

CHAPTER 10

Consumption in Context: The Case of Wiltshire

In this chapter we explore in greater detail how and why consumption patterns vary between households, building on the conclusions reached from national scale analysis in Chapter 9. Wiltshire has been chosen as a case study county for several reasons. Firstly, it is well served by escheators' and coroners' lists, as well as archaeological excavations. Secondly, a high proportion of the county was administered by ecclesiastical estates, meaning that there is an excellent baseline of demesne records from which to understand patterns of agriculture and landholding (see discussion in Hare 2011). Thirdly, the landscape facilitates comparative analysis. The county can be divided into two main areas: the chalklands to the south and east, and the clay vale to the north and west, characterised by distinct agricultural and tenurial regimes (Figure 10.1).

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Wiltshire became increasingly synonymous with the wool and cloth industries, initially centred on Salisbury, but later in the western part of the county (Hare 1999; 2011). Salisbury developed into one of the major towns of later medieval England (Hare 2009), while the county was within the wider hinterlands of the principal ports of Southampton (Hicks 2015) and Bristol. The commercial landscape was largely characterised by a network of small towns and rural markets, falling into the market hinterlands of the large towns of Newbury, Gloucester and Oxford to the north, as well as Bristol and Salisbury.

The chapter is divided into three parts. The first compares household economy and patterns of consumption between the chalkland and the vale. The second assesses the relationship between patterns of consumption and market proximity. The final section compares rural consumption with evidence from Salisbury. The chapter is based on the evidence from 59 escheators' lists, 35 coroners' lists and 32 archaeological sites from across the county. Lists have been included only where they provide a specific place of residence within Wiltshire for the forfeiting individual. This means we exclude lists only identifiable as relating to 'Wiltshire' or to 'Hampshire or Wiltshire'. The analysis therefore

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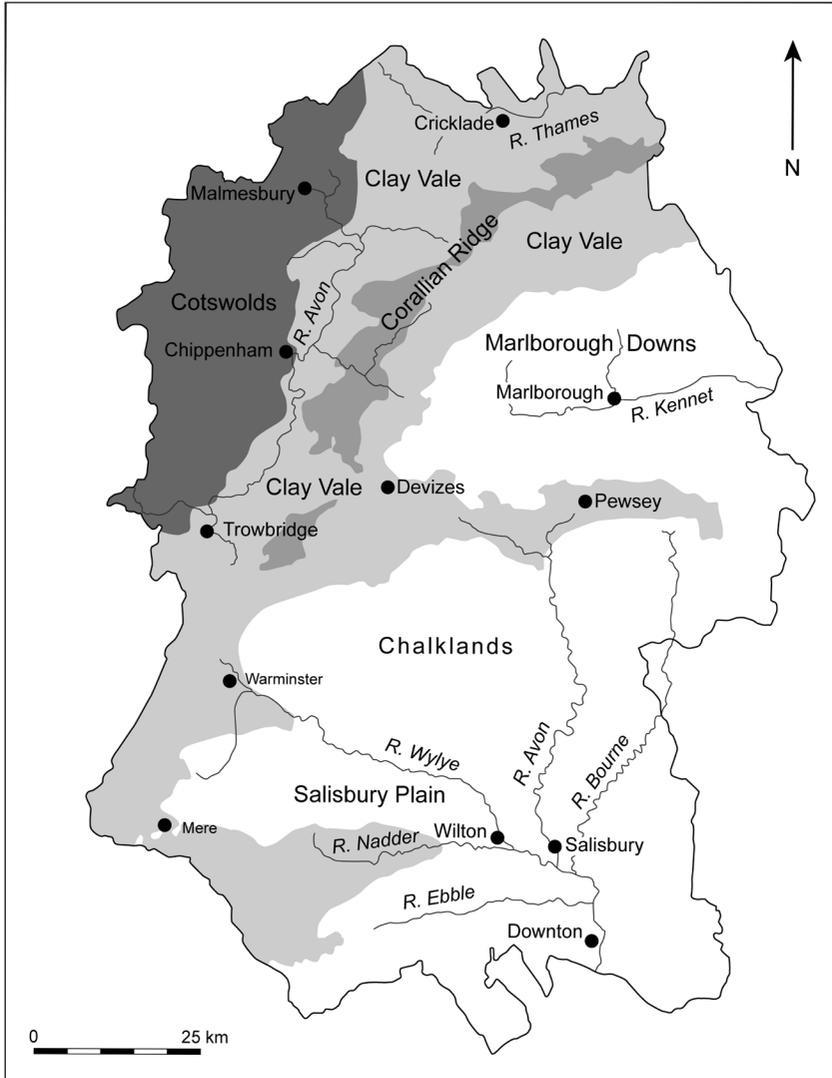


Figure 10.1: Map of Wiltshire showing the main geographical regions and towns. Redrawn by Kirsty Harding from Hare (2011).

allows us to assess the relative importance of household economy, regionality and market proximity in determining patterns of medieval consumption.

Regional variability

As noted, the landscape of Wiltshire can be divided broadly into two zones, chalkland and clay vale, punctuated by the sandstone of the Cotswolds and Corallian ridge in the west (Figure 10.1). Analysis of demesne records suggests

that, in general terms, these two main areas are characterised by distinctive agricultural regimes. The chalklands were dominated by intensive sheep-corn husbandry, with persistent direct demesne cultivation by some landowners (Hare 2011, 43). Wheat gradually gave way to barley as the main crop in this region, with the late fourteenth–early fifteenth century being a moment of transition. The fifteenth century saw the expansion of sheep flocks, with demesne flocks being exceptionally large and intensively managed (Hare 2011, 60–70). Cattle were relatively unimportant to the chalkland agricultural regime, with herds typically comprising fewer than 10 animals, although, particularly in the wooded areas to the east, demesnes could have fairly large herds of pigs (Hare 2011, 71–2). Analysis of tithe records suggests a general correspondence between demesne and tenant agriculture in this region, with tenants often devoting a greater proportion of their sown acreage to barley (Hare 2011, 55–7; 75). The concentration of land in the hands of large ecclesiastical landowners, particularly the Winchester estate, on the chalklands means that this zone is well served by records, a situation not paralleled in the vale. Hare's (2011, 80) analysis of a more limited range of demesne records suggests that the vale concentrated more intensively on the cultivation of wheat and oats, developing a specialisation in dairying through the fifteenth century. A contrast can also be drawn between these areas in terms of patterns of landholding and tenuous arrangements, with both direct demesne cultivation and customary tenure persisting for longer in the chalkland than the vale, albeit with a high degree of regional variation (Hare 2011, 118).

Analysis of regional variability in consumption must rest on a comparative understanding of household economy in these areas. The escheators' and coroners' records provide a valuable additional insight into the agricultural activities of tenants, allowing us both to contrast tenant and demesne agricultural practice, and highlight regional variation in investment in agrarian production.

Chalkland

Hare (2011, 43) comments that the chalkland can be divided into two sub-regions. The upper chalk (including Salisbury Plain) is the area characterised by intensive sheep-corn husbandry, while the lower chalk, around the Vales of Pewsey and Wardour, had a greater emphasis on wheat cultivation. Such subdivision can be seen to a certain degree in the escheators' records which, in general terms, correspond with the regional patterning in demesne and tenant cultivation identified by Hare from tithe records (2011, 53–8).

The escheators' records reveal two households on Salisbury Plain that had particularly large sheep flocks, although the largest, that of suicide Robert Sprakelyng of Codford, who had 472 sheep, is still dwarfed by demesne flocks and appears small in comparison with some estimates of flock size (Table 10.1).⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁶ E317.

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Figure 10.2: Distribution of lists and archaeological sites in Wiltshire.

A: Escheators' lists. B: Coroners' lists. C: Archaeological sites. For archaeological sites: 1: Bishopstone; 2: Blunsdon St Andrew; 3: Bratton; 4: Broad Hinton; 5: Brokenborough; 6: Broughton Gifford; 7: Calne; 8: Chippenham; 9: Chiseldon; 10: Compton Bassett; 11: Cricklade; 12: Devizes; 13: Downton; 14: Gomeldon; 15: Haydon Wick; 16: Highworth; 17: Huish; 18: Inner Ashley Wood (Berwick St Leonard); 19: Lacock; 20: Latton; 21: Ludgershall; 22: Lydiard Tregoze; 23: Malmesbury; 24: Mannington; 25: Market Lavington; 26: Marlborough; 27: Melksham; 28: Membury; 29: Pewsey; 30: Salisbury; 31: Southwick; 32: Swindon; 33: Tidworth; 34: Trowbridge; 35: Warminster; 36: West Ashton; 37: West Lavington; 38: Wilton; 39: Winterbourne Bassett.

It should be noted, however, that the distribution of lists is largely focussed on the fringes of the chalkland, with no lists relating to the land held by the Winchester estate, and this may offer some explanation for this (Figure 10.2a). The other large flock is that of John de Polton of Tilshead.⁴⁹⁷ These two households seem to have been engaged in sheep-corn husbandry, albeit at a smaller scale than demesne farmers. Sprakelyng had significant quantities of wheat and barley as well as ploughs and harrows, while de Polton had wheat and barley in sheaf (Table 10.2). A smaller scale producer arguably engaged in a similar style of husbandry is John Soutere of Imber, also a suicide, who had 33 sheep and small quantities of wheat and barley.⁴⁹⁸ These three individuals provide evidence of households engaged in, potentially intensive, sheep-corn husbandry, focussing on similar crops to those found in the demesne sector. It is notable that Sprakelyng was also operating as a smith, though the lists of de Polton and Soutere do not provide any suggestion of additional economic activities. Archaeological evidence for a similar husbandry regime is perhaps provided by excavated plots at Tidworth. Here, one plot appears associated with low intensity domestic activity, while an adjacent plot had seemingly been cultivated with wheat, barley and oats, typical of the chalkland husbandry regime. Crop cultivation is supported by finds, including a plough blade and fragments of quern (Milward *et al.* 2010).

Elsewhere on the chalkland around Salisbury, both the escheators' and coroners' records provide evidence of households seemingly engaged in only small-scale pastoral husbandry. At Great Wishford, John Bowyer had 10 sheep, as did John Holewey of Fittleton and John Spark of Martin.⁴⁹⁹ In the coroners' records, Henry Thacher of Whaddon to the south of Salisbury possessed 10 sheep (Tables 10.1 and 10.4).⁵⁰⁰ These examples provide evidence of rural households

⁴⁹⁷ E157.

⁴⁹⁸ E315.

⁴⁹⁹ E1530; E1150; E556.

⁵⁰⁰ C584; it is possible that Thacher was a resident of Whaddon near Melksham, which is situated on the clay. While acknowledging the circularity of the argument, the possession of sheep makes it likely that he was resident in Whaddon near Salisbury.

Table 10.1: Animal ownership in Wiltshire as demonstrated by the escheators' records. N = Number of animals, V = Value of animals (d).

Region	List No.	Name	Place	Year	Cattle		Sheep		Pigs		Horses		
					N	V	N	V	N	V	N	V	Total
Chalk	28	William Leder	West Lavington	1404							3	480	3
	70	Robert Rede	Salisbury	1427									0
	157	John de Polton	Tilshead	1372	4	640	250	4200	17	240	3	280	274
	315	John Soutere	Imber	1403			33	396			2	50	35
	317	Robert Sprakelyng	Codford	1403	13	700	472	2201	48	175	6	480	539
	330	Robert Brasier	Oare (in Wilcot parish)	1404	2	60			1	8	4	264	7
	331	John Cauntfeld	Bishops Cannings	1403							2	36	2
	555	Richard Godynche	Liddington	1420	7	324	20	240	2	40			29
	556	John Spark	Martin	1420	4	182	10	76	2	28	1	30	17
	793	Robert Durham	Aldbourne	1426	1	60			3	60	3	216	7
	1119	Edmund Wattys	Newton Tony	1458	2	120					1	160	3
	1150	John Holewey	Fittleton	1443	1	40	10	120					11
	1279	John Hobelet	Yatesbury	1408	4	280			1	4	2	40	7
	1436	Nicholas Waldebeof	Ugford [Burcombe parish]	1401			4	48					4
	1530	John Bowyer	Great Wishford	1433	5	164	10	120			1	120	16

(Continued)

Table 10.1: Continued.

Region	List No.	Name	Place	Year	Cattle		Sheep		Pigs		Horses			Total
					N	V	N	V	N	V	N	V	N	
Cotswold	200	Thomas Idery	Sherston Magna or Parva	1415										0
	531	Richard Levoyot	Sopworth	1421										0
	1362	William Bench	Grittleton	1407	4	-			3	-	3	-		10
	1510	Richard Walslh'	Malmesbury	1430										0
Ridge	1440	John Caresbroke	Keevil	1403								2	424	2
	1491	Henry Filkes	Stratton	1430							1	80		1
	1537	John Fabell'	Calne	1434	7	816	12	192	5	60	2	100		26
	14	Edward Knyght	Seend	1404	5	304								5
Vale	528	John Beneyt	Shaw	1421	2	32								2
	558	John Hullediewe	Highway	1420	7	424	20	240	12	24	1	16		40
	872	John Butiller	Warminster	1391			3	-						3
	1143	John Burgeys	Westbury	1442							1	16		1
Vale	1182	Margaret Burdon	Semley	1444	40	1600								40
	1434	John Lange	Lydiard Tregoze and Lydiard Millicent	1401	3	314			4	88				7
	1437	Nicholas Shawe	Mere	1401							1	160		1
	1490	Roger Cokeman	Warminster	1430					3	80				3
Vale	1493	Richard Danyell	Christian Malford	1430					1	12				1
	1536	Richard Sawetell	Compton Chamberlain	1434										0
	1538	Richard Penyng	Great Cheverell	1434			8	144						8

(Continued)

Table 10.2: Arable cultivation in Wiltshire as demonstrated by the escheators' records. Qty = Quantity of crop listed, V = Value of crops (d).

