The Archaeology of Wiltshire's Towns
An Extensive Urban Survey

LUDGERSHALL

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The Archaeology and History of Ludgershall

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Towns are an important component of the historic environment which have developed over many hundreds of years and are under constant development pressures. The archaeological resource within our historic towns is an invaluable and irreplaceable source of data about past societies and the evolution of our culture. Despite these factors the archaeology of many towns, especially the smaller market towns, is poorly understood.

1.2. In 1976 the D.O.E. sponsored a study of the archaeology of Wiltshire's historic towns, aiming to assess the relative importance of the towns at different points in time as a basis for future archaeological research. This resulted in the publication of *"Wiltshire Towns: the archaeological potential"* (Haslam 1976). Since then, the book has been one of the key references for archaeologists monitoring urban development and its impact in the county.

1.3. An increase in the amount of archaeological and historical data available and changes in legislation such as the introduction of Planning Policy Guidance note No.16, have meant that a reappraisal of the situation is now due. The Extensive Urban Survey of Wiltshire has been commissioned by English Heritage, as part of a National programme, to address the need for a new assessment of urban archaeology in the county. The current structure of the historic county of Wiltshire is two-tier, with the County Council working in conjunction with the four District Councils (Kennet, North Wiltshire, Salisbury and West Wiltshire) and the new unitary authority of Swindon – historically part of the county. The survey aims to map the development of all of Wiltshire's and Swindon's historic towns (Fig. 1) and to assess the extent of the surviving archaeology and built heritage. It is also proposed that the threat of development on the historic environment within the county's towns will be examined.

1.4. As far as is known the first towns in Wiltshire appeared during the Romano-British period but all the known examples are now greenfield sites, although some may have given rise to nearby settlements. Most modern towns in the county have their roots as Saxon villages or defended settlements such as Cricklade and Wilton. Many of the villages grew into small towns after the Norman invasion, often focussed around a castle or market and in the early thirteenth century 'planted boroughs', in which individual plots of land were sold by the major landowner.

1.5. The definition of a town for inclusion in the survey follows the criteria laid out in Heighway (1972), by which the settlement must possess certain characteristics such as defences, a mint, a market, a street plan, or a judicial centre, and demonstrate such urban attributes as high population, a diversified economic base or a central or key location. For the purposes of the survey, however, the towns should meet these criteria historically, even if they no longer do so. This allows, for example, the inclusion of the five Roman towns in the county, and settlements such as the village of Heytesbury, which was developed as a

planned town in the 13th century, but which did not succeed as an urban centre. The full list of 34 towns included in the survey and the criteria for inclusion are included as Appendix 1. Ludgershall satisfies four criteria: it has evidence for internal street planning (*criteria* ii); it has a known early market (*criteria* iii); its existence as a borough is known from the 12th century (*criteria* v); it contains identifiable burgage plots (*criteria* ix).

1.6. The area of study in each town is defined by the size of the town as it stood in 1945, encompassing both the historic core of the town and the older industrial and suburban development. There is an emphasis on the earlier material, and the later Victorian and 20th century development are covered here only very briefly. Although more detailed than Haslam's report, in most cases each study remains no more than a brief summary of the data, and a guide to the location of more detail for other researchers. The extent of the study area for Ludgershall is depicted in Fig. 2.

1.7. The research into each town will be encapsulated into two reports: a summary and assessment of the data gathered and an outline strategy for future management of specified sections of the urban area. This first report is intended to provide a clear and up-to-date synthesis of the available archaeological and historical data for Ludgershall, with an assessment of the main areas of historic settlement in the town and of the potential and sensitivity of the archaeologically important areas. The assessment reports are compiled from four main data streams: geographical and geological sources for the location and topographical summary; secondary historical sources for the historical outline; recorded archaeological data for the sites and finds information; the archive of the Wiltshire Buildings Record (WBR) for architectural data. The architectural summary is not subject to the same level of research as the other three data streams, and the information presented in the reports is based upon evidence compiled from the existing WBR archive, updated in places by field visits to note non-listed buildings of historic interest, combined with the Department Of Culture, Media and Sport schedule of listed buildings.

1.8. This Assessment was prepared originally in 2001, with amendments from consultations added in 2004. Table1 (archaeological investigations) has been updated, but the results of these more recent events have not been assimilated

2. LOCATION AND TOPOGRAPHY

2.1. Modern Ludgershall is a village lying close to the Wiltshire/Hampshire border in the far south-eastern part of the District of Kennet. The nearest large town is Andover, Hampshire, some 6km to the east, whilst the modern army-based settlement of Tidworth lies c.3km to the west.

2.2. The village lies wholly upon the Upper Chalk, with shallow dry valleys to north-east and south-east. There are no significant drainage features within the Study Area, the nearest being the River Bourne c.2.5km to the west (Ordnance Survey

1975). The mean elevation of Ludgershall is c.130m AOD (Ordnance Survey 1985).

