

CHAPTER 4: FARNHAM

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Summary		

It has long been believed that the borough of Farnham was established as a planned settlement by the bishops of Winchester, adjacent to, but separate from an older settlement around the parish church. The

detailed documentation in the Winchester pipe rolls, surviving from 1208, provides a wealth of detail on the early history of Farnham, and this is assessed.

The pipe rolls include reference to a town ditch, and this is also mentioned in other, later, documents. A feature, which can be identified with this ditch, was discovered in excavations on two sites, at Borelli Yard and Castle Street/Bear Lane. The excavations demonstrated that this was a wide (c 9m) and deep (c 3m) feature, of which the earliest infilling to survive belongs to the late 12th or early 13th century.

The detailed historical and archaeological information presented enables a re-assessment to be made of the origins and character of the planned settlement (the borough). An area of (probably) previously undeveloped ground was enclosed by a ditch, within which burgage plots were laid out along two main streets, Castle Street and The Borough. The extent of this settlement can be defined with reasonable certainty on all sides except the northern. The ditch provided a measure of security to the townsfolk, but its primary purpose may have been to define the limits of the privileges and taxes associated with the new commercial enterprise. A careful consideration of all the direct and indirect evidence is unable to offer a firmer date for the establishment of the planned town than to say that it was certainly in existence by the beginning of the 13th century, and a mid to late 12th century foundation seems probable.

There is no absolute proof that the ditch was established at the same time as the town, and this opens the possibility that the former was added some time after the latter was founded, in which case the probable explanation would be that it was added for defensive reasons.

Note: the medieval borough is printed as the *borough* to distinguish it from the present street named The Borough.

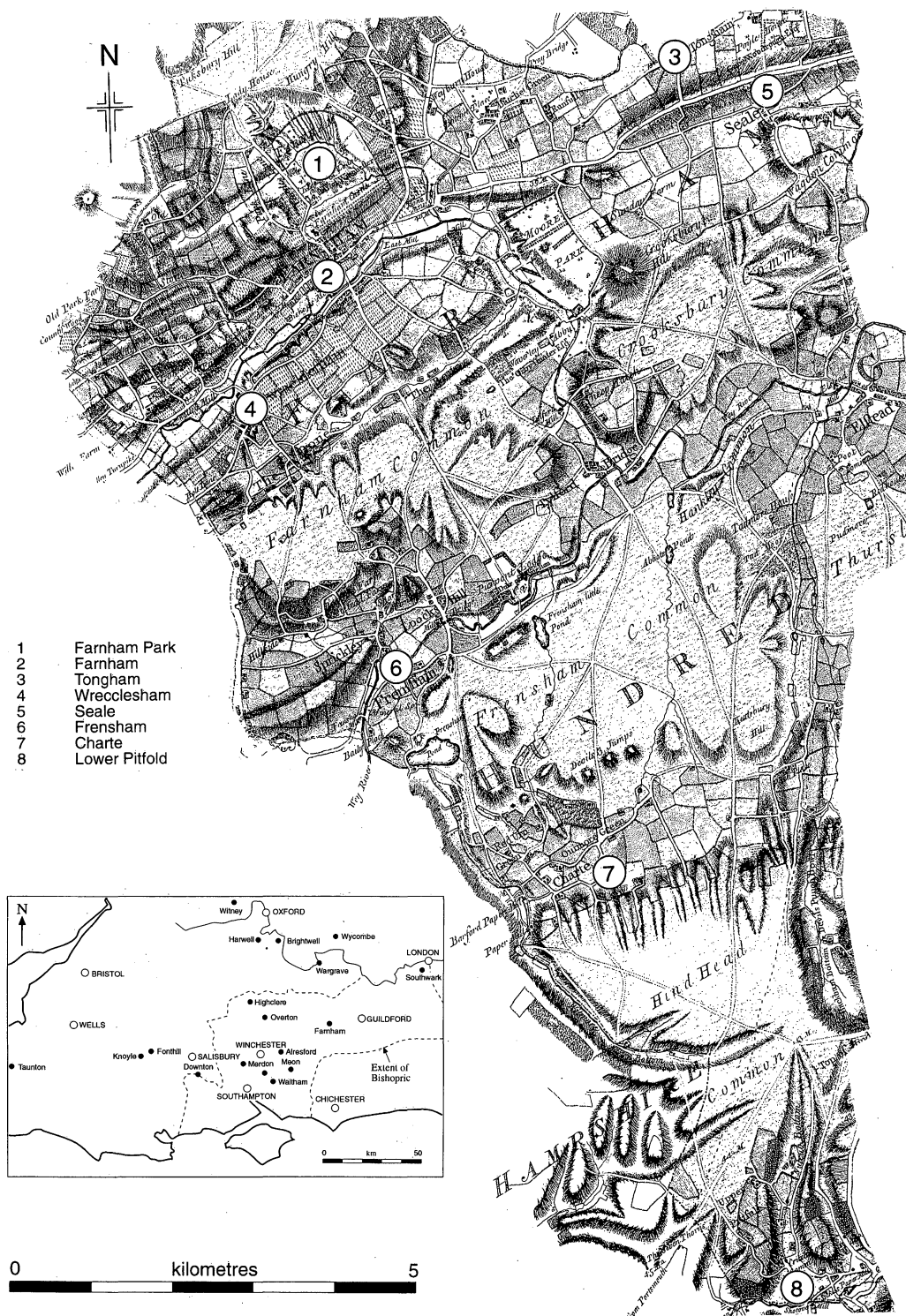
Preface

The Farnham chapter of this volume differs from the others in that it includes a substantial body of work that is not directly derived from the activities of the Surrey County Archaeological Unit. The excavation at Bear Lane was, of course, carried out by SCAU. It took place, however, against a background in which the town ditch had recently been identified for the first time in an excavation by Nicholas Riall at Borelli Yard, and when the significance of documentary researches by Philip Brooks and Peggy Parks for this aspect and others of the early history of the town was beginning to be more widely appreciated. It has seemed wise, therefore, to try and draw together these different strands of enquiry so as to obtain a more rounded picture of the early development of Farnham. Locations mentioned in the text are shown in figures 4.1 and 4.2.

The Borelli Yard excavation was important not only for its discovery of part of the town ditch, but also for the finding of an unusually early (early 13th century) roof tile kiln. A full report on this latter will require a considerable amount of complex and difficult analysis (Riall & Bunn 1989), and it has, unfortunately, proved difficult, for a variety of reasons, to make strong progress with this. Its importance lies, however, principally in a wider sphere than that of medieval Farnham, and this means that its absence from the present volume, while regrettable, does not particularly inconvenience discussion of the town itself. It is very welcome that Nicholas Riall has felt able to present here that part of his report on Borelli Yard which deals with the town ditch and earlier evidence from the site.

Philip Brooks' account of 13th century Farnham presents a rounded view of the context within which the archaeological work should be understood, and is, therefore, the first part of this chapter. Wheeler (1954, 214) aptly commented on the archaeologist's ability to find the tub and miss Diogenes; in Brooks' essay the people who shaped medieval Farnham come to the fore, and this immeasurably improves our appreciation of the archaeological evidence. It is a unique reflection of many years of study and analysis of a rich historical source, aided by practical knowledge of the locality and farming derived from his career. The archaeologist in Farnham has been doubly fortunate in having not only this, but the researches of Peggy Parks, principally in later records, to help elucidate his discoveries.

A glossary of terms used in the two historical papers is given on p 119.



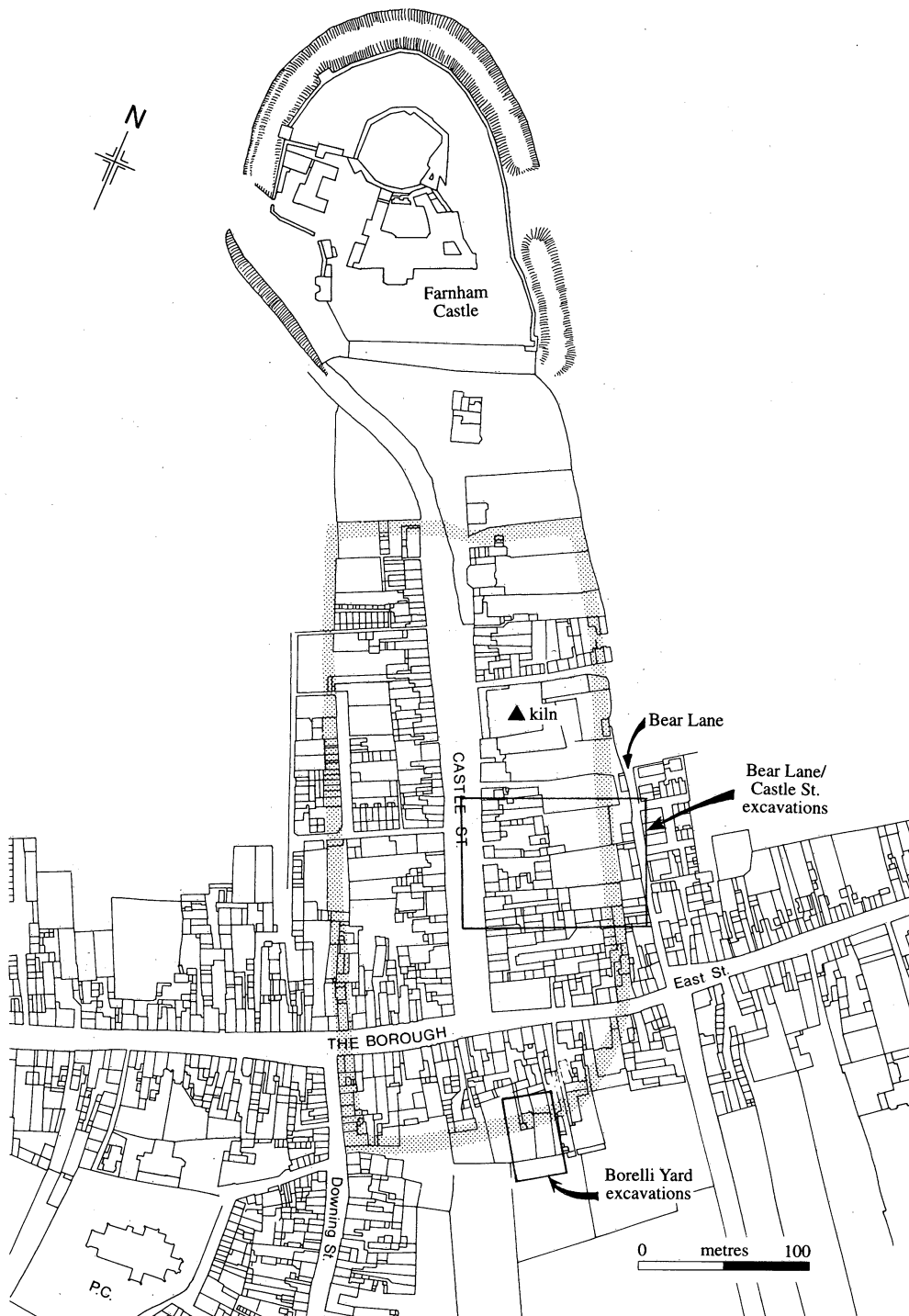


Fig 4.2 Farnham: location plan, showing the excavated sites and the inferred and putative course of the town ditch (tone). The extent of the *borough* is based on that indicated by the rentals of 1594–1777. The plan is based on the 1st edition OS 25 inch map of 1870.

Farnham town, *borough* and manor in the early 13th century

PHILIP BROOKS

Introduction

Little is known of Farnham before 685–8, when Caedwalla made a grant of 60 hides of land for the foundation of a church (*monasterium*). From at least 801 and down until 1931, it was one of the larger manors held by the bishopric of Winchester. The present church, presumably on or about the site of the first one, occupies a site immediately above the flood plain on the north bank of the river Wey. Although the name 'Farnham' is Saxon in origin, nothing has been found to date which suggests that it ever consisted of more than a small settlement round the church. Nor is there evidence of expansion under the first Norman bishops. Given the Cistercian avoidance of settlement in well-populated areas, Bishop Giffard's gift of land to found an abbey at Waverley in 1128 hardly suggests a thriving town some three miles distant.

The first definite information concerning the town, *borough* and manor, appears in the first of the (surviving) Winchester pipe rolls.¹ Starting in 1208, it contains the first of a long series of Farnham accounts. In that year it recorded, by implication, an event which had taken place some years previously — the creation of a new borough. By 1208 this *borough*, managed by the bailiffs and burgesses, was paying an annual rent to the bishop of £7, already more than half what it would attain as a maximum in 1248, when it was granted a charter by Bishop Walter of Raleigh.

The *borough* was neither a new town nor an old one on a new site. The title that it has enjoyed for many years describes it exactly, 'The Town and Borough of Farnham'.² The old town remained round the church, while the new *borough* was set out on higher ground to the north-east.

The *borough*

The new *borough* had whole and half plots situated on either side of a wide road, to the south of the castle. It also incorporated a section of the old east–west road, now known as The Borough. As far as can be ascertained from the present boundaries, the whole burgrave plots may have measured about 38 feet in width. Neither early records, later rentals nor actual measurements suggest any segregation by size.

The new *borough* was enclosed by a ditch and, presumably, a bank. The first actual reference to the ditch of the town occurred in the Farnham account for 1218–19. The relevant entries for the ditch are shown in table 4.1.

Passages that recorded defaults of rent appeared in every account, but without textual evidence it is impossible to decide which are active and which passive. This difficulty lies in the fact that there was no certain accounting method for writing off bad debts. Two concerning Frensham Beale manor and land in Churt, originating at some date before the first roll, were carried forward for hundreds of years. Abel's default, therefore, cannot be taken as a straightforward indication that

1 The Winchester pipe rolls are held in the Hampshire Record Office (HRO) and have been re-catalogued and given new numbers, although a concordance allows searchers to find the traditional numbers. The references with the prefix 'Eccles', are the original Ecclesiastical Commission record numbers.

2 The Farnham Charter reads 'the Borough and Town adjoining'. The word 'town' has been translated from *vill(a)* in accordance with the medieval Latin word-list (Latham 1965). While *burgus* was used exclusively for the *borough* within the ditch, *vill* was used randomly. Depending on the context, it could either mean, as with fines, the old land round the church, or loosely, the *borough* and town together, but it never stood for the *borough* in isolation. When taxation of location was involved, the sense was always clear.

TABLE 4.1 References to the Farnham town ditch in the Winchester pipe rolls

HRO, Eccles II 159274		
1215–16	default (of rent) of the land of Abel on account of (<i>propter</i>) the ditch	6d
	default of Robert Coc, 8d for the same.	
1216–17	default of Robert Coc for half a virgate of land	8d
	(MS defective, Abel may be missing or not even entered)	
1217–18	default of the land of Abel	6d
	default of the land of Robert Coc	8d
HRO, Eccles II 159275		
1218–19	default of the land of Abel on account of the ditch of the town	6d
	Robert Coc – no entry	
HRO, Eccles II 159276		
1219–20	default of the land of Abel	6d
HRO, Eccles II 159277		
1220–21	default of the land of Abel	3d
No further entries		

(part of ?) the *borough* ditch was dug in the pipe roll year 1215–16 (30 September 1215 to 29 September 1216), even allowing for the fact that earlier accounts (1208–9, 1210–11, 1211–12, 1213–14) contain nothing on this matter. Nor are the three accounts, 1215–16 to 1217–18, quite what they seem.

During the two pipe roll years 1215–16 and 1216–17, a French garrison occupied Farnham Castle (June 1216 to March 1217). The roll for 1215–16 is incomplete, Farnham being one of the missing manors. No roll for 1216–17 was written, but accounts for both these years were eventually included in the roll for 1217–18.³ Therefore, some events which took place in 1215–16 were not recorded for at least three years. In these circumstances the literal significance of these entries must be viewed with caution.

Most entries in the early accounts were ‘for land’, but in the latter half of the 13th century descriptive phrases were added, which were usually informative. On this basis the use of Abel’s land for part of the *borough* ditch may be genuine, but the word ‘same’ attached to the entry for Robert Coc in 1215–16 must be regarded with suspicion, even if the ‘half a virgate’ is correct. It is important to understand that the pipe rolls were a final accounting record compiled from information supplied by clerks of the individual manors. It is, therefore, not surprising that occasional errors occurred. Abel’s land may well have been a strip; Robert’s half virgate is more awkward. One can hardly fit a whole 16 acres into the area necessary to construct ditches on all four sides of the new *borough*. This demonstrates how easy it is to translate a simple phrase and how difficult, or even impossible, it is to understand what the scribe intended to convey by his words. We can be fairly certain that Abel lost some land and we also know that in 1215–16 a ditch existed. Anything more must come from future archaeological excavations.

The depth and width of a section of the *borough* ditch near Bear Lane (see excavation report, p 142; fig 4.11) might suggest a defensive purpose, but it is odd that there is no mention of gates to the *borough*. This is surprising since the contemporary pipe rolls contain many references to gates of all kinds in other places. The word ‘bar’ was sometimes used in the same sense, but only one is known with certainty, and there must have been at least two other entrances.

Against this background the purpose of the ditch becomes clearer if it is realized that the *borough* was created as a business venture. It therefore required an element of security from local malefactors, and a demarcation line within which local taxation could be enforced. In exchange, the trading inhabitants enjoyed a few privileges unavailable to those living outside its bounds. The ditch,

3 Brooks 1979, 123–9

therefore, had two functions: firstly to give limited protection and secondly to channel people through narrow areas where they could be subject to any control required.

There is another aspect to the ditch. All land belonged to the lord of the manor. Villeins were only granted the right to disturb the soil as far down as was needed for cultivation — anything deeper required a licence. When new land was enclosed the ditch had to be dug within the boundary with the spoil then forming a bank on the inside. These ditches (and lands) were being dug and re-dug everywhere: round and within the Old Park; enclosing the new purprestures in Oteryngwode; the old boundary between Bentley and Froyle in Hampshire, and numerous tenants' clearings in the waste. Indeed a ditch was a certain and lasting means of marking a boundary, thus the *borough* ditch merely conformed to local practice. An entry in the roll of 1226–7 confirms both the value of the ditch as a boundary and the prosperity of the *borough*. It translates as follows:

£13 6s 8d [received] from the *borough* for those who live within the ditch [of the *borough*] to be free from paying for common pannage for the pigs they feed in their own⁴ houses unless they be in pasture in the Lord's woods.⁵

THE NEW BOROUGH FINES

Examples of early fines for plots within the *borough* are given in table 4.2. It is strange that no fines for burgage plots appeared earlier than the roll of 1236–7. If this is explained by the fact that the burgesses controlled the *borough*, it fails to account for the fines and reliefs which were paid to the Bishop at odd intervals during subsequent years. Plots could be escheated to the bishop if there was no heir, or for crimes, the reason usually being stated with the fine. However, there is nothing to show how the earliest fines in the manorial accounts were calculated.

THE BOROUGH, 1244–46

Walter of Raleigh's elevation to the bishopric of Winchester in 1244 may, or may not, have caused changes in the manor of Farnham. It certainly added impetus to changes already taking place. The separate parts of this paper suggest that he also began to clarify the long disputed matter of bondwork. After the death of Pierre des Roches in 1238 there was no bishop for five years. During vacancies between bishops the revenues of the manor reverted to the king. As there are no surviving pipe rolls from 1237 until 1244 when Raleigh was elected, nothing is known of the management of the *borough* during this period. However, something must have occurred to make Raleigh take it out of the hands of the burgesses. As a result there are four *borough* accounts attached to those of Farnham manor: the first is a half year account up to Michaelmas 1244, with three more for the account years 1244–5 to 1246–7. At first reading they appear to provide valuable information but unfortunately there is no base from which to evaluate the figures. It is therefore impossible to know whether

TABLE 4.2 Farnham: early *borough* fines

1236–7	9d from Matilda, daughter of Margaret	1 burgage plot
	4½d from John de Broc	½ plot
	4½d John (of) French	½ plot
	18d Richard Vigil	1 plot
1253–4	3s Robert Cobbe	1 plot
1254–5	8d relief Robert son of John	1 plot
	14d relief Nicholas Griffin	1 plot
	3s relief Walter Simmond	1 plot

⁴ 'Their own' could refer to either the people's or the pigs' houses. The same word was used at the castle for the boars' sty.

⁵ Brooks 1983, 250–6; HRO: Eccles II 159281, 1226–7

the growth of revenue in these years is better or worse than in the preceding ones. There is no record of the maximum revenues from the *borough*, possibly attained at the end of the 13th century.

The accounts are similar in form to those of the manor except that William the clerk instead of the reeve joined the constable in presenting them. Each account is headed by the rent of assize. This is the total rent from both burgage plots and other land from which rent was claimed.⁶ This was 25s 3½d for the half year and 50s 7d for 1244–5. Increases of rent for small plots raised it to 5ls 11½d in 1245–6 and 52s 6½d in 1246–7.

Market tolls for 1244–5, 1245–6 and 1246–7 were 75s 8d, 80s 9½d and 82s 2½d respectively, an increase of about 7½% each year. Toll for the half year to Michaelmas 1244 were only 15s 0d. This suggests that either little trading was done in the summer or some extraneous event had distorted the figure. Nor was there revenue from any court. Receipts from the fairs held on All Saints' Day, 1 November, were 14s 0d, 17s 3d and 18s 0d for the same three years.

The entry fines for land and amercements of people and tithings are an important source of information, though often limited by the use of a single legal term for any offence. Occasionally, however, a descriptive note was added, for example, for the breaking of assizes for ale or bread. A noticeable feature in these three accounts was the number of women amerced, indicating either that a substantial number were trading or that they were proportionally more careless about their weights and measures. Receipts from the courts were 85s 8d and 68s 6d in 1244–5 and 1245–6, rising to £12 3s 4d in 1246–7. This included an enormous entry fine of £6 13s 4d from Robert of Wylege for seisin of the land once held by Walter the burgess. A memorandum at the end of the account recited that Matilda of Wyleg had to pay 20s for a pardon by the bishop, who then remitted her a fine of 50s which was to have been paid in equal parts at Christmas, Easter and Hocktide. The constable's and seneschal's expenses at the Hock Court were also charged to these accounts.

The rent of a burgage plot was 9d. Entry fines varied to such an extent that no pattern can now be discerned, but as the rent could not be changed it allows tentative calculations as to the number of plots and, with considerable reservations, population. If all the rent of assize derived from burgage plots, the figure of 50s in the mid-13th century could represent about 66 whole plots or 132 half plots. Assuming a family unit of four, this gives a minimum population of about 260 persons and a maximum of 520. As there were both whole and half plots the theoretical population should be between these figures.

If one considers the *borough* rent in 1236–7 (£9 6s 4d) and the final one in 1248–9 (£12), it might be assumed that most, or even all, the burgage plots were occupied by the mid-1240s. This may be true, but at the same time there were probably quite small corners of land, still unused. The account of 1245–6 shows that the Farnham market was expanding, thirteen new stalls being taken up. Tolls and receipts from the fairs also confirm that the *borough* was prospering. It is worth noting that although the stalls may have been moveable, the word 'seisin' denoted that they each occupied a specific piece of ground. At least one of the new stall holders, William [the] cloth[ier], lived outside the *borough*.

