1050 was 4.8 m in diameter and excavated to a depth of 2.4 m before work had to cease (Fig. 19, section C–D). The sides of the pit were burnt red/orange and black and around the top was a ring of orange discoloration of the soil (1423) into which it was dug. Both of these characteristics appear to be evidence of intense heat. Lining the interior of the pit was a chalk wall (1418), plastered with lime on the inner side, which survived at its highest point to within a metre of the surface of the natural. The lowest level reached was chalk rubble covered with a layer of red-burnt, fine material and a layer of grey ashy silt. Above this, the fill was deliberate backfill. Context 1411, a silty layer in this, contained pottery of Phase 4 (11th century), and also a coin of William I, dated 1083–1086 (Chapter 5, cat. no. 3). This suggests a date for the feature in the late 11th or 12th centuries.

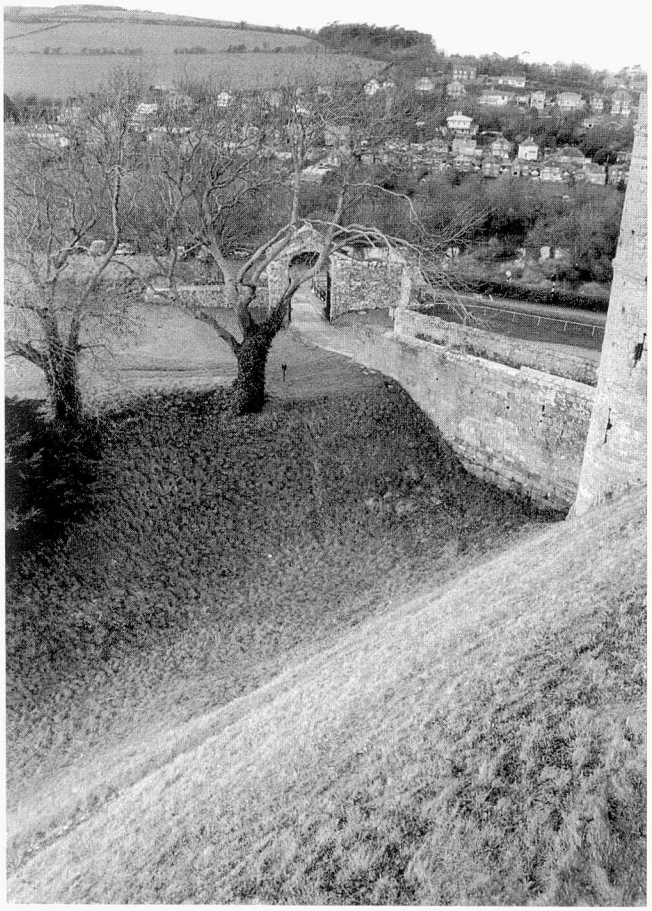

Plate 26 View of the area of Site Y7 from the south-east, between the bailey ditch and the Elizabethan gateway and to the left of the road

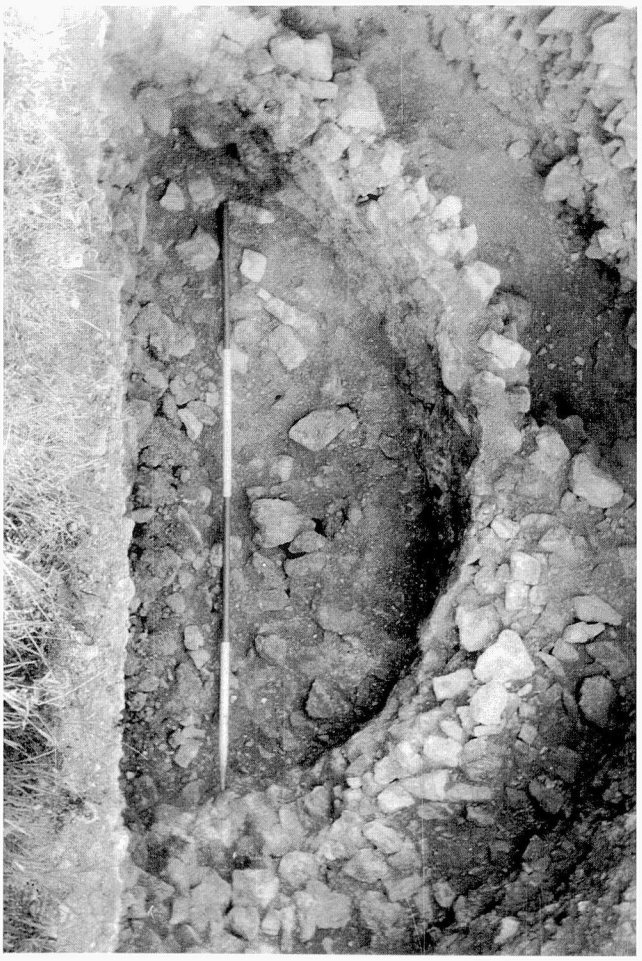

Plate 27 Site Y7, lime kiln 1050 under excavation. Scale 2 m

The second pit (context 1419) lay 2 m to the south of 1050 (Pl. 28). It was 6 m in diameter and almost 5m deep (Fig. 19, section A–B). Because it was on the edge of the trench, and of the terrace cut out for the gatekeeper's cottage, it could only be dug in section and this had to be stepped in for safety reasons. No chalk wall was present (as in pit 1050) but at its base was a layer (1432), 30 mm thick, which was interpreted when excavated as very hard mortar with patches of charcoal. Leading off to the west was a tunnel (1424) one metre in height. Because the chalk of its roof kept on collapsing, only limited investigation was possible. The floor of the tunnel sloped downwards away from the pit, and there was a deposit of lime on its walls.

Pit 1419 had been filled with massive tips, principally of chalk rubble, after a period of initial silting. There was no dateable material from layer 1432 at the base of the pit. The main layer of silt 1421 contained a little medieval pottery (Phase 5). Four of these sherds were not earlier than the first half of the 13th century, but were very small and could have been contamination. The other four were early medieval. Layer 1401 was definitely deposited no earlier than the first half of the 13th century (Phase 5).

The third pit (1039) lay on the western edge of the excavated area and could not be investigated to any great extent. Because of the location of the baulk, it had to be dug as three separate features (1427, 1428, and 1429) and it must either have been a group of intercutting pits, or one large pit. Feature 1428 had burnt material slumped in from its edge, while 1429 had rather less. The general fill (1415) was purplish–red silt and contained no diagnostic sherds. Because of the location of the baulk it was not possible to establish the relationship between pit 1039 and the tunnel (1424) leading off to the north-west of pit 1419. However, pit 1039 was placed equidistantly from pits 1050 and 1419 and it is reasonable to argue that all three were associated.

The detailed interpretation of these features is a little difficult, since excavation of one (1050) had to be abandoned after collapse, another (1039) lay largely outside the limit of excavation, and the tunnel (possibly linking 1039 and 1419) could not be examined for safety reasons. It is clear that they were not used as rubbish pits and the only one which could be bottomed is in no way deep enough to have been a well. The most likely interpretation is that pits 1050 and



Plate 28 Site Y7, lime kiln 1419, half sectioned, from the north. Scales 2 m

1419 were lime kilns, and that 1039 was a stoke-hole for 1419 at least. This interpretation is supported by the evidence of intense heat, the deposits of lime in both pits, and by the tunnel from 1419 to, presumably, 1039, which would have been the draw-hole. The various building campaigns of the masonry castle would have required immense amounts of lime, and this location of lime kilns just outside the castle gate would have been most convenient.

Kenyon (1990, 164–6) cites a number of cases where lime kilns have been found in association with castles, and these Carisbrooke examples would fit well with those at, for instance, Southampton (Oxley 1986, 54–64). There are strong similarities with lime kiln 1 at Portchester, filled in the 13th century (Cunliffe 1977, 56–7). Dating material from pits 1050 and 1039 suggests that the kilns were filled in the late 11th or 12th centuries. The material from pit 1419 tells a slightly different story, but the later 13th century sherds in the lower fill may be contamination. The 13th century material from the upper levels probably reflects secondary filling after the initial fill had subsided. It is obviously not possible to assign the use of the kilns with certainty to a particular building campaign, but the construction of the stone defences before 1136 provides an obvious context.

Trench Y7 was extended to the west to examine the inner face of the retaining wall of the bastion of 1598–1600. There was one course of large rectangular greensand blocks facing the chalk core of the wall. Below this single course, there was no inner face to the wall and the core of the wall merged without break into the fill of the bastion.

3. The Interior of the Castle

Introduction

Trenches excavated in the Inner Bailey of the present castle fall into three groups, respectively in the east, south, and the north (Fig. 20). The first group (R2–4 and Y1–4), concerned principally with the motte ditch, is reported in Chapter 2.2 (see Fig. 8). The other two groups were intended to elucidate the nature and location of the occupation of the castle in the 12th and, if possible, the 11th centuries, since the skeleton of the present internal plan of the castle appears from architectural evidence to date to the 13th century, and does not necessarily give any insight into the planning of the site before then (see Fig. 2). Documentary evidence suggests that many of the visible buildings were first established by the Countess Isabella de Fortibus, Lady of the Island from 1262 to 1297 (Stone 1891).

The only building which appears to occupy the site of its Romanesque predecessor is the chapel of St Nicholas. Before Rigold started work nothing was known of any other pre-13th century occupation inside the Castle; establishing its nature and location would be of considerable importance in understanding the early development of the castle.

Three trenches (R9, R10, and Y10) were dug in and adjacent to the 13th century Great Hall to establish what preceded it (Fig. 21). The remainder (R1, R8, and Y5) examined a large area in the south half of the bailey which is presently devoid of substantial buildings and seems to have been so at least since the 16th century. This latter area of work produced some evidence of 12th century occupation, but also unexpectedly revealed much information on the occupation of the hill-top before the castle was built.

Sites In and Around the Great Hall

The great hall lies at the north-eastern corner of the inner bailey on the edge of the motte ditch. It is now a three-storey building (Pl. 29). Because of the difference

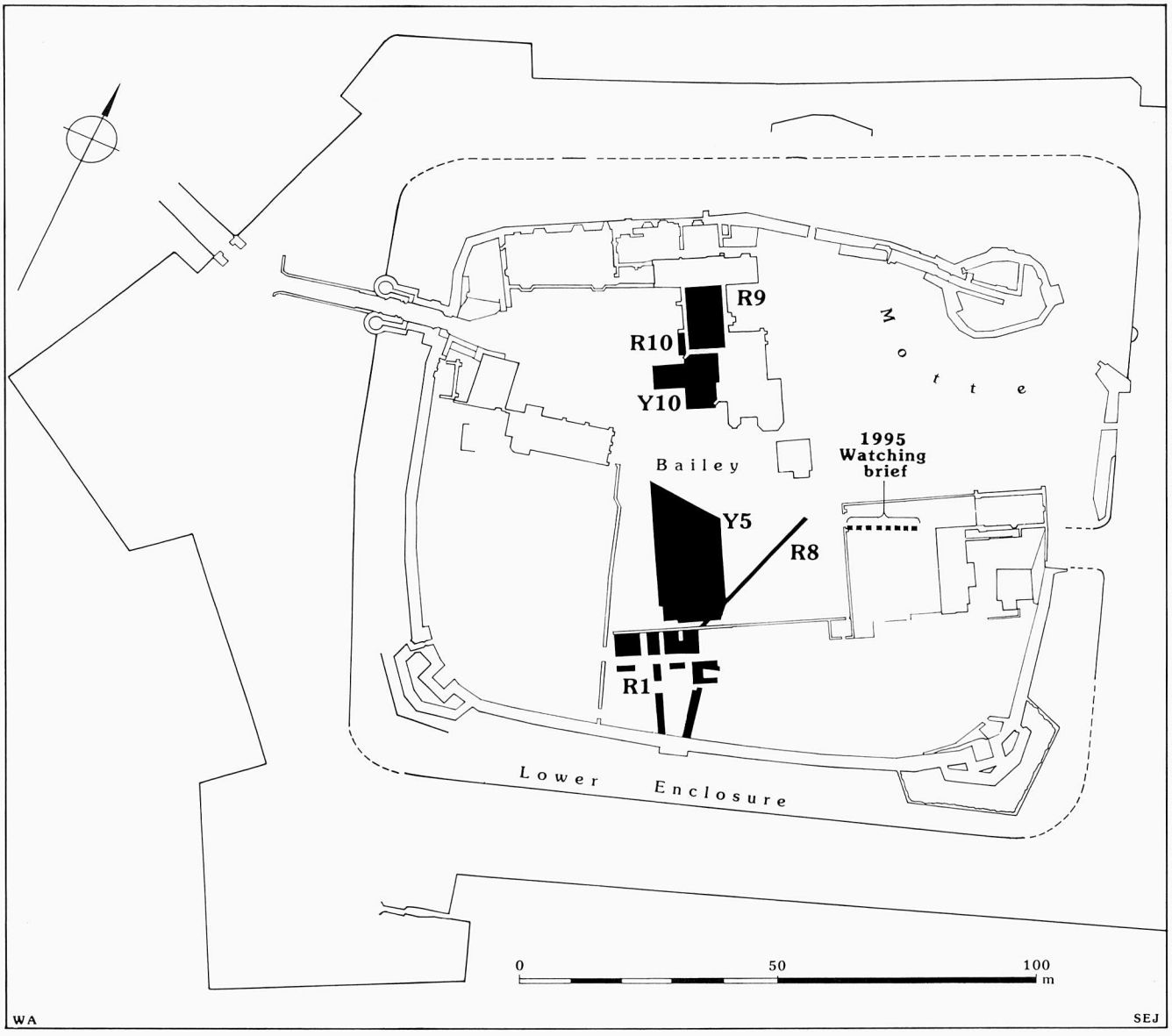

Figure 20 Trenches in the interior

of ground level between its west (courtyard) side and eastern (ditch) side, it is entered at first floor level from the courtyard and at ground-floor level from the east. It was originally a two-storey building with the hall on the upper floor entered from ground level to the west. The external entry to the lower floor lay to the east. The present upper floor was inserted in the 16th century by Carey to provide more accommodation.

The earliest datable feature in the hall is a two-light window of the 13th century in its east wall which was rediscovered in the 19th century (Pl. 30). At that time it was a ground floor hall built over an undercroft surviving in part from an earlier building (see below). The building of the hall is not referred to in the accounts for Countess Isabella's building campaigns but it clearly existed then since there are references to repairs to its roof and to its walls. This suggests that it may be earlier than her inheritance of the castle in 1262. She added the chapel of St Peter (now housing the staircase) to it in 1269/70, and between 1272 and 1276 she extended the hall block to the curtain wall to the north by the addition of a chamber (Stone 1891, 74–5). The existing chamber block adjoining the hall to the south was probably there by her death in 1293, since the extent made then refers both to four chambers next to the hall on a higher level, and to a great chamber and undercroft (Stone 1891, 77, 171). The basic plan she established has survived to the present day despite frequent alterations, the most drastic being Montagu's work to the chamber block around 1400 and Carey's insertion of an upper floor in the later 16th century. Further adaptation was carried out in the 18th century. The present fenestration of both hall and chamber

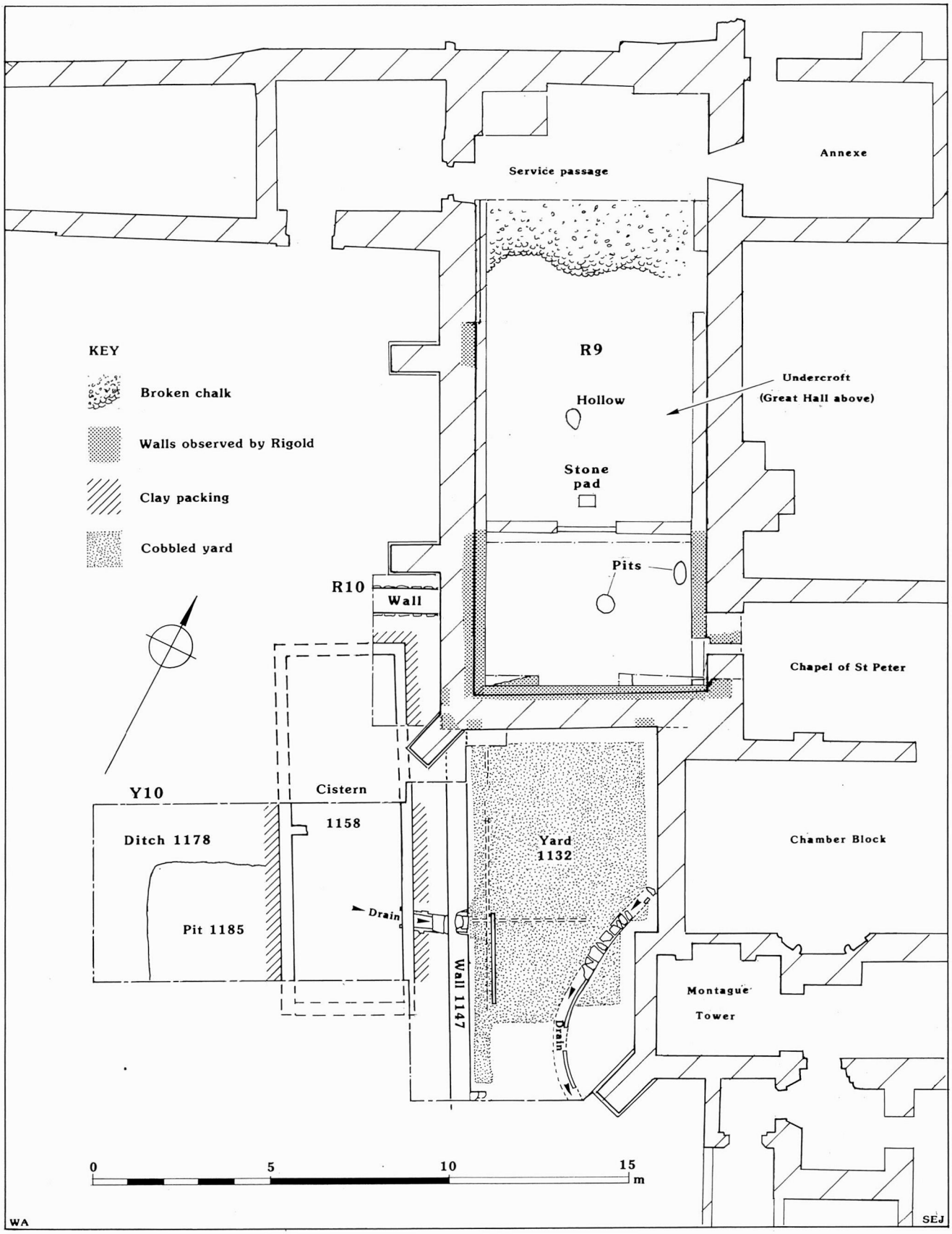

Figure 21 Plan of trenches in and around the Great Hall (R9, R10, andY10)



Plate 29 The Great Hall from the west, with the chamber block to the right and the shell-keep beyond

block is the result of extensive restoration work after 1856. Previously, both buildings were lit by 18th century windows.

R9

Under the hall is an undercroft which extends north to, but not under, the service passage. This is now divided by a post-medieval wall. One half is used for storage, and the other as a boilerhouse. Rigold was able between 1966 and 1968 to investigate the undercroft (Fig. 22). One site plan survives, but the bulk of the evidence was



Plate 30 East wall of the Great Hall in the 1960s showing 13th century two-light window to left of the flue and the former Chapel of St Peter to the left

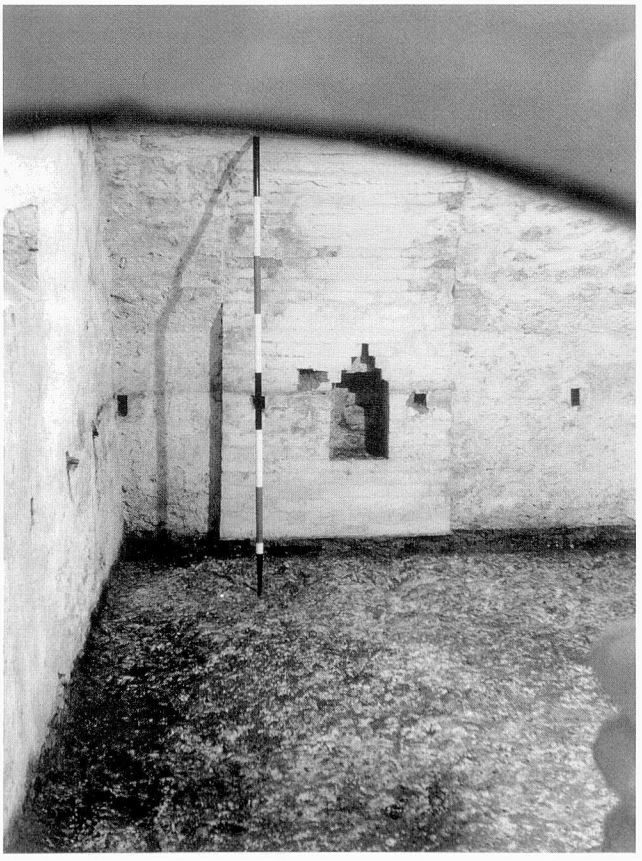

Plate 31 Site R9 under excavation, showing chalk surface. Scale in feet

recorded only photographically (Pl. 31). He scraped down the floor (except for the areas under the boiler) to a layer which appears from the photos to have been chalk. There is a linear feature in or overlying the chalk at the northern end, but it does not seem to have been investigated. It could have been a ditch or a gully or, perhaps, the back of the northern bailey rampart, into which the hall was certainly cut. Apart from this, the photos show that the chalk layer was smooth and compacted.

The photographs show that Rigold unpicked the base of the wall faces in places, both in the boilerhouse, and in the southern half of the undercroft. He managed in this way to examine a small part of the north end of the west wall of the undercroft, and most of the walls at its southern end. He also looked at the exterior face of the wall at the south end of the west wall of the hall (see report on R10, below).

He found that the present inner face of the wall was a secondary thickening and that the primary wall was behind it (Pl. 32). This itself appeared to be of two builds. The earlier was of coursed rubble. It ended *c.* 4.0 m south of the present north end of the undercroft. The wall had then been extended north to its present length in masonry faced with regular ashlar blocks, presumably not later than when the hall was built. There was what appeared to be an original opening at

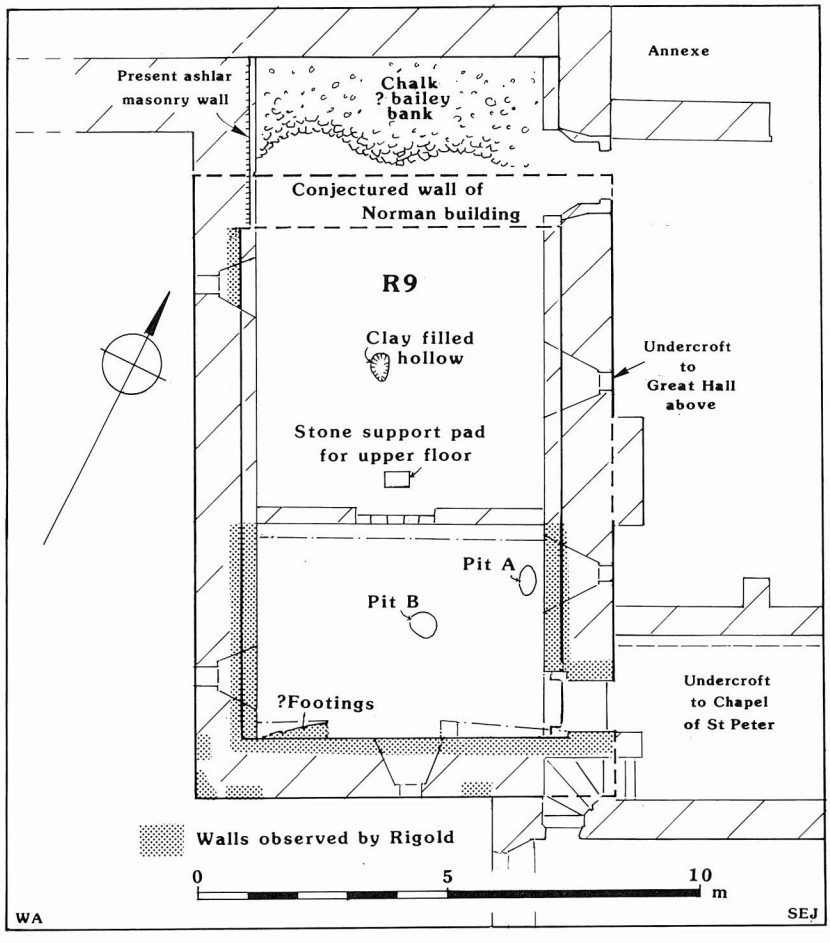

Figure 22 Plan of the undercroft of the Great Hall (R9)

the south end of the east wall. The inference of the two periods of masonry is that the earliest belongs to a building antedating the building of the hall, and that it was subsequently extended to become the undercroft of the hall. The disturbance in the chalk, noted above, was to the north of the junction between the two builds.

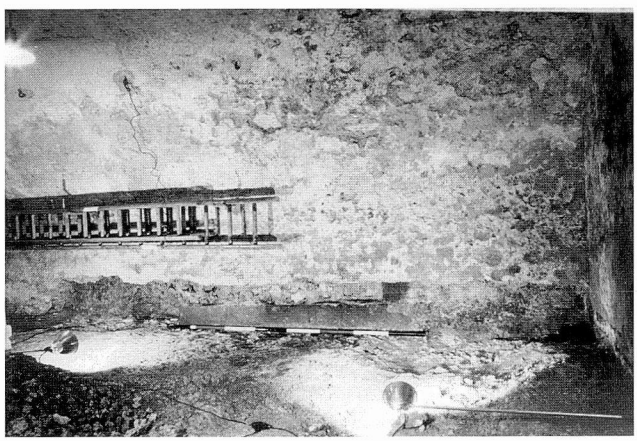

Plate 32 Site R9, wall of undercroft unpicked at base to show the earlier wall behind, with primary rubble to left and secondary ashlar to right. Scale in feet

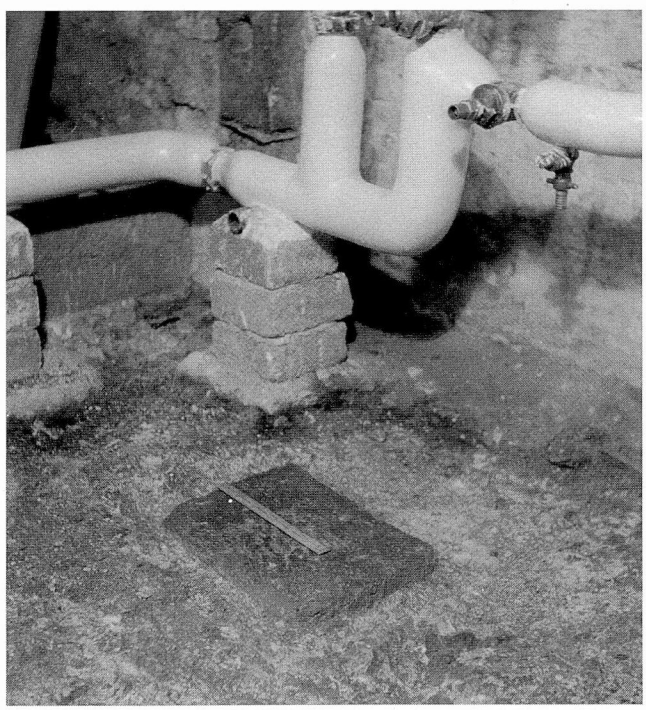

Plate 33 Site R9, stone pad. Scale 1 ft



Plate 34 Site R10, external face of the west wall of the Great Hall, with staggared ashlar quoin



Plate 35 Site R10, external face of the west wall of the Great Hall to right and later wall butted against it, with the north-east corner of the brick-built cistern in the foreground. Scale in feet

If this deposit is the back of the rampart, the hall was one of a number of buildings on the north side of the castle which were built into the back of the bailey bank.

Set in the chalk underlying the undercroft, Rigold found a rectangular stone pad, 0.33 m by 0.43 m, which presumably carried a support for an upper floor (Pl. 33). It does not fit any likely arrangement for the 13th century hall and must presumably belong to the earlier building. It would in fact be central to a building of the same width as the hall, but 3.5 m shorter, with its south wall under the present south wall of the hall, and its north wall on the line of the break in masonry described above. This building would have had internal dimensions of *c.* 8 m by 13 m (*c.* 26 by 43 ft). Nothing else can be said about its plan with any certainty. The other principal feature encountered was a clay-filled hollow, *c.* 0.13 m deep, close to one corner of a boiler base. Two small pits were found in the southern half of the undercroft, but no more is known of them.

Rigold argued (1969, 137) that the undercroft in its original form remained from an earlier building and had been subsumed into the hall. This seems a reasonable supposition. This building would have been of two storeys. It is known that the lower floor was entered from its south-east corner. No evidence was found for a stair base within the undercroft, suggesting that access to the upper floor was by an external stair. Rigold argued further that this had been a chamber block. He assumed that it was 12th century on the basis of the similarity of its masonry with that of the curtain wall. This is reasonable, given that it precedes the hall itself, which appears to have been built earlier than 1262.

R10

This trench, some 4 m long by 2 m wide, was dug against the external face of the west wall of the Great Hall (Fig. 21), between the south-west angle buttress, and the next buttress to the north. The only evidence of what was found is some sketches and photographs. These show the external face of the hall wall, which may here also be the face of the wall of the building which preceded it (Pl. 34). At the south end of the trench, against the corner buttress, there appears to be a quoin of staggered ashlars, which presumably marks the corner of the building. Stylistically, the quoin is similar to those found on the castle curtain wall, generally agreed to have been in existence by 1136. Immediately south of this there is a vertical break in the wall, indicating that the corner buttress is an addition,

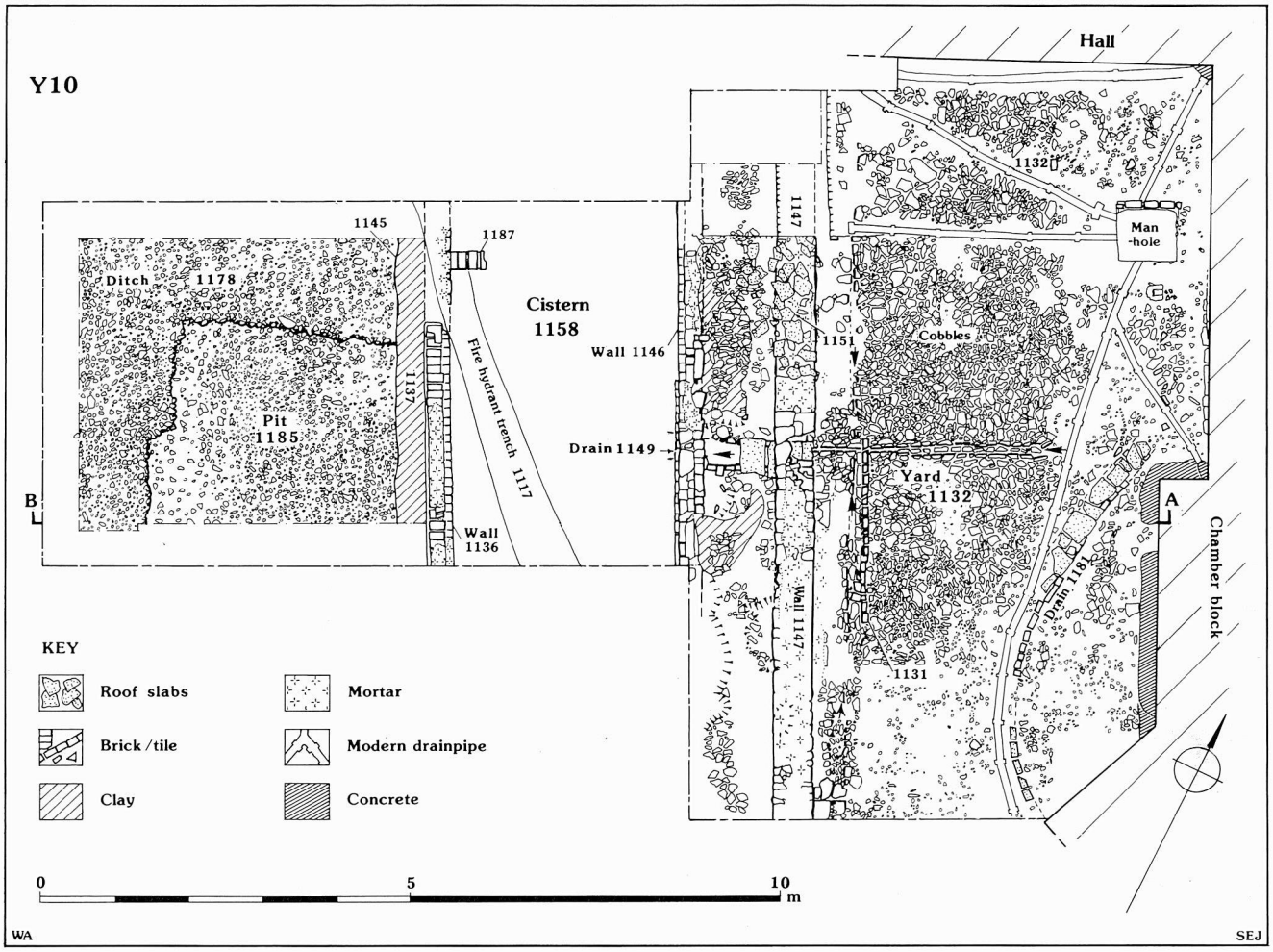

Figure 23 Plan of Site Y10, west of the chamber block

as might be expected since it carries the arms of William de Montacute, Lord of the Island from 1386 to 1397. Apart from the quoin mentioned above, the wall below the present ground surface was constructed of coursed rubble.

To the north of these features, a second wall ran off to the west at right angles to the hall wall (Pl. 35). It, too, appears from the photos to be built of coursed rubble, with its upper part possibly rendered. The photographs also seem to indicate that it was not bonded into the hall wall. If this is the case, it is probably later. Its date and purpose are unclear. The fact that it is respected by the brick feature described below suggests that it was still extant and visible when the latter was constructed.

The only other feature located in this trench was the corner of a brick-built structure packed on its outer faces with a thick layer of yellow clay, which had filled its construction trench. This is the north end of the water cistern (1158) also identified in Y10 and the clay was presumably intended to prevent seepage. It appears to be part of the work of George Carey in the later 16th century.

Y10

This trench was dug in 1980 and 1981 to investigate the area immediately to the west of the late medieval chamber block at the south end of the hall in preparation for laying it out for public display (Figs 21, 23, 24). It was also hoped that it might locate any continuation of the large 11th century ditch (260) found in Y5 (context 260, see below, Fig. 26). The original trench occupied the sunken area south of the hall and west of the chamber block, and measured 7 m by 4 m. It was subsequently extended to the west to try to locate ditch 260. The extension was 7 m by 5 m. It was also extended within the angle between the two buildings to expose the full extent of the yard surface that was found.

Before excavation, the west extension was part of the gravel sweep outside the hall, which cannot be much different from the ground level established in the medieval period, to judge by present threshold levels in the hall and its doorways. From the eastern edge of the gravel sweep, a grass bank fell steeply to a small lawn immediately outside the lowest floor of the chamber block. Although the present fenestration is 19th

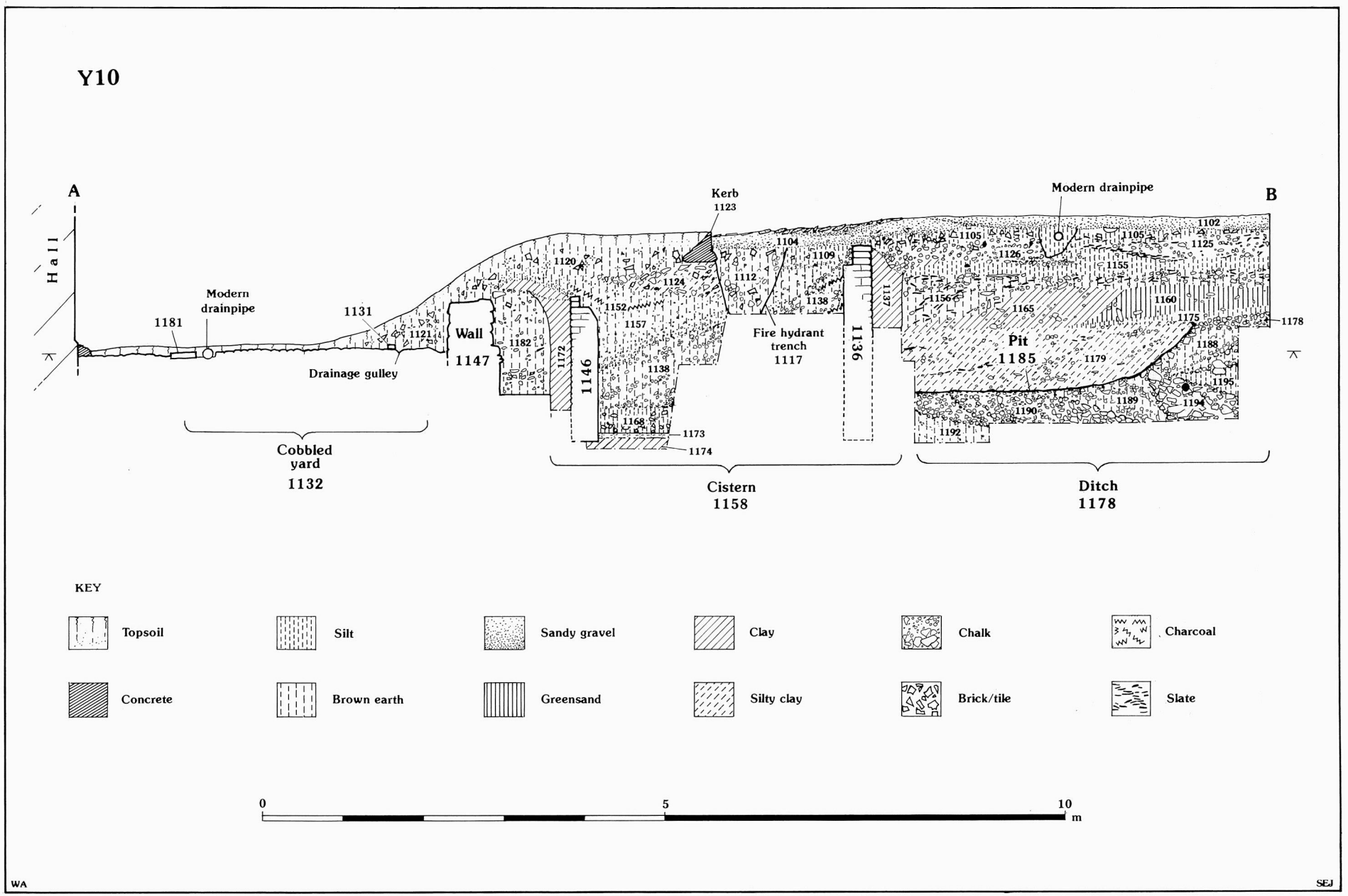

Figure 24 Section across Site Y10



Plate 36 Site Y10, yard surface from the south, with wall 1147 to the left. Scales 2 m and 0.5 m

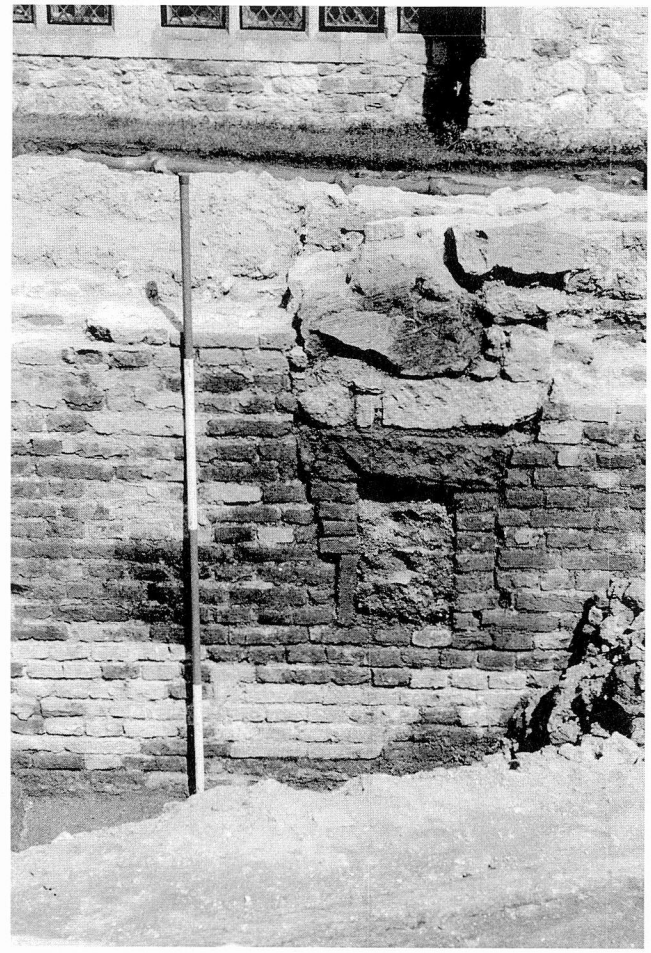

Plate 37 Site Y10, drain 1149 inserted into cistern wall, from the west. Scale 2 m

century, it is likely that this room always had windows and that, therefore, there was always the equivalent of an area in front of it after it was built.

It was not possible to excavate the area in the angle of the hall and the chamber block to natural because of the need to preserve for conservation and display the cobbled yard surface (1132) which was found. It was also necessary to restrict excavation to protect the stability of the building. It was clear, though, from examination of disturbances in the yard surface that natural chalk lay immediately beneath the surface.

This yard surface occupied the whole of this area, bounded to the north and east by the present building (Pl. 36). On its west side, underlying the steep bank noted above, were the footings of a north–south wall (1147), dividing it from the main courtyard. This wall was 0.55 m in width and built of large ashlar blocks, of which two courses survived. The wall included greensand, chalk, slate, roof-slabs, and flint. Its construction was irregular, particularly at its north end where its base rose up and had been underpinned with brick, tile, and rubble. There was a possible earlier footing (1193) on the same alignment underneath it. In front (to the east) of the wall was a single line of bricks (1131) laid on the yard surface. The wall 1147 revetted the higher ground level to its west.

This wall (1147) is shown on plans of 1723 and returned to the east outside the excavated area to enclose a small yard outside the chamber block. It is not shown on a plan of 1856. Although the wall was demolished comparatively late, it is likely that it reflects earlier arrangements for revetment, because of the need to respect the fenestration of the buildings. The material revetted by the wall contained medieval pottery. The yard surface itself was cobbled with a mixture of greensand, limestone, flint, and brick lumps. There had been considerable disturbance by drains up to the present day, with a series of clay pipe drains carrying surface water leading to a manhole still in use. The only dating material from the yard surface was a token of Richard Priest, dated 1648–72 (Chapter 5, cat. no. 23). The fill above the yard produced a wide range of medieval and later material of which the most closely dated were a number of clay pipes (Chapter 5, cat. nos 18, 19, 21, 27) from the 17th and first half of the 18th centuries. This is consistent with the documentary evidence that this yard ceased to exist after 1723 and before 1856.

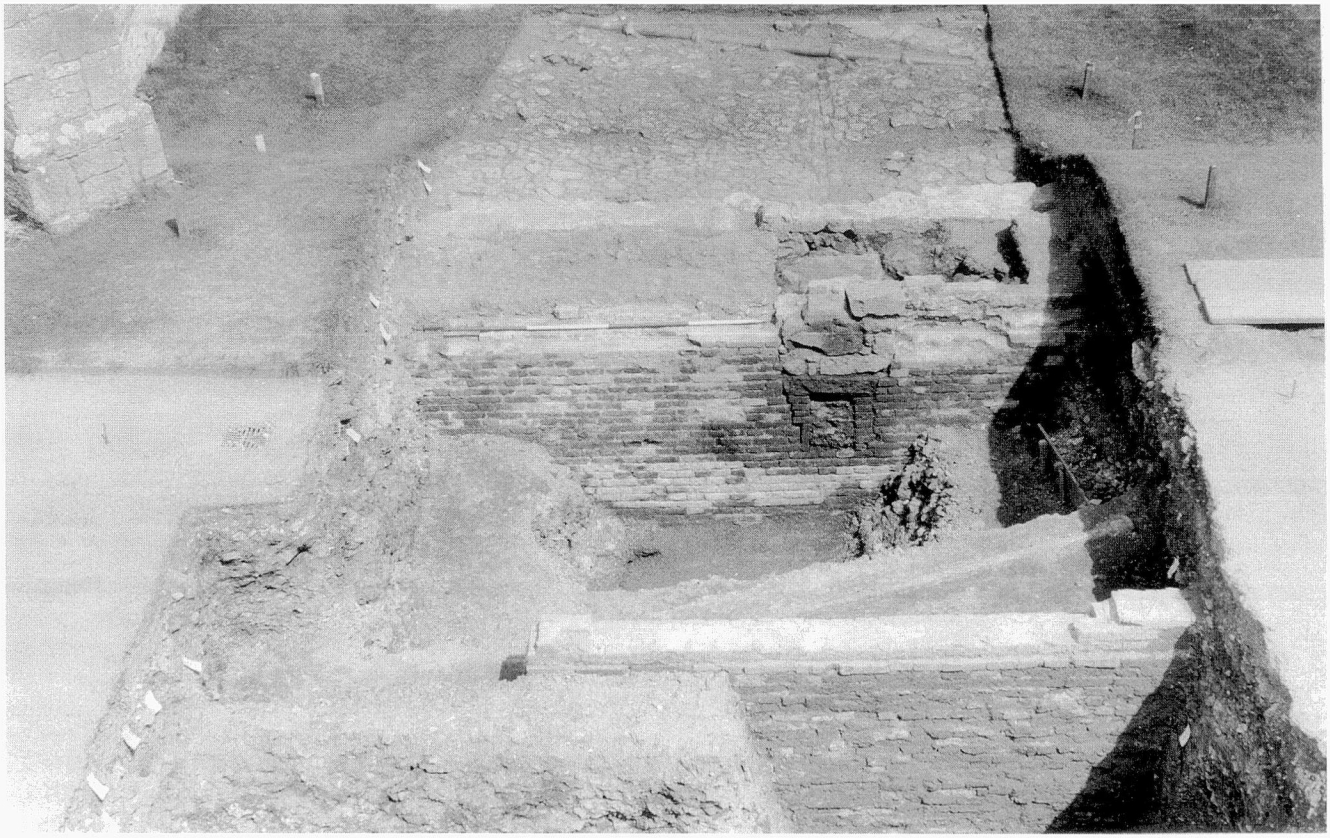

Plate 38 Site Y10, cistern 1158 from the west. Scale 2 m

The two earlier drains, or culverts, were found. One (1181), curving from north to south, was an earlier version of a clay pipe drain still in use. It had walls of a single course of bricks and was capped with reused roof slabs. The second (1149) had been forced through the boundary wall of the yard, and appeared to be an overflow for the brick cistern discharging onto the yard surface. It had brick walls, seven courses high, and was capped by large stone blocks bedded in yellow mortar. Its base was formed of large greenstone flags. It had been inserted into the cistern from the east after the cistern wall had been broken down. Above the culvert, the wall had been patched with rough masonry. The drain had finally been blocked with five courses of brickwork at its exit from the cistern (Pl. 37).

It was possible in certain parts of the excavation to examine the natural chalk in the angle between the hall and the chamber block, where later disturbance had removed the yard surface. The only features found were small post-holes, probably for scaffolding used for the building of the chamber block at the end of the 14th century or for subsequent refurbishments of it.

The western extension of the trench revealed three features. The earliest was deep and filled with loose chalk rubble (feature 1178). It was not possible to bottom it for reasons of safety, nor was it possible to locate its edges which lay outside the trench to the north, south and west but its fill appeared to fall to the west, suggesting that its centre lay to the west of the trench. On the east, it had been cut by the brick cistern described below. The character of the fill was identical to that of the large 11th century ditch (260) found to the south in Y5, and such dating evidence (phase 5; late 11th–13th century) as was found in it supports the likelihood of it having been part of the Conquest-period defences.

A later square pit (1185), with some medieval pottery (of phase 5/6), had been cut into it, and was in its turn cut by the most substantial feature found in the trench. This was part of a brick cistern, the northern end of which had been located in R10. It was not possible to excavate it fully, since it was crossed by a live fire hydrant, but it was possible to bottom it in part. The tank was 2.2 m deep, and 3.0 m across internally. Its southern end was not located in the trench, so that its overall length is not known. It has been traced for a distance of 9 m (Pl. 38).

The construction trenches (1137 and 1172) for the cistern (1158) had been backfilled with yellow clay, as in R10. Its floor (1173) was formed of green mortar with one surviving fragment of a greensand flag laid on a packing of yellow clay (1174). The east and west walls (1146 and 1136) were constructed of thin red bricks (0.23 x 0.1 x 0.5 m) laid lengthways across the wall. At the top of both walls, but at different heights, the bricks were laid lengthways along the wall, creating an offset.



Plate 39 Site Y10, cistern 1158 with arch springer 1187. Scale divisions are 0.5 m

The bricks had been laid in yellow mortar against the yellow clay packing. There were traces of creamy render on the wall faces in the cistern.

At 0.75 m from the north end of the trench there was a brick plinth bonded into the west wall of the cistern (Pl. 39). This was the springer for an arch of which nine bricks survived in situ. The radius of the arch is insufficient to have spanned the full width of the cistern and there must have been a central pillar. No trace of this was found, since it would have been in the area that could not be dug because of the need to support the fire hydrant. Presumably this arch was to support the roof of the tank. It was 5.1 m from the north end of the tank. If this distance gives a regular bay-width for the tank, it must have been at least 10.2 m in length with a capacity of 67.32 cubic metres. The cistern had been backfilled from its western side.

Finds from the backfill show that it was filled in the later post-medieval period (Phase 8), but cannot be more precise. The only evidence for the date of the tank's construction is the material of which it is built. The bricks could be of 16th century date, and construction of a tank such as this to store water would fit well with the general work of Governor Carey to make the castle fit to be his residence. There is, however, no documentary evidence to support this.

Discussion

Taken together these trenches shed some light on the development of this part of the bailey. The earliest features were probably the large, chalk-filled feature interpreted as a ditch, which is discussed further below and the possible rampart tail located in R9. Apart from this, the first use of the site was the construction of a stone building, some 8 m by 13 m internally. It probably had an upper floor.

Although there is no direct evidence for its date, the fact that it precedes the 13th century hall indicates that it must be either 12th or early 13th century in date. It would, therefore, have belonged to the first layout of the present motte-and-bailey castle. Rigold interpreted it as a chamber block (1969, 137), although, at 13 m by 8 m (20 ft by 33 ft), it would be quite large as such. Halls in castles could be as small as this (cf. Kenyon 1990, 111, table 2), but this example would be small for the principal hall of a castle of the size and status of Carisbrooke. Either interpretation is possible.

This was succeeded in the mid-13th century by the present hall, and in part incorporated into its southern end. At the end of the following century the chamber block immediately to the south-west of the hall was extended and all other features found relate to this dominant building. The wall running west from the hall in R10 is of uncertain date and purpose, but most probably enclosed a yard, since any building here would have obscured the hall windows. The other major feature, the brick cistern, probably belongs to Carey's improvements, and must have had to do with the improvement of the water supply to his residence. The latest significant feature found was the yard and its boundary wall outside the chamber block. The remains found are those depicted on an 18th century plan. Again they are likely to reflect and continue an arrangement established much earlier. The wall had been removed by the mid-19th century.

Sites in the Southern Part of the Bailey

Two adjoining areas were examined by Rigold and Young respectively (Fig. 20). Together they form the largest area investigated within the castle to date, and provide a transect across almost all of the southern half of the bailey.

Rigold excavated the site of new public lavatories in 1961, and in 1963 dug a further area to the south of the lavatories with two long sections running up the bailey bank to the inner face of the curtain wall. Collectively, these have been called R1 for the purposes of this report. He referred to them in his records as the 'toiletries'. In all there were eleven separate trenches in

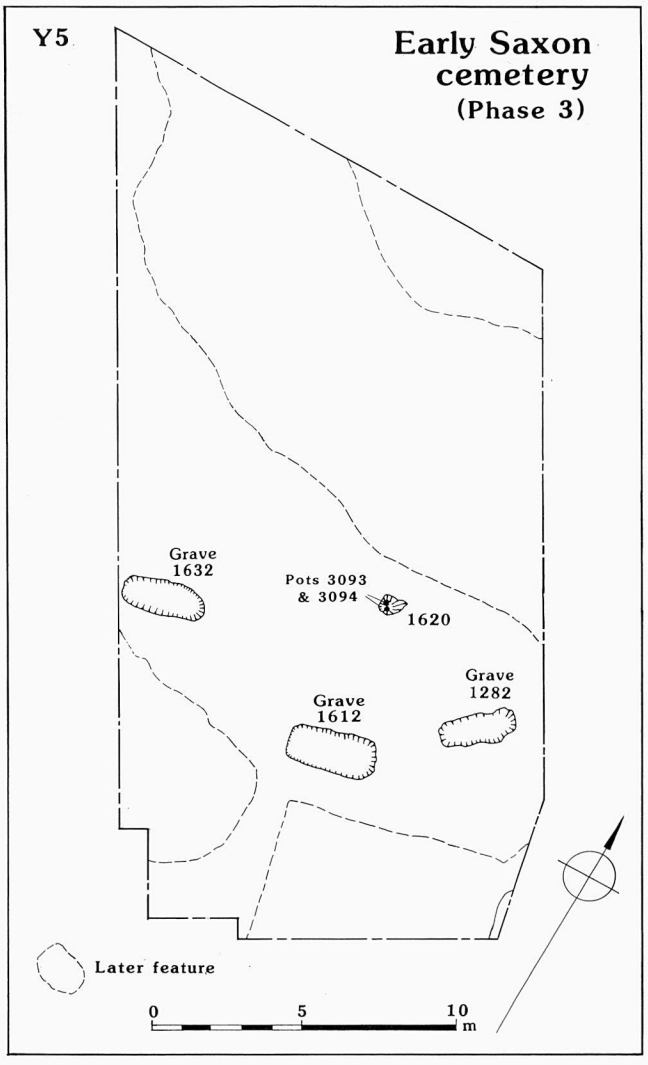

Figure 25 Plan of Early Saxon cemetery (Y5)

R1. Trenches 1–4 were dug on the site of the lavatories in 1961. In 1963, seven more trenches, labelled A–G were dug. These varied in size. A–D lay just to the south of the original trenches 1–4, while E and F were the sections up the bank. G was a small box, and the only one north of the lavatories, apart from the excavation of the sewer trench from them, which ran to the north-east (R8). G was subsequently subsumed in Young's trench Y5. Not all these trenches were excavated fully to natural.

The site records from Rigold's excavations consist principally of fair copies of the original section drawings, few of the latter having survived. The only plan was of the larger features and shows all phases on one drawing. The style of excavation and the nature of the records mean that only major or very discrete features were recognised and recorded, and that relationships between features cannot now be established fully. The principal results were the establishment of the sequence of deposits in this part of the castle, and the identification of one masonry building.

Young excavated to natural one large area more centrally placed in the bailey. Because this trench produced evidence for the earliest occupation of the castle site, it is reported first.

Y5

This trench covered an area of 365 m sq (Figs 20, 25). The excavation was characterised by large deep features which had obliterated almost everything earlier than themselves. These were sectioned and not excavated fully. It was also not possible to dig fully the south-east corner of the trench because of the need to preserve an early medieval masonry building (416), and to support the live sewer of the public lavatories. Evidence of the earliest periods on the site was therefore confined to comparatively small areas.

Natural was located across the whole of the site except for the areas mentioned above. It was of solid chalk, and its general level fell from north to south, so that there was a much greater depth of deposits in the southern part of the trench. This supports Rigold's thesis that the profile of the ridge on which Carisbrooke stands was originally more rounded than is now the case. Clearly, over the centuries the ground level has been raised considerably around the edges of the castle enclosure, to create the generally level aspect of the bailey.

The Early Saxon cemetery (Phase 3)

The earliest activity found in this trench was three inhumation graves and one ancillary feature (Figs 25, 26, 36–41). These are reported on fully below (Chapter 3). It is probable that the cemetery was originally larger and that much of it had been destroyed by later uses of the site. Certainly many fragments of human bone were found in later deposits. Of the three graves, two (1632 and 1612) were oriented slightly south of east, while the third (1282) was oriented to the north-east. In all three, the body lay with the head to the west. One of the graves had rich grave-goods with continental connections. The other two were less well equipped. The dating evidence of the grave goods suggests a date in the early 6th century. Apart from the three graves, the only other feature definitely associated with the cemetery was a shallow scoop (1620) containing two intact pots. At the time of excavation it was thought that these pots might contain cremation burials, but subsequent laboratory examination showed this not to be the case.

The discovery of a further Saxon cemetery on the Isle of Wight is exciting. It is likely that what was found are the remnants of a larger cemetery, and Grave 1612 is notably rich. Arnold (1990) has pointed out that it is one of five cemeteries sited in areas of light soil, above steep-sided combes on the edge of the large blocks of downland along the east-west spine of the island.

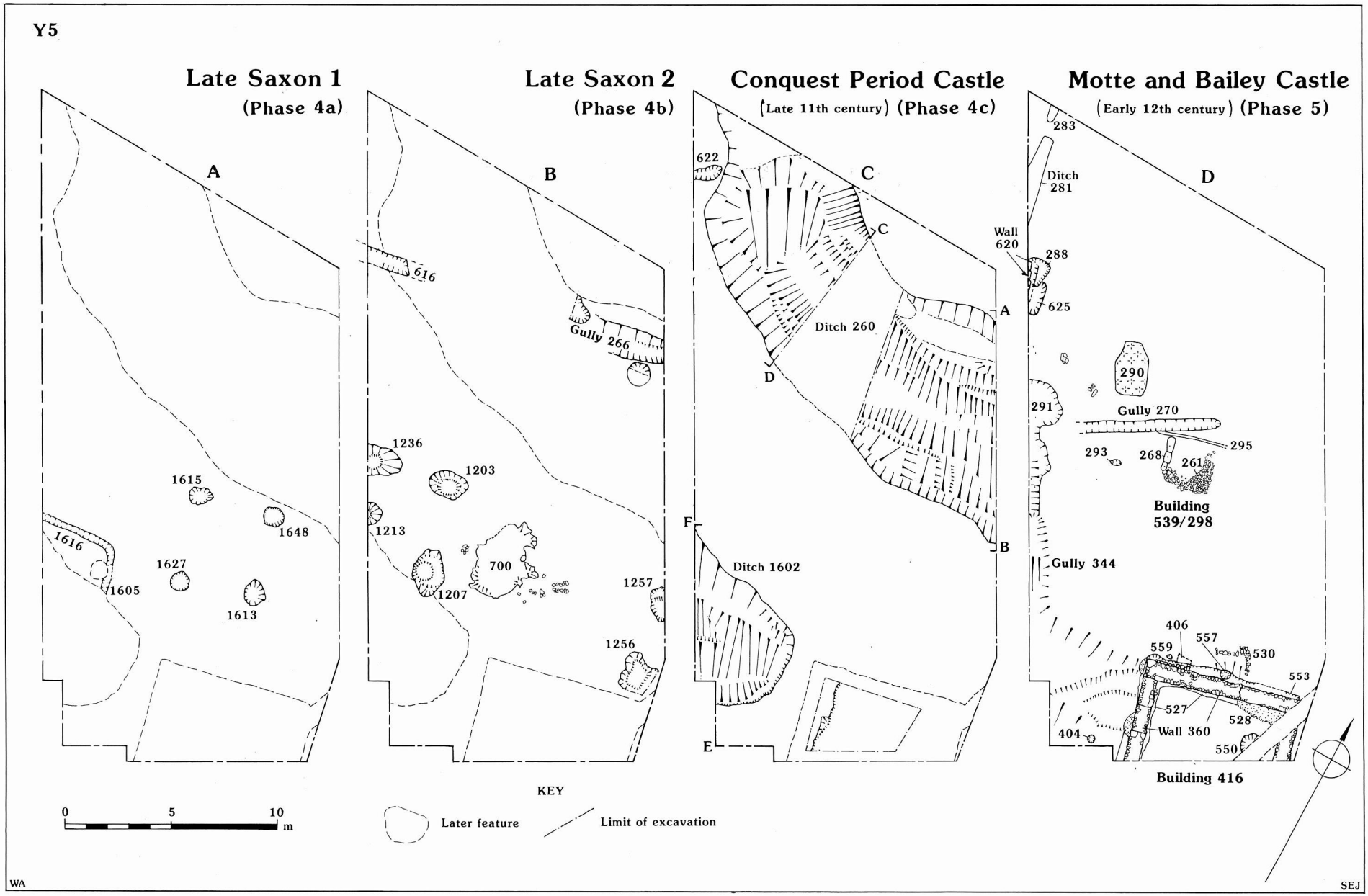

Figure 26 Plased plan of Site Y5



Plate 40 Site Y5, phase 4b post-holes (1236, 1208, 1207, 1213) from the north-east. Scale 2 m

The extent of the cemetery, and of any other early Saxon use of the site cannot be established from the work done to date. Future investigations are equally likely to be hampered by later disturbance of early levels. All that can be said is that grass-tempered and other wares likely to date to the Early or mid Saxon periods were found elsewhere in the castle, although mainly in residual contexts. It is possible, therefore that occupation of this period could have spread over the ridge on which later the castle was built. Equally, the sherds may have derived from the cemetery.

One interesting feature is the occurrence of large stones 'foreign' to the site in the fill of two of the graves. In one case the greensand blocks showed some evidence of shaping, and had mortar adhering to them. These must have come from a Roman site and are the first appearance, chronologically, of reused Roman materials on the site. The nearest certain sources of Roman building material are the Carisbrooke villa, some 350 m to the north-west, and the Clatterford villa 750 m west-south-west of the site. The latter is close to the possible focus of mid-Saxon activity at Froglands Farm (see below, p. 189, 191).

Late Saxon occupation (Sub-phases 4a and 4b)

There is no evidence for activity on the site between the middle of the 6th century, following the use of the cemetery, and the late 10th or early 11th century, when a complex sequence of deposits reflects the presence of several timber buildings. The stratigraphy shows a sequence of development from this time, but the dating material from all these deposits, and from the ditches which succeed them is all of Phase 4/5 (11th/early 12th centuries). It is difficult, on this basis alone, to distinguish between activity preceding the establishment of the Conquest-period castle and that contemporary with or later than its foundation. The stratigraphy makes it possible to subdivide Phases 4 and 5 into 6 sub-phases (4a–c and 5a–c); if this is done it is possible to see some ceramic development over (at least) the 11th and early 12th centuries, but close dating remains impossible. This is hardly surprising but it does mean that more than one interpretation of the activity is possible. Yet again, interpretation of the results is complicated by the extent of later disturbance.

Sub-phase 4a: The earliest features, stratigraphically, were a length of gully and four post-holes (Fig. 26A). The gully (1616) was square-cut, 0.5 m deep and of the same width, with very sharp edges, turning through a right angle. Only 5 m could be examined since to the west it passed out of the trench and to the south it had been destroyed by a later feature along with anything that might have lain within the area enclosed by the gully. The only sherd from this gully is of a prehistoric fabric.

East of the gully were four post-holes (1613, 1615, 1627, 1648). Post-hole 1613 was 1.2 m by 1.3 m at the

top, 0.7 m deep, and filled with burnt daub, burnt sand, green clay, animal bone, fish bone, charcoal, and lumps of greensand with mortar adhering to them. It also contained pottery of sub-phase 4a (11th/early 12th century). Post-hole 1615 was 0.75 m by 1.0 m with straight sides and a flat bottom, 0.6 m deep, and its fill contained chalk lumps, animal bone, and some pottery of sub-phase 4a. Post-hole 1627 was sub-circular with a diameter of 0.9 m at the top and 0.7 m at the base, and only 0.3 m deep. 1648 was similar. Neither of the two shallower post-holes contained any datable material.

The four post-holes appear to form a square and, if they were the four corners of a building, it would have been around 5 m square. Against this hypothesis is the difference in size of the holes and in particular of their depth, with 1613 and 1615 being around twice the depth of the other two. Over these features was a build-up of a series of fills which together formed a chalk rubble surface (1232) and contained Phase 4 pottery. The pottery from the post-holes and surface is exclusively of shelly fabrics. Their date is probably 11th century or just possibly within the 10th century (see Chapter 4).

Sub-phase 4b: Through chalk rubble surface 1232 were cut six post-holes (Fig. 26B). All six (1236, 1203, 1207, 1213, 1256, 1257) were of substantial size, up to 2 m in diameter, and over a metre in depth (Pl. 40). Remains of post-sockets recorded within the post-holes suggest that they held posts around 0.75 m square. This suggests that the buildings of which they formed part were substantial. 1236, 1207, 1213, 1256, and 1257 all contained pottery of Phase 4.

The distribution of the posts suggests that they belong to two separate buildings, one lying principally to the west of the trench, the other to the east. Because the areas immediately to the south of both sets of post-holes had been disturbed by later features, it is not even clear whether the principal alignments of these buildings lay east–west or north–south.

Between the two sets of post-holes was a rough surface of chalk rubble (1245). On this lay a hearth of burnt clay and sand (700), *c.* 2.3 m by 2.3 m, with a maximum thickness of 0.15 m. There was some charcoal in the feature, but the main constituents were burnt clay, burnt sand, burnt sandstone, and clay. There was no pottery and no recognisable industrial waste.

At the north end of the trench, an isolated stretch of gully (266) had survived later disturbance, though it had been truncated by ditch 260, dug in the next phase (sub-phase 4c). Adjacent to the southern edge of this gully were the remains of a large post-hole, also cut by 260. On the west edge of the site another gully, context 616, either cut by 260 or draining into it, is on the same alignment as 266. Though apparently of smaller dimensions, it could be the same feature running east–west across the trench.

Clearly, there were large timber buildings on the site at this time, implying high-status use. The possible gully 616/266 could mark a boundary associated with these buildings. The extent of this occupation is uncertain, as is its duration. It is also not possible from the artefacts alone to say when in the 11th century this occupation occurred or for how long it lasted. Stratigraphically, it is obviously earlier than the massive ditches of the next sub-phase. For reasons discussed below, it is thought that these ditches date to the late 11th century and are associated with the Conquest period castle. If this is the case, the most likely date for these timber structures is Late Saxon, and probably this use should be seen as being contemporary with the fortification of the site with the Lower Enclosure wall and bank.

Conquest period castle ditches (Sub-phases 4c and 5a)
After the post-built structures went out of use, the area was covered by a series of tips of chalk forming a rough surface, given the general context number, 687 (Figs 26C, 27). Considerable quantities of pottery and faunal remains were found in these deposits, perhaps suggesting domestic occupation close by. The pottery was all of phase 4 and included types unlikely to be earlier than the very late 11th century. One tip layer, context 654, within 687 produced a half-penny of William I, dated 1087–1089 (Chapter 5, cat. no. 4). It appeared that this build-up was contemporary with the construction and life of the two principal features of this next phase.

Two massive linear features, interpreted as ditches, appear to be aligned on one another and to be curving through Y5 from north to east. Stratigraphically, there was some slight evidence that the more southerly (1602) was earlier than the other (260).

Ditch 1602: The southern feature (1602; Figs 26C, 27, section E–F) consisted of two lengths of ditch separated by a causeway, c. 2.75 m wide, of undisturbed natural chalk. Just under 5 m length of the western ditch lay within the excavated area. Its axis appeared to be towards the north-west, and the feature was curving slightly to the north. The terminal had been squared off. The northern side had a comparatively gentle slope and was quite irregular in profile, while the southern edge was much steeper and smoother in shape. The width of the feature was around 5 m, and it was about 2 m deep.

There was no silting, and the feature had been filled entirely from the northern side with alternating levels of chalk rubble and other material. The initial fill had subsided considerably, necessitating considerable further filling.

The eastern terminal was difficult to examine since it lay under a later masonry building which could not

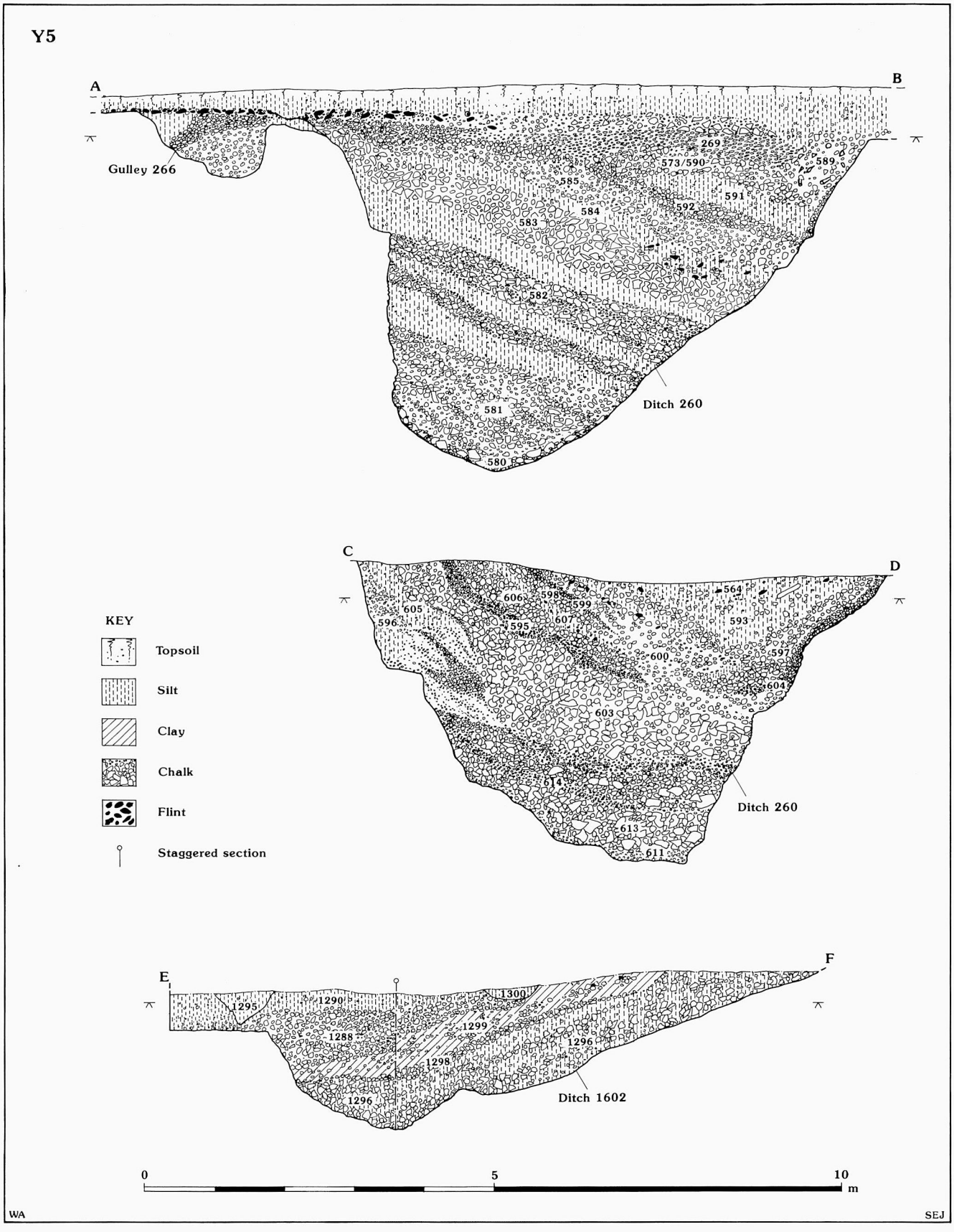

Figure 27 Ditches 260 and 1602 (Y5)

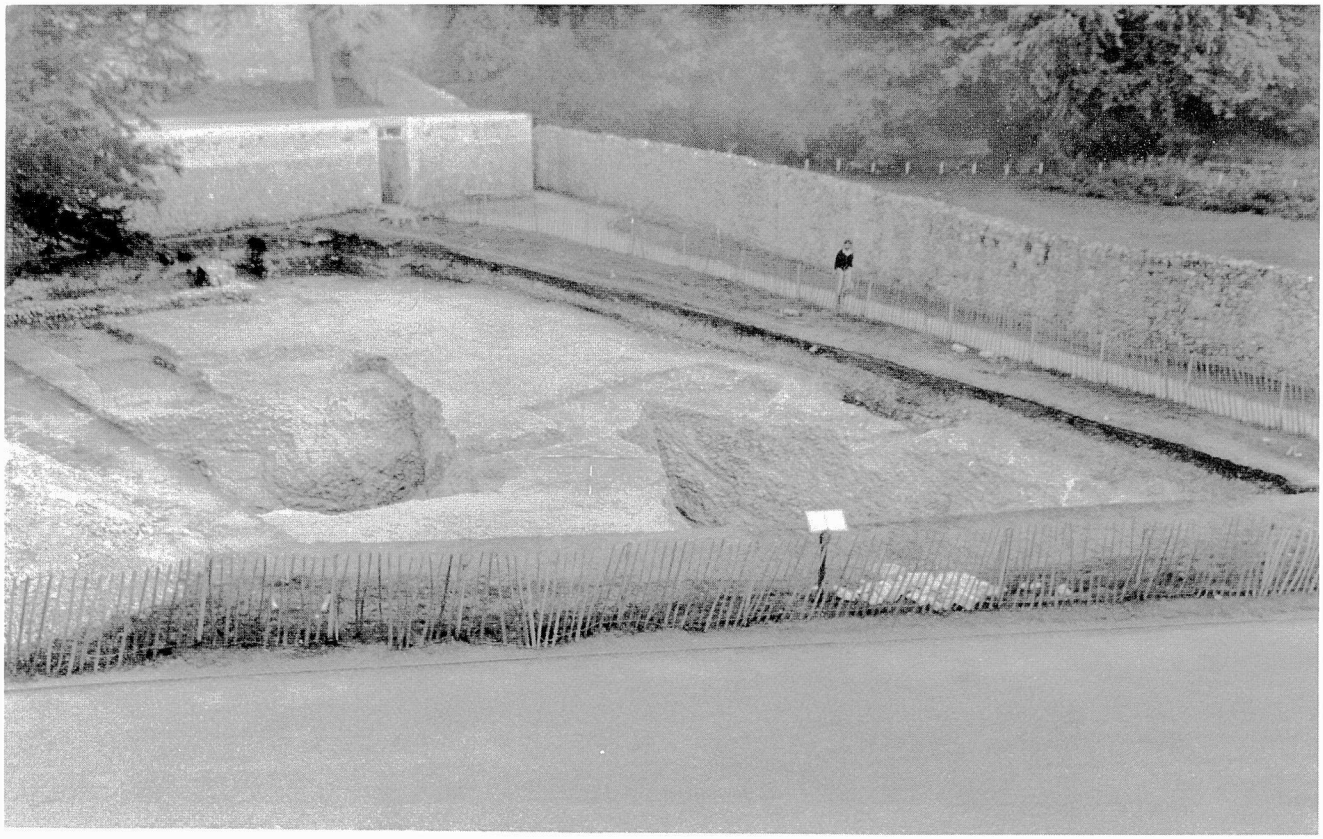

Plate 41 Site Y5, ditch 260 (phase 4c) from the north-east. Scales 2 m

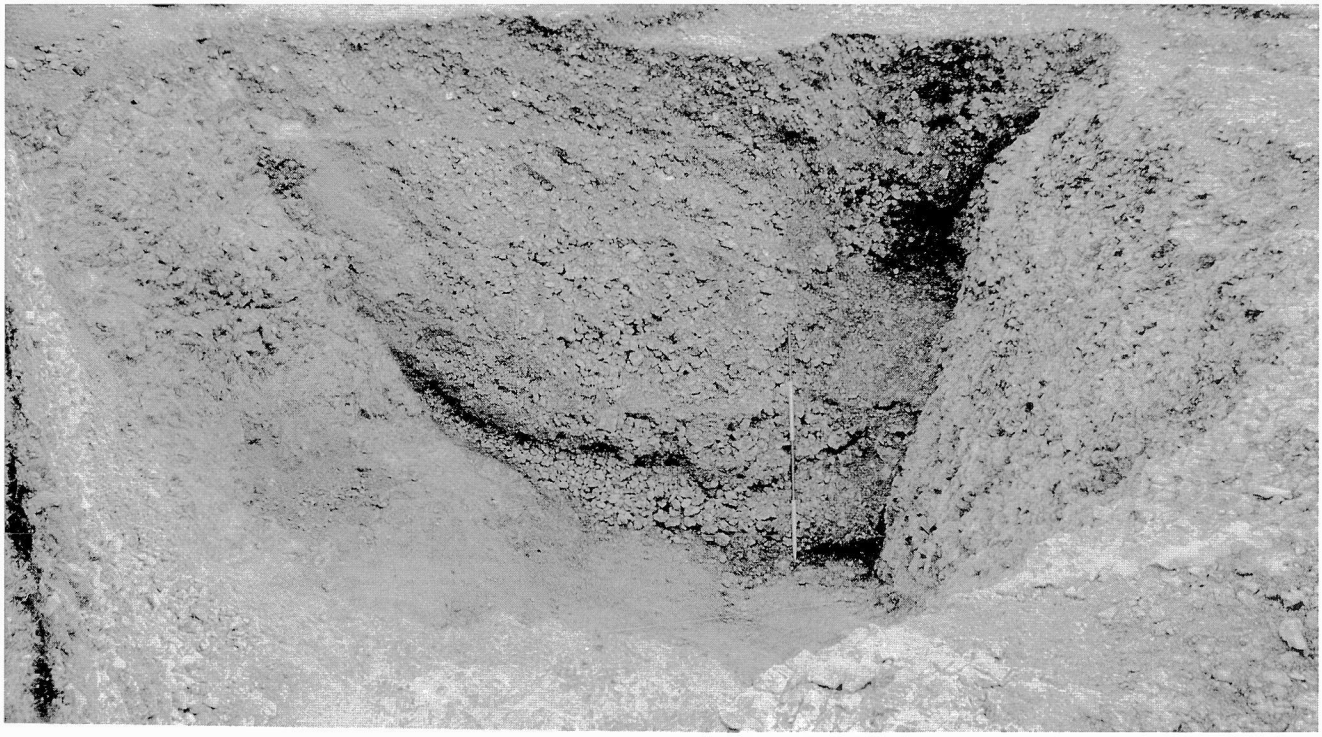

Plate 42 Site Y5, ditch 260, section. Scale 2 m

be removed, and also under a live sewer which had to remain supported. It too seemed to have a squared-off terminal, but its north and south sides were not located. Its north edge must lie under the north wall of the later building, and its south edge was found within Trench 4 of Rigold's trench R1. The feature is here again about 5 m wide and 2 m deep.

The only dating material came from the main backfill. All the pottery found was of Phase 4c.

Ditch 260: A greater length of this feature was examined (Figs 26C, 27, sections A–B, C–D). It curved through the excavation from north to east, and was around 6 m wide. On its north side it was cut immediately into natural, but on the south it cut through earlier build up, further evidence of the natural slope of the land. For most of its length, its depth was 4–5m, though at its northern end its base stepped up so that the depth was only 2 m. The ditch had an irregular profile and its sides were uneven, though at any one point one side or the other was vertical (Pl. 41).

There was little evidence of silting within the ditch, or of erosion of its sides. Some dumps of chalky material on its southern edge may be evidence that it had been cleared out on a regular basis. The ditch had eventually been filled by tipping from its northern side, although the fill was not uniform along its length. At the east end, layers of chalk rubble and more silty material alternated. In the centre the fill was entirely of chalk rubble. Backfilling appeared to have happened rapidly and without any attempt to compact the fill since there was much subsidence subsequently (Pl. 42)

The only dating evidence came from the primary backfill. Again all the pottery was of sub-phase 4*c*. Pottery from the upper levels of the ditch is unlikely to be earlier than the 12th century. The fill was also notable for the quantity of faunal remains within it, including a fox, a tawny owl, peacock and hare as well as more mundane kitchen waste (Chapter 6).

The same ditch was probably located to the north in trench Y10 (above), where a similar deep fill of loose chalk rubble was found (feature 1178). To the east, Rigold's trench R8 located a ditch-like feature on the same alignment with a depth of at least 2 m (below). The section of this narrow trench, at a very oblique angle to the presumed alignment of the feature shows an apparent stop at this point, since natural chalk came to within half a metre of the modern surface. It is possible, though, depending on the exact alignment of the feature, that this is just an irregularity in its side and that it continued further. Rigold certainly thought that this was the case (1969, fig. 3 and p. 137)

Interpretation of ditch 260 poses some problems. On the basis of the pottery found in it, it was clearly filled in during the 11th or early 12th century. The presence of fallow deer may narrow this down to the late 11th century at the earliest since fallow is thought to be a Norman introduction (Chapter 6). The coin found in context 687, which seems to have been dumped on its outer edge, suggests that this deposit was still in use in the last years of the 11th century. Young (1983b) interpreted ditch 260 and feature 1602 as successive phases of the defences of a Conquest period castle, cutting off one corner of the Lower Enclosure. This still seems probable, particularly since its backfill could well have come from the demolition of a rampart on its inner, northern, edge.

Against this must be argued the very irregular character of the feature with its varying depth and uneven profile. However, the only alternative interpretation seems to be that of chalk quarries for either the earthworks or for burning lime for building. If they were not serving the dual purpose of providing chalk for the rampart which they fronted, the only likely use for such quantities of chalk would have been for the existing motte-and-bailey. It is difficult to see why such linear chalk pits should have been dug within the castle and why indeed such quarries would have been needed in addition to the chalk which would have come from the massive ditches of the motte and bailey themselves.

The most likely interpretation of both 1602 and 260 is that they are defensive ditches, probably backed by a dump rampart formed of the material dug out of them. This rampart would have lain almost entirely outside trench Y5. Any evidence for it in trenches R9, R10, and Y10, through which it would have passed, had been removed by later developments. If the ditch returned to the east wall of the Lower Enclosure in a straight line, the rampart would have lain under the Garage building, investigated in trenches Y1–3 (above). This again has been subject to considerable disturbance but chalk rubble deposits earlier than the motte ditch were located and may be the last remnant of the rampart (see Fig. 12 and p. 23).

The causeways, while unusual, must mark the position of entrances through the ringwork. It is unclear from the evidence whether the two ditches were in use at the same time or in succession. Multiple defences are unusual at this period but not unknown (Kenyon 1990, 27), and as the only Norman stronghold on the Isle of Wight, it would have been important that Carisbrooke should have been securely defended. An alternative would be that the slighter feature 1602 was constructed as the first rapid response to the Norman need for a secure base, and that this was then succeeded by the more substantial feature, 260. Another possibility is that the outer ditch (1602) formed an outwork protecting the entrance to the enclosure defended by Ditch 260 (I am grateful to Philip Dixon for this suggestion).

On the basis of the archaeological evidence it can only be said that the ditches were filled in during sub-phase 5a. The late coin of William I from a layer associated with them and the presence of fallow deer in the backfill suggests that this occurred not earlier than around the end of the 11th century. A possible historical context for the slighting of these defences and

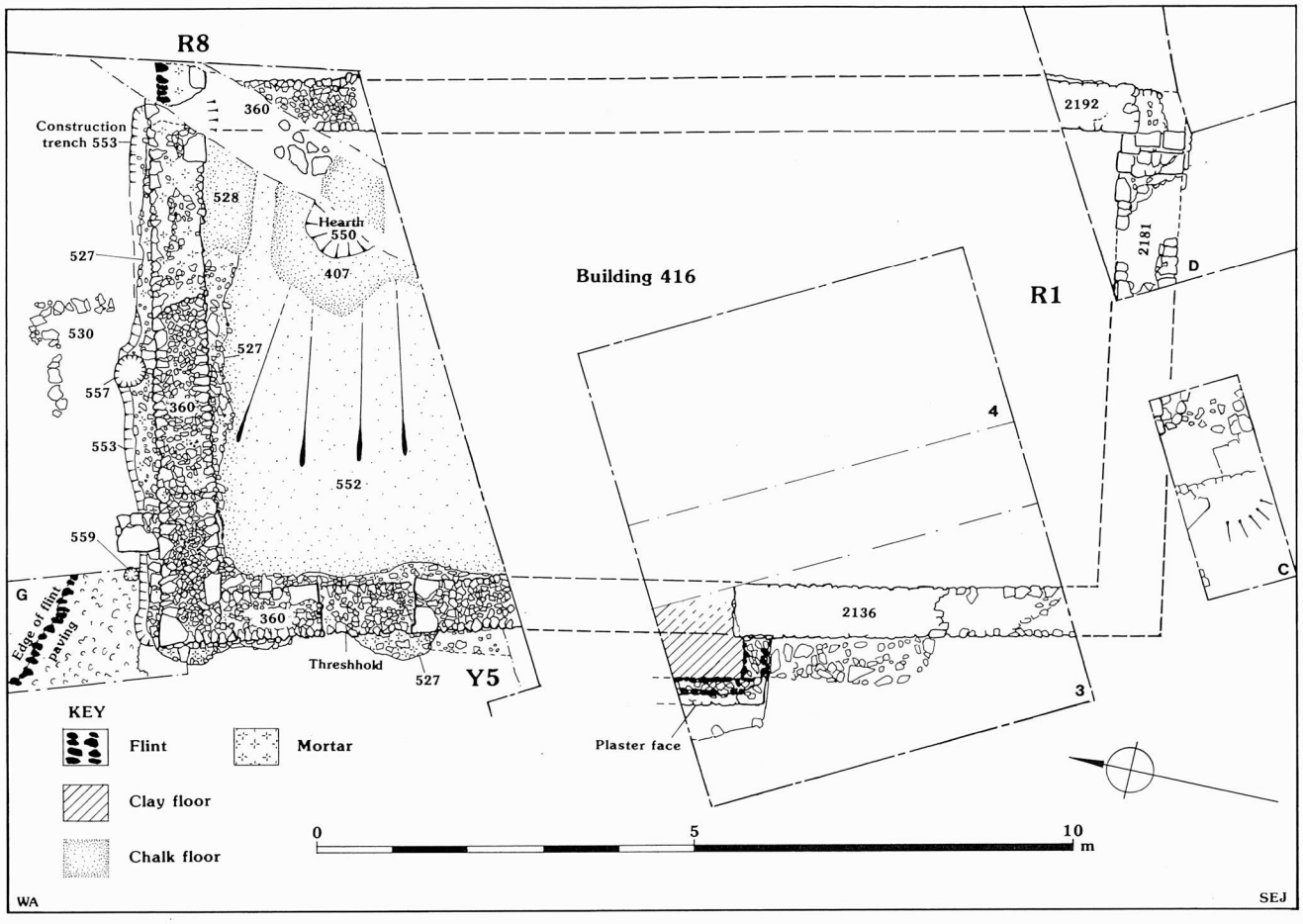

Figure 28 Building 416 (Y5)

their replacement by the much more impressive motte-and-bailey would have been the acquisition of the Isle of Wight by Baldwin de Redvers, sometime before his death in 1107.

Medieval occupation (Sub-phases 5b, 5c, 6a, and 6b)
After the two substantial ditches (1602 and 260) assigned to the Conquest period castle had gone out of use and been backfilled (probably around AD 1100), the area was used for primarily domestic occupation (Figs 26D, 28, 29). The earliest features were two masonry buildings. Of one of these (feature 620) (sub-phase 5b) only traces were found as all but one corner lay outside the trench. The wall (620) had been built in a foundation trench (618), was covered with a sandy orange mortar spread (621) and appeared to have been built across the top of a pit (625; fill 619). The fill (624) of the foundation trench contained only two sherds of pottery which are not closely datable, but stratigraphically this feature must be later than the backfilling of ditches 1602 and 260 and fall, therefore, in the 12th century.

Building 416 (sub-phase 5b): The second building was a large stone structure (416) (sub-phase 5b) in the south-east corner of the trench (Pl. 43). It had also been investigated by Rigold in R1 (1962), and the results of both excavations are used here to describe it (Fig. 28). Young's excavation cleared the northern end of the building, while Rigold had found its west wall in Trench 3 and its south-east corner in Trench D. Trench C confirmed the line of the south wall. This showed the building to be rectangular and oriented almost north–south. It was 13 m long and 8 m wide. One doorway was found at the north end of the west wall and there was a rectangular projection midway along the west wall entered from inside the building.

The building had been built into a large, presumably rectangular, cut through earlier deposits which was seen most clearly along its north wall (360), and the southern part of the west wall (see Fig 31, wall 2136). Elsewhere in Y5, the picture was confused by the degree of subsidence into the underlying ditch 1602. The walls of the building had foundations of compacted chalk rubble and some flint in greensand mortar and were built of coursed chalk rubble and flint, with dressed blocks of greensand forming the corners of the building and marking the imposts of the doorway. The main walls were 0.8 m across and had been plastered on the inside. The extension on the west side had a wall only half that width and had been plastered on its exterior.



Plate 43 Site Y5, building 416 (phase 5b), from the north-east. Scale 2 m

The stratigraphy of the building had been considerably complicated by massive subsidence into the fill of the underlying feature 1602. There were make-up layers, such as 519 of firm grey/brown chalk and silt, which underlay its floor (407) of beaten chalk with some earth. In the north-east corner of the building there was a circular hearth, 550, which was slightly hollowed into the floor. The hearth was made up of hard fired clay and some heavily burnt sandstone. Two small post-holes (412 and 414, not shown on plan) were cut into the floor. There was also one post-hole, 557, cut into the foundation trench against the middle of the exterior face of the north wall.

The building produced some dating evidence. Pottery from foundation trenches and from make-up levels suggests a 12th century date and from the floor came a penny of Henry I, dated *c.* 1117–19 (Chapter 5, cat. no. 5). Clearly the building could only have been erected after ditches 1602 and 260 had gone out of use which, it is suggested above, may have happened around 1100, adding further support for a 12th century date. The use of the building is uncertain, particularly since so little of its interior could be investigated.

Contemporary with the use of the building was the build-up over much of trench Y5 of a series of yard surfaces (sub-phase 5a). The earliest of these sealed the foundation trenches of building 416 and may have been part of the same reordering of the site. The sequence of deposits was extremely complex with interleaving layers of small chalk rubble and silt. In some places there were slight hollows on the surfaces which contained concentrations of pottery and animal bones. In other places there were deeper deposits where there had been subsidence over earlier, backfilled, deep features. These produced substantial deposits of pottery and bone including a midden deposit (286). There were also considerable quantities of metal and worked bone objects. Among these were copper alloy fragments including broken mounts and ironwork including weaponry, a prick spur, and horseshoes. The worked bone included pins and a gaming piece. Most were fragmentary or broken.

The nature of the finds and of the deposits suggests that much of the excavated area was at this time used as a yard on which large amounts of rubbish were dumped. Most of the recorded deposits can be attributed to this kind of use. There were also a few more substantial features contemporary with these surfaces. Two ditches (281 and 283) were found in the north-west corner of the trench (Fig. 26D). They were about 0.5 m wide on the same alignment with a gap of about 0.5 m between them. These could have formed a boundary to this area of activity on its north-west side. It may be significant that they are on the same

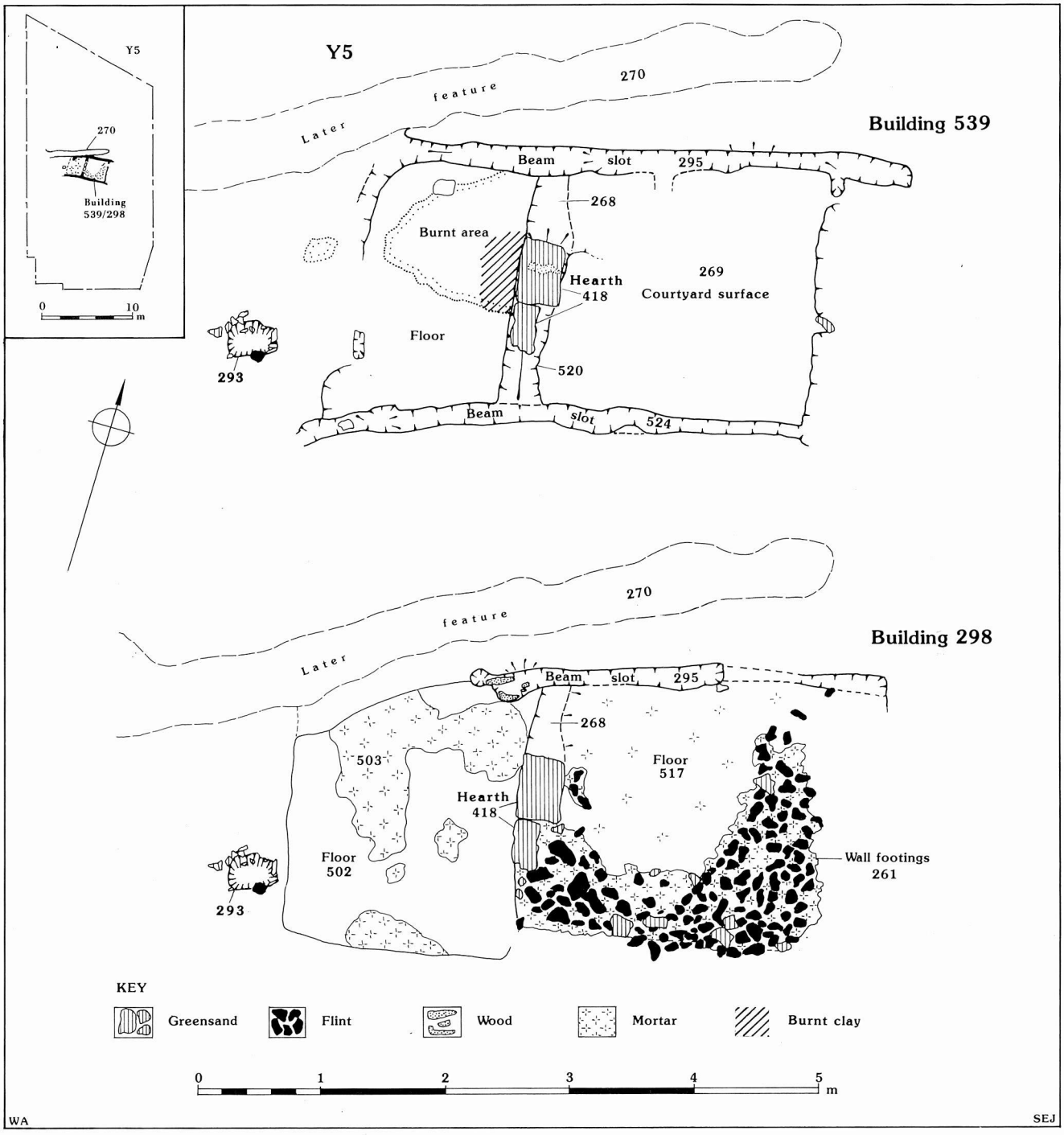

Figure 29 Building 539/298 (Y5)

alignment as the stone building 416, and also of the more ephemeral building (539/298) described below.

