Cluster and Clash? Everyday Space and the Butchers of Late Medieval Winchester, c.1360-1420

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Carly Louise Deering, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: ______________________

Date: ______________________
Abstract

This project focuses on the everyday relationship between people and the urban environment in the later middle ages. How do the spaces people create and inhabit on a daily basis shape their experience of the urban environment? How does the townscape influence the ways in which they operate?

Focussing on the town of Winchester, c. 1360-1420, and the case study of the Winchester butchers, this project seeks to explore how this trade group interacted with the urban fabric. By the late medieval period, despite the contraction of the town the Winchester butchers were economically stable and operating in a key area of the marketplace. Various aspects of modern historiography describe butchers as marginalised, operating at the town limits and excluded from society. This project seeks to test this hypothesis on the Winchester case study.

Using an innovative technological approach, this project explores how the use of 3D CAD modeling technology may help address these issues. By creating a 3D model of Winchester c.1417, it plots the butchers’ movements and activities in order to explore the key questions more thoroughly. In doing so, it is possible to see not only how the Winchester butchers interact with the rest of society, but also how they constantly negotiate and respond to their surrounding landscape.

The use of such an approach assists in demonstrating that the apparent marginalisation of the Winchester butchers’ was complex. More broadly, this project reveals how such technological tools may help to explore the medieval urban fabric more deeply.
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Finally, I wish to thank Tim Scriven, for his energy, enthusiasm and for reminding me that there is a life beyond the thesis.
**Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ancient Usages</td>
<td>The Ancient Usages of the City of Winchester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Book</td>
<td>The Black Book of Winchester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR</td>
<td>Winchester Town Court Rolls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>Model Storyboards, referring to the storyboards in the booklet included in the back of this thesis, Appendix 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SJR</td>
<td>Rental and accounts of St John’s Hospital, Winchester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarrage 1417</td>
<td>Tarrage Roll 1417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCA</td>
<td>Winchester City Accounts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1: Introduction and Methodology

Figure 1.1 - Gentile Bellini, Procession in St Mark’s Square, 1496. Galleria dell’ Accademia, Venice.

‘[...] every order and estate, every rank and profession, was distinguished by its costume. The great lords never moved about without a glorious display of arms and liveries, exciting fear and envy.’¹

The realm of civic occasion and ceremony, depicted by contemporaries such as the painter Bellini and described by historians, for example in the classic historical work by Johan Huizinga, conjures an urban environment rich with colour, solemn symbolism, ritual and spectacle; one which left its actors moving as if ‘dancing a minuete.’² While important, such occasions were not the norm and punctuated the calendar of medieval urban life only at certain times of the year. More ordinarily, the medieval town was the stage for a complex set of regular rituals and movements linked to the experience of the working day. Whatever a person’s profession, be they a tailor, perfumer, builder or doctor, the working hours of the day would be spent entirely in accordance with their trade or status, leading

¹ Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (London, 1924), 10.
² Huizinga, Waning, 46.
them to inhabit and created very specific and individual spaces within the town. Selling goods, collecting supplies, visiting customers, even illegal deals and transactions required the use of particular urban spaces. In an urban environment where space was shared, such movements could lead to encounters and conflicts. A trip to the weekly wood or cloth market could lead to encounters with friends and enemies who also purchased there and journeying to it could involve regularly seeing those who worked nearby. A bread seller, selling from a basket from outside a tavern would no doubt be privy to all those who came in and out and who they were with. From the fourteenth century, the very mentalité towards how one apportioned such time was changing. Hours of the working day were no longer regarded as being from sunrise to sunset as secular bells now rang out in towns, formalizing the working segments of the day within which these activities and movements could take place: ‘time was no longer associated with cataclysms or festivals, but rather with daily life, a sort of chronological net in which urban life was caught.’ A ‘net’ had been created within which such seemingly small, yet crucial daily activities and movements would take place. While these were not the movements of spectacle and ceremony which ‘made life an art’ the spaces people inhabited or passed through every day could shape the experiences of life within a town.

The focus of this project is the everyday working spaces created and inhabited by late medieval craft groups. Central to this is the relationship between craft groups and the fabric of the town - namely how and in what ways it affected their daily experiences. To explore these issues, a case study will be investigated. The English town of Winchester has been chosen and the Winchester butchers are the key example to be explored.

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This project looks at the very specific spaces which the butchers created and inhabited throughout their working day. How did these spaces shape the butchers’ experience of the urban environment? Were the butchers part of the ‘hustle and bustle’ of the town or are they isolated? Aside from the more obvious spaces of work at the shop and stall, this thesis will also explore the various journeys the butchers undertook and evaluate how their movements could add to their perceptions of the town. How did the butchers engage with the fabric of late medieval Winchester and how did it affect their daily lives? Proximity to other groups, animals, buildings, street furniture and ephemera is explored. An assessment of the extent of space the butchers occupied during the working day is undertaken. A key issue addressed here is the apparent marginalisation of the butchers. In some aspects of the historiography, butchers are portrayed as deliberately isolated, forced to the margins of the town and of society due to the nature of their trade. Therefore, this project seeks to investigate the hypothesis that the butchers were marginalised in the urban landscape. The issues of marginalisation and a detailed analysis of the case study is outlined in detail in chapter 2.

Crucial to this project is also the central methodological issue of how information relating to space and movements may be processed and visualized in order to attempt to answer these questions more deeply. To address this, a 3D model of Winchester c.1417 has been created so that the movements and spaces inhabited by the butchers can be better evaluated. The technological approach used in this project provides a second strand of investigation, namely how such technologies may contribute to the study of urban history. The 2D maps created by Derek Keene in his seminal work on Winchester in the 1970s provided the basis for the 3D model.\(^5\) Winchester’s wealth of court rolls and additional administrative sources have enabled the town to ‘come to life’, providing information about daily activity in the town. The sources used for this project are discussed

in full in chapter 2. The technological approach used in this project allows for the butchers to be physically ‘plotted’ into the townscape in order to explore the key questions more thoroughly. A series of Storyboards of the 3D model have been created and are used to demonstrate points throughout this project. The Storyboards can be found in Appendix 2 of this thesis, included as a separate booklet. There is also a digital copy of the booklet included on the town model CD-ROM. It is recommended that the storyboards are referred to alongside the text. In order that the best views of the model were made available, the storyboards are not of a uniform size. The entire town model has been included on a CD-ROM, which can be found in the back of this thesis, Appendix 3. The creation of the Winchester visualisation will be discussed in detail in this chapter.

This chapter firstly will provide a historiographical discussion of key concepts and methodologies which have informed this project. It will then move on to discuss virtual modeling, its place within academic enquiry and the reasons for this type of approach within this project. The final section of this chapter provides an analysis of the SketchUp software used to create the model included in this thesis as well as a detailed description of how the virtual model was created.
1.1 Historiography

Four key books have provided wider inspiration for this project. One of the main works which initially sparked my interest in the historic town was Lewis Mumford’s 1961 publication *The City in History*, a sweeping panoramic tour of communities and their environments from Palaeolithic sanctuaries to the ‘Megalopolis’ of the then modern day. Mumford is famous for his unique style, drawing on multiple disciplines and pulling them together with elements of philosophy and psychoanalysis with flowing, organic prose, all illustrated with examples of contemporary art, maps and aerial photography. *The City in History* may be read like a personal treatise; threaded through the discussion is Mumford’s steadfast faith in the importance of ‘a common culture’ that he believes was able to flourish in the organically growing urban communities of the past. He ends the work by stating what he saw as the dangers of the vast and ‘dehumanising’ modern city. While criticised for romanticising historical communities, his descriptions, particularly of the medieval urban environment, may actually be seen as offering an alternative viewpoint, one which appreciated the towns and cities which hitherto were regarded passively: to Mumford, towns and cities may be beautiful, functional and full of life. His rich descriptions of the architecture, buildings and daily routine are so irresistibly evocative he easily brings the urban environment to life with a real sense of immediacy, such as in this description of a walker negotiating a medieval town:

‘Horizontal banks of windows were common in houses and horizontal string courses, boldly emphasised, break the vertical movement of the towers in Salisbury or Notre Dame of Paris, not less than in the Duomo in Florence. But, for all that, the usual movement of the walker’s eye is up and down, and the direction of the walker’s movement, always changing, would constantly help to create dynamic, three-dimensional spatial forms

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6 Donald L. Millar’s biography of Mumford sets the man, his ideas (or famously ‘idea’) in their cultural context: Donald Millar, *Lewis Mumford: A Life* (New York, 1989).
through every further passage, with a feeling of constriction in the narrow streets and of release as one suddenly came into the parvis or the market-place’.7

Still regarded as provocative forty years after its publication, The City in History encourages readers to re-assess the way in which they regard the urban form and serves as a reminder that it is an environment which should be appreciated in its entirety and that we should not be afraid to consider it as a living, breathing entity. In addition, Mumford discusses space and the senses within the urban environment decades before they were regarded as serious categories within cultural history. The creativity and originality of Mumford has made this an inspiring work.

The work of the eminent geographer Yi Fu Tuan has also proved extremely valuable, in particular, his 1977 publication Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience, now considered a critical text on human geography. While Tuan focussed on a broad study of people and their relationship with the environment in his previous work Topophilia, Space and Place looks more closely at the ways in which people feel emotions towards space and how this may change over time. Particularly poignant for the development of this thesis’ argument is Tuan’s discussion of issues surrounding everyday spatial awareness, crowding and the influence of architecture, often drawing on mental mapping; ‘..spatial skill lies in performing ordinary daily tasks, spatial knowledge, while it enhances that skill, is not necessary to it. People who are good at finding their way in the city may be poor at giving street directions to the lost’.8 While the work is largely about raising questions, it has been an important starting point particularly when considering the actions of people moving through and using familiar environments.

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8 Yi Fu Tuan, Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience (New York, 1977), 68.
Works exploring urban sub-cultures have been extremely informative for approaching historic towns, and this appears to be an area which has provided much innovation in both the approach and methodology when regarding the urban environment. Matt Houlbrook’s 2005 groundbreaking work, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasure in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957*, highlights the crucial relationship between a city and its inhabitants. As London police frequently prosecuted homosexuals in London throughout the interwar years, Houlbrook uses police and trial reports to map the sexual geographies of gay men and reconstruct the pubs, clubs, parks, baths, urinals and lodging rooms within which they met. In doing so, he is able to show how a previously invisible, vast and vibrant queer culture in the interwar years may be reconstructed. At the heart of the work is the argument that male ‘sexual practices and identities do not just take place in the city; they are shaped and sustained by the physical and cultural forms of modern urban life just as they in turn shape that life.’ Houlbrook’s work highlights the endless possibilities that an exploration of urban space may offer, and the depth and detail of the lives and experiences of London’s gay inhabitants that he is able to uncover is remarkable. While this may not be achieved with other periods or source bases, a methodology which makes use of less obvious sources for spatial reconstruction is something to be considered in all periods.

Kevin Mumford’s 1997 publication, *Interzones: Black/White Sex Districts in Chicago and New York in the Early Twentieth Century*, explores the emergence of spaces of interracial culture. In the opposite way to Houlbrook who traces individuals through urban space, Mumford studies these fixed spaces within Chicago and New York and maps the changing communities who used them. The particular spaces he focuses on often lay within or on the margins of African-American neighbourhoods and contained the brothels,

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dance halls and saloons that had been moved away from more ‘respectable’ urban zones. K. Mumford argues that as such, these became critical meeting points where marginal social groups - black, white, heterosexual and homosexual - met, socialised and created their own vibrant cultural space, transforming them into ‘interzones’. Crucially for this project, K. Mumford illustrates part of his work by using a small series of 2D griddle maps, highlighting key locations and their various zones over time, Figure 1.2 is just one example.

**Figure 1.2** - 2D griddle map to show the progression of vice in New York from the late nineteenth century to the modern era. Taken from Mumford, *Interzones*, 24.
K. Mumford’s work puts forward what may be revealed by exploring a fixed space and suggests interesting ways in which such research may be visualised. In addition to these important works, passing note may be made to the swathes of fiction which has provided endless inspiration for the evocation of urban environments, particularly that of Robin Hobb, China Miéville and Patrick Süskind.¹¹

1.2. Space and Spatial Theory

Space is a key concept that this thesis makes use of. More than twenty years on from the spatial turn, space has become a hugely important and diverse tool and indeed subject matter for historians. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka, two scholars who have done much to drive this development in medieval history through their key edited volume, Medieval Practices of Space, have discussed how the versatility of spatial study may be demonstrated by the numerous nouns and adjectives which now accompany the term; ‘mental space, ideological space, literary space, the space of the imagination, the space of dreams, utopian space, imaginary space, technological space, cultural space and social space are some of the terms which have emerged alongside the Euclidean, isotropic, or absolute space.’¹² For medieval urban history, space has also become a hugely diverse field of study and has been established as a tool by which to explore all manner of social, geographical and cultural relationships. It is important to first put the field into its context by looking at the movement in broad terms, then to move on to more specific works which have been key for this thesis.


Religious Space

While this thesis is concerned with the space of the everyday working environment, an important area of the historiography is that which deals with the exploration of religious space. This has been driven in part by studies of ecclesiastical architecture and archaeology, sparked initially by the landmark publication _The Gothic Cathedral_ by Otto von Simpson, who first put forward the idea that the Gothic form reflected the medieval Christian imagination. As such, this field really drove the exploration of space at its initial stages. Von Simpson’s work led to more studies which paid attention to the patrons who paid for their construction and thus the wider culture they fitted into. Roberta Gilchrist’s pioneering work employed a spatial theory to the monastic houses of England which resulted in a new reading of nuns’ houses, uncovering gendered meanings in their establishment and operation. Numerous works have built upon this topic including those by Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury. Megan Cassidy-Welch’s exploration of thirteenth century English Cistercian monasteries in Yorkshire has used space as a tool by which to explore the uses and meanings of two different communities within the same place: primarily those of novices and monks. Dawn Marie Hayes’ work _Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389_ further explores the contemporary meaning of sacred space using Chartres cathedral as its main example.

Historical studies of the church which have highlighted its role within the wider community have also had a significant impact on the study of sacred space. Eamon

15 Virginia C. Raguin, Sarah Stanbury eds., _Women’s Space: Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church_ (New York, 2005).
Duffy’s landmark study of the late medieval and early modern period, *The Stripping of the Altars*, highlighted how material culture in particular would have been experienced daily and during ritual festivities.\(^{18}\) The work of Miri Rubin has placed the Corpus Christi feast into its wider context, with a focus on popular culture in particular, establishing the key role of guilds and issues around local power and popular devotion.\(^{19}\) As a result of this thinking, interdisciplinary studies and projects began to investigate urban churches, with an emphasis on space. In 1998, Terry Slater and Gervase Rosser published an edited volume of their findings as part of a five-year multidisciplinary project to view the impact of churches on towns.\(^{20}\) Six of the twelve studies were concerned with space, in particular the topographic influence of the church on medieval town planning by Keith Lilley, Brian J. Graham, Nigel Baker and Richard Holt.\(^{21}\) As one of the only geographers in the UK contributing to this discussion, Keith Lilley has taken his exploration of the link between urban morphologies and religious thought further in his 2009 publication *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form, Urban Life in the Middle Ages: 1000-1450*.\(^{22}\) The edited volume *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Medieval Towns* drew together current thinking about the topic through case studies in the Low Countries, Germany and the British Isles, firmly establishing ‘sacred space’ as a field of study within itself for urban study.


historians. Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer’s 2005 edited volume *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* took this as its theme and again featured fifteen scholars from a range of disciplines exploring aspects of domestic space, topography and power. Other studies have focussed singularly on key religious festivities and their impact on space, including that of Christian Frost who explored the routes of religious processions in his study of medieval Salisbury.

**Urban Civic Space and Spaces of Commerce**

As well as being used to better understand the religious and spiritual aspects of the urban environment, space has been used to explore aspects of elite socio-political power and civic identity in towns and cities. Particularly important for this thesis, the medieval town has been established as not merely a stage for the complex set of activities and rituals which make up urban culture, but as a key factor in shaping it. Further, that space could be knowingly used by individuals and groups to their advantage. This could be deliberate use for a political end by an elite group, or by the less enfranchised taking advantage of a space that was available to them. The negotiation of urban space is a key theme in historiography. Often cited in these discussion is the urban marketplace, the main focus of this thesis. The following section will discuss key works which have helped influence and inform the discussion in this project.

While this thesis focusses on Winchester’s butchers, a group who may not be considered elite, much work on the relationship between elites and urban space has been

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23 Paul Trio and Marjan De Smet eds. *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Late Medieval Towns* (Leuven, 2006).


informative for this project for a variety of reasons. Lorrainne Atreed’s work on Exeter, Shrewsbury, Norwich and York has highlighted the ways in which town elites used urban space to enforce the law and to consolidate power. Atreed highlights the contentions and disputes that can occur around urban space, focussing on violent cases in each of her town examples. While this thesis does not deal with such extremes, Atreed’s work is useful to understand the emotional investment in space, the conflict it could cause, as well as the role of arbitration. At the same time, she highlights the amount of pride medieval inhabitants invested in their neighborhoods, as illustrated by her short case study of York and disputes with neighboring religious bodies. The importance of negotiation, often constant, is made very clear. Atreed also shows that such negotiation was frequently shaped by complex social relationships, such as her discussion about contested space in the York suburb Bootham, where the situation was ‘exacerbated’ by the distrust of the local abbot.

The work on fifteenth century Ghent and its relationship with its overlords, the dukes of Burgundy, undertaken by David Nicholas, Wim Blockmans, Marc Boone, Walter Prevenier and Peter Arnade is part of this discussion and has resulted in significant contributions to the complexity of civic space. Arnade’s *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent*, published in 2006 and Boone’s 2002 article explore this relationship through analysing ceremony. Both works firmly established the role of urban space within power struggles for political legitimacy and that ritual space

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was a place where arguments could be debated and settled. As much of the discussion in this thesis centers on and around the marketplace, Arnade’s work has been of particular poignancy due to his discussion of the spaces of commerce. In his chapter on the civic world of Ghent, he sets out how the city’s patricians and guildmen contested the encroachment of the Burgundian state through public ritual. By focussing on their use of the Vrijdagmarkt, a central and important marketing centre, but also a key social and civic space, he reveals that they were attempting to tap into existing social networks and traditions already apparent in the town. By trying to ‘borrow’ from the authority Ghent’s urban society had already invested in the Vrijdagmarkt, Arnade not only underlines the complexities of the urban marketplace, but also how conscious medieval groups were to the significance of it. The Ghent elites were carefully targeting an audience whereby they deliberately used ‘key spaces, special times and value-laden symbols’ all in equal measure to do so.

James Masschaele’s seminal article on the public space of the English urban marketplace has been crucial to this investigation. Masschaele is able to conceptualize the functions and nature of the marketplace setting it out as an important social institution. As he states: ‘a trip to the market was a social occasion as well as an economic imperative.’ While this is not a new concept, it is one which perhaps had not been explicitly stated in such a way previously. He constructs the marketplace much in a similar way to Lewis Mumford’s vivid descriptions of entire cities; describing them as vibrant

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30 Arnade, Realms of Ritual, 42. See also Peter Stabel, “The Market Place and Civic Identity in Late Medieval Flanders”, 43-64 in Marc Boone and Peter Stabel eds., Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe (Leuven, 2000).


spaces, places in the town to see and be seen, to hear and to be heard. Places within which news could be spun in front of crowds, all of which he firmly grounds in tantalizing glimpses of gossip in court evidence and regulation from the medieval record. This concept has been influential to this thesis and underpins much discussion of the butchers’ workplace, located in the centre of the marketplace, in chapter 4.

Tony Scrase and James Davis’ work on street furniture has been extremely useful in adding to such concepts of the marketplace. Davis will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter. Scrase’s work on crosses, gates and conduits in the South West of England is interesting from a methodological standpoint as he discusses how he went about undertaking a survey of an entire region. Crucial for this study however is that he places the wells and crosses into their practical context. He briefly touches upon the combined impact such structures could have when placed together, an issue that is investigated in this thesis in chapter 4.

Further research on Ghent has informed this project. Shennan Hutton’s work in Albrecht Classen’s edited volume Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age offers a nuanced view of the medieval marketplace in Ghent by exploring the spatial experiences of female traders. While this thesis does not explore gender explicitly, Hutton’s work is interesting from a methodological viewpoint as she explores one group and their interaction of the urban fabric using various types of court record. A crucial point for this thesis, she explains how she is reconstructing the ‘usually invisible operations of women and men.’


the position of mid-level markets if they were able to negotiate the complexities of the spatial rules of the marketplace and market halls. While this thesis is predominately concerned with spaces which are outdoors, research on interaction with interiors has been useful, particularly that of archaeologist Katherine Giles. Giles’ publication on York guildhalls, has done much to spark thought about how groups used and interacted with the fabric of buildings. Particularly interesting is the use of maps, elevations and photographs to explore the survey of three guildhalls. While the formatting of the publication itself has been criticized, it is an interesting insight into one way of visually articulating the history of particular spaces.

Research on the ways in which urban space is articulated by inhabitants has also been helpful for this project. One of the most influential works in this context is Daniel Lord Smail’s 2000 publication on Late Medieval Marseille. This has been considered a groundbreaking work which establishes an analytical framework for exploring how urban communities thought about their surroundings. Smail examines the terminology used in documents concerning property rites, created by public notaries and seigniorial officials in Marseille including site clauses, methods of addressing and notorial quittances. In doing so, Smail is able to construct ‘speech communities’; common ways in which these groups write and think about their own environment. While it is an important study of written culture, it also explores how one particular group of people in the urban environment thought about their surroundings and mapped them out, without the use of drawings. Crucially, Smail argues that the notaries and officials in his case study thought about


Marseille in a way which differed from other groups within the city: ‘there can be a considerable difference between the way the city is mapped by its bureaucracy and the way it is mapped by its residents.’ Michael Camille’s influential article on street signs in medieval Paris revealed much about the way people chose to articulate those spaces. In such a simple way, Camille shows here how those outside of the bureaucracy could take ownership of the urban fabric, concluding that ‘...the city streets were a realm of more elastic and self-generated signification.’ He also enters into the important wider discussion already highlighted here by Davis and Scrase, that visual symbols were a complex but crucial way for inhabitants to understand and use the built environment. As he says: ‘urban life puts more emphasis upon visual recognition, and the importance of visual signs certainly suggests another kind of quotidian literacy, based not upon textual learning but another system of understood symbols and structure.’

Spatial Theory

Theory about space and its usage is an important aspect of this thesis. It underpins much of the discussion and interpretation of space by Winchester inhabitants and others. Spatial theory has been essential to the study of urban space and has driven its development as a discipline. Henri Lefebvre’s work *La Production de l’espace*, originally published in 1974 and translated into English in 1991, highlighted the potential such an approach may hold for historians. By ridding it of its more traditional definition, Lefebvre

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39 Smail, *Imaginary Cartographies*, 12.


suggested that space may be created, altered and thus, read. He argued that three concepts of spatial practice, representations of spaces and representational spaces must be embraced in order to study it fully. He also discusses urban space itself, noting that we should not limit our understanding of it to the economic aspect and that there should also be room for additional definitions of the term. This revolutionized the way in which urban space was considered and thus approached. Since then, Lefebvre's hugely influential though general work has been adopted and nuanced by historians to better suit the circumstances of the medieval environment and it is still considered as a key starting point for thinking on urban space. In the important special edition of the Journal of Interdisciplinary History on space, Arnade, Howell and Simons point out the importance of Lefebvre to historians: ‘Although the articles that constitute this volume were not written as direct responses to Lefebvre, it is his work, more than any other single tradition of scholarship, that throws into relief the issues they take up and illuminate.’ This quote may also describe the way in which historians now use Lefebvre in general, as an inspiration behind their work rather than as a specific methodology.

Having established new meanings and approaches to space, the works of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu were influential in establishing that space could be a contested territory over which groups and individuals exert power and control. In Power/Knowledge Foucault states ‘a whole history remains to be written of spaces- which at the

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43 Lefebvre, Production, 266.
same time would be a history of powers." Bourdieu, too, drew a link between space and power through his studies of the Berbers in Morocco. He argued that the spaces we inhabit embody the laws and structures of the community, however unconscious these may be. In his famous study of the Kabyle house, he explored concepts not only of public and private space but of female and male space. This was a study which had a huge influence on the approach to the relationship between space and community. A good example of Bourdieu's theory being used can be found in Barbara Hanawalt's article on gender and the household, which directly draws upon the wider conclusion of the Kabyle house findings, namely that 'the power of dominant groups lies, in part, in its ability to control the ordering of space for subservient groups.' In her research utilising coroners' inquests and trial records, Hanawalt explores the spatial experiences of medieval rural and urban women, arguing that 'the space women could occupy with freedom of movement was the home, the village, and the city quarter...For country women, the area outside the village was dangerous; for city dwellers, taverns posed a risk to reputation and of violent assault.' She concludes by arguing that 'restrictions over their spatial freedom was one of the simplest means of social control that modern historians have largely overlooked.'

For this thesis, however, the work of Foucault is particularly important. Foucault, like Bourdieu, engaged with issues of spatial privacy in his study of visibility and surveillance, detailing complexities about space that took the analysis far beyond the initial

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public/private boundaries. The work of Foucault has been particularly influential in explorations of elite space, especially in regard to his employment of the Panopticon prison model, an idea first put forward by the philosopher Jeremy Bentham. The Panopticon was a prison constructed in such a way which enables the guards to observe the inmates without them knowing they are being watched. Foucault famously used this as a metaphor for society within which elite bodies and institutions observe the community, controlling its behaviours. As such, he argued schools, factories and prisons resemble one another as they observe, then discipline and punish if a member does not conform. Medieval historians have made much use of this theory, in particular in discussion of methods of crime and punishment. The work of Mitchell B. Merback in particular draws on Foucault in his discussion of public punishment in the later middle ages and he sets out the what he saw as the ‘ritual’ of punishment. Foucault’s theory using the Panopticon prison model is engaged with critically in chapter 4.

Michel de Certeau’s work, in particular The Practice of Everyday Life, originally published in French in 1980 has also been hugely influential for historians studying space. De Certeau revisits the theories put forward by Bourdieu, Foucault and others, arguing that there is no formal way to examine culture in everyday situations. De Certeau argues for ‘practice’ as an analytical category, which may include everyday actions such as walking. Focusing on the ‘consumer’ of space, he argues that ‘space is practiced place’ and that a walker has the power to create spatial stories and to subvert the normal order through walking. This theory has been much used by historians exploring medieval ritual, but also

52 Jeremy Bentham, Panopticon; or, the Inspection House (London, 1791).
more recently by Daniel Lord Smail in his work on medieval justice.\footnote{Daniel L. Smail, *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity and Legal Culture in Marseille* (New York, 2003).} He uses de Certeau’s theories to convincingly argue that medieval trials were important spatial stories, drawing both literal and figurative borders in the urban environment. As such, he notes that while the trials themselves were important; ‘The public nature of accusation and the social drama of taking an enemy to court were just as significant.’\footnote{Smail, *The Consumption of Justice*, 23.} Shennan Hutton, in her work on the gendering of Ghent’s marketplaces discussed previously in this chapter, also uses de Certeau’s work. She brilliantly describes her process of using his ideas as a way to bring together fragmentary sources of actual practice, alongside ‘normative’ sources, including market regulations, to reveal the \textit{actual} practice of the marketplace.\footnote{Hutton, ‘Women, Men and Markets’, 409-32.} While Hutton’s is not a new way of employing de Certeau’s theory, it is demonstrative of its poignancy for this project. De Certeau’s theories are applied in more depth in chapter 4 of this thesis, but they are also useful when considering the approach to the project as a whole. This project brings together the regulation of Winchester’s governing body (strategies) with fragmentary evidence from court rolls (strategies and tactics) to reconstruct the ways in which the Winchester butchers used urban space.

These four key thinkers’ models and perspectives are still widely used and considered as a way for medieval historians to ‘answer old questions and pose new ones by making space a central theoretical concern.’\footnote{Arnade, ‘Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe’, 516.} The approach of this thesis has taken into account all four of these key theorists. The work of Foucault in particular has been useful when considering the possible relationship between the butchers and elites as discussed in chapter 4.\footnote{Chapter 4, 246-62.} Most relevant for this thesis as a whole however is the work of

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\footnote{Daniel L. Smail, *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity and Legal Culture in Marseille* (New York, 2003).}

\footnote{Smail, *The Consumption of Justice*, 23.}

\footnote{Hutton, ‘Women, Men and Markets’, 409-32.}

\footnote{Arnade, ‘Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe’, 516.}

\footnote{Chapter 4, 246-62.}
Michel de Certeau. His emphasis of the importance of everyday practice supports such an investigation into daily life and as such his work underpins the rationale behind the creation of the town model. De Certeau’s arguments highlighting the significance of the pedestrian support arguments developed in chapters 4 and 5 which discuss the butchers’ movements throughout the working day.\textsuperscript{60} By providing such movement with significance, it allows these journeys of the butchers to be viewed as worthy of consideration as ‘the act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statement uttered.’\textsuperscript{61}

\textbf{Medieval Crafts}

The historiography of medieval crafts can be seen to have taken two distinct paths: that which explored the religious, charitable and ceremonial life of guilds and that which focused on economic trade and commercial activity. This thesis fits within the context of the latter, which will now be discussed.\textsuperscript{62} Given the breadth of this topic the discussion here will be limited to those key works which influenced the writing about English trade in the later middle ages, then move on to highlight those works which have been particularly influential to this thesis.

The historiography of commercial activity stems as far back as key works produced by social and economic historians in the first half of the twentieth century including the works of Louis F. Salzman, Eileen Lipson and in particular the seminal work

\textsuperscript{60} Most relevant here is de Certeau, “Part III: Spatial Practices” in \textit{Everyday Life}, 91-131.

\textsuperscript{61} de Certeau, \textit{Everyday Life}, 97.

\textsuperscript{62} The historiography of Guilds has of course helped to inform the broader understanding of craft groups within urban life and society but will not be explored further here. Key works include: John Henderson, \textit{Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence} (Oxford, 1994); Richard Mackenney, \textit{Tradesmen and Traders: The World of the Guilds in Venice and Europe c.1250-c.1650} (London, 1987); Anthony Black, \textit{Guild and State: European Political Thought from the Twelfth Century to the Present} (London, 1984); Christopher F. Black, \textit{Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century} (Cambridge, 1989).
Such works sparked a long-standing discussion of trade which would often be framed around what was seen as the changing commercial fortunes of England in the later middle ages. Within this context, the exploration of individual crafts emerged as a way to better explore the wider economy, but also to develop as an important field in its own right.

Directly inspired by Postan and Power’s work, Sylvia Thrupp’s investigation of merchants in medieval London published in 1948 not only produced a highly detailed account of this elite group which is still much quoted by urban historians, but it produced statistical evidence which backed up current trends in thought about the fluid nature of English society. Thrupp paved the way for key works in the decades which followed which shed light on other trades and placed them in their wider context. Anthony R. Bridbury’s work explored the English salt trade within its international setting, especially within the French and German context; Elspeth Veale’s comprehensive study of the English fur trade in the 60s was a key work on skinners, documenting not only the structure and technical aspects of the trade, but also charting fashions and in doing so became an important work about consumption in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As the wool trade was so important to the medieval economy of England from the late thirteenth to the late fifteenth century, its exploration features heavily across the decades within the historiography. Eleanora Carus-Wilson’s 1967 publication was a key addition to this, as it brought together her vast research on the medieval wool trade and cloth industry into one volume. A broad work, it explored trade relations hitherto undocumentcd, such as


the intricacies of shipping, trade within Iceland and the important trading relationship between Bristol and Ireland. Lloyd’s work revisited the English wool trade in 1977 and built directly upon Carus-Wilson’s research with the important addition of a detailed study of the export trade, including English, Flemish and Italian markets. Margery James’ study of the medieval wine trade published in the early 1970s was another important publication which brought together a lifetime of work. Posthumously published and edited by Elspeth Veale, the work set an additional trade within its broader context and explored it changing fortunes in the fifteenth century.

By the 1980s, interest had shifted in particular to rural markets and their relation to urban economies. Richard Britnell’s research on urban and rural markets helped highlight their importance to the economy of England and J. Ambrose Raftis’ case study of Godmanchester questioned for the first time what historians meant with the term ‘borough’, setting out a possible model which could be used for the explorations of ‘small towns’, then a rarely used or understood term. The work of John Langdon on transport was also important for understanding the impact of animals and technical changes to urban and rural economies and trades. In the same decade Britnell produced an important chronological case study of the cloth town of Colchester, highlighting the dynamics of change in the later medieval period in England. In it he called into question previous generalising accounts of urban decline in late medieval England caused by epidemics and in doing so called for more individual and in depth studies to be undertaken so a clearer

70 John Langdon, Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation: the Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066 to 1500 (Cambridge, 1986).
picture could emerge, the impact of which would be seen in the next decades. It was within this climate that Derek Keene published his survey on medieval Winchester, which will be discussed in greater depth in the following chapter.

Heather Swanson’s 1989 publication on different crafts and industries shed light on trades which had previously been neglected, including those involved in victualling, clothing and building.\(^{71}\) Focusing primarily on York but bringing in examples from additional English towns, she was able to document relations between artisans and elite bodies of towns. Providing the technical detail to go alongside such research was the work of Blair and Ramsey, who produced a volume a few years later charting the practicalities of certain medieval trades, illustrated with images of excavated objects, a valuable reference tool for the deeper understanding of how the intricacies of crafts were undertaken.\(^{72}\) In 1993, an extensive and influential survey on London’s grain trade in the first half of the fourteenth century was published by a team of scholars all linked to the Centre for Metropolitan History at the University of London, including Bruce Cambell, Derek Keene, James Galloway and Margaret Murphy.\(^{73}\) A key result of the project was that it documented trade contacts that reached 100 miles from the city. Following this, Richard Britnell published the


\(^{73}\) The project was split into two phases; Feeding the city (I): London's impact on the agrarian economy of southern England, c.1250-1350 and Feeding the City II: London's impact on the agrarian economy of southern England, c.1290-1400. This also prompted the following publications; Derek Keene, 'Medieval London and its region' in *London Journal* 14 (1989), 99-111; James A. Galloway and Margaret Murphy, 'Feeding the City: Medieval London and its agrarian hinterland' in *The London Journal* 16, no. 1 (1991), 3-14; Bruce M. S. Campbell, James A. Galloway and Margaret Murphy, 'Rural land-use in the metropolitan hinterland, 1270-1339: the evidence of Inquisitiones Post Mortem' in *Agricultural History Review* 40, (1992), 1-22; Margaret Murphy and James A. Galloway, 'Marketing Animals and Animal Products in London's Hinterland circa 1300' in *Anthropozoologica* 16 (1992), 93-9; James Galloway, Margaret Murphy and Olwen Myhill eds., *Kentish Demesne Accounts up to 1350: A Catalogue* (Kent, 1993); Bruce M. S. Campbell, James A. Galloway, Derek Keene and Margaret Murphy, *A Medieval Capital and its Grain Supply: Agrarian Production and Distribution in the London Region, c.1300*, (London, 1993).
key work on commercial development over half a century emphasizing an institutional framework of commercial change from which the project sprang.74

A key point in the historiography is Jenny Kermode’s study of medieval merchants in York, Beverley and Hull.75 Deeply influenced by the work of Thrupp, Kermode argues ultimately that merchants in the three towns did develop a sense of class identity that emphasized their wealth and the distinctive nature of their occupation.76 Kermode’s study saw the beginning of a trend which explored the importance of working identities.77 The edited volume by James Bothwell, Jeremy Goldberg and Mark Ormrod addressed crucial issues on the topic of working life in the changing nature of the fourteenth century.78 Maryanne Kowaleski’s commodity-specific analysis of medieval Exeter engaged critically with current debates on commercialisation advocated by Richard Britnell and others.79 Her model was based on geographical diversification rather than population density, differential access to arable resources, and the forced reliance on market transactions. This work has been particularly useful for this study due to her detailed investigations of the trade in livestock and hides and of the closely-related livestock, hide, and leather goods industries.

With such an emphasis on the economic aspect on medieval crafts, social change and interaction was initially overlooked. In recent years, this has changed significantly. Justin Colson’s PhD research has been particularly important for the study of late medieval urban society. His 2011 thesis “Local Communities in Fifteenth Century London: Craft,

74 Richard H. Britnell and Bruce M. S. Campbell, eds., A Commercialising Economy: England 1086 to c. 1300 (Manchester, 1995).
76 Kermode, Medieval Merchants, 313.
77 Christopher Dyer, Making a Living in the Middle Ages: the People of Britain, 850-1520 (London, 2002).
79 Maryanne Kowaleski, Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter (Cambridge, 1995).
Parish and Neighbourhood” uses GIS mapping and social network analysis to reconstruct the networks of ‘local sociability’ in the fifteenth century. Colson explores the interconnections between four neighbouring London parishes by mapping property boundaries, chronologies of ownership and social relationships expressed in wills. With a particular focus on the London fishmongers, by reconstructing the personal histories of these individuals he simultaneously reconstructs the history of social networks in a specific area. While Colson's use of technology is innovative and interesting, his work is of particular interest to this study due to his specific focus on the locations and residences of trades and their influence on personal interaction. He notes: ‘The economic and physical topography of the area, together with civic and company custom, conspired to set a particular combination of circumstances before its residents, influencing their business activities, social activities and even revealing their likely origins.’ Despite the myriad of changes to the community during the century, including changes to local craft structures, Colson demonstrated that in London the strength of more informal social ties in the neighbourhood remained just as strong as previously. These conclusions will be further explored in Chapter 4.

The work of James Davis on the English marketplace has also been influential to this thesis. In his recent publication *Medieval Market Morality*, Davis reveals how the cultural and religious environment of England informed commercial development. Davis highlights the vast variety of sources by theologians, friars, canonists, moralists and secular complaint poets which discuss the moral function of trade and the marketplace. In doing this, he exposes the ways in which the framework of regulations, morals and attitudes within the marketplace were shaped by wider culture. He notes: ‘Without a proper understanding of the morality and social conventions of the marketplace, the historian

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cannot understand the influence of formal institutions.'

Within his work, Davis places market traders within their cultural context, who had a complex but crucial role in society. From their practical functions simply as sellers of necessary goods, to symbol of certain vices in popular literature, Davis shows how the traders of the town were understood. In addition, his work on specific aspects of street furniture in the context of the marketplace has been particularly helpful. Davis’ work on the town cross and pillory puts forward important ideas about the complex role street furniture could play in regard to the cultural experience of the urban fabric. He discusses the interplay between the symbolic meaning of the cross and pillory and how this was then manipulated by various urban groups. In a sense, he presents a microcosm of the spacial power-play at work in Arnade’s late medieval Ghent. The market cross is shown to be imbued with the rules, moral obligations and Christian symbolism inextricable linked to it. As such, there were ‘shared cultural expectations’ about the space and the cross within it which urban elites could make use of. However, Davis raises the point that while market traders understood the intuitional authority symbolised by such street furniture, practicalities of using the market meant that this authority could sometimes be ignored and deliberately flouted. His work on the market cross in particular, with its myriad of meanings and functions has assisted in the exploration of these structures in chapter 3 and 4 of this thesis.

In addition, James Masschaele’s key article on the space of the medieval marketplace has both inspired and informed this thesis. In his 2002 article, Masschaele attempts to bring the marketplace to life as a key point of social exchange, rather than simply one of commercial transaction. While not a new, he reemphasises the important point that ‘in spite of the very real constraints of the source materials, though, there is no reason to assume that the people at the market site would have been intent on conducting

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their business as expeditiously as possible in order to hasten their return to the grind of daily life." His ideas around the ‘retailing of news and gossip’ have been invaluable to discussion in chapters 3 and 4.

1.3 Mapping

‘To act on his environment, man does not place himself outside it. He does not escape its hold at the precise moment when he attempts to exercise his own.’

When Lucien Febvre stated this at the inception of the Annales School at the start of the twentieth century, he was making a key point about the ability of historians to appreciate different disciplines, but the link between time and space has always been hugely relevant. In the medieval period it was common for maps to clearly show this connection, as can be seen, for example, in those created by Matthew Paris in the thirteenth century. Matthew Paris was a monk in the Benedictine monastery of St Albans in 1217 and inherited the great task of continuing the St Alban’s chronicle at the death of its previous writer, Roger of Wendover, in 1235. As well as editing and amending the work, Matthew continued the chronicle to cover current events, transforming it into the famous *Chronica Majora*. In it he also assumed the role of illustrator and cartographer, embellishing it with his own vivid drawings and maps.

Matthew’s maps, like many of the period, showed a clear appreciation for the importance for depicting both time and space. In the chronicle, he charts a pilgrim’s itinerary from London to the Holy Land, for which he produced a long strip of illustrated maps sewn together in sequence. Figure 1.3 shows a portion of the journey from London to Beauvais.

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Figure 1.3 - Matthew Paris’ map charting the journey from London to Beauvais, *Chronica Majora*. From Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (London, 198), 290.

