Sherborne Old Castle, Dorset

archaeological investigations 1930–90

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Peter White and Alan Cook

including the work of C E Bean and the specialist contributions of Marion M Archibald, Lorraine Mepham and Jeffrey K West

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Preface and acknowledgements

This narrative spans almost two-thirds of a century, or two generations. Changes over that time both to the local community in Sherborne and to the study, perception and examination of archaeological remains were fundamental. When A E Rawlence and C E Bean began probing the earthworks and ruins of the Old Castle, they did so as privileged amateurs, working in a proprietorial environment where Sherborne and its surroundings were absolutely dominated by the local landowning family, the Wingfield Digbys, whose tenure reached back three centuries. It is in this context that the word 'investigation' forms part of the title, because so much effort has gone into understanding, interpreting and collating the observations and excavations undertaken by the late Charles Bean from the early 1930s until the 1950s.

Bean is undoubtedly one of two people to whom the student of the Old Castle owes a great debt. Many of his records, particularly his drawings, were of an exemplary standard – he was a professional surveyor – and his 'explorations' (his word) were extensive. Without an interlocutor, however, they fall short of providing a reliably consistent archive of the remains he exposed across the site. The value of his work was further compromised when, after the site was placed in state care in the mid-1950s – during the later years of his life – Bean did not feel able to make his knowledge and experience available, at a time when there were resources to re-examine the castle. That was particularly unfortunate, as it is now clear that his understanding of what he had found was not far wide of the mark. In contrast to Bean's later reticence, research has revealed his cordial and supportive correspondence with Bryan O'Neil, the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments until his untimely death in 1954. During the early 1950s, as the fabric of the ruins crumbled, Bean was also instrumental in arranging the acceptance of the site into the care of the Ministry of Works. Soon after that, sadly, his dialogue with officialdom came to an end.

The other key person is Alan Cook, who became the interlocutor. His work has revealed the richness of Bean's Old Castle records for the first time, and to him I am particularly indebted. A colleague and friend for more than thirty years, he brought his deep understanding of medieval and Tudor architecture to the daunting task of sifting and interpreting the Bean Archive, a task he undertook with tenacity and patience until he returned to his native Australia in 2002, and where he died in 2006.

Bean had also corresponded with the staff of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME). Up to 1956, at the Old Castle he investigated almost every area where he suspected structures might survive, but the only usable outcome was the material based on his work and published by the RCHME in 1952 – an account with which we now know Bean did not wholly agree. By the late 1960s, when most of the upstanding fabric had been secured, his lack of dialogue with the Ministry's inspectors had become a problem. The low-level masonry required attention as a preliminary to public access, and the archaeological contexts of the many known walls had, if possible, still to be identified.

My involvement with the Old Castle began in 1967 with the re-examination of the west range of the central building complex, and came about through the confidence placed in me by my senior colleagues at the time, Arnold Taylor, the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, and Andrew Saunders, then my immediate superior. Their support and advice was unstinting; so was that of Andrew's two successors, Oswin Craster and Stuart Rigold. The Inspectorate of those days was a small, collegiate affair, and the younger members benefited greatly from the wisdom of colleagues; in my own case, Peter Curnow, FSA, Brian Davison, FSA, Roy Gilyard Beer and Michael Thompson, FSA, contributed much to my understanding of castles. Dorset passed out of my area of geographical responsibility quite soon after 1967, but Sherborne was by then a commitment, and it was decided that my involvement should continue. The colleagues who took over responsibility for the area were my contemporaries Jonathan Coad, FSA, and David Sherlock, FSA, and their regular visits were invariably informative.

It was not the original intention to undertake formal excavation. Initially only known areas of disturbance were exposed, using the local works team during the winter months when masonry repair was not possible. This was normal practice – and not without its critics – on guardianship sites, where an inspector might have oversight of several monuments where work was going on in this manner. The brief at Sherborne was to establish suitable levels within the principal surviving structures in anticipation of opening to the public as soon as possible. However, it was abundantly clear that the walls revealed by Bean, and depicted by the RCHME, resulted from several phases of development and did not represent the Old

Castle at any one period. After two years of low-level activity the excavation strategy was revised as it became clear that, ravaged as the site was, a good deal could still be learned by interpreting the relationships and contexts of the partially exposed foundations, and it was evident that there were deep levels that Bean had not reached. Moreover, if the low-level walls were to remain exposed, they required consolidation and therefore disturbance of any remaining contextual material, so the alternatives were either archaeological re-excavation of large areas, or the importation of many tons of soil to cover and protect all the low-level walls in the area surrounding the upstanding ruins. Consequently, from 1970 to 1975 a programme of re-excavation was carried out during the summer months in those areas where ruined walls survived at or below the existing ground level. Areas with deeper cover, for example the kitchen and service court, were left and remain untouched. In the meantime, the site was opened to the public. In 1978–9 the entry from the south west was re-excavated as a final, but separate phase of the programme.

If none of the areas re-excavated had been entirely disturbed, the quantitative percentage of disturbance was high. The qualitative percentage was even higher, as the objective of earlier work had been to 'chase walls' – on the assumption that all structures were stone-built, and that indeed the bailey only contained 'buildings' rather than both buildings and enclosures. While it was possible to distinguish the uses of materials and techniques of construction at different periods, and to establish the relative relationship of one wall to another, the contexts of the structures were almost entirely gone, and with them any possibility of establishing benchmarks for dating. And of course the re-excavation went forward largely blind to the records of the earlier work. But there were two significant 'gains': proof, and some idea of the nature of the use of the site before Roger's time, and clear structural evidence of the successive alterations to the great tower from the late fifteenth century.

By the early 1990s, Beverley Harrison, the pottery assistant during the later 1970s, had already done much work to collate the results of the 'Ministry' re-excavations. With David Williams, she had published a preliminary report on some of the pottery finds.[1] But now the opportunity came to press ahead with full publication of the results, and at this juncture English Heritage appointed Alan Cook, who had recently retired from the Inspectorate. Alan brought with him a wealth of relevant knowledge and experience, having worked for many years as the senior draughtsman on the History of the King's Works project, under among others Sir Howard Colvin and Martin Biddle, FSA, before becoming head of the Ancient Monuments Drawing Office. On his own account he had excavated Oatlands Palace, Weybridge, and his understanding of architecture, particularly sixteenth-century architecture, was to prove crucial at Sherborne, where the extent of Sir Walter Ralegh's work had hitherto defied proper appreciation. Indeed, it is largely thanks to Alan that it was possible to distinguish the extensive building works of Bishop Langton, towards the end of the fifteenth century, from those of Ralegh, a century later.

Work was almost complete on the 'Ministry' excavation report when, following the death of Charles Bean in 1983, and through the good offices of his family working with Laurence Keen, FSA, then Dorset county archaeologist, the many, many boxes of finds, notes and drawings from a lifetime study of north Dorset archaeology were deposited in the County Museum, Dorchester, and were made available for study. English Heritage now agreed to extend the funding to allow the Old Castle material in this archive to be examined. This extension also made it possible to take advantage on site of the scaffolding of the north range, allowing for the first time a detailed archaeological investigation of its fabric, with an impressive outcome. By 2001, when Alan Cook returned to Australia, all this work had been completed, and a revised narrative had largely been drafted. It is this text, integrating for the first time material from all the twentieth-century investigations at the Old Castle, which forms the body of this publication.

Over this period, too, more documentary sources were also coming to light in Sherborne, thanks to the work of Ann Smith, Sherborne Castle Estates' archivist responsible for the Digby family and estate records. Ann has regularly made documentary and other material available and contributed ideas about sources. Her advice has been particularly helpful with regard to the management of the ruin and its surroundings since the Civil War slighting, so that it has been possible to identify probable consolidation works by the estate, where previously it had been assumed that the fabric had an earlier origin.

The business of looking after the fabric of ancient monuments in the 1960s and 1970s was the responsibility of colleagues in the Ministry of Works. Norman Hodgson, the Area Architect for most of the re-excavation campaign, took a great interest in the site and was always at pains to understand what was going on; in particular, he made sure that appropriate budgets and equipment were in place. In this he was fully supported by William Taylor and Jack Every, successively Area Superintendents of Works and the local superintendent, Bill Bowman. However, the immediate task of really keeping things going day by day fell to the local foreman, R D (Dick) Williams and his team. Dick turned his hand to whatever was necessary, and

was always ready with practical solutions to the many problems that emerged. He also quietly enjoyed the annual invasion by the young people of the excavation team, but would rarely admit it.

The excavation relied on bringing together an ad hoc group of archaeologists. Ian Bramwell assisted with the initial re-excavation of the south range. For the major programme, the core team was largely drawn from the excavations directed by Colin Platt, FSA, in later medieval Southampton, where I had been working when I was appointed to the Inspectorate in 1966. This group came to Sherborne with sound practical experience of a similar environment and was used to working together. I had previously worked with two of them, Alan Casement and Don Wild, while an undergraduate, on the Cistercian grange at Brimham, in the Yorkshire Dales, and two others, Margaret Vowles and Peter Coe, successively deputised as site director; others who took charge of particular tasks were Eddie Birch and Hugh Scott. Apart from this group, Melvyn Poore was responsible from 1968 for site survey until succeeded by Richard Lea, who completed the work on the north gate in 1975 following the main excavation season, when he produced the fine set of drawings reproduced in the main text. The final phase of work, on the south-west gatehouse tower, was a separate exercise, supervised by Gill Hey, FSA, assisted by David Windell.

Off site, the cleaning and cataloguing of the finds team was supervised by a succession of extremely capable finds assistants. Initially, Elizabeth Eyden (now Lewis) took on this role, followed by Caroline Savory (now Ellis). Much of the post-excavation work entailed the collation of the data collected on site with the finds records, and Beverley Harrison, who lived locally and had joined during her school holidays, took on this task during the later 1970s, as she went through university and beyond. Beverley organised the finds and site archive in an exemplary way in the accommodation then provided in the stable-block at Sherborne Castle by Sherborne Castle Estates.

Over the course of six years' excavation the core team was reinforced by many student volunteers, and, in the earlier years, by a group of young men from HM Borstal (as it then was) Guys Marsh, near Shaftesbury.

The re-excavation programme generated considerable local interest, and it is appropriate to acknowledge the support of particular people in this respect. Miss Lydia Wingfield Digby lived in Sherborne Lodge at the entrance to the Old Castle car park and of all local residents had good reason to complain – the dust and fumes of site traffic, groups of students returning from the pub to their camp site – yet nobody could have been more positive, helpful and hospitable. She continued her family's tradition of a deep interest in the site – Bean had worked with her father's support – and she made regular visits to the excavation trenches, bringing friends along. Unfailingly each year, and much appreciated, she invited the site supervisors to tea, when she gleaned the real details of what was going on.

Another regular and welcome visitor was James Gibb, then housemaster of Abbeylands at Sherborne School and local historian. He managed, most years, to bring an elderly Charles Bean to the site to see how work was progressing, and in that alone he performed a most useful service. Privately, he readily communicated what he had learnt from Bean of his work; over the years this amounted to a considerable body of knowledge, evidenced by his model of the castle still on display in the town's museum.

Among those who have assisted in the long haul to publication, Lorraine Mepham, FSA, of Wessex Archaeology, has been indispensible. Initially engaged to report on the pottery, Lorraine subsequently took on the project management role, and has skilfully navigated through many complexities to bring the publication to fruition. I am also grateful to the authors of the other specialist reports, Jeffrey K West, FSA, and Marion M Archibald, FSA, for both their contributions and for support over a number of years. The drawings were prepared by Northampton Archaeology, where Alex Thorne and Carol Simmonds patiently attended to every detailed request. The medieval documentary sources were expertly reviewed by Dr Stephen Priestley of Border Archaeology. In Dorchester, Rosemary Maw and her team willingly advised on the content of the Bean Archive; in London, Adrian James, at the Society of Antiquaries' Library, has responded helpfully even to the most trivial requests; Kate Owen, FSA, the Society's Publications Manager, has quietly moved the publication along, while Christopher Catling, FSA, undertook the editing and managed the book's production.

Many others have contributed more informally. In the early days, Roger Stalley, FSA, and Edward Kealey introduced me to Bishop Roger's life and work. More recently, the thoughts and ideas put forward by Jeremy Ashbee, FSA, Philip Dixon, FSA, Edward Impey, FSA, Francis Kelly and Gerald Pitman have been much appreciated, while Derek Renn, FSA, has been a source of wise counsel throughout. Alan Cook found his discussions on site with Stewart Brown most helpful. My successive chairmen at the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, Professors Emeriti J Beverley Smith and Ralph Griffiths, gave me every encouragement to complete what was a personal commitment. And here I must also mention my wife,

Christine White, for her support in every aspect of this project since she first joined the excavation team more than forty years ago.

This publication has truly been a team effort undertaken over many decades. It would not have emerged in so complete a form had the gestation period been shorter, as the opportunity could not have been taken to incorporate the important primary material from the Bean and Sherborne Castle Estates Archives. The narrative here is only part of the story, however, as the technical details of the 1967 to 1990 excavations and finds are to be published separately, in digital form, by the Archaeology Data Service (White and Cook forthcoming). A similar report on Bean's work would be a long and daunting task, and is for somebody else to undertake in the future.

Finally, it must be remembered that much of the castle remains to be re-examined. Another major field project will be necessary, for example, just to investigate in detail both the occupation of the bulk of the castle bailey beyond the central complex, and the putative outer court to the north east.

Peter White, FSA
Aberystwyth 2014

Summary and note on the names of the buildings

Roger, Bishop of Salisbury between 1102 and 1139, built the fortified palace known as Sherborne Old Castle within his episcopal estate, which was centred on Sherborne in north-west Dorset. Work probably began in about 1122 and was largely completed by 1135. The palace was one of several major building projects undertaken by Bishop Roger; among the others were the rebuilding of much of his cathedral at Old Sarum and substantial additions to the royal castle there, as well as castles at Devizes and Malmesbury.

Although Sherborne Old Castle was altered during its occupation over the next four centuries, most of its original structural elements were retained until the buildings were slighted in 1645. The report describes and analyses the information obtained from all the archaeological investigations undertaken at the castle since the early twentieth century. After some preliminary investigations by A E Rawlence, in 1932, C E Bean investigated the site and its standing remains between 1932 and 1954, carrying out numerous small-scale excavations. More intensive work, much of it re-excavation, was directed by P R White, an Inspector of Ancient Monuments, between 1968 and 1980. Limited further investigation and recording for English Heritage was undertaken by A M Cook in 1980–95.

The investigations were inevitably carried out to widely differing standards, but an analysis of the results, together with continuing historical research, have revealed much more about the major periods of the castle's construction and use. It is now possible to describe and source more exactly the sophisticated design of Roger's castle and the high quality of the craftsmanship employed in its construction and decoration; the later phases of development during the medieval period including the improvements to the castle's defences and accommodation when held by the Crown between 1183 and 1354; the post-1357 alterations after the castle had been regained by Bishop Wyvil of Salisbury; and the important fifteenth-century building programme carried out by Bishop Thomas Langton. A much clearer assessment has been made of the impact of the works undertaken by Sir Walter Ralegh in his abortive attempt to remodel the castle as his country seat after he obtained the estate in 1592.

Finally, although much of the fabric of the castle was destroyed following its surrender to a Parliamentary army in 1645, new documentary evidence and structural analysis has revealed how, during the eighteenth century, the Digby family developed and maintained the ruins as a romantic feature on the northern boundary of their landscaped park.

The names of the buildings

The name applied to the medieval castle at Sherborne (Sherborne Old Castle) and the name of the country house to the south in Sherborne Castle Park (Sherborne Castle) have only been in general use for about the last hundred and fifty years. Previously Sherborne Castle was known as Sherborne Lodge. To avoid confusion in the text, 'the Old Castle' or 'Sherborne Castle' is used to refer to the medieval castle, and 'Sherborne Lodge' to the country house, except in instances where there is no ambiguity and either building can be easily identified from the context.

Résumé et note sur le nom des bâtiments

Roger, évêque de Salisbury de 1102 à 1139, construisit le palais fortifié connu sous le nom de Sherborne Old Castle sur son domaine épiscopal, centré sur Sherborne, ville du nord-ouest du Dorset. Les travaux débutèrent probablement vers 1122 et furent en majeure partie terminés en 1135. Le palais faisait partie de plusieurs projets de construction entrepris par l'évêque, parmi lesquels la reconstruction d'une grande partie de sa cathédrale à Old Sarum et d'importantes extensions au château royal en ce lieu, ainsi que des châteaux situés à Devizes et Malmesbury.

Bien que Sherborne Old Castle ait connu des changements pendant son occupation dans les quatre siècles qui ont suivi, la plupart de ses éléments structuraux d'origine restèrent en place jusqu'à ce que les bâtiments ne soient détruits en 1645. Le rapport décrit et analyse les

informations obtenues à partir de toutes les fouilles archéologiques qui ont eu lieu au château depuis le début du vingtième siècle. Après quelques fouilles préliminaires dirigées par A E Rawlence en 1932, C E Bean fit des recherches sur le site et ses ruines entre 1932 et 1954, entreprenant de nombreuses fouilles à petite échelle. De nouvelles fouilles, avec des travaux de plus grande ampleur, furent dirigées par P R White, inspecteur des monuments historiques, de 1968 à 1980. D'autres recherches et rapports archéologiques pour English Heritage, plus limités ceux-ci, furent réalisés par A M Cook depuis 1980.

Ces travaux ont bien évidemment été menés selon des standards très différents, mais une analyse des résultats obtenus, associée à des recherches historiques, a permis d'en apprendre beaucoup plus sur les périodes marquantes de la construction du château et ses fonctions. Il est désormais possible de décrire et de documenter plus précisément la structure sophistiquée du château de l'évêque Roger, ainsi que l'artisanat hautement qualifié à l'œuvre pour sa construction et sa décoration. De même, les phases plus tardives du développement du château durant la période médiévale incluent l'amélioration des défenses et habitats de la forteresse sous la Couronne entre 1183 et 1354, les changements post-1357 après que le château fut revenu à l'évêque Wyvil de Salisbury, et l'important plan de construction du quinzième siècle dirigé par l'évêque Thomas Langton. Il a été possible de réévaluer plus clairement l'impact des travaux de Sir Walter Ralegh, dans son infructueux effort à remodeler le château en son siège régional après qu'il eut pris possession du domaine en 1592.

Enfin, bien que la structure ait été détruite en grande partie après une défaite devant l'armée parlementaire en 1645, de nouvelles pièces documentaires et analyses structurales ont permis de montrer comment, au cours du dix-huitième siècle, la famille Digby a développé et entretenu les ruines comme un attribut romantique de leur parc paysager à la limite nord de leur parc paysager.

Le nom des bâtiments

Le nom du château médiéval de Sherborne (Sherborne Old Castle), et le nom de la maison de campagne plus au sud dans Sherborne Castle Park (Sherborne Castle) ne sont d'usage que depuis environ cent cinquante ans. Auparavant, Sherborne Castle était connu sous le nom de Sherborne Lodge. Pour éviter toute confusion dans le texte, «Old Castle» ou «Sherborne Castle» font référence au château médiéval, tandis que «Sherborne Lodge» désigne la maison de campagne, excepté lorsqu'il n'y a pas d'ambiguïtés possibles et que chaque bâtiment peut être aisément identifié d'après le contexte.

Zusammenfassung und Anmerkung zu den Namem der Gebäude

Roger le Poer, der von 1102 bis 1139 Bischof von Salisbury war, ließ das festungsartige Schloss, Sherborne Old Castle genannt, in seinem Bistum erbauen, dessen Zentrum die Stadt Sherborne im Nordwesten der Grafschaft Dorset war. Mit den Arbeiten wurde wahrscheinlich um 1122 begonnen und sie waren bis 1135 weitgehend abgeschlossen. Das Schloss war eines von mehreren umfangreichen Bauprojekten des Bischofs, zu denen u.a. der Neubau eines Großteils seiner Kathedrale in Old Sarum und beträchtliche Erweiterungen des dortigen königlichen Schlosses sowie der Schlösser in Devizes und Malmesbury zählten.

Zwar wurde Sherborne Old Castle von seinen Bewohnern im Lauf der nächsten vier Jahrhunderte verändert, doch der Großteil seiner ursprünglichen Strukturelemente blieben erhalten, bis die Gebäude schließlich1645 dem Verfall geweiht waren. Der Bericht beschreibt und analysiert die Informationen, die sich im Rahmen der seit dem frühen 20. Jahrhundert am Schloss durchgeführten archäologischen Untersuchungen ergeben hatten. Nach den von A E Rawlence 1932 durchgeführten vorbereitenden Untersuchungen erforschte C E Bean zwischen 1932 und 1954 das Gelände und die Ruinen und führte dabei zahlreiche kleinere Grabungen durch. Intensivere Arbeiten, bei denen es sich zum Großteil um Wiederaufgrabungen handelte, erfolgten unter der Leitung von P R White, einem Inspector of Ancient Monuments, zwischen 1968 und 1980. Beschränkte weitere Untersuchungen und Aufzeichnungen für English Heritage wurden 1980 von A M Cook unternommen.

Die Untersuchungen wurden zwangsläufig nach äußerst unterschiedlichen Maßstäben durchgeführt, wobei jedoch eine Analyse der Ergebnisse verbunden mit fortlaufenden historischen Nachforschungen wesentlich mehr über die wichtigsten Abschnitte am Bau und in der Verwendung des Schlosses erbrachten. Es ist jetzt möglich, den anspruchsvollen Entwurf von Bischof Rogers Schloss und die hohe Qualität der für den Bau und das Dekor

angewandten Handwerkskunst genauer zu beschreiben und sich Informationen dazu zu beschaffen. Dies gilt auch für die späteren Entwicklungsphasen im Mittelalter, einschließlich der Verbesserungen an den Befestigungen und den Räumlichkeiten des Schlosses, als es sich zwischen 1183 und 1354 im Besitz der englischen Krone befand; sowie für die Veränderungsarbeiten nach 1357, nachdem das Schloss wieder in den Besitz des Bischofs von Salisbury, Wyvil, gelangt war, und für das bedeutende Bauprogramm im 15. Jh. unter Bischof Thomas Langton. Die Auswirkungen der unter Sir Walter Raleigh durchgeführten Arbeiten, der vergebens versucht hatte, das Schloss zu seinem Landsitz umzugestalten, nachdem er das Besitztum 1592 übernommen hatte, konnten viel eingehender bewertet werden.

Obwohl der Großteil der Bausubstanz nach der Kapitulation von 1645 gegenüber der Parlamentsarmee zerstört worden war, haben neue urkundliche Belege und Strukturanalysen schließlich gezeigt, wie das Geschlecht der Digby die Ruine im 18. Jahrhundert ausgestaltet und als romantische Besonderheit an der nördlichen Grenze ihres Landschaftsparks erhalten hat.

Die Namen der Gebäude

Der Name des mittelalterlichen Schlosses in Sherborne (Sherborne Old Castle) und der Name des Landsitzes südlich davon in Sherborne Castle Park (Sherborne Castle) sind erst seit den letzten einhundertfünfzig Jahren gebräuchlich. Vorher war Sherborne Castle unter dem Namen Sherborne Lodge bekannt gewesen. Zur Vermeidung von Missverständnissen sei hier gesagt, dass sich die im Text verwendeten Bezeichnungen „Old Castle“ oder „Sherborne Castle“ auf das mittelalterliche Schloss und die Bezeichnung „Sherborne Lodge“ auf den Landsitz beziehen, außer in Fällen, wo es unmissverständlich ist und sich die Gebäude aus dem Zusammenhang heraus leicht identifizieren lassen.

Fig 1 *The Ruins of Sherborne Old Castle from the East*, oil painting by Robert Sherburne, signed 'Rt Sherburne', and dated '1785', in yellow paint, and '1818', in black paint, in the bottom left-hand corner. *Photograph*: reproduced by permission of Lane Fine Art, 8 Drayton Gardens, London SW10

1 Introduction

1.1 The purpose, content and form of the report

Seen from a distance, the ruins of Sherborne Old Castle (fig 1) stand prominently about 0.6km to the east of the centre of the town in Dorset from which it takes its name. Only a much closer examination of the shattered remains provides the visitor with some idea of the remarkable design of the fortified residence erected here between 1122 and 1139 by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury.[2] After Roger, there were two other patrons of national significance during the castle's active life of five centuries: Bishop Thomas Langton of Salisbury in the late fifteenth century, and Sir Walter Ralegh a century later. Overwhelmingly, however, it is Roger's work that was significant and much of what remains is his legacy. Langton's work, once extensive, had all but disappeared before more than two-thirds of the castle's remaining fabric was destroyed following its surrender by a Royalist garrison to a Parliamentary army in 1645.

In 1792 John Harington noted that Ralegh had swept away almost all of Langton's work,[3] but the first scholarly attempt to interpret the castle's original form and later development based on the examination of its remains was made by G T Clark, who published his conclusions in 1874 (see Chapter 4).[4] The site attracted little attention for the next sixty years, until 1932, when archaeological investigations at the castle took place, resulting in a large volume of information (see Chapters 5 to 10). With the exception of the RCHME West Dorset inventory of 1952, little of the material obtained has been published, so this account provides for the first time a description and interpretation of the findings in the context of the recorded history of the castle, for which the medieval documentary sources have also been revisited (Chapter 3). The text has been based on the surviving site notes, drawings, photographs, correspondence and draft interim reports on all the investigations, together with the most recent surveys of the standing remains of structures and the reports for the nine areas within the castle re-excavated since the site has been in state guardianship.

The objectives of the excavations and the circumstances in which they were carried out varied greatly (Chapter 5). Charles Bean's work was the most extensive, and his 'explorations' from 1932 to 1940 and from 1946 to 1954 provided much of the information published by the RCHME. He briefly described his later excavations in the *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*.[5] Bean's work, and that of his contemporary Joseph Fowler on the historical sources,[6] remain critical to an understanding of the castle's development.

By 1956, when responsibility for the maintenance of the castle as an Ancient Monument was passed by the owners to the Ministry of Works (later the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, then the Department of the Environment, then English Heritage), much of the upstanding structure was near to collapse. Photographs show that the site was so disturbed that the existence of any timber structures in the bailey would by then have been impossible to determine. After the ruins had been stabilised, Peter White's re-excavations from 1968 were

undertaken without access to Bean's records. Some years later, Alan Cook was able to carry out a detailed study of the Bean Archive, and to take advantage as scaffolding was re-erected to follow up this work with recording and analysis of the standing masonry remains. The descriptions of the stone-built structures or trenches for their foundations in Chapters 8 to 10 are the outcome of this work.

The long campaign of investigation also resulted in finds of significance, both intrinsically and illustrative of the importance and development of the castle, and a description and discussion of the most important has been included in the Appendices, covering the fine moulded and carved stones from Roger's grand buildings, a coin hoard that has enabled a clearer understanding of Langton's work, and the pottery from across the site's long history of occupation.

1.2 The historical and architectural importance of the castle

Impressive as it is today, the castle's impact was much greater when, surrounded on its northern flank by an extensive lake, or mere, it was complete, with its full panoply of battlemented walls, towers and turrets. The partial draining of the mere had already compromised its setting when Ralegh passed through Sherborne in about 1590.[7] The construction of the railway in the mid-nineteenth century completed the transformation, and today it is difficult to imagine the approach to what was effectively an island castle.

Roger's castle was an integrated concept: the setting, the site, and the structures were all created to achieve the ensemble that has been admired since its completion. The location was carefully chosen, influenced by strategic, administrative and ecclesiastical considerations (Chapter 2). The natural hill selected for the castle site had previously been occupied (Chapter 4), but instead of using the naturally rising ground to gain height for the buildings, requiring stairs and ramps for circulation among them, the knoll was levelled to form an extensive flat building platform. This unencumbered site allowed the construction of a complex of buildings to house the residential, service, administrative and, importantly, the ecclesiastical functions of the palace. Of similar layout to the grand courtyard house that Roger built within the contrastingly confined inner bailey of the royal castle at Old Sarum, the Sherborne residence was built on his land, to his design. In the event it stood the test of time, remaining largely intact until Ralegh's demolitions, and it remains the most complete survivor among Roger's buildings – fine, but detached, architectural details have survived of his cathedral and castle at Old Sarum, while little remains of his great castle at Devizes; another castle at Malmesbury was completely demolished (Chapter 3).

The costly splendour of Roger's buildings has long been recognised.[8] Leland's description of Sherborne notes that the quality of Bishop Roger's masonry was still impressive four centuries later, a reaction that echoed the comments of twelfth-century chroniclers who recorded that Roger employed the best of craftsmanship in all his buildings.[9] In contrast, very little survives at Sherborne of the late fifteenth-century work of Thomas Langton, the next significant patron. He was Bishop of Salisbury from 1485 until 1493. Beyond Leland's description, Langton's substantial 'modernisation' has hitherto gone largely unrecognised, or has been attributed to Ralegh, as mainly foundations survived the latter's extensive demolitions a century later. It is now clear that while Langton retained the principal elements of Roger's residence, he fundamentally altered the visual and spatial relationship between the great tower and the hall, creating an impressive south elevation. It seems probable that he, rather than Ralegh, was responsible for breaching the south wall of the tower as part of this scheme. He also reordered the cloistered central courtyard, and it is likely that during his time the watergate was substantially diminished. Importantly, however, the basic layout of Roger's original plan apparently survived until Ralegh's demolitions; for Langton it was after all continuing to serve its intended role as the grand residence for a prelate.

The last decade of the sixteenth century saw the third and final significant patron in the castle's history, when it attracted Sir Walter Ralegh, courtier, adventurer and erstwhile favourite of the queen. His acquisition of the castle and estate as his country seat in 1591 marked a reversion, after more than two centuries, to secular and domestic use. Indeed, following his exile from court, Ralegh urgently required a home for his family.

Sherborne must have seemed ponderously medieval to Ralegh, notwithstanding Langton's alterations, and it was unlikely to have been in good condition, having been unused for half a century. The archaeological evidence now points to his tenure being characterised by a programme of extensive demolition, and he abandoned his scheme before much new work was completed. Within two years, he built a house for himself and his family on the site

of the hunting lodge to the south, within the deer park. What has survived indicates that while some medieval structures were to be retained and 'modernised', the complex as a whole was to be considerably reduced in size. Langton's 'new work' having been completely demolished, Ralegh's southward extension to the tower appears much more modest in scale, but little survives of his intended design. Indeed his most enduring and complete 'improvement' was even more modest and is confined to the accommodation for his steward within the south-west gatehouse tower.

In 1645 the defences were still sufficiently effective to withstand attack for fourteen days. This final phase of occupation is represented principally by two earthwork artillery bastions on the outer side of the ditch enclosing the bailey. After its surrender, the castle was slighted, and whatever remained was left to decay, the ruins forming a romantic feature or eye-catcher on the northern edge of the landscaped park. Thankfully, this benign use by the Digby family ensured the survival of the ruins and their availability for the detailed study described in this narrative.

2 The site and its setting

2.1 Topography and geology

Sherborne Old Castle (NGR ST649167) lies within the civil parish of Castleton in the county of Dorset about 1.5km to the east of the small market town of Sherborne, and approximately 2km to the south and 5km to the east of the county boundary between Dorset and Somerset (fig 2). The remains occupy an isolated hill within Sherborne Castle Estates, a largely agricultural and wooded property which includes, to the south of the hill, a landscaped deer park and the pleasure grounds adjoining the country house now called Sherborne Castle (figs 3 and 4).

The castle hill rises within a valley to a height of about 72m OD (237ft) and is an outcrop of Fuller's Earth rock of the same geological formation as underlies the escarpment on the south-eastern side of the valley (fig 5). In the twelfth century, much of the low-lying land between the south-eastern escarpment and the approximately parallel escarpment of oolitic limestone on the north-western side of the valley was covered by a shallow lake, or mere, which later drained to form marshy ground.[10] The mere, which is estimated to have covered the area defined by the 61m OD (200ft) contour line shown on the 1903 Ordnance Survey map (fig 6), was fed by two streams, one from the north east, which flowed into it on the north side of the hill, and another from the east, which flowed into it on the south side of the hill. We do not know how far the mere was artificially created. The stream to the north now drains meadows that still flood occasionally, while the stream to the south, the Bradley Head stream, feeds a large lake formed when the park was landscaped in the mid-eighteenth century. An earlier description of the park indicates that the lake replaced a formal layout of canals and terraces, probably of late seventeenth-century origin, between the steep southern scarp of the hill and the house (fig 7).[11]

At the western end of the lake, the southern stream flows out over a cascade. It then passes under an ancient bridge, Denny (or Dynney) Bridge, to its confluence, on the south-western side of the hill, with the northern stream, to form the River Yeo. From this point the river runs in a south-westerly direction, through water meadows, before skirting the southern edge of the town. A few miles beyond Sherborne, it crosses the county boundary into Somerset, and joins the River Parrett at Langport, passing not far from the stone quarries at Ham Hill. From Langport, the Parrett flows north and, beyond Bridgewater, drains into the Bristol Channel.

The top of the castle hill is now largely a level plateau, including the whole area of the bailey, which is defined by the earthworks and some surviving masonry structures of the castle enceinte (fig 8). Excavation has verified that originally the hilltop inclined in a gentle slope from its higher southern edge down to its north-western side. The outer slopes of the hill were radically altered when the steeply scarped ditch, which encloses the bailey, was cut on its northern, north-western and eastern sides, and across the natural spur that runs down from the hill on its north-eastern side. Along its southern, south-eastern and south-western sides, the ditch was cut down from the upper edge of the hill. Before the castle was built, therefore, the whole

Fig 2 The location of Sherborne, Dorset

Fig 3 Aerial view of the castle from the north west. *Photograph*: NMR 23441.12

of the area to be enclosed within the bailey was levelled; the turfed hummocks and other minor variations of level now visible within the bailey represent the remains of demolished structures.

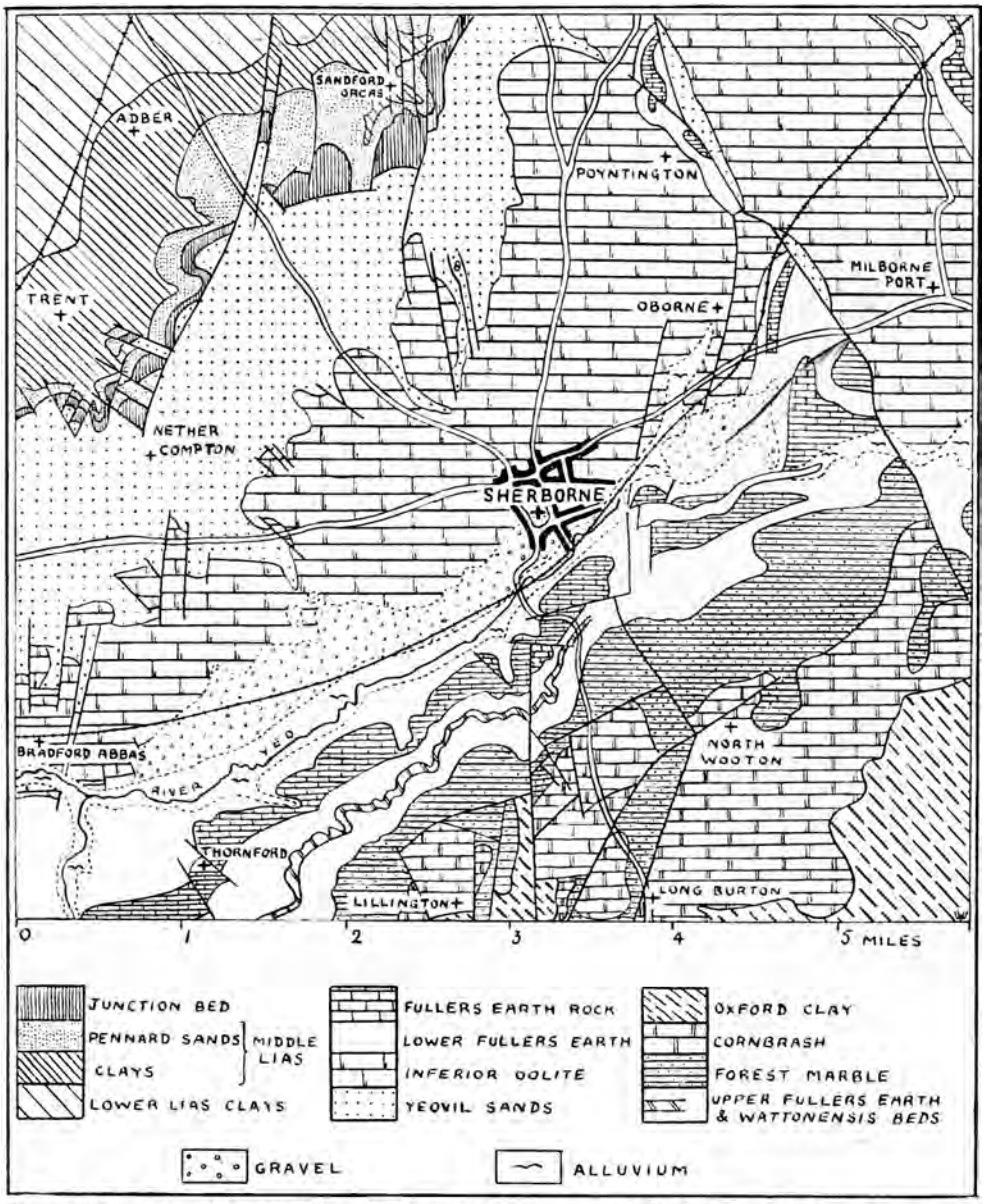
The hill itself was attractive as the site of the castle for its defensive and strategic advantages. Although the outlook from it is now masked to some extent by trees, the hilltop commands the ground within the valley on all sides. Furthermore, when the castle was originally built, much of it would have been virtually on an island surrounded by the marshy ground which provided a natural barrier against attack.

The strategic importance of the location nearly 1,000 years ago cannot be overestimated. One commentator has suggested that all the routes between the south coast and Bristol depended on control of Sherborne, and a contemporary account described Sherborne Castle as the 'master-key to the whole kingdom'.[12] It can still be appreciated how the castle was ideally located to control the public highway from London to the south west of England, the route passing through Salisbury, Shaftsbury and Sherborne, on to Exeter, and to the seaports of Devon and Cornwall beyond. Fowler suggested that, before the castle was built, the highway approached the hill from the north east across the mere on a spur of higher ground, passed directly across the top of the hill and then on its

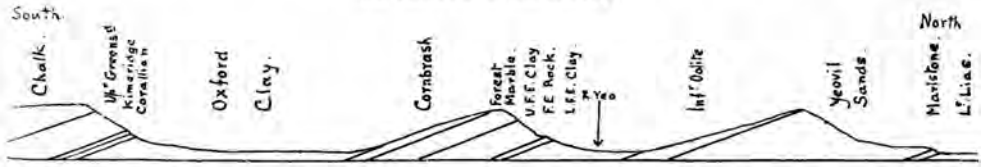
Fig 4 Aerial view from the south, showing Sherborne Castle (Lodge) and the eighteenth-century lake. *Photograph*: NMR 23441.08

west side through the mere and into Sherborne along the line of what is now Long Street.[13] After the castle was built, the road was diverted to a narrow stretch of high ground along the top of the counterscarp of the outer ditch on the southern flank of the bailey.

The south-western flank of the castle also controlled the junction where the road from Sherborne to Dorchester and the Dorset coast turned off to the south and crossed over the southern stream flowing west from the mere. Originally the marshes on either side of the River Yeo, to the south of the town, were often impassable, making Denny Bridge the main crossing point for the road over the river. This road was only replaced in the eighteenth century by one still in use, leading directly south out of the town. From the late sixteenth century both the east–west route and the road to the south were moved progressively away from the castle, and today their original alignments have either disappeared entirely, or are indicated by private lanes within Sherborne Park. Subsequently, the length of the highway running north–east towards Milborne Port, which had been diverted to run along the top of the counterscarp of the castle's outer ditch on its southern and south-eastern flanks, was again diverted to the north side of the castle on the line of what is now Pinford Lane. Presumably this was done to close off the castle park to public traffic. In the mid-nineteenth century, after the



SKETCH MAP OF THE GEOLOGY AROUND SHERBORNE—drawn specially for this book from the revised Sheet XVIII of the Geological Survey Map, by Dr. Vernon Wilson, F.G.S. By kind permission of the Director of the Survey.



Ideal section, to show the geological formations between the Dorset chalk Downs to the south, and the Yeovil Sands escarpment to the north, of Sherborne.

Fig 5 Sketch map and section showing the geology of the Sherborne area. *Drawing:* from Fowler 1951

construction of the railway line along the northern edge of the meadows – the former mere – to the north of the castle, Pinford Lane itself ceased to be a public road and was replaced by the Oborne Road of today, which runs to the north of the railway line. More recently still, this road has been superseded as the principal east–west highway through the town by the A30 road still further north, at a higher level, on the north-western escarpment of the valley.

Today, the ruins of the medieval castle are still reached from the Market Place in Sherborne via Long Street and then along the Castleton Road, on the medieval line of approach. This route now ends in a cul-de-sac, at the entrance gates to the visitors' car park, having been interrupted by the railway line, which it crosses by a

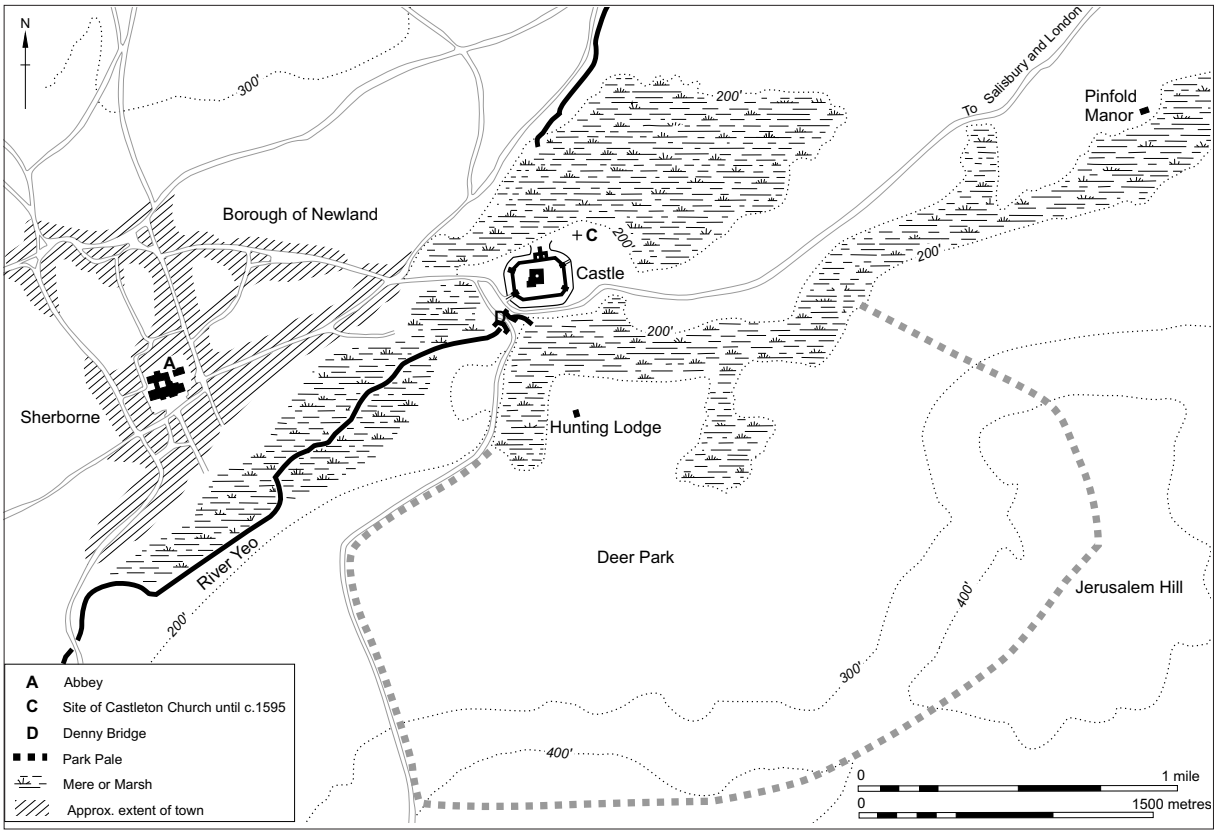


Fig 6 Medieval Sherborne: the parishes of Sherborne and Castleton showing the principal streets, the sites of Sherborne Abbey, Sherborne Old Castle and Sherborne Lodge, and the extent of the mere and the deer park. *Drawing*: based on the six-inch Ordnance Survey map of 1903

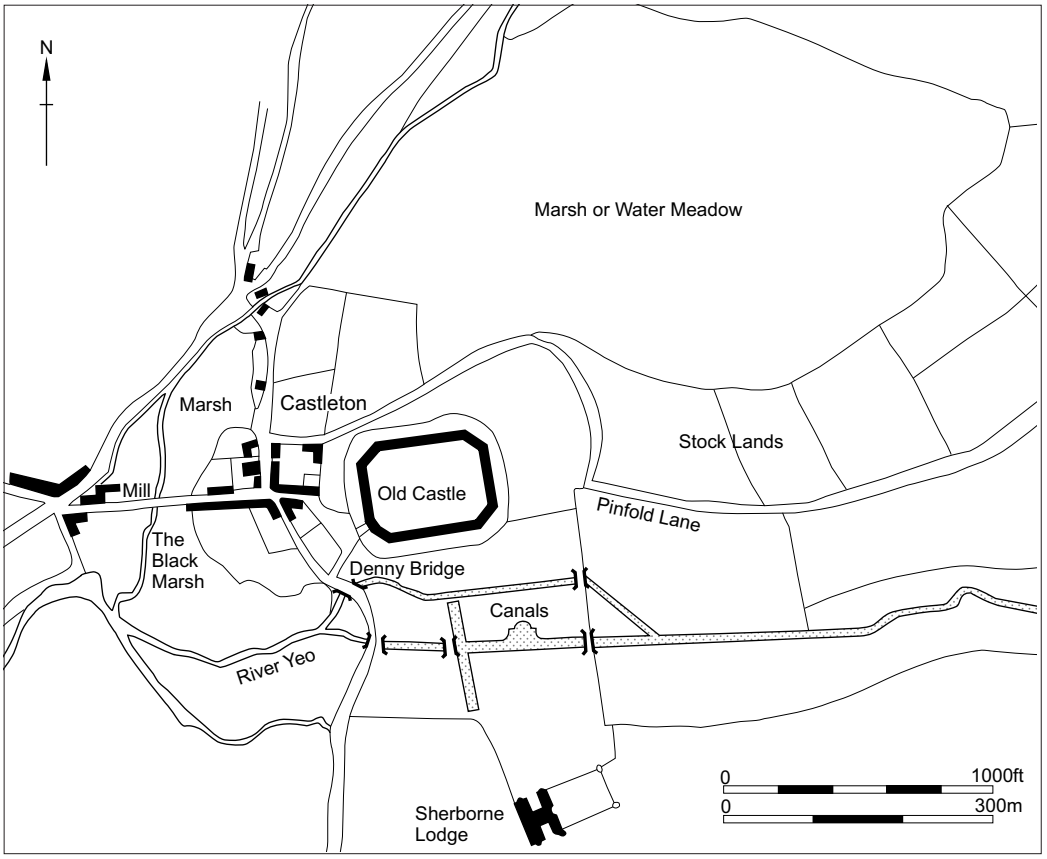


Fig 7 The environs of the Old Castle in the eighteenth century. *Drawing*: based on an estate map by John Ladd, dated 1732

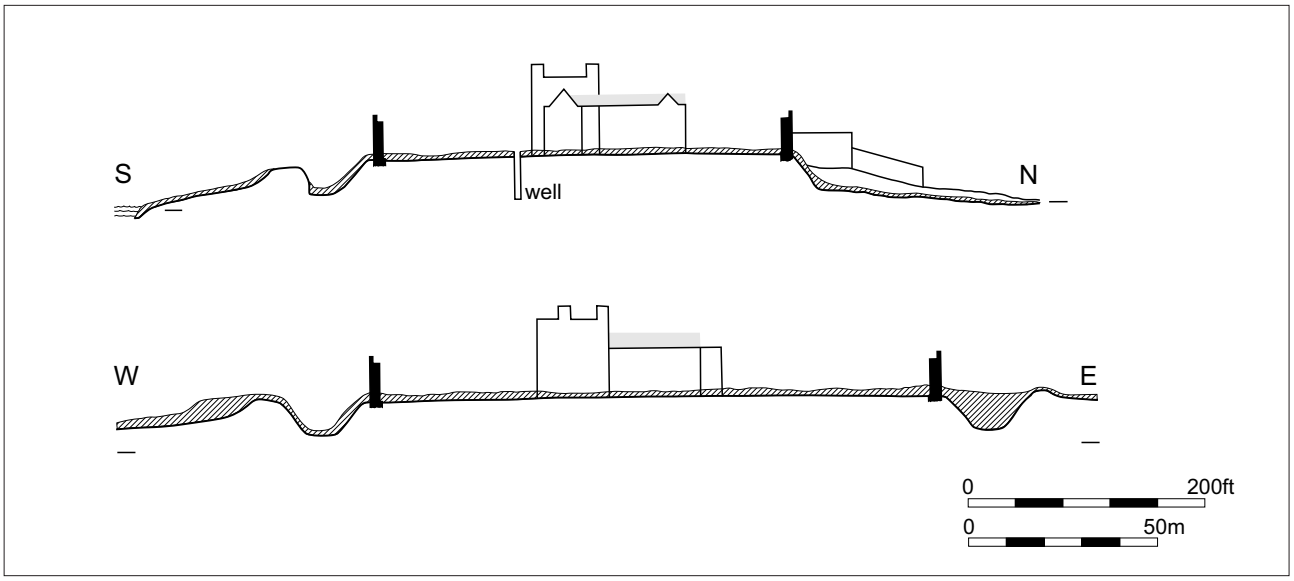


Fig 8 North–south and east–west sections through the castle hill showing the ground level and simplified reconstruction of the structures in the early twelfth century, and the modern ground level

bridge. Overall, the effect of the changes to the original road pattern has been to isolate the site, and it is now more difficult to appreciate the importance of the castle's location relative to the control of the medieval routes converging on Sherborne.

2.2 The surviving remains

The earthworks of the enceinte survive intact, except on the south-eastern angle, where the ditch has been infilled and an arch for a carriage drive from the adjoining Sherborne Park pierces the counterscarp (fig 9). These earthworks define the defensive line, including the arrangement of the watergate, where the otherwise continuous line of the outer ditch with its prominent counterscarp turns to the north on either side to flank the complex of structures forming this entry. Archaeological evidence indicates that this arrangement was a feature of the original design.

Beyond the counterscarp, to the north west and north east, are earthen bastions thrown up for artillery platforms. Beneath the north-eastern bastion, excavation revealed three ranges of buildings. Their layout suggests that they probably flanked the approach to the north-eastern bridge and entry into the bailey. No evidence of earthworks to enclose and protect this outer court has so far been identified, but it was within the protection of the mere (fig 6).

The bailey may be described either as a rectangle with canted angles, or as an elongated octagon, where the major east–west axis and the minor north–south axis align very closely to the cardinal points of the compass. The levelled, enclosed area is about 1.4ha (3.8 acres), and the overall area including the outer ditch and counterscarp bank, but excluding the Civil War earthworks, is about 3.6ha (8.3 acres). If the outer court on the ridge of higher ground to the north east of the bailey is taken into account, the total extent of the original site is about 7ha (17.75 acres).

There are fragmentary remains of the original curtain wall, but of the four mural towers placed symmetrically across the angles of the bailey at either end of its eastern and western sides only the two with gateways, to the south west and north east, survive above ground (figs 3 and 4). The four towers projected both externally and internally beyond the abutting flanks of the curtain wall. Only the south-west tower survives to its full height, including part of its parapet and a chimney stack above its western corner. It is the most complete structure, probably largely due to the improvement of the domestic accommodation on its upper floors by Ralegh for his steward. It seems to have formed the principal entrance to the bailey throughout, and elements of the original gate-passage survive at ground level. The entry was approached across the outer ditch by a double-span stone-arched bridge, for which the abutments survive within the ditch below the modern timber bridge. The exposed remains of the north-east tower show that it also formed a gatehouse with a passage, approached by a bridge similar in design to that at the south west.

Near the centre of the northern stretch of the curtain wall, the third gateway into the bailey is indicated by the

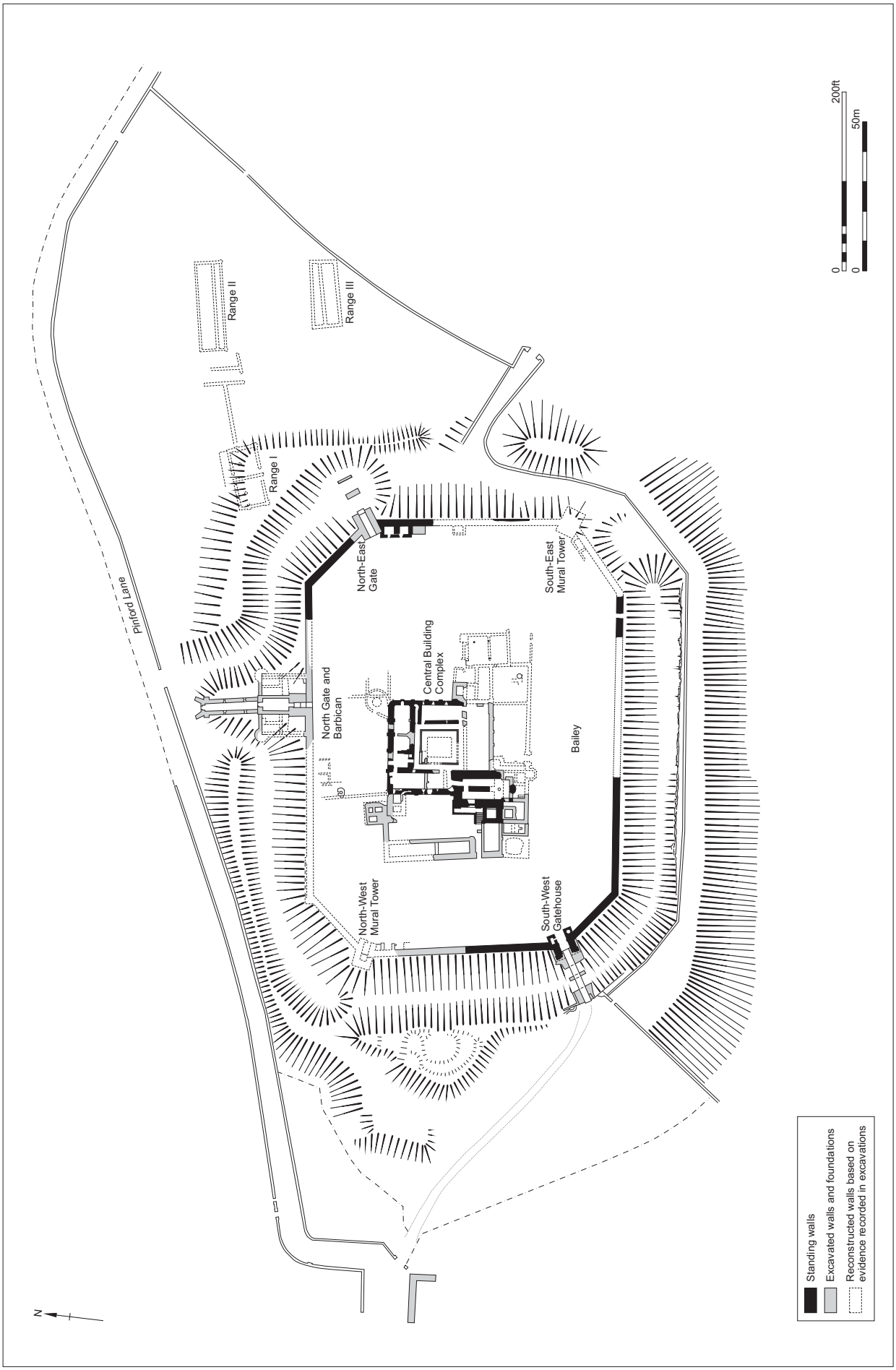


Fig 9 Plan of the Old Castle showing earthworks, standing walls and foundations recorded in excavations. *Drawing*: after C E Bean

threshold of its doorway and the lower portions of ashlar jambs. Beyond the curtain wall are extensive remains of a watergate approached from the mere at the bottom of the outer slope of the hill by means of an ascending tunnelled passage and through a small, stone-walled, rectangular courtyard, later replaced by a tower.

At the centre of the bailey are the ruins of a large complex of buildings, surrounding a courtyard. Even in their much reduced state, these fragments still dominate the site. Of the component parts, the most striking is the ruin of a tall and massively constructed rectangular tower projecting from the south-western corner. On the west side of the tower and attached to its southern end are the remains of a small tower or annex, which originally rose to the same height. Also built against the tower, within the re-entrant angle between its west wall and the north wall of the small tower, are the remains of an external staircase of two flights set on a solid masonry base.

In addition to the tower and its annex, the central building complex comprises a small square inner court originally enclosed by four ranges of two storeys, of which there are standing remains on the eastern, northern and western sides. On the southern side of the court, the demolished range is now represented either by its plinth course at ground level or by modern rubble laid over the line of foundations. Within the court, exposed lengths of wall foundations, capped by the remains of single-course offset plinths, suggest the four alleys of a cloister, enclosing a square garth.

On the western side of the central complex, foundations indicate another area that is enclosed by substantial walls on its northern and western sides, and, at its southern end, by a range added against the western side of the small tower. Within this west courtyard, foundations indicate a long range added against its western wall. Projecting out from the courtyard's northern wall is the base of a latrine tower, with three pits. This latrine tower was built against, and replaced, an earlier latrine tower with two pits, abutting the northern end of the west range of the central courtyard.

Wall foundations exposed at low level on the southern side of the great and small towers, and to the east of them, where they are now covered by turf, indicate alterations and additions to the central complex. They were added to the original medieval plan and later demolished, prior to the construction and extension southwards of the great tower to incorporate a large, full-height bay window, of which the base and parts of moulded window jambs on the upper floor levels survive.

A short distance to the east of the south range of the central complex is a well head. In this area substantial foundations, now covered by turf, have been identified as the remains of a rectangular building incorporating large chimney stacks, surrounded by a small yard. Originally detached, this building was later linked to the eastern end of the south range by service rooms and a further small yard. All the characteristics of the building suggest that it was a kitchen. Within this complex are also the foundations of another latrine tower, abutting the southern end of the east elevation of the east range.

3 The historical record

3.1 Before the castle

The reasons why Bishop Roger chose to build a castle near Sherborne in north-west Dorset were explored in Chapter 2. The diocesan estates centred on Sherborne were originally formed after the Saxon kingdom of Wessex expanded westward into newly conquered lands during the second half of the seventh century. Following the conversion of King Cynegils to Christianity by St Birinus in 634, the Church in Wessex was administered from Dorchester-on-Thames until the seat of the bishop was moved to Winchester in 663.[14] Following the enlargement of the kingdom, a second, western, diocese was created in 705, and St Aldhelm, its first bishop, built his cathedral at Sherborne on a site adjacent to what was probably an earlier Saxon settlement, close to the headwaters of the River Yeo.[15] Copies of early charters preserved in the Sherborne Cartulary indicate that at about this time the settlement at Sherborne and lands surrounding it were assigned to the bishop to support his new cathedral.

For almost two hundred years after its foundation, Sherborne Cathedral was served by a college of secular canons. Then, in the later part of the tenth century, following the general devastation and decline in religious observance caused by the Danish invasions of England, Archbishop Aelfric of Canterbury carried out various reforms to reinvigorate the Church. At several English cathedrals the secular canons were replaced by monks to maintain the rituals of worship. So, in a royal charter of AD 998, King Ethelred II granted Bishop Wulfsige (992–1001, later canonised as St Wulfsin) permission to eject the canons from Sherborne Cathedral and to introduce in their place Benedictine monks over whom the bishop, by virtue of his office, held a largely nominal authority as abbot.[16]

In 1075, following the Norman Conquest, William I and Archbishop Lanfranc decreed at the Council of London that the cathedral in each diocese should be situated centrally in an important town. To satisfy this requirement, Bishop Herman (1058–78) moved his episcopal seat from Sherborne to (Old) Sarum, at that time a much larger and more prosperous town in Wiltshire (fig 10). Until the early thirteenth century, when the town was re-founded as Salisbury in the river valley to the south, Sarum was dominated by the royal castle founded by William the Conqueror inside the massive earthworks of an Iron Age hill fort. Here, from 1078, Bishop Herman began to build a new cathedral, which was completed and consecrated by his successor, Bishop Osmund (1078–99) in 1092.[17] In the foundation charter of the new cathedral, dated 1091, it was stipulated that all the tithes from the bishop's Sherborne estate, now called the manor of Sherborne, were to be assigned to the new cathedral, presumably to pay for its construction and upkeep.[18] Although the Saxon church at Sherborne was no longer the cathedral of the diocese, Bishop Herman and his successor, Bishop Osmund, continued to hold the abbacy of the Benedictine priory of St Mary there together with the manor of Sherborne. The monastic house attached to the church remained a priory until 1122, when Roger's charter restored its status as an abbey.[19]

The manor of Sherborne was described and evaluated in the Domesday Book.[20] Here it is recorded that, before

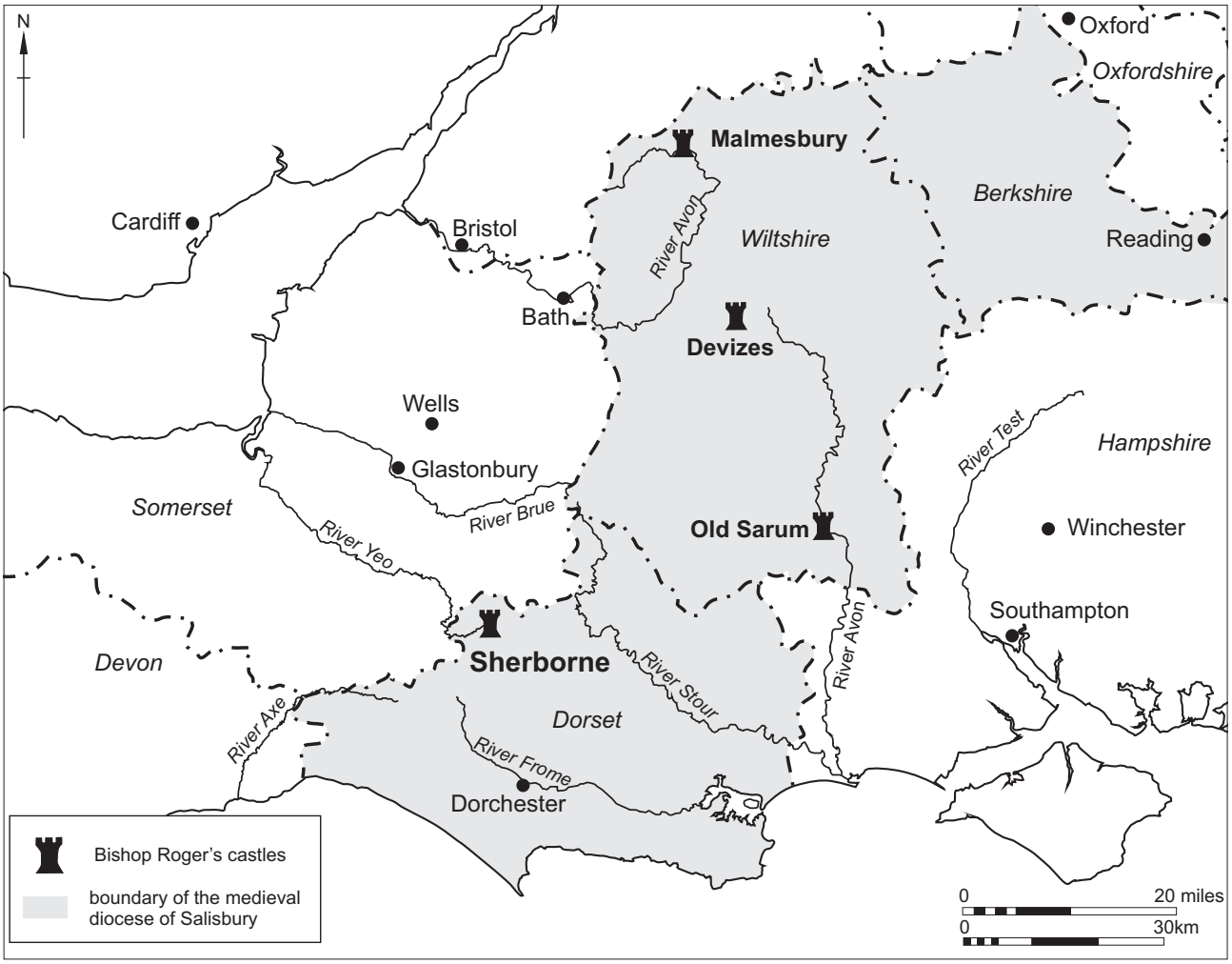


Fig 10 Map of the diocese of Sarum in about 1100 showing the principal towns and rivers and the sites of Bishop Roger's castles

the appointment of Bishop Herman in 1058, the manor was held by Queen Edith, the wife of Edward the Confessor, presumably while the see was vacant following the death of Bishop Alward (Aelfweald II) earlier in the same year. It then confirmed the bishop as the temporal lord of the manor of Sherborne, and that he held another eight adjoining manors – identified as Oborne, Thornford, Bradford Abbas, Compton, Stalbridge, Weston, Corscombe and Stoke Abbas – for the support of St Mary's Priory, attached to the former cathedral.[21] Later records show that the manor of Halstock, which was not included in the Domesday list, was also held by the bishop on behalf of the priory.[22]

During the tenth century, the county of Dorset, like most Saxon English shires, was subdivided into hundreds. A comparison between the boundaries of the hundred of Sherborne and the overall area of the manors held by the bishop, sometimes called the bishop's Great Manor, shows that, in 1085, it still contained all the lands and tythings that King Ethelred had confirmed as the endowment of Sherborne Cathedral in the charter issued in 998. Sherborne hundred was itself divided into two parts: the In-hundred, which contained the bishop's manor, from which all the tythes went to the bishop; and the Out-hundred, which contained the manors held by the bishop on behalf of the cathedral priory.[23] Both parts of this estate later passed to Herman's successor as bishop, Roger of Caen.

3.2 Bishop Roger and his buildings 1102–39

Of the several major buildings erected by Bishop Roger, only the ruins of his palace at Sherborne survive to any appreciable height above ground level. These remains are therefore the principal memorial of a man acknowledged by both his contemporaries and later historians for his achievements as an innovative administrator and as a patron of the arts, especially of architecture. Two detailed accounts have been published of Roger's rise to power, his

subsequent career at the centre of ecclesiastical and secular government in England and the impact of his architectural patronage.[24] Both studies include a great deal of biographical information and require only brief summary here, with the documentary sources relating to his buildings considered in detail.

Roger was born in Normandy between about 1065 and 1070, either in or near Caen and probably in relatively humble circumstances. Nothing else is known of his early life. Subsequently, in the diocesan certification of his election as Bishop of Sarum in 1107, he was described as formerly 'a priest of Avranches' in western Normandy. In Normandy, Roger attracted the attention of Henry, the youngest of William the Conqueror's three sons, who employed him as a domestic chaplain in his household. In this post Roger's talents as an administrator were used to good effect in the management of Henry's finances.

On the death of William II in 1101, Henry succeeded to the throne of England and appointed Roger as his chancellor. In the following year the king invested Roger as Bishop of Salisbury, a move challenged by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the grounds that as a layman the king had no authority to invest bishops. The dispute between the king and the archbishop over this matter was finally resolved in 1107, and Roger was consecrated as bishop in Canterbury Cathedral. Thereafter, in addition to fulfilling all his episcopal duties, Roger continued to serve the king, firstly as his principal counsellor and then as his viceroy, or *procurator regni*, in England during the long periods when the king was abroad in his duchy of Normandy.[25]

Henry I's trust in Roger's loyalty was demonstrated early in the new reign when he was given the custody of the king's elder brother Robert 'Curthose', Duke of Normandy. After Robert succeeded to the duchy on the death of William the Conqueror in 1087 he achieved great renown as a warrior during the first crusade. However, when he returned to Normandy following the crusade, he challenged Henry's right to the English crown. The ensuing quarrel over the succession was finally resolved when Henry defeated and captured Robert in 1106 at the Battle of Tinchebrai. Robert was now forced to relinquish the duchy to Henry, and was sent to England where he was imprisoned for a short period in Wareham before being transferred to Roger's 'magnificent castle at Devizes'.[26] This arrangement lasted until 1126, when Henry was persuaded by his daughter, the Empress Matilda, to transfer responsibility for Robert's custody to Earl Robert of Gloucester, the king's natural son and her own half-brother.[27]

Following the death of Henry I in 1135, Roger's administrative experience was initially highly valued by his successor, King Stephen. However, as conflict developed between Stephen and the supporters of the Empress Matilda, the rival claimant to the throne, Roger's enemies persuaded the king that Roger secretly favoured Matilda's cause. Consequently the king summoned Roger to Oxford in June 1139. On his arrival he was blamed for a disturbance allegedly caused by the knights in his large retinue, giving the king the excuse he needed to arrest Roger and seize his castles. At the same time, Roger was divested of all his secular offices, but he was allowed to retain his ecclesiastical appointments. Following his release, Roger returned to Sarum where he died in December of the same year, greatly embittered by his disgrace at the hands of the king. Initially he was buried in his cathedral there; his tomb is now believed to be in the choir of Salisbury Cathedral, being one of three bishops of Sarum whose remains were relocated.[28]

The numerous charters Roger issued over the course of his long career, either on behalf of the king or in his own name, give some indication of the power he exercised in England.[29] He caused envy among his contemporaries by amassing considerable wealth, much of which came from the many profitable ecclesiastical benefices he held and from the payments or 'gifts' made by supplicants. It enabled Roger to spend lavishly on the arts and so gain his reputation as 'a great builder of castles and fortified mansions'. Within his own diocese, where he could legitimately defend his position and display his high status,[30] works attributed to him include the rebuilding of the episcopal castle at Devizes on a massive scale,[31] the construction of a new castle at Malmesbury,[32] and the palace at Sherborne.[33] Furthermore, after he was granted custody of the royal castle at Sarum by Henry I, Roger strengthened its inner and outer defences with stone walls and built a splendid new residence within the inner bailey. In addition to these seigneurial works, he was also responsible for rebuilding, on a much grander scale, the greater part of his cathedral at Sarum.[34]

The chronicles written by Roger's contemporary, William of Malmesbury, include several laudatory references to the high quality of Roger's buildings, and remark on their great cost. The earliest reference is a passage in William's *Gesta Regum*. It translates as follows:

> [Roger] was a prelate of great mind, and spared no expense towards completing his designs, especially in buildings; which may be seen in other places, but more particularly at Salisbury and Malmesbury, for there he erected edifices at great cost, and with surpassing beauty, the courses of stone being so correctly laid that the joints

> deceive the eye, and lead it to imagine that the whole wall is composed of a single block.[35]

A later passage in William's *Historia Novella* reads:

> Roger, wishing to seem magnificent in the buildings he erected, had built several. At Sherborne and at Devizes he had raised masses of masonry surmounted by towers, building over a great extent of ground. At Malmesbury he had begun a castle actually in the churchyard, hardly a stone's throw from the abbey. The castle at Salisbury, which belonged immediately to the king, he had obtained from King Henry, surrounded with a wall, and brought under his own guardianship.[36]

As the verb in the second sentence of this passage in the original Latin text is in the pluperfect tense (*erexerat*), it has been assumed that both castles were completed before Roger's death in 1139.

William noted Roger's obsession with building in several more passages in the *Historia Novella*:

> He himself, since in building he took an especial pride unsurpassed within the recollection of our age, made magnificent dwellings on all his estates, for the mere …[37]

> … [for] the upkeep of which his successors will spend their efforts in vain; his own see he glorified beyond measure by wondrous adornments and buildings, without sparing any expense.

> [Roger and nephews,] forgetting they were churchmen, were mad with rage for castle building …[38]

Finally, the *Historia Novella* also described the fate of Roger's castles after his downfall:

> Then he [King Stephen] brought Bishop Roger, without chaining him, and the chancellor, who was said to be the nephew or an even closer relation of the same bishop, in chains to Devizes, on the chance of obtaining the handing over of the castle, which had been built at great expense, hardly to be counted, not, as the bishop kept on saying himself, for the adornment, but as in fact the case, for the injury of the Church. In the course of siege warfare the castles of Salisbury, Sherborne and Malmesbury were delivered up to the king: Devizes itself was surrendered after three days.[39]

When considered in the light of the historical and archaeological evidence, Roger's buildings in the twelfth century seem to have been constructed in the following sequence: Old Sarum Cathedral, Devizes Castle, Malmesbury Castle, Old Sarum Castle and Sherborne Castle.

The cathedral at Old Sarum

'The most splendid of all Roger's achievements was the reconstruction of Sarum Cathedral.'[40] The cathedral had only been completed less than a generation earlier by Bishop Herman, yet the records suggest that this was Roger's first building project following his consecration as bishop. Excavations on the site between 1910 and 1914, undertaken by the Society of Antiquaries, confirmed that Roger was responsible for rebuilding and extending the greater part of the building.[41]Although it has been suggested that this work was prompted by the need to repair the damage caused by a storm that had occurred a few days after the consecration of Bishop Herman's cathedral in 1092,[42] it seems more likely that Roger's aim was to rebuild the cathedral on a more impressive scale and with much richer architectural decoration so that it compared favourably with other major churches then in the course of construction, or which had recently been completed by Anglo-Norman prelates.

The excavations revealed that, except for the nave, Roger demolished to ground level all the fabric of the earlier cathedral church. Then, after the construction of a vestry or a chapter house above a vaulted undercroft on its northern side, the whole of the church east of the nave was rebuilt with a new crossing supporting a central tower, north and south transepts, and a long chancel terminating in parallel eastern chapels.[43] Roger also added new cloisters on the northern side of the chancel and, beyond them to the north, an episcopal palace comprising a large aisled hall and three other ranges enclosing a courtyard.

The size and complexity of Roger's rebuilding of the cathedral, which is now represented only by exposed foundations, and the quality of its decoration, as indicated by the carved stones found on the site during the excavations (Appendix 1), suggest that the work was undertaken over a considerable period. It is virtually certain, however, that it was largely completed by 1125, for in that year Roger held a convocation there. Also, at about the same time, the *Gesta Regum* records that Roger 'made the new church of Salisbury, and adorned it with furnishings so that it yielded place to no other in England but surpassed many, so that he had cause to say: "Lord, I have loved the glory of thy house."'[44]

However, there is a contrary view. Citing the evidence of a charter of Henry I, it has been suggested that the

rebuilding of the cathedral was not begun until about 1125. This charter, for which no reference is given, although 'probably dateable to this period ... granted the church at Sarum permission to use timber from the royal forests for the work of repair and rebuilding'.[45] William of Malmesbury also recorded in his *Historia Novella* that the cathedral was still not complete when Roger died in 1139.[46] Furthermore, it is noted in the *Gesta Stephani* that King Stephen appropriated part of the money that Roger had bequeathed for roofing the cathedral.[47] Taking all these points into account it seems probable that, although some work was still in progress in 1139, particularly on the roof, most of the work had been completed by about 1125.

Devizes Castle

The initial construction of the castle at Devizes has been attributed to Bishop Osmund, in the late eleventh century.[48] This structure was destroyed by fire in 1113,[49] suggesting that its defensive walls and domestic buildings were built largely of timber. Roger's rebuilding of the castle in stone must have begun very soon after the fire, for he was able to hold an ordination there in 1121. It has been noted above that Robert 'Curthose' was held here for twenty years after his capture in 1106.

A plan of Devizes Castle was published in 1920, based on the evidence of the masonry remains that had been exposed and recorded at various times during the nineteenth century.[50] By comparing this reconstructed plan with the plans of contemporary castles of similar size for which the construction time is recorded, E H Stone estimated that it would have taken approximately seven years to rebuild the castle. It could therefore have been functionally complete by about 1121, although we know that Roger undertook further work in 1138 to strengthen its defences.[51] Despite uncertainties in some parts, especially with regard to the great tower, which in the absence of other evidence is assumed to have been copied from the plan of the keep of Rochester Castle, the extent and complexity of Devizes Castle, when seen in relation to the surviving earthworks, shows that it must have been one of the most formidable defensive structures built in England during the first half of the twelfth century. Henry of Huntingdon was moved to describe it as 'the most splendid castle in Europe'.[52]

Malmesbury Castle

The exact dates for the construction of Roger's castle at Malmesbury are not known. Work probably began, however, soon after 1118 when Roger, having just taken control of Malmesbury Abbey, was able to obtain sufficient land by encroaching onto the monastic graveyard. The castle is described as 'an impregnable work of skill' in the *Gesta Stephani*.[53] Following its seizure by the Crown, it declined in importance during the second half of the twelfth century, and only one payment in 1173–4 of £20 is recorded for work on its gateways and postern. In 1216 King John gave Malmesbury Abbey permission to demolish the castle and use the land and materials for its own purposes.[54] Virtually nothing of the castle's structure has survived.[55]

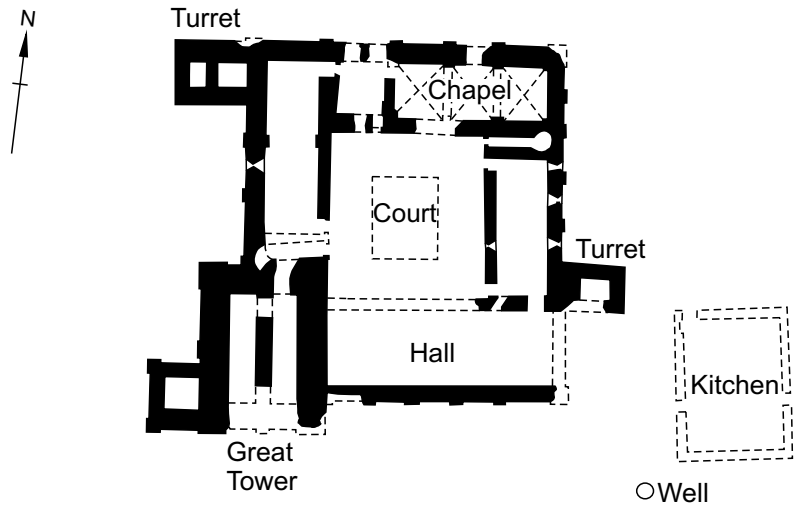
Old Sarum Castle

Although William of Malmesbury records in his *Historia Novella* that Roger obtained the 'guardianship' of the royal castle at Old Sarum from Henry I, it is not known precisely when this transfer occurred.[56] It has been suggested that a payment made to the sheriff of Wiltshire,[57] recorded in the surviving Pipe Roll of Henry I, for making an entrance into the cellar of 'the tower of Sarum',[58] indicates that, until 1130, building works at the castle were the responsibility of the sheriff, and therefore that the works undertaken by Roger must be later.

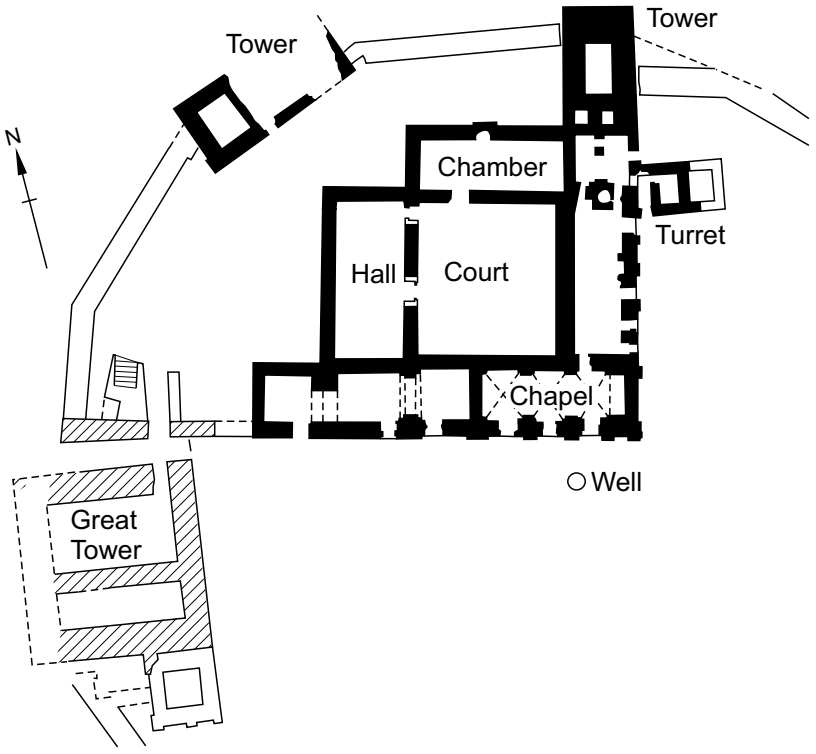
The plan of the remains of the courtyard house on the north-western side of the castle's inner bailey is remarkably similar to the courtyard house built by Roger that survives at Sherborne. Because of this similarity, it is generally accepted that Roger must have initiated the construction of both houses.[59] The reference by William of Malmesbury to Roger 'surrounding the castle with a wall' confirms that he also built the stone curtain wall which enclosed the inner bailey at Sarum.[60] The surviving masonry of this wall, which abuts the east wall of the house in a vertical straight joint, indicates that the house was built first (fig 11). So if it is assumed that Roger had full control of the castle for nine years from 1130, the house must have been built after that date and before the construction of the curtain wall.

Sherborne Castle

At Sherborne, for reasons that were not recorded, Roger assigned his episcopal rights as titular abbot of Sherborne in 1122, and the prior, Thurstan, was elected as the first abbot of the reinstated abbey.[61] It is probable that whenever Roger visited Sherborne before 1122 he would, as the titular abbot, have lodged in the abbot's house that stood near the west end of the church. As a Norman, he may not have found it comfortable lodging in the midst of what was essentially a Saxon town. Alternatively, by this



Sherborne Old Castle- the central building within the bailey c 1122-39



Old Sarum Castle- house in N.W. quadrant of inner bailey c1130

Fig 11 Comparative plans of Bishop Roger's residence at Old Sarum Castle and the central complex at Sherborne Old Castle, c 1135

time he may have had other sources of finance than the Sherborne income for his castle building. In any case, after 1122 this house would have been occupied by Abbot Thurstan, in his own right. Status and practicality therefore probably influenced Roger's decision to build a new residence a short distance outside the town.[62]

Other reasons for Roger's choice of location have already been discussed (Chapter 2). As the surviving remains show, the castle's imposing outer defences and the accommodation within the bailey were designed on a scale that expressed Roger's episcopal and vice-regal status, creating an impression that simply could not have been possible had he continued to lodge in the town.

A charter issued by Roger some time between 1130 and 1138 was addressed to Thurston, abbot of Sherborne, and Nicholas, the abbey's sacrist.[63] It demonstrates that Roger was still concerned about the welfare of Sherborne Abbey, although he no longer controlled it. In this charter he confirmed various gifts he had previously made to the abbey, including the nine manors formerly held by the bishops on behalf of the monastery in the Out-hundred of Sherborne, and two mills on the River Yeo. The charter also confirmed the monks' right to fish in the castle's stew-ponds and to take venison from the deer park on specific feast days or on other occasions, indicating that both the stew-ponds and the deer park were by then established adjuncts to the castle.[64]

Roger's charter was signed and witnessed at the dedication of the church of St Mary Magdalene. This building was described as 'visible on the isle where the castle stands' and was located outside the north-eastern flank of the castle bailey. Certainly the Sherborne estate map of 1570–4 (fig 13) depicts a small drawing of a church with the inscription 'St Magdalenas' below. Its position suggests that the church was built by Roger to serve a settlement or village for his tenants and the workmen engaged on the construction of the castle. Later incorporated as a borough, the village is recorded as 'Castleton' in a manorial document of 1537–8, but was probably known much earlier by this name.[65]

Although only first recorded after 1139, it is virtually certain that two chapels located either close to or within the castle were built earlier by Bishop Roger. One of them was dedicated to St Probus *juxta castellum*, and is mentioned in a bull of Pope Eugenius III, dated February 1145, addressed to the monks of Sherborne Abbey.[66] Given the anarchic conditions within England at that time, it seems unlikely that this chapel was constructed during the six years following the seizure of the castle by King Stephen in 1139. It was probably therefore built during Roger's tenure.

The other chapel was first recorded as the 'King's chapel' in 1250–1, when the castle was held by the Crown.[67] Its dedication is known from a grant made some years later to Roger de Connoc, 'ministering in the King's chapel of St Michael within the castle of Shireburn'.[68] As no royal expenditure is recorded for the construction of a chapel within the castle in the Pipe Rolls, it seems likely that it dates from Roger's time. Because both the entries indicate that this chapel was reserved for the king's use, it is therefore likely to have been large and elaborately decorated, so it may have been the chapel believed to have occupied most of the upper storey of the north range of the central building complex.