3. PAST WORK AND THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE

3.1. Historic Sources

3.1.1. This is a desk-based study, using material available within the County Council Heritage Services facilities in Trowbridge: the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR); The Wiltshire Reference Library; the Wiltshire & Swindon Record Office; and the Wiltshire Buildings Record. Historical data are generally drawn from secondary sources, normally the Victoria County History and histories of the individual towns, based on recommendations or specific requirements. Data on archaeological investigations and their results are drawn directly from the original reports or publications wherever these are available.

3.1.2. The use of primary sources in the Record Office is restricted to maps and sometimes other pictorial material, which are consulted to accurately locate individual sites or buildings and to trace the growth of the settlement.

3.2. Archaeological Work In The Town

3.2.1. This section outlines the known archaeological investigations that have taken place in Ludgershall. The list is compiled from information in the County Sites and Monuments Record, Excavations Register, and the fieldwork reports kept in the County Archaeology Section in Trowbridge. Others have been added as a result of incidental mention in one of the above sources, and where there is enough information to get at least a general idea of the location of the site. The numbers refer to the map included in this report (Fig. 3).

Event	Year	Site Name/Location	Event Type	Excavator	Reference
001	1964-1972	Ludgershall Castle	Excavations	P. Addyman	Ellis 2000
002	1994	Butt Street	Evaluation	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 1994
003	1995	St. James Church	Watching Brief	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 1995
004	1996	High Street	Evaluation	AC Archaeology	AC Archaeology 1996
005	1997	Butt Street	Watching Brief	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 1997
006	1998	Castle Street	Watching Brief	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 1998
007	1998	Ludgershall Castle	Earthwork Survey	RCHME	RCHME 1998
008	1998	Deweys Lane	Evaluation	Archaeological Site Investigations	ASI 1998
009	2001	Castle Street	Watching Brief	B Phillips	Phillips 2001
*010	2002	18-26 High Street	Evaluation	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 2002
*011	2004	18-26 High Street	Watching Brief	Wessex Archaeology	Wessex Archaeology 2004

Table 1: Archaeological Investigations in Ludgershall. Reports flagged thus * were received after the preparation of this Assessment, which was compiled in 2002.

4. <u>HISTORICAL OUTLINE</u>

4.1. This report is not intended to provide a major historical review of the history of Ludgershall and the material included here relates mainly to events which might have had some impact on the archaeology of the town, or its survival. Much of the historical information within this section of the report is derived from the major *Ludgershall Castle* monograph, edited by Peter Ellis (2000).

4.2. The earliest known reference to Ludgershall is as a three-hide holding in the will of an Aetheling named Athelstan in 1015 called '*Lutegarsheale*'. The root of the place-name is believed to be from the Old English *lutegar*, a term for an animal trap or hunting hide. Given that the area was anciently within the royal forest of Chute, this may denote a forest hunting lodge. There are several English parallels of Ludgershall or Lurgashall as a place associated with ancient woodland.

4.3. Prior to the Conquest, documentary evidence records the passing of this holding first to one Godwine the Driveller, and by 1066, to Elward. By the time of Domesday the estate was in the hands of Edward of Salisbury. The listing, under the corrupted name '*Litlegarsele*' indicates a moderately prosperous manor. There is no mention of a church at this time.

4.4. Edward is thought to have held the manor until the late 11th or very early 12th century. Certainly, by 1103 the manor is known to have passed into royal ownership, and in this year Henry I is dating writs 'at Lotesgarsal'. Henry is thought to have been responsible for the first phase of castle building at Ludgershall. By the time of the Anarchy, however, the estate was held by John the Marshall, who stood with the Empress Matilda during the struggle. John reinforced the castle in 1138, and it remained his stronghold until his death in 1165. By 1174-5 the castle and estate were again in royal hands, and this time were to remain so for nearly three centuries.

4.5. Between the later 12th and later 14th centuries the castle was subject to successive phases of remodelling and renovation/repair, records of which survive in Pipe Rolls. After this time the castle appears to have been neglected, and the fact that it is not even mentioned in the late 15th century grants of the 'manor and lordship of Ludgershall' indicates it to have been of negligible military value by this time. By the mid 16th century much of the castle may have been demolished, as Leland, who travelled through Ludgershall in the 1540s, describes it as 'clene doun' and describes a lodge built close by its ruins.

4.6. Although the history of the castle is relatively well-documented, the accompanying settlement is rather less so. Although some form of settlement is known to have existed at Domesday, there is no suggestion that it was of urban

or proto-urban status. There is, however, documentary evidence for the existence of a borough by the later 12th century, although no evidence exists for any independent civic institutions. Markets and fairs are known to have been held from at least the 13th century, but no grants or charters survive.

4.7. Ludgershall was one of the infamous 'rotten' boroughs, and returned members to parliament from 1295 until the Reform Act of 1831. Over this period, especially following the decline of the castle, Ludgershall's fortunes dwindled. By the time of William Cobbett's visit in 1826 the settlement was impoverished, and he noted that 'it must have been a large place once, though now it contains only 479 persons'(Dixon 1994). The revival of the town, or village as it had now become, occurred with the arrival of the railway in 1882, followed quickly by the establishment of large camps by the War Department. The renewed interest in Ludgershall spurred the construction of shops and a large new hotel adjacent to the railway station (*ibid.*). Many sites in the centre of the village were rebuilt or redeveloped at this time, and most of the streetscapes visible today solidified during this period.

5. ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL SUMMARY

5.1. Introduction

5.1.1. The following is a resume of the archaeological record of the town, drawn from the county SMR and the various excavation reports. Data on surviving buildings come from the Wiltshire Buildings Record unless otherwise stated. The bold print numbers in this section refer to entries in the Urban Survey database, and appear on the sites and findspots location maps in Figs. 4 - 6, which were created from the database and the SMR.

5.2. Prehistory (Fig. 4)

5.2.1. The sole record for this period is of three pieces of worked flint recovered during a watching brief in Castle Street (**LU008**, Phillips 2001). One piece may be of Mesolithic origin, whilst the other two exhibit Neolithic attributes.

5.3. Roman (Fig. 4)

5.3.1. Romano-British finds are also sparse, with the only findspot being that of a coin and a few abraded sherds of pottery found during the Ludgershall Castle excavations (**LU001**, Ellis 2000).

5.4. Medieval (Fig. 5)

5.4.1. The oldest surviving masonry structure in Ludgershall is the parish church of St James (**LU002**, Pevsner 1975). This is a large building with a limestone and greensand nave and west tower of the 12th century. The south porch and chancel date from the 13th century, and the north transept is 14th century date.

In 1873 alterations took place including the raising of the west tower. A fragment of carved stone 0.2m x 0.15m was found in infill at the East End of the church. Originally thought to be Saxon, recent work (Ellis 2000) has proved this artefact to be of 14th century origin on stylistic grounds.

5.4.2. The most impressive remains of the period are those of Ludgershall Castle (**LU003**, Ellis 2000). This today principally consists of a double-ditched, double ringwork which was excavated by Peter Addyman in 1964-72. The excavations found mid 12th century timber buildings and defences which were superseded by flint and mortar buildings in the 13th and 14th centuries, the remains of one of which still survives as a standing structure. It has royal associations from 1103, and was the scene of action during the Anarchy struggle (para. 4.4). After the mid 12th century a series of high-status buildings were erected within the northern ringwork, and towards the later Medieval period the castle appears to have primarily served as a royal hunting lodge, with royal parks to north and south. Maintenance of the castle appears to have ceased in the later 15th century, and by the time Leland visited Ludgershall in the 1550s it was either ruinous or demolished.

5.4.3. A large NW-SE aligned ditch was recorded at a site adjacent to the castle (in Castle Street) during a watching brief in 2001 (**LU004**, Phillips 2001). The ditch had been recut a number of times, the latest datable to the 17th century. Pottery from primary fills of the ditch indicate a 12th or 13th century origin for this feature, making it contemporary with the adjacent castle earthworks, of which it may be a component - possibly part of an outer enclosure.

5.4.4. Ludgershall's Medieval market cross (**LU005**) survives in a fragmentary state, and has been moved from its original position in the centre of the now infilled market place. The cross was examined in detail by English Heritage as part of the wider examination of Ludgershall Castle and the Medieval settlement (Ellis 2000).

5.4.5. On the east side of High Street an evaluation recorded a single NE-SW aligned truncated gully, the fill of which produced 12th to 14th century pottery (**LU009**, AC Archaeology 1996).

5.5. Post Medieval (Fig. 6)

5.5.1. Leland, in his mid 16th century visit to the town, describes a 'pratie lodge' or pretty lodge-house situated close to the ruins of the castle (**LU010**, Stevenson 1995). It is unclear from Leland's description whether or not the lodge was built out of re-used stone from the ruined castle. This is thought to be a royal hunting lodge. It was not discovered during the programme of excavation at the site, and must therefore lie away from the castle itself. Some earthwork evidence for a contemporary formal garden also exists.

5.6. Industrial/Recent (Fig. 6)

5.6.1. Two significant sites of this period can be identified within the Study Area. A large malthouse is known south of Winchester Street from cartographic sources (**LU011**, Ordnance Survey 1901). The railway (**LU012**, Dixon 1984) came to Ludgershall in 1882, and was extended in 1902 and 1943. The station, now demolished and redeveloped, stood at a site south of High Street. Passenger services ceased in 1961 and civilian traffic in 1969. The line continues to serve nearby military bases.

5.7. Undated (Fig. 6)

5.7.1. Two undated finds from the same site (**LU006**, **LU007**) indicate the presence of small cemetery at the site of the former Adjutants Press, Butt Street. A single, east-west aligned inhumation, and a similarly aligned sub-rectangular feature which may be a second burial, were recorded during small-scale groundworks at the site. These are probably Christian graves, based upon the orientation of the features and the absence of grave goods, and they are therefore likely to be of Roman, middle or later Saxon, or Medieval origin.

5.8. Built Heritage

5.8.1. This section of the report is intended to provide an introduction to the surviving built heritage of Ludgershall, and as such is not designed to be a comprehensive account of the town's notable structures, but is a selection of the salient architectural features and buildings within the Study Area, including, if present, significant unlisted structures. This data has been compiled by Wiltshire Buildings Record.

