

*‘Where are thy
relics resting?’*

Re-investigating Sheffield Castle

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*“Spectre of time! Where are thy relics resting?
Where are thy battlements and lordly hall?
Nor vestige here, nor stone with noble crest in,
Nor remnant of a buttress or a wall.
No effigy supreme, however broken.
No tottering gable in the sunlight glow.
No grey remembrance that would be a token
To take us back to ages long ago.”*

Sheffield poet Francis Buchanan,
writing of Sheffield Castle in the late 19th century

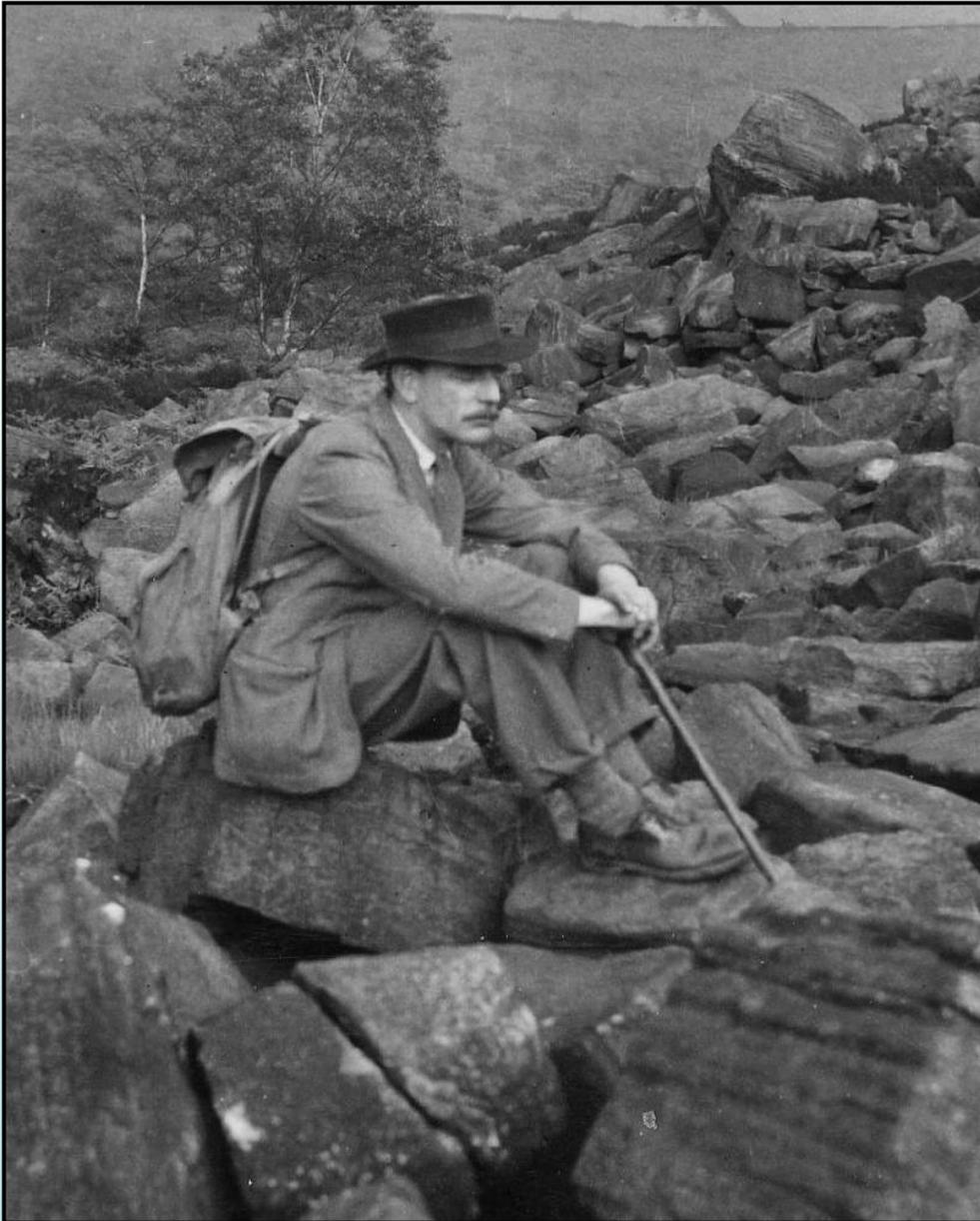
Where are thy relics resting? This, in essence, is the question that EDAS have been addressing in the production of an evaluation strategy for Sheffield Castle. The terms of reference for the evaluation strategy, produced by the South Yorkshire Archaeology Service, were quite specific. **A castle, obviously, forms only a single part (albeit a highly influential one) of a complex, wider urban or rural landscape;** it is likely to either have been imposed on, or to be influenced by, the activity of an earlier period. It will comprise a series of buildings and spaces forming a group that develops and changes over an extended period. A castle also serves a number of different purposes, including being a secure and defensible high status residence or acting as an administrative centre for substantial estates. **It is likely to have a close relationship with the development and plan of any associated settlement,** with any number of other castles owned by the same occupier and with landscape features such as parks and gardens.

In time, the detailed consideration of all of the above will lead to a much more rounded understanding of Sheffield Castle than currently exists. However, for the evaluation strategy, what is essentially required is **the best understanding to date of what is known about the archaeology of that portion of the urban landscape that formed the castle's inner court,** and how that archaeology has both developed and been affected in the period since the castle ceased to function. This information will then be used as a guide to suggest where archaeological excavations could take place following the demolition of the Castle Market buildings; these excavations will not only help to better understand the development of this part of the urban landscape, but will also contribute to the process of deciding what happens to the space left behind when the market has gone. The work undertaken by EDAS was funded wholly by Sheffield City Council.

The formation of the evaluation strategy has involved the accumulation and digestion of a huge amount of material. **The next slide depicts the known development on the site of the castle during the 20th century.** These include the foundations of the Co-operative Society Stores built 1927-1929 (light blue), the foundations associated with Castle Hill Market built 1928-1930 (green), and the foundations of the Castle Market itself (built 1958-1961) (dark blue). Also shown are various developments of different dates where there is little known information about foundations or basements (yellow infill), and alignments of known service runs, including gas, water and sewerage (yellow lines). On the right-hand side of the plan, the light blue lines represent the early 20th century course of the River Sheaf and the existing route of the Sheaf culvert. The brown lines represent streets or passages and buildings existing in the early 20th century, which may have impacted on the castle site. All this information has been superimposed on a representation of the known archaeology of the castle, outlined in red.

The production of the evaluation strategy has been a marriage of both traditional and more contemporary methods. Old plans, photographs and drawings have been sifted through, imperial measurements have been converted to metric, and old archaeological recording systems have been reconstructed. Sometimes, it has been necessary to produce pencil overlays for a draft illustration, but many of the final illustrations have been produced using CAD modelling, as is shown on the next slide.





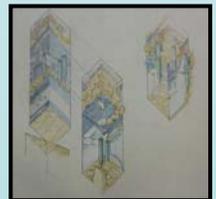
In constructing the evaluation strategy for Sheffield Castle, a great debt is clearly owed by EDAS to those who have gone before them. A substantial body of valuable archaeological work was carried out on the castle by ARCUS, the former Archaeological Research and Consultancy at the University of Sheffield. Before that, other fieldworkers have included Pauline Beswick, Joseph Himsworth and Albert 'Leslie' Armstrong; these three are dealt with in turn below. However, the greatest acknowledgement must go to Leslie Butcher.

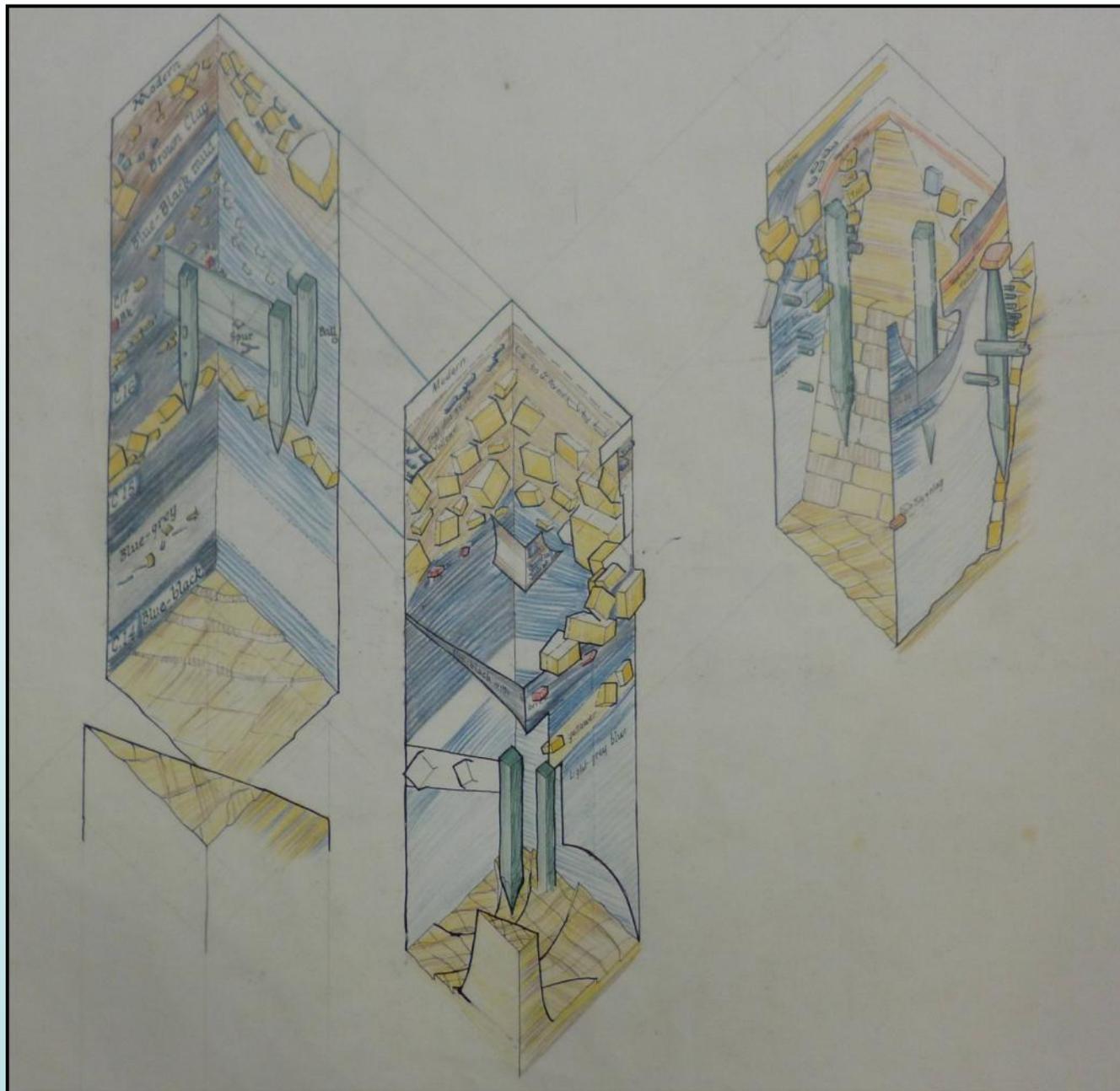
Leslie Butcher (1916-1975)