Region	List No.	Name	Place	Year	Wheat		Barley		Drage/ Vetch		Oats		Pulse	
					Qty	V	Qty	V	Qty	V	Qty	V	Qty	V
Chalk	28	William Leder	West Lavington	1404										
	70	Robert Rede	Salisbury	1427										
	157	John de Polton	Tilshead	1372	2 qtr	120	2 qtr	80						
	315	John Soutere	Imber	1403	1 qtr	48	1 bushel	16						
	317	Robert Sprakelyng	Codford	1403	21 qtr	1407	18.25 qtr	730						
	330	Robert Brasier	Oare (in Wilcot parish)	1404	5 acre	100	1.125 qtr	36	1 bushel	3			5 acres (with drage)	60
	331	John Cauntfeld	Bishops Cannings	1403			7 acre	56	6 acre	24				
	555	Richard Godynche	Liddington	1420	?		?						?	
	556	John Spark	Martin	1420			3 acre	60						
	793	Robert Durham	Aldbourne	1426										
	1119	Edmund Wattys	Newton Tony	1458										
1150	John Holewey	Fittleton	1443			1 qtr	32							

(Continued)

Table 10.2: Continued.

Region	List No.	Name	Place	Year	Wheat		Barley		Drage/ Vetch		Oats		Pulse	
					Qty	V	Qty	V	Qty	V	Qty	V	Qty	V
	1279	John Hobelet	Yatesbury	1408	7 acres (with drage)	112					8 acres and more	36		
	1436	Nicholas Waldebeof	Ugford [Burcombe parish]	1401			2 acre	60						
	1530	John Bowyer	Great Wishford	1433										
	200	Thomas Idery	Sherston Magna or Parva	1415										
Cotswold	531	Richard Levyot	Sopworth	1421	Stack	-	Stack	-						
	1362	William Bench	Grittleton	1407										
	1510	Richard Walssh'	Malmesbury	1430										
Ridge	1440	John Carebroke	Keevil	1403	20 qtr	1440	12 qtr	480					?	748
	1491	Henry Filkes	Stratton	1430										
	1537	John Fabell'	Calne	1434			6 qtr	240						
	14	Edward Knyght	Seend	1404	4 bushel	20	?				?			?
	528	John Boneyt	Shaw	1421	?	40								
	558	John Hullediewe	Highway	1420	4 qtr	208			4 qtr	96				
	872	John Butiller	Warminster	1391										

(Continued)

Table 10.3: Arable cultivation in Wiltshire as demonstrated by the coroners' records. Q = Quantity of crops, V = Value of crops (d). Quantities: A = Acre, B = Bushel, C = Cartload, Q = Quarter, Y = Yard.

Region	List No.	Name	Place	Date	Wheat		Barley		Drage		Oats		Pulses		Rye	
					Q	V	Q	V	Q	V	Q	V	Q	V	Q	V
Chalk	85	Walter Drewett	Tilshead	1547	10A	-	11.5A	-								
	99	Robert Duke	Wilsford	1549			1A	24								
	112	Roger Rowland	Marlborough	1551												
	158	Richard Webbe	West Lavington	1565												
	171	Thomas Chylrey (alias Taylor)	Marlborough	1565												
	172	Robert Davys (alias Peters)	Wroughton	1565			1Y	12								
	173	Walter Barnard	Erlestoke	1566												
	183	Edward Burges jnr	Laverstock	1566	6A	420	11A / 0.5Q	762	2A	100	5A	200	1A	40		
	185	Peter James (alias Vyncent)	Tollard Royal	1566	5A	400	5A	400								
	207	Catherine Goodale	Ludgershall	1569												

(Continued)

Table 10.3: Continued.

Region	List No.	Name	Place	Date	Wheat		Barley		Drage		Oats		Pulses		Rye	
					Q	V	Q	V	Q	V	Q	V	Q	V	Q	V
	382	John James	West Dean and Newton Tony	1577	11A/21 B/36Q/?	12162	20B/70Q	?	?	?	?	?	?			
	583	William Amor	All Cannings	Unk.	?											
	599	William Reves	Wilcot	1555			?									
Cotswold	584	Henry Thacher	Whaddon	1551												
	444	Unknown	Malmesbury	1598												
	126	Thomas Thomas	Longbridge Deverill	1551	1C	160	1C	80								
Vale	240	John/ Bartholomew Browne/ Howford	Chelworth	1577												
	445	Thomas Parker	Compton Chameberlayne	1598	?	120	?	120			?	120	?	120	?	120
	454	Edith Self	Melksham	1598									?		?	24

Table 10.4: Animal ownership in Wiltshire as demonstrated by the coroners' records.

Region	List No.	Name	Place	Date	Cattle		Sheep		Pig		Horse	
					No.	Value (d)	No.	Value (d)	No.	Value (d)	No.	Value (d)
Chalk	85	Walter Drewett	Tilshead	1547	5	-			5	-	2	-
	99	Robert Duke	Wilsford	1549	1	192	20	400				
	112	Roger Rowland	Marlborough	1551			3	176				
	158	Richard Webbe	West Lavington	1565			9	216				
	171	Thomas Chytrely (alias Tayler)	Marlborough	1565							1	80
	172	Robert Davys (alias Peters)	Wroughton	1565	1	120			1	24	1	40
	173	Walter Barnard	Erlestoke	1566	5	672	40	800				
	183	Edward Burges jnr	Laverstock	1566	4	432	4	64	1	-	5	-
	185	Peter James (alias Vyncent)	Tollard Royal	1566	2	220	32	720			2	240
	207	Catherine Goodale	Ludgershall	1569	3	280						
	382	John James	West Dean and Newton Tony	1577	31	11648	223	7890	24	874	14	3648
	583	William Amor	All Cannings	Unk	3	-					4	-
	599	William Reves	Wilcot	1555								
	584	Henry Thacher	Whaddon	1551			10	200				
	444	Unknown	Malmesbury	1598							1	1440
	126	Thomas Thomas	Longbridge Deverill	1551	1	240			7	168	3	720
	240	John/Bartholomew Browne/Howford	Chelworth	1577	3	960						
445	Thomas Parker	Compton Chameberlayne	1598									
454	Edith Self	Melksham	1598	1	-			4	-			

maintaining small sheep flocks probably for wool, perhaps to exploit the market in Salisbury. Of particular interest in this regard is the escheators' list of Nicholas Waldeboef of Ugford, who had a two-acre crop of barley in 1401, suggestive of the specialisation in this crop identified by Hare (2011, 43) in manors around Salisbury, indicating localised adaptation to meet the demands of this growing urban market (Table 10.2).⁵⁰¹ Slightly further afield, John Spark of Martin also had a barley crop. In the coroners' records, this can perhaps also be seen in the case of Edward Burges of Laverstock, who farmed 11 acres of barley, as well as six of wheat, five of oats, two of vetch and one of lentils (Table 10.3).⁵⁰² Additionally he maintained a small flock of four sheep. The deserted village of Gomeldon (Musty and Algar 1986) provides some archaeological evidence for husbandry in this region, with finds including horseshoes, possibly associated with traction, shears (suggestive of sheep shearing) and querns (suggestive of cereal processing). The economy of the village was built on sheep-corn husbandry, with the demesne having been farmed out by 1518.

Sheep owning also extended into the fringes of the chalkland. Richard Godynche of Liddington had 20 sheep and was also cultivating wheat, barley and beans (Table 10.3).⁵⁰³ Liddington is situated in north Wiltshire at the foot of the North Wessex Downs, and therefore this can be seen as a transitional area between vale and chalkland. The coroners' records suggest a similar situation at Erlestoke, where the husbandman Walter Barnard had 40 sheep (Tables 10.3 and 10.4).⁵⁰⁴ Excavations at Huish, situated between Devizes and Pewsey, identified evidence for a barn and smithy (Thompson 1972). It is likely that these structures are associated with the manorial complex. Huish has a particularly complex manorial history, its ownership being disputed through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with demesne lands dispersed across several parishes (Baggs *et al.* 1975, 77–82). In 1363 the manor comprised 240 acres of arable land, six acres of meadow and common pasture. The surrounding uplands supported sheep grazing, with Huish Hill affording pasture for 940 sheep in the sixteenth century. The demesne was farmed out by the mid-sixteenth century. Finds from Huish include a large number of horseshoes, some of which are associated with the smithy, but may indicate the use of horses for traction, with finds of agricultural equipment including a billhook, sickle and hoe. A further excavated manorial complex on the chalk is that at Chapel Meadow, Membury, for which the wartime excavations are unpublished. The site, identified as a fortified manor house with an associated chapel, was held as a separate manor in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, before becoming re-amalgamated into the Bishop of Salisbury's manor of Ramsbury, possibly leading to the desertion of the house, although the chapel continued to be endowed until the dissolution, when it was claimed by the Crown from the tenant of Membury farm (Baggs *et al.* 1975, 12–46). The demesne at Membury

⁵⁰¹ E1436.

⁵⁰² C183.

⁵⁰³ E555.

⁵⁰⁴ C173.

comprised a roughly equal mix of arable and pasture, which had been leased by 1396, and included pasture for 240 sheep. As at Huish and Gomeldon, the excavated remains provide little clear evidence of the agricultural basis of the household, although they do include shears and horseshoes.

A similar case to that of Chapel Meadow, Membury is the probable fifteenth-century house at Inner Ashley Wood, Berwick St Leonard to the west of Salisbury (Stallybrass 1906). A rich assemblage of finds was recovered, including equestrian equipment and an arrowhead. The quality of these finds, which include an apostle spoon, and the substantial building, suggest that this may be the site of the manor of Berwick St Leonard, held from Shaftesbury Abbey until the dissolution (Freeman and Stevenson 1987, 100–05). The abbey had a demesne flock of over 200 sheep in the fifteenth century, with the arable leased, though the excavations provide no clear evidence for these agricultural activities. These examples show that households which perhaps grazed considerable demesne sheep flocks leave little archaeological trace of their economic base within the occupied areas. This highlights the importance of the escheators' and coroners' records for detailing the diversity in the size of tenant flocks through the fourteenth–sixteenth centuries, given the comparatively sparse archaeological record from most settlement sites. A case analogous to that at Berwick St Leonard is perhaps the coroners' records of the clergyman John James, who possessed over 200 sheep.⁵⁰⁵

Generally, however, among the coroners' records in particular, records of sheep-owning households on the chalkland are surprisingly rare. Two reasons can be posited for this. Firstly, the case of John James and the evidence provided by the large demesne flocks kept in this region, sometimes directly and sometimes by lessees, emphasises the variability in scale of household agricultural activities in the sixteenth century, and points to the concentration of sheep husbandry into the hands of a smaller number of wealthier landowners. The second is regional variability: coroners' lists largely relate to the lower chalk or the easterly wooded fringe of the chalkland, which are less well suited to large-scale sheep husbandry (Figure 10.2b).

On the lower chalk, the balance of household production appears tipped towards arable. Specialisation can be seen in the list of John Cauntfeld of Bishops Cannings, who in 1403 was cultivating 13 acres of grain – seven acres of barley, and six of vetch, a feature of demesne husbandry at the nearby manors of Avebury and Winterbourne Monkton (Hare 2011, 44) – and also in the list of the plough owning Robert Brasier of Oare, who was farming five acres of wheat and five of pulses and drage.⁵⁰⁶ Similarly, at nearby Yatesbury, John Hobelet cultivated seven acres of wheat, drage and vetch, as well as eight or more acres of oats.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁵ C382.

⁵⁰⁶ E331; E330.

⁵⁰⁷ E1279.

As in the demesne sector, cattle husbandry is not a feature of either the escheators' or coroners' lists. Households possessing cattle typically had one or two cows, and oxen are sparse, reflecting a tendency in the demesne sector to use horses as traction in the chalkland area (Tables 10.1 and 10.4). Hare (2011, 51) concludes that on the chalkland horses, rather than cattle, were the primary traction animal, and it is noticeable that archaeological finds of equestrian equipment were recovered primarily from settlements on the chalklands, and this is reflected in the presence of horses in escheators' and coroners' lists, which show a particular concentration in the chalklands (Tables 10.1 and 10.4).

As a group, chalkland households appear fairly diverse in their agricultural activities. However, clear regional differences are apparent, with varying forms of sheep-corn husbandry taking place on Salisbury Plain and with households in the villages around Salisbury seemingly tailoring production to the needs of the expanding urban market. In the lower chalk, there is greater diversity, with a wider range of crops being cultivated, but with some investment in sheep husbandry, although generally less extensive than that on Salisbury Plain.

The vale, Cotswolds and Corallian ridge

As in the demesne sector, the escheators' lists suggest a focus on arable rather than pastoral cultivation in the vale. Only a few households have unusually large numbers of animals. Neither the escheators' nor coroners' records provide any clear indication of the regional specialisation in dairy production (Tables 10.1 and 10.4). The 40 animals (a very large number) of civil outlaw and widow Margaret Burdon of Semley in the Vale of Wardour were bullocks.⁵⁰⁸ Among the coroners' records, the largest group of cows are the three belonging to the labourer John Browne of Chelworth (1577) and, much earlier, among the escheators' the four cows belonging to Edward Knyght of Seend in 1404.⁵⁰⁹ However, the regional preference for oxen is apparent in their appearance in lists such as that of John Hullediewe of Highway which include a cow, two oxen and two bullocks. Hullediewe had wheat and drage in sheaf; this may have been cultivated with the assistance of the oxen which presumably provided traction for his cart and dung pot (probably a small tip-cart; Langdon 1986, 154).⁵¹⁰

The region is characterised, however, by a greater focus on arable production, with a wider diversity of crops being cultivated than in the chalklands. Edward Knyght of Seend had wheat, barley, beans and oats in a barn. In 1400 John Lange, who evidently farmed in both the adjacent parishes of Lydiard Tregoze and Lydiard Millicent, possessed a plough and two oxen and three acres of wheat, while also holding small quantities of peas and barley.⁵¹¹ The coroners' records

⁵⁰⁸ E1182.

⁵⁰⁹ C240; E14.

⁵¹⁰ E558; Hullediewe also owned a gelding which may have provided additional traction.

⁵¹¹ E14; E1434.

show that in 1551 Thomas Thomas of Longbridge Deverell had cartloads of barley, hay, maslin, and wheat, and Thomas Parker of Compton Chamberlain had unspecified quantities of various grains.⁵¹² Archaeological excavations from areas of the vale around Swindon, such as at Shaw Farm, provide little evidence for pastoral agriculture.⁵¹³ Whetstones, possibly associated with the sharpening of agricultural tools, are common finds from these sites and a quern from Shaw Farm is indicative of grain processing. Equestrian equipment occurs but at a considerably lower frequency than at sites on the chalk, implying of the use of oxen for traction in this area.

