

PART IV

OLD SARUM

By D. H. MONTGOMERIE,

with two notes by SIR ALFRED CLAPHAM

Old Sarum stands on a high, detached hill, of chalk with a thin capping of Eocene gravel, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles north of Salisbury. The oval top of the hill is encircled by earthwork defences, enclosing an area of some $29\frac{1}{2}$ acres, in the centre of which, surrounded by its own deep ditch, rises the circular mound of Old Sarum Castle. The natural summit lies underneath this, at rather over 365 ft. above O.D. The mound and its Castle are Norman work, and so, in the form which makes them so prominent to-day, are the encircling outer defences. But the site has had a succession of occupations, and it is probable, as has been allowed on a previous page of this volume (p. 30), that it was first fortified as a hill-fort of the Early Iron Age. The question of its Roman occupation has also been touched on above (p. 32-3), as has the West Saxon victory over the Britons here, 'at the place called Searo byrg', in 552 (p. 80); presently under the name that appears in post-Conquest sources as Searebyrig or Searesbyrig, there grew up on the site a Saxon town. But the Norman re-modelling of the site, in the years soon after the Conquest, was drastic, and in this, and its congested occupation thereafter, all earlier features were much obscured. In the later Middle Ages, superseded by New Sarum, the modern Salisbury, it was gradually abandoned and despoiled; finally, in 1909, began the archaeological excavations, to which the most part of modern knowledge of it is due.

The excavations, which were continued until 1915, were carried out by the Society of Antiquaries, with the co-operation of a local Committee; as the resulting plan shows (fig. 1), they were devoted to the Castle, and to the north-west quarter of the city where stood the Norman Cathedral. The annual reports are printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* as follows:

1909, 1910: vol. xxiii (1910-11), 501-17; 1911: xxiv (1911-12), 52-65; 1912: xxv (1912-13), 93-103; 1913: xxvi (1913-14), 100-17; 1914: xxvii (1914-15), 230-38; 1915: xxviii (1915-16), 174-84.

The writer himself took part in the work; and the present short article is intended as a brief descriptive summary of its results, which will also contribute certain adjustments, made possible by personal knowledge, on points of detail, and draw attention to some further matters that were not fully dealt with in the annual reports, as no doubt they would have been in a consolidated Final Report, had the principal excavator, the late Sir William St. John Hope, lived to compile one. It should be added that the site is in charge of the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate of the Ministry of Works, a new edition of whose *Official Guide*, last printed in 1937, is now in preparation. The writer acknowledges with pleasure the two Notes, respectively on the Castle and the Cathedral, contributed by Sir Alfred Clapham, and is further indebted to Mr. Frank Stevens for giving permission

