Saxon and Medieval Settlement Remains at St. John's Square, Daventry, Northamptonshire July 1994 - February 1995

by

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SUMMARY

Evaluation of c.3 hectares of land in Daventry town centre in July 1994 identified widespread buried deposits of both Medieval and potentially early-middle Saxon date adjacent to St. John's Square, Daventry. Subsequent investigation has shown that the immediate area was occupied in the 6th century AD and that after a period of abandonment was reoccupied in the 10th century. Occupation continued with changes of emphasis and layout until the present day although it waned from the 14th century. In the 6th century the site, divided by a large east-west aligned ditch, was used for dumping rubbish from a nearby settlement which probably lay just to the south on higher ground. In the late Saxon period, occupation comprised a ditched enclosure around at least one timber building. Nearby were north-south aligned ditches which may represent a fluid boundary. Re-planned in the 12th century, occupation shifted to the foot of the natural slope, the north edge of the site, where a 3-bay building was constructed. By the mid 13th century this had been abandoned and the emphasis shifted to a new enclosure on higher ground to the south-west, where occupation persisted, initially in the form of a ditched circular building of unknown function. Always marginal to the town, the site seems to have been associated with large-scale processing of crops from the 10th to the 12th centuries, probably dealing with produce from an increasing range of soil types and qualities which reflects the pressures placed on arable production by early medieval society. There was little artifactual evidence to indicate the status of those who may have lived on or close to the site.

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological excavations were undertaken at St John's Square, Daventry, in 1994-5 as a result of proposals for redevelopment of an area around 3 hectares in extent as a leisure centre and retail facility. The site lies at the northern edge of the historic core of Daventry (Fig 1) and archaeological remains relating to the origins and growth of the settlement were anticipated. Accordingly Northamptonshire Archaeology was commissioned by Daventry District Council to carry out an archaeological evaluation of the area, according to a brief prepared by Northamptonshire Heritage, ahead of the determination of a planning application. The intention of the work was to confirm the presence of archaeological deposits and to assess their extent, condition and importance to assist in the definition of an appropriate mitigation strategy for the archaeology of the area.

The evaluation was carried out in July 1994 and comprised a desk-based study to document the previous land use of the site and to assess earlier archaeological and historical work on the area; an earthwork survey of minor undulations on the areas of the site which were under grass as these were considered to perhaps relate to earlier remains; and the excavation of 18 trial trenches (Fig 2: Trenches 1-18), around 200 square metres in total extent, at selected locations within the site.

It proved impossible to secure the preservation *in situ* of the archaeological remains and accordingly a strategy of preservation by record was adopted. A brief for archaeological excavation was prepared by Northamptonshire Heritage and the work was carried out by Northamptonshire Archaeology between

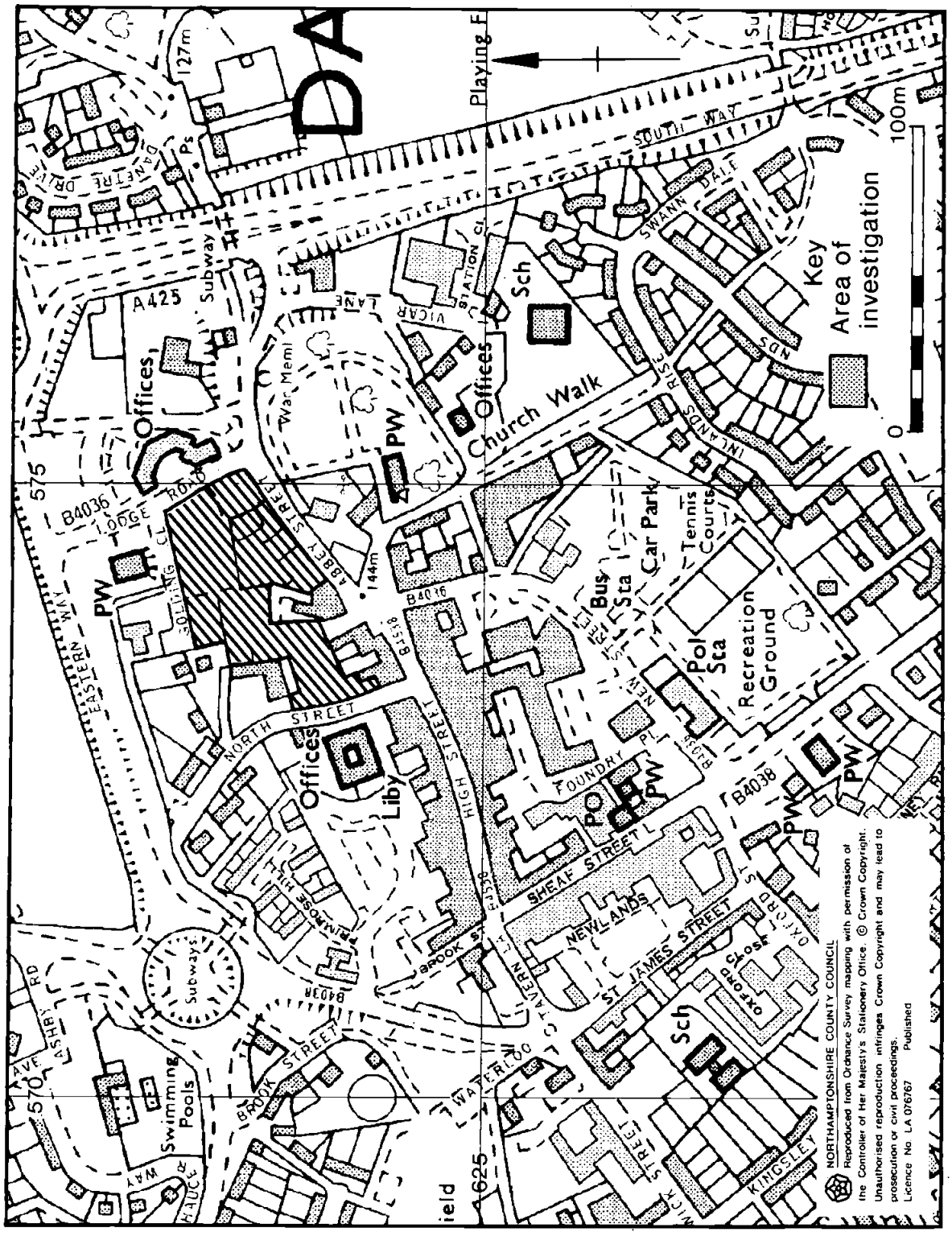

Fig 1 General location plan

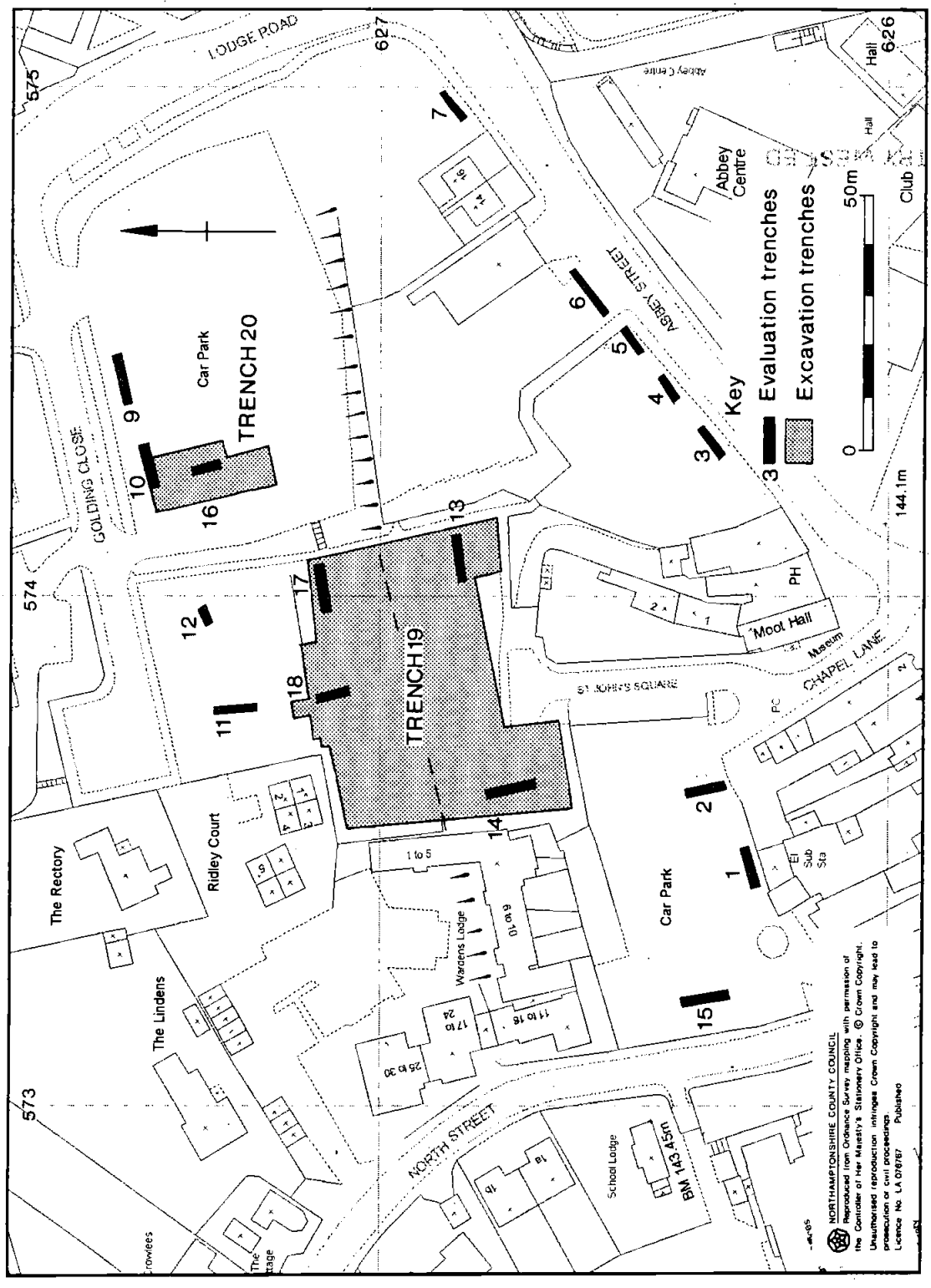

Fig 2 General site plan with positions of all trenches (1-20)

November 1994 and February 1995. A total area of around 2300 square metres was investigated, composed of Trench 19, 2000 square metres in extent and Trench 20, 300 square metres in extent.

TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

The site comprises a number of separate land parcels. Its south-western portion was a car park, the North Street Car Park; its south-eastern portion was a grassed area recently occupied by buildings fronting onto Abbey Street and, behind these, the site of the former bus station; the central area, where the major excavation took place, was grassed over but had until recently been occupied by temporary offices for Daventry District Council; while to the north of the former bus station, at a lower level, was Lodge Road car park.

The southern end of the site lies at around 143m above OD but the ground slopes down markedly to around 135m at its northern end as it runs down to the course of the now culverted North Brook. During the excavation of Trench 19 a pronounced break of slope running east-west across the site was noted. Its line is continued to the west by a break of slope marked on an early 19th century map and to the east by the present day drop between the former bus depot the Lodge Road car park (Fig 2). This break of slope would have been an obvious topographical feature which has gradually become masked in parts and accentuated elsewhere.

The site lies upon Middle Lias deposits. The central and lower areas of the site sit upon upon Middle Lias silt and silty clay, while the upper part, to the south, sits upon the overlying Marlstone Rock Bed, which here comprises a ferruginous limestone. The overlying soils were largely calcareous and well-drained, due to the gradient of the site and the porosity of the underlying solid geology (Dr Helen Keeley, report in archive).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The early history of Daventry has been recently studied by Brown (1991). Accordingly there is no need to attempt a detailed historical study in the present paper which will be restricted to general points relevant to the findings made in the present work with detailed discussion only of the area of investigation and its immediate environs.

The Daventry area can be identified as a place of importance from at least the Iron Age period when the hill fort at Borough Hill, some 1.5km east of the present site (Fig 3), was constructed. Borough Hill is the largest hill fort in the county, and indeed one of the largest in the country, and can be expected to have controlled a large area roundabout.

In the Roman period with the construction of Watling Street the centre of power may have shifted. The small Roman town of Bannaventa was founded on Watling Street some 4.5km north-east of Daventry by the present Whilton Locks and can be expected to have acted as an administrative and market centre for a wide area. Nevertheless Borough Hill continued to be of importance. A substantial stone building, interpreted as a villa, which included a bath suite and mosaic pavements, at the northern end of the hill was excavated in the 19th century and a group of Roman barrows towards the centre of the fort hint that it may have acted as a religious centre.

In the Saxon period the main centre may have shifted yet again for there was a Mercian royal manor at Weedon where St Werburga, daughter of King Wulfhere of Mercia (AD 658-675), spent much of her life. Nevertheless Daventry may still have been of some importance. Brown (1991, 13) has speculated that it may have acted as a centre for

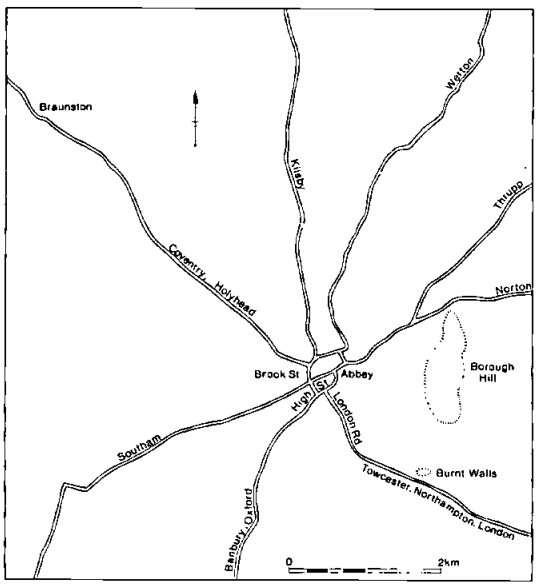

Fig 3 Daventry and its road system

rents and renders by a royal reeve and its origins as a commercial centre could have arisen out of the sale of unwanted food renders. At that time the local ecclesiastical administration was centred on nearby Fawsley, suggesting the temporal and spiritual centres were usefully juxtaposed.

There is little evidence for the history of the area in the late Saxon period but by 1086 Daventry was held by Countess Judith, William the Conqueror's niece and widow of Waltheof who was Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton from 1065 until his execution for rebellion in 1076. It passed to Simon de Senlis I along with the Earldoms of Huntingdon and Northampton on his marriage to Judith's daughter Matilda some time after 1089 and subsequently Daventry appears to have followed the descent of the earldoms until *c*1145. Its status at this time is unknown, there is no mention of a market at Domesday, although this does not prove that one did not exist. Its ownership by the Earls of Northampton may be significant for they were also major landowners in Northampton and the late 11th to 12th centuries were the time of the county town's huge increase in size and prosperity. This growth was presumably encouraged, if not promoted, by the Earls of Northampton, and they may have played a similar part in the growth of Daventry as a town.

The removal of the Cluniac priory of St Augustine to Daventry around the year 1100 from its original site at Preston Capes, 8kms to the south may have been an acknowledgement of the settlement's existing status, or a deliberate attempt to attract commerce to the settlement. There was certainly commercial activity from the 12th century when burgage tenure is attested in the town, even though the existence of a market is not recorded until 1203 (Brown 1991, 16, 18). Despite its distance from Watling Street with its undoubted links to north and south, Daventry's position at the centre of a local road system (Fig 3) would have increased its attractiveness as a local market centre and its location close to the road between Northampton and Coventry made it a convenient stopping-off point as both settlements increased their importance. From the 12th century the major landowners at Daventry were the priory and the owners of the main manor, the Over Manor. From *c.*1145 the main manor passed from Simon de Senlis II to his sister Matilda de Senlis and her second husband, Saher de Quincy was regarded as lord of Daventry in 1146 (Brown 1991, 15). In the mid 12th century, however, a substantial estate, the Nether Manor, was taken out of the main manor. It was held by the de Daventre family and remained a separate manor until the late 14th century when both manors became part of the Duchy of Lancaster estates.

The excavation site lies close to the probable original centre of settlement around the site of the Priory and the Market Place (Fig 3). Brown (1991, 27, fig 10) has suggested the area to the north of Abbey Street was largely occupied by tenements taken out of the Nether Manor and granted to the Priory. He further suggests that the area behind these to the north was the site of the Nether Manor, known by the 15th century as *Rombelows*. This area of the town was known from at least the late 13th centruy as the *Netherend.* The earliest reference to an area called Rombelows is 1443 when it is referred to as *Runbylons* (Denholm-Young 1931, 77). The close association of the name with the area can be pushed back to 1374/5 when the *Register of John of Gaunt* (vol 12 fo 127) drew attention to rents from the Nether Manor due to the executors of the late *Stephen Rumbelow* (Baker 1822-30, II:309). Whether the place name arises from its association with the person or vice versa cannot be determined. In 1597 the lands tenanted from the Crown (heir to the Manor) by Christ Church College, Oxford, who had been granted the former priory lands, included *Rombolons* (NRO: Th 1671). A field name map indicates that the name for the area survived, as *Rummer Rose*, into the 20th century (NRO, field-names map, 1932). Immediately south of the main excavation trench was an area known as the *Pety Cury* (literally = *little court*) which was in the medieval period a livestock market (Brown 1991, 34).

There is evidence that Daventry, as elsewhere, fell into economic decline in the late medieval period and surveys of the 16th century indicate that many houses and plots of land were unoccupied or in decay (Brown 1991, 22-3). Some economic recovery is perhaps suggested by references to newly-erected houses and cottages in late 16th to early 17th century surveys (Brown 1991, 36) but the town never rose to be more than a local market centre and coaching station. Detailed dissection of the topography of the investigation area and its environs is hampered by the lack of early historic maps. The earliest detailed map is the enclosure map of 1803, published at a scale of 6 chains to an inch (1:4752). An enlargement of this map for the investigation area is published as

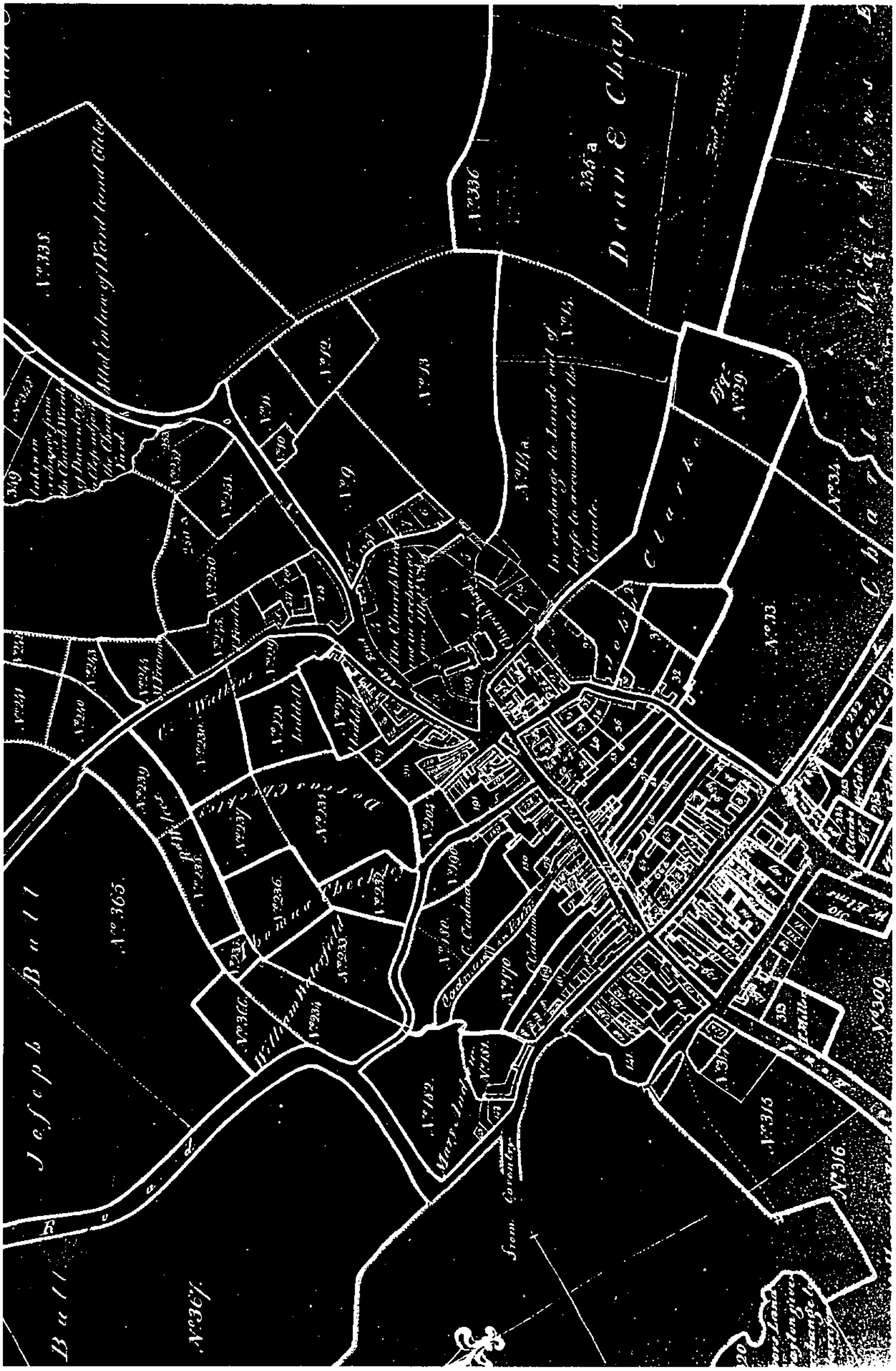

Fig 4 1803 Inclosure Map, published by kind permission of Northamptonshire Record Office

Fig 4. The major boundaries shown on the enclosure map for the investigation area and its surroundings have been transcribed onto a modern Ordnance Survey base map (Fig 5), using the 1st edition Ordnance Survey Map of the area to correct inaccuracies in the original survey. The area transcribed is bounded by the North Brook to the north, the road to Kilsby to the west, the road to Welton to the east and the High Street and Abbey Street to the south. The land parcel numbers of the 1803 map are indicated on the figure.

The main excavation site lies within land parcel 211, away from the High Street and Abbey Street frontages, immediately behind the former livestock market, The Pety Cury (209/210). It may have lain within the Nether Manor. Alternatively Brown (1991, fig 8) suggests that it may have been a separate parcel of land with the Nether Manor behind it to the north. Brown further postulates the former existence of a way into the market place from the north, running along the northern boundary of parcel 204 and then turning south to run along the boundary between parcels 204 and 211. The northern boundary of plot 211 survived at the time of the excavation as a stone wall, which overlay an earlier boundary ditch. It is tempting to suggest that this boundary marked the division between properties fronting onto the market areas and the lands of the Nether Manor. A survey of 1571 describes the Manor House site as comprising 10 acres. If we were to assume that the northern boundary of the Nether Manor was marked by the boundary between plots 233, 236, 237, 230

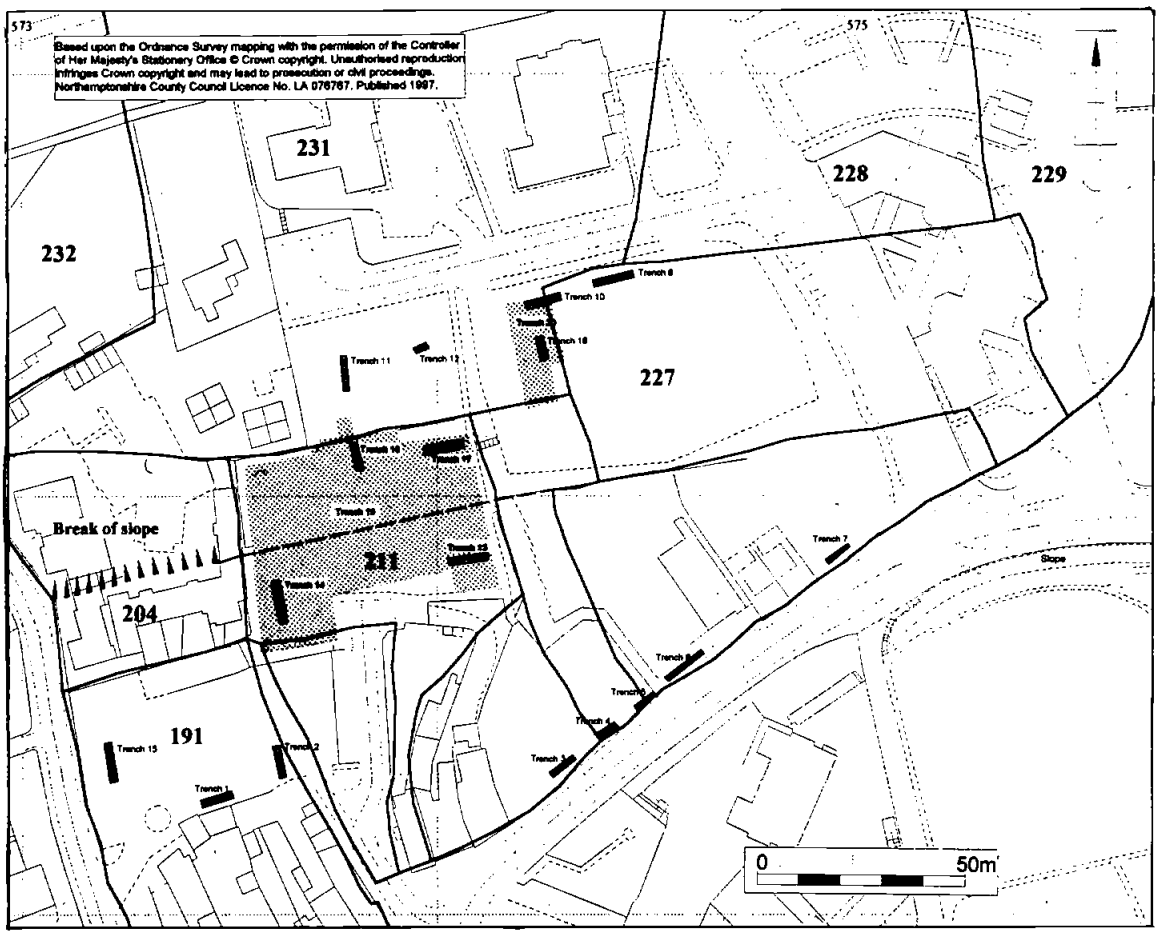

Fig 5 Transcription of that part of the 1803 Inclosure Award map showing the development and its environs.

and plots 232, 231, 228, 229 and that the Nether Manor in 1571 comprised the plots to the south of this boundary minus those parts which comprised tenements fronting onto the market areas we would be left with plots 232, 231, 228, 229, and 227. These plots as transcribed onto the OS base cover an area of 9.2 acres, although it must be admitted that including land parcel 211 also would give an even closer fit, 10.1 acres. The evidence is still uncertain but it can be suggested that the Nether Manor site did not run all the way down to the North Brook for adding parcels 233, 236, 237 and 230 would increase the area by a further 9.6 acres.