(Museums Sheffield / Hunter
Archaeological Society)

During the construction of Castle Market, starting in 1958, Leslie Butcher was appointed by the City Architect, John Lewis Womersley, to “*assist in defining the shape and extent of the moat for design and contract purposes, and (upon commencement of construction) to record the structures of archaeological interest.*” Butcher was assisted in his work by J Bartlett, at that time the Deputy Director of the City Museum, who was to be responsible for the collection and conservation of portable finds.

As EDAS reviewed archive material, it became increasingly clear that **Leslie Butcher spent much of the 1960s grappling with exactly the same issues that the evaluation strategy had been considering**; where had ground levels formerly been, what depth were the foundations for various buildings; how did one overlie the other; and who had found what where? Although the only publication deriving from Butcher's work was a summary note in the journal *Medieval Archaeology*, he left behind an unpublished typescript report as well as notes for a lecture given on 10th January 1961, both of which have proved invaluable. These are accompanied by a large number of unpublished drawings like the one shown in the next slide, testament to his great skill as a draughtsman. Another aspect of Butcher's work which contributed greatly to that undertaken by EDAS was his preservation of earlier plans still in existence during the 1960s, some of which are now the only known surviving representations of earlier construction works.



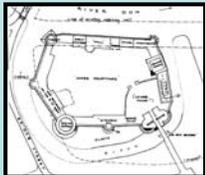


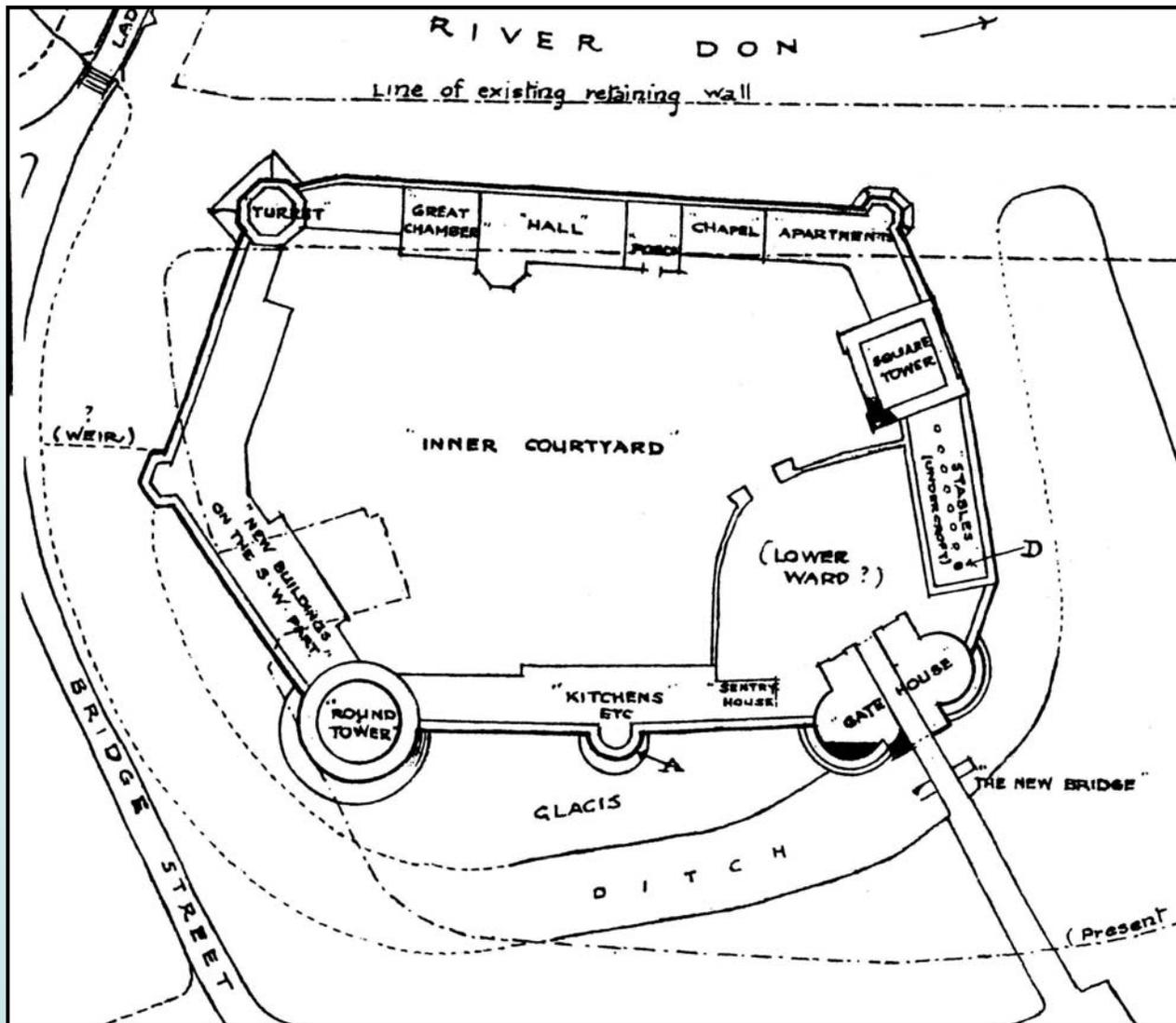
Isometric colour
cut-away
drawings of
moat deposits,
by Leslie
Butcher, c.1961

(Museums
Sheffield)

The purpose of the evaluation strategy will not be to rewrite the history of Sheffield Castle; that will hopefully come about as a result of the future archaeological excavations and further documentary research. The narrative of the castle's history - the first explicit documented mention in 1183-84, the fire of 1184-85, the 1266 attack and burning, the licence to crenellate of 1270, the works carried out by the Talbots during the 15th and 16th centuries, and the Civil War siege and dismantling - is already fairly well known, through secondary publications and the work of groups such as "The Friends of Sheffield Castle".

Nor is the purpose of the evaluation strategy to reconstruct the appearance of the castle; there have been several attempts over the years to do so, and the next slide shows the earliest known reconstruction based on archaeological evidence, made in 1930. An appreciation of the former layout of the castle, as far as that is currently possible, is obviously necessary to inform the evaluation strategy, but the consideration of different aspects of discovery, destruction and change is equally important. The latter is not an outwardly glamorous subject; **in the case of Sheffield Castle, it is a tale of concrete piles, demolition rubble, the Luftwaffe, crazy paving, sewers, thieving souvenir hunters, and bus shelters.** Nevertheless, it is a vital one.





Earliest known attempt to reconstruct the castle layout incorporating archaeological evidence, by F Pearce-Edward, November 1930, in a private letter to A L Armstrong (Museums Sheffield)



A reasonable starting point is 1972, as this was the last date that a fragment of the castle remained clearly visible above ground to all passers-by, although for entirely understandable reasons, very few probably appreciated its significance. It can be seen in the foreground of this slide, projecting from the collapsing crazy paving lining the slope above the bus shelters on the south side of Castlegate.