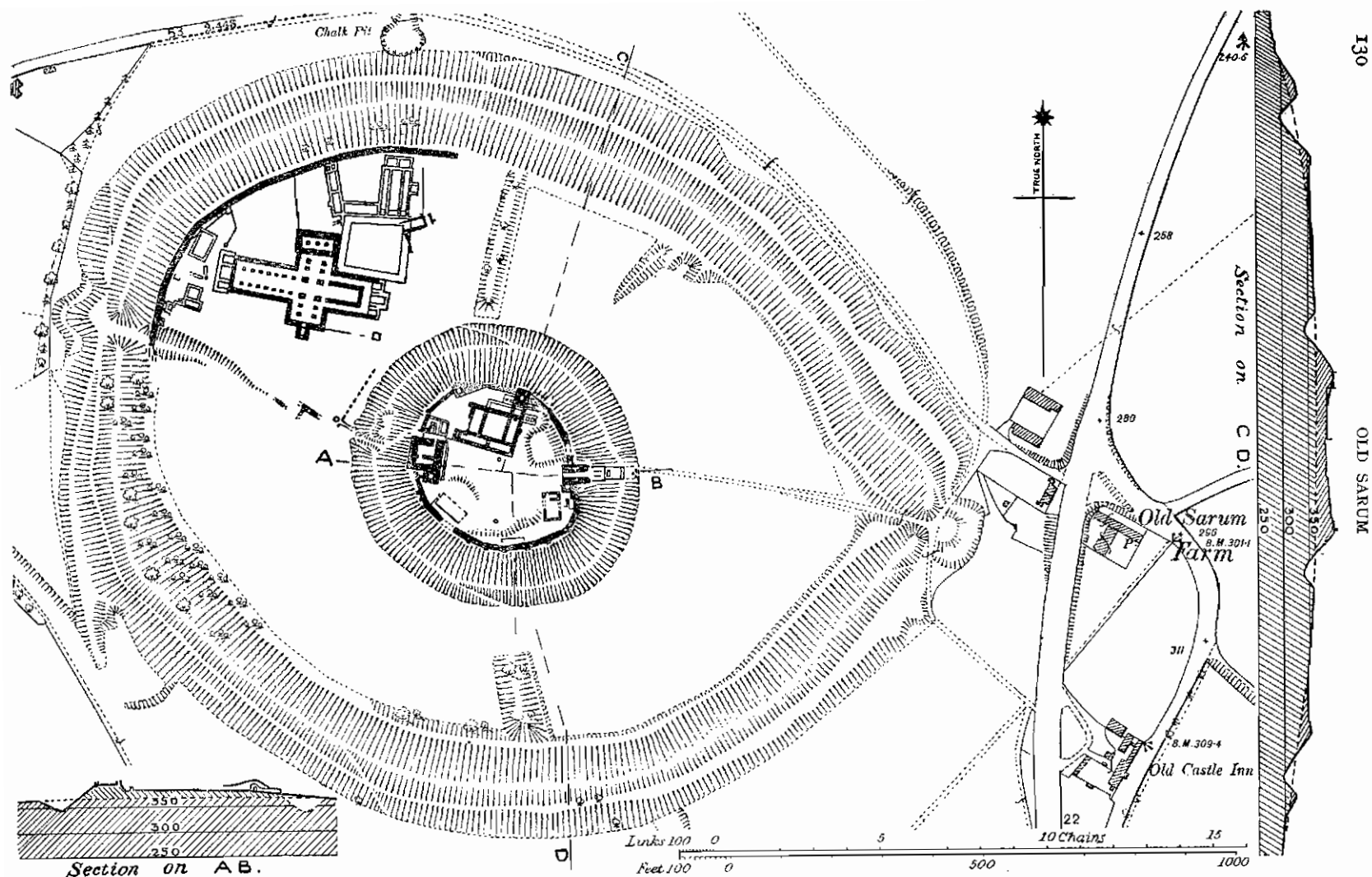


FIG. 1. OLD SARUM: GENERAL PLAN, SHOWING THE BUILDINGS EXCAVATED 1909-15, AND SECTIONS THROUGH THE HILL AND CASTLE MOUND

By D. H. Montgomerie: revised 1947

to publish, and to Mr. Hugh Shortt for drawing and describing, the objects from the site illustrated in figs. 2, 3, and 6, from the collections of the Salisbury and South Wilts Museum, in which plans, a model, and other finds from Old Sarum are exhibited.

I. EARLY IRON AGE, ROMAN, AND SAXON PERIODS (with figs. 1-6)

The choice of site, and the plan of the outer defences following the contour of the steep brows of the hill, strongly suggest that Old Sarum first took shape as an Iron Age hill-fort (p. 30), and in fact the site has yielded a few objects of that period.

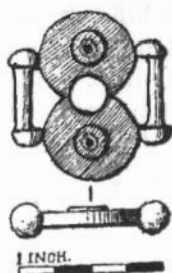


FIG. 2. OLD SARUM : BRONZE BELT-LINK. ($\frac{3}{4}$)
Salisbury Museum

Fig. 2, first published by Mr. Stevens in *Antiq. Journ.*, xvii (1937), 438, is a bronze belt-link of a well-known pre-Roman type, anyhow, of the first century B.C. or A.D. (cf. p. 52). Fig. 3, *a*, is a rim-sherd from a bead-rim pot (mentioned by Mr. Stevens, *ibid.*), which Mr. Shortt describes as 'very gritty ware, light grey inside, buff on shoulder turning to black lower down; slightly polished; doubtfully wheel-made; inside, as on the shoulder, apparently with a kind of pinkish-buff slip, mostly worn off'. Professor Hawkes suggests (above, p. 30) that it is probably 'Belgic' ware of the earlier first century A.D.

The three brooches (fig. 3, *b-d*), which are those mentioned by Mr. Stevens

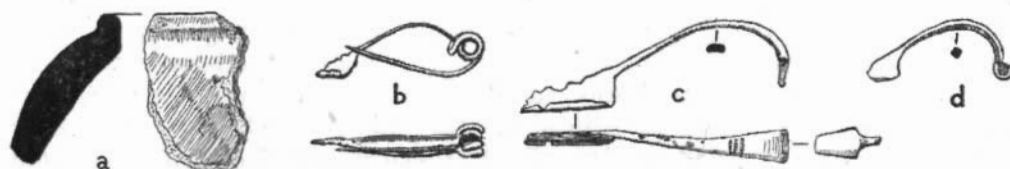


FIG. 3. OLD SARUM : BEAD-RIM POTSHERD (*a*), AND BRONZE BROOCHES (*b-d*), LATE IRON AGE OR EARLY ROMAN. ($\frac{1}{2}$)
Salisbury Museum

also *ibid.*, are of bronze, *b* having a two-coil spring, while *c*, which has three faintly-tooled transverse lines on the bow, now lacks all its pin-attachment, and *d* all but the beginning of its first spring-coil and a transverse spring-peg, which, Mr. Shortt adds, may be of iron. Professor Hawkes is of the opinion (cf. p. 30) that these should all be of the first century A.D., either of the shortly pre-Roman 'Belgic' period (as perhaps *b* and *d*), or else (as perhaps *c*) early Roman. In the MS. 'log' of the excavations kept by the late Col. W. Hawley (now in the Salisbury and

South Wilts Museum), Mr. Hugh Shortt has found only two entries that could relate to these few early finds. It seems very possible that *a* (with another small sherd, featureless) is the 'little pottery, pre-R.B.', and either *c* or *d* the 'portion of a bronze fibula of the same date' recorded there as found on October 3rd, 1913, 'in a depression containing very black rubbish beneath the floor at the west end of the cathedral nave'. Whichever of *c* and *d* is not this may presumably be that recorded for May 18th, 1912, as 'portion of R.B. fibula in the soil at south-east corner of the cathedral transept'. The 'log' mentions no finding of such a fibula complete, so no find-spot for *b* can be suggested.

If these are relics of an original hill-fort, it yet remains uncertain how early in the Iron Age it can be dated. Towards the end of the 1911 excavations, the examining of the unfinished post-Norman well, mentioned below (p. 139), sunk down to the natural chalk through the material of the Castle mound, made it possible to run two untimbered exploration-galleries laterally into this material on the old ground-surface, east and north from the well-shaft; and the eastward gallery (AB, fig. 4) discovered a large bell-mouthed pit, dug through the natural gravel capping into the chalk. Though safety did not permit the clearing of more than the top 3 or 4 ft. of the loose filling of this pit, and no finds are recorded from it, its form certainly suggests that of an Iron Age storage-pit; but whether pre-'Belgic', as at Maiden Castle and Little Woodbury, or of the 'Belgic' period suggested by the finds just described from elsewhere on the site, remains uncertain (Professor Hawkes above, p. 30). In any case, the pit was stratified below remains of a stone building, near which, in the northward gallery (CD), was found a pebble floor with material containing Roman as well as later rubbish lying upon it; the building, unless it is late Saxon, which nothing positively suggested, is, like the floor, probably Roman, which increases the likelihood that the underlying pit is at any rate of some part of the pre-Roman Iron Age.