In February of the next roll year, 1247–8, the *borough* was handed over to the burgesses for an annual rent of £12, payable twice yearly in equal instalments. They were also allowed six months' grace after the due date, and so it remained for several centuries.

West Street

West Street seems to have been an important though separate part of Farnham and the pipe rolls show that there was a steady record of activity there.

In that period there were about 50 fines for messuages, cottages, half cottages and plots of land. It is possible to deduce from the scattered nature of settlement in the manor that there were, even

⁶ In addition to the burgages, apparently small pieces of land were granted to tenants, such as a few square feet 'in front of his tenement' or 'to enlarge his ditch'.

before the creation of the *borough*, a few houses along the road. However, the cottages and half cottages mirroring the burgage plots, and with roughly the same frontage widths, suggest that planning had overtaken anything previously there. West Street being part of the manor, not the *borough*, had its entry fines recorded among those of the other tithings. It is significant that it was both a separate tithing and sufficiently prosperous to acquire privileges of pannage and freedom from suit at the court at Blackheathfield, as the *borough* had done. The names of tenants provide an invaluable clue to at least one part of Farnham's trade as some of the earliest names incorporate words based on cloth, millinery and tailoring. Two, William the cloth[ier] and Milon of Aulton already settled there, acquired stalls in Farnham market in 1245–6 and land at Bordon and Bettewell fields in 1256–7.

Not surprisingly there was intermarriage. Names such as John Miloner, Milon le tailere, Wymark le telyre, Richard le taillour and others continued until the Black Death.⁷ These head tenants with their families, journeymen and apprentices must have been a significant part of the local economy.

Finally, a descendant of Richard Cobb, who paid fine for a burgage plot in 1253–4, obtained a charter for free land in West Street in 1307. Forty years later it was Cobgate, and so it has remained.

The manor

LANDSCAPE AND FINES

The entry fines and increases of rent are the main sources from which land tenure in the manor can be studied. The linear settlement of Churt along Green Lane provides examples of houses and house sites, most of which can be identified with the fines of the 13th century, and remains of ancient erosion banks and boundaries, medieval assart boundaries and others derived from Tudor and later farm amalgamations.

The fines are also an important source for the study of boundaries, banks and hedge dating. In addition, the term 'increases of rent' frequently records land being taken out of the waste. There is too much variation in the sums charged for entry fines for comparative study; sometimes they are proportional on inheritance, at other times immense sums are charged for no obvious reason.

The reverse applied to rents which, once fixed, could not be changed. In the first instance rents (probably) reflected the maximum that the lord could charge while still leaving the tenant with a viable proposition. For most 'new' land in the 13th century the rent was 6d per acre, payable at Easter and Michaelmas (bondland rents were paid at the four quarters of the year). These rents matched in many ways those of modern times. An ingoing tenant taking land out of the waste was often remitted the first year's rent. On the other hand it was adjusted the other way if a crop of grass or hay was growing on land taken from the demesne. Several enormous fines and rents were levied for land in the Farnham meadows. In a very few cases the rent was more 'because it was in a better place', as when the Dammartin's lands in Frensham were being split up in 1231–2. William de Mara then had to pay an entry fine of 1s per acre whilst other tenants paid only 6d. Most importantly, new rents were described as either land in the demesne or land from the waste. By using the fines, clues from amercements imposed by the courts, and descriptions of work done by the bishops' officials, it is possible to describe at least in outline, the manor as it was at the beginning of the 13th century.

The demesne, the land directly farmed by the bishop's reeves, lay east, north and west of the castle. In 1225–6, 300 statute acres of corn were sown and together with fallow land some 450 statute acres were devoted to arable crops. A secondary farm at Sele (Seale) had another 150

⁷ Increases of rent, entry fines and reliefs for the whole of Farnham manor from 1208–1349 have been translated and produced by Brooks & Graham (1983). William Cloth[ier]'s acquisitions of small plots of land have been traced from 1232.

statute acres⁸ under cultivation. It is fairly certain, though details are vague, that in parts of the manor there were ancient open fields cultivated by tenants.⁹ As there were no references to field rotations, it is debatable whether these open fields were held in strips or small plots.

Over the whole manor there was already a slow expansion into cultivable fringes of the waste, though in only two places does it appear to have been on any scale. These were in the extreme west of Churt and in Oteryngwode north of the castle, most of which was probably intact as the 13th century began. Thereafter considerable areas were steadily cleared both by tenants and bishop. Little more is known except that villeins occupied many odd hamlets of two or three houses on pockets of better soil all over the manor.

If it were not for the fact that land was bought and sold, the number of entry fines should reflect in the long term the death rate of head tenants, provided, of course, that all properties were occupied during the whole of the period. Although no use for that purpose, they do reflect events which affected in one way or another the story of the manor. The increased number of fines in some years in the early 14th century marked the great famines, while the fines in the Black Death years of 1348–9 and 1349–50 were four or five times greater than those of the preceding and succeeding 150 years.

The distortions from the general pattern of fines between 1226–7 and 1256–7 are particularly informative. The earliest fines were mostly 'for land', identified by a single name. After about 1230 the names became more descriptive and lands were also identified by size and location. Until 1347–8 there were (approximately) 30 to 35 fines each year. With the accession of Walter of Raleigh to the bishopric the number of fines and increases of rent rose spectacularly. In his second year 1244–5, there were 45 new rents and 137 fines. In 1246–7 and 1247–8 there were 54 and 46 respectively, which was also well above average.

New rents fixed for land taken out of the waste were a feature of many rolls before 1300. Except for a few larger areas of Oteryngwode they were all for small plots of about one to five acres.

The earlier and later fines show that transfer of land to tenants on a very small scale had begun under Pierre des Roches and that this continued under later bishops until the end of the 13th century. It would appear that with the accession of Raleigh there may have been a deliberate decision to reduce the scale of demesne farming and derive future revenues from tenanted land. A major transfer of demesne land took place under Aylmer de Valence in 1256–7 when West Field, Borden, Bettewell, Cumbe and Park Grove, totalling 108½ acres, were divided among 26 tenants. A particular feature of these transfers was their relatively small size, many of 1½ or 3 acres. It might be inferred that, as in Bentley in Hampshire, they were house plots, but this was not so. The whole picture of the fines shows that tenants were adding small plot to small plot. With one or two of these, plus perhaps an inheritance or marriage, they were accumulating the landholdings of the later fines.¹⁰ These show that before 1347 c 41% were for half virgates, 13% for quarter virgates and 22% for lands of less than 8 acres. At the same time the demesne had decreased from 450 statute acres to less than 200.

The change from demesne farming to renting land took place over most of England. Farnham may be unusual in that it took place so early and in such a short time, and that contemporary documents show how, and probably why, it took place so precipitately.

CUSTOMS OF THE MANOR

In 1256–7, Aylmer de Valence commuted the bondwork for a fixed annual payment. Despite this the changes that were made and recorded in the accounts make it possible to infer what bondwork was formerly done. The main changes are recorded in the rolls of 1231–2, 1232–3, 1235–6 and 1236–7.

⁸ Customary acres in the accounts have been converted to modern or statute acres. See section on units of land measurement, p 109. Robo (1935) assumes statute acres and consequently gives incorrect corn acreages and yields.

⁹ Accounts for Frensham Beale manor, 1342–7, describe corn as being in the open field (*ad campipartem*).

¹⁰ Brooks & Graham 1983

Most of the relevant passages were included under two headings: 'Produce of the manor' and 'Expenses of the manor'. The material, intermingled with other receipts and payments, is difficult to reproduce in chronological order without making it almost as confusing as the original.¹¹ Each custom is, therefore, treated separately here, even though each one affected most people in one way or another.

Ploughing work

Each year until 1256–7 when most bondwork was commuted, the number of plough boons was entered in the rolls. There were usually about 110–120, half for the autumn work and half for the spring. A variable qualifying passage stated that five acres was to be ploughed in autumn and spring together with daily harrowing; for this 2½d was paid. The actual meaning is clearer if it is realized that they were using the old customary acre, which was half the size of the modern statute acre.¹² In 1225–6, for instance, the rolls showed that 800 acres of corn were sown at Farnham and Seale. As another third would be fallow, the total arable area was about 1200 acres. Of this, 565 acres was cultivated by 113 ploughs for 23s 6d. In reality the acreage in statute acres was about half of these totals, though the exact figure is uncertain. The suggested figure is reflected in the seed rates for wheat, rye, barley and oats. Even after 1231–2, when corn acreage was expressed in statute acres, plough boons continued in the old manner. It seems probable that when the Normans dislodged Saxon owners it was easier to let work be done in the old way; as long as they had the corn the size of the acre mattered little.

The roll of 1231–2 marked the beginning of the end of the old boon ploughing. In that year the villeins paid 10ls 6d to their lord for relaxation of (unspecified) bondwork, a regular annual payment until 1256–7. It probably accounted for a final note that 'a careful enquiry must be made into rent of assize and bondwork'.

In 1235–6, it was more clearly described as relaxation of bondwork of 32½ virgates and two *cotagiums*. In the same year an additional phrase was added: 'henceforth for 32 hides [they shall plough] 163 acres by custom that is for each hide 5 acres by custom'. In 1236–7, the villeins (or some of them) paid 52s 6d for relaxation for ploughing *de nedhurde*¹³ of 104 ploughs, a payment that continued annually until the work was abolished in 1256–7. In 1247–8 a further note stated that six of the 32 hides were in Churt and that they always paid 8d per hide for relaxation.

Even with all this information it is difficult to know how the work was organized. It is doubtful whether any villein had a whole plough team. An analysis of over a hundred inventories from Churt and Headley between 1550 and 1640 shows that only half had oxen, plough and cart, though nearly all grew some corn. The villein may simply have guided one of the lord's ploughs or driven the oxen or horses (the teams were often mixed) or both. In 1225–6, 1200 customary acres had to be ploughed, some of it twice; of this, bondwork accounted for 565 acres. At the same time, there were in the demesne 71 oxen, 9 plough horses and 9 full-time ploughmen. It is easy to imagine that unless the work went smoothly 6d per acre for relaxation could be a good bargain for the bishop.

The following two passages show how difficult it is to describe some of the boon-work in detail, which arises mainly from the use of colloquial words. *Needday* is easy to understand when used to describe one day's boon-work and *nederda* is probably land subject to ploughing service. However, it is impossible to translate the shades of meaning of words such as *nederes* and *nedhurde* when the actual meaning of whole sentences is unclear. It is possible that the scribe was unable to reproduce in Latin the colloquial language of the villeins.¹⁴

11 Farnham and Bentley accounts 1215–16 to 1252–3. Translation by Brooks deposited at HRO.

12 See note 8.

13 Probably land subject to ploughing service; see note 14.

14 Both the sample passages were examined by Mrs M E Griffiths of the HRO, whose translation matched my own. Neither Mrs Griffiths nor her colleagues had met the words before.

For 18½d from nedithers because they received this year plough-service from nederda for 13s 9½d from the reap[er] reeves for the customary threshings of the corn because they did not thresh this year they do not account for carrying service because they chose to do carrying service rather than give money.¹⁵

For 13s 9½d from the reap[er] reeves as if for customary threshing of the corn this year because they did not thresh they do not account for the needacres because they did not plough the needearth so that they ought to account for the needacres this year they do not account for carrying service than give money.¹⁶

Units of land measurement

Few books which include descriptions of medieval ploughing discriminate between customary and statute acres. It is usually stated that a hide of land was calculated on the basis of what a plough team of 8 oxen could cultivate in a year; this was generally reckoned to be about 120 acres, implying modern statute acres. This would give 40 acres in September and October for autumn corn, 40 in February and March and the remaining 40 on the summer fallow, a result that could certainly have been achieved with a modern plough and team of horses. The accepted standard for continuous ploughing is one acre per day, although it does not leave much margin for bad weather. To suggest that the medieval team could cope with that acreage is unrealistic. The ox team was slower, the ploughs far less efficient and the oxen smaller, and often less well fed, than a modern team. A reasonable task would have been about half that area and that is exactly what the Farnham accounts show they actually did. They ploughed what had always been the custom, half a statute acre. These figures resulting from practical knowledge and documentary evidence pose awkward questions about the size of the old hide, a not unimportant point, as is demonstrated above when the plough boons were specifically linked to the hide. Taking the usual figure of 120 acres to the hide, it would have required 80 days ploughing in both autumn and spring. It would have been difficult in September, October and November, even in the most favourable weather, and quite impossible in February, March and April. It therefore seems probable that the old hide was only about 60 acres.

Weeding the corn

Customary weeding of the corn — there were many references to corn infested with weeds such as docks, thistles and couch — followed ploughing and sowing. In the earliest years a single payment was made, 5s 3d in 1223–4 and 4s 5d in 1224–5. The actual amount varied with the weather and 1223–4 was a wet year. In 1225–6 a new word, *cibo*, was used. This made it clear that the figure entered into the accounts was not a wage but the cost of the customary food provided for the workers. After 1231–2, probably because of the increasing cost of food, the system changed. The entry in 1231–2 reads ‘2s 10d for weeding the corn because they did not have an allowance of food, and the remainder of the work was done by the Hundred.’ This practice was followed in succeeding years.

This new arrangement for weeding is in line with what can be discerned concerning other bond-work. The ancient customary practices had become something of an anomaly. To avoid total disruption of seasonal work it was agreed that, as at harvest, part should be done on a customary basis and the balance at the going rate.

Haymaking

The customary work of haymaking seems to have been a major point of contention. The value of hay in the medieval economy could be compared with oil today, a value reflected in the entry fines and rents for meadows being four times that of land suitable for wheat. In a dry year the crop was easy to make but poor in quantity. In a wet one, work was tedious with much hay lost or poor in

¹⁵ HRO: Eccles II 159284 (1235–6)

¹⁶ HRO: Eccles II 159285 (1236–7)

quality, both circumstances regularly recorded in the accounts. On a small farm much can be accomplished in a few drying hours between storms, but the assembling of large numbers of men and women on the Farnham meadows, on the other hand, must have been difficult. One must also remember that no work was done on Sundays — fine Sundays and wet Mondays are still remembered by a few old farmers. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that there were repeated statements of what was the old custom and what was to be done in future. Nor is it suprising that the tenants' duty of mowing, making and stacking the hay was the one major work reserved to the lord when all the others were commuted in 1256–7.

Until 1226–7 the cost of haymaking was entered as a single figure, 13s 2d for 35 acres, about 4½d per acre. The roll of 1231–2 then recorded a change that was to continue until the Black Death. The passage translates as follows:

For 54 statute acres of meadow mowed and made into hay 15s 9d and this was by custom paid to the Hundred for mowing[:] the Bishop used to feed them but not now because of the great cost.¹⁷

In 1235–6 and 1236–7 it was stated that they received 3½d for each acre because the villeins had paid for relaxation of the bondwork 'as is contained in all the rolls up to the 30th roll.' This phrase is problematical because it implies that this had been the custom during the current bishopric of Pierre des Roches.¹⁸ The decrease in payment and the increase in acreage looks, at least on the face of it, a rather sharp deal by the bishop.

There is an echo of this dispute at Bentley, where only a few of the old customs were altered, when in 1223–4 the record of a payment of 3d per acre is followed by the words 'and they shall have no more'.

Finally, there was argument about carrying (and stacking) the hay. The sum of 2s 5d had to be paid 'because the men of the Hundred said that it was not customary work'.

The subject of haymaking presents many problems. The sudden increase in acreage is unexplained, as is also the apparently lesser sum paid for the work. It is also surprising to find no mention of the meadows hayed, although there were regular references to catching moles, spreading molehills, picking up stones and carting hay to the castle. Perhaps more surprising is the fact that in some years corn was grown in parts of the Broadmead.

In the early years, hay was extensively used for human bedding at the castle before being fed to animals. In some years meadows were grazed 'by the Lords beasts'. This has been taken to mean the animals from the castle farm but it can be seen that this was not the case by examining the number of animals in the annual stocktakings. The 'beasts' were often those necessary for moving the bishop's *familia*, his household, and could number hundreds.

Harvesting and threshing

The changing pattern of the harvest becomes clear as one reads through the rolls. In all the earlier accounts the grain issued from the grange for bondwork to the various grades of staff in the castle, and for permanently employed workers on the farm, was first grade wheat. Not until about the end of the 13th century was it replaced by barley and, to a small extent, other cereals or pulses for the farm workers. For others best wheat continued to be used.

Less clear are details of the arguments or bargainings that occasioned these changes. Only the final results were recorded, and even then in ambiguous phrases. Until 1226–7 a single entry gave

¹⁷ HRO: Eccles II 159282 (1231–2)

¹⁸ HRO: Eccles II 159284 and 159285. 'All rolls up to the 30th roll': Pierre des Roches was bishop from 1205–1238. Counting by roll years, not calendar years, it could be inferred that the 30 years was the time he had then held the bishopric. This calculation is not entirely convincing however. Alternatively, it could be taken to mean that he had instituted the system of accounting, the pipe rolls, in the second year of the bishopric, or had perhaps reformed an earlier method.

the cost of harvest rations supplied to the reaping gangs: 18s 7d in 1223–4 and 24s 9d in the following year ‘because of dear times’. Bread and ale were staple foods with an addition of bacon, meat, herrings and cheese. Usually only two of the latter four items were provided.

As for other bondwork, the first sign of change was recorded in 1231–2 with the phrase ‘15s 7d paid by the receres and customary threshers of the corn because they did not thresh the corn’. This payment continued without alteration in the succeeding accounts. The rolls of 1235–6 and 1236–7 contain the passages quoted above¹⁹ of which the general sense is obvious despite the muddled wording.

Further changes occurred in 1244–5 when work of all kinds was increasingly done by piece-work. Although not always explicitly stated, reaping work began to be split into two parts, with the customary bondwork being paid at one rate and the remainder being paid at another. The totals often show a disproportionately high yield in relation to the amount of corn sown and have caused much confusion. The apparent error arises from the difference in size between the customary and statute acre. The problem is easily resolved by reference to the amount of seed sown per acre which was, with very small variations, that which is still sown today: for winter corn, wheat, rye and winter barley, 2½ bushels per acre; for spring corn, oats and barley, 4 bushels. In 1247–8, 244 statute acres were reaped in Farnham and Seale by custom and 22½ by piece-work; the relative costs were 2½d and 4½d per acre. The difference probably arose because food was provided in the first case but not in the second one. Other variations occurred during wet harvests or when the corn was full of weeds. The roll of 1244–5 gave, for the first time, the number of men employed on the harvest as 650. It is a figure often misunderstood. The men did not all turn up together, since the various kinds of corn ripened at different times. The figure was for man/days work.

In connection with harvesting, the size of the stack of wheat built at Bentley in 1253–4 is interesting. It was 40ft x 20ft (c 12m x 6m) and contained by estimation 50 quarters of wheat, which is large even by modern standards and must have required very skilful building.²⁰ Later rolls record that a stacker was always paid separately for his work.

Miscellaneous work

The annual payment of 10ls 6d for relaxation of bondwork until the general commutation appears to have covered miscellaneous works. Two of these, the provision of hurdles for the sheepfold and the protection of the corn with temporary fencing, were henceforth paid by the demesne.

It is worth noting that the oft-quoted ‘strike’ over the construction of Frensham Little Pond in 1245–6²¹ is incorrect. The work was clearly described as repair work; the workers objected, rather than refused, to do the carrying work because it was not bondwork. However, they finally had to pay the bishop a ‘gift’ of 20s over the affair.²²

There are few clues concerning the organization of boon-works. At Bentley from 1216 onwards a *berebret* was employed and also at Farnham after 1220. His work was more varied than ‘looking after the granges’ as given by Latham (1965). At both Farnham and Bentley he was engaged by the term (3 months). His pay was 9d per term, more than anyone else but the reeve. The irregularity of his employment is surprising: at Bentley, two terms in 1217–18, one term in 1219–20. In 1224–5 he was ‘in charge of the threshing’, while in 1225–6 he worked for only one term ‘at the time of sowing’. At Farnham his work was something similar. In 1225–6 he had ‘to organize the ploughings and look after the grange’. At Bentley he continued in later years to supervise the harvest. The Farnham account of 1231–2 changed the name from *berebret* to bailiff of whom it was later written ‘who looks after the summer (fallow) ploughing and issues summons’.

¹⁹ See text at notes 15, 16

²⁰ HRO: Eccles II 159291B (1253–4)

²¹ Robo 1935, 23

²² It is usually written that action was ordered by the bishop but some major decisions were probably made in greater or lesser part by the bishopric, which had financial continuity.

Conclusion

Material for this paper has been accumulating for many years. Some of it was re-examined when Borelli Yard was excavated and again when the *borough* ditch at the Castle Street/Bear Lane site was exposed (see excavation reports, pp 120–32 and 133–43). Since then a reassessment of what was written has shown that the original text in the pipe rolls concerning the ditch needed a more critical examination.

This in turn required further consideration of the origins of the *borough*. Much of this work had already been done with the translation of all the early Farnham and Bentley accounts. What had not been done was to disentangle the various difficult passages in a manner which would, without violating the text, present the reader with the story of Farnham, Farnham manor and the *borough* in the early 13th century.

The individual strands in isolation — a refusal to fence the corn or make hurdles as had been the custom — were hardly momentous events. However, entwined with other events they combine to produce evidence of great and unexpected change in the history of Farnham.

It would be pleasing to conclude with a reasoned statement of how it all happened, but that is not possible without assuming the thoughts and motives of the many people involved. All that can be done is to suggest both the state of Farnham and its people in 1215 and what was recorded in 1256 and after.

In the roll years of 1215–16 and 1216–17 the bailiffs paid the full rent of £7 each year. From this, despite some looting of the demesne by the French garrison at the castle, it might be inferred that the local people were more concerned with their own simple affairs than with the quarrels of kings. This assumption may be absolutely wrong. It is equally likely that they faced the French soldiers with sullen indifference or fraternized and shared the loot.

Whatever had previously been the mood it had changed dramatically by the time the roll of 1231–2 was written. Although textual references are scarce, the few that do appear leave no doubt that there was often opposition to villein bondwork in the manor, opposition which, despite the power of a great lord, could not be ignored. The question then arises as to whether this ferment was really as sudden as the events of 1215–16 suggested or whether it was the end of a long emerging struggle. Once again there is no answer. However, there are factors which combine to make a sequence of events which is at least plausible.

In the 12th century small areas of good land scattered about this great manor were, as far as we know, largely occupied by demesne farms. To each of these were attached villeins responsible for bondwork. When these outlying lands were transferred to rent-paying tenants those services were no longer required. Nevertheless, as was shown at Seale, the bishop never relinquished these rights unless for a profitable *quid pro quo*. It is therefore likely that this was a source of friction before any settlement was arranged.