Overall, the documentary evidence supports the view that the construction of the castle was begun after 1122, and was completed by 1130.[69] So, it seems likely that building at Sherborne was begun only after the completion of most of the work in rebuilding the cathedral at Old Sarum and the castle at Devizes, and in building a new castle at Malmesbury. It has already been noted that Roger's works at Sarum Castle did not begin until soon after 1130. At Sherborne the archaeological evidence indicates extensive works to prepare the site before the main domestic accommodation could be constructed, so it seems most likely that the principal buildings within both castles were probably constructed concurrently between about 1130 and 1137, dates that concur with the stylistic evidence.

3.3 The castle during the Anarchy and up to 1183

Following Bishop Roger's downfall in 1139, King Stephen gave Sherborne Castle and the lordship of the episcopal manors of Sherborne and Yetminster to William Martel, his *dapifer*, or chief steward. Then, in 1143, during the struggle for the throne between the king and the Empress Matilda, Earl Robert of Gloucester, Matilda's half-brother, led her army against the king at the Battle of Wilton. William Martel was taken hostage in the battle and, in response to Robert's demand, the king was obliged to surrender Sherborne Castle and the former episcopal manors of Sherborne and Yetminster to Robert as the ransom for Martel's release.[70]

When Robert Earl of Gloucester died in 1147 the castle and the manors passed to his widow, Countess Mabel. Mabel issued a charter in 1150 (formerly dated to 1160)[71] in which she offered to return the episcopal estates to Bishop Jocelin of Sarum on condition that the bishop 'make no trouble' about the castle and its island site. She excluded from her offer the castle's vineyard and the mill at Denny Bridge. This is the earliest documented reference to the bridge over the stream on the south side of the castle hill (Chapter 8), and it confirms surviving structural evidence indicating that the structure was built initially

during the first half of the twelfth century, probably for Bishop Roger.

Although no confirming document survives, it seems likely that, following the issue of the Countess Mabel's charter, most of the episcopal estate in north-west Dorset was returned to the bishop. However, the countess – and after her death in 1157 her son, Earl William of Gloucester – continued to hold the castle itself, probably on the understanding that it would revert to the Crown on Earl William's death.

The impending change in control of the castle was perhaps foreshadowed in February 1165, when Queen Eleanor and the younger royal children were lodged there while Henry II was abroad in Normandy. This event is recorded by the charge of £18 for the queen's maintenance entered in the king's *Itinerary* as being due to Hugh de Gundevill, the keeper of the castle. In the same month another charge, of forty shillings, was entered in the *Itinerary* for repairs to the 'king's houses' (*domus regis*) in the castle. The term 'king's houses', as used here and in accounts of expenditure at other royal castles, is taken to refer to secondary accommodation, in contrast to the principal accommodation within the *corpus*, or main body of the castle, which in the case of Sherborne would have been the apartments at the centre of the bailey.[72]

3.4 The king's castle 1183–1354

The documentary sources for the castle during its period of royal ownership are reasonably plentiful, extending from 1183, when it came into royal hands after the death of William Earl of Gloucester, to 1331, when it was granted by Edward III to William de Montague for his services in engineering the overthrow of Roger Mortimer and Isabella. The Crown records relate to various aspects of the castle's history, including building works, weapons and stores, and persons in residence including prisoners held there.[73]

Sherborne does not appear to have been a particularly favoured royal residence, unlike Corfe, for example, but it continued as an important local administrative centre throughout the period of royal ownership. The strategic location of the castle has already been discussed (Chapter 2); it was well suited for this purpose in addition to being well protected and suitably imposing. For most of this time, it was in the custody of the sheriffs of Somerset and Dorset,[74] many of whom were also appointed as constable of the castle. They were responsible for provisioning and maintaining its fabric, garrison and armoury, and they were required to provide accommodation for visitors of high rank and any others, usually women and children, who were under the king's protection. On several occasions the castle was also used to hold prisoners of war.

No detailed particulars of accounts for works have survived. Consequently, the principal source for records of money spent on building works consists of summary entries in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls, the annual records of royal expenditure. However, these brief statements are significantly augmented by royal letters ordering works to be carried out or for materials and money to be supplied for the works. Further valuable information concerning the layout, nomenclature and condition of buildings within the castle is provided by three surveys produced in 1252, 1261 and 1315. Based on these sources, a reasonably detailed chronology of the condition of the fabric and building works can be produced.[75]

The earliest payment recorded by the Exchequer for works at the castle was in 1192–3, during Richard I's reign, when 100s (£5) was spent on the repair of the *turris*: probably the great tower.[76] Further expenditure on repairs to the 'King's lodgings' are documented between 1193 and 1196, although the small amounts expended appear to relate to minor works rather than extensive repairs.[77] More substantial work was apparently undertaken during John's reign. He is known to have resided at the castle on three occasions: 3 April 1207, 18 July 1216 and, shortly before his death, from 23 to 27 August 1216.[78] His first wife, Isabella Countess of Gloucester, is also known to have stayed at the castle for an unspecified period between 1207 and 1208, and it is possible that the substantial sum of £51 11s 10d incurred in 1208 for 'the repairs of the lodgings in the castle of Sherborne' was prompted either by the king's visit or that of his wife.[79]

Although it has been calculated that the total expenditure on the castle entered in the Pipe Rolls during John's reign was only £117, a significant programme of works appears to have taken place from 1215 that was not completed until the early years of Henry III's reign. In 1215 the king ordered Peter de Maulay, constable of Corfe Castle and one of his closest adherents, to fortify (strengthen) the castle. It was after John's death in October 1216, when de Maulay, a notorious profiteer, claimed that he had spent the substantial sum of 1,500 marks (about £1,000) at Sherborne, but it was not until 1220–1 when 'the work and fortification of the castle of Sherborne' was accounted.[80] There is little doubt that work was done: improvements to the north gate barbican of the castle's defences datable to the early thirteenth century were identified during the investigations (see fig 25).

It is reasonable to assume that these improvements were prompted by the baronial uprising against the rule of King John; the castle appears to have served as an important base of operations for Royalist supporters in south-west England throughout the Barons' War of 1215–17. De Maulay had been appointed sheriff of Somerset and Dorset in June 1216, several months before John's death. However, following the accession of Henry III, letters patent were issued by William Marshal, regent of England, on 14–15 March 1216/17 ordering him to deliver 'without delay' the counties of Somerset and Dorset and the castle of Sherborne to the new king's 'beloved royal uncle': in other words, William 'Longsword', Earl of Salisbury, Henry II's son by his mistress Rosamund Clifford, and the gift was to secure the support of this important nobleman. Four years later, just before his death in 1220–1, this same William 'Longsword' was paid 750 marks (£500) for the return of the counties of Somerset and Dorset and Sherborne Castle to the Crown. Peter de Maulay was arrested for treason in 1221 and in January 1222 was ordered to deliver the custody of the castle to William de Serland.[81]

Extensive repairs were carried out on the hall in 1222–4. This work was 'viewed' or inspected by Stephen de Estinton (Eastington), the master carpenter who was probably responsible for it, and William, son of Reginald. Stephen's attendance suggests that the work was major; the frequent references to the provision of timber suggest repairs to the roof, which was finally covered with slates at a cost of 73s in mid-1224,[82] although the provision of brushwood for a kiln in July 1223 suggests masonry, as well as carpentry, work.[83] In December 1228, a gift of ten oaks was made for a kiln within Sherborne Castle, again implying that masonry works were undertaken. This may be linked to expenditure of £57 9s 10d on repairs to the kitchens of Sherborne and Dorchester Castles, which are recorded in 1229–30, although the individual amounts are not specified.[84]

The castle appears to have fallen into some disrepair by the mid-1230s. In 1235–6 a total of £87 was spent on planking and re-leading the roof of the great tower, which adjoins the great hall; at a cost of 5s, the wooden boards (probably projecting wooden galleries or hourds) were also removed as they were said to have weakened the (curtain) wall of the castle.[85] Further substantial repairs were undertaken in 1238–9: the four towers (*turellos*) of the bailey were re-joisted and re-roofed with lead, at a cost of £28 6s 8d, and the masonry of the curtain wall and the castle barbicans was repaired, at a cost of £58 3s 10d.[86]

In 1239 and 1241 there are references to payments for two chaplains serving in the king's and queen's chapels at Sherborne Castle. This would appear to indicate the existence of two separate chapels, but the entries for the chaplains' stipends in the Liberate Rolls refer to their serving in only one chapel (*in capellum*).[87] In 1250, however, the chapels are referred to as separate entities, and the king's chapel is again mentioned in 1267, when its dedication to St Michael is recorded (see above).[88]

Ten years elapsed before more repairs were recorded. In March 1248 a mandate was issued to the sheriff to repair a wall 'leaning to its fall'.[89] More extensive repairs were ordered by King Henry on 3 August 1250, following his visit two days earlier. They are detailed and issued from Montacute, nearby:

> We command you to make a fireplace [*caminum*] in the Queen's chamber in the castle at Sherborne, and a certain penthouse [*appenticium*] from the door of that chamber to the door of the same Queen's chapel. And repair also the roofing of the said castle, and let the north wall be repaired and rebuilt where necessary; and repair the windows there, as well in the tower as elsewhere. And make new doors in the same castle where there are none, and it is necessary doors should be; and repair the others; and well repair the glass windows in our chapel so that they may be shut and opened.[90]

Some of these repairs were accounted for in 1250–1, when the sum of £15 11s 6d was expended on making the fireplace in the queen's chamber, repairing the roofing of the king's lodgings and providing vestments for the king's chapel.[91] Further minor repairs to the 'King's lodgings in the castle', costing 15s 2d, were accounted for the following year.[92] However, the provision of lead roofing for the tower ordered in 1248 and for the making of the penthouse between the queen's chapel and chamber are not accounted for until 1253–4, when 50 marks (£33 6s 8d) were assigned in addition to £78s 8d spent on this work. Subsequently payments are recorded for the 'repair of the King's lodgings' in 1255–6 (£4 8s 2d) and 1256–7 (£5).[93]

Fortunately, there is some background information about the delay, which had been caused by the diversion of 100 marks to fund work elsewhere.[94] In October 1251, Elias de Rabayn, a Poitevin knight and favourite of Henry III, received custody of Sherborne and Corfe Castles, with orders 'to view in what state his predecessor as sheriff left the said castle and the King's works there'.[95] The record of an inquest into the state of the castles has survived, probably to be dated to late 1251 or 1252; it reveals that the castle was still in a state of disrepair and that much of the work ordered in 1248–50 had yet to be carried out. It stated

that 'the King's chamber and the Hall are sufficiently roofed, but that the joisting and planking above the King's outer chamber (*ultra cameram Domini Regis forinsecum*), and the corner of the garderobe and above the well in the tower are broken and decayed for lack of roofing'. The kitchen was described as being in a particularly bad state of repair, 'poorly roofed and fitted out and without doors and windows'. A building referred to as 'the Constabulary' was described as being poorly roofed and lacking in doors, while all the other lodgings, except for two turrets, were said to be 'without joists and unroofed'. On the other hand, large quantities of building materials were being held in store: twelve chevrons (curved pieces of timber), 1,000 shingles and 1,000 nails for laths.[96]

Another survey was carried out in April 1261. It found 'all the buildings, walls and everything else in a ruinous state' and commented on the rusty armour stored in the castle.[97] Probably in the light of this report, when the custody of the castle was granted to Brian de Gouiz in September 1264, it was specifically mentioned that it greatly needed repair.[98] De Gouiz appears only to have held the castle for a brief period during late 1264 and early 1265, as he was a supporter of Simon de Montfort. It was back in royal hands, and entrusted to Walter Giffard, the king's chancellor, by August 1265. Payments for the maintenance of a garrison are recorded up to 1268.[99]

After the suppression of de Montfort's rebellion, another programme of repairs was set in hand, continuing up to the end of Henry III's reign. Detail of the works is limited; in 1267–84 there was a payment of £53 2s 3d for the repair of the king's lodgings and other defects, while a further payment, of 4 marks, was accounted for the repair of the buildings of the king's chaplain and for the provision of new furnishings for the chapel in 1270.[100]

In September 1267, the king's second son, Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster (1245–75), was appointed as governor of the castle, an office not otherwise recorded in connection with it, and it is possible that further repairs may have been related to his appointment.[101] A sum of £12 was spent in 1272–3 'so that the houses of our chapel may be repaired and vestments and other necessary items of the chapel be mended'. There were further intermittent repairs during Edward I's reign; he is recorded as staying three times at the castle, between 18 and 20 February 1282, 7 and 8 December 1285 and on 28 March 1297,[102] when he sent out letters to Pope Boniface, the Bishop of Durham and others. In 1300–1, expenditure of £19 17s 0d was recorded, perhaps as a consequence of the king's visit:

> Repair and mending of the houses in the King's castle of Sherborne: £4.2s.8d. And in wages of carpenters engaged in building the houses and chapel in Sherborne Castle and upon the repair of the small and greater towers in the same castle, with the mending of the great gate and granary there, plus the cost of 10 measures [*pedibus*] of lead bought for roofing the said towers, and wages for the plumber and other diverse men working there in the year 28: £15 14s 4d by the same writ spent on the lodgings and chapel, the repair of the small tower and the great tower, including the purchase of lead for roofing the towers, and on mending the great gate and the granary.[103]

At this time, it would appear that the outer bailey of the castle was being used as a prison: in 1295 the sheriff was granted four pence a day for the maintenance of ten Welsh hostages held in the castle. Presumably they were prisoners taken during Edward I's campaign in Wales earlier in the same year; ten years later a Scottish clergyman was detained there.[104] The lodgings were also being increasingly used as a place of residence, both by the sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, and by nobles and royal household members who occupied them by the king's grant.[105]

Despite the expenditure on repairs and the continuous occupation of the castle, it appears that it had fallen into an increasing state of dilapidation by the early fourteenth century. In 1308, the first year of Edward II's reign, 50 marks were spent on the repair of walls, houses and bridges. Then, in 1312, Walter de Skydmore was ordered to provision the castle without delay, no doubt in response to the threat from the baronial factions opposed to the king. In April 1315, units of Edward II's army were stationed there following the Battle of Bannockburn; the same month an order was issued by the king for a survey to be undertaken of the chapel, hall and other lodgings, 'which through the negligence of the constables and keepers of the castle are in a ruinous condition'.[106] On 25 August 1315 an inquisition was held in the presence of the abbot of Sherborne and a jury was empanelled comprising twenty-four local men. The 'great decay' of the castle was attributed partly to the earthquake that had occurred throughout England in 1275, and partly to the negligence of William de Marechal, keeper of the king's horses under Edward I. He was a member of the royal household who had resided in the castle for five years; during his tenure, certain officials had 'removed and carried away the ironwork and lead of the said castle in various places … they completely destroyed and burnt the decayed timber from the aforesaid lodgings'.[107] The cost of repairs was estimated to be at least £2,000.

As a consequence, in February 1317, the sheriff was ordered to pay £40 for repairs, for which the stone required

was dug out from the castle's dry moats, presumably the outer ditch, and the queen's bailiff was ordered to deliver twenty oaks fit for timber to John de Kingeston 'in order to repair the houses within Shirburne castle'. At the same time payments were authorised for a garrison of twelve foot soldiers and others. This force was subsequently disbanded in 1322, when a substantial account for provisioning was rendered by Thomas de Marlborough, the sheriff.[108] Expenditure on repairs amounted to £122 3s 1d in 1317–18,[109] a further £20 in July 1324, spent on repairing the 'houses … and walls', and a further £20 in December 1327.[110]

In 1330, three years after his accession, Edward III appointed William, third Lord Montague (or Montacute) as constable of Corfe and Sherborne Castles. The following year, in recognition of his services in the overthrow of Roger Mortimer, Montague was created Earl of Salisbury and given the castle at Sherborne. This grant eventually brought about the end of the occupation by the Crown.[111]

3.5 The castle repossessed by the bishops of Salisbury 1355–1592

It was perhaps in an attempt to establish that Sherborne Castle rightfully belonged to the bishops of Salisbury that it was included with seven other episcopal properties in an application by Bishop Robert for a licence to crenellate dated August 1337.[112] As the king had only recently ceded the castle to the Earl of Salisbury, the bishop could hardly have expected that the application would bring any immediate recognition of his rights to it. However, in 1355, after William Earl of Salisbury's son, also named William, had succeeded to the earldom, Bishop Wyvil of Salisbury (d 1375) brought a writ against him in the king's court for possession of the castle, presumably on the grounds that as the Crown had relinquished its immediate interest, the bishop possessed it as an integral part of the episcopal estate at Sherborne.[113] The earl, as was his right, chose to settle the question of ownership in a trial by combat, and the bishop, fearing that he might otherwise lose the case, was forced to agree. However, at the time appointed for the contest the earl's champion failed to appear when summoned, thereby leaving the bishop's champion unopposed in the field and therefore the victor by default. In the event it had been agreed that the bishop would pay 2,500 marks to the earl and 500 marks to the king for the return of the castle.[114] Bishop Wyvil's success in regaining the castle for the bishopric must have given him very considerable personal satisfaction, for on his memorial brass in Salisbury Cathedral he is shown in his vestments standing with uplifted hands, within the walls of an elaborate castle, while below his armed champion bars the way through the castle gate (fig 12).

It is assumed that from 1355 until 1542, when the archdeaconry of Dorset was transferred from the see of Salisbury to the newly created see of Bristol, the castle was

Fig 12 Bishop Wyvil's memorial brass in Salisbury Cathedral, *c* 1375

used as an occasional residence by successive bishops of Salisbury, but mainly to accommodate the clerics and officials concerned with the administration of the western part of the diocese and the episcopal estate.[115] In contrast to the period of royal occupation, very little documentary evidence survives for building works during this time, although the archaeological evidence indicates that substantial alterations were undertaken. They included major changes to the north or watergate and the enlargement of the accommodation in the great tower, together with the access to it from the hall.

The first recorded event at the castle after its return to the bishopric was a visit by the Black Prince on 15 May 1357.[116] In 1377, Bishop Ralph Ergham (1375–88) made a further application for a licence to crenellate. The application largely replicated the earlier documentation of 1337.[117] The bishop's motive in applying for this licence may have been to record his right to hold the castle, or else to obtain royal permission for alterations to its defences. It is also likely that the earlier application made when the castle was held by the Earl of Salisbury was invalid, and that a new licence was needed.

In June 1382 another earthquake affected many buildings in south-west England and may have caused some damage to the castle, requiring repair. In 1450, the castle was damaged again when it was plundered by disaffected inhabitants of Sherborne, who destroyed the bishop's manorial records. It is likely that the fire, evidenced by severe scorching of the twelfth-century masonry that destroyed the timber floors within the great tower, was part of, or was followed by, this event.

This destruction may have been the cue for the major alterations to the central building complex carried out towards the end of the fifteenth century, during the tenure of Thomas Langton, from 1485 to 1493. He enjoyed the patronage of both Richard III and Henry VII, and was translated to the richer diocese of Winchester in 1493. Elected to Canterbury in 1500, he died before he could be enthroned.[118] It is known that he absented himself from court and engrossed himself in diocesan affairs, but the documentary sources for his work at Sherborne are not specific. In his description of the castle, John Leland recorded that Langton, while Bishop of Salisbury, was responsible for new work to the west of the hall. We know from other sources that Langton was one of a number of diocesan bishops who spent considerable sums on their estates.[119] The archaeological evidence also points strongly to extensive alterations to the domestic accommodation at Sherborne, in line with Leland's comments. They included the addition of a walled courtyard on the southern side of the central building complex; within this enclosure, a chamber block with direct access from the hall was then constructed, against the southern face of the great tower. The interior of the great tower was rebuilt, with vaulting to the first storey and altered floor levels.[120] No further work appears to have been done to the castle until almost exactly a century later, when Langton's work was almost entirely undone by Ralegh.

Importantly, however, a Sherborne estate plan of 1570–4 depicts a hunting lodge within the deer park (fig 13). This is the nucleus of the house that eventually came to succeed the castle as the principal residence. At least one wall survives within the basement storey of this building, formerly called Sherborne Lodge, and now called Sherborne Castle. Built of rubble, this wall incorporates a Tudor gothic window and an arched doorway, features indicating that the hunting lodge was built, or possibly rebuilt, during the early part of the sixteenth century.

The Sherborne Hundred Court Roll for 1537–8, now lost, included two items of expenditure showing that the castle and the outlying buildings associated with it were still maintained by the bishops of Salisbury during the first half of the sixteenth century. Translations of these items by Joseph Fowler were included in his letter dated 28 December 1944 to the then owner of the Sherborne Castle Estates, Col Wingfield Digby:

> I have come across two entries in the bishop's reeves accounts for 1537–8, which will interest you, I think.
>
> Thomas Wynneft was the collector of the Bishop's accounts at that time, and under the cost of repairs he includes:
>
> 1. £39. 11. 1 ½ spent on diverse houses in the castle *(super diversos domos et cameras castri domini):*
>
> 2. £6. 7. 2 spent on the new-building of the north end of Dynnybrygge, and £4.7.4 on repairs to the lord's mill there; and 7/6 on mending the east part of the lord's penfold at Honeycombe.
>
> So the north end of Denny Bridge is of Hen. viii's time; and there was a mill standing by the water-side (a fulling mill, I think) just below the south side of Denny Bridge, of which traces can still be seen in the bed of the stream.[121]

Following the creation of the diocese of Bristol in 1542, the castle was no longer needed for diocesan purposes, although the bishops of Salisbury still retained possession of it together with their Sherborne estate. In 1548, a year after the accession of Edward VI, Bishop John Capon leased both castle and estate to the Lord Protector, Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, for ninety-nine years. Two years later the duke assigned this lease to Sir John Paulet.

Fig 13 Part of a map of the manors of Sherborne and Yetminster and surrounding areas showing a bird's-eye view of the town and the castle. North is at the bottom of the map, which has no title and is undated and unsigned. It was probably compiled between 1570 and 1574 for the Bishop of Salisbury as a record of his Sherborne estate. *Photograph*: British Library, Add MS 52522

However, after the accession of Mary I, in 1553, Bishop Capon claimed that the duke had obtained the lease from him by duress, and the queen ordered that the castle and the estate be returned to him.

In 1578, the castle and estate were leased by Bishop John Piers to Elizabeth I for ninety-nine years and, later in the same year, she assigned the lease to Dr Thomas White. However, following Piers's translation to the archbishopric of York, it appears that the lease was cancelled and that the queen received the episcopal revenues for the next three years while the see of Salisbury was vacant. After the consecration of John Colwell as Bishop of Salisbury in 1591–2, and probably as a condition of his appointment, Colwell leased the castle and estate again to the queen for ninety-nine years at an annual rent of £200 16s 1d.[122]

3.6 Sir Walter Ralegh and the castle 1592–1603

In his *Nugae Antiquae*, Sir John Harington related how Sir Walter Ralegh (fig 14) had greatly admired the castle at Sherborne and its situation when travelling between Plymouth and the court at Westminster accompanied by his brother, Adrian Gilbert:

> this Castle being right in the way, he cast such an eye upon it as Ahab did upon Naboths Vineyard, and once above the rest being talking of it, of the comodiousnesse of the place of the strength of the seat, and how easily it might be got from the Bishoprick, suddenly over and over came his horse, that his very face, which was then thought a very good face, plowed up the earth where he fell.[123]

Gilbert then assured Ralegh that the fall from his horse was not, as it seemed at first, an ill omen but rather a sign that he had taken possession of the castle and the lands he coveted. This sign was fulfilled when Ralegh persuaded Elizabeth I, with the added inducement of a gift of a 'jewell worth £250 to make the Byshope', to obtain on his behalf the lease of the castle and the estate. In 1591–2, nine days after Bishop Colwell's lease to Elizabeth I came into effect, it was transferred by letters patent to Ralegh and his heirs for ever, with the annual rent, as before, reserved for the bishop.[124] Soon after this transaction, the queen discovered to her great displeasure that Ralegh had secretly married Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of her maids-of-honour. For this offence Ralegh and his new wife were imprisoned in the Tower of London until he was released in September 1592 and his wife in the following December. Banished from court, they moved into Sherborne in January 1593, presumably to take up residence in the castle.

Ralegh held the Sherborne lease from January 1591/2 until August 1599, when he purchased the freehold from the bishop. By cutting the last link between the estate and the bishops of Salisbury, Ralegh finally realised his ambition to possess what he called his 'fortune's fold'.[125] In his *Survey of Dorset*, published in 1732, John Coker noted:

> [Sir Walter Ralegh] beganne verie fairelie to builde the castell, but altering his purpose hee built, in a Parke adjoineing to it, out of the Grounde a most fine House, which he beautified with Orchardes, Gardens and Groves of much Varietie and great Deligt: so that, whether that you consider the Pleasantnesse of the Seat, the Goodnesse of the Soyle, or the other Delicacies belonging to it, it rests unparalleled by anie in these Partes.[126]

The archaeological evidence, comprising the remains of late sixteenth-century additions and alterations to its medieval fabric, sustains Coker's reference to Ralegh's initial attempt to repair the castle. The scale and character of these works indicate that, following his arrival at Sherborne, Ralegh began an ambitious remodelling scheme, no doubt with the intention of converting the castle into an imposing country seat. Then, for reasons that can only be surmised, he abandoned this project when it was far from complete, and built instead a new house by extending the hunting lodge in the deer park. John Aubrey, in the biography of Ralegh included in his *Brief Lives*,[127] noted the character and original purpose of the new building, although he mistakenly described it as built 'of brick': Ralegh built at Sherborne 'a delicate lodge in the park, of brick, not big, but very convenient for the bigne's, a place to retire from the Court in summer time, and to contemplate'.

In his *Observations on the Western Counties*, published in 1797, W G Maton noted that he had seen a pane of window glass at the lodge which was inscribed with Ralegh's armorial shield and the date 1594. This window pane no longer exists, but the date it recorded must have been cut when the lodge was virtually complete as the glass would not have been installed until the final stage of the building work.[128]

A survey plan of Sherborne Lodge was drawn by Simon Basil between 1600 and 1609, after Ralegh had added an octagonal turret to each of its four corners.[129] It was probably prepared as a record for Basil's patron, Sir Robert Cecil.[130] The tall and compact form of this building, which

Fig 14 *Sir Walter Ralegh and His Elder Son, Walter*, 1602, artist unknown. *Photograph*: London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 3914

now forms the central core of the present house,[131] was typical of the lodges or secondary houses built by many contemporary landowners on their estates. Other examples are known: Cranborne Lodge, Dorset, was built a few years later by Sir Robert Cecil; another was built by the Earl of Shrewsbury at Worksop, Notts.[132]

It would seem, however, that Ralegh had postponed, rather than cancelled, his scheme for remodelling the castle. The contrast in the scale of the two buildings is considerable and – given the extent of the work at the Old Castle which the surviving remains demonstrate he had already carried out – it seems likely that it was always his

intention to complete it when circumstances allowed and for it to serve as a fitting principal country residence. However, there were pressing demands on his resources, including the substantial cost of preparations for an expedition to the New World. He therefore confined his further work to the lodge.

In 1601, in his response to a bill of complaint brought against him by John Meere, his former steward at Sherborne, Ralegh described the condition of the castle. Meere had claimed that he had been appointed custodian of the castle, but Ralegh denied he had made such an appointment because the castle's very poor condition did not warrant it:

> att the time mentioned ... ther was nott any Castell (as this Defendant taketh itt) Butt in the place where the Castell was, ther was an utter [outer] wall broken down in many places and a little peece of building adjoining to the olde unncovered and defaced tower and fower olde ruyned and uncovered toweres standing upon or in the utter walls which were (as this Defendant taketh itt) altogether uninhabitable.[133]

In his deposition Ralegh described how he found Meere in the Counter in London, where he had been imprisoned for clipping coin and, feeling sorry him, had procured Meere's liberty. Then, hoping to make an honest man of him, Ralegh allowed Meere and his wife and children to live in one of the two towers 'in the upper walls' of the castle which Ralegh had recently repaired. It can be safely assumed that this structure was the south-west gatehouse tower, where fabric of this period survives. These works were modest, however. The principal apartments of the castle almost certainly remained largely unimproved by 1601 and, in any case, it is likely that Ralegh exaggerated the decay to add weight to his defence against Meere's charge.

Ralegh held Sherborne for nearly twelve years until, in 1603, he was attainted of high treason and all his property was forfeited to the Crown. In January 1603, just before his attainder, and perhaps in anticipation of such an event, Ralegh had attempted to secure the Sherborne estate for his elder son, Walter, by deed of covenant, but in 1604 this deed was found to be invalid.

Lady Ralegh appealed to King James I to allow her to retain the estate. Initially, James agreed to protect the rights of Lady Ralegh and her son to the property, but in 1608, after further legal argument regarding Ralegh's original deed of covenant, the king decided to purchase their interest in the estate, which he did for a lump sum of £8,000 and an annuity of £400.[134]

3.7 The castle after Ralegh and during the Civil War 1609–45

On 9 January 1609, the king gave the Sherborne estate to James Carr, Earl of Somerset, but on 12 February 1610 he bought it back from Carr for £20,000 and gave it to his elder son, Henry, Prince of Wales. It is possible that the prince, a close friend and admirer of Ralegh, may have wanted to hold the estate until he was able to return it to Ralegh. However, Prince Henry died in 1612. In November 1613 Carr was able to repurchase the estate from the Crown for £25,000, but it reverted to the Crown as forfeit in 1616 after he was convicted as an accessory to the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. In the following year, the king sold the estate to Sir John Digby for £10,000 in cash and in consideration of the money Digby had expended on the king's behalf while on an embassy to Spain. Created Earl of Bristol in 1622, Digby left the king's service in 1623 and retired to Sherborne. There he enlarged the lodge in the park by adding a substantial wing at each of its four corners. He seems to have used surprisingly little stone salvaged from the Old Castle, as no reused medieval masonry has been identified in the walls of the lodge.

At the outbreak of the First Civil War in 1642 the Earl of Bristol was initially sympathetic to the Parliamentary cause, but later went over to the Royalist side. It is an indication of the limited impact of the demolition carried out by Ralegh, and of many years' neglect, that sufficient of the fabric survived for Royalist garrisons to hold the castle on two occasions against sieges by Parliamentary forces.

During the first siege in 1642, a garrison commanded by the Marquis of Hertford held the castle for several weeks against a Parliamentary force commanded by the Earl of Bedford. At the outset, on 2 September, Bedford encamped on the high ground to the north of the castle and his artillery opened fire without causing any serious damage. On 7 September he withdrew his force but, after an engagement outside Sherborne when a party of Royalists was defeated, he resumed the siege of the castle until 20 September, when Hertford was allowed to withdraw. Following the siege Parliamentary commissioners were installed in the castle until they were driven from it by a small Royalist force on 12 February 1643. On 22 September, Sherborne town and castle were both retaken for Parliament by Col Popham and his Somerset Militia, but they later withdrew. On 29 September 1644, following his earlier successes against the

Earl of Essex in the south west of England, the king was joined at Sherborne by Prince Rupert of the Rhine, and on 2 October they reviewed the Royalist troops in Sherborne Park and ate a picnic lunch there.

The second siege of the castle took place in 1645, following the Battle of Naseby. On this occasion the garrison was led by Sir Lewis Dyve (1599–1669), the step-son of the Earl of Bristol, and the Royalist commander for the county of Dorset (fig 15). It consisted of Dyve's regiment of 150 veterans and some cavalry. On 2 August 1645, General Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell reached Sherborne determined to 'get' what Cromwell described as a 'malicious and mischievous castle, like its owner'.[135] Two days later, while Fairfax put the siege in hand, Cromwell departed with some cavalry to disperse gatherings of the Royalist Clubmen at Shaftsbury and Hambledon Hill, and then returned to Sherborne late at night on 5 August, after an 'outwork' had fallen. This may have been one of the two surviving earthworks that rise above the counterscarp of the castle's outer ditch to the east and to the west.

The final stage of the siege was described by John Rushworth, an officer in the Parliamentary army, in a letter to William Lanthall:

> 1645 August 9. Sherborne
> I have little newes to adde since my former [letter] for the Clubbmen are quiett since their being well beaten at Hambleton Hill. The army still continues before Shereborne Castle: it proves a difficult peece of worke, we are undermineinge as fast as may bee and making gallaries; by the time the amunicion come to us – which came yesterday by sea to Poole – we shall be in good readiness to fill the mine for springinge.
>
> Wee are very close under their walle, and make good our ground notwithstanding theire many sallyes and throweinge of stones on our heads. The greatest hurte they doe us is by two keepers of parkes they have in the garrison, who in long foulling peeces take aim throughe the loope holes in the wall, for the most part at the commanders – Captaine Horsey, a valiant honest gentleman was shot dead by one of them, likewise Captaine Lieutenant Fleminge and Col Rainsboroughe whoe is also dead, and both burryed in Sherborne Churche Captaine Horsey in the tomb there where his ancestors were formerlie buried, Major Doane, captaine Crosse and Captaine Creamer, all of them of that regiment likewise shott, but we hope not mortall, most valient men as any in the armie. Some of them were hurte in beatinge the enemie from a new batterie that they were makinge. Our peeces can doe noe good on the wall, it being twelve feet thick, but when the great cannon comes it's conceived it will breake down theire towers and doe us great service. It is on the way from Poole. The mony is at Weymouth and while the armie is mustered and paid – which will not be till Wednesday at soonest – if we had noe other work to doe we must stay till that be done and our recruites of foote come upp which we heare are within two days marche, and then if we cannot carry the castle we must leave a party to do it and marche into Devonshire with the Armie, for the sommer spends and we have much work to do.
>
> *Postscript*. Since the writeigne hereof newes is come our recruites are this night within seven miles & our gunns and shott nine miles off. I come now from the work, we are within ten yardes and lesse of the castle wall. Our demy cannon are just now planted of a new battery when the shott comes and the whole cannon we shall drive them to a narrow compasse. Wee have dismounted all theire old ordnance: beaten them from all four towers, theire great play is throwing down of stoanes I will make no doubt with God's blessige we shall have them every man.[136]

Fig 15 *Sir Lewis Dyve, c* 1640, Gilbert Jackson. *Photograph*: Sherborne Castle Estates Archive/Peter Booton Photography

It is likely that the two park keepers referred to in the letter were servants, probably gamekeepers, on the Sherborne estate. They shot dead Captain Horsey and

Lieutenant Clemants on 6 August. Both officers were buried in Sherborne Abbey church on the following day. The siege train from Portsmouth arrived on 10 August. On 12 August, a party of miners from the Mendips proceeded to drive galleries under the curtain wall of the bailey. There was, however, a continuing shortage of ammunition and the Parliamentary soldiers were paid a penny for each bullet they could retrieve. On 14 August a large breach was made in the curtain wall, enabling the attackers to gain one of the mural towers on the east side of the bailey and probably the remainder of the enceinte soon afterwards; the Royalist garrison presumably retreated into the central building complex. On 15 August, and for the last time, Fairfax summoned Dyve to surrender. Dyve's reply to this summons was written in a style that confirms Cromwell's description of him as 'that inexpungable and thrasonical person':

> Sir, I must acknowledge the advantage you have of me by being master of my walls; and that you may not think me obstinate without reason, I have sent this drum unto you to let you know, that if I may have such conditions from you as are fit for a soldier and a gentleman with honour to accept, I shall surrender this castle into your hands; otherwise I shall esteem it a far greater happiness to bury my bones in it and the same resolution have all those who are with me. And give me leave to add this; that your victory will be crowned with more honour by granting it than you will gain glory by winning it with the loss of as much blood as it will cost.
> I am your servant,
> L. Dyve

Fairfax replied curtly: 'No terms but quarter' (ie mercy shown and lives spared), adding that Dyve was not to expect that, 'except he surrender immediately.' He then gave orders to storm those parts of the castle where the Royalists still held out. Soon after the attack began, a white flag was hung out from the great tower and the garrison gave up their arms. The persons removed from the castle were listed as Sir Lewis Dyve and his wife, three Members of Parliament, three colonels, twenty-three officers, fifty-five gentlemen, and 344 soldiers. They were all taken by ship to London. The goods taken from the castle, including household stuffs that had been removed from the lodge to the castle, were sold in Sherborne market on 18 August. On 21 August Parliament ordered that the castle be slighted; demolition of much of its surviving fabric was carried out in October of the same year, 1645.

3.8 The ruins of the castle and the Digbys of Sherborne 1645–1954

Parliament sequestered the Sherborne estate in 1645 on the grounds that the Earl of Bristol was a Malignant (a supporter of the Royalist cause). He and his son, George Digby, then retired to Paris and, in 1648, they were formally banished. The estate was put up for sale but found no buyer. It was consequently let to Lady Brooke, the Earl of Bedford's daughter, sister-in-law of George Digby, widow of Robert Greville, second Baron Brooke.[137] At the Restoration in 1660, George Digby, who had succeeded his father as the second Earl of Bristol in 1652, returned from France and successfully reclaimed the estate.[138]

On the death of the third Earl of Bristol without issue in 1698, the estate passed to William, the fifth Lord Digby and Baron Geashill (1660–1752), the great grandson of Robert Digby, the first Earl of Bristol's elder brother. Over several years before 1720, Lord Digby's second son, Robert Digby (*c* 1692–1726), improved the park and the grounds adjoining the lodge. This work included the creation of a formal layout of canals and lawns to the north of the lodge, which were overlooked by rising terraces on the south face of the castle hill (see fig 7 above and fig 16). While so engaged, Robert Digby corresponded with the poet and essayist Alexander Pope, who, in 1724, visited the Digbys at Sherborne Lodge. Writing to his close friend, Martha Blount, Pope praised the beauty of the park at Sherborne and gave her his views on how the picturesque quality of the castle ruins might be enhanced by judicious planting and the access to them improved, so that visitors could enjoy the views from the castle hill. He noted that after crossing a bridge (presumably Denny Bridge), 'you mount the hill ... and so on to the highest terrace', which was 'covered with high trees'. His letter continued:

> On the left, full behind these old trees, which make this whole part inexpressibly awful and solemn, runs a little, old, low wall, beside a trench [the outer ditch] covered with elder-trees and ivys; which being crossed by another bridge, brings you to the ruins, to complete the solemnity of the scene. You see first an old tower [the south-west gatehouse tower] penetrated by a large arch, and others above it, through which the whole country appears in prospect, even when you are at the top of the other ruins; for they stand very high, and the ground slopes down on all sides. These venerable

Fig 16 Map of the parish of Castleton, by Edward Thomas Percy, 1834. *Photograph*: Sherborne Castle Estates Archive / Peter Booton

> broken walls, some arches almost entire, of thirty or forty feet deep, some open like porticoes, with fragments of pillars, some circular or enclosed on three sides, but exposed at top, with steps which time has made of disjointed stones, to climb to the highest point of the ruin. These, I say, might have a prodigious beauty, mixed with greens and parterres from part to part; and the whole heap standing as it does on a round hill, kept smooth in green turf, which makes a bold basement to show it. The open courts from building to building might be thrown into circles or octagons of grass or flowers; and even in the gaping rooms you have fine trees grown, that might be made a natural tapestry to the walls and arch you overhead, where time has uncovered them to the sky. Little paths of earth or sand might be made up the half-tumbled walls, to guide from one view to another on the higher parts, and seats placed here and there to enjoy those views, which are more romantic than imagination can form them. I could very much wish this were done, as well as a little temple built on a neighbouring round hill …[139]

Then, after describing the views from the castle, Pope provided some advice, which, it may be assumed, he also gave his host:

> What should induce my Lord Digby the rather to cultivate these ruins and to do honour to them is that they do no small honour to his family: that the castle, which was very ancient, being demolished in the civil wars, after it was nobly defended by one of his ancestors in the cause of the King. I would set up at the entrance of them an obelisk, with an inscription of the fact; which would be a monument erected to the very ruins, as the adorning and beautifying of them in the manner I have been imagining would not be unlike the Egyptian finery of bestowing ornaments and curiosity on dead bodies. The present master of this place (and I verily believe I can engage the same for the next successors) needs not fear the Record or shun the remembrance of the actions of his forefathers.

It is not known whether or not Pope's recommendations were adopted in whole or part by the fifth Lord Digby. They do, however, anticipate work to preserve and strengthen the remains of the castle, for when Edward, sixth Lord Digby, took possession of the estate after the death of his grandfather in 1752, a new scheme for landscaping the park was introduced. Robert Digby's canals and lawns to the north of the lodge were swept away and, in March 1753, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, then at the beginning his career as a landscape gardener, was consulted about the design of a new lake in the same area. This lake, controlled by a weir at its western outlet near Denny Bridge, was completed by the end of 1756. This scheme survives to the present day. When viewed from the park, the ruins of the castle on the hill to the north form a ready-made, romantic 'eyecatcher' on the further side of the lake. The picturesque value of the medieval ruins was further enhanced in 1755–6 by the addition of a crenellated wall along the top of the counterscarp of the southern flank of the castle's outer ditch, and a 'ruined' round tower, which stands higher up the slope of the hill towards its eastern end. It appears from several sketches that a second crenellated wall was intended to run along the northern shore of the lake, but there is no evidence that this wall was constructed (figs 3 and 4).

Payments for works carried out at the castle, the lodge and in the park during the second half of the eighteenth century were recorded in three account books.[140] The first book runs from 1753 to 1763, and was begun by Edward, sixth Lord Digby (d 1757). It was continued by his brother, Henry, seventh Lord Digby, who started a second book (1764–82), then a third 1783–96.[141] Although the entries in the books are not specific, several items show that a variety of works were undertaken to maintain the structural remains of the castle during this period.

In the late eighteenth century, a new entry into the bailey of the Old Castle was created on its eastern flank. Here, a driveway from the park was created to pass through an ashlar-faced, barrel-vaulted tunnel and then up the defile cut through the counterscarp of the outer ditch. It is assumed that this approach would have enabled visitors from the lodge – whether on foot, horseback or in a vehicle – to reach the Old Castle bailey without leaving the park. It is likely that three payments to a 'Mr Cooke' in 1789 and 1790, recorded in the account book for 1783–96, were for the construction of the tunnel. T M Cook was a pupil of Henry Hakewill, RA, a painter and decorator who was working at Sherborne Lodge in 1789. He had designed and built the Woodstock Gate at Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire, in 1794.[142] A plan and an elevation of the west front of the vaulted tunnel, both unsigned and undated, but on stylistic evidence of the same date, are preserved in the Sherborne Castle Estates Archive.[143]

Painted and engraved views of the ruins (eg figs 18 and 19) show that the bailey was used for grazing horses and cattle during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Excavations have also confirmed that byres for these

animals existed within the undercroft of the great tower. Thomas Hardy mentions their use for this purpose in his novel *The Woodlanders* (1887), where he describes the Norman architecture of 'Sherton Castle, the original stronghold of the Lords Baxby', adding:

> The remains were few, and consisted mostly of remnants of lower vaulting, supported on low stout columns surmounted by the *crochet* capital of the period. The two or three arches of these vaults that were still in position had been utilized by the adjoining farmer as shelter for his calves, the floor being spread with straw among which the young creatures rustled, cooling their thirsty tongues by licking the quaint Norman carving, which glistened with the moisture.[144]

The increasing antiquarian interest in the castle during the nineteenth century (discussed below in Chapter 4) did not lead to any archaeological investigation of the remains. The catalyst for further interest in the history of Sherborne and the ruins of its medieval castle was the staging of an elaborate historical pageant in 1905 to celebrate the twelve-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the town and cathedral at Sherborne in AD 705. The pageant was produced by the citizens of the town with the active support of the Wingfield Digby family, owners of the Sherborne estate, and the Old Castle was one the principal venues. The pageant was recorded in a sequence of photographs (see fig 24) and on cinematic film.[145]

3.9 The castle in guardianship from 1956

A letter dated 2 November 1949, written by C E Bean to the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments in the Office of Works, B J St John O'Neil, FSA, is the earliest indication that the then owner of Sherborne Castle Estates, Colonel F J B Wingfield Digby, was considering the possibility of transferring responsibility for the care of the castle ruins to the state:

> Dear O'Neil
> Sherborne Old Castle
> I think there may be a movement on the part of the owner and his agents towards handing over the above to your department. You may know about this, but possibly if you do not, you could be implementing action. I have now managed to fill in a lot of the hasty trenches I dug to enable the Historical Monuments Commission to get as much of the foundations on their plan as possible. There are, however, many signs of rapid deterioration in some of the stonework.
> With kind regards
> Yours very sincerely
> C E Bean[146]

Negotiations between the owners and the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments with a view to placing the castle in guardianship under the Ancient Monuments Acts began soon after Charles Bean's letter. Agreement was delayed by the death of Col Wingfield Digby, in December 1952, and arrangements were eventually finalised with his successor and son, the late Simon Wingfield Digby. The transfer was completed by a deed of guardianship dated 12 November 1956. A programme of recording and conservation at the castle was begun in 1958 by the Ministry of Works, Ancient Monuments Branch. Following the stabilisation of the extensive ruined structures, the castle was opened to the public in 1974. In parallel to the structural works, a programme of archaeological investigations was begun in 1968.

The Heritage Act of 1984 vested the responsibility for the maintenance and display of the castle in English Heritage. Since then, conservation, further recording of the upper storeys of the structures from scaffolding, and some minor archaeological excavations have been carried out. Close co-operation was maintained throughout between Sherborne Castle Estates and the guardians of the Old Castle, so that in 1997 the large collection of significant finds recovered from the archaeological investigations was transferred to a display gallery and other permanent storage within Sherborne Castle, a historic house open to the public in its own right.[147]

Antiquarian interest in the castle to 1952

4

The publication by the RCHME of its inventory for West Dorset in 1952 marks an important point in our understanding of the castle at Sherborne.[148] However, the first description of the site that refers specifically to its antiquarian interest was written by John Leland for his *Itinerary* over four centuries earlier. His work was prepared at the behest of Henry VIII as a report on the character and condition of the historic sites and buildings in his kingdom, and Leland travelled throughout England to compile it. His visit to Sherborne was made soon after the dissolution of the abbey there in 1538, for he recorded that he was taken to see some books that remained in the former monastic library.[149] He would therefore have seen the castle when it was still the administrative centre for the episcopal estate, although it was no longer in use as a residence by the Bishop of Salisbury.

Leland's full description reads:

> The castle of Shireburne is in the east end of the toun, upon a rokky hillet. It has by west-north-west, and by est-south-est, morisch ground. Roger le Poure, Bishop of Saresbyri, in Henry the First tyme, biuldid this castelle, and cast a great dike without it, and made a false mure without the dike. There be four great towres in the castelle wall, whereof one is the gate house. Every one of them hath three lodgginges yn hight. The great lodgging is yn the midle of the castle court, very strong, and ful of voultes. Ther be few peaces of work yn England of the antiquity of this that standeth so whole and so well couchid. One Bisshop Langeton made of late tyme a new peace of work and lodginge of stone, at the west end of the haul: other memorable peace of work was none set up since the first building. There is a chapel in a litle close without the castle by este. There lyith at the end of the castle a mere, that some time hath been larger than it is now, as chokid up with flagges and wedes. There cometh a ryver ynto this mere ... that riseth at Horethorn.

It is worth noting the accuracy in the historic detail of this description. The castle's site, origin, earthwork defences, together with the age and quality of its original masonry structures, have all been confirmed during the course of the investigations. Of particular interest is the reference to vaulting within 'the great lodgging' – the castle's central building complex – for here Leland described what was at the time of his visit a comparatively recent ('of late tyme') addition 'at the west end of the haul'. Moreover, he also identified its builder, Bishop Langton. Thomas Langton was Bishop of Salisbury between 1485 and 1493, before his translation to Winchester. The foundations of the structure noted by Leland were uncovered during the excavation of the area adjoining the southern end of the great tower and the western bay of the south range.[150]

Leland's description is valuable evidence of an impressive late fifteenth-century palace, for which the physical evidence, above ground, was almost all destroyed by Ralegh. The only drawing to depict the castle before the alterations of 1592–4 is a small, bird's-eye view indicating its site on a coloured map of the Bishop of Salisbury's Sherborne estate. This map has been dated to about 1570–74 (see fig 13).[151] Although there is little detail in the drawing, it confirms the general form of the castle as described by Leland and, importantly, it clearly indicates

that the central buildings retained their roofs. The map also shows the original site of the church of St Mary Magdelene, close to the north-eastern side of the castle. Within the deer park the bishop's hunting lodge is depicted; this later became the site of Ralegh's new lodge, commenced in about 1594.

Written nearly two centuries later, the dedication panel below the view in the Bucks' engraving (fig 17), dated 1733, contains a brief summary of the site's history. The view in the engraving is the earliest representation of what remained of the castle after its slighting following the Civil War siege. It is one of the series of views of historic buildings and ancient monuments published by S and N Buck and, although there are some distortions in the drawing, their view of the remains, looking north from the top of the counterscarp of the outer ditch towards the central building complex, shows that there have been only comparatively minor changes to the form of the surviving fabric since the early eighteenth century.

The castle was next described in the *History and Antiquities of Dorset* by John Hutchins, first published in 1774. In his third edition of 1870, 'corrected and improved' with additional information by William Shipp and James Whitworth Hodson, the description reads:

> [The castle is] situated at a small distance from the eastern end of the town, upon a rocky eminence on the north bank of the river, but within the parish of Castleton, to which it gave name. This castle was built by Roger, third bishop of Salisbury, the powerful minister and favourite of Henry I, as is supposed, upon the site of the ancient palace of the bishops of Sherborne. The whole area contains about four acres, and is surrounded on all sides by a deep ditch. The foundations of the walls upon the inner bank of the ditch may still be traced all round the great court.
>
> Few castles in these parts were stronger or better situated. It commanded all the adjacent vale on the north and west, and the whole ridge of hills to the south. It was fenced, for the most part, with a large moor, which, being not long since drained, is converted into a rich meadow and fish ponds. It was built in the form of an octagon, moated round, and over the moat were several drawbridges, and on the north a subterraneous passage into the adjacent vale.[152]

This passage is followed by Leland's description of the castle and then continues:

> The four great towers mentioned by Leland appear to have been at the extreme angles towards the east and west. There were probably smaller towers in the north and south walls; but of these no trace remains. The zig-zag and nail-head mouldings, and the inter-laced Norman arches, in different parts of the ruins in the centre of the court, point out the age in which they were erected. The additions by Bishop Langton appear to have been entirely destroyed.

The third edition also contains additional information about the origins of the episcopal estate at Sherborne and the history of the castle following its construction for Bishop Roger. The supposition recorded by Hutchins – that Bishop Roger's castle was built on the site of 'the ancient palace of the bishops of Sherborne' and 'that here was a castle very early, perhaps in Saxon times [as] appears from a very old book of charters made by divers kings and great personages to Sherborne Abbey, communicated by Mr Hearne to a very skilful antiquary'[153] – was repeated in later works,[154] until Joseph Fowler showed that this derived from a misreading by the antiquary Thomas Hearne (1678–1735)[155] of an early charter in the Sherborne Cartulary.[156]

Later eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century paintings and drawings of the ruined castle concentrated on its picturesque and romantic qualities. For this purpose, the most popular viewpoint was from inside the bailey looking north, or north west, towards the remains of the great tower, showing the broken opening at its southern end – through which the massive stone column supporting the vault inside the tower's undercroft can be seen – and beyond, to the south-west gatehouse tower (figs 18 and 19).

In the mid-nineteenth century, engravings of some of the castle's surviving decorative features – principally the moulded window openings and the remains of intersecting wall arcading to the north range – were used as illustrations in several reference books on architecture. Notable among these is *A Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic Architecture*, first published by John Henry Parker in 1836. Sherborne was included from the third (1840) and subsequent editions, initially illustrating the vaulting of the great tower, which Parker erroneously ascribed to the twelfth century (fig 20).[157] Parker also comments misleadingly on the chimneys and fireplaces at the castle, again implying a twelfth-century date, although these are presumably those of much later date located in the south-west gatehouse tower that are discussed below (see Chapter 8).[158] In his edition of 1845 Parker remarked cryptically: 'This castle was built by Roger bishop of Salisbury; he was bishop from 1107 to 1142 [*sic*] and the date assigned to this work may

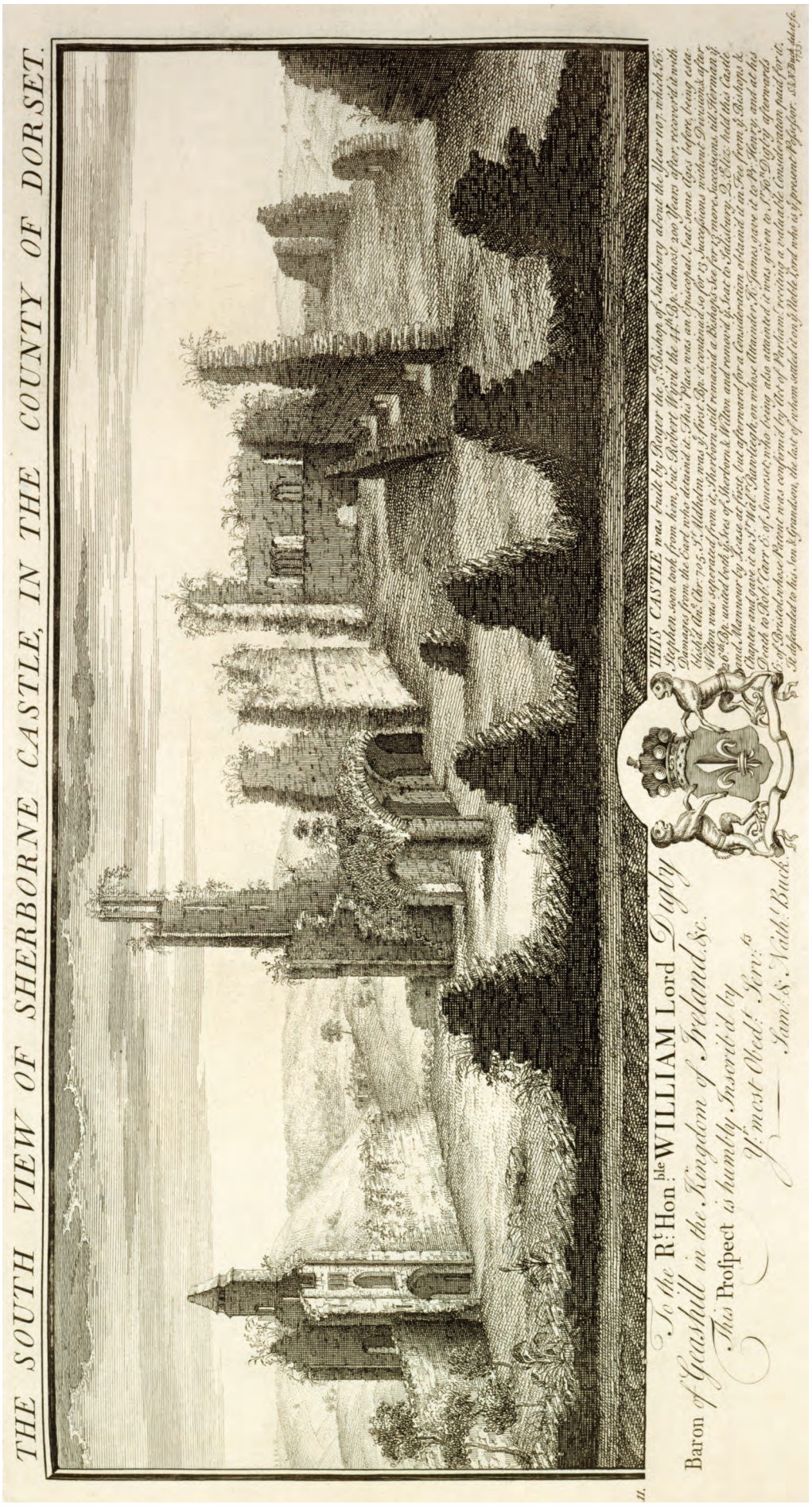


Fig 17 Engraved view of the ruins of the castle from the south published by S and N Buck, dated 1733. *Photograph:* NMR J000137

Fig 18 Watercolour view of the outer facade of the south-west gatehouse tower by J Buckler, dated 1802. *Photograph*: William Salt Library, Stafford

be rather early, but it appears to have been one of his early works.'[159] However, it is clear from his comments on Clark's interpretation some years later that he had changed his mind by then.

G T Clark, the authority on medieval military and domestic architecture, was the first to undertake a scholarly analysis of the remains of the castle. He led members of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society on a visit to the site during their annual meeting held at Sherborne in 1873. In the following year his paper recording the visit was published in the society's *Proceedings*, with some additional comments by members of the society, including Parker, on the castle's history and architecture, together with a sketch plan showing the structure then exposed above ground level (fig 21).[160] Clark noted the high quality of much of the masonry and its decoration, which he identified as twelfth-century work. He concluded that the castle had been designed primarily as a fortified palace with impressive and, by the standards of its time, lavish domestic accommodation. He recognised that the area of the bailey was artificial, but assumed that Bishop Roger had reused earlier earthworks.

Based on the evidence of a plan that Clark said he had seen, but that he did not identify in his paper, and on some fragmentary remains that were still visible, he noted that, in addition to the largely extant south-west gatehouse tower, there had originally been three other mural towers in the bailey's enceinte, at its north-eastern, north-western

Fig 19 Watercolour view across the bailey from the east showing the remains of the central buildings and the south-west gatehouse tower to the left, by J Buckler, dated 1802. *Photograph*: William Salt Library, Stafford

and south-eastern corners. He also noted that masonry remains, which he identified as a spur-work on the northern flank, had apparently formed a watergate. Within the central complex he suggested that the alterations to the south face of the great tower were Tudor, and that the embellishment of the north range suggested use as a chapel. He considered Roger's work to be 'considerably in advance of his age'.[161] Parker generally concurred with Clark's views except in two matters: he considered the 'long building' (the north range) to have been subdivided into a hall and chapel, as at Conwy, and that the shafts and capitals of the windows were of a style later than Roger's time.[162]

W B Wildman, a master at Sherborne School, was Local Secretary of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society. His *Short History of Sherborne from 705 AD*, published in 1902,[163] contains a description of the castle largely based on Clark, but with some additional notes and comments. His plan of the castle (fig 22) is similar to Clark's, but less accurate, and it follows Parker's interpretation of the north range, while the south range is labelled 'Kitchin etc (?)'. Wildman did not identify the north-east gate, labelling it as a tower. He did, however, date the visible extension to the south of the great tower to the fifteenth century, possibly following the sense of Leland's remarks. A photographic plate showing the remains of the great tower from the east (fig 23) demonstrates how little the ruins had decayed over the preceding century, but also how concealed they were by vegetation. In 1905 the castle bailey was used for the pageant to celebrate the twelve-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the bishopric, town and school of Sherborne by St Aldhelm in AD 705, and the photographs of this event give a further indication of the state of the fabric at that time (fig 24).

The summer meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute visited the castle during their stay in Dorset in 1929. Members were led by Harold Brakspear, FSA, assisted by Harold Sands, FSA, and a report of the commentary they delivered during the visit was duly published in the *Archaeological Journal.*[164] The text, which repeats some of the information contained in earlier publications, is illustrated by a plate, which reproduces the first measured survey drawings of parts of the castle.[165] These drawings, dated 1927, were by Sydney Toy, FSA, who worked for Sands. They comprise plans, an elevation,

Fig 20 Architectural details from the *Glossary of Terms used in Architecture* published by J H Parker, in 1845, showing (above) a view of one of the barrel vaults within the undercroft; and (below) a view looking into the southern end of the undercroft of the great tower showing the twelfth-century column reused to support the vault. *Engravings*: Parker 1845, II, pl 218

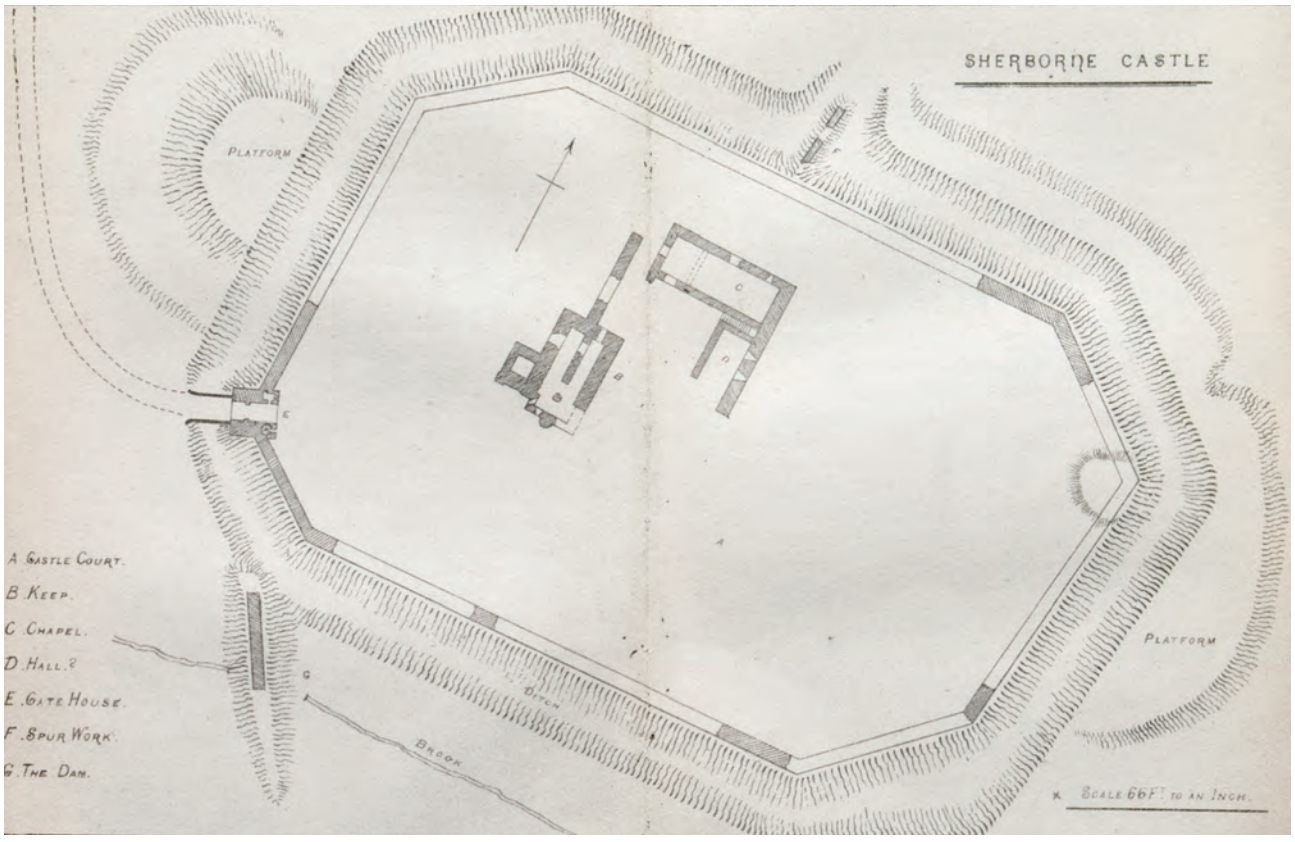


Fig 21 Engraved plan of the castle. *Source*. Clark 1874

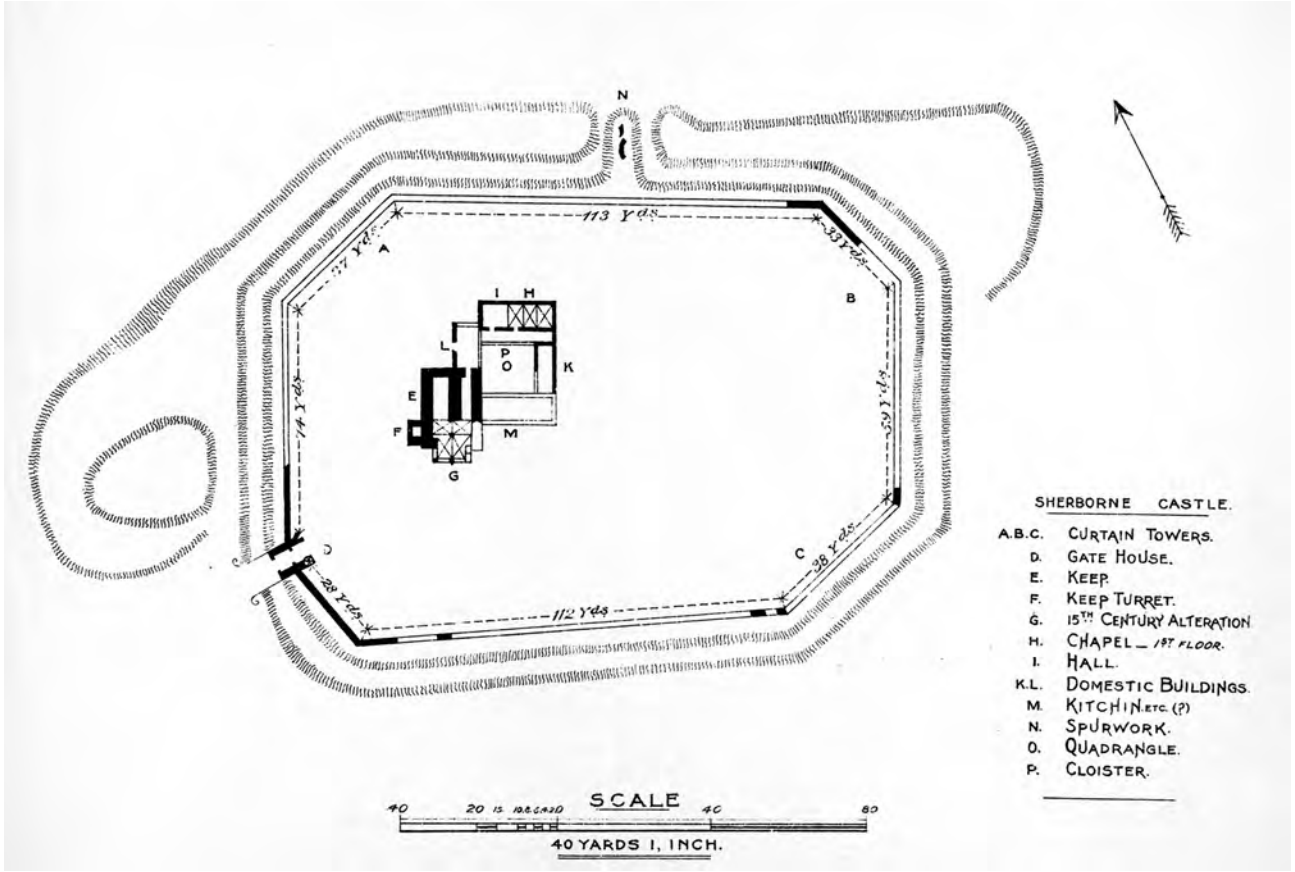


Fig 22 Engraved plan of the castle. *Source*: Wildman 1902

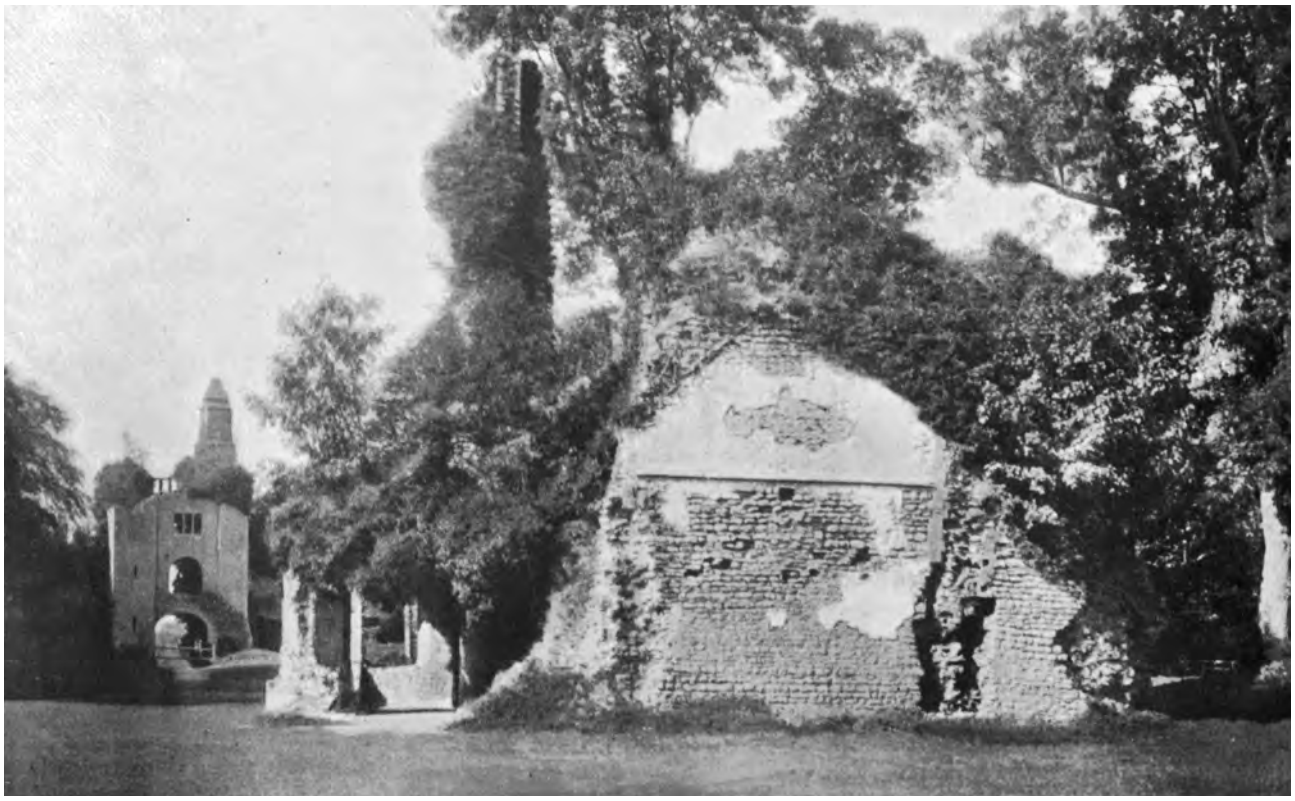


Fig 23 The east wall of the great tower. *Source*: Wildman 1902

Fig 24 The pageant held in the castle in 1905 to celebrate the twelve-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the bishopric, town and school of Sherborne in AD 705. *Photograph*: Sherborne Castle Estates Archive / Peter Booton

sections and some details of the great tower (called 'the Keep'), together with details of the window in the west wall of the east range. The plan provides a good illustration of what was apparent before the Rawlence/Bean excavations began, and how it was interpreted. Although four mural towers are shown, only that to the south west is identified as a gate. The north gate is shown as two blocks of building running north beyond the curtain. The north range is identified as the hall and, while the east and west ranges are indicated, the south range is not shown.

The accompanying description suggests that, if Roger had indeed made the ditch and the 'false mure', 'he produced the earliest example of a concentric castle in the British Isles'.[166] There are, however, interesting contradictions. Notwithstanding the omission of the south range from the plan, and the identification of the hall in the north range, the text continues: 'The main group of buildings in the bailey surrounded a small court. The hall occupied the south side and had a basement, but nothing remains but its west end against the keep, where there are toothings for the side walls, and a string course of chevrons over the dais and the weathering of the roof'; and later: 'On the north side of the court ... was a chapel of which the north and east walls remain.' The alterations to the keep were attributed to 'shortly after the erection of the castle'.[167] The text concludes by anticipating the forthcoming excavations.

When the Somerset Archaeological Society visited again in 1935, they were met by Rawlence and were pleased to see that the castle had been cleared of many trees. In his note of the meeting, Gray acknowledged that he had followed the earlier report of Brakspear and Sands (who had both died in the interim), but it is clear that the debate about the relative locations of the chapel and hall was, if anything, gaining momentum: 'On the north side of the court is a range of buildings, 68ft × 20ft, of which the ground floor was vaulted. The upper storey had formerly been regarded as a chapel, but we are now assured by Mr A W Clapham and others that this building was the great hall.'[168] This is a significant intervention, as Clapham, then Secretary of the RCHME, was an authority on twelfth-century architecture.[169] In a later work, Clapham was among the first to describe Sherborne as a 'courtyard house within the castle at Sherborne (Dorset)'.[170] The report concluded by noting that 'Mr C E Bean … described the excavations which had been carried out under his superintendence and which it was hoped would be put on permanent record when the work has been completed'.

Only a matter of months before the appearance of the RCHME inventory a book came out that probably contributed more to an understanding of Sherborne's history, and that of the episcopal estate centred on the castle, than any publication before or since. Joseph Fowler's *Mediaeval Sherborne* was published locally in 1951. Fowler was a geologist who retired to Sherborne at the age of sixty-six in 1934 after a career first as a vicar, then running his own preparatory school in Hampshire. His research, using primary historical documents and the application of his knowledge of the area, was more perceptive than anything that had been attempted hitherto and was a worthy complement to the architectural descriptions in the RCHME inventory when it appeared. His work anticipated the necessarily more limited narrative of the *History of the Kings Works* by more than a decade.[171]

After all this effort, it is worth noting that the debate concerning the location of the hall was not resolved by the publication of the 1952 inventory. Quite soon afterwards, in 1955, Sidney Toy, in a new publication, wrote: 'The hall is in the north range, the domestic offices in the east range.'[172] Now that yet more evidence has been assessed, it is to be hoped that this debate can, at last, be concluded (see Chapter 9.4 and 9.5).

The sequence of investigation 1932–95

5

5.1 Col E A Rawlence: 1932

Bean recorded in his notes that Col E A Rawlence, a partner in the firm of Rawlence and Squarey, the agents for Sherborne Castle Estates, initiated the archaeological investigation of the castle in 1932.[173] At the commencement of this work much of the natural growth and several large trees were cleared from the bailey and the outer ditch.

Bean commented that Rawlence was particularly interested in finding evidence of Civil War siege works; he had apparently first identified the earth mound abutting the western flank of the ditch, and a second mound abutting the north-eastern flank of the ditch, as bastions formed during the Civil War to strengthen the castle's defences. Rawlence also removed later deposits from the southern flank of the outer ditch, where he hoped to find evidence of the tunnels that had been mined into its scarp and under the curtain wall during the second siege of the castle by the Parliamentary army in 1645. Although no evidence of these tunnels was discovered, an unrecorded number of seventeenth-century cannon balls was recovered from the fill in the ditch.

In addition to his work in the outer ditch, Rawlence, assisted by Bean, excavated a number of small trenches at various points within the castle bailey in order to assess the nature and depth of archaeological deposits. The positions of these trenches are shown on Bean's survey plan of the castle dated 1934, but no record of contexts has so far come to light.

5.2 C E Bean: 1932–40 and 1946–54

Charles Bean was appointed as Sanitary Inspector and Water Engineer to the former Sherborne Urban District Council in 1925. After moving to Sherborne from his native Yorkshire, he developed a great interest in the archaeology of the town and the surrounding countryside; presumably it was this interest that prompted him to assist Rawlence in his investigations at the castle in 1932. Rawlence took no further part in the work but, with the encouragement of Col F J B Wingfield Digby, owner of Sherborne Castle Estates, Bean continued to excavate and record the remains of the castle, using men employed on the estate. Bean's records show that he spent much of his free time at the castle until 1940, when other demands on his time occasioned by the war caused him to stop work.

During March and April 1939 the remains of the castle were also examined by investigators from the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME), and they prepared a draft description of the castle for the West Dorset inventory.[174] This work was also suspended following the outbreak of war.

Bean resumed work at the castle in 1946. Around this time he corresponded with the then Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments at the Office of Works, Bryan O'Neil, and his investigations between 1946 and 1950 were encouraged by the RCHME, which wanted as much new information as possible in the entry for the

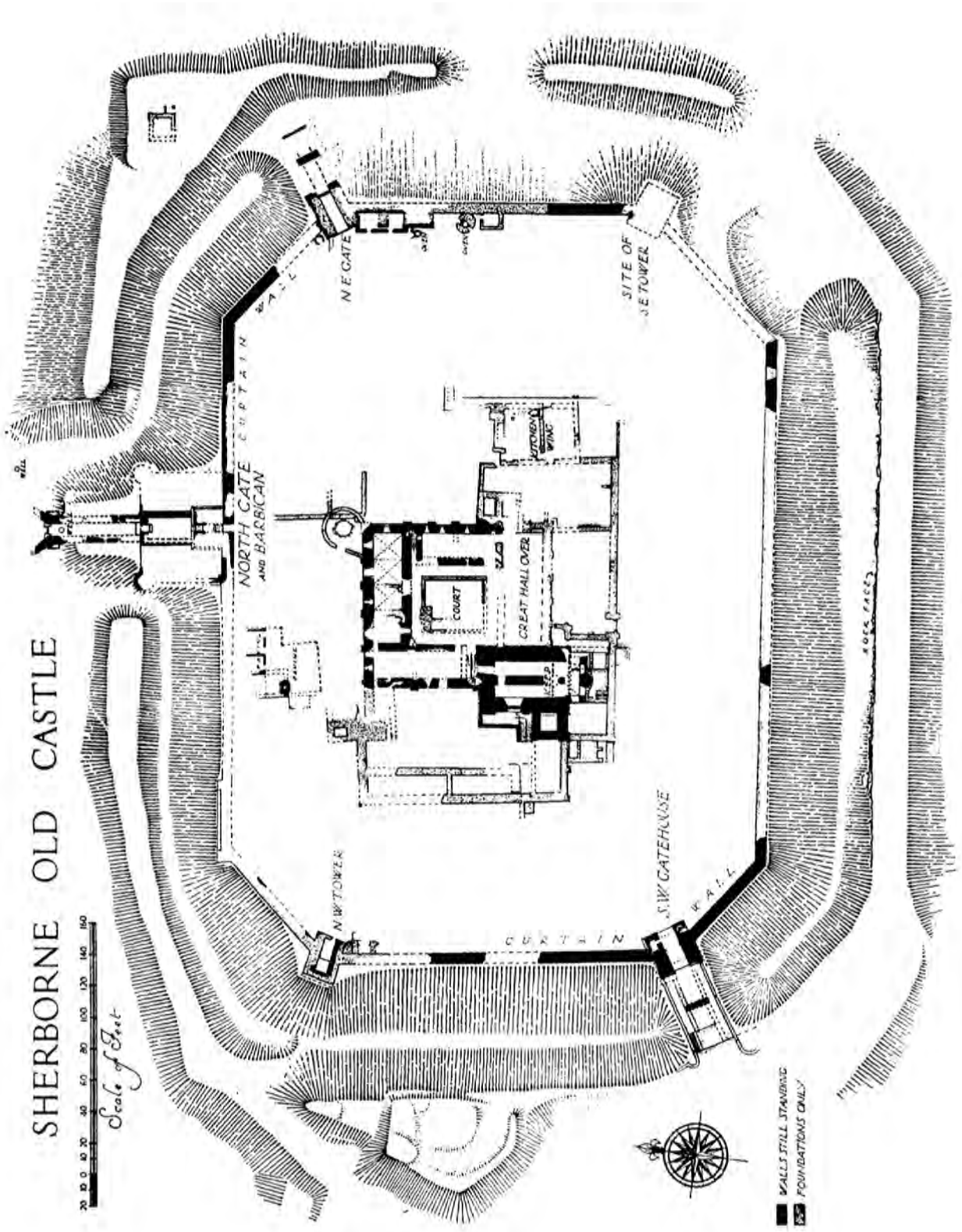


Fig 25 Plan of the castle published in RCHME 1952. *Drawing:* NMR MD93/06064

castle in the forthcoming inventory. The inventory plan incorporates the results of Bean's work (fig 25), although correspondence indicates that he did not agree with the RCHME's interpretation. Bean described his later investigations, carried out between 1951 and 1954, in 'Notes on Archaeological Fieldwork' in the *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society.*

It is apparent from his records that, over the many years he worked at the castle, Bean often returned to re-examine areas he had investigated earlier. This makes it difficult to establish a coherent sequence for his work. In October 1952, probably as a preliminary exercise prior to writing a full report, he prepared notes describing much of what he had accomplished and interpreting many of the results. These notes – supplemented by information contained in letters to Col Wingfield Digby and other notes, record drawings and photographs – form the basis for the dates included below (in Chapters 8–10). The extensive nature of Bean's work is well illustrated by comparing his plan (see fig 9) with Clark's plan drawn eighty years previously (see fig 21).

5.3 P R White: 1967–80

In 1956 responsibility for the maintenance of the castle was transferred from Sherborne Castle Estates to the Ministry of Works by deed of guardianship under the Ancient Monuments Acts. A long-term programme for the conservation and recording of its remains was then initiated by the Ministry's Ancient Monuments Branch. Following some localised trenching to provide foundations for works to stabilise high, free-standing walls, a series of archaeological excavations was undertaken between 1968 and 1980 by Peter White, then an Inspector of Ancient Monuments, with the primary aim of recording where possible the contexts and construction sequence of the structures uncovered by Bean and recorded in the plan of the castle published by the RCHME in 1952. Initially, this re-excavation work was both directed and supervised by White, but subsequently it was carried out by site supervisors working in specific areas of the castle under his overall direction.

The differences between the aims and methods employed by Bean and by White during the two major periods of excavation are reflected in the records of the results of their work and, consequently, in the interpretations based upon them. Bean's investigations, or, to use his own preferred term, 'explorations', were concerned primarily with the clearance and recording of the stone-built structural remains above and below ground, with the aim of recovering, as far as possible, a complete plan of the castle. With the exception of two marginal areas, within the great tower and to the south west of it, the work directed by White was re-excavation, and it was undertaken to establish a definitive chronology of occupation and structural development within specific areas of the castle. However, White's work was carried out blind, as none of Bean's excavation records were available to him at the time; they only became accessible more than a decade later. Where White reopened areas previously excavated by Bean, it has generally been possible to cross-check and evaluate the results of each and to provide an integrated description of the findings for that part of the site. Two significant areas were not re-examined by White, namely the kitchen within the service court and the structures beneath the north-eastern bastion. For these the narrative relies on Bean's records alone.

5.4 A M Cook: since 1980

Following the series of excavations directed by White, and in collaboration with him, Alan Cook, formerly head of the Ancient Monuments Drawing Office, continued the investigation of the physical remains of the castle, concentrating on the re-examination, analysis and recording of its standing structures, including the upper parts of walls, whenever they were accessible from scaffolding re-erected for masonry conservation, and using evidence from photogrammetric and measured surveys. Where, in rare instances, it was found necessary to clarify or expand the results obtained earlier, he also supervised small-scale excavations. From 1988, Cook took on the task of studying Bean's excavation records, which had become fully accessible for the first time. Cook found that several problems of interpretation could not be resolved from the recorded information, and he undertook several small excavations to provide clarification.

5.5 The finds and records of the investigations

Those finds from his excavations that Bean considered to have special historic interest, or an intrinsic value, were passed to the owner, Col Wingfield Digby. Many of these are now displayed in Sherborne Castle. Other finds were stored privately by Bean, along with his records, until his death in 1983. This large collection of material was then deposited by Bean's executor in the Dorset County

Museum, in Dorchester. Finds from his work formerly stored at Sherborne Castle remain part of the archaeological collections kept there. By agreement between Sherborne Castle Estates and English Heritage this collection also includes all the finds from the excavations directed by White, and any subsequent finds.

Since 1988, all the records of the investigations by Bean, including his notes, site diaries, drawings and photographs, have been conserved and made available for study in the Dorset County Museum. By agreement between Sherborne Castle Estates and English Heritage, all original records of the investigations at the castle since 1968 are kept in the Sherborne Castle Estates Archive in Sherborne Castle.

Pre-castle occupation of the castle site

6

6.1 Iron Age and Roman finds

Pottery sherds dating from the Iron Age and Roman periods were found on the site during the investigations by both Bean and White (Appendix 3). These sherds were either recovered from unstratified deposits, or recorded as intrusions in later contexts. No evidence was identifed for permanent phases of occupation in the Iron Age and Roman periods, although any contextual evidence may have been destroyed in the twelfth century when the hilltop was levelled before the construction of Roger's castle. Another possibility is that the sherds represent pots deposited on the hill by occasional visitors from neighbouring settlements, the nearest of which is a Roman settlement situated to the north east of the castle which was identified and partially excavated by Bean between 1950 and 1958.[175]

The belief that the Saxon bishops of Sherborne occupied the hilltop before the construction of Roger's castle has already been discussed (Chapter 4). The investigations produced evidence for two distinct periods of pre-castle / twelfth-century occupation (fig 26).

6.2 Period 1: the Saxon cemetery

It is possible, however, that the idea of earlier occupation had also stemmed from chance finds of human bones within the castle bailey. Many such finds were found during the investigations, and in some cases it could be established that they came from interments that had been disturbed in the first instance when the foundations for the central complex of Roger's palace were laid down.

In 1934 Bean recorded that he had uncovered a row of seventeen closely set grave pits underlying a rubble wall foundation, which ran south from the south-west corner of the great tower. Later, in a published summary of his work at the castle, he noted that 'fragments of human bones, probably from the disturbed burial ground thought to antedate the Norman castle, continue to occur all over the site, but the only direct evidence of their date is the rounded ends of some of the graves, and the absence of debris of the building of the castle in their filling'.[176] Except for these references, there are no descriptions or drawings of the grave pits found by Bean.