In 1911 we had no electric torches, and these galleries were explored by candle-light; but the main stratification is represented very closely by the sections given, with the plan, here in fig. 4. The post-Norman excavation for the well had greatly disturbed the strata for 5 to 6 ft. all round it. The floor in the northward gallery (CD) first appeared nearly 10 ft. from it, and was made of pebbles closely set in rammed chalk, forming a hard pebble-concrete, laid on the natural gravel at 366 ft. O.D.; it was pursued for 5 ft. northwards, and may have extended over a considerable area. Above it was a thin spread of chalk filling, and about 3 ft. of later occupation-layers, largely of midden-rubbish, which in turn had above them the chalk of the Norman castle-mound. The Roman material found in this cutting, over the pebble-concrete floor, consisted of several pieces of Roman pottery, and a Roman coin, thought to be of Maximian (*Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, xxiv, 58).

The foundations of the stone building, encountered in the eastward gallery (AB) about 7 ft. from the well, were bedded about 6 in. below the level of the pebble floor, which may have run up to them before the well-excavation came between; the core of the structure, overlying the pit just mentioned, was very much broken and was covered by the chalk of the Norman mound. A further wall core beyond the pit, in the far end of the gallery, was seen but could not be further examined; the main wall found, between the pit and the well, ran nearly north and south to an external corner at F. It had belonged evidently to a building of some size:

OLD SARUM.

Remains on old hill-level
below Norman Castle Mound
including
? ROMAN WALLS and PEBBLE FLOOR
and ? Early Iron Age Pit,
excavated 1911. (Proc. Soc. Ant. xxiv. 57-8).

Elevation.

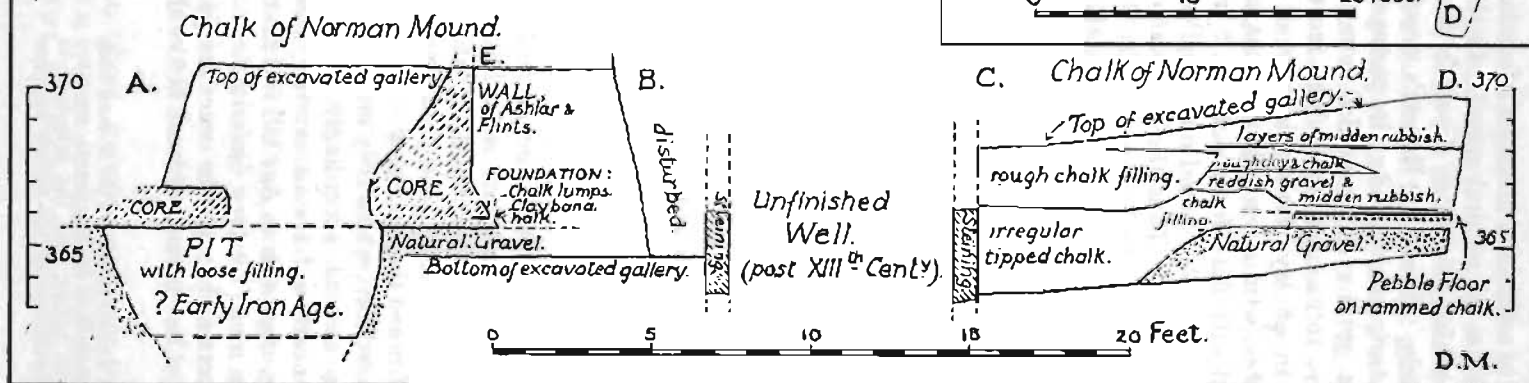
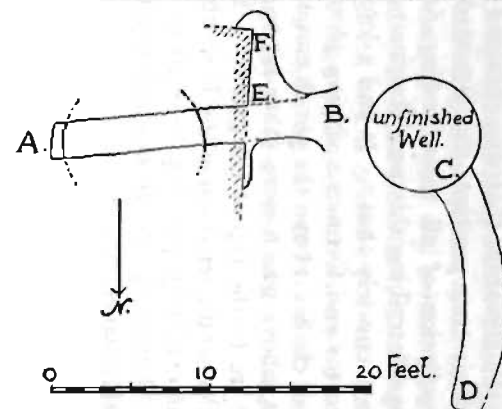
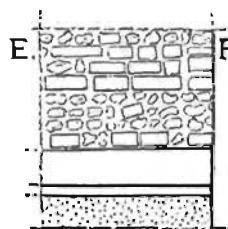


FIG. 4. OLD SARUM: REMAINS FOUND BENEATH THE CASTLE MOUND, 1911

By D. H. Montgomerie

it was built of ashlar and flints, on a foundation of chalk lumps with a clay and chalk bedding laid on the natural gravel. In the elevation that was obtained of it (EF, fig. 4) the ashlar blocks are shown in their true position, the intermediate flints approximately. The 1911 Report's description of all these findings is given in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, xxiv, 57-8; the passage describing this wall (beginning near the bottom of p. 57) may be re-worded more accurately thus: 'It had a foundation of chalk lumps, 16 in. high, set in hard mortar and forming a sloping plinth, resting on about 2 in. of clay over a thin layer of chalk: above the plinth came 1 ft. 8 in. of flint rubble, with a few ashlar blocks, above which were other layers of ashlar, interspersed with flint, for about 1 ft. 8 in. to the top of the gallery. The ruined wall did not probably extend much higher, and over it came the loose chalk of the Norman Motte . . .' Thus the wall was evidently standing here about 5 ft. high above its base when the Norman builders buried it. Its Roman age must of course remain conjectural, but it seems reasonably likely.