Building 539/298 (sub-phase 5c): Building 539 (Fig. 29), originating in sub-phase 5c, represented the earliest phase of this building. It was built of timber and was rectangular, 4 m long and 2 m wide (Pl. 44). Its longer north and south walls were marked by beam slots (295 and 524), up to 0.2 m wide, cut into the chalk yard surface. Both slots contained charcoal. There were traces of cuts in the yard surface (layer 269) at both east and west ends of the structure, but these were less distinct than those to north and south. There was a much clearer north–south slot (268/520) dividing the structure into two unequal parts, with a western compartment of 2 m by 1.5 m, and an eastern one of 2 m by 2 m. The southern half of this slot (520) also contained some burnt wood and towards the middle

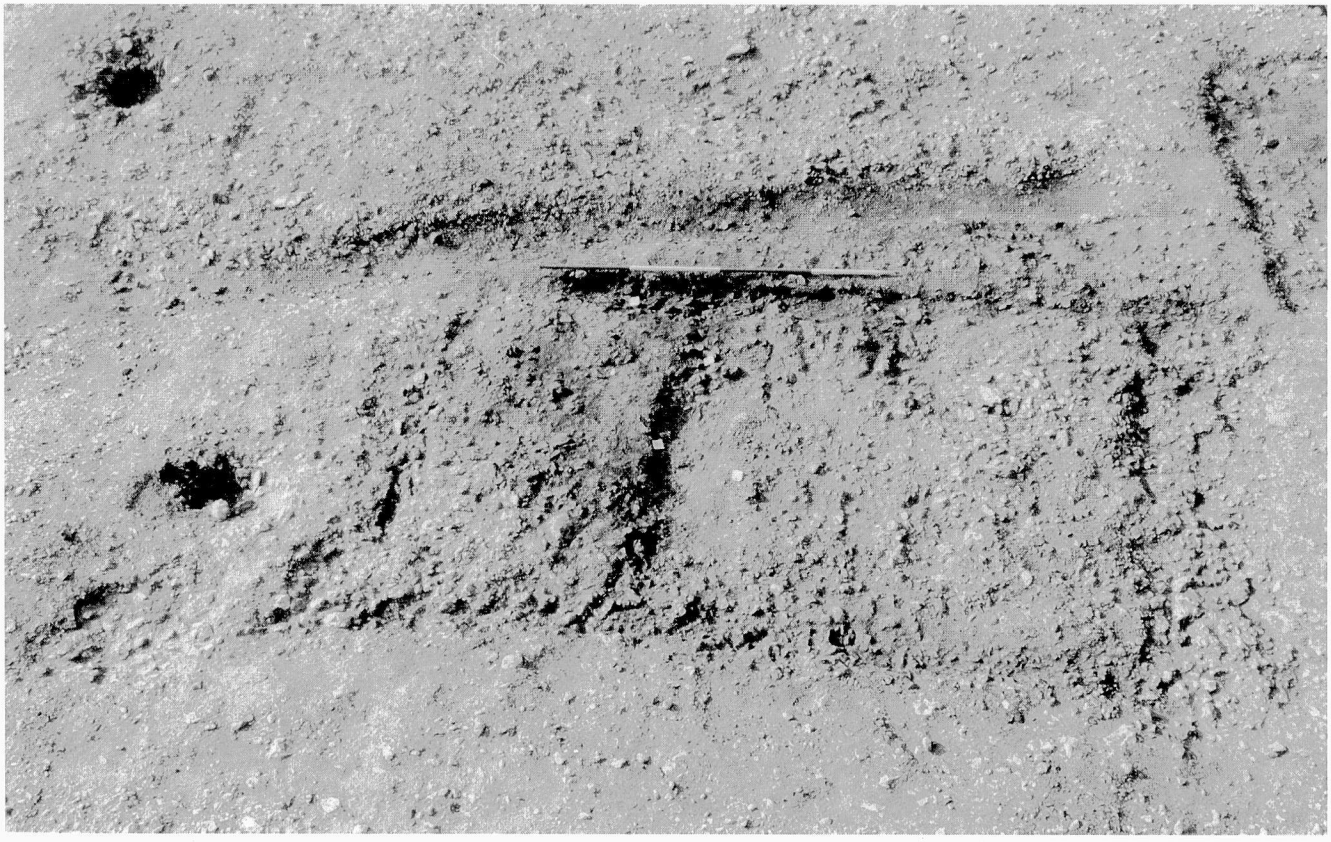

Plate 44 Site Y5, building 539 (phase 5c), from the south. Scale 2 m

were two large pieces of heavily burnt greensand (418) that had probably been used as a hearth.

The western half of building 539 contained an extensive area of burnt clay over part of its floor, formed in this phase by the general yard surface, and a rectangular area of more heavily burnt clay lay immediately to the west of hearth 418. The floor of the eastern compartment was also formed at this stage by the general yard surface (269), here also burnt red. To the west of building 539 was a substantial post-hole (293), 0.45 m by 0.25 m.

Building 298, also assigned to sub-phase 5c, represented the second phase of the building (Fig. 29). It was similar in plan to the first though the methods of construction differed (Pl. 45). The central part of the northern beam slot (295) remained in use, as did the northern part of the central partition (268) but the remaining beam foundations were not reused. Instead, a diffuse flint and mortar foundation (261) formed the base or footing for a wall on the east side and eastern half of the south side of the building. This partially overlay the burnt greensand hearth (418) which seemed to have been incorporated into the foundation. There was a gap in wall-footing 261 at its northern end, perhaps for an entrance to the building. The remainder of the southern edge of the structure and the whole of its west side were defined only by the edge of the floor of the western compartment. The solitary post-hole (293) to the west remained in use.

The floor of the western compartment (502) was of beaten chalk with over it (layer 503) a slick of mortar. The floor of the eastern compartment (517) was of orange sand, probably containing some mortar. Between the two floors the central portion of the former partition was occupied by two heavily burnt pieces of greensand (418) retained from the earlier building and probably representing a hearth.

The central hearth(s), the burnt floor surfaces, and the possibility that buildings 539 and 298 were both destroyed by fire, suggests that the buildings were used for a process involving heat. There was no concentration of obvious industrial waste in or near the buildings. However, as noted above, the whole area produced very considerable quantities of broken pottery and of animal waste, suggesting its use for kitchen processes. It is quite likely, therefore, that these buildings were small cookhouses or bakehouses in rapid succession to one another. Despite the use of stone in the second phase, the construction seems much more ad hoc and ramshackle than that of the first phase. There is 12th century pottery from the second phase building, and one sherd of 13th century date.

Two metres to the north of this structure was a sub-rectangular patch of chalk (290) 3 m long by 1.5 m wide (Fig. 26D), overlying a flaked chalk surface of the same dimensions (501). There were no obvious signs of walls or other structural remains, but the most likely interpretation is that these were successive floors of a



Plate 45 Site Y5, building 298 (phase 5c), from the east. Scale 0.5 m

small and ephemeral building. Pottery from the surfaces was of the 12th century and also the 13th century, with some possible 14th century sherds. As mentioned above, a coin of Henry I, dated 1117–19, was found in the earlier floor.

A gully (feature 270) (Fig. 26D; sub-phase 5c) was cut close to the northern edge of building 298 after it had gone out of use, clipping its north-west corner. This ran to the west for some 6.5 m before it petered out but it may originally have run into, or at least diverted rainwater towards, feature 291, part of a complex of pits or sumps on the very edge of the excavated area. A further gully (feature 344) (Fig. 26D; sub-phase 5c) ran from the southern edge of this complex of pits towards the south-west corner of the trench, an area subject to considerable subsidence throughout this period. Feature 291, (Fig. 26D; sub-phase 5c) contained 12th century pottery. The fill of 344 (context 271) contained 13th century pottery. Other features belonging to this period were some scattered small post-holes.

The general picture that emerges of this area at this period is very workaday. It is one of yard-surfaces liberally scattered with refuse and patched when conditions got too wet or messy. At a later stage there was probably some attempt to drain the area and it was possibly bounded by a ditch on its western side. Towards the apparent edges of the yard were one, perhaps two, substantial stone buildings (416 and 620). Nearer the middle of the yard were more ephemeral structures (Building 539/298), possibly a cookhouse/bakehouse, and 290. The faunal remains from the two major associated deposits (the midden tip 286, and the upper fill in the ditch) are indicative of kitchen waste (Chapter 5). The most likely explanation is that this was a working area, probably associated with food preparation.

The duration of this use is difficult to establish closely. The nature of the deposits means that they were frequently disturbed with the likelihood both of contamination by later finds, and also of high levels of residual material in later features, as is noted in the pottery report (Chapter 4). Pottery from the structures extends into the 13th century while deposits from the yard surfaces and fills are predominantly 12th century but with a persistent later component of 13th century date. Given that Building 416, undoubtedly associated with the yard surfaces, was built in the 12th century, it is likely that occupation extended over a considerable period, into the 13th century. Build up continued into the 14th century through sub-phase 6b.

The use of the area of trench Y5 as a general yard area, thick with refuse, came to an end when large quantities of material were dumped over the whole of the trench. This dumping was characterised by greenish, sandy soil which resembled decayed greensand. Pottery from these deposits (contexts 185, 200) is of Phase 7, dated to the first half of the 15th century. Above these deposits was a further layer of dumping, containing stones, chalk, and many finds dating to the second half of the 15th century (also Phase 7). Presumably these deposits are a general tidying up of the site reflecting changing uses of this part of the inner bailey. Thereafter little seems to have happened in the excavated area which appears to have been maintained as an open space in front of the principal buildings of the castle.

R1

Stuart Rigold excavated the site of the new public lavatories in 1961, originally opening a row of four boxes from west to east, each of 4.9 by 2.5 m, separated by baulks 1.2 m wide (Figs 30, 31, section A–B). Subsequently box 1 was extended to the west by 1.2 m (the extension was numbered 0) and the baulk between boxes 3 and 4 was removed, giving a total excavated area of c.60 m2. However, not all the boxes were dug to natural and in some cases only a quarter of the box was so excavated. In 1963 a further six trenches were opened to the south of this row of boxes and named A–F. Four of these (A–D) were 1.7 m south of the 1961 trenches, placed at least in part to complete

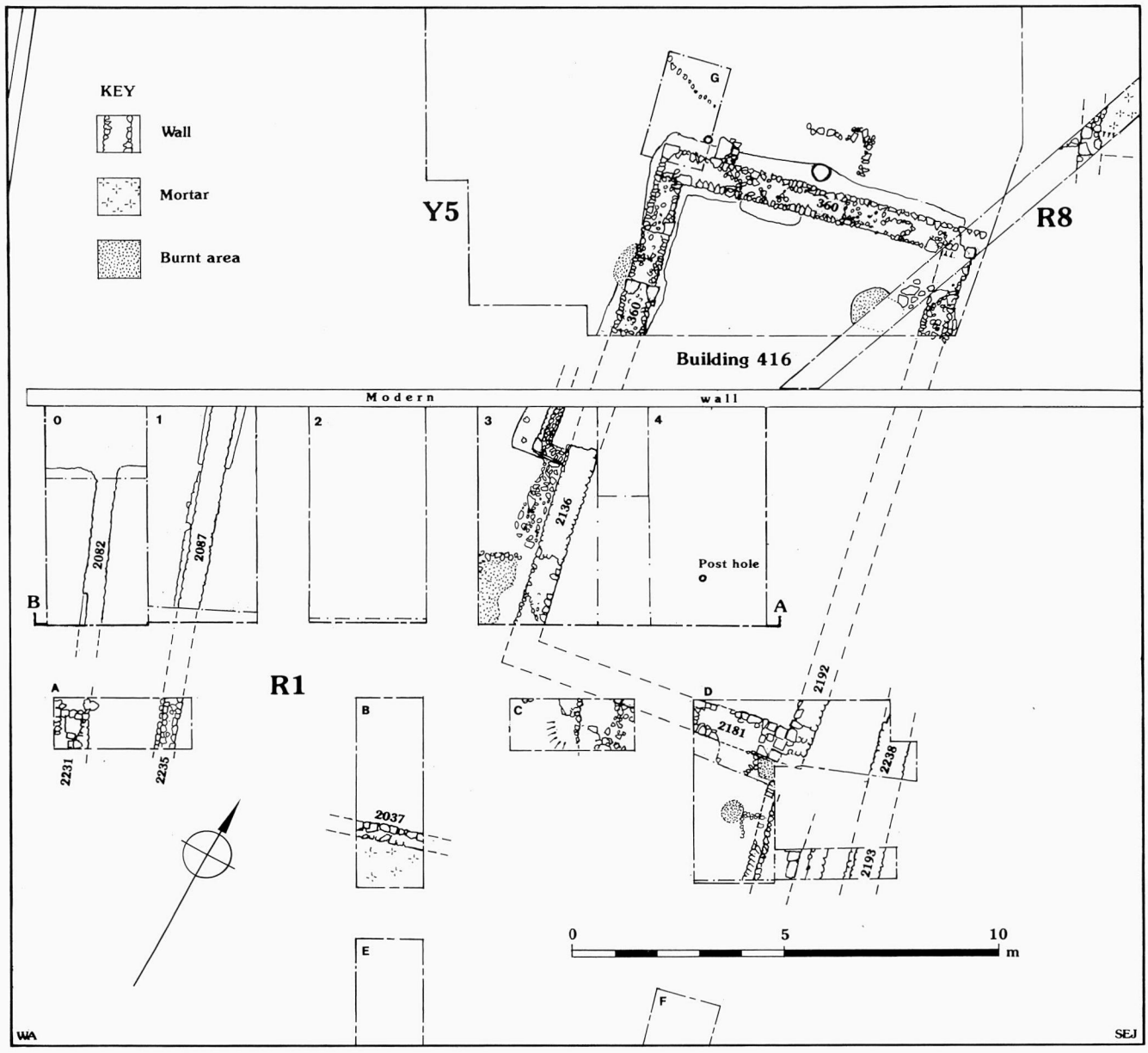

Figure 30 Plan of Site R1

the plan of building 416. They were of varying size. E and F were long trenches up the southern rampart of the bailey. A seventh trench, G, was dug to the north of the toilets in the area subsequently included in Young's site Y5. For the purposes of this report, the whole complex of trenches has been grouped as site R1.

As noted above, the trenches were recorded in a way which concentrated on the stratigraphic sequence rather than structural planning. Only major features such as stone walls were recorded in plan. The principal value of the excavations now is the confirmation of the plan of Building 416, and of the stratigraphic sequence found in Y5. Because of the fall of the underlying natural, the stratification is deeper than over most of Y5. It is also less disturbed by major features such as the ditches in Y5. For these reasons, the third major contribution of this site has been to establishing the ceramic sequence for the site as a whole (Chapter 4).

A considerable amount of post-excavation work was done on the stratigraphic sequence and on the pottery in the years immediately after the excavation. The nature of the surviving record (some original sections, redrawn sections, and black-and-white photos but no site notebooks or colour slides) means that it has been difficult to add to this to any great extent. As full an account as possible is deposited with the site archive. Here it has been felt necessary only to publish the southern section of trenches 0–4 (Fig. 31), together with a brief account of the stratigraphic sequence and the main structural remains recorded. Trench G was, in any case, redug as part of Y5 while salient

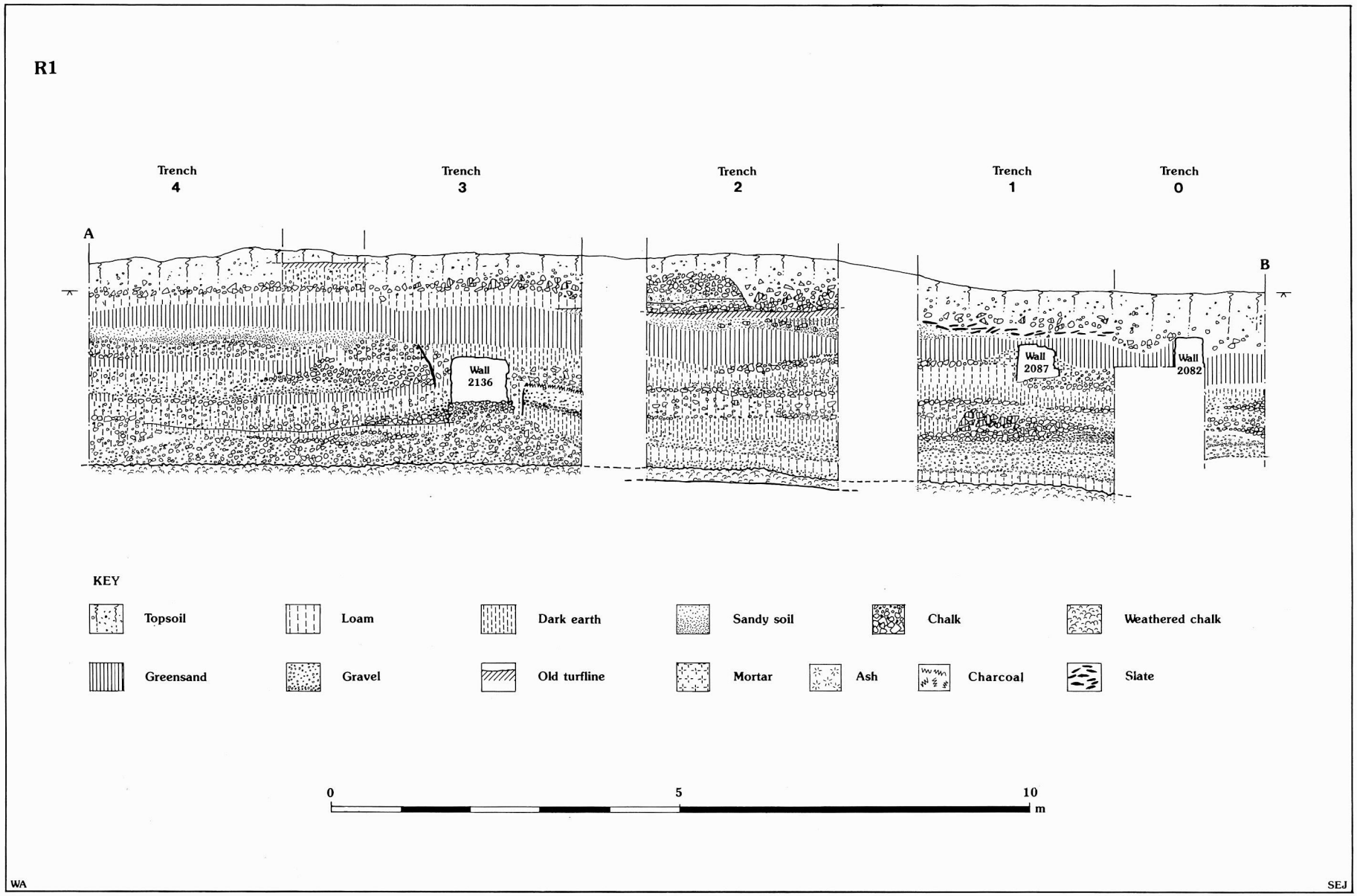

Figure 31 Site R1, section A–B across trenches 4–0

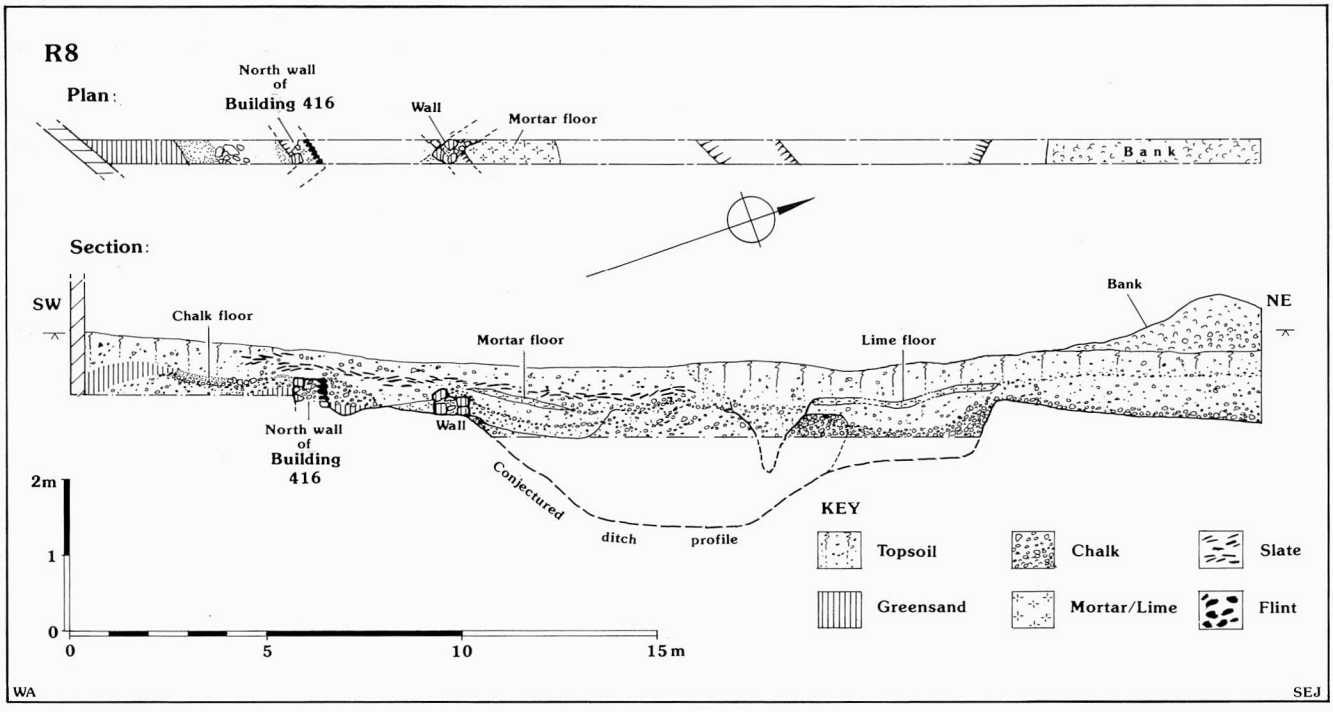

Figure 32 Site R8, plan and section

information from the two trenches on the bailey bank (E and F) has been included in the account of Y6 which reopened parts of those two trenches.

Natural chalk in trenches 0–4 lay at a depth of around 3 m. Over this was a build up of deposits and surfaces. These had been cut in the north-east corner of Trench 4 by a deep excavation (not shown on section) which must be the edge of ditch 1602 (see above). There is some suggestion that there was a spread chalk mound at the eastern end of the section but the significance of this is unclear.

The next major event was the construction of the west wall (2136) of building 416. The section suggests that a cut was terraced out for the whole building and the wall built against its western edge. As with the other walls of 416, there was a foundation for the wall. Rigold located also in Trench 4 the projection which lies half-way along the west wall of the building. Subsequently he found the north-west corner of the building in his Trench G, the north-east corner in his lawn trench (R8) and its south-east corner in Trench D.

West of the building, there was a build up of tips and yard surfaces in the same way as was observed in Y5. Pottery from these layers is of the same date range and this area is clearly a continuation of the yard and working area described above. Two walls (2087 and 2082) towards the west end of the section appear to have been erected late in this yard sequence. They were traced over a distance of some 9 m but no more is known of their plan or purpose. Stratigraphically it might be suggested that 2082 succeeded 2087. Rigold also located other walls in Trenches B and D but little more can be said of them. They are presumably parts of other buildings.

The sequence inside building 416 is different with two very clear layers of greensand, one of which may be part of its floor. From the drawings, the upper layers look very much like demolition deposits. There is some suggestion of a robber trench of Wall 2136. These deposits are sealed by a thick layer of greensand which seems to have extended over all these trenches dug by Rigold. This must be the same layer as ended the yard occupation found on site Y5 (above). It too is dated to the first half of the 15th century by the pottery in it.

R8

Rigold dug one further trench in this area of the castle. This ran north-east from the public lavatories and was essentially a watching brief for the construction of their sewer. Part of this trench was re-excavated in Y5. The remainder lay to the east of Y5.

The plan and section of this trench (Fig. 32) show the north wall of building 416. North of this is a further stone wall with a mortar floor to the north it. A further lime floor was located further north in the trench, but no more is known of these features or their date. Under these features, Rigold located a wide depression which he was not able to excavate. This is most likely to be the continuation of ditch 260. Probing suggested that it had a depth of around 2 m, but it is uncertain how effective probing would be in a feature filled with chalk rubble. What this trench did show clearly, though, was an apparent break in the ditch, since the northern end of R8 seems to have found natural chalk at a depth of

around 0.5 m. The significance of these discoveries was discussed above.

Discussion

Excavations in the southern part of the bailey have outlined the development of this part of the site from the 6th century to the present day. It is clear that the intensity of occupation varied very much at different times over this period. Stratigraphically the sequence is clear from Y5 and is supported by Rigold's observations in R1 and R8. Broadly it is as follows:

1. Early Saxon inhumation cemetery, Phase 3, dated to the early–middle 6th century, possibly second quarter.
2. Gully and possible four-post structure contemporary with the Late Saxon Lower Enclosure. Phase 4a, 11th/early 12th century.
3. Large timber buildings and hearth contemporary with the Late Saxon Lower Enclosure. Phase 4b, 11th/early 12th century
4. Ditches 260 and 1602, with occupation material, including kitchen refuse on outer edge of 260. Phase 4c, 11th/early 12th century, with late coin of William I in occupation debris. It is suggested that these ditches are the defences of the Conquest-period castle built post-1066.
5. Backfilling of ditches. Phase 5a, 11th/early 12th century. It is suggested that this is associated with the construction of the present motte-and-bailey before 1107.
6. Construction and use of building 416, development of yard surfaces with much kitchen refuse, and minor buildings (cookhouses or bakehouses). Phases 5b, 5c, 6a, and 6b, 11th/early 12th century to 14th century.
7. Demolition of building 416, end of yard use and sealing of area with greensand deposit. Phase 7, early 15th century.
8. Further levelling deposits. Phase 7, late 15th century

This broad sequence is clear though its detailed chronology is not, with three steps occurring within one ceramic phase. Closer dating of these developments depends on the historical interpretation placed upon them, and in particular on the two ditches. The reasons for believing them to be ditches rather than quarries have been discussed above. As massive defensive ditches they fit well into a pattern of creating Conquest-period castles within one corner of larger, earlier defended enclosures such as Roman forts or Saxon *burhs*. If they are such, they must date to the late 1060s since it would have been necessary to secure the Isle of Wight as soon as possible after the Conquest. *Domesday* shows that the castle existed, at the latest, by 1086.

It is also necessary to look for an historical context to date the end of their use. An absolute *terminus ante quem* is provided by the reference in the *Gesta Stephani* to the existence of a stone castle in 1136 which must refer to the present curtain wall and shell keep. It is very unlikely that the ditches and the motte could have co-existed, since the motte has its own ditch and there would have been no need for these features. The motte-and-bailey must, therefore, date to sometime after the Conquest. Given 1136 as the date by which the shell keep and curtain wall had been built, this gives a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the motte-and-bailey. There is, thus, a broad archaeological dating for these earthworks of sometime later than 1066 but before *c.* 1130. Their construction must have involved a very major investment of effort and disruption of the existing arrangements. A suitable historical context for such an effort and display of power would have been the grant to Baldwin de Redvers by Henry I of the Lordship of the Isle of Wight at some point after his accession to the throne in 1100 and before Baldwin's death in 1107 (Rigold 1969, 132).

The layout of this 12th century castle is unclear with the only known buildings being the chapel and the two buildings revealed by excavation. That on the south side seems to have been in a kitchen area. Major buildings such as a great hall have still to be located.

It seems to have been in the following century, principally under Countess Isabella, that the present internal plan of the castle was developed, although the hall itself probably pre-dates her. Certainly her major building campaigns concentrated the principal accommodation on the north sides of the bailey and this has never subsequently changed.

This left the chapel of St Nicholas, held by Quarr Abbey, rather on its own in the south-west corner of the castle and, subsequently, other buildings were added in the south-east corner. It seems likely that from the 15th century the central part of the bailey was empty, as now.

4. The Historical Background to the Refortification of 1597–1601, by Jack Jones

> *This morning began a great fight betwixt both fleets south of this island, which continued from five of the clock until ten ... The fleets keep the direct trade, and shot into the sea out of our sight by three of the clock this afternoon, whereupon we have dissolved our camp wherein we have continued since Monday.*

The measured language of this report by Sir George Carey, Captain of the Isle of Wight, to the Privy Council on 25 July 1588 (Lemon 1865, 543) thus records the close passage of the Spanish Armada. As

the fleets disappeared into the afternoon haze the threat of attack on the Island seemed to have passed into history; but in the course of time, with growing awareness of the narrowness of this escape from invasion, the events of this day were to generate a major piece of military engineering.

With his appointment to the Captaincy in 1583 Carey brought a new style of living to the Isle of Wight. Closely related to Queen Elizabeth – his grandmother Mary Carey was Anne Boleyn's sister – he made the now rather derelict Carisbrooke Castle the seat of local administration and social life. The domestic quarters were repaired or substantially rebuilt (PRO: SP.12/160/24, II); and he entertained the local gentry and their wives with monthly banquets (with music) at the castle (CCM: Oglander 216a, 280b), duck shoots on the marshes (Strype 1728, 392), and deer hunts in the forest (CCM: Oglander 285a). He set up a horse-breeding stud at Ningwood (CCM: Oglander 285a) and from Newport harbour he ran apparently prosperous privateering ventures (Andrews 1964, 94–8 and 250) whose progress was eased by his tenure of the Vice-Admiralty of Hampshire (Andrews 1964, 94–7). He was known as a fount of patronage, both artistic (John Dowland's First Book of Ayres of 1597 carries a dedication to Carey (2nd Lord Hunsdon)) and political. (In the parliament of 1584 he secured two MPs each for Yarmouth, Newtown, and Newport on the Isle of Wight, and the grateful towns conceded him the right of nominating one of the two members). Conversely he had a short way with dissidents and one local gentleman who took exception to Carey's arbitrary powers in 1588 quickly found himself in the Fleet Prison (Worsley 1781, 97–106). 'Your frynde, if fryndlie used', Carey subscribed himself in reply to a petition of the local gentlemen on that occasion.

Carey's continuing preoccupation was with the defence of the Island. He associated with those who, on the Privy Council and outside it, argued for military adventure rather than financial and diplomatic prudence. His house guests at Carisbrooke Castle included Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; Ferdinando Stanley, 5th Earl of Derby; Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy and Earl of Devonshire; Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton; Sir John Norris, and many other military leaders (CCM: Oglander, 280b).

One of Carey's first measures as Captain, early in 1584, was to tune up the Island defences. He had inherited the usual medieval beacon system, and he now gave orders for it to be brought into a state of the utmost readiness, with clear and comprehensive instruction to the watchers at each station (British Library: Lansdowne MSS. 40, no. 8). He also issued detailed instructions for the training and exercise of the local militia which was organised in eleven divisions or centons, each under an officer called a centoner; and a new idea of Carey's was to institute annual military games for the Island, with prizes for the best pikeman, the best arquebus shot, and similar exercises (ibid.).

His concern for defence reflected the historical sensitivity of the Isle of Wight as a possible off-shore base for an attack on the south coast, and the Solent as a likely entry route. Here was the only island off the English Channel coast large enough to accommodate an army, with the capacity to feed it. Camden, writing in Carey's time (1806, 174–6), stated 'the soil (not to mention the sea is well supplied with fish) is very rich and profitable to the cultivators, producing corn enough for exportation'. It also stood off far enough from the mainland to guard against an easy surprise attack, but within reach of a great extent of English coastline.

When the French forces secured some beach-heads on the Island during their attack on the Solent in 1545, according to their historian Martin du Bellay, they debated the possibility of holding and fortifying it. The main argument in favour was that:

> *l'ayans en nostre puissance, aisement nous viendrions à estre Seigneurs de Portemuth, qui est un des plus beaux ports d'Angleterre, et par ce moyen tiendrions les ennemis en incroyable despense, ayans à entretenir continuellement armée tant par mer que par terre, pour faire teste à nos gens: et outre, nous serions sur le passage d' Espagne et Flandres, que nous tiendrions à nostre plaisir, et qu 'avecques le temps l'Isle se pourroit cultiver, et rapporter vivres pour la nourriture de la garnison que le Roy y tiendroit.* (du Bellay 1786, 227–8).

After some discussion the project was abandoned because the French fleet did not carry enough pioneers for construction of fortifications, nor enough troops for an effective garrison. However the point about the Island's position on the shipping route between Spain and Flanders was one that would recur in later strategic assessments.

Most significantly Philip II of Spain, during his brief joint tenure of the English throne in the 1550s, placed great importance on the Isle of Wight. On 7 February 1558 Philip wrote, from the Continent where he was now waging war with France, to Feria his minister in London:

> *News has arrived here that the French are fitting out ships to raid the Isle of Wight. This is a matter of great importance and will brook no delay, wherefore you will immediately inform the Queen and Council in order that they may take measures to reinforce the garrisons on that Island, lay in munitions and supplies, and be in a position to defend it.*

On 12 February Feria wrote to Philip:

there are no further news of the 80 ships which I wrote to your majesty were to have put out from Dieppe. I always believed these ships were intended to revictual at Calais, but I never told the English so, for fear of making them lukewarm about providing for the Isle of Wight, which is of such importance for this kingdom.

You did well, Philip replied on 18 February, *not to inform the Council of what you had heard about the ships at Dieppe, lest they neglect providing for the Isle of Wight. You will continue to insist on the necessity of reinforcements there, in the light of what I wrote to you on 7 February about news of French plans* (Tyler 1954, 352, 356, 361).

Carey took charge of the Isle of Wight at a time when relations with Spain were about to erupt into open hostilities, with the seizure of English ships in Spanish ports in May 1585, and the Treaty of Nonsuch the following September committing England to send an army in support of the rebellious provinces in the Spanish Netherlands; but the situation had festered certainly since the beginning of the Dutch revolt in 1568 – with covert English help from an early stage – and the Papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis* in 1570 excommunicating Elizabeth I and releasing her catholic subjects from their allegiance.

The 1570s saw a succession of plans for the invasion of England. In 1571, as part of the Ridolfi plot for the deposition of Elizabeth and the rescue of the captive Mary Queen of Scots, the Duke of Norfolk suggested a landing at Harwich, with the Solent as a poor second choice (Rigg 1916, 396 item 762, Duke of Norfolk to (Ro. Ridolfi), March 1571). In July 1572 Thomas Stukeley, an English exile of colourful reputation advised Philip II that, if he should decide to attack England in strength:

the occupation in the first instance of the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth and (South)Hampton would be of capital importance, because these places are in that part of England where there are many Catholics, and where, better than in any other parts, the rest can come to their aid from all parts of the realm, and whither succour can more speedily arrive from your Majesty's lands. I engage to take all three places at a stroke in a single night, and in less than twelve hours (Rigg 1916, 19–20 item 43, Sir Thomas Stukeley to Philip II, Louvain, July 1572).

In 1576 after the death of Requesens, Philip offered the post of military governor of the Spanish Netherlands to his illegitimate half-brother Don John of Austria, hero of the naval victory over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571. Don John after some thought agreed to accept the assignment on condition that it was linked to an invasion of England. He made a preliminary essay in logistics, and suggested Plymouth, Falmouth, or Southampton as the target (de Torne 1928, 50). Philip grudgingly agreed in principle to the idea, subject first to the pacification of the Netherlands (Don John, reasoning the other way, had seen the neutralisation of England as a solution to the Netherlands problem).

Philip II had reason to greet these enterprises against England with less than elation because, even after Lepanto, the war at the Mediterranean end of his vast empire was devouring money more quickly than the silver shipments from the Americas could replace it, and Spain had in fact gone bankrupt in 1575. The Vatican, however, kept a good head of steam behind the invasion plans, which underwent various amendments in the later 1570s while becoming more deeply enmeshed in the Netherlands war.

By the early part of 1587, however, Philip was entirely committed to an invasion of England. He had completed the building of his vast palace of the Escorial; the Mediterranean theatre was generally quiescent; and in February 1587 Mary Queen of Scots was executed, with her life going the last legitimate Roman Catholic succession to the English throne. Drake's expedition to Cadiz and his damage to the Spanish fleet delayed the enterprise by a year, but there was now no doubt of Philip's intention of attack. The guessing game was to name the target.

It was a grim game for the English Queen and Council, deploying their painfully finite resources. With no standing army, militia levies of uncertain endurance, and a relatively small royal navy with only a small peacetime budget, insufficient to keep all of its ships permanently in commission, the time and the place of the attack became an obsessive concern. There were two aids to hand: inductive reasoning, and intelligence reports.

An interesting example of the former is an unsigned document among the Domestic State Papers which puts its finger on the Isle of Wight (PRO: SP.12/210/47). It begins by setting out three conditions that the Spaniards would wish to meet:

1. a place with the least resistance and most quiet landing;
2. the best harbour for their ships, accessible for support from Spain, France and Flanders;
3. an invasion point that would put the English to the maximum of trouble and expense.

Discussing (1), the document suggests a landing place where the forces of neighbouring shires cannot come to prompt assistance before the invasion force has had time to entrench itself. The requirements of (2), the paper continues, are met by three places: the Isle of

Wight, Southampton and Portsmouth – but the last two are eliminated by the conditions of (1). Criterion (3) is then applied to the lone survivor:

> *There is no doubt to be made, but landing in the Wight, where with an army of 8,000 men divided into four parts, he may easily do, the force of the Island being unable to resist them, with that force in very short time they may so fortify themselves, and possess those parts and places that lie convenient for passage over our supplies and are by nature more than three parts fortified, that he may keep in safe harbour his galleys to make daily invasions into the same lands, where they shall perceive the standing of the wind will impeach Her Majesty's ships to come to their rescue. So that all the castles and sea towns of Hampshire, Sussex and Dorsetshire will be subject to be burned, unless Her Majesty will keep garrisons in those places, the number and charge whereof will be no less exceeding, than how long they shall be forced to continue uncertain.*

The first of these three assumptions – about the unlikelihood of English reinforcement to the Island – may have been justifiably imputed to a foreign invader but was not well grounded in fact, because the arrangements for support to the Island were quite comprehensive and were continually reviewed. According to the 1559 survey:

> *there be wythyn the saide Isley and next adioyninge therunto of boats xxxix of the burden of cxl tonne, which are able to transporte at one tyme One Thowsand menne* (Staffordshire Record Office: D(W) 1778/III/01, f.5).

By November 1572 the number of boats allocated for this operation had risen to 47, of a total tonnage of 167, capable of moving 1344 men at a time; and there were in fact 1264 men of the Hampshire militia on standby (PRO: SP.12/90/1, III and VI). Of the Island's comprehensive beacon system, reorganised by Carey in 1584, the key stations for repeating signals to the mainland were the East and West Forelands which each had three beacons instead of the two at other stations. Firing of all three beacons indicated a major attack, by 50 ships or more (British Library: Lansdowne MSS. 40, no. 8).

Meanwhile various guesses of invasion points continued to be made. In March 1588 the committee for the defence of the kingdom, containing such experienced soldiers as Sir John Norris and Lord Grey of Wilton, produced a short list of sixteen possible targets, from which they selected six likely ones – Milford, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, and the Thames – for suggested fortification (Everett Green 1872, 248). On 17 June Lord Henry Seymour, cousin of the Lord Admiral Howard, wrote to Walsingham suggesting that, in the unlikely event of an excursion by the Spanish army from the Netherlands, the Isle of Wight would be the target (Lemon 1865, 490); and on Saturday 20 July – by which time the Armada was entering the mouth of the English Channel – he wrote again to Walsingham from the eastern fleet at the Downs, urging special care for the Isle of Wight and Sandwich – though he was sceptical about a Spanish invasion that year (Lemon 1865, 506).

Such advice, coming in from various quarters to the English government, of course mingled with conflicting opinions that could have induced only confusion. There were however stray reports from Walsingham's intelligence network. On 20 October 1587 Gilbert Gifford reported from Paris:

> *The four men who were sent from Brussels and Italy came here yesterday, and are divided, one to Calais, another to Newhaven, and two to Brittany ... The chiefest places that they are charged with are Plymouth, the Isle of Wight, Dover and Rye, but Falmouth castles and Tower wharf are mentioned* (Everett Green 1872, 229).

More significantly, among Lord Burghley's papers at Hatfield is a decipher of a crucial message from an agent in Spain, with the endorsement 'From Madrid, the 7th of June 1588' reporting:

> *that these folks joining with those of Parma, this King's resolution is that landing they march straight to London, and that the Armada enter the Thames, which heretofore was intended upon the Wight and Portsmouth, now changed by I wot not what advices from Parma, who continually soliciteth and adviseth* (HMC Cecil: Part 3, 328 item 674).

Here was the logic for the English camp at Tilbury: Burghley was not to know that it was the wrong side of the Thames!

Philip of Spain for his part was not short of advice. On 24 August 1586 the Venetian ambassador in Madrid, Lippomano, reported to his government:

> *The King of Poland recommends the King of Spain, if he makes an attack on England to do it seriously, first seizing Ireland and the Isle of Wight, as both of them will afford ports for the fleet. He adds that it would be better to take no steps at all than to take them insufficient to secure a victory* (Brown 1894, 200 item 402).

On the eve of the Armada, 28 April 1588, Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, reported to Philip on a meeting with a Spanish agent from

England where he was working under a commercial cover:

> *Pedro de Santa Cruz reports verbally to me ... for transmission to your Majesty, that in his opinion the Isle of Wight is the most convenient port for the Armada to come to* (Hume 1899, 277–8 item 282).

The King had already settled, however, on the basic plan that Don John had developed in the 1570s, using the experienced Spanish force in the Netherlands. A large naval force was to sail from Lisbon, to provide the naval cover for the Netherlands army to embark for its sortie across the Channel. The fleet was then to make for 'the cape of Margate' and land its force in the Thames estuary. Such was the plan with which the fleet sailed from Lisbon late in May.

There were however some significant secret instructions given by Philip to the Duke of Medina Sidonia (a reluctant conscript as commander of the enterprise after the death in February of the naval commander Santa Cruz):

> *If, for our sins, ... The Duke should be unable to cross to England, or you unable to form a junction with him, you will, after communication with him, consider whether you cannot seize the Isle of Wight, which is apparently not so strong as to be able to resist, and may be defended if we gain it. This will provide you with a safe port for shelter, and will enable you to carry out such operations as may be rendered possible by the importance of the position. It will therefore be advisable for you to fortify yourself strongly there.*
>
> *If you should have to adopt this course, you will take notice that you should enter by the east side, which is wider than the west. In addition to this the eastern entrance will be more handy for you, because, if you resort to this plan, it will be in consequence of some doubt, or of the failure of the main design, which may lead you to return from Margate. On no account will you enter the Wight on your way up, nor before you have made every possible effort to carry out the main idea* (Hume 1899, 250 item 252).

With this was a further sealed document which Sidonia was to hand to the Duke of Parma in case the main plan failed:

> *If the principal design should fall through, it would be very influential in bringing them to ... the best conditions possible, if the Armada were to take possession of the Isle of Wight. If this be once captured, it could be held, and would afford a shelter for the Armada, whilst the possession of it would enable us to hold our own against the enemy* (Hume 1899, 252 item 253).

Philip's acquaintance with details of Solent navigation shows that he had forgotten nothing from his own journey into the Solent for his wedding at Winchester in 1554.

The importance of these reserve instructions becomes apparent when they are collated with the famous council of war summoned by Medina Sidonia as the Armada belatedly came in sight of the Lizard on 20 July. The fatal weakness in the Armada strategy has been amply discussed elsewhere. Parma had an impressive invasion force but, although he controlled Antwerp, the mouth of the Scheldt was firmly corked by Dutch ships; and although a hasty programme of canal construction now gave access for Parma's barges right through to Dunkirk, the shallow waters off that port – while allowing the Dutch ships to manoeuvre freely – would not allow access for the deeper-draught vessels of the Armada.

The absence of news from the Netherlands was thus the main business for Medina Sidonia's council on 20 July; after which he wrote to Philip:

> *I am obliged to proceed slowly with all the Armada together in squadrons as far as the Isle of Wight, and no further, until I receive advices of the Duke of Parma informing me of the condition of his force. As all along the coast of Flanders there is no harbour or shelter for our ships, if I were to go from the Isle of Wight thither with the Armada our vessels might be driven on to the shoals, where they would certainly be lost. In order to avoid so obvious a peril I have decided to stay off the Isle of Wight until I learn what the Duke is doing ... I am astonished to have received no news of him for so long* (Hume 1899 357–8, item 359).

In the event, matters were taken out of Sidonia's hand. When his fleet came up to the Isle of Wight on 25 July the English ships out from Plymouth engaged him closely for the first time, and during this action both fleets drifted past the Island. Sidonia's option had gone. Two days later Sir William Winter, with the English eastern fleet off Folkestone, wrote to Walsingham that he was confirmed in his opinion that the Spanish fleet was intended to surprise Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight. The huge ships of the Spanish fleet, he said, would have bad place to rest in if they came eastward of Portsmouth (PRO: SP.12/213/49); and aboard the Spanish fleet too, some gossip named the Isle of Wight as the ultimate destination. (HMC Cecil Part 3, 346 item 713, 11th August 1588, depositions of two Dutch sailors who were in the Spanish Armada:

> *...Disent n'avoir rien entendu de leur desseing, mais qu'ils ont quelquefois bien ressenty que quand ils seroient joincts avecq le Prince de Parme, ils retourneroient à Wight..*

In continental Europe rumour excelled itself, and when news reached Spain through its Paris embassy that 'Plymouth, the Wight, Southampton and Portsmouth, were in the hands of the Spaniards, who thought to be in London in a few days' (Everett Green 1872, 225 (19 September 1588)) there was premature celebration and lighting of bonfires.

This experience of actual threat to the Isle of Wight in 1588 was to colour the period of perceived threat in the 1590s which gave rise to the fortifications at Carisbrooke. The English government was now very aware of the capacity of Spain to mount further invasions. By June 1591 there were 3640 men on standby in mainland Hampshire for the relief of the Isle of Wight, 2866 of whom were ready furnished with weapons (CSPD 1591–1594 60, item 46 (20 June 1591)). The 1590s proved to be an anxious decade. On 2 March 1593 Sir George Carey – who was MP for Hampshire as well as the Captain of the Isle of Wight – warned the House of Commons of 'iminent daungers hanging over us and are intended to us this summer' (Hartley 1995, 94).

Meanwhile the presence of Spanish troops in Brittany from the autumn of 1590 was seen as a particular and persistent threat to the Isle of Wight. Early in 1594 Burghley received disquieting messages from an agent in Brussels whose code number 4 concealed the name Moody. 'There is landed in Brittany' the agent wrote on the 18th January, '5000 Spaniards of late. I think you will hear of them about the Isle of Wight shortly'; and again on 3rd August 1594 he urged his English contact, Thomas More, 'You may not forget to have an eye more than ordinary to the Isle of Wight, for you have more ill neighbours coming to Brittany who mean to visit the place shortly' (HMC Cecil, Part 4, 467 (18 January 1594) and 577 (3 August 1594)). In July 1595 the Spanish raids on Mousehole and Penzance showed that Philip II, now committed to support Tyrone's rebellion in Ireland, could still mount a damaging naval operation.

Although, in 1587, some building work on the two southern perimeter towers had been part of the general renovation at Carisbrooke Castle (PRO: AO.1/2515/562; see Appendix 1), it was the year 1596 that saw the genesis of the major refortification.

The first ominous development was the capture of Calais on 7 April by the Archduke Albert, the new military governor of the Spanish Netherlands, giving Spain at last a practicable outlet for an invasion of England, the vital element that had been missing in 1588. In this context, news of a new Armada preparing in Spain was the more alarming.

One sign of frayed nerves was Queen Elizabeth's sharp reaction to a report that (late April) Sir George Carey was about to embark in person on some unauthorised maritime venture from his base on the Isle of Wight (CSPD 1595–1597, 206 – Cecil to Carey 22 April 1596). Carey replied to Sir Robert Cecil that the Queen's displeasure:

> *was a sufficient supersedeas for any if before determined purpose, to have made me cast anchor upon the highest hill of the Wight rather than to have proceeded, how honourable soever for her Majesty and beneficial to the realm it had been intended* (HMC Cecil, Part 6, 160–1 – Carey to Cecil from Carisbrooke Castle, 29 April 1596).

The Queen's main project, which she did not want put in jeopardy, was the raid on Cadiz, led by Howard and Essex, the following June; yet in spite of the damage done by this to Spanish shipping, and the further collapse that year of the Spanish currency, preparation of an immense and expensive Armada continued at Lisbon, and as the autumn drew on, tension in London grew. On 16 October Sir Robert Sidney sent to Essex and Burghley copies of a report by a sailor who had left Lisbon on 2 September:

> *This fleet is ready and shall be commanded by the Addentado of Castiglia. Their course will be for England for the Isle of Wight: when they have possessed that they will attempt Portsmouth. This, he saith of his knowledge, will be done this winter, and to that effect they have taken pilots of these countrymen by force* (HMC Cecil, part 6, 439).

On 18 October George Gilpin, the English government agent in Zeeland, wrote from the Hague to the Earl of Essex:

> *We have news of the King of Spain's great preparation and arming for the seas, and that his attempt is on the Island of Wight, as your Lordship shall understand more particularly by the examinations which the States will send over to their deputies* (HMC Cecil, part 6, 445).

When the committee for national defence, chaired by Essex, met on 4 November, three of the members – including Essex himself – thought that the Isle of Wight could be the target (Boynton 1967, 191). All the members foresaw a surprise winter attack, and among other measures agreed that Portsmouth should be well garrisoned, and Southampton secured by building ravelins at the mouth of the haven (CSPD 1595–1597, 303). Orders had already gone to the Lord Lieutenants of Hampshire and Wiltshire to send a total of 900 men to the Isle of Wight (CSPD 1595–1597, 308 (29 November 1596)).

It was in this climate that Carey (who had now succeeded to the title of Lord Hunsdon on the death of his father in July) asked the Privy Council for a scheme of artillery fortification at Carisbrooke. The

Island had acquired, in the last years of Henry VIII's reign, a string of coastal forts (Kenyon 1979, 61–77) but the medieval castle at Carisbrooke was a survivor from an earlier age of warfare, still effective enough against minor attack but obviously now vulnerable to a major invasion with artillery (Colvin 1963, 226–34). Most of the building work in the early years of Carey's governorship had been on the domestic quarters, though with some reconstruction of the south-west and south-east towers (PRO: AO.1/2515/562).

Hunsdon now wrote on 23 November to the Council suggesting something more radical, and of course he found them in a receptive frame of mind. Considering his letter at their meeting at Whitehall on Sunday 28 November, they encouragingly asked for detailed plans and an estimate of cost (APC vol. 26 (1596–7), 335–7). Hunsdon now moved with purposeful speed, and he soon had on site the Mantuan engineer Federigo Gianibelli. When his earlier proffered help to Spain had apparently been spurned by Philip II, Gianibelli went off in dudgeon to the Dutch provinces, vowing that 'the Spanish would one day hear him spoken of in a way that would make them regret that they had scorned his offers' (Duffy 1979, 78). Sir John Oglander writing in the 1630s about the Tudor defensive trace at Carisbrooke claimed that Gianibelli 'framed it according to the Modell of Anwerpe in which he had been formerly employed' (CCM Oglander, 295b) but in fact the citadel at Antwerp had been designed earlier by some of Gianibelli's compatriots, and his own most famous exploit there was the destruction of the Spanish boat bridge across the Scheldt during their siege of the city of 1584. After the fall of Antwerp in 1585 Gianibelli came to England, and in 1588 he was occupied in the construction of a not very successful defensive boom across the Thames near Tilbury.

His assignment at Carisbrooke in December 1596 was now the not unfamiliar one of encasing an obsolete fortification inside a cannon-proof shell. Castle Cornet in Guernsey was in the final stages of just such a process at this time. Gianibelli's plan was for a mile-long defensive trace – enclosing the medieval castle and its embanked eastern bailey – containing five angle-bastions. Three of these – the south, east, and north bulwarks – contain recessed flankers and *orillons*, and this rather old-fashioned design is redolent not so much of an Antwerp as of Berwick-on-Tweed. It is tempting to see the influence of Hunsdon here, for his father the 1st Lord Hunsdon was Governor of Berwick 1568–87 and his son George Carey knew this fortification well enough.

In January 1597 Gianibelli's survey and estimate went off to the Queen (CSPD 1595–1597, 354). He reminded her, rather unnecessarily, of the strategic importance to an enemy of the Isle of Wight, standing as it did between Spain and the Low Countries, and he enthused about the potential strength of the new fortification, achievable at relatively little cost because it made use of the existing medieval castle – £2500 instead of up to £20,000 for a comparable work *de novo*. 'Carisbrook Castle, when brought to perfection on my plan, will become one of the strongest places in Europe'.

With additional fortification proposed in the west of the Island the total estimated cost came to just over £4000. The Queen was nothing if not thrifty, and the venture trembled in the balance. Several factors helped. In March 1597 Hunsdon succeeded to his father's office of Lord Chamberlain, thus with easier access to public finance. Then the estimate was trimmed: by using timber from the royal forests the total cost of the Island fortification was reduced to £2778. Finally Hundson persuaded the Island gentry to promise £400 towards the work, and this decided the issue. The Island offer was made on 6 April (APC vol. 29 (1598–9), 80) and a Privy Seal for the whole expenditure was dated 20 April (CSPD 1595–1597, 391). Arrangements were now made to recruit 300 pioneers for three months (ibid., 390).

It was now, it seemed, a race against time. The previous autumn's Armada had in fact sailed from Lisbon on 24 October, bound for Ireland, but had promptly been broken up by a storm. Even by the spring of 1597 new reports of invasion preparations began to arrive. A sailor who came out of Lisbon during February reported that the Spanish fleet had taken in pilots for the Isle of Wight (CSPD 1595–1597, 374). In fact a pilot's survey of all the likely invasion coasts had been commissioned by Spain, under cover of a French flag, and the Isle of Wight figured in this (Loomie 1963, 288–300).

The early summer of 1597 saw the work in full spate. Gianibelli took a house in Newport, arrangements were made for felling 600 tons of timber in the New Forest and, at Carisbrooke, eleven gangs of labourers began construction of the outer defences while the smiths and carpenters were engaged in making the necessary tools and equipment (PRO: AO.1/2515/563). It must have been a scene of apparent confusion, with irregular piles of chalk spoil and black topsoil, and various construction tracks through the works, such as one from a lime kiln in front of the north-west curtain wall, in to the north-west bulwark; and a passage way for tumbrels between the south and west bulwarks (PRO: AO.1/2515/563).

There was a sense of urgency in all this work, for this summer the smell of invasion was in the air. It was no secret that the now ailing Philip II was concentrating in the land-locked harbour at Ferrol on the north-west coast of Spain a growing Armada of ships – with the usual supplement of galleys from the Mediterranean – with thousands of soldiers camped in the hills around, waiting to embark. Meanwhile the English Council had

at last committed itself to the forward strategy that had been ruled out in 1588, now adopted with near-disastrous results.

After long delays caused by summer storms that must have helped to make the construction site at Carisbrooke a depressing quagmire, the Earl of Essex put out from Plymouth on 10 July with a force of 98 vessels carrying 6000 soldiers and 5000 sailors. His assignment was to disable the Spanish Armada at Ferrol and then to intercept the incoming treasure fleet from the Americas. Essex's fleet was quickly broken up by a severe storm, and the ships had to put back into harbour for repair. A second sailing in mid-August led to another chapter of mishaps culminating in fallacious information, from a passing English ship, that the Spanish fleet had left Ferrol and gone to the Azores; whither the English hopefully followed.

When the Spanish force, 193 vessels carrying 8634 soldiers and tons of war material, sailed from Ferrol early in October they had the English Channel to themselves; for the reserve English fleet, which in 1588 had been posted in the Dover Straits, was now laid up at Chatham for lack of money to keep it commissioned. The Armada commander, after sailing, opened his sealed orders and found that the landing was to be at Falmouth. Nothing but the weather could now impede a clear run for the invasion.

On 23 October something near panic spread through England on a report from Plymouth that the Spanish fleet was at sea. Nothing was known of its direction. The Queen wrote on 28 October to the Lord General lamenting 'this uncertainty of Spanish purposes, whether they mean to make their descent in Ireland or England' (CSPD 1595–1597, 521). Such ships as could be scraped together would patrol the Channel as far westward as the Isle of Wight. At midnight on Saturday 29 October, in his study at Carisbrooke Castle, Lord Hunsdon was scribbling an urgent note to Sir Robert Cecil. A bark was just in from the islands, and its master:

> *by the governor of St Michael was told that before he could return he should find the Isle of Wight conquered, kept and inhabited by Spaniards. But I will so interrupt him that I will lose my life before my government, and make them pay dear for it before they shall enjoy it ... The fortifications here I find well begun, and if they may be finished it will be the strongest island of Christendom, and thereby stand ever assured to the Crown of England, only now kept by the enemy's ignorance of our weakness and the great importance of the place, which I hold with 500 men the stronger by my presence, so confident I am of the love and courage of our people* (HMC Cecil, Part 7, 450–1).

It was the weather that had the last word. The Spanish fleet got within 20 miles of the Lizard before being dispersed by a storm and having to limp back to harbour. It was some time, of course, before details filtered through to London. It was an uncomfortable and dangerous autumn.

As the work at Carisbrooke continued through the summer of 1598 there were the first signs that the money allocated was beginning to run out. On 23 August the Council wrote to the Island justices, drawing attention to the failure of the Island to pay the £400 promised towards the work.

> *Notwithstanding her Majestie hath expended three or foure thousand poundes upon those workes your selves have not in all this tyme made any performance of the money by you promysed, wee cannot but greatly marvayle that, since what ys in that behalfe done ys cheyfly intended for your generall preservacion and safety in tyme to come, you should be so carelesse of youre selves and backward in the furtherance of so good a purpose* (APC vol. 29 (1598–1599), 80).

Two people from each parish, as well as all the gentry who had failed to sign the original promise, were to be summoned before the justices to confer about the means of raising the money. Moreover, in view of the prospect of heavy additional expenditure to complete the fortification, everyone in the Island, centon by centon, was to undertake labour on the earthworks for ten days, or for six days with a cart. This imposition was to be firmly etched in local folk memory. Ten years later the Island subsidy commissioners, in the course of an appeal to the Government, wrote: 'Some fewe years past wee were by letteres induced to contribute towards fortifications within the Isle, which was above two thousand poundes charge to the Isle' (CCM *Clarke MSS.* No. 6 (7 March 1606/7)); and in the 1630s Sir John Oglander wrote that Carey 'Caused the Communaltie to doo theyre laubors in digginge the owtward dytch where the palisadoes weare' (CCM Oglander 294b).

There were the usual recriminations with the engineer – a feature of so many projects of fortifications.

> *For my services in fortifying the Isle of Wight,* Gianibelli wrote to Cecil on 9 December, *I find myself in receipt of a large liberality of blame. I have consumed the little I took as an advance on my wages, and am answerable for the wages of two principal workmen in the work. But now that I hoped with my own wages due to me since June last to pay my debts and to get quit of the two men and*

the house I took at Newport for the Queen's service, the Lord Chamberlain refuses to sign the enclosed certificate given me by Mr Adle. So I must ask for your help to be paid my wages, just as Mr Speicer and any one else employed on this work have been (HMC Cecil, part 8, 483).

Gianibelli was still complaining to Cecil on 4 May 1599 that money was owing to him (HMC Cecil, part 9, 151–2). The problem was, clearly, that construction work had lost momentum. During July 1599 two commissioners, Sir Edmund Uvedale and Captain Price, made an inspection of Carisbrooke and the other Island fortifications at Freshwater and Yarmouth:

The form of the new fortifications at Carisbrooke is good, but the place is so hilly that it would receive great hurt by cannon brought before it; without the cannon it can hardly be won, so there be 1,000 or 1,500 men within it, with a sufficient leader. We cannot learn in whom the blame is that the fortification is not finished (CSPD 1598–1601, 259–60).

Of the facing wall they found 3370 perches finished, 18 ft long, 4 ft thick, and a foot high; and of the parapet wall, 1162 perches.

The face of the wall is of square hard stone, hewed on one side, near a foot thick, and the rest inwards in chalk, digged thereabouts. In the face of the wall, we find many stones that moulder away like sand, which must be changed, or the wall will within a few years fall down. Gennebelly finds fault with the mortar. [They estimated that it would cost £1,000 or £1,100 to finish the stone and earth works.] *This should be done, in regard of the charge Her Majesty has been at; and also that it is a good place, being in the middle of the country, for those of the east part of the Island.*

If support were needed for such a recommendation, the dribble of disturbing reports reaching the Council should have provided it. On 14 July 1599 Matthew Bredgate, just arrived at Plymouth from the Spanish coast, wrote to Sir Robert Cecil's secretary to say that a force of 70 galleys and 100 ships was heading from Spain to Brest, there to pick up a large force of troops. 'It is thought they will attempt the Isle of Wight' (CSPD 1598–1601, 245–6); and on 9 August 1599 John Chamberlain wrote from London to Dudley Carleton at Ostend: 'Great consternation was caused on Monday, by a false report that the Spaniards had landed in the Isle of Wight; there was cry of women, chaining of streets, and shutting of gates, as though the enemy had been at Blackwall' (ibid., 282).

In 1600 the necessary finance was made available. The Council on 22 July authorised a warrant for £1000 to complete the fortifications on the Isle of Wight (APC vol. 30 (1599–1600), 531) and the work at Carisbrooke was substantially completed by 19 September 1601 (PRO: AO.1/2515/564).

This final phase of the work included 'digging and casting the new ditch round about the new fortifications' (ibid.). According to Sir John Oglander, writing *c.* 1631, 'there wase many ded bodyes diged up in theyre armes about them in makinge the outward dytch' (CCM Oglander 294b). This might indicate either a war cemetery connected with the French attacks on the castle in the 14th century, or burials associated with the small group of 6th century interments found during the excavations in the castle courtyard in 1979 (see above). Further works included building a timber palisade in the ditch, with timber from the New Forest (PRO: AO.1/2515/564 and CCM Oglander 312b) and 'raising and building up of 2 cavaliers' (probably the enlargement of the south-east and south-west towers of the medieval castle, on which some work was done in 1587 (PRO: AO.1/2515/562).

According to Oglander, in the 1630s, the '2 greate Towers at the southeast and south west corners are now utorly Defaced' (op. cit.). Works also included building the new bridge and gate; completing the masonry facing of the earthworks, with stone quarried at Niton and Gatcombe, and 'mending the decayed places of the new stone walls' (presumably the crumbling stonework criticised by Uvedale and Price in their 1599 report); work on a 'court of guard house' and a forge house, and 9000 'blue stone to cover 2 new houses' (presumably the same two); and the hinge-hanging of the gate and '2 sally doors'.

The payments certified to the Exchequer cover the period up to 19 September 1601, by which time the work must have been virtually complete –though the ashlar encasements of the medieval south-east and south-west towers carry the carved dates 1601 and 1602 respectively. So this ambitious scheme was completed before the death of Elizabeth on 24 March 1603 – George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon, the main inspiration for the work, also dying the following September.

As the reign ended the crown of Spain continued to look acquisitively at the Isle of Wight as a base for further conquest. In March 1603, as Elizabeth lay dying, the Spanish council of state reported to the new King Philip III the opinion of his minister Olivares on the likely pickings to be had at the change of regime in England:

He thinks that ... they should make no difficulty in ceding to your Majesty the Isle of Wight, and your Majesty should be satisfied with this ... If we possess

the Isle of Wight, we shall have all we need, without so much as ruffling their feelings ...

He would take no heed of Ireland, which is a noisy business, and more trouble than advantage to your Majesty. At the Isle of Wight we might stand on the alert, in case any schism should occur amongst them (the English) during the election, which should render an invasion of England necessary to stop it. This step would, moreover, be agreeable to France and even to the Pope.

There are two other islands in the Channel (Jersey and Guernsey) belonging to the crown of England, but they are not so commodious nor have they so good a port as the Isle of Wight. They are nearer the mouth of the Channel, and being quite close to the French coast, their possession by your Majesty would arouse jealousy on the part of the King of France. We should therefore avoid mention of them, or they may want to give them to us instead of the Isle of Wight (Hume 1899, 735).

Such speculation remained idle. The succession of James VI and I went smoothly, and one of his early acts as sovereign was to make peace with Spain, without any cession of territory. So the new fortification at Carisbrooke began life without any shot fired in anger: indeed it came to seem almost redundant. 'Those Owt woorkes', wrote Oglander in the 1630s, 'Cost £8,000 to what use or pourpose lett futor adges Judge'(CCM Oglander 294b). One such judge, a century after the building, was less critical. In the course of some notes on the defence of the Island, written probably when he assumed the Governorship in 1693, Lord Cutts wrote:

Queen Elizabeth's Council did not advise her to throw away her money mal-a-propos, and yet advised her to lay out a considerable sum in adding to the strength of this island, and those who write anything of the secrets of her Cabinet assure us that, had she liked, she had a design of improving it yet further (HMC 1900, 76–7).

Certainly, given the tightness of Tudor public finances (Dietz gives a chilling picture of the descent into the financial abyss in the 1590s (1932, 67–99)), the new bastioned enceinte at Carisbrooke was an impressive monument of governmental concern for the Isle of Wight.

5. The Artillery Fortress

Introduction

The bastioned trace of this major refortification survives largely intact (Pl. 2; Fig. 33). It forms an irregular pentagon with two short faces to the west and surrounds the whole of the hill-top on which the castle stands. The bastion at the west angle covers the only entrance into the castle. There are bastions on all the other corners of the trace and remains of earthwork *tenailles* masking the masonry scarps of the ramparts.

The medieval masonry castle occupies only the western half of the area enclosed by the late 16th century defences. Its south-west and south-east angles had been protected a decade earlier by the addition of knights which may have been further improved at this time to judge by the date stones for 1601 and 1602 respectively placed on their outer faces, and by one reference in the building accounts (above and Appendix 1).

The eastern half of the enclosure is now occupied by the so-called Bowling Green which has its own circuit of defences with angle-bastions at its north-east and south-east corners. These earthworks, allegedly modified to form a bowling green for Charles I in 1648, have never been investigated and are not definitely recognisable in the building accounts for either the 1580s or 1598–1601. However in form they do not appear out of place with other late 16th or 17th century defences. The work in 1587 involved considerable earthworks (Appendix 1), and the origin of the Bowling Green may well be from then, when there is reference to an east ravelin. The work of 1597–1600 seems to have been largely devoted to the new bastioned trace.

It is clear that the greatest risk was perceived as coming from the south and east and the bastions covering these stretches of the ramparts were made particularly strong. Bastions were intended to provide both offensive fire towards the enemy from their outer faces and also defensive fire from their flanks sweeping the face of the fortress ramparts. The Italian school of fortress design believed that the defensive power of bastion flanks could be increased by the inclusion in them of recessed batteries protected by projecting 'ears' or *orillons*, and these were included by the engineer of the Carisbrooke defences, Federigo Gianibelli, on all the flanks covering the vulnerable south and east fronts of the fortification. It is the last example of their use in Britain as they were, by this date, coming to be regarded as outmoded, and were being superseded by the Dutch system, characterised by the use of earthworks without masonry facings (Saunders 1989, 72–3). Work at sites such as Berwick has shown that flanker batteries can be very complex with guns on two levels (MacIvor 1965).

The flankers at Carisbrooke clearly do not survive in their original form and the opportunity was taken to excavate the east flanker of the south-west bastion. This survived in much the same form as two of the remaining three flankers (the fourth, the west flanker of the south-east battery, was cleared many years ago to form a donkey-pen). The three undamaged flankers were all backfilled apart from a passage leading down to a sally-port into the ditch at the junction of the *orillon* and the flank of the battery. The front wall of each

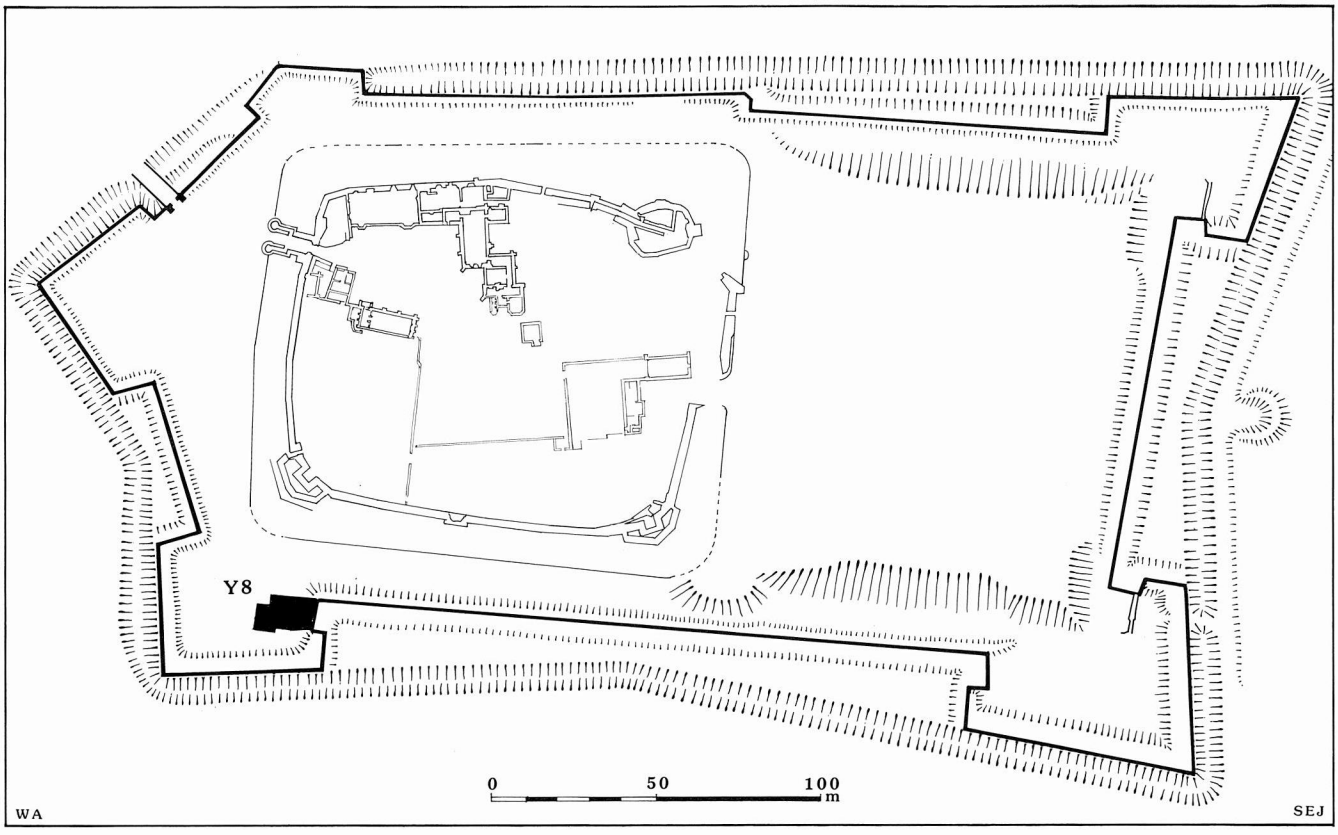

Figure 33 Trench Y8, relating to the artillery fortress



Plate 46 South bastion of the artillery fortress from the north-east showing east flanker and orillon

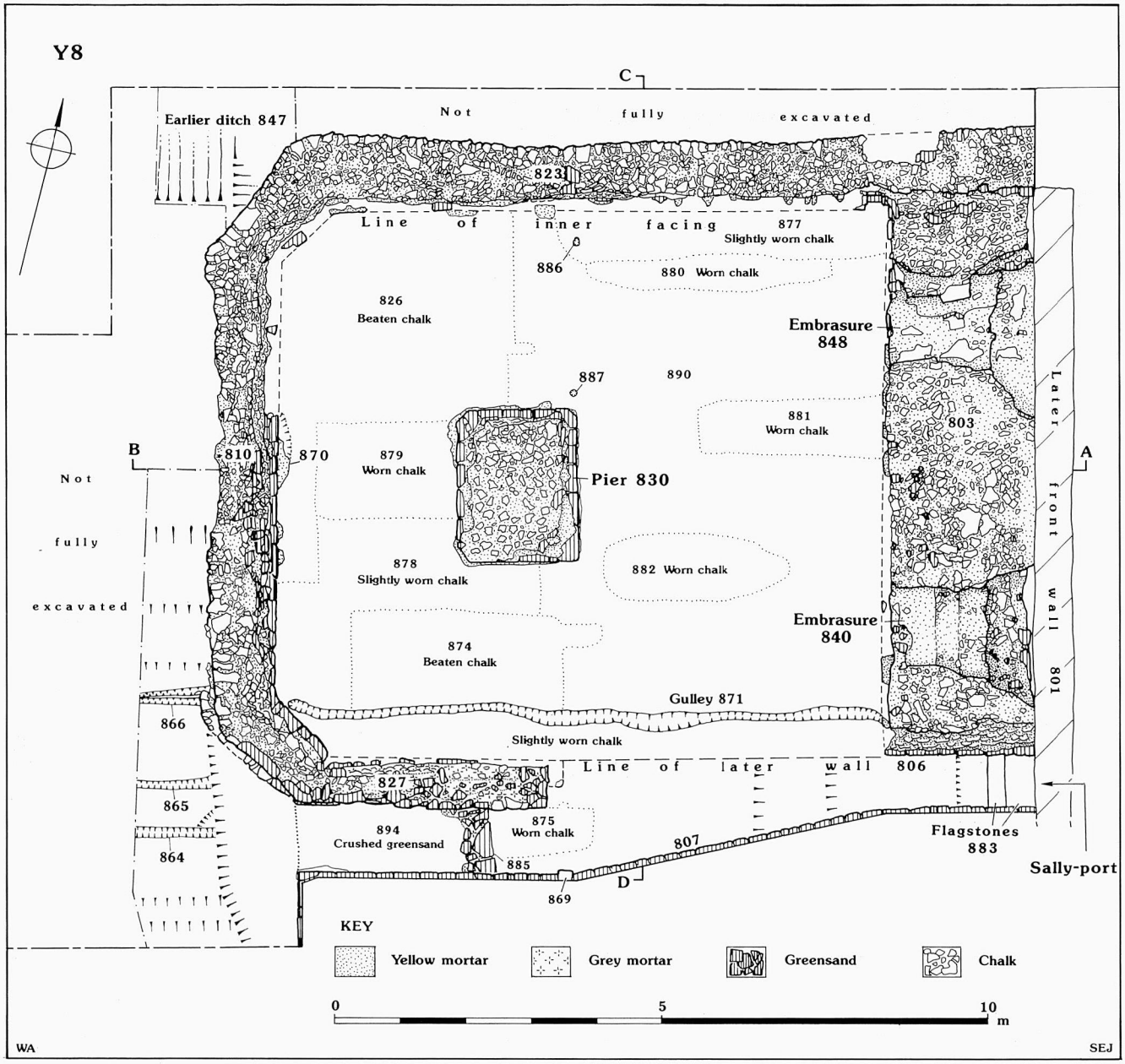

Figure 34 Plan of the flanker battery (Y8)

battery appears from the outside to be of one build, rising high, with two ornamental loopholes symmetrically placed. The sally-port doorways are all of the same design with four-centred arched heads. The passages down to the sally ports are flanked on one side by the side wall of the battery and on the other by a second wall holding back the fill of the battery interior.

Y8

Documentary evidence

The building accounts for this bastion show the expenditure of £55.4s.10d. on the earthworks of the bastion between 1597 and 1600, but say little about the masonry work (see Appendix 2). It is clear from the accounts that the amount of earthmoving involved was very considerable.

Excavation

This flanker battery is situated at the junction of the south-west bastion and the south curtain of the defences, recessed behind an *orillon* (Figs 34, 35; Pl. 46). When excavation began the front of the battery was faced with a stone wall, 10 m long, 2 m high and 0.6 m wide at its top (801). As noted above, from its eastern (exterior) face this appeared to be of one build only. It is pierced by two symmetrically placed round loopholes (Pl. 47).



Plate 47 East flanker battery, south bastion from the east, showing sally port and later loopholed wall

The battery was filled to a high level except for a passage leading down to the sally port into the ditch at its south-east corner. The floor of this passage, which was overgrown, sloped down from the general ground level of the bastion to the west to the level of the sally port sill at its eastern end. This was flanked to its south by the south wall (807) of the battery which was heavily overgrown and on its north side by a stone wall (806) which ran along the passage. The upper part of this wall (837) was set in cement, while the lower part (836) was set in yellow mortar. Both 806 and 807 were built of greensand blocks, though 806 also contained fragments of chalk and flint and was irregular and ill-constructed in its build. 806 did not run the full length of the passage, but was butted against a more substantial wall (827), again of greensand blocks, which ran to the west end of the passage and then turned to the north-west before being lost in the general fill of the battery. The visible parts of this wall had been patched with off-white cement. There was a hollow visible which was the remains of an earlier superficial excavation.

The excavation trench was laid out to include the whole of the battery with some margin on the north and west. The eastern edge was the front wall of the battery and the southern edge the retaining wall on that side. A substantial tree prevented digging further to the south than this. Subsequently a 2 m wide extension was opened to the west. Areas outside the battery were only taken down to natural in a one-metre strip to its west and along its northern edge. The natural was solid chalk and its level fell from north to south across the site.

The phasing of the site was simple. There was one major feature preceding the battery, and a number of other features cut into natural chalk which are probably contemporary with the construction of the battery itself. There is a little evidence of the period of use of the battery, and finally there was evidence of the demolition and filling of the battery.

Pre-battery features

The north wall (823) of the battery cut a linear feature (847) which was cut steeply into natural. From its location this is probably the ditch of the Norman defences. It was only possible to dig a small and partial section of it, which showed it to be filled with chalk

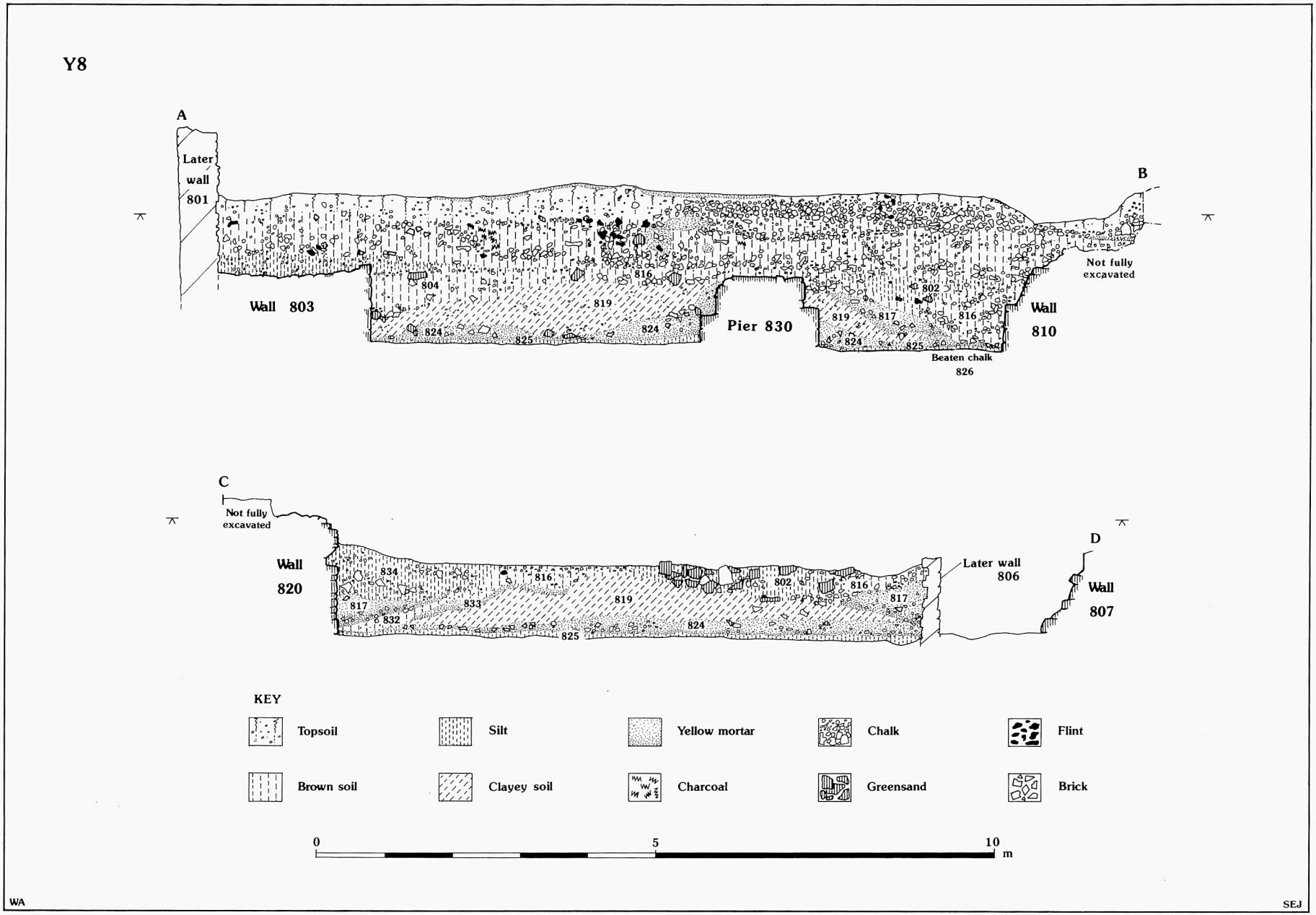

Figure 35 Sections of flanker battery (Y8)

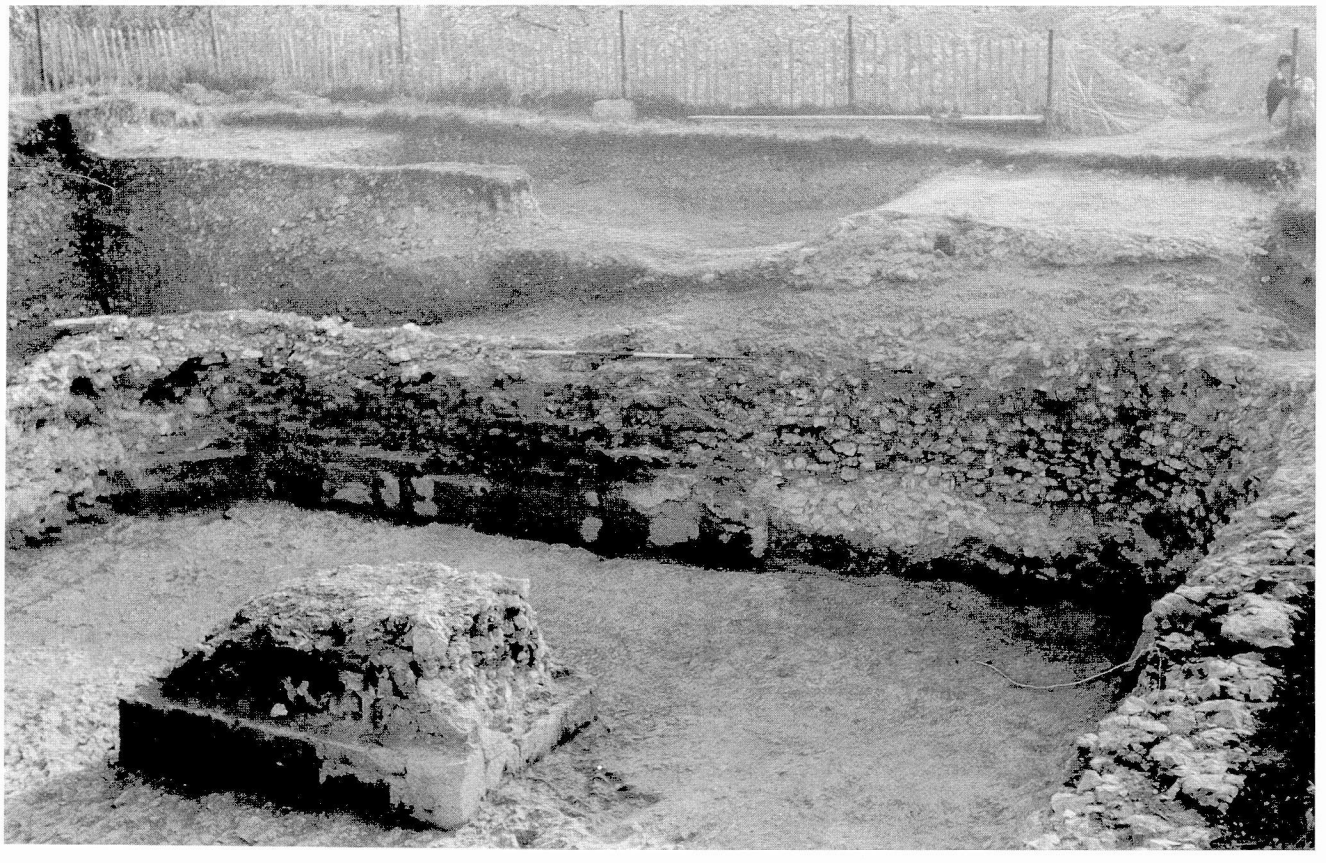

Plate 48 Site Y8, battery rear wall 810 and central pier 830, from the north-east. Scale 2 m

rubble, presumably during the construction of the Elizabethan defences. There were no finds from this feature.

Features associated with the construction of the battery
To the west of the battery, there was a series of shallow scarped steps in the natural chalk, presumably reflecting the prodigious amount of earth moving recorded in the building accounts. There was also a series of small gullies (864, 865, 866). These had been cut by the pit dug to contain the battery but probably date to the construction period.

The battery
The battery had been built in a large sub-rectangular cut in the natural chalk. It was not possible to locate its southern edge because of the restrictions on digging to the south of the battery. On the north and west sides the walls of the battery were built directly against the sides of the cut, and it is likely that the same happened on the south side also. The east front was of course open to the ditch of the south curtain. At its greatest dimensions this cut was over 12 m north to south and around 13 m east to west. As noted above, the natural ground level slopes down from the north to the south so that on the north side the natural had been dug away to a depth nearly the height of the surviving masonry of the battery. On the south side a substantial part of the depth of the bastion must be made-up ground.

The battery and the passage had, in effect, been built as two separate structures within this pit. The battery overall was a rectangle 10.5 m from north to south and 13 m from front to bank. Its internal dimensions were 9.7 m by 12.4 m. The north-west and south-west corners of the battery were chamfered.

As originally built, all the walls of the battery were of chalk rubble set in yellow mortar and based on a foundation of chalk rubble. A foundation trench (870) was visible on the inner face of the west wall. All faces which had been intended to be visible had originally been faced in greensand ashlar blocks. This facing had been very thoroughly robbed but a few stones survived and its front face could be traced by means of scars of yellow mortar on the floor of the battery. The few surviving face-stones showed evidence of a white render.

The side and rear walls (810/823) survived to a height of 1.3 m and were 0.8–1.0 m wide (Pl. 48). The wall was continuous along the north and west sides where it revetted the sides of the pit in which the battery was built. Where it projected above the level of natural, chalk rubble had been tipped against the outer face. On the southern side the battery wall (827) was free-standing and ran only for some 5 m before ending



Plate 49 Site Y8, front wall and gun embrasures of battery from the west with later front wall 801 on top. Scale 2 m

in a squared-off terminal. A mortar 'ghost' suggested a large stone block at this terminal, level with the front face of the central pier. There was no evidence that this wall had ever continued to the east end of the battery, and this side must have been open to the passage leading to the sally port. The surviving ashlars and the mortar scars of those which had been robbed were quite small. One large greensand block at the top of the wall survived, midway along the north side. This was 0.36 m by 0.3 m and was again level with the stone pier in the middle of the battery (see below).

Excavation showed that the existing high, narrow, east front wall of the battery was a later addition facing the front of the original wall and rising higher to contain the later fill of the battery. The original front wall (803) was much wider and lower. It was 2.2 m wide, 1.1 m high, and 9 m long from north to south. At the north end it was bonded into the side wall of the battery. The southern face of the wall was free-standing. Its facing had been largely robbed except on its south-eastern corner where eight courses survived as one side of the sally-port. Even on this south face much of the



Plate 50 Site Y8, gun embrasure 848 from above. Scale 0.5 m

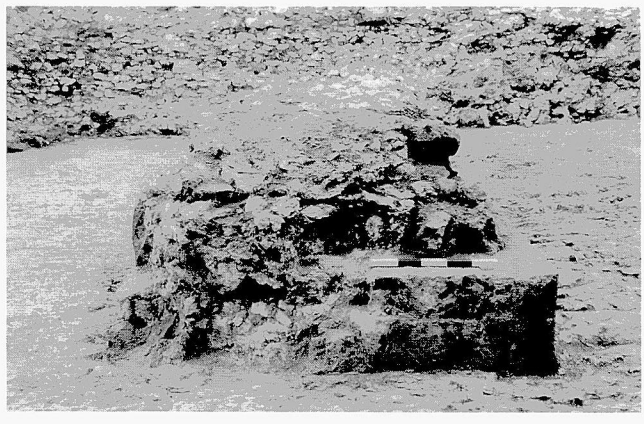

Plate 51 Site Y8, masonry pier 830 from the east. Scale 0.5 m

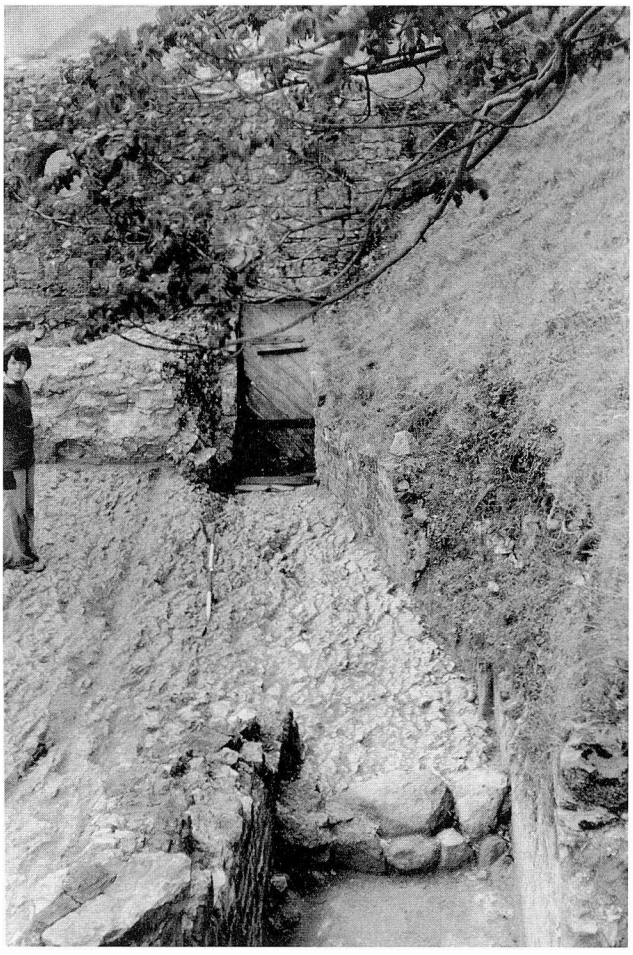

Plate 52 Site Y8, battery floor and sally port passage after excavation. Scale 2 m

facing had been lost and overridden by the later wall 806.

The original top of 803 had gone and what survived was chalk rubble set in yellow mortar (Pl. 49). There was no evidence to show whether it had originally been capped with stone or perhaps covered with earth and turf. The former is perhaps more likely since there would have been more incentive to remove the stone for use elsewhere when the battery was demolished and so thoroughly robbed. In the top of this wall were the remains of two gun embrasures which suggests that it was originally not much higher than at present.