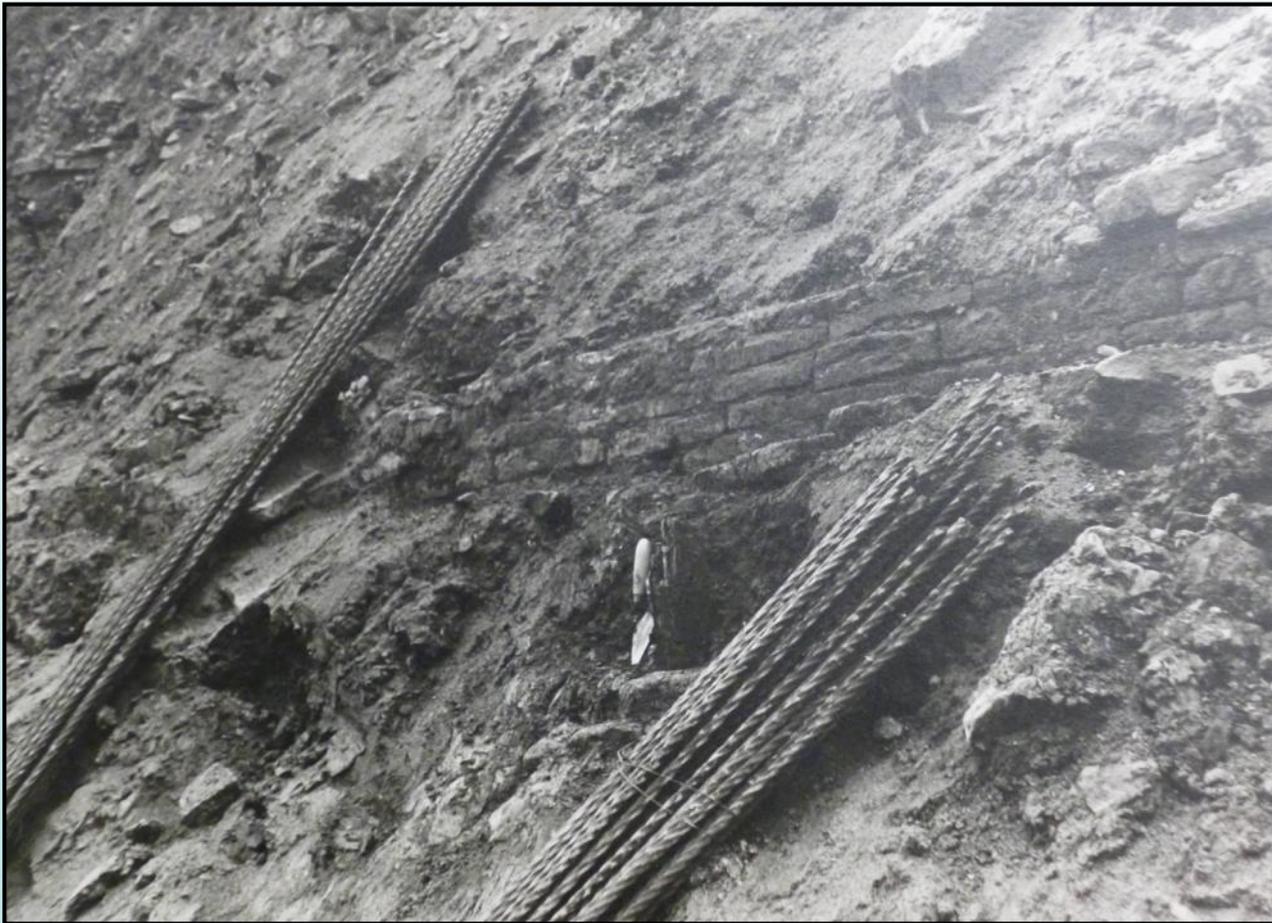
Castlegate, looking east
towards Blonk Street
Bridge, 1972
(Museums Sheffield)

As this closer view shows, by 1972 the remains were in fairly poor condition. The fragment of wall had almost certainly been exposed in this position since 1929-1930, when the paved slope to the south side of Castlegate was constructed, and it had obviously been heavily repointed several times. The fragment barely outlasted the photograph as, unsurprisingly given its poor condition, it collapsed during the construction of the existing Castlegate vertical concrete retaining wall.



Castlegate, remnant of north range of castle,
looking south, 1972 (Museums Sheffield)

As the works on the new concrete retaining wall progressed, further sections of earlier wall alignment were exposed, and these were recorded by Pauline Beswick. These fragments and scraps of walling and structure, none of which can be closely dated, may seem insignificant, but when taken together, they begin to contribute to a better understanding of the site.

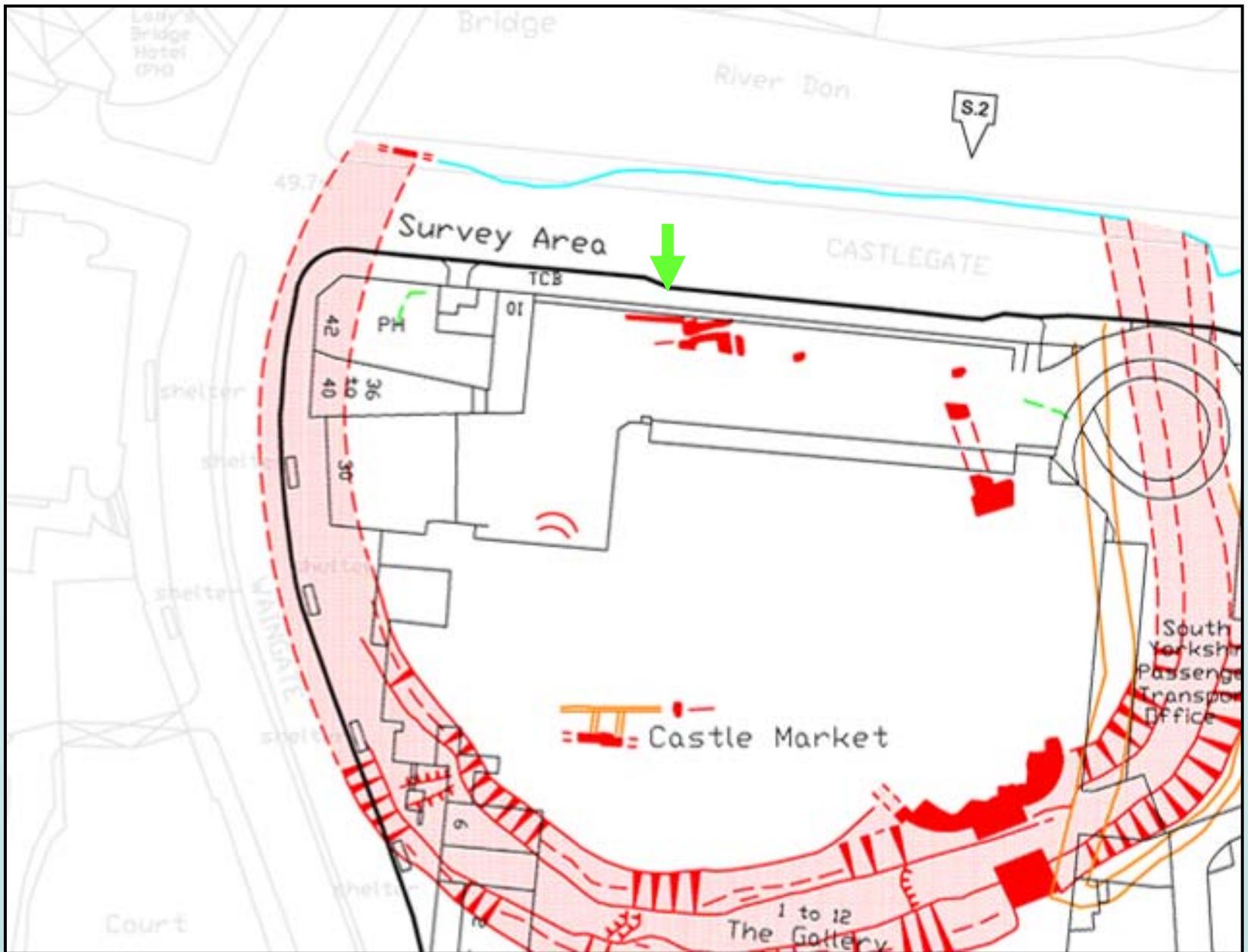


Castlegate, wall recorded by Pauline Beswick during retaining wall construction, 1972 (Museums Sheffield)

As the next slide demonstrates, when all of the known archaeological information recovered in the past is overlaid onto a modern map, the fragments and scraps of walling become significant.

The green arrow points towards the wall fragment photographed in 1972. It can be seen that it actually lay very close to a much more extensive part of the castle's structure that was not excavated until 2000, and it is quite likely that the two were once continuous. Furthermore, shared alignments begin to emerge for at least this part of the castle's former north range, which can then be compared to the layout suggested by the documentary sources.



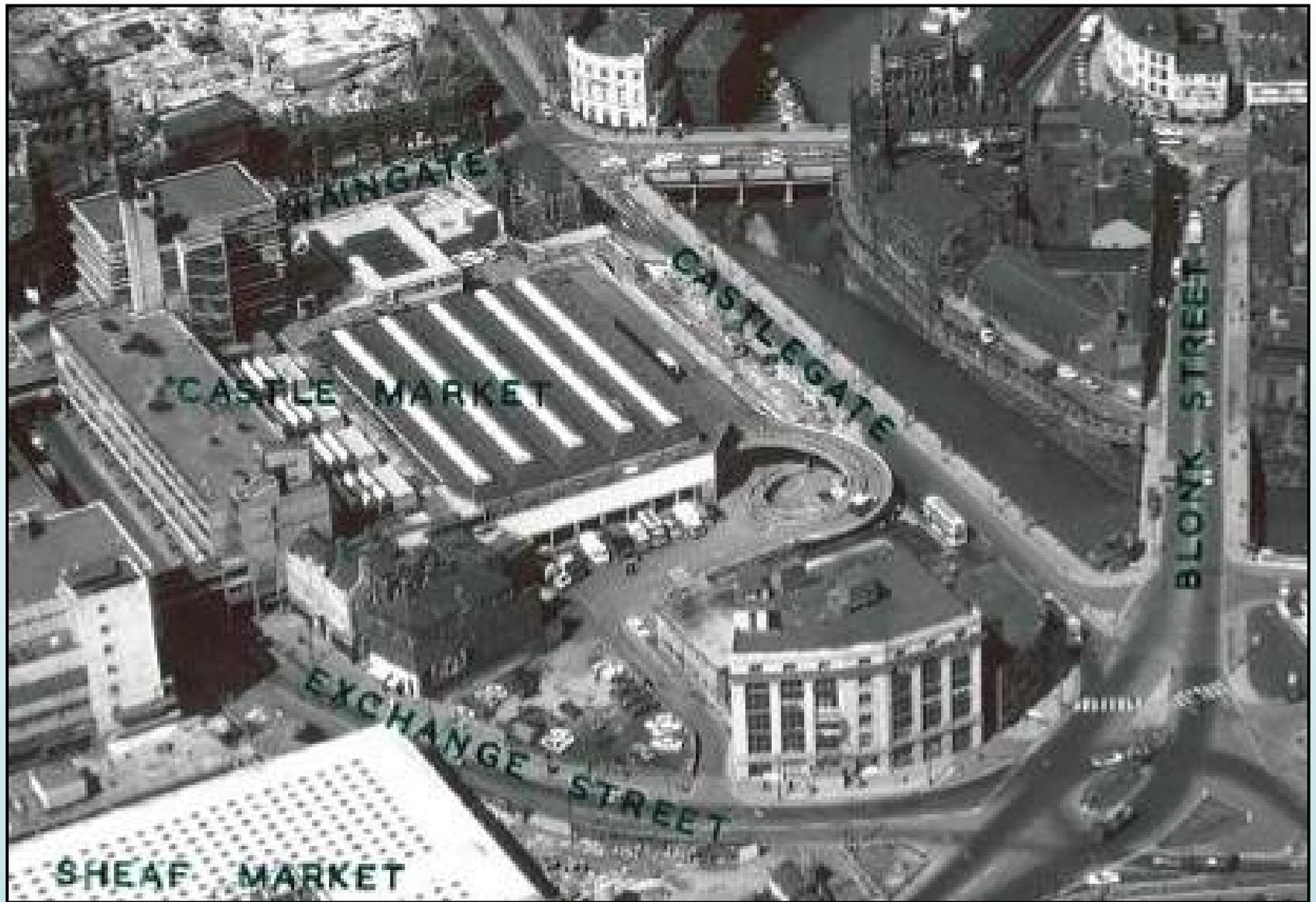


Extract from 1:500 scale draft archaeology plan (EDAS Ltd)

The 1972 works on Castlegate formed the last phase of the redevelopment of the Castle Market complex, which had been taking place intermittently since 1958, and most intensively between 1958 and 1961; the effects of this redevelopment are clearly visible on the aerial photograph on the next slide. The construction of the Castle Market incorporated the earlier Castle Hill Market, and comprised the High Block, the Low Block and the New Market Hall.