5.8.2. Detailed lists of historic buildings and architectural detail are included as Appendices 3, 4 & 5. Although individual Grade II listed buildings may be (where relevant) discussed in this section, they are not included as a comprehensive list in the Appendices, due to the very large quantities of additional data this would involve. Researchers seeking information on Grade II structures are directed to the appropriate Governmental lists of protected buildings.

5.8.3. The historic town of Ludgershall comprises a ribbon development attached to the older core at the base of the castle earthworks. The borough was one of the smallest in Wiltshire with an economy based on parkland and agriculture. Little is known of domestic building prior to the 16th century, from which the earliest domestic timber-framed structure survives. From the 17th century onwards materials used are flint, chalkstone and brick. Serious damage by fire occurred in 1679 and two hundred years later there was only limited regeneration.

5.8.4. **Thirteenth Century.** Ludgershall Cross & railings, High Street (grade II) is a limestone monument carrying the lower part of an elaborately carved cross shaft depicting the Ascension, the Descent from the Cross and other scenes dating from c1300. The brick base and enclosing railings are 1897.

5.8.5. **Sixteenth Century.** The Queens Head Public House, High Street is the only building found to date from this period. It is a timber-framed house faced with brick in the 18th century containing a contemporary decorated stone fireplace and chamfered beams.

5.8.6. **Seventeenth Century.** The surviving domestic buildings of this period are of typically mixed materials found at the base of Salisbury Plain it (grade II) are of timber framed construction - eg The Crown Inn, High Street. Other combinations are flint and brick dressings (The Thatched Cottage, Castle Street, grade II) and brick with flint gable walls (1 & 3 Castle Street, grade II). Most notable of this group are No.s 15, 17 & 19 Castle Street, a terrace of possible Almshouses with a strongly modelled pilastered façade.

5.8.7. **Eighteenth Century.** Marginally more buildings survive from the 18th century than earlier periods and are again of mixed materials, namely chalkstone/cob (Perry's Cottage, Andover Road) and brick-laced flint (Erskine House, High Street).

5.8.8. **Nineteenth Century.** No. 27 Tidworth Road is the only listed 19th century building. It is of rendered brickwork with a pantiled roof.

6. <u>PLAN FORM ANALYSIS</u>

6.1. Introduction

6.1.1. The town has been divided into components, each representing blocks of activity, and sub-divided by period. Ludgershall, in common with all existing Wiltshire towns, has no foundation in the prehistoric or Romano-British periods, although unrelated archaeological remains belonging to both periods are present within and nearby to the study area. Historical and documentary archives have clearly identified the presence of a settlement from at least the 11th century, although the sparse archaeological evidence and lack of detailed historical records for the Saxon period has meant that a conjectural reconstruction has been necessary. The Medieval plan form of Ludgershall has been thoroughly researched by Paul Everson in the 'Landscape Context' section of Ellis (2000). The following analysis is derived from that work..

Table 2: Plan form components

COMPONENT	PERIOD OF ORIGIN/CURRENCY	COMPONENT TYPE	FIGURE No.
COM 1	Medieval & Late Medieval	Castle & Ringwork	7
COM 2	Medieval & Late Medieval	Parish Church	7
COM 3	Medieval & Late	Market Place	7

	Medieval		
COM 4	Medieval c.1200-1340	Planned Settlement Areas	7
COM5	Medieval c.1200-1340	Probable Lodge	7
COM 6	Medieval c.1200-1340	Roads	7
COM 7	Late Medieval c.1348-1550	Extension to Castle Curtilage	8
COM8	Late Medieval c.1348-1550	Pre-existing Settlement	8
COM9	Late Medieval c.1348-1550	Infill Settlement	8
COM10	Late Medieval c.1348-1550	'New' Burgages	8
COM11	Late Medieval c.1348-1550	Roads	8

6.2. Medieval c.1200-1340 (Fig. 7)

6.2.1. **COM1 – Castle & Ringwork.** Investigations by RCHME (1998) have concluded that the castle defences are based upon the pre-existing bank-and-ditch earthworks of a small Iron Age hillfort. This forms the southern and larger of the two enclosures comprising the ringwork. This conclusion is based upon stratigraphic relationships observed during an earthwork survey which suggest that the smaller, northern enclosure – dated by excavation to the 12th century – is in effect an extension to an extant site. There is no evidence for the existence of a castle at Ludgershall prior to the 12th century, and the circular form of the southern enclosure most closely resembles that of smaller Iron Age fortifications, although the intensive excavations conducted between 1964-72 did not find evidence for prehistoric occupation of the site. There is, however, wider landscape evidence to suggest that the southern enclosure lies in an appropriate location to form part of the 'network' of known Iron Age enclosure sites within the region (Everson & Brown in Ellis 2000).