The embrasures were symmetrically placed and were Y-shaped with the splay widening to the front. The northern (848) was 2.4 m wide at its greatest width, tapering down to 1 m. The southern (840) was 2.2 m wide at its widest point and 1.2m wide at the narrowest. This embrasure deepened in a series of shallow steps towards the interior of the battery (Pl. 50).

At two-thirds of the depth of the battery, and equidistant between its north and south sides was a substantial masonry pier (830) (Pl. 51). This was rectangular, 1.4 m by 1 m, chamfered on its north-west and south-west corners, and rounded on the other two

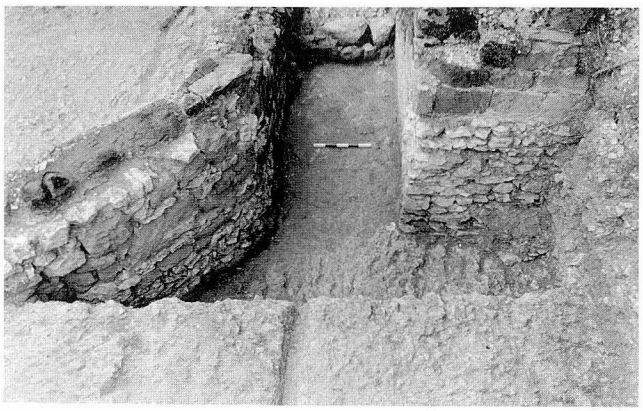

Plate 53 Site Y8, west entry into sally port passage and rear of battery wall from the west. Scale 0.5 m

corners. The core was of chalk rubble set in yellow mortar. It was faced with greensand ashlar blocks, set in yellow mortar and faced with white render. The bottom course of the facing had survived complete and the second course in part. There was some brick built into the facing.

The base of the battery was natural chalk. In its natural state the chalk was very ridged and uneven (Pl. 52). This was the case over most of the front two-thirds of the battery (890). Within that area there were three sharply-defined areas of worn chalk (880, 881, 882). Between 880 and the north wall of the battery was an area of slightly-worn chalk (877). The rear third of the battery was very different. Here there were two areas (826 and 874) where the natural chalk had been beaten to form a smooth level surface. Immediately behind the central pier was an area of worn chalk (879), and to the south of that an L-shaped area of slightly-worn chalk (878).

Three features were cut into the chalk base of the battery. North of the north-east corner of the central pier were two small post-holes. 886 was sub-rectangular, 0.14 m by 0.18 m, and 887 was more rounded with a diameter of 0.15 m. On the south side, there was a narrow and irregular gully (871) running the full length of the battery. It was filled with silt at the eastern end but the western half appeared to have been packed with light grey clay. It was probably for drainage.

The only other evidence for the structure of the battery came from its demolition debris (see below), which contained much decayed yellow mortar with lumps of mortar and brick fragments. The brick was more plentiful towards the rear of the structure.

The passage and the sally-port to which it led lay to one side of the main battery structure and do not appear integral to its structural organisation though obviously part of the original plan (Pl. 53). The passage is doglegged around the south wall of the battery so that the sally port itself is tight into the south end of the east wall of the battery. Its northern jamb is formed by

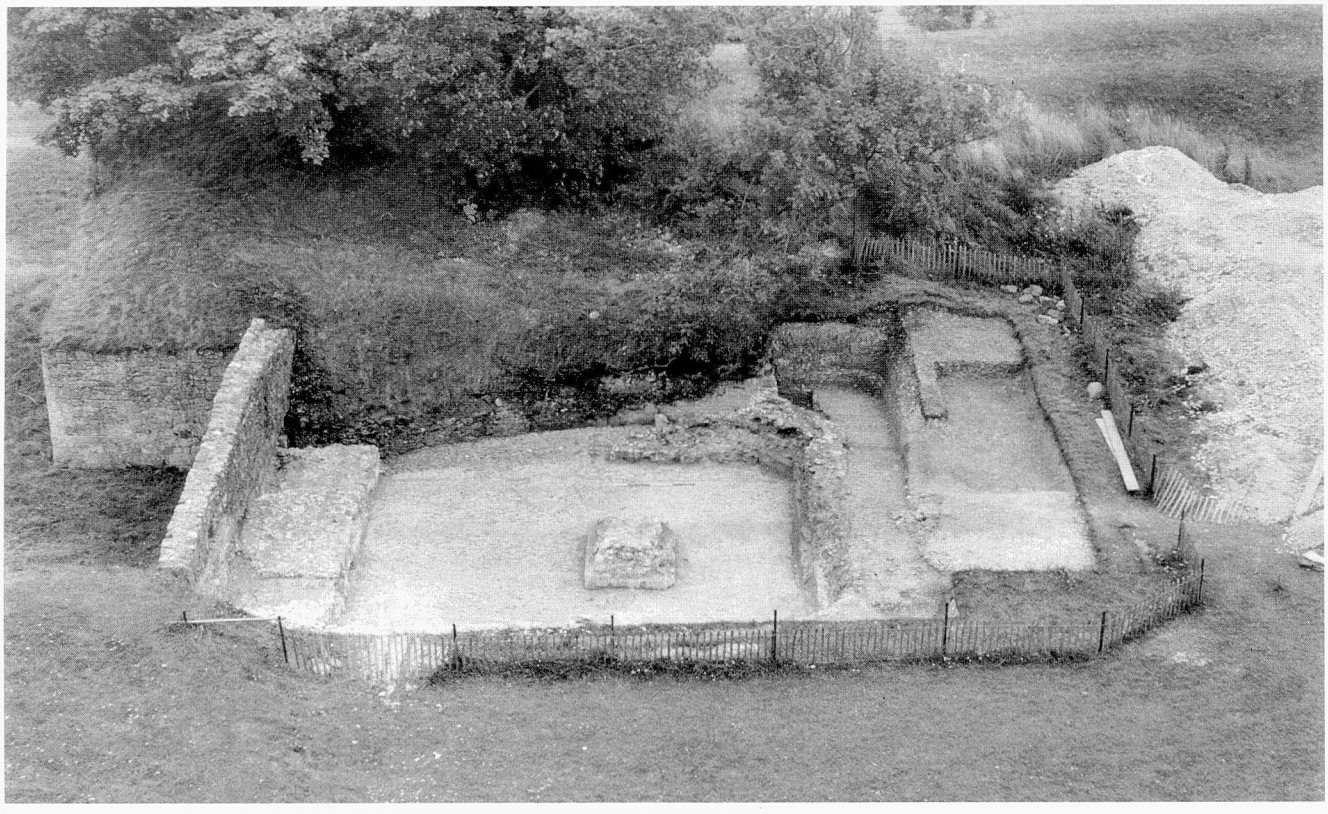

Plate 54 Site Y8, general view of excavated battery from the north. Scale 2 m

that wall. The southern wall of the passage revetted the *orillon* of the bastion. At the point at which it changed direction was a possible impost (869). The floor of the passage was largely of natural chalk with some other features. At the east end, next to the sally port were two greensand flagstones, laid as shallow steps (883) on a layer of black soil. These flagstones were quite substantial, the larger being 0.89 m by 0.26 m and 0.17 m thick.

Just to the west of the impost was a substantial stone step (885), built of three large greensand stones backed by smaller stones to the west. Traces of mortar suggest that there may originally have been a regular face to the west as well. To the east of this was an area of worn natural chalk (875), while to the west the passage base was covered with a layer of crushed greensand (894).

At the west, the passage ended at the cut into natural in which the battery had been built. No evidence was left of whether this had been traversed by steps or a ramp. All that was found here was a series of fills running forward to 885. These must have accumulated after any steps or ramp had been removed.

The battery was clearly a relatively complex structure. In its original state, faced with white-rendered ashlar it must have looked very impressive. The basic plan is clear. The front of the battery was protected by a thick stone wall, with embrasures for mounting two guns. It was probably just a little higher than it now survives (Pl. 54). The presence of the pier must mean that the battery had an upper story. The size of the pier suggests that this was substantial.

There is no evidence that this upper level extended in front of the pier since there is no trace of any load-bearing structure of any height at the front of the battery. It is suggested, therefore, that this upper level was over the rear third of the battery. Evidence for this is the fact that the south wall of the battery was obviously necessary as far forward as the central pier, and the presence of the large stone embedded at the top of the north wall opposite this point which may have had something to do with supporting the upper level. Supporting evidence is the two post-holes on the same alignment between the pier and the north wall and the evidence from the battery floor of differing uses at the front and rear of the structure.

The demolition debris, with its substantial quantities of brick fragments and yellow mortar, suggests that the upper level may have been carried on a vault. Brick was obviously not used in any surviving part of the structure and it would have been a very suitable material for vaulting. In this case, a vault could have been taken off the central pier to the sides and rear of the battery.

Vaults were commonly used in fortifications throughout the 16th century because of the additional

strength which they gave against attack. They were also better suited to carry heavy weights such as guns and to absorb the shock of their recoil. It was not uncommon to mount two tiers of guns in a flanker battery to maximise the potential firepower, for example at Berwick in the 1560s (MacIvor 1965), and at Portsmouth in 1586 (Saunders 1989, 62). The preferred practice was that upper tiers of guns should be retired from the lower ones (MacIvor 1965, 75).

The space under the vault would have been used for expense magazines, storage or for the accommodation of the garrison of the battery. The differing degrees of wear to the natural chalk suggest that the uses varied, while the two post holes (886 and 887) suggest that the northern half of the vaulted area may have been screened off from the open front of the battery.

This front area would have been taken up entirely by the two guns firing through the embrasures on the lower level. These would have needed to be based on a smooth deck and so there must have been some floor over the unworn and very uneven natural chalk which now survives. There was no evidence of any kind of a flagged floor. It would have been possible to have built a substantial timber deck supported on sleeper beams on the areas of worn chalk (880, 881, and 882).

The dating for the construction of the battery is entirely documentary in that no dateable material was found associated with its construction. The building accounts are clear that work to this bastion took place between 1597 and 1600.

The flanker battery is therefore interpreted as a two-storey structure, with the upper floor over the western third only and carried on a brick vault. Two guns would have been mounted on the upper level and two on the lower. The space under the vault would have been used for storage of expense ammunition, other materials and for shelter for the gun-crews. To the south of the battery proper was a passage leading to a sally port into the rampart ditch. This pattern was probably repeated in the other flanker batteries of the Castle and is a variant of a well-tried pattern (see Saunders 1989, 53–69).

Subsequent use and demolition

It is unclear how long the battery remained in use in its original form. The major documentary source is the survey of the south coast defences of 1623 (Kenyon 1983). This survey did itemise necessary repairs for some forts as well as listing ordnance and stores. Carisbrooke was said to be in 'reasonable good repaire' but there is no specific reference to the batteries. It is clear, though, from the survey, that the castle contained large quantities of stores and munitions (Kenyon, 1983, 140).

The archaeological evidence suggests that the battery was deliberately demolished. Over the natural chalk as a whole was a grey silty deposit (825) containing some slate and brick fragments, perhaps suggesting a period of disuse. Over this was layer 824 which was composed of decayed yellow mortar with lumps of solid mortar and of brick in it. This must be the refuse left after the demolition of the vault. As noted above, the ashlar facing of the walls had been deliberately and thoroughly robbed. This suggests demolition and the removal of useable materials (ashlar blocks and complete bricks) for use elsewhere. The major find, and the only one that could be dated, was the neck of a stoneware 'Bellarmine' jar (Fig. 47, 79, and p. 113), dated to late in the first quarter of the 17th century up to the middle of the century, suggesting demolition sometime after 1620.

Above the demolition level was an uneven fill (819) of grey, clayey soil, containing small chalk lumps. Above this was a series of uneven tips (833, 832, 817) containing debris such as sand and chalk and brick lumps. There was no dating evidence from these levels. Above these again were the tip layers 802, 812 and 816 containing 18th century material. At no point was there any evidence of any firm surface which might have acted as a gun-deck in any modified reuse of the battery. Apart from keeping open the passage down to the sally port by building the wall 806 to hold back the fill of the battery, there seems to have been no use of it after the demolition of the two-storey structure sometime in the second quarter of the 17th century.

3. Early Saxon Graves and Grave Goods

by Elaine L. Morris and Tania M. Dickinson
with contributions from Jean Cook, Vera Evison, Lorraine Mepham, C. Mortimer, M.E. Hutchinson and B. Knight and S.R. Strongman

Three Early Saxon inhumation graves (1632, 1612, and 1282) were found cut into the natural chalk bedrock in Trench Y5 (Fig. 25). These were stratified below Late Saxon levels and belong to phase 3. In addition, fragments of human skull (context 564), the proximal ends of a humerus and femur (context 592) and fragments of two mandibles (context 598, 603) were recovered. Generally the condition of the osteological remains is poor (less than 50% of the skeleton remaining). The human bone was examined by S. Strongman, whose comments are included below (details in archive).

The graves and their contents are catalogued and discussed below incorporating comments by various specialists. Full reports on the glass vessels, by V. Evison, on the metallography of selected artefacts, by C. Mortimer, and on investigative conservation of the artefacts, by M.E. Hutchinson and B. Knight, are included in the site archive. The artefacts are provided below with catalogue numbers by grave and their positions within the graves are marked on the plans. Descriptions of the artefacts include relevant detail derived from the archive reports. All artefacts are recorded as at the same level as the body. Knives are classified according to Böhner (1958).

1. Grave 1632: Inhumation Burial 1607

The grave was oriented slightly to the north of east. The grave was sub-rectangular, 2.72 m long and 1.02 m wide. There was no evidence of a coffin.

Only the leg bones and part of the skull and feet of skeleton 1607 survived (Fig. 36). The skeleton, of an adult of indeterminate sex, was oriented west-east; supine and extended, with the head apparently turned to right.

Grave-goods (Fig. 37)

1. **Iron studs** (4), **copper alloy discs** (6), with mineral-preserved leather, and mineral-preserved wood in an area *c.* 450 mm long of staining; studs: badly corroded and amorphous in shape with square shanks, length *c.* 15 mm, diam. *c.* 14–16 mm, thickness of extant wood on shank *c.* 4 mm; discs: diam. 8–10 mm. SF3208, SF3048, SF3054–3057, AML 812568, 814081–814086. (Note: unrecorded objects drawn on the grave plan between the legs were not sent to the Ancient Monuments Laboratory and their present whereabouts is unknown). To left of pelvis.

   The nature of this object is unclear but it was made of at least three wooden strips of poplar or willow, covered with leather and secured from front to back with iron studs and finished with the copper alloy discs on the front. Some of the discs may have been used as covers to conceal the iron studs since at least one disc was originally attached to a thin iron disc which has leather and an iron shaft on the underside. Other discs are perforated, occasionally with traces of iron corrosion in the perforations, and may have been utilised simply to secure the leather and wood. In the latter case this may also be seen as accommodating a more decorative element to a practical function. The absence of leather traces on all the examples where wood is present next to a perforated copper alloy disc suggests that the leather may not have completely covered the wood in all places. This composite object may be a box or a piece of furniture.

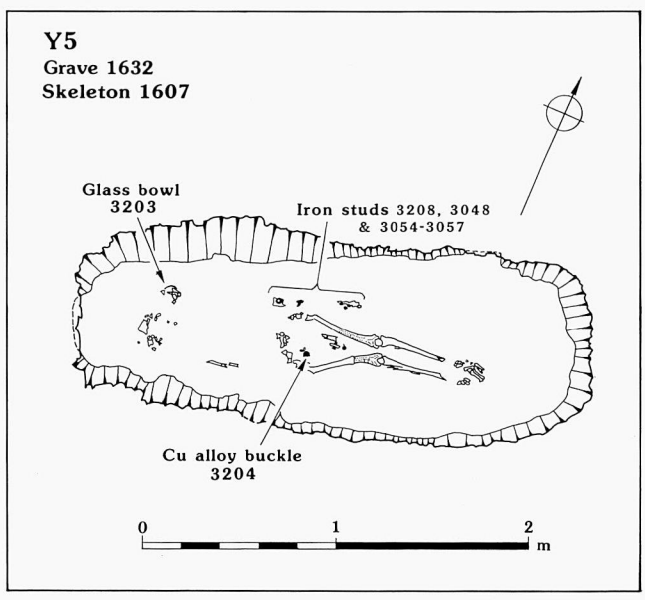

Figure 36 Plan of grave 1632

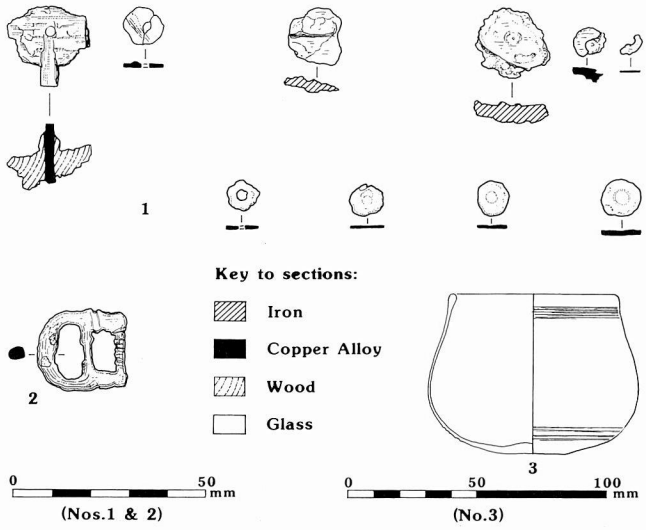

Figure 37 Grave-goods from grave 1632

2. **Copper alloy buckle**; complete, missing tongue; length 23 mm, width extant 21.5 mm; mineral-preserved textile or threads present especially on centre front of hoop and on strap-attachment bar; SF3204, AML 814087. Found by the left hip.

The oval hoop is cast-in-one with what is effectively an openwork rectangular plate. The intermediary bar consists of a small, narrow central section bounded on either side by slight inward-turned protuberances, thus affording an indentation to hold the tongue. The strap itself was presumably fastened round the outer bar of the rectangular plate and, if the textile remains on it are from the strap, then this was of cloth not leather.

Tania Dickinson comments: the Isle of Wight has produced another, unprovenanced, example of this unusual type (Arnold 1982, fig. 69, 7) on which simple bull's-eyes adorn the sides of the plate and only one of the protuberances seems to have been preserved. The diagnostic features of these two buckles may link them to late Roman 'dolphin' buckles (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 21–34, 50–7; Böhme 1986, 471–87) and especially to their various 5th century derivatives. Hawkes and Dunning's types IIB and IIC (ibid., fig. 19) are both typical of the 5th century tendency to cast hoop and plate in one. Features of the late Roman belt repertoire persisted in a variety of simplified and quite local types in the 5th century (eg, some of the very crude versions of Hawkes and Dunning's type IA: Böhme 1986, 505, Abb. 26; see also Dickinson 1976, 246–8, and Watchfield grave 27, Scull 1992, 238) and it is possible that the Isle of Wight examples represent much debased versions of the prototypes, with a likely middle–later 5th century date.

3. **Glass bowl**; incomplete, very fragmented; light green, high soda glass, white trails opacified with tin (Mortimer, archive); squat, globular beaker-like form with kicked base and decorated with two zones of white trails just below the rim and, unmarvered, near the base; rim diam. *c.* 70 mm; height *c.* 60 mm; thickness 2.5 mm at rim, 0.5 mm at max. diam. SF3203, AML 812569. To left of head.

Vera Evison comments: fragments of a small, light green bowl, the rim slightly thickened and inclined inwards, the base flat but thick and rising slightly inside. The glass is very bubbly and decomposed in patches with some iridescence.

Among the continental examples of squat vessels decorated with one or two zones of white trails are some described as beakers (*Kugelbecher*) by Rademacher (1942, 313), and those cited by Böhner in the Trier region dated *c.* AD 525–600 (1958, I, 231–2, II, Taf. 67, 3–6). Vessels described as *bauchige Becher* with similar decoration were found at the Runde Berg bei Urach, Germany (Koch 1987, I, 59–65, Abb. 20.50). The distribution of these vessels on the Continent is mainly in the Rhine valley and northern France (ibid., I, Abb.19), mostly in early–mid 5th century contexts.

The Carisbrooke vessel deviates slightly from typical in that the constriction of the neck apparent on other examples is hardly perceptible. It is, however, most likely an import. In Britain, the type was described by Harden as a 'bowl with constricted neck'. He initially considered it a Roman survival (1956, 158, Aaiii), a view he later retracted (Harden 1978, 4). Harden described the form as a bowl rather than as a beaker since the diameter at the rim is greater than the height, and most of the other related vessels have an everted rim which would be inconvenient for drinking.

Four other examples of the type are recorded from England, all from the south-east and all in female graves of the late 5th–early 6th century. A typical globular bowl with white horizontal trails occurred in grave 27 at Howletts, Kent (Harden 1956, pl.xv, h) with a cone beaker and three button brooches of the late 5th–early 6th century (Avent and Evison 1982, 98, 1C3, pl.xiv, 18, 3–5). In grave 28 at Alfriston, Sussex, a bowl with white trails below the rim was also decorated with vertical ribbing, associated with various objects of 6th century date.

Another similar, unpublished, bowl with additional vertical moulding came from Westbere, Kent, where it was found with a cremation urn and beads. The most recent find, decorated only with trails at the neck, was at Mucking, Essex, grave 99. This grave contained, among other

objects, square-headed and button brooches and may therefore date to the first half of the 6th century.

The five British examples of this glass bowl form may all be considered as imports and the form itself seems to mark a stage in development between bowls and the squat beakers of the late 6th–7th centuries with similar decoration (Rademacher 1942, 313, Taf. 65, 1).

2. Grave 1612: Inhumation Burial 1651

This was by far the richest of the surviving graves. The grave was rectangular, some 2.92 m long, 1.4 m wide. Its upper fill was of large greensand blocks, rather than of the chalk into which it had been dug. There was no evidence of a coffin. All grave-goods were found at the level of the body.

Skeleton 1651 (Fig. 38) was a *c.* 20–25 year old male. The skeleton was oriented west–east, supine and extended, with the head turned to the right. The skeleton showed some evidence of dental hypoplasia, suggesting arrested growth at an early age (2–3 years), probably as a result of dietary deficiency (Goodman *et al.* 1980). Green discoloration on the teeth of 1651 are probably due to the presence of a coin placed in the mouth (see below). It is notable that there are no weapons in this grave.

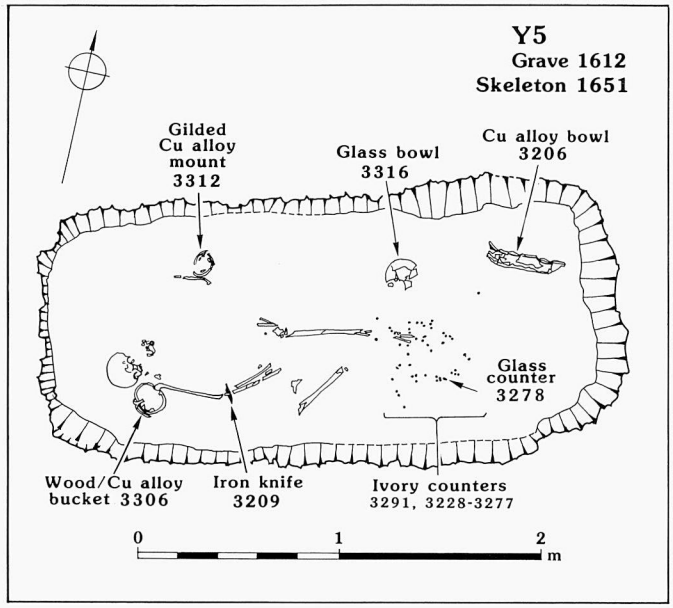

Figure 38 Plan of grave 1612

Grave-goods (Figs 39)

1. **Copper alloy bowl**; probably complete, extremely fragmentary; diam. *c.* 340 mm, height *c.* 80 mm; mineral replaced or partly replaced textile on exterior; metal, brass (ie, copper and zinc, with tin and lead); SF3206, AML 812526. By left foot.

   The bowl is in a very fragmentary condition but a suggested profile reconstruction implies a simple wide-open and flanged form with first a straight-sided and then convex curvature. The lipped flanged rim is decorated with a continuous series of single punched dimples with extra arcing circles, or beading, along the outside, top edge of the flange.

   The bowl belongs to the well-known class of bead-rimmed bowls found on the continent, especially in the Meuse and Rhine valleys from the late 4th to the 6th centuries (Richards 1980, 16–17; Evison 1987, 104). Smaller distributions extend into Thuringia and to England, where they are concentrated in the south-east of the country and in Anglian districts. The Carisbrooke bowl may be compared especially with two examples from Norfolk, one from Morning Thorpe (Green *et al.* 1987, fig. 356, grave 200, Aii), the other from Spong Hill (Hills *et al.*, 1984, fig. 81, grave 24, 1), both of which, however, are slightly smaller in diameter and bear either an attached footring or the scar of such an attachment. In England, these bowls are associated with rich graves of adult males, children, and, particularly, women. They were mostly deposited in 6th century, even late 6th century, burials.

2. **Ivory counters**, 51 pieces (3 illustrated); complete, roughly circular and plano-convex in profile, surfaces irregular probably due to post-depositional degradation; dimensions range from 8 mm to 15 mm by 10–18 mm in diam., from 3 mm to 10 mm in thickness and 0.22–1.60 g in weight, having a mean of 0.99 g and standard deviation of 0.33 g with no clustering into large or small populations (see Hutchinson and Knight, archive); SF3228–3277 and 3291; AML 812570–812620. Across lower legs with one at pelvis.

3. **Glass counter**; incomplete, cobalt blue opacified with antimony; plano-convex, diameter 15 mm, thickness 6 mm; SF3278, AML 814191. Across lower legs.

   Tania Dickinson comments: the counters are playing pieces, the archaeological evidence for which has been reviewed by Youngs (1983, on which this account heavily relies). The Carisbrooke pieces were clearly for a board-game like the Old English *tafl*, with a 'king stone' (the blue counter) and sides of uneven numbers (the ivory counters, which presumably originally bore some

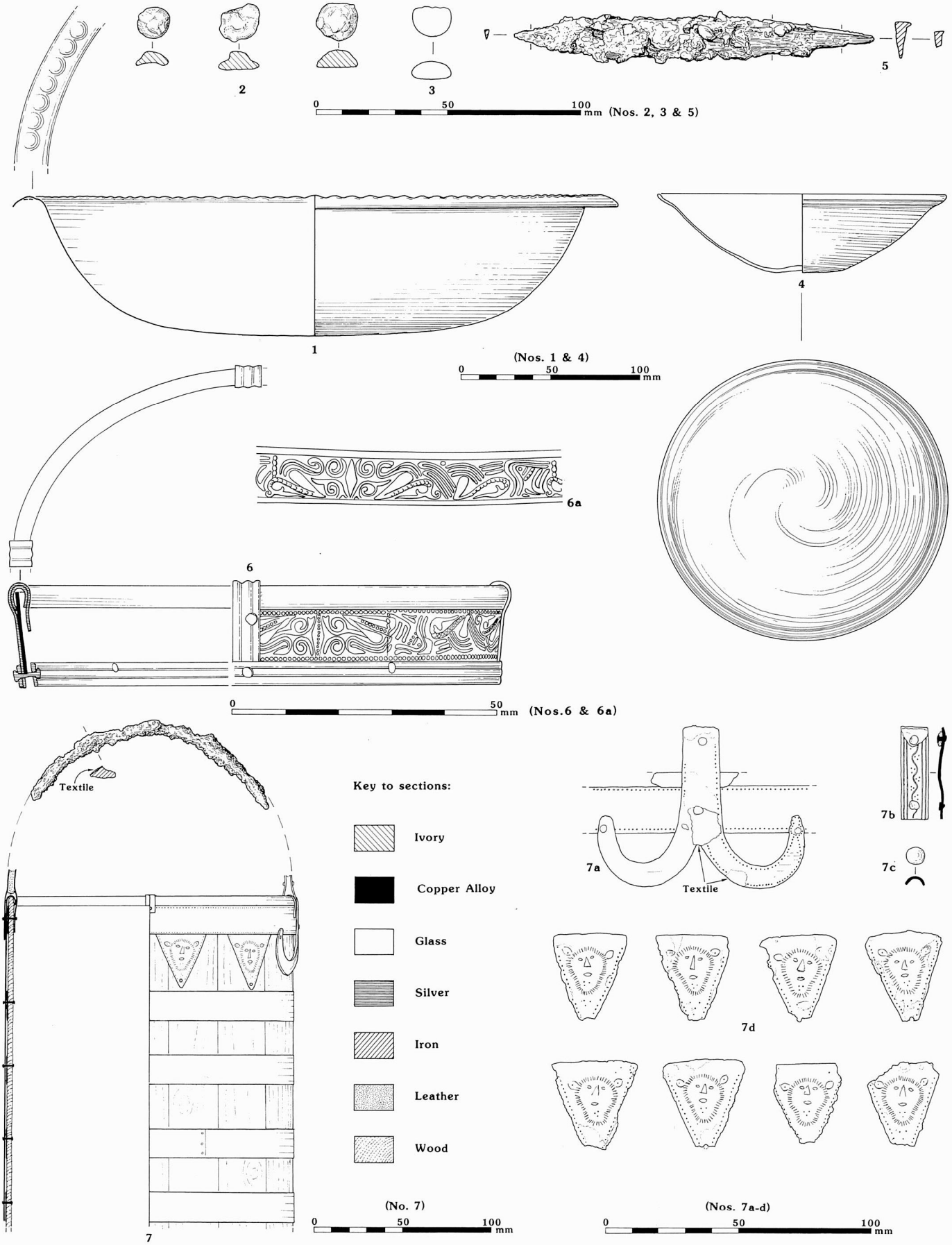

Figure 39 Grave-goods from grave 1612

distinguishing mark or colouring). The small size of the counters is characteristic of Late Roman Iron Age pieces in Germanic areas and of 5th–early 6th century finds in Anglo-Saxon burials, contrasting with both Roman playing pieces and the large ones found in rich, late 6th–7th century, burials such as Sutton Hoo, Suffolk or Asthall, Oxfordshire (ibid., 861; Dickinson and Speake 1992, 109–10). The composition of the Carisbrooke counters is most remarkable, however, for the only other certain identification of ivory is from the ship burial in Sutton Hoo mound 1 (Youngs 1983, 866), while non-Roman glass is paralleled only in the fifteen pieces from Oxton, Nottinghamshire, another primary barrow inhumation. Earlier counters are generally made from bone, more rarely of stone, pottery, or copper alloy (eg, at Westerwanna, Germany; Röhrer-Ertl 1971, 55, Taf. 27). Finally, large sets of playing pieces (more than 20 counters) are otherwise found in England in two distinct contexts: in cremation urns from eastern England, presumably datable to the 5th and 6th centuries, and in late 6th/7th century burials (cremation and inhumation in barrows and flat inhumations). The playing pieces from Carisbrooke are then exceptional for their time and place, and represent a grave-gift of the highest calibre.

4. **Glass bowl**, complete, light yellow–brown soda glass (Mortimer, archive), spiral moulded; decorated with white trail; diam. *c.* 160 mm; height *c.* 45 mm; thickness 0.5–1.0 mm, 2 mm at rim; SF3316, AML 814246. By left knee.

Vera Evison comments: fragments of a shallow glass bowl, rim slightly thickened and cupped, base rounded with a slight kick. Fine spiral moulding runs from base to rim. Just below the rim, lines of porosity denote the remains of a white trail of two turns, with four more 3 mm below. The condition of the glass is flaky, iridescent, opaque and partly encrusted with chalk, so that the original colour is no longer visible: but a small cleaned area shows this to have been light yellow–brown, very bubbly and with pitted surface.

A similar bowl, but slightly deeper, was found in grave 236 at Lavoye, France (Joffroy 1974, fig. 59, pl. 25, 236, 9) allocated to the second half of the 6th century. An identical type bowl with spiral rippling was found in grave 23 at Nennig, Germany (Böhner 1958, I, 232–3, Abb. 14, II, Taf. 67,7), dated to AD 525–600.

The general bowl form is uncommon in Anglo-Saxon England, but occurs more often on the continent; Rademacher lists several varieties dating from the first half 5th–6th centuries (1942, 317–8). Plain bowls and bowls decorated with vertical moulding have been noted in the Rhineland in the late 5th–6th centuries (Koch 1987, I, 195–8, Abb. 83). The Carisbrooke bowl, which has a height of only *c.* 45 mm, corresponds most closely with the series of shallow bowls, with moulded decoration of Christian pattern and opaque white trails at the rim, produced in the Meuse valley and northern France in the 5th century (Werner 1957, fig. 28). These range in height from 37–47 mm with only one example as high as 50 mm. Two of these have been found in England, one at Westbere and one at Darenth Park, both in Kent (Jessup 1946, 17–18, fig. 2).

The only very closely comparable example from England was also found at Westbere; it is similar in colour and dimensions (Jessup 1946, 17, pl. iii, 28; Harden 1956, 165, type xi, 6, 3), and also has the spiral moulding and a white trail at the rim.

5. **Iron knife**; complete, traces of horn on handle and leather sheath; length 135 mm, length of blade 86.5 mm, greatest width 15 mm; Böhner type A1 with an unusual upper right side flange to the handle, 5th–7th century; SF3209, AML 812727. Under right elbow.

6. **Composite base silver and copper alloy rim-mount from drinking horn**; incomplete, extremely fragile condition; traces of horn vessel, traces of textile on outer surface of mount strip; SF3212, AML814194. Under left elbow.

Tania Dickinson describes and comments: The mount consists of five main parts:

(a) Three curved and U-sectioned pieces of rim binding in base silver, 4.5 mm high, external width 5 mm, internal width (viz. thickness of horn) 2–3 mm; these fit together to form an oval, 88.8 x 79.4 mm with a circumference of 270 mm.

(b) Six discrete sections (i–vi) of gilded copper alloy, repoussé decorated foil, themselves mostly made up from smaller fragments, widths 13–15 mm, lengths 16.5–85.5 mm, total extant length 237.5 mm. Because the foil has fractured mostly at the point where each stamp of the die abutted, it is not certain whether the mount was originally made from a single strip or from several. Sections (i) and (iii) are preserved *in situ* at either end of one panel formed by the other fittings of the rim-mount, with section (ii) probably originally between them: they demonstrate, as does the impression of the fluted binding (c) on some of the other foil sections, that the decoration was

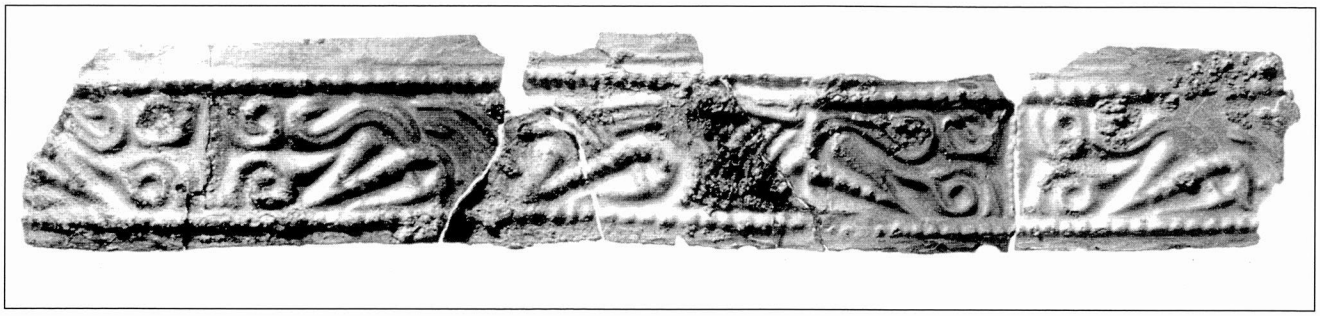

Plate 55 Detail of section vi of the drinking horn mount. Scale: approx. 2:1

mounted upside-down (or was right-way-up, if the horn was placed with its rim downwards). Section (vi) of the foil (Pl. 55) is the only piece to preserve a full abutment of the die-stamping, the billeted upper and lower borders of each imprint being here clearly out of alignment.

The decoration on the foil was produced by a rectangular die, 55 x 11.5 mm (Fig. 40, 6a), repeated about five times. Rectangular billets border the design above and below, and there is a faint trace of them at the right-hand edge too. Facing this right-hand edge, in Salin's Style I, is a coherent, crouching 'animal-man' in profile. Its head consists of a double-outline S-curve representing hair or a headdress, an oval eye bounded by two cheek-lines, an inner thin one and an outer, notched, thick one, and two conjoined and slightly curved lines for a mouth, below which another line may represent the jaw. The neck is rendered by a triple-bar block and the trunk by a quadruple-bar block. Both front and back legs have arched hips, the front composed of three bars, the back of two, with a shallow groove between, which merge into one at the coiled tip (tail); the leg bones are sharply bent, with plain thighs but notched forelimb, and the slender pointed foot curves underneath with an upturned toe; the back leg also has a forward-facing coiled toe. Immediately to the left (behind) the animal is a symmetrical geometric motif consisting of a lozenge with notched central ridge and, on each side, discrete scrollwork: two plain 'acanthus hooks' bound the upper edges, while the lower edges are flanked by vine-tendrils with inverted Y-shaped stems. To the left of this geometric motif is the rear leg of a left-facing creature, the mirror image of that on the right-facing 'animal-man', just described. Fragment (vi) and the preservation of four complete right-facing 'animal-men' make it quite clear that this was all that there was of the left-facing creature; on several sections of the foil the outer edges of its ankle can be recognised abutting the mouth of the right-facing creature, over-riding the billeted edge of the stamp.

(c) Single, base silver, fluted binding strip, which formed the lower edge of the rim mount, securing the lower edge of the foils against the horn, extant length 250 mm, width 4 mm; there is no evidence of an overlapped join, which presumably has broken off and therefore would account for the apparently smaller diameter of the lower edge of the mount compared with its top: the rim-panels were presumably rectangular and the horn-profile straight at this point.

(d) Three, base silver, fluted clips, which fastened (a), (b) and (c) together, passing over (a) and (b) but under (c); height 20 mm, width 5 mm.

(e) Eight silver rivets, total length 4.5 mm, internal length of shank 2 mm; three fastened the upper end of (d) to (b) and the horn, passing just below (a) and another three fastened the lower ends of (d) through (b) and (c), at least one of which was backed by a square base silver washer, 5 mm square, on the inside of the horn; two further rivets pass through (c), one about a third of the length along between the clips (d), the other at the loose end of (c) and so presumably close to the point of overlap.

Drinking horns (rather than wooden cups or bottles) are very rare in early Anglo-Saxon contexts (East 1983) and the Carisbrooke example is only the second find to bear a mount decorated in Style I, the other being the pair of aurochs horns from the Taplow barrow (East and Webster forthcoming; cf. Kendrick 1938, pl. xxxv; Speake 1980, pl. 1 (a–b); Bruce-Mitford 1983, fig. 279)). It is also the earliest piece of English Style I for which a coin-based *terminus post quem* (within the first quarter of the 6th century) is available, and therefore assumes a crucial role in calibrating the typology of Style I.

As it survives, the Carisbrooke horn is much inferior to the Taplow pair: it is smaller, its fittings are baser metals, the decoration repoussé not cast, and it lacks zoomorphic rim-clips, triangular

vandykes, and a terminal. Most noticeably, the Style I ornament is executed in multi-strand ribbons (Haseloff's style phase D; Haseloff 1981, 166–7, 204–16) rather than the plastic, thick-and-thin or 'overlapping' style of Taplow (Leigh 1980, 117–20; cf. 'helmet style' of Kendrick 1938, 75–81), and the masterful symmetry of the Taplow rim design has been sacrificed for a maladroit frieze. But these features are the result of a complicated manufacturing history; the origins of the Carisbrooke horn lie in the same style horizon as Taplow and the high class Kentish workshops which mediated and developed Scandinavian Style I.

The die which stamped the Carisbrooke rim-mount was second-hand: its left-hand side had been removed, but originally it would have depicted two addorsed 'animal-men' set symmetrically about the tendril-form geometric motif, just as the Taplow mounts bear such creatures either side of a rosette. This die would have been about 84 mm in length, and though rather narrow in proportion, sufficient to ornament four panels on a large horn like those made from bull aurochs in the Taplow and Sutton Hoo mound 1 barrow-burials (circumference >320 mm, diam. approx. 100 mm; cf. Bruce-Mitford 1983, 324–5, 406–8; East and Webster forthcoming).

The earliest stylistic component of the Carisbrooke die is the geometric motif. Such late Roman derived devices were an important accompaniment of the earliest Style I and scrollwork based on discrete 'acanthus hooks' (the so-called Sjörup style) is a particular feature of the seminal 'Jutlandic' group of square-headed brooches (Haseloff 1981, 18–173, esp. 77–9). An exact parallel for the Carisbrooke motif is not forthcoming, though two designs are close: one in the left arm-piece of the formative (sub-group A) equal-armed brooch from Galsted, the other, in two halves, in the centre panels of the related square-headed brooch from Zealand (ibid., Taf. 9 and 25).

The 'Jutlandic' group also provides a base-line for assessing the evolution of the zoomorphic design on the Carisbrooke mount. First, Haseloff's style phase D appears only with his sub-group C, for which a notional date of manufacture about the first decade of the 6th century has generally been accepted (ibid., 156–73, 721; cf. Leigh 1980). Second, while portrayal of 'animal-men' with bifurcated toes is integral to the whole 'Jutlandic' group, it is only with sub-group C and probably its later members that examples with a truly coiled toe appear (eg, Pompey: Haseloff 1981, Abb. 26 and 68.6).

But analogies for the Carisbrooke creature as a whole, especially its lively flowing form, come from a slightly later phase yet. First, there are the creatures on the Kentish garnet-inlaid rectangular belt-plates (eg, Åberg 1926, 116–18, figs 208 and 210; Leigh 1980, fig. 28; Haseloff 1981, Abb. 190); while some are executed in style phase D and most exhibit both coiled toes and a scrolled tail-like finial to the back hip-arch (like Carisbrooke), the finest are carved in Leigh's 'overlapping' technique and heads are of the 'helmeted' form. Leigh has made much of both this technique and the 'fluid' style of the animals on the belt-plates, attributing them to a particular Kentish craftsman who also made a few of the later silver square-headed brooches and, he contends, at the height of his career, the Taplow horn-mounts themselves (Leigh 1980, 117–20, 474–8): he estimates this style horizon began about AD 530, while Hawkes has suggested that the best Kentish rectangular belt-plates may have already been produced by at least the second quarter of the 6th century (Hawkes *et al.* 1974, 78–9). The belt-plates may have inspired the adoption of similar flowing creatures in style phase D with scrolliform rear hip-arches on the headplates of East Anglian great square-headed brooches of Hines' group XV (Hines 1997, 116). These brooches are placed by Hines into his third phase of production with notional dates of *c.* AD 530–560 (ibid., 198–204, 230–1).

Second, there are 'animal-men' with sweeping hair (the 'Snartemo' motif), like those on the Carisbrooke mount, found on a number of objects, for which an ultimately early 6th century Norwegian ancestry has long been suspected (Haseloff 1981, 268–76): these objects include a Merovingian oval buckle plate from La Plante, Namur, the Kentish square-headed brooch from Bifrons grave 63 (an immediate successor to the 'Jutlandic' sub-group C brooch from Bifrons grave 41), its close successor from Chessell Down grave 22, Isle of Wight (Hines 1997, pl. 13b; cf. Leigh 1980, 80– 83) and the openwork scabbard mouth from the sword in Chessell Down grave 76 (cf. Evison 1967, 74–6; Hawkes and Page 1967, 11–26) .

Manufacture of the original die for the Carisbrooke horn can be ascribed therefore to the second major phase of English Style I. Although it displays elements from the earliest, 'Jutlandic', phase, as well as early influences from Norway, its best parallels lie in the next phase of production in Kent, immediately prior to, if not contemporary with, that of the Taplow horns. Dates quoted so far are obviously all estimates (dependent on typological progression and closed

grave assemblages, and only at a remove on continental coin finds) but they concur in implying manufacture for the Carisbrooke mount somewhere after *c.* 510 and perhaps in the 520s or 530s. This could conform remarkably with the *terminus post quem* for deposition suggested by the Visigothic coin (see below). The matter is not so straightforward, however, for time must be allowed for the original die to be produced, recut, and then used for this horn-mount. Indeed, final deposition might have been delayed yet further, for it is debatable whether the inverse setting of the foils and absence of other fittings was part-and-parcel of the lower grade production or was the result of an even later refurbishment, such as befell the Taplow horns. If the Visigothic coin's *terminus post quem* is read as the date of deposition, dating of the evolution of Style I might need to be raised significantly. Alternatively, if the *terminus post quem* is treated with due reserve and note also taken of Rigold's belief that none of the early gold coinage reached England before *c.* 530–540 (Rigold 1975, 661), a date of deposition perhaps nearer the middle of the 6th century might be admitted: Style I chronology could be left as it now stands.

Finally, while the original die was almost certainly a product of a premier Kentish workshop, its reuse could have been locally in the Isle of Wight. Whether the die arrived in its pristine or cut-down condition is unknowable, but it adds a significant example to the evidence (some of which has been cited above) for Kentish exports to and relationships with the Isle of Wight in the early 6th century.

7. **Copper alloy-bound wooden, stave-built bucket;** incomplete, extremely fragile condition; iron handle, incomplete; bucket diam. *c.* 160 mm, height *c.* 170 mm; stave wood-type, yew, width *c.* 35 mm, length at least 155 mm, thickness 40 mm; mineral-preserved textile present on handle; SF3306, AML 812525. To right of head.

A detailed, laboratory-based examination of the bucket parts and construction is presented in the archive; salient points are included in the description below.

Jean Cook comments: the bucket was probably straight-sided. There are five hoops of tinned bronze, ornamented with closely-spaced repoussé dots parallel to both edges. Hoops 1 and 2 (from the top) are virtually complete and hoops 3–5 complete, though broken in one or two places; each was made from a single strip joined by an overlap (behind one of the handle-mounts for hoop 1 and behind the same upright for hoops 2, 3, and 5); hoop 3 was fastened at one end to the stave by two 'nail'-type rivets, the other end then being pulled over and fixed by a rivet which went through upright, overlap and stave; three 'nail'-type rivets hold the overlapping join of hoop 4.

There are two uprights, one complete but broken, width 16 mm tapering to 13 mm, the other almost complete, height 160 mm. Both have closely-spaced repoussé dot decoration parallel to both edges stopping just below the top. The tops of each upright apparently fitted between the upper hoop and the staves, diametrically opposite each other, without any rivet-fixing at this point. One upright was fixed to the hoops by 'nail'-type rivets only, the other by solder and rivets, probably because this is the upright behind which hoops 2, 3, and 5 joined.

Two cast, bicornute handle-mounts, made of gunmetal (copper with substantial quantities of tin, zinc and lead as shown by XRF analysis) were attached on either side of the bucket, superimposed on the uprights and with the central section projecting above the rim. One handle-mount is *in situ*, attached by one central rivet and one in each of the animal-head terminals. The central section of this mount had been broken and repaired in antiquity. Inside the bucket is a vertical rectangular fish-plate, attached by the same central rivet at the bottom. Another rivet, which passes through the top of the handle mount where it projects above the rim of the bucket, also passes through the top of the fish-plate, to support one end of the handle.

The other handle-mount, no longer *in situ*, must have been attached to the bucket in a similar way. The fish-plate for this mount was apparently repaired in antiquity by a rectangular strip which was found in the bucket fill. This is a cut-down strip of copper alloy, decorated with pairs of incised lines parallel to the long edges and a centrally placed vine-scroll: according to the corrosion marks, it seems to have been reused with the decoration facing inwards. The handle-mount terminals are animal heads with rivets, perhaps with domed heads, marking the eyes. Each head has a snout and laid-back ear, and the mounts are further decorated with repoussé dots. Possible parallels come from buckets in Brighthampton grave 31, Oxfordshire (Evison 1965, 31–2) and Mucking II, grave 600, Essex (Evison 1973, 270), the former dated to the 5th and the latter to the 6th century.

The animal heads might also be compared with animals in quoit brooch style (eg. Evison 1965, fig. 30), particularly one from the Howletts fragmentary quoit brooch (ibid., fig. 30), which again points to a 5th century date.

The iron handle is incomplete. It seems to have been flat in section and was presumably hooked at each end to allow it to swivel on the rivets.

There are eight triangular mounts or vandykes, made of leaded bronze. Each has a border of repoussé dots along the two long edges and a centrally-placed head with triangular nose, oval mouth, two eyes, and animal ears; the face is surrounded by a series of short lines executed with a notching tool (Leigh 1990, 109–10). Although the design is much sharper on the back, it seems from the corrosion patterns that the mounts were put on the bucket with the embossed side outwards. They fitted under the top hoop and were fixed to the staves by a rivet at the apex: although none of the mounts is undamaged, part of the rivet-hole is preserved in at least three. It is possible that these rivets had domed heads, put on after the rivets were in place and held in position by solder; several such domed heads were found during excavation of the grave.

Triangular mounts occur on a significant number of Anglo-Saxon buckets, but the decoration is more often made using a die. The form of the face on the Carisbrooke mounts can be compared with the lions on the late 4th century buckle plates from Misèry, Somme, and Vermand, Aisne, France (ibid., figs 2 and 26); although most of the features on the Carisbrooke mounts seem more human, the lion's ears remain and the notched lines convey the mane. A related transformation appears on some later 5th century applied saucer brooches of Böhme's type from Spong Hill (Böhme 1986, Abb. 65.2 and 5). Another, rather different, parallel can be seen in the two cast bronze handle-mounts from Fetcham, Surrey (Cotton 1933, 48–51). This bucket had an upper hoop with repoussé arcade and dot decoration, triangular mounts with arcades, scrolls, and other repoussé designs and suspended crescent-shaped spangles. The handle-mounts show the same oval shape, representation of features and use of border to outline the face as on the Carisbrooke triangles, but no ears. The Fetcham example belongs to the group of 5th–early 6th century buckets found in England which show arcade and dot motif.

The parallels for the bucket thus suggest a 5th century date for its manufacture, but the evidence for repair suggests that it was old when buried. It is particularly interesting that the replaced fish-plate should bear vine-scroll decoration, which indicates a 5th century date for manufacture of the original strip.

8. **Copper alloy coin, gold plated**; Visigothic *tremissis* of the Pseudo-Imperial coinage (AD 509–580) in the name of Anastasius I

Obv.: DIIANASTA IVS.PP.AVG
diademed bust to right without pectoral cross

Rev.: VICTO[]IAIAVGUSTOPVA

In ex.: COHOB
Victory advancing right with wreath in raised hand

Weight 0.53 g; diam. 13 mm. Ref: cf Tomasin 1964, 47 (his group A2a). Date *c.* AD 509–520. SF3290. Placed in mouth.

Tania Dickinson comments: The majority of coins present in Early Anglo-Saxon graves and settlements were old copper alloy Roman coins (White 1988, 98–101), but in the 6th century a trickle of gold (and gilded) coins reached England (primarily Kent) from the Continent (Rigold 1975). The Carisbrooke coin stands out as one of very few such coins datable to before the age of Justinian I (though Rigold argues that probably they did not reach England until *c.* 530/40; ibid., 661–2) and it is the earliest yet to be found in a grave recovered under controlled conditions.

The coin was found in the mouth of skeleton 1651. The ritual practice of placing a coin in the deceased's mouth, or more rarely in the hand, as a fee for the ferryman to transport the dead to the other world – 'Charon's obol' – spread from the eastern Mediterranean in classical times throughout the later Roman Empire (Meaney 1981, 221; Philpott 1991, 212–16). On the Continent it continued to be used during the early Merovingian period, but at a much reduced rate; mostly old Roman coins were buried, but contemporaneous gold coins occur during the reign of Clovis and his successors in some high-status graves (Périn 1980, 179). In England, however, deposition of coins in the mouth seems to have died out after the end of Roman rule, old Roman and newly imported gold coins being used mostly as ornaments of necklets (White 1988, 99–101; Rigold 1975). The only exceptions known to date are grave 1612 at Carisbrooke and another recent but unpublished find, a late 6th century Frankish *tremissis* in grave 71 at Bradstow School, Broadstairs, Kent (Webster and Cherry 1975, 223).

Gold plated coins of this time include examples from graves (eg, a mounted Gallic *tremissis* from Dover II, grave 29, Kent; Rigold 1975, 666; Evison 1987, 49). Although they might be simply forgeries, they were possibly made specifically for use in burials (P. Robinson, pers. comm.).

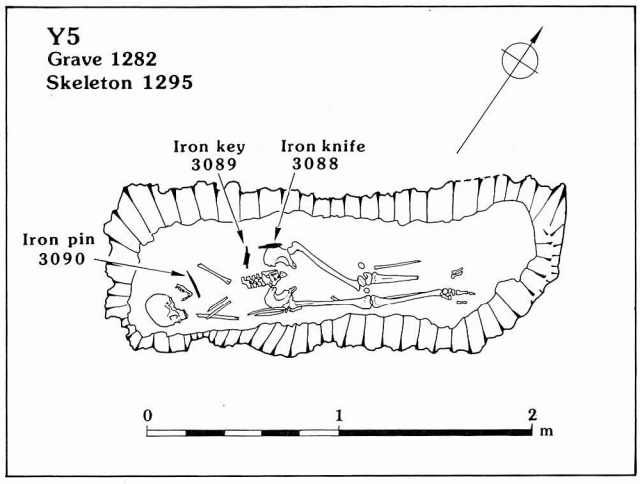

Figure 40 Plan of grave 1282

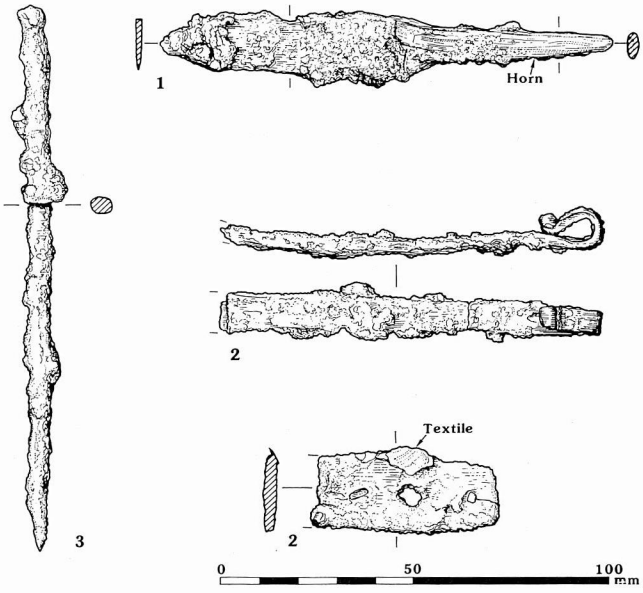

Figure 41 Grave-goods from grave 1282

3. Grave 1282: Inhumation Burial 1295

This grave had the least regular plan, being sub-rectangular. It was 2.4 m long, 0.8 m deep. It was aligned slightly more to the north than the other two. There was no evidence of a coffin but the grave had been packed with reused greensand blocks (1609), which had been squared and had traces of a gritty mortar adhering to them. These must have been brought from one of the nearby Roman sites. The grave-goods were all at the level of the body.

The skeleton (1295) (Fig. 40) was a female, 17–19 years old. The body was oriented west–east, was supine and extended, with the head turned to the right. The skeleton showed some evidence of dental hypoplasia, suggesting arrested growth at an early age (2–3 years), probably as a result of dietary deficiency (Goodman *et al.* 1980). The skeleton also displayed signs of spina bifida occulta (Ortnar and Putschar 1985). There was a distinct contrast in the state of bone preservation between the upper and lower skeleton, resulting in the lower half of the material being in good condition while the upper half is extremely eroded or missing (except for the skull which is well preserved). The reason for this differential preservation is unclear but is possibly related to varying soil conditions.

Grave-goods (Fig. 41)

1. **Iron knife**; complete, traces of horn handle, possible remains of leather (?sheath); length 117 mm, length blade 60 mm, greatest width 7 mm; Böhner (1958) type A1, 5th–7th century. SF3088, AML 812656. Left of pelvis.

2. **Iron bar** (?part of barrel padlock key) and separate rectangular plate; bar: incomplete strip, two pieces; extant length 99 mm, width 10 mm, thickness 4 mm; plate: incomplete, two perforations, length 48 mm, width 18–20 mm, thickness 3 mm; mineral-preserved textile present on plate and bar, mineral-replaced leather on one side of the plate; SF3089, AML 812657. Left of waist.

   Although found together and wrapped round by the same textile, these two objects are probably not part of one item. Although of a form most often identified as a key handle, the bar with its 'shepherd's crook' head is exactly like an object found in grave 33 at Alton, Hampshire, where it was catalogued as a sharpener, though without discussion (Evison 1988, 79, fig. 31, 33.3). The rectangular plate has no obvious parallels, but given its leather backing and the position of the two rivet-holes was presumably fastened to a strap. Its association with the bar and their position by the left waist compare exactly with the so-called sharpener from Alton, which was also found with a knife, as well as a small iron loop, disc, and hooked-tab which may have hung from a belt, possibly in a bag (cf. Meaney 1981, 247–52).

3. **Iron pin**; complete, broken into three pieces, simple round head with slight indentation; length 145 mm; mineral-preserved textile present; SF3090, AML 812658. Under left jaw.

   The length of this pin is more comparable with that of 5th century continental hairpins than it is with most iron or copper alloy pins found in British graves of the period (Böhme 1974, 35–9). Such hairpins do occasionally occur in 6th century English contexts (Welch 1983, 78–9) though they are more usually decorated and made of silver or copper alloy.

4. Discussion, by Elaine L. Morris and Tania M. Dickinson

The three inhumation graves from Carisbrooke Castle are an important addition to the eleven other cemeteries known from the Isle of Wight (Arnold 1982; 1990). Of the three, grave 1282, containing a young female adult, is least closely datable, even if the analogy between its iron pin and continental hairpins is accepted: it could be 5th or 6th century. Grave 1632, is, on balance, likely to be the grave of another adult female as examples of the squat glass bowl have been found elsewhere only in female graves; simple derivatives of late Roman buckles are also more common in female graves, as are wooden boxes, if such an interpretation can be made of the studs and discs. Glass and buckle point to a date of burial in the late 5th–early 6th century.

Grave 1612, an adult male, is dated by the *terminus post quem* of the gold-plated Visigothic *tremissis*, minted *c.* 509–520: deposition was therefore, at the earliest, in the second decade of the 6th century, but is more likely to lie in the second quarter of that century. This grave is of exceptional importance. It contained four different prestige vessels: two drinking vessels, the glass bowl, and the drinking horn, and two table or serving vessels, the bead-rimmed bowl and the metal-bound bucket. The glass and the bucket were made in the 5th century and so were old at burial (the bucket demonstrably so, for it was repaired); the bead-rimmed bowl might be 5th or 6th century; while the drinking horn is more or less contemporary with burial, though manufacture involved a reused die.

The drinking horn might have been made locally, although its manufacturing history betrays connections with the finest workshops of Kent, while the other three vessels were all imports from Merovingian Gaul or the Rhineland. Such a combination of vessels, in number and type, is difficult to parallel. From a survey of 409 5th–7th century graves with vessels from 26 cemeteries (Christian 1996), it appears that only 12% contained more than one vessel, of which the vast majority held two. Graves with three or four vessels are exceptionally rare and in none are the types all different and of such quality, though Chessell Down grave 26 with a hanging bowl, an east Mediterranean copper alloy pail, and probably one rather than two buckets (Arnold 1982, 23–4), and Morning Thorpe grave 200 with lugged cauldron, pearl-rimmed bowl, bucket, and wooden bowl (Green *et al.* 1987, 87, figs 356–8) come close. The best parallels are really with the richest barrow-burials of the late 6th/7th centuries, such as Sutton Hoo, Taplow, Broomfield, and Asthall (cf. Dickinson and Speake 1992, 110; Christian 1996, 29).

What is then surprising is the absence of weapons from grave 1612 (cf. Härke 1990, esp. 37–8). It seems, however, that while male weapon burial, vessel burial (especially with two or three types), and a well-above-average number of grave-goods are correlated, this does not extend to four-vessel burials (Christian 1996, 45–57). The vessel burial in grave 1612 was clearly an individualistic statement, as was its combination with an unusual and splendid playing set and a Visigothic coin (albeit plated) in the mouth (one of only two post-Roman examples of the custom in England). The exceptional nature of this burial is transparent.

In other respects, grave 1612 and its companions fit comfortably into the pattern of accompanied burial found in south-east England and especially the Isle of Wight. The graves conform in date to the generally early chronology of the Isle of Wight, with the peak of burial in the later 5th–earlier 6th century, and no evidence for 7th century interments (Arnold 1982, 109). This is underscored by the two glass vessels from graves 1612 and 1632. Evison adds to her comments on them that only three others were previously known from the Isle of Wight, all excavated in the 19th century at Chessell Down: two cone beakers of types which were current about AD 400 and occurred in both late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon contexts; and one Kempston-type cone beaker probably belonging to the early 5th century (Evison 1972, 57–8, fig. 15). The new finds therefore fall in with the pattern already noted in Sussex, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, that is glass vessels occurred in this area in the early 5th–early 6th centuries, but the later types of vessels which occurred in other parts of the country have not been found here.

The glass vessel in grave 1632 and the entire assemblage from 1612 likewise add witness to the strong Channel coast connections of the island, especially in the late 5th–6th centuries, and beyond them to the political and economic relationships and rivalries between Merovingians, Kent, and the rest of southern England (Arnold 1982, 102–9; 1990; cf. Welch 1991). The pre-eminent individual buried in grave 1612 would seem to be a typical beneficiary of this situation.

Whether there were originally more than three burials, perhaps destroyed by later, substantial activity on the site, cannot be known; nor is it clear whether the two complete pots from feature 1620 (below) once related to a cremation burial or even another inhumation burial, though they are quite at home among the corpus of cremation vessels from the Isle of Wight. Arnold (1990, 164–5) has drawn attention to the similarity between Carisbrooke and four other small burial sites on the Isle of Wight; all are situated immediately above steep-sided coombs, on areas of light soil adjacent to large blocks of downland forming the east-west spine of the island; by contrast, large cemeteries like Chessell Down are at lower altitudes on fertile alluvium. So Carisbrooke might always have been a small burial ground. Finally, Arnold notes that burials in prehistoric barrows characterise the former group but not the latter, though no evidence for a barrow existed at Carisbrooke.

5. Anglo-Saxon Pottery Vessels from Feature 1620, by Lorraine Mepham

Two complete pottery vessels were recovered from a single feature (1620), adjacent to the three inhumation burials, but apparently unassociated themselves with any inhumation or cremation burial.

Both vessels are in the same fabric (Q420, see Chapter 4 for full fabric description), although the two vessels show differing degrees of labour expenditure on manufacture and finishing. One (Obj. No. 3094) is biconical, burnished inside and out, and has grooved linear decoration on the exterior (Fig. 42, 1). This vessel appears to be quite carefully made and well finished. Biconical vessels of this type were in use in the 5th century. The decorative style, which is a form of chevron design, is exceedingly common in the 5th century and was still in use in the 6th century (Myres 1977, 3, 46). Similar biconical vessels have been found, for example, on early Saxon cemetery sites at Worthy Park, near Winchester and at Portchester, both in Hampshire (ibid., fig. 3, no. 1951; fig. 88, no. 3674); and sub-biconical vessels with very similar decoration have been found on the Isle of Wight at Chessel Down and Bowcombe Down and are discussed by Arnold (1982, fig. 24, no. 8; fig. 62, no. 3i), who stresses the links with Kent, a point supported by the decoration on the second vessel (see below), and also by the glass vessels from the adjacent inhumations (above).

The second vessel (Obj. No. 3093) is more crude, and consists of an irregular sub-globular vessel with traces of burnishing on the exterior, and four burnished swastikas around the body at the point of maximum girth (Fig. 42, 2). The swastika decoration is unusual in this context, since the distribution of such decoration, both stamped and free-drawn, has so far been restricted to eastern England, mainly in East Anglia and further north, and also in Kent (Brown 1981, fig. 4). Myres considers this form of decoration to be more often used in the 5th century than later (1977, 66); the form of the vessel is not closely datable.

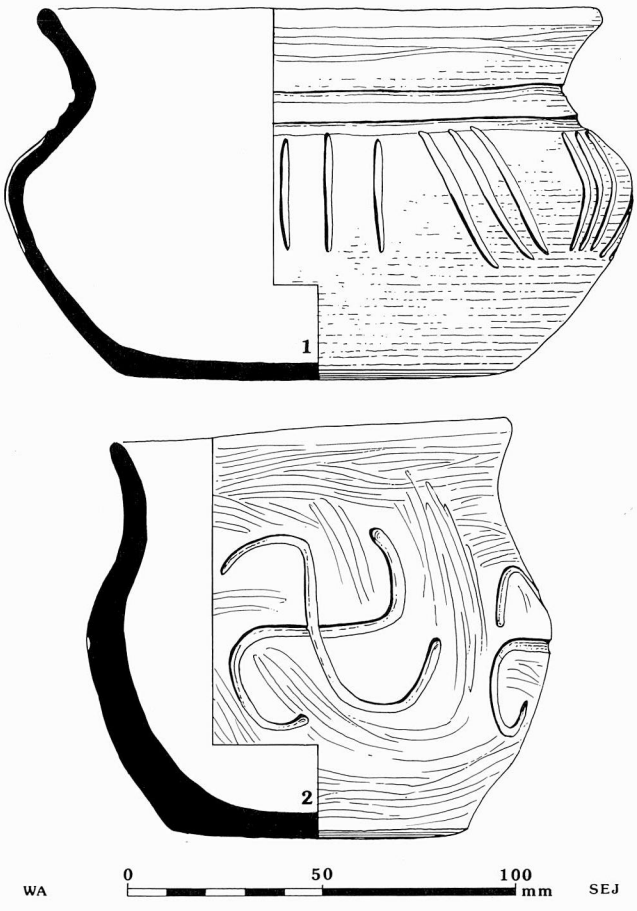

Figure 42 Anglo-Saxon pottery vessels from feature 1620

4. Pottery
by Lorraine Mepham

1. Introducton

The pottery assemblage from Carisbrooke Castle examined for the purpose of this report comprises 18,314 sherds (191,275 g), and includes material ranging in date from prehistoric to post-medieval, although the bulk of the assemblage consists of medieval and post-medieval types. Stratified material from both periods of excavation within the castle (1961–3 and 1976–81) has been examined, as well as unstratified material recovered from excavations by Stuart Rigold (1968–9). The total includes two complete vessels of Early Saxon date, recovered from the cemetery in Y5, and these are discussed separately, with the other artefactual evidence from the cemetery (p. 97).

The pottery has been examined within the framework of the phasing provided by the stratigraphic data. Independent dating evidence exists in the form of coins and a small number of documentary sources, and these are supplemented amongst the ceramic assemblage by identifiable imports, both from the mainland and from the continent, eg, glazed jugs from various sources in northern France and white wares from the Surrey/Hampshire production area. Bearing in mind the limitations of medieval pottery as an accurate dating tool (cf. Moorhouse 1986), it was hoped that the ceramic data would help to supplement and perhaps to refine the stratigraphic record, in order to provide a fuller picture of the sequence of activity on the site.

Some idea of the sources and affinities of the Carisbrooke assemblage might also be expected to emerge from the analysis. This is the first major collection of medieval and post-medieval pottery from the Isle of Wight to be examined in detail, although small groups of medieval pottery have been published, for example from several midden sites on the south-east coast of the island (Poole and Dunning 1937; Dunning 1939). As comparable material from the island is lacking, parallels for the assemblage must be sought among contemporaneous groups from the adjacent counties on the mainland. Large urban assemblages have been recovered, for example, from Poole, Southampton, Chichester, and Winchester (Barton et al. 1992; Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975; Barton 1974; Down 1978; Cunliffe 1964), and groups of pottery from contemporaneous castle sites exist at Wareham and Corfe Castle, Dorset and Portchester, Hampshire (Renn 1960; RCHME 1960; Cunliffe 1977).

However, comparison with mainland assemblages must be largely limited to general parallels for the range of vessel types, rather than a more detailed search for sources for the Carisbrooke material, since it is likely that economic considerations, amongst other factors, would have meant that most of the pottery from the site would have derived from local production centres on the island itself. Only one kiln site, dated to the late medieval period, is at present known on the island, at Knighton (Fennelly 1969), although a local source has been postulated for some of the midden material from the south-east coast (Dunning 1939, 129). Thin section analysis of some of the Carisbrooke fabric types was undertaken in order to ascertain whether material from Knighton was present at Carisbrooke, and whether other possible sources could be determined.

Despite the relatively large size of the assemblage, there are very few reconstructable profiles, and there is a general lack of well-stratified ceramic groups from features. Much of the pottery instead derived from dumped layers, although useful groups were recovered, for example, from the early medieval ditches (260, 1602) as encountered in both Young's (Y5) and Rigold's trenches (R1), and from the top of the motte ditch in Y4. For this reason, the decision has been taken to publish the pottery assemblage as a type series rather than as a series of key groups.

2. Methods

The pottery was analysed using the standard Wessex Archaeology recording guidelines (Morris 1991). The assemblage was divided into broad fabric groups, on the basis of the dominant inclusion type or known source. Five groups were identified: flint-gritted fabrics (Group F); sandy fabrics (Group Q); shelly fabrics (Group S); fabrics with organic temper (Group V); and 'established' wares, ie, those of known type or source (Group E). These five fabric groups were then subdivided into 72 separate fabric types, on the basis of the range and coarseness of macroscopic inclusions, using a binocular microscope (x20 magnification). Each fabric type has been allocated a unique alpha-numeric code, incorporating a letter denoting the fabric group, and a chronologically significant number (1–99 for prehistoric fabrics, 100–399 for Romano-British fabrics, 400–599 for Saxon and medieval fabrics, 600–899 for post-medieval fabrics, and 900–999 for fabrics of uncertain date).

The assemblage has been fully quantified, both by number and by weight of sherds, by fabric type within each context. In addition, a maximum of 13 variables, including details of vessel form, surface treatment,

decoration, manufacturing technique, and evidence of use, has been recorded for all pottery of medieval or earlier date, and coded for entry onto a database. Post-medieval material has been examined in less detail; basic quantification by fabric type, as described above, was undertaken, but no attempt has been made to record vessel types, or other variables, although complete profiles and other unusual or interesting pieces were noted. This basic information is available in archive.

Samples of 20 fabric types, mostly medieval wares, together with comparative samples from the late medieval kiln at Knighton, were submitted for petrological analysis by D.F. Williams (University of Southampton); these are indicated below in the fabric descriptions thus: (P). A full report on this analysis by Williams is presented below as Appendix 3, and the results are summarised in the text below.

The 72 fabric types fall into five chronological groupings: prehistoric (2 fabrics), Romano-British (5 fabrics), early/middle Saxon (5 fabrics), medieval (30 fabrics), post-medieval (28 fabrics), and pottery of uncertain date (2 fabrics). The pottery is described by period below. Numbers and weights of all fabric types, by chronological group, are given in Table 5. In the fabric descriptions throughout this report the terms used to describe the density of inclusions are defined as follows, after Terry and Chilingar (1955): rare (1–3%); sparse (3–10%); moderate (10–20%); common (20–30%).

3. Prehistoric Pottery

Two fabrics were identified as prehistoric on the basis of tempering material and manufacture.

F1. Soft fabric; moderate, poorly-sorted, subangular flint <1.0 mm; rare shell fragments <0.5 mm; rare iron oxides. Unoxidised dark grey with oxidised orange interior. Handmade.

S1. Soft fabric; moderate, poorly-sorted shell fragments <3.0 mm; moderate, fairly well-sorted, rounded quartz <0.5 mm. Unoxidised black with orange–brown interior. Handmade.

Both fabrics occurred only as plain body sherds, all redeposited in later contexts. Both flint-gritted and shelly fabrics are known from Bronze Age and Iron Age contexts in the adjacent counties of Dorset and Hampshire, for example at Eldon's Seat, Purbeck (Cunliffe and Phillipson 1968); Winnall Down, Winchester (Hawkes 1985); and Old Down Farm, Andover (Davies 1981). Without diagnostic vessel forms it is impossible to tie these sherds down any closer within the later prehistoric period.

4. Romano-British Pottery

Eleven sherds in five fabrics were identified as Romano-British.

E170. Oxfordshire colour-coated ware (Young 1977, 52).

E300. Samian, source unspecified.

Q100. Soft, fine fabric; only inclusions visible are rare iron oxides and mica. Oxidised pink-orange throughout. Wheelthrown?

Q101. Soft, fine fabric; moderate, fairly well-sorted quartz <0.25 mm; sparse iron oxides. Oxidised pink-orange throughout. Wheelthrown?

Q102. Soft, fine fabric; moderate, fairly well-sorted, rounded quartz <0.5 mm. Oxidised bright orange throughout. Wheelthrown.

All Romano-British pottery occurred as plain body sherds, and close dating within the period is not possible, beyond assigning the samian to the 1st/2nd century AD, and the Oxfordshire colour-coated ware to the 3rd/4th century AD. The other three sandy fabrics are of unknown source. All sherds were found redeposited in later contexts.

5. Saxon Pottery

Five fabrics were identified as Early or Middle Saxon. A sample of one fabric (Q414) was submitted for petrological analysis. Full details can be found in archive, and the results are summarised below.

Q409. Hard fabric; common, fairly well-sorted, rounded quartz <0.5 mm. Oxidised pink–buff with black core. Handmade.

Q414. Soft, soapy fabric; moderate, poorly-sorted, rounded quartz <2.0 mm; rare mica; sparse linear voids (leached vegetable temper) <3.0 mm; Unoxidised dark grey with orange–pink margins. Handmade. (P)

Q420. Soft, fine fabric; moderate, poorly-sorted, rounded quartz <0.5 mm; sparse iron oxides; rare mica. Unoxidised dark brown/black throughout. Surfaces generally burnished. Handmade.

V400. Soft fabric; common, poorly-sorted linear voids (leached vegetable temper) <4.0 mm; sparse, fairly well-sorted fine quartz. Irregularly fired orange/black. Handmade.

V401. Soft fabric; moderate, poorly-sorted linear voids <3.0 mm; moderate, fairly well-sorted quartz <0.25 mm. Irregular firing; pale orange/black. Handmade.

One further fabric may be of Saxon date (S901), but due to its undiagnostic nature it has been classified as of uncertain date (see below).

The dating of the five fabrics listed above is hampered by the general lack of diagnostic sherds, and

Table 5. Pottery fabric totals by period

Fabric type		*No. sherds*	*Weight (g)*	*% of period*	*% of total*
PREHISTORIC	F1	2	9	6.3	
	S1	36	135	93.7	
	Sub-total	***38***	***144***	-	***0.1***
ROMANO-BRITISH	E170	1	7	20.6	
	E300	6	14	41.2	
	Q100	1	1	3.0	
	Q101	2	6	17.6	
	Q103	1	6	17.6	
	Sub-total	***11***	***34***	-	-
SAXON	Q409	4	45	3.2	
	Q414	5	48	3.4	
	Q420	111	1200	86.0	
	V400	16	100	7.2	
	V401	1	3	0.2	
	Sub-total	***137***	***1396***	-	***0.7***
MEDIEVAL					
Imported wares					
E505: Andenne ware		1	6	-	
E515: Normandy gritty ware		30	375	0.3	
E516: Proto-stoneware		1	22	-	
E520: Saintonge ware		9	66	0.1	
E525: Rouen-type ware		13	276	0.2	
E526: North French unspec.		23	199	0.2	
Mainland wares					
E450: Surrey whitewares unspec.		27	440	0.4	
E451: Coarse Border Ware		6	92	0.1	
Q400: SE Wilts/Dorset coarse		16	151	0.1	
Q401: SE Wilts/Dorset coarse		276	2747	2.3	
Q406: Hampshire redware		211	1481	1.2	
Q408: Hampshire redware		1002	9730	8.2	
Q413: SE Wilts/Dorset fine		4	19	-	
Q415: SE Wilts/Dorset fine		16	155	0.1	
Q416: ?Donyatt slipware		10	93	0.1	
Q419: SE Wilts/Dorset fine		5	20	-	
Local wares					
	F400	3	41	-	
	F401	1	13	-	
	Q402	415	4394	3.7	
	Q404	2363	26719	22.4	
	S400	6574	47097	39.6	
	S401	3	24	-	
	S402	3375	22563	19.0	
	S403	54	685	0.6	
Wares of unknown source					
	Q405	11	67	0.1	
	Q407	54	1107	0.9	
	Q410	15	61	0.1	
	Q411	10	286	0.2	
	Q417	6	109	0.1	
	Q418	1	7	-	
Sub-total		***14535***	***119045***	-	***62.2***

Table 5 (continued)

Fabric type		*No. sherds*	*Weight (g)*	*% of period*	*% of total*
POST-MEDIEVAL					
E454: 'Tudor Green'		190	630	0.9	
E600: coarse redwares unspec.		1341	33329	47.2	
E601: micaceous redware		9	181	0.2	
E606: Staffs/Bristol brown glazed		10	58	0.1	
E610: coarse whitewares unspec.		88	1059	1.5	
E640: Verwood earthenware		884	19761	28.0	
E641: Wiltshire Brown ware		14	32	0.1	
E650: Surrey whitewares		2	33	0.1	
E655: Cistercian-type ware		1	1	-	
E673: Saintonge earthenware		10	330	0.5	
E680: slipwares unspec.		22	534	0.7	
E710: Beauvais double sgraffito		1	5	-	
E695: Staffs/Bristol slipware		55	839	1.2	
E705: N. Italian marbled ware		8	81	0.1	
E706: N. Italian sgraffito ware		1	27	-	
E730: tinglaze unspec.		210	2570	3.6	
E740: fine whitewares		210	2697	3.8	
E750: creamware		24	83	0.1	
E770: stonewares unspec.		154	2813	4.0	
E780: Cologne/Frechen stoneware		120	2352	3.3	
E785: Raeren stoneware		26	703	1.0	
E788: Westerwald stoneware		62	841	1.2	
E790: English stonewares unspec.		36	658	0.9	
E795: Nottingham stoneware		16	189	0.3	
E796: Staffs stoneware		26	479	0.7	
E805: white saltglaze		19	104	0.1	
E810: fine red stonewares		21	120	0.2	
E830: porcelain		32	138	0.2	
	Sub-total	***3592***	***70647***	-	***37.0***
UNCERTAIN DATE	Q902	1	3	33.3	
	S901	2	6	66.7	
	Sub-total	***3***	***9***		-
OVERALL TOTAL		18314	191275		

also by their occurrence largely as redeposited sherds in later (medieval) contexts. Only three contexts contained pottery which was either certainly, or probably, *in situ*: two in Y5 (feature 1620 and grave 1612) and one in Y2 (context 61). Dating, therefore, relies almost entirely on parallels with fabric types from other sites.

The earliest material recognisable within this group consists of two complete vessels recovered from the early Saxon cemetery in Y5. These two vessels are discussed elsewhere (Chapter 3), although they are included in the fabric totals (Table 5). There are a small number of body sherds in the same fabric as these two vessels (Q420), burnished and with tooled decoration (eg, Fig. 43, 1), which may derive from similar vessels, but no vessel forms can be recognised. These sherds came from contexts in R1, immediately to the south of Y5. Other plain body sherds in fabric Q420, most of them burnished, may be of a similar date, or they could equally well be later. Fine sandy fabrics, often burnished, were in use throughout the early and middle Saxon periods; they were being produced in Hamwic (Southampton), for example, up to the late 8th century (Timby 1988, 114).

The slightly coarser fabric Q409 probably has a similar date range. Only a very small number of sherds of this fabric were identified, none of them burnished. There were no diagnostic sherds, and this fabric therefore could fall anywhere in the early or middle Saxon periods, possibly even later.

Organically-tempered fabrics are found widely on early and middle Saxon sites across southern England, and are generally considered to date from the 5th century AD, ceasing in production by the mid 8th century (Hodges 1981, 466), although there is now a growing body of evidence to suggest that such fabrics may have continued in use into the late Saxon period

(eg, Astill and Lobb 1992). In the immediate environs of the Isle of Wight, they have been identified at Hamwic, Portchester, Winchester, and on the island itself at Bowcombe Down (Hodges 1981, 55; Arnold 1982, 91, 93). At Hamwic, coarse grass-tempered fabrics similar to fabric V400, used for simple, thick-walled vessels, are considered to fall somewhat earlier in the sequence than finer, sandier grass-tempered fabrics similar to V401 (Timby 1988, 111). At Carisbrooke, fabric V401 occurs as a single plain body sherd; rim sherds in fabric V400 belong to small jars with simple everted rims.

The dating of the Carisbrooke sherds, however, both sandy and grass-tempered, may rely to some extent on their origin, whether from funerary or domestic vessels, which is unknown. A number of vessels have been found in funerary contexts on the island, which are dated on the basis of continental parallels and associated objects to the earliest period of Saxon occupation, ie, from the 5th to mid 6th century (Arnold 1982). Although relatively few of these vessels have been described in terms of fabric, those that have show a bias towards finer, sandy fabrics comparable to fabrics Q420 and Q409; only two are listed as having grass-tempered fabrics (ibid., 91, 93). The same pattern has been observed for early cemeteries in the London area, although in this case, contemporaneous settlement sites (which are not as yet known from the island) have revealed a different pattern, with grass-tempered fabrics commonly found in this period together with the finer sandy fabrics (Blackmore 1993, 132); on later cemetery sites of the 6th and 7th centuries, for example, Mucking, the proportion of grass-tempered pottery is greater, and more or less equivalent to that on the settlements (Hamerow 1993, 31).

Fabric Q414 would seem to fall into the so-called 'gritty ware' tradition which is widespread along the south coast in middle Saxon contexts (Hodges 1981, 56). Examples are known from Hamwic and Portchester from the 8th century (ibid., class 4; Timby 1988; Cunliffe 1976), and the ware continued in use in some areas of Hampshire until the 12th century. Its growth in popularity seems to coincide with the decline of the grass-tempered tradition in the area. No diagnostic sherds were recovered from Carisbrooke. Petrological analysis revealed the presence of glauconite, probably naturally occurring, in this fabric (see Appendix 3). Glauconite can be found in some of the Greensand deposits on the island, so a local source may be postulated.

6. Medieval Pottery

Imported Wares

Six medieval fabrics of continental origin were identified, all but one from various sources in France:

E505. Andenne ware. Very fine white fabric with no inclusions visible under microscope. Wheelthrown.

E515. Normandy gritty ware. Hard, slightly soapy fabric; sparse, poorly-sorted, subrounded to subangular quartz <2.0 mm; grains protrude through surface, giving a 'pimply' appearance. Oxidised buff or orange–buff, occasionally with pale grey core. Wheelthrown.

E516. Proto-stoneware, probably from northern France. Very hard fabric; sparse, well-sorted, rounded quartz <0.25 mm; sparse red iron oxides. Oxidised pink/buff. Wheelthrown.

E520. Saintonge ware. Very fine white fabric with no inclusions visible under microscope. Wheelthrown.

E525. Rouen-type ware. Hard, fine white fabric; sparse, well-sorted rounded quartz <0.25 mm; rare red iron oxides. Wheelthrown.

E526. North French wares of unspecified source. Hard, fine white fabric, as E525, but green-glazed. Wheelthrown.

Andenne ware (E505) is represented by a single body sherd, with an even orange–yellow glaze on the exterior surface. The ware was produced in the Meuse valley from the 11th to the 15th centuries, although it was exported widely only in the 12th–13th centuries, reaching most of the Low Countries, and southern and eastern England (Jennings 1981, 30). The sherd from Carisbrooke was recovered from an insecurely stratified context in Y5 (yard surface 269). The vessel form cannot be determined.

Normandy gritty ware (E515) is generally dated to the 12th–early 13th century in southern England, although it is clear that this ceramic tradition probably began in the later 10th century, and the earliest examples found in this country are in fact 11th century (eg, Hodges and Mainman 1984, 14). Few examples are known in France, and the only known kiln is in western Normandy, just east of St Malo, which was operating for a short time in the 10th century (Hodges 1977, 251). At Carisbrooke it occurs as sherds of cooking pots or pitchers with lid-seated rims, rarely glazed, decorated with applied thumbed strips (Fig. 43, 18, 19). There is also a single spike lamp (Fig. 44, 35), of a type found in the same ware at Exeter in 11th to early 13th century contexts (Allan 1984, nos 5, 95, 971). Another rim fragment may also be from a lamp, or alternatively from a lid, although no such forms are as yet known in this fabric (Fig. 44, 34; illustrated as a lamp). Sherds of Normandy Gritty ware are found in very small quantities in Phases 4c–6.

One glazed sherd in a very hard, proto-stoneware fabric (E516), with applied zoomorphic decoration over an overall red slip (Fig. 45, 65) was recovered from a sub-phase 4c context in Y5. This can be compared to a similar sherd, also with zoomorphic decoration, found in Southampton, for which a date of *c.* 1300 has been postulated (unpublished information from R. Thomson).

Other North French wares have been divided into recognisable Rouen-type wares (E525), as defined by Barton (1966), and fine green-glazed white wares of uncertain source (E526). Both are found at Carisbrooke only in glazed jug forms. The Rouen-type jugs have thickened rims and rod handles, frequently stabbed, and often with the characteristic applied 'ears' at the junction of handle and rim (Fig. 45, 50–2). Decoration on the body consists of rouletted applied strips, or panel designs using plain strips and pellets over a red slip. Glaze is neutral, appearing yellow on the white clay body. The mottled green-glazed varieties echo the Rouen-type forms. Decoration consists of rouletted strips, and applied 'ears', 'scales' and grape motifs (Fig. 45, 53, 54). These green-glazed wares probably derive from the same area in northern France as the Rouen-type wares.

Both Rouen-type and north French wares have been found at Southampton and Exeter from the early 13th century, and remained in use until the end of the century, possibly into the 14th century at Southampton (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, 23–6; Allan 1984, 21). At Carisbrooke both fabric types are found together in Phase 6, with a very few sherds of E526 in Phase 5; sporadic occurrences in subsequent phases are likely to be redeposited.

The very fine green-glazed white wares (E520) have been identified as probable products of the Saintonge region. These occur mainly as plain body sherds; the green glaze can be mottled or even. Saintonge monochrome wares are found from the mid 13th century at Exeter (Allan 1984, 23); postulated evidence for their appearance in Southampton as early as *c.* 1200 (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, 26) is regarded as ambiguous (Allan 1983b, 198–9). No polychrome wares were recovered, but that such wares were in use here is attested by the presence of a complete polychrome jug in the Castle museum (exact provenance within the Castle unknown).

Two examples are more unusual: a green-glazed body sherd from a jug, with incised decoration (Fig. 45, 55); and three conjoining body sherds, again from a jug, with a foliage motif in dark red paint under an all-over red wash on the exterior surface, and a thin, pale green glaze on the interior surface (Fig. 45, 56). The incised sherd has affinities with the Saintonge sgraffito wares (see, for example, Thomson and Brown 1991, cat. nos 10–13), although in this case the underlying contrasting slip is absent. The red-painted sherds belong to a group, so far rarely identified in this country, of painted Saintonge wares, although these wares have generally been regarded as unglazed; two examples are published from Southampton (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, fig. 180, nos 994 and 996), and other examples are known in the Channel Islands and in the Saintonge (Thomson and Brown 1991, 75 and cat. nos 24, 25). They are considered to be contemporary with the polychrome wares. Apart from two sherds in Phase 6, all Saintonge sherds were found redeposited in post-medieval contexts.

Altogether, the imported wares constitute less than 1% of the total medieval assemblage (Table 5), which might be regarded as a low figure given the nature of the site, and also the wealth of imports in the nearby port of Southampton, and indeed at other ports along the south coast, such as Poole and Exeter (Allan 1983b, 193). A minimum of twelve vessels are represented in all five fabrics. However, the relative scarcity of imports outside the major ports on the south coast, and inland, has been noted, and it is suggested that imports reached other sites only as goods redistributed from the major centres (ibid., 204). Very small quantities of imports have been recorded, for example, at the castles of Wareham, Corfe, and Portchester (Renn 1960; RCHME 1960; Cunliffe 1977, 137), and also from excavations within the towns of Wareham and Christchurch (Hinton and Hodges 1977, 63–4; Davies 1983, 38). It would also seem that the presence of imports is not a reliable indicator of site status since at Exeter they have been found on all sites, even poor ones, which may indicate that the lack of networks for redistribution may have been the determining factor governing the absence of imports, rather than their cost (Allan 1984, 13).

Bearing in mind the relative paucity of imports at Carisbrooke, it can nevertheless be seen that the range of wares present conforms to the observed pattern for the south coast, ie, there is a predominance of French wares, with Low Countries wares represented by a single sherd, presumably reflecting the predominantly French orientation of trade of ports along the south coast (Allan 1983b, 204).

Mainland Wares of Known Type or Source

Four groups of fabrics can be related to potential sources or source areas: white wares from the Surrey/Hampshire industry, coarse and finewares probably deriving from south-east Wiltshire or Dorset, fine redwares from Hampshire, and sgraffito ware from Somerset.

Surrey whitewares

E450. Surrey white wares, type unspecified. As E451, but wider range of coarsewares and frequency of inclusions. Firing white/buff. Wheelthrown.

E451. Surrey white ware (Coarse Border Ware). Hard fabric; moderate, poorly-sorted, subrounded quartz <1.0 mm, frequently iron-stained. Firing buff. Wheelthrown (see Pearce and Vince 1988, 9).

The Surrey white wares can be broadly dated to the period 1250–1500. The only specific fabric type within

this group which can be positively identified at Carisbrooke is Coarse Border Ware (E451), produced on the Hampshire/Surrey border from c.1350. Fabric E450 contains Surrey wares which could not be positively identified, but which might include both Kingston-type and Cheam white wares; 'Tudor Green' ware (E454) is discussed separately, with the post-medieval wares. Kingston-type and Cheam white wares are rare outside London, and none are so far known as far south as Hampshire; the distribution of Coarse Border Ware is much larger, and does extend into Hampshire, although it is rare in Southampton (Pearce and Vince 1988). Vessel forms recognised in the Surrey white wares consist mainly of glazed jugs with stabbed rod or strap handles (Fig. 45, 57, 58), but there are also single examples of a partially glazed cookpot with internal lid seating (Fig. 43, 20), and a partially glazed pipkin with flat rim and pulled-out pouring lip (Fig. 43, 21). Flat-rimmed vessels were produced in all the Surrey industries during the latter half of the 14th century; lid-seated vessels were introduced at the end of the 14th century, and rapidly became the standard form (ibid., 85). The jugs, which are largely represented by handles only, are not closely datable within the Surrey ware sequence. Surrey white wares occur from Phase 6, but in very small quantities, and most sherds derive from post-medieval contexts.

South-east Wiltshire/Dorset wares

This group comprises five fabrics: two coarsewares (Q400, Q401) and three finer, glazed wares (Q413, Q415, Q419).

Q400. Hard fabric; common, poorly-sorted, rounded quartz <2.0 mm, protruding through surface to give 'pimply' appearance. Oxidised orange/pink, with dark grey/black core. Handmade. (P)

Q401. Hard fabric; common, well-sorted, rounded quartz <1.0 mm. Oxidised buff to orange/pink with black core. Handmade. (P)

Q413. Hard, fine fabric; moderate, well-sorted quartz <0.25 mm; rare mica and iron oxides. Wheelthrown. (P)

Q415. Hard, pale-firing fabric; common, fairly well-sorted, rounded quartz <0.5 mm. Oxidised buff–pink with pale grey core. Wheelthrown. (P)

Q419. Hard, pale-firing fabric; common, fairly well-sorted, rounded quartz <1.0 mm; rare iron oxides. Oxidised pale buff–pink with pale grey core. Handmade. (P)

The coarse sandy fabric Q400 occurs only in jars of Type 3, and is found in very small quantities in Phases 4 and 5 (sub-phases 4c and 5a); subsequent sporadic occurrences are likely to represent redeposited sherds. The finer sandy fabric Q401 is used for jars of Types 3 and 4, and for dishes of Type 8. In addition, a number of sherds of fabric Q401 appear to derive from at least one large jar, with strap handles and wide applied strips arranged in a lattice design (Fig. 44, 36, 37). Other glazed body sherds in the same fabric could derive from tripod pitchers. This fabric is present in small quantities from Phases 4–6.

These two fabrics have strong similarities with a group of fabrics found widely across south Wiltshire and east Dorset from the 12th to at least the 13th century. This group of fabrics can be divided into fine and coarse. The finer fabrics, similar to fabric Q401, are used for jars, but also for tripod pitchers, generally glazed, and with combed and applied decoration, which are found, for example, at Bath (Vince 1979, fabric M), Old Sarum (Musty and Rahtz 1964) and Ower Farm, Dorset (Lancley and Mepham 1991, fabric Q400; note that this site employs a different fabric type series to Carisbrooke). These tripod pitchers, which are generally dated to the 12th century, have one possible source, or sources, in south-east Wiltshire (Vince 1981) although, given the wide distribution, other sources elsewhere in Wessex are likely, for example in south-east Dorset (Brown 1992). The large handled jar with applied lattice decoration can be compared to two 12th century vessels from the Salisbury area, which are generally described as 'storage jars' (Musty and Algar 1986, fig. 16; Musty and Rahtz 1964, fig. 6, no.1, fig. 7, no. 15), and one from Corfe Castle, which is dated to the late 11th or early 12th century (RCHME 1960, fig. 10).