The itinerary maps not only show depictions of towns and key landmarks, but are also annotated with additional information including descriptions of the routes and the number of days of travel each part of the journey would take. As the journey progresses, the maps become more detailed and larger chunks of text appear of the map detailing historical and
political information about towns from a Western Christian perspective, which can be seen in the map of the Holy Land:87

![Figure 1.4 - Matthew Paris map of the Holy Land, Chronica Majora. Suzanne Lewis, The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora (London, 1987), 360.](image)

As can also be seen from Figure 1.4, some of the folios contained flaps which the reader could open out for more information and in doing so, they may reconfigure the map to suit their own needs or interests.88

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87 Suzanne Lewis describes these parts of the manuscript in more details in Suzanne Lewis, The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora (London, 1987).

All of this has led Matthew’s work to be described as interactive, akin to a modern travel guide or road map, with additional features to better help communicate to the viewer the locations and journeys he was describing. These maps may not have been intended for use practically by those on the road, but perhaps for those ‘armchair’ pilgrims who wished to be transported to a place without travelling. They are maps which could inform visually and textually, be folded and unfolded, turned around and upside down and used as a tool to tell a particular story where geography and history seamlessly came together. Matthew shows the potential of maps as a tool to transport, immerse and involve. Modern urban historians, however, have used maps frequently simply to illustrate or to provide a point of reference rather than as a tool. Frequently, in historical discussions of medieval towns and urban society, maps are simply placed at the beginning of a monograph by means of reference. For example, Ken Farnhill’s recent publication on guilds and community within the region East Anglia contains just one map of the general area, Figure 1.5.

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89 Connolly, ‘Imagined Pilgrimage’, 600.

Recent work however has made it clear that research may only go so far by utilizing maps in such a way. In his discussion of the ways in which the English medieval marketplace is depicted, Terry Slater concludes that ‘there is much to do before we are able to categorize accurately the topographical characteristics of, and analyse the functional use of, British medieval market places.’ Such research may suggest that visualizing geographical environments in a more practical way, just as Matthew Paris did in the thirteenth century, may be the next step.

The use of digital media for the exploration of the past in history and archeology is a vast area. Information communication technologies (ICTs), the umbrella term for such techniques, include technologies used for data mining, text mining, source reconstruction and restoration, source imaging and access as well as visualisation. Lorna Hughes, in her

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2008 edited volume which presents a critical examination of the application of advanced ICT methods in the arts and humanities, notes that the use of ICT can no longer be regarded as a new discipline, but as a continuation of existing methods: ‘Even when the work presented is demonstrably something that would be impossible without ICT methods, it is still recognizable as ‘history’ or archaeology’. Digital sources and methods are part of a historical aesthetic and conceptual continuum...

ICT techniques and methods have become well embedded into practice, and as The Virtual Representation of the Past is able to show, it has grown into a legitimate, self-reflecting, critical sphere of historical inquiry. By offering a range of tools to better visualise, recreate and explore physical space, technology is offering historians the opportunity to engage with geography in the way hoped by Lucien Febvre at the inception of the Annales School. With this, ICT has grown to offer much choice when contemplating its use. The re-creation of a town undertaken in this project is best considered in the ICT category of visualisation, which may be split into two broad approaches: Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and Computer Aided Design (CAD).

For this project, it was crucial that GIS and CAD technologies were explored to find the most suitable approach for the model created in this project. The key questions explored within this thesis provided the criteria throughout the decision making process. As such, the chosen approach and accompanying software must firstly have the capacity to recreate a 3D version of the town. As a solo project, this must be achievable within a reasonable time frame by one person, who is not a GIS or CAD expert user. Proximity and assessing the extent of space available to the chosen case study, the butchers, is central to this thesis. This again relates back to the importance of being able to plot and visualize the ‘tactics and strategies’ of this group and others relating to or affecting them. As such,

this must also be able to include a way to easily test changes and variations to space easily. Therefore, once created, the 3D model must be interactive and explorable. In order to get closer to the realities of the space, the chosen approach and software needed to have the capacity for additional items and structures as well as the main town model, such as people, animals, carts, street furniture and rubbish. To test ideas and theories about space, these items must have the option to be moved easily around the model, in a way that is not time consuming for the user.

The following sections will explore GIS and CAD approaches in turn and will then be followed by discussion of why a CAD-related approach was chosen for this thesis.

Geographical Information Systems (GIS)

Historical GIS has really led the way for the use of spatial technologies and visualisation within the discipline. This section will explore the possibilities of using this approach more broadly, then move on to specifically discuss GIS and 3D visualisation. In simplified terms, GIS is a tool which allows information to be quantified in the form of a database and then visualised and displayed digitally. Fundamentally, GIS is concerned with ‘locating data in space’ and the use of GIS for spatial analysis has become central to its use for historical research.93 The visualisations of this spatial analysis may take form of geographical maps. Therefore, Previously, GIS had no 3D capability, but with growing demand from 2007, there have been increasing levels of 3D capabilities embedded within GIS packages.94 As such, while there is no typical example of how such data created using GIS may look, the following examples demonstrate possible applications and the

93 An important current work is Ian Gregory and Paul S. Ell, Historical GIS: Technologies, Methodologies and Scholarship (Cambridge, 2007).
94 Evans, Hudson-Smith and Batty, “3D GIS: Virtual London and Beyond”, 1-20.
variety of questions it may help to address. Figure 1.6 is taken from Ian Gregory, Daniel Dorling and Humphrey R. Southall’s work on the long-term trends in poverty in England and Wales throughout the twentieth century. Both maps, created with GIS, show the same information on rates of overcrowding, but visualise it in a different way. The choropeth map on the left illustrates the data geographically, while the cartogram map on the right, is able to give emphasis to areas experiencing overcrowding:

![Choropeth Map Example](image)

**Figure 1.6 - Example of Choropeth Map.** From Ian Gregory, Daniel Dorling and Humphrey R. Southall, ‘A Century of Inequality in England and Wales, Using Standardized Geographical Units’ in Area, 33, (2001), 297-311.
Figure 1.7 is a GIS generated map taken from Campbell and Bartley's investigation based on the *Inquisitiones Post Mortem* of the fourteenth century, a source which shows details of landowners' estates at their time of death. This map displays the value per acre of demesne meadow in England. It was created using a raster surface approach, which here has allowed the data to be plotted creating sample points, which are then used to provide best estimates of the land use that surrounds those points. Crucially, this allows historians to potentially fill in gaps within source material by using the most obvious estimates.95

![Figure 1.7 - Landowners’ estates at their time of death in England, c. fourteenth century. From Ken Bartley and Bruce Campbell, “Inquisitiones Post Mortem, GIS and the Creation of a Land-use Map of Medieval England”, in *Transactions in GIS* 2, (1997), 333-46.](image)

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95 There are also various ways to approach such data within GIS. Gregory and Ell address this further in *Historical GIS*, 117-80.
GIS may also be used to create maps which show a perspective on a geographical space previously unseen. The following example, Figure 1.8, is taken from Craig Spence’s historical atlas of London in the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century for which he produced a range of maps constructed from a set of parish boundaries.96

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96 On this work also see; Craig Spence, “Computers, maps and metropolitan London in the 1690s”, in Matthew Woollard ed., New Windows on London’s Past: Information Technology and the Transformation of Metropolitan History (Glasgow, 2000), 25-46.

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Figure 1.8 - London parish boundaries, c. seventeenth century. From: Craig Spence, London in the 1690s: A Social Atlas (London, 2000), 17.

The recently completed The Linguistic Geographies project, part of the AHRC’s Beyond the Text programme, was a many layered project utilising GIS. Primarily, it looked at ways in which GIS could shed more light on source material, but in addition it also explored the ways a GIS approach could help to better disseminate the findings of such research. The focus of the project was the medieval Gough Map of Britain, a well recognised source but one which very little is known. In order to better interpret the map’s
origins and provenance, a full colour GIS generated digital version of the map was created, which is available as an online interactive resource. Such work also highlights the relevance of new technologies for public history, as this enables the source to be viewed by everyone, where previously it could only be viewed in the Bodleian library. Figure 1.9 is a screenshot of the project website, showing the digital version of the map and the search and zoom functions available to the user.

Figure 1.9 - Screen shot from the Gough Map of Great Britain website, Queens University Belfast, King College London and Bodleian Library, http://www.goughmap.org

Such research can be seen as a direct extension from current key works on medieval cartography, like that undertaken by Paul D. A Harvey and Naomi Reed Kline, which explores the contents of medieval maps via a series of 2D images.97

The use of historical GIS is thought to have begun in the mid 1990s, encouraged by its use and acceptance in the field of human geography which began in the 1980s, as well as developments in computer technology. The last decade in particular has seen a significant increase in the use of GIS and the number of publications dedicated to it. With the ability of GIS to store and process complex geographical data in a way which was previously unavailable, mapping has become more useful to historians, allowing them to better visualise and therefore consider geography and the importance of space. In addition, it has also paved the way for other forms of digital technologies to be considered and explored. The work undertaken by those using historical GIS for urban history has been very informative for this project. Certainly, this thesis fits within a broader historiographical framework that includes many projects that have utilised GIS for the exploration of space and the medieval town. Recent work has had a particular focus on morphology and the urban form, such as Mapping the Medieval Urban Landscape: Edward I’s New Towns of England and Wales, a two year project, completed in 2005. The project, undertaken by a team at Queen’s University Belfast, explored the design and planning of twelve of ‘new’ towns in the middle ages. Figure 1.10 is one example from the online interactive town atlas.

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98 The first work published in the historical field was Michael Goerke ed., Coordinates for Historical Maps (Gottingen, 1994).

Recent GIS related projects have explored urban space by looking at singular towns as case studies. The 2008 multi-faceted project *Mapping Medieval Chester: place and identity in an English borderland city c.1200-1500* was a joint venture between Queen’s University Belfast and Swansea University and included the construction of a
digital map of Chester c.1500 using GIS. This map was then used as the starting point for an investigation into the relationship between various mappings of the town: geographical, literary and cartographic. The end product of the project was an interactive website which juxtaposed the digital map with the textual sources. While it was an important exercise in how such types of data may be brought together visually and presented online, Keith Lilley’s related research on urban morphology in Chester explored how a medieval city related to the wider environment and landscape. In addition to the online map, the website also contains a series of 2D ‘static’ maps of the city which may be downloaded. Figure 1.11 shows one such example, generated by the digital map which is available on the website.

Figure 1.11 - Chester c. 1500. *Mapping Medieval Chester: place and identity in an English borderland city c. 1200-1500*, http://www.medievalchester.ac.uk/index.html
The PhD research undertaken by Tim Bisschops at the University of Antwerp has led him to use GIS for his project on the social and economic functions of real property. Using textual information gleaned from deeds, he has reconstructed a base map of Antwerp c.1400. Figure 1.12 shows a selection of screenshots taken from his project.

Figure 1.12 - Several maps highlighting the maps of medieval Antwerp generated using GIS. Taken from T. Bisschops, “New Prospects to the Study of the Social Topography of Medieval Flemish and Brabantine Towns” (PhD diss., University of Antwerp, Ongoing).

100 Tim Bisschops, “New Prospects to the Study of the Social Topography of Medieval Flemish and Brabantine Towns” (PhD diss., University of Antwerp, Ongoing).
It is important to note that such projects would not have been possible without the pioneering work undertaken on 2D medieval maps and topographies undertaken by scholars including Paul Hindle, John Schofield and A. G. Vince.\textsuperscript{101} It is clear that such digital maps created for these projects highlighted above have been able to build upon and engage with the wider discussions on medieval urban topography that these individuals put forward.

GIS has also been used to display digital terrain models which may be used to give the impression of a three dimensional landscape. These models are created using photographs of the landscape under investigation. Figure 1.13 is an example of this, taken from Martin Schaefer’s research in 2003 which explored the landscape of the Battle of Hastings.

\textsuperscript{101} Paul Hindle, \textit{Medieval Town Plans} (Sutherland, 1990); Paul Hindle, \textit{Maps for Historians} (London, 1998); John Schofield and Alan G. Vince, \textit{Medieval Towns: the Archaeology of British Towns in their European Setting} (London, 2003).
Figure 1.13 - Terrain of the battle of Hastings, 1066. The shapes draped over the landscape show the approximate locations of the two armies. Taken from Schaefer, “Visually Interpreting History – the Battle of Hastings” Paper presented at the 2003 Social Science History Association conference. Image reprinted in Gregory and Ell, Historical GIS, 112.

These recent projects on medieval urban space clearly show how GIS is able to offer fresh perspectives on the topic, producing maps which may be used for diverse application. The potential they hold for public history is also an important one. One key additional output of the Mapping the Medieval Chester project discussed above was a public workshop at the Grosvenor museum in Chester, where the map was used as a means of widening access and public engagement into Chester’s medieval past.

3D GIS

3D GIS has been used for a wide range of purposes, clearly due to the varied types and quantity of data sets that such software can handle. Simon Putra and Perry Yang’s
exploration of public housing in Singapore has been able to utilise a 3D element to their study in order to look more closely at the relationship between different housing types:\footnote{Simon Putra and Perry Yang “Analysing Mental Geography of Residential Environment in Singapore using GIS-based 3d Visibility Analysis” conference “Doing, Thinking, Feeling Home”, 14/15 October, Delft, The Netherlands http://repository.tudelft.nl/view/conferencepapers/uuid%3A2b75fa2c-a482-4684-ba09-00c4d7edf73d/}

\footnote{Simon Putra and Perry Yang “Analysing Mental Geography of Residential Environment in Singapore using GIS-based 3d Visibility Analysis” conference “Doing, Thinking, Feeling Home”, 14/15 October, Delft, The Netherlands http://repository.tudelft.nl/view/conferencepapers/uuid%3A2b75fa2c-a482-4684-ba09-00c4d7edf73d/}
Putra and Yang then go on to analyse the mental geography of the space in 2D:

![Image of 2D reconstruction of Singapore housing district. From Putra and Yang “Analysing Mental Geography”.

While a fascinating and important study, employing this technique would not be suitable for a project such as this. This thesis focusses on a small group of individuals and the quantity of data would not allow for useful results. 3D GIS is shown to be flexible and can be used to integrate other systems. Jean-Claude Thill and Thi Dao and Yu Zhou research on route planning makes use of a GIS system in conjunction with a 3D application 3DCityNet, in order to explore the accessibility of multi-level buildings.\(^{103}\)

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GIS has been used to tackle key issues around visibility and viewing which have been extremely useful to this thesis. Archaeological works on the human perception of architecture in particular show the strengths of GIS. Here, GIS models are used in conjunction with additional software in order to employ Isovist and Viewshed techniques. Whether this be in order to explore murals and painting in the late Bronze age, experiencing a Minoan palace by projecting lines-of-sight within a digital terrain model, or understanding experiences of assembly members in a Byzantine church (Figure 1.16), huge steps in understanding perceptions of the built environment have been made.¹⁰⁴

**Figure 1.16** - Visibility graph analysis on a Byzantine church interior. From David Chatford Clark, “Viewing the Liturgy: A space syntax study of changing visibility and accessibility in the development of the Byzantine church in Jordan”, in *World Archaeology*, 39 (1), (2007), 84-104.

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The standard methodologies adopted by such studies surrounding optics have been directly adopted into this thesis in chapter 4.

**CAD related approaches**

CAD systems and technologies, initially the domain of architects and mechanical designers, is essentially a form of technical drawing. In its simplest form, it enables the user to create, manipulate and view designs and plans electronically either in 2D or 3D format. Due to the nature of what the software offers, historical research using CAD approaches has been focussed largely on the creation of landscapes. This approach involves creating artificial geographies; virtual, often three dimensional environments. Rome Reborn is the largest digital historical project to date using a CAD related approach. As a project with a large budget and team, its a useful example to see the potential of CAD when resources are less limited. The 1.5 million euro international initiative began in 1997 and is a collaborative venture between the Virtual World Heritage Laboratory of the University of Virginia, the UCLA Experiential Technology Centre, the Reverse Engineering Lab at the Politecnico di Milano, the Ausonius Institute of the CNRS and the University of Bordeaux-3 and the University of Caen. The project’s aim is to create 3D digital virtual models illustrating the urban development of ancient Rome from the first settlement in the late Bronze Age to the depopulation of the city in the Early Middle Ages. The project draws together a vast source base including archaeological data about particular sites and features, quantitative data about the distribution of buildings, literature, inscriptions and contemporary art. The aim of the first stage of the project, which is now complete, was to produce a model of Rome on June 21, 320 AD, which enabled the team to visualise current information about how the city looked, but also to test theories about its spatialisation. The initial model depicts a highly detailed full colour reconstruction of the
city and the detailed rendering created by the software can be seen in Figure 1.17 and Figure 1.18.

**Figure 1.17** - Screenshot showing the view of the valley of the Flavian Amphitheatre. From Rome Reborn project website, http://romereborn.frischerconsulting.com/

**Figure 1.18** - Screenshot showing a view of the Roman Forum over the roof of the Temple of the Divine Julius Caesar. From Rome Reborn project website, http://romereborn.frischerconsulting.com/
The Rome Reborn project provides an important tool for public history and has been disseminated in various ways. Several versions of the map have been shown publicly at ceremonies in Rome in 2007 and in Los Angeles in 2008, but it is on the associated website where anyone may view and download static images of the model and ‘fly-through’ videos which take the viewer around Rome from different angles. Crucially for this project, however, Rome Reborn shows the true potential of CAD approaches when exploring space and proximity. The model allows the user to manipulate the model to the extent that they can ‘zoom in’ and take the position of an individual in the street. It allows for a view from street level where the impact of architecture may be further assessed and explored.

The work being undertaken by Anthony Masinton at York University demonstrates how far this level of detail may be taken, as well as how much can be achieved within a CAD project of a far more limited scale. Masinton’s recent work has included the creation of a series of projects exploring issues around medieval architecture, masonry and decoration. One of the most recent of these involved the recreation of the interiors of churches, which traces the changing interior of a ‘typical’ medieval English parish church, Figure 1.19.
These detailed virtual interiors are part of the wider project *The English Parish Church through the Centuries*, an interactive DVD-ROM produced by the University of York’s Centre for Christianity and Culture. Intended as a general academic-led guide to the topic, the DVD-ROM includes audio recordings of church music through the centuries, excerpts from literature and animations of Masinton’s virtual interiors, showing the development of church interiors over time.\(^\text{105}\) Again, the model of the interior is able to be manipulated by the user, allowing them to explore the space from the perspective of one in the period. For the purposes of this project, these interiors clearly highlight the potential for an individual’s

interaction with architecture, but also more widely with the local environment. The model shown in the screenshot shows a ground covering of straw and grass and small stools littered around the church. Such additions, while small, are all able to help recreate the environment of the period and further, allow the user the possibility to ‘walk’ near or around them, to see how this would change perspectives.

What these two projects do not do is to attempt to recreate an ‘everyday’ setting: they show pristine environments, unpopulated and unused. As noted at the start of this section, for this project, it is key that to get closer to the experiences of the Winchester butchers, the recreation of their working space must include the people, animals, ephemera, street furniture and rubbish that would have been around them. As Masinton’s example shows, however, additions such as this may be added.

Unlike GIS, it has been argued that ‘the superior rendering, compact file size and more intuitive user interfaces has usually meant that CAD packages (like AutoCAD and 3D Studio Max) emerge as the model builder’s preferred environment.’ In 2007, Gregory and Ell, arguing the case for GIS, conceded that ‘animations, virtual worlds and electronic publishing open exciting and entirely new ways of conducting historical scholarship that no previous technology has allowed.’ However, by now GIS is clearly catching up to CAD in terms of its adaptability and additional options of what it can offer the user. In fact, it has been argued that a hybrid of both would for many be ideal.

The Virtual London project for the Greater London Authority harnessed both approaches. While it is worth noting that this was a project headed up by several teams of experts, the terrain model was created using GIS systems and the buildings designed and then imported from various CAD technologies, as shown in Figure 1.20.

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106 Evans, Hudson-Smith and Batty, “3D GIS: Virtual London and Beyond”, 10.

107 Gregory and Ell, Historical GIS, 11.
The discussion then perhaps should not be about GIS vs CAD, but merely how historians may best harness the full breadth of what ICT systems in general can offer. As such, the decision made to use a CAD based approach for this thesis essentially has come down to personal preference. While GIS systems have the capability to recreate a 3D model of the Winchester townscape, it was decided that CAD would offer a non-expert user the opportunity to more easily create an interactive townscape within the timeframe, using a piece of software the individual was comfortable with. The particular software chosen for the creation of the Winchester model, Google SketchUp, is a CAD system aimed specifically at non-expert users. Its ease of interface and adaptability which will all be outlined below, was considered the best way to meet the criteria of this project. This decision was taken in conjunction with Mike Knight, a specialist in virtual modelling technologies at the School of Architecture at the University of Liverpool. Aided by MA Architecture student Marc Cohen, initial tests for the Winchester model were made using
more traditional Computer Aided Design software; however, it was clear that within the scope and time-frame of this project, Google SketchUp would be the most suitable package, particularly for a project which was to be conducted by an individual. The software required no formal training and Google hosts a variety of online tutorials for all aspects of the software.

**Software analysis: Google SketchUp**

The map created for this thesis has been produced using Google SketchUp, a 3D modelling programme developed by the company Last Software for both Mac and PC. The initial software, simply called SketchUp, was released in 2000 as a general purpose tool for the creation of models at the initial design stage, for use within industries including but not limited to gaming, architecture and engineering. Marketed with the tagline ‘3D for everyone’, the idea behind the software was to create a tool which made it simple to design and construct models, but also one which gave designers the freedom to interact with them in a way not before possible with more traditional Computer Aided Design packages.\(^{108}\) In 2006, a freely downloadable version of the software was released by Google online known as Google SketchUp. It is this freely available version of the software that has been used to create the model of late medieval Winchester, and it runs within the latest version of the software, version 2013. Google SketchUp Pro, an extended version of the software which includes additional features such as added technical support and methods of exportation with included more choices of file format was not deemed necessary for this project.\(^{109}\) Figures 1.21 and 1.22 show some examples of the various ways SketchUp has been utilised for various purposes:


Figure 1.21 - Restoration of a manor house, taken from Google SketchUp Community Gallery, Google SketchUp website.
Figure 1.22 - Columbus urban development planning, taken from Google SketchUp Community Gallery, Google SketchUp website.

The availability of Google SketchUp as a free and downloadable tool has made it available for use within universities and has established it as software which is internationally recognized.\textsuperscript{110} Three-dimensional models made in Google SketchUp may also be imported into Google Earth, the freely available virtual globe, where a user may view satellite images of varying detail of anywhere on the earth’s surface.\textsuperscript{111} Google SketchUp users may create a model of an existing building and submit it to Google Earth’s ‘3D Warehouse’ where it is scrutinised for accuracy.\textsuperscript{112} If accepted, then it is added to the Google Earth map for anyone to view when they are using the map using the ‘3D

\textsuperscript{110} Google SketchUp publication, “SketchUp for Educators”, http://www.sitescontent.google.com/google-sketchup-for-educators/Home

\textsuperscript{111} Google Earth, http://www.google.co.uk/intl/en_uk/earth/index.html

\textsuperscript{112} Google SketchUp publication, “Acceptance criteria for SketchUp Models”, http://sketchup.google.com/support/bin/answer.py?answer=1267260
Buildings’ mode. Buildings of public interest are currently included, including museums, famous skyscrapers and football stadiums, but also geographic landmarks including mountains and volcanoes. Some cities have been built in their entirety, such as Brussels, shown in Figure 1.23.

Figure 1.23 - Screenshot from Brussels in 3d. Google Earth Gallery, Google Earth website, http://www.google.co.uk/intl/en_uk/earth/index.html
Such a facility allows users all over the world to contribute and share such models with the international community. Crucially for historical study, Google Earth also offers viewings to explore different types of views of the world, including those which take the viewer back in time. The screenshot, Figure 1.24, is taken from a historical Google Earth animation, which charts the changing architectural landscape of the city of London from 1953 up to 2015, where it includes planned changes to the cityscape:

![City of London Timeline - Plug-in view](image_url)

**Figure 1.24** - James Stafford, Screenshot showing the city of London in 1984. Google Earth Gallery, Google Earth website, [http://www.google.co.uk/intl/en_uk/earth/index.html](http://www.google.co.uk/intl/en_uk/earth/index.html)
There were several features which made this software particularly suitable for creating the model of Winchester. The interface is particularly user friendly and all the tools needed are featured in a bar at the top of the screen. A unique feature of the Google SketchUp software is its patented ‘push/pull’ technology, which allows the designer to draw a 2D shape, and then extrude the surface of the shape to create a three dimensional object so that depth may be represented. Figure 1.25 is a screenshot of the software featuring a simple 3D box which has been created.

![Screenshot from Google SketchUp software.](image)

**Figure 1.25** - Screenshot from Google SketchUp software.

The precision tool enables models to be created to scale or to a particular size. Dimensions of shapes and measurements of each line are displayed and groups of objects may be rescaled together. As shown by the examples earlier in this chapter, models may be coloured and textured, which at its most basic may be used for
distinguishing different types of buildings, or roads and rivers. The software also features several navigation tools which are able to give a first person view. The ‘Position Camera’ tool enables the viewer to ‘be standing’ anywhere in the model. ‘Look Around’ enables this view to be altered whilst keep the height level and the ‘Walk’ tool allows the viewer to set a path around the model and follow it. Using these tools, it is also possible to climb stairs or ramps within the model. Text may be added to the model in order to include dimensions or label particular buildings. Models can also be exported as TIFF, JPEGs or PNG files. Animations, which can include short videos of particular views of the model, including those which allow the viewer to ‘fly through’ it, can be made and then exported to video sharing websites such as youtube. For this project, youtube videos have been created and used in conference papers. In addition, an accompanying blog was put together in order to demonstrate the ease of disseminating such research.

The Winchester Model

In turning to the model created for this thesis, first the reasons will be addressed as to why a model was necessary, then the method by which it was created will be outlined. The reconstruction of the town draws heavily on the immense work on Winchester undertaken. Keene’s research on Winchester will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, but the focus here will be on his production of maps. His vast research on Winchester culminated in the publication of Survey of Medieval Winchester in 1985.\textsuperscript{113} A large part of this work was his production of a large succession of scale maps reconstructed in accordance with the sources which are used throughout Survey. Drawing on the archive, Keene found it possible to produce a sequence of maps which represented the layout of property holding at three dates in the later middle ages: c.1300, 1417 and c.

\textsuperscript{113} Keene, Survey of Medieval Winchester (Oxford, 1985).
This vast series of maps illustrate various issues raised in Survey and can show the topography of the town in various ways. Some maps show sections of the town, examples of which are shown in Figure 1.26 and 1.27.

Figure 1.26 - Map showing properties from Wongar Street to East Gate. From Keene, Survey, 598.

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114 Keene describes his method in detail: Survey, 37-40.
Figure 1.27 - Map showing properties between Fleshmonger Street and the West Gate c.1300. From Keene, Survey, 638.
Other maps reconstruct specific streets, such as those shown in Figures 1.28, 1.29 and 1.30, which show sections of the high street:

**Figure 1.28** - Map showing properties on the north side of the high street: Fleshmonger street to Tanner street c.1300. From Keene, *Survey*, 495.
Figure 1.29 - Map showing properties on the south side of high street: Thomasgate to Minster street, c.1500.

From Keene, Survey, 549.
Figure 1.30 - Map showing properties on the south side of high street: Minster street to west gate. From Keene, Survey, 598.
Less detailed versions of the maps which show Winchester in its entirety are used to illustrate larger issues such as land-use and the estates of particular land lords. Figure 1.31 is just one example.

Figure 1.31 - Map showing the estates of Henry le Canevacer, Roger de Inkepenne and Robert de Wareham in the early fourteenth century. From Keene, Survey, 221.
For the purposes of this project and its investigation into the use of everyday space, simply utilizing Keene’s maps as they are reproduced in *Survey* would not have allowed the level of analysis made possible by the model. Firstly, for a proper assessment of the key research questions the town would have to be viewed in its entirety at all points. Viewing the town in sections is dangerous as the urban fabric becomes artificially disjointed and could even subconsciously place more emphasis on a particular area than is necessary. For example, Keene had produced a series of five maps of the High Street alone, while other larger areas are only represented once. Equally, such maps may hide certain spaces; buildings or streets may fall in between the boundaries of the separate maps and therefore may lead them to be ignored. The limitations of 2-D mapping for such an investigation also appeared clear; in order to better chart spatial use and to consider issues of proximity, the map used here had to be interactive; one which could be viewed from different angles and perspectives. This led to the decision to employ spatial technologies, in particular, the creation of a virtual model in Google SketchUp. Therefore, Keene’s 2-D maps have become the basis for the visualisation of the town that is included in this project and it is hoped that such a model may help to find answers for further questions.
The model created for this project, shown in Figure 1.32, is based on the series of maps Keene produced of Winchester which were representative of the urban fabric in 1417. This date was chosen as it best represented the primary evidence discussed within this study, an issue which will be addressed further on in this chapter. It is useful to briefly describe how Keene put these maps together, as it has affected the ways in which the urban fabric has been visualised in the model. Keene used the 1417 tarrage survey as a basis for the reconstruction of the town for this project, a hugely valuable source which reveals much about the topography of Winchester at one moment in time. ‘Tarrage’ was a term relating to the fees authorities in the fifteenth century were able to raise by virtue of the king’s rights over public and waste ground.\textsuperscript{115} In order to keep better track of these fees, it was ordered that in 1417, twelve men were to carry out a survey of the town including all stalls, porches and pentices so that the correct fees were being charged.

\textsuperscript{115} Keene, Survey, 200.
The result was the 1417 tarrage survey, which features a street by street list of all properties within the town, including street furniture and stalls. Each property is described in an individual entry often denoting what types of function the land had; whether it was a tenement, cottage, shop, garden or croft, the term which frequently denoted open land, and how much tarrage was being paid upon it. Keene’s detailed series of 2D maps then, formed the basis of the model.

The model began as a simple 2D scan of the maps, which then could be elevated to 3D using the SketchUp software. As Keene’s maps largely represent tarrage plots rather than individual properties, the model too is largely comprised of these plots. Where possible and appropriate, however, other evidence has been used to better depict specific buildings, such as the West Gate. As well as the built environment of medieval Winchester, the model also shows key areas of open land and major water courses. While the primary concern of this project is life within the town walls, a small area outside the walls to the East of the town has also been added by way of example.

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116 There is further discussion of this in Keene, Survey, 25-9. There are similar records of this kind, though later, for Gloucester and Southampton. The Southampton Terrier of 1454, ed. Anthony Burgess (Southampton, 1976); Rental of all the Houses in Gloucester A.D 1455, ed., William H. Stephenson, (Gloucester, 1890).
What is crucial about this model, however, for the purposes of this investigation is its ability to assess proximity. The basic urban fabric may be manipulated to give different views as demonstrated in Figure 1.33. Space between buildings may be assessed; the narrowness of streets, the closeness of locations and the amount of space groups needed to negotiate with other inhabitants of the town may all be explored using the model. These are all issues which would have affected the experience of the butchers throughout the working day.

It has been important for this project to get a sense of what the daily working environment may have been like for the butchers and unlike the Rome Reborn and York Church projects outlined earlier, this project seeks to understand the urban environment not in sanitised, depopulated state, but in one which was used. As such, the ability to add aspects to the model such as rubbish, animals, barrels and other items mentioned in the evidence, has been important. The sources have been central in dictating where such
items should be placed within the model. The court rolls in particular, which will be discussed in the following chapter, have been useful in revealing where such ephemera should go. Using SketchUp has been very advantageous in this respect. The software allows the user to easily download pre-created models from the ‘model warehouse’ which anyone can upload to. While some aspects of the model, such as the market stalls, town well and market cross were created by hand specifically for this project, the animals, carts, individuals and ephemera were initially downloaded from the SketchUp warehouse, then edited to be more appropriate for the model.

![Figure 1.34 - Screenshot of the model showing street ephemera.](image)

In regard to the details of the model, it is important of course to note that this is not an attempt to create total realism. The costumes worn by the people shown in the model, the breeds of animals, types of boxes, barrels and stalls are all indicative of the urban fabric. They appear there in order to help recreate a feel for what appeared in the environment and where it was located, not an accurate portrayal.
Due to the limitations of this project, some compromises to the model have been made. As the focus of the project are the Winchester butchers, the most attention has been given to those areas of the town that the butchers inhabited, therefore there are some areas which appear more sparse. These areas are not discussed within this thesis and therefore did not warrant attention for the purposes of this project. This is a model without children, as there were simply no pre-created models available for download. The heights of the buildings within the model remain for the most part at one generic level and are for the most part covered with a generic facade from this period. Just like the people and animals contained within the model, this is to give the impression of what is around the butchers, rather than to illustrate architectural accuracy. While the impact of specific details of architecture could have been one interesting avenue to explore in regard to the Winchester butchers, it was not one which was followed up within this project.

The model has been incorporated into this project using screenshots. These are used in two ways. Often, a series of individual screenshots have been printed in succession to form 'storyboards', in order to explain a narrative or show a particular route through the urban fabric. Secondly, individual screenshots are used singularly to highlight one particular point. The model itself may be viewed in its entirety using the disc provided at the back of this thesis. For full operation and installation instructions, please see Appendix 1.
Chapter 2: Winchester and the Butchers

Figure 2.1 - Reference map of Winchester
This chapter sets out the case study which is the focus of this thesis. It will discuss why the town of Winchester was chosen, the sources used for this project and the crucial work undertaken on the town by Professor Derek Keene. It will outline a brief history of the town from the early medieval period to the later middle ages with a particular focus on the structure and organisation of the town. As a group who made many regulations about the butchers and their space, it is necessary to explore the wider relationship the Winchester ruling elites had with the rest of the town. The chapter will then move on explore the butchers, the trade group which is the focus of this project. It will outline the butchers’ place in current historiography, then trace a brief history of the trade. The chapter will then go on to discuss the Winchester butchers in more detail, looking at the individuals who will be at the centre of this study. It will discuss their trade and function in Winchester, their properties and position in Winchester society.
2.1 Why Winchester?

Winchester provided a suitable case study for this project for several reasons. In order for the town to be reconstructed accurately in 3D, it was crucial that reliable data be available on the physical framework of the town, including the layout of the streets, the location and use of buildings and the sizes and boundaries of tenements. Extracting this kind of information from the primary material alongside the key research questions would not have been achievable within the scope of this project, therefore it was possible to turn instead to a reliable set of data already available in the form of Derek Keene’s extensive research on Winchester undertaken in the 1970s and 80s. Keene, inspired by William A. Pantin’s work on Oxford buildings in Herbert E. Salter’s Survey of Medieval Oxford, saw the potential Winchester presented for exploring issues of topography.\(^{117}\) Keene’s particular interest in reconstructing urban social topography led him to test ideas on the sites he was excavating around Winchester, including Lower Brook Street. Here, he brought together the archaeological record with the written sources in order to identify the medieval owners and occupiers of the areas he had been uncovering.\(^{118}\) This work made him realise that this method of reconstruction could be applied to the town on a much larger scale and set about this project with support of his colleagues at the Winchester Research Unit. What followed was a ten year exploration of the Winchester archive.

There were two main strands to Keene’s investigation. His starting point was the physical layout of the town, moving beyond the basic layout of the streets, walls and public buildings and plotting in much more details the hundreds of private holdings. Systematically surveying records of property ownership and management he described and illustrated the holdings of the town, including hundreds of plots of private ground as well as providing a comprehensive history of its holdings, identifying owners and

\(^{117}\) Herbert E. Salter, Medieval Oxford (Oxford, 1936).

\(^{118}\) Keene, Survey, 3-7.
occupiers. Such a comprehensive study meant he spent around ten years with the Winchester archive, exploring its topographical reconstruction. Keene’s research culminated in the publication of the two volume *Survey of Medieval Winchester* which charts the physical layout of the town across three centuries, from c.1250-1550.

*Survey* is set out in two volumes. Volume one is a narrative discussion of Winchester across the period, highlighting the findings from Keene’s wide-ranging research, including the physical and administrative setting, land use, population, charting the town’s rise and decline. Volume two is a gazetteer, listing the histories of individual tenement properties, including a biographical register of the property holders recorded in the tenement histories. From the sources it was possible for Keene to produce a series of 2D maps showing the property holding at three dates during the middle ages c.1300, 1417, 1550. These are used throughout both volumes of *Survey* in order to highlight different points about the town and its land use across the centuries. The data uncovered for the late medieval period is extensive. The series of 2D maps created to represent the town in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century and their related tenement histories provides the foundation on which this project is based using the extensive series of 2D maps as the basis on which the 3D model of Winchester c.1417 has been created.
2.2 The Winchester Case Study, c. 1360-1420

There are several late medieval English towns which could have been reconstructed and explored in a similar way to Winchester. For example, the substantial archives available at York and London lend themselves to such virtual reconstruction. However, these cities were large urban centres compared to most English towns during the medieval period and would not have been representative of the ‘typical’ urban experience.\textsuperscript{119} Winchester was chosen for this project primarily as an ‘average’ sized late medieval English town in the hope that the conclusions drawn here may better reflect the more common experience of the large proportion of the population living in urban centres at the time. Keene has estimated that the population of Winchester c.1300 was 11,625.\textsuperscript{120}

All of the sources used within this project are housed within the Hampshire Record Office, within the Winchester City Archives collection. In addition to the reliable set of data provided by Keene, it has been crucial to have a primary source base with enough scope to reconstruct the residents’ daily movements in order to assess proximities and the use of space. The time period under investigation in this project has been prompted by the primary sources, in particular the court rolls of the town. In total, seventy-nine court rolls survive in the Hampshire archive dating from 1269-1433. The rolls appear in an almost unbroken state from 1360-1420, which has led the focus of this project to be between these dates. They are used to record summaries of all business brought before the weekly court, written in short hand on parchment, primarily in Latin. While the court rolls also include information on property holding which was sometimes enrolled here rather than within the main series of enrolments of the town, they also outline a wealth of information

\textsuperscript{119} Discussion of English and continental population taken from Christopher Dyer, Everyday Life in Medieval England (London, 2000), 283-304. In comparison to the rest of Europe, English urban centres are considered small. By ‘average’ here then I refer to in comparison to other English urban centres, not those on the continent.

about trades and daily life. Market offences, debts or conflicts between traders and additional infringements of town law, in particular sanitary offenses feature heavily. The town administration frequently used the court to enforce economic regulation of the trades and information can be found on times of trading, hours of work and the places used for it. Many trade groups went before the town officials to swear in the heads of their trade which was also recorded in the court rolls. In addition to information about trades, they also reveal additional details about the urban fabric and mention issues relating to repairs and maintenance brought before the court. The court rolls were also used to keep a brief record of the activities of the town’s Burghmote or common convocation; the formal meetings of the town’s citizens. More detailed accounts of these meetings appear to have been kept in a document referred to as *niger papyrus* which no longer exists. It was, however, reproduced in the early sixteenth-century document known as the *Black Book*, and provides additional evidence of town ordinances, including those relating to town crafts for the early fifteenth century and later. This was published by W. H. B. Bird in 1925.¹²¹ The short *Ancient Usages* written in Anglo-French source has provided additional details to aspects relating to the working day. This single page document from the fifteenth century lists the customs of the town and is frequently referred to by the administrative body in other documents. It is often mentioned in the court records where it is used to reinforce particular laws which traders have broken, including as the hours of trading.

As discussed previously, the 1417 tarrage survey was crucial for Keene when he developed his series of 2D maps, but it has also been particularly useful within this study as many entries provide additional details relating to each plot, often listing if the plot contained a shop or stall, pentice or cellar. Some entries give the name of the property holder and often also lists their occupation. While the original tarrage survey from 1417 does not survive, there are two manuscripts now commonly known as ‘tarrage 1417’

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which were thought to have been written soon after this date. Both copies are considered reliable and it is the manuscript housed in the Hampshire archives which has been consulted here. The subsidy records of the town, a series of tax assessment lists have been useful in providing additional information about individuals. Similarly to the 1417 tarrage survey, assessors walked around Winchester collecting information and the resulting documents reveal the residences and uses of properties in 1327, 1332, 1430 and the series continues into the sixteenth century.

The records of St John’s Hospital, one of the largest land owners within the town walls, is a vast collection that begins in 1294. The sources considered for this project are the series of annual accounts kept from 1390-1416. These detailed accounts provide much information on types of property in Winchester. As St John’s was responsible for issues in relation to maintenance of these properties, the accounts detailing money spent on repairs and upkeep have further helped to reconstruct the fabric of the town. Please note that the references for primary sources within this study do not correspond to those used cited in Keene’s Survey as these have since been changed by the Hampshire Record Office.