The *borough* accounts of 1244–8 show, as far as can be judged, that the *borough* was fully occupied and merchants were taking up new stalls in the market. At the same time, some, possibly many, of the bailiffs had land elsewhere in the manor and were acquiring more as fast as they could. They were then in a position of relative privilege and freedom in the *borough*, while at the same time being villeins for the land they held in the manor. In addition, they could not have avoided seeing the activities and wealth of a great abbey, Waverley, virtually in their midst. To these provable factors might be added an unprovable one, that the bishop, or the bishopric, came to the conclusion that Farnham alone among their many manors was too much trouble to manage in the old way. Thus the bishopric would be better off taking the cash and leaving Farnham folk to their own devices. These guesses may be right or wrong, but the result is not in doubt.

The Black Death of 1348–9 and the succeeding pestilences resulted in many lands becoming derelict. After about 1450, when some prosperity returned, land was leased for trivial rents. Old houses were repaired and new ones, many with barns, replaced those that had disappeared. In the process not only plots but also virgates became amalgamated. The final step took place in the 16th century when licences were granted for the exchange of lands in Wrecclesham, Dogflud, Badshot, Elstead, Tongham and Runfold. This was the end of the old open fields; the pattern was now

complete. It had taken 350 years to create a landscape that was to survive, little changed, for another three and a half centuries.

Moreover the men and women who began it, and whose bones lie unmarked around Farnham church, unwittingly devised memorials that would survive in their own way as long as those of their lords, the bishops. For centuries their names have been daily on the lips of those who farmed their lands, finally to be recited to the tithe surveyors and recorded for all time within the Tithe Maps.²³

Postscript

Robo stated that the early inhabitants of Farnham, being town dwellers, knew nothing of animals and farming. This was certainly incorrect as many had lands of their own. Through all the ages men have prayed for at least a harvest of survival, while dreaming of a heaven of abundance. To that end the open fields, in which miserable crops of corn struggled through docks and multitudes of thistles, were enclosed. Now open again, and weedless, they produce what for 700 years was only a dream.

Perhaps old William Ball who farmed long ago in a Midlands village had it about right. He used to take a sheaf of wheat and a sheaf of thistles to church at harvest festival. When asked why, he replied: 'The Lord provides all.'

²³ Brooks & Graham 1983; Brooks 1982, 123–8. Coremonger, Houk, Duc, Vicies, Alfox, Trapes, Garlec and Bissop were all the names of Farnham men of the 13th century. Henry Wheeler's lands, which lay north of the Farnham–Alton Road in the tithing of Runwick, included Clerkrede, la Hoke, Brocent, Cokes, Tagatores and Tinkers (which may be a corruption of Finkeshurst), names derived from le Broc, le Clerk and Tannator. (Henry Wheeler, HRO 155895, 1557)

The town ditch and the early development of Farnham town and *borough*

PEGGY PARKS

Documentary evidence

Little is known about Farnham before Domesday, apart from the boundaries of the Hundred and the fact that it had, by then, become part of the estates of the bishops of Winchester. In 1087, while clearly there was no *borough*, there was a church worth £6 — quite a significant sum. This had been granted by the bishop to a Norman nobleman, Osbern de Eu. Some time in the 12th century this grant was transferred to the archdeaconry of Surrey. The area included the south side of West Street as far as the church passage between nos 14 and 15. This fact may well have influenced the bishop when, presumably at some time in the 12th century he allowed, or even planned, an area somewhat to the north-east of the nucleus round the church to be used as a *borough*/market. It would clearly have been inconvenient to establish this in an area where he lacked control of one side of the main street (the archdeacon being entitled to the quit or chief rents).

While the bishop may well simply have preferred to establish a trading area immediately below his castle, the great width of Castle Street and the regularity of the plots reaching to an established line on both the east and west sides of the area, do suggest a planned layout. However, since Farnham was clearly of some significance long before this took place, the term 'planned extension' seems more appropriate than 'new town'. This development took place a sufficiently long time before the first Winchester pipe roll of 1208–9¹ as by then to be no longer newsworthy in the way that the emerging New Alresford was at that time. Indeed, Farnham was already being allowed to run its own affairs in return for a rent — £7 in that year and rising until a formal charter was granted in 1248–9.² This was unusual among the Winchester new plantations, which were mostly run from Wolvesey. So Farnham *borough* seems to have been established by about 1200 in circumstances which are not entirely understood.

As regards the development of West Street, the fact that so little archaeological investigation has been possible, and that there is an almost total absence of documentary evidence before 1208, makes it unwise to suggest that the area either pre- or post-dates the *borough*. The same should probably be said of East Street.

Philip Brooks has shown that in 1226 an area, which could be separately identified from the rest of the town for administrative purposes, is described in the pipe roll of that year as 'within the town ditch'. On the hypothesis that this was the area of the *borough*, this note attempts to define its boundaries in the hope that it will lead to the location of the ditch, or at any rate point to where it might conceivably lie.

RENT ROLLS

The earliest documentary evidence concerning the *borough* is found in the rent rolls of the bishops of Winchester, usually known as the pipe rolls, which start in 1208.

The 1248–9 roll states the provisions of the first Farnham *borough* Charter, which sets out the total annual rent due to the bishop as £12 per annum. Some of the money came from market tolls, fairs etc, but towards this sum the bailiffs, who ran the *borough*, collected a total of £2 10s each year from those who owned plots or houses. A house rent was 4d, that for a plot 9d. There are a few fragmentary references to individual rent payments in the medieval era, but the earliest complete

1 HRO: Eccles II 158270 (1208–9). For numbering of pipe rolls see Brooks note 1 (p 102).

2 HRO: Eccles II 158290 (1248–9)

rent roll dates from 1594 (M93), when a complete list was copied by the bailiffs into their Account Book.³ By this time the annual rent total had dropped to £2 0s 5d. Two later accounts in the same source date from 1681 and 1707. The actual original rolls for 1711 and for most years from 1759⁴ to 1777⁵ when the *borough* collapsed, are now in the Hampshire Record Office. By the end of the period only about £1 16s 0d was being collected.

By charting these rents and using evidence from the scattering of surviving title deeds, it is possible to pinpoint with reasonable accuracy the actual boundaries of the *borough* and thus the area that the medieval ditch might reasonably be expected to have enclosed. It is worth noting in passing that there are references to gardens and orchards in the 1594 roll, most of which would seem to be at the top of Castle Street.

The rolls show a regularity suggesting that they were originally recorded in a set order, starting at no 1, The Borough and ending at no 52 on the opposite side of the street, having proceeded in a clockwise direction as described in greater detail below (fig 4.3; M93–M107). The regularity of entries fails at times, but considering that the system started about 1200, this comes as no great surprise. It has to be admitted that some entries appear to be out of their rightful place; a potent reason could be that when an owner bought a second property in a different area of the *borough*, his rents were amalgamated. The declining total sums collected may stem from a number of factors, such as the failure to collect from an empty property, the rent then disappearing for good. There remain questions which, at present, cannot be answered, but a regular pattern, however flawed, shows in this delightful system where 4d would buy the same rights in 1777 as it had in 1248.

The importance of the information found in the title deeds in making sense of this order cannot be over-emphasized, and is particularly generous for properties at the beginning of each rental. Happily this appears to coincide with no 1 The Borough. This was the site of the Bear Inn — which Elfrida Manning very reasonably interpreted as being derived from the 'Bar' named in the pipe roll for 1472–3⁶ — located at the west end of The Borough. From this point the rentals go east to the corner with Castle Street and continue up the hill, taking in a number of identifiable houses on the way. Of particular interest is a bundle of deeds,⁷ which clearly state that two of three houses abutting on the present Masonic Hall (then known as 'Thomas Baker's Music House') are both in Castle Street and in 'the Burrow of Farnham'. Confirming the truth of this description, the same succession of owners of these properties appear on the rent rolls. The final deed is for the 'Music House' itself, at the top of the old part of Castle Street on the west side (fig 4.3).

Crossing over the street to Guildford House, the names appear of owners of this and nos 45 and 46 adjoining it to the south. Castle Hill House was in the tithing of Badshot, so its absence is not surprising.

The case for alleging that the *borough* went thus far rests here. From this point the *borough* goes down the east side of the street, turns east into the present street The Borough and then only as far as the present Abbey National Building Society (no 17). At this point there are deeds to properties on either side of the town ditch, which will be examined in some detail. To date no documentary references have come to light referring to the ditch at any other place in the *borough*.

Freehold property

THE ABBEY NATIONAL BUILDING SOCIETY, NO 17 THE BOROUGH

A bundle of deeds to this building has survived from the time when it was the Ship Inn. In the early days this seems to have been part of a sizeable site, possibly also including nos 15 and 16.⁸

3 Museum of Farnham: Farnham Borough Rentals 1594, 1681 and 1707, Farnham Bailiffs Account Book, photocopies.

4 HRO: 11M59/Bp/E/B 92. Farnham Borough Rentals 1711, 1759–74 (non-continuous)

5 HRO: 11M59/Bp/7/1 and 2. Farnham Borough Rentals 1775, 1777

6 HRO: Eccles II 155836 (1472–3)

7 SHC: G75/2/1–4. Title deeds to houses on the west side of Castle Street.

8 Museum of Farnham: Deeds to the Ship Inn, Farnham Borough, box 122.

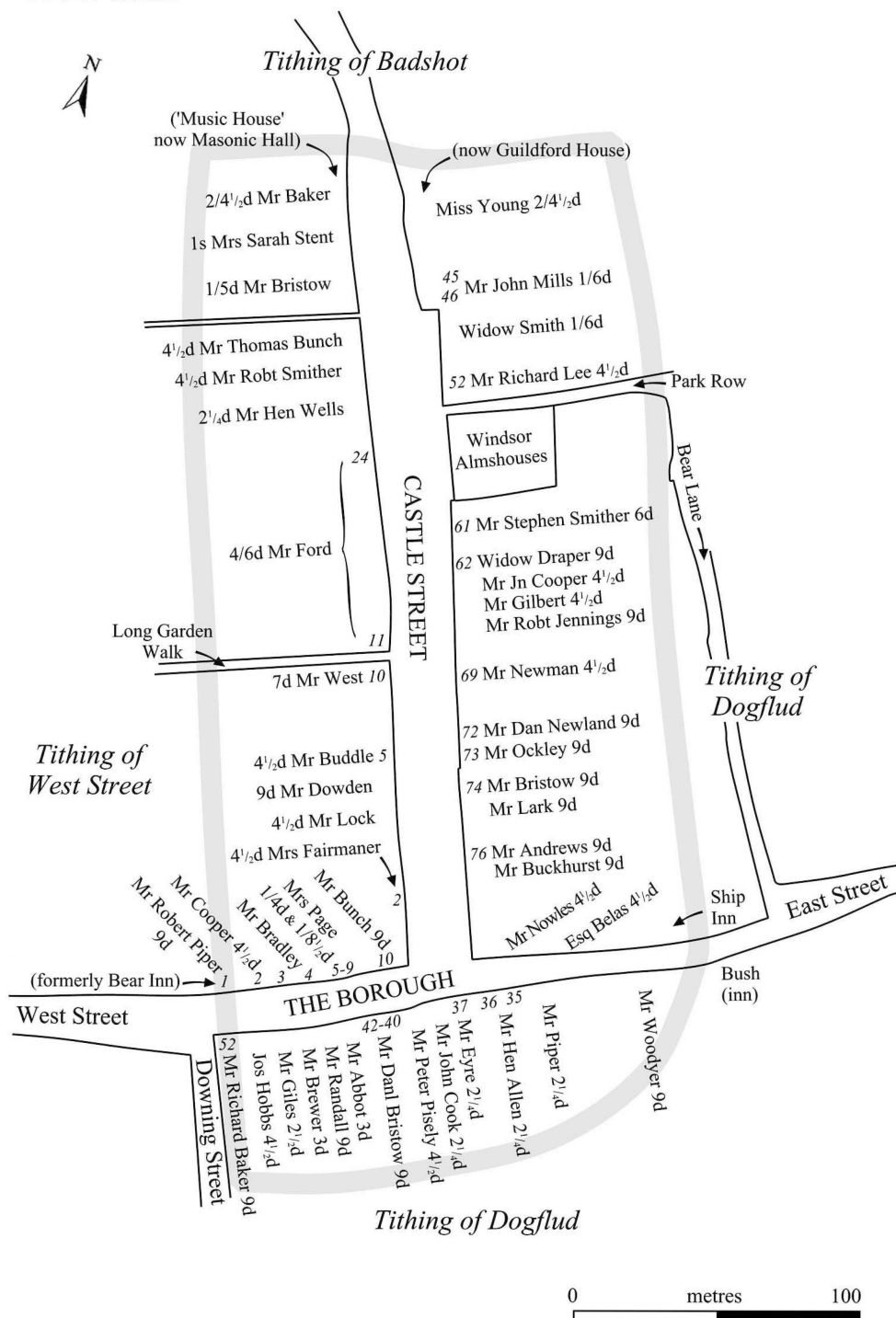


Fig 4.3 Farnham Borough c 1200–1777. Map showing the extent of the *borough* based on the rent roll for 1775. The roll starts at no 1 The Borough on the north side of the road and follows a somewhat erratic course round The Borough and Castle Street, finally ending at no 52 The Borough immediately opposite the start. Street numbers are shown where title deeds giving the names of late 18th century owners are in existence. Some entries are out of close order and some rents had lapsed.

The earliest deed is a conveyance of 1539 by Thomas White Esq of South Warnborough to Andrew White of Farnham. It refers to 'a messuage and garden abutting on the street on the south, land of the said Thomas on the west, the tenement of John Stylewell on the north and the castle ditch on the east'. Later deeds continue to refer to this property, the last mention of the ditch coming in a will of Thomas Christmas of Binstead of 1654. The Ship Inn is first mentioned in 1656 and, rebuilt after a fire in 1860, it lasted into the 20th century. These deeds continually stress that a house was in the *borough*, but call the ditch the castle ditch rather than the town ditch.

Copyhold property

18–21 THE BOROUGH

These are recorded in manorial fine books as being in the tithing of Dogflud where they are described as being either at the south end of Bear Lane or 'next to the town ditch'.

The earliest reference found to date comes in the pipe roll of 1432–3⁹ when John Salesby paid 6d for admission to a plot of land at the south end of Barlane, next to the bridge and ditch of the Burg of Farnham, on land lately of the waste. It also spells out its complicated measurements, which are easily recognized when used in later entries. In 1472–3 there is an entry for Henry Salisbury, son of John Salisbury¹⁰ which is repeated in 1554–5¹¹ and 1590–1¹². A further entry of 1596–7¹³ describes how it was then split into three parts, going to William Martin, Stephen Long and John Forder respectively. Martin's plot is said to be next to the town ditch and the other two at the south end of Bear Lane; all were formerly part of the waste in the tithing of Dogflud. Clearly derived from the measured plot mentioned above, and despite occasional amalgamations and divisions, the ownership can be followed through to enfranchisement in 1886, when the houses are named as nos 18–21 The Borough.¹⁴ The first two are derived from the part described as being 'next the town ditch' and nos 20 and 21 from the part at the south end of Bear Lane. These houses, now rather confusingly numbered as part of The Borough, were built on a piece of waste land in the tithing of Dogflud. The ditch was on their west side, Bear Lane on their east and the king's highway on their south.

The bridge over the *borough* ditch

An entry in the Farnham Manor court roll of 1518–19 for Dogflud tithing notes that the bailiffs of the *borough* of Farnham 'have permitted the bridge between the Tithing of Dogflud and the Borough of Farnham to become ruinous, and they have not cleaned out the ditch beneath the bridge'.¹⁵

Another court roll of 1545–6 again speaks of the town bridge and ditch being in disrepair,¹⁶ and in 1598 John Harding is presented for not scouring the ditch 'which is a deniance to the Queen's highway'.¹⁷ Similar presentments occur at intervals into the 18th century — a specific one recorded on 15 March 1742 reads: 'We present the bridge called Mitchener's Bridge leading into Dogflud and the road leading from the burow'.¹⁸

9 HRO: Eccles II 158449 (1432–3)

10 HRO: Eccles II 155836 (1472–3)

11 HRO: Eccles I 85/5 (1554–5)

12 HRO: Eccles I 112/7 (1590–1)

13 HRO: Eccles I 113/2 (1596–7)

14 HRO: Eccles II 210101c (Enfranchisement 1886)

15 HRO: Eccles I 79/32 (Court Roll 1518–19)

16 HRO: Eccles I 89/2 (Court Roll 1545–6)

17 HRO: Eccles I 144/1 (Presentment 1598)

18 HRO: Eccles II 159593 (Presentment 1742)

The bridge was again presented as a public nuisance in 1773,¹⁹ and this is the last heard on the subject, though it has to be said that only very cursory information comes from this source towards the end of the 18th century.

Having located the east end of the *borough* on the north side the entries cross over the street, ignore the Bush inn, which was in the tithing of Dogflud, and carry on westward to the top of Downing Street, to a point opposite no 1 The Borough where the round is complete.

19 HRO: Eccles II 159599 (Presentment 1773)

GLOSSARY

Compiled from *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301–2* (HRO, 1997) and Richardson (1974) with additional information kindly provided by Pat Heather and Peggy Parks.

acre, customary: usually smaller than the standard (statute) acre but varying in size from manor to manor. For the problem of acres on the Winchester estate and conversion tables from customary to standard acres, see Titow (1972, 145–64).

amercement: penalty or fine levied for the various transgressions committed by the tenants, (eg trespass, fighting, theft, breaking assize) at manorial court. Convicted offenders were 'in the bishop's mercy' and were liable to a monetary penalty.

assart: piece of forest or grazing land converted into arable by grubbing up the trees and brushwood.

assize (of bread or ale): judicial inquest; ordinances of King John and Henry III regulating the weight and price of bread and ale. From 1266–7 a periodic announcement by civic authority in each locality fixing the price of bread and ale, based on the current prices of corn and malt.

boon-work: additional to customary labour service, demanded whenever necessary to complete the ploughing of the demesne, or the reaping of the corn.

bondland: land held by a manorial tenant carrying obligations to perform services for the lord in return.

bondwork: work a manorial tenant was obliged to do for his lord in return for his house and land.

copyhold: originally a tenure dependent upon custom and carrying with it obligations to perform certain services for the lord. The tenant derived his title from a written entry in a manorial court roll. Copyhold tenure was abolished in 1926.

cotagium: the dwelling-place of a tenant with a piece of land attached.

customary: a book or document listing the customs and established practices of a community.

customary tenant: free or unfree tenant holding land according to the customs of the manor.

defaults of rent: uncollected rent from land which was vacant or had been taken back into demesne; these were recorded year after year in the pipe rolls, often for centuries on end, and so do not usually refer to the year of the roll in which they appear.

demesne: land held and directly managed by the lord and not by a subordinate tenant, upon which tenants gave unpaid service according to the customs of the manor.

escheat: land which reverted to the lord on the death of a tenant without an heir, or as the result of a misdemeanour.

fine (entry fine): paid to the bishop by the incoming tenant of a piece of land on the death or withdrawal of the outgoing tenant.

Hockday, Hocktide: one of the days of the year on which rent was paid — the second Tuesday after Easter Sunday.

messuage: portion of land occupied by a dwelling-house and its appurtenances.

pannage: payment made to the lord for the feeding of swine in a wood.

presentment: the report of a manorial court jury concerning an offence brought to its knowledge.

purpresture: land of secondary quality which was not subject to the obligations placed on bondland. It could be sold or exchanged more freely than bondland. From about the 16th century onwards it was also used to refer to an encroachment of varying size upon common or demesne land.

relief: payment (entry fee) made to the lord by the heir of a tenant holding free land on taking up possession of the land.

rent of assize: fixed annual money rent, usually paid quarterly, based on the size of the tenant's holding.

seisin: possession (of property) rather than ownership; probably pre-Conquest in origin.

seneschal: generally the steward, supervising several manors.

tithing: the basic unit of manorial administration; by the 13th century both a geographical as well as a social entity, to which each inhabitant over the age of twelve belonged.

villein: unfree tenant, liable to perform labour services and to render such dues as entry and marriage fines and heriots. Villeinage was an hereditary condition, above the status of slave, but assumed to be annexed to the lord's person, holding land at the will of the lord.

virgate: measure of land, usually about 30 acres. The Farnham virgate was stated to be 32 acres (see Robo 1935, 11).

waste: inferior land used communally.

Excavation at Borelli Yard, Farnham: the town ditch

NICHOLAS RIALI

Background

INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Waverley Borough Council set up the Farnham Archaeological Project in the spring of 1985, through its Manpower Services Commission (MSC) agency, to undertake excavation work in and around Farnham in response to the threat posed by a number of planned development schemes including the development of Borelli Yard. At the invitation of Arundell House Securities Ltd, the developers, the project team conducted an excavation at Borelli Yard from June 1985 to January 1986 and from 1 to 5 April 1986. The main aim of the excavation was to assess the extent and nature of backlands usage, and to verify the existence of a town ditch of which mention is made in the Winchester pipe rolls.

I would like to thank Arundell House Securities Ltd, in particular Alan Taylor, company director, for financial support and active encouragement as well as the invitation to excavate the site. I would also like to offer my thanks to Dr David Bird, County Archaeologist for Surrey County Council who was approached by Arundell House Securities Ltd in the initial stages of the development project at Borelli Yard, for presenting the excavation opportunity to Waverley Borough Council as a potential community programme project. My especial thanks go to Rob Poulton, Archaeological Field Officer with Surrey County Council, who co-directed the excavation until 31 August 1985 and gave his continued support and advice thereafter; to the officers and staff of Waverley Borough Council, in particular the late Kathy Callow, Arts and Museums Officer, and Derek Greenwood, MSC Community Programme Agency Manager, who were responsible for the overall management and administration of the Farnham Archaeological Project; and Hilary Bunce, who solved innumerable difficulties in the day-to-day running of the project.

Thanks are also due to Phil Jones, of the Surrey County Archaeological Unit, for his work on the pottery from the medieval contexts. I am also grateful to the following for their help and advice during the excavation and post-excavation work: Philip Brooks for his invaluable assistance with the pipe roll evidence; David and Audrey Graham who originally brought the potential importance of the site to Waverley Borough Council's attention, and who assisted greatly throughout all stages of the project; Peggy Parks for providing information on the Farnham *borough* rentals; and Chris Shephard together with the *Farnham Herald* who assisted us considerably with public relations. Finally, but by no means least, my thanks go to the members of the project team who made Borelli Yard a successful excavation.

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The report on the excavations at Borelli Yard have been divided into two parts. This, the first part, will deal with all the pre-town ditch phases and the town ditch itself. The second part of the report, which will appear in print in due course, will be devoted to describing the tile kiln.

GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

The town of Farnham lies on the northern slopes leading away from the fertile river meadows of the river Wey (fig 4.2). Geological maps of the locality reveal a complex sequence of heavily faulted gravels, sands and clays, along with a narrow band of chalk crossing the northern side of the town underneath the castle. To the north of Farnham the ground continues to rise, crossing a

wide expanse of brickearths and clays until the top of Bricksbury Hill is reached where a cap of gravels overlies the brickearth.

The river Wey which divides Farnham from its suburbs meanders within its flood-plain and is a generally slow-flowing river, though susceptible to flooding. It was the river which was responsible for producing the particular topography of Farnham, a sequence of terraces which are well-known archaeologically for their Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic finds (Oakley *et al* 1939; Bird & Bird 1987).

