
TALES OF TWO CITIES

Settlement and Suburb in
Old Sarum and Salisbury



Edited by
Hadrian Cook and Alex Langlands



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Abbreviations

EMC	Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds < https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/ >
HA	Hampshire Archives (at the Hampshire Record Office)
HER	Historic Environment Record
HPB	Historic Parish of Britford
KYP	Know Your Place, West of England: Historic OS and Tithe Map and documentation for West of England < https://maps.bristol.gov.uk/kyp/?edition=wilts >
NMR	National Monuments Record, Historic England, < https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/archive/ >
OS	Ordnance Survey, useful open-sources for which are: National Library of Scotland, Georeferenced Maps < https://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/ >; Know Your Place < https://www.kypwest.org.uk/ >
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme < https://finds.org.uk >
PASE	Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England < https://domesday.pase.ac.uk >
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England < https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/library/ >
S	The Electronic Sawyer, Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters < https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk/about/index.html >
SSSI	Site of Special Scientific Interest, Natural England < https://naturalengland-defra.opendata.arcgis.com/datasets/Defra::sites-of-special-scientific-interest-england/about >
WANHM	Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine
WSA	Wiltshire and Swindon Archives (at the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre)

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An English city through time: Old Sarum to Salisbury

Alex Langlands and Hadrian Cook

‘The hill is very steep, and I dismounted and led my horse up. Being as near to the top as I could conveniently get, I stood a little while reflecting, not so much on the changes which that hill had seen, as on the changes, which, in all human probability, it had *yet to see*, and which it would have greatly *helped to produce*. It was impossible to stand on this accursed spot, without swelling with indignation against the base and plundering and murderous sons of corruption. I have often wished, and I, speaking out loud, expressed the wish now; ‘May that man perish for ever and ever, who, having the power, neglects to bring to justice the perjured, the suborning, the insolent and perfidious miscreants, who openly sell their country’s rights and their own souls.’

William Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, 1830.¹

William Cobbett’s tirade against Old Sarum and everything it stood for was in many ways as pertinent in April 2022, when the Society of Landscape Studies convened its annual conference at Salisbury Museum.² *Plus ça change!* For the radical polemicist, what he termed ‘The Accursed Hill’ represented everything that was wrong with the political system in England at that time: a defunct vestige of an unequal past, ill-equipped to serve the political needs of a fast-changing nation, and economically smarting from antagonisms with its European neighbours.

In the early 1830s Old Sarum was a largely deserted settlement of predominantly rural character registering a mere seven voters. Yet, its borough status – a remnant of its medieval past – meant that it could return two members to parliament. By comparison, Manchester, a growing industrial city of around 142,000 residents, returned none. Old Sarum was one of several so-called ‘rotten boroughs’, but its abandoned and ruinous hill-top city and the decaying trunk of its ‘Parliament Tree’ caused it to become something of a poster child for Britain’s outdated electoral system (Figure 0.1).

However, Old Sarum, together with the city of Salisbury, is also famous for one of the largest settlement shifts in British history. Long-term settlement shift and desertion are themes familiar to medieval settlement studies where villages and towns have been assessed for varying degrees of contraction, migration, and abandonment, set against wider social and economic changes. In the move from Old Sarum to Salisbury however, we witness the transfer of a whole city – or at least what may have gone on to become a city – and the complete desertion of its earlier self.

¹ W. Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, ed. by G. Woodcock, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 322.

² The editors wish to thank the committee of the Society for Landscape Studies <<https://www.landscapestudies.com/>> as well as the Director and staff of the Salisbury Museum <<https://salisburymuseum.org.uk/>> for facilitating this meeting.



Figure 0.1: The reformers' attack on the old rotten tree; or, the foul nests of the cormorants in danger, 1831, by E. King © Copyright National Portrait Gallery.

Although the focus of this book is the last millennium, this remarkable journey in space and time has its origin in prehistory. The river Avon corridor joins the two city sites, making it of great significance in both topographic and symbolic terms. Flowing overall southwards through the great plains of central Wiltshire – centres of prehistoric civilisation within Britain – the Avon passes within half a kilometre of the foot of the hill topped by Old Sarum. Its chalkland valley continues some 3km, towards modern Salisbury (New Sarum). The floodplain supports wetland environments, watermeadows and mill leats, coming to a complicated confluence with the Nadder in the heart of the city by the Harnham Water Meadows and the Cathedral Close.

'Avon' is a common river name in Britain with the name deriving from the proto-Celtic, and maybe Brittonic, word **abonā*, meaning 'river', and it is the origin of modern Welsh 'afon'. The word passes into Old English as a name for specific rivers, two of which flow through Wiltshire. The Salisbury Avon rises in the Vale of Pewsey and flows southwards, where other streams rising in the Vale feed the Bristol Avon to the west. It is tempting to presume any older name for the Salisbury Avon is lost, but there may be a clue. Henry Bradley, a philologist, and lexicographer, speculated on the origins of some British river names.³ The Latin name of

³ H. Bradley, 'Some Prehistoric River Names (a bunch of guesses)', in *An English miscellany: presented to Dr. Furnivall in honour of his seventy-fifth birthday*, eds. W. Ker, A. Paton, N. Sampson, and W. Skeat (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), 10-5, at p. 15 <<https://ia800200.us.archive.org/6/items/cu31924013355726/cu31924013355726.pdf>> [accessed Jan 2024].

the original settlement at Old *Sarum* is likely preserved in the Antonine Itinerary as *Sorvioduni* and *Sobiodoni* (gen. sg.). This place name could be related to a Celtic word found in Irish as *soirbh*, and meaning ‘easy’ or ‘gentle’, while ‘*burh*’ in Old English is cognate with Celtic *dun* – a fortress. The placename ‘Salisbury’ could therefore be derived (by a rather convoluted process involving at least three languages) from the Brittonic, meaning ‘the fortress by the gentle river.’⁴ Rather than being merely descriptive, the original name for the Salisbury Avon may be something like *abonā Sorvia* (or *Sorvios*); this gentle river linking Old *Sarum* with modern Salisbury.

The remarkable journey of relocation is arguably unique to *Sarum*. Diocesan centres have found themselves relocated to other churches and superseded by other emerging regional centres, but where else in the British landscape do we see the move of an entire cathedral, its community, and its symbiotic town to an apparently greenfield site? There is something exceptional about this and in that sense a raft of opportunities is presented to us for the study of wider processes of medieval urban development and everything it involves, from community and identity to economy and environment. In many ways, Salisbury can be held up as an inverted mirror to Old *Sarum*. Everything that was good about the newly created city in the valley reflected what was bad about the hill-top site. A vast spacious cathedral close on the valley bottom contrasts with the cramped compound within the hillfort. The lack of secular stronghold in the new city serves as a stark reminder of the menacing presence of the castle garrison of the old. Grand spacious chequerboard-style tenement plots built into a gridded street system exposes the traditional borough design of thin burgages set out perpendicular to a narrow highway. Fresh flowing water channels through the centre of newly paved streets tells us much about the burden of manually removing human midden from the arid chalk hill-top, via copious cess pits, to fertilise the fields beyond. A spacious marketplace in a central crossroad location may be a veiled criticism of the centre of commerce at Old *Sarum*, wherever that may have been. In short, in the design of medieval Salisbury we have a thirteenth-century vision for what the perfect city might have looked like in the eyes of those keen to rid themselves of the shackles of Old *Sarum*’s topographical constraints.

The ‘tales’ presented in this volume engage critically with that move, and provide the most up-to-date take on the complexities of the process setting out both what we can learn from it, and how much we still do not know about *Sarum*’s urban development and settlement story. It considers the longer-term development of the city and demonstrates detailed exploration of its suburban development at Old *Sarum*, at Fisherton (a medieval suburb of New *Sarum*), and nineteenth- and twentieth- century growth of Salisbury beyond its medieval and Georgian core.

The contributions in this volume stand on the shoulders of past studies. Much is owed to the rigorous and detailed historical research that went into compiling the Victoria County History’s volumes on the city and its surroundings.⁵ To these can be added the Royal Commission’s thorough investigation of the buildings, monuments, and topography of

⁴ J. E. B. Gover, A. Stenton and F. M. Stenton, *The Place Names of Wiltshire*, English Place Name Society volume XVI (Cambridge: University Press, 1970) pp. 18-19, D. Renn, *Old Sarum* (London: English Heritage, 1994) p. 24.

⁵ Volumes 3 to 18 of the Victoria County History for Wiltshire are available on-line at <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/search/series/vch--wilts>>.

the city.⁶ For anyone who would like a finely crafted sweeping narrative of the city and its inhabitants, Edward Rutherfurd's epic book *Sarum* and Ken Follet's gripping *Pillars of the Earth* provide much by way of entertainment.⁷ But for those with a requirement for veracity in their historical narratives, John Chandler's *Endless Street* remains the exceptional history. So much that many of the ideas set out within it provide points of departure for the papers in this volume.⁸ To this group of foundational studies can now be added Phil Harding's *Joining the Dots*, a much-needed synthesis of over 40 years of developer-led archaeological work, that now places the archaeological study of Salisbury on a par with those of other important medieval cities such as Canterbury, Winchester, Exeter, York and Norwich.⁹

The volume is broadly divided into two parts. Although pre-historic in origin, and based on an Iron Age 'hillfort' on the hilltop at Old Sarum, our story starts towards the end of the first millennium AD and the first part deals predominantly with the archaeology of Old Sarum up until its demise in the fourteenth century. **Chapter One**, a short re-appraisal of the archaeological evidence for activity within the hillfort begins proceedings and rehearses some of the theories about the character of settlement and occupation in the medieval period. Detailed discussion of the archaeological evidence for the castle and cathedral must necessarily be reserved for elsewhere and this contribution satisfies itself with exploring the archaeological evidence for the character of the wider monument and the so-called terreplein platform created in the eleventh century. The chapter reiterates the profound importance of the site to the national story whilst at the same time identifying how much we simply don't know about it.

A more extended commentary is offered in the analysis of the 'suburbs' of Old Sarum. This has been informed and facilitated immeasurably by the tireless efforts of Kris Strutt and the team from Southampton University who, year-on-year, embark on a programme of geophysical survey that is radically changing the way we think about the immediate environs of Old Sarum from a multi-period perspective.¹⁰ One of the critical questions concerning the Norman ambitions for Old Sarum hangs on whether the hillfort was chosen because it was a green field site or because it was already emerging as an important place under the auspices of late Anglo-Saxon kings. The true character of early medieval settlement in the area remains elusive but the comparative study in **Chapter Two** offers another potential candidate in the search for tenth- and eleventh-century settlement and raises the importance of the Portway's crossing of the Avon in the medieval period. Three seasons of trial trenching carried out in partnership between Southampton and Swansea Universities sought to archaeologically

⁶ Originally published by Her Majesty's Stationary Office in 1977, the RCHME's *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury* can also be found on-line at <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/salisbury>>.

⁷ E. Rutherfurd, *Sarum: The Novel of England* (London: Century Hutchinson, 1987); K. Follett, *The Pillars of the Earth* (London: Macmillan, 1989).

⁸ J. Chandler, *Endless Street: A History of Salisbury and Its People* (Salisbury: Hobnob Press, 1983).

⁹ P. Harding, *Joining the Dots: Uniting Salisbury's Past through Holes in the Ground*, Wessex Archaeology Occasional Paper (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Ltd, 2022).

¹⁰ Huge thanks are owed to Kris and his team for their energy, enthusiasm, and good company. The findings from the various phases of geophysical survey can be found here: K. Strutt and others, *Report on the Geophysical Survey at Old Sarum, Wiltshire March-July 2015* (Southampton University: Archaeological Prospection Services of Southampton, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1047136>>; K. Strutt, D. Barker, and T. Sly, *Report on the Geophysical Survey at Old Sarum, Wiltshire, April and July 2016, and April and July 2017* (Southampton University: Archaeological Prospection Services of Southampton, 2018) <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1047137>>; K. Strutt and D. Barker, *Report on the Geophysical Survey of the Romano-British Settlement, Old Sarum, Wiltshire, April 2019*. (Southampton University: Archaeological Prospection Services, SREP 1/2022, 2022).

characterise topographical and geophysical anomalies (2016-2019) in the western suburbs, a much-neglected area of the Old Sarum hinterland. The results of this work – generously funded by the Society of Antiquaries’ Margaret and Tom Jones Fund – are summarised here in **Chapter Four** which also brings together in synthesis, for the first time, all the archaeological evidence for settlement in the east suburbs. This has done much to enable the reconstruction of the morphological character of the settlement here in the twelfth century, informed further what we know of the health of the settlement and incorporates the evidence from the remarkable record that was made when a sewer trench was cut from within the Outer Bailey all the way down through the settlement to the main road (included in the volume as an appendix). To the west, the footprint of the canons’ closes becomes clear and this, taken together with what we know from within the hillfort, provides us with the blueprint for what late eleventh-century ecclesiastical elites deemed ideal for the secular cathedral community at a critical time in its development. The high levels of preservation across a complex of buildings intimately connected with the *Use of Sarum* make this wider site of international significance to the story of the Christian church.

Sandwiched conveniently between these overviews of the suburban areas Chris Lewis masterfully handles the enigmatic references to Salisbury in Domesday Book, the great survey of England commissioned by King William. **Chapter Three** provides a snapshot of a landscape, a large ecclesiastical estate, and a borough in the throes of change, one where long-standing arrangements extending back into the early medieval period are being reworked to accommodate a new Anglo-Norman elite. A solution is provided to the longstanding issue of what Old Sarum’s urban status consisted of in the late eleventh-century and a landscape bustling with burgesses, manors, mills, villeins, bordars and plough-teams is unveiled.

Chapters **Five**, **Six** and **Seven** engage in detail with the archaeological evidence for the region in the tenth to fourteenth centuries and cumulatively highlight the huge potential of the Old Sarum landscape to inform more widely on social, cultural, and environmental transition in the medieval period. In **Chapter Five**, Matilda Holmes draws on zooarchaeological evidence from twenty-four excavations falling within a twenty-mile radius of Old Sarum to explore the role that animals played as food, producers of raw materials, workers, status symbols, companions, and pests. The evidence of the movement of animals and their parts between sites within the region can be seen to reflect complex arrangements between town and country amongst networks of specialist craft-workers. Incidental details such as the exceptionally high proportion of domestic fowl recovered from sites in Salisbury city are noted, an observation that appears to find confirmation in the medieval Poultry Cross, in existence since at least the early fourteenth century (Figure 0.2). Huge potential clearly exists for us to further our understanding of the wider social, political, and cultural networks of the region through the zooarchaeological remains of the tenth through to the fifteenth century and what Holmes arrives at is an essential research framework set out through a number of future directions.

In Chapter **Six**, Inés López-Dóriga and Sander Aerts highlight the potential of environmental archaeology to inform our understanding of how the hinterland landscape of Old Sarum was managed, how spaces within the site were used, and to comment on living conditions and daily occupations. However, they go beyond that in setting out how the environmental signatures from excavations across the region can help us to understand and inform the transition from the society and economy of Old Sarum to that of the later city. Environmental archaeology



Figure 0.2: The Poultry Cross, Salisbury. The present hexagonal cross dates from the fifteenth century but a cross of this name has stood in this location since at least the early fourteenth. Exceptionally high proportions of bones from domestic fowl have been recovered from archaeological deposits within the city. © Balou46, reproduced under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license.

can provide us with alternative perspectives from those garnered from the written sources, serving us with the underlying environmental and economic circumstances within which decisions were being made. Of note are the proliferation of cess pits in the Old Sarum hinterland (Figure 0.3). In almost every archaeological intervention made in the suburbs evidence for deep cess pits has been recovered and the nature of survival of archaeological deposits within them along with their widespread preservation brought about by abandonment of the site, raise their potential and significance. Further work on existing samples from Old Sarum and Salisbury including full extraction and quantification would repay immeasurably in terms of our understanding of the social, agricultural, and ecological dynamics between Old Sarum and Salisbury in the medieval period.

For some time now, the potential of medieval ceramic assemblages to inform on the pattern and chronology of settlement in the region has been recognised and yet, as Lorraine Mephram identifies in **Chapter Seven**, a series of methodological challenges continues to impair progress. One of the main obstacles is the lengthy currencies of some vessel types – particularly Wessex coarsewares – which may have extended as far back as the late tenth-century and continued, largely unaltered in form, through to the later thirteenth. To this can be added the scarcity of associated dating evidence when diagnostic sherds are identified, the lack of stratification in the deposits from which they are yielded, and questions over whether

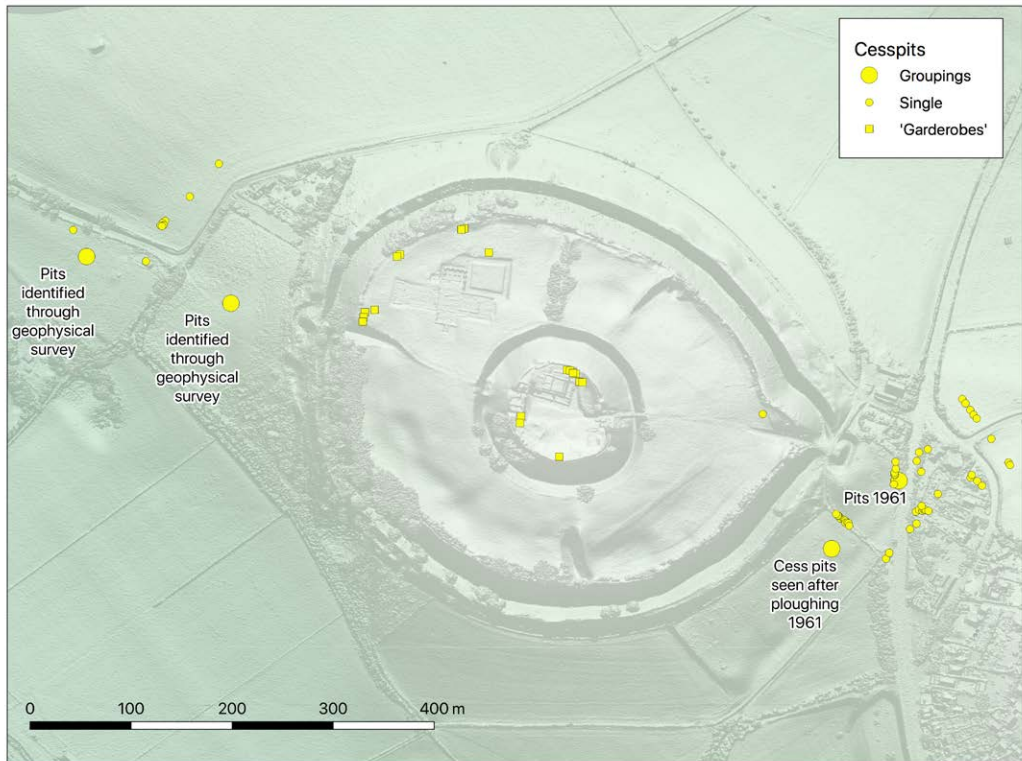


Figure 0.3: Distribution of cess pits recorded from archaeological excavations, surface scatters, and geophysical survey in the Old Sarum hinterland.

recovered material is the product of a single source of production or reflective of a wider ceramic tradition. Despite this barrage of issues, Mephram has adeptly managed to tighten the chronologies of some ware-types, has provisionally isolated pottery groups to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and has successfully compared this early material with that recovered from the medieval city established in the early thirteenth century. The result is a commentary that sets the move from Old Sarum to Salisbury in the broader context of changes in patterns of production and distribution of medieval pottery throughout the region. Long term urban developments in the area are mirrored in the shift from small scale manufacture of limited utilitarian vessels to large scale industries producing a wider range of vessel forms. Again, the ambition of the chapter, along with that of Chapters Five and Six, is to clearly set out the key research questions and avenues of enquiry for any future investigations.

In the second part, we continue the shift of focus down from Old Sarum towards Salisbury and in doing so begin with Phil Harding and Brett Howard's summary of the archaeological evidence for the planned elements of the medieval city of Salisbury and a review of the foundation of St Thomas' Church. **Chapter Eight** emphasises the extremely important role archaeology can play in not just describing the undocumented elements of the medieval city but in helping us to *define* it in terms of how it was both conceived through the material reality, and how it was experienced by those who dwelt there. A sound review, and the identification

of supporting hard evidence, is provided for aspects of Christian belief informing the prolonged forethought that went into accommodating the cathedral, its canonries, and an urban foundation. From the gridded street system right down to the individual plot size, the planning of the city appears to reflect the spiritual desire for ordered space and this discussion is set within a wider framework that considers the archaeological evidence for the sequence of early development, examining the relationship of the chequers and their watercourses to the major thoroughfares through the new city.

In **Chapter Nine**, Christopher Daniell examines in critical detail the historical evidence for the early development of the city, refining John Chandler's two-phase model and exploring the relative chronology between the construction of the cathedral and its close, the marketplace, the bishop's (and later Town) mill, and the subsequent development of the chequer system. Having examined the documentary evidence for what might have existed before the laying of the foundation stone of the cathedral in 1220, Daniell opts for a phased approach in which the chequers and their watercourses are planned and set out between 1228 and 1269, in the aftermath of the early success of the site in a scheme that may even, by the fourteenth century, have been unfinished. For Geoff Lang, it is the marketplace – the subject of **Chapter Ten** – that took centre stage in the planning of the new settlement. Here a deliberate and conscious attempt to take advantage of the major thoroughfares through the Salisbury basin for the purposes of wealth generation is proposed. The large and spacious plot set aside for the market was less an after-thought but rather a central component in the original planner's minds and provides evidence, Lang argues, of the economic motives that drove the relocation project. He goes on to explore the biography of Salisbury's market – a centre of trade and exchange that is as vibrant today as it has ever been – and demonstrates how it went on to fulfil a range of public functions transitioning from a place of economic importance, to becoming the cultural and social heart of the city.

What emerges from Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten is a framework for approaching the early development of the city where much remains up for debate. The coherency of the chequer system and its integral watercourses as they negotiate the pre-existing topographical elements of the alluvial plain might suggest that the whole – cathedral, market, *and* urban foundation – was a single design from the outset. However, the irregularities in the gridded street system around St Thomas' Church, the lines taken by the Town and Close Ditches, and the likelihood of earlier mills within the area, give rise to the possibilities that both pre-existing settlement topography *and* decisions being made in response to the pace of progress informed the planning process. One important result from the detailed discussions in these chapters is that a research framework for the city emerges and it is hoped that this detailed review of the historical and archaeological evidence for the city's early development seeds critical enquiry of all archaeological deposits should further developer-led archaeological work be commissioned within the city's medieval boundaries.

For the city of Salisbury, three chapters on the suburbs are offered. In the first, **Chapter Eleven**, Jamie Wright treats us to a meticulous scouring of the primary source evidence to reconstruct in rich detail the biography of one of Salisbury's first suburbs from a settlement emerging historically in the Domesday record of AD 1086 and charting its development through to the later nineteenth century. What emerges from the page is a colourful prosopography of Fisherton, an English city suburb, told through the births, livelihoods,

crafts, industries, and deaths of its illustrious occupants. Fisherton was swiftly drawn into the orbit of the developing city, subsumed to the extent that it shared in the changing fortunes of its matriarchal neighbour, buffeted equally by the ebb and flow of wealth and poverty over eight hundred years. The myth that such suburbs were dens of iniquity is resoundingly dispelled, and if anything, by becoming a home for the city's railway station, gaol, malt houses, gas works and city hall, Fisherton is a testimony to the important role such early suburban settlements have played in the development of provincial urban centres more widely.

Chapter Twelve offers another deep dive into the fate of a single parish – Britford – located to the southeast of the city of Salisbury. Comprising three land types – active floodplain, adjacent river terrace and chalk downland – a focus on land-use demonstrates how a largely rural historic parish was impacted by the growing city from the 1600s. In the southern parts of the parish, regional and national trends in the development of agriculture, such as the enclosure of open fields and hydrological modification of the floodplain (including 'floated' watermeadows) can be observed. In parallel, local market demand stimulated dairy production and a greater need for hay. In the northern part of the parish, the Tithing of East Harnham, the impact of a significant urban centre was reflected through horticulture, playing fields and artisanal employment, heralding creeping suburban development. The chapter also contributes to the growing body of literature concerned with the management of watermeadows in the chalk downland of Wessex, an extremely innovative system that maximised grassland production while parallel developments in arable farming improved productivity during times of market demand.

There is growing interest in suburban expansion around the world as typically observed in recent centuries. **Chapter Thirteen** is concerned with the growth of suburban Salisbury in the nineteenth to early twenty-first centuries. The modern cultural contexts of the 'suburb' are outlined in order to explore impacts of suburban development on wider society, including accommodation of the English class system. The growth of Salisbury was restricted during the eighteenth century when compared with other cities such as London, Bristol and Sheffield that were developing functions such as commercial, port or manufacturing, at scales hitherto not seen in the UK. Changes in urban Salisbury over the subsequent two centuries are important and are explored through metrics such as population change and density, both serving to emphasise the outward expansion of the city after the First World War. There were also dramatic changes in infrastructure and services as well as consequent changes in local government boundaries. Case studies are given for East and West Harnham as well as Stratford-sub-Castle where, ironically, twentieth-century suburbanisation appears at the foot of the hill of Old Sarum.

It is perhaps trite to talk of 'future generations of scholars and researchers'. Yet the present investigations are part of the story of Old and New Sarum, because this snapshot of current work signposts where future historical, geographical, and archaeological research questions may be formulated, largely by identifying gaps in knowledge. There is also a need for metaphorical digging, including public records, whilst the vast range of extant maps and spatial information needs collation and explanation. As we have seen, environmental scientific data, such as may be gleaned from archaeobotanical or zooarchaeological studies, bring us closer to the human condition and in understanding past economies.



Figure 0.4: Salisbury Cathedral, looking north, to the city and suburbs beyond. Old Sarum can be seen just below the line of the horizon to the left of the cathedral spire © Hedley Thorne.

The material culture record may be deemed deficient, for example in the ceramic record or the stratigraphy associated with buildings. Equally intriguing, further geophysical or trial archaeological evaluations may prioritise further field investigations. This could be significant in locations such as the environs of St Thomas’s Church, in the suburbs such as Fisherton, Laverstock, and the two Harnhams, or around rural Britford. Implications for economic historical investigation are manifest, be it about manufacturing, agriculture, establishment of geographic boundaries or the complicated interactions that occur around and within marketplaces as well as the lifestyles, health, and livelihoods of our forebears – at both Old and New Sarum.

In this endeavour, our greatest thanks are extended to our contributors and to those who very kindly read and commented on early chapter drafts. We consider ourselves honoured to be able to bring together a group of scholars who, like us, collectively share an interest that in many cases extends to a passion for this wonderful city, its environs, and the amazing story it can tell. Standing on Cobbett’s ‘Accursed Hill’ today looking down on Salisbury, its cathedral, suburbs, and satellite settlements in the valley below (Figure 0.4), one might not find oneself any less pessimistic on the political future of our little island. We can, however, rejoice in a landscape arguably better placed than any other in Britain to tell, in a single vista, the story of the turbulent medieval world, of the tug of war between bottom-up market forces and the grasp of elite control, of the tensions between church and state, and of the *longue durée* of urban development across over eight hundred years. There is a very particular story to be told about these cities, but it is one that has the potential to inform

on the wider social and economic fortunes of northern Europe in the second millennium AD. We hope, in the following pages, to have done justice to this important story and to have done much to set the agenda for future archaeological and historical work on one of England's finest cathedral cities.

Chapter One

Old Sarum, new perspectives

Alex Langlands

One of the first issues we are confronted with in the study of Old Sarum is what exactly is it? During a short flight over the monument to take pictures, I asked the pilot if he would mind flying round ‘Old Sarum’ again so that I might get one more shot (Figure 1.1). It was a while before I realised that he was circling the airfield. Type ‘Old Sarum’ into Bing Maps, and the new housing development of that name, built up against the Portway, is highlighted. Old Sarum continues to shift its centre of gravity according to the nature of the enquirer. Is it a hillfort, a city, a town, a castle, or a cathedral? Was it a bustling urban hill-top in the mould of a classic medieval European town or does it enclose a complex of buildings with functions allied to the secular and ecclesiastical complexes that it contained? Was the place of commerce, trade and settled townspeople, in consequence, outside the hillfort and, if so, can we talk of ‘suburbs’ – as this volume has – when referring to the settlements to the immediate east, west and south-west?



Figure 1.1: Aerial view of Old Sarum, taken from the south-south-west © The author.

‘The city in the castle and the castle in city’

Henry of Avranches’s description in a contemporary poem has been used to examine where exactly the location of the borough may have been, yet the ambiguity of his wordplay may have been deliberate because to a contemporary audience it was not clear what Old Sarum was intended to be.¹ This may, in turn, explain why debates over the exact focus of urban settlement persist.² It is tempting to be seduced by the classic European fortified hill-top town model and to imagine a bustling and thriving, settlement packed in behind the town walls.³ This archetype of the ‘citadel’ is best exemplified by Merryweather’s 1761 depiction of the hillfort (Figure 1.2), and wonderfully depicted in John B. Thorp’s 1927 scale model up until recently on display in the cloister of Salisbury Cathedral.⁴ This re-imagining of the city appeared justified when recent geophysical survey recovered a high density of subterranean features within what is known as the Outer Bailey indicative, possibly, of the medieval city.⁵

However, the Outer Bailey at Old Sarum has born witness to phases of substantial activity both before and after the twelfth century, all of which would almost certainly have left some archaeological trace. Central southern England has yielded extensive evidence of Iron Age activity and it is likely that this prominently located fort was as densely occupied as others in the region.⁶ Whilst the Roman *Sorviodunum* of the Antonine Itinerary is now thought to mainly occupy an area close to where the Roman road crosses the river Avon, evidence recovered from archaeological investigations within the hillfort suggest a range of functions were fulfilled there in the second and third centuries.⁷ Then there is the known activity since abandonment from the thirteenth century onwards. Excavations in 1912–15 established a refashioning of the east end of the cathedral and south aisle of the cloister to accommodate a range of structures provided with hearths.⁸ Post-medieval material was recovered from each of the trial trenches excavated in the outer bailey in 1957 and in the sewer trench cut between

¹ A. R. Malden, ‘A Contemporary Poem on the Translation of the Cathedral from Old to New Sarum’, *WANHM*, 30 (1898), 210–17; W. J. Torrance, ‘A Contemporary Poem on the Removal of Salisbury Cathedral’, *WANHM*, 57 (1959), 242–46 (p. 242); C. Frost, ‘The Symbolic Move to New Sarum: An Investigation into the Move from Old Sarum to New Sarum Using Two Contemporary Sources’, *WANHM*, 98 (2005), 155–64.

² H. Braun, ‘The Earthworks of Old Sarum’, *WANHM*, 57 (1960), 406–7; D. Stroud, ‘The Site of the Borough of Old Sarum 1066–1226: An Examination of Some Documentary Evidence’, *WANHM*, 80 (1986), 120–26; J. Chandler, ‘Where Was Old Sarum?’, *Sarum Chronicle*, 4 (2004), 22–30.

³ J. McNeill, *Old Sarum* (London: English Heritage Guidebooks, 2006); Anon, ‘Old Sarum Archaeologists Reveal Plan of Medieval City’, *BBC News*, 3 December 2014 <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-wiltshire-30300837>>; K. Strutt, D. Barker, E. Richley, and others, *Report on the Geophysical Survey at Old Sarum, Wiltshire March–April 2014* (Southampton University: Archaeological Prospection Services of Southampton, 2014), p. 45 <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1047135>>.

⁴ K. Kastner, ‘A reconstruction of Old Sarum in the 12th century, housed at Salisbury Cathedral’, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Old_Sarum#/media/File:Old_Sarum_Model_from_West.jpg, 2013 [accessed 21/12/2022]

⁵ K. Strutt, D. Barker, W. Heard, and others, *Report on the Geophysical Survey at Old Sarum, Wiltshire March–July 2015* (Southampton University: Archaeological Prospection Services of Southampton, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1047136>>.

⁶ A. Borthwick and J. Chandler, *Our Chequered Past: The Archaeology of Salisbury* (Trowbridge: Wiltshire Library and Museum Service, 1984); B. W. Cunliffe, *Danebury: An Iron Age Hillfort in Hampshire*, Research Report, 52, <73, 102 > (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1984); J. Richards, *Old Sarum Castle, Wiltshire: Conservation Plan* (Archaemedia, for English Heritage, unpublished, 2010); J. C. Barrett, A. Woodward, and P. W. M. Freeman, *Cadbury Castle, Somerset: The Later Prehistoric and Early Historic Archaeology* (London: English Heritage, 2013).

⁷ J. F. S. Stone and D. J. Algar, ‘Sorviodunum’, *WANHM*, 56 (203) (1955), 102–26; D. J. James, ‘Sorviodunum - A Review of the Archaeological Evidence’, *WANHM*, 95 (2002), 1–26.

⁸ W. St. John Hope, ‘Report of the Committee for Excavations at Old Sarum, 1913’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Second, 26 (1914), 100–119 (p. 108), and best illustrated in Montgomerie’s unfinished colour plans of the cathedral complex held in Salisbury Museum.

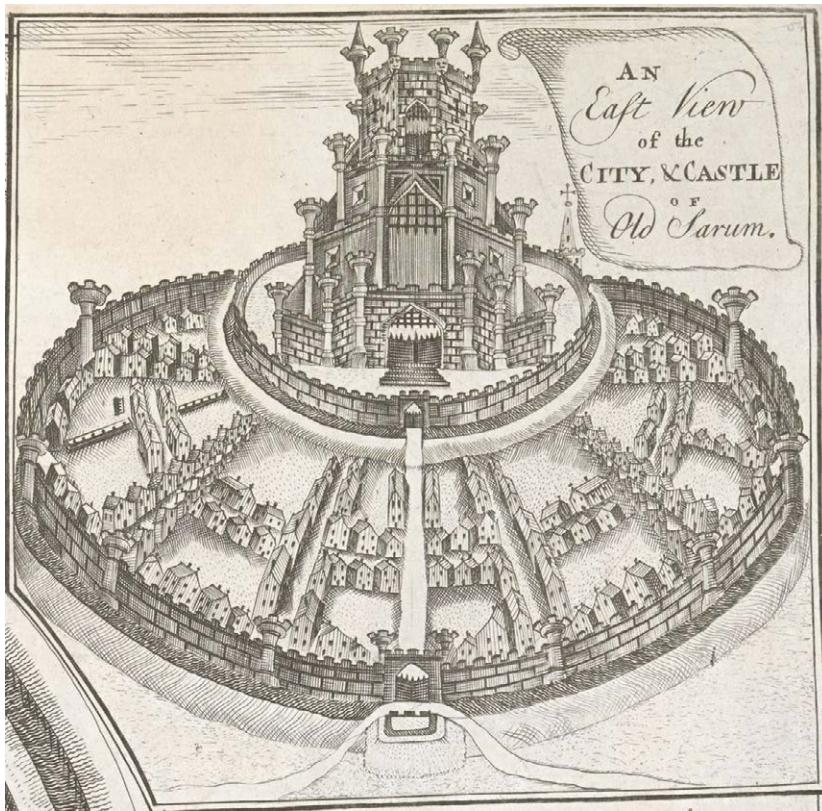


Figure 1.2: F. Merryweather's depiction of the hillfort drawn in 1761 as part of his *Exact plan and section of Old Sarum* (No known copyright restrictions).

the present sanitation block and the east entrance of the hillfort there were at least four features cut from high up in the stratigraphic sequence through late medieval demolition layers.⁹ Salisbury was spared any serious repercussions during the English Civil wars (AD 1642-1651) but at Longhedge a recently excavated seventeenth-century 'sconce', a square-shaped fort with corner bastions sat within direct line of sight to Old Sarum, suggests some kind of stand-off on the Marlborough road between parliamentary troops to the north and a garrison on the hill.¹⁰

Indeed, even the internal radial banks of the Outer Bailey (Figure 1.3), the most obvious above ground features, have been accepted as divisions between the ecclesiastical and lay communities within the notional busy medieval city.¹¹ Yet, all three are of significantly different design. The north-east radial bank has fairly been described as the result of upcast from a

⁹ P. A. Rahtz and J. W. G. Musty, 'Excavations at Old Sarum, 1957', *WANHM*, 57 (1960), 352-70. See Appendix, this volume, Figure A.2.1, A-D.

¹⁰ B. Clarke and L. Mephem, '17th-and 20th-Century Military Sites at Longhedge, Old Sarum, Salisbury', *WANHM*, 111 (2018), 325-36 (p. 327).

¹¹ RCHME, 'Old Sarum', in *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury* (London: H.M.S.O., 1977), pp. 1-24 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/salisbury/pp1-24> [accessed 7 December 2023]>, Figure 9; McNeill, *Old Sarum*, p. 15.

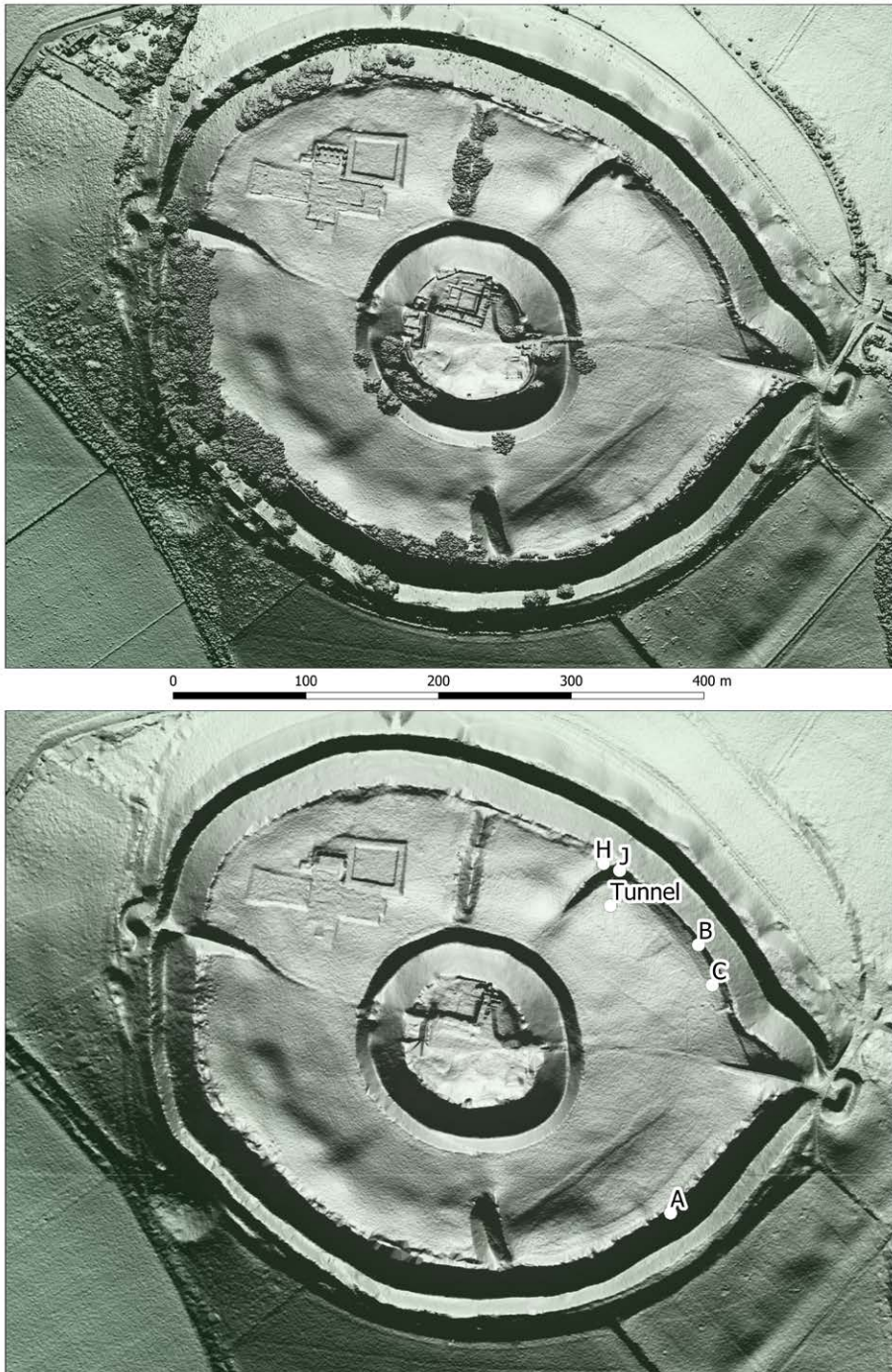


Figure 1.3: Digital surface (top) and terrain (bottom) models derived from 0.5m LiDAR data © Crown Copyright, under Open Government License 2023. Showing locations of Rahtz and Musty's 1957 trenches.

tunnel first identified in 1795 and subsequently excavated by Philip Rahtz and John Musty in 1957.¹² The north-west bank, the most uniform in design, might justifiably be associated with the Civil War activity suggested above, protecting the west flank of a north-facing installation designed to watch the Marlborough Road. Extensive robbing of the medieval structures would have also left its mark and the shape and form of the south ‘radial bank’, rising up on a trajectory to the central motte, along with its crude ditch, might just as well be interpreted as an earthen ramp thrown up to extract the stone from the castle, setting it on a more direct line to the Portway and the Avon beyond from where it could be floated downstream for reuse in the new cathedral close. Add to this the references to unrecorded excavations, and the evidence for military activity during both world wars, and we arrive at a monument that has experienced successive phases of activity that collectively may account for the relatively high density of features recorded in the geophysical survey.¹³ Teasing out those features that relate specifically to the twelfth-century activity – and whether they reflect a thriving and bustling medieval city – will only be achieved by agency of the mattock, shovel, and trowel.

‘Another problem’: Past excavations at Old Sarum

Our problems stem largely from the fact that very little is known from the archaeological excavation undertaken within the hillfort. It is true that from 1909 to 1915 a team sponsored by the Society of Antiquaries excavated large parts of the castle and cathedral complexes. However, the outbreak of the First World War caused a major disruption to proceedings and William St John Hope, the lead archaeologist, was to die prematurely in 1919 leaving only the brief annual reports read out to the society to provide a narrative account and descriptions of the excavations.¹⁴ In some years, these were authored by Lieutenant Colonel William Hawley, the man who directed activities on a day-to-day basis, and whose field diary is also a useful source for the reconstruction of the excavations as they proceeded.¹⁵ To these can be added the fine but incomplete set of drawings made by the site surveyor and photographer, D. H. Montgomerie, who deposited some of his archive at Salisbury Museum in the 1930s. A collection of artefacts also found its way to Salisbury Museum and the decorated stonework from both the castle and cathedral sites appears to have been divided between the museum and what has gone on to become the English Heritage store at Temple Cloud.¹⁶ Finally, a collection of photographic slides held at the Society of Antiquaries library largely duplicates the images from Montgomerie’s album, and a single notebook deposited with a collection

¹² Anon., ‘March’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 65.3 (1795), 193, plate II; Rahtz and Musty.

¹³ Rahtz and Musty; *The History of the King’s Works: Volume 2, The Middle Ages*, ed. by H. M. Colvin (London: H.M.S.O., 1963), p. 824, n. 2.

¹⁴ W. St. John Hope, ‘Report of the Committee for Excavations at Old Sarum, 1909’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Second, 22 (1910), 190–201; W. St. John Hope, ‘Report of the Committee for Excavations at Old Sarum, 1910’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Second, 23 (1911), 501–19; W. Hawley, ‘Report of the Committee for Excavations at Old Sarum, 1911’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Second, 24 (1912), 52–78 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S095079730001324X>>; W. Hawley, ‘Report of the Committee for Excavations at Old Sarum, 1912’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Second, 25 (1913), 93–104; Hope, ‘Report of the Committee for Excavations at Old Sarum, 1913’; W. Hawley, ‘Report of the Committee for Excavations at Old Sarum, 1914’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Second, 27 (1915), 230–38; W. St. John Hope, ‘Report of the Committee for Excavations at Old Sarum, 1915’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Second, 28 (1916), 174–83.

¹⁵ W. Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910–15* (Salisbury: Held in Salisbury Museum Collections).

¹⁶ See the *Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum Medieval Catalogues Parts 1 to 4*, edited by Peter and Eleanor Saunders and published by Salisbury Museum.

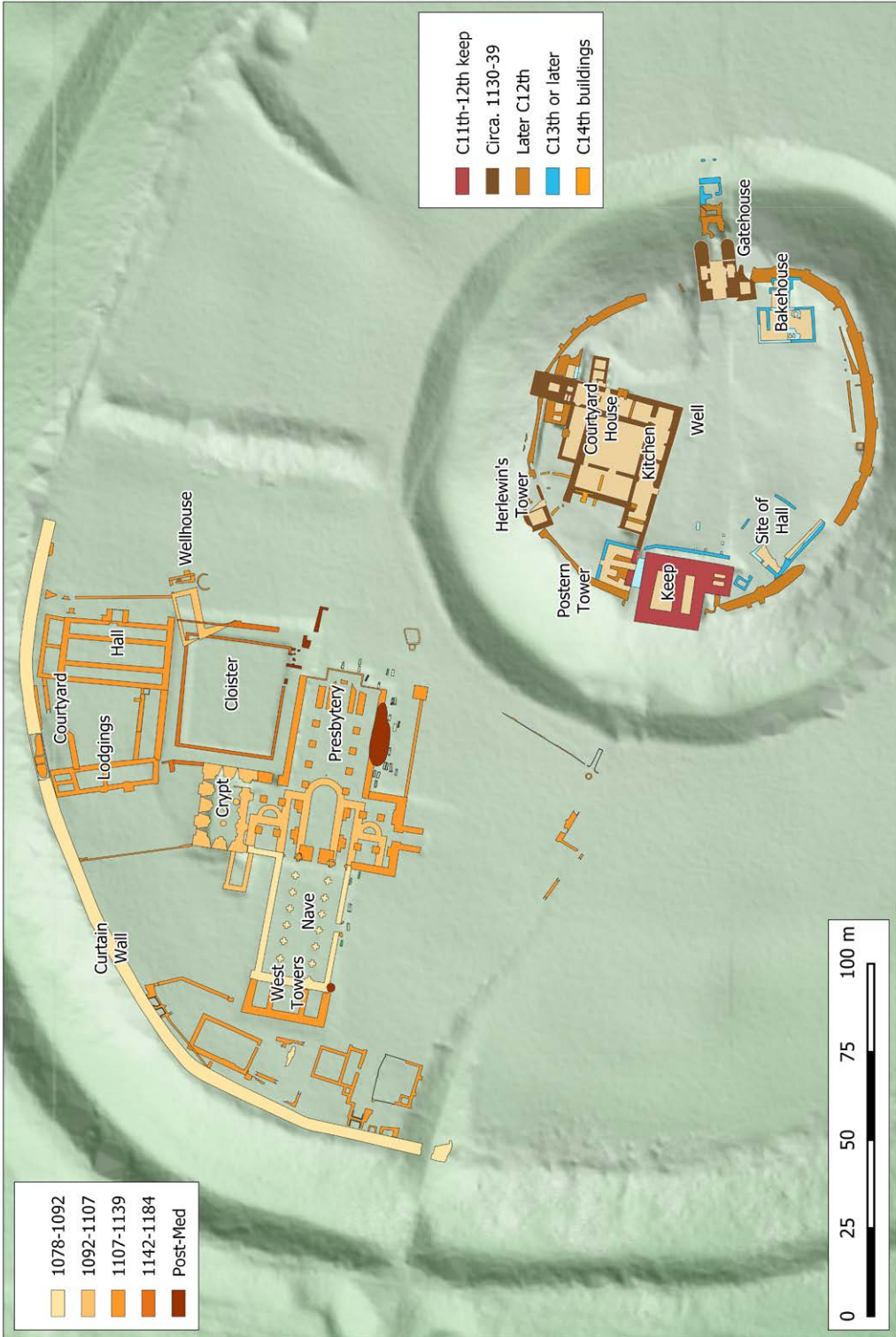


Figure 1.4: The main structures exposed in the castle and cathedral excavations of 1909-1915, after McNeill 2006, and an unfinished plan by D. H. Montgomerie held in Salisbury Museum.

of Hope's other books, can now be seen to contain rough sketch plans of the east end of the cathedral.¹⁷

D. H. Montgomerie later went on to write an overview of the excavations presenting some new information and John McNeill's recent review of the 1909-1915 project, in a bid to reconstruct aspects of the cathedral's appearance and the sequences of its construction, provides an up-to-date critical assessment of how far the limited evidence from this phase of work can be pushed.¹⁸ Understanding what the project sought to achieve in the first place goes some way to setting in context the approach of the excavation team and the nature of the records that were being made. The seed of an idea was sown as early as 1902 when in a passing visit to the castle St John Hope remarked that, 'Excavation would reveal much'.¹⁹ Yet it wasn't until 1909 that the clear requirements of the monument for some kind of coordinated remedial care initiated action. As McNeill has pointed out, the tone of then President Sir Charles Read's anniversary address to the Society of Antiquaries suggests that Old Sarum, described as 'another problem', was identified as an appropriate site at which to expose the lack of government interest in resourcing the protection and conservation of nationally significant monuments.²⁰

It is the visits of Charles Reed Peers, Inspector of Ancient Monuments from 1910 and chief from 1913 to 1933, that tell us much about Old Sarum's role in the development of a conservation aesthetic largely still adhered to at historic properties in state care today.²¹ In May 1914, for example, it was at Peers' request that a bank on either side of the boundary wall (running north-west from the crypt) was de-turfed and 'sloped away' to give a good view of the wall and prevent debris falling and covering it. Given the timing of Peers' visits and the nature of the work in hand there, Old Sarum should probably be acknowledged as a formative site in the development of the Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act passed in 1913.²²

Of the excavations in the castle, out of necessity, the activities consisted largely of a clearance exercise whereby vast deposits of demolition debris were removed to reveal the footings of major buildings, their likely function, and relative phasing (Figure 1.4). It was understood that the central motte of the castle was cast up over the line of the original hillfort and the excavation of two galleries through the steening of an unfinished well, in search of the original ground surface, represents an ingenious attempt at exploring what came before the castle (more of which, below). The same circumstances governed the excavation of the cathedral complex. Extensive robbing of the structures, the removal of decorated stone and

¹⁷ Society of Antiquaries Collections, HOP/02/12 (notebook 24), a cloth bound A5(ish) notebook in dark green currently listed as 'York Minster, etc., measured plans [notebook 24]' relates exclusively to Old Sarum Cathedral excavations. The book includes a series of crude sketch plans with annotated measurements of parts of the cathedral ruins that had been exposed by the summer of 1915. It is clear in one instance that a later sketch plan supersedes an early plan – so the notebook could have been started in 1913. <https://collections.sal.org.uk/hop.02.12>

¹⁸ D. H. Montgomerie, 'Old Sarum', *Archaeological Journal*, 104.1 (1947), 129–43; J. McNeill, 'Bishop Roger, St John Hope, and Old Sarum Cathedral', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 175.1 (2022), 108–48 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00681288.2022.2035932>>.

¹⁹ Society of Antiquaries Collections, HOP/02/06, 'Church notes, reredos at Christchurch, Hants., castles [notebook 18]', 17th September 1902. <https://collections.sal.org.uk/hop.02.06>

²⁰ McNeill, 'Bishop Roger', p. 11; citing 'Anniversary: Friday, 23rd April, 1909', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 22 (1909), 467–91 (pp. 474–75) <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0950797300002481>>.

²¹ Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15*, 1913-06-14; 1913-09-06; 1914-05-26.

²² S. Fry, *The Ancient Monuments Branch under Peers and Baines*, A History of the National Heritage Collection, 4 (London: English Heritage, Research Report Series 48, 2014).

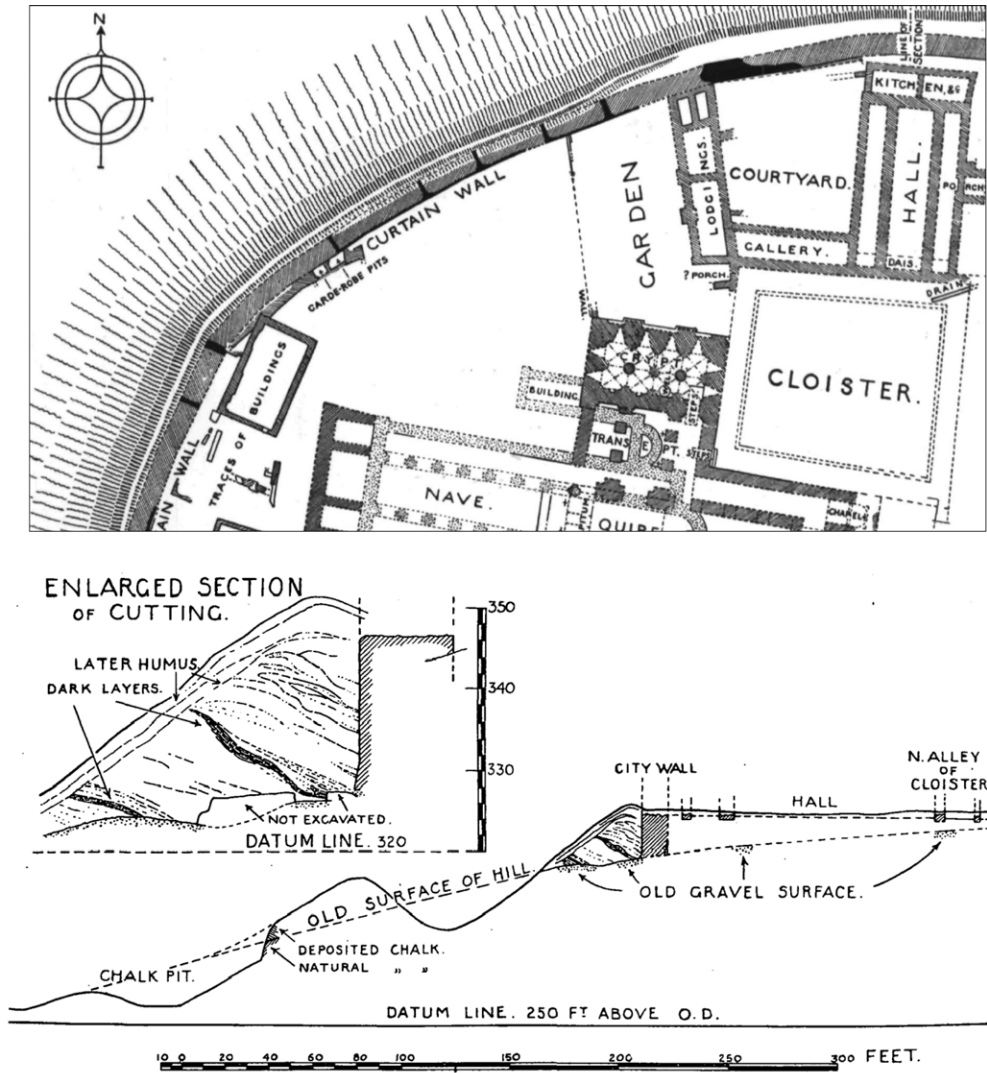


Figure 1.5: Profile of city defences in the north-west quadrant at Old Sarum, showing (above) 'line of section' in far NE corner of plan (Hawley 1915, Figs. 1 and 2)

cut ashlar facing, with the concomitant picking out of plaster and mortar, meant that much of the site, especially on the north side of the cathedral, was covered with an extensive overburden of demolition debris. Hope was a prolific excavator of monastic and ecclesiastical structures but his method of working, described in his own words as a form of wall-chasing, was highly damaging to the surrounding stratified archaeological deposits and it is clear from the photographs of the site that if any stratigraphic relationships between floor surfaces and construction cuts for foundations had survived the extensive robbing of the site, they would

very likely have been impacted by the systematic exposing of the lines of walls.²³ There are, however, occurrences when attempts are made to engage in questions of chronology through targeted excavation of stratified remains. For example, in the immediate aftermath of a visit by the Royal Archaeological Institute, Hope initiates some trial trenching in the nave in a bid to find evidence of an earlier Saxon church.²⁴ The complete excavation of deposits down to the natural bedrock on the line of the tram road taking spoil over the rampart to be dumped into an old chalk pit also demonstrates some critical engagement with the longer-term history of the site (Figure 1.5). On balance, however, with Hope only a visitor to the site and otherwise directing activities remotely, and Hawley left in charge of proceedings, the ambitions of the ‘excavations’ appear to have been primarily to expose the outlines of the cathedral buildings, and to establish the architectural relationships between the phases of church construction and the surrounding ancillary buildings. Montgomerie’s plans, falling halfway between a record of the excavated deposits and an interpretative plan, would appear to confirm that from the outset it was the medieval architectural structures – the theme of St John Hope’s personal research interests – and contemporary ideas of how to restore historic buildings that governed the strategy at the site.

In this context, the complete cleaning out of all the garderobe pits encountered can be considered regrettable. Hawley’s comments on these activities does much to drain the colour from the face of the archaeologist with only the faintest sense of how important environmental data can be. On completing the excavation of a ‘rubbish pit’ at the north end of the hall in the cathedral complex, for example, he described how it contained ‘only domestic rubbish from some near kitchen, but no object of any importance’.²⁵ Of another garderobe pit to the west of the complex, ‘Nothing was obtained from the Garderobe matter and none of the potsherds were of consequence’.²⁶ Such remarks can be considered of-their-time and in some senses Hawley should be forgiven. He may have been a man held in high regard by his contemporaries but from very early on his later work at Stonehenge came under scrutiny, not least since the re-excavation of areas under his charge.²⁷ The recovery of an undisturbed funerary deposit at Stonehenge in an area apparently excavated in the 1920s serves as an example of a lack of thoroughness in his work and elsewhere his trench-side decision making has been described as ‘debatable’.²⁸

To criticise Hawley’s work at Old Sarum is probably unfair. Old Sarum was a very different prospect from Stonehenge and if anyone should carry the can for the devastation wrought between 1919 and 1926 on the world’s most famous stone circle, it is probably Peers, the man whose remit it was to protect the site.²⁹ Old Sarum was of a different scale, and clearly had a heavy overburden of demolition waste to be dealt with before more sensitive archaeological

²³ G. Coppack, *Abbeys & Priors* (Stroud: Tempus, 2006), p. 24.

²⁴ Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15, 1913-09-27*.

²⁵ Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15, 1914-07-30*.

²⁶ Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15, 1912-08-14*.

²⁷ C. P., ‘Lt.-Col. William Hawley, Elected 5th June 1902, Died 7th April 1941’, *The Antiquaries Journal*, 21.3 (1941), 241; R. J. C. Atkinson, *Stonehenge* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1956), pp. 196-97; R. Cleal, R. Montague, and K. E. Walker, *Stonehenge in Its Landscape: Twentieth-Century Excavations* (London: English Heritage, 1995), pp. 451-55, for a more balanced view see pp. 13-14; M. Pitts, *Hengeworld* (London: Arrow, 2000), pp. 116-21.

²⁸ M. Pitts and others, ‘An Anglo-Saxon Decapitation and Burial from Stonehenge’, *WANHM*, 95 (2002), 131-46 (p. 131); C. Willis and others, ‘The Dead of Stonehenge’, *Antiquity*, 90.350 (2016), 337-56 (pp. 340-41).

²⁹ S. Fry, *Stonehenge, A History of the National Heritage Collection*, 3 (London: English Heritage, Research Report Series 47, 2014), p. 18.

deposits were encountered. Hawley was brought in for his engineering experience not his archaeological expertise and in mitigation, as the seasons passed, one can observe in his diary an increasingly enquiring mind when it came to interpreting the material that, day on day, the team were removing from the site under his instruction. In October of 1912, for example, he had wits enough about him to observe in the second garderobe at the north end of the west range of the Bishop's Hall that the greater number of fish bones and eggshells coming from the ecclesiastical garderobes suggested the cathedral tenants had, over their contemporaries in the castle, a greater access to 'fresh food'. Another astute observation is made of the large pits dug to undermine the western end of the cathedral for the purposes of demolition. These, he suggests, were excavated on the eastern side so that when the towers were toppled they did not 'interfere' with the hall to the immediate west.³⁰ This thought may have been influenced by the apparently late construction of the hall deduced by Hawley's observation on the stratigraphy (the only one to warrant a small sketch in his diary) where the curtain wall, faced in white ashlar block ('with broad arrow mason's mark'), passed underneath the hall's north-west corner.³¹ A systematic approach to Hawley's main contribution, his diary, and georeferencing the daily details therein, has allowed for a digital reconstruction of the 1912-1915 cathedral excavations (Figure 1.6). Not only has the sequence of excavation been refined, but many artefacts have been geo-located to specific areas, undated photographs from the collection can now be assigned to a season, and various observations, such as the depth of the natural chalk and gravel surfaces, can be plotted. For example, the iron shackles recovered from the site, currently on display in Salisbury Museum, can now confidently be associated with the tomb of Bishop Roger and linked to the so-called 'Arrest of the Bishops', a catalytic event for the 'Anarchy' and one described by William Stubbs as the most important in English constitutional history since the Norman Conquest.³²

Two other phases of excavation are worthy of note, the first of which consists of a series of trial trenches excavated up against the inside edge of the ringwork in the north-east quadrant of the Outer Bailey in 1957 (Trench locations are marked on Figure 1.3).³³ The second is a record made of the archaeological deposits exposed when a sewer pipe was cut from the present-day ablutions block out the east gate and down to the sewer mains in 1967. The records for the latter have been brought together for the first time and are published here as an appendix. Rahtz and Musty's excavations of 1957 had as their main objectives the establishment of the line and character of the curtain wall found in the north-west quarter in 1912-14 and the exploration of the tunnel uncovered in the late eighteenth century.³⁴ Their work identified considerable variation in the character of the rampart across the site and clearly a much more complicated sequence than a single phase of Norman work re-fashioning an Iron Age rampart. However, they were quick to acknowledge the extremely small size of their trenches and that they had not confidently worked out the sequence of defences at Old Sarum.³⁵

³⁰ Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15, 1913-10-03*.

³¹ Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15, 1912-01-12*.

³² W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England in Its Origin and Development*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1874), VOLUME 1, p. 326, n. 3; A. J. Langlands, 'Three Sets of Shackles at Old Sarum, the "Arrest of the Bishops" in 1139 and the Power of Shaming in the Anglo-Norman World.', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 103 (2023), 195-214 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003581523000203>>.

³³ Rahtz and Musty.

³⁴ Rahtz and Musty.

³⁵ Rahtz and Musty, p. 363.

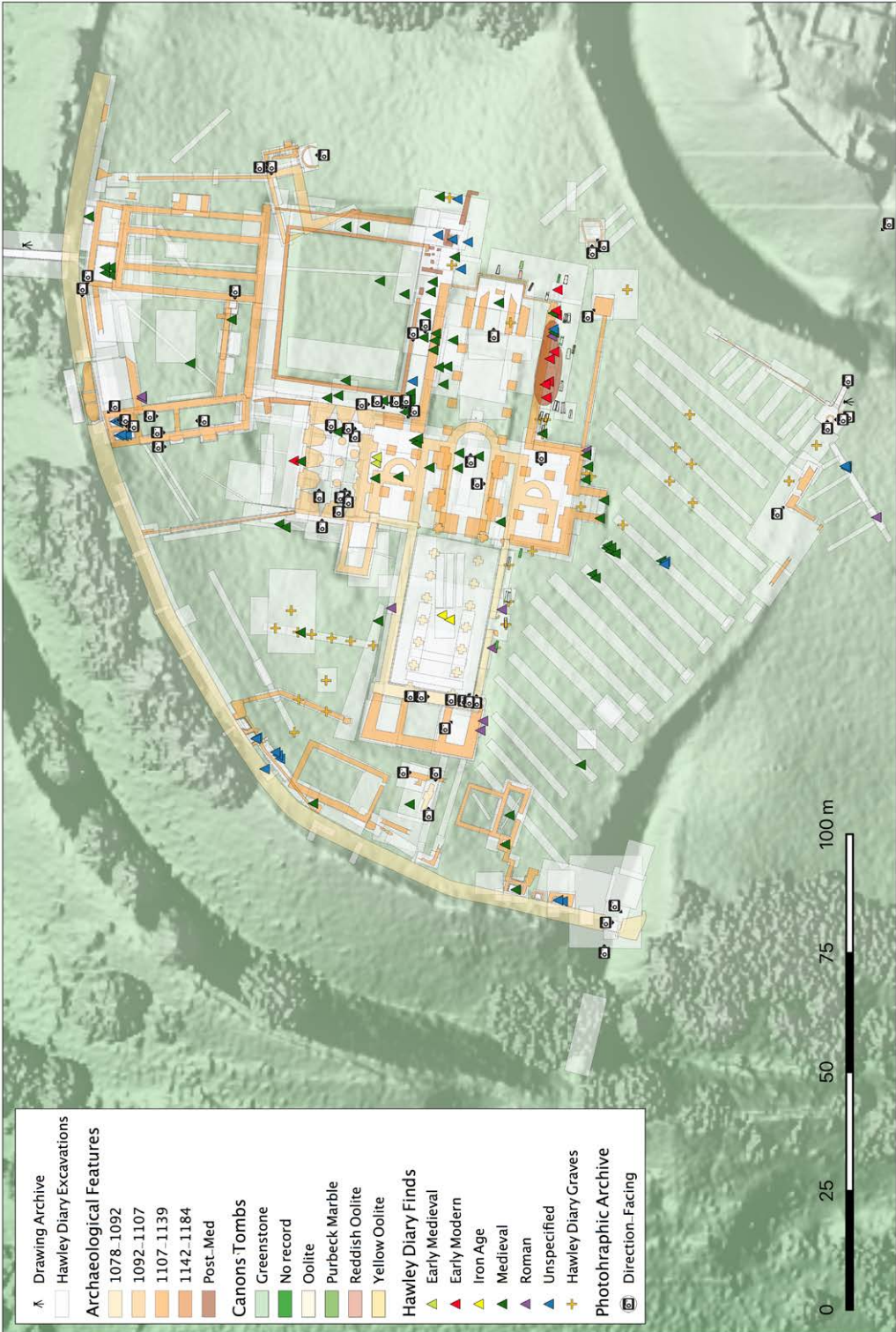


Figure 1.6: The contents of William Hawley's field diary georeferenced, including areas of excavation, locations of finds, and positions of photographic records and drawing archive.

Much of the scholarship on Old Sarum published since Hope and Hawley's excavations has concerned itself with the medieval architectural history of the site during its zenith in the high medieval period. The archaeological evidence within the inner bailey for the Norman and later castle has, as a consequence, already been given sound review.³⁶ Of the cathedral, it is the phases of construction, to which Bishop they can be attributed, and how they relate to the ancillary buildings around a nationally significant cloister that have garnered the most attention.³⁷ It is clear that there are still matters with the overall interpretation of the ecclesiastical structures that remain unresolved and commentary on these will be offered only in passing because the remainder of this chapter will concern itself with understanding the nature of the outer bailey, its inner rampart, the curtain wall and what Hawley called the 'terreplein', the monumental platform created by it.³⁸

The castle in the castle

Of all the reasons to reject the 'citadel' model, access to water is probably chief amongst them. Neither the topographic LiDAR data nor the geophysical survey appear obviously pockmarked by well sites.³⁹ If anything, the sequence of archaeological deposits recorded in the excavation of a well in the Outer Bailey immediately east of the inner ring ditch recalls a popular tradition for the site, one where water was in scarce supply and that underhand methods were resorted to in order to lay hands on it (Figure 1.7). Mercantile functions are also a hallmark of a successful medieval citadel and whether the town was in the hillfort depends to a certain extent on how we define urbanism in this period. If, as has long been held, the indispensable element in any set criteria is a market, a place where neutral exchange can take place, then the space within the hillfort is in many senses ill-fitting.⁴⁰ The extra-mural 'Broad' streets known from a number of late Anglo-Saxon towns, and the width of such streets recorded elsewhere where they converge on an urban core, is clear evidence that space for the movement and marshalling of carts was a priority for a medieval economy on the verge of an economic take-off.⁴¹ Bottle-necks at narrow town gates and market places with only one way in and one way out would be an immediate hinderance to a largely peaceful hinterland intent on doing business.

If the market, and therefore the defining *urban* focus, were outside the hillfort then the east 'suburbs' becomes something of a misnomer. Equally, if suburbs are an indicator of urban

³⁶ A. W. Clapham, 'Old Sarum Castle', *Archaeological Journal*, 104.1 (1947), 139–40; Colvin, pp. 824–28; RCHME, *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury. Vol. 1* (London: HMSO, 1980), pp. 8–10.

³⁷ A.W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture After the Conquest*, English Romanesque Architecture (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 45; R. Gem, 'The First Romanesque Cathedral of Old Salisbury', in *Medieval Architecture and Its Intellectual Context, Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson*, ed. by E. Fernie and P. Crossley (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), pp. 9–18; J. Blair, 'Hall and Chamber: English Domestic Planning 1000-1200', in *Manorial Domestic Buildings in England and Northern France*, ed. by G. Meirion-Jones and M. Jones (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1993), pp. 1–21; T. Tatton-Brown, 'Purple and Green Porphyry at Old Sarum Cathedral', *Hatcher Review*, 5.45 (1998), 33–38; J. Montague, 'The Cloister and Bishop's Palace at Old Sarum with Some Thoughts on the Origins and Meaning of Secular Cathedral Cloisters', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 159 (2006), 48–70; T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Afterlife of St Osmund: From Bishop to Saint, and from Old to New Sarum', *History*, 105.367 (2020), 626–35; McNeill, 'Bishop Roger', p. 108.

³⁸ Hawley, 'Report of the Committee for Excavations at Old Sarum, 1914', pp. 236, 238.

³⁹ Strutt, Barker, Heard, and others.

⁴⁰ C. M. Heighway, *The Erosion of History: Archaeology and Planning in Towns* (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1972), p. 9.

⁴¹ D. J. Keene, 'Suburban Growth', in *The Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns in England and Wales*, ed. by M. W. Barley. (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1976), pp. 71–82 (pp. 73–74) <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1081808>>.

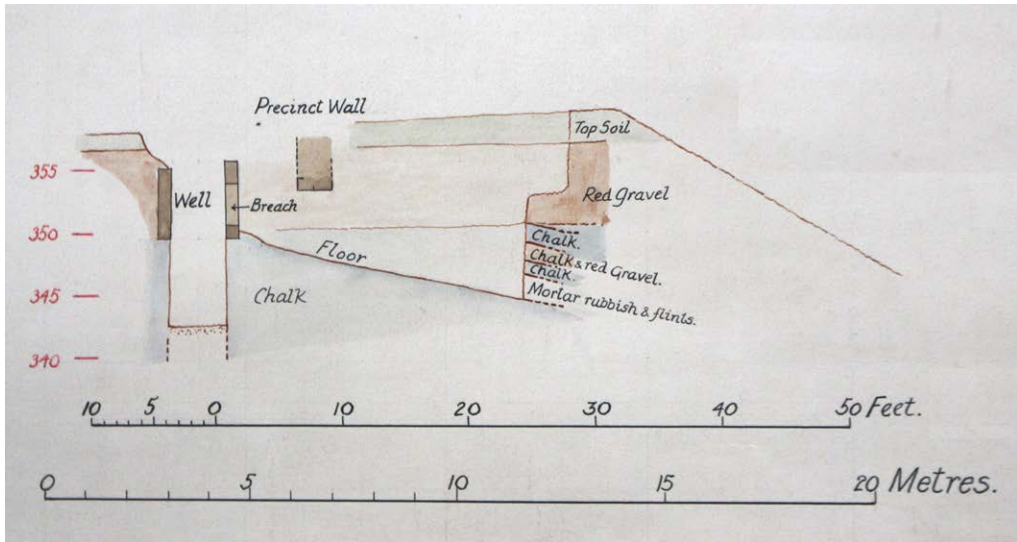


Figure 1.7: South-facing section through well in the Outer Bailey to the immediate east of the inner ring ditch showing tunnel excavated from castle and breach in well steening, D. H. Montgomerie © Salisbury Museum

success, the debate about the city in the castle or the castle in the city takes on special significance.⁴² Why? Because it can tell us much about whether Old Sarum was ever really a ‘bustling’ or ‘thriving’ urban settlement. If the archaeological evidence for settlement outside the east gate is interpreted as something spilling out of a successful hillfort settlement because of a lack of space, then we might comfortably run with the burgeoning citadel model. However, if the space within the hillfort is being reserved for administrative, ceremonial, and marshal purposes, and the mercantile functions of the *urbs* – along with its burgesses and civil society – are outside of the hillfort, then the fate of the urban project can be judged on the nature of the archaeological evidence examined in closer detail in Chapter Four. Were the east ‘suburbs’ organic in their development one might have anticipated a ‘goosefoot’ plan form developing between the angles of the main routes heading towards the east gate of the fort.⁴³ But the apparent topographical arrangement (Figure 4.5 and 4.7) would suggest rather something falling part way between a ‘ring-road’ suburb and ribbon development along a main axial highway, an arrangement that appears ostensibly planned.⁴⁴

Hawley’s ‘Terreplein’

One of the most remarkable and understated aspects of Old Sarum is the symmetry of its earthworks and the creation of the terreplein upon which the cathedral was placed (Figure

⁴² A. Agate, ‘Aspects of Suburban Settlement at Early Urban Centres in England’, in *Landscapes of Defence in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by J. Baker, S. Brookes, and A. Reynolds, Studies in the Early Middle Ages (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2013), pp. 165–94 <<https://doi.org/10.1484/M.SEM-EB.1.100878>>.

⁴³ D. M. Palliser, T. R. Slater, and E. P. Dennison, ‘The Topography of Towns 600–1300’, in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. by D. M. Palliser, 1st edn (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 153–86 (p. 185) <<https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521444613.009>>.

⁴⁴ Agate, p. 180, Fig. 7a.

1.3). There are noted problems with using aerial photography and LiDAR data with which to observe the plan forms of castles and their impacts on the immediate landscape.⁴⁵ Yet, as William Cobbett has pointed out of Old Sarum, in a metaphor apposite to his audience, ‘it was so altered by the Romans, or by somebody, that the upper three-quarter parts of the hill now, when seen from a distance, somewhat resemble *three cheeses*, laid one upon the other’.⁴⁶ It is also true that from whichever direction the monument is approached, be it the Devizes, Marlborough, Winchester, or London roads, it has the appearance of a trio of concentrically stacked cheeses. Central to this effect is the placement of the inner motte, the significance of which has likewise failed to garner closer analysis. It is extremely rare, if not unique, to find a castle placed so centrally within an encircling rampart. Of the earlier towns into which Norman castles are inserted, excepting Stamford (a relatively small motte construction), the castle is located alongside or over the perimeter wall.⁴⁷ This arrangement is routine within reoccupied Roman forts and, specifically in cases where castles are located in Iron-Age hillforts, they are located in a position immediately alongside the hillfort ditch.⁴⁸ Add to this the ‘exceptional’ scale of Old Sarum both in terms of its size and imposition and we have a monument of remarkable stature and one clearly indicative of a body of architects working to a vision.⁴⁹

Before exploring this vision, the archaeological evidence for the earthworks shall be examined because the case for the monumental importance of Old Sarum rests heavily on the extent to which the hill was purposefully remodelled. The outstanding piece of evidence survives in the form of a section drawing depicting a cutting through the ramparts in the 1914 season of excavations in the north-west quadrant (Figure 1.5).⁵⁰ The schematic simplicity of the section gives some cause for concern regarding the nature of its production, but it nonetheless does much to inform on key elements of the terreplein’s design and subsequent construction upon it.

The curtain wall itself can be observed here sitting on the natural hillslope at a depth of around 14ft (4.3m). It is immense in its construction, at around 11ft wide (3.3m), and circling the entirety of the north-west quadrant (Figure 1.4). To the west of the cathedral a huge flint rubble wall was recorded by Hawley sitting on the natural chalk at a depth of 14-15ft (4.5m) and the depths of the garderobes built up against the curtain wall all along its course are described as being retained by stone walls between 15ft and 18ft (5.5m) deep.⁵¹ Rahtz and Musty’s campaign of trial trenches was intentionally designed to examine the ramparts and they succeeded in identifying evidence for a curtain wall in trenches A and H. In the former, the surviving wall stood to a height of circa. 8ft (2.5m) having had both of its faces and a substantial part of the core robbed.⁵² In the latter, a robber trench alone indicated the

⁴⁵ M. Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate: From Medieval to Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 15.

⁴⁶ W. Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, ed. by George Woodcock, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 321.

⁴⁷ C. Coulson, *Castles in Medieval Society: Fortresses in England, France and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 135, Fig. 7.2.

⁴⁸ E. Jamieson, ‘The Siting of Medieval Castles and the Influence of Ancient Places’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 63.2 (2019), 338–74 (p. 352) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00766097.2019.1670936>>, Fig. 5.

⁴⁹ O. H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes, The Archaeology of Medieval Europe, 1100-1600* (London New York: Continuum, 2002), pp. 166–67.

⁵⁰ Hawley, ‘Report of the Committee for Excavations at Old Sarum, 1914’, Fig. 2 (facing page 236).

⁵¹ Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15, 1912-07-23, 1912-10-15*.

⁵² Rahtz and Musty, Fig. 2.

line of what was likely a continuation of the wall observed in the north-west quadrant.⁵³ In trench B however, there was no evidence of a curtain wall and the chalk survived to a height that suggested it had been 'cut away'.⁵⁴ By their own admission, Rahtz and Musty recognised that the very small nature of their trenches had not allowed for a sequence of fortifications at the ramparts to be confidently asserted. In none of their trenches did they excavate deep enough to positively identify the natural bedrock of the hillslope, but their work has served to identify the high level of complexity and variation in deposits across all of their trenches. What can be asserted, on the strength of the excavated evidence, is that the original hillside was being cut back in the north-east quadrant and substantially raised in the north-west quadrant in order to obtain a remarkably consistent rampart height around the northern circumference of the fort. This can be seen to continue around the southeast section where a similar height is achieved by the remnant of curtain wall identified in trench A. The southwest section appears to drop by around 3m, imperceptible given the scale of the monument, but this may be because there was much more work to do on this side of the hill to achieve a uniform circumference height. Some indications of this come from Hawley's bid to explore the original ground surface of the hill by excavating through the steening of an unfinished well in the castle.⁵⁵ The team immediately exposed a 'black and dirty' gravel surface that he described as sloping 'quickly towards the south-west'.⁵⁶

The line of the original hillslope in the north-west quadrant depicted in the 1915 section (Figure 1.5) was calculated from two places within the bishop's palace complex ('Lodgings', Figure 1.4) where it was identified, almost by accident, as a result of chasing the walls of the 'Lodgings' to the base of their foundations. Here, they were observed sitting directly on the former ground surface and in other places across the ecclesiastical compound, the same line of slope can be inferred from anecdotal comments in Hawley's diaries. In the southwest corner of the Nave, for example, the footings of the cathedral sat on the natural chalk at a depth of 12ft (3.6m).⁵⁷ This proposes another important, if obvious, observation that the terreplein and the setting out of the earliest ecclesiastical structures was carried out at the same time. In other words, rather than complete the terreplein and then cut foundation trenches for the proposed structures, the foundations were constructed at the same time as the terreplein raised. The archaeological implications of this are that those structures that were contemporary with the late eleventh-century church could be identified through foundations sitting directly on the original line of the hillslope.

This aids in the elucidation of the sequence of construction between the buildings arranged around and overlain by the cloister.⁵⁸ The western range of the bishop's palace complex ('Lodgings', Figure 1.4), sitting at an angle to the hall and cloister has been presumed to be an earlier structure incorporated into a later courtyard complex. This is confirmed by the ruined walls of the building descending to the 'bed level of the hill' to the same depth of foundation walls as the garderobe pits attached to its northern end.⁵⁹ A wall returning east from the north end of the east wall of this range was observed to have 'quite shallow' foundations that were

⁵³ Rahtz and Musty, Fig. 5.

⁵⁴ Rahtz and Musty, p. 358.

⁵⁵ Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15, 1911-10-17 to 1911-10-28*.

⁵⁶ Hawley, 'Report of the Committee for Excavations at Old Sarum, 1911', pp. 56-59.

⁵⁷ Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15, 1912-06-10*.

⁵⁸ Blair; Montague; McNeill, 'Bishop Roger'.

⁵⁹ Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15, 1914-05-30*.

not carried down to the bed chalk but placed upon the ‘chalk packing’.⁶⁰ Likewise, the walls of the hall and north walk of the cloister, structures of a later date, are clearly not depicted extending to the ‘Old Gravel Surface’ in the 1915 section (Figure 1.5).

Whilst these observations on the foundations largely confirm current interpretations on the sequence of construction, one implication for the wider site is that those foundations contemporary with the building up of the terreplein may not show as obviously on the geophysical survey as those latterly cut into it. As it stands both the resistivity and magnetometry surveys in the area of the cathedral appear to be mostly picking up the disturbance of the early twentieth-century excavations and confirming the lines of the walls established in that phase of work.⁶¹ There are two obvious exceptions. The first informs our understanding of the design of a cloister deemed significant in offering the earliest unambiguous archaeological evidence for a cloister attached to a secular cathedral.⁶² A circular feature of *circa*. 13m diameter sits centrally within the cloister garth and may represent a *horologium* or, preferably, a central water basin, perhaps fed by the curious arrangement of a possible drain, ‘roofed originally with planks covered with mortar’ passing into the cloister broadly from the direction of the wellhouse.⁶³ Second, the axis of the wellhouse (Figure 1.4) appears in the geophysical survey to continue on a south-south-east alignment and this might prove a fruitful area for future excavation given that the orientation of this structure and its annex differ from that of the cloister that it is overlain by.

In a recent reassessment of the earthworks at Old Sarum the case has been made for an early eleventh-century date for the curtain wall and the ground raised up to it.⁶⁴ Yet this is difficult to sustain on the basis of the evidence presented here, from details in Hawley’s diaries, and from the reports read out to the Society of Antiquaries of London from 1912 to 1915. Where the facing of the wall was preserved beneath the corner of a hall which may have continued to function for some time after the decommissioning of the cathedral, Hawley observed a white stone ashlar face with cut mason’s marks (in the form of an upward pointing arrow head).⁶⁵ The robbing of the inner face of the wall core identified in Rahtz and Musty’s trench A strongly suggests the removal of dressed ashlar.⁶⁶ It is the evidence from the foundations of the earliest structures associated with the cathedral – its nave and the ‘Lodgings’ – sitting as they do on the original land surface, that is perhaps most suggestive of the date of the terreplein and its retaining curtain wall being contemporary with each other. However, there are other later possibilities. Howard Colvin, drawing on the commentary of William Malmesbury, expressed a preference for Roger of Salisbury as the man responsible for building the curtain wall in the early part of the twelfth century.⁶⁷ This was not a view shared by Rahtz and Musty and indeed, seems hard to justify if, as per the 1915 section drawing, it sits as a primary element against which is cast up the terreplein. However, the likely surveyor and drawer of the section was Montgomerie who in his plans of the site (as noted above) is at times divided between

⁶⁰ Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15, 1914-06-10*.

⁶¹ Strutt, Barker, Heard, and others, pp. 25, 39, Figs. 16, 26.

⁶² McNeill, ‘Bishop Roger’, p. 108.

⁶³ Hope, ‘Report of the Committee for Excavations at Old Sarum, 1915’, p. 176.

⁶⁴ J. Haslam, ‘The Development of Early Medieval Old Sarum, Wiltshire: A Reassessment’, ed. by H. Hamerow, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 23 (2023), 206–24.

⁶⁵ Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15, 1912-08-12*.

⁶⁶ Rahtz and Musty, Fig. 2.

⁶⁷ Colvin, p. 825.

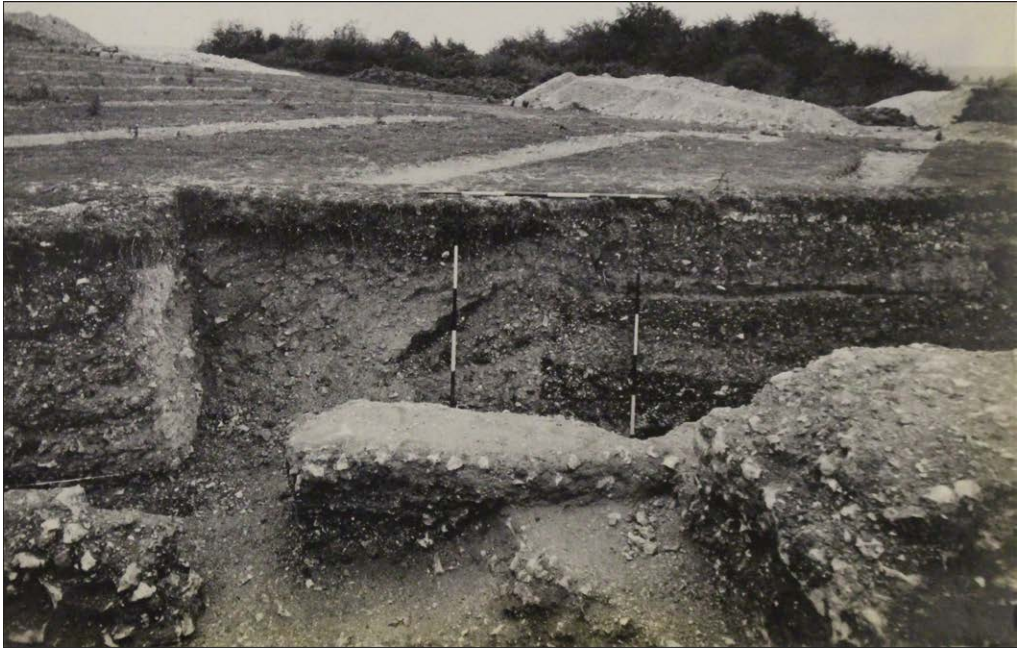


Figure 1.8: Looking south, the junction of the south wall of the nave and the west tower. Section showing deep pit cut through the made-up layers of the terreplein. D. H. Montgomerie
© Salisbury Museum

depicting what was recovered archaeologically and projecting an interpretation of it. The imperfect nature of the archive for the 1912-1915 excavations, the lack of contextual detail in the surviving reports, and the limited evidence from Rahtz and Musty's trenches largely preclude any definitive statement on the chronology of rampart and terreplein development, but one further piece of evidence can be brought to bear on the discussion. In a number of the photographs taken of the cathedral excavations, it is clear that the stratigraphic layers across the site are rather more complex than a simple levelling layer into which structures are inserted (Figures 1.8 and 1.9).

During the excavation of the southwest corner of the nave deep cavities were recovered and interpreted as pits designed to undermine the towers for the sake of their demolition.⁶⁸ One cavity (Figure 1.8) is cut from high up in the stratigraphic sequence and if the interpretation of this pit is correct then at least two horizons can be observed below the demolition horizon.⁶⁹ Was the terreplein, therefore, raised up a second time, perhaps when the cathedral was augmented under Bishop Roger? The early floor level of the nave was, after all, recorded as being a foot below that of its replacement.⁷⁰ A similarly complex stratigraphic sequence can be observed in the deposits around the wellhouse and the structure to which it is annexed, the

⁶⁸ Hawley, 'Report of the Committee for Excavations at Old Sarum, 1912', p. 94.

⁶⁹ The damage to the upper edges of tombstones recovered from the canons' cemetery suggests some horizontal truncation through the action of ploughing across the south side of the cathedral.

⁷⁰ Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15, 1913-10-02*.



Figure 1.9: Looking north, the wellhouse excavations showing the complex nature of the layers making up the terreplein. D. H. Montgomerie © Society of Antiquaries, cat. No. 01503a

floor of which is set deep within the sequence (Figure 1.9). It is entirely possible that in both cases the variation in the deposits represents localised lenses of material brought in within a single episode to make up the level ground, and it is equally possible in the case of Figure 1.8 that pre-eleventh century archaeological activity is responsible for the dark deposits. Not far from here, in a trench cut through the centre of the Nave, a depression containing ‘black rubbish’ and ‘pre-Roman British’ pottery was recovered under the first nave floor.⁷¹

Statement of significance: Historical

Despite the issues in the supporting evidence set out above, the working hypothesis presented here is that the terreplein, the first cathedral and the centrally sited castle motte are part of a single conceived project. The outstanding candidate for the period of construction is, of course, the decades after the Battle of Hastings and in this regard, Old Sarum takes on a very special significance. Whilst the exceptional scale of the monument has been recognised, it has largely failed to garner wider scrutiny.⁷² What detailed discussion it has received has been concerned largely with the developments in medieval secular and ecclesiastical architecture for which it is a rich source.

⁷¹ Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15, 1913-10-03*.

⁷² Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, pp. 166–67.

It is proposed here, however, that the item of most profound significance for the site is its relationship to the colonial project initiated by a Norman elite in the 1070-80s and that Old Sarum provides a window through which to examine how that elite framed, monumentally, their right to conquer and rule in an alien landscape. In many ways, Old Sarum ‘fails’ because it is neither a castle, a city, nor a mixture of both. It is a stage. It has long been acknowledged that military functionalism was not the only concern of castle builders in the medieval period and that the employment of architecture, space, and vista in the service of social and cultural functions was an equally important motivator in how a fortification was conceived and understood.⁷³ It is especially true of the early Norman period that grand palatial castles such as Colchester and the Tower of London were designed less with a focus on residency in mind and more as settings for ceremonial displays of power, enacting kingship to large contingents of subjects.⁷⁴ Leonie Hicks has recently drawn attention to the large open spaces that are experienced upon entering the outer baileys of Falaise and Caen castles and identifies these places as stages for the settings of demonstrations of social status.⁷⁵ These are good comparable examples for what should be imagined at Old Sarum. Falaise was William’s birthplace but in Caen his activity there can be seen as an attempt, successfully, to establish a centre of ducal authority in the western part of the region.⁷⁶ Old Sarum reads archaeologically as an attempt to do very much the same in southern England, to create a Norman centre of power from which to control the newly dominated subjects.⁷⁷

Viewed in this light, Old Sarum should be assessed for what it might tell us about the ambitions and ideas of the new Norman overlords, and how they conceived of their power. If the cosmological world of the medieval mind saw the ideal city as a representation, in microcosm, of the wider world, does the central place of the motte and the way it rises up above the outer ringworks reflect a desire to emphasise a new imperial tier in the political hierarchy?⁷⁸ Was, as Elaine Jamieson has suggested, the form of the castle at Old Sarum reflecting the geometry of the Iron-Age earthworks in a deliberate attempt to tap into ancestral associations?⁷⁹ It is even possible, as at Colchester, that at Old Sarum the new Norman elite was aware of its Roman antecedent and was making a direct connection to that past in a ‘symbolic act of imperial colonisation’.⁸⁰ Old Sarum’s earliest Norman phases sit at the beginning of a period when increasing emphasis is being placed on the use of striking verticality as a means of conveying power, in complexes that were also designed to accommodate large audiences.⁸¹ How much

⁷³ C. Coulson, ‘Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 42.1 (1979), 73–90 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00681288.1979.11895032>>; O. H. Creighton and R. Liddiard, ‘Fighting Yesterday’s Battle: Beyond War or Status in Castle Studies’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 52.1 (2008), 161–69.

⁷⁴ J. A. A. Goodall, *The English Castle, 1066-1650* (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 61–65, 77–80.

⁷⁵ L. V. Hicks, ‘Magnificent Entrances and Undignified Exits: Chronicling the Symbolism of Castle Space in Normandy’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 35.1 (2009), 52–69 (p. 59) <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jmedhist.2009.01.001>>.

⁷⁶ Hicks, p. 64, footnote 75.

⁷⁷ A. J. Langlands, ‘Old Sarum: The Rise and Fall of a Centre of Norman Power in Southern England’, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, forthcoming.

⁷⁸ K. D. Lilley, ‘Mapping Cosmopolis: Moral Topographies of the Medieval City’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 22.5 (2004), 681–98 (pp. 683–85) <<https://doi.org/10.1068/d276t>>.

⁷⁹ Jamieson, pp. 354, 368.

⁸⁰ P. J. Drury, ‘Aspects of the Origins and Development of Colchester Castle’, *Archaeological Journal*, 139.1 (1982), 302–419 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00665983.1982.11078538>>, cited in Jamieson, p. 368.

⁸¹ Coulson, ‘Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture’; P. Dixon, ‘Design in Castle Building: The Controlling of Access to the Lord’, *Château Guillard*, 18 (1998), 47–56; P. Marshall, ‘The Ceremonial Function of the Donjon in the Twelfth Century’, in *Château Guillard: Etudes de Castellologie Médiévale*, 20, *Actes Du Colloque International de Gwatt (Suisse) 2-10 Septembre 2000*. (Caen: Université de Caen: Centre de Recherches Archéologiques Médiévales, 2002), xx, 141–51; O. H. Creighton, *Early European Castles. Aristocracy and Authority, AD 800-1200* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), p.

might the historically attested events at Old Sarum have informed the wider development of monumental architecture on this scale across northern Europe?

An early indication of how the site could be employed will have come in 1069 when Geoffrey of Coutances mustered men from Salisbury, London and Winchester at Old Sarum in what went on to be a successful suppression of an uprising in Dorset and Somerset.⁸² In the following year William used Salisbury as a base to pay off those in his army who had been loyal whilst forcing those who had threatened to abandon him to stay for a month.⁸³ How much did these events, particularly the shaming of his less-than-enthusiastic subjects in 1070, inspire the 1086 Oath of Sarum, ‘an act of great political theatre’ when all of William’s subjects were summoned to Old Sarum to swear an oath of allegiance.⁸⁴ The close association between this event and the great Domesday survey suggests that the site could convincingly do more to draw on some of the historical significance enjoyed by Domesday Book. The physical written product of the survey was, in J. C. Holt’s word, the *carta*, but the act of homage was the collective deed and gesture required to bring it to life and cement what it stood for in the minds of the king and his subjects.⁸⁵ The oath and therefore the stage upon which it was enacted should be considered as archaeologically important as the historical record they were designed to legitimise.

Statement of significance: Evidential

The high level of preservation at Old Sarum has long been recognised and considered to be one of its most important attributes.⁸⁶ Somewhat ironically, the subject for which the monument has been most studied – its grand ecclesiastical and secular medieval architecture – is likely to be one of the poorest surviving on account not just of the systematic demolition of the site in the later medieval period, but also because of the deleterious impact the archaeological technique of ‘wall-chasing’ has on relative stratified deposits. As a point of departure, revisiting parts of the 1909–15 excavations to reassess the character of that work would immediately inform what can still be gleaned archaeologically from the cathedral complex. There are three other quadrants however that have the potential to yield a huge amount of information about what also went on in the hillfort and to address the issue of whether an urban focus was ever planned for the interior in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

It looks likely that Hope’s targeted ambitions of revealing the footprint of the first church and its twelfth-century replacement, along with their ancillary buildings, largely avoided impacting any archaeological evidence for pre-Norman activity on the site. At any point these are revealed, whether by accident or design, they are not pursued with any vigour by either Hope or Hawley. The latter’s thoughts on the survival of Romano-British material probably reflect that their level of excavation was not substantially penetrating early first millennium deposits rather than a lack of interest. The recovery of tesserae from within the ‘chalk packing’ – a term Hawley uses to describe the made ground of the *terreplein* – caused him to comment on the ‘remarkably few traces of Roman objects found anywhere’ during the

61.

⁸² *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, Volume II, Books III and IV*, ed. by M. Chibnall, trans. by M. Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1969), II, pp. 228–29, Book IV, ii. 193.

⁸³ Chibnall, II, pp. 236–37 Book IV, ii. 199.

⁸⁴ 1085 [1086], (E), M. Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (London: J. M. Dent, 1996), p. 217; McNeill, *Old Sarum*, p. 14.

⁸⁵ J. C. Holt, ‘1086’, in *Domesday Studies*, ed. by J. C. Holt (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1987), pp. 41–64.

⁸⁶ Rahtz and Musty, p. 367; Richards, p. 2.

whole time they had been excavating there.⁸⁷ The georeferencing of diary entries recording finds reveals that in the exposing of the south side of the nave's south wall footings a cluster of Roman-period artefacts were recovered, some of which can be linked to those currently held in the collections at Salisbury Museum (Figure 1.6). It may be here that some of the basal layers recovered beneath the medieval terreplein (Figure 1.8) reflect Romano-British activity.

Elsewhere on the hill, in trench B of the 1957 excavations (circa. 40ft x 4ft - 12.2m x 1.2m), Romano-British activity was described as being 'of some consequence'. The key deposit (21) yielded 'hundreds of sherds' of first- to fourth-century pottery, a 'fire trench', an infant burial, fragments of Roman tile (inc. one stamped), a complete first-century brooch, a dressed block of Chilmark stone, fragments of Purbeck and Chilmark roof tiles, bone, pot boilers, and oyster shells.⁸⁸ And then there is the remarkable series of deposits recovered from the excavation of the unfinished well in the castle. If anything should be more closely examined for the archaeological evidence of pre-Norman Old Sarum it is this, where a building that clearly re-uses cut ashlar stone was recovered surviving to a height of over 5ft (1.5m) and immediately overlain by the up-cast of the Norman motte.⁸⁹

Here as elsewhere within the immediate hinterland of Old Sarum, the near complete desertion in the later medieval period, followed by centuries of agricultural poverty into the nineteenth century, have meant that little later development has truncated or obliterated the medieval and earlier sequences. The landscape has avoided any industrial developments and except for Bishopdown Hill, has resisted – just about – the encroachment of twentieth-century suburban sprawl. In its entirety 'Old Sarum' can be seen to preserve a landscape that at one time was in the process of colonialisation, a witness to the centralising of political power through monumental architecture and developing as a royally-stimulated proto-urban centre. Cut off in its prime, when the cathedral and its entourage and interests moved to the present city site, it therefore has the potential to provide an archaeological time slice of wider European significance.

Conclusion

The terreplein and its earthworks, in its symmetry, scale, and uniqueness has the potential to inform on the wider Norman project, and the underpinning philosophy used to legitimise and frame its colonial ambitions. Is there a better archaeological 'document' from which to read off the Norman colonial gaze? Here we have the physical evidence for a phase of expansion in a wider process termed 'Europeanisation',⁹⁰ a material manifestation of the imperial ambitions of marshal elites in an extremely important era of the continent's history. What is clear from this review is that the current nature of the archaeological record is not sufficient enough to build a narrative for the site that meets contemporary standards in order to more robustly inform the present Scheduled Ancient Monument status. There are clearly questions that could be addressed concerning the character and development of the medieval

⁸⁷ Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15, 1914-06-10*. Marked as 'Roman' near the west range of the bishop's palace complex, Figure 1.6.

⁸⁸ Rahtz and Musty, pp. 365–66.

⁸⁹ Hawley, 'Report of the Committee for Excavations at Old Sarum, 1911', pp. 56–59; Hawley, *Old Sarum Excavations, Field Diaries, 1910-15, 1911-10-17 to 28*; Montgomerie, p. 133, Fig. 4.

⁹⁰ R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1993).

architecture at Old Sarum, but the processes by which the hill was intentionally modified to create its present form remains a priority for future work, as does a better understanding of the character of occupation within the outer bailey. Both ground penetrating radar and electrical resistivity tomography carried out, respectively, in the southwest quadrant and across the northern half of the outer bailey, have demonstrated the huge potential for these techniques to better understand the line of the original hillside,⁹¹ but this review will sign off on Philip Rahtz and John Musty's comment, made in retrospect of the summer they spent excavating there over half a century ago:

“Old Sarum is one of the finest monuments in public care; further excavation would set its magnificent earthworks in proper perspective”.⁹²

⁹¹ Strutt, Barker, Heard, and others, pp. 44–51.

⁹² Rahtz and Musty, p. 367.

Chapter Two

Kingsbridge Mead: A medieval bridge and settlement and its pre-Conquest origins

Alex Langlands

Despite the lack of an explicit reference to a ‘borough’ at Old Sarum at the time of Domesday, numismatic evidence and the record of the ‘third penny’ tax have generally been taken to suggest that Old Sarum, at the time of the Norman Conquest, enjoyed some kind of urban status with mercantile functions.¹ Where exactly the borough was laid out has, from the study of historical sources and topographical evidence, proven elusive.² Yet, by examining the archaeology from the area thought to represent the location of the Roman settlement of *Sorviodunum*, and by considering comparable sites of the tenth and eleventh centuries elsewhere in Wessex, a case can be made for an early medieval focus aligned to the Roman road where it crosses the Avon river to the south-west of Old Sarum. For the purposes of discussion, the site will be referred to as ‘Kingsbridge Mead’, a name drawn from an eighteenth-century map and one indicative of royal intervention in the development of highways whose intersection with major river crossings are known to invite urban developments. The evidence presented here is only suggestive but importantly, because high levels of preservation appear likely, the case for the archaeological significance of Kingsbridge Mead/*Sorviodunum* is augmented. The site therefore emerges as one of great importance to the wider narrative of the Old Sarum environs and, more broadly, the long-term development of urban settlements across the region from the Romano-British into the medieval period.

The location of the borough and the focus of pre-Conquest settlement.

A late seventeenth century sketch plan purports to depict burgages set out perpendicular to the line of the Portway as it runs from the east suburb down to the River Avon.³ Along with a collection of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century surveys and deeds, this sketch has been employed in the case made for a planted medieval new town, or at least a

¹ See Lewis, this volume, for an extended discussion of the evidence from Domesday Book; A. Williams and G. H. Martin, *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation* (London: Penguin Books, 1992), p. 162, Folio 64V: Wiltshire; R. B. Pugh and E. Crittal, *A History of Wiltshire. Volume II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1955), p. 112, map facing; H. C. Darby and G. R. Versey, *Domesday Gazetteer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), maps 54-54; C. E. Blunt and C. S. S. Lyon, ‘Some Notes on the Mints of Wilton and Salisbury’, in *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage in Memory of Bror Emil Hildebrand*, ed. by K. Jonsson, Numismatic Essays, 35 (Stockholm: Svenska numismatiska föreningen, 1990), pp. 27–33.

² D. Stroud, ‘The Site of the Borough of Old Sarum 1066-1226: An Examination of Some Documentary Evidence’, *WANHM*, 80 (1986), 120–26; J. Chandler, ‘Where Was Old Sarum?’, *Sarum Chronicle*, 4 (2004), 22–30; A. J. Langlands, ‘Placing the Burh in Searobyrg: Rethinking the Urban Topography of Early Medieval Salisbury’, *WANHM*, 107 (2014), 91–105.

³ ‘Old Salisbury: Later History’, in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6*, ed. by E. Crittal (London, 1962), pp. 65–67 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp65-67>>, a copy of the sketch is given in Fig. 2. The original can be found in Salisbury Museum under the accession no. PD33997.

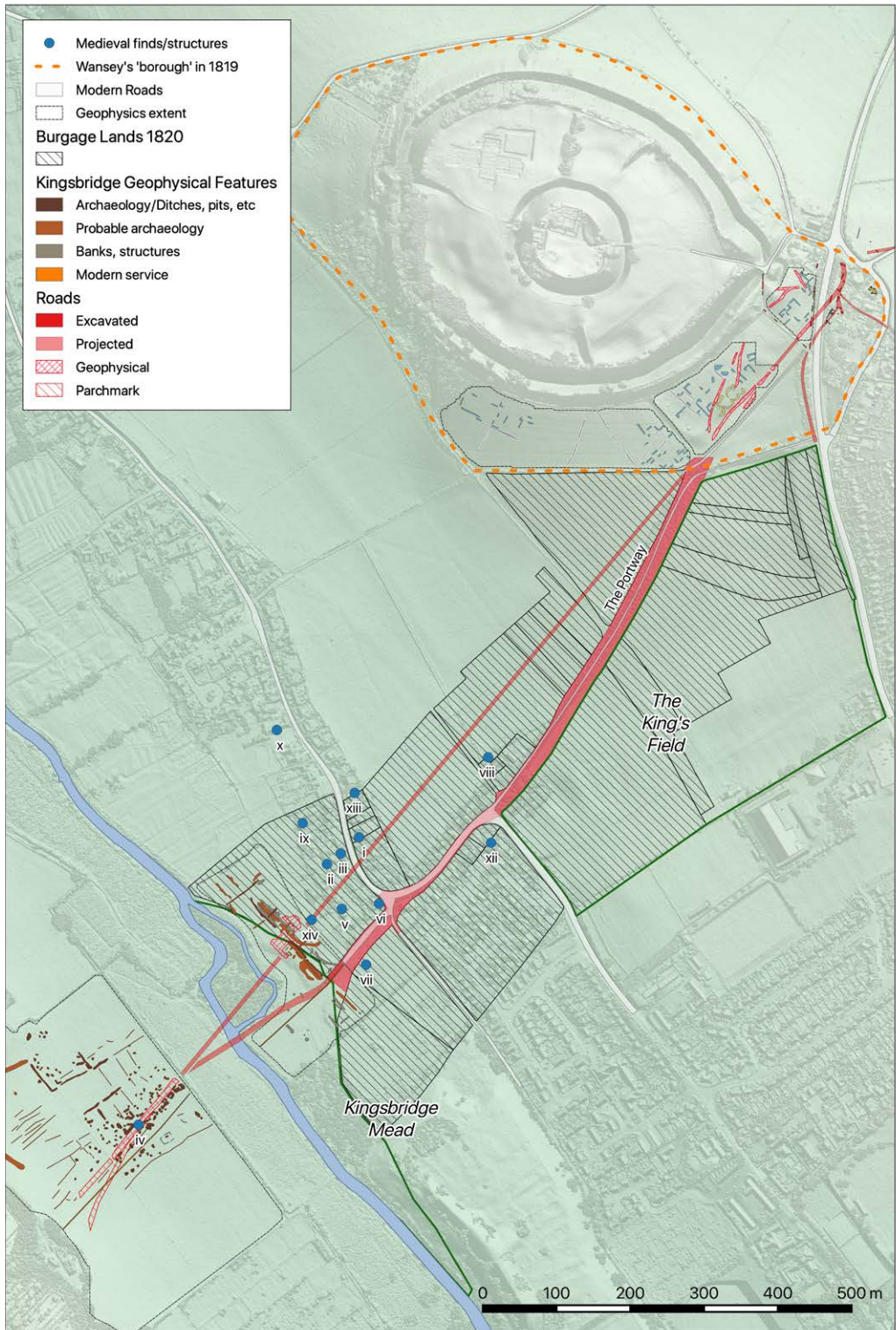


Figure 2.1: The Portway showing Old Sarum, the line of the Roman road, and the burgage lands identified in 1820. Contains OS data © Crown copyright and database right (2023).
 © Environment Agency copyright and/or database right (2023)

large planned extension to an existing town.⁴ It is not known what, if any, archaic records of burghal tenure the compilers of these sources had at their disposal for the reconstruction of an urban landscape that had been largely deserted for around three hundred years. Given the richness of the archaeological evidence in the east suburb, it is enigmatic that in both the c. 1700 sketch and the maps accompanying the early nineteenth-century surveys, its footprint is exempted from the outline of the proposed borough lands. Parliamentary scrutiny of the so-called ‘rotten borough’ of Old Sarum in the early nineteenth century may have played a part in the production of the more sophisticated cartography of the 1793, 1804 and 1820 maps. Taken at face value, these sources provide us with some indication of medieval topographical arrangements, but they also reflect what those with vested interests *believed* was the outline of the medieval borough.

One of the other issues with placing the focus of the proposed borough in the land immediately to the southwest of the east suburbs is that there are no surviving earthworks nor archaeological features to commend the notion of occupied burgage plots. The geophysical surveys indicate that the relatively dense arrangement of structures in the east suburb end abruptly at the edge of Wansey’s ‘city wall’ where the line of the Portway departs from the Roman road (Figure 2.1).⁵ The nature of the lynchets that have formed on the line of plot boundaries in the northern part of the King’s Field suggest that the function of these lands may always have been agricultural. This might make sense given the relatively cramped arrangement of space in the east suburb, with those burgesses living in buildings there possessing horticultural and arable plots further down the Portway.

For the origins of this proposed arrangement of urban space, one context is the transplantation of the community from the hillfort to make way for the castle in the late eleventh century or, not long after, as an extension of the settlement nestled up against its east gate.⁶ Whilst this may be so, the indicators of urban status reflected in the Domesday record for Salisbury and the move of the mint there from Wilton in the early eleventh-century warrants further analysis of the possibility that the late Anglo-Saxon settlement existed outside of the hillfort.⁷

The Portway and Kingsbridge Mead

Two toponyms serve as clues for pre-Conquest activity in the valley bottom where the valley roads intersect the Roman road and Portway as they cross the Avon river. The first of these is the Portway itself, recorded in the fourteenth century and assigned to a stretch of road running from Andover to beyond the east gate of Old Sarum, re-using much of the Roman road along its course (Figure 2.1).⁸ The Old English word *port* emerges in the tenth century and is

⁴ Chandler, ‘Where Was Old Sarum?’, p. 25.

⁵ K. Strutt, D. Barker, and T. Sly, *Report on the Geophysical Survey at Old Sarum, Wiltshire, April and July 2016, and April and July 2017* (Southampton University: Archaeological Prospection Services of Southampton, 2018), p. 31 <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1047137>>, Fig. 22.

⁶ O. H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, *The Archaeology of Medieval Europe, 1100-1600* (London New York: Continuum, 2002), pp. 166–67; J. Haslam, *Wiltshire Towns: The Archaeological Potential* (Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1976), p. 48; Chandler, ‘Where Was Old Sarum?’, pp. 25–26.

⁷ D. Hill, ‘Trends in the Development of Towns during the Reign of Æthelred II’, ed. by D. Hill, *Æthelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978), 213–26 (p. 223).