In addition to these primary sources, the publication and notes on excavations carried out within the town housed within the Winchester City Archives collection have provided this study with additional depth. The research undertaken by Keene has obviously been of much use for this project. The in-depth tenement histories of each individual plot in Winchester published in part 2 of Survey have been frequently consulted in order to better ‘people’ the buildings surrounding the butchers’ principal and transitory

122 Keene, Survey, 28.
123 Keene, Survey, 28.
spaces. This is a process of research which otherwise would not have been possible within the scope of this project.
2.3 A Short History of Medieval Winchester

Figure 2.2 - Map of Britain and Ireland showing the location of Winchester, shown by the red marker. Map from John Schofield and Alan Vince, *Medieval Towns: The Archaeology of British Towns in their European Setting* (London, 2003).
The 2D map, Figure 2.1, shows the general locations within the walls referred to in this chapter and should be referred to throughout. The town of Winchester is located within the county of Hampshire in the valley of the river Itchen. It is located approximately fifteen miles from the coastal town of Southampton, a key medieval centre for continental trade and sixty eight miles from London. One of the earliest records for the medieval topography of the town is a survey of 1148 which indicates the town then had around 1,200 tenements.\textsuperscript{124} The medieval town was walled, just as Roman Winchester had been.\textsuperscript{125} In the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries grants were made by the crown to help repair and maintain the walls. In 1228 for example, Henry III granted ‘50 marks due from them as tallage to aid in inclosing their walls.’\textsuperscript{126} Evidence suggests the town’s four main gates existed by the twelfth century; they were known as the South, North, West and East Gates.\textsuperscript{127} Outside of the town walls, Winchester was surrounded by suburbs divided into two sections, known as the East and West Soke.

Along with London, on the eve of the Norman conquest Winchester was a wealthy royal urban centre and one of the two principal seats of royal authority in England. Its location offered easy access to Portsmouth and Southampton, the principal ports for passage to Normandy and was of course far closer to London than the seats of ducal authority at Caen and Rouen.\textsuperscript{128} This period of royal interest saw major construction in the town including the building of the castle, an enlarged royal palace and rebuilt minsters.\textsuperscript{129} Such investment also helped to attract trade to the town, especially at the time of St Giles


\textsuperscript{125} Keene, Survey, 42.


\textsuperscript{127} Keene, Survey, 43.

\textsuperscript{128} Keene, Survey, 101.

\textsuperscript{129} Keene, Survey, 101.
fair, an annual event of international interest held at Winchester in the nearby East Soke.\textsuperscript{130} Royal interest in Winchester, however, began to decline in the reign of Henry I and by the early thirteenth century, had substantially withdrawn. By 1300, the town was the setting for the daily lives of around 11,625 inhabitants, practicing a vast variety of trades. The wool trade in particular was of importance; Winchester had become a major collecting centre for English wool due to be exported through Southampton and Flanders.\textsuperscript{131} During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Winchester was also an important collecting centre for the manufacture of woollen cloth and from the 1350s onwards the demand for locally made textiles saw the town become ‘one of the great clothing towns of England.’\textsuperscript{132}

The main secular figures of authority within the town were the mayor, bailiffs, the Winchester Twenty Four and the \textit{communitas}, the commonality, an administration thought to have been formed in the early thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{133} The mayor was regarded as head of the town and was chairman of the Burgh-Mote, the meeting of the freemen of Winchester which made ordinances governing the town. There is little evidence of the business of the Burgh-Mote, although we do know that they did fix the murage rate and met to represent the interests of the town as a landowner.\textsuperscript{134} The mayor held great power in these meetings and those who spoke against him could find themselves in contempt of the mayoralty, as Robert Dounynge found when he allegedly attempted to enter into an allegiance against the mayor with John le Nouble and was fined sixpence.\textsuperscript{135} Aside from the Burgh-Mote, the mayor’s other duties included overseeing decisions made by his colleagues and his

\textsuperscript{130} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 103.

\textsuperscript{131} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 292.

\textsuperscript{132} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 297.

\textsuperscript{133} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 69.

\textsuperscript{134} James S. Furley, \textit{Town Life in XIV Century: As Seen in the Court Rolls of Winchester City} (Winchester, 1947), 110.

\textsuperscript{135} Furley, \textit{Town Life}, 110.
discretion was often used in deciding punishments for criminals. He also held a wider power over retail traders including the appointment of a warden for the wheat market, the assessment of fines for the common crime of regrating and fixing the price of wine. This duty is made concrete in the mayor’s oath taken on entering office, which aside from swearing he will do nothing to impair the kings interests in the town, he also declares his loyalty to the citizens and that above all he will be enforcing the regulations ensuring the correct price and quality of goods sold to them.\textsuperscript{136} While overseeing all business within the town, the mayor had no real power in parliament and would have to face the consequences when he returned demanding new payments he had agreed to at Westminster. The town bailiffs essentially acted as town magistrates. Bailiffs represented the king and his interests in Winchester and as such offences against the court were offences against them and not the mayor. As the king’s men, bailiffs were also in charge of collecting the king’s dues from inhabitants.\textsuperscript{137}

The Twenty Four were elected and sworn advisors of the mayor who played little part in the day to day running of the city, but were regarded as peers of the mayor possessing authority.\textsuperscript{138} The \textit{communitas} were those who enjoyed the franchise of the city but were not members of the Twenty Four. The two bodies elected the mayor and two bailiffs, one of whom represented the Twenty Four and another with the less prestigious position who represented the \textit{communitas}. While the Twenty Four, adorned in their distinctive crimson gowns, may have had considered themselves of a higher rank with significant influence over the mayor, the two bodies collaborated for other duties and city accounts were audited by representatives of both bodies.\textsuperscript{139} The merchant guild provided

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137 Furley, \textit{Town Life}, 43.


139 Keene, \textit{Survey}, 76.
\end{flushright}
the framework for this governmental body, as it was these men who enjoyed the franchise of the city and thus formed the Twenty Four and the *communitas*. This in turn led to important developments in the meaning of the term ‘citizen.’ By the second half of the fourteenth century, when the first records of those entering the franchise survive, it is clear that in Winchester, ‘citizen’ referred only to those individuals who were sworn members of the guild.\textsuperscript{140} Thus after this period, town records, including the town court rolls say little of the merchant guild itself and more frequently use common convocation.\textsuperscript{141} Revenue was derived from subscriptions and entry payments associated with the merchant guild or the franchise and four pairs of lawmen or aldermen sometimes referred to as bagmen,\textsuperscript{142} collected the sums annually which after expenses went to the mayor.\textsuperscript{143} Each pair of aldermen, not to be confused with the aldermen who were specifically assigned to the care of the aldermanries, represented the four houses of the guild merchant.\textsuperscript{144} Other monies such as the collection of an occasional tarrage, was collected by specially appointed citizens, while murage was collected by the aldermen of the wards.\textsuperscript{145} Winchester was divided into nine aldermanries or wards by 1340, which were essentially districts which would make policing easier. The largest aldermanry consisted just of high street which most frequently appears in the court records.\textsuperscript{146} This perhaps is not surprising as it was a highly populated area but was also one which housed the main commercial inns of the city. The Tabard and the Cheker are the first inns to be described in deeds of the town during the 1360s although other references imply inns had been a feature of the city for a long

\textsuperscript{140} Keene, *Survey*, 69.
\textsuperscript{141} Furley, *City Government*, 62.
\textsuperscript{142} Furley, *City Government*, 114.
\textsuperscript{143} Furley, *City Government*, 54-5.
\textsuperscript{144} Furley, *City Government*, 54-5.
\textsuperscript{145} Furley, *City Government*, 55-7.
\textsuperscript{146} Furley, *Town Life*, 102.
Aldermen would present the crimes committed in their wards in Winchester around every three weeks and acts of violence often begin their list of wrong doings. Aside from presenting crimes, aldermen were also in charge of selecting householders to take up the ‘great horn’ and perform the town watch, a task many tried to evade as it involved patrolling the town at night for disturbances. Aldermen were also concerned with issues arising from the properties and sanitation of their jurisdiction, such as adjudicating on the liability of repairs to walls or the discharge of guttering.

Winchester contained numerous churches. In 1300, there were fifty-four churches as well as the cathedral priory, the two abbeys of St Mary’s and Hyde and four friaries. In regard to places of worship, the numbers would have been higher as non-parochial chapels were found at the hospitals of St John the Baptist, sustren spital and from 1314 at the Trinity chapel in St Mary’s Abbey cemetery. The hospital of St John the Baptist was a particularly significant in Winchester, along with its charitable function as a hospital, as an institution it was also one the town’s largest property-holders. The hospital building was the basis for the meetings of the fraternity of St John the Baptist, which by 1200, is thought to have been brought into a formal relationship with the mayor and citizens and the two groups became homogenous.

While the town was held by the mayor, bailiff and citizens who accounted for it to the crown, the East and West soke outside the town walls was held by the bishop, who

147 Keene, Survey, 167.
148 Furley, Town Life, 146.
149 Furley, Town Life, 64.
150 Keene, Survey, 368. For Keene’s calculations relating to the population of Winchester in the Middle Ages, see Survey, “Population and Society”, 366-370 and “Churches and Parishes”, 106-33.
151 Keene, Survey, 106.
152 Keene, Survey, 817. Also more generally, Barbara Carpenter-Turner, St John’s Winchester Charity (Winchester, 1984).
appointed a bailiff or steward to administer it for him.\textsuperscript{153} While the fair itself was held on St Giles Hill within the Soke, the town would be controlled by the bishop for the fair’s duration, mainly to ensure any activity of the urban community would not affect the running of the fair. All the town’s trading had to cease and transfer to St Giles Hill and its jurisdiction to the Bishop’s court of the Pavilion, the \textit{pavilionis aula}.\textsuperscript{154} Cobblers, tailors and other craftsmen had to go to the fair to work and while bakers were allowed to continue to use their ovens in the town, samples of their bread had to go to the Pavilion and were at the mercy of the Bishop’s Court.\textsuperscript{155} Bishop’s officers could enter the town to test and taste all wine for sale and if any was found to be unsatisfactory, they had the power to seize them and heavily fine the innkeeper or owner, a fee which would go straight to the bishop.\textsuperscript{156} The success of the fair peaked in the thirteenth century and gate tolls from this period reveal the origins of the merchants who travelled there; Exeter, Cornwall, Bristol, Ireland and Hereford from the West, Oxford, Leicester, Nottingham, Lincoln, York and London from the north and Ypres, Flanders, Louvain, Dinant, Arras, Atois, Ghent and Lisbon to name but a few from overseas.\textsuperscript{157} The vast array of commodities sold there can be seen in the streets of the fair which took their name from the business there; Mercery, Goldsmiths, The Tailors, and there were also shops for the sale of wool, canvas, ale, herrings and second hand clothes.\textsuperscript{158} The location of the fair also aided its popularity; it was close to the sea via Southampton and was far enough away from the Midlands area which contained the other great fairs of Boston, Lynn, Northampton and St. Ives.\textsuperscript{159} While the fair was a chance for Winchester householders to stock up on all those items not

\textsuperscript{153} Furley, \textit{City Government}, 86-95.
\textsuperscript{154} Furley, \textit{City Government}, 86-95.
\textsuperscript{155} Furley, \textit{City Government}, 83.
\textsuperscript{156} Furley, \textit{City Government}, 89.
\textsuperscript{157} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 11116-17.
\textsuperscript{158} Furley, \textit{Town Life}, 15.
\textsuperscript{159} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 1116.
produced in Winchester, town inhabitants appear to have been glad when each it drew to a close, as each year a short period of celebration and civic rejoicing followed.\footnote{Furley, City Government, 14.}

**Winchester Authorities and Urban Space**

As a group who had clear jurisdiction over the Winchester butchers, the town authorities are an important body within this thesis. As highlighted in the work of Arnade and others, governing bodies could use their authority in a variety of ways to regulate the use of the urban fabric and alter the ways in which people could engage with it. Certainly in Winchester this was no different. The *communitas* and those directly in employed by them to regulate the town, could claim authority over Winchester’s urban fabric in a wide variety of ways. This next section will explore some of the ways this authority was expressed during the working day.

The town mayor, bailiffs and *communitas* could be seen to dominate the ownership of Winchester in regard to possessing administrative control. As in all English towns, the jurisdiction of the mayor in Winchester was far reaching: as chief magistrate, president of the municipal council, spokesperson for the town and a figure who handled most of its revenues, it was a position which enabled ultimate administrative ownership over the space. Along with the bailiffs, *communitas* and to a lesser extent the Twenty Four, the governing body of the town exerted ownership over Winchester in ways too numerous to detail in this study. This group was able to shape the town’s physical fabric as it paid for public repairs and maintenance, preside over inhabitants by adjudicating in the town court and supervise all activity in the market place, deciding who was to enter the town to sell goods and enforce the crowns laws over it.
As well as the main administrative figures, many others in Winchester would have had jurisdiction over certain aspects of town space. Such powers, however small, could all be regarded as a form of ownership as they permitted or prohibited the ways in which town space could be used or shaped. All positions concerned with law and order in Winchester would have commanded various levels of such ownership. The six Winchester Aldermen, as overseers of their designated sections of the town, were primarily concerned with anything that could be regarded as a danger to inhabitants, including public disorders and streets obstructions.\textsuperscript{161} As such, they and their assistants, the town Bedels, were able to adjudicate on the behaviours within that space and refer it to the court if necessary, such as in 1364-5, when the Alderman of High Street reported *hutesium leuatum et effusionem sanguinis* between William Strokhose and Edith, wife of John le French. They also exercised some authority over who was able to live in that space. The Aldermen played a role in the registration of real property, giving seisen to new tenants and keeping the new charter for a year and a day.\textsuperscript{162} They also had the final say when a landlord wanted to eject a non-paying tenant.\textsuperscript{163} The Aldermen contributed to the physical environment in the space of the town indirectly when they collected murage which was used to pay for the upkeep of town walls and gates, but also more directly in their dealings with disposal issues. In 1363, for example, the Alderman of High Street reported to the court that the bridge over the lake leading to the tenement of John *le Schovelare est contracta ad nocumentum vicinorum ideo*, where he was then ordered to repair it within eight days.\textsuperscript{164} In 1365, Nicholas Wodare, Alderman of Gold street Aldermanry, was to decide who was responsible for the repair of a drain which was causing a nuisance to John Crann who lived near it. While Wodare had the authority to decide on this case himself, he was also able to consult

\textsuperscript{161} Furley, *Town Life*, 46-8.
\textsuperscript{162} Ancient Usages, 62.
\textsuperscript{163} Furley, *City Government*, 57.
\textsuperscript{164} CR W/D1/33.
fidedignos neutri to aid him with his decision; thus he was able to extend his ownership of the space and temporarily give it to others.\textsuperscript{165}

Winchester aldermen and bedels were in charge of the Night Watch, whereby all householders would take turns in patrolling the town after sunset and taking up the great horn, \textit{cornu magnum}.\textsuperscript{166} This was often a task people would try to avoid; in 1365, for example, ten Winchester householders were fined for not taking up the position.\textsuperscript{167} Similarly in Chester, householders were fined for evading their duty and others for attempting to bribe officials into letting them off.\textsuperscript{168} Nevertheless, those taking up the watch would have been able to claim, for those set hours, some form of ownership over the space that allowed them to observe and oversee the behaviours within it. In Sandwich, members of the Night Watch were permitted to question all ‘night-walkers’, and in Beverley they were to keep a particular look out for strangers, who were expected to be indoors an hour earlier than other inhabitants of the town.\textsuperscript{169} In Leicester, if a person was found outside after curfew without good reason the night watch could imprison them.\textsuperscript{170} In a period which saw many towns in England using curfews, those taking up the night watch would have been among the few groups permitted to occupy the space of the town after dark. While it may have been regarded as an unenviable task, those who did take up the duty appear to have, on occasion, felt comfortable with this particular type of ownership of the town and passed the time enjoying each others company: in Northampton, in 1460, authorities issued the warning to \textit{watchmen} that when undertaking their duties they had to do so ‘\textit{without noyse or lowed speche.}’\textsuperscript{171}

\textsuperscript{165} CR W/D1/35.
\textsuperscript{166} CR W/D1/14.
\textsuperscript{167} CR W/D1/35.
\textsuperscript{168} Stewart Brown, \textit{Calendar of County Court, City Court and Eyre Rolls of Chester}, 181.
\textsuperscript{169} William Boys, \textit{Collections for an History of Sandwich}, Book II, 503.
\textsuperscript{170} \textit{Records of Leicester}, Book II, 287.
\textsuperscript{171} \textit{Records of Northampton}, Book I, 398.
Any town space which featured commercial activity would have to be administered carefully in order for the correct fees and dues to be taken and to ensure that the very specific rules and regulations concerning buying and selling were being followed. As such, market and trade officials would have had specific types of jurisdiction over these areas of town space. Specialist examiners of wheat, leather, poultry, bread, woad, wool, cloth and meat, would all have made decisions on what goods were fit to be bought or sold there. In 1360 the dyers of Winchester elected two men ‘with knowledge’ as their official inspectors, *ad appreciandum waidam bene et fideliter inter venditores et emptores*.\(^{172}\) In 1365, John Reyne, weaver, is fined for selling defective cloth to Thomas Fyndene *per iii taxatores Wyntonie ad hoc iuratos de nouo* (sic).\(^{173}\) All items being sold within the town were subject to pesage, the King’s duty on goods by weight. The *Pesager* in charge of the town’s great weighing scales would have been in control of ensuring the right amount was charged, so that goods could then go on to be sold at the market.\(^{174}\) Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Winchester also had visits from the Clerk of the Market, an officer of the royal household who would undertake additional checks to ensure the king’s dues were being correctly charged and administered.\(^{175}\) During his visits, he would hold a court which the mayor was required to attend; on those occasions he would also examine the weights and measures being authorised by the town. He was usually accompanied by a town crier, who would announce the latest prices.\(^{176}\)

Public punishments were certainly times when the town authorities attempted to demonstrate ownership of space as they reminded onlookers of the potential consequences for breaking the law which they enforced. The town pillory, a derivative of

\(^{172}\) CR W/D1/30.

\(^{173}\) CR W/D1/35.


\(^{175}\) During his stay he would be kept at the town’s expense, Furley, *City Government*, 158-160.

\(^{176}\) Furley, *Town Life*, 160.
the stocks and the town cage; a public place of confinement for minor offences were frequently used for punishments in Winchester to humiliate law breakers. To ensure these spectacles had full impact on passers-by, such street furniture was placed in prominent locations; in Winchester in 1294 the pillory was located in the High Street, where the plot is described as contra le pyllory.\textsuperscript{177} This placed it either directly in the High Street, or perhaps more likely, just behind the property, in the area of waste ground near temple ditch, a popular place throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to cut through the town, or to dump rubbish, particularly household waste. In 1390 the pillory is in the same location, as Henry Horn, fuller, is charged with leaving a pile of logs near the town pillory.\textsuperscript{178}

While in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the pillory was often used as an alternative to paying fines, by the fourteenth century it was being used more commonly as an independent means of punishment for minor moral crimes, petty theft and market offences.\textsuperscript{179} In 1366, Thomas Bailly, public baker, was sentenced to the Winchester pillory for selling penny-loafs short in weight et predictus Thomas positus fuit in predicto pillorio per Petrum Schort tunc budellum summi vici Wyntonie.\textsuperscript{180} In London, as well as commercial fraud, other minor offences which could see a person sentenced to the pillory included: ‘the practice of magic, the passing of counterfeit money, the use of loaded dice...pimping and procuring, deceit in begging, spreading of false rumours, and extortion by the sale of false pardons.’\textsuperscript{181} In 1529, a new town cage and pillory were built in Winchester, which were then moved to the market place.\textsuperscript{182} It is not known where the cage

\textsuperscript{177} SJR 1.


\textsuperscript{179} Peter Stabel, “The Market place and Civic Identity in Late Medieval Flanders”, in Marc Boone and Peter Stabel eds., Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe (Garant, 2000), 58-9.

\textsuperscript{180} Furley, Town Life, 138.

\textsuperscript{181} Thrupp, Merchant Class, 24.

\textsuperscript{182} Black Book, 146-7.
stood before this date, although town pillories and cages in England often stood
together. When a new pillory for ‘scolds and other malefactors’ was to be built in
Canterbury in 1518, it was ordered that it was to be constructed beside the cage. The
practice of exiling individuals from the town altogether was also exercised in Winchester. In
1327, Isabella Bole is convicted: *est communia uxor et quod ipsa tenet lupanar in Ciuitate
Wyntonia et quod non est abilis ad comorandum in dicta Ciuitate.* As with many towns,
in Winchester the gallows were located outside the town walls on the nearby bishops hill,
in the Eastern suburbs. Their location outside of the town was thought to distance society
physically from the ‘unclean’ nature of an execution, and as such it was common to find
that executioners and their families also had to live outside of the town they worked for.
Such locations also meant that they had enough space around them for a crowd to gather
and witness the event. Executions in the middle ages were undertaken publicly, again in
order to remind urban inhabitants of the consequences of wrongdoing, but also to express
town authorities’ jurisdiction over urban space.

The use of sound to appropriate space, in particular the cultural significance of
bells, has been well documented and is often one aspect of the soundscape which is
focussed upon within the medieval town. In her recent work, Carol Symes highlights
bells in medieval Arras as instruments of power, as complicated yet clear extensions of the

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184 Karen Jones, *Gender and Petty Crime in Late Medieval England: The Local Courts in Kent, 1460-1560*
(Woodbridge, 2006), 125.
187 Esther Cohen, “To Die a Criminal”, 205-305. Also Johannes A. Mol, “Gallows in Late Medieval Frisia”
263-98, in Rolf H. Bremmer, Stephen Laker, Oebele Vries eds., *Advances in Old Frisian philology*
(Amsterdam, 1997).
188 Peter Bailey, “Breaking the Sound Barrier: a Historian Listens to Noise”, in *Body and Society* 2 (1996),
49-66.
town administrations authority, which were easily understood by inhabitants.\textsuperscript{189} In his groundbreaking research on sound in French villages in the nineteenth century, Alain Corbin argues that certain bells were able to mark out ‘social hierarchies and reflected social mobility.’\textsuperscript{190} In medieval towns, it is well understood that bells would have called people to church, signified the opening and closing of markets, denoted important civic and religious occasions, begun and ended curfew, sounded out the funerals of wealthy citizens, raised alarm and marked out a myriad of other regular events. In Winchester, bells would have been a sound which would have resonated across the entire town even more so in the fifteenth century, when fashionable bell towers were added to the churches of St Bartholomew and St Lawrence within the walls, paid for by the Winchester citizens.\textsuperscript{191} In 1417, the ringing of the town’s curfew bell took place in the church of St Peter in Marcellis, located just off High Street.\textsuperscript{192} The town hall also housed a bell, ringing out the various changes in the working day, which will be discussed more in depth in the next section of this chapter. At Ipswich, a special ‘watch bell’ was rung to signify the end of the night watch, when those on duty could return home.\textsuperscript{193} In Coventry, two churches were charged with ringing out the time of curfew, but had difficulty in keeping the same time and town authorities charged a two pence fine for every time they made a mistake.\textsuperscript{194} At

\textsuperscript{189} Carol Symes, “Out in the Open, in Arras: Sightlines, Soundscapes, and the Shaping of a Medieval Public Sphere” in Caroline Goodson, Anne Lester and Carol Symes eds., Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400-1500 Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space (Farnham, 2010), 279-302. Also Carol Symes, A Common Stage: Theatre and Public Life in Medieval Arras (Ithica, 2007). Charles Burnett, “Perceiving Sound in the Middle Ages”, in Mark M. Smith, Hearing History: A Reader (Georgia, 2004), 69-84.


\textsuperscript{191} Keene, Survey, 126-27.

\textsuperscript{192} Furley, Government, 180.

\textsuperscript{193} John Wodderspoon, Memorials of Ipswich, (Ipswich, 1842), 181, 280.

\textsuperscript{194} Coventry Leet Book, 338.
Ipswich town authorities insisted that the bell of St Mary’s church should be under their control for the ringing of curfew.¹⁹⁵

These bells, paid for and controlled by elite groups would have been at times a dominant aspect of the urban Winchester soundscape. Their dominance may have depended on which part of the town people were in as they were rung and their proximity to them; in the more depopulated areas of Tanner Street and the upper northern part of the town where there do not appear to have been civic bells, for example, they may have punctured the air more fiercely than in other areas, but nevertheless they would have been audible to all. At times, such bells were considered to be too loud and dominating: in Norfolk, the bells in the parish church irritated the clergy nearby and it was agreed that all apertures in the tower used by parishioners were to be closed.¹⁹⁶

Having set Winchester, its structure and authorities into context, this chapter will now turn to the main group who are the focus of this thesis, butchers.

¹⁹⁵ Wodderspoon, Memorials of Ipswich, 279.

2.4 Historiography: Medieval Butchers

‘Foulness, putrefaction and nastiness.’

Butchers are an interesting group to trace through historiography because of the dichotomy that they present. While economically successful throughout England in the later middle ages, they are also presented as a group who were heavily marginalized in a variety of ways. Butchers are often discussed in comparison with various crafts in their wider economic context, such as Maryanne Kowaleski’s key survey of trades in medieval Exeter. As such, English butchers are often revealed as highly prominent in many urban markets due to the value of their products and diversity of commercial dealings. As well as the ability to profit from meat sales, they also marketed the by-products of the animals they slaughtered. In Exeter, butchers had a high profile in local markets, comprising 14% of all Exeter debt litigants outnumbering even the merchants. Ernest Sabine’s 1933 article on butchers in medieval London is still regarded as a key work on the craft and explores the fundamental aspects of their trade including regulation, the places used for various aspects of their trade and crucially, waste disposal. It is this last aspect, which is of key importance for the butchers’ characterization elsewhere in historiography. As a group, they tend to appear most frequently in primary source materials as the object of complaint and regulation, more so than any other trade. The butchers appear throughout the urban record for the illegal disposing of waste, slaughtering animals in view of others, or other

197 Vocabulary noted by David Carr used by medieval York authorities to describe the smell resulting from the butchers’, their animals and by-products. From Carr, “Controlling the Butchers in Late Medieval English Towns”, in The Historian 70, (2008), 459.

198 Kowaleski, Local Markets.

199 Kowaleski, Local Markets, 137.

200 Kowalsksi, Local Markets, 137.

201 Ernest L. Sabine, “Butchering in Mediaeval London” in Speculum 8, no. 3 (1933), 335-53.
aspects of their trade which, in an era of no refrigeration or adequate waste disposal methods left ‘a smelly, slippery mess in the city streets, assaulting the noses and threatening the step of passersby.’\textsuperscript{202} To tackle this, butchers were frequently relocated near to or outside town walls, or given specific places they could use to go about aspects of their business. David Carr, in his 2008 study of medieval English butchers asserts two key factors as to why urban authorities were so keen to heavily regulate the group. Firstly, there were concerns over health: tapping into the well-established contemporary fears over noxious air, \textit{miasma}, which it was believed entrails and waste could be carriers. Secondly, Carr also notes simply a desire for wanting a more pleasant environment. However, due to the nature of their work, authorities found that the butchers ‘were a tough group to deodorize.’\textsuperscript{203}

As traders, the butchers were already considered to be a group who needed close scrutiny. As such, they are often discussed as a group operating on the boundaries of urban society and culture. In the influential volume \textit{The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris} by Bronislaw Geremek, place butchers within a marginal world of criminality. In a discussion of Parisian topography, Geremek describes an area which had once been inhabited by respectable people, but my the mid-fourteenth century: ‘the best owners it could find in the way of tenants were butchers and women of easy virtue.’\textsuperscript{204} Interestingly, Geremek goes on to highlight how at the start of the fifteenth century the butchers in Paris were one of the richest guilds in the city and were a growing political force, which in part had been led by an element of popular protest. When he then goes on to describe another wave of popular unrest a few years after, headed by an executioner, he remarks ‘an executioner after a butcher; this was hardly a coincidence, both were

\textsuperscript{202} Carr, ‘Controlling the Butchers’, 450.

\textsuperscript{203} Carr, “Controlling the Butchers”, 461. See also, Christopher M. Woolgar, \textit{The Senses in Late Medieval England} (London, 2006).

\textsuperscript{204} Geremek, \textit{Margins}, 77.
trades which inspired awe and dread.'\textsuperscript{205} The link also appears between butchers, prostitutes and executioners is not an uncommon one and may be led in part by the hugely influential and important work of anthropologist Mary Douglas. In her publication, \textit{Purity and Danger} she establishes a framework by which all societies see danger in uncleanness: ‘all bodily emissions, even blood or pus from a wound, are impurity.'\textsuperscript{206} That impurity and thus danger, she argues, may also be transferred to those who deal with any of these aspects as part of their work. Indeed, Jacques le Goff has discussed how the butchers were tainted with one of the oldest taboos of primitive societies: ‘the blood taboo.'\textsuperscript{207} In \textit{Time, Work and Culture}, he also includes them in his famous list of thirty two medieval occupations which could be regarded as dishonourable or ignoble, including prostitutes, innkeepers and painters, although he admits that ‘an exhaustive list...which includes almost all medieval professions.'\textsuperscript{208} Michel Camille describes the butchers as being viewed by contemporaries as a ‘despicable’ trade, akin to prostitutes and money-lenders, in his discussion of gargoyles. He argues that the statues began to take on the human forms of these traders as well as monsters by way of satire.\textsuperscript{209} William C. Jordan concludes that the work of the butchers resulted in ‘a peculiar, even suspicious regard for them.'\textsuperscript{210}

Steven A. Epstein’s work on guilds in medieval Europe briefly tackles the marginalization of butchers by exploring their economic status in Genoa, Siena and Bologna, concluding that their status as a group varied hugely and that contemporary

\textsuperscript{205} Geremek, \textit{Margins}, 296.


\textsuperscript{207} le Goff, \textit{Time Work and Culture}, 59.

\textsuperscript{208} le Goff, \textit{Time Work and Culture}, 58-70.

\textsuperscript{209} Michel Camille, \textit{Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art} (Guildford, 1992), 80.

views were more blurred: ‘the tangled array of social attitudes often worked at cross purposes: for every trade might be found some unsavoury aspect.’\textsuperscript{211} In her work \textit{Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts: honor and ritual pollution in early Modern Germany}, Kathy Stuart explores economic circumstances and social dynamics of trades to better explore issues of marginality. Interestingly, butchers are not mentioned in her study and she draws attention instead to the position of skinners.\textsuperscript{212} Frank Rexroth’s 2007 publication \textit{Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London} documents the struggles authorities had as they attempted to deal with the butchers’ waste. Rexroth regards the butchers as being in direct conflict with the authorities and their disregard for disposal laws.\textsuperscript{213}

In the later middle ages if not earlier, certain stereotypes and ideas begin to emerge about butchers. As noted in the previous chapter, certain cultural ideas about traders in general permeated society, as highlighted by the work of James Davis. As Davis notes: ‘Traders were recognised as important for the sustenance to society, but there was continuing suspicion about their motives and potential for abuses and damages to the community.’\textsuperscript{214} Medieval writers used merchants and traders as emblems of greed and avarice. Even the marketplace itself was portrayed as a place ‘in which exaggeration and fraud were expected on a daily basis.’\textsuperscript{215} Certainly the butchers appear in literature as a group very capable at cheating and Sebastian Brant writes about them in the fifteenth century as having a special skill at manipulating weights and measures in order to sell less.


\textsuperscript{212} Kathy Stuart, \textit{Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts: Honor and Ritual Pollution in Early Modern Germany} (Cambridge, 1999).


\textsuperscript{214} Davis, \textit{Medieval Market Morality}, 450.

\textsuperscript{215} Davis, \textit{Medieval Market Morality}, 54.
meat for more profit: ‘und frogen eyns/wie vil man heysch, den taumen wigt man zu demm fleysch.’

Other more specific stereotypes about butchers, however, also appear, many linked to the anxieties over sanitation and the ‘blood taboo.’ In sermons for example, they are sometimes referred to along with their trademark dogs who were often kept by butchers to help drive cattle. This excerpt from a sermon refers to the bloody practice of bull-baiting, whereby butchers were often required to lend their dogs:

‘with its [the butchers dog’s] bloody mouth and the cries of compassion of swine and oxen for their fellows as their lives were brought to an end.’ While such description may show certain ideas about the butchers at the time, as Woolgar notes, they also indicate ‘a greater familiarity with meat processing’ by this point.

Bernard Délicieux, the Franciscan friar who resisted the Inquisition in Carcassonne and Languedoc frequently used the butchers as symbols of those he saw as oppressors in his sermons. Using rams symbols for those he saw as innocent, one of his sermons includes the rams talking to one another: ‘but we have horns. Let us rise up all together against the butchers, let us hit them with our horns, let us chase them from the field and we will this save our lives and the lives of those close to us.’ In another, he again uses butchers to represent the inquisitors and rams as those considered heretics: ‘every day two butchers

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218 Woolgar, “Meat and Dairy Products in Late Medieval England”, 89.

went out of the city and seized the rams, sometimes one, sometimes two a day.’ The butchers then cut the throats of the rams, sold their pelts and ate their flesh.’

While some examples focus on the gruesomeness of their trade and related practices, others show that they were a group to poke fun perhaps because of their daily encounters with an activity regarded as unclean. Camille notes that by the thirteenth century gargoyles were being created which represented ideas about the trade: ‘The loss of demonic association can also be seen in the widening reference of gargoyle sculptures to include the human as well as the monstrous. They become butts of satire, depicting such despicable trades as butchers, prostitutes and money lenders.’

In a popular thirteenth century French tale Le Bouchier d’Abeville, about trade and hospitality, the humour is derived from the fact that the central character is in fact ‘kind, generous, charitable and not evil.’

Certainly, regardless of the negative connotations which underpin each of these representations, it also shows how the butchers were a well-established, visible part of the urban fabric.

The marginalisation described in the historiography comes largely from the reaction of authorities to the butchers and the heavy regulation imposed upon them. Much of this regulation involved imposing specific sets of spatial regulation upon them as a group, thus restricting which parts of the urban fabric they could use for which act. This thesis will attempt to explore how and if such marginalisation affected the butchers in Winchester.

Despite being a group who were doing well economically, were the butchers of Winchester marginalised and if so, how did this effect their daily interaction with the urban fabric?

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The Butchers: A Brief History

My aim here is to provide a brief cultural history of the butchers, the main example of the thesis. I will then go on to discuss the Winchester butchers to place them better into context. As the details of the butchers’ work will be discussed at length in the upcoming chapters, some areas of their trade will only be discussed in general here. By ‘butcher’ here I refer to the urban commercial butcher; the one who slaughters, prepares and sells meat in an urban context.

Early to High Middle Ages

Butchers in some form have existed as soon as people began to domesticate animals and to trade. Due to the nature of their work, the butchers’ fortunes in the middle ages are bound up with the ‘social, economic and commercial developments of society at large.’\(^{223}\) As such, they are the product of the changing developments in agriculture and husbandry, technology and farming, but are also the product of growing

urban centres, of new tastes and consumer demands. The developments of the later middle ages also demonstrate how they and other victuallers became regarded as a societal necessity.

Circumstances in the tenth century, particularly with the rise of towns, meant butchers as commercial retailers were able to become a more permanent feature within ‘urban’ communities.\(^{224}\) The development of burghs and trading centres meant more fixed cattle markets like the ‘hypera ceap’ just outside the walls of Canterbury could be established.\(^{225}\) Around the same time, England’s first specialised food market was being set up in London’s Cheapside with its butchers, bakers and fishmongers.\(^{226}\) The steady supply of customers in such growing communities enabled butchers to create permanent shops and stalls, selling a range of meats.\(^{227}\) At this point however, it is worth noting that the principal food for the population of England was made up of dairy and cereals.\(^{228}\) Animal bone assemblages from various English urban sites have shown the standardization of butchery techniques and use of meat cleavers, aided and developed with tools which were often supplied and maintained by local craftsmen.\(^{229}\)

Instead of butchering with carcasses on the floor as had been the case in previous


\(^{226}\) Mark Burch, Derek Keene and Phil Treveil eds., The Development of Early Medieval and Later Poultry and Cheapside: Excavations at 1 Poultry and Vicinity, City of London (London, 20011), 21.

\(^{227}\) Ann Hagan, Anglo Saxon Food and Drink (Norfolk, 1995), 172.


centuries, carcasses were now suspended and split down the middle into equal parts, suggesting the advent of specialised working premises with the apparatus to do this.\textsuperscript{230} Butchery marks on bones from this period also reveal that hot-smoking and brining was being used in rural areas as a way of preserving meat for those who could afford it, while this was found less on bones at urban sites; this suggests that in towns, people with more easy access to butchers, had little need for preserving meat and mutton.\textsuperscript{231}

While butchers were establishing themselves in these new markets, livestock was still being raised in more rural areas. Unlike in later periods, the fattening of animals would not be undertaken by the butchers themselves; this would have been done in larger spaces where a range of animals including sheep, cattle, pigs and fowl could be kept together. Grazing was often done in open pastures, leading to the genetic mixing of wild and domestic animals, one reason livestock at this point were considered to be smaller than today.\textsuperscript{232} Pigs in England were a particularly important source of fat and meat especially during the aftermath of the Norman Conquest.\textsuperscript{233} However, as the forests commonly used to feed and fatten pigs from August to December were cleared to make way for arable crops, the ‘pig economy’ declined.\textsuperscript{234} Their popularity, however, did not as animals which were easy and cheap to keep many families and households kept them domestically. This change in land use also meant that cattle and goats became slightly less important as meat providing animals, placing a focus on sheep rearing. Sheep were to remain a key commodity for butchers right into the later middle ages and beyond. Cattle were largely being used to plough fields in the early middle ages and it would not be until

\begin{footnotes}
\item[230] Sykes, “From Cu and Sceap to Beffe and Motton”, 67.
\item[231] Also see Martha Carlin, “Fast Food and Urban Living Standards in Medieval England”, Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal eds., Food and Eating in Medieval Europe, 27-52.
\item[233] Esther Pascua, “From Forest to Farm and Town”, 85 in Brigitte Resl ed., A Cultural History of Animals in the Middle Ages (New York, 2007).
\item[234] Pascua, “From Forest to Farm and Town”, 83.
\end{footnotes}
the advent of the plough-horse which would gradually mean more cattle could be slaughtered for meat or used for diary production.\textsuperscript{235} Thus, sheep were the main producers of milk and dairy and their manure was also an important source of fertiliser.\textsuperscript{236} For this reason and like most animals used for meat, when butchers would purchase livestock at markets, the animals would be at the end of their labouring lives. Butchers were able to capitalise on more than just their meat, however, and the new and growing urban communities within which they established themselves provided the perfect place to foster additional commercial ties and sell the numerous by-products also at their disposal; fells, hides, bones and tallow.

\textbf{Later Middle Ages}

The sharp demographic changes brought by famine and plague in the later middle ages meant a shift in consumer patterns which heavily effected the butchers and their market. Dyer has well established how the income and expenditure patterns of all groups in society shifted throughout this period.\textsuperscript{237} While England experienced a contraction in the population due to famine, war and plague, the country eventually saw increasing standards of living for some. With a smaller population to feed, harvests became plentiful after the mid 1370s and grain and land prices fell, thus making demesne farming less profitable. Increasing amounts of demesne lands were then leased at lower rates in response to this.\textsuperscript{238} As the manorial system of serfdom subsequently declined, some peasants prospered, securing land under contractual tenures, creating a new peasant

\textsuperscript{235} Landon, \textit{Horses, Oxen and Technical Innovation}, 43.

\textsuperscript{236} Pascua, “From Forest to Farm and Town”, 89.

\textsuperscript{237} Dyer, \textit{Standards of Living}.

elite. The labouring classes benefitted from the population decline through higher wages and a choice of work. Many rural markets declined and some disappeared altogether and while urban retail trade also fell, but there was a rise *per capita* in demand for goods and changes in consumption patterns.\(^{239}\) Spending power increased by 137 per cent from the 1330s to the 1470s.\(^{240}\) These improved standards of living saw ‘consumerism spread slowly down the social ladder.’\(^{241}\)

For the butchers, while their market may have been smaller, those who did purchase from them bought more, the spending power of an average labourer on meat having increased two fold.\(^{242}\) Their market was also now more diverse: the diet of harvest workers now included more fresh meat. Agricultural producers responded and switched to more commercial outputs including livestock.\(^{243}\) Such a climate is thought to have contributed to butchers more formally organising themselves in urban centres and around this time, establishing guilds which enabled a large amount of self-regulation, including establishing methods of meat inspection and price fixing.\(^{244}\) All of this also altered attitudes to butchers, with local governing bodies recognising the importance of meat and of the trade, ensuring the provision of butchers for towns and villages.\(^{245}\) It is also around this time that butchers were often required to make up smaller weights of meat or offal to sell to the poor, ensuring that this crucial foodstuff was available for everyone.\(^{246}\)

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\(^{244}\) Nicholas Courtney, *A Cut Above the Rest: The Biography of the Worshipful Company of Butchers* (London, 2005), 602.

\(^{245}\) Woolgar, “Meat and Dairy Products”, 92.

consumption in the mid-fourteenth century among many groups boomed, beef and mutton again being the most popular and readily available. Meats were sold in a different range of cuts which could then be preserved or cooked accordingly, for example mutton was often sold jointed, by the breast and side and more specialised meats could be available at certain times of the year, such as slices of pork traditionally eaten on Collop Monday, two days before the start of Lent.247 While during Lent many shambles and butchers stalls closed entirely, Midwinter was a particularly busy time for butchers as communities, fraternities and great households had feasts.248

Demand also rose for items made from the butchers’ by-products as people were more able to afford luxuries such as new shoes or belts. This placed the butchers at a central point of a large part of the retail trade, leaving them with a virtual monopoly on the sale of a range of crucial ingredients to tanners, leatherworkers, horners and chandlers. As was common in English towns, anxieties about animals being stolen meant cattle and sheep carcasses had to be sold with hides and horns attached and this left butchers with control of the market.249 parchment makers required skins, tanners needed hides, cloth workers bought fells, horners used bones, soapers and leatherworkers made use of tallow. The sale of tallow meant that the livelihood of chandlers was completely reliant on butchers as it was the main ingredient for the candles they produced. As such, the butchers were at the centre of a complex web of urban commercial activity. By the later Middle Ages more prosperous urban butchers often owned land in suburbs or were granted the use of land inside towns to graze livestock.250 Many butchers also took to driving animals from the markets to graze livestock themselves.