THE EXCAVATIONS

All of the trenches were excavated by machine, an Åkerman H7 360° mechanical excavator, down to structural levels of 16th century or earlier date. Following machining the areas were cleaned manually to facilitate the definition of archaeological features, whereupon excavation continued by hand. A site grid based upon 10m squares was laid out using a Topcon 300-series EDM, upon which all site recording was based. Salient areas and features were levelled relative to Ordnance Datum. A strategy for environmental sampling was put into effect on the advice of Dr Helen Keeley, Environmental Archaeologist, and provision was made for suitable samples to be taken for radiocarbon dating. Redevelopment of the former Lodge Road car and lorry park (Trench 20) as a sports centre was begun in April 1995 and the site was subject to a periodic watching brief. The areas adjacent to Trench 19 remain undeveloped at the time of writing but will be subject to a watching brief during redevelopment.

EVALUATION

TRENCHES 1, 2 & 15

Trenches in North Street Car Park indicated that there was limited and localised survival of an early-middle Saxon ditch below the modern car park surface in Trench 1 (Fig 2; Soden 1994). In Trench 2 the groundworks for the car park had graded the natural surface removing most archaeological features, other than deeply cut post-medieval foundations, while in Trench 15 foundation remains were located of a row of deeply buried 16th- or early 17th-century tenements fronting onto North Street (Fig 2; cf. Fig 4; see also ibid. 1994). This area is not scheduled for major disturbance and will be the subject of a watching brief when redevelopment takes place.

TRENCHES 3-7

Trenches along the Abbey Street frontage demonstrated that modern re-development had removed all trace of earlier occupation (Fig 2; ibid).

TRENCH 8

This was a proposed trench in the Lodge Road lorry park which, after consultation with Northamptonshire Heritage, was dropped from the excavation schedule due to the anticipated extent of post-medieval quarrying and the presence of both services and a mature tree.

TRENCHES 9, 10 & 16

Beneath the modern Lodge Road lorry park, evaluation showed that much of that area had been quarried, and subsequently backfilled in the 19th century, before being used as allotments. The western side of the Lorry Park contained archaeological features, potentially of late Saxon to early medieval origin (Fig 2). Consequently this area was highlighted for further excavation and recording (see Trench 20, below).

TRENCHES 11 & 12

Evaluation trenches beneath a former orchard of Daventry Grammar School revealed the presence of small areas of deeply buried features of Saxon or medieval date (Fig 2; loc cit). A watching brief will be maintained in this area when it is redeveloped in the near future, with a contingency for small-scale salvage excavation.

TRENCHES 13, 14, 17 & 18

Evaluation indicated the widespread survival of remains of medieval, late Saxon and potentially early-middle Saxon date beneath a varied depth of overburden (Fig 2; Soden 1994). Accordingly the area was highlighted for further excavation (see Trench 19, below).

RECORDING ACTION

TRENCH 19

Phase 1 (6th century) (Figs 2, 6 and 7a, 7b)
A wide ditch had been cut along the hill-slope, aligned approximately east-west in the eastern third of the site (395). Although removed by later ditches at the centre of the site, it appeared to continue west to a point at which only the lowest portion remained intact (316). Here it was flat-bottomed and included three parallel ruts in the base. A smaller, v-section ditch (313) survived parallel to this up the slope. It is not known whether these were coeval or one replaced the other. Whereas the fill of 316 was a clean, naturally accumulated clayey silt, that filling 313 was a deliberate backfill layer containing pottery and bone.

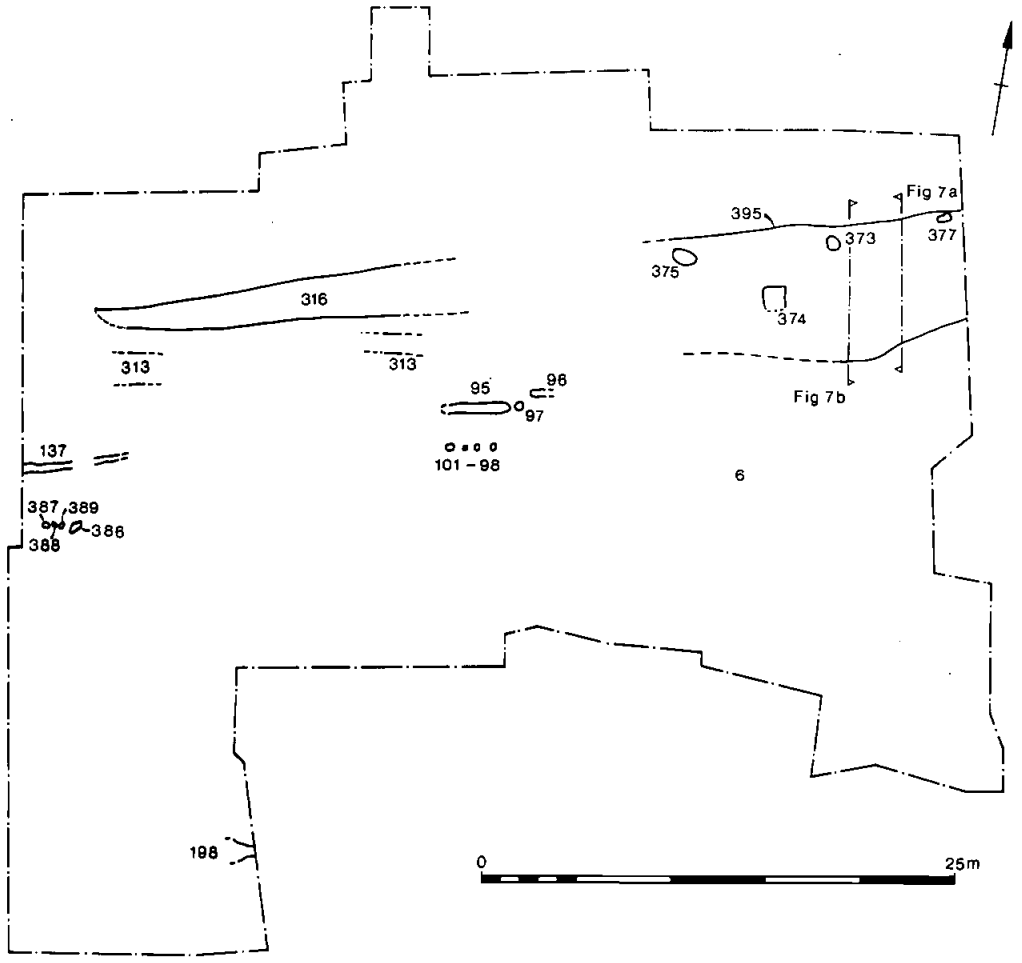

Fig 6 Trench 19 - phase 1

Ditch 395, where best preserved, was up to 7m wide, cut through natural clay (6) into the underlying bedrock and was of a relatively gentle gradient. It was 1.1m deep at the centre, with a primary fill of silt (376). This was overlaid by layers of deliberate backfill (361, 356, and 355 in stratigraphic order - Fig 7a, 7b). The period over which the ditch became disused was long enough for some features to be cut into backfill layer 356, comprising small pits or post-holes (373-5, 377) The layer which sealed these (355), contained 593 sherds of early-middle Saxon pottery, including decorated sherds of probable 6th-century date. Other contexts in this group also produced early-middle Saxon pottery (ditch fills 313, 356 and 361, pit fills 373 and 375). A small quantity of residual Romano-British wares was also recovered from the fills of ditch 395.

Two distinct groups of features also belong to this phase and were filled with a hillwash material (8) which swamped and sealed the large ditches. These features comprised discrete clusters of slots and post-holes which may have been part of structures up-slope from the ditches (95-101; 137, 386-9). They both comprise an east-west aligned slot with a row of post-holes running parallel 2-2.5m to the south. The slots lay approximately 5m from the southern edge of the ditch. None of the features produced any datable finds. One other discrete feature belonged to this phase, a possible ditch or pit, much damaged by later features (198).

Three samples from the large ditch were submitted for Radiocarbon dating. Two of the samples were affected by residual material and their results are poor; the third is more in keeping with the date indicated by pottery recovered. As a result of these inconsistent dates there should not be too great an emphasis placed upon these dates although the one sample from a context in which residuality was not apparent (373) indicates a date between AD590 and 665. The backfilled ditch was sealed by the accumulation of a strong brown clayey hillwash (8) which covered the northern half of the site, into which the late Saxon features of phase 2 were cut.

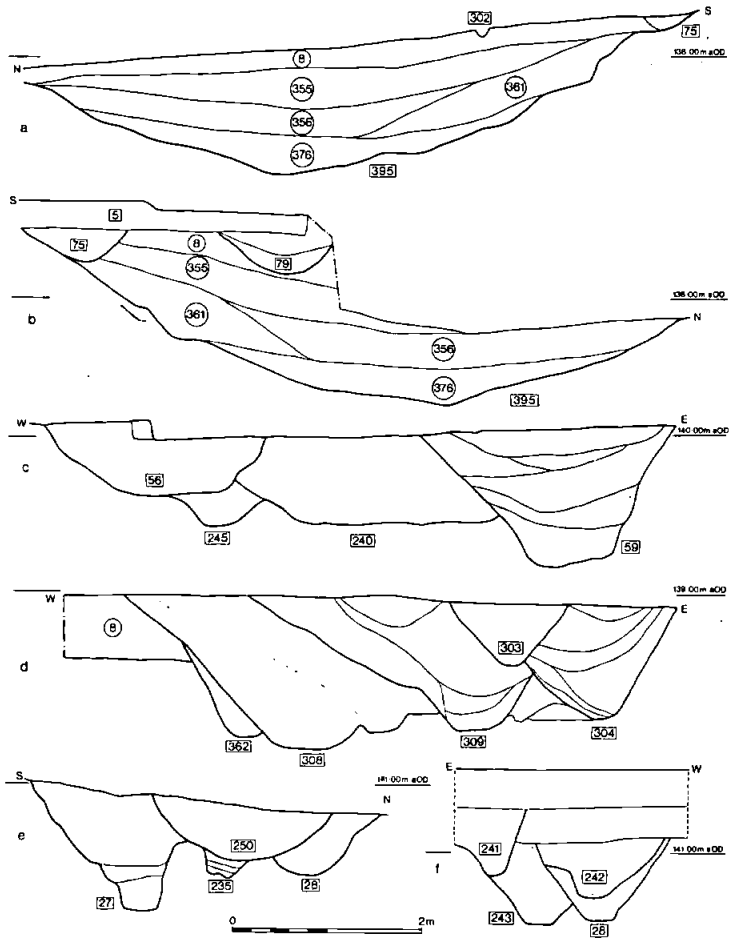

Fig 7 Trench 19 - sections through major ditch sequences, phases 1 (7a,b); 2 (7c,d); 3 (7c-f); 4 (7e,f); 5 (7e,f)

Phase 2 (c900-c1100) (Figs 7c, 7d, 8, 9 and 10)

This phase is characterised by the excavation of a series of down-slope ditches in the western half of the site (Fig 8), while at the eastern half lay a much re-cut circular enclosure ditch, within which lay the vestiges of a timber building (Fig 9: Building A). Outside the enclosure were further occupation remains and rubbish pits (Fig 10). The form and layout of the ditches varied considerably. Those of the western half of the site were remarkably straight, with signs of only one recut at the most (127, 124, 104, 275, 108, 268, 94 and 169). Depths varied between 250mm (169) and 600mm (127), and their fills were almost identical to the strong brown hillwash material (8), into which they were cut on the lower half of the slope. All, however, were steep sided but often had a shoulder on one side or the other. Most had been recut.

Three slots occur at the western end of the site but their use remains unknown (174, 175 and 178). Their relationships to the ditches was unclear. The remains of two truncated pits also survived in this area (192 and 193). Meanwhile the ditches of the eastern half of the site were of a markedly different character, being more substantial and subjected to a longer sequence of recuts within a similar period of time (Fig 7c). At the eastern extremity a north-south aligned ditch (245), 900mm deep, was drastically re-cut slightly to the east by a 2.8m + wide, 950mm deep flat-bottomed successor (240), which bottomed on the natural bedrock. This linked with an east-west aligned counterpart half way down the slope which led north-west as a gently curving ditch (362) recut in parts no less than four times (274/308/65/311, 273/309/310, 114/304/75, 303; Fig 9, cf Fig 7d). This sequence of curving ditches accounted for a swathe 5.8m wide, a *c.*200 year enclosure boundary shifting back and forth. Finds were exclusively of the late Saxon period, *c.*900-1100.

Within the arcing ditch sequence lay the truncated vestiges of a timber building (Building A: Fig 9) comprising mainly post-

Fig 8 Trench 19 - phase 2

and stake-holes (83, 86, 318-45, 384, 390 and 391; some of these appeared in pairs, suggesting either replacement posts or bracing posts). The building was of at least 12m in length (both ends were lost in later features) and was 3m wide, being divided into at least 3 rooms. The method of its construction varied, however. One of the two cross-walls, rather than being founded in post-holes, lay in a continuous beam-slot (317) while at least part of the main south wall at the eastern end comprised a clay-filled slot which contained four equidistant stake-holes, the vestiges of a timber-laced clay wall (302). There were no datable finds from this building, nor any which might indicate its use. No floors survived.

The terminals of two otherwise poorly preserved gullies lay close by (77 and 78) with a small post hole (396). There were no datable finds associated and they had been truncated by later features. Deep layers of dumped material which stretched under the east section of the site may have been connected with the building (299, 314, 315, 366). These had been heavily truncated on two sides by later features and are not shown on plan. They were undated but belong to this phase on stratigraphic grounds. Four post-holes (301, 383 and 87 and 88) south and west of the building may mark the position of a substantial fence or palisade within at least one sub-phase of the curving ditches. With the curving ditch sequence filled in, the massive downslope ditch (240) with which it had connected previously was recut on a large scale (59; Fig 7c). The new ditch was 1.4m deep and 2.7m wide and ran further down the slope than its predecessor, continuing as 80. Soon after it was diverted east further back up the hill (292). The enclosure and building had thus been dispensed with.

Close to the later eastward turn a stone foundation was noted within the fill of 59 (140). Its function is uncertain but its position might indicate one side of a bridge or footway over the ditch. Unfortunately no counterpart survived. Just to the north of this lay a pit (312) and a beam-slot turning at right-angles to form two sides of a structure (294), itself connected with a

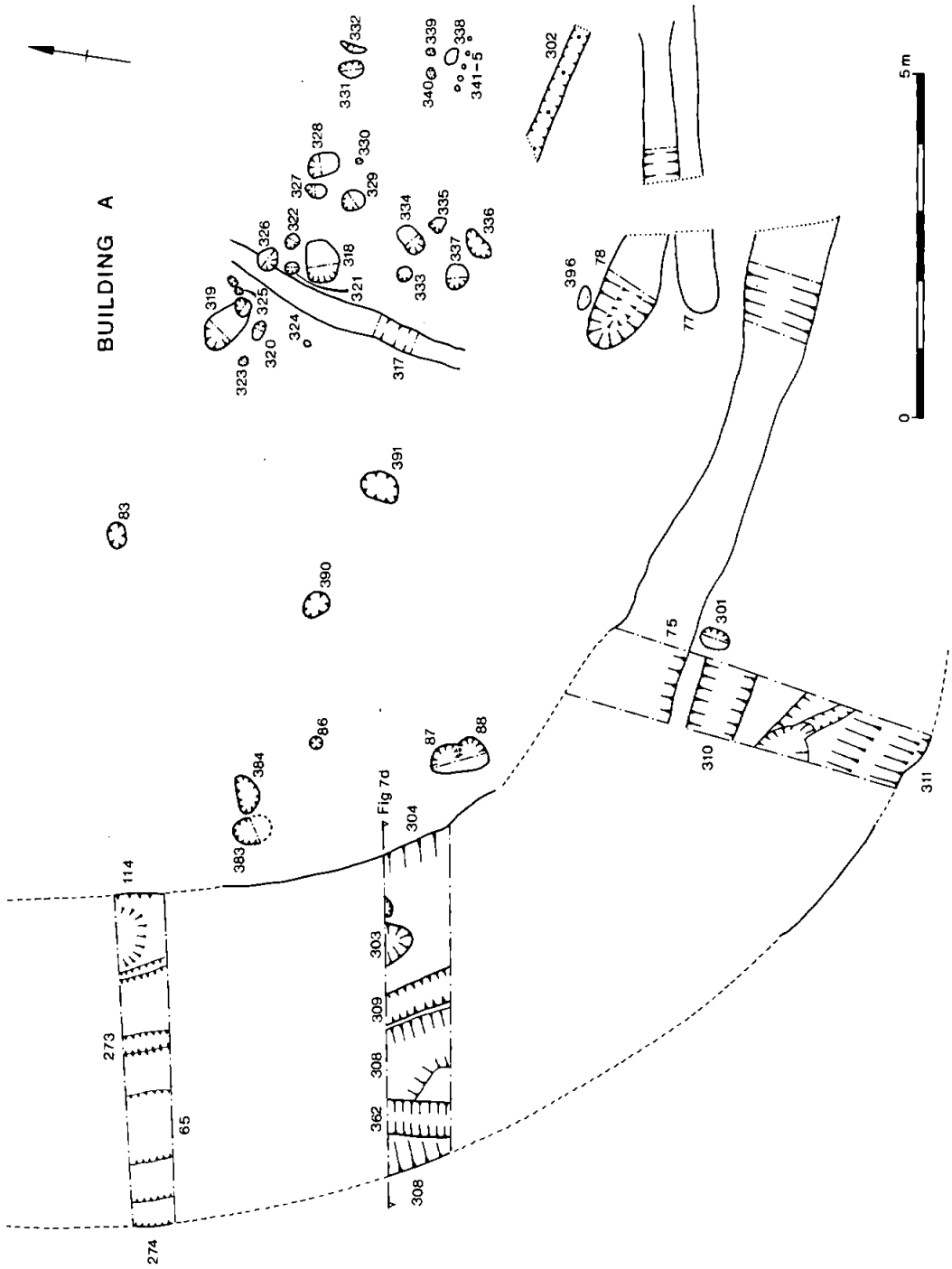

Fig 9 Trench 19 - plan of phase 2, Building A

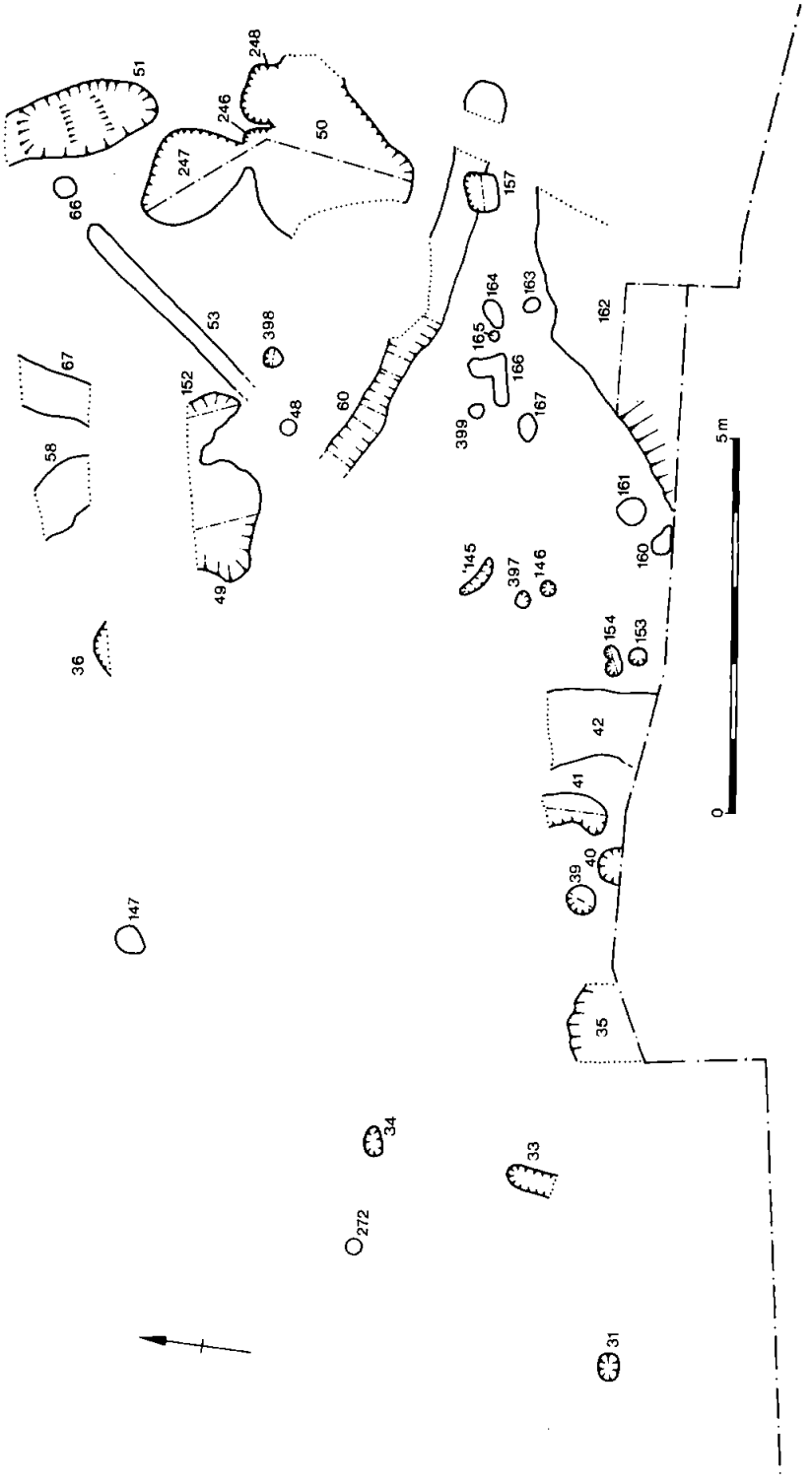

Fig 10 Trench 19 - plan of phase 2 pits etc

stone-packed post-hole nearby (291). Its proximity to the stone foundation across the ditch may suggest some connection. Along with the stone foundation it was dispensed with when the ditch was diverted to shorten the enclosure. Ditch 59 was subsequently backfilled and at least 3 separate layers of infill were discernible (232-4). A row of post-holes (62, 227-9, 230-1, 237-8) at the eastern edge of the ditch may indicate a further palisade, surrounding something beyond the eastern boundary of the excavated area. At the top of the slope and totally unenclosed was further occupation, comprising clusters of pits (36, 49, 50, 51, 246, 247, 248) and a seemingly patternless scatter of small post-holes (48, 66, 145-6, 153, 156-7, 160-1, 163-7, 397-9) and gullies or slots (53, 60) (Fig 10). A 5.5m-long, 300mm-wide gully close by is probably associated (60) together with a similar, slightly shorter gully lying at right-angles (53). Similarly a nearby infilled hollow (162) is probably connected. Further undated and heavily truncated gullies or pits close by may be coeval (49, 58, 67 and 152). Discrete post-holes were similarly undated but may be related (31, 34, 39, 40, 147) as may vestiges of gullies truncated by modern features or extending beneath the baulk on the south side of the excavated area (33, 35, 41, 42). Elsewhere to the west of the site a patch of intense scorching may mark the position of a bonfire (136), while an outlying pit had been dug (253, seen only in section beneath modern foundation).