⁸ J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Wiltshire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), pp. 16–17.

widely adopted as a term synonymous with *burh* and used to describe an inland trading site.⁹ Its strong connection with royal prerogative is clearly demonstrated from its first legislative appearance in the law codes of Edward the Elder (899 x 924) and Æthelstan (925 x 939).¹⁰ The relevant clauses stipulated that all trade was to be conducted in ‘ports’ under royal control and that no moneyer is to mint money except in a ‘port’. The language of these codes and the use of the port place-name element suggest a royal project that may very well have involved the introduction of the Carolingian *portus*, a form of trading site considered essential to economic growth and one also with an important administrative role.¹¹ Langport (discussed below) is an early indicator (late ninth-century) of the scheme’s implementation in Wessex and as the tenth-century kings tightened their administrative grip on the region, the machinery of the state likely reached the level of sophistication required for a more widespread imposition.¹²

This process of market stimulation under royal auspices would almost certainly have transformed the urban landscape and the nature of interconnecting lines of communication. We see this in the appearance of the *port* place-name element not only in towns of this period but also in its association with routeways in documents dated from the late 950s onwards.¹³ In the case of the latter, a study of Anglo-Saxon highway law has identified the likely scenario that in the tenth century all routeways running between the *burhs* fell under the king’s jurisdiction and that the royal highway became identified as a class of road upon which mercantile passage was protected.¹⁴ Portways are common throughout lowland England, and whilst their names are often recorded in later medieval sources, in the tenth century the *port* element, compounded with either Old English *weg*, *stræt*, and *herepað*, appears frequently enough to suggest a scheme of purposeful road construction – including bridges and causeways – that was no less instrumental than the *burh* building campaign more explicitly documented in the sources of the time.¹⁵

The line of the Portway below Old Sarum, continuing as it does right down to the alluvial plain, strongly suggests a crossing of the Avon in pre-Conquest times and in this regard, the place-name Kingsbridge Mead is instructive.¹⁶ Here, again, we have a toponym of early medieval pedigree. The most useful parallel can be found in Kingsbridge (Devon) which is first referred to in a grant of King Edgar to one of his thegns and is considered a tenth-century innovation

⁹ J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough: Studies on Its Origins and Constitutional History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1936), pp. 25, 27; R. H. Britnell, ‘The Commercialisation of English Society’ (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 12; P. H. Sawyer, ‘Fairs and Markets in Early Medieval England’, ed. by N. Skyum-Nielsen and N. Lund, *Danish Medieval History: New Currents* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1981), pp. 153–68 (pp. 158–62).

¹⁰ F. L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), pp. 114–15, 134–35, I Ed. 1, II As. 12, 13.1, 14.

¹¹ A. Verhulst, ‘Roman Cities, Emporia and New Towns (Sixth - Ninth Centuries)’, ed. by I. L. Hansen and C. Wickham, *The Long Eighth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 105–20 (pp. 105–20); C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400 – 800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 803–5.

¹² G. Astill, ‘Community, Identity and the Later Anglo-Saxon Town: The Case of Southern England’, ed. by W. Davies, G. Halsall, and A. J. Reynolds, *People and Space in the Early Middle Ages, AD 300-1300* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 233–54 (p. 235).

¹³ A. Cooper, ‘The Rise and Fall of the Anglo-Saxon Law of the Highway’, *Haskins Society Journal*, 2002, 39–69 (p. 60), n. 140 and see S 586.

¹⁴ Cooper, ‘The Rise and Fall’.

¹⁵ A. J. Langlands, *The Ancient Ways of Wessex: Travel and Communication in an Early Medieval Landscape*. (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2019), pp. 201–6.

¹⁶ The name Kingsbridge Mead is first recorded in an eighteenth-century copy of a 1649 survey of church lands, Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, CC/Chapter/1/1.

on account of not appearing in an earlier charter for the same area.¹⁷ Given that Kingsbridge goes on to become a flourishing town, and that the boundary clause for Sorley also records a 'lane' and an 'earth *burh*', there is every reason to believe that this new, royally-sanctioned crossing of the headwaters of the estuary was an integral part of a fortification scheme. The context for this activity can be observed elsewhere in the region with a similar chronology of development proposed for the river-crossing site at Totnes, all as part of a wider program to improve communications and revenue throughout the South Hams.¹⁸

The case of Kingsbridge in Devon invites us to consider whether the toponym Kingsbridge Mead is a remnant of a similar kind of royal investment not just in the way it would have improved the lines of communication throughout the kingdom but also in some kind of urban foundation.¹⁹ However, before moving on to consider other comparable sites and the wider context of this crossing, an analysis of the archaeological evidence within its immediate vicinity will serve to demonstrate that by the high medieval period at least, it was the focus of a bustling settlement that ran on into the fourteenth century. For the purposes of the present discussion, the name Kingsbridge Mead will be employed, if only because the medieval origins of the present name for this area, Stratford-sub-Castle, are open to debate.²⁰

Sorviodunum, Kingsbridge Mead and Stratford-sub-Castle

Old Sarum has long been recognised as the *Sorviodunum* of the Antonine Itinerary and the convergence of no less than four Roman roads on the east gate of the hillfort has confirmed the importance of the place in the first century of Roman occupation.²¹ Archaeological evidence for a Romano-British settlement at this junction has, however, proved elusive.²² D. H. Montgomerie took a pessimistic view of the potential for Roman deposits to have survived the Norman refashioning of the hilltop itself, although small excavations in the late 1950s, where they recovered Romano-British levels, recovered a range of materials suggesting a not insubstantial presence.²³ Excavations in advance of a housing development on the slopes of Bishopdown demonstrated that the ridgeway running from the east gate in the direction of the New Forest was the focus of roadside ribbon development of late third and fourth century date.²⁴ In the 1960s and '70s attention turned towards the line of the Roman road heading due

¹⁷ S 298 (AD 846); S 704 (AD 962); For the authenticity of S 298, see F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 308; M. Reed, 'Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries', ed. by M. Reed, *Discovering Past Landscapes* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp. 261–306 (p. 269); D. Hooke, *Pre-Conquest Charter-Bounds of Devon and Cornwall* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994), pp. 165–68; K. A. Lowe, 'The Development of the Anglo-Saxon Boundary Clause', *Nomina*, 1998, 63–100 (p. 82), S 298; J. Haslam, 'The Towns of Devon', ed. by J. Haslam, *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England* (Chichester: Philimore, 1984), pp. 249–83 (pp. 273–75).

¹⁸ D. Hill, 'Appendix IV: Gazetteer of Burghal Hidage Sites', ed. by D. Hill and A. Rumble, *The Defence of Wessex: The Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 189–231 (pp. 213–14); T. R. Slater, 'Controlling the South Hams: The Anglo-Saxon Burh at Halwell', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art*, 123 (1991), 57–78.

¹⁹ There is a Kingsbridge Hundred recorded in the Geld Roll for 1084 in north Wiltshire but the meeting place for the hundred is unknown and therefore the form this bridge took is not clear - O. S. Anderson, *The English Hundred-Names: The South-Western Counties, Volume 2* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1936), pp. 162–63.

²⁰ Chandler, 'Where Was Old Sarum?', p. 28.

²¹ F. Haverfield, 'Old Sarum and Sorbiodunum', *The English Historical Review*, 30.117 (1915), 1–5.

²² J. F. S. Stone and J. Charlton, 'Trial Excavations in the East Suburb of Old Sarum', *Antiquaries Journal*, 40 (1935), 174–92; J. W. G. Musty and P. A. Rahtz, 'The Suburbs of Old Sarum', *WANHM*, 59 (1964), 130–54.

²³ D. H. Montgomerie, 'Old Sarum', *Archaeological Journal*, 104.1 (1947), 129–43 (p. 134); P. A. Rahtz and J. W. G. Musty, 'Excavations at Old Sarum, 1957', *WANHM*, 57 (1960), 352–70.

²⁴ J. F. S. Stone and D. J. Algar, 'Sorviodunum', *WANHM*, 56 (203) (1955), 102–26.

south west and in a series of small-scale interventions, the course of the road was established and a series of buildings built up against it suggested an area of occupation.²⁵ A change in planning regulations in the mid-1990s initiated a series of small-scale archaeological interventions across the area in response to minor developments and taken together with what was already known, a comprehensive review concluded that extensive geophysical survey was required to establish its full extent.²⁶ This has now been undertaken and since 2002 a series of further small-scale archaeological assessments conducted as part of the planning process, along with a controlled metal-detecting survey, have done much to inform on the character of the Romano-British settlement of *Sorviodunum*.²⁷ What emerges is a picture of a flourishing market town that ranks with others in the region that grew up at crossing points on the major lines of communication.²⁸ The density of Roman villa sites in the area around *Sorviodunum* further makes the case for a thriving economic hub and a centre for exchange for the population that lived and worked in the valleys and downlands of southern Wiltshire.²⁹

What is of note is that a similar set of indicators for medieval settlement can be observed in the very same body of evidence that characterises the mercantile hub of *Sorviodunum*. From the metal-detected finds recorded on the Portable Antiquaries Scheme (PAS), for example, a comparable number of items have been recovered for the period circa AD 1100 to 1500. Using a 250m 'buffer' to capture all recorded items either side of the course of the Roman road, from where it leaves the south west edge of the eastern suburb through to where the ground rises up towards the Devizes road beyond the crossing of the Avon to the south west, a total of 344 items have been recorded from the broad 'Roman' period, of which 326 were coins. In the same areas the yield of finds recorded against the broadly defined 'Medieval' period is 85, but only 17 of these are recorded as coins. One needs to be cautious about comparing two very different coin-using economies because the permissions for transactions in the Romano-British period in this area may not have been in place in the medieval period. The usual caveats also apply to the limitations of the survey too. There are areas either side of the Roman and medieval highways where metal detecting has not been permitted and it is understood that the south west bank of the Avon has been subjected to intensive surveys prior to the establishment of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). Almost certainly, more work could be conducted analysing the medieval items in this assemblage and holding it up against comparable samples, where they exist, to inform on the relative status of this medieval settlement.

However, the point to make here is that across two periods of broadly comparable duration, the bustling nature of Roman *Sorviodunum* appears to be matched, certainly in terms of the non-coin items recorded on the PAS, by activity in the medieval period. The same can also be said

²⁵ J. E. D. Stratton, 'Old Sarum. The Roman Road to Dorchester', *WANHM*, 58 (1963), 471; J. E. D. Stratton, 'Rescue and Research Work in the Salisbury Area: Stratford-Sub-Castle, (SU133316) Roman Road: Old Sarum-Dorchester and Associated Settlement Remains', *WANHM*, 61 (1966), 106–7; D. J. Algar, 'Excavation and Fieldwork in Wiltshire, 1968', *WANHM*, 64 (1969), 128.

²⁶ D. J. James, 'Sorviodunum - A Review of the Archaeological Evidence', *WANHM*, 95 (2002), 1–26.

²⁷ D. Sabin and K. Donaldson, *Cowslip Farm, Stratford Sub Castle, Salisbury. Magnetometer Survey*. (Chippenham: Archaeological Surveys, 2009); Wessex Archaeology, *Land at Stratford-Sub-Castle, Salisbury, Wiltshire: Detailed Gradiometer Survey Report* (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology unpublished report, Ref: 79920.01, 2011); A. Smith and R. Henry, 'A Controlled Metal-Detecting Survey: Revising the Roman Numismatic Perspective of Sorviodunum', *WANHM*, 113 (2020), 190–201; K. Strutt and D. Barker, *Report on the Geophysical Survey of the Romano-British Settlement, Old Sarum, Wiltshire, April 2019*. (Southampton University: Archaeological Prospection Services, SREP 1/2022, 2022).

²⁸ B. W. Cunliffe, *Wessex to A.D. 1000* (London: Longman, 1993), p. 246.

²⁹ D. J. James, 'Settlement in the Hinterland of Sorviodunum', *WANHM*, 103 (2010), 142–80 (p. 159).

of the evidence derived from the many small-scale archaeological interventions across the area (Figure 2.1, i-xiv) where, again, the Roman-period material is matched, if not surpassed, by quantities of pottery and structures of broadly medieval date. Small quantities of medieval pottery have been found in all the ground works that have been carried out as a result of archaeological conditions placed on planning applications. In some cases, this amounts to no more than residual sherds recovered from within horticultural soils and other unstratified contexts (iii, xiii, xii, iv).³⁰ However, a number have been recovered from pits and boundary ditches at low levels (ii, vi), and a glazed medieval roof tile was recovered from the upper fill of a large ditch-like feature (viii).³¹ All of these interventions can only really be described as nothing more than tiny key-holes, but where larger areas have been exposed, it has been possible to identify some structural deposits. When the Southern Gas Board cut their pipeline through the area in 1969, a chalk floor associated with 'thirteenth- and fourteenth-century pottery' was recovered (vii).³² To this can be added a complex arrangement of gullies, ditches and surfaces yielding medieval pottery (i), a small rudimentary medieval building identified a short distance to the north (x), and an early floor surface overlying a ditch containing both Romano-British sherds and a sherd of Wessex coarseware (v).³³ Finally, in excavations targeting the course of the Roman road between the modern Stratford-sub-Castle road and the River Avon, the area was seen to be much disturbed by the foundations of a medieval building (xiv).³⁴

Given the parity here between the material culture signatures of the first to fourth centuries and those of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, it is as much as likely that the anomalies recovered from geophysical surveys of this area date to the medieval period as they do to the Romano-British period.³⁵ Some outline analysis of settlement morphology can be undertaken, if only to tease out some possible lines of enquiry. Both aerial photography and excavated remains have suggested a gridded or 'orthogonal' street plan for the Romano-British *Sorviodunum*,³⁶ and in the gradiometer survey on the east bank of the Avon, features (19) to (23) and (32), along with parallel anomalies, may represent a possible bivallate bank and ditch system associated with a first to second-century fort, with the line of the Roman road (14) passing through its centre (Figure 2.2). The road is clearly picked up on the opposing bank of the river (1) but it is of note both from the geophysical survey, field observation, and aerial photographs that its straight course has been altered to bend southwards towards a cutting in the scarp slope

³⁰ B. Moffat, *Silverdale: An Archaeological Evaluation* (Salisbury: Pathfinders, 2001); B. Moffat, *Castle Close, Stratford-Sub-Castle: An Archaeological Watching Brief* (Salisbury: Pathfinders, 2002); R. McConnell, 24, *Shakespeare Road, Stratford-Sub-Castle, Salisbury, Wiltshire: An Archaeological Watching Brief* (Salisbury: Context One Archaeological Services Unpublished Report, 2003.001, 2003); Sabin and Donaldson; Pathfinders, *Caister House, Stratford-Sub-Castle, Wiltshire, Test-Pitting* (Salisbury: Pathfinders unpublished report, 2014.011, 2014).

³¹ Pathfinders, *Archaeological Test-Pitting, No. 9 Castle Keep, Stratford-Sub-Castle* (Salisbury: Pathfinders unpublished report no. P060902, 2003); Pathfinders, Nos. 3 & 6 *Castle Keep, Stratford-Sub-Castle, Watching Brief* (Salisbury: Pathfinders unpublished report no. P050803, 2014.006, 2014); Pathfinders, *Albertine Cottage, Stratford-Sub-Castle, an Archaeological Watching Brief* (Salisbury: Pathfinders unpublished report, 2014.009, 2014).

³² D. J. Algar, 'Rescue and Research Work in the Salisbury Area', *WANHM*, 65 (1970), 207–9.

³³ P. McMahon and J. W. Hawkes, *An Archaeological Excavation and Watching Brief on Land between 'Avonview' and 'Roselea', Stratford Road, Salisbury, Wiltshire (NGR SU135319)*. (Chicklade: AC Archaeology (Unpublished Interim Report), 2000); Pathfinders, Nos. 3 & 6 *Castle Keep, Stratford-Sub-Castle, Watching Brief*; Pathfinders, *Orchard House, Stratford-Sub-Castle, Archaeological Watching Brief* (Salisbury: Pathfinders unpublished report, 2014.012).

³⁴ Stratton, 'Old Sarum. The Roman Road to Dorchester'.

³⁵ Sabin and Donaldson; Wessex Archaeology; Strutt and Barker.

³⁶ James, 'Sorviodunum - A Review of the Archaeological Evidence', p. 10, Fig. 2; Pathfinders, *Caister House, Stratford-Sub-Castle, Wiltshire, Test-Pitting*; Wessex Archaeology.

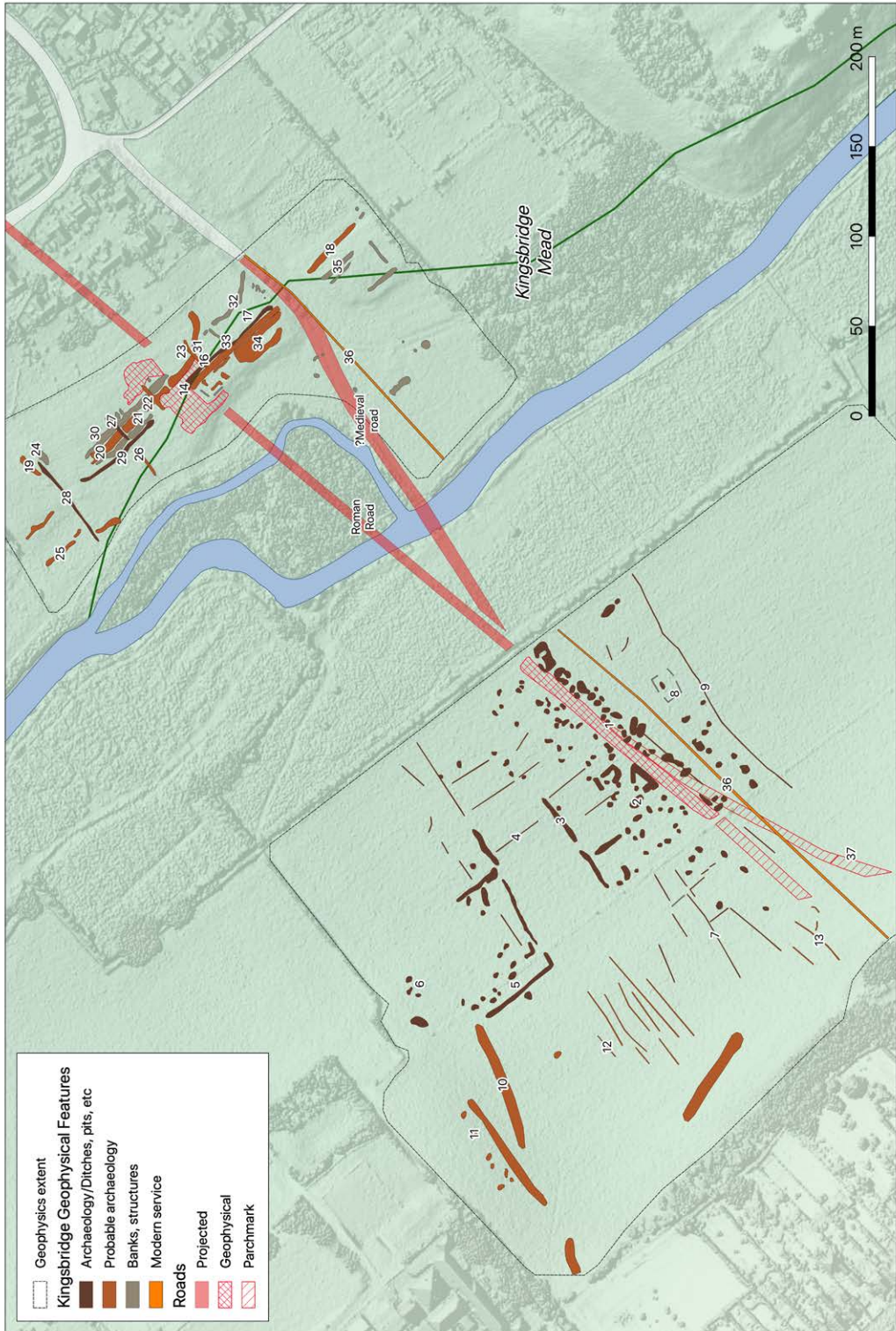


Figure 2.2: Kingsbridge Mead showing anomalies from geophysical surveys. Contains OS data © Crown copyright and database right (2023). © Environment Agency copyright and/or database right (2023)

(37) designed, presumably, to improve the gradient for wheeled traffic. Surface recovery of medieval pottery on the west bank of the Avon suggests that occupation extended to this area with (3), (4), (5) and parallel anomalies suggesting plots laid out perpendicular to the road. It is possible that anomalies sharing alignments with (18), (33) and (25) are indicative of similar boundaries laid out at right angles to the Roman road on the east bank. Lamentably, a modern service trench cutting across the valley (36) has, for both surveys, created enough noise to mask the archaeological deposits to the south of the Roman road. In both areas though, the medieval finds and structures recovered along with the character of the plots, go some way to suggesting that overlying the Romano-British settlement straddling the Avon was a medieval one set out against a refurbished Roman road.

Comparable sites for the analysis of Kingsbridge Mead's origins

The case for a potential borough, or 'port', at Kingsbridge Mead associated with a re-engineered Roman road (causeway and bridge), emerging in the pre-Conquest period but flourishing into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is strengthened by analogous sites with their origins in the tenth and eleventh centuries. We have already seen how Kingsbridge (Devon) was very likely a composite bridge and borough structure, and the topography of Totnes strongly suggests that the river crossing was a formative element in the setting out of the high street. Both have attested origins in the pre-Conquest period and to them can be added sites like Bristol and Southwark where the settlement also appears set out in respect of a main line of communication governed by the axis of a major river crossing.³⁷ For our purposes, three sites will be assessed in detail for what they can contribute to the interpretation of the toponyms, topography and archaeology at the hypothetical Kingsbridge Mead site (Figure 2.3).

Langport

The rationale for the first, Langport (Som.), is the form the placename takes when it first appears in the documentary sources in the early tenth century.³⁸ Langport was one of thirty three places listed in a document known as the *Burghal Hidage*, a list of eclectic fortifications each assigned a designated number of hides for their construction and maintenance in a scheme of civil defence widely attributed to King Alfred.³⁹ Langport therefore has pedigree as a royal foundation and is one of our earliest examples, in name, of the introduction of the *portus* scheme to the British mainland. The port placename element can also be seen in the Portway and Port Field and all three names suggest a royally initiated trading site designed to ensure the long-term maintenance and sustainability of an important river crossing. It is the topographical form however that does much to expose the ulterior function of this 'long'

³⁷ T. Brown, 'After the Romans: Was There a Saxon Southwark?', in *Londinium and Beyond: Essays on Roman London and Its Hinterland for Harvey Sheldon*, ed. by John Clark and others, CBA Research Report, 156 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2008), pp. 54–58 (p. 56); R. H. Leech, 'Arthur's Acre: A Saxon Bridgehead at Bristol', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 2009, 11–20; J. Baker and S. Brookes, *Beyond the Burghal Hidage: Anglo-Saxon Civil Defence in the Viking Age* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 158–59, 404.

³⁸ J. M. Dodgson, 'A Linguistic Analysis of the Place-Names of the Burghal Hidage', ed. by D. Hill and A. Rumble, *The Defence of Wessex: The Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 98–127 (pp. 114–15).

³⁹ D. Hill, 'The Burghal Hidage: The Establishment of a Text', *Medieval Archaeology*, 1969, 84–92; D. Hill, 'The Burghal Hidage as a Document: The Calculation and the Purpose of the Burghal Hidage', ed. by D. Hill and A. Rumble, *The Defence of Wessex: The Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 92–97; Baker and Brookes.

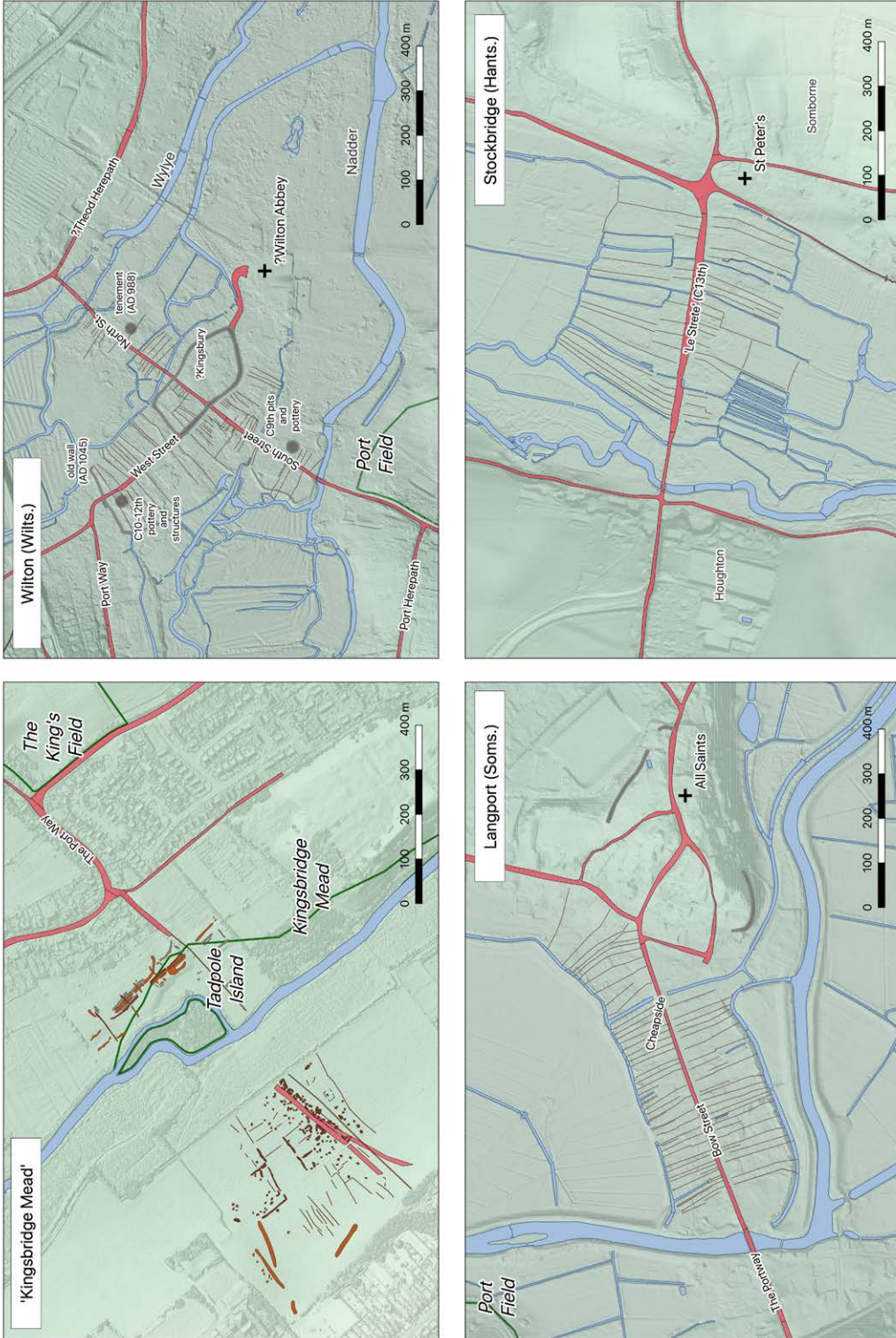


Figure 2.3: Kingsbridge Mead compared to Langport (Som.), Wilton (Wilts.) and Stockbridge (Hants.) with topographical elements drawn from first edition Ordnance Survey maps. Contains OS data © Crown copyright and database right (2023). © Environment Agency copyright and/or database right (2023)

port. A feature of Langport's town plan when it first appears in the cartographic record is the setting out of regular plots perpendicular to the line of the central causeway.⁴⁰

Methodologies employed elsewhere have demonstrated how these later plan forms can be analysed to provide a relative chronology of urban development and in the case of Langport it appears likely that this port – or borough – was laid out as a secondary element to whatever may have pre-existed on the hill-top on the east bank of the Parrett.⁴¹ Critically, the burgrave plots laid out in perpendicular fashion against the line of the causeway, by virtue of their relationship with the encircling earthwork, appear as an integral rather than adjunctive element in the scheme. By placing both the market (Cheapside) and the tenements of those who stood to benefit most from this new mercantile creation on the line of the causeway, the long-term maintenance of the road and bridge was secured and the scheme made sustainable. With thirty-four resident burgesses recorded in AD 1086, Langport worked as a profitable borough because of the freedoms the king had given its membership but also because it benefitted, by virtue of the bridge, from a much larger trading hinterland.⁴² In return, the king gained a form of revenue, free passage for enemy ships up the Parrett is thwarted and, perhaps most importantly, the two major administrative and political royal centres of Taunton and Somerton are much better connected.

Wilton

Like Langport, Wilton is referred to in the *Burghal Hidage* but other documentary evidence attests its status as a royal *vill* earlier in the ninth century.⁴³ An early focus for this royal *burh* is implied by the arrangement of lanes in the town that make up a broadly elliptical form around what is today known as Kingsbury Square.⁴⁴ The place is protected on three sides by the rivers Nadder and Wylfe and the present West Street passing along the ridge of this natural gravel spur appears to have been cut across by a bank and ditch referred to as an 'old wall' in a document dated AD 1045.⁴⁵ Excavations alongside West Street and close to the site of this old wall revealed a sunken featured building dating to the sixth-seventh centuries. This was followed by a hiatus of activity before the tenth-twelfth century when pottery associated with pits and structural features is indicative of substantial settlement in this period.⁴⁶

Present-day South Street and North Street appear as new topographical elements introduced to this settlement in the form of composite causeway and bridge structures designed to span the alluvial plains of the Nadder and Wylfe (Figure 2.3). That South Street was already in

⁴⁰ J. F. H. Warren (Surveyor), *Plan of the Parish of Langport* (Somerset Heritage Centre: DD/CWC.I/4/5/1, 1840).

⁴¹ K. D. Lilley, 'Mapping the Medieval City: Plan Analysis and Urban History', *Urban History*, 2000, 5–30; K. D. Lilley, 'The Norman Conquest and Its Influence on Urban Landscapes', ed. by D.M. Hadley Hadley and C. Dyer, *The Archaeology of the Eleventh Century: Continuities and Transformations* (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 30–56 <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315312934>>.

⁴² Williams and Martin, p. 230, Folio 86: Somerset.

⁴³ S 1438 (AD 838); S 300 (AD 850); S 302-5 (AD 854). In their surviving forms these documents all present problems of authenticity but broadly convey a tradition that saw the king of Wessex using Wilton as a key royal site. B. Yorke, 'Dorchester and the Early Shire Centres of Wessex', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 134 (2013), 106–12 (p. 107).

⁴⁴ J. Chandler, 'Deconstructing Wilton', *Sarum Chronicle*, 7 (2007), 56–63 (pp. 56–57).

⁴⁵ S 1010 (AD 1045), *ealdan weall*; P. Andrews, L. Mephram, and R. Seager Smith, 'Excavations in Wilton, 1995-6: St John's Hospital and South Street', *WANHM*, 93 (2000), 181–204.

⁴⁶ R. Abels, 'Early to Middle Anglo-Saxon Settlement, a Lost Medieval Church Rediscovered and an Early Post-Medieval Cemetery in Wilton', *WANHM*, 105 (2012), 117–44.

service by the tenth century can be inferred from a reference to a *port her paðes* serving as the boundary to land alongside the Nadder.⁴⁷ A *þeod herpað* (the ‘peoples’ herepath) to the north east of North Street is difficult to locate with any degree of precision but both names together provide a useful commentary on the changing function of royal roads at this time.⁴⁸ The Portfield, a large open expanse on the south bank of the Nadder suggests unfettered access to the *portus* on the north bank and excavations on South Street revealed a group of ninth-to-twelfth century pits.⁴⁹ A mill weir recorded in AD 959 on this stretch of the Nadder, the place-name Bulbridge, and a possible landing place for the abbey recovered from excavations along the bank, all suggest a relatively well-developed system of water management in this period.⁵⁰ For North Street, the evidence of early medieval origins is suggested by a grant of King Æthelred, of a messuage (tenement), to his faithful minister Æthelnoth in AD 988.⁵¹ In the short boundary clause mention is made of the Wylve river placing this tenement to the north of the royal *vill*, and a ‘wide street’ and *twicen* (a narrow passage) suggest a plot laid out against the main causeway known today as North Street.

Whatever form Wilton may have taken in the eighth and ninth centuries it had clearly become the focus for substantial royal investment by the early tenth century when a nunnery under the king’s patronage is known to have been in existence.⁵² In the reign of Edgar the town is gifted a mint and its wealth in the Domesday record, along with the proliferation of churches into the twelfth century, suggests a phase of growth in the late Anglo-Saxon period.⁵³ North and South Street would have been major components in the development of the town at this time and, by improving communications, a major influence on the site’s growth. The shared alignment of both streets indicates that these were part of the same project and indicates the motivation for their construction. Together they comprise a single causeway designed to span the low-lying alluvial plain of the Nadder and Wylve rivers in a bid, like Langport, to connect parts of the kingdom up on a much grander scale.

Stockbridge

Stockbridge is included in the analysis here because although there is no direct historic reference to the site in the tenth or eleventh centuries, it bears striking similarities in its layout to Langport and makes sense as a component in the same project that developments at Wilton, and potentially Kingsbridge Mead, were a part of. The precise origins of Stockbridge are unknown. It is not mentioned directly in Domesday Book, but references to three burgesses at Houghton (on the west bank of the Test) and nine messuages (tenements) of burgesses in Somborne (on the east), potentially relate to a mercantile focus on the crossing of the

⁴⁷ S 586 (AD 959), *port her paðes*.

⁴⁸ S 767 (AD 968) *ðæne þeod herpað*.

⁴⁹ Andrews, Mephram, and Seager Smith.

⁵⁰ S 586 (AD 959) *mylen ware*; Gover, Mawer, and Stenton, pp. 218–19; B. N. Eagles and P. J. Woodward, ‘Medieval Timberwork at Bull Bridge, Wilton’, *WANHM*, 79 (1983), 237–38.

⁵¹ S 870 (AD 988).

⁵² S 438 (AD 937); S. Foot, *Veiled Women: Volume II: Female Religious Communities in England, 871–1066* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 221–231 <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315264202>>; B. Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses, Women, Power, and Politics* (London; New York: Continuum, 2003), p. 54.

⁵³ H. de Saurez Shortt, ‘The Saxon Mint at Wilton’, *WANHM*, 55 (1954), 375–76; R. H. M. Dolley and D. M. Metcalf, ‘The Reform of the English Coinage under Eadgar’, ed. by R. H. M. Dolley, *Anglo-Saxon Coins* (London: Methuen, 1961), pp. 136–68; Williams and Martin, p. 162, Folio 64V; Wiltshire.

Test rather than to tenements in Winchester.⁵⁴ The town is characterised by a substantial causeway against which plots are set perpendicularly, with the waters of the river, like those at Wilton and Langport, channelled through at intervals. A Roman date for the causeway has been proposed,⁵⁵ but a body of evidence suggests that medieval Stockbridge owes its origins to the improvement of road networks in the late Anglo-Saxon period. Whilst there is no direct archaeological evidence to support this assertion, an origin for the crossing of the river in this period is suggested by the presence of execution cemeteries dated to at least the eleventh century lying either side of the valley, on Meon Hill (Hants.) and Roche Court Down (Wilts.), and directly associated with the highway.⁵⁶ The link between the ‘killing places’ (*cwealm-stów*), the highway and the king’s peace in the later Anglo-Saxon period has been well-established but what brings the case together most convincingly is the wider evidence for substantial road building in the tenth and eleventh centuries under the auspices of the West Saxon kings.⁵⁷ Stockbridge would have been essential as a component in an improved communication network that brought Wilton and Old Sarum closer to Winchester, the capital of Wessex, and in such a scheme, Kingsbridge Mead would have served as an important element.

Discussion

It is hypothetically suggested here that across the Avon lay a bridge and causeway structure of early medieval date and that this served as the burghal focus provided with a mint in the early eleventh century. The evidence is inferential, based on two toponyms, an abundance of later archaeology and by reference to morphologically comparable sites of the same period. The case also hangs, however, on the notion that in the tenth century the nascent Anglo-Saxon state was doing more than just building forts and was as much concerned with the construction of major roads in order to improve lines of communication for wheeled traffic. The ‘port’ element in road names is doubtlessly a result of a tenth century royal project but how much longer it continues to be applied to new foundations is uncertain. If two boundary clauses from the Malmesbury cartulary are to be believed, for example, roads of this character are being termed ‘kingsways’ perhaps as early as the late eleventh century.⁵⁸ The issue is compounded by the fact that roads are notoriously difficult to date archaeologically, especially where they appear to have been re-used over long periods of time.⁵⁹

The place-name Kingsbridge Mead combines well with the Portway to suggest a crossing commissioned at the behest of the king for a road heading, ultimately, from Winchester to Wilton and a grain of direct archaeological evidence for this road being active in the tenth century can be found in the PAS records. It is interesting to note that two registered coins

⁵⁴ Williams and Martin, pp. 97, 113, Folio 40V: Hamp; Folio 47: Hamp. Although, see Lewis, this volume, footnote 6 for burgesses attached to rural manors.

⁵⁵ M. F. Hughes, ‘The Small Towns of Hampshire’ (Southampton: Hampshire Archaeological Committee, 1976), p. 131; D. A. Hinton, ‘The Towns of Hampshire’, ed. by J. Haslam, *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984), pp. 149–65 (p. 151).

⁵⁶ Gover, Mawer, and Stenton, p. 16; A. Cooper, ‘The King’s Four Highways: Legal Fiction Meets Fictional Law’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 2000, 351–70; Andrew Reynolds, *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 115–17, 148–49.

⁵⁷ Cooper, ‘The Rise and Fall of the Anglo-Saxon Law of the Highway’, p. 53; Langlands, *The Ancient Ways of Wessex*, pp. 165–96.

⁵⁸ S 1577 (nd), *Kingwei*; S 1585 (nd), *kingweye*.

⁵⁹ M. Bell and J. Leary, ‘Pathways to Past Ways: A Positive Approach to Routeways and Mobility’, *Antiquity*, 94.377 (2020), 1349–59 <<https://doi.org/10.15184/aqy.2020.133>>.

(from only six ‘early medieval’ items from Salisbury) were both located on the line of the Roman/Medieval Road from Old Sarum to Wilton. A penny from Edgar’s Reform coinage (AD 973-975) was recovered a short distance from the course of the historic Folly Lane which preserves the line of the Roman road as it makes its way over the downs in the direction of Bemerton.⁶⁰ However, a tenth-century French feudal coin of unknown mintage was recovered from within the hollow way cut into the scarp slope to the south-west of the Avon on the line of the road that deviates from the course of the Roman Road (see 37 on Figure 2.2).⁶¹ This might suggest, if it was not in some way redeposited, that the refurbishment of the road on a different alignment had already happened by this date.

What is of most significance here is that, as elsewhere in the immediate Old Sarum hinterland, a lack of later development is likely to have resulted in relatively high levels of preservation and that there exists the opportunity to undertake further archaeological work to engage in a range of research questions. These questions might very well engage directly with the chronology and character of settlement in this locality, but more broadly they can inform, in the case of these bridge-borough settlement types, on the nature and character of their development from the tenth to twelfth centuries and their relationship to contemporary developments in the major lines of communication and river crossings.

An important but little understood facet of the burghal project is the management of water around and through these riverine settlements. In the case of the examples studied here, these channels would have created opportunities for hydraulic mill power, and this begs the question whether another key design feature of these settlement types was a response to the expansion and acceleration of arable farming in this period.⁶² Was another planned element of the construction of these crossings the creation of new opportunities for milling? Kingsbridge Mead appears to preserve the location of an early medieval bridge which is likely to be the same as the bridge referred to as lying by the *kyngesmulle* (king’s mill), below Old Sarum, in 1380-1384.⁶³ The upkeep of this bridge, confirmed in a case presented to the jurors of Branch and Dole Hundred, was assigned to the borough of Old Sarum, Stratford, Quidhampton and Bemerton suggesting a structure that served a route between these places. As such, the case is strengthened for this site being the location for the substantial Domesday mill shared between the King and Bishop of Old Sarum.⁶⁴

Likewise, another critical line of interrogation for this site type concerns whether the plots set out against the causeways were integral to their initial phase or an afterthought, arrived at as a consequence of organic developments and formalised in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This matters in terms of the age-old debate about the extent to which the ‘burghal’ project was as much an index of economic ambitions as it was a measure to defend the realm

⁶⁰ Hinds, K. (2005) WILT-3CD388: EARLY MEDIEVAL COIN <<https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/100505>> [Accessed: 22 Jan 2023 11:47:43].

⁶¹ Hinds, K. (2006) WILT-FD8518: EARLY MEDIEVAL COIN: <<https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/143079>> [Accessed: 22 Jan 2023 11:47:19].

⁶² D. Banham and R. Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 295; M. J. McKerracher, *Farming Transformed in Anglo-Saxon England: Agriculture in the Long Eighth Century* (United Kingdom: Windgather Press, 2018), p. 93.

⁶³ C. T. Flower, *Public Works in Medieval Law, Volume 2*, Seldon Society, 40 (London: Quaritch, 1923), p. 234.

⁶⁴ For further discussion on the location of the Domesday mills see Lewis, and Daniell, this volume. Note also the form of ‘Tadpole Island’, perhaps formed as a result of the cutting of an associated mill race (Figure 2.3)

from Viking incursions.⁶⁵ To what extent in the design of these bridge-boroughs were West Saxon kings responding to pressure from an increasingly stratified and competitive late Anglo-Saxon 'gentry', keen to flex their mercantile muscles and requiring new arenas to do so?⁶⁶ By building causeways, channelling watercourses and draining parts of the alluvial plain, kings, thegns, and an emerging merchant class created new spaces into which new rules could be applied for the mutual benefit of all.

Was this the case at Kingsbridge Mead? In its name, its relationship to the Portway, in the settlement's morphology, in the early eleventh-century mint, in the payment of the third penny to the king in AD 1086, and in the record of a mill part owned by bishop and king at this time, there are enough items in the checklist of these types of settlement to satisfy the need for further enquiry. Only archaeological intervention of a kind capable of picking up the often-ephemeral nature of early medieval settlement will confirm or disprove for certain.

⁶⁵ M. Biddle and D. Hill, 'Late Saxon Planned Towns', *Antiquaries Journal*, 1971, 70–85.

⁶⁶ R. Naismith, 'Gilds, States and Societies in the Early Middle Ages', *Early Medieval Europe*, 28.4 (2020), 627–62 (pp. 661–62) <<https://doi.org/10.1111/emed.12433>>.

Chapter Three

Salisbury in Domesday Book

C. P. Lewis

Introduction

Aside from two rather uninformative references in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,¹ the documentary record of Salisbury begins with Domesday Book, and it starts with two puzzles. Three Domesday entries are involved: a description of the bishop of Salisbury's manor of Salisbury in standard format for rural manors and standard wording for Wiltshire, and brief references among the king's assets to the 'third penny' of Salisbury and to half a mill. On the one hand, the bishop's manor is problematic in being far too big for the area covered by 'Salisbury' later in the Middle Ages, taking Old Sarum and the medieval city parishes together; while on the other, the royal borough of Salisbury — for which there is good numismatic evidence² — seems to be missing altogether from Domesday Book. The first problem can be disposed of quite easily, since it has long been known that the bishop's manor extended far beyond the boundaries of later Salisbury.³ What remains to be done here is spell out the detail of where the manor lay on the ground. The problem of the 'missing' Domesday borough is more troubling and has never been faced head-on, despite the confidence with which Salisbury as a borough has been plotted on a variety of distribution maps.⁴ A circuitous approach will be needed, because it turns out that the burgesses of Salisbury can be found in Domesday Book under a different place-name.

The rural manor

Idem episcopus tenet Sarisberie. T.R.E. geldabat pro .l. hidis. Terra est .xxxii. carucis. De hac terra .x. hidae sunt in dominio et ibi .viii. carucae. Ibi .xxv. uillani et .l. bordarii

¹ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, ed. by D. Whitelock with D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), s.a. 552, 1003. The references to a court held at Salisbury in the 960s by King Edgar appear in 12th-century narrative sources. I offer my warmest thanks to the editors for the opportunity to contribute to this volume and for their encouragement, wise suggestions, and patience.

² H. de S. Shortt, 'The Mints of Wiltshire from Eadgar to Henry II', *Archaeological Journal*, 104 (1948 for 1947), 1–195; D. M. Metcalf, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coin Finds, c. 973–1086* (London: Royal Numismatic Society and Ashmolean Museum Oxford, 1998), pp. 238–42; M. Allen, 'The Mints and Moneys of England and Wales, 1066–1158', *British Numismatic Journal*, 82 (2012), 54–120; J. Piercy, *The Moneys of England, 973–1086: Labour Organisation in Late Anglo-Saxon and Early Anglo-Norman English Mints*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 650 (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2019); Piercy's *Moneys of England, 973–1086* database is a digital download accompanying the monograph. Details of coins struck at Salisbury may be found on the website *Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (EMC) | Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles (SCBI)*, <<https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/>> [consulted 15 Oct. 2023].

³ *Domesday for Wiltshire*, ed. and trans. by W. H. Jones (Bath and London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865), p. 230.

⁴ *A History of Wiltshire*, II, ed. by R. B. Pugh and E. Crittall, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1955) [hereafter *VCH Wiltshire*, II], map facing p. 112; H. C. Darby and G. R. Versey, *Domesday Gazetteer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), map 54–55; scholarship on the possible location and extent of the borough are discussed by Langlands, 'Kingsbridge Mead', this volume.

cum .xvii. carucis. In Wiltune .vii. burgenses pertinentes huic manerio reddunt .lxv. denarios. In manerio .iiii. molini de .xlvii. solidis et .vii. denariis et dimidia molina de .xxx. solidis et .cxlii. acrae prati. Pastura .xx.^{ti} quarentenae longi et .x. quarentenae lati et alibi .v. quarentenae pasturae longi et una quarentena lati. Silua .iiii. quarentenae longi et .ii. quarentenae lati. De eadem terra huius manerii tenet Eduuardus .v. hidas. Odo .v. hidas. Hugo .iii. hidas una virgata minus. Qui has tenuerunt T.R.E. non poterant ab episcopo separari. Ibi sunt in dominio .v. carucae et .iii. uillani et .xvii. bordarii cum .ii. carrucis. Dominium episcopi ualet .xlvii. libras. Quod homines tenent ualet .xvii. libras et .x. solidos.

The same bishop holds Salisbury. In King Edward's time it used to geld for 50 hides. There is land for 32 ploughteams. Of this land, 10 hides are in demesne and there are 8 ploughteams there. There, 25 villans and 50 bordars with 17 ploughteams. In Wilton 7 burgesses belonging to this manor pay 65 pence. In the manor, 4 mills of 47 shillings and 7 pence and half a mill of 30 shillings and 142 acres of meadow. Pasture 20 furlongs long and 10 furlongs wide and elsewhere 5 furlongs of pasture long and one furlong wide. Woodland 4 furlongs long and 2 furlongs wide. Of the same land of this manor, Edward holds 5 hides, Odo 5 hides, Hugh 3 hides less one virgate. The men who held these in King Edward's time could not be separated from the bishop. There are 5 ploughteams in demesne there and 3 villans and 17 bordars with 2 ploughteams. The bishop's demesne is worth 47 pounds. What the men hold is worth 17 pounds and 10 shillings.⁵

It is evident from the Domesday entry that we are dealing with a large and potentially complex manor (Figure 3.1). The description mentions extensive arable, meadow, pasture, and wood, multiple watermills, and a numerous peasantry. The manor had a large tax assessment in hides and a high annual value. It explicitly included burgesses in Wilton, two sets of mill-rights with separate valuations, pasture in two places ('elsewhere'), and three sub-holdings (Edward, Odo, and Hugh).

We can make a start in locating these attributes by disposing of the bishop's seven burgesses, who were undoubtedly resident in Wilton: this is not some bizarre mistake for Salisbury. Burgesses attached to a rural manor outside the borough where they resided are a feature of Domesday Book and the subject of a sizeable literature.⁶ In the case of Wilton there were also

⁵ GDB 66a1 (Wilts. 3,4). References to Domesday Book in this chapter take the form GDB (for Great Domesday Book), followed by folio number, a or b (recto or verso), and 1 or 2 (column), cited from *Domesday Book, seu liber censualis Willelmi primi*, 2 vols (London, 1783), I, or from *Great Domesday Book: Library Edition*, ed. by A. Williams and G. H. Martin (London: Alecto Historical Editions, 2000); followed in parentheses by the abbreviated shire name and entry number used in *Domesday Book*, ed. by J. Morris and others, 34 vols (London: Phillimore, 1974–86).

⁶ A. Ballard, *The Domesday Boroughs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904); J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough: Studies on its Origins and Constitutional History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1936); H. C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 289–320; G. H. Martin, 'Domesday Book and the Boroughs', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. by P. H. Sawyer (London: Edward Arnold, 1985), pp. 143–63; S. Reynolds, 'Towns in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. by J. C. Holt (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), pp. 295–309; R. Fleming, 'Rural Elites and Urban Communities in Late-Saxon England', *Past and Present*, 141 (Nov. 1993), 3–37; D. Roffe, *Decoding Domesday* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 109–43; J. Munby, 'The Domesday Boroughs Revisited', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 33 (2011 for 2010), 127–49; J. Haslam, *Urban-Rural Connections in Domesday Book and Late Anglo-Saxon Royal Administration*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 571 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012); S. Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 240–50.

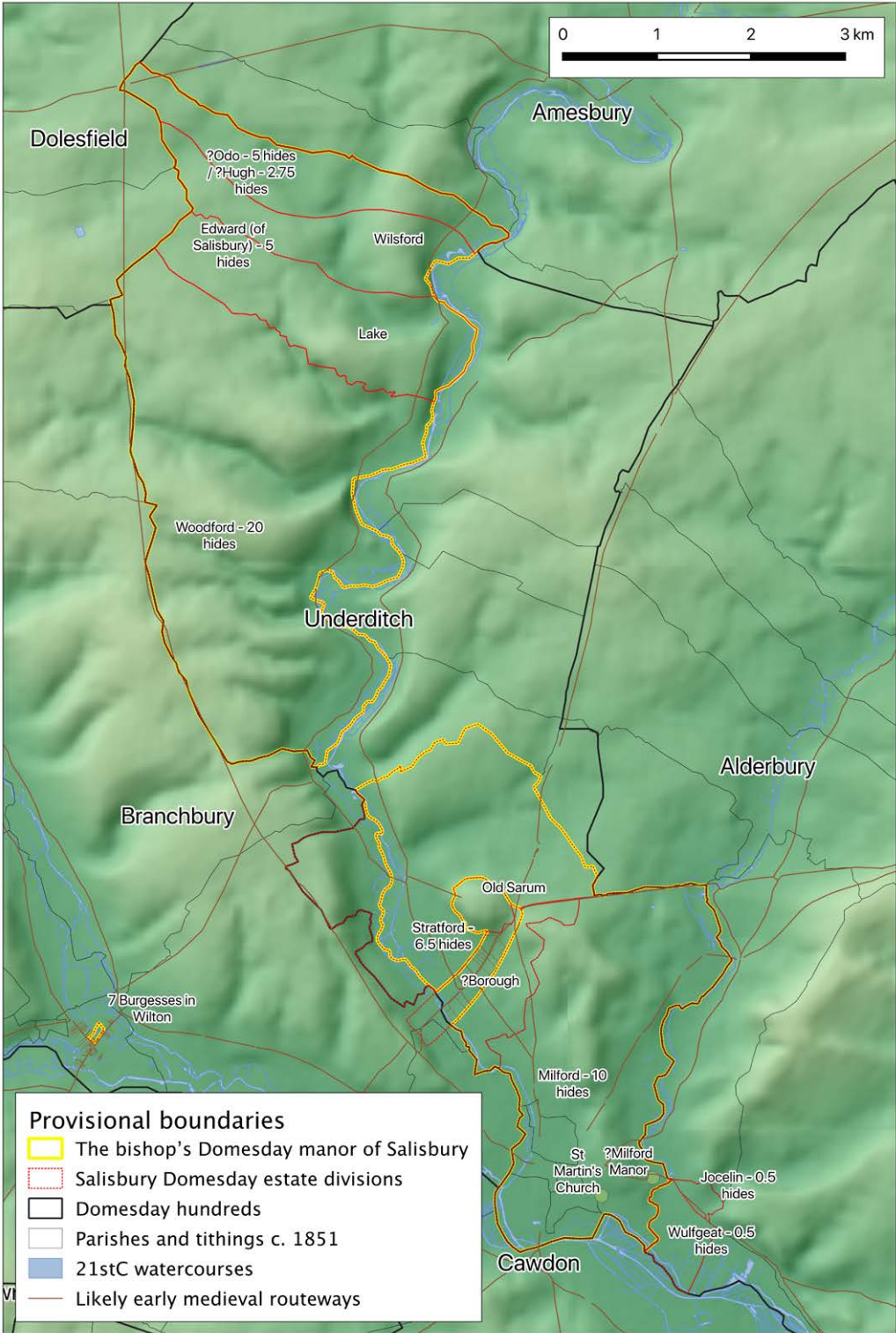


Figure 3.1: The bishop's Domesday manor of Salisbury with suggested internal divisions (for Domesday hundreds see Brookes, 2020)

burgesses or houses belonging to several other manors besides Salisbury,⁷ and much property in the borough must also have belonged to the abbess of Wilton and of course to the king, since Wilton was a royal borough.⁸ Their burgesses are not enumerated, but a sense of the numbers involved can be obtained from the revenues that the abbess and the king had from Wilton, even though they would have included sums accruing from other resources besides burgess rents. The abbess's annual income from the town was put at £10 17s. 6d.,⁹ while the royal custodian of the borough, Hervey of Wilton, was paying the king £50 a year.¹⁰

The key to understanding the Domesday description as a whole is the manorial history of Salisbury, set out with admirable clarity by Marian Dale for the Victoria County History in 1962. Besides the extramural parts of the Salisbury parishes (including Milford), the manor covered Stratford sub Castle immediately north-west of Salisbury, and the large parish of Woodford along the west bank of the Avon further upstream and not quite sharing a boundary with Stratford. Separate manors of Milford, Stratford, and Woodford emerged under their own names during the twelfth century but the more compendious name of 'the manor of Salisbury' could still be used in the fourteenth century to describe the whole.¹¹

The later histories of the three elements help with understanding their status in Domesday. Milford was the bishop's central manor from the later thirteenth century onwards, when the documentary evidence improves. It was then in the bishop's own hands, centred on a manor house in the village, with extensive arable fields and riverside meadows and a large area of downland grazing in the north which supported a demesne flock of 470 sheep in 1283–84 and was later hived off and leased separately as Bishopsdown Farm, comprising some 400 acres in 1597. Because the unenclosed arable fields continued to be reckoned in virgates (or yardlands), we can estimate the earlier hidage assessment of the vill of Milford. In the late fourteenth century standard rents per virgate were paid by the customary tenants of 25 virgates, the equivalent of 6 hides 1 virgate. When the demesne was leased, it too could be reckoned in virgates: 5½ demesne virgates were leased in a block in the sixteenth century but did not comprise the whole demesne.¹² Hence we will not be far wrong if we guess that the bishop's manor was assessed as 9 hides in the later eleventh century, and there was a further hide in other hands (discussed below), so that the vill of Milford might have been assessed at a satisfying and characteristically round 10 hides. The cathedral precinct and new borough of Salisbury as laid out in the early thirteenth century stood in the territory of that larger, original Milford, but the manor house of Milford and the church of St Martin's (originally the church of Milford) had in another sense been the manor house and church of 'Salisbury' all along.

⁷ Netheravon (five), Stratford Tony (one), Fifield Bavant (two), Castle Combe (one), Durnford (four), Sherrington (one), Marden (one), and Odstock (one): GDB 65a2, 69a1, 70b1, 71a1, 71b1, 72b2, 73a1, 73b1 (Wilts. 1,18; 23,9; 26,14; 27,23; 32,1; 48,11; 51,1; 67,9).

⁸ M. K. James and others, 'The Borough of Wilton', in *A History of Wiltshire*, VI, ed. by E. Crittall, The Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1962) [hereafter *VCH Wiltshire*, VI], 1–50; J. Haslam, 'The Towns of Wiltshire', in *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England*, ed. by J. Haslam (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984), pp. 87–147 (pp. 122–28); J. Chandler, 'Deconstructing Wilton', *Sarum Chronicle*, 7 (2007), 56–63.

⁹ GDB 68a2 (Wilts. 13,22).

¹⁰ GDB 64b1 (Wilts. B1).

¹¹ M. K. Dale and others, 'The City of New Salisbury', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 69–194 (p. 69).

¹² Dale, 'New Salisbury', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 92–3.

Stratford was separated from the episcopal manor under Bishop Osmund's foundation charter of 1091 for the chapter of his new cathedral at Old Sarum. The charter assigned 6½ hides at Stratford to the canons of Salisbury. Stratford was the common property of the cathedral chapter and for that reason was later called Stratford Dean or Stratford Canon. It came to be managed as two estates: the revenues of Stratford Parsonage manor went to the canons' common fund, and those of Mawarden Court specifically to the fabric fund of the cathedral.¹³

At Woodford, later bishops retained an interest because there was a much-used episcopal residence there, but the vill became a separate manor held from the bishop as a knight's fee. A later reported assessment of 3 hides 1 virgate must represent only part of the vill:¹⁴ Woodford was a larger territory than either Stratford or Milford. Its assessment is likely to have been similar to that of Durnford, its mirror image east of the Avon. Durnford comprised 20 hides in 1086, held in two portions,¹⁵ and it would not be surprising if Woodford had the same assessment.

Stratford and Woodford are unnamed in Domesday Book, but at Milford there were two small manors listed separately. Each was assessed at just ½ hide and together they had land for only 1¼ ploughteams and 3 acres of meadow. Half of each manor had been taken into the king's forest since 1066 and the only residents listed when the Domesday survey was made were six cottars (cottagers).¹⁶ The royal forest in question was known as Penchet in the early twelfth century but later took the name of Clarendon Forest from the royal palace and park of Clarendon within the forest bounds.¹⁷ The two diminutive manors were distinct tenurially. The ½ hide with the meadow and cottars was held from the Wiltshire baron Humphrey de Lille by a tenant named Jocelin. Jocelin does not appear as Humphrey's tenant anywhere else,¹⁸ and this was an unusually small holding for a Frenchman. The other ½ hide belonged to an Englishman, a king's thegn named Wulfgeat, presumably identical with the Wulfgeat the huntsman who had a manor of 4 hides worth £3 a year at Longford, just across the Avon.¹⁹ Wulfgeat must have been one of the king's huntsmen in Penchet forest, and conceivably Jocelin was a colleague. The two little manors occupied a corner of the vill of Milford, the part east of the Bourne from Milford village. It never belonged to the bishop, and later in the Middle Ages comprised two small manors called Milford Pichard and Milford Richard.²⁰ In the thirteenth century land in Milford was held from the king by the service of providing a forester for Clarendon Forest.²¹ That smaller part of the vill lay in Alderbury hundred in 1334, the larger episcopal manor in Underditch hundred.²²

¹³ R. B. Pugh, 'Stratford-sub-Castle', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 199–213 (pp. 200–04).

¹⁴ C. R. Elrington, 'Woodford', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 221–27 (p. 223).

¹⁵ GDB 67b2, 71b1 (Wilts. 13,3; 32,1).

¹⁶ GDB 71a1, 74a2 (Wilts. 27,27; 67,79).

¹⁷ R. W. Finn, 'Wiltshire', in *The Domesday Geography of South-West England*, ed. by H. C. Darby and R. W. Finn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 1–66 (pp. 37–39); J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Wiltshire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), pp. 12–13, 375–76; R. Grant, 'Royal Forests: Clarendon and Melchet', in *A History of Wiltshire*, IV, ed. by E. Crittall, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1959) [hereafter *VCH Wiltshire*, IV], 427–31 with map at pp. 454–55.

¹⁸ *PASE Domesday*, ed. by S. Baxter, 2nd revised edn (2016), <<https://domesday.pase.ac.uk>> [hereafter *PASE Domesday*]: Humphrey 5 (provisional) [consulted 16 Oct. 2023].

¹⁹ GDB 74a2 (Wilts. 67,77).

²⁰ Dale, 'New Salisbury', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 92 note 23.

²¹ Grant, 'Royal Forests', in *VCH Wiltshire*, IV, 430.

²² *The Lay Subsidy of 1334*, ed. by R. E. Glasscock, *Records of Social and Economic History*, new series 2 (London: Oxford

No part of the bishop's manor that was located variously at Stratford, Woodford, and Milford was named separately in Domesday Book. It was all described as part of the manor of Salisbury and hence appears on a map of Domesday place-names as a large blank. Named Domesday manors crowded around it on all sides in a way that precludes any extension of the bishop's manor much beyond Stratford, Woodford, and Milford, with one exception to which we shall return. Down the Avon there were Domesday manors at Britford and Alderbury; up the Bourne, at Laverstock, Hurdcott, and the Winterbournes; up the Wylye, at Fisherton Anger, Bemerton, and Washern. To the north, up the Avon, there were other manors at Durnford and Wilsford.

Before turning to the resources of the bishop's manor we should try to locate the three submanors mentioned in the Domesday entry, of 5 hides (Edward), 5 hides (Odo), and 3 hides less 1 virgate (Hugh). The absence of bynames and the aggregation of the three submanors' resources impede identification. They are a function of how the scribe of Great Domesday Book abbreviated his source, routinely omitting subtenants' bynames and adding together the resources that had been listed separately for each. It was important for him to record the fact of subtenancy and a total annual value, but the identity of individual subtenants and what they held was of no great interest.²³ All three holdings had been in existence before the Conquest, held from the bishop in such a way that their unnamed holders could not give or sell the land away from the episcopal manor. The three together comprised a fraction of the manor (12¼ hides of 50 hides), with in 1086 notably few villans and villan ploughteams in comparison with those on the bishop's holding, but relatively numerous demesne ploughteams and bordars, though still fewer than the bishop's.

Of the three men holding in 1086, Edward is readily identifiable. He must have been Edward of Salisbury, Sheriff of Wiltshire, the richest of the surviving English landowners anywhere in the country.²⁴ Edward was also the bishop's tenant in a small way in Dorset, with 2½ hides at Alton Pancras and 1 tax-exempt carucate at Sherborne.²⁵ His grandson Earl Patrick of Salisbury in 1166 owed the bishop the service of two knights' fees and a third fee for castleguard at Salisbury.²⁶ Edward's landed estate in Domesday had its heart in Wiltshire but extended to sixty manors across nine counties as far as away as Chelsea in Middlesex, handily placed for the extensive business that a rich sheriff would have with the king at Westminster. A feature of Edward's lands was his acquisition of Wiltshire manors as a tenant of the church: besides the bishop of Salisbury he held manors from the bishop of Winchester, the abbots of Glastonbury and Malmesbury, and the abbesses of Romsey, Shaftesbury, Wilton, and Winchester.²⁷

Edward the sheriff's 5 hides held from the bishop of Salisbury were probably at Lake in Wilsford, forming the southern half of the later parish of Wilsford, each part (Lake and Wilsford) forming a narrowish strip of land stretching from the Avon up on to the downs to the west. Wilsford proper was represented in Domesday Book in whole or part by two manors

University Press for the British Academy, 1975), pp. 336, 345.

²³ Discussed further in S. Baxter, J. Crick, and C. P. Lewis, *Making Domesday: Intelligent Power in Conquered England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming), chapter 10 ('Writing Great Domesday Book').

²⁴ A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995), pp. 105–07; English survivors tabulated from data in *PASE Domesday* by S. Baxter and C. P. Lewis, 'Domesday Book and the Transformation of English Landed Society, 1066–86', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 46 (2019), 343–403 (pp. 376–77); G. E. C[okayne] and others, *The Complete Peerage*, new edn, 13 vols in 14 (London: St Catherine Press, 1910–40), XI, 373–77.

²⁵ GDB 75b2, 77a1 (Dors. 2,2; 2,6).

²⁶ *Cartae Baronum*, ed. by N. Stacy, Pipe Roll Society new series 62 (2019), p. 58, no. [2].

²⁷ *PASE Domesday*: Edward 26 (provisional).

each of 1 hide,²⁸ which seems too slight to account for the whole of Wilsford even without Lake. Their later history helps to clarify what they did cover. One of them was held by a tenant of the earl of Chester in 1086 and the other eventually found its way to a later earl. Earl Ranulph III of Chester granted tithes in Wilsford to a canon of Salisbury in 1229, but Wilsford church already belonged to the cathedral chapter in the late eleventh century, and the bishop was later regarded as overlord of Wilsford manor.²⁹ The probable explanation is that some part of Wilsford beyond the 2 hides, along with the church, was part of the bishop's manor of Salisbury all along, rather like the greater part of Milford.

Lake, however, was afterwards in the hands of Edward of Salisbury's descendants. His son William gave land 'in Wilsford' and the chapel of Lake to his new foundation of Augustinian canons at Bradenstoke priory in north Wiltshire probably at its foundation shortly before 1139. William's son Earl Patrick later recovered the land in an exchange with the priory, and the earls of Salisbury remained overlords of Lake manor until the fourteenth century.³⁰ Edward's 5 hides held from the bishop in 1086, then, comprised Lake and perhaps part of Wilsford proper.

Odo and his submanor of 5 hides cannot be identified with any certainty. No one of that name held elsewhere from the bishop of Salisbury, and the only other Odo with property in Wiltshire in 1086 was a tenant and namesake of the disgraced and imprisoned Bishop Odo of Bayeux, with manors at North Tidworth and Woodhill and probably three more in Kent.³¹ The overlordship passed from the bishop of Bayeux to the Marshal earls of Pembroke, but by the fourteenth century there were different manorial tenants at North Tidworth (the Husseys) and Woodhill (the Eschorchevills),³² and it is not clear that either were descendants of the Domesday subtenant Odo; neither family can be traced as landowners in the vicinity of Salisbury where they might have succeeded to Odo's tenancy. Odo's 5 hides are more likely to have lain in an outlying northern part of the bishop's manor (like Edward the sheriff's), rather than at its southern core in Milford and Stratford. It presumably reverted to the bishop at the end of Odo's tenancy.

Hugh can probably be identified but not his holding, which paid geld on little more than half the hides of either Edward's or Odo's and must have been correspondingly smaller. Hugh may have been identical with the Hugh who was also tenant of the bishop's 5-hide manor of Charnage alias Chaddenwick, a tithing in Mere parish in the south-west corner of Wiltshire, though Hugh was quite a common name and the identification is not certain.³³ In 1241–42 Charnage was held as a knight's fee, with the bishop as ultimate overlord,³⁴ but, again, the

²⁸ GDB 68b2, 72b1 (Wilts. 22,2; 42,7).

²⁹ D. G. Watts, 'Wilsford', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 213–21 (p. 214).

³⁰ D. Styles, 'The Religious Houses of Wiltshire: The Priory of Bradenstoke', in *A History of Wiltshire*, III, ed. by R. B. Pugh and E. Crittall, The Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1956), 275–88 (p. 276); Watts, 'Wilsford', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 214.

³¹ *PASE Domesday*: Odo 18 (provisional).

³² J. H. Stevenson, 'North Tidworth', in *A History of Wiltshire*, XV, ed. by D. A. Crowley, The Victoria History of the Counties of England (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1995), 153–63 (pp. 157–58); E. Crittall, J. H. Stevenson, and C. Shrimpton, 'Clyffe Pypard', in *A History of Wiltshire*, IX, ed. by E. Crittall, The Victoria History of the Counties of England (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1970), 23–43 (pp. 31–32).

³³ GDB 66a1 (Wilts. 3,5).

³⁴ *Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees, Commonly Called Testa de Nevill*, 3 vols (London: HMSO, 1920–31), II, 736.

family in question (Saint-Martin) cannot be associated with any holding near Salisbury. Hugh's 2¾ hides must nevertheless have been located somewhere within the territory of the bishop's manor of Salisbury; like Odo's, it was probably in the northern part and reverted to the bishop at the conclusion of Hugh's tenancy.

One further piece of documentary evidence can be brought to bear on locating the different parts of Salisbury manor in 1086. The bishop's manor must have included the land in the vicinity of Salisbury that Bishop Osmund assigned to the canons whom he newly established in the cathedral in 1091. The charter survives only in a later copy but its text is unimpeachable and it is worth paying close attention to the wording.³⁵ The charter starts with six named vill in Dorset and Somerset given in their entirety 'apart from the knights' lands'. It continues with a much longer list of nineteen churches, each specifying the tithes and sometimes other property that went with the church. The various vill and churches became the cathedral prebends whose revenues supported individual canons.³⁶ The fifth church in the list is Salisbury, accompanied by the longest of the supplementary statements about tithes and other appurtenances.

ecclesiam de Seriberia cum decimis et ceteris appendiciis et .ii. hidas et dimidiam in eadem villa et .vi. hidas et dimidiam in Stratford et ante portam castelli Seriberiensis terram ex utraque parte vie in ortorum domorumque canonicorum necessitate

the church of Salisbury with the tithes and other appurtenances and 2 hides and a half in the same vill and 6 hides and a half in Stratford and, before the gate of Salisbury castle, the land on both sides of the road needed for the canons' gardens and houses

There are four distinct items here — the church of Salisbury, 2½ hides in the vill of Salisbury, 6½ hides in Stratford, and a piece of land in front of Salisbury castle gate — and the sequence implies two pairs of items defined by their geography. The church of Salisbury goes with land in the vill of Salisbury; and land in Stratford goes with land in front of Salisbury castle gate, because the vill of Stratford surrounded the royal castle of Old Sarum. The reference must be to a gate in the outer bank of the Iron Age hillfort, that is, the perimeter of the castle's outer bailey, because the gate of the inner bailey led only to the outer bailey and not to any land at the bishop's disposal. The outer bank had two gates, east and west; the west gate was hard by the west end of the cathedral, the east gate rather further away from the complex of cathedral and bishop's palace, so it is more likely that the land in question lay outside the west gate, where occupation is attested archaeologically.³⁷ The implication is that the intention was to assign land on the street leading from the west gate of the castle to the river for the canons'

³⁵ Charter edited in D. Greenway, 'The False *Institutio* of St Osmund', in *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall Presented by Her Friends on the Occasion of Her Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by D. Greenway, C. Holdsworth, and J. Sayers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 77–101 (pp. 97–100), and from there in *English Episcopal Acta*, 18: *Salisbury, 1078–1217*, ed. by B. R. Kemp (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1999) [hereafter *EEA* 18], no. 3 (pp. 2–5), including an abstract. Discussed by Greenway, 'False *Institutio*', pp. 79–81, and more fully in D. E. Greenway, '1091, St Osmund and the Constitution of the Cathedral', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Salisbury Cathedral*, ed. by L. Keen and T. Cocke, *British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions*, 17 (1996), pp. 1–9.

³⁶ J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066–1300*, IV: *Salisbury*, comp. by D. E. Greenway (London: University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1991), *passim* (outline of property for each office and prebend).

³⁷ A. J. Langlands and K. Strutt, *Old Sarum: Archaeological Interventions in the West Suburbs, 2017–2019* (Unpublished Report. Wiltshire Council HER cat. no. 2023.046, 2023) <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1118571>>. See also Langlands, 'Suburbs', this volume.

houses and gardens. If the eastern gate of the castle were meant, we would have to infer that the land immediately outside the castle was the bishop's, part of his manorial property rather than part of the royal borough. The reason for specifying it separately was its intended use for the canons' residential quarter. A second point to draw from the charter is that Stratford and Salisbury were regarded as distinct places: 6½ hides in one, 2½ hides in the other.

The 'church of Salisbury' transferred to the chapter by this charter can be located with some confidence. Enough is known of the churches in the vicinity of Old Sarum to rule them out.³⁸ The phrase cannot have meant any of the castle chapels, which belonged to the king; it also excludes the chapel of Holy Cross, which stood *ultra* (more likely 'outside' than 'above') the eastern gate of the outer bailey.³⁹ St Peter's church, outside the east gate, also later belonged to the king and so cannot have been assigned by the bishop to the canons in 1091. The same is true of the church of St Etheldreda, Old Salisbury, whose site is unknown.⁴⁰ The surviving church of St Lawrence, Stratford, can also be ruled out. It is first mentioned as a chapel attached to St Martin's in New Salisbury in 1228 and acquired parochial status only later.⁴¹ Its status as a chapel makes it unlikely that it was a church with tithes in 1091.

That leaves only the church of St Martin at Milford as a candidate for the church assigned to the canons in 1091. St Martin's was specifically called the church of the bishop's manor of Salisbury in 1228, and its advowson belonged to the bishops, but there is evidence that it had then only recently come back under the bishop's hand. In that year Bishop Richard Poore collated a new incumbent of the church and its chapel of Stratford, granting him the vicarial tithes but expressly excluding the tithes of corn and hay, which were reserved for the chapter's common fund.⁴² An existing connection with the chapter hints that there was something about Milford that is not apparent in the 1228 document. The crucial evidence for understanding earlier arrangements is an ordinance issued by Bishop Poore a couple of years previously, after the death on 11 April 1226 of Hugh de Templo, canon of the cathedral and prebendary of Stratford. It concerned the land and tithes of Hugh's prebend of Stratford and was of a piece with Bishop Poore's long-standing concern with rearranging and exchanging property rights between the chapter and himself.⁴³ The bishop indicated that he had retained for himself the Stratford prebend's demesne and tenants, instead assigning to the dean and chapter all the houses which Canon Hugh had formerly occupied along with the prebendal corn tithes, the latter to be allotted to the common fund of the cathedral. It specifically leaves jurisdiction over the men of Stratford with the dean and chapter.⁴⁴ In other words, this is the point at which the landed estate previously in the hands of one of the canons as a prebend reverted to the bishop. Since Stratford manor remained with the chapter, the land resumed by the bishop must be Milford, with its church. This shows that the 'church of Salisbury ... and 2 hides and a half in the same vill' that Bishop Osmund assigned to the chapter in 1091 were the church (St Martin's) and manor of Milford. Their resumption by Bishop Poore in 1226

³⁸ J. W. Musty and P. A. Rahtz, 'The Suburbs of Old Sarum', *WANHM*, 59 (1964), 130–54 (pp. 131–33).

³⁹ F. Hill, 'The Borough of Old Salisbury', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 51–67 (p. 60). See Langlands, 'Suburbs', this volume for a discussion of Holy Cross.

⁴⁰ Hill, 'Old Salisbury', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 65.

⁴¹ Pugh, 'Stratford-sub-Castle', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 209–10.

⁴² *English Episcopal Acta*, 19: *Salisbury, 1217–1228*, ed. by B. R. Kemp (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2000) [hereafter *EEA* 19], no. 299 (pp. 274–75), cited from an earlier edition in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 144.

⁴³ *EEA* 19, nos 355, 357–65, 376.

⁴⁴ *EEA* 19, no. 369 (pp. 352–54).

was a ripple from the stone cast when he planted the cathedral precinct and borough of New Salisbury in the territory of Milford. He was gathering in the land on the eastern side of the new town.

Placing the manorial resources in the landscape

The resources and population listed at Salisbury in 1086 were abundant. Ninety-five peasant households, arable being worked to its full capacity by thirty-two ploughteams, two expanses of pasture, woods stretching three quarter of a mile in length, extensive hay meadows, and numerous corn mills. Where were they all situated?

The landscape of the Avon valley above Salisbury is one of contrast between alluvial valley bordered by narrow bands of gravel terraces, and expanses of chalk downland with patches of sandy heath.⁴⁵ The larger block of Domesday pasture was estimated as twenty furlongs in length and ten in width. Then, as now, eight furlongs made a mile, so the dimensions are two and a half miles by one and a quarter miles, twice as long as broad. That is just about the length and breadth of the downland in Woodford parish, the breadth taken as far west as the parish and manor boundary (Figure 3.2). The smaller area of pasture, reckoned as five furlongs by one furlong, would fit comfortably into the downland of Stratford and Milford, where it would indeed be 'elsewhere' than the main block of pasture, as Domesday says.

Woodland four furlongs by two furlongs (half a mile by quarter of a mile) is at first sight harder to place, because there is so little ancient woodland in the Avon valley, only eighteenth-century and later plantations. The VCH says of Woodford that 'There is no record of any extensive area of woodland',⁴⁶ though Mawarden Court in Stratford had 'considerable' timber in 1649, before any later owners established plantations.⁴⁷ The clearest indication of a wooded landscape is the name of Woodford, which evidently means 'the ford by the wood' or 'the ford in the wood' rather than 'the wooden ford'. A ford constructed with a timber or brushwood causeway is possible, and elsewhere in England there are many 'ford' place-names qualified by the Old English words for timber products — 'beam', 'plank', 'brushwood', 'post', 'tree-stump', and 'tree' — but the numerous Woodfords have been taken to refer to topography and not building material (with a handful of exceptions).⁴⁸ Woodford is perhaps first recorded in the boundary clause of a charter of 972 for 4 hides 'at (the?) Avon' (*æt Auene* and *æt afene*), an estate which was either named generically from the river Avon or specifically matches the manor of Avon later in the hands of Wilton Abbey, on the west bank of the river immediately south of Woodford and perpetuated in the name of Avon Farm in Durnford. The identification rests on 'solving' the charter boundary clause by locating its features in the landscape. One of the stretches of boundary is defined as running 'to the old woodford' (*to þæm ealdan wuduforda*), which sounds more like a landscape feature than a place-name.⁴⁹ Whether or not the charter

⁴⁵ T. Tatton-Brown, 'Reconstructing the Medieval Landscape around Salisbury', *Sarum Chronicle*, 9 (2009), 30–36.

⁴⁶ Elrington, 'Woodford', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 225.

⁴⁷ Pugh, 'Stratford-sub-Castle', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 209.

⁴⁸ Gover, Mawer, and Stenton, p. 373; A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of British Place-Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 508; *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names, Based on the Collections of the English Place-Name Society*, ed. by V. Watts with J. Insley and M. Gelling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 695; M. Gelling and A. Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), pp. 71–80, 257–61 (esp. pp. 73, 74, 258, 259). I am grateful to Alex Langlands for mentioning the possibility of a 'wooden ford'.

⁴⁹ *The Electronic Sawyer*, <<https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk/about/index.html>>, S 789 [consulted 16 Oct. 2023]; *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. by W. de Gray Birch, 3 vols (London:

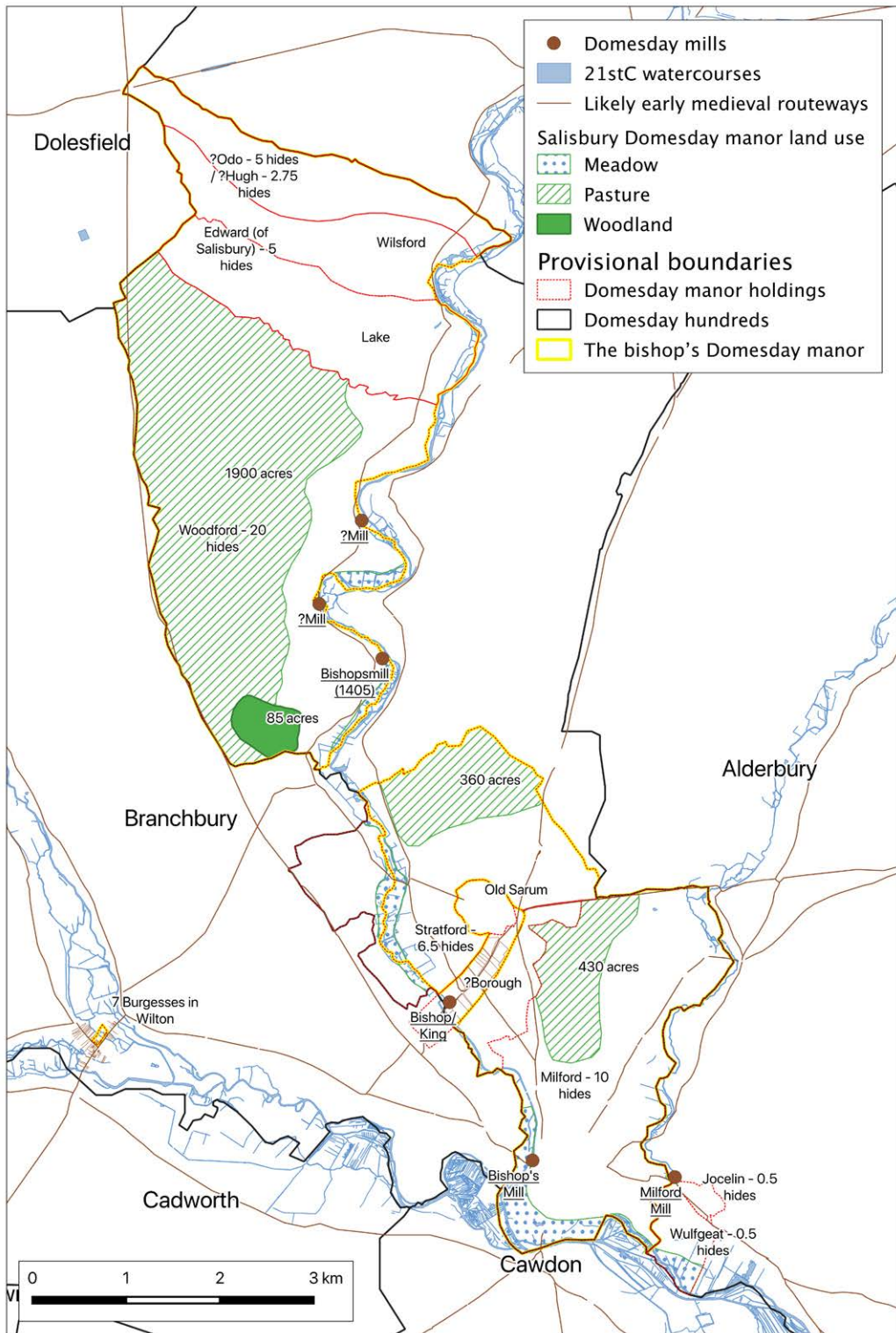


Figure 3.2: The resources of the Salisbury Domesday manor

boundary clause referred to Woodford, the name of the latter can be taken with the Domesday evidence as indications that it was better wooded in the tenth and eleventh centuries than later. It may be relevant that the larger of the two manors of Durnford, across the Avon from Woodford, had exactly the same extent of wood in 1086, four by two furlongs.

Meadow given as 142 acres is an unrounded measurement, with a precision often found when Domesday reports what was always the most valuable of a manor's resources, acre for acre. Manorial meadowland is well recorded in later centuries at both Stratford and Woodford, though no measurements are available until modern times.⁵⁰

The bishop had four mills with a combined annual value in 1086 of 47s. 7d., and another half mill with its own separate value of 30s. The half mill should be paired with another half mill 'at Salisbury' which has its own Domesday entry in the section detailing the king's revenues from the boroughs of Wiltshire: 'From half a mill at Salisbury the king has 20 shillings by weight' (*De dimidio molino apud Sarisberie habet rex .xx. solidos ad pensum*).⁵¹ In theory the bishop's half mill and the king's half mill might not have been paired with each other but each with another half mill on the opposite bank of the river, but in practice, from Laverstock on the Bourne to Wishford on the Wylde, as well as up the Avon at Durnford, none of the manors facing Salisbury had any half mill that would fit. The valuations of those other mills emphasize the high value of the Salisbury mill shared by King William and Bishop Osmund. One of the two manors at Laverstock had a mill paying 7s. 6d.,⁵² at Britford the king had two mills of 20s. together,⁵³ Fisherton Anger had a mill at 10s.,⁵⁴ the nuns of Wilton had two mills together paying 40s. at South Newton,⁵⁵ and two more together paying 24s. at Wishford,⁵⁶ where another mill in different ownership paid 15s.,⁵⁷ while at Durnford the larger of the two manors had three mills together paying 24s. 6d.⁵⁸ and the smaller manor one mill paying 7s. 6d.⁵⁹ Individual mills in this area were hence worth between 7s. 6d. and 20s. a year. There were no other half mills, and the king's and bishop's half mills at Salisbury belong together. They are untypical in not having the same value. Most half mills across England can be matched up value for value with other half mills because they represent shares of the rents paid by individual millers to lords of divided manors.⁶⁰ Some of the cases which do not match up (or not on the face of it) are probably the result of copying errors. That was not the case at Salisbury. Not only were the values different, but the method of reckoning too: the bishop almost certainly received his

Whiting [I-II] and Charles J. Clark [III], 1885-93), III, pp. 598-99 (no. 1286); G. B. Grundy, 'The Saxon Land Charters of Wiltshire', *Archaeological Journal*, 2nd series 27 (1920), 8-126 (pp. 87-88); Pugh, 'Stratford-sub-Castle', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 199, 207; H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1964), p. 98, no. 309; D. J. Bonney, 'Two Tenth-Century Charters Concerning Lands at Avon and at Collingbourne', *WANHM*, 64 (1969), 56-64 (pp. 56-59); Langlands, pp. 95-96. P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 8 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968), no. 789, located the grant 'on the river Avon'.

⁵⁰ Pugh, 'Stratford-sub-Castle', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 208-09; Elrington, 'Woodford', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 225.

⁵¹ GDB 64b1 (Wilts. B3).

⁵² GDB 68a2 (Wilts. 13,20).

⁵³ GDB 65a1 (Wilts. 1,6).

⁵⁴ GDB 69a1 (Wilts. 22,6).

⁵⁵ GDB 68a1 (Wilts. 13,10).

⁵⁶ GDB 68a1 (Wilts. 13,12).

⁵⁷ GDB 74b2 (Wilts. 68,32).

⁵⁸ GDB 71b1 (Wilts. 32,1).

⁵⁹ GDB 67b2 (Wilts. 13,3).

⁶⁰ Finn, pp. 45-49; Darby, *Domesday England*, pp. 270-75.

mill rents in counted pennies (*ad numerum* in contemporary terminology); the king explicitly as a pound's weight of coin (*ad pensum*). A pound was 240 pence, but a pound's weight of pennies would have needed more than 240 to be counted out. The total revenue between king and bishop, at 50s., made Salisbury the most valuable single mill in Wiltshire.⁶¹ Its location is perfectly clear. In the thirteenth century the king's mill at Salisbury was granted with custody of the castle, and stood 'under the castle', at the point where the Portway crossed the Avon by a bridge whose repair was ordered in the early 1380s.⁶²

As for the other four mills on Salisbury manor, we might surmise that they match the mills recorded later. The town mill or bishop's mill at Fisherton Bridge was certainly in the bishop's hands,⁶³ as probably were the three mills in Woodford manor, located at Heale, Lower Woodford (probably called Bishopsmill in 1405), and Middle Woodford.⁶⁴ Milford mill on the Bourne clearly existed before 1066 for the place-name to have been coined, but never belonged to the bishop unless at some earlier period when the whole vill was conceivably (but not provably) his.⁶⁵

The large episcopal manor of Salisbury, then, extended from the ford across the Avon at Ayleswade ('Ægel's ford', later replaced by Harnham Bridge)⁶⁶ almost seven miles north to Wilsford on the river below Amesbury. It comprised two discontinuous blocks of land each of which was a section of the valley from riverside hay meadows and watermills through arable fields to open downland pastures. The northern block, on the west bank, comprised much of Wilsford, Lake, and Woodford; the southern, on the east bank, Stratford and most of Milford, and had embedded within it the king's borough of Salisbury (Old Sarum), wrapped around the ancient hillfort. The Domesday manor comprised most of the hundred of Underditch, 50 hides of the total of 70 hides accounted for in the great geld of 1085–86.⁶⁷ The balance of 20 hides was Durnford, on the east bank of the Avon upstream from Stratford and facing the northern block of the bishop's manor. Durnford was still in Underditch hundred in the mid-thirteenth century.⁶⁸ The hundred took its name from 'Wynðryð's ditch', running cross-country uphill from the Avon somewhere north of Old Sarum.⁶⁹ The constituent parts of the hundred look back beyond Domesday to a time, perhaps, before the bishop of Ramsbury's acquisition of the Salisbury estate, when the whole hundred was still in royal hands.

The borough

De tercio denario Sarisberie habet rex .vi. libras. De tercio denario Merleberge .iiii. libras. De tercio denario Crichelade .v. libras. De tercio denario Bade .xi. libras. De

⁶¹ Finn, pp. 45–46.

⁶² Hill, 'Old Salisbury', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 64; *Public Works in Mediaeval Law*, ed. C. T. Flower, 2 vols, Selden Society 32 (1915) and 40 (1923), II, p. 234.

⁶³ Dale, 'New Salisbury', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 90.

⁶⁴ Elrington, 'Woodford', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 225–26.

⁶⁵ Dale, 'New Salisbury', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 92 note 23. See also Daniell, this volume, for the case that Milford mill represented the shared mill of king and bishop.

⁶⁶ Gover, Mawer, and Stenton, p. 222.

⁶⁷ Exon 1a3, 7a3, 13a3 [cited by folio number, a or b (recto or verso), and a number representing the sequence of entries starting on that page; from the images and the text prepared by Frank Thorn, published in *Exon: The Domesday Survey of South-West England*, ed. by P. A. Stokes, Studies in Domesday, gen. ed. J. Crick (2018), <<http://www.exondomesday.ac.uk>>, consulted 16 Oct. 2023].

⁶⁸ R. B. Pugh, 'The Hundred of Underditch', in *VCH Wiltshire*, VI, 195–98.

⁶⁹ Langlands, pp. 95–97.

tercio denario Malmesberie .vi. libras. De cremento .lx. libras ad pondus. Haec reddit Edwardus uicecomes.

From the third penny of Salisbury the king has 6 pounds. From the third penny of Marlborough 4 pounds. From the third penny of Cricklade 5 pounds. From the third penny of Bath 11 pounds. From the third penny of Malmesbury 6 pounds. From the increase 60 pounds by weight. Edward the sheriff pays these.⁷⁰

The only marker of Salisbury's urban status in Domesday Book is its inclusion in a list of places from which the king received a specified sum of money (amounting to a few pounds) 'from the third penny', paid to him by Edward, sheriff of Wiltshire. Given that Salisbury is here in the company of Marlborough, Cricklade, Bath, and Malmesbury, we are concerned with the third penny of boroughs, a pre-Conquest custom which continued in modified form after 1066. The third penny was so called because it was a third share of certain revenues from royal boroughs which had been assigned to the earls of the shires in question as a perquisite of office. Various strands of evidence, not least from the detailed Domesday account of the customs in force at Chester, show that such revenues came from tolls and from judicial fines for various offences, including criminal misdemeanours, breach of trading regulations, and infractions of legal process.⁷¹ They were not property rents. After the Conquest there was no earl in Wiltshire, so the sheriff, as the agent collecting the king's revenues in the shire, was instead paying the earl's third to the king along with the king's own two thirds. The round sums given for the Wiltshire third pennies (and Bath, listed here because it happened to have been made Edward's responsibility rather than the sheriff of Somerset's) imply that the sheriff was farming the revenues, that is, paying the king an agreed amount, regardless of what had actually been collected in tolls and fines in any given year, and pocketing the difference.

The sum of £60 which follows, also paid by Edward, is mysteriously described as 'from the increase' (*de cremento*). Elsewhere in Domesday Book, the *crementum* was specifically an increment to the customary renders or the farm paid by a royal manor: in that sense it appears, for example, at all five of the royal manors in Bedfordshire.⁷² A different Latin word was used for the same thing in Oxfordshire, where the county paid a farm of three nights, commuted to £150, and £25 by weight 'from the increase' (*de augmento*).⁷³ For the Wiltshire boroughs an increment of £60 on a third penny of £32 represents a swingeing increase in the sheriff's payment but one which was likely underpinned by the sums which he could draw from the five boroughs in question.

The reference to the third penny of Salisbury, then, implies that Salisbury was a borough, that tolls on traded goods were collected there, that it had a court to enforce trading regulations and keep the peace, and that all this was happening on a scale — to judge from the sums of money at which Edward the sheriff was farming the revenues — very broadly comparable with Marlborough, Cricklade, and Malmesbury, and about half that of the larger borough of Bath. An idea of the number of burgesses that there might have been in Salisbury can therefore be

⁷⁰ GDB 64b1 (Wilts. B4).

⁷¹ S. Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 89–97.

⁷² GDB 209a2–b1 (Beds. 1,1–5).

⁷³ GDB 154b2 (Oxon. 1,12).

obtained by looking at the populations of the other boroughs in relation to the value of their third penny. Closely comparable with Salisbury's £6 from the third penny was Malmesbury (also £6), which had over ninety burgesses and houses, and Cricklade (£5), with thirty-five burgesses plus the uncounted 'many' attached to the borough's church. Bath yielded almost double by way of the third penny (£11) and had roughly double the number of burgesses as Malmesbury, around 200.⁷⁴ Salisbury may well therefore have had up to about ninety burgesses in 1086, though there is a very large margin of uncertainty around that figure. So why did Domesday Book leave the borough unnamed and its burgesses uncounted?

Tilshead

At this point we need to take a detour and bring into play the burgesses enumerated in the Domesday entry for Tilshead (Figure 3.3). Tilshead is in the middle of Salisbury Plain, fourteen miles north of Old Sarum, and in 1086 was a royal manor. It was a valuable property. In 1066 it provided King Edward with one night's farm and customary dues, commuted by 1086 to £100 at face value. The cash render was very large and the resources of the manor were unsurprisingly extensive: arable for 40 ploughteams; meadow 1 league long by ½ league broad; pasture 1½ leagues by 1 league; wood 2 leagues by 1 league (a league was 1½ miles); and nine mills worth £5 2s. 6d. a year. The manor was well populated too: 34 villans and 32 cocssets (cottagers) worked 18 ploughteams, and the demesne had 9 ploughteams with 22 slaves and 10 coliberts (freed slaves). The size of the demesne workforce in relation to the number of ploughteams (3½ slaves and coliberts per ploughteam, compared with the normative 2 slaves for each ploughteam, an 'excess' of 14 workers) is a hint that there may have been large demesne flocks of sheep in the charge of slave or colibert shepherds. All this — with the exception perhaps of a large expanse of pasture and the implied sheep — is remarkable enough in a remote downland manor. Most surprising of all is the presence of 66 burgesses paying 50s. a year.⁷⁵ Besides the royal manor there were four small properties at Tilshead in the hands of English thegns, totalling 2¾ hides worth a modest 37s. 6d. a year.⁷⁶

All commentators have taken the burgesses of Tilshead manor to be the inhabitants of a borough at Tilshead,⁷⁷ understandably, since that is what Domesday appears to say. Only W. H. Jones in 1865 entertained any doubts (for him, Tilshead was 'perhaps' to be reckoned a borough),⁷⁸ but there are serious difficulties in believing that Tilshead was a borough in 1086. First, there is not a scrap of evidence at any date after Domesday for a borough, burgesses, burgess rents, or burghal status at Tilshead. Beresford and Finberg knew of none, and the VCH's thorough trawl of evidence from medieval and later Tilshead found none.⁷⁹ There

⁷⁴ Figures for burgesses and houses summarized in Darby, *Domesday England*, pp. 367–68.

⁷⁵ GDB 65a1 (Wilts. 1,7).

⁷⁶ GDB 73b1–2 (Wilts. 67,12; 67,18; 67,29–30).

⁷⁷ Tait, pp. 55, 91; R. R. Darlington, 'Anglo-Saxon Wiltshire', in *VCH Wiltshire*, II, 1–34 (pp. 18, 20); M. W. Hughes, 'The Domesday Boroughs of Wiltshire, with Special Reference to Marlborough', *WANHM*, 54 (1951–52), 257–78 (p. 266); Finn, pp. 57–58; M. W. Beresford and H. P. R. Finberg, *English Medieval Boroughs: A Hand-List* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1973), p. 180; Haslam, 'Towns of Wiltshire', pp. 117–18; *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*, comp. by S. Letters (2013), <<http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>>, s.n. Tilshead [consulted 16 Oct. 2023]; J. Freeman, 'Tilshead', in *VCH Wiltshire*, XV, 263–75 (p. 263); *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, I: 600–1540, ed. by D. M. Palliser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 753; J. Pollard and A. J. Reynolds, *Avebury: The Biography of a Landscape* (Stroud: Tempus, 2002), pp. 201–02; Munby, pp. 127–49 (with a useful historiographical survey at pp. 127–28).

⁷⁸ *Domesday for Wiltshire*, p. lxxi.

⁷⁹ Beresford and Finberg, p. 180; Freeman, 'Tilshead', in *VCH Wiltshire*, XV, 263–75.

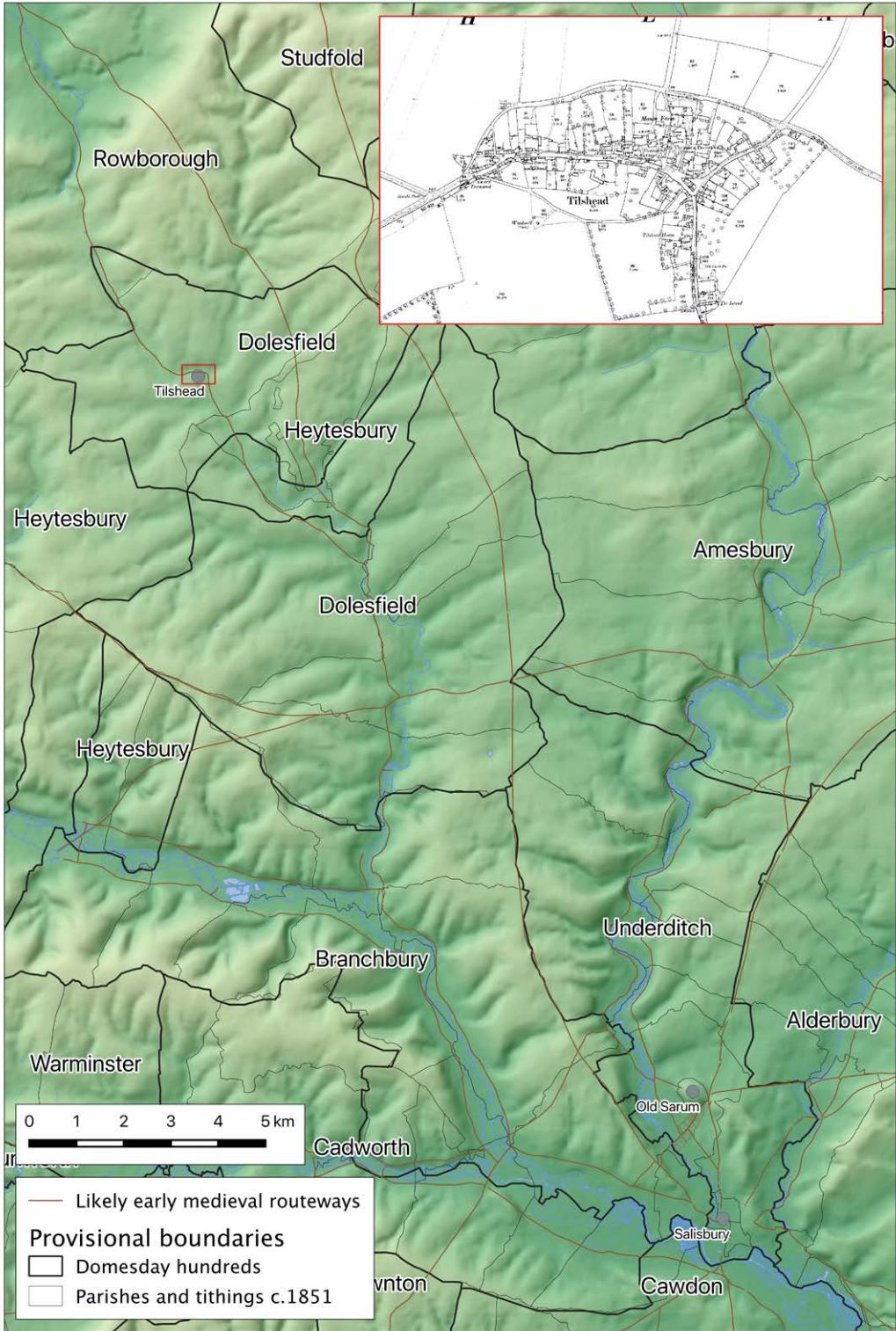


Figure 3.3: Salisbury and Tilshead with (inset) plan form of Tilshead from 1:2500 County Series First Edition Ordnance Survey, 1887 © Crown copyright.

was never a fair at Tilshead, nor even a market,⁸⁰ a necessary attribute of any later medieval borough. Nor does the plan of Tilshead in the nineteenth century look anything like the relic of a failed borough which once accommodated as many as sixty-six burgesses, despite Haslam's special pleading that 'some of the present long boundaries between the main street and two back lanes *must* mark some of the initial land divisions within the early town', and the VCH's more sceptical 'Vestiges of a borough *may perhaps* be seen'.⁸¹ The layout of Tilshead looks nothing like a pre-Conquest borough. The street plan is a T on its side, with a longer spine road running west from a triangular green, and a shorter north-south road passing the eastern edge of the green (Figure 3.3, inset). The spine has irregularly curving back lanes to north and south which circumscribe a rough oval of some 34 acres. House plots of varying lengths and widths line both sides of the spine, longer on the north side than the south, with one or perhaps two other small blocks of tenements on the north-south road. The church is on the north side of the east-west road, on a plot which must originally have extended to the green, and is next to Manor Farm, likely the site of the manor house for Tilshead North manor, created by a grant of Henry I to the nuns of Holy Trinity, Caen; south of the green was Tilshead South manor, in the hands of the nuns of Romsey by 1206 and doubtless originating in another royal grant, quite possibly also of Henry I, whose wife Edith-Matilda had spent part of her early life at Romsey in the care of her aunt Christina, evidently the abbess. North manor, because of its position by the church, is probably the original site of the royal manor before either of the grants to religious houses. The church remained in royal patronage until 1317.⁸²

Most of the extensive resources managed through the royal manor of Tilshead in 1086 must have been at other places. The later parish covered rather less than 4000 acres. The only stream is a feeble trickle, dry in summer, that makes its way southwards to the Wylde. It became known as the river Till at the end of the nineteenth century, from a mistaken belief locally that the place-name Tilshead meant 'head of the Till'; the real name of the stream is the Winterbourne, and the real meaning of Tilshead is 'Theodulf's hide of land'.⁸³ The very name, a hide of land, underlines Tilshead's modest origins. Heavy rains can cause the river to surge destructively through the village, as in 1841,⁸⁴ but it was already a winterbourn (a stream that flows only in winter) when Winterbourne Stoke, six miles down the valley from Tilshead, was so named in Domesday Book (and hence in tax assessments that go back before 1066) as 'the outlying farm (OE *stoc*) on the winterbourn'.⁸⁵ Medieval Tilshead had four small open fields near the village (two for each manor), extensive sheep pastures on the chalk downlands, little or no meadow, no woodland, and probably no watermill. Later references to mill tithes in the parish in 1341 and a miller in the 1510s are probably to a windmill, as in the eighteenth century.⁸⁶ Not more than a handful of the forty Domesday ploughlands can have been at Tilshead, perhaps none of the nine mills, and little or none of the extensive meadow and wood. The abundant pasture,

⁸⁰ *Gazetteer*, comp. by Letters, s.n. Tilshead.

⁸¹ Haslam, 'Towns of Wiltshire', p. 118; Freeman, 'Tilshead', in *VCH Wiltshire*, XV, 265. Emphasis added. Echoed in such works as J. Orbach, N. Pevsner, and B. Cherry, *Wiltshire*, The Buildings of England, new edn (London: Yale University Press, 2021), p. 715 ('The broad village street may represent the borough mentioned in Domesday but not subsequently'), and implicitly in *The New Shell Guide to England*, ed. by J. Hadfield (London: Michael Joseph, 1981), p. 262 ('Centuries ago Tilshead was as important as Calne').

⁸² Freeman, 'Tilshead', in *VCH Wiltshire*, XV, 267-70, 272; J. A. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 53-57, 280.

⁸³ *Cambridge Dictionary*, ed. by Watts, p. 618.

⁸⁴ Freeman, 'Tilshead', in *VCH Wiltshire*, XV, 265.

⁸⁵ *Cambridge Dictionary*, ed. by Watts, p. 580.

⁸⁶ Freeman, 'Tilshead', in *VCH Wiltshire*, XV, 270-71.

however, could well have lain all around the village. Correspondingly few of the ninety-eight recorded heads of household, peasant and servile, will have lived in Tilshead village at the time of Domesday Book.

Tilshead, then, can be characterized as a centre for managing royal resources located elsewhere in Wiltshire. Precisely where they were to be found is a task for another day, and all that can be offered here is a comment on how it might be tackled, together with a sortie on the nine mills. The place to look for royal holdings silently included in Domesday Tilshead is manors which can be shown to have been created by grants from the king's demesne but were not mentioned by name in Domesday Book. One such was the large and valuable manor of Avebury, which must have belonged to the king in 1086 because Henry I granted it before 1114 to his chamberlain William de Tancarville, who in that year gave it to the Norman abbey of Saint-Georges de Boscherville.⁸⁷ Avebury manor is missing from Domesday Book, though the church and its endowment of 2 hides were then held separately by Regenbald the priest.⁸⁸ Avebury was some fifteen miles from Tilshead, but the distance is no bar to the idea that they were managed together in 1086, as will shortly appear. As for the mills, whereas the southern chalkland valleys of Wiltshire (Avon, Wylde, Nadder, and Ebbel), and to a lesser extent the Bourne, another winterbourne with intermittent flow, were crowded with manorial mills in 1086, the manors of the Kennet above Ramsbury — the location of Avebury, as it happens — had few mills in comparison with the middle and lower stretches of the river below Ramsbury and across into Berkshire.⁸⁹ The mills alone suggest that Tilshead was a centre for the management of royal resources and revenues across Wiltshire, and that the burgesses whose customary burgess rents were accounted for there were also resident in boroughs elsewhere. Given what we know about the other royal boroughs of Wiltshire, that places the Tilshead burgesses at one or both of Salisbury and Marlborough, the two proven boroughs unnoticed in Domesday Book.

There are parallels to Tilshead in both Wiltshire and Dorset for how the king's agents managed scattered royal property. Ancient royal manors which were not assessed in hides and never paid geld but instead rendered a night's farm (notionally the produce required to sustain the king's household for a single night) might have distant outliers that contributed to the payment, or alternatively consist of scattered places grouped for the convenience of the king's estate managers. In Wiltshire, for example, the revenues of Amesbury in 1066 included land at Lyndhurst in the New Forest,⁹⁰ and at Bowcombe on the Isle of Wight.⁹¹ In Dorset none of the royal manors was large enough to take responsibility for a night's farm on its own. Instead, they were grouped: Burton Bradstock, Bere Regis, Colber, Shipton Gorge, Bradpole, and Chideock together paid one night's farm; Wimborne Minster, Shapwick, Moor Crichele, and Wimborne St Giles another; Dorchester, Fordington, Sutton Poyntz, Gillingham, and Frome a third. Pimperne and Charlton Marshall combined to pay half a night's farm, and

⁸⁷ J. Freeman, 'Avebury', in *A History of Wiltshire*, XII, ed. by D. A. Crowley, The Victoria History of the Counties of England (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1983), 86–105 (p. 91); E. M. Jope, 'The Saxon and Medieval Pottery from Alexander Keiller's Excavations at Avebury', *WANHM*, 92 (1999), 60–91 (p. 61).

⁸⁸ GDB 65b1 (Wilts. 1,23d).

⁸⁹ Mapped in Finn, p. 47; E. M. J. Campbell, 'Berkshire', in *The Domesday Geography of South-East England*, ed. by H. C. Darby and E. M. J. Campbell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp. 239–86 (p. 270).

⁹⁰ GDB 39a1 (Hants 1,31).

⁹¹ GDB 64b2 (Wilts. 1,3).

the other half came from Winfrith Newburgh, Lulworth, Winterborne, and Knowlton.⁹² Some of these groupings consisted of places in close proximity to one another, but most did not. The arrangements in Dorset were no different from combining under the management of a royal official based at Tilshead payments from the burgesses of Salisbury and Marlborough and the income from manors and mills elsewhere in Wiltshire.

None of the grouped royal manors of Dorset included urban revenues, and the king's borough of Dorchester was separate from the rural manor that was a member of one of the night's-farm groupings,⁹³ but in Somerset there are examples that closely resemble what is suggested here for the recording of Salisbury's and Marlborough's burgesses under the heading of Tilshead. Three of the ancient royal manors of Somerset, not assessed in hides and not paying geld, included burgesses and urban revenues from other places: Somerton included thirty-four burgesses at Langport, Cheddar thirty-two burgesses at Axbridge, and Milborne Port 107 burgesses and a market at Ilchester, besides its own burgesses and market.⁹⁴ Ilchester borough was ten miles distant from its parent royal manor, little less than the distance between Old Sarum and Tilshead.

Rejecting Tilshead as a borough allows for the sixty-six royal burgesses who paid their rents there in 1086 to be located at either or both of Salisbury and Marlborough, two royal boroughs missing from Domesday Book. Salisbury's status as a borough in 1086, visible only obliquely in Domesday Book, is manifest in its possession of a mint and through the careful topographical reconstruction of the characteristically burghal layout of plots along the Portway that led from the east gate of the royal castle to the Avon crossing.⁹⁵ The physical extent of the borough, as represented by the burghal plots, will at some point have to be aligned with the number of Domesday burgesses whose payments went through Tilshead, taking Marlborough into account too.

Conclusion

Both the Domesday puzzles indicated at the outset of this chapter have plausible solutions based on drawing together knowledge in three areas: how information got into Domesday Book, eleventh-century economic organization (itself largely based on Domesday), and later manorial history. First, the bishop's Domesday manor of Salisbury was an extensive territory that covered the later vill of Milford (including the site of New Salisbury but excluding the south-eastern corner of the vill across the river Bourne), Stratford (apart from the royal castle and borough), Woodford, and much of Wilsford (Lake and part of Wilsford proper). Milford and Stratford were not quite contiguous with Woodford and Wilsford. Second, the king's burgesses of Salisbury are not missing from Domesday, but were enumerated under Tilshead, where their customary payments were managed. As significantly, there were two entities routinely called 'Salisbury' in 1086. One was the pre-Conquest royal borough of Salisbury with its new castle imposed on the hillfort of Old Sarum. Although essentially royal, and including land outside the hillfort where the burgesses resided, it also had an episcopal component: the cathedral precinct within the circuit of the castle, and the site of the canons' houses and gardens outside

⁹² Exon 27a1, 27a2, 27b1, 27b3, 28a1; GDB 75a2 (Dors. 1,2-6).

⁹³ Exon 11b1; GDB 75a1 (Dors. B1).

⁹⁴ Exon 89b5, 90a1, 91a4; GDB 86a2-b1 (Som. 1,1-2; 1,10).

⁹⁵ See Langlands, 'Kingsbridge Mead', this volume.

one of the gates. The borough mill on the Avon was shared by king and bishop. The other Salisbury was the dual manorial centre of manor house and mother church at Milford. The habit of referring to ‘the Salisburies’ in the plural is found later, in the place-dating clauses of charters issued by Bishop Richard Poore (1217–28) — once (in 1219) for a charter given ‘at the new place at the Old Salisburies’ (*ad novum locum apud Veteres Saresbir*),⁹⁶ and then routinely (between 1221 and 1228) ‘at the New Salisburies’ (*apud Novas Sar*)⁹⁷ — but may well be older. ‘Salisbury’ was a polyfocal place of overlapping identities over a long period, reinforcing its duality in Domesday Book as both episcopal manor and royal borough.