248 Kowaleski, Local Markets, 137.

249 Davis, Medieval Markets, 403.

250 Kowaleski, Local Markets, 140.
Despite this prosperity, illness and outbreaks among animals could still pose a threat to the butchers’ trade. Murrain outbreaks affecting various types of animal appeared sporadically in England from the thirteenth century through to the late fourteenth century was a key example.\textsuperscript{251} Murrain, a general term covering several fatal diseases affecting livestock including scab and liver fluke, was thought to be a consequence of wet springs and summers.\textsuperscript{252} Several preventative ointments where attempted and initially preventative cullings were carried out, but those remaining animals were often left in poor condition as hay rotted and crop yields declined in reoccurring bad weather conditions so they were unable to be fed adequately.\textsuperscript{253} During 1315-1317 there were endemic murrains, affecting oxen leaving much land uncultivated, made worse the year after which saw a very harsh winter. In 1319-1322, a particularly bad outbreak of murrain struck again, heavily affecting sheep flocks. The end of the murrain had some positive side effects; the decline in livestock numbers meant that those remaining could now at least be grazed on good pasture. This pasture was now enclosed to make selective breeding possible and as a result of this animal sizes gradually increased.

Throughout the period, local authorities struggled with controlling the waste produced by butchers, by now a very well-established urban group. Many towns in England followed the example set by London: designating them clear places for their activities. Slaughter was to take place outside the city limits by 1364.\textsuperscript{254} By proclamation in 1371, the processing of meat could only take place in two districts of the city, because of

\textsuperscript{251} Bruce M.S. Campbell, \textit{English Seigniorial Agriculture, 1250-1450} (Cambridge, 2000), 147.

\textsuperscript{252} Robert Trow-Smith, \textit{British Livestock Husbandry} (London, 1959), 156. For a recent study of these animal murrains, see: Timothy P. Newfield, “A Cattle Panzootic in Early Fourteenth-Century Europe”, in \textit{Agricultural History Review, 57}, 2, (2009), 155-90. Ceremonies and charms were also employed to prevent the death of animals during the major outbreaks of murrain, see William C. Jordan, “Charms to Ward off Sheep and Pig Murrains” in Miri Rubin ed. \textit{Medieval Christianity in Practice} (Berkley, 2009).

\textsuperscript{253} Heather Swanson, “Crafts, Fraternities and Guilds in Late Medieval York”, in Richard B. Dobson and David M. Smith \textit{The Merchant Taylors of York: A History of the Craft and Company from the Fourteenth to Twentieth Centuries} (York, 2006), 23-52. For the history of a butchers Guild in London, see Courtney, \textit{A Cut Above the Rest}.

\textsuperscript{254} Sabine, “Butchering in Medieval London”, 344.
the ‘appalling abominations’ that infected the air, as a result of which ‘sickness and other maladies have befallen residents and visitors to the city.’ In 1392 London butchers were given a house where they could cut up offal and cast it into the water at ebb tide. Scalding houses, places butchers could take pig carcasses so that any hair could be removed, were first introduced in London in 1301 and other English urban centres quickly followed suit.

Winchester Butchers, 1360-1420

It is into this economy which we shall now focus on the Winchester butchers.

Property and Ownership

In 1417 the butchers’ homes, shops and stalls were all located in a compact group on the High Street frontage, which was part of the main retail space in the town. At this point, all the butchers also lived and worked in these properties along this street. Figure 2.1 documents the property ownership of the Winchester butchers at this time.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Butcher</th>
<th>Type of commercial property</th>
<th>Rent</th>
<th>Property owned by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Abbotston</td>
<td>shop with a stall</td>
<td>6d.</td>
<td>John Pratt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Boucher</td>
<td>shop with a stall</td>
<td>3d.</td>
<td>St John’s Hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Pole</td>
<td>shop with a stall</td>
<td>6d.</td>
<td>Trinity Chapel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas Randulf</td>
<td>shops and stall</td>
<td>12d.</td>
<td>Nicholas Randulf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Kent</td>
<td>shop and stall</td>
<td>6d.</td>
<td>Not owned by John Kent, but unrecorded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Blake</td>
<td>shop and stall</td>
<td>8d.</td>
<td>John Gylys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Prat</td>
<td>shop with a stall</td>
<td>6d.</td>
<td>Trinity Chapel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Smale</td>
<td>shop with a stall</td>
<td>8d.</td>
<td>Thomas Smale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Holt and Thomas Colbew</td>
<td>Three shops with stalls (no number recorded)</td>
<td>12d.</td>
<td>Tabard Inn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Holt and Thomas Clamerel</td>
<td>Three shops with stalls (no number recorded)</td>
<td>7d.</td>
<td>Tabard Inn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 - Property ownership of Winchester butchers. From Tarrage 1417.

Of the nine retail spaces being used directly by the butchers to sell from in 1417, one of them is recorded as being owned outright by a butcher. It is interesting to trace the history of the properties the Winchester butchers used to sell from. The butchers had initially established themselves in a street which in the eleventh century became known as Fleshmonger Street, due to their association. This was a tributary road in the North of the town which filtered into the High Street. This initial placement may have been due to the pasture lands located towards the walls, which some butchers continued to use well into the fifteenth century. By the twelfth century, the butchers had begun to migrate westwards, down Fleshmonger street and by the fourteenth century, out on the High Street, in the
prime central part of the marketplace.\(^{258}\) This move may well have been in order to occupy such a good commercial space, but also to be closer to the animal market, located near by, just outside the cathedral cemetery. The animal, corn and wood market had been long established in this space, since at least the twelfth century, as this area provided some of the largest open ground in Winchester. Such proximity to this market meant the butchers were in easy access to new animals and could more efficiently drove them back to their properties and grazing plots.

Throughout the period, Winchester butchers held about the average number of properties for all known tradesmen in the town, sixty five, but below average when compared to other victuallers.\(^{259}\) Their land holdings did, however, rent a large number of plots and pastures presumably used for grazing animals before slaughter. This was common practise and butchers in medieval Dublin grazed cattle on common pastures around the town.\(^{260}\) Plots were held by the Winchester butchers both in the north of the town, but also outside of the walls in the western suburbs. Keene observes that the most comprehensive picture of relative wealth of tradesmen in Winchester is via the number of properties they held.\(^{261}\) In this respect, the groups representing the wealthiest citizens reflected the town’s interest in the cloth industry, but not exclusively.\(^{262}\) Skinners, spicers and victuallers also appear, although more sporadically.\(^{263}\)

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\(^{258}\) Keene, *Survey*, 256.

\(^{259}\) Information for property holdings of all Winchester traders from Keene, *Survey*, 353-365. Particularly Table 26.


\(^{261}\) Keene, *Survey*, 416.

\(^{262}\) Keene, *Survey*, 418.

\(^{263}\) Keene, *Survey*, 417.
The butchers’ homes, shops and stalls were located in the parish of St Peter in the Fleshambles. While there is no direct evidence linking the Winchester butchers to a specific parish church, Keene draws the connection between the butchers and churches dedicated to St Martin. He draws the connection between the butchers and ‘Martinsbeef’, a well known commodity that saw cows killed at the principal slaughtering season around Martinmas, the 11th November. In addition, he notes a number of churches dedicated to St Martins in Fleshmonger Street and in the western suburbs, all places that the Winchester butchers held grazing plots.\textsuperscript{264} By 1417, the contraction of the town after the turbulent years of plague and famine meant there were no longer any churches remaining dedicated to St Martin within the walls. However, Keene shows that the dedications from these and surrounding churches had been transferred to the church of St Peters, which stood nearby the butchers shops and stalls, just off the High Street in Fleshmonger Street.\textsuperscript{265}

\textit{Organisation and Nature of the Trade}

By 1360, the butchers of Winchester were internally organised and formally regulated. The first evidence for their organisation is 1329, where the first existing record of two inspectors of animal carcasses, \textit{carnatores}, appears in the court rolls.\textsuperscript{266} The Winchester butchers organised comparatively early when compared to other urban butchers in England; the butchers of Beverley for example, didn’t form a craft guild until 1360.\textsuperscript{267} In larger cities, additional figures were appointed alongside butchers’ inspectors, to undertake special duties. In London, ‘masters’ were often

\textsuperscript{264} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 144.
\textsuperscript{265} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 125.
\textsuperscript{266} CR W/D1/4.
\textsuperscript{267} Kermode, \textit{Medieval Merchants}, 134.
appointed to assist in supervising the trade activities in the city’s three butcheries.\textsuperscript{268} Other trades in Winchester too had already organised by this time and appointed inspectors of their trades who would oversee the specifics of their respective crafts. The Winchester tanners annually appointed \textit{custodies tannatorum} or supervisors \textit{tannatorum} and the dyers would choose \textit{duos hominess scientes} \textit{ad appreciandum waidam bene et fedeliter}.\textsuperscript{269} More generally, appointing such figures was important as it formalised the trade as a group, giving them powers to decide who else could operate within that craft, allowing them to control the quality of work and skills of their members. It also gave them official representation within the town and such officials could negotiate with town authorities if necessary. In towns and cities where craft groups where highly organised, guilds would often pay for the erection of their own guild hall, where they could meet. The earliest evidence for a butchers’ guildhall in London is as 1179.\textsuperscript{270} The social function of such guilds was also hugely important and groups would often organise annual feasts and celebrations, such as in Beverley, where the butchers would meet annually and celebrate mass together.\textsuperscript{271} In addition, such organisation could have important charitable functions; some craft guilds would take fees from their members which could be used to take care of individuals should they become injured or ill, or cover funeral costs.\textsuperscript{272} In Coventry, the butchers referred to their fellow guild members as ‘brothers and sisters.’\textsuperscript{273}

There is little evidence suggesting how organised the Winchester butchers were in terms of charitable functions and celebrations. There is no remaining evidence to suggest they had a guildhall for example. However, while it is late for this study, in 1437 they are

\textsuperscript{268} Sabine, “Butchering in Medieval London”, 355.
\textsuperscript{269} CR W/D1/7.
\textsuperscript{270} Peter E. Jones, \textit{The Butchers of London} (London, 1976), 5.
\textsuperscript{271} Kermode, \textit{Medieval Merchants}, 134.
\textsuperscript{272} This topic is explored in-depth in Henderson, \textit{Piety and Charity}.
\textsuperscript{273} Kermode, \textit{Medieval Merchants}, 135.
recorded as taking part in the important annual Corpus Christi celebrations. The order for
the procession in 1437 is listed below where the butchers are placed third:

‘Carpentarii et tegulatores, Fabri et barbitonsores, Coci et carnifici, Sutores cum duobus
luminis, Tanneres et tapenarii, Fraters Sancti Thome et servientes scissorum, Piscatores
et pelliparii, Vinetarii et fraters Anne in octava, Textores cum duobus luminis, Fullones
cum duobus luminis, Tinctores cum duobus luminis Mercenarii.’ 274

The more everyday functions of the caranatores are well-documented and suggests they
may have been synonymous with the guild. The Winchester caranatores were elected by
and chosen from current members of the trade. The chosen members would take a formal
oath to confirm it; in 1363-4, Richard Midhurst et alii carnificies, elected Roger le Holtere
and William Warnold ad vidiutatis venerunt ad istam curiam endum carnes nectas ad
vendendum infra ciutatem antequam ad vendendum exponatur et ad hoc faciendum sunt
iurati.275 Such elections, undertaken by the butchers themselves, would have been a way
to safeguard their trade and to maintain standards, as well as to curb any illegal dealings.
Certainly, the caranatores involvement in the trade appears in part to be protecting their
reputation as a group. Meat could not be sold until it had been seen and passed by the
caranatores who would visit the butchers shops and stalls.276 Their key function was to
ensure the meat was fit for sale, but also that it was not being sold excessively lean.
Primarily, it is issues arising over the sale of pork which appear most frequently; one
presentation in 1363 concerns the sale of a pig deemed leprosus.277 Such concern for
meat quality was commonplace and evidence from Exeter shows butchers being fined for
selling beef, pork, mutton and veal described as ‘verminous’, ‘fetid’ ‘dried up’,

274 Black Book, 173-74.
275 CR W/D1/11.
277 CR W/D1/11.
and ‘corrupt.’ All meat in Winchester was to be sold within three days after slaughter and six butchers were fined in 1363 for keeping flesh longer than this. In Winchester, if a butcher was charged with a trade infringement then the caranatores would appear in court to present them before the jury. As such, the caranatores appear regularly in the court rolls of the 1360s, but they are not directly mentioned again until 1404 and then only occasionally in the following decade. While there is no direct evidence in the Winchester sources, their frequent appearance in the 1360s may have perhaps reflected heightened fears of diseased meat as it fell into the second period of a murrain outbreak in England among domestic animals, which occurred from 1346 to 1389. More likely perhaps, is that this increase was due to wider fears about disease and unsanitary conditions prompted by the Black Death and ongoing plagues.

By the fifteenth century, the Winchester caranatores were inspecting all types of meat as well as pork, including the ‘foul and insanitary’ beef sold by butcher William Sequence in 1406. By this time, the inspectors also seem responsible for ensuring that all butchers took their pig carcasses to the scalding house. The location of the Winchester scalding house is unknown, but its function was an important one as it ensured all the fine hair was removed from the carcass of pigs. In medieval Coventry, butchers

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278 Kowalesski, Local Markets, 188.
279 CR W/D1/11.
280 Court Rolls passim.
281 This argument was initially put forward in George Fleming, Animal Plagues: their History, Nature and Prevention (London, 1871).
282 CR W/D1/41.
283 CR W/D1/41.
would visit the scalding house on Thursdays and Fridays which was conveniently located near to the town butchery.  

In *Survey*, Keene has estimated the number of butchers operating in Winchester from 1360. To do this, he used the average yearly total of Winchester butchers presented in the town court for sanitary offenses, or for miscellaneous offenses such as selling meat too dear. Keene notes that the presentations, made regularly between 1360 and 1433 ‘almost certainly record every active butcher in the city during that period.’

To put these numbers into their local context, they are shown in the table below, along with Keene’s comparable estimates for two other victualling groups, fishmongers and poulterers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Estimated number of Winchester butchers</th>
<th>Estimated number of Winchester fishmongers</th>
<th>Estimated number of Winchester poulterers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1360-1370</td>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>4-7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1370-1380</td>
<td>6-12</td>
<td>4-9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1380-1390</td>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>5-8</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1390-1400</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>7-10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400-1410</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>7-11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1410-1420</td>
<td>12-14</td>
<td>4-6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1420-1433</td>
<td>8-14</td>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>data not available</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2 - Comparative numbers of traders in Winchester. From Keene, *Survey*, fn5, 256, fn1, 260, fn 3, 262.

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285 Charles Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1979), 77.

286 Keene, *Survey*, 256.

287 Keene calculated these numbers based on presentations at court, which for the Winchester butchers were made regularly between 1350-1433.
These figures show that the numbers of butchers were slightly higher than those of other victuallers in the town. It also shows their numbers remained relatively static despite the contraction of the town in the later middle ages.\textsuperscript{288} In comparison to other English towns, the total number of local butchers catering to a population of around population 11,625 in the fourteenth century may appear small.\textsuperscript{289} For example, in Exeter, a town estimated to have had a population of around 3,000 in 1377, fourteen butchers were recorded.\textsuperscript{290} In York, the larger urban centre estimated to have had a population of around 14,000 in the fourteenth century, it has been estimated that forty-nine butchers, fifty fishmongers and thirty-seven poulterers were operating there.\textsuperscript{291} Nevertheless, the fact the number of Winchester butchers remained static throughout such a period of demographic change, even increasing in 1410-1420, is a significant one. The gradual rising standards of living after the Black Death, may well have allowed the butchers to maintain such numbers and continue their trade.

According to the particular numbers of references to cattle, sheep and pigs in the sources, it appears that beef, pork and mutton were sold in large quantities by the Winchester butchers.\textsuperscript{292} These trends are reflected elsewhere in England. In Exeter, where further analysis has been undertaken which has included excavated evidence, the meat being sold which showed urban tastes that enjoyed lambs or young sheep were preferred to those of a more mature age, while beef was the most popular.\textsuperscript{293} Over seventy per cent of the meat consumed by weight in the late medieval Exeter was from cattle.\textsuperscript{294} The court

\textsuperscript{288} For this issue see: Keene, \textit{Survey}, 86-105.
\textsuperscript{289} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 336.
\textsuperscript{290} Kowaleski, \textit{Medieval Merchants}, 137.
\textsuperscript{291} Carlin and Rosenthal, \textit{Food and eating}, fn31.
\textsuperscript{292} Court Rolls \textit{passim}. Excavations have not been able to add to this information.
\textsuperscript{293} Kowaleski, \textit{Local Markets}, 297.
\textsuperscript{294} Kowaleski, \textit{Local Markets}, 297.
rolls detail the wide range of fish available in Winchester. Keene notes that ‘salmon, milwell, ling, herring, and congers, all both fresh and salt, and stockfish were the most commonly sold fish in Winchester.295

The price of meat was determined by the proclamation of the mayor and Keene notes that an acceptable profit margin appears to have been a penny in the shilling and that through the period 1366 to 1433, illegal rates of between 1 1/2d and 4d in the shilling are recorded.296 John le Noble, butcher was charged with selling unum agnum to excessive profit, but also for buying bouem taurum vaccam et multonem for ten shillings which were not worth five.297 This case is interesting as other butchers are brought in for their testimony against John and provides evidence for the role the Winchester butchers took in terms of self-regulation. The butchers were also required to make up and sell smaller amounts of meat for poorer members of the community; in 1371 Roger Holtere and seven others were presented for refusing to do this; recusant facere et vendere unum denariatum carnis.298 All goods which were produced and or sold in the town were also subject to pesage, weighing duty which would go to the Crown. Weighing would take place at the Tron, the great scales of the town which were, at least before 1400, located in a part of the town called the Staple.299 In 1371, William Abbotestoun and eight others, butchers, were charged with concealing the pesage due to the sale of fat and grease, cepo et unceto.300 The weighing seems to have been undertaken by a specially appointed officer, the pesager or ponderator.301

295 Keene, Survey, 260.
296 Furley, Town Life, 89.
297 CR/D1/25.
298 Keene, Survey, 260.
300 CR W/D1/11.
301 CR W/D1/17.
Winchester butchers were closely linked to many other trades in the town due to the sale of by-products. In 1404, Richard Hunte, butcher, claimed 5s 10d from Roger Tannere in payment for four hides purchased from him. In 1396, Richard Gay, parchment-maker, claimed the ownership to all the hides of calves slaughtered by Richard Hunte, butcher, an arrangement he was apparently not honouring. On one occasion in 1377 four butchers were charged with buying up hides and selling them at a profit. In Exeter, butchers played a central role in the marketing of hides and skins. In Coventry too, butchers and tanners shared a close working relationship which by the early sixteenth century had broken down as the tanners refused to pay the price set on hides determined by the butchers. Livestock was purchased by Winchester butchers at the local animal market in the centre of the town, just outside the cathedral cemetery. Just a short walk from their homes, shops and stalls, the butchers could easily reach the market as soon as it opened. After having their pick of the best animals, outsider butchers were allowed to purchase here at ‘haute teirce’, 9am. Winchester butchers also had the opportunity to purchase from an additional market. An animal market for outsider butchers was located just outside the town walls, near to the West Gate. Any animals that remained were then bought down to the market near the cathedral cemetery, where Winchester butchers could choose to purchase them. Such provision, allowing the local butchers advantage over out of town traders, may have been due to the wider climate of the time and attitude shifts as outlined earlier in this chapter. Just as was happening elsewhere in England,

302 CR W/D1/17.
304 CR W/D1/32.
309 Keene, *Survey*, 256.
Winchester authorities recognised the importance of meat for the town inhabitants and part of this was protecting its own traders.\textsuperscript{310} Once purchased, the butchers would either lead their animals to their grazing plots themselves for fattening, or employ local drovers to do this for them.\textsuperscript{311}

Slaughtering animals was a key part of the Winchester butchers trade and one which saw them frequently clashing with local authorities. While in London and Exeter master butchers were to be present at each animal slaughter, in Winchester there is no evidence to suggest such regulation.\textsuperscript{312} Animals were frequently left tethered outside shops overnight which could perhaps suggest they were being left there for easy access to slaughter the morning; for example, John le Nouble left multiple ‘beasts’ tethered directly outside his shop overnight in 1370 and \textit{omnes carnificii} were formally forbidden to leave their animals tethered overnight in the High Street in an ordinance in 1380.\textsuperscript{313} Le Nouble at least was certainly slaughtering his animals directly outside his workplace; in 1363-4 he was fined for slaughtering \textit{unam vaccam in summon vico extra shopam suam}.\textsuperscript{314} Tethering animals over night in the High Street may have been simply due to fears that they would be slaughtered here in the morning and the unsanitary conditions that may follow. It may even have been due to the hazard animals may have posed here in the night to unknowing passers by. Several pubs and alehouses were located only doors away from the butchers’ shops and stalls and could have been an issue if people were leaving the premises in the dark.

\textsuperscript{310} Dyer, \textit{An Age of Transition?}, 131.

\textsuperscript{311} CR W/D1/35.


\textsuperscript{313} CR W/D1/28; CR W/D1/56.

\textsuperscript{314} CR W/D1/13.
In other towns morning slaughtering seems to have been practiced; in 1505 the Northampton butchers appear to have been attempting it before daylight as they were forbidden to ‘slay and cut up fell or flesh’ before 4 in the morning.\footnote{Gray ed., \textit{Records of Nottingham I}, 336.} In medieval Dublin, cattle could not be slaughtered beside the river, slaughter inside the town was forbidden because of ‘noxious and excessive stenches.’\footnote{Ian Contwell, ‘Anthropological Relationships in Late Medieval Dublin’, in \textit{Dublin Historical Record} 54., no. 1 (2001), 73-80.} In Coventry, anyone slaughtering and animal in the streets of the town would forfeit that animal.\footnote{Carr, “Controlling the Butchers”, 450-61.} Issues of sanitation and disposal were commonly problematic in towns in the medieval period and as a trade which produced a lot of waste, the butchers in Winchester frequently found it difficult to dispose of blood and offal effectively.\footnote{This issue will be discussed at length in Chapters 3 and 4.} This was extremely common elsewhere and often led urban authorities to bring in various local laws in order to regulate disposal. In London, butchers in Holborn were designated a particular bridge from which they could throw entrails at a certain time of night.\footnote{Sabine, “Butchering in Medieval London”, 349.} In 1388, a statute was passed by parliament for the removal of butchers waste and dung; ‘lest it give rise to many skyknes and othere intollerable diseasez.’\footnote{Carole Rawcliffe, \textit{Leprosy in Medieval England} (London, 2006), 305.} Butchers were not the only trade who faced such regulation; tanners could contaminate water courses by washing hides in steams that flowed back to main water supply and like many English urban authorities Ipswich attempted to curb this behavior by implementing a series of heavy fines.\footnote{Christopher Harper-Bill, \textit{Medieval East Anglia} (London, 2005), 148.}

The Winchester butchers were required by town authorities to lend all bulls for baiting before they could be slaughtered.\footnote{CR W/D1/39; D. Keene, \textit{Survey}, 1349.} Animal baiting was a popular sport in the
middle ages which would involve the animal, confined to a particular space, chased and attacked by dogs or groups of people.\textsuperscript{323} It was commonly thought that baited bulls produced better tasting meat and urban authorities often enforced a law which ensured all bulls were baited before slaughter.\textsuperscript{324} The terms used in the Winchester court rolls for bull baiting, \textit{bettare} or \textit{fugare}, appear to be used interchangeably despite the different meanings; the former suggesting the bull is tied to stake or tethered in an enclosed space and the latter perhaps referring to a form of bull-run.\textsuperscript{325} While in this period it is hard to assess what type of event took place, by 1538 if not earlier, Winchester had a both a bull stake and ring, as it was ordained that ‘from hense forth ether shalbe no bulstake set fore ony maires dore to bayte ony bull, but onlt at the bull ryng within the seid citie.’\textsuperscript{326}

The butchers’ wives, who no doubt would have been together with the butchers at the shops and stalls, remain absent from the record. In Winchester, as in other English towns at this time, women were active in commercial industry. They are recorded as taking part in those trades characteristically practised by women, such as the textile industry and the sale of food, including bread, cheese and eggs.\textsuperscript{327} In addition, many widows took over their husbands’ businesses and as such are recorded as brewers, tapsters, cooks and innkeepers.\textsuperscript{328} Unfortunately, the butchers’ wives do not appear in the source materials remaining for the later medieval period. Equally, those employed by the butchers, too remain hidden from the record. All ordinances and regulations are aimed specifically at the group in question, \textit{carnifices} and when specific butchers are mentioned in the record, it always names one of the main Winchester butchers of the period. It may be that after the

\textsuperscript{323} Linda Kalof, \textit{Looking at Animals in Human History} (London, 2007), 64.
\textsuperscript{324} W/D1/41; Keene, \textit{Survey}, 1349.
\textsuperscript{325} Furley, \textit{Town Life}, 79-80.
\textsuperscript{326} \textit{Black Book}, 161.
\textsuperscript{327} CR W/D1/15.
\textsuperscript{328} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 389.
contraction of the town, the butchers employed fewer people to work for them, nevertheless, none left any trace in the record.

One group which is mentioned frequently in the sources who would have been with the butchers are their dogs. Butchers in England often kept dogs, in particular bull-dogs, for both security and companionship.\(^{329}\) Before any bull was to be slaughtered in Winchester, it was first meant to be baited.\(^{330}\) This was a routine practise throughout the medieval period as it was thought the animal’s meat would be better tenderised.\(^{331}\) Often, the butchers’ dogs would be for borrowed for this practise, to chase down the bull and partake in killing it. The English breed of bull-dog was selectively bred to have a short snout, a large heavy head and a projecting lower jaw which would have then made an ideal attack animal.\(^{332}\) The practise of using butchers’ dogs for baiting had a long tradition; in 1200 the Earl of Surrey is noted as watching with delight as a group of dogs belonging to butchers chased a bull through the streets of a town.\(^{333}\) The dogs were not always readily handed over for such events, however. In 1353, Richard Midhurst and four other butchers are charged; *necauerunt tauros non fugatos contra consuetudinem*.\(^{334}\) The whereabouts of the butchers’ dogs each day would be difficult to assess as they were often left to wander. In 1365, six Winchester butchers are presented for allowing their dogs to stray *sine licencia et custodia* and place themselves upon the grace of the court.\(^{335}\)

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330 *Black Book*, 18.


332 Lisa J. Kiser, “Animals in Medieval Sports, Entertainment and Menageries”, 103-126, in Resl ed., *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age* (Oxford, 2007). Butchers’ dogs in England seem often to have been used in a negative context and the image of them as vicious or with bloody mouths can be found throughout the sources. For the butchers dogs as exemplars in sermons, see the seminal work G.R Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1933), 37-8.


334 CR W/D1/12.

335 CR W/D1/7.
Certainly the wandering dogs would have served as an additional reminder to the inhabitants of Winchester of the presence of the butchers within the urban fabric.

Like many of the crafts in Winchester, the butchers’ working day would have begun early and the ringing of the first curfew bell of the morning at ‘day break’ would have been significant.\(^{336}\) ‘Day break’ in Winchester probably had the same meaning as ‘Prime’\(^{337}\) in many other English towns of this period, which was around 5 or 6am and was the common time for articles to go on sale. Victuals were not to be sold in Northampton before ‘Prime’ and Londoners might not sell corn before this hour in 1354, nor the London fishmongers their wares until this time in 1360.\(^{338}\) This was the hour when the Winchester butchers’ shops and stalls could open for business for ‘ordinary’ consumers, those who were not retailers and did not wish to buy in bulk and sell on. At 9am, the period of sale ended for domestic customers only and after this the butchers were allowed to sell to everyone, including ‘foreign’ traders who would buy in large quantities. As such, this probably would have been the busiest part of the day, with less time for meat preparation and a more intense time for transaction and negotiation. On Sundays butchers had to close promptly before 8am, dealers in poultry, pigs and flour were restricted to sale between 6-8am.\(^{339}\) This is interesting as trading on a Sunday was largely restricted. Reasons for this were two-fold: firstly to ensure it was a day of peace, but secondly so that the ‘sordidness of trades did not taint holy days.’\(^{340}\) However, there were exceptions. In London in 1410, nothing was to be sold on Sunday morning before 6am by any of its victuallers\(^{341}\) and in

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\(^{336}\) Curfew would have been rung in the tower of the church of St Peter in Marcellis/ Fleshambles.

\(^{337}\) For more on the meaning of ‘Prime’, see the key discussion in Christopher Wordsworth, *Notes on Mediaeval Services in England* (London, 1898), 89-91.


\(^{339}\) *Black Book*, 65-6.


\(^{341}\) Sharpe, *Calendar*, 86.
1423 London butchers were forbidden to keep their business open after 10am.\textsuperscript{342} In Suffolk, butchers appeared keen to also sell from home at more flexible hours rather than from their designated market stalls at fixed times throughout the 1460s and 1470s.\textsuperscript{343} The reason for this in Winchester may again have been an attempt by authorities to support and protect a trade that had become increasingly important in post plague and famine society.

Butchers in most towns across England faced competition as outsider traders travelled around the country to sell wares within the marketplace. Such outsider traders were welcome as they bought in additional dues and fees and encouraged competition amongst the town traders. In Winchester various traders were permitted to come and sell within the market. As has already been highlighted, Winchester butchers were able to monopolise the central animal market before out of town butchers. Other restrictions enabled them keep the advantage. In 1428 the outsiders had been assigned new stalls built on waste ground against the wall of the church of St Maurice, well away from central High Street where butchers from Winchester stood.\textsuperscript{344} This was in stark contrast to the competition Winchester fishmongers faced and authorities actively engaged in encouraging this; by 1330 it was the practice that ‘foreign’ fishmongers stand with the Winchester fishmongers in the high street.\textsuperscript{345} By 1390, outsider fishmongers were moved further towards the busy centre of the high street and were appointed a place between Jewry Street and Fleshmonger street to sell from.\textsuperscript{346}

\textsuperscript{342} Sharpe, Calendar, 293.

\textsuperscript{343} Mark Bailey, Medieval Suffolk: an Economic and Social History (London, 2010), 268.

\textsuperscript{344} Black Book, 65.

\textsuperscript{345} Black Book, 71.

\textsuperscript{346} CR W/D1/29.
Place in Society

While being economically stable, the Winchester butchers rarely held high positions in local government. Throughout the specific period of study, a butcher appears once as bailiff and mayor. Both of these positions were held by the same man, Thomas Smale. Winchester butcher Thomas Smale clearly had an uniquely successful public career; he held the position of bailiff from 1401-2, was constable 1404, MP in 1405-6, became a citizen 1406, an alderman of High Street 1406-7, was elected MP again in 1406-7; was constable of High Street 1407, mayor from 1414-15 and finally auditor for the ‘24’ in 1418. Other than this, no other butcher is recorded as holding any kind of public position of power in the town during the focus of this study. This was the case elsewhere in England; in fifteenth-century York, butchers often held the post of chamberlain, but few served as sheriff and none have been traced as alderman or mayor. However in direct contrast to this, Exeter butchers frequently held offices within the town administration and were among some of the most publicly successful of the victualing groups. In fifteenth century York, while a large number of butchers became

348 CR W/D1/39; Keene, Survey, 1349.
349 Keene, Survey, 1349.
350 CR W/D1/41; Keene, Survey, 1349.
351 Keene, Survey, 1349.
352 Keene, Survey, 1349.
353 CR W/D1/42; Keene, Survey, 1349.
355 CR W/D1/50.
356 Kermode, Medieval Merchants, 41.
357 Kowaleski, Local markets, 138.
chamberlains, but few served as sheriff which was a higher office and none took office in the town’s administrative body.\footnote{358}

Of the office-holders whose occupations are known in Winchester, the largest were represented by those described simply as merchants. In the period 1310-1369 Keene notes that the majority of these were wool exporters, clearly reflecting the economic interests of the ruling elite at the time.\footnote{359} By the later fourteenth century, practitioners of cloth-finishing trades, such as tailors and fullers, occurred frequently as office-holders.\footnote{360} No other groups appear to dominate the tenure of office in the later middle ages as those related to the clothing industry. However the nature of these trades changed, reflecting the decline in cloth manufacture and the international trading of cloth, to cloth finishing. Of victuallers, the fishmongers and vinters appear frequently, as do spicers and grocers.\footnote{361} Keene notes that ‘The miscellaneous rather than the specialised or wide-ranging nature of their commerce charactorizes the economic interests of the citizens at the close of the middle ages and this emphasises the small scale and relatively local significance of the city as a trading centre from then onwards.’\footnote{362} The citizens who represented Winchester in parliament during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also reflected the class and trades who held the higher offices of bailiff and mayor. Keene notes that 80% of the Winchester members of parliament were office-holders, although the majority of these men had the opportunity to represent the town only once or twice by appearing in parliament during their career.\footnote{363}

\footnote{358}Kermode, \textit{Medieval Merchants}, 41.

\footnote{359}Keene, \textit{Survey}, 432-33.

\footnote{360}Keene, \textit{Survey}, 432.

\footnote{361}Keene, \textit{Survey}, 432-33.

\footnote{362}Keene, \textit{Survey}, 433.

\footnote{363}Keene, \textit{Survey}, 433.
It is interesting to explore the location of the residences of the office holders in the later medieval period. Keene charts these locations across the period and notes that in the fourteenth century, many of those who held office were located in the north of High Street, within the cloth making area of the town where they operated. However those who became mayor often preferred to reside in the High Street. Keene also notes that by the fifteenth century, there is evidence that ‘the most influential citizens’ were beginning to pick dwellings which concentrated in the central and most densely populated area of the High Street Aldermenry.\footnote{Keene, \textit{Survey}, 433.} While the butchers may have rarely held office, they were able to afford to reside in the same aldermanry as those who did hold office. In addition, they were residing in a wealthy part of the town. Keene's research on the topographical distribution of wealth reveal that the taxed inhabitants of the High Street were more prosperous than to those elsewhere in Winchester.\footnote{Keene, \textit{Survey}, 419-28.}

Having set the case study firmly within context, the following chapter will reconstruct the spaces of the butchers using the model.
Chapter 3: Visualising the Butchers’ Space

The main focus of this chapter is on the visualisation of the spaces that the Winchester butchers inhabited and negotiated during the working day, what those spaces may have felt like, what happened there and how this influenced the butchers every day experiences and opportunities. For this purpose, the model will primarily be used in this chapter to explore the town from the butchers’ point of view, paying close attention to the butchers’ shops and stalls and areas of the town the butchers travelled through as they undertook regular journeys related to their work. To set these spaces into further context the wider High Street area will be closely analysed. To demonstrate how this helps us to envisage the environment from the butchers’ point of view, the model will be used in storyboard format as set out in chapter one. The purpose of this chapter is two fold: firstly, to demonstrate the value of the model for historical analysis and secondly, to reveal the daily experiences of the Winchester butchers as they negotiated the townscape.

This chapter is split into four distinct sections. To better set the butchers’ working spaces into context, the first section of this chapter (3.1) will explore the townscape more broadly. Winchester will be considered in its entirety by exploring the basic layout and street grid using 2D maps to provide a general overview of the town structure. The second section (3.2) will then move on to explore Winchester High Street specifically. The High Street is crucial for this investigation as the vast majority of the butchers’ activity took place within this area. In order to better visualize and discuss what it may have been like to experience the High Street during this period, the storyboards will reflect the perspective of two customers, walking down the High Street to the market to buy meat from the Winchester butchers’ stalls, one approaching the butchers from the West gate, the other approaching from the East. A key reason for taking such a perspective is to allow the reader to understand the entire landscape of the High Street. As well as using this as a
way for the reader to better understand the locale, however, for research, it also offers an additional perspective on the butchers’ outlook. The Winchester butchers would have taken parts of these journeys at various points in their working day. This section will also begin to illustrate the architecture, practicalities and dynamics of daily life in this wider area from their perspective. The third section of this chapter (3.3) will then focus on the Winchester butchers and the specific spaces they occupied during the working day. This section will consider their shops and stalls and the immediate area around them. Again, the model will be used in storyboard format in order to demonstrate the physical environment of buildings, basic architecture and street ephemera within this very specific area, along with the people and animals who may have shared it with them. The fourth and final section in this chapter (3.4) will consider the various frequent journeys the butchers undertook throughout the working day, focussing on two types of journeys: those made to dispose of waste and those made to tend animals at grazing plots. The storyboards here will demonstrate these journeys through the perspective of a butcher traveling from his stall to plots or disposal places, again taking into consideration the surrounding town fabric as well as possible encounters.
3.1. Winchester Layout and Street Grid

This section will explore the general layout of Winchester and discuss its town plan, briefly touching on its origins, then looking more closely at the period this study focusses on, c.1417.

Keene traces the origins of the town back to the mid first century A.D and notes that by the third and forth centuries the main grid-like street patterns were already apparent. By the ninth century, Keene estimates that the numerous passages of water running through the town from the nearby river Itchen were controlled and laid out when the streets themselves were substantially modified and extended in the ninth century. It is by the twelfth century, Figure 3.1, however that the physical setting of Winchester has been developed

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366 Keene, Survey, 46.
367 Keene, Survey, 56.
and established to take a shape that continued into the fifteenth century. By this point, the
town was walled, the street pattern inside the walls is clearly organised into a northern and
southern quarter, split by the High Street which ran horizontally through the town, with
main gates at either end. In addition, a piped water supply now ran from a source outside
the town to the cathedral. The cathedral’s main precinct had been firmly established
towards the south of the town, with the cathedral cemetery being located towards the
centre, in the southern quarter. The Bishop’s palace was located near by in the South
West of the town. At this time, Winchester castle, established in 1067 had become a key
royal residence and was located in the South West corner of the town, near to the walls.

There was a substantial amount of open land within the town walls during this
period. The further one headed away from the High Street, the more one would encounter
gardens, grazing plots and tenter grounds towards the walls all around the town. The town
had established and expanded two hospitals, the hospital of St John, located in the east
end of the High Street and the hospital of St Mary Magdalen, in the south west of the town.
The town’s trading hub was well established in the centre of the town, in the middle of the
High Street by this point, along with the town’s main inns and taverns. Shops and stalls
could also be found in the surrounding streets which directly fed onto the central part of
the High Street.

Outside the walls was the area known as the Soke, which surrounded the town on
all sides. Whilst largely meadowland, the areas immediately outside the town walls had
become more populated as individuals grew madder additional crops, or used the
numerous watercourses for trades relating to victualling, leather and parchment trades. St
Giles Hill, located in the Soke outside the walls to the East of the town had become the
location for a major annual fair.
Figure 3.2 - Map of Winchester c.1417, screenshot taken from 3D model

To discuss the layout of the town by 1417, the focus for this study, the model will be used here in 2D form, as shown in Figure 3.2. By this point the town was showing decline, the St Giles fair hosted by the town had shrunk and the town was enjoying fewer visits by royalty. The growth of London and Winchester’s dwindling relationship with the crown contributed significantly to this. Some open plots of ground and gardens towards the walls had become overgrown due to their depopulation and some were no longer enclosed from the street. One such plot, had established itself as a key site to dump rubbish, Staple gardens, located just back from the High Street in the North West of the town. The town gaol, having previously been located on the first floor of the West gate, was now located in Jewry street, in the same street as the rubbish dump.
While the town’s trade may have been in decline, the main market was still located in the centre of the High Street and in the middle of this was the newly refurbished Guild Hall, the meeting place of Winchester’s administrative body, the town well, the main water conduit for the marketplace and the market cross, acting as a central marker but also the place that news would be announced from by the town cryer. Nearby, just outside of the cathedral cemetery, semi-permanent animal, wood and corn markets had established themselves. Next to these markets, the town ditch and the adjacent latrine, had become popular disposal sites for those working in or near the town market.
The High Street, like in so many other English towns and cities, followed the route of a pre-existing Roman road that formed the towns main thoroughfare. To use Keith Lilley’s terminology, the street grids that developed alongside this core were formal in arrangement with a ‘regular’ looking street pattern. Grid-like street patterns such as this became more common from the thirteenth century, as pre-existing towns grew and new towns were built. The street layout of New Winchelsea, for example, evolved into a series or regular grids as did the street grids of Ludlow and Southampton. These geometric models were also famously used for many of the planned Bastide towns in France. As such, Winchester High Street functioned as the axis around which the rest of the town grid was set out: side streets ran from High Street out towards the walls on a north-south axis, while back lanes or streets ran parallel to the High Street, from the centre of the town out towards the inner face of the town wall. Keene notes that this was a deliberate plan firstly mapped out by ninth century governors who had a focus on defense from war, but in later centuries this grid pattern was also recognised by twelfth century contemporaries as a way of administering the town, illustrated by records of landagable payments which show that properties were assessed according to their location in the High Street, side streets or outside the town walls in the suburbs. From the twelfth century onwards, numerous lesser lanes and paths appeared in Winchester where access to private property, newly erected buildings, or the parish church set back from the street was needed. Many of these lesser lanes were still in use at the time of focus of this study in the later fourteenth century.