Phase 3 (c1100-c1250) (Figs 7e, 11, 12)

During this phase occupation shifted downslope to the northern half of the site, its limits demarked by the digging of ditches across the hill slope cutting the phase 2 ditches at right-angles. Initially apparently unconnected ditches were dug (115, 116) at the bottom of the slope. The alignment of the latter seems to have been roughly north-east to south-west and it may have been connected, although not physically joined, to a similarly aligned ditch (249) across the slope to the west. Pottery from their

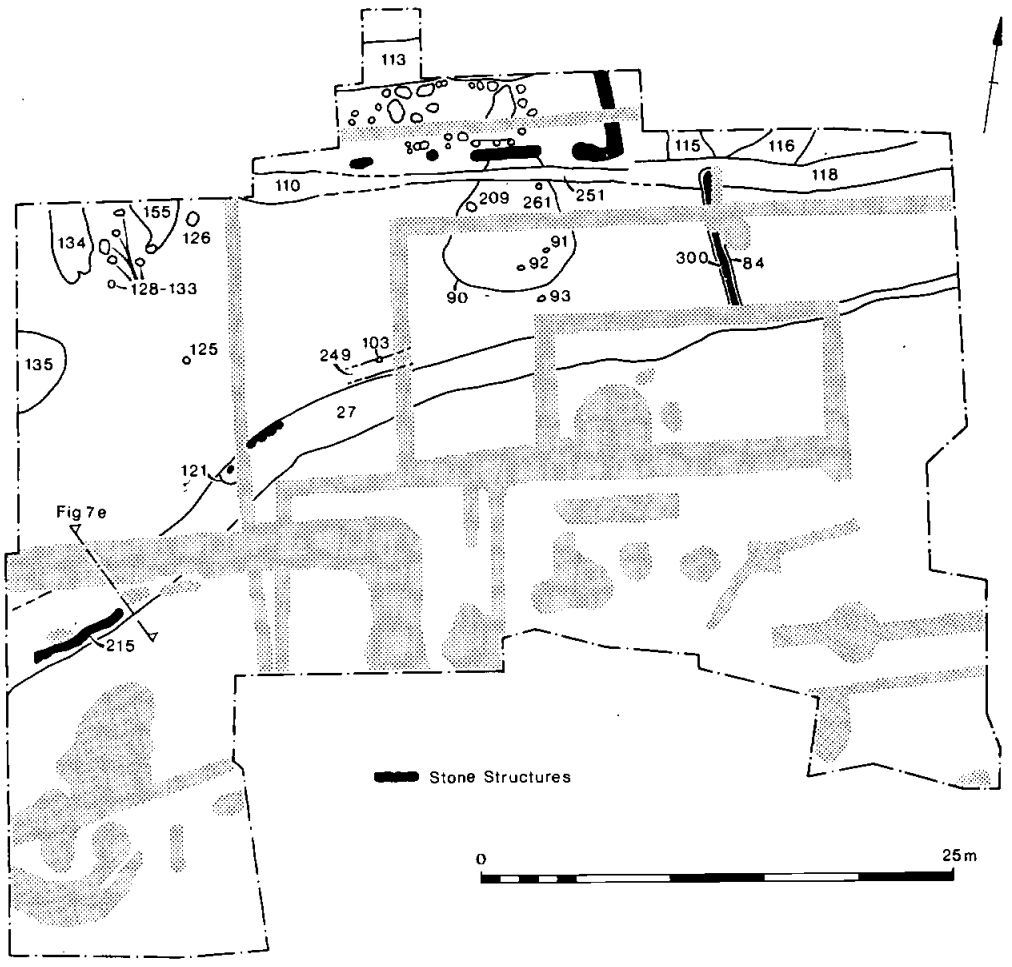

Fig 11 Trench 19 - phase 3

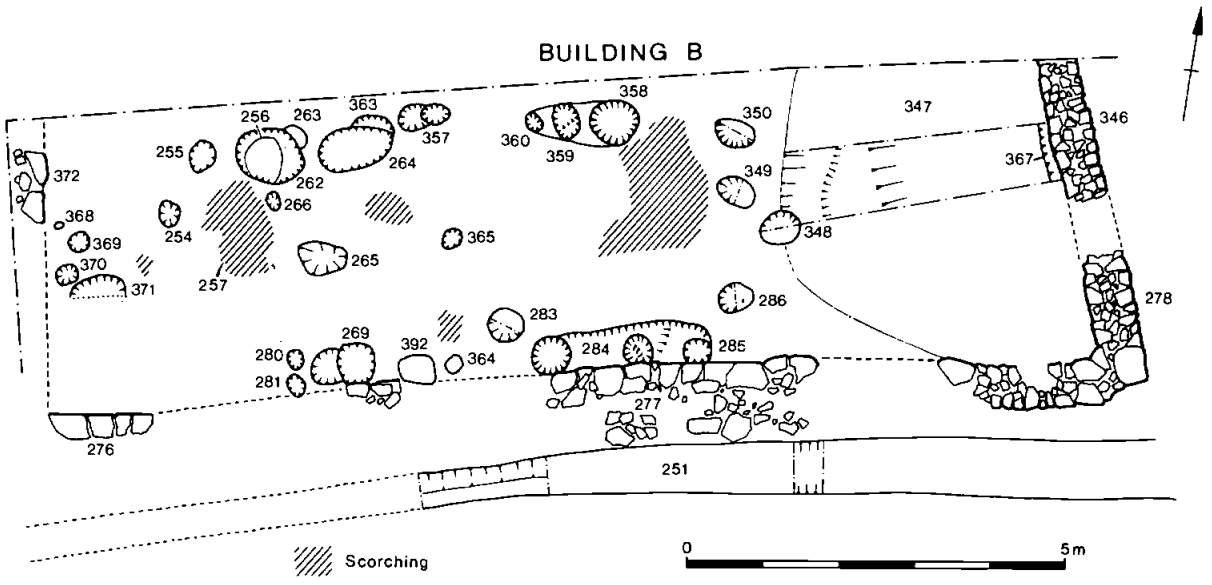

Fig 12 Trench 19 - plan of phase 3, Building B

backfill indicates that they may have been infilled before 1150. Once infilled they were replaced by two roughly parallel ditches, (27 & 110/118). The former, 27, may have been recut although two cuts were visible in only one place (a primary cut, 235, noted at the west end) (Fig 7e). Ditch 27 continued across the whole site. Close to the western end of the site the southern, upslope side of the ditch was revetted in stone (215) while a short section of the northern, downslope side had been similarly treated a few metres to the east. A pit (121), or final dump into the top of ditch 27 covered this north side revetment and contained a primary deposit of pottery of the period 1100-1150, which comprised three near-complete vessels.

Ditch 110/118 cut across the phase 2 ditches at right angles. Close by to the north was situated a rectangular building, erection of which began with the digging of a large, oval working hollow (90), which was filled with ironstone rubble and from which came a coin of 1087 (William the Conqueror) producing a *terminus post quem* for the life of the building. Five small post holes within its fill may indicate the remains of a shelter or other flimsy covering (91-3, 209, 261). A straight, 300mm-deep gully (251) which ran outside and parallel with the south wall was probably an eaves-drip drainage channel which connects to the line of ditch 110/118 to east and west. The structure was substantial (Fig 12: Building B), built partly of stone and partly timbered. Its north wall had been removed by a later ditch (113) but, assuming that it ran on the same line as the ditch it would originally have measured 14.6m long x 4.6m wide. Internal dimensions were 13.2m east-west x 2.5m north-south. This last measurement assumes no available space between upright posts. The internal floor space therefore would be 33 square metres (*c* 90 sq. ft.).

The structure comprised five fragments of an insubstantial ironstone wall on three sides, probably no more than a sleeper wall for a timber superstructure (Fig 12; 276, 277, 278, 346 and 372). A shallow construction trench (367) was excavated at the east end. This enclosed a complex of large post-holes, some within connecting slots for sill beams, on the north and south sides which indicate the location of the main framing uprights (269, 284, 285 on the south; 255, 256, 262, 264, 358 on the north). Post-holes for more slender posts (369, 370) existed at the west end while the centreline of the building was marked by a row of three large post-holes (265, 371, 348) which may have held ridge-post supports or held up a first floor. The layout of the interior is indicated by two rows of post-holes (364, 365 and 357 dividing a 5.3m x 4.2m west room from one in the centre of 3.7m x 4.2m; 286, 349, 350 dividing the centre room from that at the east of dimensions 4.5m x 4.2m). It was thus a three-room plan. A deposit of loam containing pottery, animal bone and other finds had accumulated on top of the natural ground surface within all three rooms (112). This was interpreted as the earthen floor, much damaged and contaminated by the processes of demolition, as it also covered the backfilled post-holes. There was no evidence of a hearth, other than scattered areas of scorching of the natural (257). Some structural rebuilding may have been necessary at the east end of the building as the fill of former phase 2 ditches 273 & 274 appears to have subsided. Here the east wall (346) and the south-east corner (278) is entirely of stone with no evidence of timber uprights. Both outside and inside the building a dump of material was put down to level up the subsidence (347).

Elsewhere on the site an east-west aligned ditch (113) was cut at the bottom of the slope where later a post-medieval wall (279) would be built. This ditch impinged upon the north side of the rectangular building and marked the end of its occupation. Pits and post holes at the west end of the site indicate another localised area of activity but their configuration leaves no clue as

to its form (Pits 134, 135, 155; post holes 103, 125, 126, 128-33). A north-south aligned 6.5m long wall foundation of flat ironstone blocks (300) cut across between ditches 27 and 118. It was not fully robbed out until at least the late 13th century (84).

Phase 4 (c1250-c1400) (Figs 7f, 13, 14)

During this phase occupation centred upon the south west quarter of the site, at the top of the slope, with other areas having been largely abandoned. A new, rectilinear enclosure was created (Fig 13); it extends beyond the excavated area and was in excess of 20m x 20m. It was straight-sided and initially had an entrance at the north-east corner where the terminals of its enclosure ditch were located along with a single post hole which may mark the position of a gate (252; 266). The ditch was subsequently recut on two occasions (Fig 7f), the earlier recut (28) dispensing with the former entrance. The later recut (250) took place only when the number and nature of buildings within the enclosure had changed and constitutes the following phase.

The first enclosure ditch enclosed a 4.5m diameter circular building, the function of which remains unclear (Fig 14: Building C). This comprised a shallow penannular trench packed with clay and rammed ironstone chippings as a foundation (196) with a concentric penannular gully beyond (9), which described an arc of 270 and terminated at north and east in a shallow post-hole (401, 402). At a tangent to the arcing gully on its south side a 2m-long line of rough-hewn ironstone blocks formed a threshold or foundation for a bridging place (197). To the east and north of the circles lay two outlying slots equidistant from the centre of the circles (7 & 380). Although the latter was damaged by later development, enough survived to postulate a similar size and layout as that to the east, which had a post-hole at either end (138 & 139). At the centre of the circle lay two

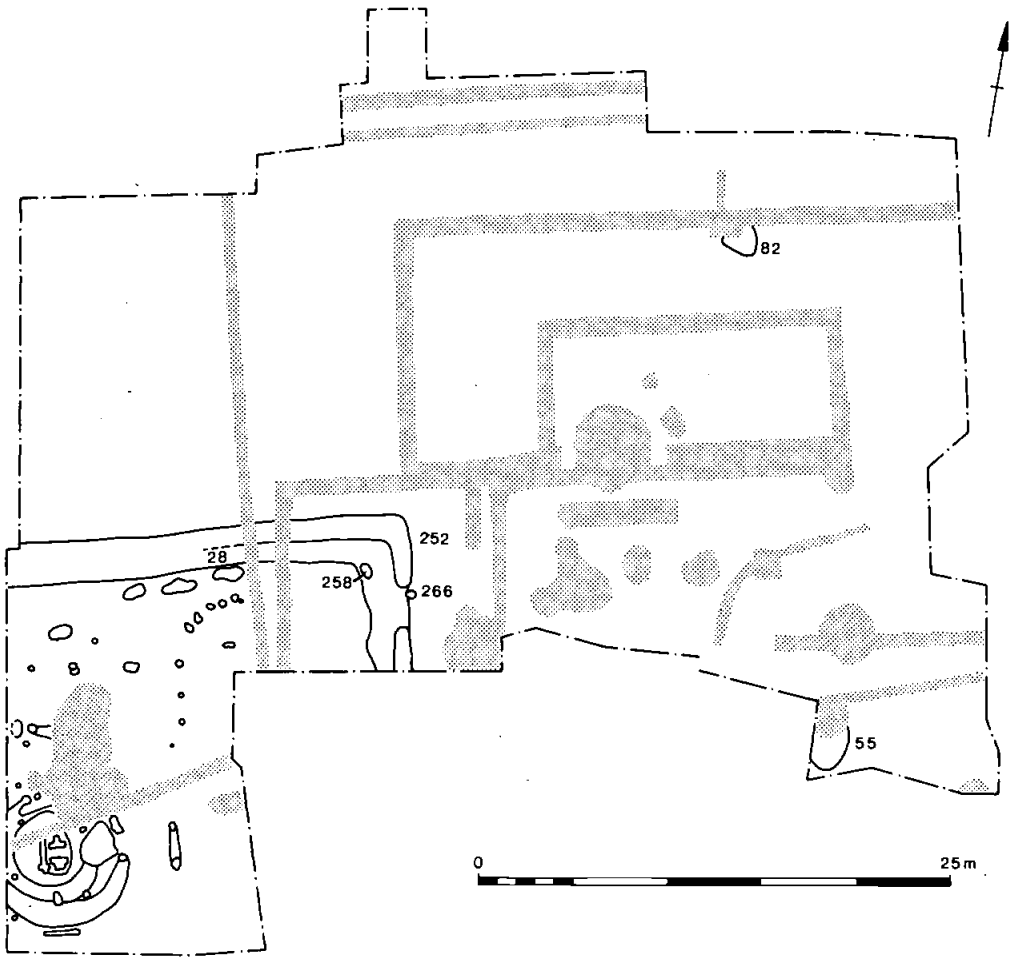

Fig 13 Trench 19 - phase 4

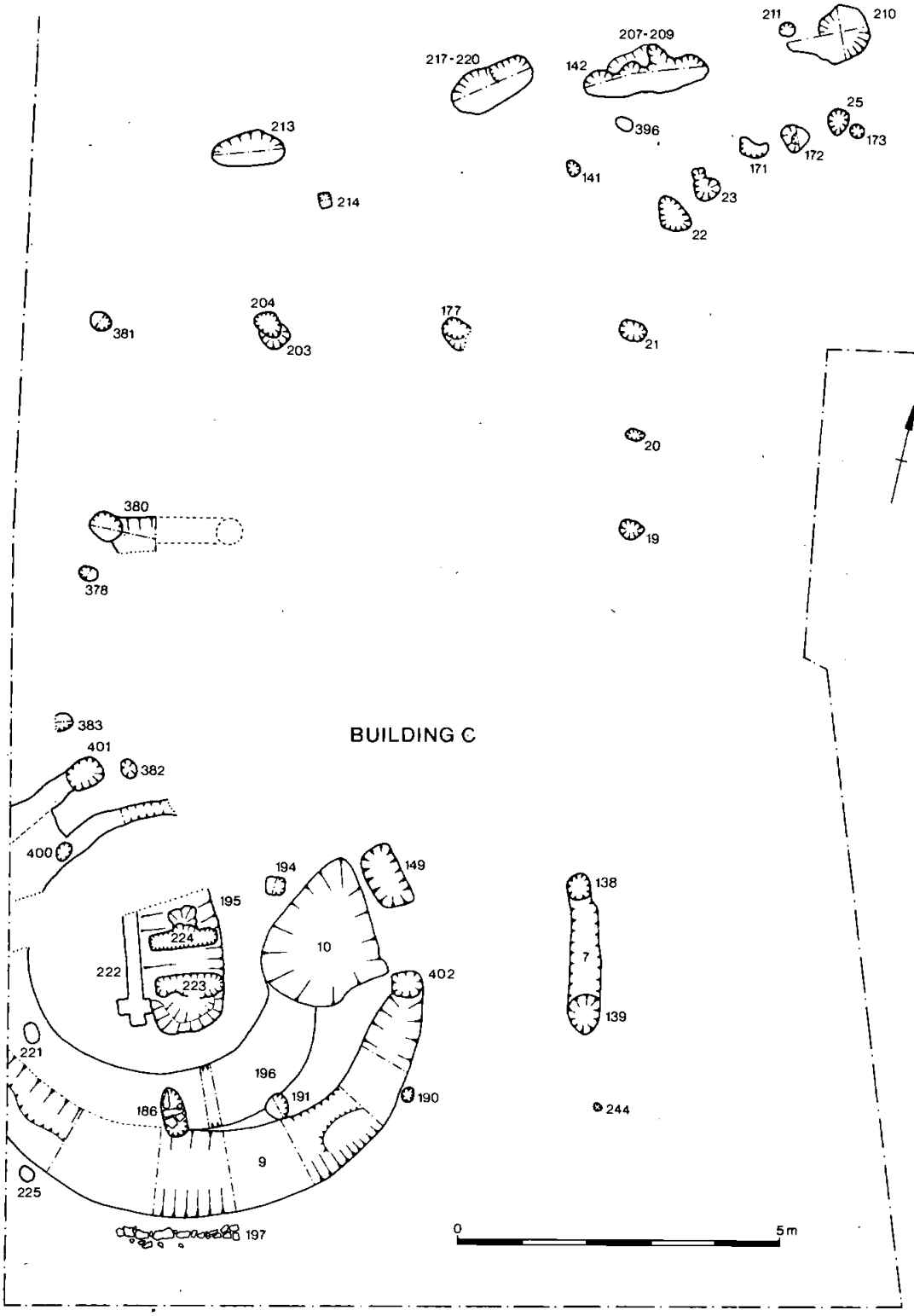

Fig 14 Trench 19 - plan of phase 4, Building C

sub-phases of structural remains. The earlier comprised a regular 1.4m-long strip of rammed clay and ironstone chippings (222) aligned north-south which had been partly damaged by re-ordering which involved setting two parallel 1m-long timbers into deep slots aligned east-west in the natural clay (223 & 224). The remainder of the structure seems to have been untouched by this realignment. The end of the building's life was marked by robbing out the contents of the central parallel slots which necessitated a substantial pit (195). Further pits, possibly for robbing materials, may have removed other structural remains (10, 149). At the same time the penannular gulley was filled in, and a demolition layer and trample began to accumulate over the area (185).

Post-holes survived cut through some of the building remains or closely cut against such features (186, 190, 191, 194, 202-5, 225, 244, 378, 381, 382). Other nearby postholes may be associated (19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 141-2, 171-3, 176-7, 200, 202-5, 207-11, 213, 214, 216-21, 400) although their layout provides no additional information. They may represent part of a rectangular structure, most of which has been removed by modern levelling, or they may be connected with demolition scaffolding. There was no reliable dating evidence.The only other features which might be assigned to this phase are two pits (55 & 82) to the east and north-east of the enclosure, respectively.

Phase 5 (c1400-c1800) (Figs 7e, 7f, 15)

In the late medieval period, a loamy soil (4) accumulated over the abandoned occupation horizons at the lower end of the slope. Evidence at the top of the slope did not survive as excavation for laying the modern car park hardcore (3) had exposed the natural ground surface. Associated pottery indicated that the soil continued to accumulate up until the 18th century, during which time little change appears to have taken place on the site from the immediately preceding phase. The straight-sided enclosure ditch

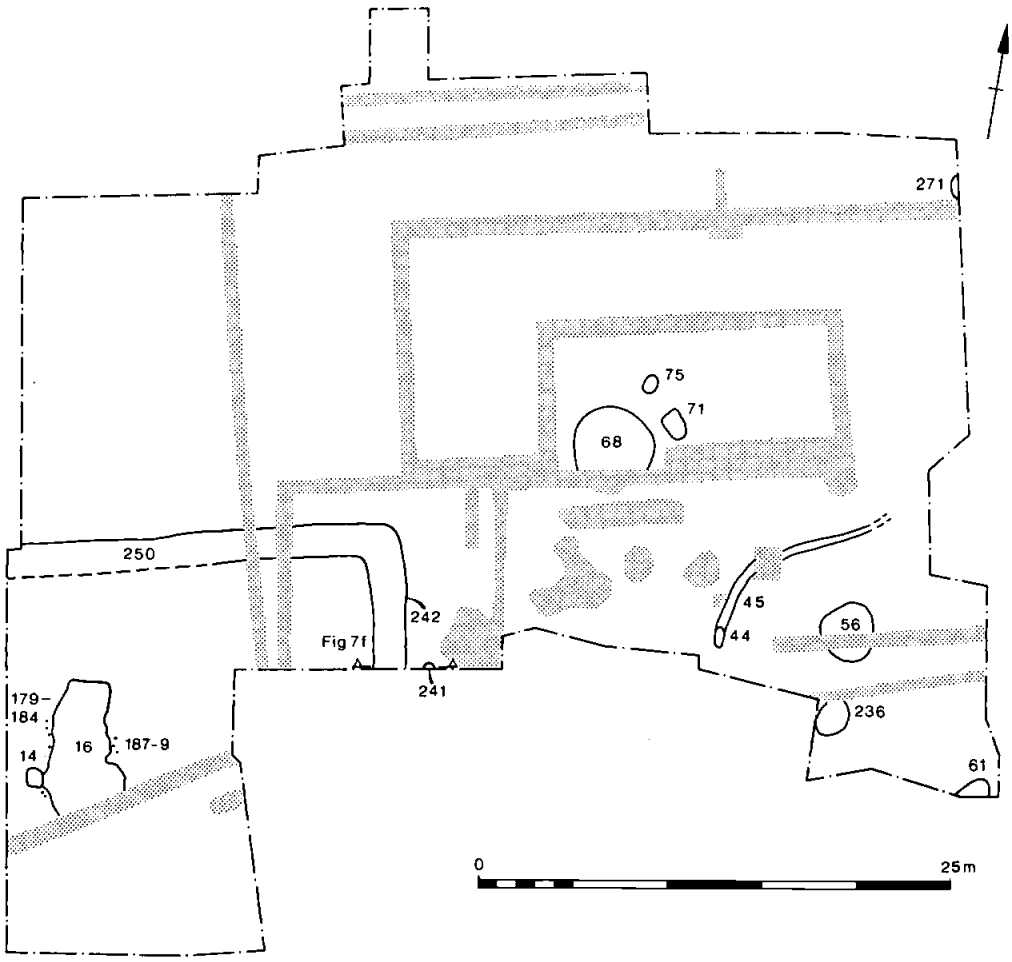

Fig 15 Trench 19 - phase 5

around the site of the former circular building remained open with a second and final re-cut (250/242; Figs 7e, 7f, 15). Once the circular building had been razed, part of the area within the enclosure was dug away by a half-metre-deep flat-bottomed pit (16) which was partly enclosed by stake-holes (179-84, 187-9). A small rubbish pit lay close by (14). Finds from both pits, principally Cistercian wares, suggest that they were backfilled from the mid-fifteenth to mid-mid-sixteenth century; their purpose is unclear.

Thereafter a cluster of rubbish pits was dug at the edge of the hill-slope, some 25m to the north-east of this activity (68, 71). Both produced pottery of 17th-century date and the latter is further dated by two clay-tobacco pipe bowls of *c*1600-1640. Other pits of similar date lay at the south-east corner of the site (56, part of 61, 236) possibly enclosed by a curving boundary ditch (45), one portion of which was partly backfilled by a lime-encased animal burial (44; not retained for study). Another rubbish pit lay only partly within the excavated area (271) as did a further animal burial (241).

Phase 6 (c1800-present) (Fig 16)

The upper layers of the site were removed by mechanical excavator. They comprised: car park make-up (3); post medieval to recent topsoil (1), from which a coin of 1675 was recovered. It also reduced the buried structural remains of the former District Council Offices to the level of their concrete foundation rafts (5). These were set into the natural clay (6) and the hillwash (8). Modern and 19th-century disturbance was noted in all parts of the site, most connected with either the surrounding buildings and nearby land use (20th century surface water drains 13, 26, 111) or with the construction, running or demolition of the former 1960s District Council Offices (concrete foundation strips 5, services 57, pits 32, 64) sealed only by the modern ground surface. Some recent geological test pits were also noted,

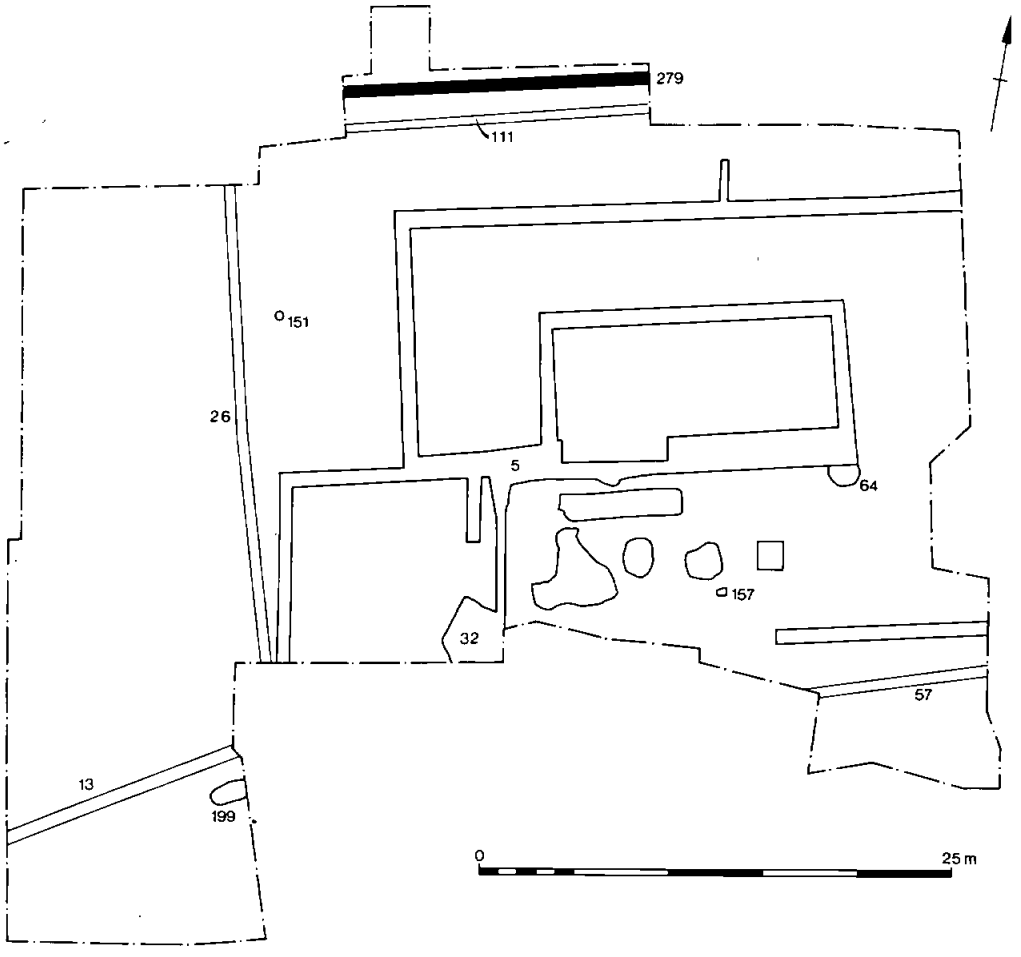

Fig 16 Trench 19 - phase 6

cut through from the existing turf. Small unconnected pits or post-holes were noted at disparate parts of the site but only the deepest of these survived the machining to be more fully recorded (151, 157). Vestiges of a modern pre-machining layer survived to be recorded in section (102). Eighteenth century remains comprised a ditch terminal or pit (199) which contained white salt-glazed stoneware, and a dilapidated ironstone boundary wall which can be no earlier in date than 1675 and is probably somewhat later (279). This remained the northern limit of the plot at the time of excavation.

