Recent Excavations in the Keep of Farnham Castle, Surrey

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FARNHAM CASTLE consists of a ditch and bank surmounted by a curtain wall forming an irregular enclosure around a triangular group of buildings.[1] The south side of the triangle is filled by a range containing kitchen and chapel, hall and bishop's apartments (from west to east), the whole range being essentially twelfth-century in date and dominated by a tall brick entry tower of the fifteenth century. At the northern apex of the triangle stands the massive circular keep. (PL. XIV, A). This is entered by steps from the south side leading to a level area about 140 ft. in diameter which is about 35 ft. higher than the ground outside the keep (the height is considerably more on the west side than on the east). The shell wall rises higher than this and is interrupted by four turrets, which rise from the ground as solid buttresses but originally contained rooms in their upper part which rose above parapet level.[2] These turrets are set at regular intervals with two pilaster buttresses between each except on the south side, where the turret is missing at the point where the west curtain joins the keep, and at the entry where the entry tower is much larger (FIG. 27).

The keep was placed in the guardianship of the Ministry (then Office) of Works in 1933. After the treatment of the outside of the shell, work started on the interior, where it was discovered that the lower parts of the doorways and rooms in the two turrets on the eastern side of the keep survived at a depth of about 3 ft. below the modern grass surface. To discover the medieval level within the keep so that the later overburden could be removed it was decided by the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments that I should carry out a trial excavation.

THE EXCAVATIONS

Work began in April, 1958. A trench was cut across the middle of the interior (AB in FIG. 27), roughly on a line extending south-east to north-west. The trench unexpectedly revealed a great mass of masonry about 50 ft. square with a square central shaft 13 ft. square, but expanding to about 20 ft. or so at its weathered top (PL. XIV, B). This masonry, which was evidently the foundation of a square tower, was set in the centre of a conical mound of marl. In 1958 the side of the mound was followed down to the point where it intersected the face of the present shell keep; in the late summer and winter of 1958-9 a motor-driven hoist was used

[1] There is a plan and description by the late Sir Charles Peers in the *Victoria County History, Surrey*, ii (1902), 599-605. For the documentary evidence for dating the entry tower to 1470-75, see my paper in *Surrey Archaeol. Collections*, LVII, (1960), 85-92. The N.G. reference of the castle is SU/837474.

[2] As shown in the Bucks' view reproduced in Peers, *op. cit.* in note 1, p. 596.

FARNHAM CASTLE KEEP

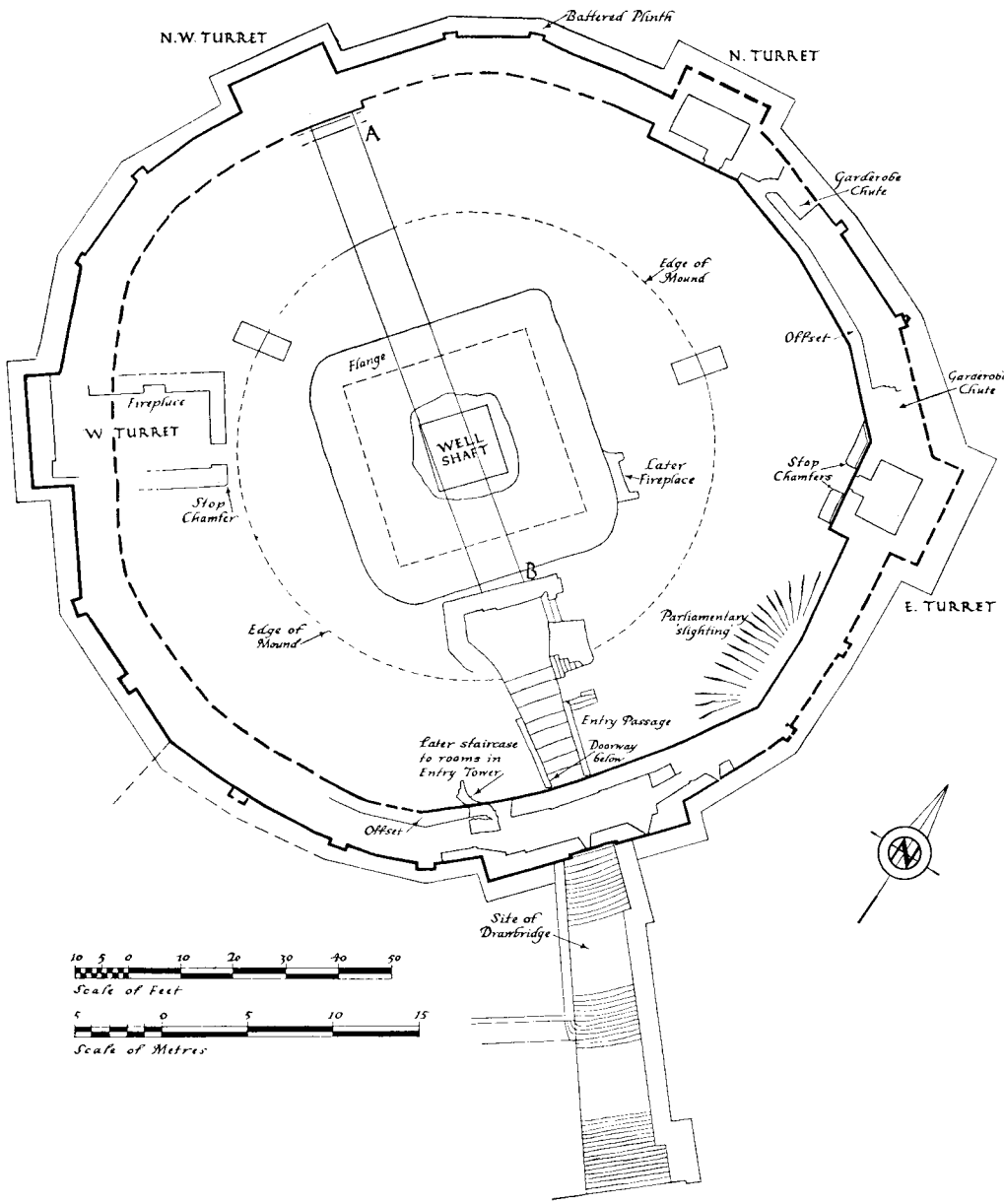

FIG. 27

FARNHAM CASTLE KEEP

Plan of keep showing line of section AB (p. 81)