Old Sarum is unquestionably the place with the Roman name *Sorviodunum* given in the Antonine Itinerary (It. XII and XV: J.R.S. xxxviii, 58); three, almost certainly four Roman roads (perhaps five) converge here, and it has usually been held that the occupation, as also the name, of the Iron Age hill-fort continued in Romanized form. Comment on this has been made by Professor Hawkes above (p. 32): it would be most unusual to find a hill-fort succeeded, on the spot, by a regular Roman town, and indeed Roman material on the site, even if the remains just described are included, seems too scanty to suggest a settlement of any great size. There has been a suggestion that the Roman *Sorviodunum* may have been on the west below the hill, towards the river Avon near the village of Stratford, but evidence of finds does not support this strongly either.¹ Presumably, then, for whatever reasons, the Romans used the hill-fort not for a town, but for something of a lesser sort, which at least continued to bear its Romanized name long enough for passing, in the sixth century, directly into the Saxon one.

Later in Saxon times the place did become a town, of importance²; for that, the easy access to the Avon on the west would be an inducement additional to the commanding, nodal position. Of this occupation it is recorded that King Alfred ordered the repair of the defences, and that in 960 King Edgar held a Parliament here. In 1002 the town was sacked and burnt by the Danish army under Sweyn; but its recovery is shown by the minting of coins here, which have been fully discussed by Mr. Shortt in the preceding article in this volume (pp. 112-28), under Cnut and Edward the Confessor. The Normans then took it over as an established and a defended city, which they made their new earthworks to defend more strongly. It has been natural, accordingly, to wonder whether the outer defences do not conceal, beneath a Norman exterior, the remains of older earthworks; ideally, those of the original Iron Age hill-fort first, followed by the reconditioning recorded for the late ninth century under Alfred. And in the excavations of 1914, when we cut a section through the outer rampart, to the north of the Cathedral (fig. 1), a sequence of two periods of work before the Norman was indeed apparent.

¹ Mrs. M. E. Cunningham cites the Roman finds from both sites in *W.A.M.*, xlv (1930), 203-4.

² It is worth noting that the famous gold Ring of Ethelwulf, now in the British Museum

(*Anglo-Saxon Guide*, 1925, 115, fig. 143), was found (in 1780) near by, in a field at Laverstock: see M. E. Cunningham, *Introd. to the Arch. of Wilts* (ed. 3, 1938), 144.

This cutting is noticed in the Report for the year in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, xxvii, 236-7 (with fig. 2), and the section is here given as fig. 5, re-drawn to a larger scale. No relics were found in its excavation, and dates for the pre-Norman work cannot be firmly claimed. But it will be seen that the rampart of the first period, directly above the sloping natural surface, stands at the bottom of the section to a maximum height of 4 ft., and is sealed by a turf-line, showing as a dark layer, indicating a passage of time before it was covered by the addition made in the second period represented. The maximum height of this is 14 ft., and it in turn is sealed by another dark layer or turf-line, indicating a further passage of time before the Norman

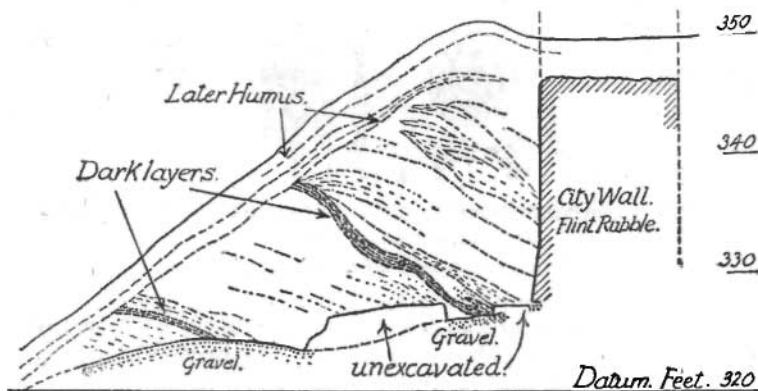


FIG. 5. OLD SARUM: SECTION THROUGH THE OUTER RAMPART, CUT 1914
By D. H. Montgomerie

builders covered it with their 19 ft. of chalk and other material, and added the flint rubble curtain-wall (plans, figs. 1 and 8) which will be mentioned again below. The corresponding Norman ditch, in front of the rampart, is of immense proportions (fig. 1), and by it the front parts of both the earlier rampart-constructions have evidently been cut away. We therefore cannot say just what these were like, nor whether the works were reconditioned on more occasions, before Norman times, than the one apparent. The repair ordered by Alfred, for example, might have been only the re-fronting or palisading of a rampart already heightened, before his time, from its first to its second apparent state. In that case, always assuming the first to be of the Early Iron Age, the second might date, e.g. either from a later part of that same Age, or from the latest Roman or post-Roman period, when hill-forts are known to have been re-fortified elsewhere. We cannot positively say; nor can we say what amount of Iron Age or other pre-Norman work has been incorporated in the extant massive earthworks of the main entrance, on the east, or the minor one on the west, with their protective external mound-works. There seems on the whole not likely to be much. But that there are, certainly, two pre-Norman periods in the main rampart is a fact; and the work of the earlier does seem likely to be Iron Age, whether or no the later is Alfred's.