⁹⁶ EEA 19, no. 331. I thank Alex Langlands for drawing my attention to this charter.

⁹⁷ EEA 19, nos 259, 277, 292, 294, 334–36, 345, 395, 398; cf. *apud Sar* in nos 267, 274, 280, 283, 300, 303–04, 327, 332, 344, 376–77, 383, 394, with *Data Sar* in no. 325 and *in capitulo Sar* in no. 356. *Sar* and *Sarr* (a variant in nos 292 and 394) might as easily stand for a plural as for a singular form, as indeed might *apud Sar* in a handful of dating clauses from before Bishop Poore’s time (EEA 18, nos 7, 9, 11, 17, 195, 251–52).

Chapter Four

‘Withoute eche of these gates was a fair suburbe’: The west and east suburbs of Old Sarum in the eleventh to fifteenth centuries

Alex Langlands

Introduction

In John Leland’s mid-1530s account of Old Sarum we are provided with a snapshot of a settlement in the final throes of complete abandonment.¹ During his visitation to the ruined site, the only buildings observed were a chapel of our Lady, ‘yet standing and mainteynid’ on the site of the old cathedral, and a chapel of St John still standing in the east suburb. Whilst we are informed that, in the east suburb at least, properties had been occupied ‘in tyme of mynd’, not one house was inhabited inside the castle, nor outside of either the west or east gates. For the first time, the archaeological evidence for what Leland considered to have been ‘fair’ suburbs, is brought together from both sides of the monument to provide a more refined understanding of the pattern and character of settlement around Old Sarum. The outline of the canons’ closes of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries can now confidently be identified outside the west gate of the hill fort and, consequently, the complete footprint of a twelfth-century secular cathedral, its palatial and ancillary buildings, wider compound, and accommodation can be identified in what is a relatively unique and therefore significant circumstance. Of the eastern suburbs, a much clearer definition of the arrangement of space can be made, allowing for the context of its origins and development to be discussed in greater detail.

Archaeological interventions in the west suburb, 2017-2019

With the exception of an archaeological record made under rescue conditions during the cutting of a gas pipeline in 1969 (Figures 4.1 and 4.2), and an earthwork survey undertaken by the Royal Commission in 1985, no systematic archaeological assessment had been undertaken to evaluate the nature of the apparent suburb to the west of Old Sarum.² This circumstance has been addressed through a three-year collaborative project (2017-2019) by the University of Southampton and Swansea University, with supporting funds from the Society of Antiquaries and the Council for British Archaeology.³ The project assessed the limited

¹ L. Toulmin Smith, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535-1543, Volume 1* (London: G. Bell, 1907), pp. 260–61, fol. 59–60.

² D. J. Algar, ‘Rescue and Research Work in the Salisbury Area’, *WANHM*, 65 (1970), 207–9, the field notes taken during this work have been very kindly shared with the author and incorporated into the analysis; *South Wiltshire Project, Stratford-Sub-Castle Shrunken Medieval Village/Ink Survey and Report* (The Historic England Archive: RCH01/126, Ref. Nos. 831992 and 922229, 1985).

³ A. J. Langlands and K. Strutt, *Old Sarum: Archaeological Interventions in the West Suburbs, 2017-2019* (Unpublished Report. Wiltshire Council HER cat. no. 2023.046, 2023) <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1118571>>.



Figure 4.1: Archaeological features annotated from sketch records and descriptions made under rescue conditions by David Algar and others during the cutting of the Southern Gas Board pipeline in 1969. From St Lawrence's church to Philip's Lane, via the pumping station.

historical records alongside evidence from aerial photography, LiDAR data, cartographic analysis and geophysical survey to inform a number of small-scale trial trenches designed to archaeologically characterise the topographic features observed.⁴ Figure 4.3 is a composite plan of the area drawing on selected evidence from earthwork, LiDAR and geophysical surveys, aerial photography, and archaeological evidence, providing an interpretation of the sequence of development in the west suburbs from at least the tenth century.

As is the case elsewhere for the hinterland of Old Sarum, it is difficult to place with any confidence the various structures (mills, bridges, churches, etc) and land-uses recorded in the ‘scanty’ number of historical sources from the fourteenth century onwards.⁵ This circumstance is compounded by alterations made to the landscape as a result of emparkment in the eighteenth century and the intensification of agriculture in the post-war period. The removal of field boundaries as recently as the late 1990s has further exacerbated the situation confronted by the leasehold surveyors of 1793 where, on account of land being held in single ownership for so long, the boundaries of earlier plots were in ‘a great degree unknown’.⁶

However, some key documents serve to provide a basic historical framework for the development of the area between the west gate of Old Sarum and the River Avon. The most significant of these is Bishop Osmund’s 1091 foundation charter for the cathedral which had amongst the endowments for the new *ecclesiam de Sarum*, its tithes and other appendages, two and a half hides in the same *villa*, and six and a half hides in Stratford. The key reference in this source is to the ‘necessary’ provision made for the ‘houses and gardens’ of the canons which we are told lie before the gate of the castle of Sarum, ‘on either side of the road’.⁷ The next event of historical significance is the dissolution of the prebend upon the removal of the cathedral to the new site at Salisbury.⁸ Here, we learn that the tenants and their tenements, the *mansis in civitate*, and the meadows and land shares pertaining to them, appear to come into the possession of the Dean of Sarum in 1226. What is of note is that the canons’ houses, along with the granaries/barns and enclosure (*arca*), are *excepted* in this transfer and these assets may have gone on to comprise a new agricultural holding reflected in the name ‘Nyweton Westyate’, referred to in a lease of 1358, and an ‘aldermanry of Newton’ mentioned in a will of 1361.⁹ In short, a ‘new’ township appears to have been founded at the west gate in the aftermath of the move of the cathedral, elements of which survive in a ‘close’ observed in the 1793 survey of leaseholds (see A in Figure 4.3). Finally, of note, is the presence of an estate called *Stratford Decani* in documents dating to the early thirteenth century, with its

⁴ Huge thanks are extended to Dr Kris Strutt and his team, the many local volunteers, the pupils from Stratford and Old Sarum Primary schools, the young curators and archaeologists clubs, and students from the University of Southampton and Swansea University. The various landowners who gave permissions for the work are also thanked for their patience and support.

⁵ E. Crittal, ‘Old Salisbury: Topography’, in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (London, 1962), pp. 63–65.

⁶ E. Crittal, ‘Stratford-Sub-Castle’, in *A History of the County of Wiltshire, Volume 6* (London, 1962), pp. 199–213, footnote 296.

⁷ W. H. Rich Jones, *Vetus Registrum Sarisberienae, Alias Dictum Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi (the Register of S. Osmund) Volume 1* (London: Longman, 1883), p. 198, ‘... ecclesiam de Sarum cum decimis et ceteris ibidem appendicitis, et duas hidas et dimid. in eadem villa, et sex hidas et dimid. in Stratford, et ante portam castelli Sarum terram ex utraque parte viæ in ortorum domorumque canonicorum necessitate’.

⁸ *Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral, City, and Diocese of Salisbury, in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.*, ed. by W. Dunn Macray and W. H. Rich Jones (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1891), pp. 167–68, CXLVII; Jones, *Vetus Registrum Sarisberienae, Alias Dictum Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi (the Register of S. Osmund) Volume 1*, p. 259.

⁹ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office - 1354-1358* (London: H.M.S.O., 1909), VOL. X., p. 649; *Hatcher’s Historical and Descriptive Account of Old and New Sarum or Salisbury* (London: Whittaker & Co, 1834), p. 63.



Figure 4.3: Topographical, cartographical, geophysical and archaeological evidence for Old Sarum's west suburbs.

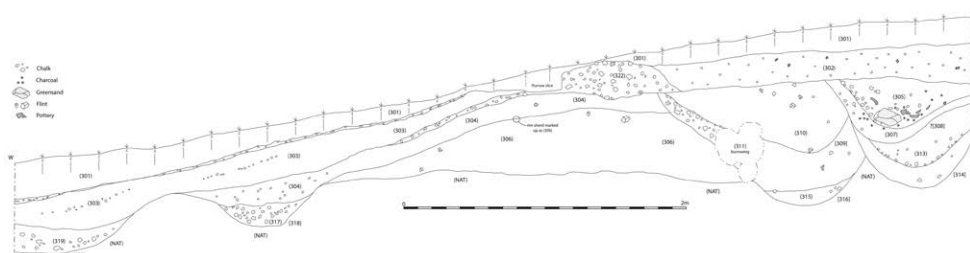


Figure 4.4: Section through earthwork bank, Trench 3, showing context (306), location from which twelfth-thirteenth century type 4 Wessex coarseware jars were recovered.

likely settlement focus the present-day site of Dean's Farm and manor house, immediately alongside Stratford Bridge and the crossing of the Avon.¹⁰

Initial analysis of the LiDAR data for the area suggested an earthwork enclosure straddling the line of Phillips Lane comprised of 'Phillip's Upper Croft' and the 'Croft adjoining the Bean Closes'. Trench 3 was located across the bank of the latter to test the hypothesis that it was constructed as a retaining element to the houses and gardens set out on either side of the road as *per* Osmund's 1091 foundation charter. Sherds of Wessex coarseware jars of type 4 sealed beneath the fabric of the bank indicated, however, that in its present form the bank was of thirteenth-century date and therefore more likely to be associated with the reorganisation of the area upon the dissolution of the prebend in the early thirteenth century (Figure 4.4). Cut into and accumulated against the inside edge of the bank were charcoal-rich deposits containing large freshly broken sherds of cooking pot and jug, scorched sandstone and frequent bone, all suggesting an event of high energy, perhaps even a systematic demolition of existing structures contemporary with the dismantling of the cathedral from 1226 onwards.¹¹

In the field to the north of Phillips Lane geophysical survey and aerial photography, coupled with the features observed during the excavation of the Southern Gas pipeline in 1969, clearly identified that the retaining earthwork observed in the LiDAR data was to be associated with the setting out of Phillip's Upper Croft, and that within this enclosure could be observed an earlier rectilinear enclosure apparently subdivided into broadly equal plots set out perpendicular to Phillips Lane (E, Figure 4.3).¹² The uniformity of this arrangement, picked up by geophysical survey within Castle Croft where medieval footings and pottery had

¹⁰ Macray and Jones, pp. 167–68; Jones, *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense, Alias Dictum Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi (the Register of S. Osmund) Volume 1*, p. 259; W. H. Rich Jones, *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense, Alias Dictum Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi (the Register of S. Osmund) Volume 2* (London: Longman, 1883), pp. 49–50; contra F. M. Stenton, A. Mawer, and J. E. B. Gover, *The Place-Names of Wiltshire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), p. 372, which has Dean's Farm from the family name of John Deane, early 17th century.

¹¹ J. McNeill, *Old Sarum* (London: English Heritage Guidebooks, 2006), p. 35; J. McNeill, 'Bishop Roger, St John Hope, and Old Sarum Cathedral', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 175.1 (2022), 108–48 (p. 137) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00681288.2022.2035932>>, Fig. 1.

¹² This arrangement can be seen most clearly in K. Strutt and D. Barker, *Report on the Geophysical Survey of the Romano-British Settlement, Old Sarum, Wiltshire, April 2019*. (Southampton University: Archaeological Prospection Services, SREP 1/2022, 2022), p. 33, Fig. 23.

been exposed in ploughing in 1961,¹³ strongly suggests the planned houses and gardens of Osmund's foundation charter. Trenches 8, 9 and 10 exposed cess pits and other features that provided ceramic evidence suggesting a twelfth century date extending into the thirteenth.¹⁴ It is imperative to note that the tiny size of the archaeological samples taken during this work render them negligible in terms of their ability to draw sound conclusions for the overall character of the settlement. However, the zooarchaeological remains recovered were consistent enough to reflect an origin as food refuse, whilst the environmental samples provided well-enough preserved carbonised and mineralised taxa to merit further analysis beyond the initial assessment undertaken.¹⁵ There is a suggestion, from this initial assessment of the archaeological resource, that those living in amongst the area designated the canons' closes enjoyed a more varied diet compared to those living elsewhere in the area to the west of Old Sarum. This is based on a larger number of fish bones and a higher number of chicken bones, along with higher numbers of hunted, wild and lamb bones being present. Overall, the results from the environmental samples indicate of standard consumption generally consistent with a twelfth to thirteenth century chronology and the lack of exotic or luxury imports suggest a lifestyle more indicative of a rural rather than urban character.

The ceramic assemblage from Trenches 1, 2, 7 and 13 suggests settlement in this area was contemporaneous with the occupation of the canons' closes. However, a number of sherds of Late Saxon wares (e.g. chalk- and flint-tempered, mixed grit and wheel-thrown Michelmershtype) indicate a presence here prior to the Norman refashioning of the Old Sarum landscape (F, Figure 4.3). Out of necessity, the trenches here skirted the existing farm and manor buildings, but it seems reasonable to assume that the settlement would have had as its focus the crossing of the Avon by Phillips Lane, very likely on the course of a Roman road from Old Sarum to the lead mines of the Mendips.¹⁶ Low-lying gravel terraces in close proximity to major river crossings seems to be the topographical trend in Wessex for early church foundations and it is possible that this settlement may have been furnished with one of the two as yet unlocated medieval churches known from fourteenth-century sources.¹⁷

Tentatively, the recovery of a sixth- to seventh-century cemetery in the 1969 gas pipeline trench and a single body sherd in an organic-tempered fabric recovered from the topsoil in Trench 15 suggests an origin for settlement in this area.¹⁸ Naturally, a single sherd invites only the most cautious speculation yet an increasing number of sites in the area are yielding such pottery in proximity to cemeteries of the same date.¹⁹ At Petersfinger, for example, a

¹³ J. W. G. Musty and P. A. Rahtz, 'The Suburbs of Old Sarum', *WANHM*, 59 (1964), 130–54 (p. 133), Fig. 1.

¹⁴ See Mephram, this volume.

¹⁵ See Holmes, and López-Dóriga, this volume.

¹⁶ Ordnance Survey 25 Inch Wiltshire Sheet LXVI.7, Surveyed: 1879, Published: 1880; and I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* (London: Phoenix House, 1957) No. 45b; J. W. G. Musty and others, 'The Roman Road from Old Sarum to the Mendips. The Grovely Wood-Old Sarum Section', *WANHM*, 57 (1957), 30–33.

¹⁷ J. E. Jackson, 'Ancient Chapels, Etc, in County Wilts.', *WANHM*, 10 (1867), 253–322; R. Benson and H. Hatcher, 'A Descriptive and Historical Account of Old and New Sarum, Or Salisbury', in *Modern History of South Wiltshire, Vol. 6, Part. 1*, ed. by R.C. Hoare (London: John Bowyer Nichols & Son, 1843), pp. 59–63; P. H. Hase, 'The Church in the Wessex Heartlands', ed. by M. Aston and C. Lewis, *The Medieval Landscape of Wessex* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1994), pp. 47–81 (pp. 54–60).

¹⁸ B. N. Eagles, D. J. Algar, and P. Saunders, 'Two Graves near Old Sarum: Further Insight into Early Anglo-Saxon Settlement around Salisbury', *WANHM*, 107 (2014), 28–43.

¹⁹ J. Pine, 'The Excavation of a Saxon Settlement at Cadley Road, Collingbourne Ducis, Wiltshire', *WANHM*, 94 (2001), 88–117; K. Egging Dinwiddy and N. Stoodley, *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Collingbourne Ducis, Wiltshire* (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Monograph 37, 2016); P. Williams and R. Newman, *Market Lavington, Wiltshire: An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery and*

number of isolated spot finds have now been augmented by a larger assemblage and evidence for sunken featured buildings, almost certainly related to the fifth- to seventh-century cemetery.²⁰ Important river crossings for major thoroughfares clearly influenced the location of settlement in the post-Roman period and an early crossing of the Avon at Stratford Dean, along with the evidence for sixth- to seventh-century burials, might suggest that the single sherd recovered from the western suburbs of Old Sarum is a trace element of something more substantial.²¹

Finally, Trenches 11, 15 and 16, located over similar sized platforms, revealed apparently contemporaneous structures that may at one point have had some kind of chalk or lime-based plaster rendered to the external walls. A fragment of Portland (?) flagstone worn smooth on its upper surface was recovered from the platform surface in Trench 16 and, like the small fragment of green porphyry recovered from Trench 11, may have been robbed from the demolished cathedral site. The pottery recovered from the platform banks would appear to confirm a post-early thirteenth-century date and the buildings appear to be relatively short-lived. Parallels for these two structures can be found in Buildings 2 and 3 from the excavated deserted medieval settlement of Gomeldon some 7.5km ENE.²² The evidence recovered here therefore supports the interpretation of these structures as a component in what has become a 'shrunken' medieval village and it seems reasonable to place them within a historical context that saw the widespread contraction of rural settlements in the late fourteenth to early-sixteenth century across lowland England.²³

The East Suburbs: Synthesis

Presented here in synthesis is the evidence from all archaeological excavations in the East Suburbs with the geophysical survey data and cartographic evidence. To the excavations published in 1935, 1958, 1964, and 2006, have been added the unpublished information from two sewer pipelines cut through the settlement in 1967 and 1973.²⁴ Earlier field observations have been included where their provenance can be ascertained, as have the recent geophysical

Settlement. Excavations at Grove Farm 1986–90 (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Report 19, 2006).

²⁰ E. T. Leeds and H. Shortt, *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Petersfinger, near Salisbury, Wiltshire* (Salisbury: South Wiltshire and Blackmore Museum, 1953); D. J. Algar, 'Excavation and Fieldwork in Wiltshire, 1968', *WANHM*, 64 (1969), 128; D. J. Algar and G. Hill, 'Wiltshire Archaeological Register for 1972', *WANHM*, 67 (1973), 126–39 (p. 136) Fig. 3.2; P. Saunders, 'Stamp-Imprinted Sherd from Laverstock', *WANHM*, 70–1 (1976), 129–30 Fig. 1; S. Robinson, *An Archaeological Evaluation on the Site of the Proposed Petersfinger Park and Ride Site, Salisbury, Wiltshire* (AC Archaeology: Assessment Report ACW 3105/2/0, 2005); M. Corney and P. Cox, *An Archaeological Excavation Undertaken at the Petersfinger Park and Ride Site, Salisbury, Wiltshire* (AC Archaeology: Assessment Report ACW110/1/0, 2009); P. Saunders and D. J. Algar, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Petersfinger, near Salisbury: An Additional Grave and Associated Settlement', *WANHM*, 113 (2020), 202–12.

²¹ A. J. Langlands, *The Ancient Ways of Wessex: Travel and Communication in an Early Medieval Landscape* (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2019), pp. 121–24, Fig. 38, SU12NE; Eagles, Algar, and Saunders.

²² J. W. G. Musty and D. J. Algar, 'Excavations at the Deserted Medieval Village of Gomeldon, near Salisbury', *WANHM*, 80 (1986), 127–69 (pp. 133–38) Figs. 4, 5 and 6.

²³ C. Dyer, 'Villages in Crisis: Social Dislocation and Desertion, 1370–1520', in *Deserted Villages Revisited*, ed. by R. Jones and C. Dyer (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2010), pp. 28–45; The Historic England Archive, South Wiltshire Project, *Stratford-Sub-Castle Shrunken Medieval Village/Ink Survey and Report*, RCH01/126, Ref. Nos. 831992 and 922229.

²⁴ The archive material for the 1967 sewer pipe trench was brought together from Historic England (cat. No. MIL02) and Salisbury Museum. I am grateful to David Algar for sharing with me a transcription of his field notes for the 1973 work and for discussing the complexity of the archaeology in the 1967 pipeline for which he undertook a large proportion of the work.

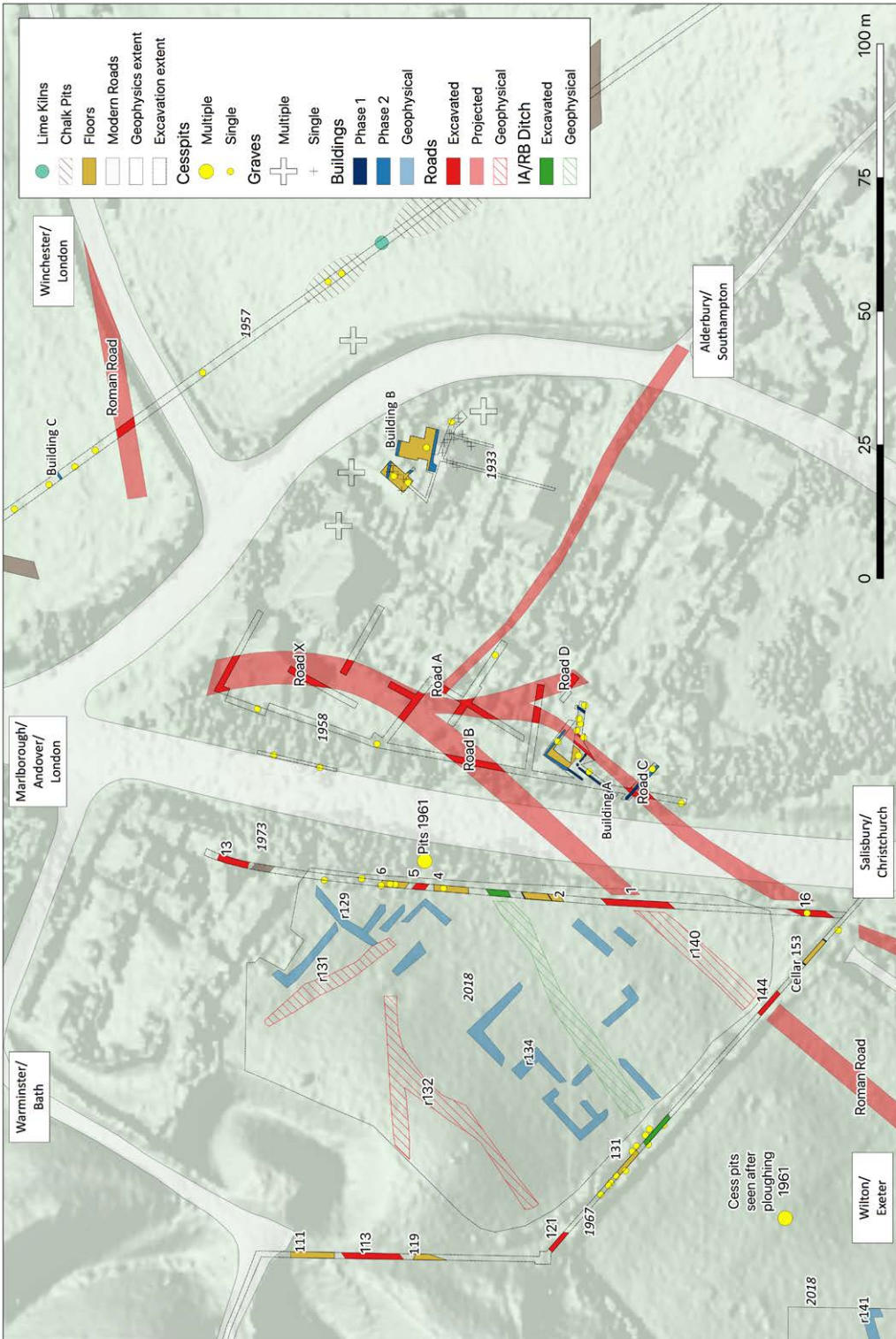


Figure 4.5: Old Sarum's east suburbs, bringing together evidence from late-nineteenth and twentieth-century excavations, along with geophysical surveys and records made from sewer trench cuttings in 1967 and 1973.

surveys undertaken by the team from the University of Southampton.²⁵ Selected information from all of the above allows for some broad observations to be made about the character of the settlement, its development and subsequent demise (Figures 4.5 and 4.7). Except for the excavated buildings, features have been annotated with the numbers assigned to them in the original published reports. The area placed under analysis has been arbitrarily defined by what Henry Wansey (1819) considered to be the ancient city wall of which remnants can still be seen today in some places around the hillfort.²⁶ The way its line cuts through the proposed canons' closes (Figure 4.3) suggests a later date for its setting out, perhaps even as late as an antiquarian guess.

Roads

Old Sarum is believed to have had at least three Roman roads terminating at its east gate with a possible fifth stemming from its western entrance.²⁷ It is entirely possible however that the trackway running along the summit of Bishopdown has its origins in the prehistoric period and was thus active in the early part of the first millennium. The main lines of communication as they approached the east suburbs from the south were picked up in the 1958 excavations as a complex arrangement of metalled roads and trackways converging on a main route heading north and potentially swerving up into the hill-fort (Road X, Figures 4.5 and 4.6).²⁸

The most substantial and most worn, Road B, was observed as a 16ft (5m) wide cutting into the chalk to a depth of 1ft (0.3m) narrowing to an undulating base containing ruts some 4ft 9in (1.4m) apart. This was interpreted as an active medieval routeway and a continuation of the hollow way on the west side of the main road heading in the direction of Wilton.²⁹ The road was picked up in the 1973 trench as an 11m wide trackway, hollowed to 0.9m and metalled with chipped flints.³⁰ It appears on the line of the hollow way (r140) in the geophysical survey and was picked up with a similar profile in the 1967 sewer trench as (144). The alignment of this road with the Roman road observed as a parch mark and picked up in excavations and geophysical survey to the southwest suggests a reuse of its course within the settlement area.³¹ It is further observed as geophysical anomalies (m145), (r149), and (r151) along its course within the suburb (Figure 4.7). It is of note that the course of the medieval Portway appears to diverge from the line of the Roman road as it leaves the East Suburb.

²⁵ K. Strutt and others, *Report on the Geophysical Survey at Old Sarum, Wiltshire March-July 2015* (Southampton University: Archaeological Prospection Services of Southampton, 2015), pp. 30–35 <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1047136>>, esp. Fig. 21; K. Strutt, D. Barker, and T. Sly, *Report on the Geophysical Survey at Old Sarum, Wiltshire, April and July 2016, and April and July 2017* (Southampton University: Archaeological Prospection Services of Southampton, 2018), pp. 35–37 <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1047137>>, esp. Fig. 27.

²⁶ H. Wansey, 'A Plan of Old Sarum with Its History and References. Also, a Representation of the Castle and Two Modern Views', in *The Salisbury Guide: Giving an Account of the Antiquities of Old Sarum, and of the Subterraneous Passage Lately Discovered There: The Ancient and Present State of New Sarum, or Salisbury* (London: James Easton, 1819).

²⁷ J. F. S. Stone and D. J. Algar, 'Sorviodunum', *WANHM*, 56 (1955), 102–26, Fig. 1; Musty and others.

²⁸ Musty and Rahtz.

²⁹ Musty and Rahtz, p. 139.

³⁰ For a similar metaling see S. Brookes and A. J. Langlands, 'Stowford: An Early Medieval Hundred Meeting Place', *WANHM*, 110 (2017), 237–41.

³¹ J. E. D. Stratton, 'Old Sarum. The Roman Road to Dorchester', *WANHM*, 58 (1963), 471; J. E. D. Stratton, 'Rescue and Research Work in the Salisbury Area: Stratford-Sub-Castle, (SU133316) Roman Road: Old Sarum-Dorchester and Associated Settlement Remains', *WANHM*, 61 (1966), 106–7; Algar, 'Excavation and Fieldwork in Wiltshire, 1968'; Strutt and Barker.

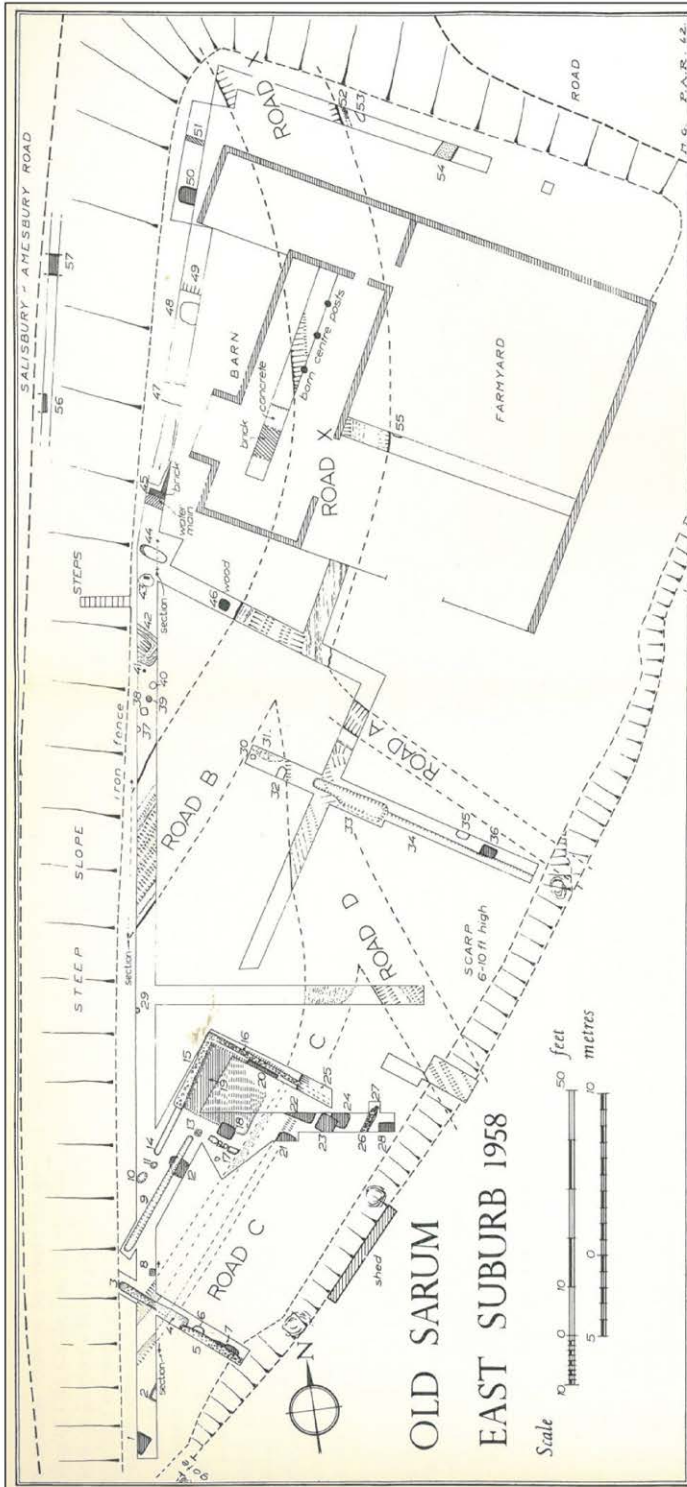


Figure 4.6: Excavations in the east suburbs of Old Sarum (Musty and Rahtz 1964, Figure 2).

Road C would appear to have been cut into by medieval cesspits which in turn were superseded by Building A. It is possible that its course south can be followed as a tree lined track recorded on the OS First Edition County Series arcing due south, surviving as the western boundary of the present layby in this area. It may have been picked up in the 1973 trench (16) because a cess pit yielding medieval sherds, slag, oyster shell and animal bones was observed cut into its centre (Figure 4.5). It is not clear in which direction Road D was headed, if it wasn't servicing local buildings, and Road A, described as 'a foot and animal track', was thought to represent the continuation of the ridgeway across Bishopdown, the central communication line through an Iron Age and Romano-British settlement.³²

With the exception of Road C, Musty and Rahtz considered all of these routes, along with a trackway observed on the line of the Roman road from Winchester ('TRACKWAY' in Figure 4.8), to have been operational in the medieval period.³³ The roads coming from Marlborough (*Cunetio*) and Andover (*Leucomagus*) must surely have already converged to enter the east suburbs from the north. Roadside ditches exposed in the pipe trench for the water main replacement trunk either side of the present A345 (Marlborough road) were thought to have been active in the medieval period and a pair of matching roadside ditches determine the course of the Roman road from Andover (The Portway) which was sighted on a point within the centre of the hill-fort as opposed to the east gate (Figure 4.8).³⁴

Geophysical anomalies (r131) and (r132) suggesting possible roads or trackways,³⁵ circumnavigate and presumably therefore post-date the barbican at the east gate. When exactly this was constructed is not certain. A programme of works in response to the rebellion of 1173-74 saw £47 invested in the repairing of walls and gateways to the castle but an equally likely context could have been the reign of Edward III when expenditure across the entire monument totalled over £700.³⁶ These trackways are convergent and appear to have been picked up in the 1973 trench where they were tentatively described as a rutted path (5) between two buildings. The westward course of (r132) appears in the 1967 sewer trench as (113) and its south-western spur as (122). (m141) and (m142) are thought to mark roads or possible hollow ways,³⁷ and the way they appear to cut across buildings in this area suggests later desire-paths between the Portway and the east gate. It is possible that their course is shared by trackway (113) recovered in the 1967 sewer trench.

Of the present road system, the main thoroughfare was cut through the suburb in 1931 and this replaced a road that presumably by-passed the decaying eastern suburb at some point in the immediate post-medieval period. It may have followed the line of a ditch bounding the medieval settlement where it is aligned NNE/SSW and coterminous with Wansey's city wall, and in cutting across the medieval cemetery reveals itself as a bypass of post-medieval date.³⁸

³² Stone and Algar; Musty and Rahtz, pp. 138-39.

³³ J. W. G. Musty, 'A Pipe-Line near Old Sarum: Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval Finds Including Two 12th Century Lime Kilns', *WANHM*, 57 (1958), 179-91.

³⁴ A. B. Powell and others, 'Excavations along the Old Sarum Water Pipeline, North of Salisbury', *WANHM*, 98 (2005), 250-80 (p. 275).

³⁵ Strutt and others, p. 35.

³⁶ *The History of the King's Works: Volume 2, The Middle Ages*, ed. by H. M. Colvin (London: H.M.S.O., 1963), pp. 826-28.

³⁷ Strutt and others, p. 35.

³⁸ Musty and Rahtz, p. 140.

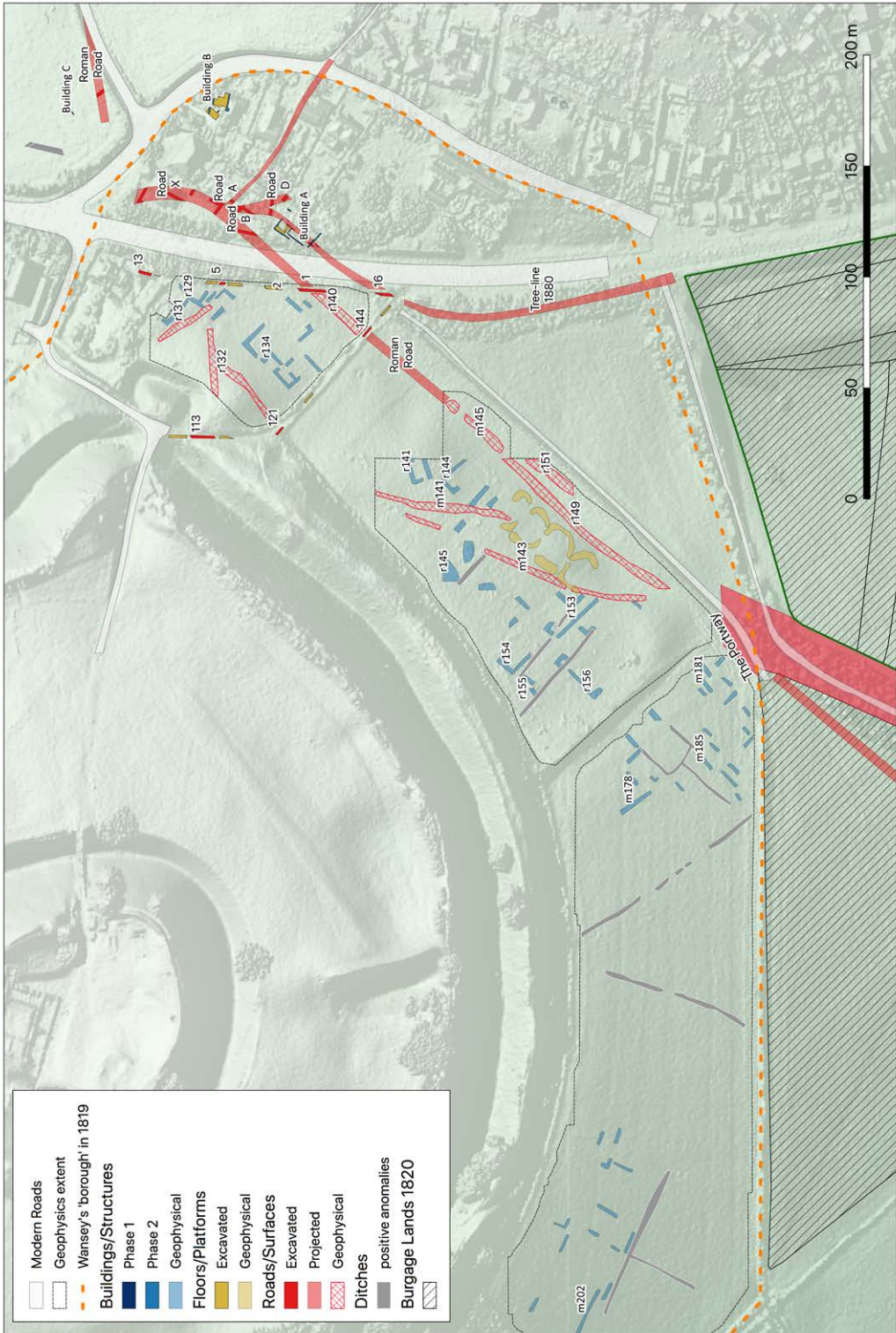


Figure 4.7: Old Sarum's east suburbs, showing the continuation of settlement aligned to the Roman road and later Portway

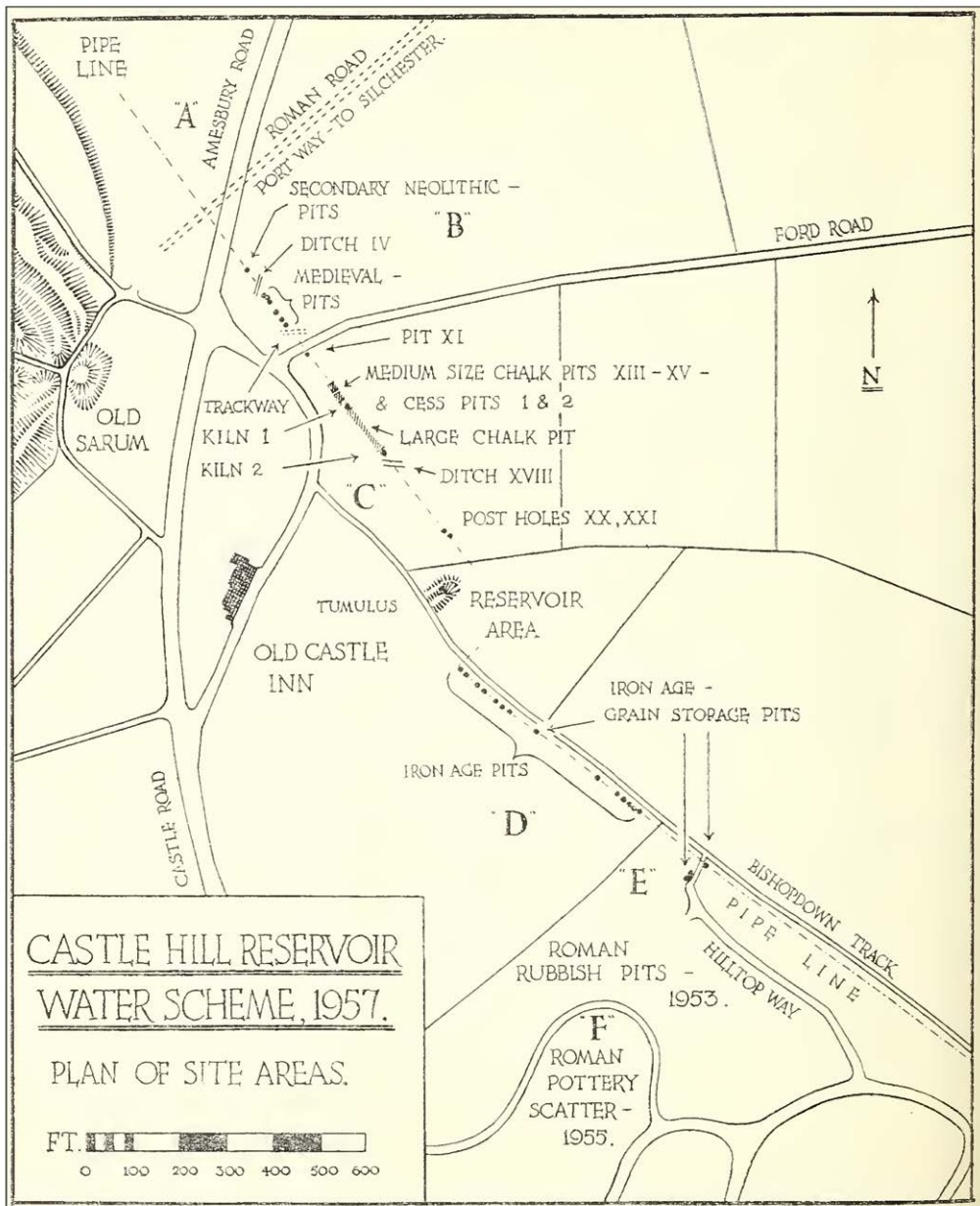


Figure 4.8: Water pipeline excavations, 1957 (Musty 1959, Figure 1)

Buildings

The only surviving building of any antiquity in the east suburb is the Old Castle Inn whose alignment alongside the post-medieval bypass is indicative of its origins. Leland's failure to mention the building possibly precludes a date earlier than the mid sixteenth century, but its walls contain re-used medieval stone and, in advance of a substantial extension, excavation recovered only a seventeenth to eighteenth-century compacted chalk floor and indications of other post-medieval features.³⁹

The most substantial building remains so far excavated were those of a likely church building recovered during excavations conducted in 1933 (Building B in Figure 4.5, and Figure 4.9).⁴⁰ Finely dressed Chilmark and greensand stone, shale, Cornish slate, glazed ridge crests, Purbeck and Portland stone, and plaster floors, all suggested a building of some stature, and the proliferation of graves recovered from a broad area in its vicinity do much to confirm an ecclesiastical foundation of some importance to the community there.⁴¹ At the point of excavation, it was presumed to have been the site of the chapel and hospital of St John but a series of foundations recovered some 400m east, on the road to Winchester, is a more fitting location for an infirmary.⁴²

A more likely candidate for Stone and Charlton's excavated church remains is Holy Cross, a relatively well-documented church first recorded in 1236, described in subsequent documents as lying *ultra* the east gate.⁴³ This has caused some confusion as to its whereabouts, exacerbated somewhat by John Leland's observation that over the gateway he thought of the church that 'some tokens remayne'.⁴⁴ It is more likely that the meaning of *ultra* in this case is 'beyond' rather than 'above' and the location of the building excavated in 1933, lying some 150m on a direct line of sight through the east gate, supports the identification. Stone and Charlton recovered a number of individual graves cut through the plaster floor of the building and this can probably be explained by the record, made in AD 1365, of damage to the nave causing it to be dismantled and the chancel arch walled up.⁴⁵

The scale of the cemetery, the range of statuses reflected amongst the interred individuals, the freehold the church enjoyed, and its receipt of the tithes of Old Sarum after the departure of the cathedral, all suggest that this church was a foundation made to support the community – perhaps the borough – founded at the east gate in support of the castle within.⁴⁶ Informative

³⁹ J. Richards, *Archaeological Assessment: The Old Castle Inn, Old Sarum* (Chicklade: AC Archaeology, Unpublished Report, AC1, 1991).

⁴⁰ J. F. S. Stone and J. Charlton, 'Trial Excavations in the East Suburb of Old Sarum', *Antiquaries Journal*, 40 (1935), 174–92.

⁴¹ J. Y. Akerman, 'XVII.— Notes of Antiquarian Researches in the Summer and Autumn of 1854', *Archaeologia*, 36.1 (1855), 175–86 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261340900012996>>; F. Stevens, 'Skeletons Found at Old Sarum, August, 1931', *WANHM*, 46 (1934), 98–99; and summarised in Musty and Rahtz, pp. 132–33.

⁴² A. B. Powell, 'A Possible Site for the Hospital of St John the Baptist and St Anthony at Old Sarum, Salisbury', *WANHM*, 99 (2006), 213–20.

⁴³ 'Old Salisbury: The Castle', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6*, ed. by E. Crittal (London, 1962), pp. 53–60 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp53-60>>; Colvin, p. 827.

⁴⁴ Toulmin Smith, p. 260; D. H. Montgomerie, 'Old Sarum', *Archaeological Journal*, 104.1 (1947), 129–43 (p. 140); Musty and Rahtz, p. 132; R. B. Pugh, 'The East Gate of Old Salisbury', *WANHM*, 77 (1982), 151–52; J. Chandler, *Endless Street: A History of Salisbury and Its People* (Salisbury: Hobnob Press, 1983), p. 24.

⁴⁵ Crittal, 'Old Salisbury: The Castle'.

⁴⁶ RCHME, 'Old Sarum', in *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury* (London: H. M. S. O., 1980), pp. 1–24

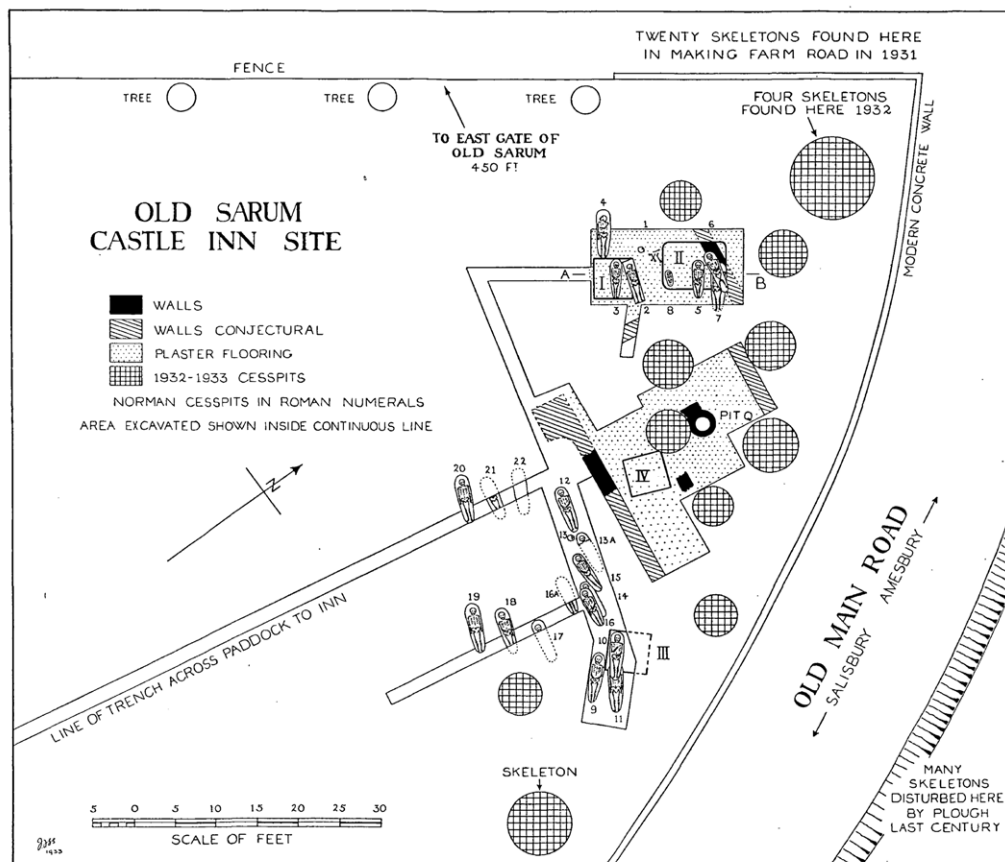


Figure 4.9: Excavations of a likely medieval church building in 1933 (Stone and Charlton 1935, pl. XXIV)

parallels might be found in the churches of l'Église Saint-Pierre de Caen and Église de la Trinité de Falaise which, like this church, lie around 150m outside the main entrance to the Outer Bailey on a direct line of sight through the gateway. Holy Cross church may, therefore, have been a Norman foundation to serve the townspeople of their newly founded castle and town.

The only other building in the suburb subjected to open area excavation was Building A which was seen to consist of at least two phases of construction.⁴⁷ The frontage of the building, measuring some 51ft (15.5m) across, appears to be aligned to Road B and it was seen to extend beyond the excavated length of 30ft (9m) to the southeast. Two post-holes packed only with large flints were thought to be some of the earliest features, puddled chalk and mortared flint footings represented the earliest extant walls, and footings and floors containing tile fragments were believed to be of later date. Musty and Rahtz thought the structural remains recovered here were of one building but the width of the frontage, and the internal divisions,

(p. 12).

⁴⁷ Musty and Rahtz, pp. 137-38.

might indicate a complex of structures or perhaps even two tenements.⁴⁸ They tentatively put forward a sequence of two phases of occupation: an ‘early’ one of twelfth-century date (Phase 1, Figure 4.5), comprised of timber and thatch/shingles, followed by a ‘later’ phase of thirteenth to fourteenth-century date where more substantial building materials were in evidence.

The dimensions and orientation of Building A are paralleled by (r134) and (r129) in the 2018 geophysical survey. What are described as building platforms (4) and (6) in the 1973 sewer trench confirms the presence of buildings in the area of (r129) and an underlying Iron Age or Romano-British ditch may be obscuring the relationship between the structures at (r134) and those to the southeast of the ditch. Another building aligned to Road B/X was suggested by cut features to the immediate west of Road X containing demolition waste from buildings of some stature, whilst to the east of the road there was evidence of occupation in the form of a hearth and wall-footings (Figure 4.6).⁴⁹

Further southwest down the slope, high resistance anomalies (r141), (r144), (r145), and (r153-6) mark the remains of buildings, platforms, and structures (Figure 4.7).⁵⁰ The alignment of most of these features, along with features (m178), (m181), and (m185), appears to be consistent with Building A and those aligned to it. However, the orientation of (r141) should be noted as a possible site for one of the missing Old Sarum churches.⁵¹ A series of floors or platforms were observed alongside the course of (r149) as it passed through the settlement and a chalk-block lined cellar (153) recovered in the 1967 sewer trench suggests a further building aligned to the main thoroughfare through the settlement (Figure 4.5). The 1973 sewer trench also recovered another chalk-block lined cellared building (2) at a broadly comparable distance from the main thoroughfare and associated with a house platform. Two further house platforms were also recovered in this trench; (4) with either a well or cesspit and (6) with a gully on its southwest edge, aligned perpendicularly to Road B, and thought to represent an eaves drip gully. The floor surfaces recovered in the 1967 sewer trench all appeared as platforms cut directly into the chalk and only (111) was observed to have had any associated structural features, again in the form of two parallel gullies. Two foundation trenches, one with blocks of Hurdcott greensand *in situ*, are all that remain of Building C, situated in an area otherwise used for cess pits.⁵²

Sequence, Preservation and Future directions

What emerges from the information brought together here is an archaeological narrative that is sufficient to set out in only the broadest terms the character of the settlement in the west and east suburbs of Old Sarum. Refining what can be said about the origins, development and demise of the settlements either side of the hillfort will only be achieved through further invasive archaeological intervention. The extent to which the structural remains on the eastern side of the monument can be defined as ‘urban’ or ‘sub-urban’ is limited based on current evidence. There are indications in the Domesday record of some urban functions

⁴⁸ See Harding and Howard, this volume, for similar challenges in interpreting the medieval phases observed in roadside plots in Salisbury.

⁴⁹ Musty and Rahtz, p. 139.

⁵⁰ Strutt, Barker, and Sly, p. 35.

⁵¹ Jackson; Benson and Hatcher.

⁵² Musty, p. 182.

being carried out somewhere in or around Old Sarum, and the east suburb appears to have been the beneficiary of a stimulus brought about by the Norman-period investment in the castle and cathedral. Yet, whether the settlement here ever achieved an economic buoyancy on its own terms depends much on a critical reading of the archaeological evidence.

For example, the remains of what is almost certainly the hospital of St John, an institution catering for sufferers of the medieval definition of leprosy from at least the late-twelfth century onwards, might be seen as an indication of a densely populated settlement at that time.⁵³ There appears to be a correlation between the prevalence and spread of such institutions and the growth of urban centres in medieval England and, conceivably, the low socio-economic and insanitary conditions such environments fostered could have served to encourage transmission of the disease.⁵⁴ At the same time, however, the universal occurrence of such hospitals in roadside locations indicates a strategic function in the requirement to beg for alms and charity.⁵⁵ It may be, therefore, that this hospital more closely reflects the level of traffic using the road between Winchester and Wilton, *via* Old Sarum, than it does the need to serve a densely occupied urban centre at Old Sarum.

Of the layout of the east suburb, the drawing together of the evidence here suggests that the course of the Portway, on the line of the Roman road, was used as the spinal street against which properties of eleventh century date were set out (Figures 4.5 and 4.7). The extent to which the suburb continued along the course of the Portway is not clear. Wansley's city wall is certainly real in that it exists in the present landscape, but whether this is the ancient city wall – and thus, the boundary of the settlement here – or the result of a post-medieval refashioning of the political landscape, only excavation can tell. Late eighteenth and nineteenth-century maps suggests a continuation of 'borough land' boundaries along the line of the Portway (as distinct from the course of the Roman road), but whilst there are anomalies in the geophysical surveys that suggest activity in this area, there is no neat fit here with the cartographic evidence.⁵⁶ The situation is further exacerbated by the paddock skirting the south of the hillfort having been at some point before the 1940s heavily scoured of its topsoil.⁵⁷ Archaeological investigation is urgently required to assess the damage this will have done to the features that extend into this paddock from the east suburb (m178), (m181), (m185), and those observed aligned with the outer ditch of the hillfort in the western end of the paddock (m202).

Road C, whose obsolescence in the medieval period is suggested by the cutting of cess pits through it, may have been decommissioned as a consequence of a reorganisation of the landscape in the late eleventh century. In a handful of places ditches and positive anomalies in

⁵³ Powell, 'Hospitals: St John the Baptist & St Anthony, Salisbury', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire, Volume 3*, ed. by R. B. Pugh and E. Crittal (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1956), pp. 361–62.

⁵⁴ C. Roberts, 'Leprosy and Leprosaria in Medieval England', *Museum Applied Science Centre for Archaeology Journal*, 4.1 (1986), 15–21.

⁵⁵ S. Roffey, 'Medieval Leper Hospitals in England: An Archaeological Perspective', *Medieval Archaeology*, 56.1 (2012), 203–33 (pp. 221–22) <<https://doi.org/10.1179/0076609712Z.0000000007>>; K. Manchester and C. Roberts, 'The Palaeopathology of Leprosy in Britain: A Review', *World Archaeology*, 21.2 (1989), 265–72 (p. 267).

⁵⁶ 'Old Salisbury: Later History', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6*, ed. by E. Crittal (London, 1962), pp. 65–67 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp65-67>>, Fig. 2; K. Strutt, *Geophysical Survey at Old Sarum*, forthcoming. See also, Langlands, 'Kingsbridge Mead', this volume.

⁵⁷ Aerial Photo - EAW005099, Historic England <<https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/archive/collections/aerial-photos/record/EAW005099>>.

the geophysical survey suggest plots laid out perpendicularly to Road B/X and the orientation of the proposed structural remains and excavated buildings does much to suggest a planned town. John Chandler has drawn attention to the layout of Brinklow (Warks.) as a good comparable site, and it is plausible that, as at sites like Chipping Ongar, Pleshey (Essex), and Clare (Norfolk), a ‘castle-town’ was laid out to provide administrative and mercantile support to the planned Norman stronghold at Old Sarum.⁵⁸ When exactly this happened, whether it was imposed on an existing settlement, and how vibrant the settlement went on to be, are questions that only further archaeological investigation can properly address. Based on the evidence brought together here, only the most provisional of observations can be made, best framed as a set of future research objectives.

In the excavation of Building A, Musty and Rahtz tentatively proposed two main periods of construction activity. The ‘early’ phase, of twelfth or thirteenth century date, was described as probably entirely of timber, with a thatch or shingle roof. The ‘later’ phase, of thirteenth to fourteenth-century date, was comprised of wall-footings made of more substantial materials such as stone, tile, mortar and plaster.⁵⁹ There was also a suggestion of two periods in building (2) observed in the 1973 sewer trench and it is clear from the 1933 excavations of the church building that the more substantial structural remains overlay earlier eleventh-century archaeological remains (Figure 4.10).⁶⁰ Currently, this provisional chronology of two periods can be set out in only relative terms, largely because of the challenges in refining the dating of what Musty called ‘scratch-marked’ ware.⁶¹ A key question that therefore remains unanswered by this review of the evidence is whether there was any settlement at the east gate in advance of the Norman ambitions for the site. The failure to clearly identify earlier tenth or eleventh-century medieval archaeology suggests that what was going on at the east gate at Old Sarum was not representative of the longer chronology of urban development observed elsewhere from the early eleventh century onwards.⁶² The weight of evidence currently points to the upscaling of activity outside the east gate of the hillfort representing a *de novo* settlement planned in association with the Norman construction of the castle and outer ringworks.

For the vibrancy of the settlement at the east gate and the nature of its decline, closer scrutiny on the more substantial structural remains offers some insights. Excavated deposits from across the east suburb have yielded a range of building materials including Purbeck marble, Portland stone, greensand stone, Chilmark stone, mortar, plaster, roof tile, glazed roof tile, shale, and Cornish slate. It is tempting to see these as evidence of a thriving settlement with the financial resources to invest in expensive, durable, and fashionable materials to use in relatively high-status buildings. The repeated orders for the repair of Holy Cross church issued between the mid-thirteenth and mid-fourteenth century might also reflect a concern

⁵⁸ J. Chandler, ‘Where Was Old Sarum?’, *Sarum Chronicle*, 4 (2004), 22–30; K. D. Lilley, ‘The Norman Conquest and Its Influence on Urban Landscapes’, ed. by D. M. Hadley Hadley and C. Dyer, *The Archaeology of the Eleventh Century: Continuities and Transformations* (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 30–56 (pp. 33–34) <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315312934>>.

⁵⁹ Musty and Rahtz, p. 138.

⁶⁰ Stone and Charlton, p. 181, but see also Mephram, this volume.

⁶¹ See also Mephram, this volume.

⁶² G. Astill, ‘Community, Identity and the Later Anglo-Saxon Town: The Case of Southern England’, ed. by W. Davies, G. Halsall, and A. J. Reynolds, *People and Space in the Early Middle Ages, AD 300-1300* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 233–54; L. Ten Harkel, ‘The Norman Conquest and Its Impact on Late Anglo-Saxon Towns’, in *The Archaeology of the 11th Century: Continuities and Transformations*, ed. by D. M. Hadley and C. Dyer, 1st edn (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 14–29 <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315312934>>.

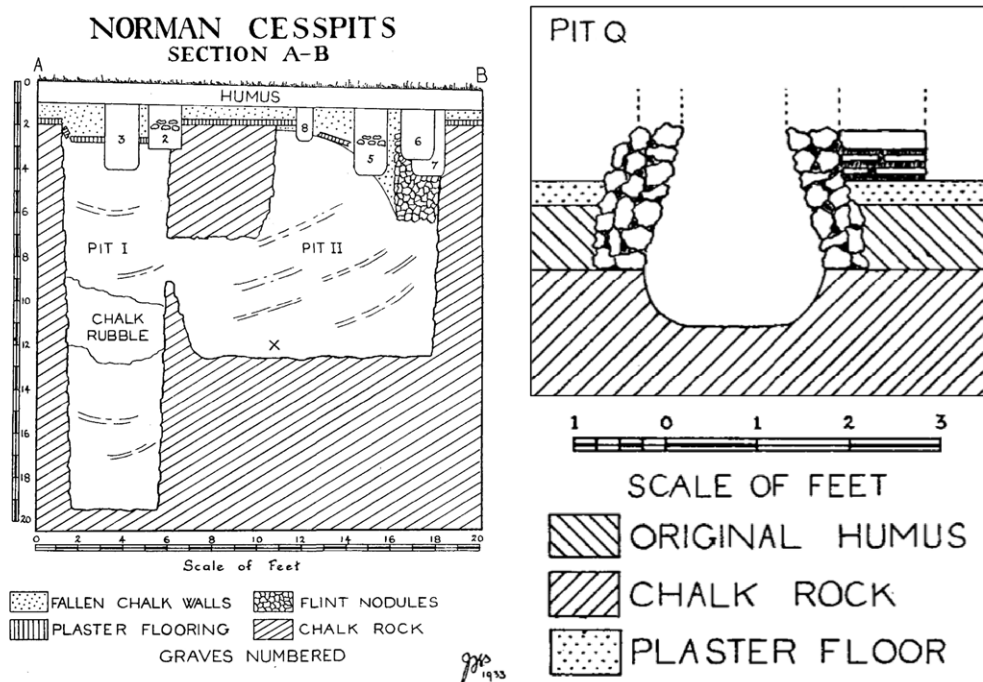


Figure 4.10: (left) 'Norman' cess pits underlying the structural remains and burials associated with the church building, (right) and Pit Q, a bell-shaped flint-lined pit with a faced exterior wall, sunk through the plaster floor (Stone and Charlton 1935, Figures 1 and 2)

to keep this important church in a condition commensurate with its status.⁶³ However, they might just as well reflect a lack-lustre attitude towards maintenance from a community ill-equipped with the resources to properly care for their parish church. The roof tile re-used as foundational material in the later period wall trenches of Building A serves as an indicator that other such materials may have been recycled from elsewhere, rather than being brought in as newly acquired resources. In the outer bailey, archaeological evidence indicates that roofing materials were reused in the floor of a thirteenth-fourteenth century building.⁶⁴ Given the evidence for the systematic dismantling of the cathedral complex from 1226 onwards,⁶⁵ it could very well be the case that the small amounts of Purbeck limestone and greensand employed in the ground walls of Building A and foundation trenches of Building C were reused. The glazed red tiles and crested ridge tiles recovered from both Building A and the church may also have come from more prestigious buildings in the ecclesiastical compound. Examples fitting this description were archaeologically recovered in 1913-14 in what appears to be a medieval salvage deposit (Figure 4.11). Was, therefore, Musty and Rahtz's 'later' period – one characterised by more substantial building materials – an expression of wealth and fortune? Or is the opposite the case and the settlement sustained itself structurally into the

⁶³ Crittal, 'Old Salisbury: The Castle'.

⁶⁴ 'Old Sarum, Wiltshire: T J Miles and D J Algar Collection', Historic England, Swindon, MIL02; see Langlands and Mephum, this volume.

⁶⁵ McNeill, *Old Sarum*, p. 35; McNeill, 'Bishop Roger', p. 137, Fig. 1.



Figure 4.11: Crested ridge tiles recovered from the 1913-14 excavations of Old Sarum cathedral
(© Society of Antiquaries, Old Sarum slide collection, no. 1578)

thirteenth century only by sourcing second-hand fabric from dilapidated buildings from within the bailey?

No such materials, nor foundation trenches were observed associated with the platforms recovered in the 1967 sewer trench. A parallel set of possible drip gullies associated with platform 111 (Figure 4.5) suggest that a second coat of thatch may have been administered but otherwise, the lifespan of this platform and others in the trench appear to have been contained, at least typologically, within Musty and Rahtz's 'early' period. Of the two cellared structures it is of note that they were both lined with chalk blocks, perhaps mortared in the case of (2) and their positions, each equidistant either side of Road B, suggests that they may have been a feature of the planned settlement from the outset. Cellars in urban contexts can be an indication that space to expand was at a premium, but they were also important storage facilities where temperatures could be more easily regulated. As such, therefore, their locations here might suggest the storage of perishable goods for transfer to those using the high street.

In the case of cellar (2), David Algar observed what he described as a 'destruction level' within the cellar containing fragments of tile, slate, greensand, stone, mortar, and brick. It is of note that in none of these excavations were substantial remains of the late and post-medieval period recovered. With the exception of a mortar lined platform (131, Figure 4.5) cut into

the upper deposits of cess pits whose contents had already slumped, and the seventeenth to eighteenth-century surfaces recovered from the archaeological evaluation on the site of the Old Castle Inn, there was no observed structural truncation of medieval deposits. The overall impression given by the very well-preserved archaeological evidence from the eastern side of the monument is, then, one of a relatively short-lived settlement, perhaps with its fortunes indexed to the aristocratic and ecclesiastical community residing within the hillfort.

The same circumstance would appear to be the case on the western side of the monument. The ceramic evidence from the trenches located within what is here interpreted as the canons' closes suggests that activity had largely ceased by the middle of the thirteenth century. The dissolution of the prebend in 1225/6 and the evidence for the systematic demolition of the cathedral building at this time may persuade us that the end was abrupt, a deliberate attempt to shut down the whole site.⁶⁶ The implications for this may be that the Laverstock finewares – the kinds of higher-status vessels we might expect the canonry to have used – recovered from the secondary fills of features in Trenches 8 and 10 can be pulled into the very early thirteenth century – i.e. before the site is dissolved. This has potential consequences for the presently understood dating of the Laverstock kilns which are thought to have emerged as a response to the new city from the 1220s onwards.⁶⁷ Some of the metalwork recovered fits better with thirteenth to fourteenth-century typologies, but in this case may also have its origins in the final days of the canons' residency. The best example of this is a well-cast shield-shaped copper alloy horse harness pendant.⁶⁸ Pendants of this kind are broadly thought to date to the fourteenth century, but the cross decoration on this example suggests horse livery of an ecclesiastical character.⁶⁹

It is possible, of course, that the Laverstock finewares and the horse harness pendant were consumables related to the occupants of the 'new township' at the west gate but the point to make here is that the documented beginnings of the canons' close in 1091 and the documented move of the same settlement in 1226 have the potential to bracket the archaeological material recovered from secure deposits within this area potentially quite tightly, offering opportunities to refine the dating of type series artefacts. From the analysis of the archaeological narratives brought together here, the areas outside of the east and west gates of Old Sarum, on account of extremely high levels of preservation, provide an opportunity of huge archaeological potential to examine twelfth-century urban settlement developments relating to one of the most significant castle-cathedral complexes of its day.

⁶⁶ Macray and Jones, pp. 167–68, CXLVII; Jones, *Vetus Registrum Sarisberie, Alias Dictum Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi (the Register of S. Osmund) Volume 1*, p. 259; McNeill, *Old Sarum*, p. 35; McNeill, 'Bishop Roger, St John Hope, and Old Sarum Cathedral', p. 137.

⁶⁷ See Mephams, this volume, and J. W. G. Musty, D. J. Algar, and P. F. Ewence, 'The Medieval Pottery Kilns at Laverstock, near Salisbury, Wiltshire', *Archaeologia*, 102 (1969), 83–150.

⁶⁸ Smith, A (2022) *WILT-FFB07: A MEDIEVAL HARNESS PENDANT*: <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1083527> [Accessed: 14 Apr 2023 12:29:47]. The finds from the excavations in the west suburbs registered with the Portable Antiquaries Scheme can be found here: <https://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/q/dr+alex+langlands>.

⁶⁹ N. Griffiths, *Horse Harness Pendants Forms, Dating, Heraldry*. (Finds Res Group 700-1700 Datasheets, 1986), v.

Chapter Five

Zooarchaeology in the ‘Two Cities’ and their hinterlands, AD 800-1400: Current Knowledge and Future Directions

Matilda Holmes

Introduction

Animals were integral to the life, work and cosmology of the English medieval population. In life, cattle and sheep would have been embedded in agricultural and economic systems, from suppliers of manure, milk and wool to providers of power. As deadstock they, as well as pigs and domestic poultry (chickens and geese), would have been vital suppliers of meat and raw materials (skin, bone, horn, blood, fat, feathers etc.). During longer daylight months poultry would also have provided eggs. Other animals worked more closely with people: dogs were kept for herding, guarding and hunting, cats as pest control and horses/donkeys for transport, and all would have potential roles as companion animals. As game, wild animals were increasingly tied to complex exhibitions of social structure and elite values through the access to and rituals surrounding the procurement and consumption of deer, hares, rabbits and wild birds. Animals could also be viewed as pests, through their role in the destruction or consumption of crops, threats to health and safety or as vectors of disease.

The effect of these tangible relationships, where animals could be classified as food, producers of raw materials, workers, status symbols, companions and pests, ultimately contributes to wider economic and social themes that can be addressed by zooarchaeological methods (Table 5.1). In the course of any further work on the zooarchaeological remains from the Salisbury area, there is potential for these real and perceived roles of animals to be explored through the lens of primary data (the archaeological remains of animals themselves), pictorial and historical sources. This paper aims to briefly explore the current state of zooarchaeology in the region in relation to these broad themes from the perspective of Old Sarum and its hinterland and draw up a list of possible future directions that might be addressed by future projects.

Because of the potential for movement of animals and animal products between sites, it is imperative to include as many site types as possible in the interpretation of the underlying animal economy. To this end an arbitrary radius of twenty miles was placed around Old Sarum, and zooarchaeological data taken from synthetic studies¹ and grey literature reports within

¹ M. McKerracher and others, ‘Digital Archive for Feeding Anglo-Saxon England (FeedSax): The Bioarchaeology of an Agricultural Revolution, 2017-2022’ (Archaeology Data Service, 2023) <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1057492>>; M. Holmes, ‘A Review of Animal Bone Evidence from the Saxon to Post Medieval Periods in Southern Britain (6145)’ (Archaeology Data Service, 2017) <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1047191>>; M. Holmes, *Southern England: A Review of Animal Remains from Saxon, Medieval and Post Medieval Archaeological Sites* (Portsmouth: Historic England Research Report,

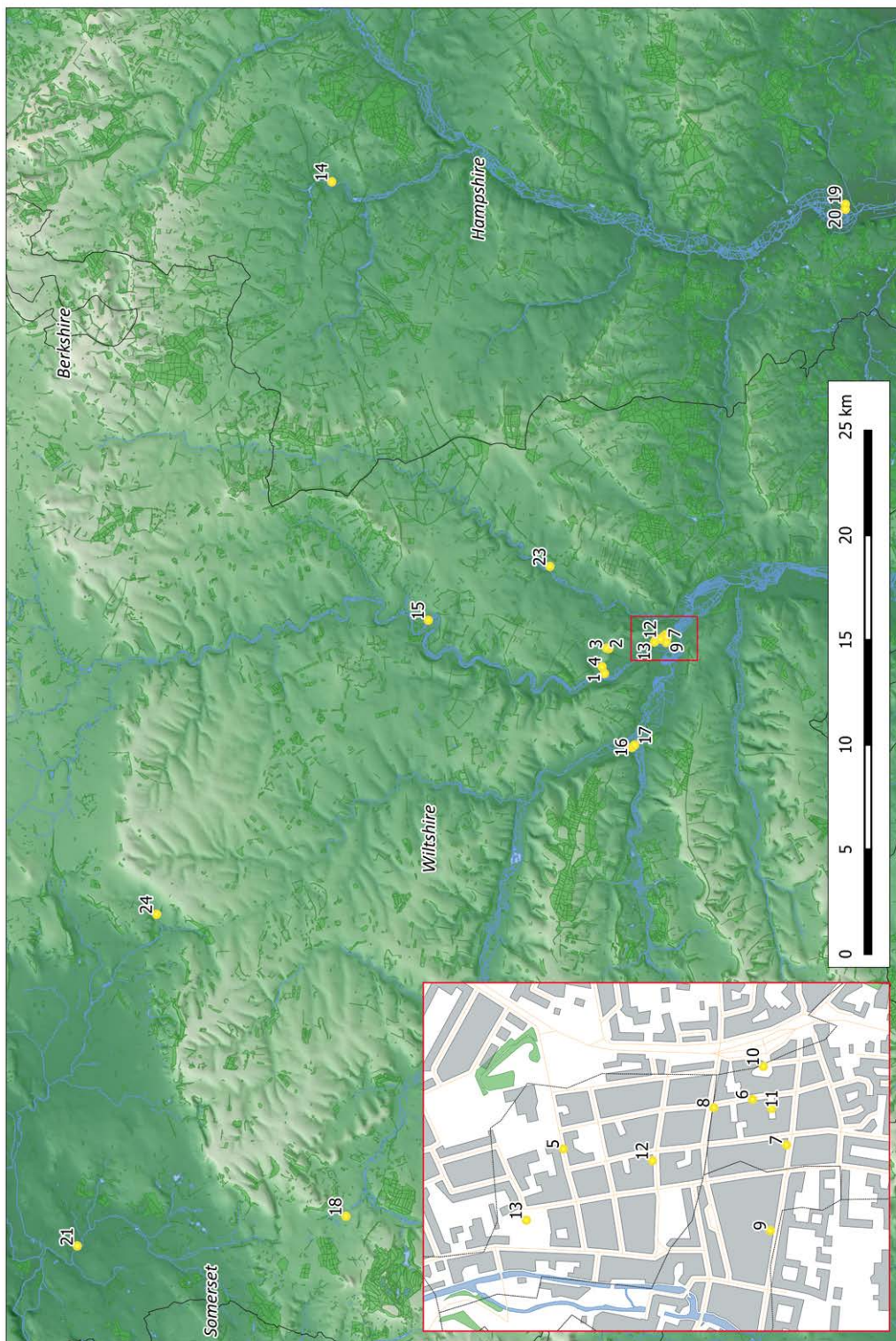


Figure 5.1: Sites referred to in the text, see Table 5.2

Table 5.1: Some of the major themes that can be addressed by zooarchaeology

Theme	Role of animals	Zooarchaeological observations	For example...
Trade of animals	Livestock and deadstock had economic value and could be traded or sold between and within rural and urban settlements alike	By tracking the species present and age profiles of when animals were culled a picture can be built regarding likely movement of animals within and between settlements	Changes in the animal economy in the later medieval period meant that more surplus calves were produced, which led to a notable and widespread increase in veal traded to urban sites (Albarella 1997)
Trade in animal products	Through their roles in agriculture and producers of wool, milk and eggs, animals and their products were considerable contributors to the cash economy	Age and sex profiles of livestock are vital to understanding the emphasis of production in the economy, while the presence of particular body parts implies the movement and redistribution of meat and raw materials	A predominance of meat-bearing long bones in urban domestic deposits reflect the ability for households to buy meat from a specialist butcher or market (Holmes 2018)
Supporting industry	Raw materials (horn, antler, bone, feathers etc.) supported industries as diverse as tanners and tawyers, cloth manufacturers, fletchers, horners, artisans, medicine and many more	The inclusion of specific body parts typical of industrial waste can be recognised in discrete deposits. These may vary from small-scale household operations to larger commercial undertakings	Deposits of horn cores are typically associated with skin-processing activities (Albarella 2003; Serjeantson 1989)
Social indicators	Restrictions on procurement, associated etiquette and ritualisation meant that animals were indirect indicators of social standing. Conversely, they indicate those living outside the law who were prepared to go against social conventions through poaching	The consumption of specific types of animals or animal parts can be associated with particular social groups, such as high- or low-status households and some religious groups	The ritualisation of hunting deer meant that access to particular cuts of venison had social restrictions. So high-status secular households commonly include the haunches, while the presence of all parts of the deer carcass is more likely to indicate poaching (Holmes 2014; Sykes 2007)
Human-animal relationships	Companion animals would potentially have different relationships with their owners than other livestock, and this may have repercussions for the relative value of animals on a personal level. Levels of animal care have been shown to be proxies for the treatment of people within society	The treatment of animals in life can be observed by pathological changes to the skeleton that may result from illness or trauma. Subsequent evidence for healing can imply a level of care provided by the people around them	Skull fractures in dogs have been interpreted as direct evidence of human cruelty towards animals (Thomas 2017), while small, arthritic dogs with missing teeth are more likely to indicate animals treated with great care (MacKinnon 2010)
Perceptions of the natural world	Conventional beliefs surrounding the nature of animals allowed effective dissemination of cosmological teachings through the use of animals as figures of allegory and fable and the definition of human-animal-landscape boundaries	The treatment of animals in death can inform perceptions of afterlife and the place of animals within it. The use of animals in storytelling can be used to inform an illiterate audience that nonetheless understands traits specific to animals described in the medieval bestiaries	The disposal of potential companion animals in general rubbish deposits in much of the medieval period relates to the chain of being that gave humans dominance over the natural world and denied animals a soul or a place in the afterlife (Holmes 2018)

ZOOARCHAEOLOGY IN THE 'TWO CITIES' AND THEIR HINTERLANDS, AD 800-1400

Table 5.2: Sample size (number of fragments of cattle, sheep/ goat and pig remains) for sites referred to in the text and Figure 5.1. N= number on map; P= present but unquantified

N	Site	Site types	Late Saxon	Saxo-Norman	Medieval	Reference
			m9th-m11th C	10th-12th C	11th-14th C	
1	Church Meadow, Old Sarum	Cathedral/castle			105	Langlands and Strutt forthcoming
2	East Gate, Old Sarum	Cathedral/castle			71	Westley 1964
3	East suburb, Old Sarum	Castle		P		Jackson 1935
4	Western Suburbs, Old Sarum	Cathedral/castle			494	Langlands and Strutt forthcoming
5	44-50 Bedwin St, Salisbury	Town			174	Higbee 2013
6	Anchor Brewery, Salisbury	Town			430	Hamilton-Dyer 2005
7	Ivy St and Brown St, Salisbury	Town			169	Hamilton-Dyer 2000
8	Milford St/ Gigant St, Salisbury	Town			19	Baxter and Hamilton-Dyer 2005
9	Old George Mall, Salisbury	Town			P	Butterworth 2005
10	Culver St, Salisbury	Town			119	Higbee 2022
11	Gigant Street Car Park, Salisbury	Town			1037	Higbee 2022
12	Winchester St/ Rolleston St, Salisbury	Town			114	Higbee 2022
13	Belle Vue House, Salisbury	Town			261	Higbee 2022
14	Chantry St, Andover	Town			151	Hamilton-Dyer 1994
15	Salisbury St, Amesbury	Rural (elite)/ small town	311		7	Powell et al 2009
16	St John's Hospital and South St, Wilton	Burh/ Small town	28		9	Hamilton-Dyer 2000
17	Wilton	Small town		1183		Grimm 2021
18	Emwell Street, Warminster	Small town			236	Freke et al 1997
19	Latimer St, Romsey	Rural settlement	273			Grimm 2011
20	Romsey Abbey	Abbey			189	Hamilton-Dyer 1996
21	Trowbridge	Village/ town (elite)		1740	857	Bourdillon 1993
22	Cue's Lane, Bishopstone	Village			150	Anthony 2011
23	Gomeldon	Village			716	Harcourt 1986
24	Market Lavington	Village/ small town		130	789	Bourdillon 2006

that catchment. Twenty-four sites with zooarchaeological assemblages are currently known from previous work in the region (Figure 5.1; Table 5.2), and they will be considered in terms of how they can inform current knowledge regarding the animal economy and associated themes.

Although some sites cover more than one period, the majority are medieval (eleventh to fourteenth centuries) in date (Table 5.2), and urban (burh, town, small town) in nature. Rural settlements are less well represented, which will impact the evidence for urban-rural connections. Several assemblages have sample sizes that are too small for reliable comparisons to be made with other sites, while some reports do not quantify specific classes of animals (e.g., birds), or only partially publish the original data. All assemblages are included for the sake of completeness, but it exemplifies the need for full publication of future zooarchaeological assemblages to better understand the animal economy and how this affects the wider social, political and cultural network of the region.

Current Knowledge

Figure 5.2 shows the relative proportions of the major food animals (cattle, sheep/ goats and pigs) consumed at various site types. Sample sizes are small for the earlier periods, although in the late Saxon period it appears that cattle were present in greater quantities at rural Romsey rather than the Burh at Wilton or small town at Amesbury.² The predominance of sheep at Wilton and Amesbury is typical of the region, which relied heavily on sheep farming in this period,³ while the relatively high proportion of pigs observed at Amesbury can be observed at contemporary urban or high-status sites.⁴ It must be reiterated that this is a small sample, but the differences between rural and urban sites suggests that some animals (notably sheep/ goats) were preferentially marketed to burhs and small towns from rural producer sites. Some weight is given to this possibility by the mortality data from Romsey, where cattle and sheep/ goats were largely adult, with a few lambs also recorded (Table 5.3). The latter were presumably birthing casualties, but in a self-sufficient settlement (where animals were raised, worked, culled and consumed on site) a more even spread of ages would be expected as younger, surplus stock were culled for meat, and older animals kept for small-scale secondary production (wool, milk, traction). The evidence from Romsey suggests that younger animals were taken elsewhere to be consumed. It is unfortunate that no mortality data were available from Amesbury or Wilton to explore if the subadult cattle and sheep were marketed to these settlements.

08/2017, 2018); L. Higbee, 'Animal Bone', in *Joining the Dots: Uniting Salisbury's Past through Holes in the Ground*, ed. by P. Harding (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Ltd, 2022), pp. 91–99.

² A. B. Powell and others, 'Late Saxon and Medieval Occupation near Salisbury Street, Amesbury', *WANHM*, 102 (2009), 188–201; J. M. Grimm, "'Animal Bone'", in *Late Iron Age-Romano-British and Late Saxon Activity East of Latimer Street, Romsey*, ed. by A. B. Powell, *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 66 (2011), 127–52; J. M. Grimm, 'Animal Bone Analysis Report' in *Site and Post-Excavation Data from Multiple Fieldwork Investigations at 35 West St, Wilton / Wilton Autos, 41-43 West St, Wilton, Wiltshire 2007-2020'* (Archaeology Data Service, 2021) <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1084798>>.

³ M. Holmes, "'We'll Have What They're Having'", *Cultural Identity through Diet in the English Saxon Period*, *Environmental Archaeology*, 21.1 (2016), 59–78 <<https://doi.org/10.1179/1749631415Y.0000000001>>.

⁴ M. Holmes, *Animals in Saxon & Scandinavian England: Backbones of Economy and Society* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2014) <<https://www.sidestone.com/openaccess/9789088902666.pdf>>.

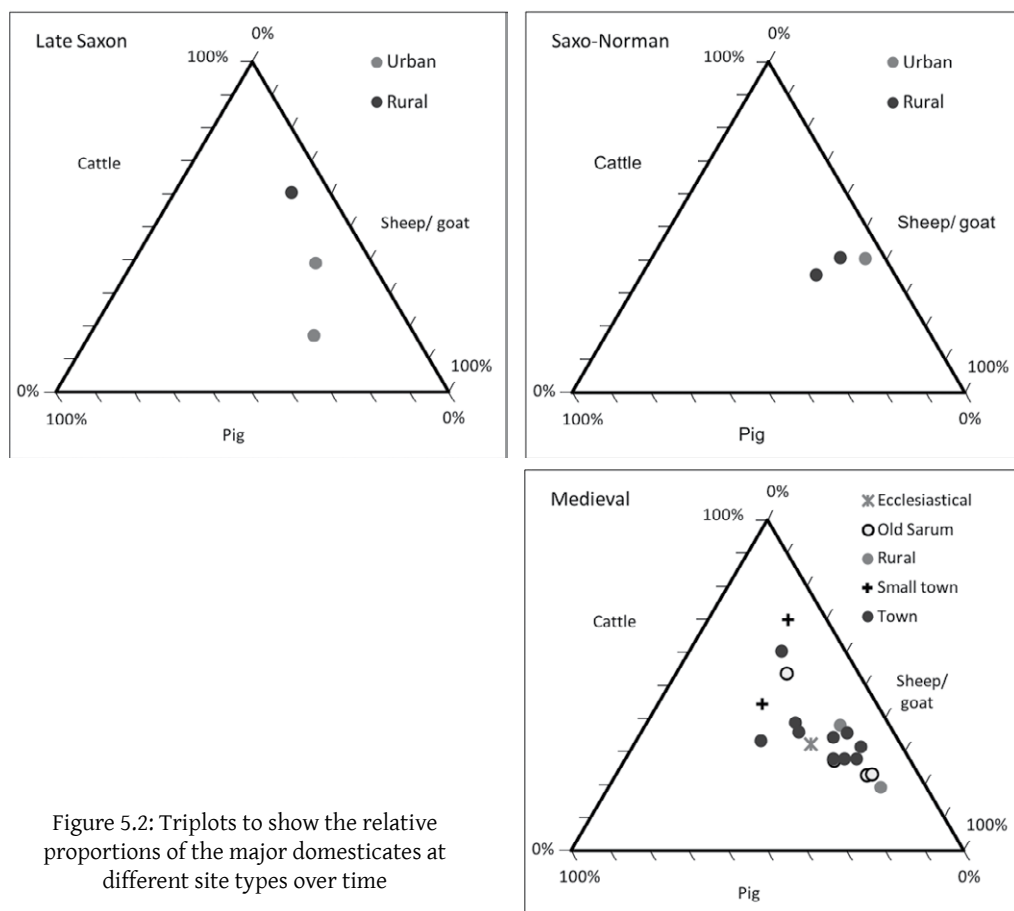


Figure 5.2: Triplots to show the relative proportions of the major domesticates at different site types over time

Table 5.3: Number of sites where cattle, sheep/ goats and pigs are recorded at various age stages (after O'Connor 2003). R= rural; U= urban

Age stage	Late Saxon		Saxo-Norman		Medieval	
	R	U	R	U	R	U
Calves						4
Juvenile			2			1
Subadult			2		2	2
Adult	1		2	1	1	3
Elderly			2			2
Lambs	1		1	1	1	4
Juvenile			1	1		1
Subadult			2	1		
Adult	1		1	2	2	5
Elderly				2	1	
Piglets						3
Juvenile						
Subadult						3
Adult						
Elderly						

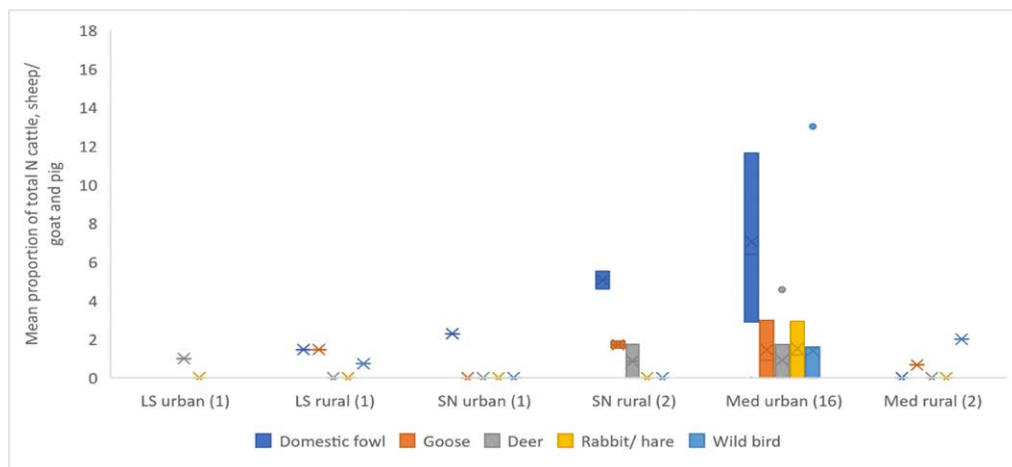


Figure 5.3: Box plot of relative proportions of birds and wild mammals recovered from urban and rural settlements showing the range of means for all sites >70 fragments cattle, sheep/ goat and pig. LS= Late Saxon; SN= Saxo-Norman; Med= medieval, (n)= number of sites included. See Table 5.4 for data

The relative proportion of domestic and wild birds were greater at rural Romsey, while deer were more common at Amesbury and Wilton (Figure 5.3, Table 5.4). There was little difference in the distribution of minor livestock between sites (Figure 5.4).

Saxo-Norman data group together (Figure 5.2), suggesting that there was little difference in the livestock consumed at various sites. Although the mortality data are from a small sample, those from urban Salisbury indicate the presence of predominantly older cattle and sheep/ goats, while rural sites at Trowbridge and Market Lavington produced a greater range of animals including subadults and adults, and at Trowbridge younger sheep were most common.⁵ This implies that there may have been some movement of older cattle and sheep/ goats to Salisbury from the hinterland. Data from the East Suburb of Old Sarum also notes young and old sheep, which is more consistent with the production of animals on site, or the marketing of surplus animals at a range of ages. One further tentative indication of trade comes from the carcass parts recovered at different site types (Table 5.5). While all parts of the sheep carcass were recovered from the East Suburb, Old Sarum, and cattle and pigs in Wilton, there was evidence for some sheep skin-processing or primary butchery waste from Wilton.⁶ Correspondingly, cattle, sheep and pig remains were biased towards meat-bearing long bones at the rural site of Trowbridge, implying that either skins were processed away from the site, or that joints of meat were brought in. The latter is most likely given the high-status nature of the site.

⁵ J. Bourdillon, "Animal Bone", ed. by A. H. Graham and S. M. Davies, *Excavations in the Town Centre of Trowbridge, Wiltshire, 1977 and 1968-1988* (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Report 2, 1993), pp. 127-36; J. Bourdillon, 'Animal Bones', in *Market Lavington, Wiltshire: An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery and Settlement. Excavations at Grove Farm 1986-90*, ed. by P. Williams and R. Newman (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Report 19, 2006), pp. 150-69.

⁶ B. Westley, "Animal Bones from 1958 Excavation" in Musty and Rahtz, "The Suburbs of Old Sarum", *WANHM*, 59 (1964), 130-54 (p. 152); J. W. Jackson, "Report on the Animal Remains" in Stone and Charlton, *Trial Excavations in the East Suburb of Old Sarum*, *Antiquaries Journal*, 40 (1935), 174-92 (p. 191); Grimm, "Animal Bone Analysis Report" in *Site and Post-Excavation Data from Multiple Fieldwork Investigations at 35 West St, Wilton / Wilton Autos, 41-43 West St, Wilton, Wiltshire 2007-2020*.

Table 5.4: Summary of species proportions recovered from the major sites. Total N= total number cattle, sheep/ goat and pig remains, each mean % is given as a proportion of total N. - = <0.5%. Where no value is shown data were not available; shaded cells indicate exceptionally small sample sizes that are not included in further analysis

Site	Period	site type	Total N	% cattle	% sheep/ goat	% pig	% donkey	% dog/ fox	% cat	% domestic fowl	% goose	% deer	% rabbit/ hare	% wild bird
St John's Hospital and South St, Wilton	Late Saxon	Burh	28	39	46	14	11	0	0	0	4	4	4	0
Salisbury St, Amesbury	Late Saxon	Rural (elite)	311	17	57	26	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0
Latimer St, Romsey	Late Saxon	Rural	273	60	30	10	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
Wilton, Salisbury	Saxo-Norman	Town	1183	41	54	5	1	-	-	2	0	0	0	0
Market Lavington	Saxo-Norman	Village	130	41	48	12	3	0	0	5	2	0	0	0
Trowbridge	Saxo-Norman	Village (elite)	1740	36	44	20	1	-	0	6	2	2	0	0
Romsey Abbey	Medieval	Ecclesiastical	189	32	45	23	0	0	1	7	1	0	1	0
Church Meadow, Old Sarum	Medieval	Old Sarum	105	23	64	13	3	0	2	5	0	0	0	2
Western Suburbs, Old Sarum	Medieval	Old Sarum	161	27	53	19	2	1	0	5	0	1	0	1
Western Suburbs, Old Sarum	Medieval	Old Sarum	333	23	65	12	1	2	-	6	0	0	2	0
East Gate, Old Sarum	Medieval	Old Sarum	71	54	28	18	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Market Lavington	Medieval	Small town	789	44	27	29	7	3	1	2	0	5	0	0
Emwell Street, Warminster	Medieval	Small town	236	70	20	10	2	11	-	3	0	1	0	0
Milford St/ Gigant St, Salisbury	Medieval	Town	19	32	58	11	0	0	0	11	5	0	0	0
Anchor Brewery, Salisbury	Medieval	Town	430	39	38	23	1	0	1	12	3	0	5	2
Ivy St and Brown St, Salisbury	Medieval	Town	169	28	53	20	0	0	0	15	4	0	0	13
44-50 Bedwin St, Salisbury	Medieval	Town	174	34	49	16	5	0	1	16	2	2	5	2
Culver St, Salisbury	Medieval	Town	119	28	59	13	0	1	0	13	4	0	3	1
Gigant Street Car Park, Salisbury	Medieval	Town	1037	60	23	16	-	-	-	7	3	-	1	2
Winchester St/ Rolleston St, Salisbury	Medieval	Town	114	33	32	35	0	0	0	10	4	4	3	0
Belle Vue House, Salisbury	Medieval	Town	261	28	56	16	0	0	0	7	1	0	3	0
Chantry St, Andover	Medieval	Town	151	36	52	12	1	2	1	2	1	0	1	0
Trowbridge	Medieval	Town (elite)	857	36	40	25	3	-	0	4	1	2	0	0
Gomeldon	Medieval	Village	716	19	69	12	1	1	-	p	-	-	-	p
Cue's Lane, Bishopstone	Medieval	Village	150	38	49	13	7	4	5	0	1	0	0	2

Equid remains were recorded in greater proportions at both rural sites (Figure 5.4, Table 5.4) than the town at Wilton and may relate to their place in the rural economy. Domestic fowl were recovered at all site types (Figure 5.3, Table 5.4), though geese only at rural sites. The presence of deer remains exclusively at Trowbridge again most likely relates to the status of the occupants.⁷

By the medieval period there was more variation in the proportions of major livestock (Figure 5.2, Table 5.4), particularly notable in the high quantities of cattle observed at the two small towns (Warminster and Market Lavington) as well as the East Gate, Old Sarum and Gigant St Car Park, Salisbury.⁸ Other assemblages from Old Sarum and Salisbury have fewer cattle (c.20-40%) and a greater proportion of sheep/ goats (c.40-65%), whereas the villages (Bishopstone and Gomeldon) have high proportions of sheep/ goats and fewer pigs, other town sites (Trowbridge and Andover) and the ecclesiastical site at Romsey Abbey have 40-52% sheep/ goat and 32-36% cattle.⁹ The variation observed at Old Sarum has been noted previously,¹⁰ interpreted as resulting from areas of different social status, while the high cattle numbers from Gigant Street Car Park are attributed to a large dump of industrial waste.¹¹ Perhaps most interesting are the relatively high number of cattle recorded at small towns, which implies that their supply network differed to that of larger urban settlements.

While several medieval sites provide mortality data for the main domesticates, all but two are urban in nature (Old Sarum, Salisbury, Trowbridge and Andover), though rural assemblages from Bishopstone and Gomeldon provide some contrasting data (Table 5.3). The findings are interesting and imply two major trends. The first is an increase in observations of calves, lambs and piglets at urban sites. Although pigs were often raised in medieval towns, this is a less satisfactory explanation for the presence of calves and lambs. Rather, these may be related to consumption patterns driven by social status, where the conspicuous removal of cattle and sheep from the agricultural economy has implications for costs related to stocking levels in the hinterland; or changes in the animal economy involving a move towards dairy production widely associated with an increase in veal production in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries.¹²

⁷ N. J. Sykes, *The Norman Conquest: A Zoological Perspective*, BAR International Series, 1656 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007); N. J. Sykes, 'Taking Sides: The Social Life of Venison in Medieval England', in *Breaking and Shaping Beastly Bodies: Animals as Material Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. by A. Pluskowski (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), pp. 149-60 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvh1dqx6>>.

⁸ L. Freke, R. Smith, and M. Allen, "'Faunal Remains'", in *Excavations at Emwell Street Warminster: The Early Economy and Environment of a Wiltshire Market Town*, ed. by R. W. Smith (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology, 1997), pp. 37-40.

⁹ R. Harcourt, "'Animal Bone' in Musty and Algar, Excavations at the Deserted Medieval Village of Gomeldon, near Salisbury', *WANHM*, 80 (1986), 166-69; Hamilton-Dyer, 'Animal Bone', in *Excavations in Andover at Chantry Street and Winchester Street* (Test Valley Archaeological Trust: Unpublished reports TVAT A.1982.6 and TVAT A.1987.2, 1994); S. Hamilton-Dyer, 'Animal Bones', in *Romsey Abbey Excavations* (Test Valley Archaeological Trust: Unpublished report TVAT RA96.43, 1996); S. Hamilton-Dyer, "'Animal Bone'" in Rawlings et al, *Excavations at Ivy Street and Brown Street, Salisbury, 1994'*, *WANHM*, 93 (2000), 20-62 (pp. 45-51); C. Butterworth, 'Excavations at Old George Mall, Salisbury', *WANHM*, 98 (2005), 236-46; S. Hamilton-Dyer, "'Animal Bone'" in Barber et al, *The Development of Trinity Chequer: Excavations at the Anchor Brewery Site, Gigant Street, Salisbury'*, *WANHM*, 98 (2005), 165-212 (pp. 200-204); I. L. Baxter and S. Hamilton-Dyer, "'Animal Bone'" in Currie and Rushton, *An Archaeological Excavation at the Rear of 36 Milford Street/34 Gigant Street, Salisbury'*, *WANHM*, 98 (2005), 213-35 (pp. 232-34); S. Anthony, "'Animal Bone'" in S. Coles, *Medieval Enclosures at Cue's Lane, Bishopstone'*, *WANHM*, 104 (2011), 160-61; L. Higbee, 'Animal Bone', in *40-50 Bedwin Street, Salisbury, Wiltshire: Archaeological Excavation Assessment Report with Proposals for Analysis and Publication*, ed. by Wessex Archaeology (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology unpublished report, Ref: 85971.03, 2013), pp. 30-32.

¹⁰ A. J. Langlands and K. Strutt, *Old Sarum: Archaeological Interventions in the West Suburbs, 2017-2019* (Unpublished Report. Wiltshire Council HER cat. no. 2023.046, 2023) <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1118571>>.

¹¹ L. Higbee, p. 94.

¹² U. Albarella, 'Size, Power, Wool and Veal: Zooarchaeological Evidence for Late Medieval Innovations', in *Environment*

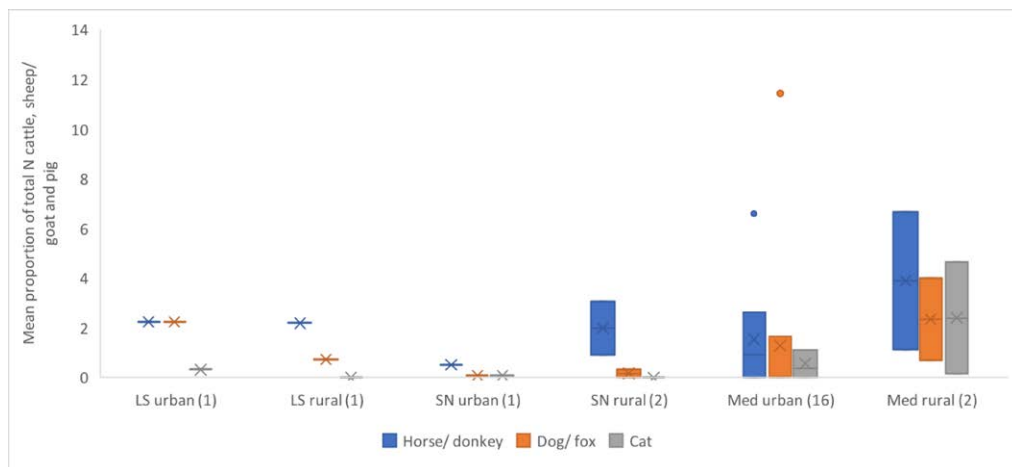


Figure 5.4: Relative proportions of minor livestock recovered from urban and rural settlements. LS= Late Saxon; SN= Saxo-Norman; Med= medieval, (n)= number of sites included. See Table 5.4 for data, only larger samples >70 fragments cattle, sheep/ goat and pig included

The evidence from this dataset implies an earlier increase in veal calves that warrants more detailed consideration. The second major trend is the greater quantity of older cattle in urban assemblages, implying their deliberate marketing to towns, with younger animals at prime meat age consumed at rural settlements. The sheep/ goat data are similar at both site types, where the emphasis on adult animals is most likely related to the importance of wool in the economy.¹³

The medieval data for the distribution of anatomical elements only derive from urban sites (Table 5.5), but these show considerable variation consistent with the inclusion of diverse trades. Skin-processing and butchery waste is implied from deposits of lower limbs and heads, while household waste is more likely to have a focus on meat-bearing long bones.

The proportion of birds and wild mammals taxa observed at medieval urban and rural sites varies widely, with most more common at the former site type (Figure 5.3, Table 5.4). Extremely high numbers of domestic fowl are largely due to the data coming from sites within Salisbury, where proportions vary from 7% to 16% of the main domesticates (mean 11%, n=8), compared to other urban sites that vary from 2% to 7% (mean 4%, n=7). The same is true of geese remains, where 1%-5% (mean 3%, n=8) were recovered from Salisbury sites, and only 0% to 1% (mean 0.3%, n=7) at other urban sites. This implies an emphasis on domestic poultry in the Salisbury economy.

There are some small differences in the relative proportions of game species observed (Figure 5.3, Table 5.4), again largely due to specific sites. The greater proportion of deer come from

and *Subsistence in Medieval Europe*, ed. by G. De Boe and D. Verhaeghe (Brugge: Institute for the Archaeological Heritage of Flanders, 1997), pp. 19–31.

¹³ A. Grant, 'Animal Resources', in *The Countryside of Medieval England*, ed. by G. Astill and A. Grant (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), pp. 149–87.

Table 5.5: Groups of carcass parts recovered from various site types. U= urban; R= rural

		Saxo-Norman		Medieval	
Carcass parts		R	U	R	U
Cattle	All parts		1		1
	Lower limbs and head				1
	Meat-bearing	1			3
Sheep	All parts		1		2
	Lower limbs and head		1		2
	Meat-bearing	1			3
Pig	All parts		1		1
	Lower limbs and head				
	Meat-bearing	1			1

high-status Trowbridge, and some Salisbury sites thought to be from affluent areas.¹⁴ As with the domestic birds, rabbit/hare and wild bird numbers are inflated by relatively high quantities recorded at several Salisbury sites (Table 5.4). It is notable that finds of ferret and mole at Market Lavington in this period may relate to the fur trade, while evidence for the skinning of dogs from Old Sarum, Western Suburbs indicate provisioning of the tawying industry. Quantities of horses, dogs and cats are all generally greater at rural sites (Figure 5.4), again possibly due to their importance within the rural economy. The exception to this is the high proportion of dogs recorded at Warminster, which come from several dog burials.

Future Directions

This brief synthesis of data from Old Sarum, Salisbury and the hinterland has highlighted several aspects of the animal economy that deserve further investigation. Despite problems with the completeness of published data acknowledged previously, the existing zooarchaeological reports provide a good foundation for future investigations. The following areas are particularly significant and have good potential to address broader themes in future.

Diet and status

At a very basic level, animal remains will provide an indication of the meat diet of the population of a site, which can be expanded to consider social groups. This brief synthesis has already highlighted some differences between urban and rural sites, and the high proportion of cattle and pigs observed at small towns in the medieval period is worthy of further investigation given the high proportion of sheep/goats commonly observed at most towns. High status sites (late Saxon Amesbury, Saxo-Norman and medieval Trowbridge, medieval Warminster and the convent at Romsey Abbey) exhibit high proportions of pigs (over 20%), which are often markers of elite diets.¹⁵ The use of game animals as a signature of status can be observed at Saxo-Norman Trowbridge and some sites within Salisbury and Old Sarum.¹⁶

¹⁴ Lorrain Higbee, p. 97.

¹⁵ Holmes, *Southern England: A Review of Animal Remains*, p. 89.

¹⁶ N. J. Sykes, 'The Dynamics of Status Symbols: Wildfowl Exploitation in England AD 410–1550', *Archaeological Journal*, 161.1 (2004), 82–105 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00665983.2004.11020572>>.

One further area of interest lies in the exceptionally high proportion of domestic fowl and, to a lesser extent, geese in Salisbury. This is well above the mean of 4% domestic fowl and <1% geese observed at other urban sites in the region¹⁷ and by better understanding the nature of the poultry remains not available for this synthesis (age, sex, egg production), and considering the documentary evidence, some explanation may be reached.

Trade and movement of animals and animal products

One of the most notable results of this review lies in the identification of several indicators for the movement of animals between sites. Differences in the relative proportions of taxa and age profiles imply the movement of animals from producer sites to consumer centres. In particular, the marketing of younger animals to late Saxon towns from the hinterland, joints of meat to high-status Trowbridge and older animals to towns in the medieval periods as well as calves and lambs from the eleventh century. The presence of deer, rabbits/hares and wild birds at Market Lavington and several Salisbury sites could variously have implications for poaching, the fur trade or a market in game birds.¹⁸

Further implications for the supply of animal products for industrial use comes from the apparent movement of carcass parts to towns from rural sites. As well as the evidence for skin-processing and redistribution of joints of meat within towns noted in this synthesis, Grimm noted that the absence of phalanges and horn cores from rural Romsey may indicate that “skins with feet and horns were transported off the site to the tanner”.¹⁹ Further consideration of butchery techniques and finds of primary butchery, craft-working and skin-processing waste can point to the presence of specialists within the town. Recent publication of a group of sites from Salisbury has identified such a site at Gigant Street Car Park, where a large quantity of horn-working or skin-processing waste was recovered.²⁰ By looking deeper into the movement of animals and animal products a better picture can be built of trade networks between and within sites.

The animal economy

The importance of sheep in this region has been recognised previously,²¹ and the data summarised here does nothing to change this observation. Sheep are closely linked to the arable economy, as providers of manure and grazers of stubble,²² and when combined with an apparent increase in the age of sheep in the medieval period, reflects their importance for wool production as well. Cattle mortality data imply a different focus in the medieval period, as the increase in calves combined with older animals is more likely to reflect a burgeoning dairy economy alongside their use for draught work.²³ Little emphasis is given to sexing data in published reports, which is vital to better understand the nature of the animal economy

¹⁷ Holmes, *Southern England: A Review of Animal*, p. 82.

¹⁸ M. Holmes, 'Making a Fast Buck in the Middle Ages: Evidence for Poaching from Medieval Wakefield', in *Deer and People*, ed. by K. Baker, R. Carden, and R. Madgwick (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2015), pp. 200–207.

¹⁹ Grimm, "Animal Bone", in *Late Iron Age-Romano-British and Late Saxon Activity East of Latimer Street, Romsey*, pp. 145–48.

²⁰ L. Higbee, p. 99.

²¹ Holmes, *Southern England: A Review of Animal Remains from Saxon, Medieval and Post Medieval Archaeological Sites*, p. 183.

²² Grant.

²³ Albarella, 'Size, Power, Wool and Veal'.

and the importance given to dairy production versus wool and draught. Metrical data have not been utilised in this survey, but they have potential to further inform changes in the type of animals used, from sex to the introduction of improved breeds or new stock.²⁴

The association between horses, dogs and the rural economy has been implied by the data here, and this warrants further investigation as to the nature of that work, for example, whether horses were used for draught work based on pathological data.

Use of space

This has been a broad survey of the zooarchaeology of a region, but the analysis of animal remains can also be useful on a local scale, when considering the use of space within a particular settlement. Recent work has illustrated likely high-status areas within Old Sarum²⁵ and Salisbury²⁶, and there is potential to further identify areas associated with the disposal of domestic or industrial waste and mixed deposits by plotting areas where specific animal remains have been recovered.

Perceptions of animals

One aspect of medieval life that has not been addressed so far are the interactions, attitudes and perceptions affecting the relationship between humans and animals. This is largely due to the nature of the data collected, and omission thus far of details of individual pathologies and context-level information that may be used to understand how animals were treated in life and disposed of in death.

Transitions through time

Once analysis of the above themes has been completed, a picture can be built of changes in the zooarchaeology through time, with specific reference to the aims of any future project aimed at assessing the potential economic and social transitions taking place between town and country and the two centres at Old Sarum and Salisbury.

Future work

This survey has been highly informative thus far. Building on existing, broad patterns observed in the regional review of Southern England,²⁷ it has highlighted the potential to understand region-specific patterns by looking more closely at the data from the hinterland of two major towns. The description of future directions has provided a starting point for the next stage of data collection, but there are gaps in the zooarchaeology: notably from rural sites; areas that would benefit from detailed, context-level exploration of the data; and the application of

²⁴ U. Albarella, 'Size Matters: How and Why Biometry Is Still Important in Zooarchaeology', in *Bones and the Man: Studies in Honour of Don Brothwell*, ed. by K. Dobney and T. O'Connor (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002), pp. 51–62; M. Holmes, 'Does Size Matter? Changes in the Size of Animals throughout the English Saxon Period (AD 450–1066)', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 43 (2014), 77–90 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2013.12.007>>.

²⁵ Langlands and Strutt.

²⁶ L. Higbee, p. 97.

²⁷ Holmes, *Southern England: A Review of Animal Remains from Saxon, Medieval and Post Medieval Archaeological Sites*.

scientific techniques. To this end, any future work in the region should consider the following in addition to building on the future directions:

1. Incorporate new data into the existing catalogue described here (Table 5.4).
2. Continue to search for unpublished sites that have been overlooked by this survey.
3. Request copies of primary data catalogues for specific sites to fill gaps in ageing and body part data and add sex, metrical and pathology information to the dataset.
4. Undertake a programme of isotope analysis (strontium/oxygen and carbon/nitrogen) to investigate further the diets of the main domesticates and their movement between sites.
5. Incorporate a survey of historical documents and illustrations relating to the region to set the findings from primary data in context.

Chapter Six

Archaeobotanical and archaeoentomological insights into agriculture, diet and the urban transition from Old Sarum to Salisbury: research potential for environmental archaeology

Inés López-Dóriga, with a contribution by Sander Aerts

Introduction

Environmental archaeology has the potential to contribute to ongoing research into the origin and abandonment of Old Sarum, improving the understanding of the surrounding landscape, functional uses of spaces, living conditions and daily occupations. This information can be compared to that from New Sarum, Salisbury, to achieve a deeper knowledge of the nature of the relationships and differences between the two cities in the medieval period.