The site at Borelli Yard lies across an interface of geological deposits and includes a terrace step lying between trenches 1 and 2 (fig 4.4). The main excavation area, trenches 2–5, lies across a terrace, partially man-made, which has approximately 1m of topsoil overlying rounded and angular gravels in a clayey matrix. These gravels are between 0.75m and 1m thick and overlie sands of the Lower Greensand. In trench 1, the gravel tails away and is partially covered by poorly-sorted river-gravels and silts in a thick, silty-clay matrix. These extend to the south and cover the soft Gault Clays. Excavation showed that the Gault lies against the Lower Greensand at an almost vertical angle (fig 4.5). This junction between the Gault and the Lower Greensand marks both the lowest point of the terrace step and the approximate high-water mark of flooding by the river Wey in recent times.

EXCAVATION PROCEDURE (fig 4.4)

The principal objective of the excavation was to establish the line of the medieval town ditch. To this end a programme of trenching was designed to explore the areas of Borelli Yard available for excavation, from a point south of what was considered to be the potential line of the town ditch northwards through Borelli Yard. With the exception of trench 1, the location and size of the trenches was determined by the presence of garden walls, many of which were originally to have been retained for inclusion in the redevelopment of the site.

Trench 1 was located outside the area of the walled gardens and in the area of former tennis courts; it was excavated entirely by hand. Post-medieval landscaping of this area had removed all but the earlier, pre-13th century, medieval deposits. A geophysical survey of the area to the south of trench 1 by Rob Poulton failed to reveal any significant anomalies, and no further trenches were opened outside the area of the walled gardens.

A trial trench was opened by hand excavation at the northern end of trench 2 to determine the depth of topsoils and to establish whether any medieval horizons or features had survived above the level of the natural bedrock. The substantial depth of topsoil was shown to be very much disturbed and could be dated to the mid-17th century on coin evidence. Accordingly, a mechanical excavator was used to remove the topsoils from this and subsequent trenches.

The garden areas at this stage of the excavation contained a number of small outbuildings and sheds, extensive areas of cobbled paths and paving, together with a number of trees. There were also substantial heaps of reclaimed building materials. All of this and the intervening garden walls were cleared away to permit the opening of trenches 3 and 4, and also allow the full excavation of the tile kiln which had been found at the north end of trench 2.

Trench 3 is the continuation of trench 2 northwards, trench 4 was excavated to explore the area beneath a post-medieval building, identified as a granary; this trench, like trench 3, was later found to cross the town ditch. Trench 3 was defined by the garden walls on both the east and west sides, whilst to the north a standing building, with a cellar 3m below ground level, rendered excavation pointless.

A direct consequence of the use of the gardens in the area of trench 3 for the storage of building materials and the presence of a number of substantial trees was that the underlying soils were excessively dry. This, combined with the very dry summer of 1985, made it extremely difficult to identify any features or substantial changes in stratigraphy. It took some time to recognize that trench 3 almost exactly spanned a single, major feature and even longer to identify that feature as the town ditch. Trench 5, excavated in April 1986 after the standing had been demolished, was opened to provide an inspection of the ditch away from the tile kiln.

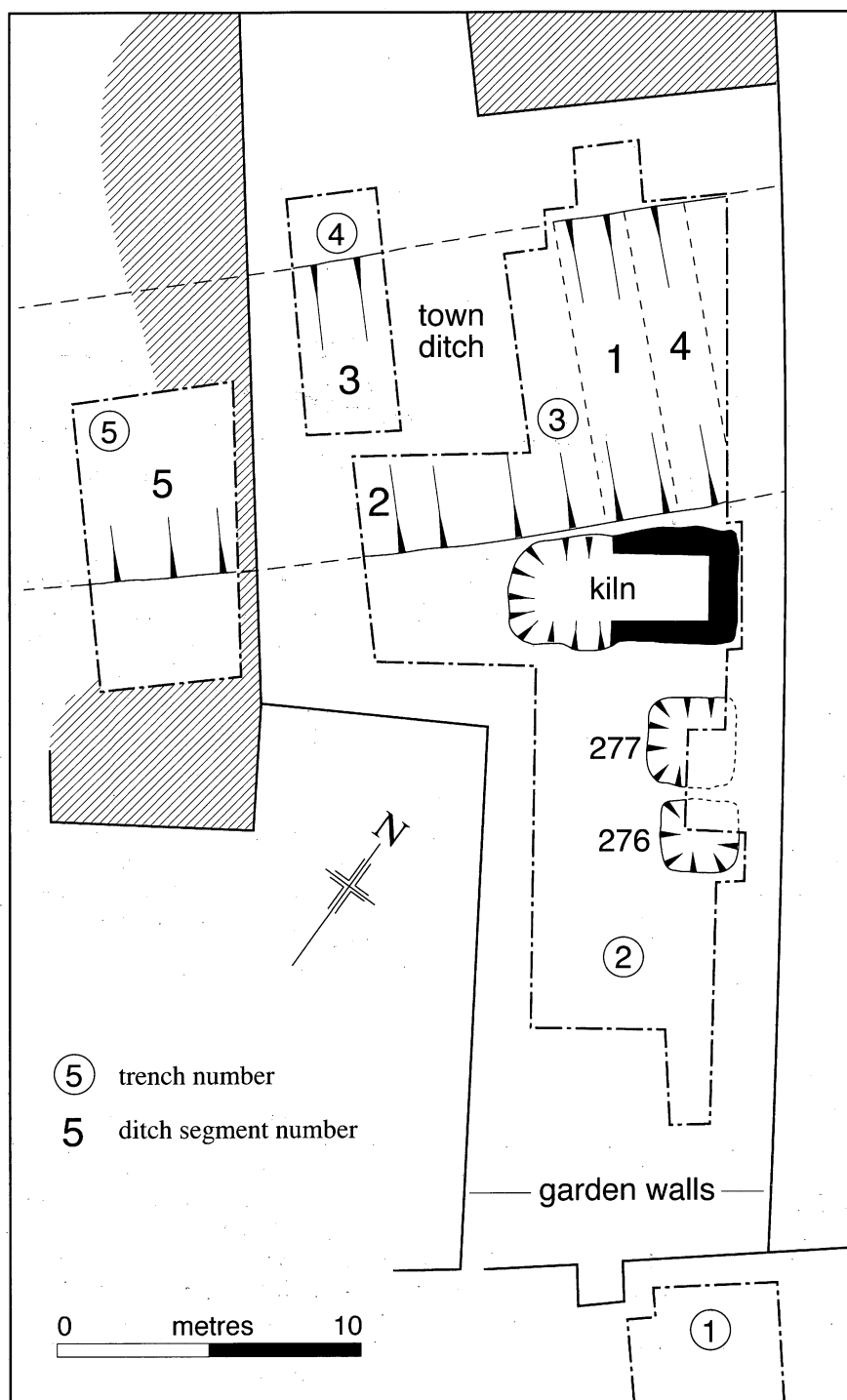


Fig 4.4 Borelli Yard, Farnham: general site plan showing the location of trenches and major features revealed by excavation

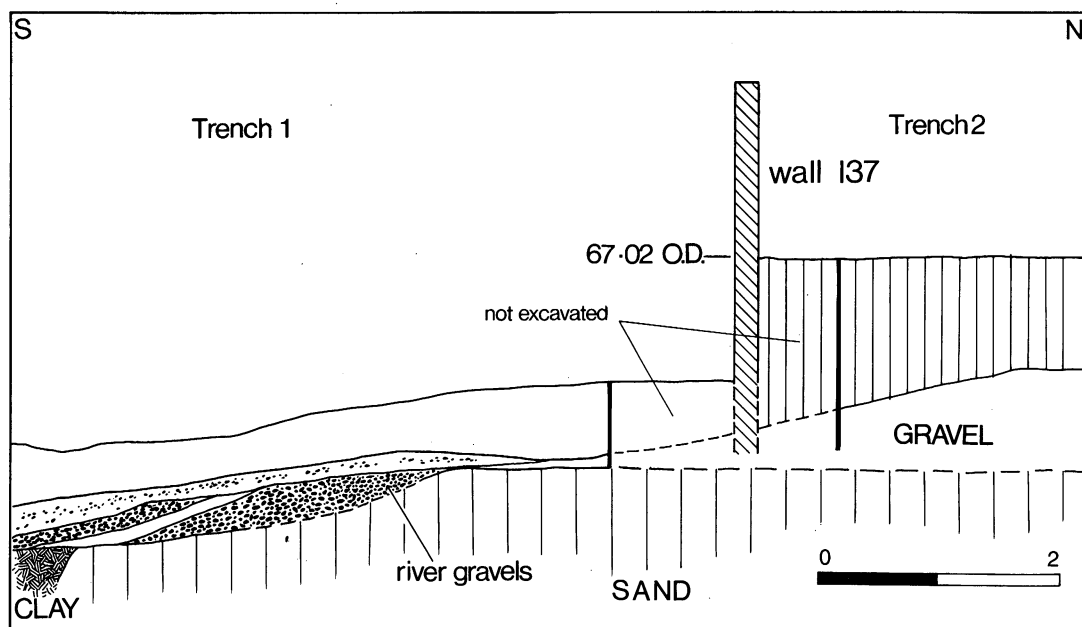


Fig 4.5 Borelli Yard, Farnham: geological section showing the river terraces as revealed by trench 1 and 2 sections

The exposed area of the town ditch was divided into five segments. Segment 1 was the only fully excavated section across the full width of the ditch, while the remainder were for various reasons only partly excavated. Segment 2 was cut by a substantial post-medieval pit and, once the line of the ditch had been established, was abandoned. Segment 3 was also abandoned, without fully exploring the ditch fills but after the northern slope of the ditch had been identified, because of the proximity of the trench edges to standing buildings. Segment 4 was excavated in January 1986, when the ditch fills had absorbed sufficient water to permit the stratigraphy within the ditch to be clearly seen and to allow the collection of ceramic material from individual layers. Segment 5, within trench 5, revealed that the construction of an 18th/19th century hop-kiln had destroyed most of the ditch top fills, though the earlier medieval layers had survived.

The excavation

PHASE I: EVIDENCE PRE-DATING THE TOWN DITCH

Little evidence for settlement prior to the 12th century was found at Borelli Yard. The earliest was nine pieces of Mesolithic flintwork which, in view of the well-known density of Mesolithic material from Farnham, requires no further comment here.

The earliest ceramic material was a scattering of 312 sherds of Anglo-Saxon and Saxo-Norman wares across the site. A large group of this material was recovered from trench 1 in association with a scatter of bone. The whole area of the garden, within which trench 1 was cut, appears to have been landscaped in the 19th century, resulting in the truncation of all but 13th/14th century and earlier deposits. The latest medieval deposits in trench 1 belonged therefore to the 13th century and were contained in horizons of gravelly and clayey loams. Sealed beneath these 13th century soils was a thick layer of gravelly clays and silty loams containing early medieval pottery. All this material is very fragmentary and abraded, and was scattered thinly through the soils. There were no recognizable features such as pits or postholes. It is likely that this pottery is evidence for agricultural use of this area in phase 1, an idea which is lent some weight by the topography of the area which, certainly in the medieval period and at least until

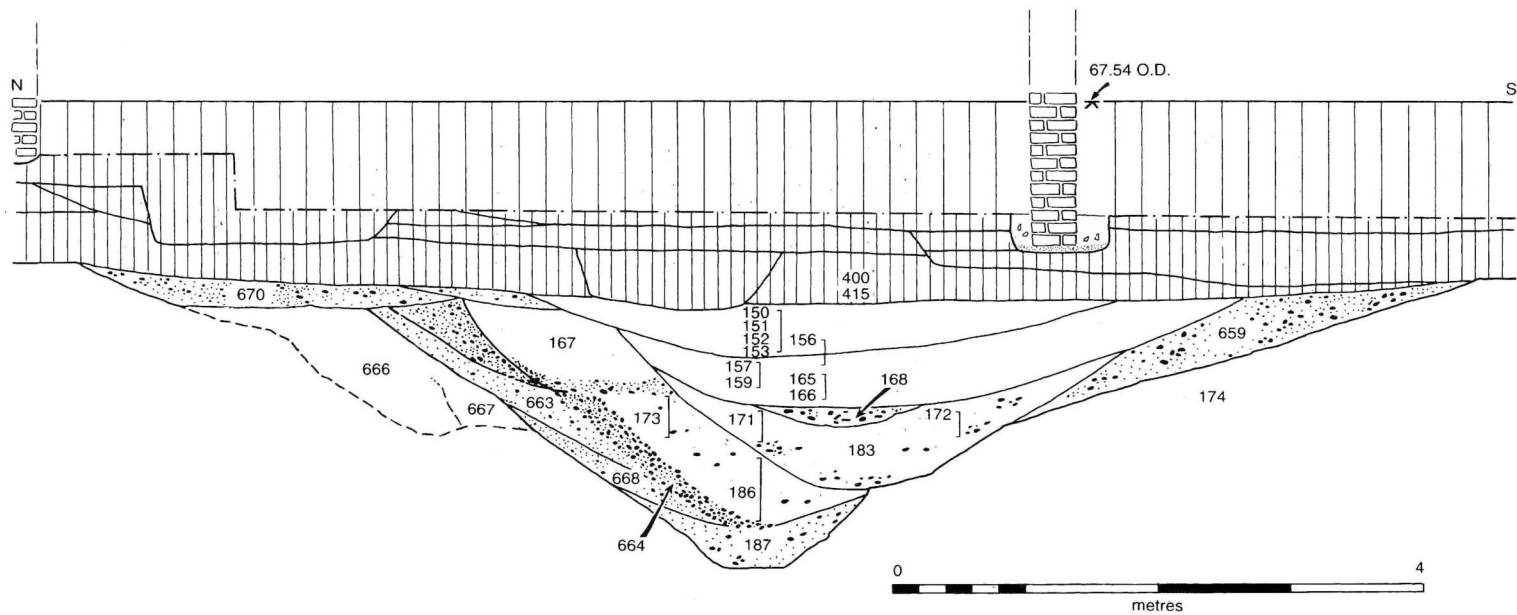


Fig 4.6 Borelli Yard, Farnham: the town ditch, section 1 showing the east face of segment 1. Details of the post-medieval fills omitted.

the 18th century, formed part of the water meadows of the river Wey and would have been subject to periodic flooding.

Further early medieval pottery was recovered from features across the remainder of the site, and this pottery was similarly very fragmentary and abraded and, in itself, gives no direct evidence of occupation.

PHASE 2: THE TOWN DITCH

Lying across the northern part of the site and occupying the whole areas of trenches 3, 4 and 5 was a major feature which proved on excavation to be the town ditch.

The ditch originally had an approximately V-shaped profile giving a feature that was some 10m wide by 2.75m deep from the surface of the natural gravels. The various sections cut into the ditch produced similar fill sequences which revealed that the ditch had been re-cut at least once (fig 4.6).

Excavation technique

In view of the arid and compact nature of the soils contained within the area of trench 3, prior to the onset of winter and sufficient rainfall to moisten the soils, the decision was taken to excavate the ditch fills in artificial layers of c 0.2m. Once the details had begun to emerge, from layer 157 downwards (fig 4.6), it was then possible to excavate the layers stratigraphically. Segment 2 was also excavated in artificial layers and the failure to recognize the presence of a post-medieval pit, feature 160, rendered the finds from these ditch fills of little value. Segments 3 and 4 were only partially excavated and segment 5 was excavated stratigraphically; the whole of the available area of this last section across the ditch was excavated. All the soils excavated from the segments were sieved through a quarter-inch sieve to assist with the recovery of artefacts, imported stone, bone etc.

The ditch fills will now be described; the description follows the fills down into the ditch beginning with the most recent. A basic overview of the general finds content of each fill is given with each fill description, together with a spot-date based on the date of the latest pottery sherds present in the layer. The detailed evidence from segments 2, 3 and 4 is not presented in print but can be seen on microfiche (M110–M113), as its limited (and sometimes non-stratigraphic) character provides no useful basis on which to develop understanding of the ditch beyond that provided by segments 1 and 5 (but see figures 4.7 and 4.8 for the basic appearance).

Ditch segment 1: contexts and finds

Note: a list of abbreviations is printed at the front of this volume. For an explanation of codes for ware and fabric types see chapter 6.

This was the first segment excavated, in trench 3, and, as has been stated above, problems of aridity and compactness of the soils prevented the identification of the stratigraphy until layer 157 was reached. Segment 1 was the only complete section across the ditch to be excavated (figs 4.4, 4.6). The number given after pottery in the finds list refers to sherds recovered.

400 Context number assigned to all layers stripped from the area of trench 3 after removal of the topsoil overburden by machine. Hand excavation in trench 2 had established that all soils, to the approximate surface of the natural gravels, could be dated to the 16th century or later. Finds: post-medieval.

415 Context number assigned to layers of soil immediately above the natural gravel surface. A general spread of a dark brown, coarse and gritty, slightly clayey gravel. Below 400 and above 150/154/161/164. Finds: post-medieval.

150 Fill: a dark brown, compact, coarse and silty, sticky but friable, mixed gravels and grit. Excavated as an

artificial spit, to a depth of approximately 10cm, by fork and hand trowelling. Finds: pottery 126; bm; bone; stone; iron and slag. Date: mid/late 13th century.

151 Fill: the same as 150. Excavated as an artificial spit, to a depth of approximately 10cm, by fork and hand trowelling. Below 150 and above 152. Finds: pottery 144; bm; bone; slag. Date: late 13th/early 14th century.

152 Fill: similar to 150/151 but more gravelly in places, especially towards the north end of the trench. Excavated as an artificial spit, to a depth of approximately 10cm. Below 151 and above 153. Finds:

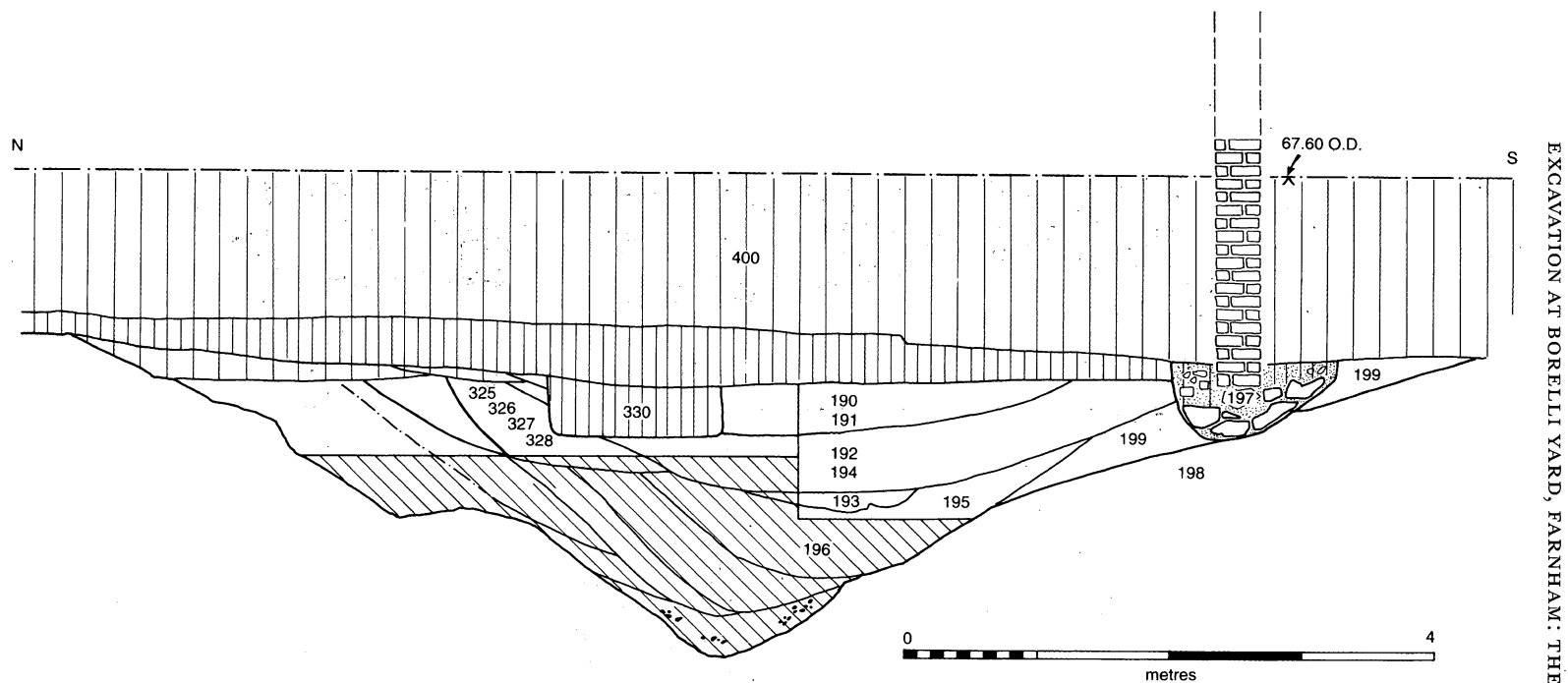


Fig 4.8 Borelli Yard, Farnham: the town ditch, section showing the east face of segment 4 as excavated. The continuation to the ditch bottom (hatched) is the projected east face of segment 1.