6.2.2. Although there is no firm evidence to precisely date the beginning of post-Conquest activity at the site it seems likely that the northern enclosure was constructed within the earliest part of the 12th century, and perhaps consolidated as an Anarchy period fortification. The recorded ringwork sites elsewhere in the county have their genesis in the Norman era, with a concentration of activity in the period immediately prior to, and during, the Anarchy. The composite fortification thus created at Ludgershall is comparable in terms of size and scale of earthworks to the great ringwork erected at Downton by Bishop de Blois in 1139 (Extensive Urban Survey Assessment Report 2001). The economic and tactical advantages of ringwork construction over the more common Norman motte-and-bailey arrangement have been summarised by Creighton (2000), and the pre-existing earthwork circuit at Ludgershall must have presented an attractive opportunity for the magnate responsible for the development of the site.

6.2.3. The excavations within the northern enclosure revealed complex archaeological strata representing the construction of a group of high-status masonry structures and the near-continuous process of rebuilding and redevelopment of the site by successive estate holders over the following centuries. For substantial periods within the Medieval era the castle was in royal hands (para. 4.4), and it was during these episodes that the most impressive structures on the site, such as the Great Tower and Henry III's Great Hall, were constructed. A detailed discussion of the structural sequence of the Ludgershall Castle buildings is beyond the scope of this project, and readers are referred to the excavation report (Ellis 2000) for this information.

6.2.4. The principal importance of Ludgershall Castle as a plan form component is that as the seat of either a powerful magnate, or the king, dependent upon date, its presence led directly to the development of urbanism within a rural community which otherwise would probably have never received such stimulus. Indeed, Everson has commented upon the atypical location of the settlement – obviously appended to and dependent upon the castle - when compared to the organic, linear, valley bottom communities within the surrounding area.

6.2.5. **COM2 – Parish Church.** The architectural development of St. James' Church is well-understood (para. 5.4.1), and its position in relation to the other elements of the planned settlement (see Fig. 7) suggests that its foundation is contemporary with its earliest architectural phase, dating to the 12th century, and with the market place (**COM3**) and planned settlement areas (**COM4**).

6.2.6. **COM3 – Market Place.** The available documentary evidence indicates the presence of a market and fairs at Ludgershall during the Medieval period, although no grants or charters are known (para. 4.6). That the Medieval town was at one time a thriving market centre is supported by the historic topography, which suggests that the parish church (**COM2**) and planned settlement areas (**COM4**) lay on three sides of a large rectangular open space, the fourth, north side of which was formed by the castle precinct and one of the principal entrances to the town along Butt Street to the north-west. It is likely that the market place in this form was laid out as part of a planned venture dating to the 12th century, based upon the earliest phase of St. James' Church (which would have fronted onto the market place at this time) and the earliest proven phase of the castle dating to the start of the 12th century. It may even be that castle, church and market were laid out together as an integrated development, although this is conjecture needing extensive further research.

6.2.7. **COM4 – Planned Settlement Areas.** Three areas of planned settlement may be defined in this period, which together with the market place and parish church may have comprised the original new town development of Ludgershall. Everson's research has identified two blocks of probable burgages, along the east and south sides of the large early market place. These have been termed burgages by dint of their historic topography, the property divisions forming the characteristic long, narrow plots which give a densely occupied street frontage onto the market area. Although there are no records surviving of civic

institutions in the town, it is known that a borough existed by the late 12th century, and there is a reference to burgesses in 1306 (Haslam 1976). Archaeological investigations to the east of High Street within the area of this component recorded only a single Medieval gully (para. 5.4.5), but the excavators noted extensive truncation across the site, which will have removed any pre-existing settlement evidence.

6.2.8. The west side of the market place is occupied by land units of a different sort, where large, sub-rectangular plots to north and south of St. James' Church had been sub-divided into smaller squarish plots with a concentration of activity along the market place frontage. These units have been interpreted as having a commercial function, and perhaps acted as penning areas, shops or industrial premises. Archaeological investigations within the northern block (para. 3.2.1), on the corner of Butt Street and St. James' Street, did not locate evidence for such activity, but did record evidence for an undated, but possibly early cemetery (para. 5.7.1), which may be an intriguing glimpse of Ludgershall before the 12th century urbanisation. It is worth noting that the absence of urban archaeological stratigraphy at this location was due to Post-medieval/Modern truncation associated with earlier redevelopment of the site.

6.2.9. **COM5 – Probable Lodge.** A discrete area of occupation some distance to the east of the planned settlement area, to the south of Winchester Street, has been tentatively identified as a lodge associated with the Medieval South Park, one of two royal hunting parks located close to the town.

6.2.10. **COM6 – Roads.** The roads depicted in Fig. 7 include the principal entrances to the planned settlement along Butt Street to the north-west and Winchester Street to the south-east, and internal routes around the market place.