Archaeological excavations in the environs of Old Sarum castle suggested a substantial medieval settlement in the eastern suburbs but, until recently, no systematic research in the western suburbs had been undertaken.¹ The documentary evidence suggests the foundation of the cathedral at Old Sarum, in AD 1091, involved the creation of houses, gardens, granaries/barns and enclosures for the canons outside the west gate of the fort, on both sides of the road.² The move of the cathedral church to Salisbury in the early thirteenth century resulted in the lease of the properties in this area, and the archaeological evidence now uncovered suggests a reorganisation of the land, which by 1358 constituted a new “township” and which appears to have been abandoned by at least the mid-sixteenth century.³

Although Old Sarum and its environs have witnessed around three centuries of archaeological investigations,⁴ environmental data has so far played a minimal role in the research about the history of Old Sarum, particularly for the medieval period. Several of the interventions noted the presence of abundant Norman pits and, particularly, cesspits yielding charcoal and animal bone,⁵ but sampling for the retrieval of environmental evidence was not standard practice

¹ J. F. S. Stone and J. Charlton, ‘Trial Excavations in the East Suburb of Old Sarum’, *Antiquaries Journal*, 40 (1935), 174–92; J. W. G. Musty and P. A. Rahtz, ‘The Suburbs of Old Sarum’, *WANHM*, 59 (1964), 130–54; A. J. Langlands and K. Strutt, *Old Sarum: Archaeological Interventions in the West Suburbs, 2017-2019* (Unpublished Report. Wiltshire Council HER cat. no. 2023.046, 2023) <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1118571>>. See also Langlands, ‘Suburbs’, this volume.

² D. E. Greenway, ‘The Falso Institutio of St Osmund’, in *Tradition and Change, Festschrift for Marjorie Chibnall*, ed. by D. E. Greenway, C. Holdsworth, and J. Sayers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 77–101 (pp. 97–100).

³ Langlands, ‘Suburbs’, this volume.

⁴ K. O’Connor, ‘Three Hundred Years of Archaeological Studies of Stratford-Sub-Castle, Old Sarum and Environs’, *Stratford-Sub-Castle, Village Website*, 2022 <<https://www.stratfordsubcastle.org.uk/timeline-of-archaeological-studies>>, Accessed Feb. 2023; D. J. James, ‘Sorviodunum - A Review of the Archaeological Evidence’, *WANHM*, 95 (2002), 1–26; D. J. James, ‘Settlement in the Hinterland of Sorviodunum’, *WANHM*, 103 (2010), 142–80.

⁵ Stone and Charlton; Musty and Rahtz.

at the time,⁶ with later interventions in the area only producing environmental samples for earlier periods.⁷ As a consequence, and in spite of the high potential of the medieval cesspit deposits preserved there, the samples taken from deposits excavated in the western suburbs in 2018-19 are the first ever taken for the study of medieval environmental remains in the area, with the exception of a charcoal sample from a kiln studied in 1960.⁸

Cesspits have a prominent position among the best suited archaeological deposits to study past human consumption habits, sanitary practices, and social differences. Cesspits often preserve organic evidence via carbonisation, waterlogging and mineralisation. Each of these preservation pathways provide complementary data, as the different formation processes entail different types or evidence, biases, potentials and limitations.⁹ As such, by looking at the information provided by deposits or sites with more than one type of preservation and with a wider regional perspective, a wealth of information can be obtained that is often elusive in sites with a single preservation pathway.

In this chapter, the archaeobotanical and entomological evidence from samples taken during the recent archaeological investigations in the western suburbs (2018 and 2019) is reviewed and contextualised within the framework of other archaeobotanical evidence, both already published and original, originating from other investigations of medieval deposits from nearby urban areas in Salisbury.¹⁰

Materials and Methods

During the 2017-2019 excavations of the western suburbs, eight samples were taken from hand-excavated trenches 8, 10, 11, 13 and 15 in the western suburbs of Old Sarum (Figure 6.1).¹¹ The deposits date to the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, based on the artefactual evidence (pottery) which are present.¹² Trenches 8 and 10 were located in an area that from aerial photography, geophysical survey, and archaeological excavation, appear to represent the footprint of the canons' closes (houses and gardens), described in Bishop Osmund's foundation charter of 1091.¹³ Thirteen archaeological features consisting of postholes and pits

⁶ L. Moffett, *The Archaeobotany of Late Medieval Plant Remains*, ed. by C. Gerrard and A. Gutiérrez (Oxford University Press, 2018) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198744719.013.63>>.

⁷ Wessex Archaeology, 'Old Sarum Trunk Main Replacement, Wiltshire: Archaeological Excavation' (Archaeology Data Service, 2019) <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1057522>>.

⁸ J. W. G. Musty, 'A Pipe-Line near Old Sarum: Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval Finds Including Two 12th Century Lime Kilns', *WANHM*, 57 (1958), 179-91; Langlands and Strutt.

⁹ L. M. E. McCobb and others, 'Phosphatisation of Seeds and Roots in a Late Bronze Age Deposit at Potterne, Wiltshire, UK', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 30.10 (2003), 1269-81 <[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-4403\(03\)00016-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-4403(03)00016-5)>; L. Moffett, 'The Archaeology of Medieval Plant Foods', ed. by D. Serjeantson C. M. Woolgar and T. Waldron, *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 41-55; Moffett; M. Van Der Veen, 'Formation Processes of Desiccated and Carbonized Plant Remains - the Identification of Routine Practice', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 34.6 (2007), 968-90 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2006.09.007>>.

¹⁰ C. Butterworth, 'Excavations at Old George Mall, Salisbury', *WANHM*, 98 (2005), 236-46; G. Chaffey and R. Fitzpatrick, 'St Edmund's College, Salisbury: New Evidence for Medieval Origins and Post-Medieval Development at the Council House, Bourne Hill', *WANHM*, 108 (2015), 143-58; P. Hinton, 'Environmental Remains, in M. Rawlings, Excavations at Ivy Street and Brown Street, Salisbury, 1994', *WANHM*, 93 (2000), 39-45; P. Hinton, 'Plant Remains, in B. Barber, The Development of Trinity Chequer: Excavations at the Anchor Brewery Site, Gigant Street, Salisbury', *WANHM*, 98 (2005), 193-97; S. F. Wyles, 'Charred and Mineralised Plant Remains. In: P. Harding, Excavations in Vanner's and Griffin Chequers, Salisbury: A Study of Urban Development', *WANHM*, 109 (2016), 143-72.

¹¹ Langlands and Strutt.

¹² See Mephram, this volume

¹³ K. Strutt and D. Barker, *Report on the Geophysical Survey of the Romano-British Settlement, Old Sarum, Wiltshire, April 2019*.



Figure 6.1: Distribution of environmental samples from trial excavations in the west suburbs, Old Sarum

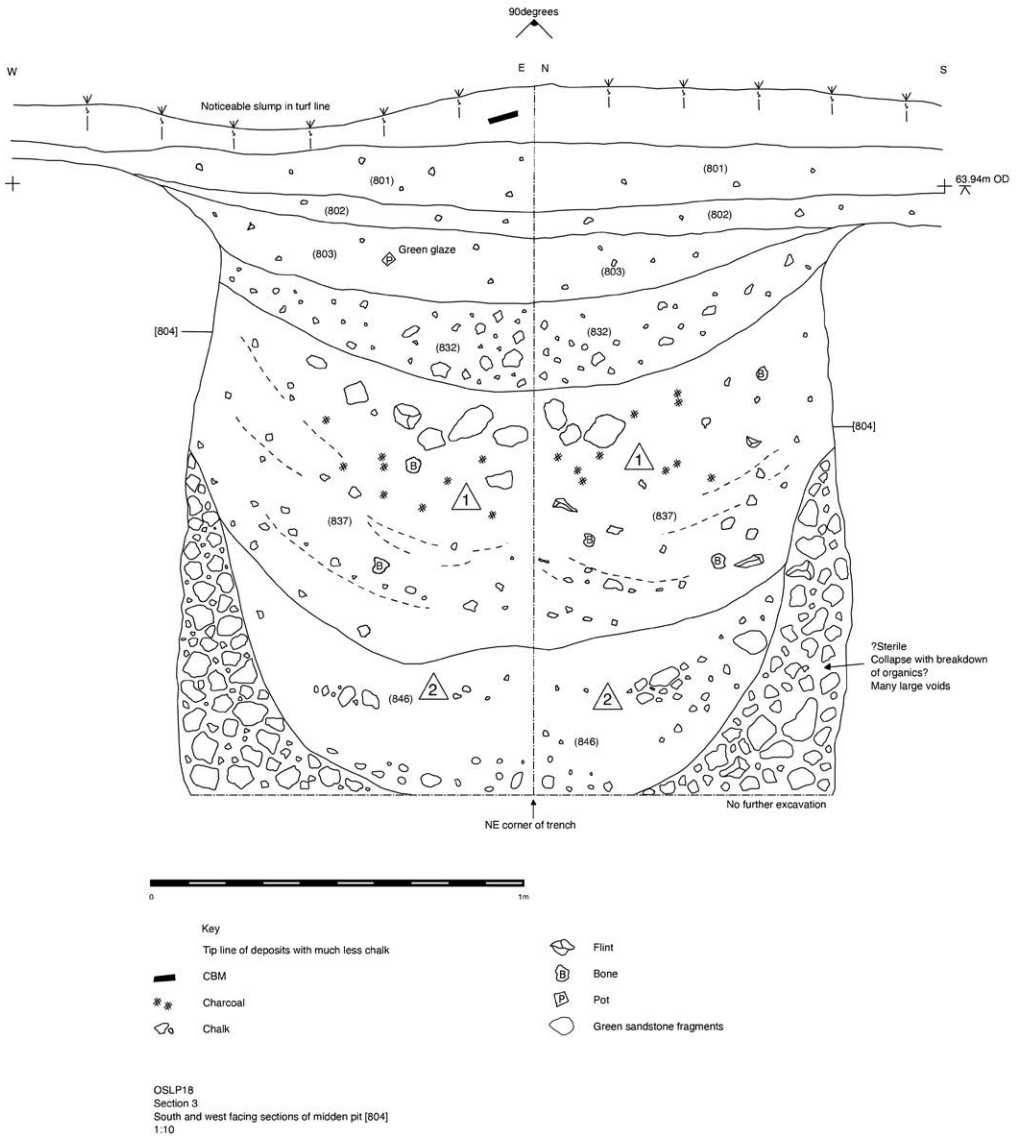


Figure 6.2: Section through cesspit (804), Trench 8, the west suburbs, Old Sarum. Showing character of fills and location of samples

were identified in Trench 8, overlain by subsoil of 15-20cm depth and cut into the natural bedrock. The lower fills of pit 804 (1.2m x 0.8m with a depth of 1.65m), situated in the north-west corner of the trench and only partially excavated, were sampled (Figure 6.2). The lowest deposit (846) had a depth of 0.4m and consisted of a dark greyish brown silt, with clear tip lines of material. This was compact in places but with some loose chalk fragments and containing

(Southampton University: Archaeological Prospection Services, SREP 1/2022, 2022), p. 33, Fig. 23; Langlands and Strutt. See also Langlands, this volume.

large fragments of freshly broken pottery and animal bone. Overlying this was deposit (837), a compact light brownish-grey silty loam which had a depth of 0.8m and frequent chalk flecks, a significant amount of pottery and animal bone, medium to large sized fragments of flint and building stone, also showing evidence of tip layers or slumping. Overlying this, were two plough soil deposits (832 and 803, not sampled) of a total depth of 0.4m.

Four archaeological features, consisting of three pits and a posthole, were exposed in Trench 10, overlain by 23cm subsoil and cut into the natural chalk bedrock. The two lowest fills from pit 1002 (1.7m x 1m in plan to a depth of 1.8m) were sampled. The lowest deposits (1013 and 1012, of a depth of 0.85m) were a fairly loose light greyish-brown silt with frequent sub-angular chalk fragments, containing pottery, animal bone and flint as well as charcoal and fish bones. Two overlying deposits, of a maximum depth of 0.8m and 0.7m, were not sampled. Trenches 11 and 15 were both located on the alluvial plain, across a sub-rectangular platform of about 15 x 5m, made of flinty gravel and covered by a compacted clayey loam. In Trench 11, a sample was taken from the interface between the platform and the subsoil (deposit 1103), overlain by topsoil and a chalky friable layer of possible render/whitewash, and overlaying two dense deposits of compacted clay and flinty gravel. In Trench 15, a compacted flinty gravel platform with some chalk and clay, overlain by subsoil, covered a light brown clay silt (1503) that was sampled. Two amorphous pits or ditches (1310 and 1313) were excavated in Trench 13, both of which were overlain by four layers of topsoil, subsoil and made ground. The samples were taken from the organic-rich lowest layers of both features (1309 and 1308, respectively), each overlain by one or two layers of secondary fills. Ditch-like feature 1313 was aligned ESW-WNW and its basal fill (1308) was richly organic.

The eight samples, on average of 27 litres in volume, were processed by standard flotation methods on a Siraf-type flotation tank; the flot and residue retained on a 0.25 mm mesh. The flots and a fraction (between 25 and 50%) of the fine residues (0.25-4 mm) were sorted using stereo incident light microscopy at magnifications of up to x40.

The archaeobotanical material was identified with comparison to modern reference material and relevant publications.¹⁴ Taxonomic identifications follow the nomenclature of Stace for wild plants, and traditional nomenclature for domesticates.¹⁵ Abundance of remains was semi-quantified on a scale of abundance as an estimation of the minimum number of items (MNI). Quantifications of mineralised invertebrate remains are given as MNI (Minimum Number of Individuals) based on the most abundant sclerite per taxon. The identifications were aided by modern insect reference material held by the author and relevant literature

¹⁴ W. Carruthers and D. N. Smith, *Mineralised Plant and Invertebrate Remains: A Guide to the Identification of Calcium Phosphate Replaced Remains* (Swindon: Historic England in collaboration with University of Birmingham, 2020) <<https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/mineralised-plant-and-invertebrate-remains/>>; S. Jacomet, 'Identification of Cereal Remains from Archaeological Sites', trans. by J. R. A. Greig (Basel University: Archaeobotany Lab IPAS, 2006) <https://ipna.duw.unibas.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/ipna_duw/PDF_s/AB_PDF/Cereal_Id_Manual_engl.pdf>.

¹⁵ Clive A. Stace, *New Flora of the British Isles*, 2nd ed (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); D. Zohary, M. Hopf, and E. Weiss, *Domestication of Plants in the Old World: The Origin and Spread of Domesticated Plants in Southwest Asia, Europe, and the Mediterranean Basin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/bl/9780199549061.001.0001>>.

where appropriate.¹⁶ Coleopteran nomenclature follows Duff's *Checklist of Beetles of the British Isles*.¹⁷

The discussion of the results from these samples is contextualised in the framework of other sites in the area, particularly Salisbury. This information has been gathered through research into published or grey literature, and also includes preliminary results from the ongoing revision of old archives (deposited with Salisbury Museum and accessible for further research in a Wessex Archaeology volunteer project).¹⁸

Results

The flots from the processed samples were of variable volumes and generally had low bioturbation indicators (roots, modern seeds, burrowing snails). All samples contained plant remains (predominantly carbonised, with a very small amount of mineralised material in a few of the samples), wood charcoal, remains of terrestrial molluscs and small animal bones; fish bones and scales and mineralised invertebrate remains were present in some samples.

The archaeobotanical assemblage is fairly consistent, although there are differences between the samples (Table 6.1). Overall, the assemblage is dominated by charred cereal remains from naked wheat (*Triticum aestivum/turgidum*) grains and rachis internodes (identified to bread wheat – *T. aestivum*). The charred remains of other crops present include cereal chaff, such as culm nodes, culm bases and awns, and cereal grains from barley (*Hordeum vulgare*, the dense-eared variety identified in some samples), rye (*Secale cereale*) and probably oats (*Avena* sp., only tentatively identified due to the large size of the grain, with positive species identification not being possible in the absence of lemma bases). Other crops include flax (*Linum usitatissimum*), a possible taxon in the mustard family (Brassicaceae, found mineralised), and pulses (found both mineralised and charred). Most of the pulses could not be determined to species level due to poor preservation and were merely identified as vetches (Vicieae), a tribe that contains cultivated and wild taxa. Some large-seeded Vicieae specimens, were occasionally identified to broad bean (*Vicia faba*) and pea (*Pisum sativum*), but the list of cultivated pulses possibly comprise also smaller-seeded taxa such as common vetch (*Vicia sativa*), since an insect hole (suggestive of storage) was detected on one of the seeds.

The remains of fruits/nuts comprise hazel (*Corylus avellana*) charred nutshell fragments, and elder (*Sambucus* sp.) mineralised seeds, together with unidentified charred parenchymatic tissue fragments, which could belong to fruit flesh.

A diversity of charred and mineralised seeds of wild plant taxa represent a diversity of habitats, but mostly disturbed ground (possibly including arable fields). These comprised campion (*Silene* sp.), the mint family (Lamiaceae), mallow (*Malva* sp.), cleavers/bedstraw (*Galium* sp.), knotgrass (*Polygonum* sp.), dock/sorrel (*Rumex* sp.), fumitory (*Fumaria* sp.), ivy-leaved speedwell (*Veronica hederifolia*), *Sherardia arvensis* (field madder), goosefoot (Chenopodiaceae),

¹⁶ K. Wilhelm Harde, M. Helb, and K. Elzner, *Der Kosmos Käferführer*, Kosmos-Naturführer, Überarbeitete Neuausgabe (Stuttgart: Kosmos, 2021).

¹⁷ *Checklist of Beetles of the British Isles*, ed. by A. Duff, 3rd edn (Iver: Pemberley Books, 2018).

¹⁸ R. Pelling and others, 'The Continuing Research Potential of Microscopic Biological Material from Historic Archives', in *CIFA Archives Group*, 2017.

Table 6.1: Archaeobotanical assessment results from 2018 and 2019 samples from the west suburbs

Feature Type	Feature	Context	Sample Code	Volume: sample (l.), flot (ml.)	Abundance	Notes
Pit	804	837	OSLP 18_1	20, 60	>500	<i>Triticum aestivum/turgidum</i> , <i>Hordeum vulgare</i> , <i>Avena</i> sp. (large seeded), Triticeae culm node and base, Viciae (inc. 1 insect hole and cf. <i>Vicia faba</i>), <i>Corylus avellana</i> , <i>Malva</i> sp., <i>Galium</i> sp., <i>Anthemis cotula</i> , Cyperaceae, Polygonum sp., <i>Rumex</i> sp., Brassicaceae*, <i>Sambucus</i> sp. *, indet.*
Pit	804	846	OSLP 18_2	40, 110	>500	<i>Triticum aestivum/turgidum</i> grains and rachis internodes, <i>Hordeum vulgare</i> grains, <i>Avena</i> sp. grains (large seeded), Triticeae awns, Poaceae (inc. <i>Bromus</i> sp.), <i>Corylus avellana</i> , Viciae (inc. large seeded), <i>Rumex</i> sp., Cyperaceae, <i>Fumaria</i> sp., <i>Veronica hederifolia</i> , <i>Anthemis cotula</i> , Chenopodiaceae, <i>Linum usitatissimum</i> , tubers (inc. <i>Arrhenatherum elatius</i> ssp. <i>bulbosum</i>), <i>Silene</i> sp. *, <i>Sambucus</i> sp. *
Pit	1002	1012	OSLP 18_3	40, 100	30–99	<i>Triticum aestivum/turgidum</i> , <i>Hordeum vulgare</i> , cf. <i>Avena</i> sp. (large seeded), <i>Corylus avellana</i> , Viciae, <i>Galium</i> sp., Chenopodiaceae, indet. parenchymatic tissue, Poaceae, cf. Brassicaceae*
Pit	1002	1013	OSLP 18_4	40, 60	100–500	<i>Triticum aestivum/turgidum</i> , <i>Hordeum vulgare</i> , <i>Avena</i> sp. (large seeded), Triticeae culm node, Poaceae, <i>Anthemis cotula</i> , <i>Corylus avellana</i> , Asteraceae, <i>Galium</i> sp., Viciae, <i>Rumex</i> sp., <i>Sambucus</i> sp. *, Lamiaceae*
Platform	-	1103	OSLP 19_1	30, 225	100–500	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> grains, <i>Triticum aestivum/turgidum</i> grains, <i>Corylus avellana</i> , Poaceae, <i>Sherardia arvensis</i> , Cyperaceae, Viciae, <i>Sambucus</i> sp. *
Platform	-	1503	OSLP 19_2	28, 500	100–500	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> , <i>Triticum aestivum</i> grains and rachis nodes <i>Avena</i> sp., <i>Bromus</i> sp., <i>Corylus avellana</i> , Viciae
Pit/Ditch	1313	1308	OSLP 19_3	24, 100	100–500	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> grains, <i>Triticum aestivum/turgidum</i> grains, cf. <i>Secale cereale</i> grains, <i>Avena</i> sp., <i>Corylus avellana</i> , <i>Fumaria</i> sp., <i>Anthemis</i> cf. <i>cotula</i> , Chenopodiaceae, <i>Odontites verinus</i>
Pit/Ditch	1310	1309	OSLP 19_4	24, 160	A***	<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> grains, <i>Triticum aestivum</i> grains and rachis internodes, <i>Secale cereale</i> grains and rachis nodes, Viciae (inc. <i>Vicia faba</i> and <i>Pisum sativum</i>), Poaceae (inc. <i>Avena</i> sp), <i>Corylus avellana</i> , Asteraceae (inc. <i>Anthemis cotula</i> and <i>Centaurea</i> sp.), Cyperaceae

* Mineralised

Table 6.2: Archaeoentomological assessment results from 2018 samples from the west suburbs

Feature Type	Feature	Context	Sample Code	Volume: sample (l.), flot (ml.)	Notes
Pit	1002	1012	OSLP 18_3	40, 100	Pseudoscorpiones pedipalp (11), Oribatida (1), <i>Lasius</i> sp. head (12),
Pit	1002	1013	OSLP 18_4	40, 60	Pseudoscorpiones pedipalp (8), Aranae pedialp (2), Staphilinidae elytra (2), <i>Aphodius</i> sp. elytron (1), Coleoptera larval mandible (1), <i>Lasius</i> sp. head (1)

and the daisy family (Asteraceae), including cornflower/knapweed/thistle (*Centaurea* sp.) and stinking chamomile (*Anthemis cotula*), red bartsia (*Odontites vernus*). In addition, there were some possible indicators of pasture, mostly sedges (Cyperaceae) and grasses (Poaceae), including brome (*Bromus* sp.) and onion couch grass (*Arrhenatherum elatius* ssp. *bulbosum*).

Small assemblages of mineralised invertebrate remains were identified from pit 1002 in trench 10, which are presented in Table 6.2. The remains comprise relatively low quantities of arachnids (Arachnida), including pseudoscorpions (Pseudoscorpiones), true spiders (Aranae) and moss mites (Oribatida), Hymenoptera, including formicine ants (*Lasius* sp.) and beetles (Coleoptera), including rove beetles (Staphylinidae) and a dung beetle (*Aphodius* sp.) elytron. Most invertebrate sclerites from the flots were too poorly preserved and fragmented to allow for identification. The invertebrate assemblage from pit 1002 is mostly eurytopic in nature, and no strictly synanthropic taxa were observed. Pseudoscorpions occupy a variety of habitats. Although one British species may be observed in indoor environments (*Cheiridium museorum*), most pseudoscorpions in Britain are found in plant litter and detritus. Ants belonging to the *Lasius* genus, which includes the black garden ant, may equally be found in different habitat types. Their presence must be interpreted with caution, as the burrowing nature of a large number of species within this genus may imply that some, or all, are later intrusions. Rove beetles form one of the largest families within the order of beetles and are mostly predatory. They are very widespread in the British Isles, with over 1000 species known. The dung beetle *Aphodius* is commonly observed in archaeoentomological assemblages, particularly associated with livestock and large herbivores.

Discussion

The assemblage suggests the cultivation and preparation of food based on cereals (barley, bread wheat, rye; and, possibly oats), pulses, such as broad bean and garden pea, and flax.

The invertebrate assemblage is mostly eurytopic in nature, and no strictly synanthropic taxa were observed. This, together with the absence of Diptera (flies) remains, and in particular pupae, is noteworthy, as these are typically common finds from mineralised cess deposits.¹⁹

¹⁹ Carruthers and Smith; D. N. Smith, 'Defining an Indicator Package to Allow Identification of "Cesspits" in the Archaeological Record', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 40.1 (2013), 526–43 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2012.06.014>>.

The assemblage formation processes

Overall, the composition of the plant remain assemblage from the western suburbs of Old Sarum is consistent with domestic waste originating from different activities (B or C-type deposition²⁰) in a medieval typically rural settlement. The nature and preservation of the environmental evidence retrieved from the samples, particularly the presence of fish scales and bones, invertebrates, mineralised and charred plant remains and wood charcoal in Trenches 8 and 10 is consistent with the interpretation of the deposits as middens with domestic waste originating from different activities. These activities would comprise the redeposition of hearth sweepings, including remains from crop-processing and the by-products from other food preparation practices, interspersed with the possible deposition of cess material, often associated with more urbanised settlements. The presence of mineralised (phosphatic-replaced) material requires wet anaerobic environments with presence of faecal/decomposing material to provide the necessary ions to form calcium phosphate, conditions ideally provided by cesspits.²¹ Hearth sweepings could have been discarded into cesspits to reduce smell and flyblowing.²² In Trenches 11, 13 and 15, the absence of deposits comprising fish scales and bones and mineralised invertebrates and plant remains, suggested a more restricted taphonomic origin, possibly limited to hearth sweepings, and absence of faecal material. Still, the diversity of the charred plant components would suggest a diversity of processing and food preparation activities.

Despite the differences in the composition of the samples between the site areas, the charred assemblage is fairly consistent. The dominance of cereal grains over chaff could be indicative of the later stages of crop processing.²³ Cereal chaff is often rarer than grains since it is more fragile, but also because free-threshing cereals would lose most of the chaff on the threshing floor, away from settlements.²⁴ The cereal grains and pulses likely became carbonised as part of accidents while they were being prepared for consumption. However, the presence in the assemblage of crop by-products such as cereal chaff (culm nodes and bases, rachis segments and awns) and wild plant seeds, some of which are potential weeds from agricultural fields, indicates that some of the previous stages of crop-processing (threshing and winnowing) also took place in the area, therefore suggesting that agricultural fields may have been located nearby. The charred hazelnut shell fragments indicate the disposal of consumption by-products into hearths.

²⁰ D. Q. Fuller, C. J. Stevens, and M. McClatchie, 'Routine Activities, Tertiary Refuse and Labor Organization: Social Inference from Everyday Archaeobotany', in *Ancient Plants and People: Contemporary Trends in Archaeobotany*, ed. by M. Madella, C. Lancelotti, and M. Savard (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2014), pp. 174–217.

²¹ F. J. Green, 'Phosphatic Mineralization of Seeds from Archaeological Sites', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 6.3 (1979), 279–84 <[https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-4403\(79\)90005-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-4403(79)90005-0)>; McCobb and others; C. Murphy, 'Mineralization of Macrobotanical Remains', in *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, ed. by C. Smith (New York: Springer Reference, 2014), pp. 4948–52.

²² W. J. Carruthers and I. López-Dóriga, 'Charred and Mineralised Plant Remains from Medieval Cess Pit 842, in P. Orczewski and P. Andrews, Romano-British and Medieval Extra-Mural Settlement at Chesil Street, Winchester', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 74 (2019), 107–10 <<https://doi.org/10.24202/hs2019004>>.

²³ Van Der Veen, 'Formation Processes'.

²⁴ S. Boardman and G. Jones, 'Experiments on the Effects of Charring on Cereal Plant Components', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 17.1 (1990), 1–11 <[https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-4403\(90\)90012-T](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-4403(90)90012-T)>; G. C. Hillman, 'Reconstructing Crop Husbandry Practices from Charred Remains of Crops', in *Farming Practice in British Prehistory*, ed. by R. J. Mercer (Edinburgh: University Press, 1981), pp. 123–62.

Medieval agricultural and consumption practices at Old Sarum

The dominant cereal is bread wheat, particularly well-suited for clayey heavy nutrient-rich soils such as those found in the nearby Avon floodplain and where cereals could be cultivated locally.²⁵ Stinking chamomile, an archaeophyte introduced in the Iron Age,²⁶ could have acted as an annual weed of such a crop, although it can also grow in light soils. The lighter free-draining soils found directly around the site could be more suited for barley, oats and rye, and their cultivation is also possibly hinted at by field madder and onion-couch/false oat-grass.

Other cereal crops represented in smaller numbers are barley, rye and possibly oats. Cultivated pulses form a minor component of the assemblage, and comprise broad bean, garden pea and possibly common vetch. This latter was normally cultivated as a fodder crop but could be consumed by humans in years of poor crops.²⁷ Oats could have belonged to any of the two species, common oats (*A. sativa*) or bristle oat (*A. strigosa*), cultivated in the medieval period.²⁸

The dominance of bread wheat remains over other crop remains could reflect the use and preparation of the cereal for human consumption in ways that expose it to fire (e.g., roasting for grinding into flour), while the other cereal crops may be prepared in ways less conducive to becoming charred (e.g., porridge) or may have been used for animal fodder. Similarly, pulses are more often boiled for consumption, for example in soup-like preparations, although garden peas do not necessarily require cooking.²⁹ Flax, on the other hand, has little chances of becoming charred if used only for fibres, and the seed, potentially used for its oil, also has reduced chances of surviving fire due to its high oil content.³⁰

Most of the wild plants recovered are often found in a diversity of disturbed habitats (ruderal), although they have edibility and medicinal potential.³¹ Sedges, red bartsia, fumitory, and possible knapweed/star-thistle are also indicative of grassland. Although it could also correspond to a wild plant, the presence of a mineralised seed in the mustard family could point to its use as a condiment.³² The charred hazelnut and mineralised elder remains indicate the exploitation of hedgerow or woodland edge resources.

All resources exploited could have been cultivated/obtained locally and no evidence of exotic or luxurious products was observed. Overall, the taxonomic composition of the assemblage

²⁵ S. Rippon, A. Wainwright, and C. Smart, 'Farming Regions in Medieval England: The Archaeobotanical and Zooarchaeological Evidence', *Medieval Archaeology*, 58.1 (2014), 195–255 <<https://doi.org/10.1179/0076609714Z.00000000036>>.

²⁶ C. D. Preston, D. A. Pearman, and A. R. Hall, 'Archaeophytes in Britain', *Botanical Journal of the Linnean Society*, 145.3 (2004), 257–94 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1095-8339.2004.00284.x>>.

²⁷ Moffett.

²⁸ Moffett, I.

²⁹ S. Maria Valamoti, A. Moniaki, and A. Karathanou, 'An Investigation of Processing and Consumption of Pulses among Prehistoric Societies: Archaeobotanical, Experimental and Ethnographic Evidence from Greece', *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, 20.5 (2011), 381–96 <<https://doi.org/10.1007/s00334-011-0302-6>>.

³⁰ D. G. Wilson, 'The Carbonisation of Weed Seeds and Their Representation in Macrofossil Assemblages', in *Plants and Ancient Man: Studies in Palaeoethnobotany: Proceedings of the Sixth Symposium of the International Work Group for Palaeoethnobotany, Groningen, 30 May-3 June 1983*, ed. by International Work Group for Palaeoethnobotany, W. van Zeist, and W. A. Casparie (Rotterdam; Boston: A.A. Balkema, 1984), pp. 201–10.

³¹ K. Fern, *Plants For A Future: Plant Species Database* (<https://pfaf.org>, 1995).

³² Carruthers and Smith.

is consistent with existing data about medieval food production in England.³³ The charred remains of cereals and pulses are indicative of a standard consumption and there are no elements particularly suggestive of access to high-status foods typically found in urban deposits (i.e. exotic products).³⁴ Differences across the samples (e.g., the presence of rye only in Trench 13) may correspond to chronological changes or different processing areas or households.

Old Sarum within its regional setting

The archaeobotanical evidence from the west suburbs of Old Sarum can be compared with the evidence from a series of Salisbury sites with comparable medieval deposits, such as the Anchor Brewery, Gigant Street,³⁵ Vanner's and Griffin Chequers, Bedwin Street,³⁶ Bourne Hill,³⁷ Brown Street,³⁸ Damascus and Emmaus Houses,³⁹ Ivy and Brown Street,⁴⁰ Old George Mall,⁴¹ and Salt Lane.⁴² Whilst some of these sites have already been published, full extraction and quantification of plant remains was not always completed at the time of publication or environmental data was not included in the publication. Preliminary results from the ongoing review and re-analysis of evidence as part of a volunteer project are presented here (Table 6.3).

The archaeobotanical assemblage from the Salisbury sites is much more diverse in comparison to that from the western suburbs of Old Sarum, not only in terms of taxonomic range but also in the types of remains. In Salisbury, in addition to the remains of wild plants, cereals, pulses, oil/fibre plants and nuts/fruits, there is clear evidence for the use of flavourings which are absent from the western suburbs (with the exception of the possible mustard). The species list in each of the categories is also broader in Salisbury than in Old Sarum's western suburbs. This is particularly conspicuous on the fruits and nuts category, with remains of fig, strawberry, walnut, apple/crab apple, pear/apple, crab apple, wild cherry, blackberry, raspberry, plum, sloe and grape being found, in addition to the hazelnuts and elder also found in the western suburb samples. While some of these were available in the wild and others could have been grown in local orchards, others would have probably been imported (e.g. walnuts, figs, grapes...) although could have also been grown by skilled gardeners in high status properties.⁴³

³³ Moffett, I.

³⁴ M. Van Der Veen, 'When Is Food a Luxury?', *World Archaeology*, 34.3 (2003), 405–27 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/0043824021000026422>>.

³⁵ Hinton, 'Plant Remains'.

³⁶ Wyles.

³⁷ Chaffey and Fitzpatrick.

³⁸ Wessex Archaeology, *7-11 Brown Street, Salisbury, Wiltshire. Archaeological Evaluation and Excavation* (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology unpublished report, Ref: 100950, 2014) <https://www.wessexarch.co.uk/sites/default/files/field_file/100950_7-11%20Brown%20St_0.pdf>.

³⁹ Wessex Archaeology, *Damascus and Emmaus House, Salisbury, Wiltshire - Archaeological Post-Excavation Assessment Report* (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology unpublished report, Ref: 74240.03, 2011) <<https://www.wessexarch.co.uk/news/salisbury-sites-25-emmaus-and-damascus-house>>; S. Reynolds and A. Manning, 'Damascus and Emmaus Houses, 58 Barnard Street, Salisbury', *WANHM*, 106 (2013), 275–77.

⁴⁰ Hinton, 'Environmental Remains'.

⁴¹ Butterworth.

⁴² Wessex Archaeology, *42-44 Salt Lane, Salisbury, Wiltshire Archaeological Excavation Report with Proposals for Analysis and Publication* (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology unpublished report, Ref: 102330, 2014) <https://www.wessexarch.co.uk/sites/default/files/field_file/102330_42-44%20Salt%20Lane_0.pdf>.

⁴³ Moffett, I.

Table 6.3: Archaeobotanical assemblages from medieval deposits in Salisbury, Southampton and Winchester.

Site locations		Salisbury	Southampton	Winchester
Scientific name	Common name			
No. of samples		16	11	8
CEREALS				
<i>Avena</i> sp.	Oats	*		
<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	Barley	*		*
<i>Secale cereale</i>	Rye	*		
<i>Triticum aestivum</i>	Bread wheat	*		
Triticeae	Cereal	*	*	*
PULSES				
<i>Vicia faba</i>	Broad bean	*		*
<i>Vicia/Lathyrus</i>	Lathyrus	*		
<i>Pisum sativum</i>	Pea	*	*	*
<i>Pisum/Vicia</i> sp.	Pea/bean			*
<i>Vicia tetrasperma</i>	Smooth tare	*		
FRUITS AND NUTS				
<i>Corylus avellana</i>	Hazelnut	*		
<i>Ficus carica</i>	Fig	*	*	*
<i>Fragaria vesca</i>	Strawberry	*	*	*
<i>Malus</i> sp.	Apple	*		*
<i>Malus</i> sp./ <i>Pyrus communis</i>	Apple/pear	*	*	*
<i>Morus nigra</i>	Black mulberry			*
<i>Prunus avium</i>	Wild cherry	*		
<i>Prunus domestica</i>	Plum	*		
<i>Prunus</i> cf. <i>spinosa</i>	Sloe	*	*	*
<i>Rubus</i> spp.	Bramble		*	
<i>Rubus fruticosus</i> agg. / <i>sect. glandulosus</i>	Blackberry	*		
<i>Rubus idaeus</i>	Raspberry	*		
<i>Sambucus nigra</i>	Elder	*		
<i>Sambucus</i> sp.	Elder		*	
<i>Vitis vinifera</i>	Grape	*	*	*
CONDIMENTS/FLAVOURINGS				
<i>Anethum graveolens</i>	Dill	*		*
<i>Apium graveolens</i>	Celery	*		
<i>Brassica nigra</i>	Black mustard	*		
<i>Brassica</i> sp.	Mustard	*		
<i>Brassica/Sinapis</i> sp.	Mustard/charlock etc	*		*
<i>Coriandrum sativum</i>	Coriander	*		
<i>Cuminum cyminum</i>	Cumin		*	

Site locations		Salisbury	Southampton	Winchester
Scientific name	Common name			
<i>Daucus carota</i>	Carrot			*
<i>Foeniculum vulgare</i>	Fennel	*		*
OIL/FIBRE PLANTS				
<i>Cannabis sativa</i>	Hemp	*		
<i>Linum ussitatissimum</i>	Flax	*		*
RUDERAL & WILD PLANTS				
Apiaceae		*		*
Apiaceae: <i>Aethusa cynapium</i>	Fool's parsley	*		
Apiaceae: <i>Bupleurum rotundifolium</i>	Throw-wax	*		
Apiaceae: <i>Conium maculatum</i>	Hemlock	*		
Apiaceae: <i>Pimpinella</i> sp.	Burnet-saxifrage	*		
Apiaceae: <i>Scandix pectens-veneris</i> L.	Shepherd's needle	*		*
Asteraceae: <i>Anthemis cotula</i>	Stinking mayweed	*		
Asteraceae: <i>Anthemis</i> sp.	Chamomile	*		
Asteraceae: <i>Chrysanthemum segetum</i>	Corn marigold	*		
Asteraceae: <i>Tripleurospermum inodorum</i>	Scentless mayweed	*		
Asteraceae: <i>Centaurea cyanus</i>	Cornflower	*		
Asteraceae: <i>Centaurea</i> sp.	Knapweed	*		*
Asteraceae: <i>Sonchus oleraceous</i>	Smooth sow thistle	*		
Brassicaceae cf. <i>Sinapis</i> sp.	Charlock			*
Caryophyllaceae	Pink family	*		
Caryophyllaceae cf. <i>Cerastium</i> sp.	Mouse-ear	*		
Caryophyllaceae cf. <i>Silene</i>	Campion	*		
Caryophyllaceae: <i>Agrostemma githago</i>	Corn cockle	*		*
Caryophyllaceae: <i>Stellaria media/neglecta</i>	Common chickweed	*		
<i>Carex</i> sp.	Sedges	*		
<i>Carex nigra</i>	Common sedge	*		
<i>Potentilla</i> sp.	Cinquefoil	*		
Chenopodiaceae	Goosefoot Family	*		
Chenopodiaceae cf. <i>Atriplex prostrata/patula</i>	Spear-leaved or common orache	*		
Chenopodiaceae cf. <i>Atriplex</i> sp.	Orache	*		*
Chenopodiaceae: <i>Chenopodium album</i>	Fat hen	*		
Euphorbiaceae: <i>Euphorbia helioscopia</i>	Sun spurge	*		

ARCHAEOBOTANICAL AND ARCHAEOENTOMOLOGICAL INSIGHTS

Site locations		Salisbury	Southampton	Winchester
Scientific name	Common name			
<i>Fumaria</i> sp.	Fumitory	*		
<i>Galium</i> sp.	Bedstraw/cleavers	*		
tp. <i>Geranium</i> sp.?	Crane's bill	*		
<i>Hyoscyamus niger</i>	Henbane	*		
<i>Juncus</i> sp.	Rush			*
Lamiaceae: <i>Lamium purpureum</i>	Red dead nettle	*		
Lamiaceae: <i>Lamium</i> sp.	Dead nettle	*		
Lamiaceae tp. <i>Salvia/Thymus</i>	Sage/thyme	*		
<i>Lythospermum arvense</i>	Field gromwell	*		
<i>Malva moschata</i>	Musk mallow	*		
<i>Malva sylvestris</i>	Common mallow	*		
Papaveraceae: <i>Papaver</i> sp.	Poppy	*		
Papaveraceae: <i>Papaver rhoeas/dubium</i>	Poppy	*		
<i>Plantago</i> tp. <i>lanceolata</i>	Plantain	*		
Poaceae (Gramineae)	Grass	*		*
Poaceae: <i>Bromus hordeaceus/secalinus</i>	Soft or rye brome	*		
Poaceae: <i>Poa/Phleum</i>	Cat's tail/meadow grass	*		
Polygonaceae	Dock family	*		
Polygonaceae: <i>Persicaria lapathifolia</i>	Pale persicaria	*		
Polygonaceae: <i>Polygonum aviculare</i>	Knotgrass	*		
Polygonaceae: <i>Polygonum (Fallopia) convolvulus</i>	Black bindweed	*		
Polygonaceae: <i>Rumex crispus</i>	Curled dock	*		
Polygonaceae: <i>Rumex obtusifolius</i>	Broad-leaved dock	*		
Polygonaceae: <i>Rumex</i> sp.	Sorrel/docks	*		
<i>Solanum nigrum</i>	Black nightshade	*		
Trifoliae	Clover/medick/trefoil	*		
Urticaceae: <i>Urtica dioica</i>	Stinging nettle	*		
Urticaceae: <i>Urtica</i> sp.	Nettle	*		
<i>Viola</i> sp.	Dog violet	*		*

Hemp joined flax in the oil/fibre plants. Among the condiments/flavourings, black mustard, coriander, dill, cumin, celery and fennel were found in Salisbury. Some other plants were possibly cultivated for food or condiments, although they are also found in the wild, such as sage/thyme, oraches and poppies, while others such as henbane or hemlock could have also been medicinal garden plants as well as ruderal plants growing in waste places. Many other ruderals (often with possible economic uses⁴⁴) are also present in the assemblage, such as umbellifers (fool's parsley, throw-wax, burnet-saxifrage and shepherd's needle), composites (mayweeds, corn marigold, cornflower, knapweed and smooth sow thistle), charlock, the pink family (mouse-ear, campion, corn cockle and common chickweed), sedges, cinquefoil, the goosefoot family (fat hen), sun spurge, dog mercury, fumitory, bedstraw/cleavers, dead nettles, field gromwell, mallows, grasses, the dock family (pale persicaria, knotgrasses, black bindweed and docks), black nightshade, nettles and dog violet.

The Salisbury assemblage bears similarities to those of other urban areas with charred, mineralised and waterlogged preservation in Southern England such as Winchester and Southampton.⁴⁵ The archaeobotanical assemblage from the western suburbs of Old Sarum is more characteristic of a rural settlement such as those found in other Wiltshire sites.⁴⁶

The differences in the assemblages may be explained for reasons that need further exploration, such as preservation, sampling or chronological biases. Firstly, they may be a result of preservation, as the Salisbury sites' mineralised component is generally better preserved while charred plant material is often less abundant, and also includes a waterlogged component which is completely absent from the west suburbs of Old Sarum. Secondly, sampling in Salisbury has not only been more extensive, but it has clearly targeted a larger number of cesspits than the archaeological work undertaken at Old Sarum, while other deposits less conducive to the preservation of cess material have been recently encountered and sampled there. Thirdly, the comparison between the Old Sarum and Salisbury sites is hampered by the absence of direct dating on the archaeobotanical remains themselves in any of the studied sites. Mephram (this volume), suggests that the west suburbs pottery is largely 'Saxo-Norman' and twelfth century, continuing in to the thirteenth century, whilst the medieval deposits in Salisbury date, as a minimum, to the early thirteenth century. So, the potential overlap of the deposits is brief and therefore a chronological bias may explain some of the differences in the assemblages.

However, it is also possible that the assemblages reflect actual differences in access to foods, particularly luxury foods. Access to luxury foods is closely linked to the road network in the

⁴⁴ Fern.

⁴⁵ A. K. G. Jones and others, 'Environmental Evidence from the Latrine Pit (F5300)', in *The Brooks, Winchester: A Preliminary Report on the Excavations, 1987-88*, ed. by G. Scobie, M. J. Zant, and R. Whinney (Winchester: Winchester Museums Service - Archaeology Report, 1991), pp. 67-68; W. J. Carruthers, 'Charred and Mineralised Plant Remains', in *Winchester--a City in the Making: Archaeological Excavations between 2002 and 2007 on the Sites of Northgate House, Staple Gardens and the Former Winchester Library, Jewry St*, ed. by B. Ford and M. Allen, Oxford Archaeology Monograph, no. 12 (Oxford: Oxford Archaeology, 2011), pp. 363-73; Carruthers and López-Dóriga; W. Smith, *Southampton French Quarter SOU1382: Charred, Mineralised and Waterlogged Plant Remains: Technical Report* (Oxford: Oxford Archaeology, 2011); I. López-Dóriga, 'The Plant Remains', in *Chapel Riverside, Southampton - The Edge of Hamwic, Holy Trinity Chapel and a Tide Mill*, ed. by P. Andrews, P. Orczewski, and E. Robertson, forthcoming.

⁴⁶ I. López-Dóriga, 'Palaeoenvironmental Evidence. in: G. Wakeham, Romano-British Occupation and a Late Medieval Farm Complex at the Forty, Cricklade, Wiltshire', *WANHM*, 114 (2021), 122-47; C. J. Stevens, 'Medieval Remains at Pennings Road and St Andrews Road, Tidworth', *WANHM*, 103 (2010), 181-85.

Roman period and to monastic/manor properties in the medieval period,⁴⁷ and the absence of exotic foods in Old Sarum is surprising in view of its proximity to a major ecclesiastical centre at the height of its powers in the twelfth century. This absence might be seen as an additional point in favour of the settlement's out-of-the-way location and a further example of the pressure placed on the community to reposition itself in a location more conducive to passing trade aimed at elite markets.

Conclusions

The excavations in the west suburbs of Old Sarum have provided a valuable environmental assemblage. The remains are typical of a rural medieval settlement and differ notably from those from other urban areas from southern England, including Salisbury. It is currently uncertain if these differences are a result of a research bias or reflect the absence of access to high status foods in Old Sarum. The assemblage highlights the high potential of the archaeobotanical and archaeoentomological evidence for providing environmental information of significance for researching the social dynamics between Old Sarum and Salisbury in the medieval period. Further work on the samples from both Old Sarum and Salisbury (completion of residue sorting and full quantification of plant remains in existing samples and direct radiocarbon dating combined with additional targeted sampling in suitable deposits with high potential) will enable to address this and other research questions of the medieval research agenda in detail.⁴⁸

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⁴⁷ H. A. Orengo and A. Livarda, 'The Seeds of Commerce: A Network Analysis-Based Approach to the Romano-British Transport System', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 66 (2016), 21–35 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2015.12.003>>; Moffett, I.

⁴⁸ M. Van Der Veen, A. Hill, and A. Livarda, 'The Archaeobotany of Medieval Britain (c AD 450–1500): Identifying Research Priorities for the 21st Century', *Medieval Archaeology*, 57.1 (2013), 151–82 <<https://doi.org/10.1179/0076609713Z.0000000018n/a>>.

Chapter Seven

The supply and use of pottery at Old and New Sarum – A time of transition

Lorraine Mephram

Introduction

Pottery recovered from various locations at Old Sarum and across Salisbury has revealed a sequence running from the tenth/eleventh century right through the medieval period and beyond, but the move from Old Sarum to the new city in the early thirteenth century is mirrored in a change in patterns of pottery production and distribution. This paper explores how that change is reflected in the archaeological record, and what it might mean.

In 1890, General Pitt Rivers, publishing the results of his excavations at Tollard Royal, said that “there are conditions in which [medieval pots] afford the only evidence available, even in medieval times, and a more thorough knowledge of them than we possess would be desirable”.¹ Sadly, this advice was not followed up by William Hawley and William St John Hope when they excavated at Old Sarum in between 1909 and 1915. Large quantities of pottery from the excavation were dumped over the outer bailey of the castle. Only a small fraction of the pottery excavated ever found its way into Salisbury Museum’s collections, and the provenance of the pieces that did survive is uncertain.² There is fortunately more evidence from Stone and Charlton’s excavations of two Norman cesspits in the eastern suburbs in the 1930s; they published selected pots from the cesspits although the descriptions of the fabrics are fairly basic and there is no overall quantification.³ This excavation was, however, significant in providing one of the very few pieces of independent dating evidence for the pottery from Old Sarum, and indeed for the area as a whole, for the Saxo-Norman period (i.e. the tenth to twelfth centuries), in the form of a coin of William I. Further unquantified groups have been published by John Musty and Philip Rahtz from excavations in the late 1950s.⁴ Since then there has been no systematic fieldwork at Old Sarum until the recent trial trenches designed to explore the archaeological character of the west suburbs.⁵ Most of the following discussion about pottery from Old Sarum is based on the assemblage of just under 5000 medieval sherds recovered from these trial trenches across the western extra-mural suburbs.

¹ Lt.-Gen. Pitt Rivers, *King John’s House, Tollard Royal, Wilts* (Privately printed, 1890), p. 13.

² J. W. G. Musty and others, ‘Pottery, Tile and Brick’, in *Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum Medieval Catalogue Part 3*, ed. by P. Saunders (Salisbury: Salisbury Museum, 2001), pp. 132–212 (p. 133).

³ J. F. S. Stone and J. Charlton, ‘Trial Excavations in the East Suburb of Old Sarum’, *Antiquaries Journal*, 40 (1935), 174–92 (pp. 184–90).

⁴ J. W. G. Musty, ‘A Pipe-Line near Old Sarum: Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval Finds Including Two 12th Century Lime Kilns’, *WANHM*, 57 (1958), 179–91; J. W. G. Musty and P. A. Rahtz, ‘The Suburbs of Old Sarum’, *WANHM*, 59 (1964), 130–54.

⁵ Alex Langlands and K. Strutt, *Old Sarum: Archaeological Interventions in the West Suburbs, 2017-2019* (Unpublished Report. Wiltshire Council HER cat. no. 2023.046, 2023) <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1118571>>.

The limitations of the trial trench data include a scarcity of well stratified and datable pottery groups – the assemblage includes ware types that can be dated between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries and possibly beyond, but several of the types have fairly lengthy currencies that mean the assemblage cannot be neatly divided into closely datable slices that pre- and post-date the foundation of Salisbury. Nevertheless, by comparison with other sites in the region and by the appearance of certain chronologically distinctive wares and vessel forms, it is possible to identify provisionally pottery groups that may belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with some possibly earlier sherds from the tenth or eleventh century.

From Salisbury there have been a number of investigations across the city from the mid-1980s onwards, from which data is used here exclusively from Wessex Archaeology projects (there have been very few other excavations of any significant size), amounting to just over 7000 medieval sherds.⁶ This pottery belongs overwhelmingly to the period after the founding of the new town in the 1220s, although some sites have produced a handful of sherds that could be earlier, notably the area around St Martin’s Church in the south-east of Salisbury, where settlement is believed to pre-date the medieval town.

The regional context

Despite Pitt Rivers’ initiative, and Stone and Charlton’s later recommendation that “the time has now arrived when a closer classification should take place of English earthenware of the eleventh and twelfth centuries”,⁷ it is still fair to say that our knowledge of the Late Saxon and Saxo-Norman ceramic sequence in Wessex is somewhat sketchy (Figure 7.1). Within Wiltshire there are a few excavated assemblages, none of them particularly large and, as for Old Sarum, the stratified proportion is even less. Perhaps the best stratified assemblage of this date range from the county comes from Trowbridge and there are smaller groups from Warminster, Avebury, Market Lavington, Wilton and Amesbury as well as Old Sarum.⁸

Evidence for pottery manufacture at this period is even scantier. There is nothing known from Wiltshire. There are two excavated pottery kilns from Michelmersh near Romsey in Hampshire, one excavated in the late 1960s and the other in 2001,⁹ which were producing distinctive wheelthrown wares (most of the pottery in circulation at the time would have been handmade), examples of which have been found on various sites in Wiltshire (Figure 7.2). One of these kilns has yielded an archaeomagnetic date in the late tenth to eleventh century.

⁶ L. Mephram, ‘Pottery’, in *Joining the Dots: Uniting Salisbury’s Past through Holes in the Ground*, ed. by P. Harding, Wessex Archaeology Occasional Paper (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Ltd, 2022), pp. 67–81 (p. 70), table 3.1.

⁷ Stone and Charlton, p. 186.

⁸ L. Mephram, ‘The Pottery’, in *Excavations in the Town Centre of Trowbridge, Wiltshire, 1977 and 1968-1988*, ed. by A. H. Graham and S. M. Davies (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Report 2, 1993), pp. 101–14; R. Smith, *Excavations at Emwell Street, Warminster: The Early Economy and Environment of a Wiltshire Market Town* (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology, 1997); L. Mephram, *Butler’s Field, Avebury: The Post-Roman Pottery* (Unpublished Report for University of Southampton, 2021); L. Mephram, ‘The Pottery’, in *Excavations at Grove Farm, Market Lavington, Wiltshire, 1986-1990, The Development of a Roman, Saxon and Medieval Settlement*, ed. by P. Williams and R. Newman (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Report 19, 2006), pp. 88–106; L. Mephram, ‘Pottery’, in R. De’Athe, *Early to Middle Anglo-Saxon Settlement, a Lost Medieval Church Rediscovered and an Early Post-Medieval Cemetery in Wilton*, *WANHM*, 105 (2012), 126–29; A. B. Powell and others, ‘Late Saxon and Medieval Occupation near Salisbury Street, Amesbury’, *WANHM*, 102 (2009), 188–201.

⁹ L. Mephram and L. Brown, ‘The Broughton to Timsbury Pipeline, Part 1: A Late Saxon Pottery Kiln and the Production Centre at Michelmersh, Hampshire’, *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 62 (2007), 35–68.

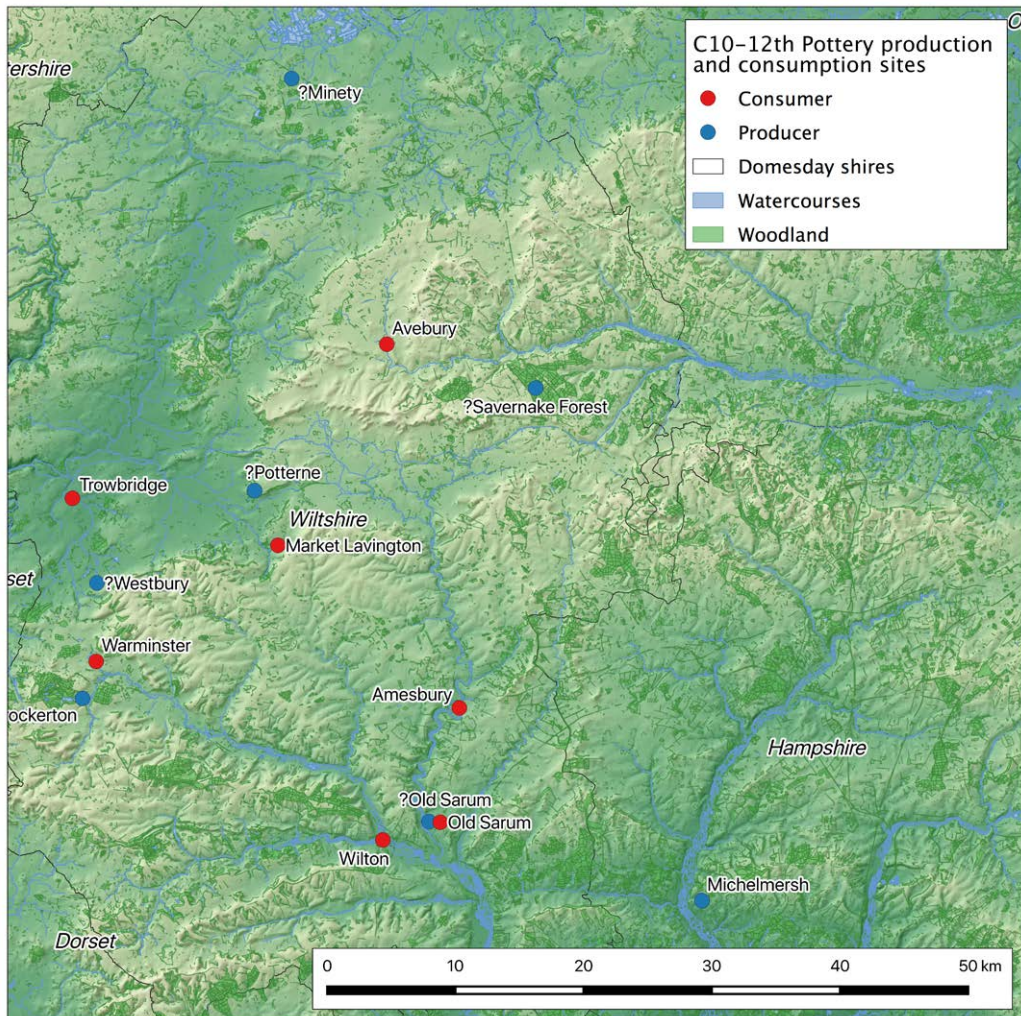


Figure 7.1: Map of production and consumer sites in Wessex, tenth to twelfth century

The rest is built on patchy evidence and surmise. It may be worth pointing out here that Jean Le Patourel's survey in the late 1960s of documentary sources relating to pottery manufacture, notes just three references in *Domesday* for the whole country. This is unlikely to reflect the real state of potting in the late eleventh century but can be attributed rather to the capriciousness of the survey, which ignored potters in many places where they were almost certainly operating at this time.¹⁰ One of those references, however, is for Westbury, and suggests that there was a small group of potters working there.¹¹

¹⁰ H. E. Jean Le Patourel, 'Documentary Evidence and the Medieval Pottery Industry', *Medieval Archaeology*, 12.1 (1968), 101–26 (p. 104) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00766097.1968.11735307>>.

¹¹ A. Williams and G. H. Martin, *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation* (London: Penguin Books, 1992), p. 163, Folio 65: Wiltshire, 'The potters there pay 20s a year'.



Figure 7.2: Michelmersh jar (a) and spouted pitcher (b), from kiln site
(© Wessex Archaeology)

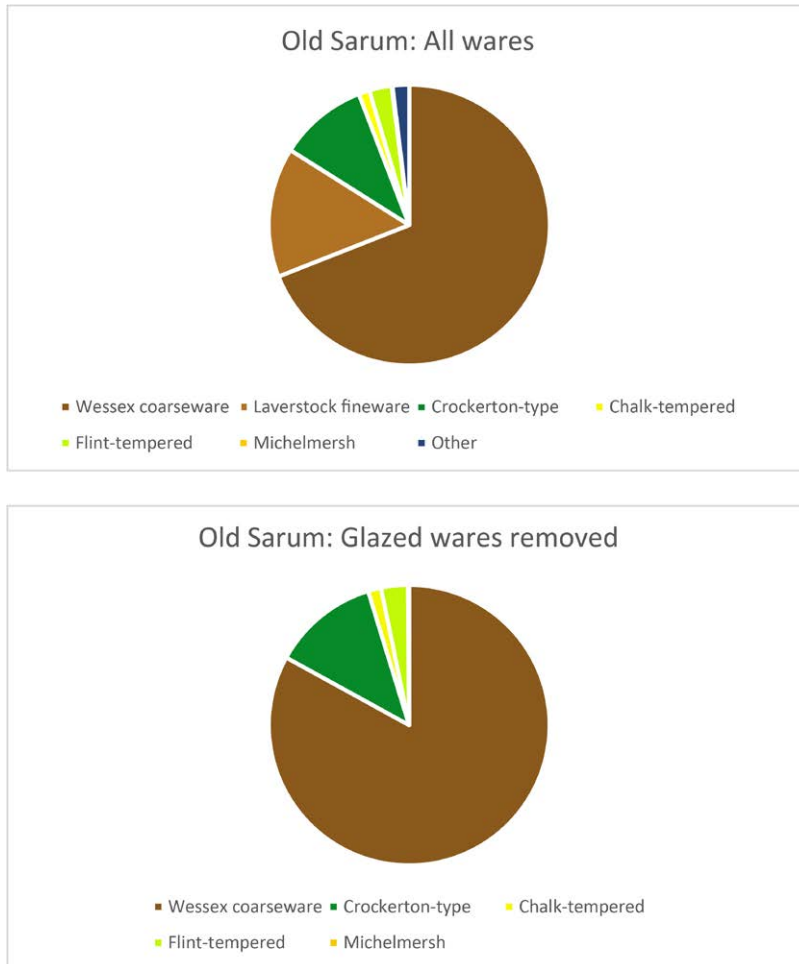


Figure 7.3: Pie charts showing proportions of ware type from Old Sarum, west suburbs, trial trenches (based on sherd counts)

Saxo-Norman pottery types in Wiltshire

As for the rest, there is another wheelthrown type, circulating in the eleventh century, known as Cheddar-type ware, as identified at the Saxon royal palaces there but for which petrological analysis has suggested various sources either in the Blackdown Hills north of Taunton or in central or south Wiltshire.¹²

¹² P. A. Rahtz, *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar*, British Series, 65 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1979), fabric E, 313, 315; J. Allan, M. J. Hughes, and R. T. Taylor, 'Saxo-Norman Pottery in Somerset: Some Recent Research', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 154 (2010), 165–84; A. G. Vince, *The Medieval Ceramic Industry of the Severn Valley* (University of Southampton: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 1984), pp. 12–16 <https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/alanvince_eh_2010/downloads.cfm?archive=thesis>, ch. 11.

There are micaceous wares found across west Wiltshire from at least the eleventh century which have a possible source at Crockerton outside Warminster,¹³ where potters are mentioned in 1234 although the documentary reference implies that the industry was already in existence by the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁴ There is possibly another production site implied by the placename Potterne (called so in 1086).¹⁵

At the same time oolitic wares were circulating in north Wiltshire and beyond, as far as Chepstow in south Wales, and possibly originating in the Minety area from at least the twelfth century, although it is possible that similar wares were also being made elsewhere in the area.¹⁶ There are flint-gritted and chalk-/flint-gritted wares, known as Kennet valley or Newbury wares, found across a wide area of west Berkshire, north-east Wiltshire, north Hampshire and south Oxfordshire from the eleventh century onwards and probably made at a number of sources of which one, based on place-name evidence, may have been in the Savernake Forest near Marlborough while another has been excavated just to the south of Newbury.¹⁷ Other flint-gritted and chalk-tempered wares appear to form part of a wider ceramic tradition seen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries across Hampshire and Wiltshire.¹⁸

All these wares apart from Minety-type oolitic wares were found in the Old Sarum trial trenches. The majority of the assemblage, however, is made up of coarse sandy wares, often scratch-marked (Figure 7.3). Now known as Wessex coarsewares, these were the precursors to the coarsewares made at the later Laverstock kilns (see below) and almost certainly made in the vicinity of Old Sarum. It is indeed possible that a production centre was established at Laverstock at this period, a site that had the benefit of proximity to water, coppice wood (from Clarendon forest) and a good clay source, as well as location on the main Salisbury to Southampton thoroughfare. Although pits dated to the twelfth century were excavated amongst the thirteenth/early fourteenth-century kilns, there is no definitive evidence for pottery production at this date, but the excavated kilns almost certainly formed part of a larger complex extending to the south of the Salisbury to Southampton road; fieldwalking has picked up pottery production waste in this area.¹⁹ There is also the somewhat enigmatic *Domesday* reference to a small manor (½ hide) at Milford, held by Humphrey de Lille's tenant Jocelin²⁰. It is quite a jump from a statement of land holding to a suggestion of pottery production, but this was an unusually small holding for a Frenchman, and the possibility that it was used for some specific purpose, indeed an industrial purpose, should perhaps be acknowledged.

¹³ Smith, pp. 20–29.

¹⁴ Le Patourel, p. 105.

¹⁵ F. M. Stenton, A. Mawer, and J. E. B. Gover, *The Place-Names of Wiltshire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), p. 244.

¹⁶ Vince, *The Medieval Ceramic Industry of the Severn Valley*; C. A. Ireland, 'The Pottery', in *Cirencester Anglo-Saxon Church and Medieval Abbey*, ed. by D. J. Wilkinson, A. McWhirr, and R. B., Cirencester Excavations/Cotswold Archaeological Trust, 4 (Cirencester: Cotswold Archaeological Trust, 1998), pp. 98–140.

¹⁷ A. G. Vince, 'Excavations at Nos 143–5 Bartholomew Street, 1979', in *Excavations in Newbury, Berkshire 1979–1990*, ed. by A. G. Vince and others (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Report 13, 1997), pp. 7–85 (pp. 64–65); L. Mephram, 'Enborne Street and Wheatlands Lane: Medieval Pottery', in *Technical Reports Supporting Birbeck, V., Archaeological Investigations on the A34 Newbury Bypass, Berkshire/Hampshire, 1991–7*, ed. by M. J. Allen et al. (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology, 2000), pp. 52–66.

¹⁸ e.g. Powell and others.

¹⁹ A. J. Langlands, pers. comm., 2022.

²⁰ See Lewis, this volume.

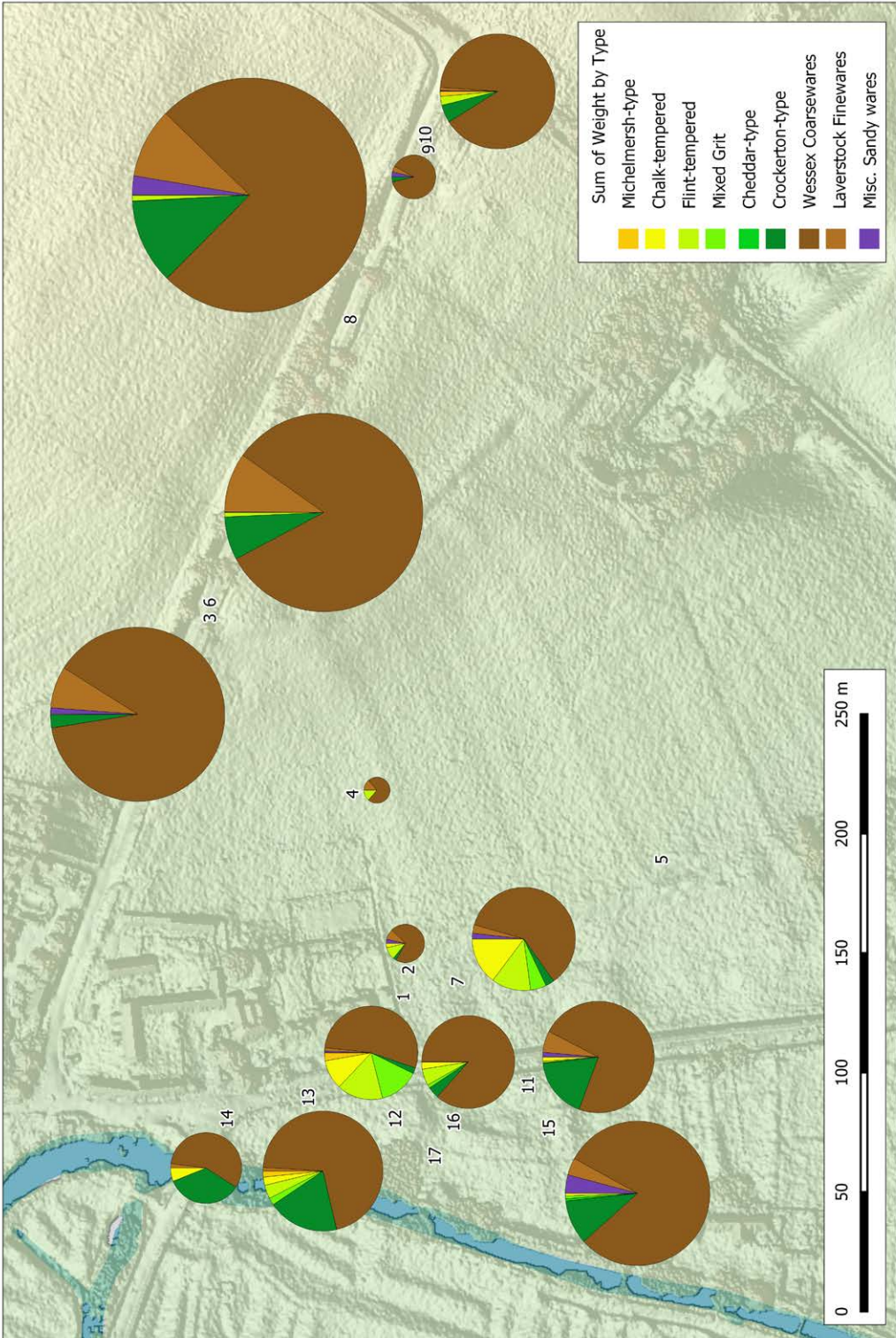


Figure 7.4: Ware proportions from trial trenches at Old Sarum (based on sherd counts)

Wessex coarsewares seem to have appeared in the area sometime in the eleventh century, probably pre-Conquest, but may have been a continuation of an earlier ware tradition across south-east Wiltshire and east Dorset possibly going back as early as the mid-Saxon period.²¹ Even allowing for the probable inclusion of (and impossibility of distinguishing) post-twelfth-century Wessex coarsewares in the Old Sarum assemblage (see above), the predominance of this ware type is clear. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the older settlement were apparently supplied with a range of pottery types from sources across a wide area of Wessex, both local and more distant, and this seems to be the case for other settlements of the period across Wiltshire and beyond, with a broad overlap in distribution areas between the different types.

The typical repertoire of vessel forms for the period is relatively limited – jars or cooking pots are the most common, supplemented by bowls and dishes, pitchers, generally spouted, and the occasional lamp. The range of sources is not reflected in the range of vessel forms made, as each source was producing more or less the same type of pots. These few vessel forms could have supplied all needs within the basic domestic sphere of food storage, preparation and serving, with some vessels probably fulfilling more than one function.

Saxo-Norman pottery sequence at Old Sarum

Is it possible to say anything more about the sequence of pottery at Old Sarum? The fixed point here is the coin of William I, found at the bottom of a cesspit by Stone and Charlton, which gives a *terminus post quem* for the contents.²² Pottery from the cesspit included scratch-marked Wessex coarsewares, the Laverstock precursors; it is impossible from the published descriptions or illustrations to tell if any other ware types were present.

The data from the recent trial trenches in the western suburb expands the sequence, within certain limitations (Figure 7.4). The ware types in the pie charts are arranged as far as possible in chronological order, bearing in mind the fact that it is impossible to date the bulk of the Wessex coarsewares closely, only to pick out one or two more diagnostic vessel forms, and the group thus potentially spans the whole period from eleventh to thirteenth century and beyond. However, it is possible to see that the wares that might be expected to date within a range of tenth to eleventh century (including Michelmersh and Cheddar-type wares) appear to concentrate in an area on the alluvial plain, close to the crossing of the river Avon. Trial trenches further up the hill, towards the west gate of the hillfort and in the area of the canons' closes, showed virtually no evidence of these earlier wares, and were dominated by Wessex coarsewares. They did, however, contain both micaceous Crockerton-type wares and Laverstock finewares, suggesting that they spanned the twelfth to thirteenth centuries.

Laverstock and the later pottery sequence

Settlement at Old Sarum undoubtedly continued into the thirteenth century, but from the early part of the century, the supply of ceramics changed quite dramatically in the Salisbury area (Figure 7.5). The new town was founded in the 1220s and was supplied by the production centre at Laverstock outside the city to the east, where ten thirteenth–early fourteenth-

²¹ L. Mephram, 'Town and Country: Production and Distribution of Laverstock-Type Wares', *Medieval Ceramics*, 39 (2018), 17–28.

²² Stone and Charlton, p. 180.

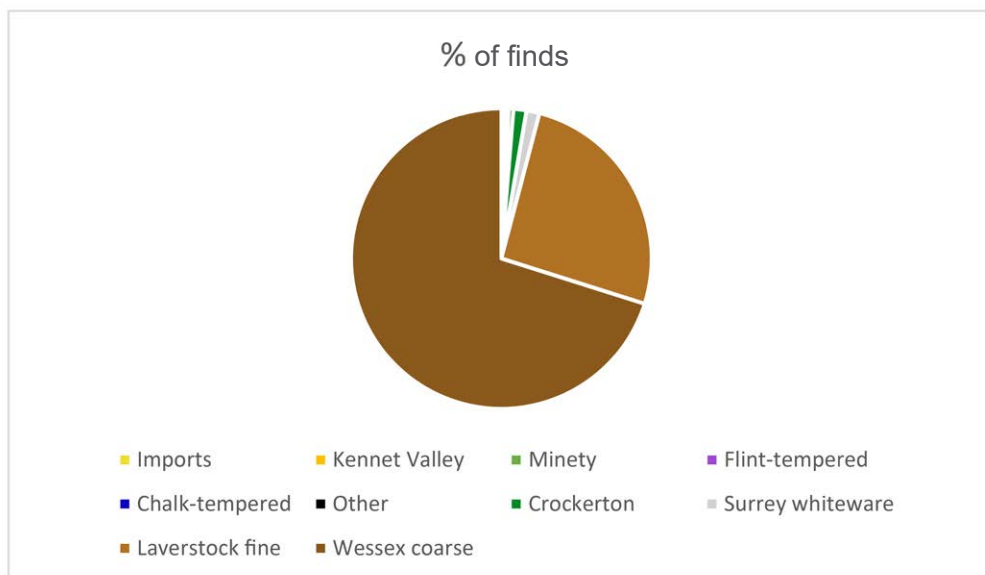


Figure 7.5: Proportions of ware types from sites in Salisbury

century kilns have so far been excavated, although there were almost certainly more.²³ The main stimulus for the establishment of the kilns in the thirteenth century (possibly as a development of an earlier industry – see above) was undoubtedly the demand from the new city, but there was another important consumer – the palace of Clarendon a little further to the east, where Henry III was making extensive embellishments from the 1230s.²⁴ In fact, Laverstock was well situated to serve both town and palace, roughly midway between Salisbury and Clarendon.

From this point onwards, the Laverstock potters cornered the market in south Wiltshire. Across the sites excavated in the city, Laverstock wares (both coarse and fine) make up approximately 95% of the total pottery found (Figure 7.5), using data from Wessex Archaeology projects.²⁵ Other sources were squeezed out. These included the micaceous Crockerton-type wares, the flint-gritted and chalk/-flint-gritted wares possibly being made in the Savernake Forest, and the oolitic Minety-type wares from the north of the county (Figure 7.6). One other kiln centre is known at this period at Nash Hill, Lacock, and these wares have not so far been recognised from the city at all.

The basic repertoire of vessel remains more or less unchanged from the Saxo-Norman period – jugs for serving drink at the table; jars and dishes, some with added handles, for kitchen wares (Figure 7.7). The jars are still scratch-marked (Figure 7.8). The earliest jugs are of a ‘baggy’ form reminiscent of the earlier spouted pitchers, but from the middle of the thirteenth

²³ J. W. G. Musty, D. J. Algar, and P. F. Ewence, ‘The Medieval Pottery Kilns at Laverstock, near Salisbury, Wiltshire’, *Archaeologia*, 102 (1969), 83–150.

²⁴ T. Beaumont-James and C. Gerrard, ‘Clarendon Park: Landscape of Kings’ (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2007), pp. 76–84.

²⁵ Mepham, ‘Town and Country’, table 1.

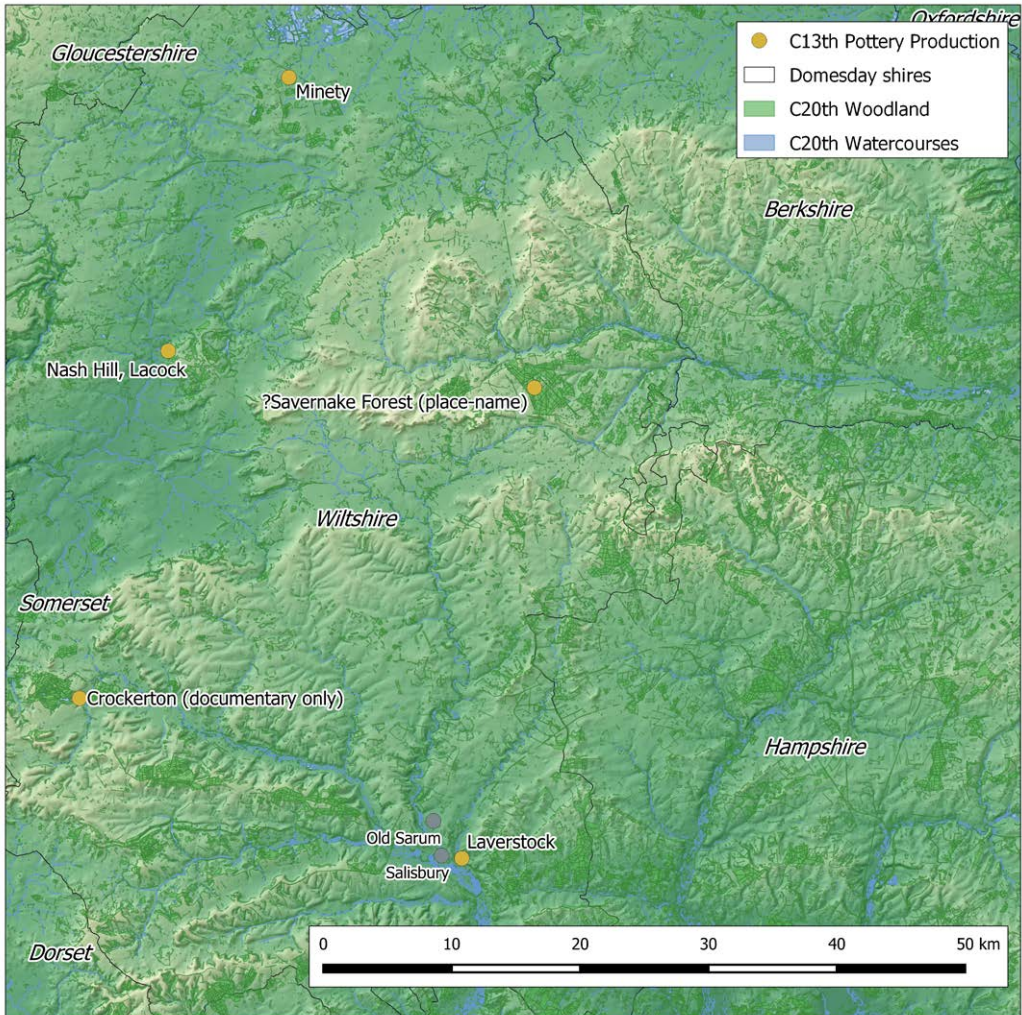


Figure 7.6: Map of production and consumer sites in Wessex, thirteenth century onwards

century they show a new vibrancy in the use of coloured slips and glazes. More importantly, there is now a distinction between the fineware jugs and the kitchen wares in terms of the clay that was used in their manufacture. Jugs were made using a fine clay, smooth to the touch and typically firing to a pale pink to cream colour. The kitchen wares are found in the same coarser sandy fabrics that were in use earlier. In other words, although the same sources of clay were being exploited, the clay was being treated differently to produce different vessel forms.

It was not just in decorated jugs that the Laverstock potters showed innovation – a range of new forms was added to the basic jug-jar-dish repertoire: skillets and pipkins (more specialized cooking vessels), bottles, curfews or fire-covers, aquamaniles (water carriers), costrels (to hold and transport beverages), more lamps. There were undoubtedly outside

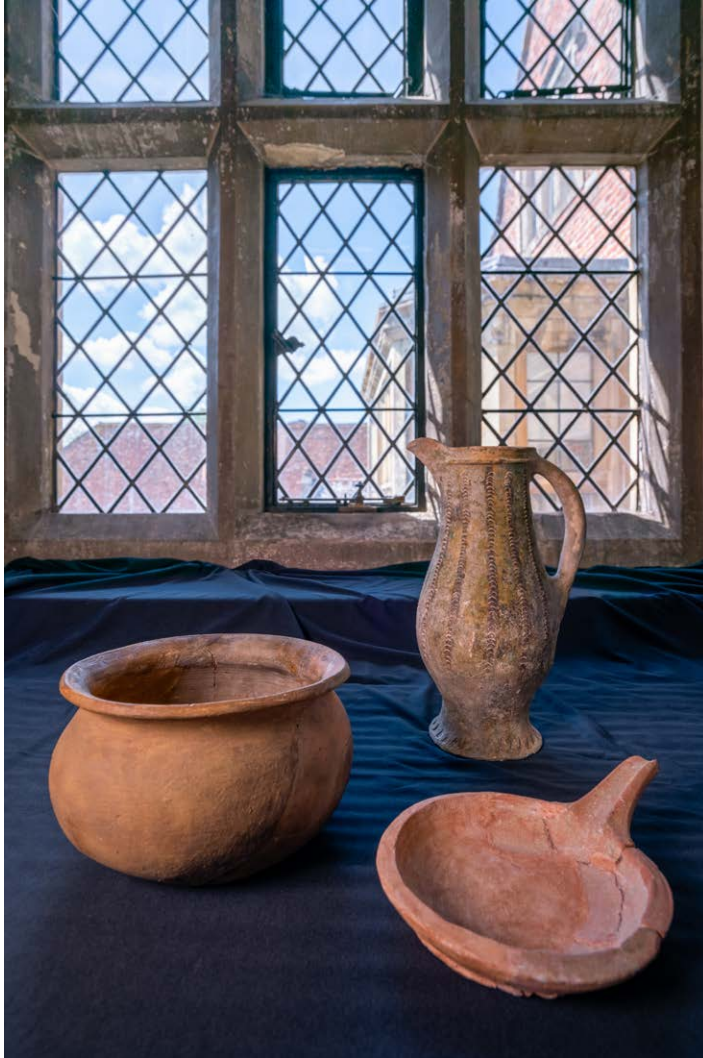


Figure 7.7: Typical Laverstock vessel forms: jar, jug and skillet
(© Wessex Archaeology)

influences on these changes. The deliberate use and treatment of pale-firing clays, and the use of elaborate coloured slip decoration, seen in many pottery industries across southern England in the thirteenth century, took their ultimate inspiration from pottery imported from France. Interestingly, and somewhat paradoxically, there is practically no evidence for the presence of any continental imports in Salisbury, although small quantities have been recorded from Clarendon Palace. The absence of imports in Salisbury is all the more surprising given the growing mercantile basis of the new city, which had close links with the major port of Southampton. These links were apparently not reflected in an influx of exotic ceramics,



Figure 7.8: Laverstock scratch-marked jar (© Wessex Archaeology)

despite the written evidence of the Southampton Port Books which list consignments of pots transported from the port to Salisbury.²⁶ Where did those pots go?

Ideas and pots were nevertheless moving, and possibly also potters, and although there is nothing to suggest anything other than indigenous development at Laverstock, there remains the possibility that the existing industry which (it is assumed) was based somewhere around Old Sarum or possibly Laverstock, received renewed invigoration through the arrival of a potter or potters from elsewhere, possibly coming in the train of Henry III's extensive renovations at Clarendon Palace, to equip the industry to supply not just the new town but also the royal palace.²⁷

Discussion

So, what are the reasons behind these changes? There are probably a number of factors at play here, but essentially it probably boils down to two interconnected strands - the changing economic role of potting and the rise of markets. Between the tenth and twelfth centuries most pottery industries were small scale and were rurally based; they may have functioned without a permanent kiln and so would have left little or no trace in the archaeological record. Manufacture was almost entirely by hand - the wheel was probably only adopted by potters who obtained a large proportion of their income from potting;²⁸ rural potters would almost certainly have spent most of their time in agricultural activities and merely supplemented their income with potting. The exception to this pattern at this period was Michelmersh,

²⁶ D. H. Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton, C1066-1510*, Southampton Archaeology Monographs, 8 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2002), p. 132, table 24.

²⁷ Musty, Algar, and Ewence, p. 145.

²⁸ A. G. Vince, 'The Medieval Pottery Industry in Southern England: 10th to 13th Centuries', in *Production and Distribution: A Ceramic Viewpoint*, ed. by H. Howard and E. Morris, International Series, 120 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1981), pp. 309-22 (p. 314).

which operated in the late tenth to eleventh century entirely on wheel technology. But this industry is so alien within what was going on elsewhere in Wessex at the time that it may have had other origins – possibly started by an immigrant potter or potters from the Continent. As the industry supplied Winchester there may well have been royal or other high-status patronage involved.

In the prevailing model of pottery supply at this period, the typical industry prior to the thirteenth century supplied an area of around 10 miles in diameter or less, with a few supplying an area of up to 30 miles in diameter.²⁹ However, the pattern did not remain static. By the eleventh century there were a number of industries operating across the West Country, to begin with mostly small-scale (maybe just one or two potters) but over the period from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, the numbers of potteries gradually declined and potters increasingly grouped together into communities to produce for the market.³⁰ This is implied by the *Domesday* reference to Westbury, and by the documentary reference to Crockerton, where there were 23 potential potters in 1234.³¹ Distribution areas, which at the beginning of the period were limited and more or less mutually exclusive, gradually widened and overlapped more, but communities probably relied largely on local supplies, except for higher quality wares. Throughout, tablewares in general travelled further than coarsewares – for example, tripod pitchers thought to have been made in the vicinity of Old Sarum have been recorded in Bristol and even Dublin.³²

The actual methods of marketing pottery at this time are uncertain. Sale in the local market must always have been the most common distribution method, although beyond the immediately local area it is likely that much of the distribution, both for commissions and for general sale, would have been by carting, a method still used by the Verwood pottery industry of Dorset into the early twentieth century.³³ There could also have been sale at point of manufacture or, alternatively, there could have been some input by external entrepreneurs buying the products of individual potters – this could explain the wider spread of the higher quality wares.³⁴

One of the problems we have to contend with here is that for the earlier period, prior to the thirteenth century, it is not always obvious whether we are dealing with the products of a single source, or a ceramic tradition, in which very similar wares might be produced at several points over a wide area, by potters all using similar resources and working in a similar style. A wide distribution is not a certain indicator of large-scale centralized production, as indeed can be seen in the post-medieval Verwood industry of east Dorset.

However, from the ceramic record it is clear that the biggest shift in pottery production in the Salisbury area came with the establishment of the Laverstock kilns (or a marked upscaling of an existing industry) in the thirteenth century, where a sizeable community of potters can be inferred from the number of kilns, even if these operated over perhaps a century. These were

²⁹ Vince, 'The Medieval Pottery Industry in Southern England', p. 313.

³⁰ Vince, 'The Medieval Pottery Industry in Southern England', p. 319.

³¹ Le Patourel, p. 105.

³² Vince, *The Medieval Ceramic Industry of the Severn Valley*, section 2.5.13

³³ J. Draper and P. Copland-Griffiths, *Dorset Country Pottery: The Kilns of the Verwood District* (Ramsbury, Marlborough, Wiltshire: Crowood Press, 2002), pp. 101–2.

³⁴ Vince, 'The Medieval Pottery Industry in Southern England', p. 319.

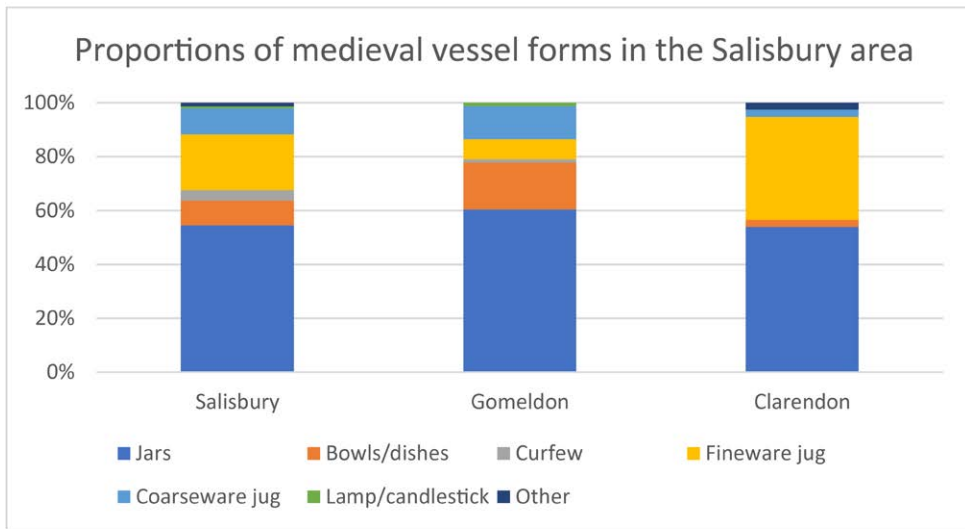


Figure 7.9: Proportions of medieval vessel forms in the Salisbury area

more permanent structures in the form of updraught kilns, either single-flue or double-flue. This coincides with a general shift in production across the West Country in the late twelfth to early thirteenth century and also happens to be the period in which market grants were most numerous – Salisbury’s market charter was granted in 1227. There was at one time a ‘potrewe’ in the market, presumably where potters offered their wares for sale; today it is part of Ox Row on the south side of the marketplace.³⁵ The big increase in markets made distribution easier and meant that more than one market was available for each potter and, conversely, that each market was available to a number of surrounding potteries.³⁶

One reason for potters grouping together could have been to exploit the new expanding market. This in turn could have provided the necessary conditions to allow specialization, the adoption of new technology (such as the wheel) and experimentation – which we can see in the proliferation of new types of pottery vessels. Interestingly, however, it seems that wheel technology was not universally used at Laverstock, or it may be that it was not used from the start but only introduced a little later. Some vessels are definitely handmade, and some appear to combine hand manufacture with perhaps the use of a turntable.

There may not have been imported pots in Salisbury, but certainly the proportion of tablewares in use in the city is high – across the sites dug by Wessex Archaeology the proportion is around 25% (Figure 7.9). In contrast, the proportion from Gomeldon, a deserted medieval village 4.5 miles north-east of Salisbury, occupied from the twelfth to thirteenth and probably early fourteenth century, is 5%.³⁷ The range of vessel forms from the latter site is also much more restricted than in the city. To look at the other extreme, Clarendon Palace has an even higher

³⁵ Musty and others, p. 136.

³⁶ Le Patourel, p. 119.

³⁷ J. W. G. Musty and D. J. Algar, ‘Excavations at the Deserted Medieval Village of Gomeldon, near Salisbury’, *WANHM*, 80 (1986), 127–69; Mephram, ‘Town and Country’, Fig. 4.

proportion of fineware vessels than Salisbury, but that might be expected on such a high-status site.

This is a very simplistic contrast using just one rural site and a royal palace, but it could be taken in support of the notion that there is a distinction between medieval urban and rural material culture, a distinction by which urban inhabitants chose luxury items (relying on the local market) while the rural population were more likely to purchase household assets in order to generate surplus. In this scenario, the inhabitants of rural and urban sites had differing ceramic requirements – the rural population needed pots for food preparation and storage (i.e. purely functional forms), whereas the urban population also required tablewares.

However, this theory is debatable, and the situation was almost certainly more complex than this, as Paul Courtney has pointed out. A number of factors might have affected an individual's acquisition of portable goods including (but not restricted to) ceramics, including economic factors (standard of living, purchasing power); the cost of an item (and competing items, e.g. metalwork); and the choice available in the marketplace (greater in larger urban centres). A relative lack of objects could just reflect distance from markets and cultural differences rather than poverty. Even highly decorated wares could have been affordable by a wide range of the population.³⁸

A recent survey of escheators' inventories from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries of the goods and chattels of 'felons' (which could include suicides and those fleeing accusations of crime as well as those convicted) supports the idea of consumer choice, and a blurring of the distinction between 'urban' and 'rural' culture. The survey showed that the rural population did occasionally invest their disposable income in luxury goods (e.g. metal vessels) – peasants did have some spending power.³⁹

To conclude, the evidence from Old Sarum and Salisbury provides an opportunity to examine the changing role of potters and their products from the Late Saxon period to the thirteenth century, from small-scale manufacture of a limited and largely utilitarian repertoire, supplied from a number of sources, to the predominance of a large-scale industry supplying a range of vessel forms but with a suggestion of differentiation in marketing to the various levels of society. There is still much research to be done, particularly for the period between the tenth and twelfth centuries, but it is hoped that this paper will provide a small contribution towards that.

³⁸ P. Courtney, 'Ceramics and the History of Consumption: Pitfalls and Prospects', *Medieval Ceramics*, 21 (1997), 95–108 (p. 99).

³⁹ B. Jervis, C. Briggs, and M. Tompkins, 'Exploring Text and Objects: Escheators' Inventories and Material Culture in Medieval English Rural Households', *Medieval Archaeology*, 59.1 (2015), 168–92 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00766097.2015.1119400>>.

Chapter Eight

Salisbury's medieval city: a summary of the archaeological evidence of this planned settlement and the foundation of St Thomas's Church

Phil Harding and Brett Howard

Introduction

Salisbury constituted one of the wealthiest cities of medieval England,¹ however, study of its archaeological deposits has lagged behind that of many other cathedral cities, most notably York,² Winchester,³ and Exeter.⁴ Surveys of extant buildings in Salisbury have acknowledged that large parts of the medieval city remain preserved beneath plots that have been redeveloped.⁵ These studies stress that much of the missing narrative can be filled through results of archaeological excavations.

Salisbury's archaeological story was founded on work by the Salisbury Museum Archaeology Rescue Group (SMARG). This body undertook invaluable work to salvage the city's archaeological heritage during the construction of the Inner Ring Road (Figure 8.1) in the late 1960s and early 1970s where the route overlay the line of the medieval ramparts on the east side of the city.⁶ More formal approaches to the discipline were adopted in the 1980s and early 1990s when a series of excavations, primarily concentrated in the Trinity Chequer (Figure 8.1),

¹ J. Chandler, *Endless Street: A History of Salisbury and Its People* (Salisbury: Hobnob Press, 1983); R. Britnell, 'The Economy of British Towns 600–1300', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. by D. M. Palliser, 1st edn (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 105–26 (p. 124), Table 6.3 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521444613.007>>.

² R. A. Hall, H. MacGregor, and M. Stockwell, *The Medieval Walled City North-East of the Ouse Medieval Tenements in Aldwark, and Other Sites*, *The Archaeology of York*, Fasc. 2: Vol. 10. (London: Council for British Archaeology for the York Archaeological Trust, 1988); J. D. Richards, C. Heighway, and S. Donaghey, *Union Terrace: Excavations in the Horsefair*, *The Archaeology of York: The Medieval Defences and Suburbs*, 1 (London: Council for British Archaeology for the York Archaeological Trust, 1989), 11/1.

³ B. W. Cunliffe, *Winchester Excavations, 1949–1960*, *Winchester Excavations, 1949–1960* (Winchester: Museums & Libraries Committee, 1964); M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester 1967: Sixth Interim Report', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 48.2 (1968), 250–84 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003581500034910>>; M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester, 1971: Tenth and Final Interim Report: Part I', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 55.1 (1975), 96–126 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003581500035514>>; M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester, 1971: Tenth and Final Interim Report: Part II', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 55.2 (1975), 295–337 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003581500008258>>; P. Ottaway, *Winchester: An Archaeological Assessment Swithun's 'City of Happiness and Good Fortune'* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2017); P. Ottaway and K. E. Qualmann, *Winchester's Anglo-Saxon, Medieval and Later Suburbs: Excavations 1971–86* (Winchester: Hampshire Cultural Trust, 2018).

⁴ *Roman and Medieval Exeter and Their Hinterlands: From Isca to Excester*, ed. by S. Rippon and N. Holbrook, Exeter: A Place in Time, 1, Hardback (Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2021); *Studies in the Roman and Medieval Archaeology of Exeter*, ed. by S. Rippon and N. Holbrook, Exeter: A Place in Time, 2, Hardback (Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2021).

⁵ RCHME, *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury. Vol. 1* (London: HMSO, 1980).

⁶ D. J. Algar and P. Saunders, 'A Medieval Pottery Kiln in Salisbury, Wiltshire', *WANHM*, 107 (2014), 146–55; P. Saunders and D. J. Algar, 'Medieval Salisbury: New Light on Its Eastern Defences', *WANHM*, 108 (2015), 119–32; P. Saunders and D. J. Algar, 'Excavations of a Medieval Brazier's Well in Milford Street', *WANHM*, 110 (2017), 191–202.

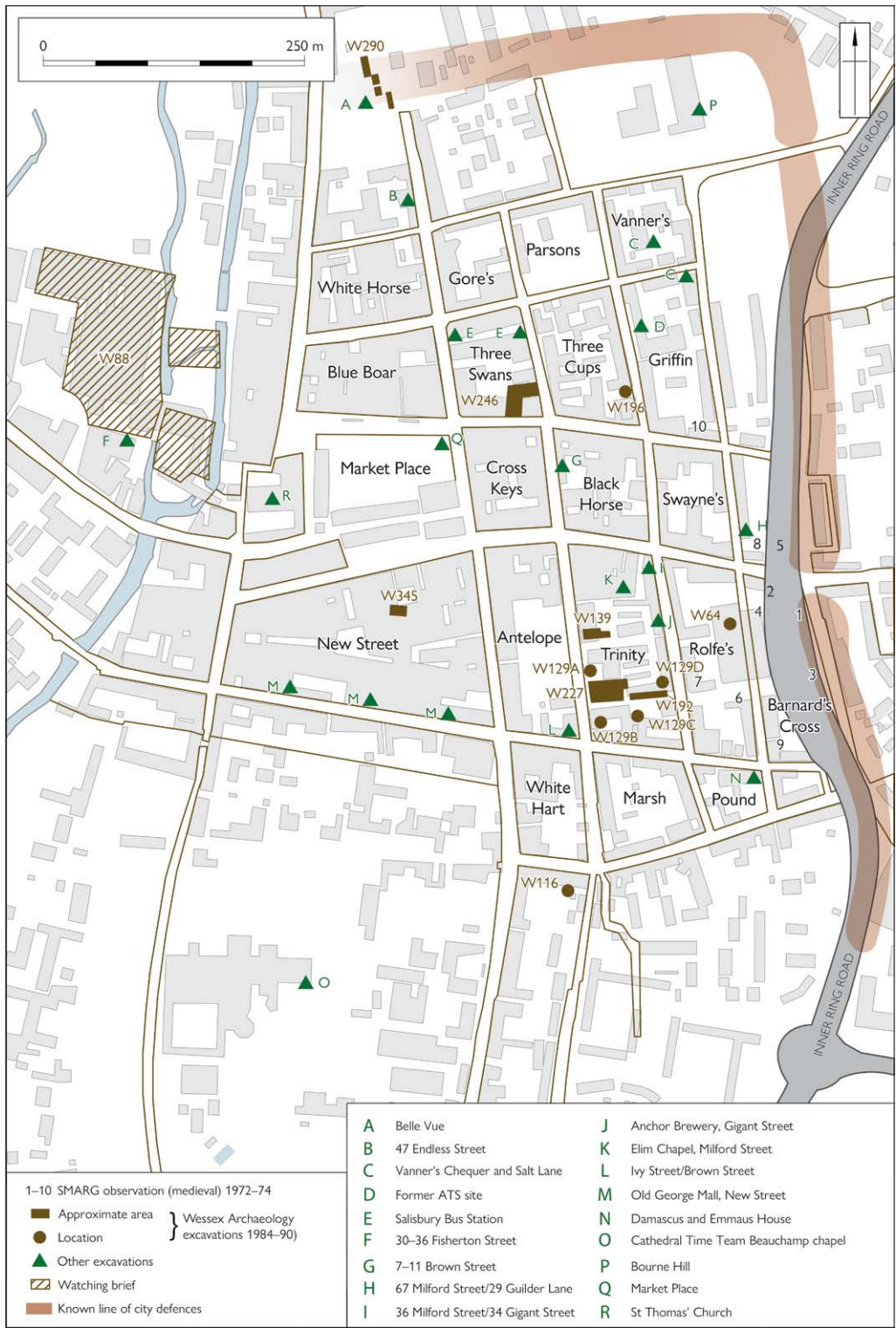


Figure 8.1: Map of archaeological interventions in Salisbury (1970s onwards)

were undertaken by the Manpower Services Commission, a government sponsored project to get the long-term unemployed back into work.⁷

The archives from these excavations have now been supplemented by results of subsequent archaeological fieldwork, which have revealed a diverse pattern of development within the city.⁸ This paper discusses how medieval Christian doctrine may have influenced the foundation of the city and summarises how archaeological results, including new data relevant to the foundation of St Thomas's church, can help to reconstruct the appearance of the medieval city.

Early settlement and foundation

Salisbury was founded on the floodplain of the River Avon which formed part of a Saxon estate. This rural landscape was dotted with hamlets, farmsteads and associated cemeteries on adjacent flanking terraces.⁹ Traces of Saxon activity are, in consequence, limited to outlying parts of the city which is largely located on the floodplain.¹⁰ A small Saxon settlement may have existed at the river crossing adjacent to the Bishop's Mill, an idea that has been expanded to include the suggestion that a Saxon minster occupied the site of the later St Thomas's church.¹¹ The distribution of excavations across the city is not exhaustive and has produced only minimal evidence of possible occupation, from the New Street frontage, within the medieval boundaries before the thirteenth century. Two isolated sherds of fifth to eighth century date, which were thought might be from yard surfaces but also possibly from subsequent medieval make-up deposits, were found in a trench at the west end of the street while a ditch or gully was found at the east end of the street. The ditch was undated but was thought may predate the medieval city owing to its oblique line to the present street frontage.¹² Assemblages containing slightly increased quantities of Saxo-Norman pottery have been suggested from excavations at Culver Street,¹³ possibly linked to settlement near St

⁷ P. Harding, *Joining the Dots: Uniting Salisbury's Past through Holes in the Ground*, Wessex Archaeology Occasional Paper (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Ltd, 2022). Detailed summary reports on all of the excavations that have taken place in Salisbury since 1980 can be found here: <https://www.wessexarch.co.uk/our-work/salisbury-sites-40-years-wessex-archaeology-excavations>

⁸ B. Barber, 'The Development of Trinity Chequer: Excavations at the Anchor Brewery Site, Gigant Street, Salisbury', *WANHM*, 98 (2005), 165–212; C. Butterworth, 'Excavations at Old George Mall, Salisbury', *WANHM*, 98 (2005), 236–46; C. Butterworth, 'Notes on Small-Scale Archaeological Excavations in Salisbury: Elim Chapel and 69 Greencroft Street', *WANHM*, 98 (2005), 247–49; C. Butterworth, 'Archaeological Recording at the Plumbery, Salisbury Cathedral', *WANHM*, 98 (2005), 281–84; C. K. Currie and N. S. Rushton, 'An Archaeological Excavation at the Rear of 36 Milford Street/34 Gigant Street, Salisbury', *WANHM*, 98 (2005), 213–35; G. Chaffey and R. Fitzpatrick, 'St Edmund's College, Salisbury: New Evidence for Medieval Origins and Post-Medieval Development at the Council House, Bourne Hill', *WANHM*, 108 (2015), 143–58; P. Harding, 'Excavations in Vanner's and Griffin Chequers, Salisbury: A Study of Urban Development', *WANHM*, 109 (2016), 143–72; N. Garland, M. Nichol, and J. Chandler, 'A Summary Report on Medieval and Post-Medieval Activity at Salisbury Bus Station, Endless Street, Wiltshire', *WANHM*, 114 (2021), 148–68.

⁹ J. Y. Akerman, 'An Account of Excavations in an Anglo-Saxon Burial Ground at Harnham Hill, near Salisbury', *Archaeologia*, 35.2 (1854), 259–78 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S026134090002848>>; E. T. Leeds and H. de S. Shortt, *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Petersfinger, near Salisbury, Wiltshire* (Salisbury: South Wiltshire and Blackmore Museum, 1953); B. N. Eagles, D. J. Algar, and P. Saunders, 'Two Graves near Old Sarum: Further Insight into Early Anglo-Saxon Settlement around Salisbury', *WANHM*, 107 (2014), 28–43; P. Saunders and D. J. Algar, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Petersfinger, near Salisbury: An Additional Grave and Associated Settlement', *WANHM*, 113 (2020), 202–12.

¹⁰ S. Reynolds and A. Manning, 'Damascus and Emmaus Houses, 58 Barnard Street, Salisbury', *WANHM*, 106 (2013), 275–77.

¹¹ Chandler, pp. 22–27; A. J. Langlands, 'Placing the Burh in Searobyrg: Rethinking the Urban Topography of Early Medieval Salisbury', *WANHM*, 107 (2014), 91–105.

¹² Butterworth, 'Excavations at Old George Mall', pp. 238, 242.

¹³ L. Higbee and L. Mephram, 'Finds', in *Joining the Dots: Uniting Salisbury's Past through Holes in the Ground*, ed. by P.

Martin's church. Excavations across other parts of the city have shown that make-up layers, which formed necessary components to raise and consolidate the floodplain, have been found across the medieval city and contain pottery dating from the thirteenth century.

The lack of significant evidence from archaeological fieldwork for settlement that predates the medieval settlement across the floodplain suggests that the medieval city was planned on an essentially green field site. This provided a convenient blank canvas for the survey of the chequered grid and also for the system of water channels, which were an equally important component of the city plan, without the need to displace significant established communities.

The transmission of Salisbury cathedral from Old Sarum to its present location and the foundation of a new city is a well-rehearsed story. Archaeological fieldwork at Old Sarum in the early 20th century concentrated on the masonry of the regal chambers and the outline of the Norman cathedral, ignoring the inner urban and extra mural settlement. This omission has been partially redressed by subsequent research providing archaeological data that can be integrated into work reflecting the development of the medieval city. Relocating the ecclesiastical community undoubtedly necessitated prolonged planning and forethought to accommodate the cathedral, its satellite canonries and the urban settlement. The project to design the new city, initiated by the bishop, may well have incorporated elements of Christian belief to motivate and justify the move and imprint them into a residential framework. This approach may have involved fundamental principles of Christian iconography incorporating geometry on the undeveloped site.

Lilley stressed the importance of attempting to view the medieval city as it related to its residents.¹⁴ He recognised that the medieval urban landscapes contained elements, including geometry, that created both 'literal' and 'mystical mapping', likely to have provided 'spirit' to those who saw them. Frost, assessing the foundation of Salisbury, similarly discussed the influence of geometry on the medieval mind and its relationship to contemporary thinking.¹⁵ He endorsed concepts of lay and sacred geometry but stressed the difficulties of establishing where each formed the predominant component in any construction. He considered that discrepancies in the orientation of the city to that of the cathedral, an observation noted by Chandler, did not indicate the use of sacred geometry but advocated that lay geometry was principally responsible for the layout of the medieval city.¹⁶ However, he conceded that a relationship existed between the urban community, the cathedral and the spiritual world, an issue that could be resolved by religious processions through the streets that formed part of the Church calendar.

The most visual and imposing impression of order within the new city was given strength by the use of chequers to define the streets (Figure 8.2). Chandler acknowledged that the layout of square and rectangular chequers in Salisbury may have been heavily influenced by an existing road network which crossed at the west end of the market. This junction comprised a route aligned North to South along Castle Street from Old Sarum through High Street to

Harding, *Wessex Archaeology Occasional Paper* (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Ltd, 2022), pp. 67–99 (p. 73).

¹⁴ K. D. Lilley, 'Cities of God? Medieval Urban Forms and Their Christian Symbolism', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 29.3 (2004), 296–313 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0020-2754.2004.00229.x>>.

¹⁵ C. Frost, *Time, Space, and Order: The Making of Medieval Salisbury* (Oxford; New York: Peter Lang, 2009).

¹⁶ Chandler, p. 27.

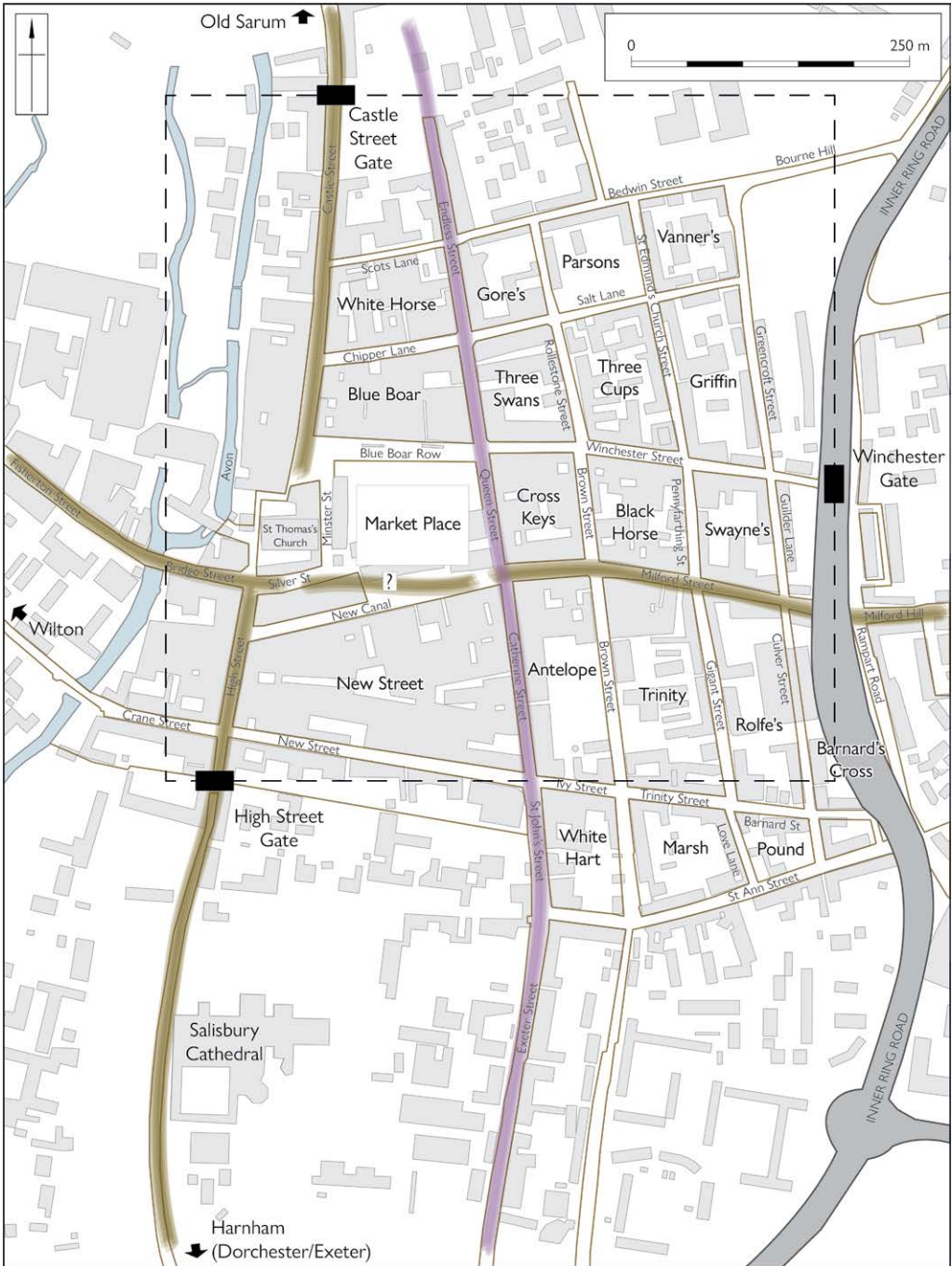


Figure 8.2: The Salisbury 'Chequers', a planned medieval gridded street system

Harnham which crossed the thoroughfare linking Wilton to Winchester. The latter may have been directed via Milford Hill through Clarendon Forest,¹⁷ or along Winchester Street, exiting through the Winchester Gate and proceeding north, a route that became possible after the formal symmetry of the city grid was established.¹⁸ Schofield and Vince, in contrast, considered that the arrangement and alignment of the city streets may also have been influenced by a pre-existing or intended water course system for the city.¹⁹

The chequers were composed of individual tenements, each measuring 7 x 3 perches, approximately 35 x 15 m, dimensions that were contained in a charter from Bishop Poore of 1225.²⁰ Many tenement boundaries remain fossilised in the layout of the city although others have been obliterated by subsequent urban infill. These divisions were repaired, replaced, subdivided or amalgamated throughout time. Naish's survey of 1716 shows that parcels of land measuring 7 perches (35 m) wide also featured along the west and north sides of the Close, providing a metrical link between the spiritual and civil parts of the city. These dimensions for individual tenements are apparently specific to Salisbury and could be determined and imposed by virtue of the blank canvas on which they were placed. Towns and cities elsewhere in Britain show considerable variations in tenement size according to the location and area available; property widths and lengths in Winchester were frequently determined by local demand and rarely exceeded 100 feet (30 m) in length while in Stratford-on-Avon tenements measured 60 (18 m) x 200 ft (60 m) in area.²¹ The use of primary numbers to define individual tenements in the city may seem anomalous, where more easily divisible combinations might have been more appropriate. However, 7 and 3 are two of the most significant and most frequently used numerals in Scripture, both conveying completeness.²² This spiritual connection suggests where input from religious sources and teaching may have entered the world of city planning.