The context of grave pits found during the excavations directed by White was clear. They were either within or close to the remains of the central building complex and were all below contexts associated with the construction of the twelfth-century building. The pits contained human skeletons, except where they had been disturbed by the laying of the foundations for the building works or where they were found in areas excavated earlier by Bean. In addition to the interments, dislocated human bones were recorded over a wide area, with the highest concentration recorded on the southern side of the central building complex. This distribution is strongly suggestive of a cemetery occupying a considerable area of the original hilltop, although, given the limited scope of the excavations, it has not been possible to estimate its full

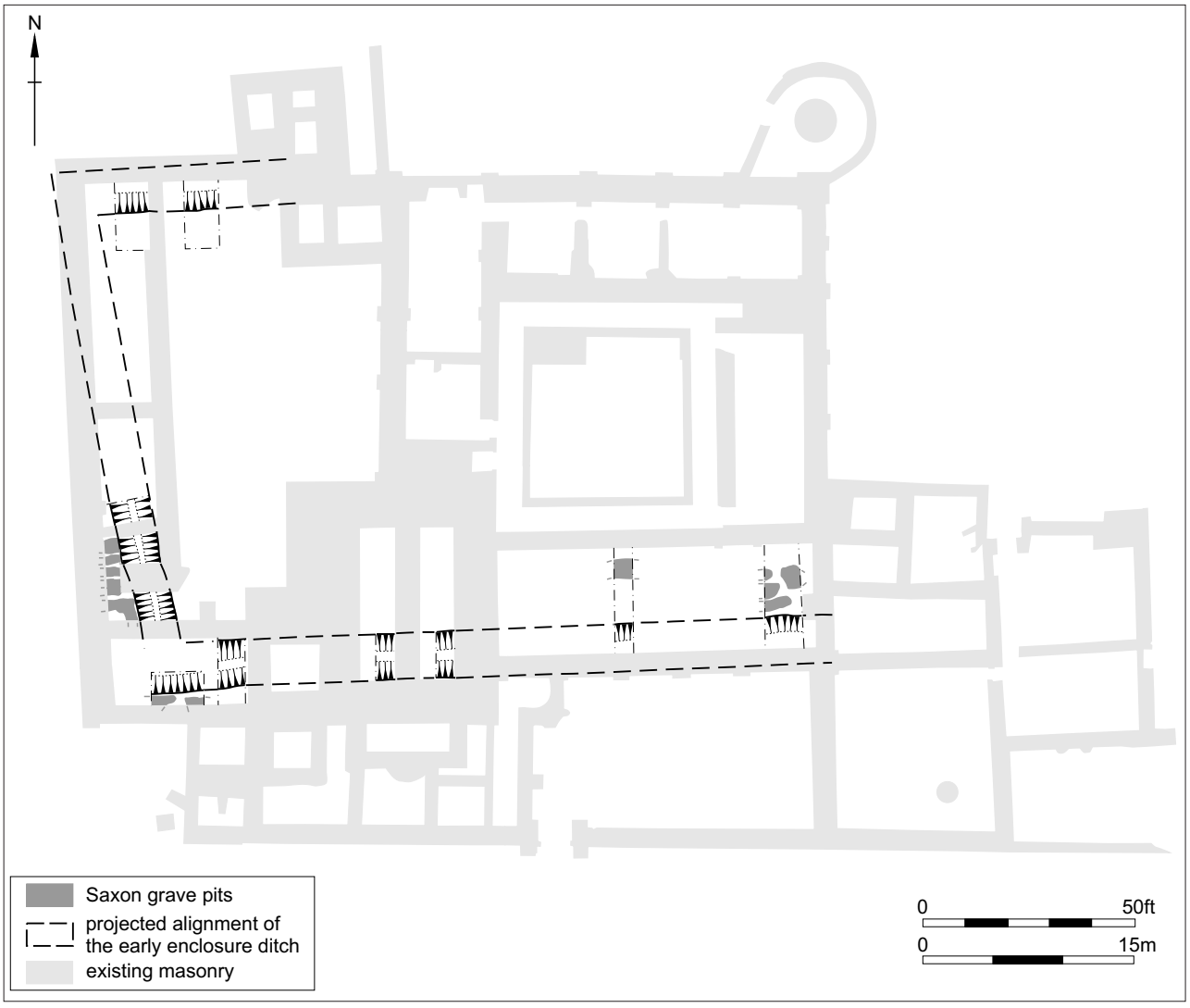


Fig 26 Plan showing the recorded Saxon grave pits and the projected alignment of the early enclosure ditch in relation to the central building complex

extent. The excavations identified no horizons that could be interpreted as occupation levels associated with such a cemetery, but all the undisturbed grave pits were sealed by contexts identified with the construction of the central building complex. The shallowness of the pits, and therefore their vulnerability to the twelfth-century builders, adds weight to the presumption that the area of the cemetery, and probably most of the hilltop, was levelled prior to the twelfth-century construction works. This lowering of the whole ground level into which the grave pits had been cut must have led to the total destruction of some graves, giving rise to the observation in several instances of groups of bones that appeared to have been carefully redeposited within the fill of the twelfth-century foundation trenches.

Two major groups of grave pits containing undisturbed inhumations were uncovered during White's excavations. The first group, excavated in 1973, was partly sealed beneath the foundation of the west wall of the west courtyard.[177] The group comprised a parallel sequence of five pits separated by very narrow baulks. Two more undisturbed grave pits in the same general area were uncovered in 1974, below the northern side of the outer wall of the range on the southern side of the west courtyard. A second group of five pits, also separated by narrow baulks, was excavated in 1976 under the southern range of the west courtyard.

Further grave pits were excavated during the re-examination of the south range in 1978.[178] It was only possible to expose a complete skeleton from one pit; three of the pits contained the remains of other individuals. Importantly, this group provided the only evidence of burials within the area enclosed by the ditch.

All the grave pits recorded were identical in character. Each pit was orientated east to west and cut with rounded ends down into the top of the outcrop of Fuller's Earth rock

and clay that forms the natural soil at this location on the hill. Analysis of the skeletons from the graves in the second group showed individuals of both sexes and various ages at death. There was no evidence of coffins, and it appeared that, after burial, all had been laid within a fill of clean, black loam mixed with some pebbles, with their heads at the western ends of the pits. The orientation of the graves and the absence of grave goods indicated that all were Christian burials, and therefore probably Saxon, although an earlier Celtic Christian origin is possible.

The opportunity was taken to carry out radiocarbon dating of bone samples from four of the internments in the first group, and these gave a date range of 640–970 cal AD.[179] This confirmed that the cemetery was in use during the mid-Saxon period, but that it had probably fallen out of use by about the middle of the tenth century. It therefore seems likely that the cemetery was contemporary with the development of the Saxon town of Sherborne, although, given its distance from the town, it was probably associated with a suburban settlement.

6.3 Period 2: the ditched enclosure

In the area of the west courtyard, where grave pits were recorded in 1973 and 1974, lengths of ditch were also found that had been cut down into the natural bedrock and clay, below deposited contexts associated with the twelfth-century construction works. By extrapolating the alignments of the excavated lengths of this ditch it seems that it probably enclosed a piece of ground approximately rectangular in shape on its southern, western and northern sides. The full enclosure of the piece of ground may well have been completed by the continuation of the ditch on its eastern side, the area occupied by the central building complex. It is not surprising, given the levelling of the hill and the disturbance of the construction works already noted, that no part of the ditch was found on this fourth side, but it is reasonable to suggest that its course probably lay close to or possibly below the east wall of the east range. If so, the area enclosed by the ditch was approximately half an acre (0.2ha). Its overall width, north to south, measured between the centre lines of the ditches, was 32m (105ft), and the length, from the centre of the west ditch to the minimum estimated position of the east ditch on the line of the east wall of the east range, was 50m (164ft).

The drawn profile sections of the excavated portions of the ditch show that it was cut with steep sides and a flat bottom, with an average width across the top of about 2m (6ft 6in). No evidence was found of banks thrown up on either side of it, nor of any occupation levels either within or outside the enclosure because these levels and the upper part or lips of the ditch would have been removed when the site was levelled prior to the twelfth-century construction works. The fill within each of the excavated portions of ditch consisted of layers of deposited soil containing, in the earlier contexts, a small number of late Saxon to early twelfth-century pottery sherds.

The levelling of the site had destroyed all the contexts that might have shown the relationship between the ditch and grave pits but, either fortuitously or deliberately, it was evident that none of the excavated portions of the ditch had disturbed any of the adjoining grave pits. It also seems clear that the ditch remained open until the early twelfth century, because massive foundation walls were built across it to support the east and west walls of the great tower. It was also partially used as a foundation trench for the south wall of the south range, for here only a thin lens of silt separated the original bottom of the ditch from the bottom of the foundation masonry. At a later period, the foundation for the robbed north wall of the west courtyard, which had been added in the late thirteenth century on the western side of the central building complex, had been built up from within the north flank of the ditch. This in turn suggests that, further east and on the same alignment, the continuation of the ditch had been utilised as the foundation trench for the north wall of the twelfth-century north range.

In the absence of any associated occupation horizons, the function of the ditch and the enclosure itself can only be guessed at. It is possible, for instance, that it enclosed a compound on the hilltop formed sometime after its use as a cemetery had ceased, but before the construction of the castle was begun. In such a case, the enclosure may not have pre-dated the first phase in the construction of the castle by more than a short time, but there is insufficient evidence to prove that it represents a preliminary phase in the castle's construction.

The development of the castle 1122–1645

7

7.1 The phases of development

From the analysis of the structural and archaeological evidence a sequence of seven phases of construction and development can be identified from *c* 1122 to 1645.

The earliest phase, represented by Bishop Roger's castle, was followed by phases in which both the defences and the domestic accommodation were progressively expanded, reaching their greatest extent in Langton's time. Both elements then contracted until the castle was finally abandoned and reduced to its present ruined state in 1645.

The development phases can be identified by diagnostic features, including characteristic differences between the style and type of the masonry used in the various parts of the surviving fabric, and alterations to the fabric indicated by structural joints. These features include:

a. the types of stone used in each structure;
b. the character of the rubble facings;
c. the character of the ashlar facings and their dressings;
d. the mixes used for mortars and wall plasters;
e. the style of the architectural features;
f. the nature of the structural joints.

With the exception of the north gate (Chapter 8.8 outlines the construction phases for this structure), the phases identified from the structural and archaeological evidence can also be related with some precision to the recorded dates of change in the seigneurial control of the castle over the period of its occupation (see Chapter 3):

Phase I: Bishop Roger's works 1122–39 (fig 27)
Phase II: baronial and early royal works 1140–99 (fig 28);
Phase III: later royal works 1200–1355 (fig 29);
Phase IV: early episcopal works 1356–1480 (fig 30);
Phase V: Bishop Langton's works 1485–93 (fig 31);
Phase VI: Sir Walter Ralegh's works 1592–1603 (fig 32);
Phase VII: the Civil War 1640–5 (fig 33).

The historical record (Chapter 3) suggests occupation only on a very limited scale from about 1542, when the diocese of Bristol was formed, to 1592, and from 1603 to 1640. Ralegh contended, during litigation in 1601, that the castle was ruinous when he acquired it. Apart from the deposition of the coin hoard in about 1542 (Appendix 2) there is little evidence of activity during this half century. After 1645 the ruins were maintained as a landscape feature in Sherborne Park and, since 1956, have been maintained as an ancient monument in guardianship.

7.2 Phase I: Bishop Roger's works 1122–39 (fig 27)

Masonry characteristics

Walls and foundations attributed to this phase are built of the local Fuller's Earth stone, with the walls mainly faced in roughly dressed and coursed rubble. All the architectural

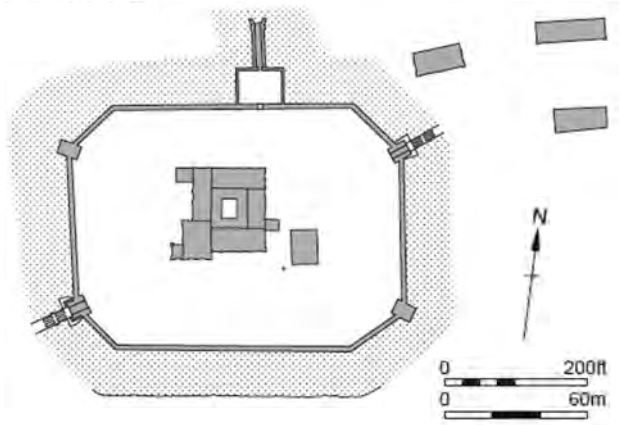


Fig 27 Phase I: Bishop Roger's works 1122–39

features are faced or framed with finely dressed and jointed Ham Hill ashlar, and all wall junctions and angles, are quoined with Ham Hill ashlars set flush with the abutting rubble wall faces. Exceptionally, both the outer and inner facing elevations of the south-west gatehouse tower are entirely faced in ashlar and, although otherwise altered in later phases, the gateway arches and several of the round-arched window openings in the gatehouse have chamfered hood moulds on their outer and inner faces.

This treatment suggests that the prominent elevations of other principal structures – for example, those south and west of the great tower – may have been ashlar faced. Facing into the courtyard, and now represented *in situ* by fragmentary remains or wall scars on the upper storey of the south elevation of the northern range, are blind intersecting arcades with their moulded arches supported on detached shafts with scalloped capitals and moulded bases. Elsewhere, the few surviving window and door openings of this phase are set in panels of ashlar both externally and internally. This treatment may have been applied to all the original door and window openings. Other ashlar features from this phase include the remains of external clasping and pilaster buttresses, all set on single-course chamfered-offset plinths, internal wall pilasters set on similar offset plinths and single- or double-chamfered string courses.

In the upper storey of the north range of the central building complex are two surviving round-arched window openings in the north and the east walls. They are framed externally with chevron mouldings. Where these, and faces of other ashlars, have been protected from weathering, they retain the diagonal tooling marks of their original dressing. Stylistically, all the decorative carvings and mouldings surviving from this phase can be dated to the first half of the twelfth century.

The remains of the barrel and groined vaults within the castle show that, except for the vaults over the undercroft in the great tower, they were formed in Phase I, using thin stone slates for their haunches and a local tufa for their crowns. This masonry is laid in a mortar of lime mixed with grit of Fuller's Earth stone, giving the mortar a characteristic deep orange or buff colour. There is nothing to show that the external faces of rubble walls were originally rendered or lime-washed. Internally, several former chambers retain evidence that the walls and vaults were plastered. It is still apparent that in this phase all the masonry construction was consistently of very high quality.

The bailey and defences

The hilltop occupied by the bailey originally sloped down gently from the south towards its north-western flank. The initial construction work for the castle changed this slope to a horizontal plateau on which the bailey was formed (Chapter 8). The curtain walls define a perimeter, which can be described either as an elongated octagon with its major axis aligned east to west and its minor axis north to south, or as a rectangle with canted angles. When projected, the alignments of the bailey's curtain walls show that its plan varies only slightly from a perfectly regular and symmetrical geometrical figure. This was undoubtedly intentional (see fig 9) and, on analysis, it can be seen to be based on a square grid or module measured or scaled in English rods, poles or perches (see fig 82).

Externally, the bailey was enclosed by a deep and broad ditch with a counter-scarp that was, for a good deal of its length, crowned by a bank of earth. From the top of the inner scarp of the ditch along its whole circuit, the curtain wall was constructed to a height of about 11m (36ft). This enclosure was strengthened by four rectangular mural towers, which bisected the angles of the bailey at either end of its eastern and western sides. Each mural tower projected beyond the abutting lengths of the curtain wall both externally, to the face of the scarp of the outer ditch, and internally, into the bailey. Three of the four towers have been demolished to ground level, with only the south-west gatehouse tower remaining. Excavation has shown that, although the south-west tower was larger in plan, the others were generally of similar size.

Although altered, most of the surviving structure of the south-west gatehouse tower was built during Phase I (Chapter 8.4). Now roofless, this tower survives in part to its full height. It is square in plan and contains a wide passageway through its ground storey, which was originally approached by a stone bridge of two arched spans built across the outer ditch. The ashlar-faced revetments and central pier of this bridge survive within the ditch.

The north-east tower, rectangular and smaller in plan, was also a gatehouse tower with a narrower passageway approached by a bridge over the outer ditch (Chapter 8.5).

The remains of this bridge indicate a design virtually identical to the bridge leading to the south-west tower. Each gatehouse tower and its approach bridge was originally planned and built as a single integrated entity in this phase.

The bases of the south-east and north-west mural towers (Chapter 8.6 and 8.7) were partially excavated by Bean, and their walls can also be identified as a part of the Phase I construction. Also rectangular in plan, each tower contained a single chamber at ground level, originally entered from the bailey through an open gorge and later, when the gorge was infilled, through a doorway. Towers of this design were not uncommon at this time.[180] Across the outer end of the chamber in the north-west tower, Bean found evidence of a deep latrine pit, which was probably an original feature.

The only break in the continuous line of the outer ditch is at a distance of about 10m (33ft) to the east of centre on the northern side of the bailey. Here, part of the hill's natural slope was retained for the site of a large rectangular outer court, or barbican, built to protect a third entry into the bailey (Chapter 8.8). This court was entered by means of a long, ascending passageway covered by a tunnel vault whose outer entry was about 2m (6ft 6in) above the estimated level of the former mere, which surrounded the northern side of the castle. The tunnel gave access to a doorway in the centre of the north wall of the court immediately opposite a flight of stone steps, which then led up to a gateway in the curtain wall at the level of the bailey. The design and position of this entry strongly suggests that it was a watergate, only accessible by boat.

Within the bailey

The ruins occupying the centre of the bailey are the remains of a large, precisely planned complex of buildings. These housed three of the four core functions of the castle: administrative, religious and domestic. Altered to a limited extent in later phases, the central complex was the dominating element in the design of the early twelfth-century ensemble. Although it was provided with some defensive features, notably the massively constructed great tower projecting from its south-western corner, the emphasis was on convenience of circulation and comfort. It was a grand episcopal residence, designed as an integrated whole and focused on the requirements of a single, albeit large, household. In addition to the great tower and the annex,[181] or small tower, on its western side, the complex includes four ranges enclosing a small cloistered court, and two symmetrically placed latrine turrets, one projecting west from the northern end of the west range and the other projecting east from the southern end of the east range (Chapter 9.3). The alleys surrounding the court provided circulation at ground level, as was usual practice, while at the upper, second-storey level, and unusually, a segregated circulation route linked the great tower, the west range and the north range. The principal entry to the complex was by means of a vestibule linking the bailey with the inner court occupying part of the ground floor of the west range (Chapter 9.2 and 9.3). The great tower, originally three storeys high, was massive both visually and structurally. Internally divided by a spine wall, and with no access at ground level, it is characteristic of the period except for its upper level integration with the adjoining west range. It presumably housed high-status apartments on its upper floors, for which the windows would have been in the missing south wall.

The west, north and east ranges were all of two storeys. The south range rose to about the same height as the other three, but the evidence of a decorative moulding on its internal west wall, which also forms the east wall of the great tower, indicates that it was a single-storey structure, open to the roof,[182] and was occupied by the great hall, which was demolished in the sixteenth century (Phase VI).

The architectural embellishment of the north, south and east external wall elevations of the north range has been noted. The surviving internal wall faces also reveal evidence of an original decorative treatment that was more elaborate than in any other surviving part of the castle (Chapter 9.4). Such high-quality work internally to both upper and lower chambers and externally to the elevations and windows, together with the east–west axis of the range, underpins the interpretation that the range housed chapels on both lower and upper floors (see fig 73).

The fourth key function, service, is now represented only by the well head located to the south east of the central complex, but formerly took place within a kitchen courtyard (Chapter 9.10). Bean excavated the remains of a detached rectangular building to the east of the south range, and this building has not subsequently been re-examined. His records indicate that, although it was later remodelled, the character of its primary structure indicates construction in the early twelfth century. The position of the building in relation to the great hall, and the existence of the remains of later hearths and bread ovens found within it, suggests that it was built as a detached kitchen (see fig 75).

Other structures excavated within the bailey were identified with later phases (see fig 76).

Structures outside the bailey

The principal Phase I structures beyond the bailey's outer ditch remain buried. They occupied the sloping spur of

ground on the north-east side of the castle hill (see figs 31 and 77). Here, Bean exposed the remains of two ranges of masonry buildings along the northern side of the spur together with evidence of the robbed foundations of a similar range on its southern side (Chapter 10). These ranges appear to have flanked an outer court at the approach to the north-east entry, and the quality of the construction and the masonry details were identical with those of the Phase I buildings inside the bailey. Bean did not record any suggestions for the function of these ranges, but Fowler suggested that one of the buildings was the church of St Mary Magdelene (Chapter 3, notes 64 and 65; Chapters 10.2 and 11.3). Churches just outside the entrance are to be found at the Tower of London and at Bramber Castle. It seems likely that the other ranges housed extra-mural lodgings, stabling or storerooms, or some combination of these uses.

7.3 Phase II: baronial and early royal works 1140–99 (fig 28)

Masonry characteristics

Remains of the structures identified with Phase II were partially excavated, initially by Bean and later, more extensively, by White. All demolished to ground level, they were similar in character to Phase I structures, being built of the same Fuller's Earth rubble, with evidence of some Ham Hill stone ashlar facings, all laid in yellow/buff mortar. From the comparatively small sample of the Phase II structures to have survived, it appears that the rubble wall facings were not laid to courses, and it is not possible to determine if there was ashlar quoining above ground level.

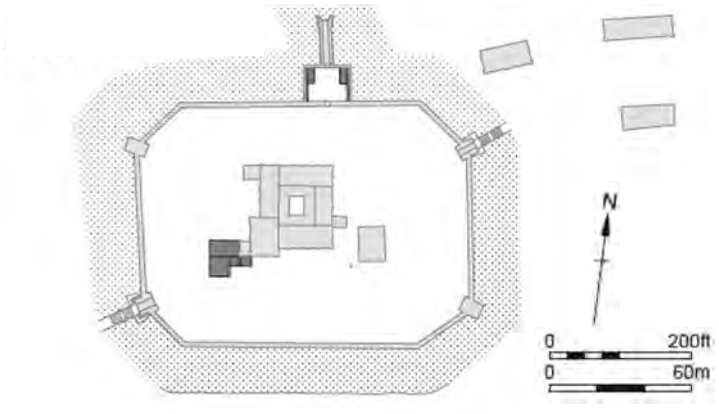


Fig 28 Phase II: baronial and early royal works 1140–99

The bailey and defences

The only work identified with this phase was in the barbican court outside the north gate, where excavation revealed that the court's east and west walls were strengthened by the addition of internal skins, doubling their thickness, presumably to provide sufficient width for wall-walks. At the same time, chambers of equal size were built within the north-east and north-west corners of the court.

Within the bailey

White located the foundations of a structure containing a single chamber beyond the eastern end of the range built against the west side of the small tower. The south-east quadrant of this structure comprised the massive foundations of a square tower enclosing a large pit or cellar. Also, against the south elevation of the small tower, foundations of a small, square turret enclosing a deep pit were uncovered. It is apparent from the later refacing of the south wall of the small tower that this Phase II turret had risen to about half the height of the Phase I small tower. The archaeological contexts recorded by White showed that all these Phase II structures were subsequently demolished and the foundations reused. This building probably reflected the requirement for increased accommodation for royal use, referred to as 'houses' in the documents, with separate suites of apartments for two or more households. It is located in the only available area of the bailey that abuts the principal suite of chambers in the great tower, but does not mask the entry to the complex in the west range, or the great hall, in the south range (cf Chapter 11).

7.4 Phase III: later royal works 1200–1355 (fig 29)

Masonry characteristics

The construction methods used in this phase were similar to those used in the earlier two phases, although, on the evidence of the surviving structures, it is clear that less ashlar was used for facings and other features.

The bailey and its defences

Excavations revealed that further work was carried out to the north gate. The north-east and north-west corners of

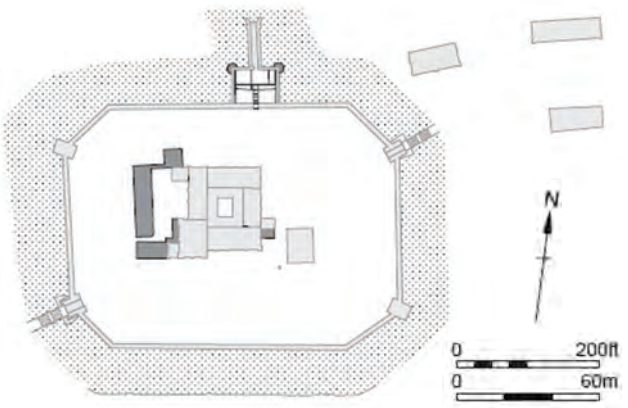


Fig 29 Phase III: later royal works 1200–1355

the barbican court were strengthened by the addition of circular turrets with offset plinths and, at about the same time, the Phase II north-west chamber, built within the barbican court, was enlarged.

Within the bailey

A courtyard was enclosed on the west side of the central building complex by building thick rubble walls on its northern and western sides, while across its southern end earlier, Phase II, foundations were reused to construct a range projecting westwards from the west face of the small tower. The eastern end of the west courtyard's north wall originally abutted the outer face of the Phase I west range latrine tower. Excavation showed that this tower was demolished in Phase III, except for its north wall, and its substructure was sealed at ground level by deposits of mortar. Then, as part of the construction of the west courtyard, another larger rectangular latrine tower was built, projecting externally to the north of the west courtyard. In the west range the northern end of its west wall was rebuilt to incorporate a narrow, vaulted passage, formed to provide a second entrance into the original latrine turret before its demolition.

Surviving remains indicate that entry into the west courtyard was through a gateway at the southern end of its west wall. Within the courtyard, to the north of the gateway, foundations indicate a range added against the full length of the west wall. At about the same time, a stair on a solid masonry base was built in two flights in the re-entrant angle between the great tower and the small tower. The lower flight rises to a landing immediately opposite the gateway into the west courtyard, against the north face of the small tower. From this landing, an upper flight rises to the left against the west face of the great tower. It is likely that the stair was intended to provide access to the great tower at first-floor level, by means of a third flight, which is now missing, as is the entry through the great tower's west wall.

Other, minor work in this phase included the insertion of a doorway in the north wall of the great hall in the south range, providing direct access to the east range. This may indicate the introduction of a screens passage across the eastern end of the hall. These alterations may be due to the requirement for apartments and service accommodation for the separate king's and queen's suites mentioned in the documentary sources for the period (see Chapters 3 and 11).

7.5 Phase IV: early episcopal works 1356–1480 (fig 30)

Masonry characteristics

The structures of this phase are clearly identifiable as all the walls are faced with dressed and coursed blocks of South Dorset limestone, laid in a white lime mortar. Their rubble cores and foundations contain the same stone and they also incorporate Fuller's Earth rubble and pieces of Ham Hill stone, including broken ashlars and fragments of mouldings, probably from demolished structures elsewhere in the castle. During this phase several floors within the central building complex, notably the floor of the great hall, were relaid with glazed tiles set in a chequer pattern.

Within the bailey

The main development in this phase was the creation of a walled forecourt across the southern side of the central building complex. This, the south courtyard, was enclosed by a wall built out from the south-western corner of the small tower to a wall that aligned with the south-west

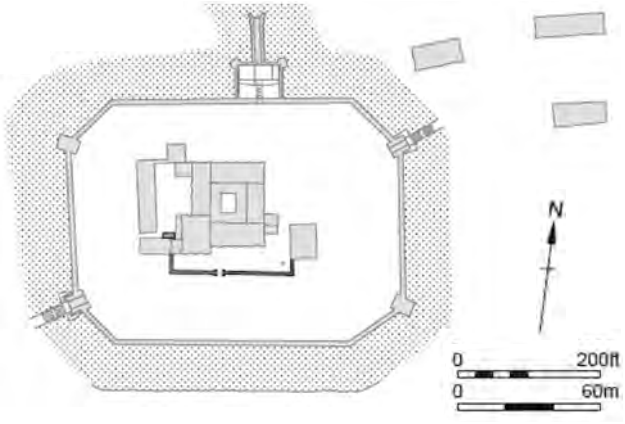


Fig 30 Phase IV: early episcopal works 1356–1480

corner of the detached kitchen. The courtyard was entered through a gateway set approximately at the centre of its south wall.

The reversion to episcopal use would have had an impact on the type of accommodation required, and it is likely that the demolition began of the 'houses' constructed in Phase II.

7.6 Phase V: Bishop Langton's works 1485–93 (fig 31)

Masonry characteristics

The masonry that survives above ground is largely Fuller's Earth rubble set in white mortar; the north gate work is formed of limestone ashlar also set in a white mortar. The foundations are also constructed of these materials plus reused stone from earlier phases. Phase I ashlar which remained *in situ* was very badly scorched.

The bailey and its defences

The rear wall of the south-west gatehouse tower was raised to the same height as the other three walls to create a full-height chamber on the third floor. Outside the north gate the barbican court was largely demolished, to be replaced with a gatehouse tower added against the outer side of the curtain wall. This structure enclosed, within the gateway passage, the flight of steps leading up to the entry in the curtain wall. The outer entry into this new tower was linked by a causeway between high walls to the doorway at the top of the ascending vaulted passage, built in Phase I.

Within the bailey

Following the fire that destroyed its timber flooring, the south elevation of the great tower and the adjoining south range were remodelled by Bishop Langton,[183] for the first time in three centuries of occupation. The tower's central spine wall at first-floor or second-storey level, and probably an arcade above it on the third storey, were demolished to create large undivided chambers in both spaces. Barrel vaults were inserted over the two bays of the undercroft. A stone-paved floor was laid over them, replacing the original timber flooring but at a higher level.[184] At the same time, the amount of accommodation was increased by the addition of a chamber block between

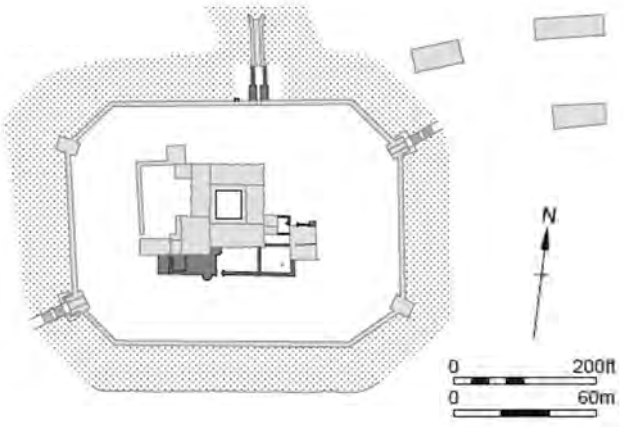


Fig 31 Phase V: Bishop Langton's works 1485–93

the south wall of the tower and the south wall of the south courtyard. A canted oriel window, presumably to light the principal apartments in this block, was added onto the outer face of the new south wall. Against the eastern wall of the south courtyard, another chamber was built on Phase II foundations. As part of the same construction, an oriel window was built to light the high end of the hall, in the angle formed by the south range and the projecting east side of the tower. It seems likely that a stair within this structure provided direct access from the high end of the hall into the new chamber block. It is not known how much, or if any, of the original south wall of the tower was demolished as part of this scheme, but ease of circulation would have been likely to require larger openings, entailing at least the enlargement of window apertures. The hall was repaved with tiles.

At the east end of the south courtyard a wall was inserted between the south-east corner of the south range and the south wall of the courtyard to form a kitchen yard, enclosing the well in its south-east corner. Within this yard, service rooms were formed between the east end of the hall and the west side of the kitchen. Within the inner court a new cloister arcade was built on the foundations of the original Phase I structure.

7.7 Phase VI: Sir Walter Ralegh's works 1592–1603 (fig 32)

Masonry characteristics

The masonry associated with this phase is a mix of Fuller's Earth rubble and new and reused Ham Hill ashlar, much of it probably obtained following Ralegh's demolition of

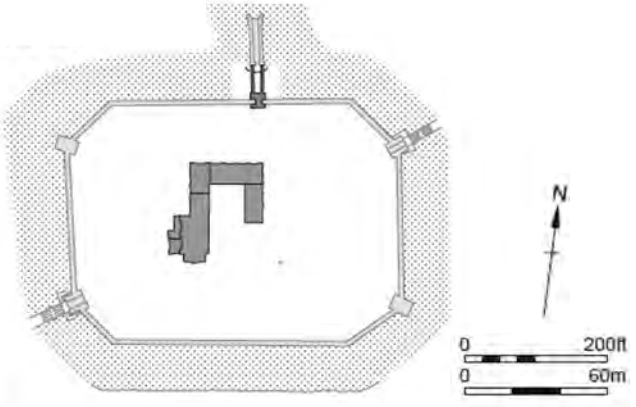


Fig 32 Phase VI: Sir Walter Ralegh's works 1592–1603

structures within the castle. All the masonry is laid in white lime mortar.

The bailey and its defences

The only completed work seems to have been the south-west gatehouse tower. Here, the accommodation was improved by inserting mullioned windows into earlier openings and introducing fireplaces.

Within the bailey

The first stage of Ralegh's programme to modernise the accommodation focused on the central building complex. It involved demolishing the walls of the west courtyard, south courtyard, the chamber block added to the great tower in Phase V, and the south (great hall) range, originally built in Phase I. Then, what remained of the south wall of the tower was demolished. The new extended south elevation comprised a large bay window (see fig 65). On the west side of the tower the Phase III staircase was partially remodelled by widening its lower flight. Turned stone balusters found in the debris adjacent to the tower suggest that a parapet above the stairs was probably replaced by a balustrade similar to that on the roof of Ralegh Lodge (now called Sherborne Castle).

7.8 Phase VII: the Civil War 1640–5 (fig 33)

The only masonry structure that can be reasonably identified with this phase is a horse mill whose remains were excavated by Bean at the north-east corner of the central complex, shown as a circular feature on his plan (see figs 57 and 76). Other constructions at the castle that could definitely be attributed to the Civil War period are two earthwork ravelins, one on the outer west side and the other on the outer north-east side of the outer ditch, to provide standing for defending artillery pieces (see fig 78).

Later in the seventeenth century a small summerhouse was constructed using the north-east bulwark as a platform.

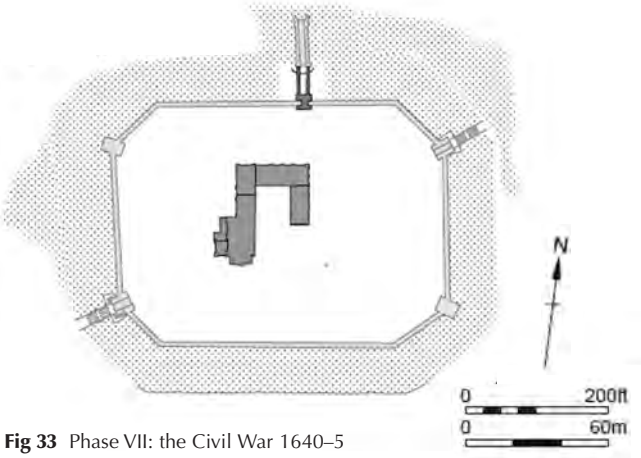


Fig 33 Phase VII: the Civil War 1640–5

The structural remains: the bailey and its defences

8

The castle's standing remains and excavated structures have all been closely examined over many years, and the resulting records provide the basis for the descriptions and interpretations in this and the following two chapters. This chapter deals with:

1. The bailey
2. The outer ditch and bank
3. The curtain wall
4. The south-west gatehouse tower and bridge
5. The north-east gatehouse tower and bridge
6. The north-west mural tower
7. The south-east mural tower
8. The north gate, barbican and causeway.

8.1 The bailey

The bailey is approximately symmetrical in plan and the area of ground enclosed is about 1.5ha (3.8 acres). The actual lengths of its sides, measured to the nearest unit using both the visible and the notional angles concealed by the towers, along the inner faces of the curtain wall, are:

north side 101m (331ft); south side 100m (328ft)
north-east side 30m (98ft); south-west side 23m (75ft)
east side 60m (197ft); west side 67m (220ft)
south-east side 33m (108ft); north-west side 27m (86ft).

The north–south axis of the bailey, measured between the inner faces of the north and south sides of the curtain wall, is 102m (335ft), and the east–west axis is 142m (466ft). The relationship of these dimensions to the rod, pole or perch linear measure is evident from figure 82, where the plan is set against a two-rod grid.

Investigations by Rawlence and Bean

Six sondage trenches were excavated in 1932 at various points within the castle bailey, and a further fourteen similar trenches were excavated in 1934.[185] Bean's earliest investigations suggested that the hilltop occupied by the bailey originally sloped down gently from the south towards the north west. The initial construction work for the castle changed this slope to a uniform, horizontal plateau. Bean's records indicate that the work required for this change included raising the ground level of the hill's north-western slope with deposited clay to extend the area of the plateau in order to accommodate the extent of the proposed symmetrical plan.

Externally, the bailey was enclosed by a deep and broad ditch with a counterscarp that was, for a good deal of its length, crowned by a bank of earth. From the top of the inner scarp of the ditch along its whole circuit the curtain wall was constructed to a height averaging about 11m (36ft). This enclosure was strengthened by four rectangular mural towers bisecting the angles of the bailey at either end of its eastern and western sides. The positions of all these trenches were recorded on Bean's survey plan of the castle in 1934. There is no surviving record of the stratigraphy within any of the trenches other than Bean's note that he observed early twelfth-century deposits overlying the natural surface that he exposed at the bottom of many of the trenches.

Bean's interpretation was further supported by his later investigations within the bailey near the north-west mural tower. Here, above the presumed lowest point of the slope of the hill, he found that a considerable depth of Fuller's Earth clay was deposited.

Comment

The symmetry of the bailey's plan defined by the circuit of the curtain wall was emphasised by the positions of the four mural towers, which are sited across the angle of the enclosure at the ends of the eastern and western sides. Although the towers overlay and masked the positions of four of the eight angles, their notional positions were easily established by projecting the alignments of the adjoining sides of the curtain wall, making it possible to construct the hypothetical geometrical basis for the original design of the octagonal plan (see fig 82).

8.2 The outer ditch and bank

Investigations by Rawlence and Bean

Bean recorded that Rawlence removed deposits from within the southern length of the outer ditch in 1932.[186] He noted that this exposed the rock face of the scarp, to indicate that it had been dressed back to a uniform slope of about 55 degrees, and the natural fissures in the face had been infilled with masonry to create a sheer, unbroken surface. The clearance also showed that the lower half of the facing counterscarp, within the ditch, had been cut back to a vertical rock face. The outer ditch follows the octagonal plan of the bailey, except for a break of about 24.4m (80ft) on the northern side. On each side of this break, the eastern and western ends of the ditch are turned to the north, descend on both sides of a sloping piece of ground and then continue down past the stopped ends of the counterscarp bank. It was established by Bean, and subsequently confirmed by White's work,[187] that the piece of ground that broke the line of the ditch was part of the hill's natural slope, and that this ground was retained when the ditch was cut to provide the platform for a barbican protecting the north gate (see fig 9).

Investigations by Cook

In 1991 Cook excavated a trench into the counterscarp bank on the southern side of the ditch during work to consolidate the mid-eighteenth-century stone rubble wall built on top of the bank. In 1994 he cut a second trench into the counterscarp bank on the eastern side of the bailey, behind the revetment wall flanking the south side of the defile, which was cut through the counterscarp in the mid-eighteenth century. Both excavations showed that, below the topsoil, the bank was formed from broken pieces of Fuller's Earth rock mixed with clay, which had been deposited on top of the original ground surface. The absence of any other material in the make-up of the bank supports the view that it was formed from the spoil thrown up when the ditch was cut in Phase I (1122–39).

Comment

In 1874 G T Clark suggested that the outer ditch enclosing the bailey may originally have been formed in the Anglo-Saxon period, but was recut when the castle was built for Bishop Roger in 1122.[188] Although this possibility cannot be disproved, no archaeological evidence has been found to suggest that the outer ditch was earlier than Bishop Roger's work. Clark also noted that the counterscarp of the outer ditch had been heightened by an earthen bank, and this was confirmed by Cook.[189]

On the south side, examination of the plan of the bailey in relation to its hilltop site, supported by historical and topographical evidence, indicated that a strip of ground, between the eighteenth-century park wall built on the counterscarp of the outer ditch and the top of the hill's steep southern slope, formed part of the medieval highway that approached Sherborne from the east. The course of this road was changed at the end of the sixteenth century. In order to provide high ground to carry this section of the highway safely above the level of the mere immediately to the south of the castle hill, the southern and south-eastern sides of the outer ditch were cut down from the top of the southern flank of the hill into the underlying bedrock.

On the hill's west and north-east sides, the outer ditch was cut through natural spurs, which slope away from the hill. Because the natural gradient of the hilltop runs down towards the north and north west, the ditch in this location was cut down to a lower level.

8.3 The curtain wall

About 85 per cent of the curtain wall enclosing the bailey has been destroyed. Three of the surviving lengths of the wall stand to about the height of the wall-walk. Of these lengths, two abut the sides of the south-west gatehouse

tower, and the third incorporates the angled junction where the north and north-east lengths of the wall abut. Fragments of the wall on the other sides of the bailey only survive to lower levels (fig 34 and see figs 3, 4, 9, 35 and 36).

The remaining lengths of curtain wall show that, except where there is evidence of later rebuilding or repair, it is built of Fuller's Earth rubble set in a gritty, orange-coloured mortar. The rubble faces of the wall on both sides are coursed, and the angles at the abutments of its lengths and their junctions with the four mural towers are bonded with Ham Hill ashlar quoining. There is also some evidence of a continuous external string course at the level of the wall-walk. At ground level, the width of the extant portions of the curtain wall is between 1.98m (6ft) and 2.13m (7ft), and the height, measured from the top of the wall's internal, offset footing to the level of the wall-walk, is about 9.14m (30ft). A small portion of the curtain wall's parapet survives at the abutment of its south-west length against the north-west side of the south-west gatehouse tower. This is 500mm (20in) wide and 1.83m (6ft) high from the level of the wall-walk to the top of its weathered Ham Hill stone coping. Nothing survives to indicate the size of the merlons and crenels in the parapet.

On the outer face of the surviving portion of the south-western length of the curtain wall, below the outer string course at the wall-walk level, there is a horizontal line of six regularly spaced square holes. These features are likely to have been putlog holes, or sockets for the ends of timbers supporting temporary hoarding on the outer face of this part of the wall.

A change in the character of the rubble on the outer face of the standing portion of the wall at the north-eastern corner of the bailey indicates a substantial amount of rebuilding during a later phase. Bean also recorded that the western end of the northern length of the curtain wall had been rebuilt, and this section has an external batter at its base, which was flanked by a shallow external buttress at either end. It was rebuilt on an alignment slightly angled above the surviving base courses of the Phase I wall.

It is assumed that these sections of the curtain wall were probably rebuilt in Phase IV (1356–1480), following the subsidence of clay deposited to raise the ground level in the north-western area of the bailey in Phase I. The few surviving courses of the outer face of the rebuild incorporate a number of reused twelfth-century Ham Hill stone ashlars. Another reused stone, carved with elaborate twelfth-century mouldings, was photographed *in situ* in the outer face of the wall by Bean; it was removed from the wall in 1992 for protection.[190]

Fig 34 The remains of the curtain wall at the north-east corner seen from within the bailey, showing the Ham Hill ashlar quoining in the angle of the wall junction. *Photograph*: NMR EH/B925739

8.4 The south-west gatehouse tower and bridge

The south-west gatehouse tower

This is the castle's most complete surviving structure. Of the four mural towers that originally strengthened the bailey's enceinte, it is the only one with walls standing to a high level. On its western corner they survive to the full height of the crenellated parapet (figs 35–40).

Investigations

The tower was recorded initially and in considerable detail by Bean in 1934–5 when, after removing the deposits that had accumulated internally and against its walls facing into the bailey, he prepared a set of survey drawings and from them reconstruction drawings showing his interpretation of its plan at each level, its four elevations, and in cross section. Subsequently, in 1939, a written description, illustrated by a few sketches, was prepared by investigators from the RCHME as a first draft for the much shorter description that subsequently formed part of the entry for the castle in the West Dorset inventory in 1952.[191]

In 1958, a set of survey plans at each floor level and drawings of the external elevations was prepared by the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Ministry of Works. These elevation drawings were largely superseded in 1978 when more accurate and detailed drawings were prepared by the Photogrammetric Unit of the Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York, for the Ancient Monuments Directorate, Department of the Environment (figs 41–45).

In 1988 an excavation was undertaken by Wessex Archaeology, for English Heritage, to record the removal of deposits within the outer re-entrant angle between the tower's south-western side and the adjoining south-western length of the curtain wall. Finally, in 1999, an intensive survey of the internal elevations by Stewart Brown Associates, for English Heritage, was recorded in a set of drawings showing the evidence for construction phases.[192]

Original form and later development

Built off a square foundation, the tower rises between and above the western and south-western lengths of the curtain wall, which abut it centrally on either side. The structural evidence indicates that it was built, in Phase I, with three storeys (fig 42). Within the lowest storey, a passageway still leads from the bridge over the outer ditch to the bailey, with a small room, probably a porter's lodge, entered off the passageway. Each of the two upper storeys contained a single chamber, both entered from a winding stair formed within a turret, which projects slightly from the east corner. Over the upper storey, the original mono-pitched roof, with a 40-degree fall to eaves level over the inner front wall towards the bailey, was concealed from the exterior behind the outer front wall and flanking side walls.

Later, probably in Phase V (1485–93), the upper part of the tower was altered and the mono-pitched roof was removed. Also, the inner front wall was raised to about the same height as the outer front and flanking side walls in order to create another chamber within a fourth storey.

In Phase VI (1592–1603), it was again altered to improve the accommodation. These alterations included the introduction of fireplaces on the north-west side of the three upper chambers with flues rising into a new chimney stack, and the introduction of new windows. This work was carried out as part of the remodelling of the castle undertaken by Sir Walter Ralegh in order to provide a lodge for his caretaker (fig 41).

The south-west gatehouse tower exterior in Phase I (1122–39)

Excavation has revealed that the base of the tower is defined externally, both outside and inside the bailey, by single-course ashlar plinths with chamfered offsets, all of which are laid at the same level on a square foundation. Above the plinths, the bottoms of the walls are strengthened by continuous ashlar-faced batters, which rise to levels dictated by projecting features on the vertical wall faces above them (fig 43).

The western corner has survived to the top of the parapet level but, on its inner north-east front, south-eastern side and south corner, the destruction of the upper parts of the walls has reduced their original height by up to 3m (10ft) at the lowest point. The structure at the top of the western corner indicates that, over the outer front wall and the side walls, there was originally a continuous wall-walk at a height of 16m (52ft 6in) above the top of the base plinth, and that the wall-walk was protected by a battlemented parapet about 2m (6ft 6in) high.

The south-west gatehouse tower base

The ashlar plinth course described above defines the base at 8.84m (29ft) square on plan, and it may be assumed that

Fig 35 The south-west gatehouse tower and the flanking lengths of the curtain wall seen from the approach to the modern bridge over the outer ditch. *Photograph*: NMR EH/B925718

Fig 36 The south-west gatehouse tower and the flanking lengths of the curtain wall seen from inside the bailey. *Photograph*: NMR EH/B925711

Fig 37 The south-west gatehouse tower seen from the east within the bailey. *Photograph*: NMR EH/B925721

Fig 38 The south-west gatehouse tower seen from the north within the bailey. *Photograph*: NMR EH/B925720

Fig 39 The south-west gatehouse tower: a detail of the ashlar jamb at the centre of the south-east side of the passageway through the tower. *Photograph*: NMR EH/925733

Fig 40 The south-west bridge: the remains of the twelfth-century bridge within the outer ditch seen from the west showing the central pier and the outer and inner abutments below the modern bridge. *Photograph*: NMR EH/B925719

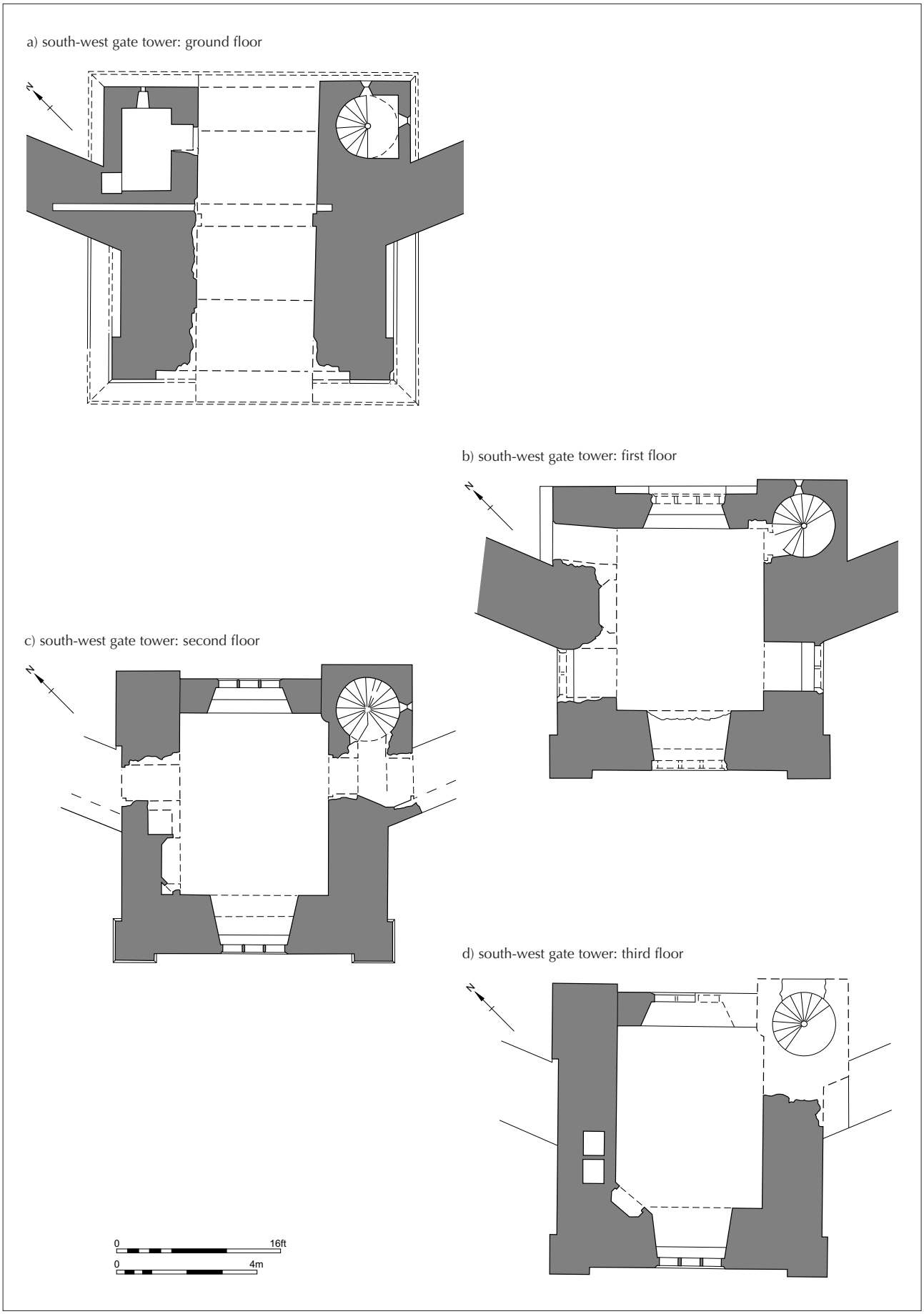


Fig 41 The south-west gatehouse tower: plans of each storey

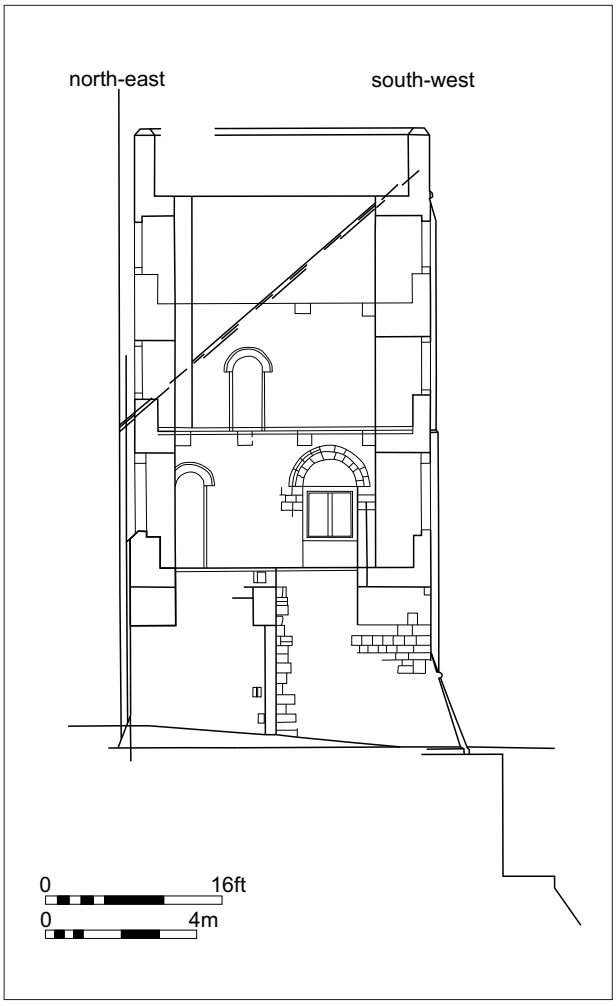


Fig 42 The south-west gatehouse tower: south-west to north-east section through the tower

it was laid on a rubble foundation, except on the outer, south-western, face where the plinth course is laid over the top of the ashlar-faced batters that form the inner revetment of the bridge over the outer ditch, before it returns at the same level on either side of the tower. A batter rises above the plinth course on the outer face and sides of the tower. On the inner face and sides within the bailey the batters above the plinth course are reduced to lesser widths by the encroachment of the stair turret at the east corner, and the projection for the porter's lodge on the north-west side.

The south-west gatehouse tower elevations

Except where they have been robbed, the elevations, including the remains of the battered base, are faced with finely jointed Ham Hill stone ashlar. On the outer sides, however, the batters and walls above them are faced in coursed rubble, except for ashlar panels surrounding the window openings and string courses. On the front and sides, the batters rise to a double-chamfered string course which, on either side of the entrance archway, runs under a clasping buttress on each corner and then continues across the faces of the batters, which rise for a further three courses and die into the vertical wall faces between the buttresses. The clasping buttress on the western corner rises to a weathering below a continuous double-chamfered string course at the base of the former battlemented parapet. The top of the southern corner has been destroyed, but it can be assumed that the weathering at the top of its clasping buttress and the parapet above the parapet string course were the same as the west corner. The level of the third-storey floor is indicated by a slight chamfered offset on both the clasping buttresses.

The western corner of the battlemented parapet survives as part of the base of an ashlar chimney stack, added by Ralegh (Phase VI), on the north-western side, to house the flues of the fireplaces inserted at this time. On its north-western face, the chimney stack has three corbelled flue openings. It is crowned by a projecting moulding at the base of a tall pyramidal ashlar cap (figs 43 and 45).

On the outer front of the tower the arched entrance to the passageway through the first storey has lost the ashlar facings to its jambs and arch, but, at the springing level of the arch, the remains of sockets on each side may indicate the later insertion of a beam. These and two other sockets cut into the ashlar face of the wall immediately above the arch were possibly formed to hold the mechanism to raise a drawbridge, probably installed in Phase II (1140–99), at the entrance to the tower. The counterweight for this bridge was presumably housed in the large pit formed in the inner revetment wall of the bridge (fig 40).

Above the entrance arch, in the centre of the second storey, a large segmental-arched window opening retains its original arched hood mould. Otherwise the opening has been altered, presumably for the insertion in Phase VI of a stone-framed mullioned window, similar to the windows inserted above it, at third- and fourth-storey levels. In the south-eastern side wall of the tower's outer projection, a semicircular arched window opening at second-storey level also retains part of a stone-framed, three-light mullioned window. In the projecting north-western side wall, at second-storey level, it is likely that a similar Phase VI window was inserted into the original semicircular arched window opening, but it has been robbed out.

The excavations by Bean demonstrated that the inner north-eastern front, facing into the bailey, is built with batters rising from a single-course chamfered-offset plinth, which is now again concealed below ground level. Like the outer south-western front, this front is also faced with

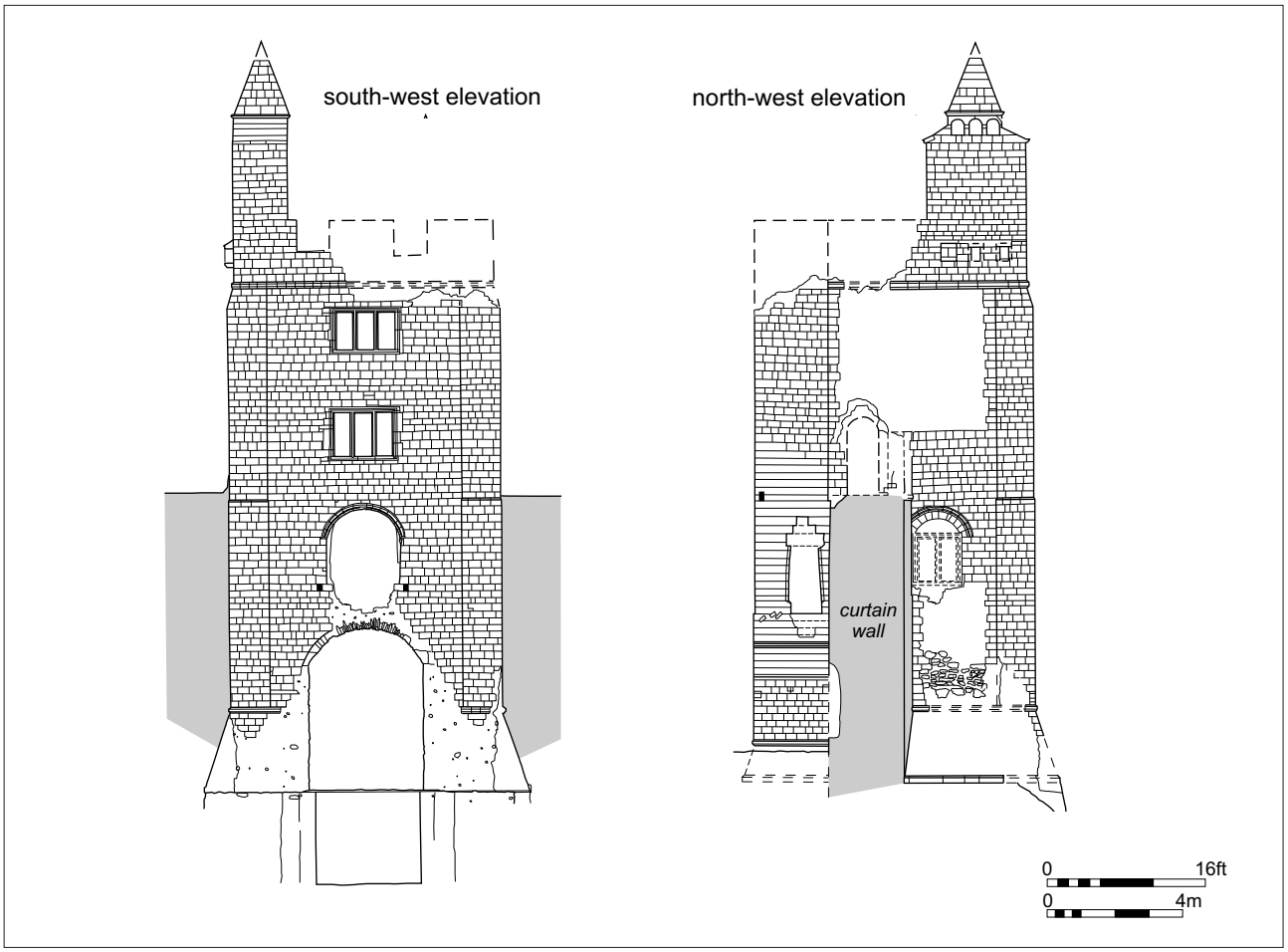


Fig 43 The south-west gatehouse tower: elevations of south-west and north-west faces

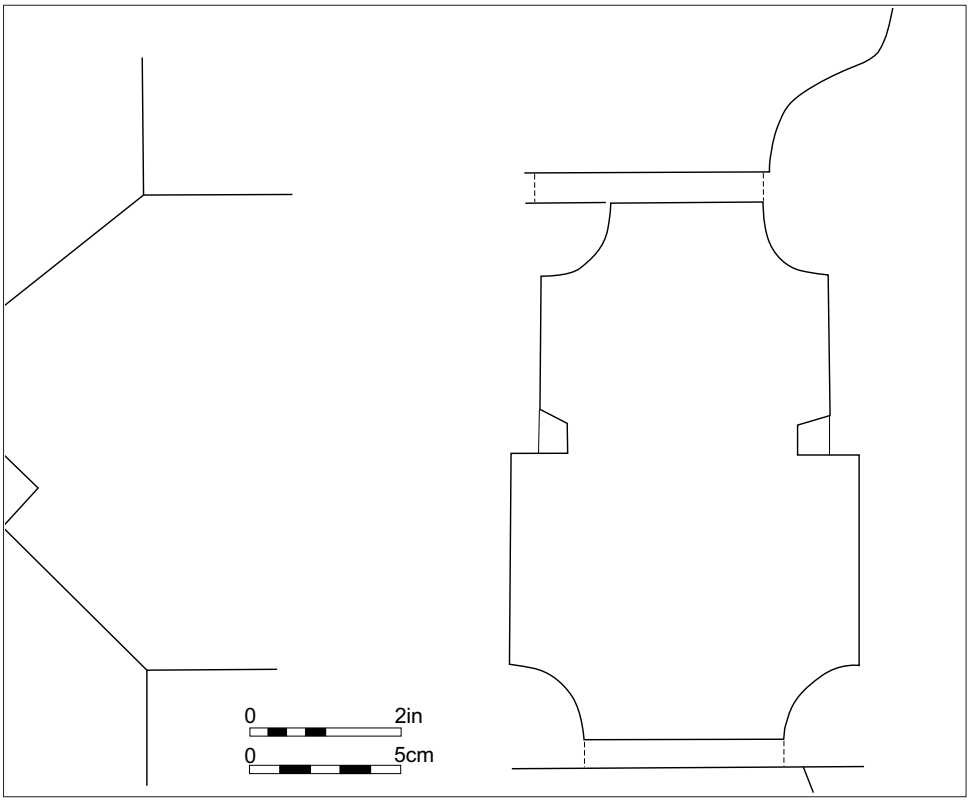


Fig 44 The south-west gatehouse tower: details of hood and impost mouldings

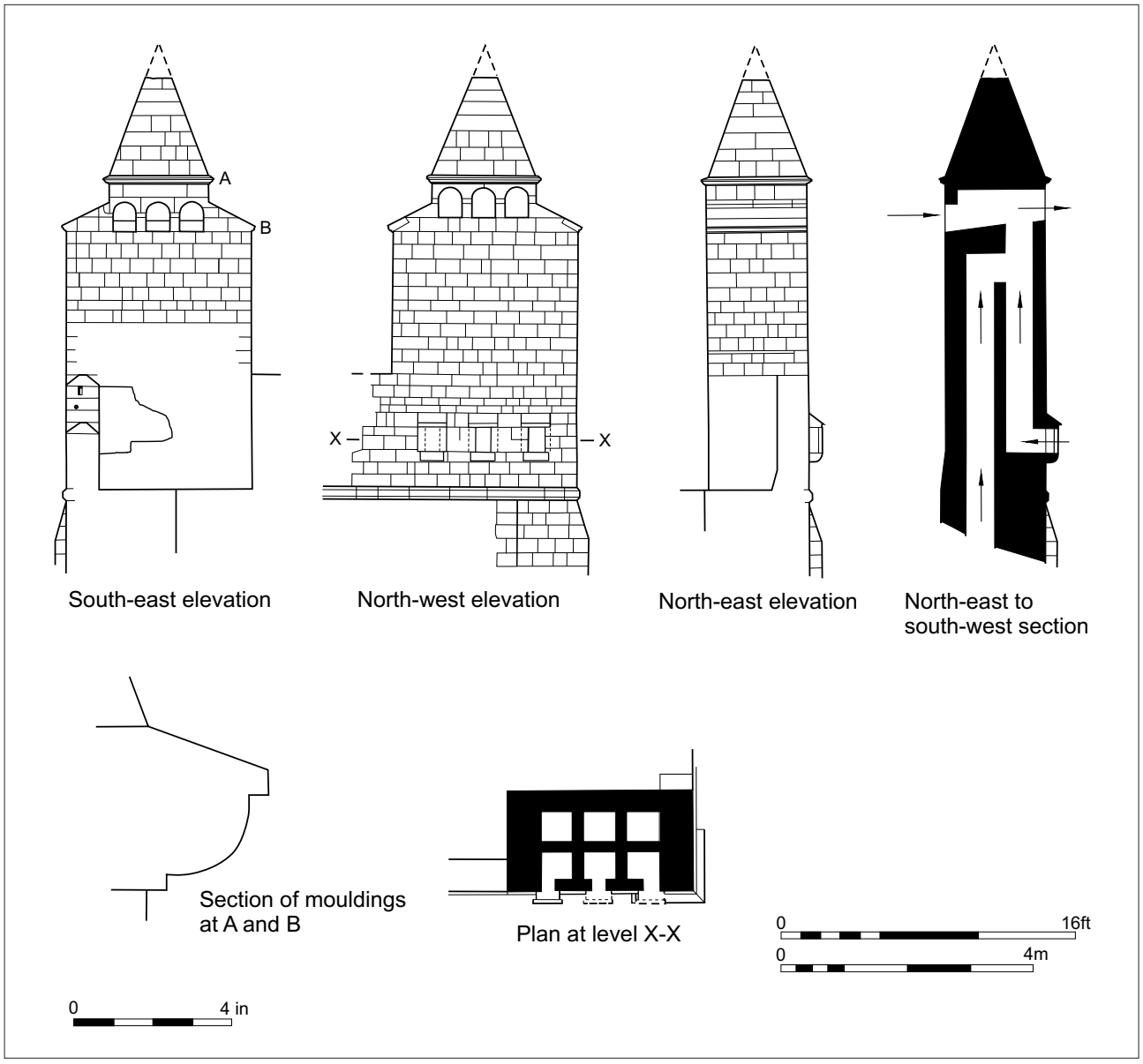


Fig 45 The south-west gatehouse tower: details of the chimney stack

Ham Hill stone ashlars. To the left of the archway into the gate passage, the slightly projecting faces of the walls of the stair turret rise off the plinth course, but, to the right of the archway, and the north-western side, the batter is capped by a chamfered string course, now badly decayed. The narrow projection on the north-western side, faced in ashlar, has a weathered stone capping above a decayed string course at second-storey level. The north-western wall at upper levels is faced in rubble. Sockets cut into the ashlar faces at lower level on the northern corner were cut to house the wall and roof timbers of a small building added against the corner in a later phase.

The stair turret projecting slightly from the eastern corner is faced in ashlar. It was originally entered through an external doorway on its south-eastern side. The doorway was destroyed when the outer corner of the turret was rebuilt at ground-floor level in rubble in a later phase, possibly to prevent public access to the upper levels. The winding stairs within the turret are 1.73m (5ft 8in) in diameter with a 200mm (8in.) newel and are lit by a lower and an upper loop on each of the turret's outer faces. The north face of the turret projected 840mm (2ft 9in) beyond the north face of the tower.

The interior of the ground floor in the south-west gatehouse tower (fig 41a)

Beam sockets and the remains of crease mouldings indicate changes of level to the floors of the tower's three upper storeys, and alterations to its roof structure.

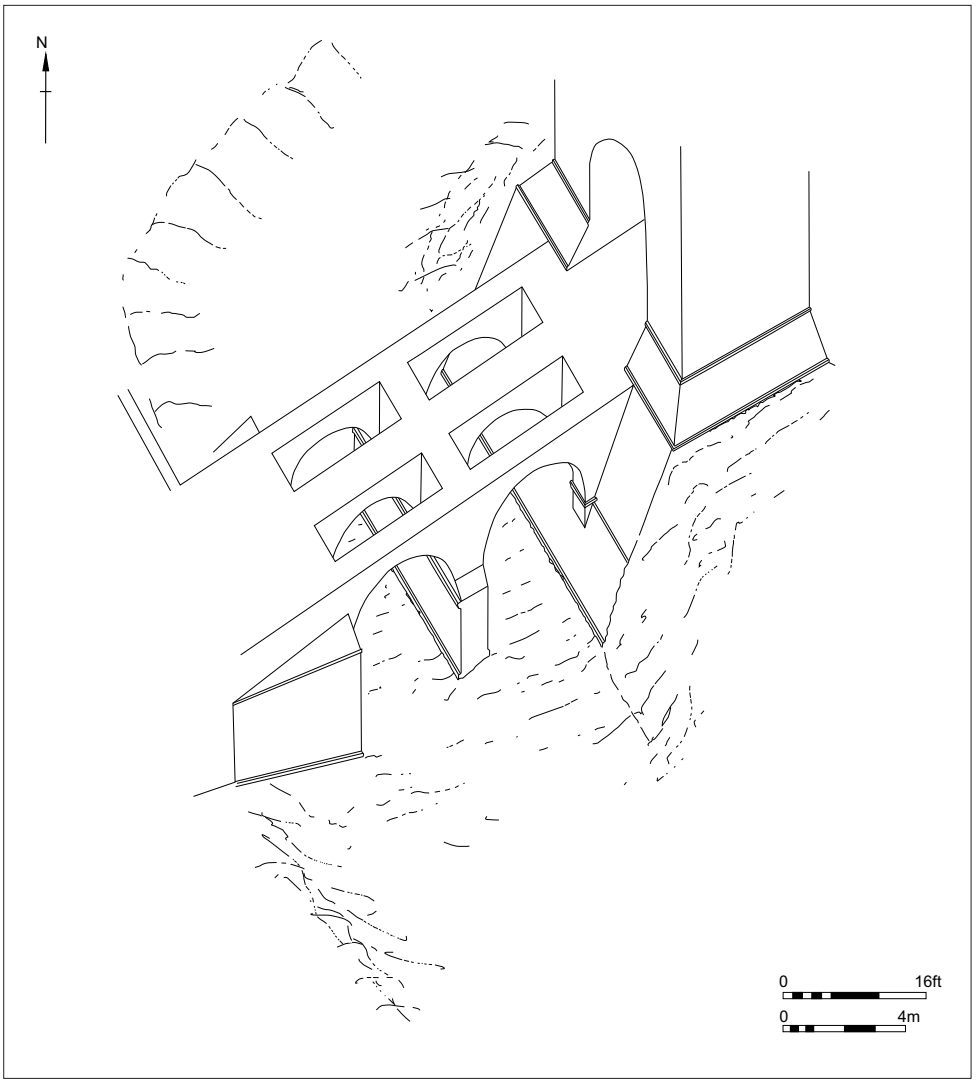


Fig 46 The south-west gatehouse tower: axonometric view reconstructing the appearance of the bridge in the twelfth century

The axial passage through the tower is 3.25m (10ft 8in) wide, and its flanking walls are 1.83m (6ft) thick above the external batters (fig 42). The floor of the passage rises by about 600mm (2ft) from the estimated level of the former outer threshold adjoining the bridge, up to the higher ground level within the bailey. The jambs and arch at the entrance to the passageway from the bridge have been robbed, but the archway into the bailey retains its Ham Hill stone ashlar jambs and arch. There is no evidence of door jambs to the archway into the bailey although some iron pintles inserted into the jambs show that doors were provided here in a later phase. It is likely that the outer archway was originally similar to the inner archway. About midway in the passage, on each side, the partial remains and scars of ashlar jambs, and a deep draw-bar hole in the flanking wall at the rear of the jamb on the north-west side, indicate that the passage was originally barred by a pair of doors at this point (fig 39).

In the north-west flanking wall of the passage, beyond the central door jamb, a doorway with plain rebated jambs leads into a small chamber within the slightly projecting northern corner of the tower. This chamber, faced in ashlar, measures 2.13m (7ft) laterally and 1.4m (4ft 7in) wide, and is covered by a barrel vault formed with stone slates above impost lateral mouldings. It is lit by a loop with splayed jambs in the north-eastern wall. In the north-western wall, at the left-hand end, there is a deep, square recess, probably for a lamp. It is assumed that the chamber was the gate porter's lodge.

The interior of the first floor of the south-west gatehouse tower (fig 41b)

The single chamber at the second stage is entered from the stair turret through a doorway in the south-east wall, from which the ashlar jambs and arch have been robbed. The

deep doorway embrasure immediately opposite, in the north-west wall, is a later alteration inserted to provide access from the chamber to the upper floor of a range built against the inner face of the west length of the curtain wall (see below). The embrasure retains portions of its plastered jambs below sockets that housed the ends of timber plank lintels.

The chamber is lit by a window in each of its four walls. The vaulted window embrasures in the outer and inner front walls were widened and splayed, probably when the original stone frames to the openings were replaced by stone-framed, three-light mullioned windows in Phase VI (1592–1603). At the same time the hood mouldings on the face of the retained outer order of voussoirs of the inner arch to each of the original embrasures were dressed back to be flush with the wall face.

The arched window embrasure in the south-eastern side wall, where the tower projects beyond the curtain wall line, retains its original parallel jambs. Also here there is evidence of the hood moulding to the window's inner arch and part of an inserted, stone-framed mullioned window similar to those in the front walls.

The window embrasure immediately opposite, in the north-western side wall, retains the plaster on its vault but has lost most of its jambs and inner arch and any evidence of an inserted mullioned window.

The chamber is heated by means of a fireplace set in the north-west wall. This retains its inserted stone-faced back and splayed jambs, but the frame to the opening has been robbed.

The interior of the second floor of the south-west gatehouse tower (fig 41c)

In Phase I, a chamber occupied the lower part of the space within the original roof (fig 42). It was entered from the stair turret though a vaulted lobby formed within the thickness of the south-east side wall. The lobby also gave access to the wall-walk on the south-western length of the curtain wall. The ashlar jambs to both doorways from the wall-walk have been robbed. Opposite, in the north-east side wall, a doorway leads to the wall-walk on the west length of the curtain wall.

Originally, the chamber may have been lit by a single window in the outer face wall. However, after the inner face wall was built up, forming the full-height chamber, embrasures with stone-framed, three-light windows were inserted in both the outer and inner front walls. The fireplace in the north-west wall retains its stone-lined back and parts of its splayed jambs, but the frame to the opening has been robbed.

The interior of the third floor of the south-west gatehouse tower (fig 41d)

The chamber is entered from a doorway formed in an opening that was cut through the wall into the shaft of the stair. It was lit by a three-light stone-framed mullioned window inserted in the outer front wall, and by a similar window in the upper part of the heightening of the inner front wall, most of which has been destroyed. The small fireplace inserted across the west angle of the chamber retains its back and jambs but the frame to its opening has been robbed.

The south-west gate: the bridge (fig 46)

Until 1977, a solid causeway flanked by rubble revetment walls led across the outer ditch to the south-west entrance into the bailey through the gatehouse tower. Bean excavated several trenches into this causeway and discovered that it encapsulated the remains of a masonry bridge which, on the evidence of its surviving details, was an integral part of Bishop Roger's castle. He also established that the bridge had been built in two bays, which were originally spanned by arches springing from ashlar-faced revetments at either end of the bridge to a central pier.

The complete excavation of the causeway supervised by Dr Gill Hey was undertaken in 1978–9.[193] After the plan of the causeway was recorded, the fill between its flanking revetments was excavated in stages. Ultimately, this work exposed all the remains of the original bridge and the evidence of later alterations to its structure. The faces of both bridge revetments and the central pier indicated that originally both bays were spanned by three diaphragm arches, with an arch to either side and a wider arch in the centre of each bay. As there was no indication of any joint or other change of build between the masonry of the bridge's inner abutment wall and the base of the gatehouse tower immediately above the revetment, it is assumed that the bridge and the tower were part of a single integrated programme of construction in Phase I (1122–39: figs 40, 47 and 48).

Comment

The south-west gatehouse tower is a very confident building, characterised by its generous windows and a permanent arched bridge. It was clearly designed to impress, and it remained as the formal entry to the bailey throughout the castle's occupation.

Fig 47 The south-west bridge: the central pier of the original bridge and the batter of the inner abutment, altered later to incorporate a drawbridge pit. *Photograph*: NMR EH/B925724

Fig 48 The south-west bridge: the outer abutment to the original bridge with added revetments at each end. *Photograph*: NMR EH/B925735

8.5 The north-east gatehouse tower and bridge (fig 49)

Clark had noted the likelihood of a mural tower at the north-east corner of the curtain wall;[194] in fact only the plinth of this structure survives above ground level.

Investigations by Bean

In 1948 Bean partially excavated the site and exposed the remains of a tower, portions of structures adjoining the tower within the bailey and part of the bridge leading to it over the outer ditch. These features were depicted on the RCHME plan of the castle (fig 25).[195] In an interim report on his excavations Bean described the results of the work as follows:

> A trial excavation was made at the outer, southern side of the NE Curtain Wall Tower to see if any remains existed of the original bridge across the moat. Several of the springing stones of a semi-circular arch were found still in position, and some also lying in the debris. The Tower appears to have been built on solid rock and an inclined apron of dressed Ham Hill stone carried sharply down the face of the moat. From this apron sprang three ribs to carry the bridge to a central pier which still exists. Alterations had later been made during which the central rib was removed. Beyond the central pier nothing survived except a mass of core, comparable in texture with Bishop Roger's masonry elsewhere, *in situ* on the outer edge of the moat.[196]

Investigations by White

The remains of the tower, the adjoining structures and the bridge were fully exposed in 1972–3 to record the archaeological contexts (figs 50 and 51).[197] Examination of

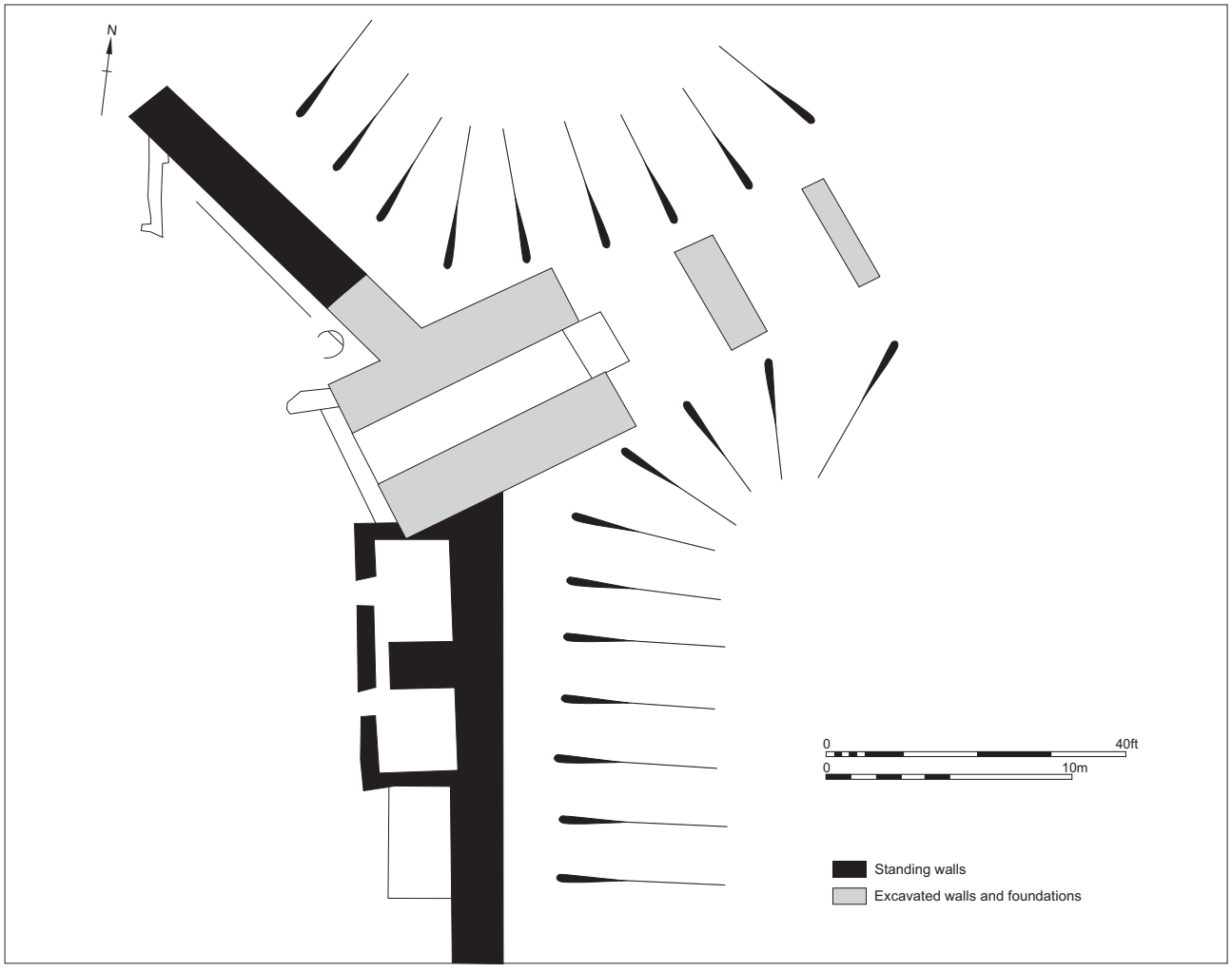


Fig 49 The north-east gatehouse tower and bridge: plan

Fig 50 The north-east gatehouse tower: the remains of the tower and bridge from the air. *Photograph*: detail of NMR 23441.12

Fig 51 The north-east bridge: a detail of the ashlar-faced batter to the inner abutment of the bridge. *Photograph*: NMR EH/B905617

the surviving structure confirmed that it was demolished to within 100–200mm (4–8in) of the early twelfth-century ground level within the bailey. This level is represented by the remains of an external chamfered-offset ashlar plinth course of Ham Hill stone, which defines the base of the tower above its foundation on each of its four sides. At plinth level, the plan of the tower is rectangular, with an overall length of about 9m (29ft 6in), of which 5m (16ft 6in) projects externally beyond the adjoining flanks of the curtain wall and 2m (6ft 6in) into the bailey. The overall width of the tower beyond the wall is 6.3m (20ft 6in) and within the bailey it is 5.7m (18ft 9in). This suggests that externally the tower may have had batters on the front and sides above the plinth. Within the bailey, on the inner front, the offset plinth course continues across the threshold of the former opening into the passageway. On each side of the opening the surviving single course of ashlars above the plinth indicates that, unlike the south-west gatehouse tower, there were no batters to the internal wall faces. The passageway, 2m (6ft 6in) wide, was paved with cobbles and is flanked by the low remains of the side walls built of Fuller's Earth rubble.

It can be seen from the straight joints now visible at the demolition level of the side walls that the adjoining ends of the curtain wall flanks were encapsulated within the thicknesses of both walls. This suggests that the construction of the tower did not commence until sometime after the curtain wall was begun, although, as with the south-west gatehouse tower, it may be assumed that the abutting flanks of the curtain wall at a higher level were bonded into the tower's side walls with ashlar quoining. There is no evidence of mural chambers or of a stair to upper stages within the tower.

Comment

The general similarity of the remains of the tower at plinth level to the bases of the great tower and the south-west gatehouse tower suggests that it was an integral part of the construction of the castle in Phase I (1122–39). However, in plan its external and internal dimensions are almost the same as those of the two mural towers to the south east and north west (figs 52 and 53), and this is where its affinity lies. It seems likely to have been an open-gorge mural tower with an opening through its outer wall for the entry.[198]

The north-east gate: the bridge

The similarity of the remains of the bridge at the north-east entry with the remains of the south-west entry bridge (fig 46) has been noted above. Overall it was smaller in size, being about 8.3m (27ft 3in) between the tops of its abutments, with the length of the central pier about 4.9m (16ft). Like the south-west bridge, its two semicircular arched spans were supported by a central pier faced in ashlar. Rising from the battered ashlar-faced revetment to the projecting base under the front of the tower are a pair of short ashlar piers with projecting cappings, which support voussoirs at the springings of the former diaphragm arches on each side of the inner span of the bridge. Between the ashlar piers, and at the same level, the rougher dressing of the central ashlar shows that it has been cut back to the face of the batter, indicating the position of the central pier that had supported a wider arch across the centre of the inner span. The pattern of three arches is assumed to have been repeated in the outer span, where they were supported by a vertical ashlar-faced revetment partly preserved against the counterscarp of the ditch. The central pier and both revetments have single-course offset top-chamfered ashlar plinths. Surviving stones show that the piers on the inner battered revetment, the top of the central pier and the counterscarp revetment were capped by offset bottom-chamfered ashlar impost courses at the springing level of the arches.

The battered revetment rises above the bottom of the ditch in ten courses of ashlar supporting a vertical face of ashlar, which survives to a height of six courses. It would appear that the central pier on the inner revetment and the arch it supported was removed for the insertion of a drawbridge pit at the higher level. If so, this is similar to the modification of the south-west entry already noted. Probably in the same later phase of alteration, the southern end of the central pier was rebuilt or refaced in rubble and the ashlar at its northern end was cut away.