TRENCH 20 (Fig 17)

At the west end of the former Lodge Road Lorry Park the excavation of Trench 20 encountered a complex series of intercutting gulleys and slots of which only the lowest levels survived, the ground surface having been lowered considerably relative to Trench 19 to its south-west. No surviving feature exceeded 0.5m in depth and the surviving portions of the majority were 200-300mm deep. There were few finds and those present were of little or value, even for dating purposes as there was a high proportion of residual material. Trench 20 subsumed the earlier evaluation trenches 10 and 16 and fully superseded their results. The results from this trench are far inferior to those of Trench 19, due almost entirely to the recent reduction in ground levels to create the lorry park.

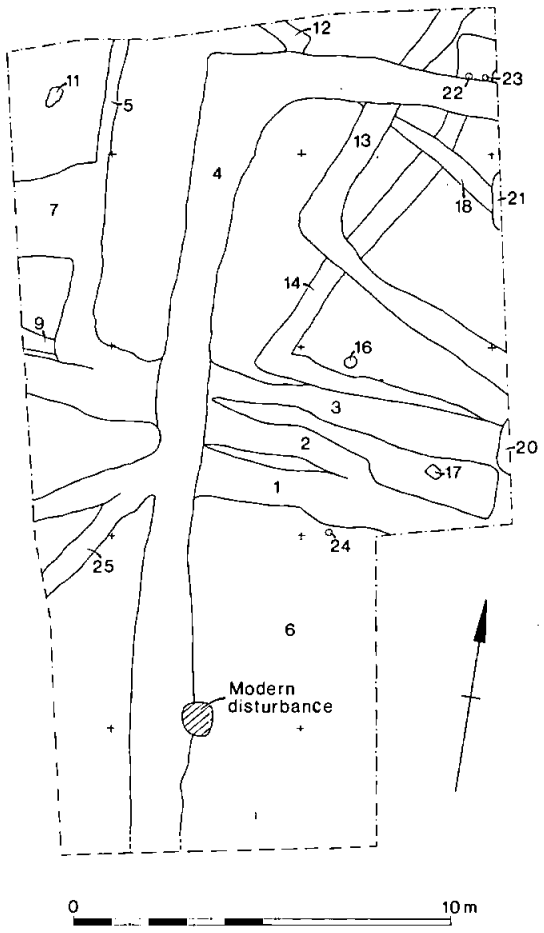

Fig 17 Trench 20 - all features

Phase 1
One post hole survived (11) which produced a very few sherds of early-middle Saxon pottery. This feature lay in isolation and its function is unknown. The absence of other possible phase 1 features in the area may imply that the early-middle Saxon pottery recovered was residual. Its attribution to this phase should be treated as very tentative.

Phases 2 and 3
Although late Saxon and early medieval pottery was recovered from various features, it was all residual and no surviving remains can be attributed to this phase.

Phase 4
The earliest datable features in the trench comprise part of a rectilinear gully or ditch (14) of which one full side was exposed, two corners and part of two other sides. The complete side measured 9m in length. It may subsequently have been expanded, one side (26) being partly re-cut as 3 and extended, to run into ditches 5 and 7. This line seems to have been preferred as further ditches run parallel and very close by (1, 2, 9, 25). The ditch of this first enclosure was backfilled, then cut by a gully of indeterminate use (18) and subsequently replaced on a similar footprint by a new ditch (13). Part of a further gully lay nearby (12). This second enclosure was itself then swept away in a total change of layout involving the digging of another ditch (4). Two small post holes were aligned close to the northern edge of this ditch (22, 23). Their purpose is not known. Three further discrete post holes were located (16, 17 and 24), apparently unconnected with each other and undated. Two pits lay nearby under the eastern section of the trench (20 and 21). Pottery and other finds from this trench residual in later contexts, principally Phase 4, indicate the proximity of occupation in the Roman, early-middle Saxon, late Saxon and medieval periods in common with the results from Trench 19. The sequence of enclosure ditches began, however after 1250 and the latest ditch (4) may have only gone out of use in the 15th century as indicated by a complete late 14th- or 15th-century plain floor tile from its backfill. The features which survived did so because they were deeply-cut, residual finds almost the only testament to earlier phases of occupation swept away by later disturbance.

Phase 5
No features were found which date to this phase.

Phase 6
A small pit filled with 19th-century bottles was the only late feature preserved beneath the modern car park surface.

THE FINDS

RESIDUALITY AND INTRUSION

The site (principally Trench 19) did not suffer greatly from problems caused by disturbance of features of earlier phases by later ones. To a great extent the phase 1 features were sealed and relatively deeply buried by the distinctive brown hillwash accumulation (8). Consequently disturbance of the phase 1 features was very localised and limited to where deep ditches penetrated through the hillwash. The phase 2 ditches, which produced most of the finds of late Saxon date, were generally disturbed by phase 3 and 4 ditches in such a way that the relationship was stratigraphically clear and junctions visible without further investigation. As a result most excavation of ditches was concentrated on undisturbed lengths, where problems of residuality and intrusion were minimised. There were exceptions. The phase 2 curving ditch sequence comprised so many recuts along a similar course that it is impossible within the late Saxon period to separate pottery into sub-groups.

POTTERY

EARLY/MIDDLE SAXON POTTERY
by Paul Blinkhorn, with petrological analysis in archive by John Elgies, University of Sheffield.

The excavations produced 857 sherds of early/middle Saxon pottery, weighing 12.573kg. The assemblage includes one of the largest groups of decorated early Saxon pottery from a non-funerary context in the county, with sherds from at least 10 different vessels present. The decoration suggests that the majority of the pottery dates to the sixth century, although small, residual fragments of possible fifth-century vessels were also noted.

Fabrics
Initial fabric classification was carried out with the aid of a 10x binocular microscope. Twelve different fabrics were identified, although the groupings are quite broad due to the mixed geology of the area and the variations inherent in domestic production. The fabrics were as follows:

F1: Moderate to dense subangular clear quartzite up to 2mm. 230 sherds, 5,901g.
F2: Sparse to moderate subangular white quartzite up to 1.0mm. Rare ironstone and/or limestone up to 4mm. 409 sherds, 4175g.
F3: Sparse to moderate subangular white limestone and subrounded grey quartzite up to 1mm, rare grains to 2mm. Rare rounded black and/or red ironstone up to 1mm. 17 sherds, 176g.
F4: Sparse to moderate pink, black and white subangular granite up to 2mm, moderate limestone ooliths up to 0.5mm. Sparse organic voids. 11 sherds, 60g.
F5: Sparse to moderate organic voids, few visible inclusions other than minute flecks of silver mica. 43 sherds, 726g.
F6: Moderate sub-rounded limestone up to 6mm, calcite-cemented sandstone up to 3mm, and subangular clear quartz up to 2mm. Rare flint to 10mm. 14 sherds, 157g.
F7: Moderate to dense sub-rounded red ironstone up to 3mm, sparse orange and grey subangular quartzite up to 0.5mm. Rare white limestone up to 3mm. 22 sherds, 342g.
F8: Sparse to moderate angular granite up to 4mm. 44 sherds, 419g.
F9: Sparse to moderate limestone ooliths and sub-angular quartzite up to 1mm. 8 sherds, 94g.
F10: Sparse to moderate subangular quartzite up to 0.5mm, sparse to moderate organic voids. Rare sub-rounded ironstone up to 2mm. 29 sherds, 271g.
F11: Moderate rounded red and black quartzite up to 0.5mm. Rare rounded ironstone and clear quartz up to 1mm. 18 sherds, 164g.
F12: Moderate to dense subrounded and round white, grey and orange quartzite up to 2mm. 12 sherds, 88g.

All the fabric types are typical of the pottery of the period which occurs in the south-east midlands, such as Pennyland, Bucks (Blinkhorn 1993) or North Raunds, Northants (Blinkhorn, forthcoming c). The organic-, granite- and limestone-tempered fabrics are worthy of comment, however, as they are usually rare occurrences.

Limestone-tempered fabrics (F3, F6, F9)
Whilst many of the fabrics from Daventry contain small amounts of limestone, only those types which contain the material as the commonest inclusion type are to be regarded as 'limestone tempered' for this analysis. They total 39 sherds, some 4.5% of the assemblage. Such fabrics occur at many sites in the south-east Midlands region, but the portion of the assemblage which they represent appears to vary greatly, and they do not have a coherent geographical distribution. They are not present in the assemblage from Crick, Northants (total 208 sherds; Blinkhorn, forthcoming a), some 15km to the north of Daventry, and are similarly unknown in Leicester, some 50km to the north (Williams, unpub), although small quantities of calcareous material are found in some of the quartz-tempered sherds. West Cotton, near Raunds (Blinkhorn, forthcoming b), produced 46 sherds of limestone-tempered wares from an assemblage of 262 sherds (17.1%), whereas only two sherds were present at the neighbouring North Raunds settlement (Blinkhorn, forthcoming c), out of a site assemblage of *c.*2500 sherds. Predominantly limestone-tempered early-middle Saxon fabrics are not present in Northampton, despite the occurrence there of the shelly limestone-tempered S3 middle Saxon Maxey Ware variant. The low-level occurrence of such fabrics to the south-east in Buckinghamshire is similarly variable, accounting for between 1% and 14% of the assemblages (Blinkhorn 1993; Blinkhorn 1994 a & b).

Granite-tempered fabrics (F4, F8)
The majority of the early/middle Saxon sites in the south-east midlands have produced quantities of such pottery, although the nearest outcrops of granite are Mount Sorrel grano-diorites in the Charnwood forest area of Leicestershire, with a further outcrop of post-Tremadoc diorites near Nuneaton (Worssam and Old,

1988). Boulders of Shap granite are sometimes found in the local boulder clays, but it is generally considered that they are not present in sufficient numbers to be the source of the inclusions (Williams unpub). Some 55 sherds (6.4% of the assemblage) contained granite in significant quantities. As was the case with the limestone-tempered pottery, examination of its occurrence on other sites in the region shows a somewhat erratic distribution. Around 12% of the Crick assemblage was represented by granitic fabrics, whilst 24.4% of the West Cotton material was of those types. In Northampton, 11% of the Chalk Lane material was granitic (Gryspeerdt 1981, 110), but only 5% of the St.Peter's Gardens sherds (Denham 1985: Table 2). Similar low rates of occurrence at Buckinghamshire sites indicate that there was not a gradual 'fall-off' from the presumed geological source of the mineral.

Chaff-tempered Wares (F5, F10)
Around 8.5% of the pottery showed evidence of chaff-tempering. Such pottery is widely regarded as the 'classic' early/middle Saxon pottery fabric, with sites such as Mucking in Essex having over 90% of its domestic pottery in such fabrics (Hamerow 1987). However, such wares usually represent a minor component of assemblages in the south-east Midlands and those at Daventry are typical of many sites in the region.

QUALATATIVE ANALYSIS

The early-middle Saxon pottery has a mean sherd weight of 14.5g, which is relatively large as compared with North Raunds, where there was a site mean of 4.8g, with the pottery from a sunken-floored building at Langham Road having an average weight of 8.4g. The comparatively larger sherd size seen at Daventry may indicate that the assemblage is a dump from a nearby settlement. Most stratified pottery came from the ditch context 355, which appears to be a primary dump deposit. A sherd size more than double that of all the other early-middle Saxon pottery on the site seems to lend credence to this assumption (17.6g as opposed to 8.1g). Despite the apparent primary nature of the group, two small bowls were the only vessels which could be reconstructed to a full profile, and the assemblage appears to consist of partial representations of many fragmented vessels. Of a total of 64 rims from context 355, only 3 were in excess of 20% complete, while the remainder of the site produced pottery with less than 15% of rims present. The figures suggest that the Daventry early Saxon pottery is a very small portion of the original assemblage. This, and the large quantity of animal bone present would suggest that the material was probably middened before dumping in the ditch, and that a domestic settlement is located close by.

CERAMIC CHRONOLOGY

Early/middle Saxon pot forms are very difficult to date, despite the fact that there are some grounds for grouping vessels on the basis of form and decoration. The dating of plain pottery on the grounds of form is impossible other than to place it within the period, as the majority of the basic shapes continue in use throughout the period (Hurst 1976, 293). The situation is a little clearer with decorated pottery, although decorative trends tend to be general. Apart from fifth century vessel types with direct parallels on the continent, such as Jutish *Schalenurnen*, fifth century vessels tend to be decorated with bosses and/or linear designs, whereas sixth century vessels tend to have geometrically-arranged stamps with linear patterns.

The decorated Daventry pottery would largely appear to be sixth century in date, although there are some sherds which may date from the fifth century. The sherd illustrated in Fig 19:20 appears to be the rim from a small biconical bowl of *Schalenurne* type, but lacks any of the decorative elements such as neck cordons and/or carination facets which normally occur on such vessels. This may be due to the small size of the sherd, however. Plain pots of this type are often found in association with sherds of fifth century vessels, such as the example from Stoke Doyle Road, Oundle (Pearson 1994), which at this time is the only known find of such pottery in Northamptonshire. There, a small biconical vessel was found in association with two sherds from *Schalenurnen* with slashed carinations, suggesting strongly that the vessel was of fifth century date. The sherd illustrated in Fig 19:27 appears to be the hollow pedestal base of a *Standfussschale*, very similar in form to a vessel from Mitcham in Surrey (Myres Corpus no 1148), although the Daventry example is undecorated. The Mitcham vessel is the only one in the Myres Corpus with hollowed base of the Daventry type, and is almost certainly of early fifth century date (Myres 1977, 35). The Daventry vessel is abraded, suggesting that it is residual, as most of the early-middle Saxon pottery from the site is in relatively unworn condition.

The two possible fragments of a boss (Fig 18:23) also hint at a fifth century date, but vessels with such decoration are also known from sixth century contexts elsewhere (*ibid* 10-11). The vessels with horizontal grooving (Figs 19:18 and 19:28) may be a fifth century type, as such decoration is typical of that period (Myres 1977, 18), but such types are once again known from later contexts, such as a cremation vessel from Laceby, Lincs (Corpus no 483), which contained a brooch of the late sixth century (*ibid*, 18). The sherd illustrated in Fig 19:19 is decorated in a way that suggests that it is from a vessel regarded as being of fifth-century Anglian type (ibid, 38, figs 207-208). The sherds illustrated in Fig 19:13 may also be from a vessel of fifth-century date. The curvature of the sherd suggests that the vessel was of a hollowed biconical form, which are often of early date, and the arrangement of cordons and slashing suggest a decorative scheme similar to Myre's 'Enclosed-Zone' type, possibly similar to a vessel from Caistor-by-Norwich (Myres Corpus no. 1651). Such vessels have many continental parallels (*ibid*, 23-4).

Finally, there are the stamped vessels to consider. The vessel illustrated in Fig 19:12 has many parallels, such as a vessel from Newark, Nottinghamshire (Myres Corpus no. 3469). The dating of such vessels is far from clear, but there are examples which can be ascribed a sixth century date, although it is possible that some may date from the fifth century (*ibid*, 19-22). Two of the Daventry vessels (Figs 19:14 and 19:15) are indisputably of sixth century date, having the stamps and pendant triangles which are typical of the pottery of that period. There are many parallels known (*ibid*, 53). That in Fig 19:17 is somewhat difficult to date due to the small size of the sherd, but is probably sixth century. It seems likely therefore that the large deposit of pottery in ditch 355 dates to the sixth century, but there are grounds for suspecting that the settlement which is the (nearby) source of the pottery may have started in the fifth. All the sherds which can be given a fifth century date are small in size, and in some cases abraded, suggesting that they are residual. However, the vessels which are undoubtedly of sixth century date are nearly all represented by several relatively large sherds. It is therefore tentatively suggested that there was a Saxon settlement

Table 1: Sherd Count by Fabric (CTS Code)

	All R-B.	All EMS	100	200	205	207	303	304	311	319	324	329
Trench 19: Phase 1	34	761	12						1			
Phase 2	8	65	115	56	3	12	3	16	8	3		5
Phase 3	7	31	66	17	10	27	5	77	2	4	1	46
Phase 4		2	28		4	8	1	12	1	8	12	53
Phase 5			4	2	1	2		4			2	5
Phase 6	6		9		1	5				1		
SUB TOTAL	55	859	234	75	19	54	9	109	12	16	15	109
Trench 20: Phase 1		1										
Phase 4	7	2	18		1							14
SUB TOTAL	7	3	18		1							14
All Trench 1	1	5	3									5
All Trench 10			10									
All Trench 12		1	2									
All Trench 15												10
SUB TOTAL	1	6	15									15
TOTAL	63	868	267	75	20	54	9	109	12	16	15	138

somewhere near to the excavation at Daventry, dumping quantities of its rubbish in the Phase 1 ditch sometime in the sixth century.

REGIONAL CONTEXT

The decorated vessels and the presence of possible fifth century pottery indicate that the Daventry site is one of some significance in relation to the archaeology of Northamptonshire. The only site in Northamptonshire which has produced definite evidence of fifth-century settlement is a single sunken-floored building from Stoke Doyle Road, Oundle (see above), although an excavation at King's Meadow Lane, Higham Ferrers (Blinkhorn in archive) has produced a fragment of a *Stehende Bogen* decorated vessel which may be of fifth century date, and Chalk Lane, Northampton yielded fragments of a bossed vessel which could be similarly early (Gryspeerdt 1981, 108). Ceramically, the site is on a par with those at Chalk Lane, Northampton (Williams 1981) and Pennyland, Buckinghamshire (Williams 1993). There are few other sites in Northamptonshire which are comparable in terms of the decorated pottery. Most of the sites in the Raunds Area, such as Furnells, North Raunds and West Cotton, yielded only a handful of decorated sherds. The St Peter's Gardens site in Northampton (Williams *et al* 1985) produced only two sherds of stamped pottery and a single incised example from an assemblage of 273 stratified early-middle Saxon sherds (Denham 1985 table 2). Thus, the Daventry assemblage is one of the largest in the county.

LATE SAXON AND MEDIEVAL POTTERY

The chronology indicated by the pottery, with additional reference to all other finds and stratigraphic considerations, is as follows:

Phase 1: Early-middle Saxon - 6th century.
Phase 2: Late Saxon - *c.*900-*c.*1100.
Phase 3: Early medieval - *c.*1100-*c.*1225.
Phase 4: Later medieval - *c.*1225-*c.*1400.
Phase 5: Late medieval to post-medieval - *c.*1400-*c.*1800.
Phase 6: Later post-medieval to modern - *c.*1800-present.

The small quantities of pottery dating to phases 5 and 6 are not discussed in this report. A sherd count of all pottery present is given in Pottery Table 1.

There is no evidence to suggest that the Late Saxon activity at Daventry (Phase 2) started before *c.*900. This is based on the fact that there were no T1(4) type (Denham 1985) St. Neots wares amongst the pottery assemblage. Late Saxon fabrics could not be sensibly separated on stratigraphic grounds and phase 2 continued until *c.*1100 without ceramic subdivision.

The penny of William I of 1086-7 in context 90 (phase 3) was associated with a small group of early 12th-century material, but a late 11th century date cannot be advanced with confidence due to the poor condition of the coin and the small size of the assemblage, but it does not contradict the previously postulated date range for the ceramic types present (*c.*1100-50). The paucity of Lyveden/Stanion 'A' ware (CTS 319) means that phase 3 spans the wide date range *c.*1100-1225. The lack of previous archaeological excavations of sites of the period in the area means that further subdivision is not yet possible.

The ceramic dated to phase 3 occurred mainly in a single feature (pit 121; see below); although there was less pottery from phases 3 and 4 there was nothing recovered which indicated that activity continued beyond 1400. However, an almost total absence of Lyveden/Stanion 'B' wares and Raunds-type Reduced Ware precludes closer dating. Such an absence may be due to Daventry lying outside the distribution of these ceramic types. Indeed, lack of the latter type at Northampton, closer to the production centre, suggests that Daventry does indeed lie outside the distribution area of that particular ware. The pottery indicates therefore that the site was occupied from the early 10th century until some time in the 14th century. The medieval pottery from the Daventry site is largely fragmentary, and, with the exception of the assemblage from pit 121 (see below), sherd size indicates that much is from secondary deposition, possibly from beyond the site. With a few exceptions, most of the groups were too small to allow close feature dates to be ascribed with confidence, other than as a *Terminus post quem*.

Disturbance and intrusion were noted in the assemblages at a demonstrable rate. Of all phase 1 material, including already residual Romano-British pottery, 8% of sherds were recovered from phase 2 contexts, 4% from phase 3 and less than 1% from phase 4. As a later example, the very common shelly coarseware

(CTS code 330) began to appear in phase 2 (17%), peaked in occurrence in phase 3 (61%), before waning in phase 4 (18%). Its production range from other sites has been postulated as *c.*1100-*c.*1400 so the phase 2-4 trend is acceptable as a genuine guide to the popular life of the type and its production range. It is noticeable, however, that the sherd size encountered in the latest phase 4 contexts reached its lowest level (8.8g), implying increased redeposition within the 18% recovered; the 2% which occurred in each of phases 5 and 6 comprise undoubted disturbance of the older deposits. To some extent the rates of residuality were minimised during excavation by targeting lengths of ditches which demonstrably had not disturbed earlier features. The stark contrasts of the site layouts in phases 2, 3 and 4 were of some help in this. Only where junctions of ditches or other stratigraphic relationships could not be demonstrated in plan, was investigation targeted on such areas of disturbance. Overall levels of intrusion may be gauged from the post-medieval wares (normally found in phases 5 and 6), of which 8% were recovered from phase 2 contexts, 2% from phase 3, and 7% from phase 4.

The secondary depositional nature of much of the pottery means that ditches, pits and other features dated entirely by material in their backfilling, may have been cut some time before. Their functional lives are of indeterminate length. Thus, for example, a ditch which is clearly of phase 3 on stratigraphic grounds, the backfill of which is dated from pottery recovered to *c.*1100-1150, may have enjoyed a functional life beginning some time before as the pottery dates only the end of its existence and the secondary nature of that pottery deposit means that it too may have lain elsewhere for some time. Where available, corroborative dating is invaluable. The fabric types encountered are summarised thus:

St. Neots Ware
CTS fabric code 100/200 (formerly fabrics T1/1, T1/2 in the Northampton type-series. See Williams (1979, 153-65) for full descriptions of the fabrics where published as part of the Northampton type-series). A total of 342 sherds of St. Neots Ware occurred at Daventry, of which 75 were of late Saxon/early Medieval T1(2) type (CTS 200). The assemblage was largely fragmentary, and there were few sherds of note.

Stamford Ware
CTS fabric code 205 (formerly fabric X1/1 in the Northampton type-series). A total of 20 sherds of Stamford Ware occurred. All were plain bodysherds, with the exception of a single fragment of a green-glazed strap handle from 19/247.

Oolitic Ware
CTS fabric code 207 (formerly fabric V5 in the Northampton type-series). A total of 54 sherds occurred. Nine rims were present, all of which were from jars, with squat, flattened, upright and everted or triangular types which are typical of the tradition (see Figs 20:29 and 20:30). The wares are extremely similar in form to Early Medieval Oxfordshire Ware (fabric OXAC, Mellor 1994, 44 and figs 10-11) and another type originating near Gloucester (*ibid*). None of the sherds were of the later medieval type Oolitic ware identified at West Cotton (Blinkhorn forthcoming b), suggesting that such pottery originates from the south Lincolnshire/north-east Northamptonshire region, rather than more south-westerly counterparts.

Shelly coarseware
CTS fabric code 330 (formerly fabrics T1/2, T2, T6 in the Northampton type-series).This was the commonest medieval pottery type at Daventry (963 sherds). Rims from a maximum of 84 vessels were present, with 59 from jars, 24 from bowls and 1 from a single Top Hat vessel (Fig 21:44, see below). Some of the pottery appears to be the result of secondary deposition, a major exception being the assemblage from pit 121 (see below). Four sherds were decorated with square notched rouletting, the rest being undecorated, a pattern which is typical of the tradition.

Sandy coarsewares
These can all be parallelled in the pottery assemblage from Castle Lane, Brackley (Blinkhorn forthcoming, e), and appear to originate, in all but one case, from the south Northants/Oxfordshire region. As such they are here subdivided as Brackley-type fabrics. Such coarsewares were the major ceramic type at the Brackley site, and the Daventry sherds represent one of the most northerly finds of the ware in the county at this time. Other sites at which the wares occur include Berry Hill Close, Culworth (Blinkhorn 1995) and Helmdon (Blinkhorn 1994d). A few sherds are known from Northampton, where rouletted sherds of Brackley fabric 2 (360) are classified as type W7(3) in the Northampton type series, and occurred in small quantities at sites such as St. Peter's Street (Williams 1979). Sherds of fabric 303 are classified as being part of the fabric W49 tradition at Northampton, along with other sherds in similar fabrics. Brackley fabric 12 (311), which occurs at Daventry, is the same as fabric V3 in the Northampton type series, where it is said to have a possible source in Bedfordshire. This does not appear unreasonable, as the material never represents more than 0.3% of the ceramic in any phase at Brackley, and is a similarly minor ware at Daventry. The ware also occurs in small quantities at North Raunds. Occurrence of the Brackley-type fabrics peaks in phase 3, but the virtual absence of Lyveden/Stanion Wares at the site means that this dating is poorly corroborated. Also, fabrics 303 and 360 are part of Mellor's 'Banbury Ware' tradition (Oxfordshire fabric OX234; Mellor 1994, 80-84), which is given a date range of the late 11th- 14th-centuries in Oxfordshire. Fabric 311 is found in several early 12th-century contexts at North Raunds. The sherds of the Brackley types found at Daventry are typical of the traditions, particularly the rouletted sherds, which are common at the type-site (Figs 20:34-7). The fact that fabric 304 sherds are far more common than the other Brackley fabrics at Daventry may indicate that the wares have differing sources at or near Brackley, as this disparity was reversed at Castle Lane, closer to the presumed production centre.