Smaller jars in Q401 are more likely to have a slightly later date; comparable forms are associated with the 13th century kilns at Laverstock outside Salisbury (Musty *et al.* 1969), and are also found widely throughout east Dorset down to Purbeck (eg, Lancley and Mepham 1991, fig. 62).

The coarser fabrics, often described as having 'pimply' surfaces, similar to fabric Q400, are likewise widely distributed. They are generally unglazed, and are used for jars, frequently scratch-marked. These are found in 12th century contexts in the Salisbury area (eg, Musty and Rahtz 1964), and their distribution appears to be similar to that of the later jars described above, ie, throughout east Dorset; other 12th century groups are described, for example, from Corfe Castle and Wareham Castle (RCHME 1960; Renn 1960).

Fabrics Q413, Q415 and Q419 are all represented by very small quantities of glazed sherds which are likely to derive from jugs of some form, although no diagnostic sherds were identified, nor are any decorated sherds present. Fabric Q419 occurs in sub-phase 4c, but its presence here is likely to be intrusive; the other fabrics do not appear before Phase 6.

These glazed wares find parallels in the same area as that covered by the coarsewares described above, ie, south-east Wiltshire and east Dorset. Pale-firing glazed wares occur at Poole, for example, where a local source is inferred (Jarvis 1992), but very similar wares were

also produced by the Laverstock kilns (Musty *et al.* 1969).

The widespread distribution of this group of fabrics, both coarse and fine, leaves us with the question of attribution to source, or sources. The kilns at Laverstock are one potential source for the 13th century wares, and it seems that the 12th century tripod pitchers and jars may also have been produced in the same area. An alternative source in the Poole Harbour/Purbeck area is suggested by the dominance of these fabrics in local assemblages, and also by petrological and heavy mineral analysis of the coarsewares (Williams 1977; 1992, sample 1), although similar analysis of the fine wares is less conclusive (ibid., samples 3–5). Recent chemical analysis has likewise proved inconclusive, with samples of coarsewares from a number of sites throughout Dorset failing to fall into chemically consistent groups (Spoerry 1990). Petrological analysis of all five Carisbrooke fabrics provided no useful information (see Appendix 1).

The picture is complicated by the possibility of a further source or sources falling between Salisbury and Poole Harbour, where suitable potting clay could be found on the band of Reading Beds and London Clay which runs through east Dorset. Numerous documentary references to pottery production have been found for this area (Spoerry 1988), including a 14th century reference to clay-digging in Alderholt, within the area of the post-medieval Verwood industry (Algar *et al.* 1987, 26).

South Hampshire redwares

Q406. Soft, fine fabric; moderate, fairly well-sorted, rounded quartz <0.25 mm; sparse iron oxides. Oxidised pale brick red. Wheelthrown. (P)

Q408. Hard, fine fabric; sparse, fairly well-sorted, rounded quartz <0.5 mm; sparse iron oxides. Oxidised buff–pink or unoxidised pale grey. Handmade and wheelthrown examples. (P)

Fabrics Q408 and Q406 are found in quantity in sub-phase 5c, increasing dramatically in Phase 6, and decreasing slightly in Phase 7. The two fabrics are very similar to each other, and are found in the same vessel forms; it is likely that they derive from the same source area, if not the same production centre. Both fabrics are used for glazed jugs, with squat or rounded body profiles, strap or rod handles, and thumbed bases (Fig. 45, 47–9). In Phases 5 and 6 these jugs are decorated with applied vertical strips and pellets in a contrasting iron-rich slip, but in Phase 7 this becomes rarer, and decoration is confined to horizontal rilling or incision on bodies, and slashing or stabbing on handles. The jugs are glazed with a mottled green/orange glaze, overall in earlier phases but retreating to the upper parts of the vessels in Phase 7.

These two fabrics can be compared with similar wares, generally described as 'South Hampshire red wares', which are found widely in jug forms from the mid 13th century well into the 14th century in Hampshire and Sussex, for example at Oyster Street, Portsmouth, Chichester, and Winchester (Fox and Barton 1986, 80; V. Denham, pers. com.), although there is little sign at Carisbrooke of the tripod jugs common at the former sites.

Donyatt ware

Q416. Very hard fabric; sparse, fairly well-sorted rounded quartz <0.5 mm; rare subangular flint <1.0 mm; rare carbonaceous material <3.0 mm; sparse iron oxides; rare mica. Unoxidised brown–grey. Wheelthrown. (P)

Fabric Q416 occurs in very small quantities, and only in glazed jug forms, with slipped/sgraffito decoration (Fig. 45, 64). Both fabric and decoration reveal this to be a West Country type, almost certainly from the Donyatt production centre. Its occurrence in a sub-phase 5c context in Y5 must be intrusive, as a 14th century or later date for this type of vessel is likely (Coleman-Smith and Pearson 1988).

Probable Local Wares

Eight fabrics were identified as being of probable local (island) origin: two flint-tempered, two sandy and four shelly. The correlation of fabric and vessel form is given in Table 6. Samples of six of these fabrics were submitted for petrological analysis (all the sandy and shelly fabrics). The analysis showed that the majority of the fabric types could have been made on the island, and probably fairly close to the site, although the non-specific nature of many of the inclusions made any definite conclusions impossible (see Appendix 3).

F400. Very hard fabric; moderate, poorly-sorted, subangular flint <2.0 mm; sparse rounded quartz <0.5 mm; unoxidised grey throughout.

F401. Hard fabric; moderate, poorly-sorted, subangular flint <2.0 mm; sparse iron oxides <0.5mm; rare rounded quartz <0.5 mm; sparse mica; unoxidised grey with orange interior.

Q402. Hard fabric; moderate, poorly-sorted, rounded quartz <1.0 mm; rare subangular flint <2.0 mm. Orange/pink with dark grey core. Handmade. (P)

Q404. Hard fabric; moderate, fairly well-sorted, rounded quartz <1.0 mm; rare iron oxides. Oxidised orange–pink to brick red, with dark grey/black core. Handmade; rims may be wheel-finished. (P)

S400. Soft fabric; moderate, poorly-sorted limestone and fossil shell fragments <2.0 mm; sparse, poorly-sorted, rounded quartz <1.0 mm; sparse iron oxides; rare mica. Irregularly fired; oxidised orange-red to

Table 6. Pottery: vessel form by fabric

1. Jars and bowls

	JARS							BOWLS/DISHES				
Type	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*
E451	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Q400	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Q401	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Q402	-	-	5	4	6	-	-	2	1	1	1	-
Q404	2	1	12	8	39	2	-	3	-	5	3	11
Q405	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Q415	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
S400	6	98	158	47	3	-	-	5	2	5	1	-
S402	2	12	50	13	19	-	-	6	3	9	1	1
S403	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Total	*11*	*112*	*229*	*77*	*69*	*2*	*1*	*18*	*8*	*20*	*6*	*12*

2. Jugs and pitchers

	RIMS	*BASES*		*HANDLES*		*SPOUTS*	
		tripod	*other*	*rod*	*strap*	*tubular*	*pulled*
E450	1	-	-	2	1	-	-
E515	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
E525	2	-	-	4	-	-	-
E526	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Q401	-	-	-	-	3	-	-
Q402	6	-	-	2	5	-	-
Q404	42	2	-	12	35	6	-
Q406	5	-	5	5	3	2	-
Q407	4	-	-	-	2	1	-
Q408	38	-	19	27	15	4	-
Q411	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Q415	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Q416	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
S400	9	5	-	1	17	-	1
S402	24	1	-	12	12	1	2
S403	1	-	-	-	3	-	-
TOTAL	*136*	*8*	*25*	*67*	*97*	*14*	*3*

3. Other vessels

	LAMPS		*SKILLETS*	*CISTERNS*	
	rims	*bases*	*rims/handles*	*rims*	*bungholes*
E405	1	-	-	-	-
E450	-	-	1	-	-
Q402	1	-	-	-	-
Q404	-	-	5	2	1
S400	44	8	-	-	-
S402	14	1	5	-	-
TOTAL	*62*	*9*	*11*	*2*	*1*

unoxidised dark grey. Handmade; sometimes wheel-finished. (P)

S401. Soft fabric; moderate, poorly-sorted limestone and fossil shell fragments <2.0 mm; moderate, poorly-sorted, subangular flint <2.0 mm; moderate iron oxides. Unoxidised dark brown/black throughout. Handmade. (P)

S402. Hard fabric; moderate, poorly-sorted limestone and fossil shell fragments <1.0 mm; moderate, fairly well-sorted, rounded quartz <0.5 mm; sparse iron oxides. Irregular firing, as S400. Handmade, sometimes wheel-finished. (P)

S403. Hard fabric; sparse, poorly-sorted limestone and fossil shell fragments <1.0 mm; moderate, poorly-sorted, rounded quartz <0.5 mm; rare subangular flint <1.0mm; sparse iron oxides. Oxidised pink–orange with dark grey core. Hand-made. (P)

More than three-quarters of the medieval assemblage by weight consists of sherds of just three fabrics: the shelly fabrics S400 and S402 (39.6% and 19.0% respectively of the medieval assemblage), and the sandy fabric Q404 (22.4%).

The shelly fabrics appear first in sub-phase 4a. Fabric Q404 appears in small quantities in Phase 4b and increases thereafter. The shelly fabrics start to show a slight decrease in popularity in sub-phase 6b, and a dramatic decline thereafter, while fabric Q404 shows a slight increase in sub-phase 6b before a similar decline. There is also some evidence of an increase in popularity of the finer variant S402 at the expense of the coarser S400 from Phase 5, and becoming quite marked in sub-phase 6b (see Table 7). If these two fabrics are in fact both products of the same kiln, this would represent a gradual improvement in the fineness of its products through time. The probable bias in real ceramic trends produced by the occurrence of significant quantities of redeposited material in Phase 6 (see the discussion of the ceramic sequence, below) should, however, be borne in mind here.

A similar range of vessel types is represented in all three fabrics in the earlier medieval phases (Phases 4 and 5), although even at this stage some differences are apparent. The shelly fabrics are used for jars of Types 1–4; fabric Q404 is found only in Types 3 and 4, ie, vessels with more developed and more tightly moulded rims. The same pattern can be seen in the distribution of dish/bowl forms, although these are scarce at this period; Type 7 bowls, with simple rims, occur exclusively in the shelly fabrics, while Type 9, with a more developed rim, is found in fabric Q404. It should be noted that some of the simple bowl rims of Type 7 might instead belong to lamps; the shelly fabrics account for all examples of pedestal lamps on the site, which are concentrated in Phases 4 and 5. Pitchers, some spouted, with rouletted, combed or incised decoration and strap handles, are found in all three fabrics in Phases 4 and 5 (Fig. 44, 39–44, Fig. 45, 45, 46).

From Phase 6 onwards, the shelly and sandy fabrics diverge. Fabrics S400 and S402 are still found in jars of Types 1–4, but fabric Q404, and occasionally the finer shelly fabric S402, are now found in vessels of Types 5 and 6; the examples in Q404 are occasionally wheelthrown. Bowl/dish Types 7 and 9 in the shelly fabrics are still present, but fabric Q404 is now found in the better-made and again often wheelthrown Types 10 and 11 (Fig. 44, 26, 28). Shelly ware pitchers with rouletted and combed decoration, although still found in Phase 6, may by now be largely in disuse, replaced by glazed jugs in fabric Q404, with strap handles and thumbed bases (Fig. 45, 59), and the finer glazed jugs in fabrics Q406 and Q408 (see below).

Skillets in both Q404 and S402 appear in Phase 7; other new forms in fabric Q404, shallow wheelthrown dishes and cisterns (Fig. 45, 68, 69), also occur from Phase 7.

The dominant nature of the three fabrics S400, S402 and Q404 would indicate that they are of at least fairly local manufacture. The frequent difficulty experienced in distinguishing visually between the two shelly fabrics would suggest that they may be products of the same kiln, or group of kilns. Shelly wares are notably absent from the early medieval assemblages of Hampshire and West Sussex, although some shelly wares are known in middle Saxon contexts; they are found, for example, in small quantities in late 8th–9th century contexts at Hamwic, but do not appear to have been produced after the 9th century (Hodges 1981). Within the medieval assemblage from Southampton, shelly wares are present up to the 14th century, but have flint inclusions as well as shell, unlike S400 and S402 (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975). In Chichester, shelly wares were being produced in the town in the 10th–11th century (Down 1978).

This general absence of early medieval shelly wares from the adjacent counties on the mainland would thus suggest that the shelly fabrics found at Carisbrooke were produced on the island itself, despite the presence of some mainland characteristics seen in the rouletted spouted pitchers (Fig. 44, 43). The petrological analysis would seem to support the postulation of a local source, since clay sources close to the chalk ridge on which the castle stands would be likely to contain fragments of shell and limestone such as are found in fabrics S400 and S402 (see Appendix 1).

Fabrics with shell alone, and with shell and flint temper, were observed amongst the 12th century midden deposits on the south-east coast of the island, where it was suggested that they were manufactured close to the site, using crushed shell from the shore (Poole and Dunning 1937, 676), but not in a similar deposit of 13th century date at Windcliff near Niton,

where the fabrics were almost uniformly sandy (Dunning 1939).

Fabric Q404 may in fact represent the products of more than one source, although it has proved impossible to characterise valid subdivisions of this type on the basis of visual examination alone. Certainly the later, wheelthrown, products (eg, Fig. 43, 16) can be paralleled amongst the range of vessels from the Knighton kiln, which was in operation in the latter half of the 15th century (Fennelly 1969), but petrological analysis of both fabric Q404 and samples from the Knighton kiln has shown that it is difficult to parallel closely any of the Carisbrooke sherds texturally with the kiln samples (see Appendix 3). The dominance of sandy wares in the Windcliff midden has already been noted, and at the latter site local manufacture was suggested, using sand from the shore (Dunning 1939, 129); it may be noted, however, that the jars from this site were all wheelthrown, while the vessels from earliest phases at Carisbrooke are handmade, wheelthrown jars only appearing in small quantities in Phase 6. The evidence, though, would suggest that the manufacture of sandy wares on the island was already established by the 13th century, well before the Knighton kiln was in operation.

Fabric Q402, which is often difficult to distinguish visually from the slightly finer fabric Q404, may in fact be a slightly coarser version of the same fabric, or at least derive from the same source. It occurs in a similar, though more restricted range of vessel forms, and in roughly the same proportions. Jars of Types 3, 4 and 5 are represented, as are all dish/bowl types except Type 11, and a small number of indistinguishable jug/pitcher forms. The range of decorative techniques is also similar. The fabric appears slightly later than fabric Q404, in Phase 5, but is not found in any great quantity before Phase 6; it continues in increasing use from that point to the end of the medieval period (Phase 7). Again, petrological analysis proved inconclusive.

The shelly fabric with flint S403 may be considered as part of the shelly ware group with S400 and S402. Few diagnostic sherds were recovered in this fabric, but a small number of jars (Types 2 and 5) and dishes (Type 7) were recognised, as well as one jug/pitcher rim and three strap handles. Fabric S403 appears to have been a fairly short-lived fabric type; it occurs only in Phase 6 and sub-phase 7a. This fabric does have some similarity with the shell-and-flint wares of Southampton mentioned above, although again there is no reason, judging by the results of petrological analysis, why such a fabric could not have been produced on the island.

A very small number of sherds in flint-gritted fabrics were recovered (F400, F401). No diagnostic sherds were recognised, although all sherds of fabric F400 were glazed externally, and probably derived from jug forms. These came from a general medieval context (Phase 5/6) context in Y1. Flint-gritted fabrics are known from Southampton throughout the medieval sequence (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975), but again there is no reason why these fabrics should not have been produced on the island.

Other Fabrics

Six other fabrics were identified, all sandy fabrics, and all except Q407 occur in very small quantities. Samples of four were selected for petrological analysis (see Appendix 3).

Q405. Soft, fine fabric; rare rounded quartz <0.5 mm; rare iron oxides. Oxidised pale orange, grey/black core. Wheelthrown.

Q407. Hard fabric; sparse, poorly-sorted, rounded quartz <1.0 mm; rare iron oxides; sparse mica. Oxidised orange–pink with pale grey core. Handmade and wheelthrown examples. (P)

Q410. Hard, fine fabric; common, fairly well-sorted, rounded quartz <0.25 mm; rare mica <1.0 mm. Oxidised pink–red with black core. Wheelthrown. (P)

Q411. Hard, fine fabric; moderate, fairly well-sorted quartz <0.5 mm; sparse mica; rare iron oxides. Oxidised buff–pink with grey core. Wheelthrown. (P)

Q417. Hard fabric; moderate, poorly-sorted rounded quartz <1.0 mm; sparse carbonaceous material (burnt straw?) <5.0 mm; rare subangular flint <0.5 mm; sparse iron oxides. Unoxidised buff–brown with dark grey core. Hand-made. (P)

Q418. Very hard fabric; sparse, poorly-sorted rounded quartz <0.5 mm. Oxidised buff–orange. Wheelthrown. Only one sherd, glazed olive/tan.

Fabric Q407, found exclusively in jug forms, may be related to the Hampshire redwares Q406 and Q408 (see above). It occurs in Phase 7, with only one sherd from Phase 6.

The two micaceous fabrics Q410 and Q411 would appear to be of more distant origin. Petrological analysis of both fabrics revealed the presence of a range of inclusions suggestive of an origin derived from igneous rocks, possibly granite. A source in Devon or Cornwall would be postulated, or alternatively in Brittany, Normandy or the Channel Islands (see Appendix 3). Both fabrics occur mainly as body sherds, although there is one rod handle in fabric Q411. As stratified examples, both fabrics occur as single sherds in Phase 6.

The small quantities and undiagnostic nature of sherds in fabrics Q405 and Q418 prevents any further discussion. The single sherd of Q418 came from a Phase 7 context; sherds in Q405 came from Phase 5 (two sherds); other sherds were unphased.

Table 7. Pottery: fabrics by phase

Fabric	*4a*	*4b*	*4c*	*5a*	*5b*	*5c*	*6a*	*6b*	*7a*	*7b*
S400	92/285	211/1076	584/3296	250/1818	583/4965	235/661	2191/14688	601/6386	5/116	21/141
S402	6/12	50/261	130/475	78/298	381/2373	75/419	875/4822	543/4469	20/143	30/468
Q404	-	4/13	32/213	15/69	22/279	55/249	98/661	211/1550	51/380	627/7189
Q400	-	-	1/2	1/27	-	-	4/58	-	-	-
Q401	-	-	6/62	40/543	25/223	5/25	92/880	1/12	-	-
E515	-	-	4/26	1/5	2/46	2/10	8/96	2/42	-	-
E516	-	-	1/22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Q419	-	-	3/6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Q402	-	-	-	1/5	2/14	-	5/51	29/227	13/247	45/313
E526	-	-	-	1/3	-	2/4	-	7/103	1/41	1 /2
Q405	-	-	-	1/4	1/3	-	-	-	-	1/3
Q408	-	-	-	-	6/23	57/407	8/71	195/1592	47/448	71/674
Q406	-	-	-	-	-	10/59	-	25/207	20/100	3/9
Q416	-	-	-	-	-	2/10	4/36	-	-	-
Q407	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/3	-	40/350	53/542
S403	-	-	-	-	-	-	2/22	6/139	7/106	-
E520	-	-	-	-	-	-	2/11	-	-	-
Q412	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/6	-	-	-
Q414	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/7	-	-	-
S401	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/4	-	-	-
E525	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5/123	-	4/10
Q415	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2/24	-	-
Q410	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/9	-	-
Q411	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/120	-	1/16
E450	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2/7	1/36	-
Q418	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/7	-
E454	-	-	-	1/1	-	-	1/2	-	1/6	-
E600	-	-	-	-	-	-	3/16	5/48	1/7	23/722
E730	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2/146
TOTAL	*98/297*	*267/1354*	*761/4102*	*389/2768*	*1022/7926*	*443/1844*	*3297/21434*	*1636/15058*	*208/1987*	*882/10235*

Vessel Forms

The correlation of vessel form and fabric type for all medieval fabrics is given in Table 6, and vessel forms by phase in Table 8.

Jars

Jars, as might be expected, form the vast majority of identifiable vessel forms. Complete profiles are almost completely absent, and rim forms have been used to distinguish seven separate jar types.

Type 1. Small vessels with simple everted rims. Handmade (Fig. 43, 2–4).

Type 2. Larger vessels with sloping shoulders and widely-flaring rims, sometimes thickened. Handmade; rims often wheel-finished (Fig. 43, 5, 6).

Type 3. Long-necked vessels with more rounded shoulders and more upright rims, generally thickened and/or flattened. Handmade; rims often wheel-finished (Fig. 43, 7–9).

Type 4. Long-necked vessels with T-headed rims. Handmade with wheel-finished rims, or wheelthrown (Fig. 43, 10, 11).

Type 5. Long-necked vessel with thickened, everted and flattened rim; one, or possibly two strap handles. Handmade (Fig. 44, 36).

Type 6. Long- or short-necked vessels with rims flattened and internally bevelled or bifid. Handmade with wheel-finished rims, or wheelthrown (Fig. 43, 12–16).

Type 7. Long-necked vessel with everted and flattened rim. Wheelthrown (Fig. 43, 17).

The term 'jar' is used here in preference to 'cooking pot', following the recommended nomenclature (MPRG 1998). Although sooting on the exterior of these vessels does indicate that some, at least were used for cooking, it is unlikely, given the range of sizes and shapes represented, that all such vessels were used for the same purpose; many, indeed, may have been multi-purpose (see Moorhouse 1981; 1986). Possible food residues are present on the interior of some vessels, but this may have resulted from the storage of foodstuffs rather than from cooking processes.

Only one reconstructable profile was recovered, a vessel of Type 6 in sandy fabric Q404, with a sagging base (Fig. 43, 12), but the small number of base sherds recovered in relation to the number of rim sherds would suggest that although some of these vessels may have had sagging bases, many of them were round-based. Only 55 sagging bases were identified altogether, which would account for only about one-tenth of the number of jars, and some of these, especially those with evidence of glaze, may in fact belong to other vessel types such as bowls, jugs or pitchers. Most vessels are handmade, often with wheel-finished rims, but there is a tendency towards better-finished, more tightly moulded rims in the sandy fabric Q404.

Glaze is very rare; it occurs on Types 3, 4, and 6, usually on the interior. Some of these glazed rims may in fact derive from pitchers. Decoration is not common, and is largely restricted to finger impressions on the rims (92 examples), most commonly on Types 2 and 3, more rarely on Types 1, 4, and 6 (Fig. 43, 2–4, 6, 13). Thumbed applied strips are found on one vessel of Type 4 and one of Type 6, both in fabric Q404; thumbed strips on sherds of fabric S402 may derive from similar vessels. The single identifiable jar of Type 5 has applied strips in a lattice design (Fig. 44, 36). Curvilinear incised decoration occurs inside the rim of one vessel of Type 5 in the finer shelly fabric S402 (Fig. 43, 14), and one vessel of Type 1 in fabric S400 is scratch-marked (Fig. 43, 4).

Using the dated type series from Southampton as comparative material (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, figs 135–60), some sequence can be discerned within the range of jars, although it should be remembered that styles in jars, as in other plain domestic wares, were generally quite conservative. Changes took place only very slowly, and older styles were frequently in use at the same time as newer styles. Furthermore, caution must be exercised when attempting to extrapolate from the Southampton sequence, since the evidence seems to point towards very local, island-based pottery production at the beginning of the medieval sequence at Carisbrooke, with no ceramic contact with the mainland on any significant scale until the later medieval phases (Phase 6 onwards).

The small jars with simple everted rims (Type 1) are more characteristic of the simple, bag-shaped vessels of the late Saxon period in the area; at Southampton, such vessels are common in 10th and 11th century contexts. At Carisbrooke, however, these jars do not appear in the earliest medieval phases (see Table 8); the only stratified examples come from sub-phases 5a and 6b, in the latter instance probably redeposited. Larger jars with flaring rims (Type 2) are similarly late Saxon in origin, but can be seen to extend as far as the early 13th century at Southampton, although the shoulders of these vessels become gradually less sloping during this period. Jars with flaring rims dominate the assemblages from the 12th century midden sites on the south-east coast of the island (Poole and Dunning 1937, figs 3 and 4). Type 2 vessels are found in Phases 4–6, although rare before Phase 5. Vessels with more upright necks (Types 3 and 4) appear in the 11th century, but are rare before the 12th century, although at Carisbrooke these types are found slightly earlier than the Type 2 vessels (from sub-phase 4a) and in much larger quantities. They give way to shorter-necked forms with internally

bevelled, T-headed and bifid rims (Types 6 and 7) towards the end of the 13th century; the latter types appear from Phase 6. The 13th century midden deposit near Niton contained jars of types 3 and 4 as well as type 6. The handled jar (Type 5) is a 12th century type generally described as 'storage jars' and paralleled in south-east Wiltshire and Dorset (see above, South-east Wiltshire/Dorset wares).

Before the 13th century, bases tend to be rounded; sagging bases become more common after this. Finger-impressed decoration, as at Carisbrooke common only on the earlier forms, is found from the beginning of the sequence until the mid 13th centuries, while scratch-marking is known from the late 11th–13th century. This sequence is largely supported by evidence from contemporary assemblages at Christchurch (Davies 1983; Jarvis 1983), Poole (Barton *et al.* 1992) and Portchester (Cunliffe 1977).

Bowls and dishes

Bowls and dishes form a much smaller, but consistent element of the assemblage. Again, complete profiles are almost completely lacking, and five different bowl/dish types have been distinguished largely on the basis of rim type.

Type 8. Convex- or straight-sided vessels with plain rounded or flattened rims. Handmade (Fig. 44, 22, 23).

Type 9. Convex-sided vessels with externally thickened and flattened rims. Handmade; rims generally wheel-finished (Fig. 44, 24).

Type 10. Convex-sided vessels with T-headed rims. Handmade; rims generally wheel-finished (Fig. 44, 25, 26).

Type 11. Convex-sided vessels with wide everted, right-angled rims. Wheelthrown (Fig. 44, 27).

Type 12. Convex- or straight-sided vessels with sharply everted, thickened or bifid rims. Wheel-thrown (Fig. 44, 28).

Because of the lack of complete profiles, it is almost impossible to distinguish between bowls and dishes by using the rim diameter: height ratio. However, vessels of Types 8 and 9 generally appear to be dishes (height less than one-third of rim diameter: see MPRG 1998), while Types 10–12 are generally bowls (height of one-third or more of rim diameter). It is possible that some of the more specialised bowl/dish forms, such as dripping dishes, are present but have not been recognised due to their fragmentary state.

Bases are likely to be either flat or sagging. Types 8, 9, 11 and 12 are glazed rarely, generally on the exterior. Decoration is limited to applied thumbed strips on rims and bodies of Type 12 bowls (Fig. 44, 28). Again, most vessels are handmade (except for Type 12), although some are wheel-finished, and there is a similar emphasis on the better-finished forms in fabric Q404.

Bowls and dishes are not apparent at Southampton before the 12th century, and are rare before the 13th century (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975), and the sequence of rim types, again supported by assemblages from Christchurch (Davies 1983; Jarvis 1983), Poole (Barton *et al.* 1992) and Portchester (Cunliffe 1977), is similar to that for the jars. Plain or externally thickened rims are replaced by flanged rims, which in turn give way to right-angled and bifid rims by the early 14th century. Bowls with everted rims comparable to Type 12 are one of the principal products of the 15th century kiln assemblage from Knighton (Fennelly 1969, fig. 38, 14–19). This sequence is difficult to discern at Carisbrooke, given the scarcity of vessels (see Table 8). Most examples of all types are confined to Phase 6, apart from sporadic occurrences of Types 8 and 10 in Phase 5, although the more elaborate types (10-12) extend into Phase 7.

Jugs and pitchers

The terminology adopted for this group of vessels follows the recommended nomenclature (MPRG 1998); the term 'pitcher' is used for a specific jug form, in this case relating to the tradition of tripod pitchers found across Wessex. These vessels are only termed 'tripod pitchers' here if the presence of tripod feet can be proved.

The jug and pitcher forms are difficult to distinguish, given the lack of reconstructable profiles or clearly diagnostic fragments. Definite tripod pitchers and fine glazed and decorated jugs can be recognised, but a large proportion of the rims and handles identified might derive either from jugs or pitchers.

A small number of tripod pitchers in fabrics S400, S402, and Q404 can be identified from the presence of tripod feet, and a single applied tubular spout in fabric S402 (Fig. 44, 43). In addition, many of the glazed rim, handle, and body sherds decorated with rouletted and combed designs (Fig. 44, 39–42, 44) probably also derive from tripod pitchers, since these are techniques typically used on these vessels.

These pitchers fall into the general tripod pitcher tradition of the late 11th–12th century in southern England. Similar vessels are known from Southampton (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, fig. 141), although there are no examples at Carisbrooke of the Southampton-type spouted pitcher (ibid., fig. 137). Other examples come from Winchester (Cunliffe 1964, fig. 28.1), Poole (Brown 1992) and Wareham Castle (Renn 1960, fig. 19), and there is a very close parallel for one rouletted vessel with an applied spout (Fig. 44, 43) in a 12th century context at Corfe Castle (RCHME 1960, fig. 12.2). The potential sources for these vessels are discussed by Brown (1992; see also

above, South-east Wiltshire/Dorset wares), but interestingly all of the Carisbrooke pitchers seem to be of local (island) manufacture; there are no definite examples in the Wiltshire/Dorset fabrics, although the possibility that some strap handles and glazed body sherds in fabric Q401 derive from such vessels cannot be ruled out.

One distinct group of fine glazed jugs can be distinguished. These occur in the Hampshire redware fabrics Q406 and Q408. Vessels are wheelthrown, with flattened rims, often with a slight neck collar, and slightly sagging bases, often thumbed either discretely or continuously, and strap or, more commonly, rod handles (Fig. 45, 47–9). Vessels in fabric Q408 are invariably glazed; those in Q406 are glazed less frequently. Decoration is common: handles are slashed and/or stabbed, necks are grooved or rilled, and bodies are decorated with a variety of applied plain or decorated strips and/or pellets. The applied decoration is executed either in clay similar to the vessel body, or in an iron-rich slip.

Such jugs are found at Portsmouth (Fox and Barton 1986, figs 35 and 37), where they are dated to the first half of the 14th century, although similar vessels at Southampton are dated a century earlier (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, fig. 154.497–507). The occurrence of these vessels at Carisbrooke in quantity from sub-phase 5c would tend to place their inception at a date midway between these two examples, in the latter half of the 13th century.

The remainder of the identifiable rims and handles have been grouped together as indistinguishable jug/pitcher forms. These are particularly common in fabric Q404. Vessels are generally handmade, although some examples in Q404 are either wheelthrown or wheel-finished, and have simple everted or thickened and flattened rims, sagging bases, and rod or strap handles (Fig. 45, 59–63). Some bases are thumbed, either in discrete areas, to provide stabilising 'feet', or continuously around the base (Fig. 45, 59). It is uncertain whether the latter technique was purely functional, to stabilise the vessel, or decorative. Spouts consist of simple pulled-out lips, but the low number of identified spouts (nine) compared with the number of rim sherds (75) would suggest that many of these vessels lacked any sort of pouring device. Most vessels are at least partially glazed, and decoration consists of grooved or rilled bands on the neck, incised linear designs on the body, and finger impressions, stabbing and slashing on handles. It is apparent that the sandy fabric Q404, and the finer sandy fabric S402, are the preferred fabrics for vessels of this type.

The dating of these jug/pitcher forms is difficult, given the lack of reconstructable forms. The highly decorated jug forms typical of the 13th and 14th centuries in the south of England appear to be largely absent. There are a very small number of sherds in fabric Q404 with applied and slipped decoration which could fall into this category, but the group is quite distinct from the fine, slip-decorated jugs in fabrics Q406 and Q408, described below.

Lamps

The two shelly fabrics S400 and S402 account for all but two of the examples of lamps from the site. The lamps have plain bowls, often sooted on the inside, and pedestal bases, sometimes thumbed (Fig. 44, 32, 33). They are particularly common in the coarser shelly fabric S400. The lamps derive from a Saxon tradition, as demonstrated, for example, by the pedestal lamps of Thetford (McCarthy and Brooks 1988, fig. 79), and are common in Saxo-Norman deposits. Examples comparable to those from Carisbrooke have been found, for example, in a 12th century context at Corfe Castle (RCHME 1960, fig. 12.4), and in 13th century contexts at Chichester (Down 1978, fig. 11.8, no. 52) and Southampton (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, fig. 143.276).

Other lamp forms include a spike lamp and part of another lamp of uncertain form (or alternatively a lid) in Normandy Gritty ware (Fig. 44, 34, 35), and part of what appears to be a large double-shelled lamp in the coarse sandy fabric Q402 (Fig. 45, 70). Most of the examples of lamps occur in sub-phase 6a, here certainly redeposited, with more securely stratified examples deriving from Phases 4 and 5.

Other vessels

A number of other vessel types appear in small quantities. There are forms in fabric Q404, including a frying pan or skillet (Fig. 44, 29), a frying pan/skillet handle (Fig. 44, 29), two externally flanged rims, probably from cisterns (Fig. 45, 69), and a cistern bunghole (Fig. 45, 68). One body sherd from a small, rounded vessel in shelly fabric S403 (Fig. 45, 66) could be of particular significance; from the shape, this could either be a money box or a grenade. An identification as a grenade, however, would be at odds with the provenance of this piece, which came from a sub-phase 6a context in Y5.

7. Post-Medieval Pottery

The post-medieval pottery has been grouped into fabric types on the basis of known or probable type and/or source. All are thus 'established' wares and fall into Fabric Group E. Fabric types range from the specific, eg, north Italian marbled ware, to the very generalised, eg, coarse red earthenwares of uncertain source.

Some mention should be made here of the use in this report of the term 'post-medieval'. In ceramic

terms, the post-medieval period is often taken as being marked by the first appearance of the finer, harder coarsewares described here as 'coarse earthenwares', and a general proliferation in the variety of fabrics and forms available, particularly continental imports. It must be acknowledged, however, that such developments did not necessarily take place simultaneously, or quickly, and the transition from medieval to post-medieval potting is still an ambiguous period. It is obvious, for instance, from the discussion of the ceramic sequence below, that coarse earthenwares as defined here were already appearing, albeit in small quantities, in late medieval phases at Carisbrooke. Furthermore, there was no clearcut break between the use of the medieval coarsewares and the finer earthenwares, since the former, particularly the long-lived fabric Q404, are still found in post-medieval phases, and in 'new' vessel forms such as cisterns and pipkins. Bearing these considerations in mind, therefore, while acknowledging that some fabric types may overlap the medieval/post-medieval transition, the discussion of the post-medieval pottery types is here confined to the coarse earthenwares and slipwares of local origin, associated imports, and later developments such as tin-glazed earthenware and the variety of later post-medieval British wares.

Imported Wares

Non-British earthenwares are represented by sherds of a chafing dish of French type (E673), with splayed closed pedestal pierced by a single triangular opening, and small rounded knobs on a flanged rim (Fig. 46, 74, 75). The difficulties of ascribing a precise origin to French chafing dishes has been discussed (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 78); the most commonly recognised types in this country are the examples identified as from the Saintonge, with triangular knobs, often with applied face masks, low level looped handles and splayed open pedestals (Hurst 1974). The Carisbrooke example is of another type, which are generally assumed to have a central French source due to the combination of both northern French (flanged rim) and southern French (low level handles) attributes, although no handles survive on this example. This type is dated to the late 16th or early 17th century, with a *caveat* that the type may be longer-lived than current evidence suggests (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 80). The vessel was recovered from the same context as another chafing dish, possibly a Verwood product, and a North Italian marbled ware bowl, both described below (upper fill of motte ditch, Y4: Phase 8).

The possibility that sherds of imported redwares, particularly products from the Low Countries which appear on many sites along the south coast from the late medieval period, have not been recognised should be noted; the coarse redwares were not analysed in any detail (see below).

Three slipwares of continental origin have been identified: north Italian marbled ware (E705) and sgraffito ware (E706), and Beauvais double sgraffito ware (E710). The North Italian marbled ware is a fine terracotta red fabric with a marbled slip decoration of white and orange or white and green. These wares, in bowl and costrel forms, were probably made in several centres in the Po valley and northern Italy during the first half of the 17th century, and are found widely in southern England (Hurst 1967; Jennings 1981); only bowl forms have been recognised amongst the Carisbrooke examples (Fig. 46, 76). Nearly all sherds came from the upper fill (101) of the motte ditch in Y4 (Phase 8), together with a French chafing dish (see above). A single sherd of a bowl in North Italian sgraffito ware was recovered (Fig. 46, 77), again likely to be of 17th-century date (Hurst *et al.* 1986, 30); and a single sherd of Beauvais double sgraffito ware. The latter ware was imported from northern France during the 16th century (ibid, 108).

German stonewares were imported into Britain in quantity from the 16th century. The Carisbrooke material includes sherds of bellarmine jugs in the distinctive speckled 'tiger' ware typical of the late 16th–17th century vessels, probably from Cologne or Frechen (E780), although they could be English imitations (see below). One example of a bellarmine neck (Fig. 47, 79) has been identified as a product of the Frechen industry, dating from the first quarter of the 17th century, probably from the 1620s (R. Hildyard pers. comm.). The face mask has a straight, ladder-like mouth and simple line beard. Identical examples were found on the wreck of the Batavia, sunk in 1629 (Stanbury 1974), and also on the Vergulde Draeck, sunk in 1656 (Green 1977, nos GT 825, 833, 811, 004A, 839, 863). Also present are sherds from globular mugs or jugs with frilled bases, typical of the Raeren industry in the late 15th/early 16th century (E785); and sherds identifiable as Westerwald products from their distinctive cobalt blue decoration (E788). The latter ware was imported from the late 17th century.

The quantities of Rhenish stonewares on the site might be taken as evidence that patterns of trade had shifted since the medieval period, when French products dominated the imported wares (see above). The same picture is seen at all the major ports along the south coast, but these Rhenish imports are not necessarily the reflection of direct trade; in fact, the vast majority reached the south coast by a process of redistribution from London (Allan 1983a, fig. 4.1).

It can be noted that there are no post-medieval imports at Carisbrooke which can be positively dated later than the 17th century. This pattern of the increasing use of English wares from the 18th century

is one that has also been observed at Portsmouth, and also at Southampton (Fox and Barton 1986, 83; Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, 23), where the dominance of the English slipwares and tin-glazed earthenwares is apparent.

Coarse Earthenwares

The bulk of the material consists of coarse earthenwares, which have been subdivided on the basis of broad colour range: red wares (E600, E601, E680); pink/buff wares (E640, E641) and 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.

Some of the white earthenwares have been positively identified as products of the Surrey kilns (E650); these kilns were producing both white and red earthenwares from the late 16th century (Pearce 1992). Other white wares may derive from a closer source; for example, the kiln at East Holme, Purbeck, Dorset, was producing white earthenwares with a distinctive yellow glaze during the 17th and early 18th century, using the local ball clay (Terry 1987).

The pink/buff wares (E640, E641) are comparable to products of the Verwood kilns (Algar *et al.* 1987, Young 1979); this includes some which has been identified as 'Wiltshire Brown' ware (E641), a distinctive 18th century type produced at several of the Verwood kilns (Algar *et al.* 1987, 16). Most of the vessel forms present are similar to those in redwares, described below, ie, largely open forms.

Two less common forms may also be mentioned. The first is a chafing dish in a pale-firing fabric (E640), well-glazed, and with an unusual rod handle (Fig. 46, 73), found in the upper fill (101: Phase 8) of the motte ditch in Y4 with a French chafing dish and a North Italian marbled ware bowl (see above). This may be an early Verwood product, although the form is not paralleled at the mid 17th century kiln at Horton (Copland-Griffiths 1989; Copland-Griffiths and Butterworth 1990). The second is a jar (Fig. 46, 71), which was found in a floor layer in the interval tower (Y6). This is an unusual, narrow-necked form with a constriction at the base; it is partially glazed on the exterior and possibly also on the interior. The form finds close parallels in a group of jars found at Holtwood, one of the kiln sites within the Verwood production area; a further jar of slightly different form came from the nearby East Worth kiln (Copland-Griffiths 1995, fig. 6). Documentary research suggests that both these kilns are of 18th century date. There is some resemblance to late medieval Spanish (Merida) bottles (eg, Hurst 1977, fig. 32, 50, 51), but a closer parallel is provided by another Spanish jar from Woolwich, London, unfortunately unstratified but possibly 18th century (Pryor and Blockley 1978, fig. 22, 122).

The redwares are most likely to include products of several different sources, and most of these coarse kitchen wares are unlikely to have travelled any great distance, although the possibility that this group includes some imported redwares, particularly Low Countries products, should not be ruled out (see above); such wares are relatively common finds at Southampton from at least the 15th century (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975). No kilns producing plain redwares are known on the island, but a general source area close to Portsmouth, using the iron-rich clay of the London clay beds, has been postulated (Fox and Barton 1986, 83).

These coarse earthenwares of various types would have constituted the bulk of the kitchen element at least in the early post-medieval period, and indeed these wares were in use into the early part of the 20th century, although there is evidence to suggest that in central southern England the red earthenwares were increasingly losing out to competition from the Verwood kilns of east Dorset from the late 17th century (eg, Fox and Barton 1986, 83). Vessel forms comprise generally large, open forms: bowls, pans and pancheons of varying sizes and shapes, and storage jars. These are rarely closely datable, the form being dictated by functional considerations rather than by fashion, but there are some identifiably early forms present. These include several pipkins (eg, Fig. 46, 72), and a cauldron in an unusual micaceous redware with fine shell inclusions (E601: Fig. 45, 67).

Other early post-medieval earthenwares include Cistercian-type ware (E655), and a number of sherds of 'Tudor Green' (E454), mostly from lobed or plain handled cups. The latter ware, although not strictly speaking a separate industry but merely a development of the medieval Surrey/Hampshire whitewares, is generally considered to date from the late 15th century (Pearce and Vince 1988).

Slipwares

A small quantity of the red wares are slip-decorated (E680), some with sgraffito designs, and this material may include some products of the south Somerset kilns, eg, Donyatt (Coleman-Smith and Pearson 1988), although slip-decorated wares of a similar style and in a very similar fabric to the Somerset kilns were also being produced at Lyme Regis in the mid 18th century (Draper 1982). South Somerset wares were in fact traded along the coast from Lyme Regis, but their market was almost exclusively to the south-west, in Devon and Cornwall, with very little material travelling eastwards (Allan 1983a, 39).

Staffordshire/Bristol Wares

A small group of distinctive Staffordshire-type slipwares was identified (E695). These buff earthenwares, decorated with trailed or combed brown slip designs, were produced in Staffordshire from the late 17th century into the second half of the 18th century, but these wares are difficult to distinguish from very similar wares found in the Bristol area and with a probable source in the latter area (Dawson 1979). Vessel types recognised at Carisbrooke include press-moulded flatwares with impressed rims, and wheelthrown hollow-wares such as chamber pots (Fig. 46, 78).

A Staffordshire/Bristol origin is also suggested for a small group of sherds in a similar buff earthenware, with a streaky brown manganese glaze (E606). Vessels represented include thin-walled, straight-sided mugs of late 17th–early 18th century type, often with horizontal bands of ridging. It has been pointed out that the iron staining which causes the streakiness of the manganese glaze is not generally present in examples of Staffordshire origin, which are iron free, and there is evidence for the production of this type of pottery in Bristol, in fabrics containing iron (Dawson 1979, 206).

Tin-glazed Earthenware

Sherds of tin-glazed earthenware are present in some quantity. No attempt has been made to identify tin-glazed wares from different production centres; possible sources include Spain, the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy. While some of the polychrome wares could be of continental origin, none have been positively identified, and they are just as likely to have originated from sources in this country. Tin-glazed earthenware was produced, for example, at various sites in London (Britton 1986) and in the Bristol area. Recognisable vessel forms from Carisbrooke are scarce, but included plates decorated in blue, and drug jars both plain and with blue and manganese purple decoration.

Stonewares

As mentioned above, some of the 'tiger' ware recovered from Carisbrooke could represent English imitations of German imports; these were being produced at Fulham and Woolwich from the late 17th century. Distinction between German and London products is difficult, although the quality of the latter is generally poorer than the wares they sought to imitate. No sherds of London-type stonewares have been positively identified at Carisbrooke, although some may be present amongst the English stonewares of unspecified origin (E790). Other English stonewares which have been positively identified here are Nottingham (E796) and Staffordshire wares (E796). Both were being produced from the end of the 17th century throughout the 18th century.

Fine stonewares appear from the late 18th century, and include white salt-glaze (E805, E806), and fine red wares (E810).

Fine Earthenwares

Creamware (E750), also of late 18th century date, and fine white wares of 19th–20th century date (E740), are well-represented in the latest contexts on the site.

8. Pottery of Uncertain Date

Two fabrics are insufficiently diagnostic to be assigned to any specific chronological period.

Q902. Soft fabric, heavily leached. Single sherd only.

S901. Soft fabric; rare shell fragments <2.0 mm; sparse, poorly-sorted, rounded quartz <0.5 mm; rare iron oxides. Unoxidised black with orange–red exterior. Handmade.

Both fabrics occurred only as plain body sherds. The very vesicular fabric Q902 probably represents a sherd of one of the shelly wares, possibly S400 or S402, which has been subjected to excessive heat or adverse soil conditions, causing the inclusions to burn out or dissolve.

The shelly fabric S901 could be of prehistoric date, although it could equally well be Saxon. It would be difficult to assign this fabric to any particular chronological period merely on the basis of inclusions which would have been easily accessible, and which could have been, and indeed were, utilised within the potting traditions of more than one chronological period. The occurrence of shelly fabrics during the later prehistoric period in adjacent mainland counties is summarised above (see Prehistoric pottery). In the Saxon period, shelly fabrics are known, for example, amongst the middle Saxon assemblage at Hamwic (Hodges 1981; Timby 1988).

9. The Ceramic Sequence

Phasing for the site has been achieved using a combination of ceramic and stratigraphic information. The fullest sequence on the site, running from the Saxo-Norman period through to the post-medieval period (Phases 4–7), and also including early Saxon activity (Phase 3), occurs in Young's trench Y5, and in

the trenches excavated by Rigold immediately to the south of this trench (R1). Prehistoric and Romano-British activity (Phases 1 and 2 respectively) are represented by residual sherds only, found in various trenches. The full phase list is as follows, with a key to phase numbers used in the archive:

Phase		*Date*	*Archive Phase*
1	Prehistoric		
2	Romano-British		
3	Early Saxon		50
4	Saxo-Norman	11th C	19/61
5	Early medieval	late 11th–13th C	61/62
6	Late medeival	13th–14th C	63/64
7	Early post-medieval	15th C	71/72
8	Later post-medieval	16th–18th C	80
9	Modern	19th–20th C	90/99

Elsewhere on the site (trenches Y1–Y4, Y6–Y10), while stratigraphic relationships can be postulated, the general lack of well-dated ceramic groups, or other closely datable artefacts, has meant that phasing has been limited to defining broad periods. Thus in these trenches, medieval contexts have been assigned merely to a blanket Phase 5/6. Later activity on the site has been divided broadly into post-medieval, ie, c.1500–1800 (Phase 8) and modern, ie, 19th/20th century (Phase 9).

The dating of the various phases relies heavily on the ceramic evidence, and some of the hazards attending such a process will be discussed below. Supplementary dating information has been derived from other datable artefacts described in this volume, such as the coins, metalwork, and, for the post-medieval period, the glass and clay tobacco pipes. Some documentary evidence is also available.

Any attempt to construct a ceramic sequence for the site must take into consideration factors which may have influenced the deposition and survival of pottery. The problem of residuality, or more properly redeposition, is of prime importance here. On a site such as Carisbrooke, where occupation has been long-lived, and where earlier contexts have been repeatedly disturbed by subsequent building and other activity, much material is likely to have been redeposited in contexts which post-dated, often by a considerable lapse of time, their original deposition. Not only vertical but horizontal movement might be expected. The apparent survival of many early fabrics and forms will therefore bias the real pattern of introduction, use, decline and final disuse of the various pottery types. While it has been easy to discern the introduction of the various fabrics, it is much more difficult to pinpoint their decline and disuse. This problem is compounded at Carisbrooke by the dominance of three fabric types (Q404, S400, and S402) throughout the medieval period, all found in very similar vessel forms of which the jars in particular show little typological change through time.

Of course, given the conservatism of many of the more utilitarian vessel forms, such as jars, many apparently 'archaic' forms will be seen to have a long lifespan, and in these cases it may be difficult to distinguish between redeposited early vessel forms and the genuine survival of a long-lived type. Under such circumstances it is wiser to rely for dating purposes on the finer wares which are more subject to fashion and, therefore, typological change. Fabrics of known source are of particular value here, either from the mainland, eg, the Surrey whitewares, or continental imports such as wares from northern France or the Saintonge, although dating of the latter wares is still a matter for debate (see, for example, Allan 1983b), and the dangers of using single sherds of such 'type fossils' for dating of specific deposits have been pointed out (Moorhouse 1986, 113).

Varying methods of rubbish disposal will also affect pottery survival, for example the accumulation of rubbish within yard surfaces as opposed to discrete episodes of dumping in pits and other features. Discrete groups recovered from pits and other features sealed by later activity will be the most useful for the purposes of dating, not only because their breakage and deposition is more likely to have occurred within a restricted period, but also because the sherds are likely to survive in a more complete and unabraded state. Sherds recovered from yard surfaces, or from other contexts where pottery may have accumulated over a long period, are less useful since the period of accumulation can rarely be accurately defined and also because such deposits are generally characterised by small, abraded sherds. There is also the possibility that periodic levelling of rubbish heaps during prolonged periods of dumping will lead to the vertical and horizontal dispersal of sherds, and thus the validity of the association of sherds in any one feature could be questionable (Moorhouse 1986, 98).

As has been pointed out, more intensive occupation may result in tighter control over rubbish disposal, and hence the smaller chance of pottery accumulating within the occupied area. Pottery is more likely to accumulate in periods of less intensive occupation, and so the more complete ceramic record would represent the less important periods of occupation. Selective disposal may also be a problem.

The pottery is discussed by phase below, using selected groups of contexts to illustrate the ceramic sequence, for the Saxon and medieval periods mainly from trenches Y5 and R1. Selected groups only from post-medieval phase 8 (trenches Y4 and Y10) are discussed here, and phase 9 is omitted altogether. The distribution of fabric types by phase can be seen in Table 7, and details of vessel forms by phase are given in Table 8. The date ranges of the principal fabrics, wares and forms are indicated in Table 9.

Table 8. Pottery: vessel forms by phase

Form	*4a*	*4b*	*4c*	*5a*	*5b*	*5c*	*6a*	*6b*	*7a*	*7b*
JARS										
1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-
2	-	-	1	3	17	1	15	29	1	2
3	1	3	16	9	22	5	92	43	-	2
4	-	1	4	3	4	1	26	7	-	3
5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	8
7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
BOWLS										
8	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	6	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-
10	-	-	-	2	-	-	6	1	-	1
11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4
12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1
JUG/PITCHER										
rim	-	-	1	-	5	4	12	24	7	5
tripod foot	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	-
handle	-	-	1	1	3	4	9	5	-	-
LAMP										
rim	1	1	3	2	5	-	19	7	-	-
base	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
FRYING PAN/ SKILLET	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-
PIPKIN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
?MONEY BOX	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
TOTAL	*2*	*5*	*28*	*24*	*57*	*15*	*188*	*147*	*10*	*26*

Phase 3 (Early–Mid Saxon)

This phase includes all Saxon material, and no attempt has been made to sub-divide the period. Few contexts can be dated to this phase, and most of the Saxon pottery occurs as redeposited sherds in later contexts. The two complete vessels found adjacent to the inhumation burials in Y5 (feature 1620; Chapter 3.5) can be assigned to this phase. These vessels, together with the other artefacts from the inhumation cemetery, are discussed elsewhere. Only two other contexts contained only Early/Middle Saxon pottery: a buried topsoil layer in Y2 (context 61), and a feature fill in Y5 (context 1631).

Fabric Q420 which, it has been suggested, constitutes the earliest Saxon pottery from the site, is restricted in distribution to Y5 and Rigold's nearby Trench 3 (R1). The other four fabrics are more widely distributed, occurring in Y2, Y7 and Y10 as well as Y5 and R1.

Phase 4 (11th–Early 12th century)

Pottery from this phase came from contexts in trenches Y5 and R1. The phase has been sub-divided on stratigraphic grounds into three sub-phases (4a–c).

Sub-phase 4a: gully 1616, post-holes 1613, 1615, 1627, and 1648, and surface 1232

These five features produced just seven sherds. The single sherd from gully 1616 is in the later prehistoric fabric S1; the remaining sherds are in shelly fabrics S400 and S402. All are plain body sherds. Overlying these features was a build-up of fills forming the chalk-rubble surface 1232. This layer produced just under 100 sherds, again all in shelly fabrics S400 and S402, with the former dominant. Two vessel forms were identified: one Type 3 jar with a finger-impressed rim and one lamp, both in fabric S400.

Fixing a start date for this sub-phase is not straightforward. Neither fabrics nor forms differ substantially from later sub-phases, nor are the vessel forms particularly closely datable. The only point which distinguishes this sub-phase from 4b is the exclusive presence of shelly fabrics. A date no earlier than the 11th century might be suggested although, in the absence of any independent dating for the period of use of shelly wares on the island, a slightly earlier start date within the 10th century cannot entirely be ruled out.

Sub-phase 4b: timber buildings, hearth 700, and gully 616/266

Six post-holes within the probable timber buildings in Y5 (1203, 1207, 1213, 1236, 1256, and 1257) produced pottery (223 sherds altogether). With the exception of four sherds of the sandy fabric Q404 (post-holes 1203 and 1213), and two redeposited Saxon sherds (fabrics Q409 and Q420; post-hole 1203), all are in shelly fabrics S400 and S402. A Type 3 jar rim came from post-hole 1203, and a lamp and a Type 4 jar rim in post-hole 1213, all in shelly fabrics. Hearth 700 and gully 616/266 yielded only shelly fabrics (44 sherds), including one Type 3 jar rim, and one glazed body sherd.

The lack of diagnostic material again hampers close dating of this phase, but a date range again within the 11th century would be acceptable, although the single glazed sherd might be an indication of a slightly later date.

Sub-phase 4c: chalk surface 687, cutting and use of ditches 1602 and 260

Considerable quantities of pottery were found within the series of tip layers which made up surface 687 (761 sherds). A limited but slightly wider range of fabric types is represented, comprising mainly shelly fabrics S400 and S402, but also including the coarse sandy fabrics Q400 and Q401 (seven sherds, including a Type 3 jar rim) and Q404 (32 sherds, including a pitcher rim and a Type 4 jar rim), and four sherds of Normandy Gritty ware. Three sherds of Wiltshire/Dorset white ware (Q419) and one sherd of an unusual 'proto-stoneware' (E516: Fig. 45, 65) are likely to be intrusive in this phase.

Jars of Types 3 and 4 are present in the shelly fabrics (Fig. 43, 9), as well as at least three lamps (Fig. 44, 35), and two unusual handles – a tongue-shaped handle, possibly from a frying pan or skillet, in fabric S402, and a knob-shaped handle, possibly from a lid, in fabric S400.

Dating evidence for this phase is provided by the presence of Normandy Gritty ware and the south-east Wiltshire/Dorset fabric Q401, both of which are unlikely to be earlier than 12th century, although the presence of sherds of Normandy Gritty ware in 11th century contexts at Exeter, for example, should be noted (Hodges and Mainman 1984, 14); it may also occur at Southampton in late 11th century contexts, but there is as yet no firm evidence for its presence in pre-Conquest deposits (D. Brown pers. comm.). One tip layer within 687 also produced a coin of William I, dated 1087–1089 (Chapter 5, cat. no. 3).

Other Phase 4 contexts: pits 1050 and 1039 (Y7)

Other features which may be identified as belonging to this phase on ceramic grounds include two pits in Y7 (1050 and 1039). Both produced only small quantities of pottery. The soil accumulation layer 1411 in pit 1050 contained 29 sherds, all in shelly fabric S400, including the base of a tripod pitcher and a bowl of type 10. These sherds were associated with a coin of William I

Table 9. Pottery: date ranges of principal fabrics, wares and forms

DATE	*11th C*			*12th C*		*13th C*		*14th C*	*15th C*	
PHASE	*4a*	*4b*	*4c*	*5a*	*5b*	*5c*	*6a*	*6b*	*7a*	*7b*
WARE/FORM										
Shelly wares										
Jars (Type 1)				■						
Jars (Types 2–4)	■	■	■	■	■	■	▒	▒		
Jars (Types 6–7)								■	▒	▒
Bowls (Types 8–9)					■	■	▒	▒		
Bowls (Types 10–12)				■	■	■	■	■	▒	▒
Pitchers			■	■	■	▒				
Jugs							■	■	▒	▒
Lamps	■	■	■	■	■	▒	▒	▒		
Sandy fabric Q404										
Jars (Types 2–4)	■	■	■	■	■	■	▒	▒		
Jars (Types 6–7)								■	■	■
Bowls (Types 8–9)					■	■	▒	▒		
Bowls (Types 10–12)							■	■	■	■
Pitchers			■	■	■	▒				
Jugs							■	■	■	■
Mainland wares										
Hants. redwares						■	■	■	▒	▒
Dorset/Wilts wares			■	■	■	▒	▒	▒		
Donyatt wares						■	▒			
Surrey whitewares								■	■	
Imports										
Normandy Gritty			■	■	■	▒	▒	▒		
Rouen/N. French				■	■	▒	▒	▒		
Saintonge							■			

Key
Currency ■
Residual ▒

or II dated 1083–1087 (Chapter 5, cat. no. 2). Coin and pottery would indicate a late 11th or early 12th century date for the context.

The fill of pit 1039 (1415) contained only 19 sherds, comprising shelly fabrics S400 and S402 and sandy fabric Q404; no diagnostic sherds were present.

Phase 5 (Late 11th–mid 13th Century)

Pottery from this phase came from contexts in trenches Y5, Y10, and R1. The phase has been sub-divided on stratigraphic grounds into three sub-phases (5a–c), which may overlap chronologically to some extent.

Sub-phase 5a: backfilling of ditches 1602 and 260

Only small quantities of pottery were recovered from ditch 1602 (17 sherds). Of this, 11 sherds are in shelly fabric S400, including one lamp, and the remaining six sherds are in the south-east Wiltshire/Dorset fabrics Q400 and Q401. The latter include three sherds of Q401 from the primary fill (1296). Apart from the lamp, there are no other diagnostic sherds.

Ditch 260 produced a larger group (387 sherds). Very little derived from primary fills – just three undiagnostic sherds of shelly fabric S400 from fill 611. Upper levels, however, produced a mixed group of shelly and sandy fabrics, the latter including fabrics Q400, Q401, Q402 and Q404, and a single sherd of

Normandy Gritty ware. A handled jar (Type 5) in fabric Q401 (Fig. 44, 36) was unfortunately unstratified within the ditch fill, but almost certainly came from an upper fill. Other vessel forms include a lamp, a bowl of Type 10 and jars of Types 1 (Fig. 43, 3), 3 and 4, and there are glazed and rouletted body sherds in fabric Q401, almost certainly from tripod pitchers, in one of the highest fills (564). A single sherd of fabric Q405 in the same context is likely to be intrusive here, as is a sherd of 'Tudor Green' from a ditch fill in trench Y10 (1178).

The shelly fabrics in the primary fills are not closely datable. However, the presence of the south-east Wiltshire/Dorset fabrics Q400 and Q401, including definite sherds of tripod pitcher, and the single sherd of Normandy Gritty ware, would again suggest a date, at least for the upper fills, no earlier than the 12th century, and the similarity of this group with the pottery from the previous sub-phase would suggest that the ditches were backfilled over a relatively short period. Fabric Q404 is still only present in small quantities (15 sherds). Vessel forms show little change from the previous sub-phase, with the only new forms being the single bowl and the handled jar.

Sub-phase 5b: wall 620 and building 416

Only two sherds derived from wall 620 – two sherds of shelly fabric S400 from the fill of the foundation trench 618. These are not closely datable, but stratigraphically this feature must be later than the backfilling of the two large ditches, ie, 12th century.

Within building 416, the construction trench for wall 360 produced 40 sherds of shelly fabrics, mainly S400, including three type 3 jar rims, and three further sherds of fabric S400 came from posthole 557, cut into the foundation trench. Make-up layer 519 (37 sherds) and overlying floor layer 407 (202 sherds) yielded a slightly wider range of fabrics, although still dominated by shelly fabrics S400 and S402; also present are fabrics Q401 (20 sherds) and Q404 (5 sherds). Vessel forms comprise type 3 jars, as well as glazed and decorated pitcher sherds in fabrics S402 and Q401. Floor layer 407 also contained a coin of Henry I, dated 1117–1119 (Chapter 5, cat. no. 4), and there is nothing amongst the pottery within these layers which would suggest a date later than the 12th century.

Contexts within trench R1 assumed to be contemporary with the construction and use of the building produced a greater quantity of material (729 sherds), but included a very similar range of fabrics and forms (eg. Fig. 43, 4; Fig. 44, 44), the only exception being greensand layer 2126, which contained two sherds of Normandy Gritty (Fig. 43, 19), two sherds of sandy fabric Q402, and six sherds of the Hampshire redware fabric Q408, the latter suggesting that use of this building extended into the 13th century.

Sub-phase 5c: building 539/298 and associated features; ditches 281 and 283

The first phase of the small building (539) apparently produced no pottery, and only 14 sherds were recovered from its second phase (298). These came from beam slot 295, wall footings 261, floor surfaces 290 and 502, and post-hole 293. All but one of the sherds are in shelly fabrics S400 and S400, some with the combed decoration characteristic of tripod pitchers, which would be consistent with a date range in the 12th century. The remaining sherd, however, is in the Hampshire redware fabric Q406, which would normally be dated somewhere in the 13th century.

The mortar patch 290/501, to the north, was apparently unassociated with this building and may represent another structure. A total of 268 sherds was recovered from this feature, mainly shelly fabrics S400 and S402, but also including Normandy Gritty ware, North French green-glazed ware (E526), fabric Q404, Hampshire redware fabric Q408, and slip-decorated sherds of ?Donyatt fabric Q416. A coin of Henry I, dated 1117–1119, also came from this feature (Chapter 5, cat. no. 5), but while the majority of this pottery group would indeed appear to comprise 12th century material, including glazed pitchers, the presence of the North French and Hampshire redware fabrics would confirm a 13th century date for this feature, and the ?Donyatt sherds would extend this date range even further, perhaps into the 14th century.

Stratigraphically post-dating the abandonment of building 298, gully 344 and feature 291, produced 85 sherds, of which over half (55 sherds) are sherds of glazed jugs in the Hampshire redware fabrics Q406 and Q408. Also present are the shelly fabrics S400 and S402, and fabric Q404, the latter including part of a possible curfew.

A total of 76 sherds came from ditch 281 in the north-west corner of the trench. While shelly fabrics are still present, they are no longer dominant (23 sherds), and the coarser variant S400 is absent. Sandy fabrics make up the rest of this group, mainly Q404 and Q408, with a few sherds of Q401. The Hampshire redware fabric Q408, including glazed and decorated jug sherds, would again suggest a date somewhere in the 13th century for this group.

Other Phase 5 contexts: pit 1419 (Y7)

Pit 1419 produced 52 sherds; fabrics represented comprise the shelly fabrics S400 and S402, sandy fabrics Q402 and Q404, Wiltshire/Dorset fabrics (Q401 and Q419), Hampshire redwares (Q406 and Q408), and North French green glazed ware (E526). Vessels of 12th century type are still present, including one pedestal lamp and glazed and combed tripod pitcher sherds, but the presence of the Hampshire redwares and North French green glazed ware would suggest a date no earlier than the first half of the 13th

century for both the initial silting (context 1421) and the deliberate backfilling (1401) of this feature.

Phase 6 (mid 13th–14th Century)

Contexts were assigned to this phase in Y5 and the area to the south (R1), and relate mainly to the use of the area as a yard, with a series of layers of build-up. The phase has been sub-divided into two sub-phases (6a and 6b).

Sub-phase 6a: development of yard surfaces associated with building 416 (Y5, R1)

Considerable quantities of pottery were recovered from the various layers which made up the yard surface, of which the largest groups came from yard surface 269 and the midden spread 286. These layers between them produced 1585 sherds. The sub-phase as a whole is dominated by shelly fabrics S400 and S402 (3066 sherds); the only other fabrics represented in any numbers are the south-east Wiltshire/Dorset fabric Q401 (92 sherds) and fabric Q404 (98 sherds). In much smaller quantities are fabrics Q400, Q402, S403, Q407, Q408, Q412, and Q416. There are also eight sherds of Normandy gritty ware and two sherds of Saintonge ware (E520). One tiny sherd of 'Tudor Green' (E454) and three sherds of redwares (E600) are likely to be intrusive here. Vessel forms include jars of Types 2–4, bowls of Types 8-10 (Fig. 44, 25), rouletted and combed tripod pitchers (eg, Fig. 44, 39, 40), pedestal lamps, and one spike lamp in Normandy Gritty ware (Fig. 44, 35). A body sherd of a large jar in fabric Q401 decorated with applied strips (Fig. 44, 37) might possibly derive from the vessel found in ditch 260 (Fig. 44, 36, see above, sub-phase 5a). The sherds of the ?Donyatt fabric Q416 come from the rim and neck of a slip-decorated jug (Fig. 45, 64).

The nature of this build-up of yard surfaces and midden deposits means that the pottery contained within these layers will necessarily include residual material. This group certainly includes a high proportion of 12th century material in the form of lamps (including the Normandy Gritty ware example), glazed and decorated tripod pitchers in both shelly and sandy fabrics, the strip-decorated jar in south-east Wiltshire/Dorset fabric Q401, and associated jars with simple rim forms again in both shelly and sandy fabrics. A coin of Richard I, dated 1189–1196 came from 269 (Chapter 5, cat. no. 6). There is, however, a small but persistent later component, including the Saintonge ware, the Surrey white ware, and the Hampshire redware fabric Q408; these are certainly no earlier than 13th century and, in the case of the Saintonge ware, a date within the second half of the century would be more likely.

Sub-phase 6b: further soil build-up in yard area (Y5, R1)

Contexts assigned to this phase were again mostly found in trenches Y5 and R1, and represent a continuation of the build-up of successive yard surfaces in the later medieval period. The dominance of the glazed fabric Q408 supports a mid 13th–14th century date range for this phase, together with the first appearance of Surrey white wares (E450). Shelly fabrics are still present in quantity, although the relative proportions of S400 and S402 are now almost equal, marking an increase in the finer variant S402 at the expense of S400. The sandy fabric Q404 shows a corresponding increase in this sub-phase. Q406 is also present in slightly larger quantities, but it appears only sporadically after this phase, and appears to have been a shorter-lived type than Q408. The quantities of the coarse sandy fabric Q402 are still gradually increasing. Other fabrics occur in very small quantities; they include single sherds of the micaceous fabrics Q410 and Q411, and sherds of North French wares (E525 and E526), the latter probably redeposited in this phase. Surrey white ware (type unspecified) occurs for the first time. Red wares (E600) also appear in small numbers from this phase, although they do not occur in any quantity until the post-medieval phases.

Jars of all types (except Type 5) are represented, dominated by the 'archaic' Type 3 vessels, although with a marked increase in the number of the vessels of Types 6 and 7 with more developed and more tightly moulded rims. The latter types are found in S402, but more frequently in fabric Q404. Type 7 jars are wheelthrown; until this phase, all jars have been handmade, although often with wheel-finished rims. The single example of a Type 7 jar in this phase occurs in fabric Q404.

Dish/bowl forms are less well represented, but all types are represented, albeit in very small numbers. The Type 11 dish again marks the appearance of wheelthrown vessels, and as for the wheelthrown Type 7 jar, this vessel form occurs in fabric Q404. There are also two frying pans or skillets, and a pipkin in fabric S402 (Fig. 44, 30).

Jug forms in this phase are predominantly squat, rounded vessels with flat or slightly sagging bases, often thumbed, and strap or rod handles, in the fine glazed sandy fabrics Q406 and Q408. Glaze is fairly evenly applied, alhough it does not always extend as far as the base of the vessel, and decoration consists of applied vertical slip strips and pellets. These vessels apear to be handmade, although the rims are quite tightly moulded and were probably wheel-finished.

Other rims of glazed serving vessels occur in fabrics S402 and Q404, although it is uncertain, due to the lack of reconstructable profiles, whether these were an attempt to imitate the fine glazed jugs, or whether these

are merely redeposited vessels deriving originally from earlier phases.

Phase 7 (15th Century)

Phase 7 contexts, identified in trenches Y5 and R1, represent episodes of dumping which ended the use of this area as a yard. The phase has been sub-divided into two sub-phases (7a and 7b).

Sub-phase 7a: first dumping episode
While most of the contexts from this phase produced fabrics and forms which appear to continue the trends already noted from the previous phase, the assemblage is biased by a large group of pottery (351 sherds) from one context (200), which includes a large quantity of what seems to be redeposited material. The range of fabrics and forms represented within this context, and the relative proportions of fabric types, are more characteristic of sub-phase 6a assemblages. Consequently, pottery from this context has been omitted from the discussion of this phase, and from all phase tables. There is little other closely datable material from this phase, which has been assigned a date range in the first half of the 15th century largely on the basis of the absence of the diagnostic later 15th century material discussed for sub-phase 7b.

The shelly fabrics are now present in very small quantities, probably redeposited, although S402 may have continued in production for wheelthrown vessels (see below, sub-phase 7b). The sandy fabric Q404 is still present, as is the coarser sandy fabric Q402. The fine sandy fabrics Q408 and Q406 have declined from Phase 6. The fine sandy fabric Q407 appears in quantity for the first time. A single sherd of north French ware (E526) is almost certainly redeposited in this phase.

Jars are noticeably absent in this phase; the single example (Type 2) occurs in the probable redeposited fabric S403. Dish/bowls are likewise scarce (two examples); both are wheelthrown Type 12 vessels, and both occur in fabric Q404. While glazed jug forms, similar to those described for earlier phases, are still present in fabrics Q406 and Q408, the incidence of decoration on sherds of these fabrics appears to be declining, and in this phase is largely confined to horizontal incision and grooving around the neck and slashing or stabbing on the handle; the applied strips and pellets common in Phase 6 are rare. Rims and handles from similar vessels in the coarse sandy fabrics Q402 and Q404 could represent, as suggested for sub-phase 6b, an attempt to imitate the finer vessels; certainly, there are now as many rim sherds in the coarse sandy fabrics as in the finer varieties.

Sub-phase 7b: second dumping episode
This phase sees the first appearance of wares that could be described as 'post-medieval', ie, coarse red earthenwares (see discussion of the post-medieval pottery, above). These wares, together with the clear dominance of wheelthrown vessels in fabric Q404, comparable to products of the later 15th century Knighton kiln, would suggest a date range in the latter half of the 15th century. Apart from 23 sherds of coarse red earthenwares and two sherds of tin glazed earthenware, presumed to be intrusive in this phase, no other 'post-medieval' wares are present.

The sandy fabric Q404 has increased dramatically, and now makes up by far the largest part of the assemblage (70.2% by weight). The fine sandy fabric Q408 also shows an increase, although Q406 is now virtually absent. Q402 has also increased, as have the shelly fabrics, perhaps surprisingly, although there is an indication, in the use of S402 for wheelthrown dishes (see below) that this fabric was still continuing in production. Small numbers of sherds of Rouen and north French wares are almost certainly redeposited in this phase.

Jars of Types 2–4 and 6 are still present (15 examples), although all examples of Types 2–4 are in fabrics which are declining if not by this time out of use (Q402, S400, and S402). The emphasis is on wheelthrown Type 6 vessels (8 examples), in fabrics Q402 and Q404 (Fig. 43, 15, 16). Dishes and bowls of Types 10–12 are also present (6 examples); the single example of a Type 10 vessel occurs in fabric S400. Again, the emphasis is on wheelthrown vessels in fabrics Q402, Q404, and S402, particularly the dishes of Type 11, with wide flaring or horizontal rims.

The jugs of this phase are comparatively plain, with decoration reduced to a minimum, consisting largely of horizontal rilling on necks, and with occasional slashing on strap handles. Bases are closely thumbed and slightly sagging and, where this can be determined, glaze is confined to the upper parts of vessels. Complete vessel profiles cannot be reconstructed, but the bodies of these vessels appear to be gently rounded. These vessels are found in fabrics Q402 and Q404; although sherds of glazed jugs in fabric Q408 are still present, including both rod and strap handles, other diagnostic sherds are scarce, and the form of these vessels cannot be reconstructed. They may in fact have gone out of use to a large extent by this phase.

Phase 8 (16th–18th Century)

Later post-medieval contexts were defined in most areas. No attempt was made to sub-divide this phase on ceramic grounds, since much of the pottery consists

of coarse earthenwares which do not allow close dating. Two groups of pottery, however, warrant more detailed comment since they include more closely datable material and are both associated with other datable finds.

Contexts in the upper fills of the motte ditch (Y4)

These contexts represent a sequence comprising a buried topsoil (117), followed by a layer of redeposited chalk rubble (116), succeeded by a layer of made ground (101/104/107) associated with the building of a cobbled pathway leading to the east postern. Documentary evidence indicates that the latter event took place before 1723. Altogether these contexts produced 281 sherds, and the identification of cross-fits between contexts 116, 101 and 104 suggests that this group is largely contemporary. The range of fabrics includes coarse red earthenwares, Verwood type earthenwares, white earthenwares including at least one French vessel, West Country type slipwares, Staffordshire type slipwares, tinglazed earthenware, North Italian marbled ware, and various stonewares. The red earthenwares make up the largest proportion of this group (127 sherds), but useful dating evidence is provided by the presence of certain wares, in particular the imported French and North Italian wares. Each of these probably represents a single vessel: a chafing dish of French type (Fig. 46, 74, 75) and a small bowl in North Italian marbled ware (Fig. 46, 76). The chafing dish is of a type dated to the late 16th or early 17th century (Hurst *et al.* 1986, fig. 36.106), while North Italian marbled wares were exported widely during the first half of the 17th century (Hurst 1967; Hurst *et al.* 1986, 35).

This date range of late 16th to early 17th century is supported by the glass assemblage from the same contexts (Seager Smith, below), but it may be noted that the clay pipes fall within a restricted but slightly later date range of 1640–80 (Brereton, below). This discrepancy could be explained by the fact that fineware pottery and glass might be expected to be curated for longer than the everyday clay pipes before disposal, and certainly other pottery wares would suggest that the end date for the deposition of this group should be placed in the mid to late 17th century. These include the Staffordshire (or Bristol) type slipwares, the tin-glazed earthenwares, and the stonewares. Alternatively this group represents material which had accumulated from the late 16th century before being dumped in the top of the motte ditch in the mid to late 17th century.

One other vessel merits some comment, although its dating is not certain. This is a second chafing dish in a pale-firing fabric of which only the upper part survives (Fig. 46, 73). The fabric is comparable to the pink/buff earthenwares of the Verwood industry, and chafing dishes have been found at the mid 17th century kiln at Horton (Copland-Griffiths 1989, fig. 7; Copland-Griffiths and Butterworth 1990, fig. 5), but the rod handle of the Carisbrooke example is very unusual and finds no parallel either at Horton or elsewhere.

Layers overlying the cobbled courtyard (Y10)

These contexts contained 429 sherds (66 redeposited medieval). Wares present include coarse red and white earthenwares, Verwood type earthenwares, 'Tudor Green', North Italian marbled ware, tin-glazed earthenware, German and English stonewares, and Staffordshire type slipwares and iron-glazed wares. A handful of sherds of later industrial wares (E740, E750) are likely to be intrusive here. The range of wares is very similar to the group from the top of the motte ditch (see above), but with a higher proportion of presumed residual material (medieval and 'Tudor Green'). The presence of tin-glazed earthenwares, Staffordshire type slipwares (comprising a single vessel: Fig. 46, 78) and the stonewares would suggest a date range from the 17th century into the early 18th century, and this is confirmed by the associated glassware and clay pipes, both of which have a date range of mid 17th to mid 18th century (Seager Smith below; Brereton, below).

Cistern 1158 (Y10)

Pottery was recovered from a layer of primary silting at the base of the cistern (1168: 15 sherds), and from the overlying layers of deliberate backfill (1138, 1150, 1152, 1154, 1157: 167 sherds). This included a small amount of presumed residual material (medieval fabrics and 'Tudor Green': 27 sherds), but the remainder would appear to be of similar date to the assemblage from layers overlying the courtyard (see above), ie, 17th to early 18th century. There is again a high proportion of coarse red and Verwood type earthenwares, with smaller quantities of tin-glazed earthenware, North Italian marbled ware, English and German stonewares.

10. Conclusions

In conclusion, we may consider how the examination of the pottery from Carisbrooke has advanced our understanding first of the Castle itself, and secondly of the ways in which the Castle functioned within its local and regional context.

The limitations of the assemblage as a dating tool were stressed at the outset, but it has been possible, within the framework of the stratigraphic information, to construct a ceramic sequence which has helped to

elucidate the origins of the Castle and its development in the early medieval period. Within that sequence, the range of fabrics and vessel forms has been studied in order to highlight trends in the pattern of local and regional pottery production and distribution, and also to shed light on the nature of occupation within the Castle itself.

Evidence on the latter point may be shown to be somewhat at odds with documentary and structural evidence: we know that the Castle must have functioned not only as a military establishment but also as a residence for certain of the Island's Lords and Governors, and yet there is little within the ceramic assemblage to reflect such a high status occupation. The range of vessel forms throughout is overwhelmingly utilitarian, which would accord well with its use for a garrison occupation, but until the early post-medieval period there is little which might be taken as evidence for the 'luxury goods' fit for a Governor's residence. This point will be developed further in the concluding synthesis (see below), for it should be remembered that the pottery is only one part of the total material culture of the Castle, and it is only through a consideration of the total assemblage that we can approach an understanding of the nature of the occupation.

As for the exploration of patterns of pottery production and distribution, this has proved an important assemblage. First and foremost, by virtue of being the first pottery assemblage of any size from the Isle of Wight analysed in detail, it has enabled the characterisation of the medieval pottery industry of the Island, previously glimpsed only through the excavation of the late medieval kiln at Knighton. The existence of earlier ceramic traditions on the Island is now well established, since it is apparent that a range of cooking and serving wares in both shelly and sandy fabrics which were almost certainly locally produced were being supplied to the castle from its earliest foundation. These ceramic traditions dominate the medieval assemblage, developing new vessel forms which echo those of the mainland industries which are represented at the Castle in quantity only from 13th century.

Changes in patterns of supply can be seen in the early shift within the mainland sources from Dorset/Wiltshire (11th/12th centuries) to Hampshire (13th century onwards). That these Hampshire wares were arriving via Portsmouth (or its environs) rather than Southampton is suggested by the relative scarcity of the imported wares, particularly Saintonge polychrome, which were apparently widely available in Southampton at this period (Brown 1997a). However, it is clear that these mainland wares were not being acquired in response to a demand unsatisfied by the Island's potters, since the latter were producing similar forms, but rather represent just further elements within the overall range of ceramic products which would have been available and accessible to the Castle's inhabitants.

This accords with the general pattern of pottery production and distribution at this time, with few areas supplied by a single pottery source, while production centres show an increasing overlap in their distribution, particularly those of glazed serving wares (Vince 1981), and the Castle continues to echo patterns observed on the mainland into the late medieval and post-medieval period, when there is a marked increase not only in the range of non-local (including imported Continental) wares but also in the range of vessel forms. The appearance of increasingly specialised forms, such as pipkins, cisterns and chafing dishes, suggest a change in both cooking methods and eating habits, and also indicates a shift in the growing use of pottery for display as well as for food storage and preparation.

The contribution of the Island's pottery industry becomes unclear after the 15th century, although it seems likely that local potters would have continued to supply the Castle (and the rest of the Island) with utilitarian wares in the form of coarse earthenwares, although they would have met increasing competition from the Verwood industry of the Dorset/Hampshire border from the 18th century. The finer wares were increasingly supplied by non-local sources which filled various niches in the market, such as drinking vessels in 'Tudor Green' and Cistercian wares, German and, later, English stonewares.

List of illustrated vessels

(Fig. 43)

1. Body sherd in moderately fine sandy fabric (Q420). Handmade, burnished inside and out; furrowed decoration. Context 2128/2150, floor level in building 416, Trench 3/4 (R1), sub-phase 5b.
2. Rim of jar (Type 1) in coarse shelly fabric (S400); handmade. Finger impressions on rim; sooting on exterior up to neck. Context 337, Y5, Phase 5/6.
3. Rim of jar (Type 1) in coarse shelly fabric (S400); handmade. Finger-impressed rim. Context 603, ditch 260, Y5, sub-phase 5a.
4. Rim of jar (Type 1) in coarse shelly fabric (S400); handmade. Scratchmarked exterior; finger-impressed rim. Context 2126, greensand layer in building 416, Trench 3 (R1), sub-phase 5b.
5. Rim of jar (Type 2) in coarse shelly fabric (S400). Handmade body with wheel-finished rim. Context 2140, buried topsoil under building 416, Trench 4 (R1), sub-phase 5b.
6. Rim of jar (Type 2) in coarse shelly fabric (S400). Handmade with wheel-finished rim. Finger-impressed rim. Context 2178, midden deposit, Trench D (R1), sub-phase 6a.
7. Rim of jar (Type 3), in coarse shelly fabric (S400). Handmade with wheel-finished rim. Context 351, Y5, sub-phase 6a.

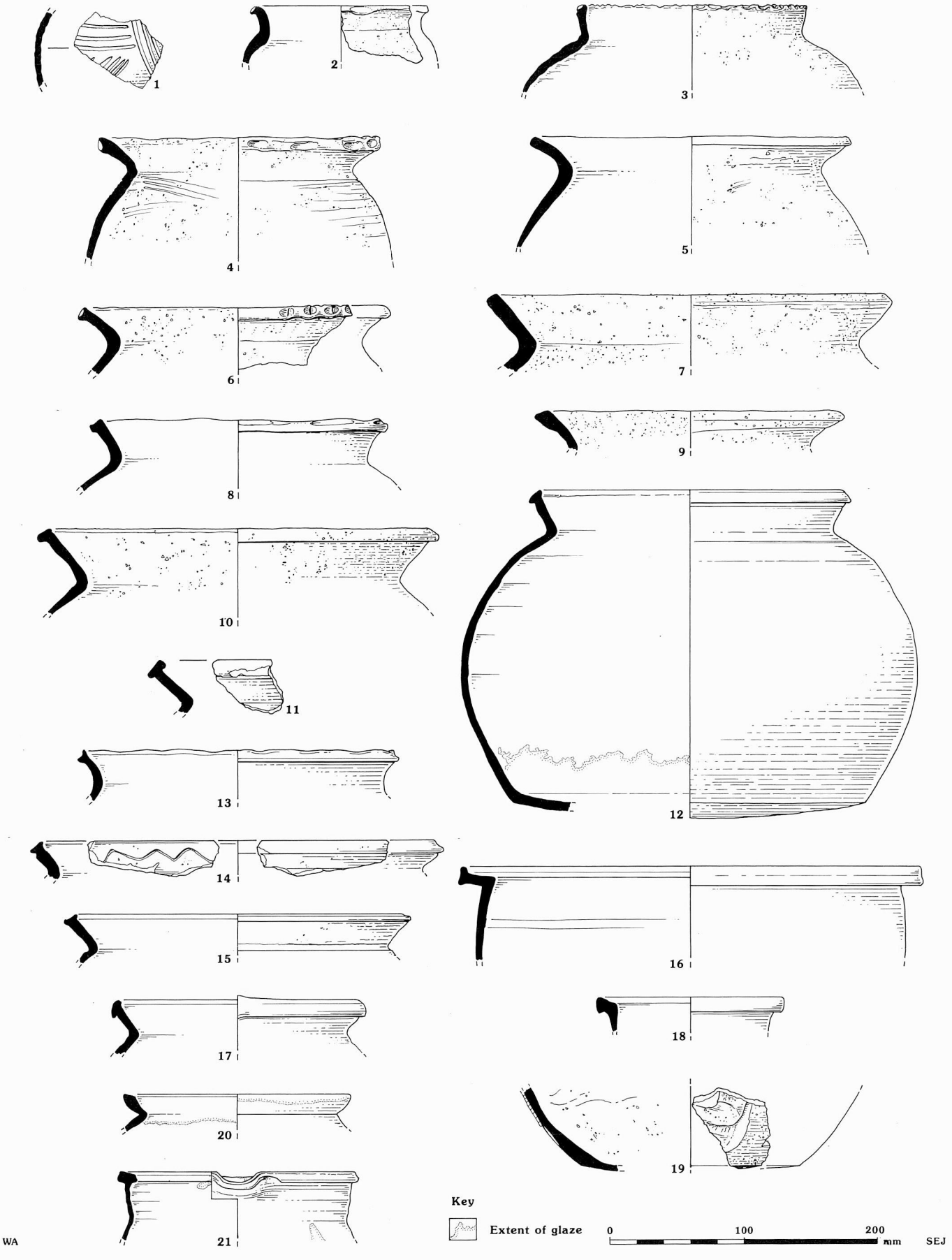

Figure 43 Saxon (No. 1) and medieval pottery (2–21)

8. Rim of jar (Type 3) in moderately coarse shelly fabric (S402). Handmade body with wheel-finished rim. Context 189,Y5, sub-phase 7b.
9. Rim of jar (Type 3) in moderately coarse shelly fabric (S402). Handmade. Context 674, tip layer in 687,Y5, sub-phase 4c.
10. Rim of jar (Type 4) in coarse shelly fabric (S402). Wheel-finished rim? Context 2129/2131, occupation deposit in building 416/midden deposit, Trench 3/4 (R1), sub-phase 5b/6a.
11. Rim of jar (Type 4), in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Wheelthrown. Context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.
12. Jar (Type 6) in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Handmade with wheel-finished rim; glazed over inside of base. Context 381, fill of stone-lined pit 374,Y6, Phase 5/6.
13. Rim of jar (Type 6) in moderately coarse shelly fabric (S402). Wheel-finished, finger-impressed rim. Context 351,Y5, sub-phase 6a.
14. Rim sherd of jar (Type 6) in moderately coarse shelly fabric (S402). Wheel-finished rim; curvilinear grooved decoration inside rim. Context 334,Y5, Phase 5/6.
15. Rim of jar or jar (Type 6), in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Wheelthrown. Context 189,Y5, sub-phase 7b.
16. Rim of jar or jar (Type 6), in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Wheelthrown. Context 2113, slate horizon,Trench 1 (R1), sub-phase 7b.
17. Rim of jar or jar (Type 7), in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Wheelthrown; splash of glaze inside rim. Context 1114, overlying courtyard,Y10, Phase 8.
18. Rim of jar or pitcher in Normandy Gritty ware (E515). Wheelthrown. Context 1018, limekiln 1419,Y7, Phase 5/6.
19. Base of jar or pitcher in Normandy Gritty ware (E515). Wheelthrown. Applied thumbed strip on exterior. Context 2126, greensand in building 416,Trench 3 (R1), sub-phase 5b.
20. Rim of jar or jar in Coarse Border ware (E451). Wheelthrown; dark green glaze over rim. Context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.
21. Rim of jar in Coarse Border ware (E451). Wheelthrown; pulled lip spout; splashes of dark green glaze on exterior and interior. Context 158/181, layers below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.

(Fig. 44)

22. Rim of bowl (Type 8) in coarse sandy fabric (Q402). Handmade, exterior knife-trimmed; olive green glaze inside. Context 351, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
23. Small bowl (Type 8) in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Handmade, exterior knife-trimmed. Lump of mortar adhering. Context 1372,Y10, Phase 8.
24. Rim of bowl (Type 9) in coarse shelly fabric (S400). Handmade, with wheel-finished rim. Context 340,Y5, Phase 5/6.
25. Rim of bowl (Type 10) in moderately coase shelly fabric (S402). Handmade. Context 286, midden spread,Y5, Phase 5/6.
26. Rim of dish/bowl (Type 12) in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Wheelthrown. Context 273,Y5, Phase 5/6.
27. Rim of dish (Type 11) in moderately coarse shelly fabric (S402). Wheelthrown. Context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.
28. Shallow dish (Type 12) in moderately fine sandy fabric (Q404). Wheelthrown; applied thumbed strip on exterior. Patchy olive-green glaze over interior of base. Context 1156, build-up behind wall 1147,Y10, Phase 8.
29. Hollow-handled shallow frying pan/skillet in coarse sandy fabric (Q402). Handmade. Context 2063/2080, midden deposit, Trench 1/2 (R1), sub-phase 6a.
30. Rim and handle of pipkin in moderately coarse shelly fabric (S402). Handmade; splashes and trails of glaze on interior and exterior. Context 2117,Trench 3 (R1), sub-phase 6b.
31. Hollow handle, probably from frying pan/skillet, in moderately coarse shelly fabric (S402). Patchy olive-green/brown glaze. Context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.
32. Rim of pedestal lamp in coarse shelly fabric (S400). Handmade; sooting on interior around rim. Context 691, tip layer in 687,Y5, sub-phase 4c.
33. Pedestal lamp in coarse shelly fabric (S400). Handmade; finger-impressed indentations on pedestal. Unstratified, R1.
34. Rim sherd, possibly from lamp, in Normandy Gritty ware (E515). Wheelthrown. Context 2118, R1, sub-phase 6a.
35. Spike lamp in Normandy Gritty ware (E515). Wheelthrown; sooting inside. Context 286, midden spread,Y5, Phase 5/6.
36. Rim of jar with stump of strap handle (Type 5) in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q401). Handmade. Unstratified in ditch 260,Y5, sub-phase 5a.
37. Body sherd of jar in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q401), possibly from same vessel as No. 36. Handmade; applied strips in lattice pattern. Context 269, yard surface,Y5, sub-phase 6a.
38. Rim of pitcher in coarse shelly fabric (S400). Handmade; slashed across top of rim; orange–brown glaze inside. Context 200, dumping layers, Y5, sub-phase 7a.
39. Rim of pitcher in coarse shelly fabric (S400). Handmade; vertical combing on exterior; patchy

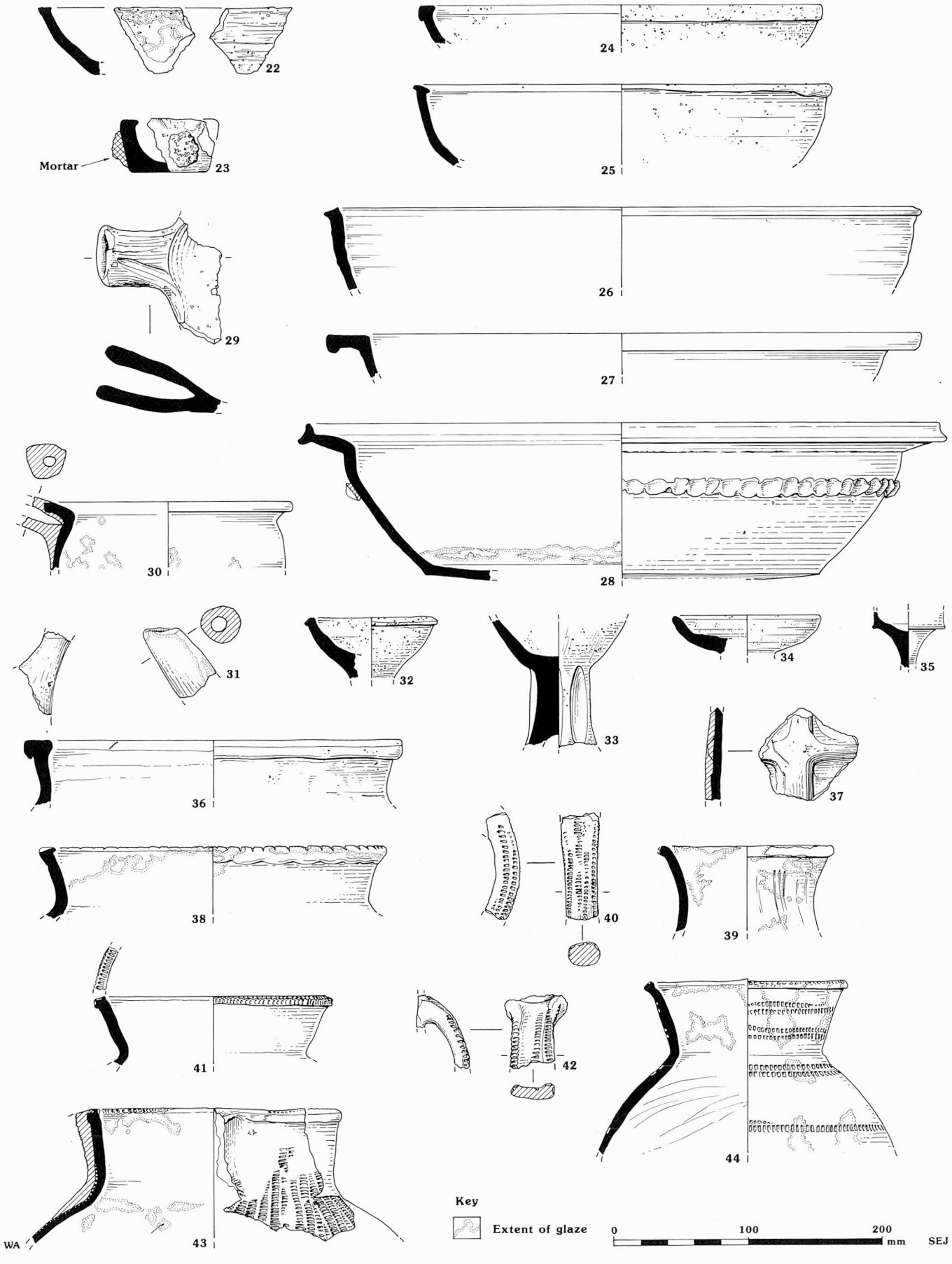

Figure 44 Medieval pottery (22–44)

orange/olive-green glaze inside and out. Context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.