A greater focus on low-scale sheep husbandry can be seen around the Corallian Ridge in the north of the county. At Keevil, John Caresbroke had a good deal of threshed wheat and barley and a plough and harrow with gear, as well as unspecified 'diverse animals' apparently seized and sold by the felon's lord, all of which suggests intensive arable production.⁵¹⁴ At Calne in 1434, the husbandman John Fabell had four oxen, a cow, a bull, a yearling, a sow and four piglets and 12 sheep, also suggestive of a greater pastoral focus.⁵¹⁵ A similar mixed husbandry regime may be tentatively proposed in this region from two excavated sites. At Latton, excavations on the Cricklade to Broad Blunsdon gas pipeline revealed the footings of a two-cell structure, associated with a medieval field system (Cotswold Archaeology 2002). Dating to the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries, the artefact assemblage includes a curry comb and horseshoes, indicating the keeping of horses, as well as shears suggestive of sheep husbandry on the slopes of the Corallian Ridge. To the south, at Eysey (Brett 2003), finds include shears, horseshoes and a heckle comb tooth, which may imply the cultivation of flax.

A final archaeological excavation to consider is that at Little Snarlton Lane, Melksham, which provides evidence of a non-agrarian rural household dating to the very beginning of our period (Hardy and Dungworth 2014). Slight remains of a two-cell domestic structure are associated with the remains of a site specialising in the smelting and smithing of iron (see Chapter 8) at the edge of Melksham Forest. Environmental samples from the site provide no evidence of cereal processing, but the exploitation of wild fruit and nuts is suggested. Exploitation of the woodland resources may also be illustrated by an arrowhead recovered from the site.

A focus on arable husbandry in the vale, with a specialism in wheat cultivated alongside other crops, is suggestive of a degree of similarity between demesne and tenant husbandry regimes in this area. Neither the escheators' nor coroners' records provide evidence for large-scale dairying.

⁵¹² C126; C445.

⁵¹³ The dataset includes a number of unpublished artefact assemblages housed in Swindon Museum, recorded by Dr Alice Forward for this project.

⁵¹⁴ E1440.

⁵¹⁵ E1537.

Regional variability in wealth and patterns of investment

The evidence of lay subsidies shows that in the early fourteenth century, a distinction can be made between the generally wealthier households of western Wiltshire, around Salisbury and the Vale of Pewsey, and those in the vale (Campbell and Bartley 2006, 343). This appears to be reflected in the total valuations of escheators' lists from the county. In these records, the mean value of goods from chalkland households (1109d/£4 12s 5d) is more than twice of that of households in the vale (502d/£2 1s 10d). The underlying reason for this appears to be the higher levels of animal ownership among chalkland households, with economic goods (as defined in Chapter 9) accounting, on average, for 58% of household goods by value in the chalkland area and 35% in the Vale, although with considerable variability in both regions. The coroners' dataset is too small to evaluate investment in economic goods in relation to total inventoried wealth between regions. However, where the coroners' material is concerned, the discrepancy in wealth between the two areas is somewhat less marked: the average total valuation in the vale is 1561d/£6 10s 1d and in the chalkland is 5743d/£23 18s 7d, dropping to 887d/£3 13s 11d when the exceptionally rich list of John James (totalling nearly £350) is removed.⁵¹⁶ This suggests that the discrepancies in wealth between these two areas may have lessened in the fifteenth century, with the vale potentially overtaking the chalklands, although any conclusion in this regard must be tentative due to the small sample size.

To consider patterns of investment between the chalkland and vale in detail, it is necessary to focus in on specific categories of items which are sufficiently common to allow for comparison, yet which also lack the ubiquity of items such as brass cooking pots. Following the discussion in Chapter 9, we can consider soft furnishings and tableware to be particularly sensitive differentiators of consumption behaviour.

The most common type of soft furnishings is items of bedding. Across Wiltshire, in the escheators' lists items of bedding other than the typical coverlet, blanket and sheet are rare. There are single exceptions to this rule within each sample, chalkland and vale. In the chalkland, the franklin William Leder had two quilts and two bankers, while in the vale John Ferrour of Sevenhampton had several worn and torn testers.⁵¹⁷ Leder has the highest total valuation in the chalkland sample, whereas Ferrour's possessions are worth less overall. The lists both arose from civil outlawry, and perhaps omit some items, but it is nonetheless interesting to note that neither household appears to have invested in animals or items for arable cultivation, beyond the three horses possessed by Leder (Table 10.5). Testers are rare in the coroners' dataset, occurring in the lists of the carpenter John Oke of Britford and the clergyman John James in

⁵¹⁶ C382.

⁵¹⁷ E28; E237.

Table 10.5: Wiltshire households in possession of soft furnishings and tableware in the escheators' records. Bedding: Q = Quilt, T = Tester, Ba = Banker, C = Cushion. Tableware: D = Dish, P = Plate, S = Saucer, E = Pewter, Dr = Drinking vessel, T = Tablecloth, N = Napkin. %ge domestic goods relates to the proportion of the inventoried wealth accounted for by domestic goods.

Region	List No.	Name	Location	Year	Bedding			Tableware						Total Inventoried Wealth (d)	%ge Domestic Goods		
					Q	T	Ba	D	P	S	E	Dr	T			N	
Chalk	28	William Leder	West Lavington	1404	2	2	3							2	3	3304	39%
	70	Robert Rede	Salisbury	1427									22			19720	-
	317	Robert Sprakelyng	Codford	1403										1		7364	-
	556	John Spark	Martin	1420										1	1	611	22%
	793	Robert Durham	Aldbourne	1426		1	6									1040	60%
Cotswold	200	Thomas Idery	Sherston Magna/Parva	1415								1			480	100%	
	1294	Thomas Smyth	Chippenham	1411										1	3	840	-
Vale/ Ridge	14	Edward Knyght	Seend	1404					8							1700	-
	237	John Ferrour	Sevenhampton	1416		5								2	5	508	100%
	393	William Blaelewell	Upton Scudamore	1453							12					68	-
	419	John Noreys	Swindon	1468										2	2	324	42%
	535	John Greynour	Langley Burrell/ Kington Langley	1421						4						62	100%
Vale/ Ridge	580	Richard Eyr	Rowde	1422						2						60	100%
	1182	Margaret Burdon	Semley	1444									1			1920	-
	1437	Nicholas Shawe	Mere	1401												292	24%
	1489	John Galon	Longbridge Deverill	1430										9	3	32	100%
	1490	Roger Cokeman	Warminster	1430										6		1200	18%
	1492	John Courney	Christian Malford	1430										5		44	100%

Table 10.6: Continued.

Region	List No.	Name	Place	Year	Bedding						Tableware										Total Inventoried Wealth	%ge Domestic Goods		
					B	P	C	T	Ce		Pl	P	C	Bs	Bo	Po	S	SC	E	O			T	N
	226	John Oke	Britford	1576	1	1		1	1								X	1					3048	73%
	240	John Browne	Chelworth	1577	1																		1032	-
	251	Phillipa Shorte	Ogbourne St George	1578	1																		696	-
	382	John James	West Dean	1577	9	4	8	6			10	1	2	3	3	9	8	4	1	15	3	17	83449	18%
	239	Edward Cooke	Atworth	1577							1												610	-
	278	Mary Carter	Hullavington	1585	1						1					2	1						775	43%
	126	Thomas Thomas	Longbridge Deverill	1551	3	3		2			15			1	1	1	1				3		6650	19%
Vale	317	William Purches	Devizes	1587	1	2	3				4	3			3	4	1						1092	88%
	445	Thomas Parker	Compton Chamberlayne	1598	1	2					2					1	2						778	54%

the chalkland, and in that of the tanner Thomas Thomas of Longbridge Deverell in the vale.⁵¹⁸ All three also possessed bolsters, items which occur in five other chalkland coroners' records and in four from the vale (Table 10.6). A contrast can be drawn between those households possessing bolsters in the vale and chalkland areas. In the former, except for Thomas Thomas, bolsters are found only in households for which there is no evidence of substantive investment in agricultural production, whereas in the chalkland they occur among those with the largest agricultural holdings such as Walter Barnard and Peter James.⁵¹⁹

Cushions are much rarer, in the escheators' lists occurring only in the list of the wealthy William Leder and Robert Durham of the small-town of Aldbourne, both in the chalkland (Table 10.5).⁵²⁰ This is a pattern which can also be observed in the coroners' records, whereby cushions occur only in lists from the towns of Marlborough and Devizes, and in that of John James (Table 10.6). Napery exhibits a somewhat different distribution. In the chalkland, William Leder, John Spark and Robert Sprakelyng had tablecloths, and Leder also possessed three napkins. Thomas Smyth of Chippenham (in the Cotswold zone) had a tablecloth and three napkins. In the vale, multiple tablecloths and napkins occur in the lists of John Ferrour, John Noreys and Nicholas Shawe. In the coroners' record they occur in the lists of Thomas Thomas (vale), Catherine Goodale, John Oke and John James (chalkland).⁵²¹ Overall, soft furnishings occur in a limited number of households, typically those with the highest levels of inventoried wealth, principally within the chalkland zone. Tablecloths appear to buck this trend, perhaps due to the importance of the table for the public presentation of the household (see Chapter 4).

Investment in these items of comfort can be contrasted with the evidence for the acquisition of tableware. Among the escheators' lists, the only chalkland household with items of tableware is that of the Salisbury merchant Robert Rede (possibly stock), although the husbandman John Spark had a candlestick, perhaps of pewter.⁵²² Items of pewter are exclusively found in the vale, typically in rural households such as those of Edward Knyght, who had eight pewter dishes, and William Blalewell of Upton Scudamore, who had 12 pewter pieces (Table 10.5).⁵²³ This is a pattern repeated in the possession of ewers and basins, these being found in a single chalkland household, that of Robert Durham.⁵²⁴ Noticeably, those households with these items do not possess large numbers of animals or provide evidence of intensive engagement in arable cultivation, implying that household income could be used to acquire items for display.

A similar pattern can be seen among the coroners' records where, with the exception of John James, chalkland households invested only modestly in items of tableware although these households do include agriculturalists such

⁵¹⁸ C226; C382; C126.

⁵¹⁹ C85; C173; C185.

⁵²⁰ E28; E793.

⁵²¹ E28; E237; E317; C126; C207; C226; C382.

⁵²² E70; E556.

⁵²³ E14; E393.

⁵²⁴ E793.

as Edward Burges and Peter James, who are among the wealthiest householders in the sample (Table 10.6).⁵²⁵ However, the most varied collection (again excepting James) is that of the shepherd Richard Webbe, who had a more modest overall level of inventoried wealth, which may be due to him undertaking waged labour, rather than being an agriculturalist in his own right.⁵²⁶ In the vale, wealthy householders such as William Purches of Devizes, the tanner Thomas Thomas and Thomas Parker of Compton Chamberlain had more varied collections of tableware than is typically seen in the chalkland.⁵²⁷

In contrast to the escheators' and coroners' records, our archaeological evidence allows us to draw very little if any contrast between the goods of households in the chalkland and vale areas (Table 10.7). As we would expect from the national sample, knives, for example, are ubiquitous across the county. Similarly, quern stones, which occur exclusively in the archaeological dataset, can be found in the chalklands at Gomeldon (Musty and Algar 1986), Tidworth (Milward *et al.* 2010) and Wilton (Hutcheson 1997) and in the vale at Bishopstone (Draper 2008), Warminster (Smith 1997) and Shaw Farm, Swindon. Bishopstone, Gomeldon, Wilton, Warminster and Swindon were all served by mills in our period, so it is unclear whether the use of querns relates to active resistance to, or flexibility in, the enforcement of suit of mill, or to activities such as the grinding of malt for brewing. In any case, they point to investment in goods for the domestic processing of, presumably fairly small, quantities of arable produce across the county. In contrast, the distribution of whetstones is, with the exception of examples from Gomeldon (Musty and Algar 1986), entirely focussed on the vale and Cotswold areas. While this may relate to the local availability of sandstone, it suggests a greater concern with the sharpening and upkeep of agricultural tools, perhaps due to the arable focus of this area or the higher direct involvement in agricultural production by tenant, rather than demesne, farmers.

The incidence of some items from excavations shows some regional variability. Barrel padlocks and keys, for example, come almost exclusively from the chalkland, although two examples are from probable demesne farms at Berwick St Leonard (Stallybrass 1906), Chapel Meadow, Membury and Huish (Thompson 1972), and their occurrence may relate more to the wealth of these households. Buckles occur across the county, with D-shaped buckles and later double or spectacle buckles characterising the assemblage from both the chalkland and vale. Although the range of objects represented in the archaeological sample and the escheators' and coroners' records varies, all suggest a general similarity in the distribution of basic household equipment across the county. It is goods associated with comfort and display which exhibit the greatest level of regional variability, as best demonstrated by the tablewares and soft furnishings seized by the escheator and coroner.

⁵²⁵ C382; C183; C185.

⁵²⁶ C158.

⁵²⁷ C317; C126; C445.

Table 10.7: Occurrence of common goods in archaeological assemblages from Wiltshire.

Region	Site	Knife	Quern	Barrel Padlock	Whetstone	Key
Chalk	Chapel Meadow, Membury	4				2
	Barbury Castle Farm	1				
	Herd St, Marlborough	1				
	Penning's Road and St. Andrews Road, Tidworth		2			
	Gomeldon	5	5	1	5	1
	St John's Hospital, Wilton		1			
	A419 Commonhead Junction, Chiseldon	1				
	Berwick St Leonard	8		1		1
	Huish	4		1		3
	Prior Park Preparatory School, Cricklade				1	
Cotswold	15 St. Mary's St, Chippenham	1				
	Town Wall, Malmesbury	1				
	Market Cross, Malmesbury				1	
	The Forty, Cricklade	4				
	Horse Fair Lane, Cricklade				1	

(Continued)

Table 10.7: Continued.