Brackley Fabric 1
CTS fabric code 303 (formerly fabric W49 in the Northampton type-series).Nine sherds occurred at Daventry. No rims or decorated sherds were present.

Brackley Fabric 2
CTS fabric code 360 (formerly fabric W7(3) in the Northampton type series).Twelve sherds were present, four of which were decorated (Fig 20:34-7).

Brackley Fabric 6
CTS fabric code 304 (formerly fabric W49 in the Northampton type-series). This represents the major sandy coarseware at

Daventry, with 109 sherds. Rims from 10 different vessels were present, all of which were jar types and had simple everted, triangular and squared profiles. All bases were sagging.

Brackley Fabric 12
CTS fabric code 311 (not formerly known in the Northampton type-series).Twelve sherds occurred. None was remarkable.

Pit Group 121
The only medieval feature which produced what can be considered a primary pottery assemblage from the site was pit 121, which contained a near-complete fabric 304 jar and large portions of several shelly coarseware vessels (fabric 330). The presence of a single sherd of Lyveden 'A' ware suggests a *terminus post quem* for the group of *c.*1150. A single decorated sherd of Banbury Ware was also present (Fig 19:34). As the majority of the jars show sooting, it seems likely the group is a dump of domestic refuse.

Lyveden/Stanion 'A' ware
CTS fabric code 319 (formerly fabric T2 in the Northampton type series). Sixteen sherds were present, but widely scattered through the stratigraphic phases.

Brill/Boarstall Ware
CTS fabric code 324 (formerly fabric W14 in the Northampton type series). All fifteen sherds of this type were at least partly covered externally with a glossy, yellowish green glaze with copper speckling. There were three non-joining sherds from the same vessel with applied rouletted slips (Fig 21:45), and a single sherd with a band of red slip. Such decoration is typical of vessels of the 13th century (Mellor 1994, 127). The ware is found in varying quantities on most medieval sites in Northamptonshire.

Potterspury Ware
CTS fabric code 329 (formerly fabric W18 in the Northampton type series). A total of 138 sherds occurred. The full range of the medieval Potterspury fabrics appears present, with buff/grey, brick-red and reduced grey types noted. Most sherds had a patchy external green glaze, some on the inner surface. Fragments of four jug rims and two slashed strap handles, but most of the ceramic appeared to consist of one or two small sherds from individual vessels.

Raunds-type reduced ware
CTS fabric code 366 (not formerly known in the Northampton type series). Only one sherd was present.

Unprovenanced Glazed Ware
Eight sherds from the rim body and base of same vessel (Fig 21:48) weighing 95g. Dark grey fabric with moderate to dense subangular white quartz up to 0.5mm, sparse clay pellets. The vessel has thick, dark purplish-green glaze, and may possibly be a tripod pitcher of the glazed Oxford ware tradition (Mellor 1994, 63-71), although the glaze is rather unusual for such pottery.

Post-medieval fabrics
These comprise a variety of types, not separately dealt with as they occur in small quantities in phases during which occupation of the site had declined markedly. Present were Midland Purpleware (CTS 403, formerly W16), Cistercian ware (CTS 404, formerly X2a), Midland Blackware (CTS 411, formerly X2b), Midland Yellow ware (CTS 406, formerly W17), Red Earthenware (CTS 407), White Salt-glazed Stoneware (CTS 429) and Underglaze Blue transfer-printed Earthenware (CTS 416).

CATALOGUE OF ILLUSTRATED POTTERY

Fig 18

1. County Type Series (CTS):DAV94/1 F1. Black with light brown outer surface. Top 20mm of outer surface smoke-blackened. Fractures show coil construction. Trench 19, context 355 (Tr19/355).
2. CTS:DAV94/1 F1. Dark brown fabric with dark grey surfaces. Inner surface slightly flaked. Volume c.0.49l. Tr19/355.
3. CTS:DAV 94/1 F2. Uniform black fabric. Outer surface spalled. Soot encrustation over spalled area. Tr19/355.
4. CTS:DAV94/1, F3. Uniform black fabric surfaces. Sooting on outer. Tr19/355.
5. CTS:DAV94/1 F5. Dark grey fabric with brown outer surface, some sooting. Tr19/355.
6. CTS:DAV94/1 F6. Grey fabric with darker surfaces. Trench 19, context 355 (Phase 1).
7. CTS:DAV94/1 F9. Grey fabric with darker surfaces. Outer surface extensively spalled. Tr19/355.
8. CTS:DAV94/1 F5. Grey fabric with black surfaces, rim reddish brown. Tr19/355
9. CTS:DAV94/1 F10. Grey fabric with browner outer surface. Tr19/355.
10. CTS:DAV94/1 F1. Dark pink-brown fabric with brown-grey outer surface. Tr19/355
11. CTS:DAV94/1 F2. Dark grey fabric with surfaces. Tr19/355.

Fig 19

12. CTS:DAV94/1 F2. Grey fabric with black surfaces. Micaceous. Tr19/355 and Tr19/8 (residual) joining sherds.
13. CTS:DAV94/1 F1. Dark grey fabric with black surfaces. Micaceous. Tr19/355.
14. CTS:DAV94/1 F11. Soft, orange-brown fabric with dark grey surfaces. Tr19/355.
15. CTS:DAV94/1 F2. Grey fabric with darker surfaces. Tr19/355.
16. CTS:DAV94/1 F1. Uniform grey fabric. Tr19/355.
17. CTS:DAV94/1 F1. Dark grey with brown outer surface. Micaceous. Tr19/355.
18. CTS:DAV94/1 F1. Dark grey with black surfaces. Tr19/355.
19. CTS:DAV94/1 F2. Dark grey with black surfaces. Tr19/355.
20. CTS:DAV94/1 F2. Orange fabric with dark grey surfaces. Tr19/355.
21. CTS:DAV94/1 F7. Orange fabric with grey surfaces. Very micaceous. Volume 0.2 litres. Tr19/355.
22. CTS:DAV94/1 F7. Orange fabric with grey core and surfaces. Tr19/355.
23. CTS:DAV94/1 F11. Grey fabric with black surfaces. Tr19/355.
24. CTS:DAV94/1 F2. Grey fabric with darker surfaces. Micaceous. Tr19/355.
25. CTS:DAV94/1 F2. Dark grey-brown fabric with orange inner surface. Tr19/8.
26. CTS:DAV94/1 F2. Dark grey fabric with browner surfaces. Tr19/8

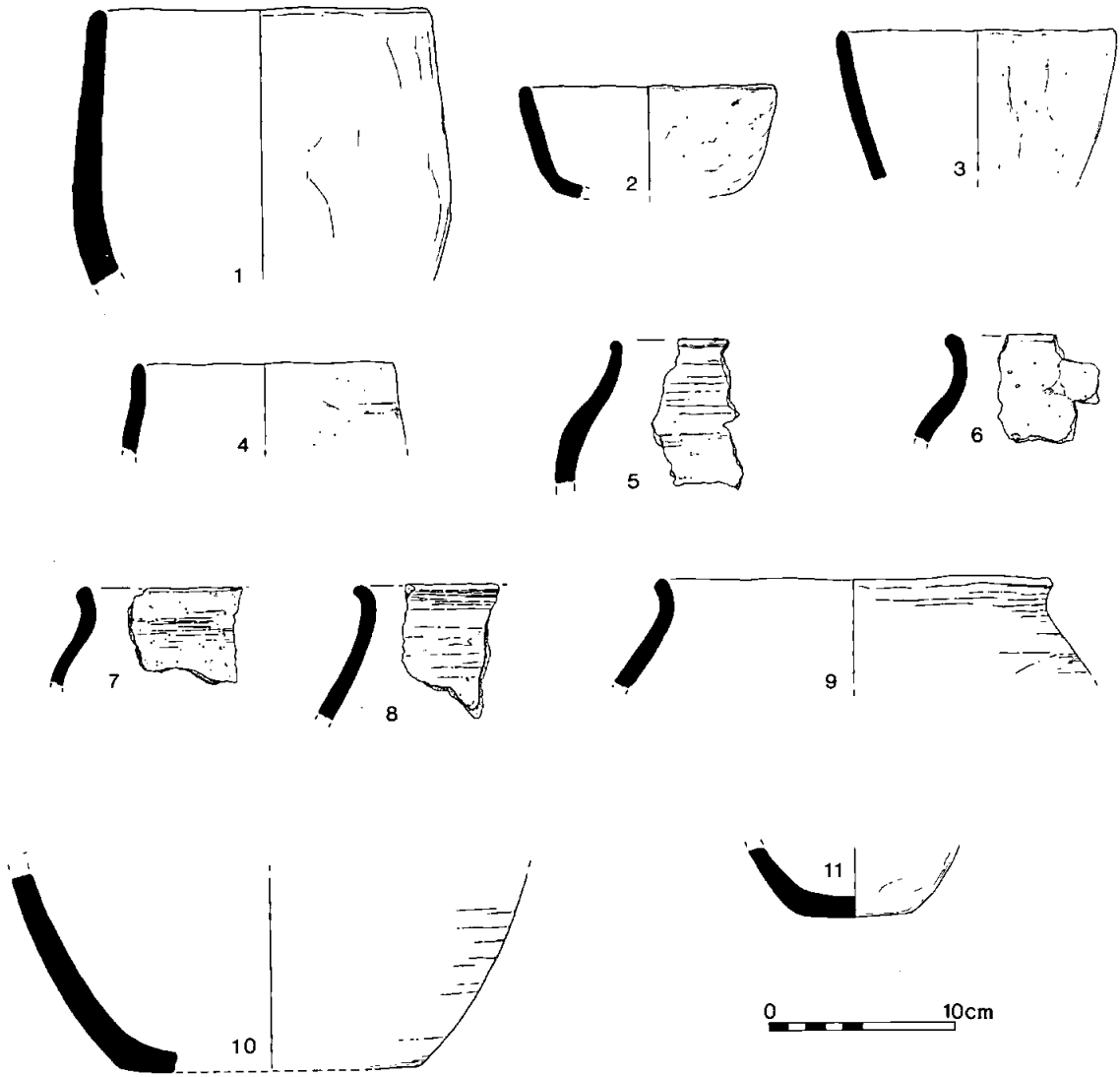

Fig 18 Pottery

27. CTS:DAV94/1 F2. Uniform dark grey fabric. Tr19/206 residual in phase 2-4.
28. CTS:DAV94/1 F2. Dark grey fabric with black surfaces. Tr19/80, residual in phase 2.

Fig 20

29. CTS:207. Grey fabric with darker surfaces. Tr19/247 (Phase 2).
30. CTS:330. Uniform orange fabric. Tr19/27 (Phase 3).
31. CTS:330. Grey fabric with orange-pink surfaces. Tr19/27 (Phase 3).
32. CTS:360. Dark grey fabric with brick-red surfaces. Internal smoking. Tr19/27 (Phase 3).
33. CTS:360. Outer face of rim evenly smoked. Tr19/213 (Phase 4).
34. CTS:360. Dark grey fabric with dark buff surfaces. Tr19/121 (Phase 3).

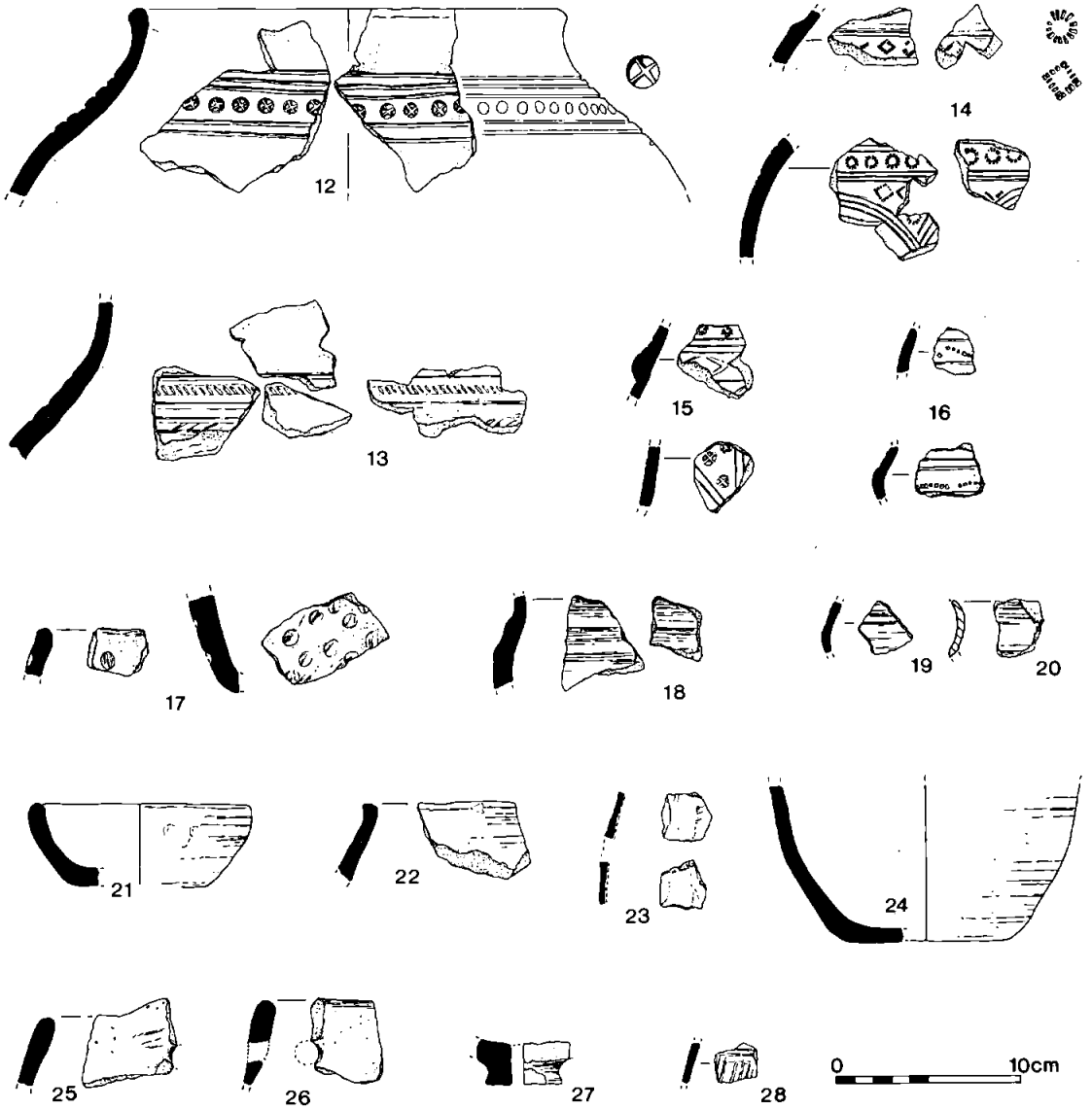

Fig 19 Pottery

35. CTS:360. Grey fabric with orange pink surfaces. Tr19/118 (Phase 3).
36. CTS:360. Tr19/115 (Phase 3).
37. CTS:304. Fabric coarser than is usual. Tr19/234 (Phase 2).
38. CTS:304. Grey fabric with red-brown surfaces, outer surface almost completely blackened. Capacity 12.4 litres. Tr19/121 (Phase 3).
39. CTS:330. Grey fabric with orange-pink surfaces. Lower outer body extensively smoke-blackened. Basal fracture shows coil-join. Capacity 7.7 litres. Tr19/121 (Phase 3).
40. CTS:330. Dark grey fabric with brown surfaces, some orange patches probably from firing. Tr19/121 (Phase 3).
41. CTS:330. Grey fabric with orange surfaces. Tr19/121 (Phase 3).

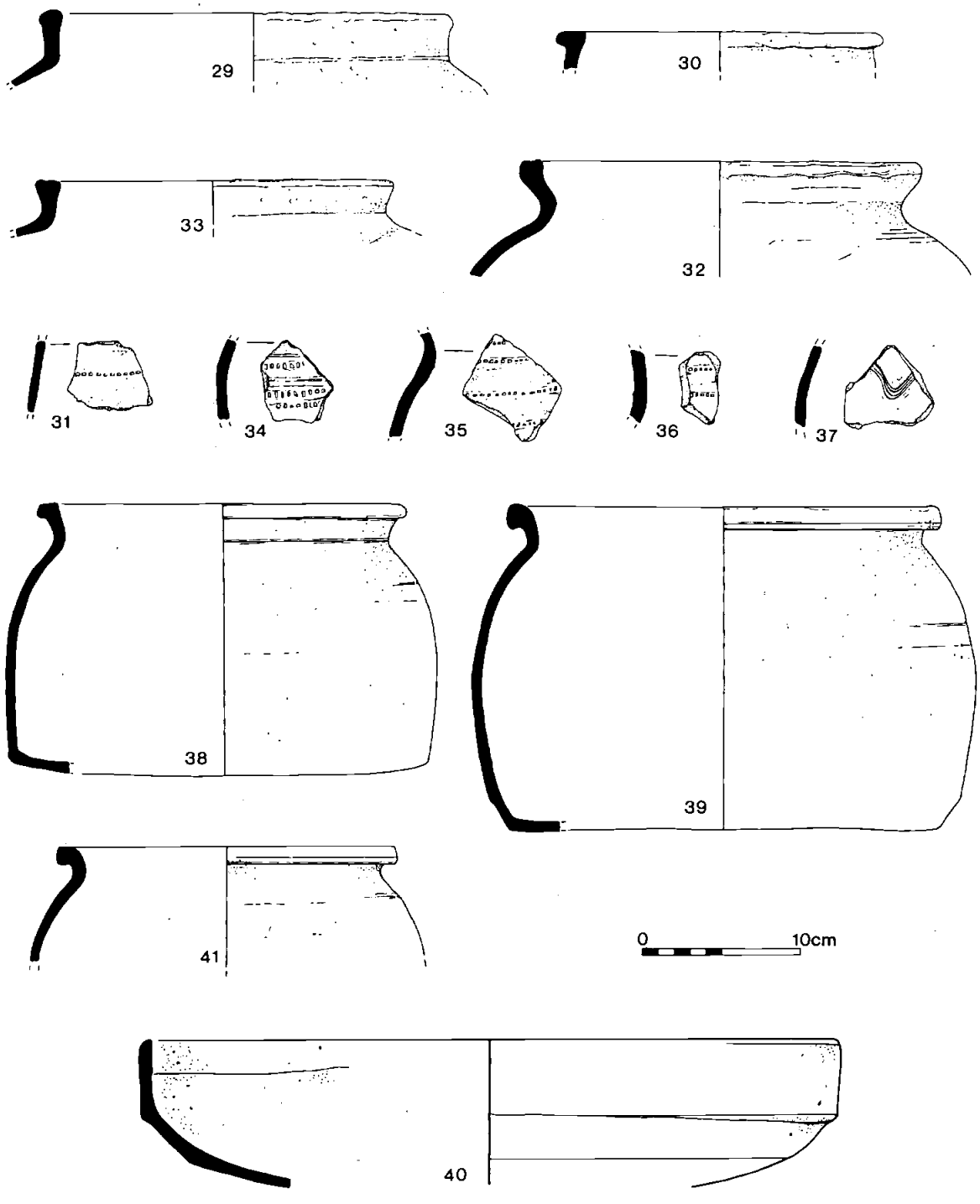

Fig 20 Pottery

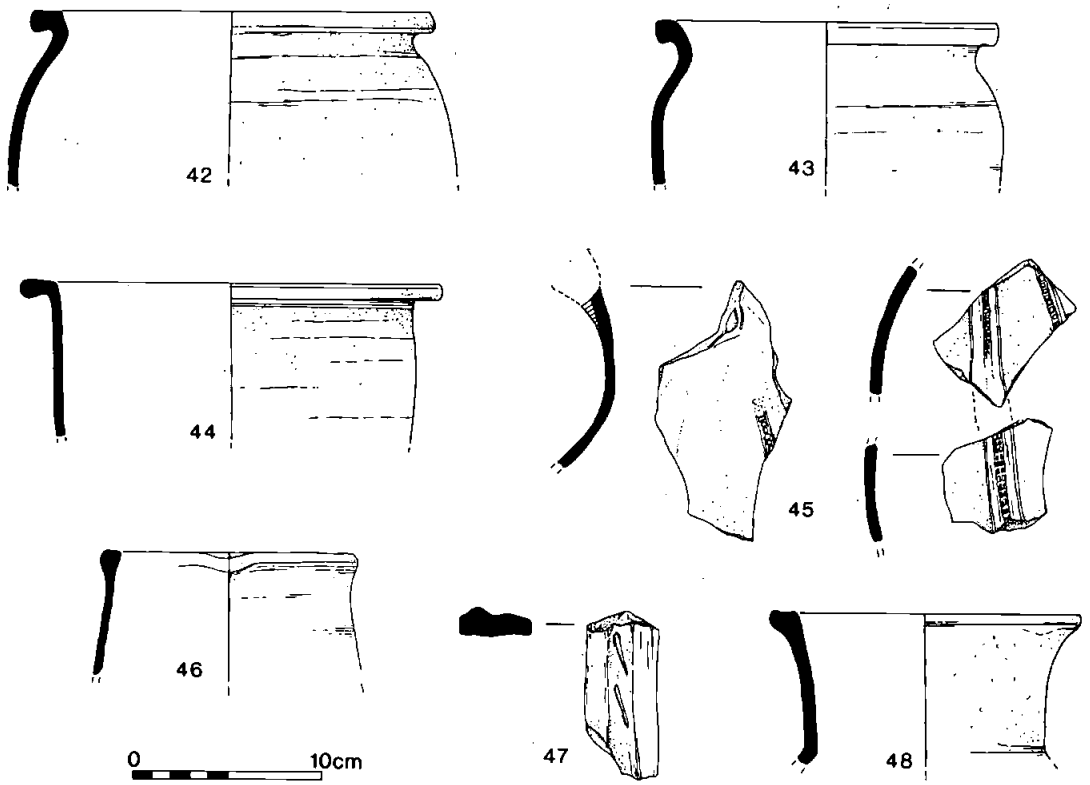

Fig 21 Pottery

Fig 21

42. CTS:330. Tr19/121 (Phase 3).
43. CTS:330. Extensive sooting on outer surface. Tr19/121 (Phase 3).
44. CTS:330. Tr19/121 (Phase 3).
45. CTS:324. Uniform buff fabric with slightly patchy glossy yellow-green glaze. Tr19/27, 28 & 252 (Phase 3-4).
46. CTS:329. Dark grey fabric with white surfaces. Tr19/118 (Phase 3).
47. CTS:329. Light grey fabric with dark grey core and brick-red surfaces. Tr19/28 (Phase 4).
48. CTS:Unprovenanced glazed ware. Dark grey fabric with dark purplish-green glaze. Tr19/27 (Phase 3).

OTHER FINDS

SMALL FINDS (FIG 22)
by Tora Hylton

The excavations produced a small group of Romano-British, Saxon, Medieval and post-Medieval finds. The assemblage, represented mainly by structural debris, also includes tools, dress accessories, jewellery and six coins. A total of 88 individual small finds was recovered as follows:

Number of finds by material type from all excavations.

Type	Number
Coins	6
Copper alloy	20
Iron	32
Lead alloy	3
Glass	12
Clay tobacco-pipes	14
Antler	1
Ceramic	2
Stone	10
Slag	4

Charcoal	3	
Flint	21	
Brick	1	
Tile	134	(14.617kg)
Daub	152	(2.302kg)

The following section presents those finds which are of intrinsic interest, together with an interpretation and published parallels. All contextual references are to Trench 19 unless otherwise stated. A full catalogue of all small finds is held in the site archive.

THE COINS

Six coins were recovered, Four were of post-medieval and recent date (1675, 1869, 1928 and one illegible). Details of the remaining two, a Roman follis of 4th-century date and a hammered silver short-cross penny of William I, are given below.

1. Issuer: Constans
   Type: VICTORIAE DD AVGG Q NN
   Denom: Follis
   Date: 341-346
   Mint: Trier (workshop - Officina)
   Dia: 15mm (AE4)
   Ref: Type 3b (Hill and Kent 1960)
   Trench 19/355, SF 80 (residual in phase 1)

2. Silver penny (Identified by Mark Curteis of Northampton Borough Museum)
   William I, PAXS Type - (1086-87)
   Ref: North (1960, no 849)
   Trench 19/90, SF 40 (phase 3)

COPPER ALLOY

The assemblage of twenty copper-alloy objects comprises mainly small objects which would have formed part of personal attire, dress accessories and jewellery. Only one object is unstratified, of the remainder five are from Phase 1 deposits and two from Phase 2 deposits, nine from Phase 3 and 4 deposits and four are post-medieval. Few possess any intrinsic value. Many of the finds display signs of decay. The dress accessories include; a two-piece strap-end (context 27, phase 3; Fig, 22.5), similar to an example from London (Egan and Pritchard 1991, fig 89, 631,634); 5 cylinders (cf Cook and Dacre 1985, fig 31: 4,6), including two which are possibly tinned or silvered and one which is decorated with a linear motif (context 8, phase 1; Fig, 22.3; cf Hills 1997, fig 123, 1256). In addition, there are two joining S-shaped chain links (105: phase 2), a possible earring (unstratified) and five small fragments of sheet metal, of which four were retrieved from a phase 1 early Saxon deposit (355).