A large body of drawings relating to the re-development scheme survives, mostly produced by Ove Arup and Partners and the City Architect's Department, and held by Sheffield City Council. All of the new buildings appear to have been based around reinforced concrete frames, supported by piles or foundations. These were accompanied by various heating ducts, lift shafts, air vents and the like, some of which were very substantial. Slightly later, a new East Loading Dock was created for the earlier Castle Hill Market building, and a spiral access ramp was added slightly later again.





Extract from mid-1960s Aerofilms photograph of the Castle Market complex, looking north-west (SCC)

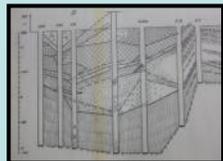
As has already been noted, many of these development works were observed and recorded by Leslie Butcher, who left behind a large body of unpublished material, including drawings, black and white photographs, colour slides, notes and, of course, finds.

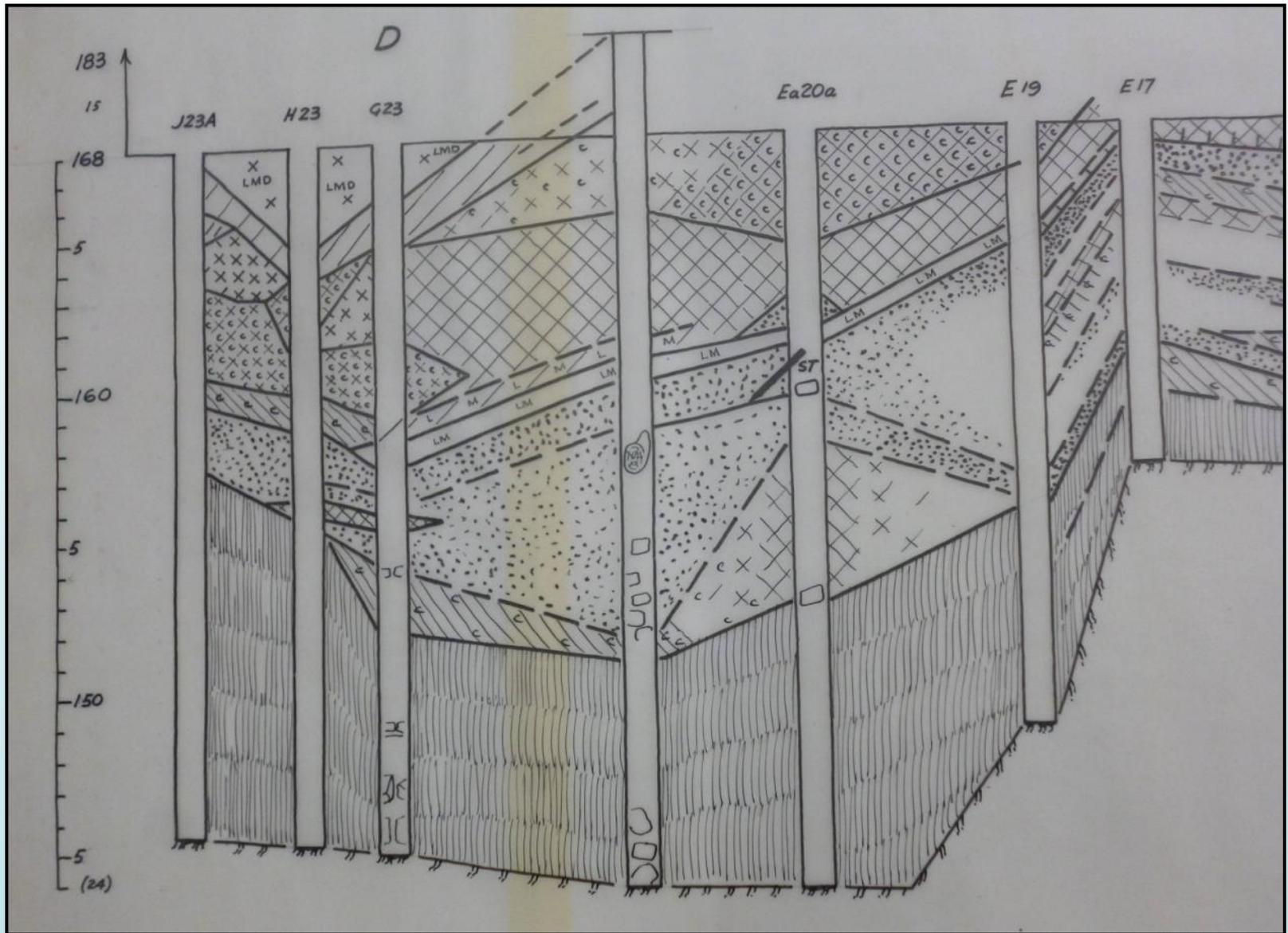


Demolition of 1920s structures, west of Castle Market, taken in 1963 by Leslie Butcher (Museums Sheffield)

Butcher used a grid system with letter/number combinations to identify the various foundation pits and trenches of the new buildings, and finds were recorded according to foundation and depth below the surface, but not by archaeological context or layer.

Where possible, he drew all four sides of a foundation excavation, and made notes on the drawings as to what different layers represented. He then started to put these drawings together to produce sections through the moat, as is shown on the next slide; it should be noted that the section on the slide does not run in one direction only, but is a composite one, crossing one end of the south moat, then running along the moat and finally re-crossing the opposite end. **Butcher's re-assessment of earlier interpretations of the shape and varying cross-section of the moat are perhaps his most important contribution to current understanding of the archaeology of the castle.**



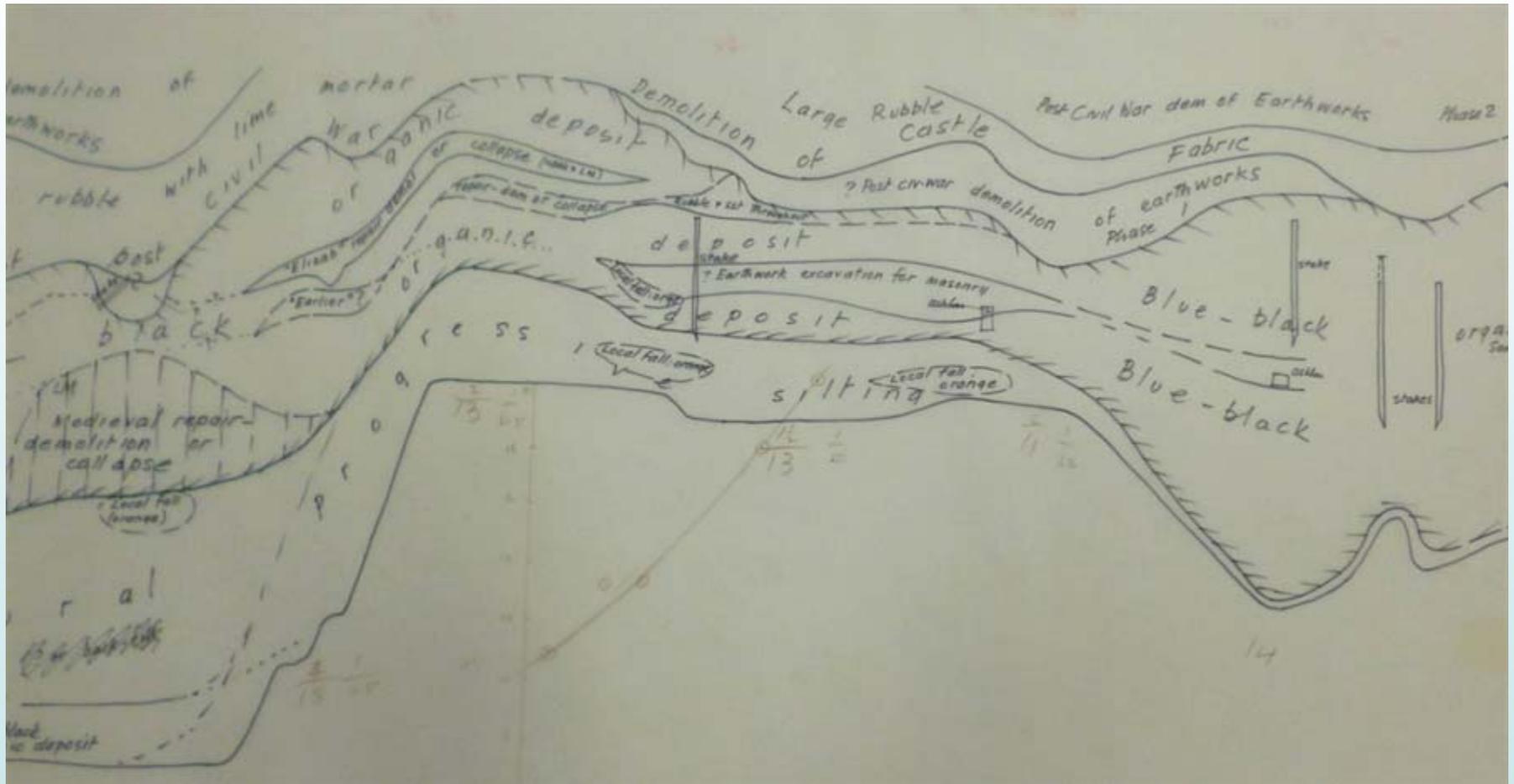


Moat deposits based upon pile / borehole sections,
 Leslie Butcher (Museums Sheffield)

The next slide shows the part of the same composite section as the previous slide, but with interpretation added by Leslie Butcher. He was of the opinion that the moat fills had been truncated, and that the uppermost surviving levels represented the lower limit of demolition material resulting from the 1649 dismantling works, apparently including a complete section of wall facing which had fallen into the moat. The demolition deposits overlay accumulations of blue-black organic mud, containing many plant remains, including reeds from the moat and an immense amount of small twigs and branches.