40. Rod handle of pitcher in moderately coarse shelly fabric (S402). Handmade; vertical rouletting down handle; patchy olive-green glaze. Context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
41. Rim of pitcher in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Handmade; rouletting on top of rim; traces of patchy glaze. Context 695, Y5, sub-phase 4c?.
42. Strap handle of pitcher in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404), probably from same vessel as No. 41. Handmade; vertical rouletting down handle; patchy olive-green/brown glaze. Context 695, Y5, sub-phase 4c?.
43. Rim and neck of spouted pitcher in moderately coarse shelly fabric (S402). Handmade; rouletting on exterior and on top of rim; olive-green/brown glaze on exterior, more patchy on interior. Context 2129/2131/2140, occupation deposit in building 416/midden deposit/buried topsoil under building 416, Trench 3/4 (R1), Phase 5b/6a.
44. Rim and neck of pitcher in moderately coarse shelly fabric (S402). Handmade; rouletting in exterior and on top of rim; patchy orange/olive-green glaze on exterior and inside neck. Context 2126, greensand in building 416, Trench 3 (R1), sub-phase 5b.

(Fig. 45)

45. Handle of jug or pitcher in moderately coarse shelly fabric (S402). Handmade; stabbing down handle, and vertical grooves down edges; traces of patchy glaze. Context 279, Y5, Phase 5/6.
46. Strap handle from jug or pitcher in moderately coarse shelly fabric (S402). Handmade; multiple incised lines down handle; traces of patchy glaze. Context 354, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
47. Glazed jug in fine sandy fabric (Q408). Wheel-thrown with mortised rod handle; mottled green/brown glaze on exterior, over vertical stripes of contrasting dark brown iron-rich slip. Context 1033, Y7, Phase 5/6.
48. Base of jug in fine sandy fabric (Q408). Wheel-thrown body; base angle evenly thumbed; mottled green/orange glaze on exterior. Context 334, Y5, Phase 5/6.
49. Handle of jug in fine sandy fabric (Q408). Slashed decoration; extra clay added around pre-firing repair; patchy green/yellow glaze. Context 340/185, Y5, Phase 5/6/7a.
50. Rim and handle of Rouen-type jug (E525). Wheelthrown, handle mortised; applied 'ears' at junction of handle and rim; applied horizontal strip below rim, and appied vertical rouletted strip below. Pale yellow glaze on exterior. Context 2091, Trench 1 (R1), sub-phase 6a.
51. Rim and handle of Rouen-type jug (E525). Handle mortised; applied 'ears' at junction of handle and rim; stabbed decoration down centre of handle; mottled pale yellow/green glaze on exterior. Context 402, Y5, Phase 5/6.
52. Base of handle from Rouen-type jug (E525). Stabbed holes down centre and at base of handle; applied pellets and rouletted strips at junction of handle and body, over patch of red slip. Pale yellow glaze overall. Context 2027, greensand dumping layer, Trench B (R1), sub-phase 7a.
53. Rim and handle of North French-type jug (E526). Applied 'ears' at junction of handle and rim; patchy mottled dark green glaze overall. Context 2062, Trench 2 (R1), sub-phase 6a.
54. Body sherd from North French-type jug (E526). Applied 'bunch of grapes' motif; mottled dark green glaze overall. Context 1014, Y7, Phase 5/6.
55. Body sherd of Saintonge ware vessel of uncertain form (E520). Wheelthrown. Incised decoration; mottled green glaze on exterior surface. Context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
56. Body sherds of Saintonge painted ware jug (E520). Wheelthrown. Trefoil/fleur-de-lys motifs in dark red paint, beneath overall red wash. Thin, pale green glaze on interior surface; splash on exterior. Context 173, Y5, Phase 8.
57. Rim and handle of jug in Surrey white ware (E450). Wheelthrown, handle mortised. Stabbed decoration on handle; mottled dark green glaze on exterior. Context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
58. Handle of jug in Surrey white ware (E450). Wheelthrown; handle luted on at base. Stabbed decoration down centre of handle; partially glazed with mottled dark green glaze. Context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
59. Base of jug in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Closely-spaced thumbing around base angle. Context 181, Y5, Phase 8.
60. Base of strap handle from jug or pitcher in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Stabbed decoration on handle; patchy olive-green/brown glaze on exterior. Context 181, Y5, Phase 8.
61. Rim and handle of jug in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Wheelthrown; slashed decoration down centre of handle. Context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
62. Handle of jug in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Handle luted on at base; stabbed decoration. Context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
63. Rim of jug in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Wheelthrown, pinched spout; olive-green glaze on exterior below neck. Context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.

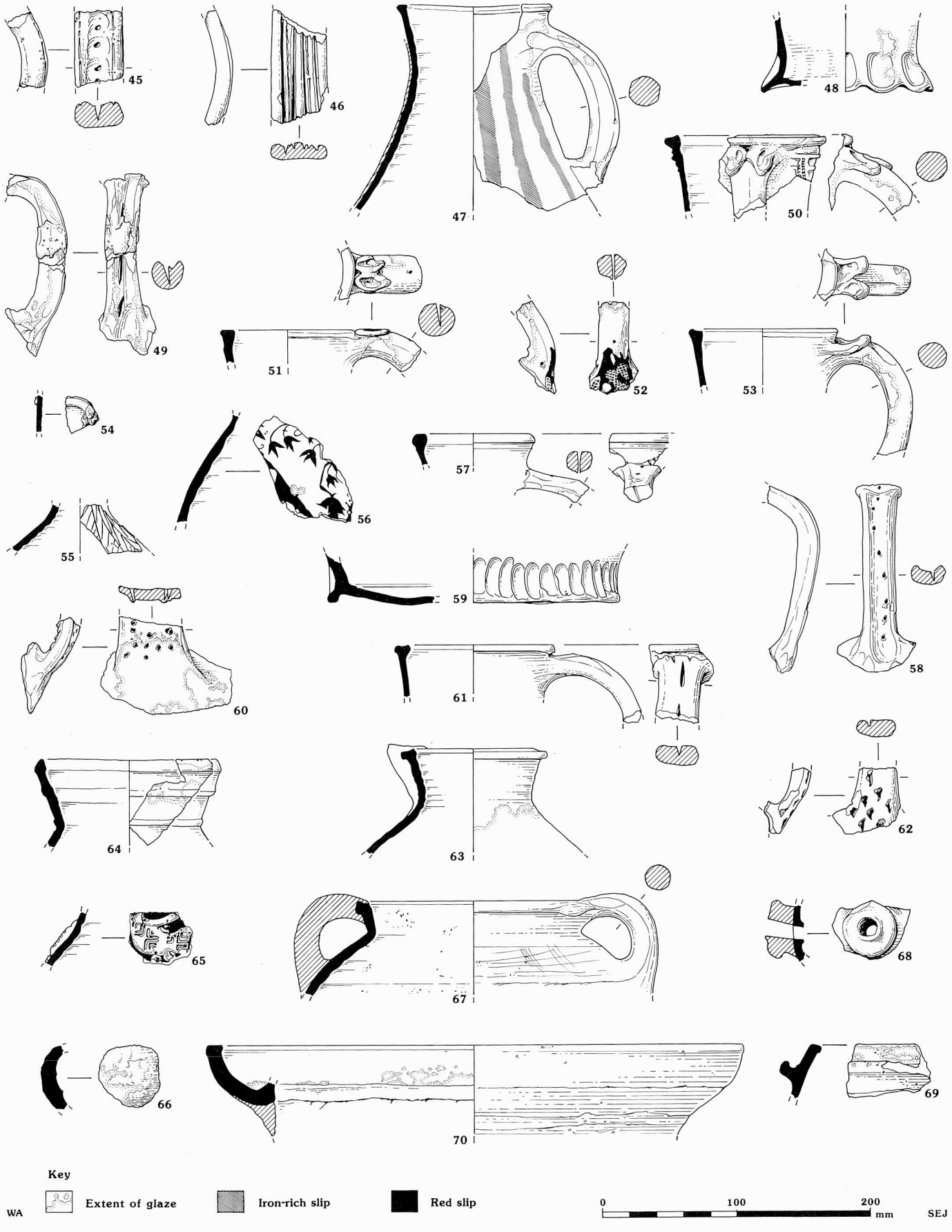

Figure 45 Medieval pottery (45–70)

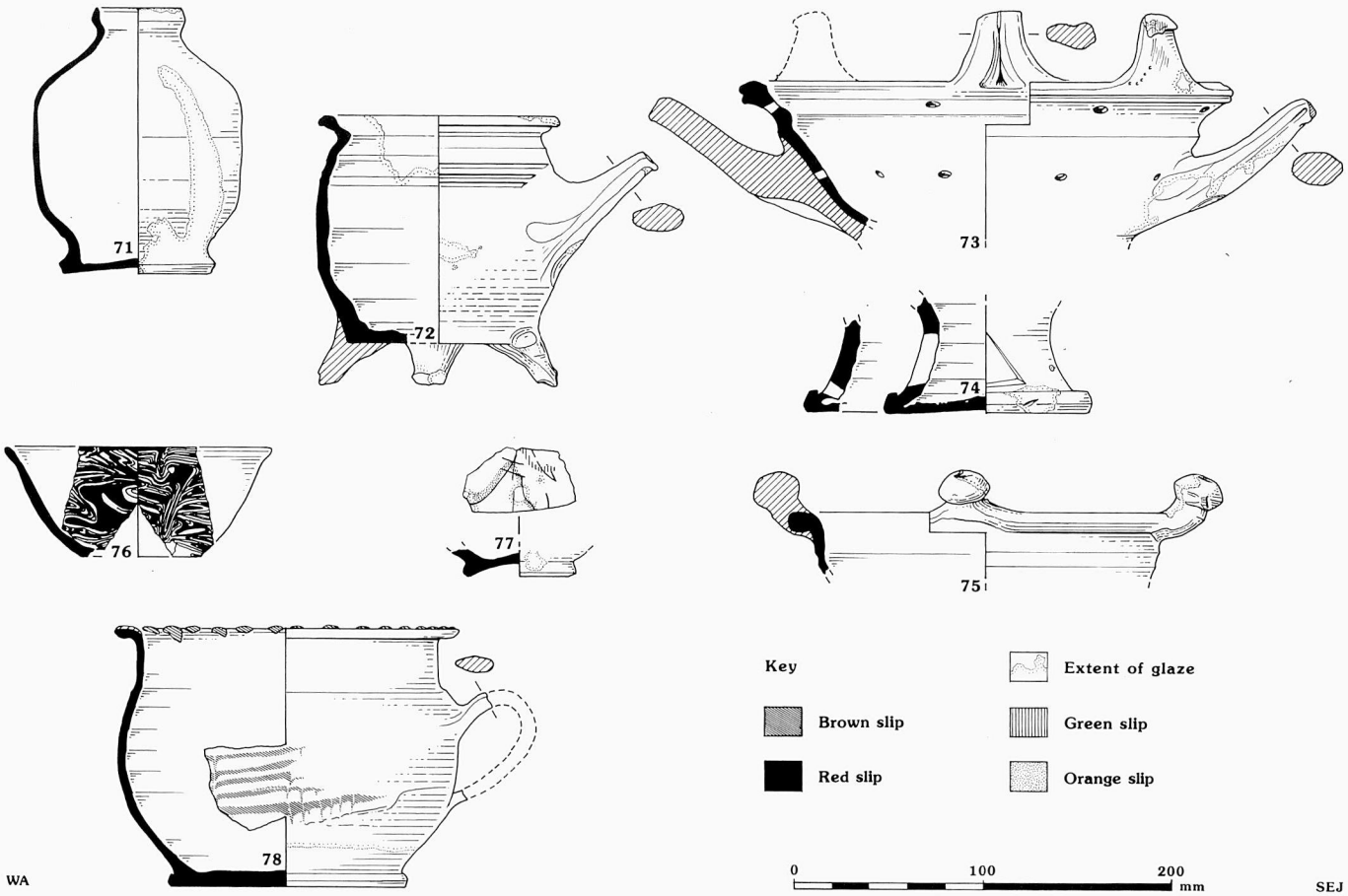

Figure 46 Post-medieval pottery (71–8)

64. Rim of glazed jug or pitcher in very hard sandy fabric (Q416). Handmade; unevenly applied white slip overall, covered by yellow–green glaze on exterior. Context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
65. Body sherd in very hard sandy fabric (E516). Wheelthrown. Applied zoomorphic decoration over red slip on exterior surface; glazed overall on exterior. Context 639, tip layer in 687, Y5, sub-phase 4c.
66. Part of rounded vessel (money-box?) in coarse shelly fabric (S403). Handmade. Splash of glaze on exterior surface. Context 351, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
67. Rim and handle of cauldron or pipkin in fine, micaceous shelly fabric (E601). Wheelthrown. Context 1318, Y10, Phase 8.
68. Bunghole from cistern in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
69. Flanged rim from cistern in moderately coarse sandy fabric (Q404). Wheelthrown; patchy olive-green glaze on interior and on exterior above flange. Context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
70. Part of possible double-shelled lamp in coarse sandy fabric (Q402). Wheelthrown; two parts luted together. Patchy olive-green/brown glaze on interior. Context 118, buried topsoil in motte ditch, Y4, Phase 5/6.

(Fig. 46)

71. Complete jar in pink/buff earthenware (E640). Wheelthrown; mottled olive-green/brown glaze surviving over rim. Context 491, Y6, Phase 8.
72. Small pipkin in red earthenware (E600). Wheelthrown; olive-green glaze on interior and patches on exterior. Context 488, Y5, Phase 8.
73. Chafing dish in pink/buff earthenware (E640). Wheelthrown; thick mottled olive-green/brown glaze on interior, patchy mottled olive-green/orange glaze on exterior. Context 101/104/116, upper fills of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
74. Base of French chafing dish (E673). Wheelthrown; single triangular vent; small perforation opposite; splashes of pale yellow glaze on exterior. Context 101, upper fill motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
75. Rim of French chafing dish (E673), possibly same vessel as No. 74. Wheelthrown, pale yellow glaze

on interior and splashes on exterior. Context 101, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.

76. Bowl in North Italian marbled ware (E705). Wheelthrown; marbled red and white overall; glazed overall. Context 101, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
77. Base of bowl in North Italian sgraffito ware (E706). Wheelthrown; white slip on interior; sgraffito over orange and green glazed decoration. Context 1126, Y10, Phase 8.
78. Staffordshire-type slipware chamber-pot (E695). Context 1133, overlying courtyard, Y10, Phase 8.

(Fig. 47)

79. Bellarmine jug from Frechen industry (E780). Context 824, demolition layer, south bastion, Y8, Phase 8.

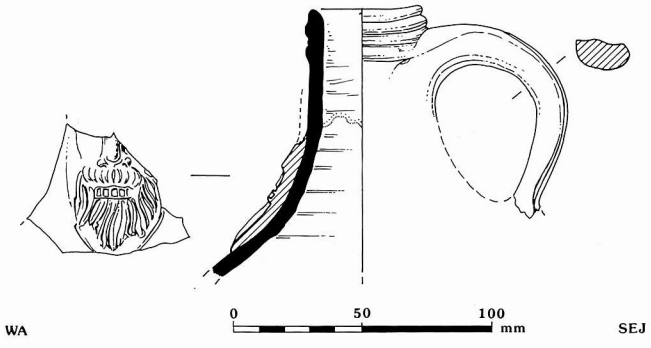

Figure 47 Post-medieval pottery: bellarmine jar (79)

5. The Finds

1. Catalogue of Coins, Jetons and Tokens, by Paul Robinson

Cleaning of all items has been carried out by Marjorie Hutchinson and Barry Knight (Ancient Monuments Laboratory). The tremissis from Grave 1612 is not included here, but is catalogued and discussed in Chapter 3 with the other grave goods from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

Abbreviations
The following abbreviations are used in this report

BMC = *British Museum Coin Catalogue*
LRBC = *Late Roman Bronze Coinage* (Carson *et al.* 1960)

Coins

Roman

1. Valens. Ae 4
Obverse: DNVALEN SPFAVG
Reverse: SECVRITAS REIPUBLICAE
Date: AD 367–375
Mint: Siscia
Weight: 2.03 g
Ref: LRBC 1428
SF3106, context 1024, old ground surface, Y7, Phase 5/6.

English

2. William I. Silver penny of BMC type vii
Obverse: +PILLELMREX
Reverse: +BRIIMMIIN•ONCC
Date: *c.*1083–1086
Weight. 1.05g
Ref: North 1963, 847
Mint: Struck at Chichester by the moneyer Brunman.
Note: The only other recorded coin of this type was lot 954 in the R.C. Lockett sale (Glendining, 6 June 1955); from different dies. If the following coin (type viii), which is customarily described as the last type of William I, is attributed to William II as his first type as has been suggested, then type vii becomes the last type of William I and must be dated to *c.* 1084–1087.
SF3133, context 1411, pit 1050, Y7, Phase 5/6.

3. William I . Cut half-penny of BMC type viii
Obverse: +[ ] REX
Reverse: [ ]NONCICST
Date: *c.* 1086–1087
Weight: 0.43 g
Ref: North 1963, 848–50
Mint: Struck at Chichester by the moneyer Brunman.
Note: From the same dies as BMC 609. It has recently been proposed that the type should be attributed to William II as his first type (Archibald 1984, 327), and although this has not yet been universally accepted, the argument is strong. The date then would be *c.* 1087–1089.
SF2348, context 687, chalk tip layers, Y5, sub-phase 4c.

4. Henry I. Silver penny of type BMC X
Obverse: +hENRICVSREX•
Reverse: +ĀLFRIC : ON LVN:
Date: *c.* 1117–1119; Blackburn 1991
Weight: 1.00 g
Ref: North 1963, 866
Mint: Struck at London by the moneyer Aelfric
Note: There is another example, but from different dies, in the Lincoln hoard.
SF1149, context 407, floor layer, building 416, Y5, sub-phase 5b.

5. Henry I. Silver penny of type BMC X
Obverse: +hE[NR]ICVSR[EXA]N:
Reverse: +[T]OV[IUS:O]N:O[X]F
Date: *c.* 1117–1119; Blackburn 1991
Weight: 1.14 g
Ref: North 1963, 866
Mint: Struck at Oxford by the moneyer Tovius (Tovi).
Note: There is an example from the same dies from the Manfield, Woodhouse, Nottinghamshire hoard (1991). There is also another example from different dies in the British Museum.
SF1083, context 501, mortar surface near building 593/298, Y5, sub-phase 5c.

6. Richard I. Silver penny of the short cross type (class 2),
Obverse: [ ]NRI VSR
Reverse: +GOLDWIN[EO]NCA
Date: *c.* 1189–1196
Weight: 1.21 g
Mint: Struck at Canterbury by the moneyer Goldwine.
Ref: North 1963, 966.
SF1002, context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.

7. Edward I. Silver penny, Class III .
Obverse: EDWR'AN[ ]NShYB
Reverse: CIVI TA[S] [L]ON DON
Date: 1280–1281
Weight: 1.33 g
Mint: London
SF2889, context 1320, Y10, Phase 8.

8. Edward III. Penny of the Third (Florin) coinage
Obverse: ED'RAGLD[NSHYB]
Reverse: CIVI TAS [EBO] RACI
Date: 1344–1351
Weight: 0.98 g
Mint: York.
Ref: North 1963, 1130.
SF154, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.

9. Edward III. Halfgroat of the Fourth (Pre-Treaty) series C
Obverse: [ ] crowned bust of king facing
Reverse: [ ] [ ]V ADIVT OREM CIVI TAS LON DON
Date: 1351–1352
Weight: 1.54 g (heavily clipped)
Mint: London
Ref: North 1963, 1148
SF161, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.

10. Henry VI. Groat of the Rosette/Mascle issue (mule of types IIIa/V)
Obverse: hERICI DI GRAREX ANGL ZAFRnd
Reverse: POSVI DEVM ADIVTOR E 'MEVM VIL LA CALI SIE
Date: 1427–1430
Weight: 3.76 g
Mint: Calais
Ref: North 1963, 1446
SF3124, Unstratified, Y7.

11. William III. Half-crown
Obverse: GULIELMVS• III[DEI G]RA
Reverse: MAG• BR•FRA ETHIB• REX16 96
Edge: DECVS ET TUTAMEN ANNO•REGNI [ ]
Date: 1696
Weight: 13.42 g
SF2, context 2, foundation trench for column base, Y1, Phase 9.

12. George III. Half-penny
Obverse: GEORGIVS• III REX
Reverse: BRITAN NIA• 1773
Date: 1773
Weight: 8.90 g
SF39, context 69, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 9.

13. George III. Half-penny
Obverse: GEORGIUS III• D: G: REX 1806
Reverse: BRITANNIA
Date: 1806
Weight: 8.69 g
SF26; Pit 41, Y1, Phase 9.

14. George V. Farthing
Obverse: GEORGIUS V DEI GRA: BRIT: OMN: REX FID:DEF: IND:IMP
Reverse: FARTHING
Date: 1925
Weight: 2.76 g
SF214, context 208, topsoil, Y6, Phase 9.

Anglo-Irish

15. George III. Counterfeit half-penny.
Obverse: GEORGIUS II•REX
Reverse: HIBERNIA 17 81
Date: 1781–*c.* 1820
Weight: 6.20 g
Note: A lightweight struck counterfeit combining an obverse of a George II coin with a reverse of George III. Young (1969, 20) states that the weight of the original George II half-penny should be 134 grains (8.68 g).
SF149, context 156, topsoil, Y5, Phase 9.

French

16. William I as Duke of Normandy (1035–87). Silver penny.
Obverse: three conjoining triangles each with a pellet in the centre around a small central cross
Reverse: Pseudo-legend; short cross with pellets and small crosses in opposing corners
Date: *c.* 1050–1075
Weight: 0.499 g
Mint: Rouen
Ref: Dumas 1979, pl. 19, 6; her group B/C
Note: Struck on a square flan.
SF1170, context 286, midden spread, Y5, sub-phase 6a.

17. Napoleon III. Ten centimes.
Obverse: NAPOLEON III EMPEREUR 1854
Reverse: EMPIRE FRANCAIS DIX CENTIMES
Date: 1854
Weight: 9.15 g
Mint: Lille
SF420, context 303, modern dump, Y6, Phase 9.

Jetons

Low Countries

18. Louis de Male
Obverse: + GETOERS: DE LΛTON:B
Reverse: Λ V ϵ C •
cross of three strands *fleurdelisée* with a quatrefoil in the centre, within a *tressure* of four arches.
Date: 1346–1384
Weight: 2.05 g
Ref: Barnard 1917, French series, no. 15; Mitchener 1988, 784.
SF204, context 181,Y5, Phase 8.

French

19. Of the Dauphiné.
Obverse: ΛVϵ•MΛPIΛ•GRΛCIΛ•P
dolphin embowed
Reverse: Λ V ϵ M
cross of three strands *fleurdelisée* with a quatrefoil in the centre within a *tressure* of four arches.
Date: *c.* 1373–1415
Weight: 4.2 g
Ref: Barnard 1917, French series, no. 62; Mitchener 1988, 492, but with dolphin facing right.
SF509, context 273, make-up layer, Y5, Phase 5/6.

German

20. Nuremburg, jeton of the 'Rose/Orb' series; anonymous issues.
Obverse: Fictitious legend. Lombardic lettering. Three open crowns and three *fleurs de lys* arranged alternately around a rose.
Reverse: Fictitious legend. Lombardic lettering. Large orb surmounted by a small linear cross within a double tressure of three curves and three angles set alternately.
Date: 1500–1550
Weight: 1.35 g
Ref: cf. Mitchener 1988, 1190–1226 (not in Barnard).
SF2772, context 1115, topsoil,Y10, Phase 9.

21. Nuremburg series by Hans Krauwinckel II.
Obverse: HANNS•KRAVWINCKEL• IN•NV
Reverse: +GOTES•REICH•BLIBT•EWICK
Date: *c.*1586–1635
Weight: 1.82 g
Ref: Mitchener 1988, 1551–2 (not in Barnard).
SF2487, context 1114, overlying courtyard, Y10, Phase 8.

Tokens

22. Farthing issued by Richard Priest in Portsmouth.
Obverse: (mullet) RICHARD PRIEST around squirrel
Reverse: (mullet) IN PORTSMOUTH around R I P
Date: 1648–1672
Weight: 1.09 g
Ref: Williamson 1889–91, Hampshire 159.
SF2871, context 1132, courtyard surface, Y10, Phase 8.

Addendum

23. Philip II of Spain. Gold escudo.
Date: 1590–1598
Mint: Seville
Ref: Coin identified by N. Mayhew, Ashmolean Museum.
SF34, context 70, cobbled surface, Y4, Phase 9.

2. Objects of Gold and Silver, by A.P. Fitzpatrick

Two objects of gold were recovered: a small gold pendant with a stamped motif on one side from a post-medieval context in Y10; and a Victorian mourning ring inscribed J T R Olt 12th Oct 1869 and with hair fibres *in situ.*

One dribble of grey metal was subjected to X-ray fluorescence analysis by C. Mortimer (Ancient Monuments Laboratory), and was found to be metalworking silver containing traces of gold and lead. This piece was recovered from a medieval context (Phase 6) in Y5.

3. Objects of Copper Alloy, by A.P. Fitzpatrick

The information relating to the copper alloy objects is presented in two sections. Full descriptions of, and contextual information for, the more diagnostic objects are presented in the archive, and this information is summarised in the text below. Lace tags and pins with spiral-wound heads are presented in tabular form (Tables 10 and 11). Full details are available in the archive.

The objects were x-rayed and 41 were then selected for interrogative conservation, which has been carried out by Margaret Brooks (Salisbury Conservation Laboratory). Several gilded cast copper fittings were further examined by XRF by C.

Table 10. Presence of lace tags by phase

Phase	*Crummy type*			
	1	2	Unid.	Total
5/6	2	-	1	3
8	9	3	3	15
9	-	1	-	1
Total	11	4	4	19

Mortimer. A full report on the conservation work is held in the archive.

The bulk of the assemblage is of medieval and post-medieval date and is dominated by items of costume or personal possessions. Most diagnostic objects are medieval, but their number seems surprisingly small. Copper alloy objects from the Anglo-Saxon graves are described in Chapter 3.

Medieval Items

Costume

There is only one brooch, a common 13th–14th century annular type (Fig. 48, 1) and few belt fittings or strap ends. One 14th–15th century buckle plate or strap end (Fig. 48, 2) is finely decorated but others, probably of a similar date, are plain (Fig. 48, 3), as is a simple double buckle (Fig. 48, 4).

The interpretation of a number of pieces as belt or purse fittings is not certain. One (Fig. 48, 5) is very similar to a fitting from Winchester which has been interpreted as a handle (Hinton 1990, 768, 778, fig. 224.2393). A further gilded piece (Fig. 48, 7), in the shape of a bird, may part of a horse harness pendant, or a belt plate. Another mercury gilded object may be a belt or scabbard runner (Fig. 48, 6) but a gilded pin (Fig. 48, 8) is presumably from a large buckle. All these pieces are likely to be of 12th–15th century date.

One buckle (Fig. 48, 9) is similar to a piece found with later 12th–13th century pottery at Colchester, Essex (Crummy 1988, fig. 18.1744), but similar buckles have also been dated to the 18th century (Goodall 1984, 339, fig. 190.93).

A few studs may have decorated leather belts or other pieces of costume. Although found in post-medieval contexts at Carisbrooke, the type is found in medieval contexts at Winchester (Hinton 1990, 1106, fig.361.422–4).

Seven pins with spiral wound heads which may have been hair pins were found in medieval contexts (Table 11; Fig. 49, 22). Three lace tags used for men's joined hose were also found (Table 10), none of them in contexts which need date before the later 14th century, which conforms to their usual dating (Crummy 1988, 12). One of the tags contains the remains of textiles. However, two wider and comparatively long tag-like objects, one also with textiles visible, were found in earlier contexts and these may be the predecessor to the well known smaller tags (Biddle 1990, 583, fig. 157.1792–3).

Domestic objects

Three pieces of gilded binding strip were found (Fig. 48, 10, 11). These are comparatively frequent finds on 12th–13th century sites, particularly castles, and may have decorated caskets or books (eg, Goodall 1983; Oakley and Webster 1979). One other piece, although it is not gilded (Fig. 48, 12), may be related, perhaps being a fan-shaped central moulding. This would represent an addition to the range of forms in binding strips (eg, Goodall 1981, fig.70).

A foot from a tripod vessel, perhaps a jug (Fig. 48, 13), was found in a post-medieval context but is best compared with vessels of 14th century date. There are rim fragments from a skillet and one which may be from an ewer (Fig. 49, 14, 15) which are likely to be of similar date. A single piece of binding from Phase 4/5 may have been the rim binding for a wooden or leather vessel.

Two rings may have been used for a variety of purposes but their use in the suspension of tapestries might be plausible at Carisbrooke. As there are so few

Table 11. Presence of copper alloy pins by phase

Phase	*Crummy type*							
	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*Unid.*	*Total*
5/6	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	3
6	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
7	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
8	21	48	-	-	-	1	16*	86
9	5	2	1	-	-	-	1	9
Total	30	50	1	-	-	1	21	103

* 11 of the uncertain identifications may be type 5 pins

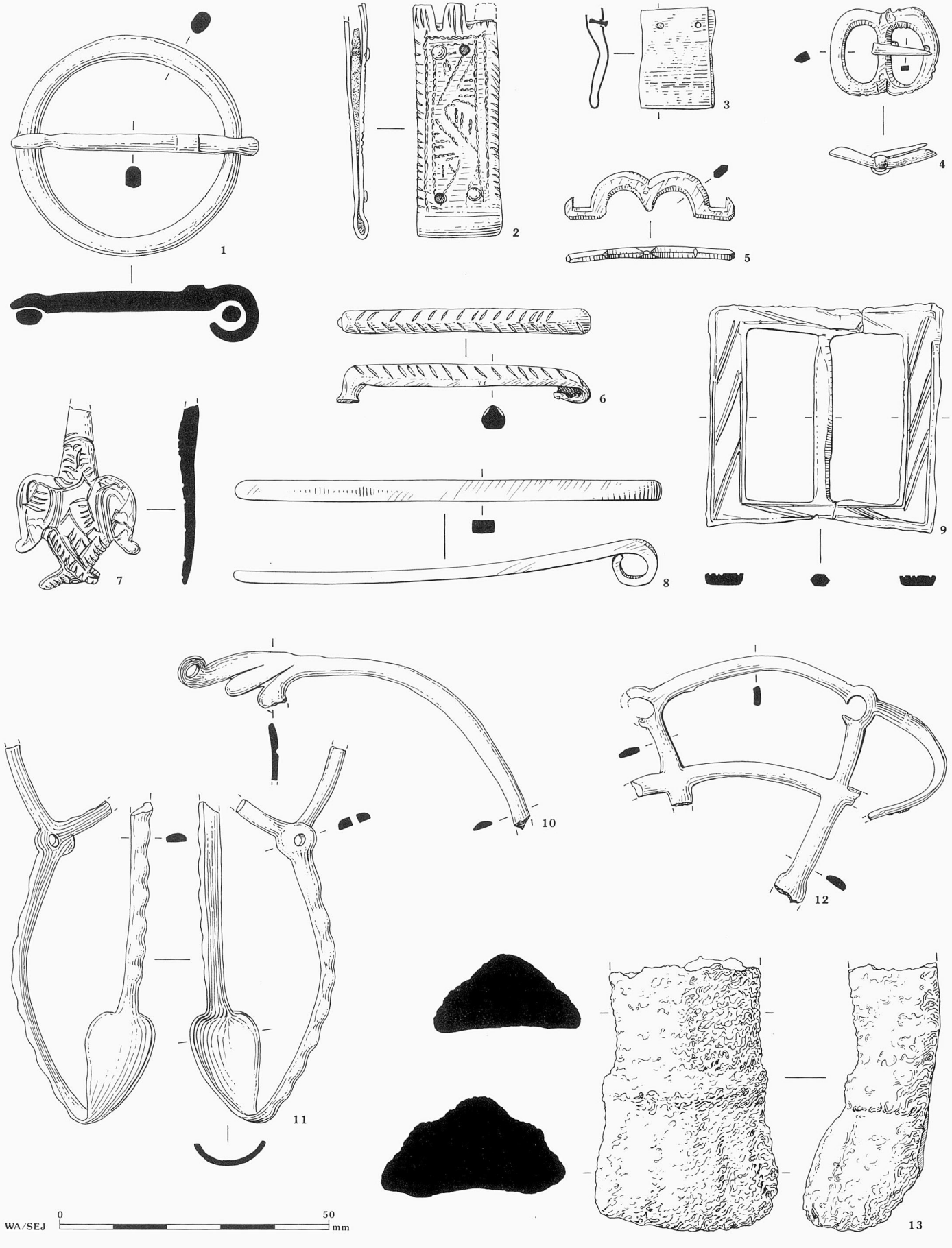

Figure 48 Copper alloy objects (1–13)

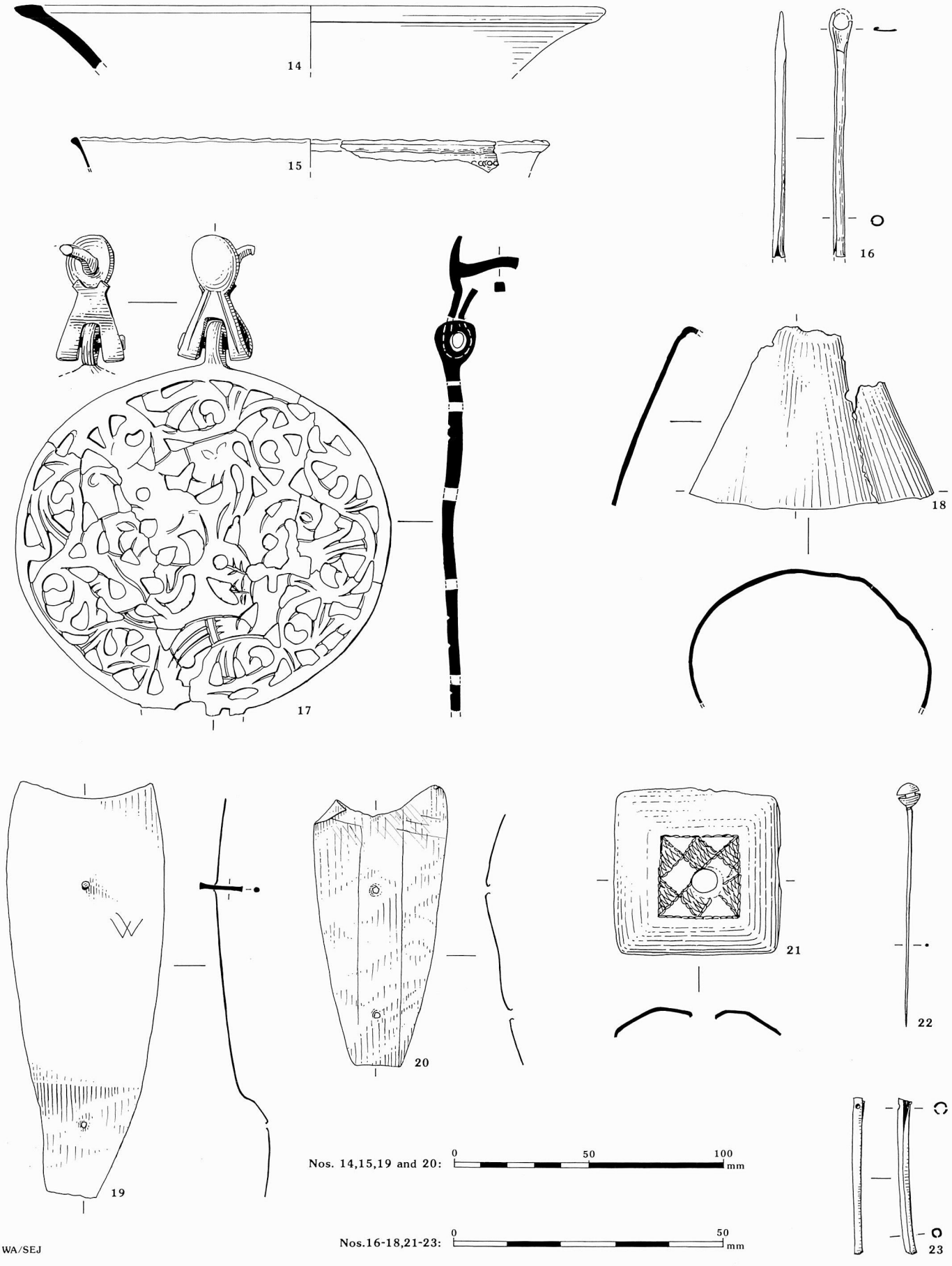

Figure 49 Copper alloy objects (14–23)

copper alloy items of post-medieval date which do not relate to clothing, other simple rings may also be of this date. A single bodkin (Fig. 49, 16) was also found.

Harness

A single elaborately decorated and mercury gilded brass openwork mount from a 12th century context may be a harness fitting (Fig. 49, 17), though it is more likely that this object is a lid. Another mercury gilded openwork mount could also be from a piece of harness. Perhaps surprisingly, no certain examples of harness pendants, bells or other trappings were found.

Weaponry

The absence of copper alloy fittings certainly associated with arms and armour is also noteworthy. What may be a ferrule, or perhaps a sword chape (Fig. 49, 18) and a mercury gilded mount which may be a dagger pommel (Fig. 49, 21; cf. LMMC 1954, 288, fig. 88.2, 3) were found. A series of unusual and unidentified plates were found, one in a medieval context (Phase 5/6; Fig. 49, 19). The discovery of a related piece from Sandal Castle, West Yorkshire (Goodall 1983, 237, fig. 2.140) might suggest a military association.

Post-Medieval Items

Nearly all the objects of certain post-medieval date are items of dress and may be accidental losses. The most common finds are lace tags (Table 10).

Costume

One buckle plate and perhaps the buckle (above) may be of post-medieval date as is a 17th century tinned shoe buckle. Fifteen lace tags were found in Phase 8 contexts (Table 10; Fig. 49, 23), a number of which retained traces of textiles. There are rather more Type 1 tags than Type 2, which appeared towards the end of the 16th century. A large number of pins with spiral-wound heads were also found in Phase 8 contexts in Y10, but many appear to be of steel (Table 10) and may be comparatively modern and perhaps intrusive into the contexts.

An elaborately decorated button and stud and perhaps the plain buttons may be 17th century, but there is also a modern button. A cap badge from the uniform or equipment of the Isle of Wight Rifle Volunteers dates to 1860.

Metalworking Debris

Besides the offcuts and some of the sheet metal which may have been scrap from medieval contexts, the only definite evidence for copper alloy working was a single fragment of sheet (10 g) with metalworking residues adhering from Phase 5/6. Otherwise copper alloy casting waste (19 g) was found in Phase 80, and a droplet (3 g) was unphased. A single dribble of metalworking siver was also found (p. 134).

List of illustrated objects

(Fig. 48)

1. Annular brooch; rectangular moulding on upper face of pin. SF2683, context 1160, build-up behind wall 1147, Y10, Phase 8.
2. Rectangular buckle plate or strap end; incised linear decoration. Remains of leather between plates. SF553, context 273, make-up layer, Y5, Phase 5/6.
3. Rectangular strap end; two rivets *in situ*. SF3105, context 1056, path 1055, Y7, Phase 5/6.
4. Double buckle; tongue wrapped around central moulding. SF4, Unstratified, Rigold (trench unknown).
5. Possible belt fitting, perhaps for suspending a purse. SF253, context 189, Y5, Phase 7.
6. Gilded belt or scabbard runner; incised chevron decoration. SF1164, context 286, midden spread, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
7. Broken mount or fitting in shape of bird, upper surface gilded with elaborate incised decoration. SF1304, context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
8. Gilded pin from large buckle. SF418, context 185, dumping layers, Y5, Phase 7.
9. Large broken buckle; incised diagonal lines. SF198, context 181, Y5, Phase 8.
10. Fragment of D-sectioned gilded binding; foliate terminal. SF718, context 291, pit in building 298, Y5, sub-phase 5c.
11. Folded length of gilded D-sectioned binding; a heart shaped moulding and perforation at junction of arms. Unstratified, R1.
12. D-sectioned binding or grill; ?originally fan shaped. Unstratified, Rigold (trench unknown).
13. Triangular-sectioned cast foot from tripod vessel. SF2776, context 1175, build-up behind wall 1147, Y10, Phase 8.

(Fig. 49)

14. Two joining fragments of shallow cast skillet; everted, internally bevelled rim. Unstratified, R1.
15. Part of everted, slightly thickened rim of vessel, ?ewer. SF1414, context 573, upper fill ditch 260, Y5, sub-phase 5a.
16. Bodkin of rolled sheet; eye and shank broken. SF1208, context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
17. Elaborate, hinged, openwork gilded brass fitting, lid or possibly harness fitting. SF1395, context 597, fill of ditch 260, Y5, sub-phase 5a.

Table 12. Window cames by context and phase

Phase	*Trench*	*Context*	*SF*	*Type*	*No.*	*Comment*
7	Y5	166	244	C	1	Bent over
7	Y5	189	268	C	1	
8	Y4	101	67	G	1	
8	Y4	102	73	E	3	Glass frags. on one piece
8	Y5	158	168	C	1	Holes in web
8	Y5	"	"	C	1	Solder joint
8	Y5	181	217	C	1	Solder joint
8	Y5	"	"	-	1	Misc. scrap
8	Y10	1112	2546	G	2	
8	Y10	1114	2506	A	1	Split in web
8	Y10	"	"	B	1	Soldered joint
8	Y10	"	"	C	1	Split in web
8	Y10	"	"	E	1	Solder joint
8	Y10	1121	2826	B/C	1	
8	Y10	"	"	E	1	
8	Y10	"	"	G	1	
8	Y10	1124	2521	G	1	
8	Y10	"	"	-	1	Semi-circular tie with solder
8	Y10	1124	2565	E/G	1	Twisted
8	Y10	1126	2528	E/G	1	
8	Y10	1133	2539	E	8	3 with solder joints, 1 with glass
8	Y10	1134	2577	E	3	
8	Y10	1153	2633	E/G	1	
8	Y10	1155	2638	E/G	1	Twisted, solder joint at end
8	Y10	1157	2668	-	1	Piece semi-circular tie
8	Y10	1161	2759	C	1	Split in web
8	Y10	1164	2732	E/G	2	Very decayed
8	Y10	1182	2819	B/C	3	2 with solder joints
8	Y10	1314	2886	-	1	Tie fragment
8	Y10	1323	2897	E/G	1	
8	Y10	1332	2921	G	4	1 with solder joint, corner of triangular light
8	Y10	1340	2922	C	1	Solder joint
8	Y10	1355	2923	G	12	Some with glass frags, 1 with solder joint at end
8	Y10	1372	2942	C	1	
9	Y10	1115	-	E	1	
9	Y10		-	-	1	Piece tie with semi-circular section
Total					65	

18. Two curved, joining, sheet fragments, possibly chape or clapper bell. SF2380, context 1256, Y5, Phase 4/5.
19. Leaf-shaped sheet; crescent-shaped broad end. Graffito W near middle and to one side. SF1594, context 443, barbican, Y7, Phase 5/6.
20. Leaf-shaped plate related to No. 19; lightly incised parallel lines either side of rivet holes. SF182, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
21. Decorated, diamond-shaped gilded mount, possibly a dagger pommel. SF370, context 189, Y5, Phase 7.
22. Large pin. SF1118, context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
23. Lace tag. SF2679, context 1114, overlying courtyard, Y10, Phase 8.

4. Objects of Lead, by A.P. Fitzpatrick

Full descriptions of the more diagnostic objects are included in the archive catalogue. Information relating to window cames and shot, is summarised in Tables 12 and 13.

Weights

Two types of weight were recovered; disc and bun-shaped. One disc weight with one decorated face came from a medieval context in Y5 (Phase 5/6); a very similar example, dated to the late 15th–16th century, is known from Sandal Castle (Goodall, 1983, fig. 2.107). A second disc weight came from a post-

medieval context (Phase 8) in Y10. The latter example had roughly scratched linear markings forming a cross on one face. A further plain lead disc, thinner than these two examples, may also be a weight. Two small, perforated, bun-shaped weights derived from medieval contexts in Y5 (Phase 6).

Cames

The window cames are summarised in Table 12, based on information supplied by Dr B. Knight (Ancient Monuments Laboratory). The cames have been classified into five types according to profile, based on the system established by Knight (1985, fig. 48). Types A, B, and C are handmade, and are the earliest technologically, while types E and G are milled. Lead milling is not documented before the mid 16th century, although an example from Battle Abbey was found in an early 15th century context (ibid., 156). With the exception of two examples from late medieval contexts in Y5 (Phase 7), all the window cames were recovered from post-medieval contexts (Phases 8/9), and most derived from Y10.

Glass fragments survived with one type E triangular light from Y4 (SF73). Approximate measurements of 55 mm, 55 mm, and 75 mm for the three sides, and angles of 50°, 50°, and 80° were obtained from the lead. A group of fragments of type G cames from Y10 also had glass surviving (SF2923). These presumably derive from the edge of a panel of diamond-shaped quarries, with implied dimensions of 90 mm x 90 mm, and angles of 75° and 105°.

Other Structural Fittings

Two irregular sheet fragments may have had some structural function. One has cut-outs, possibly original, in the body, and may have formed part of a ventilated fitting. The other is a curved strip-like fragment narrowing to a point at one end, with one hole near the point, possibly for attachment. Both these fragments came from a post-medieval context in Y7 (432).

Shot

Nine shot were recovered. All are spherical, and show no signs of flattening by impact. Eight are of a similar size (see Table 13), either 17 mm or 18 mm in diameter and ranging in weight from 31 to 39 g, giving a mean size of 17.5 mm diameter and 34.9 g weight, suggesting musket shot. The single smaller shot has a diameter of 14 mm and a weight of 13 g, and may be a carbine ball, scatter from canister shot, or from an arquebus or caliver (Credland 1983, 261). All shot derived from post-medieval or modern contexts (Phases 8/9). Six examples came from Y4, with single examples from Y1, Y5, and Y10.

Table 13. Lead shot by context and phase

Phase	*Trench*	*Context*	*Obj. No.*	*Diam. (mm)*	*Weight (g)*
8	Y1	10	15	17	33
8	Y4	101	87	18	31
8	Y4	107	76	18	39
8	Y4	"	"	17	31
8	Y5	158	183	17	33
9	Y4	70	49	17	37
9	Y4	"	"	18	39
9	Y4	71	56	18	36
-	Y10	U/S	2951	14	13

Miscellaneous Objects

Two miscellaneous objects were recovered: a broken collar, possibly from a powder flask nozzle, and a socketed object of unknown function.

5. Objects of Iron, by M. Fairbrother

Full descriptions of, and contextual information for, the more diagnostic iron objects are presented in the archive catalogue; this information is summarised in the text below. The majority of the finds have been X-radiographed (Ancient Monuments Laboratory) and a sample of 277 objects selected for interrogative conservation; all conservation work has been carried out by M. Brooks (Salisbury Conservation Laboratory). Non-ferrous plating, rivets, and other fittings were indicated on the radiographs of many objects, and 74 objects were selected for further examination by XRF, carried out by Dr C. Mortimer (Ancient Monuents Laboratory) and M. Brooks. A full report on the conservation work can be found in archive. The identifications confirmed by XRF are used in the text and catalogue; ie, terms such as 'brass' and 'tin plating' are used advisedly. Where XRF analysis failed to elucidate these details, general terms such as 'white metal plating' and 'copper alloy' are used.

The bulk of the assemblage is of medieval and post-medieval date and is dominated, as might be expected at a castle, by military and horse equipment, as well as containing normal domestic fittings and functional items. Agricultural finds were few. Finds from the Anglo-Saxon graves are described in Chapter 3.

Abbreviation

LMMC = *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*

Military Equipment

Arrowheads

A fine collection of 103 arrowheads was found, the majority complete or nearly complete, and worthy of specialist study. The arrowheads were classified according to the typology presented in LMMC 1954 (Table 14), and further divided into military and hunting types (though see Jessop 1996 for a critique of this typology). The typology does not correspond to chronological development. Close dating of arrowheads is normally difficult; even using Jessop's revised typology (ibid.), most of the arrowhead types found at Carisbrooke can only be assigned to a general medieval date range.

It is known that certain military types of arrowhead, such as type 1 (socketed, with flat sectioned angular blades) were in use in the earlier part of the medieval period, and one of the two examples found is from an early medieval context (Fig. 50, 1). This type persisted until the 13th century, when the increasing use of plate armour led to the development of armour-piercing arrowheads of types 7–12, type 7 being long, slender and lanceolate, and the remaining types heavier and more bodkin- and bullet-headed. These types of arrowheads were contemporaneous and their different styles reflect the differing needs of the bowman rather than a chronological development, as shown by a German crossbow quiver of c.1470 in the Wallace Collection (Mann 1962, A1061), which contained ten crossbow bolts, three with type 7, four type 11, and three types 8 and 9 (Wise 1983, 38). There are examples of types 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 in medieval, late medieval, and post-medieval contexts at Carisbrooke.

Barbed arrowheads were probably used occasionally in battle as late as the 13th century, particularly the earliest form, type 13, with long sockets and fairly short barbs, but in the later medieval period they were confined to the chase. Dating is difficult but it is thought that the more elaborate, long barbed, broad-headed types belong to the 14th and 15th centuries (LMMC 1954, 66ff). All the hunting arrowheads found at Carisbrooke were from late medieval or post-medieval contexts.

Socketed arrowheads are more common than tanged, and only one tanged example, of armour-piercing type, was recovered (Fig. 51, 41). Military arrowheads predominate (78 examples) while there were 22 barbed hunting types (Table 14).

Other military equipment

Staff weapons include a decorated pikehead (Fig. 51, 42), three pikeheads with pronounced midribs and flattened blade edges (Fig. 51, 45, 46), a wide leaf-shaped spearhead (Fig. 51, 44), and a long thin lancehead (Fig. 51, 47), from medieval and post-medieval contexts. One fragment of a sword blade (Fig. 51, 49) and several pieces of shot and shell were found. There were three fragments of armour, two pieces of flattened wire loop chain mail (Fig. 52, 51), and an interesting plate from a brigandine with four brass rivets *in situ* and coarse woven material under them (Fig. 52, 50). The latter is a comparatively rare find in this country. Most of the identifiable examples of this type of armour come from northern Europe and Scandinavia.

Many fragments of iron plate were recovered. Those with definite shapes, fixings, and distinguishing characteristics have been illustrated, since there is a clear possibility that some are from plate armour (Fig. 58, 141–51).

Horse Equipment

Spurs

Four prickspurs were found. Three (Fig. 52, 52) are of a similar type, common in the late 12th and 13th centuries, with bi-pyramidal goads on short necks and slightly curving sides, having terminals with two rivets. The remaining prickspur is a later form, of 13th–early 14th century date, with a longer neck and very curving sides (Fig. 52, 53).

Rowel spurs first appeared in the first half of the 13th century, and four examples were found at Carisbrooke. Three are of similar 14th century type, with short necks, fairly simple rowels and curving, slender sides. One retains a spur buckle and hook attachment for the spur leather (Fig. 52, 54). The fourth is of post-medieval type, with wide sides curving only slightly to upturned terminals, and a multi-pointed rowel on a down-turned neck (Fig. 52, 55).

Horseshoes

The 38 horseshoes and fragments have been divided into Norman and later medieval types. The Norman type, which persisted into the 13th century, is characteristically narrow, having countersunk nail-holes, a wavy outer edge and tapering arms. Three

Table 14. Types and numbers of arrowheads

	Military						*Hunting*					*Total*
Type	*1*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*6*	*13*	*15*	*16*	*Tanged*	*Misc.*	
No.	2	41	9	12	4	9	1	2	2	17	1	3	103

complete (Fig. 53, 56–8) and twelve incomplete examples are all considered to be of 12th–13th century date. This type of horseshoe was succeeded in the 13th century by a type with plain edges, rectangular nail-holes and tapering arms (Fig. 53, 59–61). This type persisted into the 14th century and beyond, with the arms becoming square-cut at the tips. Late medieval and early post-medieval shoes are characteristically broader, but basically the late medieval type persisted until shoes with a keyhole inner profile were introduced towards the middle of the 17th century, and for this reason the latest examples in the catalogue have been assigned a date of 14th century onwards. A note is made of the presence of calkins, and their type, but these are not chronologically diagnostic.

Personal Equipment

Buckles

Seventeen buckles of both personal and harness types were found. The single D-shape and rectangular buckles are the most common medieval types (Fig. 53, 62–3). More elaborate double buckles, particularly the figure-of-eight form (Fig. 53, 69) were a late medieval development, as was the butterfly shape illustrated by Figure 53, 70. Buckles with revolving bars (Fig. 53, 65, 66) or sheet iron revolving cylinders (Fig. 53, 67, 8) are usually considered to be harness buckles, the moving parts facilitating the insertion of a leather strap. The revolving bar type is found as early as the 11th century, gradually becoming superseded by the revolving cylinder type.

Other personal fittings

Personal fittings other than buckles included a button (Fig. 53, 71), the metal frame from a patten, or wooden clog (Fig. 53, 72) and a complete heel iron (Fig. 53, 73). Pattens and heel and toe irons are post-medieval developments in footwear.

Implements

Knives, scissors and shears

Of the (non-grave-good) knives, 14 are of whittle tang type and only nine of scale tang. Whittle tang knives are normally the only type found until the early 14th century, but remain the most common type until the early 15th century. Whilst 12th and 13th century tangs normally penetrate only a short distance into the handle (Fig. 54, 74); on later whittle tang knives the tang often extends the whole length of the handle (Fig. 54, 79). Most whittle tang handles are cylindrical like that illustrated as Figure 54, 81, where part or all of the bone handles survive. Traces of bone or wooden handles survive on five other examples (Fig. 54, 74, 75, 78). Most of the knives are standard 13th–15th century types and only two are more elaborate, with a hilt plate (Fig. 54, 79) and bolster (Fig. 54, 81). Only one example (Fig. 54, 77) has a maker's mark on the blade.

Scale tang knives were introduced in the 13th century, but were not common until the 14th. The nine examples were all from late medieval and post-medieval contexts. Two have inlaid makers' marks (Fig. 54, 84). Most have iron rivets for the scales, but some have hollow brass rivets. One example (Fig. 54, 83) still retains one of its bone scales, together with traces of a second, horn scale and a layer of lead solder. The two most elaborate examples (Fig. 54, 84, 85) have brass handle fittings and traces of horn and wooden scales respectively.

One nearly complete pair of scissors was found, of 14th–15th century type, with solid circular loops set symmetrically to the axis of the handles (Fig. 54, 86). A complete pair of plain 12th–13th century type shears, lacking any recesses between the blades and the arms, was recovered (Fig. 54, 87). Other examples include a late 14th century shear blade (Fig. 54, 88) and a nearly complete 15th century pair, with single recesses at the top of straight-backed blades (Fig. 54, 89). An unstratified shear blade bore an inlaid brass maker's mark.

Tools

Agricultural tools include a dibber, spade sheath, and billhook (Fig. 55, 90–2); woodworking tools include a chisel, wedges, and a gouge bit (Fig. 55, 93, 94). There are punches for ironworking (Fig. 55, 95, 96), awls for leatherworking (Fig. 55, 97, 98), heckle teeth for woolworking, part of a pair of nutcrackers, and a pair of tweezers.

Locks and Keys

Padlocks

Two padlocks occurred in late medieval contexts. Both have end keyholes, attached fins and tubes, and are copper-plated. The larger (Fig. 56, 102) is complete and in the locked position and has some longitudinal incised decoration on the barrel. The smaller (Fig. 56, 101), lacks its bolt, spine, and springs, and has applied longitudinal ribs bearing incised decoration. Parts of two brass-plated barrel padlock bolts were also recovered from medieval contexts, both with curled spring heads around their bars (Fig. 56, 103, 104). Four other fragments of padlock bolts and springs were recorded.

Keys

Four padlock keys for barrel padlocks include two of the long variety illustrated in LMMC 1954, figure 44

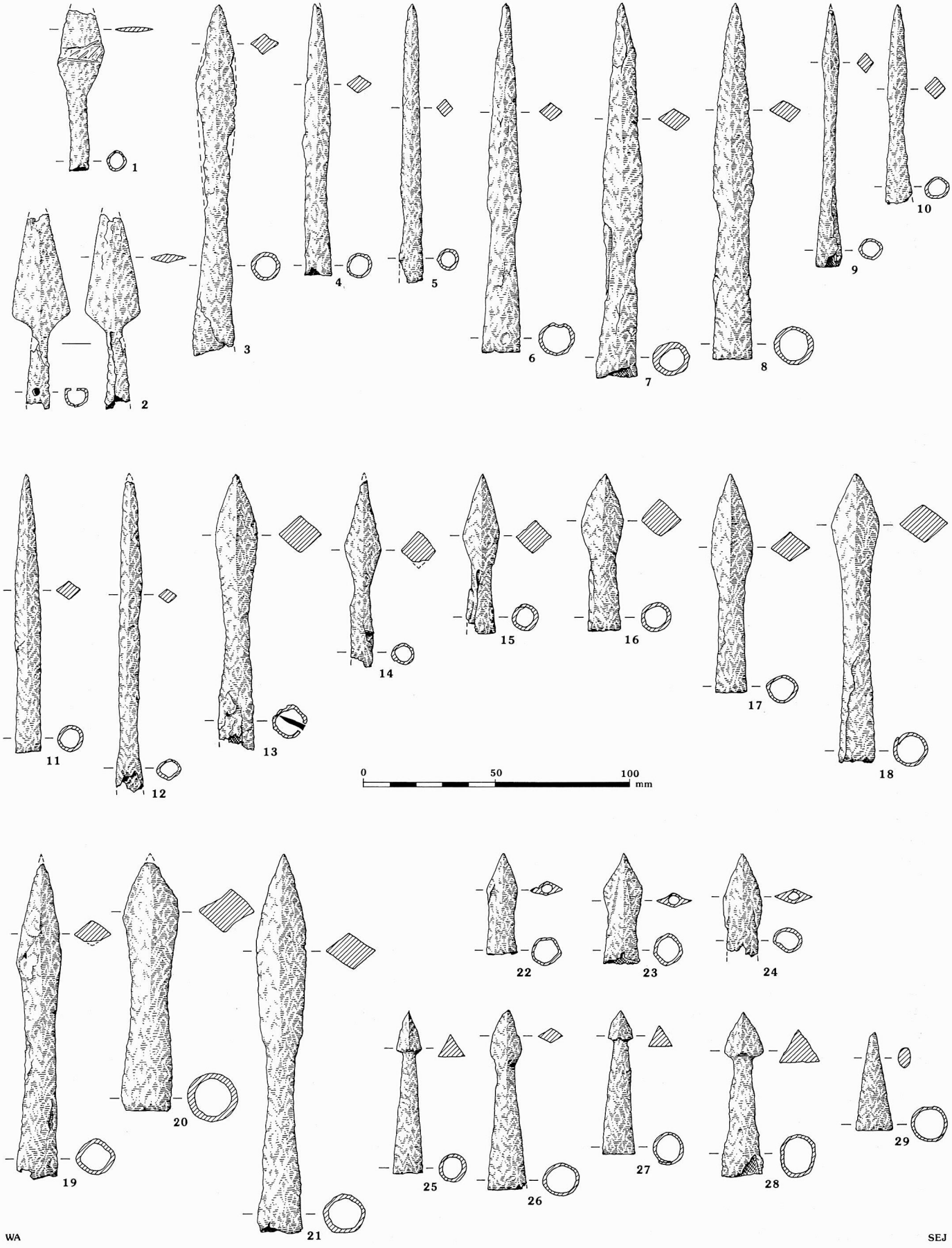

Figure 50 Iron objects: arrowheads (1–29)

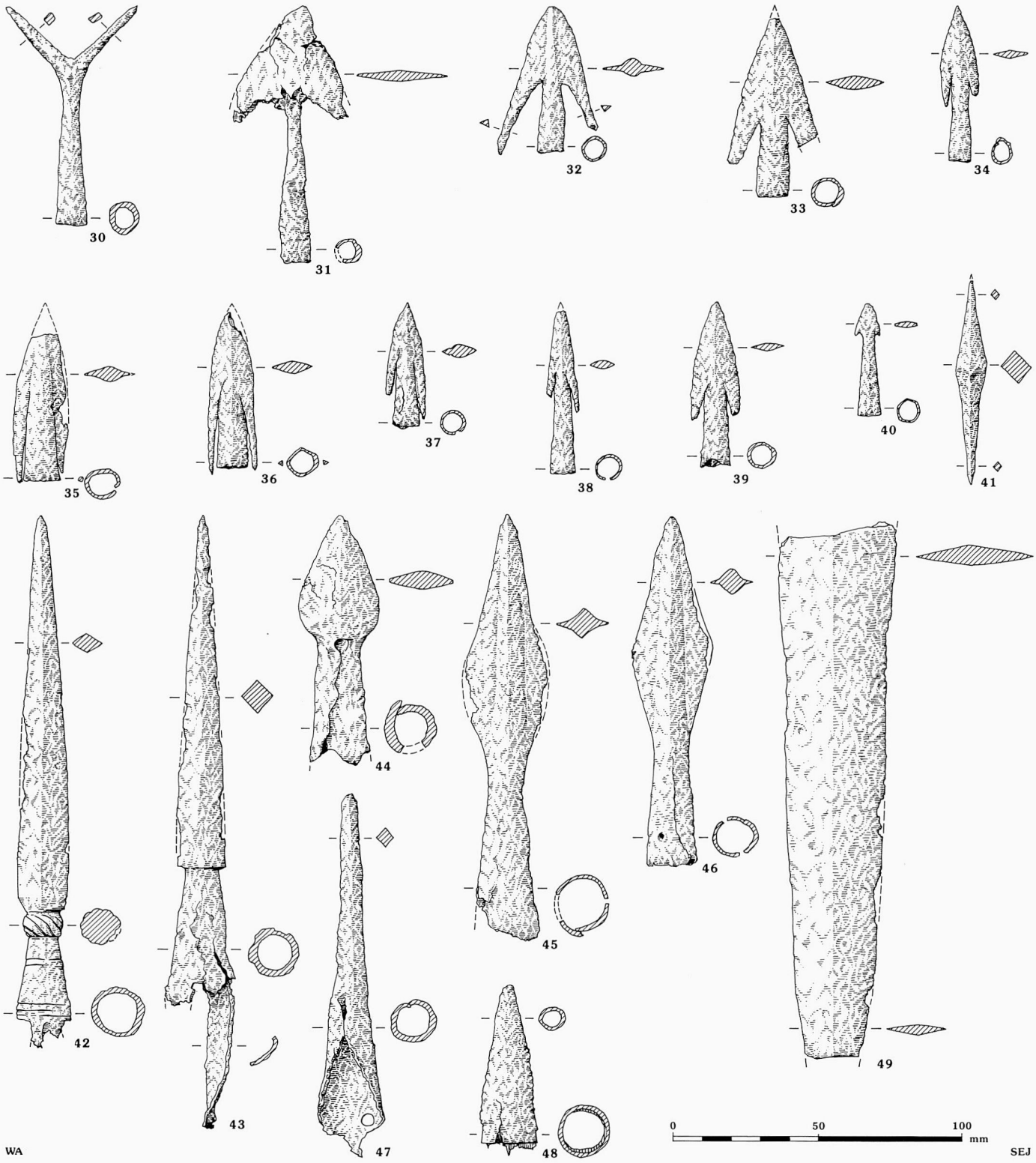

Figure 51 Iron objects: arrowheads (30–49)

(Fig. 56, 109, 110) and two of a shorter type (Fig. 56, 111, 112).

The medieval types amongst the 12 keys for doors and chest were classified using the LMMC typology. There are three chest keys, with hollow tips, designed to operate a form of lock with a central projecting pin over which fitted the open tubular end of the key. Two are of type III (12th–15th century) with an oval bow predating the example with a kidney-shaped bow (Fig. 56, 113) which is of 15th century date. The remaining chest key (Fig. 56, 114) is similar to type VI keys of the 14th and 15th centuries, although the type is usually manufactured in bronze.

The nine door keys, characterised by solid stems with tapering points and symmetrical wards, for use from either side of the door, are of types IV (11th–15th

century), VIIA, and VIIB (mid 13th–15th century). The four type IV examples are likely to be 11th–14th century in date, with Figure 56, 115 being the earliest, and Figure 56, 118, 14th century. The one example of type VIIA is 13th–14th century. There are four examples of type VIIB, the most common medieval door key, and all have D-shaped or oval bows, solid stems which project to a pointed tip beyond the bit, and wards around a central opening (Fig. 56, 120). All are likely to be of 14th–early 15th century date; in the 15th century the oval bow takes on a pronounced kidney shape.

Structural Ironwork

Hinge pivots vary in size according to function, with a very small pivot being probably for furniture, and a very large pivot being for a door. Hinges are mainly strap hinges, one with a leaf terminal, and there is a decorative 'cockshead' hinge (Fig. 57, 121). One door latch rest has a decorative leaf terminal fixing (Fig. 57, 122). Other structural ironwork includes dowels, a wall anchor, roves and a washer (Fig. 57, 124), and wall hooks. None of the structural ironwork can be closely dated, but 'cockshead' hinges are thought to have been introduced in the second half of the 16th century.

Other Iron Objects

Other iron objects include binding strips for caskets or furniture, characteristically thin, and flat-backed, with small nail-holes for fixing. Two examples have trefoil ends with central nail-holes (Fig. 57, 125, 126) and one is an incomplete cross with central nail-hole (Fig. 57, 127). Hooks, chains, and links include examples which could be for harness (Fig. 57, 134, 135), as well as suspension hooks with swivel and looped terminals (Fig. 57, 132, 133).

Miscellaneous iron objects include a nearly complete animal bell of a type still used in the Mediterranean and elsewhere (Fig. 57, 151), but most of the other objects described and illustrated in this category could not be identified.

List of illustrated objects

Arrowheads (military Nos 1–29, hunting Nos 30–9)
(Fig. 50)

1. LMMC type 1, tip missing. SF2252, context 649, Y5, Phase 4/5.
2. LMMC type 1, tip missing. SF1277, context 510, fill of ditch 260, Y5, sub-phase 5a.
3. LMMC type 7, socket incomplete. SF120B, context 118, upper fill motte ditch, Y4, Phase 5/6.
4. LMMC type 7, socket incomplete. SF160B, context 156, topsoil, Y5, Phase 9.
5. LMMC type 7, socket incomplete. SF160D, context 156, topsoil, Y5, Phase 9.
6. LMMC type 7, complete. SF190C, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
7. LMMC type 7, socket incomplete. SF190E, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
8. LMMC type 7, complete. SF208, context 181, Y5, Phase 8.
9. LMMC type 7, socket incomplete. SF401, unstratified in ditch 260, Y5, sub-phase 5a.
10. LMMC type 7, socket incomplete. SF1383, context 573, upper fill ditch 260, Y5, sub-phase 5a.
11. LMMC type 7, complete. SF2660A, context 1156, build-up behind wall 1147, Y5, Phase 8.
12. LMMC type 7, socket incomplete. Obj. No.2660B, context 1156, build-up behind wall 1147, Y10, Phase 8.
13. LMMC type 8, socket incomplete. SF120C, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
14. LMMC type 8, socket incomplete. SF1086, context 286, midden spread, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
15. LMMC type 8, socket incomplete. SF1103, context 286, midden spread, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
16. LMMC type 8, complete. SF2816, context 1179, pit 1185, Y10, Phase 8.
17. LMMC type 9, complete. SF160E, context 156, topsoil, Y5, Phase 9.
18. LMMC type 9, complete. SF160L, context 156, topsoil, Y5, Phase 9.
19. LMMC type 9, complete. SF190F, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
20. LMMC type 9, complete. SF372, context 166, dumping layer, Y5, Phase 7.
21. LMMC type 9, complete. SF398, context 257, Y5, Phase 5/6.
22. LMMC type 10, complete. SF177D, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
23. LMMC type 10, socket incomplete. SF1671, context 430, Y7, Phase 8.
24. LMMC type 10, socket incomplete. SF2906, context 1328, post-hole, Y10, Phase 8.
25. LMMC type 11, complete. SF309B, context 173, Y5, Phase 8.
26. LMMC type 11, socket incomplete. SF2497, context 1114, overlying courtyard, Y10, Phase 8.
27. LMMC type 11, complete. SF2554, context 1114, overlying courtyard, Y10, Phase 8.
28. LMMC type 11, socket incomplete. SF2603, context 1156, build-up behind wall 1147, Y10, Phase 8.
29. Miscellaneous type. SF2722, context 1163, Y10, Phase 8.

(Fig. 51)

30. LMMC type 6, complete. SF652, Y5, Phase 5/6.

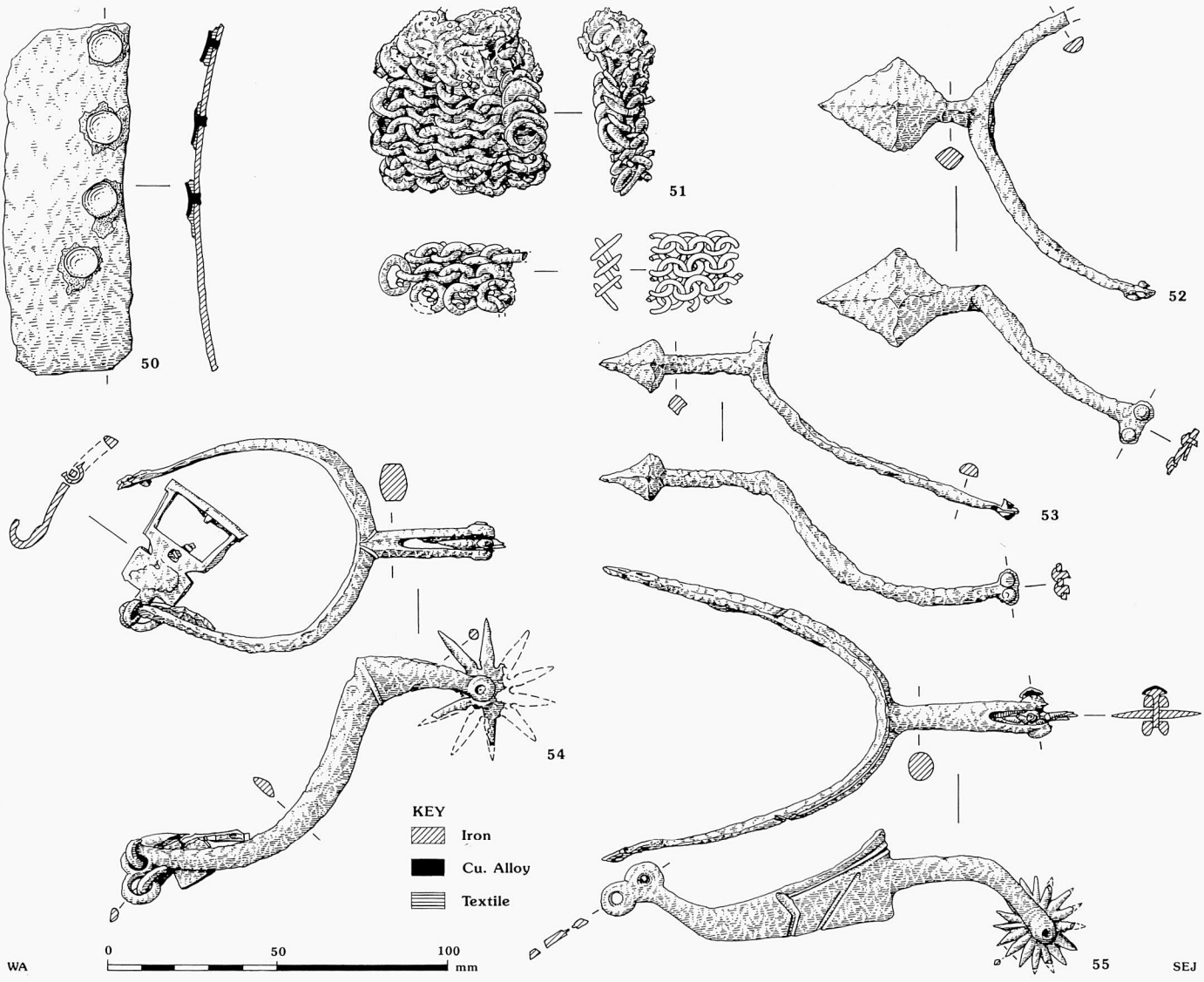

Figure 52. Iron objects: armour and horse equipment (50–55)

31. LMMC type 13, incomplete. SF1001, context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
32. LMMC type 15, incomplete. SF177C, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
33. LMMC type 15, incomplete. SF2604, context 1156, build-up behind wall 1147, Y10, Phase 8.
34. LMMC type 16, incomplete. SF177H, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
36. LMMC type 16, complete. SF411, context 174, greensand dumping layer, Y5, Phase 7.
37. LMMC type 16, incomplete. SF.464C, context 263, Y5, Phase 5/6.
38. LMMC type 16, incomplete. SF533, context 273, make-up layer, Y5, Phase 5/6.
39. LMMC type 16, incomplete. SF2746, context 1161, tip layer, Y10, Phase 8.
40. Barbed arrowhead, complete. SF350, context 253, Y5, Phase 5/6.
41. Tanged arrowhead, complete. SF192, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.

Staff Weapons

42. Pikehead, nearly complete. SF58, context 73, layer below cobbles, Y4, Phase 8.
43. Pikehead, complete. SF95, context 104, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
44. Spearhead/javelin, complete. SF98, context 101, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
45. Pikehead, complete. SF123, context 118, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
46. Pikehead, complete. SF417, context 259, Y5, Phase 5/6.

47. Lance/pikehead, incomplete. SF2414, context 1105,Y10, Phase 8.
48. Weapon point, complete. SF2390, context 1280, Y5, Phase 4/5.

Swords

49. Part of sword blade. SF2551, context 1114, overlying courtyard,Y10, Phase 8.

Armour

(Fig. 52)

50. Plate from a coat of plates (brigandine). SF226, context 189, dumping layer,Y5, Phase 7.
51. Fragments of chain mail. SF2601, context 1114, overlying courtyard,Y10, Phase 8.

Horse Equipment:

Spurs

52. Prickspur, incomplete. SF671, context 349,Y5, Phase 6.
53. Prickspur, incomplete. SF291, context 170, pit 172,Y5, Phase 8.
54. Rowel spur, nearly complete. Unstratified, R1.
55. Rowel spur, incomplete. SF194, context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.

Horseshoes

(Fig. 53)

56. Norman type, complete. SF2352, context 1232/687, surface/tip layers,Y5, sub-phase 4a/4c.
57. Norman type, complete. SF3024, context 685, hearth 700,Y5, sub-phase 4b.
58. Norman type, complete. SF3279, context 1296, ditch 1602,Y5, sub-phase 4c.
59. Group of incomplete later medieval type. SF172, context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.
60. Fragment of later medieval type. SF210C, context 181,Y5, Phase 8.
61. Complete example of later medieval type. SF567, context 337,Y5, Phase 5/6.

Personal Equipment:

Buckles

62. D-shaped single buckle. SF3074, context 1260, tip layer in 687,Y5, sub-phase 4c.
63. Rectangular single buckle. SF2840, Unstratified, Y10, Unphased.
64. Single buckle, trapezoidal. SF165C, context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.
65. Single buckle with revolving bar. SF1233, context 269, yard surface,Y5, sub-phase 6a.
66. Single buckle with revolving bar. SF248, context 168, pit 167,Y5, Phase 8.
67. Single buckle with revolving cylinder. SF2419, context 1119, topsoil,Y10, Phase 9.
68. Large double buckle with revolving cylinder. SF2420, context 1120, overlying courtyard,Y10, Phase 8.
69. Double buckle. SF165B, context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.
70. Double buckle. SF165A, context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.

Other personal fittings

71. Button. SF2265, context 688,Y5, Phase 4/5.
72. Patten frame. SF295, context 295,Y5, Phase 8.
73. Heel iron. SF175, context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.

Implements: Knives

(Fig. 54)

74. Incomplete whittle tang knife. SF141, context 137, motte ditch,Y4, Phase 5/6.
75. Incomplete whittle tang knife. SF186B, context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.
76. Incomplete whittle tang knife. SF610, context 262,Y5, Phase 5/6.
77. Incomplete whittle tang knife with maker's mark. SF264, context 169,Y5, Phase 7.
78. Incomplete whittle tang knife. SF1555, context 440, topsoil of medieval bank,Y7, Phase 5/6.
79. Incomplete whittle tang knife. SF2520, context 1124,Y5, Phase 8.
80. Incomplete whittle tang knife. SF2576, context 1134, overlying courtyard,Y10, Phase 8.
81. Complete whittle tang knife with bone handle. SF2676, context 1114, overlying courtyard,Y10, Phase 8.
82. Incomplete scale tang knife. SF175, context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.
83. Incomplete scale tang knife with a bone scale. SF2689, context 1160, build-up behind wall 1147,Y10, Phase 8.
84. Incomplete scale tang knife with copper alloy fittings. SF175, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
85. Handle of scale tang knife with copper alloy rivets. SF2509, context 1114, overlying courtyard,Y10, Phase 8.

Scissors

86. Incomplete pair of scissors. Context 2007, Rigold (trench unknown).

Shears

87. Complete pair of shears. SF1073, context 509, Y5, Phase 5/6.
88. Shear blade and arm. SF2733, context 1165, build-up behind wall 1147,Y10, Phase 8.
89. Pair of shears with tips missing. SF191, context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.

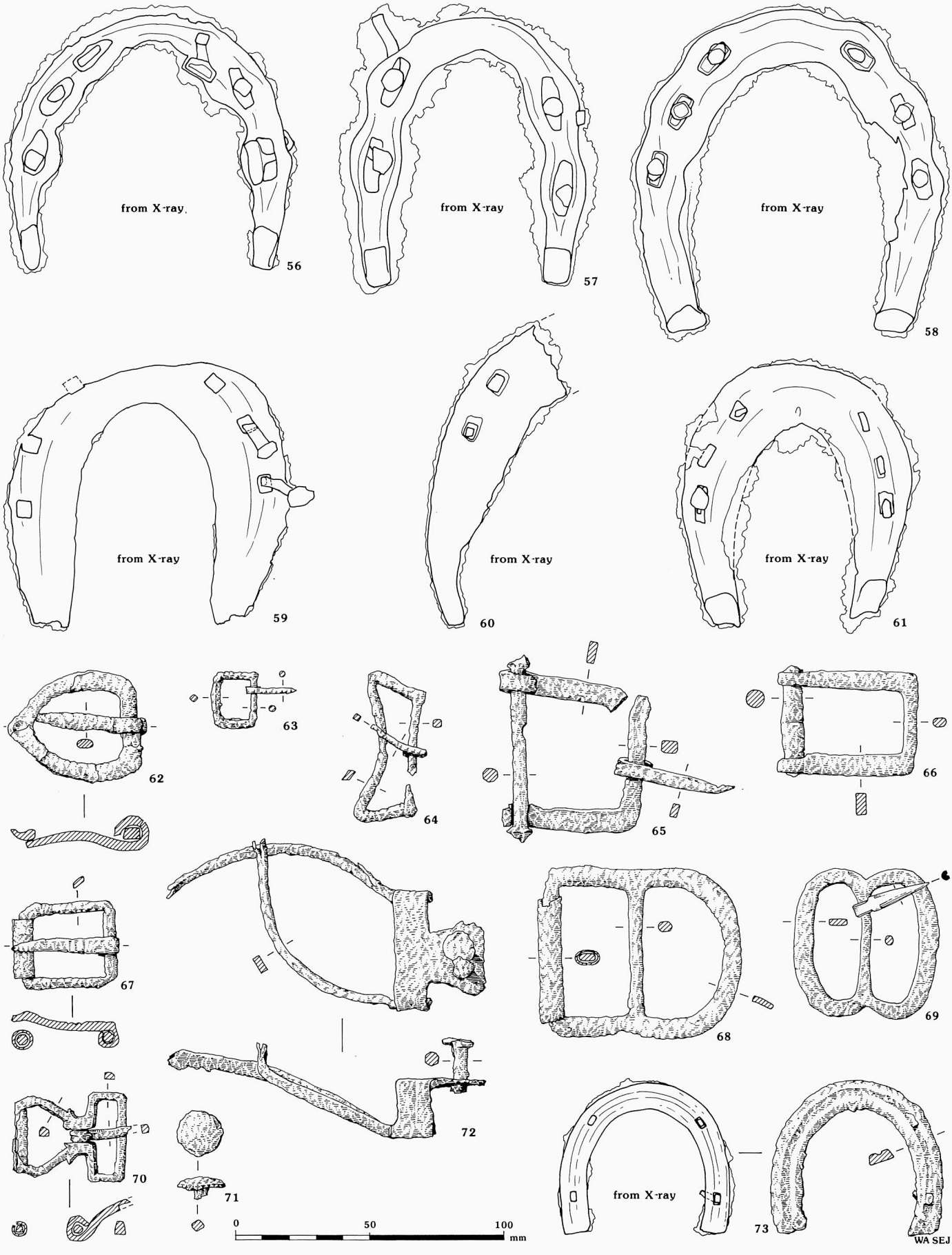

Figure 53 Iron objects: horseshoes and personal items (56–73)

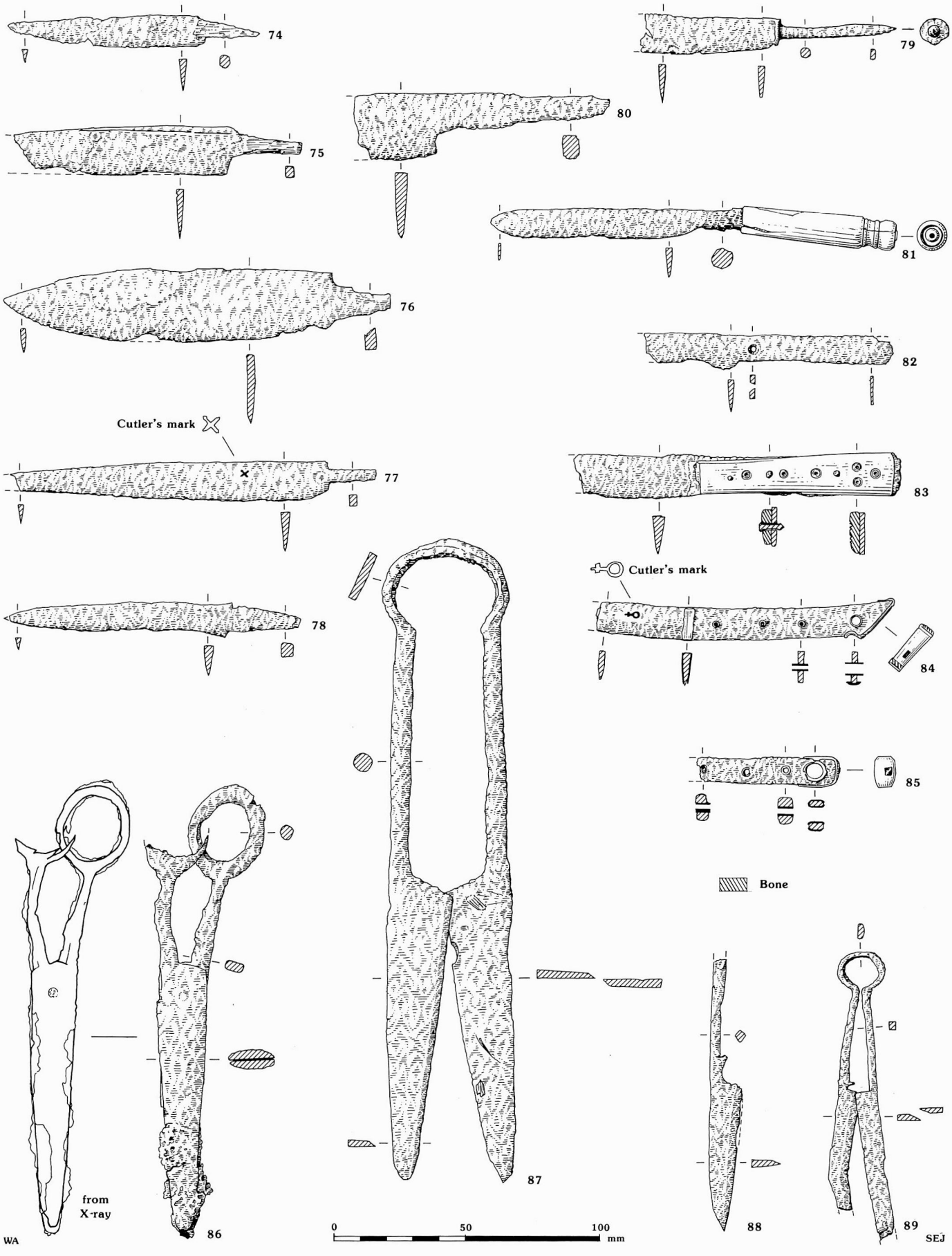

Figure 54 Iron objects: implements (74–89)

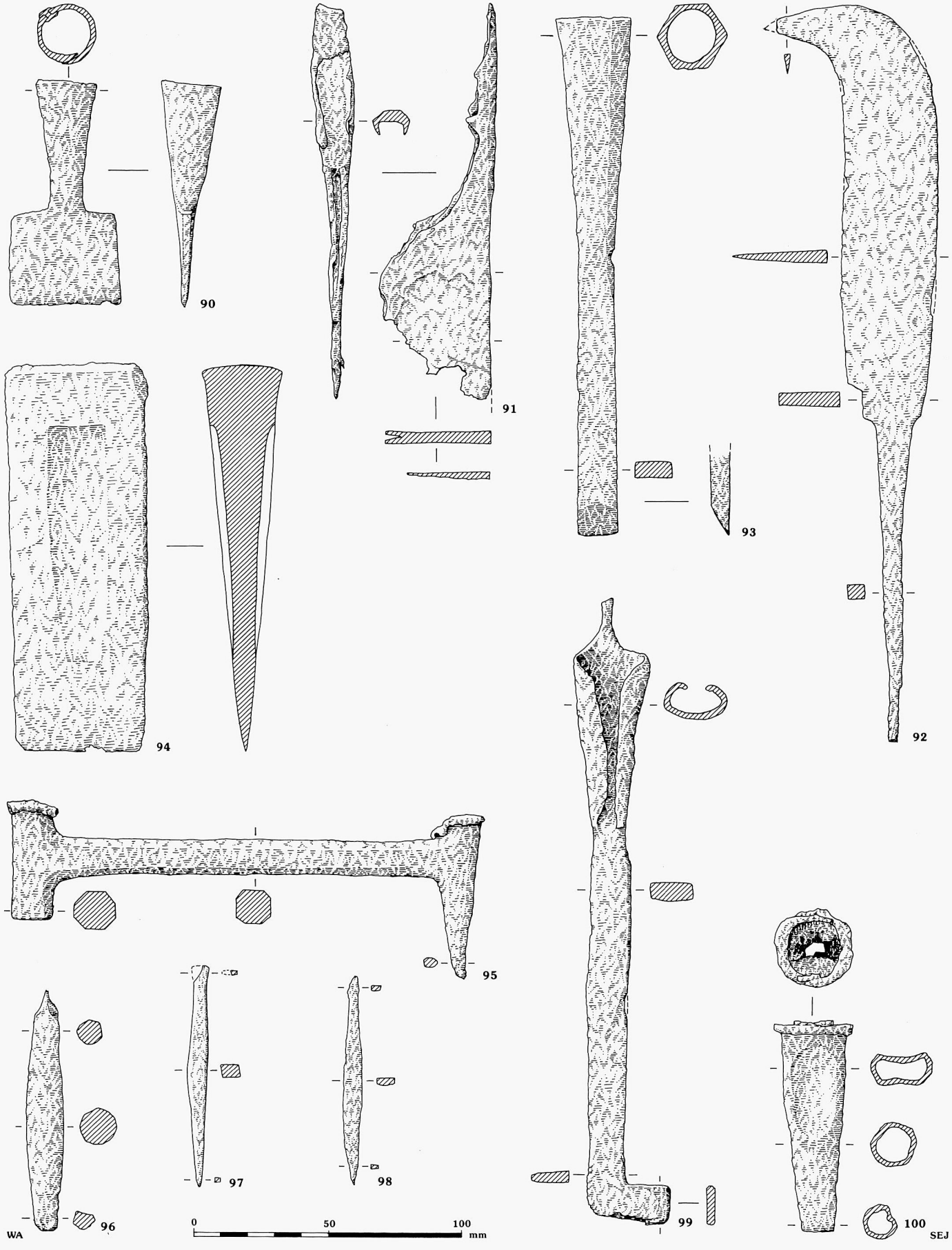

Figure 55 Iron objects: tools (90–100)

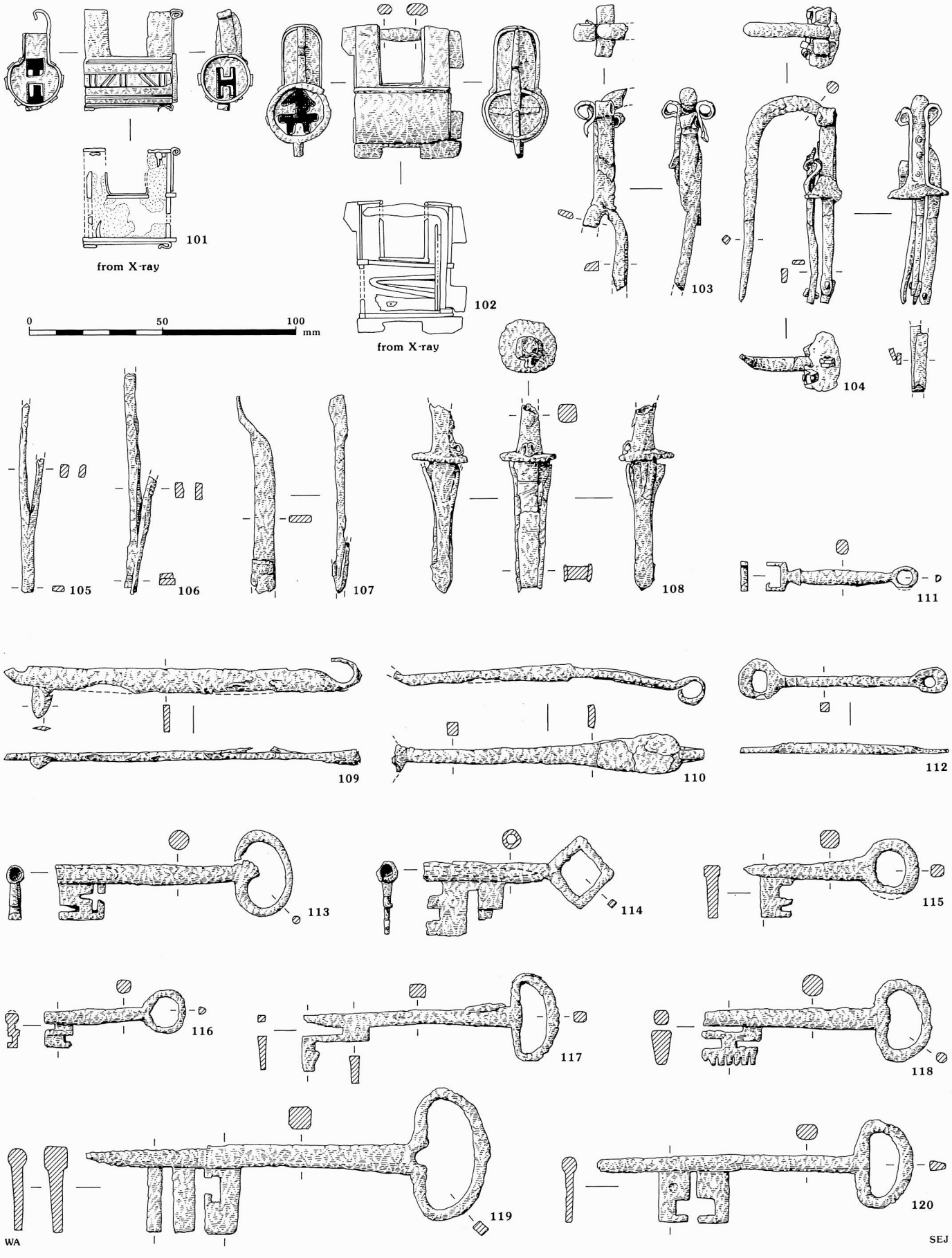

Figure 56 Iron objects: locks and keys (101–20)

Tools
(Fig. 55)
90. Dibber, complete. SF221, context 189, dumping layer, Y5, Phase 7.
91. Spade sheath, incomplete. SF2651, context 1154, cistern 1158, Y10, Phase 8.
92. Tanged billhook, complete. SF176, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
93. Wood chisel, complete. Unstratified, R1.
94. Wood-splitting wedge, complete. SF163, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
95. Double punch, incomplete. SF588, context 279, make-up layer, Y5, Phase 5/6.
96. Punch, incomplete. SF2270, context 680, Y5, Phase 4/5.
97. Awl, complete. SF175, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
98. Awl, complete, medieval/post-medieval. SF588, context 279, make-up layer, Y5, Phase 5/6.
99. Long socketed tool, complete. SF1220, context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
100. Ferrule, complete. SF86, context 101, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.