The Norman work, as will be seen below, included not only building, but levelling up the interior of the city, over a very great extent of the slope of the hill behind the rampart. Traces of the Saxon, and earlier, occupations can therefore

scarcely be expected to be more than scanty. As a small find, Mr. Stevens has published (in *Antiq. Journ.*, xvii, 438-40) what is apparently an ornamental horse-bronze, which he suggests may be Saxon of the tenth century. Our fig. 6, *a*, a disc-shaped bronze brooch also in Salisbury Museum (Old Sarum B1) and published here by his permission, was regarded as probably Saxon by the late Reginald Smith. Mr. Shortt, who communicates this, describes it as ornamented with three spiral-ended volutes; they are arranged in a triangle, within a beaded border. Professor Hawkes also holds it to be Saxon, and points out that exactly this triangle of spiral-ended volutes, in cabled-wire filigree, appears on the disc-shaped gold pendant, 1.3 in. in diameter, found in 1774 in Cornwall in the famous Trewiddle



FIG. 6. OLD SARUM: BRONZE BROOCH (*a*), LATE SAXON; AND BUCKLE (*b*), ? 12TH CENTURY. ($\frac{1}{2}$)
Salisbury Museum

hoard, which included a series of 114 silver pennies ending with two of Alfred and one of Ceolwulf of Mercia, not before 871 and 874 respectively and so dating the hoard, which was doubtless loot of the Danish wars from Wessex, about 875.³ Moreover, a silver parallel to this pendant has been found in the Baltic island of Oland with Cufic coins of about 950,⁴ and is evidently also a Saxon piece, removed thither in these Viking times. Our brooch is thus of the later ninth century, or perhaps early tenth, and is in fact a minor representative of the Carolingian-influenced Wessex style of the period. The small bronze buckle-plate, fig. 6, *b*, also in the Salisbury Museum's Old Sarum collection, bears openwork ornament which Mr. Shortt thinks may be of the early medieval date suggested by its resemblance to a Romanesque arcade.⁵ Naturally by far the most of the known finds from the site come from the Norman period or later.

2. THE NORMAN OUTER DEFENCES AND INTERIOR LEVELLING

Old Sarum is named *Sarisberie* in *Domesday Book*, and it took its Norman form under the Conqueror, who in 1070 here assembled and disbanded his victorious army.

The Norman earthworks are of impressive strength, the outer defences consisting of the vast new ditch already mentioned, with a counterscarp bank outside it as well as the new, enlarged rampart within, seen in section in fig. 5. At the inner side of this, a well-made curtain wall of flint rubble, also seen in fig. 5, was built right round the city; its total length is thus over $\frac{3}{4}$ mile, the north-western stretch cleared in the excavations being planned in figs. 1 and 8. It was apparently without

³ *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Guide* (1923), 99-100, fig. 120, 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁵ He compares, e.g. the Limoges enamelled reliquary of the early twelfth century (now in America), published in the *Illustrated London News* for June 11th, 1948.

buttresses or towers, but is some 11½ ft. thick, rising, perhaps to 24 ft. in height above its base. As fig. 5 shows, it was based on the natural Eocene gravel of the hill at the inner floor of the existing pre-Norman ramparts, the space over them in front of it being filled up with layers of material, not so homogeneous as theirs, but containing beds of all consistencies, until the full height and shape desired for the whole chalk rampart were attained.

Vast quantities of chalk were also deposited behind the wall to raise the terreplein of the city, the level surface thus formed extending as much as 200 ft. up the slope. All these works represent a most remarkable feat of engineering, which the Castle works completed.

3. OLD SARUM CASTLE: MOUND AND BUILDINGS

The construction of the central castle-mound or motte, and its ditch, meant the destruction of nearly 6 acres of the Saxon town, though there is no record, such as is known elsewhere,⁶ of the number of houses so destroyed. The motte itself, some 16 ft. high in the interior, required a volume of chalk greatly in excess of the contents of its ditch. It was of the large crater-like type, found in many places in the West Country. Slight traces of a low, early, wall were observed by the excavators, a few feet inwards on the east side, but this was soon covered by heavy layers of chalk, sloping up to form a high continuous rampart. The mound thus carried the whole Inner Bailey of the castle and all its buildings (fig. 7). No doubt it was originally palisaded in timber.

The first important stone building to be erected was the 'Great Tower' of the castle, called in the excavation-reports a 'keep' (see Sir Alfred Clapham's note below). This, without doubt, was built by Bishop Roger (1107-39), early in the twelfth century. Its design was peculiar, in that the basement of the central space was filled up solid with chalk for stability (no. 3 in fig. 7), but yet was flanked on two sides by ranges of buildings (nos. 4-6) on the level of the bailey. The height to which these buildings rose and the form which the central block took are uncertain, as so little remains of the various walls.

In the late twelfth century, other buildings and defences of masonry were added (fig. 7), including a continuous curtain wall of flint rubble with external buttresses, crowning the chalk rampart. A Gatehouse (no. 1) with entrance hall and guard chambers, flanked by two drum towers, covered the approach from the east over a bridge, whose masonry footings may be seen to have been lengthened at least twice. Other towers were placed on the line of the curtain to the north, north-west, and west. One (no. 8) was opposite the north-east angle of the Great Tower. The ranges of buildings flanking the Great Tower were joined to this by a connecting room (no. 7), and were supplemented also by a northern range, in the form of a long room built against the Tower's north wall (no. 9). Two sets of garde-robe pits, of ample size and depth, flanked these additions. No fourth range on the west was found clearly indicated; but to the north-west, remains of another tower (no. 10) lie athwart the curtain.