Lilley made strong reference to the vision of a heavenly Jerusalem that was represented in symbolically circular form while acknowledging that the boundaries were defined as being 'four square' (Revelation 21:16) incorporating use of the cardinal points.²³ The geometric partnering of a square with the cardinal points was an established concept as is clear from the rectangular setting of the Station Stones at Stonehenge, which are linked to astronomical sightlines.²⁴ It is perfectly possible that these traditions were adopted and used by early Christian thinkers. The nave of St Thomas's church, which was built in a single phase of work

¹⁷ RCHME, p. xxxiii.

¹⁸ C. Daniell, pers. comm.

¹⁹ J. Schofield and A. G. Vince, *Medieval Towns: The Archaeology of British Towns in Their European Setting*, The Archaeology of Medieval Europe, 1100-1600, 2nd ed (London; New York: Continuum, 2003), p. 45.

²⁰ R. Benson and H. Hatcher, 'A Descriptive and Historical Account of Old and New Sarum, Or Salisbury', in *Modern History of South Wiltshire, Vol. 6, Part. 1*, ed. by R.C. Hoare (London: John Bowyer Nichols & Son, 1843), pp. 59-63 (p. 44); 'in longitudine septem perticas, in latitudine vero tres perticas', J. S. Davies, *The Tropenell Cartulary: Being the Contents of an Old Wiltshire Muniment Chest* (Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1908), p. 188, Cat. no. 245.

²¹ D. Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester, Part 1*, Winchester Studies, 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 181.

²² M. H. Farbridge, *Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism* (London: Keegan Paul, Trench & Trübner, 1923), p. 123 <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315011677>>.

²³ Lilley, pp. 300-301.

²⁴ C. Ruggles, 'Astronomy and Stonehenge', in *Science and Stonehenge*, ed. by B. W. Cunliffe and C. Renfrew, Proceedings of the British Academy, 92 (Oxford; New York: published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 203-29 (pp. 219-20).

c. 1400, similarly comprises a square with opposing doorways at the cardinal points. This cruciform arrangement, like that of the road crossing on which the church was superimposed, created the most potent symbol of Christian belief and replicated the vision at Chester as described in 1195 by Lucian who wrote of a city with:

two excellent straight streets, in the form of the blessed Cross, which through their meeting and crossing themselves, then make four out of two, their heads ending in four gates [and] in the middle of the city, in a position equal for all [God] willed there to be a market.²⁵

This ideological vision, drawing heavily on images of the heavenly Jerusalem,²⁶ may equally apply to many medieval towns and cities with a central market but may acquire additional credence where the central crossing, as at Salisbury, is marked by the parish church of St Thomas.

Chandler and Frost concur that a route running North to South along Endless Street to Exeter Street was added as a primary artery of the new city. Frost attributes its skewed orientation to an intention to align the new city symbolically to locations in the mother city at Old Sarum.²⁷ This alignment strongly influenced the final arrangement of chequers within the relocated city which nevertheless contain elements of symmetry. This is most apparent by the formal gates that were installed at the cardinal points in Salisbury, possibly replicating the symbolic Jerusalem. These gates comprised the Castle Street Gate, in the north, with a shared entry point into the Close, in the south, on the Old Sarum to Harnham thoroughfare. The Wyneman Gate, or Winchester Gate, occupied the mid-point of the east façade of the city. These correlations creating a skewed street pattern within a square, may have been fortuitous or intentional within an initial city plan. Chandler considered the possibility that the city was of two-phase construction and was enlarged to the north following the success of an initial building phase.²⁸ However, the intricate system of water channels that ran through the city suggest that the entire complex formed part of a single design.

The system of watercourses was supplied from the River Avon (Figure 8.3) and fed two forms of channel: a complex of surface watercourses and two deeper conduits, The Town Ditch and the Close Ditch. Despite the importance of the system, archaeological work has failed to locate or record any traces of the surface watercourses, the appearance of which is best reconstructed from documentary sources. Funnell, following an inquiry into the sewerage, drainage and water supply of the city, described open channels that were approximately 2 feet (0.60 m) in depth and width that ran along the pavement.²⁹ Archaeology has featured more successfully in observing The Town Ditch which ran through the city centre and the Close Ditch which followed the north and east sides of the Close.³⁰ The entire system may have

²⁵ D. M. Palliser, *Chester: Contemporary Descriptions by Residents and Visitors* (Chester: Council of the City of Chester, 1980), pp. 6–7; cited in Lilley, p. 300.

²⁶ Lilley, p. 300.

²⁷ Frost, Fig. 67.

²⁸ Chandler, pp. 22–25.

²⁹ T. W. Rammell, *Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage, and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the City and Borough of Salisbury, in the County of Wiltshire* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, for H.M.S.O., 1851).

³⁰ Wessex Archaeology, *Excavations in Salisbury: 1984–1990* (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology, 1992); Cambrian Archaeological Projects, *Church House, Salisbury, Wilts. Archaeological Evaluation* (Powys: Cambrian Archaeological

been conceived as a supplementary water supply for residents; however, it is clear that these channels ultimately served as open sewers creating a foul, polluted environment.

St. Thomas's Church

The project to relocate the city from Old Sarum undoubtedly included plans for a parish church. The earliest documented sources of an ecclesiastical building in Salisbury refer to a wooden chapel, which was probably located in the Close and where mass was celebrated on Trinity Sunday 1219.³¹ There is nothing to indicate whether this building was constructed entirely of timber or followed the design of many domestic buildings and was timber framed. No reference was made to a church in Bishop Poore's grant of 1228; however, a chapel, dedicated to St. Thomas and probably on the present site, was recorded in 1238.³² Subsequent documentary sources confirm that a building, by then listed as a church, was established by March 18th, 1248.³³

A study of timber churches in England noted that timber centres of worship, particularly chapels, were more prevalent before the eleventh century, but recognised that the practice persisted into the sixteenth century in Hampshire, Sussex and Surrey, making a comparable construction at Salisbury entirely plausible.³⁴ Timber churches were frequently conceived as chapels but were subsequently developed as churches when they received tithes and acquired rights to baptize and bury. Not all churches developed so systematically; however, a similar evolving sequence, from chapel, in 1238, to church, by 1248, largely follows that proposed by documentary evidence for St. Thomas's.

Haskins reconstructed the initial church as a cruciform building, with a nave which projected beneath the present church.³⁵ This thread was adopted by RCHME, who also considered that the bell tower formed a freestanding structure, akin to the bell tower at the cathedral. Tatton-Brown, in contrast, not only challenged the idea of a cruciform design and the concept of a separate bell tower, but also that any traces of the thirteenth century church survived at all. He conceded that a smaller nave, possibly with aisles, might be present beneath the footprint of the current nave and side chapels, which date, by common consent, from about 1400. The east end of the church, including the chancel arcades, was rebuilt and extended in the mid fifteenth century when the chancel and part of a side chapel collapsed in 1447 or early 1448. Tatton-Brown concluded that much remained to be clarified and speculated that 'archaeological excavation may one day uncover the plan' a wish that was partly addressed using Ground Penetrating Radar.³⁶

Survey in the chancel was relatively restricted but nevertheless revealed a series of linear anomalies (Figure 8.4). The responses could all be traced vertically from a point 0.40 m below

Projects, 2001).

³¹ T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury', *WANHM*, 90 (1997), 101–9.

³² RCHME, p. 24.

³³ *Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral, City, and Diocese of Salisbury, in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.*, ed. by W. D. Macray and W. H. Rich Jones (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1891), p. 315.

³⁴ M. Gardiner, 'Timber Churches in Medieval England: A Preliminary Study', in *Historic Wooden Architecture in Europe and Russia: Evidence, Study and Restoration*, ed. by E. Khodakovskiy and S. Skjold Lexau (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2016), pp. 28–41.

³⁵ C. Haskins, 'The Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Salisbury', *WANHM*, 36 (1909), 1–12.

³⁶ T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury', *WANHM*, 90 (1997), 101–9 (p. 102).



Figure 8.4: Ground penetrating radar undertaken in the chancel and nave of St Thomas's Church, Salisbury

Table 8.1: Comparative dimensions of Saxon and early medieval aisleless churches from Wiltshire and other parts of the country

Church	Date	Total length (m)	Total width (m)
Enscomb, Bishop Auckland	Saxon	16	4
St. George's, Harnham	12th	25	7
St. John's chapel, Harnham	1240	11	6
St. John's, Inglesham	13th	14	4
St. Andrews', Bemerton	14th	15	5
St. Thomas's, Salisbury	13th	20	5

the surface to a depth of approximately 1 m. The consistent, distinctive character and depths of these signals suggest that they represent wall lines defining former foundations, robbed out foundations or back-filled foundation trenches. The most definitive, 5000 and 5001, were aligned N-S across the side chapels adjoining the present chancel. They were approximately 6 m from the current east end and undoubtedly demarcated the wall line that collapsed in 1447/8. An additional anomaly, 5004, was offset across the present chancel approximately 2 m to the east of this line. Responses 5003 and 4007, on the E-W axis, were more speculative but were nevertheless sufficiently distinct to define a rectangle approximately 20 m long and 5 m wide beneath the present church. A possible return to the south, at the west end of response 4007 remains conjectural. Signals were obscured by stone slabs in the current nave floor. Despite these limitations, the responses, dimensions and alignment mirror those of comparable Saxon and early medieval aisleless churches from Wiltshire and other parts of the country (Table 8.1).³⁷

The discovery does nothing to determine whether the outline represents the documented chapel of 1238, the church of 1246 or whether they occupied the same footprint, as is possible. Nor can it exclude, on ground plan alone, whether this building may be of Langlands' conjectured pre-Conquest date.

Additional linear anomalies (5005, 5006, 5008), aligned E-W and with similar dimensions and depths, were also detected to the east of the 1447/8 east front which may relate to the subsequent disturbances resulting from the extension of the church after that date. Other unrelated rectangular anomalies, which produced distinct geophysical signatures that contrast with those of wall lines and foundations, undoubtedly represent graves.

Survey at the west end of the church revealed six well-defined responses of distinctly different form to those beneath the chancel. These anomalies were spaced approximately 4 m apart and c. 1.5 m across and were closely related to the symmetry and coincidental with the mid-axis of the nave. The anomalies became visible in the data approximately 0.85 m below the present ground surface and remained visible for a further 0.30 m. They have been interpreted as undated stone or brick post pads which supported free-standing columns for a timber, post-built structure or possibly post pads for timber scaffolding related to the late fifteenth century reconstruction of the church. Alternatively, a survey of St. Thomas's church by John

³⁷ A. Hamilton Thompson, *The Ground Plan of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911).

Lyons in 1745 shows the church with a post medieval gallery. The geophysical survey showed that the features are located across an underlying, slightly meandering palaeochannel, over 16 m wide in the upper part. These former river channels, created as the river migrated across the floodplain, often contain peat deposits and represent soft, unstable conditions for construction.³⁸ Such circumstances, when combined with inadequate foundations, may have accounted for the collapse of the east end of the chancel in 1447-8, similar to structural issues that beset Winchester cathedral throughout its history.

The creation of a new church serving St Edmund's parish in 1269 may have ensured that St Thomas's, although small, remained serviceable until the city was sufficiently well established and economically stable to fund construction of a larger place of worship in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Any redevelopment of the building may also have been delayed by the economic decline, plague and episodes of famine that devastated Britain and continental Europe throughout the fourteenth century. The eventual reconstruction included two side chapels, St Stephen's, now the Lady Chapel, on the south side of the chancel and the Godmanstone Chapel on the north.³⁹ It is uncertain whether these chapels were added c.1400 with the enlarged nave or may have been built in the late thirteenth century following the pattern at St. George's Church, Harnham. Haskins describes how, in 1410, George Meriot requested burial in the Dominican friary immediately west of the River Avon crossing, but provided benefactions to St Thomas's Church for use in St Stephen's Chapel which was already in need of repair. The absence of earlier foundations beneath the present nave suggests that the west end of the church was built on previously undeveloped land or on an area containing only insubstantial structures that could not be detected using radar.

The geophysical survey similarly found nothing to indicate a metallised surface or stone-lined water channel which may have represented the thoroughfare which has been projected to pass from Castle Street to the High Street. The results suggest that the deviation in the street plan around the east end of the church, along Minster Street and the installation of its associated water channel, formed an initial part of the planned city. The reason for this is unclear. It may have resulted from the need to by-pass an existing property containing structures that were predominantly or totally timber framed. Alternatively, it may relate to a grand plan for the bishop to commandeer a relatively spacious plot, extending into the Market Place, for an ultimately large church even if a less grandiose building preceded it.

Items of early Christian worship in Salisbury may also be represented by a tub font, made from Hurdcott stone and one of two redundant fonts at St Thomas's church (Figure 8.5). These distinctive items form one of the most frequently curated objects of church furniture.⁴⁰ Hurdcott stone comprises an easily worked Upper Greensand which weathers to a rich mellow colour.⁴¹ It was used extensively in the construction of Norman churches in Dorset and South Wiltshire, including the cathedral at Old Sarum, extending into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The font was originally used as a garden ornament before it came to its present location; however, the use of Hurdcott stone hints that it was originally from a church in the

³⁸ Wessex Archaeology, *30-36 Fisherton Street, Salisbury. Archaeological Watching Brief* (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology unpublished report, Ref: 206041.03), Fig. 2.

³⁹ Daniell, pers. comm.

⁴⁰ H. de S. Shortt, 'Two Wiltshire Fonts in South Australia', *WANHM*, 59 (1964), 168-69.

⁴¹ Historic England, *Strategic Stone Study. A Building Stone Atlas of Wiltshire*. (London: British Geological Survey, 2011).



Figure 8.5: The tub font of Hurdcott stone formerly located outside the south door of St Thomas's Church, Salisbury

locality. The continued use of the material into the thirteenth century makes it possible that it was from the first church of St Thomas's although it is more probable that any font would have been made from Chilmark limestone, the preferred material for the new cathedral. A more likely, but unprovable, scenario is that it was relocated from a church at Old Sarum, of which the churches of St. John, the Holy Cross and St. Peter were established by the thirteenth century but were systematically deconsecrated as the population and status of Old Sarum declined.⁴²

The city

The church strongly influenced the administration of a bustling, vibrant city with thriving population and economy. Buildings, representing domestic, industrial, commercial, ecclesiastical and civic functions, were ultimately constructed within the chequers; traces of these buildings, have now been observed during routine archaeological investigations. The pace of infill is often difficult to establish although make-up layers across the city consistently contain pottery of thirteenth – fourteenth-century date. This suggests that expansion was relatively rapid, meeting an urge to make the new city economically viable at the earliest

⁴² J. W. G. Musty and P. A. Rahtz, 'The Suburbs of Old Sarum', *WANHM*, 59 (1964), 130–54 (pp. 131–33).

opportunity. Affluent owners acquired tenements with the highest economic value around the Market Place, along the principal access routes entering and exiting the city, and on corner locations. Less wealthy sections of the community adopted less strategic and outlying chequers. Parts of these peripheral chequers apparently remained undeveloped until the fifteenth or sixteenth century.⁴³

Salisbury contained two distinct styles of architecture. Buildings in the Close were constructed from the outset on robust foundations with stone superstructures, in contrast with the timber framed buildings that predominated in the city. Barber has argued that the ephemeral nature of some of the earliest foundations has created uncertainty about whether the initial buildings in Salisbury, may have been constructed using posts and cill beams or were 'entirely of clay and timber construction' like those noted in Newbury and Winchester, or were founded on shallow mortared flint dwarf walls from the beginning.⁴⁴ Above ground, it remains unclear whether the timber framed buildings were of one, as argued by Barber or two storey construction. Jettied buildings appeared in medieval London in 1246 and spread rapidly across England from these origins.⁴⁵ Extant buildings with jetties of fourteenth-century date in Salisbury indicate that the design probably appeared at or soon after the initial phase of building in the city.

The visual appearance of the city can be reconstructed using data from archaeological excavations in collaboration with cartographic record compiled by William Naish in 1716 and building types documented by Ralph Treswell in London during the early seventeenth century.⁴⁶ Naish, like Treswell, observed cities that had remained largely unchanged from the medieval period before significant redevelopment had commenced. Naish's survey depicts buildings using two distinct and contrasting conventions (Figure 8.6). Buildings with potentially wealthy occupants, around the Market Place and city centre, corner tenements of the principal chequers and along the main access routes, are shown as more complex forms with ranges extending from the street frontage, with some examples arrayed around central courtyards. In contrast, tenements which occupy the reverse aspect of these central chequers and the more outlying chequers, are shown as continuous terrace blocks with minimal ranges to the rear.

Treswell's schema divided houses into four broad types which were representative of medieval buildings in many parts of Britain.⁴⁷ They ranged from simple single cell, two storey (Type 1) structures, through those with two or three ground floor rooms, sometimes with a detached kitchen (Type 2), into more extensive structures, which filled most of the tenement, with six or more ground floor rooms (Type 3) and culminated in expansive buildings arranged around a central courtyard (Type 4). Schofield and Vince considered that Salisbury was especially well represented by extant buildings of Type 2, synonymous with Naish's terrace blocks, and Type 3, which equate to those of higher status occupants. However, they were unable to cite excavated examples in the city due to the lack of fieldwork.

⁴³ Harding, 'Excavations in Vanner's and Griffin Chequers'.

⁴⁴ Barber, p. 173; A. G. Vince and others, *Excavations in Newbury, Berkshire 1979-1990* (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Report 13, 1997); Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester 1967'.

⁴⁵ J. Schofield, 'The Construction of Medieval and Tudor Houses in London', *Construction History*, 7 (1991), 3-28.

⁴⁶ J. Schofield (ed.), *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, 135 (London: London Topographical Society, 1987); J. Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (London: Yale University Press, 1995); Schofield and Vince.

⁴⁷ Schofield and Vince, Fig. 3.5.

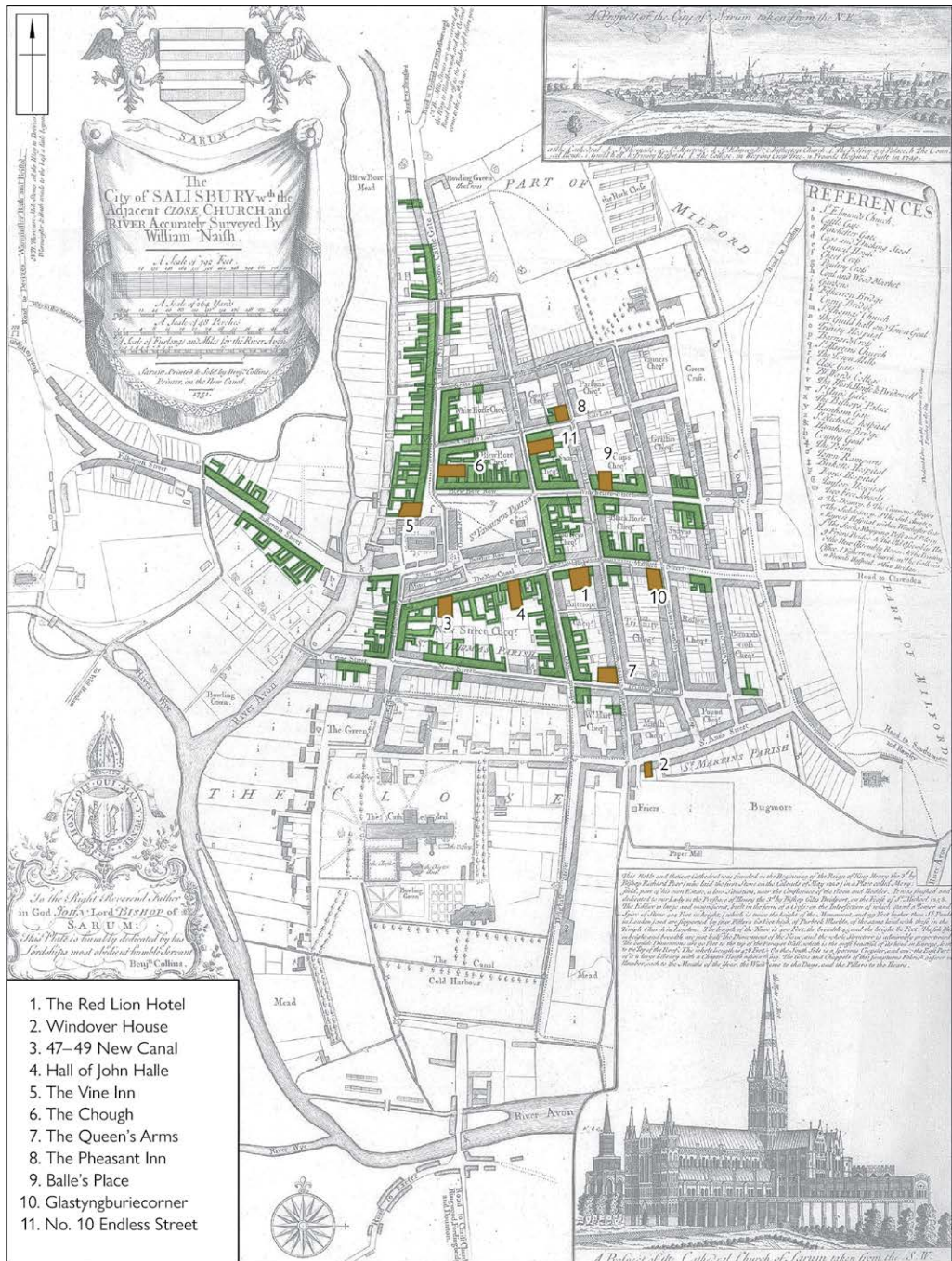


Figure 8.6: Two distinct and contrasting conventions of building types, observed in William Naish's map of 1716

Excavations in Salisbury have now helped clarify these issues.⁴⁸ Results indicate that Naish's continuous terraces predominantly contained individual houses of Treswell's Types 1 and 2. These houses were aligned parallel to the street frontage and were built with a through passage that provided access from the street frontage to the 'back lands' (Figure 8.7). Service ranges at the rear provided additional floor space. Treswell noted that houses in London were often provided with a shop on the ground floor street frontage; however, in Salisbury, similar houses often contained a central hearth suggesting that these rooms served as the parlour. Extant and excavated properties across the city show that buildings were approximately 5.5 m deep, possibly representing a medieval perch. Street façades consistently measured 5 m wide indicating subdivisions of the original 15 m wide tenement, a practice confirmed in documentary sources.⁴⁹ Some properties, as in a late fifteenth century terrace in Guilder Lane⁵⁰ or sixteenth century dwellings in Salt Lane⁵¹ appear to have been built following this pattern on tenements that had been sub divided; however, elsewhere other extant buildings show that properties may have undergone complex changes to the superstructure that cannot be detected in excavated foundations but share a similar original footprint. The tenement containing the extant late fifteenth – early sixteenth century New Inn, New Street originally contained a principal residence with a first-floor hall. This residential apartment extended across two bays of the plot, possibly with a solar or separate smaller house filling the remaining bay of the tenement. The ground floor divisions may have contained shops, stores or workshops, following the pattern described by Treswell in London. The building was subsequently subdivided to create three separate cottages, each with a through passage, where the principal accommodation moved to the ground floor. The individual segments were themselves reunified to create the present building.⁵²

Hawkes, writing in the late 1980s, noted that no courtyard houses had been excavated in the city, an issue that was partially addressed by Currie and Rushton on the corner of Milford Street and Gigant Street.⁵³ Improved opportunity to revisit the subject was provided in Three Swans Chequer where Naish documented an apparent courtyard building on Endless Street that could be contrasted with a terrace row on the opposite side of the chequer in Rolleston Street (Figure 8.8).⁵⁴ The Endless Street frontage contained a building that was aligned perpendicular to the street frontage.⁵⁵ The range measured approximately 12–14 m long and 7 m wide, dimensions, where length: breadth ratio equalled 2:1, that also mirror other extant cellular, medieval timber framed buildings of two or three storeys in the city. Similar buildings may have provided residential space with an open hall containing a central hearth or been equipped with a shop on the street frontage. A corridor/alley along the south side probably provided a through passage to the rear of the building or chequer. A second building of similar proportions was constructed parallel to the street along the central division of the chequer confirming that these buildings were probably arranged around a courtyard and formed a house of Treswell's Type 4.

⁴⁸ Butterworth, 'Excavations at Old George Mall'; Barber; Garland, Nichol, and Chandler; Harding, *Joining the Dots*.

⁴⁹ Chandler, p. 50.

⁵⁰ RCHME, p. 93.

⁵¹ RCHME, p. 147; Harding, 'Excavations in Vanner's and Griffin Chequers'.

⁵² RCHME, p. 78.

⁵³ J. Hawkes, *Excavations in Salisbury 1984–1990* (Salisbury: Unpublished manuscript, nd.), Wessex Archaeology archive; Currie and Rushton.

⁵⁴ Garland, Nichol, and Chandler; Harding, *Joining the Dots*, pp. 49–52.

⁵⁵ Garland, Nichol, and Chandler; Harding, *Joining the Dots*, pp. 59–65.



Figure 8.7: Treswell's Type 1 and 2 houses showing passage to 'back lands'

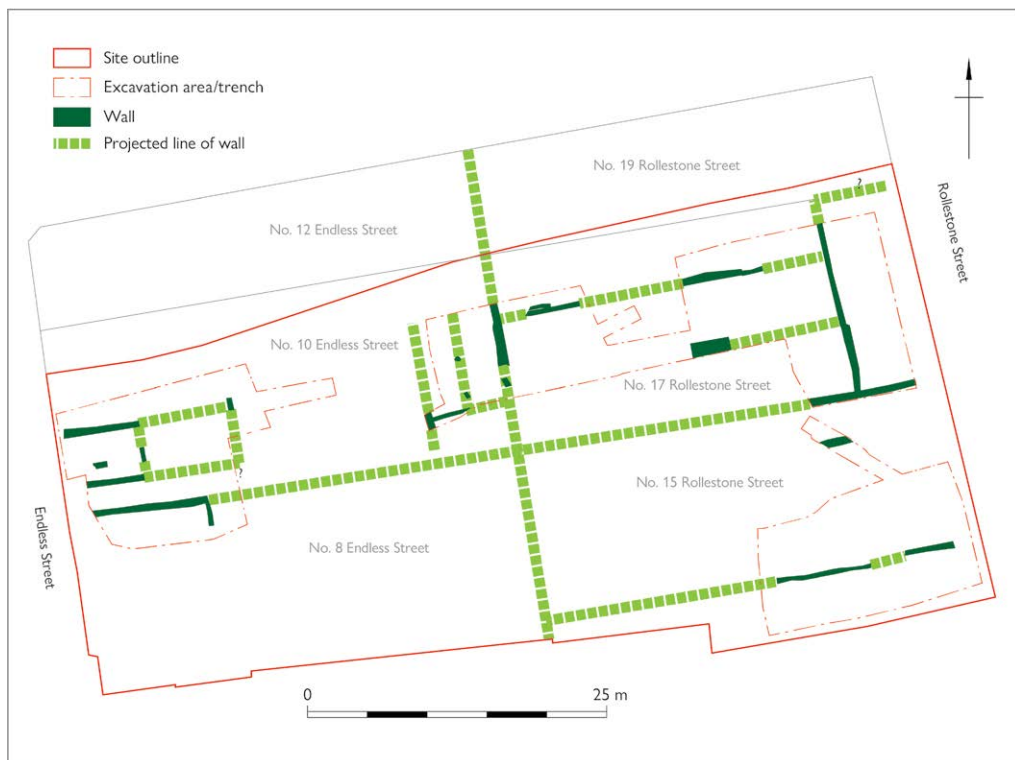


Figure 8.8: Buildings of courtyard and terrace type on opposite sides of the Three Swans Chequer

This data, which helps clarify and interpret Naish’s survey, indicates that buildings shown in the central part of the city probably comprised undivided tenements with multiple buildings arrayed around a courtyard of Treswell’s Type 4 or subdivided tenements that were filled with more expansive buildings in Type 3. These large-scale residences provided homes for affluent occupiers and were arranged perpendicular to the street frontages, maximising the area available for residential use. The outlying areas, in contrast, contained houses of Treswell’s Type 1 and 2. These houses were portrayed as continuous terraces and were aligned parallel to the street with extensive ‘back lands’ to the rear.

The ‘back lands’, sanitation and wells

The areas behind the street frontages, the ‘back lands’, which filled the central parts of chequers that contained Naish’s terrace rows, were portrayed as open yards and gardens. Increased archaeological work has explored these areas in more detail and shown that they represent important components of domestic activity in the city.⁵⁶ Increased accumulations of garden soil confirm that the ‘back lands’ were frequently manured using green refuse and compost. Out-houses were often constructed using cob and contained hearths suggesting that they may have functioned as detached kitchens or craft workshops serving a multitude

⁵⁶ Wessex Archaeology, *Excavations in Salisbury: 1984–1990*; Harding, ‘Excavations in Vanner’s and Griffin Chequers, Salisbury’; Harding, *Joining the Dots*.

of small craft workers. Other outhouses may have accommodated a house pig for slaughter and to reduce household green waste. Water was drawn from chalk-lined wells. These were frequently located immediately to the rear of the street frontage range and were consistent, preferable sources of water supply for most households when the alternative was supplied via on-street channels. Chalk was also used to line cess pits which were ubiquitous amongst all strata of society. These important components of daily life were often located at the far margins of the tenement, from where they percolated into the water table and contaminated household wells.

Conclusions

This short paper has summarised some thoughts on the spiritual and practical development of Salisbury, stressing how results of archaeological fieldwork, both planned and opportunistic, can play an increasingly important role in providing major source material to the story. Excavations have now examined a range of diverse locations that embrace a broad spectrum of the medieval population and associated buildings. The results, embellished by cartographic and comparable contemporary studies, have revealed the homes and lives of city residents of both high and low status. The discussion of the medieval settlement and its origins continues but will benefit from continued fieldwork, to expand the data, as additional sites within the city are redeveloped.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ <<https://www.wessexarch.co.uk/our-work/salisbury-sites-40-years-wessex-archaeology-excavations>>

Chapter Nine

The early development of New Sarum, 1086 – 1269

Christopher Daniell

The New Sarum site before 1220

Before New Sarum was founded people had used the surrounding landscape for thousands of years, for example Paleolithic finds have been discovered on Milford Hill, and Bronze Age and Iron Age remains at Bishopdown.¹ The Old Sarum castle site started in the Neolithic and continued thereafter, with the Roman settlement of Sorviodunum at Stratford sub Castle.² How these ancient sites were viewed by the Anglo-Saxons is unknown, but the Anglo-Saxon presence in the immediate vicinity of New Sarum is evident. There are many Old English village names, for example - Milford, Laverstock, Ford, Stratford, Britford, Harnham and Fisherton, and early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Bourne Avenue, Petersfinger and Harnham. The churches of St Martin's, and St Clement at Fisherton Anger, are both believed to be early medieval in date, with the dedication of St Clement at Fisherton Anger often associated with a Scandinavian foundation.³ Britford church has significant Anglo-Saxon architecture and a fine Anglo-Saxon carving.⁴

Documentary evidence slowly begins to emerge about the locality in the century before the Norman Conquest. Langlands has argued for a tenth-century land charter concerning Laverstock, and in 1086 Domesday Book records the landowners and their land holdings in the many villages surrounding the later site.⁵ St Nicholas's Hospital's is first recorded in 1227 but there has been speculation that it was founded earlier.⁶ Ayleswade (meaning *Ægel's ford*) and Fisherton Bridge, were ancient crossing points of the river Avon. What was specifically on the New Sarum site in the Anglo-Saxon period is a source of debate. Langlands has made a case for a small built commercial centre and a range of commercial, mercantile, religious and administrative foci have been speculated upon.⁸ There were two probable pre-existing

¹ P. Harding, *Joining the Dots: Uniting Salisbury's Past through Holes in the Ground*, Wessex Archaeology Occasional Paper (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Ltd, 2022), p. 105-9.

² Harding, p. 104, Fig. 4.2.

³ T. Tatton-Brown, 'Reconstructing the Medieval Landscape around Salisbury', *Sarum Chronicle*, 9 (2009), 30-36 (p. 34); Harding, p. 113; R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1989), p. 26.

⁴ R. Cramp, 'Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: Volume VII: South-West England' (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 206-8.

⁵ A. J. Langlands, 'Accessing the Past on Your Doorstep: A Community Investigation in to the Early History and Archaeology of Laverstock, Wiltshire', *WANHM*, 102 (2009), 306-14 (pp. 306-8); ed. by F. Thorn and C. Thorn, *Domesday Book: Wiltshire, Volume 6* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1979).

⁶ 'Hospitals: St Nicholas, Salisbury', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3*, ed. by R. B. Pugh and E. Crittal (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1956), pp. 343-56 (p. 343) <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp343-356>>.

⁷ F. M. Stenton, A. Mawer, and J. E. B. Gover, *The Place-Names of Wiltshire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), p. 222.

⁸ A. J. Langlands, 'Placing the Burh in Searobyrg: Rethinking the Urban Topography of Early Medieval Salisbury', *WANHM*, 107 (2014), 91-105. See also, Harding and Howard, this volume.

roads crossing the site, the first running east-west between the major Anglo-Saxon centres of Wilton and Winchester, and the other running north-south from Old Sarum to Ayleswade Bridge.⁹

The Domesday Mills

Within Domesday Book of 1086 there are five mills mentioned in 'Sarisberie' ('Salisbury'). None of the mills are precisely located, but if one of the Domesday mills was on the Avon, where the later bishop's mill (or town mill) in Salisbury is documented, then the mill could have been one of the reasons for the Bishop choosing the New Sarum site. The locations of the Domesday mills thus have profound implications for the earliest history of New Sarum.

The first mention in the Domesday Book of a mill in 'Sarisberie' is under the King's ownership: 'From half a mill at Salisbury the King has 20s by weight'.¹⁰ The second occurs under the Bishop of Salisbury's manor: 'In the manor 4 mills at 47s 7d; half a mill at 30s'.¹¹ Both entries are of interest, though for different reasons. The King's entry regarding the half mill gives a valuation 'by weight' of pennies.¹² Whilst a 'by weight' valuation is unusual in Domesday, it is not unknown. The valuation for the Royal manor of Britford is given as: 'The manor pays £30 by weight'.¹³ It is not clear how the 'by weight' value compares to the 'cash' value, but the Melksham entry states, 'The manor pays £111 11s by weight; but the English assess it at as many £s at face value' which indicates that there is not a direct equivalence between the Norman 'weight value' and the 'cash value'.¹⁴

The Bishop's entry for the mills in Sarisberie gives 4 mills at 47s 7d and half a mill at 30s. The first point of interest is that all the mills were not valued together (i.e., 4.5 mills at 77s 7d) and the half mill was valued separately. The reason for this separation is not given but the separate valuation indicates that in some way the half mill was treated differently, either in terms of value or location. The second point of interest is that the valuation of the half mill at 30s is almost as large as all the other four mills put together (47s).

There are therefore two half mills under different ownerships, one half by the King, the other the Bishop, and as both are in 'Sarisberie' it is a logical conclusion that both halves were part of the same mill. If this is taken as correct then it was a very large mill – valued at least at 50s (30s by value, 20s by weight) and potentially 60s by cash value. How large can be determined by comparison with other mills in the region. In Dorset the largest valuation was for 2 mills on one of the Tarrant manors which rendered 30s and 1000 eels.¹⁵ In Somerset the most valuable mill was only 35s a year (at Bathwick and Stainswick).¹⁶ In Devon the most valuable mill was

⁹ J. Chandler, *Endless Street: A History of Salisbury and Its People* (Salisbury: Hobnob Press, 1983), p. 23, Fig. 4, where (a) depicts features existing pre-1220.

¹⁰ Thorn and Thorn B:3; A. Williams and G. H. Martin, *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation* (London: Penguin Books, 1992), p. 162, Folio 64V: Wiltshire.

¹¹ Thorn and Thorn, 3:4; Williams and Martin, p. 166, Folio 66: Wiltshire.

¹² See Lewis, this volume, for an explanation of the difference between valuations.

¹³ Thorn and Thorn, 1:6; Williams and Martin, pp. 162–63, Folio 65: Wiltshire.

¹⁴ Thorn and Thorn, 1:12; Williams and Martin, p. 163, Folio 65: Wiltshire.

¹⁵ *The Domesday Geography of South-West England*, ed. by H. C. Darby and R. Welldon Finn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 112.

¹⁶ Darby and Welldon Finn, p. 190.

25s at Columbjohn.¹⁷ In Hampshire two mills at Twyford rendered £4 15s (ie 95s for both), one at Winchester, 48s, and two at Redbridge 50s.¹⁸ Thus the mill at ‘Sarisberie’ was the most valuable in the whole of the south west and in the south only the 7 mills in Battersea, Surrey, valued £42 9 s and 8d were valued more (in total 849s with an average of just over 121s each).¹⁹ If value can be equated with size, then the mill in ‘Sarisberie’ shared between the King and the Bishop was the largest across the whole of the south of England.

Whilst its comparative valuation and thus size can be relatively easily determined, its exact position is much more difficult to precisely pinpoint. If the large mill was at the later site of the Bishops Mill or Town Mill in New Sarum there would be a very large building and associated trading operation in 1086, more than a century before the Bishop’s decision to move to the site and this, in itself, could have acted as a further reason to move. Crittal suggests that the site was the location of one of the Bishop’s smaller mills which was on the Avon by the river crossing at Fisherton.²⁰ However, there is no documentary nor archaeological evidence for a mill at this location before the foundation of New Sarum in 1220. An argument can be made (see below) for a mill in this location in the very earliest stages of the foundation of New Sarum in the 1220s based on documentary evidence, though a Domesday mill remains a possibility.²¹ Other suggested locations by Crittal for the Bishop’s mills were at Woodford, Stratford and Milford.

The possible location of the large mill at Stratford, as suggested by Lewis, this volume, is based on the fact that there was a known post-Conquest mill there, the King’s and Bishop’s lands were either side of the River Avon, and the site was on the major route of the Portway. However, an equally strong case can also be made for the large mill at Milford. Like the Stratford site, with the two landowners either side, the Milford site on the River Bourne had the King’s land on one side in Clarendon Forest, and the Bishop’s land on the west side of the River Bourne in the manor of Milford. As the River Bourne forms the boundary it would make sense for the King and Bishop to each have half the mill. The second element is that the road between the major Anglo-Saxon centres of Winchester and Wilton runs past the River Bourne mill and thus it is an excellent location for delivery and distribution of grain and corn. That the River Bourne could power a major mill is shown by the fact that the river powered nine mills further up-stream.²² Furthermore, nearby, in Potters Way, stratigraphically earlier cesspits were recovered from beneath kilns and associated structures dated to the early thirteenth century, and eleventh- to thirteenth-century pottery was recovered from the Riverbourne Road development near the mill.²³ In comparison with the Stratford site, the Milford site has all the same properties: land ownership divided by a river, historic settlement and on a major routeway. However, there is one significant element that the Milford site has which

¹⁷ Darby and Welldon Finn, p. 276.

¹⁸ Darby and Welldon Finn, p. 345.

¹⁹ Darby and Welldon Finn, p. 394.

²⁰ ‘Salisbury: Bridges, Bars, Gates and Mills’, in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6*, ed. by E. Crittal (London: H.M.S.O., 1962), pp. 87–90 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp87-90>>.

²¹ Langlands, ‘Placing the Burh in Searobyrg’, p. 100. See also Lewis, this volume.

²² J. W. G. Musty, ‘Watermills on the River Bourne, South Wiltshire; the Excavation of the Site of Gomeldon Mill with a Note on Local Post-Medieval Pottery’, *WANHM*, 63 (1968), 46–53.

²³ J. W. G. Musty, D. J. Algar, and P. F. Ewence, ‘The Medieval Pottery Kilns at Laverstock, near Salisbury, Wiltshire’, *Archaeologia*, 102 (1969), 83–150 (pp. 96–98); ‘Medieval Pottery Sherds Including a “West Country” Type Vessel’, in *Salisbury Museum, 2000.33, Record Number SU12NE485, Source ID: SWI16240* (Salisbury: Wiltshire and Swindon Historic Environment Record, 1974) <<https://services.wiltshire.gov.uk/HistoryEnvRecord/Home/ViewHERItem?HER=MWI9773>>.

the Stratford site does not: the place name of Milford (ie ford by the mill). The place name is Anglo-Saxon in origin and the settlement has two entries in the Domesday Book.²⁴

The Earliest Market

In the Pipe Roll for 1218-1219 there is the earliest reference to a market: 'the bishop owed a palfrey [to King Henry III] for having a market on Fridays in Old Salisbury.'²⁵ There are certain aspects which can be determined. The first is that the amount paid was a palfrey. It was not a particularly burdensome or large payment and other such payments were recorded in the same Pipe Roll, for example a palfrey was paid for a market at Wotton by Alan Basett, and the Bishop himself also paid another palfrey for having a market at Ramsbury.²⁶ The price of a palfrey indicates that the market was of small or modest size and that others paid the same amount indicates that it was not particularly special or large. However, that permission for a market was granted is interesting, as there was already a market at Old Sarum, so a new market, even a small one, would create some competition between the two areas. Moreover, that a market was granted indicates that a market place had already been designated, with its boundaries probably laid out. The payment was made between the year of the Pipe Roll (Michaelmas 29 September 1218 and Michaelmas 1219), which makes it a very early component within the development of New Sarum, and the first secular element known. It is unfortunate that a more precise date is not given within the timeframe, as the wooden chapel – the first precisely dated building of New Sarum, which was consecrated on the 29th March 1219 – may have been built after the grant (and laying out) of the market.

Following the payment of the palfrey in 1218-1219 there appears to have been a small, irregular market in the early years of the foundation of New Sarum. The sheriff gave a series of permissions for a market in 1222, 1223 and 1224. In 1222 the sheriff authorized the bishop to hold a market, specifically mentioned to be at New Sarum, until a month after Easter 1223, and a further grant continued this permission until Easter 1224.²⁷ The text of the permission in 1222 stated that the market had been allowed 'before' ('antequam') but had recently been forbidden. The word 'antequam' carries no sense of whether it was an old (ie pre-1218) or relatively recent period. The year-on-year permissions for the market and the fact that only a palfrey was originally given for the right does not give the impression of a large or even established market. Similarly, the grant for a two-day fair in 1221 on the vigil and feast of the Assumption (14-15 August) does not indicate a large-scale event.²⁸ The reason for the smaller market may have been because the secular settlement was just beginning, but equally it may have been deliberately initially small so as not to deprive the older and established market at Old Sarum of trade and revenue, and the year-on-year permission may have been a delaying tactic by the Sheriff to hinder its establishment into a permanent market. In 1227 the city's charter granted both a weekly market on a Tuesday and a yearly fair and thereafter the

²⁴ Stenton, Mawer, and Gover, 1939 p. 382; Thorn and Thorn, 27, 27 and 67, 79.

²⁵ 'Salisbury: The Market Place', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6*, ed. by E. Crittal (London: H.M.S.O., 1962), pp. 85–87 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp85-87>>.

²⁶ R. E. Harris, *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Third Year of the Reign of Henry III, Michaelmas 1219*, Pipe Roll Society, LXXX (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1977), NEW SERIES, VOL XLII, p. 18, a palfrey is a slight riding horse.

²⁷ T. D. Hardy, *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum* (London: The Commissioners on the Public Realm of the Kingdom 1833, 1833), pp. 527, 532, 581, 594; cited in 'Salisbury: Markets and Fairs', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6*, ed. by E. Crittal (London: H.M.S.O., 1962), pp. 138–41 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp138-141>>.

²⁸ Hardy, p. 466.

market continued and grew without further permissions.²⁹ Given the more formal status of the market and fair, by 1227 or soon after, it is likely to have been held in the new, very much larger, planned market space.

The size and location of the earliest, probably smaller, market area is not known, but it may be significant that there was a medieval market cross (the Cheese Cross) at the bottom of Castle Street and that the earlier name for Silver Street was 'Old Poultry Street'. These areas are located either side of St Thomas's Square – an area of open ground between the Bishop's Mill or Town Mill, and the west door of St Thomas's Church. Furthermore, the location had north-south and east-west communications and so would have been in an excellent position for an early market place.³⁰ It was probably the case that the much larger later market place initially incorporated much of the earlier market area as well. Initially the current market place was a great deal larger, but over the centuries the large market area contracted with streets and associated buildings infilling the previous market space, such as Minster Street, Butcher Row, Fish Row and Mitre Chequer.³¹

There is one further piece of evidence suggesting an early market in the region of the later St Thomas's Church. It has been suggested, by Chandler and others, that Market Ward is so named, rather than St Thomas's Ward, because the ward was created before the foundation of St Thomas's chapel.³² This is probably correct, however an alternative explanation is that the potentially long tradition of trading in the area, from the twelfth century and even possibly the Anglo-Saxon period, held a deeper meaning for the city in terms of naming the early wards than the newly created St Thomas's chapel.

St Thomas's Chapel to St Thomas's Church

So far as is known, St Martin's parish church is the oldest and only church in the southern part of the Bishop's manor prior to St Mary's Chapel being consecrated in 1219.³³ The earliest reference to St Martin's occurs obliquely in 1091 when Bishop Osmund endowed the cathedral canons with 'the church of Sarum with its tithes and other possessions' which the RCHME identifies as St Martin's.³⁴

The earliest reference to St Thomas's is given in the Close Rolls of 1231. This reference, discovered by Dr John Hare, was not included in Crittal's discussion of St Thomas's, but is very significant for several reasons.³⁵ The first is that it is earlier than the next, well-known,

²⁹ R. Benson and H. Hatcher, *Old and New Sarum or Salisbury* (London: John Bowyer Nichols & Son, 1843), pp. 43–44; Crittal, 'Salisbury: Markets and Fairs'.

³⁰ Under the present nave of St Thomas's church there are some deep post pads showing in the ground penetrating radar (see Harding and Howard, this volume). These have been interpreted as either foundations for scaffolding or for a gallery once suspended over the west end of the nave. It is also possible that they were for a previously unknown building or structure in the area, possibly associated with the mill or market.

³¹ Chandler, pp. 98–99, Fig. 18, the isometric drawing gives a good impression of development within and around the Market Place. See also Lang, this volume.

³² Chandler, p. 25.

³³ St Clement's, Fisherton Anger, is located to the west of the Avon and outside the Bishop's manor. The foundation dates of St Martin's and St Clement's are not known.

³⁴ RCHME, *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury*. Vol. 1 (London: HMSO, 1980), p. 31.

³⁵ I am very grateful to Dr John Hare for informing me about the reference. The Latin reads: *De roboribus datis - Mandatum est J de Monem quod in foresta in Pauncet faciat habere custodi operationis capelle Sancti Thome, Novum Sarrisburie, v. robora ad quendam rogam faciendum as eandem operationem*. Pauncet was within Clarendon Forest. *Calendar of Close*

entry about St Thomas's in 1238. It therefore moves the foundation date back at least seven years. Secondly St Thomas's is described, unequivocally, as a 'chapel' and as such must have had a founding church (see below). The third is that five trees were given. The word used for the wood was 'robur', which, if classical Latin is used means an oak tree, but in Medieval Latin may mean a (dead) tree. The five trees were for the 'operation' of the chapel. Wood is given for many churches in the Close Rolls, and there is a distinction between 'new build' ('fabricant') and 'operation'. In 1232 the King gave wood from the forest of Savernake for the building of the Franciscan's church 'ad fabricant ecclesie sue'.³⁶ That the wood in the case of St Thomas's was for the 'operation' of the chapel implies that it was partially built or being extended – hence the foundation was some time before 1231. The same word ('operationem') was used in 1234 to describe the use of the wood given to the Dean and Chapter for works to the Cathedral, which was founded fourteen years before in 1220. The final point is that the 'custodi' (custodian) of the works is mentioned. This suggests that he was a project manager, but that he is given the title may imply a bigger scheme than just the giving of the trees.

Seven years later, in 1238, there is a second reference to St Thomas's chapel, when Master Robert, the rector of the chapel of St Thomas's, witnessed an agreement between Elias de Derham and John de Ymmere (Imber) respecting the tithes of a tenement of Imber. The agreement was dated 16 Aug 1238. Ten years later, on 18 March 1248, canon Robert de Beuuer, who was rector of the now church of St Thomas's, came to an agreement with the Treasurer of the Cathedral. It is highly likely that the two Roberts were the same man.³⁷ That in 1238 Robert was described as a 'rector' of a 'chapel' (rather than a 'chaplain') is difficult to explain. It may be a scribal error, and St Thomas's was already actually a church, but such a mistake would be highly unusual. Alternatives are that Robert was a rector at another (unknown) church – or even St Martin's – and so used his title, or that St Thomas's was going to be made into a parish church with Robert as its first rector.

The earliest description of St Thomas's are that it was a chapel, not a parish church. Chapels within a parish were founded from a parish church and had limited rights in the services that they could provide. Pastoral services (baptisms, marriages, funerals, and burials) remained with the founding church unless specifically given a license by the bishop. As the pastoral services often resulted in donations (either as money or objects) the financial income went to the founding church.³⁸

The only local comparison was that of St Mary's chapel in the Cathedral Close, which was made of wood.³⁹ That five trees were given for the 'operation' of St Thomas's indicates that much of the structure was of wood. The sizes of St Mary's chapel and St Thomas's chapel are unknown, but Dr Harding has made the observation that a small church or chapel, such as St Andrew's

Rolls, Henry III: Volume 2, 1231-1234, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: H. M. S. O., 1905), p. 14 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-close-rolls/hen3/vol2>>.

³⁶ Maxwell Lyte, p. 43.

³⁷ *Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral, City, and Diocese of Salisbury, in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.*, ed. by W. D. Macray and W. H. Rich Jones (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1891), pp. 246, 315.

³⁸ N. Orme, *Going to Church in Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021); N. Orme, 'Church and Chapel in Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1996), 75–102 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/3679230>>.

³⁹ W. H. Rich Jones, *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense, Alias Dictum Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi (the Register of S. Osmund) Volume 2* (London: Longman, 1883), p. 50.

church at Bemerton, could fit lengthwise into the present chancel of St Thomas's.⁴⁰ This could mean that the later chancel of St Thomas's church was built over the earlier chapel.⁴¹

In 1248 Robert de Beuer, now both a canon of the cathedral and rector of St Thomas's, came to an agreement with the Treasurer of the Cathedral concerning the allocation of funeral candles for those buried in the Cathedral cemetery.⁴² Thus St Thomas's chapel had become a fully functioning parish church able to hold funerals and that the dispute occurred in 1248 may indicate that a few burials had taken place to bring the issue to the fore. It is unknown how many funerals took place a year, but as each side would not have wanted to lose money it is likely that an agreement would have been reached soon after St Thomas's became a parish church. Confirmation that St Thomas's had become a parish church is given in the Wiltshire Pleas of 1249 when 'St Thomas's church' is mentioned twice in relation to fugitives seeking sanctuary.⁴³

The question then arises as to which parish church founded St Thomas's as a chapel. There is strong circumstantial evidence that the founding church was St Martin's. In 1228 Bishop Poore granted Hervey, probably a canon of the cathedral, the church of St Martin, with the chapel of Stratford [sub Castle], ... 'and all other churches or chapels, built or to be built, in our city of New Sarum'. To fulfil his unspecified duties the Bishop also granted Hervey 'the tithes of our mills in Sarum' and the 'tithe of all lands within the ditches'.⁴⁴ Two years earlier in 1226 there is no chapel mentioned in a grant of lands at Stratford sub Castle which formed the Prebend of Old Sarum (Veterum Sarum). If St Lawrence's chapel in Stratford sub Castle was not yet built in 1226, then its foundation was between 1226 and the grant to Hervey in 1228.⁴⁵

The 1228 grant to Hervey links the parish church of St Martin with the chapel of Stratford sub Castle, indicating that St Martin's was almost certainly the founding church. St Thomas's is not mentioned, but may, of course, be one of the 'churches or chapels, built or to be built'. Forty-one years later in the foundation document of St Edmund's church the parish boundaries within the city were described. The document states that the parish church of St Thomas's now held the church of Stratford [sub Castle]. The chapel/church of Stratford was linked to St Martin's in 1225 and then linked to St Thomas's in 1269, this forming a tangential link between St Thomas's and St Martin's.⁴⁶

Moreover, it can be theorized that Hervey played a critical role in the foundation of St Thomas's. Bishop Poore gave Hervey the church of St Martin, and the tithes from land within the ditches and the mills. Hervey therefore had the delegated power and the money from the tithes to carry out his unspecified plans, which, it is argued here, included the founding of St Thomas's chapel. If this is correct then St Thomas's chapel was founded between 1228 and 1231.

⁴⁰ Dr P. Harding, pers. comm., the respective lengths are approximately: Bemerton 15m, St Thomas's chancel 18m. Measurements from *RCHME* pp. 42 and 25 respectively.

⁴¹ See Harding and Howard, this volume, Figure 7.4.

⁴² Macray and Jones, pp. 246, 315.

⁴³ *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1249*, ed. by C. A. F. Meekings (Trowbridge: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Records Branch, 1961), xvi, Pleas 557, 559. Whilst both pleas are set in the past, there is no indication of date or length of time previously the actions occurred.

⁴⁴ Macray and Jones, p. 191.

⁴⁵ Jones, p. 50.

⁴⁶ Macray and Jones, pp. 346–49.

If St Martin's founded St Thomas's there is the issue of the location of the new chapel. It is likely that the initial urban area between the Close Ditch and the Town Ditch had already been designed and designated, so the new chapel needed to be located to the north. That St Thomas's was deliberately placed near the market has been accepted, but *which* market has not been considered. If the early small market place is a possibility, then the small St Thomas's chapel may have been placed to the east of this market space (now St Thomas's Square) with its west doors opening onto the early market. The regular gathering of people for a market could have been converted into a congregation by the judicious placing of a chapel or church. The placing of post-Conquest chapels in market places is known from elsewhere, such as in Barton upon Humber and Lichfield.⁴⁷

Proposed Phased Development of New Sarum

The phases of development of New Sarum have long been a source of speculation. The irregularity of the grid system prompted some Victorian interest and the possibility of more than one phase. This was picked up by Rogers and the RCHME who implied at least a multi-phase scheme and then in considerably more detail by Chandler, who described and mapped a three stage development between 1220 and 1260, ending with the foundation of St Edmund's church in 1269.⁴⁸ The following presents a phased model for the development of New Sarum, which builds on, and adapts, Chandler's three phases, in particular placing an early market area and proposing that the Town Ditch formed the original northern boundary.

The whole question of the phasing depends on the planning by the church authorities in the decades before the move, and then the adaptations after the initial foundation. The thought process behind the urban planning raises some interesting questions, for example, was a single secular urban phase only envisaged at first outside the Close gate (for example New Street chequer and the Town Ditch), but the church authorities were taken aback by the success, and therefore a second phase of massive expansion was created? Alternatively, the city landscape was initially planned, and laid out, as a whole, or thirdly the long-term intention was that the city would be deliberately developed in two or more phases. A final option is for the gradual expansion of the city in a more piecemeal fashion, perhaps a line of chequers at a time. These questions are also dependent on how much was already on the site, in particular in terms of a market, commercial centre, a mill and the road network.

Not only is the phasing unclear, so is the dating of the phasing. Even where there are dated elements, such as the King's charter in 1227, it is not clear whether the elements cited within it, such as the (assumed) larger market place, already existed or were just planned for. That the church authorities could work really quickly is shown by how fast events took place after Papal permission was given and the consecration of St Mary's chapel. The Papal permission was given on the 29 March 1219, and the consecration of the chapel was on Feast of the Holy Trinity (27 May 1219). Allowing for a few weeks to return from Rome, at least the foundations, and possibly the whole chapel, was constructed within six weeks.

⁴⁷ Morris, pp. 212–13.

⁴⁸ K. H. Rodgers, 'Salisbury', in *Historic Towns: Maps and Plans of Towns and Cities in the British Isles, with Historical Commentaries, from Earliest Times to 1800, Vol. 1*, ed. by M. D. Lobel and W. H. Johns (London: Lovell Johns-Cook, Hammond and Kell Organisation, 1969), pp. 3–4; RCHME, pp. xxxii–xxxvi; Chandler, pp. 22–24, Fig. 4.

Researchers have very different views on the dating, pre-foundation uses of the site, and phasing. The lack of detailed documented evidence results in a great deal of assumption behind each theory, which so far archaeology has not been able to confirm or negate.

Phase 1 1218-c. 1228 (Figure 9.1)

On St Vitalis's Day (28 April) 1220 the foundation stones of the new Cathedral were laid, and whilst this was a momentous day in the history of New Sarum it was the culmination of decades of planning and previous work in the area.⁴⁹

The first mention of discussion or planning associated with the new settlement occurred when Herbert Poore (Bishop of Salisbury 1194 - 1217) gained assent ('assensum') from King Richard I (1189 - 1199).⁵⁰ That is all that is known and the details of what the assent was for, or whether it was a verbal assent or assent to a detailed plan, is not recorded. However, the fact that the assent was given 21-26 years before the foundation stones were laid shows that the planning and discussions were decades in the planning. The length of time planning the move is not always appreciated.

From the middle of the 1210s events began to move much faster. In 1217 the Pope was petitioned for the move for which Papal authorization was given in 1219. On 29th March 1219 New Sarum's earliest documented building was consecrated, a wooden chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, with an associated cemetery. The location of both the chapel and cemetery are unknown.⁵¹ On 1st November the Chapter agreed to move from Old Sarum to a location called 'Myrifiel' (New Sarum) and on 28 April 1220 the foundation stone of the Cathedral was laid. Five years later in 1225 three altars in the Cathedral were dedicated which indicates that at least a portion of the Cathedral was roofed.⁵²

The first secular documented aspect of New Sarum was a small market for which permission was given in 1219 (see above). Thereafter the rights of the citizens were detailed in a deed and a charter. In 1225 the Bishop gave a deed to the free citizens of Salisbury which mentions the dimensions of house plots (seven perches by three perches).⁵³ This received Royal ratification in 1227 which also included, amongst other rights, that the citizens were to be quit of tolls, have the same liberties as Winchester, an annual fair, and that the Bishop could make and improve bridges.⁵⁴ However, whilst each is important in its own right, they cast little light on the developed areas, and even the granting of a market and annual fair does not specify where they should be.

⁴⁹ T. Tatton-Brown, and J. Crook, *Salisbury Cathedral, The Making of a Medieval Masterpiece* (London: Scala Publishers, 2009), pp 34-37.

⁵⁰ Jones, p. 3.

⁵¹ T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury', *WANHM*, 190 (1997), 101-9 (p. 101), suggests that the chapel lay close to the north transept of the slightly later cathedral.

⁵² Jones, p. 38. It has been suggested that Town Ditch may have been the northern limit of Myrifiel in Chandler, p. 22 and Rodgers, p. 2.

⁵³ For a summary of perches and the 'long' and 'short' perch see Harding, p. 117. See also Harding and Howard, this volume.

⁵⁴ Macray and Jones, p. 175; Benson and Hatcher, pp. 43-44.

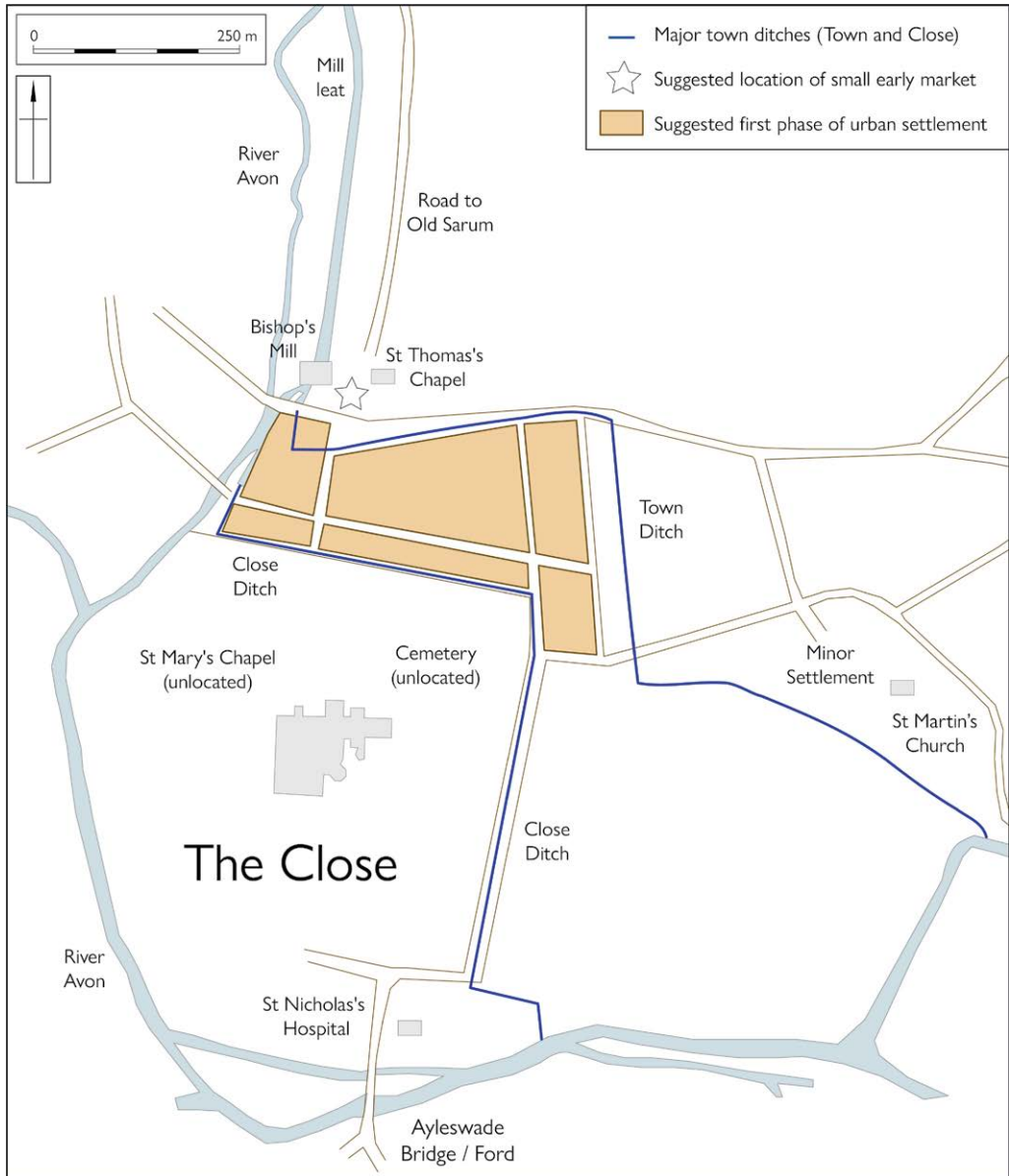


Figure 9.1: Proposed New Sarum Development Phases 1 and 1a: 1218 - c.1228

It was a common feature of Medieval new towns that they were bounded with a ditch (such as Winchelsea) either as a formal boundary or as a minor form of defence.⁵⁵ The Close Ditch certainly acted as a boundary between the ecclesiastical and secular elements of the city. The Town Ditch was of similar size and scale to the Close Ditch and thus both ditches were

⁵⁵ M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town Plantation in England, Wales and Gascony* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1967), pp. 16–17.

probably planned and constructed at the same time. If the Close Ditch was the boundary to the Close, it is likely that the Town Ditch was the original northern boundary to the civilian settlement. If this is correct, then the city of New Sarum originally developed between the Close Ditch and the Town Ditch. The majority of which became New Street Chequer. It may be significant that New Street Chequer is the single largest chequer in the city, two or three times the size of other chequers. Its large size may be indicative of an early phase of planning where a regular chequer size had yet to be established. New Street is also the smallest ward, as if ward administration was needed for the earliest development.

The scenario would also explain a puzzling aspect to the grant by Bishop Poore to Hervey. Hervey was given the tithes to land 'intra fossata civitatis' ('between / within the ditches'). Whilst it is correct that later there was also a New Sarum boundary ditch (confusingly also called the Town Ditch) it was only partially built as late as the fourteenth century.⁵⁶ It is much more likely that Hervey was given the tithes from land between the 'ditches' of Town Ditch and the Close Ditch. Therefore, by the end of the first stage the Close had been defined, along with the small secular settlement bounded on the north by the Town Ditch.

Phase 1a - The Mill, Market, Minster Street and St Thomas's Chapel

To the north of the Town Ditch, at the northern end of the current High Street and to the south of Castle Street, are located the Bishop's Mill (or Town Mill), St Thomas's chapel, and St Thomas's Square, argued above to be the remnants of the location for the earliest market. St Thomas's chapel (and later church) breaks the normal chequer pattern and so either the chapel or something else, such as a market, was located there before the chequers were developed.

There has been speculation that the presence of the current street name 'Minster Street' might be an echo of an earlier church in the area.⁵⁷ If this is so there is no other reference and it is noticeable that Speed on his 1611 maps describes the Cathedral as the 'Minster', therefore implying that 'Minster' was the local name for the Cathedral. Minster Street is first recorded in 1265 and was applied to a long street including Castle Street, the present Minster Street, and the High Street. The whole of Minster Street led from the north to the Cathedral and Close.⁵⁸ If the name 'Minster' did indeed indicate an early church in the area, then it may have been on the later Cathedral site, or more unlikely, indicating a church along the road leading away from the later city. The most prominent Anglo-Saxon church in the immediate vicinity was St Martin's, so it may be possible that the original 'Minster Street' ran down Castle Street and then cut diagonally towards St Martin's church, but once the street layout had changed ran instead to the Cathedral.⁵⁹

The documentary evidence is not specific enough to reveal the exact dates of foundation for the mill, chapel or square. St Thomas's Chapel was founded before 1231 (see above) and a document dated 1221-1228 states that the Bishop had constructed 'a mill in the city of

⁵⁶ RCHME, pp. 50-51; Chandler, p. 30.

⁵⁷ Langlands, 'Placing the Burh in Searobyrg', p. 101.

⁵⁸ Stenton, Mawer, and Gover, 1939 p. 21.

⁵⁹ Even though St Martin's is not referred to as a minster in any documentary source, it was an important early medieval church in the area.

‘Sarum’ (‘in civitate Sarum construi fecimus’), with money from the mill being given for a daily mass in the cathedral’s Lady chapel. That the Lady chapel was newly built, and the mill was ‘constructed’ between 1221-1228, implies that the mill and its revenues were new.⁶⁰ As the earliest mention of a market is in 1219, it is possible that the mill was located deliberately next to the market area as an open or trading space. Whilst profoundly important to the early history of Salisbury, it is not possible to be precise as to the date of the development of this area, through substantial development took place between 1221 and 1231. As this expansion disrupts the regular chequer system the development would have been before the second proposed phase of the chequers and the watercourses.

Phase 2 – The Chequers and Watercourses: Phase 2 c.1228 – 1269 (Figure 9.2)

The date of the start of the first phase can be dated to 1219 – 1220 with the founding of both St Mary’s chapel and the Cathedral. The start of the second phase is much less certain. There are two reasons why a date of c.1228 has been chosen. The first reason is the presence of the mill. In the charter, dated 1221-1228 (it is unfortunate that it is not more precisely dated) the Bishop stated that the mill had been built. The building of the mill, and more importantly the associated very long and large mill leat, was a crucial piece of infrastructure for the development of the second phase. All the watercourses which flowed through the streets drew their water from the mill leat – without the mill leat there could be no watercourses, and by extension roads, as the watercourses flowed down the middle of them. Therefore, the watercourses and the roads can only have been constructed after the mill was in existence, at least by 1228. The length and size of the mill leat indicates that at the time of building the mill the street watercourses were also part of the development scheme.

The second reason is the location of the Franciscan Friary. The Friary has received little attention in regard to the phasing of the city but may be an important element. The Friars moved to New Sarum in late 1229 and were firmly established on their site by 1230. The site was to the south-east of New Sarum, located on or near Bugmore Meadows. It was an odd site for such a prestigious group to be given, as normally friars were given a location in the heart of the urban area, rather than on the edge, which was in a marsh. One explanation is that the area to the north of the friary was already designated and laid out as the chequer grid pattern.

As has been argued above, the earliest secular settlement was bounded to the south by the Close Ditch and the north by the Town Ditch, with a plot of land containing an early market, mill and chapel to the north. The second phase, proposed here, was the development of the chequers and watercourses. The name ‘chequer’ is unusual as the normal medieval name for the empty blocks of land is ‘island’.⁶¹ As St Thomas’s chapel was already planned or built this disrupted the regular chequer pattern which was laid out in the second phase. A key element to revenue generation and the success of the expanded city was the much bigger market place, which stretched from the Town Ditch in the south to Blue Boar Row in the north.⁶² The east-

⁶⁰ Macray and Jones, pp. 116–17.

⁶¹ Beresford, p. 147, suggests the name ‘chequers’ derives from a chess board analogy. An alternative is that the name is a shortened form of ‘exchequer’: a ‘play on words’ as the Bishop realized the city’s money-making potential of the new design.

⁶² The market place formed the initial focus of the urban city, with the oldest properties nearest the market place. Thereafter development expanded outwards over the centuries along the arterial routes and towards the outer edges of the planned Chequers. Some of the furthest areas remained vacant until at least the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Harding, p. 120.

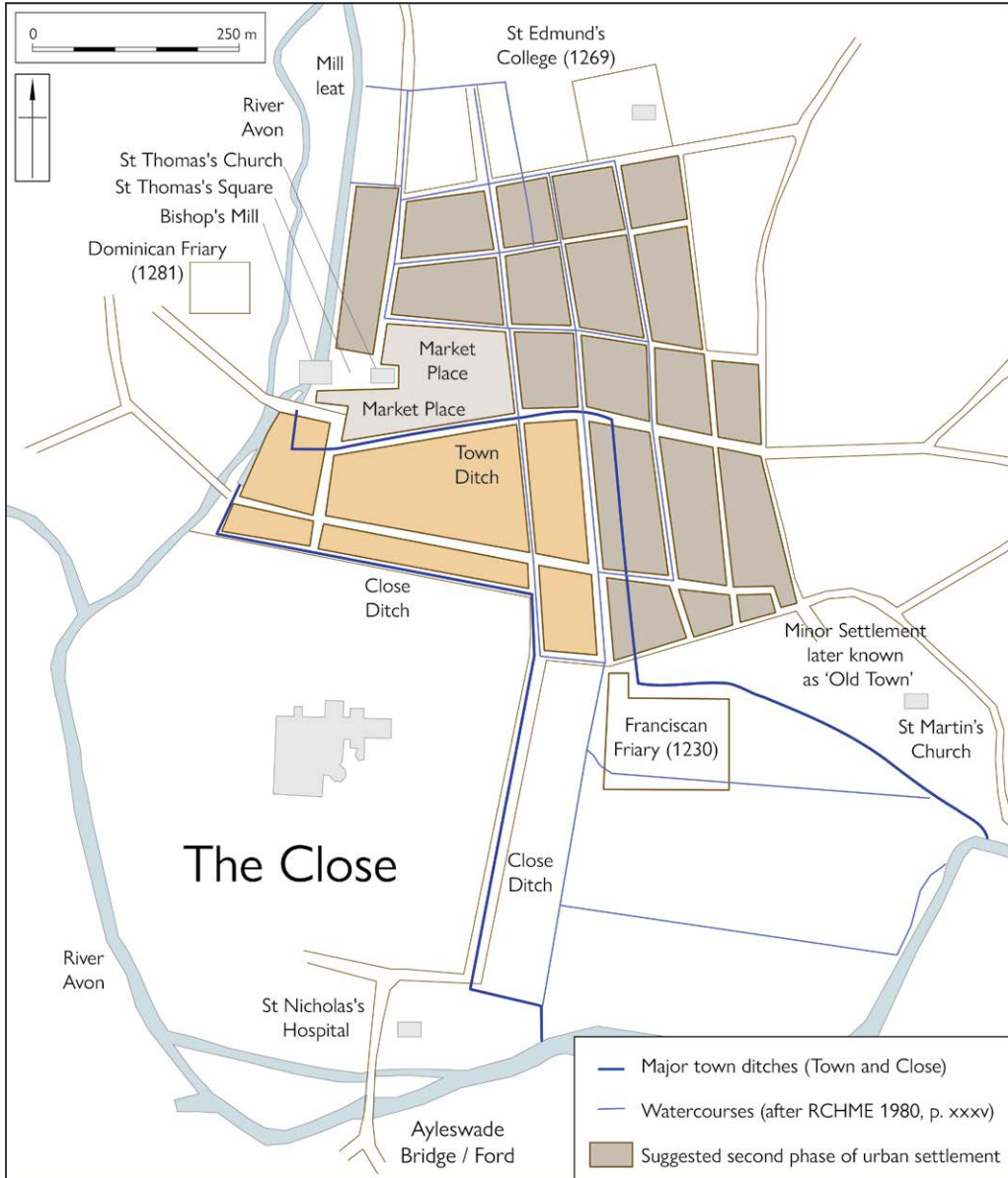


Figure 9.2: Proposed New Sarum Development Phase 2: c.1228 - 1269

west dimensions are less certain, but as Mitre Chequer did not exist (being, it is argued here, later infill), it probably included the spaces between St Thomas's chapel and Fisherton Bridge. That the market was originally in this area may be reflected in the Silver Street's former name of Old Poultry Street.

Whether the chequers were planned from the start, or were a further opportunistic expansion of the city, cannot now be known. The chequers to the north and east of the market place may have been laid out in one go, but another possibility was that there was a gradual expansion, line of chequers by line of chequers, over the following decades. As the road layout and chequers developed, the development plots within them were also carefully laid out.⁶³ The second phase also included an intricate system of watercourses. Whereas the Close Ditch and the Town Ditch were fed by the River Avon from below the mill, the second phase watercourses were fed from the mill leat above the mill, rather than the Avon itself. Furthermore, in laying out the new town, the most sensible way was to lay out the watercourses first following the natural contours (see Figure 10.1 in Lang). Once the watercourses were in place, the street frontages could have been offset either side. If the street frontages had been laid out first, and the contours proved inaccurate, the watercourses and the street frontages themselves would have had to have been remodeled.

It is not the place here to give a history of the watercourses, which finished in the mid-Victorian era, but it is worth stressing the uniqueness of the watercourse system at New Sarum. A number of the new towns of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were built on a grid system, Winchelsea being a prime example. Some small settlements had watercourses, such as Stockbridge, but no other city in England had watercourses flowing through the streets on a city-wide scale. The nearest equivalent that the Early Modern travellers could cite was Venice, and from the seventeenth century Salisbury was sometimes known as ‘The English Venice’.

The final element of the second phase was the foundation of St Edmund’s church in 1269 which was located in the more spacious north of the city. However, even in this case the church did not conform to the chequer system as its area spread across one and half chequers. In fact, none of the churches in Salisbury were located neatly within the chequer system: St Martin’s lay outside the grid, St Thomas’s broke the regular grid pattern, St Edmund’s had an enclosed area bigger than the chequers in the immediate area. Other ecclesiastical establishments were also placed outside the urban chequer system. The Franciscan friars were reputedly welcomed to Salisbury by Bishop Poore in 1228 and were given materials for their friary by the King in 1230. The friary, too, was located outside the urban chequer system, on the probably wet and marshy Bugmore meadows.⁶⁴ The Dominican friars moved to Salisbury from Wilton in 1281 and acquired a site next to the Avon in Fisherton Anger.⁶⁵ The urban chequers were thus kept free of churches. The placing of churches and religious establishments is also noticeable, broadly confirming to the points of the compass. In the south were St Nicholas’s Hospital and the Cathedral, in the east St Martin’s and the Franciscans, in the west the Dominicans, and in the north St Edmunds, with St Thomas’s close to the centre beside the commercial hub of the market. That the major churches were kept out of the urban chequer system suggests a long-term vision of the chequers which remained solely for secular settlement.

⁶³ See Harding and Howard, this volume.

⁶⁴ ‘Houses of Franciscan Friars: Salisbury’, in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3*, ed. by R. B. Pugh and E. Crittal (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1956), pp. 329–30 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp329-330>>.

⁶⁵ ‘Houses of Dominican Friars: Wilton’, in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3*, ed. by R. B. Pugh and E. Crittal (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1956), pp. 330–31 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp330-331>>.

Phase 3: Was the Scheme Unfinished?

The expectation has been that once started the scheme continued until its conclusion. However, there are some anomalies about the scheme which remain to be discussed, in particular the northern section, beyond the last three chequers. The two northern most watercourses flow through fields before turning south along Endless Street and the second slightly to the east of Endless Street.⁶⁶ Whilst watercourses could change and be adapted over time, there has not been any discussion that these are not original. If this section is original, then it is odd that Endless Street does not follow the pattern of the other chequers which have roads following the entire length of the watercourses. Rather Endless Street stops half way along the watercourse. Furthermore, an east-west street has not been built joining Castle Street to Endless Street. The east-west road could have been extended further eastwards creating another four chequers – instead there is empty space into which St Edmund's was located.

Furthermore, St Edmund's precinct, shaped as a rectangle, looks to have been fitted into a designed landscape, even though the northern ramparts were newly created in 1331,⁶⁷ it would therefore appear that the boundaries of New Sarum were already laid out by the time of St Edmund's foundation. The question then arises as to which point in the landscape was used as the marker for the north-eastern corner. Between 1771 and 1774 an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery was discovered at Bourne Hill, with 20 or 30 furnished burials.⁶⁸ Often such cemeteries had associated mounds or barrows. If this was a visible feature in the landscape it would act as a prominent marker to use as the turning point for the boundary.

If the line of the boundary – later defences – was already laid out by 1269, then there was a great deal of open, and unused, space, into which could have easily been fitted another row of chequers. That the area given to St Edmund's college was one and a half times the width of the nearest chequers indicates that the scheme was no longer viable.

Furthermore, St Edmund's parish boundary and the Market Place Ward boundaries extend to the north of the later city rampart and ditch as if in possible preparation for a northern expansion. Even though the Castle Street gate and the surrounding city ramparts and ditch later fossilize the development, there was easily enough space to create at least one more chequer within the space bounded by the watercourse. If the scheme was not completed, the reasons may include a lack of money or a change in personnel, such as the Bishop, with the new incumbent less willing to complete the project.

With the foundation of St Edmunds, New Sarum's development came to an end. Even though the scheme may not have been completed, over the decades and centuries that followed the chequers were filled with buildings and New Sarum thrived to become the third largest city in England in 1334.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ This analysis is based on Naish's 1751 map.

⁶⁷ RCHME, p. 50.

⁶⁸ Wessex Archaeology, *Land Adjacent to Bourne Hill Council Offices, Desk Based Assessment* (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Report, Ref. 54280, 2003), p. 7 <https://www.wessexarch.co.uk/sites/default/files/field_file/54280_Land%20Adjacent%20to%20Bourne%20Hill%20Council%20Offices_DBA_0.pdf>.

⁶⁹ Chandler, p. 41.

Conclusion

This proposed phasing of New Sarum is in opposition to the theory that the whole city was planned, and laid out, in one project. The proposed phased approach gives a reason for the anomalous siting of St Thomas's church, but raises the issue of either the city always being planned in several phases, or alternatively the Bishop completely re-imaging the city only a few years after the initial development. Ultimately the documentary evidence can only lead to theories and speculation and it is only by the slow piecing together of the dating by archaeology that a more holistic interpretation will be revealed.

Chapter Ten

Salisbury Marketplace: From a medieval economic vision to the city's central public and social space

Geoff Lang

Introduction

The vast original plot, and prime location, of Salisbury's marketplace suggest that it took centre stage in the planning of the new settlement. It was intrinsic to the development of the city, playing a vital role in its rise to becoming one of the country's most prosperous regional capitals in the later Middle Ages. Deliberately located to take advantage of key routes into and out of the city, it held an important economic relationship with an extensive hinterland. The marketplace also developed into a social, judicial and political centre, gradually evolving from being a highly regulated space of medieval authority, ritual and control to a much more communal, public arena in modern times. Its longstanding, multifunctional significance, both within Salisbury's small urban setting, and within its wider regional landscape, should certainly not be underestimated.

The Early Marketplace

Most histories of the new city have traditionally argued that the cathedral was planned first, and everything else followed.¹ However, there is no definitive proof that it was the cathedral that was at the forefront of the original planners' minds. Indeed, the marketplace was arguably a more important element in the planning and establishment of the new city. From its very inception, the ambitious scale of this central space shows the confidence of the bishops of Salisbury, and their advisors, that this would be a successful socio-economic project, as well as an ecclesiastical one.

Despite the fact that the episcopal relocation incorporated an awe-inspiring new cathedral for the diocese, the size of plot set aside for a marketplace suggests that this was a project largely driven by economic motives and included authoritarian intentions as well. The late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries presented economic opportunities like never before. New settlements and new markets were appearing right across the country, part of a much wider European trend, and it was surely the case that the incumbent bishops did not want to be excluded.² As well as being an economic hub, the new marketplace would be an expression of episcopal power, something not possible at Old Sarum.

¹ J. Chandler, *Endless Street: A History of Salisbury and Its People* (Salisbury: Hobnob Press, 1983), p. 21.

² R. H. Britnell, 'The Proliferation of Markets in England, 1200-1349', *The Economic History Review*, 34.2 (1981), 209 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/2595242>>; D. Nicholas, 'The Economy', in *The Central Middle Ages: Europe 950-1320*, ed. by D. Power (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 57-90.

In order to understand the planning and initial development of Salisbury, and the importance of a large marketplace to the project, it is necessary to consider the difficulties faced by serving bishops at their old base, two miles to the north. The bishops had very little control, authority, or income-generating opportunity in what was a small royal borough. Despite owning vast swathes of land in their rural manors around Old Sarum, in terms of urban settlement, the bishops were squeezed into one corner of the ancient hillfort site, with little prospect of acquiring extra productive space there. In effect, their interests played second fiddle to those of the king, whose castle housed an army garrison, the sheriff's headquarters, and the county gaol.³

The only significant income that the bishopric could generate from Old Sarum came from market tolls, granted to it by the monarch in 1130.⁴ These were limited, however, as the market there was small. Indeed, it seems never to have been a major feature in the Old Sarum landscape. Even today, the precise location of market activity remains unclear, despite archaeological excavations and geophysical investigations.⁵ Wherever this did take place though, it would have been within the limited bounds of the royal borough, not in full control of the bishops. They needed to look to their extensive episcopal lands if they were to take control of their destiny. They needed to start afresh, and plan big, and this is where a new, enormous marketplace on their own under-utilised land would take centre stage.

The bishops appear to have intended, from the outset, to create a modern marketplace, aimed at drawing in the merchant and artisan classes, and raising much more income, than was the case at Old Sarum. They chose a site, ideally located to make use of pre-existing transport routes and with an abundant water supply provided by the river Avon.⁶ It is generally accepted that the extent of the newly laid out space was larger than the marketplace we see today.⁷ In fact, the original plot was vast. This is illustrated in Figure 10.1, where the likely area set aside is highlighted in red. The brand-new site allowed such an extensive space to be incorporated in the original plan, similar in scale to the great market at Norwich, which may even have influenced its design.⁸ Its northern and eastern boundaries are the same as today, but it once extended west to include St Thomas's church and modern Silver Street; and south to include all of the modern New Canal area.

The western and southern marketplace limits show signs of being influenced by pre-existing features (Figure 10.1). On the west, the boundary seems to have been demarcated by a section of an old north-south road leading from Old Sarum down past an existing bishop's mill to a ford across the river Avon, south of the planned city. The southern boundary appears to have

³ F. Hill, 'The Borough of Old Salisbury', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6*, ed. by E. Crittal (London, 1962), pp. 51–60 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp51-53>>.

⁴ Hill, p. 51.

⁵ K. Strutt, D. Barker, and T. Sly, *Report on the Geophysical Survey at Old Sarum, Wiltshire, April and July 2016, and April and July 2017* (Southampton University: Archaeological Propection Services of Southampton, 2018) <<https://doi.org/10.5284/1047137>>.

⁶ RCHME, *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury. Vol. 1* (London: HMSO, 1980), p. xxx; A. J. Langlands, 'Placing the Burh in Searobyrg: Rethinking the Urban Topography of Early Medieval Salisbury', *WANHM*, 107 (2014), 91–105.

⁷ E. Crittal, 'New Salisbury: Introduction', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6* (London, 1962), pp. 69–72 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp69-72>>.

⁸ U. Priestley, *The Great Market: A Survey of Nine Hundred Years of Norwich Provision Market* (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1987).

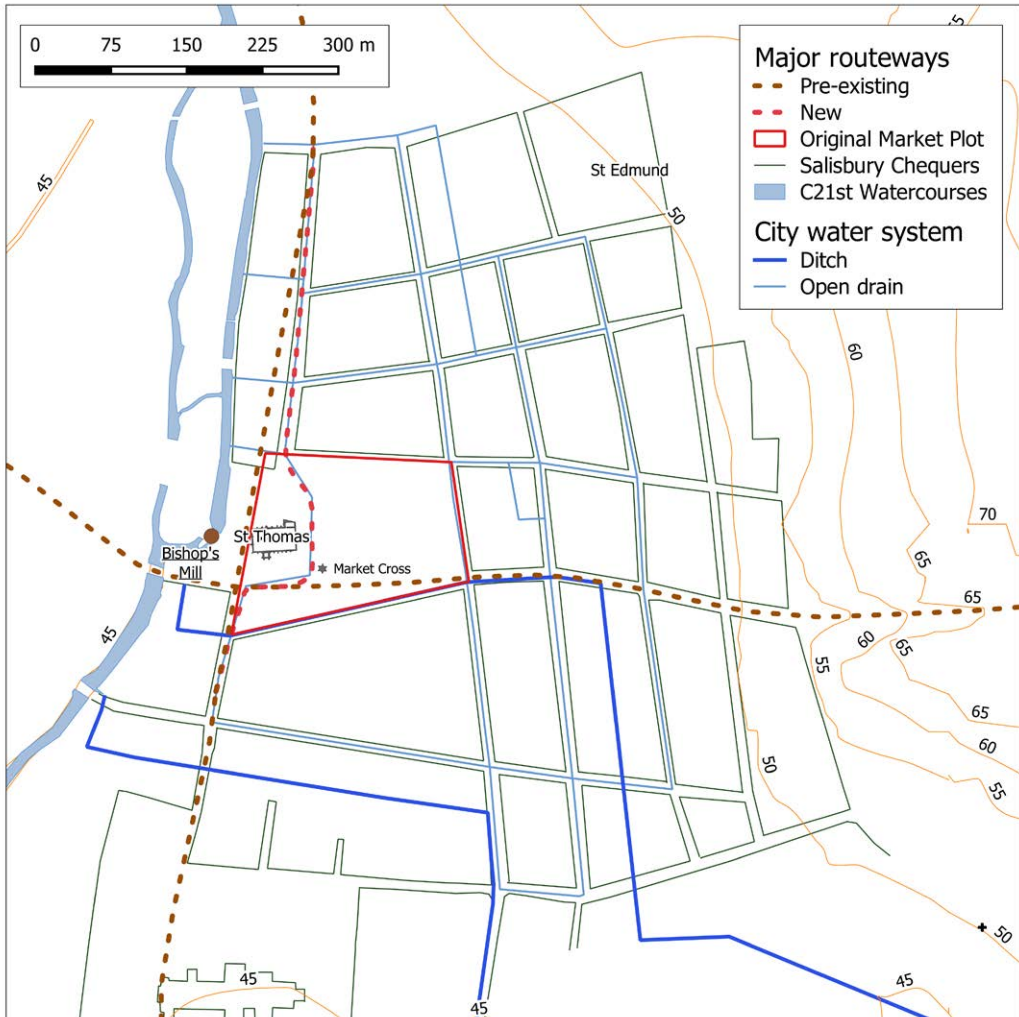


Figure 10.1: Extent of original marketplace area and pre-existing main roads across the site

been defined by a deep water channel, which may have followed the line of an earlier ditch, marking a division between meadow and marsh through the bishop's land in this area.⁹ The channel ran just to the south of a section of an established east-west road, which ran past Clarendon Palace a couple miles to the east, across the river Bourne at Milford, right through the new marketplace site, before heading on across the Avon to Wilton and the west.¹⁰ The channel may or may not have been diverted from an original course, but certainly ended up veering away slightly from this road, which carried on westwards roughly along the northern edge of today's New Canal and Silver Street. This enabled the channel to be fed by the river at a

⁹ K. H. Rogers, 'Salisbury', in *Historic Towns: Maps and Plans of Towns and Cities in the British Isles, with Historical Commentaries, from Earliest Times to 1800*, Vol. 1, ed. by M. D. Lobel and W. H. Johns (London: Lovell Johns-Cook, Hammond and Kell Organisation, 1969).

¹⁰ RCHME, p. xxxiii.

convenient point, below the pre-existing crossing over the Avon at, or near, today's Fisherton bridge, and just to the south of the Bishop's (or Town) Mill.

The necessary royal licence to hold markets was obtained on a temporary basis in 1219. This suggests very early activity at the new site. Successive temporary licences were then granted, prior to a permanent market charter being awarded by Henry III to the bishop in 1227.¹¹ The granting of such a right was by no means assured, as there were existing markets nearby at Old Sarum, Wilton and Britford.¹² These might expect to be adversely affected by new competition, but the project evidently had royal support despite this.¹³

Enough room was set aside within the original plot, for an early chapel, probably on the site of the later St Thomas's church. It has been argued that this was not the wooden chapel known to have been erected in the new settlement in 1219, which instead may have been located on land for the new cathedral.¹⁴ However, the fact this was built in 1219 when the first market licence was issued to the bishop, supports the idea that both marketplace and the chapel within it were part of the city's initial plan. Churches were a common sight looking into medieval marketplaces, and Salisbury would have been designed with that in mind.¹⁵ If (as is likely) the temporary chapel was built on the site of the later St Thomas's church, then it would have stood near the central point on the original western edge of the new marketplace plot, inside the boundary created by the pre-existing north-south road. This road is interpreted here as running nearer to the bishop's mill and leat, its main directional influence prior to the development of the new city, than is the case with modern Castle Street. It then most likely continued straight down to join today's High Street.

The chapel is mentioned again in 1238, but by 1246 it is known as St Thomas's church, by which time it may have been rebuilt in stone.¹⁶ The length of modern Castle Street, north of the church, would at this time have been moved slightly eastwards from the original north-south line proposed here, to allow development between it and the mill leat. The road's original primary purpose of serving the bishop's mill was overtaken by a need to lead directly into the main marketplace. This could explain the road's dog-leg, around the east end of St Thomas's church, and any early buildings in its vicinity, as it continued south. It has been suggested that the earlier road might have run under the church, but ground penetrating radar has so far failed to provide convincing evidence for this.¹⁷ The new stone church (and

¹¹ 'Salisbury: Markets and Fairs', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6*, ed. by E. Crittal (London: H.M.S.O., 1962), pp. 138–41 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp138-141>>.

¹² S. Letters, *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516* (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, 2013) <<https://archives.history.ac.uk/gazetteer/gazweb2.html>>.

¹³ The Bracton legal treatise dating to around this time aimed to prevent a new market being licensed within 6.66 miles of another unless the respective market days were separated by a full day. This distance was viewed as reasonable for someone to travel to market, buy or sell goods, and then return in daylight hours, Henry de Bracton, *Bracton on the Laws and Customs of England, Volume 3*, ed. by G. E. Woodbine, trans. by S. E. Thorne (Cambridge: Belknap, 1977), pp. 198–99, folio 235.

¹⁴ T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury', *WANHM*, 90 (1997), 101–9.

¹⁵ St Peter Mancroft, Norwich <<https://www.stpetermancroft.org.uk/history/foundation>> [accessed April 2024]; Victoria County History, 'Guilds, markets and fairs', in *A History of the County of York: the City of York*, (London, 1961) pp. 481–491. British History Online <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/city-of-york/pp481-491>> [accessed April 2024]

¹⁶ Tatton-Brown, p. 102.

¹⁷ Wessex Archaeology, *St. Thomas' Church, Salisbury, Wiltshire. Ground Penetrating Radar Report* (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology unpublished report, Ref: 229770.02, 2020).

possible expansion of church land to the west) may instead have now skirted the old road, which became redundant as the dog-leg diverted the north-south route, eastwards.¹⁸ The re-routing had probably happened by 1246, when St Thomas's is first mentioned. A market cross was erected near the point where this diverted road met the east-west road, indicating that this location was one of busy early activity. The cross is known to have been in place by 1307, but it might have existed before that, on the site of today's Poultry Cross.¹⁹

Medieval marketplaces were intended to be multi-functional centres, and it would be no different at Salisbury.²⁰ The original plot was probably designed to contain a building for the bailiff and other officials, as at Norwich.²¹ The likely presence of such an early building has often been overlooked by historians, probably because there is no definitive archaeological evidence for it. However, this would have been a symbol of the bishop's authority. The bailiff needed to be based in the market, for close oversight of commercial activities, and to collect fines and tolls. The fact that the new market developed quickly, and would need officials to manage it, is supported by an important Assize of Wine in 1237, specifically naming the wine trade in Salisbury and ordering the bailiff there to proclaim the assize.²²

It is known that there was a courtroom and an early city gaol for holding those awaiting trial, and that in 1249 the city had already achieved a special status by being afforded its own Eyre (circuit court) with visiting royal justices.²³ It is possible that the bailiff's first building housed these functions, just as the successor Guildhall building would do by 1314.²⁴ A Salisbury court case from 1249 reports how some prisoners escaped, using a saw, suggesting the earlier building (if it contained the gaol) was wooden.²⁵ A multi-purpose building located on the eastern side of the marketplace, directly across from the church and on the site of its successor building serving the same functions, would make sense and would also replicate the layout at Norwich.

There is little evidence for the precise nature of initial market activity, including how regulated the marketplace would have been at the start. However, it would make sense for some stalls to have run along, or near to, the old east-west road, which continued as a thoroughfare through the new site, as well as around its intersection with the north-south road. It is probable that Cordwainer Row and 'Poultry', which ran either side of modern Silver Street (on the pre-existing east-west route), derived their names during the early stages of the market in the thirteenth century. It is likely too that butchers and fishmongers had been in the vicinity of modern Butcher Row and Fish Row from the outset, close to the 'common trench with

¹⁸ Tatton-Brown, argues that there is no evidence for a 13th century church in the current fabric, which leaves many questions about the precise timeline of different phases. However, he suggests that the 13th century church was probably below the present chancel, nave and aisles (rebuilt in the 15th century).

¹⁹ 'Salisbury: The Market Place', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6*, ed. by E. Crittal (London: H.M.S.O., 1962), pp. 85–87 (p. 86) <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp85-87>>.

²⁰ J. Masschaele, 'The Public Space of the Marketplace in Medieval England', *Speculum*, 77.2 (2002), 383–421 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/3301326>>.

²¹ Priestley, p. 7, for the original market toll house at Norwich also pre-dating a later guildhall on the same site.

²² *Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry III: Volume 3, 1234-1237*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: H. M. S. O., 1908), p. 523 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-close-rolls/hen3/vol3>>.

²³ *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1249*, ed. by C. A. F. Meekings (Trowbridge: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Records Branch, 1961), xvi.

²⁴ Crittal, 'Salisbury: The Market Place', p. 86.

²⁵ Meekings, xvi, pp. 257–58.

running water' as it is described in many deeds. This was probably dug for waste disposal purposes, as well as offering emergency flood relief.

Much has been written about the system of water channels running through the streets of the new city, and these included ones running along the western, northern, and eastern boundaries of the marketplace.²⁶ Small bridges allowed pedestrians, horses and carts to cross the channels at convenient points.²⁷ Together with the deeper Town Ditch at its southern boundary, the marketplace was surrounded by running water. Indeed, the early planners seem to have given much thought to market hygiene, in particular. The western channel must have been cut after the re-routing of the north-south road, as it followed the later dog-leg. It is not known, however, if this was contemporaneous with the digging of the rest of the system, or if this western section replaced an earlier channel following the original north-south road. A large anomaly in the geophysics under the western end of the church might represent an earlier water course, cut when the original plot was laid out.²⁸

The positioning of roads into the marketplace was designed to maximise the potential for trade. A new bridge across the Avon, to the south of the city, was completed in 1244 and seems to have been part of the pre-planned project, intended to significantly expand the reach of the market. It opened up long-distance trade routes with the increasingly important port of Poole on the south coast, a further indication of the bishops managing a major economic project. Indeed, the wording of the 1227 charter probably had the need for a new bridge in mind, as it refers to the bishop's right to build bridges and move roads.²⁹ The bridge also allowed carts from farms to the south of the city to transport produce into the market more easily, as well as providing a link to the old Dorchester to Old Sarum road to the south-west of the city, and to farms and settlements along the Ebble valley.

Officials at Clarendon Palace would also have been keen to take advantage of the new marketplace, visible just two miles away. It is unthinkable that the King's favoured royal palace and hunting ground would not have made use of the availability of fresh produce and wine, which the market would now attract. It might also not be a coincidence that major rebuilding took place at the palace in the 1220s, just as the new city was being developed.³⁰ The marketplace and Clarendon might well be more closely linked, in planning terms, than has so far been recognised. The old routes to Old Sarum from London and Winchester were along the Roman roads. However, traffic could now be redirected southwards, before reaching Old Sarum, to take the pre-existing east-west route through Clarendon, Milford and Wilton. This now ran right through the new marketplace. Regular traffic from the port of Southampton would also meet this road as it entered the city from the south-east.

²⁶ RCHME, p. xxxiii.

²⁷ 'Will of William Mercer of Saint Edmund Salisbury, Wiltshire, 15 July 1407' (Kew, London), The National Archive, Kew, PROB 11/2A/262, William Mercer left money in his will for the maintenance of three bridges in the marketplace in 1407.

²⁸ Wessex Archaeology, Fig. 4., although see Harding, this volume.

²⁹ F. Street, 'Relations of the Bishops and Citizens of Salisbury 1225-1612', *WANHM*, 39 (1917), 185-257, 319-67 (p. 190).

³⁰ T. B. James and A. M. Robinson, *Clarendon Palace: The History and Archaeology of a Medieval Palace and Hunting Lodge near Salisbury, Wiltshire*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, no. 45 (London: Society of Antiquaries of London: Distributed by Thames and Hudson, 1988), pp. 8-9.

Busy routes into the new settlement had a rapid impact. The potential for agricultural produce to be brought into the marketplace by cart or by packhorse was considerable. Moreover, there is evidence for merchants bringing foreign wine, cloth and other goods from the Continent, to be traded at Salisbury from an early stage. Eight men charged at the New Sarum Eyre in 1249, had sold cloth against the Assize in the city.³¹

The Prospering Marketplace

The value of the marketplace at Salisbury would have become quickly apparent, certainly in respect of agricultural produce from its hinterland. Although early bishopric accounts for Salisbury have not survived, it seems certain that the market was intended to be supplied with

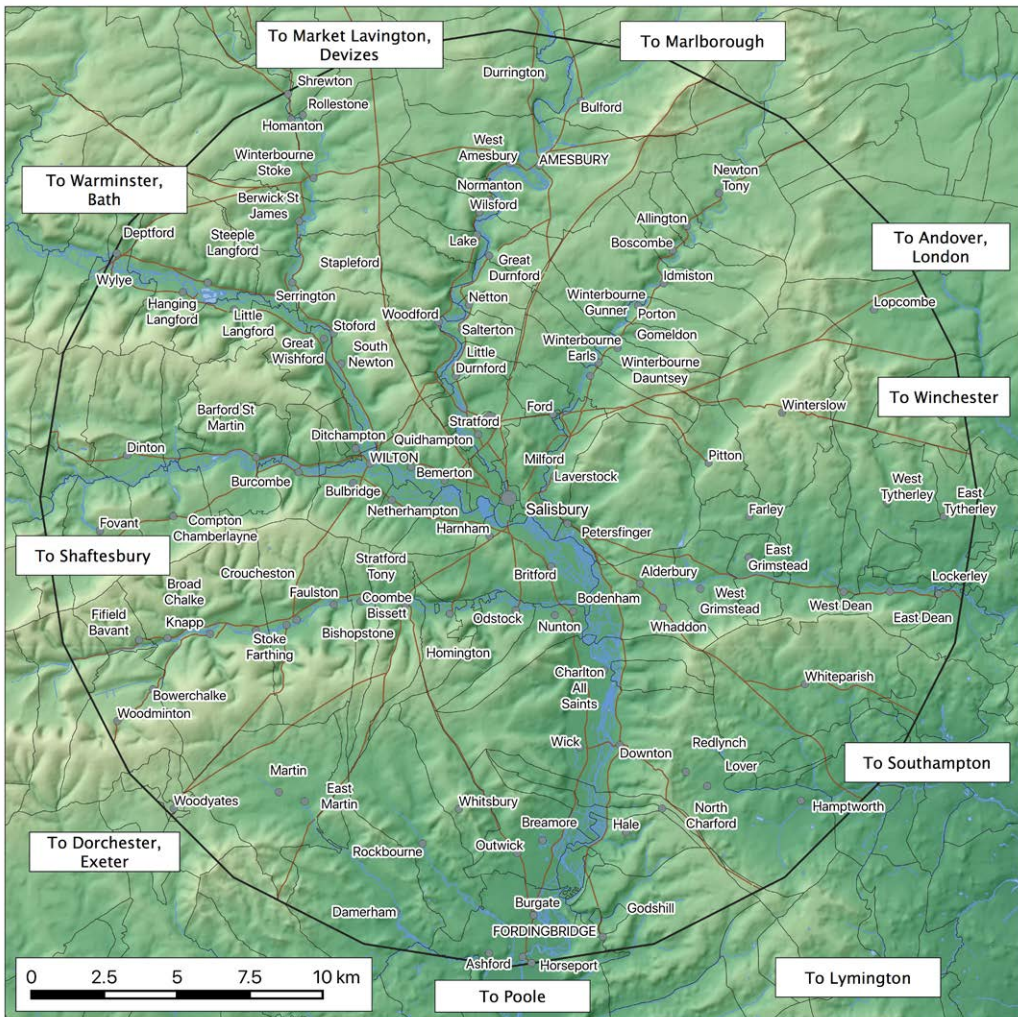


Figure 10.2: Settlements within a 16 km (10 mile) radius of Salisbury

³¹ Meekings, XVI, p. 258.

produce from the bishop's nearby manors, as was the practice at markets near the Bishop of Winchester's estates.³² Produce from other farms, within a radius of 16km (10 miles) or so, would also be drawn in (Figure 10.2). The chalklands around Salisbury were dominated by sheep and grain, and the site was ideally located to take advantage of both.³³ Grain would not have travelled far, illustrated by Farmer's analysis of bailiff accounts for Longbridge Deverill and Monkton Deverill, two Wiltshire manors of Glastonbury Abbey.³⁴ Almost all journeys to market were under 9 miles, with very few longer journeys to Salisbury, 24 miles away. Dairy produce probably had a similar, mainly local distribution in the late medieval period.

From the thirteenth century, carts bringing produce to market would have been horse-drawn rather than oxen-drawn.³⁵ Farmers, hired staff, or professional carters, could normally deliver agricultural produce from farms within a hinterland of 5-10 miles within a day, although some journeys might include an overnight stop, to allow horses to rest. Stabling and storage would therefore be needed near the marketplace, and plenty of room to unload carts would have been an important part of the plan.

Whilst grain and dairy produce were important, wool offered greater rewards, and involved longer distance travel.³⁶ Salisbury marketplace became a nodal point in an international transport network, with middlemen bringing wool from farms far and wide, to sell to local clothmakers or to merchants aiming to ship English wool for export through Southampton. Indeed, it is interesting to reflect on how much the architects of New Sarum had the port's potential in mind in their own planning. Wool was an important part of the economy by the twelfth century, and the new settlement would be in a good position to take advantage.³⁷ Wool exports through Southampton to Flanders, Normandy and Brittany were already increasing in the late twelfth century and after the collapse of the Angevin empire in 1204, the port took on even greater importance.³⁸ The Channel route to London and east coast ports became dangerous for shipping, and land routes from the Cotswolds now converged on Southampton.³⁹ This must have been seen as a golden opportunity by the bishopric of Salisbury. The new settlement would be ideally located to collect wool for export and act as a market and redistribution centre for cloth, wine and other goods imported from the Continent. All this supports the idea that the relocation project was an economic venture.

On the back of the wool trade, Salisbury grew to become one of the country's most important later medieval cities. Leading Salisbury merchants bought huge quantities of wool from a very wide hinterland. At first, cart loads of wool would leave the marketplace headed for export, but the city was soon at the heart of England's transformation into an exporter of

³² J. Hare, *A Prospering Society: Wiltshire in the Later Middle Ages*, Studies in Regional and Local History, vol. 10 (Hatfield, Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2011).

³³ Hare, *A Prospering Society*, pp. 43–45.

³⁴ D. L. Farmer, 'Two Wiltshire Manors and Their Markets', *The Agricultural History Review*, 37.1 (1989), 1–11.

³⁵ J. Masschaele, 'Transport Costs in Medieval England', *The Economic History Review*, 46.2 (1993), 266–79 (p. 269) <<https://doi.org/10.2307/2598017>>.

³⁶ A. R. Bridbury, *Medieval English Clothmaking: An Economic Survey* (London: Heinemann Educational: Pasold Research Fund, 1982).

³⁷ "The Woollen Industry before 1550", in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 4*, ed. by E. Crittal (London: H.M.S.O., 1959), pp. 115–47 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol4/pp115-147>>.

³⁸ C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community, A.D. 1000-1600* (London, Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1973), p. 21.

³⁹ C. Platt, 'Colonisation by the Wealthy: The Case of Medieval Southampton', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 29 (1972), 29–35.

manufactured cloth in the fourteenth century.⁴⁰ Salisbury developed an important (mid-range) cloth industry of its own, as did other Wiltshire towns. The marketplace was key in supplying these industrial centres with wool and raw materials, also acting as a market for finished outputs.

Merchants gathered around the marketplace, purchasing some of the most sought-after tenements and buildings around its periphery. In 1306, William Russell bought land facing onto the wool market. The three-storey timber-framed house he built, which included a high-status hammerbeam roof construction, still stands today at 9 Queen Street (originally part of medieval 'Carterstrete' which ran on southwards, along modern Catherine Street). Other buildings facing the wool market also belonged to important merchants, including Robert de Woodford, receiver of the King's wool in Wiltshire 1343-5.⁴¹ Salisbury would become the foremost cloth export market in England by the 1390s.⁴²

Merchants and wealthier traders began to build permanent shops, including solars (upstairs living accommodation), amongst the stalls of the original open marketplace.⁴³ These attracted good rental income. Surviving deeds show that Butcher Row and Fish Row included permanent shops, owned by citizen traders and merchants, by the early fourteenth century.⁴⁴ As buildings appeared in these Rows, a barrier was created between the Town Ditch area and the rest of the original marketplace. By the end of the fourteenth century a row of permanent buildings had also developed along 'Pot Row' (modern Ox Row), facing northwards onto the market. Alan Daubeney, a fishmonger, held two tenements at its east end (near the Guildhall), from at least 1402. Henry Berwick, a wealthy weaver, purchased and leased out a number of shops along the Row, including three to his daughter and son-in-law, Thomas Stabber, who ran a drapery business there in 1406. Simon Tredinnick, another draper owned a tenement in Pot Row in 1397, and there were a couple of butchers living there too. Some buildings had cellars, showing their construction was not basic.⁴⁵

The location of Salisbury was to prove very important to its growing fortunes, as it entered the fifteenth century. Southampton was by this stage one of the most important routes, through which English cloth was exported, and its own prosperity depended on Salisbury as a supplier.⁴⁶ Cloth was collected by merchants in the marketplace for export and in return, Genoese ships arriving with dyestuffs and other raw materials would offload their goods onto horse drawn carts to be distributed to the cloth industry via the Salisbury market.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ J. Hare, 'Salisbury: The Economy of a Fifteenth Century Provincial Capital', *Southern History*, 31 (2009), 1-26 (p. 3).