Region	Site	Knife	Quern	Barrel Padlock	Whetstone	Key
	Little Hinton Manor				3	
	Latton (Cricklade to Broad Blunsdon Gas Pipeline)				2	
	Land at Woodrow Road, Melksham	1				
	Haydon Wick, Swindon				1	
	Harlstone House, Bishopstone	1	1			
	Beverbrook Road, Calne					1
	Emwell Street, Warminster	1	1		1	
	Mannington, North-east of Toothill Farm	7			3	
	Martins Hill, Shaw Farm				5	
	Mill Bank, Hinton Parva	1				
	Shaw Farm		1		1	
	The Paddock, Swindon	3			3	
	Dukes Brake to Cricklade Gas Pipeline	3				
	The Grange, Blunsdon St Andrew				1	

Summary: regional variability in consumption

Across Wiltshire, the agrarian economy provides a backdrop for patterns of consumption. In the chalkland, with its emphasis on sheep-corn husbandry in both the tenant and demesne sectors, households typically held greater proportions of their portable wealth as ‘economic’ objects (principally livestock) than in the vale. In the chalkland, the wealthiest households were able to invest in livestock and a range of items for comfort such as cushions and bolsters. A contrast can be drawn with the evidence for investment in tableware, which is more widespread in the vale in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries than in the chalklands, and is most clearly associated with households in the vale with no clear agricultural interests. By the sixteenth century, this regional distinction appears to have broken down, although the tableware assemblages from the vale appear more diverse than those in the chalkland. The sample is small, but a variety of factors can be posited as influencing this distribution. These include sub-regional agrarian regimes and variability in tenurial customs across the county. The extent to which households were motivated to invest in livestock relates to the sub-regional variations in the agrarian economy and the ability to exploit the associated marketing networks for agricultural produce, built on the large-scale demesne production in the chalkland and evident in the apparent specialisation of producers in the region around Salisbury. Secondly, the level of economic freedom experienced by households varied between manors and regionally across Wiltshire. The more rapid breakdown of customary tenure and serfdom in the vale stimulated a wage economy, while on the chalkland obligations of labour and service meant that households had a less flexible economic base. The lack of records from the west of the county has been highlighted in Chapter 8, and likely conceals further variability brought about by the emergence of specialised centres of cloth production and the ability of households to command wages through the undertaking of piecework (Hare 2011, 193). There is insufficient evidence to contrast investment between agriculturalists and non-agriculturalists, but individuals such as Robert Sprakelyng, a smith who was also a substantial agriculturalist, and Thomas Thomas, a tanner with substantial agricultural interests, suggest that to draw such a dichotomy is not in any case appropriate.⁵²⁸

Consumption and market access

A crude measure of market interaction can be provided by considering the diversity of objects present in households in relation to their distance from known markets. Recent analysis of PAS data suggests that certain types of objects, specifically those relating to personal care, literacy and religion are

⁵²⁸ E317; C126.

more common in the immediate vicinity of known markets (Oksanen and Lewis 2020, 123). It is reasonable to suggest similar patterning might be visible both in excavated material and among the goods seized by the escheator and coroner. To undertake this analysis, references to 'goods and chattels' and 'other household utensils,' as well as any objects which could not be identified due to illegible records, were excluded from the escheators' and coroners' sample, as were pins, nails, industrial waste and unknown objects from the archaeological dataset.

A hierarchy of markets has been created in which to assess the relationship between market proximity and material diversity. This analysis incorporates the 60 known markets in Wiltshire (Letters 2006), as well as those in neighbouring counties which may have been the closest markets for some households. At the apex of this hierarchy are the major markets of Salisbury, Newbury, Oxford, Gloucester and Bristol, which are the largest towns in Wiltshire and surrounding counties.⁵²⁹ It should be noted that the hinterlands of these towns are not exclusive; Southampton was engaged in overland trade with all of these large centres for example, demonstrating the interconnectedness between marketing regions (Hare 2015b). The second rank consists of urban markets (those either with a borough charter or identified as being a market town in 1600 by Everett) with a 1334 lay subsidy assessment value of over £100. In Wiltshire, these are Warminster, Lacock, Market Lavington, Amesbury and Chippenham, and the category includes places such as Bath and Cirencester in surrounding counties.⁵³⁰ This is a problematic measure as it perhaps overemphasises the importance of some markets, but allows the division of the county into smaller marketing zones. The final tier are those places which held a market charter, but excluding those which possessed only a fair. While acknowledging that not all markets were operational throughout our period, this tiered approach allows us to divide Wiltshire into putative marketing zones which form the basis for a consideration of the relationship between market access and consumption (Figure 10.3). Distances from markets are calculated 'as the crow flies,' so do not take into account communication routes or terrain. Despite these caveats, the method allows us to identify some trends in relation to the proximity of households to markets of different size and importance.

As will be discussed in the next section, the archaeological assemblage from Salisbury is more diverse than that from rural and small-town excavations across Wiltshire, and this is reflected in the single escheators' list from the city as well.⁵³¹ A crude measure of assemblage diversity is offered by the number of functional categories of goods within lists or archaeological assemblages (the categories are animal, farming equipment, craft equipment and materials, tableware, cooking and food preparation, heating, furniture, soft furnishings,

⁵²⁹ Note that modelling of market hinterlands using Thiessen polygons does not show the hinterlands of Southampton or Winchester extending into Wiltshire.

⁵³⁰ Note that in Figure 10.3b, this category incorporates the larger markets where these are the nearest town to a settlement.

⁵³¹ E70.

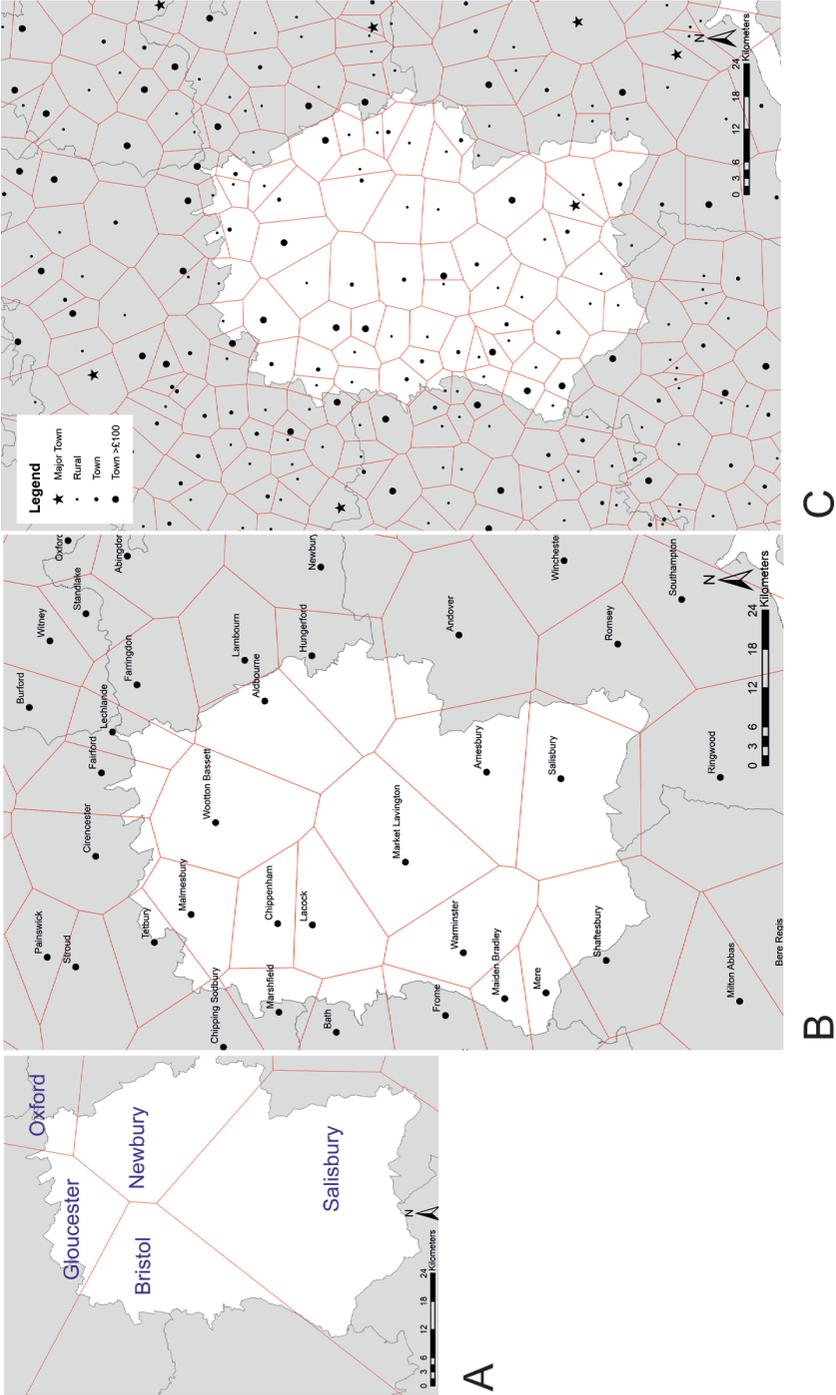


Figure 10.3: Division of Wiltshire into market zones. A: Major markets. B: Towns. C: Nearest market.

crops, personal object, textiles, arms and armour, and clothing and personal adornment). Analysis of this measure of diversity in relation to distance from major markets does not present a clear picture. Whereas coroners' records generally appear less diverse as we move away from major centres, the escheators' records show the converse pattern (Figure 10.4). In both the escheators' and coroners' datasets, there is no clear relationship between the diversity of goods present in households and their distance from the nearest market (Figure 10.5).

Greater nuance can be provided by a focus on the acquisition of specific goods by households in relation to their distance from types of market. We can begin with items which appear ubiquitous, cooking wares. Among the

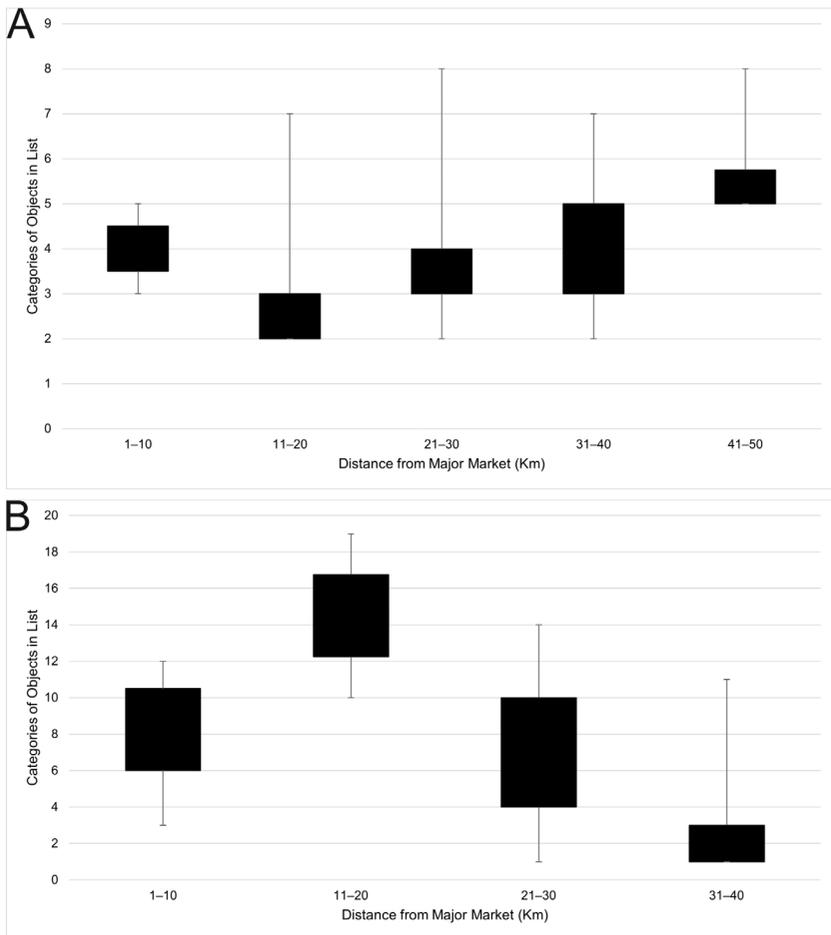


Figure 10.4: The diversity of the goods present (as number of categories represented) in relation to the distance from major markets. A: Escheators' lists. B: Coroners' lists.