368 Keene discusses the physical setting of the town in detail: Keene, Survey, 48-52. More generally, see Hindle, Medieval Town Plans.
370 Schofield and Vince, Medieval Towns, 37-41.
372 Keene, Survey, 48.
373 Keene, Survey, 48.
374 Keene, Survey, 51.
century. Keene observes that lanes that started as private lanes became more public when they led to a shared facility, such as running water, tenter grounds, or mills.\textsuperscript{375} Bridges crossed water courses throughout the eastern end of Winchester, where the river Itchen ran through the urban fabric. Due to difficulty in their upkeep, bridges fell into disrepair easily or were prone to submerging due to flooding as they did in other English towns.\textsuperscript{376} Local residents charged with the maintenance of Bollesbrigg in Buck Street where presented in court at least three times between 1380 and 1390 for failing to keep the bridge in good condition and eight landlords or tenants were presented in 1398 for the same issue regarding a bridge in Tanner street.\textsuperscript{377} Keene notes that many of the bridges would have been made of timber, but one mentioned in the court rolls of the late fourteenth century is made of stone.\textsuperscript{378}

Winchester's town wall was formed in an extensive programme of refurbishment to the defenses in the later ninth century, following the original Roman enclosure of the town, but by the later Middle Ages, responsibility for the upkeep of more than a third of the total circuit of the walls was out of the hands of Winchester's governing body. By the sixteenth century, like in many other English towns, the walls were falling into a state of disrepair.\textsuperscript{379} In the early fifteenth century sheep grazing just outside Winchester's disused South Gate appear to have caused further damage to the already crumbling town wall by attempting to climb over it, leading the \textit{communitas} to undertake further repairs.\textsuperscript{380}

\textsuperscript{375} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 51.

\textsuperscript{376} Stow, writing later talked about the effects frost had on bridges in London and in Rochester, where the town bridge caved in.

\textsuperscript{377} CR W/D1/20; W/D1/28; W/D1/33; W/D1/13; W/D1/19, W/D1/12.

\textsuperscript{378} CR W/D1/56.

\textsuperscript{379} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 44.

\textsuperscript{380} CR W/D1/54.
Winchester had four town gates: North Gate, South Gate, East Gate, West Gate and King’s Gate. In the fourteenth century only three of them, however, appear to be in use: West, East and King’s Gate. King’s Gate provided the entrance and exit towards the part of the town containing the royal and episcopal residences relating to the area of the town known as Old Minster. West and East Gate were of vital importance to the town’s retail trade. Located at either end of the High Street, West Gate would have been the most likely entrance for merchants and traders traveling from London, while the East Gate led out into the suburbs, and onto the roads that would lead to the key port of Southampton.

Between these two key gates and at around 900 metres in length, Winchester High Street ran the length of the town. As such, the High Street would have been the first and often only area of Winchester people coming to sell in Winchester’s town market would have experienced. This would have been similar in Lincoln, where a single street ran from the Stonebow gate in the south to the gate in the north. Caernarvon in Wales and Exeter also had two opposed gates which marked the ends of the High Street. 267 of Winchester’s 839 buildings recorded in the entire town in 1417 were located here, including five churches. Shops, stalls, selds and booths ran the length of the High Street, and in 1417 when all of the premises were recorded there was a minimum of 118 retail establishments directly on the High Street frontage. In the same year it is recorded that all 23 of the town’s shops were either on the main high street frontage or located just off it in connected side streets, as were 102 semi-permanent stalls and all five of the

381 The calculation of the length is based on Keene’s maps. For his methods and approach to the reconstruction, see Keene, Survey, 34-41.

382 For discussion on the meaning of both real and imagined medieval gates, see Felicity Ratté, “Architectural Invitations: Images of City Gates in Medieval Italian Painting” in Gesta 38, no. 2 (1999), 142-53.

383 Schofield and Vince, Medieval Towns, 59.

384 Schofield and Vince, Medieval Towns, 39-41.

385 Keene, Survey, 114. Also: Tarrage 1417; CR W/E3/1.

386 Tarrage 1417; W/E3/1.
Likewise in Exeter and other towns, shops were primarily clustered around the city gates, the High Street and the lanes leading to the cathedral. Like most towns with such commercial centres, the types of businesses varied hugely and those trades present on High Street reflected a large number, although not all, of the trades operating in Winchester at the time. Fishmongers, grocers, taverners, vinters, chandlers, bakers, cutlers, furnishers, goldsmiths, glaziers, heliers, cobblers, skinners, dubbers, drapers, fullers, glovers, hatters, tailors and wool exporters all appear as inhabiting properties with retail on High Street between 1390-1430.

Keene estimates that all the streets of Winchester and many of the lesser lanes would have been capable of taking wheeled traffic, with the minimum width of a thoroughfare through which a cart could safely pass being nine feet due to evidence elsewhere in the town. A private ‘cart gate’ in Winchester measured nine feet six inches in width including the gateposts and this was a common width gateways leading into the courtyards of medieval inns, as has been corroborated elsewhere. Using these measurements, Keene deduces that lanes such as St Pancras, which measured five feet wide at its Tanner street end, would only have been wide enough for pack animals and pedestrians. This was common elsewhere: Great Yarmouth street grid contained 140 rows; lanes measured an average width of six feet. These key measurements will be used throughout this chapter and the rest of this thesis when considering the movement of

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387 This information is based on Keene’s data tables, Survey, 149. The touchstone for further information on medieval markets and trade in England is of course the wealth of work on the topic by Richard Britnell. For a general overview of this large topic, see: Britnell, Commercialisation.

388 Kowaleski, Local Markets, 184.

389 Tarrage 1417; W/E3/1.

390 Keene, Survey, 51.


392 Keene, Survey, 51.

393 Charles J. Palmer eds, History of Great Yarmouth (Great Yarmouth, 1884), 270-71.
traffic throughout the town and the impact this would have had on the Winchester butchers’ experience of the urban fabric. While the 2D plans used in this section are able to plot the town’s layout and plot key locations, they make it difficult to make assumptions about the meaning and experience of using the space. The next section will show how the urban fabric may be engaged with by using the model in 3D.
3.2. Winchester High Street

To get closer to the reality of the High Street in the early fifteenth century, the following set of seven storyboards explore what Winchester High Street would have been like to walk down c.1417 on a typical working day. To do this, the storyboards take the perspective of two customers, coming into Winchester from opposite ends of the town on a weekday in order to buy meat from the butchers’ stalls in the centre of the town. Storyboards 1-5 reflect the first customer, entering Winchester from the West gate, walking down the west end of the High Street and stopping amid the butchers’ stalls. The second set reflects the second customer, entering Winchester from the East gate, walking down the east end of the High Street and stopping at the same butchers’ stalls.

The purpose of using the model to show the town fabric from this perspective is firstly to give the reader the whole perspective of the High Street, a crucial area of the town in which the majority of this study is based. This will allow the reader to become immersed in the townscape and become used to visualising the town in such a way. This will be particularly helpful when more intricate areas of the High Street will be visualised and discussed later on in this study, as this area will have already been placed into context for the reader. Most importantly, however, viewing the High Street in this way demonstrates the way in which the model was used for the academic purposes of this project. Exploring the townscape in this way begins to tell us about the environment from the butchers’ perspective and therefore is the starting point for the scholarly argument put forward in this thesis. The butchers would have most certainly done parts of the journey through the east and west part of the High Street themselves, while perhaps not in the same trajectory as demonstrated here. Additionally, this High Street area would have been very familiar territory for the butchers, space that they either occupied, or at least inhabited and passed through at intervals throughout the working week. Such a view of the town is a useful start to begin to understand the townscape from the butchers’ perspective.
Storyboard 1

(SB1a) The stone structure of the gate, which dated from the twelfth century, would have been the first key landmark visitors would have encountered as they approached the town. It would have provided an impressive entrance. This civic building came under the jurisdiction of Winchester’s governing body, who made use of the rooms located directly above the gate which is recorded to have contained stocks, chains and iron manacles.394 Along with the porter’s lodge, the building was used to house the town gaol by 1340 and was used as such at least up until the sixteenth century.395 Convicted felons would endure the very public walk from the city court in the centre of Winchester High Street to the West Gate, something which may well have been glimpsed by those entering the town from this direction.

The West Gate was the most likely entrance for merchants and traders traveling from London to Winchester, as well as for those who lived in the Western suburb.396 Visitors entering here would have shared the entrance with Winchester residents and ‘outsiders’ alike, as they came and went with the routine of the market. This would have included a group of Winchester fishmongers and those from related trades whose houses, ponds, fisheries and water meadows were located in the Western suburb, just outside the West Gate.397 Drovers too would have entered the town using the West Gate. After 1349, Winchester’s main animal market lay just outside the cathedral cemetery towards the centre of the town and cattle would have been brought back and forth from here by drovers as they were bought and sold, via the West Gate.

394 CR W/D1/45.
395 Black Book, 126. Winchester’s West Gate is still standing and is currently being used as a museum. Visitors can climb to the roof for a view over the High Street and entire town.
396 Keene, Survey, 45.
397 For more on the changing nature of Winchester throughout the Middle Ages, see Keene, Survey, 86-105.
With a gap of just over fifteen feet in width, the dimensions of the West Gate would have allowed for those with carts, horses and larger items to pass through.\(^{398}\) Town authorities were required to make checks and levy tolls on every item that passed into the town. Winchester traders would have paid no extra tolls at the gates, but visiting merchants entering the town would have been stopped here to pay import dues on everything they brought with them. A Winchester fishmonger, for example, would have been responsible for the cost of his stall alone, but a visiting fishmonger in the late fourteenth century would have paid for his stall and 2 1/2d. per cartload of fish, while a visiting cattle dealer would have been stopped at the West Gate to pay sixpence for every animal he came to sell.\(^{399}\) Winchester merchants and traders would still have their stock checked to ensure against regrating, the practice of buying up all available supplies of an item before selling them at a profit. The practice of buying up items usually took place outside of the town walls in Winchester’s surrounding suburbs, with traders then bringing the items inside the town to sell in the High Street. In 1380 William Polter and eight others were fined in court for buying up partridges and capons outside the West Gate and planning to sell them at a profit.\(^{400}\) Forestalling could also occur if an individual bought an item outside of the town market before the King’s dues were added to the price, making it cheaper to buy. This was a common offence by those purchasing items for their household; for example, in 1351 Edith Fairher bought herrings from an outsider before he entered the West Gate.\(^{401}\) In the same year Alice Carswell bought eggs at a reduced rate before they came to market and was fined twelvepence, as this was considered a case of grave dampnum.\(^{402}\) As all merchants needed to be stopped, delays would have been

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\(^{398}\) Authors own measurements.

\(^{399}\) Furley, *City Government*, 7 - 97.

\(^{400}\) CR W/D1/27.

\(^{401}\) CR W/D1/28.

\(^{402}\) CR W/D1/28.
frequent here. Additional delays may have arisen due to bureaucratic complications, such as distinguishing between members and non-members of a guild, or authenticating letters of credit from merchants traveling from other towns.403

With all such activities having to take place at the West Gate, this was an area of the town that could become quite congested with people, animals and carts. Urban authorities across the country were keenly aware of this and did what they could to avoid congestion so that people could pass as quickly as possible through the gates. In Nottingham, for example, fines were sometimes recorded as being levied due to illegal activity as well as the delay it caused others. In the late fourteenth century, a merchant entered the town who refused to take an oath that no merchandise was concealed under a pile of wood in his cart. He was fined for both his trade infraction as well as the delay he had caused with his behavior.404

Traffic would have begun to congregate at the West Gate from early in the morning on market days. The start of the working day was signified by the ringing of the first curfew bell of the morning at ‘day break.’ As outlined in chapter 2, ‘day break’ was the common time articles could go on sale and was probably around 5 or 6am, or as soon as there was enough light.405 During the ordinary weekday market many towns in England enforced different trading hours for the various trades and types of transactions. Winchester fishmongers, butchers and poulterers, for example, could not buy until after the third hour, to ensure individuals buying for their households were able to purchase what they needed.406 This was the same in York, where a victualler or poulterer was to make a wholesale purchase until 10am, and in 1401 the bakers of Beverley could not buy up grain

403 Salzman, English Trade, 92, 96.
404 Records of Nottingham, I, 83.
405 Chapter 2, 142.
406 Keene, Survey, 262, 281.
until 1pm. As such, there would have perhaps been two waves of traffic entering Winchester at the West Gate. At day break, inhabitants from the suburbs and outsider traders who would be renting stalls and trading at the market, then perhaps slightly later, those merchants who came to trade wholesale. Nevertheless, the period from daybreak to lunchtime would have seen a steady stream of traffic entering the town and for the customer coming to buy from the Winchester butchers, it would have no doubt been necessary to wait before they could enter the West Gate and head into the town.

(SB1b) Once the necessary checks has been made, the customer would have stepped out onto the High Street itself. Winchester ran slightly downhill on an incline, with this area of the town just outside the West Gate, as its highest point. The view from such a vantage point would be largely dependent on light, but on a clear day with an unhindered view, an individual could take in much of the High Street, possibly even being able to make out the very tip of the market cross. However, the chances of gaining an unhindered view on a market day may have been limited and if our customer was entering the town as part of a line of traffic the view, as shown here, the may easily have been obscured by carts and animals.

\[\text{407 York Memorandum Book, I, xxi; Beverley Town Documents, 38.}\]

\[\text{408 It is well established that the range of sight of the naked human eye is not due to distance but by light. David Atchison, Optics of the Human Eye, (Brisbane, 2000).}\]
Figure 3.4 - Model Screenshot. Showing the width of the High Street here could comfortable fit two carts, side by side.

The width of Winchester High Street itself was around 30 meres at its widest point, as it would have been here, just outside the West Gate. The model in Figure 3.4 has been used to test how many carts would have been able to fit alongside each other. As such it demonstrates one way the model can be used easily to try out ideas within the urban fabric. As it shows, the High Street would have allowed two carts to comfortably travel alongside one another. This would not, however, have left much room for pedestrians, or those with hand carts or horses. Authorities in other towns attempted to ease congestion with regulation: in Worcester, cattle blocked the way in Brode Street to the point that the authorities decided that they should be divided into groups with Welsh cattle using one route in the town and English cattle using another.\textsuperscript{409} Carts were banned altogether in some of the busiest streets in the late fourteenth century in Bristol in an attempt to ease traffic due to the narrowness of the road, leaving the transportation of goods down to porters and packhorses.\textsuperscript{410} While there is no evidence for such regulation in Winchester, packhorses would have been a common sight in Winchester also, as they drew carts, or

\textsuperscript{409} Victor Green, \textit{A History of Worcester}, II, \textit{Appendix}; lxv; lxvi. \\
\textsuperscript{410} Hunt, \textit{Bristol}, 77.
simply carried travellers and their wares providing an easier way to negotiate the town than with a cart. Pack horses could present their own problems. In Nottingham, for example, fears of any ‘duyers inconueniencez’ arising from the loose horses of various traders resulted in an ordinance insuring horses where properly led through the town.  

Similarly in York, horses were to be properly led to the river Ouse to drink, with a fine of six pence for any which escaped.  

Poorer traders would have come to market simply carrying their wares on their heads and backs, and many towns regulated against people setting up temporary stalls wherever they pleased in the High Street. In Bristol vendors of old clothes in the fourteenth century were to carry them in their arms. In the fifteenth century Northampton sellers of hay could not place it on the floor until they had sold it.  

The immediate area of the West end of the High Street would have allowed visitors a space to gather themselves, their animals and goods after the checks at the West Gate, as immediately to the left and right of the High Street in 1417 were two a large vacant plots and a vacant garden, as Figure 3.5 demonstrates.  

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411 Records of Nottingham, II, 108.  
414 Keene, Survey, 463.
Winchester High Street itself was made up of large flint cobbles; smaller flints, or lympetts were often used for repairs. This was similar elsewhere; in Leicester stones, earth, gravel and sand are all mentioned as materials used for paving. Some towns used other practical methods for repairing; Cambridge used locally growing willows to repair the causeway in 1428 which made the street less slippery. Visitors to Winchester would have had to negotiate the various materials underfoot whether they came with horses, cattle or hand carts. It would have been here that the first tenements of Winchester High Street came into view, just passed the entrance to Snithling Street on the left and where visitors may have encountered householders. Domestic housing in Winchester consisted of timber framing filled in with wattle and daub panels as was common in

415 For the excavation of Winchester street surfaces see Barlow, Biddle, von Feilitzen and Keene, Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday (Oxford, 1976), 233.


417 Athur Gray, The Dual Origin of the Town of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1923), 76.
England at this time.\textsuperscript{418} The roofs of the buildings would have been both thatched and tiled, despite the use of thatch being forbidden.\textsuperscript{419}

(SB1c) Continuing further along the High Street was the Parish church of St Margaret, a small chapel and a large tenement on the left held by Margery Roche, fishmonger. \textsuperscript{420}

(SB1d) Traveling further, visitors would be met by a series of tenements of both sides held by John Wright, Baker, which had a small garden.\textsuperscript{421} While it is not recorded what this particular garden was used for, there were an additional thirteen gardens located within the High Street aldermanry as well as five open plots.\textsuperscript{422} Much of this land would have been used productively to grow crops. \textit{Olera, porra and persile} appear frequently in the sources, most often when they have been damaged or eaten by wandering animals.\textsuperscript{423} \textit{Trunci}, pictured throughout the storyboards, was a common obstruction noted in the court records of Winchester and was a common problem in the High Street in particular.\textsuperscript{424}

(SB1d) Continuing further along the High Street the traveller would have seen the entrance to Brudene Street to the left, which would have filtered people to and from the High Street from the North West part of the town. Brudene Street was also the main entry and exit point from the High Street to Staple gardens, which by the late fourteenth century

\textsuperscript{418} Furlie, \textit{Town Life}, 59.

\textsuperscript{419} In 1387 seven houses were reported as thatched, Furlie, \textit{Town Life}, 59.

\textsuperscript{420} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 635; \textit{Tarrage 1417}.

\textsuperscript{421} \textit{Tarrage 1417}.

\textsuperscript{422} \textit{Tarrage 1417}; W/E3/1.

\textsuperscript{423} For example, in 2004 ‘Visualizing and Virtualizing the Medieval Garden’ was a joint project between University of Bristol, UK, The Pennsylvania State University, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, University of York which sought to better explore the uses and location of medieval garden plots.

\textsuperscript{424} CR W/D1/12; CR W/D1/13.
had become a well-established but unofficial town refuse space. It was used by numerous traders and townspeople alike; in 1427, eleven fishmongers were accused of disposing of entrails here. In the following year, three householders were charged with throwing dung and given eight days to remove it. Brudene Street was fifteen feet wide at its entrance, so therefore wide enough for one cart, but the key traffic using this turning from the High Street into Brudene Street may have included pedestrians with buckets, bowls and handcarts of waste as they came and went from Staple gardens. This was certainly the most obvious route for the Winchester fishmongers to use, whose stalls were nearby.

**Storyboard 2**

(SB2a) It was here that our customer walking down the High Street would have encountered the first stalls of Winchester High Street. As mentioned earlier, they belonged to Winchester fishmongers, who had established themselves in this area from at least 1300, and their shops, stalls and residences lined both sides of the High street, adjacent to one another. In 1417, these stalls plus two adjacent shops were owned by John Blake, fishmonger. The location of the fishmongers’ stalls here lining both sides of the street and the sights, sounds and smells that went with them, would have clearly denoted it as the fishmongers area. Barrels of water used to transport fresh fish to shops and stalls would have been standing on the street and diverse produce including herring, ling, salmon, mullwell and congers were being offered.

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425 Staple gardens was found in Brudene Street and was first recorded as being used as a refuse space in 1382. CR W/D1/22.

426 CR W/D1/55; CR W/D1/56.

427 Tarrage 1417.

The arrangement of the stalls would have also narrowed the High Street somewhat for those traveling down it requiring more care to be taken. From a safety perspective, our customer traveling through this part of the High Street may have found it safe to keep to the left or right of the High Street, near to one side of the stalls. Aside from safety however, it would have been equally important not to obstruct the workings of the market. In Nottingham, cattle and horses were granted right of way in the High Street and other major roadways and anyone found to be obstructing their passage was fined forty pence.\textsuperscript{429} The issue of rapidly driven carts causing accidents such as those in London would probably have not have been an issue in Winchester due to the narrowness of the roads.\textsuperscript{430} Figures 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8 demonstrate various proximities within this part of the High Street.

\textbf{Figure 3.6} - Model Screenshot. Demonstrating the available space between the fishmongers’ stalls, enough for one cart.

\textsuperscript{429} Records of Nottingham II, 108.

\textsuperscript{430} Riley, Liber Albus, 389.
Further along High Street to the right was the entrance to Gold Street. The street contained a diverse variety of stalls and shops and as such, traffic coming and going from here would have included traders and customers.

Figure 3.8 - Model Screenshot. Showing the view to the entrance to Gold street from a pedestrians point of view. Also demonstrating the space available for those turning into this street with had carts of rubbish.
At this point Winchester High Street began to get more populated with stalls; to the right are those held by a series of mercers. For our customer traveling down this road, the landscape of the High Street would now change greatly from that which they just encountered. The row of four stalls here are the only mercers recorded in Winchester in 1417 and for the passer-by, they would have displayed a wide range of items.\textsuperscript{431} Similar to the London mercers, Winchester mercers dealt in a range of woolen textiles and specialised in linen and silk.\textsuperscript{432} A case in 1404 reveals the range of textiles the Winchester mercers had for sale, which included cloth, silk kerchiefs, thread, napkins, towels, sheets, bed clothes, blankets, tunics and hoods.\textsuperscript{433} Customers coming to these stalls would have varied greatly. Cobblers certainly came here to purchase buckram and linen thread, however amongst the variety of textile-related goods the mercers also sold smaller commodities including included belts, knives, pepper and saffron.\textsuperscript{434}

(SB2b) The left hand side of the High Street here is also lined with stalls mostly belonging to trades linked to the cloth industry: Stephen Trollay, skinner, a stall belonging to a tailor, John Lanternmaker, and John Bullock, furbisher.\textsuperscript{435}

(SB2c) Coming up on the left hand side of the High Street here is the entry to Jewry street which led to the George inn. During this period, Winchester inns provided accommodation and food for guests and stabling for horses. Keene notes that they were far less involved in the sale of wine and ale than the taverns of the town.\textsuperscript{436} In 1417 the George was owned by the town mayor, Mark le Fayre and is described as being arranged

\textsuperscript{431} Tarrage 1417; Keene, Survey, 320.

\textsuperscript{432} Keene, Survey, 320.

\textsuperscript{433} CR W/D1/37.


\textsuperscript{435} Keene, 286, 480; Tarrage 1417.

\textsuperscript{436} Keene, Survey, 274- 75.
around a courtyard with great gates, wide enough to accommodate horses and carts.\textsuperscript{437} The George was the largest of Winchester's inns at the time and the turn off here into Jewry Street would have been the most obvious pathway for guests arriving and leaving. Indeed, the presence of people traveling with horses along this route is made apparent in 1420 when it is reported that the street is blocked with horse dung.\textsuperscript{438} Just before the turn off into the street are the stalls of a brasier, brewer and maltman, as well as that stall of Walter Peuessale, tailor, who also sold candles.\textsuperscript{439} While these stalls may have served as a handy indicator for the correct turn off for those trying to find the George for the first time, they may have complicated matters when it came to space for the traffic turning left into the street, or trying to turn out onto the High Street and may have been an area that could have become easily congested. Certainly for our pedestrian, this would have been an area of the High Street to take care on and perhaps one which it would have been prudent to keep to the right of the High Street here, which in 1417 is recorded to have no stalls.

\textsuperscript{(SB2d)} On the left here is the start of an stretch of the High Street known as 'skinners row' which in 1417 consisted of five stalls belonging to skinners and one tailor. Winchester skinners are recorded as making and selling fur hoods and fur lined robes and tunics.\textsuperscript{440} The equipment of the skinners would have included skinners' frames, \textit{grate}, which in the early fourteenth century gave this stretch of High Street its name, \textit{Gratery Row}.\textsuperscript{441} These frames were used to stretch skins whilst being worked upon. In Nottingham they frequently blocked the way of pedestrians.\textsuperscript{442} For the pedestrian, while the skinners presence here would have altered the sights on offer, smells may have differed too:

\textsuperscript{437} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 482.
\textsuperscript{438} CE W/D1/35; CR W/D1/47; \textit{Black Book},134.
\textsuperscript{439} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 264.
\textsuperscript{440} CR W/D1/29; CR W/D1/31; CR W/D1/51.
\textsuperscript{441} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 286.
\textsuperscript{442} \textit{Records of Nottingham}, II, 39-43.
Winchester skinners are presented in court three times in 1417 for keeping their drenchyngfats within the precinct of the High Street due to the smell.\textsuperscript{443} Similarly, in 1406 skinner Thomas Newman was fined for keeping a drenchyngput de lyme fetosum to the annoyance of his neighbours.\textsuperscript{444}

**Storyboard 3**

(SB3a) On the left side of the High Street in this section there is a diverse range of stalls belonging to John Crene furbisher, John Colne, John Yabyngdon, wine trader, John Habyndond, carpenter, Nicholas Cardmaker, cardmaker and John Estfeld, saddlers.\textsuperscript{445} At this point in the High Street, the town well and cross would just be coming into view.

(SB3b) The visitor to Winchester would now be entering probably the busiest part of the High Street. On the left there is the start of the butchers’ stalls and shops, which will be described in-depth later on in this chapter. To the left of the High Street there are stalls belonging to Alice Hornere who worked in the bone working trade and Harry Scarlet a spicer.\textsuperscript{446} The butchers’ dogs can be seen in the distance here, as well as other animals recorded as wandering freely around this central part of the High Street marketplace. Pigs, hens, ducks, geese and other fowl, aucis et aliis volatilis are all frequently mentioned in the sources as being present in summon vico or in the High Street.\textsuperscript{447} Often they appear as causing a problem to those using the market place when in pursuit of business.\textsuperscript{448} In 1380, aucas nec anetas vagantes in regia via aut communi strata domos suas sub pena

\textsuperscript{443} Keene, Survey, 285.

\textsuperscript{444} CR W/D1/39.

\textsuperscript{445} Keene, Survey, 489.

\textsuperscript{446} Keene, Survey, 282.

\textsuperscript{447} CR W/D1/14; CR W/D1/15; CR W/D1/17.

\textsuperscript{448} Black Book, 110.
forisfacture animalium sic vagancium. In 1365 fines were levied on individual citizens who had pigs wandering freely in the town which caused a nuisance, including damage to a wall and damage to a ‘watering place.’ In 1370, William Hornere is fined 12 pence for two pigs found wandering and 3 pence for the little ones which ran alongside it. It is clear that no amount of regulation would prevent wandering animals like pigs from using the space of the High Street. In 1445, a Cambridge ordinance states that there should be no swine on the pavement between 7am and 6pm, which presumably allowed them to wander at night time, and Beverley in 1409 pregnant swine, or those with young were exempted from any spatial restrictions or penalties. In Leicester, pigs were allowed to use the High Street if ringed, according to an ordinance in 1335-6. Goats were said to have done daily damage in Coventry in the mid fifteenth century, were to be removed from the High Street and tied up ‘at home’ or in the fields. Ducks were not permitted to use the streets of Berwick, the high roads at Leicester or Coventry.

(SB3c) At this point in the High Street our customer would have encountered the town well and market cross. The well here was the main water source for the retail trade and would have drawn people from all over the marketplace and beyond. Indeed, in the late thirteenth century a tax was introduced for those inhabitants who came to use the ‘common well’ of the town, which helped towards any repairs. For the pedestrian, water

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449 Black Book, 15-16.
450 CR W/D1/11.
451 CR W/D1/16.
452 Beverley Town Documents, ed., Francis Leach (London, 1900), 19.
453 Records of the Borough of Leicester II, 290.
454 Coventry Leet Book, ed. Martin Harris (London, 1907), 360-61.
455 G.T Salisbury, Street Life in Medieval England (St Albans, 1938), 70.
456 Records of Leicester II, 292-93.
457 Coventry Leet Book, 27.
458 Bailey, Transcripts from the Municipal Archives of Winchester, 98-9.
on the street may have been a concern around this area due to the well. People used this conduit to wash utensils or to collect supplies of water in buckets and tubs and no doubt some would have been spilled here.

Winchester’s market cross, situated just behind the well, would have been a notable feature of the marketplace and a central marker for the key trading space in the town. It was also the location where proclamations were made and as such would have been a place where people gathered to hear local and national news.\textsuperscript{459} Just behind the market cross to the left of the High Street was the entrance to the Guild Hall, the meeting place for the regular city court which included the exchequer as well as the court room.\textsuperscript{460} It was in the upper floor of this property that the court held by the mayor and bailiffs met two or three times a week.\textsuperscript{461} On these occasions, the people coming and going from this building may have been numerous. As this was the venue for the presentments of offences committed in Winchester’s aldermanries as well as any alleged misdemeanours relating to the town market including debts, the mayor and bailiffs, Aldermen of the street wards, and a wide range of litigants, defendants and jurors from all over town and beyond would have been in attendance and could be seen entering the Guild Hall on the High Street frontage.\textsuperscript{462}

This area of the High street will be discussed in detail from the butchers’ point of view in the following chapter, but from the point of view of our customer, this central area of the Street would have potentially been the most difficult to negotiate and populated with an array of people and activities.

\textsuperscript{459} Masschaele, “The Public Space of the Marketplace”, 396-9.

\textsuperscript{460} Black Book, 86.

\textsuperscript{461} Furley, Winchester Records, 39.

\textsuperscript{462} Furley, Winchester Records, 138-9.
The Tabard and Chekker inns, the only inns on the High Street frontage, were also located here. Situated in such prominent part of the High Street, they may have been an obvious choice of lodgings for those coming in from the east gate or those traveling to work or trade in the town centre. Just like the George inn discussed earlier, this may have been a significant area to encounter horses, or those employed to look after the animals, as many of the transactions relating to both these inns relate to the purchase of oats and hay.\textsuperscript{463} The Hart, Heaven and Helle taverns, were located directly to the right and left here. In contrast to the Tabard and Chekker inns, they did not supply accommodation, instead they offered a variety of entertainments. It was in these taverns that the mayor frequently entertained guests such as officers of the Bishops or treasurers of Wolvesey, whom he is recorded as taking to breakfast, \textit{ientaculum}.\textsuperscript{464} Helle tavern in particular was used for such occasions; as Keene notes, what the establishment contained in 1414 is described in a list of contents that was seized due to arrears of rent: two butts of choice wine, a cask of red wine, a butt of malmsey, a small barrel of vinegar, two empty butts, an empty barrel, three pulleys, a cable, four ropes, two tables, four benches and a cupboard.\textsuperscript{465}

Even if a customer walking past these establishments may not have experienced any of their hospitality, he or she may have had to negotiate the various traders and barrels, or perhaps glimpse special guests arriving for the breakfast with the mayor, certainly during the ordinary working day. It would also be at this point that our customer would arrive at the centre of the line of butchers shops and stalls.

The next set of storyboards describe the journey down the East end of the High Street, from the perspective of a customer entering the town at the East gate and walking down the east end of the High Street until they reached the butchers shops and stalls.

\textsuperscript{463} CR W/D1/45.
\textsuperscript{464} Furley, \textit{Winchester Records}, 38-40.
\textsuperscript{465} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 275.
Storyboard 4

The area just outside the East gate known as the Soke was more populated than the Northern suburb. Dyers held a large number of crofts here, leading Keene to deduce that this would have been where they grew madder, a leafy plant with small yellow flowers commonly used in the trade.\textsuperscript{466} Running through the suburb was the river Itchen, a major water course originating in mid-Hampshire which joins a main tidal estuary in Southampton. The most important Winchester mills were located on the river here and from the late thirteenth century onwards the town’s principal public grain mill, Segrim mill, was located in the Soke, just outside the East gate. Winchester tanners and parchment makers also held properties in the Soke outside of the East gate, where they could make good use of the running water.\textsuperscript{467}

Several smiths had water-driven grindstones on the bridge just outside of the East Gate, a good location to attract trade in the sharpening of fullers’ shears and other tools used in the cloth finishing and leather-working crafts based in the Eastern half of the town within the walls.\textsuperscript{468} Winchester smiths held a small number of properties just outside of the gate here, in a position where forges might also attract business from travelers.\textsuperscript{469} Woad madder and alum, the principle raw materials used by the Winchester dyers would have been brought in through this gate, as during the later middle ages these items were recorded as being grown and processed in Northern Italy, or in the Toulouse region where they were then shipped to Southampton by Italians, then purchased by English merchants who carted them to Winchester.\textsuperscript{470}

\textsuperscript{466} Keene, Survey, 303.
\textsuperscript{467} Keene, Survey, 286-87.
\textsuperscript{468} Keene, Survey, 279-80.
\textsuperscript{469} Keene, Survey, 281.
\textsuperscript{470} Keene, Survey, 303.
East gate entrance may have been shared by a variety of people. These would have included those related to the dye trade, town inhabitants frequenting the mill for grain, but also those who were traveling up from the key port of Southampton to trade. Many of those traveling from Southampton would have included those who had purchased cloth and were traveling to the town to trade, or have it dyed or finished before taking it on to London, as had been common.\(^471\) Just as with those entering from the West gate, individuals would have been stopped here, with goods investigated and tolls taken.

\(^{(SB4a)}\) On entry to the town, our customer would view an open, vacant plot to their left. Interestingly, the model shows that there is a vacant plot at both ends of the High Street. This may have been deliberate, to enable space for authorities to assess goods for tolls.

\(^{(SB4b)}\) On the right of the High Street was the entrance to St John’s hospital. While the functions of hospitals at this time could vary, it is clear from the hospital accounts that St Johns provided alms, lodging and care on a short term basis for pilgrims, the poor, and longer term care for more distinguished members of the community who had fallen on hard times. For example, in 1351, a poor man stayed for 33 days and died, a man from Calais stayed for 15 days, six pilgrims stayed for 4 nights and a poor chaplain lodged there for three weeks.\(^472\) Three people were regularly employed as ‘wardens of the poor’ within the hospital to care for such inmates.\(^473\) The thrice yearly meeting of the mayor and his advisors, the ‘Burghmote’ or the ‘Common Convocation’, met in the hall at St John’s located on the first floor, and was the most formal of all their meetings, with festivities afterwards taking place in the hospital grounds.\(^474\) While it was unlikely that our customer

\(^{471}\) Keene, *Survey*, 310-20.

\(^{472}\) SJR, *passim*.

\(^{473}\) SJR Accounts, *passim*.

\(^{474}\) Black Book, 172.
would have been privy to individuals attending this meeting, it may not have been so rare for passers-by to have seen the employees of the hospital coming and going, or pilgrims who were lodging here. Adjacent to the hospital, was the precinct of the Black Friars and opposite the entrance to St Mary’s abbey. Walking further along the street, the first tributary would come into view which followed closely to the tenements on the right of the street which backed onto it. At this point in the High Street, a visitor would need to negotiate an additional tributary of the river Itchen which imposed onto the High Street. Conduits of water such as this one would have no doubt been made use of by nearby retailers, but also by private citizens. Women were frequently presented in court for washing clothes in such bodies of water and others are fined for using such areas to throw dung or the dead bodies of animals. The dyers were permitted to dispose of their wodegore or dye-waste here as long as it was at night time, but frequently this occurred during the day. Sources make reference to frequent incidents of flooding within the lower part of the High Street here and the Eastern district of town, probably from this very stream. Depending on the time of year and the amount of rainfall, this area could have been hazardous to the pedestrian. Flooding in this area was a serious problem due to the downwards flow of rainwater but also due to the mismanagement of the mills, as there was an attempt to extract more power from the streams in this area by increasing the head of water, which resulted in regular flooding and silting. Smaller bridges were constructed throughout the later middle ages around this area in order to carry the High Street over the streams which made their way through the lower lying part of the town.

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478 Keene, *Survey*, 57.
479 Keene, *Survey*, 57.
At this point, our customer would have come upon the first line of stalls within the High Street to the left here. The 1417 Tarrage roll for this section of the High Street is less detailed than that of the rest, but many of those which are listed are of those trades linked to the fullers, tanners and parchment makers who inhabited the surrounding streets of this part of the town. Such trades located themselves here by necessity due to the water running throughout the northern end of the town which was crucial for their work, but they were also located here as it was downwind of the rest of the town, so the unpleasant smells of their trade would be carried away from the main inhabitants and indeed any waste from their work could be carried away and out of the town by the running water. At least two of the stalls in this part of the town are recorded as belonging to dyers, although their specific use in 1417 is unknown.\footnote{Tarrage 1417.}

The group of stalls here fronted by the Itchen which imposes onto the High Street here is known as Dyers Row or Dubbers Row. The dubbers craft is an ambiguous one in Winchester at this time, but based on their transactions Keene deduces that they were involved in various activities relating primarily to skins and hides including their preparation, staining and dyeing and to a lesser extent an involvement in the renovation of old clothes.\footnote{Keene, Survey, 291-92.} As such, this stretch of the High Street would no doubt have been occupied with the ephemera related to such trades including wooden frames to stretch and work skins on, or those intended to dry them. Certainly there would have been a variety of materials available here: in 1409-1411, Walter Dubber, dubber, was selling sheep skins, calf skins, vellum, parchment and tanned leather and he was also in debt for grease that he had purchased.\footnote{WCA 36/F/TC 22.} As such, those coming to trade here would have no doubt included those from the dyers, fullers, tanners and parchment makers. With such activity going on
around the stalls here and the stream running through the High Street, care would need to have been taken here by pedestrians.

Storyboard 5

(SB5a) This short stretch of stretch of properties on the left of the High Street here known as the Clothseld or the Woolseld, in 1417 belonging to Thomas Harewell, tawer/covenser, John Stonere, a barber held a tenement and a stall here, Thomas Dunster, merchant, John Bayly and wife, Agnes Bouesgate, glover and William Husey, Corveser.483 The right hand side of the High street is lined with a bank of stalls belonging to various trades; Henry Fleming, corveser, John Staynour, shoemaker, John Clamerell, victualler, John Deye and Rochard Lepere, saddlers, John Newman, coverser, and Bernard Chaundeler.484 Certainly this line of stalls and those shown in the previous storyboard frame also relate to the leather trade as the saddlers, tawyer, shoemakers and corversers all relied on this material. The chandler here, as the only one recorded on the High Street in this half of the town in 1417, would have attracted a variety of customers as householders purchased them for their homes and workshops, but much of their trade was generated by the towns many churches.485 Candles for sale here would have been made of tallow and wax, although they also sold soap and resin.486

(SB4b) To the left here is the entrance to the St Mary’s church and an inn named the Star.

483 Tarrage 1417.
484 Keene, Survey, 290, 512, 512, 512, 513.
486 CR W/D1/5.
This part of the High Street also marks the end of an area known as ‘the pentice’, a covered walkway which extended onto the high street. Visitors at this point in the street would not only have to negotiate the town well, cross, animals and traders, but also the wooden struts which protruded into the street. This covered walkway was no doubt have been useful whenever it rained, Figure 3.9.

Figure 3.9 - Model Screenshot. Showing the Pentice. Demonstrating that it could fit approximately eight people underneath.

Along with *trunci*, wine barrels appear as the most frequent obstacles in Winchester High Street.\(^{487}\) Like for most towns, the court rolls reveal a street scene full of obstructions and nuisances, *magnum detrimentum*. While difficult to determine precisely where such items could have been left, there was a concentration of taverns and vinters in the centre of the High Street which perhaps hints at their most likely location; some are shown outside The Hart, the largest inn on the High Street whose entrance was located to the right of this area.\(^{488}\) It is worth noting that barrels would also have been used for the

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\(^{487}\) CR W/D1/12, CR W/D1/13.

\(^{488}\) Number of cellars in the High Street.
transportation and containment of various goods sold in the marketplace. Records in Lynn show that woad and herring, for example, were being kept in barrels. They would have been a common feature all around the marketplace in Winchester.

(SB5d) It is at this point that the customer would have reached the butchers’ stalls.

Having reconstructed the length of the High Street, the model can be used to show clearly not only the diversity of activity that took place there, but also the amount of negotiation it would take to walk its length. The possibilities for encounter were numerous and the model helps to demonstrate how the physical fabric of the town could shape experiences: the simple contours of the High Street would have forced people and animals to be in closer proximity at some times more than others, particularly in the centre of the High Street where the high way its at its narrowest, but also at its most congested. While much of what is being explored here could be done without the 3D model, the screenshots are able to transform a point from a textual description into a screenshot. This allows for a point to be immediately made and prompt further questions at the same time.