6.3. Late Medieval c.1348-1550 (Fig. 8)

6.3.1. **COM1 – Castle & Ringwork.** By the mid 14th century the major phases of building work at the castle were complete, and this period saw a marked change of emphasis in the function of the site, with a move from defensive to recreational use. The archaeological evidence indicates that the outer bank of the north enclosure, in the sector of the royal buildings, was modified for use as a viewing platform across the royal park to the north, and as a walkway. It is suggested by Everson that by the later 14th century the Great Tower was also used primarily as a viewing point rather than as a military installation. Paradoxically, this change of use towards a more leisurely function came at a time when the evidence suggests that royal visits to Ludgershall were becoming ever more rare. It appears that throughout the 14th century the complex of royal buildings was kept scrupulously clean in anticipation of visits by the royal family, but by c.1400 the whole complex had been abandoned, and by the time of Leland's visit to Ludgershall in c.1550 most of it had collapsed. Some time in the earlier 16th century a house was built (beyond the excavated area) in the north enclosure which was surrounded by extensive and

sophisticated landscaping, evidence for which was encountered during the excavations. It is likely that this is the 'pratie lodge' described by Leland.

6.3.2. **COM7 – Extension to Castle Curtilage.** The evidence presented by Everson suggests that a substantial extension to the castle curtilage was made by the construction of a large, almost square enclosure abutting the south-east side of the south enclosure earthworks. Surviving documentary evidence refers to extra land at Ludgershall being taken into the royal hunting park, and this component seems the most likely site. The imposition of this enclosure on the pre-existing urban topography as depicted in Fig. 7 caused huge disruption and hardship to the townsfolk, with the diminution of the market place by more than half its area and the blockage of the major trade route from the north-west. The deleterious effect this had on the population is underlined by surviving documentary evidence relating the granting of substantial concessions by the king to compensate for the disruption caused by this work.

6.3.3. The function of the new enclosure is understood as 'an added appurtenance to the designed landscape of the castle and as an extension to the king's park. Its presence adds an extra dimension of explanation to account for the distinctively reduced state of the outer bank and ditch of the castle in the sector abutted by the enclosure' (Everson 2000).

6.3.4. **COM3 – Market Place.** The development of **COM7** greatly reduced the available market area. However, an attempt appears to have been made to revitalise the trading area following the hardship caused by the taking of land into the castle curtilage. Ludgershall's market cross has been the subject of a detailed survey (Stocker in Ellis 2000), which has placed its origin in the mid 14th century, at precisely the time of creation of the new castle enclosure. Stocker interprets the carved scenes on the surviving part of the cross to have a resurrection theme, which the author considered to be entirely consistent with the re-establishment of the market in 1348, and which was intended as an exhortation by the king to the townsfolk to start afresh. Stocker considers the quality of the carving to be 'exceptional', and that such fine artistry should perhaps only be associated with very high-status commissions. He further proposes that the cross was moved to its present location within the Post-medieval era, and that originally it would have stood in the centre of the market place.

6.3.5. The market place today has been subject to almost total encroachment, with a small rump market held within what is now a car park in the south-west quadrant. This process was obviously advanced by at least the 17th century, when the large Crown public house was constructed in the centre of the market place. The surviving built heritage of this area is otherwise comprised, with the exception of one 18th century property, of 19th and 20th century residential buildings, a few of which may once have had shops within ground floor rooms.

6.3.6. **COM8 – Pre-existing Settlement.** This component consists of those areas of settlement extant in the previous period which survived the imposition of the

new castle enclosure (**COM7**), including the probable lodge south of Winchester Street (**COM5**). Although some possible burgage-type property boundaries may be traced in the modern topography of these areas, 19th and 20th century redevelopments have largely disrupted the pattern of boundaries still distinguishable on the 1816 map base used by Everson. A handful of 16th and 17th century structures survive in Castle Street, otherwise the surviving built heritage is entirely post-1800. It is possible, of course, that some older structural cores survive behind later frontages.

6.3.7. **COM9 – Infill Settlement.** Two blocks of properties have been identified as probable infill settlement, sandwiched between the reduced market place to the south and St. James' Church and a pre-existing settlement area to the west. Everson considered these infill areas to be possible lets, that is, rows of small shop units of a kind known from studies of late Medieval urban plan forms in places such as Durham, Gloucester and York. Information from Wiltshire Buildings Record shows these areas to be wholly comprised of 19th and 20th century residential buildings today.

6.3.8. **COM10 – 'New' Burgages.** These are two blocks of regular properties lying to either side of Winchester Street, and which appear to slightly overlie earlier blocks of properties identified as 'original' burgages (**COM4**). Everson considers these blocks to be a planned suburb, perhaps designed to compensate for the loss of burgage properties in the area now occupied by the new castle enclosure (**COM7**). It is argued that although apparently peripheral to the planned town centre, the constraints of the Medieval topography meant that this was the nearest convenient location for such a development. The regularity of property boundaries within this component is historic, as modern developments have all but obliterated the earlier topography.

6.3.9. **COM11 – Roads.** The routes depicted in Fig. 8 include thoroughfares within the planned areas – still extant today – and roads connecting with other settlement known to have been in existence at this time.

7. ASSESSMENT

7.1. Summary of Research

7.1.1. Ludgershall Castle has been subject to extensive in-depth research, both archaeological and documentary, and is fortunate in that numerous Pipe Rolls detailing expenditure at the castle survive. The excavations, however, dealt with only a small portion of the area within the defences and should not be thought of as exhaustive, indeed the supposition that the south enclosure has a prehistoric origin requires further archaeological research to determine the validity of the claim.