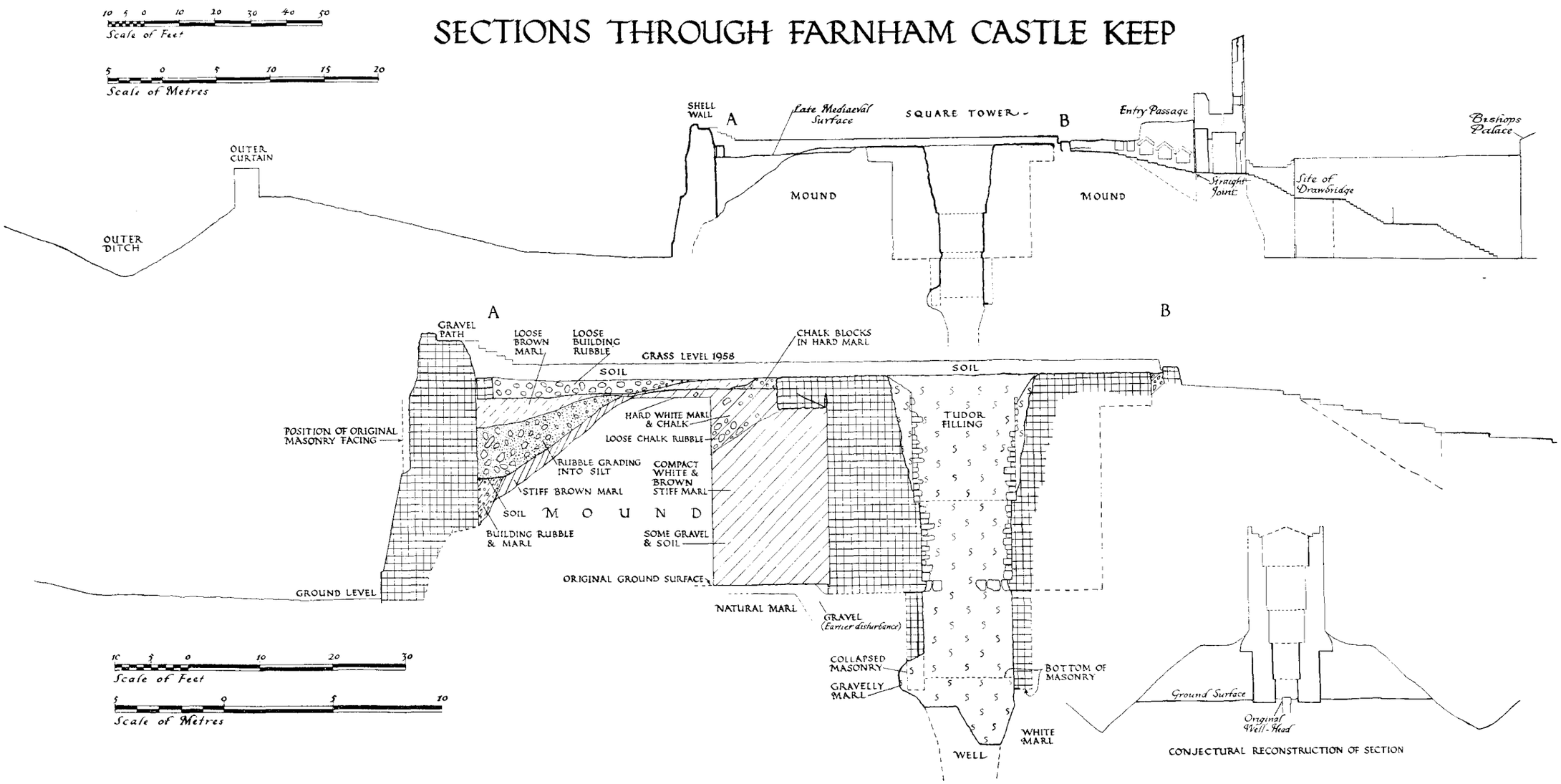

FIG. 28

FARNHAM CASTLE KEEP

The upper section is at half the scale of the lower one. The conjectural reconstruction of section is at bottom right (pp. 83 ff.)

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for clearing the central shaft to a depth of about 50 ft. where the masonry ceased; later in 1959 a shaft was sunk to the original ground surface at the north side of the foundation (PL. XVII, A) with the aid of elaborate shoring.[3]

The results of this work are represented in the accompanying sections (FIG. 28), the upper section being at half the scale of the lower one. The former extends beyond the keep to show the outer curtain, bank and ditch on the north and the beginning of the range containing the bishop's apartments on the south.