The third and much most important of these towers is that which has been called the 'Postern Tower', flanking the narrow Postern passage (no. 11) that led

⁶ E.g. Lincoln: *Arch. Journ.*, ciii, 158.

by a wooden bridge and a hollow road to the west gate of the city, which was no more than an arched opening in the great curtain wall (fig. 8). Various foundations to the north of this passage suggests a group of buildings connected with the Postern Tower. But they are also continuous with the south wall of the Great Tower, which had originally extended westward here so far, that remains of its plinth could be

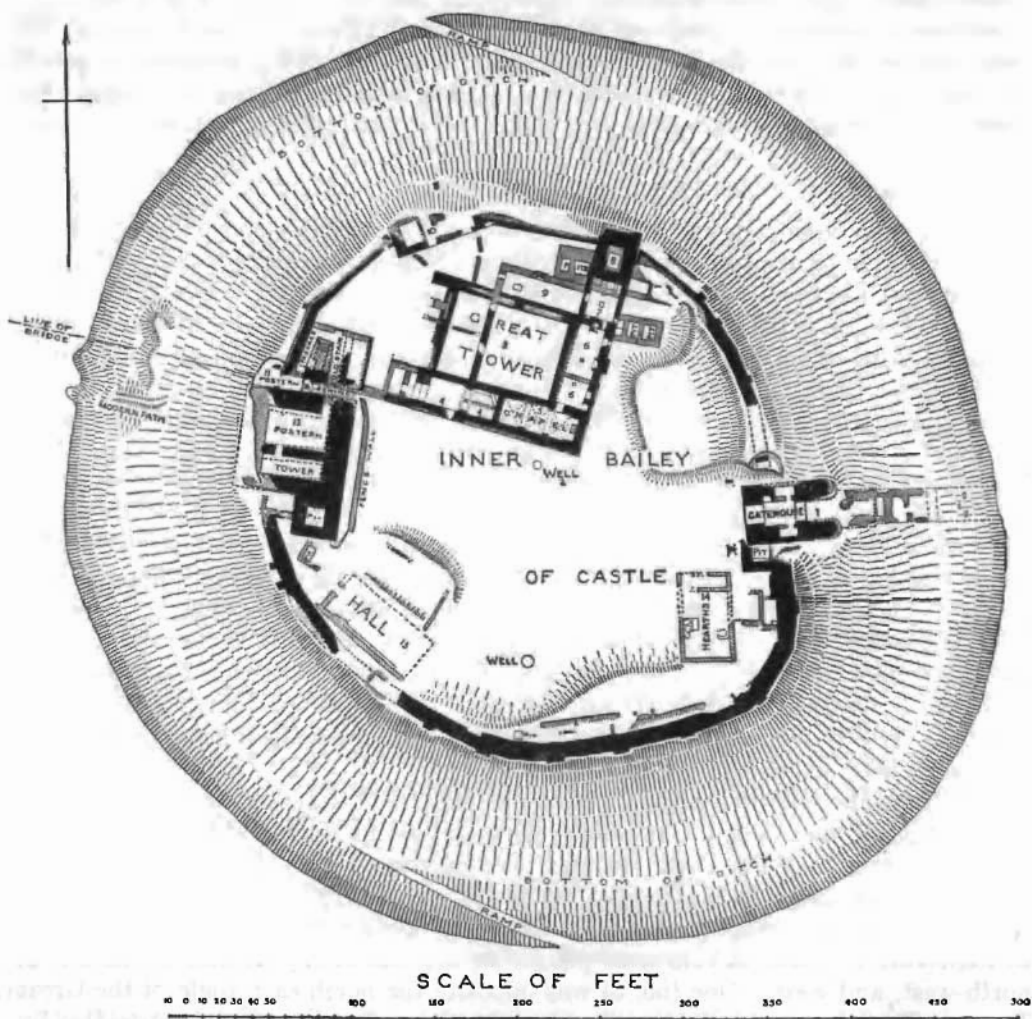


FIG. 7. OLD SARUM CASTLE : DETAILED PLAN, AFTER THE EXCAVATION OF 1909-15
By D. H. Montgomerie : revised 1947

On the terms 'Great Tower' and 'Postern Tower' used here, see pp. 137-8, 139-40.

found left outside the curtain wall when that was added (seen by the figure 11 in fig. 7). The south face of the Great Tower, in fact, originally continued west as a wall extending to the edge of the castle bank, and perhaps formed there the north side of an original entry from the Postern bridge, the south side of which was wholly destroyed when the Postern Tower was built. In any case, the different alinement

of the extant entrance-passage shows that the Postern Tower, which is integral to its design, is later than and not contemporary with the Great Tower. The Postern Tower itself (no. 12) seems to have been a remarkable structure, with walls greatly exceeding those of the Great Tower in thickness. Like it, also, it has a solid basement, above which were two rooms connected by a doorway. One may assume that it rose to some height, for an immense garde-robe pit in its southern wing was spanned by an arch, indicating the existence of at least two storeys. Sir Alfred Clapham gives his opinion of it below.

The east side of the Postern Tower, facing the bailey, rose from a stepped plinth to a high battering front. A few feet to the east are the remains of a poor, later fence wall, forming a cloister leading from the Great Tower to the Great Hall. The Great Hall (no. 13) occupied a raised, level space behind the bailey wall, and was built in the thirteenth century. Little remains of it but part of the south wall, with a stone bench, and the entrance on the west. East of it, and just south-west of the Gatehouse, was found an oblong building (no. 14) containing several ovens. The southern curtain or bailey wall, round to the Gatehouse, had no towers attached to it.

The great Well of the castle (no. 2), once sheltered by its house, lay close to the south-east angle of the Great Tower. It is difficult to estimate the depth of this well to the original water-level in the chalk in Norman times, but one may assume a figure of some 200 ft. The shaft, 5 ft. in diameter, was ashlar-steined down to the old hill level, below which the pipe, at 8 ft. diameter, continued in the solid chalk. A second well, begun but never finished, was found some 40 yd. to the south; the exploration of this and its surroundings has been described above (pp. 132-4, with fig. 4).