7.1.2. Ludgershall town is rather less well-understood, although Everson's analysis of the urban plan form (summarised above in Section 6) has provided a

plausible model upon which future archaeological research can be based. All the available evidence confirms the notion that Ludgershall enjoyed urban status in the Medieval period, but documentary records are lacking and the few archaeological investigations conducted beyond the castle precinct have encountered largely truncated areas.

7.2. The Growth of the Town (Fig. 9)

7.2.1. Although a settlement of some form is known to have existed prior to Domesday, its nature and position has yet to be determined, and the growth of Ludgershall may first be plotted in the Medieval period. We know that the original borough occupied a compact area to the south of the castle, and that following the intake of land into the castle curtilage c.1348, the settlement area was displaced to the south-east along Winchester Road.

7.2.2. The town gradually dwindled after the Medieval period, and this process may have started c.1400 following the end of royal visits to Ludgershall. Consequently little Post-medieval growth can be determined, as vacant sites within the Medieval settlement area were probably sufficient to accommodate new developments. Growth beyond this area first occurs within the early 19th century, with a handful of individual housing plots appearing on the fringes of the Medieval core. The arrival of the railway in the later 19th century spurred growth in the town, especially following the construction of large military camps nearby. The development of Faberstown along the eastern part of Winchester Street in the early 20th century substantially increased the settlement area, although much of this growth is beyond the Study Area boundary.

7.3. The Archaeological Potential

7.3.1. One of the principal aims of this phase of the Extensive Urban Survey is to examine the archaeological potential of the town to assist with the development of a management strategy in the later phase of the project. Whilst all of the core town may be considered important archaeologically, it is necessary to try to highlight those areas of greater interest, either because of the importance of the remains or because better than average preservation is expected there.

7.3.2. The notion that Ludgershall castle is based upon a pre-existing Iron Age fortification is intriguing, and requires further research. Perhaps in the first instance this could be a geophysical survey of the unexcavated parts of the interior to prospect for evidence of roundhouses, the characteristic Iron Age dwelling type. It is also suggested (Ludgershall Parish Council) that the garden and cellars of Manor Farm are surveyed. It is understood that any further interventions on the site would be defined by the site's status as a Scheduled Monument.

7.3.3. There is little archaeological evidence for the Medieval town, although the plan form evidence is convincing. Archaeological investigations may be most fruitfully conducted within the areas of postulated burgages, where habitation is

likely to have been relatively dense. Although the two investigations conducted within the settlement area encountered truncation it is probable that in-situ archaeological deposits are better preserved elsewhere, depending upon the history of use of individual plots. Excavation of such deposits may inform our knowledge of the chronology of habitation, and of the nature, extent and form of activities conducted within Medieval Ludgershall. Further documentary research and internal survey are recommended (advice from Ludgershall Council)

7.3.4. Archaeological investigations within the proposed Medieval suburb in Winchester Street may determine the date of this expansion, and whether it was indeed of similar nature to the known burgages.

7.3.5. Of great interest is the site and character of pre-12th century settlement. The undated possible cemetery encountered at the junction of Butt Street and St. James' Street may relate to this activity and requires further investigation, although it difficult to suggest its likely extent on the scant evidence available.

7.3.6. Ludgershall's built heritage appears to be chiefly of 19th century date. However, earlier structural cores may lurk behind later frontages, as has often been discovered within other Wiltshire towns. It may prove rewarding to conduct internal surveys of some of the town centre buildings in order to ascertain their true origin.

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10. APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Towns included in the Extensive Urban Survey of Wiltshire, with reference to urban criteria defined by Heighway (1972).

	Town	Criteria
	Town	**Criteria**
1	Amesbury	ii, iii, xi, xi
2	Bradford-on-Avon	iii,vi viii, xi
3	Calne	ii, iii, ix
4	Chippenham	i, iii, iv, viii, ix, x, xii
		i, ii, v, xii
5	Cricklade	i, ii, vi
6	CUNETIO	i, ii, iii,. v
7	Devizes	ii, iii, v, ix, xi
8	Downton	i,, ii vi
9	DUROCORNOVIUM	i, vi
10	EASTON GREY	iii, iv, v, ix
11	Great Bedwyn	ii, iii, ix
12	Heytesbury	ii, iv
13	Highworth	ii, vi, ix
14	Hindon	ii, iii, xi
15	Lacock	ii, iii, v, ix
16	Ludgershall	i, iii, iv, xi
17	Malmesbury	iii, ix
18	Market Lavington	ii, iii, iv, xi
19	Marlborough	ii, iii, viii
20	Melksham	ii, iii, xii
21	Mere	iii, viii, xi
22	Ramsbury	i, ii, iii, v, vi, vii, viii,
23	Salisbury	ix, x, xi,
		ii, iii, ix
24	Sherston	i, vi
25	SORVIODUNUM	iii, viii
26	Swindon	iii, v
27	Tilshead	i, vi, xi
28	Tisbury	ii, iii, viii
29	Trowbridge	ii, iii, iv, vii
30	Warminster	iii, viii
31	Westbury	i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii,
32	Wilton	vii, ix, xi
		ii, iii, v, ix, xi
33	Wootton Bassett	ii, vi
34	VERLUCIO	