⁴¹ RCHME, p. 82.

⁴² H. L. Gray, 'The Production and Exportation of English Woollens in the Fourteenth Century', *The English Historical Review*, 39.153 (1924), 13-35 (p. 30).

⁴³ *Salisbury Domesday Books 1317-1413*, ed. by J. Chandler and D. Crowley (Gloucester: Published on behalf of the Wiltshire Record Society by The Hobnob Press, 2022), 22 (415: two shops with solar[s] at the butchers' stalls in 1359).

⁴⁴ Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward II, Volume 2, 1313-1317 (London: HMSO, 1898), p112; '1313-14, membranes 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1', in Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward II: Volume 2, 1313-1317, (London, 1898) pp. 106-132. British History Online <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-close-rolls/edw2/vol2-0/pp106-132> [accessed 19 April 2024]

⁴⁵ Chandler and Crowley, 172 (1663), 175 (1672), 220 (1813), 259 (1929), 306 (2056).

⁴⁶ Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, pp. 230-38.

⁴⁷ A. A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600, Volume 1*, Southampton Records Series, New Series, 1 (Southampton: University College, 1951), pp. 206-32.

Table 10.1: Carters making the most journeys to Salisbury in 1447/48

Carters to Salisbury	Individual Journeys	Group Journeys	Total Journeys	Goods Carted on Individual Journeys
John Cadelton	14	3	17	Fish Oil, Fruit, Herring, Oil, Onions, Soap, Woad, Wine
William Hardyng	10	11	21	Alum, Corn, Herring, Oil, Raisins, Soap, Wine, Woad
John Hillier	21	18	39	Almonds, Alum, Fish, Fruit, Stone, Herring, Hops, Madder, Oil, Raisins, Salmon, Soap, Wax, Wine, Woad
Thomas Hore	16	3	19	Alum, Herring, Oil, Tar, Wine, Woad
Stephen Kyng	18	24	42	Corn, Fruit, Herring, Oil, Soap, Wax, Wine, Woad
Thomas Smyth	19	22	41	Almonds, Alum, Fish, Fruit, Herring, Raisins, Salmon, Soap, Tar, Wine, Woad
Ingram Twynham	10	3	13	Alum, Herring, Madder, Soap, Wine, Woad, Wool
John Waryn	10	5	15	Corn, Herring, Madder, Wine
John Wodeley	10	5	15	Alum, Fruit, Herring, Madder, Wine, Woad
Richard Wymond	13	18	31	Barrels, Bowstaves, Fish, Fruit, Herring, Resin, Soap, Tar, Wax, Wine, Woad

The city's merchants dealt not only in exported cloth and imported industrial raw materials, but in a whole range of goods. Surviving brokage books for the port of Southampton are an invaluable information source on goods reaching Salisbury for the period 1430 to 1540.⁴⁸ They recorded all carts leaving Southampton and show that more travelled to Salisbury than any other provincial town. This illustrates what a thriving commercial hub the marketplace would have been, as shown by a published database for 1447/48.⁴⁹ There were 919 different cargoes, on 579 journeys, from October 1447 to September 1448. The majority (438) were made by individual carters, usually carrying two or three commodity types. However, 141 trips involved

⁴⁸ *English Inland Trade, 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region*, ed. by M. Hicks (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015); E. A. Lewis, *The Southampton Port and Brokage Books, 1448-9*, Southampton Records Series, 36 (Southampton: The University Press, 1993); *The Brokage Books of Southampton for 1477-8 and 1527-8*, ed. by K. F. Stevens and T. E. Olding, Southampton Records Series, 28 (Southampton: University Press, 1985).

⁴⁹ W. A. Harwood, *The Southampton Brokage Book 1447-48*, Southampton Records Series, 42 (Southampton, England: University of Southampton, 2008); W. A. Harwood, *Southampton Brokage Book, 1447-8* (Winchester: Wessex Historical Databases, 2006).

groups of carters, transporting larger volumes, each trip on behalf of a wealthy merchant. Carts travelled on every day of the week, except Sunday. As well as supplying the city itself, Salisbury marketplace was a redistribution hub for a wide regional hinterland, indicated by merchants from other towns who regularly operated there.

Cart journeys from Southampton took two days, including an overnight stop.⁵⁰ It has been argued that most carters were small-scale operators, with one cart.⁵¹ This is possibly true but some employed help, evidenced by their name appearing against more than one cart on the same day. The transport patterns of ten frequently named carters from Southampton to Salisbury in the 1447/48 brokage book are shown in Table 10.1.⁵² All these carters regularly transported a range of goods, including materials for the cloth industry. Interestingly, they all brought herring to Salisbury market. Salisbury was Southampton's main market for fish, and supplies would fill the stalls and shops in and around Fish Row.⁵³ Indeed, a major fish market operated in Salisbury into the sixteenth century. Leland said in 1542, "Salisbury market is well supplied with meat, but far better with fish. In fact, most of the main varieties of fish caught between the Tamar and Southampton are sent to Salisbury."⁵⁴

The leading Salisbury merchant dealing in fish in 1447/48 was John Halle, who commissioned carters to transport 167.5 barrels of herring in January and February 1448, along with many other goods. Halle's impressive house behind the Town Ditch on modern New Canal was situated almost directly opposite the out-of-town fishmonger stalls, which were behind Fish Row. Halle also traded in many other goods and owned a messuage with shops in Carter Street, opposite the wool market.⁵⁵ All men in Table 10.1, except Cadelton and Wodeley, carted for Halle, bringing fish, as well as clothmaking dyes and raw materials, hats, wine, fruit, sweets, and spices such as cumin, cloves and ginger. These would end up in the market for resale and onward distribution, in Halle's shops or for consumption in his home. On 1st February, two convoys of carts left Southampton for Salisbury, just to supply Halle. Groups of carts supplied other merchants, such as John Port, who dealt in raw materials, corn, fruit and herring. He also owned a messuage and shops facing into the marketplace.⁵⁶

The Southampton brokage books help paint a picture of how Salisbury marketplace acted as a magnet for some of the country's wealthiest men. Dealers from Southampton and London also supplied the fish market in 1447/48, and merchants of Somerset cloth centres, such as Robert and Thomas Ede of Bruton, used Salisbury to deal in raw materials, as well as wine and spices, rather than send carts to their own, presumably less profitable, towns. What is not known, of course, is how many unrecorded journeys were made into Salisbury, from places other than Southampton.

⁵⁰ Lewis, p. xviii.

⁵¹ M. Hicks, 'The Freight Transport of Southampton', in *English Inland Trade, 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region*, ed. by M. Hicks (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), pp. 43-52 (p. 44).

⁵² Names of father and son carters have been excluded as it is not always possible to identify which of them is being referred to on some journeys. Some of these would otherwise be in the top 10.

⁵³ J. Hare, 'Commodities: Fish', in *English Inland Trade, 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region*, ed. by M. Hicks (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), pp. 147-52.

⁵⁴ *John Leland's Itinerary: Travels in Tudor England*, ed. by J. Chandler (Stroud, Gloucestershire: A. Sutton, 1993), p. 492.

⁵⁵ 'Registers of Deeds and Wills, Charter of William Hoare, Dated 27 January 1468, Translated by D. Crowley (Unpublished)', WSA, G23/1/214.

⁵⁶ 'Registers of Deeds and Wills, Charter of John Bromley, Dated 13 January 1423, Translated by D. Crowley (Unpublished)', WSA, G23/1/214.

Transport studies elsewhere suggest that the full, heavy cartloads heading for Salisbury would have required four horses.⁵⁷ Many men and boys would undoubtedly have been employed in the marketplace, nearby inns and merchant houses to help unload and move horses to stables. Accommodation with stabling would have been very important for Salisbury's visitors, evidenced by the Blue Boar Inn being extended in the 1440s.⁵⁸ Private merchant messuages around the marketplace also provided additional rooms and stabling.

Whilst most goods seem to have travelled their full distances by road, it is worth noting that there is some evidence that Salisbury could be reached by river from as far as the south coast prior to modern river management. The accounts of William Beaufey for 1374 mention payments to archers and mariners in the barges of Salisbury.⁵⁹ This suggests they were made there and transported to the coast. As Masschaele says, flat bottomed barges or 'batellus' are known from the period, and these would probably have had the capacity to spread heavy loads as required, for some river journeys into, or near to, Salisbury.⁶⁰ Further research on potential river transport would be beneficial.

The Regulatory Marketplace

In the later Middle Ages in particular, it was accepted that regulations were essential, to engender confidence in the commercial activities in marketplaces.⁶¹ This was especially important in Salisbury, one of the busiest commercial centres in the country. Its marketplace also acted as the location for law enforcement during much of the city's history. Salisbury was governed from within this space. Its courts and gaol were in the Guildhall and punishments were often carried out in public in the marketplace area. The medieval authorities came down hard on anyone cheating consumers or harming the city's reputation. In 1417, John Laurenz was guilty of weaving cloth with the wrong warp (against the Assize of Cloth) and it was burned in public in the marketplace.⁶² Weights and measures were closely supervised, from medieval to modern times. In 1401, bakers John Sadylere and Roger Bratele were placed in the pillory for selling bread under the weight set in the Assize of Bread.⁶³ Indeed, the pillory had long been used to punish offenders. Edith Champness received this penalty for using a false measure in 1320, evidence of women operating in the early market.⁶⁴ The pillory moved around over time. In 1361, it was near a messuage 'in Winchester Street and Fishmonger Row' and in 1424 it was in roughly the same area, when described as near five shops 'opposite Chese Corner'.⁶⁵ The pillory remained an important symbol of authority in the marketplace

⁵⁷ Masschaele, 'Transport Costs in Medieval England', p. 268.

⁵⁸ N. Drinkwater and E. Mercer, 'The Blue Boar Inn, Salisbury: An Existing 15th-Century Building and the Contract for Its Erection', *Archaeological Journal*, 120.1 (1963), 236–41 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00665983.1963.10854242>>.

⁵⁹ 'Particulars of the Account of William Beaufey of Payments to Archers and Mariners in the Barges of Salisbury and Hampton. 48 Edw III.', The National Archives, Kew, E101/33/28.

⁶⁰ Masschaele, 'Transport Costs in Medieval England', p. 271.

⁶¹ J. Davis, 'Market Regulation in Fifteenth Century England', in *Commercial Activity, Markets and Entrepreneurs in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Richard Britnell* ed by B. Dodds and C. D. Liddy (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), pp. 81–106 (p. 81).

⁶² *The First General Entry Book of the City of Salisbury 1387 - 1452*, ed. by D. R. Carr (Trowbridge: Wiltshire Record Society, 2001), pp. 81–82, Assembly meetings 16 August 1417 and 22 December 1417.

⁶³ Carr, p. 18, Punishment on 12 October 1401; 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries.', WSA, G23/1/1-8, Ledger Book A, folio 19.

⁶⁴ Chandler and Crowley, 9 (137).

⁶⁵ Chandler and Crowley, 28 (502); 'Registers of Deeds and Wills, Charter of Nicholas Upton, Dated 20 September 1424, Translated by D. Crowley (Unpublished)', WSA, G23/1/214.

townscape, well beyond the medieval period. By the early seventeenth century, it had moved near the centre of the marketplace, shown on John Speed's plan of Salisbury of 1610, and supported by documentary evidence.⁶⁶ The pillory's final location, visible on Naish's map of 1716, was halfway along the northern edge of the marketplace, before it was removed altogether by the Victorians in 1845.⁶⁷

Medieval traders needed to conform to standard measures, such as the market bushel, which measured dry produce such as grain. There was a 'common weighbeam' and officially stamped weights and scales. At the height of the wool and cloth market, the weighbeam was kept nearby (probably in the Guildhall) and managed by the mayor's serjeant. The holder of this office in 1447, William Devenysch, received 13s 4d from its annual profits.⁶⁸ In the post-medieval market, the management and profits of the beam were let by tender. The Russell family managed the weighbeam from the 1660s to 1690s, including Anne Russell from 1680 to 1683, showing that women could hold supervisory roles in the market at this time. She paid £28 per annum to run the service and keep its profits.⁶⁹

Congestion was a problem in the medieval marketplace and as such, parking and unloading regulations were essential. Areas were allocated for specific activities and trading different types of produce.⁷⁰ Smiths and wheelwrights were assigned areas to wait, as they serviced the needs of visiting traders and carters. There is reference to a corner shop with solar in Winchester Street 'where smiths wait' in 1359, further evidence that some traders now owned or rented shops with accommodation above.⁷¹ In 1331, a property deed mentions a tenement opposite the marketplace where wheelwrights wait.⁷² In 1365 there is reference to Wheeler Row (modern Oatmeal Row) and in 1397, a tenement there was occupied by John Franklin, a wheelwright.⁷³

Efficient handling of horses was essential and in 1416, it was ordered that they must all leave the market after unloading.⁷⁴ In 1423, it was further ordered that horses of traders coming with their cattle must not stand outside the stable in the oat market.⁷⁵ This is one example of the many stables in the marketplace vicinity. Increasing congestion, however, meant that by 1427, the authorities needed to take a more radical step. All sales of large livestock were now moved out to a new 'Barnwell Cross' in the far south-eastern corner of the city, well away from the hectic marketplace.⁷⁶ This rule stayed in place until long after the heyday of the medieval market had passed, certainly into the seventeenth century.

⁶⁶ J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (London, 1611) <<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-ATLAS-00002-00061-00001/62>>; 'Terrier of City Lands, Salisbury', WSA, G23/1/68, Folio 1.

⁶⁷ RCHME, Plate 16; 'Minutes of a Meeting of the Directors and Trustees of the Highways, 28 February 1845', WSA, G23/1/91.

⁶⁸ 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries.', Ledger Book A, folio 145.

⁶⁹ 'Salisbury City Council, Chamberlain and Treasurer, Account Rolls, 1660-1712', WSA, G23/1/46-47.

⁷⁰ Chandler, *Endless Street: A History of Salisbury and Its People*, pp. 96-100; Crittal, 'Salisbury: The Market Place'.

⁷¹ Chandler and Crowley, 23 (434).

⁷² Chandler and Crowley, 14 (255).

⁷³ Chandler and Crowley, 99 (736) and 175 (1672, 1676).

⁷⁴ Carr, 75, Assembly meeting 2 October 1416; 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries.', Ledger Book A, folio 57.

⁷⁵ Carr, 117, Assembly meeting 24 September 1423; 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries.', Ledger Book A, folio 85.

⁷⁶ Carr, 128, Assembly meeting 5 Dec 1427; 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries.', Ledger Book A, folio 91.

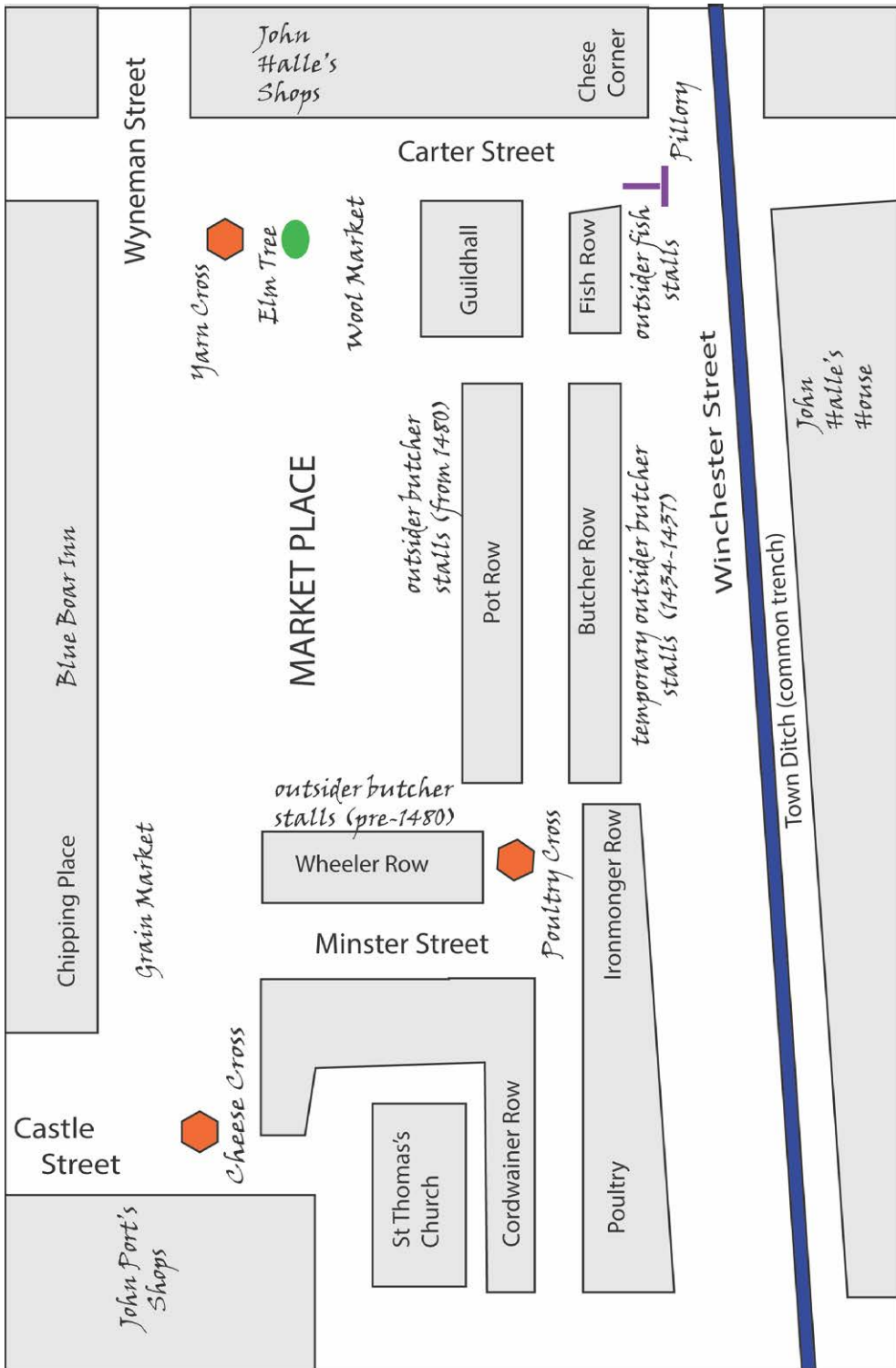


Figure 10.3: The fifteenth-century marketplace

Market crosses provided focal points for specific commodities. The city's first cross was referred to as the place "where poultry is sold" in 1335 and by the 1360s it was generally described in deeds as the cross where fruit and vegetables are sold.⁷⁷ This was replaced by the fifteenth century 'Poultry Cross' that still stands in the south-west corner of the marketplace today, though much altered. In 1416, traders coming into the market with cheese, milk and fruit were ordered to only sell these at a new 'Cheese Cross' in the north-west corner, removing some of the congestion around the original cross.⁷⁸ The rope, wool and cloth trade took up the whole eastern side of the marketplace. In 1345, hemp and linen thread were traded towards the north-east corner and wool was described as being traded opposite (presumably just north of) the Guildhall. A stone cross for wool and yarn was erected in the fifteenth century. It was described as being opposite the corner of Carter Street (probably the north end of modern Queen Street) in 1525.⁷⁹

The medieval grain market was in the north-west area of the marketplace, possibly extending into modern Castle Street (Figure 10.3).⁸⁰ In 1403, a tenement in 'Chyppingplace', with shops, cottages and a garden, was said to be opposite the grain market, but extending to 'Chyperstrete'. This most likely led across from Castle Street, near the marketplace corner, and backed onto modern Chipper Lane. The city's assembly was particularly keen to regulate the sale of grain, an essential foodstuff in the medieval period. In 1438, for instance, it was ordered that no city resident should receive any for storage, as it was leading to scarcity.⁸¹

Whilst the bishop retained overall authority, and received the profits throughout the medieval period, in practical terms the leading merchants and traders of the city organised market business. The city assembly was invariably elected from their ranks, and by the early fifteenth century, much of its business was carried out in a 'council house' near to St Thomas's church, as well as in the Bishop's Guildhall. This included matters of food hygiene. For example, only city butchers had ever been allowed to slaughter animals in the market but by 1423, the assembly prohibited this practice in Butcher Row due to the 'perpetual abomination, filth and vileness of the putrifaction'.⁸² As the market grew, visiting traders were separated from their city counterparts, making it easier for officials to supervise traders and collect tolls.⁸³ Resident butchers had to trade from their own shops, whilst outsiders were restricted to stalls on market days.⁸⁴ In 1416, the stalls of outsider butchers were 'opposite the market' in Wheeler Row.⁸⁵ They may have been in front of, or in an undeveloped part of this Row, also used by wheelwrights. Visiting butchers were moved temporarily in 1434 to behind Butcher Row, whilst repairs were made to their 'road', but returned in 1437 'to their former place by

⁷⁷ Chandler and Crowley, 90 (698), for example.

⁷⁸ Carr, 75, Assembly meeting 2 Oct 1416; 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries.', Ledger Book A, folio 57.

⁷⁹ Crittal, 'Salisbury: The Market Place', p. 86.

⁸⁰ C. H. Haskins, *The Ancient Trade Guilds and Companies of Salisbury* (Salisbury: Bennett Bros., 1912), p. 263.

⁸¹ Carr, 171, Assembly meeting 10 Dec 1438; 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries.', Ledger Book A, folio 116.

⁸² Carr, 117, Assembly meeting 24 Sept 1423; 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries.', Ledger Book A, folio 85.

⁸³ J. Davis, *Medieval Market Morality: Life, Law and Ethics in the English Marketplace, 1200-1500*, 1st edn (Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 180 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511763366>>.

⁸⁴ Carr, 213, Assembly meeting 15 September 1447; 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries.', Ledger Book A, folio 145.

⁸⁵ Carr, 75, Assembly meeting 2 October 1416; 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries.', Ledger Book A, folio 57.

the market'.⁸⁶ In 1427, outside fishmongers were ordered to be located 'above the common ditch' behind the city fishmongers of Fish Row.⁸⁷

As the city assembly increased its influence, it successfully negotiated in 1480, to keep all proceeds from outsider butchers, and built two new rows of stalls in front of Pot Row, in the open marketplace.⁸⁸ Twenty-eight stalls in two rows were still present there in 1609, when the north row was said to run westwards from the pillory.⁸⁹ There was considerable family continuity amongst these butchers. Of thirty stall holder families in 1660, fifteen still operated twenty years later, meaning that many had a long relationship with the market.⁹⁰ An idea of the appearance of the stalls can be gleaned from the accounts. When they were removed from the marketplace for good in 1683, the city received an average of six shillings for the tiles and timber of each stall. They had taken up ground measuring around 35 feet in breadth and 155 feet in length (approximately 11m x 47m).⁹¹

As well as highly controlled commercial spaces, medieval marketplaces were important ceremonial venues. In Salisbury, the Tailors' Guild paraded 'across the pavement of the market' on their midsummer feast days from the fifteenth century. Such processions were full of ritual, with members placed in strict hierarchical order. They became more elaborate over time, involving the mayor, morris dancers, musicians and, from the sixteenth century at least, the Salisbury Giant.⁹² Marketplaces were where people congregated, and as such they were also used across the country to make state proclamations.⁹³ It was here that medieval monarchs could control what was said and when it was said, to the greatest number of people. Importantly this was also an efficient way of ensuring national news was communicated, by word of mouth, into the villages and farms of the surrounding rural landscape.

The death of Richard III was proclaimed in every marketplace including Salisbury's, in 1485. This was a deliberate means of averting rumours that he was exiled or in hiding, announcing that his body lay open for viewing in Leicester.⁹⁴ Proclamations became an increasingly theatrical event in Salisbury, with the mayor and council in robes, sometimes on horseback, announcing the news at set points around the marketplace (showing that it was the city's predominant public space). Trumpeters were present and music played at coronations, jubilees and peace settlements.⁹⁵ The accession of Charles III was proclaimed with music in Salisbury marketplace, keeping this tradition alive today (Figure 10.4).

⁸⁶ Carr, 160, Assembly meeting 8 March 1437; 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries.', Ledger Book A, folio 111.

⁸⁷ Carr, 128, Assembly meeting 5 Dec 1427; 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries.', Ledger Book A, folio 91.

⁸⁸ 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries.', Ledger Book B, folios 135 & 149.

⁸⁹ 'Leases of Chamber Lands', WSA, G23/1/68, folio 1.

⁹⁰ 'Salisbury City Council, Chamberlain and Treasurer, Account Rolls, 1660-1712'.

⁹¹ 'Terrier of City Lands, Salisbury', 1716, folio 92.

⁹² A. Douglas, 'Midsummer in Salisbury: The Tailors' Guild and Confraternity 1444-1642', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 25.1 (2010), 35-51. <https://doi.org/10.33137/rr.v25i1.12028>

⁹³ Masschaele, 'The Public Space of the Marketplace in Medieval England', pp. 390-94.

⁹⁴ C. R. Kyle, 'Monarch and Marketplace', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 78.4 (2015), 771-87 (p. 777).

⁹⁵ 'Mayor's Meetings 1734-93: Arrangements for Proclaiming the Declaration of Peace on 9th February 1748', WSA, G23/1/14.



Figure 10.4: Proclamation of Charles III in September 2022

Medieval marketplaces also had a more sinister role. They became theatres for religious and moral regulation.⁹⁶ Serious offences would be punished in full public view. Augustine Stere was paraded in Salisbury marketplace for his sin of heresy, on the authority of Bishop Thomas Langton in 1491.⁹⁷ In the usual penance ritual, he was paraded bare-legged, bare-footed and bare-headed, wearing just a shirt and breeches, with a bundle of faggots (sticks) on his back and bearing a branding on his hand. The marketplace represented a symbolic stage, upon which sinners would repent their sins through public penance.

The end of Salisbury's dominance in the cloth trade saw a drop in its fortunes in the post-medieval period. Poverty and vagrancy became an ever-increasing challenge. The city's leaders needed to act and it is symbolic that a grand new Council House was built in the 1580s, on land vacated by the old wool market.⁹⁸ Under the Vagrancy Statute of 1598 "rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars over the age of 7" were to be whipped and returned with a

⁹⁶ Masschaele, 'The Public Space of the Marketplace in Medieval England', p. 400.

⁹⁷ *The Register of Thomas Langton, Bishop of Salisbury, 1485-93*, ed. by D. P. Wright (Oxford: Canterbury and York Society, 1985), p. 487.

⁹⁸ Crittal, 'Salisbury: The Market Place', p. 87.

'passport' to their parish of birth or last place of residence.⁹⁹ In Salisbury, whippings took place in the marketplace, the public stage on which a high moral order was enforced. Women were not excused either. Margery Lane, a vagrant from Homington just 4 miles to the south of Salisbury, was whipped and issued with a passport back to her home parish on 20th April 1598.¹⁰⁰ On 26 October 1635, Susanna Wickham was whipped in the marketplace, having been found begging with her children. They were returned to Spalding in Lincolnshire, handed from constable to constable on the route.¹⁰¹

It is interesting that land set aside for the Council House in 1573 was described as 'the place where the great elme late stodee'.¹⁰² One can only speculate as to why an elm would have been planted in the wool market area, possibly in the fifteenth century if it was 'great' in the mid-sixteenth century. It must have been a significant feature in the marketplace landscape for many years. It is also worth noting that in 1589, a lease to manage the weighbeam included a duty to repair the yarn market walls, suggesting they and the cross were still standing and in use, even after the new Council House had been built nearby.¹⁰³

The regulatory and authoritarian nature of the marketplace continued through to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when thieves and drunkards could expect to be whipped in public or placed in the stocks or pillory. Walter Lee was set in the stocks for the "loathsome sin of drunkenness" in 1714.¹⁰⁴ City beadles were paid an allowance for each whipping they performed, as listed in the chamberlain's accounts. Mary Harvey was "whipped at the cart's tail" around the marketplace in 1747, as punishment for the theft of several articles.¹⁰⁵ In 1801, Charles Sanger was whipped for stealing a brush.¹⁰⁶ Most offenders were whipped on the move walking a distance of 100 or 200 yards, which added dramatic impact to proceedings. Joseph Smith in 1808 and Thomas Wall in 1810, both experienced this humiliation.¹⁰⁷ No public whippings were sanctioned after 1818.¹⁰⁸ The last use of the stocks in Salisbury was not until 1858, by which time they had been moved to the New Canal area. They had not been used for fifty years, but following his eighth arrest for habitual drunkenness, and after refusing to pay his five shilling fine, John Solloway (a rag and bone man) was sentenced to be placed in them for six hours.¹⁰⁹ The event caused a great deal of amusement for the large crowd, who gathered to watch.

Enforcement of a high moral culture was not all one-way traffic. Marketplaces became centres of popular protest, a focus for people to gather and express displeasure.¹¹⁰ In 1766, food riots swept across southern England, following bad harvests, grain shortages and high food prices. In September, rioting broke out in Salisbury marketplace. At the grain market 'a great number

⁹⁹ *Poverty in Early-Stuart Salisbury*, ed. by P. Slack, Wiltshire Record Society, v. 31 (Devizes: Wiltshire Record Society, 1975), p. 17.

¹⁰⁰ Slack, p. 17.

¹⁰¹ Slack, p. 17.

¹⁰² 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries,' Ledger Book C, folio 27.

¹⁰³ 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries,' Ledger Book B, folio 342.

¹⁰⁴ 'Quarter Sessions Indictments 1710-1763', WSA, A3/175/2.

¹⁰⁵ 'Quarter Sessions Minutes 1747-1760', WSA, A3/150/1.

¹⁰⁶ 'Quarter Sessions Minutes 1800-1806', WSA, A3/150/2.

¹⁰⁷ 'Quarter Sessions Notebook 1800-1813', WSA, A3/162/1.

¹⁰⁸ 'Quarter Sessions Prisoners 1817-1890', WSA, A3/190/9.

¹⁰⁹ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 19 June 1858; *Hampshire Advertiser*, 19 June 1858.

¹¹⁰ *Markets, Market Culture and Popular Protest in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland*, ed. by A. Randall and A. Charlesworth, 1st edn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996) <<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt5vjmk1>>.



Figure 10.5: New Council House in the 1790s © Salisbury Museum

of the poor began to be very outrageous on account of the high price of wheat which then sold from 6s6d to 8s per bushel'.¹¹¹ They seized farmers' sacks and sold the contents at lower prices than had been set, returning the proceeds and empty sacks to their owners. Rioting also broke out in 1795, when influential local farmers felt the brunt of the crowd's anger, considered to be part of a conspiracy to reduce the size of longstanding Salisbury bushels, to a new standard for measuring and selling corn. Henry Hunt recalled that his father's bushel had contained 10 gallons, whilst the normal Wiltshire bushel contained 9 gallons. The standard "Winchester Bushel" would now be just 8 gallons.¹¹²

Salisbury marketplace occupied a key place in the political and economic culture of the county. It was often where the crowd could make its voice heard against the influence of a landowning elite across a wide hinterland. However, the end of the eighteenth century witnessed marketplace changes as local customs came under growing pressure, to conform with national standards.

The Modern Marketplace

One significant shift in Salisbury marketplace's role since the late eighteenth century has been its change from an authoritarian space to one in which the people of the city and its hinterland became far more empowered. The central, open space became sacrosanct. After

¹¹¹ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 22 September 1766.

¹¹² H. Hunt, *Memoirs of Henry Hunt, Esq. Volume 1* (London: T. Dolby, 1820), pp. 237–38.



Figure 10.6: 1856 Crimean Peace Celebrations, © Salisbury Museum

the Council House was badly damaged by fire in 1780, a decision was taken to demolish it along with the medieval Guildhall, and replace both with one, new multifunctional building (Figure 10.5). The main funder, Lord Radnor, proposed it should sit in the middle of the marketplace.¹¹³ This was rejected, and the open space was saved. It was decided instead to re-use the old Guildhall site, in the south-east corner. Council meetings are still held in this building today, although the gaol and court rooms have moved out.

As the marketplace entered the nineteenth century, it became a 'People's Space'. The 1832 Reform Act, the 1856 Crimean Peace Agreement and Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887, were just some of the events involving spectacular processions and enormous public feasts, centred on the marketplace, aimed at involving everyone (Figure 10.6). The earliest events were organised by male-only committees though many ladies did attend the festivities. However, women played a more active role in organising the 1887 event. There was a public dinner for all men and boys over fourteen, for a subscription of one shilling, followed by a free tea also in the marketplace, for ladies and girls over fourteen.¹¹⁴ The marketplace also became a place of commemoration, with statues of Lord Herbert and Henry Fawcett appearing in the

¹¹³ 'City Ledgers, Including Minutes and General Entries.', Minutes of meeting 31 December 1781.

¹¹⁴ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 2 July 1832; "'Poster Book' Containing Public Notices, Advertisements and Posters', WSA, G23/169/1.

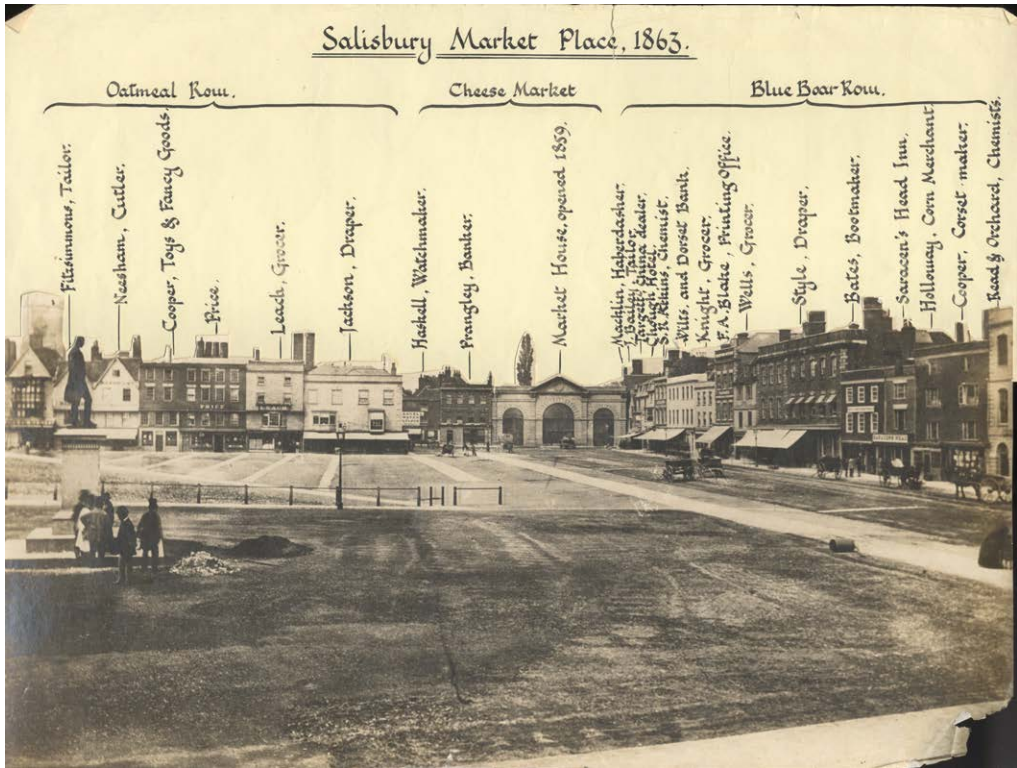


Figure 10.7: Statue of Sidney Herbert, the Market House and marketplace businesses in 1863

1860s and 1880s respectively.¹¹⁵ Various sites were considered for the First World War One memorial, but again the marketplace was chosen.

Whilst the post-medieval marketplace never recaptured its once dominant position in the region's economy, its commercial nature did evolve. By the late seventeenth century, a time when many English town centres were experiencing a commercial revolution, Salisbury was ready to join in.¹¹⁶ Although poverty was a problem for many citizens, others had money to spend. Salisbury was still the county centre. Its courts brought justices and officials to the city, and its cathedral was an important magnet for wealthier sections of society. A survey of inns in Salisbury in 1686 reported a still very busy city, with 548 beds and stabling for 865 horses.¹¹⁷ Some of the old medieval tenements that ran back from their shop frontages in Queen Street were converted into inns and stables. Both the Cross Keys and Plume of Feathers, visible in Figure 10.5, operated from the 1630s to the 1860s.

The Industrial Revolution largely passed Salisbury by, but its marketplace became the centre of a flourishing if small-scale manufacturing and retail cutlery trade, notable for the quality

¹¹⁵ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 4 July 1863; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 28 May 1887.

¹¹⁶ P. Clark and P. Slack, *English Towns in Transition, 1500-1700* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976).

¹¹⁷ 'Inns and Alehouses: Return of Accommodation for Men and Horses, 1686', The National Archives, Kew, WO 30/48.



Figure 10.8: 1850s livestock market. (© Salisbury Museum)

of its products and high-class clientele. The Goddards operated from the 1750s to 1826 and advertised themselves as “cutlers to their majesties” at their premises in Queen Street from the 1780s.¹¹⁸ The Shorto family ran another cutlery business just two doors away between 1773 and 1836. They received royal patronage from the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria, following a royal visit to the shop in 1830.¹¹⁹ These are two examples of the considerable family continuity across a range of marketplace firms. In Blue Boar Row, Frederick Blake’s printing business and bookshop lasted from 1848 to 1892, Louisa Cooper’s ladieswear shop was run by the family from the 1850s to the 1920s, and Samuel Atkins’ chemist shop from 1858 to the 1930s.¹²⁰ There was a sense of pride to run one of the many family businesses in the

¹¹⁸ ‘Apprenticeship of Thomas Briant to James Goddard, Cutler, 24 December 1754’, The National Archives, Kew, IR 1/52/58; *Salisbury and Winchester Trade Directories 1783-1822*; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 14 October 1826.

¹¹⁹ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 5 July 1773; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 1 November 1830; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 7 March 1836.

¹²⁰ *Wiltshire and Salisbury Trade Directories 1783-1939*; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 25 December 1847; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 13 March 1858; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 23 April 1892.

Table 10.2: Market Day Carrier Services 1830 and 1895.

*Tuesday and Saturday services. Those not asterisked were Tuesday market services only.

1830	1895	1830	1895
	Alderbury*		Idmiston
	Allington*		Kings Somborne*
	Alverdiston*	Landford*	Landford*
Amesbury*	Amesbury*		Langford
	Ampport	Ludgershall*	Ludgershall*
Andover	Andover	Martin	Martin*
Appleshaw			Netton*
	Bapton*		Netheravon*
Barford*	Barford*		Newton Tony*
Basingstoke*	Basingstoke*	Orcheston	Orcheston*
	Bemerton*	Pentridge	Pentridge
	Berwick*		Pitton*
	Berwick St John*		Plaitford
	Bishopstone*		Quidhampton*
	Boscombe*		Redlynch*
	Breamore*	Ringwood	Ringwood*
	Bramshaw*		Rockbourne*
Broadchalke*	Broadchalke*		Romsey
Broughton	Broughton*	Semley	
	Bulford*	Shipton Bellinger	
Chilmark*	Chilmark*	Shrewton*	Shrewton*
	Chitterne	Southampton*	Southampton*
	Cholderton*	Stapleford*	Stapleford*
Clatford			Stockbridge*
Codford	Codford		Stockton*
Compton	Compton		Swallowcliffe*
Chamberlayne*	Chamberlayne*	Teffont*	Teffont*
	Coombe Bissett*	Tidworth	Tidworth
Cranborne	Cranborne		Tilshead
Damerham*	Damerham*	Tisbury	Tisbury*
Deptford		Tollard Royal	Tollard Royal
Dean	Dean	Thruyton	
Devizes*	Devizes*		Tytherley
Dinton*	Dinton*	Wallop*	Wallop*
Downton*	Downton*		Wardour*
	Durnford*	Warminster*	Warminster
	Durrington*		Wellow
	Ebbesbourne*		Whiteparish*
	Enford	Wilton*	Wilton*
Farley*	Farley*	Wimborne	Wimborne
	Figheledean*	Wincanton*	Wincanton*
	Flemington	Winterbourne	Winterbourne
Fonthill	Fonthill	Stoke*	Stoke*
Fordingbridge*	Fordingbridge*		Winterbournes*
Fovant*	Fovant*	Winterslow*	Winterslow*
	Grimstead*	Wishford*	Wishford*
	Gussage		Woodford*
	Handley*		Woodgreen*
	Haxton*		Woodyates*
	Hindon		Wyle*
	Homington*		



Figure 10.9: A Twenty-first century market day scene. (© Spencer Mulholland Photography)

marketplace (Figure 10.7). The importance of providing excellent customer service is evident on newspaper advertisements of the day.

With the coming of the railway to Salisbury in the 1840s and 1850s, there was a bold attempt to boost the city's economic standing. A public company was formed in 1856, with the purpose of bringing the railway to the marketplace. A grand 'Market House' was built, facing onto the Cheesemarket, where John Port's shops had been in the fifteenth century, and then the Maidenhead Inn. A track ran right into it now from the station at Fisherton. However, it was only used for limited sales of corn, wool and cheese and this was in decline by the early twentieth century. The market line was removed in 1918 and whilst some corn dealing survived at the Market House into the 1950s, the whole operation ceased in 1965.¹²¹

The fact that Salisbury failed to grow extensively in the Industrial Revolution has probably been the saviour of its open marketplace. The pressure to build on this space was resisted, made easier by its relative economic stagnation. In terms of the market, it remained the main shopping venue for residents, and nearby villagers, through to the twentieth century.

Market days attracted shoppers from every surrounding village and town. Most only spent small sums at market stalls but Table 10.2 shows the network of nineteenth century carrier services, bringing people into the city on market day mornings and returning them the same day.¹²² Most services ran *only* on market days, demonstrating how important the marketplace

¹²¹ W. G. C. Backinsell, *The Salisbury Railway & Market House Company* (Salisbury: South Wiltshire Industrial Archaeology Society, 1977).

¹²² *Pigot and Co's National Commercial Directory (Wiltshire)*, 1830; 'Kelly's Directory of Wiltshire', 1895.

remained as a focal point for the inhabitants of a wide rural hinterland. They added to the farmers arriving for Tuesday livestock sales. Photographic evidence from the 1850s suggests an almost pastoral scene on market days (Figure 10.8), reinforced by contemporary drawings.

Driven by advances in farming practice, Salisbury's livestock trade increased at a rapid rate, and by the start of the twentieth century the marketplace was struggling to cope with demand. As a result, heavier stock was allowed to be auctioned at three private auction yards around the marketplace perimeter. One of these was set up in 1912 by John Jeffery, who converted Herring's longstanding livery stables behind 13 Queen Street. By 1935, it was reported that Jeffery was selling up to 780 cattle on auction days. Woolley and Wallis were selling similar quantities of cattle, as well as up to around 1350 pigs a day, at its nearby yard off Castle Street and at auctions still held in the marketplace. The third yard, run by Knapman, sold smaller quantities from premises entered via New Canal.¹²³

Livestock sales in the marketplace, and at the yards, continued into the 1950s, before they were removed to modern facilities away from the city centre.¹²⁴ The interrelationship between the marketplace and Salisbury's farming hinterland ended as a result. The cafes and pubs in and around the marketplace now serve a new customer base, with private cars bringing people into what remains a focal point for many who live in outlying villages and settlements. Supermarkets and online shopping present challenges to modern marketplace businesses, of course, but despite this, a good number of stalls continue to operate each market day (Figure 10.9). Coffee shops and pizza restaurants pull people in, as do car boot sales, music events and specialist market days. Salisbury's historic marketplace continues to evolve.

¹²³ '(Cattle Market 1938-1972) Markets Committee Meeting, 15 November 1938', WSA, G23/132/205.

¹²⁴ 'Salisbury and Winchester Journal, Agricultural Supplement, 19 June 1959', WSA, G23/132/205.

Chapter Eleven

Fisherton Anger: From Domesday settlement to medieval suburb

Jamie Wright

Background

Fisherton Anger parish, of 348 acres, is irregularly shaped with its eastern and southern boundaries being formed by the rivers Avon and Nadder while the western boundary zigzags, dictated in places by presumed previously existing fields (Figure 11.1). This western boundary ignores the former Roman Road from Old Sarum to Dorchester and this reflects the late Saxon origin of the parish. Unusually for southern Wiltshire there is no downland, with the highest point at c. 80m OD on rising ground. A short stream, called Spring Ditch in 1753,¹ issues in the southwest and has probably always formed a natural barrier. An east-west aligned road passes through the parish linking Wilton to the west with Clarendon, Winchester and Southampton to the east and southeast, and a ridgeway road leading to Devizes or the Woodford Valley branches off northwest from the Wilton Road. Footpaths to the adjacent villages of Harnham, Bemerton and Stratford sub Castle are potentially as old as the village, but are first mentioned in the Parliamentary Enclosure of the 1790s.²

Every period of prehistory and history is represented in the parish, some as stray finds or isolated features but an outstanding assemblage of Middle Palaeolithic faunal remains was found when digging clay for bricks and c. 70 Iron Age pits were discovered during gravel extraction and excavated in the nineteenth century.³

The village name reflects the occupation of some inhabitants, and two of seven parishioners named in 1281 were fishermen, while fishing rights were mentioned in 1539.⁴ To avoid confusion with Fisherton de la Mare, Anger was a later addition to the name, a corruption of Aucher, the lords of the manor in the fourteenth century.

St Clement's, the parish church, was probably founded during the reign of Cnut or his sons, between 1040 and 1060, and the parish may have seceded from its larger western neighbour Fuggleston St Peter.⁵ That Fisherton post-dates Fuggleston St Peter seems to be shown by the

¹ 'Survey of the Manor of Fisherton Anger, Including Water Meadows, Giving Names of Tenants, Field Names and Acreages; Made to Accompany a Plan Now Missing.', 1753, WSA, 776/539.

² 'Fisherton Anger (No Map), Enclosure Award', 1790, WSA, A1/EA 53.

³ D. A. Roe, *The Lower and Middle Palaeolithic Periods in Britain*, Archaeology of Britain (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 266–67; F. Stevens, 'The Highfield Pit Dwellings, Fisherton, Salisbury: Excavated May 1866 to September 1869', *WANHM*, 46 (1934), 579–624.

⁴ C. F. R. Palmer, 'The Black Friars of Wiltshire', *WANHM*, 18 (1879), 162–76 (pp. 165, 174).

⁵ B. E. Crawford, *The Churches Dedicated to St. Clement in Medieval England: A Hagio-Geography of the Seafarer's Saint in 11th Century North Europe*, Série Supplémentaire À. Scrinium, Revue de Patrologie, d'hagiographie Critique et d'histoire Ecclésiastique. Scripta Ecclesiastica, t. 1 (St. Petersburg: Axiōma, 2008), pp. 174–77.

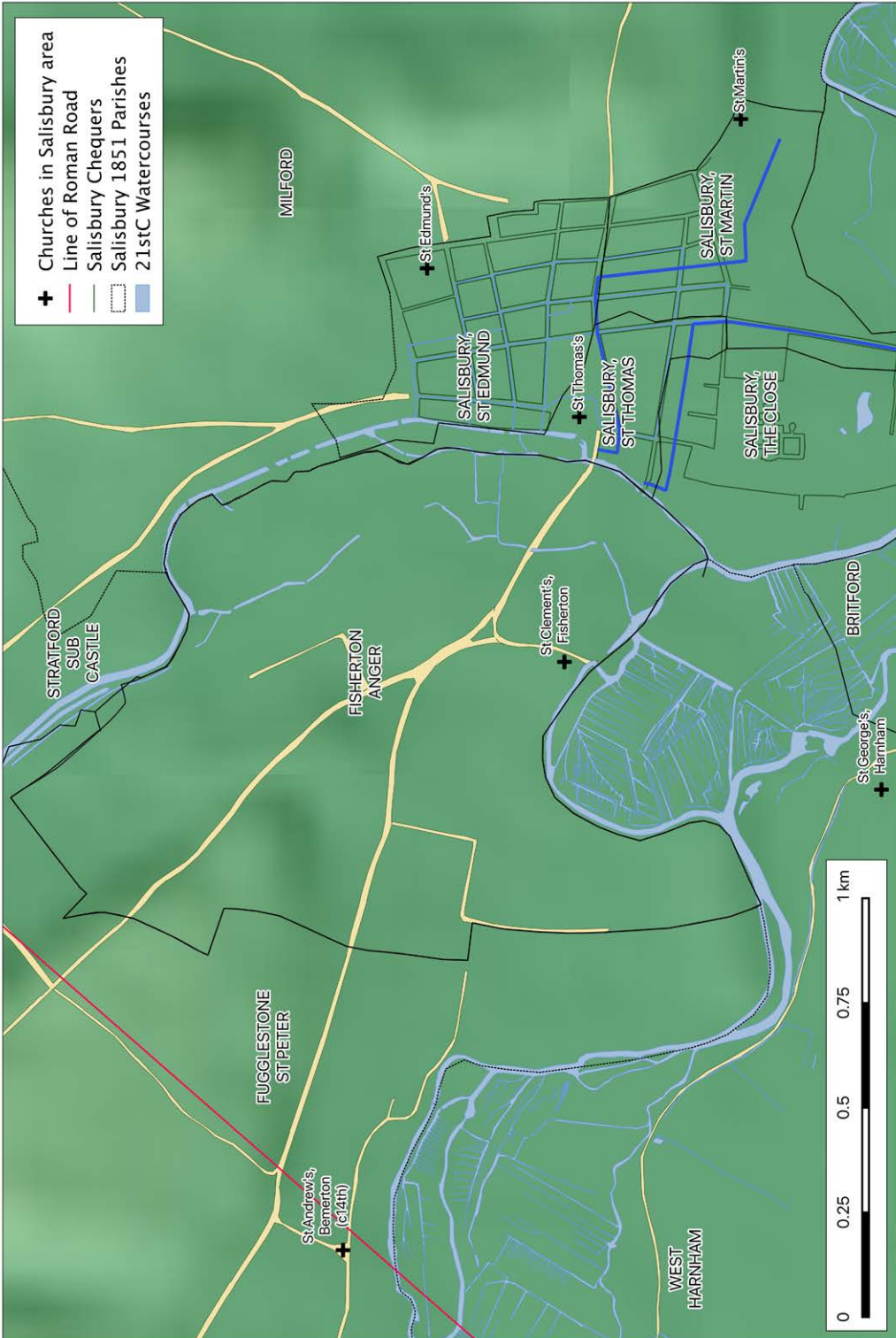


Figure 11.1: Fisherton Anger parish and topography.

northern boundary where a finger of land adjacent to the Avon is in the latter parish. This land was later described as withy beds and was presumably valuable. It is not totally clear which parish lay to the east, probably Milford, but the boundary ran along the 'Old River' (so named in 1700), a partly man-made construction undertaken when the mill pond for the town's or bishop's mill was created.

In about 1538 John Leland visited Salisbury, writing that 'Ther was a village at Fisssherton over Avon or ever New-Saresbyri was buildid this Fisschertoun, now a suburbe to New-Saresbyri'.⁶ Apart from an inability to spell the name the same way in two consecutive sentences (a common problem) this neatly sums up Fisherton which started as a small rural village but was soon dominated by its much larger and younger neighbour. The relationship between the neighbours is investigated in this paper, offering interpretations on how the village can be re-constructed at the time of Domesday, in around 1300, 1570, and, finally, in 1700.

Population

There are various estimators of the village population considered in this section. As is usual, women and children get ignored in these sources, so where the heads of households are counted, a multiplier of 4.5 has been used to approximate the total population and for the poll tax, where anyone over 14 years old was enumerated, a multiplier of 1.5 is used.

Three villagers, five smallholders and a slave were the only people listed in Domesday and assuming an average family size of 4.5, a population estimate of forty is given.

Eleven people paid tax in 1332, but this gives only the vaguest impression of the population, as only those with farm livestock and agricultural produce worth more than 10s were taxed.⁷ An inquisition of 1303 followed the death of Henry Aucher, lord of the manor, and reveals more of the village.⁸ Sixteen free tenants were named who between them held eleven tenements or messuages, also mentioned were ten customary tenants who paid 25s and owed no works. Assuming there was no overlap between the free and the customary tenants this would suggest twenty-six heads of household with property or land shortly before the tax was paid. A multiplier of 4.5 gives an estimated population of 117 in 1303 and forty-seven in 1332.

However, when the Poll Tax of 1377 was exacted on everyone over the age of 14 years, the number paying in Fisherton was 147.⁹ A multiplier of 1.5, to account for those under the age of 14, suggests a population of 220. The Great Famine of 1315-22 and the Black Death of 1348-50 affected most of the country and it seems Fisherton was not excluded as in 1376 when Thomas Leycestre was outlawed for 'divers felonies', in right of his wife Agnes he held five messuages and five shops in Fisherton and Bemerton.¹⁰ These were worth nothing because 'they are in ruins and unroofed', and no tenant could live in them.

⁶ L. Toulmin Smith, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535-1543, Volume 1* (London: G. Bell, 1907), p. 260.

⁷ *The Wiltshire Tax List of 1332*, ed. by D. A. Crowley (Trowbridge: The Wiltshire Record Society, 1989), XLV, p. 84.

⁸ *Abstracts of Wiltshire Inquisitions Post Mortem in the Reigns of Henry III, Edward I and Edward II AD 1242-1326*, ed. by A. E. Fry (London: British Record Society, 1908), p. 166.

⁹ 'Poll-Tax Payers of 1377', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 4*, ed. by E. Crittal (London: Victoria County History, 1959), pp. 304-13.

¹⁰ *Abstracts of Wiltshire Inquisitiones Post Mortem, King Edward III, AD 1327-1377*, ed. by E. Stokes (London: Wiltshire

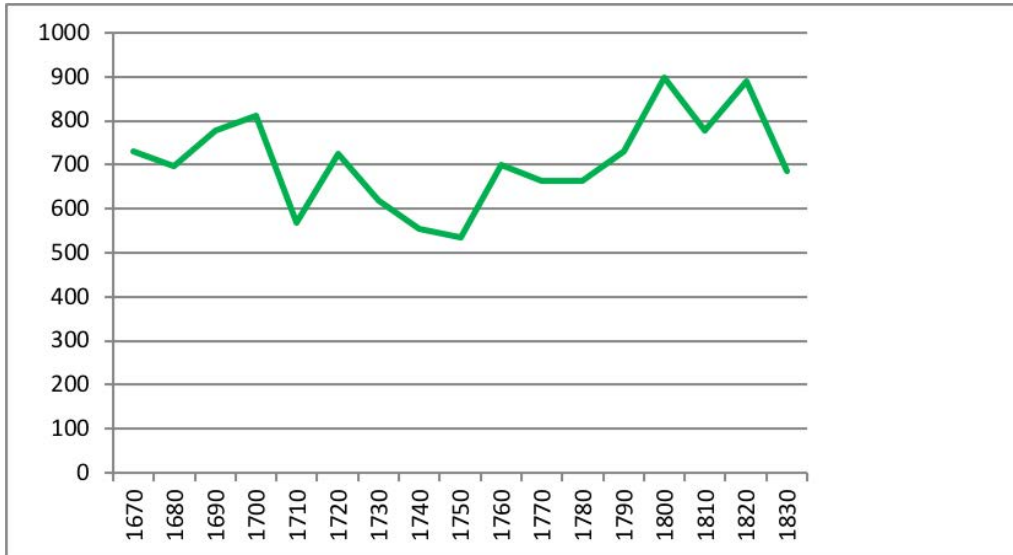


Figure 11.2: Fisherton Anger, parish population estimated from baptism records.

From just before the start of the Civil Wars (1641-42) a further estimator of the population survives in the Protestation Returns, taken when every adult male had to declare their support for Parliament. In Fisherton 133 individuals, including the rector, signed the Protestation.¹¹ Multiplying this figure by 4.5 gives an estimated population of 598.

The records of baptisms starts in 1654 and continues through to 1837. Excluding soldiers' children and those 'Not of Parish' but including 'base born' children, an average over a ten-year period can be established. This average was then multiplied by thirty as an estimator of the village's population (Figure 11.2). The estimated population of 1660 and onwards agrees reasonably closely with the estimate from 20 years earlier; the estimates for the early nineteenth century compare fairly closely with the census returns (although it is not a like for like comparison as the census data include occupants of the gaol and infirmary for 1801 and 1811, and occupants of the mental hospital after 1821). Differences do exist between the various sets of figures but they are within a probably acceptable c. 25% agreement, and finally seem to confirm the extraordinarily high population for a parish of 348 acres.

The last years of the seventeenth century show an estimated population of between 700 and 800 people, with a sharp drop to below 600 by 1710; this decline is fairly certainly real as the Quarter Sessions for 1702, and well into the reign of George I, ordered relief for the parish from beyond the hundred for an unnamed distress, probably repeated bad harvests or an epidemic.¹² The decline in population after 1720 corresponds with the arrival of smallpox in 1723; from then until 1801, when free vaccinations were provided at Salisbury Infirmary,

Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1914), pp. 401-2.

¹¹ *Wiltshire Protestation Returns, 1641-2 and Taxation Records for Warminster Division 1648*, ed. by B. Hurley (Warminster: Wiltshire Family History Society, 1997), pp. 16-17.

¹² B. H. Cunnington, 'Fisherton Anger in the Reign of Queen Ann', *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 15th January (1932), p. 4.

deaths exceeded baptisms for virtually every year, as in Salisbury.¹³ Despite the number of burials exceeding the number of baptisms virtually every year for 80 years there was a slight increase in the number of both over this period. This growth in population must be the result of families moving into the village, possibly as a result of enclosures in the surrounding countryside.

Domesday

In the Domesday survey of 1086 Fisherton was assessed at three hides with forty acres each of pasture and meadow.¹⁴ Two of the hides were in demesne, one of which was ploughland. Possibly the third hide was split between the three villagers (with a virgate or c. 30 acres, each) and the five smallholders (c. 5 acres each). This would give a similar, though less intensive, land use to that described in 1685, when there were three fields of arable, each of about 80 acres, and c. 80 acres of watermeadow (Figure 11.3).¹⁵

Like other villages in the vicinity, the core of Fisherton did not lie on the through road but along a spur road leading to the river. Where the spur road, named Church Street in 1860, linked to the highway a small green survived until the arrival of the railway. As in Laverstock, St Martin's in Milford and Harnham the church lay on the quieter road, and it is suggested the manor did too. A farmyard, barn and buildings to the west of Church Street, owned by Francis Thomas Egerton (inheritor of the manor) were shown on the 1846 map of the proposed Salisbury to Yeovil railway, and land immediately to the west, behind the farm was described as Rick Barton, often thought to denote demesne land.¹⁶ An alternative location for the manor is suggested by the former Old Manor Hospital on Wilton Road, a 'lunatic asylum' of the early nineteenth century that was re-named when incorporated into the National Health Service in the twentieth century. The Victoria County History says 'Numerous piecemeal additions have been made to the original building, which was presumably the manor house' but gives no supporting references.¹⁷ There are two inconsistencies in this suggestion. The first is that the original building lies outside Salisbury borough, as defined in the Reform Act, when otherwise all nearby occupied buildings were included in the borough.¹⁸ The second is the lack of buildings described in this area, on the Parliamentary Enclosure of 1798. To the south of Wilton Road, between Devizes Road and the parish boundary, were Church Field and to its west Long Land or Brick Field. Church Field, where the Old Manor Hospital was situated, and Long Land, were both bounded to the north by the turnpike road from Salisbury to Wilton, and only 'a Cottage and Garden belonging to ... William Hayter' lay in Long Land.¹⁹

¹³ J. Chandler, *Endless Street: A History of Salisbury and Its People* (Salisbury: Hobnob Press, 1983), p. 223, Figs. 6 and 7.

¹⁴ *Domesday Book: Wiltshire, Volume 6*, ed. by C. Thorn and F. Thorn (Chichester: Phillimore, 1979), pp. 22–26; A. Williams and G. H. Martin, *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation* (London: Penguin Books, 1992), p. 175, Folio 69: Wiltshire.

¹⁵ 'Terrier of Arable Land in the Common Fields of Fisherton Anger; Field Names and Acreages Are Given.', 1685, WSA, 776/538.

¹⁶ 'London, Salisbury, & Yeovil Junction Railway. Plans & Sections. 1845. Joseph Locke Esquire F.R.S. Engineer. John Hubberley Esquire, Resident Engineer.', 1846, Parliamentary Archives: GB-061, HL/PO/PB/3/plan1846/L37.

¹⁷ 'Fisherton Anger', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6*, ed. by E. Crittal (London: Victoria County History, 1962), pp. 180–94 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp180-194>>.

¹⁸ 'Plan of City of Salisbury Prepared for Reform Act and Surveyed by George O. Lucas, 1833 (3)', 1835, Chippenham, WSA, G23/1/165PC.

¹⁹ 'Fisherton Anger (No Map), Enclosure Award'.

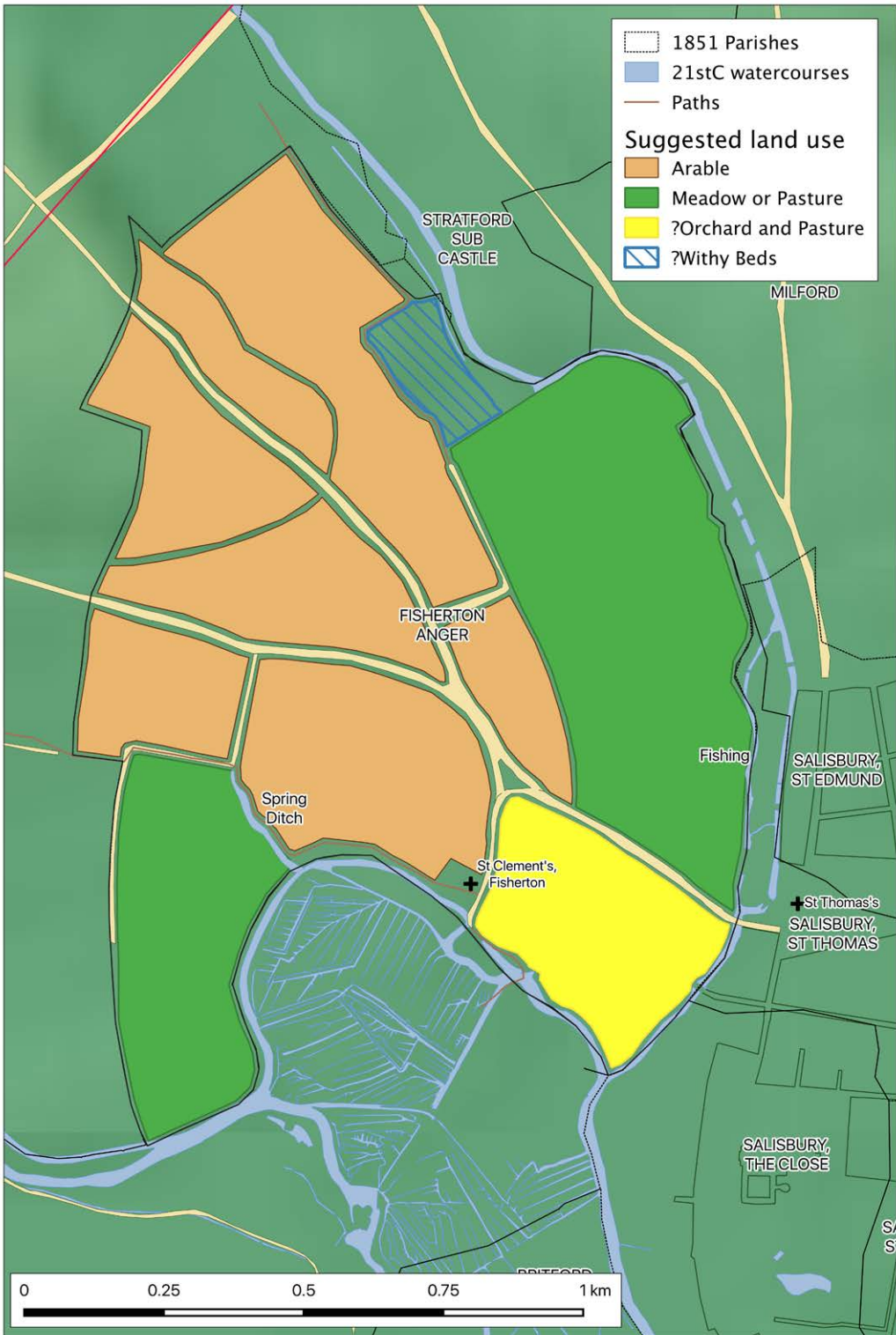


Figure 11.3: Suggested land use at the time of Domesday Book.

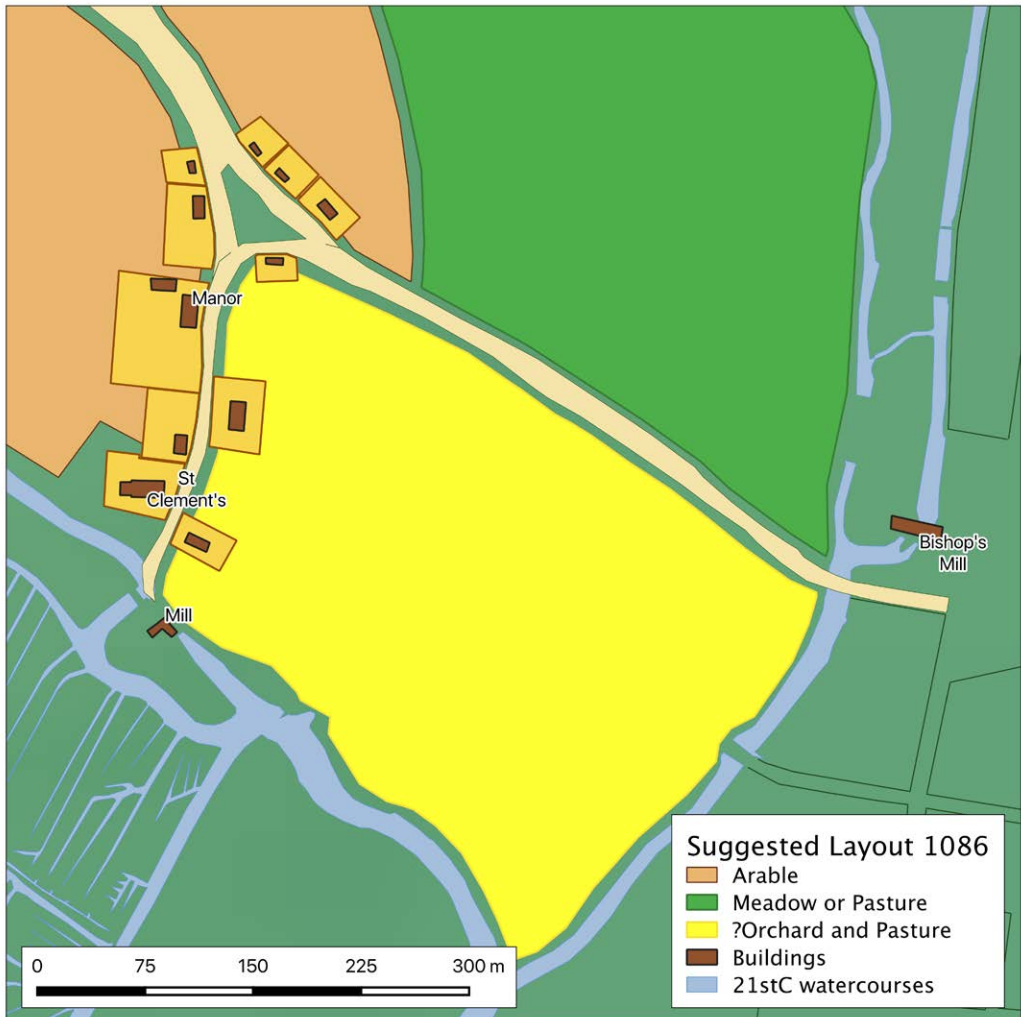


Figure 11.4: Suggested village layout at the time of Domesday Book.

The suggested lay out of the village (Figure 11.4) assumes that the manor, church, rectory, mill and several houses lay on Church Street and that other houses were around the green.

Thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

By 1300 Salisbury had been established across the river Avon for about 80 years and had had some time to affect its older neighbour (Figure 11.5). Fisherton Street must have been very heavily used during the thirteenth century, as it was one route between the quarries in the Vale of Wardour and the expanding city; an estimated 60,000 cart journeys were required for stone for the cathedral.²⁰ Fisherton Bridge must have been built very soon after the foundation

²⁰ S. Hannath, *The Cathedral Rocks* (Salisbury: Hannath, 2010), p. 9.

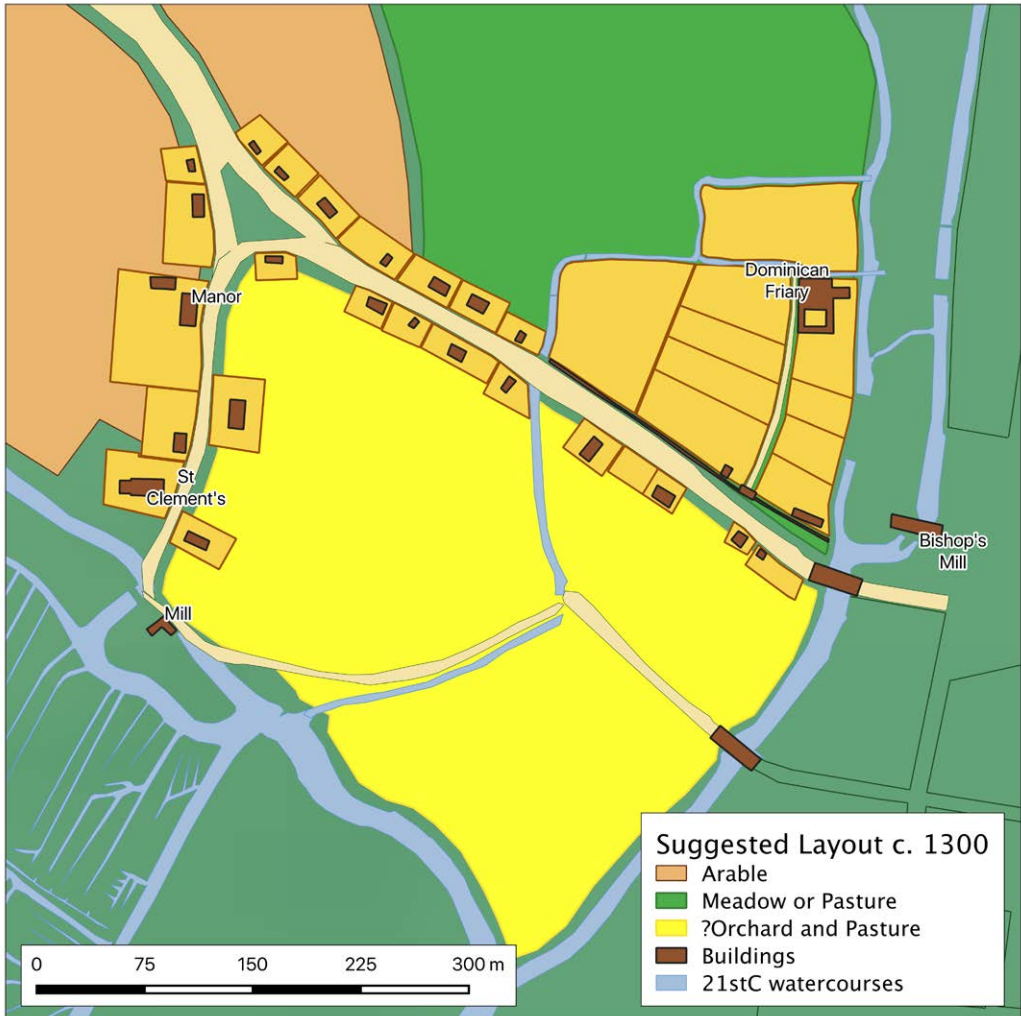


Figure 11.5: Suggested village layout c. 1300 Refer to cartographer.

of the city. The present Cranebridge Road is recognisable in the late thirteenth century as ‘the southern way’, and Crane Bridge itself was mentioned in 1300, although the surviving fabric is possibly fifteenth century.²¹ Salisbury has only three other stone-built, medieval bridges - Ayleswade, St Thomas’s and Milford - so two bridges over the same river and very close to each-other is surprising, but Cranebridge Road continues the alignment of New Street, probably the oldest road in Salisbury.

Possibly, St Clement’s church was re-built in stone during the thirteenth century, as the Aucher family seem to have taken an interest in the church, gifting the rectory, and the church’s

²¹ Crittal, ‘Fisherton Anger’, p. 180; C. R. Everett, ‘Notes on the History of the Diocesan Church House, Salisbury, Part 1’, *WANHM*, 49 (1942), 435–79; J. Orbach and others, *The Buildings of England: Wiltshire*, Pevsner Architectural Guides, New edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021), p. 627.



Figure 11.6: Fisherton Anger church from the North West, 1803, by John Buckler.
© Wiltshire Museum, Devizes [accession no., DZSWS:1982.356].

tower and western aisle on Buckler's drawing (Figure 11.6) have lancet windows. One very noticeable change to Fisherton would have been the presence of the Dominican friary, which probably occupied c. 8 acres (3.2ha) of land between the river and Fisherton Street with a wall along the 250m frontage to the road and elsewhere surrounded by a ditch, acting as a moat and flood defence.²² The initial gift of land for the precinct in 1281 was from Edward I. This king, and his son, both took a personal interest donating money and materials while, as the Friars Preachers' main house in Wiltshire, the friary would have had many high status visitors and pilgrims not normally expected in a small village. The precinct of the friary replaced four tenements and various curtilages and meadows, so clearly the village had expanded from its original core on Church Street spreading along Fisherton Street. It is suggested that most, if not all, the six shops (*sendas*) held by William Fraunceys at his death in 1286 were along the main road, targeting passing trade rather than locals; the shops were worth 6s a year.²³ In addition to land, William Fraunceys held three messuages and a mansion. Unfortunately, the value of the mansion was illegible but it may have been the manor house.

Late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

By the second half of the sixteenth century changes had again occurred, most noticeably the friary had gone (Figure 11.7). The church and claustral range were not useable and were sold

²² J. Wright, 'Salisbury's Black Friars', *WANHM*, 113 (2020), 226–38 (p. 235).

²³ Fry, p. 166.

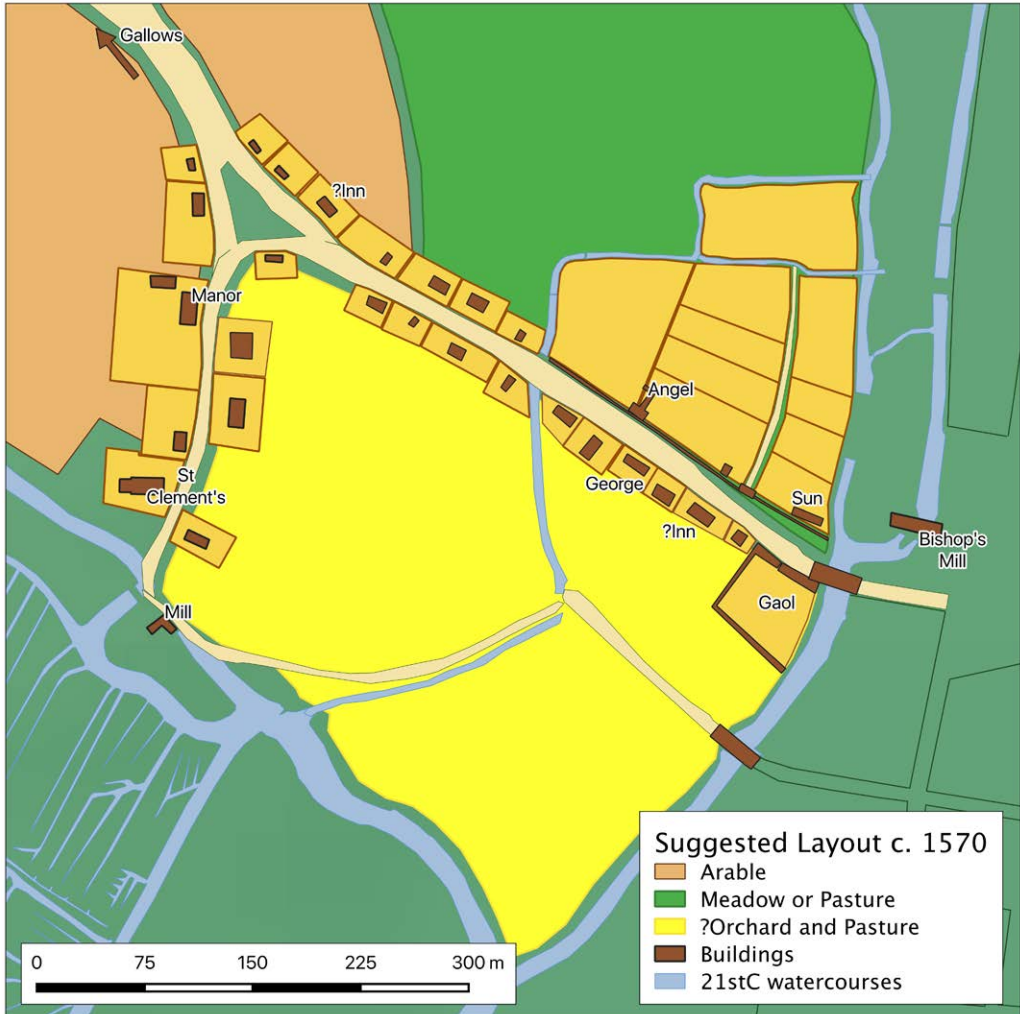


Figure 11.7: Suggested village layout c. 1570 refer to cartographer.

to John Bouchier, Earl of Bath for reclamation, but several buildings and various gardens had been leased out towards the end of the life of the priory and, after a short period, these too were sold.²⁴ The former gatehouse to the friary was occupied for a while, the gardens and precinct wall seem to have lasted until the early eighteenth century and one building from the friary may still survive. It is known that two properties from the precinct became inns: The Sun, at the junction of the river and Fisherton Street, with gardens extending along both, and probably The Angel.²⁵

²⁴ Palmer, p. 175.

²⁵ E. M. Garman, *Public Houses and Inns of Salisbury: A History* (Warminster: Hobnob Press, 2017), pp. 3, 178; Crittal, 'Fisherton Anger', p. 181.

That two inns could open in such a short time shows that taverns were a reliable source of income and probably had been for a considerable time. Both establishments survived until the nineteenth century and were substantial. The Angel, as described in the Parliamentary survey of 1649, was a four bay building with a hall, a parlour, a buttery, a tap house and five lodging chambers; it had two stables, a frontage to the street of 35ft and a depth of 256ft (10.7m x 78.0m).²⁶ The Sun described in Thomas Bungey's inventory of 1744/5 had a kitchen, a large and a small parlour, Prichett's room and five chambers including Bungey's own; the portable contents of which were worth over £80.²⁷ A third inn of the time was the George (1558). Innholders of the village, Robert Perin (1564/5) and John Marshall (1591), left wills with inventories which describe butteries, halls, parlours, kitchens and chambers, without naming the hotel(s).²⁸ All were at the eastern end of the main road through the village (see below) providing accommodation for visitors to Salisbury, and possibly rivalling standards offered in the city.

Contrastingly the inventory of John Sladde of Fisherton, a brewer whose will was proved in 1605, does not record different rooms, suggesting a more limited establishment, potentially an alehouse rather than an inn: his estate was worth £3 12s 3d.²⁹ There is dark humour in his will as Franke Slade was left a bed and bedstead etc. 'if his wife Elizabeth happen to dye in the contagious sicknes of the plague then being' and 'John Pickle one sow pigg yf his saide wife dye as aforesaid'. A record of the ravages committed by the plague between 1603 and 1605 was exposed on the west wall of the aisle in St Clement's church during its demolition in 1852.³⁰

Soon after the Surrender of the friary a new county gaol was constructed, on the opposite side of the road to the former house.³¹ There had been a gaol in Fisherton since 1421 and it was mentioned several times in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, but its location is unknown. In 1568 the Quarter Sessions decided to build a new gaol and £150 was paid for a plot of ground. The building was substantial, being 53ft by 28ft with walls 23ft high (16.15m by 8.53m by 7.01m), there was an upper story, a women's prison, and a keeper's house adjoining. Burr stone was re-cycled from Old Sarum and ashlar was from Chilmark. The gaol survived until the early nineteenth century when it was replaced by a larger building off Devizes Road. Other punishments took place in Fisherton, as the gallows were located at the junction of Wilton and Devizes Roads. John Speed's small-scale map of Salisbury of c. 1600 shows their position as a spike, and is the earliest known locator although there is an earlier mention (1556) of execution at a place 'betwixt Salisbury and Wilton'.³² The gallows were shown near the turnpike gate on Andrews and Dury's county map of 1773.

Three times in the seventeenth century Fisherton came to national attention. Ann Bodenham, a resident of the village, was found guilty of witchcraft and executed at the gallows in 1653. In 1655 the Penruddock rebels briefly occupied Salisbury and John Thorpe, the keeper of the gaol,

²⁶ 'Salisbury, Chapter Office, (Dean & Chapter Sarum) Parliamentary Survey 8. (56)', Salisbury Cathedral Archive, P1/2/1, Folio 10.

²⁷ 'Account, Administration Bond, Inventory, Renunciation, Probate Records, Fisherton Anger', 1745, WSA, P1/B/1191.

²⁸ 'Administration Bond, Inventory, Probate Records, Fisherton Anger', 1564, WSA, P2/P/22; 'Administration Bond, Inventory, Probate Records, Fisherton Anger', 1591, WSA, P2/M/108.

²⁹ 'Administration Bond, Inventory, Will, Probate Record, Fisherton Anger', 1605, WSA, P1/S/21.

³⁰ Anon., 'Fisherton Church', *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 10th April, 1852.

³¹ J. E. Jackson, 'Wiltshire County Gaols', *WANHM*, 9 (1866), 82-87.

³² Crittal, 'Fisherton Anger', p. 183.



Figure 11.8: Grave slab of John Thorpe. 'Here lyeth the Bodies of Elizabeth & Sarah Thorpe Wife & Daughter of Mr John Thorpe who both Dyed in November 1710, etc. (© Steve Webster)

released the prisoners, donated the horses kept in the gaol to the rebels, and joined them.³³ The revolt lasted only days and Thorpe was captured, sentenced to death, and executed. His retrospective tombstone was recently discovered in the eastern end of the chancel of the former St Clement's church, probably under the altar (Figure 11.8).³⁴ The third occurrence was tragic, when in October 1664 Mary Waterman gave birth to triplets, the second and third of whom shared one pair of legs with two torsos, pairs of arms and heads.³⁵ The conjoined twins survived nearly two days, dying within fifteen minutes of each other, but not before they had been humanely baptised. The bodies then spent several months on display in Winchester, Oxford and London, were the subject of much discussion by the newly formed Royal Society and were named the 'Fisherton Monster' by the broadsheets. They were returned to the parish after five months and then buried. John Waterman, the father, was an ostler and presumably one of many at the time just about staying solvent on c. £15 a year. The home was described by a physician who witnessed the birth as a poorly appointed dwelling 'full of holes, to let in the air, which at that season was pretty cold and sharp', the twins had 'only a linen cloth for ..

³³ E. L. Jones, *Small Earthquake: Seventeenth-Century Conflict and Its Resolution* (Warminster: The Hobnob Press, 2017); W. W. Ravenhill, 'Records of the rising in the west, A.D. 1655', *WANHM*, 13 (1872), 119–188.

³⁴ The instruction continues: 'Here lieth the Body of John Thorpe Gent: who in the Reign of Charles the 2nd, under the conduct of the eminent Coll: John Penruddock, was taken Prisoner by the Rebels and on 12th of April 1655, was brought before a pretended Court of Justice [?] s sentenced to death, and on the [?] of May suffered Martyrdom. Filius Johannes superstes hoc posuit April 12th 1686'.

³⁵ H. Lyon, 'The Fisherton Monster: Science, Providence, and Politics in Early Restoration England', *The Historical Journal*, 60.2 (2017), 333–62 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X16000212>>.

covering'. The decision of the Waterman family to accept £20 to allow their daughters' bodies to be exhibited should be seen in this context.

1700

Occupations

For eight years the occupations of fathers were recorded on the baptism, marriage and burial registers.³⁶ These records clearly give a biased sample of jobs, as men at the start and end of their working careers are overrepresented, meaning that low skilled work is probably over emphasized. However, bearing this caveat in mind, the sample does give an indication of the range of occupations and the numbers of people engaged in them. The pie chart (Figure 11.9) shows the results based on 163 different people/occupations; someone who was a butcher one year and a labourer the following year will appear twice.

A different view of occupations is given by wills with inventories that show the value of an estate.³⁷ These span the years 1605 to 1745 and are presented in the pie chart in decimal

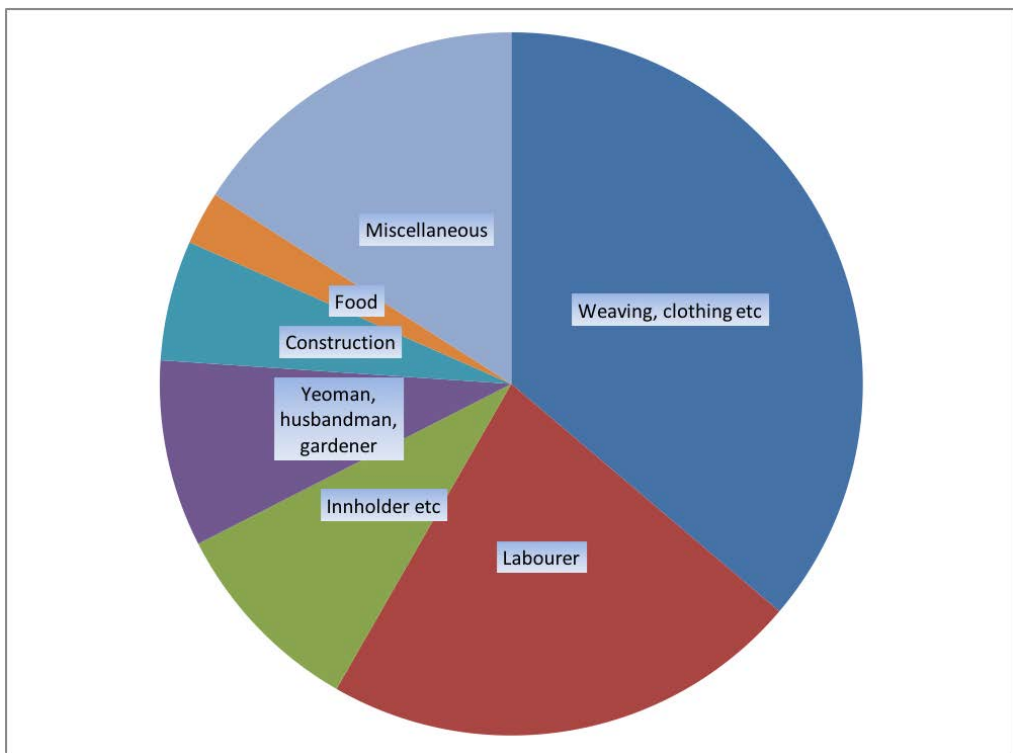


Figure 11.9: Occupations, from parish records between 1698 and 1706.

³⁶ 'Parish Records of Fisherton Anger St. Paul and St. Clement', WSA, PR126, open shelves/Fisherton Anger/Wiltshire, The Wiltshire Family History Society transcribed The Bishops' Transcripts and Parish Registers of Fisherton Anger; Baptisms 1608-1837; Burials 1608-1837; and Marriages 1654-1730.

³⁷ The following sources for will and probate inventories can be found by using the search facility on the WSA on-line

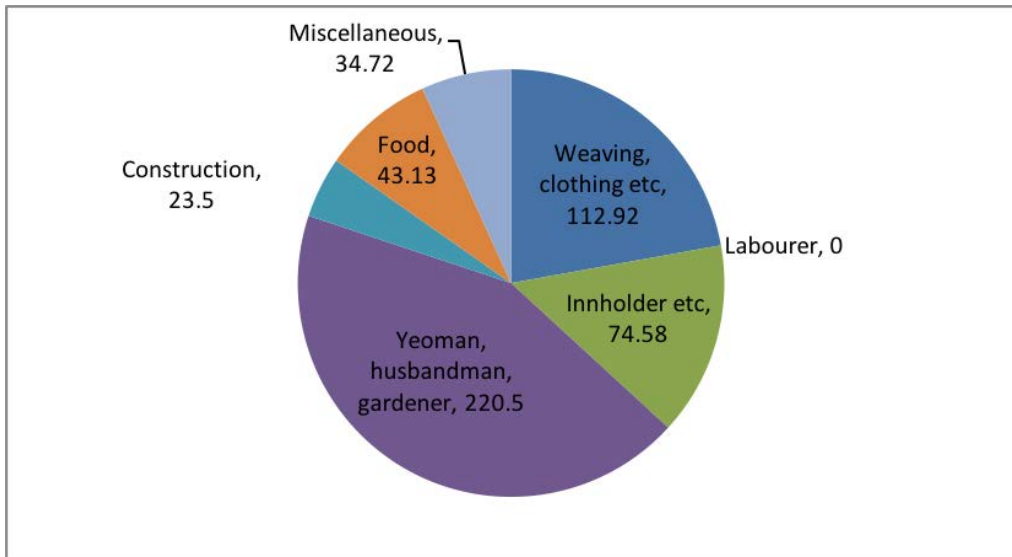


Figure 11.10: Average money left, from wills between 1605 and 1745.

money (Figure 11.10) but categorised as in Figure 11.9. Weaving and clothing forms the largest proportion of occupations by numbers but most of the money was left by tailors. Only one will and inventory was left by a producer of cloth (a cloth worker who left over £330) suggesting most or all in the weaving industry were poor, taking the only work available, as is consistent with a declining industry.³⁸ Unsurprisingly no labourers left money although one left a will. Hospitality is well represented in the number of people and more in money left. The proportion involved in hospitality seems to be about twice that of Salisbury, discussed below. The money in agriculture is pronounced, twice that of any other category. This amount is slightly skewed by the £1122 left by Thomas Biggs in 1685. His inventory describes a five-bay building with a coach house and an orchard, presumably this was the manor house, then probably in various fields were three barns, a stable, a brick kiln and more.³⁹

Nine people were involved in construction. Three bricklayers were mentioned. The two known brickmakers of this time are on neither Figure 11.9 or 11.10, but bricks had overtaken timber as the main construction material used in the city. Food retail is very poorly represented in the numbers involved, with many having a single mention. Baking was an exception, as there were two bakers and the 1727 inventory of one, John Woodward, survives.⁴⁰ He was presumably related to the John Woodward, who in 1751 bequeathed twenty shillings annually, the rent of the tenement known as a Bakehouse, to be laid out in bread to be distributed to the poor housekeepers of the parish.⁴¹ Various 'traditional' village occupations like wheelwrights and blacksmiths (one of whom was also an edge tool maker). are included under miscellaneous.

catalogue at <http://calmview.wiltshire.gov.uk/CalmView/Default.aspx>.

³⁸ Chandler, p. 69.

³⁹ 'Two Accounts, Inventory, Will, Probate Records, Fisherton Anger', 1685, WSA, P2/B/1062.

⁴⁰ 'Administrative Bond, Inventory John Woodward, Baker 1726', WSA, P2/W/935.

⁴¹ W. E. Cossor and R. H. Cossor, *Historical Notes Relating to St Clement's and St Paul's Churches* (Unpublished Report held at Salisbury Library, 1931).

Two barbers were listed and more surprisingly five pipemakers. Two of the pipemakers, Thomas Hill and Thomas Smith, are mentioned by Atkinson (as Salisbury makers) but William Atkins, Nicolas Paris and Nicholas Pavee are not recorded and were presumably employees.⁴²

Agriculture

A terrier of the common lands, prepared in 1685 and probably after private enclosure, gives field names and shows that the fields were still laid out in furlongs, each divided into plots averaging c. 2 or 3 acres.⁴³ Until the time of the terrier the medieval field layout had survived, the putative enclosure may have been of former meadow and pasture to create two water-meadow systems, one adjacent to the Avon, the second adjacent to the Nadder. This was the first agricultural innovation in several hundred years, but a further new practice was the introduction of gardening, presumably market gardening. Three gardeners were mentioned between 1698 and 1706, and the 1721 inventory of one, John Bush, survives.⁴⁴ He left goods to a fairly modest total of £9 17s 10d but thirty years later William Bush, also a gardener and presumably a descendant, left a house in Silver Street, £50 to each of his three children and a silver watch to the oldest son suggesting gardening had become a profitable affair.⁴⁵ Tubs, a tunnel, 30 glasses worth 15s 0d, a spade and 2 wooden rakes were tools of John Bush's trade. He paid a relatively high rate for a house and garden and their suggested location is shown on Figure 11.11. Market gardeners would have had a ready source to sell to in the adjacent city.

Parish relief

From the beginning of October to the end of February in 1712/3 weekly payments were listed.⁴⁶ Eleven recipients of parish money were described as widows, about ten men were paid, old Millard and old Whised were presumably too old to work. Other sums were paid to children, eight in total. The people receiving help represent about 5% of the estimated population, a similar proportion to Salisbury in 1725.⁴⁷ Less regular payments include Will Brown 'being sick' and receiving 1s for two consecutive weeks. Wheeler had a quarter's rent of 5s paid, a shift for Butler cost 3s 4d, a 'Gound and petecote' [gown and petticoat] for Mrs Haywards 'garll' was 6s, a pair of second-hand shoes for Hayward's child was 8d.

Inns and Hotels

For the year April to April 1712-13 the poor book records the rates collected on each quarter day and a fifth 'Three Months Rate'. Just over 100 properties were rated.⁴⁸ The lists are in the same order starting with Mr Windham, Mrs Harris and Mr Thorpe for their estates, followed

⁴² D. R. Atkinson, 'Clay Tobacco Pipes and Pipemakers of Salisbury, Wiltshire', *WANHM*, 65b (1970), 177-89; D. R. Atkinson, 'Further Notes on Clay Tobacco Pipes and Pipemakers from the Marlborough and Salisbury Districts', *WANHM*, 67b (1972), 149-56; P. Harding, *Joining the Dots: Uniting Salisbury's Past through Holes in the Ground*, Wessex Archaeology Occasional Paper (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Ltd, 2022), Appendix 1.

⁴³ 'Terrier of Arable Land in the Common Fields of Fisherton Anger; Field Names and Acreages Are Given.'

⁴⁴ 'Administration Bond, Inventory, Probate Records, Fisherton Anger', 1721, WSA, P2/B/2146.

⁴⁵ 'Will, Probate Records, Fisherton Anger', 1751, WSA, P2/B/1690.

⁴⁶ 'Poor Rate Book with Churchwardens' Accounts, Overseers' Disbursements and Vestry Minutes. 1705-1714', WSA, 1902/50.

⁴⁷ P. Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England*, Themes in British Social History (London: Longman, 1988), pp. 75-76, Table 10.

⁴⁸ 'Poor Rate Book with Churchwardens' Accounts, Overseers' Disbursements and Vestry Minutes. 1705-1714'.



Figure 11.11: Fisherton in 1716, based on William Naish's 1716 map, with author's additions refer to cartographer.

by Mr Fishlake for the parsonage. The fifth and sixth entries were for the White Horse and Old Gaol (both paid by Mrs Blandford), the fiftieth entry was for the mill, the fifty fourth and fifty fifth for brick kilns, and the eighty ninth was for the Sun. This order is consistent with the list starting at Fisherton bridge, recording along the south side of the main road then Church Street, then to Wilton Road (where the kilns were) and returning along the north side of Fisherton Street. The last dozen entries - four houses, various gardens and yards - would be along Back Lane, the future Cranebridge Road. The locations of the White Horse, the Bull, the Red Lion, the Angel and the Sun are known and confirm this broad outline, which is shown as Figure 11.11.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Garman, pp. 3, 21, 142, 178, 219.

Seven hostelries were rated in 1712, and an eighth, the Angel, was rated before and after but not in this year. The fourth rates for the White Horse, the George, the Bull and the Sun, all near Fisherton Bridge and all with courtyards, averaged 9s 10½d; those for the White Lion, the Red Lion and the Bell, near the village green and with no courtyards, averaged 2s 4d. It is suggested that the former were hotels catering for visitors to Salisbury and its market and the latter were more basic alehouses catering to locals. There was only a footbridge where Summerlock Channel crossed Fisherton Street, helping to split the village in two and creating a physical barrier between the two types of taverns. The quantity and perhaps quality of accommodation offered is re-enforced by a 1686 country wide survey of inns, which showed that the number of beds available in Fisherton was 82 with stabling for 123 horses, and that these were respectively the seventh and eighth highest village/town totals for the 182 inns in the county.⁵⁰ This high ranking was only achievable because of Fisherton's dependence on, and proximity to, Salisbury.

How soon Fisherton started providing accommodation to travellers is not known. The friary was a place of pilgrimage as in January 1393 Boniface IX granted the indulgence of two years to the faithful who visited the Church and its altar to St Peter Martyr.⁵¹ In 1452 an order forbade both wheeled traffic and pack horses within the barriers of the city.⁵² This clearly provided an opportunity in Fisherton to provide secure accommodation. It is probable that the friary had accommodation, a hospice, for pilgrims. Whether with time this developed into a commercial and profit making enterprise is speculation, but in the year before the surrender of the friary one tenement was leased to an innholder (John Davis) and a second tenement became The Sun soon after the surrender.⁵³ Possibly these two establishments had been a final frantic attempt to divert Thomas Cromwell's inquisitor but equally they may have been trading as hotels, they certainly rapidly took up their role as inns.

Conclusion

One thing missing from this summary is evidence of debauchery, 'society's less salubrious people and places'.⁵⁴ It is assumed that a suburb would provide the spice that was missing from the closely regulated city, as Southwark did for the City of London. There is disappointingly little evidence, and any results point against this. Admittedly, on the suspicion that too many increased pauperism, all the alehouses of Fisherton were suppressed for three months in 1674, but this is the only hint of drunkenness and it is argued above that most of the licensed premises in the village were hotels catering for travellers.⁵⁵ Nor is there evidence for prostitutes. In the fifteenth century this absence may have been because Salisbury itself was regulating prostitution, with orders that they should live in Friary Lane (in 1433) then in Culver Street (in 1442 and 1450) before being banished in 1452 to outside the city, only

⁵⁰ *Tradesmen in Early-Stuart Wiltshire, a Miscellany*, ed. by N. J. Williams (Devizes: Wiltshire Record Society, 1960), xv, p. xv.

⁵¹ Palmer, p. 167.

⁵² D. R. Carr, 'From Pollution to Prostitution: Supervising the Citizens of Fifteenth-Century Salisbury', *Southern History*, 19 (1997), 24–41 (p. 28).

⁵³ Palmer, p. 175.

⁵⁴ A. Agate, 'Aspects of Suburban Settlement at Early Urban Centres in England', in *Landscapes of Defence in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by J. Baker, S. Brookes, and A. Reynolds, Studies in the Early Middle Ages (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2013), pp. 165–94 (p. 168) <<https://doi.org/10.1484/M.SEM-EB.1.100878>>.

⁵⁵ 'County Government 1660-1835', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 5*, ed. by R. B. Pugh and E. Crittal (London: Victoria County History, 1957), pp. 170–94 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol5/pp170-194>>.

being allowed into the city when wearing stripped hoods.⁵⁶ This may have been the traditional area for the trade as Trinity Hospital was built on the site of a former brothel in New Street shortly before 1394.⁵⁷ It is not known where they went nor whether, having been living in the southeast of the city, they opted to live in the neighbouring St Martin's parish. Only by the late seventeenth century is there any incidental evidence for Fisherton, when the register of baptisms records all 'base born' children for the years 1660 to 1830. This shows that after the Restoration, between 1660 and 1683, there were ten extra-marital births, but these probably reflect the behaviour at court. In the eighteenth century there seems to be a correlation between illegitimate children and soldiers being mentioned; Camp Hill farther up Devizes Road was so named as the army trained there. Clearly it is possible that unwanted pregnancies were illegally aborted or that unwanted children were not baptised, the latter seems unlikely in a relatively small community in which any welfare or financial support would be provided by the church authorities. The author of the baptism records seems most incensed that one of the base born children was the child of a quaker.

Other than that, it is clear that almost as soon as Salisbury was established to the east of the Avon Fisherton was drawn into its orbit. The layout of the village changed with houses and shops being built along the previously ignored through road. This asymmetric symbiosis continued for eight centuries, by the twentieth century Fisherton hosted Salisbury's gaol, infirmary, gas works, railway station, most of the malt houses and the City Hall, and few people now know where the boundary of Fisherton is.

⁵⁶ *The First General Entry Book of the City of Salisbury 1387 - 1452*, ed. by David R. Carr (Trowbridge: Wiltshire Record Society, 2001), pp. 143, 192, 231, 241.

⁵⁷ 'Hospitals: Holy Trinity, Salisbury', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3*, ed. by R. B. Pugh and E. Crittal (London: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, 1956), pp. 357-61 (p. 357) <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp357-361>>.

Chapter Twelve

Chalk, cheese, and urban growth: Britford parish in Wiltshire 1620 to 1960

Hadrian Cook

Introduction

This chapter concerns land use change in the Historic Parish of Britford (HPB), between the seventeenth and mid-twentieth centuries. The timeframe demonstrates enclosure, expansion of arable replacing sheepwalk, the floating of watermeadows on a phenomenal scale and canal construction for irrigation, transport, domestic supply, and amenity. Britford village retained its medieval plan including a rebuilt manor house, enclosed common, and probable deer park. Economic growth from 1600 caused major redevelopment of secular buildings. While the proximity of Salisbury stimulated dairy production and demand for hay, horticulture, sports recreation, and artisanal employment developed as East Harnham urbanised. A whole-parish approach enables land-use changes to be understood in terms of both national and local economic stimuli.

The Historic Parish of Britford

Only 2.2km from Salisbury Cathedral, Britford village retains its rural character while adjacent East Harnham is a mature suburb. The Historical Parish of Britford measures at maximum 7km east-west, and 3km north-south. East Harnham was its northern tithing, exhibiting suburbanisation from the eighteenth century.¹ The area given in the Tithe Map and Award dated 1840, is 3000 acres (1215 ha).² Since then, local government boundary changes occurred since the nineteenth century, losing land to adjacent Odstock (including Longford Park) in 1934; the modern civil parish of Britford is c.871ha in area.³ Three major themes are explored in this chapter:

- Farms and land-use change.
- Floodplain modification.
- Settlement changes affecting Britford village and East Harnham.

Figure 12.1 shows the geology around Britford village. The solid geology is dominated by chalk, with the overall width of the Avon floodplain (south of the confluence with the river

¹ T. Tatton-Brown, 'Medieval Harnham', in *Harnham Historical Miscellany*, ed by J. Howells (Salisbury: Sarum Studies 4, 2013), 47-58.

² 'Britford', *Know Your Place: West of England*, Tithe Map and documents, 1840, <<https://www.kypwest.org.uk/>>; Abstracts of Wiltshire Tithe Apportionments XXX entry 40, ed. R.E. Sandell (Devizes. 1974) p25; H. Cook 'Suburbs', this volume

³ <https://www.citypopulation.de/en/uk/southwestengland/admin/wiltshire/E04012683_britford/> [acc. April 2024]

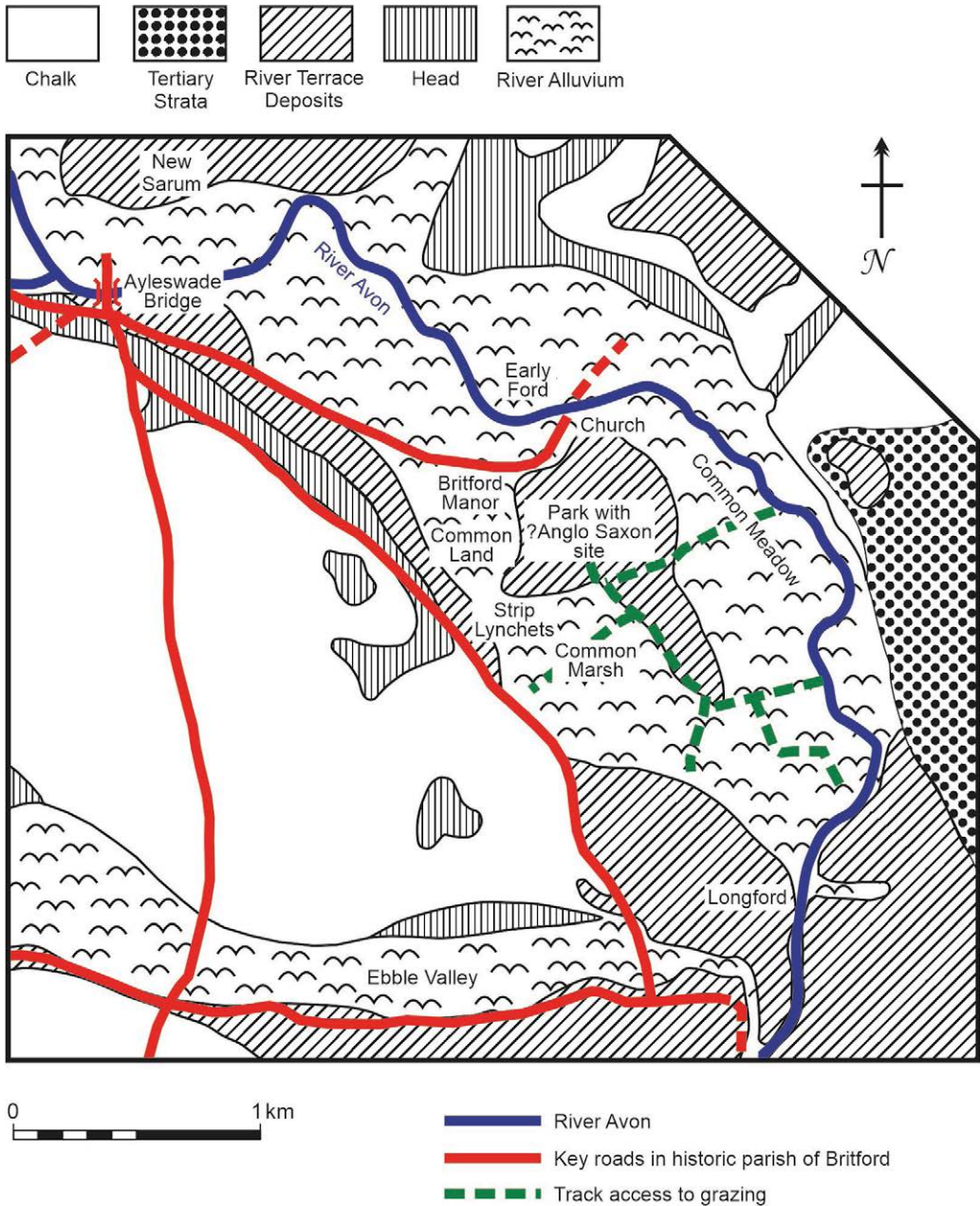


Figure 12.1: Geology and sites of medieval Britford, based on British Geological Survey 1:50,000 sheet 298 'Salisbury' NERC (Keyworth: 2005).

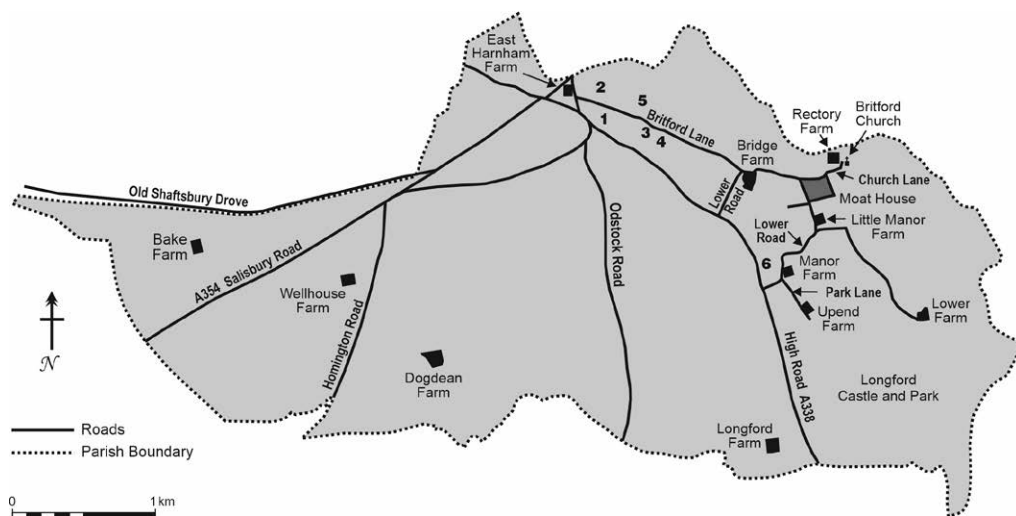


Figure 12.2: Farmsteads, roads, horticultural locations (excluding orchards) and playing fields (numbered and listed in Table 12.4) within HPB.

Nadder) c. 1 to 1.5km. This includes an appreciable ‘island’ of river terrace deposits, within the modern alluvium. This forms the core of the settlement. The geology underpins a tripartite division for land-use that has dominated the chalklands, determining both agricultural and urban development. In general, alluvial soils are suited to watermeadow and wetland products, adjacent river terrace deposits to arable, pasture and horticultural production, while chalk downland, historically was mostly sheepwalk-dominated, although this progressively switched towards arable.

Figure 12.2 shows the main farms listed in Table 12.1 and urban-influenced land uses are numbered in Table 12.4. Old Shaftsbury (or ‘Shaston’ Drove) marks, or runs sub-parallel to, the northern boundary of HPB, the rivers Avon and Ebble largely define the eastern and southern boundaries, respectively (Figure 12.1). HPB is geographically situated within the ‘Chalk country’, but its historic dairy production confers economic characteristics of the ‘Cheese country’.

The Jervoise family sold the Britford Estate at auction in 1962, releasing some 2,360 acres (956ha) of freehold land.⁴ The sale documents detail dairy, arable, or mixed farms, houses, or cottages, shooting and fishing rights in 55 lots that include ‘The Lordship of the Manor of Britford and Common Lands’. Associated irrigation deeds relate to the control of hatches, flooding, water level control in the Avon Navigation canal and repair of banks.