The base of the foundation had been set in a shallow trench cut into the original ground surface, which at the point of excavation was above an earlier disturbance. This appeared to be a ditch running diagonally to the face of the masonry, but owing to obvious practical difficulties this 'ditch' was not fully explored and it would be unwise to hazard a guess as to its nature or date.[4] The medieval builders disregarded it. Above a slight offset at the old ground surface the outer face of the foundation rose vertically to a height of 24 feet. At this point there was a flange 7 ft. wide and 4 ft. thick (PL. XVI, A, B, C), which increased the outside dimensions of the tower from 37 ft. square at the base to 51 ft. square at the top. The flange was not bonded with the foundation in its lower part, but, higher up, the masonry was continuous without a joint of any kind (PL. XVI, B, C). The outer surface of the foundation was built of rubble and very heavily mortared over the surface, giving the appearance of a rendering over the face (PL. XVII, B; XVIII, A). The flange on the other hand was very roughly built of rubble blocks set in a matrix of yellow mortar and its face was so irregular that in places it interdigitated with the marl of the mound (PL. XVI, A). It rested on and was imbedded in the very stiff chalky marl of which the mound is composed.

The whole structure is built of local chalk with profuse use of yellow mortar. Rubble is used throughout except at the inner angles of the internal shaft which are of ashlar with diagonal tooling (PL. XV, A, B). The upper part of the shaft has evidently been exposed to the weather and the chalk has crumbled away. The quoins, however, show that it was 13 ft. 6 in. square, and at a depth of 17 ft. there was a slight offset (PL. XV, A); 11 ft. below this there is a course of very large stones, evidently a foundation course at the old ground surface, to which it corresponds on the outside (PL. XV, B). Below this the masonry continues down for a further 12 feet. It is not properly coursed, is without ashlar quoins and contains much re-used material. It is evidently a later facing (there would not be a foundation course above if it were earlier) inserted beneath the foundation. The probable explanation is that the well-head was originally at the old surface, but, being unlined, the marl later broke away, so that the whole shaft had to be cut back and re-lined. If the bucket was being operated from higher up, a well-head at this level would be an obstruction. On the north side the bottom of the masonry has collapsed, on the south there is a rough relieving arch. Below this the hard natural marl slopes in and forms a circular aperture, 10 ft. in diameter at the

[3] The shoring was erected by Mr. G. Marples, the Ministry's charge-hand at the monument, to whom for this and other work the success of the excavation is in no small measure due.

[4] The natural chalk is covered with a considerable depth of chalky marl and above this there are patches of brown marly gravel. As the 'disturbance' was filled with gravel the possibility that it is a geological feature cannot be ruled out.

point reached (PL. XV, c). The solid chalk should not be far below and the well is presumably chalk-cut for the great part of its depth. Its total depth is not known.

The extremely fine construction of the 'foundation' and the heavy mortaring on its outside can leave no doubt that it was originally free-standing. Its general proportions suggest that it had been intended to bury it when building began, and, at all events, as it contains no doors or windows, the decision must have been made before building had advanced very far. The decision to add the flange, must have been taken at the time the mound was started or slightly later, for the construction of the mound shows that it was designed to support the flange.

Although only a relatively small part of the mound was exposed in section, the method of construction is reasonably clear. An inner mound of stiff brown marl streaked with white was set against the square foundation and extended from the ground surface to the base of the flange. Although it contained a little soil and gravel in its base it was practically uniform throughout and free from large chalk blocks. It had evidently been constructed with great care to compact the marl as much as possible (there are no real tip lines in it). The marl was extremely hard and had to be excavated with a pick-axe. It was upon this special quality of the marl, which allowed it to be packed down almost to the consistency of concrete, that the success of the operation depended. Looser chalk rubble evidently covered the lower part of the inner mound, only a little being exposed in our section. The top of the mound, level with the flange, was composed of very hard marl and chalk blocks, beaten down to the consistency almost of concrete. The object of giving the flange its very irregular outer edge was evidently to bond it as tightly as possible with this marl to prevent the masonry moving separately. The surface of the mound is lower than the top of the surviving part of the flange. The chalk blocks embedded in stiffer marl against the upper part of the flange are, I believe, the vestiges of a sort of marl plinth against the base of the tower.

The object of the addition of the flange was clearly to increase the area of the superstructure above; it is unlikely that this trouble would have been taken merely for the addition of a battered plinth at the base of the tower. In the conjectural reconstruction in the lower part of FIG. 28 I have allowed an overhang of 2 ft. (of which a few inches might be a pilaster buttress). Whether the flange was capable of supporting such a great weight must be a matter for conjecture. A pessimist might suggest that it is only capable of bearing a wooden superstructure but it must be remembered that the existing masonry is 4 ft. thick, and in my opinion a 2-ft. overhang for a stone tower is not an unreasonable assumption, nor was there any suggestion of seatings for timber at any point on the masonry. However, this is conjecture, for the only certain fact is that whatever weight was put on it was carried successfully, for nowhere has the flange broken free from the original foundation.

The edge of the mound was located at several points. It was about 90ft. in diameter at the top, the edge being about 25 ft. from the inner face of the present shell. The white marl of the mound should clearly show marks of sockets for timber uprights if such had existed, but careful examination revealed no trace.

On the plan (FIG. 27), it can be seen that there is very little room for a timber stockade around the corners of the foundation, which in any case a stone structure of this kind might not require.

In the accompanying figure an attempt has been made to reconstruct the original section of the structure (FIG. 28, bottom right). The height and width of the tower as well as the number of stories is naturally conjectural. The ditch at the foot of the mound is also conjectural (this is outside the area in the Ministry's guardianship), but its existence seems inherently probable and there is some independent confirmation for its existence in the Winchester Pipe Roll for 1346-7[5]. No attempt has been made to show the entry, which was presumably on the south side, for no evidence about this exists nor of how the courtyard was attached to the keep. It seems likely that the courtyard had its present shape, but the excavations have thrown no light on this.

There is no archaeological evidence for dating the square keep and mound. Not a single sherd of pottery was found in the shaft dug through the mound nor on the old ground surface. A sherd of scratch-marked cooking-pot that may belong to this phase was found on the surface of the mound. The well shaft contained great quantities of roof-tiles, as well as some bricks, pottery and stained glass. The filling cannot be earlier than the latest material that it contained, which included stoneware, tygs and majolica, but not clay pipes or bellarmines. The shaft was evidently filled up deliberately in Tudor times.