Locks and keys: Padlocks
(Fig. 56)
101. Barrel padlock, incomplete. SF339, context 251, posthole 236, Y5, Phase 5/6.
102. Barrel padlock complete. SF175, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
103. U-shaped padlock bolt, incomplete. SF1384, context 573, upper fill ditch 260, Y5, sub-phase 5a.
104. U-shaped padlock bolt, incomplete. SF2272, context 681, tip layer in 687, Y5, sub-phase 4c.
105. Padlock spine and leaf spring fragment. SF160, context 156, topsoil, Y5, Phase 9.
106. Padlock spine and leaf spring fragment. SF652, context 286, midden spread, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
107. Padlock spine and fragments of leaf springs. SF492, context 190, dumping layer, Y5, Phase 7.
108. Part of U-shaped padlock bolt. SF3135, context 1411, pit 1050, Y7, Phase 8.

Keys
109. Padlock key, complete. Unstratified, R1.
110. Padlock key incomplete, like LMMC Type 5. SF652, context 286, midden spread, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
111. Padlock key, incomplete. SF659, context 340, pit 341, Y5, Phase 5/6.
112. Padlock key, complete. SF1308, context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
113. Chest key, complete, LMMC Type III. SF71, context 108, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
114. Chest key, complete, LMMC Type VI. SF173A, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
115. Door key, complete, LMMC Type IV. SF1581, context 455, bank tip layer, Y7, Phase 5/6.
116. Door key, complete LMMC Type IV. SF615, context 354, Y5, Phase 6.
117. Door key incomplete, LMMC Type IV. SF173C, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
118. Door key, complete, LMMC Type IV. SF560, context 278, posthole 275, Y5, Phase 5/6.
119. Door key, complete, LMMC Type VIIA. SF173E, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
120. Door key, complete, LMMC Type VIIB. SF173B, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.

Structural ironwork
(Fig. 57)
121. Cockshead hinge, incomplete. SF2751, context 1138, cistern 1158, Y10, Phase 8.
122. Latch rest, complete. SF85, context 101, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
123. Bent bar with perforated leaf terminal, complete. SF210, context 181, Y5, Phase 8.
124. Rove with rivet head, complete. SF1290, Y5, Phase 4/5.

Iron bindings
125. Fragment of casket binding with trefoil terminal. SF2653, context 1154, cistern 1158, Y10, Phase 8.
126. Fragment of casket binding with trefoil terminal. SF547, context 573, upper fill of ditch 260, Y5, sub-phase 5a.
127. Casket/furniture binding, incomplete cross shape. SF309, context 173, Y5, Phase 8.
128. Right-angled fragment of casket/furniture binding. SF89, context 101, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
129. Two fragments of strap binding, one a lobed terminal. SF569, context 195, dumping layer, Y5, Phase 7.
130. Wedge-ended fragment of casket/furniture binding. SF175, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
131. Fragmented edge binding, curved. SF175, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.

Hooks, chains and links
132. Swivel hook, complete. SF222, context 189, dumping layer, Y5, Phase 7.
133. Suspension hook, incomplete. SF2749, context 1161, Y10, Phase 8.
134. Large hook with elongated oval terminal, complete. SF162, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.

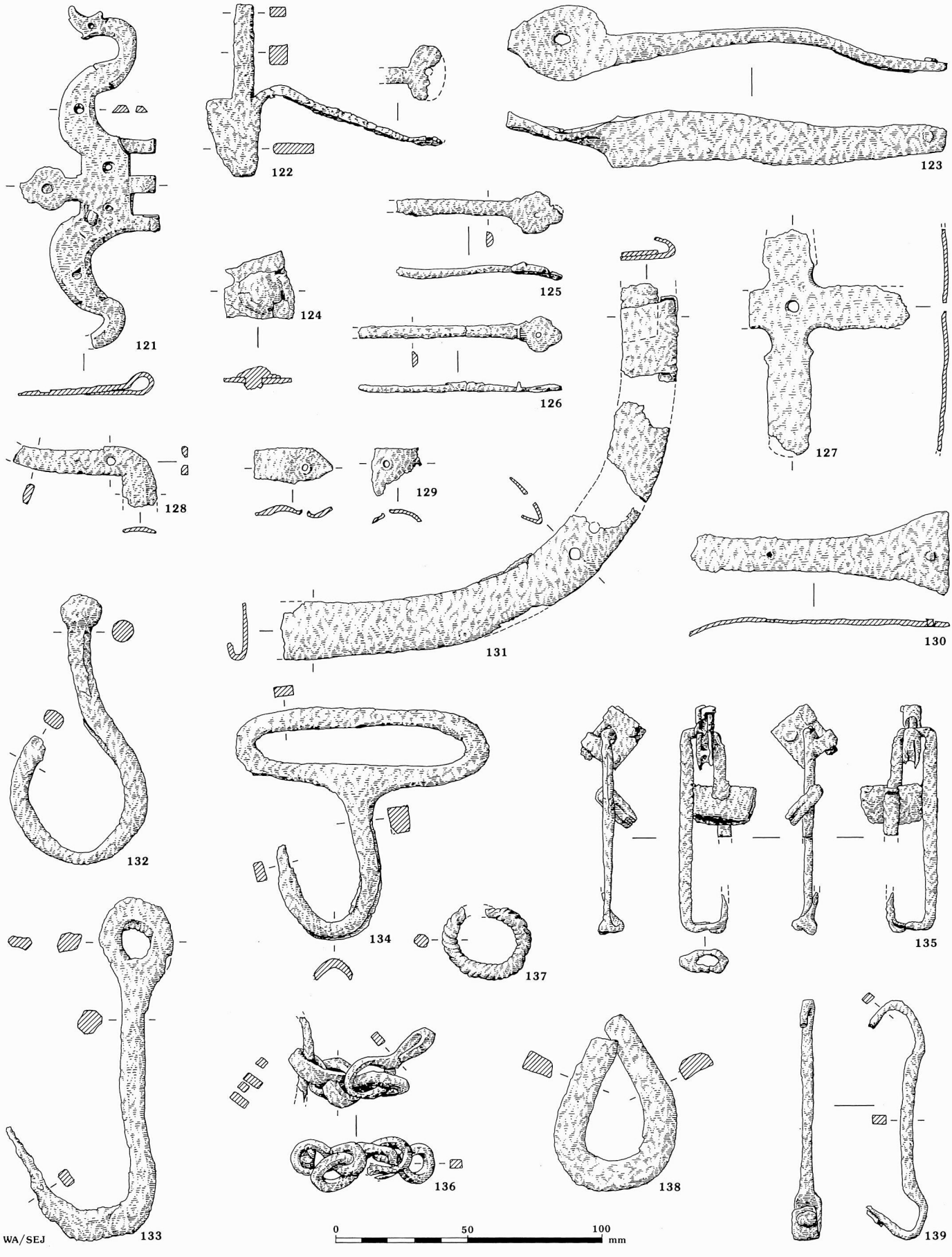

Figure 57 Iron objects: structural ironwork, bindings, hooks, and chains (121–39)

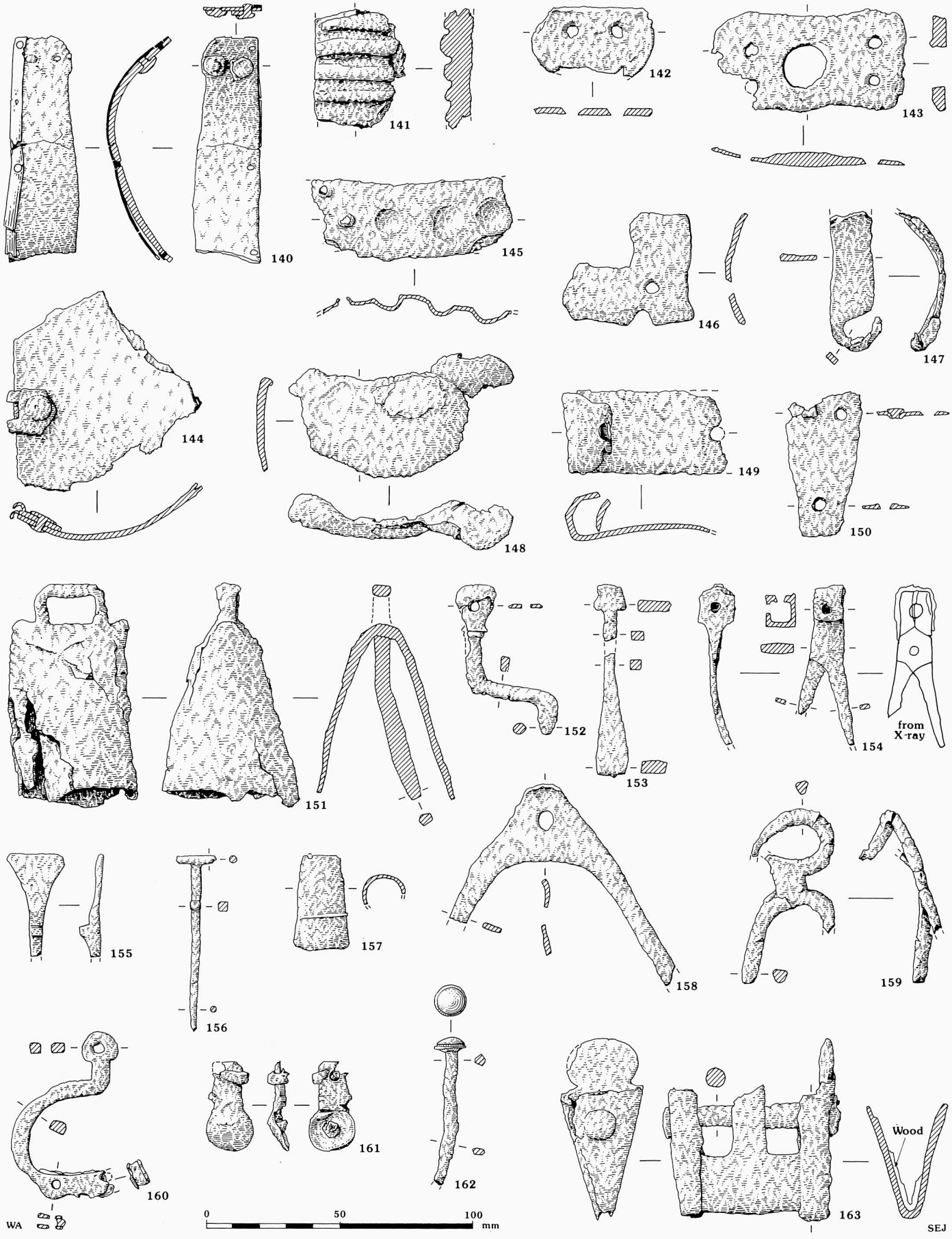

Figure 58 Iron objects: plate and miscellaneous pieces (140–63)

135. Rectangular loop with two attachments for leather, complete. SF1364, context 585, upper fill of ditch 260,Y5, sub-phase 5a.
136. Piece of chain. SF300, context 163, slate dumping layer,Y5, Phase 7.
137. Twisted iron ring. SF465, context 263,Y5, Phase 5/6.
138. Link, incomplete. SF175, context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.
139. Part of a link? SF588, context 279, make-up layer, Y5, Phase 5/6.

Iron plate
(Fig. 58)
140. Curved strip with copper alloy trim, two rivets. SF2878, context 1318, construction trench 1324, Y10, Phase 8.
141. Ribbed fragment. SF24, context 60, make-up for floor 18,Y1, Phase 6.
142. Fixing plate of definite shape and two rivet holes, incomplete. SF175, context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.
143. Rectangular fixing plate, central hole plus four rivet holes. SF175, context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.
144. Curved fragment with hinge attachment. SF2710, context 1160, overlying courtyard,Y10, Phase 8.
145. Curved strip with regular depressions and two nail holes. SF3148, context 1422, pit 1419,Y7, Phase 5/6.
146. Right-angled fragment with rivet hole. SF175, context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.
147. Curved strap fragment with hook. SF2235, context 652,Y5, Phase 4/5.
148. Curved fragment with projections. SF1020, context 501, mortar surface near building 593/298,Y5, sub-phase 5c.
149. Strap fragment with rolled end and rivet hole. SF2503, context 1114, overlying courtyard,Y10, Phase 8.
150. Triangular fragment with two rivet holes. SF175, context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.

Miscellaneous iron objects
151. Animal bell, incomplete. SF2750, context 1154, cistern 1158,Y10, Phase 8.
152. Possible hasp, complete. SF2791, context 1173, Y10, Phase 8.
153. Small bar with squared terminal, incomplete. SF140, context 136, motte ditch,Y4, Phase 5/6.
154. Possible mould, incomplete. SF2584. context 1138, cistern 1158,Y10, Phase 8.
155. Small wedge-shaped object, incomplete. SF453, unstratified in ditch 260,Y5, sub-phase 5a.
156. Object with T-shaped terminal, incomplete. SF652, context 286, midden spread, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
157. Half of a dagger chape, or ferrule. SF2665, context 1159,Y10, Phase 8.
158. Possibly part of a stirrup? SF175, context 158, layer below topsoil,Y5, Phase 8.
159. Possible horse's cheek piece? SF458, context 323, Y5, Phase 5/6.
160. Fitting for leather, incomplete. SF2666, context 1157, cistern 1158,Y10, Phase 8.
161. Fitting with domed round stud terminal, incomplete. SF596, context 340, pit 341, Y5, Phase 5/6.
162. Copper-headed nail, complete. SF294, context 213, building debris,Y6, Phase 8.
163. Iron protective shoe for wood, incomplete. SF147, context 127,Y1, Phase 9.

6. Glass, by Rachael Seager Smith

A total of 641 pieces of glass (12,677 g) was recovered from the excavations at Carisbrooke Castle, including both stratified material from the 1976–81 excavations (536 pieces; 10,615 g), and unstratified fragments from the earlier excavations of 1961–9 (105 pieces; 2062 g). The material ranges in date from the early medieval period to the 20th century and can be divided into five major categories:

1. window glass
2. wine/spirit/beer bottle glass
3. other bottles/jars
4. other vessels: wine glasses, flasks, bowls, etc.
5. objects

The breakdown of the various categories by phase is given in Table 15; the glass is discussed by category below. The illustrated material (Fig. 59) includes a representative sample of the better-preserved examples from each category. Table 16 gives a chronological breakdown of datable vessels and objects by site subdivision. This report does not deal with the two vessels recovered from the Anglo-Saxon graves; these are discussed elsewhere (Chapter 3).

Window Glass

The window glass varies in colour from almost clear to pale green, dark olive-green and almost black, with small bubbles apparent throughout. The condition of the material also varies considerably. Much of it shows severe weathering which has almost consumed the glass, turning it to a dark brown or black crumbly powder and making it very light in weight. Other sherds, however, even from the same context, display no, or only slight, surface iridescence, perhaps indicating the presence of both potash and soda glass.

Table 15. Glass categories by phase

PHASE	CATEGORY 1		2		3		4		5	
	No.	*Wt (g)*	*No.*	*Wt (g)*	*No.*	*Wt (g)*	*No.*	*Wt (g)*	*No.*	*Wt (g)*
Phase 4/5	3	7	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Phase 5/6	7	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Phase 6	1	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Phase 8	91	168	86	3090	21	196	39	385	-	-
Phase 9	102	380	83	3134	73	600	10	96	1	8
Phase 9	2	30	6	872	15	663	-	-	-	-
Unphased	52	203	41	2420	5	330	1	6	-	-
TOTAL	258	821	216	9516	114	1789	51	488	2	9

All the pieces are comparatively small, the largest measuring some 100 mm x 80 mm, and the vast majority are between 1 mm and 2 mm thick. Only 35 pieces preserve even short lengths of the edge of quarries. Of these, nine examples show an increase in thickness towards the edge, while the thickness of the other 26 remains the same. Many of the edges have a grozed appearance, perhaps indicating that they were cut from a larger sheet. Where the shape of the quarry could be determined (mostly from the glass recovered from the gatehouse), all appeared to be triangular or diamond shaped, with the 'shadow' of the window cames clearly visible. This is supported by the evidence of the lead cames themselves (above).

One piece of stained glass had been grozed to a pear shape. The original colour appears to have been a dark blue although this is now obscured by dark brown surface weathering. One short section of the edge of the original sheet of glass is preserved; this is slightly lenticular in cross-section.

The majority of the window glass derives from post-medieval and modern contexts (Table 15), although a few fragments were recovered from medieval contexts (Phases 4–6), including the single fragment of stained glass from Y5 (Phase 6). The largest quantities of fragments were recovered from Y10 (114 fragments) and Y1–Y4 (77 fragments), and from excavations in the gatehouse (48 fragments); all these trenches were located in or adjacent to surviving buildings.

Wine/Spirit/Beer Bottle Glass

This category, and the two categories following, include all the vessel glass from the site, which has been sub-divided on the basis of form and function. This category includes the larger bottles, in green, brown, and clear glass, which can be generally, though not exclusively, defined as alcohol containers.

All the glass in this category was recovered from post-medieval and modern contexts (Phases 8 and 9). Approximately one third of the entire glass assemblage is from the thick, green glass bottles of the late 17th and 18th centuries. Almost all of this material shows severe iridescent weathering and surface flaking. Comparatively few vessel forms were identifiable; where possible forms have been recorded using Noël-Hume's (1961) type series. Rim/neck sherds representing 13 bottles (eg, Fig. 59, 1–3), plus one complete profile (Fig. 59, 4), have been classified according to this type series, and the details can be found in Table 17.

The only complete bottle profile, an onion-shaped vessel (Fig. 59, 4), conforms to Noël-Hume's type 10, dated 1720–30 (Noël-Hume 1961, fig. 1.10). An approximately circular seal, bearing the letters J D in a cursive script, is situated just below the shoulder of the bottle.

Bases from 28 different bottles are also present amongst the assemblage. While it is difficult to determine bottle type from base fragments alone, generalised identifications have been attempted for some of the more complete sherds. Shaft-and-globe bottles (*c.* 1650–1690), onion-shaped (*c.* 1685–1735), and mallet-shaped bottles (c.1730–1760) (Abrahams 1987) are represented. There are also bases from cylindrical mould-blown vessels, of late 18th–20th century date (note that none of the bases are included in Table 16).

Two detached bottle seals were also recovered, one stamped with the letters E R (Fig. 59, 5), the second with an unidentified coat of arms (Fig. 59, 6). Both seals are approximately circular in shape. The ownership of these seals has not been established although an Edmund Rolfe is known to have been imprisoned in Carisbrooke Castle at about the same time as Charles I.

The largest quantity of bottle glass was recovered from Y10 (128 fragments), and this group had a restricted date range of late 17th to mid 18th century (nine datable bottles: see Table 16), which accords well with the clay pipe data (Brereton, below). The earliest dated forms (Noël-Hume types 1–4; 1650–1690) were

Table 16. Distribution of glass by category and trench

Glass cat.	*Date*	*Y1-Y4*	*Y5*	*Y8*	*Y9*	*Y10*
Melon bead	1st/2nd C	-	1	-	-	-
Other vessels	16th/17th C	8	-	-	-	-
Phials	1650-1700	-	-	-	-	9
	1670-1725	-	-	-	-	1
Wine bottles	1650-1690	-	2	-	-	-
	1685-1735	-	-	-	-	8
	mid 18th C	-	-	-	-	1
	1770-1820	-	-	2	-	-
	1814-1854	-	-	-	1	-

Table 17. Wine bottles by Noël-Hume's types (rims only)

Abrahams type	*Noel Hume type*	*Date range*	*Rims*
Shaft-and globe	1-4	1650-1690	2
Onion	5-9	1685-1720	1
"	10	1720-1730	1
"	5-12	1685-1735	6
Mallet	14-16	mid-18th C	1
Cylindrical	21-22	1770-1820	2
"	23	1814-1854	1
		TOTAL	14

recovered from Y5 (two datable bottles), and later types (Noël-Hume types 21–3; 1770–1850) from Y8 and Y9 (three datable bottles).

Other Bottles and Jars

This category consists of a wide variety of bottles and jars, distinguished from the wine/spirit bottles by their smaller size and the paler colours of the metal used. All fragments in this category were recovered from post-medieval and modern contexts (Phases 8 and 9), and the date range of the vessels spans the period from the mid 17th century to the 19th/20th century. Only selected vessels are described here, and full details of all this material can be found in the archive.

Rim fragments from ten phials were identified. Most can be paralleled amongst the range of phials from Temple Balsall, Warwickshire (Gooder 1984, figs 38, 39). Three more specific types can be identified: an almost complete 'smelling bottle' (Fig. 59, 7), very similar to examples dated *c.* 1670–1740, from St Ebbes, Oxford (Haslam 1984, fig. 43.6, 8) and Temple Balsall (Gooder 1984, fig. 39.14, 15); a conical, flat-mouthed phial (Fig. 59, 8), also paralleled at St Ebbes (Haslam 1984, fig. 42.16); and two irregular, flaring rims from small, pale green apothecaries' bottles (Fig. 59, 9, 10), similar to an example recovered from Exeter (Charleston 1984, 277, fig. 152.144). All these vessels are likely to date from the second half of the 17th century. There is also one example of a flat-rimmed, short-necked form of late 17th–early 18th century type (Fig. 59, 11).

The majority of other vessels in this category are probably of much later date. Many of these, including a Codd mineral water bottle, are embossed. Rim/neck sherds from eleven other bottles and four jars (eg, Fig. 59, 12), probably of similar 19th–20th century date, are also present. These include rims with expanded mouths in clear, pale green metals; two examples of bottles with slighty flaring mouths in olive-green metals; and mould-made, screw-topped bottles in dark brown and dark green metal.

Like the wine/spirit/beer bottle glass, the largest quantity of bottle/jar glass was also recovered from Y10 (45 fragments), and this group included all the late 17th–early 18th century phials (Table 16). Smaller groups derived from Y6 (28 fragments) and Y1–Y4 (18 fragments).

Other Vessel Glass

This category comprises all vessel glass not covered by the previous two categories, and includes fragments of drinking glasses, flasks, and bowls as well as sherds from a range of miscellaneous vessels. Apart from fragments of one vessel of unknown form recovered from a medieval context (Phase 4/5), all the glass in this category was recovered from post-medieval and modern contexts (Phases 8, 9).

A significant proportion consists of a group of 33 fragments from the upper fills of the motte ditch in Y4 (contexts 69, 101, 117, 118: Phase 8). All the glass from these contexts is similar in appearance: mostly thin-walled and colourless, with slight iridescent weathering, and cross-context conjoins would suggest that this glass was once part of a single group. A maximum of eight vessels are represented, including the bases from two flasks, one ribbed, the other with a folded foot (Fig. 59, 13, 14); the base of a beaker, with an applied ribbed cordon (Fig. 59, 15); rims from three small bowls or drinking vessels, one with horizontal applied blue threads below the rim (Fig. 59, 16–18), and an elaborately decorated wine glass stem (Fig. 59, 19). A further folded fragment (Fig. 59, 20) may represent another vessel, or may be part of one of the flasks described above.

These vessels can all be paralleled in 16th–early 17th century assemblages from Exeter (Charleston 1984, figs 148–50) and Southampton (Charleston

1975, figs 223–5). The small bowl with applied blue threads has an exact parallel at the latter site (ibid., fig. 223.1528), where it is identified as 16th century Venetian. A similar origin may be postulated for the Carisbrooke example, and perhaps the other vessels in this group; alternatively, they may be *façon de Venise* vessels imitating Venetian protoypes. While a similar date range to the Southampton and Exeter examples could be proposed, ie, 16th–17th century, it should be noted that clay pipes from these contexts have a restricted date range of 1640–1680 (Brereton, below), and two imported pottery vessels would confirm a 17th century date range (Mepham, above).

Bases and stems of other wine glasses are also present. These include plain solid, baluster-shaped and quatrefoil stems. With the exception of the quatrefoil-shaped example, dated *c.* 1685–1705 (Noël-Hume 1961, fig. 64.v1), all the other examples are too fragmentary to date.

Nineteenth century glass is present in the form of two fragments of ornate clear glass decanter stoppers, and a rim/neck sherd built up from narrow, hollow coils stacked one above another, the topmost coil being applied in a wavy line to form a rim (Fig. 59, 21).

Objects

Only two glass objects were recovered. The first of these, a blue glass melon bead (Fig. 59, 22), is of 1st–2nd century AD date (Guido 1978, 100, fig. 37.22), and was recovered from a medieval context (Phase 6). The second object, approximately one quarter of a curved strip of opaque, white glass with a right-hand spiral twist and an external diameter of 90 mm, probably part of a glass bracelet or possibly an ornate vessel handle, was recovered from a modern context (Phase 9).

List of illustrated vessels
(Fig. 59)

1. Rim and neck of wine bottle; dark olive green metal with surface weathering. SF768, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 9.
2. Rim and neck of wine bottle; dark olive green metal. Context 1115, topsoil, Y10, Phase 9.
3. Rim and neck of wine bottle; dark olive green metal with surface weathering. Context 1109, overlying courtyard, Y10, Phase 8.
4. Complete profile of wine bottle; dark olive green metal with iridesent surface weathering. Applied bottle seal stamped with letters JD. SF2491, context 1129, Y10, unphased.
5. Bottle seal; stamped with letters 'ER'; olive green metal with iridescent surface weathering. SF151, context 155, Y5, unphased.
6. Bottle seal; stamped with coat of arms; dark olive green metal. SF2848, context 1115, topsoil, Y10, Phase 9.
7. Complete 'smelling bottle'; pale blue/green metal. Slightly flattened sides. SF2436, context 1112, fire hydrant trench 1117, Y10, Phase 8.
8. Conical, flat-rimmed phial; pale blue/green metal with severe surface weathering. SF2453, context 1115, topsoil, Y10, Phase 9.
9. Rim of phial; pale blue/green metal. Context 1164, drain 1149, Y10, Phase 9.
10. Rim of phial; pale blue/green metal with surface weathering. SF820, context 107, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
11. Rim of phial; pale blue/green metal with surface weathering. SF2516, context 1124, Y10, Phase 8.
12. Wide-mouthed jar with squared body; olive-green metal with iridescent surface weathering. Context 1121, fill behind wall 1118, Y10, Phase 9.
13. Base of flask with folded foot; clear metal with slight iridescent weathering. SF850, context 101, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
14. Ribbed foot from flask; clear metal with slight iridescent weathering. SF822/851, Contexts 69/101, topsoil/upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8/9.
15. Base of beaker, with moulded lattice decoration and applied ribbed cordon; clear metal with slight iridescent weathering. SF849, context 101, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
16. Thin-walled, hemispherical bowl with applied blue threads at rim and moulded lattice decoration below; clear metal with slight iridescent weathering. SF848, context 101, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
17. Plain, straight-sided bowl or drinking vessel; clear metal with slight iridescent weathering. SF853, context 101, Y4, upper fill of motte ditch, Phase 8.
18. Plain, rounded bowl or drinking vessel; clear metal with slight iridescent weathering. SF814/818, contexts 117/118, Y4, upper fills of motte ditch, Phase 8.
19. Decorated wine glass stem; clear metal with iridescent weathering. SF844/849, context 101, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
20. Folded fragment, possibly from same vessel as No. 13; clear metal with slight iridescent weathering. SF822/850, contexts 69/101, topsoil/ upper fills motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8/9.
21. Rim of vessel formed of stacked hollow coils; clear metal. SF2688, context 1156, build-up behind wall 1147, Y10, Phase 8.
22. Melon bead; dark blue/green metal with surface weathering. SF1102, context 407, floor layer in building 416, Y5, sub-phase 5b.

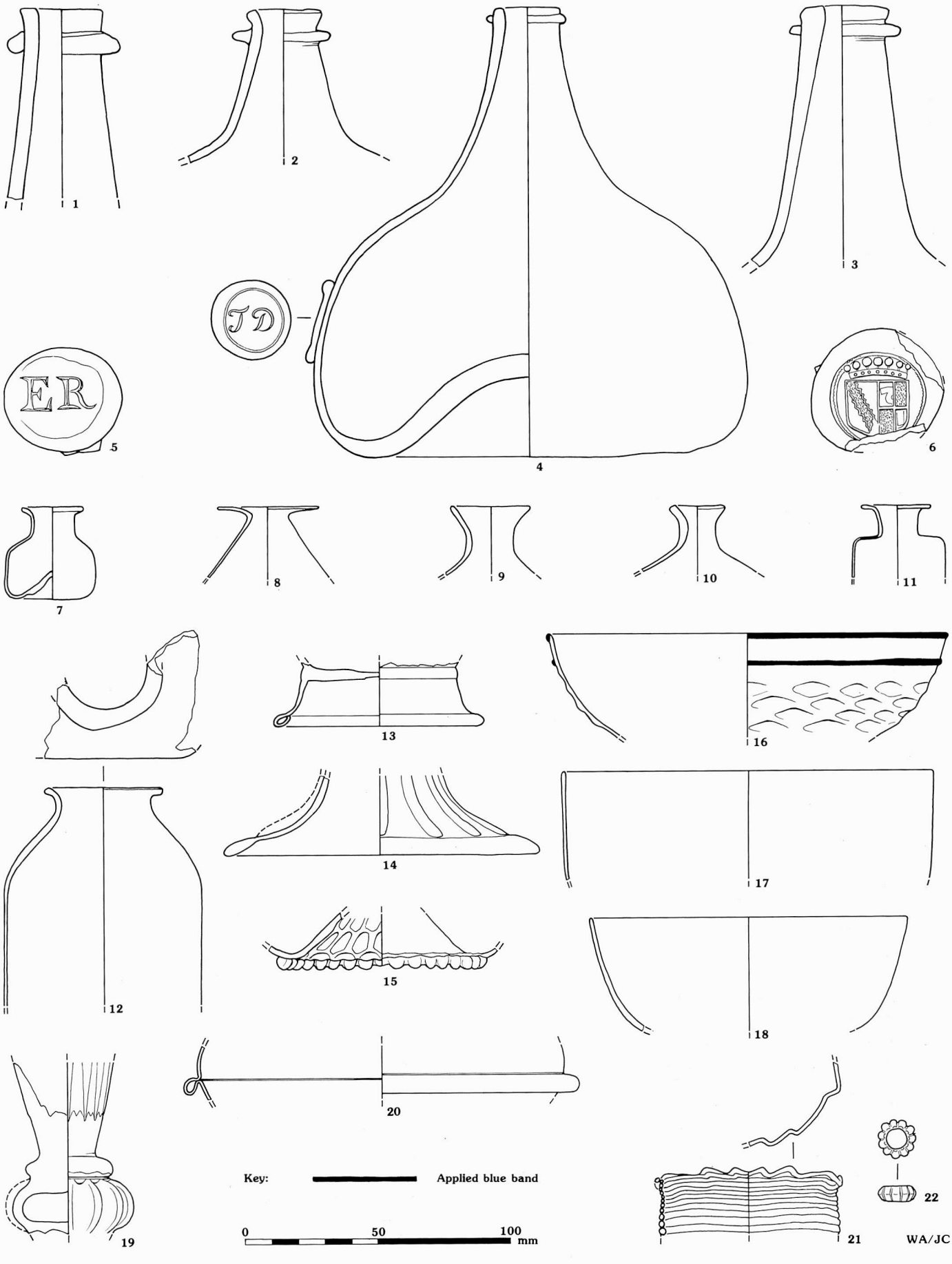

Figure 59 Glass vessels (1–22)

7. **Stone**, by Julie Lancley

The stone has been divided into architectural fragments, including stone tiles other than slates, and portable stone objects. Stone types have been identified by David Beckett (Reading University). All worked stone from Young's excavations was retained for examination, and in addition there are a small number of fragments from the earlier excavations; the latter are largely unprovenanced.

Architectural Fragments

A total of 80 architectural fragments was recovered, including fragments of ashlars, mouldings and tiles or slabs. Five classes have been defined:

1. Ashlar fragments with one surviving worked face
2. Ashlar fragments with two or more surviving faces at 90°
3. Ashlar fragments with two or more surviving faces at other than 90°
4. Fragments of mouldings
5. Fragments of tiles or slabs with two or more surviving surfaces

The breakdown of the five classes is given by phase in Table 18 and by stone type in Table 19. Dimensions of all fragments, together with the presence of toolmarks, decoration, and evidence of reuse, have been recorded, and are available in archive.

Toolmarks are visible on many examples of Classes 1-4. No masons' marks have been observed on any of the architectural fragments examined, although six rubbings of marks, all in the form of simple arrows, were found amongst the archive information from Rigold's investigations in the gatehouse (1969); there is no indication as to whether these marks were found on stones visible in the existing structure, or from fragments recovered during the excavations within the gatehouse.

Very few complete examples of any class survive. One example of Class 1 has part of an inscription on one face (Fig. 60, 1). A few pieces are recessed or rebated, as part of door or window settings. There are only 12 examples of mouldings. These are largely of circular or semicircular section, probably deriving from door or window jambs, or possibly from newel posts. There is also one small, stepped fragment of hexagonal section (Fig. 60, 2).

Fragments of Class 5 (tiles/slabs) have been divided into two groups on the basis of thickness; those with a thickness of up to 30 mm are defined as tiles, including roof tiles and possible floor tiles; those having a thickness of over 30 mm have been defined as slabs, although it should be noted that these definitions are purely subjective. Most of the examples in this class have been defined as tiles (24 fragments), four of which are complete enough to be identified as roof tiles; all four have nail-holes, and one retains the iron nail *in situ*. The remaining examples of tiles are fragments which could have been either roof or floor tiles. Four examples have traces of mortar present.

Table 18. Stone architectural fragments: classes by phase

Class / *Phase*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
4/5	5	2	-	-	4
5	-	1	-	-	-
5/6	5	5	2	1	7
6	-	1	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	2	-
8	1	6	4	3	6
9	-	2	-	1	5
Total	11	17	6	7	22

As can be seen from Table 19, ashlars and mouldings are found mostly in various types of limestone and sandstone. Greensand is particularly popular, with Purbeck and Portland limestones also fairly common. There is also a small group of Chalk fragments with one apparently worked, though not flat, surface (included in Class 1). Tiles or slabs are found almost exclusively in various types of limestone, particularly Purbeck limestone; there are also two small fragments of alabaster. The latter stone would have been too soft for external use, and probably had a decorative, interior, function.

Sources of the Stone

Stone types identified derive both from the island itself, and from the mainland. The most frequently used Sandstone is greensand, deposits of which are present in the southern part of the island between Bonchurch and St Catherine's Point. This stone was extensively used as a building material throughout the Isle of Wight and southern England; it has been used, for example, at Chichester and Winchester Cathedral (Clifton-Taylor 1989, 119). This type of stone is very versatile, used for both ashlars and mouldings.

The most common limestones are from Purbeck and Portland. The latter is a very close-grained, even-textured stone which has been very popular as a building stone since the medieval period. Deposits of Portland limestone were worked intermittently through the medieval period, although the difficulties of working it meant that it was comparatively neglected before the 17th century (ibid., 68-70). In contrast, Purbeck Stone was extensively exploited in the medieval

Table 19. Stone architectural fragments: stone type by phase

	LIMESTONE					*SANDSTONE*		*OTHER*	
Phase	*Purbeck*	*Portland*	*Bembridge*	*Sandy*	*Unspec*	*Greensand*	*Portland*	*Alabaster*	*Chalk*
4/5	4	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	2
5	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
5/6	2	1	5	4	3	-	-	5	-
6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	2	-	1	-	8	9	-	-	-
9	-	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
9	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	9	6	10	5	12	10	1	6	2

period, reaching the height of its fame in the 13th century. This stone makes good ashlars, and also good roofing slates and paving stones. It is one of the most durable, though very heavy, roofing materials. As such it was used mostly in the period 1700-1900, although it was in demand before the end of the 15th century (ibid, 70-1).

Bembridge limestone, despite a nearer source on the island itself, is not so common amongst the examples discussed here, although it was used extensively, particularly the variety known as Binstead Stone, in the 12th century masonry of the castle (Peers 1948, 13), and also in the 16th/17th century alterations to the south curtain interval tower (Chapter 2). Both this variety, and the second variety of Bembridge known as Quarr Stone, were popular as building stones over large parts of central southern England. They are not suitable for mouldings but make good ashlars. Both were worked out before the end of the medieval period, Quarr possibly as early as the mid 14th century (Clifton-Taylor 1989, 60-1).

Chalk could have been obtained very locally. It is very soft and compact, and these qualities mean that it is possible to achieve a good ashlar surface and very fine jointing. The stone is comparatively light and is good for elaborate carving, although being very perishable it is useless for exterior work (ibid., 62-3). The fragments recovered appear to be fairly irregular, and may have been used merely as packing rubble rather than building stone.

Alabaster (gypsum) is found within the Triassic formations in the Midlands and south-west England. The outcrops in the Midlands were quarried from the 14th century; examples from this area can occur in southern England (ibid., 190).

List of illustrated objects

(Fig. 60)

1. Fragment of Portland or Purbeck limestone block; one slightly curving face surviving, inscribed with letters IOHN ... NN · OF ... ; traces of mortar on broken surfaces. SF3360, unstratified.
2. Small stepped fragment of Portland limestone, from a hexagonal block. SF3375, unstratified.
3. Block of limestone with complex moulding; slightly tapering, possibly from door or window surround. SF3362, unstratified.
4. Two conjoining fragments of Portland limestone, from a flat slab with curving rounded edge on outside, and squared concentric edge on inside; a segment of a circular band. Edges and one face finely worked; other face more roughly worked. Traces of mortar on smooth face. SF426/427, context 166, dumping layer, Y5, Phase 7.

Portable Stone Objects

A total of 62 portable stone objects were identified. The various categories present by stone types can be seen by phase in Table 20. The objects are discussed by category below; full details of individual objects, apart from the small stone spheroids, can be found in the archive catalogue.

Whetstones

Nine whetstones were recovered, in a range of fine grained stone, including quartzite from a probable source in the West Country or south Wales, slate from north Wales, sarsen, probably also from the West Country or south Wales, and a micaceous sandstone, possibly Millstone Grit.

None of the examples are complete. Three are square in section and taper to a blunt point (Fig. 61, 1, 3); the rest are rectangular in section. Evidence of wear is present on two examples. One has a possible point-sharpening groove present on one of the horizontal faces. The vertical faces of another are unevenly worn and have a much smoother finish than the other

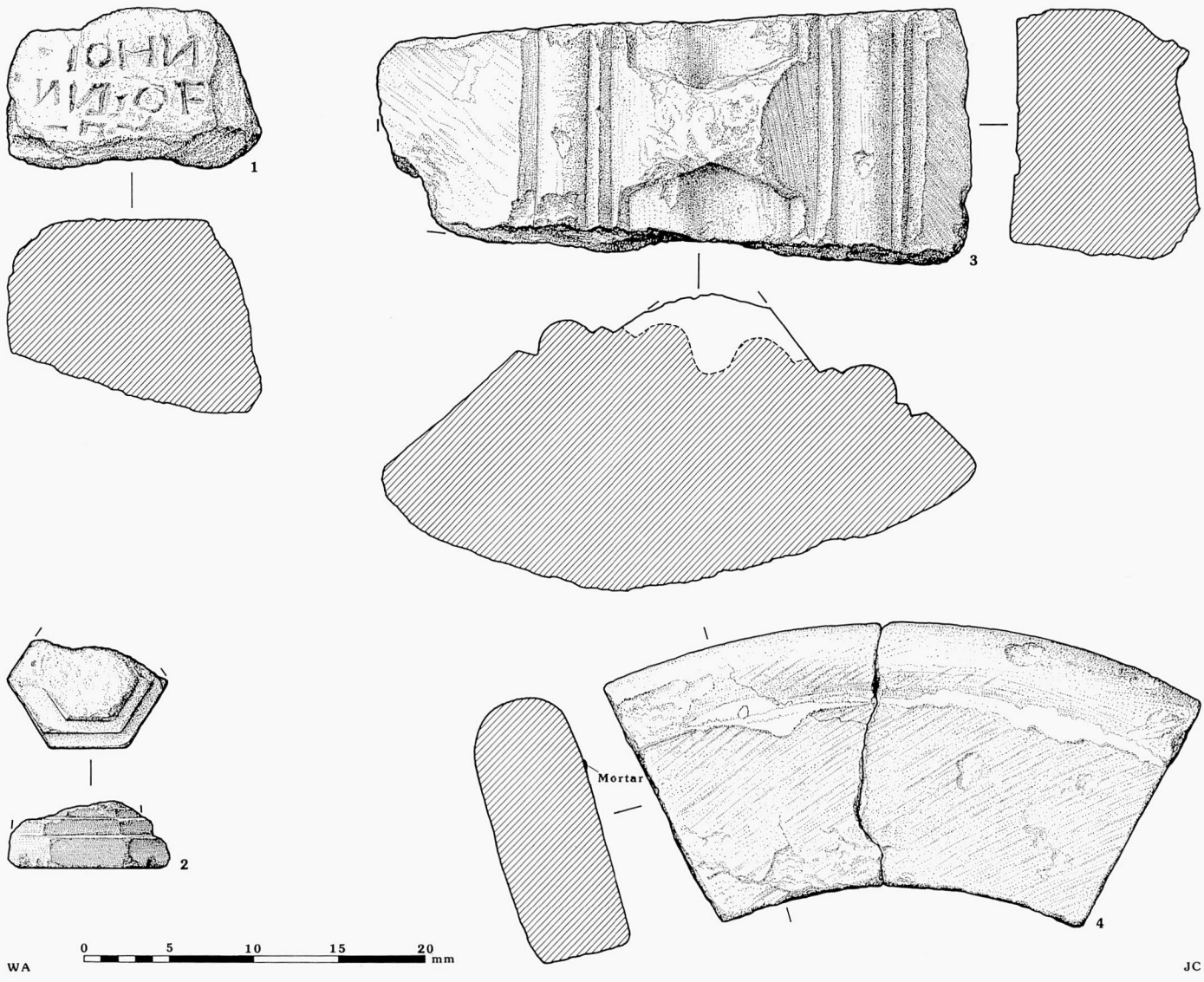

Figure 60 Stone architectural fragments (1–4)

surfaces, and a V-shaped, point-sharpening groove is present on two opposing faces (Fig. 61, 4). Two whetstones each have a suspension hole at one end (Fig. 61, 2, 3). These are very similar to examples found at Northampton which were shaped for suspension from a belt on the person (Moore and Oakley 1979, 282). Most of the Carisbrooke whetstones derive from medieval contexts (Phases 5/6) in Y5.

Mortars

Seven fragments were recovered, all except three of Purbeck marble. All have finely worked vertical ribs, rectangular in section, with heavily defined toolmarks or 'pecking' on the exterior surfaces. Purbeck marble mortars are found within 12th-14th century contexts at Southampton (Faulkner 1975, figs 268-9); apart from one unstratified example, all the Purbeck marble mortars from Carisbrooke came from post-medieval (Phase 8) contexts. There is one base fragment in Portland Stone with heavily defined toolmarks or pecking on the exterior (Fig. 61, 5). The vertical ribs, and a thin band around the base, are more finely worked, and the interior is smoothed; no apparent undercutting caused by use is present. All the features of this mortar are normal within the range known for such objects (Dunning 1979). One sandy limestone example and one greensand example came from medieval contexts (Phases 5/6) in Y5.

Querns

Three quern fragments were recovered. Two of these are small, undiagnostic fragments, probably of upper stones. One possible upper stone, which maybe sandstone, is completely perforated by the central hole or hopper, the edge of the which on the upper surface has a finely worked, raised collar; it is not dissimilar to an example from Southampton, dated to the early-mid 12th century (Faulkner 1975, 309, no. 2197). Two of

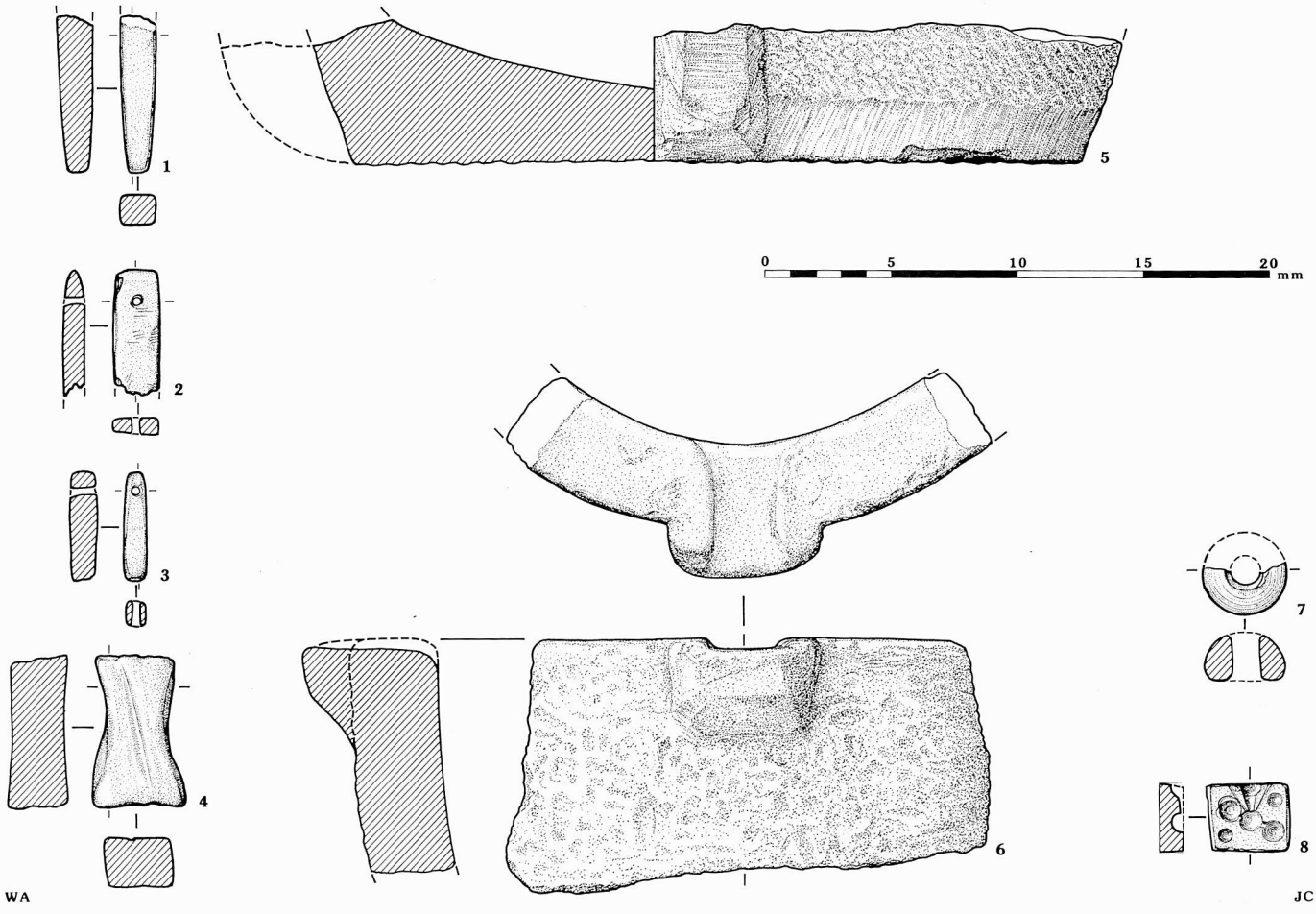

Figure 61 Portable stone objects (1–8)

these fragments are unstratified; one example in Purbeck marble is from a medieval context (Phase 4/5) in Y5.

Stone balls

A number of rounded pebbles, mostly of quartz Sandstone, with some flint examples, were recovered. A group of 25 of these objects from Y6 are apparently water-worn beach pebbles, as is a single examples from Y2. The remaining 36 objects are all of similar appearance, spherical, or nearly so with a chalky coating. With one exception, from Y9, all the spheroids derive from contexts in Y5, and most of these contexts are medieval (Phases 5/6).

These range in diameter from 15 mm to 50 mm, and in weight from 5 g to 156 g. All could have been collected very locally, occurring naturally in the Chalk. Their precise function is uncertain. Their restricted distribution suggests that they were deliberately collected, and they may have had some function as projectiles, although their size range is not as uniform as that of the larger stone balls described below.

In addition, three larger stone balls were recovered, all of Bembridge limestone, and with diameters of 85-90 mm. A roughly worked example of comparable size, described as a possible cannon ball, was found at Southampton and dated to the first half of the 16th century (Faulkner 1975, fig. 270. 2240). All the examples from Carisbrooke are from post-medieval contexts (Phase 8); two in Y10 and one in Y5.

Other stone objects

One incomplete, lathe-turned spindle whorl of fine-grained Tertiary limestone was recovered from a post-medieval context (Phase 8) in Y7 (Fig. 61, 7). The fragment appears to be biconical in shape and is not dissimilar to early medieval examples at Northampton (Oakley and Hall 1979, 286).

One small mould fragment of fine-grained Tertiary limestone was recovered from a modern context (Phase 9) in Y8 (Fig. 61, 8). This piece forms half of a two-piece mould; grooves are present which would have been used for slotting onto the other half. The mould was possibly used for the production of grape shot.

List of illustrated objects

(Fig. 61)

1. Whetstone, broken, in fine-grained micaceous sandstone. SF1320, context 573, upper fill ditch 260, Y5, Phase 5/6

Table 20. Portable stone objects by phase

Phase	*Whet.*	*Mort.*	*Quern*	*Ball*	*S' whorl*	*Mould*
4/5	1	1	1	14	-	-
5/6	5	-	-	19	-	-
8	1	4	-	4	1	-
9	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	7	5	1	37	1	1

2. Slate whetstone, broken. SF517, context 273,Y5, Phase 5/6.
3. Quartzite whetstone, broken. SF314, context 170, pit 172,Y5, Phase 8.
4. Whetstone, possibly sarsen. SF1351, context 564, upper fill of ditch 260,Y5, sub-phase 5a.
5. Base of mortar, Portland limestone. SF2647, context 1156, build-up behind wall 1147,Y10, Phase 8.
6. Fragment of mortar, Purbeck Marble. SF199, context 181,Y5, Phase 8.
7. Spindle whorl, fine-grained Tertiary limestone, broken. SF1688, context 457, tip layers,Y7, Phase 8.
8. Mould, fine-grained Tertiary limestone. SF1772, context 802, south bastion,Y8, Phase 9.

8. Ceramic Building Material, by Rosamund M.J. Cleal

The total amount of ceramic building material recovered from the excavations cannot be established with certainty, as it is clear from site notes that some material was discarded. The amount of material discarded during Rigold's excavations must have been a large proportion of that excavated, as little remains. In view of this, the material from the Rigold seasons was scanned only and no quantification attempted. For the later seasons (1976-1981) the large quantity of ceramic building material remaining, and the fragmentary nature of much of it indicates that relatively little may have been discarded. It is clear from notes that some brick was not kept, but it is not possible to establish the proportion. Because the indications are that the percentages of material were likely to have been high during the seasons 1976-1981, quantification was considered justifiable. Even so, the figures given in Table 21 should be viewed with caution, and regarded as giving only the crudest of indications of the relative proportions of types of material within the collection. The total number of pieces recorded is 3148. Percentages given below are percentages of count only; weights are given in Table 21.

All fragments of ceramic building material were recorded by category, by count and weight, and entered into a database. Fabric analysis was not attempted. This meant that it was not possible to distinguish Romano-British featureless pieces from later featureless pieces, but the presence of Romano-British material is, of course, clear from the occurrence of diagnostic featured pieces, and the additional investment needed to establish a fabric series and record fabric almost certainly would not have been justified by the greater degree of accuracy in identifying Romano-British material. The collection is divided into three main periods: Romano-British, post-Roman and post-medieval; all featureless pieces have been designated post-Roman.

Romano-British

A total of 157 featured pieces could be assigned to this period. This comprises pieces of *tegula*, *imbrex*, and flue tile (Table 21). It is likely that Romano-British brick fragments are also present, but on the basis of form alone these could not be distinguished from other brick. Almost all the Romano-British ceramic building material (147 pieces) was recovered from Y5, with only very small amounts from elsewhere (Y7 and Y10).

Post-Roman

Tiles were sub-divided into roof, floor, and hearth tiles. Floor tiles were deemed to be those 40 mm or greater in thickness, often with mortar adhering to one surface and the sides; no decorated floor tiles were recovered. Featured roof tiles comprised peg tiles and ridge tiles. The diagnostic feature for hearth tiles was considered to be deep stabbing on one surface (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, fig. 220.1471, 1473-82).

Roof tiles

No shouldered or nibbed tiles were recorded, and only a single example of a flanged tile, which also possessed a peg-hole, was noted. Ridge tiles were almost all crested. Crest type was not recorded, but the majority carried triangular crests (Fig. 62, 1-5). Glazed crested tiles are not generally decorated, while approximately one-third of unglazed fragments carry deep scored decoration (Fig. 62, 3-5). The decoration, where identifiable, generally takes the form of deeply grooved lines, made while the clay was still plastic, which run down either side of the crest and onto the body of the ridge. In most examples the lines run as parallel or slightly diverging short lengths, but a 'skeleton leaf' design occurs on one tile. A similar motif occurs on a crested ridge tile from Gloucester Square, Southampton (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, fig. 217.1431). Two crested tiles are perforated (Fig. 62, 2); this treatment also occurs at High Street C, Southampton (ibid., fig. 2216.1427).

Table 21. Ceramic building material: counts and weightsd (g) by phase and form

Phase	*3*	*4/5*	*5/6*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*Unphased*
Romano-British								
Flue	-	8/649	85/8049	7/731	30/1912	12/1200	1/83	1/103
Tegula	-	2/366	6/1407	1/212	-	-	-	-
Imbrex	-	3/238	1/164	-	-	-	-	-
Medieval								
Brick	-	17/5518	256/35271	21/3754	37/5858	76/17017	33/3660	17/10032
Roof tile	-	10/239	591/20912	37/1620	212/5469	644/30074	168/9283	35/2131
Ridge tile	-	-	1/47	-	1/59	1/91	1/54	-
CRT	-	-	66/5794	-	29/2524	142/17226	15/1354	2/185
Louver	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/300	-
Hearth	-	-	3/3490	-	7/872?	14/1336?	1/218	-
Floor tile	-	1/222	19/6235	1/767	-	3/169	-	2/973
Post-medieval								
Pantile	-	-	1/348	-	-	15/4111	7/1147	18/3932
Undated								
CBM	1/30	18/519	73/1498	14/150	22/1123	49/786	25/684	3/139
Tile	-	29/862	116/4126	17/1245	71/2885	36/3600	9/165	3/82
Total	1/30	88/8613	1218/87341	98/8749	409/20702	992/75610	261/16948	81/17577

Floor tiles

Twenty-six plain floor tiles were recorded from medieval and post-medieval contexts. The edges were almost always square, rather than tapered.

Hearth tiles

Hearth tiles comprise only 1% of the total tile assemblage (excluding Romano-British). The type of stab-mark employed was noted in most cases, but this information was not quantified. In all but a minority of cases the stab-marks appear to have been made obliquely with a knife. Mortar was occasionally found adhering to these tiles.

Louver

A single piece, probably part of a louver, was recovered from a modern context. It is not possible to establish whether this example is of the type which formed a separate structure, or was attached to a ridge tile (Dunning 1975, 186), as so little survives (Fig. 62, 9). There is some indication that a hood was formerly present above the opening in the side of the louver, but has become detached either during firing or subsequently.

Post-medieval

The only category which can be certainly assigned to the post-medieval period is that of pantiles which are not known in England until the 17th century, when they were imported from Holland, and may not have been produced here until the early 18th century (Clifton-Taylor 1989, 275). Pantiles comprise only 1.8% of all post-Roman tiles from Carisbrooke.

Other Ceramic Building Material

Bricks, which constitute 14.5% of the total assemblage, were not assigned to period, but the majority seem likely to be of medieval and post-medieval date. Very few complete bricks were recovered, but six, all unstratified from Rigold's excavations, were measurable. All were approximately 9 x 4 x 2 in (*c.* 230 x 100 x 50 mm), close to the size of Tudor bricks.

List of illustrated material

(Fig. 62)

1. Crested ridge tile; knife-cut triangular crests. Hard, smooth fabric, some fine sand. Core pale orange, surface pale orange-brown where unglazed. Glazed patchily with drab green glaze, one small area of yellow. Surviving end has mortar adhering. Context 118, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 5/6.
2. Triangular crest from a ridge tile; pre-firing perforation. Hard sandy fabric. Core and surface where unglazed pale orange-pink. Green glaze at base of crest, breaking to yellow, flecked green on body of incompletely covered crest. SF584, context 334, Y5, Phase 5/6.
3. Crested ridge tile; single damaged crest surviving. Deep grooves run down from crest in skeletal-leaf pattern, on both faces. Hard fabric, some sand and moderate to common (15-25%) rounded

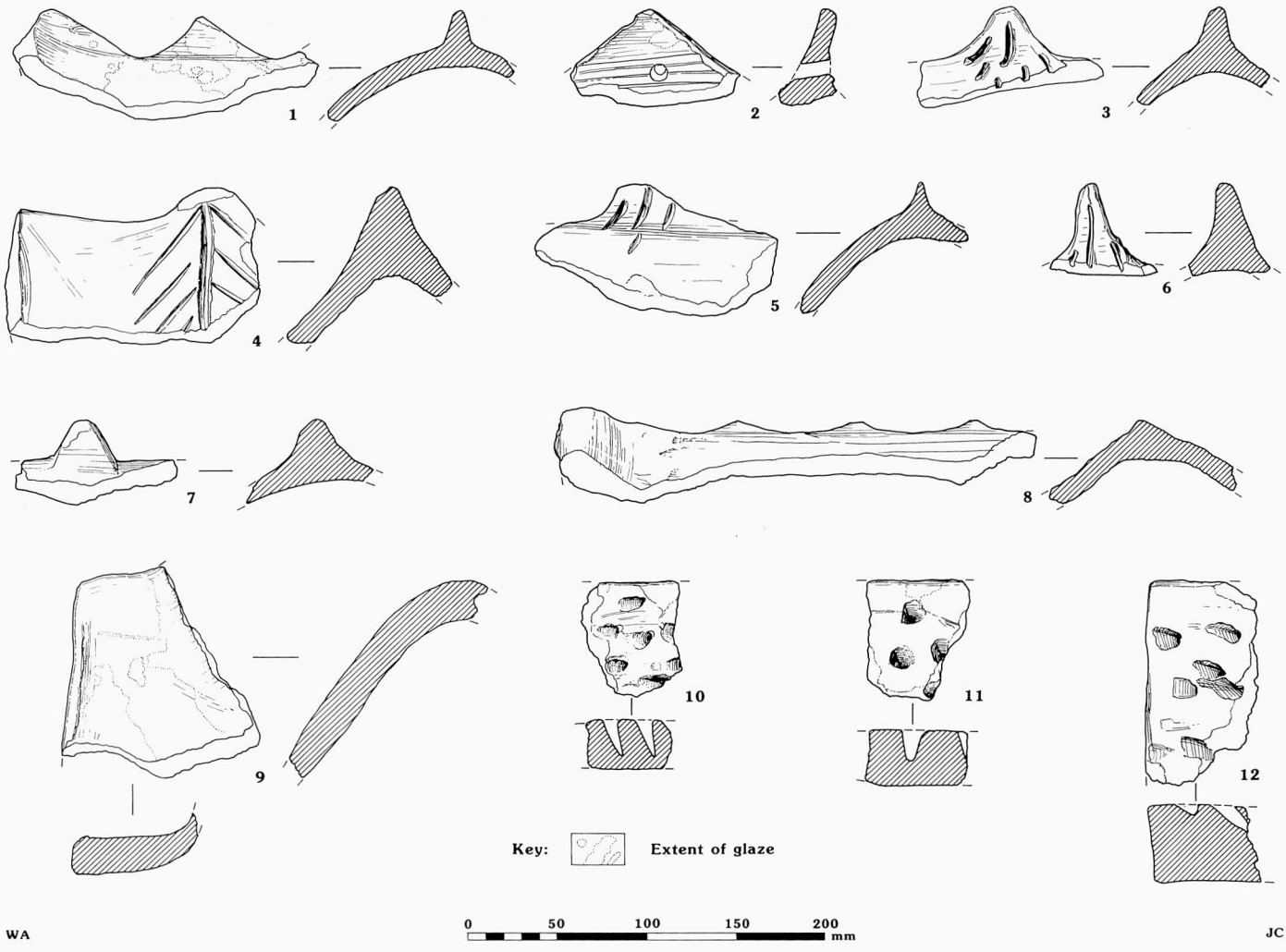

Figure 62 Ceramic building material (1–12)

pebble inclusions (<4 mm). Surface pale orange, core pale grey, unglazed. SF197, context 181,Y5, Phase 8.

4. Crested ridge tile; single triangular crest surviving. Deep grooves, cut when the clay still plastic, run down each side onto body in short lengths. Hard sandy fabric, some fine calcareous inclusions (<1 mm). Core pale grey, surfaces pale grey-brown, unglazed. Context 1114, overlying courtyard, Y10, Phase 8.
5. Crested ridge tile; small triangular crest surviving. Deep parallel grooves run down either side onto body. Very worn on one side. Soft sandy fabric. Core mid-grey, surfaces orange, unglazed. Context 1114, overlying courtyard,Y10, Phase 8.
6. Pointed pyramidal crest from ridge tile; deep grooves running down two faces. Hard sandy fabric. Core pale grey, surfaces pale orange, unglazed. SF272, context 257,Y5, Phase 5/6.
7. Crest ridge tile with small pyramidal crest. Hard fabric, mixed inclusions, not all identifiable; quartz sandy and calcareous inclusions present. Core pale grey, surfaces pale orange where unglazed. Glaze appears to be degraded, with matt, clouded appearance; olive green where clear. SF202, context 189, dumping layer,Y5, Phase 7.
8. Crested ridge tile; shallow, knife-cut crests. Hard smooth fabric, sparse flint inclusions (<4 mm). Surfaces and core pale orange, unglazed. Context 1124,Y10, Phase 8.
9. Large tile-like fragment, probably part of louver. Finished edge indicates subrectangular opening, curvature of body and presence of curved surface, where it appears an element added during manufacture has broken away, indicate possibility of another opening, probably hooded. Hard fabric with moderate (15-20%) sand and sparse (*c.* 3%) flint (<3 mm). Surfaces pale brown, core mid-grey. Exterior surface glazed patchily, cloudy, matt drab green. SF552, context 204, topsoil,Y6, Phase 9.

Table 22. Fired clay: counts and weights (g) by phase

	Y4		*Y5*		*Y10*		*TOTAL*	
Phase	*No.*	*Wt (g)*	*No.*	*Wt (g)*	*No.*	*Wt (g)*	*No.*	*Wt(g)*
4/5	-	-	29	2203	-	-	29	2203
5/6	16	234	2	9	-	-	18	243
8	-	-	-	-	1	4	1	4
Total	16	234	1	2212	1	4	48	2450

10. Hearth tile; oblique stab-marks, probably made with knife. Soft fabric, moderate pebble inclusions, including flint (<7 mm), angular flint (<4 mm) and iron oxide as soft, red rounded grains (<3 mm). Orange throughout. SF197, context 181, Y5, Phase 8.
11. Hearth tile; oblique stab-marks made with implement subsquare to circular in plan and tapering in section. Soft, sandy fabric, sparse calcareous inclusions (<3 mm). Orange-brown throughout, with the exception of one grey surface. SF197, context 181, Y5, Phase 8.
12. Hearth tile; oblique knife stab-marks. Coarse fabric, moderate to common (15-20%) flint grits (<7 mm). Greyish-orange surfaces, orange margins, pale grey core. Context 190, dumping layer, Y5, Phase 7.

9. Fired Clay, by Rosamund M.J. Cleal

A total of 48 pieces of fired clay, weighing 2450 g, was recovered. It is clear that little fired clay had been kept from Rigold's excavations and this has not been quantified. Counts and weights are given in Table 22. Impressions were noted on eight pieces, and on only two were they of the semi-cylindrical form normally left by structural members. In one case the diameter of the impression is 10 mm, and in the other 15 mm. As so few of the pieces bear impressions and the number and size of the fragments is small, it is not possible to suggest the function of the fired clay, nor to suggest the nature of the structure from which the two pieces with structural elements may have come.

Twenty-one small, spherical fired clay objects were recovered. Most were found in medieval contexts (Phase 5/6) in the motte ditch (Y4). The mean weight of the balls is 7 g, and they are fairly uniform in size, the diameter varying only from 14 mm to 19 mm; the majority having diameters of 17 mm or 18 mm. Counts and weights are given in Table 23. Only three appear to be fully oxidised; most are patchily oxidised and some are certainly burnt. Seven of the patchily oxidised and burnt balls are also cracked, although whether this is a result of firing or a post-firing effect is uncertain. One ball shows a patch of glaze.

The function of these objects is uncertain. Two from the turf (Phase 9, Y10) are smaller than the rest and appear different in character; they are almost certainly marbles of fairly recent date. The burnt and cracked nature of some of the balls may relate to their use, but might equally be the result of accidental burning.

A single, complete wig curler was recovered from the topsoil in Y4.

10. Clay Tobaco Pipes, by Simon Brereton

The clay tobacco pipe assemblage from Carisbrooke Castle comprises 2401 fragments (13,569 g), including both stratified material from the 1976-1981 excavations and unstratified material from Rigold's excavations, mainly from the gatehouse (1968-1969). The bulk of the assemblage consists of plain stems; the full composition is given in Table 24.

The pipe bowls and makers' stamps provide an independent source of dating evidence for the post-medieval period, and it was hoped that this data would

Table 23. Ceramic balls: counts and weights (g) by phase

	Y4		*Y5*		*Y10*		*Unstrat.*		*TOTAL*	
Phase	*No.*	*Wt (g)*	*No.*	*Wt (g)*	*No.*	*Wt (g)*	*No.*	*Wt (g)*	*No.*	*Wt (g)*
5/6	14	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	100
8	3	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	21
9	-	-	1	9	2	10	-	-	3	19
?	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8	1	8
Total	17	121	1	9	2	10	1	8	21	148

Table 24. Clay pipes by type

	No.	*Wt (g)*
Bowls	535	5777
Plain stems	1808	7599
Decorated stems	24	136
Mouthpieces	535	84
TOTAL	2902	13,596

supplement the stratigraphic record and other artefactual evidence to enable the construction of a more precise model of post-medieval activity on the site. In addition, the sources of pipes were seen as a potential source of information about local industry and trade.

Although the area is recognised as an important source of pipe clay, at least in the late 17th and early 18th centuries (Walker 1977, 221), little has been published on clay pipes from the Isle of Wight, and this collection is the first large assemblage of excavated material from the island to be examined. Comparative groups must therefore come from the mainland, with Southampton (Atkinson 1975), Oyster Street, Portsmouth (Fox and Barton 1986) and Christchurch (Markell 1983) providing the main parallels. The typology of bowl forms adopted in the analysis of this assemblage is based for the main part on the work of Atkinson (1975) and Oswald (1975).

The assemblage was divided into plain stems, decorated stems, mouthpieces, and pipe bowls. The plain stems were quantified by number and weight of fragments for each context, and these context groups were then given object numbers. The decorated stems, mouthpieces, and bowls were given individual object numbers and recorded on clay pipe record sheets. Number, weight, and completeness were recorded, together with any stamps or decoration, the presence of a foot or spur and, for identifiable bowls, the bowl type and date range of manufacture. This information was then entered onto a database. Totals by type are given in Table 24.

Pipe Bowls

A total of 535 bowls were excavated of which 391 were identifiable to type. The bowls present for each dating period are summarised overall in Table 25, and by site subdivision in Table 26.

The absence of pipes from the second half of the 18th century in this assemblage is an interesting phenomenon. This is evident from Table 25; in fact, there are few bowls of any date after *c.* 1750. Although it is not impossible that this apparent discontinuity is simply the result of misidentification, bowls of the later 18th century are reasonably distinctive and fall into a well established countrywide series. The absence of any makers' stamps datable to this period adds weight to the argument that there is a genuine discontinuity. It is not possible to say whether this reflects the decline in pipe-smoking in the 18th century in general or is due to local circumstances, but the same pattern is seen in excavated material from Christchurch, Shaftesbury, York, Exeter, and Plymouth (Markell 1983), though not in either Southampton or Portsmouth (Atkinson 1975; Fox and Barton 1986).

Table 25. Correlation of clay pipe bowl types and stamps

Bowl type	*Date range*	*No.*	*Stamp types*
1	1600-40	5	11
2	1640-60	34	12, 13
3	1640-6	4	10
4	1640-60	1	-
5	1660-80	59	-
6	1660-80	27	-
7	1660-80	2	-
8	1660-80	5	-
9	1680-1710	15	-
10	1680-1710	12	-
11	1680-1710	120	-
12	1690-1740	10	-
13	1710-50	2	-
14	1710-50	82	2, 5, 7
15	19th C	13	4, 6, 14
unid.	-	144	4, 5, 7, 8, 9

Typology of bowl forms

Whilst it would be impossible to illustrate all the subtypes present in the Carisbrooke assemblage, those shown (Fig. 63, 1-14) cover adequately the main types found in both series of excavations. The 19th century pipes are of such variety that classification by form was not appropriate. These pipes were given classification 15 solely on the basis of date. References in brackets are to Atkinson's Southampton typology (1975), and Oswald's simplified general typology (1975), unless otherwise specified.

1. Typical foot type of early 17th century; small bulbous chinned bowl, may be milled or incised at rim (Oswald SG4; Atkinson 1). 1600-1640
2. Early Western style with foot; overhanging bulbous bowl, may be milled or incised at rim, some stamped on back of bowl (Atkinson 2). 1640–1660

3-4. Early London/South Eastern style, Type 3 with foot, Type 4 with spur; small bulbous upright bowl (Oswald SG5). 1640–1660

Table 26. Chronological breakdown of clay pipe bowl types by trench

Date range	*Bowl types*	*Y1-Y4*	*Y5*	*Y6*	*Y7*	*Y8*	*Y9*	*Y10*	*Rigold*
1600-40	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
1640-60	2-4	18	2	1	-	5	1	12	-
1660-80	5-8	37	7	2	2	1	-	41	2
1680-1710	9-11	1	-	-	4	-	-	141	1
1690-1740	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
1710-50	13-14	2	4	-	-	-	-	78	-
19th C.	15	2	4	3	-	-	-	1	3
	Total	62	17	6	6	6	1	287	6

5. Western style with foot; chinned overhanging bowl with line of lip becoming more parallel to stem (Oswald SG6). 1660–1680
6. Contemporary London/South Eastern style with foot; more upright bowl than Type 5, may be milled at rim (Oswald SG6). 1660–1680
7. Western style with spur; overhanging bowl incised at rim (Atkinson 4). 1660–1680
8. London/South Eastern style with spur; upright bowl with line of lip set at angle to stem (Atkinson 5). 1660–1680
9. Successor to Type 8, London/South Eastern style with spur; line of lip more parallel to stem, may be milled at rim (Portsmouth 66: see Fox and Barton 1986, fig. 117). 1680–1710
10. London/South Eastern type with spur; long plain straight sided bowl with narrow spur (Oswald SG 19). 1680–1710
11. London/South Eastern style with foot; long bowl occasionally milled at rim but usually plain (Atkinson 6). 1680–1710
12. Western style with spur; slightly shouldered bowl thinning towards lip which is not quite parallel to stem. Spur set at forward-pointing angle (Atkinson 10). 1690–1740
13. London/South Eastern style with foot; long upright bowl, curves slightly (Atkinson 12). 1710–1750
14. Typical type of early 19th century with spur; lip almost parallel to stem (Atkinson 13). 1710–1750

Thirteen bowls from the 19th century or later (Type 15) were identified, decorated variously with oak leaves up the front and back of the bowl, moulded in the form of an acorn or a castle, or stamped with emblems, makers', or place names (Fig. 64, 30-4, 36). The remaining 144 bowls were not identifiable to type on the grounds of form, although some carried distinctive stamps such as the I/S and W/A spur marks.

Stems

A total of 1832 stems was recovered from 112 contexts. Two established methods exist for the dating of stems by the diameter of the bore (Walker 1977) but only two contexts produced large enough samples for either to be statistically reliable and in neither case was dating by bore appropriate. Context 101 (upper fill of motte ditch, Y4) produced bowls which, on other grounds, were dated exclusively to the period 1640-1680, whilst context 1109 (Y10) yielded bowls also covering a limited date range (1660-1680 to 1710-1750).

For many deposits the finds of clay pipe amounted only to a handful of stem fragments. Clearly under these circumstances the presence of this material is not a reliable indicator of post-medieval activity, as contamination from later deposits must always remain possible. For contexts 1115, 1126, and 1134 (Y10) a sample only of the plain stems was retained beyond the excavation and no further details of the quantity of excavated material were recorded.

In all, 24 stamped or decorated stem portions were found, with the decoration consisting mostly of rouletted spirals (Fig. 64, 19-23). The stamps are discussed together with bowl stamps.

Stamps

The correlation of stamps to bowl types is given in Table 25.

1. R. COLE NEWPORT with arrows relief on stem (Fig. 64, 15).
2. IOHN/STEP/HENS incuse on stem (Fig. 64, 17).
3. RICH/STEP/HENS incuse on stem (Fig. 64, 18).
4. R/C relief on sides of spur.
5. I/S relief on sides of spur.
6. J/D relief on sides of spur.
7. W/A relief on sides of spur.
8. Crown ?/Crown S relief on sides of foot (Fig. 64, 26).
9. Gauntlet incuse on base of foot (Fig. 64, 27)
10. IP with ?tobacco leaf in circled relief on base of foot (Fig. 64, 24).
11. PC in circled relief on base of foot (Fig. 64, 25).
12. Griffon motif in circled relief on back of bowl (Fig. 64, 29).
13. *Fleur-de-lys* motif in circled relief on back of bowl (Fig. 64, 28).

14. DUBLIN incuse on back of bowl.
15. St. Omer/Depose incuse on stem (Fig. 64, 16).

Five named manufacturers can be identified:

1. Robert Cole of Newport (b.1818), from R/C spur marks and two stems marked R.COLE NEWPORT with arrows (Oswald 1975).
2. John Stephens of Newport (first half 18th century), from I/S spur marks and IOHN/STEP/HENS stem stamp. His pipes have also been found at Portsmouth, Southampton and the fortress of Louisbourg in Canada (Atkinson 1975; Fox and Barton 1986, fig. 127, 128).
3. Richard Stephens. This maker is previously unreported.
4. John Dyer of Newport (1895), from J/D spur marks (Oswald 1975).
5. William Ally (*c.* 1730-1777), from W/A spur marks. His pipes have also been found at Portsmouth (Fox and Barton 1986, fig. 121, 98).

The gauntlet mark is of the type associated with the Gauntlett family of Amesbury, and first appears in the mid 17th century. These pipes were commonly pirated throughout the south-west of England from the later 17th century into the early 18th century (Atkinson 1969), and it is likely that this is one of these imitations. A single find of imported pipe, the stem stamped St. Omer/Depose, came from France. St Omer was a renowned centre of clay pipe production, with makers so famous that their pipes were copied in Scotland (Oswald 1975).

An I/P heel stamp, although without the ?tobacco leaf, is known from Poole (Markell 1992, no. 41); Markell notes that a John Parish is recorded at Wareham in 1718, but would appear to be too late for the Poole pipe, which is dated 1660-1680, and this would also be the case for the Carisbrooke example.

The P/C maker cannot as yet be identified; however, a PC stamp is reported at Southampton, and a pipe in Winchester Museum, datable to *c.* 1640, has the same mark (Atkinson 1975). The griffon and fleur-de-lys stamps cannot be associated with named makers. The latter is a common motif found from the 17th onwards.

It is interesting to note that despite the wealth of published makers in the nearby mainland ports of Christchurch, Portsmouth, and Southampton, only the pipes of John Stephens are found on the mainland, while no definite imports to the Isle of Wight were recorded, with the exception of the French stem. This localisation of manufacture stands in contrast to the export of local pipe clay which, in the late 17th century, was sold in such diverse locations as Plymouth, Newcastle upon Tyne and Stamford (Walker 1977).

Distribution

While most trenches produced only small quantities of datable clay pipe fragments, two large groups were recovered from Y1-Y4 and Y10 (see Table 26). The bowls from these two areas show a contrasting chronology. The vast majority (*c.* 90% by number) of bowls from Y1-Y4 fall within the range 1640-80, while those from Y10 are spread over a later, and wider, date range, with roughly half in the period 1660-1710, and *c.* 90% by number falling within the range 1660-1750. The correlation of this evidence with that of the glass from these trenches is discussed elsewhere (Seager Smith, above).

List of illustrated material

(Fig. 63)

1. Type 1 bowl. Unstratified, gatehouse (R11).
2. Type 2 bowl. Unstratified, gatehouse (R11).
3. Type 3 bowl. Unstratified, gatehouse (R11).
4. Type 4 bowl. SF1761, context 808, make-up layer, south bastion, Y8, Phase 8.
5. Type 5 bowl. Unstratified, gatehouse (R11).
6. Type 6 bowl. Unstratified, Rigold (1968, trench unknown).
7. Type 7 bowl. SF922, context 116, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
8. Type 8 bowl. Unstratified, gatehouse (R11).
9. Type 9 bowl. Unstratified, Rigold (1968, trench unknown).
10. Type 10 bowl. Unstratified, Rigold (1968, trench unknown).
11. Type 11 bowl. Unstratified, Rigold (1968, trench unknown).
12. Type 12 bowl. SF3532, context 1115, topsoil, Y10, Phase 9.
13. Type 13 bowl. SF3523, context 1115, topsoil, Y10, Phase 9.
14. Type 14 bowl. SF3463, context 1115, topsoil, Y10, Phase 9.

(Fig. 64)

15. R.COLE NEWPORT with arrows in relief. SF44, context 69, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 9.
16. St. Omer/Depose incuse. SF1504, context 419, topsoil, Y7, Phase 9.
17. IOHN/STEP/HENS incuse. SF3631, context 1115, topsoil, Y10, Phase 9.
18. RICH/STEP/HENS incuse. SF3655, context 1120, overlying courtyard, Y10, Phase 8.
19. Stamped with *fleur-de-lys* motif in relief. SF81, context 101, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
20. Moulded bands in relief. SF2612, context 1134, overlying courtyard, Y10, Phase 8.

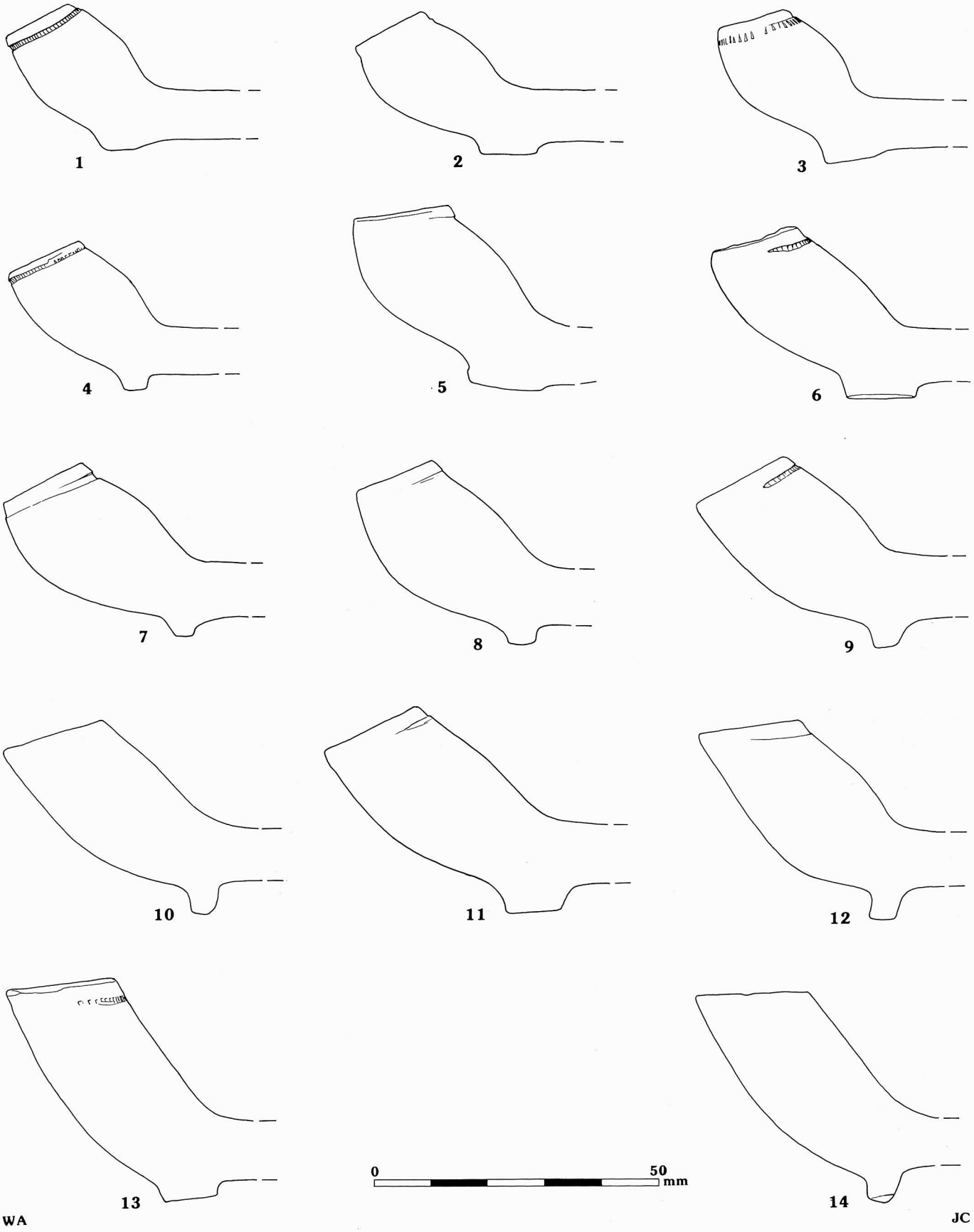

Figure 63 Clay pipes (1–14)

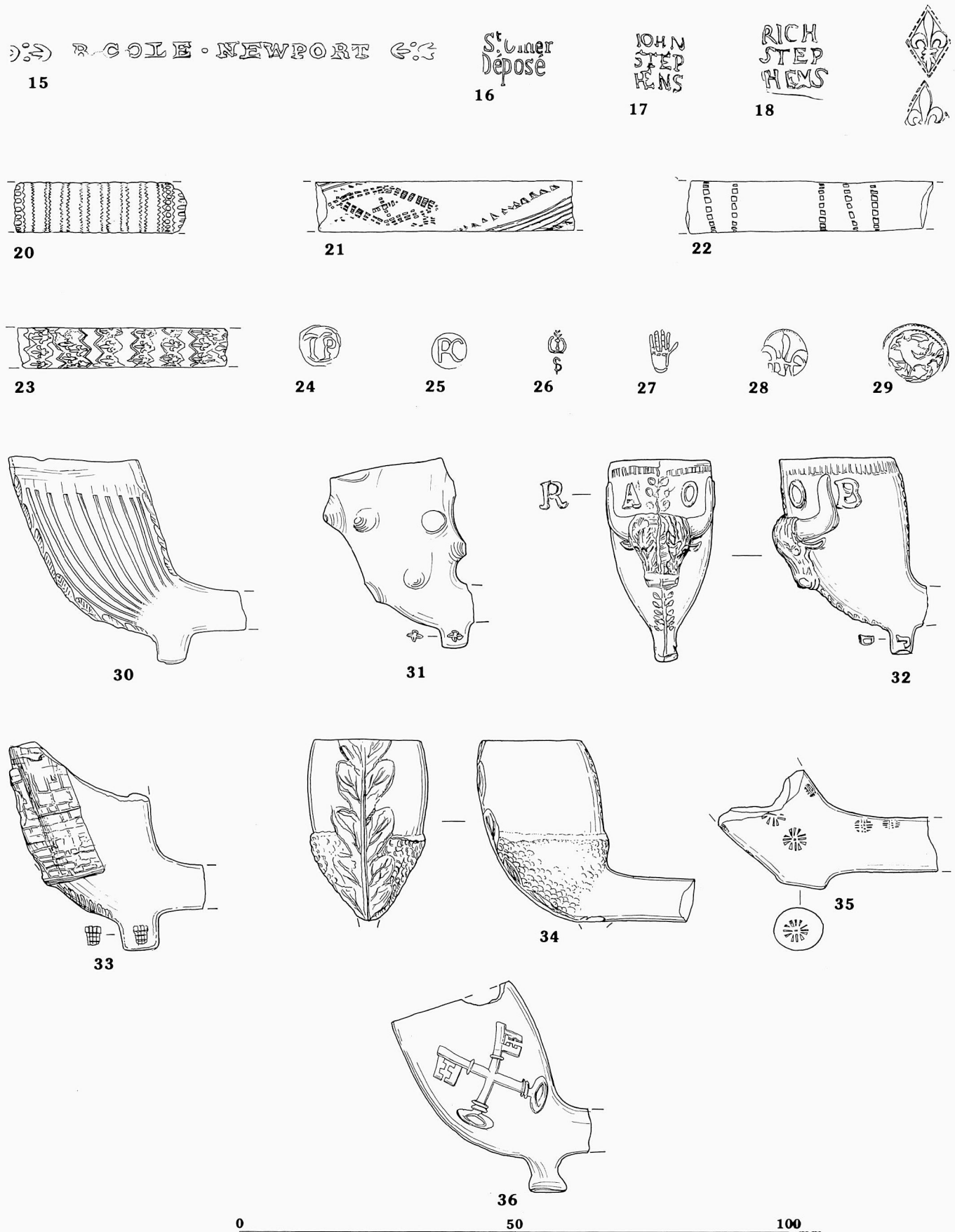

Figure 64 Clay pipes (15–36)

21. Rouletted spiral incuse with rhomboid incuse stamp. SF2847, context 1120, overlying courtyard, Y10, Phase 8.
22. Rouletted spiral incuse. SF3633, context 1115, topsoil, Y10, Phase 9.
23. Rouletted bands incuse. SF3808, context 1164, drain 1149, Y10, Phase 8.
24. IP with tobacco leaf in circled relief. SF83, context 101, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
25. PC in circled relief. SF3431, context 101, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
26. Crown S/ Crown ?? relief on sides of foot. SF3622, context 1115, topsoil, Y10, Phase 9.
27. Gauntlet incuse. SF3882, context 1109, overlying courtyard, Y10, Phase 8.
28. *Fleur-de-lys* in circled relief. SF82, context 101, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
29. Griffon in circled relief. SF108, context 117, upper fill of motte ditch, Y4, Phase 8.
30. Fluted bowl with oak leaves up front and back. SF455, context 305, topsoil, Y6, Phase 9.
31. Knobbed bowl, otherwise undecorated, stamped with quatrefoil motif on sides of spur. SF1506, context 419, topsoil, Y7, Phase 9.
32. Moulded with buffalo head, oak leaves up front and back, and letters R A O B (Royal Ancient Order of Buffaloes). Stamped J/D on sides of spur. SF1507, context 419, topsoil, Y7, Phase 9.
33. Fragment of moulded bowl in the form of a castle with oak leaves up the front and back and a shield motif on the sides of the spur. SF1508, context 419, topsoil, Y7, Phase 9.
34. Moulded bowl in the form of an acorn with oak leaves up the front and back. The spur is missing. SF3515, context 1115, topsoil, Y10, Phase 9.
35. Fragment of early decorated bowl marked with two incuse stamps and rouletting in a regular pattern. SF3516, context 1115, topsoil, Y10, Phase 9.
36. Moulded with crossed keys of St Peter on each side of the bowl. SF3951, unstratified from pipe trench.

11. Worked Skeletal Material, by Rosamund M.J. Cleal

Fifty-five objects of bone, antler and ?tooth were examined. This includes all the excavated material from 1976–81, but possibly only a sample of objects recovered by Rigold. A single piece of tortoiseshell is also included here. A full catalogue of all objects is given in archive. Counts by category and phase are given in Table 27. The objects are discussed by category following the order of MacGregor (1985, Chapter 6).

Combs

A single damaged example of a one-piece bone comb was recovered from a post-medieval context of Phase 8 in Y10. The comb has a slender cross-section (max. 3 mm), characteristic of late medieval and later forms (MacGregor 1985, 81, fig. 47). Although fragmentary it is almost certainly of the form of numbers 1939, 1944, 1946, and 1947 at Southampton (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, figs 248, 249), of which 1939 is late medieval, found in a context dated 1375-1425 (ibid., 274), and the remainder early 16th and early 17th century.

Toggles

Two toggles (cf MacGregor 1985, 102-3, fig. 59), one unfinished, were found in medieval contexts (Phase 5/6). The function of these objects is unknown, though it has been suggested that they are fasteners, possibly for personal dress, or bobbins for winding wool (ibid.,

Table 27. Worked bone and antler objects by phase

	Working waste		*Misc. object*		*Gaming piece*		*Decorative strip*		*Pin/ needle*	*Toggle*	*Tooth*	*Whale-bone*	*Total*
Phase	*Bone*	*Antler*	*Bone*	*Antler*	*Bone*	*Antler*	*Bone*	*T'shell*	*Bone*	*Bone*			
4/5	1	-	1	1	3	2	4	-	-	1	-	-	13
5/6	1	2	3	-	1	-	8	-	1	1	-	1	18
6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
8	-	-	4	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	8
9	1		2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Unph.	-	1	1	3	1	-	1	-	-	-		-	7
Total	5	3	11	4	6	3	13	1	4	2	1	1	55

102) and they occur on sites of Iron Age to medieval date (ibid., 102-3).

Pins/Needles

Three pins, one pin or needle shank, and one possible pin/needle, were recovered, from medieval and later contexts (Fig. 65, 1-4). The two complete pins are short with marked hips, features characteristic of a group of pins which appeared at and soon after the Norman Conquest (MacGregor 1985, 121). Spherical heads (Fig. 65, 3), are common, as are loops for suspension (ibid.). Cat. No. 6 (Fig. 65, 2) may therefore also be of this type. MacGregor suggests that the small size of these pins and the provision for suspension may indicate a specific function, perhaps the attachment of a particular type of head-dress (ibid., 121).

Only one of the Carisbrooke pins (Fig. 65, 1), however, was recovered from a context likely to be of the second half of the 11th century or the first half of the 12th century. The others were in later medieval and post-medieval contexts.

One object (Fig. 65, 4) is of a form often described as a needle or bodkin (Harvey 1975, 271, fig. 247). However, MacGregor asserts that pins with expanded heads may be mistaken for needles, and are identifiable as pins on the basis of the lack of wear usually exhibited by the area around the perforation and the large size of the head (MacGregor 1985, 193). Both these criteria would seem to apply to this object. It is comparable in form to an example, illustrated as a pin, from York (ibid., fig. 64, no. 37.

Writing Materials

A single, incomplete, manuscript pricker was found in a context of Phase 8 (Fig. 65, 5). Although the object is in a post-medieval context it must be redeposited, as the use of this type of object appears not to have extended into the post-medieval period. The implement was used to mark out manuscripts by creating rows of holes down each side of the page, between which lines could then be ruled, the advantage of pricking the holes being that more than one page could be marked out at the same time (MacGregor 1985, 124-5).

Gaming Pieces

Nine gaming pieces were recovered, three in antler and six in bone (Fig. 65, 7-11). There are in addition three pieces of antler tine which appear to have been cut to stand upright and are interpreted as gaming pieces, possibly pawns (Fig. 65, 12).

The discoidal pieces (Fig. 65, 7, 8) are of a well-known type, probably associated with the game of tables, which is attested in England as early as the 11th century (MacGregor 1985, 137). Chess pieces do not seem to have appeared in England prior to the 11th century, and these are also represented at Carisbrooke, in Phases 4/5 and 8 (Fig. 65, 9, 11). The simple and fluted convex pieces (Fig. 65, 9 and 10) are almost certainly pawns, and this may also be true of the antler tine tips described above.

A single more elaborate piece from a Phase 8 context (Fig. 65, 11) is of antler plugged with a second piece of antler and appears to represent a bishop. These pieces are characterised by two projections or heads, and may be plugged, as may other of the pieces (MacGregor 1985, 138, fig. 73). The piece is almost certainly medieval and therefore redeposited in the context in which it was found.

There is a clear concentration of gaming pieces, including two of the putative chess pieces, from Phase 4/5, that is, the post-Conquest period, and this suggests that both tables and chess are likely to have been played from early on in the castle's history. There is no evidence, if the identification of the pawns is correct, that chess made a later appearance than the game for which the discoidal counters were used.

Crossbow Nut

A single incomplete crossbow nut (Fig. 65, 13) was recovered by Rigold (R2). Only one side of the notch on the upper side, which held the bow-string, survives, as does only part of the notch for the trigger. Similar nuts found elsewhere include examples from Sandal Castle, Yorkshire (Credland 1983, 265, fig. 12.25), Goltho, Lincolnshire (MacGregor 1987, 192, fig. 162.22), Wareham Castle, Dorset, and Pevensey Castle, Sussex (MacGregor 1985, 160).