The meaning of ‘Britford’ is debated, but it could mean ‘Britons’ ford’. A document purporting to date to the 670s, but forged in the tenth-century, refers to *Brytfordingea Landscaere*, ‘the boundary of the people of Britford’.⁵ St Peter’s parish church includes Anglo-Saxon features

⁴ ‘(The) Britford Estate, Executors of R.S. Jervoise, Strutt and Parker, Lofts and Warner, Auctioneers, 1962’, London 35pp with map and inset. Privately owned.

⁵ S 229. There are further references in other acceptable charters of the tenth century: S 275, S 540, S 891. See ‘S’

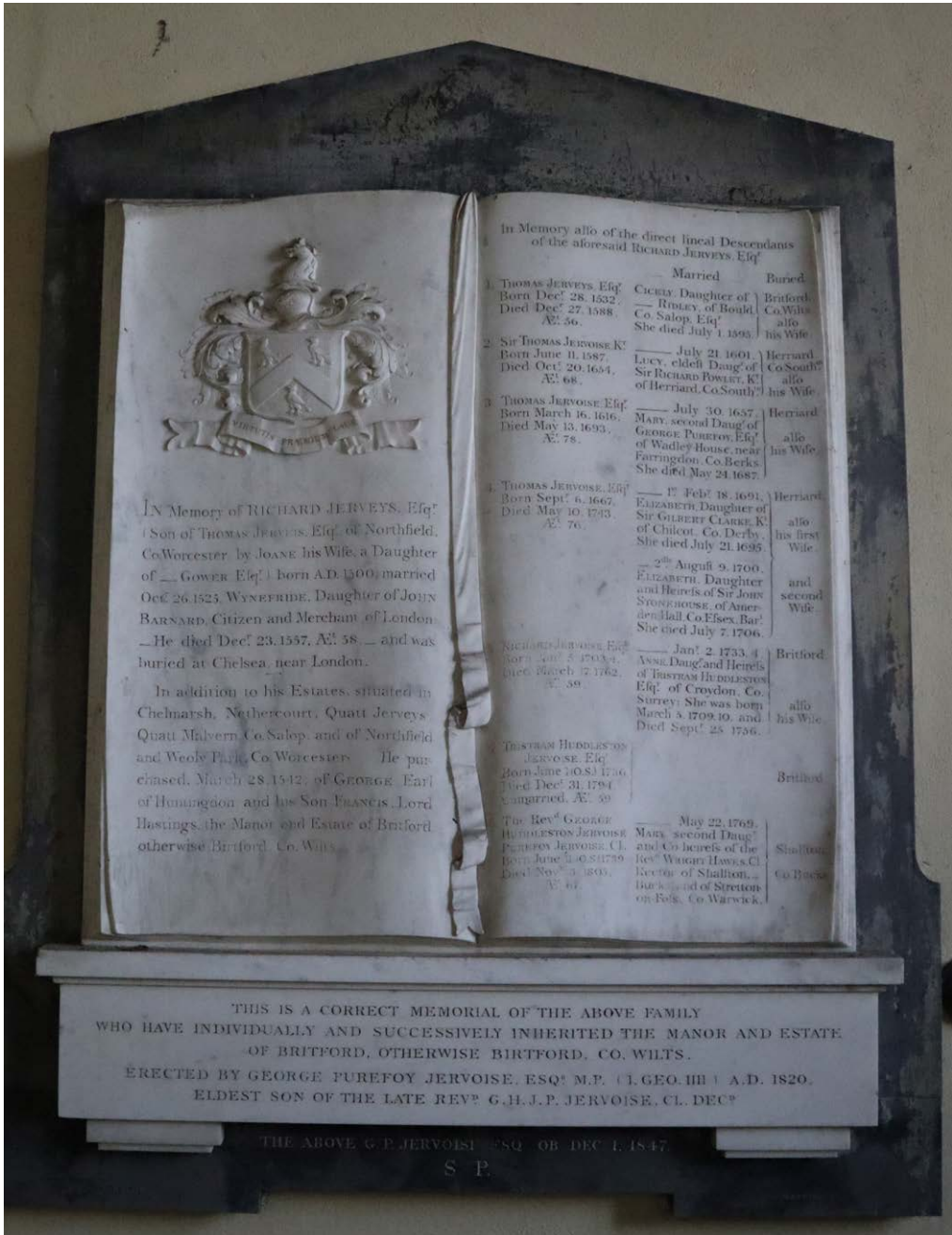


Figure 12.3: A self-congratulatory Jervoise monument in St Peter’s church Britford dated 1820, ‘..... who individually and successfully inherited the manor and Estate of Britford, Co Wilts.’ The Author, February 2024.

THE PRINCIPAL RESIDENCE



The Moat, Britford
Lot 16

Figure 12.4: The Moat House, Britford.

and re-used Roman brick.⁶ An Anglo-Saxon settlement of some prestige is suggested by the fine architectural detail in the archway of the north porticus, likely ninth-century date.⁷ Britford was a royal manor in the eleventh century, signifying some importance.⁸ St Peter's church stands on the river terrace near a former ford over the Avon (Figure 12.1) The importance of the crossing here was likely superseded with the construction of the medieval bridge at *Ayleswade*, on the line of a ford linking East Harnham to New Sarum. The Rose and Crown Inn at East Harnham has medieval features, and *Ayleswade* bridge dates from the 1240s.⁹

catalogue entries in *The Electronic Sawyer*, Online catalogue of Anglo-Saxon charters, <<https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk/about/index.html>>.

⁶ D. A. Hinton, *Britford, Wiltshire: archaeology and history* (London: The Royal Archaeological Institute, 2017) <https://www.royalarchinst.org/sites/royalarchinst.org/files/documents/SMR_Wiltshire_Britford.pdf>.

⁷ R. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VII, South-West England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 206-8.

⁸ Hinton, 2017.

⁹ J. Orbach, N. Pevsner, J. Pollard, I. Geddes, and B. Cherry, *The Buildings of England, Wiltshire* (London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 624; RCHME, *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury. Vol. 1* (London: HMSO, 1980), p. 169.

Having acquired the Manor of Britford in the mid-sixteenth century from George, first Earl of Huntingdon, the Jervoise family dominated the parish until 1962 (Figure 12.3).¹⁰ Britford manor house was never the principal Jervoise residence (Figure 12.4), that was at Herriard in Hampshire.¹¹ Descended from Thomas 'Jerveys' (1532-1588), three seventeenth century lords of Britford Manor (Figure 12.3) were: Sir Thomas Jervoise (1587-1654; knighted 1607), (Captain) Thomas Jervoise (1616-1693) esq. who served in the Civil War period, and Thomas Jervoise III esq (1667-1743). Richard Jervoise (d 1645) was also a son of Sir Thomas.¹² Another Richard Jervoise (1703-1762) was son of Thomas Jervoise III. The family included MPs who were Parliamentarians.

A document probably dated to the thirteenth century lists livestock associated with some pasture as: 200 sheep, 12 oxen, six cows, two horses, 40 pigs and one boar in pannage, indicating diverse livestock with sheep important.¹³ A particular for Britford Manor dated 1542 records customary hay-making in connection with the lord's horses.¹⁴ It also lists: '[arable] land, meadow and pasture' in connection with a lease. Meadow is listed before pasture suggesting that already, meadow was more important. A terrier of glebe lands from 'Birtford and Eastharnam' (1615) concerns tithes and profits due to the parson and vicar of Britford.¹⁵ This document records 'corne and graine', and hay from both manors. Structurally, the landscape of HPB is typical of Open Field Agriculture.

Topographical information references 'common meades' and 'cow pasture', while tithes were also due for fishermens' boats. There was common marsh, from where the vicar received wool, lambs, 'cow white'¹⁶ and calves, pigs, geese, and swans as well as hay from islands in the river Avon. Tithes due from the adjacent Manor of Longford include 'cow white and calves, pigges and geese, and wool from sheepe and lambes.'

A timber frame barn building, on brick dwarf walls with five bays at 'Dairy Farm' in Britford village suggesting investment in dairying, is dated to 1689.¹⁷ A sheep fair was held in the seventeenth century.¹⁸ This evidently continued, because an annual 'Lammas Day' sheep fair is recorded in the nineteenth century, held on 12th August.¹⁹ The discrepancy with the modern Lammas day (1st August) would be due to the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar in 1752.²⁰ A record refers to a market and fair held at Britford Manor, on the feast day of Peter

¹⁰ 'Britford', Wiltshire Community History (n.d.) <<https://apps.wiltshire.gov.uk/communityhistory/Community/Index/31>>.

¹¹ *Britford Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Plan* (Trowbridge: Wiltshire Council, 2013) <<https://cms.wiltshire.gov.uk/documents/s68529/Britford%20con%20area%20doc.pdf>>.

¹² Jervoise, Sir Thomas (1587-1654); Jervoise, (Capt) Thomas (1616-1693); Jervoise, Thomas (1667-1743), 'History of Parliament', Institute of Historical Research (2020) <<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org>>.

¹³ 'Deeds relating to the early 13th century to 1475, Britford', Index to Charters and Rolls in the British Museum, Wiltshire, British Library, Add Ch 37670.

¹⁴ 'Account of the manor of Britford; of Richard Markes and Thomas Glyn receivers', 1542, WSA, 164/14/1. A particular is a financial abstract from manorial court rolls showing the lord of the manor his income.

¹⁵ 'Glebe terrier, Britford', 1615, WSA, D24/4/1; V. Bainbridge, pers. comm., 2021.

¹⁶ This term is obscure but may relate to a manorial tax.

¹⁷ M. W. Barley, 'Rural Building in England', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1640-1750*, ed by J. Thirsk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), Vol V.II, p. 675.

¹⁸ 'Miscellaneous bundle of accounts relating to Britford manor 1547-1830', HA, 44M69/E7/30, includes mention of the sheep fair.

¹⁹ 'Britford', Wiltshire Community History (n.d.) <<https://apps.wiltshire.gov.uk/communityhistory/Community/Index/31>>.

²⁰ A. Brian, 'Lammas Meadows', *Landscape History*, 15.1 (1993), 57-69.

ad Vincula or ‘St Peter in Chains’.²¹ This festival, celebrating the first fruits of the Earth, is the Christian adaptation of an older festival.²²

In Britford village, no pre-1600 vernacular structures have been identified.²³ The present ‘Moat House’ and surrounding moat (in the foreground of Figure 12.4) are presumed post-medieval. The location is likely that of the original manor house.²⁴ The enclosed Britford Common included the ‘The Green’ on the southwest side, and around this, medieval ‘greenside settlement’ likely involved movement towards village greens from a more dispersed settlement pattern, during times of population pressure.²⁵ Such a process was commonplace in *eastern* England.²⁶ A fortified moated manor house and adjacent common is proposed at Poulshot in Wiltshire.²⁷ Britford also had a likely deer park adjacent to the manor house, indicated by field name evidence and including a warren. These could be associated with private deer parks and were indicators of medieval lordship.²⁸ The recording of a park was generally by the possessing landlord, but no specific record has emerged.²⁹

In England, the legal process of enclosure (sometimes ‘inclosure’) had started in the thirteenth century. The Statutes of Merton (1235/6) gave rights to lords of the manor to enclose commons and waste lands, provided that sufficient land is available to satisfy customary tenants’ rights of common of pasture.³⁰ Agricultural improvement became a national issue, and by 1656, Parliament was concerned with ‘improving wastes, regulating commons and preventing depopulation’.³¹ Common rights had developed where poor-quality land for agriculture of the manorial demesne land (such as unmodified floodplain) was left uncultivated and unenclosed, and over which freehold and customary tenants might have rights of common.³² Britford Common was likely far larger than the present Green and was enclosed before 1624. In a twentieth-century legal opinion regarding grazing on the Green, the area was not considered subject to rights of common, rather it legally constitutes *unoccupied waste of the manor* but with no ancient rights of common proven.³³ Otherwise, by the early seventeenth century, Britford manor still contained abundant ‘common meadow’ and ‘common marsh’.³⁴ Floodplain common marsh included wet woodland, areas for withy, sedge and reed gathering, and grazing that

²¹ Gazetteer of fairs and markets to 1516.

²² This would be cognate with the Irish festival of Lughnasa.

²³ Historic England, *National Heritage List for England* (2023)

²⁴ Listed buildings, (n.d). <<https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/england/britford-wiltshire#.XZ7VE2jTIX>> [acc Nov 2023].

²⁵ S. Draper, pers. comm., 2021; R. Shirley, *Village greens of England: a study in historical geography*, (Durham theses: Durham University, 1994) <<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/6120/>>.

²⁶ P. Wade-Martins, *Fieldwork and excavation of village sites in Launditch hundred, Norfolk*. East Anglian Archaeology 10, (Gressenhall: Norfolk Archaeological Service, 1980).

²⁷ J. Lark, ‘The history of the house on an English village green’, 2019 <<https://janelark.blog/2019/02/17/the-history-of-the-house-on-an-english-village-green-continued-was-it-once-part-of-poulshots-fortified-manor/>> [acc Nov 2023].

²⁸ Historic England, ‘Animal Management’, (2018) <<https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/iha-animal-management/heag196-animal-management/>> [acc Nov 2023].

²⁹ V. Bainbridge, pers. comm., 2021.

³⁰ L. Green, ‘The Statute of Merton’, *Merton Historical Society Bulletin*, 138 (2001), 14-16.

³¹ J. Thirsk, ‘Agricultural policy: Public debate and Legislation’ in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: Agrarian Change, vol vii, 1640-1750*, ed by J. Thirsk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 298-388, at p. 320.

³² Hansard, ‘Manorial Wastes’, vol. 731 (1966), c1227 <<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1966/jul/12/manorial-wastes-1>>.

³³ ‘In the matter of Britford Green, Britford, Wiltshire, 1975’, Commons Commissioners, <[https://www.acraew.org.uk/sites/default/files/uploads/Wiltshire/BRITFORD%20GREEN%20-%20BRITFORD%20NO.CL.60\(2\).pdf](https://www.acraew.org.uk/sites/default/files/uploads/Wiltshire/BRITFORD%20GREEN%20-%20BRITFORD%20NO.CL.60(2).pdf)>.

³⁴ ‘Map of Britford Manor’, 1624, HA, 44M69/P1/115.

would become floated watermeadows. Originally, uncultivated common waste provided for grazing, fuel, building materials and implements.³⁵ Marshes were often divided into strips for hay concessions.³⁶ Figure 12.1 proposes medieval routeways, river crossing places and tracks leading to common marsh and meadow. The route between Ayleswade Bridge and St Peter's church includes Britford Lane, likely called 'Cow Lane' by the seventeenth century.³⁷ The track between Britford village and Lower Farm, previously Bullock Hole Farm (Figure 12.2), was called 'Marsh Lane'.³⁸

The Manor of Longford ('Langford') was acquired by Thomas Gorges in 1574 who started construction of a castle on the site of the manor house. Purchased by Lord Coleraine in 1641, the estate was sold on to the Pleydell-Bouverie family in 1717 (Earls of Radnor 1765). By the late-eighteenth century, the extended Castle was surrounded by a park with formal avenues and rides.³⁹ The Radnors remain landowners within HPB. In East Harnham, there was little urban development over higher ground until the twentieth century.⁴⁰ The manor originally had arable land within open fields, sheep pasture on the downs, and floodplain meadows. No common is identified, although there may have been common rights exercised in the Manor at Homington in the fifteenth century.⁴¹ In 1799, the Rose and Crown Inn owned land with common rights.⁴² However, much ground evidence has been destroyed by urban development, and the site of the manor house is unknown.

The rise of capitalist farming is evident on the chalklands from the late fifteenth century and it enabled investment.⁴³ In 1632, at Wylde in Wiltshire, watermeadows were 'floated', that is constructed and operated.⁴⁴ A fixed asset on farms, these boosted and made possible earlier grass production in the growing season, known as the 'early bite'.⁴⁵ In the classic sheep-corn husbandry model, livestock led daily from watermeadows in the early-season were folded on arable land. Their dung and urine thereby fertilised arable. Summer grazing would become available on higher pastures. The fertilising benefits of sheep on arable land helped to maintain production, however a trend towards long-term decline in sheep husbandry is evident.

Early spring grass in the west of England also incentivised dairy farming.⁴⁶ Around 1600, wool, cattle, and corn had been sold at Salisbury Market. Here, an area is still called 'The Cheese

³⁵ R. A. Butlin, 'Some terms used in agrarian history', *Agricultural History Review*, 9.2 (1961), 98-194.

³⁶ Tatton-Brown, p. 55.

³⁷ 'Glebe terrier, Britford'.

³⁸ 'Map of water meadows at Britford, Wilts. (n.d.)', [17th century], HA, 44M69/P1/119.

³⁹ Historic England, 'Longford Castle', listed 01-Sept 1987 (2021). <<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000424?section=official-list-entry>> [acc Nov 2023].

⁴⁰ J. Chandler, *Endless Street: A History of Salisbury and Its People* (Salisbury: Hobnob Press, 1983), pp. 60-61.

⁴¹ S. Hobbs, 'The Fields Beneath: a glimpse of East Harnham in the middle ages', in *Harnham Historical Miscellany*, ed by J., Howells (Salisbury: *Sarum Studies*, 2013) vol 4, 81-86.

⁴² 'Lease and release of the foreshare of an acre in Harnham mead or Homington common, belonging to the Rose and Crown inn at East Harnham', n.d., WSA, 490/375.

⁴³ Natural England, *Area 132 Salisbury Plain and West Wiltshire Downs and area 134 Dorset Downs and Cranborne Chase*, National Character Area profiles (2014) <<https://publications.naturalengland.org.uk/publication/5001829523914752?category=587130>>.

⁴⁴ J. H. Bettey, *Wessex from AD 1000* (London: Longmans 1986), pp. 133-6.

⁴⁵ K. Stearne, and H. Cook, 'Water Meadow Management in Wessex: Dynamics of Change from 1800 to the Present Day', *Landscape Research*, 40.3 (2013), 377-395 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/01426397.2013.818109>>.

⁴⁶ B. A. Holderness, 'Prices, Productivity, and Output', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol VI: 1750-1850, ed by G. E. Mingay and J. Thirsk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 84-189, at p. 161.

Market'.⁴⁷ Demand for cheese was sustained through the Civil Wars to feed the troops.⁴⁸ There had also been a serious early seventeenth-century decline in the local textile industry.⁴⁹ As if by compensation, by the eighteenth century, the sale of cattle had become important.⁵⁰ Development of downland farmsteads towards courtyard farms from the seventeenth century indicate a move towards granaries reflecting the expansion of arable area, large barns, and cattle yards more broadly in Wiltshire.⁵¹ Overall economic development would lead to extensive re-building of vernacular buildings in the region.⁵²

Sheep husbandry was also under pressure from ploughland. Writing in 1725, Daniel Defoe commented on arable conversion in the area:⁵³

'But 'tis more remarkable still; how a great part of these downs comes by a new method of husbandry, to be not only made arable, which they never were in former days, but to bear excellent wheat, and great crops too, tho' otherwise poor barren land, and never known to our ancestors to be capable of any such thing; nay, they would perhaps have laugh'd at any one that would have gone about to plough up the wilds downs and hills, where the sheep were wont to go...'

Later, during the Napoleonic wars, grain prices were sustained, although this was followed by a slump in English agriculture; later recovery produced a 'Golden Age' between 1853 and 1863.⁵⁴ Meeting demand for cereals further facilitated the ploughing of downland, encouraged more enclosure, new agricultural technologies, and farmstead development. Then, between 1867 and 1937 imported food depressed the domestic agriculture causing the area of Wiltshire under arable to more than halve.⁵⁵ In the HPB this would lead to an increase in grass for livestock coupled with loss of farmland to urban development. Nationally, areas under arable increased again during the Second World War.⁵⁶

Farms and Land Use Change

A map of the Manor of Britford in 1624 displays open fields, extensive downland sheepwalk, the village plan, closes, common meadow southeast of St Peter's church and 71.16 ha common marsh west of the inlier of river terrace deposits (Figure 12.1).⁵⁷ The map is unclear in places, but there is no 'New Cut' channel feeding watermeadows, although north of the Church and Rectory Farm the name 'Ham' indicates a riverside meadow. The New Cut of the Avon

⁴⁷ Chandler, pp. 98-99.

⁴⁸ J. Thirsk, *Alternative Agriculture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) p. 49.

⁴⁹ Chandler, pp. 90-91.

⁵⁰ Chandler, p. 104.

⁵¹ R. Edwards and J. Lake, *Wiltshire and Swindon Farmstead and Landscape Project* (Wimborne Minster: Forum Heritage Services) <<https://wshc.org.uk/images/Archaeology/Wilts-Farmsteads-Project-Report.pdf>>.

⁵² J. Lake pers. comm. 2023.

⁵³ D. Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journeys* (London: JM Dent and Co, 1927 edition).

⁵⁴ J. Thirsk, p. 149.

⁵⁵ A. H. Fry, *The Land of Britain, Wiltshire* (London: HMSO, 1940), plate 87, p. 193.

⁵⁶ H. Cook, 'Boom, slump and intervention: changing agricultural landscapes on Romney Marsh, 1790 to 1990', in *Romney Marsh: Persistence and Change in a Coastal Lowland*, ed by M. P. Waller, E. Edwards, and L. Barber (Sevenoaks: Romney Marsh Research Trust, 2010), pp. 155-183.

⁵⁷ 'Map of Britford Manor', 1624, HA, 44M69/P1/115.



Figure 12.5: Extract of Thomas Naish's 1703 map.

Navigation was mapped in 1703 by Thomas Naish (Figure 12.5).⁵⁸ By 1789, enclosure of the downland is advanced, with large fields and closes to the east and south (Figure 12.6).⁵⁹

'Doggdean Farm', was absent in 1624, but then, in a century of progressive enclosure, the arrival of new farmsteads is not surprising. A lease for a messuage suggests there were closes on the common mead, and within the common field arable in 1684.⁶⁰ In the 1690s, the open Doggdean Fielde had undergone some enclosure.⁶¹ Figure 12.5 shows the open fields of Britford Manor in 1703 and Doggdeane Farm is present in the southwest corner. Drovers' roads are a prominent

⁵⁸ 'Map of Britford Manor, Wiltshire, surveyed by Thomas Naish', 1703, HA, 44M69/P1/116.

⁵⁹ 'Survey of the arable and glebe lands in the parishes of Britford and East Harnham, by R. Davis, Lewknor, Oxon', 1789, WSA, CC/M/9H.

⁶⁰ 'Lease of messuage with a little close or parcel of meadow 1a, 2a of meadow ground in the Common Meade and 25a of arable land in the Common Field of Britford', 1684, HA, 44M69/E2/178.

⁶¹ 'Bundle relating to enclosure of lands in Britford', 1690s, HA, 44M69/E8/4/51.



Figure 12.6: Arable in 1789 including 'glebe surveyed for the Church Commissioners' by R. Davis.



Figure 12.7: Strip lynchets (SU 1580 2780).

landscape feature; ‘Lower Drove’ separated Doggdean Felde, and Doggdean Farm fields in the southwest, and Upper Drove separated Chalk Pit and Middle Field. West of Doggdean, the lack of mapped detail and the word ‘Downe’ suggests sheepwalk in 1703. East of Doggdean Felde and west of the former Britford Common are grassed-over strip lynchets (Figure 12.7).⁶² These are located on a hillside west of the *original* alignment of the road from East Harnham to Downton, downstream on the Avon, including modern Park Lane, Britford (Figure 12.1).

Conversion of downland sheepwalk directly to arable involved the process of ‘burnbake’.⁶³ This process was common in Wiltshire and Dorset and involved downland soil being pared and burnt. Turf burned on a bonfire supplied fertilising ash incorporated in the new arable soil.⁶⁴ The area immediately around ‘Doggdean Farm’ lacked strips and furlongs (Figure 12.5, southwest corner) although three larger fields around Doggdean Farm (distinct from the closes on the south side) potentially accommodated a three-course rotation. ‘Well House’ is hand-written by plantation blocks west of Doggdean Felde anticipating development of Well House Farm (Table 12.1).⁶⁵ Figures 12.6 and 12.8 (detail) show three fields on a NE-SW axis to the north and together with fields marked ‘above-’ and ‘below-Cliffe’ represent open fields in East Harnham Manor in 1789.⁶⁶

⁶² Wiltshire Council, ‘Wiltshire and Swindon Historic Environment Record’, No. SU12NE636 <<https://www.wiltshire.gov.uk/article/889/Archaeology-and-historic-environment-record>>.

⁶³ P. Cavill, *A New Dictionary of English Field-Names* (Nottingham: English Place Name Society, 2018), p. 53.

⁶⁴ ‘A Wiltshire Schoolboy’s War’, Yeates, P. J., BBC (2014) <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/stories/47/a4968147.shtml>>.

⁶⁵ ‘Map of Britford manor, Wiltshire, surveyed by Thomas Naish’, 1703, HA, 44M69/P1/116.

⁶⁶ Hobbs, p. 85.



Figure 12.8: Detail of northeast corner of the map by R. Davis (1789) shown in Figure 12.6

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were times of great investment in both farm buildings and in farm complexes. For example, ‘Well House’ is hand-annotated on the 1703 map, west of Doggdean Field on the site of Well House Farm (Table 12.1). An actual Enclosure Act for 1816 included Britford.⁶⁷ An Act for East Harnham is dated 1847 (Figure 12.9).⁶⁸ In 1840, Down Barn was a ‘barn yard’ two cottages and surrounding arable. Three fields were (west to east) ‘Pickled Beak’, ‘Middle Beak’ and ‘Lower Beak’. In 1789 these were: Lower, Middle, and Upper Burnbake suggesting Bake (or Beak) is a shortening (Figure 12.6). ‘Pickled (Piece)’ may be an error for ‘picked’, a pointed or triangular shape.⁶⁹ ‘Down’ suggests sheepwalk, but it was arable by 1840; the steep-sided Homington Down southwest of Homington road on the remained grazed.

Historic Parish of Britford land use reconstructed

Figure 12.10 shows land use and field type c. 1700. Enclosure has been undertaken in the south and east of HPB and watermeadow development is advanced. West of Homington road remained mostly downland sheepwalk. The juxtaposition of arable and watermeadow would generally permit a walk of less than 1.5km to fold sheep to fertilise the arable. Figure 12.11 shows land use interpreted from the Tithe Award (1840) and Figure 12.12 in the 1930s.⁷⁰ The

⁶⁷ ‘Enclosure Act; Downton and Britford’, 1816, WSA, A1/215/83.

⁶⁸ ‘Copy of the 1847 enclosure award for East Harnham’, 1897 (with photocopies of 1846 map), WSA, 1946/2/2D/36.

⁶⁹ S. Draper, pers. comm., 2021, Cavill, p. 327.

⁷⁰ ‘The First’ Land Utilisation Survey of Great Britain. *Salisbury and Bulford*, sheet no. 122, (London: Geographical Publications Ltd, 1939).

Table 12.1: Eighteenth and nineteenth century farms.

Modern name	Previous name	Grid ref	comments
Bake or Beak Farm	Down Barn (mid-19 th C)	SU 1178 2780	Site developed as a farmstead after 1888. Jervoise Estate in 1962
Well House Farm and cottages	Coldharbour Farm (early 19 th C)	c. 1295 2775	Earlier name from period 1811-1817. Jervoise Estate in 1962
Dogdean Farm	-	SU 1343 2708	Marked on Andrews and Drury (1773) and Naish's Map 1703. Jervoise Estate in 1962
East Harnham Farm	-	SU 1435 2895	Un-named farm (1840) by Ayleswade Bridge. Buildings absent on subsequent mapping
Rectory Farm	-	SU 1625 2848	Adjacent to St Peter's church. Jervoise Estate in 1962
Manor Farm	-	SU 1590 2770	Error in naming local farms in OS mapping 1844-1888. Jervoise Estate in 1962
Little Manor Farmhouse and Little Manor Barn	'Dairy Farm'	SU 1615 2805	Earlier name from OS mapping 1898-1939. Jervoise Estate in 1962
Bridge Farm	-	SU 1563 2835	Name in 1840. Jervoise Estate in 1962
Lower Farm	Bullock Hole Farm	SU 1688 2745	Probably a twentieth century name change. Jervoise Estate in 1962
Upend Farm	-	SU 1615 2745	Name in the nineteenth century, but a location error is present in OS mapping 1844-1888. Jervoise Estate in 1962
Longford Farm	-	SU 1580 2650	Farm in 1840, named in OS mapping

detail resolvable to produce Figure 12.11 (published in 1840) is greater than for Figure 12.12. Estimates show a balance of arable vs. grass prior to both arable expansion in the 'Golden Age' and the intensification of the Second World War (Table 12.2).

There is disparity in areas of grass and trees within Longford Park from the First Land Utilisation Survey in the 1930s, and OS mapping. The 'other' category for the 1830s comprised withy or sedge beds, allotments, gardens, paddocks for the 1830s, but only orchards are recorded *separately* for the 1930s; other land uses would be subsumed in broader categories. This disparity in total area between the estimates and the 1840 parish area (1215ha) is c 75ha. This is partly accounted for by the 'roads and wastes' category in 1840 (37.2ha), with no record

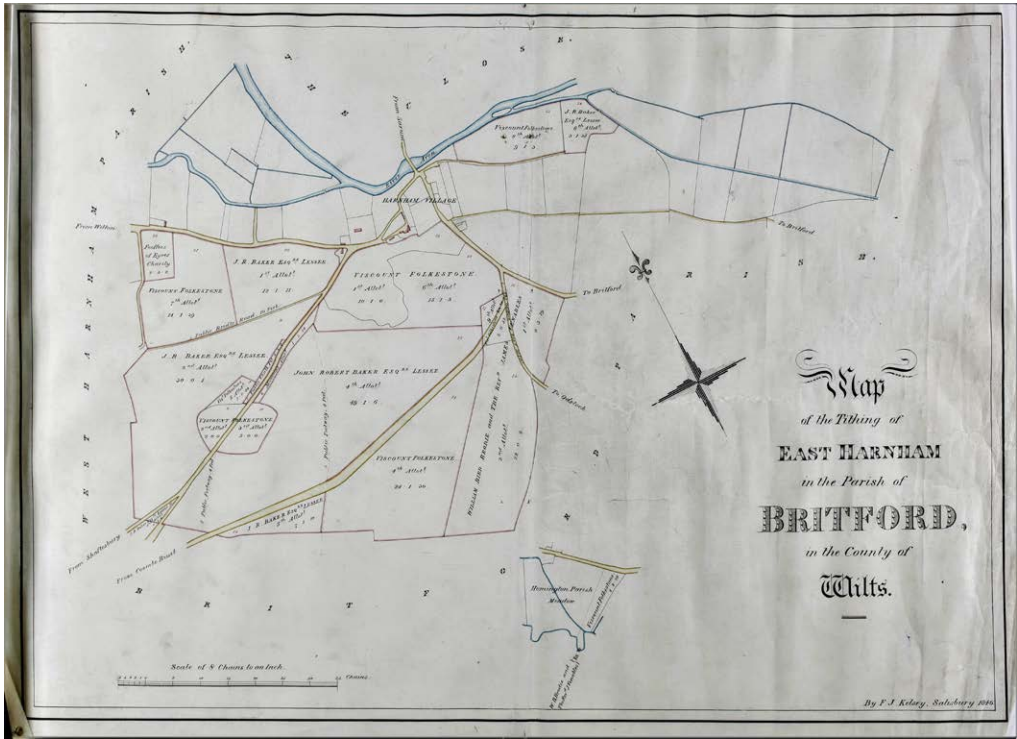


Figure 12.9: Extract of the Enclosure award for East Harnham 1846.

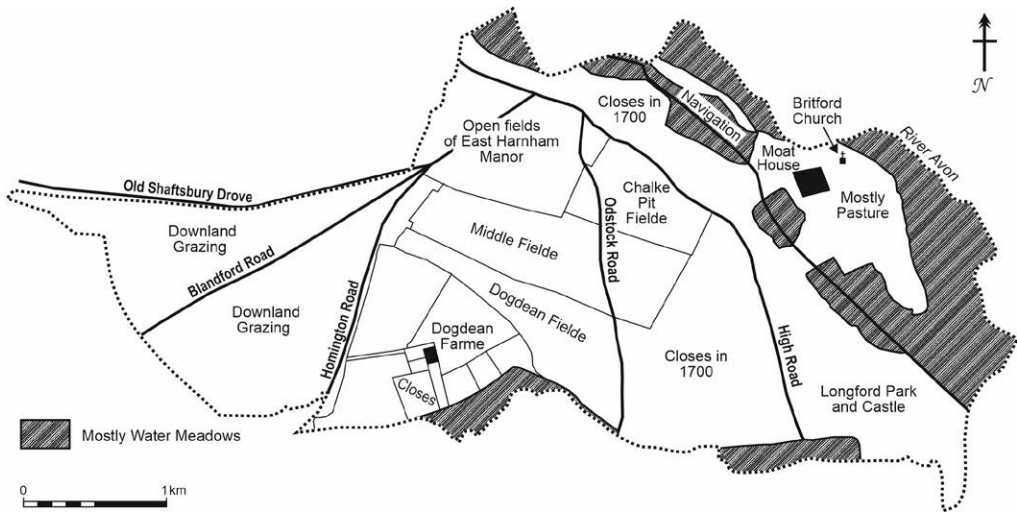


Figure 12.10: Reconstructed land use, c.1700.

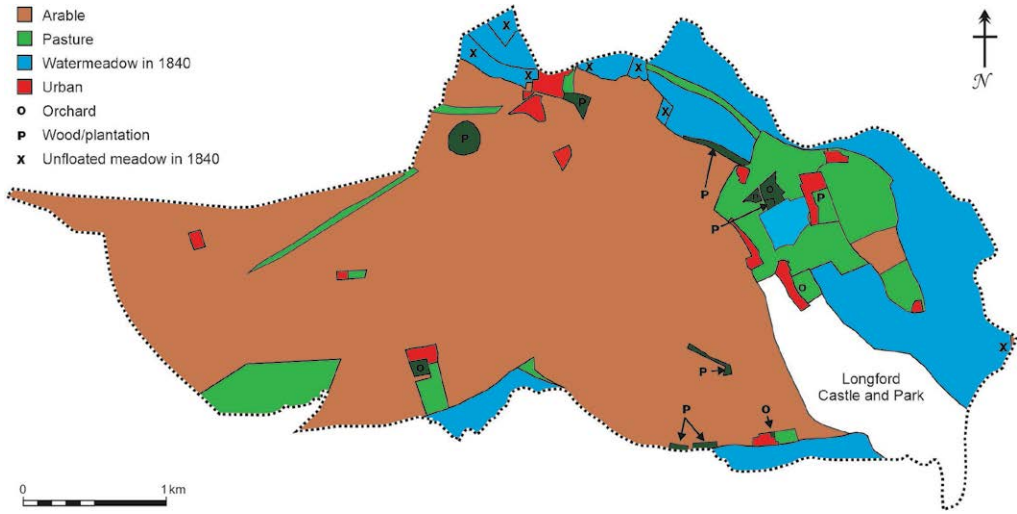


Figure 12.11: Reconstructed land use, 1830s.

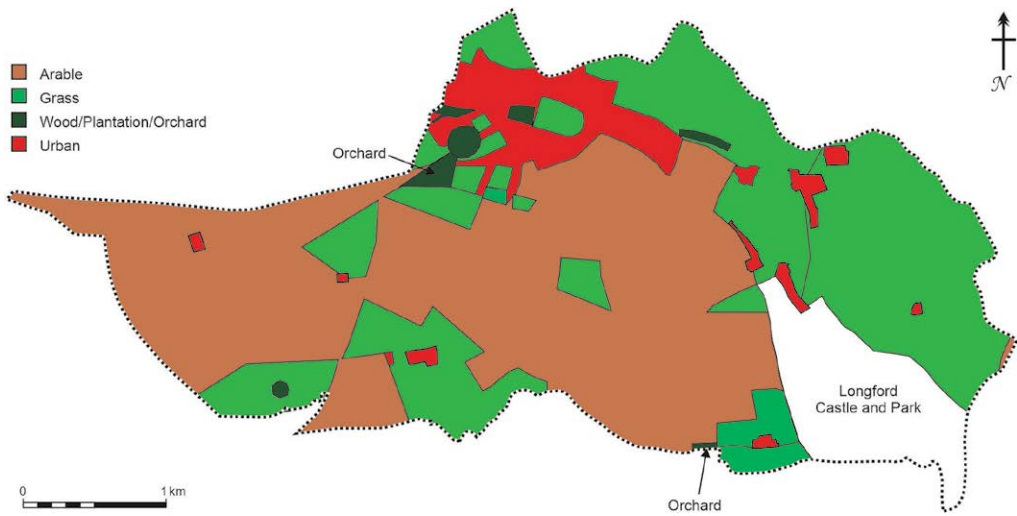


Figure 12.12: Reconstructed land use, 1930s.

for open water areas. For context, in 1854 Britford was in the Alderbury Union of parishes (area 20,869ha). The Summary of the Returns of the Agricultural Statistics of the County of Wiltshire suggests c. 44% was in arable, lower than estimates for the HPB for the 1830s (61.9%) and 1930s (48.8%). Grassland area in 1854 was 35%.⁷¹ In HPB grassland in the 1930s was appreciably higher than in 1840 (Table 12.2).

⁷¹ S. Baxter, pers. comm., 2021.

Table 12.2: Land use area estimates for HBP (hectares) including Longford Park.

Category	1830s	1930s
All arable	751.8	556.8
All grass	311.5	478.2
Urban	28.5	73.8
Woods/plantation/orchards	46.6	32.1
Total area	1,138.40	1,140.90

In 1846, the tenant of Longford farm had the right to graze only sheep within Longford Park, although by 1930 the right had been extended to both sheep and cattle.⁷² In 1840 the farm had been owed by the Radnor Estate and a valuation of 1828 refers to bulls, heifers, oxen, sows, cart horses, milch cows (dairy and beef) as well as butter and cheese making.⁷³ Dairy cattle more than doubled in Wiltshire between 1867 and 1937 as did ‘other cattle’ while sheep dramatically declined.⁷⁴ Expansion of cattle number and arable area can lead to farmstead development, evidenced by comparing Tithe maps, to First, Second and Third Series OS mapping.⁷⁵ Dogdean Farm had taken its modern form by 1840. Modest building subsequently occurred at Well House Farm, Dairy Farm and Upend Farm (Table 12.1). At Down Barn in 1840, there were two cottages with gardens and a barnyard. Surrounded by arable, manure collected in the yard could be used as fertiliser. Further building occurred, and by 1900 it is mapped as ‘Bake Farm’.

Sheep dominated livestock in the valleys of the Till, upper Avon and upper Borne and four-course arable rotations were commonplace.⁷⁶ In the Ebbel valley, two cereals were followed by clover or vetch for two more years, or else fallow followed a root crop.⁷⁷ Watermeadows operated and sheep and dairy husbandry co-existed, but in the Wylde and lower Bourne valleys, sheep were diminishing in favour of cattle and the Britford Sheep Fair moved to Wilton in 1938. The category ‘urban’ (Table 12.2) includes urban clusters and ‘suburban’ areas, including gardens. Clarity of definition makes ‘arable’ and ‘urban’ the most accurately recorded categories. Between the 1830s and 1930s, there is a reduction of 204 ha and increase of 45ha respectively.⁷⁸

Floodplain Modification

The width of the river Avon floodplain has been noted. Floodplain modification had objectives of domestic water supply, feeding the moat, the canal, the watermeadows, and land drainage (Figure 12.13). The extent of surface hydrological system alteration makes it obliterate earlier

⁷² ‘Valuations of Longford Farm between 1743 and 1829’ with other records until 1947, WSA, 1946/2/2A/55.

⁷³ ‘Valuations of Longford Farm’.

⁷⁴ Fry, p. 186. At this time UK agriculture was largely in recession (chapter 13).

⁷⁵ J. Lake, pers. comm., 2023.

⁷⁶ Fry, ch IV.

⁷⁷ Fry, pp. 239-231.

⁷⁸ E. Crittall, ‘Wilton: Markets, fairs, agriculture and mills’, in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, Vol. 6 (London: Victoria County History, 1962), pp. 17-21.

floodplain features, including any attempts to drain marshland areas. West of Ayleswade bridge, the Avon is multiple channelled.⁷⁹ Except the river, downstream channels are artificial. The Salisbury Avon Navigation diverts water c. 300m below Ayleswade Bridge and the ‘New Cut’ canal diverts flow at c. 650m downstream to irrigate watermeadows southeast of St Peter’s Church. Manor Ditch, whose original purpose is unknown, forms a fourth channel. The weir marked on the river Avon in Figure 12.14 (modern ‘Wire Hatches’) was specified in 1698 and permits flow control into the New Cut and Navigation.⁸⁰

The Jervoise family remodelled the Moat House.⁸¹ The present moat is an extravagant garden feature, likely dating from the seventeenth century.⁸² It is fed from the New Cut c. 300m west of St Peter’s Church (Figure 12.13) and southwest from the Navigation. In turn, a drainage

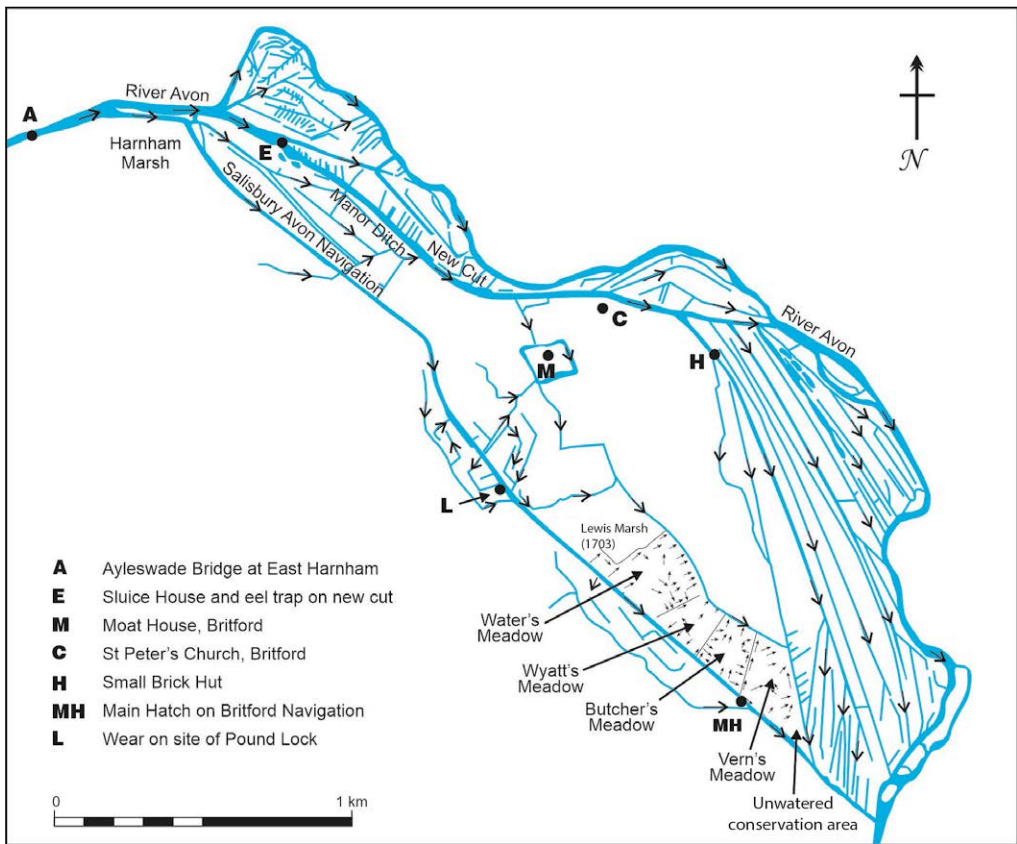


Figure 12.13: Reconstruction of the hydrological system around Britford c.1850, simplified.

⁷⁹ H. Cook, 'River channel planforms and floodplains: a study in the Wessex landscape', *Landscape History*, 39.1 (2018), 5-44, <<https://doi.org/10.1080/01433768.2018.1466548>>.

⁸⁰ 'Detailed specification of a weir to be made across the Avon below the main carriage, to water Thomas Jervoise's meadows at Britford', 1698, WSA, 490/756; 'Plan for a weir at Britford, Wiltshire', 1698, HA, 44M69/P1/104.

⁸¹ C. Lewis, 'Patterns and processes in the medieval settlement of Wiltshire', in *The Medieval Landscape of Wessex* ed by M. Aston and C Lewis (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1994), pp. 171-193.

⁸² Historic England, 'Moat House', listed 23-Mar-1960' (2023) <<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1023794>>.

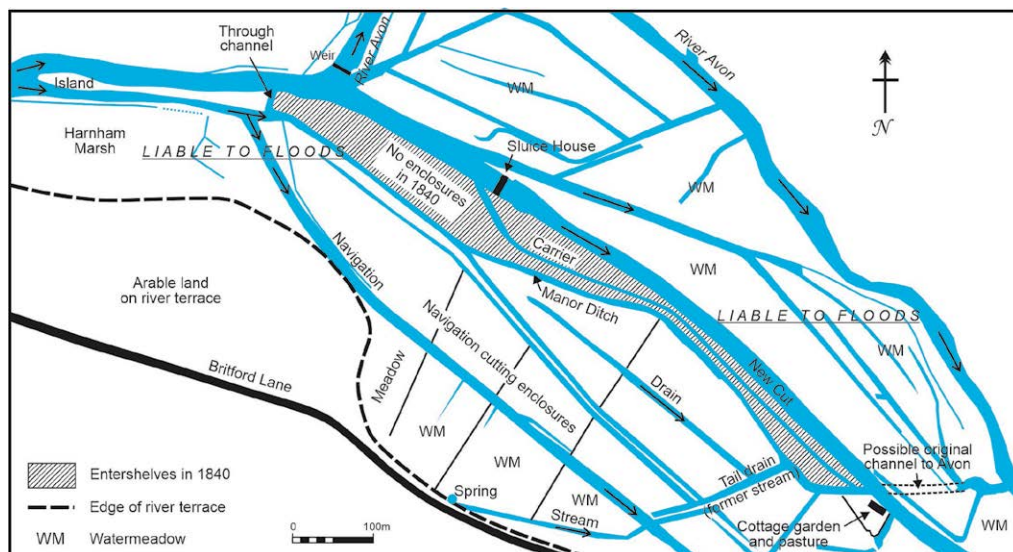


Figure 12.14: Detail of Manor Ditch and ‘Entershelves’ in 1840 (shaded).

channel crosses the river terrace (mostly pasture in 1840 and today), southwards behind the gardens of houses that mostly face ‘The Green’ enabling domestic supply. After two right-angle bends, the channel runs southwards parallel to the edge of the river terrace inlier, becoming the tail drain for the Britford SSSI watermeadows.

On both the rivers Ebbles and Avon floodplains, watermeadows were developed. Floating enabled early grass and boosted valley-bottom production, dairy products, hay, and beef cattle, as well as sheep.⁸³ Popular among the gentry, floating watermeadows was not always well-received. A case presented at the Salisbury Quarter Sessions in 1643 records:⁸⁴

‘Whereas Robert Chivers gent, Anthony Turvy, William Phillipps, John Shuter, John Adams and John Whatly stand indicted at this Sessions for a riot and stopping of an ancient watercourse between Harnham Marsh and a place called Entersheels to the common nuisance of the inhabitants of Burford [alternative name for Britford] and East Harnham. And whereas it appears now by the testimony of John Kingman and John Jellicoes examined on oath that the inhabitants of Britford and East Harnham have had the quiet and peaceable possession of the watercourse by the space of four years last past and whereas the court is informed that the inhabitants have heretofore erected and set up flood hatches in the watercourses and have made trenches for carrying and conveying of the water into their meadows there to improve them which was done with a general consent both of the inhabitants of Britford and West Harnham....’

The defendants were probably men hired by Chivers who intended to reverse floating by his landlord. Their destructive motives may reflect concern around loss of common rights,

⁸³ Stearne and Cook.

⁸⁴ ‘(The) Quarter Sessions Order Book, 1642-1654’, *Wiltshire Record Society*, vol 76 (2014), p. 28.

disputes over use of the water, or fears of flooding. At Downton in the 1673-4 Quarter Session, summonses related to watermeadow construction arose from allegations of damage to the river and flooding.⁸⁵ In 1624 there was 71.5ha of Common Meadow southeast of St Peter's church that was subsequently floated from the river, via the New Cut. Southwest of the river terrace, the Common Marsh would be floated from the Navigation (Figures 12.13 and 12.14). At Downton in 1665, agreement was sought with, and compensation was due to, commoners, tenants and landowners affected by watermeadow construction.⁸⁶

A letter regarding a court case of 1682 and likely referring to holdings in Britford, suggests a diverse local agriculture when Captain Thomas Jervoise sought to seize the assets of one Farmer Soper for non-payment of rent. A tenant from 1631, Soper had agreed in 1633 to land enclosure and the *irrigation of meadows*. There is also a record of 'R. Soper' holding land adjacent to the river in the Common Meadow, mapped in 1624. A plot within the 'common mead' would be 'drowned' by consent of freeholders and tenants.⁸⁷ A lease of 1684 concerned two acres of 'meadow grounds in the common mead or meadows' at Britford.⁸⁸ Surface flows at the Britford SSSI are indicated in Figure 12.13.⁸⁹ Here, names mostly reflect occupancy.⁹⁰ The unfloated Lewis's Marsh (adjacent to the northeastern boundary of Water's Meadow) has a small, near-rectangular drain that collects seepage from river terrace gravels (Table 12.3 and Figure 12.13), low areas having rushes and some peat topsoil.⁹¹ A document of 1798 describes drainage into the Navigation as 'above Dints meadow'.⁹² If 'Dints' is a variant of 'Dites' or Wyatts (Table 12.3), the meadow is 800m southeast and downstream of a pound lock at Britford (SU 1595 2785) in Figure 12.13.⁹³

In general, meadow names east of Lower Farm (on the floated former Common Meadow) describe area rather than occupancy. Hay cropping was important on the river island containing the Harnham Water Meadows.⁹⁴ On the south-east part of this island containing these (within HPB) are Nine Acres, Five Acres and Four Acres. 'Close Meadow' is later St Nicholas' Hospital Mead.⁹⁵ In 1840, Nine Acres is recorded merely as 'meadow' implying it had lost its floating infrastructure, likely because floating on peaty soil proved unsuitable for irrigation.⁹⁶ Bridge Farm has a building called the 'Cheese House', recorded as 'Dairy House' in 1840. 'Dairy Farm' is present, and 'Bullock Hole Farm' is named (Table 12.1), the former name

⁸⁵ J. H. Bettey, 'The Development of Water Meadows on the Salisbury Avon, 1665-1690', *The Agricultural History Review*, 51.2 (2003), 163-172.

⁸⁶ Bettey, 'The development of watermeadows'.

⁸⁷ 'Papers of Jervoise family 1686 to 1691 includes Alice Jervoise, later Alice Widmore, versus Capt Thomas Jervoise: Combes Court, Wilts; Roots web (n.d.) Farmer Soper & son', 1682, HA, 44M69/F5/4/19.

⁸⁸ 'Lease of messuage with a little close or parcel of meadow'.

⁸⁹ H. Cook, R. L. Cutting and E. Valsami-Jones, 'Water meadow irrigation', *Journal of Flood Risk Management*, 10 (2017), 463-473 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/jfr3.12142>>.

⁹⁰ R. Cutting, H. Cook, and I. Cummings, 'Hydraulic conditions, oxygenation, temperature and sediment relationships of bedwork watermeadows', *Hydrological Processes*, 17 (2003), 1823-1843. <<https://doi.org/10.1002/hyp.1215>>.

⁹¹ S. Martin, pers. Comm., 2021.

⁹² 'Exchange of land and drainage into the Navigation', 1798, WSA, 490/392/1.


⁹³ D. A. E. Cross, 'The Salisbury Navigation', *WANHM*, 65 (1970), 172-176.

⁹⁴ H. Cook, M. Cowan, and T. Tatton-Brown, *The Harnham Water Meadows* (Salisbury: Hobnob Press, 2008), p. 11.

⁹⁵ M. Cowan, *Wiltshire Water Meadows: Understanding and Conserving the Remains of a Farming and Engineering Revolution* (Salisbury: Hobnob Press, 2005), Plate 4.1a.

⁹⁶ Cook, and others., *Harnham Water Meadows*, pp. 19 and 23.

Table 12.3: Meadows at the Britford SSSI listed northwest to southeast (Figure 12.13).

Modern names	‘Little Meadow’. Area mostly outside northern SSSI boundary	Water’s or ‘Watersis’	Wyatt’s	Butcher’s	Verne’s
Names in 1840	‘Rushy Marsh Pasture’. Meadows separating it from the Navigation are Stainer’s & Four Acres	Five Acres/ Seven Acres	Guy Dites	Russell’s	Fern’s
Names in 1703	‘Jervoyce’ Lewis Marsh (probably to indicate ownership). Two meadows separate it from the Navigation	Sanders, King & Bankes	Guidot	Brown/ ?Raffitt	Trippock
1624	Common marsh 				

suggesting fattening livestock for sale. At some Britford farms, beef cattle are unknown before 1960.⁹⁷

Developing the hydrological system

The Quarter Sessions court case indicates that floating was underway in East Harnham c. 1640, and the Soper Case in the 1630s. On the Common Meadow and glebe, the Jervoise family were likely floating and enclosing on a large scale between about 1640 and 1660. The ‘ancient watercourse’ of the court case is probably Manor Ditch (Figure 12.14), forming a boundary between the manors of Britford (on its northeastern side) and East Harnham. Manor Ditch, after forking at the bend (SU 1545 2885), splits into sub-parallel channels suggesting a northeast-side carrier and southwest-side drain. Before the New Cut and (the later constructed) Navigation were dug, drainage likely discharged into the Avon near to SU 1586 2864, via an ENE flowing tail drain that carried a stream rising in the gravels (Figure 12.1). The Navigation cuts across enclosures, while OS and Tithe maps show a channel arising upstream of the Hatch House (or Sluice House) that would have been a carrier.⁹⁸

The through-channel between the Avon and the channel to the Manor Ditch in Figure 12.14 is adjacent to an area marked in nineteenth century OS mapping as ‘Liable to floods’, suggesting the location of ‘Harnham Marsh’ in the court case. The Ditch discharges to a tail drain feeding New Cut (SU 1568 2860). The 1840 Tithe Map records the 5.7ha and 890m long pasture between Manor Ditch and the New Cut as ‘Entershelves’, likely OE *ened* (duck) and *scylfe* (shelf), literally ‘a flat area with ducks’.⁹⁹

Figure 12.15 shows sketch maps of the Britford Glebe, the originals dated to the ‘mid-seventeenth century’.¹⁰⁰ Copied, they were deposited with the Chapter and Clerk of Salisbury Cathedral by Lord Radnor, much later in 1778.¹⁰¹ These relate to tithes due to the vicar and

⁹⁷ K. Stearne, *Water Meadows in the English Landscape: Conflict, compromise, and change*, PhD thesis (University of London: Imperial College, Wye Campus, 2004), pp. 154-156.

⁹⁸ ‘Entershelves’ or Entersheels’ is recorded as pasture in the 1840 Tithe award.

⁹⁹ S. Draper, pers. comm., 2021.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Two copies of sketch maps of the glebe of Britford before and after the making of new carriages by Mr. Jervoise. Made by lord Radnor from copies taken from original maps in the care of the Chapter Clerk of Salisbury, received 1789 with a note of tithes due to the vicar of Britford at Michaelmas’, 1776, WSA, 490/757.

¹⁰¹ ‘Photocopies of sketch plans of glebe at Britford before and after the cutting of channels to allow the creation of

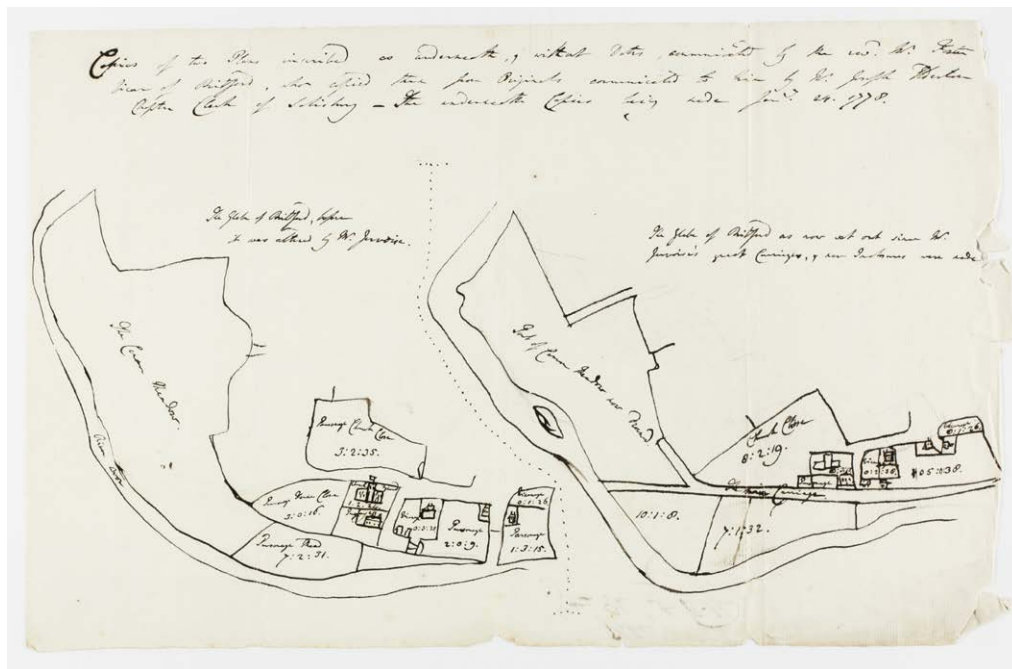


Figure 12.15: Copy of the 'before' (left) and 'after' sketch maps of the glebe lands around St Peter's Church Britford. South is at the top. The New Cut and branching carriers are clear in the right-hand image.

importantly, the sketch maps show the glebe lands before and after construction of the New Cut. A note states the Glebe was altered by 'Mr Jervoise', creating 'great carriages'- for irrigating meadows - and another note states that he made 'inclosures.' Sir Thomas's son became lord of the manor following his father's death in 1654 (Figure 12.3). Thomas did not gain the title 'Captain' until 1660, and this is subsequently used.¹⁰² The record could also refer to the first listed Richard Jervoise, a brother of Thomas who was killed in 1645, aged probably not older than 30, or possibly to another son likewise acting for Sir Thomas.

Bishop Seth Ward, the Mayor, and other dignitaries cut the first turves for the Navigation on 20th September 1675 and the location was probably near to Manor Ditch. Some years were spent at the task, but by 1684, two barges of 25-tons could pass.¹⁰³ Sadly, by about 1730 this canal - linking Salisbury to Christchurch - was proving uneconomic.¹⁰⁴ In Figure 12.13, the Main Hatch on the Navigation is located adjacent to Longford Park (SU 1676 2715). A structure is marked in 1840 and OS mapping (1875) specifically identifies a 'sluice' here. Today this hatch maintains water levels for irrigation. Set in stonework, this structure may once have included an eel trap.¹⁰⁵ The 1703 map indicates a second pound lock located *downstream* of

water meadows by Mr Jervoise Photocopies', mid-seventeenth century, WSA, X3/139.

¹⁰² 'Papers of Jervoise family 1686 to 1691'.

¹⁰³ Cross; Chandler, p. 130.

¹⁰⁴ C. Hadfield, *The Canals of South and Southeast England* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1969), p. 166-8.

¹⁰⁵ S. Martin, pers. comm., 2023.

Main Hatch, close to the confluence with the tail drain of the Britford SSSI system, by the ‘conservation area indicted’ in Figure 12.13, where irrigation has ceased.

Field observation suggests no clear remains of a second pound lock (with an upstream lock gate c. SU 1694 2700) by Longford Castle. However, stonework in the Main Hatch housing, and lining associated carriers feeding Verne’s meadow (Table 12.3), could be re-used from an earlier structure, pointing to a seventeenth-century origin for the blocks, and there is associated brickwork, likely of eighteenth-century manufacture. Another possible structure between Main Hatch and the location of the second lock is marked in 1840 but its nature is unknown. Nearby, but outside HPB, Petersfinger Farmhouse (SU 1635 2913, dated to 1683) displays dressed stone blocks like hatch structures of the period.¹⁰⁶ Hitherto, no obvious lock structures downstream of the remains of the Britford pound lock are recorded, although brick walling in the channel side where the Navigation joins the main river around SU 1720 2675, has been observed.¹⁰⁷ Francis Price’s book (1753) is clearly concerned with flooding in the Cathedral Close rather than management of the rural hinterland.¹⁰⁸ Price states that he was ‘informed’ that the ‘navigation scheme was laid aside’ and from the approximate dating reported, this was in the 1730s.¹⁰⁹ He states that ‘*the late* Richard Jervoise Esq.’ was the instigator, and regarding irrigation he:

‘being sensible of the great improvement to be made upon meadow lands by drowning them at proper seasons, took advantage of the bays and locks, which were erected for the use of the navigation, and still left standing, for making a cut through his estate, beginning a little above the bay, usually called the Tumbling -Bay¹¹⁰, he was by means of the said bay enabled to turn the whole river as he pleased into the new cut he had made, and therewith to overflow his meadows at convenient seasons.’

The statement that Richard Jervoise caused a ‘new cut’ may refer to the short ‘through channel’ and the associated channel south, and parallel to, the Avon arising below Ayleswade Bridge (Figures 12.13 and 12.14). These channels are absent at the northern edge of the 1703 map where junctions with the Manor Ditch, Navigation and New Cut arise from the river. Jervoise’s changes would likely increase flow in these channels. Price notes a resulting reduced flood risk for the ‘Church’ (the Cathedral). The ‘Tumbling- Bay’ would be the weir specified in 1698, at the position of modern Wire Hatches, still controlling meadow irrigation south of the Avon including in the commercially defunct Navigation.

That *the second* Richard Jervoise (1703-1762) is described as ‘late’ in the 1750s is puzzling. It may be a mistake, or it could suggest confusion of the two namesakes by Price if his sources had knowledge of the Jervoise family in the previous century. Yet it is evident from the above passage that the second Richard took care over water management at Britford and likely ordered the installation of the Main Hatch across the defunct Navigation in the first half of the eighteenth century (Figure 12.13). This redundant lock below Main Hatch lock was close to the confluence with the Britford SSSI tail drain and was of comparable dimensions to

¹⁰⁶ K. Stearne, pers. comm., 2021; Stearne, p. 284. This building includes a ‘cheese loft’.

¹⁰⁷ Cross.

¹⁰⁸ F. Price, *Observations of Salisbury Cathedral* (London: Facsimile by Salisbury and Stonehenge Edition, 1753), pp. 28-9.

¹⁰⁹ Hadfield, p. 166-8.

¹¹⁰ ‘Tumbling Bay’ can refer to an outfall from a canal but not necessarily a lock structure, <<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/tumbling%20bay>> [acc Nov 2023].



Figure 12.16: Drowner's Hut (SU 1668 2830) in April 2021.

the Britford lock (SU 1595 2788). Construction of the Main Hatch, and likely re-constructed channels upstream of this on Verne's Meadow and other of the Britford SSSI meadows, was Richard's work.

The probable range of dates for floating the Britford Common Meadow, at between 1640 and 1660, has been noted. In 1694, the 'Marsh at Britford' ('The Common Marsh' on the on the 1624 map) is described as laid out in 'portions.'¹¹¹ The 1703 map shows the Navigation cutting some existing meadow boundaries, suggesting some enclosure prior to its construction from 1675. The 'Marsh' includes the site of the modern SSSI meadows. The same map shows a similar pattern of enclosures cut by the Navigation on the floodplain upstream at East Harnham, similar to the present meadow layout, including what is likely the tail drain and the Navigation. (The second named) Richard Jervois is the likely candidate for improving the irrigation when the Navigation ceased to operate as a canal, and Price declared that he had thereby alleviated the flood risk to the Cathedral.

¹¹¹ 'Bundle relating to enclosure of lands in Britford', 1690s, HA, 44M69/E8/4/51.



Figure 12.17: Hatch House and Eel Trap (SU 1521 2903) in May 2013

The evidence supports floating of watermeadows within the HPB, dates from the 1630s. This is presumed before the New Cut canal crossed the glebe land, and continued until the SSSI watermeadows were constructed, once the Avon Navigation permitted watering.¹¹² In 1840, there was about 80ha of watermeadow between the St Peter's Church and Lower Farm, developed on the Common Meadow. After the Common Meadow was floated, approximately 26ha, including the Britford SSSI meadows, were floated after the commencement of construction of the Navigation in 1675. This canal was re-purposed after 1730 to improve irrigation of the Britford SSSI watermeadows. In total, more than one km² of watermeadow in all, was floated in the Avon valley part of HPB. Floating at Britford developed between 1630 and 1690. Later improvements included the re-purposing of the Navigation. The creation of watermeadows after c.1600 represented major re-engineering of floodplains in the south of England.¹¹³ While a comparable area of watermeadows to HPB was constructed¹¹⁴ around 1700 near Eastleigh in Hampshire and watered from the river Itchen and associated Itchen Navigation.

¹¹² Cutting, and others.

¹¹³ M. Heaton, 'Watermeadows: The Largest Works of Civil Engineering in the Pre-Modern World?' in Campbell, J. et al. (eds.), *Water, Doors and Buildings: Studies in the History of Construction, Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference of the Construction History Society* (Cambridge: Construction History Society, 2019), 61-74

¹¹⁴ H. Cook and K. Young, 'The watermeadows at the Itchen Valley Country Park near Eastleigh, Hampshire', *Hampshire Studies*, 66 (2011), 166-186.

A small, semi-ruined hut of irregular red bricks and with a footprint c. 3x3.3m, and c2m high at its sides is shown Figure 12.16. Located between two carriers about 400m ESE of St Peter's Church, it was probably a shelter for drowners.¹¹⁵ Present in 1840, and probably constructed in the eighteenth century, there are remains of similar huts at Lower Farm.¹¹⁶ Figure 12.17 shows the Hatch (or Sluice) House and Eel Trap on the New Cut north of Manor ditch (Figures 12.13 and 12.14). The building dates to the early nineteenth century with subsequent alterations.¹¹⁷

Britford village: manor, common and park

The core village lies away from the High Road on river terrace deposits (Figure 12.2), incorporating nucleated components.¹¹⁸ This is clearest around Moat House. Never turnpiked, the High Road (the modern A338) passes southwest of Britford village towards Downton (Figure 12.1).¹¹⁹ It was re-routed westwards before 1624 by as much as 300m to enlarge Longford Park.¹²⁰ The road was subsequently re-routed again after 1773, diverting it away from New Hall near Bodenham to the south of HPB.¹²¹

Along the road are late Georgian cottages (around SU 155 280), built for the Longford Estate.¹²² There is a school, former post office and sometime allotment gardens (SU 1575 2775). Downhill and northeast by 200m is Manor Farm (SU 1590 2770) and 400m SSE in Park Lane is the Upend Farm row opposite Longford Park (Figure 12.2). In Figure 12.18, enclosed strips of land extending behind Upend Farm towards the Navigation were open pasture in 1840. By this time, any pre-existing plots of land and building on the west side of Park Lane had been taken into Longford Park. Almost one km northwest is Bridge Farm, near a bridge that crosses the Navigation (SU1565 2840) leading eastwards towards Moat House (SU 1612 2830). Some 300m northeast of here is Rectory Farm (Figure 12.2) by the church (SU 1629 2845) and former glebe. In 1840, on the south margin of the Green (around SU 1605 2795), was a smithy, a rickyard and a carpenter's shop at the present-day half-timbered and brick 'Old Bakery'. In the nineteenth century the complex included 'the Ship' public house.¹²³ The original boundary of Britford Common defined c. 10 ha of mostly alluvial floodplain (Figure 12.1). There was already substantial enclosure before 1624, and the original common included the present 'Green' (c. 1 ha). The Common is reconstructed by tracing farms and other surrounding dwellings (such as 'The Heymersh', Figure 12.19) mapped in 1624, 1703 and 1840 (Figure 12.20). Extending westwards across the course of the Navigation, its boundary coincided with the river terrace edge. For instance, in 1624 there stood a close and dwelling marked 'Philips'. The Heymersh is, located on the north edge, is mentioned in a rental document of 1535.¹²⁴ The Heymersh

¹¹⁵ 'Role of drowners' huts along the River Frome', Southern Daily Echo, 2017 <<https://www.dailyecho.co.uk/news/15415192.amp/>> accessed November 2023. A drowner is a person who irrigates watermeadows.

¹¹⁶ P. Egremont, pers. comm., 2021.

¹¹⁷ Listed Buildings (n.d.).

¹¹⁸ Lewis.

¹¹⁹ Milestone Society Database, *Wiltshire* (2019) <<https://www.milestonesociety.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Wiltshire.pdf>>.

¹²⁰ 'Map of Britford Manor', 1624, HA, 44M69/P1/115.

¹²¹ 'Andrews' and Dury's Map of Wiltshire, 1773'. McMaster University <<http://digitalarchive.mcmaster.ca/islandora/object/macrepo%3A80924>>.

¹²² Orbach, and others., p. 183.

¹²³ 'Salisbury Journal, 12th September, 2019', F. Moody <<https://www.salisburyjournal.co.uk/news/17890487.frogg-moody-shares-vague-details-knows-britfords-former-ship-inn/>>.

¹²⁴ F. M. Stenton, A. Mawer, and J. E. B. Gover, *The Place-Names of Wiltshire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), p. 221.



Figure 12.18: Extract of Thomas Naish's map of Britford (original scale 1:3,267). The Green is southwest of the trees around Moat House.

house today is located west of Britford Green. Buildings on the east side, and Manor Farm, also define the boundary. The forge (smithy) is located just inside the reconstructed boundary, probably reflecting earlier encroachment on the Common. Following enclosure and floating from the Navigation after 1675, field names include Hay Water Mead, Kings Water Meadow, and Hay Marsh Pasture. On the south is Rick House Ground by Manor Farm, and two more watermeadows are located west of the Navigation.



Lot 15 — The Heymersh

Figure 12.19: The Heymersh, Britford (1962).

A lease states that 26 perches (0.066ha) were taken in from ‘Hay Marsh’ by 1770.¹²⁵ Before floating, the Common Meadow (mapped in 1624) was located southeast of the church and largely divided into strips and may have compensated loss of the original Britford Common. Commoners and the lord would be allocated strips (or doles) for cutting hay demarcated by sticks or stones, a practice not unusual on common meadow areas.¹²⁶ The ‘Lammas’ North Meadow at Cricklade is thus managed. From 12th August until 12th February, aftermath grazing by the commoners is permitted.¹²⁷

The adjacent site on the west side of the Moat House (Figure 12.20) contained cottages ‘in sundry occupation’ in 1840. These were likely workers’ cottages that were subsequently demolished with re-development of the site. A non-rectangular relationship with the croft/ garden boundaries and the moat, indicates that the moat post-dates these plots, and the northwest corner of the moat also appears inserted into pre-existing boundaries. The watercourse draining SSE from the moat cuts across close boundaries (Figure 12.13), separating a plantation from a cottage and garden. A brick-built eighteenth-century Pigeon

¹²⁵ ‘Leases for 3 lives of a messuage late Kingmans with an orchard’, 1708-1770, HA, 44M69/E2/157

¹²⁶ Brian, 1993.

¹²⁷ O. Rackham, *The History of the Countryside* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1986), pp. 337-8.

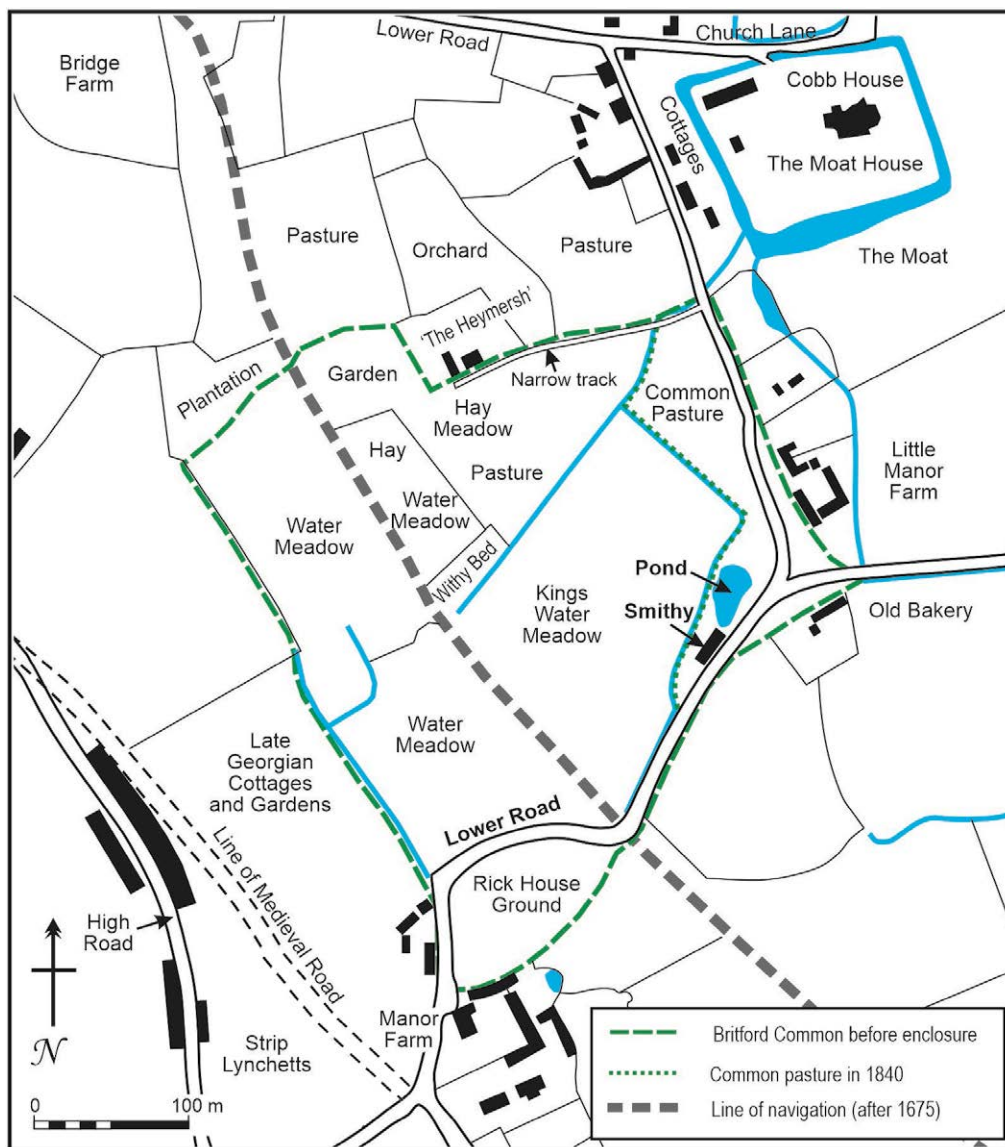


Figure 12.20: Britford village including the pre-1624 reconstructed Common.

House, likely associated with the Moat House, stands close to the watercourse cutting through the back garden of a house that fronts the Green.¹²⁸ Buildings clustered at the Moat House are within a ‘plantation’. The Moat House and Cob House in Church Lane, were not listed separately in 1840, constituting ‘House, Garden and Plantation’ (area c.3 ha). The area marked ‘The Park’ in nineteenth century OS mapping (Figure 13.18A in chapter 13), is situated on the

¹²⁸ Historic England, ‘Pigeon house in garden of pigeon house cottage’ List Entry <<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1023797>>.

east side of the Moat House. The lack of development on the south side of Church Lane could be due to restrictions placed for either amenity purposes or flood risk. In 1624 and 1703, one field-name is 'The Cunygare', i.e. 'The Coniger' or rabbit warren derived from ME con(n)iger. The field-name 'Royall' ('The Rails'), is present at both dates, located east of the Moat House (Figure 12.18) and south of the Glebe. On a map of 1789, is a note that Mr Jervoise considered these to have been 'abbey lands' and free from tithes.¹²⁹ This is difficult to verify. The field name element 'Royall' likely relates to the fence (or pale) of a deer park.¹³⁰ Fields across the inlier of river terrace deposits include: 'Home Royall', 'Church Royall', 'Middle Royall,' 'Privat Royall', and Lower Royall and such compartments need not be wooded.¹³¹ No archaeological features associated with parkland have so far been identified, and undulations are likely due to gravel extraction to make trackways.¹³²

East Harnham

Impacts of urban centres on outlying settlements are significant. Probate records between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries show a proportionally higher occurrence of surnames in HPB appearing only once, when compared with Downton, Nunton and Bodenham, suggesting that proximity to Salisbury caused population churn.¹³³ East Harnham was included with HPB before administrative changes in 1854 and 1904.¹³⁴ Transportation improvement increases connectivity and stimulates agriculture.¹³⁵ Turnpike roads led west and southwest from the Ayleswade bridge.¹³⁶ The arrival of the railway in Salisbury from 1847 caused modest urban growth although subsequent development was considerable.¹³⁷ By 1840 the East Harnham hamlet stretched from Ayleswade bridge south-west for about 350m towards Harnham Slope ('The Cliffe'). Apart from the Rose and Crown Inn and East Harnham farm, there was the Swan public house, workshop premises, and a complex of 'house, yards and buildings'. The present 'East Harnham Farm' (SU 1505 2873) had no buildings prior to the mid-20th century.¹³⁸ Proximity to Salisbury imparted an artisanal character to East Harnham, with grocers, blacksmith's shops, bootmakers, carpenters, rope, and twine making and stonemasons.¹³⁹

Large-scale chalk extraction is evidenced in Chalke Pit Fielde (1703), at Lime Kiln Piece on Harnham Hill (1789), and along Harnham Slope in the present. Nineteenth-century OS mapping shows a 'Whiting Works'. Behind this (SU 1417 2890), a large house and gardens called 'Watersmeet' in the early twentieth century, that has also been called 'Watersmeet Farm'. No records of East Harnham manor house have come to light and its location is unknown. Demolitions of Harnham House (1830) and Cliff House (1825) occurred in the early 1970s, although Harnham Lodge (c. 1800) remains. The Workhouse in 1834, the 'Poor House'

¹²⁹ 'Survey of the arable and glebe lands in the parishes of Britford and East Harnham'.

¹³⁰ S. Draper, pers. comm., 2021.

¹³¹ Rackham, pp. 125-6.

¹³² P. Egremont, pers. comm., 2021.

¹³³ M. Hickman, pers. comm., 2021.

¹³⁴ Hobbs, p. 81.

¹³⁵ Chandler, pp. 132-9.

¹³⁶ Andrews and Drury, 1773.

¹³⁷ Cook, 'Suburbs', this volume.

¹³⁸ 'Agreement with schedules for three water meadows, late part of East Harnham Farm', 1872-1899, WSA, 1946/2/2A/116.

¹³⁹ R. Newman, 'William Small's Harnham', in *Harnham Historical Miscellany*, ed by J. Howells (Salisbury: Sarum Studies 4, 2013), pp. 99-111.

Table 12.4: Key horticultural and recreational land uses in HPB.

Reference in Figure 12.2	Grid ref	Comments
1	SU 1460 2880	Cottage allotments in 1840 with arable field to east. Field is Keynes Nursery in 1900 with glasshouses, by 1930 allotment built over, by 1960s nursery built over
2	SU 1460 2890	Allotment gardens north of Britford Lane late 19 th C to early 20 th C. Pasture today
3	SU 1490 2863	Nursery in Milton Road, built over in 2015
4	SU 1504 2855	Sports ground in first half 20 th C
5	SU 1490 2890	Playing fields in use to present
6	SU 1575 2775	Allotments in 1840 associated with Georgian cottages on High Road

in 1840, or the Salisbury Union Workhouse (with Alderbury), survived into the inter-War period.¹⁴⁰ All Saint's church was built in 1854.¹⁴¹ The present Salisbury District Hospital has its origins in a Second World War American military hospital.¹⁴² Figure 12.2 locates allotments, and horticultural enterprises and playing fields in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of which (Table 12.4) five are in East Harnham. Christmas trees and chrysanthemums were also grown in the 1960s, around locations 3 and 4.¹⁴³ New Harnham Bridge was completed in 1933 to relieve the Ayleswade bridge. Terraced houses appeared along the Bournemouth Road by the 1920s. Housing infill between Britford Lane and the A338 continued the process (Figures 13.18, A-F, in Chapter 13). Building on chalk downland was limited before the twentieth century.¹⁴⁴

Discussion and Conclusions

Between 1630 and about 1690, the Jervois family floated watermeadows around Britford village, enclosed downland, and open field, expanding arable cultivation and developed dairying. Hitherto, common open arable fields, and common meadow were divided into strips that would be thrown open for common pasture after harvest and during fallow, all this reflects a strong, regulating manorial system.¹⁴⁵ Circumstantial evidence supports the enclosure of the original 'Britford Common' and the presence of a deer park, both located by Moat House. Documentary evidence and dates associated with emparking at Britford, and enclosure of the

¹⁴⁰ 'Alderbury (Salisbury from 1895)', (The) Workhouse <<http://www.workhouses.org.uk/Alderbury/>>; M. Cowan, 'Harham Villages: the beginning of the book' in *Harnham Historical Miscellany*, by J. Howells (ed) (Salisbury: Sarum Studies, 2013) vol 4; RCHME, p. 170.

¹⁴¹ 'Britford', Wiltshire Community History (n.d.) <<https://apps.wiltshire.gov.uk/communityhistory/Community/Index/31>>.

¹⁴² Chandler, p. 231.

¹⁴³ P. Belton, pers. comm., 2021.

¹⁴⁴ Cook, 'Suburbs', this volume.

¹⁴⁵ Bettey, *Wessex from AD 1000*, p. 121.

original Britford Common have not been forthcoming but would likely pre-date 1600. Field and meadow names recall land use change (including the conversion of downland to arable), occupancy, and area of a given parcel of land.

Proximity to Salisbury stimulated markets for cheese, milk, and hay. Customary hay making may have occurred on 'Lammas land' at Britford Common and the Common Meadow southeast of the church that is dedicated to St Peter, and a Lammas Day sheep fair was held. Floating watermeadows from the 1630s is contemporary with floating at Wylde. The Common Marsh area within Britford manor, originally common waste with a wetland economy, became common meadow, then floated watermeadow, implying a loss of common rights that would have originally compensated the enclosure of Britford Common. Folding sheep on the arable downs sustained yields through dung fertilisation. Sheep-corn husbandry could remain, because watermeadows would compensate loss of sheepwalk. Around Britford village, dairy products and hay production remained important, while sheep declined. Major floodplain alteration included new carriers for watermeadows, and construction of the Salisbury Avon Navigation.

Urban development at East Harnham brought artisanal industrial development, chalk extraction, supported horticultural enterprises, playing fields and allotment gardens. By the early nineteenth century, HPB was diversifying into a suburb with limited industrial development in East Harnham and a rural economy elsewhere. Britford village retains a medieval plan, and apparently with no surviving pre-1600 vernacular building. Rebuilding from the seventeenth century suggests that enclosure and other economically significant changes were associated with changes in household size and structure, so that earlier housing stock could no longer adapt.

Constraints on urban growth may be summarised:¹⁴⁶

- Competition on flat and drier river terrace areas between agriculture, horticulture, housing, and recreation.
- Chalk valley sides deterred building before the twentieth century.
- Floodplain areas operating as watermeadows and prone to flooding.

Whole-parish investigation of land-use change between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries reflect national change in agriculture, and importantly the proximity to Salisbury that would stimulate dairy and hay production. Although much ground evidence has been destroyed by development, a lack of detailed below-ground information still invites archaeological investigation.

¹⁴⁶ Cook, 'Suburbs', this volume.

Chapter Thirteen

Something old, something new: Suburban Salisbury since 1800

Hadrian Cook

‘A suburb is an attempt to get out of reach of the city without having the city be out of reach.’

Mason Cooley (1927–2002).

Introduction

Over the long-term, the pattern of urban development around Salisbury and Old Sarum is complex. Fisherton excepted, outward urban expansion of Salisbury was limited before 1800, so this chapter focusses on nineteenth- and twentieth-century expansion. The study stresses contiguous relationships between settlements involved in suburbanisation. Modern Salisbury functions as a commercial and market city and was not a major manufacturing centre in the modern era. Development was rapid following arrival of the railway from 1847 and in the twentieth century the process was stimulated by military and other publicly funded employers. Population density decreased dramatically after 1920, before then development was constrained by topography because watermeadows and downland restricted building. This caused river terrace land to experience land-use competition between agriculture, horticulture, brick manufacture and urban development.

Suburban contexts

Some cultural considerations

In the 1970s, the BBC sit com *The Good Life* was set in Surbiton. This former Surrey settlement developed following the arrival of the railway, and the pun was on *Suburb-iton*. While clearly not the origin of the placename, the TV programme exposed anxieties by poking fun at suburban life through the lives of two couples living in generous-sized neighbouring houses. Protagonists Tom and Barbara Good (acted by Richard Briars and Felicity Kendal) rejected a conventional lifestyle, turning their property into a smallholding with the aim of self-sufficiency. Looking on their neighbours with bemusement, Margo and Jerry Leadbetter (acted by Penelope Keith and Paul Edington) were their conventional suburban-living foils.¹

The Goods subverted an English suburban ideal: rejecting salaried employment, the commute to work, and a consumer lifestyle. Around the same time, another BBC series featuring the

¹ BBC, *The Good Life*. (2014) <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/comedy/goodlife/>> [acc. Dec 2024].

character Reggie Perrin (originally played by Leonard Rossiter), more savagely mocked suburban living. Reggie, an advertising executive, lived somewhere around London in Coleridge Close on the Poet's Estate.² The Goods were content, but poor Reggie suffered a mid-life crisis leading to bizarre behaviours in reaction to his work promoting desserts. Later, in the 1990s, *One Foot in the Grave* featured the irascible, aging, suburban nobody Victor Meldrew (acted by Richard Wilson), with his long-suffering wife Margaret (acted by Annette Crosbie) as his foil. The protagonist's humdrum suburban existence was repeatedly intruded by surreal events.³

The counter-*zeitgeist* from these sitcoms lingers. Retro-fitted criticism that they are white, middle-class and heterosexist misses the point. The characters are thus *because* they ridicule what suburbs may represent in terms of conformity of buildings, gardens, and lifestyles. Some characters are victims, others kick against their situation. Yet the cultural and economic importance arises from a privately owned suburban home representing a significant investment. We recognise latter-day Toms, Barbaras and Reggies looking in Estate Agents' windows. Salisbury being no exception, it provides its own economic locus and opportunity to commute. Here and elsewhere, suburban growth is modulated by population increase, social and geographical mobility, and a desire for space.

Defining the term 'suburb' is difficult, for it is likened to a movable feast.⁴ We may *think we know a suburb when we see one*. Actual identification shifts between urban and what may be *considered* suburban. A suburb can be outside the administrative or central part of a city, yet is located within its agglomeration.⁵ Today, over 80% of the English population live here, and there is growing interest in their heritage:

'In general terms, suburbs can perhaps be best described as outgrowths or dependencies of larger settlements — somewhere with a clear relationship with a city or town but with its own distinct character. Most places we think of as urban today were suburban once.'⁶

This refers to areas outside the 'urban', typically displaying lower residential housing densities. Technical definitions, seated in human geography, involve zonation models, or relate to socio-economic functionalities. For example, suburbs are understood to be outside the 'Central Business District' where business and commercial activities predominate.⁷

The adjective 'suburban' may also be less complimentary, the adjective used to suggest that something is 'boring and has no excitement'.⁸ Modern concepts of a 'suburb' date from the

² The British Comedy guide (n.d.), *The Fall and Rise of Reginald Perrin* <https://www.comedy.co.uk/tv/fall_and_rise_reginald_perrin/> [acc Dec 2024].

³ The British Comedy guide (n.d.), *One Foot in the Grave* <https://www.comedy.co.uk/tv/one_foot_in_the_grave/> [acc Dec 2024].

⁴ Nigel Walford, Professor of Applied GIS, Kingston University, pers. comm., 2022.

⁵ D. C. Thorns, *Suburbia* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1972), p. 31.

⁶ English Heritage, *The Heritage of Historic Suburbs* (Swindon, 2007), p. 1. <<https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/heritage-historic-suburbs/heritage-suburbs/>> [acc. Dec 2023].

⁷ J. P. Rodrigue, *The Geography of Transport Systems*, 5th edn (New York: Routledge, 2020), Section 8.2. <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429346323>>.

⁸ Oxford English Dictionary, *suburban*, n. & adj. <<https://www.oed.com/search/dictionary/?scope=Entries&q=suburban>> [accessed Jan 2023].

nineteenth century, and they are mixed. Larger detached ‘villas’ for the wealthy can be set in naturalistic settings. There are semi-detached dwellings for the comfortable middle classes, with rows and terraces for lower middle class and working families typically located close to their employment.⁹ Understanding suburban development potentially includes unequal capitalist spatial development, class, ethnic, social, and racial differentiation, as well as industrial decentralization.¹⁰

Absolute property rights had replaced feudal tenures, at least for wealthier individuals, by the end of the English Commonwealth in 1660. This facilitated the speculative sale of land.¹¹ Subsequently, John Locke’s philosophy required that governments ensure ‘free men’ the stable, comfortable enjoyment of their lives, liberty, and *property*.¹² The way is paved whereby suburban aspiration embraces property rights for a rising middle class. Next, property status as a qualification to vote caused suburban demands to widen the franchise, a concern of nineteenth-century politicians.¹³

Suburban presentation encapsulates rural, historic, and romantic idylls. The Wyndham Park Estate (Figures 13.4 and 13.11, item 2) evokes both aristocracy (the Wyndham family) and landscapes enjoyed by the powerful (‘park’ and ‘estate’). Reggie lived in Coleridge Close. Samuel Taylor Coleridge can be described as a ‘nature poet’ and ‘close’ originally meant an enclosed field. The creators of *The Good Life* looked backwards to the Cottage Garden tradition of food, herb, and flower production.¹⁴ As London grew, the now vanished County of Middlesex provided market gardens and nurseries for an expanding London market into the twentieth century.¹⁵ Private domestic food production was encouraged in wartime, particularly through ‘Dig for Victory’ in the Second World War.¹⁶ The Goods could also look forward to an emerging Green Culture, embracing elements of self-sufficiency and sustainability.¹⁷ A compromise between town and country, suburbs are about space, amenity, and comfort – with food production optional. They *seem* inexorably tied up with the rise of an aspirational middle classes.¹⁸ In reality, housing provision serves a wider social spectrum than a stereotyped bourgeoisie.

⁹ English Heritage.

¹⁰ P. Watt, ‘Suburbanization’, in *International Encyclopedia of Geography*, ed. by D. Richardson and others, 1st edn (London: Wiley, 2017), pp. 1–6 <<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118786352.wbieg0140>>.

¹¹ C. Hill, *The English Revolution*, 3rd edn (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1955) p. 75.

¹² A. Tuckness, ‘Locke’s Political Philosophy’, (Stanford University: *Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, 2020). <<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/locke-political/>> [acc. Dec. 2023].

¹³ J. R. Moore, ‘Liberalism and the politics of suburbia: electoral dynamics in late nineteenth-century South Manchester.’ *Urban History*, 30.2 (2003) 225–250, <doi.org/10.1080/09599916.2017.1393450>.

¹⁴ W. Robinson, *The English Flower Garden: Style Position & Arrangement; Followed by a Description of All the Best Plants for It, Their Culture and Arrangement* (London: John Murray, 1893) <<https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.105741>>.

¹⁵ S. Reynolds, ed., ‘Twickenham: Economic and social history’, in *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 3* (London: British History Online, 1962), 151–155 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol3/pp151-155>> [acc Dec 2023].

¹⁶ F. Ginn, ‘Dig for Victory! New Histories of Wartime Gardening in Britain’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 38.3 (2012), 294–305 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2012.02.001>>.

¹⁷ C. Bates (2016), ‘What happened to the self-sufficient people of the 1970s?’ *BBC* <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-35945417>> [acc Dec 2023]; J. Seymour and S. Seymour, *Self-Sufficiency: The Science and Art of Producing and Preserving Your Own Food* (London: Faber, 1977).

¹⁸ Thorns, p. 148.

Suburban building

Older towns and cities occupied relatively limited areas, causing the poor (and not-so-poor) to live cheek by jowl, maybe accessing a yard or limited garden space. As a thirteenth-century city, Salisbury was unusual, being set out on a grid pattern with streets including running water channels.¹⁹ Typically these channels were 0.6m deep and 0.45 to 0.6m wide and ran down the middle of the street.²⁰ Intervening blocks known as ‘Chequers’ contained gardens in their centres; Marsh Chequer on the south side of the area is the only one retaining these. Gardens were gradually built over with ‘backland’ courts (behind existing frontages) to that house poor people. Generally insanitary, these have mostly been demolished.²¹ Outside the Chequers, Fisherton, a medieval Manor, became a suburb of New Sarum by the fourteenth century linked to Salisbury at Fisherton Bridge.²² Not all English towns and cities experienced the same pattern of suburban development. Salisbury had its early suburb at Fisherton. Likewise, Norwich and Canterbury developed medieval suburbs at Carrow and Wincheap respectively, and like Salisbury, saw limited eighteenth-century outward expansion. Before 1800, the ‘Chequers’ (the grid-like plan set out in the thirteenth century, Figure 13.8) was largely surrounded by open ground.

London had outgrown its medieval core by 1600 and across London Bridge was the established suburb of Southwark. The capital experienced Georgian expansion ahead of phenomenal nineteenth-century growth.²³ Like London, the Georgian growth of the ports of Bristol and Liverpool reflected commercial success, while industrial Sheffield also produced handsome dwellings. In Bath, investment in magnificent buildings reflected the ill-gotten gains of the age. Also famous for its Georgian buildings, Devizes experienced modest outward growth from a medieval core, including working-class housing for workers on the Kennet and Avon Canal.²⁴ Here, older houses could be re-built or gained a façade redolent of the period, and both examples are commonplace in Salisbury.

Most styles of housing are recognisable. Victorian, Edwardian, ‘Inter-War’ or the multiplicity of post-Second World War houses are commonly more generously provided with amenity space than their predecessors. In Salisbury, small nineteenth-century terraced cottages (Figure 13.1) were built close to the railway for local workers.²⁵ Nearby, on the Wilton Road, larger terraces demonstrated status where top-floor servants’ quarters were included (Figure 13.2). Further west along the road are larger Georgian-style houses built from Fisherton Brick and set within spacious plots (Figure 13.3). Suburbs reflect well the English class system. Figure 13.4 is mixed-sized housing taken from College Street.

¹⁹ J. Chandler, *Endless Street: A history of Salisbury and its People* (Salisbury: Hobnob Press, 1983) p. 27.

²⁰ A. Lack, *Cholera, the canals of Salisbury and Andrew Bogle Middleton*, 2nd edn (n. p. Lulu.com, 2015) pp. 7–9.

²¹ J. Howles, pers. comm., 2022.

²² Wright, this volume.

²³ B. Ehrlich and H.D. Clout, ‘History of London’, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (n.d.). <<https://www.britannica.com/place/London/History>> [acc. Dec 2023].

²⁴ A. P. Baggs, D. A. Crowley, R. B. Pugh, J. H. Stevenson and M. Tomlinson, ‘The Borough of Devizes: town, castle and estates’ ed by E.Crittall *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 10*, (London: 1975 British History Online) pp. 225–252. <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol10/pp225-252> [acc Dec 2023].

²⁵ Chandler, p. 143, Wright, pers. comm., 2022.



Figure 13.1: Terraced cottages, Fisherton. (© The Author)



Figure 13.2: Middle class housing, Wilton Road. (© The Author)



Figure 13.3: The Paragon, Wilton Road. Georgian-style houses dated 1840-1850. (© The Author)



Figure 13.4: Mixed-sized housing, Wyndham Park Estate. (© The Author)

Medieval town planning is known in England.²⁶ Salisbury is an exception with its former medieval system of open channels within a *planned street pattern of Medieval date*, apparently unknown elsewhere in England.²⁷ Gardens associated with suburban housing post-1800 could be more generous in size. New homes on the outskirts of cities and towns provided a garden for families, more rooms, water supply and improved sanitation.

Urban land use

Suburban development may be contiguous with the original town or city (the 'urban' area), alternatively, a suburb was a pre-existing settlement absorbed within a new development. Furthermore, modern concern over the impact of growth on the countryside is recognised in contested planning applications. Impacted countryside is not a passive responder to encroachment because suburbanisation creates land use change ahead of new building. As London developed, horticulture replaced some agriculture in once rural areas of Surrey.²⁸ Around Salisbury, competing land uses for nineteenth-century housing land included agriculture, horticulture, recreation, and brickfields were located at Bemerton and Fisherton.²⁹ For example, Waterloo Nursery was tucked away between Fisherton Street and the railway while Queen Elizabeth Gardens was a market garden called the Bowling Green Nursery.³⁰ At East Harnham, bedding plants, flowers, vegetables, and Christmas trees were produced within living memory.³¹ There is also accommodation of travelling and other marginalised people, demonstrated by a Travellers' site close to Salisbury District Hospital.³²

In England between 1880 and 1940, agricultural land prices were relatively low.³³ Food imports had seriously affected the profitability of domestic agriculture.³⁴ Before the modern planning system evolved, including the imposition of green belts, the release of land for suburban development stimulated lower density and (for many) affordable private housing, and in Salisbury, speculative development occurred.³⁵ Yet concern was mounting, and the Restriction of Ribbon Development Act 1935 prevented housing development along major roads. It was the Town and Country Planning Act 1947 that effectively controlled the rate of suburban development.

If cities are thus 'zoned', and considered 'other' than the countryside, then the Garden City Movement sought compromise. As a method of urban planning initiated in 1898 by

²⁶ T. R. Slater, 'Ideal and Reality in English Episcopal Medieval Town Planning' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 12.2 (1987) 191–203 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/622527>>.

²⁷ Chandler, p. 27.

²⁸ H. Cook, 'A tale of two catchments: water management and quality in the Wandle and Tillingbourne, 1600 to 1990', *Southern History*, 30 (2008), 78–103.

²⁹ J. Wright, *Brickmaking in Fisherton and Bemerton* (Salisbury: South Wiltshire Industrial Archaeological Society, 2017) Historical Monograph 22.

³⁰ M. Tucker and J. Howells, 'Salisbury's leading florist's', *Sarum Chronicle*, 16 (2016), 124–136.

³¹ P. Belton, pers. comm., 2022.

³² Wiltshire Council Cabinet 2018. 'Site Disposal' <<https://cms.wiltshire.gov.uk/mgConvert2PDF.aspx?ID=14539>> [acc. Dec 2023].

³³ A. Jadevicius, S. Huston, A. Baum and A. Butler, 'Two centuries of farmland prices in England', *Journal of Property Research*, 35.1 (2018), 72–94 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/09599916.2017.1393450>>.

³⁴ H. 'Cook, Boom, slump and intervention: changing agricultural landscapes on Romney Marsh, 1790 to 1990', in *Romney Marsh: Persistence and Change in a Coastal Lowland*, ed by M.P. Waller, E. Edwards and L. Barber (Sevenoaks: Romney Marsh Research Trust, 2010) pp. 155–183.

³⁵ Chandler, p. 58.

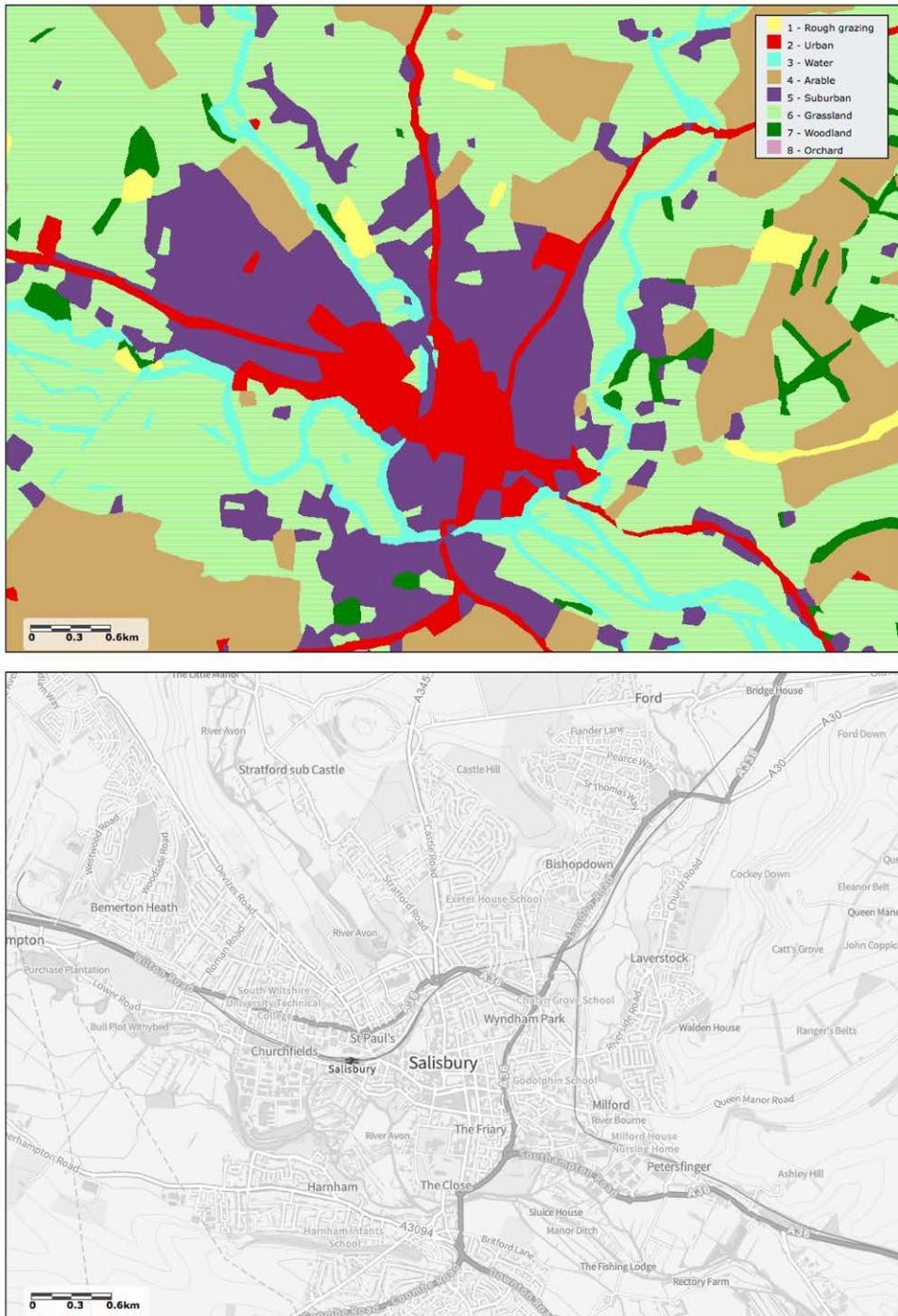


Figure 13.5a (above): Land use in and around Salisbury shortly before the Second World War. Figure 13.5b (below) the same area in modern times for comparison Based on the 'Magic' database <<https://magic.defra.gov.uk/MagicMap.aspx>>.

Sir Ebenezer Howard, garden cities were intended to be planned; self-contained communities surrounded by green belts. Elsewhere in the south of England, planning is restricted around London, Oxford, Cambridge, Bristol, and from Wareham to Lymington.³⁶ Imposition of a green belt may have improved the amenity for local residents but could also cause house prices to rise.³⁷ Salisbury never had such a thing; its constraints were physical.

Definitional problems around terms such as 'urban', 'sub-urban' or 'rural' cannot be solved here. Suffice is to say, urban areas display higher density and less amenity space than might suburban. Land use definitions have been addressed *inter alia* through the inter-war First Land Utilisation Survey of Britain. After some deliberation, *urban* land is considered to comprise buildings, yards, mines, cemeteries etc., that is areas where the soil is not used 'productively' including transport land and high-density housing. Land areas such as heaths, moors, commons, and rough hill pasture have their own category.³⁸ One definition clearly places Tom and Barbara in the suburbs:

'Houses with gardens sufficiently large to grow a few vegetables and flowers...broadly speaking this means not more than 12 houses to the acre where houses are built close together....'³⁹

Figure 13.5a displays 'suburban' areas in purple (category 5), distinct from category 2 'urban' shown in red. Salisbury centre is 'urban', and this category also includes most road corridors in and out of the city (figure 13.5b is shown for comparison). Suburban areas are defined by the presence of gardens that include allotments. The survey, undertaken on the eve of the Second World War, means that stereotypical inter-war suburban housing is included.⁴⁰ The term suburb, referring to somewhere where people live, really has no social class or income connotation. The term is neither rural, nor associated with the centres of production of material goods or commercial activity in the 'Central Business District', including Salisbury's marketplace.⁴¹ It remains a question as to whether a 'suburb' should be contiguous with its city or town.

Growth of Salisbury

Development and Topography

Excavation at Salisbury bus station indicated eighteenth-century re-development within the Chequers replacing medieval building.⁴² Salisbury's limited expansion during the Georgian period has been noted. Probably, because it was less prosperous than certain other cities and

³⁶ English Local Authority Greenbelt dataset, Office for National Statistics licensed under the Open Government Licence v.3.0; Contains OS data © Crown copyright and database right 2023 <<https://www.data.gov.uk/dataset/ccb505e0-67a8-4ace-b294-19a3cbff4861/english-local-authority-green-belt-dataset>>.

³⁷ H. R. A. Koster, 'The Welfare Effects of Greenbelt Policy: Evidence from England', *The Economic Journal*, 134.657 (2024), 363–401 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ej/uead077>> [acc Dec 2023].

³⁸ L. D. Stamp, *The Land of Britain: its use and misuse*, 3rd edn (London: 1962) pp. 22–23.

³⁹ L. D. Stamp, p. 465.

⁴⁰ Land utilisation Survey of Great Britain, *Salisbury and Bulford* sheet no. 122, (London: Geographical Publications Ltd., 1939).

⁴¹ See Lang, this volume.

⁴² P. Harding, *Salisbury Sites 7: Salisbury Bus Station* (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology, 2020) <<https://www.wessexarch.co.uk/news/salisbury-sites-7-salisbury-bus-station>> [acc. Dec 2023].



Figure 13.6: Salisbury and river valleys in 1811 (OS mapping). Width of extract c. 15km.

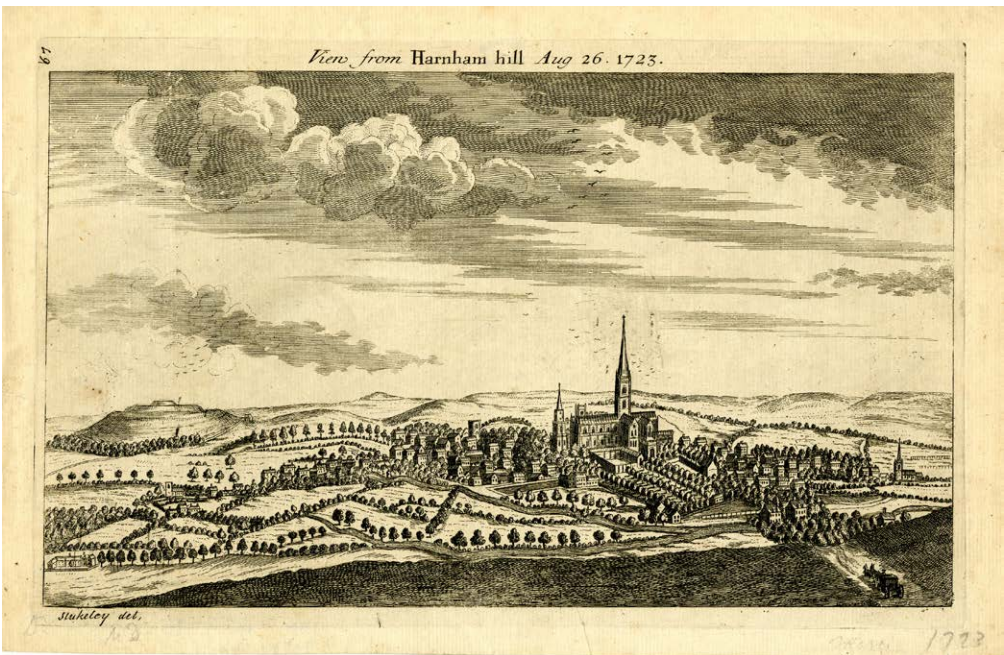


Figure 13.7: Stukeley's engraving of 1723 from Harnham Hill. The ramparts of Old Sarum are depicted on the left-hand side.

towns, individuals preferred to ‘modernise’ existing houses.⁴³ The insanitary nature of central Salisbury probably prompted the development of the large houses on higher ground such as at Milford.⁴⁴ Figure 13.6 shows Salisbury and its topography in the early nineteenth century. Salisbury is a clear ‘central place’ because it lies within a basin created by the confluence of the rivers Nadder and Bourne with the Avon. Valley sides constrained development over the chalk, as do the active floodplains. This leaves valley bottom locations, often along existing lines of communication, premium for economic development.⁴⁵

River terrace land was in great demand, for agriculture, horticulture, brickworks, communications, and settlement. The underlying chalk is a highly important aquifer allowing support for river flow and abstraction from wells and boreholes. Figure 13.7 shows William Stukeley’s engraving dated 1723.⁴⁶ Here is shown East Harnham, with buildings on Ayleswade bridge (bottom right). St Martin’s church is shown on the right (eastern side), is separated from a development of houses contiguous with the original city, and Milford only suburbanised in

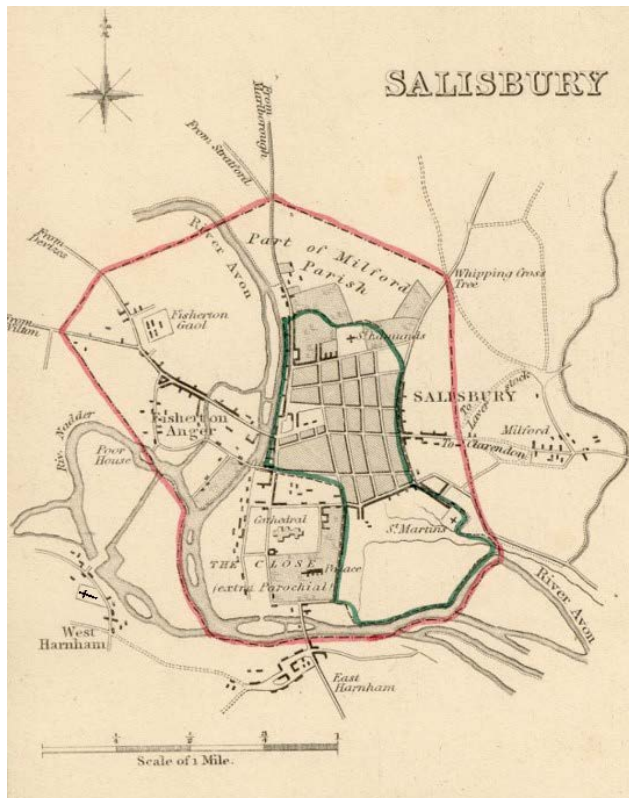


Figure 13.8: Creighton’s map 1835, R. Creighton, J. Walker & C. Walker, ‘Salisbury; Devizes; Marlborough; Westbury’, 1835 (extract). The Chequers are clearly visible north of the Close.