It will be seen in the section (FIG. 28), that the outer slope of the mound has a covering of stiff brown marl about 1 ft. thick at the top and 2 ft. lower down. This looks like a sludging down the side that took place when the mound was exposed. After a period of time this and part of the mound were cut away at about 22 ft. below the 1958 surface to form a step on which the inner face of the present shell was erected (PL. XVIII, B). This shell consists of a wall 10 ft. thick with a batter on the outside rising higher than the base of its inner face. On the face exposed in the excavation the unaltered masonry can be seen (PL. XVIII, C). It is very similar to the chalk rubble with copious use of yellow mortar that occurs in the square foundation. An interesting point is that it contains re-used dressed stone, possibly derived from the square keep. It will be suggested below that the keep may have been pulled down before the shell was constructed.

The section in the angle between the mound and the shell shows five clearly marked phases in the keep's history. The lower 6 feet consists of rubble and marl packed back after the shell was built. The top of this contained dark soil, as though vegetation had grown there. Above this a layer stretching from the lip of the mound to the shell wall consists of silt at the top and larger rubble at the bottom. It may be partly natural silting, partly material shot in from the top which would grade itself naturally. It contained fragments of roof-tile and a sherd of dark-green glazed jug, and is likely therefore to belong to the thirteenth century. Above this was a layer of mainly loose brown marl which extended from near the edge of the square keep to the shell wall. On its surface against the shell wall stood a small

[5] Roll 159356. The text describes work at the entry to the keep and refers to the preparation of 'vias et gressus in fossato castri . . . contra adventum cementariorum . . .' to do the work.

wall perhaps for steps giving access to the adjoining turret (this turret has not yet been explored), and comparable with the additions at this level on either side of the doorway to the east turret. The surface of this layer evidently represents the late medieval level. The layer itself yielded quantities of roof-tile, and sherds of the late thirteenth or fourteenth century occur in and above it all over the interior of the keep. Above this a layer of rubble extends back from the wall mentioned 31 ft. towards the interior and was probably produced by the destruction of the upper parts of the turrets in the eighteenth century.[6] Above this there are about 2 ft. of soil, no doubt brought up to interior of the keep to make the garden which existed there when the keep passed into the guardianship of the Ministry.

Other features in the keep can be briefly described insofar as they have been explored.[7] The jambs of the doorways in the east and north turrets are decorated with half-roll mouldings (as is the doorway to the keep), so that these doorways are evidently original. Before the space between the mound and the shell was filled in, they were perhaps entered by wooden steps or bridges from the mound. An offset 3 ft. wide on the face of the shell runs between them and was perhaps intended for communication between the two. A trial excavation some years ago revealed that this offset continues down to a depth of 15 ft. and must be an original feature. The pottery found in this excavation confirmed that the filling was a late one. No doorway has been found in the north-west turret, which may have been entered from the wall walk (the Bucks' view shows a doorway on its west side). The west turret has been treated in a curious way. It has been extended backwards so that the base of the extension rests on steps cut into the mound. To judge by the chamfer on the corner of the turret this work was done when the general filling up took place. The interior of the tower was then filled to give a ground floor room of some size, which contained a fireplace. Shallow foundations run round the inside of the shell, which evidently served as the base for a covered passage in Tudor times. A fireplace has been let into the outside of the south-east corner of the square keep at a lower level than the general medieval level. The arrangements here have been made obscure by the disturbance in the south-east part of the keep's interior both in late medieval times and as a result of the Parliamentary 'slighting' in the Civil War.

There has been no excavation at the entry to the keep,[8] which is a hollow tower containing rooms at two levels (FIG. 28). The threshold of the doorway, which is below these, is about 8 ft. below the medieval level of the interior of the keep (PL. XVIII, D). The steps that lead up from the doorway pass through a passage whose walls contain a brick doorway in the south-west corner and decorative four-centred brick arches along both sides.[9] These walls act as a revetment

[6] The turrets were pulled down between the time of the Bucks' view in 1737 and the description by C. Manning and W. Bray, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, (London, 1814), pp. 134-7.

[7] A final plan will not be made until work has finished, so that not all these features are shown in FIG. 27.

[8] Outside view in Peers, *op. cit.* in note 1, plate opposite p. 608.

[9] The passage is shown covered by a low vault with another door at its north end in the print in Manning and Bray, *op. cit.* in note 6, opposite p. 134.

for the soil on either side and, as they are not bonded in at their southern end, are evidently not an original feature of the shell's construction. Documentary evidence that will be described below throws a good deal of light on the origin of this passage.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE AND DISCUSSION

(i) *Twelfth Century.* The manors of the medieval bishops of Winchester extended from Southwark in the east to Taunton in the west with the main concentration around the centre of the diocese in Hampshire. The first mention of extensive castle-building on these manors is recorded under the year 1138 by the Winchester annalist.[10] In this year he records that bishop Henry of Blois built 'a house like a palace with a very strong keep (*turris fortissima*)' at Wolvesey (Winchester) and castles at Taunton (Somerset), Downton (Wiltshire), Merdon and Bishop's Waltham (Hampshire) and Farnham (Surrey).[11] In relation to the distribution of the bishop's manors the disposition of the castles gives the impression of a deliberately planned policy, very much in keeping with the known character of Henry of Blois.[12] The manuscript is of the late thirteenth century, but is presumably based on or copied from earlier documents (quite apart from a surviving oral tradition at Winchester). During the early years of the reign of his brother, King Stephen, the chroniclers agree Henry of Blois was at the height of his power, and it was also at this time that contemporary opinion was shocked by the construction of castles by bishops, notably by those of Bishop Roger in the adjoining diocese of Salisbury.[13]