8.6 The north-west mural tower (fig 52)

This structure does not survive above ground level.

Investigations by Bean

The upper courses of the walls surviving at demolition level were exposed in 1936 by Bean and recorded on his excavation plan of the castle and in photographs. This work showed that, unlike the south-west and north-east towers, the north-west tower did not contain a gate passage, but was a true mural tower. Like the gatehouse

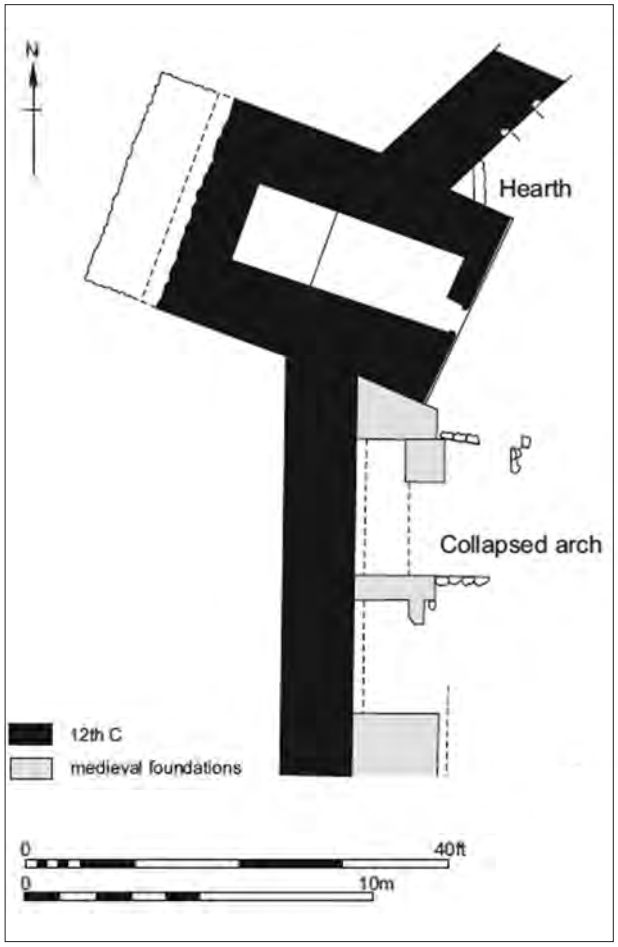


Fig 52 The north-west mural tower. *Plan*: after C E Bean

towers, it projected externally beyond the abutting flanks of the curtain wall and, to a lesser extent, internally within the bailey.

Further excavations by Bean of the lower levels, both within the tower and externally along the outer faces of its projection within the bailey, were undertaken in 1948 and 1949 and recorded on a plan and by photographs.[199] He found that the masonry to the faces of the outer projection, and the supporting battered revetment below it against the scarp of the ditch, had been robbed back to the core-work. Such remains as were still exposed were surveyed again by the Ancient Monuments Branch of the former Ministry of Works in 1958, prior to back-filling and covering with turf.

Investigations by Cook

In 1992 the tops of the southern corner of the tower, and the masonry structure added against its southern side, were cleared of turf in order to check their position in relation to the curtain wall. This work revealed that the rectangular plan of the tower was apparently distorted, with the central axis of its internal projection slightly angled in relation to the axis of its external projection and the single chamber within. Figure 52 depicts the presumed plan and position of this tower with regard to the curtain wall.

The remains of the outer front and side walls were built of Fuller's Earth rubble. There were Ham Hill ashlar quoins at the junctions of the flanks of the curtain wall with the side walls and similar quoins to the corners within the bailey. Between the ashlar quoins at the corners of the inner projection, the inner wall, built of limestone rubble, retained at its south-western end the bottom of a doorway with dressed-stone stop-chamfered jambs, all set in white mortar. These features suggest that the wall had been inserted in a later phase to seal what may originally have been an open gorge tower.

Across the full width of the chamber at its far end, a pit with walls faced in rubble was partially uncovered. The skeleton of a horse, uncovered in the top of the material filling the pit, may have been deposited there at about the time the tower was demolished, probably when the castle was slighted. There is no evidence to indicate that the pit was excavated to any greater depth, and no other finds have been noted as being found within it. Its full depth and purpose are, therefore, not known, although its position suggests that the ground-floor chamber within the tower was used as a latrine.

8.7 The south-east mural tower (fig 53)

This structure does not survive above ground level.

Investigations by Bean

The site of this tower was located and investigated by Bean in 1949. Then, as now, the remains were encapsulated within a mound overgrown by the roots of two large beech trees. Despite this impediment, Bean was able to expose, at demolition level within the bailey, the north-east side of the inner projection from its junction with the eastern length of the curtain wall, as far as its northern corner, and the return of its inner, north-western face. He was also able to establish the approximate position of the western corner of the inner projection where the side of the tower was abutted by the north-eastern end of a narrow range of buildings added against the inner face of the south-eastern length of the curtain wall. He was therefore able to locate the exact position of the tower in the enceinte.

The length of the exposed portion of the outer south-

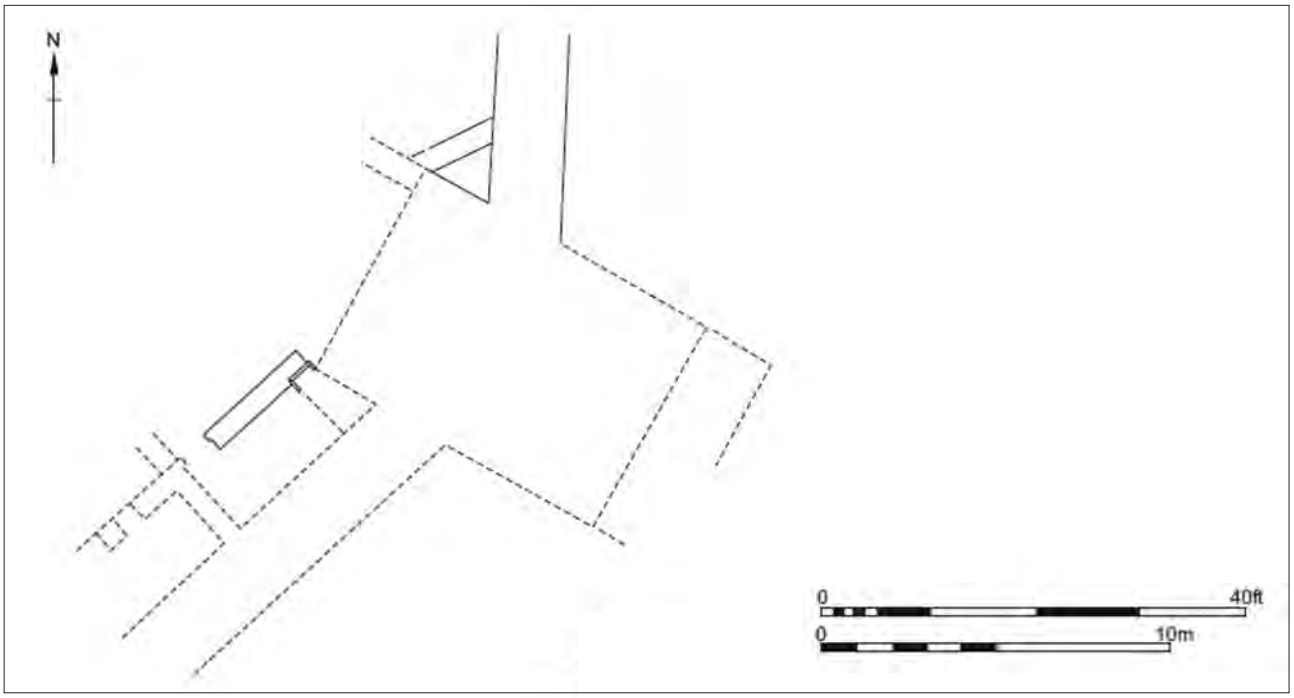


Fig 53 The south-east mural tower: *Plan*: after C E Bean

east face was sufficient to show that the tower could not have incorporated a gate-passage comparable with those through the south-west and north-east towers. It was therefore interpreted as a mural tower of similar form and relation to the curtain wall as the north-west tower.

On the north-eastern side of the inner projection, a canted infill, built of (probably) reused Ham Hill stone, was added into the angle with the curtain wall. Stones laid across the base of this infill were interpreted as the remains of the back of a fireplace and its hearth, a feature that suggests a building had been added here.[200]

Comment

The north-west and south-east mural towers appear originally to have been open gorge structures found elsewhere during the early twelfth century, for example at Ludlow.

8.8 The north gate barbican and causeway (figs 54–56)

Elements of this structure, including its collapsed barrel vault, survived above ground level when it was first commented upon by Clark (see Chapter 7). Information on its original form and later development was obtained from excavations undertaken initially by Bean at various times between 1934 and 1954. More intensive work, largely of re-excavation, was directed by White and supervised by Peter Coe and Richard Lea between 1975 and 1977 (fig 54a); the following description and interpretation is based on the results of this more recent investigation.[201] The phases of construction and alteration of this structure do not coincide with the sequence for the rest of the castle and so are given in Arabic numerals here, while their presumed dates are given in parenthesis.

Investigations by Bean

The structure was indicated on the earliest plans of the castle as a spur work projecting outside the northern length of the curtain wall. In 1952, Bean reported on his excavation and interpretation of the north gate structures, and identified three phases without attributing dates:

> Some progress was made in recovering the plan of the entrance which proved to be even more elaborate than was supposed. Excavation, so far confined mainly to the eastern side of the entrance, suggests that there were three phases. In Phase I (Bishop Roger), a projecting rectangular gatehouse existed with round towers at the two northern or outer angles, approached from the valley apparently by a ramp supporting a covered way. Below the gatehouse structure the soil was

undisturbed, showing that the moat had never run close to the Curtain Wall here but had from the first been diverted on either side of the covered way. Halfway between the door of the gatehouse and that of the Curtain Wall itself there had probably been a middle door as remains of a lateral retaining wall were found at this point. If so this door had disappeared with all trace of the other original arrangements between it and the Curtain Wall, in the Phase III rebuilding.

Phase II is represented by a chamber or building within the NE angle of the gatehouse. Straight joints indicate its secondary character, but its diagonal tooling suggests that it is not much later than the original work.

In Phase III, as yet undated but perhaps to be associated with Henry III who carried out extensive alterations to the castle, a narrow chamber was added within the gatehouse as if in prolongation of the covered way, leading to a square tower with portcullis erected against the Curtain Wall, two flights of steps within the tower leading to the original entrance in the Curtain Wall.[202]

Investigations by White

In 1975, prior to the second excavation, much of the structure recorded by Bean was covered by debris, although some major walls and some elements of the vaulting were still partially exposed above ground. The principal aims of the re-excavation were to identify and interpret the surviving structures, examine their stratigraphical context, and determine their sequential relationship to other parts of the castle. As with the other re-excavation directed by White in the castle, it was hoped that the work would resolve the differences of interpretation in earlier published descriptions. Exposure of the remains was also a preliminary requirement for their conservation and display. Between 1975 and 1977 all the structures recorded by Bean were identified,[203] and additional structures and features were excavated.[204]

Phases 1 and 1a (1122–39) (fig 54b)

The work confirmed the discovery by Bean that the earliest structure had been built off a platform of ground with a natural slope to the north west, projecting externally to the north of the curtain wall. The outer ditch, or dry moat, which otherwise lies along the outer side of the curtain wall, was turned to the north on both sides of the platform and then continued past the stopped ends of the counterscarp of the ditch, to either side, at the platform's outer corners.

The north gate is entered from the bailey through an entry or postern set in the curtain wall. The postern, a primary feature, is placed well to the east of centre in the overall length of the northern length of the wall (see fig 82). From its threshold, the lower level of the platform, projecting to the north of the wall, is reached by a flight of stone steps.

In the primary phase of development, the platform was occupied by a rectangular courtyard, defined by comparatively thin walls, 1.22m (4ft) wide, constructed of stone rubble with Ham Hill stone ashlar dressings and features. The masonry is set in a yellow mortar on its eastern, western and northern sides and is identical in construction with the thicker curtain wall forming the southern side. Most of the east and west walls had been robbed, but were indicated by their foundation trenches.

The plan of the courtyard, which measured internally 19.2m (63ft) east to west and 14.6m (48ft) south to north, was symmetrical on a north–south axis through the entry in the curtain wall and a second entry in the centre of its north wall. The northern entry provided access from the courtyard to a walled passage 2.29m (7ft 6in) wide and about 18m (59ft) long internally, which descended the slope to the north of the platform. The south ends of the passage walls at low level, below rebuilding in a later phase, bonded with the north face of the courtyard's north wall where, externally, the re-entrant angles at their junctions were emphasised by shallow buttresses of finely dressed Ham Hill stone ashlar above single-course offset-chamfered plinths. Given these re-entrant angle buttresses, it is assumed that the original external north-east and north-west angles of the courtyard's walls were also emphasised by ashlar clasping buttresses, similar to those that are, in turn, seen on structures within the central area of the castle. Both the postern in the curtain wall, and the court's north wall, are faced with Ham Hill stone ashlar. The descending passage walls, of the same construction as the courtyard walls, both have an external broad ashlar pilaster buttress centrally in their length, and at its northern end, behind each of the diagonal battered ashlar buttresses that frame the exit from the north end of the passage. The ends of the walls are further supported by deep splayed buttresses, also faced in ashlar, designed to counteract the downward thrust of the east and west walls of the passage. Some fragments of vaulting survived, and the buttresses suggest that the passage was vaulted when originally constructed. Following the completion of the walled courtyard in the primary phase (Phase 1) two

chambers, both of the same size, were built within it: one in the north-east and one in the north-west corner, with rubble walls inserted to form the two sides of each enclosure. At their north ends, the west wall of the east chamber and the east wall of the west chamber were found straight-jointed against the south face of the north wall of the courtyard; however, the east and west ends of the inserted south walls and their junctions with the west and east walls of the courtyard had been robbed out in a later phase. The south-east corner of the west chamber and the south-west corner of the east chamber were strengthened with Ham Hill stone ashlar quoins externally and internally. No indication of entries to either chamber was preserved. The stratification indicated that the insertion of these chambers is close in date to the primary construction, and is therefore identified as Phase 1a.

Phase 2 (1140–1355) (fig 54c)

In Phase 2 the external north-east and north-west corners of the courtyard were strengthened by the addition of clasping circular turrets, each rising from a single-course offset-chamfered plinth. At the same time the east and west walls of the courtyard were widened internally by about 750mm (2ft 6in). It is assumed that this thickening formed a wall-walk with steps provided at the south-eastern corner of the courtyard, and possibly at the junction of the east wall of the west chamber with the north wall of the courtyard. In the same phase, a narrow extension to the west chamber was added against its eastern side.

Phase 3 (1356–1480) (fig 54d)

Phase 3 is a later remodelling of the courtyard, apparently to strengthen its defensive capability. The courtyard was divided laterally into two halves by a thick rubble wall, which linked the thickened east and west walls. The junctions at either end of this wall with the side walls have been robbed, and evidence for a presumed central entry in the inserted wall on the central axis has been removed in the subsequent phase. Between the putative position of this entry and the doorway in the north wall of the courtyard, an area of rubble masonry suggests that a ramp was laid over the natural slope to ease the access between the two.

Phase 4 (1485–93) (fig 54e)

In this final phase in the development, all the courtyard structures built during the previous phases were demolished or concealed beneath a higher level of made-up ground. In order to provide stronger access between the existing entry in the curtain wall and the entrance to the descending passage, a turret was built against the north face of the curtain wall. This contains a passage of the same width as the entry, in which the remodelled flight of steps leads down into an open causeway, 1.37m (4ft 6in) wide. This was flanked by a wall to either side (fig 56). At its north end it is linked with the entrance to the descending passage rebuilt above its earlier level at the south end. The new work in this phase is faced with ashlar limestone blocks laid in white lime mortar. To either side, the ground above the former court was built up and the slope towards the ditch curtain wall on its north side was refaced.

Comment

The unusual, if not unique, form of this structure has been noted. Its development appears to mirror both the changing defensive requirements of the later medieval episcopal residence and the gradual draining of the mere. However, there is a significant characteristic of the original structure, namely the thinness of its outer walls. Although the enclosed court must have been a prominent structure forming part of the defensive perimeter, the walls as originally built were less than half the width of the great tower walls; they were comparable to the inner lateral walls of the central complex ranges, and it is significant that very soon after construction they were almost doubled in width. The function of the north gate is further discussed in Chapter 11.

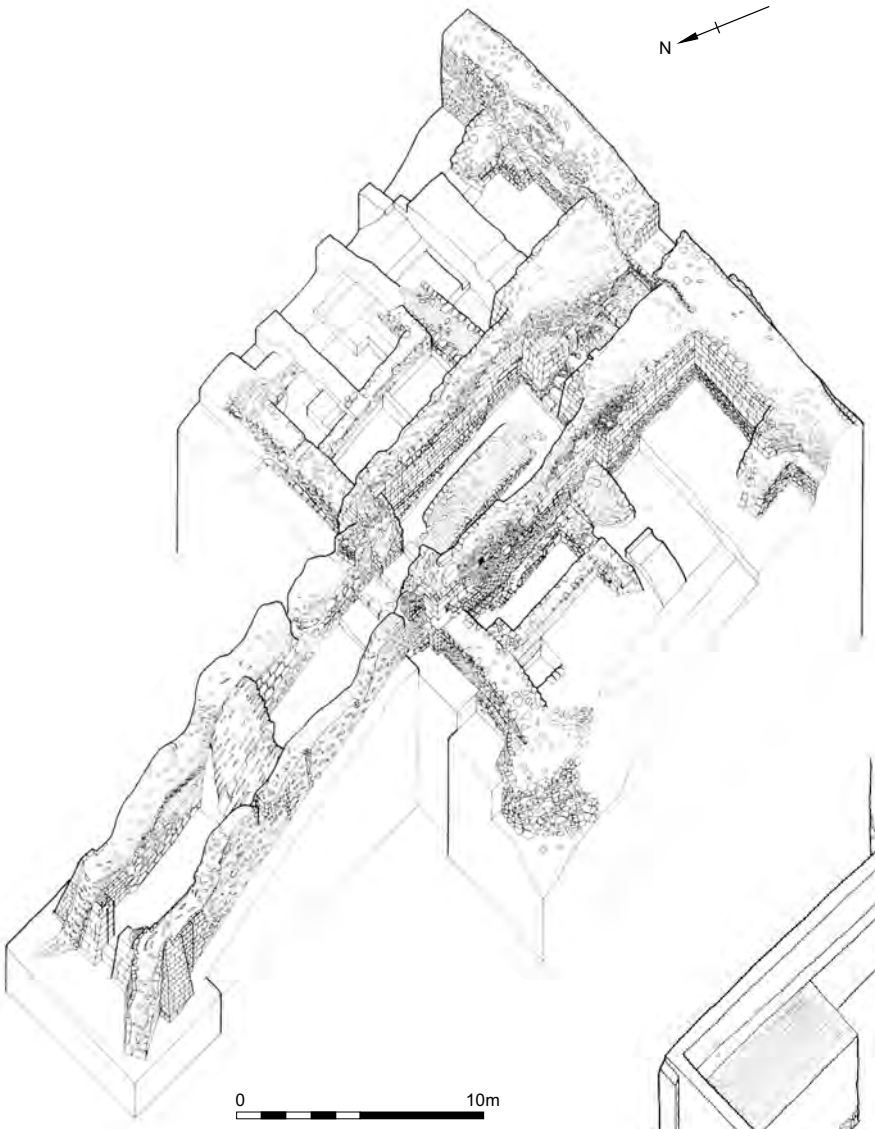


Fig 54a The north gate barbican: completed excavation

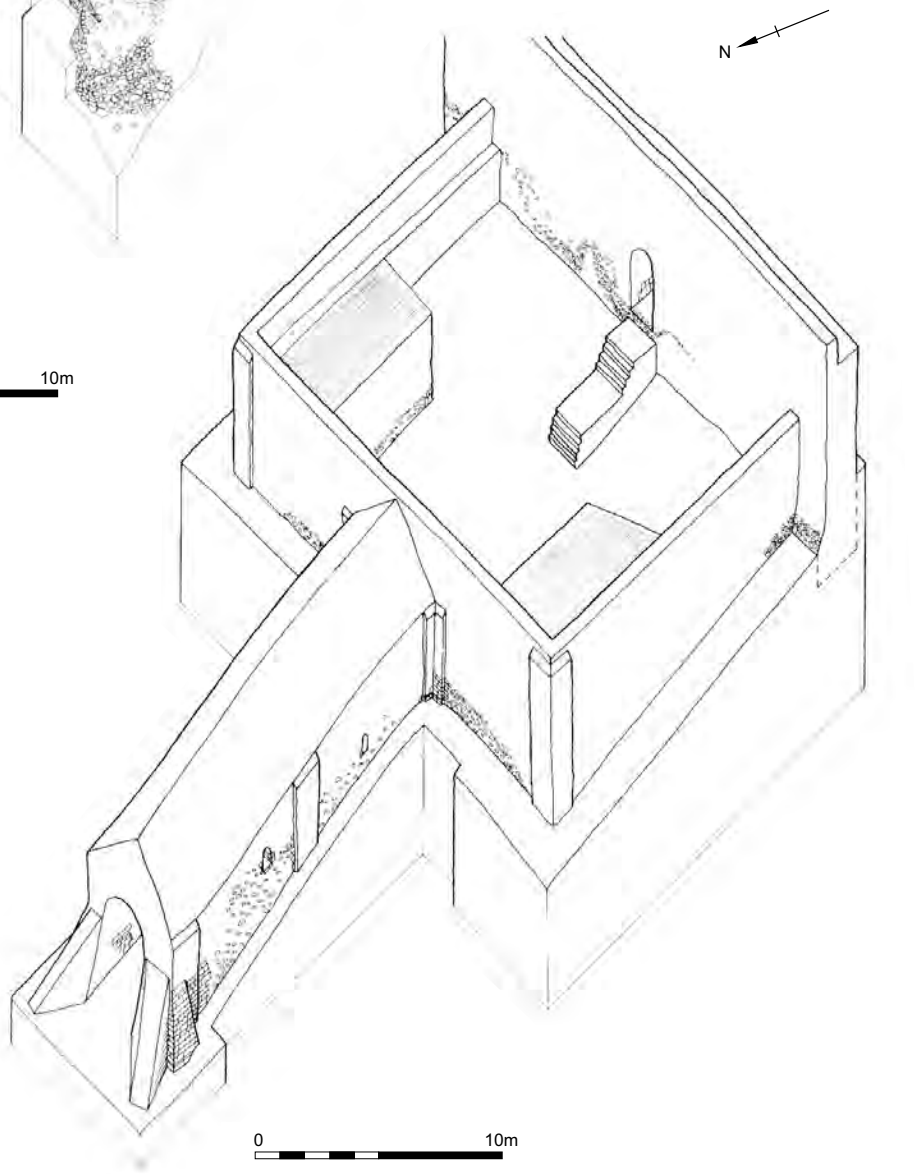


Fig 54b The north gate barbican: phases 1 and 1a reconstruction (1122–39)

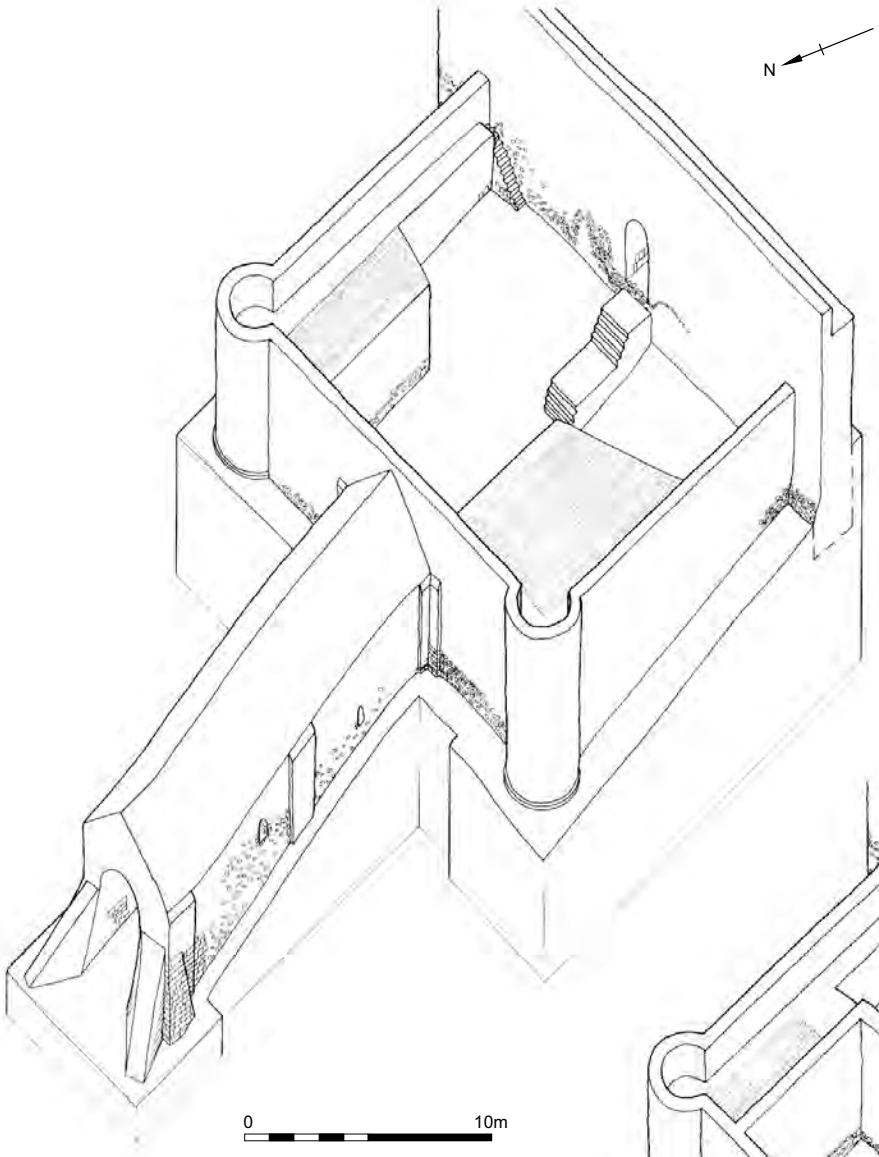


Fig 54c The north gate barbican: phase 2 reconstruction (1140–1355)

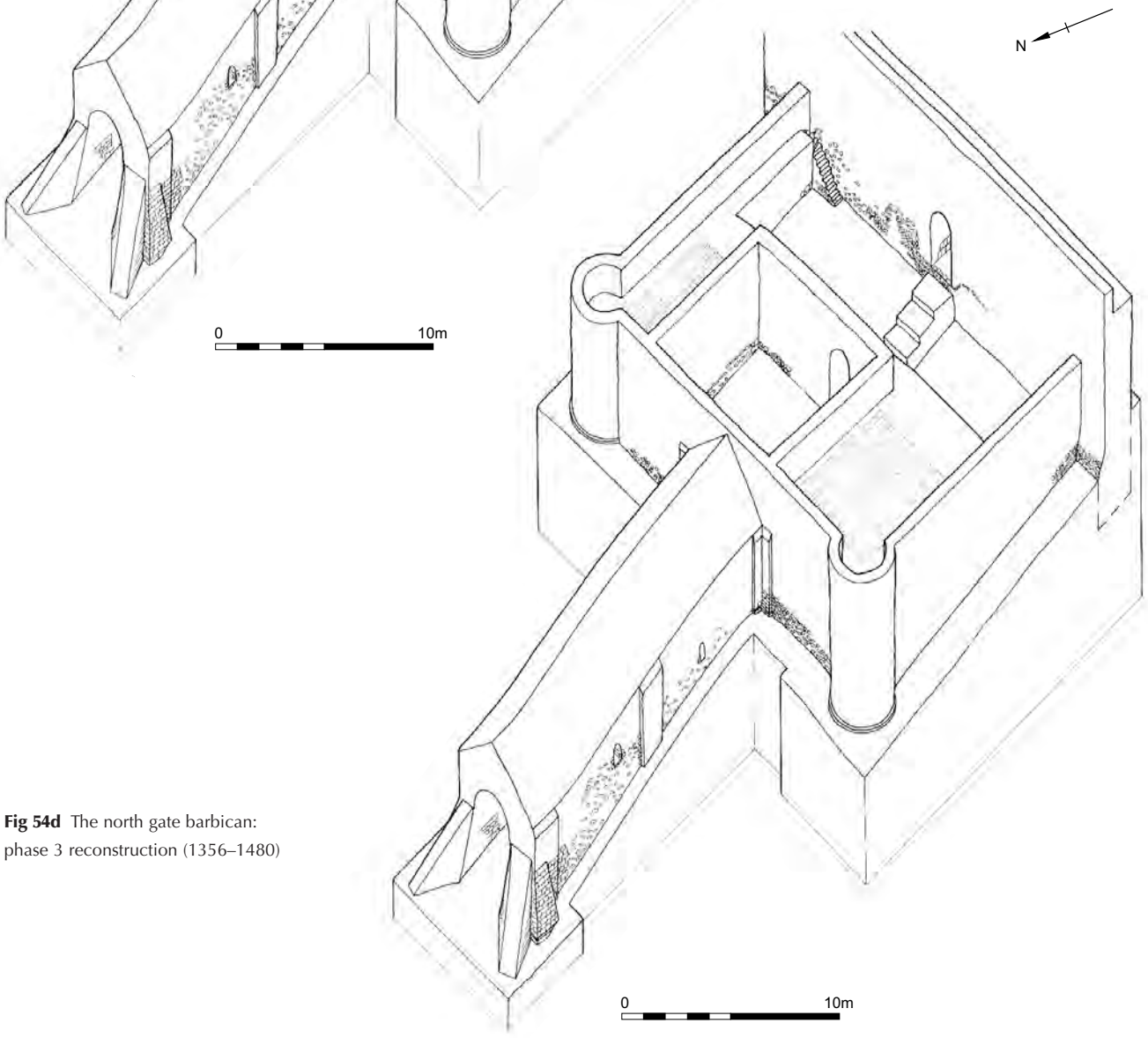


Fig 54d The north gate barbican: phase 3 reconstruction (1356–1480)

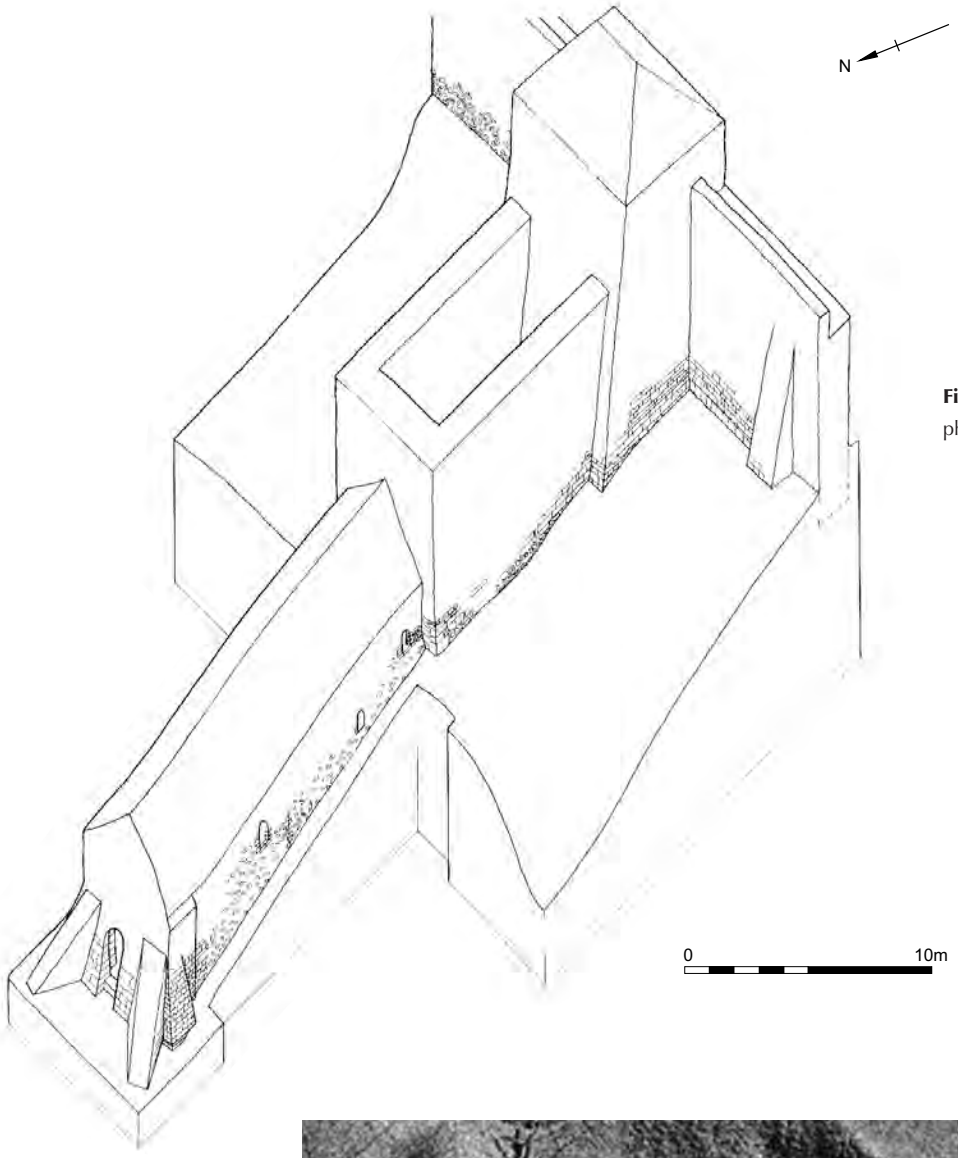


Fig 54e The north gate barbican: phase 4 reconstruction (1485–93)

Fig 55 The north gate: the remains after excavation, looking south, from the air. *Photograph*: detail of fig 50

Fig 56 The north gate: the remains of the walled causeway leading to the stairs within the later gatehouse tower abutting to the curtain wall.
Photograph: NMR EH/B925755

The structural remains: the central building complex

9

The central building complex is the core of the castle and housed the residential, administrative and domestic service functions. Much of it, except for the west and south courtyards, survives in ruins to a high level (fig 57). Its original form and the various later phases of alteration and addition are described in outline and related to the six development phases identified in Chapter 7 (fig 58). The structural evidence that underpins the interpretation is described for each component part. The complex comprises:

1. The great tower and the attached small tower
2. The inner court
3. The west range and the latrine turret
4. The north (chapel) range
5. The east range
6. The south (great hall) range
7. The west courtyard
8. The structures to the south of the west courtyard and the small tower
9. The south courtyard
10. The kitchen and service yard
11. The round house or horse gin.

Investigations by Bean between 1932 and 1954

After removing natural growth and masonry tumble, Bean recorded the plan and many of the surviving details of the central complex. His record drawings and photographs show that over the same period he also excavated the remains of other buried walls and structural features of the complex.

Bean's correspondence with the RCHME investigators contains useful information on the results of his work on the central complex.[205] However, as with his records on other parts of the castle, only the most cursory references were made to his discoveries in the description subsequently published in the West Dorset inventory.[206] Although many of the walls and foundations Bean had recorded were included on the RCHME plan, little attempt was made to interpret their date, function or relationships, either in the text or on the plan. This may be because no agreement emerged during correspondence on these matters. Only two of the structures Bean had excavated and identified as integral parts of the central complex were annotated: namely the south range, with the (inaccurate) caption 'Great Hall Over', and a structure to the east of the south range with the caption 'Kitchen Wing' (see fig 25).

Investigations by White

Work by the Ancient Monuments Branch of the former Ministry of Works on the clearance, recording and conservation of the standing remains of the central complex began in 1958 and continued throughout the programme of excavations directed by White from 1968. More recently, in preparation for this report, a new ground plan was prepared and photogrammetric drawings of the elevations of the standing walls of the north range were produced from 1989 by the English Heritage Photogrammetric Unit. Also, in order to clarify issues raised in some of the existing records, several minor excavations and further structural analysis were undertaken by Cook from 1990. For those parts of the

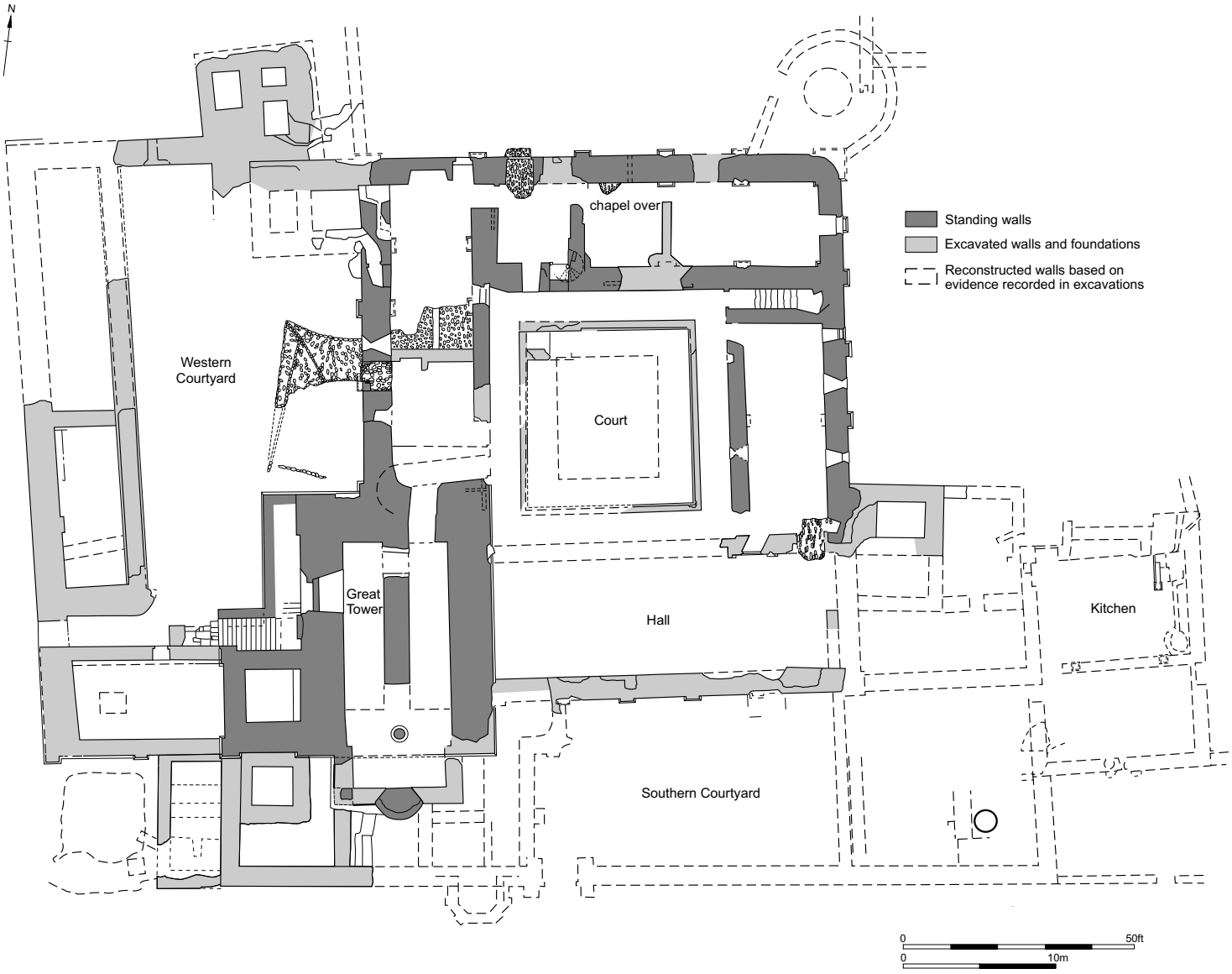


Fig 57 The central building complex: ground plan of the remains showing all the standing walls and all excavated walls and foundations

central complex that were exposed during the programme of re-excavation directed by White, only the archaeological contexts identified as contributing significantly to the interpretation of structure have been noted here. The full report of the re-excavation is published separately.[207]

9.1 The great tower and the attached small tower[208] (figs 59–62)

The structural elements recorded in the standing and excavated remains of these buildings have provided sufficient evidence to reconstruct much of their original form, and also to establish the nature and sequence of subsequent alterations and additions. The several parts of the towers have been identified and interpreted as follows.

The great tower: foundation and base

The investigations undertaken by Bean, and those by both White and Cook, found that, as originally constructed, the tower was rectangular in plan and that, externally, the base of its outer walls at the original ground level was defined by a continuous, single-course chamfered-offset ashlar plinth. Changes of build, which were noted at the lowest courses of the walls or former walls at the junction of the west and south ranges with the tower's northern and western sides, indicate that this base plinth, and therefore its foundation, must have been laid

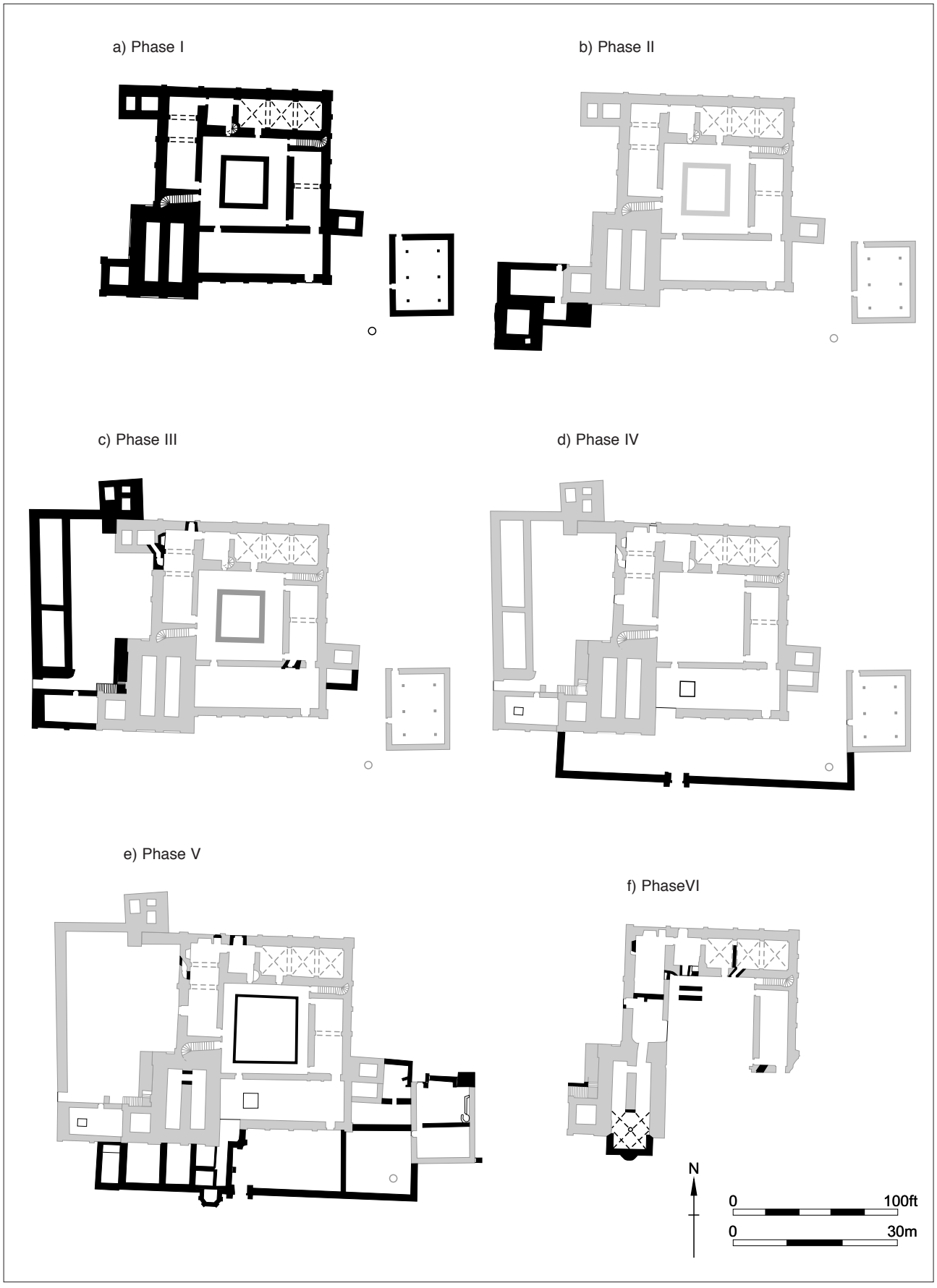


Fig 58 The central building complex: reconstructed ground-floor plans showing each development phase: a) Phase I: Bishop Roger's works 1122–39; b) Phase II: baronial and early royal works 1140–99; c) Phase III: later royal works 1200–1355; d) Phase IV: early episcopal works 1356–1480; e) Phase V: Bishop Langton's works 1485–93; f) Phase VI: Sir Walter Ralegh's works 1592–1603

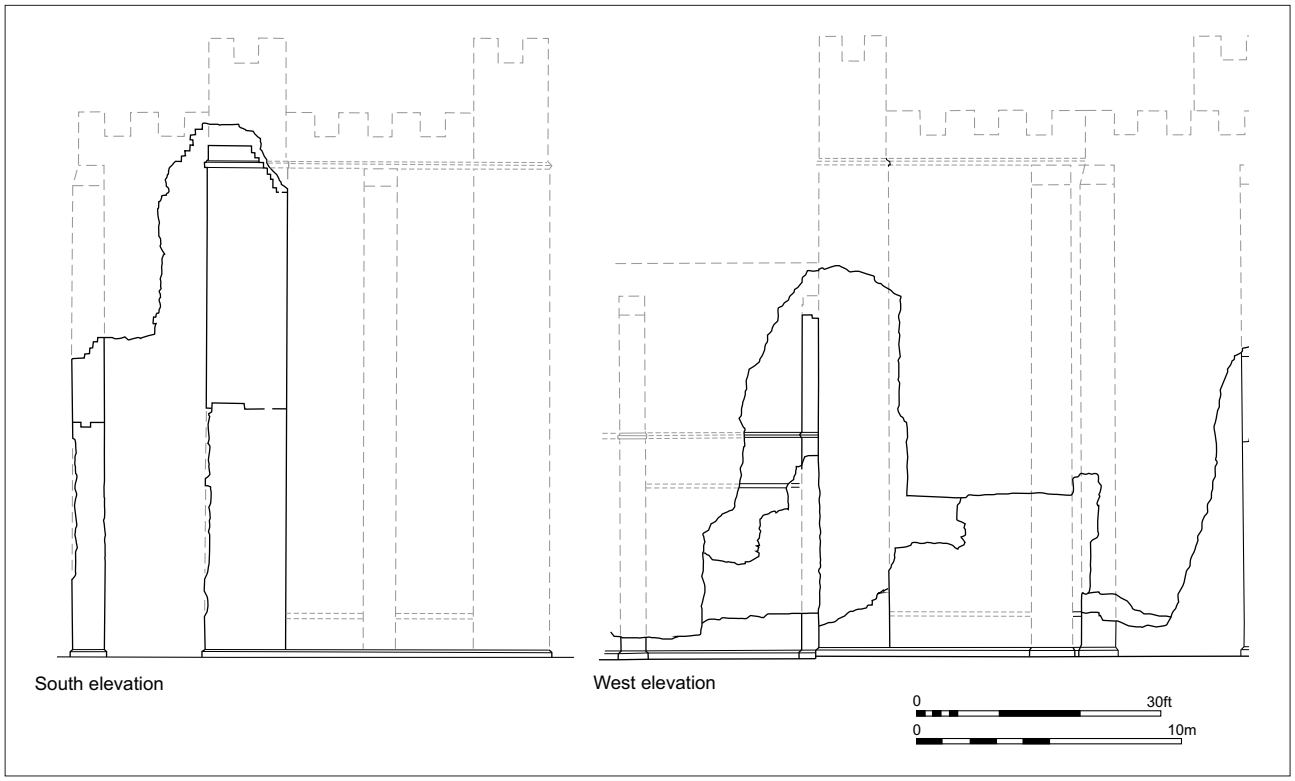


Fig 59 The central building complex: reconstructed south and west elevations of the great tower in Phase I

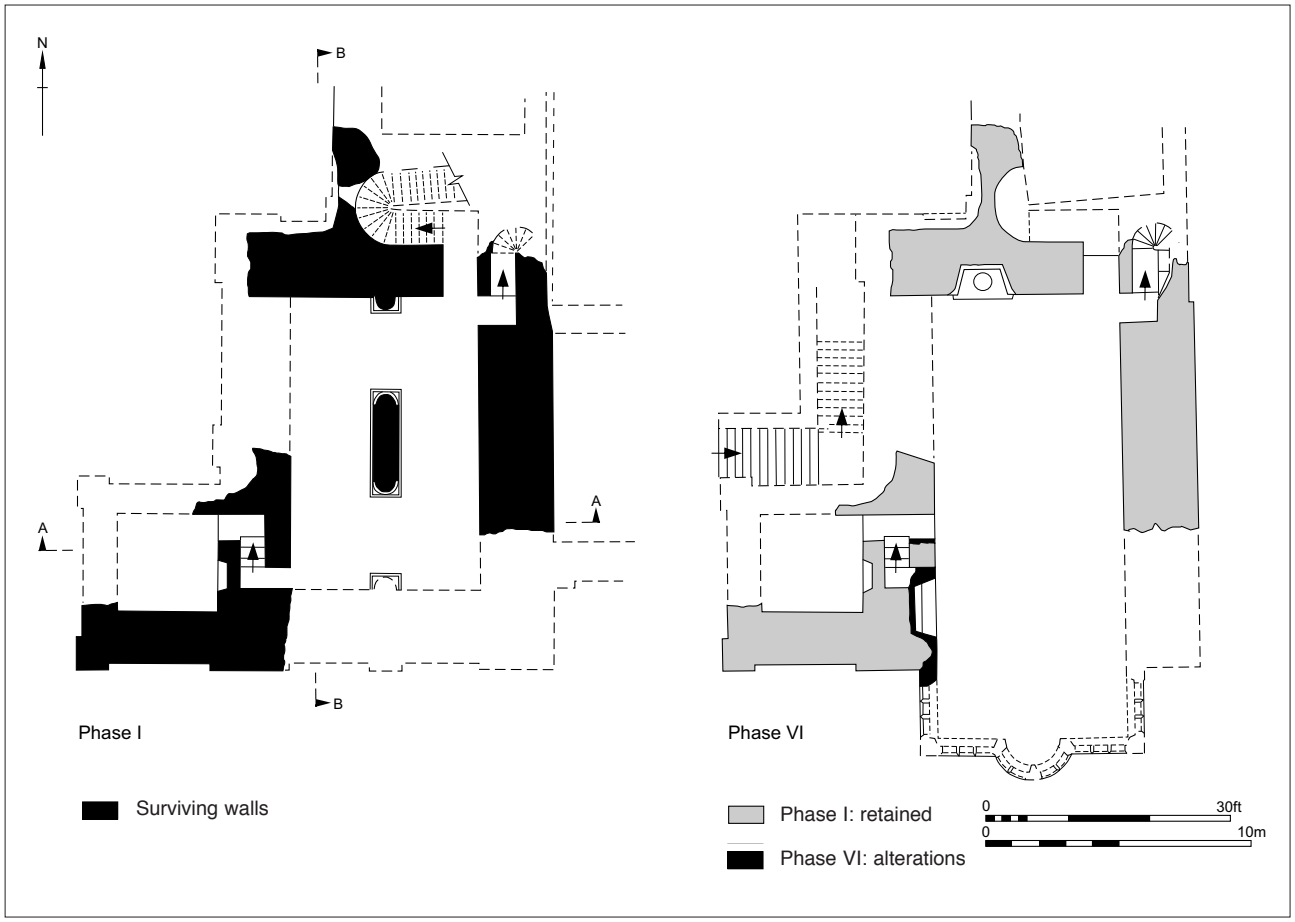


Fig 60 The central building complex: second-storey plan of the great tower showing Phases I and VI

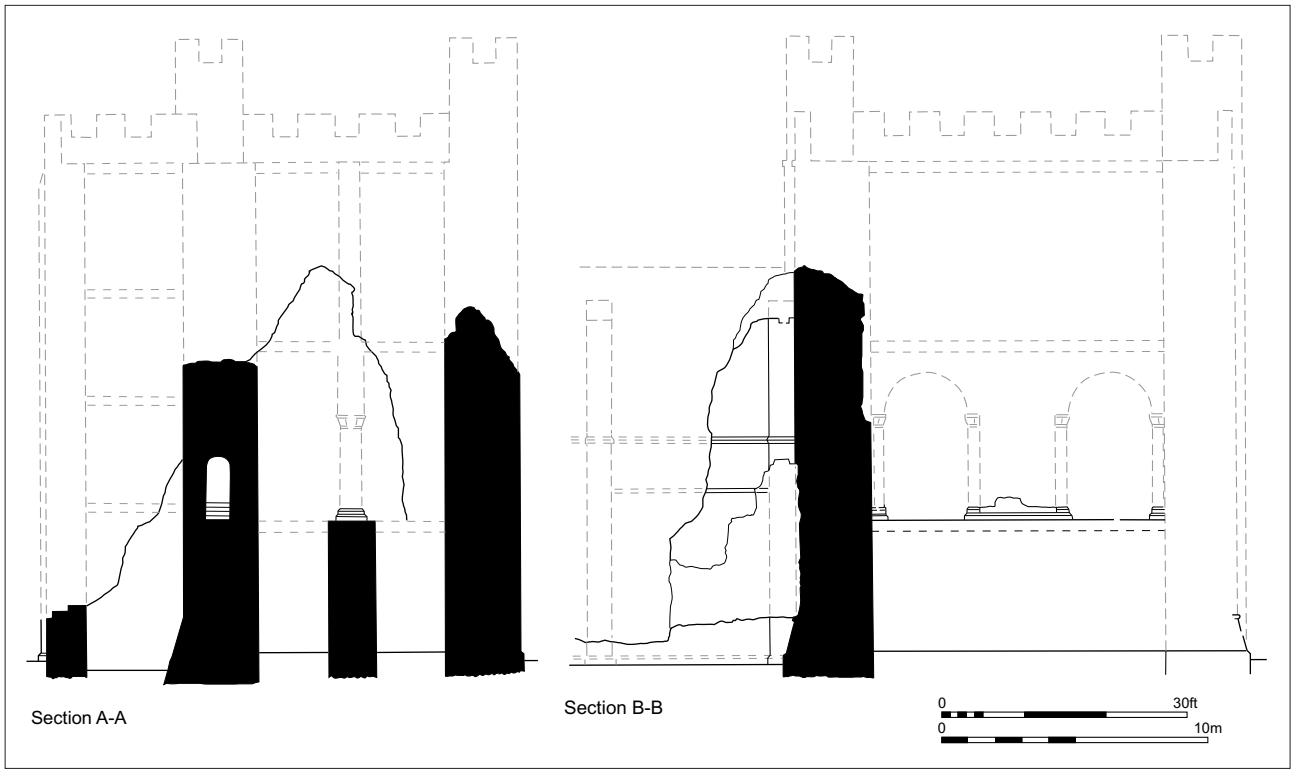


Fig 61 The central building complex: diagrammatic reconstructions of north–south and east–west sections through the great tower in Phase I

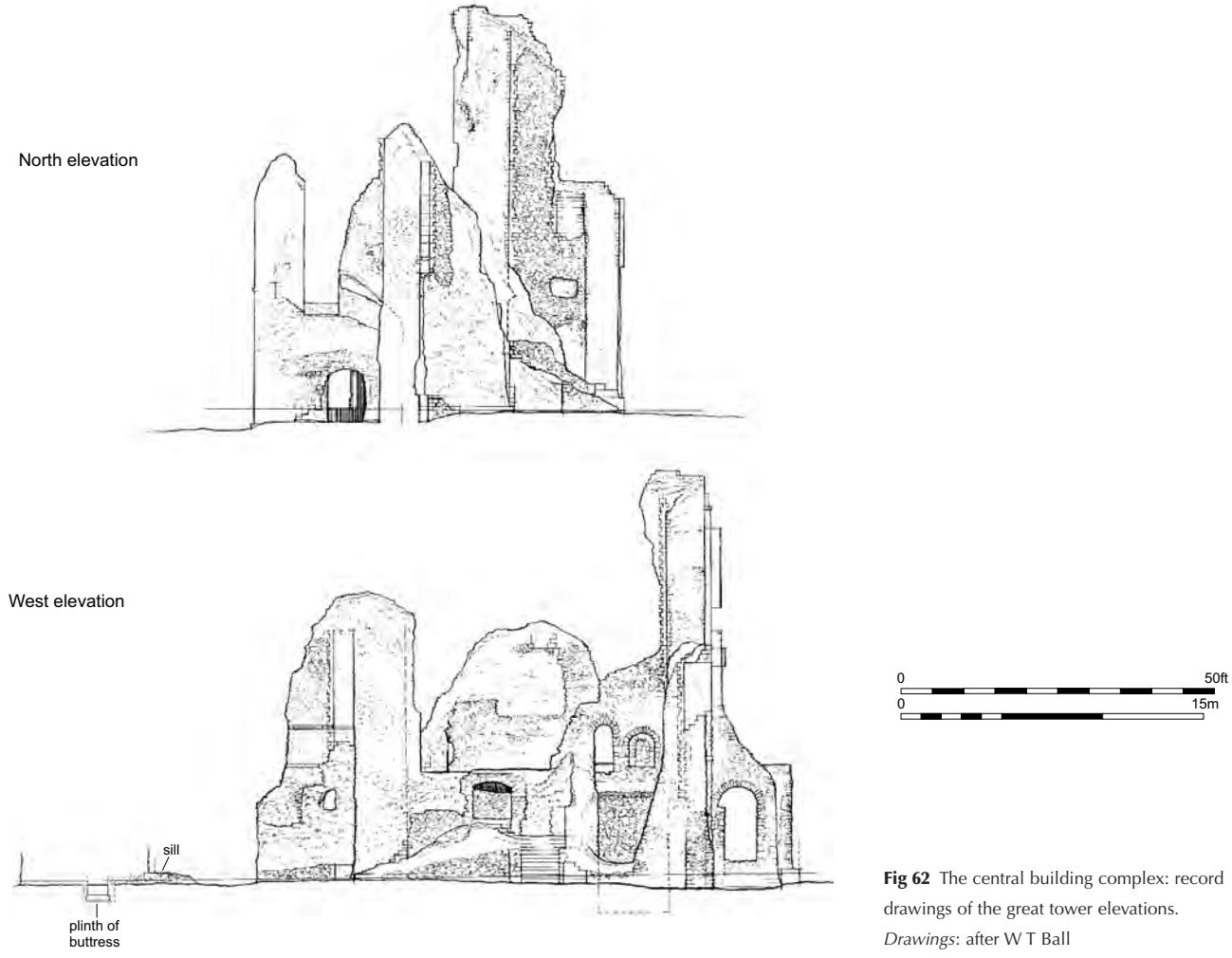


Fig 62 The central building complex: record drawings of the great tower elevations. *Drawings*: after W T Ball

down prior to the construction of the adjoining ranges. At a higher level the construction of the tower and ranges had continued simultaneously.

Lengths of the plinth are to be found along most of the eastern side of the tower, and along the south side of the otherwise destroyed south-east corner. At the original north-east corner, a mitred angle indicates the position of the return of the plinth along the northern side. This feature must have been almost immediately concealed when the eastern and northern walls were built above plinth level, in conjunction with the construction of the southern end of the adjoining west range, which incorporated the stairs rising to the first-floor chambers within both the tower and the range.

The surviving lengths of plinth on the tower's eastern side indicate that, although the plinth was originally continuous, some stones were cut away where the now-demolished north and south lateral walls of the south range abutted the east wall. The plinth stones are still *in situ* on each side of these breaks and at the abutment of the north wall. On the north side of the break, at the abutment of the south wall, mason's scribe lines mark the setting out for both walls. The lines correspond to the positions and thickness of these walls, which are indicated at higher level by the scars of their demolished ends, defined by the remains of bonded ashlar quoining. These details confirm that, from above the plinth level, the tower and the south range were part of the same primary phase of construction.

A continuous plinth course at the same level and of the same profile was also exposed at the base of the north face of the tower's projection beyond the southern end of the west wall of the west range. Here it was abutted by a similar plinth at the base of the ashlar pilaster buttress, at a slightly lower level. The latter appeared to continue to the east, on the alignment for the north side recorded at the north-east corner of the tower. At the tower's north-west corner the plinth was found to return to the south but was otherwise concealed behind the substantial masonry base for the external stairs added against the tower's west side (see fig 58c and 62).

At the base of the small tower only the two ashlar buttresses clasping its north-west and south-west corners have chamfered-offset plinths. There is a plinth stone with a mitred return within the re-entrant angle on the west side of an ashlar pilaster buttress forming the junction between the south wall of the great tower and that of the small tower. This suggests that it was originally intended that the small tower should also rise from a continuous offset plinth but that this feature was eliminated during construction. Similarly on the outer walls of the surviving three ranges of the central complex, chamfered-offset plinths were only found at the bases of the ashlar-faced clasping and pilaster buttresses.

Immediately above the offset plinth on the northern side of the tower there is evidence of a shallow battered apron, 1.22m (4ft) high, rising from the top of the plinth across the width of the wall panel between the angle of the tower with the west range and the north face of the ashlar buttress clasping the tower's north-west corner. A single stone preserved in the angle indicates that this batter was capped by a double-chamfered string course. It therefore seems likely that there were battered aprons capped by a string course on the outer exposed faces of the tower in each panel between the ashlar clasping and the pilaster buttresses where the continuous plinth course was present. This design feature echoes the treatment of the south-west gatehouse tower (Chapter 8).

The great and small towers: the plan at plinth level

The rectangular plan of the great tower in its primary phase, represented by the alignments of its offset plinths on all four sides at the original ground level, measures overall 16.76m (55ft) north to south and 12.5m (40ft) east to west and the thickness of the outer walls at the same level is about 2.75m (9ft). Internally the ground storey is divided by a central spine wall running north to south into two narrow chambers. These chambers were originally quite separate, but they were linked by openings cut through the spine wall in later phases.

Externally, the small tower at ground level projects 5m (16ft 6in) from the west face of the great tower, and is 7.16m (23ft 6in) wide from north to south, measured to the outer corners of its clasping buttresses. The north and west walls, both 1.4m (4ft 6in) thick, and the south wall, 2.1m (7ft) thick, enclosed a single chamber on each floor.

The great and small towers: elevations

From above their outer plinths the east, north and west walls of the great tower survive to first-storey level, and substantial portions of the same walls survive above to second-storey level. Only the south-west corner rises further, through the full height of the former upper or third storey to the base of the remains of a parapet or corner turret, which is marked by an ashlar double-chamfered-offset string course. The height from the plinth to this course is about 16.5m (54ft) (figs 59 and 62). The height of the corner turret is estimated as 3.96m (13ft).

Except for the external ashlar-faced pilaster buttress on its western side, where it adjoins the remains of the south wall of the small tower, the original south wall of the great tower was demolished in a late phase down to the top of its outer plinth course, prior to the construction of an addition. The string course already noted is continuous and indicates the height of the parapet to the wall-walks on the tower's south and west sides as well as the base of a turret at the south-west angle; it is assumed that each of the four angles of the great tower's wall-walk was protected by a parapet turret (see fig 63). Above the string course the masonry at the base of the parapet turret incorporates the lowest winders of a circular stair, which rose from the wall-walk level to an upper stage in the parapet turret (see fig 64).

At the north-west corner of the great tower, and rising from the offset plinth course, the lower ashlar courses of a clasping buttress survive. The west face of this buttress is largely concealed behind the remains of the solid masonry base of the added stairs already noted. Where the small tower abuts at the south-west corner, a wide ashlar pilaster buttress on the south wall of the great tower is a corresponding feature, without a clasping return on its west side. In the centre of the west side of the great tower the lower part of a pilaster buttress has also been concealed behind the abutting masonry core of the later stairs. It is represented by an exposed ashlar course, a little higher than the top of the core-work of the stairs; and above by several more courses of ashlar quoining preserved in the wall face, presumably when the buttress was cut back so that it did not narrow the width of the stairway. It has been assumed that there was another wide ashlar clasping buttress on the tower's south-east corner and that there was a pilaster buttress in the centre of the demolished south wall, similar to that in the centre of the west wall. On the east side, where the tower's wall formed the internal west wall of the south range, the wall face is flush with the top of the plinth and there is no evidence to indicate whether or not there was once a clasping buttress on its north-east corner.

Although part of the small tower's south wall survives to the same height as the great tower where it abuts, its north and west walls have been demolished to much lower levels. Indeed, its north-west corner survives to no more than about 1m (3ft) above ground level. The remains of the small tower indicate that both of its outer corners, to the north west and south west, have ashlar clasping buttresses rising from single-course chamfered-offset ashlar plinths. Differences in the character of the masonry show that the lower half of its south wall and its south-west corner buttress above the offset plinth have been refaced in rubble. This refacing has been interpreted as a repair following the demolition of a building added on to the south side in a later phase (see below).

Considerable alterations were made to the great tower in Phase V (1485–93), during Bishop Langton's remodelling of the central complex, and again in Phase VI (1592–1603), when Sir Walter Ralegh had the south wall completely demolished to ground level and the chambers in each storey increased in size by the addition of a large bay at their south end (fig 60). The surviving features of this alteration comprise the ground-floor walls of a rectangular bay about 5.7m (19ft) wide and 2.15m (7ft) deep, with a solid segmental projection in the centre of its front. This projection is interpreted as the lowest part of a central buttress that supported a compass bay window in the upper storeys (described below). The remains of the bay at first-storey level are faced externally in Ham Hill stone ashlar. At the upper-storey levels of the bay, only fragments of the moulded jambs of the windows on the west side survive *in situ*. The evidence suggests that the form of the bay window was similar to the pair of compass bay windows on the front of The Hall, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire, dated to around 1610, and to the pair of bay windows added on to the north side of the great hall at Berry Pomeroy Castle, Devon, at about the same time.[209]

The great tower: the interior of the first storey (undercroft)

The outer walls are on average 2.75m (9ft) thick, and are founded on large blocks of local limestone. These foundations were built into the southern length of the enclosure ditch, which pre-dates the construction of the castle (Chapter 6).[210]

The investigations have confirmed that the tower's ground floor was intended to be an undercroft divided by a central spine wall, 1.75m (5ft 9in) thick (figs 60 and 61). The two compartments are each about 2.64m (8ft 6in) wide. In Phase VI, when the tower's south wall was demolished, the southern end of the spine wall was cut back and the enlarged area at this end of the undercroft was extended as already described. Each of the narrow compartments divided by the spine wall was covered by a barrel vault constructed in Phase V. These vaults probably replaced the timbers supporting the original first floor. In Phase VI, when the southern end of the undercroft was enlarged, each barrel vault was tied into a groined vault taking the same level into the extension. The groined vault is supported centrally by an early twelfth-century circular column, 760mm (2ft 6in) in diameter, reused after its

removal from a higher level within the tower (see fig 20).

The passage cut through the tower's north wall into the east compartment of the undercroft is a late feature that post-dates the demolition of the ramp for the flight of stairs providing the principal access to the tower's second storey or first floor (figs 60 and 62; see also west range below). It is likely that the opening between the compartments, at the north end of the spine wall, is also a secondary feature, but its date is uncertain. In the western compartment, the wide embrasure at high level covered by a cross vault is also a later feature in its present form. However, the wide splay on its northern side suggests that it represents an original loop embrasure, which was widened to form a large window opening in Phase V, at the same time as the barrel vaults were inserted. There is no evidence of any doorway to the undercroft in Phase I (1122–39) through the three surviving full-height walls, and it seems unlikely that there was an entry through the demolished south wall. It must therefore be assumed that entry to the undercroft was obtained through openings with trapdoors from the floor above, an indication that its function was to provide secure storage. The use of this area in the context of the small tower is discussed below.

The great tower: stairs to the second storey

The only access to the tower that can be firmly identified with Phase I is to the second storey or first floor and is represented by the remains of the stairway at the south end of the west range (fig 60). The lower straight flight of the stairs rose within a passage 1.37m (4ft 6in) wide, entered from the inner court. The dressed stone steps were laid on a solid rubble core. Only the ends of the four lower steps, embedded in the wall, are now visible. At the junction of the west wall of the west range the stairway was turned in a half circle of winders to an upper flight, still within a passageway now set within the thickness of the tower's north wall. This passageway was covered by a ramped barrel vault, which is now indicated by its springing preserved on the southern flanks of the passageway at both levels, and by part of a skewed portion above the intermediate winding turn between the two straight flights.

The great tower: interior of the second storey

At the head of the upper flight of the stairs a lobby to the right, formed within the thickness of the tower's north wall, led into a chamber at first-floor level. Most of the eastern half of this wall, including the lobby, has been destroyed. However, sufficient survives to reconstruct its plan in some detail. On the eastern, or left-hand, side of the lobby, within the adjoining north-eastern corner of the tower, there are the remains of another tiny barrel-vaulted lobby, entered from the main lobby. This feature is interpreted as the entry to a destroyed circular stair that gave access to the tower's third storey (fig 60).

The enclosed space at this level is about 11m (36ft) north to south and 7m (23ft) east to west. The survey and reconstruction drawings of the tower prepared by Bean show that he discovered evidence that the area within the tower at first-floor level had been subdivided by an arcade located above the undercroft spine wall. The masonry was not exposed again until 1970, when the first-floor level was first cleared of debris to reveal the tops of the vaults and then cleared to below the floor level indicated by the levels of the fireplace hearths in the north and west walls (figs 60 and 61). The re-excavation revealed the surviving ashlar courses of an otherwise demolished central spine wall, 1.68m (5ft 6in) wide and 4m (13ft) long, set on a chamfered-offset ashlar base, with the moulded bases for half columns, 760mm (2ft 6in) in diameter, attached at each end. All the stonework was heavily scorched. At the northern end of the spine wall an interval of 2.9m (9ft) separated the attached half-column base from the remains of a half-column bonding with the face of the tower's north wall. At the southern end of the spine wall it was estimated that the same interval would have separated its attached half-column base from a similar base attached to the inner face of the since-demolished south wall. It would therefore seem that, in Phase I, the half columns had framed similar wide openings at each end of the spine wall. These openings, over which it may also reasonably be assumed the attached half columns supported moulded arches, had linked the chambers or aisles on either side of the wall until demolition, probably during Phase V. The base of the wall and the attached half-column bases were then concealed below the later floor, its higher level dictated by the extrados of the inserted barrel vaults. The level of the crowns of the barrel vaults are some 750mm (2ft 6in) higher than the original Phase I floor level, measured from the bottom of the spine-wall bases. The higher floor level coincides with the levels of the hearths inserted in the north and west walls of the chamber, already noted and described below.

The tower's north wall, on the western side of the spine wall, survives to about 5.2m (17ft) above the raised floor level. Set into its inner face are the remains of a fireplace with canted sides and a paved hearth. In the centre of the hearth, a funnel-shaped stone pit is assumed to have been

a receptacle for hot coals or embers on which cooking pots were placed.

The northern half of the west wall has been demolished to below the level of the raised floor. The southern half, however, survives to the full height of the tower's second storey. In the northern half the only surviving feature is a splayed face close to the higher southern portion of the wall that may represent the south side of a former window embrasure.

The inner face of the southern half of the wall, where it originally abutted the south-west corner of the chamber, contains the left-hand jamb of a former doorway. It is likely that the right-hand jamb of this doorway was destroyed when the large fireplace was inserted into the wall in a later phase. Until it was blocked, the doorway led into a barrel-vaulted passage which turned to the right and then, rising in several steps, continued within the thickness of the wall for 1.83m (6ft) where it turned to the left and opened into a chamber within the small tower that adjoins here on the west side of the wall. In order to maintain this access from the chamber into the small tower after the original doorway to the passage was blocked, an arched opening to the right of the inserted fireplace was forced through the inner face of the west wall. This provided a straight passage at about the same level as the higher floor in the small tower chamber (figs 60 and 61). The inserted fireplace has a projecting stone-paved hearth. The ashlar facings on its canted side and rear walls are scorched. The semicircular arch over the face of the opening is a post-medieval repair, probably inserted after the removal of the original lintel. The flue from the fireplace is built into the thickness of the wall.

In the rubble walling to the south of the blocked doorway, disturbed by the insertion of the fireplace, are the only remains of the large compass window with stone mullions added at the southern end of the tower by Sir Walter Ralegh in Phase VI. Surviving *in situ* on the stub end of the wall's projection are several moulded jamb stones, which formed the west side of the window.

A substantial portion of the tower's east wall rises to just above second-floor level. The only surviving features here are the remains of an internal offset at second-floor level and several laid ashlars of unknown function in the centre of the masonry rising above the offset.

The great tower: the interior of the third storey

The major part of the tower surviving into the third storey is the portion at the southern end of the outer west wall, including the south-western corner (fig 62). This wall rises to the level of an internal offset, presumed to be the bearing for the roof structure. It is rubble-faced with evidence of ashlar quoining where it formed the internal corner with the south wall of the tower. As with the second storey, the width of the demolished south wall was refaced in rubble on the line of the west wall's internal face when, in Phase VI, and on the same internal alignment, the compass bay window was constructed.

There are also some remains of the east wall at third-storey level, where part of its inner face is set back from the second-storey face line. The only features to survive are several ashlars set into the centre of the wall, and the remains of another ashlar near its southern end. Their original purpose is not known.

The great tower: the parapet turret above the south-west corner (figs 62–64)

The parapet turret, already noted, which rose above the south-west corner of the tower, is indicated externally by several courses of ashlars above the chamfered-offset ashlar string course capping the wide pilaster buttress on the southern side. This face is set back by about 100mm (4in) from the face of the buttress below. Seen from within the tower at the same high level, the end of a short overhanging spur projects to the east on the alignment of the northern, or inner, side of the parapet turret where this rises above the presumed level of the wall-walk. This level, and part of the internal face of the wall-walk parapet, is represented by several courses of ashlars offset from the inner face of the portion of the west wall, which survives to full height on the west side of the tower. At the end of the projecting spur adjoining the remains of the parapet turret there are the remains of part of the west jamb, with part of an attached jamb shaft, for a doorway that led to the entry at the bottom of the circular stairs within the parapet turret. The remaining six dressed stone steps spiral clockwise round a central newel. When complete, the stairs would have risen to the battlement level of the parapet turret. This feature can be compared to the three original parapet turrets on the corners of the keep at Rochester Castle, Kent, built 1127–39 for William of Corbeuil, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The interior of the small tower

The small tower contained a barrel-vaulted undercroft, with its floor at a lower level than the corresponding ground-floor level within the great tower's undercroft. At the base of the wall dividing it from the great tower there

Fig 63 The great tower: the south-west internal corner at roof level showing the base of the parapet turret and, to the left, the remains of the west jamb with the nook shaft of the former doorway leading to the stairs within the turret, after consolidation in 1969. *Photograph*: NMR MPBW A8058/6

Fig 64 The great tower: the remains of the stairs that rose within the turret above the south-west corner, after consolidation in 1969. *Photograph*: NMR MPBW A8058/4

Fig 65 The great tower: reconstruction drawing by Philip Corke of the south elevation, showing Ralegh's alterations. *Photograph*: NMR J960259 1997 print 7

is a projecting batter, which approximates in its level and profile to the batters between the buttresses on the exposed outer faces of the great tower. Only the haunch of the barrel vault against the east wall survives above the undercroft, and its shape suggests that the vault had a shallow, four-centred profile. Bean believed that this vault had been inserted. If so, it was probably constructed at the same time as the barrel vaults were inserted over the undercroft in the great tower.

Above the small tower's undercroft, surviving features at various levels indicate that, at levels corresponding to each of the great tower's adjoining upper storeys, there was a lower and an upper chamber, giving a total of four superimposed chambers. The lower chamber of the lower

pair of chambers was entered through the passage built into the thickness of the wall between the towers already described. It is likely that the lower chamber of the upper pair was also entered through a similar passage, but any evidence of this has been destroyed. No evidence of the access to the upper chambers of each pair now exists. There is no evidence of any external entrance into the small tower.

The small tower's relationship to the great tower suggests that it may have contained latrines with shafts descending from some or all of its chambers to the vaulted pit. There is, however, no structural evidence to confirm this use. When the pit was cleared by Bean he noted that there was no evidence of latrine deposit within it,[211] although this is not surprising given the alterations during Phase VI, when it would have been cleared.

Above second-storey level, with its access passageway, only the east wall, which is common to it and the great tower, and the south wall of the small tower survive. Within the chamber the arched entrance from the passageway is flanked to its right by a wide semicircular arched recess. The arch is a post-medieval repair. The inner face of the south wall in this chamber is plain.

In the chamber above, corresponding to the upper part of the first-floor chamber within the great tower, the only surviving features are the remains of a fireplace in the south wall. On the evidence of its design, the fireplace has been identified as part of the Phase I primary construction (fig 66). The recess is flanked by vertical jambs and retains the lower ashlar courses of its curved back, which slopes upwards into the thickness of the wall.

Fig 66 The small tower: detail of the curved ashlar back of the fireplace in the south wall of the chamber at the upper level. *Photograph*: NMR MPBW A7378/9

Comment

Although the great tower shares characteristics with contemporary keeps, being strongly built and accessible only at first-floor level, it was apparently never intended, unlike them, to provide detached, self-contained, defensible domestic accommodation. Its principal distinguishing features were a timber first floor and immediate access to the apartments on the upper floor of the adjoining west range so that it functioned as an integral part of the courtyard residence, presumably for the principal members of the household and their retinue. Access to this level of circulation could be controlled from the inner court at the head of the grand stair. On the basis of the RCHME description, Margaret Wood identified the great tower as a solar tower, but exactly how the second and third storeys functioned, given the subdivision of the former, is not clear.[212] It should be noted that the circular column repositioned in the extended bay to the first storey has characteristics, including its diameter, in common with the Phase I half-column responds *in situ*, but later concealed, on the second storey.

While it was already known that the upper storeys of the tower and its roof structure were substantially remodelled – by demolishing the original spine wall at second-storey (first-floor) level to create a single chamber, inserting the two fireplaces and breaching the south wall – it had not been established when this work was carried out. The need for modification could have resulted from the severe fire within the tower (Chapter 3), causing the heavy scorching of the Phase I masonry, which was subsequently concealed. The discovery of the coin hoard located very close to the base of the half column attached to the south end of the spine wall, and the fine condition of the coins (Appendix 2), now provide clear evidence that the barrel vaults and altered floor levels were in place by the 1540s, and that they are likely to be part of the Phase V works (1485–93) that Leland attributed to Langton. Ralegh's structural works may therefore have been less extensive than previously thought.

9.2 The inner court (figs 57 and 58)

The inner court is enclosed by the northern, eastern, southern and western ranges, with the great tower at its south-western corner. It is not quite a regular square and averages 14.95m (49ft) east to west and 15.5m (51ft) north to south.

Investigations by Bean

During his investigations, Bean cleared some of the overburden and excavated several trenches within the court. During this work, he uncovered several lengths of the remains of a wall, all of which were of identical construction, at the same level and, at about 1.83m (6ft), the same distance from and parallel to the outer faces of the inner walls of the northern, eastern and western ranges, and the projected alignment of the demolished inner south range wall. Each extant length of wall is faced externally, that is towards the centre of the court, with a single course of ashlars with an outer continuous top chamfer. This course is laid as an outer facing against a rubble-faced inner side, giving an overall width of 500mm (1ft 8in).

These remains were interpreted as the surviving portions of the base of a continuous cloister wall enclosing a central area or garth within the inner court and defining alleys of uniform width on each side. This arrangement is described in the text and shown on the plan of the castle (fig 25) published by the RCHME in 1952.[213] From the pottery he found in contexts associated with the construction of the base of the cloister wall, Bean concluded that it originated either during the late medieval or the Tudor period. In excavations below the level of this cloister he noted the presence of earlier, more substantial foundations.[214]

Investigations by White

An excavation of the inner court was begun in 1968 and continued during 1969.[215] The aim of the work was to expose the remains of the structures recorded in the RCHME description and to establish a sequence both for their contexts and their relationship to the contexts identified in the excavations within the adjoining east and west ranges.

This re-excavation exposed again the surviving lengths of the cloister wall uncovered earlier by Bean and the full extent of its foundation. It was found that the foundation trenches on each side of the cloister had been cut into late medieval deposits containing a large quantity of pottery sherds.

Below the fill, the remains of earlier rubble foundations surviving on each side of the inner court were exposed. Like the late medieval cloister wall and its foundation, it was also laid parallel with the walls of the ranges but at the greater distance of 3.5m (11ft 6in), measured from the wall faces of the ranges to its outer edge. This was interpreted as the foundation for the outer wall of a cloister built in Phase I; this had wider alleys and, therefore, enclosed a smaller garth than the cloister wall that subsequently replaced it. On each outer side, the foundation was built off the natural rock; however, within the area it enclosed, the top of the natural rock had been cut down, by about 1m (3ft), creating an artificial depression or pit over the area of the garth. It is surmised that the purpose of the depression was to hold a quantity of loam and stones within the garth and to improve drainage. The artefacts recovered from the fill of the depression were all dated to the first half of the twelfth century.

The width of the earlier, Phase I, cloister foundation suggests that it supported substantial arcading typical of its period. The top of the presumed pent roofs over the alleys is probably indicated by the level of the string course at the base of the intersecting blank arcading, which survives to the face of the upper storey of the north range (fig 67).

In the north-west corner of the cloister garth, two parallel foundations aligned east–west, for a structure about 5m (16ft 6in) by 4m (13ft 3in), were exposed (fig 58f). The northern foundation formed part of the structure of the late medieval cloister wall, but the southern foundation was set into the later fill of the garth. These foundations, together with the row of beam sockets cut into the face of the south wall of the north range, were interpreted as the remains of a small building added into this corner of the inner court in a late phase, following the demolition of the cloister. Within the corner at ground-floor level, at the junction of the north and west walls of the inner court, the remains of an angled vault were interpreted as evidence of a fireplace set within the corner of this added building. This feature was removed in 1956 during the conservation of the walls of the adjoining ranges by the Ancient Monuments Branch.

Comment

In both appearance and function, the inner court must have resembled a monastic cloister. It enabled the

Fig 67 Central complex, north range: the south wall from the inner court. *Photograph*: NMR EH/B 925751

surrounding ranges of buildings to have windows on both lateral elevations and, at the same time, to provide for circulation among them. At the south-western corner, adjoining doorways served the high end of the hall, the grand stairway to the great tower and the west range apartments, and the vestibule from the outer entrance. A balancing stairway in the north-east corner provided access to the upper-floor apartments of the east range; there may have been a further doorway for access to the ground floor of the northern range. It seems likely that this circulation was segregated, and for the use of the principal household members and their retinue, there being no access to the ground floor of the east range, which is discussed below.

The area adjoining the south wall of the north range was severely disturbed after 1962 so that new foundations could be provided for the wall to prevent its collapse.

9.3 The west range and the latrine turret (figs 57 and 58)

The overall external length of the west range is about 21m (69ft), from its junction with the north wall of the great tower to its northern end, which aligns with the north wall of the north range. Internally it is 19.5m (64ft) from the north wall of the great tower, and 16.76m (55ft) from the wall enclosing the stair. The width of the range is 8.4m (27ft 6in) externally and 5.81m (17ft) internally (see fig 57). The west and north walls are 1.83m (6ft) thick; the east wall is less substantial at 1.07m (3ft 6in).

Investigations by Bean

It is clear from Bean's notes on various structural features in the west range that he removed some of the accumulation of debris within it. The complete clearance of overburden from its interior, down to the final mid-seventeenth-century occupation level – represented by the cobble paving exposed within the range – was carried out during the consolidation of its structure by the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Ministry of Works after 1956.

Investigations by White

In 1968 and 1969 further excavations within the southern end of the range were directed by White to establish the medieval occupation levels.[216] In 1970 there was an investigation of the north end of the west wall when the remains of the former west latrine turret, which adjoins the range at this location, were excavated as part of the area excavation of the west courtyard.[217]

The west range: plan

The surviving walls of the range indicate that the primary twelfth-century building was probably designed in four structural bays, with one bay of double length. For reference, the spaces created have been numbered from 1 to 3, south to north. Bay 1 was the double-length bay. On the outer face of the west lateral wall, the divisions between bays 1 and 2 are indicated by the remains of ashlar pilaster buttresses; in bay 3 they are shown by the abutting ends of the former north and south walls of the demolished latrine turret, which projected to the west at the northern end of the range.

The west range: exterior

Although more than half of the range has been demolished to below first-floor level, sufficient remains of the structure to show that it was of at least two storeys throughout. At several points, parts of its lateral walls rise to the full height of the second storey. At its southern end, adjacent to the great tower, the western lateral wall extends above second-storey level, sufficient for a third storey at this point. There are, however, some indications in the details of the masonry of this wall, at high level, that it may have been added above the second storey only after the completion of the tower. At its southern end, against the tower, the west lateral wall has a pilaster buttress with a double-chamfer roll moulding, which continues along the face of the wall running north. Below this is a simple string, and the space between these features probably defines the height of the windows; the first window running northwards could be the cause of the void. Below, and visible internally, is a surviving ashlar to the splay of a first-storey window, lighting bay 1.