The High Street represents the wider environment that the Winchester butchers used and inhabited. The following section will now focus on the more specific spaces that the Winchester butchers used, specifically the shops and stalls where they spent the majority of the working day. The model will be used here to recreate the locations of the shops and stalls as far as possible, along with the buildings, street furniture, ephemera, people and animals in the immediate vicinity. The purpose of this is to get a closer look at what the realities of the butchers’ working days would have been like.

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3.3. The Butchers’ Shops and Stalls

Location and surroundings

In 1417, Winchester butchers are recorded in the tarrage survey for paying rents on a total of eight stalls and six shops.\(^{490}\) This placed them in the central part of the town’s market, opposite the town well, cross and town hall. Butchers working in such central locations was not uncommon elsewhere in England. In Colchester, Figure 3.17, the butchers’ shambles was located within the town market, facing the town tower and the richly endowed St Helens chapel.\(^{491}\) Butchers in Maldon sold from a row of stalls in the middle of the street on the East side of the marketplace which was the principal retail site for the whole town.\(^{492}\) In Lynn, adjacent land was added to the town market in the 1360s to bring butchers’ stalls together in one spot as a shambles, which would have been surrounded by numerous shops and several inns.\(^{493}\)

\(^{490}\) Tarrage, 1417; CR W/E3/1.

\(^{491}\) ‘Map of Colchester at the Close of the Middle Ages’ from Medieval Urban Towns http://users.trytel.com/~tristan/towns/colormap1.html

\(^{492}\) ‘Map of Maldon at the Close of the Middle Ages’ from Medieval Urban Towns http://users.trytel.com/~tristan/towns/maldmap1.html


Figure 3.11 - Map of medieval Colchester, cropped version of John Speeds Map. Location of the butchers is highlighted by the red circle. Map is an adaptation from that on Medieval Urban Towns, http://users.trytel.com/~tristan/towns/colcmap1.html.
Károly Goda, in mapping the urban landscape of medieval Sopron, Hungary, noted that from the first quarter of the fifteenth century local butchers sold and worked from a shambles located in a long street, Fleischhackergasse, on the Western side of the downtown area. Fleischhackergasse led directly into Platz, which was the location for weekly and annual town markets and in contrast to the Salzmarkt on the eastern side of the downtown area, ‘also functioned as a symbol and public center.’ By plotting the living patterns of Sopron office-holders, Goda highlights properties on the Platz and in Fleischhackergasse in the first four generations of his study as highly desirable and prestigious. In larger towns, due to the higher numbers of retailers and consumers it was common for butchers to solely occupy entire streets or districts. In London, by 1417, attempts were being made to restrict butchers to the five designated markets they had which included Eastcheap and the Shambles of St Nicholas. In England, butchers working from their own specially designated areas was the norm. Even in York, a large English town at the time, the butchers sold from the Shambles, a narrow lane which stood separate from the main market place on its periphery. The fact that the Winchester butchers were located in the centre of the marketplace is significant and says much about their apparent marginalisation. This will be analysed further in the next chapter.


Figure 3.12 - Map of medieval York, based on the map of John Speed. Butchers’ location marked in red. Map is an adaptation from that on Medieval Urban Towns website.

Storyboard 6

The shops and stalls were all adjacent to one another forming a ‘butchers’ row’ along the East side of the High Street. This site on the High Street had been occupied by butchers since the early fourteenth century when it became known as *novis stallagiss carnificium*. The butchers selling places remain within this area, aside from one shop

497 *Black Book*, 66.
located further up Shulworth Street briefly in the 1360s.\textsuperscript{498} The series of storyboards above explore the location of the shops and stalls of the butchers as recorded in 1417 in more detail, panning from the west to the east end of the row.

(SB6a) At the most westerly end of the row, William Abbatiston held a butchers’ shop for 6d. located at the entrance to Fleshmonger Street. Fleshmonger Street may well have served as the route for those with carts and horses traveling to the two largest town inns, the Tabard and Chekker, whose entrances and stables were located in the road parallel to the High Street. These were popular establishments, and in 1391 and 1417 the innkeepers of both these premises are ordered to clear out their stables as horse dung was blocking the lane outside their properties.\textsuperscript{499} Adjacent to this was a a stall held by John Boucher which he rented from St John’s Hospital for 3d.\textsuperscript{500} Adjacent to Abbatiston’s shop, William Pole, butcher, held the next stall for 6d, which stood opposite the stall of a bone worker, Alice Hornere.\textsuperscript{501}

(SB6b) Nicholas Randulf, who paid 12d for a stall which he appears to have owned,\textsuperscript{502} John Kent, butcher held the adjacent stall for 6d and beside him, John Blake held a stall for 8d from John Gyls.

(SB5.3) These stalls directly faced the town well, Winchester’s main water conduit which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Over the other side of the town well, opposite Blake and Kent’s stalls, was a corner property which was rented from 1385-1417 by Alice atte Church. While the nature of the property is difficult to ascertain, during the period of her tenure Alice appears in the court rolls for several misdemeanours

\textsuperscript{498} Black Book, 33.
\textsuperscript{499} CR W/D1/35; CR W/D1/47 and Black Book, 134.
\textsuperscript{500} Tarrage 1417; W/E3/1.
\textsuperscript{501} Keene, Survey, 282.
\textsuperscript{502} Tarrage, 1417; CR W/E3/1.
at this property which could hint at her activity there. In 1337 she had a problematic gutter; *de quo exeunt fimum at alia putrid in foro domini Regis ad magnum detrimentum et nocementum vicinorumet mercatorum*.503 A year later, she and Richard Beyghe are charged with causing annoyance to neighbours and injury to the market with a poultry yard of ‘geese and other fowl’ and ordered to remove it.504 William Pole’s stall also directly faced a property which by 1380 was being referred to as ‘Le Taverne de Paradys cum shopis’ which by 1417 was simply known as the ‘Heaven Tavern’ and had a stall outside selling oysters.505

Blake and Kent’s stalls also stood opposite the entrance to Calpe Street. In 1417, Calpe street itself was occupied by as saddlers, mercers, goldsmiths and furbishers.506 Aside from those coming to trade with those crafts however, Calpe Street would have been a busy thoroughfare leading from the High Street to the cathedral, cathedral cemetery, animal market and wood market. While initially the animals market, located just off the cathedral cemetery, was only for the use of Winchester traders, after 1360 this became the primary site for all traders and included sale of cattle. As such, this key entry and exit from the High Street towards this space would have been used by drovers, traders and animals alike.507

John Prat, butcher, held the next stall for 6d, from St Trinity church, next to Thomas Smale, who paid 8d to rent his stall. At the most easterly end of butchers row, Richard Holt and John Colbew rented three shops and one stall from the Chekker inn and the same

503 CR W/D1/36.
504 CR W/D1/36.
505 CR W/D1/24; Tarrage 1417; CR W/E3/1.
507 Previously outsider animal traders would have used the market which took place outside the West gate.
Richard Holt held the following three butchers shops and one stall with John Clamerel for 7d each.

(SB5c) The four stalls at this end of the row faced the market cross and the entrance to the town Guild hall, the main meeting place of Winchester's governing body. This was the building within which the town court would be held, where decisions about the town and marketplace would be made. It was a building which symbolised the governing body's authority over the town, and therefore the Winchester butchers. The proximity of the butchers' to this building will be investigated in the next chapter. While there is no evidence which names the individuals who worked at the six shops and two stalls held by Richard Holt, John Colbew and John Clamerel at the most easterly end of butchers row, all the other individuals named in the 1417 Tarrage survey appear to have been working at the shops and stalls in 1417.
As it has been made evident, the majority of the Winchester butchers would have been working at stalls. It would not have been unusual for the physical sizes of the stalls to vary; in 1450 in Exeter, for example, five stalls are recorded as measuring three feet in width and extending along the road for sixty feet. Throughout the Winchester sources, *stallagio* is the most frequently used term for what appears to be any kind of outdoor stall or stand; *stondynges* appears only in the Black Book in the sixteenth century in regard to temporary structures erected annually for St Giles’ fair. During this period in England traders operated from a range of structures, ‘from simple wooden chests to covered and fronted booths’ and many variants in between, often without precise terms to make each type distinguishable in the sources. ‘Boothes’, are referred to in Leicester in 1500 when

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509 *Black Book*, 85. *stallagium*, refers to the custom due upon the erection of a stall and *stallagia* or *stallage*, a contrivance for supporting the bank or a stream.
they were causing damage to the pavement\textsuperscript{511}, in Bristol c.1400 stallagio must be removed from the High Street\textsuperscript{512} and around the same time in Exeter, certain stallagio are blocking the way to tenements.\textsuperscript{513} In Taunton, when a stall is given permission to be roofed for the first time in 1266, it is still referred to as stallagia.\textsuperscript{514} In Winchester, it also appears that stallagia simply refers to any structure that must be charged Stallage when erected. More specific terms related to the nature of the point of sale do not appear to be used.

Considering the sources this is of course understandable as their interest is in the land they stand on rather than their particular structure. Selds, long narrow stalls along the High Street frontage however are mentioned throughout the Tarrage Survey, so this type of stall may be ruled out. The stalls rented with Holt’s six shops could have been attached to the shop frontages. Evidence from English shops around this time often includes ‘stall boards’ or ‘flappets’; hinged shutters which may be let down and turned into counters on legs.\textsuperscript{515} Any windows that the shops had could then be used to display hanging meats.\textsuperscript{516} Such opportunities for visual display would have been important for the butchers; while shops provided excellent space for storage and the preparation of meat, they were not always the best place to serve customers. In England, shop doorways were often narrow, only allowing in one customer at a time to discourage theft.\textsuperscript{517} Thus, counters or stalls were ideal for face to face transaction, as any nearby produce could be more easily watched. Such visibility would also have been useful for them when routine inspection was

\textsuperscript{511} Records of Leicester, II, 358.
\textsuperscript{513} Shillingford Letters, 85.
\textsuperscript{514} Tony Scrase, Streets and Market Places in towns of South West England: Encroachments and Improvements (London, 1999), 17.
\textsuperscript{516} Various contemporary images of this are published in Chiara Frugoni, A Day in a Medieval City (Chicago, 2005).
\textsuperscript{517} Clark, “The Shop within?”, 64.
to take place by the carnatores.\footnote{For discussion of the Winchester caranatores see Chapter 2, 131-33.} Stalls were most often made from timber, like those in Exeter and Shepton Mallet.\footnote{Clark, “The Shop Within?”, 65.} In some towns the precise placement of stalls was also regulated; for example, in 1453 fishmongers of Nottingham were ordered not to have more than 2 feet of space between the walls of their houses and their stalls.\footnote{Records of Nottingham, II, 276.} In many cases, the shelter provided by a jetty or nearby pentice roof would be an added bonus for a stall trader. While there is no such evidence for Winchester, the space they had to work both between and behind the stalls is worth bearing in mind.

Around the butchers’ shops and stalls each day would have been their dogs. The whereabouts of the butchers’ dogs throughout the day would be difficult to assess as they were often left to wander. In 1365, six Winchester butchers are presented for allowing their dogs to stray \textit{sine licencia et custodia} and place themselves upon the grace of the court.\footnote{CR W/D1/12.} Examples from elsewhere often place them in high streets or main causeways, no doubt the most attractive places for them to play as they were the busiest. In Coventry in 1421, while large dogs and bitches were forbidden in the Highways of the town, butchers’ dogs and mastiffs were permitted as long as they were tied up at night.\footnote{Coventry Leet Book, 27.} In 1367 Beverley authorities rule that butchers’ dogs can go about the streets of the town, but only if they are with their masters.\footnote{Maryanne Kowaleski, \textit{Medieval Towns: A Reader} (Peterborough, 2006), 405.} In Winchester, when a woman is bitten by a dog in 1380, it is ordained that all dogs should henceforth be led on a chain, but not removed from the marketplace.\footnote{CR W/D1/24.}

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item 518 For discussion of the Winchester caranatores see Chapter 2, 131-33.
\item 519 Clark, “The Shop Within?”, 65.
\item 520 Records of Nottingham, II, 276.
\item 521 CR W/D1/12.
\item 522 Coventry Leet Book, 27.
\item 523 Maryanne Kowaleski, \textit{Medieval Towns: A Reader} (Peterborough, 2006), 405.
\item 524 CR W/D1/24.
\end{itemize}

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tethered in the High Street overnight, and the same is recorded again in 1417.525 This chapter will now go on to explore the key street furniture surrounding the butchers, to continue to reconstruct the fabric of the environment around them.

![Figure 3.14 - Model Screenshot. Town Well.]

**Surrounding Street Furniture: The Town Well**

As noted earlier, located within this area, directly in front of the butchers’ stalls held by John Blake and John Kent, was the town well or ‘watirpytt’ as it was described as in 1417.526 This was rebuilt in 1429 in the same location, when it became known as communis fons.527 Winchester was served by numerous conduits, open wells and streams which ran throughout the Southern end of the town. Like most towns, all water courses

525 CR W/D1/22.
526 Tarrage 1417, W/E3/1.
527 Black Book, 73.
were heavily regulated in an attempt to avoid contamination. Other towns were served in similar ways; some may also have had water pipes ending in conduit houses. Somerset's public well was built in 1300 and served the West end of the High Street and Coventry had four main conduits which were supervised. Other places negotiated to ensure their water supply: in Lynn, there was an agreement between the townsmen and the Augustinian friars in 1386 the water which ran through a conduit in Listergate Street could be freely used by the community between 6am and 7pm between Easter and Michaelmas. Similar time restrictions were imposed elsewhere, when Coventry only had two main conduits instead of its supervised four, they simply locked them up from 9pm to 4am.

The Winchester butchers appear to have used the town well as their main water supply, an obvious choice since it was so close by. In 1420, Henry Coupere, butcher, and his servants were charged with 'washing tubs with the blood of pigs and other beasts at the new common well and causing the water to lie on High Street.' In 1496 the butchers of Coventry were charged with causing the same problem, and they were no longer to fill their tubs with water from the 'Brodewell.' Such usage would have been common and trades in other towns were also banned from using certain conduits; in Ipswich in 1471, five tanners were fined for soaking hides in the common well. In Bristol in the late

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528 Keene discusses this in *Survey*, 56-66.
532 *Coventry Leet Book*, 548.
533 CR W/D1/45.
534 *Coventry Leet Book*, 572.
fourteenth century, no brewer or ale-wife was to take water from any of the conduits or
wells of the town upon pain of fine.\textsuperscript{536} It is no surprise that the Winchester
butchers made use of the town well as their main water supply. John Kent, John Blake and Nicholas
Randolf were the butchers in the prime location for use of the town well, their stalls only
being approximately 1.5 metres away. Even for those working at the furthest ends of
butchers’ row, the well would not have been a long journey even carrying buckets and
bowls. William Abbatiston, in his shop at the most westerly end of the row and those who
worked for Richard Holt and John Clamereral at the east end are equidistant to the town
well, both at a distance of around 10 metres.

The well would have been shared with various others groups who would have
gathered here to use it. The interaction between the butchers and other users is an
interesting one and will be considered in the following chapter. In 1417 outsider shellfish
sellers were permitted free access to the water here and after 1420, out of town
fishmongers were guaranteed use of it for the purpose of washing their fish.\textsuperscript{537} Due to its
central location the well would have also been used by a large proportion of the local
traders and residents. It seems reasonable to suggest that many commercial traders
would have visited the well at regular intervals throughout the working day, some building it
into their routines. In London the 1496 customs of the ‘Brotherhood of Saint Cristofer’
water bearers show that individual water carriers built up definite rounds for
themselves.\textsuperscript{538} In a much smaller urban environment like Winchester, there is no evidence
for anyone being employed as water-bearers or cobs at this time. This perhaps implies
that those related directly to trades needing to use water would have carried it themselves.

\textsuperscript{536} The Great Red Book of Bristol, 115-17. Many nunnerys, friaries and monasteries deliberately established
themselves near water sources for the purpose. Roberta Magnussun, Water Technology in the Middle Ages:
Cities, Monasteries, and Waterworks after the Roman Empire (Baltimore, 2001).

\textsuperscript{537} Black Book, 120.

\textsuperscript{538} Caroline M. Barron, London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200-1500 (Oxford,
2005), 256.
Evidence elsewhere indicates that urban wells could become congested, busy areas. At Lynn in 1390, excessive crowding at the town’s water conduits resulted in damage being done to their vaulted arches and the surrounding stone. This prompted the governing body to attempt to implement a strict queuing system where no large containers were to be filled until those with smaller ones had their turn. They also added the clause that if anyone broke the containers of poor people, the mayor would compensate them.\footnote{Owen ed., The Making of King’s Lynn, 118.} Figure 3.15 shows how the model helps to suggest where people waiting to use the Winchester town well may have naturally queued.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure3.15.png}
\caption{Model Screenshot. Showing a wide view of where people may have queued for the town well.}
\end{figure}
Queuing to the north and south of the well would have been near impossible due to the stalls on either side. Queuing to the west may also have been difficult and possibly dangerous due to any incoming traffic from Calpe street, which has already been established as busy thoroughfare, as people travelled back and forth from shops located up Calpe Street, or into the animal and wood market to which this was a main entrance. On a busy day, any traffic exiting Calpe street and heading East onto the High Street would be forced around the town well and in front of the butchers stalls here, leaving no room for queuing. The most space to wait is clearly shown here to be to the east of the well, in the area between the well and market cross. While it offers the most room in this crowded section of the High Street, its would also offer the most protection from any oncoming carts or horses and be a place where large containers for water could perhaps be set down more safely. The model shows how approximately twenty people could gather here without intruding too far onto the natural pathways of any traffic.
All such evidence serves as an indicator of the diversity of those using the well, but also the amount of time people may have spent there during market hours.

Figure 3.17 - Model Screenshot. Market Cross.

**Street Furniture: Market Cross**

Adjacent to the well stood an additional key feature of the High Street, the Market Cross. The cross is alluded to in the court rolls in the late fourteenth century and was certainly standing in 1417, when it is used in the Tarrage survey as a geographical marker: a tenant renting a property facing the area where the Cross would have stood is referred to as 'William atte cross'.

The period from the fifteenth to sixteenth century saw the popularity of market crosses increase in English towns, particularly as individuals and corporations invested in them. For example, in 1500 a rich clothier bequested the

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540 It is frequently used in the sources as a marker point for the location of residences and tenements.

construction of a cross on Market Hill in Lavenham which should have the same pattern as the one standing in Cambridge market place.\textsuperscript{542} By this point some crosses were also evolving beyond simple structures; Salisbury’s Poultry Cross (Figure 3.18) which was probably in existence from the early fifteenth century, had developed into an elaborate roofed structure under which traders could shelter.\textsuperscript{543} Pre-existing crosses were often lavishly enhanced: the market cross in Leicester was decorated and restored with new stones and a weather cock at the cost of £3 6s 8d in 1314, and Bristol’s main market cross was painted and gilded in 1491 for the large sum of £20 in 1491.\textsuperscript{544} While it cannot be identified who initially financed Winchester’s market cross, from the remaining structure it can be determined that by the early fifteenth century it was a stone mounted gothic spire with a stepped base standing forty three feet high, probably taller than surrounding contemporary buildings.\textsuperscript{545} As such, it would have been visible from a distance and served as a useful marker for any external traders entering the town. One of the most practical functions of crosses was often to simply serve as an indicator to the main trading area.\textsuperscript{546} Bristol’s main market cross stood at the cross roads between four key commercial streets primarily for this reason.\textsuperscript{547} More than this, crosses may well have been used for more specific types of navigation. Coventry’s two ‘swine crosses’ were located on streets leading through two main gates towards the town centre, marking the location of ‘pig pounds.’ These had been set up in 1426 and were the town’s primary sites for the trading of animals.\textsuperscript{548}

\textsuperscript{542} Alec Betterton, \textit{Lavenham: Industrial Town} (Suffolk, 1989), 20.

\textsuperscript{543} Scrase “Crosses, conduits and other street furniture”, 205.

\textsuperscript{544} Charles Bilson, \textit{Medieval Leicester} (Leicester, 1920), 117.

\textsuperscript{545} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 595-96.

\textsuperscript{546} Scrase, “Crosses, conduits and other street furniture”, 206.


\textsuperscript{548} For the location of the crosses; William Stephens ed., \textit{The Victoria history of the county of Warwick}, Volume 8. http://british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=49
Figure 3.18 - Salisbury Poultry Cross.

Figure 3.19 - Winchester Market Cross.
The Winchester cross, Figure 3.19, was certainly a central marker for the key trading space and would have been in an area busy during trading hours: Keene notes that the architecture of the building behind the cross accommodates it with posts, creating a pedestrian walkway to better allow people through either side.\(^{549}\) This architecture may not have just been erected simply to ease foot traffic past the cross, however, it may have also been built to allow people to congregate more easily around it. In Beverley in 1409, for example, poultry sellers were expected to congregate at the cross to trade.\(^{550}\) In Bristol in 1452, strangers selling wares such as bows and arrows were also required to stand in one place at the High Cross.\(^{551}\) James Davis has recently highlighted the importance of market crosses as selling points and makes the case that some market authorities were keen to try and ensure that those outsider traders who carried their wares in baskets and would otherwise wander freely, were given a fixed position to sell at where they could be properly regulated and monitored.\(^{552}\) The fixed point chosen is often the market cross. For example, in Salisbury in 1408-9, hawkers bringing cheese, milk, grapes, plums, apples, pears and other fruit were compelled to sell their wares at the market cross opposite the house of John Gage.\(^{553}\) In Henley ‘cross-wardens’ were to collect a fee from outsiders who traded at their wares at the cross and the funds collected would go towards repairs to the structure.\(^{554}\) Winchester authorities certainly used the architecture of the town to better regulate it, bread sellers were required to sell from certain street corners along the lower eastern end of High Street and outsider shellfish sellers were to sell from the market cross.

\(^{549}\) Keene, *Survey*, 595.


\(^{551}\) *The Great Red Book of Bristol*, Book I, 144.


\(^{553}\) Davis, ‘Symbolic Structures’, 248.

in 1443. Later on in the sources, the Winchester cross is known as the ‘butter cross’ perhaps alluding to another set of traders selling from it, or nearby. In Nottingham, the ‘cheese cross’, formerly known as the ‘butter cross’ was the point at which women sold dairy products in the sixteenth century.

While no ceremonial functions of the Winchester cross can be established reliably, the Corpus Christi procession route, which is thought to have started at St John’s Hospital and ended at St Anne’s church just outside the North gate, would have led past it. Bull baiting events would have taken place around this part of the High Street. In 1538 if not earlier, a ‘bulstake’ and ‘bull ryng’ were present somewhere centrally within the High Street. In a country of Somerset, church related ceremonies are thought to have followed routes between the church cross and the High Cross. It was also used as the assembly point for ceremonial and night watches. In Coventry, when Queen Margaret of Scotland visited the town in 1456, the market cross was adorned with decorations as part of the celebrations and was the starting point of a series of processions.

The Winchester Cross would have been a focus when proclamations were made from its steps, a function well established for such crosses in other late medieval towns. It would have been here that Winchester inhabitants heard national and local news and

555 Black Book, 81.


558 Keene, Survey, 130.


560 Scrase, “Crosses, conduits and other street furniture”, 206.

notices from the king, the church, as well as local authorities. While it is rarely clear who acted as the town crier, in Sandwich, the town crier also had a list of other duties, including attending the mayor’s house for orders, find horses for public messengers. At Coventry the town crier was also the inspector of nuisances, so clearly someone who would have been well recognised and publicly known. The practice of delivering royal proclamations in particular from market crosses has recently been explored by James Masschaele. He concluded that the proclamations issued from their steps illustrate the king’s ability to establish a ‘direct political presence among the lower orders of society.’ While it is difficult to establish the precise nature in which such proclamations would have taken place, Masschaele argues convincingly that they may have been formal, even ritualised acts. Like to town well, the market cross would have provided the butchers with the opportunity for casual interaction with others. It would have also placed them in a prime position for hearing the latest news and events. These issues and their wider implications will be explored in the following chapter.

The model helps to identify where people might have gathered when proclamations were made from the market cross steps. The east and south sides of the steps, while providing good shelter in the rain, would be partially obscured by the struts from the pentice. Struts are also at main entrances to the Guild hall and to the inn. This leaves the west side for people to gather naturally as the street was wide enough. It would also follow that the town crier would face this way, to optimise the amount of people who could hear

562 Anthony Musson, Medieval Law in Context (Manchester, 2001), 225.
563 Collection for an History at Sandwich in Kent, II, ed W. Boys (Canterbury, 1792), 503-4.
564 Coventry Leet Book, 253.
565 The seminar article which sparked further inquiry into the nature of such proclamations is James R. Maddicott, “The County and Community and the Making of Public Opinion in Fourteenth Century England”, in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 28 (1978), 27-43. Other key texts within this field are of course Michael Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record, 263-4 and recently Jacob van Leewen, Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns (Leuven, 2006).
and to project his voice out to the High Street. Figure 3.20 shows how the model can be used to test where people may have clustered.

![Model Screenshot](image)

**Figure 3.20** - Model Screenshot. Showing how people may have gathered around the market cross.

The storyboards show that this area could hold approximately fifty people whilst still being able to hear the town crier comfortably. From the butchers’ perspective, while Nicholas Randulf John Kent and John Blake wouldn’t be privy, the unnamed butchers working at John Clamel and Richard Holt’s stalls are ideally placed to hear and see the crowd gathered. This placement will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.

It is not just the Cross as a piece of furniture itself that is useful to explore from the butchers’ point of view, but also the immediate space around the Winchester cross. This area may have been the only one of the town that outsider traders would have ever used for business as they came into Winchester to work. For those only passing through the
Winchester cross may have functioned as a type of sign post as mentioned above. With crosses becoming such a common feature of towns and so often marking out trading areas, they could be easily recognised by anyone entering a town for the first time. For larger towns with several crosses, it would only have required a small amount of easily acquired local knowledge to find out what markets or areas a particular cross denoted. For Winchester, the tall gothic spire which would have been visible above the majority of the townscape would have been a visual marker which was as easy to use, understand and interpret as the more obvious commercial shop signs.\textsuperscript{567} As the town’s only cross, visitors to Winchester would have known that heading towards this would have instantly meant heading towards the centre of the market place, to inns, food and to hostels. Local variation, such as the decoration, size and shape of a cross, could also have had a factor on how people would have remembered the layout of individual towns.\textsuperscript{568}

Any inhabitant of Winchester wishing to cross from one side of the town to the other, would at some point obviously have to cross the high street. It is the very centre of town which was most populated, perhaps implying that when someone did cross it, it would have been near or through the butchers’ space. It was also located very close to key sites in town, such as Winchester cathedral.

\textsuperscript{567} For the interpretation and meanings of various types of urban signs, including those of commercial properties Michael Camille see; “Signs of the City: Place, Power and Public Fantasy in Medieval Paris” in Hanawalt and Kobialka eds., \textit{Medieval Practices of Space} (London, 2000), 1-36.

\textsuperscript{568} A key work on this is Mary Carruthers, \textit{The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture} (Cambridge, 2008). Linked to this is the wider issues of cognitive mapping, thought from a range of disciplines is brought together in: Scott Freundschuh ed., \textit{Cognitive Mapping: Past, Present and Future} (London, 2000).
3.4. Butchers’ Journeys

Having reconstructed the sites of the butchers’ shops and stalls, this chapter will now go on to consider one of the regular journeys the butchers’ took as part of a working day. By turning to reconstruct one specific and frequent journey that the group undertook to dispose of waste from their perspective, this chapter will continue to build a clearer picture of the areas of the town that would have been part of their everyday landscape. Again, storyboards and individual shots of the model will be used to reconstruct the buildings, street furniture and ephemera of the journey. Consideration will be given to the people and animals the butchers may have encountered along the way, in order to get closer to the realities of what this part of the town may have been like for them.

The butchers’ work would have regularly taken them away from the site of their shop or stall to perform tasks related to their trade. As has already been highlighted, trips to the nearby well for water would have been one such example, but they would have also had to venture further afield to undertake other duties such as attending to their animals at grazing plots in and outside the town walls, trading with others when selling the by-products of their trade including tallow and bones, repairing or sharpening tools at smiths, or the purchase of new animals at markets. One regular journey that the sources reveal the most about however, was the butchers disposal of waste. While the washing of bowls and utensils was often undertaken at the well in the High street, the Winchester butchers had to journey elsewhere for the disposal of blood, offal and entrails, something which would had to have been undertaken regularly, most likely on a daily basis if not more frequently. With waste disposal being so difficult an issue in this period and one which authorities continually attempted to regulate, the sources reveal a lot of detail about the locations the butchers used for waste disposal, but usefully for this study, how they got there. As this is a journey the butchers would have taken frequently and one which the
sources reveal much about allowing its reconstruction, it will be explored in length in the following section.

In 1370, it appears that the Winchester butchers had been assigned a place where they could dispose of their waste by tipping it into an unknown location in one of the town’s streams. In 1409, the butchers appear to again have been assigned a stream into which they could dispose of entrails although they had to be cut up small first: *entralia iactare in aliqua rivula eiusdem civitatic nisi cindantur ad longitudinem quatuor vel minus.* In the same year however, Thomas Smale and Robert Spencer, *magistrorum artis carnificium*, were threatened with the seizure of their goods to the value of 3s. 6d. in fines due from offending butchers who had illegally disposed of entrails. It appears clear from court appearances and further ordinances that the butchers preferred instead to dispose of their waste most frequently in and around the town latrine known as Postern, in the town ditch and into the town stream. All three of these sites were clustered around the centre of the town, set back from the High Street to the south, just outside of the cathedral cemetery. Postern latrines was located along the east side of the cathedral cemetery, separated from both the cemetery itself and the commercial area of the street by the wall of the cathedral priory. The town ditch, or ‘temple ditch’ as it is sometimes referred to in sources, was a substantial strip of waste ground located towards the north side of the cemetery.

569 CR W/D1/14.
570 CR W/D1/14.
571 *Black Book*, 18. By 1513, butchers were designated *Abbesbrygge* as one place they could dispose of entrails. *Black Book*, 124.
572 CR W/D1/13; CR W/D1/14; CR W/D1/15; CR W/D1/20; CR W/D1/29; CR W/D1/39; CR W/D1/44. The butchers also appear disposing of waste at a location described as ‘le bowe’ at the North end of Shulworth Street, towards the town walls in the Northern part of the town. ‘Le bowe’ is situated near to grazing plots owned by several of the Winchester butchers and could have been used as a disposal site for slaughter and related practices carried out here.
Newbridge was located near by in Colebrook Street, adjacent to postern latrines and carried the High Street over the streams which ran through the easterly part of town. As such, it would have been a useful platform from which the butchers could discard waste. Bodies of running water were obvious points butchers could use for this purpose as there was a chance for the waste to be carried away. Indeed, in other towns, bridges and jetties were frequently used by butchers as tipping points: in 1369 butchers in London were ordered no longer to throw offal into the Thames from ‘Bochersbrigge’, and after much resistance, the bridge was demolished a year later.\(^{574}\) In York, butchers were allowed to construct their own pier which projected over the river Ouse at a specified place where they were permitted to throw offal.\(^{575}\) It does not appear clear if the butchers went to dispose of waste at a particular time of day. For the purposes of this chapter, the journey for waste disposal is reconstructed to reflect the town during market hours.

The sources reveal some information about the route the butchers took to get to these locations, as repeated ordinances throughout the later medieval period and beyond state that the butchers were not to carry their waste through the cathedral cemetery.\(^{576}\) In 1420, they are asked again to avoid the cemetery and to use Highway instead when travelling whilst carrying entrails.\(^{577}\) This evidence is used as the basis for the reconstruction of the butchers’ journeys, as they travelled from their shops and stalls on the High Street to Postern latrine and its surrounding area. While we have no evidence of the route the butchers used to reach the cathedral cemetery, it seems reasonable to assume they crossed the High Street into Minster street, which would have provided them with the quickest and shortest route to the cemetery. This would have allowed them to

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\(^{575}\) *York Memorandum*, Book I, 1xvii.

\(^{576}\) CR W/D1/14; CR W/D1/35; CR W/D1/47.

\(^{577}\) *Black Book*, 108.
enter the cemetery using Minster Gate. It is this route: starting at the shops and stalls of the High Street, journeying down Minster street then through into the cathedral cemetery and out the opposite end at Postern latrine, that will be reconstructed in the following section.

Figure 3.21 - Model Screenshot. Showing the key disposal locations of the butchers, with the cemetery in the centre, temple ditch to the north (in yellow) and Postern latrine to the east.

Storyboard 7

(SB7a) To carry their waste, butchers would have filled buckets or hand carts before heading straight across the High Street and into Minster Street. Crossing the High Street may have proved difficult at busy times in the market, with much to negotiate without causing spillage. Certainly for those towards the east end of butchers’ row, this may have taken a little longer.
(SB7b) Minster Street itself in comparison to High Street was far narrower and again negotiation could prove difficult, particularly when travelling down sections of the street with stalls. Being so close to the High Street and main market place, Minster Street was full of commercial properties, shops and stalls. The first section of the street appears to be dominated by those linked to the brewing trade, no doubt due to the proximity of the towns largest inns and taverns. When entering the street, to the immediate left was an unknown shop held by by John Merlawe, followed by two tenements, the first with a stall and the second with a stall and cellar held by Raymond Taverner. The adjacent tenement may have been linked to the brewing trade, John Dobbis who also owned the Hart inn. As such, this may have been a route for the transportation of wine and ale being moved from here and onto those establishments on the High Street such as the Hart. The corner tenement here belonging to mercers, John Patyk and his wife Alice.

On the butchers’ right here would have been the entrance to Calpe Street and the highway here widens for a time and negotiation may have been slightly easier. The corner property here on the left was a tenement owned and inhabited by the Silvester family, which in 1402 was granted to their son Richard Bolt who still owned it in 1417, mayor of Winchester in this year. Next to this, tenement with 2 stalls, both belonging to tailors: John Gylott and Stephen Seeward, followed by a tenement with a cellar, the tenement of Jihn Tannere and a tenement with a fence inhabited by John Tryng. The highways begins to curve around here and narrow as the butcher would have passed two cottages and a tenement and stall held by William Bremner, helier. Facing all of these properties on the left side of

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578 Tarrage 1417.
579 Tarrage 1417.
580 Tarrage 1417.
581 Keene, Survey, 867; Tarrage 1417; Black Book, Appendices.
582 Tarrage 1417.
583 Tarrage 1417.
the High Street is a very large property. The part facing onto Minster street was described as a tenement owned by John de la Ryver extending to *Rychemond Corner*, the name of the property on the lane leading all the way down to Minster Gate.\(^{584}\) As the butcher walked further, stalls lined both sides of the road. On the minster street side a stall was held by Robert Hulle who was a master mason and adjacent. Adjacent to this was a tenement held by Geoffrey the Barber, barber, followed by a tenement and a garden.\(^{585}\)

\(^{584}\) Keene, *Survey*, 868.

\(^{585}\) *Tarrage 1417*. 
Figure 3.22 - Model Screenshot. Demonstrating the width of Minster Street which could accommodate three individuals with hand carts.

(SB7c) At this point, the street opens out again and there would have been more space. The final property the butchers would have walked past in Minster Street on the right side of the Highway was a property described as *le scolehouse*, owned and run by the cathedral priory.586 This was the Winchester High School, *Hye Scole*, which was in existence from the twelfth century to the early sixteenth. The property belonged to the Cathedral Priory and Keene notes its teaching was licensed by the bishop, but the master paid rent to the priory for the school and seems to have been entirely responsible for conducting it and recruiting pupils. Some idea of the education gained here can be revealed by books stolen by the usher in 1407 *Cato* (collection of moral sayings) a *fassetus pedoctrinalis* (a grammar book) and the Rules of the Equinoxes.587 There are no details of who attended the school, but the building contained five lower rooms, four upper rooms and a small garden.588

586 *Tarrage 1417*.
587 Keene, *Survey*, 394.
588 Keene, *Survey*, 865.
At this point the butcher would have turned left out of Minster Street and on into the cathedral cemetery.

Storyboard 8

Cathedral cemetery

(SB8a) It is at this point that the butcher would then have entered the cathedral cemetery via Minster Gate. The butchers’ would have come here at other times: To build a better picture of what the cathedral cemetery would have been like and who else would have used the space, it will be useful to briefly put the cemetery in broader context. The cathedral itself predominated as patron of a large number of Winchester’s churches, and from 1331, the cathedral priory had the rights to the mortuaries at all churches and suburbs linked to the town. At this point in the fourteenth century, most parochial churches did not have their own cemeteries and Winchester inhabitants would have been most likely buried in the main cathedral cemetery, with burial inside the cathedral being reserved for those of exceptional status. By the fifteenth century this had changed and some churches now had their own cemeteries. While there is little will evidence remaining for Winchester, Keene has noted that what is left shows that individuals who had lived in the northern part of the town requested burial at nearby cemeteries belonging to Hyde Abbey church and St Bartholomew. As was common in this period in England, parish churches in Winchester had become central to communal occasions and for routine local devotion rather than the cathedral. However, as evidence suggests in other towns, such as

589 For a full history of the cathedral and its relationship with the town, see Keene, survey, pp.106-33. For an overview of the topic, see Miri Rubin ed., Church and City, 1000-1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke (Cambridge, 1992).

590 Keene, Survey, 108.

591 Keene, Survey, 128-30.

592 Baker and Holt, Urban Growth, 239-61.
Gloucester and Worcester, cathedrals often played a part in larger annual festivities.\textsuperscript{593} Certainly in Winchester, processions took place from the cathedral to the churches of St James on 25\textsuperscript{th} July, St Giles on 1\textsuperscript{st} September, St Faith on 6 October, St Catherine’s on 25\textsuperscript{th} November for mass on their respective feast days; all of these occasions were instances where Winchester inhabitants would have crossed the cemetery space.\textsuperscript{594} For the butchers transporting waste, going through the cemetery in this way meant avoiding carrying on up the highway and having to traverse the southerly quarter of the marketplace. As well as containing an additional strip of workshops, shops and stalls, the highway would then lead out into an area which in 1417 also included a wood market, animal market and corn market. For a butcher attempting to transport waste they would not only have had to negotiate cattle and people through this area, but stable refuse and dung. This was a particular issue for this part of the town and Keene notes that some of the most numerous presentations for dung are in this space.\textsuperscript{595} The cathedral cemetery then seems to provide a suitable alternative.

Winchester inhabitants would also have been using the cemetery for other reasons. These reasons are highlighted in June 1349, when the bishop brought a plea of trespass against the citizens of Winchester, claiming that they had endeavoured to hold markets and fairs and make other encroachments on land which formed part of the cemetery and had forcibly obstructed the burial of the dead there during the pestilence.\textsuperscript{596} In addition, the bishop had also recently complained about the use of the cemetery as a public open space where jousting contests had been held.\textsuperscript{597} The other encroachments referred to

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{594} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 128.
\textsuperscript{595} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 53.
\textsuperscript{596} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 384-5; 424-6.
\end{footnotesize}
could have been numerous. A public market had been held in the cemetery 1330s and there had been a ‘cow house’ in 1335. While the bishop was awarded £40 in damages and granted the right to enclose the cemetery with a wall. Certainly the medieval church was keen to distance what it considered as heretical and secular elements from the cemetery as they could lead to its desecration; it would have to be re-consecrated should any bodily fluid were spilled. This ‘pollution’ was a serious offence; it was not only an act of defilement upon the sacred space, but in more practical terms it disrupted the life of the community as it meant burials and funerals would have to cease and the church would consequently lose the related fees. In Beverley Minster, in 1320, William of Colburn violently attacked John Cresse in the cathedral cemetery and as punishment he was made to pay a fine which would cover the cost of the cemetery’s re-consecration. Such journeys through or indeed to urban cemetery space for non-spiritual reasons, however, abound elsewhere; in medieval Lincoln, it is reported that ‘on the day after Christmas there were gatherings in the cemetery, wrestling bouts and matches between the abbot’s servants and the burgesses of the town: and from words they came to blows...and from wounds to bloodshed.’ During the rest of year, certain martial games were played in the cemetery there. In London, games and wrestling were popular occurrences in various cemeteries in the thirteenth century, while in Exeter tennis was regularly played in the cemetery which could result in ‘brawling, contention and shouts’ took place in the church grounds. The famous cemetery of Innocents in Paris held frequent markets, and the small booths within which plays would be held on special occasions, would on a more ordinary day be

598 Keene, Survey, 579.
599 Keene, Survey, 578.
600 Keene, Survey, 580.
602 Daniell, Death and Burial, 113.
603 Daniell, Death and Burial in Medieval England, 114.
used to sell books, cloth and ironmongery. Vendors would even make use of the tombs in order to display their wares to the public, a practice condemned by the church.\textsuperscript{605} The cemetery of St Paul’s cathedral was a traditional place for business; in 1385 Bishop Braybrooke spoke out against the traders.\textsuperscript{606} Equally, bishops had begun to complain of the use of the cemetery in Valencia for ‘convenient markets’ by the early fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{607}

\textit{(SB8b&c)} In contrast to the paved main streets and thoroughfares of the town, the butcher would now be entering a space of grass and earth, which may have proved just as tricky a terrain to negotiate with a hand cart as the paving of the streets. Burials in the cemetery were by this point numerous, aside from many regular burials in cist type graves the cemetery had also been used for more hasty mass internments during more intense periods of disease in the town.\textsuperscript{608} The cemetery would also have contained some refuse and rubbish, as inhabitants and indeed the butchers themselves are recorded on occasion as disposing of waste directly in the cemetery and no doubt the butcher would have encountered others in the cemetery using it for this reason.\textsuperscript{609}

\textbf{Postern latrines}

\textit{(SB9a)} Having crossed the cemetery, the butcher would have left the cathedral grounds through Thomasgate, immediately facing Postern Latrines, with Newbridge also just in sight. Just next to the latrine were a line of cottages, one held by John Moule and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{605} James Clark, \textit{The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance} (Glasgow, 1950), 24.
\item \textsuperscript{606} \textit{The Owl and the Nightingale, Cleanness, St Erkenwald}, trans Brian Stone, (London, 1977), 32.
\item \textsuperscript{607} Silvera Sanchis, \textit{Vida íntima de los Valencianos en la época Foral} (Barcelona, 1993), 40ff.
\item \textsuperscript{608} Birthe Kjolbye-Biddle, “A Cathedral Cemetery: Problems in Excavation and Interpretation” in \textit{World Archaeology} 7, no. 1, (1975), 87-108.
\item \textsuperscript{609} CR D1/11.
\end{itemize}
next to this, an open plot of ground. The latrine itself was a covered in structure, and in 1369 Nicholas Hanyton bequethed 6s. rent from this structure for roofing, sustaining, mending and maintaining the common and long garderobe on the East side of the wall of the cemetery. Keene notes that the north end of the latrine was probably specifically designed for women. The latrine was maintained by the mayor and communitas and in 1369 6s. was spent on longam garderopam for its cooperiandum, sustentandum, emendandum et manutenendum commune. Such provision and maintenance of larger public latrines was commonplace in other English towns, principally due to the hazards they could cause if left unattended. In London, the latrine in the Walbrook had become a danger, and in 1462-3 local authorities announced that it was to be cleaned, paved and vaulted. This was to be paid for in part by those landlords with properties adjacent to, or encroaching upon the land. By 1466, the periodic cleaning of all public latrines in London was contracted out to a single man in charge of overseeing all of it, for a term of ten years at a fixed rate. In Cambridge, town authorities along with the university agreed in 1503 that the ‘common sege’ of the town was to be cleansed once every three years.