IRON

Thirty-two ferrous metal objects were retrieved, mainly from phase 3 and 4 contexts. They include a small number of tools, namely two whittle tang knives (1, phase 6; 247, phase 4) and two blade fragments (135 phase 3; 185, phase 4). In addition there are eleven nails, including a fiddle-key horseshoe nail (112, phase 3); one wedge (223, phase 4) and a swivel-loop (28, phase 4), similar to an example from Faccombe Netherton (Fairbrother 1990, fig 9.8, 425). None is illustrated.

LEAD

A musket ball (28, phase 4), one fragment of a structural fitting (8, phase 2) and an off-cut (243, phase 4) represent the only lead alloy objects found. They and are of no intrinsic value and their provenances are not significant. None is illustrated.

GLASS

Six fragments of vessel glass and two fragments of window glass were recovered, in addition to two beads. The vessel glass includes two aquamarine-coloured fragments of possibly Romano-British origin from the phase 1 ditch (355); a small fragment from context 8 (phase 2), decorated with applied equi-distant trails, a form of decoration common on various forms of Anglo-Saxon vessel (See Harden 1978, 1-24). The window glass includes one small piece of decaying medieval window glass from the floor of the phase 3 building (112), no decoration is visible. The beads are early-middle Anglo-Saxon in date, one of which is buff/white in colour with blue crossing trails (residual in phase 3, context 113; Fig, 22.1) and is similar to an example from West Stow dated to the 6th and 7th centuries (West 1985, fig 231, 8).

TILE

A total of 14.6 kg of ceramic tile was retrieved, predominantly from contexts of phases 4 and 5 and comprises 134 fragments. Overall flat roof-tile was the predominant type (105 fragments), with one fragment of a ridge tile. Too few fragments can be closely associated with destruction of the buildings identified on the site to postulate that their roofs were tiled. Most fragments may simply have been dumped, having derived from elsewhere. There are three floor tiles. One medieval example is excessively worn, only the slipped motif remaining (Trench 19, u/s). The other two are coated in a green lead glaze, one is complete (117mm x 117mm x 16mm) and its upper surface is excessively worn. It derives from Trench 20, context 4 and is probably of 14th-century date. The other (from Trench 19, context 68) has been diagonally scored prior to firing, then cut in half for laying. Two additional fragments are Roman, both shell-tempered; one is combed for keying, indicating that it may either be a box-flue or voussoir-tile; the other is a tegula. Both were residual in post-Roman contexts in Trench 19.

WORKED FLINT

The flint assemblage is small and comprises three retouched flints and one that has been utilized (pers.comm. A. Chapman). They were residual in a variety of contexts in Trench 19: 8 (phase 1/2), 124 (phase 2) and 356 (phase 1).

CLAY TOBACCO PIPES

A maximum total of 14 clay tobacco pipes were represented, comprising 7 bowl and 7 stem fragments. Six of the bowls are

sufficiently complete to enable dating, following Oswald's simplified typology using bowl and foot/spur form (1975, 37-41). The bowl forms span the period 1600-1840. Three makers-marks survive, two occur on the base of the foot and one on the back of the bowl. Marks on the underside of the foot occur as single initials, one in lombardic script (M or E) occurring on the earliest bowl form (Type 4, 1600-40), while the other is a 'D' (context 242). In addition a bowl dated c.1810-40 is stamped with J. HOLT - NUNEATON within a shield (c.1848-1866; u/s). It is identical to a tobacco-pipe from Coventry (Muldoon 1979, fig 7, 33a). Three bowls, a Type 4 (1600-40), Type 5 (1640-60) and Type 10 (1700-40) are decorated with a rouletted motif set just below the rim (context 71; Oswald 1975, a motif in use until the 17th century.

CERAMIC OBJECTS

The only ceramic object is a late Saxon or early medieval conical spindle whorl from Trench 20, context 21. It had been crudely fashioned from a reused Romano-British pottery sherd.

OTHER CLAY MATERIAL

There are 152 pieces of sandy orange-fired daub with micaceous inclusions, comprising mainly amorphous lumps; some have flattened/smoothed surfaces and occasional wattle impressions can be seen. The daub, mainly in very small fragments, was widely scattered across the site, mainly in contexts of phases 1-3. Significant perhaps was the occurrence of 700g in context 355 (30% of total), constituting daub of early Saxon origin or residual from earlier Roman occupation nearby. Daub from phase 2 contexts was widely scattered, the only concentration being in context 75, stratigraphically the latest ditch of the curving enclosure sequence around the identified phase 2 timber building. This produced 309g (13% of the total and 54% of the phase 2 assemblage). A further 450g (20% of total) came from contexts directly associated with the phase 3 rectangular building (112, 278, 347 and 371) and which constituted 80% of all the daub from phase 3. These figures indicate the use of daub as a building material especially during phase 3. Its distribution, with concentrations in and around identified buildings, suggests that there were no other structures present of those phases which went unrecognised in excavation. The material survived because it had been fired, possibly unintentionally. Either it was used around or near a hearth, perhaps as a firehood, or it derives from buildings which were consumed by fire.

ANTLER

A stamp/die made from a sawn-off red deer antler tine was recovered from a Phase 1 Anglo-Saxon context (356 ditch fill layer) (Fig 22.2). Antler tines provide ideal raw material for the manufacture of stamps with the design cut into the compact tissue at the tip (MacGregor 1978, 194). Stamp dies with simple motifs were used to decorate pottery, by being pressed into the clay prior to firing. This example resembles a stylized 'sunburst' motif and is not dissimilar to one of eight antler dies from the Frisian Terps, Holland (Roes 1963, 40, fig 12). The motif seen on the die from Daventry cannot be matched to any of the stamped pottery recovered with the result that this example cannot yet be closely associated with the decoration of pottery as opposed to another medium. It has been suggested that stamps executed from antler, may equally have been employed as a tool to decorate leather (Wahloo 1972; MacGregor 1974, 78; 1985, 194). This has been briefly discussed by Riddler (1986, 19). Thirty or so early-Saxon antler dies of this form are known in this country. They occur on the continent (ibid, 40) and in Great Britain and have been found as far afield as East Anglia (West 1985,125), Hampshire and Oxfordshire, as listed by MacGregor (1985, 194) and the Orkney Isles (Stevenson 1952, Fig. 2.5; MacGregor 1974, fig. 10.145; Ritchie 1971, Fig. 4.34).

STONE

Objects of stone include two white mosaic tesserae of Romano-British date and residual in phase 3 contexts (28 and 135), a lathe-turned globular spindle whorl from context 121 and probably of 12th-century date as it was found in association with a distinctive pottery pit group in that context (Fig, 22.4). In addition there was a small late Saxon bead of red stone (308, phase 2). There are two whetstones, for sharpening knives or tools (134; also Trench 13/3). The latter has been fashioned from a piece of micaceous schist (Norwegian ragstone) and would have been suspended from a belt. It is evident from the small piece that survives that the whetstone initially broke longitudinally through the perforation; the owner then created notches on the remaining piece, to enable continued suspension (Fig 22.6). There are also two fragments of gritstone quern. One is part of an upper-stone with pecking marks still evident on the grinding surface from context 135 (phase 3). The other is a lower stone with the grinding surface well worn, but from the same phase 3 context.

ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS

Five fragments of worked architectural stone were recovered. All were local Northampton sand ironstone. Two, comprising a squared block and a fragment of tracery beading, were unstratified and may have been imported to the site in recent times as part of levelling. Of the stratified material, two fragments derive from the phase 4 pennanular gully (9) and are foot-worn, possibly as part of a former threshold, while the other was deposited in pit 121, a context dated by its ceramic assemblage, to the first half of the 12th century. The block is chamfered to leave four finished vertical faces and probably derives from an embrasure. The tooling on all four worked faces is characteristic of 12th-century work.

CATALOGUE OF ILLUSTRATED FINDS

Fig 22

1. Glass, bead. Buff/white decorated with blue crossing trails. Diameter: 8mm Height: 6mm. Tr19/113, SF 33
2. Antler stamp die. Sawn off red deer antler tine. The terminal has been trimmed and the compact tissue at the tip carved. The positive impression forms a boss in relief from which fifteen ridges radiate, a stylistic 'sunburst' motif. Length: 85mm. Tr19/356, SF 75
3. Copper alloy lace-chape (tinned/silvered?). Parallel type with edge to edge seam. Decorated with three groups of three equidistant grooves, marginally and centrally placed. Length: 30mm. Tr19/8, SF 61

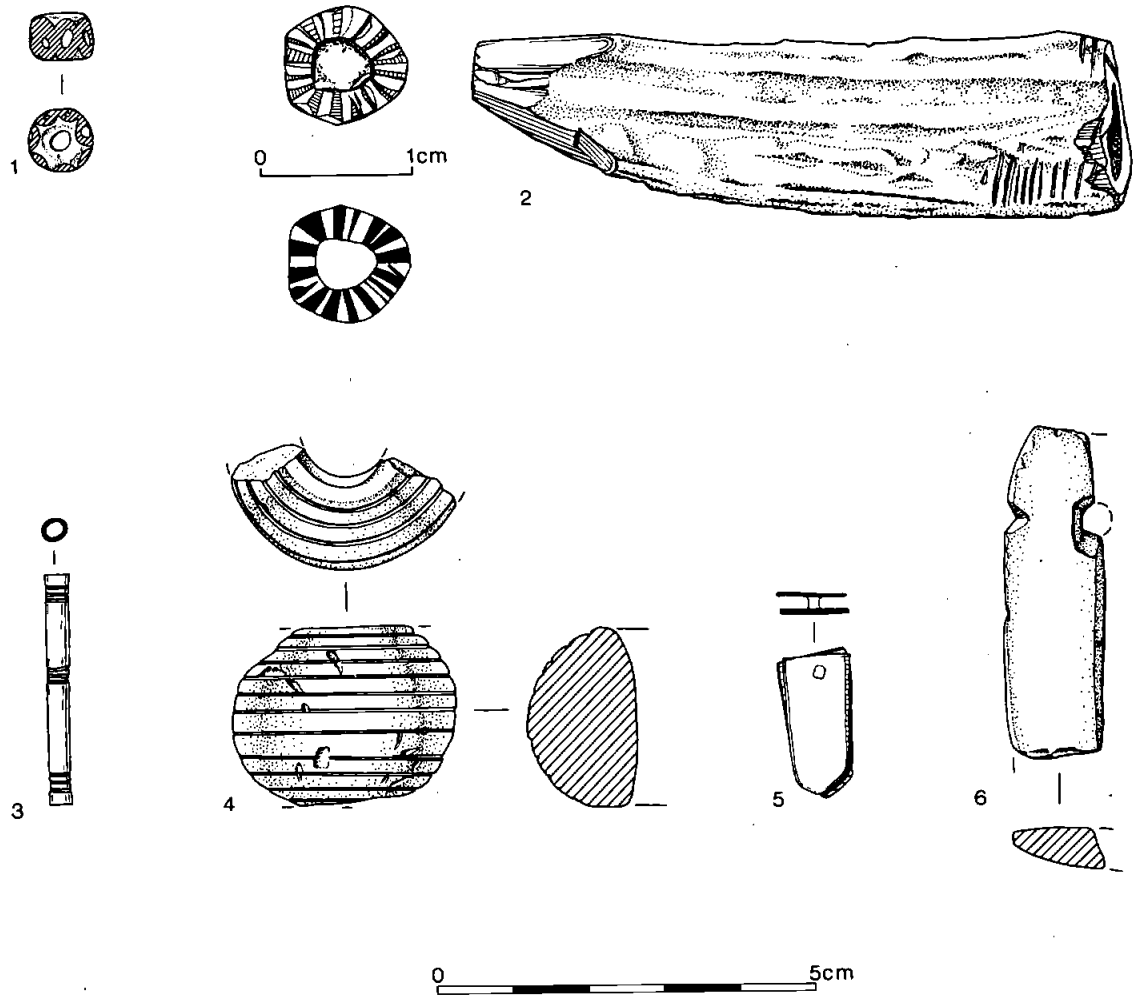

Fig 22 Other finds

4. Half of a silt-stone spindle-whorl of globular form with lathe-turned grooves. Diameter: 35mm Height: 23mm. Tr19/121, SF 21
5. Copper alloy strap-end in two-pieces, secured by a central rivet at one end. Length: 18mm Width: 9mm. Tr19/27, SF 14
6. Mica-schist whetstone. Incomplete, terminal and one side missing. Triangular cross-section. Original perforation evident with 'V-shaped' notches fashioned later to enable continued suspension after it had broken. Length: 42mm Width 13mm Thickness: 5mm. Tr13/3, SF 1

ANIMAL BONES
by Alison Locker

A total of 4,354 mammal bones, 28 bird bones and 11 oyster valves were identified from Saxon, medieval and post-medieval deposits (phases 15) from Trenches 19 and 20. A small quantity of bones was recovered from other trenches but the contexts

did not directly relate to the main area and they are not included in this report, nor are the few bones from phase 6, 1800 onwards. All species, group and phased metrical data are tabulated and deposited in the site archive.

The following species were identified; horse (Equus sp. domestic), cattle (Bos sp. domestic), sheep (*Ovis* sp. domestic), pig (*Sus* sp. domestic), dog (*Canis* sp. domestic), cat (Felis sp. domestic), red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*), fallow deer (*Dama dama*), domestic fowl (*Gallus* sp. domestic), goose (*Anser* sp.), pigeon (*Columba* sp.) and raven (*Corvus corax*). All the bone was identified by anatomy to species/group level, or classified as indeterminate. Measurements were taken after von den Driesch (1976); these are archived and referred to in the text where relevent. The ageing of mandibles was recorded using Grant (1982), any ages given should be regarded as a guide only to relative stages. The numbers of bones tabulated (in archive) show all fragments including loose teeth, which were sometimes all that remained of the less frequently occurring species such as horse, dog and cat. No goats were identified from among the ovicaprid remains so it is assumed that only sheep are present and they are referred to as such throughout the text. The largest sample of bone is attributed to phase 1, early to middle Saxon; 49% of all bone came from these ditch deposits. The report concentrates on this group.

Phase 1

Most of the bone from this Saxon phase came from related ditch deposits and in particular context 355, the main infill deposit of ditch 395. While the lowest infill layer (361) produced only five fragments, More derived from layer (356), immediately under the main deposit (355) and comprised 46% skull and associated fragments such as loose teeth. These were two horse lateral incisors, from an animal of around 3 years old judging from the lack of wear. Roe deer is represented by a broken antler tine.

In the main ditch infill deposit (355), the assemblage shows all parts of the carcase represented for cattle; vertebrae and phalanges of sheep and pig are poorly represented. Since metapodials were present the feet were not removed, and their absence may reflect recovery rather than carcase selection. It is to be noted that some residual Roman pottery was encountered in the ditch fills and the small quantity of animal bone sent for dating by radio-carbon calibration produced anomalous results which may indicate the unwitting selection of residual material. An unknown amount of bone encountered in the early Saxon deposits may be residual, derived from Romano-British sources. By comparison with the pottery assemblages 31 Roman potsherds amongst 623 early Saxon, we might anticipate a residuality rate of about 5% of the assemblage. Although cattle are the most numerous species from the fragment count a calculation of the minimum number of individuals from ageable mandibles (which were the most commonly occurring bone for this purpose) indicated a minimum of seven cattle, three sheep and ten pigs. Pigs were, therefore, the most numerous animal in this ditch deposit.

The mandibles showed a range of age stages. Using both the methods of Grant (1982) and a summary of eruption stages quoted by Amorosi (1989) the maximum ages of 10 cattle are shown below:

18 months	(2nd molar erupting)	= 3
2.5 years	(3rd molar erupting)	= 3
3 years	(3rd molar just in wear)	= 2
3 years +	(3rd molar heavily worn)	= 2

This suggests that these cattle were not animals that had come to the end of their working lives (breeding, milk, traction and manure), neither are young calves present to imply the continuance of milk production. Eight of the ten mandibles were from young adults slaughtered before full maturity (indicated by incomplete dental eruption), possibly as part of an annual cull (although not as a single episode) for conservation of winter fodder, or conversely a possible surplus of males. Hagen (1995, 67) shows this pattern of young adults and elderly animals to be consistant with that from a number of other Saxon sites except for West Stow where a high proportion of animals killed in their first year suggested milk production.

Only 6 sheep mandibles could be aged as shown below; All the animals would have overwintered at least once, Hagen (op cit 88) states that a concentration of mature animals shows evidence for breeding, dairying and dung, but the sample here is rather small to attach much significance to age groups.

1.5 years	(2nd molar erupting)	= 2
2 years+	(3rd molar in wear)	= 4

The pig mandibles show a comparatively wide range of age stages as would be expected from a species that has a much higher fecundity rate than cattle or sheep. There appears to be a greater concentration at the stage where the third molar is erupting as shown below;

6 months	(only 1st molar erupted)	= 3
1 year	(3rd molar unerupted)	= 2
16-20 months	(3rd molar erupting)	= 7
2 years +	(All dentitition in wear)	= 3

Modern pigs are sexually mature by 8-10 months when they are usually mated for the first time (Hulme 1982, 18). Even with a slower maturation rate for more primitive breeds it is likely that those of 16 months and over could have given birth to, or sired, at least one litter. The significance of the dominance of pig by number of individuals in this ditch is difficult to assess, since there is only one other contemporary feature, a pit, which produced only 25 bones. Whether the number of pigs reflects particular deposition in this feature or whether it is an indication of local husbandry during this period cannot be judged. The evidence for the status of pork seems to be conflicting, with Hagen (op cit, 121) concluding that the pig is usually associated with the poorer classes keeping one per household, yet she also cites herds kept by the aristocracy and the use of pork and bacon as feast food. West (1988, 151) suggests the high proportion of pig compared to sheep from Middle Saxon levels at Maiden Lane reflects the wealth of the Saxon inhabitants. On the above evidence it might be suggested that the pig is a classless animal during this period, universally popular. Pig is sometimes attributed high status by virtue of the other species found with it, ie. remains of red and roe deer from prime areas of the carcase, wild birds, hare etc interpreted as a suite of species suggestive of feasting (Serjeantson pers comm). If this is applied to these ditch deposits the emphasis would appear to be on domestic consumption. On the basis of sample size, it would be unwise to speculate too closely.

The cattle and sheep sized fragments were mainly rib and longbone fragments, smashed and broken in carcase preparation, two sheep sized ribs showed cut marks and 12 cattle rib fragments were burnt. The virtual absence of horncores of cattle and sheep, and the plentiful evidence of other parts of the skull, suggests that the horncores were taken elsewhere for horn working, the cattle hides were removed for tanning with the horncores still attached. Other parts of the cattle skeleton were represented; scapulae were broken across the neck and sometimes axially through the glenoid. Humeri were largely distal ends broken across the midshaft (proximal ends preserve poorly) with knifecuts from defleshing. Radii were broken across the midshaft. The pelvis was smashed in a number of places, commonly through the acetabulum and the ilium neck. On the hind limb the femur was split axially through the shaft for marrow extraction and the tibia was often broken across the shaft. Metacarpals and metatarsals were broken across the shaft and one was axially split. One metacarpal was exceptionally splayed distally which can develop as a reaction to pressure from traction. Phalanges were generally complete, with knifecuts on the anterior surface of a first phalanx. The lateral processes of vertebrae were frequently chopped indicating axial division of the carcase. Butchery on sheep and pig was less clearly defined, with many bones broken; a sheep horn core was sawn off at the base. Humeri and radii (forelimb) of both species showed evidence of axial splitting. The carcases were divided up but the patterning is unclear.

The metrical data suggests a variation in the size of cattle, for instance the distal breadth of the tibia ranges between 53.5 mm to 68.7 mm (n = 12), the average being 59.6 mm. These could be differences in breed or sex groupings, but with so few horn cores it is difficult to suggests what the large range means, also reflected in other measurements for cattle. Only one limb was complete for the estimation of withers height, 115.0 cms from a metacarpal (after Fock 1966). Canid gnawing was more evident on cattle than sheep or pig, particularly on the broken edges of limb bones and the proximal ends of ulnae and calcanea where the epiphyses are late fusing and less dense.

Horse is represented by part of a pair of mandibles from a male (canines present), judged to be about 18 years from the tooth wear (after Huidekoper 1903), a single deciduous upper molar was also present. Of the postcranial fragments the proximal end of a metatarsal showed slight exostoses on the anterior proximal surface, possibly attributable to work related stress. The dog mandible showed signs of infection in the alveoli below the first molar which may have been abscessed.

Both roe and red deer were present in this layer, roe from an antler tine and the distal end of a metatarsal, and red from a tine and fragments of lower limb bones. The antler fragments were unworked. Although the presence of deer might be an indicator of high status consumption none of the bones identified here are from parts of the carcass associated with high quality meat. Earlier discussion of pig refers to species as indicators of status. The red deer measurements suggested large animals, on breadth measurements the same size as the smallest cattle in this phase. Evidence for red and roe deer on Saxon sites is cited by Hagen (1995, 133) and seems plentiful from both urban and rural sites. Although the nobility owned hunting dogs, for hunting on their estates, ordinary citizens may have had access to hunting in a less sophisticated style on common land.

Bird bones are few from these excavations, even in this largest deposit, only 2 domestic fowl bones were identified, possibly from the same right leg.

Phase 2

The contexts of this phase produced 77% of all the later bone (phases 2-5), and comprised mainly ditch deposits. The cattle, sheep and pig remains from the ditches show no bias favouring particular areas of the carcass, this may be a feature of the small sample sizes. A cattle skull (from fill of ditch 309) from an adult animal was partially complete, the horn cores were broken off above the base, the frontals and parietals were present. There was no evidence of cut marks, chop marks or poleaxing. Ageable mandibles were few, eight for all three species. A complete sheep radius (in trench 19, context 106) was from an animal of 56 cms at the shoulder (after Teichert 1975).

A pair of pig mandibles show an area of slight infection on the left side below the 1st and 2nd molar and on the right an area of porous raised bone on the lingual side. Such examples of dental pathology are not unusual in domestic animals, particularly in pigs, whose omnivorous foraging habits may have made them more susceptible to dental problems. In ditch deposit 11 two pairs of dog mandibles were from adult animals, showing all teeth in wear. A femur from the fill of ditch 240 was from an animal of approximately 58 cms at the shoulder (after Harcourt 1974).The horse remains showed no evidence of skinning or butchery, a metatarsal from ditch deposit 59 was from a pony of 126.8 cms (after Kiesewalter 1888), just over 12 hands in height. Two domestic fowl bones were recovered from ditch deposits, as was the midshaft and distal end of a raven femur from 304. The femur though full sized still retained a slightly porous texture, indicating the bird was not fully mature.

Phase 3

These medieval deposits are from six ditches, three pits and features associated with Building B at the foot of the slope. The ditch deposits show all domestic species, over 25% of which are indeterminate and together with the number of skull and associated fragments indicate a high degree of fragmentation. Some complete cattle metapodials from the ditches were measured and gave the following withers heights: 106.4 and 117.5 cms from metacarpals and 116.6 from a single complete metatarsal (after Fock 1966).A single complete sheep metacarpal gave a shoulder height of 56.1 cms (after Teichert 1975). All the dog remains were from 115, and are likely to be from the same adult animal of around 49 cms at the shoulder (after Harcourt 1974).

Horse included loose teeth from 110 and 115. Bones were broken but with no evidence of chop marks. However on the shaft area of a humerus (from 110) two knifecuts suggest defleshing, and on the medial side of a metacarpal shaft knifecuts may be evidence of skinning. Slight exostoses on the proximal end of a small metatarsal could be further stress-related pathology. A horse phalanx and the proximal end of a radius from two postholes from the rectangular building may have been used as packing.

Sixty-five bones were recorded from three pits, but only cattle and sheep were present. Nearly half (30 bones) were rib, long bone or indeterminate fragments and almost a quarter were skull and associated fragments, the assemblage from these pits appears particularly fragmentary. Most of the bone associated with the rectangular building (Building B) is from the earth floor and destruction debris (112). This contained the well preserved post cranial skeleton of a piglet, aged approximately three to six months, judging from the unfused neural vertebral arches (after Silver 1969). Although examples of canid gnawing were observed over a number of contexts it was noticeable in this layer that of nine cattle limb bones at least five showed clear evidence

of gnawing across the broken edges of bones. This did not occur to the same degree in other contexts associated with the building or with other species. There is no evidence from the bone as to the use of the building.

Phase 4

The enclosure ditch around Building C contained most of the bone. A horse skull was found in many pieces, the height of the upper 2nd premolar suggested an age of around nine years (after Levine 1982). The roots of the upper third molars were distorted and fibrous in appearance, similar examples from Portchester Castle in cattle and sheep have been linked with chronic infection (Baker and Brothwell 1980, 150). A single loose horse tooth from the final recut of the ditch was a deciduous incisor from an animal of less than 2.5 years (Huidekoper 1903). Of the five horse phalanges from context 28 there were two articulating first and second phalanges, showing two feet had been discarded; no third phalanges were present.

Evidence for ageing on dental evidence was poor, but of three cattle metacarpals (minimum number of individuals = 3), were all distally unfused giving a maximum age of 2.5 years (after Amorosi 1989), only one of four cattle metatarsals was unfused. One of the distally fused metatarsals was splayed on both sides of the articulation, which may have result from continuous pressure on the joint during traction. Measurements of the complete metatarsals gave three withers heights for cattle; 115.5, 123.1 and 125.3 cms after Fock (1966). Sheep and pig remains were less numerous than cattle and did not display any particular disposal pattern. Measurement of complete sheep metatarsals gave the following withers heights; 51.3, 54.2 and 59.0 cms (after Teichert 1975). Part of a fused hock (astragalus and navicular) of horse, dated to phase 4/5, is of interest because of the pathology exhibited. This is known as spavin, the bones of the hock have fused together with the development of exostoses over the outer surface rendering the joint immobile. The condition starts with animal becoming lame and the joint is inflammed, with rest it can be cured, but otherwise develops into the permanent state seen here.