A further stub of wall, running north, survives to second-storey height. The chamfered plinth at its base and two courses of ashlar of the pilaster buttress define the division internally between bays 1 and 2. The southern end of the stub at first-storey level is the jamb of another splayed window, represented externally by one surviving ashlar. Between the two windows is a doorway, subsequently blocked. The entry was approximately 1.22m (4ft) wide and is defined by rebated jambs to each side. At the north end of the range a few courses of rubble survive to indicate the return to the latrine tower.

Not enough of the walls survive to reconstruct the form of the range in detail at the upper levels, or prove conclusively that a third storey existed over the whole or part of the length of the range.

The west range: the interior of the first storey

Within the first storey, the division of the range into four structural bays is indicated by the scars of what may either be strip pilasters or cross-walls. These scars are defined by the remains of ashlar quoining left in the wall faces when the pilasters or cross-walls were demolished and the stubs were dressed back. Their spacing corresponds exactly with the spacing of the external pilaster buttresses and the latrine turret walls on the outer face of the west wall of the range. The first storey was covered throughout its length by a barrel vault, of which portions of the haunches remain on either side, springing from the top of a former moulded string course in each bay. This detail probably linked impost mouldings on the strip pilasters. Where the string courses have not been removed by alterations in later phases, they have been carefully dressed back to the wall faces. It is likely that the pilasters at the bay divisions supported transverse arches within the vault.

At the southern end of the range a doorway in the east wall led from the west alley of the cloistered inner court to provide access to the flight of stone stairs leading up to the second storey of the great tower and, presumably, to the second storey of the west range. All evidence of the doorway has been destroyed, except the lowest stone of its rebated southern jamb and the remains of a draw-bar hole built into the east side of the adjoining east wall of the tower (see above: 'The great tower: stairs to the second storey'). The position of the north side of the cross-wall within the range that closed off the stair passage is indicated by the remains of ashlar quoining at its junction

with the west wall of the range.

The trenches excavated in 1968 (see below) showed that the north flanking wall to the stair passage and the solid masonry base of the lower flight of stairs were demolished during the last phase of occupation. It was found that the cobble floor to the north of the passage, in bay 1, continued to the south and lay above the demolition level of both the wall and the foundation rubble of the solid core below the stairs.

The stair passage occupies only part of the first bay: the remainder of this bay, and the second bay, originally formed a single space entered towards its southern end and through a doorway from the west alley of the cloister. This doorway adjoins that to the stair passage. Within this room, below the remains of a cobbled floor probably laid in Phase V and now exposed within the southern half of the range, the original floor surface had been repaved in glazed quarry tiles in a chequer pattern, probably in Phase IV (1356–1480).

A further doorway, later blocked, provided access through the west lateral wall from the bailey, later the west courtyard. This doorway was flanked by a splayed window to either side; one ashlar remains to define the window to the south and several courses of quoins remain defining that to the north. A later wall, constructed partly in the blocking of the northern splayed window, subsequently divided the first storey. This wall had a connecting doorway near its centre, and is abutted by cobbled flooring to the north.

The west range: the interior of the second storey

The stub of the west lateral wall retains evidence of the internal treatment of the second storey. Ashlar survives here to indicate the location of a window recess with what appears to be a bench seat. Above, ashlar appears to have been robbed leaving a segmental scar and, at springing level, a string course chamfered on its underside. This feature seems to indicate an apartment of some quality; the second storey may have formed a series of chambers linking the second storey of the great tower to the chapel in the second storey of the north range.

Comment

It seems likely that the principal entrance to the inner court, and therefore to the central complex as a whole, was formed by the doorway in the west lateral wall of the range, where the double-length bay 1 formed a vestibule, and then through the doorway in the east lateral wall to the cloister alley. Here it adjoined the stair to the upper storeys and to the high end of the hall. In this case, part of the ground floor of the range probably provided space for those controlling this access.

The upper level of circulation, linking the upper floors of the great tower, the upper floor of the west range and the upper floor of the north range – the bishop's oratory and chapel – would comprise the most private part of the castle, segregated from the hall and the other lodgings.

9.4 The north (chapel) range (figs 57, 58 and 67–70)

The internal dimensions of the range are 20.42m (67ft) long and 5.33m (17ft 6in) wide. The walls are uniformly about 1.83m (6ft) thick.

Investigations by Bean

Bean recorded the remains of this range in some detail and attempted to reconstruct its original form.[218] His notes indicate that he concurred with Parker's interpretation of the upper floor as having originally been a chapel.[219] In the RCHME inventory, the range is described as 'a two storeyed building of the twelfth century, and possibly contained a chapel on the first floor'.[220]

Recording by the Ministry of Works and English Heritage

In 1962 a drawn survey of the remains of the south wall of the range was prepared by the former Ancient Monuments Branch of the Ministry of Public Building and Works, in anticipation of work to stabilise the wall. At the same time, the interior of the range was cleared of the remaining debris, exposing the surviving portions of a cobble-paved floor within the lower storey. The survey subsequently provided the basis for an attempt to reconstruct the original form of the south elevation of the north wall of the range.

In 1991 a photogrammetric survey of both faces of the remains of the east, north and south walls of the range was undertaken for English Heritage to make a record prior to the conservation of the inner faces of the walls above first-floor level. At the same time, it was possible for Cook to examine the details of the wall faces from the scaffolding erected for the conservation work.

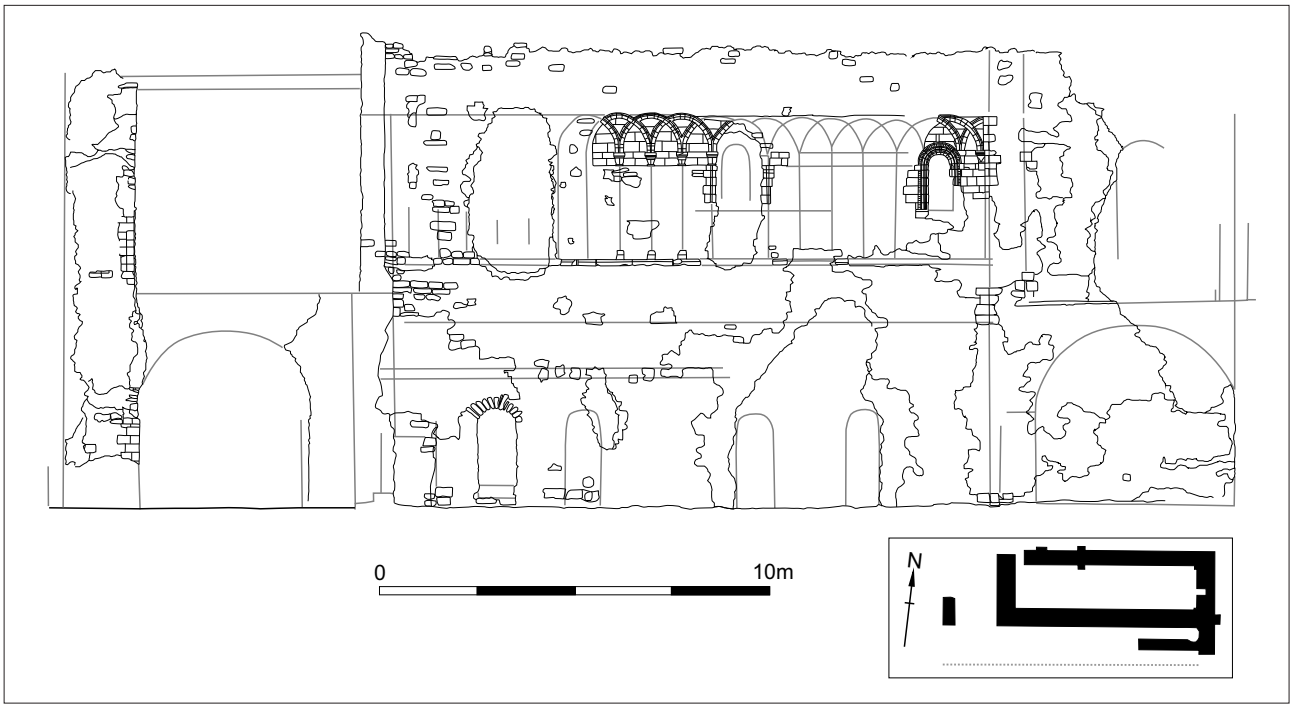


Fig 68 Reconstructed external elevation of the south wall of the north range, *c* 1135

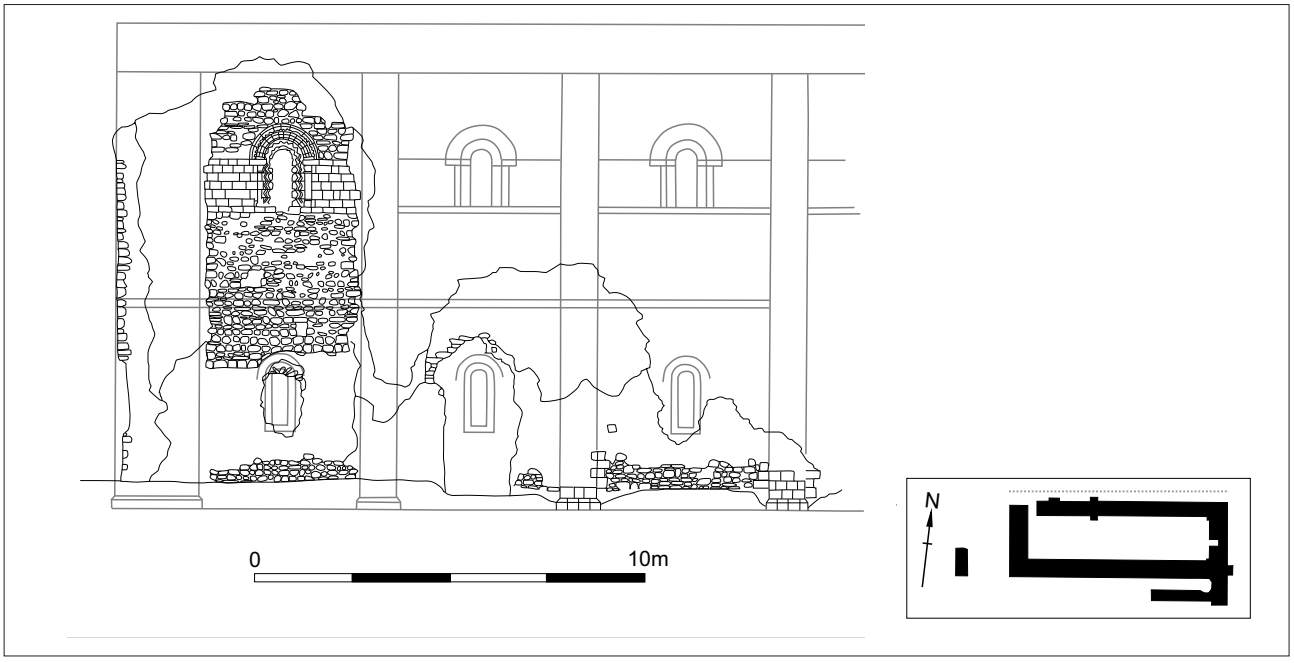


Fig 69 Reconstructed external elevation of the north wall of the north range, *c* 1135

The north range: plan

The range is of two storeys and comprises four lateral bays, numbered in this description 1 to 4 from west to east. Evidence for this arrangement is found on the outer face of the north wall by the remains, or scars, of ashlar-faced pilaster buttresses. Within the range, in the lower storey, the bays can be identified by the evidence of a barrel vault over the western bay (bay 1), and a quadripartite vault over each of the three eastern bays (bays 2, 3 and 4).

The western bay appears to have been separated from the eastern bays by a cross-wall, which survives to a height of about 200mm (8in) above the floor level, represented by the remains of the cobble-paved floor. Further east, an inserted rubble cross-wall, also demolished nearly to the floor level, indicates that, in a later phase, bay 2 was

Fig 70 Central complex, north range: twelfth-century window, upper-floor north wall, exterior. *Drawing*: by the Revd H W Jones, from Fowler 1951

divided from bays 3 and 4. Access to the chamber thereby formed in the eastern bays was through a doorway at the northern end of the wall.

The north range: exterior

Much of the south wall of the range still survives almost to its full height of two storeys, and to the remains of its parapet. The east wall and the north wall in its eastern bay stand to nearly the same height, but the rest of the north wall has been reduced to much lower levels.

The south side of the range faced on to the inner court except at its east end, where it abuts the north end of the range flanking the east side of the court (fig 67). Across the length of the south wall facing into the court, its lower portion formed the inner wall of the northern cloister alley in Phase I, and subsequently, when the cloister was rebuilt with narrower alleys, in Phase V. Some remaining lengths of a dressed stone string course indicate the level of the upper storey within the range, and this feature may also have capped the apex of the lean-to roof above the cloister alley of Phase I. The string course also served as the offset plinth for what was originally a tall, continuous, intersecting blind arcade. Only two sections have survived of the arcade, set into the wall's original rubble face. One section is located towards the left-hand (western) end of the wall, and the other to the right, abutting the wall scar at the junction of the former west wall to the east range. Between these original sections, and to the left again, abutting the remaining stub of the east wall to the west range, the masonry above the string-course level has either been rebuilt or refaced in more densely packed rubble in a later phase. The arcade bays on the original sections of the wall are represented by moulded bases and capitals for detached shafts, which supported the surviving roll-moulded intersecting arches.[221] The arches have dressed stone tympana.

The south wall of the range retains evidence of three

windows lighting the upper storey. It is likely that the easternmost original window, to the right, with a continuous moulding to its ashlar jambs and semicircular arched head, was framed by a bay of the intersecting arcading, the design of which had here been slightly distorted to accommodate the window. Moving to the left, on the right hand of the surviving section of arcading, to centre left of the wall, a window of similar width has lost its external semicircular arched head, but retains its dressed stone jambs. Again it appears that the bay spacing of the arcading may have been distorted to accommodate the width of the window. To the left again, in the rebuilt or refaced portion of the wall adjoining the west range, is a much larger opening, which has been robbed of all evidence to indicate the size of the window it once contained (fig 68).

The north wall of the range aligns with, and is of the same Phase I construction as, the remains of the single wider bay to the right, which formed the north end wall of the west range. The four bays of the range are all defined externally by the remains of ashlar-faced pilaster buttresses (fig 69). At the north-east corner of the range there was formerly a clasping buttress, which has been completely robbed. Immediately to the west of the buttress at the upper level is the most complete of the surviving twelfth-century windows (fig 70). Below, in the same bay, is a void indicating the presence of a window lighting the lower level. Larger voids in the two adjoining bays to the west probably indicate the location of similar windows.

The east, or end, wall of the range is defined externally by the remains of pilaster buttresses, and it appears as a wider bay at the northern end of the three bays of the east wall of the east range. On this elevation also, the ashlar-faced clasping buttress, which originally encased the north-eastern corner of the north range, has been robbed. A collapse of the stonework in the centre of the east wall has opened up a void between the remains of a lower-storey window and a window above, on the upper storey. Externally, the lower window opening has the remains of a chamfered dressed stone sill and jambs, and it is apparent externally and internally that the window frame is a later insertion. Centrally placed in the width of the bay below the window sill, a projecting single-course chamfered-offset ashlar plinth was exposed by Bean. Subsequently, this feature has been interpreted as the plinth for a central pilaster buttress, which was cut away when the window was inserted.

Above, in the centre of the bay at upper-storey level, a semicircular arched window is framed by a continuous dressed-stone frame, with two orders of chevron moulding. The window is set within an ashlar surround in which the vertical joints indicate that, although the form and detail of the window is correct for an early twelfth-century date, and its embrasure internally is original, the window frame was altered, or at least reset, in a later phase, in contrast to the surviving original window in the east bay of the north wall of the range.

The north range: interior of the first storey

The structural evidence suggests that the former cross-wall – which on the lower storey separated the room in the westernmost bay, bay 1, of the range from the chamber in the three eastern bays – continued up through the second storey, where the same division was duplicated, although this wall now survives only to just above ground-floor level. At its southern end, it retains evidence of a circular staircase in the form of ashlar facing to the stairwell. The stair was entered from the room occupying bay 1. The stairwell was covered by a barrel vault, the haunch of which survives in the fabric of the south wall. This indicates that the vault was of similar construction to the barrel vaults over the ground-floor rooms in the east and west ranges (figs 71 and 72).

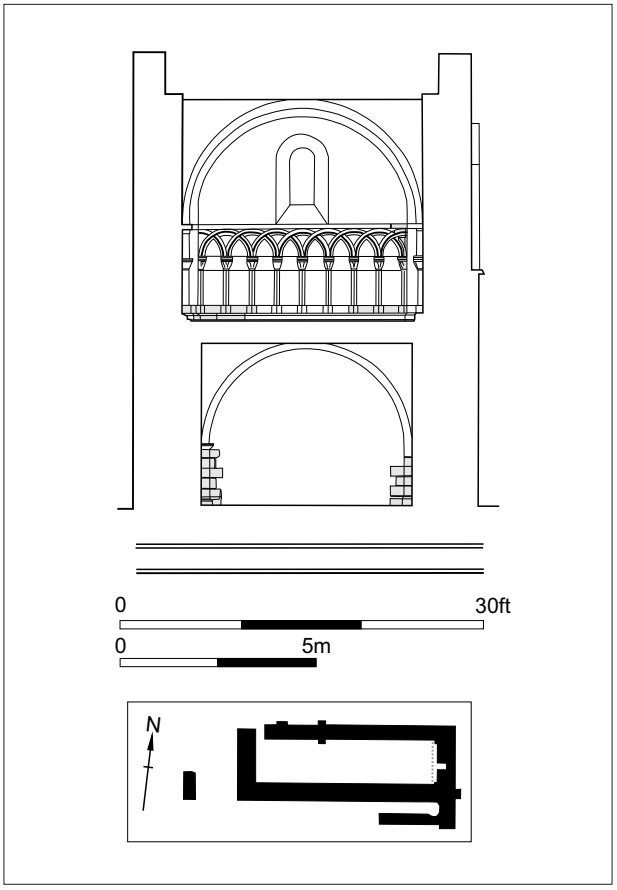


Fig 71 Reconstructed internal elevation of the east wall of the north range, *c* 1135

The barrel-vaulted room in bay 1 may have served as a lobby to the chamber occupying the three bays to the east. From without, bay 1 was entered from doorways in the north alley of the cloister and at the north end of the west range. A third doorway was later formed in the north, or outer, wall of the range. A gap at the northern end of the remains of the cross-wall may indicate the position of a doorway, which then provided access between bay 1 and the chamber comprising bays 2 to 4, to the east.

Bays 2 to 4 were each defined internally by ashlar pilasters with responding pilasters set into the angles at the east end of the chamber. Although most of the pilasters have been robbed out from the walls, there is sufficient evidence to reconstruct their size and positions. The surviving profiles of the abutments of the vaulting webs over the chamber can be deduced from voussoirs of tufa bonded into the walls of bay 4 and the south wall of bay 3. They indicate that there was a quadripartite vault above each of the three bays. There is no evidence that the vaults were ribbed; however, the curvatures of the intrados of the vaults, as preserved, indicate that there was a transverse arch between each vaulted bay.

The pilasters in the corners at the east end of the chamber in bay 4 are set on chamfered-offset bases and survive for most of their height. On the north side of the chamber the pilaster base of the same section also survives between bays 2 and 3. The positions of the internal pilasters coincide with the positions of the pilaster buttresses on the outer face of the north wall of the range.

In the north wall there are the remains of a slit window in bays 2 and 4, and a hole through the wall in bay 3 probably represents a similar window that has been robbed out.

Debris has been removed from bays 2 to 4 of the north range to a level that corresponds approximately with the original ground-floor level. There is no record of any excavation below this level. Floor tiles were, however, noted by Bean, and some patches of cobbled paving, probably of late date, are now exposed.

The north range: interior of the second storey

The chamber within bay 1 at second-storey level probably functioned as a vestibule or ante-chapel. Its north wall and most of its west wall have been demolished, but the south wall has survived to almost its full height. As well as the entry into the chamber provided by the former circular stair in its south-eastern corner, the evidence of a door jamb adjoining the junction of the west wall with the south wall shows where the chamber was also entered at second-storey level from the west range. The large void in the south wall probably indicates the position of a window.

The three-bay chamber occupying bays 2 to 4 of the upper storey of the range preserves evidence of its original architectural treatment (fig 73). On its southern, eastern and northern walls the wall piers defined each bay and within each bay appear to have framed a dado of blind arcading with intersecting, semicircular arches supported on slender, detached colonnettes. The colonnettes had moulded bases, set on a continuous single-course chamfered-offset ashlar plinth, and scalloped capitals; within each bay, the arcading was capped by a string course. The tympana to the intersecting arches were of ashlar. Two of these tympana, and the lower part of a third, survive in the south wall face, while others are indicated by robbed sockets. The capital of a colonnette survives in the north-eastern corner of the chamber. The quality of the architectural embellishment applied to the chamber is also shown by the continuous chevron mouldings in the outer jambs of its surviving north window.

Evidence suggesting that each of the three eastern bays of this upper chamber was originally covered by a quadripartite vault supported by wall piers is almost certainly provided by the triple-roll voussoirs for vaulting ribs found during investigations in various parts of the site (Appendix 1). Of the twenty-two recorded voussoirs with identical profiles, thirteen are decorated with a complete or partially preserved beakhead, carved with an undercut beak on either side, while nine are plain. The complete voussoirs are virtually identical in length – 450mm (17.5in) – and in height – 240mm (9.5in): that is to say, the cross section of the rib. The widths of the bottoms of the voussoirs vary between 105mm (4in) and 165mm (6.5in). The widths of the tops of the voussoirs vary between 120mm (4.7in) and 230mm (9in). The average of the differences between the top and bottom widths is about 10mm (0.4in). By projecting the angle between the sides of the voussoirs to meet at a radial point, it is possible to calculate that the approximate diameter of the vaulting rib arches in which they were placed is 6.78m (22ft 3in). This distance is the same as the length, in plan, of the diagonals of each of the three eastern bays of this chamber when measured between the corners of the wall piers between the bays. The span of the putative transverse arches between the bays is 4.98m (16ft 4in), and it is also possible that some of the voussoirs came from them. The presence of triple-roll voussoirs without beakheads suggests either that these may have alternated with the beakhead voussoirs or that some ribs consisted of beakhead voussoirs and others, perhaps the transverse arches, were plain.

Fig 72 Central complex, north range: the interior looking east. *Photograph*: NMR EH/B 925751

No masonry survives that can be positively identified with the wall piers, other than the base of the pier in the north-eastern corner of bay 4. Their design can only be surmised. They may have been similar in design to the wall piers, with applied pairs of half shafts flanked by nook shafts supporting ribbed vaults, that survive in the early twelfth-century chancels of the two parish churches in Devizes that have been associated with Bishop Roger.[222]

Comment

The debate about the use of this range has already been mentioned (Chapter 4). The evidence now available strongly supports the case for the bishop's chapel on the upper floor and another possible chapel on the lower floor for the 'secular' household. At the upper level, this range apparently formed part of a suite of chambers capable of segregation from the rest of the central complex.

Fig 73 Central complex, north range: reconstruction drawing by Philip Corke of the interior looking east. *Photograph*: NMR J960262 1997 print 9

9.5 The east range (figs 57 and 58)

The internal dimensions of this range average 15.4m (50ft 6in) long, including the stair, by 5m (16ft 6in) wide. The outer (east) wall is 1.52m (5ft) thick; the inner (courtyard) wall is 1m (3ft 4in) thick.

Investigations by Bean

Other than Bean's survey notes and plans, which record its walls, there is nothing to suggest that he undertook any excavation within the east range except at its southern end. Here he exposed the remains of the north wall of the south range where it was continued to form the south wall of the east range. He also located the base of a latrine tower in this area.

Investigations by White

Excavation of the floor level within this range was limited to a sondage; this revealed a considerable depth of demolition rubble, much of it scorched Ham Hill ashlar.

Close to the north end of the range the fragment of a cross-wall cuts off a narrow passage, which is entered from the cloister alley immediately adjacent to the north range. The passage contains the lower flight of a stair beneath a raking barrel vault. The stair then turns, under a skewed vault, cut partly into the east wall of the east range, and partly into the south wall of the north range. The stair provided access to the second-storey level of the east range, similar to the arrangement in the opposite, south-western, corner of the inner court, and possibly to the north range, although this would have been a difficult entry point when in use as a chapel. Voids possibly indicate the location of upper-floor windows to the central bays.

The interior of the east wall indicates surface treatment of walling in squared rubble. The exterior bays are indicated by strip pilasters, while each bay at the lower level retains a simple segmental-headed window, splayed to the interior.

Comment

It seems likely that circulation to the two storeys of this range was segregated and that they housed two socially distinct functions. The plain barrel-vaulted lower floor, which has no evidence of access to the inner court and very restricted fenestration looking on to it, probably linked southward to the kitchen and service court. The upper floor, on the other hand, had direct access from the inner court by means of the stair at the northern end. As it was provided with latrines, use as lodgings seems probable, although the architectural treatment of its interior is inferior to the west range.

9.6 The south (great hall) range (figs 57 and 58)

Only the south wall of this range survives above modern ground level. Its internal dimensions are 21.8m (72ft) long and 7.9m (26ft) wide, and it was built in five structural bays.

Investigations by Bean

Bean excavated some portions of the south wall of the range, on the alignment indicated by the wall scar on the east side of the east wall of the great tower, and parts of the wall at the east end of the range. Within the range, he also uncovered part of a paving of 230mm (9in) square glazed quarry tiles laid in a chequer pattern of alternating buff/yellow and greenish brown, with a border of 230mm × 76mm (9in × 3in) tiles.[223]

Investigations by White

The excavation within the inner court was extended by cutting trial trenches across the width of the range in order to establish the stratification within the former range. This exposed a layer of mortar extending south of the quarry tile floor. This appears to align with documentary evidence of considerable structural alteration to the great hall in the early thirteenth century, during Phase II (1140–99), when there was also evidence of activity in the inner court.[224] By establishing the floor levels throughout its use, the excavation also confirmed that there was no basement to this range (see Chapters 4 and 7).

Comment

The evidence points to the south range being an aisleless single-volume space, which was utilised in its full height and length as the great hall, up to and including Phase V (Bishop Langton, 1485–93). Throughout the period, this function was supported immediately to the west or dais end by the apartments within the upper floors

of the great tower, and to the east by the service court and kitchen. The range was demolished in the sixteenth century when a wall was built to close off the southern end of the adjoining east range, and the site was then paved over, work that was almost certainly carried out in order to open up the inner court towards the south, as part of Ralegh's scheme, in Phase VI (1592–1603).

Below the post-demolition paving, large areas of a chequer-pattern tiled floor survive, itself a repaving that dates from Phase V. This floor surrounded an open stone-paved hearth on the central axis of the hall towards its western dais, or high, end. At this end, on the east wall of the great tower, is the only surviving decorative feature of the hall interior, in the form of a string course carved with a chevron moulding running between the scars in the wall that indicate the bonding of the lateral walls.

9.7 The west courtyard (figs 57, 58 and 74)

The west courtyard was created by enclosing an area to the west of the small tower and the west range.

Investigations by Bean

Bean investigated the area to the west of the central building complex largely for the RCHME plan. Here, he exposed the remains of demolished walls or foundations that he interpreted as representing a courtyard of approximately rectangular plan.[225]

Investigations by White

The area was re-excavated more intensively by White between 1970 and 1974.[226] The exposed remains indicate that the courtyard was enclosed by a curtain wall on its northern and western sides during the thirteenth century (Phase III). Along its southern side, there was a range abutting the western face of the small tower. Within the courtyard, a further range had been built against the western flank of its screen wall. Projecting from the courtyard's northern flank there were the remains of a square tower enclosing latrine pits (fig 74).

The range forming the southern side of the courtyard, projecting to the west from the west wall of the small tower, had two structural bays. The western side of the courtyard was defined by a thick wall against which,

Fig 74 Central complex, west courtyard: the excavated remains of the latrine tower projecting from the northern end of the court, seen from the north west. *Photograph*: NMR EH/B925745

internally, another range was added. At their northern ends both the west courtyard wall and the wall foundations of the internal range have been robbed out as far as, and including, their junctions with the wall that enclosed the courtyard to the north. This northern screen wall is similar in thickness and construction to the western screen wall, and its east end abuts the west side of the Phase I latrine tower, containing two pits, projecting from the north end of the west range. The later, Phase III north screen wall of the courtyard is of the same build as another large latrine tower, containing three pits, built against the north face of the Phase I tower. Only the later tower was partially excavated by Bean.

The west courtyard was entered from the west towards its southern end, through a passage between the ranges against its southern and western walls. Immediately opposite the entry, there is a narrow flight of steps on a solid masonry base, added against the north side of the small tower. This flight rose to a landing from which an upper flight of steps, also on a solid masonry base, is built against the west side of the great tower. This flight is assumed to have provided access to a former entry into the great tower, towards its northern end, at second-storey level. In a later phase the lower flight of steps was removed and then replaced by a wider flight, which was approached through a small porch built against the north wall of the west courtyard's south range. The massive masonry construction of the solid base of the stairs suggests that it may have carried outer walls, which could have supported a pentice roof over both flights of steps, leading up to the tower entry.

9.8 The structures to the south of the west courtyard and the small tower (figs 57 and 58)

These structures are all below modern ground level.

Investigations by Bean

In the area immediately to the south of the west courtyard's south range, and further east, on the south side of the small tower, the remains of several structures were partially exposed at ground level and recorded by Bean. The results of his work are shown in the RCHME plan (see fig 25).

Investigations by White

The remains were again exposed and more fully investigated by White.[227] The excavated structures that were subsequently identified as being part of, or subsequently built within or adjoining, the west courtyard during Phase V along the south side of the great tower and south (great hall) range are included in the next section, describing the south courtyard. To the west of the south courtyard, and within its western end, are structures in earlier contexts, comprising two adjoining stone-walled pits flanked to the west by a much larger pit, or possibly a cellar, approximately 5.2m (17ft) square internally (fig 58b). Immediately to the south of the large pit were the remains of a stone-walled – and originally stone-roofed – culvert. The deposits within the pits suggest that they were close in date, of the early to mid-twelfth century (Phase II), and that the culvert was probably added a little later. The east pit was located within the north-west corner of what became the south courtyard, and adjoined the south side of the small tower. It was apparently a pit within a turret which had been built against the south wall of the small tower, and an indication of this turret's original height is provided by the extent of the rubble refacing of the lower part of the south face of the small tower, including the south-west clasping buttress. The stratified deposits recorded within the pit indicated that the turret was constructed in the twelfth century and demolished prior to the formation of the south courtyard. The existence of the pit suggests this was a latrine turret. The deposits within it contained a large amount of pottery, but no other evidence to confirm this interpretation.

The western return wall of the south courtyard screen wall constructed in Phase IV was reused as the east wall of a narrow chamber, added externally against the western end of the courtyard in Phase V. Although the stone-paved hearth uncovered across the northern end of the narrow chamber was left *in situ*, its clay floor was removed, and it was found that, below the northern half of the chamber, there was a deep pit of about the same width, with the outer face of its south wall continuing eastward where it probably abutted the structure of the pit described immediately above.

Subsequently, a large drain or culvert was constructed to the south of the pit's south wall and roughly parallel to it. The south wall of the culvert was reused as the foundation for the south wall of the later, Phase V, narrow chamber noted above. Midway along the length of the culvert, and exposed within the width of the narrow chamber, a pier projecting from the culvert's northern side supported the remains of the haunch for an arch over the

culvert. At its western end, the culvert opened through an arch set in a wall that had been reused as the foundation for the west wall of the narrow chamber.

Some 4m (13ft) to the west of the narrow chamber and the structures below it, massive foundations were exposed of a basement or undercroft that is almost square in plan. The internal faces of this structure had been robbed from the rubble core-work, and only the base of a separate shaft, preserved in the south-east corner of the foundation wall, retained its ashlar lining to show the very high quality of the original construction. The stratified deposits at the bottom of the undercroft indicated that it is likely to date from Phase I.

Comment

This series of structures to the south west of the central complex may indicate the requirement for additional lodgings quite soon after the completion of the castle, when it passed into secular occupation. The pits and culverts seem to relate to the provision of latrines to serve this accommodation.

9.9 The south courtyard (figs 57 and 58)

These structures are all below modern ground level.

Investigations by Bean

The structures uncovered in excavations by Bean between 1946 and 1954 extended over a wide area immediately to the south of the great tower and small tower, and the results were shown on the RCHME plan (see fig 25).[228] From his correspondence with the RCHME it seems that Bean inclined to the view that the great hall was moved southwards, to occupy the space enclosed by the original south wall of the south range and the south screen wall of the south courtyard. This interpretation was not accepted by the RCHME, which located the hall, correctly, in the south range but erroneously captioned their plan to indicate that it was on the upper, not the ground, floor.[229] Bean's detailed and annotated plans of the structures he uncovered, and his photographs of the excavations,[230] have been reinterpreted in the light of the results obtained from the re-excavation of the western end of the same area by White in 1973–4.[231]

The recorded evidence of the structures indicates that a forecourt was enclosed by a substantial rubble screen wall, 1.22m (4ft) thick on each of its three sides in Phase IV, running across the full width of the south front of the central building complex and as far to the east as the western side of the kitchen, a total distance of 50.6m (166ft). This forecourt, or south courtyard, was of shallow depth, measuring 7m (23ft) along its western return to its junction against the clasping buttress on the south-west corner of the small tower, and 10.7m (35ft) from the estimated position of the clasping buttress on the south-east corner of the south range, to the outer face of its south wall. On this line, lengths of the base of a demolished wall were uncovered, showing that the eastern part of the courtyard had been closed off from the main area to form a secondary or service court associated with the kitchen. Within its south-eastern corner, this area contains the deep well that was probably the castle's primary source of fresh water. Evidence was found that, in a later phase, the buttress clasping the south-east corner of the south range was enlarged, and probably at the same time the wall between the main area of the courtyard and the service court was rebuilt slightly to the east of its original position.

The south screen wall of the courtyard was at a slight angle to the alignment of the south wall of the south (great hall) range, but it was parallel to the alignment of the foundation wall of the range as originally set out in Phase I and recorded during White's excavation in 1978 (figs 58d and 58e).[232] The courtyard's south screen wall can be dated to the fifteenth century (probably Phase IV) from contexts recorded at its western end. However, its alignment suggests that it may have replaced an earlier wall or fence that enclosed an area of similar extent soon after the construction of the south range in Phase I. The idea that this difference of alignment may reflect an earlier boundary to the courtyard is supported by the alignment of its west side, which was set off at a right angle to its south side, and not, as might be expected, at a right angle to the south face of the small tower (see below). The uniform thickness suggests that the whole of the courtyard screen wall was built as a single construction.

The foundations and base courses of the jambs of a gateway leading into the courtyard were exposed at about the mid-point of the south side of the screen wall. These features were found to be integral with the wall on both sides of the opening. The gateway had ashlar jambs flanked on each side by projecting ashlar piers, of which the rectangular bases survive. The width of the opening, including the rebates on the outer faces of the jambs, is 2m (6ft 6in), suggesting that it could be closed by a pair of gates or doors.

Investigations by White

The western end of the south courtyard, and the west side of an inserted building, were exposed again in the excavations directed by White in 1974.[233] This work showed that both the courtyard wall and therefore also the inserted building overlay the foundations of the twelfth-century turret added in Phase II against the south face of the small tower. However, the degree of earlier disturbance was so considerable that it was not clear if the area enclosed by the south courtyard to the west of the inserted building was roofed, perhaps as an extension to the building; or if it remained open as a small courtyard, whether or not the Phase II turret was retained.

Within the south courtyard at its western end Bean had previously uncovered foundations indicating that, soon after the construction of the screen wall, a building had been inserted between the original south face of the great tower and the screen wall. The west wall of this building was represented by a foundation a little over 1m (3ft 6in) wide, which originally abutted the eastern side of the wide ashlar buttress at the junction of the small tower. Its east wall is represented by a foundation of the same width, located about 1.45m (4ft 9in) east of the east side of the great tower (fig 58e).

The overall east–west width of this inserted building was divided into two halves by a wall just over 1m (3ft 6in) wide, in which the eastern half was further subdivided by foundations. At its southern end, the remains of this eastern wall abutted the base of the inner pier flanking the west side of the gateway into the south courtyard. At its northern end the building opened into a wider bay, and its east wall is represented by foundations laid down within the re-entrant angle between the east wall of the great tower and the south wall of the south (great hall) range, abutting the base of the Phase I pilaster buttress that defined the western bay of that range. At the south-east corner of the bay, spur foundations were uncovered, which indicated that it had been supported by inset buttresses. Generally, the position and form of the bay's foundations suggest that it was an oriel built to light the high end of the great hall and, at the same time, provide access from the high end of the hall to the chambers within the building inserted into the south courtyard.

Foundations forming the greater part of a semi-octagonal bay, projecting south beyond the line of the screen wall, and with a shallow buttress at each of its corners, were uncovered in the centre of the eastern half of the front of the inserted building. As the excavated walls of the inserted building are sufficiently thick to have supported an overall height of two storeys, the position of the remains of the semi-octagonal bay, in relation to the ground plan of the building, suggests that this is evidence of a bay window designed to light a large chamber on its first floor. The relationship of the inserted building to both the great hall and the great tower in turn suggests that it was probably built as an extension to, or a replacement of, the existing chamber accommodation in the great tower, with direct access to the high end of the great hall.

Comment

The dating of contexts recorded in 1974 during the re-excavation of the west wall foundation of the inserted building, together with the architectural form suggesting a semi-octagonal bay window and oriel added at the high end of the great hall, allow these alterations to be identified with the 'new work' that, as Leland noted, was built by Bishop Langton at the west end of the hall in Phase V (1485–93).[234] If so, it provided the type of accommodation to be expected at this period. It has to be seen in the context of the substantial remodelling of the interior of the great tower already described, which may have included some demolition of its south wall by Langton.

The remains of the large compass-bay window added on to the southern end of the great tower by Ralegh (Phase VI) overlay the foundations of the Phase V building, which was demolished, together with the south courtyard wall, prior to construction work in Phase VI.

9.10 The kitchen and service yard (figs 58a, 58e and 75)

These structures, except for a modern well head, are below ground level.

Investigations by Bean

Bean excavated a number of trenches between 1948 and 1952 within the area of slightly higher ground close to the eastern end of the south range.[235] The location and extent of the trenches were limited by the presence of a large tree and other vegetation; despite these constraints the work exposed portions of substantial rubble walls and other

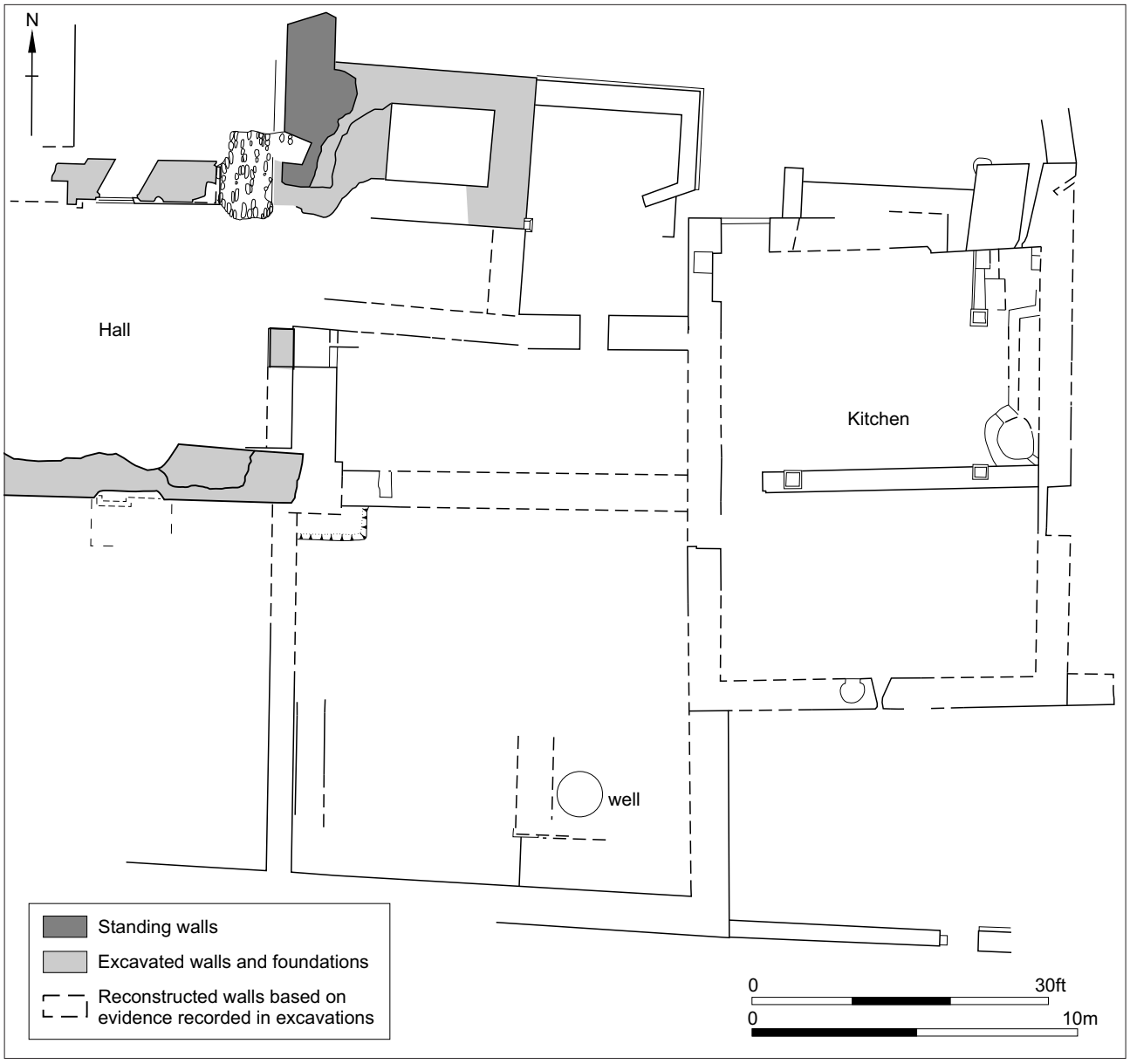


Fig 75 The recorded remains of the kitchen and other structures to the east of the south range. *Plan*: after C E Bean

structural features. These were recorded on several annotated scaled survey plans, on rough sketch plans and by photographs with information noted on the reverse. All the trenches were subsequently back-filled and the only feature still exposed is a deep well, some 10.7m (35ft) to the south east of the south-east corner of the south range. Since Bean's work, no further investigation has been carried out in the area. The following description and interpretation of the remains is based on the collation and analysis of his records alone.

The alignments, levels and character of the recorded remains of partially excavated walls and features indicate that originally the area contained a detached, rectangular Phase I building. This was subsequently remodelled internally. It included several hearths, ovens and a paved floor incorporating drains.

Externally, structures were also added to the primary building, mostly occupying the ground between its western side and the eastern, low or screens end of the south (great hall) range. Although it has been possible to establish a relative sequence for the construction of some of these alterations and additions, there is insufficient contextual evidence in the records to establish a complete narrative for its later development.

The primary building

From its position in relation to the hall, and the hearths and ovens built into it, it is clear that the primary building was a large kitchen; this was originally detached from the

main block of the central complex, then later linked to it by the addition of service rooms and courts.

Structural remains representing the outer walls of the primary rectangular building were exposed and recorded either at, or close to, each of its four corners and on each of its sides. They show that, internally, the building measures 12.9m (42ft 4in) north to south and 9.6m (31ft 6in) east to west, with its west wall almost parallel to the east wall of the south range at a distance of about 10.7m (34ft 9in). Except where it appeared that the primary walls had been rebuilt during later alterations to the building, they were approximately 1m (3ft) thick and built of Fuller's Earth rubble with the few extant dressings of Ham Hill stone.

Within the primary building, and sealed by later alterations, three widely spaced dressed Ham Hill stone blocks were found. All three blocks were set at a common level, which is taken to represent the original floor level, although no record has been found describing the character of this floor. The three blocks are identical, square in plan and dressed on each side with diagonal tooling. They measure 300mm (12in) high, 500mm (20in) square at the bottom, and, above the chamfer to the top, 380mm (15in) square. The positions of the bases in relation to each other and to the walls of the building suggest that they were laid down to support timber posts in the primary phase. It was found that two of the three blocks were incorporated into the bottom of the northern side of a later rubble cross-wall, which had been inserted to divide the building into two. The eastern block of the pair was set into the cross-wall 1.68m (5ft 6in) from the inner face of the east wall of the primary building and the western block is 1.98m (6ft 6in) from the inner face of the west wall. The third block was found below a later floor level at 1.83m (6ft) from the inner face of the building's east wall, and the same distance south of the inner face of its rebuilt north wall. Immediately above the western block, at the bottom of the inserted cross-wall, vertical straight joints in the wall, 380mm (15in) apart, indicate that the timber post supported on the block had been retained *in situ* when the cross-wall was constructed. Later, when the post was removed, the void was infilled with rubble.

As the bases for timber posts, the relative positions of the three surviving blocks suggest that, in order to provide adequate support for a roof structure over the primary building, the simplest symmetrical arrangement that would be sufficient would consist of six posts, each 380mm (15in) square, in three pairs. On the evidence of the distances between the surviving bases, from north to south, the pairs of posts were at a distance of 4.1m (13ft 6in) between the central and the northern pairs, and 3.05m (10ft) between the central and the southern pairs, with 2.74m (9ft) between the posts in each pair. This arrangement provides an aisle about 1.68m (5ft 6in) wide on each side of the building between the posts and the inner faces of its outer walls.

The outer walls of the primary building have several features that, from their position and character, are probably original. In the west wall, just to the south of the inserted cross-wall, are the remains of a doorway which, on its southern side, retains the lower courses of its dressed Ham Hill stone rebated jamb. In the east wall, directly opposite the door in the west wall, there is evidence of a doorway of similar width, which was blocked later with rubble. In the north wall, at its western end, a third doorway with rebated jambs was found, and, adjacent to it, on the inner face of the west wall, there is what appears from the plan to be the recess for the door when open. Built into the thickness of the south wall is a small circular oven.

In the absence of recorded contexts, other than a coin of Henry II – which Bean noted as being located on the outer toe of the footing of the south wall foundation – it is difficult to date, with certainty, the construction of the primary building. However, its form, its position in relation to the hall, and the diagonal dressings used on the base blocks for the posts make it likely that it was built in the twelfth century, during Phase I. Alternatively it is possible that originally the whole building was timber framed, and the outer walls were subsequently rebuilt in rubble.

Alterations and additions to the primary building

The various alterations within the primary building and the external additions to it were mainly identified from the structural straight joints at junctions with the primary walls recorded in Bean's plans and photographs. During several later phases, the kitchen was structurally linked by a short range, 3.66m (12ft) wide, to the eastern end of the south range and to the latrine turret projecting from the east range. The eastern end of the south courtyard was enclosed by the wall that returned to abut the south-west corner of the primary building. Immediately to the west of the primary building an area was divided off from the main courtyard by a screen wall running south from the south-east corner of the south range. This would have created a kitchen courtyard enclosing the well within its south-eastern corner.

Within the primary building, Bean's plans and photographs record straight joints at the junctions of the

remains of inserted walls, hearths, ovens and chimney stacks. The differences between the character of the primary structure and the inserted features indicate that the kitchen was substantially remodelled, probably more than once, before its eventual demolition. It is not possible, from the recorded information, to relate these alterations with any certainty to specific phases in the overall development of the castle.

In summary, the principal alteration to the primary building was its subdivision into two chambers by the insertion of the rubble cross-wall, 760mm (2ft 6in) thick, which, when first built, incorporated in its northern face the central pair of timber posts set on stone bases. The chambers were linked by a doorway at the western end of the wall. Excavation within the north-east corner of the building, in addition to exposing the eastern stone base of the northern pair of timber posts, showed that this base had been sealed below a flagstone-paved floor defined by a kerb on its western side. This indicates that, when the post, originally for roof support, was removed, the building was reroofed, probably to a different design. At about the same time, the north-eastern corner of the primary building was rebuilt with a substantial masonry pier or buttress projecting externally to the north. This feature incorporates, through its base, the outlet for a covered drain set into the paving of the raised floor within the building.

Between the rebuilt north-east corner of the building and the doorway retained at the western end of the north wall, the remainder of the original primary wall was demolished and replaced with a large, projecting chimney stack enclosing a cooking hearth. The outer wall of this structure was canted to about the same angle as the north walls of the structures between the primary building and the east walls of the south and east ranges. Internally, the raised floor in front of the hearth was laid with pitched cobbles. Within the north chamber, against the remains of the primary east wall, a large oven was built into its south-east corner, adjoining a range built against the primary east wall. The remains of a third paved hearth were uncovered on the north side of the inserted cross-wall.

Towards the centre of the outer west side wall of the primary building the remains of a wall were found aligning with a wall stub abutting the east face of the clasping buttress at the south-east corner of the great hall. Some 3.66m (12ft) to the north of this wall, a second parallel wall was recorded. This second wall, pierced by a central opening, abuts the south-east corner of a small chamber recorded earlier by Bean, on the south side of the east-range latrine turret. The area enclosed by these walls may have formed a service range, about 10.7m (35ft) by 3.66m (12ft) internally. On its northern side, to the east of the east-range latrine turret and the small chamber noted above, another area was enclosed by a thinner wall, abutting and continuing the alignment of the north wall of the east-range latrine turret. This thinner wall returned southward to an opening against the north-west corner of the primary building.

Comment

The position and plan of the rectangular building in its primary and later phases of development confirm Bean's interpretation of it as the principal kitchen built to service the great hall. It is likely that it was originally linked to the hall by a pentice, which was subsequently replaced by the service rooms and courtyards, with the whole service complex reaching its greatest extent during Phase V (fig 58e).

A reconstruction of the plan of the primary building, along the lines described above, suggests that it was probably very similar to the detached timber-framed kitchen excavated at Weoley Castle, Birmingham, in 1960–1 by Adrian Oswald, and dated to the early thirteenth century.[236] Alternative reconstructions of the roof framing of the Weoley Castle kitchen were published later by J T Smith.[237] Although the kitchen building at Weoley is smaller, at 12m (39ft) by 6.8m (22ft), its plan is otherwise virtually identical to that of the primary building at Sherborne.

The well

The well within the south-east corner of the kitchen courtyard was found and excavated almost to its full depth by Bean in 1950. A brief description of this feature was subsequently included in an interim report of his investigations:

> A trench dug east–west, north of the beech [tree] which is the traditional site of the Castle well, disclosed, at a depth of about 6 feet below the present surface (here c. 234ft. O.D.) a circular well of Ham Hill stone, 4½ feet in diameter internally. At 12ft below the top, the vertical staining [Bean probably refers here to 'steyning' or the lining of the shaft] was much worn, presumably by bucket-rubbing [at the original water level?], and at 28ft the dressed stone ceased and the Fuller's Earth rock had been roughly shaped to the size of the well. At 39ft, at what is about the present normal water table, water seeped in from a fissure, and at 42ft, beyond which further digging was impracticable, a

large almost upright baulk of timber some 14in. square was encountered in the centre. The lowest part of the well was rectangular, and Mr Bean thinks it unlikely that the bottom was far below. The filling contained little of interest. Much building debris of all periods was found, fragments of pottery, and a tobacco-pipe (at 21 feet) stamped HC.

Much pottery, shells and other domestic refuse were found about the well-head, and faint traces of what may have been timber gear. The accumulation seemed to be mainly 13th century or later. Mr Bean suggests that the 12th century work was modified when the hall and other works were carried out in 1221–3. Post-holes of either a wooden building or fixed tables or benches extended west of the well at the 13th century level.

The approach to the well may have been from the east, where the original ground level was much lower than elsewhere, and may be related to cobbled pathways found on the south side of the kitchen to the east.[238]

The well is the only feature discovered by Bean to the east and south east of the central building complex that is now exposed. Re-examination in 1992 confirmed the details noted by Bean. The gravel fill removed in 1992 contained many low-value coins dating from about 1950 to the present.

The diagonal dressing of the masonry lining the well shaft compares with twelfth-century ashlar in the castle. The foundations adjoining the well head recorded by Bean on his plans of the kitchen court indicate that a square well house was built within the south-east corner of the court, possibly in the thirteenth century (fig 75).

9.11 The round house or horse gin (fig 76)

This structure is below modern ground level.

Investigations by Bean

Bean's records contain several photographs and plans showing the excavated remains of an approximately circular structure that adjoined the outer face of the east bay on the north side of the north range (fig 76).[239] The plan of this building, with some additional detail, was included on the published RCHME plan, and subsequently in the DoE guide book.[240] Although no remains of the building are now exposed, its position is indicated by a shallow depression in the present ground level. No other descriptions of this feature or finds from its excavation have been identified.

The internal diameter of the building, scaled from the plan, is 6.7m (22ft). It is enclosed by a rubble wall about 600mm (2ft) thick. On the north-west side of the building, the curve of the outer wall extends tangentially to stop against the former ashlar face of the first pilaster buttress to the west of the outer north-eastern corner of the north range. On this side of the building, at the start of the tangential wall, a gap 1.75m (5ft 9in) wide probably indicates the position of the entrance doorway. On the eastern side of the building, the plan shows that the southern end of the curved wall originally abutted the former east face of the ashlar clasping buttress on the north-east corner of the north range. Within, and approximately concentric with, the outer circular wall is a shallow, circular, flat-bottomed pit, 3m (10ft) in diameter. The photographs and the RCHME plan show that two rectangular recesses were positioned axially north and south in the up-stand of the pit. The excavation plans indicate that the building was constructed above the foundations of earlier walls that had formed the south-western corner of a yard or court, with walls abutting the north-eastern corner of the north range.

Comment

The plan and features of the building suggest that it was a round house, or horse gin, in which the shallow circular pit contained the lower millstone, held in a fixed position by two lugs projecting into the slots recorded in the sides of the pit. Although no contexts were recorded from which the building can be dated, the relationship of the surviving structure to the remains of the north range and to the foundations of the earlier walls noted above indicate that it was built towards the end of the castle's occupation. Furthermore, because it is apparent that the building abutted the buttresses on the north elevation of the north range prior to the robbing of their ashlar faces, its construction must have taken place before the slighting of the castle in 1645. The provision of a horse gin adjoining the shattered remains of the central building within the castle bailey after 1645 in any case seems unlikely. Generally, the weight of the limited evidence for this building suggests that it was erected during the years the castle was occupied by Civil War garrisons, between 1642 and 1645.

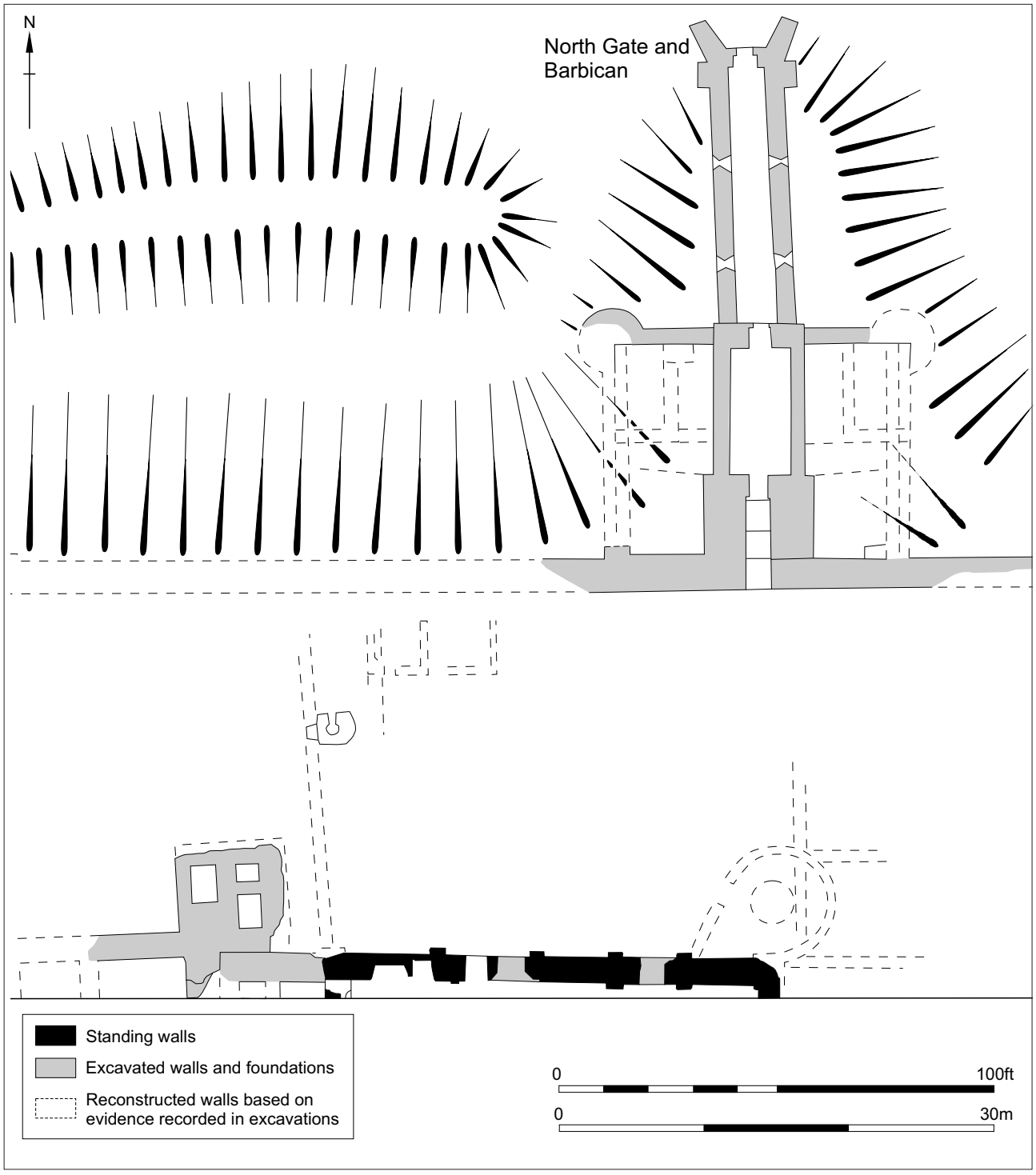


Fig 76 The structures between the north side of the central buildings and the north length of the curtain wall, excavated by Bean. *Plan*: after C E Bean's plans dated August 1946

Other structural remains 10

10.1 Buildings within the bailey

C E Bean uncovered and recorded buildings within the bailey that were independent of the central building complex.[241] These remains are mainly of ranges built against the curtain wall, but there is also some evidence that walls had been built to divide the bailey into courts or yards. Among these subdivisions of the bailey are a paved yard associated with buildings located between the north side of the central building complex and the north length of the curtain wall (Chapter 9).

Buildings against the west curtain wall

In 1953 Bean recorded a line of stone foundations 600mm (22in) wide, running north to south for 18m (59ft), with traces of entrances 5.2m (17ft) into the bailey from the line of the west curtain wall. He considered them to be foundations for timber buildings. A piece of bevelled Ham Hill stone found there was roughly inscribed with a 'Nine Men's Morris' and is believed to date from the twelfth century. At the southern end of the range the wall returned to abut the north-west face of the south-west gatehouse tower where it projects into the bailey. The foundations are of Fuller's Earth rubble, while the jambs to several doorways had Ham Hill stone ashlar dressings with diagonal tooling, all set in a buff mortar. The range probably had an upper storey, indicated by a doorway cut at first-floor level through the north-west wall of the tower and the remains of beam sockets in the inner face of the adjoining curtain wall (see fig 38).

Buildings at the south-east corner of the curtain wall

Bean recorded substantial buildings against the curtain wall from the south-east mural tower southwards to the angle and then continuing along the south curtain. Traces of doors, quoins of Ham Hill stone were exposed, all of twelfth- or early thirteenth-century date. Beside the south curtain, just inside the bailey, and over the curtain wall when it was demolished or reconstructed, was a wall of inferior build. A coin of King John found in a doorway of the south curtain wall range should, from its position, belong to the period of occupation of this building.

Buildings adjoining the north-east gatehouse tower

Bean exposed a series of buildings of rubble construction added against the curtain wall (see figs 49 and 50).

10.2 Buildings outside the bailey

The following four structures have been identified and recorded as outlying parts of the castle at various times: the west mound or bulwark; the east mound and the area of ground to the east; Denny Bridge; and the rubble wall

above the counterscarp of the outer ditch on its south-western, southern and south-eastern flanks.

Investigations

The earthen mound outside the western flank of the outer ditch was examined by Rawlence in 1932 and surveyed by the RCHME in 1939. The investigation of the top of the smaller earthen mound outside the north-east length of the outer ditch, initiated by Rawlence in 1932, was continued by Bean in 1936. Then, prompted by the evidence of earlier masonry found in 1936, Bean excavated further into the mound in 1951; in 1952 he continued to explore the area of disturbed ground to the east of it. Since then no further work has been undertaken on or adjoining either of the two mounds.[242]

The structure of Denny Bridge, to the south of the south-west gate, was originally investigated and recorded by Bean in 1939 and by the RCHME in the same year. The bridge was re-examined, and the earlier survey drawings revised, by Cook in 1994.

Finally, the continuous line of rubble walls that stand above the counterscarp of the outer ditch on its south-west, south and south-east lengths was investigated by Cook during a programme of conservation work carried out by English Heritage in 1993–4.

The west mound or bulwark

In his general notes, Bean stated that the aim of the work undertaken by Rawlence in 1932 on this turf-covered earthen mound was to confirm that it was an outer bulwark or artillery emplacement, raised for the defence of the castle during the Civil War.[243] The survey plan of the mound prepared in 1939 by the RCHME showed that its scarps rise to two different levels, or platforms, above the original top of the counterscarp on the western flank of the outer ditch. The large upper platform, to the south, has the form of a four-sided polygonal bulwark facing west with its back aligned with the top of the counterscarp. The scarps of the four outer sides of the platform are capped by the remains of a continuous raised bank, which was probably an enclosing rampart. A lower acutely angled platform projects northward from the north side of the bastion, its eastern face aligned with the outer ditch counterscarp.

Bean went on to note that several trial holes, each about 1m (3ft) square, were excavated into the mound, and 'a considerable amount of pottery was found, presumably George III period including blue and grey ½ pint pots and brown pots'. It would seem likely that this material was detritus left on the mound after eighteenth-century picnics or drinking parties. The design of the mound, seen in the context of the castle's history, suggests that it was formed as an emplacement for artillery when the castle was garrisoned in the mid-seventeenth century during the Civil War.

The east mound and area of ground to the east (figs 77–79)

Bean obtained results of greater significance when he investigated the east mound and the area to the east of it. His published excavation notes are reprinted below, with some minor clarifications in parentheses.[244] They are followed by a more detailed description of the work recorded in his archived notes, annotated photographs and record drawings.

Bean's report on his 1951 investigations:

> Excavations on the supposed site of the Chapel on the E. side of the Castle and the moat.
> An unpublished excavation in 1932 partly by E. A. Rawlence, F.S.A., the then estate agent, on the mound marked on the O. S. map as 'supposed site of chapel', revealed a small building of relatively late date, probably erected during the lifetime of the first Earl of Bristol. The site was re-examined in 1951. The mound was shown to be of artificial construction, probably a Civil War defence outpost platform, concealing the remains of a 12th cent. building of substantial construction but of a precise nature as yet uncertain, lying E.–W.
>
> The [twelfth-century] building has been much robbed, especially at its E. end, but appears to have comprised a main portion, some 59ft. by 17ft. internally, and a N. aisle some 7ft. wide internally, the main N. wall (between the main portion and the aisle) being carried on arches [ie arcaded]. The piers of the westernmost arch, the first with a half round column of Norman work, remain in situ. This masonry can be equated with the main work of the castle attributed to Bishop Roger [ie between 1103 and 1135]. The S.W. corner foundations, with a shallow clasping angle-buttress, are still intact, constructed of Ham Hill stone; the other adjacent walling is of coursed local stone (Fullers Earth rubble). A doorway in the S. wall corresponds fairly closely with [ie is opposite] a doorway in the N. wall of the aisle. E. of this latter doorway the north wall of the aisle could only be traced as a robber trench, but it appears to have extended the whole length of the main building.

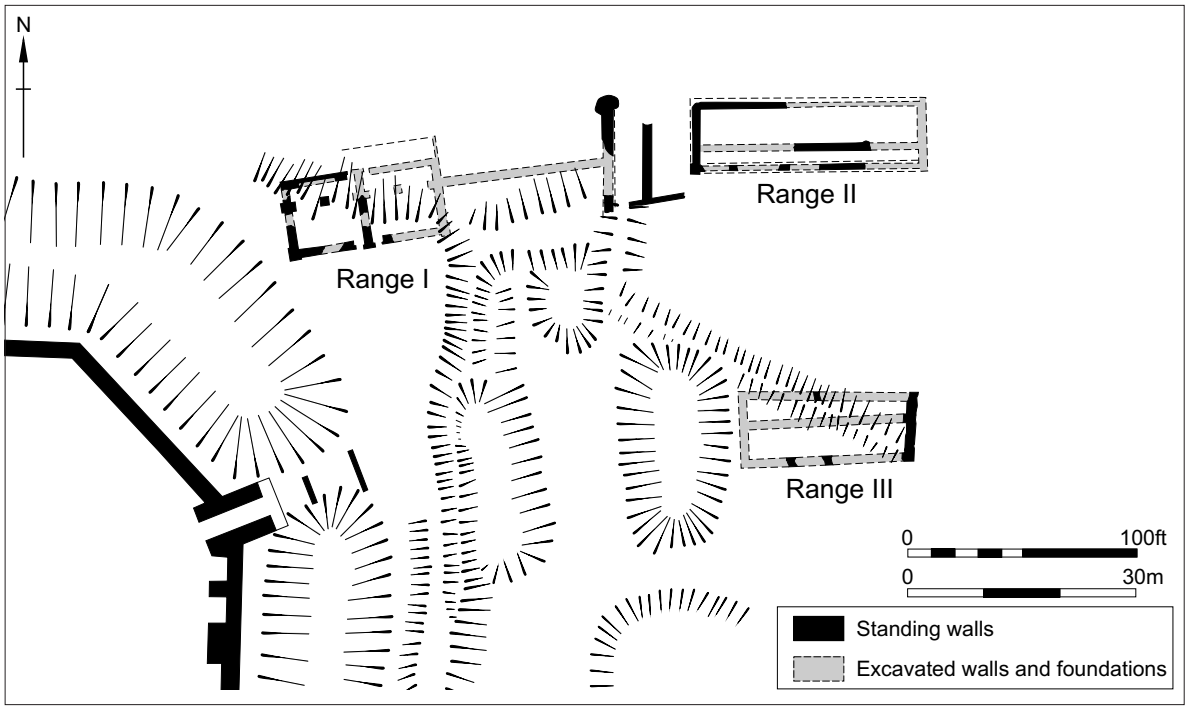


Fig 77 The remains of Ranges I, II and III flanking the outer court, *c* 1135. *Plan*: redrawn from C E Bean's excavation plans

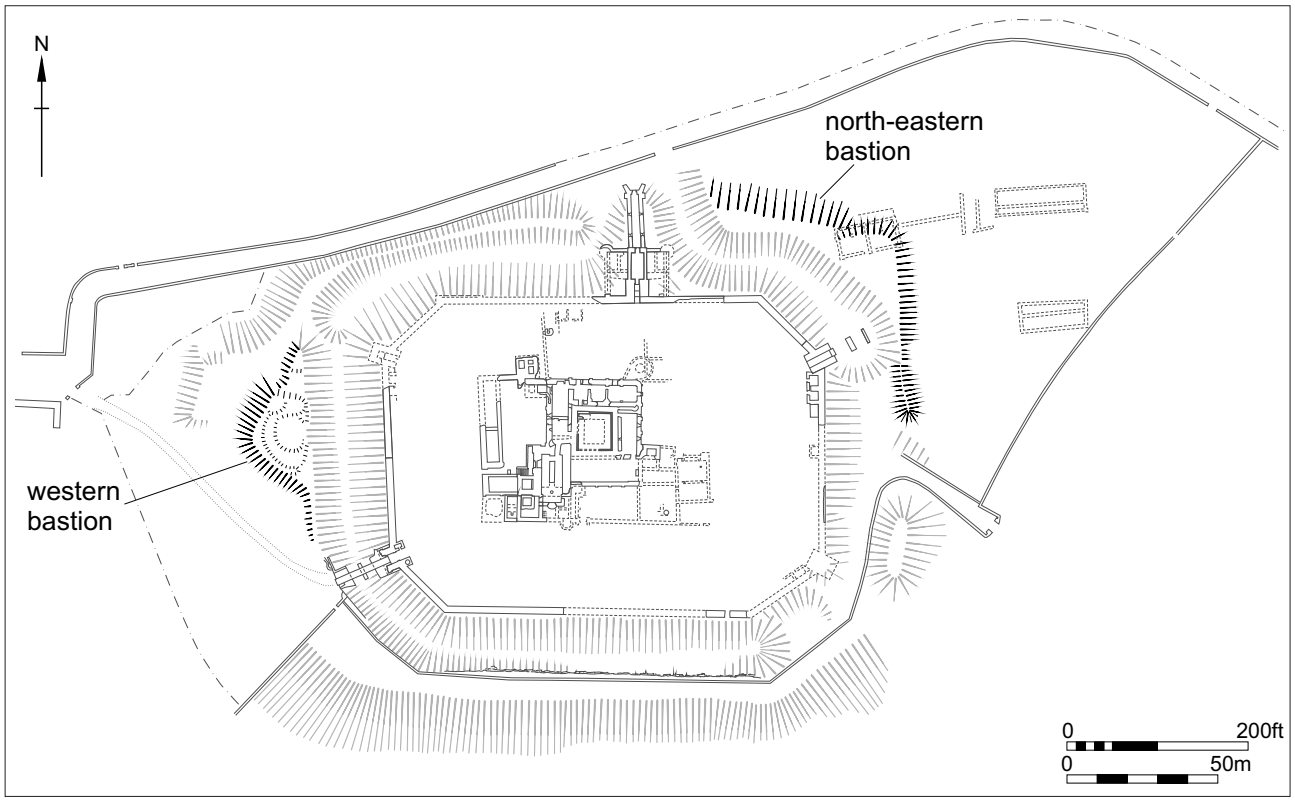


Fig 78 Plan of the Civil War bulwarks

Immediately E. of these doorways the building was bisected internally by a N.–S. wall which was obviously an original feature.

Further walls abutted against the E. side of the main building, one of them, 4ft. wide, continuing the line of the main N. wall [the arcade wall] eastward for a further 74ft., as shown by a robber trench. Rough cobbled flooring exists over this area, and the excavator

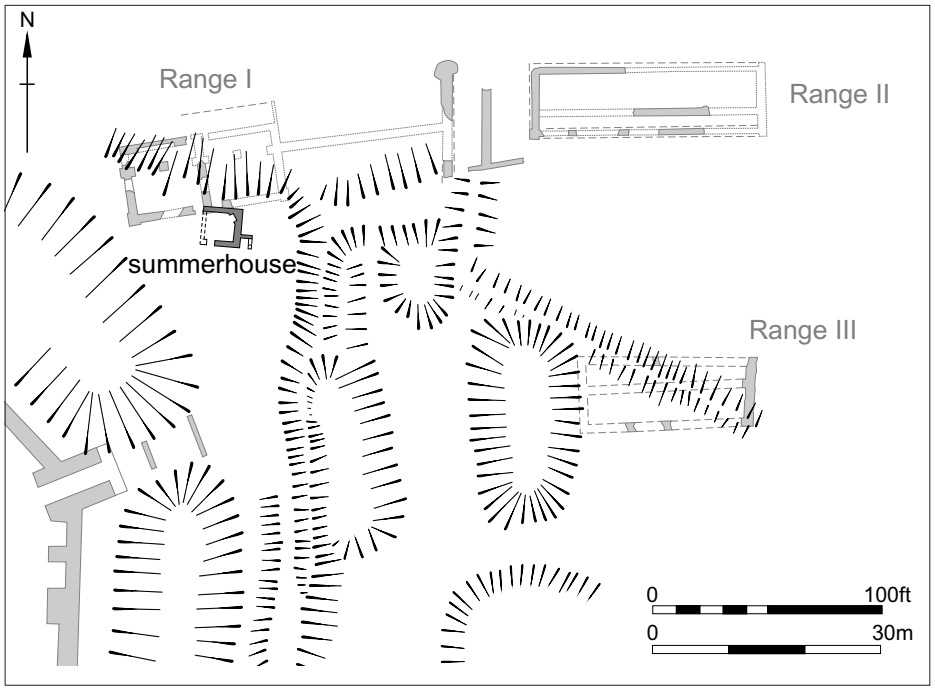


Fig 79 The late seventeenth-century summerhouse built on top of the north-east bastion

considers that these remains represent either a courtyard or some form of timber building. Evidence of further work exists for another 90ft. to the E. again.

It seems that a defensive work was made here during the Civil War outside the moat. The remnants of the [twelfth-century] building, already in decay, were covered up with some 6ft. of clay and rock, while trenches were dug on the N. and E. sides of the mound so formed.

Bean's report on his 1952 investigations:

Some 35ft from the east side of the building described in the 1951 report and now termed Building I, foundations and walls of a rectangular building of similar plan were discovered (Building II), lying east–west, with an intact clasping buttress of Ham Hill stone at the S. W. corner and the core of a N. W. one. Again there was a longitudinal wall, apparently forming an aisle 6ft wide internally, but this time on the south side instead of the north. Internal dimensions of the building were about 94ft by 23½ft. No central cross wall was found as in Building I, but there was some disturbance here caused by a trench (possibly a Civil War work) cutting through the building. The floor was of loose stone, gravel and earth, as in the other buildings; the dressed stone and the core of the wall were apparently Bishop Roger's work [early twelfth century].

Buildings I and II were on the north side of the mound. A trial trench was therefore made on the south side, near the present Pleasure Ground wall; it resulted in the discovery of Building III lying parallel with Building II but some 96 feet south of it. This building had been of the same character, with evidence of a longitudinal wall on the north presumably running the whole length, but was very much robbed or never completed, for it was only traceable by the filled-in wall trenches. The sides of the latter were shear and clean, and could not have stood open for very long and normal robber debris was lacking in their filling. The internal width of the building seems to have been between about 24 feet at the east end and 26½ feet at the west, the length internally about 66½ feet if the west end of the building has been correctly identified in some faint traces of a foundation. Alternatively the remains of the west wall may have been swept away by the Civil War [?] trench here. Trial pits on the line of any westerly extension of the building proved negative, but here again there had been much disturbance caused, in Mr Bean's opinion, by the excavation during the Civil War of a pit and a trench in the area between these buildings and the original moat.

There was very little pottery, except in one pit at the east end of Building II, and the bulk of the wares from the mound area was from superficial layers. Mr Bean describes it as sandy, fairly thin, and red in colour. A few lead bullets occur in the upper levels.

East mound: the remains of the small building (fig 79)

According to Bean, Rawlence found evidence of a small building on top of the east mound in 1932. From dates on the reverse of his record photographs, Bean noted that he re-excavated the remains of this structure in 1936 and cleared it again in December 1939. It is likely that at least some of the structure was destroyed when he excavated much deeper into the mound in 1951–2.[245] Stone walls of the building survived on its northern, eastern and southern sides to a demolition level at about 200mm (8in) above floor level. Although no evidence of its west wall was recorded, the building was interpreted as a single-cell structure with walls 750mm (2ft 6in) thick enclosing a single room. Internally, the building measures 4.2m (13ft 9in) north to south and 2.6m (8ft 6in) east to west. The remains of an entrance doorway were exposed at the west end of the south wall; in front of it there was a paved area laid with reused stone roofing slates. An indication that a level gravel path about 1.5m (5ft) wide had surrounded the building was noted. Bean suggested that the remains of two thin walls, which were found projecting from the southern end of the building's east wall, may have been added to form an external lavatory cubicle. Within the building, the only surviving feature was a small angled fireplace hearth set into its north-east corner. The recorded finds associated with the building included clay tobacco pipes, a spur, pottery sherds and two wine bottle seals with the crest of the Earl of Bristol (fleur de lis with an earl's coronet above), all thought to date from the second half of the seventeenth century. The building was interpreted as a summerhouse or a small sportsman's lodge erected for either the first or the second Earl of Bristol. The building is the structure depicted on the east mound on the RCHME plan (see fig 25).

East mound: the mound and other earthworks to the east and south east (fig 78)

The east mound, like the west mound, was raised as an earthen platform or bulwark to protect the north-east entry into the castle bailey during the First Civil War (1642–6). As it survives, the plan of the east mound is much simpler; its single platform area forms a right-angle triangle with its base aligned parallel to the counterscarp of the north-east flank of the ditch. It has steep scarps on its northern and eastern sides.

To the east and south east of the mound there are several large, shallow pits and a bank running from north west to south east across the area; these were apparently formed during the Civil War, as evidenced by the date of incidental pottery finds. The purpose of these earthworks is unknown.

East mound: the medieval buildings within and east of the mound (fig 77)

During his excavation of the small building described above, Bean observed the stub end of an earlier medieval masonry wall projecting from the mound's south-western scarp. His recollection of this feature prompted him to investigate the mound again in 1951, when he exposed the remains of substantial masonry walls, which were then seen to be part of a larger building. The surviving walls stood up to 350mm (1ft) above the building's original floor level, and initially the fine quality of their masonry led Bean to think that they were the remains of the church of St Mary Magdelene. Until its demolition by Sir Walter Ralegh in 1603, this had stood close to the north-eastern side of the castle, where it is clearly depicted on the 1569–74 estate map (see fig 13).[246] Although Bean would not have been aware of this important evidence, he would have known of Leland's description. In the event, further excavation to expose the remains of the east end of the building led Bean to the opinion that it was not a church, but a rectangular range aligned approximately west to east, consisting of a main body flanked along its northern side by an aisle, with both parts of the range divided internally into two equal parts by a central cross-wall.

In 1952 Bean resumed his excavation by examining the lower ground to the east of the mound. About 10m (33ft) from the remains of the east wall of the building recorded earlier (hereafter Range I), he found the less substantial evidence of a second, much longer building (Range II). This lay roughly on the same alignment, but a little more to the north. Between the two ranges the remains of several walls, probably of later origin, were exposed. Their character and purpose could not be determined within the limited extent of the excavation trenches. At about 28m (92ft) to the south of Range II, and approximately parallel to it, evidence consisting principally of infilled robber trenches indicated that there had been a third building (Range III). It was unclear if this had ever been completed. Although the lengths of the three buildings varied considerably, their basic form was very similar. Each comprised a main block flanked by an aisle along one of its long sides. On the evidence of the character of the surviving primary masonry, and the similarity of their plan forms, Bean considered all three buildings to date from the first half of the twelfth century, and therefore judged them to be components of Roger's castle.

Range I

The encapsulation of the masonry of the western end of this building within the east mound had preserved much more of it above the original ground surface than at the eastern end, where the former walls were largely represented by robber trenches. Masonry joints showed that, although the building had been substantially altered, probably in several phases, the walls identified as primary construction were built of Fuller's Earth rubble and their dressings and features were of Ham Hill stone ashlar with diagonal tooling. In its first phase the building was probably roofed with stone slates. Externally, the main block of the range was about 21m (69ft) east to west and 11m (36ft) overall north to south, and the aisle along the full length of the north side was 2m (6ft 6in) wide. It was assumed that the clasping buttress found at the south-west corner was duplicated on the south-east corner. In the centre of the south elevation a pilaster buttress indicated the position of the internal cross-wall dividing the range; similarly, on the west wall, a pilaster buttress indicated the position of the arcade wall dividing the main block of the building internally from its north aisle. All three buttresses were faced in Ham Hill ashlar quoined into the rubble walls on each side, and rose from single-course chamfered-offset plinths. The outer north-west corner of the aisle did not have a clasping buttress, but rather ashlar quoins set flush with the wall faces.

Set in the south elevation, to either side of the central pilaster buttress, were the remains of doorways with Ham Hill jambs, both with draw-bar holes, while in the north wall of the aisle were the remains of a doorway opposite that in the south wall, on the west side of the pilaster buttress. The overall symmetry of the plan suggests a comparable doorway in the north wall of the aisle, opposite the doorway in the south wall, on the east side of the pilaster buttress.

Within the building, the room on the west side of the central cross-wall contained evidence of a two-bay arcade that opened into the aisle on the north side. This evidence comprised the rectangular, top-chamfered plinth for a semicircular pier with a moulded base, attached to the west wall, and the square top-chamfered plinth for the central pier of the arcade, which probably supported a further circular pier.

Various alterations and additions to the primary structure of this building were recorded. A doorway was inserted in the western end wall of the north aisle. Some time later the north aisle was demolished, probably due to the collapse of the rock scarp immediately to the north of the building, and the north arcade was infilled to form a solid wall on the north side. A doorway was formed through the west wall of the main block on the south side of the pilaster buttress, but subsequently infilled with rubble. The floor level was raised within the main block of the building and new stone thresholds inserted into both doorways in the south wall. Walls were added with their ends abutting the west faces of the buttresses on the west wall. These alterations appear to have been carried out in several later phases, but it has not been possible from the limited contextual recording during the investigation to distinguish among these phases and so establish a definitive sequence for development.

Range II

Apart from the low-level masonry remains of its western end wall, most of this building had been demolished and its foundations robbed out. Bean's survey of both the surviving masonry and the robber trenches showed that the building was a long range comprising a main block, externally about 30m (98ft 6in) long east to west and about 9m (29ft 6in) wide overall north to south, with an aisle 2m (6ft 6in) wide running along the full length of its south side. The western end wall retained evidence of a clasping buttress of Ham Hill stone ashlar, with a single-course chamfered-offset plinth, on the south-west corner of the aisle.

Range III

Except for the rubble foundations of its east wall, the evidence for this building mostly consisted of robbed foundation trenches. Its plan was apparently trapezoidal rather than rectangular, although the exact position of the western end wall could not be established. Bean's survey showed that the building comprised a main block, externally at least 23m (75ft 6in) east to west, with the main body 4m (13ft) wide, and a north aisle 2m (6ft 6in) wide at its eastern end, widening to about 3m (10ft) or more at its western end.

Comment

The disposition of Ranges I, II and III, and the structures inserted between I and II, suggest that they defined a forecourt on the approach to the north-east entry to the castle. The significance of this is discussed in Chapter 11. Although the site had been greatly disturbed by the construction of the east mound, some of the evidence found by Bean and described in his notes, but now difficult to follow, led him to believe that this putative forecourt had

been enclosed by a palisade and outer ditch, forming in effect an outer bailey.

The original and later functions of the three buildings, if different, is uncertain. The masonry of their construction was of a standard as high as any of the Phase I buildings within the bailey, having similar ashlar dressings and other architectural details. The alterations identified in the remains of Range I suggest that it was reduced in size in several stages. Although the forecourt lay outside the strongly defended bailey, it was within the perimeter protected by the mere. If the buildings were used for secondary purposes, perhaps as stables,[247] for servants' lodgings or as accommodation for those not permitted to lodge within the castle itself, great care was taken over their appearance and construction.

An important issue with regard to their use is the unresolved matter of the exact location of the church of St Mary Magdelene. Given the clear evidence of the 1574 map, it seems possible that it could have occupied at least part of Range I and, for this reason, survived the successive phases of contraction of the original building. Certainly the later internal alterations to the eastern half of this building suggest that it was among the last of the three ranges to survive.

The date of final demolition of the three buildings has not been established with any certainty. On the basis of the archaeological evidence, it seems likely that they were destroyed by Sir Walter Ralegh, perhaps at about the same time as he demolished the church. If so, they had been effectively destroyed well before the formation of the east mound as an artillery bastion in the mid-seventeenth century.

Denny Bridge (figs 80 and 81)

The origins of the substantial stone bridge, called Denny (or Dynney) Bridge, built about 110m (361ft) to the south of the south-west gate, is referred to above in Chapter 2, and the significance of the bridge to the location of the castle is discussed in Chapter 11. The following description is based on a drawn survey and notes by Bean, notes and sketches following an inspection for the RCHME in 1939 by John Charlton, and an inspection by Cook in 1993 in order to check the earlier records and to prepare drawings (fig 80).[248] Four phases of construction have been identified in the development of the bridge.

Phase I

The primary structure, which forms the central portion of the bridge, comprises two barrel-vaulted spans supported by a central pier and two parallel abutment walls. Although the north-west span is slightly wider than the south-east span of the bridge, their respective vaults have a similar segmental profile. The abutment walls and the central pier are faced in ashlar of Ham Hill stone. This ashlar facing retains some of its original diagonal dressing, which is similar to the ashlar dressing found on the Phase I structures within the castle. The vaults above, in each span, are constructed principally of thin stone slates but they also contain some squared stone blocks. This may indicate that the vaults were rebuilt.