There was a great deal of variation in the characteristics of these layers. In the bottom of the moat, earlier observers had noted what they described as 'defensive stakes', sharpened pieces of wood sticking up. Butcher noted that the apparent point of one of the larger stakes had been created by the rotting of the wood resulting in it snapping off, rather than it being deliberately shaped or cut, and furthermore that some stakes had either oak boards or branches set between them. **His interpretation was that they formed a revetment to the sides of the moat, rather than being defensive in purpose.**

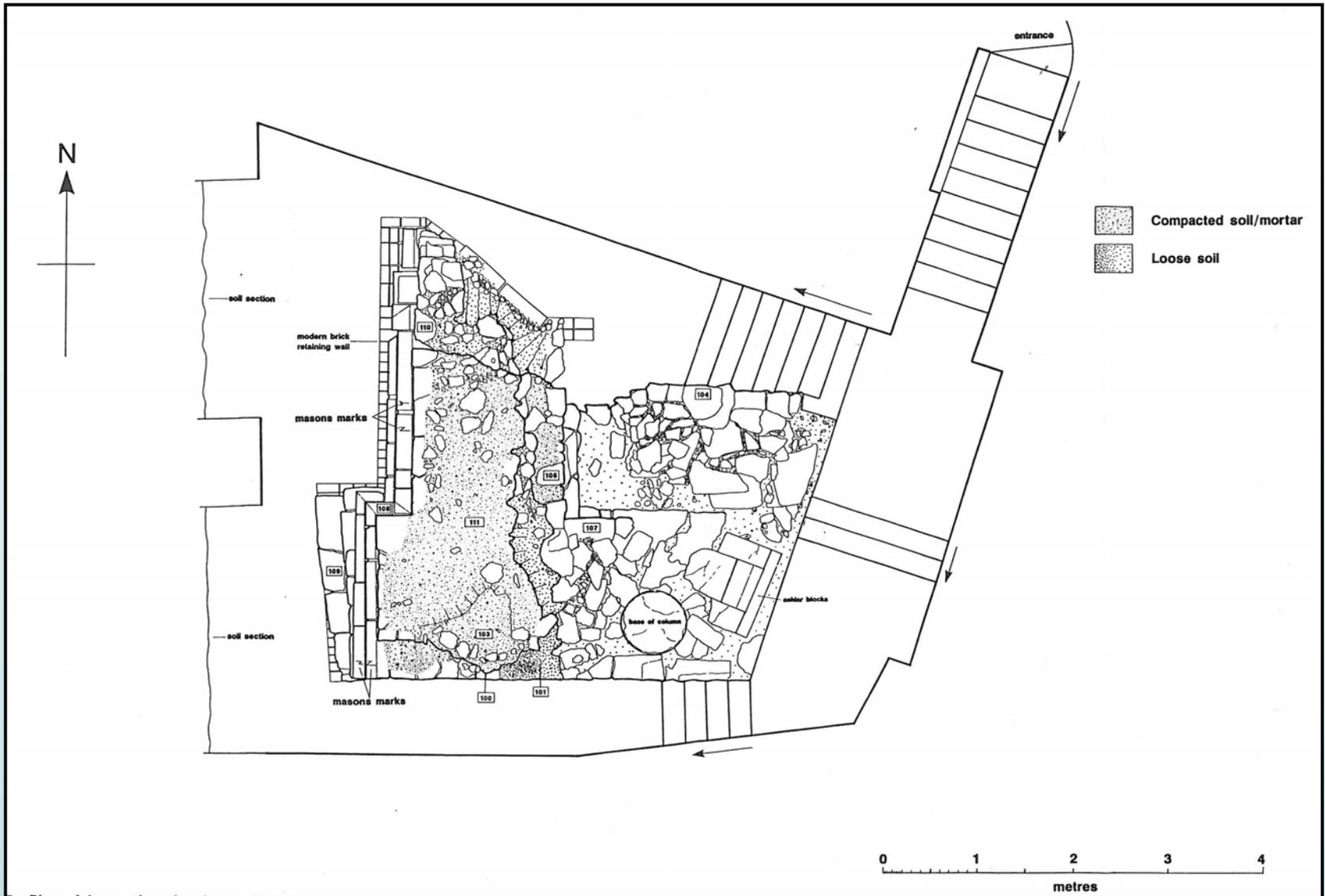




Interpretation of same moat deposits based upon pile / borehole sections, Leslie Butcher (Museums Sheffield)

In the course of the 1958-61 works, **Butcher had the opportunity to re-observe and record in detail two larger parts of the castle that had first been exposed during the late 1920s.** The first of these, shown in the next slide (an illustration taken from a modern archaeological report), lay at the north-east corner of the former inner court of the castle, and is probably the better known and certainly the most easily accessible; it is reached (with permission) through a doorway at the east end of the market's North Loading Dock. The structure is contained within a chamber that originally had soil sections in the west wall through which archaeological stratigraphy could be observed, although these are now blocked.





Plan of castle fragment beneath north-east corner of Castle Market complex (taken from Latham & Atkinson 1994)

It is now difficult to be certain as to exactly what extent the remains were repaired and restored when first exposed in the 1920s, or indeed in more recent times, but there are stones that have clearly been replaced in the wrong location. Much of the former west outer elevation is underlain by a modern brick retaining wall and much of the north end has been rebuilt in a rather haphazard manner. Nevertheless, at least it was preserved, which, as will be explained, was not a certainty at the time when it was first exposed.



Castle fragment beneath north-east corner of Castle Market complex,
taken in 1975 (www.picturesheffield.com)

The other larger fragment of the castle re-exposed during the late 1950s formed part of the gate structures, essentially the gatehouse and flanking semi-circular towers. These had been exposed in the late 1920s, and again they had been preserved within a chamber at that date.



Castle gate structures, looking north-east,
taken by Leslie Butcher, in 1960 (Museums Sheffield)

To view these remains is now slightly more complicated than with the other larger part of the castle. Access is through a manhole on the north side of the lowest level of the New Market Hall/Low Block. When the cover is raised, a metal ladder leads down onto a small raised platform at the south-west corner of the chamber, which is currently unlit.



Entrance cover to gate structures chamber, Castle Market, 2013



The castle is still there, aptly described by Peter Ryder as resembling a fossil in a vault and, despite having been heavily repointed, it is in a reasonable condition. Comparison between what remains now, and the slide from the 1960s, demonstrates that there is now considerably less visible than there once was. Unfortunately, there is a good reason for this.



Castle gate structures within chamber, looking north-east, 2013

Leslie Butcher noted that the chamber surrounding this part of the castle had been reduced in size in 1958, and his photographs (in the next slide) demonstrate graphically how this was done. The upper photograph was taken before the chamber was reduced in size and the lower one afterwards. As can be clearly seen, **a large slot was simply cut through the western tower.**

A contemporary engineer's drawing states that outside the chamber, the general levels of the castle walls should be reduced overall by a foot in height or "***lower locally as required***". So until the concrete floors of the market are taken up following the demolition of the complex, it will be impossible to properly assess to what extent this part of the castle still survives. In this case at least, the rather robust preservation techniques of the 1950s must count amongst the aspects of destruction that the evaluation strategy has to consider.





Castle gate structures during insertion of new chamber wall, looking north, taken by Leslie Butcher, in 1958 (Museums Sheffield)



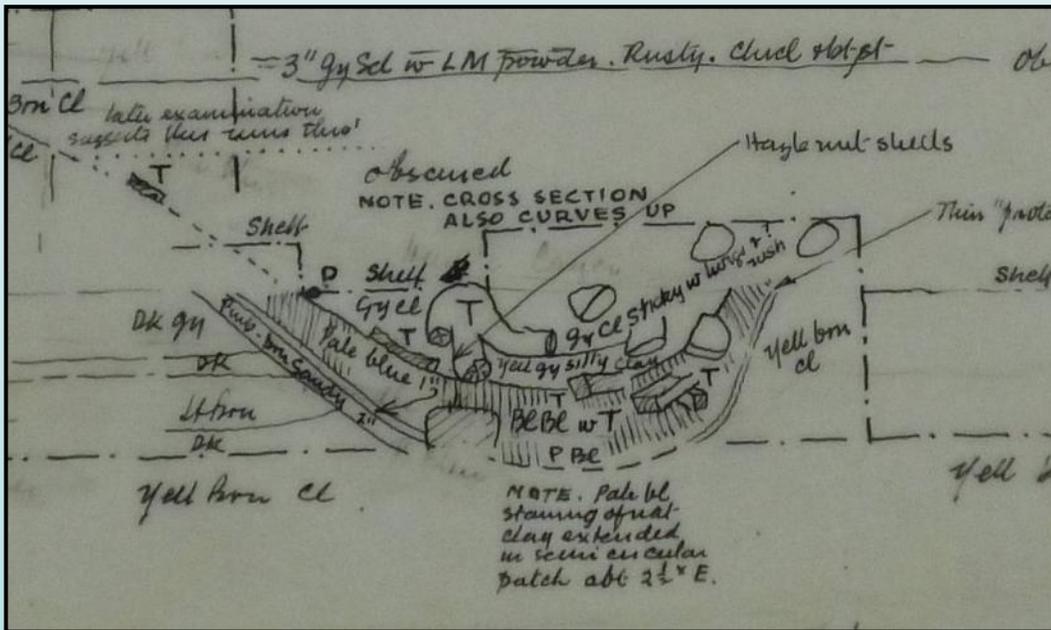
People will no doubt be aware that, so far, this text has concentrated heavily on the remains of the stone structures within the castle's inner court. Many of these are likely to belong to the late 13th century or afterwards, although of course it is unlikely that the castle would have remained a wholly earth and timber structure up to the 1270s; this transitional period, which may have involved the piecemeal conversion of an earth and timber castle to a largely stone complex, is **arguably one of the most interesting and currently least understood passages in the castle's history.**