⁴³ Chandler, p. 56.

⁴⁴ J. Howles, pers. comm., 2022.

⁴⁵ Chandler, p. 58.

⁴⁶ See Wright, this volume.

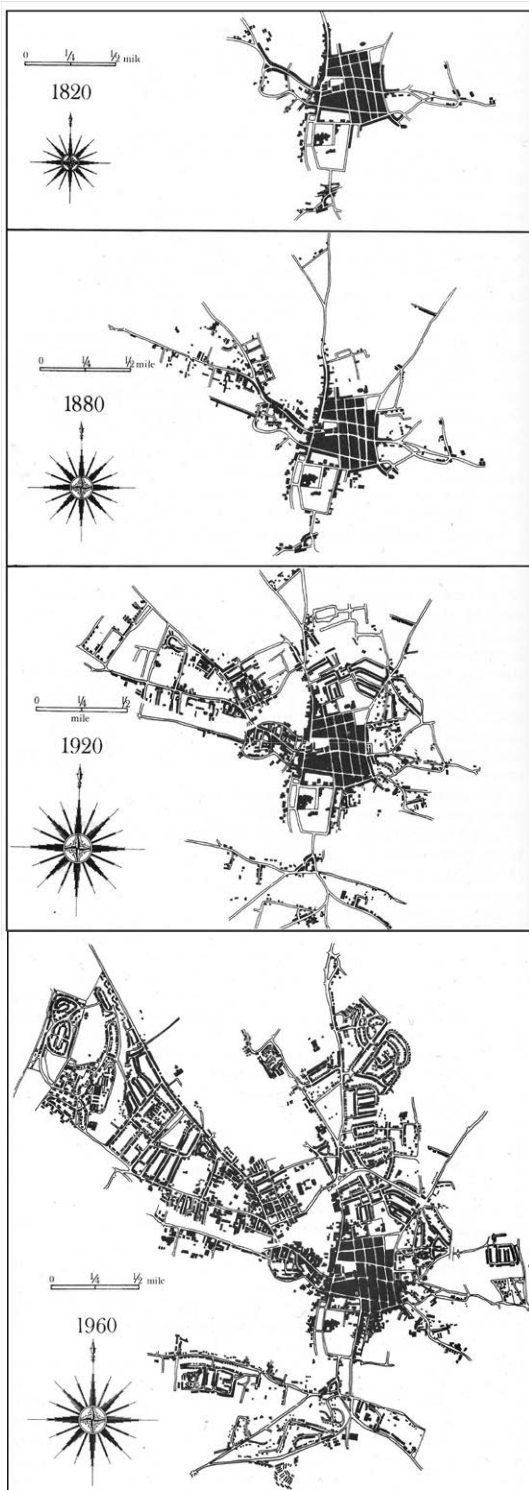


Figure 13.9: Salisbury's development between 1820 and 1960 (after Chandler, 1983, pp. 60-61, Figs. 16-19), reproduced with kind permission.

the nineteenth century.⁴⁷ On the left side, Fisherton is extends westwards from St Thomas's church with its square tower.

Growth, change and civil boundary changes

Figure 13.8 shows Creighton's map of 1835. The medieval city core is clear (green line) including the Chequers, and the 1835 boundary is in red. Salisbury had grown little outside its medieval core. There is a beginning of suburban growth towards Milford and 'ribbon development' at Fisherton Anger parish that became incorporated in the city in 1835. Bemerton (west of the extract and north of the river Nadder) became contiguous with Salisbury following the introduction of the railway in mid-century. South of the rivers, the Harnhams are situated on river terrace. West Harnham is nucleated around St George's church (see also figure 13.8). East Harnham is a compact settlement with one significant farm. John Chandler's series of maps (Figure 13.9) summarise Salisbury's development between 1820 and 1960. There was little change between 1820 and 1835 with development largely confined to the Chequers. By 1880, expansion occurred on the west side, along Devizes and Wilton roads, and south of Fisherton Street. There are some individual villas to the north and north-east, and there has been some development of the Wyndham Park Estate north of the Chequers.



Figure 13.10: Attwood Road inter-war encroachment over the Downs.

⁴⁷ R. Durman, *Milford*, Sarum Studies 1 (Salisbury: Hobnob press, 2007) p. 68. (© The Author)

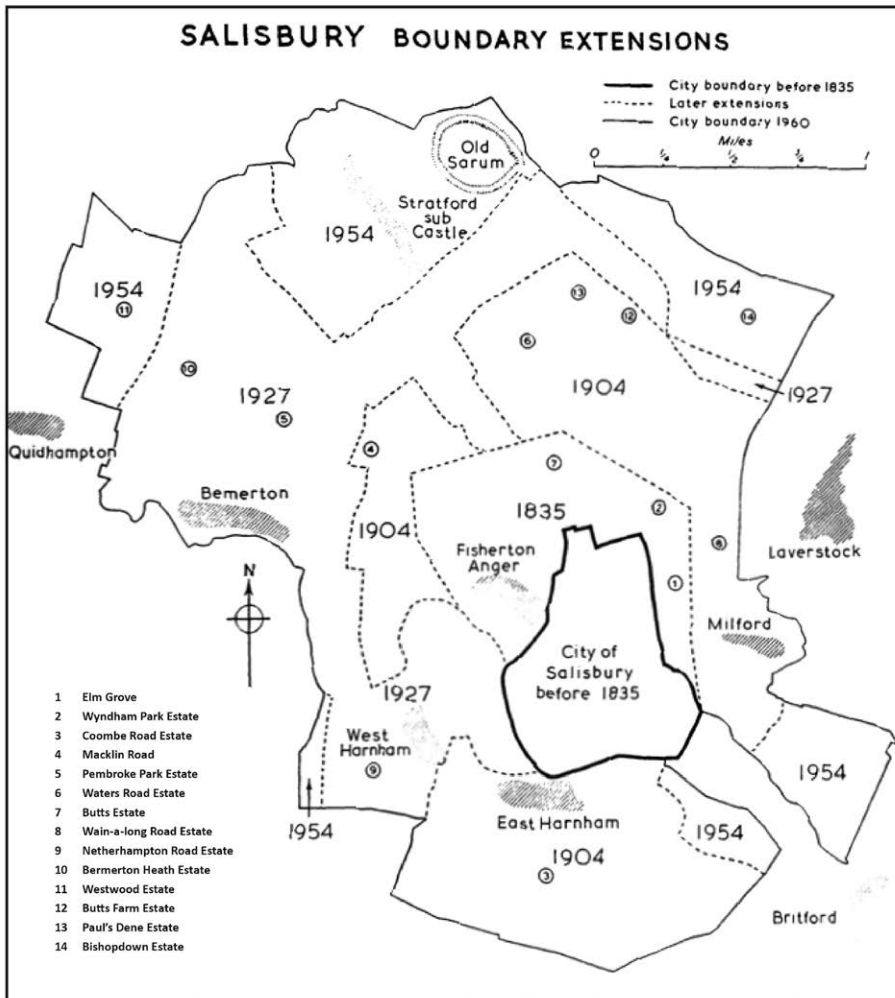


Figure 13.11: Salisbury boundary extensions before 1955, listing key areas of suburban development (Crittall, 1962, pp. 69-72).

Between 1880 and 1900, housing infill occurred between London Road, Campbell Road, and College Street (Figure 13.9), and along Wyndham Road, where a water works was present in 1881. The area, largely intended for the 'lower middle classes', was in practice mixed and included a range of properties from semi-detached villas to small brick-built terraces. Here a wide occupational range from labourers to white collar workers, business and professional people took up residence in both rented and owner-occupied houses.⁴⁸ Figure 4 shows mixed sized housing with larger houses on higher ground, around College Street.

By the 1920s, the Wyndham estate north of the Chequers is extensive. There are large houses to the east of the Chequers and development that would affect hillsides (Figure 13.10). There is

⁴⁸ J. Howells, 'Wyndham Park a late Victorian suburb', *Sarum Chronicle*, 7 (2007), 31-38.

extensive development south of the rivers, along the Downton, Coombe and Netherhampton Roads. On the west side, development including the Macklin Road ‘loop’ and Pembroke Park estate are apparent. By 1960, the modern shape of Salisbury is evident, including the Bemerton Heath council estate on the north-west. The northern approaches show development, with increased housing density south of the rivers.

Figure 13.11 shows local government boundary changes to Salisbury between 1835 and 1954, in response to urban growth.⁴⁹ The boundary now spreads further west to take in housing allocations along Netherhampton road.⁵⁰ The arrival of the railway provided some stimulus, although it never established Salisbury as a major industrial centre. Neither did the railway have immediate effect on the upward trend in population (Figure 13.12). By 1955 the suburbs of East and West Harnham, Bemerton, Stratford sub-Castle and Milford joined Fisherton to become within the city; Quidhampton and Laverstock remain without the city administration to the present. Governmental and public sector investment would provide a stimulus to the city’s development in the twentieth century. The War Office acquired land on Salisbury Plain between 1897 and 1920.⁵¹ Organisations included ‘Porton Down’, established in 1916 as the Royal Engineers Experimental Station.⁵² ‘Boscombe Down’ started as an inter-war RAF station.⁵³ The National Health Service remains a major employer today, based first upon the Salisbury Infirmary in Fisherton Street, later at Salisbury District Hospital, Odstock.⁵⁴ Private sector employers are diverse, reflecting both a light engineering basis and market town functions. Friends Provident Insurance was once a major local employer. Operating throughout the twentieth century, it merged with Friends Life Group in 2011, then with Aviva in 2015.⁵⁵ The original site is now occupied by sheltered housing. Churchfields Industrial Estate that began as Scout Motors in the early twentieth century, remains a thriving local economic focus.⁵⁶ Other industries, such as breweries in the Maltings, have vanished from the city centre.

Figure 13.11 shows individually numbered suburban areas. Examples of particular interest are:

- Elm Grove (1): An estate of large houses laid out in 1864. (2) Wyndham Park Estate: Expansion to the north occurred after the sale of the Wyndham estate in 1871, the former park was built over in the 1870s and 1880s with the roads between College Street and Campbell Road.
- Macklin road (4): The earliest council houses at Macklin Road south of the Devizes Road were built in 1920.

⁴⁹ E. Crittall, ed., ‘Salisbury: City government since 1836’, in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*: volume 6 (London: British History Online, 1962) 69–72 <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp69-72>> [acc. Dec. 2023].

⁵⁰ J. Howles, pers. comm., 2022.

⁵¹ University of Bristol, ‘Salisbury Plain Army Training Estate, Wiltshire’ (n.d.). <<https://www.bristol.ac.uk/history/militarylandscapes/sites/britain/salisbury/>> [acc. Dec 2023].

⁵² Imperial War Museum (2022), ‘The Royal Engineers Experimental Station during the First World War.’ <<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205204320>> [acc. Dec 2023].

⁵³ Heritage Gateway (2012), ‘RAF Boscombe Down’. <https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=1386570&resourceID=19191> [acc. Dec 2023].

⁵⁴ National Health Service (2022), ‘Our History’ <<https://www.salisbury.nhs.uk/about-us/our-history/>> [acc. Dec. 2023].

⁵⁵ A. Rhind-Tutt, pers. comm., 2023.

⁵⁶ Chandler, p. 150.

- Pembroke Park Estate (5): between the Devizes and Wilton roads, had been started before the First World War, was developed with both private and council houses in the 1920s and 1930s.
- Netherhampton Road Estate (9): in developing West Harnham comprised both council and private houses, it commenced in 1921. ‘Prefab’ housing was constructed here following the Second World War.⁵⁷
- Bemerton Heath Estate and Westwood Estate (10 and 11): to meet the needs for housing identified in the Second World War, between the Devizes and Wilton roads the Bemerton Heath council estate was begun in 1946 and its Westwood estate extension begun in 1950. Bemerton Heath estate houses were equipped with communal central heating and hot water.
- The Bishopdown Estate (14) located north of the London Road cemetery was a large council and private housing estate begun in 1957.⁵⁸

Social housing provision, other than council, was evident between the wars. On the corner of Ashley Road and Coldharbour Lane, twelve flats were newly built. Apparently, Salisbury’s first flats, they provided ‘modern accommodation for working class families at low rents’. The builder was Courts Ltd a ‘local voluntary housing society’, with a mission of slum clearance.⁵⁹

Figure 13.12 shows official census data for the population of Salisbury 1801 to 2021. The gap is for 1941 when no census was taken during the Second World War. The overall trend is upward

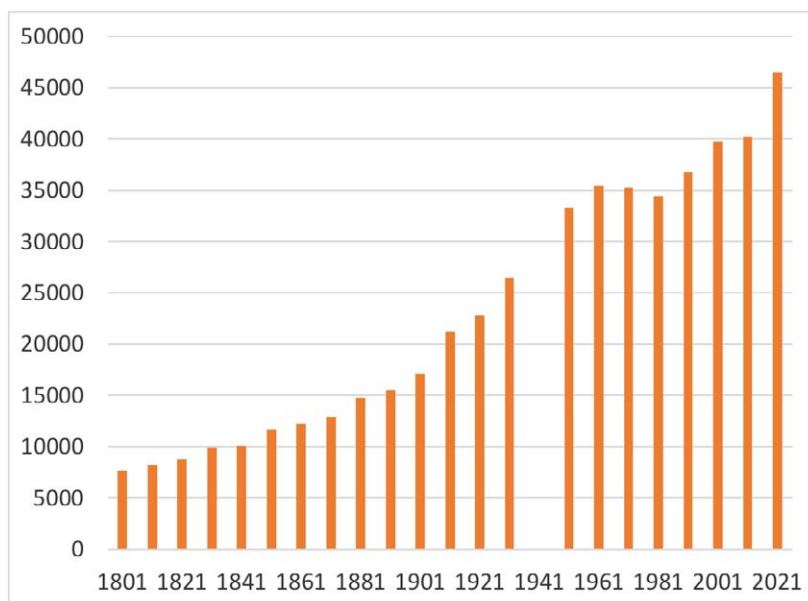


Figure 13.12: Population of Salisbury, census data 1801 to 2021

⁵⁷ J. Howells, pers. comm. 2022.

⁵⁸ E. Crittall, ed., ‘New Salisbury: Introduction’, in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6*, (London: British History Online, 1962), pp. 69–72 <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp69-72>>, [acc. Dec 2023].

⁵⁹ ‘Salisbury’s First Block of Flats’. *Western Gazette* 22nd June 1934 p. 10.

Table 13.1: Estimates of the overall urban area and population density

Year	Estimated urban area (km ²)	Persons/km ² (rounded)
1820	0.81	10,870
1880	1.2	12,340
1920	1.7	13,490
1960	7.03	5,050
2020	12.18	3,820

and exponential, although between 1820 and 1880 the increase is gradual. The situation 1921-1961 experienced considerable growth in council housing. Salisbury has a noticeable lack housing dating from the 1960s and 1970s compared with other Wiltshire towns. This may be attributable to development outside the area in question, particularly in Laverstock, Wilton and Alderbury.⁶⁰ The large increase 2011-2021, reflects development Hampton Park, Old Sarum, Longhedge and St Peter's Place.⁶¹

Table 13.1 shows population density estimates based on Figure 13.9 and Figure 13.12, and on modern OS mapping. Over 200 years, the urban and suburban area increased from its original core by fifteen-fold. Population density (persons/km²) increases to 1920, despite a doubling of the urban area. Density then falls dramatically in response to suburban development after 1920. While this reduction is attributable to increasing land areas available for housing and larger gardens, industry observers have noted a reduction in garden size in recent decades.⁶² These figures are not modulated for changes in the real urban areas, rather they reflect the political boundaries (Figure 13.11).

Railways and public services

'Victorian improvers' not only provided for living space, but by then effective improvements to human welfare had become a requirement. Services of water, sewerage, gas, and electricity were provided. In transport, the railways would stimulate development, and in 1847 the London and South-Western Railway linked Salisbury to Southampton. The first station (a terminus) was located at Milford, and it is recalled by the twice named 'Railway' or alternatively 'Dusthole' pub in Tollgate Road, the latter option referring to coal storage (Figure 13.13). However, it would be Fisherton that became the locus for Salisbury's railway links, with further stations developed 1856-9.⁶³

The inspiration for Medieval water channels within the Chequers is unknown.⁶⁴ Monastic houses could have sophisticated water management providing supply, sanitation, power,

⁶⁰ Chandler, p. 61.

⁶¹ J. Howles, pers. comm., 2022.

⁶² O. Heath, 'Gardens are getting smaller so how are homeowners adapting their outdoor space?' (London: *House beautiful*, 2017) <<https://www.housebeautiful.com/uk/garden/a2124/21st-century-garden-shrinking-smaller/>> [acc. Dec 2023].

⁶³ Chandler pp. 139-143.

⁶⁴ see Daniell, this volume.



Figure 13.13: The Railway or Dusthole pub, Milford. (© The Author)



Figure 13.14: The Waterworks and pumping station on Devizes Road. (© The Author)

and irrigation.⁶⁵ Venetian canals while defining the city, did not supply drinking water. During the Crusades, there was contact with Iberia, and Madrid already had running water supply channels dating from the Moorish occupation.⁶⁶ Contact with Spain, or the Middle East, may have alerted Salisbury's original planners to the benefits of water and good sanitation, something rooted in Islamic urban planning. However, running water channels in the medieval Chequers inevitably became polluted and were replaced by deep sewers in the 1850s. Even where domestic wells were dug, these could be adjacent to cess pits and contemporary commentators linked poor housing to unsanitary water supply.⁶⁷ The prompt for better sanitation had been a cholera outbreak in 1849.

Salisbury's chalk aquifer provides ample supplies of good quality groundwater accessed by wells and boreholes. New domestic supply commenced with a waterworks just north of the city.⁶⁸ The operational source at Wyndham Road was opened in 1854 and redundant by 1970. Water was pumped to an underground reservoir made of brick and located on the hill behind



Figure 13.15: The Fisherton gas holder (© The Author)

⁶⁵ J. Bond, 'Monastic Water Management in Great Britain: A Review.' In *Monastic Archaeology*, edited by Graham Keevill, M. Aston, and T. A. Hall (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), pp. 88–136.

⁶⁶ M. Haddad, 'Water Supply, Sanitation, Hygienic Considerations and Practices in Muslim Civilizations', *Muslim Heritage* (2021), and citations therein <<https://muslimheritage.com/water-supply-sanitation/>> [acc Dec 2023].

⁶⁷ Chandler, pp. 227–30.

⁶⁸ E. Crittall, ed., 'Salisbury: City government since 1836'.



Figure 13.16: Sluices for hydro-electric power turbine at Bishop's Mill (© The Author)

Leehurst Swan School above Campbell Road.⁶⁹ Other sources were at Devizes Road, Fisherton (1904 and 1917), although the waterworks building on Devizes Road (Figure 13.14) dates from 1867.⁷⁰ Other sources included Dean's Farm (1960) and Clarendon Park (1970 to 1980) and there were six service reservoirs, including by 1900, one at Harnham Hill.⁷¹

As municipal water supply developed, so the surface channels were filled. The last ran from Hussey's Hatch to Bugmore by Rollestone Street and Brown Street and was replaced by pipes to carry irrigation water to the Bugmore meadows in 1859. By 1860 the urban channels were filled in.⁷² Bugmore watermeadows (including modern Churchill gardens) were irrigated using wastewater irrigation, although later replaced by Sewage Treatment Works.⁷³

Gas for lighting, coal supplies and eventually electricity supply developed in Salisbury, as elsewhere. Gas initially supplied street lighting. The works dating from the 1830s were enlarged

⁶⁹ J. M. Illston, '*Salisbury's water supply 1853-2000*' (Salisbury: South Wiltshire Industrial Archaeological Society, 2002) Historical Monograph 22.

⁷⁰ J. Wright, pers. comm., 2022.

⁷¹ Illston.

⁷² E. Crittall, ed., '*Salisbury: Bridges, bars, gates and mills*', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6*, (London: British History Online, 1962) pp. 87-90. <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp87-90>> [acc. Dec 2023].

⁷³ H. Cook and M. Cowan, '*The City Ditch, Bugmore and the Bourne: An irrigation agreements and urban effluent on the periphery of Salisbury*', *WANHM*, 102 (2009), 288-95.

in 1893, 1919 and 1928 although production ceased in 1957. The gasholder, constructed in 1928 and once a City landmark, was demolished 2017-8 (Figure 13.15).⁷⁴ Hydro-electricity was generated at the Town Mill from 1899. The building was converted for use as a power station by the Salisbury Electric Light and Supply Co. It provided for local street lighting and businesses from 1898 (Figure 13.16). Later assisted by coal, the turbines were shut in 1936.⁷⁵



Figure 13.17: West and East Harnham in the 1920s. 1:10,560 OS sheet 66SE (Salisbury Library)

⁷⁴ E. Crittall, ed., 'Fisherton Anger' in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: volume 6*, (London: British History Online, 1962) pp. 180–194 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp180-194>> [acc. Dec. 2023]; J. H. Watts, *Salisbury Gasworks: The Salisbury Gas Light and Coke company* (Salisbury: South Wilts Industrial Archaeology Society, 1991), Monograph 12.

⁷⁵ D. Coe, *Salisbury Electric Light and Supply Company* (Salisbury: South Wiltshire Industrial Archaeological Society, 2008) Historical Monograph 19.

Case studies

West Harnham

West Harnham remained rural for longer than many of its neighbouring suburbs. Originally it was nucleated around St George's Church that is located south of the Harnham Water Meadows and marked 'liable to floods' on Figure 13.17. There were three farms at West Harnham (Fitzgeralds, Manor and Old Parsonage), and to the west of the map extract, was Walrons Manor Farm, that was largely developed on the river terrace. Urban growth has started between East and West Harnham. West Harnham only become suburban in the twentieth century. Historic industry is represented largely by Harnham or the 'Old' Mill located on the south branch of the Nadder including an industrial building c.1500 as well as the redbrick early nineteenth century building.⁷⁶ Wellworthy Piston Rings established a site during the Second World War, and shut in the early 1990s.⁷⁷ The site is now housing with an adjacent trading estate.⁷⁸

East Harnham

East Harnham was incorporated into Salisbury in 1904 and West Harnham in 1927 (Figure 13.11). Of the two, East Harnham has more complex history of suburban transformation. The former village is separated from Salisbury by the river Avon, forded at Ayleswade and then bridged in the thirteenth century with improvements in the 1770s.⁷⁹ There was a medieval Inn (the Rose and Crown); East Harnham may be regarded as developing a 'suburban' character from the eighteenth century.⁸⁰ The Tithe map (1840) shows East Harnham stretching from Ayleswade bridge south-west for c.350m towards Harnham slope or 'The Cliffe'. Here chalk for construction was extracted and there was a nearby whiting works. Also listed is the Swan public house, workshop premises, and a complex of 'House, yards and buildings.' Proximity to Salisbury had imparted an artisanal character, with grocers, blacksmith's shops, bootmakers, carpenters, rope, and twine making and stonemasons.⁸¹ In 1871, much male employment remained agricultural, although by 1901 there were increasing numbers of business and professional people.⁸² Two large houses were built in the nineteenth century: Harnham House c. 1830 and Cliff House in 1825 (demolished in the 1970s).⁸³ Cliff House had been used by the Ministry of Defence during the Second World War.⁸⁴ The Civil Defence Corps underground bunker in Harnham was constructed between 1939 and 1952, in the 1960s becoming a nuclear shelter.

⁷⁶ M. Cowan, *Harnham Mill* (Salisbury: Hobnob press, 2008), p 4.

⁷⁷ E. Crittall, ed., 'Salisbury: Economic history since 1612', in *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 6*, (London: British History Online, 1962), pp. 129–132. <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp129-132>> [acc. Dec 2023].

⁷⁸ J. Howles, pers. comm., 2022.

⁷⁹ J. Chandler, 'Harnham Bridge', in *Harnham Historical Miscellany* ed by J. Howells, (Salisbury: Sarum Chronicle, 2013), pp. 58–80.

⁸⁰ T. Tatton-Brown, 'Medieval Harnham', in *Harnham Historical Miscellany*, ed by J. Howells, (Salisbury: Sarum Chronicle, 2013), pp. 47–57.

⁸¹ R. Newman, 'William Small's Harnham', in *Harnham Historical Miscellany*, ed by J. Howells, (Salisbury: Sarum Studies 4, 2013) pp.99–111.

⁸² H. Wilcockson, 'East Harnham joins the city', in *Harnham Historical Miscellany*, ed by J. Howells, (Salisbury: Sarum Studies 4, 2013) pp. 131–140.

⁸³ RCHME, 'Castle Hill', in *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury* (London: British History Online, 1977) pp. 167–174 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/salisbury/pp167-174>> [acc Dec 2023].

⁸⁴ J. Howles, pers. comm., 2022.

The workhouse (1834) is marked as a ‘Poor House’ in the Tithe Survey (1840) and later the Salisbury Union Workhouse (with Alderbury). This survived in various guises into the inter-War period.⁸⁵ All Saints Church, East Harnham was built in 1854. South of here, the origins of modern Salisbury District Hospital started with re-location of the US Army 5th General Hospital to the site in 1942-3.⁸⁶ Dominated by post-1800 housing with some services, East Harnham displays typical suburban characteristics. It is considered contiguous with Salisbury because today it is linked by Ayleswade and New Harnham bridges. To the southeast, Britford village (in the same civil parish in 1840) remains separate.⁸⁷ Post-First World War housing is widespread, the size of houses generally increasing with altitude between Downton Road and Bouverie Avenue South.⁸⁸ In East Harnham, Salisbury, local prehistoric heritage is reflected in the Rowbarrow Estate containing Barrow Close, Beaker Way, Woodbury Gardens and Flint Way. Road names within Ridings Mead reference birds: Herenswood, Swiftdown, Ravenscroft, and Hawksridge.

Post-Second World War Housing in East Harnham was set between the Downton Road and Britford Lane (Figure 13.18, A to F). This area was never planned overall, being developed speculatively as land was sold to builders and developed as social housing in the 1970s.⁸⁹ Here may be found Milton Road and Dryden Close, arguably in homage to Reggie. To illustrate this development, Ordnance Survey map extracts captured from Digimap demonstrate the development of a part of East Harnham between the 1880s and 1970s. The area involved (Figures 13.18, A to F) stretches from Ayleswade bridge south eastwards towards Britford along a segment of the river Avon valley.

Figure 13.18A:

- 1887: There is only one bridge crossing of the river Avon at East Harnham
- Downton Road, runs southeast from here towards Britford with no housing beyond the Alderbury Union Workhouse, that is separate from the settlement
- Watermeadows (at ‘D’) east of the Cathedral Close were likely used for sewage irrigation

Figure 13.18B:

- 1907: Sewage works have been constructed east of ‘The Close’.
- A nursery enterprise is present north of Downton Road.

Figure 13.18C:

- 1927: Sewage works have been enlarged.
- Houses with gardens appear along Downton Road, southeast of the ‘Nursery’.
- A sports ground appears on the Britford side of the new housing.

⁸⁵ The Workhouse (n.d.), ‘Alderbury (Salisbury from 1895) Wiltshire’. <<https://www.workhouses.org.uk/Alderbury/>> [acc. Dec. 2023].

⁸⁶ NHS Foundation Trust, Salisbury (2020) ‘Our History’ *Artcare* <<https://www.salisbury.nhs.uk/about-us/our-history/>> [acc. Dec. 2023].

⁸⁷ See Cook, Britford, this volume.

⁸⁸ J. Howles, pers. comm., 2022.

⁸⁹ P. Belton, pers. comm., 2022.



Figure 13.18A-C: Development of East Harnham as a suburb Contains OS data © Crown copyright and database right 2023.

Top to bottom:

Figure 13.18A County Series_1:10560_1st Edition national grid, 1887

Figure 13.18B County Series_1:10560_national grid, 1907

Figure 13.18 C County Series_1:10560_national grid, 1927

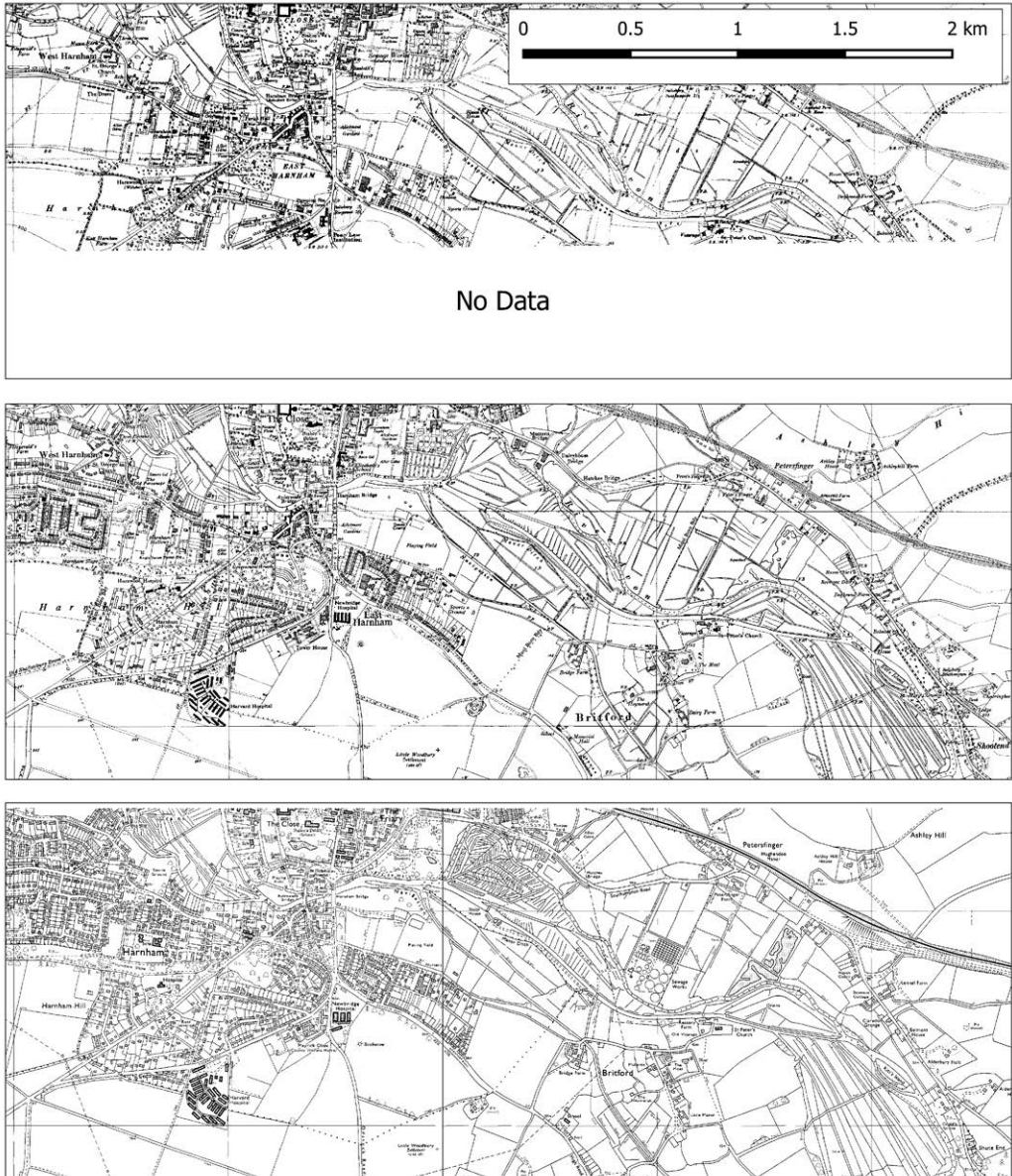


Figure 13.18D-F: Development of East Harnham as a suburb Contains OS data © Crown copyright and database right 2023.

Top to bottom:

Figure 13.18D County Series_1:10560_ national grid, 1939

Figure 13.18E National Grid_1:10560_1962

Figure 13.18 F National Grid_1:10000_ 1985



Figure 13.19: 'Chalet bungalows' in Burford Road, East Harnham (© The Author)

Figure 13.18D:

- 1939: New Harnham Bridge (constructed in 1933) provides a second crossing at East Harnham.
- New roads herald housing infill begins between Downton Road and Britford Lane.
- Housing is present development west of East Harnham village and on downs.

Figure 13.18E:

- 1962: Harvard Hospital was the Common Cold Research Unit.
- More housing infill appears between Downton Road and Britford Lane (Figure 13.19)
- A sports ground remains on the east side of the Downton Road housing.

Figure 13.18F:

- 1985: The Churchill Way (part of the Salisbury ring road) appears between roundabouts by St Nicholas Hospital and the Southampton Road
- The sewage works has moved eastwards to Petersfinger.
- The road configuration at New Harnham road (south of Ayleswade Bridge) has the modern shape.
- Britford Lane and Downton Road, further infill, loss of sports ground and addition of Milton Road to include mixed housing (Figures 13.20 and 13.21).



Figure 13.20: Post-1970 Social housing in Milton Road, East Harnham (© The Author)



Figure 13.21: Private house in Milton Road. Originally built c.1950, it was expanded (right hand side) in the 1970s (© The Author)

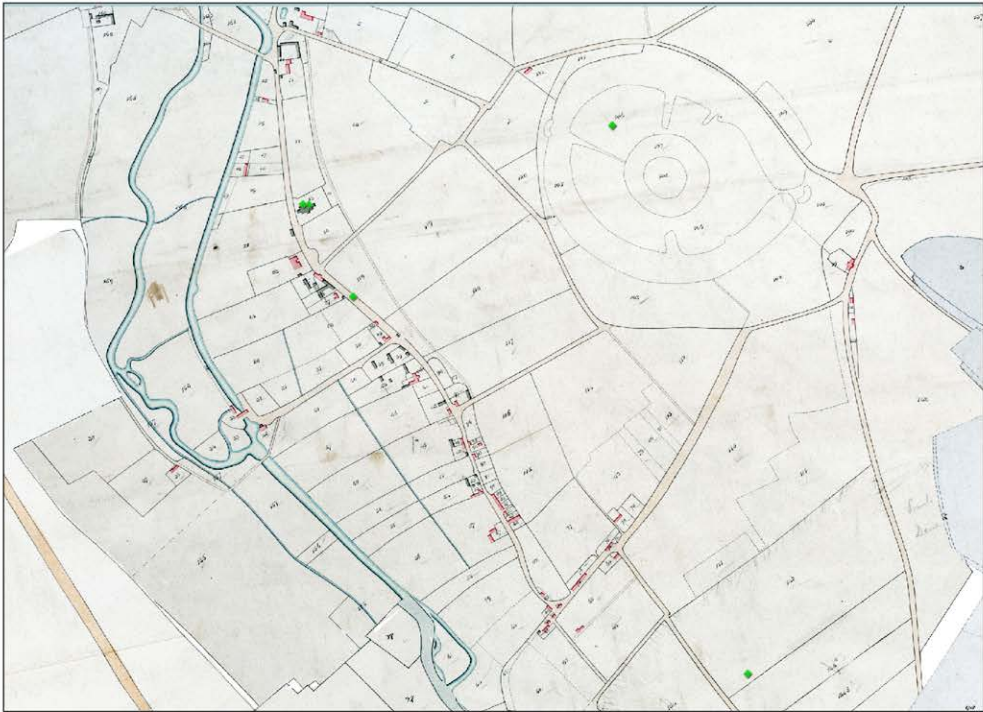


Figure 13.22a: Stratford-sub-Castle and Old Sarum, Tithe Map and documentation for Stratford sub-Castle dated 1840, <<https://maps.bristol.gov.uk/kyp/?edition=wilts>>.
Figure 13.22b: Stratford-sub-Castle and Old Sarum, Open StreetMap, 2023.

Old Sarum: the once and future suburb

On the hillside beneath Old Sarum's lies the lost urban area of medieval streets, houses, and churches.⁹⁰ Rurality has returned to what were once, potentially, suburbs and the area around the hilltop is now subject to conservation.⁹¹ Twentieth century housing is otherwise nearby, and there is a second irony. As suburbs developed, so did efforts to improve democratic representation. Old Sarum presented the most negative stereotype in British electoral history. It was an exemplar 'Rotten Borough,' where MPs were elected on a handful of voters. In 1734, Old Sarum was represented by the famous statesman and sometime Prime Minister William Pitt 'the Elder' (later First Earl of Chatham) who succeeded his father and grandfather in the seat. Pitt also sat for Oakhampton.⁹² This medieval constituency finally came to an end with the 1832 Reform Act.

Comparison of Figures 13.22a and 13.22b shows urban development between 1840 and 2020 with suburban development to the south and east, mostly of twentieth-century date. More recent outlying developments include new housing around the north-east of Old Sarum, at Longhedge, while plans for housing around the Old Sarum airfield remain contested. Stratford-sub-Castle just about retains elements of its medieval topography between the hilltop and the river, down the Portway and to the west along the Stratford Road.⁹³ Old Sarum hilltop is, once again, set close to suburban development. The old city, that played its part to increase political representation for suburban dwellers, reminds us that the suburb is here to stay. This is notwithstanding the Goods, Perrins, and Meldrews of this world!

Conclusions

- Salisbury's topography originally constrained its growth. Flood risk and watermeadow prevented development on floodplains and the downs saw little development until the twentieth century. River terraces were preferred for development.
- Land uses competing with housing were agriculture, horticulture, brickmaking, and there were sports and recreation grounds stimulated by proximity to Salisbury.
- Around Fisherton and Bemerton, brickfields supplied house building and chalk was extracted at Harnham.
- Salisbury has Georgian buildings but (Fisherton excepted), growth beyond its medieval core was limited until the nineteenth century. Outlying settlements fully developed as suburbs in the twentieth centuries.
- East Harnham being close to the Ayleswade bridge at the southern approaches to Salisbury, developed an artisanal character.
- Salisbury never became a major manufacturing city, despite the arrival of the railway and other nineteenth-century developments.
- Stimuli were given by the railway and twentieth-century governmental and public sector employment.

⁹⁰ See Langlands, 'Suburbs' and 'Kingsbridge', this volume.

⁹¹ K. O'Connor, 'Old Sarum Ownership (in 2022)' <<https://www.stratfordsubcastle.org.uk/old-sarum-ownership>> [acc. Dec 2023].

⁹² M. Peters, 'Pitt, William, First Earl of Chatham [Known as Pitt the Elder] (1708–1778), Prime Minister', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22337>>.

⁹³ A. J. Langlands, 'Placing the burh in *Searobyrg*: rethinking the urban topography of early medieval Salisbury', *WANHM*, 107 (2014), 201–105; J. Chandler, 'Where Was Old Sarum?', *Sarum Chronicle*, 4 (2004), 22–30.

- Suburban Salisbury displays a social fit with the English class system, in terms of both dwelling size and tenure.
- Population density reduced in the Inter-War period of suburban expansion because building plot-size increased.
- Contiguous relationships between urban areas may be realised at bridging points as well as through adjacent development.

Appendix

A section through a medieval city: Notes on the 1967 sewer pipe trench cut through the east gate of Old Sarum

Alex Langlands and Lorraine Mephram

Introduction

In 1967, The Ministry of Public Building and Works set about converting the aviation observation block cut into the inner ringwork of the outer bailey at Old Sarum into a public convenience and arranged for what today would be called an archaeological ‘watching brief’ to record the excavation of a sewer pipe trench cut down through the east gate to a sewer mains junction box on the main road. The work was carried out by Trevor Miles, with the support of David Algar and a number of other volunteers. During the course of the fieldwork the entirety of the trench was recorded in section, and later inked up in detail. The result is a remarkably significant archaeological drawing providing what is in essence, a 240m-long archaeological section drawing through a medieval city (Figures A.1 and A.2). Building platforms, foundations, pits, ditches, gullies, a cellared-structure, road surfaces, and details pertaining to what appears to be a swing drawbridge at the east gate are depicted, reproduced here with an annotated commentary (Langlands), a review of the pottery (Mephram), and a transcript of a brief report submitted to the Ministry of Public Building and Works in 1980 (Miles). This consisted of a typescript including a four-page discussion on the excavation’s findings and a list of contexts provided with brief summaries of fill types and finds yielded. Plans of all the features were provided but given the narrow nature of the trench these have not been included here on account of them not contributing hugely to the interpretation. The reader is directed to digital scans of the original drawings held at the Historic England archives.¹

The work appears to have been insufficiently funded beyond the excavation phase. Whilst the short report and a series of inked section and plan drawings were submitted to the National Monument Record on 11 November 1980 for a publication grant (and “not recommended in present form”), a dim view on its substance was taken by John Musty who described the whole situation as a ‘pretty pickle’, lamenting the lack of detail on the pottery, and the failure to have consulted Algar on the detail of the extra-mural length of the trench.² As of 20 March 1985 Miles still had in his possession the object drawings (and presumably the

¹ T. Miles and D. J. Algar, ‘Measured Drawings Produced for a Report on the Sewage Pipe Line at Old Sarum’, Historic England, Swindon, MIL02/01 (Parent:110258746) <<https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/results/?searchType=HE%20Archive&search=Parent:110258746>>.

² REPORT SUBMITTED FOR PUBLICATION GRANT, 11 Nov 1980; Letter to Miss Butcher, from John Musty (no address), 11 November 1980, Historic England, MIL.01.01

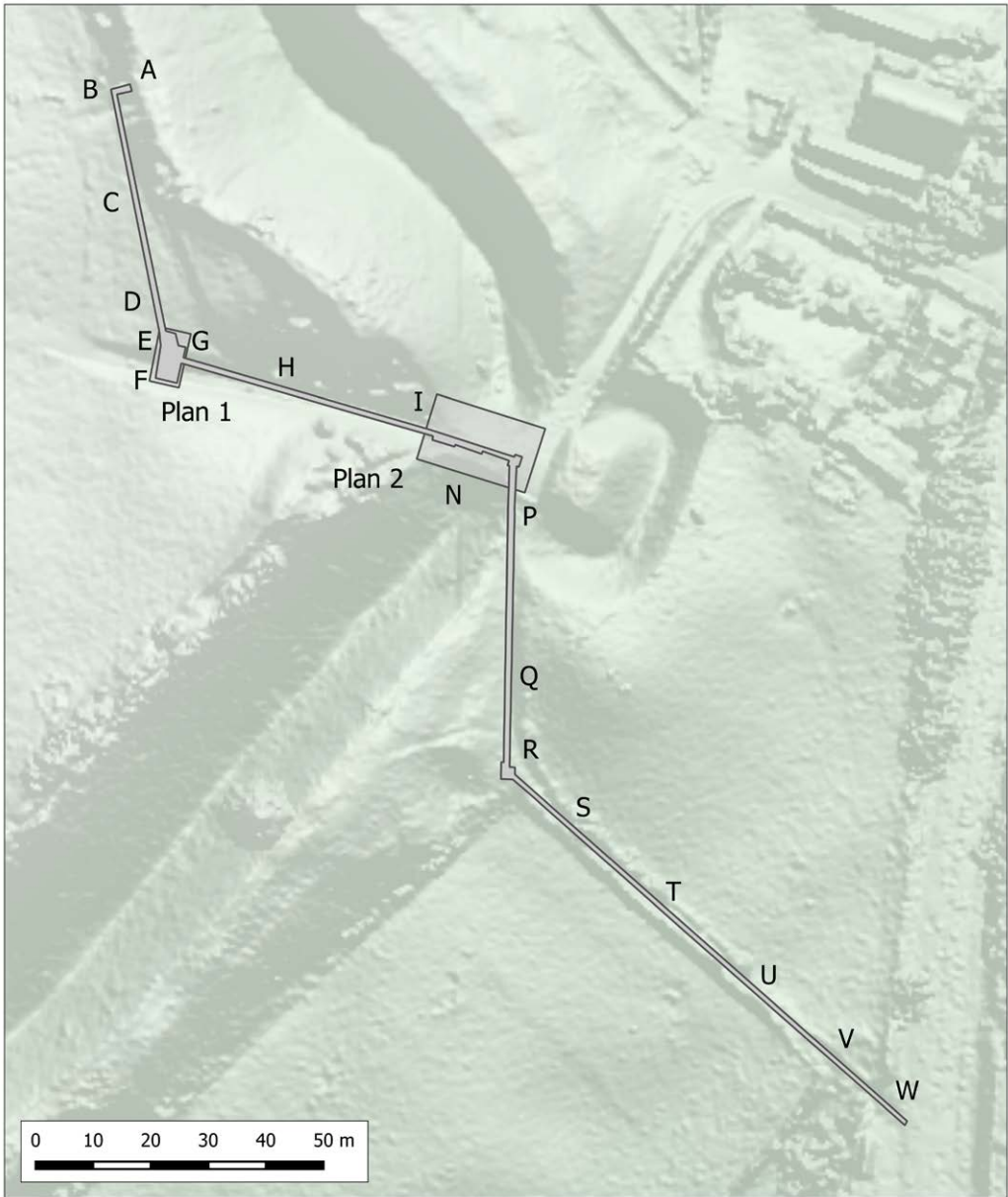


Figure A.1: The line of the sewer pipe trench cut from the present public convenience block at Old Sarum, down through the east gate of the hillfort towards the sewer mains.

objects).³ Duplicates of the section and plan drawings are held at Salisbury Museum along with David Algar's photographic record made when he excavated and recorded section S-V.

³ Letter to Mr Slade, "Old Sarum Sewer Trench Archive", from A D Saunders, Fortress House, 20 March 1985. Historic England, MIL.01.01

Abigail Coppins very kindly recovered the extant artefactual archive which had ended up at English Heritage's facility at Fort Cumberland. These had been marked with context numbers that did not correspond to the numbers on the inked sections. They did correspond to numbers annotated on the original site drawings held in the Historic England archive and, consequently, a concordance between both sequences has allowed the extant finds to be associated with the archaeological features depicted on the detailed section drawings, adapted here for publication. The match between the descriptions of vessel types provided by Miles and those presented here give confidence to the reindexing, but the exercise has not been without its problems: There are unmarked finds in the archive that it has not been possible to locate, and the unreturned finds, because of their nature, were the most diagnostic and therefore most valuable for potentially refining the sequence of activity. However, there is much that can still be concluded from the excavation and we are extremely grateful to David Algar for discussing the nature of the excavation and what he recalls of the most significant archaeological features.

There are a number of significant observations that can be summarised from this excavation. In the first instance, despite the limitations of the archive, it provides a vital contribution to the archaeological record for the monument. For the east suburbs, the excavated features accord well with those observed in other excavations (discussed in Langlands, 'Suburbs', this volume) and throughout the trench it is clear that high levels of preservation are evident. There is certainly the potential for the survival of pre-Norman levels within the hill-fort in this area (contexts 7, 8, 9, 10) and an early hollow way cut up through the east gate (38) could relate to Iron-Age use of the hill. Deposits slumped into the fill of this hollow way are cut by the construction cut (43) for a substantial ashlar-faced wall (Wall I) presumably of late twelfth to thirteenth-century date. The latest phases of fortification both here and along the causeway at the gatehouse may have obliterated much of the earlier archaeology but the archaeological evidence for a possible swing or drawbridge is of note and requires specialist analysis.

The evidence from sections O–W, depicting features immediately outside the outer bailey and across the east suburbs concord with the dating evidence from other archaeological



Figure A.2: ONLINE ONLY DUE TO SIZE Section drawings of sewer pipe trench excavated through east gate and suburb of Old Sarum, compiled into a single composite section with profile of monument (Contains © images courtesy of Historic England)
<http://doi.org/10.32028/9781803277592FigureA2>

excavations in the area. There would appear to be a high point of activity in the twelfth century and, as Mepham notes (below), from the concentration of cesspits in the suburbs (Figure A.2.3, S-T) no ceramic evidence dating to later than the twelfth century could be definitely identified, albeit with the caveat of the small sample size. With the exception of floor (130)/(131), there were no substantial later cut features and the general picture therefore painted would appear to be one of a relatively quick collapse in occupation from the early thirteenth century onwards.

Summary of sections

A-B

A short stretch of trench aligned EW cutting down through the inside slope of the bank for a distance of 1m. There was much debris here from the 1909-11 excavations of the castle where it was used as a spoil heap (2) overlying (3), a grey soil with bands of fine grey silt, which has been interpreted as material washing/eroding from the bank. A fine chalk layer (4) then overlay a thicker layer of chalk rubble (6) which yielded a fragment of green-glazed ridge tile – all of which may be presumed to represent thirteenth century or later activity on the site. These layers sealed a fine dark earth layer yielding sherds of Wessex C (Wessex coarsewares), Mixed grit and RB (Romano-British)(7). From this level down, what appears to be a small exploratory sondage was cut to a depth of 0.76m and the upper layer observed within this – a lighter earth (redeposited topsoil and subsoil constituting a possible bank building event?) with some chalk rubble – yielded RB, Michelmersh-type wares, Flint-tempered (FL400), and Wessex C (8). This overlies a finer darker earth (9) yielding Michelmersh-type and RB.

On the basis of the Late Saxon wares associated with the excavation of a late tenth to early eleventh-century kiln at Michelmersh, (8) and (9) may relate to Late Saxon activity at the eastern end of Old Sarum hillfort.⁴ Deposit (7) appears to slope upwards perhaps reflecting a recasting of the bank, and the mix of (?residual) pottery found in this area tentatively links it with Anglo-Norman activity on the site.

B-C

However, (7) appears to continue south for *circa*. 10m where it overlies layers (13), (14) and (15), the lowest of which yielded a ‘handle sherd in scratch mark with comb decoration and glaze, [and a] wall sherd of sandy ware with rouletted decoration under slightly crazed green glaze ?Winchester ware’. The finds from this stretch have not survived for analysis – but amongst them are listed from (24), overlain by (19), itself beneath (15), ‘RB and SR (scratched-marked) sherds, a small wall sherd of fine sandy fabric with flecks of glaze, possibly Normandy, and a sherd of sandy micaceous’. A SR bowl was also recovered from the lowest deposit in the sequence here, a rammed chalk rubble (26).

⁴ L. Mepham and L. Brown, ‘The Broughton to Timsbury Pipeline, Part 1: A Late Saxon Pottery Kiln and the Production Centre at Michelmersh, Hampshire’, *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 62 (2007), 35–68 (pp. 44–45).

APPENDIX: A SECTION THROUGH A MEDIEVAL CITY

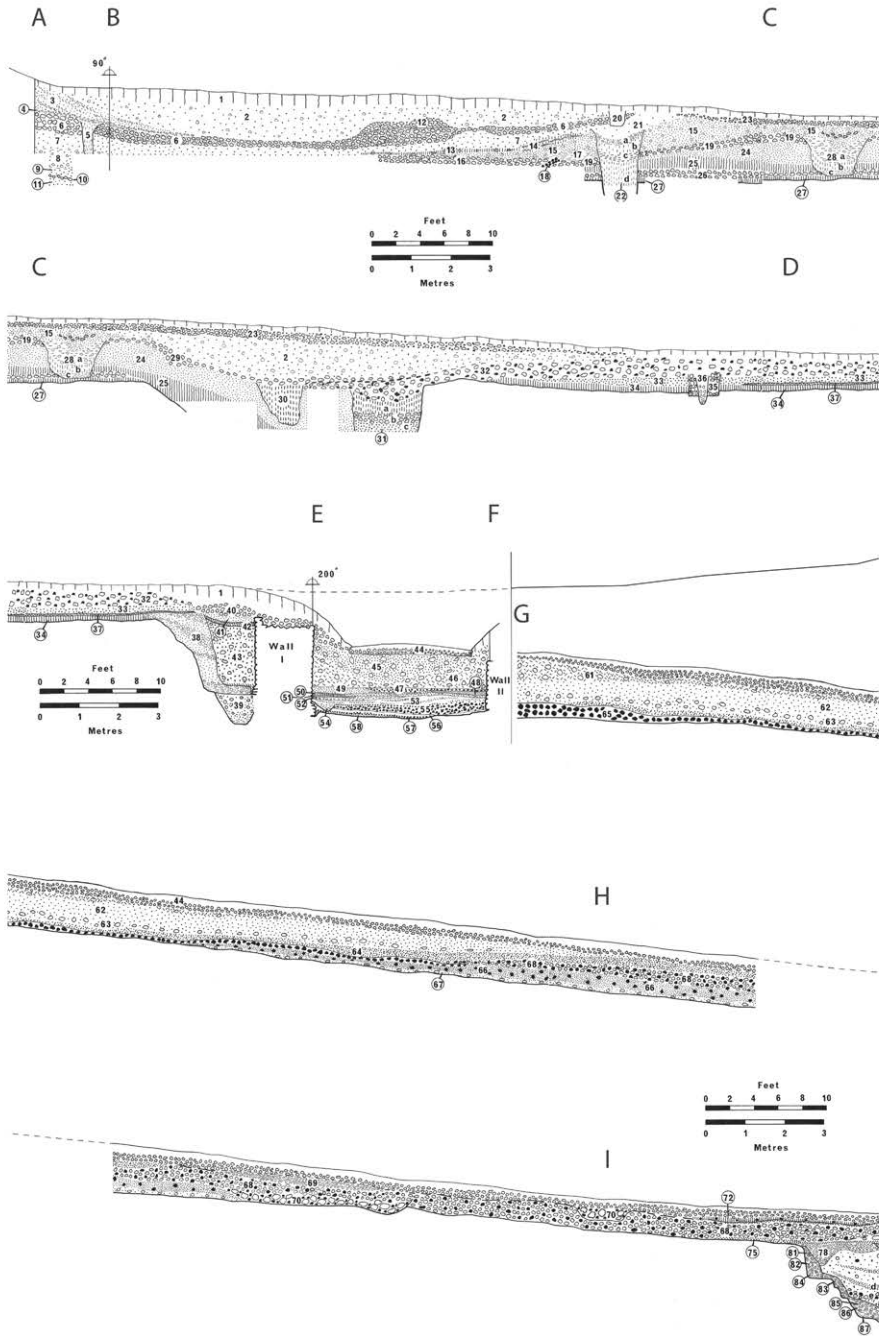


Figure A.2.1: Sewer Pipe Trench 1967 Sections A-I (Contains © images courtesy of Historic England)

C-D

Miles notes the problematic nature of the SR bowl from (26) given that a black-brown organic layer (25) above it is of some thickness, and therefore considered to have taken some time to accumulate. It also dives down into what has been interpreted as a large quarry pit. Cut into the upper fill (24) of this large pit was a pit (30) in which finds were recorded. Some of these items have not survived for present analysis but GL (Glazed) sherds of Wessex C, and a rim sherd of Misc Sand (miscellaneous sandy wares) have survived. Pit (31) appears cut from a slightly lower/earlier horizon and contained Wessex C and RB and a dressed green sandstone block. (32) is a layer slumped into the top of (31) and extends almost as far as the eastern entrance and on the grounds of its mix of chalk rubble, flints, greensand stone and earth mix – with sandstone roof slates and pottery ridge tiles on its surface – may represent a building demolition or collapse. It contained sherds of Wessex C. This material sat on top of a floor (37) of small chalk lumps and reused stone roof tiles over which lay, in places, a thin layer of dark brown soil. A building abutting the gatehouse has been proposed here, with Wall I as its southern extent. (35), a rough walling of chalk blocks, reinforced by posthole (36) may represent the line of the north wall of this building. (33) lies between the floor (37) and demolition debris (32) and is described as a red-brown soil yielding a SR sherd and sherds from Laverstock jugs. The whole building lies over (34), a red-brown clay and perhaps a bedding layer for floor (37) and this yielded sherds of Wessex C. It is not clear whether the trench was bottoming on to natural here although presumably not given the depth of archaeological levels exposed in the sondage in AB.

D-E

Miles has no finds in (34) but the original drawings have finds recovered from the very upper level of the fill and these correspond to the sherds of Lav F (Laverstock finewares) and Wessex C that were latterly assigned to (33). The biggest concern here is that level (34) appears cut by (38) and yet the overlying floor surface (37) continues across the fill of (38) without any sign of slumping. This is problematic because a single base sherd of what transpires to be a possible pedestal base of a LIA/RB (Late Iron-Age/Romano-British) sandy ware from this feature suggests that it was part of an earlier entrance into the monument. This feature (and its fills) is cut by the construction cut for Wall I and a lump of slag is annotated as coming from the lower levels. Underlying both, and therefore stratigraphically earlier than (38), was (39), a pit filled with chalk rubble over primary silt. This might justifiably be considered an early cutting for the east gate entrance as (39) and (38) are both observed in the original field drawings as cutting natural chalk.

E-F

This is the section cut through the present entrance, the most recent deposit (44) being the tarmac surface of the then present day. It is possible that the earliest deposit (58), a dark brown soil, represents all that remains of the earliest entrance because it sits directly on the chalk bedrock. This was overlain by (57), a flint road surface sitting in places on the natural. Yielding no finds and not covering the full span of the entrance, this may be a candidate for a pre-medieval prepared surface – possibly of Iron Age, Roman or Early Medieval date – or High Medieval if (56), a ‘chalk mud’ which may have represented a bedding layer for a thick band of

APPENDIX: A SECTION THROUGH A MEDIEVAL CITY

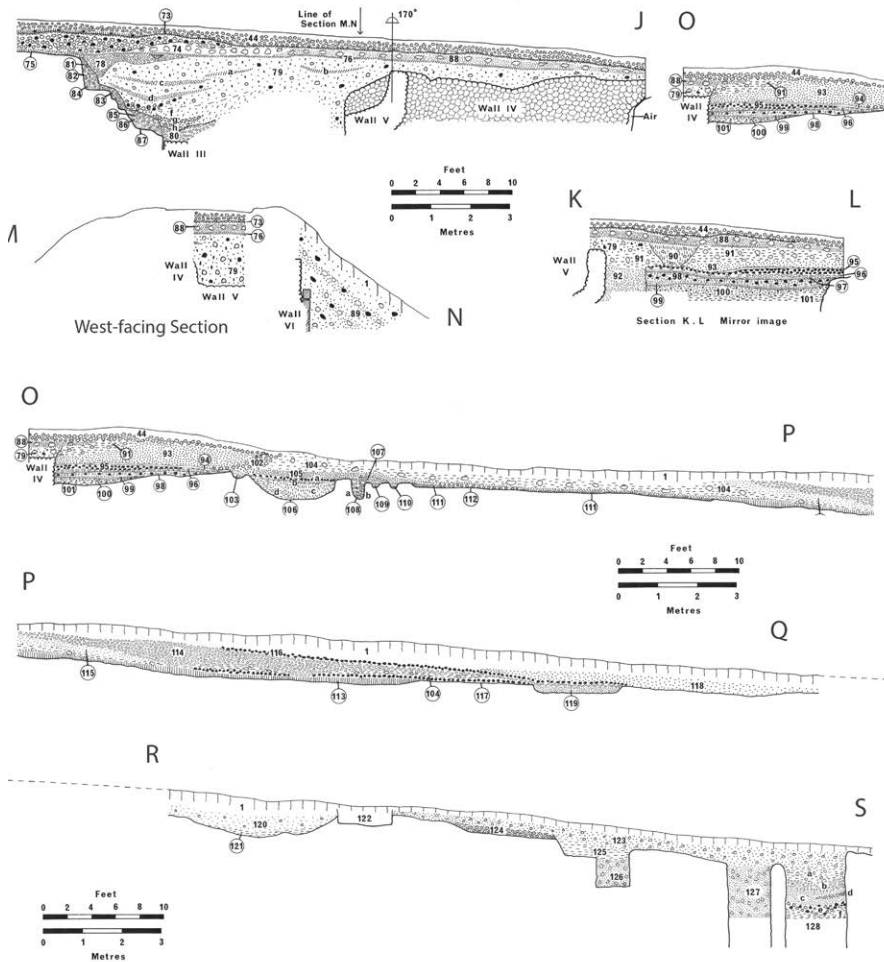


Figure A.2.2: Sewer Pipe Trench 1967 Sections I-S

flints with flint chipping on the surface (55), is consistent with thirteenth/fourteenth-century activity at the gatehouse. This surface yielded a 'Norman' corbel, a fragment of horseshoe and 'a fragment of brick or tile [. . .] with wedge of mortar adhering, suggesting use in an arch with a span of circa. two feet'. A gully (54) running along the north side was either cut/worn through this or was an original feature. (53) was an accumulation of brown soil and chalk mud sealing the gully and the robust flint surface (55). It was overlain by a layer of greensand chippings (52) that did not extend across the full span of the causeway perhaps because it had been graded out to accommodate a layer of very hard mortar and rammed chalk (51) itself overlain by a thin layer of brown soil (50). On top of this a soil with mortar and chalk lumps (49) yielding fragments of wall plaster may represent a phase of demolition or rebuilding and above this, a rammed chalk layer (48) may have served as the bedding for a road metalling of flint chippings (47). The whole was sealed by a deep fill of mixed mortar, soil and chalk lumps

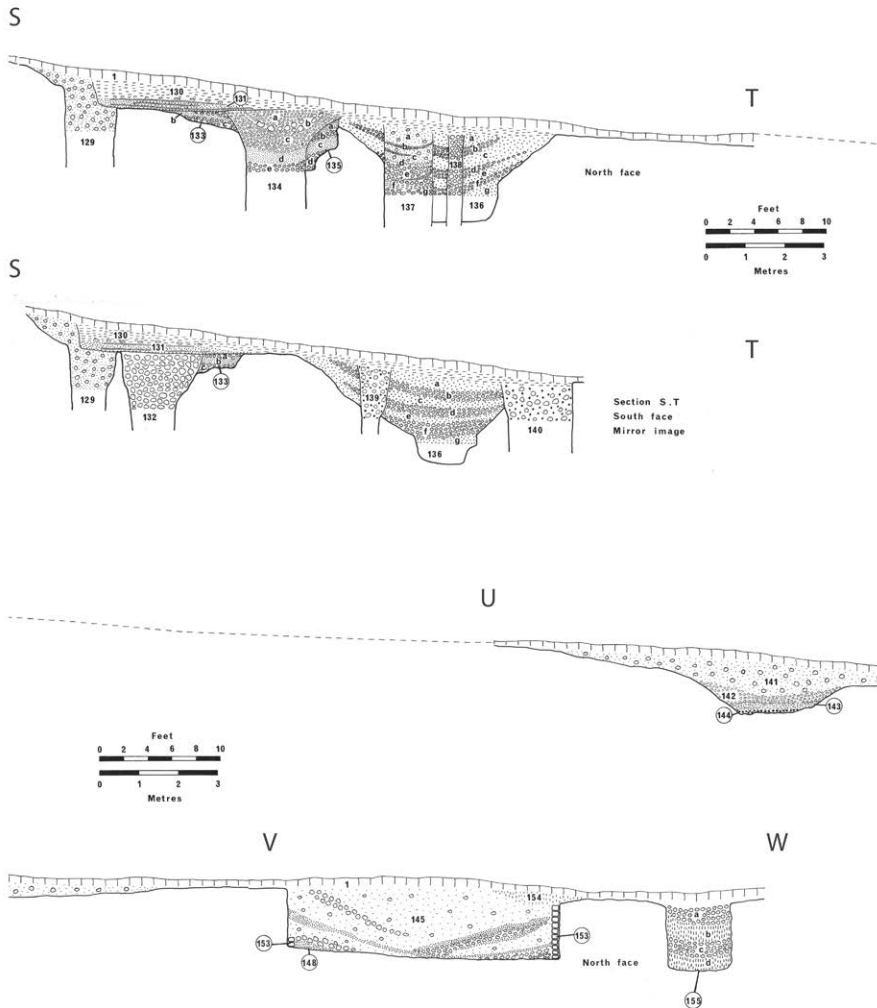
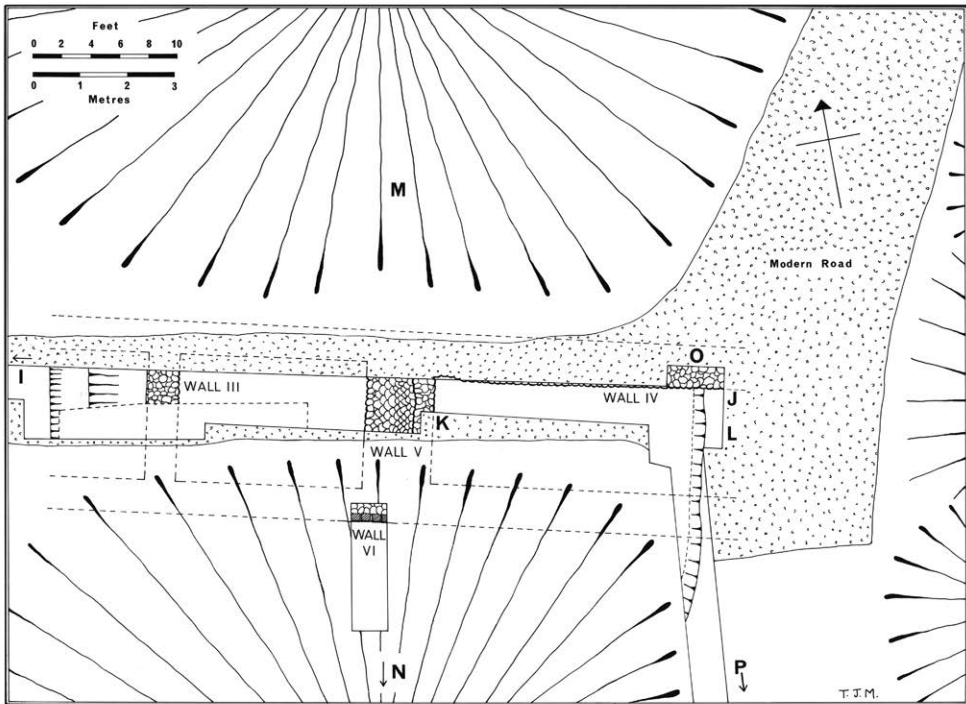


Figure A.2.3: Sewer Pipe Trench 1967 Sections S-V

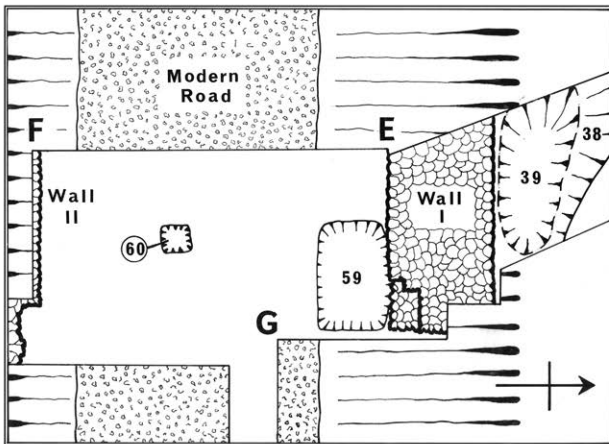
(46) yielding Wessex C, and a soil of chalk rubble and mixed building debris, ridge tiles and unglazed flat roof tiles with nail holes (45).

Also of note, in the plan of the excavation (Figure A.3, Plan 1), a single post hole (60) was observed, roughly two-fifths of the span across the causeway from the south. This went down 2' 3" (0.7m) and was, in the original drawings, described as being sealed by all road levels.

The walls are described as: 'cores of flint set in mortar face, at least on the outside, with good ashlar of Chilmark stone. Except on the south exterior, this had fallen away or been robbed' – presumably this is the external face drawn on the lower courses of Wall VI in section M-N (Figure A.2.2). Use of Chilmark suggests a thirteenth-century date. Miles suggests that these



Plan 2



Plan 1

Figure A.3: Plans 1 and 2, drawn of areas where junction boxes for the sewer pipes were excavated

Walls (I and II) were part of a tunnel-like entrance to an associated gatehouse, and that 'no evidence' of the prehistoric or Romano-British entrance survived. Overall, from this section, there is good evidence for four – possibly five – resurfacings, with associated accumulations of dark soil above. It is entirely possible that heavily eroded surfaces may have been graded out in order to take freshly bedded surfaces and it does appear that the northern edge of the track bed has suffered greater erosion from water run-off.

G-H

The uppermost robust flint metalled surface (55, E-F) would appear to survive as (65) in this section, running for a distance of some 15m eastwards before appearing to become (or dying out at) (68) (with more chalk in the mix) both overlying (66) and (67). The deposits above (65) were characterised by silty soil with a mortar content and chalk lumps. The surfaces of flint and greensand chippings (47) and (52) weren't picked up here (although see (79g)).

H-I

(69) and (70) look like pot-hole repairs, the latter yielding a full horseshoe with two intact square headed nails – considered by Miles to be post-medieval.

I-J

Miles interprets Wall III as the rear end of the gatehouse but it is presumably horizontally truncated. The space between Wall III and Wall V is occupied by a large pit (79), not bottomed, but interpreted by Miles as a pit for a counter-weighted pivoting bridge, turning on a beam positioned in the cutaway section to Wall V. The pit appears to have been lined on its western edge by contexts (81) to (87), alternating deposits of clay, stones and chalk wash, but these may relate to the original construction cut (and backfill) for pit (79) or to a phase of robbing of Wall III on top of which was a substantial layer of clean decomposed mortar (80). Presumably, the lip or edge of a swing bridge deck would need to come up flush against a hard and well-retained lip to allow unbroken passage from bridge to road. Pit (79) was itself comprised of a fill containing lenses (a) to (h) of various materials; mortar, 'brown soil', chalk rubble and flints. Of note, the greensand chippings of (g), towards the base of the excavated extent, may correspond with the surface of this material (52) observed in section E-F across the road. Given there is no slumping into this pit of overlying deposits (76), (74) and (73), a purposeful backfilling and compaction upwards of (g) might be proposed and a 'piece of brick' recovered from (79e) might suggest an early modern date for this activity.

K-L

If a swing or pivot bridge is to be accepted then the defensive pit on the exterior side would have been retained by Wall IV on its northern side (see I-J), but in the mirror image section (K-L) no matching wall was identified (Figure A.2.2). Miles notes how Wall IV was not cut into the natural chalk here (although this is not in evidence on the original drawings) and that, had it been robbed, no trace of it would have survived. The implication here is that the southern retaining wall of this pit may have been robbed. The outside edge of this southern retaining wall appears as Wall VI in section M-N, a north-south section cut across the causeway into the monument. This wall has been drawn in profile as if the upper facing courses have been robbed.

If this is the case, that Wall IV has been robbed outside of the defensive line, then this would make floor levels (95) to (101), including three successive layers of re-surfacings of flint and gravel (and their beddings) later than this event. The enigmatic straight vertical line between these levels and fill (92), described as 'loose gravel and mortary soil, would suggest an even

later event, and a cutting of these surfaces. This whole area would benefit from specialist analysis drawing on comparable examples. Miles associates this gatehouse with expenditure recorded at Old Sarum of £700 by Edward III between 1327 and 1374.⁵

O-P

It is not clear how layers (95) to (101) relate to the deposits from here southwards on account of gully (103) and overlying deposit (102) obscuring the stratigraphic relationship. It looks most likely that (95) to (101) overlie or sit within a cutting that is later than at least (105) and everything it seals (although a band of flints (106a) sitting in the top of a pit (106), may correspond to (95)).

Almost immediately outside of the gatehouse area a building platform was observed perhaps 8m long, square to the trench, cut directly into the chalk and filled by a grey ashy soil (111) over a levelled and worn chalk floor. Much scratch-marked pottery was said to have come from this layer, including also two sherds of 'developed' scratch marked ware with green glaze. A match for this quantity of pottery can be found under finds number [49] which includes two sherds of glazed Wessex C.

It is likely that gullies (109) and (110) to the building's immediate north represent eaves drip gullies, parallel as they are with the northern edge of the building and the more northerly of the two was cut by (106). A post-hole (108) was located immediately outside of these gullies. A black soil with charcoal (107) and the 'grey ashy soil' of (111) may suggest that this building burnt to the ground.

P-Q

A worn road passes diagonally across the trench here (potentially intercutting (111)) comprised in its earliest phase of a clayey brown soil (113) as a bed for 'laid flints' (117). This first surface may have been contemporary with the corner of a building footprint (119) cut into the chalk, that may be on the same axis as the road. This, according to Miles, yielded 'scratch-marked sherds and two small scraps of Laverstock jug' but there is no finds number annotated on the section drawings. Both road and building appear overlain by a layer of small chalk rubble (114) and a flint road (116), the former yielding (according to the original drawings) a sherd of MG (Mixed grit wares) and Crock (Crockerton-type wares). An annotation on the original drawing suggests that this thick layer of small chalk rubble was upcast from the excavation of the barbican to make up the trackway.

R-S

It is at this point that cesspits start appearing in the sequence: (126) bottomed at 1.2m, and (127) and (128) where excavation was halted at around 2m. Miles has 'two scraps of sandy micaceous fabric' from the fill of (127) but finds with this number are recorded as Wessex C and Crock. An upper fill of (128b) yielded Wessex C and Lav F sherds and a sherd each of Verwood (VER) and RB. All three pits were roughly square in plan form.

⁵ *The History of the King's Works: Volume 2, The Middle Ages*, ed. by Howard M. Colvin (London: H.M.S.O., 1963), p. 282.

S-T

Pit (129) was also square in plan form, yielding sherds of Wessex C some of which were glazed, some with rouletting and a number derived from tripod pitchers. This is a good example of where the descriptions assigned by Miles in the context register accords well with those provided by Lorraine Mephram (see discussion below).

Cut into the upper fills of this pit is (131), described as a house platform with a layer of black soil resting directly on the floor. Over this lie three mortar floor levels alternating with black soil layers. Several fragments of burnt daub are recorded as resting directly on the highest mortar floor (Crude malting house and floor?). In any case, (131) does not appear to have slumped into the top of cesspit (134) suggesting that time enough had elapsed for the upper fills to compact to the point of stabilisation. This cesspit was circular in plan, like (132) picked up in the opposing section, and both produced sherds of Wessex C, the latter producing a sherd of residual RB. They also both cut (133), described as an irregular feature that yielded no finds.

Pit (134) also cut a smaller pit (135) which in (135c) yielded a wall sherd described by Miles as a fine sandy micaceous fabric. This is now thought to be a Chalk-tempered fabric, with some quartz and rare flint, that is not quite right for a Crockerton-type nor for a Saxo-Norman type. In the context register Miles includes (135e) and (135f) with the former yielding the same kind of sherd. But this looks suspiciously like he has erroneously replicated contexts (135c) and (135d), word for word as they are.

A further four square cesspits are recorded in this section of the trench: (137), (138), (139) and (140) – none of which appeared to intercut in section or plan. Only the ceramics from (140) have survived for analysis and these are Wessex C with a sherd of, presumably residual, RB. Miles records scratch-marked sherds from (137) and (138).

All four pits, and (135) cut an earlier ditch (136) some 7m wide at its top. This yielded a sherd of Dr20 (Dressel 20) Amphora from (136c) (although it is annotated in (136f) in the original drawing), a couple of RB whiteware sherds and the femurs and a tibia from a human burial (a ‘small adult’) apparently lying with its head to the NE (136g).

U-V

A well-worn Holloway passed perpendicularly through the trench at a distance of some 60ft from the cess pits of S-T. The upper fill (141) produced a sherd of Lav F, and beneath this a layer of small chalk rubble suggests infilling as a consequence of clean chalk being excavated elsewhere. Beneath, (143) was not described, and the track bed was lined with flints (144) which overlay ruts (that could not be paired) in the bottom of the holloway. Miles observes how this could be an extension of ‘Road B’ recovered by Musty and Rahtz in 1953,⁶ ‘possibly on the line of the Portway’.

⁶ J. W. G. Musty and P. A. Rahtz, ‘The Suburbs of Old Sarum’, *WANHM*, 59 (1964), 130–54 (p. 39).

V-W

A single context was assigned to the fills of a cellared building (145), and these are described as 'mixed brown soil and chalk rubble. Distinct lenses of brown silt and coarse chalk rubble'. The structure was around 1.5m deep and c. 7m across with the service pipe presumably passing through the middle of its long axis. No features relating to the superstructure were recovered in either section or plan. In the text of the report, Miles describes the walls of the cellar as 'lined with mortared chalk walls' but the context number (153) is described as 'Brown soil'. The section drawing would appear to illustrate blocks, presumably of chalk, and the floor was of worn chalk. At its northern extent, chalk blocks in a soft mortar were revetted by further chalk blocks to form a platform (146) interpreted as the base of a flight of stairs. This sealed (148) which yielded 'Scratch-marked sherds including No. 34, much overfired, with traces of glaze. Wall sherds of developed scratch-marked ware with glaze. Iron arrow-head (No. 35)'. A post-hole (151) at the immediate foot of the chalk block revetted platform suggested a handrail for a set of steps and on the original drawings this was annotated with a finds number represented by a sherd of Wessex C with SR. It looks like Miles has this sherd recovered from (152) on the context register, and this small pit in the floor of the cellar, filled with dark brown soil, may represent the footing for a post supporting the ground floor main floor joist timber.

At a distance c. of 2.5m from the cellar was a square pit (155) only slightly deeper than the cellar. This yielded a flat unglazed roof tile, with hole for attachment (155c) and 'Developed scratch-marked sherds including No. 36. Sandy micaceous fabric including No.37. and No. 38. Laverstock glazed sherds' (155d).

The pottery (by Lorraine Mephram)

An assemblage of 320 sherds (weighing 5574 g), labelled as deriving from the 1967 sewer pipe trench, was re-examined in 2019 with a view to generating spot dates that could then be applied to the original stratigraphic narrative. The assemblage potentially gives an opportunity to examine a narrow section through the eastern entrance and out into the eastern suburbs. The section uncovered medieval buildings, pits and roads as well as crossing the line of the original Iron Age rampart and ditch, and an outer ditch.

Of the total of 320 sherds, 246 sherds could be correlated with Miles' context numbers by using the finds catalogue numbers marked on the original site drawings. Some correlations were less confident than others. Seventy-four sherds could not be matched to context numbers (sixty have no finds catalogue number), and there are a number of instances in Miles' context descriptions where he mentions pottery that was not seen (and others where the sherds described do not appear to match those seen during the recent re-examination). It is possible that some of these might match with the uncorrelated sherds, but certainly the more distinctive (from Miles' descriptions) were not seen – including, tantalisingly, what may have been the only sherd from an imported vessel.

What remains is clearly of interest in that it represents perhaps the only well stratified section through part of the medieval city, but there are limitations. First, quantities are not large, and only one context yielded more than 20 sherds (88 sherds from occupation layer 111). Second,

the majority of sherds are in coarse sandy fabrics falling into the Wessex coarseware tradition, which includes products of the thirteenth–early fourteenth-century kilns at Laverstock as well as earlier material associated with the pre-thirteenth-century occupation of Old Sarum.⁷ It is impossible to date these coarsewares more closely within that sequence unless they occur in certain chronologically distinctive forms, but thirteenth-century or later groups can often be distinguished by the presence of Laverstock finewares.

Given these caveats, there are a few points of interest here. Romano-British sherds occur mainly residually, but in one instance they may be more confidently used as dating evidence – this is in ditch (136), interpreted by Miles as an outer line of the Iron Age defences. Two fills (136c and 136g) produced Romano-British sherds, including one from a Dressel 20 amphora and one from a whiteware flagon. No later sherds were recovered from the ditch fills, which were cut through by two medieval pits.

Evidence for Saxo-Norman occupation is present but difficult to pin down with any degree of precision, mainly because of the dating issues of Wessex coarsewares as described above. However, sherds of Wessex coarsewares alongside Michelmersh-type and flint-tempered wares from two layers encountered at the western end of the pipe trench (section A–B; layers 8 and 9) appear to belong to this date range and may be *in situ*. The two latter wares have been identified as characterising eleventh-/twelfth-century occupation amongst the assemblage from extra-mural test pits to the west of the hillfort.⁸ An overlying layer (7) also produced a probable eleventh-/twelfth-century sherd in a ‘mixed grit’ fabric but also a Wessex coarseware jar rim of thirteenth-century date or later. Below layer (7) but further east from layers (8) and (9) (section B–C), pottery from layer (15) (not seen during the recent re-examination) listed by Miles appears to include probable tripod pitcher sherds (late eleventh-/twelfth-century), while below this in turn, layer (24) contained a sherd (also unseen) in a “white sandy fabric with flecks of glaze”, which could have been an import. This would not be inconsistent with a twelfth-century date, and nor would a “scratch-marked bowl” (also unseen) from the lowest excavated layer in the sequence (chalk rubble 26) at this point in the trench.

Further east again (section C–D), while contexts such as pits (30) and (31) and layers (32) and (33) produced Wessex coarsewares which could include eleventh-/twelfth-century sherds (including a tripod pitcher handle from pit (30)), the presence of Laverstock fineware in layer (33) (sealed by layer (32)) throws some doubt on a pre-thirteenth-century date for any of these contexts.

Outside the eastern entrance (sections O–P and P–Q), the evidence for Saxo-Norman activity is similarly ambiguous. The large group of eighty-eight sherds from occupation layer (111) contains nothing that need be later than twelfth century (Wessex coarsewares including at least three jars and the base from a ‘West Country’ dish) and there are probable Saxo-Norman sherds from rubble layer (114), but this layer overlay building footprint (119) which yielded Laverstock finewares and a thirteenth-century or later Wessex coarseware jar.

Towards the eastern end of the trench (section S–T), a series of pits (127, 129, 132, 134, 135, 137 and 140) likewise contained nothing that could be definitively dated later than the twelfth

⁷ See Mepham, this volume, for a fuller discussion on the dating of Wessex coarsewares.

⁸ See Langlands, ‘Suburbs’, this volume.

century (including tripod pitcher sherds from pits 129 and 134), but quantities of recovered pottery per feature were very small.

Transcription of report on 1967 sewer pipe excavations by Trevor Miles:

FH6 IAMHB(9SP)483

OBSERVATIONS ON A SEWER TRENCH AT OLD SARUM, WILTSHIRE

By Trevor J Miles

Summary:

Observation of a pipe-trench through the eastern entrance and suburb showed an outer ditch which had silted up early in the Romano-British period, details of the medieval east gate and bridge, and house sites, rubbish pits and roads of early twelfth-thirteenth century date, within the eastern suburb.

During the 1939-45 war an observation post was built into the inner bailey rampart just north of the east entrance to Old Sarum. During 1967, the Ministry of Public Building and Works converted this building into public toilets, which necessitated the construction of a sewer-pipe, out through the east entrance and down across the eastern suburb as far as the modern main road (A345). The writer was asked to observe this trench, and to record any features encountered. Work took place during November and December 1967. The trench and the larger excavations for manholes at each change of angle were dug with a JCB 3C excavator, using a two feet wide bucket from which the teeth had been removed. No damage was done by the bucket, even when excavating through solid chalk, and the ensuing tidiness of the cutting greatly facilitated observations. Archaeologically significant features were revealed along almost the entire length of the trench, the bottom of which was deepened by hand where it was felt that worthwhile information could be obtained. Additional information regarding the shape of features cut into solid chalk, beyond the limits of the trench, was obtained by vertical and lateral probing. Much help in cleaning up the trench and recording was given by members of the Salisbury Museum Archaeological Research Group, led by Mr D.J. Algar.

[p.1]

Detailed interpretation of features encountered in a trench which was not sited with archaeological considerations in mind, poses certain difficulties. However, some aspects of the features revealed may be capable of interpretation. In the section A-B-C the trench passed through layers which had eroded from the rampart during the medieval period. They sealed layers 8-11, which contained nothing more recent than early Romano-British pottery. Where the line of the trench left the line of the rampart, at section C-D-E, Prehistoric and Roman levels did not survive. The large fragment of a scratch-marked bowl (No [blank]) was found in layer 26, which poses problems, as layer 26 is overlain by layer 25, a black-brown soil level which evidently took some time to accumulate, and was clearly recorded as dipping into a large pit which might otherwise have been acceptable as a quarry pit behind the, presumably, Iron Age rampart. This pit still showed as a hollow, context 2, before it was finally filled in

during the post-medieval period. Up to a foot of debris from the 1909-15 excavations covers this part of the site. Traces of a medieval building were found, centred on point D. This had a floor of small chalk lumps and re-used sandstone rooftiles. Its north wall consisted of timber uprights set in footings of rough chalk blocks. The sandstone roof tiles and the glazed pottery ridge-tiles found in context 32 possibly belong to this building. Wall I probably formed its southern boundary. Where intersected by the trench, the entrance road was found to have been originally fourteen feet wide and flanked by two massive walls, well built of large flint blocks set in white mortar. Wall I was four feet six inches thick, and survived to a height of five feet above its contemporary [sic] road surface. Its construction trench cut through context 38, which may represent part of an earlier entrance, but it is too far from the inner rampart for this to be certain. Walls I and II contained settings, perhaps for timber uprights, but more probably for robbed ashlar. These indicate that these walls were part of a building, probably an inner gatehouse. The chapel of the Holy Rood or Cross has been described as situated above the east gate (for a full discussion of the siting of this chapel see Musty

[p.2]

and “The Suburbs of Old Sarum” W.A.M. 59, 1964, 131-133. Also referred to, and assumed to be over the east gate in the “History of the King’s Works”, Vol II 1963, 827).

The fragment of painted plaster and even the stone corbel (No. [blank]) might have come from it, but the archaeological evidence for the existence here of this large building with a complex history is unconvincing. A reference to repairs to this chapel in 1246 is quoted (History of the King’s Works, Vol II. 827) and refers to the chapel as “ECCLESIE SANCTAE CRUCIS ULTRA MAGNAM PORTAM”. The latin [sic] preposition ‘ultra’ may have [to] been translated as ‘beyond’ in this instance. The site of this chapel is probably to be sought in the east suburb.

The medieval entrance-road was carefully built and many times repaired before occupation of the interior of Old Sarum came to an end, perhaps in the early fifteenth century [sic]. The steep rise of the banks to either side, as it descends to the entrance causeway suggests that it is flanked by stone walls for its entire length.

No evidence was found relating to the east entrance in prehistoric or Romano-British times. Had it been in use then, a solid chalk causeway may be presumed to have existed, but no trace of one was found. This raises problems of interpretation as the entire plan of the site and the present shape of the ramparts around the east entrance suggest that this was always an access point. Traces of an Iron Age entrance were found on the north side of Old Sarum in 1957 (Rahtz and Musty, W.A.M. 1960, 364). The present causeway contains a substantial stone structure, the walls of which have cores of flint set in mortar and were faced, at least on the outside, with good ashlar of Chilmark stone. Except on the south exterior, this had fallen away or been robbed. The structure was certainly more complex than the simple stone piers of a timber trestle-bridge. The wall parallel to the roadway suggests a gatehouse with a tunnel-like entrance

[p.3]

passage, probably containing a turning bridge. Wall III is probably the rear wall of a gatehouse, and the span between it and wall V, flanked on the south by wall VI, may have been the pit where the counter-weighted inner part of a pivoting bridge dropped. The outer spece [sic], between wall V and the outer chalk lip of th[e] ditch, flanked on the north by wall IV, would have been crossed by the outer span of the bridge, raised automatically by the counter-weights on its inner end. The cut-away part of the top of wall V, facing wall III, probably held the south bearing at each end of the axle beam on which the bridge turned. The junction between walls IV and V was examined. They are of one build. There are problems with the suggested interpretation, such as the absence of the continuation of wall VI in the section 0-P. However wall IV was not cut into the natural chalk, and had it been robbed before burial no trace of it would have survived. The road levels 95-99 may part-date the alteration or demolition of the gatehouse, which must have been superceded [sic] by a stone-revetted causeway. Full understanding of this structure is not possible without further clearance. Extensive, though by no means exhaustive study of gatehouses elsewhere has failed to locate any turning bridge which is irrefutably dated, either by documentation or stratigraphy, before the Edwardian campaigns in Wales, of 1277-1283. A context for the construction of this entrance at Old Sarum, presumably part of the same scheme which created the adjacent barbican mound, may be the expenditure here of over seven hundred pounds, by Edward III between 1327 and 1374 (*History of the King's Works*, 1963, Vol II, p.282). Contexts 81-87 were assumed at the time of the observations to be the remains of ditch silt pre-dating the south structure. However, they probably represent makeup contemporary with its construction, truncated when the structure was robbed, perhaps in the sixteenth century. From surface indications, it is probably that a similar gatehouse and bridge exist at the western entrance. Even through periods of demolition, access would have to have been maintained through the gatehouse, and various road-levels, contexts 95-99, must have been connected either with these later roads, or alternatively with the preceding phases of the gatehouse.

[p.4]

The sites of two medieval buildings and a length of roadway, were located outside the lip of the ditch, south of point P and east of point R. Unfortunately the information from such a narrow trench does not permit of any reconstruction of the street or property plan of the east suburb. The construction of the gatehouse and barbican may well have involved the re-alignment of approach roads. Sites of various buildings and their contemporary, deep, shaft-like rubbish/cess pits, all of twelfth to thirteenth century date, were encountered in the eastern suburb. (See also Stone and Charlton, *Antiq. Journal*, XV, 1935, 195). Between points Sand T the trench crossed the line of a ditch, apparently an outer line of defence of Iron Age date, which was allowed to silt up during the Romano-British period. The lowest silt level excavated (136g) contained early Romano-British pottery and a human skeleton. (Vespasians [sic] Siegework?!) Several rubbish pits cut through the silt of this ditch. Near the bottom of the hill, close to the modern road, was a cellar lined with mortared chalk walls, and entered down a flight of stairs supported by a core of chalk rubble, and apparently equipped with a wooden handrail.

Roughly midway between points U and V was a disused hollow-way, silted up level with the modern surface. This seems to be an extension southwards of road 'B' found by Rahtz in 1953

(Musty and Rahtz, W.A.M. 59, 1943, 139), and possibly on the line of the portway. Its flint metallage was a secondary feature which overlay a number of cart ruts, but no dating evidence was found. As it was unclear which of these ruts should be paired, vehicle sizes cannot be estimated.

Context Descriptions with Finds Catalogue

It is practically impossible to recover stratified finds from a machine-dug excavation. Those which are described here were extracted during section cleaning or hand excavation. All finds recovered are listed. The relationship of the contexts is shown on the sections, figs. 2-7, alongside plans of the trenches where additional information is needed. Finds are illustrated in figs. Nos. 8-9.

[p.5]

1. Modern turf.
2. Light grey-brown soil with weathered chalk lumps. A-D. 17th/18thc. Wine bottle base.
3. Grey soil with bands of fine grey silt. A-C.
4. Small chalk rubble. A-C.
5. Corner of pit, mainly beyond section. A-B.
6. Chalk rubble with air spaces towards A, with chalk soil in B-C. A-C.
Scratch-marked rim No.1. Fragment of green-glazed ridge tile.
7. Fine dark brown soil. A-C.
Romano-British sherds, including black burnished ware. Scratch-marked sherd. Fine sandy micaceous sherd. Oyster shells.
8. Brown soil with a few chalk lumps. A-B.
Romano-British sherds including the base of a black-burnished jar in sandy micaceous fabric, highly fired, No.2, and two sherds of Gaulish Samian of c-100 AD; the rim of a Dragendorff type 18 bowl, and a small sherd from near the base of a Dragendorff type 33 bowl. Oyster shells. Iron nails.
9. Fine dark brown soil. A-B.
Romano-British sherds.
10. Chalk rubble. A-B.
11. Fine dark brown soil. A-B.
12. Chalk and greensand rubble in grey soil with mortar and charcoal flecks B-C.
Developed scratch-marked ware including wall sherd No.3 with applied strips and thin green glaze.
13. Grey soil and chalk rubble. B-C.
Large fragment of highly fired brick or tile, probably Roman.
14. Brown soil with runs of ash. B-C.
15. Fine brown soil with some chalk rubble and charcoal. B-D.
Scratch-marked sherd, handle sherd in developed scratch-marked ware with comb decoration and patchy glaze No.4, wall sherd of sandy ware with rouletted decoration under slightly crazed green glaze No.5 ?Winchester ware.
16. Chalk rubble. B-C.
17. Brown soil. B-C.
18. Flints. B-C.

19. Small chalk rubble. B-D.
20. Modern pipe trench. B-C.
21. Fine light brown soil. B-C.
22. Pit filled with the following layers: B-C
 - a) Light brown soil with small chalk lumps.
 - b) Dark brown soil
 - c) Red-brown soil.
 - d) Dark brown soil. Romano-British sherds. Scratch-marked sherd, small glazed sherd with rouletted decoration. Oyster shells. An ashlar block of Chilmark stone.
23. Mixed earth and stones; recent excavation debris. B-D.
24. Fine brown soil. B-D.
Romano-British sherds. Scratch-marked sherds. Small wall sherd, fine sandy fabric with external olive-green glaze. Wall sherd white sandy fabric with flecks of glaze, possibly Normandy. One sherd sandy micaceous.
25. Black-brown soil, dipping into a large quarry pit rather than a ditch. B-D.
26. Rammed chalk rubble. B-D.
Scratch-marked bowl (No.6).
27. Reddish [sic] brown clay. Old soil level. B-D.
28. Pit, filled with the following layers. C-D
 - a) Fine light brown soil with some chalk lumps.
 - b) Fine light brown soil.
 - c) Chalk wash.
29. Chalk rubble with mortar, probably a continuation of context 19. C-D.
Romano-British and scratch-marked sherds.
30. Pit filed [sic] with brown soil. C-D.
Scratch-marked sherds. Developed scratch-marked sherds, some glazed. Sherd from near the base of a Laverstock jug. Small wall sherd, sandy fabric, rouletted decoration under good, slightly crazed amber-green glaze. Winchester ware (No.7). Fragment of Devonian slate?
31. Pit filled with the following layers: C-D
 - a) Brown chalky soil.
 - b) Rammed chalk sealing layer.
 - c) Dark brown soil with charcoal.
 Scratch-marked sherds. Iron nail. Oyster shell.
32. Chalk rubble with flints and greensand mixed with brown soil, a layer of stone roof-slates and pottery ridge tiles on its surface. C-E.
Scratch-marked rim (No.8). Ridge tiles with green glaze and plain, knife-cut pointed crests. Sandstone roof slates Nos. 9, 10).
33. Fine red-brown soil. C-E.
Scratch-marked sherd, small sherds from Laverstock jugs.
34. Red-brown clay. C-E.
35. Rough walling of chalk blocks. C-D.
36. Post-hole within context 35, filled with smaller chalk blocks and brownsoil. C-D.
37. Floor of small chalk lumps and re-used stone roof tiles. Over this, in places, a thin layer of dark brown soil. C-E.
38. Pit filled with alternate layers of brown soil and grey chalky soil; chalk wash on bottom. D-E.

- (From the chalk wash) base angle of vessel in hard, grey sandy, slightly micaceous fabric. The flat base has a few slight vegetable impressions. Not a Romano-British sherd - ?pre-Norman (No.11).
39. Pit filled with chalk rubble over chalky primary silt. D-E.
 40. Chalk rubble and building debris. D-F.
 41. Brown soil. D-E.
 42. Mortar. D-E.
 43. Foundation trench for wall I; mortar on bottom overlain by mixed chalk rubble and soil. D-E. Lump of slag.
 44. Modern road and hardcore.
 45. Soil, chalk rubble and mixed building debris. E-F.
Ridge tiles and unglazed flat roof tiles with nail holes.
 46. Mixed mortar, soil and chalk lumps. E-F.
 47. Road metalling composed of flint chippings. E-F.
Fragment of horseshoe (No.12).
 48. Rammed chalk. E-F.
 49. 49. Soil with mortar and chalk lumps. E-F.
A few scraps of wallplaster with lines and dots in red.
 50. Brown soil with a lens of mortar at its north end. E-F.
Iron nails.
 51. Rammed chalk and very hard mortar. E-F.
 52. Greensand chippings. E-F.
 53. Thin layers of brown soil and chalk mud. E-F.
 54. Gully filled with brown soil. E-F.
 55. Road make-up of flints, with a surface of small flint chippings. E-F.
Fragments of brick or tile. Roughly 11¼ inches thick with wedge of mortar adhering suggesting use in an arch with a span of c. two feet. Probably Roman. Norman corbel (No.13). Fragment of horseshoe (No.14).
 56. Chalk mud. E-F.
 57. Flint road surface. E-F.
 58. Dark brown soil. E-F.
 59. Flat-bottomed pit, 1ft. 6in. deep; lower foot filled with loose chalk blocks by 6in. of mortared flint blocks. Adjacent to wall I. See plan only.
 60. Square post-hole, 2ft. 3in. deep, cut into natural chalk. Filled with soft brown soil. Sealed by context 53. See plan only.
 61. Soft mortary soil with some chalk lumps. G-H.
 62. Brown silty soil. G-I.
 63. Grey silty soil with chalk lumps. G-H.
Horseshoe fragment (No.15).
 64. Mortar with a little soil. G-I.
 65. Flint road. G-H.
 66. Brown soil and flints. G-I.
 67. Light brown soil and chalk rubble. G-I.
 68. Chalk and flint rubble. G-J.
 69. Small chalk rubble. H-I.
 70. Large blocks of chalk rubble and flint. H-I.
Horseshoe. Probably post-medieval. Two square-headed nails remain. (No.16).

71. Large blocks of chalk rubble and flint. H-I.
72. Brown soil and flints. I-J.
73. Road surface of small, grey stone chippings. I-N.
74. Chalk rubble. I-J.
75. Brown soil. I-J.
76. Mortar road surface. I-N.
77. (Not numbered on section). Small gully filled with mortar on surface of context 78. I-J.
78. Pit filled with small chalk rubble and brown soil. I-J.
Horseshoe (No.17).
79. Brown soil with mortar, stones, flint, chalk and greensand. Contains the following lenses:-
 - a) and b) Mortar.
 - c) and d) Brown soil.
 - e) Chalk rubble, flints and greensand.
 - f) Brown soil with much mortar.
 - g) Stones and greensand chippings.
 - h) Stones and mortar. I-P.
80. Clean decomposed mortar. I-J.
81. Stiff brown clay. I-J.
82. Stones and clay. I-J.
83. Stiff brown clay. I-J.
84. Chalk wash. I-J.
85. Stones and clay. I-J.
86. Stiff brown clay. I-J.
87. Chalk wash. I-J.
88. Grey soil with some chalk lumps. I-P.
89. Grey silty soil with lumps of chalk and flint. M-N.
90. Pit filled with chalk-flecked brown soil. K-L.
91. Brown soil with chalk lumps. K-L/0-P.
92. Loose gravel and mortary soil. K-L.
93. Grey mud. K-L/0-P.
94. White mud. K-L/0-P.
95. Flint road. K-L/0-P.
96. Chalk lumps, K-L/0-P.
97. Brown mud. K-L/0-P.
98. Gravel and flint road. K-L/0-P.
Iron buckle (No.18). Horseshoe fragment.
99. Brown mud. K-L/0-P.
100. Gravel road. K-L/0-P.
101. Brown soil. K-L/0-P.
102. Chalk rubble. 0-P.
103. Gully filled with brown soil, 0-P,
104. Light brown soil with some large chalk lumps. P-Q.
105. Light brown rain wash. P-Q.
106. Pit filled with the following layers:- 0-P.
 - a) Flints.

- b) Orange mortar soil.
 - c) Dark brown soil.
 - d) Chalky silt.
107. Black soil with charcoal. 0-P.
108. Post-hole;
- a) Post-socket filled with soft brown soil and charcoal flecks.
 - b) Packing of chalk lumps. 0-P.
109. Gully filled with brown soil. 0-P.
110. Gully filled with brown soil. 0-P.
111. Grey ashy soil, occupation layer over levelled and worn chalk floor. 0-P.
Much scratch-marked pottery including Nos.19-21. Two sherds developed scratch-marked ware with green glaze.
112. Chalk lumps. 0-P.
113. Clayey brown soil. Diagonal section across a road. 0-Q.
Scratch-marked sherd. Horseshoe (No.22).
114. Small chalk rubble. 0-Q.
115. White chalky soil. 0-Q.
116. Flint road. P-Q.
117. Laid flints. P-Q.
118. Light grey soil. P-Q.
119. Grey soil resting on worn natural chalk surface. P-Q.
Scratch-marked sherds including Nos.23 and 24. Two small scraps Laverstock jug.
120. Light grey soil with chalk lumps. R-S.
121. Grey chalky silt. R-S.
122. Modern pipe trench. R-S.
123. Brown soil with small chalk lumps. R-S.
Rim sherd of sandy micaceous ware.
124. Chalk rubble with a small amount of grey soil. R-S.
125. Brown soil. R-S.
126. Cesspit filled with grey-brown soil and chalk. R-S.
127. Cesspit filled with grey soil mixes [sic] with a large amount of chalk. R-S.
Two scraps of sandy micaceous fabric.
128. Cesspit filled with the following layers:-
- a) Chalky soil.
 - b) Fine chalk rubble and brown soil
Developed scratch-marked ware, some with glaze, sandy micaceous fabric, and Laverstock jug sherds.
 - c) Fine brown soil with charcoal.
 - d) Charcoal.
 - e) Chalk rubble and flints.
 - f) Brown soil.
129. Pit filled with chalk rubble. S-T.
Scratch-marked wall sherds and developed scratch-marked sherd (No.25) with rouletted decoration and thick, amber-green glaze.
130. Grey chalky soil. S-T.

131. House platform with a layer of black soil resting directly on its floor.
Over this, three mortar floor levels alternating with black soil layers. Several fragments of burnt daub rested directly on the highest mortar floor. S-T.
132. Pit filled with chalk rubble. S-T (South face).
Several medieval sherds including No.26.
133. Irregular [sic] feature, filled with:-
a) Chalk rubble.
b) Grey soil.
c) Chalk rubble.
134. Pit, filed [sic] with the following layers:-
a) Small chalk rubble.
b) Large chalk blocks with air-spaces.
c) Small chalk rubble. Scratch-marked sherds and developed scratch-marked ware with rouletting and thick amber-green glaze.
d) Light brown chalky soil flecked with charcoal.
e) Chalk rubble and mortar.
135. Pit, filled with the following layers:-S-T
a) Brown soil.
b) Rammed chalk rubble.
c) Light brown soil with chalk lumps.
Wall sherd fine sandy micaceous fabric.
d) Chalk rubble.
e) Light brown soil with chalk lumps. Wall sherd fine sandy micaceous fabric.
f) Chalk rubble.
136. Ditch. Probable profile of bottom found by probing. Filled with:- S-T,
a) Brown silty soil,
b) Brown soil with chalk lumps.
c) Brown silty soil. Wall sherd from small, Romano-British jar. Fine pink fabric with cream surface and rouletted decoration.
d) Brown soil with chalk lumps.
e) Brown silty soil,
f) Brown soil with chalk lumps. Wall sherd from Roman amphora. Very soft slightly sandy micaceous fabric.
g) Brown silty soil, Romano-British sherds including rim of flagon (No.27), hard sandy pinkish-white fabric with grey core, Small sherd of clear, blue-tinged Roman vessel-glass. Human bones; includes two femurs and part of fibula from small adult.
137. Pit filled with the following layers:- S-T.
a) Light brown soil and chalk lumps.
b) Charcoal.
c) Light brown soil and chalk lumps with a lens of charcoal. A few sherds of scratch-marked ware, one pierced before firing with a square object, probably a nail. Developed scratch-marked ware, some wall sherds with glaze (Nos.28-30). Fine sandy micaceous ware (No.31), face from a Laverstock ware jug rim (No.32).
d) Soil and mortar.
e) Chalk rubble with a lens of charcoal.
f) Chalky silt.
g) Chalk rubble.

138. Pit, filled with chalk rubble. S-T.
Scratch-marked wall sherds.
139. Pit filled with chalk rubble and soil. S-T (South face).
Lump of iron slag.
140. Pit filled with chalk rubble and soil. S-T (South face) Scratch-marked sherds including one with a splash of glaze. Fine sandy micaceous fabric (No.33).
141. Light brown soil with chalk lumps. U-V.
One Laverstock sherd.
142. Small chalk rubble mixes with light brown soil. u-v.
143. (number missing from original transcript).
144. Flints and brown soil, road surface overlying ruts in bottom of holloway. U-V.
145. Cellar. Filled with mixed brown soil and chalk rubble. Distinct lenses of brown silt and coarse chalk rubble. V-W. Developed scratch-marked sherd. Iron slag.
146. Chalk blocks in soft mortar forming a platform revetted by rough walling of chalk blocks. Probable base of a flight of stairs. V-W.
147. Chalk blocks and mortar from the collapse of 146. V-W (South face).
148. Fine mortary chalk. V-W.
Scratch-marked sherds including No.34, much overfired, with traces of glaze. Wall sherds of developed scratch-marked ware with glaze. Iron arrow-head (No.35).
149. Charcoal on cellar floor. V-W (South face)
150. (number missing from original transcript)
151. Post-hole filled with dark brown soil. V-W (South face).
152. Small pit in floor of cellar, filled with dark brown soil. V-W (South face).
Scratch-marked sherd.
153. Brown soil. V-W.
154. (number missing from original transcript).
155. Pit, filled with the following layers:- V-W.
 - a) Chalk rubble.
 - b) Brown soil.
 - c) Chalk rubble. Flat, unglazed roof tile, with hole for attachment.
 - d) Brown soil. Developed scratch-marked sherds including No.36. Sandy micaceous fabric including No.37. and No.38. Laverstock glazed sherds.

THE POTTERY

Due to the machine excavation only small quantities of pottery were recovered. The sherds described were all found during clearing sections or when excavating the deeper parts of certain features by hand.

All of the Romano-British sherds are [blank] with a date of c.70-130 AD but the amount found was too small to permit useful comment.

The hard, coarser, sandy scratch marked ware of roughly twelfth century date was the most common type, but this was not always clearly distinguishable from the developed scratch-marked ware of broadly thirteenth century date. A few sherds of developed scratch-marked ware itself, had a patchy external green glaze.

The fine, sandy, micaceous ware was apparently coming from a more distant source during the thirteenth century, and from the end of the thirteenth century there were a few sherds from green-glazed Laverstock jugs.

Associated with scratch-marked ware in a small number of contexts, all on stratigraphic grounds potentially early, were a few sherds of sandy fabric, decorated with rouletting and an external, amber-green, slightly crazed glaze. This could very well be Winchester ware or a related fabric of immediate post-conquest date.

The only foreign import is a sherd of white sandy fabric with small spots of clear greenish glaze, which may have come from [sic] Northern France.

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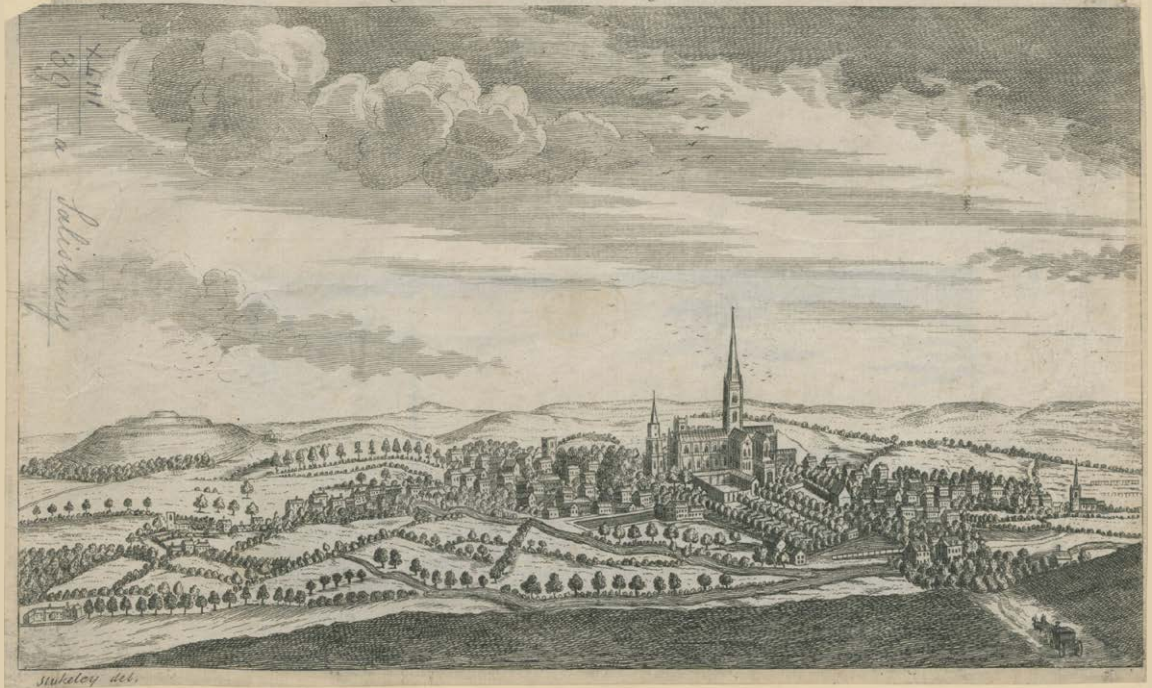
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Tales of Two Cities tells the story of Old Sarum and Salisbury, from the middle of the tenth century to the beginning of the twentieth. The volume brings together the most up-to-date thinking on the archaeological evidence for both medieval cities, and through analysis of the rich documentary record, charts the developments in the city settlements and their dependent suburbs. For the first time, the archaeological evidence for Old Sarum and its suburbs is brought together in synthesis to explore its rise in the eleventh century, its hey-day in the twelfth, and the rapid decline from the thirteenth century onwards. The ceramic, zooarchaeological and environmental evidence is assessed for both cities, alongside a comprehensive overview of the archaeological evidence for medieval Salisbury. How this new and visionary city took shape in the thirteenth century is analysed through chapters that examine its churches, its mills, its majestic marketplace and its innovative watercourses. Chapters on Old Sarum's suburbs are matched by explorations of the medieval and later suburbs of Salisbury; *Tales of Two Cities* provides a fresh take on the story of this most illustrious cathedral city in the heart of southern England.

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