Handles and Mounts

A single, probably post-medieval handle was recovered from a modern context (Phase 9). Thirteen pieces of decorative mounts were recovered, mainly from contexts of Phases 4-6 (Fig. 65, 14-20). These were almost certainly used mainly in the decoration of caskets and a number of the fragments exhibit holes intended for attachment, probably by bone or antler pegs (MacGregor 1985, 199). The decorative motifs used are limited, and most are variations of ring and dot designs, although there is one example of incised chevrons (Fig. 65, 16), one of parallel incised lines alone, and one of a criss-cross incised design (Fig. 65, 15). A single piece (Fig. 65, 17) has a design of large holes, bordered by incised lines; this may be an

example of a less common type of decoration in which pierced strips were backed by sheet metal. A casket from Ludgershall, Wiltshire, was decorated in this way, with a backing of lead (MacGregor 1985, 199). A single, curved, thin strip of tortoiseshell recovered from a post-medieval context (Phase 8) may be a piece of inlay.

Miscellaneous Pieces

Four objects not readily assignable to any of the above categories are illustrated in Figure 65 (21-4). The object of antler (Fig. 65, 21) has not been identified. The serrated piece (Fig. 65, 22) may interpreted either as a crude comb, or as a decorative piece, perhaps unfinished. The lack of any wear on or between the teeth suggests that it has not been used as a comb. The surfaces are rough and unpolished. The peg (Fig. 65, 23) bears some resemblance to bone tuning pegs from musical instruments, such as those from Battle Abbey, Sussex (Lawson 1985, fig. 47.28-39). The resemblance may, however, be superficial, as the object lacks the thick squared typical of tuning pegs. This object was recovered from a Phase 5/6 context in Y5. A single lathe-turned piece with a screw thread at one end (Fig. 65, 24), appears to be a handle or attachment. It was recovered from a post-medieval context (Phase 8).

Bone and Antlerworking Waste

A small amount of waste was recovered, including some from medieval contexts (Table 27). The number of pieces found would seem to indicate only a very low level of bone or antlerworking at the Castle.

Whalebone

One whale vertebra was recovered from a midden deposit in Y5 (context 286, Phase 5), which appears to have been used as a chopping board. P Smith comments that a parallel to this was recovered from Saxon Southampton (Morton 1992, 56). This may have been collected from the shoreline. The presence of one vertebra does not indicate that whaling was carried out from the Isle of Wight.

List of illustrated objects

(Fig. 65)

1. Possible pin; pronounced hips, in form of arrowhead with perforation for suspension. SF2310, context 689, tip layer in 687, Y5, sub-phase 4c.
2. Pin; spherical, perforated head. SF1084, context 286, midden spread, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
3. Pin; spherical head, hipped shank. SF715, context 200, dumping layers, Y5, Phase 7.
4. Needle or pin. SF220, context 189, dumping layer, Y5, Phase 7.
5. Lower part of manuscript pricker, copper alloy point. SF193, context 162, Y5, Phase 8.
6. Discoidal counter. SF1264, context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
7. Discoidal counter. SF2280, context 653, tip layer in 687, Y5, sub-phase 4c.
8. Discoidal counter. SF1409, context 592, upper fill ditch 260, Y5, sub-phase 5a.
9. Possible chess piece (pawn). SF1041, context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
10. Possible chess piece (pawn). SF2309, context 687, tip layers, Y5, Phase 4/5.
11. Chess piece (bishop?). SF219, context 158, layer below topsoil, Y5, Phase 8.
12. Tip of antler tine, polished. Probably chess piece (pawn). SF2376, context 685, hearth 700, Y5, sub-phase 4b.
13. Incomplete crossbow nut. SF32a-d, R1, unstratified.
14. Strip; ring and dot decoration. SF1003, context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
15. Strip; incised decoration. SF1040, context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
16. Strip; incised chevron decoration. SF1144, context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
17. Strip; incised lines and large perforations. SF2218, context 627, building 416, Y5, sub-phase 5b.
18. Strip; incised decoration and holes for attachment. SF1210, context 286, midden spread, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
19. Strip; complete except for one corner. SF1209, context 510, ditch 260, Y5, sub-phase 5a.
20. Incomplete strip; no surviving edges, ring and dot decoration. SF1407, context 573, upper fill ditch 260, Y5, sub-phase 5a.
21. Unidentified antler object; one projection and two perforations. SF1211, context 269, yard surface, Y5, sub-phase 6a.
22. Incomplete piece; one serrated edge. SF1406, context 573, upper fill ditch 260, Y5, sub-phase 5a.
23. Incomplete peg; two perforations. SF570, context 340, pit 341, Y5, Phase 5/6.
24. Handle or attachment, lathe-turned, screw thread at thinnest end. SF2914, context 1342, construction trench 1341, Y10, Phase 8.

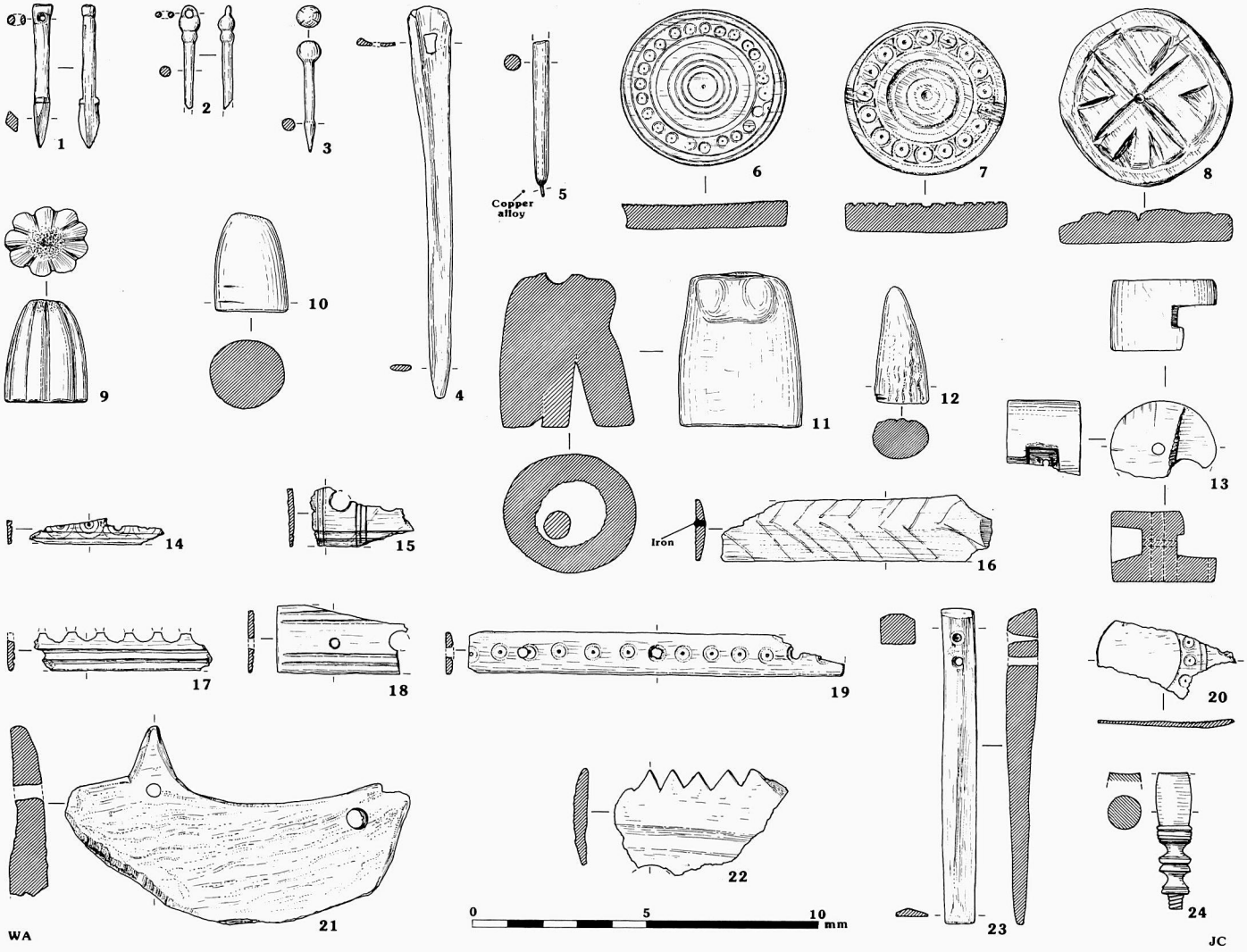

Figure 65 Worked bone and antler objects (1–24)

6. Environmental Evidence

1. Analysis of the 11th–12th Century Animal Bone, by Pippa Smith

The total animal bone assemblage from the excavations at Carisbrooke is large (*c.* 38,000 fragments). Following an initial assessment in 1990 by Maltby and Bourdillon and a reassessment by Serjeantson in 1992, animal bones from four major contexts from trench Y5 in the courtyard were selected for detailed study. The pottery from these contexts indicated an unusual (for Carisbrooke) lack of residual material and the groups were selected as they combined adequate documentation, good sample size and good preservation. The material comes from the early fill of ditch 260, a contemporaneous layer of occupation debris (context 687); the upper layers of the ditch fill and a deep rubbish deposit interpreted as a midden (context 286). Ditch 260 and layer 687 have been dated by pottery to sub-phase 4c (later 11th–early 12th century) and the midden to sub-phase 6a (12th century).

The assemblage of animal bone from Carisbrooke Castle afforded the possibility of studying a Norman diet. One of the questions to be considered was whether the presumed high status of a castle site was reflected in the diet of the inhabitants. As the assemblages chosen for study all came from the same area of the castle, the opportunity to study the formation of the assemblage was also presented. It has been possible to illuminate both of these points in this report.

Retrieval

Some sieving was carried out by Young but unfortunately the bone from these samples has been lost. Small bones which may have been present on site are, therefore, likely to be absent from the assemblages presented to the author for study. Fish, bird, and small mammals may be under-represented as may small bones from larger species, for example, phalanges. On the other hand, Serjeantson has noted exceptional recovery of bird bone from the ditch and it is obvious that hand retrieval was very good.

Fish bones

The fish bone assemblage was very small and the lack of sieved samples will have created a heavy bias in any interpretation of fish consumption. No matter how careful was the hand recovery it would have been impossible to retrieve much bone from small species. The lack of potentially important food fish (for example herring) is, therefore, probably not a true picture. The fish bone was not studied in detail but is listed in archive. No species unusual for the area or period were noted and all the species represented could have been obtained locally. Cod (*Gadus morhua*) and conger eel (*Conger conger*) are particularly common on sites in the Solent region (Coy 1981).

Methods

Mammal bones were identified to taxa where possible with reference to the comparative collection of the Faunal Remains Unit, Southampton (FRU). The bones were identified by the author and Mary Iles of the Centre for Human Ecology at the University of Southampton. The amount of each bone present was recorded using a system of diagnostic zones devised by Serjeantson (1991). This information was used to calculate the minimum number of zones, the minimum number of elements and subsequently the minimum number of individuals for each species.

Ribs and vertebrae were not identified to species but were assigned to either 'cow size' or 'sheep size' classes. The former generally comprises cattle and deer; very few horse bones were recovered; the latter includes the sheep and pig. The ribs were counted by the head and the vertebrae by the centrum in order to ensure that the picture was not clouded by differences in fragmentation. The same size classes were used for long bone fragments which could not be assigned to species.

Sheep and goat were identified where possible following Boessneck (1969). Where it was not possible to differentiate these two species fragments were descrbed as sheep/goat. Most identifiable bones came from sheep so it is likely that the sheep/goat fraction represents mostly sheep. Red deer and fallow deer were differentiated following Lister (1981; 1990).

Measurements were taken following von den Dreisch (1976). There are insufficient measurements of any one element to allow any detailed work on metrical data; those which were taken are in the archive.

The Ditch Assemblage

A total of 3974 bone fragments was recovered from two layers of ditch 260, of which 33% were identifiable. Sheep/goat are most numerous in the bottom layer (Table 28). All parts of the skeleton are represented but there is a marked lack of elements from the head and feet. The toothwear data for this group are inconclusive but the fusion data for the basal layer gives a better idea of the age structure. It appears that most sheep were

Table 28. Animal bone: species distribution

	NISP	*%*	*MNI*	*%*	*Unid.*
1. Base of ditch 260					2259
Sheep/goat	460	44.36	28	50.91	
(Sheep)	(27)		(8)		
(Goat)	(8)		(2)		
Pig	318	30.67	9	16.36	
Cattle	87	8.39	5	9.09	
Horse	22	2.21	2	3.64	
Dog	60	5.79	3	5.45	
Cat	2	0.19	1	1.82	
Deer spp	3	0.29	1	1.82	
Red Deer	1	0.10	1	1.82	
Fallow deer	6	0.58	1	1.82	
Hare	77	7.43	3	5.45	
Fox	1	0.10	1	1.82	
Whale	-	-	-	-	
Total	1037		55	100	3296
2. Occupation layer 687					618
Sheep/goat	54	29.35	7	43.75	
Sheep	(9)		(3)		
Goat	(-)		(-)		
Pig	90	48.91	3	18.75	
Cattle	26	14.13	2	12.50	
Horse	1	0.54	-	-	
Dog	-	-	-	-	
Cat	1	0.54	1	6.25	
Deer spp	-	-	-	-	
Red Deer	3	1.63	1	6.25	
Fallow deer	-	-	-	-	
Hare	9	12.50	2	12.50	
Fox	-	-	-	-	
Whale	-	-	-	-	
Total	184		16		802
3. Upper layer, ditch 260					422
Sheep/goat	57	22.27	11	34.38	
Sheep	(7)		(4)		
Goat	(-)		(-)		
Pig	116	45.31	7	21.88	
Cattle	46	17.97	5	15.63	
Horse	-		-	-	
Dog	1	0.39	1	3.13	
Cat	1	0.39	1	3.13	
Deer spp	11	4.30	2	6.25	
Red Deer	4	1.56	1	3.13	
Fallow deer	6	2.34	2	6.25	
Hare	14	5.47	2	6.25	
Fox	-	-	-	-	
Whale	-	-	-	-	
Total	256		32		678
4. Midden 286					3500
Sheep/goat	368	32.83	29	41.43	
Sheep	(12)		(4)		
Goat	(4)		(1)		
Pig	506	45.45	18	25.71	
Cattle	162	14.45	8	11.43	
Horse	2	0.18	1	1.43	
Dog	2	0.18	1	1.43	
Cat	21	1.87	2	2.86	
Deer spp	11	0.98	3	4.29	
Red Deer	2	0.18	1	1.43	
Fallow deer	15	1.34	2	2.86	
Hare	31	2.77	4	5.71	
Fox	-	-	-	-	
Whale	1	0.09	1	1.43	
Total	1121		70		4621
5. Whole assemblage					6799
Sheep/goat	939	36.13	75	43.10	
Sheep	(55)		(19)		
Goat	(12)		(3)		
Pig	1030	39.63	37	21.26	
Cattle	321	12.35	20	11.49	
Horse	25	0.96	3	1.72	
Dog	63	2.42	5	2.87	
Cat	25	0.96	5	2.87	
Deer spp	25	0.96	6	3.45	
Red Deer	10	0.38	4	2.30	
Fallow deer	27	1.04	5	2.97	
Hare	131	5.04	11	6.32	
Fox	2	0.08	2	1.15	
Whale	1	0.04	1	0.57	
Total	2599		174		9397

slaughtered before the age of 2.5 years (Sisson and Grossman 1975). A few specimens were killed earlier suggesting that lamb was an occasional dish but that mutton was more commonly eaten.

The anatomical distribution of pig differs from that of sheep as there is evidence that the heads were present. Feet are relatively under-represented. Age data are sparse but the age at death varied with both young and more mature animals present (Sisson and Grossman 1975). Five canine teeth from the lower layer were female and 12 male suggesting that males were favoured. This pattern continues into the upper layer: only 2 female canines were recorded and 8 male.

Cattle are the third most numerous species in both assemblages. There is a marked lack of head elements but some foot bones are present. What evidence there is indicates that mature animals were present.

Both red and fallow deer are present in low numbers (Table 28). Hare is also represented by three almost complete skeletons. Three hare bones had been chopped midshaft (1 radius, 1 femur, and 1 tibia) and one pelvis had knife marks near the acetabulum suggesting dismemberment.

Very few horse bones are present in the lower layer and none in the upper. One fox skeleton was recovered. Most of the skeleton was present but the hind feet are missing. There are cut marks on the maxilla and on the right metacarpal V which suggests that the creature was skinned prior to disposal. The absence of the hind feet may indicate that these were removed with the skin. The specimen was probably female as no penis bone was found and the size is comparable to modern female foxes in the comparative collection. It seems likely that this skeleton represents the fortuitous slaughter of a fox

rather than part of any deliberate policy of exploitation for fur as only one fur bearing animal was found.

Sheep size vertebrae and ribs are present while cow-size are under-represented. The presence of the ribs and vertebrae strengthens the argument that predominantly prime meat bearing bones are present. Unidentifiable skull fragments are few, reflecting the general lack of head bones in the identifiable fraction.

Occupation Layer 687

A total of 802 fragments were recovered from this context of which only 184 were identifiable to species. Given this small assemblage any conclusions drawn here must be regarded as tentative. The species identified are shown in Table 28.

The species composition is similar to that from the ditch, though the presence of pig is inflated by the number of loose teeth (36). Sheep/goat dominate the assemblage by MNI comprising 44 % of the total. Head bones are absent but some feet are present. There is little ageing evidence but no very young animals were exploited.

All parts of the pig skeleton are represented although the head is mostly represented by loose teeth and this accounts for the inflated figure for pig when a fragments count is used. This may indicate that the head was broken up either after deposition or perhaps before in order to use the brains. The age range is somewhat more mixed than sheep or goat and some young specimens are present (Table 29). Four canines could be sexed: three male and one female.

Cattle is represented by a limited range of elements: humerus, radius, tibia, calcaneum and metacarpal. This pattern is unlikely to be the result of either a survival or retrieval bias. Astragalus and calcaneum are of similar size and density and there is no obvious reason why one should survive in the archaeological record and the other be destroyed. However, given the low number of cattle bones this pattern is most likely to be the result of chance rather than any deliberate pattern of utilisation or deposition. There are no age data for this species.

One red deer and two hare were found. One cat bone was also recovered. There are very few ribs and vertebrae from either small or large species in this context. With such a small group this is most likely to be a function of taphonomic processes (Brain 1981, 23). The majority of the unidentifiable group was made up of longbone and small unidentifiable fragments.

Midden: Context 286

The relative importance of species can be found in Table 28. The predominance of pig as indicated by the number of identifiable specimens can again be explained by a higher number of loose teeth.

Table 29. Animal bone: ageing data (expressed as % of bones providing fusion data)

Age	*Base, ditch 260*	*Occup. layer 687*	*Upper, ditch 260*	*Midde n 286*	*Whole site*
1. Sheep	n=168	n=8	n=18	n=119	n=313
10mth	31.5	71.4	61.1	36.1	35.8
1.5-2 yr	8.3	14.3	5.6	13.4	10.2
2.5yr	5.4	-	-	3.4	4.2
2.5-3yr	19.0	14.3	-	22.7	20.1
3-3.5yr	33.9	-	33.3	24.4	29.7
2. Pig	n=79	n=15	n=19	n=46	n=159
1 yr	20.3	26.7	26.3	26.1	23.3
2-2.5yr	40.5	53.3	31.4	39.1	40.3
3.5yr	39.2	20.0	42.1	34.8	36.5
3. Cattle	n=21	n=6	n=11	n=27	n=65
10 mth	23.8	-	9.1	18.5	16.9
1.5yr	42.9	33.3	18.2	33.3	33.8
2-2.5yr	9.5	16.7	36.4	14.8	16.9
3.5yr	4.8	16.7	27.3	7.4	10.8
3.5-4yr	10.0	33.3	9.1	25.9	21.5

Sheep or goat were again the most common species recovered. Limb bones dominate the assemblage although head and foot bones are present in small numbers. The fusion data suggests that the majority of animals were slaughtered before the age of three although a few animals survived beyond this stage (Table 29).

The apparent dominance of pig based on a fragments count is due the large number of loose teeth. All parts of the skeleton are represented although feet are low in number. The age range is more mixed than for the other species with a few young animals present (Table 29). Thirty canines could be sexed: all were male.

All parts of the cattle skeleton are present although head and foot bones are least well represented. There are little age data but what there are suggests that few young specimens were present (Table 29).

Red deer, fallow deer, and hare are all present in low numbers as are horse, dog and cat. One whale vertebra was recovered which appears to have been used as a chopping board. (Chapter 5).

Ribs and vertebrae are under represented for both large and small species. They are slightly more common for the smaller species but compared to the ditch the trunk is poorly represented. As these parts of the skeleton are particularly prone to post depositional damage (Brain 1981) this may indicate different taphonomic biases affecting the bones from these features. This is discussed in more detail below.

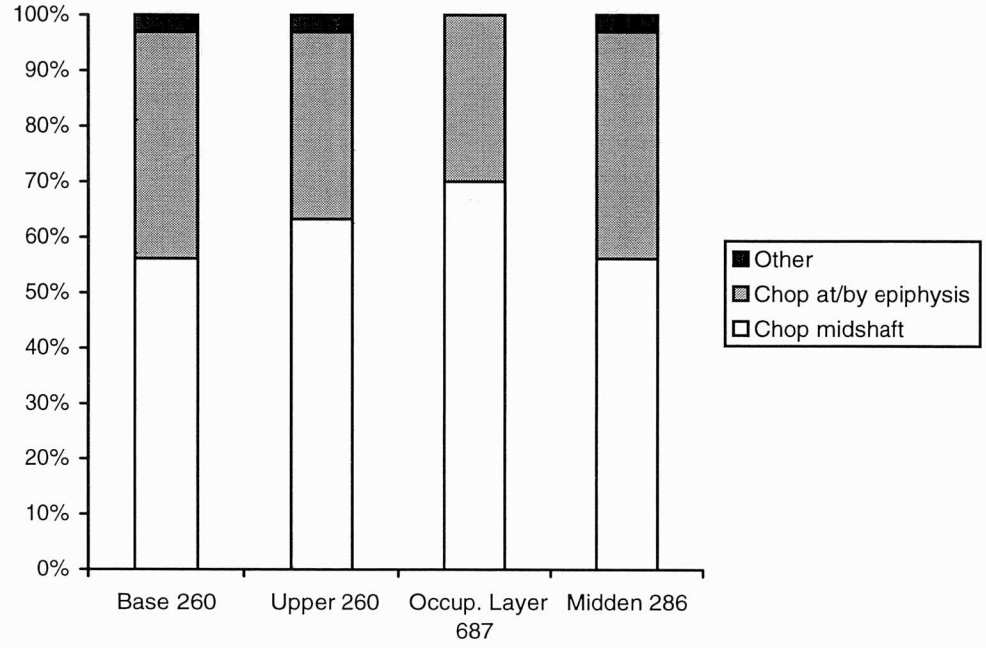

Figure 66 Animal bone: butchery evidence

Food Procurement

A: Domestic species

If the age structure of cattle and sheep is examined it can be seen that both species were slaughtered before the age of 2.5 to 3.5 years. Those elements which do not yield much meat were absent and it appears that butchery took place elsewhere on site or off site and prepared joints of meat were bought in to the castle. Pig differs slightly as the range of anatomical elements is greater and it may be that pig were kept on site or, more likely, that the complete pig carcass was brought in.

The butchery noted on the bones and the splintered state of much of the assemblage may also indicate exploitation of the bone for marrow. The most common chop mark was a midshaft blow (Fig. 66) which indicates splitting the bone for marrow extraction.

B: The wild mammals

Fallow deer, red deer, and hare were found in small numbers in each feature (Table 30).

Fallow deer were introduced or reintroduced to Britain by the Normans (Rackham 1986). Rackham suggests that the early 12th century was the most likely time of introduction and that by the 13th century the fashion for fallow deer had spread to Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. The presence of fallow deer in all features suggests that this is an early record of such deer. However, this is not the earliest record, for example fallow deer have been noted from earlier contexts such as the Saxo-Norman manorial settlement at Trowbridge, Wiltshire (Bourdillon 1993). An even earlier record is claimed at the Lincolnshire manor at Goltho where 25 fragments of post-cranial material were found in contexts dated AD 1000–1080 (Beresford 1987).

The wild species were all subject to forest laws. Forest laws applied to the King's forests and animals could be hunted only by the King or with his permission. There were four 'beasts of the forest':

> *The red deer, the fallow deer, the roe and the wild boar, together called 'the venison'; lesser beasts such as hares and rabbits, wild fowl and bird used in falconry and fish in the 'forbidden rivers' were also protected.* (Grant 1991)

There is some evidence of deer parks and forest land on the Isle of Wight. Basford (1989) suggests that The King's Park at Watchingwell was the earliest of these on the Island as it is recorded in Domesday. The park was sited on the south-west corner of Parkhurst forest. Basford writes that:

> *Parkhurst itself was probably not technically a forest in the early Middle Ages but was the hunting ground, or chase, of the lords of the Island.* (ibid.)

The rights to hunting were jealously guarded and punishment for poaching could be severe. Grant records that under the rule of the Norman kings offenders who poached deer were put to death. It seems likely that at this time few people could legitimately hunt and eat these animals and their presence implies a high status diet. The rarity of these species suggests

Table 30. Animal bone: the wild animals

	Base, ditch 260		*Upper, ditch 260*		*Occup.Layer 687*		*Midden 286*	
	NISP	*MNI*	*NISP*	*MNI*	*NISP*	*MNI*	*NISP*	*MNI*
Deer spp.	3	1	11	2	-	-	11	3
Fallow	6	1	6	2	-	-	15	2
Red	1	1	4	1	3	1	2	1
Hare	77	3	14	2	9	2	31	1

Table 31. Animal bone: proportions of major domestic species at Portchester and Carisbrooke

Species	*Portchester*	*Carisbrooke ditch 260*	*Carisbrooke Midden 286*
Sheep	35 %	65 %	52 %
Pig	35 %	22.5 %	33 %
Cattle	30 %	12.5 %	15 %

that they were seldom eaten even by the lords of the Island and these bones may be the remains of 'important' meals. This pattern is reflected in the bird bones with a few very high status birds, such as peacock, noted (Serjeantson, below).

The Source of the Assemblage

As already discussed, there is no evidence that the bones were discarded after primary butchery and the most likely source for this assemblage is a mixture of kitchen and table waste. The three features are located in the same area of the site and it may be that the source of the assemblage in these features is the same. Young envisages two depositional episodes in the ditch with the bottom layer deposited swiftly shortly after the ditch had been dug. The top layer would have been deposited far more gradually, possibly falling in piecemeal. This would certainly be consistent with the taphonomy noted on the bones. There was a higher degree of fragmentation in the upper layer and more of the bones had evidence of carnivore damage. The taphonomy across the top of the ditch, the occupation layer, and the midden is broadly similar. All three groups were more weathered and fragmented than the base layer of the ditch. Ribs and vertebrae which are more vunerable to post-depositional damage than the more dense limb bones are also less well represented in these features. The bones on the occupation layer were probably thrown from the kitchen. It may be that when the yard became too cluttered with debris it was cleared into the ditch, forming the top layer, hence the similarity in assemblages. The midden is a later feature than the ditch or occupation layer and the midden may have developed after the ditch was filled with the yard cleared onto the midden rather than into the ditch

The variation in carnivore damage to bones shows that the bones from the midden have the highest incidence of gnawing. Some elements from the midden had been chewed by large carnivores. It is likely that hunting dogs were kept in the castle. The splitting of bones noted earlier may have been to feed the dogs. Waste from the kitchen or table would have been thrown onto the midden. Some waste may also have been fed to dogs at this stage. Dogs would have taken bones from the midden and part of the assemblage would have been destroyed. The midden would have been an obvious concentration of bones to attract the dogs and those that were cleared onto the midden rather than becoming incorporated into the ditch would have been available to the dogs for longer, hence the more obvious damage.

Status

The diet at Carisbrooke does not appear to have been a particularly high status diet. The 'forest animals' are poorly represented although their mere presence does suggest the occasional high status meal. The selection of male pigs could suggest high status diets given the liking for boars heads, however, there is little to suggest that any of these pigs were wild and domesticated boars head may have been a 'second best'. The selection of male pigs may alternatively represent the surplus from a breeding population leaving the females to continue to breed with a small stock of stud males. Given the defensive importance of Carisbrooke at this time it is possible that what we have here is a garrison diet rather than a court diet. In order to look at this more closely the results were compared to the assemblage from Portchester castle (Grant 1985) a site with an assemblage from a comparable period and which was interpreted as primarily a defensive site.

Portchester Castle started as a rural manor and was mentioned as such in Domesday. The defences were built around 1120 and the castle was used as a defensive post during the rebellion of 1173 and further defensive work was undertaken in 1193 to meet the threat of invasion (Cunliffe and Munby 1985). Thus it seems that Portchester had a primarily defensive function. The fauna from the earliest medieval phase (pre-1320) may be comparable to that from Carisbrooke and the minimum number of individuals (MNI) will be used to compare the two sites. Only the two larger groups from Carisbrooke will be used in this comparison as the other groups are too small for

reliable comparison. The MNI was calculated for the three main food animals at Portchester (cattle, sheep, and pig) and expressed as a percentage of this. A similar method has been used to compare the Carisbrooke bones (Table 31). The three species were obviously much more on a par at Portchester whereas cattle seem to be a relative rarity at Carisbrooke.

Of the other species, horse and cat bones were rare as were deer bones. Both red and fallow deer were represented but red deer were the more numerous of the two species in the early phase at Portchester. The element representation at that castle site seems similar to that noted at Carisbrooke: head and foot bones were under-represented for cattle and sheep but better represented for pig. Again it seems that joints of meat were imported to Portchester as well as Carisbrooke.

The age structure also seems to be similar for cattle with most animals killed at around 2.5–3.5 years. The sheep at Portchester may have been killed at a younger age than those at Carisbrooke as the fusion data shows that no animals older than 2.5 years were present. However, one mandible comes from an individual aged 3–4 years. The age at death of the pig assemblage was more mixed than for the other species. The majority of pigs were mature but between 20% and 30% of the mandibles came from individuals less than a year old.

The age at death of the sheep may suggest that lamb was eaten at Portchester whereas mutton was consumed at Carisbrooke. If the inhabitants at Portchester had greater access to cattle it may be that the sheep could be killed at an earlier age as the quantity of meat would not be so critical where large species such as cattle were readily available.

There are a number of similarities between the two assemblages; Grant interprets the lack of heads and feet for cattle and sheep as evidence that primary butchery activity took place elsewhere and similar conclusions have been drawn for Carisbrooke. Pig were prepared in a slightly different manner as all skeletal parts were represented. Deer would have represented the results of the sport of nobles and the general lack of deer suggests that the diet was not usually a high status diet but that occasional high status meals were eaten.

Conclusions

The assemblage from Carisbrooke represents waste from a kitchen probably situated near the yard exposed by the digging of Y5. It seems likely that the three features discussed contain bones from the same source at different stages in the depositional cycle. The diet represented by this assemblage is not what would be expected from a high status site of this date. The overall dearth of forest animals suggests that high status meals were rare although the mere presence of these beasts does suggest the occasional important meal. Comparison with Portchester, a garrison castle on the mainland, indicates similarities in the diet. The assemblage studied here represents waste from a kitchen which was provisioning a garrison rather than providing a 'court' diet for the Lord of the Castle.

2. **Bird Bones**, by Dale Serjeantson

The bird bones from the four 11th–12th century deposits chosen for detailed study of the faunal assemblages are of interest for the light they shed on the consumption of domestic and wild fowl in a castle in the early post-Conquest period and on the introduction of new species to England. There are contrasts in the character of the groups from the ditch fill, occupation layer, and midden which demonstrate how the birds were presented at the table for consumption. Most of the *c.* 700 bones (Table 32) are clearly from food remains, with the majority of identified bones coming from domestic fowl (*Gallus gallus*). There are also geese, both domestic and wild, ducks, which include mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*) and teal (*Anas crecca*). The most notable finds are two bones of peacock (*Pavo cristatus*), one of buzzard (*Buteo* sp) and much of the skeleton of a tawny owl (*Strix aluco*) all from the early ditch fill. In this report the wild birds are discussed first.

As discussed above, recovery in the trench was apparently to a very high standard. Dozens of vertebrae and phalanges were recovered, particularly from the earlier ditch. The conclusion must be that many of the

Table 32. Bird bone: species distribution

	Dom. fowl		*Other birds*		*All ident.*		*Unident.*		*Total*
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*
Base ditch 260	178	78.4	49	21.6	227	55.0	186	45.0	413
Upper ditch 260	11	64.7	6	35.3	17	70.8	7	29.2	24
Occupation layer 687	21	80.8	5	19.2	26	100.0	-	-	26
Midden 286	136	76.4	42	23.6	178	75.1	59	24.9	237
	346	77.2	102	22.8	448	64.0	252	36.0	700

bones were found in a dense concentration which facilitated recognition and recovery of the tiny bones. As at least ten skulls of domestic fowl were recovered from the ditch fill, and survival of this fragile part of the skeleton strongly suggests that many bones were discarded directly into the ditch and rapidly covered in deposits which then suffered little or no later disturbance or compaction. The proportion of unidentified bones (45%) in the lower ditch fill is unusually high for a bird bone assemblage collected mostly by hand, but the figure is high because it includes the many phalanges and vertebrae.

The bones were identified at the Faunal Remains Unit (FRU). No attempt was made to identify vertebrae, ribs, phalanges, wing digits, and other small bones. The unidentified bones include long bone shaft, and small bones such as carpals and quadrates. The listings, all measurements, and definitions of the zones for bird bones are in the FRU and with the excavation archive.

Wild Birds

The distribution of wild bird bones is given in Table 33. The medium sized ducks are difficult to distinguish as they are closely similar to each other in morphology and overlap in size. Identifications are based on comparisons with modern specimens and ranges of measurements (Woelfle 1967), and where there is doubt they have been recorded as *Anas* sp. Mallard, and teal are certainly present; and three bones are probably from shoveller and/or widgeon. One duck bone, an immature tarsometatarsus, was notably large, so may be from a domestic bird. The bones of geese were all from anserine geese and all but one are within the size range of male and female grey lags (Bacher 1967). Those compatible in size with modern domestic geese have been noted as possibly domestic (?Dom); some bones are probably from wild birds.

There are a further three bones from wildfowl, the humerus of a curlew (*Numenius arquata*) and the ulna of another large wader, probably the oystercatcher (*Haematopus ostralegus*); both species are common on the north shores of the Island today. A carpometacarpus of a small wader, from the later ditch fill, is from a bird smaller than a dunlin. Even if all geese and duck bones are from wild birds, the proportion of wildfowl is below 20% in both periods, a surprisingly low figure in view of the location of Carisbrooke within a few kilometres of estuaries and coast which must then, as now, have had large populations of resident and wintering geese, ducks, and waders.

Table 33. Bird bone: the wild bird assemblage (NISP)

Species	*Base ditch 260*	*Upper ditch 260*	*Occup Layer 687*	*Midden 286*	*Total*
Goose ?Dom (*Anser anser* ?domestic)	3	-	4	-	7
Goose (Anser *sp*)	17	-	1	26	44
Mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*)	7	3	-	7	17
Teal (*Anas crecca*)	2	-	-	2	4
Duck/shoveller (*Anas ?clypeata*)	-	-	-	1	1
Duck NFI (*Anas/Aythya*)	3	-	-	5	8
Wader cf Dunlin (*Charadriiformes*)	-	1	-	-	1
Curlew (*Numenius arquata*)	-	-	-	1	1
?Oystercatcher (*cf Haematopus ostralegus*)	-	-	-	1	1
Buzzard (*Buteo ?buteo*)	1	-	-	-	1
Peacock (*Pavo cristatus*)	2	-	-	-	2
Wood pigeon (*Columba palumbus*)	-	-	-	1	1
Pigeon (*Columba cf livia*)	1	-	-	-	1
Tawny owl (*Strix aluco*)	10	-	-	-	10
Crow (*Corvus corone*)	1	1	-	-	2
Crow/rook (*Corvus* sp)	-	1	-	-	1
Raven (*Corvus corax*)	2	-	-	-	2
Unid.	186	7	-	59	252
Total	235	13	5	103	356

Tawny owl skeleton

Part of the skeleton of a tawny owl was recovered from the basal ditch fill. As the bones were articulated and undamaged except in recovery there is little doubt that the bird was buried complete. In the medieval bestiary the owl was a bird of evil and dark-ness, a harbinger of death (Klingender 1971, 256); no doubt as such it merited rapid burial instead of an end as a meal for the hounds.

Other wild birds

An incomplete femur matches that of a buzzard, but specific identification is uncertain. Two pigeon bones are present, one from a wood pigeon (*Columba palumbus*) and the other from a rock dove (*Columba* cf *livia*). The latter could be wild or domestic. Part of a humerus and ulna of a raven (*Corvus corax*) were recovered, the latter with cut marks on the distal end. The other corvid bones are probably from the crow (*Corvus* cf *corone*). Though corvids were also usually

shunned as human food, as they feed on carrion, the condition and contexts of these finds do not distinguish them from the food remains.

Domestic Birds

Peafowl

The only certainly domestic species other than domestic fowl is the peafowl. A complete tarsometatarsus and a distal coracoid were found in the 11th century ditch fills. The presence of a robust spur on the tarsometatarsus strongly suggest it is from a male bird, and the measurements fit the peacocks in the collection of the FRU.

The peacock has been found on Roman sites (Parker 1988) and is illustrated in 4th century mosaics. There are no early Anglo-Saxon records, but it may have been reintroduced in Saxon times as one bone has been recorded from a context dated to the late Saxon period at Thetford, Norfolk, and peacocks feature in some Saxon manuscripts (Yapp 1981). The bird was certainly kept by the Normans and this find from Carisbrooke suggests that the reintroduction was very soon after the Conquest. There are many illustrations of peacocks in medieval documents, but bone finds are less common. Single examples have been found at the manor of Faccombe Netherton (Sadler 1990) and Odiham Castle, Hampshire (Hamilton-Dyer nd), and Rattray Castle, Perth (Hamilton-Dyer *et al.* 1993). The possession of peacocks was a symbol of status for the owner, as now, and with the fallow deer also introduced to the park on the island, will have helped to confirm the status of the new Norman dynasty and the de Redvers family in the eyes of the islanders.

Domestic fowl

Over three-quarters (77%) of identified bones are from domestic fowls. The skeletal development and sexual characteristics of these was noted where possible in order to see if there was a pattern in the selection of birds for consumption. The state of fusion of the tarsometatarsus, tibiotarsus and carpometacarpus and the porosity of the non-fusing limb bones was recorded. In the sample from the lower ditch fill the proportion of immature bones was 19%, but the figures are inconsistent between the different bones. Only 11% of tarsometatarsi, the most frequent bone, are immature, but 37% of all other bones were judged to be immature. The majority of fowls slaughtered were mature birds (81%); the absence of spurs on all but one of the tarsometatarsi, suggests that most were hens. The presence of the medullary bone, found in laying hens, in at least four of the nine femurs from the early ditch fill, indicates that laying hens as well as others were slaughtered for food. It is a reasonable inference that fowls were kept mainly for eggs and, in the main, were eaten when their laying days were over. There is no evidence for birds kept for cockfighting. Tarsometatarsus dimensions show that the birds fall into one size group. A single bone is longer and broader than the rest; it is unspurred. The spurred bone falls within the main size group. The pattern of consumption of old hens contrasts with that of pigs, of which the young males were selected.

Pathology

The pathological bones are all from domestic fowl. These are four foot phalanges from layer 589 with exostosis around the proximal articulation, probably from the same bird; a sternum from layer 592 with thickening of the crest; the proximal end of a tarsometatarsus from layer 601 with new bone formation around the shaft; and a twisted and deformed ulna with pitting of the bone surface from 603.

Proportion of Birds to Mammals

Most of the bird bones (413) are from the lower ditch fill (ditch 260); a further 26 were recovered from the occupation layer (687), 24 from the upper ditch fill, and 238 from the midden (286). The proportion of bird bones in the total of mammal and bird varies from 11% in the lower ditch fill to 3% in upper fill and occupation layer. As survival and recovery was very good from the lower ditch fill, the proportion is a good reflection of bones eaten and from this we can conclude that fowls, the most common species, were consumed in quantity. The proportion from the other contexts is lower no doubt because the fragile bones have withstood damage from dogs and trampling less well than mammal bones.

Dressing and Eating Birds: Contrasts Between Deposits

The parts of the carcass found in the early ditch fill contrast strongly with those from other deposits. In the lower ditch fill the fowl bones were present in the following order of frequency: tarsometatarsus, skull, premaxilla, mandible, scapula, radius, ulna, carpometacarpus, humerus, coracoid, femur, sternum, and synsacrum (Table 34). Skull and mandibles of geese and mallards were also found in the lower ditch fill. The phalanges and vertebrae from this context have already been referred to. It was clearly the practice to cut off the head and feet before cooking and serving fowl. There is a higher proportion of bones from the part of the carcass served at table, and a lower for the tarsometatarsus in the midden. Deposits of bones deriving from primary butchery of the larger mammals

Table 34. Domestic fowl: anatomical distribution, number of specimens (NISP)

	Ditch 260		*Layer*	*Midden*	
	Base	*Upper*	*687*	*286*	*Total*
Skull	15	-	-	1	16
Mandible	8	-	-	-	8
Premaxilla	6	-	-	-	6
Scapula	11	-	1	17	29
Coracoid	8	2	4	10	24
Humerus	9	3	-	13	25
Radius	14	-	7	16	37
Ulna	12	-	-	10	22
Carpo-metacarpus	9	1	1	2	13
Femur	8	1	5	8	22
Tibiotarsus	13	2	-	18	33
Tarso-metatarsus	47	1	-	8	56
Furcula	2	-	3	17	22
Sternum	5	1	-	7	13
Synsacrum	11	-	-	9	20
Total	178	11	21	136	346

have often been recognised, but it is less common to find rubbish deriving from the initial dressing and preparation for the table of domestic or wild birds, so in this respect this early find from Carisbrooke is important.

3. Land Mollusca, by Michael J. Allen and Sarah F. Wyles

Hand picked land molluscs were retrieved from most phases of the site. Some smaller species were recovered from soil within the larger shells. The Mollusca were identified (Kerney and Cameron 1979) and the nomenclature follows Waldén (1976).

The most abundant species of the 863 molluscs recovered was *Helix aspersa*; one of the largest molluscs. *Oxychilus cellarius*, *Cepaea hortensis*, and *Pyramidula rupestris* were also represented in higher numbers than the other twelve species. *H. aspersa* and *Cepaea* are synanthropic species favouring catholic environ-ments. Helix aspersa has a tendency to climb and live on walls (Allen 1984). Amongst the true rock rubble species, *O. cellarius* and *Discus rotundatus* have been recovered at Carisbrooke, whilst those rupestral species frequenting rocky surfaces such as exposed stone walls include *P. rupestris* and *Helicigona lapicida* (Evans and Jones 1973). *Oxychilus cellarius* is a particularly characteristic species in tumbled wall debris and piles of stones (Evans 1972, 188).

Recent surveys of the mollusc fauna of Carisbrooke Castle record *P. rupestris* on the walls of the castle (Prebble 1965) and within discarded piles of rubble (Allen pers. obs.). Of particular interest is the recovery of specimens of *H. lapicida* which also enjoys rock rubble habitats. According to Preece (1980) it is not recorded on the downs of the Isle of Wight today. It is thought to be a rarity on the Island in prehistory, but has been recovered from a number of prehistoric sites (Allen 1994). Its occurrence here in medieval contexts therefore indicates a relatively recent local extinction.

The other species reflect the number of micro-environments and habitats present on the site. The occurrence of *Helicella itala*, a xerophile, which is probably our most characteristic open-country species (Evans 1972, 180), in particular is indicative of some open areas within the site. Meaningful analysis and discussion is hindered by the haphazard method of collection and the inherent bias towards the larger species causing a lack of palaeo-environmental significance of hand picked shells. The predominance of the synanthropic mollusc *H. aspersa* is to be expected, considering the nature of the site and methods of retrieval. There is evidence of Mollusca from tumbled wall debris, standing walls and open rocky surfaces and more open areas throughout the history of the site.

4. Marine Mollusca, by Sarah F. Wyles and Jessica Winder

The 7062 marine shells retrieved from 282 contexts were examined in order to address a number of questions regarding the collection, fishing, consumption, and disposal of the shells; these concerned intrasite spatial and chronological/temporal variability, the significance and role of the marine molluscs in the diet, and intersite comparisons.

The preservation of the shells in general was good, with only 8% of the valves examined in detail being recorded as either worn or flaky. A considerable proportion of these were unbroken. There is, however, some concern over the methods of excavation em-ployed. Recovery methods for marine shells at Carisbrooke are not recorded and it is possible that only the complete shells, and predominantly oyster, were retrieved from contexts rich in marine shell. The presence of square, rectangular, round, or triangular holes in some shells is thought to have been caused by fork tines during excavation The following report assumes that the same procedure was adopted over all the sites for every season.

Methods

Marine shells were recorded for each context with the oyster shells being sub-divided into measurable and unmeasurable left and right valves. The proportion of unmeasurable to measurable shells is an indication of the degree of damage and wear, whilst the proportion

Table 35. Marine Mollusca: details of the samples

Sample	*Phase*	*Context*	*Deposit Type*	*No. shells*
1	4	All	General	83
2	5/6	All	General	199
3	4/5	269	Layer	878
4	4/5	604	ditch	188
5	4/5	687	Layer	121
6	6	All	General	53
7	5/6	264	Layer	86
8	5/6	273	Layer	60
9	5/6	286	Midden	674
10	5/6	549	Midden	198
11	5/6	564	Ditch	201
12	5/6	592	Ditch	85
13	7	All	General	118
14	7	169	Pit	187

of left to right valves can sometimes show different usage of areas over the site eg, separate areas of preparation and consumption. Fourteen samples were then selected for further, more detailed, analysis (Table 35). The criteria used for selection were: sample size, phase, location, and feature type. Four of the samples comprised amalgamated phase groups whilst the remaining ten samples were from individual contexts. In each case only the measurable valves (at least two-thirds of the shell surviving intact including the umbo and adductor muscle scar) were considered. These shells were washed very gently so as not to lose any infestation information. The measurements taken were maximum width (distance from the hinge end to the shell margin opposite) and maximum length (taken at right angles to width).

Shells were studied for signs of infestation and encrustation by other small marine organisms which had either attacked and damaged the shell or had taken shelter there. These organisms have specific habitat preferences such as sea-bed type, depth of water, and coastal location, thus possibly indicating, in comparison with other data, the location of the oyster bed being exploited (Winder 1992).

The eight infestations and encrustations recorded were *Polydora ciliata*, *Polydora hoplura*, *Cliona celata*, calcareous tubes, barnacles, Polyzoa, boreholes, and sand tubes. Presence/absence was recorded and a brief general statement of the whole sample was made noting whether the infestation was slight, medium, or high. Other shell characteristics, some of a more subjective nature, were also recorded. These included whether the shell was relatively thin, thick, or heavy, or if it was chambered, had chalky deposits, was worn, flaky, or was notably coloured or stained, or whether it had other oysters or spat attached, was irregular in shape, had signs of notches and cuts, or had traces of ligament surviving.

Statistical methods employed, using DBase III+ and Statgraphics, included linear regression, student two sample t-tests and Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests. Frequency tables of shell size in 5 mm bands for all four measurements were also calculated. The averages and standard deviations were calculated for the same variables and the occurrence of each of the 20 attributes for every sample. (Full details of the results are available in archive.)

Oysters

Only 17% of the excavated contexts produced marine molluscs. Of the shells 96% (6768) were oysters, though this may be partly the result of recovery bias (see above). The oyster shell numbers are never high enough to be a major part of the diet in any phase. They might well have been eaten particularly on religious days of fast and abstinence (Black 1985).

Distribution

Most (92%) of the oyster shell came from Site Y5, within the Outer Bailey. All recorded phases except Phase 3 (early Saxon) produced shell; the majority (90%) belonging to the early medieval period (Phases 4 and 5), of which 42% are from the 12th century midden (286). The samples come from occupation layers, middens, and pit and ditch fills. The proportion of unmeasurable to measurable shells fluctuates between 1:3 and 1:9 of the sample. There is no readily apparent association between the number of unmeasurable shells and the type of deposit from which they were retrieved. The midden, ditch, and pit samples all contain shells which are coated with a greeny–yellow deposit, which is likely to be some kind of post-depositional chemical reaction possibly caused by cess (ie, calcium phosphate).

The two Phase 5 ditch samples have the highest proportion of worn and flaky shells (17%) whilst the sample from the lower fill has the least (2%). The shells from these samples appeared, on the whole, to be less fresh than the others, possibly indicating that the shells were lying around for a while before being deposited in the ditch. As the average percentage of worn and flaky shells is only 8%, it is reasonable to deduce that the majority of the shells were deposited soon after the oysters had been consumed. There is no predominance of worn or flaky shells amongst either valve.

Few shells were recovered from the general area of the Lower Enclosure Gateway (Trenches Y1–Y4) or from the central area (Y10). Negligible amounts of shell were retrieved from medieval and post-medieval contexts along the wall (Y6 and Y9). Along the outer wall, one excavated area (Site Y8) produced very few shells from recent contexts, whilst a greater number of oysters came from Y7 from both medieval and post-

Table 36. Marine Mollusca: species distribution

Phase	*No. contexts with marine shell*	*Oyster*	*Mussels*	*Whelks*	*Cockles*	*Winkle*	*Saddle Oyster*	*Carpet Shell*	*Limpet*	*Scallop*
4/5	95	2773	23	23	2	10	7	3	4	-
5	13	119	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	1
5/6	120	3133	25	90	18	17	1	1	2	1
7	10	441	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	-
8-9	44	302	8	23	14	6	3	1	-	2
Total	282	6768	58	141	36	33	11	5	6	4

medieval contexts. The distribution of oyster shell is summarised in Table 36.

Origin of the shells

The shells were analysed for evidence of fishing of natural beds using techniques such as dredging or deliberate farming of oysters by relaying and creation of beds. When the oyster data were examined for changes resulting from the introduction of farming as opposed to fishing techniques, the following observations were made. The percentage of measurable valves with oyster debris, spat, or complete shell attached appears to remain consistent at about 10% throughout the 14 samples. The two samples with the highest percentage (16%) are from different sub-phases of ditch 260. There was only one instance of three measurable left valves clumping together demonstrating particularly cramped conditions. The proportion of irregular valves fluctuates around 15%. Irregularities in shape of both the entire valve and the heel only, together with the clumping of shells, indicates natural breeding populations, where more than one young oyster settles on a spot and there is competition for space, rather than relaid populations, where the young oysters are provided with space to grow.

The size of the shells also does not appear to alter significantly, with most being 70–85 mm in maximum diameter. The consistency of the levels of irregular valves and clumping, as well as shell size, therefore seems to indicate that the method of fishing did not change over time. The low numbers of small shells could be the result of using a dredge net with a fixed mesh (*c.* 51 mm) with only a few of the smaller shells being trapped. If this is the case, then the consistent size of the shells would indicate the same mesh size being used throughout the occupation of the Castle.

Location of the oyster bed

One of the factors considered to be an indicator of the origin of the shells is evidence for the former infestation and encrustation of the shells by other small marine organisms because of their specific habitat preferences. In every sample the main infestation is that caused by the polychaetic worm *Polydora ciliata*, with up to 52% of the assemblage being mildly infested. The boreholes left by the sting winkle (*Ocenebra erinacea*) and the burrow of the *Polydora hoplura* worm are evident on about 10% of the shells. The remaining traces of infestation were not recorded in every sample and when present were never observed on more than 10% of the shells. These were the traces left by the sponge *Cliona celata*, calcareous tubes which might have been formed by the species *Pomatoceros triqueter* and *Hydroides norvegica*, sand tubes formed by species of *Sabellaria*, barnacles often embedded in the heel of the shells and the sea mat Polyzoa. As both the level and the three main types of infestation remain constant throughout the samples, it is reasonable to assume that the oysters were obtained from the same area, if not the same oyster bed, for the entire duration of the occupation of the castle.

Polydora ciliata, the major predator, is widespread and is most prevalent on hard, sandy or clay grounds particularly in warm shallow water, whilst *Polydora hoplura* also favours warm conditions, thriving in the south and south-west on oysters on soft ground in still conditions such as headwaters of creeks and inlets. Each shell only shows a low level of infestation by *P. hoplura* and indicates that the shells originated from the sea rather than a creek or estuary. The sting winkle inhabits shallow water. *Cliona celata* tends to be common locally, especially in the south and south-west, and cannot tolerate low salinity and thus estuarine oyster beds are largely free from it. At Carisbrooke, however, it occurs in relatively high numbers in comparison with other sites. Therefore it might be deduced that these oysters were not fished from an estuarine bed. It is fortunate that barnacles were not present in large numbers as they are responsible for the fouling of oysters and cultch as they compete with young oysters for space and food. Since the other infesting micro-organisms also favour shallow water, it may be presumed from the infestation evidence that these oysters did not originate from a deep sea bed (Yonge 1960; Hancock 1974; Winder 1992). The high incidence of chambering, caused by salinity changes, together with the infestation data, suggests a marine location with freshwater input such as just off the coast, possibly fairly shallow water but with river run-off.

The shape of the shells can also indicate their origin. The degree of roundness is believed to be influenced by the type of substrate on which the shell lies; a substrate of very soft mud inducing elongated shaped oysters whilst on firmer substrates in deeper water rounder shells could be expected (Winder 1992). The left valves of the samples all produced acceptable levels of correlation coefficients (>0.68), indicative of the continuation of the same population. The ratio of length to width was also calculated, 87.5% of the shells being elongated in all phase groups. This is a much higher proportion of elongated shells than those from other sites. This is also compatible with the scenario already suggested of an oyster bed situated in shallow warm on a soft mud substrate.

The diameter of left valves of the samples were tested with both student 2 sample t-tests and Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests to ascertain whether the shells were likely to all have come from the same population or if there were significant differences between them. The results indicate that these samples should not be regarded as being significantly dissimilar. The Carisbrooke oysters were compared with many assemblages, both modern and archaeological, from the Solent region and other medieval sites in southern England. Similarities were only found in size distribution with medieval Moorgate in London where the shells were from the east coast and the Romano-British saltworking site on the Isle of Wight at Redcliff.

Intrasite variation

The deposition of oyster shells can sometimes be used to indicate differencies in the activities carried out in different parts of a site. In this instance, however, the oyster assemblage is not adequately representive in relation to the area of the site and its duration to be able to indicate definite locations specifically used for the preparation or consumption of oysters. Within Y5 there does not appear to be a disparity between the numbers of left and right valves, or a great clustering of valves with notches; both indicators of preparation and consumption. In all the samples analysed, shells with knife marks and/or notches were observed; these attributes being present on both left and right valves. The quantity of these shells was never great. There appears to be negligible change either temporally or spatially in the deposition of the oysters, their condition or quality.

Other Marine Molluscs

Eight species other than oyster were recorded: mussel (*Mytilus edulis*), whelk (*Buccinum undatum*), cockle (*Cerastoderma edule*), winkle (*Littorina littorea*), saddle oyster (*Anomia ephippium*), carpet shell (*Venerupis pullastra*), limpet (*Patella vulgata*), and scallop (*Pecten maxiumus*). Their occurrence is negligible since even when amalgamated they still only form 4% of the marine shells retrieved.

Discussion

There appears to be little change either spatially or temporally in the nature of the oysters, their origin and methods of collection or deposition. The shells occur mainly in Y5, an area where the structural and animal bone evidence indicates the presence of cookhouses or bakehouses in Phases 4–5. The Bailey of the castle, especially in Phase 4 and 5 contexts also produced a reasonable number of shells. However, no meaningful intrasite variation in terms of the function of different areas or relative status of deposits could be observed from the shells.

The low degree of infestation in conjunction with the generally good condition of the shells is either indicative of a particularly healthy oyster bed located on soft substrate in relatively shallow waters, or that some selection was occurring, with only the best of the oysters being sent to the castle. It seems that the oysters were not derived from the nearest source (the Medina estuary and beds in the west Solent off the north coast of the Isle of Wight), but from a location such as Osborne Bay and Mother Bank in the east Solent which was supplied with fresh water from Wooton Creek and other streams. Today, the substrates in this area of the Solent are softer and muddier than those in the west. The Medina estuary and other creeks would probably have needed to be relaid since oysters would not necessarily occur there naturally; the Carisbrooke shells are thought to originate from a natural bed because of their irregularity and evidence for clumping.

If there was some selective procedure taking place, there would be a relatively high proportion of infested shells at the, as yet unknown, sorting point. This would, in turn, indicate that a high status economy was in operation at Carisbrooke. This, however, is not indicated by the faunal remains (Smith, above) and the limited size range might be better explained as a result of dredging alone, since a sorting procedure might well have led to an even smaller size range (Winder 1989). There is no evidence of either long distance or large scale trade taking place but it is possible that the shells fished were traded not only with Carisbrooke Castle but also other sites on the Island. On present evidence, the Carisbrooke shells are not typical of similar sites or sites of similar date; or of archaeological sites or modern beds in the Isle of Wight or Solent. However, only a few archaeological sites in the area have been examined and only limited information is available for modern oyster populations.

7. Discussion and Conclusions
by Christopher Young and Lorraine Mepham

1. Introduction

The conclusions to be drawn from each individual trench and the reasons for those conclusions are set out in the relevant section of the report. This chapter draws on those conclusions to inform our general understanding of the site's development.
The broad objectives of the excavation as set out in the Introduction to this volume were to:

1. elucidate the origins of the Lower Enclosure and characterise any pre-Norman use of the site;
2. define, if possible, the origins of the Castle at Carisbrooke;
3. shed light on the internal planning and use of the Castle in the 11th and 12th centuries;
.4. investigate the nature of the post-medieval defences of the Castle.

As always, the excavations shed some light on some of these and also produced major unexpected discoveries. Major areas of advance in understanding the Castle's development were:

1. the use of the site before the foundation of the Castle;
2. the development of the Castle from its foundation to the erection of the stone defences in the 1130s;
3. shedding of some light on the defences, internal planning and use of the Castle in the 12th and 13th centuries;
4. the 16th century refortification;

The excavations also produced the first major collection of medieval and post-medieval artefacts from the Isle of Wight. Different material types can contribute information on various aspects of the Castle's history. In particular, the large assemblages of metalwork, pottery, and clay pipes have the potential to add greatly not only to our understanding of the nature and duration of the occupation of the castle hill, but also to enable an overview of the material culture of the Castle within its local and regional contexts. For the first time, there now exists a large and stratified medieval and post-medieval pottery sequence for the Isle of Wight emphasising its distinctiveness from the mainland.

The discussion must begin with some caveats. The first concerns the spatial limitations of the assemblage. The areas excavated cover only a small part of the total area of the Castle, and were either chosen to answer specific questions relating to its structural development or were in response to other works. Although the trenches were widely distributed, this has inevitably resulted in an incomplete picture of the nature and range of occupation.

Secondly, the survival of artefacts is selective, leaving us with a biased collection. Some materials, in this instance particularly pottery, are likely to survive better by nature of their robustness and their unsuitability for repair or recycling. Others, such as metalwork, are more likely to have been recycled. Organic materials such as wood and leather have not survived at all. Moreover, portable objects of higher value, such as jewellery and other personal items, may have been removed from the Castle during their period of use. It is only through a consideration of the complete artefactual assemblage that we can hope to draw conclusions.

Thirdly, pre-Norman levels in particular were heavily disturbed by later activity. It would be unwise to rely too strongly on negative evidence in interpreting the site's development.

There are two major themes running through all the areas of discovery and evident not just from the archaeological evidence but also from other sources. To a degree, at least, the excavations have allowed us to test some of the assumptions made about the Castle site and its development.

The first theme is the perceived significance of the Carisbrooke area within the Isle of Wight over a very long period. This perception goes back at least to the late 19th century. Percy Stone, the great Isle of Wight antiquarian and student and restorer of the Castle, postulated (1891, 71–2) that the castle site had been a stronghold in the Roman period, and had then been taken over and reused successively by Saxon invaders, becoming the eponymous *Whitgarasburh*, and then by the Normans.

Recently the idea has been developed again in a number of ways. Margham (1992) has argued for the early development of Carisbrooke village and has proposed that this reflects a very long tradition of a concentration of wealth and power in this area of the Island because of its location, nature, and accessibility. This idea has been developed more recently by Ulmschneider (1999), who has pointed out the concentration of Roman villas in the valley next to the Castle and the recently discovered concentration of mid-Saxon metalwork and coins at Froglands Farm, close to the Castle.

Both writers have tended to associate the castle hill with this concentration of power. Margham (1992, 5) has argued that the hill-top could have been an Iron

Age hillfort. The possible Roman date of the Lower Enclosure has encouraged speculation that the dominant role of the hill-top went back into at least the late Roman period, as suggested a century ago by Stone. The results of the excavations provide an opportunity to test these assertions with regard to the castle hill-top.

The second theme is the continued defensive significance of the castle down to the early 17th century, long after most castles had ceased to be important in this way. This in turn reflects the vulnerability of the Isle of Wight to invasion and the importance of the Carisbrooke area within the island.

Discussion must also be set within a number of wider contexts, some of which link to the issues discussed above. Three major aspects need to be considered. First, Carisbrooke must be considered within the general development of our perception of castles as a combination of defence, administrative centre, and lordly residence. The varying importance of these elements at different times needs to be assessed. Secondly, the development of the castle site must be looked at in the context of recent work suggesting the significance of the general area of the Castle and of the Clatterford Valley to its south over a very long period.

Thirdly, there is the need to look at how the artefacts from the Castle can add to our general knowledge of medieval Wight, its material culture, and its local and wider contacts.

Three sub-themes will be pursued here with regard to artefacts: the nature of the occupation as reflected in the range and type of artefacts recovered; the relationship between the Castle and its local (Island) and regional (mainland) hinterland, and evidence for long-distance links; and evidence for the economic and social status of the Castle within the settlement hierarchy. Within each theme evidence for any changes through time will be considered.

2. Phases 1 and 2: Pre-Saxon Use of the Site

The Castle is built at the west end of an isolated Chalk hill. It is now cut off from the rest of this ridge by a pronounced hollow-way east of the medieval castle. The castle site now presents a fairly level appearance but there is some evidence that this is the result of build-up. Excavation at the north edge of site Y5 reached natural at a depth of 0.25 m (Fig. 27). Just over 30 m to the south, Rigold reached natural chalk at a depth of *c.* 3 m (Fig. 31). The implication of this is that the ridge-top was originally quite narrow with the ground falling off quite steeply to each side. Clearly the hill-top was dominant and highly suitable for defence but it has only reached its present level appearance as the result of much activity. Before it did so it would not have been an ideal site for settlement. The fact that water is only available on the hill-top by digging very deep wells also makes it less desirable as a settlement site.

It has been suggested that the hill-top might have been used as a hillfort in the Iron Age with the hollow-way to the east of the castle being on the line of its defences (Margham 1992, 5). While this would be in many ways a typical hillfort site, there is, as yet, no evidence to support the assertion. A few sherds of possible prehistoric pottery were found but there were no features of this period. While the hollow-way is undoubtedly impressive, it could have been formed through use as a roadway – if it was originally a defensive ditch it could equally well belong to a large number of later periods.

There was equally little evidence for occupation of the hill-top in the Roman period despite the density of material of Roman in the vicinity of the Castle. Eleven sherds of Roman pottery were found. All were residual and there were no features of definite Roman date. If the Lower Enclosure was of Roman date, it would have enclosed a seemingly empty hilltop.

The only substantial amount of Roman material found was brick and tile (157 identified fragments plus an unspecified amount from Rigold's excavations) but this occurred in entirely post-Roman contexts. Rigold noted, in fact (Rigold 1969, 134), that the tile he found was principally in the ramparts of the motte-and-bailey castle. No source for this residual material has been found within the Castle and the probability is that it must have been imported during a period of major medieval building activity from a nearly Roman site such as the Carisbrooke villa or the other villa in the Bowcome valley.

The general area was clearly of some significance in the Roman period since two villas are known nearby close to Carisbrooke itself and another in Newport. However, on the evidence from the castle site itself, this significance was not expressed in defensive or administrative works, and it cannot be claimed that there was a Roman defended site on the hill-top. If such existed on the Isle of Wight it must have lain elsewhere.

3. Phase 3: the 6th century cemetery

The earliest definite use of the castle hill-top is for a Saxon cemetery sometime in the first half of the 6th century AD (Fig. 26). As is often the case, there is no evidence for the location of the settlement or settlements served by the cemetery, nor is there any certainty of the cemetery's size. Only three graves were found, but the amount of later disturbance is such that others have probably been destroyed without trace.

Fragments of human bone were found in later deposits. Arnold (1982) has pointed out that it falls into a group of small cemeteries on the island, situated at the heads of valleys so the likelihood is that it was never particularly large.

It is clear, though, that the cemetery contained at least one man of considerable importance, evidenced by four different prestige vessels as well as a gold-plated Visigothic coin and a set of playing-pieces (see Chapter 3), though, oddly, he had no weapon with him. This suggests an importance for the Carisbrooke area and a possible focus of power nearby, though not, so far as can be seen, on the castle hill itself. It is likely that the settlement associated with the cemetery lay in the valleys around the Castle.

As yet no early Saxon settlement site has been found. Judging by the richness of the cemetery, such a settlement would have been of high status. One possibility would be on the site at Froglands Farm now known for a number of finds of middle Saxon sceattas. This site, just across the brook from one of the Roman villa sites, has now produced 17 sceattas and some middle Saxon metalwork (D. Motkin, pers. comm., Ulmschneider 1999). The number of sceattas and the wide range of types is impressive and suggests considerable mid-Saxon activity at this point in the valley. The closest nearby parallel to this range of coin finds is at Hamwic on the Solent, a major trading site (Andrews 1997, 210–1). This raises the possibilities of very widespread contacts and activity for those sites in the valley, and emphasises the importance of this area in the mid-Saxon period. There is, however, no evidence for occupation of the hill-top and it is likely that it remained empty.

4. Sub-phases 4a and 4b: Late Saxon Occupation and the Lower Enclosure

It is only in the 11th century that there is firm evidence for occupation of the hill-top. To the period before the Norman invasion have been attributed the Lower Enclosure and two phases of major timber structure (Fig. 67, A). Discussion is inhibited by two factors. First, the only area excavation possible within the Castle was in an area heavily disturbed by later features. Secondly, there are problems over dating. There is no direct dating evidence for the Lower Enclosure except that it is earlier than the motte-and-bailey castle. Archaeological dating of the two timber phases and of the major earthmoving operations which succeeded them is dependent very largely on the pottery found in them. This changed little over the 11th century and more precise dating is based upon historical argument. The first dating evidence available from coins relates to the infilling of the ditches or quarries, which must have happened after 1088.

It is, nonetheless, possible to draw some inferences. The Lower Enclosure is clearly defensive in nature and could well fit within the context of the troubles of the 10th and 11th centuries. The exposed nature of the island was painfully obvious in these centuries. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records a Danish raid on the island in 896. In 998, the Danish army quartered itself on Wight, returning there in 1001, 1006, and 1009. In 1048 the Isle was ravaged, and again in 1052, this time by Earl Godwin. The strategic significance of the island is demonstrated also by the visit of King Athelred in 1013 and its use as a fleet base by Cnut in 1022 and by Harold in 1066 (Whitelock 1961, passim).

There was clearly a need for defence and the response both of the Saxons and of the Vikings was to construct defended enclosures. Since the Isle of Wight is not covered in the *Burghal Hidage*, there is no documentary evidence. There are, however, a number of defended Saxon sites which show the sequence found at Carisbrooke of an earth bank later fronted by a stone wall. These include Cricklade (Radford 1972), Lydford (Saunders 1980), and Wareham (Hill and Rumble 1996, 221) in Wessex, and Tamworth and Hereford in Mercia (Rahtz 1977). At South Cadbury, the late Saxon *burh* there was defended by a mortared wall and by a gateway with a long gate passage (Alcock 1995). The Lower Enclosure fits well into this family and the likelihood remains that it is in fact a late Saxon *burh* built to defend the Isle of Wight against Viking raids though it could, of course, have been used by the Vikings when they were in control of the island. Two phases of timber structures were found within it (Fig. 67, A). So little remained that it is difficult to characterise them other than as substantial timber buildings.

If the interpretation of the visible and excavated remains as a late Saxon defended site containing substantial timber buildings is correct, we have for the first time clear evidence of the importance of the Carisbrooke hill-top, as opposed to that of the area as a whole. The reason for the selection of this site is less clear. It obviously had strong defensive possibilities but so did many other hills on the Isle of Wight. It may well be that the existence of a strong settlement focus nearby could have influenced the selection of this particular hill-top rather than any other. If this was indeed the case, the construction of the Lower Enclosure can be seen as the movement of that focus to a more secure position in the context of increased threat. This decision must have had a major influence on the selection of the site for the development of the Norman castle, both because the existing defences could be adapted and because it gave the Normans control of an apparent power focus on the island.

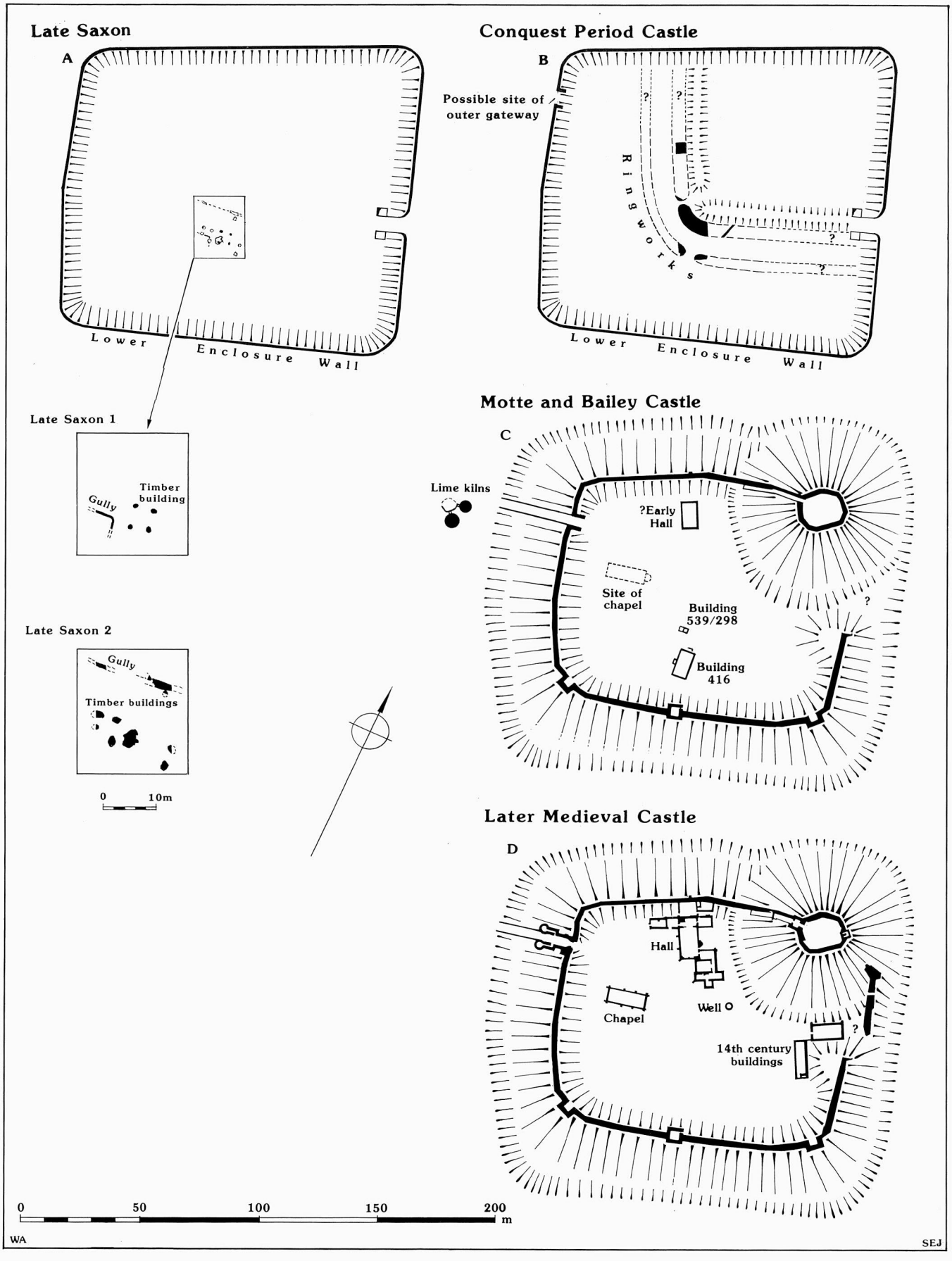

Figure 67 Phase plans (phases 4–7)

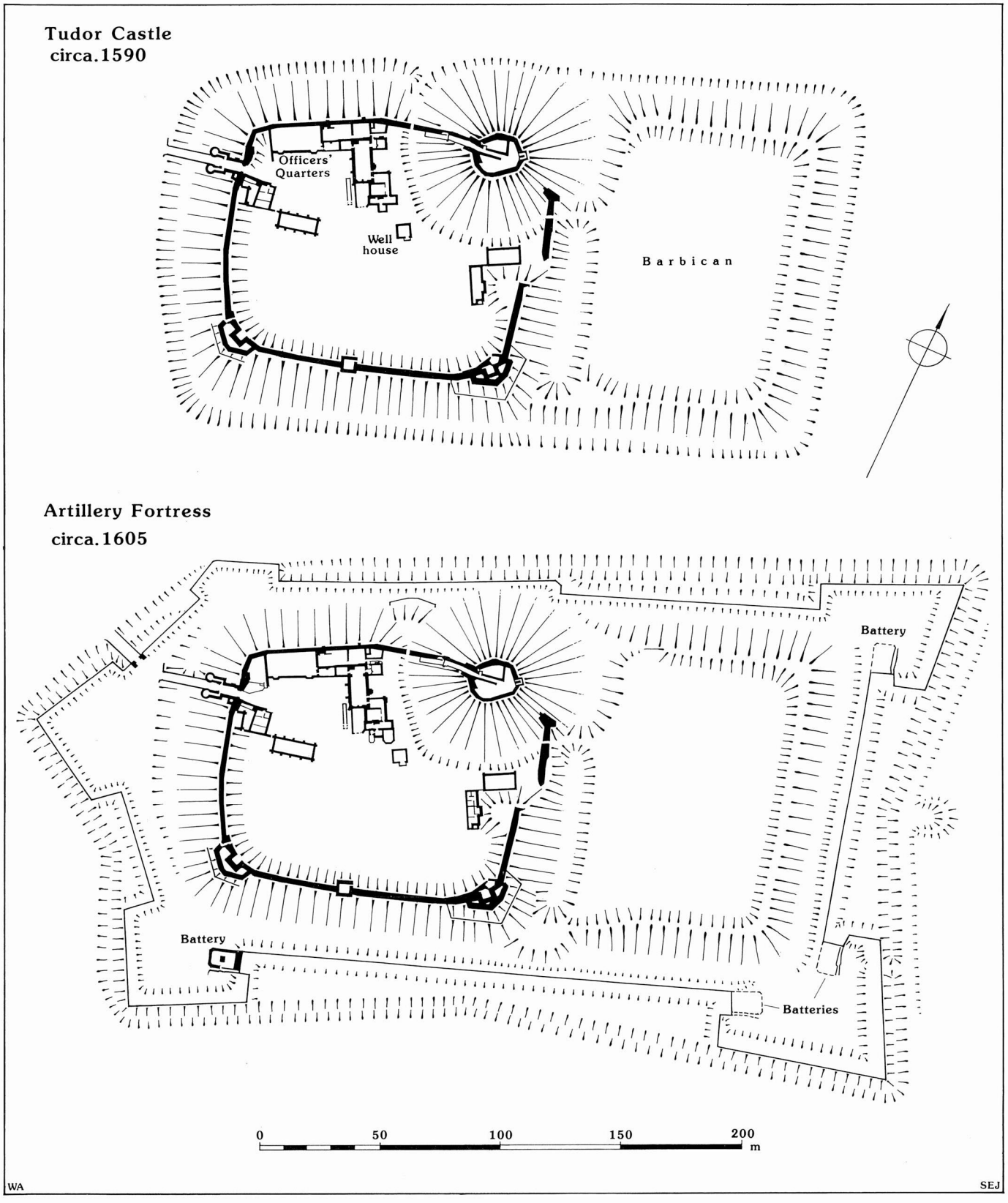

Figure 68 Phase plans (Phase 8)

5. Sub-phase 4c: The Castle of the Conquest Period

It is known from *Domesday* that the Castle existed by 1086. It is likely that it must have been established very shortly after the Conquest, given the sensitivity of the Isle of Wight and William's evident preoccupation with the defence of the south-east coast of England (Rigold 1969, 130). The importance of the Island is also demonstrated by its apparent grant as a whole to William fitz-Osbern.

The case for regarding the two major late 11th century features found in the Castle interior as defensive ditches dug shortly after the Conquest is made above (Chapter 2) and seems the most likely explanation (Fig. 67, B). The castle would have taken the form of an enclosure in one corner of the Lower Enclosure, and its rampart would have blocked the only known entrance into it.

The remainder of the Lower Enclosure would have formed an outer bailey and would have required a new entrance. Topographically, the most sensible place would have been the breach used by the gateway of the subsequent motte and bailey castle.

It is unclear whether the two ditches were used in succession or simultaneously. The slighter nature of the outer ditch perhaps suggests the former. This would mean that the outer ditch formed the first campaign castle which was then replaced by a slightly smaller enclosure with more substantial defences. A further possibility is that the outer ditch was an outwork protecting the entrance of this castle and that there was only one period of use.

The only evidence for its defences except for the ditches is in their fill, since the area on which a rampart would have stood was either largely outside the trench (Y5) or had been very thoroughly disturbed subsequently (Y10). The inner ditch had been filled with chalk rubble tipped in from its inner side. There was no evidence in the fill of any facing material and on the small area of the berm that could be examined there were no post-holes suggesting a timber facing. The most likely interpretation is that the rampart was a simple dump rampart, perhaps topped by a timber palisade.

It is possible that there was a gateway from the inner enclosure into the outer bailey just west of site Y5 since the ditch shallowed here, perhaps to carry a bridge structure. On the other hand, it is clear that the depth of the ditch was not regular and this feature may not be significant. Nothing can be said about the nature of any occupation within this castle. No evidence was found in the very small areas that were accessible. Most of the interior has in any case either been destroyed by the motte ditch or buried by the motte.

In summary, the castle of the Conquest period, certainly in existence by 1086, was probably a sub-rectangular enclosure with ditch and rampart. It lay in the north-east corner of the Lower Enclosure, using the remainder of it as an outer bailey, with one gateway to the Lower Enclosure at its south-west corner. There must have been a new gateway into the Lower Enclosure from outside and this may have been on the site of the later gatehouse. Nothing can be said about its internal planning.

In this form, the Conquest period castle would fall into quite a large group of Norman castles formed by adaptation of, or cutting off of, part of a larger pre-existing earthwork. Portchester is an obvious close parallel. Others include sites such as Pevensey, Burgh Castle, Brough, and Brougham which reused Roman fortifications, and places like Oxford and Wallingford where part of a *burh* was taken over. There is no evidence that Carisbrooke had a motte at this stage.

6. Phase 5: the Motte and Bailey Castle

The Conquest period castle was short-lived, as it was replaced by a massive motte-and-bailey (Fig. 67, c). This was presumably first defended in timber but had by 1136 been refurbished in stone. The date of its original construction cannot be established closely from the archaeological evidence, but appears to be early in the 12th century. An historical context for the building of the castle would have been the granting to Richard de Redvers of the Isle of Wight shortly after 1100 and before his death in 1107.

The grant by Henry I was one of a series intended to establish Baldwin as a major magnate. This, together with the existence of the Isle of Wight as a compact castlery, would have justified Richard or his son Baldwin in building a major new castle both for defensive purposes and to demonstrate his power and status as lord of the Island. Similarly, a castle existed at Powderham, the *caput* of the de Redvers' Devon estate by 1130 at the latest (Higham *et al.* 1985).

It is likely that the stone defences replicate the principal features of the initial timber defences of the motte and bailey since their basic form is conditioned by that of the motte-and-bailey earthworks. The motte occupies the north-east corner of a sub-rectangular bailey and was cut off from it by a massive ditch, at least 4 m deep. Where this passed through the bailey bank, its south side was protected by a thickening and heightening of the end of the bank, the so-called 'counter-motte' identified by Rigold (1969, 135).

There was presumably some kind of timber tower on top of the motte and the bailey gatehouse must have been on the site of the later stone one. There is no evidence either way for the existence of mural timber towers, or for the internal planning or buildings of the castle. It is likely that some of these could have been

substantial since Carisbrooke seems from the outset to have been a major centre for the de Redvers family.

The timber period was short since, by 1136, there is documentary evidence for stone defences (Howlett 1886). The motte was crowned with a shell keep and the bailey banks by a stone wall with shallow footings. The gatehouse at this period was thought by Rigold to be a tower on the site of the present gatehouse (1969, 137). Internal buildings were also constructed in stone in the 12th century. The limekilns found outside the gatehouse are evidence of the scale of building activity at this time. The castle builders were clearly concerned by the weaker natural defences to the east and south of its site. The east side was protected by the motte, a putative tower on the 'east bailey bank' just south of the motte ditch, and the south-east angle tower. The latter, with the south-west angle tower and an interval tower, reinforced the south curtain. This emphasises the strongly military character of the castle. It was important not just as an administrative centre and as the setting for a great magnate, but also as the primary defence of the Isle of Wight.

A castle of this scale, particularly the *caput* of a great barony, should have had internal buildings of grandeur sufficient to reflect their owner's status. Before the excavations reported on here, nothing was known of the internal layout at this date except for the likelihood that the present Chapel of St Nicholas is on what has been the site of the principal chapel of the Castle from its foundation in the 12th century. There is no reason to doubt this claim.

Two further 12th century stone buildings have now been identified. Both are of similar size, *c.* 13 m by 8 m. One lies on the north side of the bailey and one on the south, leaving the central area clear as far as the evidence goes. The northern building was probably of two storeys, while that on the south was most likely of one floor only. Both are the size of halls found in some, mainly smaller, castles (Kenyon 1990, 111) but neither seems large enough to be the principal hall of a castle of this scale. This must have been elsewhere in the castle. The northern building could be a subsidiary first floor hall or a chamber block. The southern building may have been associated with food since it was surrounded by a muddy yard surface covered with food refuse.

The remaining evidence from sites Y5 and Y10 leaves little room for a major hall in the centre of that part of the castle, and space elsewhere in the centre is constricted by the chapel to the west and the motte ditch to the east. More likely possibilities are that a major hall could have lain on an east–west axis close to the bailey ramparts, west of the present hall range, or on the same axis either east or west of Building 416. The latter position would have had the merit of placing it close to a kitchen area.

7. Phases 6 and 7: the Later Medieval Castle

Documentary evidence and the surviving buildings of the Castle demonstrate fairly clearly how the site developed from the 13th century onwards (Fig. 67, D). For this period the excavation evidence is valuable principally for the additional light that it can shed on a sequence which is already fairly well established.

The defences of the Castle clearly underwent some modification and strengthening. As part of her extensive works, Isabella rebuilt the gatehouse as a square projecting tower over the gate passage. Excavations have shown that this had a drawbridge pit in front of it, subsequently renewed several times.

During the 14th century there was further major work, over and above normal maintenance, normally carried out in response to some threat from France. The gatehouse was extended by the addition of drum towers in 1335, which were subsequently heightened in the 1380s (Colvin 1963). A gatehouse was added to the shell-keep probably at the same time as the extension of the main gatehouse.

At some point in the 14th century, judging on architectural style, the arrangements where the motte ditch passed through the bailey wall were substantially altered. The motte ditch was partially filled in on its southern side, the motte may have been shaved back and recontoured (Rigold 1969, 135), and a blocking wall was built across the motte ditch. It is now known that this extended up the motte to the keep. It was protected at the base of the motte by a small projecting tower.

Sixteenth century documentary references (Appendix 1) to a possible barbican suggest that there may have been also a development of defensive outworks. Excavation has so far failed to discover any trace of these, perhaps because of the extent of the works carried out in the late 16th century.

It is clear, from the works carried out to the main castle defences, that its military role continued to be significant. This reflects its role as the only fortified place on medieval Wight and the exposed position of this island, raided several times by the French in the 14th century, including one attack on the Castle itself in 1377 (Hughes 1994, 126). The site also continued to fulfil the other major functions of a medieval castle, as residence and administrative centre. The nature of these uses must have changed over the period after the death of Countess Isabella when, increasingly, the Lordship of the island became a short-term appointment by the Crown.

Certainly the Castle seems to have reached its high-water mark as the centre of a great feudal estate during the tenure of Countess Isabella de Fortibus (1262–1293). Denholm-Young showed this in documentary

terms over 50 years ago, demonstrating that Carisbrooke was the administrative centre for her vast estates in Devon and northern England as well as on the island itself (1937, 16). It is equally clear from the buildings and the building accounts, that Isabella embarked on a campaign of building and refurbishment designed to provide her with a residence worthy of her status. This process has been described elsewhere (Stone 1891). Eventually she established the internal planning of the Castle as we now have it, with the Lord's residence centred on a Great Hall on the north side of the bailey with its service buildings around it.

Despite the more transient nature of the Lordship in the later middle ages, the role of the Castle as residence was periodically important. This must have depended on the interest of particular Lords or Captains. A good example of this is Montagu's rebuilding of the chamber block at the south end of the Hall in 1399. Archaeologically, the landscaping of the bailey evidenced by the extensive tipping of greensand may be linked to this episode or another such during the 15th century. The building of the L-shaped range in the south-east quadrant of the castle also shows continued interest in its internal buildings and accommodation, needed by the Constable and his household and by a resident garrison.

8. Phase 8: the 16th Century Castle

During the earlier part of the 16th century, a number of factors affected the significance of the Castle. The Captains appointed were mainly local and lived elsewhere on the island, while its defensive role was diminished because of Henry VIII's development of his system of coastal defence forts. The development of forts and blockhouses both around the island and on the north shore of the Solent (Saunders 1967) meant that the Castle itself was no longer so essential to the defence of the Island. By 1559 it was regarded primarily as a store depot, not a major fortification (Kenyon 1979, 67; 1982, 179).

The latter part of the 16th century saw a sharp reversal of this trend. The appointment of George Carey, cousin to the Queen, heightened the ceremonial role of the Castle while the Spanish threat brought about a re-emphasis on Carisbrooke's role as a central defensive stronghold. Carey, appointed in 1582, clearly set about with great vigour to make the Castle's domestic accommodation appropriate to his status (Fig. 68). The evidence for this can be seen above ground both in the adaptation of the Great Hall and in the building of the Officer's Quarters to its west. From the excavations, there is evidence of the same campaign in the water cistern beneath the courtyard, and, perhaps, in the adaptation of the interval tower on the south curtain for accommodation.

The most impressive evidence, though, of the castle's significance at this period is its conversion into an artillery fortress (Fig. 68) in the face of the very real threat of Spanish invasion. After the somewhat makeshift arrangements of 1587, the work of 1597–1602 surrounded Carisbrooke with a set of modern, up-to-date defences, paralleled at a few other places such as Portsmouth, Berwick, Pendennis, and Tilbury, all of which were of high strategic importance. Excavation of the flanker battery has demonstrated how complex these defences actually were. The fact that Carey was able to persuade both islanders and the notoriously tight-fisted Queen Elizabeth to spend money on this scale demonstrates the significance of Carisbrooke both nationally and in Island terms. Nonetheless, their active life seems to have been comparatively short.

9. Material Culture

The excavations at Carisbrooke Castle have produced the first major collection of medieval and post-medieval materials from the Isle of Wight. This sheds light both on the nature of the occupation of the castle site itself, and on the general material culture of the island as a whole. Generally, there is a marked contrast between luxury and high-value items which, when the source is identifiable, come from outside the island and everyday items, such as pottery, which was made on Wight.

The strategic importance of the hill-top as a defensive position, from its first use as such in the late Saxon period right down to the 17th century, has been emphasised throughout this discussion. The defensive role of the Castle is well attested by the military and horse equipment amongst the ironwork, as well as cannonballs and other projectiles in both stone and ceramic materials. Alongside the military use of the Castle may be traced the changing methods of warfare; for example, the typological development of the arrowhead from early medieval military socketed forms to later armour-piercing types can be seen in the fine collection of over 100 arrowheads from the Castle. Stone and ceramic projectiles are generally restricted to medieval contexts, while the small amount of lead shot recovered came from post-medieval contexts.

There is, of course, evidence for other, non-military, activities, which relate largely to the day-to-day maintenance of the Castle and its occupants. The provision of food was obviously of vital importance, and the faunal remains give some indication of the range of meat, fish, and shellfish consumed. Food preparation and serving is represented by quernstones as well as pottery vessels; the latter show an increased variation through time with the introduction of more

specialised vessels such as chafing dishes and pipkins from the later medieval period. The substantial build-up of rubbish layers within the successive yard surfaces within trench Y5 reflects this utilitarian activity, and indicates the probable proximity of a kitchen area.

10. The Castle and its Hinterland

Examination of the various artefact types found within the Castle reveal three main zones of supply; the local (Island) areas, the regional (mainland) hinterland, and long-distance sources including the Continent. Some additional light on the Castle's contacts is shed by documentary evidence.

The first zone comprises the Island itself. Given the location of the Castle we might expect, for economic reasons, that much of the basic supplies, both for construction of the Castle itself and for the provisioning of its inhabitants, would derive from the Island. This local emphasis is, indeed, borne out by analysis of the pottery fabrics (at least those for the medieval period). This suggests that the three coarseware fabrics (S400, S402, Q404) which dominate the assemblage from the earliest medieval contexts (Phase 4) onwards were locally made on the Island. This is further suggested by the identification of indigenous stone types (eg, Quarr, Bembridge Limestone) within the building materials of the earliest phases. Later, within the post-medieval period, Island pipemakers are well represented amongst the clay pipe assemblage, almost to the exclusion of non-Island makers.

Basic foodstuffs are also likely to be largely locally-derived, though documents (Denholm-Young 1937) show that at times at least foodstuffs were imported from Hampshire. Some animals (pigs) may even have been kept at the Castle, while other species arrived as prepared joints. Shellfish (oysters) probably came from Island beds, although not necessarily those closest to the Castle.

Looking closer, however, it is perhaps surprising that there is very little evidence for craft or industrial activities within the Castle itself. Given the obvious demand for military equipment and horse furniture, for example, one might have expected evidence for ironworking. Likewise, given the constructional history of the Castle, some evidence for on-site stoneworking would also have been anticipated, although the spatial bias of the areas excavated has already been mentioned. There is, in fact, some industrial evidence in the form of the probable lime kilns in trench Y7 (and the stone-masons' yard may have been adjacent), and sparse traces of copper- and silverworking if not ironworking. The very small quantity of bone- and antlerworking waste from both medieval and post-medieval contexts indicates only a very low level of this craft activity.

From the adjacent mainland from Phase 5 (late 11th–13th century) onwards came medieval pottery types from Dorset and, later, Hampshire. There is no evidence that these supplemented the range of forms available from Island sources to any great extent, since the same vessel forms are represented in both the ulitarian wares and the finer quality serving wares. It may be noted, however, that the mainland forms, particularly the Hampshire red wares, are generally serving (glazed) wares. This corresponds with the known pattern of production and distribution of medieval pottery in southern England; few areas would have been supplied by a single pottery source, and glazed wares tended to have a wider distribution than the cooking wares (Vince 1981).

Other mainland products include the Purbeck Marble mortars, and the indigenous building stone sources of the Island are supplemented or replaced (in the case of Quarr stone as the quarry was exhausted early in the medieval period) by Portland and Purbeck stone. Documentary sources show that slate (found in Rigold's excavations) was imported from Cornwall (Stone 1891, 76). It is within the post-medieval period that non-local sources are more heavily exploited, with large quantities of Verwood-type earthenwares from Dorset, although the reliance on Island pipe-makers has already been noted.

The Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery offers some of the best evidence for the long-distance links of the area, in the form of a copper alloy bowl, ivory gaming counters, two glass vessels, and a gold-plated coin, all of Continental origin, demonstrating the cross-Channel contacts of the community or individuals represented in the cemetery. Links with the Continent, sometimes demonstrably channelled via mainland production centres, are also evident in other early Saxon cemeteries on the Island, although the independence of the Island in metalwork production has been noted (Arnold 1982, 105). It has been suggested that the inhabitants of the Island in the 6th century were importing and manufacturing luxury goods which were not subsequently redistributed northwards, since such objects are not found in the cemeteries of Hampshire and south Wiltshire (ibid.).

From the Castle itself, long-distance links are apparent from earliest levels, with sherds of French imports (Normandy Gritty ware) from levels associated with the cutting of the defensive ditches in trench Y5 (Phase 4). Apart from a single sherd of Andenne ware, all of the medieval pottery imports are from various sources in France. In the post-medieval period, the emphasis changes to Germany, which supplied stonewares of various types, and the range of source areas widens to include the Mediterranean (Italy). The range of imports reflects the general pattern of trade through the medieval and early post-medieval periods as observed at several ports along the south coast,

notably Southampton, Poole, and Exeter. Continental imports, however, which include vessel glass as well as pottery, never constitute more than a very small proportion of the overall assemblage. The possible implications of this for a consideration of the relative status of the Castle will be discussed further below. It is worth noting here that the relative paucity of imports at Carisbrooke could indicate that Southampton, with its widely available imported pottery, was not much used as a local market, and that the closer port of Portsmouth was a more likely supplier, most obviously of the Hampshire redware jugs.