It is well known that during the 1920s the remains of a timber structure were uncovered within the area of the castle's inner court, which was interpreted as being Saxon in origin. More recently, this interpretation has been questioned, and the possibility raised that the remains were in fact of 12th or early 13th century date, and so belong to the earliest phase of the castle complex. This, of course, does not rule out the possibility of a pre-Conquest centre in the same area as the castle, and indeed the timber structure is not the only possible pre-castle element of the landscape that has been excavated. Leslie Butcher recorded at least three or four features, generally sub-circular pits containing wattle-work or brushwood that were cut into the surface of the natural clay, which he classified as "early" without committing himself to a firm date. The example on the next slide, recorded by Butcher using both photography and drawing, was exposed when the sloping ground to the south of the spiral loading ramp was cut back to a vertical section.

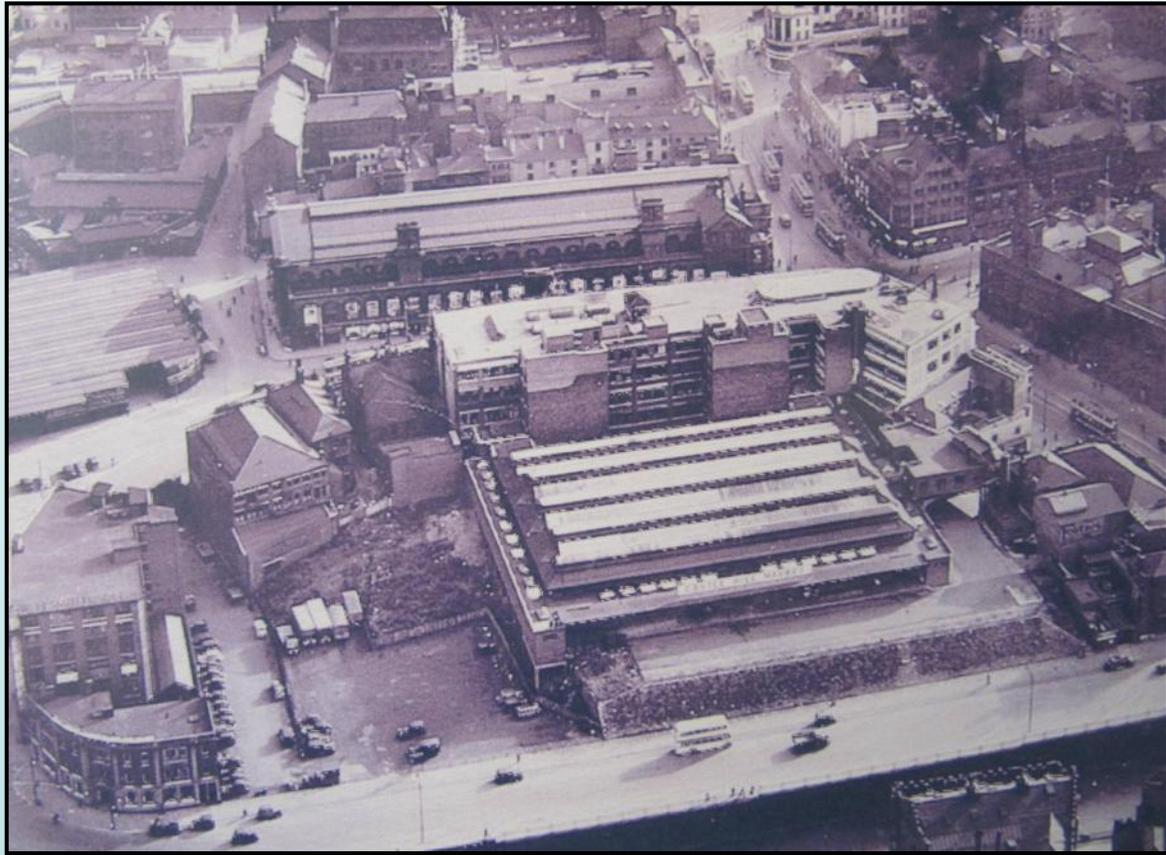




‘Early’ pit, south of current spiral loading ramp, photograph and drawing by Leslie Butcher, c.1961 (Museums Sheffield)



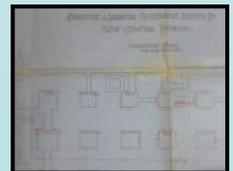
Going further back through the 20th century, from the late 1950s to the late 1920s, the first major development on the castle site in the 20th century was the construction of the Co-operative Stores on Exchange Street, the Castle Hill Market building behind and the cutting of Castlegate between Lady's Bridge and Blonk Street Bridge, all of which can be seen on this aerial photograph.



Castlegate, Castle Hill Market and Co-operative Store,
looking south, 1930s (SCC)

As has been already noted, it is fortunate that Leslie Butcher, working in the 1960s, gathered up what earlier material he could find, so that it has survived amongst his archives.

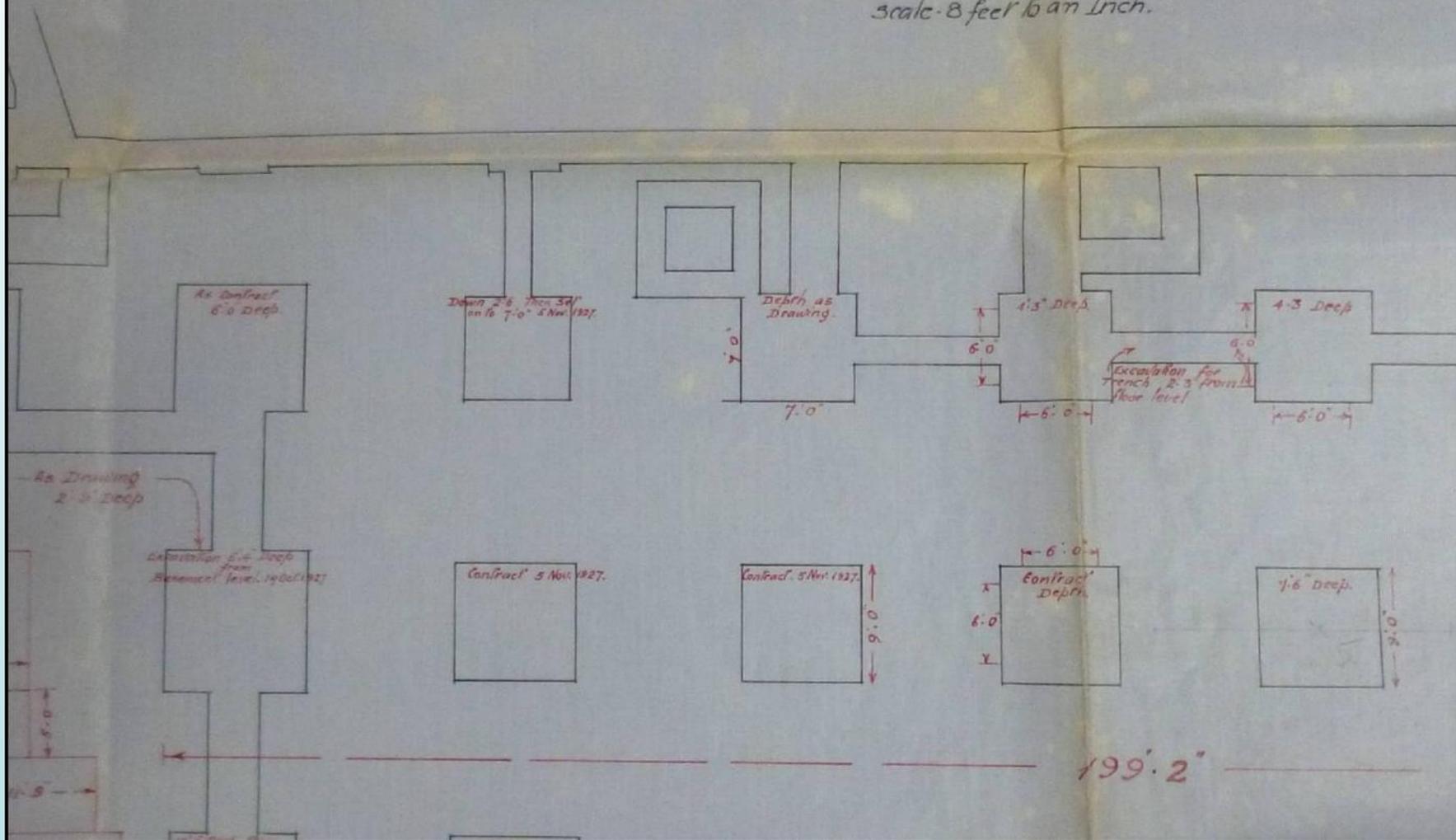
This is one such example, an extract from the basement foundation plan for the Co-operative Stores. Although perhaps not the most visually exciting document, this type of material has proved extremely useful in developing the evaluation strategy, as the plan gives details not only of what depth it was planned to excavate the foundations to, but also the actual depth that was reached during construction.