- pottery 60; bm; bone; iron; slag. Date: late 13th/early 14th century with post-medieval contamination from an unrecognized feature; 6 sherds post-medieval pottery.
- 153 Fill: similar to 152 but darker-brown gravelly loam. Excavated as an artificial spit to a depth of approximately 10 cm. Below 152 and above 156. Finds: pottery 8; bm; bone; stone. Date: late 12th/early 13th century.
- 156 Fill: dark brown, coarse and gritty clayey loam, that was heavily laden with gravel. Excavated as an artificial spit to a depth of approximately 10cm. Layer 156 marks the bottom of the ditch topfills, as defined by a particular soil group, and also the interface between these topfills and the next sequence of fills (157, 159) and (165, 166). This should not necessarily be taken to indicate a re-cut of the ditch. Finds: pottery 53; bm; bone; slag. Date: 13th/14th century with minor contamination from 15th/16th century material; 2 sherds of Tudor redware.
- 157 Fill: pale brown to mid-grey, fine, silty, very compact and hard loam with some small gravel. Occasional lenses of sands and grit. Excavated stratigraphically, leaving 659 on the south and 167 on the north; both these layers earlier than 157. Below 156 and above 159, 659 and 167. Finds: pottery 50; bm; bone; iron. Date: mid/late 13th century.
- 159 Fill: as 157 though less silty and more gritty. Excavated stratigraphically. Below 157 and above 165, 659 and 167. Finds: pottery 26; bm; bone; stone. Date: mid/late 13th century.
- 165 Fill: as 157. Below 159 and above 166, 167 and 659. Finds: pottery 18; bm; bone; iron. Date: probably mid/late 13th century.
- 166 Fill: deeper pale brown to mid-grey, fine, silty, very compact and hard loam similar, but not identical, to 157. Occasional large pieces of gravel were also present. Below 165 and above 168, 167 and 659. The base of layer 166 marks the bottom of the second main group of ditch topfills, all of these layers being seen as gradual infilling and accumulation of soils within the remaining area of the ditch. Finds: pottery 48; bm; bone; iron; slag. Date: late 13th or early 14th century.
- 168 Fill and potential feature: considerable quantities of gravels, ceramic building materials, and greensand stone with a yellow to light brown, fine, silty, sticky loam. Traces of lime and sand mortar. Below 166 and above 167, 171, 172, and 173. Finds: pottery 62; bm; bone; stone; iron. Date: mid/late 13th century. Interpretation: this layer was seen further to the west in segment 5, layer 612, which also contained substantial quantities of building materials, both stone and ceramic, and which is dated to the mid/late 13th century. The confined nature of the deposit towards the centre of the ditch, and apparently running along the line of the ditch, suggests a possible path/trackway. The inclusion in this layer of much material which can only have been derived from the tile kiln raises some problems. The pottery from layer 168 suggests a date well beyond either rebuild phases or the demolition phase of the kiln. The building materials may however have been derived from tiliary buildings, which may have continued in use until demolition and clearance later in the 13th century.
- 171 Fill and potential feature: mass of coarse components including roof tile, kiln-type brick, large and small pieces of gravel, greensand stone with some soil filling: a grey-brown to yellow loam similar to 168. Much evidence of probable sand and lime mortar. Below 168, probably same as 168, and above 172 and 173. Finds: pottery 19; bm; bone; iron; slag. Date: mid/late 13th century.
- 172 Fill on south side of ditch and probably the same as 171. Grey to buff-brown, firm and compact clayey loam with very little gravel. Below 166, 168, and above 183. Finds: pottery 3; bm; bone. Date: late 12th century or later. As 173 and 183 are both dated to the later 13th century, layer 172 must presumably be of a similar date.
- 183 Fill: similar to, but identifiably different from, 171 and 172. Yellow/grey-green, soft but firm, clay with approximately equal parts gravels/grit to clay. Below 171 and 172, and above 173 and 186. Finds: pottery 13; bm; bone; stone. Date: late 13th/14th century. Interpretation: this layer and layers 171 and 172 are all characterized by considerable quantities of ceramic building materials but all the cbm is abraded and the manner of deposition is suggestive of gradual, probably natural, accumulation rather than deliberate disposal or tipping in the ditch. The kiln structural material, the easiest to reconstruct from fragments, presents a picture of many diverse fragments representing many more than the nominal quantity of voussoirs suggested by weight analysis. None of the three layers provided a cohesive grouping of cbm, for example in the form of tip groups or tip lines, and none of the cbm can be defined as wasters. The fill line along the bottom of layer 183 probably represents a deliberate cut line; therefore it is possible that layers 171, 172 and 183 might represent fairly rapid backfilling of the ditch in the mid to later 13th century with material excavated from an already partially infilled ditch, this containing much tile kiln associated material.
- 167 Fill on north side of the ditch: very gravelly, dirty grey-brown, gritty, coarse, slightly sticky gravel in clay. Thicker lenses of gravels occurred towards the bottom of this layer until gradating into almost exclusively sandy gravels. Below all fills down to and including 171/183. Above 173. Finds: bm; bone. Interpretation: 167 possibly cut by later fills from 171/172 and 183: ? Re-cut of ditch.
- 173 Fill on north side of ditch: yellowy-green, clayey, gritty and silty loam with very few coarse components. Below 168/171, 167 and 183; and above 664 and 186. Finds: pottery 4; bm; bone; slag. Date: mid/late 13th century.
- 186 Fill: brown to buff-grey, firm, compact silty clay with occasional large gravel pebbles. Similar to 183 but the occasional layers of gravels and sands mark 186 as being different from 183. Can be described as silt-fills interdigitating with lenses of gravels and sands. Below 173 and 183 and above 664 and 187. Finds: pottery 4; bm; bone; slag. Date: 12th or early 13th century or later. Interpretation: a fill/tip line is shown on the section demarcating a separation of 173 and 186 from 171, 172 and 183; however, the soils 172 and 173, and 183 and

186, are remarkably similar as are the pottery groups. The likelihood is that 172 and 173 are the same fill, as are 183 and 186, with little to differentiate between them. Thus 171–3, 183 and 186 can be seen as being all of the same period and forming a general fill sequence towards the bottom of the ditch, which may be dated to the mid-13th century and later with the re-cut of the ditch occurring in the earlier 13th century.

- 659 Fill: not readily identified in segment 1 due to adverse excavation conditions; this layer was further explored in segment 4, layers 199/391. Medium-brown gravel and clay loam, gravel very dense in part and with some sands also. Below 400/415 and all segment 1 fill sequence down to and including 171, 172 and 183. Finds: pottery 9. Date: residual late Saxon or Saxo-Norman poly-tempered wares.
- 670 Fill: not readily identified in segment 1 due to adverse excavation conditions. See also 192 in segment 4. Mixed brown-buff very gravelly loam with almost equal proportions of loam to gravels. Below 400 and all segment 1 fills to 168/172 and above 167, 663 and 666. Finds: excavated as part of all segment 1 fills from 150 to 159. Date: 13th/14th century.
- 664 Fill: solid and dense mass of gravel with some sand forming a long tip-fill on the north side of the ditch fill sequence. Below 167, 173 and 186 and above 663. This layer is discussed further below in 668.
- 663 Fill: pale brown silts and sandy gravels forming many tip-lines and lenses running at an angle from the north side of the ditch down into the ditch bottom fills. Below 664 and above 666, 667 and 668. This layer is discussed further below in 668. Finds: none.

666 Fill: pale brown to yellow silts, very sandy with some gravels. Many tip lines of gravel and similar to 663. Below 670 and 663 and above 667 and natural sand/gravel 174.

Interpretation: 666 and 667 are seen as being in part a periglacial feature which was excavated, in error, as a part of the ditch. The ditch cut-line probably ran through 666/667 and is indicated as a dotted line on the section drawings (fig 4.6).

667 Fill: sandy gravels and silts. Substantially similar to 666 and probably the same.

668: Fill: mixed lenses of sands and gravels forming many tip lines running down and into ditch centre. Below 663 and 664 and above 174. Finds: none.

Interpretation: layers 663, 664 and 668 were all formed of sands and gravels which were closely similar to the natural geologically laid soils through which the ditch had been cut. It would seem reasonable to identify these layers as representing material redeposited in the ditch and derived from a presumed bank or rampart running along the internal edge of the ditch.

187 Fill: grey-brown, loose, silty and very gritty, fine sandy loam with occasional pieces of gravel. Below 186, 664 and 668 and above 174 natural sands/gravel. Finds: pottery 8. Date: 12th or early 13th century.

Interpretation: layer 187 appears to be the primary fill of the ditch which was not disturbed or re-cut. The paucity of pottery from this layer, with none from the primary fill in segment 5 (619), provides a slender basis for dating the original excavation of the ditch

Ditch segment 5: contexts and finds (fig 4.9)

A final trench was cut in April 1986 to examine the town ditch to the west of the main excavation area. The only available area for this trench was below the site of buildings known to have been present, from map evidence, on the site in the earlier 19th century but which had been demolished by the end of that century. The walls and foundation trenches for these buildings proved to be exceptionally large and had been cut deep into the fills of the town ditch, thus only part of this stretch of the town ditch could be examined.

- 600 Context number assigned to soils cleared from trench 5 after machine clearance of site overburden. Finds: all periods from early medieval to post-medieval.
- 608 Fill: first identifiable layer in the ditch below post-medieval disturbances. Dark-brown gravelly, clayey loam with more clay than gravels. Below 600 and above 616 and 611. Finds: pottery 3; bone. Date: late 12th or early 13th century.
- 616 Fill: dark to lighter dark-brown gravelly clayey loam. Similar to 608. Below 608 and above 611, 613 and 617. Finds: bone.
- 611 Fill: dark to lighter brown gravelly clayey loam. More gravel/grit than 608 and 616. Below 608 and 616 and above 613. Finds: pottery 8; bone. Date: late 12th or early 13th century.
- 613 Fill: on south side of ditch and similar but not identical to fill 614. Grey-green silty and clayey loam with

very little gravel and grit. Appeared to be organic/humic soil. Below 611 and 616 and above 617. Finds: pottery 1; bone. Date: late 12th or early 13th century.

614 Fill: on north side of ditch and similar to but different from 613. Grey-green silty and clayey loam with occasional pebbles and gravel. Appeared to have much organic or humic material matter in this fill layer. Below 611, above 612 and 617. Finds: pottery 14; bone. Date: mid to late 13th century.

612 Fill: gravelly, gritty grey-brown loam with ceramic building materials similar to 168 in segment 1 and 193 in segment 4 (see 168 and 193 for interpretation and more details). Below 613 and 614 and above 617. Finds: none.

617 Fill: yellow, coarse, loose, gritty very mixed and interdigitating sequence of bands of gravel and sand, with occasional lenses of varying thickness and

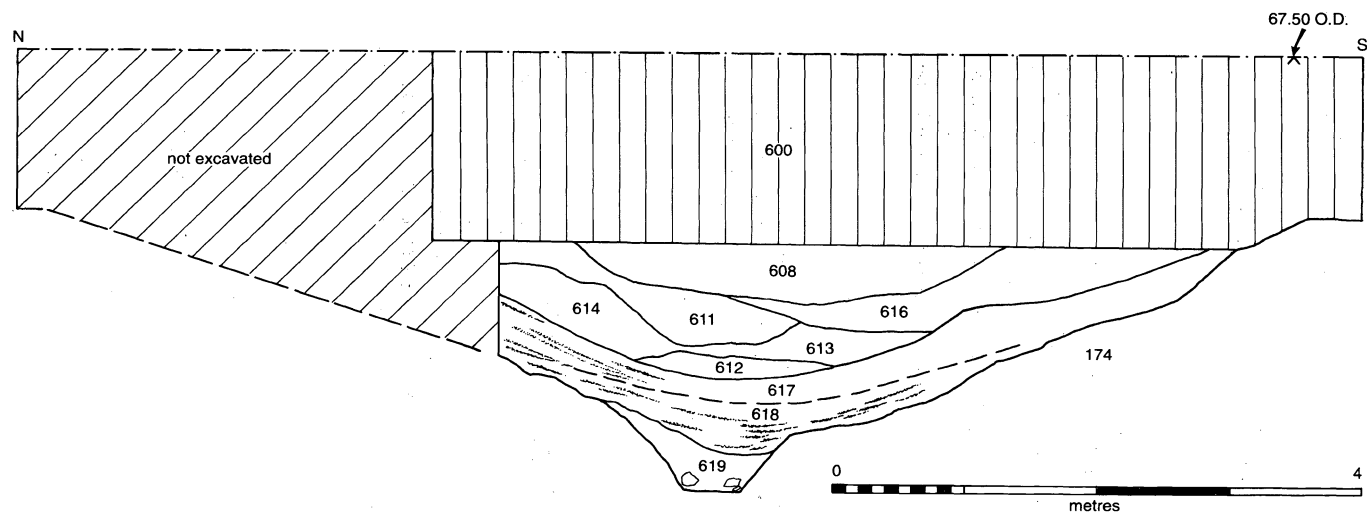


Fig 4.9 Borelli Yard, Farnham: the town ditch, section showing the west face of segment 5

lengths of mid-brown to dark-brown loams. Below 612–4 and 616, and above 619. It would have been possible to differentiate between the various bands of fills in 617 and to create a sequence of fill contexts but this would have been an artificial representation of a fill that was essentially of the same sequence and probable date. Finds: none.

618 Fill: similar to 617; coarse sands and gravels with some lenses of mid-brown to dark-brown loams. Below 617 and above 619. Finds: none.

619 Ditch bottom fill: similar to 617/618, mixed yellow and brown lenses of coarse and fine silts, but mainly a mixture of sand and gravel. A number of large pieces of greensand stone were found along the very bottom of this layer. Below 618 and above natural sand and gravel 615. Finds: none.

Interpretation: primary silts and fills in the bottom of the ditch, seemingly deposited quite rapidly. It is not certain whether this material was derived from the ditch slopes or downgraded from a bank.

The finds

INTRODUCTION

The great majority of the finds from the Borelli Yard excavations relate to the tile kiln or the later periods of occupation of the site. Those included below are only those directly related to the infilling of the town ditch up until the 14th century.

THE POTTERY: A NOTE (table 4.3: M119–M121), by Phil Jones

Most of the pottery from the Borelli Yard site, including all sherds from the town ditch, the kiln and its associated contexts, and other medieval features, was examined and spot-dated by the author in 1989. As resources have not been available to compile a proper report on these assemblages, notes that were compiled during that provisional assessment have formed the basis upon which the following comments are made.

There is a significant proportion of late Saxon and early medieval pottery from the site, but almost all of the material is of worn and relatively small sherds. These, and the two sherds from the site of an earlier Saxon grass/chaff-tempered tradition, had all been re-deposited in later contexts and may derive from an earlier focus of settlement closer to the church, rather than any *in-situ* occupation directly on site. No feature or layer can be proven from its pottery assemblage to date from before the mid-12th century.

There are 56 sherds from the earliest fills of the town ditch, the great majority (49) of which are of the West Surrey-type grey/brown sandy ware Q2A, and the rest are of various earlier ceramic traditions. Since there are no sherds of whiteware, a type that probably began production locally during the second quarter of the 13th century, the primary fills probably belong to the late 12th century, or first quarter of the 13th century. Later deposits in the ditch include some whiteware, the latest of which is of late 13th or early 14th century types.

In total, 103 sherds from 30 contexts of the tile kiln pit were examined, and except for those from three contaminated contexts with late and post-medieval sherds (255, 268, and 291), all are of late 12th or early 13th century types. The grey/brown sandy ware Q2A represents over 70%, with the rest comprised of various poly-tempered types.

When circumstances permit, and resources become available, it is intended to prepare an archive catalogue of the Borelli Yard pottery. No more detailed study for publication seems warranted at this stage, although it is hoped that the archive will enhance any future synthesis of medieval pottery from Farnham.

THE CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIALS FROM THE TOWN DITCH (M114–M118)

Clay roof tile and brick occurred in almost every archaeological deposit at Borelli Yard and belong to almost all periods of activity from the 12th/13th century through to the post-medieval period. The presence of a tile kiln on the site would suggest that its products and structural materials would figure predominantly in contemporary and later contexts. That it does not, and that the total volume of ceramic building material is quite small compared with the volume of ditch deposits excavated, need not necessarily be a cause for surprise as will be seen below.

The texture and fabrics of the tile kiln products and the easily recognizable characteristics of the kiln structural material are such that they can be readily identified in mixed groups within contexts

of later date than the tile kiln. This material has therefore been extracted from later period contexts and included in the analysis work done on the ceramic building materials from the town ditch fills. Whilst a substantial volume of late medieval and post-medieval brick and roof tile was recovered, this material has not been investigated in detail because of the lack of complete or near complete examples upon which to base any deductions and because these later pieces cannot be accurately dated. This report therefore considers only the roof tile and kiln structural material which can be confidently associated with the tile kiln.

It is now a commonplace of medieval archaeology that ceramic building material occurs in many contexts quite apart from those directly associated with roofs and major building works. Roof tile is frequently encountered in use for hearths, chimney-breasts, drains, general make-up of rough ground and within buildings for flooring purposes etc. Also, it is clear that this material may have a use-life well beyond its manufacturing period. Roof tile and great brick, similar to that found in the tile kiln, can be seen used as hearth and chimney facing material in the south-west tower in the keep of Farnham Castle. Similarly, roof tile identical to Borelli Yard type A tile has been recently identified from the roof of Fox's Tower at Farnham Castle.

No ceramic building material was found in the primary fills of the town ditch, layers 187 and 619, nor in layers 666–8, 663 and 664 all of which may be dated to the late 12th or early 13th century. Minimal quantities were recovered from layers 186 and 618 which have a date roughly contemporary with the construction and use of the tile kiln. Heavy concentrations of both roof tile and kiln structural material occurred in layers 183, 173, 171, 172, and 168 and their comparable layers in segment 4, 193 and 194 and in segment 5, 612 and 617. All of these layers can be dated from pottery to the mid-13th century or later. Borelli Yard tile kiln type ceramic building material occurs thereafter in diminishing quantities throughout the ditch fills. Layers 168, 193 and 612 were characterized by considerable quantities of building material, both ceramic and stone, and it is possible that these layers represent the remains of a path or trackway along the then bottom of the town ditch. Table 4.4 (M122–M124) provides the detailed analysis of the material found and these show that in segment 1 there is a significant accumulation of both roof tile and kiln structural material in the earlier part of the 13th century. Thus, in the fills below layer 168 and above layer 187, the equivalent of some 68 voussoirs and 98–99 roof tiles were recovered giving a total volume of about 0.20m^3 contained in approximately 2.75m^3 of ditch fill.

A general prohibition on the use of the town ditch as a dumping ground may have been in force during the earlier part of the period — perhaps until the mid-13th century — when the town ditch served, though seemingly sporadically, its intended use. A condition of the possible lease of land to the tilery operators may have included a clause prohibiting the dumping of waste kiln materials in the ditch. The ditch fills are, however, characterized by substantial quantities of roof tile together with some kiln structural material. The volume of this material greatly exceeds that of any other class of material from the ditch fills, both by physical volume and by weight. The generally small size of the material, abraded character and scatter through the ditch fills is indicative of a tertiary deposit rather than deliberate dumping. The kiln structural material, which is the more easily reconstructed from fragments, presents a picture of random scattering rather than a deposition sequence which might be tied to one of the tile kiln activity phases.

The low volume of ceramic building material within individual layers in the town ditch has not assisted with the dating of the tile kiln and its activity phases, nor does it reflect much information on the dating of the town ditch fill sequence. Whilst there are no waster dumps in the town ditch there is evidence from both the kiln pit and two associated pits, 276 and 277, that substantial quantities of roof tile were abandoned on the tilery site. Further, the continued deposition of roof tile and kiln structural material in the town ditch fills after the kiln was abandoned suggests that this material was present in the soils across the site for a considerable period. A different view must also be examined and that is the possibility of a ditch re-cut occurring soon after the abandonment of the kiln with the resulting disturbance of any kiln-associated material in the ditch. This may be the most likely explanation for the lack of waster dumps or tile tips in the ditch fills.

Excavation between Castle Street and Bear Lane, Farnham

ROB POULTON

Preface and acknowledgements

A joint development by Kents Developments and Allamanda Estates of an area between Bear Lane and Castle Street (fig 4.2) led to a need for archaeological work. Work in advance of redevelopment between 11 July and 3 August 1988 was funded by the developers, with the post-excavation work jointly funded by the developers and the Waverley Archaeological Advisory Committee, and directed by Rob Poulton for the Surrey County Archaeological Unit. Thanks are due to the excavation team — Steve Dyer, Nick Marples and Simon Tomson — and to David Bird, Audrey Graham, David Graham, and John Clark for advice and assistance at various stages of the works.

While the development was in progress members of the Farnham and District Museum Society under the direction of David Graham were able to make some further observations, although in circumstances which were far from ideal. David Graham's notes on these observations have been incorporated into the following text. Members also excavated a small area more formally and this is also reported on below.

The main excavation

Although the area available for excavation pre-demolition was limited, it was possible to open two trenches with a JCB (fig 4.10) which provided a reasonable sample of the site. In both trenches up to 50cm of modern levelling and surfacing (consisting of granite setts, concrete, and chalk and brick rubble) was found to overlie cleaner soils. Closer examination of these levels showed that trench 2 was sterile. This was also true of most of the length of trench 1, which showed a variegated surface of brickearth clay and silty ferruginous gravel. At its north-east end darker clay and a scatter of 13th century pottery marked the only area of further archaeological interest. Excavation of this was, however, considerably complicated by the presence of a concrete-encased sewer running diagonally across the trench. In the event, however, it was possible to demonstrate the presence of a substantial ditch and the sequence of its infilling (figs 4.11, 4.12). It should be noted, though, that the sequence was better demonstrated in the section after excavation was complete than during work. Although the layers were distinguished as work proceeded, precise limits were difficult to define. This was partly because of the similarity of layers and partly because the very compact nature of the fill in a confined area made the most practical method of excavation to remove the fill with a fork, lift it up to a barrow and there break it up to remove finds.

The length of ditch exposed was only 2.5m, and that only on the western side, so that the direction in which it ran can only be approximately defined on the basis of this excavation (but see below). Only a small portion of the eastern side of the ditch was exposed, but this was sufficient to indicate its width as about 8.3m. The small areas of ditch exposed to the east and north were not excavated below layer 103 in either case, leaving only the southern portion for excavation to the bottom. This was sufficient to indicate the maximum depth of the ditch as 2.5m, and to suggest that its base was fairly broad. The sequence of infilling may now be described, starting with the lowest layer.

- 108 Gravelly silty clay in base of ditch. A primary silting which produced few finds.
- 106 Clean sandy gravel, evidently derived from the superficial natural gravel deposits cut by the ditch at a higher level. Few finds.
- 107 Clean yellow-brown clay, differing only in degree of oxidation from the natural Gault. Finds (of stone, tile, pot, animal bone and worked wood) were sparse and it is difficult to see this as other than material deliberately dumped in the ditch. The obvious source would be the material originally dug out of the ditch to form a bank; a weakness with this explanation is that the layer did not go all the way up the sides of the ditch, as one might have expected. An interesting part of 107 is the presence (and survival) of some substantial pieces of worked wood (fig 4.13): these suggest derivation from a stout fence, and again the obvious potential source is a palisade on top of the former bank. Philip Brooks comments, however, that he 'would not expect a palisade around the ditch. The inner and outer baileys of the Castle were protected by dead thorn trees lashed together... until about 1286'.
- 104 Mixed gravel and clay, which, like 107, had few finds (apart from 21 sherds of a single pot). The distinction from 107 was not a sharp one, and this layer ought to

be explained in the same way, its composition resulting from mixing of gravel and Gault Clay natural deposits in the formation of the bank.

- 105 A black silty clay containing a high proportion (>25%) of organic matter and numerous finds of tile, pottery and other items. The evidence suggests a more gradual accumulation of rubbish deposits. In the central part of 105 (fig 4.11) two concentrations of stones have angles of rest which suggest they may have been deposited against the sides of a V-shaped feature. Such a feature was not observed in excavation, but this is scarcely surprising given the confined area and depth at which work was taking place. It is a distinct possibility, then, that a narrow gully was cut after the ditch was largely infilled, perhaps to carry running water down the hill. Certainly even at the time of excavation there was a strong tendency for near-surface water to flow down the slopes from the Castle towards the town, and this may explain the waterlogged conditions evident in the ditch, which had resulted in the preservation of both wood and leather. Philip Brooks comments that 'there was a spring and pond at the top of Bear Lane in the 18th century. This may have been diverted into the *borough* ditch'.