OLD SARUM CASTLE

By SIR ALFRED CLAPHAM

The castle was in the hands of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, in the later part of the reign of Henry I; and here he did much building in the new manner, as is attested by William of Malmesbury.⁷ This connexion with Roger is the crucial evidence in the elucidation of the remains of the castle, which can now be better conceived and interpreted than was done in the reports presented to the Society of Antiquaries.⁸ The most complete surviving work of Bishop Roger is his castle at Sherborne, erected at the same time as Old Sarum Castle, still in large part standing, and excavated in recent years by Mr. C. E. Bean, F.S.A.⁹ The plan of the main block at Sherborne at once makes clear the purport and arrangement of the main block at Sarum, called above and on the plan (fig. 7) the Great Tower, and presented in the excavation-reports as the 'keep'.

Both at Sherborne and at Sarum there is a central rectangular space of much the same extent, with ranges of buildings flanking it. At Sherborne the central space is a courtyard, and it was from the start flanked by ranges on all four sides,

⁷ *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Series), pp. 484, 547.

⁸ *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, xxiii, 501-17; xxiv, 52-65.

⁹ An account of Sherborne Castle by Sir Harold Brakspear and Mr. Harold Sands will

be found in *Arch. Journ.*, lxxxvii (for 1930), 422-7, with plans; this, however, was published before Mr. Bean's excavations were begun, and consequently quite inconclusive.

provided on each side with arcaded alley-ways. At Sarum the central space was filled up with chalk to raise it to a higher level and the ranges flanking are not all of one precise date. That this relationship between the castles must plainly be due to Bishop Roger, cannot be doubted. At Sherborne the SW. angle of the main block was adjoined by a strong tower or 'keep', contemporary with it, and bonded into the W. and S. ranges. At Sarum a strong tower was added later and corresponding in general position with the Sherborne tower. This is the building now called the 'Postern Tower', so named on the plan (fig. 7), and described by Mr. Montgomerie above.

On the question of the use of the word 'keep' for such structures, Mr. Montgomerie has offered the following observations to complete this note.

'In describing castles, it has become customary and convenient to use the post-medieval word "keep" for a Great Tower structure (*Donjon, Grosse Tour*), where such exists, perhaps without due consideration of what is meant by the word. One may concede that the design of the "Great Tower" at Old Sarum is not that of a strong citadel, while the "Postern Tower", with its thick walls, might be regarded as a "last resort" unit, and be described as a Gatehouse Keep.

'Had the castle of Old Sarum been built and completed in France, one might wonder to which of the two structures the word *Donjon* would have been applied. The records only refer to so many "towers"; and in future descriptions of the castle one may perhaps omit the word "keep" altogether.'

4. THE NORMAN CITY AND CATHEDRAL

Returning now to the City, or outer bailey, further excavation would, without doubt, have revealed the existence of many important buildings, including the prison and the great gate (which carried the church of the Holy Cross), now represented only by the wide, V-shaped opening between the banks on the east. The City seems to have been sub-divided by two cross-banks (fig. 1), running north and south and stopping short of the Castle ditch. The north bank consists of white chalk only, and shows no signs of masonry foundations. The south bank is little more than a natural rise of the ground, capped by a slight mound, to the west of which is a deep depression, sometimes described as a ditch, but more probably a small chalk-pit. It has been noted that at some time after the spoliation of the city wall, its line was crested anew by a low bank of white chalk, devoid of stones, round much of the area, and it is possible that this pit provided the material. A little to the east of the northern bank there is a hollow from which, in 1795, there was found a postern passage (now closed), lined with ashlar, leading down towards the City ditch; an adjoining bank may partly represent the excavated material. The east and west gates of the city have each a small, external, barbican mound with its own ditch and probably contemporary with the main fortification. No traces of foundations were found thereon.

The NW. quarter of the city formed the Bishop's precinct and contained the Cathedral Church. This was first built by Bishop Osmund, soon after the transference of the See of Sherborne here in 1075-8. Osmund's church was enlarged, early in the twelfth century, by Bishop Roger, who lengthened and widened it, and added a crypt and a cloister, together with a block of buildings to form his residence, which included a large aisled hall. This quarter of the city was uncovered