As well as Postern, Winchester also maintained Maydenchamber latrine, both located within the centre of the town and near the marketplace. Keene notes that Maydenchamber appears to have been a long timber structure containing a small number

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610 Keene, Survey, 553.
611 Black Book, 103.
612 Keene, Survey, 854.
613 Black Book, 103.
614 Sharpe, Calendar, Book G, 77. This latrine was then mentioned by Stowe in his famous Survey of London, 14.
615 Sharpe, Calendar, Book G, 77.
616 Sharpe, Calendar, Book L, 67.
617 Gray, The Town of Cambridge, 76.
of seats over the stream there.\textsuperscript{618} Postern latrine seems to have been the larger facility of the two, and while it would have almost certainly been used by those visiting the town for commercial reasons, Winchester inhabitants without private facilities of their own may also have made use of it.\textsuperscript{619} While there is no archaeological data available for Winchester which may tell us more about the number of private facilities in the town, it was common in this period for houses to have their own cesspits, or stone lined pits built into back gardens for this purpose.\textsuperscript{620} Sabine, however, points out in his key article on the subject that often large numbers of people living within a tenement were provided with only one common latrine and some with none at all.\textsuperscript{621} Winchester inhabitants sometimes took their own initiative: in 1413, residents of Buck Street were given permission to construct a latrine near to \textit{Bollebrigge}.\textsuperscript{622}

Like the butchers, other Winchester residents were also making use of Postern latrine as a site to dispose of rubbish, particularly horse dung. In 1366, William Inge was fined for throwing horse dung into the stream here and causing a nuisance to the \textit{common garderobe}.\textsuperscript{623} Between the period 1388-91, William Warland committed this offence three times, by which point the area around the latrine was also being known as \textit{Shitelane}.\textsuperscript{624} This kind of use may not have been unusual: in London, when private individuals began building their own latrines, they often did so over parts of the Thames where others already threw other types of rubbish.\textsuperscript{625}

\textsuperscript{618} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 521.

\textsuperscript{619} Sabine, "Butchering in Medieval London", 306.

\textsuperscript{620} Platt, \textit{The Medieval Town}, 69-72.

\textsuperscript{621} Ernest Sabine, "Latrines and Cesspools of Medieval London" in \textit{Speculum} 9, no. 3 (July), 303-21.

\textsuperscript{622} CR W/D1/44. Buck street was located towards the East of the town.

\textsuperscript{623} CR W/D1/11.

\textsuperscript{624} CR W/D1/4; W/D1/27; W/D1/29.

\textsuperscript{625} Sabine, "Butchering in Medieval London", 310.
The butchers were often charged with disposing rubbish simply ‘near the cathedral cemetery’ which could refer to a large area. Nevertheless, it may be possible to locate some of the specific points that they made use of. At the edge of the cemetery, behind a line of properties, was a substantial strip of waste ground not considered to be part of the cathedral grounds. This was sometimes known as ‘temple ditch’ and was a popular place for the disposal of waste for many Winchester residents. In 1429-30, Richard Moryng, carpenter, was fined for having blocked up the ditch *apud templldych with sawyngdoust*. It could be possible that the butchers too, made use of the ditch. Between the wall and the backs of the houses in colebrook street there appears to have been a strip of open ground, now in part approximately represented by Patrnoster Row. In the fourteenth century this was the place known as Shitelane, a favourite place for the disposal of dung.

**Grazing Plots**

Having used the model to reconstruct a journey that probably all of the Winchester butchers would have undertaken, it is now possible to use the model to explore journeys made by individual butchers. Trips made to grazing plots to tend animals provides the evidence to do this. It was common practise for butchers in Winchester to graze and fatten their livestock before slaughter, as had become the common practise elsewhere in England. In Exeter for example, butchers leased a large amount of pasture in the town suburbs and surrounding manors at Cowley, Heyes, Cowick and Topsham for this

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626 CR W/D1/56.

627 CR W/D1/27; W/D1/29; W/D1/34.
As outlined in chapter 2, many of the Winchester butchers held plots to do just this inside the walls. This section will reconstruct the journeys of butchers Robert Spencer, Thomas Smale and William Abbotston as they travel from their shops and stalls in the High Street to their grazing plots within the walls of the town. All the plots held by the three butchers were located in the northern half of the town towards the walls. Spencer and Smale held plots in Brudene Street, Smale also held a plot in Jewry Street and another in Fleshmonger Street and William Abbotston held a plot in Parchment Street. For practical reasons, visiting grazing plots and tending to animals would have no doubt taken place outside of market hours. The model here is reconstructed to reflect what these journeys may have been like after market hours in the early morning, before the market opened.

Brudene Street

Both Spencer and Smale held grazing land on Brudene Street. In 1410, Spencer kept fifty sheep on a croft here and in 1417 Smale held a garden plot nearby. For the two butchers, a trip to their plots in Brudene Street would have meant journeying to an area quite different from that of their shops and stalls in the High Street. Leaving their properties and turning right along the High Street (SB10a) the butchers would have passed the saddlers (SB10b) parchment makers and cloth finishers (SB10c), turning right just before the fishmongers stalls (SB10d).

After turning right into Brudene Street, Smale and Spencer would have passed Staple Gardens, one of the larger official town dumps (SB10e). This had previously been

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a set of small gardens which had turned into waste grounds. Staple Gardens would have attracted many other Winchester inhabitants to this area. Fishmongers in particular appear to have made use of Staple Gardens for the disposal of rubbish, as it was conveniently located just behind their shops and stalls located along the High Street at. In the early fifteenth century, just one sitting of court saw eleven Winchester fishmongers presented for depositing the rotten entrails of fish on the highway in Staple Gardens, which lay just to the rear of their premises. In 1446-7 19s was spent by the authorities in an attempt to cart the rubbish away.

The butchers would then be surrounded by gardens on both sides (SB10f). In the fifteenth century, the large plot of land located on the right side of Brudene Street is described as an orchard, which may give an indication of their use in the later middle ages. Pear, apple, plum, damson and nut trees are all recorded as growing within the walls c. 1410. The butchers would then have come upon a small row of cottages to their right (SB10g). Spencer would then have come upon his grazing to the left (SB10h), with Smale’s plot was located adjacently just further up the street (SB10i).

**Jewry Street**

Thomas Smale also held a garden plot in the next street to the east, Jewry Street. Starting again from his stall in the High Street (SB11a) and walking past the saddlers, parchment makers and cloth finishers (SB11b), Smale would then turn right into Jewry

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630 Keene, *Survey*, 473.

631 CR W/D1/57.

632 *Black Book*, 156.

633 Keene, *Survey*, 646; 647.

Street. To the left here would have been a stall of the mercers (SB11c). Slightly further on to the right, was the George inn (SB11d), which had just been built by Mark le Fayre. Mark le Fayre was a prominent citizen who held the position of mayor in 1398, 1408-9, 1411-12, and 1413-4. While at this point he was not acting as mayor, his inn the George was a popular place for his fellow citizens to carry out official business. In 1406, during the summer sessions, the mayor entertained the knights of the county at le Faire’s tavern here. This practice was finally brought to an end in 1535 when it was ordained and agreed that no maner of person within the seid citie, being yn the office of the Mairealtie office, shall dwell in no yn or hostry...for the dishonour that might therof insew.

The Hampshire County gaol was also located in this street, on the right (SB11e). It was separate to the town gaol, located within the West Gate; the latter was to imprison those awaiting trial by the Winchester governing body. The county gaol was used by the Hampshire sheriff, who oversaw the law in the whole county. Like the town gaol, it would have probably held prisoners who were awaiting trial or who were imprisoned as an alternative to paying a fine, as was common in England in the period. Smale’s plot was located just opposite the gaol to the right (SB11f).

In 1417 and in 1418-19 this street additional garden plots as well as dwellings, often recorded as cottages. In 1417 there are three new rows of cottages which had been erected in this street. There was also a small area of tenter grounds directly opposite.

635 Keene, Survey, 480.
637 Furley, City Government, 117.
641 CR W/D1/1.
Being a pedestrian in this road in 1418 may well have been dangerous, as at this time it was ordered that one of the gardens at the end of this street was to be fenced, as the three open wells it contained were causing harm to passers-by and their animals.\(^{642}\)

**Fleshmonger Street**

In Fleshmonger Street, butcher Thomas Smale held a garden at in 1417, which is recorded as being part of an area known as St Mary Garden.\(^{643}\) To reach this plot, Smale would have turned immediately right at the end of butchers’ row into Fleshmonger Street (SB12a). Smale would have taken in rows of cottages and tenements on the west side of Fleshmonger Street, as well as the butchers’ parish church on the right, St Peter’s Church in Fleshmonger Street (SB12b). Opposite to this and slightly further up the road was an unofficial waste dumping ground (SB12c). On from this, more tenements and cottages which would then give way to a large area of open land and gardens (SB12d). Smale’s grazing plot was located at the northern most end of Fleshmonger Street and occupied an area which stretched right up to the town wall (SB12e).

By reconstructing the working spaces of the Winchester butchers, this chapter has been able to demonstrate the value of the model and screenshots. It has allowed for an immersive view of the butchers’ working landscape and revealed the proximities of other people, animals, street furniture and ephemera. The next chapter will now go on to interpret each of the spaces that have been reconstructed here. What do these areas tell us about daily experience, how can they add to our current knowledge of the butchers?


\(^{643}\) Keene, *Survey*, 484.
Chapter 4: Interpretation

The previous chapter has reconstructed the working environment of the late medieval Winchester butchers in detail, using the model to better envisage the buildings, people, animals and ephemera that the butchers would have encountered during a typical working day. Just as Houlbrook’s work *Queer London* was able to trace and reconstruct the sexual geographies of gay men in London, the previous chapter has traced and reconstructed the working geographies of the butchers in Winchester even though they are not the focus of the main sources. Houlbrook was able to reconstruct the narratives of those who only appeared in the sources by accident: ‘That this story is preserved is thus evidence of a momentary failure to negotiate the tensions inherent to queer urban life—a failure to evade the law and public hostility. Simultaneously, however, we can read these sources as I do here: to suggest how people were able to create a place for themselves in the city.’\(^{644}\) As has been highlighted previously, the butchers frequently appear in the records due to misdemeanors, yet by using these sources in conjunction with their physical geography, it is possible to tell the story of their place. This chapter will now proceed to explore what can be interpreted about their experiences from such a reconstruction.

\(^{644}\) Houlbrook, *Queer London*, 5.
‘Butchers are lower than goldsmiths because of the status differences between gold and blood.’

According to the examples cited in the historiography as discussed in chapter 2, butchers were marginalised, pushed to operate at the outer edges of the town. By plotting the spaces of the butchers using the model in chapter 3, it is clear that in the case of Winchester, the butchers are very much in the physical centre of everyday town life. The butchers were located in the heart of the market and in close proximity to the town well, cross and town hall. What then, does this tell us about the butchers as a group and the question of their marginalisation? What were the implications of the butchers using the space in the centre of the High Street? Does this show that they were not really marginalised, or might there have been other factors at work here? The proximity to the Guild Hall and thus the Winchester authorities will be explored in detail. Further, what of the spaces they ventured to outside of this central space, what were the implications of them journeying through the cathedral cemetery to dispose of waste, or through the northern aldermanries to visit grazing plots? How would the encounters and negotiations in these spaces have shaped their daily lives and what do they contribute to addressing the question of marginalisation?

This chapter will be divided into five sections. The first two sections will discuss the implications of the butchers undertaking their daily work near to and around two key pieces of street furniture; firstly the town well, then the market cross. These sections will explore the butchers’ proximity to these two structures and the people that used them. The third section will go on to discuss the butchers’ proximity to the Winchester Guild Hall and the elites who used it, which perhaps reveals more around issues of control than marginalisation. It will then go to to explore how this may have affected the way the two

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645 Camille, “Signs of the City”, 25.
groups related to one another. The fourth and fifth sections will look more closely at the
butchers’ journeys to dispose of waste and trips to grazing plots. They will explore what
their chosen pathway through the town may tell us about the butchers’ experience of urban
space away from their shops and stalls. Furthermore, it will be considered what this may
tell us about the relationship between the butchers and the townscape.
4.1. Street Furniture: The Town Well

Figure 4.1 - Model Screenshot. The town well, shown here with people queuing to use the facility, butchers’ stalls located on the right.

“They chatter as though they were at market.”

The previous chapter analysed the proximity of the butchers’ stalls to the town well and the market cross. Proximity to the town well, a crucial facility, would have been a useful one as the butchers could easily come and go to collect water and wash utensils. Alongside the practical use, however, it is also important to consider the social implications of being so close to such a key facility. As noted previously, the town well was located in the centre of the busiest part of the market place and High Street, opposite the line of butchers’ shops and stalls. Anthony Scrase notes that wells and conduits such as the one

646 A bishop of Lincoln complaining that the brethren were unable to remain silent in church. In Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln, 3/2, ed. Anthony Hamilton Thompson, Lincoln Record Society 21 (Lincoln, 1929), 321. Taken from: Masschaele, “The Public Space of the Marketplace”, 390.
in Winchester High Street would have provided ‘major opportunities for casual social encounters and gossip.’ A location in such proximity to this important piece of street furniture highlights interesting issues about the degree of marginalisation they may have experienced here. As people regularly queued and used the well, they would have the opportunity to engage in conversation with those they met there.

In a culture so heavily reliant on the spoken word, urban dwellers would have been exposed to various forms of oral communication in the later middle ages. Information could be included in sermons, pilgrims, merchants and traders could bring news from near and far and King’s would disseminate news in cathedrals, parish churches and in markets. Marketplace proclamation will be discussed in detail later on in this chapter. Within this culture, the importance of gossip to urban medieval society cannot be underestimated. Max Gluckman’s seminal article in 1963 discussed the then current status of gossip and scandal in anthropology. He argued that gossip not only held together life in small communities but that it was ‘part of the very blood and tissue of that life.’

More recently, Chris Wickham reviewed the same topic in regard to medieval studies, coming to similar conclusions as Gluckman. He noted that ‘gossip defines social groups; by definition, it excludes non-members.’ Crucially, Wickham makes the point that whatever the circumstances, people live within an entirely orally working world. Regardless of written rules and structure, he notes that groups live according to their own orally

647 Scrase “Crosses, conduits and other street furniture in the South West of England”, 212.
650 Gluckman, “Gossip and Scandal”, 308.
accepted versions and re-workings of those rules. Attempting to reconstruct societies without considering gossip, therefore, he argues, would be like trying to reconstruct the history of a university using only its official minutes: ‘it circumscribes people’s lives, but not in practice.’ This links in with Masschaele’s more specific discussion about the medieval marketplace being a crucially important place for communication, that ‘the chatter of the marketplace has a cultural resonance that is difficult for us to imagine.’

The site of street furniture such as the town well in Winchester would have easily facilitated such ‘chatter’ for those who worked here. The well provided a reason to stop, talk and engage with others amid the busy marketplace. As highlighted in chapter 1, Colson’s important recent research highlighted the importance of local sociability in his case study of London fishmongers. He revealed the importance of interactions and social contact between those who lived within the same vicinity. As such, this adds an additional layer of importance to such daily encounters.

In light of this, it is useful to consider the butchers’ situation. As highlighted in the previous chapter, the High Street well was the main water conduit for the town market and was located in the busiest, most crowded part of the High Street. At busy times, people would have had to wait to use the well and formed queues or small crowds. The butchers would have taken part in casual gossip with others as they used the well, but their proximity to people waiting to use it while they were at their stalls could also have provided even further possibilities for interaction or observation. The model is particularly useful here, as it allows for the butchers’ situation in relation to the crowds or ‘gossipers’ to be tested and explored. Using the information already plotted onto the model about the most likely space people would have gathered, it is possible to see which of the butchers would

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656 Colson, “Local Communities”, 253-84.
have been most likely to engage or hear such interactions on a frequent basis. The model reveals a nuanced view. Rather than showing the butchers as one homogeneous group, the model can be used to take the perspective of individuals at their stalls. Even further, it is able to reconstruct the perspectives of those who otherwise leave no trace within the remaining record. Richard Holt, John Clamerel and John Colbew rented their stalls to unknown butchers. While nothing else about the stall holders is known, the model can show us what it would have been like for those individuals to work within this space.

The following set of storyboards shows the butchers’ perspective of the waiting crowd from each individual stall, from east to west of butchers’ row. (SB13). At the most easterly end of butchers’ row, those working at the stalls rented out by Richard Holt, John Clamerel and John Colbew (SB13a & SB13b) would have been at a significant distance away from the crowds around the well. Certainly the most easterly stall was too far away to make out who was using or gathering around the well and obviously neither stalls were located close enough to be able to hear or speak with anyone while they were in this area. Thomas Smale, however, (SB13c) at the adjacent stall would probably have been able to see and hear what was using this space, and (SB13d) John Prat would have been close enough to witness activity from those at the edges of any crowd or gathering. John Blake (SB13e) was perfectly placed to not only observe all of the activity going on at the well, but also to hear and partake in conversations as people gathered here. John Kent was located directly in front of the well and close enough to perhaps participate in conversations from here (SB13f).

From Nicholas Randulf’s perspective, he had a good view of activity here and may have heard people as they chatted on their way to the well (SB13g). William Pole too was

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657 Human speech generally registers at 30 decibels, while a loud scream can register 120. How far sound travels relies heavily on the surrounding environment including air pressure and architectural surroundings. Stanley A. Gelfand, Essentials of Audiology (New York, 2009).
close enough to the well to be able to observe from here, if perhaps not to take part in conversations (SB13h), while John Boucher at the most westerly end of the row (SB13i) would have been able to observe from a distance.

Here, the model helps to demonstrate the various levels of engagement the individual butchers’ would have had with the crowd around the town well, which was dependent on the location of their stall. Of course, the butchers would not have been static figures and all had the chance to engage with those at the well while they themselves used it, but for the majority of the time those positioned at the east and west ends of the butchers’ row would have not naturally had the opportunity to interact with the people here. More broadly, in terms of marginalisation it reveals that each butchers’ experiences would be nuanced from the next, as some were located more centrally to some activities than others. The model shows that the perspectives of Nicholas Randolf, John Kent and John Blake’s were, however, close enough to to observe, hear and interact with those using the well or queueing to use it. This places them in a key position for ‘social encounters and gossip’ prompted by proximity to such a key piece of street furniture.

So what significance does this have for John Blake, Nicholas Randulf and John Kent? What types of things may they have been privy to due to working in this location? While difficult to find traces of the gossip which may have occurred in the urban market place, there are instances which allude to it. James Masschaele has highlighted a few examples that can be found in the sources; such as a sheriff of Lancashire who apprehended a group of poachers after hearing people gossiping in the market in Manchester, or in Leicester, where an inhabitant was prosecuted for using the market to cast aspersions on an assessor of tallage. Similarly in Winchester, when Alice Bole was charged with being a ‘common gossip’ she may well have upset her accusers within the

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market place, where she lived and worked for most of her life. As Gluckman, Wickham and others have pointed out, the nature of these interactions would have been vastly complex, but this does not mean that their actions may not be hypothesised about. In his article, Gluckman sets out various ways in which social ties may encourage certain types of gossip, which served as the touchstone for research which followed. This may be used here in relation to the butchers. Gluckman highlights gossip which had its own particular language, like that belonging to a profession featuring technical discussion, as able to create one such gossip group, or ‘gossip cell’. This most certainly would have related to the butchers themselves. This could also however have extended to other traders in the immediate area, all using the same terminology to discuss general business and trade. Gossip which was hereditary, where the group comprised of ‘current and dead members’, may form another gossip cell. This could relate to long-standing, communal social ties and is bound up with local memory. In relation to the butchers, this group could have been wide ranging and have many sub-groups. Largely, however, it may have related to those local residents that the butchers had built social connections with and could share a common knowledge about the town and others in it. Such groupings are of course vastly over-simplistic, but do hint at the multiplicity of links and possible types of exchanges which took place. Gluckman also noted that belonging to any of these gossip cells meant having the power to exclude or include outsiders. As mentioned earlier, the market place would have been used by various outsider merchants, for some this would have been the only part of the town they used and therefore interacted in. Many, such as the outsider shellfish sellers, operated directly in front of the butchers shops and stalls. This may have

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661 The term ‘gossip cell’ is one which Gluckman adopts from James West’s field studies in 1945. West used them to describe the diverse gossip groups he found when studying a Mid West American town. The term also seems appropriate here. James West, *Plainville* (New York, 1945).
placed the butchers in the powerful position of choosing whether or not to include them within one of their gossip cells. If they did, this would have again had its own rules, boundaries and topics.

At this point it will be interesting to return to Colson’s findings about the London fishmongers. Colson tracked the groups’ social networks by tracing the residency and occupations of executors, supervisors and witnesses to wills and deeds. These were taken as a proxy for ‘friendship’, or at least sociability. Colson showed that throughout his chosen sample patterns emerge indicating a clear preference for executors and witnesses to wills who were from the immediate vicinity of the testator. Colson concludes that in his study, sociability and concepts of neighbourhood ‘was not so much defined by boundaries, but by functional networks. In one sense the parish itself was a network, but so was the street system, and the social and economic links that followed it.’

It would certainly be an interesting and useful approach to explore the networks and sociability of the Winchester butchers. Unfortunately the sample of the Winchester butchers is too small to test out this theory and no evidence remains which could be used to reconstruct this in such a way. However, Colson’s conclusion underlines the importance of regular encounters in such shared space. This small area of the town well and the repeated activity that went on around it, may have provided the butchers with an additional ‘functional network’ at which to operate in revealing another tie to a society in which they were far from marginalised.

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662 Colson, “Local Communities”, 304.
4.2 Market Cross

If the town well was to act as the proverbial ‘water cooler’ and a key place for verbal exchange, then the butchers’ proximity to the market cross would have presented similar opportunities for casual interaction and observation. Again, this underlines their position as one which appears far from marginalised. As highlighted in the previous chapter, people would have gathered around the cross to hear the latest local and national news and events. When proclamations were made, many of the butchers would certainly have had a good view of the crowd as it gathered and could watch to take in social details such as who arrived with whom, or from what direction they came, but as well as this they too could partake in conversations. People would have no doubt engaged in casual interaction as they gathered before and after proclamations were made and some of the butchers could have heard and engaged with peoples’ reactions to the latest news. Again, using the model allows different scenarios to be reconstructed from the butchers’ perspective. The
previous chapter reconstructed the approximate locations of where people may have gathered around the market cross, this information can now be used to explore this from the butchers’ viewpoint.

The following set of storyboards show the butchers’ perspective of the gathered crowd from each individual stall, from east to west of butchers row (SB14). At the most easterly end, the perspective from the stall rented out by Richard Holt and John Clamerel appears to be having a good view of those closest to the cross and speaker. (SB14a) From the adjacent stall, held by an unnamed butcher, more of the crowd may be seen and observed. (SB14b) Thomas Smale (SB14c) and John Prat (SB14d) are well placed to observe, hear and interact with those gathered around the cross. From John Blake’s perspective (SB14e), the crowd would have been visible and if large numbers gathered, some may even have stood right by his stall. John Kent (SB14f) and Nicholas Randulf (SB14g) would have been able to observe those at the back of the crowd while William Pole (SB14h) and John Boucher (SB14i) would have been able to observe but only from a distance.

The butchers could leave their stalls to participate in this crowd when they wanted, but when based at their stalls, some of the butchers would have been in a more beneficial location in terms of casual social interaction. People may have gathered around the market cross and chatted afterwards, offering opinion on what they had just heard. In comparison to the results exploring the town well, the model in this case shows that the situation is reversed and those at the most easterly end of butchers’ row would be in a better position for social interaction than those at the westerly end. Thomas Smale and John Prat are in the prime positions here, easily placed to chat with and listen to those that gathered. It is useful to consider the evidence that the model has been able to reveal for both the areas around the town well and market cross from the butchers’ perspective.
While not all of the butchers had the opportunity for casual interaction in both areas, they may well as a group have shared information between themselves that they had picked up at the well or the cross. As such, they were a group with the potential to have been well attuned to the thoughts and opinions of the other market sellers, or even more widely, the market users.

It is important to also consider the impact of the butchers being so close to the site of the proclamations themselves. It has been well established that market places were used deliberately for such communications.\textsuperscript{663} Kings, prelates and municipal officers would choose a location which not only would achieve the largest possible audience, but also because authorities appreciated that markets were important ‘conduits of communication.’\textsuperscript{664} Authorities understood that these were places to form and shape public opinion as places which ‘primed’ the views and activities of the community.\textsuperscript{665} The Winchester butchers at their stalls would rarely have missed anything being declared at the market cross, the only place in the town where such communications were delivered. As such, this reveals them to be a group who would have been particularly informed in regards to local and national news and the opinions of the authorities.

An additional issue to consider regarding the butchers’ proximity to the cross is offered by Davis. He underlines the key layers of meaning that the market cross would have possessed: it was a regulatory symbol, one which protected all who operated within site of it within the codes and laws of the market. At the same time, it also functioned as a symbol of the Christian morality which underpinned the workings of the market and wider society. He asserts that care needs to be taken in imposing a ‘stark dichotomy’ on the

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\textsuperscript{664} Masschaele, “The Public Space of the Marketplace”, 390.
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\textsuperscript{665} Maddicott, “County Community”, 39.
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meaning of the cross and the spaces around it and importantly notes: ‘the pragmatic activities of market-goers themselves meant that certain ambiguities could distort the theoretical symbolism.’ Nevertheless, this reinforces the space as one which carried meaning at various levels. Prompting varied and complex feelings, it was not a space regarded as merely functional. In simply occupying such a space, the butchers may be seen at the centre of market life.

It is worth considering the combined impact of the butchers being located near to both the town well and cross. The cross, combined with the possibilities for social interaction that the town well afforded, show that potentially the butchers were not only plugged into official news and the voices of authority, but also the reactions and discussions of others within society. The work of Colson reveals the possibilities that lie beyond such social interaction, that no doubt the butchers were forming important social ties as they operated in this area every day. Adding to this, Davis reinforces the space of and around the cross as one of complex meanings and uses, further nuancing it as a space of importance, of centrality.

More simply, the cross and town well were clear physical indicators of the centre of the marketplace. The cross in particular, as has been noted in chapter 3, would have been regarded a point at which people from outside of the town could head for as they entered the town and orient themselves. For those inside the town, it could have been used as a meeting point. The cross steps could even have been used to stop for a chat. The cross and well were clear symbols for this very particular type of space. Taking this idea further, it may interesting to ask whether the Winchester butchers could themselves have served as a marker for this central point?


667 Scrase, “Crosses, Conduits and Other Street Furniture”, 206.
At this point, it is worth returning to the work of Michael Camille. Camille’s research on urban signs reinforces the more general point that the medieval world was one of visuality. From gargoyles, heraldic arms and blazons to house and shop signs, medieval urban society was one full of projected visual messages. Most interestingly for this study, Camille highlights the importance of commercial signs and how they ‘were a part of the texture and negotiation of everyday life.’\(^{668}\) Certainly, the central space around the cross and well by the later medieval period would have been full of actual commercial signage but equally as Camille states, traders who clustered together like spicers, armorer and furriers represented ‘performative signs using their own bodies because they produced their goods in open view of the passers-by.’\(^{669}\) The Winchester butchers would have been another example of a trade who created ‘performative signs’ as they worked. Reinforced by the fact that the group clustered together, they would have produced a strong physical sign of butchery which dominated the east side of the High Street. In comparison to the others around them, while their were other trades who would have projected such signs, like the spicer who stood opposite - the butchers were the only trade who stood in such a row here, creating such visual impact. Their trade, the mess it created, their dogs: all of this reinforced this space as one occupied by the butchers.

While producing nothing as complicated as the ‘silent language of the urban people’ that mnemonic shop signs are regarded to have visualised, the butchers’ presence nevertheless may well have been part of the articulation of the marketplace.\(^{670}\) More specifically than just the marketplace, however, their presence may have signified this particular central area. Therefore, while the cross and well acted as visual symbols of this space, the butchers themselves acted additional physical symbols to this centrality.

\(^{668}\) Camille, “Signs of the City”, 23.
\(^{669}\) Camille, “Signs of the City”, 20.
The proximity of the butchers to these two pieces of street furniture was then potentially powerful. Far from being outcasts, the butchers are operating within a space that could allow them potentially to be among the most socially informed and included groups in Winchester society. In addition, alongside the well and cross, they may even have served as one of the many visible indicators of centrality themselves. Rather than symbolizing marginality here then, they could have even represented the very opposite.

Crucially, the Winchester butchers were not the only ones occupying such a central location. Returning to examples highlighted in chapter 3, it is clear that in other towns butchers were also located centrally in the marketplace. For example, in England, butchers in Lynn, Malden and Colchester all worked from shops and stalls in the centre of the marketplace.671 Similarly, in Sopron, Hungary, Karoly Goda described the Fleischhackergasse, as a ‘highly desirable and prestigious’ location.672 The Winchester butchers’ location is clearly reflective of the wider economic and social issues at work in England during this period, as highlighted in chapter 2. The butchers, now protected by authorities and in demand by people with more money to spend, could afford this central position and the advantages that came with it. However, at the same time, they lent themselves to closer scrutiny by the authorities. The next section will explore this relationship what this means within the context marginalisation further by turning to the Guild Hall. The location of the Guild Hall presents an ideal starting point to explore the butchers’ relationship with the Winchester communitas.

671 See Chapter 3, 185-88.

4.3 The Guild Hall

Figure 4.3 - Model Screenshot. Winchester Guild hall entrance, located just behind the market cross.

As noted in the previous chapter, the butchers’ stalls were also located near to the town’s Guild Hall, directly opposite the town well at the east end of butchers’ row. The meeting room of the Guild Hall itself was located on the first floor of this building and was used for the more regular meetings of the mayor and bailiffs where they met to discuss commercial matters and to hear cases of the town court. The court was usually held on Wednesdays and Fridays, but is also recorded as occasionally taking place on Mondays. In attendance were the town’s four serjeants in uniform, constables, beadles, juries and mayor. From here, market regulations were upheld and offences punished. Decisions could be made at this court which directly informed the proclamations delivered outside the building at the town cross. Ultimately the town mayor was in control, as he supplemented

673 Black Book, 144, 159, 164, 166, 169.

674 For a concise account of the business conducted at court in Winchester, see Furley, Town Life, 45-59. Also see Richard Britnell, “Bailiffs and Burgess of Colchester, 1400-1525” in Essex Archaeology and History 45 (1992), 154-63.
or modified the decisions of his colleagues and the amount of punishment was often left up to his discretion.\(^{675}\)

As such, this building may easily be seen as the hub of the *communitas* authority over the town, the marketplace and its users. These buildings are of course well established in historiography as such.\(^{676}\) It is interesting to regard the proximity of the Guild Hall to the butchers in regard to a discussion of their marginalisation within urban society. Unlike the butchers’ proximity to the town well and cross, which shows their deep involvement in key daily activities, their location near to the Guild Hall reveals very little about their inclusion, or exclusion from daily life. Certainly important decisions were made in the Guild Hall concerning all the craft groups in the town and individuals were persecuted for acting as fellows of the craft when they had not officially been recognised by their peers as such.\(^{677}\) Certainly the butchers and other Winchester crafts would have known in advance if their interests were to be discussed at court.\(^{678}\)

This was the place that regulations were legitimised and decisions made about their working behaviors, but this does not reveal anything about marginalisation per se. What it does reveal, however, are issues surrounding the control of the butchers. While it is important to draw the clear distinction between the butchers being marginalised and being controlled, the issue of the authorities controlling the butchers from this building is nevertheless worth exploring here. Such control heavily affected their experience of the urban fabric and may further nuance what it meant for them to occupy this space. The model can be used here to help explore this further.

\(^{675}\) Furley, *Winchester Records*, 120-44.

\(^{676}\) Giles, *An Archaeology of Social Identity*.

\(^{677}\) Furley, *Winchester Records*, 75.

\(^{678}\) Furley, *Winchester Records*, 75-77.
(SB15a) highlights the location of the Guild Hall in relation to the east end of the butchers stalls. (SB15b) shows how Thomas Smale’s stall in particular was located directly in front of the Guild Hall, facing the main entrance, exit and first floor window. Since this building symbolised the town government’s control of the butchers, it may be tempting to draw the similarities between the butchers’ location and the Panopticism of Foucault.679 As discussed in chapter 1, his work ‘Discipline and Punish’ Foucault famously draws on Jeremy Bentham’s concept of a prison, the Panopticon: ‘At the periphery, an annular building; at the centre, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other. All that is needed, then, is to place a supervisor in a central tower and to shut up in each cell a madman, a patient, a condemned man, a worker or a schoolboy.’680

Foucault argued that other authorities similarly use this model and deliberately place some social groups under surveillance, where ‘visibility is a trap.’681 This is a process that sees governing bodies with ultimate power over those they observe and they may not be observed back. Since this model is useful, it has widely and often too quickly been adopted when considering the urban environment. As outlined in chapter 1, Merback draws on this model in his descriptions of urban punishments.682 The model could also be used in consideration to Winchester. The role of the central tower of the panopticon could be assigned to the guild hall, at which the mayor and communitas regularly met. It is

680 Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 200.
681 Foucault, Discipline and Punish, 200.
682 Chapter 1, 34.
perfectly placed in the centre of town, where the rest of the community may be observed and controlled. The butchers, placed directly in front of the ‘tower’ may then be considered here as the most controlled. From this, it could be further suggested that the authorities deliberately encouraged the butchers’ stalls and shops to cluster here, where they could be directly under their ‘gaze’ and regulated.683 This ‘gaze’ could also be viewed as one which came from some distance. In the example of Winchester, in 1417 none of the butchers were holding office within the _communitas_ and the mayor himself was a merchant who had been involved in the cloth trade. This could be seen as drawing an even clearer distinction between the butchers and those in authoritative power. These arguments assume or at least imply that market authorities had ulterior, sometimes sinister motives from which they operated, aside from that of the practical regulation of urban space.

However, such extremes have widely been disproved and regulation exposed as a far more nuanced a process. As highlighted in chapter 1, Davis outlines how the relationship between trade and the control of the market was highly complex in the period which saw the rise of consumerism. He shows how traditional established moral precepts were used to regulate the marketplace and that in order for the medieval market to run effectively, it relied upon people having respect for officials and authority.684 While this was not always the case, largely, the market operated within a mutually understood set of codes which already permeated society: ‘Collective moral assumptions were transmitted in law, pulpit, peer groups and community ‘performance’ or punishment and this reinforced the stability of marketing institutions.’685

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684 Davis, _Medieval Market Morality_, 455.

685 Davis, _Medieval Market Morality_, 454.
In the light of all of his, the model presents a valuable opportunity to try out how Foucault’s theory may have worked out practically. To do this, the perspective of the Winchester authorities whilst inside the guild hall has been reconstructed. This view takes the position of a person looking out of the first floor window of the guild hall, onto the market place.\footnote{The height of the window here is taken from the reconstruction described in Keene, \textit{Survey}, 604-05.} Using the parameters of fields of vision already established and used in the work of Chatford-Clark, Putra and Yang, that person’s view or ‘gaze’ out of the Guild Hall window may be reconstructed.\footnote{Putra and Yang, “Analysing Mental Geography".}

(SB15c) shows the results of this. From this perspective, Foucault’s theory may apply. The authorities could clearly look out and observe the butchers. They could monitor their practices and could have attempted to better regulate and control them. However, this example only takes into account one perspective, that of the authorities. Unlike Foucault’s unobservable Panopticon, the authorities are not entirely invisible. Using the same methods, the model can be used to reconstruct the view of the Guild Hall window from the stall of butcher Thomas Smale. (SB15d) shows that from Smale’s perspective, anyone looking out of the Guild Hall window could have been observed doing so. In this case, the model can help to highlight an interesting spatial relationship between the authorities and the butchers, one that was not a case of one-sided physical surveillance from the Guild Hall; not observation in Foucault’s terms, but an observer and observee could switch places. Even if the Winchester authorities did find it useful to observe the butchers while at work, perhaps it was a small price for the trade to pay. For any extra ‘gazing’ which may have occurred, the prime selling spot that the butchers’ occupied made it worthwhile. In the case of the Winchester butchers, a simplistic use of such a theory also makes the two groups appear entirely separate and divorced from one another. Of key interest here is butcher Thomas Smale, who occupied the stall from which one could gaze up into the
Guild Hall window. As discussed in chapter 2, Smale had held several positions within the governing body and had even been Winchester mayor in 1415. While in 1417 he did not have a public role, a year later he would again take up office and become auditor for the Twenty Four, the mayor’s closest aides. The sharp distinction of a distant observing authority again does not hold true in this example. If the authorities are watching Smale at his stall, then far from him being a simple unknown worker, they were observing one who had been and would soon again be included in their group. Smale was an individual who had and would assist in shaping the decisions made about the market and market users himself. While this does not change the fact the authorities were still a group imposing strict control over the butchers, it further nuances their relationship proving that it was not simply as one always operating at a Foucauldian detached distance.

More broadly, this example may well serve as a metaphor for the relationship between the Winchester authorities and the butchers more generally. Just as the theory of the panopticon showed, the control of the butchers by authorities may not have been a straightforward issue. It is useful to now explore this issue of control beyond the metaphor of the Panopticon, and assess the various ways in which control was exerted over the butchers by authorities in this central space. In addition, it is necessary to also see if and how the butchers themselves were able to exert any control over this space. As Davis notes, in order to work efficiently in an era without effective policing, it was down to the individual to follow the regulations set upon them autonomously. How did control affect the butchers in this very specific space and how does this relate to issues of marginality?

As highlighted throughout the previous chapters, Winchester authorities aimed various regulation specifically at the butchers, often for issues of hygiene or safety. These

688 Chapter 2, 134-35.
689 Davis, Medieval Market Morality, 451.
regulations frequently relate directly to the fact the butchers were occupying such a
central, busy part of the marketplace. As such, they could not tether animals overnight
here. Restrictions were placed upon their dogs so they would not wander and the butchers
were not to contaminate the town well and its surrounds with bloodied water. Other types
of control the authorities exerted were due to their status simply as traders in the
marketplace. Prices, weights, quality of meat, items for sale, times and days of sale were
all regulated. As such, they may ultimately be seen in control. For all of this, however, the
butchers were not entirely without autonomy within this space. The caranatores, the
butchers’ inspectors of meat, were elected by and chosen from current members of the
trade. As outlined in chapter 2, they provided the regulatory oversight of the butchers’
practice within this space and inspected all meat before sale. This was a powerful aspect
of autonomous control that the group were able to exert over their own members. The
ability to hold their own members to account and to even take them to appear in the Guild
Hall court room for causing harm to the trade, is one of great importance. Again, it comes
back to Davis’ crucial point about the market being held together by mutual consent of all
who participated.