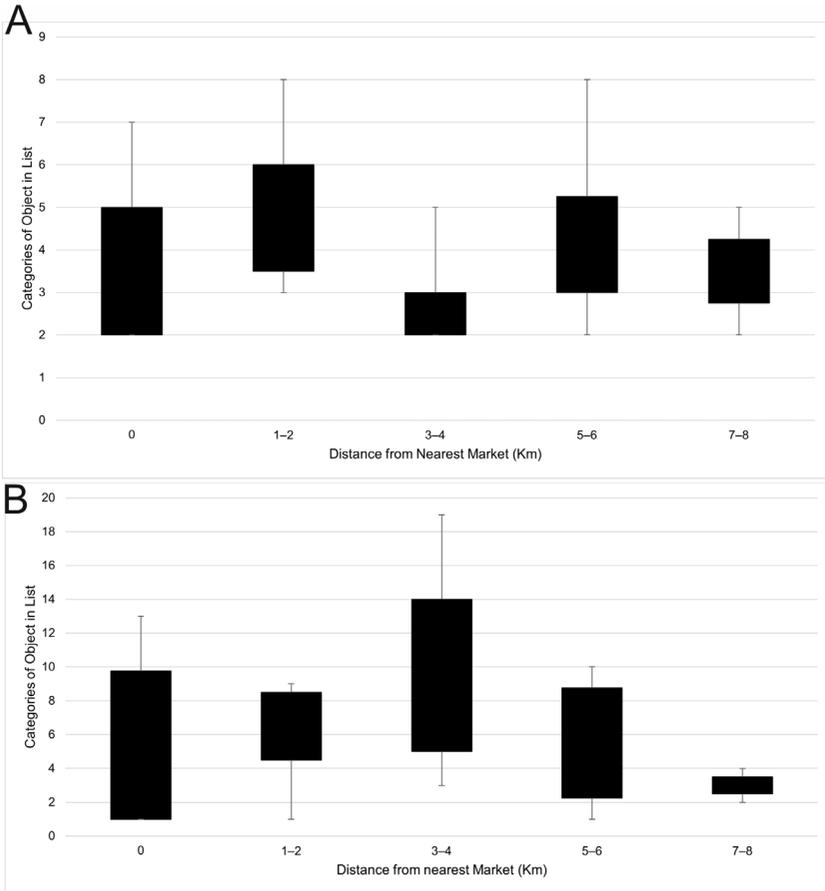


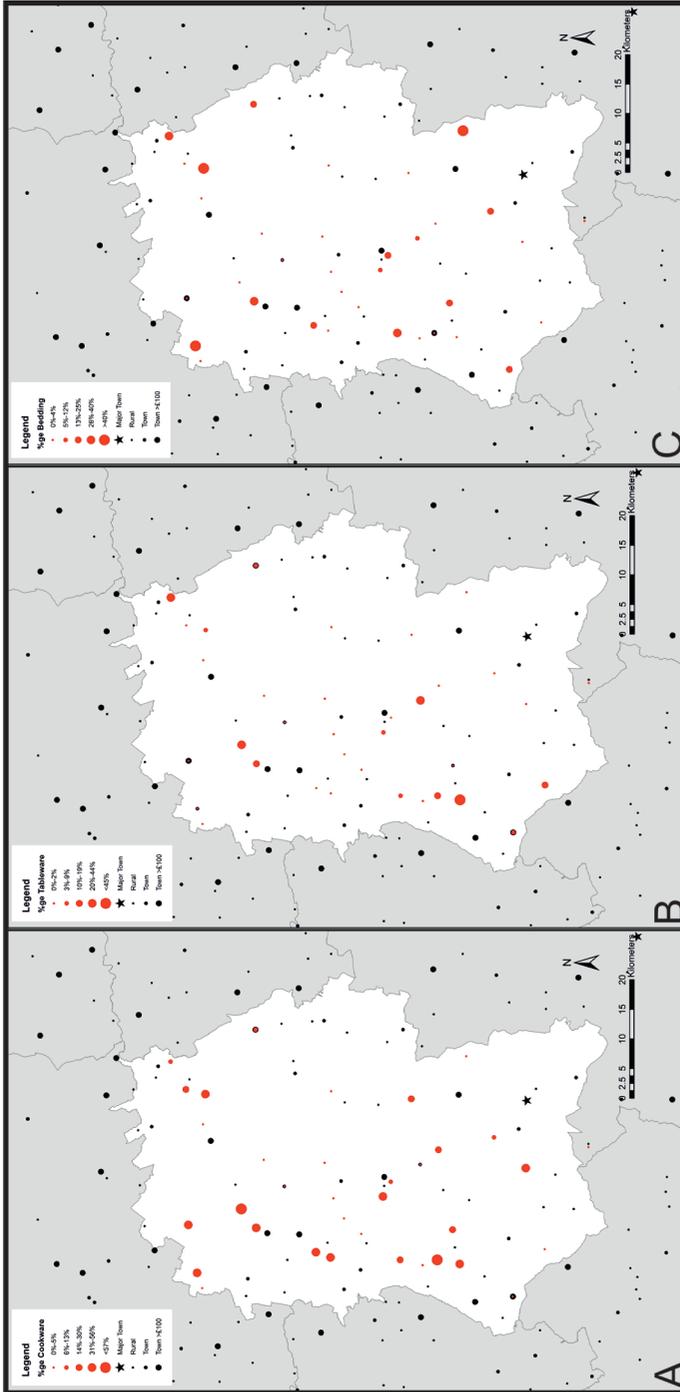
Figure 10.5: The diversity of the goods present (as number of categories represented) in relation to the distance from nearest market. A: Escheators' lists. B: Coroners' lists.

escheators' records, most lists include cooking ware regardless of their distance from major or urban markets (Figure 10.6a). Among those escheators' lists relating to the households most geographically isolated from markets, a lower proportion include cooking ware; however, these items are likely to have been incorporated into a class of household utensils, as is probably the case for John Hobelet of Yatesbury and John Cauntfeld of Bishops Cannings.⁵³² The number of lists with equipment other than pots and pans is low for Wiltshire, but items such as roasting equipment are not confined to the immediate locales

⁵³² E1279; E331.

Table 10.8: Proportion of escheators' (E) and coroners' (C) lists containing cooking equipment, tableware, furniture, and soft furnishings in relation to distance from nearest major and urban market.

	%ge with...												Total Lists		
	Cooking equipment			Tableware			Furniture			Soft furnishing					
	E	C		E	C		E	C		E	C		E	C	
Distance from Major Market (Km)															
1-10	50%	67%		50%	33%		100%	67%		0%	67%		2	3	
11-20	100%	100%		33%	100%		16%	100%		16%	100%		6	2	
21-30	69%	58%		46%	67%		38%	83%					13	12	
31-40	83%	24%		70%	18%		30%	29%		35%	29%		23	17	
41-50	75%	-		25%	-		50%	-		0%	-		4	-	
Distance from Urban Market (Km)															
0	78%	33%		89%	33%		56%	50%		44%	33%		8	2	
1-5	88%	67%		88%	56%		25%	67%		38%	67%		7	8	
6-10	76%	25%		40%	31%		36%	50%		24%	44%		25	18	
11-16	71%	75%		29%	75%		29%	75%		29%	75%		8	6	



of major or urban markets, for example Edward Knyght of Seend, situated 8km from an urban market and 37km from a major market had a spit.⁵³³

The coroners' records are more difficult to interpret as many of the lists only include a limited range of items: some, for example, only include items of clothing. Here a more anecdotal approach to the data reveals that cooking ware is similarly ubiquitous across Wiltshire. A range of cooking equipment appears in lists of households situated within 31–40km of a major market. Robert Davys of Wroughton had a cauldron, pot, pan and tub, for example, while William Purches of Devizes had a crock, a pan, a cauldron, a chafing dish and various items for food processing among his possessions (Figure 10.7a).⁵³⁴ The majority of other lists appear incomplete in that they only include agricultural produce, craft resources or clothing, and it is likely for this reason that they do not include any items of cooking equipment. This is also true for those households situated some distance from an urban market. For example Thomas Parker of Compton Chamberlain, situated 11 km from Salisbury had a brass pot, a cauldron and skillet. Fragments of such vessels are rare within the excavated sample but include fragments from possible iron vessels from Barbury Castle Farm, Chiseldon and Huish (Thompson 1972), as well as a fragments of copper alloy from Berwick St Leonard, all of which are at least 21km from a major market and 11–16km from an urban market, further supporting the conclusion that metal cooking ware circulated widely and was accessible through local as well as larger markets.

In contrast, the escheators' records show clearly that the prevalence of tableware (including ewers, basins, pewter, silver spoons and napery) falls off considerably in relation to distance from a market (Figure 10.6b). This is clearest in relation to proximity to urban markets, with over 80% of lists within 5km of an urban market including these items, falling to 40% within 6–10km (Table 10.8). Most of the lists with tableware situated over 6km from an urban market are away from the chalkland, but are highly variable in terms of total inventoried wealth, perhaps suggesting that these items were acquired through informal trading or fairs rather than direct engagement with urban merchants (see Dyer 1989). While the occurrence of households with tableware falls off in relation to distance from urban markets, such a correlation is not apparent in relation to distance from a major market (Table 10.8). This suggests that it was the network of urban markets which were the main centres out of which tableware was redistributed. This may further account for the differences observed in the presence of tableware between households in the vale and chalklands, with the former being better served by small market towns than the chalklands (Table 10.5).

As with the analysis of cooking ware, the coroners' records are more difficult to interpret. However, the data suggests that tableware may have become

⁵³³ E14.

⁵³⁴ C172; C317.

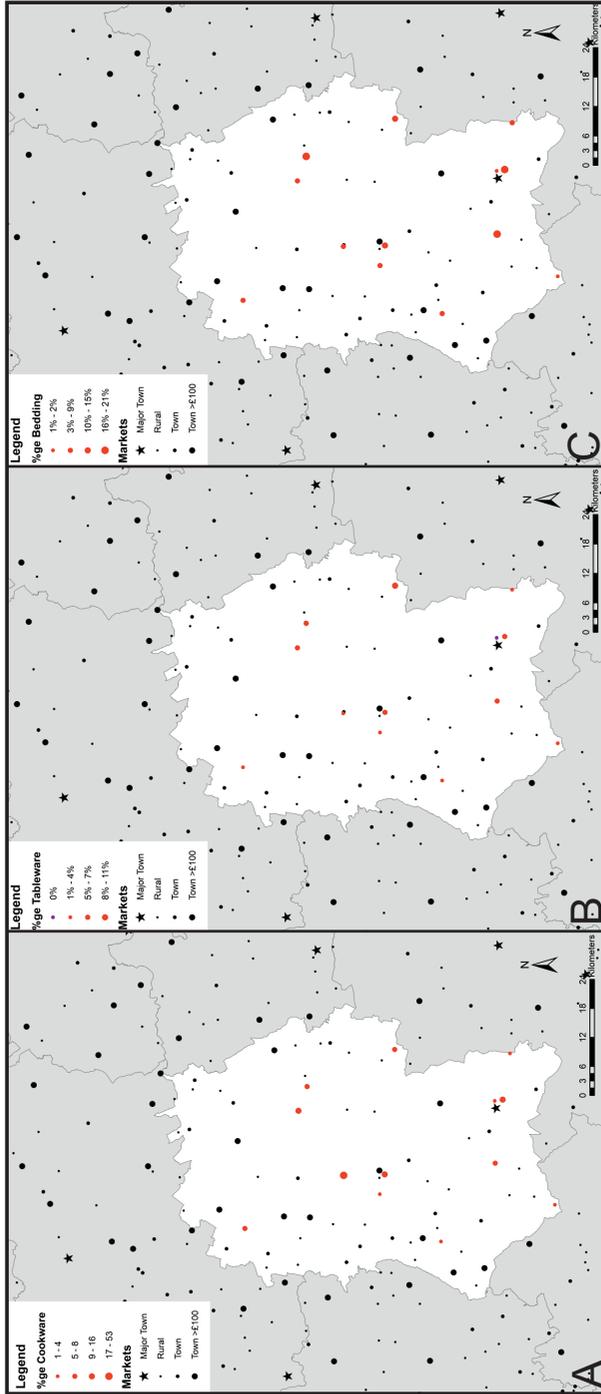


Figure 10.7: Maps showing the proportion of domestic goods (by value) comprised of A: Cooking ware; B Tableware; C: Bedding in the coroners' lists and the distribution of markets.

more widely accessible in the sixteenth century (Figure 10.7b). Of the 16 coroners' lists including these items, four are from households situated 11–16km from an urban market; however, six are from households within 5km of an urban market, with only two being within proximity of a non-urban market (Table 10.8). This suggests that urban markets continued to be the places through which these goods were traded, limiting their accessibility for households that used smaller local markets. Such items are not common in the excavated dataset; however, an apostle spoon was excavated at Berwick St Leonard (Stallybrass 1906), situated over 10km from the nearest major market. A final object whose distribution appears related to market proximity is the stone mortar, the only examples of which from outside of Salisbury come from Gomeldon (Musty and Algar 1986) within the city's immediate hinterland, suggesting that occupants of the village were able to acquire more unusual goods through their use of Salisbury as their local market.

The evidence for the acquisition of items of furniture is more ambiguous. In the escheators' records, the highest proportion of lists containing furniture are those situated within or close to major or urban markets (Table 10.8). Unlike tableware and cooking vessels, furniture was bulky, and may have been produced by a household or a local carpenter, meaning that there need not be a relationship between its occurrence and proximity to a market. To better understand the role of markets in the circulation of furniture, we can focus on a single category of items, chests. As discussed in Chapter 5, it can be suggested that the use and, perhaps, manufacture, of chests seems to have spread westwards during our period, and it is likely that these were traded as finished items, and may even, in some cases, have been imported. Among the escheators' lists, there is no relationship between the occurrence of chests and proximity to major markets, which we might expect if these were considered specialist, and non-locally produced, items. However, chests are limited to those areas in the putative hinterlands of Salisbury, Newbury and Gloucester, rather than Oxford and Bristol (Figure 5.9), despite the presence of lists in the north-east and west of the county. The lack of chests in the north-west of the county, in the area within Bristol's sphere of influence, may support the notion that chests were more directly associated with easterly contact, both Salisbury and Newbury being closely linked to the port of Southampton and its wide-reaching trading contacts (see Hare 2015c, 107–8). They are, however, most prevalent in lists relating to urban markets or their immediate hinterlands, suggesting that they may have been produced by urban joiners largely for an urban market. The coroners' data is skewed by John James who had multiple chests, but most chests within this dataset also fall within 10km of an urban market, and these become less prevalent in relation to other items of furniture away from urban markets.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁵ C382.

Fittings associated with furniture such as chests come from excavations at Devizes (Thomas 1996) and Warminster (Smith 1997), as well as Gomeldon (Musty and Algar 1986) in the immediate hinterland of Salisbury as well as at Eyse (Brett 2003) and at Chapel Meadow, Membury, within 5km of the urban market at Aldbourne and The Paddock, Swindon, within 5km of the urban market of Wootton Bassett. Examples from Huish (Thompson 1972) and Berwick St Leonard (Stallybrass 1906) are further from an urban market, but, as discussed above, the evidence from these sites suggests that they are related to households of higher status, which were in a position to commission such items, or perhaps obtain them through the more expansive marketing networks available to wealthier households dealing directly with urban merchants (Dyer 1989). Therefore, both the escheators' and coroners' records suggest that the adoption of chests can be related to proximity to urban markets. Indeed, among the escheators' records, the further households are situated from an urban market, the more likely it is that their furniture will be limited to tables and benches.