Appendix 2: Urban Criteria set out in Heighway (1972)

i) *Urban Defences*: A town, at some time in its history, might have a wall, or bank and ditch with wooden defences.

ii) *Internal Street plan*: A town may be planned at any moment in its history; part of its street pattern may display evidence of deliberate planning, such as a grid lay-out. A street plan with provision for a market place will also distinguish a town.

iii) *Market*: Perhaps the only indispensable criterion, although a market alone does not distinguish a town. The date of a market charter is usually taken in this study as indicating the date by which the place had become a town.

iv) *Mint*: The existence of a mint often denotes a town.

v) *Legal existence*: This aspect of the town was one of the first to be studied and formed the basis of most of the early studies of towns. It has long been evident that legal history, once a favoured method of study, does not provide the only clue to urban origins, in which economic causes play an important part. However, the date of a borough charter or the dates of taxation at borough rates or of the town's parliamentary franchise may provide a date from which the place may be called a town.

vi) *Position*: A town may have a central position in a network of communications and this can be a clue to its importance. This can be a difficult criterion to assess as it involves knowledge of the age of the road system in relation to the town itself, the past navigability of rivers, and other related problems.

vii) *Population*: A town will often have or have had a high density and size of population compared with surrounding places.

viii) *Diversified economic base*: Archaeological or documentary evidence might suggest a diversified economic base, particularly a concentration of various crafts in one area, and evidence of long distance trade. For earlier periods, only archaeological evidence can determine this; it is a reflection on the state of urban archaeology that so little is known of this aspect.

ix) *House plot and house type*: The town-plan may show long, narrow 'burgage-type' plots; surviving houses will be urban rather than rural in form.

x) *Social differentiation*: A town should contain a wide range of social classes and especially possess a middle class. House types, demonstrated in the earlier periods by archaeology, again form part of the evidence.

xi) The presence of a *complex religious organisation* may also denote a town; i.e. the possession of more than one parish church or the existence of other institutions, especially monastic.

xii) *Judicial centre*: A town may be a centre for courts of national or local status.

Appendix 3: Listed Buildings by Grade (Refer to Dept. of Culture, Media and Sport for Grade II buildings)

Grade I
Church of St James, St James' Street (12C, 13C, 14C, 16C & 1873)

Ancient Monuments
Ludgershall Cross & railings, High Street (c1300 & 1897) No 301

Appendix 4: Buildings Survival by Century

12th Century
Church of St James, St James' Street (12C, 13C, 14C, 16C & 1873)

13th Century
Ludgershall Cross & railings, High Street (c1300 & 1897) No 301

16th Century
Queens Head PH, High Street (& 18C)

17th Century
1 & 3 Castle Street
The Crown Inn, 1 High Street
The Thatched Cottage, 24 Castle Street (mid-late)
15 17 & 19 Castle Street (c1690)
6 & Lynton, Butts Street (late 17C/early 18C)

18th Century
Milestone 1 mile west of Ludgershall Village, A342
Perry's Cottage, 29 Andover Road
Erskine House, High Street (late)

19th Century
27 Tidworth Road (early)

Appendix 5: Individual Architectural Details

12th Century
Limestone and greensand bands: Church of St James, St James' Street (12C, 13C, 14C, 16C & 1873)

16th Century
Timber framing: Queens Head PH, High Street
Stone fireplace: Queens Head PH, High Street
Chamfered beams: Queens Head PH, High Street

17th Century

Flint/brick faced in brick: 15 17 & 19 Castle Street (c1690)
Flint with brick dressings: The Thatched Cottage, 24 Castle Street (mid-late); 6 & Lynton, Butts Street (late 17C/early 18C)
Brick with flint returns: 1 & 3 Castle Street
Pilasters: 15 17 & 19 Castle Street (c1690)

Roof:
    Thatch: The Thatched Cottage, 24 Castle Street (mid-late); 15 17 & 19 Castle Street (c1690)
Dormers: 6 & Lynton, Butts Street (late 17C/early 18C); 15 17 & 19 Castle Street (c1690)
Windows:
    With gauged brick lintels: 6 & Lynton, Butts Street (late 17C/early 18C)
Doors:
    Boarded: 15 17 & 19 Castle Street (c1690)
Beams:
    Chamfered & stopped axial: The Thatched Cottage, 24 Castle Street (mid late)

18th Century
Chalkstone/cob: Perry's Cottage, 29 Andover Road
Cob: 6 & Lynton, Butts Street (late 17C/early 18C)
Roof:
    Thatch: Perry's Cottage, 29 Andover Road
19th Century
Rendered brickwork: 27 Tidworth Road
Pantile roof: 27 Tidworth Road
Door:
    Panelled: 27 Tidworth Road
Windows:
    Sash: 27 Tidworth Road

Notes
Churchyard monuments not included.