It is also worth considering which regulations the butchers are most frequently fined
for breaking. Rules against sanitary offences are the most regular and are also those that
would have been difficult for them to adhere to. While the butchers were permitted to use
the water from the town well, doing so without leaving mess or traces of blood would have
been problematic. Similarly, tethering their dogs would have been tricky. De Certeau’s
theory of ‘space as practiced place’ comes to mind when considering the butchers’ use of
their working environment here. The Winchester butchers, as ‘practitioners’ of the space,
were working within various invisible parameters. Where possible, they were working
within the framework set for them by authorities, but at the same time, they also worked
within their own framework which suited them in the most practical way, even if sometimes
this meant paying a fine to do so. Female traders in Ghent’s medieval marketplace, as discussed by Hutton, could similarly operate successfully by working with and around the strategies put forward by the authorities, along with those imposed by other members of the society.\textsuperscript{690}

These parameters may have not always been so easy to negotiate, however. There is a tantalising glimpse in the Winchester Black Book showing the butchers’ desire to relocate to a different part of the town. The incident mentioned previously, c.1412, where the butchers are ordered to stand in their accustomed place, \textit{omnes carnifices stent adinvincem sicut antiquo solebant}, may indicate that they wished to move away from the close scrutiny of the authorities.\textsuperscript{691} Perhaps the butchers were attempting to sell from Parchment Street, where the trade had initially occupied in before the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{692} Having spent almost a century under the ‘gaze’ of the authorities, perhaps the mutually beneficial relationship identified between the butchers and authorities had become too one sided. This merely a hint, however, and there is no additional evidence that reveals any more about this. It is, however, an interesting glimpse into the butchers’ activity. According to the spatial theory of Tuan, as discussed in chapter 1, the butchers’ permanence in this location would have made it a space they would have emotionally invested in, but at the same time such places may be drained of meaning; ‘so that their lastingness is an irritation rather than a comfort.’\textsuperscript{693} That spatial tensions may be created by a myriad of groups was not unusual, as Atreed’s work on Exeter, York, Shrewsbury and Norwich shows, such contentions permeated medieval urban society.\textsuperscript{694}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{690} Hutton, “Women, Men and Markets”, 409-32. \\
\textsuperscript{691} Black Book, 33. \\
\textsuperscript{692} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 256. By 1417 the old ‘Fleshmonger Street’ had become known as ‘Parchment Street’. \\
\textsuperscript{693} Tuan, \textit{Space and Place}, 140. \\
\textsuperscript{694} Atreed, ‘Urban Identity’, 571- 92. 
\end{flushleft}
This is the only recorded incident, however, and ultimately the butchers appear largely content operating within this central space. They may well have come under closer scrutiny due to the location of their work, but this may have been outweighed by occupying such a prestigious and desirable location. It could almost be seen as a mutually beneficial location for the butchers to occupy. They were positioned in a prime commercial space, near to the town well, within easy distance to the animal market. In an era that authorities were increasingly understanding the importance of meat to society, they were able to control the trade easily from here. At the same time, authorities were also able to affect the rules in a way which worked in the butchers’ favour, such as allowing them to trade on a Sunday. While they may have been controlled, it came with many additional benefits to balance this out. Regardless of the control placed upon them, this is not the same as the butchers being marginalised. Far from being pushed to the edges, they were held in the centre.

The journeys in particular highlight various possibilities that the model presents, which will now be discussed. In addition, what can these journeys further add to the discussion of the butchers’ marginalisation?
4.4 Journeys: Disposing of Waste

‘with a feeling of constriction in the narrow streets and of release as one suddenly came into the parvis...’ 695

While the butchers spent much of the working day at their shops and stalls in the High Street, the journeys they undertook for other work-related activities show that they did not occupy static zones. The trips to dispose of waste which they undertook through the cathedral cemetery, reveal quite a different area of the urban fabric.

The model here is useful as it offers quite a different way of exploring a journey through urban space. The butchers’ route could easily be plotted and represented on a 2D map, which would represent the journeys path faithfully. However, it may not prompt the same questions as a 3D representation. This appears particularly poignant at the moment a butcher exits Minster Street (Figure 4.4) and steps into the cemetery space (Figure 4.5).

695 Mumford, The City in History, 321.
The change in environment is remarkable. The butchers are clearly shown moving from the narrow, restrictive environment of the streets to the wide open space of the cemetery. Where perhaps just two people could have walked side by side comfortably in Minster street, the cemetery space is comparably vast. This is also in stark contrast to the High Street space that the butchers occupied. Far from the crowded bustle of their shops stalls, the cross and well, the cemetery may have offered a more tranquil experience. Other Winchester inhabitants used the space, but by 1417 this has been restricted. As outlined in the previous chapter, after various complaints from the Bishop in the 1330s and
1340s, a new boundary wall was erected around the cemetery.\textsuperscript{696} This new wall enclosed part of a plot which has probably been used for numerous casual markets and the ‘cow house’ that had been reported in 1335.\textsuperscript{697} By 1417 these markets had established themselves more permanently in the grounds just outside the cemetery. While authorities were able to restrict the use of the cemetery space for more organised activities, people still used the space more casually, for the disposal of waste, or as a short cut to other points in the town. For the butchers then, a trip to dispose of waste made have provided the type of ‘release’ Lewis Mumford talks of.\textsuperscript{698}

It may be useful to compare this approach to journeys to that of Corpus Christi routes. Often, the routes of medieval Corpus Christi processions are represented in 2D, such as the following route in Bruges:

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{corpus-christi-route.png}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{696} Chapter 3, 217.
\textsuperscript{697} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 741.
\textsuperscript{698} Mumford, \textit{The City in History}, 321.
Figure 4.6 - Map tracing the procession of the Holy Blood in Bruges. From Andrew Brown, Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges, c. 1300-1520 (Cambridge, 2011), 38.

Such a representation is enormously useful, it allows for a clear view of the route, enabling consideration of the landmarks passed and the zones of the town taken in. Indeed ‘the processional route of Corpus Christi often marked important routes between parish
boundaries’ and such a representation easily allows this. By exploring such a route in 3D, however, the route may be explored in a slightly different way. The spatial experience of using that pathway may perhaps be explored more thoroughly. Proximities may be better considered. How close did the procession come to landmarks, to the crowds watching? How did the town fabric affect the processional experience? In addition, it may be another way to consider the experience of those watching, as well as participating. As Miri Rubin notes: ‘Along to processionally route stood those who were outsiders in one of many possible senses: women, foreigners, youngsters, journeymen, visitors from the countryside, and on the continent Jews, all those who did not and could not take part in the display of political might and spiritual privilege.’ A 3D approach in the analysis may perhaps help to reveal more about these ‘outsiders’. As such, using a model in such a way to explore a journey may provide a useful additional layer to the comprehensive research already undertaken on such events.

For the Winchester butchers, the model has shown that the use of cemetery space may well have provided them with some relief from the busy High Street. However, it was a route they were not supposed to have taken, which leads back to the relationship between the group and the Winchester authorities. As has already been shown, the Winchester authorities went to great lengths to attempt to preserve the cemetery’s purity as a consecrated space on behalf of the bishop. The butchers, however, continued to use it as a cut through when disposing of waste, probably spilling some as they went. It was no doubt for this reason that they were specifically named as a group in repeated ordinance

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To explore their reasons for taking this course, it is useful to use the model to reconstruct the alternative routes that they could have taken had they avoided the cemetery. In 1420, the butchers are specifically asked again to avoid the cemetery and to instead use the *Highway* when travelling whilst carrying entrails. This route, via the road known as *Highway* has been reconstructed in (SB16).

To undertake this journey, the butchers would leave the busy High Street and head straight down Minster Street (SB16a- SB16d). This route, however, would see them avoid the cemetery and turn left and head around the wall into the road known as the *Highway* at this time. (SB16e). This route would mean they would be traveling directly through the cattle, corn and wood market (SB16f-SB16h) before reaching temple ditch to dispose of their waste (SB16i). In distance, this route is comparably shorter, but it is clear that the possible obstructions the butchers would face may have been numerous. Even if the market was not being held when the butchers used this route, this space may have been difficult to traverse, especially with a cart of waste. Alongside the corn market, ‘cattle-pens’, and ‘sheep-coops’ occupied this site. As a concentrated space containing animals, it was one which was itself full of waste and dung. Carts and drovers would also have been a common sight here, as they brought animals to market and drove them once sold. As the primary location where the butchers purchased their animals, this would have been an area they knew well. They would have known the problems it would have presented for transporting waste and therefore could make an informed decision about the best route to take. From exploring the alternative route, it becomes clear why the butchers

702 Court roll W/D1/14; CR W/D1/35; CR W/D1/47.

703 *Black Book*, 108.

704 Keene, *Survey*, 569.


chose to ignore the rules about not using the cathedral cemetery, as it was the most practical way for them to go about their daily business. While the cemetery would not have been without obstructions, it may have been easier to traverse that the space offered outside the cemetery walls.

The butchers are shown here as ‘committing’ what de Certeau defines as ‘pedestrian speech acts’, appropriating the topography for their own use.\textsuperscript{707} Far from being a rebellious action, the deviation from the spatial regulation is due to practicality. Reflecting their behavior in the high street space of shops and stalls, the butchers are working within the confines of spacial regulation until it no longer works for them practically. When this occurs, they pay the penalty of a fine, but still continue to use this more convenient thoroughfare. The butchers’ actions in their journeys reveal their ‘walking rhetorics’ as a group.\textsuperscript{708} Whether operating at or around their stalls in the market, or crossing the cemetery to dispose of waste, the Winchester butchers appear to have had their own spatial ‘discourse’, to use de Certeau’s term. This was a discourse which resulted in them all having a shared understanding about the use and limits of space in the town. Their shared discourse sometimes led to tensions with the authorities, but largely due to regulations which did not allow for the practicalities of their trade. On balance, the authorities were compelled to act against issues such as those relating to waste disposal for the safety and efficiency of the market. When the butchers deviated from the regulations, the authorities cannot be seen to loose their authority.

There are interesting wider implications to the butchers’ using cemetery space. When discussed by historians, the space of the medieval cemetery is often placed firmly within the context of ‘sacred space’. In contemporary church practice this becomes clear:

\textsuperscript{707} de Certeau, \textit{Practice}, 97-9.

\textsuperscript{708} de Certeau, \textit{Practice}, 91-111.
as consecrated, holy ground, cemeteries were considered to be an extension of the religious authority and its own rules and regulations and the church sought to protect and maintain its sacralised status. This is also an aspect which is reflected in the descriptions of cemeteries in the scholarly literature. In the introduction to the 2005 publication *Defining the Holy*, churches and the sacred spaces around them are described as ‘being distinguished from the physical landscape made more separate by additional sensory distinctions’.\(^{709}\) Taking this idea further, Stijn Bossuyt in his work on Flanders argues that any space in which a religious ritual or performance took place outside the sacred space of the church, such as the Palm Sunday processions, transforms it from ‘profane’ space to sacred, noting ‘a certain degree of sanctity is conferred upon ‘everyday’, ‘normal’ and secular reality’.\(^{710}\) As such, urban sacred space may appear as a dominating force, however, when considering the use of urban cemetery space for the purposes outlined earlier in this chapter - as a place for games, sports, jousts, trading, or simply as a convenient short cut for the Winchester butchers. It shows the space as one which could easily be appropriated practically, with little connection with its sacred function, the perfect embodiment of the Durkheimien juxtaposition between the sacred and the profane.\(^{711}\)

It is well documented that other types of sacred space were used formally for the use of civic purposes in the medieval period. In many of the Low Counties, church towers were also used by town guardsmen as observation posts and as strongholds to store town documents.\(^{712}\) In medieval London, monastic precincts were also viewed as financial assets, leased out for lay parties by the friars, and in the Kentish Cinque Ports some

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judicial proceedings and mayoral elections took place in local churches.\textsuperscript{713} While these uses of sacred space were officially sanctioned unlike the short cuts of the Winchester butchers crossing the cemetery on their ways to dispose of waste, all these occasions pose challenges to traditional conceptions of urban space. David Postles has argued that the tendency of historians to proclaim such clear separation between sacred and profane space in the medieval and early modern periods and ‘the differentiation inherently makes ontological assumptions—that people \textit{always} and \textit{without exception} map the world into binary distinctions’ and has called for this to be contested.\textsuperscript{714} Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, too, discuss the issue of the interest in divisions between types of urban space and conclude that in the early modern period the evidence ‘challenges the simple dichotomy of sacred and profane space a more complex set of spatial interactions.’\textsuperscript{715} Exploring the everyday movements of urban inhabitants may be one way to better explore such boundaries. While there is no doubt that a medieval cemetery is a sacred space, this exploration of its everyday use by other members of the town may serve to remind us that spaces easily mean different things at different times to different people. For the butchers, while they would have fully appreciated the spiritual meaning of the cemetery space, during the working day, when they needed to dispose of waste quickly so they could return to their shops and stalls, the cemetery provided the perfect way of doing this, without any other connotations.

Having established the butchers as possessing a group rhetoric in relation to the urban fabric, how does this change when it comes to trips to grazing plots? The following section will now explore this further.


\textsuperscript{715} Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, “Introduction: The Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe”, in Will Coster and Andrew Spicer eds., \textit{Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe} (Cambridge, 2005), 13.
4.5 Trips to Grazing Plots

The butchers trips to grazing plots, like their journeys through cemetary space, reveal the diversity of their experience in the urban fabric. Here, butchers can be seen leaving the busy market place and built up urban centre of Winchester for quieter, more rural parts of the town. Brudene Street opens up on both sides to reveal orchards.

Figure 4.7 - Model Screenshot. Butcher in Fleshmonger Street entrance.

Fleshmonger Street, whilst being an unpleasant thoroughfare due to the town dump being located there, nevertheless also opened out to reveal open spaces and plots.
While the town dump may have been unpleasant, as the town's key dumping ground, it may have provided additional opportunities for casual social interaction with others. The butchers are not noted as using this area to dispose of waste, so trips to grazing plots in Fleshmonger Street may have provided them with the chance to see others who did use this space regularly, such as the fishmongers. It is important to remember however that not all the butchers undertook these journeys. Only Smale, Abbotston and Spencer owned grazing lands within the town walls at this point. The butchers' walking 'rhetorics' are seen to change here, as their journeys no longer appear to belong to a group consciousness, but to individuals. The change in this rhetoric may be seen to reflect the butchers internal hierarchy, as only those who could afford grazing plots within the town walls were able to claim this trajectory, the other butchers having to venture further afield, outside the town walls. Such individual differences add nuances to the butchers' shared spatial rhetoric. A closer look at these routes, however, reveals that perhaps these the divergences in the tactics of Smale, Abbotston and Spencer would not set them apart too distinctly from the other butchers. All the journeys the three undertake to grazing plots are still within the

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716 Black Book, 124, 128.
butchers’ parish boundaries. Therefore, while the daily working rhetorics of the butchers were familiar, the journeys they undertook led them to inhabit spaces which perhaps the other butchers were already familiar, and the people there were already known and within their own networks. This comes back to Colson’s important research about the significance of the local environment. While the interaction between the spaces of the working and non-working day would make for an interesting comparison, it has not been the focus of this thesis. The possibilities for such study, however, will be addressed in the following chapter.

Where then, does all of this leave the issue of marginalisation? The butchers may well have been a trade ‘which inspired awe and dread’, or at least were regarded as troublesome and messy, but they could operate in the most prestigious part of town. When they moved around the urban landscape, they were occupying busy, central locations used freely by others. When visiting grazing plots, the economic success of Smale, Abbotston and Spencer meant they could stay within the town walls and probably used pathways that were contained within their own, rather more prosperous neighborhood compared to cheaper land outside the walls. While controlled by authorities, the working day did not see the Winchester butchers as marginalised.

The following concluding chapter will briefly explore other indicators by which to explore the butchers and the topic of marginalisation. If they were not ‘on the edge’ of the town, were there others ways marginalisation may have manifested itself?

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717 Geremek, Margins, 296.
Chapter 5: Conclusion. The Butchers and Beyond

This investigation has shown that throughout the working day, while the Winchester butchers were heavily controlled by authorities, they occupied an advantageous location in the marketplace. It was a location which furthered their economic stability, but also one which presented the opportunity to be part of a range of social networks. They had the potential to be the first to hear news and proclamations made at the market cross, or be part of powerful ‘gossip cells’ while at the town well. When traveling through the town, the butchers experienced the fabric of Winchester in all its forms; from the busy, build up High Street area to the quieter, greener space towards the walls. They created familiar patterns and trajectories which were unique to their group as butchers. The space they occupied and used was important, transformative and shaped their experiences every day. Crucially, this investigation has demonstrated how the space of the town shaped their conception of late medieval urban life.

This final chapter seeks to bring together the various discussions presented throughout this thesis. It is split into five sections. The first is concerned with the ways in which this project has been able to engage with the Winchester butchers. It will then move on to look at ways in which this research could be taken forward, elaborating with a few examples. Wider implications of this study will then be discussed, highlighting perhaps some ways that the findings of the Winchester case project may relate to historical discussion. The next section will discuss the nature of using a CAD based tool to aid this research, discussing the advantages and disadvantages of using the SketchUp software. The chapter will then move on to finally discuss ways in which such modeling technology may be taken forward for urban research.
5.1 The Butchers and Marginalisation

‘Wealthy but unacceptable’

A key question investigated in this thesis has been the issue of butchers and marginalisation. Using the model to reconstruct the spaces they inhabited everyday, this thesis has shown that in Winchester at least, the butchers were far from marginalised. It is important to stress that the inclusivity of the Winchester butchers could have been demonstrated without the use of the 3D model, however, it helps to clarify the argument. The implications of their spatial use is immediately apparent using such an approach. The inclusion of street ephemera, including waste, enables a more realistic feel than perhaps previous models and hints at an ‘everyday’ setting. Importantly, what the model has shown is that there are nuances to the idea of marginalisation. The butchers were strictly controlled by authorities as demonstrated and discussed in chapters 2 and 3, perhaps carried social stigmas of being traders and of being butchers as mentioned in chapter 1, but when it came to the daily use of the urban fabric, they operated at the centre of urban life. The primary focus in this project has been on space and proximity, but what of other indicators of marginalisation? Focussing on two possible examples of what may also be deemed as social inclusion - office holding and participation in Corpus Christi celebrations - this section will briefly consider the butchers’ role in each and what this may tell us about their status.

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718 Heather Swanson, describing the York butchers and why they were only included as a ‘minor’ rather than ‘major’ craft when the common council was put together of trade groups in the city. Heather Swanson, “The Illusion of Economic Structure” Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns”, 38, in Past and Present, no. 121 (1988), 28-48.

719 Chapter 1 outlines various projects which created ‘sanitised’ environments, such as Rome Reborn. See 64-8.
Chapter 2 outlined that the butchers rarely held office in Winchester during the period of focus of this study. While initially this may appear as a sign for exclusion, they were certainly not barred from office. Indeed, Winchester butcher Thomas Smale served in the most prestigious roles the town had to offer: as bailiff, mayor and MP twice, a rare occurrence.\textsuperscript{720} Interestingly, Keene himself argues that the Winchester butchers were rarely among the list of offer holders due to ‘the foul associations of their trade’.\textsuperscript{721} While it is important not to dwell on the success of one individual, it is perhaps pertinent to recognise Smale’s achievement in an era when positions of office in Winchester were so heavily dominated by those related to the cloth trade. It is perhaps due to the significance of this industry, rather than the ‘foulness’ of the butchers’ trade, that the butchers rarely held office. As previously noted, other towns saw butchers easily rise to such ranks, such as in Exeter, where the economic interests of the town had more of a focus upon the meat trade.\textsuperscript{722} Interestingly, Heather Swanson argues that the butchers and tanners in York were ‘discriminated against’ in terms of gaining political influence within the town due to their particular relationship with merchants, who dominated office holding in the city at the time. She argues that as tanners and butchers had access to their own supplies of raw materials, they posed more of a threat to the economic success of the merchants in office, thus they oppressed them.\textsuperscript{723} The specific circumstances of the butchers’ commercial situation in the city provides an interesting alternative explanation to one simply relating to the ‘unclean’ nature of their trade.

The butchers’ inclusion in Corpus Christi celebrations is certainly an interesting one. As highlighted in chapter 2, the Winchester butchers participated in the Corpus Christi

\textsuperscript{720} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 433.

\textsuperscript{721} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 259.

\textsuperscript{722} Kowaleski, \textit{Local markets and regional trade}, 138.

procession, placed behind ‘Carpentarii et tegulatores, Fabri et barbitonsores’. While a complex and multi-layered public ritual, broadly, it is one regarded as an event owned and controlled by different groups of elites, who used it to exert dominance over the inhabitants. As such, in this categorisation alone, the butchers appear as a group of elites. Not only are they part of a group of elites, but they processed third out of eleven groups taking part. This placed them closer to the Eucharist than most, certainly a prestigious place. It appears that in these aspects too, the Winchester butchers were far from being marginalised.

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724 Black Book, 73-4.

725 Rubin has asserted the mixture of groups, ideas and feelings which made up the event: Rubin, Corpus Christi, 265.

726 Rubin, Corpus Christi, 185-96.
5.2 Taking the Project Further

There are many possibilities on how this research could be furthered. While the focus here has been on the spaces inhabited by the butchers during the ordinary working day, they would, of course, have engaged with the urban fabric for many other reasons. Visits to church on a Sunday, trips to the tavern with family and friends, larger social occasions such as baptisms and weddings would all have seen the butchers interact with the town in different ways. This section will briefly explore some of these ideas, firstly, by looking at parish activities on a Sunday, and secondly, looking at St Giles Fair. This will allow some suggestions about how the approach employed in this thesis could be further used to explore the butchers’ experiences in Winchester.

St Peter's Church in Fleshmongers Street

It has been long understood that parish churches in English towns were hugely significant, their function and purpose running deep within the community. They were centers of devotion, brought together the local lay and ecclesiastical community in acts of administration, charity and fund raising. The reasons for people attending their parish church were wide ranging; ‘business, legal settlements, sociability, entertainment, in addition to worship brought them to the church.’ Parish communities were another network to which the urban citizen could belong and the parish church was a visual symbol of this. Indeed, it has been established that the way the parish church looked was one way the local community identified itself to the outside world. Indeed, Katherine L. French’s

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research has explored how the interior furnishings of parish churches revealed the concerns of the local parish community.\textsuperscript{728}

As outlined previously, the Winchester butchers lived in the parish of St Peter and the most likely church they attended would have been St Peters in Fleshmonger Street.\textsuperscript{729} (SB17) shows the journey they would have taken to arrive there. Leaving their homes, which were in the same place as their shops and stalls (SB17a), the butchers would have turned right onto the High Street (SB17b). They then would turn immediately right again down Fleshmonger Street (SB17c), where they would have soon come upon St Peter’s Church on their right (SB17d).

This was a short journey, but one which already prompts several interesting questions of their experiences. The journey they took highlights the proximity of the parish church to one of the town’s unofficial dumping sites. This can be seen towards the back of (SB17d), on far the left. It is interesting that the butchers never appear in the record for dumping waste here. Is this avoidance due to the proximity of the butchers’ parish church? Or is this simply a case of the butchers’ preferring to use their designated site at temple ditch? Interestingly, the fishmongers are cited as also dumping rubbish at this point, a site which is at a distance from their shops, stalls, homes and parish church.

It is also worth considering who else would have attended St Peter’s church and engaged in parish life with the butchers. Other local residents include parchment makers and tanners, both trades whom the butchers would have engaged with regularly during their working day. There is an obvious and clear overlap between the butchers’ working environment and that of their parish life. While Keene notes ‘The workshop and the markets were perhaps the places where many of the most enduring ties were formed,’\textsuperscript{730}

\textsuperscript{728} French, \textit{The People and the Parish}, 18.
\textsuperscript{729} Chapter 2, 129.
\textsuperscript{730} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 399.
these same ties may have been strengthened, or at times challenged, by sharing parish life with many of the same people. While the butchers and other trades worked closely, they were not without conflict; in 1404 Richard Hunte, butcher brought Roger Tannere, parchment-maker to court for not paying him the 5s 10d in hides he had supplied him with. How did episodes like this effect church going on a Sunday, or interactions at the tavern afterwards?

Attending the tavern after church on a Sunday would have certainly provided more opportunity for social activity, whether it was positive or negative. The ‘gossip cells’ the butchers were part of during the working day may have taken a different guise here, fitting in more with parish rules and discourses. Colsons’ work has recently demonstrated the importance of such establishments for the strengthening parish ties. It is interesting to consider where the butchers may have gone with fellow parishioners. If proximity was the priority, then the butchers may have picked the Heaven and Hell taverns just around the corner from the church, back on the High Street, next to the Town Hall. This would take them back to where they spent much of their working day. It was in these taverns that the mayor frequently entertained guests. The alternative to Heaven and Helle would have been The George, located in the entrance to nearby Jewry Street, which in 1417 was owned by mayor Mark le Fayre. It appears that even on a Sunday, the butchers would not have been far away from the ‘gaze’ of the authorities.

731 CR W/D1/32.


While activities during St Giles fair falls into the category of the butchers working life, the fair would certainly have been outside the boundaries of the ordinary working day. Despite its decline by 1417, the annual fair of St Giles, located outside the town walls within the Eastern Soke, was still taking place. A number of shops had been pulled down, where traders were once operating from permanent shops, they were now selling from temporary structures.\textsuperscript{734} For two weeks, jurisdiction of the entire town was transferred to the bishop and all trading within the walls was to cease, moving to the temporary shops and stalls on the hill. Town courts, too, no longer had jurisdiction and all business during this time was transferred to the court of the bishop, the Pavillion.\textsuperscript{735} The butchers would cease trading at their shops and stalls in the High Street and move to an entirely different space. While by the fifteenth century the fair did not attract visitors from France, Spain and Italy as it had at its height, it still drew merchants from the around the south of the country which may have proved a more varied crowd than the usual town market.\textsuperscript{736} While this thesis stopped short of recreating the landscape outside of Winchester’s town walls, an exploration of St Giles Hill in the eastern suburb could certainly be beneficial. Keene’s 2D renderings of the layout of the fair in 1417 offer a tantalising view of possibilities that a 3D version could offer, as example of which is shown in Figure 5.1.

\textsuperscript{734} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 1122.

\textsuperscript{735} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 1107.

\textsuperscript{736} Keene, \textit{Survey}, 1118.
A 3D reconstruction of this space could prove useful. How did this space compare to that of the High Street? What other groups and individuals were the butchers brought into proximity with? Most interesting for this thesis, it would be interesting to see how the relationship between the butchers and the authorities, in this case the Bishop, played out. Do similar tensions occur as within their relationship to the Winchester authorities, or did a different set of spatial rhetoric exist?
Other Groups

What of other groups in the Winchester landscape? While limitations of the source material meant butchers’ wives and apprentices could not be considered in this case study, other trade groups considered as marginalised within the town may prove as useful comparisons to the Winchester butchers. The Winchester tanners, similarly regarded as marginalised due to the nature of their trade being unpleasant and unclean, inhabited a very different working landscape. Figure 5.2 is a screenshot of the model which has been reconstructed to show an area of the tanners workshops.

Figure 5.2 - Model Screenshot. Winchester tanners in Buck Street.

The Winchester tanners are shown here at workshops which clustered in Buck Street. Buck Street was located in the North East of the town, set back from the High Street. The properties here are shown surrounded with open tenter grounds, used for the harwes of
their trade. Running water flowed through the streets and can be seen running to the right of the tenter ground here. Just beyond the stream was more open ground, gardens which in 1417 belonged to St John’s Hospital. Far away from the bustle of the High Street, the tanners at this time were surrounded only by fullers, who worked at properties which backed on to theirs. They make an interesting comparison to the butchers even with this brief exploration of their space. Both trades were viewed by authorities as difficult due to the nature of their trades, but the tanners are operating away from any direct gaze of the authorities. While this location is because of course they needed space and running water to go about their work, it would be interesting to explore how their interaction with the urban fabric differed without such proximity. Did they experience the landscape differently?

Changes Over Time

Keene’s research also offers the possibility to produce further models which represent changes over time. Keene produced a series of 2D maps showing the property holding at three dates during the middle ages c.1300, 1417, 1550. While this project focussed on the maps produced for 1417, the additional data presents a myriad of possibilities in terms of charting the topography and spatial relationships across a longer period. Certainly, similar models could be produced for 1300 and 1550. For the Winchester butchers alone, a useful study may be one which could simply chart their spatial relationships across these periods. As discussed in chapter 4, the butchers moved trading locations across the centuries and a project which models and considers these locations could be valuable. Were there enough evidence available, seasonal changes over time may also be a valuable option to investigate using the model. Hours of sunlight, amount of rainfall or more generally, the affect of light and dark would all have shaped the butchers’

737 Tarrage, 1417.
working day. Such issues would have been particularly important considering the amount of time the butchers spent outside. Certainly, the sources reveal that flooding heavily affected certain areas of the town at points during the year.⁷³⁸

These are a few very brief examples of how this project may be taken further. It is clear, however, that this approach may be used to find out more about those who leave little trace in the historical record. Certainly in the case of the butchers, they often only appear when they are being prosecuted for dumping waste and are ordered to use spaces for this purpose which are distant from the main population. They do not appear as a group who predominate as property holders, or as those who frequently held offices among the ruling elite. Only a comprehensive consideration of the butchers’ use of town space enhanced by the use of the model and its visualisation of the material reveal a fuller picture otherwise difficult to perceive. Using a technological approach then may perhaps be one way of gaining access to those urban groups who remain in the shadows when only applying more traditional methods.

⁷³⁸ Keene, Survey, 392.
5.3 Wider implications

‘[...] one might say that carnival celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order...this temporary suspension, both ideal and real, of hierarchical rank created during carnival time a special type of communication impossible in everyday life."\(^{739}\)

The ideas about urban space raised in this thesis may have wider implications relating to other areas of medieval urban culture. An exploration of ordinary, daily life such as this example may be able to reveal issues relating to those less ordinary times of the year such as medieval carnival, described above in the hugely influential work by philosopher and literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin. Medieval carnival, generally defined as referring to all events and celebrations relating to Shrovetide festivities, including May Day and Hock Tuesday celebrations, meant clear interruptions of everyday life.\(^{740}\) It was a time which saw urban society organise large scale events including plays, processions, communal games and sports, dancing and feasting. It was popular for people to dress up and wear masks, often cross dressing or taking on the guise of animals, or an important town figure such as a member of the clergy, or the king.\(^{741}\) ‘Mock’ trials could be held; events which mimicked those official events which occurred regularly in the town ordinarily, although during carnival an animal or inanimate object would stand as the accused, with town inhabitants as jurors.\(^{742}\) Such activities have led historians to regard carnival as a time of year which was ‘topsy turvy’, a time of misrule, when societal norms could be

\(^{739}\) Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Indiana, 1984), 10.


\(^{742}\) For more on this see: R. Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (London, 1984).
inverted and ordinary boundaries transgressed.\textsuperscript{743} From this, many historians have come to the conclusion that such times may be seen as a ‘safety-valve’, officially sanctioned times at which authorities could allow society to have a break from the usual constraints, whilst at the same time improving social cohesion and as such, a method of social control. In his ground breaking article on Coventry, Charles Phythian-Adams argued that such ceremony ‘[...] performed a crucial clarifying role. It was a societal mechanism ensuring continuity within its structure, promoting cohesion and controlling some of its conflicts’.\textsuperscript{744} Michael Camille added to this in his discussion of carnival as a safety-valve by drawing attention to the marginal art of real life and argued: ‘Often licensed by the civic authorities, all the inversion, cross-dressing, riotous drinking and parodic performance at carnival time was a carefully controlled valve for letting off steam...what looks at first like unfettered freedom of expression often served to legitimate the status quo, chastising weaker groups in the social order.’\textsuperscript{745} A second wave of scholars approaching this topic argued that carnival was used deliberately as a time of social protest, such as that put forward by Chris Humphreys in his discussion of summer games in Coventry in 1480, where he argues that as part of a long-term dispute between inhabitants of Coventry and the cathedral priory, inhabitants inflicted huge damage on the cathedral woodlands disguised by the need for wood for bonfires at midsummer.\textsuperscript{746}

All of this discussion, including both sides of the ‘social protest or safety-valve’ debate, hinges on the belief that at ordinary times of the year, society was bound, contained and restricted by urban authorities. By taking into account the conclusions

\textsuperscript{743} One aim of Chris Humphreys work in 2001, \textit{The Politics of Carnival}, was to discuss the historiography that led to this.

\textsuperscript{744} Phythian-Adams, “Ceremony and the citizen”, 69-70.

\textsuperscript{745} Camille, \textit{Image on the Edge}, 143. This is also echoed throughout the volume Hanawalt, \textit{City and Spectacle}; also the key article still much discussed: Mervyn James, “Ritual Drama and the Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town”, in \textit{Past and Present} 98 (1983), 3-29.

\textsuperscript{746} Humphreys, \textit{The Politics of Carnival}, 83-96. This idea is also echoed in Steven Justice, \textit{Writing and Rebellion: England 1381} (London, 1994).
reached in this thesis, it may be interesting to consider this idea further. On the basis of the results from this case study at least, the butchers’ daily experiences were too complex to simply be seen as being containment. While this thesis has shown that they were a group who were operating under particular regulation, they also experienced great benefit from this. Their circumstances show them to be a group whose economic survival and success was encouraged by their placement in the High Street. Whilst the authorities were in ultimate control, the boundaries of their regulation could sometimes be negotiated when practical need arose. As such, a crucial element to this investigation is that space was perceived by contemporaries through its use. For the butchers, any tensions created between themselves and the authorities about their spacial engagement with the town was simply due to practicality. Equally, the negotiation of the urban fabric was a spacial dialogue between the butchers, the urban fabric and the authorities, even if the authorities may be seen as the more dominant force. When it was time for carnival, the results from this investigation therefore suggests a more nuanced view. Perhaps the ‘containment’ of everyday life that people were being ‘released’ from during festivities and celebrations was not quite as well-defined as it is thought.

Having explored how this project has engaged with the butchers and wider implications, it will now move on to explore the functions of technology for historical research.
5.4 SketchUp

It is important to appraise the SketchUp software as a tool for explorations into the medieval urban fabric. While the software was chosen very carefully to suit the needs of the project, problematic areas did occur which need to be recorded. In addition, this section will highlight ways in which the model could be developed further.

Largely, making use of the software for this project was unproblematic. The software was used for its user-friendly nature, and any problems were easily solved with excellent online tutorials and guides. The one issue, however, which did occur related to the detail of the model. Whilst the model was created using an up-to-date Mac, as more detail was added, the software ran slower. Whilst rarely crashing, adding extra facades to buildings and importing new items could freeze the software for several minutes. The load-up time for the file when opening it initially could also take several minutes. At times, when viewing the model, building facades would disappear, or only appear in part. While this is all unsurprising given the file size and level of detail in some aspects of the model, it made it frustrating to work with towards the end of the project. Despite this, it did not affect the final outcome or the creation of the storyboards. With more expertise and a larger budget, more high end CAD software could be employed which would eliminate these issues. However, for a non expert user with limit budget, any difficulties are easily outweighed by the benefits of the software. Its ease of use, allowing the user to test any idea quickly has ideal for a project such as this. The ability to manipulate the model, so that any view of it can be seen, has been extremely valuable.

While it was not the intention of this project, with additional time and resources, the model has the potential to be developed into landscape which has a much more realistic appearance. For instance, photographs of existing medieval buildings in Winchester such as the cathedral may be used to recreate more realistic facades. The model may also be
set into its wider context, with the surrounding environment outside of the town walls added to give a clearer picture of its surrounding landscape and topography. There are elements of the software which have been beneficial to the research but have not been incorporated into the project. The ability to create video clips has proved a useful addition in terms of disseminating this research. ‘Fly through’ videos can be easily created which show a particular journey through the town. These have proved useful to show certain smaller elements of the project. The whole model itself may be shared with others who can easily download the free Sketch Up software.

Public History

The possibilities of using such technology for public history are abundantly clear. 3D environments may be recreated in SketchUp with relative ease, speed and crucially, for free. As the heritage industry competes to engage audiences, interactive landscapes created using this approach may add another level of interest to exhibits. Perhaps more crucially, with the importance of web presence and social media activity, Sketch Up may help to create dynamic, enticing content online. While the model in this project was not designed to reflect total architectural realism, potentially it could be modified to be as detailed as the city of Rome in the Rome Reborn project. Just as easily, smaller, more specific spaces could be recreated and shared digitally. Such content may be used not only entice visitors, but to seek a entirely new audience, one which is purely virtual. An excellent example of public history involving the urban landscape using been done by the Museum of London. Their free app, ‘Streetmuseum Londinium’, as well as including a gallery of over 200 artifacts which can be shared on Twitter and Facebook, also includes a

747 Chapter 1, 64-6.

748 Anne Lindsay, “#VirtualTourist: Embracing Our Audience through Public History Web Experience”, in The Public Historian 35 (2013), 67-86.
large element of virtual mapping. The map overlays a Roman-era map of London and Southwark over a present-day google map of the same region. The user may walk around the London area in real-time and view what would have been in that location 2,000 ago.

![Screenshot from Streetmuseum Londinium App.](image)

**Figure 5.3** - Screenshot from *Streetmuseum Londinium* App.

Just as Matthew Paris used his maps to entertain, educate and his audiences, so too now public historians must embrace new approaches and technologies to do the same. This chapter will now move on to look at how a technological approaches more broadly can help take urban research forward.
5.5 Going Forward

‘Technology is more cutting edge than art!’

One industry historians may look to for the future of CAD related approaches is the gaming industry. Recent years have seen game developers create entire virtual worlds as ‘sandbox’ games have grown in popularity: games which allow a player to roam and interact freely within a defined environment. One key example of this is Fallout, a series of games developed by Bethesda Studios, who have been regarded as pioneers within this genre. While the game is set in an imaginary post apocalyptic future, it is depicted within what is a geographically realistic United States. This is a screenshot from the third installment of the game, Fallout III, depicting the Washington monument:

749 Grayson Perry, “Nice Rebellion, Welcome In!” The Reith Lectures 2013 http://www.bbc.co.uk/podcasts/series.reith
In addition to this and of particular significance for academic study, the gaming industry has begun to take an interest in recreating historical environments. One key example of this is the series of Assassins Creed games, developed by Ubisoft Entertainment. Two of the three installments of the series are set in Renaissance Italy and the other is situated in the Holy Land in the twelfth century. Each game attempts to recreate a historically-inspired landscape, featuring the key landmarks and recreated authentic-looking architecture. The screenshots below are from the game’s second installment, which allow the player to become immersed in ‘Renaissance’ Venice and San Gimignano. The company employed over 200 people in the game’s design and took advice from historians.\footnote{Keith Stewart, ‘Assassins Creed and the Appropriation of History’ in The Guardian, Game Blog, 19 November 2010 http://www.guardian.co.uk/technology/gamesblog/2010/nov/19/assassin-s-creeed-brotherhood-history}
While demonstrative of how far such virtual technologies have come, this also highlights several important points for the historical use of virtual worlds. Firstly, as an industry with
the budget and impetus to create such detailed environments, collaborations with historians to recreate more accurate models may be productive. This is something already noted as key by Evans, Hudson-Smith and Batty. However, it is clear that from current virtual projects such as Rome Reborn, that this level of detail, when required, is already being obtained. The real benefits of such games may be what they have to teach historians about simulating interactions between different groups and individuals. The Assassins Creed games have pioneered artificial intelligence techniques to allow for crowd gameplay; believable crowds move in a realistic way around the player. This means that as the player walks around the towns and cities, others also move around in a realistic fashion, reacting to the people and street furniture around them, sometimes even bumping into one another, leading them to drop whatever they were carrying. A screenshot of this behavior is shown below, where the player is represented by the character in white:

Figure 5.7 - In-game screenshot of crowd gameplay, from Assassins Creed I, Ubisoft Entertainment.

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751 Evans, Hudson-Smith and Batty, 3-D GIS: Virtual London and Beyond, 5.
This kind of artificial intelligence takes the recreation of the urban fabric one step further by peopling it. Therefore, far from being ‘seduced’ by what Paul Ell and Ian Gregory described as ‘Nintendo geography’, such advances may provide a sophisticated step forward for historians in the consideration of the ways in which society interacted within the urban fabric.\textsuperscript{752}

In addition, the power of games which choose to depict historical themes in such ways and their possible impact on the public consumption of history cannot be underestimated: in a recent interview, the hugely influential film director Guillermo del Toro stated that with such developments he believes that games, not Hollywood, will be ‘the powerhouse of creative storytelling within the next ten years’.\textsuperscript{753}

Technology has taken historians a long way and also appears to offer much in the future.

\textsuperscript{752} Gregory and Ell, \textit{Historical GIS}, 118.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Google SketchUp and 3D Model use

Google SketchUp Installation Instructions

In order to view the 3D model provided on the included CD-ROM, Google SketchUp software must first be installed. To do this, go to the official website located at the following address:

http://sketchup.google.com/

You will then be taken through a simple download process.

After this, the file on the CD-ROM may be opened. It is advised that you copy and paste the file from the disk onto the desktop so that it can run at full speed.

Using the Software

The key tools for exploring the model are the following:

‘pan’  ‘orbit’  ‘zoom’

In addition, there are a variety of tutorials available via the ‘Help’ menu via ‘Welcome to SketchUp.’
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