Other sources of pottery on the mainland may also be considered as long-distance; these include the medieval Surrey/Hampshire border industry, and the proliferation of sources for the industrial wares of the 18th century and later. Other items procured from more distant sources include the whetstones, deriving from various West Country and/or Welsh sources. While the consumption of whetstones from a regional source or sources is not surprising, the presence of a handful of medieval sherds in micaceous fabrics (Q410, Q411), possibly of West Country origin (although a Continental source is also possible) is more unexpected. It may or may not be fortuitous that Countess Isabella held estates in the West Country, or their import could be linked to the use of Cornish slates. Rigold is said to have found slates in medieval layers and there is evidence for their use in the 14th century (Stone 1891, 76).

Overall, the picture which presents itself is one of a pragmatic exploitation of local sources wherever possible, augmented by regional or long-distance products where necessary. Items which could be described as 'luxury goods' generally fall into the latter category.

11. Economic and Social Status

We know from the documentary evidence that, alongside its defensive role, the Castle also served periodically as a residence for particular Lords or Captains. Countess Isabella, for example, made the Castle her principal residence in the later 13th century and carried out extensive building works to improve the accommodation. In the later 16th century George Carey re-established the ceremonial role of the Castle. The administrative role of the Castle should not be underestimated. The surviving medieval buildings demonstrate very clearly the high status of the site. We might therefore expect the use of the Castle as a high status residence to be reflected in the range of artefacts found. The fact that on the whole this is not the case demonstrates some of the limitations of archaeological evidence.

It must be borne in mind, however, that some potential evidence for assessing relative status may be unreliable. The small proportion of imported pottery within the medieval period has already been discussed (see Chapter 4). A similar pattern has been observed, for instance, at other castles along the south coast, such as Wareham, Corfe, and Portchester, as well as other settlements, including minor ports. It is felt to be a reflection more of restricted access to redistribution networks rather than the lack of financial means for acquisition (Allan 1983a and b). Documentary evidence suggests that wine imports in the 13th and 14th centuries came principally to a small number of south coast ports, such as Plymouth, Exeter, Weymouth, and Southampton, and this is reflected in the high proportions of imports recovered from these towns. Evidence from Southampton, for example, suggests that there, certainly from the mid 13th century, imported wares (in this instance dominated by Saintonge wares) were plentiful and available to all levels of society. They may be regarded simply as one of a range of ceramic products available at that period and thus have little value as an indicator of status (Brown 1997a). Other settlements, both coastal and inland, would have received imports only as redistributed goods. It is questionable how far their relative scarcity in these situations would have affected their commercial value and therefore possibly their adoption as high status goods.

Bearing this in mind, however, it is possible to make some comments on the subject of status, based on the range of material recovered. These are inevitably based mainly on the pottery assemblage, as constituting a major component of the overall material assemblage from the Castle. The range of vessel forms present in the medieval pottery assemblage is dominated by jars, a large proportion of which were almost certainly used for cooking. Bowls and dishes are the next most common, closely followed by lamps, with jugs and pitchers in fourth place (see Table 8, above: numbers are based on rims only).

Two points may be made here. First, the large proportion of lamps is significant, most of which were found in Phase 4 contexts in trenches R1 and Y5. This ceramic form is not particularly uncommon in the Saxon-Norman period and need not indicate a high status dwelling, but the relatively high proportion and concentration is interesting. The lamps might, for example, have derived from the nearby chapel.

Secondly, the relatively low proportion of 'serving wares' (jugs and pitchers) within the assemblage, in relation to 'cooking wares' (jars and bowls/dishes) may, paradoxically, suggest high status since serving dishes would have been of materials other than pottery. More modest dwellings in Southampton and Winchester, for example, have produced assemblages in which the

proportion of jugs far outweighs that of either jars or bowls/dishes (Brown 1996). This emphasis on the functional at the expense of the ornamental is echoed in other material types, notably the metalwork, where few personal items were identified, although it has already been pointed out that such items may have travelled with their owners and been removed from the Castle before deposition. Alternatively, what was found may just reflect that the major area dug in the Castle happened to be in a zone devoted to food preparation rather than any higher status activity.

There is certainly little within the faunal remains to suggest a high status diet, although the small numbers of deer and peacock may be noted; these seem, however, to represent the occasional feast rather than the regular diet.

This lack of evidence for status goods at the Castle contrasts quite starkly with what we know from the documentary sources of the use and structural embellishment of the Castle by various Lords and Governors, and also from the surviving buildings themselves. Among those who left the greatest architectural marks on the Castle were Countess Isabella and William de Montacute in the latter part of the 13th century, and George Carey, Governor from 1582–1603. Their improvements and additions are well documented and also visible in the surviving fabric of the Castle – high status buildings, then, do not necessarily result in a richer material culture from the site as a whole.

While there is little in the artefactual record to identify the presence at the Castle of the Countess Isabella or William de Montacute, the impact of George Carey may be visible in the collection of late 16th–early 17th century pottery and glass recovered from the upper fill of the motte ditch in trench Y4. This group includes high quality products: glass flasks and drinking vessels, possibly imported, two pottery chafing dishes (one a French import) and a North Italian slipware bowl. By this time, economic changes in the form of shifting patterns of cross-Channel trade are reflected by the higher proportion and greater range of imports, dominated by German stonewares; and social changes are evident in the increased range of pottery vessel types, including more specialised drinking and serving vessels.

12. Conclusions

Drawing these three strands together, then, we can gain a picture of the changing patterns of artefact supply and consumption at the Castle through time, and see how this accords, or not, with other evidence, such as documentary sources.

The earliest demonstrable use of the castle site was as an inhumation cemetery in the 6th century. It contained the burial of an adult male whose importance is reflected in his array of prestige grave-goods. This can be seen against the background of an apparent *floruit* of the Island economy at this time, evidenced by a general increase in the wealth and quality of the metalwork found in other cemeteries. The traditional explanation that the Island was colonised by Jutish settlers from Kent is now seen as too simplistic, and it is suggested instead that the strong similarities with Kentish material culture are due to a common origin of the inhabitants of both areas (Arnold 1982). Luxury goods were imported, as seen in the accoutrements of the Carisbrooke burial, but it is likely that the Island also sustained production on a significant scale of high quality metalwork and jewellery.

From its foundation in the 11th century, the defensive role of the Castle appears paramount in the archaeological record. The earliest occupation levels are marked by a predominance of locally produced artefacts (pottery, building stone) with only small quantities of non-local products and negligible amounts of Continental imports (pottery), while the environmental evidence indicates a diet fit for a garrison rather than a high status establishment. This emphasis on local sources of supply might have limitations for our understanding of the relationship of the Castle with its regional hinterland, but conversely it has allowed, for the first time, a characterisation of medieval pottery production on the Island.

The proportion of non-local products rises gradually through the medieval period, but largely as a response to economic rather than social demands: the supplementing of the Island's diminishing stone resources, and the addition of glazed serving wares from the mainland to those from the local potters' repertoire. It is likely that the Castle would have had its own range of craftsmen such as blacksmiths and stonemasons, although there is little or no evidence for craft or industrial activities on the site. Throughout, the strategic importance of the Castle is emphasised by the wide range of military hardware, and the functional and utilitarian nature of the material assemblage far outweighs the non-functional and ornamental.

The discrepancy between documentary records of the use of the Castle as a high status residence by owners such as Countess Isabella and William de Montacute and the archaeological evidence has been explored, and may be at least partly a reflection of the spatial limitations of the excavated areas. It is not until the late medieval and early post-medieval period that we can see social changes reflected in material culture, for instance, in a significant increase in the proportion of imported wares as well as an increase in the range of pottery vessel forms indicating a change in cooking and eating habits. The early post-medieval period, about the time of George Carey's governorship, also provides the first tangible evidence of the Castle as a high status

residence in the form of high quality imported pottery and glass vessels dumped in the top of the motte ditch.

Apart from the importance of the artefacts, the excavations have added considerably to our knowledge of the early history of the site and have complemented our existing knowledge of later periods. Use of the hill-top can now be traced with certainty back to the early 6th century, though occupation does not seem to have begun until the 11th century, despite the circumstantial evidence for the importance of this area as a whole back into at least the Roman period.

The role of the hill-top as a settlement site seems to have been exclusively defensive and its first use in the 11th century is presumably a shift of the near by high status focus point to a defended position in response to general insecurity. The Normans then inherited the site and developed it as a castle. The development of the Castle has been discussed above. Clearly at various points it was highly important as an administrative centre and as the *caput* of a great barony. Eventually as with so many other castles, it fell into royal hands. Unusually, it avoided the ruination common to royal castles not used as residences. This must be because it retained a significant defensive role right through the middle ages and into the early modern period, and therefore justified royal investment.

Appendix 1: Woorkes and Reparacons, done upon her Graces Castles and Forts within the Isle of Wighte, viz. At Caresbrooke, Yarmouthe, Freshwater

Reprinted from Worsley, History of the Isle of Wight (appendix 18, xl–xliii). Items relating to the south-east and south-west knights are shown in bold

The duplicamente of thaccompte of Thomas Worseley and John Dingley esquiers appoynted by the lords of the queenes 5majesties moste honorable privie consell to receave and defray diverse somes of money for the repayringe and mendinge of her graces castles and forts there and the same woorkes to be appoynted by thadvise and direccon of Sr. George Carewe knighte capten of the saide castles in places moste necessarie as by the privie seale remayninge with Roberte Peter esquier mau appeare. That is to saye aswell of all such somes of money as the saide accomptauntes any maner of waye hath hadd and receaved of her majesties treasure out of her highnes receipe of the xchequier for the woorkes and repayres of the said castles and forts as alo of the yssuinge and defrayinge the same in repayringe and mendinge her graces castles and forts as Caresbrooke Yarmouthe and Freshwater viz. Making 249 perches of wall of twoe foote thicke upon the south raveline at Caresbrooke 92½ perches uppon the easte raveline there, making a treade whele for the well with the gudgeons thaste and other yron and carpentrie woorke aboute the same and a plattforme over the wellhouse,* ***chardges of the masons woorke of the southeaste and southwest knights*** *the kepe a raveline in the northe parte of the castle,* ***takinge doune two towers and making the loopes for the same agreable to tholde walls of the castle*** *stoppinge all the loopes of the walls with plancks and makinge a newe bridge at the castle gate with sondrie other necessarie reparacons and fortificacons done there within the tyme of this accompte as well at thaforesaid castle of Caresbrooke as also in woorkinge and repayinge the saide sortes and holdes of Yarmouthe and Sharpnode in Freshwater aforesaide. To witt in and for diverse and sondry empcons and provisions boughte and provided to and for the saide woorkes, with the lande and water carriadge of the same togeather with wages of artificers workmen and labourers occupied and imployed in and about the saide reparacons and for sondry other taskewoorkes done by greate with sondrie other necessarie chardges incident to the same woorkes viz. From the 25th of March 1587 annoq, 29 dne, Eliz. Nunc regine untill the 24th day of November anno 30 dne. Regine being by the space of 245 dayes then ended. As by a booke of payments thereof subscribed witht he handes of the before named George Carewe knighte and the said accomptuants hereupon being caste tryed and examined may appeare whcih said accompte was taken and declared before the right honourable Willm. Baron of Burghley lord high threar. Of England the seconde day of November in the 31 yere of the raigne of our soveraigne ladie Eliz. By the grace of God quene of Englaunde Fraunce and Irelande defender of the faithe & c.*

That is to say

The said accomptauntes are charged with arrerages. None for that the said Mr. Worseley upon his lafte accompte was even. But the saide accomptauntes ar chardged with money by them receaved out of her highnes receipte of the xchequier by them to be imployed about the fortefyinge of the castle of Caresbrooke in the isle of Wyghte and other places and fortes in the same isle by warraunte of Sir George Carey knighte capten and governour thereof viz. of Henrie Killegrewe one of the tellors of the receipte aforesaide 100 l. and of Roberte Freake one other of the tellors of the same receipte 566l. 13s. 4d. By vertue of a privie seale dated the 23d day of February anno 29 dne Eliz. Regine. In all as by certificat under thande of Robt. Peter esquire doth and maye appeare the some of

666 13 4

Whereof the saide accomptauntes ar allowed for money by them issued payde and defrayed for woorkes and reparacons done upon her majesties castles and fortes within the isle of Wighte viz. at Caresbrooke viz

Firste the saide accomptauntes are allowed for money by them said to be layed out and disbursed for woorkes and reparacons done uppon her majesties castle at Caresbrooke aforesaide within the tyme of this accompte viz. Makinge 269 perches of wall of twoe and 3 foote thicke uppon the south ravelin and 92½ perches uppon the easte ravelin, making a treade whele for the well with the gudgeons shafte and other yron and carpentry woorke aboute the same, and a plattforme over the wellhouse, ***chardges of the masons woorke of the southeaste and southwest knightes,*** *the kepe a ravelin inthe northe parte of the same castle* ***takinge doune two towers and makinge the loopes of the same agreeable to thodle walls,*** *stoppinge all the loopes of the walls with planks and makinge a newe bridge at the castle gate with fondrye other necessarie reparacons and fortificacons done there within the tyme of this accompte. The particularetyes whereof with there severall natures and quantetynes are sett downe as hearafter followeth, viz. For*

Empcons and provisions, viz for Boordes, 103 foote	*0 5 5*
Carriadges, 2, viz. One for the cannon pewtrell with yron woorke to the same 1l. 4s. 7d. And one for the culveringe 16s. 8d in all	*2 1 3*
Lyme, 315 quarters, viz. 276 quarters 5 boz. at 2s. 8d. The quarter 36l. 17s. 8d and 29 quarters at 2s. the quarter 3l. 18s. In all	*40 15 8*
Brickes one thousande with carryadge 4 myles	*13 0*
Firre boordes viz. 2 at 12d. the pece 2s. and 3 at 6d. 18d. in all	*3 6*
Lathes 700 at 8d. the 100.	*4 8*
A myll to grynde corne bought of Frauncis Porke of Wynchester	*6 6 8*
Heare one quarter	*2 0*
Joyned table one	*6 0*
Trestles 3 at 12d. the pece	*3 0*
Whelebarrowes 50 at 1s. 6d. The pece	*3 15 0*
Baskets 12 doz 1/2 at 2s. The doz	*1 5 0*
Pypes to kepe water for the morter, 2 at 2s. 6d. the pece	*5 0*
Bowdg barrel one and for mendinge and hoopinge a water tubbe	*2 0*
Wellropes 2 poiz 300 1/2 at 1l. 1s. 6d per medm 4l. 16s. Makinge out newe rope and tarringe of the same 17s. 4d. For a rope for the watch bell 12d. in all with 1l. 7s. For a newe rope for a gynne the some of	*7 1 4*
Casementes for the chappell 3	*13 4*
Tombrell, one	*18 0*
Lambskinnes for sponges, 6	*2 6*
Sande, 486 lodes at 10d. The lode for digginge and carriadge	*20 5 0*
Wyninge of roughe stone for the woorkes viz 334 lodes at 3d. the lode 4l. 3s. 6d	
and 1261 lodes at 4d. the lode 21l. 4d. In all 25 3 10	
Wynnynge and carriadge of hard plattner stone 126 tonnes at 8d. the tonne	*4 4 0*
Wynninge and stapelinge of 11 1/2 lode of freestone at 2s. the lode	*1 3 0*
Hoopes 12 doz. at 6d. the doz. 6s. and for settinge them on 2s. in all	*8 0*
Bucketts for the well 2	*6 8*
Ironwoorke of diverse and sondry sortes with mendinge of woorkemens tooles	*4 2 1½*
Nayles of severall sortes and pryces	*1 7 2*
Glasse and glasinge	*2 5*
	122 5 6½

Land carriadge
Of diverse and sondry provicons aforesaide from severall places to the saide castle of Caresbrooke with 9l. 8s. 6d. For carriadge of 387 1/2 tonnes of fresh water for morter for the woorks distincte a quarter of a myle at 6d. the tonne, and with 6l. 6s. for the like carriadge of lyme from Newporte and Shyde pitt to the castle at diverse rates, the some of *20 13 4*

Wages of artificers and laborers, viz of masons at 12d. p.diem	*3 8 6*
Carpenters at 12d. and 10d. per diem	*2 9 2*
Sawyers sawinge of planckes and boordes at 2s. 8d. the 100	*3 6 8*

Plasterers for plasteringe 42 yeardes at 2d the yerde	*7 0*
Joyners woorkinge uppon the modle of the castle, the barbican, ravelyns, kepe, ditches, banks, and other necessarie places at 10d. per diem	*1 18 4*
Laborers occupied aboute the fillinge of the fouth and foutheafte ravelins makinge the trenches and ditches about the same, ***filling the southeaste and southwest knights****, helpinge to wyn lade and unlade stones with other necessarie woorkes at 8d. Per diem*	*128 6 4*
	139 16 0

Taskewoorke, viz. to

Thomas Mason and others for makinge 249 perches of wall of 2 and 3 foote thicke, every perche conteyning 18 foote in lenghte and one foote in heighte uppon the south ravelyn at Caresbrooke at 1s. 6d. the perche, 18l. 13s. 6d. for makinge 92½ perches of wall 3 foote thicke uppon the easte ravelyn at 1s. 6d. the perches 6l. 18s. 9d. and for woorkinge 24 foote of quoynes at 2d. the foote 4s. in all	*25 16 3*
John Mathewe mason for lyme and woorkmanshippe makinge 8 yeardes of wall of 2 foote thicke in the southwest knight at 2s. 4d. the perch 18s. 8. for takinge downe and newe makinge a stone dore and the wall to the same 10s. and for woorkinge and settinge a stone dore in the garden wall to passe to this knightes 10s. in all	***1 18 8***
To the sayde John for lyme and woorkmanshippe takinge downe and newe making one stone dore in the wall to the same in the southwest knighte 1l. for lyme and woorkemanshippe makinge 10 perches of wall 5 foote thicke at 4s. 2d. 2l. 1s. 8d. for lyme and woorkmanshippe for makinge 45 perches 6 foote of wall 2 foote thicke at 2s. 4d. the perche 5l. 5s. 8d. and for wynninge and stapelinge of free stone for lyme and woorkmanshippe for copinge the two knights conteyninge 309 foote by greate 12l. 6s. in all	***20 13 4***
John Hasell for makinge a treade whele for the well with the gudgeons shafte and other iron and carpentrie woorke about the same and a plattforme over the wellhouse by agremente	*16 0 0*
John Mathewe for pavinge the wellhouse and makinge the synke through the wall	*2 0 0*
John Hazell for digginge the trenches for the well whele and frame thereof and for the key boltinge of the whele removing the frame of the whele to serve for 2 bucketts and makinge a great duble doore to the kepe	*1 5 0*
John Mathewe aforesaide for the masons woorke of the southest and southwest knightes, *the kepe and a ravelyn in the north parte of the castle,* ***takinge downe two towers and makinge the loopes of the same agreable to tholde wall*** *of the castle accordinge to a plott thereof drawen and said to be remayinge with the right honourable the lord high threar. of Englaunde*	*90 0 0*

To him more for makinge a synck in the kitchen and removinge certen stones from the chapel to the woorke 3 0 0

John Hazell aforesaide for stoppinge all the loopes of the walls with planks 4l. and for makinge a newe bridge at the castle gate 2l. in all 6 0 0

166 13 3

Rewardes and enterteignments, viz. of
John Daniell havinge the overfighte and chardge of the saide woorkes and woorkmen and disbursement of there paye by the sapce of 13 weeks at 6s. the weeke 3 18 0

34 men sent out of the mayne lande to have bene imployed in her majesties woorkes and dischardged to retourne home, some beinge unable to endure the woorkes others for that the nomber was full and so for there chardges to and from 1 6 4

John Hasell for his enterteynment attendinge to kepe notes of the carriadges of stone sande lyme water and tymber by the space of 171 dayes viz. 18 dayes at 1s. and 153 dayes at 10d. per diem 7 6 0

Capten Peers for his paynes and expences cominge from Portesmouth to directe and sett out plotts for the places to be fortefied 3 10 0

Willm Nutte for spoyle made in his corne in the wynninge and carryadge of rough stone worne in his grounde 1 10 0

John Leigh gen. for the expences and chardges of himselfe fyve men and six horses for 12 dayes travellinge from the isle of Wighte to London, stayinge there and bringinge downe the thousande marks appoynted for the fortifications 4 0 0

21 10 4

In all the chardges of the said works and fortifications done at Caresbrooke aforesaide within the tyme of this accompt as by the booke thereof signed with thands of Sir George Carey knighte the said accomptauntes and John Daniell hereuppon duly perused caste tryed and examyned may appear, the some of 470 18 5

Yarmouth viz.
Also the accomptauntes ar allowed for makinge of fortificacons of earth and turffe at the saide castle of Yarmouthe with other necessarie reparacons done there within the tyme of this accompe as hereafter is particularly menconed and declared, viz.

Empcons and provisions with other chardges, viz.
Sellinge and squarings of 2 elmes for plancks for stocks carriadges and wheeles

7s. 6d. makinge 2 paire of wheles for culveringe and for facre and for spokes and exinge them with carriadges and yronwoorke for the same 2l. 3s. in all			2 10 6
Mendinge the powder house in the castle			7 6
Mendinge the gutters and leades in the said castle			16 0
Spade shoes 16 at 8d. the pece			10 8
Pickaxes 6 at 8d. the pece			4 0
Spades 3 at 6d. the pece			1 6
Mountinge thordinaunce upp into the plattforme			5 0
Yronwoorke for diverse forts with mendinge of woorkmens tooles			9 4
Other necessaries, viz. a small lyne to measure the plotts 1s. 3d a grynde stone and a wenlace 1s. 2d. and a hatchett 1s. 4d. in all the some of			3 9
Landcarriage of 2 culverings from Newporte to Yarmouth			8 0
Laborers woorkinge uppon the fortifications of earth and turfe at 8d. per diem			44 11 4
In all the chardges of the fortificacons done at Yarmouth within the tyme of this accompte as by the perticular booke thereof subscribed as aforesaid and hereuppon duly perused cast tryed and examyned may appear the some of			50 7 7
Freshwater viz.			
And the sayde accomptauntes likewise ar allowed for woorkes and reparacons done at Freshwater aforesaide within the tyme of this accompte viz. makinge a skonce of earth and turfe at Sharpnode in Freshwater, fellinge of trees hewinge sawinge woorkinge and settinge of postes and rayles about the same at Sharpnode conteyninge 39 perches with other woorkes done there within the tyme of this accompte as hereafter more particularly is mentioned, viz.			
Empcons and provisions with other chardges viz.			
Boordes for carryinge of turfe and earth 200 at 6s. 8d. the 100			13 4
Settinge of pykes and hedges to kepe of the force of the sea from the skonce			1 4 0
A greate levell to be used about the woorkes with 3s. for a small corde			5 6
Yronwoorke and mendinge of tooles with clampinge of whelebarrowes and with 2s. 9d. for nayles			18 8
Wages of laborers making a skonce of turfe and earth at Sharpenode in Freshwater at 8d. per diem.			117 0 8
Taskewoorke, viz. to John Brett carpenter for fellinge of trees hewinge sawinge woorkinge and settinge of postes and rayles aboute the skonce at Sharpenode conteyninge 39 perches at 1s. 8d. the perch			3 5 0
Henrye Hall havinge the direccion of the earth woorkes and overfighte of the labourers for 98 dayes at 1s. per diem			4 18 0
Rowlande Regles for his paynes takin in directinge the woorkes and feinge to the woorkmen at Freshwater			2 0 0
In all, the chardges of the woorkes done at Freshwater aforesaide within the tyme of this accompte as by thaforesaide booke subscribed with the same handes hereuppon tryed and examyned maye appeare the some of			130 5 2

Some totall of the peticons and payments aforesaide 651 11 2½

And so the sayde accomptauntes uppon the determinacon of this there accompte doe remayne in debte the some of 15 2 1

Whereof the sayde accomptaunte is allowed for his rydinge chardges from his house at Appledercombe unto the quenes majesties foresaide castles and forts as severall tymes within the tyme of this accompte for the like chardges of twoe of his men rydinge from his saide house to London for the declaringe and sinythinge his accompte and for the travell and paynes of one clarke havinge the chardge of the foresaide money and payinge and defrayinge the same at sondrie tymes and for kepinge and writinge the particuler booke thereof the some of 6l. and writinge the particuler booke thereof the some of 6l. and John Conyers one of her majesties auditors is allowed for the travell and expences of himselfe and his clarkes during the tyme of the ratinge, castinge, tryinge, and examyninge of the particulers of the said booke and reducing the same into an accompte and ingrossinge the same accompte in parchment the some of 5l. and so he oweth 4l. 2s. 1d ½ . which some is payde into the receipte of her majesties exchequier as appeareth by a tallye thereof leavyed the third day of November anno 31 dne Elizabethe regine and uppon this accompte shewed and remayninge maye appeare. And so these accomptauntes uppon this accompte doe remayne quyte.

W. BURGHLEY
J. FORTESCUE
Jo. CONYERS, Aud.

Appendix 2. Building Accounts relating to the South Bulwark, 1597–1598

Expanded abbreviations are shown in brackets

Public Record Office **A.O.1/2515/563** **18 May 1597–21 October 1598**

... Sondrie pyoners for sondrie Taskes by them performed for the Easrthwoorke about the South Easte Curtyn ...

... To John Willes and his companie for the cleeringe of the ditche of the Southeast Curtin, and to carie all the Earth and chalke upon the South bullwoork

ix[s]

... Sondrye pyoners for sondrie Tasques by them performed for the Earthwoorke of the Weste Bullwoorke ...

... To Edmunde Hayward for makinge a passage for the Tumbrelles to passe to the South bullwoorke

xvj[d]

Extract from Public Record Office **AO.1/2515/563** **18 May 1597–21 October 1598**

Sondrye pyoners for diverse Taskes by them p(er) formed for the ditche and Earthwoorke belongeinge to and aboute the Southe Bullwoorke viz

To Henry Poore John Dare John Brook and other their companie for castinge the blacke Earthe a foote deepe on the Senterwarde of the same Bullwoorke beginninge on the outmoste Angle of the Colion' eastwarde xjv foote in breadth, xviij in length and one foote deepe

for all xiij[s]

To Tho(mas) Florence Ro(er)t Irishe and others for castinge the blacke earthe on a heape upon the Collion, and to caste downe a hill of removed earthe, to make plaine the waye for passage of the Tumbrells

iij[s] *vj*[d]

To Mathewe Jones for castinge the blacke earthe in the Southe Bullwoorke upon the bankce

v[s]

To John Sweete for bringinge lowe the Chalke of strata coop(er)ta[2] *before the face of the South Bullwoork xx foote longe x foote broade and depe one foote di(midius) w(i)th ij dayes woorke on the North Bullwoork*

iij^{s} *iiij*^{d}

To John Davis for to caste the blacke Earth of the strata coop(er)ta afore thangle exterior of the South Bullworke in length 1x foote and the caste further out x foote

ij^{s}

To Raph Tailor for castinge awaye Chalke from the corner exterior of this Bullworke; and to turne against the wall of the blacke earthe upon the chalke

ij^{s} *vj*^{d}

To John Heggon for castinge the Rubbell and blacke earth alongest the Cortin wall westwarde in length xxx^{tie} *foote*

ij^{s}

To John Adlington & others for castinge the Rubbell fro(m) hence against the wall of the Weste Bullwoork and Southwest Cortin to kepe awaye the Froste

xv^{s}

And more for the Taskes of sondrie other pyoners for digginge and makinge of ditchie and Earthwoorke for and alongest this Bullwoorke conteyninge in all iiij^{xxx} *iiij*^{m} *vj*^{c} *foote after the rate p(er) medin of iiij*^{xx} *foote square measure for xij*^{d}

1ij^{c} *xvij*^{s} *vj*^{d}

In all for this Bullwoorke

1v^{c} *iij*^{s} *x*^{d}

Footnotes

1 Collion or cullion : the *orillon* of a bulwark (O.E.D.)

2 The covered way

Appendix 3. A Note on the Petrology of Some Medieval Pottery from Carisbrooke Castle

by D.F. Williams

Twenty-one small samples of medieval pottery were submitted for thin sectioning and study under the petrological microscope. The main objects of the analysis was to characterise the various fabrics involved and to see if it was possible to determine whether they had been made locally on the island. To help in this aim, three sherds from the only late medieval kiln known on the Isle of Wight, at Knighton, were also submitted for comparative purposes. The Isle of Wight is composed of a central Chalk ridge with Tertiary lowlands to the north and Greensand lowlands to the south, with an additional Chalk area in the very south of the island (Geological Survey 1 in. Map of England Sheet nos 330, 331, 344 and 345).

A number of broad fabric divisions have tentatively been made on the basis of the range and texture of the non-plastic inclusions present in the pottery samples.

Flint and quartz

[1] Q416; [2] Q417; [3] Q412 (sample 1); [4] Q400; [5] Q419

All six sherds contain irregular-shaped pieces of flint of variable size and frequency, ranging up to a maximum of 1.50 mm across, though the majority of pieces are much smaller than this, especially in no. [3].

No. [1] also contains frequent well-sorted subangular grains of quartz, generally under 0.30 mm in size, with some flecks of mica, black iron oxide, and a little argillaceous material.

No. [2] also contains grains of quartz, though these are less frequent and a slightly larger size range than is the case for no. [1], averaging 0.30-0.80 mm across, together with some flecks of mica and black iron oxide.

No. [3] contains a groundmass of quartz grains generally under 0.10 mm in size, with a scatter of slightly larger grains ranging up to about 0.40/0.50 mm across, together with some flecks of mica and black iron oxide.

Nos [4] and [5] are particularly distinctive in thin section, having a very clean, fine-textured clay matrix, in which, apart from flint, are a scatter of grains of quartz and quartzite ranging up to 1.20 mm in size.

Flint, limestone and shell

[6] S401; [7] Q412 (sample 2); [8] S403

Apart from containing angular pieces of flint similar to those in nos. [1]-[5], also present in these three sherds are a few large, fairly well-rounded pieces of cryptocrystalline limestone and some discrete curved pieces of shell. It is possible to see some recrystallisation of calcite in the shell, suggesting that it is fossiliferous.

Limestone and shell

[9] S400; [10] S402

Limestone and shell are more frequent in these two sherds, while the flint noted in nos. [6]-[8] appears to be lacking. A little calcite is present in no. [9], while quartz grains are more common in no. [10].

Glauconite

[11] Q414 (sample 1)

A moderate groundmass of subangular quartz grains under 0.10 mm in size, with a few larger grains, some flecks of mica, a little flint and a scatter of fairly well-rounded, reddish-brown and opaque grains of glauconite. The glauconite pellets are disaggregated and uniformly dispersed throughout the clay matrix, suggesting that this was a natural component of the clay.

?Igneous

[12] Q410; [13] Q411

Frequent subangular quartz grains, average size 0.10-0.50 mm, with moderately large flakes of muscovite and biotite mica, discrete grains of plagioclase and potash felspar, and a little argillaceous material, set in a clean, fairly fine-textured clay matrix.

Quartz

[14] Q414 (sample 2)

A sparse groundmass of silt-sized grains, with a scatter of larger grains of quartz and some quartzite, average size 0.30-0.60 mm, together with a few shreds of mica and a little argillaceous material.

[15] Q415

A fairly clean clay matrix containing frequent subangular quartz grains, average size 0.20-0.50mm, some quartzite and one or two small pieces of flint.

[16] Q404

Moderately frequent subangular grains of quartz, ranging in size up to 0.80 mm, together with some shreds of mica and black iron oxide.

[17] Q413

Frequent, well-sorted quartz grains generally under 0.20 mm in size, with flecks of mica and some black iron oxide.

[18] Q408; [19] Q406
Moderately frequent subangular quartz grains, average size 0.10-0.20 mm, with flecks of mica and plentiful black iron oxide.

[20] Q407
A groundmass of quartz grains under 0.10 mm in size, with a scatter of larger grains ranging up to 0.80 mm across, together with moderately frequent flecks of mica and some small dark red or opaque grains that are probably a form of iron oxide.

[21] Q401
Frequent, large subangular quartz grains, some over 1 mm in size, together with some quartzite and a few shreds of mica.

Pottery samples from the late medieval kiln at Knighton

[22]; [23]
Both samples contain a moderately frequent groundmass of silt-sized quartz grains, with larger subangular grains ranging up to about 0.60 mm across scattered throughout. Also present are some flecks of mica, some black iron oxide and a little argillaceous material

[24]
Slightly finer-textured than [22] and [23]. Two small pieces of cryptocrystalline limestone were also noted.

Comments
Apart from samples [12] and [13], the remainder of the material from Carisbrooke Castle contains a fairly common range of non-plastic inclusions in the fabric, and a local origin for this pottery would certainly be in keeping with the different clay resources of the island. Carisbrooke Castle lies on the central Chalk ridge of the island, and it is perhaps to be expected that pottery made fairly locally to the site would include pieces of flint, limestone or shell in the fabric, as is the case with roughly half the sherds examined (nos [1]-[10]).

Glauconite can be found in some of the Greensand deposits on the island, which for sample [11] may again point to local island origin.

The remaining sherds contain little else but quartz (nos [14]-[21]), which gives little indication by itself of specific origins. However, it is difficult to parallel closely any of the Carisbrooke Castle sherds texturally with the predominantly quartz-tempered kiln wasters from Knighton, which is situated on the Lower Greensand. This is not to say, of course, that the quartz fabrics from Carisbrooke Castle could not have originated from somewhere else on the island, though given the ubiquity of quartz-tempered pottery in the medieval period, it is difficult to say whether this is likely, or if it is more probable that some were imported from the mainland.

The range and texture of inclusions noted in samples [12] and [13] suggest an origin derived from igneous rocks, possibly granite. This would rule out a local Isle of Wight origin, with perhaps a source as far away as Devon and Cornwall, or alternatively on the other side of the Channel, in Brittany, Normandy, or the Channel Islands.

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Abbreviations used in bibliography

APC *Acts of the Privy Council* (ns), HMSO
CSPD *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, HMSO
PRO Public Record Office
CCM Carisbrooke Castle Museum Oglander Bound volumes of photographic copies, in Carisbrooke Castle Museum (Accession no. 11.1965) of the early 17th century notebooks of Sir John Oglander. The originals are in the Isle of Wight Record Office.
HMC Historical Manuscripts Commission
HMC Cecil Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire
HMC, 1900 Historical Monuments Commission Report on the Manuscripts of Mrs Frankland-Russell Astley of Chequers Court, Bucks
Simancas *Calendar of Letters and state papers relating to English Affairs in, or originally belonging to, the archives of Simancas*

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Index
by Barbara Hird

NOTE: figures in italics denote illustrations.

accommodation, domestic 4, 68, 73, 196
  see also chamber block; Officers' Quarters
accounts
  Isabella de Fortibus' 41, 42
  Elizabethan 4, 28, 37, 76, 78, 85, 37, 201–6
administrative role of castle 4, 68, 195, 196, 198, 200
aerial view *3*
alabaster (gypsum), architectural 161
Albert, Archduke (governor of Spanish Netherlands) 72
Alderholt, Dorset 105
Alfriston, Sussex; early Saxon grave 87
Ally, William (clay pipe maker) 169, 170, *172*
Alton, Hants 95
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 191
Antwerp, Gianibelli at 73
archaeological background 5
arches, medieval relieving 23, *23*, 25, *25*
architectural fragments, stone 160–1, *162*
  by phase 160
  Roman, reused as fill in Saxon graves 54, 55, 95
  sources of stone 160–1, 197, 199
  tiles 160
archive phases 116
Armadas, Spanish
  Great (1588) 67–72
  (1596) 72, 73
  (1597) 73–4
armour fragments, iron 141, *146*, 147
arrowheads, iron 141, *143–4*, 145–6, 196
artillery fortress, Elizabethan 4, 28, 76–85, 196
  aerial view *3*
  documentary evidence 73, 74–5, 78, 201–8
  excavations 76–85, 189
  financing 73, 74–5, 196
  historical background 67–76
  islanders' contribution 73, 74, 196
  overview 76, 77, 78, 196
  plan *193*
  structural sequence 3, 4
  view from south 1
  workforce 73, 74
  see also bastions, Elizabethan; battery; knights; trace, bastioned
Asthall, Oxon; early Saxon burial 90, 96
Athelred, King 191
attacks on castle 4, 75, 195
badge, military cap 138
bailey banks 19, 20, *20*, 28
  building under Hall cut into tail 44, *45*, 46, 51
  east ('counter-motte') *14*, 19–20, *21*, *26*, 194; excavations 19, *20*, 20–6; possible tower 19, 20, *26*, 195
  Elizabethan recontouring *10*
  erosion 27
  Lower Enclosure exposed *10*, 14
  Rigold's trenches E and F 66
  from south *1*, *10*
  structure 27
  see also Young, C.J (Y6)
Baldwin de Redvers 4, 58–9, 67, 194
balls
  ceramic 167
  stone *163*, 163, 164
barbican, possible pre-16th century 19, 37, 95
bastion on Lower Enclosure, possible 11, *11*, 14–15, 17, 18
bastions, Elizabethan
  angle 19; date stones 75, 76; documents 78, 85, 201–8; sally port and passage *78*, 79, *79*, 81, *83*, 83–4, 85; towers converted into: (1587) 4, 28, 32, 72, 73, 201–6; (1597–1601) 29, 75, 76; *see also* battery; gun embrasures; knights; Young, C.J. (Y9)
  covering gatehouse 5, 19, 37–41, 76, *77*; *see also* Young, C.J. (Y7)
Batavia, wreck of 113
Bath, Avon; medieval pottery 104
battery, Elizabethan recessed flanker 4, 73, 76, *77*, 196
  demolition debris 83, 84, 85
  documentary evidence 78, 85, 207–8
  excavations 78–9, 81–5, *78–84*
  facing 81, 84
  features on site preceding *78*, 79, 81
  floor *78*, 83, 84, 85
  gully *78*, 83
  gun embrasures *78*, *82*, 83, *84*, 84, 85
  masonry pier *78*, *80–2*, 83, 84, 84, 85
  orillons 73, 76, *77*, 78, 84
  postholes *78*, 83, 84, 85
  sally port and passage *78*, 81, *83*, 83–4, 85
  upper storey, partial *78*, *80–2*, 83, *84*, 84–5
Battle Abbey, Sussex 140, 175
beacon system, Elizabethan 68, 70
bead, Roman blue glass melon 157, 158, 159
beakers, continental glass 87
bell, iron animal 145, *154*, 155
belt fittings, copper alloy 135, *137*, 138
Bembridge limestone
  architectural use 12, 161, 197
  large balls 163
Berwick-on-Tweed fortifications 73, 76, 85, 196
bias of assemblages 189
Bifrons 92
bindings
  copper alloy 135, *136*, 138
  iron 145, 152, *153*
Binstead Stone 161

bird bones 182–5
distribution by feature 182, 183
domestic fowl 182, 184, 185
dressing and eating of birds 184–5
pathology 184
proportion of birds to mammals 184
retrieval 177, 182–3
and status of site 181
wild birds 182, 183–4
blocking walls
interval tower 27, *27*, 28, 28
motte ditch *12*, 17, *18*, 26, *26*, 195
Blount, Charles (Earl of Devonshire and 8th Baron Mountjoy) 68
bodkin, copper alloy *137*, 138
bone, animal 177–82
age structure 177–8, 179, 182
anatomical elements present 177, 178, 179, 180, 182
bird/mammal proportion 184
butchered off-site 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 197
canid gnawing 181
diet indicated by 180–1, 181–2, 184, 188, 196, 199
from ditch 260 of Conquest castle 58, 177–9
food procurement 180–1
late Saxon 55
location of cuts 180
methods 177
metrical data 177
from midden 63, 178, 179
Portchester assemblage compared 181–2
retrieval 177
source of assemblage 181
species distribution 178
taphonomy 179, 181
from yard areas 60, 62, 63, 178, 179
see also individual species
bone, human 52, 86, 88, 95, 191
see also cemetery, early Saxon inhumation
bone and antler, worked 60, 173–5, *176*
working waste 173, 175, 197
see also comb; crossbow nut; gaming pieces; handles; manuscript pricker; mounts; pegs; pins and needles; toggles
boroughs, medieval x, 1
bottle glass
beer/wine/spirit bottles 156–7, 158, *159*
phials 157, 158, *159*
other bottles and jars 156, 157, 158, *159*
seals 156, 158, *159*
Bowcombe Down 97, 102, 190
Bowling Green *2*, 4, 76, *193*
bowls
early Saxon Continental; copper alloy 88, *88*, *89*, 197; glass *86*, *87*, 87–8, *88*, *89*, 90, 96, 197
see also under pottery
boxes
possible early Saxon wooden 86, *86*, *87*, 96
later handles and mounts for 173, 174–5, *176*
Bradwell, Essex; Saxon Shore fort x
Brancaster, Norfolk; Saxon Shore fort x
Bredgate, Matthew 75
brick fragments 165, 190
brick-work, 17th century English Bond 28
bridge to gatehouse 37, 75
brigandine, plate from 141, *146*, 147
Brighthampton, Oxon; early Saxon cemetery 93
Bristol area; post-medieval pottery 115
Brittany 108
Broadstairs, Kent; Bradstow School Saxon cemetery 94
brooch, medieval annular copper alloy 135, *137*, 138
Broomfield; early Saxon burial 96
Brough Castle, Cumbria 194
Brougham Castle, Cumbria 194
bucket, early Saxon wood and copper alloy *88*, *89*, 93–4, 96
buckles
copper alloy: early Saxon *86*, *87*, 87, 96; medieval and post-medieval 135, *136*, *137*, 138
iron 142, 147, *148*
building material, ceramic 164–7, *166*
Romano-British 18, 164–5
post-Roman 164–5, *166*, 167
quantification by phase and form 164, 165
see also tiles
buildings, unidentified
late Saxon, large timber 5, 8, 19, *53*, *54*, 54–5, 67, 191, *192*
12th century, on site of Great Hall 6–7, *43*, 45–6, *45*, *46*, 47, 51, 195
medieval 6–7, *53*, 59–63, *59–63*; (290/501, possible) 63, 120; (416) 6–7, 52, *53*, 59–61, *59*, *60*, *63*, *64*, 64, 66, 67, 120, 132, 195; (539/298) 6–7, *53*, 61–3, *61–3*, 118, 120, 195; (620) *53*, 59, *63*
Burgh Castle, Norfolk x, 194
Burghal Hidage 19, 191
Burghley, Barons *see* Cecil, Robert and William
burhs, late Saxon 194
Lower Enclosure as 5, 8, 12, 19, 191, *192*
burials *see* cemetery, early Saxon
butchery 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 197
buttons
copper alloy 138
iron 142, 147, *148*
buzzard 182, 183

Cadiz, raids on 69, 72
Camden, William 68
cames, lead window 139, 140, 156
cannonballs, stone 163, 196
Captains of Carisbrooke 4, 33, 35, 198
Carey, Sir George (2nd Baron Hunsdon) 72
on Armada (1588) 67–8
and beacon system 68, 70
building works 199; cistern *43*, *46*, 47, 51, 196; domestic accommodation 4–5, 28, 68, 73, 196; Hall 5, 42, 196;

interval tower 28, 196; *see also* artillery fortress, Elizabethan; bastions, Elizabethan; battery; knights; Officers' Quarters
Cecil's correspondence with 74
ceremonial and social role of castle under 68, 196, 198, 199–200
death 75
Lord Chamberlain 73
in Parliament 72
privateering 68, 72
Carey, Henry (1st Baron Hunsdon) 73
Carisbrooke Roman villa 54
Carleton, Dudley, of Ostend 75
Castle Cornet, Jersey 73
cats 178, 179, 182
cattle 178, 179, 180, 181–2
Cecil, Robert (2nd Baron Burghley) 72, 74
Cecil, William (1st Baron Burghley) 70, 72
cemetery, early Saxon inhumation 5, 8, 67, 86–97, 190–1, 199
in context of others on Island 52, 92, 96, 102, 191, 197, 199
excavation 52, *52*, 54
grave goods 86–8, *86, 87*, 88–94, 199; Continental connections 52, 88, 90, 94, 95, 96, 197, 199; grave 1282 52, 95, *95*, 96; grave 1612 52, 88–94, *88, 89*, 91, 101, 191, 197, 199, (absence of weapons) 88, 96, 191, (coin in mouth) 88, 94, 96, 191, 197; grave 1632 52, 86–8, *86, 87*, 96
possible further burials 23, 75
reuse of Roman masonry as packing 54, 55, 95
centons (units of Elizabethan militia) 68, 74
ceremonial role of castle 196, 198
cess-pit fill 28
chains and links, iron 145, *153*, 155
chalk
architectural fragments 160, 161
Conquest rampart, rubble possibly from 23, *24*, 58
geological deposits 1
Lower Enclosure construction *15*, 16, 17, 35–6
lumps in late Saxon posthole 55
rubble surfaces, late Saxon *53*, 55
surfaces, medieval *53*, 62–3, 118
tips 39, 55, 73, 132
chamber block
built by Isabella de Fortibus 4, 42, *43, 44*, 196
later alterations 42, 51, 196
restoration, post-1856 5, 42, 44
Chamberlain, John 75
Channel Islands 73, 76, 103, 108
chapel of St Nicholas 2, 4, 5, 41, 67, 195, 198
chapel of St Peter, adjacent to Hall 42, *43, 44*
charcoal 55, 61
Charles I, King of Great Britain 4, 5
chess pieces 174, 175, *176*
Chessell Down Saxon cemetery 92, 96, 97
Chichester, W Sussex 98, 107, 112, 160
Christchurch, Dorset 1
clay pipes 168
medieval pottery 103, 111
chronology 8–9
cistern, 16th century brick water- *43, 46*, 47, *47, 48, 49, 50*, 50–1, *51*, 123, 196
Clatterford Roman villa 54
clay pipes 49, 123, 167–73, *171–2*, 197
bowls 167–8, 168–9, 170, *171, 172*, 173; typology of forms 168–9
comparative groups 168
and dating 116, 123, 158, 167–8, 170
distribution 170
stamps 167–8, 169–70, *172*, 173, 189
stems 168, 169, 170, *172*, 173
Cnut, King of English, Danes and Norwegians 191
coastal defences
Henry VIII's x, 73, 196
survey (1623) 85
coins 132–3
and dating 116, 191
ROMAN
Valens 18, 39, 132
Pseudo-Imperial Visigothic gold-plated copper alloy *tremissis* in name of Anastasius I 88, 94, 96, 191, 197
ENGLISH
mid-Saxon, from Froglands Farm 189, 191
William I 39, 55, 58, 67, 118–19, 132
Henry I 60, 63, 120, 132
Richard I 121, 132
Edward I 133
Edward III 133
Henry VI 133
William III 26, 133
George III 133
George V 133
George VI 29
FRENCH
William I as Duke of Normandy 133
Napoleon III 133
SPANISH
Philip II 134
Colchester, Essex; Conquest period castle 19
Cole, Robert, of Newport (clay pipe maker) 169, 170, *172*
column bases in Garage *22*, 25–6, 133
comb, bone 173
committee for the defence of the realm, Elizabethan 70, 72
Conquest period castle 5, 8, *192*, 194
comparable castles in corner of earlier defended enclosures 67
defensive ditches (260, 1602) *192*, 194; abandonment and filling 60, 67, 194; animal bones 177–9, 180, 181; bird bones 182, 183; causeways 55, 58, *192*, 194; excavation *53*, 55, *56, 57*, 58–9, *66*, 66–7; pottery 98, 118, 119–20; probable continuation (1138) *43*, 47, *47, 48*, 50, 51, 58; subsidence into 58, 59, 60
entrances: inner enclosure 55, 58, *192*, 194; outer

enclosure 35–6, *192*, 194
interior layout unclear 67
and Lower Enclosure 12, 18–19, *192*, 194
motte-and-bailey replaces 5, 6, 8, 58–9, 60, 67
plan *192*
possible outwork 58
rampart 23, *24*, 58, *192*, 194
selection of site 191
conservation, interrogative 134, 140
contamination of finds 9, 63
context of castle, local and regional 190, 197–8
Continent, economic contacts with 197–8
Saxon period 52, 88, 90, 94, 95, 96, 197, 199
see also pottery (imported)
cook- or bake-houses, medieval (building 539/298) 6–7, *53*, 61–3, *61–3*, 118, 120, 195
copper alloy objects 134–9
gilded fittings 134–5, *136*, 138
medieval 135–8, 136–7
metalworking debris 60, 138, 197
post-medieval 135, *136*, 138
see also badge; belt fittings; bindings; bodkin; bowls; brooch; bucket; buckles; buttons; discs; handles; harness fittings; horn; lace tags; pins; purse fittings; rings; studs; vessels, non-ceramic; weaponry
copper alloy working 60, 138, 197
Corfe Castle, Dorset; medieval pottery 98, 103, 104, 111, 112, 198
Cornwall 72, 108, 196, 197, 198
Council, Elizabethan 73
counter-motte *see* bailey banks (east)
counters, early Saxon glass and ivory 88, *88*, *89*, 90, 96, 191, 197
craft activities 197, 199
bone and antler working 173, 175, 197
see also metalworking
Cricklade, Wilts; Saxon burh 19, 191
crossbow nut 174, 175, *176*
Crown ownership of castle 4, 200
curtain wall
blocking of gap made by motte ditch *12*, 17, *18*, *20*, 26, *26*, 195
construction 27, 195
date 3, 6, 8, 19, 20
excavation of defences 19, 26–37
extension up motte *20*, 26, 195
face at south-west angle 29, 32, *32*
plan *2*
relationship with Lower Enclosure wall and original ground surface 17, *18*
see also bastions, Elizabethan; blocking walls; gatehouse; towers (angle; interval)
Cutts, John (Baron Cutts of Gowran) 5, 26, 76

Darenth Park, Kent; Saxon glass bowl 90
dating 8–9, 98, 116, 191
see also phasing; pottery (dating by; sequence); stratigraphic sequence
daub, burnt, in late Saxon posthole 55
deer
fallow 58, 177, 178, 179, 180–1, 182, 184; introduction by Normans 58, 180
by feature 178, 179, 181
hunting 68, 180–1
Portchester/Carisbrooke comparison 182
red 177, 178, 179, 180–1, 182
and status of site 180–1, 184, 199
dental hypoplasia, early Saxon 88, 95
Derby, 5th Earl of (Ferdinando Stanley) 68
Devereux, Robert (2nd Earl of Essex) 68, 72, 74
Devon 108, 196, 198
Devonshire, Earl of (Charles Blount) 68
diet
early Saxon deficiencies 88, 95
medieval and post-medieval 18011, 181–2, 184, 188, 196, 199
discs, early Saxon copper alloy 86, *86*, *87*
disturbance of deposits 9, 54, 63, 189
by subsidence 25, 58, 59, 60
see also redeposition; residuality
ditches
around bastioned trace 75
see also motte ditch and under Conquest period castle; yard areas
documentary record 4, 199
on Elizabethan period 4, 28, 32, 67–76, 78, 85, 201–8
see also accounts
dogs 178, 179, 181
Domesday Book 4, 180
castle mentioned in *see* Conquest period castle
domestic accommodation 4, 68, 73, 196
see also chamber block; Officers' Quarters
donkey pens 7, 21, 76
Donyatt, Somerset; kiln site 114
Dover, Kent x, 94
Dowland, John 68
drains in area adjacent to Hall *43*, *47*, *48*, *49*, 50
Drake, Sir Francis 69
drawbridge pits *34*, 35, 36–7, *37*, 195
du Bellay, Martin 68
Dudley, Robert (Earl of Leicester) 68
dumping of greensand in bailey, 15th-century 63, 66, 67, 98, 122, 196
Dyer, John, of Newport (clay pipe maker) 169, 170, *172*

East Holme, Purbeck, Dorset; kiln site 114
East Worth, Dorset; kiln site 114
Edward I, King of England 4
Eldon's Seat, Purbeck 99
Elizabeth I, Queen 69, 72, 75–6
financial problems 73, 74–5, 76, 196
Elizabethan period 196
documents 4, 28, 32, 67–76, 78, 85, 201–8
historical background 67–76

see also artillery fortress; bastions, Elizabethan; battery; Carey, Sir George; gun embrasures; knights; trace, bastioned enclosure, ditched, in north-east corner of Lower Enclosure see Conquest period castle
enclosure east of motte-and-bailey (Bowling Green) *2*, 4, 76, 193
environmental evidence 177–88
see also bird bones; bone, animal; mollusca, land; mollusca, marine
Escorial palace, Spain 69
Essex, 2nd Earl of (Robert Devereux) 68, 72, 74
excavations 10–85
1920s 5, 6, *6*
location of trenches *6*
methods 7, 8
nature of evidence from 5–8
Rigold's (1959–74) 5, *6*, 6–7
trench numbering *6*, 7
Young's (1976–80) 5, *6*, 7–8
see also individual features and Rigold, S.E. (TRENCHES); Young, C.J. (TRENCHES)
Exeter 157–8, 103, 118, 198

Faccombe Netherton, Hants 184
feature 1620, containing two intact early Saxon pots 52, 96, 97, 97, 101, 118
Feria, Count of (Don Gomez Suarez de Figueroa) 68–9
Ferrol, Spain 73, 74
Fetcham, Surrey 94
fish bones 55, 177, 196
flue tiles, Romano-British 164, 165
food residues, possible medieval 110
foodstuffs, sources of 197
forest laws 180
forge house, 17th century 75
forts, Henry VIII's coastal defence x, 73, 196
fowl, domestic 182, 184, 185
France
attacks: on castle (14th century) 75, 195; on Solent (1545) 68
coins, jeton and token 133, 134
relations in Elizabethan period 76
trade: early Saxon 90, 94, 96; medieval 103, 197; *see also under* pottery
Freshwater, fortifications at 75, 205–6
Froglands Farm; mid-Saxon coins and metalwork 54, 189, 191

Galsted, Denmark 92
games, Elizabethan annual military 68
gaming pieces
early Saxon glass and ivory 88, *88*, *89*, 90, 96, 191, 197
medieval bone and antler 60, 173, 174, 175, *176*
Garage/Coachhouse *2*
column bases *22*, 25–6, 133
excavations, Y1–4 22–6, *22*, *23*, *24*, *25*
footing of entrance to Lower Enclosure 16, *17*
refurbishment (1856) 25
relieving arches 23, *23*, 25, *25*
remnant of Conquest rampart 23, *24*, 58
see also Young, C.J. (Y1–Y4)
garrison occupation 74, 124, 181, 182, 199
Gatcombe, Isle of Wight 18, 75
gatehouse *2*, 33–7, *33*, *34*, *35*, *36*, 37
bastion 5, 19, 37–41, 76, *77*; see also Young, C.J. (Y7)
bridge 37, 75
building, 13th century 3, 37, 195
chalk rubble deposits beneath 17, 35–6
Conquest period entrance possibly on site of 35–6, *192*, 194
drawbridge pits *34*, 35, 36–7, *37*, 195
drum towers 33; building of 3, 4, 14, 35, 37, 195; gun loops 3, 4, 35; heightening 35, 37, 195
and Lower Enclosure 14, 17, 37
masons' marks 160
wall-walk above 33, *33*, 35
restoration work (1898) 5
Rigold's observations 19, 20
structural sequence 3, 37
12th century predecessor 20, 36, 37, 192, 194
see also Rigold, S.E. (R11, R12); Young, C.J. (Y7)gatehouse, shell-keep 3–4, 195
gatekeeper's cottage, Victorian 39
gauntlet mark on clay pipe 169, 170, *172*
geese, domestic and wild 182, 183, 184
geology 1, 3
Germany 134
see also under pottery (post-medieval)
Gesta Stephani 3, 19, 20, 67
Gianibelli, Federigo 73, 74–5, 76
Gifford, Gilbert 70
Gilpin, George 72
glass 155–9
by category and trench 157
dating by 116, 123
objects 156, 157, 158, 159; *see also* bead and under gaming pieces
by phase 156
vessels other than bottles 156, 157–8, 159, 198, 199–200; *see also under* bowls
window 140, 155–6
Godwin, Earl of West Saxons 191
gold objects 134
see also copper alloy objects (gilded)
Goltho, Lincs 174, 180
Governors of Island 4, 5
see also individual names
graves, early Saxon *see* cemetery, early Saxon inhumation
Great Hall *see* Hall
Greensand
architectural use 12, 160, 161
dumping in bailey, 15th century 63, 66, 67, 98, 122, 196
mortar 163
grenade, possible ceramic 112, 117, *129*, 130

Grey, Arthur (14th Baron Grey of Wilton) 70
Guernsey 76
gullies
late Saxon 53, 54–5, 67
medieval 53, *61*, 63, 118
post-medieval, in flanker battery *78*, 81, 83
gun embrasures, Elizabethan 32, *32, 78, 82*, 83, *84*, 84, 85
gun loops, early inverted key-hole 3, 4, 35
Hall *2*, 41–51
Carey's adaptation 5, 42, 196
chapel of St Peter 42, *43, 44*
18th century alterations 42, 44
Isabella de Fortibus' additions 42, *43, 44*, 67, 196
possible position of earlier 7, 51, 195
present structure 4, 41–4, *42, 43, 44*, 51
previous building on site of 6–7, *43*, 45–6, *45, 46*, 47, 51, 195
restoration, post-1856 5, 42, 44
sites around *see* cistern; pits (1185); Rigold, S.E. (R9, R10); Young, C.J. (Y10)
structural sequence 4
undercroft 42, *43*, 44–6, *44, 45*
upper floor 5, 42, 196
wall running west from *43, 46*, 47
William de Montacute's work 46–7
window, 13th century 42, *44*
Hamwic (Saxon Southampton) 101, 102, 107, 115, 191
handles
bone and antler 173, 174–5, *176*
copper alloy 135, *137*, 138
hare 58, 178, 179, 180–1
harness fittings, copper alloy *137*, 138
gilded 135, *137*, 138
Harold, king of the English 191
hearths
late Saxon 53, 55, 67
medieval 59, 60, *61*, 62, 118; tiles 165, *166*, 167
heel iron 142, 147, *148*
Helicigona lapicida 185
Henry I, King 67, 194
Henry VIII, King; coastal forts x, 73, 196
Henry of Battenberg, Prince 35
Hereford 191
hillfort, postulated Iron Age 190
hinges and hinge pivots, iron 145, 152, *153*
hinterland, local and regional 190, 197–8
historical background 4–5, 67–76
hollows, rubbish-filled 60
hollow-way east of castle 190
Holtwood kiln site 114
hooks, iron 145, 152, *153*
horn, base silver and copper alloy mount from early Saxon drinking *88, 89*, 90–3, 96
horse bones 178, 179, 182
horseshoes 60, 141–2, 147, *148*
Horton kiln site 114, 123
Howard, Lord Thomas (1st Earl of Suffolk and 1st Baron Howard de Walden) 72
Howletts, Kent; Saxon cemetery 87, 93
Hunsdon, 1st Baron (Henry Carey) 73
Hunsdon, 2nd Baron *see* Carey, Sir William
hunting 141, 180–1

imbrices 164, 165
importance of castle 189–90, 195–6, 200
industrial activities 60, 134, 138, 197, 199
interior of castle 5, 6–7, 8, 41–67, 189–200
sites in and around Hall 41–51; *see also* Rigold, S.E. (R9; R10); Young, C.J. (Y10)
sites in southern part of bailey 51–67; *see also* Rigold, S.E. (R1; R8); Young, C.J. (Y5)
invasion threats 67–8, 68–74, 75–6, 190, 196
iron objects 140–55
miscellaneous 145, *154*, 155
see also arrowheads; bell, animal; bindings; buckles; buttons; chains and links; heel iron; hinges and hinge pivots; hooks; horseshoes; keys; knives; latch rest; locks; loop, rectangular; nail; patten; pins and needles; plate fragments; scissors; shears; spurs; structural ironwork; studs; sword blade fragment; tools; weaponry
X–radiography 140
XRF 140
Isabella de Fortibus, Countess 4
accounts 41, 42
building works 4, 41, 67, 198, 199; gatehouse 37, 195; *see also under* chamber block; Hall
importance of castle under 195–6, 198
Italy
fortress design 76
pottery imports from 101, 113, 123, *130*, 131, 197
ivory counters, early Saxon 88, *88, 89*, 90, 96, 191, 197

James VI of Scotland and I of England 76
Jersey 73, 76
jetons 134
jewellery; dearth of finds 189
see also bead; brooch; pendant; rings
John, Don, of Austria 69
Jutes 199

keep, shell 2, 195
gatehouse 3–4, 195
structural sequence and date 3, 4, 6, 8, 19, 20, 195
Kent, early Saxon 90, 92, 93, 96, 97, 199
keys, iron 142, 144–5, *151*, 152
kiln sites
Knighton 98, 108, 111, 124, 210
Laverstock, Wilts, medieval 104, 105
Verwood area, post-medieval 114
King's Park, Watchingwell 180
Knighton kiln site 98, 108, 111, 124, 210
knights
Carey's construction (1587) 4, 28, 32, 72, 73

documentary evidence 4, 28, 32, 72, 73, 75, 76, 201–6
date stones 75, 76
excavations 28–32
modification (1597–1602) 29, 75, 76
south east (Mountjoy Tower) *2*, 3, 5, *20*, 28, 29, *29, 30*
south west *2*, 3, *20*, 28, 29, *31*, 32, *33*
knives, iron
early Saxon *88, 89*, 90, 95, *95*
medieval/post-medieval 142, 147, *149*
Kugelbecher 87

L-shaped range 19–20, 196
see also Garage/Coachhouse
La Plante, Namur, Belgium 92
labour, compulsory 74
lace tags, copper alloy 135, *137*, 138
lamps *see under* pottery
lancehead, iron 141, *144*, 147
latch rest, iron 145, 152, *153*
latrine pit, medieval 27–8, *27, 28*
lavatories, site of public 51
see also Rigold, S.E. (R1)
Laverstock, Wilts; kiln site 104, 105
Lavoye, France 90
laws, forest 180
lead objects 139–40
see also cames, window; shot
leather 189
mineral-preserved, early Saxon 86, 87, 95
Leicester, Earl of (Robert Dudley) 68
Lepanto, battle of 69
lime kilns
medieval *38*, 39–41, *39, 40, 41*, 195, 197
Elizabethan 73
limitations of archaeological evidence 198, 199
limpets 187, 188
Lippomano (Venetian ambassador in Madrid) 70
location of Carisbrooke x
locks, iron 142, *151*, 152
London
Moorgate; medieval oysters 188
post-medieval pottery production 115
Saxon pottery 102
Tower 19
loop, rectangular iron 145, 153, 155
loopholes 78, 79
Lords of Isle of Wight 4, 194, 195, 198
Louisbourg, Canada; clay pipes 170
louver, ceramic 165, 166, 166
Lower Enclosure 10–19
aerial view 3
bank 14, 15, 15–16, 17, 35–6
bastion, possible 3, 11, *11*, 14–15, 17
blocking wall across motte ditch overrides 17, *18*, 26, *26*
and Conquest castle 12, 18–19, *192*, 194
construction of wall 11, 12, *13*, 14, *14*, 17, *33*
corners 10
dark soil layer in Y11 12, *13*, 14, *14*
dating 17–19, 191
discovery 10, *10*
entrances: original 3, 6, 10–11, *11, 12, 16*, 16–17, *17*, 22, 191; early medieval 11, 16–17, *16, 17*, 37
excavations 10–19
motte ditch breaches 17, *18*
plan *2, 11*, 192
preservation, 20th century 12, *13*, 14, 15, *15*
relationship to curtain wall and original ground surface 17, *18, 26*, 26
Roman date unlikely 5, 6, 8, 12, 18, 190
as Saxon burh 5, 8, 12, 19, 191, *192*
sections *15*
structural sequence 3
trench numbers 8, *11*
see also Rigold, S.E. (R3; R6; R7; R11); Young, C.J. (Y1; Y11; Y12)
Ludgershall, Wilts 174–5
Lukely Brook 3
luxury goods 1, 196, 197
Lydford, Devon 19, 191
Lyme Regis, Dorset 114
Lympne, Kent; Saxon Shore fort x

mainland, economic relationship with 197
see also under pottery (medieval)
Male, Louis de, jeton of 134
mammals, wild 180–1
see also individual species
manuscript pricker, bone 174, 175, *176*
Margham, J. 189
Markland, J. 5, 19
Mary Queen of Scots 69
masons' marks 160
material culture 1, 196–7, 199–200
medieval period, later (phases 6–7) *192*, 195–6
see also blocking walls (motte ditch); gatehouse; gatehouse, shell keep; Hall; Isabella de Fortibus (building work); L-shaped range; Montacute, William de
Medina, River x, 3
Medina Sidonia, Alonso Perez, Duke of 71
Mendoza, Spanish ambassador in Paris 70–1
metalwork
and dating 116
dearth of ornamental pieces 199
potential of assemblage 189
recycling 189
Saxon: on Island 189, 197, 199; Salin's Style I 90–3
see also individual metals
metalworking 60, 134, 138, 197
Meuse valley 88, 90, 102
midden deposits, medieval
in castle 60; animal bone 63, 178, 179, 180, 181; bird bones 182, 183; oysters 186
on south-east coast of island, pottery in 98, 107, 110–11
Milford Haven 70

military equipment 60, 141, *143–4*, 145–7, 196, 199
see also individual types
military nature of castle 195, 196, 199, 200
militia, Elizabethan 68, 69, 70, 72, 74
Misèry, Somme, France 94
modifications of defences, Elizabethan *see* artillery fortress; bastions, Elizabethan; battery; knights; trace, bastioned
mollusca, land 185
mollusca, marine 185–8, 196
distribution 186–7
infestations and encrustations 186, 187, 188
intrasite variations 188
methods 185–6
other than oysters 187, 188
oysters 186–8; location of bed 187–8, 188, 197
money box, ceramic 112, 117, *129*, 130
Montacute, William de (2nd Earl of Salisbury) 4, 42, 46–7, 196, 199
More, Thomas (intelligence officer, *fl.* 1594) 72
Morning Thorpe, Norfolk 88, 96
mortar
Elizabethan 75
patch 290/501, possible building 63, 120
Roman tile in post-medieval 32
mortars, stone 162, *163*, 164, 197
motte
aerial view 3
construction 19, 194
curtain wall extended up to keep *20*, 26, 195
Markland's trench (1892) 5, 19
plan 2
possible reshaping, 14th century 4, 19, 195
motte ditch 194
blocking wall across 12, 17, *18*, 26, *26*, 195
ceramic balls 167
excavations 19, *21*, 21–2, 23, *23, 24; see also* Rigold, S.E. (R4); Young, C.J. (Y1–Y4)
fill: lower 21, 23, 195; upper 22, 23, 98, 113, 123, 133, 199–200
Lower Enclosure wall breached by 17, *18*
plan *2*
pottery 23, 98, 113, 123, 199–200
section *21*
subsidence over 25
motte-and-bailey castle 19–41, *192*, 194–5
aerial view *3*
date 5, 6, 8, 58–9, 60, 67
excavations 19–41
gatehouse to bailey 20, 36, 37, *192*, 194
Hall 7, 51, 195
postulated outworks not found 19, 37–41
Rigold's conjectured original form *21*
stone phase 194, 195; *see also* buildings, unidentified (539/298; 416)
structural sequence 3–4
timber phase 194–5
see also bailey banks; curtain wall; keep, shell; motte; motte ditch
mould, limestone 163, *163*, 164
Mountjoy, 8th Baron (Charles Blount) 68
Mountjoy Tower *see* knights (south-east)
mounts, bone and antler 173, 174–5, *176*
Mousehole, Cornwall, Spanish raid on 72
Mucking, Essex; Saxon cemeteries 87–8, 93, 102

Nennig, Germany 90
Netherlands
fortress design 76
revolt against Spain 69
New Forest 73, 75
Newport, Isle of Wight x, 68, 73, 75
Newport Ligger Book (1567) 37
Newtown, Isle of Wight x, 3, 68
Ningwood, Isle of Wight; Carey's stud 68
Niton, Isle of Wight 75, 111
Nonsuch, Treaty of 69
Norfolk, 4th Duke of (Thomas Howard) 69
Normandy; medieval pottery 108; Gritty Ware *see under* pottery (medieval)
Norris, Sir John 68, 70
Northampton 162, 162, 163
Nottingham; pottery production 115
Nuremburg, Germany; jetons 134

occupation layers, environmental material from 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 186
see also yard area
Odiham Castle, Hants 184
Office of Works 5
Officers' Quarters 2, 4–5, 28, 196
Oglander, Sir John 73, 74, 75, 76
Old Down Farm, Andover, Hants 99
Old Sarum, Wilts 104
Olivares, Count of (Spanish minister) 75–6
organisation of report 8–9
orillons 73, 76, 77, 78, 84
outworks
possible medieval 19, 37–41, 58, 195
post-medieval ravelins 28
Ower Farm, Dorset 104
Oxford 157, 194
Oxton, Oxon 90
oysters see mollusca, marine

padlocks, iron 142, *151*, 152
palisade in ditch around bastioned trace 75
pantiles, post-medieval 165
Papacy 69, 76
Parliament 68, 72
Parma, Duke of (Alessandro Farnese) 71
pathology
domestic fowl 184
human 88, 95
pathways
to east postern 23, 123
Elizabethan construction 73, 207

patten, frame from 142, 147, *148*
peacock 58, 182, 183, 184, 199
pegs, bone and antler 175, *176*
pendant, post-medieval gold 134
Pendennis Castle, Cornwall 196
Penzance, Cornwall, Spanish raid on 72
Pevensey Castle, E Sussex x, 174, 194
phasing 9, 115–23
  list of phases 116
phials, glass 157, 158, 159
Philip II, King of Spain 68–9, 70–1, 73
Philip III, King of Spain 75–6
pigs 178, 179, 180, 182
  possibly kept on site 178, 180, 197
  Portchester assemblage compared 181–2
  selection of male 178, 181
pikeheads, iron 141, *144*, 146–7
pins and needles
  bone and antler 60, 173, 174, 175, *176*
  copper alloy 135, *137*, 138, 139; gilded 135, *137*, 138
  iron, early Saxon 95, 95, 96
pipes, clay tobacco *see* clay pipes
pits
  drawbridge *34*, 35, 36–7, *37*, 195
  latrine 27–8, *27, 28*
  oysters in 186
  pottery in 116
  1039 118–19
  1050 118–19, 132
  1185 *43, 47, 48*, 50
  1419 120–1
  see also lime kilns
plans of castle
  (1723) 23
  (1742) 28
plate fragments, iron 141, 145, *154*, 155
Plymouth 70, 170, 198
Poole, Dorset; pottery 98, 103, 104, 105, 198
Portchester, Hampshire
  animal bone 181–2
  lime kiln, medieval 41
  pottery, medieval 98, 103, 111, 198
  Saxon era x, 19; pottery 97, 102
Portland, Dorset 70
Portland stone 160, 161, *162*, 163, 197
Portsmouth
  clay pipes 168, 170
  Elizabethan artillery fortress 85, 196
  medieval castle x, 1
  Oyster Street 168
  pottery 112, 114, 124
  and Spanish threat 70, 72
  and supply of Carisbrooke 114, 124, 198
postholes
  late Saxon 53, 54–5, 67, 118
  medieval 60, *61*, 62, 63, 118, 120
  post-medieval, in battery *78*, 83, 84, 85
  for scaffold poles 26
pottery 98–131
  comparative assemblages 98
  conclusions 123–4
  dating by 9, 98, 116, 191; *see also* sequence below
  fabric totals by period 100–1
  food residues 110
  illustrated vessels 124–31
  local production 98, 110, 196, 197; *see also* Knighton kiln site and local wares below
  methods 98–9
  petrological analysis 98, 99, 105, 108, 209–10
  Portsmouth as main supplier 124
  potential of assemblage 189
  production and distribution patterns 124
  redeposition and residuality 28, 63, 101, 107, 116, 118, 121, 122, 123
  sequence 7, 9, 64, 98, 115–23, 123–4, 189
  and status of site 124, 198–9
  taphonomy 116, 189; see also redeposition above
  variation increases through time 124, 196–7
  PREHISTORIC 54, 99, 100, 116, 118, 190
    undated fabric possibly 101, 115
  ROMANO-BRITISH 18, 99, 100, 116, 190
    Oxford colour-coated 99, 100
    samian 99, 100
    sandy fabrics 99, 100
  SAXON 99–102, 124, *125*
    early/mid 23, 54, 118; complete vessels 52, 96, 97, *97*
    gritty ware tradition 99, 100, 102
    organic/grass-tempered 54, 99, 100, 101–2
    redeposition 28, 101, 118
    sandy 99, 100, 101, 102
    Saxo-Norman 28, 39, 54, 55, 58, 191
    shelly 55
    undated fabric possibly 101, 115
  MEDIEVAL 100, 102–12
    decoration 110, 111, 112
    fabric totals 100
    fabrics by phase 109, 119
    find spots on site 36, 40, 41, 49, 60, 62, 63, 66, 98
    forms 110–12, 124, 199
      bowls/dishes 106, 107, 108, 111, 117, 119, 120, 121
      chafing dishes 124, 197
      cisterns 106, 107, 112, 124
      by fabric 106
      jars 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110–11; and phasing 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121
      jugs/pitchers 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 111–12, 198–9; and phasing 117, 118, 119, 120
      lamps 102, 106, 107, 112, 118, 119, 121, 198
      local wares 106, 107, 108
      mainland wares 104, 105, 106
      money box or grenade 112, 117, *129*, 130
      by phase 116, 117, 119

pipkins 104, 106, 107, 112, 117, 121, 124, *125*, 126, 197
skillets 106, 107, 112, 117, 118, 121
tripod pitchers 104, 105, 111–12, 117, 120, 121
glaze 110, 111, 112
imported wares 100, 102–3, 109, 124, 197, 198, 199
Andenne 100, 102
Normandy Gritty 100, 102, 109, *125*, 126, *127*, 197; and phasing 118, 119–20, 121
North French unspecified 98, 100, 103, 109, 122, 128, *129*; and phasing 116, 119, 120, 121
proto-stoneware 100, 102, 109, 118, *129*, 130
Rouen-type 98, 100, 103, 109, 122, 128, *129*; and phasing 116, 119, 120, 121
Saintonge 100, 103, 109, 128, *129*; and phasing 116, 119, 121
local wares 100, 105–8, 109, 110, 199
Conquest era production 124
flint-gritted 100, 105, 108
illustrated vessels 124, *125*, 126, *127*, 128, *129*, 130
sandy 100, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109; and phasing 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 124
shelly 100, 105, 106, 107–8, 109, 116, 118, 124; possible degraded 101, 115
mainland wares 100, 103–5, 110, 116, 124, 197, 199
Donyatt 100, 105, 109, 119, 120, 121, *129*, 130
Hampshire redwares 100, 105, 109, 124, 128, 129, 197; and phasing 119, 120, 121
South-east Wiltshire/Dorset 100, 104–5, 109, 124, 126, *127*, 197; and phasing 119, 120, 121
Surrey whitewares 98, 100, 103–4, 109, *125*, 126, 128, *129*, 198; and phasing 116, 119, 121
micaceous fabric, mainland or imported 106, 108, 109, 121, 198, 209, 210
methods of analysis and recording 98–9
in midden deposits on south-east coast of island 98, 107, 110–11
phasing 116, 117, 118–22
production and distribution patterns 124
sequence for island 64, 189, 199
Southampton dated type series 110
POST-MEDIEVAL 101, 112–15
coarse earthenwares 101, 101, 113, 113, 114, 129, *130*, 130
Cistercian-type 101, 114, 124
and phasing 121, 122, 123
Surrey whitewares 101, 114
Tudor Green 101, 114, 120, 121, 123, 124
Verwood 101, 113, 114, 123, 124, *130*, 130, 197
fabric totals 101
fabrics, wares and forms by phase 119
fine earthenwares 101, 115
forms 117, 122, 123, *130*, 130–1, 199
illustrated vessels *130*, 130–1, *131*
imported wares 101, 113–14, 124, 197, 199–200
Beauvais double sgraffito 113
French earthenware chafing dish 101, 113, 123, *130*, 130–1
German stonewares 101, 113, 115, 123, 124, *131*, 131, 197, 199; Cologne/Frechen bellarmine jugs 85, 101, 113, 115, *131*, 131; Raeren 101, 113; Westerwald 101, 113
North Italian: marbled 101, 113, 123, *130*, 131, 197; sgraffito 101, 113, *130*, 131, 197
local wares 122
methods of analysis and recording 99
phasing 116, 117, 121, 122–3
production and distribution patterns 124
slipwares 101, 114, 123
Staffordshire type iron-glazed ware, and phasing 123
Staffordshire/Bristol wares 101, 115, 123, *130*, 131
stonewares 101, 115, 123, 124
tin-glazed earthenware 101, 115, 122, 123
West Country type slipwares 101, 123
powder flask, lead collar from 140
Powderham, Devon 194
pre-Castle occupation 189–200
see also Roman period; Saxon period
prehistoric era 185
see also under pottery
preservation work 12, *13*, 14, 29, *29*
Price, Captain (commissioner, *fl.* 1599) 75
privateering, Carey's 68, 72
Purbeck, Dorset
marble 163, 197
medieval pottery 104, 105
stone 160–1, *162*, 197
purse fittings, copper alloy 135, *137*, 138
Pyramidula rupestris 185

Quarr Abbey 67
Quarr stone 12, 29, 161, 197
quarries, possible 58
querns 162–3, *163*, 164, 196
quoins 27, *46*, 46

rampart, Conquest castle 23, *24*, 58, *192*, 194
Rattray Castle, Perth 184
ravelins 28, 72, 76
Redcliff, Isle of Wight 188
redeposition 28, 63, 101, 107, 116, 118, 121, 122, 123
redistribution networks, medieval 198
Redvers family *see* Baldwin and Richard de Redvers
Regnans in Excelsis (Papal bull of 1570) 69
residuality of finds 9, 63, 116, 123
see also disturbance; redeposition
restoration, 19th century 4, 5, 42, 44
Rhineland, early Saxon contacts with 87, 88, 90
Richard de Redvers 4, 8, 194
ridge, original shape of 52, 58, 190
Ridolfi plot 69
Rigold, S.E.
discard of material 164

excavations 5, *6*, 6–7
records 52, 64
TRENCHES *6*, 7
R1 *6*, 7; excavation 51–2, *53*, 58, *59*, 59–61, 63–6, *64*, *65*; ceramic/stratigraphic sequence 52, 67, 115–16; defensive ditches 58, 98; pottery 7, 98, 116, 118, 119–20, 121–2; yard surfaces 66; *see also* buildings, unidentified (416); tower, interval
R2 *6*, 19, *20*, 20–1
R3 *6*, 11, *11*, *16*, 16–17, *17*
R4 *6*, 7, 19, *20*, *21*, 21–2
R5 *6*, 19, *20*, *26*, 26
R6 *6*, 11, *11*, *15*, 15–16
R7 *6*, 11, *11*, *15*, 15–16
R8 *6*, 52, *64*, *66*, 66–7
R9 *6*, *42*, *43*, 44–6, *44*, *45*, 51
R10 *6*, 42, 43, 46, 46–7
R11 11, 17, 19, *34*, *35*, 35–7, *36*, *37*; location *6*, 11, 20
R12 *6*, 19, *20*, 33, *33*, 35
rings
copper alloy 135, 138
gold
Victorian mourning 134
Rolfe, Edmund 156
Roman period
architectural stone reused in Saxon grave 54, 95
building materials 18, 27, 190
coin of Valens 18
Gatcombe defended settlement 18
Lower Enclosure unlikely to date from 5, 6, 8, 12, 18, 189, 190
no occupation of site established 5, 8, 18, 190
pottery 18
reuse of forts 19, 194
Saxon Shore forts x, 1, 12, 19
villas in area 18, 54, 189, 190
Royal and Ancient Order of Buffaloes; clay pipe with crest *172*, 173
Runde Berg bei Urach, Germany 87

St Omer, France; clay pipe from 170, *172*
Salin's Style I *88*, *89*, 90–3
Salisbury, 2nd Earl of *see* William de Montacute
Salisbury area, Wilts 104
sally ports 75
eastern 26, *26*
in south-west bastion *78*, 79, 79, 81, *83*, 83–4, 85
sand, burnt, in late Saxon posthole 55
Sandal Castle, West Yorks 138, 139, 174
Santa Cruz, Pedro de 71
Saxon period
early 8, 197, 199; *see also* cemetery, early Saxon inhumation
late 191, *192*; large timber buildings 5, 8, 19, *53*, *54*, 54–5, 191, *192*; *see also* Lower Enclosure
Saxon Shore forts x, 1, 12, 18
scabbard runner, gilded copper alloy 135, *137*, 138
scissors, iron 142, 147, 149
scoop, shallow, early Saxon (feature 1620) 52, 96, 97, *97*, 101, 118
seals, bottle 156, 158, *159*
sequence, site *see* stratigraphic sequence; structural sequence and under pottery
Seymour, Lord Henry 70
shears, iron 142, 147, *149*
sheep (and sheep/goat)
age structure 177–8, 179, 180, 182
by feature 177–8, 179
Portchester/Carisbrooke comparison 181–2
shot, lead 140, 196
Sidney, Sir Robert 72
siege (1136) 4
significance of castle 189–90, 195–6, 200
silver objects 134
base silver and copper alloy mount from early Saxon drinking horn *88*, *89*, 90–3
metalworking debris 134, 138, 197site 1–5
skeletal material *see* bone, animal; bone, human; bone and antler, worked; ivory; tortoiseshell
slate, Cornish 197, 198
Solent x, 1
South Cadbury, Somerset 18, 19, 191
Southampton
clay pipes 168, 170
contacts with Carisbrooke 198
medieval castle x, 1, 41
pottery 98, 198–9; medieval 102, 103, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112, 118, 124; post-medieval 114, 198
ravelins at mouth of haven 72
roof tiles, medieval 164
stone objects 162, 163
vessel glass 157–8
whale vertebra, Saxon 175
wine trade, medieval 198
see also *Hamwic*
Southampton, 3rd Earl of (Henry Wriothesley) 68
Spain, 16th century threat from 67–8, 68–74, 75–6, 196
spearhead, iron 141, *144*, 146
spina bifida occulta, early Saxon case 95
spindle whorl, stone *163*, 163, 164
Spong Hill, Norfolk 88, 94
spurs, iron 60, 141, *146*, 147
Staffordshire; post-medieval pottery 115
Stamford, Lincolnshire; clay pipes 170
Stanley, Ferdinando (5th Earl of Derby) 68
status of castle, economic and social 190, 198–9
Carey's impact 199–200
dietary evidence 180–1, 181–2, 184, 188, 196, 199
material culture and 198–9, 199–200
Stephens, John, of Newport (clay pipe maker) 169, 170, *172*
Stephens, Richard (clay pipe maker) 169, 170, *172*
Stone, Percy; *Architectural Antiquities of the Isle of Wight* (1891) 4
and renovation of gatehouse 35

stone 160–4, *162, 163*
portable objects 161–4, *163*; *see also* balls; mortars; mould; querns; spindle whorl; whetstones
sources 160–1, 197
see also architectural fragments, stone
store depot, Tudor use of castle as 196
strap ends, copper alloy 135, *137*, 138
strategic importance of Island 68, 70
stratigraphic sequence 54, 64, 67
see also pottery (sequence)
structural elements
fired clay 167
ironwork 145, 152, *153*
lead 139, 140
see also architectural fragments, stone
structural sequence, summary of 3–4
studs
copper alloy 135, *137*, 138
iron, early Saxon 86, *86, 87*
Stukeley, Thomas 69
subscription to artillery fortress, local 73, 74
subsidence 25, 58, 59, 60
survey of coastal defences (1623) 85
survival of artefacts, selective 189
Sutton Hoo, Suffolk 90, 92, 96
swastika decoration, early Saxon 97, *97*
sword blade fragment, iron 141, *144*, 147

tables (*tafl*), game of 88, 90, 174
Tamworth, Staffs; Saxon defences 191
Taplow, Bucks; early Saxon burial 91–2, 96
tegulae 164, 165
Temple Balsall, Warwicks 157
tenailles, earthwork 76
textiles
early Saxon mineral-preserved or replaced 87, 88, *89*, 90, 93, 95
medieval, adhering to lace tags 135, 138
Thetford, Norfolk; late Saxon finds 112, 184
Tilbury, Thurrock 70, 73, 196
tiles
ceramic: Romano-British 27, 32, 164, 165, 190; medieval 164, 165–7, *166*
stone 160, 197, 198
timber, Elizabethan supplies of 73, 75
toggles, bone and antler 173–4
token of Richard Priest (1648–72) 49, 134
tools, iron 142, *150*, 152
tooth, worked 173
topography of site 1, 3
tortoiseshell, worked 173, 175
towers
angle 3, 19, 20, 20, 28–32, 195; conversion into bas-tions: (1587) 4, 28, 32, 72, 73, 201–6; (1597– 1601) 29, 75, 76, (*see also* knights); face of south-west 29, 32, *32*
at base of extension of curtain wall up motte to keep 26, *26*, 195
'counter-motte' 19, 20, *26*, 195
drum *see under* gatehouse
interval, on south curtain wall *10*, 19, 20, 26–8, *27, 28*, 195; adaptation for accommodation 28, 196; blocking wall 27, *27*, 28, *28*; structural sequence 3
trace, bastioned 76, 77
construction 196
excavations 76–85
historical background 67–76
plan 193
structural sequence 3, 4
trench numbers 8
see also artillery fortress, Elizabethan; Young, C.J. (Y8)
trackways, Elizabethan construction 73, 207
trade 196, 197–8
post-medieval shift from France to Germany 103, 113
Southampton not main local market 198
see also individual commodities
trenches
grouping in report 8
see also under Rigold, S.E.; Young, C.J.
Trier region 87
Trowbridge, Wilts 180

Uvedale, Sir Edmund 75

vault in flanker battery 84–5
Vergulde Draeck, wreck of 113
Vermand, Aisne, France 94
vessels, non-ceramic
copper alloy 135, *136, 137*, 138
see also bowls and under glass
Vikings 19, 191
villas in area, Romano-British 18, 54, 189, 190
Wallingford Castle, Oxon 194
Walsingham, Sir Francis 70
Wareham, Dorset 19, 98, 103, 191
Castle 103, 104, 111, 174, 198
watching briefs 5, *6*, 7, *20*
Watchingwell; King's Park 180
weaponry
copper alloy *137*, 138, 139
iron 60, 141, *143–4*, 145–7, 196
weights, lead 139–40
wells and well-house *2*, 4, 190
Westbere, Kent; early Saxon burial 87, 90
Westerwanna, Germany 90
Weymouth, Dorset 198
whale vertebra 173, 175, 178, 179
whetstones 161–2, *163*, 163–4, 198
Whitgarasburh 189
wig curler, fired clay 167
William de Montacute, 2nd Earl of Salisbury 4, 42, 46–7, 196, 199
William fitz Osbern 4, 194
Winchester, Hants
Cathedral 160

clay pipes 170
pottery 98, 102, 111, 198–9
Windcliff, near Niton 107, 111
wine trade 198
Winnall Down, Winchester, Hants 99
Winter, Sir William 71
wooden objects 189
box, early Saxon 96
bucket, early Saxon metal-bound *88, 89*, 93–4, 96
mineral-preserved 86, 87, 93
Woodville, Anthony, Captain of Castle 33, 35
Worthy Park, near Winchester, Hants 97
Wriothesley, Henry (3rd Earl of Southampton) 68
X-ray fluorescence analysis 134–5, 140
yard areas
adjacent to Hall (Y10) *43*, 47, *47–9*, 49, 51, 123
in south of bailey (R1, R8, Y5) *53*, 60, 63, 66, 67; boundary ditches (281, 283) *53*, 60–1, 63, 120; coin of Henry I 132; dumping over 63, 66, 67, 98, 122, 196; pottery 116, 121–2; token of Richard Priest 134
Yarmouth x, 3, 68, 75, 204–5
York 174
Young, C.J.; excavations 5, *6*, 7–8
watching briefs *6*, 7
TRENCHES
Y1–Y4 19, 22–6, *22, 23, 24, 25*; chalk rubble deposits 58; coins 133, 134; clay pipes 169, 170; fired clay objects 167; Garage *23*; glass 157; location *6*, 20; Lower Enclosure 11, 16, 22; motte ditch *23*, 23, 98; oysters 186; pathway to east postern 123; phasing 116; pottery 98, 101, 116, 118, 123; *see also* Garage; motte ditch
Y5 52–63, *52, 54, 56–7, 59–63*; ceramic/stratigraphic sequence 54, 67, 115, 116; clay pipes 169; coins 132, 133; disturbance of deposits 63; excavation *64*; fired clay objects 167; glass 157; jetons 134; location *6*; oysters 186, 188; pottery 98, 101, 116, 118, 119–20, 121–2; Romano-British building material 164, 165; *see also* buildings, unidentified (late Saxon timber; medieval (416; 539/298)); cemetery, early Saxon inhumation; Conquest period castle (defensive ditches); yard areas
Y6 19, 26–8, *27, 28*; finds 133, 169, 186; location *6, 20*; phasing 116; *see also* tower, interval
Y7 19, 37–41, *38–41*; clay pipes 169; coins 132, 133; location *6, 20*; oysters 186–7; phasing 116; pottery 118–19, 120–1; Romano-British building material 164, 165
Y8 77, 78–85, *78–84*; finds 157, 169, 186; location *6*; phasing 116; *see also* battery
Y9 19, 29, *31*, 32, *33*; finds 157, 169, 186; location *6, 20*; phasing 116; *see also* knights (south-west)
Y10 *42, 43*, 47–51, *47–51*; clay pipes 169, 170; coins, jetons and tokens 133, 134; ditch (1178) *43, 47, 48*, 50, 51, 58; drains or culverts *43, 47, 48, 49*, 50; fired clay objects 167; glass 157; Hall, excavation adjacent to *42, 43*, 47–51, *47–51*; location *6*; oysters 186; phasing 116; pottery 116, 118, 119–20, 123; Romano-British building material 164, 165; *see also* cistern; Hall; pits (1185); yard areas
Y11 *6*, 11, *11*, 12–15, *13, 14*
Y12 *6*, 11, *11, 15*, 15
Zealand 92

Glossary

After Saunders A., 1989 *Fortress Britain* (Beaufort Publishing) and Kenyon J.R., 1990 *Medieval Fortifications* (Leicester University Press)

Ashlar	square-edged stonework with even faces
Bailey	medieval fortified enclosure often associated with a motte
Barbican	outer defence protecting a gateway
Bastion	projection from the general outline of a fortress from which the garrison can defend by flanking fire the ground between the ramparts.
Battery	any place where guns or mortars are mounted
Cavalier	raised battery usually built on a bastion to provide an additional tier of fire
Curtain	length of rampart between two bastions on the main line of a defensive work
Enceinte	the main defensive enclosure of a fortress excluding the outworks
Expense magazine	small magazine set close to a battery in which a small supply of ammunition is kept for immediate use
Flank	side of a work, usually a bastion, between the face and the curtain
Flanker Battery	mounted in the flank of a bastion, from which flanking fire is directed across a curtain
Garderobe	latrine
Keep	the main tower of a castle usually free-standing, and the final point of defence
Knight	*see* Chevalier
Motte	large mound of earth, generally artificial and steep sided, supporting the principal tower or a palisade
Orillon	projection of the face of a bastion beyond the line of a retired flank, serving to protect a flanker
Postern	a small entrance and tunnel leading out of the fortifications
Quoins	dressed stones at the corner of a building
Rendering	plastering on the outside of a wall, often lime-washed
Revetment	retaining wall of stone or timber of an earth bank or sides of a ditch
Romanesque	the architecture of the 11th and 12th centuries in Europe
Sallyport	*see* Postern
Shell-keep	masonry wall around the perimeter of a motte, replacing a timber palisade
Trace	plan of a fortified place and its angles of fire
Wall-walk	sentry path immediately behind the battlements of a castle wall



Carisbrooke Castle is the only medieval fortification on the Isle of Wight. Its buildings and defences are still well-preserved and spectacular. A series of excavations, watching briefs, and other interventions between 1921 and 1996, concentrated mainly 1959-1969 and 1976-1982, have shed new light on the history and archaeology of the site.

Despite past suggestions of Roman and prehistoric activity, the earliest apparent use of the hilltop was for a 6th century Saxon inhumation cemetery. The first settlement was not until the late Saxon period, when the hilltop was fortified and large timber buildings erected inside it.

The first earthen castle was created after the Norman Conquest. This was replaced by the present motte and bailey around 1100 and had stone defences by 1136. Two domestic buildings were identified but the presumed great hall of that period still eludes discovery. The castle appears to have assumed largely its present internal plan in the 13th century. The excavations provided evidence for modifications to the defences in the 14th century and to the domestic buildings in the later 16th century. Carisbrooke was turned into a modern artillery fortress between 1587 and 1602. One of its flanker batteries was investigated.

The excavations have produced, for the first time on the Isle of Wight, good stratified sequences of medieval and post-medieval artefacts, in particular pottery. Some indications have been revealed for the diet and food sources of the users of the castle.

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