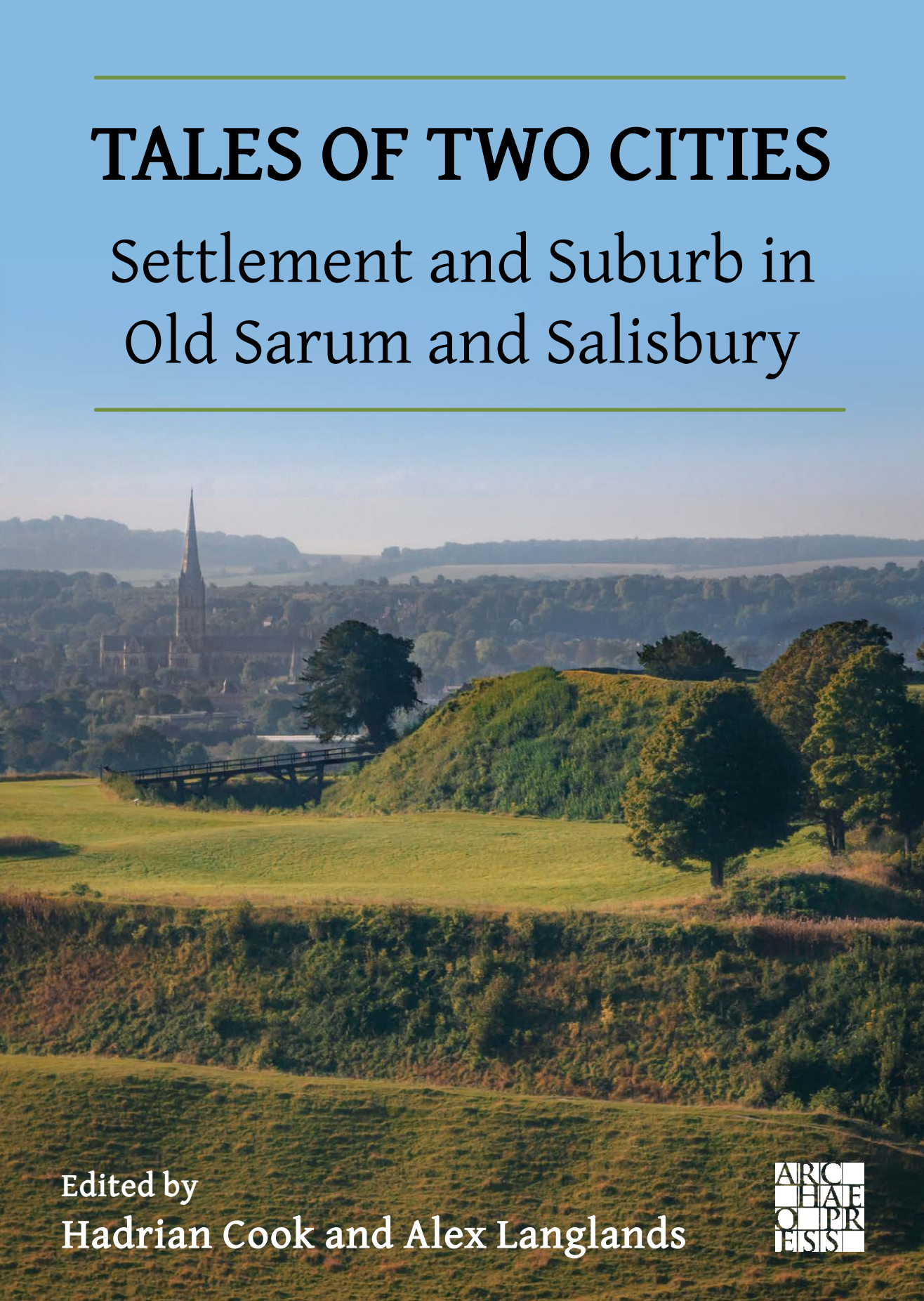
TALES OF TWO CITIES

Settlement and Suburb in Old Sarum and Salisbury



Edited by
Hadrian Cook and Alex Langlands

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Abbreviations

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

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Lorraine Mepham has worked in the field of archaeological ceramics, specialising in post-Roman pottery, for nearly 40 years, and has published extensively. For much of that time she was employed by Wessex Archaeology; her contribution to this volume was compiled during that period. She is currently a freelance finds specialist in ceramics.

Jamie Wright is a retired archaeologist who spent many years excavating locally and nationally, working for several companies including Wessex Archaeology and Cotswold Archaeology. He currently researches local history in Wiltshire, concentrating on Salisbury and specifically Fisherton. Jamie has published in the areas of industrial archaeology and local history.