The proportion of escheators' lists with soft furnishings, including items of bedding, shows a similar trend to other items, falling away in relation to distance from urban markets (Table 10.8; Figure 10.6c; Figure 10.7c). While it is unlikely that the more remote households had no bedding, these items could have been lumped together as 'other goods and chattels', or similar, implying that they were low in quantity and value. For example Edward Knyght of Seend had no items of bedding listed but had 'divers goods' and John Taillour of Orcheston had other '*utensilia domus*'.⁵³⁶ As discussed in relation to the regional consumption of these items, soft furnishings other than basic items of bedding and tablecloths occur only in three Wiltshire escheators' lists, of which two – those of William Leder (West Lavington) and Robert Durham (Aldboune) – lived in, or within the immediate proximity of, urban markets.⁵³⁷ The other list, that of John Ferrour, relates to a household situated 6–10km from an urban market, but within 2km of the market at Highworth. A similar pattern is visible among the coroners' records once the exceptional list of John James is excluded, with these items typically belonging to households living within or close to urban markets, an exception being Thomas Parker of Compton Chamberlain, which is 11–16km from an urban market; however, exceptionally this market was Salisbury.⁵³⁸

An alternative means of considering these data is to assess the proportion of portable wealth held as particular types of domestic goods, following the methodology used in Chapter 9. The escheators' records exhibit no relationship between proximity to major markets and the proportion of wealth held as domestic goods, with the exception of the most remote households which, on average, held the majority of their wealth as economic goods. This trend is also apparent in relation to proximity to urban markets (Figure 10.8a).

⁵³⁶ E14; E526.

⁵³⁷ E28; E793.

⁵³⁸ C445.

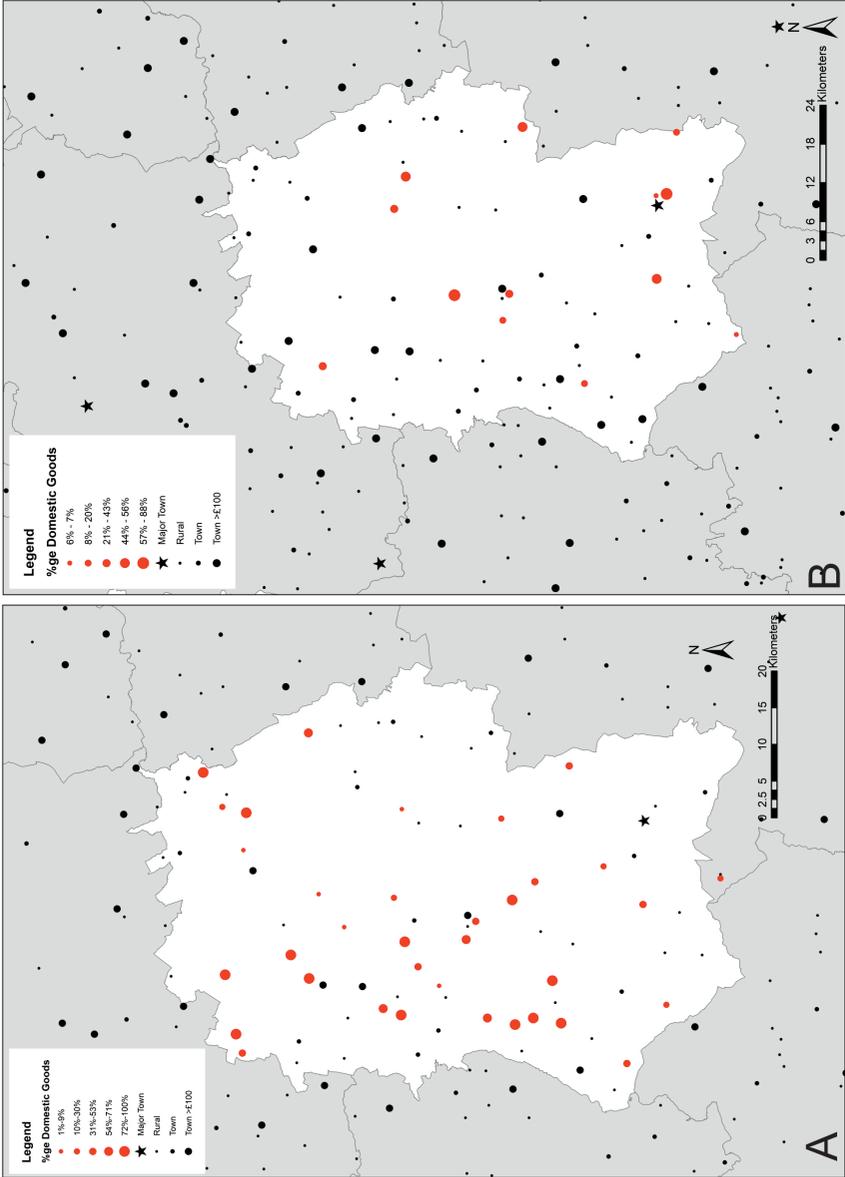


Figure 10.8: Map showing the proportion of inventoried wealth held as domestic goods. A: Escheators' lists. B: Coroners' lists.

The coroners' dataset is much smaller but does suggest a higher proportion of wealth was held as domestic goods by those living in or immediately adjacent to markets, particularly those with urban status. However, the proportion of wealth held as interior goods is highest away from major markets, although these households all had good access to urban markets (Figure 10.8b). The dataset is small and easily skewed by unusual lists, for example the highest proportion of wealth held as bedding in relation to proximity to urban markets are those households situated 11–16km away, but these include the wealthy clergyman John James who had a large house with multiple chambers.⁵³⁹ Similarly the figure for the proportion held as cooking ware is particularly high for those living in urban markets and this is skewed by the list of William Purches of Devizes, who held over half of his wealth as cooking ware while the figure is generally below 10% for other lists.⁵⁴⁰ Overall, there does not appear to be any clearly discernible patterning in the proportional investment in different types of goods in relation to market proximity.

In summary therefore, market proximity appears less important than household economy in determining patterns of consumption. It has been possible to propose that goods circulated in a variety of ways, with basic items of bedding and cooking ware being more accessible than other goods, for example. The mortars excavated at Gomeldon provide a vivid illustration of how rural households living in close proximity to major market had access to a greater diversity of goods than those living in more isolated settlements, but this is an exceptional case. Tablewares and soft furnishings appear to have been less accessible to more isolated households than those living in or around towns. However, while the higher density of urban markets in the vale may account for the higher prevalence and diversity of these items in that part of the county, these goods were by no means ubiquitous, suggesting that market proximity was not the primary cause of difference. Rather, the ability to invest in non-essential domestic goods appears more strongly associated with the extent to which households chose, or were compelled, to invest in livestock and their upkeep or the tools of agricultural production, with the greater economic freedom afforded by the breakdown of customary tenure in the vale offering greater opportunities to generate wealth and dispose of it in a variety of ways.

Urban and rural consumption

As a final means of contextualising rural consumption in Wiltshire, we can compare the objects used by Salisbury households with those from rural and small-town households. The escheators' records contain a single example relating to a Salisbury forfeiture, that of the merchant and civil outlaw Robert Rede.⁵⁴¹ His list is difficult to interpret as it likely comprises a mix of stock

⁵³⁹ C382.

⁵⁴⁰ C317.

⁵⁴¹ E70.

and personal possessions. His goods comprise 10 beds, blankets and pairs of sheets (conceivably for the use of his household), six silver adorned belts (likely stock), six dozen silver spoons (likely stock), 10 silver bound mazers and 12 silver bowls (potentially stock), an iron plate and two old wooden chests in addition to sizeable quantities of coal, wood and wheat. Rede's possessions included items such as silver spoons and chests which we might typically associate with urban households, but his list lacks evidence of the elaborate bedding and soft furnishings (e.g. cushions) suggested by Goldberg to be indicative of bourgeois consumption and which are found in a small number of rural or small-town Wiltshire households.

A further source can be used to contextualise the list of Rede's goods. Extents for debt include inventories of goods and property seized to settle debts. While subject to similar doubts about completeness as the lists of the escheator and coroner, they do serve to provide broadly comparable information on the goods to be found in medieval homes. For Wiltshire, the best evidence comes from lists relating to residents of Salisbury (Conyers 1973). Two date to the fourteenth century. In 1306 the merchant William Huloun had what we might understand as a typical range of domestic goods: a bed, linens, two chests and brass pots, but also a range of objects which are rare in rural and small-town households. These include a fixed table, several candlesticks and two pewter dishes. More comparable with the escheators' lists in chronological terms is the list of Robert Redyng's goods, dated to 1382. He had soft furnishings, including a dosser and banker, five chairs, a fixed table and two pairs of crystals (perhaps drinking glasses) among his possessions.

By the sixteenth century, the possessions of Salisbury merchants were considerably more diverse and numerous. These later extents of debt also detail the rooms in which items were located. In 1513 the mercer Nicholas Chaffyn had goods seized from his house on Winchester Street. This was one of several properties in the city owned by his family. His hall contained soft furnishings, including three short bankers and six old cushions. Unusually, when compared to the coroners' lists, he had a latten laver (ewer), while the walls were decorated with old hangings. Further old hangings could be found in the parlour, which also contained five old cushions and two chairs. The buttery housed multiple pewter vessels and six small candlesticks, while Chaffyn also possessed a range of cooking vessels, including a stone mortar. His chamber contained eight bedsteads and two truckle beds, as well as multiple items of soft furnishings. The remaining goods are the furnishings, equipment and stock associated with Chaffyn's business. A further example is that of Thomas Hele, a merchant whose goods were seized in 1542. Most of the items listed are stock, including spices and a diverse range of textiles. In his hall he had two ewers and three basins as well as various cushions and a bible. His buttery included a variety of napery and pewter vessels and he had a wide range of cooking items. His house had five chambers, one of which was carpeted, and all of which contained various soft furnishings. While at the higher end of the social spectrum of Salisbury residents, these lists demonstrate how much more elaborately furnished

urban mercantile houses were than the majority of rural dwellings considered throughout this study.

Returning to the escheators' lists, Rede's goods compare well with those of the Southampton merchant Richard Pafford, whose goods were seized following outlawry in a civil suit in 1404.⁵⁴² Like Rede, he had six spoons, a silver adorned belt, three chests and multiple items of bedding, although these include 'diverse' bankers and cushions. Unlike Rede, his list includes items of cooking and tableware, including two mortars. The Southampton Terrier, a survey of property in the town taken in 1454, suggests that Pafford had owned property in the waterfront area of the town, living on St Michael's Square, occupying a cellar on the corner of Simnel Street and owning property now listed as vacant around the waterfront (Burgess 1976). Pafford was clearly a successful merchant, and his wealth is perhaps reflected in his investment in items of comfort and display. His total inventoried wealth amounts to 66s 7d, lower than several rural Wiltshire households, who held the majority of their wealth in animals, highlighting the contrast between urban and rural household economy and its implications for investment in domestic goods. These examples could be put forward to suggest that the model developed by Goldberg is appropriate for contrasting the goods of the merchant class of larger towns with those of rural households.

Further contrast is provided by the archaeological evidence. The finds from excavations in Salisbury are less well known than the well-published collections from Winchester (Biddle 1990), York (Ottaway and Rogers 2002), Norwich (Margeson 1993), London (Egan 2010) and Colchester (Crummy 1988), but provide a clear insight into the differences between the household economies of rural and urban households in the middle ages.

The evidence is principally derived from excavations at Endless Street, the Old George Mall, Brown Street and Gigant Street, which have recovered large assemblages of material when compared to those from contemporary rural sites, and a range of structural evidence (Figure 10.9). The economic and social geography of Salisbury can be reconstructed based on surviving medieval buildings (Pearson 2009, 6). Along the High Street and around the market square, buildings are characterised by the presence of two- or three-storey dwellings without open halls, with some large open hall houses. In more peripheral areas, houses are smaller and include rows with and without open halls. One such area is Endless Street, where excavations have revealed the chalk footings of a thirteenth–fourteenth century rectangular building and its associated yard area (Porter 2014). Excavations have taken place across Salisbury, allowing us to consider variability in domestic material culture across the city, as well as between the city as a whole and other settlements in the county.

Starting within the core of the town, investigations at the Old George Mall identified a number of buildings along the New Street frontage (Butterworth

⁵⁴² E16.

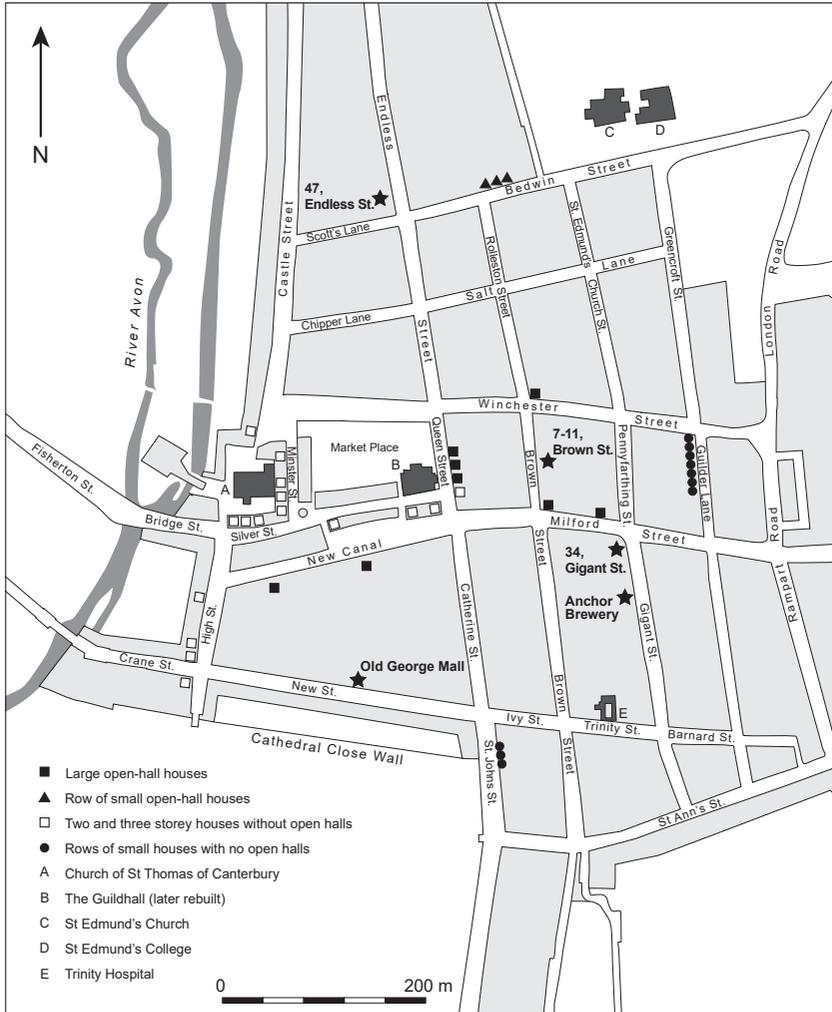


Figure 10.9: Plan of Salisbury showing the location of the excavated sites. Redrawn by Kirsty Harding from Pearson (2009).