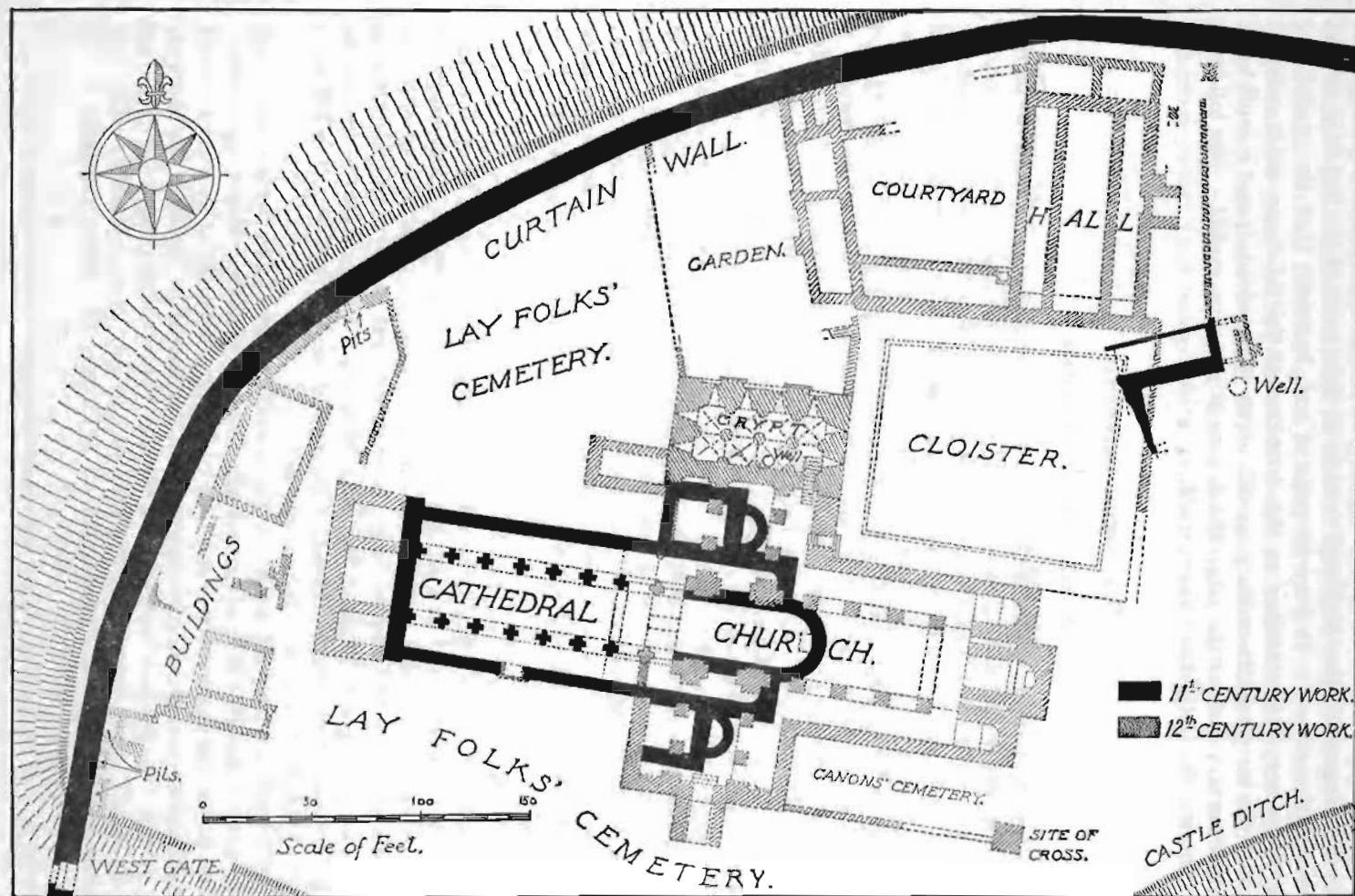


FIG. 8. OLD SARUM CATHEDRAL AND ADJOINING BUILDINGS: DETAILED PLAN, AFTER THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1909-15

By D. H. Montgomerie: revised 1947

completely in the excavations, which gave the detailed plan here reproduced as fig. 8. Few traces of other buildings exist in it, since most of the rest of it formed the lay-folks' cemetery. It may be pointed out, however, that the upstanding block of masonry still standing on the crest-line of the adjoining outer rampart is part of the early twelfth-century lay-out north of the cloister, and is built upon the older curtain wall of the city, which here is not now visible. The following note concerns the Cathedral Church itself.

OLD SARUM CATHEDRAL

By SIR ALFRED CLAPHAM

Two points relating to the cathedral seem worthy of special mention in this place. The first is the plan of the cathedral built by Osmund late in the eleventh century. It seems clear from the recovered plan (fig. 8) that this church had not and can never have had any provision for a central tower. On the other hand the walls between the transepts and the body of the church are appreciably thicker than the walls of the nave aisles. This argues, very strongly, that the church was designed from the beginning to have transeptal towers. These and the whole east end of the church were destroyed when Bishop Roger extended the cathedral. The only other Romanesque church in England which has transeptal towers is the cathedral of Exeter, which may well have been inspired by Sarum; but the scheme is so far unknown in Normandy, and must have come from farther afield.

The second point is the recovery, in the excavations, of most of the setting-out of the original stone pavement of Roger's extension. It was preserved quite clearly by the adhesion of stone powder or laminae from the pavement itself on the mortar bed upon which the stones lay. From this the complete design of large stretches of the pavement was recovered: it was laid with alternate squares of white Chilmark and green Hurdscote stone, and set in diagonal or rectilinear patterns in panels.¹⁰

5. CONCLUSION

The city had widespread outer suburbs, which were referred to by Leland; but these have disappeared as completely as has the city itself. Excavations in part of the eastern of them, outside the main entrance, between the old and new main roads adjoining Old Sarum Farm, were carried out in 1933 and published in *Antiq. Journ.*, xv, 174 ff. (finds in Salisbury Museum). In the valley to the south-west is Stratford Mill, which represents the site of the Castle Mill; it is fed by a mill-cut of the Avon, nearly a mile in length.

The situation which led finally to the abandonment of Old Sarum, as is well known, ensued upon the disgrace and death, in 1139, of Bishop Roger, upon which the king seized his castles, including that of Sarum. Friction soon grew between the royal castle garrison and the cathedral establishment in the Bishop's precinct, until, in 1217, the soldiers' exclusion of Bishop Poore's clergy from the city gave him immediate cause for making transfer of the See to New Sarum. The city of course was by no means abandoned all at once. The castle remained in use

¹⁰ Illustrated in A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture: After the Conquest*, 160, fig. 43.

apparently until at least the latter part of the fourteenth century, though it was in decay by the middle of the fifteenth. The Salisbury Museum's collection of Old Sarum pottery, likewise, seems to extend over the fourteenth century, but does not continue later.¹¹ The place in fact was abandoned only by degrees, to become a quarry for building-stone and flint. The gradual transference of civic life from Old to New Sarum was a long-drawn-out process, and to trace it requires documentary rather than topographical evidence.

¹¹ Mr. Frank Stevens in *W.A.M.*, xlv (1933), 259-69. For an amphora from the south foot of the hill, not yet dated, in Devizes Museum,

see Captain B. H. Cunington, *ibid.*, li (1947), 617-18.