Only at two of these six castles, Taunton and Farnham, has it been suggested that remains earlier than Henry of Blois exist on the site. In the light of the excavations at Farnham it is unnecessary to assume an eleventh century motte and bailey there. The six castles fall into two distinct types; those which rely on a water-filled moat for defence, as at Wolvesey (now filled in), Bishop's Waltham and Taunton, and those which rely on substantial earthworks, as at Downton, Merdon and Farnham. Where the domestic buildings survive—as at Taunton, Wolvesey, Bishop's Waltham and Farnham (assuming they are basically original) they are on a large scale arranged around a courtyard. The obvious comparison is with the castles of bishop Roger at Sherborne, Devizes and Old Sarum. In the four where domestic buildings survive there were keeps, usually small and square and quite unlike the large domestic keeps erected by secular castle-builders of the

[10] *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series), II, 51.

[11] I have seen all these castles except Merdon. For Merdon see J. P. Williams-Freeman, *An Introduction to Field Archaeology as Illustrated by Hampshire* (London, 1915), pp. 255-7.

[12] D. Knowles, *Monastic Orders in England* (Cambridge, 1940), I, 285-93. Cf. also the sumptuous palace with its use of ashlar built by Henry of Blois at Glastonbury; *John of Glastonbury* (ed. Hearne, Oxford, 1726), pp. 136-7.

[13] William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella* (Engl. Hist. Soc, 1840), II, 715-9; *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I* (Rolls Series), III, pp. ix-xiv, 46-7, 100-101. These two contemporary chroniclers speak of Roger's castles in 1138-9. The Winchester annalist places the castles of both Roger and Henry of Blois under 1138, but it is perhaps a fair assumption that this is a completion date for Roger (who died in 1139) and a initial date for Henry. The anonymous author of the *Gesta Stephani* (believed to have been in the service of Henry) does not speak of Henry's castles generally until 1143. His description of the bishops' castles in 1139 is of interest: 'castella nominatissima construxisse, turres et aedificia munitissima subvexisse'.

period. At Farnham the square keep in its original form was slightly larger than the small keep at Bishop's Waltham (which is 30 ft. square) but after the addition of the flange it was almost exactly the same size as the keep at Wolvesey, although of much sturdier build. At Taunton the excavations of H. St. George Gray, revealed evidence of a large rectangular keep.[14] It has been suggested subsequently that the very fine masonry that came to light was a later facing of a motte ditch.[15] In view of the discoveries at Farnham it will be of great interest to know more of this structure at Taunton.

The peculiar construction of mound and tower at Farnham raises the question of keeps and mottes in a very acute form. Keeps standing on mounds are uncommon, but not rare. The mound may be small, as at Hopton in Shropshire or large, as at Mileham in Norfolk,[16] Norwich (possibly natural), Christchurch in Hampshire and the Observatory tower at Lincoln.[17] Evidence is accumulating that in some cases the mound is added to the keep and not the keep to the mound. In 1935 it was found that freshly-dug material had been heaped up around the base of the large keep at Bungay, Suffolk, and the excavator interpreted this as a device against mining.[18] In 1946-7, E. M. Jope found a small mound heaped up around the base of a square keep in a twelfth century castle at Ascot Doilly, Oxfordshire.[19] The mound was apparently co-eval with the masonry, but recently two examples have come to light where a mound was an addition at a later date, namely Wareham in Dorset,[20] and Lydford in Devonshire[21] (where the material covered windows). At Christchurch in Hampshire the upper part of a window came to light while the supposed foundations were being treated by the Ministry of Works,[22] so that at least the upper part of the mound is an addition.

The obvious explanation of this type of construction is that the mound was to protect the base of the keep. This would be consistent with the relatively late date of the known examples and might also explain the addition of a mound to a tower at a later date. The masonry could be attacked in three ways; with a ram, with a bore, or by mining.[23] Mining was apparently not generally used until the thirteenth century. Both the ram and the bore were suspended from a horizontal pole and swung to and fro against the masonry. Obviously the steeper the gradient at the base of the masonry the more difficult it would be to use such an instrument; where the ground was level it would be an elementary precaution to heap up material around the base of the tower. In the case of a large mound its weight might well help to give the masonry stability in the event of mining. Yet in my

[14] *Proc. Somerset Archaeol. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, LXXXVI (1941), 63-6.

[15] *Ibid.*, XCVIII (1954), 92.

[16] Mr. D. F. Renn has drawn my attention to the very interesting engraving showing a flat-topped motte with the stump of a small square keep in the middle; *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXXIX (1819), 513.

[17] J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 84-5. The staircase discovered here perhaps implies that the tower goes down into the mound.

[18] *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch.*, XXII (1936), 205.

[19] *Antiq. J.*, XXXIX (1959), 219-73.

[20] See pp. 56 ff. above.

[21] Information from Mr. A. D. Saunders, the excavator.

[22] Information from Mr. R. Gilyard-Beer.

[23] Sir C. Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages* (London, 2 ed., 1924), I, 133-4,; II, 50-2.

opinion this kind of explanation cannot explain the construction at Farnham, although such considerations might of course have been a contributory motive for it.