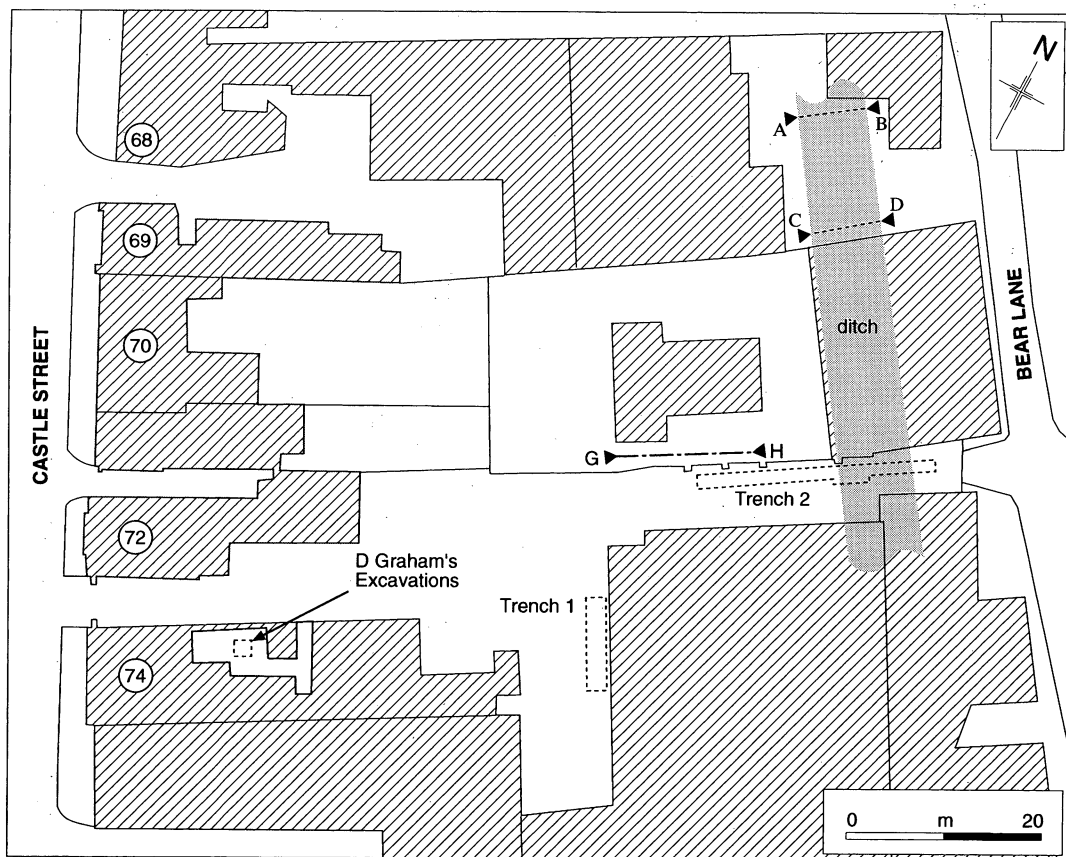


Fig 4.10 Castle Street/Bear Lane, Farnham: location of the 1988 excavations and observations

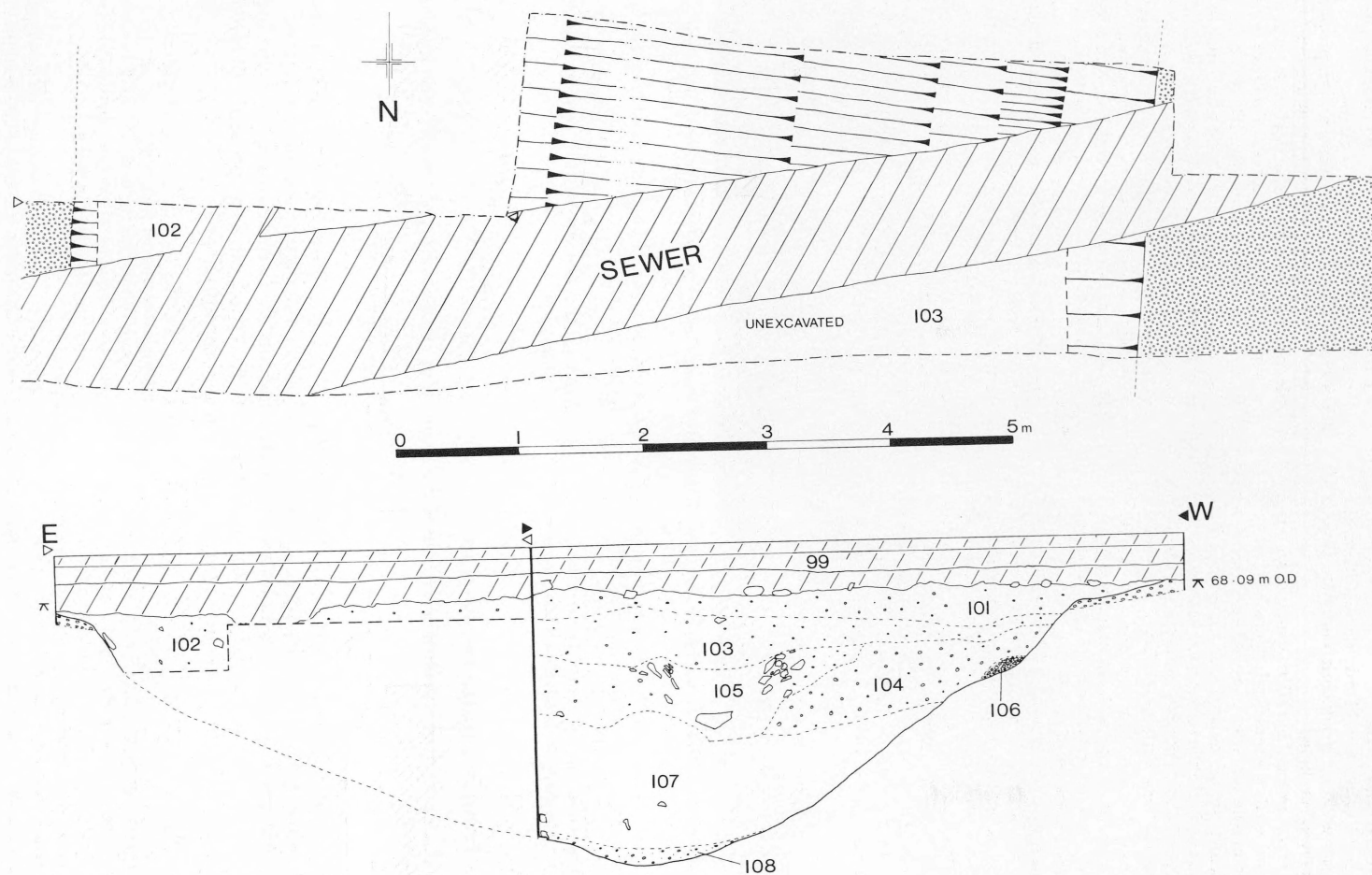


Fig 4.11 Castle Street/Bear Lane, Farnham: plan and section of the ditch between Castle Street and Bear Lane



Fig 4.12 Castle Street/Bear Lane, Farnham: view of excavated town ditch between Castle Street and Bear Lane

103 A gravelly sandy clay which seemed to have accumulated gradually, incorporating some rubbish.

102 As 103 and 101 in composition and probably origin. This number used only for material excavated in the small eastern piece of the excavated ditch.

101 As 103 in composition and probably origin, but a lighter colour.

100 Number given to the interface of 99 and 101.

99 General number for all 19th century and later accumulation.

The finds from the main excavation

Note: a list of abbreviations is printed at the front of this volume. For an explanation of codes for ware and fabric types see chapter 6.

TILE

All tile was retained during the excavation except for pieces under 50mm diameter without distinguishing features (peg holes, corners etc). In the lists below the tile may be assumed to be roof tile, 12–15mm thick, with round peg holes and 180mm wide (on the two measurable pieces) but of unknown length. The principal interest of this collection of tile lies in the presence of obvious wasters and kiln furniture, indicating the presence of a roof tile kiln nearby.

100 17 pieces, 511g.

101 55 pieces, 2827g.

103 95 pieces, 5657g. Two pieces were unusual in having a 25mm thickness. One of these had a single 9mm diameter hole to a depth of 20mm, while the other had four holes, each c10mm diameter, two of which penetrated through the tile, one of which had a depth of 20mm, while the fourth was 17mm deep, and still retained a fired clay plug. This last might be a piece of kiln furniture.

104 23 pieces, 3756g. Includes part of a possible ridge tile and an obvious waster fragment.

105 85 pieces, 7018g. This includes obvious kiln waste in the form of fragments of five tiles piled one above the other and fused together in firing.

107 3 pieces, 471g.

108 3 pieces, 474g. This includes a roughly circular piece of tile, 95mm diameter, and a second of similar diameter but only half surviving. These shapes seem to be cut from fired tiles and may be regarded as pot lids.



Fig 4.13 Castle Street/Bear Lane, Farnham: view of timbers (context 107) in the ditch

THE POTTERY, by Phil Jones (fig 4.14)

A total of 160 medieval sherds (2048g) were recovered from the nine fills of the ditch section. The great majority of the pottery is of the grey/brown sandy ware tradition (Q2A fabric 84 sherds; FQ2A fabric 2 sherds), and there are also 58 sherds of whiteware of late 13th and possibly early 14th century types (although 28 of these are from a single vessel). See p 212–236 for descriptions of these and other fabrics and ware types from Farnham.

The earliest fills, 106 and 108, are presumed to have been largely of side-slumped material, but contained ten sherds. Of the six sherds from 108, two are of standard medieval sandy fabric Q2A including the rim of a cp/jar (no 1), one is of the only coarse shelly ware S2 sherd from the ditch section, and three joining sherds are from a coarse WW1A whiteware globular jug with a raised strip and incised decoration, and a green glaze (no 17). Four sherds from 106 include the rim of a cp/jar in a flint and sand-tempered fabric FLQ4 (no 12); and three sherds of Q2A including the rim of a bowl that has some green glaze spots (no 4), and a sherd from a glazed jug with a row of decorative devices that had been pricked-up with a comb (no 14).

The next highest fills, 107 and 104, were dumped deposits, largely comprised of the Gault Clay and gravels through which the ditch had been cut. Eight sherds were recovered from 107, including one of a Saxo-Norman 'chalky' ware SNC4 and two joining sherds of a coarse poly-tempered 'flinty' fabric FLQ3, both of which are presumed to have been re-deposited from elsewhere. There is also the rim sherd from what was probably a bowl, in fabric FLQ4, which has a spot of green glaze on the rimtop and which expands towards one end as if to a handle or spout (no 11). The other four sherds from 107 are of Q2A fabric, including two that are glazed. Context 104 contained three sherds of Q2A, and 22 sherds from the base and side-walls of a WW1A coarse whiteware conical jug (no 13). There are several raised cordons on the body of this vessel and an even cover of green glaze. Six more sherds of this jug were found in one of the two next highest deposits, 105,

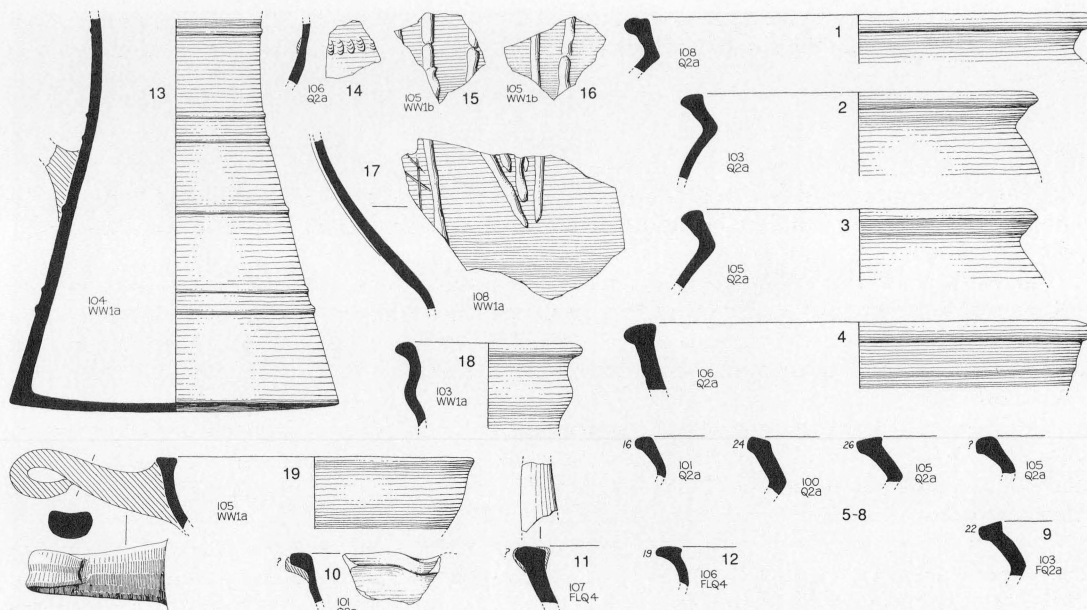


Fig 4.14 Castle Street/Bear Lane, Farnham: pottery. Scale 1:4

which was much richer in organic material than the earlier fills. It is possible that some re-working of the upper parts of 104 disturbed these six sherds from their original place of rest.

The next two deposits are thought by the excavator to have accumulated more slowly than the basal fills, and they contained more sherds; 33 in context 105, and 36 in 103. Pottery from 105 included the only sherd of a sand and flint-tempered fabric Q1A from the ditch section, which bears a horizontally-applied finger-impressed strip (not illustrated), and one of only four sherds of a fine medieval red jug fabric, RQ, with under-glaze white slip. Most other sherds from 105 are of grey/brown sandy ware and whiteware. Eighteen sherds of Q2A fabric include the rims of three cp/jars (nos 3, 7 and 8), three scratch-marked body sherds, a shoulder sherd with horizontal grooves and another with a horizontally-applied finger-impressed strip, and a green-glazed base angle (none illustrated). Six WW1A sherds are from the conical jug (no 13), and the other nine are from the rim and handle of a bowl with internal green glaze (no 19). Two other sherds are of the 'sparse coarse' whiteware variant WW1B, and came from a jug with under-glaze vertical strips of overlapping pellets (nos 15 and 16).

Context 103 contained a sherd of FLQ4 fabric; 23 sherds of Q2A including the rim of a cp/jar (no 2), a vertically-applied finger-impressed strip, and a scratch-marked sherd (neither illustrated); eleven sherds of WW1A including the rim of a jug with splashed green glaze (no 18), and a body sherd from a jug with under-glaze vertical red slip strips (not illustrated); and the rim of a cp/jar in a finer sandy fabric FQ2A (no 9).

The two next highest fills contained 22 sherds, but only one was recovered from 102; that of a scratch-marked Q2A body sherd. Thirteen sherds from context 101 are of Q2A including the rim of a cp/jar (no 5), the rim of a white-slipped and splash-glazed jug (no 10), and five scratch-marked sherds (not illustrated); and seven sherds are of WW1A including a fragment with under-glaze zig-zag decoration, one with vertical grooves, and a body sherd from close to a pie-crust base (none illustrated). Another thin-walled redware sherd of RQ fabric was recovered from 101 and has an under-glaze white slip (not illustrated).

The highest surviving deposit was 100, and contained 22 sherds. Two are of FLQ4 fabric, two joining sherds with under-glaze white slip are of the medieval redware RQ, a finger-impressed

pie-crust base sherd with green glaze is of the finer medieval sandy FQ2A fabric, and seventeen sherds of Q2A include the rim of a cp/jar (no 6), six glazed body sherds, and a scratch-marked sherd.

Dating

It is only the pottery which provides information as to when the ditch had been filled, but the sample of sherds is too small to be certain as to when exactly this occurred, or over how long a period of time.

There are three main aspects to consider. The first is that most sherds, even from the highest fill 100, are of the grey/brown sandy ware Q2A, and since this is presumed to have been largely superseded by whitewares during the second half of the 13th century, it could be suspected that most, if not all of the fills had belonged to this period of transition after the introduction of whitewares, *c* AD 1240–60.

A mid to late 13th century date is also supported by the numbers of jugs that are represented, which are well-glazed and highly decorated. Such vessels are characteristic of 13th and early 14th century assemblages, and are unlike the more austere and sparsely glazed jugs of the later 14th and 15th centuries.

The conical jug, however, is of a form that is recognized in London as being typical of late 13th century assemblages, whether of Coarse Border-type whiteware (roughly equivalent to WW1A) or of Kingston-type (WW1B) whiteware (Pearce & Vince 1988, 25, 55). Some Kingston-type examples have cordons like the Farnham vessel (*ibid*, fig 65, nos 77–79), as perhaps do some Coarse Border ware examples from London (*ibid*, fig 107, nos 417, 418), but most of the vessels of both fabric types are usually sparsely glazed. There are, however, some earlier Kingston-type conical jugs from mid to late 13th century deposits in the city (*ibid*, 25), but these are highly decorated and have a good cover of glaze. The Farnham jug may, therefore, have been made earlier than most of those found in London, on account of its good covering of glaze, and because the basic form, at least, had been present in the City before *c* 1300, albeit of a highly decorative type.

The handled bowl (no 19) is not a common form in London, and only one, of Kingston-type ware, is shown in the recent corpus of whitewares (*ibid*, fig 98, no 345). Unfortunately, the dating of the form has not been closely considered in that report.

On balance, the author prefers a mid to late 13th century date for all the sampled infills of the Bear Lane section of the ditch, and because of the quantity of grey/brown sandy sherds, perhaps closer to the middle rather than the end of the century.

WORKED STONE

Fragments of greensand were commonly found, and contexts 101, 103, 105 and 107 all produced pieces of dressed blocks.

Two stone objects were found. From context 103 came a whetstone. Far more importantly, context 105 produced the stone mould (fig 4.15). This is evidently one half of a mould for casting tokens and is made from Reigate greensand. The principal surface shows four seven-petal designs linked by casting runnels. These seem to be compass-drawn, but are of rather crude workmanship, which is the more surprising in view of the three practice designs of six petals found on other faces, which are of much higher quality. Two shallow pecked lines on the main face seem to represent setting-out lines for a squaring-off of the stone which was never executed.

The purpose of such moulds was clearly for casting pewter tokens. The finest of such moulds was found at Dundrennan Abbey, Kircudbrightshire (CNMA 1892). That was intended for casting six tokens simultaneously and Dolley & Seaby (1971, 448) have also deduced the use of six-token moulds for manufacture of the large Winetavern Street, Dublin, hoard. Similar, but not identical, tokens to the Farnham designs have been found at Swan Lane, London.

The earliest context for such tokens in London is a little before *c* 1250 from the Billingsgate site. The manufacture of the Farnham mould cannot be far removed in time from this. The most likely

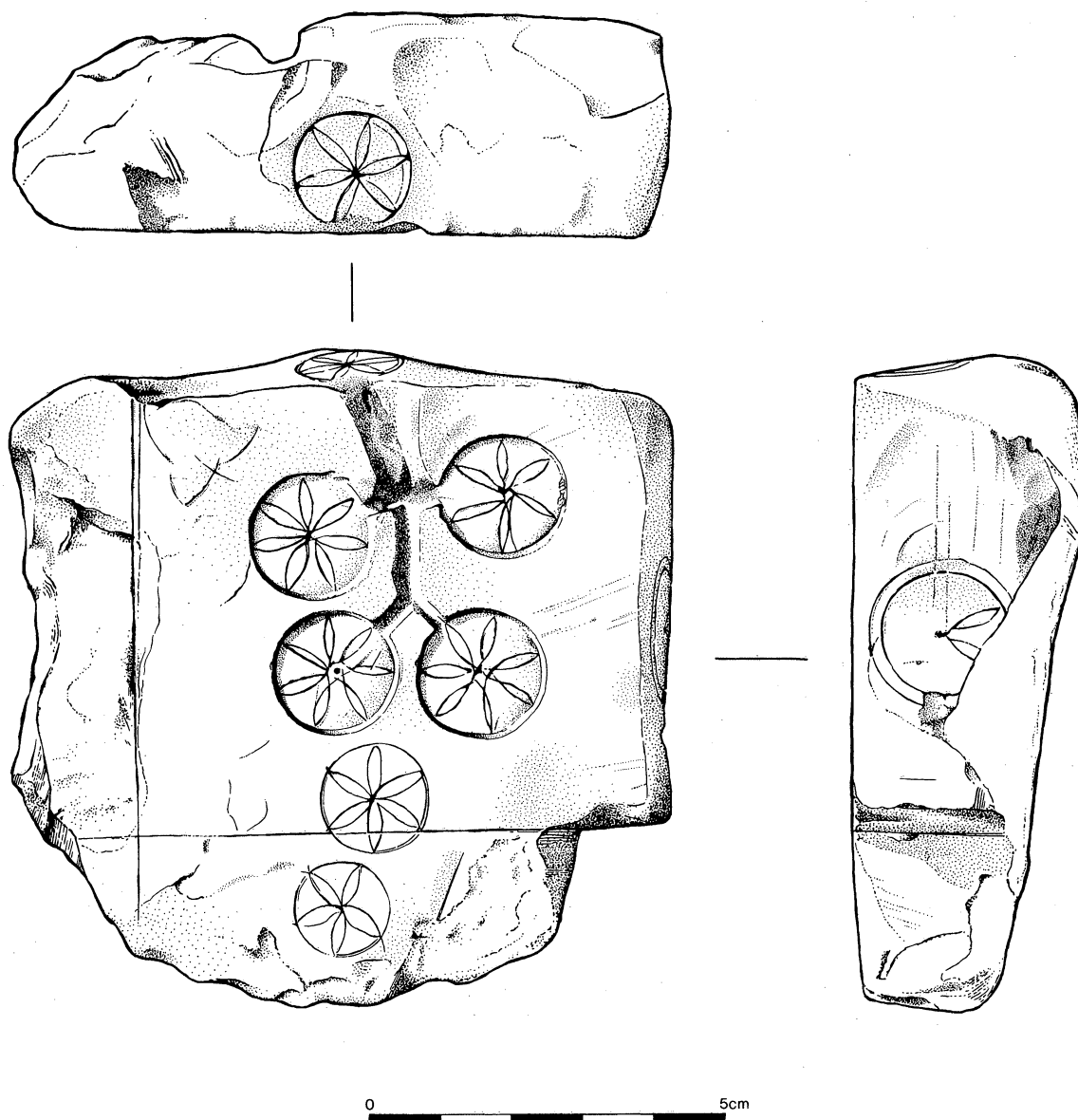


Fig 4.15 Castle Street/Bear Lane, Farnham: stone mould for casting tokens from context 105. Scale 1:1

suggestion for the function of the tokens is that they were used as an all-purpose form of small change. Examples are known of tokens cut into halves and quarters in the style of contemporary coinage, implying that they bore some specific value. These pieces are rare or absent from 14th century contexts, and this may be, as Dolley & Seaby (1971, 448) suggest, because the introduction by Edward I in 1279 of the round farthing obviated the need for unofficial small change. Suggestions have been made that tokens had some more specific function, for example as brothel tokens, but the evidence for these is weak.