Phase II

The south-western end of the central pier was rebuilt with a facing of ashlar, using somewhat larger stones than those used originally. The rebuilt end of the pier, in the form of a cut-water, is built off a chamfered-offset plinth.

Phase III

In order to accommodate a wider carriageway, the bridge was extended by an addition on its north-eastern, upstream side. This addition, about 2m (6ft 6in) wide, is clearly indicated by joints in the faces of both abutment walls and the faces of the central pier. The north-east end of the abutment wall on the south-east side is faced by a revetment of squared rubble, which dies back into the river bank. The face of the addition to the south-west end of the central pier is stepped. The added barrel vault over the south-east span of the extension is again segmental in form, while the profile of the barrel vault added above the corresponding north-west span is four-centred.

Phase IV

In this final phase the bridge was extended again on the south-western, downstream side, this time in a single vaulted span rather than in two spans. To support this wider span, the addition to the abutment wall on the south-east side was made longer than the addition to the north-west abutment wall.

Comment

The original bridge, at about 3m (10ft) wide, is much the same as other known bridges of the period, and it would enable men, pack animals, sledges and small carts to pass each other.[249] The aim in building it was to concentrate the

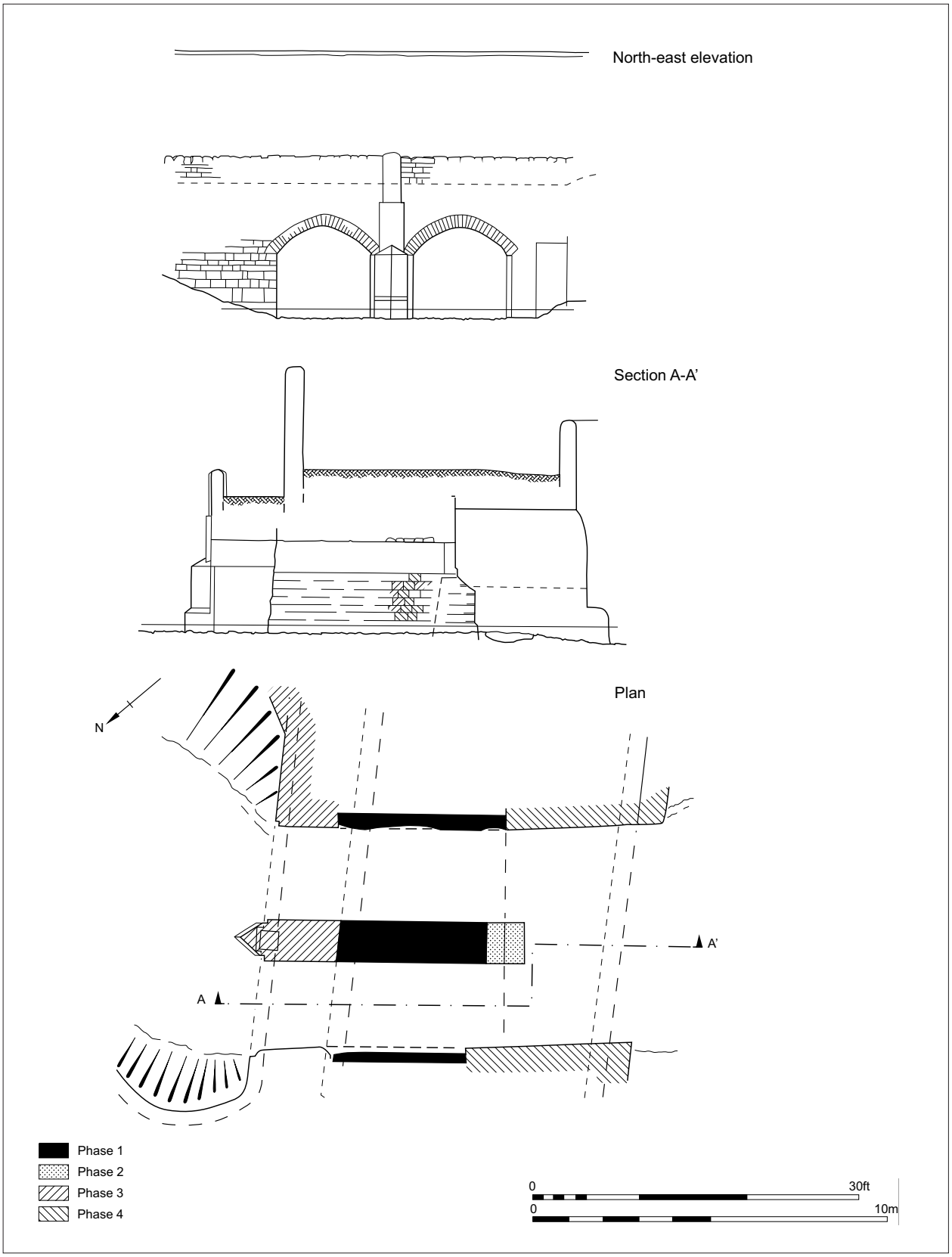


Fig 80 Denny Bridge: plan, elevation and section. *Drawing*: after C E Bean and RCHME 1952

traffic on an important highway to a single safe controllable crossing point. Its size and construction compares with the masonry bridges into the castle bailey: the carriageway is about the same width as the gate passage through the south-west tower. The bridge is likely to have been part of Bishop Roger's overall plan.

Fig 81 Denny Bridge: *Drawing*: by the Revd H W Jones from Fowler 1951

The rubble wall above the counterscarp of the outer ditch on its south-western, southern and south-eastern flanks

This rubble wall was examined in 1991, prior to work on its consolidation in 1992 and 1993, in order to establish the date of its construction, its purpose and its relationship to other standing walls at the approach to the south-west gatehouse tower (see fig 17).

On the east flank of the outer ditch the counterscarp has been cut through by a secondary ditch or defile in order to provide an access for carriages or carts between Sherborne Park and the Old Castle bailey. This work is likely to have been part of the mid-eighteenth-century scheme for landscaping the park.

The rubble wall built on the counterscarp bank of the ditch runs eastwards from the defile, and forms the boundary between the grounds of the park and the castle bailey.

Examination of the wall showed that its western section was earlier than the sections further to the east. Reused ashlars are visible in the wall, and during the consolidation work several such stones were retrieved. They were decorated with twelfth-century carved mouldings that match details on stones found elsewhere within the castle. It is known from estate accounts that the wall was built during the second half of the eighteenth century.

11 Discussion and appraisal

11.1 Issues of interpretation

The differences between the respective aims and methods of the Bean and White investigations are reflected in the nature and range of the results they obtained and, as a consequence, the interpretations based upon them. With the very limited assistance available to him, Bean's work between 1932 and 1954 was primarily concerned with recording the castle's stone-built structures and the exploration of areas where they were likely to have been demolished. White, at the time without the advantage of Bean's archive, largely concentrated on recording in detail the archaeological contexts of those previously excavated areas. His work exposed only a few stone-built structural features that had not been identified earlier, but did reveal the existence of two significant phases of activity prior to Roger's grand building project. It was also clear that Roger's preliminary groundworks to recontour the natural hill, rather than Bean's investigations, had compromised the archaeological evidence of earlier occupation. Nevertheless, the general condition of the bailey by the 1950s suggests a degree of disturbance, much of it recent, that would militate against the survival of the more sensitive archaeological deposits, such as timber structures or gardens.

It can reasonably be assumed that the form and disposition of the standing and excavated structures described in this narrative represent the castle's principal architectural elements. However, it is worth noting that about a third of the castle bailey and much of the area immediately outside it were not investigated over this period, and the contextual evidence or other structures that may survive there cannot be estimated. It was, after all, towards the end of his investigations that Bean made the unexpected discovery of the remains of three substantial masonry buildings forming an outer court on the approach to the north-east entry. White, similarly, did not have the opportunity to examine fully the remains of a deep cellar of a building near the south-west corner of the central complex. Both examples serve to emphasise the potential for further work.

Nevertheless, the current narrative brings greater clarity to a number of key issues. Among them are the occupation of the site before Roger's time, the design of Roger's castle, how it was defended and how it functioned, how the castle changed and, importantly, the distinction between the work of Langton and that of Ralegh a century later.

11.2 The earlier occupation of the site

Evidence of the earlier occupation of the site takes two forms: a length of enclosure ditch and part of a Saxon cemetery. But the very nature of Roger's preliminary works, which sliced the summit off the natural hill, militates against the survival of sufficient archaeological evidence to reconstruct how and to what extent the site was then occupied. The shallowness of those graves that were located suggests a lowering of the ground level by more than a metre (3ft), but beneath the great tower it

could have been more than this, as human bones had been thrown into the bottom of the earlier enclosure ditch fill. Burials survived both outside and inside the ditch, although within the ditched enclosure the twelfth-century builders had effectively stripped away all the material that would enable an understanding of its use.

The investigations therefore take us no closer to identifying the location of a possible Saxon settlement, beyond the existence of the cemetery. They do not influence the suggestion that the topography of the ground surrounding the castle indicates Saxon occupation on the same site as the later medieval village called Castleton. The original site of this village, before it was moved to the west side of the castle by Sir Walter Ralegh, was close to the castle's north-east side, where its church is depicted on the estate map of 1570–4 (see fig 13).

11.3 Bishop Roger's castle: its design, how it was defended and how it functioned

The opportunity now to research all the available excavation records has enabled a better understanding of the design and utility of the castle that Roger built at Sherborne on such a palatial scale to accommodate him and his household in a style commensurate with his power and wealth. It is now possible to appreciate the strength of the defences formed by the mere and bailey's enceinte, to identify with greater confidence the principal offices of this great medieval residence – the hall, the great tower housing the principal domestic apartments and guard chamber, the upper and lower chapels, together with other chambers of less certain function – and to work out how the household circulated among them. A large detached kitchen served this complex within the bailey, and there was apparently an extensive service courtyard immediately outside the curtain wall and ditch, beyond the north-east gate. In its historical context, Sherborne was splendid, spacious and precisely planned, and can be compared favourably to other castles built in England during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries for the king or his great lords, both lay and ecclesiastical. It is among a group that can truly be described as fortress palaces – William Fitzstephen used the term *arx palatina* when referring to the Tower of London – on account of their size, their complexity and the quality of their construction and decoration.

Sherborne is Roger's only bespoke residence built in open countryside. With a free hand, he created a level building platform within impressive defences comprising a curtain wall with towers, banks, ditches and a lake and with immediate access to an extensive deer park. Unusually for the time, and unlike his other residences, the lodgings in the central complex stood isolated at the centre of the bailey and without any connection to the perimeter wall. Excavation has shown that those walls that had apparently linked the central complex and the curtain wall were all constructed during later phases to subdivide the bailey into yards and courts. Much less encumbered than Sarum, is Sherborne to be seen as the ideal to which Roger aspired?

Some idea of the precision with which the castle layout was planned can be illustrated by setting out the component parts on a grid (fig 82). The design concept of the bailey enclosure is a square circumscribed by a circle. The square's sides and corners are the north and south (or 'long') lengths of the curtain wall, with the east and west (or 'short') lengths tangential to the circle, extended to produce a rectangle with the 'short' and 'long' lengths in the ratio of one to root two, or 1:1.414. The two 'long' lengths of curtain wall, the two 'short' lengths and the four canted lengths are roughly in the ratio 4:2:1. To have achieved this ratio precisely, the uniformity of the angles would have been compromised.[250]

In its role as a castle, Sherborne's defensive capacity can now be reassessed. We know that Henry I travelled extensively round his kingdom regularly, using rural unfortified residences,[251] but he also had access if necessary to the most powerful of castles, as did Roger. Sherborne, as seen today, is deceptive. The key to understanding its defences is the mere and the margin of marshy ground surrounding it. Although the defended perimeter is long, and the domestic buildings are isolated within, the waterlogged terrain surrounding much of the bailey perimeter created considerable potential for both controlled access and defence. The mere is the most significant element of the original defensive scheme. While providing a strong physical obstacle to any attack, it also mitigated the need for close surveillance from the curtain wall; certainly the spacing of the mural towers must have limited their effectiveness in this regard. The four towers do, however, add to the striking visual impression the castle was meant to create.

The vehicular gates follow a conventional form. Stone gatehouse towers, with up to half the structure projecting outwards beyond the curtain into the ditch, occur particularly in England in the early twelfth century. Developed in Normandy during the mid-eleventh century, early examples are at Le Plessis-Grimoult (before 1047)

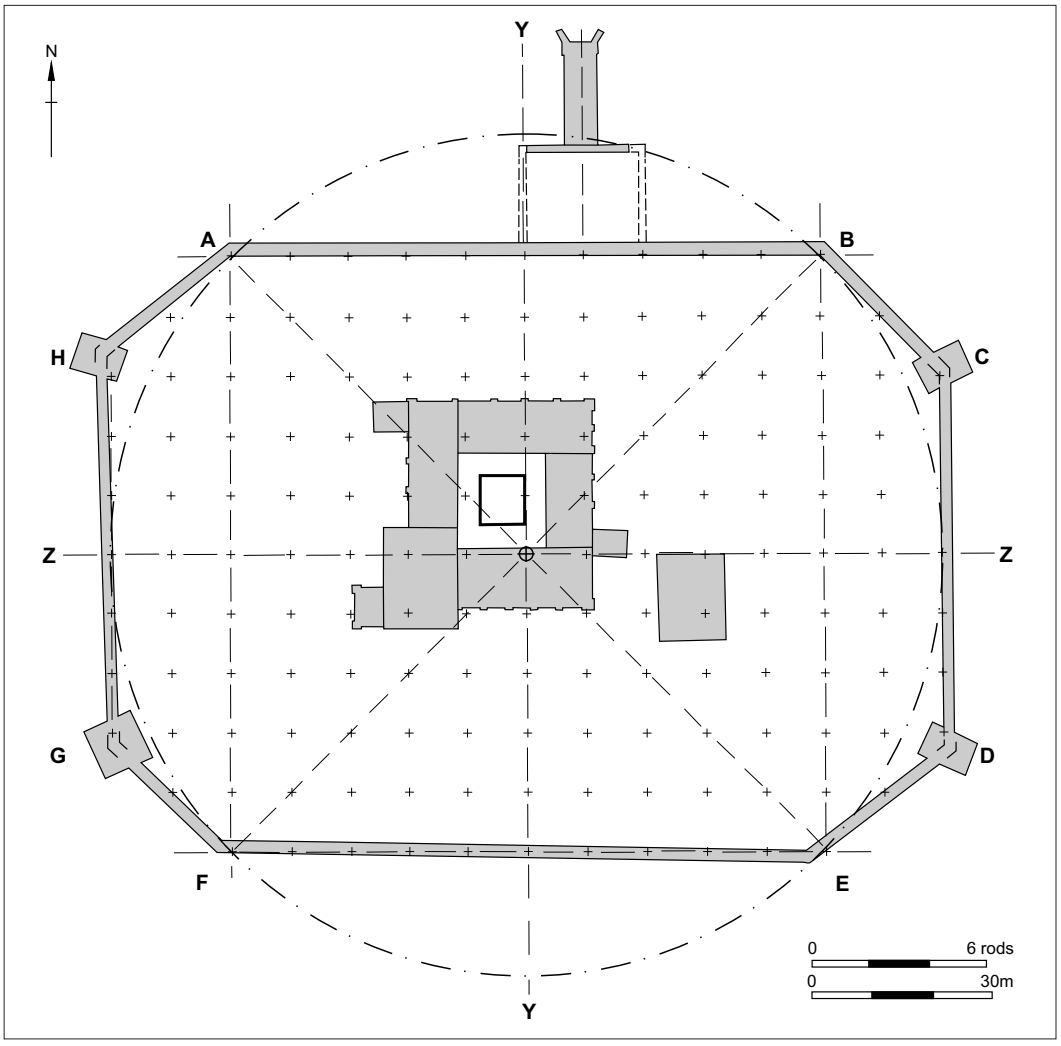


Fig 82 Schematic reconstructed plan of the castle, as originally devised for Bishop Roger, showing the geometrical forms identified in its design, and in the relationships between its component parts

and Caen (shortly after 1047). Probably before Roger's work at Sherborne, Henry I's great ducal fortress at Arques-la-Bataille incorporated a very similar structure. Roger's castle at Sarum also featured such a gate, and so, later, did his nephew Alexander's at Newark.[252] Such gateways made a strong defensive statement, appropriate to Sherborne's key strategic position (Chapter 2).

It is possible to suggest how the Sherborne gateways might have been used. Partly owing to the castle's location and partly to the arrangement of the buildings within it, the principal entry has always been at the south west, and it is here that a gatehouse tower has survived. Overlooking Denny Bridge, this is the largest and most impressive of the three entries to the bailey and it provided a direct link to the town, with its abbey, and to the roads for the west and north beyond.

Denny Bridge was an integral part of Roger's scheme; its significance as a structure in its own right is discussed in Chapter 10. Before it was built, to travel south from Sherborne towards Dorchester and the coast, the River Yeo had to be crossed by fording the stream and traversing marshy ground. The construction of the bridge created a safe crossing some distance to the east, so that both the crossing and the junction for the road leading south from the Shaftesbury to Sherborne road were effectively controlled by the castle. It also enabled easier access to the extensive deer park to the south of the castle bailey.

Within the bailey, facing the south-west entry and a short distance away was the great tower, the castle's most prestigious building, housing the principal apartments. Just to its north, and passing through the west range, was the formal entry to the inner court. Here, two adjacent doorways in the south-west angle of the court gave access to the dais end of the great hall and to the stairway for the apartments in the upper levels of the great tower and the west and north ranges. This western part of the bailey was the high-status sector, and the circulation within it was separate from the eastern service sector of the castle. The

'houses' or additional lodgings subsequently erected to the south west of the great tower came within this western sector; the enclosure of the west courtyard modified, but did not eliminate, this arrangement. With the south-west gate as the formal entry, the gate at the north east was well placed to serve the eastern service sector of the bailey. While a fragment of similar architectural detail survives, only the plan of this smaller gate structure is known, but something of its use can be deduced from its location. The nearest buildings within the bailey to this entry – and, interestingly, upwind of it in prevailing south-westerlies – were the kitchen and its courtyard. Immediately outside the bailey, flanking the approach to the north-east bridge, were three ranges also likely to have been service buildings, including lodgings. These factors point to the more modest north-east entry being primarily a service entrance; it has already been noted (Chapter 8) that in scale the north-east tower can be compared to the mural towers rather than to the south-west tower.

Nevertheless, it must not be overlooked that the road from the east was an important route of approach to the castle (see fig 6), if only because it linked Salisbury to Sherborne, and would certainly have carried processional traffic. The rerouting of this road has already been described; it seems likely that it bypassed the north-east entry, which, together with the ranges of buildings approaching it, would then be served by a spur.

The north gate, which we now know was part of the primary design, is apparently unique for its time, but it seems to have had a limited role in the defensive scheme. It is not placed centrally, but offset to the east. Its axis divides the length of the north curtain wall in the ratio 1:1.618 – the 'Golden Ratio'. Projected southwards, the axis of its gate passage aligns with the east elevation of the east range of the central complex. It was a watergate, but for what purpose? No known roads approach the castle from this direction, and the mere, which presumably could be used by small craft, seems likely to have been surrounded by marshy ground, so it would have limited use as an entry, except to serve as a postern. But perhaps the mere was important for a reason beyond defence.

As constructed, the walls of the north gate were insubstantial (Chapter 8), although its appearance was important, and it was probably visually impressive. It may not have been primarily intended for physical defence. Certainly it was considerably strengthened on at least two occasions during its first century of use. It has been noted (Chapter 3) that Roger issued a charter between 1130 and 1138 granting the monks of the abbey, among other things, the right to fish in the castle stew-ponds. This could be a reference to the mere, or some part of that expanse of water. If this is the case, the north gate would provide the necessary access and storage space for those maintaining and harvesting the mere and for its produce, among other provisions. The position of the gate in the curtain wall has already been noted. Offset to the east, its entry point is far removed from the area of formal circulation in the western sector of the bailey, suggested above, but it does provide a direct route to the eastern service sector, centred on the kitchen courtyard, where provisions would be needed.

The original design of Sherborne's central buildings may have been less ambitious than the complex eventually completed for Roger. This is suggested by the alterations to the offset plinths of its great tower, the slight differences between the alignments of the lateral walls of the south range to the east of the tower, and their foundations. The archaeological evidence also indicates that, after the foundations of the hall and tower had been laid, it was decided to increase the size of the central complex by the addition of the three ranges enclosing a small inner court on the northern side of the hall range. However, after this change of plan, and at an early stage, the remains suggest that the whole of the central complex was completed as an integrated structural and functional unit. It can be seen from figure 82 that the hall range is at the geometric centre of the bailey.

The key significance of Sherborne among Roger's domestic buildings is that here he owned the site and was able to mould it entirely for his own purposes. The similarity of the plan of Sherborne's central complex to Roger's apartments within the bailey of Old Sarum Castle was first noted in the 1930s, but there the similarity ends. Sarum was a royal castle throughout, and the bailey was confined within a crowded urban settlement, itself enclosed by massive earthworks. A residence was necessary for the bishop because his cathedral was located here, at the centre of the diocese, and Roger's episcopal palace was next to the cathedral, but the castle provided security. A significant component of its defence, the great tower, is detached, and it is located on the castle perimeter. It pre-dated the construction of the ranges enclosing the court. With the construction of the courtyard house, access to the upper chambers of the tower, from the great hall in the west range, was provided by stairs to a bridge built above a passage leading to a postern gate in the bailey's curtain wall. However, space constraints at urban Sarum were very real, and the contrast between the space available here, compared with rural Sherborne, could hardly be more striking.

Not so much is known about Roger's other castles. Devizes was purely a secular establishment. Here, Roger inherited a timber castle from Herman and rebuilt it in stone to become 'the most splendid castle in Europe',[253]

one that was, to quote another contemporary source, 'constructed with wonderful skill and impregnable fortifications'.[254] So there is every reason to suppose that this was his strong fortress, and historical events point to Roger's using it as such when personally under threat. There is a similarity to Sherborne, as it was (then) in a rural location and adjoined an extensive deer park of which elements of the pale still remain; but the emphasis seems to have been on defensive strength. About Malmesbury we know next to nothing.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the principal domestic accommodation within a castle was generally provided either wholly within a great tower, as at the Tower of London, or in a range in which a great hall and one or more adjoining chambers were usually built against a flank of the castle bailey's curtain wall, as at Framlingham, often using chambers within adjoining wall towers as additional accommodation. Sherborne is different. Although its tower follows the form found in the self-contained towers, it apparently provided only part of the necessary accommodation, and so was attached to the four adjoining ranges, which would appear to have lowered the defensive capability of the whole. The position of the tower in relation to the ranges enclosing the inner court, and especially its relationship to the hall in the south range, suggests that it functioned as a 'solar' tower housing the chambers, on two upper floors, presumably for the principal household members and their immediate retinue. A secure undercroft at ground-floor level could only be entered from above.

There is another attribute of the Sherborne great tower that should be taken into account: only its south elevation was completely unobstructed and therefore suitable for windows. Although we can have no idea of what the original arrangement may have been, the generous, embellished windows of the south-west gatehouse tower may provide a clue. Undoubtedly, south-facing windows would make the most of the available daylight, but the view to be had from them is also to be considered.

The uppermost storey to the north and east would have provided little more than sight of the roofs of the adjoining ranges, but throughout its history the south elevation remained unobstructed. Indeed Langton's and Ralegh's alterations extended the structure southward, enabling the enlargement of the window area, while the earlier additional lodgings had been constructed to the south west, out of view. We must therefore consider the significance of that view, which was over the whole extent of the deer park, stretching away to the skyline. The upper chambers of the great tower were not only well appointed, and linked with relative privacy to other privileged parts of the palace, but were also apparently planned to provide what would later become known as a belvedere, an elevated position from which to follow the chase. Importantly, the deer park was an integral part of the Sherborne scheme – just as it was at Devizes – and the great tower was the only building of the central complex to afford any view over the park.

Excavation has now put beyond any doubt the existence of a ground-floor hall in the south range throughout the occupation of the castle, from the early twelfth century until the end of the sixteenth century.[255] The south range is neatly located between the great tower to the west and the kitchen court immediately to the east. The suggestion that the hall was on an upper floor of the range was always erroneous given the height of the surviving decorated string course to the great tower wall, but we now know that there was never an undercroft or basement of any kind. The hall is therefore another example of a small number of such structures of the period, and it may well be an appropriately modest echo of the Salle de l'Échiquier in the great ducal castle at Caen – a city with which Roger would have been familiar.[256]

There are several possible origins for the design of the courtyard plan. Monastic houses commonly had a court or cloister, which provided for circulation among the principal conventual buildings, and Sherborne was, after all, a prelate's residence, although Roger was a priest, not a monk. Alternatively, it could be argued that the plan represented what was believed to be an appropriate design for any grand house, whether secular or ecclesiastical. As such, it may ultimately derive from the central atrium or peristyle in the houses of classical antiquity. This possibility may be linked with the suggestion that Robert (Curthose) Duke of Normandy influenced the designs of Roger's castles while he was in Roger's custody between 1106 and 1126. The duke (or indeed his retainers) would have had ample opportunity to assist, and, 'sanitary conditions being what they were in the twelfth century, it is very likely that as Roger's prisoner [Robert] was also lodged (at various times) in the bishop's other castles. Perhaps Robert recalled his military experience in Normandy and the Holy Land and used it to assist Roger in planning his castles.'[257] Neither is it unreasonable to suppose that Robert had a wide knowledge of architecture and fortification, gained during his travels.

Perhaps the type of accommodation required for Roger's household was another factor. In his time, Roger was both the most important magnate in England and a prelate, positions he had achieved because he was a very able administrator. Sherborne was the administrative and judicial hub of the wealthy estates on which the diocese depended. In addition, Roger ran the whole kingdom for

long periods. Should the accommodation at Sherborne therefore be seen as meeting the unusual needs of housing the 'secular' vice-regal court and retinue, as well as the ecclesiastical and religious administrators for diocesan business? Such a household could have included a large number of clerks in holy orders, as many indeed as in a monastery, but forming a community with quite a different purpose. Some idea of the nature and extent of this household can be gained from those who witnessed Roger's charters.[258] The subsequent, purely secular, occupation of Sherborne is considered below, but it may be that its layout was designed originally to provide space to house administrators rather than high-status residents.[259] The opportunity in recent years to examine the detail of the upper levels has been instructive. The architectural details are set out in Chapter 9, but it is worth mentioning that three areas of circulation can apparently be identified. At the highest level, are the hall dais, great tower upper levels and the upper storeys of the west and north ranges; next come the first storeys of the west and north ranges and the upper level of the east range, with the cloistered court linking these two levels; the third, service, circulation links the low end of the hall and the first storey of the east range and the kitchen court, with no apparent access to the cloistered court.

Beyond the outer ditch, Bean's last excavation campaign, after the publication of the RCHME account, revealed a further significant component of the castle. In the lee of the north-east curtain, linked by the north-east gate to the service court and kitchen, yet within the protective shield of the mere, he located three long ranges. On the evidence of their construction, they are almost certainly part of Roger's castle. Much later, Leland refers to 'a chapel in a litle close without the castle by este',[260] and the church of St Mary Magdelene is depicted here on the sixteenth-century estate map,[261] but there is a substantial amount of roofed accommodation that could, in addition, have housed lodgings and stabling. If this is the case, it is a rare find indeed, for little is known from this period about the accommodation and management of cavalry (ie knights') horses, and the numerous riding and draught horses that would have been required to support a lordly household and the castle community generally.

11.4 The secular use of the castle

The composition of Roger's household as an influence in the design of Sherborne has been discussed above. Because a prelate was, in theory, unmarried and childless, at the apex of the Sherborne hierarchy there was a single person, rather than a secular lord and his lady (and possibly their offspring) creating a need for 'mirrored' households to be accommodated. Although we know that Roger had a long-term relationship with Matilda of Ramsbury, and they had at least two sons, we do not know if the status accorded to her approached that of the wife of a secular lord. Moreover, the references we have to her relate to Devizes.[262]

The archaeological evidence suggests that additional apartments were constructed very soon after the castle passed into secular use, to the south west of the great tower, adjoining the existing principal domestic apartments. In time these additions were extended to the north, leading to the creation of the western courtyard, occupying the hitherto unencumbered space between the south-west entry and the formal entry to the inner court. The resumption of episcopal ownership led to overall contraction, then to Langton's remodelled but more concentrated accommodation in the central complex. It is possible that these changes reflect the differing requirements of a secular household, and a need for separate suites of chambers for lord and lady (or as the documents indicate subsequently, for king and queen) at the very least. That the original bespoke plan of Sherborne might have been found wanting is suggested by the construction of additional apartments so soon after it passed into secular hands (see fig 28). Certainly the structures discovered abutting the south-west corner of the tower would be in an appropriate location for higher-status lodgings; later documentary references to the queen's chamber and a pentice linking it to her chapel also suggest accommodation not to be found in the original central complex.[263]

11.5 The form and character of the additions for Bishop Langton

Until the consolidation works from the mid-1950s, study of the upstanding masonry was severely hampered by vegetation growth, if it was possible at all, and any inspection of the upper floor of the great tower was cursory at best. Excavating the accumulated debris above the vaulting of the tower when the opportunity occurred in 1970 yielded clear evidence for the extent of Langton's work for the first time since Leland had described it. The

revealed masonry demonstrated the original arrangement of the upper floor, which was of timber, and the violent manner of its destruction (Chapter 3). The concealed coin hoard (Appendix 2) puts beyond doubt the existence of the barrel vaults half a century before Ralegh's time, and gives credibility to Leland's description of their form and origin. Hitherto, Langton had been a shadow passing across the Sherborne stage. It now seems likely that his remodelling included the initial breaching of the south wall of the great tower. The new access to the small tower, taking account of the higher floor level, was also necessitated by the barrel vaults that he inserted. His extensions to the south of the tower and the link between them and the great hall have been described in detail in Chapter 9.

11.6 The nature of the alterations for Sir Walter Ralegh

If Langton was responsible for the initial remodelling of the great tower, Sir Walter Ralegh's interventions take on a different perspective, and are more superficial. There can be little doubt, however, of the size and elaboration of the great bay window that Ralegh added to the south end of the tower. Various other alterations to this structure and to other parts of the castle identified during the investigations are some indication of his ambition to remodel it as a great house, while at the same time retaining much of the identity of an ancient castle. But it was the bay window that dominated and characterised the principal elevation, and the compass window was an appropriately fashionable architectural statement at this time.

11.7 The ruined castle as a monument

Pope's correspondence (Chapter 3) suggests that the castle was appreciated as a ruin within a generation of its slighting. The earliest illustration, by the Buck brothers in 1733 (see fig 17), and subsequent illustrations (see figs 18, 19, 23 and 24),[264] show relatively little attrition over the two centuries before consolidation of the fabric began, although it is obvious that many tons of stone were taken for reuse in local buildings, not least in the row of houses on the approach to the south-west gate. That more stone was not taken must surely be attributable to the determination of the Digby family to ensure the survival of a substantial and fashionable ruin. The sheer physical strength of the remaining structure, and the increasingly abundant foliage that is very evident in early photographs, would have helped for a time to protect the stonework from the elements. There is also some positive evidence, from the use of the stone and the mortar, to show that from time to time work was carried out by the estate workmen to stabilise the ruined walls, presumably to prevent their complete collapse.

Over time, the ruin became more than a feature in Sherborne Park (fig 83). Thomas Hardy's mention of it in Chapter 23 of his novel *The Woodlanders* (1887) points to its accessibility at that time, and the staging of the Sherborne Pageant there (see fig 24) underlines its importance to the local community. During the later nineteenth century, awareness of the ruins went far wider when the coming of the railway compromised the castle's setting while making the ruins visible to travellers on the main line to and from the West Country – the same transport corridor that Bishop Roger had sought to control. Even so, another century elapsed before the ruins were stabilised and open to the public as an ancient monument.

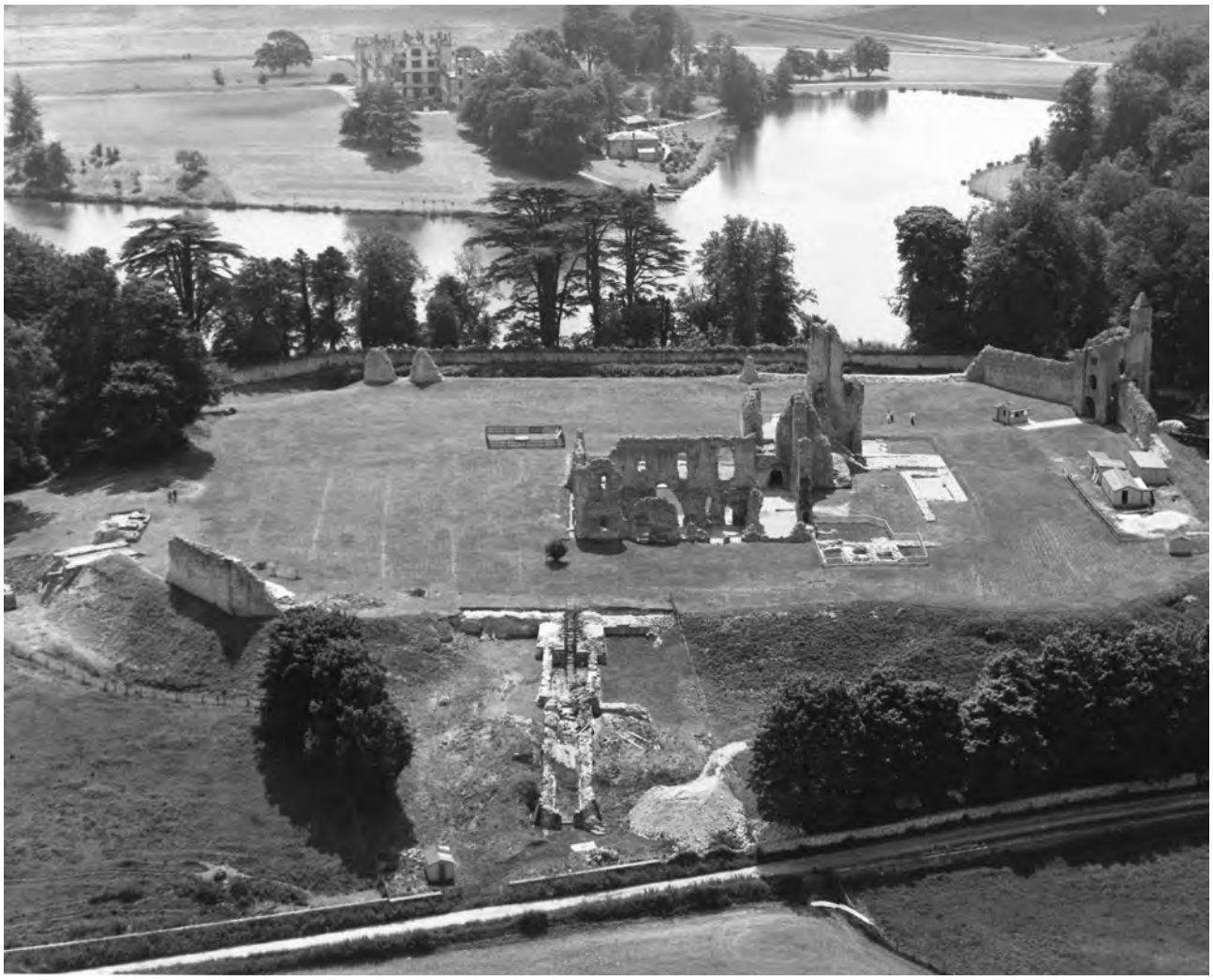


Fig 83 The castle as a ruin in the eighteenth-century landscape, seen from the north *Photograph*: © Crown copyright

Appendix 1
The carved and worked stones

by Jeffrey K West, FSA

To a great extent the carved and worked stones recovered from the site of Sherborne Castle reflect its post-Conquest building history. The collection falls into three main groups: the Phase I construction under Bishop Roger of Salisbury (1122–39); the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century modifications, notably those undertaken by Bishop Thomas Langton in Phase V (1485–93); and the Phase VI alterations made by Sir Walter Ralegh to convert the castle to domestic use (1592–1603). In addition, there is a miscellaneous group of stones that are either identifiable only by function (shafts, stone roof 'tiles', gutters, mortars) or that have worked surfaces that are too small or too damaged for the stones to be assigned a date or function. Although none of the loose stones has a stratigraphic context, Charles Bean noted a few cases where stones were found in his record of the castle's 'Dimensions'.[265] Taken together with his record of mason's marks and the reused stone within the fabric, Bean's notes and drawings throw light on his interpretation of the site.[266] The north range is a case in point: Bean identified this as the 'Banqueting Hall' or 'Hall', in contrast to the current view that it was a chapel.[267]

As at Sherborne Abbey, the stone used for all architectural, figurative and decorative carving at the castle was from Ham Hill, in Somerset. Ham Hill stone was also used for plain ashlar walling which, where it survives in good order, is characterised by the high quality of its dressed surfaces and its fine jointing. This is best seen in the fabric of the south-west gatehouse and it was this aspect of Roger of Salisbury's buildings that prompted William of Malmesbury to say that the 'courses of stone were so correctly laid that the joints escaped the eye, so that it seems the whole wall is composed of a single block'.[268] Less noticeable – and less notably *worked* – is the use of local deposits of tufa. This was used for the crowns of the undercroft vault in the north range, a use for which there are contemporary parallels in the chapter houses of Reading Abbey and Worcester Cathedral and later at Sherborne Abbey, Glastonbury and Wells.[269] Purbeck marble is also represented among the worked stone, by three pieces of polished shaft, although without further evidence of context within the castle a firm date for its use cannot be ascertained.[270]

As might be expected from a castle site, the greater part of the collection of carved and worked stones derives from architectural contexts. Only two pieces of figurative carving survive from Phase 1: a (reused) corbel head depicting a moustachioed man (cat no. 10), and a fragment of a seated figure (cat no. 9) which Roger Stalley suggested might have come from a tympanum or frieze. Animal subjects are well represented but none has captured the academic imagination more readily than the collection of beakhead voussoirs, appreciated as much for their technical skill as for their place among the earliest examples of the motif in England (cat nos 1a–l, 5). If comparison with the Old Sarum beakheads points to workshop practice, the remarkable undercutting of those at Sherborne distinguishes them from their peers and sets them apart from a provincial copy of the composition in the chancel arch at the parish church of St Luke and St Mark, Avington, Berkshire (fig 84).[271] The chancel arch at Avington incorporates another notable feature of the Sherborne repertory: capitals in the form of leonine or monstrous heads engorging or devouring the columns beneath them

Fig 84 The chancel arch, church of St Luke and St Mark, Avington, Berkshire. *Photograph*: Rex Harris

(cat no. 11b). If the position of these capitals reflects the arrangement used at Sherborne, Raleigh Radford's suggestion that the Sherborne voussoirs had formed the vault-ribs of the castle chapel is of some interest.[272] Taken together with the archaeological evidence for a dado of intersecting blind arcading round the interior of the chapel, the richness of the architectural setting for the liturgy may simply reflect the fact that it was an *episcopal* castle.[273] As a result, perhaps, the intersecting blind arcade on the exterior of the south wall overlooking the courtyard not only 'signifies' the chapel by reference to its interior, but complements its architectural vocabulary.[274]

Arches, windows and, almost certainly, door openings were also embellished, as is indicated by a beakhead voussoir from an arch of square order (cat no. 2; fig 85), another with a geometric variant in the form of a moulded 'blade' (cat no. 3a) and yet another from a wall arcade decorated with long leaves as a foliate variant of the form (cat nos 7a–c). Richly modelled and deeply cut chevron ornament is also represented both *in situ* in the north range windows and among the loose stones, where four decorated chevron voussoirs (cat nos 19a–d) have extrados faces embellished with hooded trefoils linked by arcs of a three-strand scroll. As a foil to such enrichment, though contributing to the overall decorative effect, there are scalloped and volute capitals, abaci, moulded bases and

Fig 85 Beakhead, cat no. 2. *Photograph*: Sherborne Castle Estates

other architectural elements decorated with billet, beading, zigzag and saw-tooth ornaments. As a window on to the appearance of a twelfth-century castle, the carved and worked stones reflect the view expressed in the *Gesta Stephani* that Roger of Salisbury's castles were 'unusually ornate'.[275]

Figurative

A damaged fragment of a seated figure (cat no. 9) was said by Roger Stalley to be one of the 'most intriguing' twelfth-century carvings to survive from Sherborne Castle.[276] The frontal pose has a long association with figures of authority, and it is of some interest that Stalley found the closest stylistic analogies to be in English royal seals. If the figure is indeed a king, the loss of material – notably head, arms and seat (throne?) – has removed vital evidence of attribute and gesture that might have resolved the question of its iconography. Even so, in concluding that the figure was neither a king nor a Christ in Majesty, Stalley left open one detail of its iconography.

It may be said that in English royal seals from that of Edward the Confessor (1043–66) to that of Henry II (1154–89), the king is shown seated on a long cushion placed on a bench throne of slightly varying design.[277] In all cases – except that of William II (1087–1100) – the throne cushion projects on either side of the figure as a globular form beside the knee (that of William Rufus being above the knee, although the throne seat is also visible between knee and cushion). This is not the case in French royal seals in use between *c* 1080 and 1137 where, from the second seal of Philip I (1060–1108) until the death of Louis VI, the king is shown seated on a stool-like throne supported on console legs with lions' heads and paws. As Brigitte Bedos-Rezak has shown, the type and detail of the throne are copied from Carolingian models in which only one end of the imperial throne cushion is visible as a globular form above the right knee.[278] Whether or not Philip I's seal-maker understood his model, this formula for depicting the throne cushion passed into the design of the French seal as a round blob above the right knee. Form and iconography are the same as that on the Sherborne figure, though this is not to say that the figure represents a king of France, or that it once formed part of a larger pictorial narrative, though both are possible.

Beakhead

Roger Stalley's publication of the double beakhead voussoirs from Sherborne Castle brought to public notice one of the most precocious architectural ornaments of English Romanesque art. To date only two voussoirs have been recovered in more or less complete condition (cat nos 1a–b; figs 86 and 87), each measuring approximately 450mm (18in) wide and 240mm (9in) deep and taking the form of a triple-roll moulding with fillets, flanked on each side by a beakhead whose undercut beak arches across the voussoir to touch the central roll moulding with the tip of its beak at a point back from the centre of the central roll. Seven voussoirs, or part voussoirs, of the same form and dimension, but without beakheads (cat. nos 1m, 8a–f), point either to two designs – one with beakhead and one without – or to the alternation of decorated and plain voussoirs as a means of spacing the beakheads. Either way,

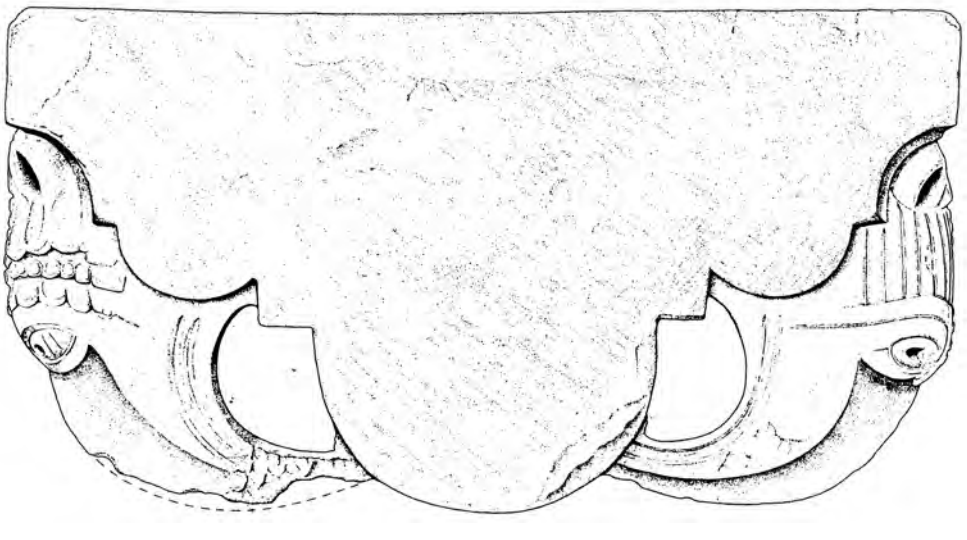


Fig 86 Beakhead, cat no. 1a. *Drawing*: EH site file

Fig 87 Beakhead, cat no. 1b. *Drawing*: EH site file

the linear effect of the central roll would have been preserved while appearing to be held in place by the beakheads in the manner of a jeweller's clasp. For additional decorative richness the beakhead crests are individually patterned and some faces are given snouts, lips and/or teeth (cat nos 1b, 1c, 1l).

The relative sophistication of the Sherborne beakheads suggested to Stalley that they were later than those at Old Sarum and Reading, an assessment reflected as much by the refinement of the moulding as by the technical accomplishment of the carving. No precise dates are available for any of the three sites and, while dating has depended more on style than documentation, art historians have followed George Zarnecki in seeing the cloister of Reading as the first use of beakhead in England.[279] Like Sherborne, Sarum and Reading employed triple-roll vaulting ribs, although at neither place are the ribs also decorated with beakhead. The origin of the profile in the sexpartite nave vault at St-Étienne, Caen, around 1120 has long been recognised and both its later use in Normandy and its introduction into England betray developments in Anglo-Norman architectural taste on both sides of the Channel.[280] Even so, the use of hollow chamfers for the outer fillets of the Sherborne voussoirs makes for a particularly mellifluous transition between the elements, and the combination of triple-rolls and beakhead is a peculiarly English and local creation.

Capitals and bases

With the exception of the two figurative capitals, to which reference has already been made, the capitals at Sherborne are of standard twelfth-century type, being either of scallop (cat nos 30a–e, 30g) or volute form (cat no. 31; fig 88) and with few added embellishments in the form of beading (cat no. 30a) or incised lines (cat no. 30b; fig 89). There is also a fragment of a cushion capital with part of the octagonal shaft that supported it (cat no. 32) and

Fig 88 Capital with volutes, cat no. 31. *Photograph*: Sherborne Castle Estates

Fig 89 Capital, scalloped, cat no. 30b. *Photograph*: Sherborne Castle Estates

another (of slightly smaller dimension) with the matching shaft and moulded octagonal base (cat no. 36j). Although this suggests that Sherborne, like Reading, had an arcade of alternating round and polygonal supports, rather than a freestanding arcade, the smaller dimensions point towards a blind arcade, and this is suggested by the integral shaft and the provision for a lead pin-fixing in a second base (cat no. 36k). Stuart Rigold placed the 'Attic' bases at the 'high-point' of post-Conquest development (cat nos 36a–c, 36e–i).[281]

The exceptions to this rather functional tally of capitals and bases are two capitals (cat nos 11a and 11b) carved in the form of a lion-monster devouring the shaft on which it was placed. Again, Roger's workshop appears to have introduced a motif later adopted into the regional repertory.[282] Stalley suggested origins in western France, and Deborah Kahn has recently noted that 'the *engoulant* first emerged precisely in regions where there was a wealth of Roman monuments'.[283] If this is to suggest a prototype in Roman art, a small number of capitals – possibly from a temple of Hercules near the Tiber in Rome – take the form of a lion skin draped over the capital with its muzzle resting on the capital necking.[284] The similarity is striking and the subject calls for further research.

Geometric ornaments

The final section of this report embraces a miscellany of worked stones in the form of voussoirs, abaci, string courses and other mouldings decorated with billet (cat nos 27, 28, 38), saw-tooth (cat nos 12b, 33), zigzag (cat nos 12a, 25c), clusters on hollow chamfers (cat nos 6, 24) and sections of roll moulding of varying dimension. Some of these ornaments, such as the zigzag string course, have clear contexts in the castle, while others were used by the workshops active at Sarum or Reading and, likewise, can be identified elsewhere in Normandy and in England as part of the early twelfth-century repertoire.

Conclusion

The collection of carved and worked stones at Sherborne not only offers an insight into Roger of Salisbury's architectural pretentions at the height of his power, but also provides a pointer to perceptions of architectural quality and innovation at the highest national level. Whether or not Roger's castles were 'unusually' ornate – as was observed in the *Gesta Stephani* – the all-but-total loss of Devizes, Malmesbury and Sarum has denied us an opportunity to assess Sherborne in the wider context of Roger's inexorable building 'machine', and, no less importantly, to assess the nature of its association with Reading Abbey, where Roger had administrative responsibilities in the establishment of the new royal foundation.[285] Even so, it is apparent as much from the standing remains as from the collection of loose stones that Sherborne Castle was a building of considerable quality and architectural refinement and, though the chapel may have provided the focus for architectural ornament, the author of the *Gesta Stephani* may well have been entirely justified in his assessement.

Catalogue of twelfth-century carved stonework

The number shown in parenthesis is the English Heritage inventory number. All the fragments are now located at Sherborne Castle, Dorset, unless otherwise indicated, and were quarried at Ham Hill, Somerset.

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1 Double-head beakhead voussoirs and fragments

All of the heads have, or originally had, a lower beak and undercut upper beak. Many of the voussoirs and fragments have traces of white pigment on the carved surfaces, and most of the voussoirs have some mortar remaining on the sides. The original length of all of these voussoirs appears to have been 450mm, and the original height about 240mm.

a Bird-head beakhead voussoir (91234) (fig 86)
The sides of the voussoir have diagonal tooling and a series of gouges. Traces of mortar remain.
Height 240mm, length 450mm, top width 120mm, bottom width 105mm

b Animal-head beakhead voussoir (91235) (fig 87)
The sides of the voussoir have diagonal tooling. One side has a series of gouges; the other side has a deep, square hole carved into it. Traces of mortar remain.
Height 240mm, length 445mm, top width 185mm, bottom width 175mm

c Animal-head beakhead voussoir (9101; Sherborne Town Museum)
One side of the voussoir has a large central gouge. Traces of mortar remain.
Height 245mm, length 400mm, top width 230mm, bottom width 180mm (originally 200–220mm)

d Bird-head beakhead voussoir (9117)
The sides and top face have diagonal tooling. Both sides have series of gouges. Traces of mortar remain. The carved surfaces appear to have been painted white.
Height 240mm, length 450mm, top width 125mm, lower width 115mm

e Bird-head beakhead voussoir (9118)
The sides of the voussoir have diagonal tooling. Traces of mortar remain. The carved areas appear to have been painted white.
Height 240mm, length 450mm, top width 150mm, bottom width 140mm

f Animal-head beakhead voussoir (B11, Dorset County Museum, Bean Collection)
The sides of the voussoir are roughly tooled. The main face is weathered and the top surface is fire-damaged. Broken at the bottom and back.
Height 180mm, top width 140mm, bottom width 130mm

g Half of bird-head beakhead voussoir (B12, Dorset County Museum, Bean Collection)
The sides of the voussoir are roughly tooled and have a series of gouges. The piece seems to have been reused at a later date as the present back face has been squared off and there are traces of mortar on the carved surfaces. There is evidence of slight fire damage.
Height 230mm, length 250mm, width 110mm

h Voussoir and damaged beakheads, probably originally of bird-head form (9119)
The sides and top surface have diagonal tooling. A long gouge is cut into the top surface. The carved surfaces seem to have been painted white.
Height 240mm, length 450mm, top width 150mm, bottom width 145mm

i Voussoir with damaged beakheads, probably originally of bird-head form (9120)
The sides and top surface have diagonal tooling. A long gouge is cut into the top surface. The carved surfaces seem to have been painted white.
Height 240mm, length 450mm, top width 150mm, bottom width 145mm

j Fragment with bird's head (9103, Sherborne Town Museum)
The carved surfaces seem to have been painted white. Broken at the back.
Length 235mm, width 110mm

k Fragment of beak (9113)
The weathered beak is undercut and broken at both ends.
Length 120mm, width 90mm

l Fragment of animal head from beakhead voussoir (B09, Dorset County Museum, Bean Collection)
Broken at the back. Only part of the head and undercut beak remain, but it probably once formed part of a double-head, triple-roll voussoir.
Length 175mm, width 135mm

m Fragment of voussoir (9124)
The top surface has rough, diagonal tooling. The carved surfaces are fire-damaged and have traces of white paint. Traces of mortar remain. Broken on one side.
Height 180mm, length 250mm, width 105mm

2 Single bird-head beakhead voussoir (fig 85)

a (9116)
The sides have rough, diagonal tooling; the top surface has finer diagonal tooling. One side has a shallow hole gouged out of it. The carved front of the voussoir has extensive reddening from scorching and some substance (possibly lead) has dripped on to it. Traces of mortar remain. Broken at the back.
Height 235mm, length 470mm, front top width 170mm, front bottom width 140mm, diameter of roll 100mm

3 Voussoirs with geometric beakhead

The blocks have a trapezium-shaped element overlapping a roll. Most of the trapezium is set against a deep flat background similar in profile to 9116 (cat no. 2).

a (9112)
The sides and top surface have rough tooling. One side has a shallow hole gouged out. The carved surface has some fire damage and has traces of white paint. Traces of mortar remain. Broken at the back and on the lower surface.
Height 230mm, length 325mm, front top width 210mm, front bottom width 180mm, diameter of roll 100mm

b (91299)
The block is broken at the top and cut back on the front surface. The piece is fire-damaged along the bottom of the roll. Mortar remains on several surfaces, including the carved front.
Height 230mm, front top width 210mm, front bottom width 185mm, diameter of roll 100mm

4 Beakhead voussoir, recut

a (9176)
Broken at the top and back.
Height 190mm, width 190mm, depth 190mm

5 Fragment of beakhead

a (B10, Dorset County Museum, Bean Collection)
Broken at the back.
Length 110mm, width 95mm

6 Fragment of beakhead

a (9115)
Traces of mortar remain. Broken at the front, top and back. The fragment has a section of broken beakhead of uncertain type carved over a curved roll. The main profile is related to type 9116 (cat no. 2).
Height 120mm, length 180mm, top width 145mm, bottom width 135mm

7 Springer and voussoirs with foliate beakhead

The foliate element is carved out against a concave background and overlaps a section of roll moulding. The ends of the foliate motif curl back on themselves and are carved with a triple concave section. The ends connect with each other along the sides, while the middle area is grooved along its centre and edges.

a Springer with two foliate beakheads (9150)
The sides and bottom surfaces have diagonal tooling. A shallow hole is gouged out on each of the sides. Traces of mortar remain. Broken at the back.
Height 240mm, top width 280mm, bottom width 200mm, depth 270mm

b Voussoir (B51, Dorset County Museum, Bean Collection)
One side and the top surface have diagonal tooling. The carved surface is weathered and one side is worn. Broken on the bottom and side.
Height 160mm, front top width 170mm, front bottom width 145mm

c Voussoir (B52, Dorset County Museum, Bean Collection)
Broken at the top and back.
Length 175mm, width 130mm

8 Triple-roll voussoirs

The profile consists of a large, central roll flanked on each side by a fillet, a smaller roll and a concave band. The sides are flat. One voussoir, however, cut at a slant, supports the view that the voussoirs come from a rib vault. All of these voussoirs seem originally to have been 440mm in length and 230mm in height.

a Voussoir (9121)
The sides have rough, diagonal tooling and the top surface is weathered. Traces of mortar on the carved surfaces suggest later reuse.
Height 230mm, length 440mm, top width 170mm, bottom width 165mm

b Voussoir (9122)
The sides have diagonal tooling and the top surface is weathered. Traces of mortar on the carved surfaces suggest later reuse. Broken at the ends.
Height 230mm, length 375mm, top width 160mm, bottom width 150mm

c Voussoir (9123)
The sides have diagonal tooling and the top surface is weathered. Traces of mortar on the carved surfaces suggest later reuse. Broken at the ends.
Height 230mm, length 415mm, top width 130mm, bottom width 120mm

d Fragment of voussoir (9125)
One side has diagonal tooling; the side opposite has straight tooling. The top surface is roughly tooled. Traces of mortar remain. Broken at one end. The piece retains part of a fillet, minor roll and concave band.
Height 120mm, length 250mm, width 120mm

e Voussoir (9126)
Fire-damaged. Various parts appear to have been stuck together in recent times. Traces of mortar on the carved surfaces suggest later reuse. The top is broken and weathered.
Height 175mm, length 300mm, width 120mm

f Half of voussoir (91307)
Broken on the top and through the middle of the original centre roll.
Height 205mm, length 300mm, width 110mm

g Fragment with half-roll (91291)
155mm × 130mm × 110mm; diameter of roll 75mm

h Fragment of voussoir (9114)
Traces of mortar on all the surfaces suggest later reuse. Broken on one end and side. Appears to be part of a voussoir of either type 9121 (cat no. 8a) or 91234 (cat no. 1a).
Height 130mm, length 170mm, width 105mm

9 Fragment of figure

a (9105)
Broken on all sides and back.
Length 250mm, width 200mm, depth 70mm

10 Corbel with head

a (B34, Dorset County Museum, Bean Collection)
Some diagonal tooling survives. Recut on one side, including a square hole. Broken at the back.
Height 250mm, length 760mm, width 180mm

11 Beast-head capitals

a Capital (private collection)
Weathered and damaged on the main face, especially around the nose, right tooth and lower jaw. The block has a corner capital carved in the form of a monster's head of 'devouring beast' type.

b Fragment of capital, recut (91309)
There is diagonal tooling on the front. Broken on the bottom, the block is recut with chamfer (now weathered) on the back and roughly cut back on the right side. Traces of white paint survive on the carved, unweathered front surface.
Height 309mm, width 220mm, depth 285mm

12 Sections of chevron string course

The sections are carved with single-ridge chevron set against a concave background, identical to the string course still *in situ* on the west wall of the former great hall. It is likely that similar decoration continued around the hall and that these fragments came from there.

a (9131)
Some surfaces have diagonal tooling. The piece is fire-damaged and has traces of thick white paint. Broken on the top, back and on one side. A hole is drilled into the bottom surface.
Height 170mm, length 24mm, depth 150mm

b (B13, Dorset County Museum, Bean Collection)
Broken on the back and sides.
Length 200mm

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13 Chevron voussoirs

The voussoirs have profiles consisting of an upper flat section, below which is a concave band, fillet, half-roll and another fillet. The bottom face of the voussoir, with pointed front edge, juts out at the bottom of the front face.

a (9137)
The top and bottom surfaces have diagonal tooling. The piece is weathered at the front and fire-damaged along one side. Traces of mortar survive. Broken at the back.
Height 160mm, length 315mm, width 125mm

b (1939)
The sides, top and back surfaces have diagonal tooling. The piece is damaged on the front. Traces of mortar remain.
Height 165mm, length 330mm, front top width 175mm, front bottom width 140mm

c (9140)
The sides, top and bottom surfaces have diagonal tooling. Traces of mortar remain. Broken at the back.
Height 160mm, length 340mm, front top width 155mm, front bottom width 120mm

d (9141)
The back surface and one side have diagonal tooling. The bottom surface is roughly tooled towards the back, but finely tooled towards the front. Traces of mortar remain.
Height 160mm, length 295mm, front top width 185mm, front bottom width 150mm

e (91310)
Damaged on the front face and broken at the back.
Height 160mm, length 300mm, front top width 170mm, front bottom width 150mm

14 Chevron voussoir

a (9138)
The back, bottom and side surfaces have diagonal tooling. On the bottom face, an incised line separates the back sections from the front section of the block. One side has a deep gouge filled with mortar.
Height 160mm, length 275mm, front top width 160mm, front bottom width 130mm

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15 Chevron voussoir

a (1943)
The top face has diagonal tooling. Mortar remains on all faces, suggesting reuse.
Height 205mm, length 270mm, front top width 170mm, front bottom width 155mm

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16 Chevron voussoir and voussoir fragment

The chevron, carved at right angles to the block, is elaborate and consists of two stepped fillets, a quarter-roll, a half-roll, another quarter-roll, three stripped fillets and an angle roll. On the bottom face next to the angle roll is another fillet.

a Voussoir (9144)
The top, bottom and back faces have diagonal tooling. The side faces are tooled in two directions, forming a herringbone pattern. The block is fire-damaged on the bottom and front and has traces of white paint over this. Portions of the top, back and bottom are broken.
Height 235mm, top width 130mm, bottom width 100mm, depth 310mm

b Voussoir fragment (9142)
The piece is fire-damaged and has traces of white paint on the carved surfaces. Broken at the back.
Height 200mm, width 155mm

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17 Chevron voussoir

a (9152)
One side has diagonal tooling. The top is roughly tooled, but the bottom is finely tooled. Traces of white paint survive on the carved surfaces. Traces of mortar on the carved surfaces suggest reuse. Broken at the back.
Height 380mm, width 180mm, top depth 320mm, bottom depth 180mm

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18 Fragment, probably from chevron voussoir

a (9198)
Broken at the back and ends.
Length 80mm

19 Chevroned voussoirs with foliate end

The blocks have no noticeable taper and would appear to be either sections of a jamb or voussoirs of a large arch. Each block has the same chevron pattern, which when complete consisted of a series of roll-like and concave sections, one of the concave sections carved with beading. At the outer end of each block is a foliate motif, each different from the others, but originally connected to one other by triple-veined stems with raised central vein. Each of the foliate motifs connects with the stems via a circular element.

a (9108)
The piece is damaged on all its faces and shows some fire damage on the chevroned face. Broken on one side. Traces of mortar on the carved surfaces suggest reuse.
Height 240mm, length 200mm, width 140mm

b (9109)
One side has diagonal tooling; the side opposite has rough tooling in two directions and a hole in it. The short, uncarved end is weathered. Traces of mortar on the carved surfaces suggest reuse.
Height 230mm, length 445mm, width 130mm

c (91110)
Diagonal tooling on all the plain faces. On one of the long sides is a long, narrow, shallow hole, as well as two tear-drop shaped gouges; the side opposite has a series of gouges.
Traces of mortar on the carved surfaces suggest reuse. An incised line runs across the centre of the uncarved short face.
Height 230mm, length 445mm, width 135mm

d (9111A and 9111B)
Diagonal tooling remains on two faces. The two parts of the original single block are extensively fire-damaged and weathered. Broken on the back end and one side.
Height 190mm, length 235mm, width 135mm

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20 Voussoir

a (91295)
The block is carved on the front with an upper concave band and a lower half-roll extending on to the bottom surface.
Height 165mm, length 350mm, front top width 165mm, front bottom width 135mm

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21 Block with foliate motif

a (9151)
Diagonal tooling on the sides. There is slight pinking from fire damage at one corner. Traces of mortar on the carved face suggest reuse. Broken on the shortest face.
Lengths of sides 360mm, 240mm, 290mm and 180mm; depth 230mm

22 Corner fragment with foliate motif

a (9104)
Traces of mortar on the carved surfaces suggest reuse. Broken on the top, bottom, back and sides.
Height 115mm, width 190mm

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23 Corner fragment with beaded band

a (9106)
One face is tooled. Broken on two sides and on the back.
Height 105mm, width 185mm

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24 Section of arch with decorative knob

a (9107)
One side has diagonal tooling. There is slight fire damage. Traces of mortar remain. Broken on one side and back.
Height 155mm, length 285mm, width 175mm

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25 Lozenge sections and related fragment

a Lozenged block (B32, Dorset County Museum, Bean Collection)
Some diagonal tooling remains. Broken at the ends and back.
Length 160mm, width 170mm

b Fragment (9145)
The weathered fragment is carved with a section of lozenge with flat surface, in the centre of which is a recessed, tapered wedge.
Length 160mm, width 80mm

c Fragment (B36, Dorset County Museum, Bean Collection)
The triangular, weathered stone is carved with a flat, raised V-shape on one face. The piece is flat on all other sides and worn at the narrow end.
Length 120mm, width 100mm

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26 Voussoir with billet

a (9146)
The top and sides have diagonal tooling. The bottom face is tooled in two directions, forming a herringbone pattern. Traces of white paint survive on the carved surfaces. Traces of mortar remain. Broken at the back.
Height 230mm, length 385mm, front top width 210mm, front bottom width 175mm

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27 Section of arch with billet

a (9148)
The sides have diagonal tooling. The top surface has tooling in two directions, forming a herringbone pattern. The bottom

surface has a series of incised lines. The block is fire-damaged on the front face with traces of white paint over it. Broken at the back.
Front top width 355mm, front bottom width 295mm, radius 145mm

28 Corner block with billet

a (9149)
The top and bottom have rough tooling. There is slight fire damage. Traces of mortar remain on the top and bottom.
Height 130mm, length of longer carved face 360mm, length of shorter carved face 310mm

29 Arched block with decorative band

a (91308)
Some tooling remains, including diagonal tooling.
Height 150mm, width 600mm, depth 280mm

30 Scalloped capitals

The majority of surviving capitals are of scalloped type, although volute, cushion and devouring-head forms also exist. A number of scalloped capitals remain *in situ* on the castle. Some of the fragments are likely to come from wall arcading similar to that remaining on the north side of the courtyard.

a Scalloped capital with beading (9102, Sherborne Town Museum)
Slight reddening on the broken face may indicate fire damage. Broken on the back and part of the torus roll.
Height 190mm, front width 200mm, side width 180mm

b Scalloped capital (9154) (fig 89)
The top surface is roughly tooled in two directions, forming a herringbone pattern.
Height 215mm, top width 340mm, bottom diameter 265mm

c Corner capital (9153)
The bottom and sides have diagonal tooling. The top is finely tooled and chamfered along the edges. The back is roughly tooled. Traces of mortar remain.
Height 190mm, width of widest face 310mm, width of narrowest face 300mm

d Fragment of attached capital (9170)
Some rough diagonal tooling exists. Traces of mortar remain. Broken on various faces.
Height 210mm, width 230mm, depth 320mm

e Fragment of capital (9130)
Broken at the top and back.
Height 90mm, bottom diameter 190mm

f Fragment of capital (B35, Dorset County Museum, Bean Collection)
Broken at the top, back, sides and bottom.
Height 95mm, width 150mm

g Fragment of capital (91312)
Fire-damaged on the carved surface. Broken at the top and back.
Height 80mm, width 105mm, depth 60mm

31 Volute capital (fig 88)

a (9169)
Diagonal tooling survives on several faces. Broken at the back.
Height 180mm, width 215mm, depth 350mm, bottom diameter 200mm

32 Cushion capital with section of polygonal shaft

a (91311)
Fire-damaged on the carved surfaces. Traces of mortar remain. Broken on the bottom and back.
Height 225mm, width 235mm, depth 115mm

33 Abacus

a (9158)
Diagonally tooled on the top, bottom and one side. Traces of mortar remain.
Height 150mm, width 285mm, depth 450mm

34 Section of capital or abacus

a (91109)
Fire-damaged on the back face. Traces of mortar remain. Broken at the bottom and one side.
Height 130mm, length 360mm, depth 180mm

35 Fragments of abaci or string courses

a Fragment of abacus (9127)
Some diagonal tooling survives. The piece has been fire-damaged and has traces of white paint over this. Broken at the back and sides.
Height 155mm, length of longest side 115mm, length of shortest side 110mm

b Fragment of abacus or string course (91315)
Broken at the back and one end.
Height 165mm, width 100mm, depth 75mm

c Fragment of abacus (9128)
Fire-damaged on the carved surfaces. Broken on most sides and back.
Height 85mm, length of longest side 120mm, length of shortest side 115mm

d Fragment of abacus or string course (91313)
Height 155mm, width 190mm, depth 295mm

e Fragment of abacus or string course (91314)
Broken at the back and on one end. The weathered fragment is of type 91313 (cat no. 35d).
Height 150mm, length 155mm, depth 115mm

36 Bases

a (9168)
The front, bottom and sides have diagonal tooling. The top face is roughly tooled and gouged. Traces of mortar remain. Broken at the back.
Height 180mm, width 210mm, depth 350mm, top diameter 180mm

b (9165)
Some tooling and mortar remain. Broken on two sides.
Height 185mm, base dimensions 245mm × 200mm

c (9164)
Some tooling survives, especially on the back face. Traces of mortar remain. Broken on one side.
Height 205mm, width 215mm, depth 270mm

d (9162)
The top has diagonal tooling. Broken on the bottom and back.
Height 110mm, base dimensions 215mm × 195mm, top diameter 175mm

e (9161)
The top has diagonal tooling. Traces of mortar on the carved surfaces suggest later reuse. Cut back on one side and broken on the bottom.
Height 160mm, base dimensions 210mm × 210mm, top diameter 200mm

f (9167)
Traces of mortar remain. Broken on the top and back.
Height 155mm, width 265mm, depth 140mm

g (9163)
The piece has slight fire damage. Traces of mortar on the carved surfaces suggest reuse. Broken on the top and back.
Height 220mm, width 260mm, depth 100m

h (9166)
The top and back are roughly tooled. Sections of mortar on the carved surfaces suggest reuse. Broken on the bottom.
Height 120mm, width 340mm, depth 300mm, top face diameter 230mm

i (91283)
Fire-damaged along the front of the lower slab. Broken on one side.
Height 225mm, length of longest side 270mm, length of shortest side 260mm

j (9171)
Broken at the back.
Height 320mm, base width 260mm, depth 150mm, width of shaft 190mm

k (9181)
Traces of mortar remain. Broken at the top, back and sides. The weathered, polygonal base is of type 9171 (cat no. 36j); like 9171, there is a hole drilled flush with the back, broken surface.
Height 185mm, width 130mm, depth 140mm

37 Sections of double roll with central arris

It is likely that these pieces come from a wall arcade, most having a plain rear section where originally inserted. The profiles match the springer blocks with straight rolls found on the blind arcading on the north, upper wall of the courtyard. Related stonework is also found in arcading in the abbey church at Sherborne.

a (9133)
Broken at one end. Traces of mortar remain.
Height 105mm, width 220mm, depth 100mm

b (9134)
The ends have diagonal tooling. Traces of mortar remain. Broken at the back.
Height 215mm, width 230mm, depth 120mm

c (9135)
One end is tooled. Broken at the back and one end.
Height 85mm, width 200mm, depth 130mm

d (B28, Dorset County Museum, Bean Collection)
Traces of mortar remain. Broken at one end, back and one side.
Length 100mm, width 90mm

e (91300)
Broken at the back.
Height 125mm, width 215mm, depth 205mm

38 Block with roll mouldings and arrises

a (9136)
The ends have diagonal tooling. Broken at the back. The piece is related to type 9133 (cat no. 37a).
Height 215mm, width 255mm, depth 150mm

39 Voussoir with roll moulding

a (91284)
Height 165mm, length 440mm, top width 140mm, bottom width 130mm, diameter of roll 95mm

40 Blocks with angle-roll mouldings

a (9132)
Diagonal tooling survives on several faces. Traces of mortar remain.
Height 130mm, length 340mm, width 230mm, diameter of roll 120mm

b (91294)
A large corner roll flanked by chamfers of type 9132 (cat no. 40a). Broken at the back and sides.
Cross section 210mm × 20mm, width 200mm, diameter of roll 120mm

c (91293)
Part of a large corner roll flanked by a section of chamfer of type 9132 (cat no. 40a).
Height 165mm, front width 100mm, depth 230mm

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Appendix 2
The coin hoard

by Marion M Archibald, FSA

On 2 October 1970, during excavations at Sherborne Old Castle, 134 coins were found packed together above the vault of the lower chamber and just below the first-floor level of the keep.[286] After an initial examination was completed, the necessary cleaning and conservation of the coins was carried out by Glynis Edwards of the English Heritage Ancient Monuments Laboratory and Keith Howes of the British Museum. The hoard comprised ten gold coins (nine *cruzados* of John III of Portugal and one *excelente* of doubtful status in the names of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain) and 124 English silver coins (one penny each of Henry V and Henry VI, a groat of Edward IV and 121 halfpence of Henry VIII). Although the close proximity of the coins pointed to a purse or other container, there was no trace of one, and deposits on the coins and soil samples of the nearby fill investigated scientifically also proved negative in this respect. There was some scorching on nearby masonry, but no fire damage to the coins. The context suggested strongly that the gold and silver coins had been concealed together with a view to future recovery, and they were duly declared treasure trove at a coroner's inquest held at Sherborne on 12 May 1971. Since the hoard was exceptional in its composition and of outstanding numismatic importance, the British Museum exercised its right of pre-emption and the entire find was acquired for the national collection. Electrotype copies of seven representative coins from the hoard were supplied gratis by the British Museum to the Sherborne Museum Association, Abbey Gate House, Sherborne, for exhibition in Sherborne Castle.

Outline details of the find were published in the annual listing of coin hoards in the *British Numismatic Journal* in 1970 and noted again in the 1971 volume of the same journal,[287] but the full hoard report was reserved for publication here in the context of the excavation results. A cross section of the hoard contents was exhibited in the British Museum for a period during 1972. The coins have since been available for study in the Department of Coins and Medals by appointment and have been used as an important source by researchers working on the coinage and currency of the Tudor period. Resulting publications have included a handbook on small silver, and studies of foreign coins present in English currency.[288] Full details of the coins are set out in the catalogue below, preceded by a discussion of the hoard's contents, numismatic implications, date and historical context. All the gold coins are illustrated natural size in figure 90 and the three larger silver coins and ten representative halfpence are shown with enlargements of selected details in figure 91.

The gold coins

Nine of the ten gold coins are small-flan *cruzados* of John III of Portugal (reigned 1521–57), struck after the reform of 1538 at the Lisbon mint, as indicated by the mint mark 'L' on the obverse of most of the coins (fig 90: cat nos 1–9). The obverse has the crowned arms of Portugal surrounded by the king's name and title; the reverse shows a short cross with the legend IN HOC SIGNO VINCEES ('In this sign, you will conquer'), or a variant form.[289] There is no die duplication among the *cruzados* in the hoard, but die identities noted with a few coins elsewhere are detailed in the catalogue, where the coins are classified according to Gomes 1987. They display a wide range of privy markings

Fig 90 The ten Iberian gold coins from the hoard: cat nos 1 to 10 (BM 1971, 6-6, 1–10) shown natural size. Photographs: British Museum

and some variety in letter forms; for example, unbarred and barred 'A's. The obverse legend shows considerable devolution, from the full 'PORTVGALIE' to 'POR', but there appears to be no clear sequence in the combination of the varieties and privy marks. A detailed study of the internal chronology of these issues has not so far been published.

Despite giving the appearance of wear (especially on the reverses), all the coins in the Sherborne hoard are in virtually mint condition. This is explained by wear on the dies and a weakening of definition caused by the cleaning of rust from the die-faces before these particular coins were struck. Clear evidence of cracks and rusting on the dies is still visible on some specimens (eg fig 90: 1).[290] The evidence of the *cruzados* in the Sherborne hoard seems to suggest that earlier dies made at different times within the issue had been refurbished and returned later to service, paired without regard to their original associations and order of production. To resolve these problems and establish a chronology for the entire *cruzado* series would require an investigation of all available specimens, which cannot be attempted here, but the Sherborne hoard will provide an important *terminus ante quem* (see below) for the varieties it contains when this work comes to be undertaken.

The *cruzados* in the Sherborne hoard have not been analysed but the type was struck in gold 22⅝ carats fine to a weight standard of 3.55g. The weight of the examples in the hoard ranges between 3.61g and 3.44g with an average of 3.53g; two coins are above the standard weight and seven below it, resulting in the typical, negatively skewed distribution displayed by groups of coins from which most of the profitably heavy specimens have been culled immediately after issue.[291] None of the coins, even the lighter ones, appears to have been clipped. The weight variation is within the normal range, and the absence of the upper parts of the letters in some areas of the inscriptions is due to slightly off-centre striking in some cases and the use of flans marginally smaller in diameter than the dies. From the later fifteenth century, the Portuguese acquired substantial amounts of gold from their overseas territories and *cruzados* were produced in large numbers to become one of the most common gold trade coins in commercial circulation.

The remaining gold coin is an *excelente* (fig 90: 10),

which shows on the obverse the opposed profile busts of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain surrounded by their names with the 'S' mark of the Seville mint below. The reverse has their arms surrounded by their titles as king and queen of Castile.[292] Starting slightly later than Portugal, Spain obtained even greater quantities of gold from its overseas possessions, and the *excelente* became 'one of the most familiar coins of sixteenth-century Europe'.[293] The status of the Sherborne *excelente*, however, presents problems. *Excelentes* of Ferdinand and Isabella are compact coins with a smooth outline and well-defined portrait details whereas the one in the hoard is roughly produced, double-struck on a spread fabric with a ragged edge; other departures of style and detail from the originals suggest that it may be counterfeit. Coins in the names of the 'Reyes Católicos' (who became rulers of all of Spain in 1479) continued to be struck officially after Isabella's death in 1504, and even after that of Ferdinand in 1516, until *c* 1520. The *excelente* was also counterfeited. No comprehensive study of these coins has yet appeared, and it is at present difficult to draw a line between the different categories and date their production. The close dating of the Sherborne hoard to 1542–4 (see below) provides a useful *terminus ante quem* for the issue of this example.

The Sherborne coin is upclipped and, at 3.50g, is of full weight. Counterfeiters knew their products were likely to be weighed and often made their profit by using gold just below the prescribed standard, but not too much to be given away by its colour. It would, for example, have been plausible to use gold from *cruzados* made of gold only 22⅝ carats fine instead of the official *excelente* standard of 23¾ carats, but the Sherborne coin has not been analysed. It shows slight wear, which might suggest that it had been in circulation for a little time, but this could have been artificially induced to increase its verisimilitude.

The writer is grateful to two Spanish colleagues, Dr Maria Clua i Mercadal and Dr Julio Torres, for their advice on the coin (including copies of specialist literature) on which this paragraph is based.[294] The coins of the Reyes Católicos were discussed by Dr Anna Maria Balaguer (1993), and examples of the official late and posthumous series of *excelentes* produced from 1497 until *c* 1520 were included in the important study of the treasure of Sant Pere de Rodes published by Dr Clua i Mercadal and her colleagues.[295] Both scholars agree that the appearance of the Sherborne *excelente* is equivocal, and neither knows of an exact parallel for it among other extant coins.[296] Dr Clua i Mercadal notes that the legends resemble more closely those of the *half-excelente* than of the higher denomination. She finds it closest to the coin listed in Calicó 2008, 24, type 129, no. 139, but with a star above the heads instead of a rowel and also to an *excelente* of Seville described but not illustrated in De Mey 1984, 112, no. 592, with legends very similar to the Sherborne example. She also draws attention to the existence of contemporary counterfeits of the *excelente*, including those described by Dr Michel Dhénin as constituting 'une industrie bien française'.[297] Dr Torres points out that if the Sherborne coin is a forgery, then the 'S' mint mark is merely indicative of the prototype being copied and its place of production would be unknown. While questioning the authenticity of the Sherborne *excelente*, neither expert feels the evidence is yet conclusive enough to identify it as an outright counterfeit. The matter may be allowed to rest there for the moment. The currency of foreign gold coins in Tudor England is discussed later.

The silver coins

The numerous halfpence are discussed before the earlier silver coins because the latter's interpretation rests partly on the date of the halfpence.

One hundred and twenty-one silver halfpence are present in the hoard (a selection of ten is illustrated in fig 91). They are all of the same issue, identified by their effigy and obverse inscription as halfpence of Henry VIII's Second Coinage, 1526–44, struck at the Tower Mint, London.[298] In this issue the standard of the silver was the same as before at 11oz. 2dwt (92.5 per cent) fine but the weight of the coins was reduced, in the case of the halfpenny to 5⅓ grains (0.345g). The halfpence are, as usual in this series, irregular in outline and measure about 9mm to 12mm in diameter. At the start of the Second Coinage a new realistic profile portrait of the king was introduced, but the halfpence retained the medieval-style facing bust and more stylised royal effigy, with the closed crown used later in the reign of Henry VII and during the First Coinage of Henry VIII. A new obverse legend on the halfpence reading (at its most complete) H D G REX ROSA SINE SPINE ('Henry by the Grace of God rose without a thorn') is paired on the reverse with a revival of the medieval type of cross patty with three pellets in each angle reading CIVI TAS LOn DOn. Shortage of space caused the obverse legend on some dies to be curtailed by omitting the 'n's or one or more letters at the end of the final word, which is occasionally followed by a contraction mark. The use of contraction marks and stopping generally is intermittent; when the latter occurs, and is visible, it takes the form of saltires, which are standard at this period. Most reverses use medieval Gothic 'n's but Roman 'N's are occasionally found, apparently randomly, throughout the series, as noted in the catalogue.

Cat no. 11

Cat no. 12

Cat no. 13

Cat no. 16

Cat no. 24

Cat no. 25

Detail 1: cat no. 25

Cat no. 43

Detail 2: cat no. 43

Detail 3: cat no. 43

Cat no. 46

Cat no. 61

Cat no. 77

Cat no. 88

Detail 4: cat no. 88

Cat no. 92

Detail 5: cat no. 92

Cat no. 113

Detail 6: cat no. 113

Fig 91 Three early silver coins: cat. nos 11 (BM 1971 6-6, 12), 12 (BM 1971 6-6, 13) and 13 (BM 1971 6-6, 11); a representative selection of Henry VIII silver halfpence shown at natural size and enlarged x 2: cat nos 16 (BM 1971 6-6, 16), 24 (BM 1971 6-6, 24), 25 plus detail 1 (BM 1971 6-6, 25), 43 plus details 2 and 3 (BM 1971 6-6, 41), 46 (BM 1971 6-6, 44), 61 (BM 1971 6-6, 62), 77 (BM 1971 6-6, 77), 88 plus detail 4 (BM 1971 6-6, 88), 92 plus detail 5 (BM 1971 6-6, 92) and 113 plus detail 6 (BM 1971 6-6, 112). *Photographs*: British Museum

Halfpence of the Second Coinage are relatively scarce, largely because they were rarely hoarded. Hoarders who have the choice usually favour higher-value coins and, by this period, inflation had lowered the purchasing power of the halfpenny. Some surviving halfpence no doubt derive from unrecorded hoards but most of these tiny coins have been recovered as single finds, many from contexts that have adversely affected their condition and legibility. The 121 examples present in the Sherborne hoard are the highest number of the silver denomination known from any period and therefore offer an unprecedented opportunity to study the detail of the coins and their production pattern.

Unfortunately, although they had been in mint condition when deposited, the Sherborne halfpence have suffered some corrosion, which is normal for coins of the baser metal from a mixed-metal hoard. None of the halfpence is clipped, the irregular outlines being the result of the technique of production. Unlike higher silver denominations struck on round blanks, the halfpence of this period were struck on angular flans usually roughly square or rectangular. The force of the strike between the round upper and lower dies bowed the straight sides of the blank outward but not sufficiently to take a full impression of the dies and left corners of the original blank clearly visible at the edges of most coins (eg fig 91: 46). Considerable areas of the outer circumference of the dies thus do not appear on the finished coins, which means that parts of the legends and other diagnostic details are regularly missing. Legibility also suffers to some extent from double striking (eg fig 91: 25). The identification of initial marks (which appear only at the beginning of the obverse legend) and, in particular, distinguishing between varieties of the same mark, also presents problems. For example, prior to the discovery of the Sherborne hoard it had not been possible to decipher the initial mark on any of the extant coins with an annulet in the centre of the reverse.[299] It is here shown to be a lis (fig 91: 113 detail 6) although, on many coins of the type present, it is still off the flan or illegible.

The halfpence of the Second Coinage, from all sources, are known to fall into six successive chronological types, identified principally by the initial marks which broadly correspond to types and marks on the contemporary higher silver denominations where the initial mark lis was used at three different periods.[300] The best examples on the Sherborne coins of the lis marks on the dies of the first, second and third lis periods are shown in figure 91: 25 and detail 1, figure 91: 43 and detail 2, and figure 91: 113 and detail 6. It is possible that lis 3 is from the punch of lis 2 recut. Because so few of the marks are fully legible, if at all, it is not possible to say whether all coins of these groups bear the identical mark or state of the mark. The pheon mark found on the larger silver between the second and third lis types was not used on the halfpence where the second lis type is followed directly by the third, differentiated by an annulet in the centre of the reverse. It is possible to classify all 121 halfpence in the Sherborne hoard into the types defined by initial marks (Table 1) using other evidence if the mark itself is not legible. The die identities and die links involving ninety-five coins can be established and are set out in Table 2. The details of the remaining twenty-six coins are not clear enough to provide the certainty required for die analysis.[301] The die-work was completed by the writer shortly after the coins were acquired by the British Museum in 1971.