Before the sockets for the uprights of the tower on the motte at Abinger, Surrey,[24] were found by B. Hope-Taylor, little attention had been paid to the superstructures of mottes in this country. There is however an impressive body of documentary[25] and pictorial[26] evidence for such structures from France, from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Most of the relevant references were extensively quoted in the controversies about mottes in the early years of this century. The texts describe the most elaborate timber buildings several stories high,[27] refer to timber towers or elaborate timber buildings on top of mottes,[28] and indeed imply that mottes normally supported a wooden superstructure.[29] The word sometimes used for motte (*donjon*) became the general word for keep, while in one case the replacement of a timber by a stone tower is recorded.[30] Four of the five mottes represented in the Bayeux tapestry bear elaborate superstructures. At Dol, Rennes and Dinan there appear to be central towers on stilts; at Dinan and Hastings there appear to be light stockades around the top of the mottes and at Rennes there seems to be something more substantial. At Bayeux a much more massive central structure (with windows) is depicted with a porch over the entry steps.[31] It is not clear whether the central dome is resting on or is behind the two buildings on either side. This is perhaps the only example where the possibility that a stone building is depicted cannot be ruled out.

Apart from a Danish motte cited by Hope-Taylor,[32] where uprights carried through the mound were evidently intended to give support to a large superstructure, I only know of three excavated mottes. Two of these yielded evidence of a square tower on top[33]; at Abinger separate posts[34] and at Hoverberg near Cologne a continuous trench with frequent posts.[35] Both these were built on top of the mound, but the plan at Hoverberg recalls the quadrilateral stone foundation found by S. E. Rigold at Totnes in Devon,[36] which was probably built up from the ground surface (though it was not traced down to its base) and was presumably

[24] *Archaeol. J.*, CVII (1950), 15-43.

[25] The relevant texts are assembled in V. Mortet, *Recueil de Textes relatifs a l'histoire de l'architecture . . . XI-XII siècles* (Paris, 1911).

[26] Sir F. Stenton (ed.), *The Bayeux Tapestry* (London, 1957).

[27] Op. cit. in note 25, pp. 10-11, 184-5.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 78: 'turrim ligneam mire altitudinis super dongionem . . .'; p. 184: '. . . super dunjonem . . . domum ligneam fecit . . .', and in footnote 1: '. . . in mota, scilicet turre lignea superiori . . .'

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 314, 337.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[31] Stenton, *op. cit.*, in note 26, pl. 1.

[32] R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford (ed.), *Recent Archaeological Excavations in Britain* (London, 1956), p. 248.

[33] At the Husterknupp near Cologne the evidence was disappointing and in the reconstruction the evidence from Hoverberg was used; A. Herrnbrodt, *Der Husterknupp*, (Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher, VI, 1958), pp. 52-77. The results were not conclusive in the case of two Irish mottes and a Scottish motte: *Ulster Jl Archaeol.*, XVII (1954), 104-63 and 164-8; *Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Nat. Hist. Antiq. Soc.*, XXIX (1951), 167-72.

[34] *Archaeol. J.*, CVII (1950), 15-43.

[35] *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CLV-CLVI (1955-56), 343-55.

[36] *Trans. Devon Assoc.*, LXXXV (1954), 228-56.

intended to bear a timber superstructure. This is a reminder that in such a construction a stone tower on account of its weight would have to be built up from the original ground surface. Hope-Taylor has indeed suggested that this was the case at Ascot Doilly,[37] and that there the mound was a vestigial motte. The structure at Farnham is likely to lend this view a good deal of weight.

At Farnham conditions were exceptionally favourable for study of the problem. The base of the structure had been buried and unmolested since about 1300[38], while the large scale of both tower and mound rules out the possibility of ambiguity. It is precisely its large size that chiefly distinguishes a motte from a mere mound. The fact that the tower oversails the mound and so unites the two in a most satisfying way again rules out any possible doubt of their relationship. The construction must imply some traditional prototype of timber and soil, for it is an absurd method of building in stone. It is the mound itself which deserves chief attention; it is not possible to conceive of any functional explanation for giving it a flat circular top, unless it was in fact meant to be a motte. There seems, therefore, to be no good reason why it should not be called a motte. If the reconstructed section in FIG. 28 is placed beside the representation of the motte and tower at Bayeux represented in the Bayeux tapestry the conclusion is difficult to resist that the two objects depicted are essentially the same thing, whatever the material they are built in.

In the bishops' castles the classical motte-and-bailey plan has been virtually abandoned so that the structure at Farnham belongs to a very late stage of the motte's history. This probably has some bearing on the use of stone instead of wood, while the need to protect the soft chalk at the base of the tower may have played some part in the motives of the builders. Until further excavation has shown whether this type of construction is common or rare, and has defined its chronological limits, these points cannot be settled. The structure at Farnham does, however, throw into relief two points about mottes and keeps, namely the essential part the superstructure plays in mottes (a point overlooked before the excavations at Abinger), and the very close kinship (at Farnham, identity) between motte towers and keeps, as, of course, the contemporary French sources have always implied.

In 1155, Henry of Blois went abroad without royal permission and the king took the opportunity to pull down three of his castles.[39] That this was not merely a chronicler's exaggeration is shown by the contemporary record in the Pipe Roll of appreciable expenditure by the sheriff of Hampshire in pulling down the castles of the bishop of Winchester.[40] Documentary evidence showing that the square keep no longer existed in the thirteenth century will be described below. If the

[37] Bruce-Mitford, *op. cit.* in note 32, p. 247.

[38] Except of course for the disturbance in the south-east.

[39] Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History* (Rolls Series), I, 10.

[40] P.R., 2-4 *Henry II*, p. 54. 'Et in liberacione Laidetti et in prosternendis Castellis Episcopi Wintoniae vi li. et xii. d precepto Regis'. I owe this reference to Dr. Allen Brown who first suggested to me that the destruction of the earlier keep might have prompted the construction of the shell. Mr. D. F. Renn has drawn my attention to a Pipe Roll entry recording the purchase of 100 picks for the demolition of the keep at Benington, Hertfordshire (P.R., *23 Henry II*, p. 144). It is perhaps too readily assumed that stone keeps could not be demolished.

square keep had been either slighted or demolished at this time it would provide a motive for the construction of the present shell keep and might also account for the re-used material in its fabric. Alternatively it might be argued that the present shell was built in this form so that it could be overlooked by the square keep, rather as at Bungay in Suffolk. The difficulty here is to explain the disappearance of the square keep in the thirteenth century.