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The archaeological work undertaken on this earliest phase of development was essentially the product of the two men shown on the next slide, Albert, or as he is more commonly known, **Leslie, Armstrong** (left) and **Joseph Himsworth** (right). As an archaeologist, it has been an immensely satisfying exercise, indeed a privilege, to be able to go through records compiled by earlier archaeologists. It is difficult not to warm to Armstrong and Himsworth, because their work conveys much that still resonates with the modern archaeologist, including sometimes immense frustration with how works were progressing.

Neither were working under ideal conditions. Armstrong's wife was seriously ill when he started to view the works on the Co-operative Stores, and she died whilst works were progressing, so that he was often absent from the site. When he could be present, Armstrong sometimes received less co-operation from the contractors than he might have hoped for; for example, when describing the excavation of the south moat, he noted that he personally had to turn over the lower fills without any assistance, as not even a financial bonus was enough to interest the workmen in helping him. The public were not much better - much of the wattle floor of what Armstrong interpreted as being a Saxon structure was apparently stolen by souvenir hunters. Himsworth also encountered problems. In his site diary in January 1928, he wrote despairingly of the castle that “***Up to the present there has been more destroyed or covered up with concrete than will ever be seen by the public***”, and remarked that Loughran, the site foreman, had cursed the delays caused by the recording work using “*strong ‘builders’ language*”.





A L Armstrong (1879-1958)



Joseph Himsworth (1874-1968)

(Museums Sheffield /Hunter Archaeological Society)

Nevertheless, despite their problems, between them the two men amassed a great deal of useful information. Armstrong was the first to see the two larger parts of the castle that have already been described, as well as making the earliest record of the moat. Furthermore, **he, and the wider membership of the Hunter Archaeological Society, played an important part in getting these castle remains preserved.**

Armstrong stated in several newspapers that between £50 and £100 would be needed to secure the remains, and that indeed they would be an asset to the Co-operative Store as people would need to pass through the shopping areas to see them; the Society might even install a café nearby, he remarked. The possibility of removing the remains stone-by-stone and re-erecting them in a public park was apparently also considered, but thankfully never took place. It was originally planned to have the gate structures overlooked from the circulation area leading to the ladies lavatory, but ultimately they were preserved within a chamber and their position indicated by means of lines on the floor.





Fragment of castle beneath north-east part of Castle Hill Market,
looking south-east, taken by Himsworth 1928-1929
(Museums Sheffield / www.picturesheffield.com)

The incorporation of these remains into the chamber turned out to be fortuitous, as on the night of the 12th/13th December 1940, **the Co-operative Store received a direct hit** from a German bomb. Himsworth visited the site about a year later when the bomb debris had been partly cleared, descended into the chamber and found the castle remained in good order. However, what Himsworth described as *“the large flat showcase full of small objects retrieved from the Castle site”* had disappeared.

The destruction of this showcase is problematic, as some of the prehistoric, Roman and Saxon material that Armstrong said that he recovered during the excavations has never since been found, and is assumed to have been blown up by the Luftwaffe. Modern re-appraisals of the surviving finds have suggested that what Armstrong interpreted as being Saxon pottery may actually have been 12th century shell-tempered ware, which is in itself important, but of course it is impossible to re-appraise what no longer survives.





Co-operative Stores after bombing, December 1940
(www.picturesheffield.com)

Joseph Himsworth's importance to the preparation of the evaluation strategy has been three-fold. Firstly, as a balance to Armstrong - it is clear from Himsworth's diary that the two men sometimes disagreed on the interpretation of what had been uncovered, and sometimes it seems that Himsworth was correct. Secondly, Himsworth made important observations during the construction of Castlegate, as the late 18th century slaughterhouses along Chandlers Row and the Shambles were being demolished, as is shown on the next slide. Thirdly, Himsworth took photographs of what was there before the general redevelopment of the late 1920s took place, and these are just as valuable as his excavation photographs.





Demolition of Shambles and Chandlers Row for Castlegate, looking east, unknown photographer (Museums Sheffield)

Himsworth was not the only person to have photographed the area prior to the 1920s, and these early photographs complement what is known about the below-ground archaeology. By superimposing the known archaeology on a map of the area as it appeared in around 1900, a number of features begin to become apparent that inform how pre-1900 development affected what has survived of the castle.

For example, in the upper right-hand part of the next slide, the large circular feature lying at the centre of a courtyard has clearly disturbed that part of the castle recorded by Armstrong in the 1920s and excavated much more recently by ARCUS. Such an exercise can also inform as to what parts of the castle's layout may still have exerted an influence on built structures during the 19th century. The pink arrow on the right-hand side of the slide points to a curving lane or passage that seems to be at odds with much of the surrounding layout, and which **appears to closely follow the outer line of the eastern moat.**

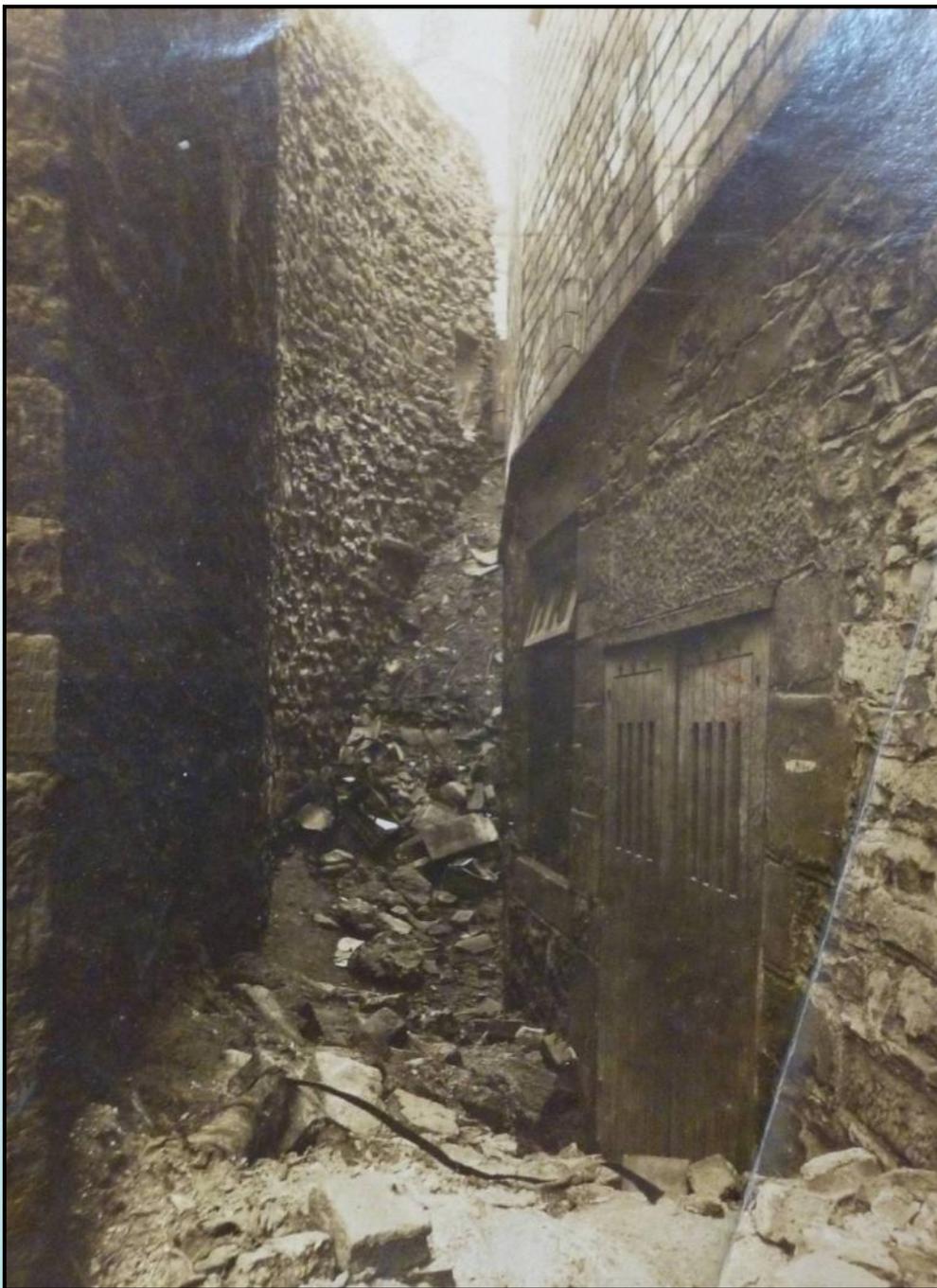




Draft plan of
known
archaeology,
superimposed
on a map
extract c.1900
(EDAS Ltd)

The early photograph on the next slide, one of three taken in 1918 of masonry thought to be connected with the castle, looks south-west up the curving lane or passage shown on the previous slide, and the accompanying caption states that the stone rubble wall on the left-hand side was about 14m long and 8m high. Whether this was some remaining portion of *in situ* moat lining or re-used castle stone is open to debate, but it emphasises that, **when creating an evaluation strategy, the possible re-use of material from the castle forms a necessary consideration**. Even as they fell down, these monumental buildings continued to influence the development of the landscapes around them through the availability of salvaged and indeed stolen materials.





View looking south-west up
the narrow, curving lane,
taken in 1918,
photographer unknown
(Museums Sheffield)

The excavation of 17th century and later demolition rubble will also be important. Many castles underwent substantial changes and remodelling during the 15th and 16th centuries, but these changes may have occurred two or three storeys above ground level. In the absence of detailed documentary information, one of the few opportunities to understand what once existed above ground level is through what was left behind when it was pulled down - window and door mouldings, fragments of glass, the odd piece of plaster, for example.

Additionally, **such demolition material could well provide a greater context and understanding of other *ex situ* items that may have come from the castle**, such as the plasterwork and other building materials in Bishops House in Sheffield, and contribute to ongoing studies of the motives of those who undertook dismantling, slighting, salvage and demolition at castles during and after the English Civil War.