Before discussing the representation of each of the types in turn, it is necessary to consider a further important

Period / initial mark (obverse only)	Number of halfpence in the hoard	Average weight	Number of dies noted
Rose (narrow hair)	0		
Lis 1 (narrow hair)	(7)		(2:4)
Arrow (narrow hair)	0		
Arrow (wide hair)	9	0.30g	5:7
Sunburst (wide hair)	0		
Lis 2 (wide hair), plain reverse	48 + 6	0.30g	17:13
Lis 3 (wide hair), annulet reverse	57 + 1	0.311g	12:11

Table 1 Halfpence by type. In the hoard, the coins with lis 1 (narrow hair) obverses were not produced during the first lis period (see discussion) and are therefore shown in brackets. These coins are added to the totals of the later periods when the early obverse dies were used with later reverses. In both of the later lis (wide hair) periods, and particularly in the latest annulet phase, there are a number of coins whose dies cannot be identified, so the number of dies is likely to exceed the totals given

chronological signifier in the silver of the Second Coinage: the change in the shape of the hair of the king's effigy. The earlier version has a narrow, smooth outline ('narrow hair') and the later versions have hair with a wider, usually jagged, outline ('wide hair').[302] The change took place during the arrow mark period and is securely dated to the mid-1530s.[303] The wide hair in the halfpennies is not applied by a new punch but by means of the old punch with additional engraved strokes for hair applied to each die, causing individual differences in the number and direction of these strokes (compare fig 91: 43 and detail 3, fig 91: 88 and detail 4 and fig 91: 92 and detail 5). Such details establish the sequence in which the dies were produced and normally, but not always, the order in which they were used. All the obverse dies used for the halfpence in the Sherborne hoard have the later wide hair except dies A and B. These dies were produced during the first lis period with the narrow hair before the start of the arrow issue. On the few coins on which it is visible here, the lis 1 mark is small with broken side petals clear on some specimens (fig 91: 25 and detail 1). Obverse die A is, however, only paired in the hoard with reverse dies also used with wide hair obverses during the second lis period (fig 91: 24) and with a reverse die of the latest, third lis, period with annulet reverse (fig 91: 77). This early die A, from the first lis period, must therefore have survived to be used (or, probably, reused) in the second and third lis periods so that the coins in the hoard with obverses from this die were struck *after*, not before, the arrow period. Similar die links prove that the other early obverse die B is represented among the hoard coins only in the second lis period (there is no evidence among the Sherborne material that it was still in use into the annulet-marked third lis period, like obverse die A). These die links involving obverse dies A and B are shown in Table 2. There is confirmation of the later reuse of the early dies A and B in the strong relief striations visible over the obverses of the more legible coins struck with them and not present on the rest of the coins, evidence that they had been cleaned with a light file (fig 91: 25).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
A	2													1										
B		3																						
C			2												1									
D				1												9								
E	1	3															2							
F			2		1													1						
G						1													2	1				
H		1		1		2	5																	
J		2				1		2	1															
K										4														
L										2														
M				3																				
N											1													
O												1												
P			2																					
Q					1																			
R						1																		
S					1																			
T													2											
a																3			1		2			
c																	1					3		
d																3								
e																2							1	
f																2								
g																		1						1

Vertical axis: obverses A and B, lis 1 types; obverses C to T, lis 2 types; obverses a to g, lis 3 types
Horizontal axis: reverses 1 to 13, lis 2 types (plain reverses); reverses I to XI, lis 3 types (annulet reverses)

Table 2 Numbers of halfpence of each die pairing in the lis type

Returning to the sequence of types, the earliest type of Second Coinage halfpence, with the rare rose initial mark, is not represented in the hoard. The coins struck from lis 1, narrow hair, dies have recently been shown to have been produced during the later second and third lis types, so no coins struck during the first lis period are present in the hoard. Coins from the earlier arrow mark with narrow hair are also absent. The earliest halfpence in the hoard are thus of the later arrow period, with wide hair; although common among surviving coins generally, this is only represented here by nine coins. There is no muling between the obverses and reverses of the arrow dies present, although a second reverse die is occasionally paired with the same obverse. The ratio of obverse to reverse dies used in the hoard during the later arrow mark period is 5:7. There is no muling of arrow dies with later types in the hoard. The rare sunburst type, a short-lived and probably celebratory issue,[304] is also absent.

There are fifty-four coins struck during the second lis period with plain reverses, followed by fifty-eight coins of the otherwise rare third lis type with an annulet in the centre of the reverse. There is, in contrast to the coins of the arrow period in the hoard, a heavy degree of die-linking among and between these last two lis types, as listed in the catalogue and shown in Table 2. It is possible that there are a few additional mules with lis 2 obverses among the uncertain coins of the lis 3 period with annulet reverses, on which the initial marks are illegible. Most of the coins belong to two heavily die-linked groups, and the fact that there is no link between these groups or with the isolated pairs of both types may not necessarily be significant. The highest number of die duplicates from one pair of dies in the lis types is nine (obverse D with annulet reverse III, cat nos 79–87) but otherwise five or fewer. The overall ratio of obverse to reverse dies distinguishable for coins of the lis type with plain reverses is 17:13; for those with an annulet in the centre of the reverse it is 12:11. The strong representation and plentiful dies of the previously rare annulet type in the hoard show that it was in fact issued in numbers comparable to the preceding plain-reverse lis type. The rarity of the annulet type outside the Sherborne hoard is thus not due to its being a small issue but to the usual under-representation of the latest coins in a series that did not have as much time as earlier types to be lost or hoarded before being demonetised. This is not, however, something that can be assumed, and the Sherborne hoard provides an exceptional opportunity to test the theory and prove it to be true in the case of the Second Coinage halfpence. All the halfpence in the hoard belong to a narrow period – the latter part of the fine-silver Second Coinage from the later phase of the arrow mark in the mid-1530s until its final lis type with annulet reverses before its end in 1544 (see further discussion in the 'Date of deposition' section below).

The ratio of obverse to reverse dies in the plentiful samples of coins from both the later lis periods present in the hoard is thus close to 1:1, which points to the dies at those periods being supplied in equal numbers rather than in the more usual ratio of 1:2 (designed to take account of the generally shorter life of reverse dies, which occupied the more vulnerable upper position during the striking process). Although the sample of arrow coins is small, the ratio of 5:7 suggests the same may also be true of the halfpence of that period.

This departure from the norm, allied to the unusual pattern of muling, suggests that the system of working was probably along the following lines. It would appear that a large batch of dies of lis 2 type with equal numbers of obverses and reverses was supplied to the striking shop at the same time and that the hammermen did not use each die to exhaustion before replacing it with a new one in accordance with classic minting practice, but selected a pair of obverse and reverse dies at random from the complete stocks of each. A few still-viable obverse dies that had been used three types previously, which had also had a lis initial mark (lis 1), were sought out and returned to use. Thus the order of use of the dies here was not always that of their production, and old dies were not always as systematically employed and replaced as theoretical minting practice prescribed. Under the working practices outlined here, the greater attrition of reverse dies could, for a time, be absorbed and the exhaustion of stock and repeated reordering avoided. Indeed, it raises the question whether the lower halfpenny dies wore out faster relative to the upper dies than was the case in the larger dies of higher denominations. (Practical experiments would be needed to prove or disprove this.) When the new reverse type was ordered, a fresh batch of obverses, with lis 3 initial mark and reverses with an annulet in the centre, was supplied to the striking workshop. The hammermen again paired them randomly together, although the lower number of legible coins makes this appear less intensive than among coins of the plain reverse lis 2 type. They added to the new stock any still-serviceable lis 2 (and even lis 1) obverse dies previously paired with plain reverse dies. None of the plain reverse dies in the hoard had been converted into the new type by the addition of an annulet, so these had perhaps run out, were no longer serviceable, were simply laid aside or were returned to the die-making workshop for refurbishing in the usual way.

The official standard weight of the fine-silver Second Coinage halfpenny was 5 1/3gr (0.345g).[305] The average weight of the 121, slightly corroded, halfpence in the

hoard (obtained by weighing the coins together before sorting into types began) is 0.308g (4.7gr). The weights of the individual Sherborne halfpence range from 0.21g (3.2gr) to 0.45g (6.9gr) with twenty-three coins above the standard and ninety-eight below it, as shown in Table 3. The average weights for coins of the successive marks present are shown in Table 1. Coins from the arrow and second lis periods have the same average weight of 0.30g (4.6gr), while those from the third lis period with annulet reverses average 0.311g (4.8gr), again obtained from mass-weighing before die-studies began. In all the successive types present in the hoard, the surface areas of the halfpence free from corrosion appear in shining mint condition and their average weights are virtually the same. The major factor in the decline of the average weight from the prescribed official standard in these coins was not loss of weight through circulation, corrosion or clipping but by the habitual practice of culling the most profitably overweight specimens of fine-metal currency shortly after issue. The result of this practice is shown in the usual negatively skewed distribution (Table 3).[306] Even the earliest arrow mark coins were, like the rest, in mint condition when deposited, and the average weights of the successive types are virtually the same. The fact that the latest type is heavier by 0.01g (0.2gr) within normal margin of error, may have been due to a marginal difference in setting the balances used during culling.

The halfpence were deposited in mint condition and do not include any old or worn coins from previous issues, such as would have been expected if they had been a sample withdrawn from normal contemporary currency. All are from the London mint, with no coins from the archiepiscopal mints at Canterbury and York, representatives of which would normally have been expected in a total of 121 coins Second Coinage halfpence. Nevertheless, the presence of types issued over a period of up to ten years, and the increase in representation from the earliest to the latest, suggest that the group is unlikely to be a single parcel of coins acquired directly from the London mint. The most likely source is one whose stocks were replenished by obtaining new coins from the London mint at intervals, but whose later supplies were mixed with the remnants of existing holdings of the current

23						■								
22						■								
21						■	■							
20						■	■							
19						■	■							
18						■	■							
17						■	■							
16					■	■	■							
15					■	■	■							
14					■	■	■	■						
13					■	■	■	■						
12					■	■	■	■						
11				■	■	■	■	■	■					
10				■	■	■	■	■	■					
9			■	■	■	■	■	■	■					
8			■	■	■	■	■	■	■					
7			■	■	■	■	■	■	■					
6			■	■	■	■	■	■	■					
5			■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■				
4			■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■				
3		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■		
2		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		
1	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
	0.185+	0.205+	0.225+	0.245+	0.265+	0.285+	0.305+	0.325+	0.345+	0.368+	0.385+	0.405+	0.425+	0.445+
	2..9+	3.2+	3.5+	3.8+	4.1+	4.4+	4.8+	5.1+	5.4+	5.7+	6.0+	6.3+	6.5+	6.9+

Vertical axis = number of coins; horizontal axis = weight in grammes (top) and in grains (below)

Table 3 Numbers and weights of Henry VIII halfpence

coinage and disposed of without regard to their order of acquisition or types. Such circumstances could be found in an exchange (discussed further in the 'Value' and 'Ownership' sections below).

The earlier silver

Apart from the halfpence there are three earlier English silver coins in the hoard of entirely different character. The earliest coin is a York penny of Henry V (1413–22), of Class C produced around the middle of the reign (fig 91: 11) followed by a slightly corroded Calais penny of Henry VI, first reign (1422–61), annulet type, issued 1422–30 (fig 91: 12).[307] Both pennies are heavily clipped and so worn that few letters and other details are visible, but one of the diagnostic mullets by the crown of the king's effigy on the obverse of the first and an annulet by the neck in the second help to identify them. Their weights of 0.45g (7.0gr) and 0.50g (7.7gr) are well below the standard of 10gr (0.69g) for the contemporary penny in Henry VIII's Second Coinage. Both coins originated in huge issues, representatives of which survived in currency for a long time because there had been no formal recoinage and the state had failed to ensure that sufficient numbers of new coins of the lower denominations were being produced to meet demand. This problem had been addressed by Henry VII, who issued large numbers of his new Sovereign pence from *c* 1489, the production of which continued under his son. Henry VIII reduced the standard weight of the silver coinage in 1526, so any profitably heavy earlier coins were clipped or culled. The Henry VI penny has been bent twice into an 'S' shape and pierced towards the edge from the reverse with the point of a knife, possibly for good luck or as a love token and suspension as a pendant, but it had evidently later been restored to its monetary function. Such poor-quality Lancastrian coins (whose weight by this time was already so low as to make them not worth culling) did gradually disappear, so that few survive as late as 1540. The two present here underline the difference between the 'good money' in the Sherborne hoard – consisting of the gold coins and the silver halfpence – and the poorer condition of such coins as were available in everyday circulation, especially to the ordinary person in rural rather than urban locations.

The last of the currency silver coins is a London groat of Edward IV, first reign (1461–70), from the Heavy Coinage, issued 1461–4, initial mark rose, Class III (fig 91: 13).[308] In better condition than the pence (because it is later in date and higher denominations did not circulate so rapidly, thus generally wearing less quickly) it has been bent, possibly this time to test the metal of an unfamiliar coin. It has also been clipped down from its standard issue weight of 60gr (3.89g) to 50.4gr (3.27g), only a little above the 1464–1526 standard of 48gr (3.11g), but it was not reduced again to comply with the post-1526 standard of $42^{2}/_{3}$gr (2.76g), at which point Lancastrian groats generally disappeared from circulation.

Date of deposition

The date of individual coins and groups of coins has been discussed throughout this report, but the evidence will now be drawn together to focus on when the hoard is likely to have been concealed. Although uncertainties remain about the dating of the Iberian gold coins, the date of the hoard's deposition clearly depends on the latest English coins in mint condition. The halfpence are all of the fine-silver Second Coinage, closing strongly with considerable numbers of the latest type struck from many dies, so the introduction of the new debased coinage, in May 1544, provides a secure *terminus ante quem*. Near the end of the Second Coinage period, an experimental issue of slightly debased coins of lower weight was produced under a secret indenture of 16 May 1542.[309] It is not known whether any halfpence were actually struck, but none of these debased coins of any denomination was released to the public before the start of the even more debased coinage in May 1544, and mint records show that coins of the previous superior standard continued to be produced and issued as before until that date.[310] Fine-silver coins are likely to have disappeared quickly after the debased coinage began. Because the starting date of the final halfpenny type is not known and its very latest coins may not necessarily be represented, the hoard may be said to close towards the end of the Second Coinage, 1542±2, and was most probably deposited in 1542–4.

Currency context

It was long-standing practice in medieval England to reserve the currency for local issues. Foreign coins were excluded from circulation, and any arriving in England were legally required to be exchanged for English money at the port of entry. In the later medieval period, however, an increasing number of foreign gold and silver coins appeared in English circulation.[311] The appearance of continental coins of all metals in the currency of medieval and early modern England was discussed by J P C Kent in 2000, and those of Portugal in particular by the same author in 1985. The currency of foreign gold peaked in the Tudor period and is discussed in detail by Richard Kelleher.[312] At the same time, the government was also anxious to prevent the export of

coin, especially gold.[313] Because owners take greater care of gold coins, individual finds are rare. Among known single finds there is neither a *cruzado* of John III nor an *excelente* (genuine or counterfeit) of Ferdinand and Isabella, but there is a *cruzado* of the previous reign and a *double excelente* of the Reyes Católicos.[314] The most frequently encountered European gold coins were those weighing around 3.5g, known by the blanket term 'ducats', some of which were authorised as officially current in England by successive Tudor proclamations.[315] At the time of the Sherborne hoard in the early 1540s, the *excelente* was legally permitted to circulate but the *cruzado* was not, probably because, in terms of bullion, the Portuguese coin was made of gold slightly less fine than the Spanish one. The supplies of gold from the Portuguese and Spanish possessions in Africa and the New World were already running high by this date and the *cruzado*, soon joined by the *excelente*, had become the leading international trade currencies. Trade and diplomatic relations with the Iberian peninsula at this period brought coins from both Spain and Portugal to England. Trade went back to the earliest times and England had had treaty relations with Portugal since 1387, renewed by Henry VII in 1489. Although political relations with Spain were more volatile, by the period of the Sherborne hoard Henry VIII was party to wider alliances involving both Spain and Portugal, including a treaty of 1543 made with Emperor Charles V.

Most of the recorded Tudor hoards that include foreign gold coins date from later in the period.[316] Apart from a small find in 2011 of three coins from Brompton, North Yorkshire, comprising a later *double excelente* in the names of Ferdinand and Isabella dating after 1497, an angel of Henry VII and one of Henry VIII from his First Coinage (1509–26),[317] the only relevant hoard to be buried in the reign of Henry VIII is the closely contemporary but probably slightly earlier find from Cefn Garw, Monmouthshire.[318] One unidentified coin had been lost by the child finder at an early stage. The surviving coins include one *cruzado* of John III of Portugal from different dies to any in the Sherborne hoard. The remaining eight English gold coins from Edward IV onwards close with two crowns of the Double Rose of Henry VIII, the latest of which bears the initial of Queen Jane (Seymour) and provides a *terminus post quem* of 1536–7. The hoard was probably deposited within a few years of that date. Cefn Garw appears to exemplify the integration of foreign gold into normal high-value English currency, whereas the gold in Sherborne is a close-knit group recently brought together to England. More like Sherborne in this respect is the later find from Ely, Cambridgeshire, buried after 1588 and found *c* 1733, again a group of coins of the same country and denomination, this time thirteen French gold *écus* and *demi-écus au soleil*, with which was deposited a single English gold angel.[319] Another find in this category, and the only Tudor hoard composed entirely of foreign gold, comes from Streat, Sussex, concealed *c* 1554–60/1.[320] The Spanish, French, Burgundian-Netherlands and Italian coins in it could have been brought to England individually or in mixed groups, but it is also possible that they had recently arrived together (with or without others) from the Netherlands.

The complex history of bullion supply in Tudor England is discussed by C E Challis.[321] Gold was obtained from commerce, but also arrived through the profits of war and diplomacy, particularly large sums being paid to the English king in indemnities and, for example, for the sale of Tournai back to the French.[322] There was trade in other goods and commodities (tin, for example), but the principal reason why overseas merchants brought foreign gold to England (and to Wales and Scotland) was for the purchase of local wool. The presence of foreign gold coins in English finds is evidence of this trade, but represents only part of the total. Officially, the circulation of unauthorised foreign coin was forbidden and large quantities of foreign gold coins were exchanged at the ports, so a high proportion of the English wool acquired by foreign merchants was purchased at the point of sale with English coin. Hoards of purely English gold, especially recent gold, may thus also be related to this export trade.

Value

The exchange rates of foreign gold coins authorised to circulate in Tudor England in terms of English money were listed in the royal proclamations, also discussed in this context by Kelleher.[323] The Spanish *excelente* is mentioned in proclamations of Henry VIII from 1522, and in the one dated 1539 (during the Second Coinage and nearest in date to the Sherborne hoard) it is valued at 5s.[324] On 8 March 1554, after several inflationary changes, the *excelente* is valued at 6s 8d; on 4 May of the same year the *cruzado* appears as legally current for the first time and is also valued at 6s 8d.[325] It may therefore be deduced that, in 1539, the then still illegal *cruzado* was probably unofficially tariffed at around 5s. All transactions were subject to charges and often took account of the weight of each individual coin in question and day-to-day changes in market values. Despite the efforts of the government, gold coins were regularly exchanged at a rate negotiable between the owner and the exchanger, merchant or farmer involved at a premium above the official proclamation rates.[326] The face value of the 121 halfpence in the hoard is 5s 0½d. Although other explanations are possible, it would

appear by far the most likely that the owner of the Sherborne coins exchanged one of his *cruzados* at the port of entry at a slight premium, but illegally kept back the others. As *excelentes* were already officially current in England, he would have been entitled to retain a genuine example. Before setting out, he probably knew or anticipated that *cruzados* would be acceptable, unofficially, in England. The English government, regularising as so often a *fait accompli*, permitted them to circulate officially from 1554. Elizabeth I banned them, with most other foreign gold, in 1560,[327] although the circulation of French denominations, as evidenced in the Ely hoard of 1588 noted above, was still permitted.

The face value of the gold present in the Sherborne cache was therefore £2. 10s which, with the 6d of the older silver and the 5s 0½d from the 121 halfpence, makes the total face value of the hoard £2 15s 6½d. It is not possible to know whether this was all the cash the owner had brought with him. The poor-quality late-medieval currency coins could have been obtained in change for another gold coin along the way. Expressing historical sums in terms of modern values is notoriously difficult, but it may be noted that, between 1541 and 1544, Thorold Rogers quotes horses in south-eastern England as selling at between 33s 8d and 103s 4d,[328] so the £2 15s 6½d concealed at Sherborne would have secured a horse of medium quality, costing perhaps somewhere between £1,000 and £3,000 today. From a commercial point of view, a proclamation of 1559 permitted merchants leaving England to take with them a maximum of £4 in cash.[329] There is no comparable official figure available for the early 1540s but, allowing for the inflation noted above, the equivalent sum then would have been about £3, not far in excess of the amount in the Sherborne hoard.

Ownership

At the time of the hoard's deposition, Sherborne was a manor of the bishops of Salisbury. In the early 1540s the incumbent was Bishop John Capon (1539–57), a former client of Cardinal Wolsey (d 1530), but a supporter of Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon.[330] It is difficult, without special pleading, to argue that the hoard originated in manorial coffers or was concealed by a long-term resident of Sherborne Old Castle. The composition makes it impossible that it was wealth set aside over time or that it had been acquired recently from circulation, for example from the proceeds of local sales or the collection of rents and other dues. A recent payment in gold received for the sale of wool from the manor or a group of manors to an overseas merchant could account for the foreign coins, but it is then difficult to explain the large number of brand-new halfpence and the absence of any other English money except for three poor silver coins. One possibility for any unrecovered hoard is that it, or a major part of it, was the proceeds of theft, but again this is not easy to reconcile with the unusual contents. As discussed above, the presence together of these disparate elements strongly suggests that the owner of the coins had recently arrived in England from overseas, probably from Portugal. Weymouth was perhaps a more likely point of entry than one of the Bristol Channel ports from which much of the Iberian trade was conducted at this time. He could theoretically have been a returning Englishman based in Sherborne, or elsewhere, but, once again, the composition makes this seem unlikely. It is much more probable that he was a foreigner who had changed one of his gold coins into halfpence at the port exchange to make small expenses easier to settle, with the sixpence and other English silver representing change received from a larger transaction or transactions earlier on his journey. He was possibly, but not necessarily, Portuguese and a man of considerable, but not exceptional, means; he might well have been a merchant, going from manor to manor purchasing wool, for example, but diplomatic and other roles remain possible. Particular reasons may have brought him to Sherborne, but he could simply have been passing through and received the customary hospitality of an ecclesiastical manor. On why he did not recover his money, the hoard does not provide any evidence.

Catalogue

All the gold coins are shown in figure 90. The three larger silver coins and a representative selection of ten halfpence, chosen to illustrate key die links, are shown in figure 91, along with six enlargements. All the coins illustrated are identified on the plates by their numbers in this catalogue. The halfpennies illustrated are denoted in the catalogue by asterisks. The British Museum registration numbers of the coins are given under 'Ref' before the references to standard works.

Iberian gold coins

Portugal, John III (1521–57), *cruzados*. All Lisbon mint, struck after the law of 26 November 1538.

Small-flan type with crowned arms of Portugal / short cross; the stops between the words are, unless stated otherwise, a triskeles motif with, usually, a pellet in each angle but occasionally omitted. Pellets in the initial cross and forms of the crown and its band can vary. The mint mark which

appears divided by the arms on the obverse is shown schematically below after the obverse legend. Die axes are given to the nearest 45°. Types are quoted as in Gomes 1987 followed by the source of a die identity if noted in this or another authority. Variant details may be checked in figure 90, where all the gold coins are illustrated. Also consulted were Almeida do Amaral 1977 and Ferrero Vaz 1969.

1 Obv: IOΛNES III R PORTVGΛL: ·| ·
Rev: IN HOC SIGNO VINCEES Larger Greek Cross
Wt: 3.58g Die axis: 45°
Ref: BM 1971, 6-6,1. Gomes 1987, 83.01; cf Reis 1956, pl 39.20, same types but different dies

2 Obv: IOΛNES III R PORTVGALIE L|R Trefoil of pellets above L and R
Rev: IN HOC SIGNO VINCES Larger Greek Cross
Wt: 3.44g Die axis: 135°
Ref: BM 1971, 6-6,5. Gomes 1987, 87.01

3 Obv: IOΛNES III R PORTVGALI L|R Trefoil of annulets above L and R
Rev: IN HOC SIGNO VINCES Larger Greek Cross
Wt: 3.61g Die axis: 225°
Ref: BM 1971, 6-6,3. Gomes 1987, 86.01; same obverse die as Reis 1956 pl 39.22 (reverse not illustrated)

4 Obv: IOΛNES III R PORTVGALI L|R Trefoil of pellets above L and R
Rev: IN HOC SIGNO VINCES Larger Greek Cross
Wt: 3.51g Die axis: 135°
Ref: BM 1971, 6-6,4. Gomes 1987, 87.01

5 Obv: IOΛNES III R PORTVGALI No stop after R R|L Trefoil of pellets above L and probably above R although illegible
Rev: IN HOC SIGNO VINCES Smaller Greek Cross, large shield
Wt: 3.52g Die axis: 180°
Ref: BM 1971, 6-6,6. Gomes 1987, 88.01

6 Obv: IOANES III R PORTVGA L|R L|R No pellets above L and R
Rev: IN HOC SIGNO VINCES Larger Greek Cross
Wt: 3.53g Die axis: 225°
Ref: BM 1971, 6-6,2. Gomes 1987, 86.01; same dies as Reis 1956 pl 39.21; same reverse die as coin in BM with different obverse die

7 Obv: IOANES III R PORTV R|L Trefoil of pellets above R, one pellet above L
Rev: IN HOC SIGNO VIN Smaller Greek Cross
Wt: 3.49g Die axis: 225°
Ref: BM 1971, 6-6,7. Gomes 1987, 88.02; neither this nor cat nos 8 and 9 below are from the same dies, although they are of the same types as Reis 1956 pl 39.23.

8 Obv: IOANES III R PORT R|L Trefoil of pellets above R, one pellet above L
Rev: IN HOC SIGNO VIN Smaller Greek Cross
Wt: 3.51g Die axis: 225°
Ref: BM 1971, 6-6, 9. Not listed in Gomes 1987

9 Obv: IOANES III R POR R|L Trefoil of pellets above R, one pellet above L
Rev: IN HOC SIGNO VI Smaller Greek Cross
Wt: 3.54g Die axis: 225°
Ref: BM 1971, 6-6, 8. Gomes 1987, 88.02

Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella (1474–1504), *excelente*. Seville mint mark S; of the type struck 1479 – *c* 1520 but of uncertain status (see discussion above).

10 Obv: FERDINANDVS ET ELISABET DE Profile busts face to face
Rev: REX ET REGINA CAST Crowned arms of Spain
Large Roman letters both sides
Wt: 3.50g Die axis: 45°
Ref: BM 1971, 6-6, 10; cf Farrés 1959, 231

Early English silver coins

Henry V (1413–22)

11 Penny. Type C, York mint, issued around the middle of the reign
Few details are legible but the mullet to the left of the neck is clear.
Wt: 0.45g (7.0gr, clipped and very worn)
Ref: BM 1971, 6-6, 12. North 1991, no. 1400. This coin is too worn for a reference in the more specialist literature.

Henry VI, first reign (1422–61)

12 Penny. Annulet Issue, 1422–30, Calais mint
Few details are legible but the annulet to the right of the neck is clear.
Wt: 0.50g (7.7gr, slightly corroded, bent into an 'S' shape, holed, clipped and very worn)
Ref: BM 1971, 6-6, 13. North 1991, no. 1432; for the revised chronology of the annulet type see Woodhead 1996, 80–4. This coin is too worn for a reference in the more specialist literature.

Edward IV, first reign (1461–70)

13 Groat. Heavy Coinage, 1461–4, Group III, initial mark rose. London mint
Obv: EDWΛRD DI GRΛ REX ΛNGL Z [ ] Saltire stops. Trefoil on breast, quatrefoils by neck
Rev: POSVI DEVM ΛDIVTORE MEVM Saltire stops
Wt: 3.27g (50.4gr, bent, worn and clipped)
Ref: BM 1971, 6-6, 11. North 1991, no. 1540; Blunt and Whitton 1945–8, 42–3

Henry VIII silver halfpence

Henry VIII (1509–46), silver halfpence, Second Coinage (1526–44), Tower Mint, London

As this new material is classified here in greater detail than before, no specific references are given to earlier literature.[331] The coins are listed under initial marks (appearing on the obverse only), then by die-pairings.

Obverses are denoted by letters and reverses by numbers assigned in an arbitrary order within each mark as the order of production is not established. In the second lis type with plain reverse, the obverses are denoted by capital letters and the reverses by Arabic numerals; in the third lis type with annulet reverses the obverses are denoted by lower-case letters and the reverses by Roman numerals; mules have letters and numbers from the appropriate series. Normal inscriptions are: h D G ROSΛΛ SIꟼE SPIꟼΛ (or an abbreviated form) on the obverse; CIVI TΛS LOꟼ DOꟼ on the reverse, both often without punctuation. The presence of any punctuation and variant forms of SPIꟼΛΛ on the obverse and Roman 'N's (rare) on the reverse is noted where legible from a combination of the coins struck from a particular die. These details are not fully legible on many of the coins; this means that a die could have a contraction of SPIꟼA or punctuation marks not legible on any of the coins in the hoard using that die.

Initial mark lis 1, narrow hair

The two obverse dies of this type, A and B, were not used with reverses of this period on any coins in the hoard but are listed at cat nos 23–27 and 77 below where their reverse dies place them with coins of the later lis periods (see discussion above).

Initial mark arrow, wide hair

14, 15 and 16*. A/1. SPIΛΛ. 0.39g, 0.28g, 0.24g. BM 1971, 6-6, 14–16
17. A/2. SPIΛ. 0.30g. BM 1971, 6-6, 17
18. B/3. Saltire after LOꟼ. 0.28g. BM 1971, 6-6, 18
19. B/4. Roman Ns on reverse. 0.33g. BM 1971, 6-6, 19
20. C/5. 0.30g. BM 1971, 6-6, 20
21. D/6. [SP]IΛ'. 0.44g. BM 1971, 6-6, 21
22. E/7. SPIΛ. 0.24g. BM 1971, 6-6, 22

Initial mark lis 1, narrow hair, plain reverse

23 and 24*. A/1. Saltire after TΛS and LOꟼ. 0.28g, 0.29g. BM 1971, 6-6, 23–4
25*, 26 and 27. B/2. SPIA. Saltire after TΛS, cross before LOꟼ. 0.41g, 0.26g (2). BM 1971, 6-6, 25–7

Initial mark lis 2, wide hair, plain reverse

28 and 29. C/3. 0.32g, 0.21g. BM 1971, 6-6, 28–9
30. D/4. 0.33g. BM 1971, 6-6, 30
31. E/1. Saltire after TΛS and LOꟼ. 0.36g. BM 1971, 6-6, 34
32, 33 and 34. E/2. Saltire after TΛS, cross before LOꟼ. 0.30g, 0.29g, 0.23g. BM 1971, 6-6, 31–3
35 and 36. F/3. SP. Saltire before LOꟼ. 0.34g, 0.29g. BM 1971, 6-6, 35–6
37. F/5. SP. Cross before CIVI. 0.30g. BM 1971, 6-6, 37
38. G/6. SPI. 0.33g. BM 1971, 6-6, 38
39. H/2. SPIΛ. Saltire after TΛS, cross before LOꟼ. 0.32g. BM 1971, 6-6, 46
40. H/4. SPIΛ. 0.29g. BM 1971, 6-6, 47
41 and 42. H/6. SPIΛ. 0.28g, 0.25g. BM 1971, 6-6, 39–40
43*, 44, 45, 46* and 47. H/7. SPIΛ. Saltire after DOꟼ only. 0.38g, 0.35g, 0.34g, 0.32g, 0.28g. BM 1971, 6-6, 41–5
48 and 49. J/2. SPIΛ. Saltire after TΛS, cross before LOꟼ. 0.30g (2). BM 1971, 6-6, 49–50
50. J/6. SPIΛ. 0.26g. BM 1971, 6-6, 48
51 and 52. J/8. SPIΛ. 0.52g, 0.31g. BM 1971, 6-6, 51–2
53. J/9. SPIΛ. 0.24g. BM 1971, 6-6, 53
54, 55, 56 and 57. K/10. SPIΛ'. 0.34g, 0.30g, 0.28g, 0.26g. BM 1971, 6-6, 54–7
58 and 59. L/10. SPIΛ. 0.32g, 0.24g. BM 1971, 6-6, 58–9
60, 61* and 62. M/4. SPIA'. 0.33g, 0.35g, 0.31g. BM 1971, 6-6, 61–3
63. N/11. SPI. Saltire before LOꟼ. 0.30g. BM 1971, 6-6, 64
64. O/12. SPIA'. 0.36g. BM 1971, 6-6, 65
65 and 66. P/3. SP. Saltire before LOꟼ. 0.34g, 0.29g. BM 1971, 6-6, 66–7
67. Q/5. SP. Cross before CIVI. 0.35g. BM 1971, 6-6, 68
68. R/6. SPIA. 0.29g. BM 1971, 6-6, 69
69. S/5. SP. 0.26g. BM 1971, 6-6, 70
70 and 71. T/13. 0.31g, 0.28g. BM 1971, 6-6, 71–2
72, 73, 74, 75 and 76. Uncertain dies. All plain reverses. 0.31g (2), 0.29g, 0.28g, 0.27g. BM 1971, 6-6, 70, 73–6

Initial mark lis 3, annulet in centre of reverse.

Obverse dies A and C–G are the same dies as in the above type with plain reverses; obverse dies a–g are new obverse dies not used in the hoard with plain reverses but only with annulet reverses. All the dies I–XI with annulet are new; none had had an annulet added to an earlier plain reverse die.

77*. A/I. 0.31g. BM 1971, 6-6, 77
78. C/II. 0.31g. BM 1971, 6-6, 78
79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86 and 87. D/III. 0.38g, 0.35g, 0.31g (2), 0.30g (2), 0.27g, 0.25g, 0.22g. BM 1971, 6-6, 79–87
88* and 89. E/IV. 0.45g, 0.30g. BM 1971, 6-6, 88–9
90. F/V. 0.31g. BM 1971, 6-6, 90
91 and 92*. G/VI. 0.42g, 0.23g. BM 1971, 6-6, 91–2
93. G/VII. 0.32g. BM 1971, 6-6, 93
94, 95 and 96. a/III.SP'. 0.31g (2), 0.24g. BM 1971, 6-6, 94–6
97. a/VI. SP'.0.33g. BM 1971, 6-6, 97
98 and 99. a/VIII. 0.29g, 0.28g. BM 1971, 6-6, 105–6

No obverse die 'b'

100. c/IV. 0.33g. BM 1971, 6-6, 101
101, 102 and 103. c/IX. 0.41g, 0.34g, 0.25g. BM 1971, 6-6, 98–100
104, 105 and 106. d/III. SPIA. 0.30g, 0.29g, 0.25g. BM 1971, 6-6, 102–4
107 and 108. e/III. 0.27g, 0.26g. BM 1971, 6-6, 107–8
109. e/X. 0.31g. BM 1971, 6-6, 109
110 and 111. f/III. SPI. 0.35g, 0.33g. BM 1971, 6-6, 110–11
112. g/V. [S]PIꟼ. 0.27. BM 1971, 6-6, 113
113*. g/XI. [S]PIꟼ. 0.34. BM 1971, 6-6, 112

114 to 134. Uncertain but all with an annulet on the reverse. The reverses almost certainly include dies both the same as and different from the previous coins, individually identified, but they and the obverses are not legible enough to be certain of die identities and differences. Several pairs of die duplicates are probably included. It is possible that there are among these uncertains a few more mules using lis 2 obverses where the initial mark and other significant details are illegible. 0.39g, 0.38g (2), 0.37g, 0.36g (2), 0.35g (2), 0.32g, 0.31g (2), 0.30g (2), 0.28g, 0.27g (2), 0.25g, 0.24g, 0.23g, 0.21g, 0.19g. BM 1971, 6-6, 114–34

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Appendix 3
The pottery

by Lorraine Mepham, FSA

This report summarises the data extracted from an analysis of 21,689 sherds (225,584g) from Sherborne Old Castle. The assemblage comprises material recovered during the excavations of 1968 to 1980. The bulk of the sherds are of medieval or post-medieval date, although small quantities of redeposited prehistoric, Romano-British and Saxon sherds were also encountered. The pottery from later small-scale excavations at Sherborne Old Castle is not included here, and the detail for this material remains largely unpublished, although a group recovered from excavations in 1998–9 at the rear of the castle's inner wall has been discussed by John Allan in a recent consideration of potential sources for the Sherborne pottery.[332]

The pottery has been examined within the framework of the basic phasing provided by the stratigraphic data, and it was initially hoped that a detailed examination of the ceramic assemblage would complement and enhance the stratigraphic information. It should be stressed at the outset, however, that the pottery assemblage from Sherborne has severe limitations as an accurate dating tool. The vast bulk of the assemblage comprises utilitarian coarse kitchen wares in fabrics and forms that do not change substantially over several centuries. While several of the features and structures produced large groups of pottery, it became apparent that a considerable amount of redeposition of earlier material had taken place, giving rise to a degree of contamination that, in many cases, precluded the confident definition of contemporary pottery groups. Moreover, some features, most notably the garderobe pits, had been cleaned out fairly regularly and thus mainly contained material from the latest phase of use only. Some limited refinement of the ceramic sequence can be made on the basis of the presence of finer glazed wares, which exhibit more rapid changes in forms and decoration. In particular, the presence of a very small quantity of sherds from imported continental vessels provides more accurate dating evidence, although the dangers of using such sherds as precise chronological indicators should be borne in mind.[333] Dating of the Sherborne assemblage is therefore heavily based on comparisons with other well-stratified assemblages in the area, notably Ilchester,[334] although it should be noted that on very few sites in this area are ceramic horizons securely dated by independent means; the date ranges given here, therefore, should not be regarded as immutable.

Despite the chronological limitations of the ceramic assemblage, it nevertheless has potential to make a valuable contribution to our understanding of the medieval and early post-medieval pottery industry in north Dorset and the surrounding region. Large stratified assemblages are scarce in the region, and the patterns of production and distribution in this part of southern England are not fully understood, despite recent documentary surveys and scientific analyses.[335] The nearest large comparable assemblage comes from the town of Ilchester, 13km to the north west,[336] which has a dated sequence running from the tenth to the nineteenth century. Smaller assemblages have been excavated at Sherborne Abbey,[337] and at Stoke sub Hamdon, some 15km to the west.[338] To the east and south, published assemblages are more frequent, for example from Dorchester,[339] and several small sites along the Dorset/Somerset border have produced medieval ceramics: Milborne Port,[340] Kington Magna,[341] the Wincanton Bypass,[342] Meadow Vale Farm, near

Wincanton,[343] Gillingham[344] and Shaftesbury,[345] which is approximately 24km to the east of Sherborne.

Known sources for the medieval and early post-medieval ceramics are less common. The nearest excavated kiln to Sherborne is at Hermitage, approximately 10km to the south, where a kiln dated to the thirteenth century has been recorded.[346] A suggestion that this industry may have continued into the post-medieval period is given by a documentary reference to a potter at Holnest, about 3km from Hermitage, in 1617.[347] More recently, a kiln of probable ninth-century date has been excavated in Shaftesbury,[348] which was producing jars in a fine, micaceous ware very similar to wares found further north, in the Warminster area of Wiltshire.

Further afield, late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century kilns were excavated at Laverstock, just outside Salisbury, just over 50km to the east;[349] these kilns were producing highly decorated jugs as well as utilitarian coarsewares. There is evidence from Salisbury and its environs that the coarsewares, frequently scratchmarked, were in production perhaps as early as the late twelfth century, and that the finer, glazed wares continued well into the fourteenth century.[350] Further production centres are postulated in Purbeck and the environs of Poole Harbour, for coarsewares and fine, glazed and decorated jugs.[351] The Yeo Valley, close to Ilchester, was also originally highlighted as a possible source for the early medieval coarsewares and tripod pitchers found in the town,[352] although this theory has now been superseded by more recent petrological analysis of samples from Sherborne and from other sites in Dorset and Somerset; these suggest that many of these coarsewares were actually produced in the area of the Blackdown Hills to the south of Taunton, a distance of about 35km from Sherborne, and that this was a major pottery production centre from the Late Saxon period.[353] The Donyatt kilns, some 30km west of Sherborne, have revealed evidence for pottery production from the thirteenth century through to the twentieth,[354] although elsewhere evidence for the full range and distribution of the medieval products of this industry is as yet sparse. Post-medieval wares similar to those from Donyatt were also being produced at Wanstrow, about 30km to the north of Sherborne.

Previous work on the pottery assemblage

Some work on a sample of the medieval assemblage from Sherborne Old Castle has already been carried out,[355] leading to the definition of five major fabric types (A to E) linked by petrological analysis to three main sources, which changed through time. Flint-tempered wares (fabrics A and B) were predominant in the earliest phases, and were then thought to originate from a source somewhere in the Yeo Valley close to Ilchester. Sandy wares (fabrics C and D) occurred in smaller quantities in the earlier phases, increasing from the thirteenth century onwards; these wares compared well with material from several sites between Sherborne and Shaftesbury, although the precise source was ambiguous since similar wares were being produced in south Wiltshire and in the Poole Harbour area of south Dorset. Fabric E, also found from the thirteenth century onwards, was defined as 'Hermitage type' ware on the basis of comparison with wasters from the thirteenth-century Hermitage kiln.

The results of this preliminary analysis were seen as the first stage in a wider survey of medieval ceramics in north Dorset, and this has been extended by a survey of ceramic production in the county,[356] which has attempted to characterise the production of various broad fabric types using a combination of documentary evidence and chemical analysis. Six fabric types were defined within two main categories (sandy wares and coarsewares), one of which (sandy fabric S1) matched samples from the thirteenth-century Hermitage kiln. The results of this survey suggested that the sandy wares were produced at several small centres in west Dorset and south Somerset, of which Hermitage was one; while the coarsewares were produced on a larger scale in south Wiltshire, for example at Laverstock, and in the Poole Harbour area of south-east Dorset. Certain areas of high potential for pottery manufacture were defined on a topographical and documentary basis, such as the Blackmore Vale, and the band of Reading Beds and London Clay that runs from north-east Dorset down to Poole Harbour.

More recently, the identification of Ilchester as an early medieval pottery production centre has been re-examined, against the background of a petrological study of a group of thirteenth-century flint-tempered pottery from Sherborne Old Castle.[357] The claim that flint-tempered pottery (groups A and B as defined in Harrison and Williams 1979) was produced at Ilchester[358] was originally based on documentary references to potters working at Ilchester in the late medieval period,[359] and the assumption that the industry must therefore have originated in the early medieval period, is not substantiated by any evidence for pottery production at this early period. Petrological work undertaken by Dr Roger Taylor has now shown conclusively that this flint-tempered pottery has a source on the Upper Greensand outcropping to the north of the Blackdown Hills in Somerset, about 35km to the south west of Sherborne.[360] This study, which has now been expanded to examine

pottery production in the Late Saxon period, is of crucial importance to our understanding of pottery production in the region and, in this particular context, to an understanding of some of the sources of supply to Sherborne Old Castle.

The aims of this analysis

It is against this background of previous research that the analysis of the pottery from Sherborne Old Castle should be seen, and it is hoped that the present report will expand on the outline scheme of ceramic production already put forward by providing a more detailed pottery fabric type series and linking this to other assemblages from the region, and thence to known or putative sources.

Although previous surveys have helped to define certain broad strands in the pattern of production and distribution of medieval ceramics in Dorset and the surrounding region, certain anomalies still remain to be resolved: in particular, the distinction between the coarsewares and sandy wares, frequently scratchmarked, apparently produced in both south Wiltshire and south-east Dorset, which are visually very similar under hand inspection and for which chemical analysis has as yet proved inconclusive. In addition, the relative importance of, and potential competition between, the sandy ware industries of west Dorset and south Somerset, as represented by the Hermitage and Donyatt kilns, is still poorly understood. The examination of a large ceramic assemblage such as that from Sherborne, covering a wide date range, might be expected to help with such questions.

An additional area of enquiry centres around the nature of the site itself, and the ways in which it functioned within the local settlement hierarchy. While the range of fabric types found on the site reflects the variety of sources of supply exploited during the medieval and early post-medieval periods, some indication of the relative status of the site might also be gained from an examination of the fabrics and forms represented. Comparisons might be made, for example, with assemblages from nearby towns (eg Ilchester),[361] or with other castle sites in the region (eg Stoke sub Hamdon and Corfe Castle),[362] but caution must be observed in such an exercise. First, it is always dangerous to speculate on the basis of the pottery assemblage alone, since the relative importance of pottery in relation to other materials such as metalwork and glass should also be considered.[363] Secondly, it has been pointed out that imported wares, which might have been used as an indication of relative status, are rarely found in quantity outside the major ports, and are particularly scarce on inland sites in the south of England, while within the ports they are found indiscriminately on rich and poor sites.[364] It has been suggested that the absence of imports inland may be due to the lack of redistribution networks rather than to their cost.[365]

Methods of analysis

The examination of the pottery assemblage has been carried out using the standard Wessex Archaeology methodology for pottery analysis[366] and in general conforms to the minimum standards for the analysis of medieval pottery.[367] Vessel forms have been defined and described following nationally recommended nomenclature.[368] Unstratified and other poorly provenanced pottery has been omitted from the analysis, as has pottery from contexts that contain any material later than *c* 1800. Exceptions have been made for a very small amount of material of intrinsic interest, namely vessel forms and fabrics unrepresented elsewhere in the assemblage, and good examples of otherwise poorly represented types, which have been extracted during a brief scan of the pottery from unstratified and modern contexts.

Fabric types

The analysis has focused on the definition of type series for both fabrics and vessel forms. The previously adopted system of division into five fabric groups[369] has been abandoned in favour of what is considered to be a more objective approach. The Saxon, medieval and post-medieval assemblage has been divided into fifty-one separate fabric types on the basis of the range and size of macroscopic inclusions visible under a binocular microscope (x20 magnification). These fifty-one types fall into four broad fabric groups, based on the dominant inclusion type or known source: Group C (fabrics with calcareous inclusions), Group Q (sandy fabrics), Group S (shelly fabrics) and Group E ('established' wares of known type or source). No petrological work was undertaken as part of this study. Each fabric type has been assigned a unique alpha-numeric code, incorporating a letter denoting the fabric group, and a chronologically significant three-digit number (400–599 for Saxon and medieval fabrics, 600–899 for post-medieval fabrics). Romano-British fabrics have not been incorporated into this fabric series, but are described according to broad fabric type: greywares, New Forest colour-coated wares and so on. Prehistoric sherds have been merely quantified. The numbers and weights of all fabric types are given in Table 1. Where reference is made to other assemblages analysed using the Wessex Archaeology pottery recording

Fabric group	Fabric type	No. of sherds	Weight (g)
Prehistoric	All fabrics	2	11
	Prehistoric subtotal	*2*	*11*
Romano-British	E101 Black Burnished ware (BB1)	10	79
	E162 New Forest fineware	2	23
	E170 Oxfordshire fineware	2	24
	E173 Oxfordshire whiteware	3	38
	E300 samian	3	6
	Q100 coarse greyware	10	104
	Romano-British subtotal	*30*	*274*
Saxon	Q431	4	63
	Q432	2	16
	S400	2	19
	S401	1	6
	Saxon subtotal	*9*	*104*
1. Flint-tempered wares	C404	1	18
	Q400	1,134	9,876
	Q401	407	4,182
	Q402	1,097	17,783
	Q403	12,535	110,211
	Q406	42	266
	Q430	53	324
	Flint-tempered subtotal	*15,269*	*142,660*
2. West Dorset sandy wares	Q404	1,666	19,107
	Q426	1,944	20,389
	West Dorset subtotal	*3,610*	*39,496*
3. South Wilts / East Dorset coarsewares	E422b	479	5,605
	E422c	193	2,720
	South Wilts / East Dorset subtotal	*672*	*8,325*
4. Laverstock-type finewares	E420	138	1,370
	E421	66	306
	Laverstock-type finewares subtotal	*204*	*1,676*
5. South Dorset finewares	Q412	48	232
	Q420	52	828
	Q423	145	1,051
	South Dorset finewares subtotal	*245*	*2,111*
6. Donyatt-type wares	Q427	367	5,305
	Q428	66	363
	Q429	3	36
	Q434	14	117
	Donyatt-type subtotal	*450*	*5,821*

Table 1 Fabric types by period, number and weight

Fabric group	Fabric type	No. of sherds	Weight (g)
7. Other British wares	E423 Minety-type ware	13	200
	E454 'Tudor Green' ware	14	33
	E481 Ham Green ware	19	219
	E484 Redcliffe ware	11	216
	Other British subtotal	*57*	*668*
8. Miscellaneous wares, unknown source	C400	157	3,820
	C401	3	28
	Q405	11	102
	Q407	2	8
	Q414	67	533
	Q433	48	359
	Miscellaneous subtotal	*288*	*4,850*
9. Imported wares	E515 Normandy gritty ware	1	4
	E520 Saintonge monochrome	4	8
	E526 North French monochrome	18	90
	E530 Iberian coarseware	1	4
	E540 Italian coarseware	1	6
	Imported wares subtotal	*25*	*112*
Post-medieval	E600 Coarse redwares, various	649	15,459
	E640 Verwood-type earthenware	28	455
	E641 'Wiltshire brown' ware	7	36
	E685 Donyatt slipware	55	1,734
	E686 Donyatt sgraffito	38	1,066
	E730 tin-glazed earthenware	12	54
	E731 Italian tin-glazed ware	2	6
	E735 Valencian lustreware	1	4
	E780 German stoneware	27	500
	E788 Westerwald stoneware	2	27
	E790 English stoneware	6	129
	E830 Porcelain	1	6
	Post-medieval subtotal	*828*	*19,476*
	Total	**21,689**	**225,584**

Table 1 (cont)

system, fabric codes other than 'established' wares are unique to each site and do not directly correspond to the fabric codes used here. Cross references are provided in this report, and a full correlation of fabric types from all comparative material can be found in the Sherborne Castle Estates Archive.

The assemblage has been fully quantified, both by number and by weight of sherds in grams, and by fabric type within each context. Each context potentially includes more than one group of sherds, each recorded under a separate Pottery Record Number (PRN). For the purposes of this analysis, all the PRNs from each context have been amalgamated. In addition to fabric type, a number of other variables – including details of sherd type, vessel form, surface treatment, decoration and manufacturing technique – have been recorded, and coded for entry on to a database.

In the fabric descriptions that follow, the following terms are used to define the frequency of inclusions within

the clay matrix: rare (1–3 per cent); sparse (3–10 per cent); moderate (10–20 per cent); common (20–30 per cent); very common (30–40 per cent); abundant (more than 40 per cent).[370]

Romano-British pottery

Thirty sherds were identified as Romano-British on the basis of fabric. These include samian, greywares of unknown source, New Forest and Oxfordshire colour-coated wares, and Black Burnished ware (BB1) from the Poole Harbour area of south Dorset. All the Romano-British pottery occurred as redeposited sherds in later contexts.

Saxon pottery

Nine sherds were identified as of probable Saxon date, largely on the basis of fabric type, since diagnostic sherds are almost completely absent. Possible Late Saxon or Saxo-Norman material is discussed below, with the medieval assemblage. Four fabric types were identified.

Q431: hard, fine-grained, micaceous fabric; sparse, poorly sorted quartz <1mm; rare to sparse organic inclusions, probably grass or straw <5mm; rare clay pellets <3mm; rare iron oxides. Unoxidised with oxidised pale orange-brown surface(s).
Q432: hard, moderately fine-grained, slightly micaceous fabric; sparse, poorly sorted quartz <0.5mm; rare organic inclusions, probably grass or straw <4mm. Unoxidised with oxidised orange margin(s).
S400: hard, moderately coarse-grained fabric with a slightly soapy feel, containing common, poorly sorted crushed shell <2mm. Unoxidised throughout.
S401: soft, moderately fine-grained fabric with a soapy feel, containing sparse, poorly sorted crushed shell <3mm. Unoxidised with oxidised exterior surface.

These four fabric types each represent single vessels. Sherds in both shelly fabrics are burnished externally, and the two joining sherds in fabric S400 have a horizontal band of incised cross-hatched decoration.

The dating of this small group of sherds is hampered by the lack of well-dated Saxon pottery groups in Dorset and neighbouring Somerset. All that can be said is that these sherds bear no resemblance to pottery from Shaftesbury and Dorchester dated to the tenth or early eleventh century,[371] or to Late Saxon pottery from Somerset of which the largest published group is from Cheddar Palace,[372] and a tentative date in the Middle Saxon period (AD 650–850)[373] might be proposed.

Medieval pottery

The date range of the medieval pottery has been defined as eleventh to late fifteenth century, and includes two fabric types that are potentially pre-Conquest. Some definition of the terms 'medieval' and 'post-medieval' as used in this report might be considered appropriate here. Any attempt to distinguish the medieval from the post-medieval period on ceramic grounds will inevitably encounter difficulties, since the transition from 'medieval' to 'post-medieval' potting techniques was neither even nor simultaneous across the country, and in any case the specific criteria used to define 'post-medieval' ceramic innovations are not universally agreed.

In the area of west Dorset and south Somerset, and indeed over much of Wessex, the ceramic industries of the late medieval period – that is the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries – are as yet poorly understood; in many cases the only evidence for pottery manufacture at this period consists of documentary references. In some cases this may have arisen from a misunderstanding of the nature of late medieval pottery (and, consequently, its misdating) by those working in the 1950s and 1960s (see below, eg, for the debate about the dating of Hermitage-type wares). In other cases the difficulty may lie in the innate conservatism of the industry. The difficulties in defining the fifteenth-century industry at Donyatt have been pointed out, although it is clear that pottery manufacture continued there throughout the late medieval period and into the post-medieval period with very little change in manufacturing and decorative techniques.[374] Medieval potting techniques were not abandoned at Donyatt until the seventeenth century.

Meanwhile it is apparent that fine wheelthrown earthenwares of a type generally considered to be post-medieval, comparable in quality with, for example, the 'Tudor Green' industry of the Surrey/Hampshire production centre, were current in the area well before the end of the fifteenth century. At Sherborne these wares, deriving from an unknown source, occur in forms such as double-handled cups, which echo the Surrey/Hampshire products of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

For the purposes of this analysis, therefore, 'medieval' wares include all those displaying medieval potting techniques, with the caveat that this may include some material that dates from the sixteenth century, plus a small number of fabric types representing fine earthenwares that can be demonstrated to be of late medieval date.

Nine groups of fabrics have been defined on the basis of known or putative source areas:

1. Flint-tempered wares
2. West Dorset (or Hermitage-type) sandy wares
3. Coarse sandy wares from south Wiltshire or east Dorset
4. Fine glazed wares from south Wiltshire (Laverstock types)
5. Fine glazed wares from south Dorset
6. Donyatt-type wares
7. Other British wares from known sources
8. Miscellaneous wares from unknown sources
9. Imported wares

Fabric group 1: flint-tempered wares

This group comprises seven fabric types, and includes fabric groups A and B as defined in Harrison and Williams 1979.

C404: hard, fine-grained fabric, leached; moderate subangular/subrounded voids, poorly sorted, representing leached calcareous inclusions <2mm; sparse, poorly sorted quartz <1mm; very rare flint <3mm. Unoxidised throughout.
Q400: coarse-grained, irregular fabric with a slightly soapy feel; moderate, poorly sorted quartz <1mm; rare subangular flint and/or chert <2mm. Generally unoxidised, though some patchy oxidisation of surfaces.
Q401: coarse-grained, slightly soapy fabric; moderate, fairly well-sorted quartz <1mm; rare flint and/or chert <1.5mm. Possibly a slightly finer version of Q400; firing as for Q400.
Q402: hard, coarse-grained fabric with a harsh feel; moderate, poorly sorted quartz <1mm; sparse, poorly sorted subangular flint <2mm; rare to sparse, prominent red iron oxides <1.5mm; very rare fine mica flakes. Generally unoxidised, although some oxidised examples with grey core.
Q403: hard, moderately coarse-grained fabric; moderate, fairly well-sorted quartz <0.5mm; rare subangular flint <1mm; rare red iron oxides and fine mica flakes. Unoxidised throughout, or unoxidised with patchily oxidised surface(s).
Q406: hard, moderately fine-grained fabric; sparse poorly sorted quartz <0.25mm; sparse shell fragments <0.5mm; rare red iron oxides and fine mica flakes. Unoxidised.
Q430: hard, coarse-grained fabric; moderate, poorly sorted quartz <1mm; sparse, poorly sorted subangular flint/chert <5mm; sparse iron oxides. Unoxidised with patchy oxidisation of surface(s).

As might be expected, this group forms the largest proportion of the medieval assemblage, with particular emphasis on fabric Q403 which accounts for 54 per cent of the total medieval assemblage by weight (see Table 1). It should be noted that the division between the fabric types within the group was not always clear-cut, and that certain of the types defined here may simply reflect variations within the products of one centre. For example, fabric Q401 seems to be a slightly finer version of Q400; both have the same soapy feel and 'grainy' appearance, and occur in the same rim forms. Likewise, fabric Q402 may represent a coarser element within fabric Q403.

The earliest element within this group of nine fabrics appears to be represented by sherds of the calcareous fabric C404 and the distinctively coarse flint-tempered fabric Q430. Both fabrics are paralleled at Ilchester (pottery types A5/B and B respectively).[375] Pottery type A5/B is dated to the eleventh century at Ilchester; fabric C404 is represented by a single rim sherd from a jar or cooking pot (fig 92: 1), comparable to vessels found at Ilchester.[376] Ilchester type B may also have pre-Conquest origins but was current throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries; one group of sherds of fabric Q430 is apparently *in situ* in an early context within the keep at Sherborne.

The other five fabrics (Q400–403, Q406) also find close parallels at Ilchester, in this case within the group of local twelfth- to thirteenth-century coarsewares and glazed wares, in particular fabrics B/BB and BB, and fabrics G24 and G25;[377] very similar wares have been found at Stoke sub Hamdon (fabrics Q400, Q403, Q404 and Q406)[378] and Shaftesbury.[379]

The range of vessel forms in these five fabrics is limited, comprising mainly cooking pots or jars (fig 92: 2–3; fig 94: 29–32), with smaller quantities of glazed pitchers (fig 92: 10, 11 and 13) and bowls/dishes (fig 94: 33). Cooking pots in fabric Q400 have flaring necks with internally bevelled rims (fig 92: 2; fig 94: 29); those in fabrics Q403 have convex-profiled rims (fig 92: 3; fig 94: 30 and 32). Fabrics Q401 and Q402 include examples of both forms. Bowls/dishes were identified only in fabrics Q402 and Q403, and were either of simple convex profile, or were shallow flaring forms with 'dished' rims (fig 94: 33) similar to the cooking pots described above. There are also a very small number of handled bowls (fig 94: 34)[380] and lamps (fig 92: 7–8), probably of pedestal form. Decoration on all these vessel forms is scarce, and is restricted to applied vertical strips on vessels in fabric Q403 (fig 94: 31).

These utilitarian vessel forms have a long currency and a wide distribution. A large selection is illustrated from Ilchester, from contexts dating from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries,[381] although the examples in fabrics BB and B/BB can be restricted to a date range of twelfth to thirteenth century.

Glazed vessels form a smaller proportion of the vessel forms identified within this group of fabrics. Tripod pitchers are found in fabrics Q402 and Q403, and examples in both fabrics appear to be very similar in form. These vessels have sagging bases, strap handles and upright necks with thickened rims, and are decorated on rims and handles with linear and curvilinear combing, single lines of rouletting or nothing, and on bodies and handles with applied strips (fig 92: 10, 11 and 13).[382] Glaze is thin, uneven, and generally a pale olive-green on unoxidised surfaces, clear with green mottles on oxidised surfaces. Pouring attachments rarely survive, but there are a few tubular spouts, attached to the rim by a supporting strip of clay and the base inserted through a hole in the body wall (fig 92: 10). A similar number of pulled lips may also derive from similar vessels. Bases are assumed to be supported by tripod feet, as several of these were identified, but no full profiles could be reconstructed.

Tripod pitchers are generally considered to be a twelfth-century phenomenon in southern England, but examples in Dorset and Somerset tend to be dated as late as the mid-thirteenth century at Ilchester, where they appeared in contexts stratigraphically later than similar forms in Wiltshire fabrics.[383] None is known at Sherborne from securely dated twelfth-century contexts, and a currency in line with that suggested for Ilchester is accepted in the absence of evidence to the contrary.

The identification of potential source(s) for the flint-tempered wares has been a matter of continuing debate. Harrison and Williams concluded that their fabric groups A and B most probably had a fairly local source,[384] and this seemed a reasonable assumption based on the predominance of these wares among the medieval assemblage. Comparable flint-tempered wares found at Ilchester were thought to have a local source in the Yeo Valley although, as has already been pointed out, this was based on documentary references from a later period.[385] Paul Spoerry's chemical analysis broadly grouped coarse sandy and flint-tempered wares (including a group from Sherborne) as S4/C2, with a concentration across west Dorset and south-east Somerset, and did not question the putative Yeo Valley source, although suggesting that there may have been other sources as well.[386] It now seems certain that the flint-tempered wares seen at both Sherborne and Ilchester, and at a number of other sites across the south west, were made from clay and inclusions that were both Upper Greensand-derived, with a source in the area immediately north of the Blackdown Hills and south of Taunton.[387] Chemical analysis has shown that the clay used for these wares has 'a consistent signature, typical of a single production centre', and the range of distribution of the wares points to a major centre.[388] The conclusions of this study are far-reaching, since they overturn the pre-existing supposition that the majority of medieval coarsewares were produced for the local market – say, within a radius of 16 to 24km from source.[389] Sherborne Old Castle, then, obtained the majority of its everyday wares, either directly or indirectly, from a source about 22 miles (35km) distant.

Fabric group 2: West Dorset (or Hermitage-type) sandy wares

Two fabric types have been identified as west Dorset sandy wares, defined as fabric group E by Harrison and Williams.

Q404: moderately fine-grained sandy fabric; moderate, fairly well-sorted quartz <0.25mm; rare red iron oxides <0.5mm. Generally oxidised orange-red to orange-pink with a grey core.
Q426: moderately fine-grained sandy fabric; possibly a slightly finer variant of Q404. Generally fired slightly harder; oxidised pale orange-pink with a pale grey core.

These sandy wares are commonly found throughout west Dorset and south Somerset. Their only known source is a single kiln excavated at Hermitage itself, and dated to the thirteenth century,[390] but it is extremely unlikely that this single kiln produced all the wares of this type found in the area, and chemical analysis has in fact shown that samples of comparable fabrics come from a number of sites in Dorset and that Hermitage was only one of a number of centres in the west of the county, all producing very similar wares.[391] Moreover, the 'thirteenth-century' date applied to the excavated kiln and its products may be misleading, as pointed out by Allan, who notes that the kiln waste actually includes forms more typical of the fourteenth or even early fifteenth centuries, but which were unrecognised as such by the original excavators.[392]

The two fabrics together show quite a wide variation in colouring and the coarseness of their inclusions, but the visual distinction between the two is not always clear-cut. As a general rule, fabric Q426 is slightly paler in colouring, slightly finer in terms of the quartz inclusions, and is fired slightly harder. This might be taken as representing a chronological development of the fabric type, but both fabrics include exactly the same range of vessel forms; an alternative explanation might be that the two fabrics are products of different kilns.

The range of vessel forms represented at Sherborne is well illustrated by the groups from the three latrine pits,[393] structures H, J and U (fig 96: 48–53; fig 97: 55–60):

cooking pots or jars with thickened and internally bevelled rims (fig 92: 4); deep bowls with sharply everted or flanged rims, part-glazed internally (fig 92: 6); flaring bowls or pans with lid-seated rims, again part-glazed internally; part-glazed, rounded jugs with pulled pouring lips and slashed strap handles, frequently rilled on the neck and shoulder and sometimes with applied thumbed strips below the rim; flat perforated lids with a central knop, often thumbed;[394] and one oval dish with an externally flanged rim, part-glazed internally (fig 97: 58). From other contexts, there are also a small number of bungholes from large pitchers or cisterns, one or two plain bowl forms, a pedestal lamp (fig 92: 9) and a probable chafing dish (fig 93: 24). Jugs from other contexts also illustrate the wider range of decorative techniques:[395] painted slip (fig 93: 21), incised linear and zoomorphic motifs (fig 93: 19 and 22), and stamped motifs (fig 93: 20).

All of these forms, with the exception of the lids and oval dish, are illustrated among the Hermitage kiln material.[396] Although a thirteenth-century date could be accepted for most of the vessel forms, the occurrence of the two fabric types at Sherborne indicates a much longer currency. Sherds occur in the same contexts as the flint-tempered wares described above, but also dominate contexts later in the sequence, which suggests that the Blackdown Hills industry was in decline by this time. On this basis a currency extending well into the fourteenth century could be suggested, and perhaps even into the fifteenth century, given the evidence from the latrine pits structures H, J and U (see below, key groups 4 and 5). The difficulties attending the characterisation of fifteenth-century ceramics in the region are discussed further below.

Fabric group 3: coarse sandy wares from south Wiltshire or east Dorset

This group comprises two fabrics, and encompasses fabric group C as defined by Harrison and Williams.

E422b: hard, coarse-grained fabric; common, fairly well-sorted, prominent quartz grains <1mm, with distinctive 'pimply' surfaces. Oxidised (buff to pale pink/orange) or unoxidised.
E422c: hard, moderately coarse-grained fabric; common, fairly well-sorted quartz <0.25mm. Oxidised. Firing as E422b.
These fabrics fall within the type series defined for Salisbury and the surrounding area,[397] and are essentially variants within a spectrum, rather than discrete types. They form part of a widespread ceramic tradition covering south-east Wiltshire and east Dorset. Visually similar fabrics are known from both south Dorset, where a putative source in the Poole Harbour area or Purbeck has been suggested,[398] and south Wiltshire, where comparable coarsewares were found associated with the kiln material at Laverstock.[399] Further comparable fabrics are known over much of north and east Dorset, south Wiltshire, and into west Somerset; their occurrence, for example, at Dorchester, Shaftesbury and Ilchester[400] illustrates the broad distribution in Dorset and the immediate environs. The picture is complicated by the fact that both putative centres appear to have been producing very similar forms (most commonly round-bottomed cooking pots with simple everted or squared rims, but also glazed and decorated tripod pitchers), and vessels from both areas exhibit the technique of scratchmarking, which is a characteristic surface treatment found across central southern England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Furthermore, the high incidence of these wares, including scratchmarked examples, at Shaftesbury and other nearby sites such as Kington Magna, has led to the suggestion of a third production centre close to Shaftesbury.[401] The Laverstock kilns have an archaeomagnetic date of 1230–75,[402] and the kiln chronology has more recently been extended into the early fourteenth century.[403] However, evidence from excavated assemblages suggests that the pottery industry in this area began at least as early as the eleventh century with the production of tripod pitchers,[404] and continued well into the fourteenth century.

Chemical analysis has failed to resolve the question of source, since samples from a number of sites throughout Dorset produced a rather blurred picture, with samples from sites in south Dorset, including Poole and Holworth, proving closest to Laverstock kiln material, while material from Shaftesbury closely matched samples from south Dorset.[405] The analysis did, however, suggest that the scratchmarked wares from south Dorset formed a chemically consistent group, which was distinct from the non-scratchmarked wares from the same area and, as such, are more likely to have derived from the Laverstock kilns than the previously suggested source area in Purbeck.[406]

Certainly, microscopic examination of the fabric types encountered at Sherborne would suggest a closer affinity with the Salisbury assemblages, and thus with the Laverstock kilns, although the possibility of a further source or sources should not be ruled out. This similarity in fabrics over a wide area is not unexpected, given the proximity of readily available resources in the form of a wide band of Reading Beds and London Clay, which runs through south-east Wiltshire down to the western end of Poole Harbour. The likelihood of several different centres, not just the discrete areas of south Wiltshire and south

Dorset, exploiting this band of raw materials has been pointed out.[407] One possibility, for instance, is a medieval predecessor to the post-medieval Verwood industry; this is suggested by documentary references but is as yet unconfirmed by any archaeological evidence.[408]

Vessel forms include cooking pots or jars with simple rounded or squared rims, sometimes scratchmarked,[409] and bowls with hammerhead rims (fig 92: 5). The most commonly encountered vessel forms, however, are glazed pitchers, with strap handles and decorative motifs similar to those found on the tripod pitchers in fabrics Q402 and Q403 (see above): combing, rouletting or notching, and applied strips.[410] One example (fig 92: 12) is covered with elaborately executed applied decoration in the form of curvilinear strips, and one handle displays a similar technique (fig 94: 35). Another has applied, iron-rich slip strips, like the south Wiltshire/south Dorset glazed jugs (fig 92: 14). One example is spouted, and two have pulled lips. Less common vessel forms include a small, glazed, hemispherical dish with applied basket handle, which appears to have formed one unit of a salt or condiment dish (fig 97: 61).

Fabric group 4: fine glazed wares from south Wiltshire (Laverstock types)

Two fabric types have been identified as fine glazed wares from south Wiltshire, probably the Laverstock area.

E420: hard, moderately fine-grained fabric; moderate, fairly well-sorted quartz <0.5mm; rare red or black iron oxides <0.5mm. Oxidised white to pale orange-pink, sometimes with a pale grey core.
E421: hard, fine-grained fabric; sparse, well-sorted quartz <0.125mm; rare red iron oxides and fine mica flakes. Oxidised pale salmon pink to buff orange.

These two fabrics also form part of the Salisbury type series.[411] Superficially, they are visually similar to those defined as south Dorset whitewares (see below), and attribution to fabric types has not always been clear-cut. Some minor distinguishing features, however, may be noted among the material from Sherborne. The putative Laverstock types contain quartz, which is generally coloured white, pink and red, whereas the quartz inclusions in the south Dorset wares are white, grey and pink-tinged, and the Laverstock-type glazes apear to be more mottled and uneven than the south Dorset types. The similarity in fabrics between south Wiltshire and south Dorset echoes that exhibited among the coarsewares, discussed above (fabric group 3).

Sherds in these two fabrics all appear to derive from glazed jugs, rounded or pear-shaped in profile, with rod handles and thumbed bases (fig 93: 15). Decoration consists of applied iron-rich slip, which appears dark brown under the green glaze, in the form of strips, blobs and pinched pellets (fig 95: 42). Stamped or impressed ring-and-dot motifs are also common (fig 95: 45). One piece is from a particularly well-made jug with an unusual tubular spout, an external green glaze and an internal yellow glaze (fig 93: 16).

One other unusual piece, previously attributed to a source in Bristol,[412] has been assigned here to fabric E420, since microscopic examination revealed no visual distinction between the piece and other samples of Laverstock-type fabrics. This is a thin rod handle or supporting strut representing a piece of stylised foliage, with traces of subsidiary 'branches' emerging from applied red slip 'pockets'. Although no direct parallel is known among the Laverstock kiln material, or from assemblages in nearby Salisbury, the interpretation as a strut would give some affinity with a small group of 'strut jugs' found in some of the Laverstock kilns.[413] The Sherborne material fits well within the known date range of the Laverstock kilns (early/mid-thirteenth to early fourteenth century).

Fabric group 5: fine glazed wares from south Dorset

This group comprises three pale-firing fabric types, and includes at least part of fabric group D as defined by Harrison and Williams.

Q412: hard, moderately fine-grained fabric; sparse to moderate, poorly sorted quartz <0.25mm; rare red iron oxides <0.5mm. Oxidised pale orange-pink.
Q420: hard, moderately fine-grained fabric; moderate, poorly sorted quartz <0.5mm. Oxidised white to very pale grey.
Q423: hard, relatively fine-grained fabric; moderate, poorly sorted quartz <1mm, giving a slightly 'speckled' appearance to the fabric; rare iron oxides <0.5mm. Oxidised white/off-white.

These three fabrics can be grouped together as 'south Dorset white wares'. These wares are assumed to represent a manufacturing tradition of the Poole Harbour area, where they are found, for example, at Poole and Christchurch,[414] and along the south coast of Dorset, for example at Sutton Poyntz near Weymouth,[415] Corfe Castle and Dorchester;[416] few examples have been noted as yet away from this southern coastal strip, although a small group of whitewares is described from Ilchester.[417]

The whitewares from Sherborne constitute a group of jugs with distinctive characteristics. These jugs are rounded or pear-shaped in profile, with sagging bases deeply thumbed. All are at least partially glazed, the glaze colouring ranging from orange-yellow to dark green. The glaze appears to vary from fairly thick and even on the upper part of vessels, to thin and more heavily mottled towards the base, but it lacks the marked mottling typical of the contemporary Laverstock material (see above). Decoration is generally in the form of applied or painted iron-rich slip strips and blobs or pellets, found on fabric Q423 (fig 95: 36, 37 and 39); fabric Q412 is decorated with applied or painted red slip (fig 95: 44). A deliberate intention to copy the decorative techniques of Rouen-style jugs, which were being imported into southern England from the early thirteenth century, might be disputed, but more conclusive is the almost direct imitation in some instances of North French flat rims, 'corrugated' necks and handles with applied 'ears' at the junction of handle and rim (see in particular fig 95: 38, 40 and 41). One large group of south Dorset ware decorated jugs (key group 3, see below) is in fact associated with an imported glazed jug of northern French type with applied 'ears' (fig 95: 46). The south Dorset ware jugs have a general currency in the second half of the thirteenth century.[418]

One very unusual piece merits a more detailed discussion (fig 93: 17; fig 98). This is part of a small figurine, consisting of the head and upper torso of a male figure, helmeted and carrying a shield in his left arm and what appear to be the remains of a lance under his right arm. On his back is a small dog with its front paws on the lance and back paws on an unknown support, perhaps a saddle cantle. The treatment of the eyes is particularly distinctive; these are formed from applied pads, giving a somewhat 'bug-eyed' appearance to the face. The overall glaze is mottled mid- to dark green.

Parallels for knight figurines may be found among the highly decorated 'knight jug' tradition of the thirteenth / early fourteenth century, as exemplified by the well-known examples from Scarborough.[419] The Sherborne example, however, appears to have been more of a free-standing element, and a more likely origin is from an aquamanile. Another possibility is that it formed part of a piece of elaborate roof furniture, such as an anthropomorphic finial,[420] although the figure seems too small for this. This piece is completely unparalleled among the published south Dorset assemblages, and appears quite out of place in the Sherborne assemblage. Such an unusual vessel might warrant an interpretation as an import were it not for the relative coarseness of the fabric, which can quite confidently be assigned to the group of south Dorset whitewares (fabric Q423). A date range corresponding to the decorated jugs – that is late thirteenth century – may be suggested.

Fabric group 6: Donyatt-type wares

Four fabrics have been defined as medieval products of the Donyatt kilns in Somerset; these fine sandy wares fall within fabric group D as defined by Harrison and Williams.

Q427: hard, moderately coarse-grained fabric; moderate, fairly well-sorted quartz <0.125mm; rare black iron oxides. Oxidised brick red, sometimes with unoxidised grey core.
Q428: very hard, moderately coarse-grained fabric; moderate, fairly well-sorted quartz <0.125mm; sparse black iron oxides. Oxidised orange-red with grey core.
Q429: hard, fine-grained, micaceous fabric; sparse iron oxides <0.125mm; rare quartz <0.25mm; sparse mica flakes <0.5mm. Oxidised pale orange/pink.
Q434: very hard, fine-grained fabric; moderate, well-sorted quartz <0.125mm; rare to sparse iron oxides. Oxidised pale pink-orange with pale blue-grey core.

Pottery production at Donyatt had certainly begun by the thirteenth century, although the scale of production at this time appears to have been fairly small, with a distribution area mainly to the south of the kilns.[421] Donyatt wares did not reach Ilchester, for example, before the fourteenth century, occurring there in the latest medieval levels;[422] fabric Q434 can be equated with the fourteenth-century Ilchester pottery type G23.

Vessel forms represented at Sherborne include a small number of jugs in fabrics Q427 and Q434 with pulled lips and slashed strap handles, frequently with applied, thumbed strips below the rim, and sometimes with painted white slip decoration (fig 93: 23). Multi-directional combing on the body is also employed. Most vessels are at least part-glazed with a fairly even, olive-green lead glaze. Fabric Q428 is always white-slipped below the glaze; sherds in this fabric are generally small and undiagnostic, but one money box (fig 97: 62) and one lobed cup or bowl were recognised. One sherd is rouletted. Vessels in fabric Q434 are handmade, possibly with wheelthrown rims, while fabrics Q427, Q428 and Q429 are always wheelthrown.

The distinction of Donyatt-type wares, particularly fabric Q434, from other fine oxidised sandy fabrics such as the Hermitage-type fabric Q404, is not always clear-cut among the Sherborne assemblage, but in general the former wares are of higher quality and are fired slightly

harder than the vessels in fabric Q404. The distinctive blue-grey colouring and the occasional fleck of fossil shell characteristic of the liassic clays employed in the Donyatt kilns can generally be observed in the unoxidised core of sherds in fabric Q426 in fabric group 2.

The dating of the Donyatt wares is slightly ambiguous. Certainly the examples of fabric Q434 and some of the vessel forms from Sherborne can be paralleled among the fourteenth-century assemblage from Ilchester and also among the fourteenth-century Donyatt kiln material.[423] It has been pointed out, however, that there is a marked absence of securely dated fifteenth-century examples of Donyatt wares, even within the production centre itself, and it is suggested that the fourteenth-century potting traditions continued virtually unchanged well into the fifteenth century and even into the sixteenth century.[424] Some of the Sherborne material can be just as easily paralleled within the sixteenth-century material from Donyatt, or even later. Money boxes, for example, are not known at Donyatt before the early eighteenth century,[425] although the Sherborne example comes from a context dated here to the fifteenth century (key group 5, see below).

Fabric group 7: other British wares from known sources

Three other known or putative sources are represented at Sherborne: Bristol, Minety in Wiltshire, and the Surrey/Hampshire production area.

E423: Minety ware: hard, moderately coarse-grained fabric containing moderate, well-sorted oolitic limestone <0.5mm. Unoxidised with patchy oxidised orange-brown surface(s).
E454: 'Tudor Green' ware: hard, fine-grained white to very pale pink fabric containing sparse quartz <0.125mm.[426]
E481: hard, moderately fine-grained fabric; moderate, poorly sorted quartz <1mm. Distinctive dark blue-grey core with creamy-buff surfaces. Ham Green, Bristol.[427]
E484: hard, moderately fine-grained fabric; sparse, fairly well-sorted quartz <0.125mm; sparse calcareous inclusions, probably crushed limestone <0.125mm; rare iron oxides. Oxidised pale pink/buff with a grey core. Redcliffe, Bristol.

The sherds of Ham Green ware (fabric E481) are all from handmade glazed jugs; no decoration was observed. One rod handle is present. This variant of the fabric, with its distinctive colouring, has also been identified at Ilchester.[428] Bristol is also represented by a few sherds of Redcliffe ware (fabric E484); this comprises sherds of jugs of uncertain form with a mottled green glaze. Ham Green ware is now dated from the early twelfth to late thirteenth century;[429] the context of the Sherborne examples, associated with glazed decorated jugs from the Poole Harbour area and Laverstock, would suggest a date range within the latter part of this sequence – that is the thirteenth century.

Probable sherds of Minety-type wares from north Wiltshire are present in small quantities. These include both glazed and unglazed sherds; the glazed sherds are frequently combed. Wasters from Minety itself have been dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth century,[430] but documentary evidence suggests that the industry began earlier, and this is supported by thirteenth-century pottery from Chepstow and Bristol that matches the Minety wares petrologically.[431] The sherds from Sherborne are of uncertain vessel form, and thus cannot be closely dated within the medieval period.

'Tudor Green' ware, a product of the late medieval Surrey whiteware industry, is widely distributed across southern England and beyond, and marks a consistent, if small, presence in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century levels on many sites.[432] All sherds from Sherborne appear to derive from small, thin-walled cups or bowls.

Fabric group 8: miscellaneous wares from unknown sources

The remainder of the medieval assemblage comprises a small group of fabrics for which no definite source has been located, although some probable source areas can be postulated.

C400: hard, moderately fine-grained fabric with a slightly powdery feel, containing moderate, fairly well-sorted quartz <0.5mm; sparse, poorly sorted limestone <1mm; rare iron oxides and mica. Unoxidised throughout.
C401: hard, moderately coarse-grained fabric; moderate, poorly sorted crushed limestone <1mm; sparse, poorly sorted quartz <0.5mm; rare mica and iron oxides. Unoxidised grey/brown.
Q405: soft, fine-grained, micaceous fabric with a slightly powdery feel; sparse, poorly sorted quartz <1mm; rare red iron oxides <0.5mm. Unoxidised dark grey, with patchily oxidised pale orange-buff surfaces.
Q407: hard, moderately coarse-grained matrix; moderate, fairly well-sorted quartz <1mm; rare calcareous inclusions <0.5mm, probably crushed limestone; rare mica flakes <1mm; sparse iron oxides. Oxidised red/orange with a grey core.
Q414: hard, moderately fine-grained fabric; moderate, fairly well-sorted quartz <0.25mm; sparse red iron oxides and calcareous inclusions (possibly shell) <0.25mm. Oxidised orange with grey core.

Q433: hard, fine-grained earthenware-type fabric; micaceous matrix with no inclusions visible at x20 magnification. Oxidised brick red.

Most of these fabric types occur in sufficiently small quantities to suggest that they each represent only one or two vessels. Three types have, however, been identified in slightly larger quantities. Fabric Q414 is represented by sherds of glazed jugs, decorated with red slip designs and occasionally stamped with ring-and-dot motifs. The largest group of these sherds is associated with glazed and decorated jugs of Laverstock and south Dorset type in a context dated to the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century (see below, key group 3), and it is possible that fabric Q414 also derives from one of these two areas.

Calcareous fabrics similar to fabric C401 occur in west Wiltshire and to the west in Somerset and Avon; a large group was defined at Bath, where a source in the Avon Valley was suggested.[433] No diagnostic sherds are present among the Sherborne material.

The fine earthenware-type fabric Q433, represented by sherds of thin-walled, thickly glazed vessels, has a similar date range to fabric Q428, but its source is again uncertain. That finewares of this type were travelling long distances at this period is evidenced by the appearance at Sherborne of sherds of 'Tudor Green' ware, and fabric Q433 may be a similarly exotic product. One near complete vessel in this fabric comes from a context dated to the fifteenth century (see below, key group 4): this is a squat, double-handled cup with a pedestal base, with a thick, even, dark olive glaze and elongated 'prunts' of iron-rich slip around the upper part of the body (fig 96: 54). Pedestal bases and rim sherds from similar vessels also occur. Another pedestal base, possibly from a similar vessel, came from a similarly dated group (key group 5), together with the rim from a small cup in the same fabric (fig 97: 63–64).

Fabric Q405 is noticeably micaceous, and can be compared to wares that are found across west Wiltshire, and which have been linked to the putative production centre at Crockerton near Warminster in Wiltshire, for which there are documentary references.[434] The range of fabrics within this tradition is quite wide, but they are frequently visibly micaceous, and contain varying quantities and combinations of prominent quartz grains, flint/chert, chalk and greensand. Fabric C400 may also fall within this tradition. At Warminster, possible Crockerton products span the period from the eleventh century right through the medieval period.[435]

Fabric Q407, with its very distinctive range of inclusions, possibly derives from an area of igneous geology, the most likely being the south-west peninsula.

Fabric group 9: imported wares

Imports within the medieval assemblage were extremely rare, comprising six fabrics, five of which are represented by single sherds. Two sherds of imported North Italian maiolica are discussed with the post-medieval assemblage.

E515: Normandy gritty ware: hard, fine-grained fabric with sparse angular quartz grains <1mm. Wheelthrown; oxidised creamy-buff with pale grey core and dark grey surfaces.
E520: Saintonge monochrome ware: hard, very fine-grained white fabric with no inclusions visible at x20 magnification. Wheelthrown, with a thin, even apple-green glaze.
E526: North French green-glazed ware: hard, fine-grained white fabric; rare quartz grains <0.25mm. Mottled mid- to dark green glaze.
E530: Spanish yellow-glazed ware: very hard, dense, fine-grained pale brownish-pink fabric; no inclusions visible at x20 magnification. Wheelthrown; overall clear glaze over white slip.
E540: Italian fine red earthenware: hard, fine-grained buff-orange fabric, slightly micaceous; rare quartz grains <0.25mm; sparse white, non-calcareous inclusions <0.25mm. Wheelthrown; traces of overall clear glaze over slip decoration.
E735: Spanish lustreware: hard, fine-grained pale pink-buff fabric; no inclusions visible at x20 magnification. Wheelthrown; lustre and blue decoration.