2005). The excavations were small in scale, but demonstrate an ongoing process of building and modification through the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries. Moving eastwards, on Brown Street excavations revealed a dwelling with at least three downstairs rooms with a chalk-lined cess pit (Rawlings 2000). A further large building was excavated at the corner of Milford Street and Gigant Street (Currie and Rushton 2005; Barber 2005). This was a stone building dating to the fourteenth century, erected on a site which appears to have been used for a high-temperature industrial process in the preceding decades. Other houses fronting on to Milford Street include surviving large open hall

houses. During the fourteenth century, the plot was the possession of William Teynturer, who owned several properties in the town and can be considered to be of similar wealth and status to those households discussed above. This appears to be part of a wider-scale redevelopment of the Gigant Street frontage, where a row of two-cell houses with a main hall containing the hearth fronting onto the street, with a rear room and a passage leading into the yard area, were erected. During the fifteenth century, the hearths appear to have moved from a central location to the corner of the main room, suggesting a two-storeyed arrangement with a fireplace and chimney. This row of houses may be similar to the standing row of small houses on Gilder Street. Finally, on Endless Street in the northern part of the city, excavations revealed the footings of a small rectangular building and several backyard pits (Porter 2014). The excavated evidence therefore appears to correspond with the standing architecture to show how the main streets were fronted with the large houses of the city's mercantile elite, with smaller houses on the north-south streets, including rows of properties which are likely to have been rentals. To assess the level of variability in consumption patterns within these households, we can compare the items recovered, before contrasting them with those from smaller towns and rural sites in the county.

Economic objects

Archaeological excavations have revealed evidence of copper alloy working, spinning, carpentry and trade, as well as a pottery kiln at the periphery of the city, although lacking evidence of any associated domestic activity (Algar and Saunders 2014) (Table 10.9).

The most compelling evidence for domestic economy comes from the excavation at 47 Endless Street. Here, copper alloy wire and sheet fragments, along with copper run-off (casting waste), a stone mould, fragments from two balances and a lead weight, and bone and iron tools suggest that the plot was occupied by a non-ferrous metalworker in the fifteenth century. This is an important assemblage and while small, provides strong evidence for copper alloy working, which is particularly rare (Goodall 1981). The process of copper casting creates little waste and does not require high temperatures. Copper was received as wire or sheet from which objects were subsequently made. Small scales and balance pans are associated with moneyers but also with goldsmiths and could be in the possession of traders in spices or other lighter goods. Here, the two scale arms, one made in copper alloy and the other of iron, are likely to be associated with the evidence for copper alloy working. While there are no crucibles within this assemblage, there is a fragment of spill possibly from pouring hot metal into the stone mould to shape the objects. Following this, tools to smooth off cast objects and to decorate them were required. There are a few iron objects that are recorded as unidentified which could potentially be small tools for carrying out decorative work. Further evidence for non-ferrous

Table 10.9: Economic objects from selected excavations in Salisbury.

Category	Object	Old George Mall	47 Endless St	Anchor Brewery, Gigant St
Tools and Craft Equipment	Awl		1 (Bone)	1 (Iron)
	Stone mould			
	Iron chisel			1
	Ceramic crucible			
	Hammerstone			3
	Linen smoother		1 (Bone)	1 (Glass)
	Copper alloy needle	1		
	Stone spindle whorl	2		1
	Copper alloy thimble		1	
	Iron timber dog	1		
	Iron wedge			
	Whetstone	2		7
	Copper wire	1	8	2
	Iron wire			5
Equestrian equipment	Horseshoe	2	2	
	Rowel spur			
	Bone working debris	2		1
Production waste	Copper slag	1	1	
	Iron slag	1	1	
	Fired clay			
	Balance		2	
Trade and commerce	Balance pan	1		
	Coin	1	2	3
	Jetton			6
	Weight		1	

metalworking comes in the form of copper alloy drip from the Old George Mall and a copper alloy working crucible from Brown Street. Historical evidence also attests to non-ferrous metalworking, with braziers known to have worked on Culver Street and around Guildler Lane, with excavated bell casting pits at Milford Street (Algar and Saunders 2012, 68–9).

The Endless Street assemblage provides limited evidence of other craft activities. A thimble and a bone linen smoother indicate textile working, while an iron tool may provide evidence of carpentry. Finds from other sites in the city are more domestic in character but include evidence for spinning from the Old George Mall and Gigant Street in the form of spindle whorls. Other finds include whetstones, a needle and carpentry tools, but there is no clear evidence either from the excavated features or the finds relating to the economic basis of these households. There is limited evidence for commerce, with coins being recovered from most of the sites and a balance pan coming from the Old George Mall and a weight from Gigant Street.

We can place the evidence from Salisbury into a wider context through comparison with other published urban assemblages. The excavated contexts in the centre of Salisbury are broadly analogous with the exceptionally productive deposits excavated at Lower Brook Street, Winchester. As in Salisbury, the economic objects are dominated by items associated with textile production, primarily spindle whorls, with evidence of lead and copper alloy working, as well as bone working, in addition to tools associated with carpentry (Biddle 1990). A similar range of activities are evidenced by finds from excavations in York, Norwich and Colchester, where items associated with production are dominated by those associated with textile production and working (Crummy 1988; Margeson 1993; Ottaway and Rogers 2002). Items associated with horticulture, absent from the Salisbury assemblage, occur in these towns in small quantities: pitchforks from Colchester and York, spades from Norwich and York, and a sickle from York, for example. The archaeological finds assemblage from Salisbury is lacking the strong evidence for textile production, in the form of an abundance of objects such as spindle whorls and tenterhooks that might be expected given the strong association of the city with cloth production (although objects such as spinning wheels and looms would not leave an archaeological trace), but the focus on textile and non-ferrous metal working appears to correspond with the majority of evidence for household economy presented by excavations in comparable towns.

Comparing urban and rural household economy

The economic evidence from Salisbury is dominated by objects associated with production, primarily non-ferrous metalworking. As discussed in Chapter 8, evidence for non-ferrous metalworking is limited in the national sample; however, there is evidence for copper alloy working at 35 West Street, Wilton,

in the form of copper slag and crucible fragments. There is limited evidence for iron working in Salisbury in the form of iron slag from Old George Mall, Endless Street and Brown Street. Regionally, evidence for iron working is more comprehensive, being overwhelmingly rural in character. The most comprehensive evidence comes from Little Snarlton Lane, Melksham, and there is further evidence for smithing at Chapel Meadow, Membury and at rural sites at West Ashton, Barbury Castle Farm, Chiseldon, Latton and Blunsdon St Andrew, for example, as well as from the small-town of Calne. It is clear from the escheators' records that smithing was a rural as well as urban industry, as exemplified by the list of the smith Robert Sprakelynge. It is difficult to determine the extent to which rural households in Wiltshire specialised in smithing due to the poor level of documentation. The excavated smithy at Huish provides clear evidence of the infrastructure of iron smithing, but finds from the site include agricultural tools. Again, the case of Robert Sprakelynge demonstrates clearly how smiths could have extensive agricultural interests.⁵⁴³ At Barbury Castle Farm, Chiseldon there is also evidence for bone and, probably, wood working for example.

It is surprising that the excavated evidence from rural sites in Wiltshire does not include any objects associated with textile production, given the importance of that industry to the county's economy. This is reflected in the PAS data for the county which, for the period c.1300–1600 includes only two lead alloy objects identified as possible spindle whorls, both from Shrewton. The spindle whorls from Salisbury are all of stone, so this may account for their absence from the PAS record. The dominance of stone whorls is reflected at Winchester, where the excavated houses at the Brooks appear to have specialised in textile production, suggesting that the use of stone is reflective of regional spinning technology (Woodland 1990). This use of stone for whorls does not, however, explain their absence from excavated rural sites; it is surprising, for example, that no spindle whorls were recovered at Gomeldon, a site with clear archaeological and historical evidence for sheep husbandry. It is possible that this can be explained by the use of spinning wheels; however, these are not routinely recorded in the escheators' and coroners' records but occur in two escheators' lists and four coroners' lists from Wiltshire. While we know that spinning and weaving became increasingly important to the economy of Wiltshire in general terms (Hare 1999), it is unfortunate that the data presented here does not lend itself to a detailed consideration of the importance of textile production to urban and rural households in the county. Limited evidence for the production or exchange of cloth is provided by eight cloth seals in the PAS dataset. The majority of these carry generic text. However, one from Wingfield, near Trowbridge, indicates a cloth sealed in Wiltshire and another, from Malmesbury, appears to be a type associated with Somerset.⁵⁴⁴ These can be compared with

⁵⁴³ E317.

⁵⁴⁴ WILT-64EF71; WILT-7B9BB6.

the large collection of seals from Salisbury which is dominated by unattributable examples, with the majority of provenanced examples coming from Wiltshire, Devon and Somerset, with additional examples from London, Norfolk, Kent, Essex and the continent, suggesting that Salisbury was an important centre for the finishing of cloth from diverse sources, supported by findspots around the rivers running through the city centre (Egan 2001).

As is to be expected, objects associated with agricultural production are absent from the Salisbury assemblage. Evidence for sheep husbandry comes in the form of excavated shears from Chapel Meadow, Membury, Latton, Eysey and Gomeldon. The PAS dataset includes four croatal bells; however, the decoration on these may suggest that these were intended to adorn items of dress (Egan and Pritchard 2002, 336–7) rather than being used as sheep bells, and the same interpretation might be extended to the example from the Old George Mall, Salisbury. Evidence for agricultural tools is limited to the small collection from Huish, comprising a bill hook, fork, hoe and sickle, a plough blade from Tidworth and rake fragments from Latton. As discussed above, the evidence offered by escheators' and coroners' records supports varied levels of involvement by rural households in agricultural production, and this seems to be something which, as in other large towns, was insignificant to the economy of Salisbury households, although there is clear historical and archaeological evidence for urban gardens, which may have provided some produce to associated households or the wider urban market (Currie and Rushton 2005, 228).

The escheators' records suggest a less clear-cut distinction between urban and rural, however. Small-town households were engaged in agrarian activity. For example, John Butiller of Warminster had three sheep, and the weaver Roger Cokeman of Warminster three piglets, while Richard Walssh of Malmesbury had two harrows.⁵⁴⁵ In the coroners' dataset, Roger Rowland of Marlborough had three sheep.⁵⁴⁶ These examples show how small-town households maintained agrarian interests, although their investment in livestock and agricultural equipment is considerably less than in the countryside. Small-town households in Wiltshire do, however, show a tendency for investment in production; Thomas Smyth of Chippenham had iron smithing equipment, John Nichol of Malmesbury two spinning wheels and Roger Cokeman various items associated with cloth production.⁵⁴⁷ Similarly, such items are not exclusive to urban households. While the smith Robert Sprakelyng and the tanner Thomas Thomas are the most obvious examples of rural agriculturalists who were also artisans, further examples of the combination of craft production with agriculture are John Hullediewe of Highway (1420) and Thomas Parker of Compton Chamberlain (1598), both of whom had spinning wheels.⁵⁴⁸ It is noticeable, however, that in all cases the value of goods associated with artisanal production is

⁵⁴⁵ E872; E1490; E1510.

⁵⁴⁶ C112.

⁵⁴⁷ E1294; E1432; E1490.

⁵⁴⁸ E317; C126; E558; C445.

considerably lower than that of those associated with agrarian production. The evidence of the escheators' and coroners' lists does support the evidence from the archaeological record for a narrower range of crafts being undertaken in the countryside than in towns.

Objects associated with trade and commerce are not common in the Salisbury assemblage, largely comprising weights which could have been used in other activities, such as copper alloy working. Eight weights probably associated with trade have been recovered by metal detectorists from rural contexts across the county. These come principally from the chalkland, although the sample is too small to draw any meaningful conclusions. Several coins have been recovered from archaeological contexts in the city, and a small number of finds from rural excavations also demonstrate widespread coin use across the county, an image amplified by the PAS data which includes over 1800 coins dating to the period 1300–1600 from across the county.

As is to be expected, the data suggests a stronger bias towards agrarian production in the countryside and artisanal production in the town, with the latter seemingly requiring lower levels of capital investment, potentially creating the opportunity for greater investment in domestic goods. However, a stark dichotomy cannot be drawn; the escheators' and coroners' lists, as well as the archaeological evidence, show small-town households engaged in agricultural production and rural households in metal and textile working. Rather we can observe a spectrum of household economy between town and country, a picture which appears to also be reflected in the evidence for the consumption of domestic goods.

Domestic objects

The quantity and range of domestic finds from Salisbury is limited when compared to the large corpuses from excavations in places such as Norwich, Winchester and York (Table 10.10). This is in marked contrast to the wide range of domestic goods itemised in the extents for debt lists from Salisbury. The finds do, however, provide some insights into variability in consumption patterns within the town, and provide a general signature of consumption that can be compared to rural sites in Wiltshire.

Unusually, Salisbury is lacking in well stratified, large ceramic assemblages. Where ceramics have been excavated, assemblages are dominated by local Laverstock-type wares, produced just outside of the city, to supply both the Salisbury market and the royal palace at Clarendon. As is typical of urban assemblages (see e.g. Hayfield 1988; Jervis 2012), the ceramic assemblage from Salisbury contains a higher proportion of jugs than comparable rural assemblages (Mephram 2018), suggesting differences in consumption behaviour and perhaps highlighting the need to transport small quantities of liquid around multiroomed dwellings or between households, as well as suggesting

Table 10.10: Domestic objects from selected excavations in Salisbury.