Finally, with regard to the Farnham example, one may raise the question of whether it was ever used. The setting-out lines have been noted above, and they imply that the object was unfinished.

Could it have been used in this form? Successful casting of such tokens would have required accurate registration of the upper and lower halves of the mould, and it seems doubtful if this could have been achieved without squaring-off the mould. Perhaps the practice designs are a clue to the whole piece — trial work, perhaps produced by an apprentice and never intended for use in production.

The assistance of John Clark in preparation of the note on the stone mould is gratefully acknowledged.

METALWORK

There was remarkably little metalwork found, only two unidentifiable pieces of iron from 103, and a piece of lead sheet from 105.

WOOD AND LEATHER

Conditions were favourable to the preservation of organic materials. Wood from 107 has been noted above (see also fig 4.13) but only some more substantial pieces were retained for further examination. They were identified by Nick Branch as *Quercus sp.* Leather offcuts (seven pieces) were found in contexts 104, 105 and 108; the only identifiable piece was the toe of a shoe in 105.

THE ANIMAL BONE, by John Chapman

The bones recovered from the site were generally in a good condition. All the bones were weighed and counted, giving a total weight of 2.42kg, represented by 150 bones. The high bone count is due to the fragmentary nature of the material recovered, mostly from contexts 103 and 105, some of which may represent household/industrial waste.

Apart from butchery marks, the ribs, vertebrae and loose teeth were excluded from any further analyses. The ages are those defined by Silver (1969) for fusion of limb bones and tooth eruption. All dog measurements are those devised by Harcourt (1974). Sheep refers to both sheep and/or goat.

The frequency of bone per context is given in table 4.5: M125. Although cattle (*Bos sp.*) and horse (*Equus sp.*) were both present their numbers, especially those from cattle, were very low. Most of the bones came from sheep (*Ovis sp.*), pig (*Sus sp.*) and dog (*Canis sp.*). Two fallow deer (*Dama sp.*) bones were also recorded, this was a surprise for such a small sample of bone, as was the large number of dog bones. The six pig bones from context 103 are all immature and probably represent a suckling pig.

As stated above, the largest assemblage of bones came from dog, but this included ten fragments from one skull recovered from context 105. This skull was from a medium-sized individual, whilst the two skulls from context 104 represent two extremes of the size range. The possibility that the very large skull (table 4.6: M126) might have been wolf was ruled out when the skull was compared with that from a Canadian timber wolf, housed at the Ancient Monuments Laboratories in London. The large tibia probably came from the same individual dog. The measurements (table 4.8: M126) would indicate a shoulder height of 82.12cm. It is impossible to tie these bones to any breed, but the animal would have been roughly the size of an Irish Wolf Hound or Afghan Hound. The other skull/mandibles came from a small animal, probably the size of a Jack Russell.

Philip Brooks has commented that the pipe rolls indicate that two types of hound were used. One, the *brachetus*, hunted by scent (ie spaniel type). The second, the *leporarius*, was a large chasing animal — probably a wolf hound.

Discussion

During excavation it was always apparent that the area of trenches 1 and 2 had a considerably lower (up to 2m) ground level than that immediately north of the then northern boundary wall. This may have been the result of modern terracing and levelling of this ground, and this in turn

would explain the absence of medieval deposits apart from the deep ditch. This explanation is supported by the survival of medieval stratigraphy in the protected garden to the rear of no 74 Castle Street.

The original size of the ditch, because of this truncation, was not determined, but a width of over 9m and depth greater than 3m is implied. It may have been shallower to the north, but there can be little doubt that a feature of this magnitude is to be identified as the town ditch. The evidence points to it being deliberately infilled, at least partially, in the early-mid 13th century. How much earlier it had been dug is uncertain. There is little natural silting, and pottery from this (108) cannot be dated significantly earlier than that in the deliberate infill layers. This may mean that the ditch had been thoroughly cleaned out prior to deposition of the excavated sequence of deposits: if so the work left no trace in the form of re-cut edges in the excavated portion.

Further discussion of the date of origin and abandonment of the ditch is best postponed to the general discussion at the end of this paper.

The finds from the ditch are an interesting pointer to activity in 13th century Farnham. A nearby roof tile kiln is implied, and a workshop for metalworking must surely have existed if sense is to be made of the discovery of the stone mould. Leather working was also taking place. The plentiful greensand fragments, including dressed pieces, imply the presence of stone structures. Whether these are the houses of the town's burghers or, perhaps more likely, parts of kilns or other industrial structures cannot be established.

The results of site-watching, by David Graham

THE TOWN DITCH (fig 4.10)

Footing work by contractors revealed the line of the town ditch located elsewhere in the main excavation. The footing trenches were very narrow, extremely unstable and were backfilled with concrete soon after being opened. It therefore proved impossible to draw sections and the measurements are based on the best estimates which, while not being absolutely correct, should not be too inaccurate.

Section A–B: the footing trenches did not completely section the ditch and therefore the western edge as shown is an estimate (the ditch appeared to be 7.5m wide). The feature was covered by a layer of gravel c 1.55m thick, which probably formed the platform for the recently demolished building that stood on the site. The truncated ditch lay immediately below this layer and consisted of c 1m of grey silt lying on top of a band of dark organic material (55cm maximum thickness) containing wood and charcoal. The ditch cut a layer of clean yellow gravel which appeared to be natural. To the north of this line, the ditch section appeared very disturbed, as a diesel tank had at one time been set into the ground at this point.

Section C–D: top of existing ground surface 70.23m OD; top of ditch 68.68m OD; lowest observed point of ditch 66.13m OD. The footing trenches did not completely bottom the ditch, though this cannot have been much more than an additional 50cm in depth. The faces of the footing trenches were completely smeared by the digger bucket and it was therefore impossible to note the stratigraphy, except to say that the lowest visible level consisted of a dark organic layer containing numerous fragments of wood, mostly branches, with some animal bone being present. Examination of the contractor's spoil heap failed to produce any pottery at all.

OTHER SECTIONS

Section E–F: this section was cut by the contractors immediately to the rear of the properties fronting on to The Borough (not shown on figure 4.10: it lies about 10m south of the central part of the figure). The section merely showed a 1.3m depth of disturbed topsoil resting on natural gravel. No archaeological features were visible and only one fragment of medieval pottery was recovered.

Section G–H: this section was exposed by the contractors and lay immediately to the west of the line of the town ditch. Once again, no archaeological features were revealed, apart from Georgian and later disturbance and the section consisted of topsoil resting on natural gravel.

CONCLUSIONS

The town ditch appears, insofar as it is possible to say, to become shallower as it runs north. The building site manager stated that he thought he could see the ditch continuing out of the site, when a footing trench was cut along the northern boundary. This section was not visible during our site visits, however, and the observation cannot be confirmed.

Section E–F probably represents the results of terracing work connected with the construction of recently demolished buildings, which would presumably have destroyed any earlier shallow features.

Section G–H: this part of the site, while not apparently having been subjected to terracing work, still produced no archaeological features. This is probably because the area was covered by the bank which presumably lay on the inside of the town ditch, and which must have constrained medieval development.

Excavation to the rear of 74 Castle Street, Farnham

DAVID GRAHAM

Summary

A small trench in the garden to the rear of 74 Castle Street revealed an intact stratigraphic sequence dating from the 13th century onwards and resting on natural clay. Evidence was found at the lowest level to indicate that the main structure of a 13th century kiln lay immediately to the north of the trench.

Introduction and acknowledgements

In the summer of 1988 the Surrey County Archaeological Unit carried out an excavation and a watching brief on a large building site to the rear of Bear Lane and the properties on Castle Street. The final phase of this development involved replacing the wall which separates the small garden (SU 8398 4695) to the rear of no 74 from the alleyway leading into the development from Castle Street (fig 4.10). As this work was likely to disturb the ground, permission was obtained from the current owners, Weller Eggar the estate agents, to excavate a small trench in order to examine the stratigraphy. This was felt to be particularly necessary because it had been found that the original stratigraphy, over virtually the whole of the main building site, had been destroyed during a previous phase of development in the 1950s, while the area of the garden appeared to have been left undisturbed by this work.

I should like to thank Weller Eggar for permission to carry out the excavation, members of the Farnham & District Museum Society for helping on site and Audrey Graham for drawing the pot.

The trench

In view of the small size of the garden and the even more restricted area available within it, work was limited to opening a square trench with sides of 1.5m (fig 4.16).

No features were noted in the upper levels of the trench (fig 4.16, section), which consisted of 17cm of garden soil (1), containing 18th and 19th century pottery, resting on a layer of gravel (2). The gravel appeared to have been laid as a working surface, as a number of 17th century potsherds and an amount of ash had been trampled into the surface of the layer. The gravel lay on a further layer of dark soil (3), which in turn covered a thicker band of dirty clay flecked with fragments of mortar (4); neither of these layers produced any datable material. The clay/mortar layer (4) rested largely on the natural clay (5), on which the northern part of the town is built. The most interesting find, however, was that of a nearly intact 13th century cooking pot set into the natural clay (5), with the rim just protruding into the clay/mortar layer (4). The pot had been filled with soil and a large fragment of a pegged roof tile had been set vertically into this, presumably to brace the pot. Two further fragments of roof tile were found around the pot, presumably in the fill of a foundation hole, the edges of which were no longer discernible. The pot itself lay roughly in the centre and on the extreme northern edge of the trench. By the means of undercutting the section, it became apparent that the pot had been set at the edge of a band of roof tile, laid flat to form a floor, on which rested a thickish layer of ash. It was only possible to follow these layers for 20cm under the baulk, and to establish that the pot lay on a corner of a structure which showed every sign of continuing into the baulk.

Conclusion

As expected, the trench showed that the stratigraphy, which had been destroyed elsewhere in this part of the town, nevertheless remained intact in the limited area of the garden. Surviving

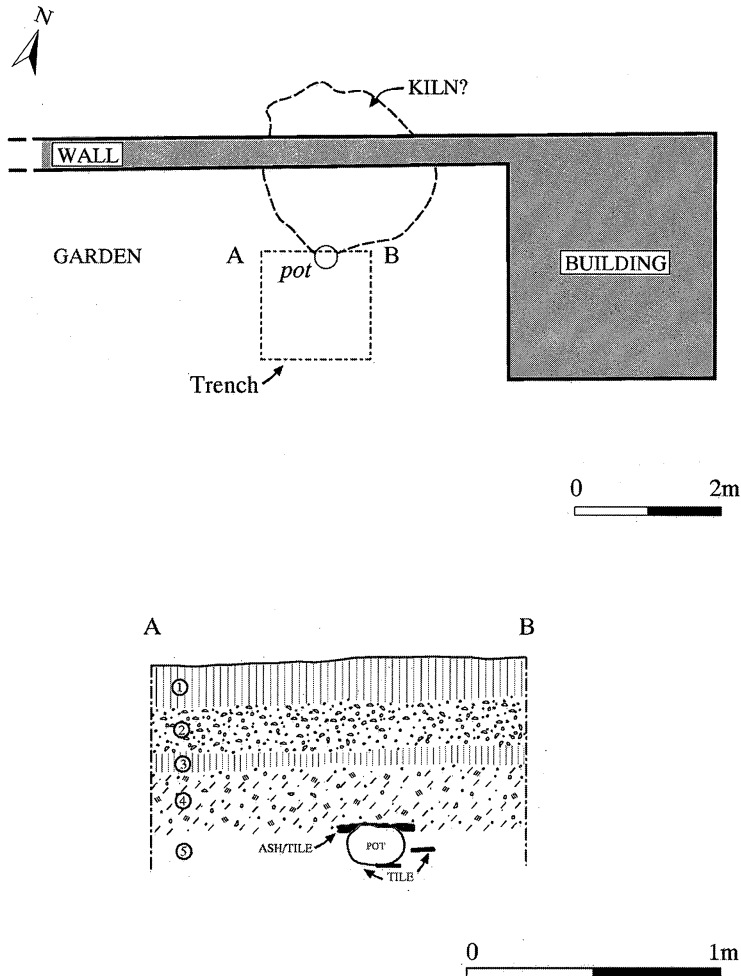


Fig 4.16 Castle Street/Bear Lane, Farnham: interpretative plan and section of trench to rear of 74 Castle Street. See fig 4.10 for location.

evidence for activity on the site appears to commence in the mid-13th century with the building of the structure incorporating the pot and tile floor. A very similar feature was discovered during the course of a watching brief on Park Row about 100m to the north of the present site (Cole 1982; Graham 1984). In that case a more complete excavation was possible and the feature proved to be that of a mid-13th century pottery kiln which incorporated tiles and complete pots within the structure of the kiln itself. By analogy, therefore, it is likely that the structure located in the garden of 74 Castle Street is a kiln of a similar type and date to that of the Park Row example. If this is the case, the main body of the kiln lies to the north of the trench and probably extends under the alleyway itself (fig 4.16). The fact that no soil level was present on the surface of the natural clay probably indicates the site was cleared or terraced prior to the construction of the possible kiln. Equally the clay/mortar layer overlying the kiln might represent the spreading of clay dumps after the kiln went out of use. Thereafter earth built up until, in the 17th century, a gravel surface was laid over the site. Since the end of that phase of activity, the area has been exclusively used as a small garden. Perhaps the kiln lay in a yard to the rear of a building fronting on to Castle Street. Kilns of similar and later date have been found elsewhere in the town, for example at Borelli Yard, south of The

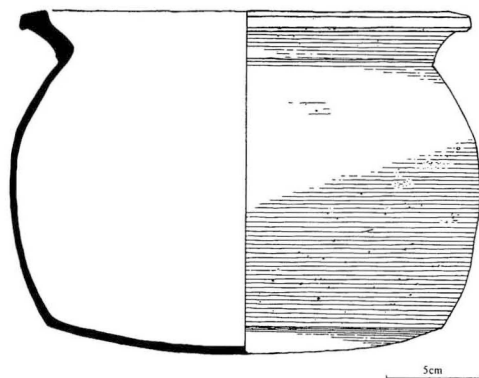


Fig 4.17 Castle Street/Bear Lane, Farnham: 13th century cooking pot from rear of 74 Castle Street. Scale 1:4

Borough, under the bowling green to the east of Bear Lane and under the Woolmead, as well as the Park Row kiln. It is clear that medieval Farnham was certainly not unused to the presence of potters and tilers working in and around the town.

The pottery and tile, by Phil Jones

The cooking pot (fig 4.17) is of a standard West Surrey medieval fabric type that has abundant quartz sand temper that is often iron-stained. The rim form is of 13th century type and such a squared club termination is usually dated to the mid to second half of the century.

The roof tile fragment that fitted vertically inside the above pot is similar to many others recovered from the nearby Bear Lane section of the town ditch. As with the pot, the temper is abundant iron-stained quartz sand.

The pot and tile have been deposited at the Museum of Farnham (Acc no A991.13)

Discussion: the town ditch and the origins and early development of Farnham

ROB POULTON and NICHOLAS RIALI

Introduction

The foregoing papers have presented a considerable body of evidence relating to the origins, character and early development of Farnham. The town ditch is a central factor in understanding and interpreting these topics, and the first task of this discussion is to summarize and consolidate the various strands of evidence so far presented, taking particular care to separate fact from inference. From this basis an attempt is then made to set the issues within a local and regional context. It has not been thought necessary to cross-reference every statement to preceding parts of this report, though this should not be allowed to obscure the extent to which it is dependent on them.

The town ditch

DATE

Conclusive evidence of the existence of the town ditch is given by the pipe roll for 1215–16. The absence of reference to it in earlier documents cannot be taken to imply that it was newly created in that year. It might have been hoped that the archaeological evidence would have helped to elaborate this statement, but this is not, in fact, the case. It is possible to confirm, from the Borelli Yard evidence, that the ditch was in existence by the early 13th century, as the primary fill contains only late 12th/early 13th century pottery. This, clearly, dates only the first surviving period of infilling: it is a matter for speculation how far removed in time this might be from the original cutting of the ditch. The problem is brought into focus by consideration of the evidence from Bear Lane, where the primary silting is dated to the mid, or mid to late 13th century. The pipe roll entry for 1215–16 makes it certain that this is too late to date the creation of the ditch. The implication is that a re-cut or cleaning of the ditch had removed earlier deposits, without leaving any evidence for this in the archaeological record. The stratigraphy at Borelli Yard does, in fact, suggest a major re-cutting of the ditch at about the middle of the 13th century, so perhaps there was a general renewal of the ditch at this later date. If so, the impetus was not long-lived, as shortly after there was deliberate dumping of materials to infill the ditch partially, and this was followed by more gradual accumulation. In sum, the direct evidence relating to the date of the town ditch does no more than prove its existence from the early 13th century; it cannot rule out an earlier origin but any estimation of the likelihood and degree of such must rely on setting this evidence in a wider context.

The disappearance of the ditch as a recognizable topographic feature took a long period. Parks (above) has noted references to the town bridge and ditch in the early 16th century and this probably reflects the fact that, while much, or most, of its original depth had been lost, it continued to act as a water channel. There is some more specific evidence for this in the Castle Street/Bear Lane section of the ditch (fig 4.11, layer 105 and related text).

SIZE AND APPEARANCE

The town ditch was, in its pristine form, a very substantial feature. At both the excavated sites, dimensions are of the order of 8.5m wide by 2.5m deep, as it survived. The original dimensions, allowing for loss of the contemporary ground surface, may have been about 9m wide by 3m deep.

Philip Brooks observed a similar feature within a deep sewer trench along The Borough in 1985 (Graham 1987, 174 and fig 3). Approximate measurements for this suggest that the original form of the ditch here may have been reasonably consistent with that observed in the formal excavations.

The ditch seems likely to have been dug to a standard size along its whole length and, no doubt, was accompanied by a well-made bank. Virtually no evidence for this has been recovered, although the absence of medieval deposits from one area at Bear Lane (section G–H, fig 4.10) has led David Graham (above) to suggest that this was due to the former presence of the bank.

LOCATION

The location of the town ditch has now been fixed at three points. Working from these the full circuit can be reconstructed, with some elements of uncertainty. The fixed points are those determined by excavation and observation at Bear Lane, Borelli Yard, and towards the east end of The Borough. This last observation is usefully supplemented by specific reference to the town ditch in this location, in deeds relating to nos 17 and 18–21, The Borough. Beyond this, determination of the remainder of the circuit rests on a variety of assumptions. The most reliable of these is, probably, that the extent of the *borough* is identical with the area enclosed by the ditch: on this basis Peggy Parks has recreated the enclosed area (fig 4.3) by reference to the *borough* rents, of which the first full list survives for 1594 (M93). Her suggestions seem, mostly, to be supported by archaeological and topographic evidence. The line of the southern arm seems slightly eccentric towards the south-eastern corner, but this matches the noticeably more irregular plots in this area, which are, perhaps, an indication that some earlier development here constrained the regularity of outline which was sought. The eastern arm is the most clearly defined while the suggested location for the western arm follows a set of strong boundary lines and has the virtue of making the long narrow plots, so characteristic of early medieval town planning, of nearly identical length on either side of Castle Street.

The location of the northern arm is more debatable. On the basis of the rentals Parks places the limits of the *borough* far enough north so as to include the present Masonic Hall and Guildford House, on the west and east sides respectively, although she notes that the 1594 rental shows the top of Castle Street as gardens and orchards. An alternative possibility is, though, that the ditch represents an addition to the *borough*, made at some date after the establishment of the latter, perhaps for defensive purposes. This might be regarded as difficult because of the way in which the earliest documentary references seem to regard *borough* and ditch as synonymous, but cannot, nevertheless, be dismissed as a possibility. If so, then, logically (see below) the ditch should have continued north to link with the castle defences, irrespective of the precise northern limit of the *borough* itself.

FUNCTION

On present evidence the substantial ditch surrounding Farnham *borough* seems distinctly unusual for a small town: the suggested enclosing ditch at Chertsey (chapter 2 of this volume) is very much slighter and it is difficult to find any close parallels from further afield. The question therefore arises as to why a ditch of this magnitude was felt necessary to enclose the town. One basic purpose, as Brooks (above) points out, may have been to provide a clear and exact definition of the *borough* limits, the area within which the local taxation and privileges, appropriate to the bishop's enterprise, existed. Beyond that, it may be readily accepted that it would have provided a means of controlling access to the town and given some local security.

A more problematic issue is that of whether the ditch was perceived as, and/or could actually be, a defensive (military) barrier. Such a suggestion is founded on the view that the size of the ditch, and the work and expense in creating it, argue that it was intended to be something more than a means of enclosure.

There can be no doubt that a ditch of the size excavated at Bear Lane and Borelli Yard was a substantial barrier, especially when supplemented by the bank, presumably surmounted by a

palisade, for which evidence has not survived. In the pre-Conquest period the *burhs*, varying from substantial commercial centres to purely military forts, seem often to have had little that was more substantial as a defensive line (Haslam 1984). The nature of warfare was, however, changed decisively by the arrival of the Normans, and in the post-Conquest period the castle was obviously the key element in military strategy. A simple bank and ditch could not hope to offer other than token resistance to the new methods of warfare, and town fortifications, if they were serious in their intent, had to be undertaken on a much grander scale (Steane 1985, 51–6). At Farnham the enclosed *borough* and the castle defences may have been quite separate entities, and, if so, this fact alone would surely be fatal to any notion that the former was intended in any serious sense as a defensive work. Interlinking of the two would, however, have given a real military value to the slighter barriers of the town, and was commonly achieved elsewhere. It may, for example, be part of the logic behind the positioning of the castle at Guildford (O'Connell and Poulton 1984, 43–4). A more instructive comparison is provided by Taunton (Leach 1984), also part of the bishop of Winchester's estate, where town and castle are closely inter-related and the pipe rolls record rebuilding of the defences in 1215–16.

In sum, it may be suggested that the function of the town ditch at Farnham may be explained in a very similar way to that now widely accepted for the moated sites which became so common from the 13th century onwards: it provides a symbol of status, emphasizes the exclusive character of the area, controls access in normal times and offers a measure of protection in times of disorder against plundering soldiers or disaffected citizens; if it was also linked to the castle defences, however temporarily, then it would also have had a genuine military significance.

The discussion has, obviously, related to the original purpose for which the ditch was dug. The fact that by soon after the middle of the 13th century it had been largely infilled must, however, reflect a change in the way it was perceived. One line of argument is that this might be because an original defensive function had become irrelevant by that date. Alternatively, it may be that, once all the plots within the *borough* were occupied and well established, they themselves provided a clear definition of the *borough* limits. The relatively substantial amounts of land occupied by the bank and ditch would have been desirable additions to the burgage plots, but perhaps only after the controlling hand of the bishop was removed, when the *borough* was handed over to the burgesses in 1247–8, was it possible to take over such areas.