An English city through time: Old Sarum to Salisbury

Alex Langlands and Hadrian Cook

> 'The hill is very steep, and I dismounted and led my horse up. Being as near to the top as I could conveniently get, I stood a little while reflecting, not so much on the changes which that hill had seen, as on the changes, which, in all human probability, it had *yet to see*, and which it would have greatly *helped to produce*. It was impossible to stand on this accursed spot, without swelling with indignation against the base and plundering and murderous sons of corruption. I have often wished, and I, speaking out loud, expressed the wish now; 'May that man perish for ever and ever, who, having the power, neglects to bring to justice the perjured, the suborning, the insolent and perfidious miscreants, who openly sell their country's rights and their own souls.'
>
> William Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, 1830.[1]

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

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

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

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

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

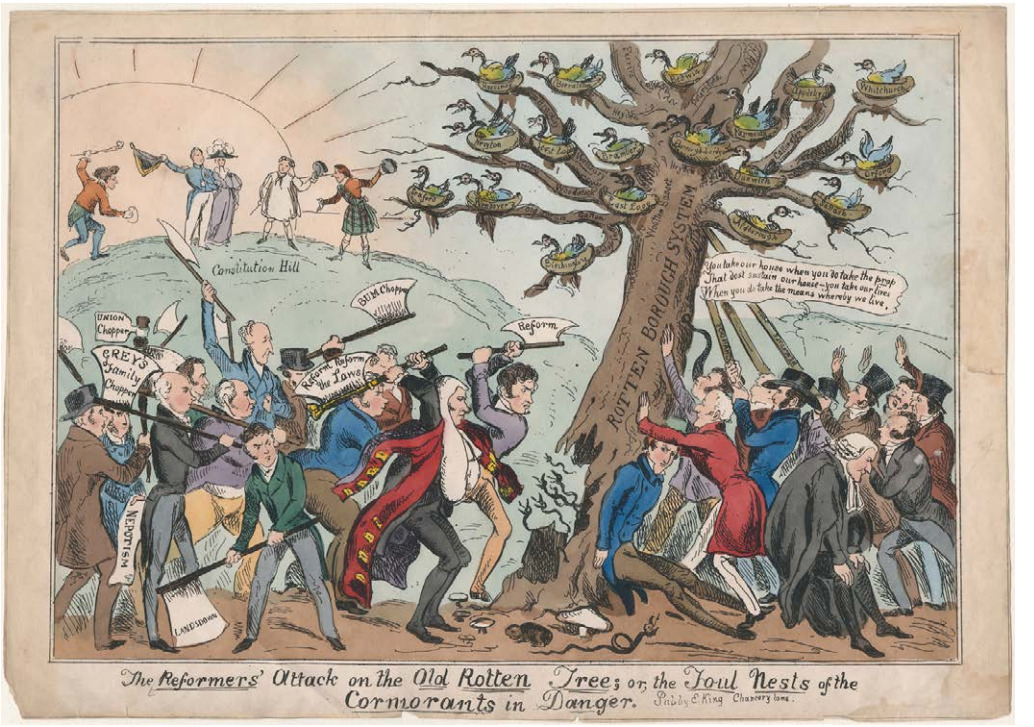

Figure 0.1: The reformers' attack on the old rotten tree; or the foul nests of the cormorants in danger, 1831, by E. King © Copyright National Portrait Gallery.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

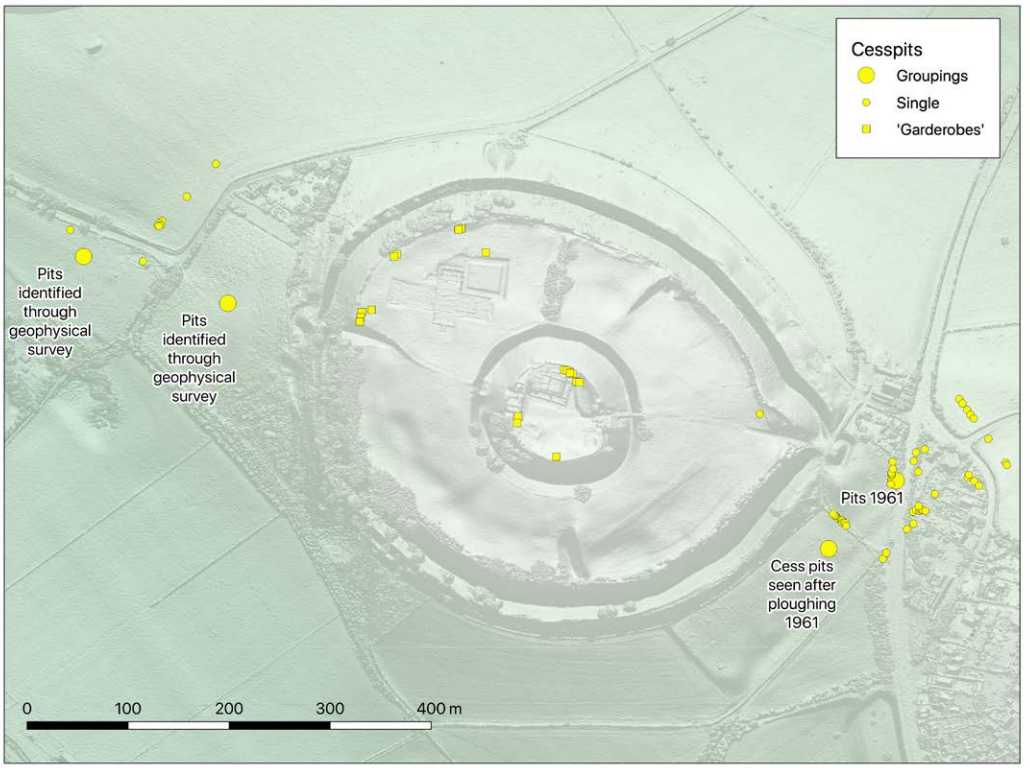

Figure 0.3: Distribution of cess pits recorded from archaeological excavations, surface scatters, and geophysical survey in the Old Sarum hinterland.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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