Phase 5

The post-Medieval deposits comprised pits and a gulley. Sheep are more numerous than cattle in the specifically identified categories, though this is adjusted if the cattle-sized and sheep -sized fragments are included and may only reflect the higher degree of fragmentation of cattle making specific identification more difficult. All the bones from the pits, except for a dog radius and two horse humeri are food debris, as are the few bones from the gulley. Evidence for the consumption of venison is shown by a red deer proximal fragment of tibia and a proximal humerus. Comparing the proximal breadth (Bp) of the post medieval tibia, 58.2mm, with that of the Saxon tibia, 77.9mm, shows the earlier animal to be much more robust and therefore probably much bigger. This may be because a stag is being compared to a hind, or perhaps it reflects a reduction in the size of deer in the later periods. However a much larger sample of metrical data is required from this site before any temporal size changes in red deer could be considered.

SUMMARY

Approximately half the bone excavated comes from an early Saxon ditch, with pig as the most frequently occurring animal; skull fragments and mandibles of cattle, sheep and pig are common at this phase. The significance of the relative proportions of species present is not known. There is only slender evidence on numerical data to suggest that following the relative dominance of pig in phase 1, cattle are most important in phases 2-4 (medieval) superseded by sheep in the post medieval deposits (phase 5), but the assemblages are too small to develop this interpretation. The horse remains tend to come from the ditch fills, with few exceptions and given the quantity of loose teeth (which survive well) there may be some element of redeposition. The horse bones, however, show no evidence of greater weathering or erosion than those of the other species and would appear to be contemporary with the rest of the assemblage.

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CHARRED PLANT REMAINS
by Wendy Carruthers

Following the advice of Dr Helen Keeley, Environmental Archaeologist, bulk soil samples were taken from pits and other well stratified features with dark fills for the purpose of recovering charred plant remains and small bones. The soil samples, which were mainly 10 litres in volume (see Environmental Tables 1 and 2 for details), were processed in a Siraf-type tank using standard flotation methods, and the flots were recovered in 1mm and 500μ meshed sieves. The charred flots from 12 environmental soil samples from Trench 19 were sent to the author for analysis. Of the samples, two were from phase 1 contexts (355, 375), three were from phase 2 contexts (8, 240, 309), six were from phase 2/3 and phase 3 contexts (75 - phase 2/3: two samples, 116, 312: three samples) and one derived from a phase 4 context (27).

After a rapid scan of the flots it was obvious that many were extremely rich in charred cereal grains, chaff and weed seeds. The six largest flots were gently but thoroughly mixed by hand, so as to obtain a representative fraction, and then subsampled using a riffle box (sample divider), (see Tables 1 and 2 for percentages of flots examined). One sample, sample no. 9 (from 312), was omitted altogether, as it appeared to be almost indistinguishable stratigraphically from sample 8.

SOME NOTES ON IDENTIFICATION

The state of preservation of the cereal remains was, on the whole, better than on many sites of the period (see further comments in

the discussion below), and chaff fragments were relatively numerous for an assemblage of primarily free-threshing wheat.

Wheat
All of the larger samples contained predominantly free-threshing wheat grains with the typical oval, plump form of bread-type wheats. However, it is not possible to safely identify wheat to species-level using grain morphological criteria alone (Jacomet, 1987) and unfortunately, few of the wheat rachis fragments were well-enough preserved to indicate whether they were hexaploid (a group which includes bread and club wheat) or tetraploid (rivet or hard wheat). Most of the segments had been broken into small fragments, fractured close to the node. The few entire internode segments present were identifiable as hexaploid bread-type wheat (*Triticum aestivum*); no short internodes indicative of club wheat (*T. compactum*) were present and no tetraploid wheat was positively identified. Free-threshing tetraploid wheats (*T. turgidum/durum*) have recently been identified from a number of medieval sites in central and southern Britain dating from at least the 12th century (Moffett, 1991), so it is possible that some of the poorly preserved remains were from tetraploids. The two types of wheat have different cooking properties and growth habits; bread-type wheat produces a well-risen bread whilst rivet-type wheats are more suitable for making biscuits. Rivet wheat grows on a much longer straw which can be useful for thatching. Club wheat has been recovered sporadically from sites dated to the Roman period onwards and has similar baking properties to bread-wheat. This species may also have been present in small quantities amongst the poorly-preserved charred cereal remains. A few of the wheat grains were hump-backed and flat-faced, resembling the hulled wheats emmer or spelt (*T. dicoccum/spelta*). These could represent residual material, perhaps dating from the Roman period, as emmer and spelt are rarely found in later contexts and there is no securely-dated evidence to suggest that they were grown as late as the medieval period in Britain. A small quantity of residual Roman pottery was recovered from the site, but this amount of material did not suggest that residuality from this period would be a major problem when interpreting the assemblage. Since no emmer/spelt glume bases were present (these commonly occur where residuality is a problem) it is possible that the few hump-backed grains were just extreme forms of free-threshing wheats, particularly tetraploid wheat.

Barley
The shape and surface characteristics of the barley indicated that the hulled form was present, and the presence of twisted grains showed that some of this at least was from six-row hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare* L. emend.). It was not considered worthwhile counting straight to twisted grain ratios in order to see if two-row barley might be present, as factors such as crop processing affect the results. Unfortunately, none of the rachis fragments were well-enough preserved to say whether or not two-row barley had been grown, although it has been identified from a few late Saxon and Medieval sites (e.g. Murphy, 1985). Six-row barley is often considered to be a useful fodder crop, whilst two-row barley is the preferred type for producing malt. No sprouted grains were recovered to indicate that malting had been taking place on this site.

Rye
This was the least frequent cereal in each of the flots, and it may have been grown as a minor crop or occurred as an arable weed. Its long straw is useful for thatching, particularly if tetraploid wheats were not grown in this area.

Oats
A few of the oats were still enclosed in their chaff, and these were identified as cultivated oats (*Avena sativa* L.). The rest of the naked grains may have come from weed oats or crops. Since they were often more numerous than barley grains, it is likely that oats were also a minor crop which was possibly grown for fodder.

Legumes
Both small and large-seeded legumes were well represented in the samples, but unfortunately few were well-enough preserved to be identified to species level. Therefore, measurements were taken from the well-preserved examples in order to determine how many species might have been present. Where hilums were preserved, these were found to be mostly of the *Vicia hirsuta*-type, i.e. long, thin hilums the length of the seed. The dimensions of these identifiable seeds are marked on the figure. As their distribution matches well with the size spread of the seeds, and the graph shows a more or less normal distribution, it is likely that most of the seeds recovered were from this species. Hairy tare (*V. hirsuta*) is an annual weed which is commonly found in cultivated ground. It can also grow as a ruderal weed. The larger-seeded legumes showed a scattered size distribution ranging from 2.7-5.2mm with no particular peak. Very few hilums were preserved amongst this group so no closer identifications could be made. It is likely that several taxa were represented, probably including cultivated legumes such as peas (*Pisum sativum*) and cultivated vetch (*Vicia sativa*). In two cases the hilums were of the *V. sativa*-type. Horse beans were identified in two cases (*V. faba* var. *minor*).

The galls
Three large (0.5-0.8mm), oval charred objects possessing empty, open-topped flask-shaped chambers were recovered from a phase 3 ditch and pit. After some consultation with colleagues, Allen Hall (Environmental Archaeology Unit, York) identified them as probably being galls of cynipid wasps, e.g. the oak cynipid *Andricus inflator* (cf. Darlington, 1968, fig.174). The galls were probably burnt amongst fuel wood, as they form on the twigs of young oaks.

THE CHARACTER OF THE ASSEMBLAGES

Although the larger assemblages all consisted primarily of grain, the quantities of chaff fragments and weed seeds were relatively high for a site of the late Saxon - early medieval periods containing primarily free-threshing wheat (see grain:chaff:weed seed ratios at the bottom of Tables 2 and 3). Experimental charring of cereal components (Boardman & Jones, 1990) has shown that free-threshing cereal chaff (straw and rachis) is the first element that is lost on charring, resulting in their under-representation in charred assemblages. An expected grain to rachis node ratio might be as high as 6:1 at harvest, depending on the number of grains that develop in each spikelet (usually 2 to 6, varying with the variety of wheat grown, soil type and season, (Percival, 1948)). Ratios for free-threshing wheat grains to rachis nodes were easily within this range for some samples, e.g. 6:1 = sample 10; 3:1 = sample 3. If whole ears from an unprocessed crop were represented, these must have been broken up following burning and redeposition, since the rachis

Table 2: Plant Remains from St John's Square, Daventry

Phase	1	2	3	4	
TAXA Number of samples	2	3	5	1	habitat
Triticum sp. (free-threshing wheat grain)	5	1356	3615	278	
Triticum sp. (free-threshing wheat rachis)		177	660	4	
T. aestivum-type (bread-type wheat rachis)		2	21	1	
*T.*cf. *dicoccum/spelta* (cf. emmer/spelt wheat grain)		3	6	2	
Hordeum sp. (hulled barley grain)	13	146	363	35	
Hordeum sp. (barley rachis)		12	49	2	
Secale cereale L. (rye grain)		61	132	4	
S. cereale (rye rachis)		9	56		
Avena sativa (cultivated oat grain + floret base)			4		
Avena sp. (wild/cultivated oat grain)	9	131	581	26	
Avena sp. (oat awn fragments)	+	+	+	+	
Indeterminate cereals	14	1403	3633	170	
Large Gramineae culm nodes		4	26		
BORAGINACEAE					
Lithospermum arvense L. (corn gromwell)			20		A
CAPRIFOLIACEAE					
Sambucus nigra L. (elder)		1	[3]	[1]	DSWYn
CARYOPHYLLACEAE					
Agrostemma githago L. (corn cockle)		4	17	1	A
Silene cf. *alba* (cf. white campion)			1		CDH
S. cf. *dioica* (cf. red campion)			3		HWn
Silene sp. (campion)		1			
Spergula arvensis L. (corn spurrey)			2		Aal
Stellaria media (L.)Vill. (chickweed)				1	CDn
CHENOPODIACEAE					
Atriplex patula/prostrata (orache)		5	23	4	CD
Chenopodium album L. (fat hen)	1	2	4	4	CDn
Atriplex/Chenopodium sp. (embryo)			1		CD
COMPOSITAE					
Anthemis cotula L. (stinking mayweed)		42	426	34	ADh
Centaurea cyanus L. (cornflower)			2		AD
C. cf. *nigra* L. (cf. lesser knapweed)		2	2		GY
Centaurea sp.			2		
Lapsana communis L. (nipplewort)		2	14		DHY
Tripleurospermum maritimum (L.)Koch (scentless mayweed)		20	222	7	AD
CORYLACEAE					
Corylus avellana L. (hazel nut shell fragments)		1			HSW
CRUCIFERAE					
Brassica/Sinapis sp. (mustard, charlock etc.)		1	2		
Raphanus raphanistrum L. (wild radish capsule frag)			8		AD
CYPERACEAE					
Carex sp. (sedges)		5	4[2]		BGMw
Eleocharis subg. *Palustres* (spike rush)			2	3	BMPw
DIPSACACEAE					
Knautia arvensis (L.) Coulter (field scabious)		3			DGHYd
FUMARIACEAE					
Fumaria sp. (fumitory)				1	CDl
GRAMINEAE					
Bromus sp. (chess)		40	210		CDGY
Bromus/Avena sp. (chess/oat)		91	265		
Gramineae NFI		5	27	3	
JUNCACEAE					
Juncus sp. (rush)			1		
LABIATAE					
cf. *Ballota nigra* L. (cf. black horehound)		2			DHY
Galeopsis terrahit agg. (common hemp-nettle)			1		AEW
Prunella vulgaris L. (self-heal)			1		DGW

TAXA	Phase / Number of samples	1 2	2 3	3 5	4 1	habitat
LEGUMINOSAE						
Trifolium /Lotus sp. (clover/birdsfoot trefoil)			1	1	4	CG
Vicia faba var. *minor* (horse bean)				3		
Vicia/Lathyrus sp. (small-seeded vetch/tare, c.1-2mm)			49	346	22	CGH
Vicia/Lathyrus/Pisum sp. (vetch/tare/pea/bean, 3-5mm)			27	132	5	GH*?
LINACEAE						
Linum cf. *usitatissimum* (cf. cultivated flax)					2	*?
PAPAVERACEAE						
Papaver cf. *dubium/hybridum* (cf. long-headed poppy)			1	7		AD
PLANTAGINACEAE						
Plantago lancolata L. (ribwort plantain)				5		G
POLYGONACEAE						
Fallopia convolvulus (L.)A.Love (black bindweed)				2	1	ACDI
Polygonum aviculare agg. (knotgrass)				8	1	DY
P. persicaria/lapathifolium (pale persicaria/red shank)				1		
Rumex acetosella agg. (sheep's sorrel)				16	2	CEGa
Rumex sp. (dock)			6	33	9	CDG
RANUNCULACEAE						
Ranunculus cf. *flammula* L. (cf. lesser spearwort)			1	1		BPw
R. repens/acris/bulbosus (buttercup)					1	
ROSACEAE						
Fragaria vesca L. (strawberry)			1			HY*
Potentilla sp. (cinquefoil)			1			
Rubus fruticosus agg. (blackberry)				[2]		HSW*
RUBIACEAE						
Galium aparine L. (cleavers)			1	8		DH
Galium sp. (frag.)					1	
Sherardia arvensis L. (field madder)				9		AD
SCROPHULARIACEAE						
Odontites verna/Euphrasia sp. (red bartsia/eyebright)			7	8		CD
Veronica hederifolia L. (ivy-leaved speedwell)					1	C
SOLANACEAE						
Solanum nigrum L. (black nightshade)			1			CD
UMBELLIFERAE						
Apium nodiflorum (L.) Lag. (fool's watercress)					1	P
Bupleurum rotundifolium L. (thorow-wax)			8	7		Ac
cf. *Pimpinella* sp. (cf. burnet saxifrage)			2			GHW
Scandix pecten-veneris L. (shepherd's needle)				1	2	A
VALERIANACEAE						
Valerianella dentata (L.) Poll. (narrow-fruited cornsalad)				2		A
VERBENACEAE						
Verbena officinalis L. (vervian)			1			DY
VIOLACEAE						
Viola sp. (violet)				1		
Mineralised Arthropod fragments			+	+		
TOTAL		42	3638	10998	632	
litres of soil processed		3.5	16	55	10	

KEY

Feature type: P = pit; D = ditch; H = hillwash

Habitats: A = arable; B = bankside; C = cultivated; D = disturbed/waste; E = heath/moors; G = grassland; H = hedgerows; M = marsh/bog; P = ponds/ditches; S = scrub; W = woods; Y = waysides; * = crop plant/edible

Soil type: a = acid soils/calcifuge; c = basic soils/calcicole; d = dry/well-drained soils; h = heavy soils; l = light, sandy soils; n = nutrient-rich soils; w = wet/damp soils

NFI = not further identified; + = present; [ ] = mineralised seed (uncharred, without embryo)

Table 3: Sample Information

Feature No.	P375	D355	D240	D309	H08	D116	D75	D75	P312	P312	D27
Sample No.	12	13	6	7	16	3	4	5	8	10	2
Total plant remains	31	8	1320	2316	2	2002	1688	2089	2700	2519	632
% flot examined	100	100	50	25	100	100	25	50	12.5	12.5	100
Litres soil processed	0.5	3	5	10	1	10	10	10	15	10	10
Fragments per litre	68	3	528	926	2	200	675	418	1440	2015	63
Grain:chaff:weed ratio			48:3:1	14:1:1		8:2:1	30:1:3	20:1:3	15:1:4	8:1:1	74:1:13

fragments were highly fragmented, most being fractured close to the node and no sections surviving with more than two nodes. However, it is more likely that the largest 8 assemblages contained a mixture of crop processing waste and either processed grain or whole ears, with the principal cause of the fragmentation being due to threshing activities. The burning and redeposition of such waste would cause further damage and loss of chaff components.

Both large (e.g. corn cockle (*Agrostemma githago*)) and small (e.g. thorow-wax (*Bupleurum rotundifolium*)) arable weed seeds were present, so the waste products of several different stages of processing (Hillman, 1981) may have been mixed together and burnt. Although small amounts of other types of domestic and industrial waste may have been present, the only clear evidence of this was a single small fragment of hazelnut shell (*Corylus avellana*) and an elderberry seed (*Sambucus nigra*), as any of the other few grassland and hedgerow taxa could have been growing along field margins, and the damp ground taxa (e.g. spike-rush (*Eleocharis* subg. *Palustres*), cf. lesser spearwort (*Ranunculus* cf. *flammula*)) may have grown along boundary ditches and in poorly-drained areas of the fields.

The charred remains from Daventry resemble those from a rural medieval settlement, but are of particular interest because rural medieval settlement sites more often produce evidence of the processed crops, often completely lacking in samples containing crop processing waste (e.g. Eckweek, Avon (Carruthers, 1995)). In these cases the evidence suggests that crop processing was carried out away from settlements, closer to the sites of cultivation, and that most of the poorly preserved charred remains found on rural settlement sites represent primarily burnt domestic waste. Crop processing waste deposits are especially useful because the weed contaminants contained within them can provide valuable information concerning crop husbandry (see below), and because the chaff fragments are usually the most important components in identifying cereals to species level.

The absence of crop processing waste on medieval sites has also previously been explained by suggesting that it was a useful commodity, being valued for animal fodder, as temper for building materials and fuel for ovens etc. The burning of large quantities of this material on the site at Daventry could be due to the fact that crop processing was occurring on a large scale and surplus waste needed to be disposed of from time to time. Rich charred deposits of this nature also occur in the areas around grain-drying ovens and malting kilns, e.g. the Late Saxon and Medieval deposits at Stafford (Moffett, 1987). However, no structures of this kind were excavated at Daventry and none of the grain appeared to have been sprouted, as is necessary in the production of malt for brewing. In addition, if the remains had been used for fuel for ovens and kilns, the grain is likely to have been less well-preserved because of the high temperatures reached, and there would probably have been evidence of other types of fuel mixed into the deposit. There was very little charcoal present in any of the eight rich flots.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CHARRED PLANT REMAINS

It is not possible to say much about the two phase 1 pit and ditch samples (contexts 375, 355) and the phase 2 hillwash sample (context 8), as very few charred remains were recovered from these small soil samples. Free-threshing wheat, barley and wild/cultivated oats were present in low numbers in the 6th century features, and a couple of weeds with wide habitat ranges including cultivated/disturbed ground and grassland were found in the hillwash. These three samples are, therefore, not included in further discussion. The most notable feature of these assemblages is the very high concentration of charred cereal remains in samples from both the late Saxon and medieval periods. In addition, the percentages of each cereal type remain remarkably constant:

Table 4: The percentage of cereals within specific Context/Phase

Sample no. (Context/Phase)	6 (240/2)	7 (309/2)	3 (116/3)	4 (75/2)	5 (75/2-3)	8 (312/3)	10 (312/3)	2 (27/4)
Wheat %	38	47	55	43	41	32	49	54
Barley %	7	3	6	2	4	7	3	7
Rye %	+	3	1	1	1	2	2	1
Oats %	1	6	5	10	8	7	6	5
Indeterminate cereals %	54	41	33	44	46	52	40	33

phase 2 = 900-1100; 3 = 1100-1225

In the absence of widespread disturbance and residuality the best explanation of the origin of the material is that close by there existed facilities for crop processing, of which the samples represent the waste. The time period involved could be as little as 125 years (phase 2 = 900-1100, phase 3 = 1100-1225), and the fact that it spans two archaeological phases does not affect the suitability of a location for particular agricultural activities. There was, however, no positive evidence for such processing facilities on the site amongst the excavated buildings.

Some evidence of a possible expansion in arable production from phases 2 to 3 is provided by the weed seed assemblages. Although the cereal assemblages appear to remain remarkably constant over time, there is some indication from the weed *taxa* that there are differences between the phases. Non-cereal *taxa* that occurred more than once and were found in only one phase were noted down. (Only phases 2 and 3 were considered in this analysis as too few remains were recovered from phase 1. The fractions by each heading show the number of unique species over the total number of non-cereal *taxa* from that phase. *Vicia faba* is queried because some of the fragments in the *Vicia/Lathyrus/Pisum* category could have come from horse beans. { }= crop plants)

Phase 2 only	**End of phase 2**	**Phase 3 only**
cf.Ballota nigra	*Spergula arvensis*	*Silene cf.dioica*
cf. Pimpinella sp.	*Raphanus raphanistrum*	*Centaurea cyanus*
{Vicia faba var. minor?}	*Plantago lanceolata*	*{Linum cf. usitatissimum} Sherardia arvensis Valerianella dentata*

The table shows that quite a few weed taxa were exclusive to one event only, primarily the backfill of ditch 75, a feature which marks the very end of phase 2. If the categories are broadened to Saxon vs. medieval (phase 2 vs. phase 3), the additional taxa found only in the medieval period are: *Lithospermum arvense, Eleocharis* subg. *Palustres, Fallopia convolvulus, Polygonum aviculare, Rumex acetosella.*

Soils in the locality of the site are calcareous sandy clay loams and heavy clays. The arable weed thorow-wax (*Bupleurum rotundifolium*) shows preference for calcareous soils, and this occured in low numbers in samples from phases 2 and 3. Field madder (*Sherardia arvensis*) and shepherd's needle (*Scandix pecten-veneris*) also grow primarily on calcareous soils and were found in phase 3 samples. Therefore, calcareous soils appear to have been cultivated throughout the period of occupation. Weeds of arable and cultivated/disturbed soils showing preference for acidic soils, however, such as corn spurrey (*Spergula arvensis*), and sheep's sorrel (*Rumex acetosella*) are only found in the later two phases. Wild radish (*Raphanus raphanistrum*) also prefers non-calcareous soils (Ellenberg, 1988). This suggests that there may have been an expansion of production onto poorer, acidic soils, initially during the late Saxon period and further in the medieval period. The deposits from this phase could be the result of processing large quantities of grain imported from a number of properties on a range of soil types.

The appearance of weeds showing a preference for acidic soils is not accompanied by an obvious increase in cultivation of rye or oats - cereals that are better-suited to poorer, acidic soils. This could suggest some pressure to continue to produce primarily wheat - a more highly valued crop. Another possible sign of pressure on production is the high occurrence of small weed vetches, probably mostly hairy tare (*Vicia hirsuta*, see Identification section above). Leguminous weeds such as vetches are often indicators of nutrient-deficient soils, since they are able to produce their own nitrogen due to the presence of bacteria contained in root nodules. Sheep's sorrel also often grows in nitrogen-poor soils. The numbers of these taxa increased with time, as did the occurrence of stinking mayweed (*Anthemis cotula*) seeds, a weed of heavy, damp soils. All of these factors suggest the increasing cultivation of poorer soils, less well-suited to the production of bread-type wheats.

OTHER CROP PLANTS

Crop plants other than cereals tend to be under-represented in charred assemblages, as they are rarely produced and processed on such a large scale and undergo different processing methods. A couple of fragments of probable cultivated flax (*Linum* cf. *usitatissimum*) and horse beans (*Vicia faba* var. *minor*) were present in phase 2 samples, but these crops may have been cultivated in earlier phases and their importance is likely to be greatly under-represented in the charred seed record. Charring unfortunately often destroys the important identification characters of some taxa, and it is probable that some of the large unidentifiable legumes were peas (*Pisum sativum*), although this cannot be confirmed on morphological grounds. A range of hedgerow fruits and nuts are likely to have been consumed, although the remains of these are also likely to be under-represented in a charred asemblage. The single occurrences of hazelnut shell, elderberry and wild strawberry provide scant evidence of this resource, but there is growing evidence that hazelnuts at least were important in the rural Medieval diet.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER SITES

As noted earlier, these samples have produced far greater concentrations of charred cereal remains than most sites of the period, and the quantities of chaff fragments and weed seeds were relatively high. Samples from Eckweek contained from 1 to 65 fragments per litre on average by phase, whilst those at Daventry ranged from 63 to 950 on average. Many more samples were taken from the farmstead at Eckweek, but 264 fragments per litre was the highest concentration reached. At Eckweek most of the samples were composed of over 80% grain and less than 1% chaff (Carruthers 1995), whilst the average figure for the phase 3 samples from Daventry was 77% cereal grains and 7% chaff.

The predominance of free-threshing wheat in all of the eight rich samples is fairly typical of late Saxon and medieval rural sites such as Eckweek, Avon (Carruthers, 1995), Boteler's Castle, Warwickshire (Lisa Moffett, pers. comm.), West Cotton and Raunds, Northamptonshire (Campbell, 1994) and Burton Dassett, Warwickshire (Moffett, 1991), and several rural sites of this period have now produced evidence for the cultivation of both bread-type wheat and rivet-type wheat (Moffett, 1991), including all of the sites mentioned. There was no positive evidence for rivet-type wheat in the samples from Daventry. The evidence for leguminous crops was also far smaller in the Daventry samples. In addition, a number of rural settlement sites

have produced substantial evidence for the cultivation of fodder vetch (*Vicia sativa* subsp. *sativa*), but the evidence for this at Daventry was minimal - most of the vetches appear to have been the weed of cultivation, hairy tare. A further difference between these assemblages and those of most rural medieval settlement sites (although admittedly relatively few have been adequately sampled for plant remains) is the absence of other types of charred waste from the Daventry samples. Of the samples from Eckweek, 55% contained hazelnut shell fragments and the range of other non-cereal components was greater than at Daventry. Hazelnut shell fragments were also ubiquitous in the samples from Boteler's Castle (Lisa Moffett, pers. comm.).

All of these factors suggest that the Daventry samples contain concentrations of waste from large-scale processing of cereals, rather than mixed domestic waste as is found dispersed around most settlement sites. The absence of fodder crops, legumes and hedgerow fruits could be related to the high status of the consumers, but is more likely due to the specialised nature of this processing area.

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RADIOCARBON-DATED SAMPLES

In addition to the environmental samples a further three were taken in Trench 19 from Phase 1-stratified features specifically for dating by radiocarbon calibration. They were submitted to Beta Analytic Inc., Miami, Florida, who analysed them using the Pretoria Calibration Curve.