The present shell is not securely dated. That there is no reference to its construction in the Winchester Pipe Rolls, which start in 1209, is fairly convincing evidence that it was already in existence by that date.[41] The segmental arch with half-roll moulding at the door also implies a date not later than the early thirteenth century. Possibly it was started by Henry of Blois who did not die until 1171, or possibly it belongs to the last decades of the twelfth century. The somewhat analogous keep at Berkeley, Gloucestershire, was apparently built early in the reign of Henry II.[42]

The method of construction of the later keep allowed a much thicker wall to be built than is the case with a normal shell keep, and before the filling-in between it and the mound took place it must have been more in the nature of a curtain wall. Possibly the original builders intended to fill in but were afraid of putting the weight against the wall.

(ii). *Thirteenth century and later.* The rent rolls (in book form from the mid-fifteenth century) of the manors of the medieval bishops of Winchester survive with many short gaps from the reign of King John to that of Queen Anne.[43] The membranes for Farnham up to 1400 formed the basis of the Rev. E. Robo's book on the medieval manor.[44] I have examined the entries relating to the castle in the period 1400-1530, and those mentioned by Robo dealing with the keep, and made some search in the other rolls earlier than 1400, and the evidence this revealed has done much to confirm and fill out the results of the excavation.[45]

The keep itself (*turris*, *alta* or *magna turris* and, from 1426, *le Donjon*) is readily identifiable, as are its four turrets, the rooms at two levels in its entry tower and its drawbridge. References to the keep are rare in the first half of the thirteenth century, are common in the third quarter, and occur in practically every roll from the last quarter of that century up to 1500, after which details of expenditure are no longer recorded. As the expenditure recorded in the entries normally deals with routine maintenance of roofs, doors and so on, the frequency of entries is to some extent a guide to the degree to which a building was in active use. As Robo pointed out, a very marked change took place in the use to which the keep was put in the second half of the thirteenth century. Prior to that date it was primarily a place of storage and refuge; afterwards it was used mainly for living in.

[41] The keep is first mentioned in 1226, Roll 159250.

[42] G. T. Clark, *Medieval Military Architecture* (London, 1884), I, 233-7.

[43] Only the first roll, 1208-9, is available in print: H. Hall (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1208-9* (London School of Economics and Political Science, Study 14, 1903). The numbers used here were those borne by rolls at the Public Record Office before their return to Winchester in 1959.

[44] E. Robo, *Medieval Farnham* (Farnham, 1935). Chapter 8 deals with the castle.

[45] The accounting year in the rolls runs from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, the date used here being the Michaelmas at the end of the year.

The roll for 1265 brings this out very clearly.[46] The approach to Farnham of Simon de Montfort, to whom there are several references in the roll, evidently caused some alarm at the castle. In the 'Costs of the Larder', among several entries recording meat being carried to and from the keep, the wages of three men employed in carrying hams up to the keep 'on account of the war (*propter Guerram*)' are recorded. The same reason may have prompted the work in the interior of the keep recorded under the marginal heading of 'Costs of the Well'.[47] It is not clear that the well is in the keep, although the entry scarcely makes sense unless this was so, but the main interest is that work in the interior of the keep is put indiscriminately under this heading. Another entry of 1284[48] is much more specific. In the marginal heading 'Reconstruction of the houses in the keep over the well' the expression 'over the well' is apparently used loosely to mean the interior of the keep since houses in the plural could hardly be over a well. The entry records the construction of a building and refers to the wheel for hoisting the bucket at the top of the well.

The main interest of these two entries is, firstly, that they show that the upper part of the square keep had disappeared by this date, and, secondly, that the well in the lower part was kept open, as the excavation has shown. It will be remembered that I have suggested (p. 91), that the square keep was pulled down in 1155. An entry of 1285, recording the construction of a lawn (*herbarium*), is mainly of interest in that it actually records cartloads of soil being brought into the keep.[49] The levelling (*equare*) recorded in each entry no doubt marks stages in the filling in and levelling of the gap between the mound and shell of which mention has been made.

It is not necessary to enumerate the various unidentifiable buildings built or repaired between 1285 and the 1340's. It is sufficient to say that in 1299 the bishop's chamber in the entry tower of the keep is specifically mentioned.[50] The bishop was evidently making use of, if not actually living in, the keep by the end of the century. The chapel constructed in 1339 was a modest building to judge by its cost.[51] In 1347 considerable work was done at the entry,[52] and, after a

[46] Roll 159295.

[47] 159295. 'Custus putei [marginal heading]. In stipendiis iii hominum extrahentum petram de quarera ad puteum . . . In partibus dicti putei faciendis mundandis ad tascham xlii s. . . . In placea in turri spargenda et equanda ad tascham v s . . . In stipendio unius cementarii operantis in turri . . . In stipendio ii coadiutorum suorum xiii d. et. uni garconi . . . In stipendio unius hominis mundantis domos in turri et una placea ubi posita fuit nova domus . . . In ii clavis ad portam turris emptis . . .'

[48] 159309. 'Nova Constructio domorum in turri ultra puteum [marginal heading]. In meremio prosternendo ultra puteum in turri et pro carpentera eidem ad tascham xvii s. In meremio sursum trahendo in turri xviii d. In placea equanda et curanda ubi domus funda est viii d. In CCCC bordis episcopi ad eandem domum cooperiendam xvi s. x d . . . In viii bendis episcopi ad rotam ultra puteum ligandam vi d . . . In i homine conducto ad turrim equandam et totam turrim scurandam ii s. vi d. . . .'