Function	Object	Old George Mall	Gigant St	47 Endless St	Anchor Brewery, Gigant Street
Food consumption	Copper alloy spoon				1
	Stone mortar		1	1	2
Food preparation and cooking	Quern	1			1
	Copper alloy vessel	1			
	Iron vessel			1	
Furniture	Furniture fitting	2		1	5
	Bone handle	1			
Knife	Knife	5		14	7
	Bone die	1			
Lighting	Iron candlestick			1	
Literacy	Copper alloy book fitting	1			
	Lead alloy stylus				1
	Glass bead			1	
	Jet bead	1			
	Stone bead	1			

(Continued)

Table 10.10: Continued.

Function	Object	Old George Mall	Gigant St	47 Endless St	Anchor Brewery, Gigant Street
Personal adornment	Copper alloy belt fitting	1			1
	Copper alloy buckle	1		1	2
	Iron buckle			3	2
	Crotal bell	1			
	Copper alloy dress fastener			1	8
	Copper alloy dress fitting			1	
	Copper alloy lace tag	1		5	8
	Iron patten	2			
	Shoe iron	1			
	Copper alloy strap fitting	1		2	
Pin	Iron strap fitting			2	
	Textile	1			
	Pin	11		28	18
Religious practice and belief	Pilgrim badge			1	
	Key	4		1	
Security	Lock			1	

an emphasis being placed on entertaining within the home (see Green 2017). Other objects associated with food production and cooking are fragments of metal cooking vessels from the Old George Mall and from Endless Street. Arguably of greater interest are the quernstone fragments recovered from the Old George Mall and Gigant Street suggesting the domestic processing of grain or malt within the city. It has been suggested that querns from excavations in Winchester and Norwich were used for the grinding of malt rather than flour (Biddle 1990, 882; Margeson 1993, 202), and therefore these objects could provide evidence of domestic brewing, supported by the high occurrence of barley in the charred plant remains assemblage from Gigant Street (Hinton 2005, 197). Four stone mortars have also been recovered, both from the large house on Gigant Street/Milford Street and from the apparently lower status households occupying the smaller properties along Gigant Street and at Endless Street. A comparable mortar is valued at 6d in the extent for debt list of Nicholas Chaffyn, while Thomas Hele had a brass mortar with an iron pestle valued at 15s. The availability of spices and condiments is suggested by the stock of Nicholas Chaffyn and Thomas Hele which include ginger, cloves, mace, pepper and anis among other foodstuffs.

Furniture fittings occur at Gigant Street, Endless Street and the Old George Mall, typically taking the form of decorative copper alloy strips or mounts. A lock plate from Endless Street is probably from a chest, and keys were recovered at the Old George Mall and from Endless Street. An unusual object is the iron candlestick from Endless Street. Based on the extents for debt examples, as well as the list of Robert Rede, Salisbury households had considerably higher numbers of chests and candlesticks than the households examined through this study. The assemblage of furnishings and fittings is dominated, though, by iron structural fittings including brackets, door hinges and nails, which are far more common here than at rural and small-town sites in the sample, a situation mirrored in other large urban centres for example at Lower Brook Street, Winchester, where a variety of items of structural ironwork were excavated (Biddle 1990). This is likely due to a variety of factors, including the more complex spatial organisation of urban houses (requiring, for example, internal doors and floorboards for upper storeys), but also perhaps investment in decorative panelling which is not apparent in the majority of rural contexts, either due to the salvage of iron work during the demolition of buildings or because of a genuine difference in the construction and decoration of urban houses.

Other than nails and pins, the most common items in the Salisbury assemblage are personal items. Knives occur in the three large assemblages discussed here, and other finds include a bone die and a book fitting from the Old George Mall and a stylus from Gigant Street. Items associated with literacy occur in small quantities in most large town assemblages. Clothing is represented by a range of metal fittings, and these demonstrate the adoption of new fashions in the fifteenth century, through the occurrence of lace chapes in three assemblages, as well as dress fittings and fastenings. A crotal bell from the Old George

Mall may have adorned clothing, while there are belt fittings and buckles from all three sites. While the substantial excavations in Norwich, Winchester and York have produced a wider variety and higher quantity of personal items, the material from Salisbury appears representative of comparative urban assemblages, with strong evidence for the acquisition of small personal items, furniture and a range of items for the processing and serving of food and drink beyond the basic necessities of cooking pots.

Comparing urban and rural consumption

While ceramic evidence from Wiltshire suggests a degree of variability between urban and rural food practices, the non-ceramic evidence does not present such a clear picture. One type of object, the stone mortar, is the exception. These occur at several sites within Salisbury, with the sample from modern excavations being supplemented by historical examples in the Salisbury Museum collection. Within the excavated sample, the only rural examples are those from Gomeldon, supplemented by finds in the Salisbury Museum collection from the Bishops' Palace at Downton and from Stockton in the Wylde Valley (Drinkwater 1991). A further stone mortar from Cricklade has been reported to the PAS.⁵⁴⁹ As in the national sample, the distribution of mortars likely relates to two factors, household status (as a determinant of access to culinary and medicinal knowledge, as well as access to flavourings) and market accessibility, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 9. While excavated querns from Salisbury may be indicative of brewing, those in the countryside could have been used for the small-scale domestic milling of wheat. Among the escheators' records, the only Wiltshire household with items associated with brewing is that of Robert Sprakelyng, who had 'vessels for brewing'.⁵⁵⁰ In the escheators' and coroners' records a diverse range of cooking wares occur in both town and country. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 9, the distribution of these items is likely most directly associated with wealth and the ability to acquire a broader range of foodstuffs and the occupation of larger houses with specific kitchen spaces, which occur in both town and country.

Fragments of metal cooking vessels occur both within the city and at rural sites, with 40 examples in the PAS dataset from across the county, as is to be expected from their ubiquity in the escheators' and coroners' datasets. Whetstones are fairly common and include schist examples, contrasting the picture from rural sites where they are primarily sandstone and largely limited to the north-east of the county. This reflects a general trend whereby whetstones are more common in large urban assemblages from places such as Northampton, Winchester and Norwich, than in rural settings. A range of explanations can

⁵⁴⁹ WILT-DD9F82.

⁵⁵⁰ E317; possibly wooden (the section of the list describing these is partly illegible).

be provided for this, from market access to the need for urban craftsmen to sharpen delicate tools and the greater availability of natural or structural stone in the countryside which could be used to sharpen blades without the need for a specific object to fulfil this function.

From an archaeological perspective, other items may be more suggestive of distinctive urban forms of consumption. The iron candlestick from Endless Street, as well as a further four copper alloy candlesticks from the city in the Salisbury Museum collection (Goodall 2012, 116), is not paralleled in the excavated data from Wiltshire, and these items are rare in the national sample (see Chapter 5). However, there are three candlesticks and eight candle holders in the PAS dataset from Wiltshire, occurring across the county. Similarly, the coroners' records present evidence of rural households using these objects. In all, these items occur in 13 coroners' lists, primarily relating to rural households, as well as the escheators' list of John Spark.⁵⁵¹ For example, Thomas Thomas had four brass candlesticks and Thomas Parker had one, while John James had iron and latten candlesticks.⁵⁵² These objects demonstrate neatly the varying picture of consumption provided by different sources of evidence. The rarity of candlesticks in the escheators' records, as well as rural excavations, may suggest that these were initially associated principally with urban or higher status households, becoming more widespread in the countryside by the sixteenth century.

There are 26 book fittings in copper or silver alloy in the PAS dataset from across the county, including two examples from Salisbury, adding to the excavated example from the Old George Mall. As the escheators' and coroners' records suggest, the ownership of books is not necessarily an urban phenomenon in this period, but, in the countryside at least, is particularly associated with the clergy; the only Wiltshire list containing books is that of the clergyman John James.⁵⁵³ The only item associated with literacy in the archaeological sample from outside of Salisbury is a scribe from Berwick St Leonard, a house which may be associated with clergy as a manor of Shaftesbury Abbey. Locks and keys are rare in the excavated sample from Wiltshire as a whole. Examples are limited to the seemingly higher status sites at Huish, Chapel Meadow, Membury and Berwick St Leonard, in addition to urban examples from Calne and Salisbury, with rural examples from the exceptional site at Gomeldon. This rarity is also reflected in the PAS dataset for the period 1300–1600, which includes a single padlock from Wiltshire, found at Castle Eaton near Swindon. Keys are more common, principally taking the form of casket keys, and it is noticeable that their distribution is largely focussed on the east of the county, a pattern also observed in the distribution of chests in the escheators' records. The escheators' records do not suggest that chests are particularly associated with urban or rural households, although in the vale their occurrence is limited to

⁵⁵¹ E556.

⁵⁵² C126; C445; C382.

⁵⁵³ C382.

the town of Malmesbury, and the comparatively wealthy John Lange of Lydiard Tregoze and Lydiard Millicent (total value just over £5), in the north-eastern corner of the county. The exception is John Burgeys of Westbury (total value 2s 10d), whose list appears incomplete, comprising only clothing, six wooden plates and a horse, in addition to his 'small chest'.⁵⁵⁴

The most striking distinction between town and country can be seen in the evidence for dress, and particularly the occurrence of chapes or lace ends, suggestive of the adoption of tighter fitted clothing towards the end of our period. These occur at a number of sites in Salisbury, particularly from sites of fifteenth–sixteenth century date, suggesting the widespread adoption of these fashions within the city. In the rural sample, examples are limited to single pieces from Highworth and Broad Blunsdon (a site dated to the fourteenth century), and an exceptionally large group of 53 from the site at Berwick St Leonard. This patterning is difficult to interpret. Where sites could be closely dated, the majority date to before c.1450 and therefore an absence of lace ends is, perhaps, to be expected. However, their general absence from rural sites in Wiltshire could suggest that new styles of dress were less enthusiastically adopted in the countryside than in the city of Salisbury. This is, perhaps, supported by the PAS dataset, which includes only a single lace tag, from Longbridge Deverell. Further evidence supporting a slower uptake of new fashions in the countryside is provided by the coroners' records. Both urban and rural lists include new fitted items such as jerkins and doublets, but the same lists often include items such as tunics and gowns. Noticeably, where occupation or status is given, those adopting these new fashions include labourers, a yeoman and a probable merchant or shopkeeper, all individuals who would have engaged in waged or entrepreneurial labour.

The dataset from Salisbury is too small to allow for comparison of consumption patterns within the city, but can be combined to create a composite signature which can be compared to the rural evidence. The picture which emerges is not one of clear urban/rural polarisation, but a more nuanced one of overlapping and varying patterns of consumption. A clear urban/rural divide cannot be drawn in relation to items associated with food, with the possible exception of mortars. While pewter tableware is absent from the archaeological sample for reasons of preservation, the escheators' and coroners' data suggests that it was in use in rural households from the first decade of the fifteenth century. The extents for debt suggests Salisbury's mercantile households used pewter in greater quantities. Subtleties can be deduced however, for example the likelihood that querns from the city were more likely associated with brewing, while those in the countryside could have been used for milling small quantities of grain from household agricultural holdings. Other objects occur in the Salisbury assemblage but are largely absent from the excavated settlements. However, coroners' and PAS data suggests that objects such as candlesticks and

⁵⁵⁴ E1434; E1143.

holders were not exclusively used in the city, and their absence from rural excavations may be an issue of recovery. The evidence for locks and chests may suggest variability in rural consumption along the lines of wealth or status. As with the national analysis presented in Chapter 9, the evidence suggests that rather than simply seeking an urban or rural signature, variability must be understood in relation to a variety of factors, including wealth, household economy and market connections.

Conclusion: understanding consumption patterns in medieval Wiltshire

The purpose of this discussion has been to assess the importance of a range of factors in determining the consumption habits of medieval households through a targeted case study. A wider range of objects appear to have been available to consumers in the city based on excavated material; however Portable Antiquities Scheme data suggests that objects such as candlesticks were used in the countryside, and this is supported by rural escheators' lists which include items commonly perceived as 'urban' such as items of soft furnishing and pewter tableware. The limited evidence provided by lists of seized goods from Salisbury suggests that it is the quantity of these goods which is the key marker of differentiation between Salisbury and the rest of the county, rather than their simple presence or absence. Where consumption is concerned, the distinction between town and country appears most marked in relation to dress. However, the strongest difference between town and country, as is to be expected, is in relation to the household economy, with a focus on craft production rather than agriculture being clearly demonstrated by the excavated evidence from Salisbury. This analysis, which incorporates the evidence of small towns, demonstrates that rather than positing a stark urban:rural dichotomy in terms of consumption, it is more appropriate to think of a continuous scale of variability, with difference being more marked in relation to specific categories of object, but also varying along lines of wealth and household economy, as was demonstrated in Chapter 9.

It might be anticipated that market proximity would be a key determinant of household consumption, but this is not borne out in the data. While objects such as stone mortars may have been available to rural households using the Salisbury market, the escheators' and coroners' data suggests that objects circulated widely through Wiltshire's commercial network. Metal cooking ware provides an example of a group of objects which appear to have been ubiquitously available. Other goods, such as tablewares, may initially have been available only through urban markets but came to be exchanged more widely over time. Where these rarer goods are present in households away from markets, it seems necessary to consider the alternative methods of exchange which these households may have, such as making use of the growing network of inns as trading

places, or direct engagement between households and merchants in the larger towns of the region. In sum, market proximity is more relevant in relation to the circulation of particular types of goods including tableware, soft furnishings and stone mortars. However, households with the means and desire to acquire goods not available in local markets appear to have found ways to do so.

It is the means to acquire these goods which appears to be the most significant variable in determining patterns of consumption in Wiltshire, with the strongest contrasts in consumption being visible in relation to household economy and regional agrarian regimes. As in the national sample, it is those households of middling wealth within our sample who appear to have invested less heavily in domestic goods, instead choosing to invest in agrarian production. For those poorer households who did not have the means or land to acquire and care for livestock, or for wealthier households, we can observe greater levels of acquisition of domestic goods beyond the basis items required for cooking and sleeping. The greater prevalence of such items in the vale might be associated with the breakdown of customary tenure, creating greater opportunities to engage in waged labour, as well as the arable, rather than pastoral, focussed husbandry regime of this region, which released households from the costs associated with animal husbandry.