The *borough* and its origins

Discussion of the town ditch has thrown up a range of evidence for the origins and early development of Farnham. In order to make further progress it is now necessary to consider this against a wider background. The beginnings of Farnham as a settlement can only be described as obscure. The starting point must be the charter of 685–8 (Gelling 1979), but this can scarcely be considered as doing more than confirm the existence (or beginning?) of Farnham as a settlement. Blair's (1991, 97) recent work has clarified the identification of the minster referred to in the 685–8 charter with the parish church. It is not difficult to imagine the growth of a settlement of reasonable size around this, but, as yet, there is no direct archaeological or historical evidence to give this any more precision for the pre-Conquest period. Despite occasional assertions to the contrary, Domesday Book is useless for this purpose as its figures refer to the entire manor of Farnham (Blair 1991, 56). The exact size and shape of this settlement at the time of the *borough's* foundation is, then, largely a matter for conjecture; a small area around the parish church may be regarded as a reasonable guess and no more. Parks (above) has, though, made a point of particular relevance in pointing out that the church, including part of the south side of West Street, was granted to the archdeaconry of Surrey at some time in the 12th century. Undoubtedly the chief motive for the foundation of a new borough was financial gain, and this fact would have provided the bishop with a compelling reason for siting his investment away from the old settlement.

The interesting question, though, is which bishop? Blair (1991, 56) has opined that Bishop Henry of Blois (1129–71) was responsible, but on no particular basis. It has already been pointed

out that the documentary and archaeological evidence for the town ditch can provide no clearer conclusion than existence by the early 13th century. Pottery of 11th/12th century date was recovered, especially from the Borelli Yard site, but it is impossible to be sure that it derived from occupation of the *borough* rather than earlier settlement. An examination of Farnham in the wider context of the episcopal estate provides the only possible way forward in defining a closer date.

There are ten small towns on the episcopal estates which can be identified and termed as such according to the criteria given, for example, by Biddle (1976). The overwhelming volume of documentary evidence for these towns is in stark contrast to the limited archaeological knowledge about them, thereby making excavations such as those at Borelli Yard and Bear Lane extremely difficult to assess in a wider context. Of the ten towns, only three have been the scene of archaeological excavations: Taunton, which is strictly not a small town but was never a city or a substantial town, Bishop's Waltham and Farnham. Excavation work has been carried out at Witney on the palace site which has consequences for the town there, but the town itself remains unexplored. Settlement can be shown from these excavations to have begun during the Anglo-Saxon period, but there is no suggestion that any had achieved urban status before the Conquest apart from Taunton. The recovery of Saxon pottery from Borelli Yard serves to illustrate a generalized pattern of settlement which seemingly has essentially rural characteristics. Thus Farnham, Bishop's Waltham and Witney all have potential origins as Anglo-Saxon villages. The documentary evidence is not informative for the settlement pattern, but is suggestive of a pattern of settlement comprising nucleated villages with, perhaps, substantial churches — at Farnham this was a minster — across the episcopal/monastic estates. Additionally, this evidence is matched, where excavations have taken place, by archaeological material of similar dates. Thus the grass-tempered wares, together with the single stamped-sherd from Borelli Yard, are indicative of settlement in the near vicinity well before the Conquest.

The Domesday survey provides the first overall picture of the Winchester estate, revealing that only Taunton was at this date a town, and it may be presumed that the other larger settlements, including Farnham, were still villages. Little more than a century later there were ten towns and many extended, substantial villages. These are further recorded in the pipe rolls of the bishops of Winchester. These documents show that early in the 13th century some of the towns were clearly newly-founded, such as New Alresford and Newtown (Burghclere) and they are termed *novoburgus*. Towns like Farnham and Bishop's Waltham have no such distinction and had, therefore, almost certainly been urbanized at some time in the 12th century. The latter are mostly the settlements alongside the bishops' castle/palaces, these perhaps stimulating the urban process. However, the 'palace' site at Bishop's Sutton (Hampshire) did not attract a substantial settlement, probably because of the pre-existence of the large, nucleated village at (Old) Alresford close by, and the castle at Merdon similarly has only a village site (now a DMV) and this must reflect its location close to Winchester. There are, therefore, clearly some dangers in postulating the development of towns as a result of the establishment of the castle/palaces on the Winchester estates.

Considerations of layout, spatial organization and specific dimensions provide no useful clues for placing a date on the foundation of Farnham as a town. Bishop's Waltham, long considered to belong to the earlier part of Bishop Henry of Blois' episcopate (1129–71), was laid out with a street plan based on a grid that is slightly offset from the palace site; a similar grid plan is evident at Overton (Hampshire), known from the pipe rolls (Beresford 1988, 447) to have been founded in 1217–18. Farnham has an inverted T-plan for its street layout which is seen also at New Alresford, founded 1208–9 or slightly earlier, and at Downton which is perhaps a late 12th century foundation and at Witney. Burge plots were generally laid out to a standard width of 33 feet but their lengths, seemingly, vary. The excavations at Borelli Yard and Bear Lane have demonstrated the problems of accepting the evidence of maps for calculating plot lengths; at Borelli Yard the plots were almost half the presumed length, the unsuspected town ditch lying beneath them, and at Castle Street/Bear Lane the plots were much shorter than might have been thought from examination of the maps. Similar problems of interpretation clearly attach to other town sites across the episcopal estate.

The spatial organization of town, settlement, castle/palace and church is similarly diverse and without pattern. At Farnham, the castle lies well away from the church leaving potential for settlement between the two, along either side of Castle Street. However, it would seem that the primary settlement at Farnham was in fact clustered around the church and that the 'new town', when it was established, was sited on open land between the two. Although this cannot be proven it would seem highly unlikely that, having moved away from the original settlement nucleus, an area was chosen which presented other settlement obstacles. This is certainly the case at Downton where castle, village and church lie close together on the east bank of the river Avon and the new town was established on the west bank. At Bishop's Waltham the presumed village precursor of the town has vanished, perhaps lying beneath the town or perhaps completely abandoned. The church at Bishop's Waltham, like that at Farnham, lies some distance away from the palace-site; at Witney the two lie close together. Thus there is no distinctive pattern for any period of activity; the new town was fitted between existing features and laid-out as an individual organisation without reference necessarily to the plans of other towns.

The evidence, then, is not conclusive; a 12th century date for the establishment of the *borough* seems reasonably certain, but how early or late is a matter for conjecture. One view might be that, even if the ditch was not functionally defensive in a military sense, the psychological need for such a substantial earthwork may have resulted from a period of unrest, such as the Anarchy (1135–53), in which Bishop Henry of Blois was highly active politically and militarily, or later in the 12th century during the rebellions of Henry II's sons. Brooks (above, p 102) feels that the tone of the earliest references to the creation of the town ditch implies an event within living memory, and the fact that between 1208 and 1248 the rent rose from £7 to £12 may also imply that at the former date it had not been long established. On balance a date in the middle to late 12th century for the foundation of the *borough* is preferred — an event no longer newsworthy, but equally a process not fully completed, by 1208. At this stage, it would seem that only further archaeological discoveries will provide a more certain understanding of Farnham's origins. It is unlikely that such will be able to offer an exact date for construction of the ditch, but, in particular, precise knowledge of the northern extent of the ditch would do much to advance understanding of its intended function. It is to be hoped that no opportunity is lost for such investigation.

Appendix: summary of other work in Farnham

DAVID GRAHAM

A number of generally small-scale pieces of archaeological work in Farnham are not mentioned in the foregoing report, principally because they are not immediately relevant to the main thrust of the argument. The sites are marked on figure 4.18 however and listed below in date order. As new discoveries are made the significance of this work may well become clearer.

1 Lion and Lamb Yard (Inn) (SU 8375 4682)

The Rev Huband records the find of a 'green pottery pilgrim's bottle' from the opening of 'an ancient midden'. (Huband 1924, 123)

Trial trenching and site watching in the Lion and Lamb yard area showed indications of a garden at the top end, while nearer West Street buildings and yard metalling probably dating to the Georgian period were recorded. No earlier material was found. (Graham 1987, 169)

2 Town Hall Buildings, corner of The Borough and Castle Street (SU 8400 4691)

Material from the Rankine Collection held in Farnham Museum (unaccessioned) and described as 'from midden behind Town Hall', consists of: one large sherd of possible RB pottery; medieval pottery (slashed ware handles, sagging based cooking pots etc), 16/17th century pottery (green glazed pottery and Bellarmine ware etc); 18th/19th century pottery, bone, deer antler, metal objects including a spur. This material comes from such a wide range of dates to make it seem improbable that it all derives from one deposit. Unfortunately no further information is available. (Report and photograph from an undated copy of the *Farnham Herald*, Museum of Farnham Library, Scrapbook **1**, 132–3)

3 Bowling Green, Bear Lane (SU 8400 4710)

Workmen discovered pottery under the bowling green while laying a drain in 1938. Major A G Wade cleared out the trench to a depth of five feet (1.52m) and discovered the flue of a kiln with three brick arched ovens lying parallel to each other and facing a flat, perpendicular surface dug into the virgin soil. The kilns were not roofed over but several arches with a six inch (15cm) space between them survived in each kiln. All three showed varying signs of firing. Little pottery was present, but two sherds of green glazed ware were found outside the kilns and one piece inside one of them. (*Farnham Herald*, 9 April 1938)

4 Old Market House, Castle Street (SU 8398 4692)

When the Old Market House was pulled down, a quantity of broken pottery was found, including many pieces of green glazed ware. Finds included fragments of 13th/14th century pitchers and 16th century mugs. (Rackham 1952, 53)

5 Farnham Castle (SU 8372 4732)

The keep was excavated by M W Thompson in 1958. Large amounts of medieval and Civil War pottery were recovered both from the well and from the general keep levels. (Thompson 1960; Moorhouse 1971b)

6 39 The Borough, National Westminster Bank (rear of) (SU 8403 4683)

Medieval pottery was found during excavations at the rear of the bank building. (Booth 1965a)

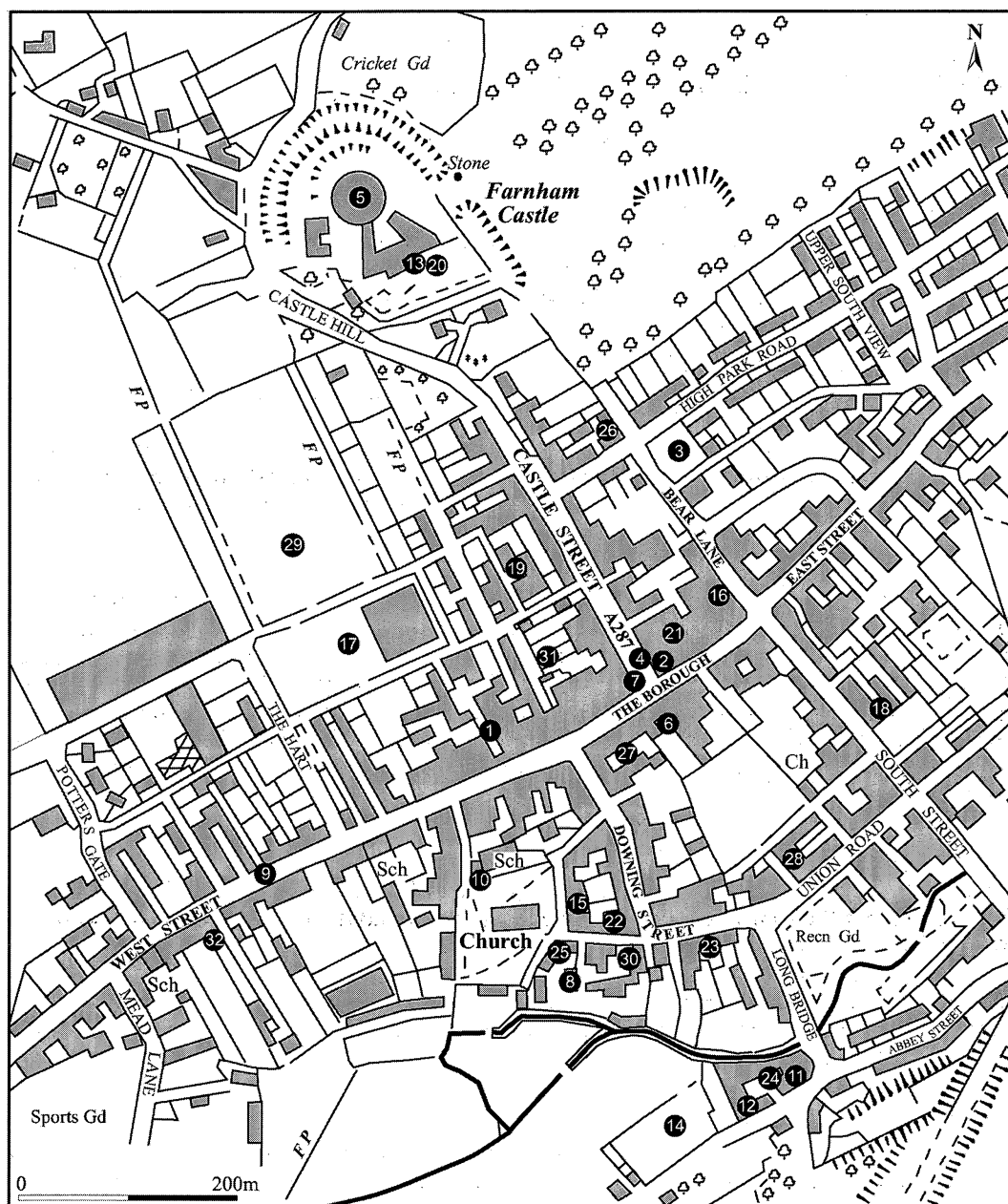


Fig 4.18 Location of archaeological work in Farnham referred to in the Appendix. (Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map with the permission of The Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, © Crown copyright MC87175M0001)

7 Castle Street (SU 8354 4693)

Pre-Tudor 'floors' were revealed by Post Office workmen digging a trench at the western side of the lower end of Castle Street. The upper two were of firestone and the lower of grey chalk blocks. (Booth 1965b)

8 Waggon Yard (SU 841 466)

Walls and occupation debris were revealed during trial trenching prior to construction of a car park. Dating evidence includes green glazed pottery, a puritan spoon and a green glazed bird whistle, all c AD 1500. (Dormor 1966)

9 West Street (c SU 8358 4674)

A section of a 16ft (4.88m) deep trench for a water main was observed by H G A Booth. The base of the trench penetrated the Lower Greensand, cutting through the terrace E gravel layer. At 40in (c 1m) there was a 5in (12.5cm) thick black layer with abraded flints, wood and bone which was capped by a layer of cobbles. This was in turn capped by a number of layers of gravel metalling. (Booth 1967)

A further section (1.07m deep) along West Street was also observed by H G A Booth. This exposed the following layers (measured down from the surface): 0–6in (0–15cm) tarmac; 6–12in (15–30cm) sand and clean gravel; 12–22in (30–56cm) dirty brownish gravel (road metalling); 22–28in (56–72cm) black layer, thinning eastwards; 28–36in (72–91cm) dirty brownish gravel; 36–42in (0.91–1.07m) blocks of calcareous stone. (Booth 1970)

10 1 Church Cottages (SU 8383 4671)

A trial trench by Farnham Museum Society volunteers in 1968 in a garden adjacent to the school playground failed to locate any archaeological features. (Graham 1969a)

11 17 Red Lion Lane (SU 8412 4653)

Trial trenching in advance of building works in 1969 revealed that the site may have been used for rubbish disposal in the medieval period. The footings of a late medieval/early post-medieval building were noted. This building was probably demolished when the present 19th century building was constructed. (Graham 1969b)

12 Tanyard House, 12 and 13 Bridge Square (SU 8408 4655)

These two buildings are the surviving jettied cross wings of the original medieval timber-framed hall house with jowl posts etc. The solar was open to the roof as rafters show signs of decoration. No 12 contains a queen post roof. Excavation by M Lyne under the floor of no 12 prior to restoration, revealed a central hearth built of tiles presumably relating to an earlier building on the site. (Lyne 1971; Manning 1984; Stevens 1985)

13 Farnham Castle: east of Wayneflete's (Fox's) Tower (SU 8377 4726)

A resistivity survey followed by a trial trench in advance of proposed works revealed chalk footings for a rectangular structure of medieval date. (Graham 1972)

14 Maltings car park (SU 8405 4654)

An auger survey was carried out while this site was under construction; there were no finds of any significance. (Coverdale 1975)

15 Middle Church Lane (SU 839 467)

Excavation revealed the remains of three structures dating from the 16th, 17th and 19th centuries. The latter was probably the base of a hop kiln. There was a scatter of Mesolithic material at a depth of 1.7m. (Graham 1979a)

16 18–21 The Borough (Court's) (SU 8400 4660)

Excavation behind Court's found 1m of topsoil overlying natural gravel. A rammed chalk floor was set into the gravel and next to it a posthole and pit were also dug into the gravel. Pottery associated

with the floor was of early 17th century date. A coin of William III was found with the floor. (Graham 1979b)

17 Kingham's depot (now Safeway and Lower Hart car park) (SU 8370 4692)

Site-watching following demolition of the depot revealed no archaeological features other than part of a large clay pit, some Mesolithic waste flakes, a few sherds of RB pottery and a scatter of Victorian pottery. (Graham 1987, 169)

18 Sainsbury's, South Street (SU 8417 4687)

Site-watching during construction of Sainsbury's supermarket in 1987 revealed no features of archaeological interest, as the site had been heavily disturbed during the Victorian period.

19 16 Long Garden Walk (east) (SU 8384 4699)

Trial trenching and site-watching on this development site revealed a number of pits, ditches and a well. Fragments of 17th century pottery were found in association with the ditches, one of which was substantial and may form part of the Civil War defences. There was no sign of the western section of the medieval town ditch. (Graham 1988)

20 Farnham Castle: inner bailey ditch (SU 8379 4726)

A resistivity survey in 1987 located the line of the inner bailey ditch. (Graham 1989a)

21 Lloyd's Bank, 75 Castle Street (SU 8398 4693)

Excavation and inspection of trenches for extension of Lloyd's Bank. Three periods of occupation were noted. The first was revealed at a depth of 1.1m by two pits cut into a layer of coarse sand and gravel which were linked with a 0.6m thick layer of soil, pegged tile and a few sherds of 14th century pottery. This was interpreted as horticultural soil which was sealed by a layer of crushed chalk and brick forming a yard surface dating to the 18th century (period 2). This was in turn covered by a layer of soil which related to the orchard which was destroyed by the bank's extension (period 3). There was no evidence for direct medieval occupation, so the area may have formed backlands. (Reid 1989, 173)

22 6 Lower Church Lane (SU 8497 4683)

Site-watching during renovation of this early to mid 19th century property. The floor and make-up deposits were removed in the front room to a depth of 0.3m. All deposits appeared to relate to the existing building. The dividing wall between nos 6 and 7 was set on irregular clunch blocks and may, therefore be of earlier date. (Reid 1989, 175)

23 2 Downing Street (SU 8401 4669)

Site-watching during excavation of footing trenches for an extension to the rear of the property. The building is dated to 1830 but with pre-1550 construction to the rear. The earliest deposit was a gravel layer forming a yard or road surface. No finds were made but the layer was sealed by 0.5m layer of mid-brown/grey sandy loam producing pegged roof tile and pottery from 13th to 16th centuries – probably horticultural soil. This was capped by a surface of mortar and chalk/brick fragments with no finds but sealed by soil and ash layers with brick fragments but was in turn was cut by the 19th century footing trenches. (Reid 1989, 175)

24 The Maltings (rear of 3 Red Lion Lane) (SU 8408 4654)

Excavation in the back garden of no 3 Red Lion Lane. Natural sand was found at a depth of 1.4m capped by a series of sandy clay deposits. Overlying these was a 0.15m thick layer of mortar with wall plaster, peg tile and clunch and limestone flakes from stone working. This was sealed by a layer

of green mottled loam with the remains of oyster and cockle shells which is probably horticultural soil dated on the basis of the pottery to the 17th century, although there was residual 14th to 16th century pottery present (plus Mesolithic flintwork). This was in turn sealed by a layer of sand and gravel probably forming a 19th century yard surface, which was covered by the existing building. (Reid 1989, 176)

25 7 Vicarage Lane (SU 8389 4659)

Site-watching during trenching operations to the rear of this early 19th century property. A naturally deposited sand layer at 1.3m deep was overlain by 0.20 m layer of sandy clay – probably wash from the Gault Clay. This was sealed by a 0.90m depth of sandy loam containing ash, peg tile, oyster shell and clunch fragments. Dating is uncertain but the layer was probably horticultural soil. It was capped by a recent layer of concrete. (Reid 1989, 176)

26 15 Park Row (SU 8394 4711)

Excavation at the rear of this late 18th century property revealed a series of rubbish pits containing a mass of broken mould-produced bricks dating from the 16th to the mid 18th centuries. The bricks were over-fired and highly vitrified; as a group they would appear to be kiln wasters. There was no evidence of medieval occupation. The pits were sealed by a 1.3m layer of garden soil and were cut into the clay. (Reid 1989, 176)

27 The Borough (Boots) (SU 8394 4680)

Excavation to the rear of Boots the chemists, in advance of development, revealed a cobbled surface with a stone slab marked '1914' and the base of a machine platform. This was possibly the site of Mr Hazel's corset factory which operated from 1855–1881. No earlier material was recovered as the site had been levelled, probably for the construction of Ivy House, in and around 1700. (Graham 1989b)

28 Union Road (SU 8409 4637)

Site-watching during construction of a building south of Union Road in 1992, revealed no archaeological features, though a silted up watercourse, possibly a meander of the river Wey, was noted.

29 West Surrey College of Art & Design: student village (SU 837 470)

An evaluation in advance of construction revealed one pit of unknown date as well as chalk and clunch masonry possibly dumped from works at the castle. A silver denarius and piece of Roman roof tile were also recovered. A metal detector survey of the site produced a single 17th century trader's token (John Smallpeece of Guildford). A World War II pillbox was recorded prior to demolition. (Graham 1994)

30 31 Lower Church Lane (SU 8398 4665)

Excavation within the 'kitchen' in the rear wing of this timber-framed 16th or 17th century house revealed evidence for an earlier substantial structure of probable 13th century date. This burnt down and at a later date the site was used for lead smelting before the existing building was constructed. The present building originally formed a single jettied house with attics and five bays and an earlier rear wing, which probably originally formed a free-standing three bay hall house. It is suggested by the Domestic Buildings Research Group that the house was repaired and the front built by John Byworth in 1622. (Graham 1995)

31 6–7 Castle Street (SU 8390 4691)

Excavation in the garden to the rear of the buildings revealed a linear feature c 1m deep, running north–south across the western end of the site. No silting lines were visible and it appeared to have been backfilled with soil containing multi-period pottery. This feature must lie very close to the

western course of the town ditch and may be connected with it. A second trench, closer to Castle Street, revealed a post-medieval square sided pit, but no earlier disturbance. Trenches within the shop, adjacent to Castle Street, showed clean clay resting on apparently natural gravel with no sign of disturbance. (Graham 1996)

32 Willmer House, 38 West Street (Museum of Farnham) (SU 8369 4664)

Rescue excavations during building work and subsequent controlled trenching produced evidence for extensive occupation of the site. This commenced in the 13th century with the construction of a small kiln and continued in the 14th century when the slope was terraced and built on at both levels. This split continued, with evidence for industrial activity, until the property was converted into the existing garden and town house in the Georgian period. (Graham & Graham 1997)