The nature of the samples was as follows:

Beta-82494: charred material from fill of phase 1 small pit 373, sealed by context 355. The context also produced 7 sherds of early-middle Saxon pottery.

Beta-82495: charred material, and Beta-82496: animal bone, from ditch-fill layer 355. This context also produced 593 sherds of early-middle saxon pottery and 16 sherds of residual Roman ceramics.

All samples were analysed using radiometric (standard) methods and were related to the following (Vogel et al. (1993); Talma and Vogel (1993); Stuiver et al. (1993).

DISCUSSION

The two samples from ditch-fill layer 355 appear to have been contaminated by material of Roman date, perhaps to be expected considering the small quantities of residual Roman pottery also encountered. That the context is of early-middle Saxon date is not in doubt. The radiocarbon dates have not refined that date which relies on stylistic characteristics of the pottery. The sample from context 373 is more in keeping with the dating suggested by the ceramic assemblage, although the validity of choosing the one of three radio-carbon dates which best suits the other evidence is obviously questionable.

DISCUSSION OF THE EXCAVATION RESULTS

In the absence of meaningful remains surviving in Trench 20 and the comparatively poor research potential of the evaluation trenches, discussion will centre on the remains found in Trench 19.

PHASE 1 (Figs 6, 7a, 7b)

Analysis of nearby Anglo-Saxon occupation may be set within a wider pattern of excavation and other discoveries since the 19th-century within a radius of c10 miles. They comprise both settlement remains and cemeteries: Borough Hill (Brown 1991); Norton (RCHME 1981, 153); Newnham (Kennett 1969); RCHME op cit, 147); Brixworth (Shaw 1994); Welton (RCHME 1981, 198).

Analysis of data from other parishes (eg Brixworth: RCHME 1981, 29-30) indicates that a dense, even spread of settlement remains is not uncommon and the choice of settlement site at Daventry on purely topographical grounds may not be significant. The former Iron Age hillfort at Borough Hill (1.2km away) was reoccupied on a small scale at this time (Brown 1991, 9; Kennett 1969, 44-6) and other remains in the area indicate that the distance between settlements is probably small. Norton lies only 3km distant, Newnham slightly less, Welton slightly more.

A ditch as large as 316/395, traced for 50m across the site would probably have served an important function, whether defensive or simply as a major line of demarcation; there is little to indicate one or the other. The structural remains lying upslope may be the vestiges of buildings, or the interrupted line of a rampart revetment or palisade frame. Too little evidence survives to make a secure interpretation but settlement close by is obviously suggested by the large amount of material recovered.The features cut into the earlier ditch backfill layers (361, 356) might suggest that activity continued close to the silted and partly backfilled ditch. These pits or post-holes (373-5, 377) produced nothing to identify their function although 373

Table 5. The Radiocarbon dates

LAB REFERENCE	CONTEXT	RADIOCARBON AGE (BP)	CALIBRATED DATE RANGE (95% CONFIDENCE)	INTERCEPT DATE
Beta-82494	373 sample 11	1430 ± 70 BP	cal AD 530 - 705	cal AD 640
Beta-82495	355 sample 14	1640 ± 70 BP	cal AD 245 - 590	cal AD 420
Beta-82496	355 sample 15	1990 ± 60 BP	cal BC 115 - cal AD 135	cal AD 25

and 375 were datable from pottery recovered (7 sherds and 2 sherds, respectively), the former further datable (but with caution) from a radiocarbon calibrated sample of AD 530-705. Although the overwhelming majority of the material from the ditch is of 6th century date (593 sherds from context 355 alone), residual Roman potsherds (31 from all Phase 1 ditch fills) and a well-preserved coin of AD 341-6 may indicate the proximity of a Romano-British site. This may have included substantial buildings as two mosaic tessarae and box flue tile and tegulae (roof tile) are among the residual Roman material. A few other Anglo-Saxon finds were recovered, including a rare antler stamp, possibly used for leather or pottery decoration (Fig 22:2). Its motif does not match any of the designs from the pottery on the site.

The animal bone indicates an apparent bias towards the consumption of pig at this period, based upon the bones recovered. There is little which can be said to explain this satisfactorily other than to point out that it lies in contrast to the results obtained from the neighbouring (and heavily researched) region of Oxfordshire where sheep are seen to predominate (Blair 1994, 20). A larger sample from other, as yet undiscovered, occupation sites in the Daventry area may elucidate this observation.

The reasons for the end of occupation in Phase 1 are not known. There are likely to have been a combination of factors. Settlement at this period was generally fluid (Blair 1994, 20; cf Hamerow 1993) and may have shifted only a small distance.

PHASE 2 (Figs 7c, 7d, 8, 9 and 10)

By *c.* 900 AD, all trace of the phase 1 ditch and any Anglo-Saxon material on the site had gone, swamped by the layer of hillwash which accumulated at the foot of the incline. Essentially the ditches of the re- occupation were dug and post-hole buildings were erected in a landscape newly reclaimed from nature. It is unlikely that the site was ever cultivated in the intervening period for three reasons, firstly its very heavy silty clay makeup; secondly the absence of any disturbance of the topmost fill of the ditch through the hillwash, which lay up to 500mm thick; thirdly the apparent absence of topsoil would seem to preclude successful cultivation.

The mode of construction of Building A, perhaps using timber-laced clay wall construction (in the south wall) may have a slightly earlier parallel at Goltho, Lincolnshire in the 9th century (cf Beresford 1987, 25-7). The example at Daventry may be placed *c.*900-975 (on ceramic grounds) which is the earliest possible date for the infilling of the earliest of the curving ditches in the sequence which enclose this building. It had gone by 1087.The nature and status of the building cannot be gauged from the surviving remains, but the importance attached to the enclosure circuit, re-cut so many times and the possible presence of an internal palisade for at least part of its life suggest that the enclosure may have served a defensive function. Its curving line is impossible to postulate beyond the area of excavation, as is any idea of other buildings it enclosed.

A second enclosure seems to have replaced this in the 11th century, shifted slightly to the east and later contracted slightly up the slope. Once more it may have been accompanied by a palisade (227, 229, 237, 238). The enclosure ditch (59) was backfilled by the mid 12th-century. The pattern of parallel, evenly-spaced north-south aligned ditches is enigmatic. There is no evidence that they were all contemporary within phase 2. Only two of the six were re-cut on the same lines. Their forms indicate that they were intended to act as open ditches, presumably for drainage. There is no evidence that they served any agricultural function, nor did their fills seem enriched in any way. If they were coeval, whether having a boundary or a drainage-related purpose, there seems little use or value in the very narrow strips of land between them (3.4-7m). It seems possible that they represent a sequence of boundaries, possibly being moved in a single consecutive series across the slope over a period of some 200 years. It is not known how they might have functioned in relation to the sequence of enclosures on the eastern half of the site.

PHASE 3 (Figs 7e, 11 and 12)

A change of emphasis on the site was marked by the re-alignment of the ditches which previously had run down the slope. The new ditches, along the slope, betoken a change of focus as the top and bottom of the slope became demarked. The rectangular building (Building B) which was the only structure on the site at this time seems to have been relatively short-lived. It was built after 1087 as indicated by the coin of that date, but was destroyed no earlier than *c.*1150. The finds associated with it give no indication of its exact use. There is nothing about the Daventry example to suggest either status or function. Its layout is very similar to later examples of peasant-status buildings recorded in Worcestershire (Field 1965, 105-45) and its size (originally 14.6m x *c.*4.6m) is within the range suggested from documentary evidence as standard for rural peasant houses 1200-1350 (Dyer 1986, 35), figures corroborated by excavated examples at West Cotton, Northamptonshire (Windell et al, 1990, Chapman, forthcoming) and Burton Dassett, Warwickshire (Palmer 1988, 1989). The three distinct bays foreshadow the formalisation of this layout in the fourteenth century and, although somewhat irregular they are irregular, they are similar to the 4.6m x 4.6m (15ft x 15ft) bay size recorded in many later standing buildings (Dyer 1986, 23). The presence of decayed fragments of window glass on the floor and the overlying destruction layer is curious, as such material would not be expected in a lowly house until the very end of the medieval period, and often later. This may be an indication that the building had affinities with a wealthy establishment, or that the glass was introduced into the ruined structure as rubbish later on.

The stone baffle against the south wall framing seems to have had the value of blocking large deposits of hillwash which continued to accumulate against the south side. the stone probably prolonged the life of the timber frame, preserving the superstructure from the ravages of groundwater. The ground level outside the south wall was up to 300mm higher than the internal floor of the building. The location of this building at the foot of the slope may have been recognised as a mistake early on, although initially its position may have been dictated for reasons not recognisable in the archaeological record, such as constraints of land ownership. The quantity of domestic waste suggests that the building was, at least in part, a dwelling, rather than purely a barn or byre. No hearth could be recognised, but scorchmarks on the natural ground surface may indicate its former position or the location of a free-standing, moveable brazier. At the end of the building's life, the digging of the east-west ditch at the foot of the slope re-established a former boundary which would persist in one form or another until the present day. While standing, the side of the building may have served a boundary function.

The stone wall foundation nearby (300) may be referred to in a document of 1289-1326. In it part of a plot in *le Netherende*

was granted to the Priory for the upkeep of a wall there, of dimensions 21 ft long x 6 ft high (Franklin 1988, 85; doc 279). The height is academic, but the stated length matches that of the excavated wall exactly. What is potentially the same wall was mentioned again *c.*1290 (ibid, 86 docs 283-5) when its purpose and position were qualified as stopping up a droveway on the east side of John Coc's tenement. The two east-west aligned and gradually converging ditches linked by the wall (contexts 27/79 and 118) may have delineated just such an unmade thoroughfare. They lie on the last level piece of ground north of the hillslope and the more southerly ditch marks the foot of the slope. This raises the question as to whether the tenement of John Coc is that represented by the 3-bay building. Without corroborative evidence, further speculation would be ill advised although its 13th-century date on ceramic grounds would certainly be acceptable. The evidence remains equivocal.

PHASE 4 (Figs 7f, 13 and 14)

This phase is characterised by the establishment *c.*1225 at the earliest of an enclosure at the south-west corner of the site, extending beyond the excavated area to west and south. near the north-east corner of the enclosure was constructed a circular building which was subjected to internal alterations (Building C). An entrance in the enclosure ditch lay close by, subsequently blocked up when the ditch was recut, possibly as a consequence of the circular building's demise, sometime between *c.*1250 and *c.*1300. The ditch may thereafter have simply enclosed other buildings lying beyond the excavated area before a timber structure was erected on the site of the former circular building at the beginning of phase 5.

The life of the Phase 4 building may be gauged by the date range of the pottery which accumulated in the successive enclosure ditches. The pottery from the demolition layer 185 and the backfilling of the pennannular gulley suggests that its demise occurred no earlier than *c.*1250. The pottery from the enclosure ditch while it still had an entrance (243 and 252) suggests an infilling of between 1225 and 1250 or soon after. The loss of the circular building in this part (of a possibly much larger) enclosure might provide a reason for blocking a redundant entrance when the enclosure ditch was recut. Indeed the pottery from the recut (28) suggests this was in turn filled in shortly after 1300, with a final recut (250/242) not backfilled until the early post-medieval period. Significantly, pottery having a production range *c.*1225-50 was the latest to be recovered from the robbed out tangential slot (7).

The distinctive plan of the circular structure has provided few clues as to its function. Finds from within are similarly unhelpful. One view of the structure as a dovecote seems unlikely as there was no bird bone associated. It has been suggested that the outer gully may have formed a treadway for a beast of burden if the structure and machinery belonged to a horse-mill (G.E.Cadman pers. comm.). A horse-mill did stand in this general area, according to documentary sources (Denholm-Young 1931, 54-5; Kealey 1987, 129) but its place *'in the priory courtyard'* might suggest a more easily recognisable site nearer the Priory's location than this.

Identification as a post-mill has been postulated, but the remains seem far too small (6.5m diameter as opposed to over 20m at Great Linford, Bucks) and lack the features such as a central post or cross-tree salient to excavated recognised types (see Mynard & Zeepvat 1992, 104-7 for the Great Linford example; also Zeepvat 1980 for discussion of types excavated by that date). Unfortunately so few have been excavated that the 'typical' form may not be known. There is documentary evidence for the presence of a windmill in this area (Denholm-Young 1931, 54; Kealey 1987, 129). The multitude of post-holes which surround this structure is interpreted as belonging to the web of scaffolding necessary to both construct and dismantle the building. Those farther away are of less certain function.

Argument over identification centres on whether a windmill of the thirteenth century need necessarily be of the accepted post-mill type. The various features of the remains at Daventry suggest that it may have been a small mill with a hitherto unreported type of superstructure as indicated by the two phases of robbed out slots in the centre of the circle, possibly for anchoring machinery. Investigation of the types of post-mill shown in contemporary manuscript illustrations vary considerably. The eponymous developed type with central post, cross-trees and raking struts can be clearly recognised (BL Stowe Ms 17 fo. 89v; Windmill Psalter fo. 2 E. Psalm 1). However other types have clearly been represented: in BL Harleian Ms 3487, fo. 161 an example is shown with a central post but without raking struts. Three further examples are illustrated in the Smithfield Priory Decretals as having a geodetic frame bracing four posts (Kealey 1987, figs 22-4). The identification of what was described as a 'tumulus' which had 'existed until quite recently' (Edgar 1923, 38) at approximately NGR: SP 573 626 was considered an unlikely earthwork survival so close to the town centre (RCHME 1981, 68). Although Edgar stated (ibid, 38) that its site was by 1923 covered with the Council School (the RCHME grid reference seems to be the product of this statement), it is possible that he may have been looking at an earthwork covering the excavated circular structure. Its demise may indeed be attributed to the school, the grounds of which encompassed the site, but its exact positioning from Edgar's vague description is open to question. If this building was overlain by an earthwork, lying at exactly SP 5736 6268, then its circular form may have engendered the 'tumulus' interpretation.

PHASE 5 (Figs 7e, 7f and 15)

This phase is characterised by a drop in the intensity of occupation, which saw the eventual abandonment of the enclosure at the south-west corner of the site by the 16th century. Thereafter the nature of occupation was marked by periodic dumping in scattered rubbish pits, with two animal burials. By the 17th century emphasis had shifted away from the site, possibly closer to the High Street and North Street (formerly Dog Lane), where new tenements were built at this time (Soden 1994, 6; Trench 15).

PHASE 6 (Fig 16)

The boundary denoted by wall 279 can clearly be seen in the Ordnance Survey maps of 1925 and 1912 (Brown 1991, 17; Soden 1994, fig 2). In addition it appears on the Inclosure award map of 1803 (Fig 4; NRO map 3005). It dates between 1675 and 1803 and may relate entirely to Inclosure at the latter date.

CONCLUSIONS

The topography of the site and its environs have always influenced the nature of activity which has been carried out there. The hillslope, in some places pronounced, in others less obvious, has been accentuated by digging ditches during the Saxon and early Medieval periods. The upper half of the site at the beginning of phase 1 was a natural plateau which dropped away to the north and east. The northern slope was accentuated by digging the wide ditch (395). There was little evidence of further occupation on the site during this period and the settlement served by the ditch presumably lies on the higher ground to the south. It may be significant that the 1912 enlargement of the first edition Ordnance survey Map of Daventry (sheet XLIII.2.SW) showed a steep escarpment to the west of the Warden's Lodge which aligned exactly with the natural escarpment encountered in excavation. It may be that this natural topographical feature dictated the pattern of settlement along a proportion of the entire north side of the High Street. The eastward continuation of this line also demarks the rear boundary of the Abbey End/Street properties, and might imply a former escarpment running for at least 200 metres which marked the limit of early northern expansion.

On the excavation site the slope became heavily masked by the accumulation from the 6th century of silty clay in the form of a hillwash. This may have been the direct result of the original clearance of the site of natural vegetation for the early Saxon (and possible Roman) occupation. There is no evidence of any early resumption of activity on the site after the 6th century. As the hillwash (8) contained 170 sherds of early-middle Saxon pottery and only 5 sherds of late Saxon ceramic, it seems implausible that the hillwash accumulated as a result of late Saxon clearance. Additionally, the later the accumulation within a range of 300 years, the greater would have been the potential for the natural creation of a new (buried) topsoil over the ditch. There was none present. It seems probable therefore that the hillwash quickly accumulated after the 6th-century abandonment as a direct result of the initial clearances and had smothered the old ditch in a short time.

Reoccupation in the 10th century extended across the entire site, but the much softened geological contours of the former slope may have been only partly utilised in a new layout of ditches and enclosures which persisted as late as the 12th century. At the time of this replanning the natural contours would have been softened by the buildup of the hillwash. The gentler gradient probably made downslope ditches more viable, whereas previously the natural escarpment, accentuated by the phase 1 ditch, would have precluded such features. The new ditches may represent a single, fluid boundary moving back and forth for a period of up to 200 years, either as a matter of intent or because persistent clogging with soils washed downslope meant regular replacement where recutting was difficult. There is evidence that the accumulation of hillwash presented an ongoing problem involving the destruction and redeposition of clay soils on marginal land impoverished by clearances. One building stood on the site at this time, at least partly surrounded by a substantial and persistently re-cut curving ditch. Its purpose and status are not known. A second enclosure may have lain to the south-east as indicated by substantial ditches at that part of the site. There was some occupation at the top of the slope but its form is unclear.

During this phase there is an indication of the establishment of a large scale crop processing facility on or close to the site with environmentally rich waste material being deposited (Carruthers, above). A widening of the range of plants encountered in the environmental samples may indicate an expansion onto poorer, acidic soils into the medieval period. The environmentally rich samples from phase 2 could be the result of processing large quantities of grain imported from a number of properties on a range of soil types. The appearance of weeds showing a preference for acidic soils is not accompanied by an obvious increase in cultivation of rye or oats - cereals that are better-suited to poorer, acidic soils. This could suggest some pressure to continue to produce primarily wheat - a more highly valued crop. Another possible sign of pressure on production is the high occurrence of small weed vetches, probably mostly hairy tare (*Vicia hirsuta*). Leguminous weeds such as vetches are often indicators of nutrient deficient soils, since they are able to produce their own nitrogen due to the presence of bacteria contained in root nodules. Sheep's sorrel also often grows in nitrogen-poor soils. The numbers of these taxa increased with time, as did the occurrence of stinking mayweed (*Anthemis cotula*) seeds, a weed of heavy, damp soils. All of these factors suggest the increasing cultivation of

poorer soils, less well-suited to the production of bread-type wheats. In phase 3, from the 12th century, the natural topography of the site was re-utilised in a programme of total replanning. Problems continued to occur due to further deposition of hillwash.

The impetus for total replanning may have been purely climatic and topographical but the loss of the phase 2 enclosures indicates changes of a social nature were also drawn in. Against an immediate background of the foundation of a monastic house, the construction of the Nether Manor and the burgeoning mercantile life of the town, it is not possible to be more specific as the site at this time exhibits no characteristics which might be said to be peculiar to one or another. It may be said that the site was re-planned at this time simply as part of a more extensive re-planning connected with economic potential and political will. The form it took on the site was largely dictated by the ground conditions. Waste from specialised crop processing, first seen in phase 2, continued to be deposited but appears to reflect an expansion in the facility, with crops encountered from an increasingly wide variety of soils and habitats, including evidence of increasing arable expansion onto poorer, marginal land (Carruthers, above).

The continuity of this facility alone from phase 2 to phase 3 indicates that the replanning which affected the site was largely one of layout, with at least some agrarian stability maintained throughout, with its remit gradually widening during this period. As such this indicates that the site lies outside the true town in which the greatest changes were taking place. The phase 4 movement to the south-west corner of the site may reflect continuing problems with the slope. Evidence shows the measures taken to protect the 12th-century three-bay timber building from the accumulation of slopewash and this constant battle may on its own have forced abandonment. This abandonment probably took place during the 13th century when England was feeling the social and economic effects of a deteriorating climate (Astill and Grant 1988, 216, 233). It was the start of decades of social fragmentation which culminated in drought, crop failures and eventually the Black Death. At that time abandonment of marginal land was widespread. It coincides with a period of town growth and retraction of the Nether Manor, which was to pass to the Duchy of Lancaster in the 14th century, the direct Daventry ownership having ceased.

At Daventry the new enclosure carefully delineated the top edge of the slope and concentrated occupation on that part of the site which was not only high and flat, but perhaps more significantly, on the well-drained Marlstone bedrock of ironstone and ferruginous limestone, uncomplicated by the Middle Lias silts and silty clays to the north and east, slow to drain and by then limited in use by hillwash deposits up to 500mm deep. Continued occupation of this part of the site into the late medieval period indicates some stability while perhaps suggesting that by abandoning the lower half of the site with its topographical constraints, stability was assured, there being no further need to battle with the site's own peculiar problems. The less intense level of occupation meanwhile, is perhaps due to wholly new uses for the occupied area, or a change of political will or ownership. A mill of some kind is possible although further structural remains may lie to the south and west, as may more of the enclosure. This appears to persist into the period at which the documentary record is more explicit, particularly in the location of a pig market (14th-15th centuries) and also later a horse market (16th century; Brown 1991, 34) in or around the Petycury (Fig 3).

There is little to indicate the uses to which the site was put during phases 3 and 4. There is a small quantity of horse bone which showed signs of having been defleshed (Locker, above). However, this material predates surviving references to a nearby extensive butchery in and around the old Moothall at the western end of the Market Place from the later 14th century (Brown 1991, 34). This may account for some waste material being dumped. The evidence for nearby crop processing seen in phases 2 and 3 has, by phase 4 disappeared, processing having either ceased to deposit waste on this site or ceased functioning altogether.

There is documentary evidence that Daventry was in some economic difficulty in the 15th-16th centuries, (Brown 1991, 22-3) with the Priory itself central to the process, perhaps partly due to periods of misrule, notably up to 1442 when Prior Robert Man was arraigned before the Bishop of Lincoln. Amongst many accusations against him levelled by his convent was that he had allowed many of the buildings owned by the Priory to fall into severe decay: *'(Contra Priorem)..sicque sunt plura edificia pertinencia prioratui et quasi ad terram collapsa.'*; (Thompson 1918, 63). All this was in spite of previous warnings in 1432-3 (Thompson 1914,

42-4). In fact the Priory had seen difficult times since the early 13th- century when it had gradually been separated from its mother house, La Charité sur Loire, and had been assimilated into the Benedictine Order with which it remained until its dissolution in 1526 (VCH 1906, 110-111). If any of the excavated site lay within Priory land, then the gradual abandonment of the site has a documented monastic reason. Conversely, however, if the site lay within the Nether Manor demesne, the dwindling activity on the site in the 14th-century can also be explained by the change in seigneurial power and loss of interest. From the 16th century the last enclosure was defunct and the whole area seems to have either been abandoned or cultivated as a yard and orchard. Its ownership at that time by Christchurch College, Oxford, indicates that its former landlord (until its dissolution in 1526) had probably been the Priory. The continued use of the Petycury area to the south as the beastmarket is a picture of continuity and stability on the adjacent plot to the south. In 1576 the Grammar School was founded nearby by the dignitary and former Daventry man, William Parker, although there were no purpose-built school buildings apparently before 1602 (in New Street; NRO: Topographical file, Daventry). It is with the school that the subsequent history of the area of Trench 19 became linked, cultivated for much of that time as the Headmaster's garden.

The frontage along Dog Lane, formerly Baynel's Lane, now North Street, was first built up from the late 16th-century (Trench 15). This comprises the adjacent area to the south west and further shows that redevelopment and expansion in the early post-medieval period was going on around the St John's Square enclave but that the site itself was not reoccupied. The reasons are probably not therefore economic, but rather the result of the individual preference of the landowner. The sequence of occupation along Abbey Street is not now retrievable from the archaeological record, the post-war demolition (following a fire) and redevelopment of the former late medieval or early post-medieval cottages along its north side also involved the wholesale reduction of the ground levels. Evaluation showed that nothing remained.

There was little found in excavation which is recognisable in the surviving documentary record, with the possible exceptions of the wall of late 13th-century date (Phase 3), and the circular building, Building C, in Phase 4 (above). While both are distinctive, not enough of either survived to match unequivocally to documents; similarly the documents are not quite specific enough to match to the archaeological record. In conclusion the following points may be advanced. Firstly the excavated areas lie at the limits of the 12th- to 14th-century Nether Manor's influence and that of the Priory. Secondly, no documentary references can be said to refer with certainty to any archaeological feature on the site, with the possible exception of a wall of *c.*1289-*c.*1326 (Franklin 1988, 85). If this is a *bona fide* reference then it places the excavation site firmly into the Priory's sphere of influence at an early date. Thirdly, if the 13th-century circular building identified in the excavations is indeed a horse-mill, there exists the documentary evidence for such a structure within the Priory courtyard. This would place the site within the Priory's influence from the 13th century. Brown is of the opinion that this area was indeed Priory land (1991, 21 and fig 10) and that the site was a 1-acre orchard and yard owned by Christchurch College Oxford in 1571. This ownership is confirmed by a mid-19th century survey of the lands of Christ Church which records the site as a garden and paddock in the tenancy of the Plume of Feathers Public House (NRO: Map 4640). The Christ Church identification is in keeping both with the drastically reduced level of occupation detected from the 14th-century onwards. The extent of Nether Manor involvement is not known. Late 16th-century ownership by Christchurch College, Oxford is to be expected if the Priory had been the pre-Dissolution owner as the majority of the Priory's lands at its dissolution in 1526 partly endowed Cardinal Wolsey's college with its initial foundation grant.

Post-medieval development almost passed the area by, with the maximum area of development, along the Abbey Street frontage and St John's Square occurring in the late 19th to early 20th centuries (Fig 3). Post-medieval changes which did affect the site were mainly the result of Inclosure in 1803, which resulted in the loss of much of the medieval field system (Fig 4). Much of the area, however, remained farmland or allotments until the second half of the 20th century when development began once more.

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NOTES

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