The French wares are the most numerous, and three fabrics were identified: Saintonge ware, North French green-glazed ware and Normandy gritty ware. The North French sherds (E526) include a jug spout with incised decoration (fig 95: 47) and the top of a solid rod handle (fig 95: 46) with characteristic applied 'ears' at the junction with the body wall and stabbed upper surface. The overall even glaze is mottled mid- to dark green. Such vessels are likely to have come from the same source area as the highly decorated Rouen-type wares defined by K J Barton,[436] and are commonly found at south-coast ports (eg Exeter and Southampton) from the early thirteenth century, remaining in use perhaps as late as the early fourteenth century.[437] This example was associated with sherds of south Dorset decorated jugs, in a context dated to the later thirteenth century (key group 3, see below). One other sherd has applied scale decoration in a vertical stripe; a similar decorated sherd was found during excavations at Sherborne Old Castle in 1998–9, in a sealed group probably deposited *c* 1200–30.[438]

The sherds of Saintonge monochrome ware (E520) include three that probably derive from a single vessel, a jug decorated with applied 'scales'; the glaze is thick and mid- to dark green on the outside, with a thinner clear glaze mottled with green on the inside. The glaze and decoration is unusual, but not unknown, on Saintonge vessels. Two other small sherds are green-glazed and yellow-glazed respectively. Saintonge monochrome jugs are known in this country from the mid-thirteenth century, for example at Exeter.[439]

Normandy gritty ware (E515), represented here by a sherd from the shoulder of a thin-walled vessel, probably a jar or cooking pot, falls within a long-standing tradition, the origins and development of which are still poorly understood. It is clear that the industry began at least as early as the later tenth century, and most examples of Normandy gritty ware in southern England are dated to the twelfth to early thirteenth century.[440] It may be related to the later Normandy stoneware tradition, in which case a similar source area, on the Cotentin peninsula, might be expected, although a wider geographical extent for the industry has been demonstrated by the discovery of a tenth-century kiln near St-Malo. The example from Sherborne has dark grey unoxidised surfaces, and thus may fall within the subdivision defined as reduced Normandy gritty ware, which often occurs in smaller vessel forms than the more common large pitchers characteristic of the main ware type; parallels may be found among the Southampton assemblages.[441]

The single Italian sherd (E540), with a diagonal blue-green stripe outlined in dark blue, is probably from an albarello; there are traces of an overall external glaze. Lead-glazed wares from Pisa and other parts of north Italy, found in Southampton, have been briefly discussed by Thomson and Brown;[442] they occur in fifteenth-century contexts and are considered to be incidental to the main trade in Italian finewares.

One small body sherd, again probably from an albarello, is probably a Spanish product (E530). This sherd has an overall yellow glaze over a white slip. Spanish yellow-glazed wares are known from Southampton from the fifteenth century,[443] but similar vessels continued to be produced well into the post-medieval period, and may be as late as the seventeenth century. The example from Sherborne is well made and finished, and might therefore represent a slightly later product of the industry.

Finally, one small sherd comes from a Spanish lustreware bowl (E735), with internal decoration of lustre and blue. Spanish lustrewares have been well summarised in the literature;[444] this example is too small to be assigned to a specific type, but a general identification as Valencian lustreware may be proposed, with a potential date range of late fourteenth to fifteenth century.

Taken together, the medieval imported wares represent a very small proportion of the total assemblage, less than 1 per cent (see Table 1). While this figure might be considered unexpectedly low given the nature of the site, a comparison with other 'high status' sites in Dorset and the surrounding region reveals that this dearth of imports is not at all unusual. Imports were absent from the castles of Stoke sub Hamdon, and very scarce at both Wareham Castle and Corfe Castle,[445] despite the proximity of the latter two sites to the port of Poole, where a relatively large assemblage of imported wares has been found.[446] Examination of the distribution of imported wares across southern England shows that the presence of imports may have more to do with site location rather than any perceived status. The proportion of imports found outside the major ports (eg Plymouth, Exeter and Southampton) is particularly low,[447] although within these ports and in the immediate environs imports are found on both 'rich' and 'poor' sites. John Allan has suggested that this pattern may reflect the absence of distribution networks through which these goods could travel, rather than any prohibitive cost.[448] Outside the ports and further inland, isolated finds of imported wares have so far been generally, but not exclusively, associated with 'higher status' sites; in Dorset, for example, imports have been found at other castle sites such as Wareham Castle[449] and Corfe Castle, although in very small quantities, in urban centres such as Dorchester,[450] and from manorial sites such as Sutton Poyntz, near Weymouth.[451]

Post-medieval pottery

The pitfalls involved in the definition of 'post-medieval' pottery at Sherborne have been discussed above. Bearing in mind the possibility that some of the Donyatt-type wares (fabrics Q427, Q429 and Q434) span the medieval to post-medieval transition period, a limited range of early post-medieval (sixteenth- to late eighteenth-century) fabric types has been defined.

The vast majority of this assemblage comprises sherds in glazed earthenwares, of which Donyatt, perhaps not surprisingly, is the most commonly represented source. The Donyatt-type wares include both plain (E631), slip-decorated and sgraffito wares (E685, E686). The open forms (plates, dishes and bowls) are most frequently decorated (fig 93: 27–28), while the jugs are almost exclusively plain. The date range of the forms present falls almost exclusively within the years 1600–50, and many are likely to relate to the Civil War occupation of the castle.

The Donyatt-type wares are supplemented by glazed red earthenwares of other types (E600), and it is likely that several different sources are represented here. Possibilities are the kilns at Wanstrow in north Somerset, which was producing wares very similar to Donyatt, the south Somerset centres at Nether Stowey and Wrangway, and the kilns at Crockerton, Wiltshire.[452] Vessel forms recognised include a small ointment pot, glazed inside and out (fig 93: 26), and a rounded, brown-glazed jug with stamped fleur-de-lis motifs, probably copying a German stoneware form (fig 93: 25). The distinctive pale-firing earthenwares of the Verwood industry on the Dorset/Hampshire border are almost completely absent at Sherborne, and the sherds that were recognised are almost all in the brown-glazed variant of the eighteenth century (E640, E641).

Tin-glazed wares probably came from a variety of English sources, the closest being Bristol (E730). There are also two sherds of imported North Italian maiolica with polychrome decoration, probably from Montelupo (E731). Other imports are rare, and are limited to a small number of sherds of German stoneware, probably from Cologne or Frechen (E780), although the possibility that the Italian redware albarello is of early post-medieval date has been mentioned (fabric group 9, above). English stonewares are also present (E790).

The ceramic sequence

The construction of a ceramic sequence for Sherborne relies heavily on the postulated stratigraphic relationships, and the fullest sequence can be found within the areas excavated around the keep, where a number of large groups of pottery were recovered from floor levels and features such as latrine pits. Smaller groups derived from the north, north-east and south-west gates, and the sequences represented are correspondingly more limited. The aim of this section is to examine the development of the ceramic sequence in order to define changes in the sources of supply to the castle throughout the medieval and early post-medieval period, and to provide at least some broad dating for the various phases of activity on the site.

Post-depositional processes and the problem of residuality

Various factors must be taken into account here that might have affected the deposition of pottery on the site, and its subsequent survival, in particular the effect of the redeposition of sherds in contexts that might post-date their original deposition by some considerable period. This tends to be particularly noticeable on a site where occupation has been long-lived, such as Sherborne, and where earlier contexts have been continually reworked. At Sherborne this is exemplified by the almost complete absence of contexts that can be securely dated by ceramics to the period of the castle's construction and earliest use in the twelfth century, although identifiable twelfth-century pottery, in the form of tripod pitcher sherds, is found throughout the sequence. Redeposited sherds may be visible within a particular ceramic horizon by virtue of their relatively small size and abraded appearance, but the identification of redeposited material can be hampered by the inherent conservatism of the bulk of the medieval assemblage, in which certain utilitarian vessel forms survived over several centuries virtually unchanged.

Another problem is exemplified by the large groups of pottery from the garderobe pits. While these groups appear to be internally consistent and contemporary, it is likely that they represent only the very latest period of use, because of the repeated emptying of the pits. On the whole, however, groups from features such as these are more useful in the definition of ceramic trends than more slowly accumulated deposits such as floor levels or yard surfaces where the period of accumulation can rarely be defined.

Bearing these points in mind, it has proved possible to discern broad ceramic trends over time by examining the changing proportions of various fabric types, or groups of fabric types, through the medieval and early post-medieval periods. The next section will discuss the ceramic sequence in broad terms, using key groups of pottery, selected for their quality and internal consistency, to illustrate particular ceramic phases.

Pre-castle activity

A small quantity of prehistoric and Romano-British pottery was recovered from medieval contexts. This material cannot be related to any known activity on the site. Saxon pottery, comprising a handful of sherds in shelly and fine organic-tempered fabrics, also derived from medieval contexts, and in this case there are possible contemporary features in the form of a series of graves cut by a medieval ditch, which have been radiocarbon-dated to *c* AD 650–780.

A further somewhat ambiguous indication of pre-Conquest activity is provided by the presence of a small number of sherds in the very coarse, flint-tempered fabric Q430, and fabric C404. These fabrics are paralleled at Ilchester in contexts spanning the Conquest period (eleventh/twelfth century); their relative scarcity at

Sherborne might suggest that their period of use pre-dates the construction of the castle. Apart from a few scattered sherds in medieval contexts, the main occurrence of fabric Q430 is in context 59/62, at the base of the stratigraphic sequence excavated in 1972, where it is unassociated with other medieval material. On the basis of recent petrological analysis, these wares are among the earliest examples from Sherborne of the products of the Blackdown Hills industry in Somerset.[453]

Twelfth to early thirteenth century

As stated above, it has proved almost impossible to isolate, on the basis of ceramic evidence, contexts relating to the construction and earliest use of the castle in the twelfth century. Material that might be expected to represent such a twelfth-century horizon would include the glazed tripod pitchers in fabrics Q402, Q403 and the south Wiltshire / east Dorset coarseware E422b, and cooking pots and other kitchen wares in the coarse flint-/chert-tempered fabrics Q400 and Q401. Such material occurs in some quantity throughout the medieval sequence, but in nearly every case is associated with thirteenth-century or later types. In only one context, defined here as key group 1, did potential twelfth-century types appear to be *in situ* and unassociated with later material.

Key group 1: Structure YC (latrine pit within a demolished mid-twelfth century building to the south of the west courtyard) (fig 94: 29–31)

This group comprises a quantity of coarseware sherds, the majority in the flint-tempered fabrics Q400 and Q402, deriving from at least three cooking pots, one of which is decorated with vertical applied thumbed strips. The finer fabric Q403 is also present, and includes the only examples of glazed sherds, which are otherwise conspicuous by their absence. Some of these glazed sherds also have combed decoration, and appear to derive from tripod pitchers.[454] A single glazed sherd of the south Wiltshire / east Dorset coarseware E422b, also possibly deriving from a tripod pitcher, represents the only non-local fabric type.

The potential date range of this group is mid-twelfth to mid-thirteenth century, on the basis of comparisons with Ilchester, where tripod pitchers of this type are dated to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, although it is acknowledged that the dating of these vessels in Somerset is difficult.[455] The local coarseware fabrics in general have a suggested production span of later twelfth to thirteenth century,[456] but the predominance of the coarser types Q400 and Q402 might indicate a date within the earlier part of this range, that is mid- to late twelfth century. The majority of the group is made up of flint-tempered wares from the Blackdown Hills industry.

Key Group 2: Feature 6, (latrine pit) (twelfth to early thirteenth century) (fig 94: 32–35)

This group is not as securely stratified as key group 1, and intrusive material is apparent in the form of sherds of later medieval and post-medieval earthenware and stoneware from the top of the feature. Most of the sherds from this feature, however, appear to comprise a coherent group of twelfth- to early thirteenth-century vessels. The fabric types represented are almost exclusively flint-tempered wares from the Blackdown Hills (Q400–403), and here, in contrast to key group 1, the finer element represented by Q403 is dominant. Glazed tripod pitchers with combed and applied decoration occur in fabric Q402 and, less commonly, in fabric Q403. The most common vessel forms are cooking pots with 'dished' rims (fig 94: 32), and bowls with similar rims are also present in fabrics Q401 and Q403 (fig 94: 33). There are two smaller, handled bowls, one of which (fig 94: 34) has already been published.[457] Again, glaze is infrequent and appears to be restricted to the tripod pitcher forms. Other wares are represented by a small number of sherds of the south Wiltshire / east Dorset coarseware E422b, including an elaborately decorated handle from a glazed tripod pitcher (fig 94: 35). A single tiny sherd of the Laverstock fine glazed ware E420 cannot be regarded as securely stratified in this context.

A date range similar to, or perhaps slightly later than, key group 1 is suggested (later twelfth to early thirteenth century). The predominance of fabric Q403 might indicate a slightly later date than the vessels of key group 1, while the absence of later thirteenth-century decorated jug forms would provide a *terminus ante quem* for the group.

Thirteenth to early fourteenth century

A large proportion of the medieval assemblage examined would appear to fit into a thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century date range, but firm dating within this range is difficult since the vast bulk of the assemblage consists of utilitarian coarsewares. The presence of glazed and decorated jugs has been taken as an indication of a date within the second half of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth century. One context group with a high proportion of these wares is defined as key group 3.

Key Group 3: Context 39 (SH 74), destruction layer (mid-thirteenth to early fourteenth century) (fig 95: 36–47)

This context is notable for its high proportion of fine glazed wares, including a range of decorated glazed jugs of south Dorset and Laverstock type. Examples in at least one of the whiteware fabrics of Poole Harbour type (Q423) are decorated with zones of red slip and applied strips and pellets of white clay, in imitation of North French Rouen-style jugs (fig 95: 43), and two jug handles have paired thumb impressions at the junction of handle and rim, in imitation of the characteristic applied 'ears' of the French examples (fig 95: 38 and 40). Two sherds from North French monochrome jugs (one handle and one spout), showing the inspiration for these imitations, are also present (fig 95: 46–47). Other jugs show a variety of applied slip and clay motifs, ring-and-dot stamps and bands of incising or combing (fig 95: 36–37, 39, 41–42 and 44–45). There is also a possible aquamanile foot in south Wiltshire / east Dorset coarseware (E422c).

Such jugs are well paralleled in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century contexts at Poole,[458] where they are associated with Saintonge ware dated *c* 1280–1330. A similar association between Poole Harbour-type whitewares and late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century Saintonge polychrome has recently been observed at Sutton Poyntz near Weymouth.[459] The Laverstock-type jugs would also fit with this chronological range.

Associated with these glazed jugs was a large quantity of coarsewares, the bulk of which comprises sherds in flint-tempered fabric Q403, mostly in cooking pot or bowl forms with 'dished' rims. The flint-tempered industry of the Blackdown Hills was apparently still in strong production at this period.

Fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

The definition of contexts of fourteenth-century date proved extremely difficult. This period is marked at Ilchester by the appearance of Donyatt wares, and these wares have been recognised at Sherborne but, as will be discussed below, the extreme conservatism of the Donyatt industry in the late medieval period and early post-medieval period means that fourteenth-century styles continued in use well beyond that date. In fact, the later medieval contexts at Sherborne seem to be characterised rather by developed Hermitage-type wares (fabrics Q404 and Q426), which display a similar absence of innovation; two context groups were defined as key groups 4 and 5, in which these later Hermitage-type wares are associated with finer glazed wares of early post-medieval type. By this stage the flint-tempered wares from the Blackdown Hills show a steep decline, and those recovered from contexts of this and later phases are likely to be largely residual.

Key group 4: Structures H and J, (latrine pits) (late fourteenth / fifteenth century) (fig 96: 48–54)

This is a late medieval group of vessels, all in a very similar fabric: the west Dorset sandy ware Q404. This group comprises jars or cooking pots with everted, and thickened or internally bevelled, rims (fig 96: 50), one jar with a pronounced lid-seating, almost a bifid rim (fig 96: 51), deep bowls with sharply everted or flanged rims (fig 96: 49), flaring bowls or pans with lid-seated rims (fig 96: 48), rounded jugs with pulled lips (fig 96: 53) and flat perforated lids with a central knop (fig 96: 52). The vessels appear to be largely handmade with wheelthrown rims added. A thin and patchy splash glaze, light olive-green in colour, is present on the lid-seated jar only, and the group is noticeable for its plainness; decoration is confined to shallow rilling on the body of the glazed jar, and on the rim of one of the jugs.

This group is not easy to date closely due to its plain and utilitarian nature, but quite clearly it post-dates the known thirteenth-century kiln site at Hermitage. A date range in the fourteenth or fifteenth century seems likely, particularly given the association of a double-handled cup, with thick olive glaze and applied iron-rich slip decoration (fig 96: 54). This is a type that is generally ascribed to the early post-medieval period, but examples of similar cups are known within the Surrey whiteware industry, for example, from as early as *c* 1380.[460] Bifid-rimmed vessels are also found within the latter industry from the early fifteenth century.

Key group 5: Structure U, Primary Fill B (late fourteenth / fifteenth century) (fig 97: 55–64)

Nine reconstructable vessels were produced from Primary Fill B, including six vessels in the west Dorset sandy wares Q404 and Q426: four thumbed, sagging bases of varying sizes, from jugs or large pitchers (fig 97: 55–57), one oval dish with a flanged rim, partially glazed internally (fig 97: 58), and one perforated lid with a central knop. These vessels are accompanied by a small, basket-handled salt or condiment dish in south Wiltshire / east Dorset coarseware E422b, from which a second compartment has broken away (fig 97: 61), the base of a small money box in the Donyatt fabric Q428 (fig 97: 62), a small pedestal base, probably from a cup of similar type to figure 97: 54 (see

key group 4 above) in an olive-glazed red earthenware (fig 97: 63), and the rim of a small cup or bowl in a similar fabric (fig 97: 64).

Again, the plain jugs in fabrics Q404 and Q426 are not easily dated, but a date range in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century seems likely, similar to that proposed for the latrine pits H and J, given the presence of the less common types.

Sixteenth to eighteenth centuries

As might be expected, the bulk of the post-medieval pottery examined dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sixteenth-century pottery groups are not easily characterised, but are likely to be dominated by Donyatt wares, including later examples of the 'medieval' fabrics Q427 and Q434; the difficulties of dating these fabrics are discussed above (see fabric group 6, above). More distinctive post-medieval slip-decorated Donyatt wares (fig 93: 27–28) fall within the date range 1600–50 and, given the temporary abandonment of the castle in the early part of the seventeenth century, most are likely to relate to the Civil War occupation. Some of the German stonewares might be attributed to this period along with British copies of the German stoneware forms, such as an example in a pale-firing, brown-glazed fabric from an unknown source (Q603), decorated with stamped fleurs-de-lis (fig 93: 25). The North Italian tin-glazed sherds (fabric E731) could also fall within this early seventeenth-century date range, although they could just as well be sixteenth century and, given the ambiguity over the dating of the 'medieval' Spanish and Italian wares (see fabric group 9, above), it is tempting to include these also.

Discussion

The broad ceramic trends identifiable at Sherborne may be summarised as follows:

- The earliest contexts (twelfth century) are characterised by the flint-tempered coarsewares originating in the Blackdown Hills of Somerset, becoming slightly finer into the early thirteenth century; these were supplemented by coarsewares, largely tripod pitcher forms, from south Wiltshire or south Dorset.
- Finer glazed and decorated jugs were introduced from the mid-thirteenth century; the major sources were south Dorset and the Laverstock area around Salisbury, with a small proportion from Bristol. Blackdown Hills flint-tempered wares were still current, and sandy wares of west Dorset type made their first appearance.
- Glazed Donyatt wares appeared in small quantities some time in the fourteenth century, and these continued alongside the more common west Dorset sandy wares well into the fifteenth century, with a corresponding marked decline in the Blackdown Hills flint-tempered wares. In the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century fine, glazed wares of earthenware type appeared in small quantities. Donyatt wares probably continued throughout the sixteenth century.
- Developed Donyatt wares of post-medieval type appeared from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and were later supplemented by other earthenwares, some probably from Wanstrow.

In general terms, this outline echoes the sequence observed at Ilchester. Given the proximity of the two sites this is not surprising, but there are certain points where the Sherborne assemblage appears to differ. Flint-tempered coarsewares from the Blackdown Hills dominate the early part of the medieval sequence at Sherborne, and provide a major component until probably the end of the thirteenth century. Sandy wares of Hermitage type were beginning to compete with these wares at Sherborne from fairly early on in the thirteenth century, and form a smaller but constant proportion of the assemblage throughout that century. As stated above, the definition of fourteenth-century ceramic groups has proved difficult, and the picture is further complicated by the appearance sometime in the fourteenth century of Donyatt wares, which are visually very similar to the west Dorset sandy wares. Nevertheless, the replacement at Sherborne of the flint-tempered wares by sandy wares from Hermitage and, to a lesser extent, from Donyatt in the fourteenth century can be accepted.

West Dorset sandy wares have not been recognised as such at Ilchester, although a group defined as probable local coarsewares of thirteenth- to fourteenth-century date[461] would seem to be generally comparable to the Sherborne fabric type Q404. It has been suggested that several centres across west Dorset and south Somerset produced such wares,[462] and it could be that Ilchester was one such centre, with the potters known from later medieval documentary sources.[463] Sherborne is located more or less midway between Ilchester and Hermitage, and could have been receiving these wares from one or more sources.

The sources for the glazed tableware element of the assemblage are, as might be expected, more wide-ranging. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, glazed and decorated tripod pitchers reached the site probably from the same Ilchester area sources as the coarsewares; these vessels occur in the same fabrics as the cooking pots and

other kitchen wares. A smaller proportion in coarse sandy fabrics may have come either from the Laverstock area or from south Dorset, although other possible sources should not be ruled out. A small number of cooking pots and bowls in similar fabrics came from the same source or sources, probably travelling incidentally with the glazed wares. Contacts with both these potential sources continued in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth century, when glazed and decorated jugs of both Laverstock and south Dorset type are found at Sherborne. It could also be via Poole Harbour that the small quantity of imports reached Sherborne, while the Bristol area provided a small proportion of glazed jugs in the thirteenth century.

The Donyatt production centre seems to have made little impact at Sherborne before the post-medieval period, perhaps due to competition from Hermitage. From the seventeenth century, however, and possibly earlier, glazed earthenwares of Donyatt type, including the characteristic slipwares, dominate the Sherborne assemblage, with a smaller component from other sources, among which was probably Wanstrow in north Somerset. It is interesting to note the almost complete absence of earthenwares of Verwood type from east Dorset among the post-medieval assemblage, particularly given the demonstrably well-established contact in the medieval period, but this is likely to be due to chronological rather than economic factors: the earliest excavated kiln within the Verwood complex is the late seventeenth-century kiln at Horton,[464] which was thus not operating until after the post-Civil War abandonment of the castle.

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Abbreviations

Proc DNHAS	*Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*
Proc SANHS	*Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*

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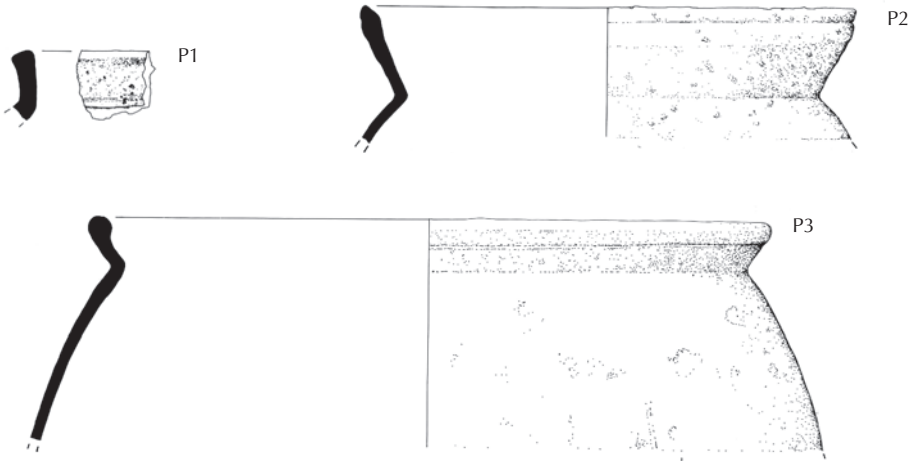


Fig 92 Vessels 1 to 14 (scale 1:4)

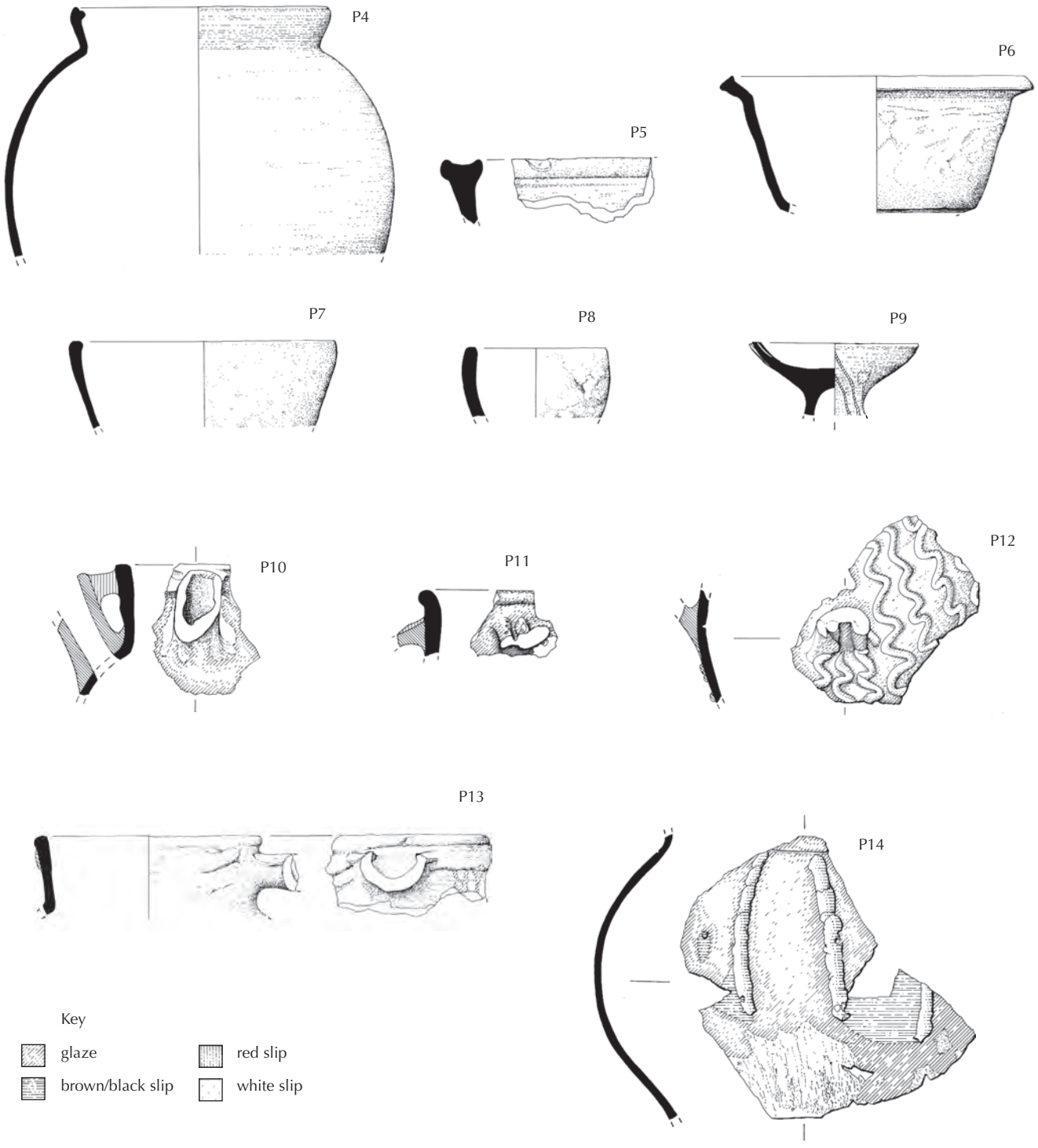
1 Cooking pot, fabric C404; handmade. SH 75, context 2.

2 Cooking pot, fabric Q400 (Blackdown Hills); handmade, unstratified.

3 Cooking pot with slightly dished rim, fabric Q403 (Blackdown Hills); handmade. SH 71, feature 39.

4 Cooking pot, fabric Q404 (West Dorset); handmade with wheelthrown rim. SH 71, context 35.

5 Bowl with hammerhead rim, fabric E422b (south Wiltshire / east



Dorset); handmade. SH 70, find no 112.

6 Deep flaring bowl with everted rim, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); partially glazed internally, handmade. SH 71, context 35/36.

7 Lamp/bowl, fabric Q403 (Blackdown Hills). SH 73, feature 5.

8 Lamp, sooted inside, fabric Q403 (Blackdown Hills). SH 73, feature 11.

9 Lid or lamp, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); glazed internally, wheelthrown, suggestion of pulled lip. SH 74, context 36/39.

10 Tripod pitcher rim with tubular spout, fabric Q402 (Blackdown Hills); handmade, partially glazed externally. SH 79, context 3.

11 Tripod pitcher rim with strap handle, fabric Q402 (Blackdown Hills); rouletting on rim and edges of handle; thumbed applied strip down centre of handle; glazed externally, handmade. SH 70, context 9c.

12 Tripod pitcher with base of strap handle, fabric E422b (south Wiltshire / east Dorset); applied curvilinear strips, glazed externally, handmade. SH 75, context 10.

13 Tripod pitcher rim with strap handle, fabric Q403 (Blackdown Hills); applied strip below rim, splash glaze, handmade. SH 73, unstratified.

14 Jug/pitcher, fabric E422b (south Wiltshire / east Dorset); partially glazed over applied vertical iron-rich slip strips; handmade. SH 74, context 49a/b.

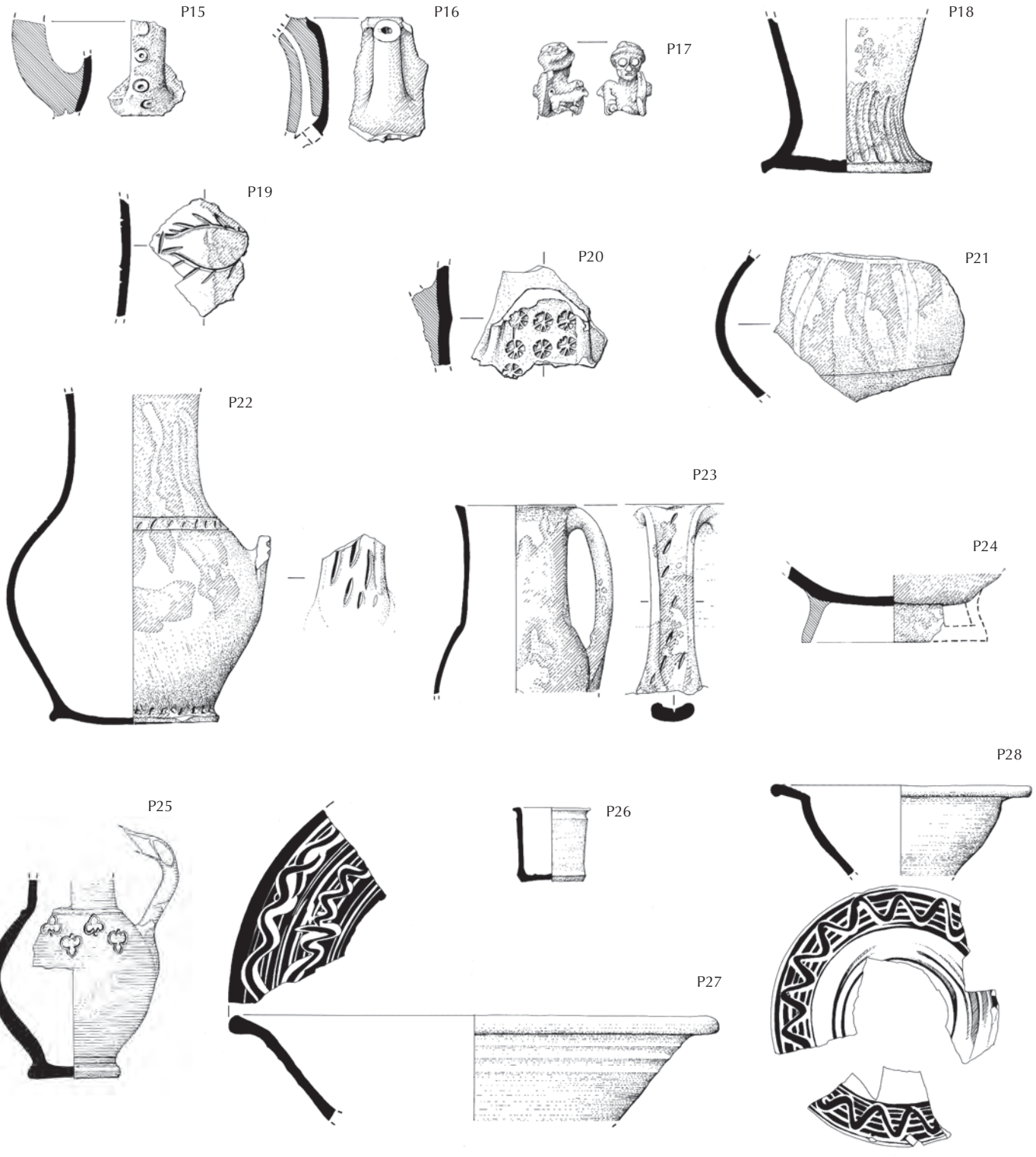


Fig 93 Vessels 15 to 28 (scale 1:4)

15 Rod handle from decorated jug, fabric E420 (Laverstock); stamped ring-and-dot motifs, handmade, partially glazed. SH 70, context 9.

16 Jug spout, fabric E420 (Laverstock); external green glaze, internal yellow glaze, handmade, context 58.

17 Figure of knight from ?aquamanile, fabric Q423 (south Dorset). G3, context 3.

18 Jug base, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); partially glazed, handmade. SH 78, context 49.

19 Body sherd from jug, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); incised fish motif, splash glaze, handmade. SH 73, feature 10.

20 Jug handle, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); stamped rosettes. Unstratified.

21 Body sherds from rounded jug, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); white painted decoration, splash glaze, handmade. SH 72, feature 59.
22 Rounded jug with strap handle, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); horizontal band of incised decoration around shoulder, slashing on handle; partially glazed externally. SH 73, structure W, context c.
23 Slim rounded jug with no pouring lip, strap handle, fabric Q427 (Donyatt); partially glazed externally, wheelthrown. SH 73, structure W.
24 Base of chafing dish, fabric Q426 (west Dorset); footring base with edge of one rectangular vent; partially glazed externally, handmade. SH 79, context 9.
25 Rounded jug with strap handle, fabric E600; stamped fleurs-de-lis around shoulder; thick external dark brown glaze, wheelthrown. SH 78, context 63.
26 Ointment pot, fabric E600; glazed, wheelthrown. SH 72, context 14/15.
27 Slipware bowl, fabric E685 (Donyatt); slipped decoration. Unstratified.
28 Slipware bowl, fabric E685 (Donyatt); slipped decoration, wheelthrown. SH 72, structure T.

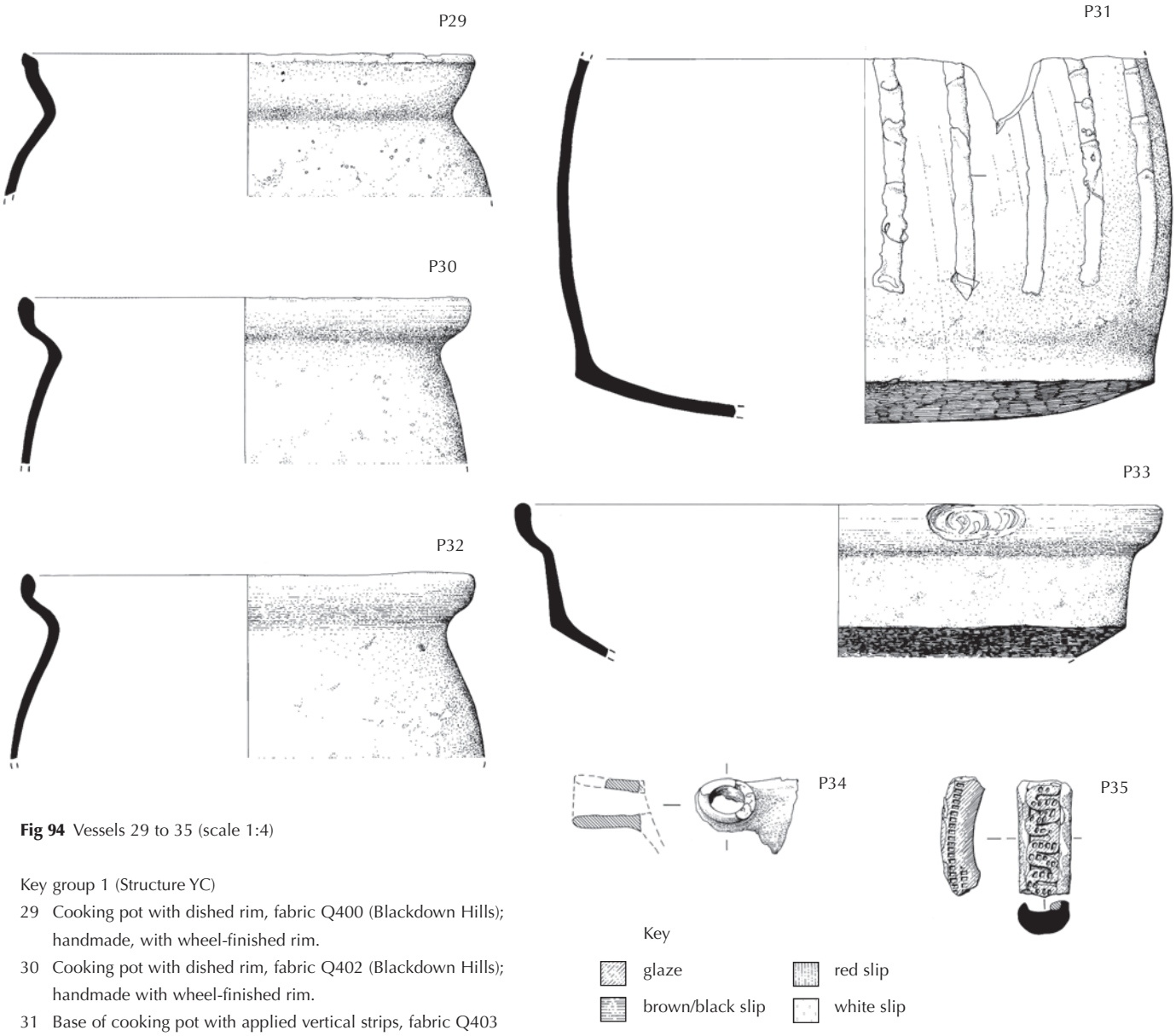


Fig 94 Vessels 29 to 35 (scale 1:4)

Key group 1 (Structure YC)
29 Cooking pot with dished rim, fabric Q400 (Blackdown Hills); handmade, with wheel-finished rim.
30 Cooking pot with dished rim, fabric Q402 (Blackdown Hills); handmade with wheel-finished rim.
31 Base of cooking pot with applied vertical strips, fabric Q403 (Blackdown Hills); handmade.

Key group 2 (Feature 6)
32 Cooking pot with dished rim, fabric Q403 (Blackdown Hills); handmade with wheel-finished rim.
33 Bowl with dished rim, fabric Q403 (Blackdown Hills); handmade with wheel-finished rim, spalling on rim.
34 Handled bowl, fabric Q403 (Blackdown Hills); tubular handle extending horizontally from rim, handmade.
35 Tripod pitcher handle, fabric E422b (south Wiltshire / east Dorset); rouletted down edges and applied curvilinear strip down centre; overall glaze.

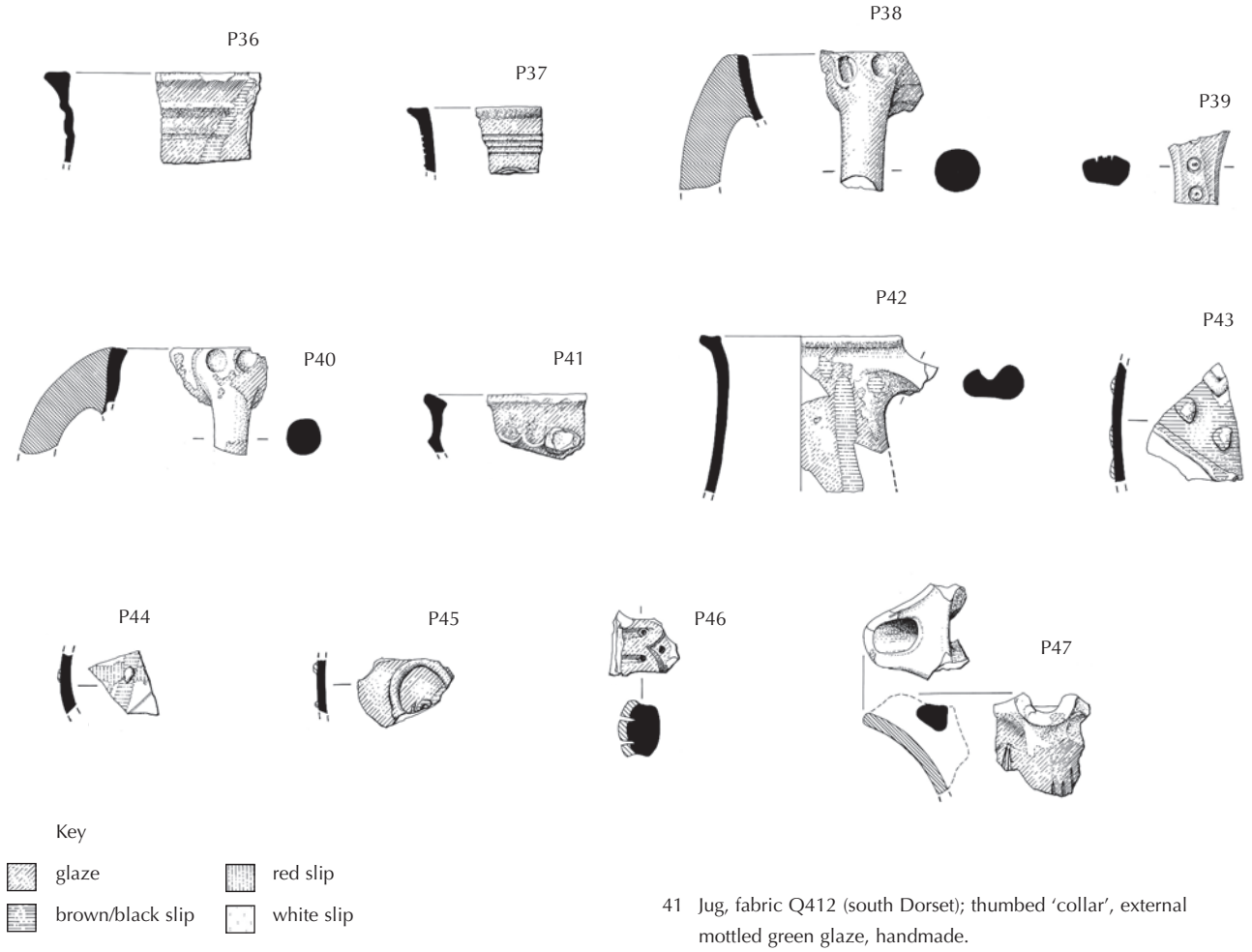


Fig 95 Vessels 36 to 47 (scale 1:4)

Key group 3 (Context 39)

36 Jug, fabric Q423 (south Dorset); iron-rich slip decoration, external clear glaze with green mottles, wheelthrown.

37 Jug, fabric Q423 (south Dorset); incised/combed decoration, external green glaze, wheelthrown.

38 Jug, fabric Q423 (south Dorset); impressed 'ears' at junction of rim and handle; external green glaze, ?wheelthrown.

39 Jug, fabric Q423 (south Dorset); stamped ring-and-dot motifs, glazed.

40 Jug, fabric Q423 (south Dorset); impressed 'ears' at junction of rim and handle; external green glaze, ?wheelthrown.

41 Jug, fabric Q412 (south Dorset); thumbed 'collar', external mottled green glaze, handmade.

42 Jug, fabric E420 (Laverstock); partial external glaze over iron-rich slip strips; possibly overfired, handmade.

43 Jug, fabric Q423 (south Dorset); zone of applied red slip with applied white clay strips and pellets; clear external glaze, handmade.

44 Jug, fabric Q412 (?south Dorset); red and iron-rich slip strips and applied clay pellet; external clear glaze with green mottles, wheelthrown.

45 Jug, fabric E420 (Laverstock); applied curvilinear strip and iron-rich slip pellet, stamped with ring-and-dot motif, external green glaze, ?handmade.

46 Jug, fabric E526 (North French monochrome); applied 'ears' at junction of handle and rim, stabbed, green glaze, handmade.

47 Jug, fabric E526 (North French monochrome); incised decoration, green glaze, handmade.

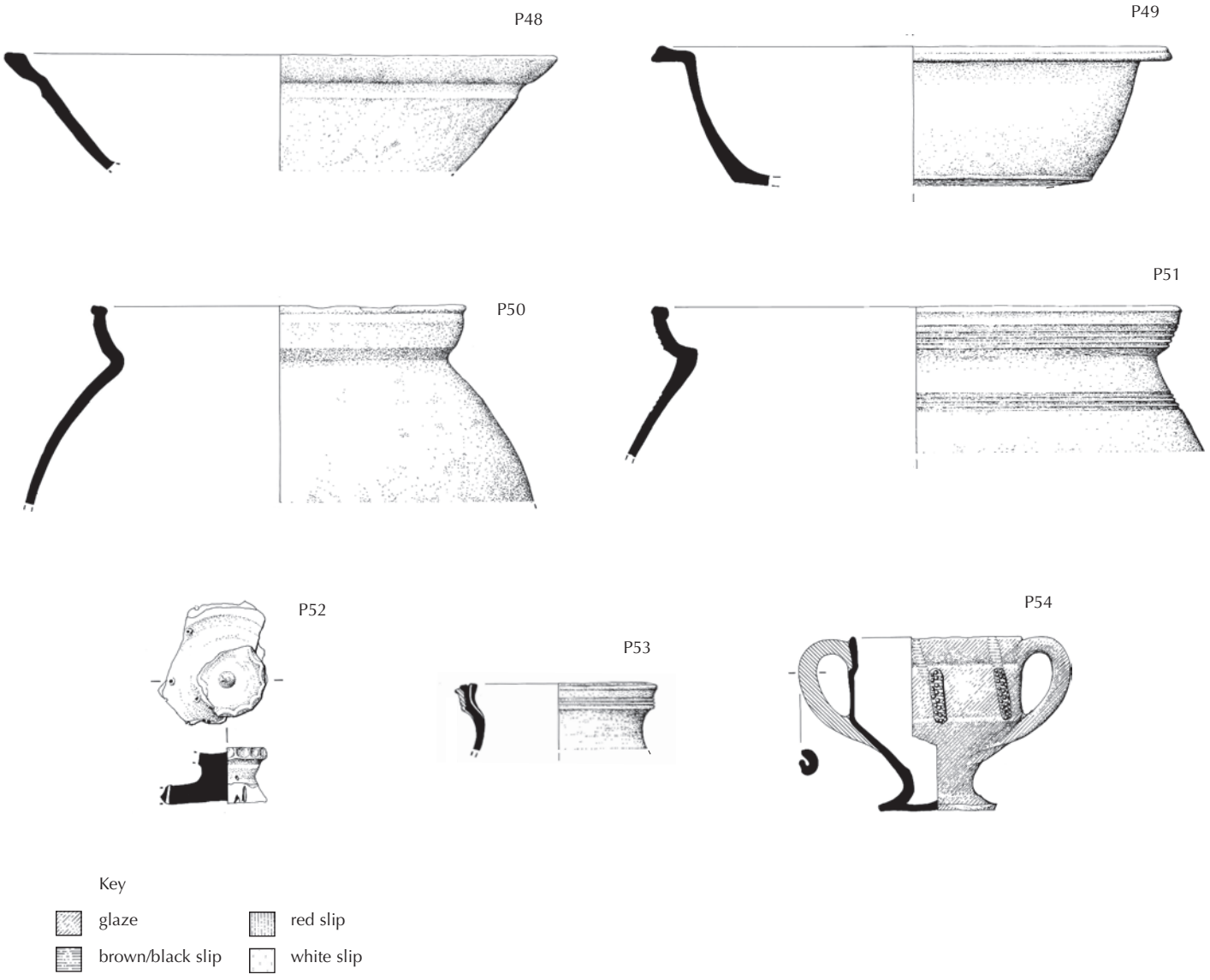


Fig 96 Vessels 48 to 54 (scale 1:4)

Key group 4 (Structures H/J)

48 Deep pan with internally bevelled rim, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); handmade.

49 Deep bowl with sharply everted rim, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); handmade.

50 Cooking pot or jar with internally bevelled rim, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); handmade.

51 Cooking pot or jar with lid-seated rim, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); rilling on body and rim, splash glaze, handmade with wheel-finished rim.

52 Perforated lid, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); handmade.

53 Jug, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); 'collared' rim, rilled on outside, pulled lip, ?wheelthrown.

54 Two-handled pedestal cup, fabric Q433; elongated 'prunts' of iron-rich slip, thick olive-green glaze, ?wheelthrown.

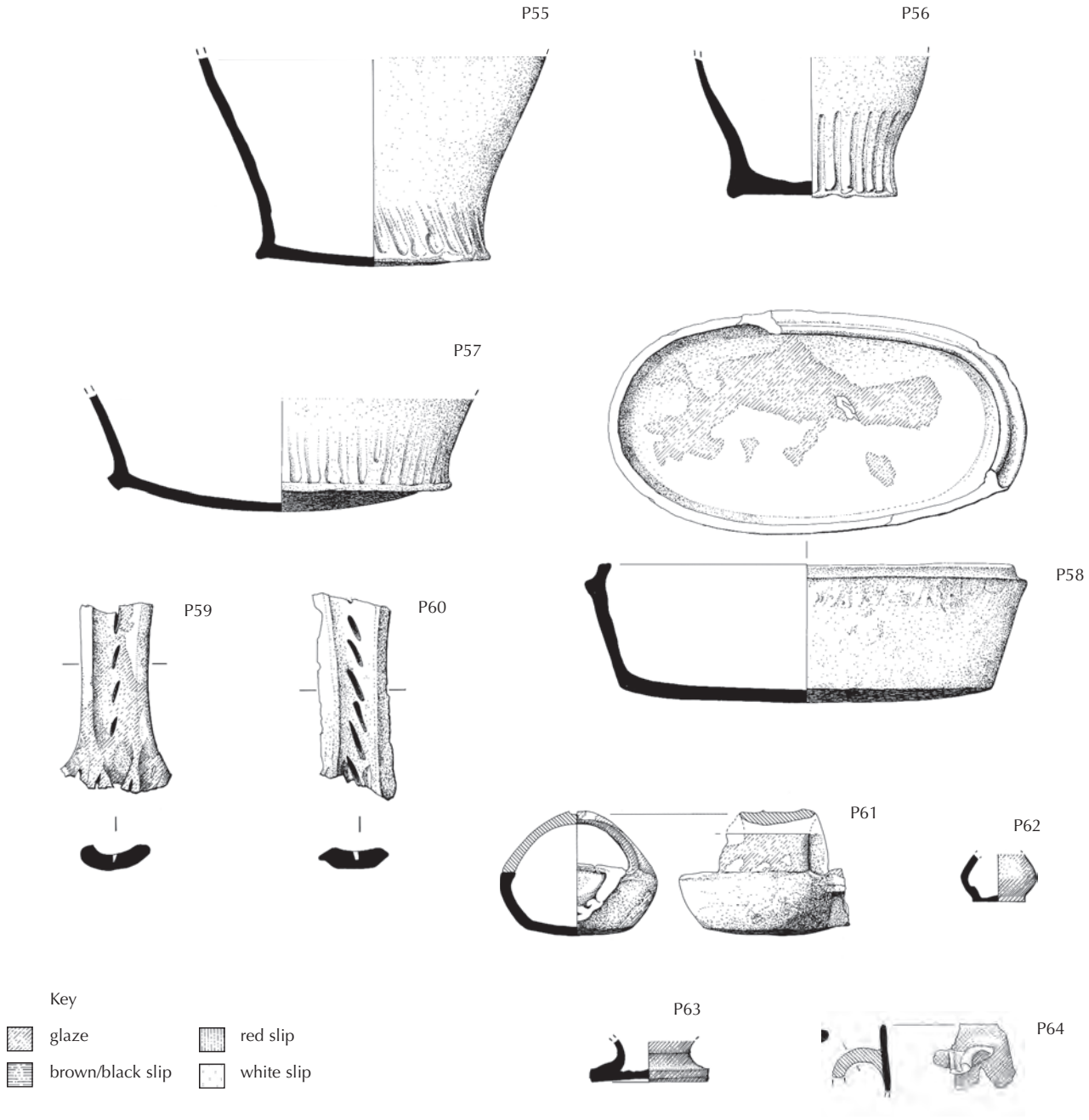


Fig 97 Vessels 55 to 64 (scale 1:4)

Key group 5 (Structure U)

55 Jug base, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); thumbed weakly, handmade.

56 Jug base, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); thumbed weakly, handmade.

57 Large jug/pitcher base, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); thumbed weakly, handmade.

58 Oval dish with flanged rim, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); partial internal glaze, handmade.

59 Jug handle, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); slashed, partially glazed.

60 Jug handle, fabric Q404 (west Dorset); slashed.

61 Condiment dish, fabric E422b (south Wiltshire / east Dorset); basket handle, handmade as two separate dishes (second dish broken off), partially glazed.

62 Money box, fabric Q428 (Donyatt); green glaze over white slip, wheelthrown.

63 Pedestal base from cup, fabric Q433; glazed, wheelthrown.

64 Rim and handle from small cup, fabric Q433; glazed, wheelthrown.

Fig 98 Part of a small knight figurine in south Dorset whiteware (fabric Q423), probably late thirteenth century, and possibly from an aquamanile or from an anthropomorphic roof finial (shown here at about twice the actual size)

Notes

1 Harrison and Williams 1979.
2 It is conventional now to refer to Salisbury, although in the eleventh century the seat of the bishop, cathedral and castle were located at Old Sarum, the deserted settlement on the northern edge of the modern town, where the diocese was re-established in 1219.
3 Harington 1792, I, 105–6.
4 Clark 1874.
5 Bean 1951b, 1952, 1953 and 1956a.
6 Fowler 1951, ch VII; there are only two passing references to Bean's work at the castle.
7 Harington 1792, I, 104–10.
8 Stalley 1971; Kealey 1972 discusses Roger's political role.
9 Leland 1964, pt 2, 154–5. The description is quoted in full in Chapter 4.
10 Ibid.
11 Hutchins 1774, 277–8.
12 *Gesta Stephani* 1976, xxv and 148.
13 Fowler 1951, 106, note 6.
14 Fowler 1951, 21.
15 VCH 1975a, 62.
16 Fowler 1951, 37: Cartularium Abbatiae de Sherborne (Sherborne Abbey Cartulary), fol 3.
17 RCHME 1980, I, 15.
18 Fowler 1951, 89.
19 Stalley 1971, 74.
20 VCH 1975a, 63–4.
21 Fowler 1951, 74–85.
22 Ibid, 80.
23 VCH 1975a, 220 (map).
24 Kealey 1972; Stalley 1971.
25 Kealey 1972, 29–30.
26 David 1920, 180.
27 Kealey 1972, 147; David 1920, 186.
28 Kealey 1972, pl 1; there is now considerable doubt about the authenticity of this tomb.
29 A list is provided in Appendix 2 of Kealey 1972.
30 Stalley 1971, 64–5.
31 VCH 1975b, 238.
32 VCH 1959, 132, 136.
33 RCHME 1952, 64.
34 Stalley 1971, 71.
35 William of Malmesbury 1887–9, ii, 483.
36 William of Malmesbury 1955, 25.
37 Ibid, 38.
38 Ibid, 26.
39 Ibid, 27.
40 Stalley 1971, 71.
41 See Hawley 1912–13, 93–102, and Hope 1912–13, 100–19 for reports on the excavations.
42 Kealey 1972, 84–5.
43 RCHME 1980, I, 15.
44 Cited in RCHME 1980, I, 15.
45 Stalley 1971, 71.
46 William of Malmesbury 1955, 39.
47 *Gesta Stephani* 1976, 64–5.
48 Brown *et al* 1963, II, 626–8.
49 VCH 1975b, 238.
50 Stone 1920, 27 pl 1; Cunnington 1947, 496–9.
51 VCH 1975b, 238.
52 Ibid.
53 *Gesta Stephani* 1976, 62.
54 Brown *et al* 1963, II, 734.
55 But see Renn 1968, 239.
56 William of Malmesbury 1955, 25.
57 Brown *et al* 1963, II, 824–8; Stalley 1971, 69.
58 Pipe Roll 31 Henry I: TNA E372/1, m.13.
59 Renn 1968, 267–70, 308–10.
60 William of Malmesbury 1955, 25.
61 VCH 1975a, 64.
62 Fowler 1951, 105.
63 Kealey 1972, Appendix 2, Charter 19, 252–5.
64 Fowler 1951, 107–10.
65 Ibid, 107, 155; Fowler noted that 'the footings of one of the walls of St Mary Magdelene's chapel were disclosed during Mr C E Bean's recent [1933–4] excavations on the castle site' (but see Chapters 7, 10 and 11).
66 Ibid, 107; Cartularium Abbatiae de Sherborne (Sherborne Abbey Cartulary), fol 71.
67 Pipe Roll 35 Henry III: TNA 372/95 m.14; Liberate Rolls 34 Henry III: TNA C62/26 m.5: *Cal. Liberate Rolls 1247-51*, 1916–64, 297.
68 Fowler 1951, 107 n. 4; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1266–72*, 1901–13, 91.
69 Luard 1864–9, II, 51.
70 *Gesta Stephani* 1976, 97–8 (fol 74).
71 Brown *et al* 1963, II, 832 n. 11.
72 Fowler 1951, 118.
73 Fowler 1951, ch 7; Brown *et al* 1963, II, 832–3. The documentary sources cited in this narrative follow a review by Dr Stephen Priestley.
74 Pounds 1990, 88–94.
75 Brown *et al* 1963, II, 832–3.
76 Pipe Roll 5 Richard I: TNA E372/39, m.78.
77 Pipe Roll 6 Richard I: TNA E372/40, m.184; Pipe Roll 7 Richard I: TNA E372/41, m.228; Pipe Roll 8 Richard I: TNA E372/42, m.214.
78 Hardy 1835, 258.
79 Pipe Roll 10 John: TNA E372/54, m.110.
80 Pipe Roll 5 Henry III: TNA E372/65, m.95.
81 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1216–25*, 1901–13, 325; Carpenter 1990, 31,

35, 273–4.

82 *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum 1204–24*, 1833–4, 597b; Pipe Roll 8 Henry III: TNA E372/68, m.39.

83 *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum 1204–24*, 1833–4, 553.

84 Close Rolls 1227–31: TNA C54/39, 137; Pipe Roll 14 Henry III: TNA E372/75, m.37.

85 Pipe Roll 20 Henry III: TNA E372/80 m.16d.

86 Close Rolls 1234–7: TNA C/54/47, 447; *Cal. Liberate Rolls 1226–40*, 1916–64, 271; Close Rolls 1237–42: TNA C54/49, 39; TNA E372/83 m.6.

87 *Cal. Liberate Rolls 1226–40*, 1916–64, 403; *Cal. Liberate Rolls 1240–5*, 1916–64, 45; TNA E72/92 m.1.

88 *Cal. Liberate Rolls 1247–51*, 1916–64, 297; *Cal. Pat Rolls 1266–72*, 1901–13, 91.

89 *Cal. Liberate Rolls 1247–51*, 1916–64, 170.

90 Ibid, 297.

91 Pipe Roll 35 Henry III: TNA E372/95 m.14.

92 Pipe Roll 36 Henry III: TNA E372/96 m.9.

93 Pipe Roll 38 Henry III: TNA E372/98 m.18; Pipe Roll 40 Henry III: TNA E372/100 m.9; Pipe Roll 41 Henry III: TNA E372/101 m.8.

94 Close Rolls 1251–3: TNA C54/65, m.4 and m.10.

95 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1247–58*, 1901–13, 113.

96 Chancery Records Miscellanea: TNA C47/2/1/4; Close Rolls 1247–51, TNA C54/64, 566.

97 *Cal. Liberate Rolls 1260–7*, 1916–64, 29. For the full text of the survey, see Fine Rolls: TNA C60/51 m.16d.

98 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258–66*, 1901–13, 347.

99 *Cal. Liberate Rolls 1260–7*, 1916–64, 235; Close Rolls 1264–8: TNA C54/84 m. 303–4; Pipe Roll 52 Henry III: TNA E372/112 m.12.

100 Pipe Roll 52 Henry III: TNA E372/112 m.12; Pipe Roll 54 Henry III: TNA E372/114 m.18; *Cal. Liberate Rolls 1267–72*, 1916–64, 125.

101 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1266–72*, 1901–13, 91.

102 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281–92*, 1894–1904, 12, 213; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292–1301*, 1894–1904, 244.

103 *Cal. Close Rolls 1272–9*, 1900–8, 33; Pipe Roll 29 Edw I: TNA E372/146 m.8d.

104 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1272–81*, 1900–8, 356; *Cal. Close Rolls 1288–96*, 1900–8, 430; *Cal. Close Rolls 1307–13*, 1892–8, 25.

105 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1247–58*, 1901–13, 516; *Cal. Close Rolls 1288–96*, 1900–8, 392; *Cal. Close Rolls 1296–1302*, 1900–8, 63.

106 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1313–17*, 1898, 316.

107 Chancery Records Miscellaneous Inquisitions: TNA C145/76 no. 9.

108 Exchequer Records: TNA E101/585/11.

109 *Cal. Close Rolls 1318–23*, 1892–8, 205.

110 *Cal. Close Rolls 1327–30*, 1896, 190.

111 Brown *et al* 1963, II, 833.

112 Coulson 1982, 15, cites Cal. Pat. Rolls Edward III, 1334–8, 498.

113 Brown *et al* 1963, II, 833, n. 13.

114 Fowler 1951, 128; Kite 1860, 14–19, pl 1, describes the event in great detail.

115 Fowler 1951, 370, 402.

116 Ibid, 129.

117 Coulson 1982, 15, cites Cal. Pat. Rolls Richard II, 1377–8, 9.

118 Wright 2009.

119 Leland 1964, pt 2, 154; Heard 2005 does not mention Sherborne Castle, despite Leland's clear reference and the archaeological evidence.

120 The Sherborne coin hoard was concealed in the vault fill in about 1542: see Appendix 2.

121 Sherborne Castle Estates Archive.

122 Fowler 1951, 370–1.

123 Harington 1792, I, 105–6; Coote 1993.

124 Fowler 1951, 371; Cole 1853, 174.

125 Ibid, 371–2, 376.

126 Coker 1732, 124–5.

127 Aubrey 1949, 254.

128 Maton 1797, II, 7n.

129 Gibb 1981, 71.

130 Brown *et al* 1963, II, 106.

131 Gibb 1981, 77.

132 Girouard 1978, 106–8.

133 Dorset County Records Office, Dorchester, D/SHC:1187.

134 Fowler 1951, 389–97.

135 Carlyle 1888, 186; Norris 1896, 20–35. See also Bayley 1910.

136 Historical Manuscripts Commission 13th report 1891–4, Appendix part 1, 242.

137 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online edition, accessed 4 July 2013: Greville, Robert, 2nd Baron Brooke (1604–43); Russell, Francis, 4th Earl of Bedford (1587–1641).

138 Sherborne Castle Estates Archive.

139 Reproduced in Hutchins 1870, 277–8.

140 Sherborne Castle Estates Archive.

141 Ibid.

142 Colvin 1995, 268.

143 Sherborne Castle Estates Archive.

144 Hardy 1887, ch 23.

145 Sherborne Town Museum Archive.

146 Bean Archive.

147 This account of the later history of the site has been made possible by the kind assistance of Ann Smith, Archivist to Sherborne Castle Estates.

148 RCHME 1952.

149 Leland 1964, pt 2, 154–5.

150 See Chapter 8.

151 London, British Library, Add MS 52522.

152 Hutchins 1870, 265.

153 Ibid, 266, note b.

154 Wildman 1902, 157, for example.

155 Fowler 1951, 27, 56.

156 Cartularium Abbatiae de Sherborne (Sherborne Abbey Cartulary), fol 10.

157 Parker 1836; Parker 1850, II, pt 2, pl 218.

158 Parker 1845, I, 101; III, 45.

159 Ibid, II, 20, note D.

160 Clark 1874.
161 Ibid, 24–8.
162 Ibid, 34.
163 Wildman 1902, 149–75.
164 Brakspear 1930.
165 Ibid, plan and section of Keep by S Toy, pl viii.
166 Ibid, 425.
167 Ibid, 426.
168 Gray 1935, 3.
169 A W (later Sir Alfred) Clapham (d 1952) was Secretary of the RCHME from 1933 to 1948, after which he served as a commissioner during the period when the West Dorset inventory was compiled. His *English Romanesque Architecture after the Conquest* was published in 1934; it deals almost exclusively with ecclesiastical architecture.
170 Clapham 1950, 39.
171 Fowler 1951; Bean's excavations are mentioned on p 155.
172 Toy 1955, 125.
173 Bean 1951b, 1952, 1953 and 1956a.
174 RCHME 1952, 64–6.
175 Bean 1951a, 76; Bean 1956b, 145; Bean 1959.
176 Bean 1956b, 142.
177 White and Cook forthcoming, Excavation Area 3, 1970–4.
178 Ibid, Excavation Area 6, 1978–9.
179 Ibid, Appendix: human bone report by B Harrison and J Bayley; report on radiocarbon dating of human bone samples by A Bayliss. See also Bayliss 2005, 133–5, concerning Sherborne Abbey, where it is suggested burials are likely to have commenced earlier.
180 Open gorge towers of similar date survive at Ludlow Castle, Shrops, for example.
181 Goodall 2011, 114.
182 RCHME 1952, 66; the south range is erroneously described as having a hall at first-floor level.
183 Leland 1964, pt 2, 154–5.
184 The coin hoard, dated to the 1540s, was deposited below the paving and above the vault: see Appendix 2.
185 Bean Archive, 'notes'.
186 Ibid.
187 White and Cook forthcoming, Excavation Area 8, 1974–6.
188 Clark 1874, 22, 28–30.
189 Ibid, 21.
190 Bean Archive, 'notes'.
191 RCHME 1952; files and correspondence in the NMR.
192 Brown *et al* 2001, figs 3–15.
193 White and Cook forthcoming, Excavation Area 9, 1978–9.
194 Clark 1874.
195 RCHME 1952.
196 Bean 1952, 107.
197 White and Cook forthcoming, Excavation Area 7, 1972–3.
198 A gatehouse tower of this form, but later in date, survives at Alton Castle, Staffs.
199 Bean Archive, 'notes'; 'plan'.
200 Ibid.
201 White and Cook forthcoming, Excavation Area 8, 1974–6.
202 Bean 1952.
203 Bean 1952 and 1953.
204 White and Cook forthcoming, Excavation Area 8, 1974–6.
205 Bean/Chambers 1947–8: RCHME correspondence file.
206 RCHME 1952, 64–6.
207 White and Cook forthcoming, Excavation Areas 1–6, 1968–79.
208 Goodall 2011, 114, calls the small tower an annexe and suggests that the Sherborne and Sarum examples are in imitation of Corfe.
209 See Goodall 2011, 381, 386–7. This form of fenestration had originated about a century earlier.
210 White and Cook forthcoming, Excavation Area 4, 1970 and 1973.
211 Bean 1951b.
212 Wood 1965, 166.
213 RCHME 1952, plan 104.
214 Mentioned by Bean in a letter to G E Chambers; Bean/Chambers, 6 Jan 1948: RCHME correspondence file.
215 White and Cook forthcoming, Excavation Area 2, 1968–70.
216 Ibid, Excavation Area 1, 1968–70.
217 Ibid, Excavation Area 3, 1970–4.
218 Bean Archive, 'drawing'; 'notes'; letter 4.41 to R Bruce-Mitford; letter 4.51 to F W J Digby.
219 See Chapter 4, n. 162 for reference to Parker's views in discussion with G T Clark.
220 RCHME 1952, 64–6; Blair 1993, 11, disputed the likelihood of a chapel in the north range, before the architectural detail described here was evident.
221 Rigold 1977, 118, figs 137, 138, 122.
222 Stalley 1971, 81–3.
223 Bean 1951b.
224 White and Cook forthcoming, Excavation Area 2, 1968–70, and Excavation Area 6, 1978–9.
225 Bean/Chambers: RCHME correspondence file.
226 White and Cook forthcoming, Excavation Area 3, 1970–4.
227 Ibid, Excavation Area 3, 1970–4 and 1977.
228 RCHME 1952, plan 104.
229 Bean/Chambers: RCHME correspondence file.
230 Bean Archive, 'notes'.
231 White and Cook forthcoming, Excavation Area 3, 1970–4.
232 Ibid, Excavation Area 6, 1978–9.
233 Ibid, Excavation Area 3, 1970–4.
234 Leland 1964, pt 2, 154–5.
235 Bean Archive, 'notes'.
236 Oswald 1963, 109–34.
237 Smith 1965, 82–93.
238 Bean 1956a.
239 Bean Archive, 'notes'.
240 White and Cook 1996.
241 Bean Archive, 'Notes 1953'.
242 Fowler (1951, 107) noted that Bean excavated the north-east mound in 1933–4.
243 Bean Archive, 'Notes 1952'.
244 Bean 1952 and 1953.

245 Bean Archive, drawing headed 'Chapel outside curtain wall to NE 1936'.

246 Barker 1991, 29–53. See also Chapter 3, n. 65.

247 Little is known about medieval stables: see Worsley 2004, 6–17.

248 Bean Archive; RCHME files now in the NMR.

249 I am grateful to Derek Renn for putting Denny Bridge into a wider context. See also Finny 1938; Harrison 2004; Potter 1991; Renn 1972 and 1974.

250 See Fernie 1976, 78–86, and Fernie 1985, 246–54.

251 James 1990, 40–1.

252 White 1996, 241–7, includes comparative plans; see also White 2000, 139–44, for the relationship between gatehouse towers and great towers in the early twelfth century.

253 See Chapter 3, n. 52.

254 *Gesta Stephani* 1976, 77–9.

255 White and Cook forthcoming, Excavation Area 6, 1968–70 and 1978–9.

256 Pers comm Edward Impey, who kindly showed me the draft of a forthcoming paper. Internally, the 'Exchequer Hall' is 30.7m (100ft) by 11.02m (36ft); Sherborne is 21.95m (72ft) by 7.62m (25ft). For a general discussion of medieval domestic planning see Faulkner 1958, 150–83.

257 Kealey 1972, 90.

258 Kemp 1999, lxii.

259 For the most recent discussion of this topic, see Ashbee 2006.

260 For Leland's full description, see Chapter 4.

261 See Chapter 10, note 246.

262 Kealey 1972, 22–5.

263 See Chapter 3, n. 80.

264 The topographical artist S H Grimm (1733–94) also illustrated the ruins: see White 2011, 92.

265 The lack of archaeological record was typical of the period and obtains for the excavation and discovery of related stonework at Reading Abbey (Keyser 1916, 234–44, figs 1–22; Zarnecki 1949, 257–64), and both Old Sarum Castle and Cathedral (Hawley 1912–13, 93–102; Hope 1913–14, 100–17). For Bean's records of loose stones and mason's marks, see Bean Archive.

266 In addition to mason's marks, a single block (B01) in the form of a coping stone, or merlon, has a late medieval 'Merrels' or Nine Men's Morris board scratched into its underside. For evidence of comparable examples at Castle Acre Castle and elsewhere, see Coad and Streeten 1982, 260 and fig 51 nos 19–24.

267 RCHME 1952, 6; see also White 1983, 69, who pointed to the ornate window openings of the north range as indicating a 'probable use of the room as a chapel', while Blair (1993, 11) proposed that the 'large upper rooms' were probably 'great chambers', to which Ashbee (2006, 75) responded with the observation that the rooms in question lacked fireplaces and garderobes. See also Chapter 9.

268 *De gestis regum Anglorum* 1889, 484: *ita juste composito ordine lapidum, ut junctura perstringat intuitum, et totam maceriam unum mentiatur esse saxum*; Stalley 1971, 66.

269 Thurlby and Baxter 2002, 293; Thurlby 1995, 129 and n. 24; West and Morris 2005, 73.

270 For the use of Purbeck marble, see Blair 1991, 41–56. EH inventory nos: 91100, 91101, B44.

271 Stalley 1971, 78; Tyack *et al* 2010, 145, pl 3.

272 Suggested to P R White by C A R Radford during a site visit. For a measured reconstruction of the chapel vault at an upper level in the north range, see fig 73.

273 On castle chapels, see Pounds 1990, 224–5, 239 and fig 9.2; Kealey 1972, 86.

274 A dado of blind arcading supported on detached colonnettes was used in the chancel interiors of St John's and St Mary's, Devizes; these share other decorative features of Roger of Salisbury's workshop, for which see Stalley 1971, 81–3. Stalley's view that both churches were probably built after Roger's death in 1139 is implicit in the late 12th-century date suggested by Pugh (1975, 289, 291, with references to 19th-century restoration at St John's and the discovery of reused early 12th-century carving).

275 *Gesta Stephani* 1976, 73: *castella sua, quae ornatissime construxerat*; Stalley 1971, 79.

276 Stalley 1971, 77, pl xvii, 2.

277 Saxl 1954, 19–20, pls i–ii; Heslop 1984, cat nos 328–330.

278 Bedos-Rezak 1986, 95–7, figs 1, 2; see also Dalas 1991, 143–5, nos 63, 64.

279 Zarnecki 1953, 6–8, 54 and fig 9; Zarnecki 1957–8, 27, where the date is given as *c* 1130 and 1128–36 respectively. Zarnecki's revision of the date to *c* 1125 (Zarnecki *et al* 1984, cat. nos 129–131) places the building of the cloister close to the date of the initial foundation, for which see Kemp 1986–7, I, 13–19, a redating reflected by Baylé (1997, 65), who considered that beakhead was an indicator of a date after 1125: *La présence d'un arc orné de beakhead constitue déjà l'indice d'une date postérieure à 1125*. Surprisingly, the date of the cloister was not addressed in Thurlby and Baxter 2002, Baxter and Harrison 2002 or Baxter 2004. On the chronology of Sarum and Sherborne, see Stalley 1971, 65, 68–9, 71. Beakhead voussoirs and other ornament recovered from St Frideswide's, Oxford, point to the involvement of a workshop in the priory church of which Roger of Salisbury was the founder, for which see Halsey 1990, 117–21, 160–7 and Blair 1990, 227–8, 236–7.

280 Bilson 1917, 14, 23 and fig 1; King 1986, 30 and fig 2; Thurlby and Baxter 2002, 291, 296 and fig 16. For the use of the triple profile in Norman vaults – notably in Calvados – see Baylé 1997.

281 Rigold 1977, 108, 122–4.

282 Stalley 1971, 78. For the distribution of the motif in England, see Galbraith 1962, 178–82, 190 and n. 3; see also King 1986, 23. The suggestion that the fragmentary capital (cat 11b) is a devouring head is based on comparison (ear, hair, eye) with the capitals at Avington.

283 Kahn 2011, 316–18, 319. I am grateful to Peter Ferguson for bringing this paper to my attention. For further

examples of the form in western France, see King 1986 and Tcherikover 1997, 109–10, 112–14, pls 268, 278.

284 Mercklyn 1962, 278 (no. 661c), Abb. 1279, 1781; see also, from the same site, Mercklyn 1962, 278 (no. 661a and 661b), Abb. 1278 and 1280. Even though Mercklyn's attribution of the capitals to a temple dedicated to Hercules on the left bank of the Tiber near the Ponte Sant'Angelo is considered 'doubtful' by Richardson (1992, 185, s.v. Hercules, Templum (2)), the Herculean iconography of this and another capital found on the Aventine (Mercklyn 1962, 277 (no. 660), Abb. 1282, 1284) suggests that the skin is that of the Nemean lion.

285 Kealey 1972, 67–72.

286 For details of the context of the find, see Chapter 9.1.

287 *Brit Numis J* 39 (1970), 210; *Brit Numis J* 40 (1971), 197–8.

288 Withers and Withers 2004; Cook 1999 and Kelleher 2007.

289 Individual references to the literature are cited in the schedule.

290 Cracking and rusting on the die were also noted on a *cruzado* in the Cefn Garw, Tregaer, Monmouthshire, hoard: Boon 1986, 126, no. 9.

291 Particularly clear examples of this phenomenon in groups of newly struck die-duplicate coins are shown in Archibald 1971, 154–5, and Archibald and Cook 2001, 88–9 and 111 (histogram 18).

292 For authoritative summaries in English of the complex numismatic history of Spain at this period, see Porteous 1969, 151–3, and Grierson 1991, 186–90.

293 Grierson 1991, 190.

294 In the first instance, the author is indebted to another Spanish colleague, Dr Fernando Lopez-Sanchez, working in the British Museum, for suggesting that she contact these two scholars, and also for his help with Spanish language problems.

295 Marot *et al* 1999.

296 Pers comm.

297 Dhénin 1980.

298 Whitton 1949, 190–7; Potter 1957, 560–7; Stewartby 2009, 452–74, esp 459–63 and 472. The earlier 20th-century papers set out the numismatic evidence in detail but some of their conclusions have been superseded, so references below are given only to Lord Stewartby's recent survey.

299 Stewartby 2009, 462.

300 Ibid, 460, 462.

301 The details of one or other of the dies of the remaining coins are not clear enough to be used for this purpose, although some individual obverse and reverse dies are certainly the same as, or different, from those already recorded. The numbers of dies quoted are therefore minimum rather than comprehensive figures, but there is no reason to believe that the proportions of obverses to reverses in the whole group would differ materially.

302 Stewartby 2009, 462.

303 Ibid, 460–2, esp 462.

304 Ibid 2009, 457, 462.

305 Where weights are cited from original sources they are quoted in grains, with gram values in parenthesis; weights obtained from modern weighings are quoted in grams, with the grain values in parenthesis if they are necessary for comparison.

306 As noted also in the case of the *cruzados* above and the hoards cited in note 291 above.

307 Henry V: North 1991, no. 1400; Henry VI: North 1991, no. 1432.

308 North 1991, no. 1540.

309 Stewartby 2009, 454, 468.

310 Ibid.

311 Cook 1999.

312 Kelleher 2007.

313 Challis 1978, 297.

314 Kelleher 2007.

315 Hughes and Larkin 1964–9.

316 To the later hoards including foreign gold coins listed in Kelleher 2007 can now be added the ten gold and seven silver coins found in 2011 inside a pot discovered in 2003 on Holy Island, Northumberland, deposited *c* 1562. This group did not include any Portuguese or Spanish gold coins. It was declared to be Treasure in 2012: Treasure number 2012 T19, unpublished, pers comm Dr Barrie Cook, British Museum.

317 Unpublished, at present going through the Treasure procedure: pers comm Dr Barrie Cook, British Museum.

318 Boon 1986, 125–6. Hoards in general deposited in the earlier Tudor period to 1544 are listed in Allen 2002.

319 Mayhew 1983.

320 Cook 1992, 194–5.

321 Challis 1978, 150–98.

322 Ibid, 187–8.

323 Kelleher 2007, 219–20, and, where applicable to gold coins, listed 223–4.

324 Ibid, 217.

325 Ibid.

326 Challis 1978, 295–8.

327 Kelleher 2007, 224, Proclamation no. 487.

328 Thorold Rogers 1882, 187–9.

329 Kelleher 2007, 224, Proclamation no. 457.

330 Louisa 2009.

331 For the context and chronology of the series see Whitton 1949, 190–7; Potter 1957; Withers and Withers 2004 (in the preparation of which coins from the Sherborne hoard are used); and Stewartby 2009, 459–63, esp 461–2.

332 Allan 2003.

333 See Moorhouse 1986, 113.

334 Pearson 1982.

335 Spoerry 1988 and 1990a; Allan 2003; Allan *et al* 2010.

336 Pearson 1982.

337 Jarvis 2005.

338 Pearson 1980; Mepham 1992a.

339 Draper and Chaplin 1982.

340 Barnes *et al* 1989; Blinkhorn 2003; Mepham 2011.

341 Harrison nd; Ross 1985.

342 Ellison and Pearson 1981.

343 Newman *et al* 1994.
344 Mepham 1992b.
345 Cox *et al* 1987; Spoerry 1990b; Whittingham 2008.
346 Field 1966, but see Allan 2003, 76, note 2, on the dating of the kiln waste.
347 Harrison and Williams 1979, 97.
348 Carew 2008.
349 Musty *et al* 1969.
350 Stone and Charlton 1935; Mepham 2012; Mepham and Underwood nd; Musty *et al* 2001.
351 Hinton and Hodges 1977; Jarvis 1992.
352 Pearson 1982.
353 Allan 2003; Allan *et al* 2010.
354 Coleman-Smith and Pearson 1988.
355 Harrison and Williams 1979.
356 Spoerry 1988 and 1990a.
357 Excavated in 1998–9 and not, therefore, included in this report; Allan 2003.
358 Pearson 1982, 180.
359 Le Patourel 1968, fig 25.
360 Taylor 2003.
361 Pearson 1982.
362 Pearson 1980; RCHME 1960.
363 For example, Le Patourel 1979, 87; Brown 2002, 133.
364 Allan 1983; Brown 1997.
365 Allan 1984, 13.
366 Morris 1994.
367 MPRG 2001.
368 MPRG 1998.
369 Harrison and Williams 1979.
370 Following the density charts devised by Terry and Chilingar 1955.
371 Keen 1977; Draper 1993, 290.
372 Rahtz 1974.
373 As defined in Rahtz 1974.
374 Coleman-Smith and Pearson 1988, 400.
375 Pearson 1982.
376 Ibid, fig 80.
377 Ibid.
378 Pearson 1980; Mepham 1992a.
379 Spoerry 1990b.
380 Cf Harrison and Williams 1979, fig 45, no. 9.
381 Pearson 1982.
382 Cf Harrison and Williams 1979, fig 46, nos 18, 19.
383 Pearson 1982, 175.
384 Harrison and Williams 1979, 94.
385 Pearson 1982, 180.
386 Spoerry 1990a.
387 Allan 2003.
388 Ibid, 73.
389 Vince 1981, 313.
390 Field 1966.
391 Spoerry 1990a, 10.
392 Allan 2003, 76 n. 2.
393 For these, and the other structures and contexts referred to in this appendix, see White and Cook forthcoming, Excavation Area 3, 1970–4.
394 Cf Harrison and Williams 1979, fig 46, no. 14.
395 Ibid, fig 46, nos 21–3.
396 Field 1966, figs 7–9.
397 Mepham 2000, for example.
398 Hinton and Hodges 1977.
399 Musty *et al* 1969 and 2001.
400 Draper and Chaplin 1982; Cox *et al* 1987; Spoerry 1990b, wares C and D; Pearson 1982, fabric groups 21 and 23.
401 Spoerry 1990b, 141; Harrison nd, 24; Ross 1985, 37.
402 Musty *et al* 1969, 93.
403 Musty *et al* 2001, 138–9.
404 Vince 1981, 311, fig 21:1.
405 Spoerry 1990a.
406 Ibid, 14; Hinton and Hodges 1977, 61.
407 Spoerry 1988, 35.
408 Algar *et al* 1987.
409 Cf Harrison and Williams 1979, fig 45, no. 3.
410 Ibid, fig 46, nos 18, 19.
411 Eg Mepham 2000.
412 Harrison and Williams 1979, fig 47, no. 25.
413 Musty *et al* 1969, fig 21; Musty *et al* 2001, 159–60, fig 63, no. 172.
414 Jarvis 1992, fabrics 3–5; Thomson *et al* 1983.
415 Mepham 2007.
416 Draper and Chaplin 1982, 85.
417 Pearson 1982, fabrics G6a–d.
418 For example, Barton *et al* 1992, figs 31–2.
419 McCarthy and Brooks 1988, fig 127.
420 For example, Fairbrother 1990, fig 5.2.
421 Coleman-Smith and Pearson 1988, 399.
422 Pearson 1982, 176.
423 Coleman-Smith and Pearson 1988.
424 Ibid, 400.
425 Ibid, 273.
426 For a detailed fabric description see Pearce and Vince 1988.
427 Barton 1963.
428 Pearson 1982, fabric G2b.
429 Ponsford 1991.
430 Musty 1973.
431 McCarthy and Brooks 1988, 340.
432 Pearce and Vince 1988; Pearce 1992.
433 Vince 1979.
434 Smith 1997; Le Patourel 1968.
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436 Barton 1966.
437 Brown 2002, 22–3; Allan 1984, 21.
438 Allan 2003, 74, fig 2, no. 1.
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440 For example, Brown 2002, 22.
441 Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, fig 175, no. 871.
442 Thomson and Brown 1992.
443 Brown 1995; Brown 2002, 37–9.
444 Hurst 1977; Gerrard *et al* 1995b.
445 Pearson 1980; Renn 1960; RCHME 1960.

446 Barton *et al* 1992.
447 Allan 1983.
448 Allan 1984, 13.
449 Renn 1960, fig 19.
450 Draper and Chaplin 1982, 47.
451 Mepham 2007.
452 Hurst 1968.
453 Allan *et al* 2010.
454 As illustrated by Harrison and Williams 1979, fig 46, nos 18, 19.
455 Pearson 1982, 174–5.
456 Ibid, 172.
457 Harrison and Williams 1979, fig 45, no. 9.
458 Barton *et al* 1992, figs 31–2.
459 Mepham 2007.
460 Pearce and Vince 1988.
461 Pearson 1982, group 22.
462 Spoerry 1990a.
463 Le Patourel 1968, fig 25.
464 Copland-Griffiths 1989.

Abbreviations and general bibliography

Abbreviations

BM	British Museum
MPRG	Medieval Pottery Research Group
NMR	National Monuments Record (English Heritage Archives)
Proc DNHAS	*Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*
Proc SANHS	*Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
TNA	The National Archives
VCH	Victoria County History

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