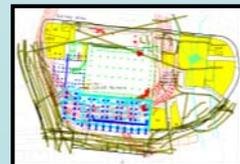


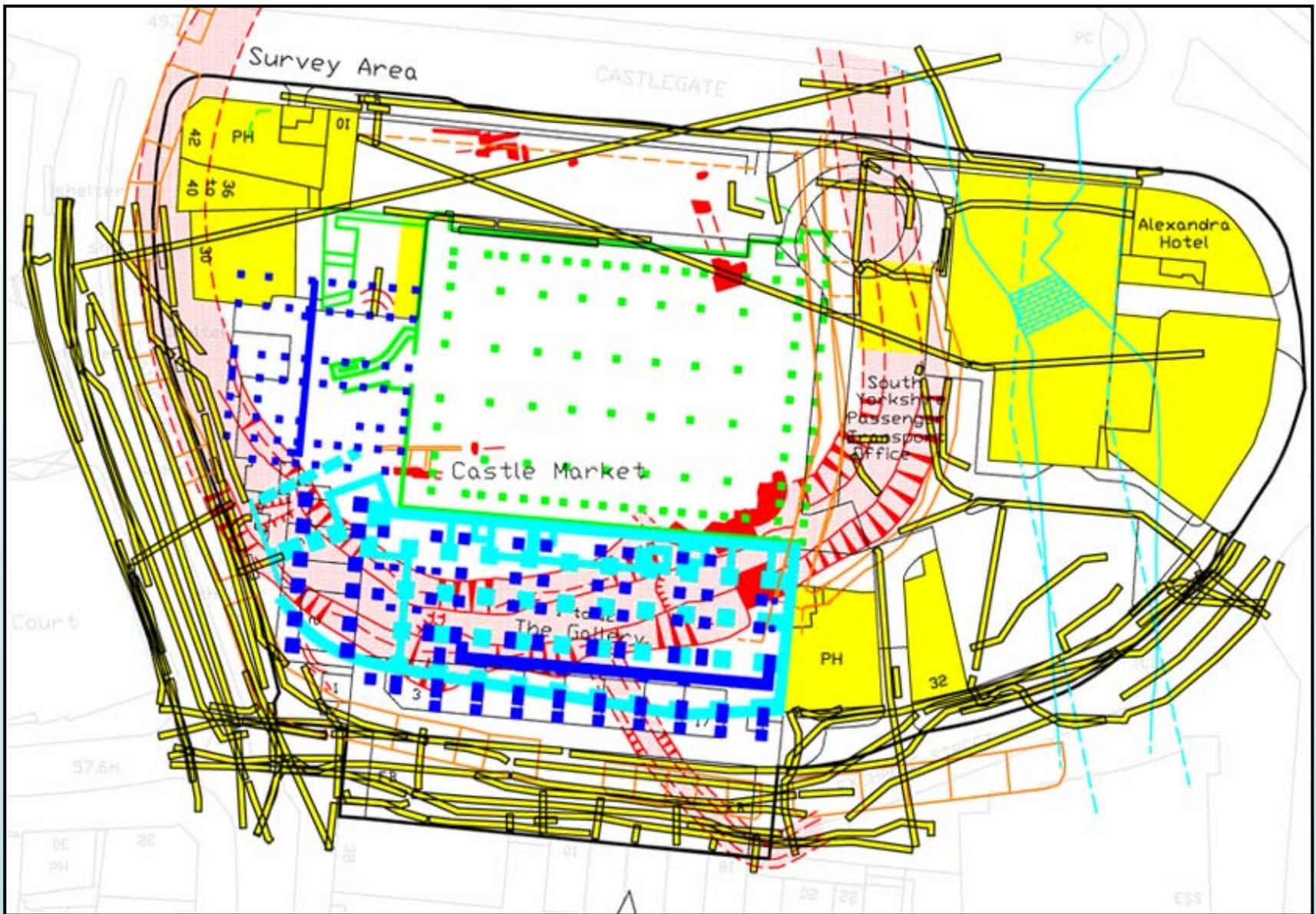
Masonry recovered during
demolition works, taken by
C Lea, c.1929
(www.picturesheffield.com)

In conclusion, this text has concentrated on the destruction, decay and change that has taken place within that part of the urban landscape where the castle's inner court was located. Several substantial phases of buildings have come and gone, with their attendant services, lift shafts, ventilation ducts and the rest. New roads were cut, ground levels were changed, and some major events such as the culverting of the river Sheaf have been mentioned only in passing. And that's just the 20th century!

Loss has not only been limited to the archaeology. It also affects records. The archaeological archive relating to Sheffield Castle is now looked after at Sheffield Museum but, through accident of circumstance, some items have been lost in the past. Himsworth admitted to losing photographs that he had taken, some of Armstrong's finds were blown up in the war, and Leslie Butcher makes references amongst his notes to documentary material that remains unlocated. Finally, over time, the archaeologists themselves are lost, with Armstrong, Himsworth and Butcher all sadly long gone.

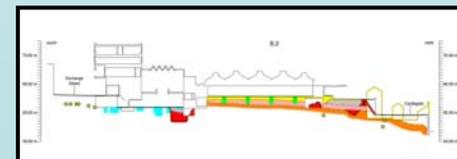
However, lest, like Himsworth, the reader begins to despair that very little may actually be left of the castle, **it should be emphasised that in all likelihood important and locally extensive archaeological deposits remain in place across parts of the site.** The careful mapping of foundations shows that windows of opportunity may well still exist in even the most crowded locations, and crucially, the evaluation strategy has to deal in three, rather than two, dimensions.

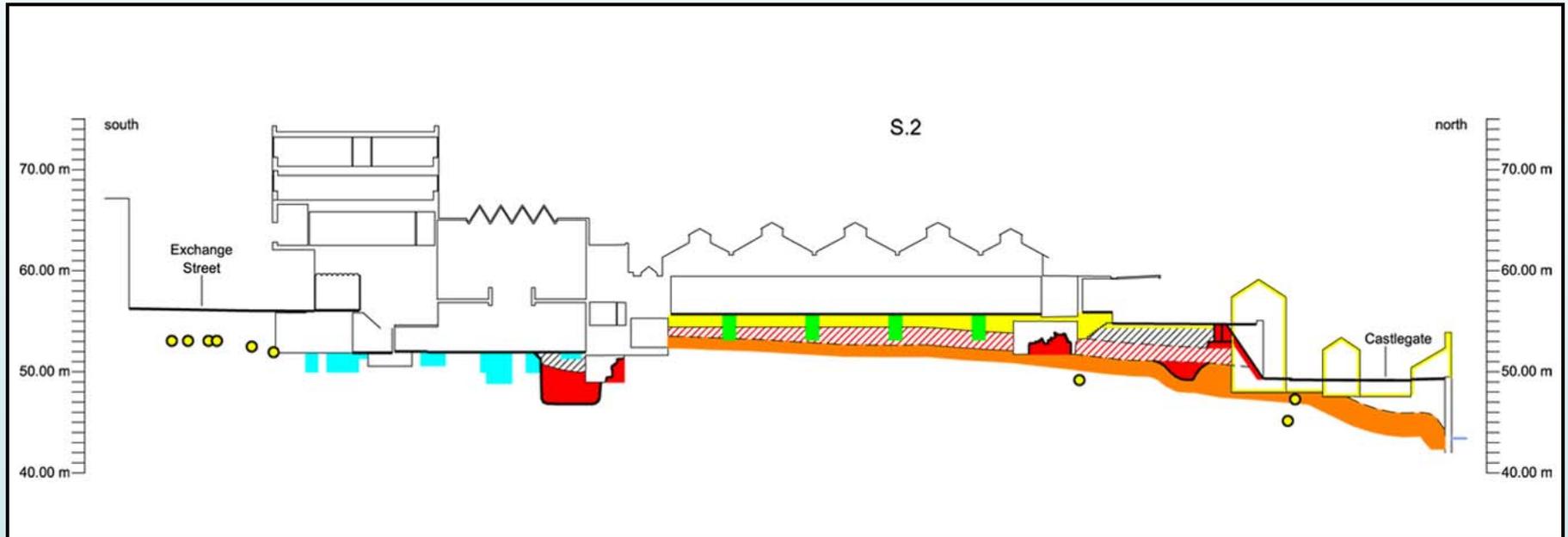




Extract from draft 1:500 scale plan showing known development on the site, 1900-2010 (EDAS Ltd)

The construction of archaeological sections across and through the Castle Market area, such as that shown on the next slide, demonstrates the relationship between known depths of deposits and the foundations of 20th century developments. The section, running north/south through the east side of Castle Market, depicts what Butcher plotted to be the original level of the natural ground surface (brown). Known features (solid red) include from south to north (left to right), the south moat, the larger parts of the castle preserved in the underground chambers, and the 'early' pit recorded by Butcher near the spiral ramp. The depth of probable medieval deposits associated with the castle are cross-hatched in red, possible demolition material cross-hatched in grey towards the north end, and relatively recent deposits in solid yellow. The various 20th century foundations are shown in green and blue.





Draft section looking north / south through Castle Market area,
1:500 scale (EDAS Ltd)

This three-dimensional understanding raises many different questions for the evaluation strategy to address. For example, the least disturbance appears to have occurred on the site of the original Castle Hill Market building, but it is likely that this, at least in part, occupies the open yard area of the castle's inner court as it developed after the late 13th century. The principal interest of this area may, therefore, be not what it reveals about the later development of the castle, but the fact that because later development was less intense, the earlier castle and whatever preceded it may be better preserved. Conversely, if further clarification of the later development of the castle is required, then investigation of the structures of the north range beneath the market's North Loading Dock would be an option. Finally, **the significant history of the area between the 17th and 20th centuries, including the early 19th century steel and cutlery works on Castle Hill, should not be overlooked.**

These are just three very basic questions amongst the many that can be posed of the Castle Market area, Sheffield Castle and whatever came before it. It is quite possible that any excavations that take place will reveal answers of such complexity that they make these questions seem wholly inadequate...