[49] 159306. 'Custus herbarii [marginal heading]. Item allocantur iiiior s. vi d. per breve de vadiis magistri Galfridi . . . stetit per xxvii dies ad herbarium faciendum in turri . . . de stipendiis v hominum coadiuvantum magistrum Galfridum per xviii dies operabiles et unius hominis ulterius per octo dies ad turbas fodiendas ad herbarium et ad placeam in turri eradicandam et equandam . . . Et iiiior s. ii d. de carretis locatis per dietam ad turbam ad herbarium cariandum. Summa xx s. xi d.'

[50] 159317. '. . . In turrell. camere ultra portam turris et pentice iuxta camera domini Episcopi in dicta turri . . .'

[51] 159349. £83 6s. 3d.

[52] 159356.

pause during the height of the Black Death,[53] was renewed in 1351 and culminated in a major work in the following two years. As the purpose of the work was to increase the accommodation in the keep, part of the motive may have been to provide alternative accommodation where there was less danger of contagion than in the large communal buildings in the court below.

Work in 1351[54] was mainly on the outside of the entry tower, but preparations were begun for the passage within the door which seems to have been the main task in 1352.[55] Details of the work in 1353[56] are not given, but the main new building was a small hall and other work at the back of the entry tower. The position of the hall can be identified from the roll of 1412;[57] it immediately adjoined the entry passage on the west side. Since the thirteenth century the main rooms had evidently been in the entry tower and the object of the work was to extend the rooms back from the tower into the interior of the keep. The identification of the passage constructed in 1352 is reasonably secure. It was within the gate,[58] contained steps, and in its construction the ground was dug out on both sides, the wood put in position and the soil packed back (*obstupare*) behind it. It was evidently the predecessor of the existing entry-passage, lined with wood instead of stone. The object of constructing the passage was no doubt to take the inward thrust of the weight of the buildings that were to be constructed on either side of it. This implies that the ground level was already much higher than the door to the keep and presumably roughly horizontal, which accords well enough with the archaeological evidence.

After this work the keep contained duplicates on a smaller scale of the main buildings in the castle; hall, kitchen, lord's chamber and chapel. It evidently served as an independent residental unit with its own offices. The frequent entries in the rolls recording preparations before the arrival of the bishop or king leave little doubt that it was in active use in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[59] After 1500 details of expenditure are not normally recorded, but there is record of a substantial work in the keep in 1521 during the episcopate of Richard Fox.[60]

[53] Robo has calculated the mortality and changes in prices and wages in Farnham from the rolls; *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV (1929), 560-72. He estimated the mortality at between a third and a half.

[54] 159360. '. . . In ii hominibus locatis ad prosternendos xxii quercos in Cokenor propter aluram infra portam magni turris . . . In i carpentario conducto ad faciendam de novo de meremio dictam aluram infra portam turris . . .'

[55] 159362. The membrane has been damaged. '. . . In DC pedibus bord. sarrandis propter aluram et magnam pontem magni turris . . . In expensis viii carectarum,—cariandis meremium de Kokenore usque ad castrum propter aluram turris iii s. vi d. In iiii hominibus locatis per vii dies et fod.—et petras ex utraque parte dicte alurae ad meremium ibidem ponendum . . . In i cementario—gradus alurae turris . . . In iiii hominibus obstupantibus et reponentibus terram ex utraque parte dicte alurae per v dies iiii s. . . . .

[56] 159363. 'Custus domorum et necessarie. In omnimodis custis et expensis factis hoc anno atque novam edificiam parve aule in alta turri, camere, capelle et edificiam ultra fontem in eadem turri . . .'

[57] 159414. '. . . de novo faciendam partem occidentalem aluerae sub aula alti turris . . .'. The roll for 1415 (159417) uses the phrase 'omnes domos infra portam altae turris' and clearly implies that there were a number of buildings immediately behind the entry tower.

[58] In this type of medieval latin 'infra', which is in constant use, means 'in' or 'within'; by translating it 'under' Robo put the passage outside the keep and missed the continuity of the work. Robo. *op. cit.*, in note 44, p. 145.

[59] For example in 1487. 155846. '. . . Et in solucione Roberto Beldan Jun. carpentario laboranti in dungeon erga adventum domini cum principe in redivindo circa lectos . . . in camera et aula iiii dies . . .' The prince was the baby Prince Arthur, elder son of Henry VII.

[60] 155866. '. . . iii^{xx} ix li. v d. pro diversas reparaciones hoc anno factas super diversas cameras, aulam, coquinam et alias domus infra le doungeoun Castri . . .'

The filling-in of the two windows in the upper room of the entry tower in order to make fireplaces on the inside is likely to have taken place then; one of them has Fox's episcopal initials (R.W.) in the spandrels. Possibly the entry passage in its present form was constructed then. The well in the keep had not been mentioned since the latter part of the fourteenth century and the archaeological material would be consistent with it having been filled up in 1521.

Two factors favoured the development that has been described in the keep at Farnham. In the course of the thirteenth century the bishop's apartments at the east end of the south range grew northwards by accretion along the east side of the court to near the foot of the steps to the keep. The bishop therefore virtually had private access to the keep. Secondly, its peculiar method of construction provided a large space inside the keep. One suspects that such a development was unusual in shell keeps.[61] At Farnham it marked a stage in the abandonment of the large twelfth-century communal living rooms for more private accommodation and was carried a stage further by the construction of another hall and living rooms in the great brick entry tower in 1470-75.[62] This kind of development no doubt had analogies in other castles which lack the rich documentary sources of Farnham.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Mr. P. K. Baillie Reynolds, Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, has taken an active interest in the work at all stages. The writer wishes to express his gratitude for advice and information to Mr. A. J. Taylor, Mr. R. Gilyard Beer, the Rev. E. Robo and Mr. D. F. Renn.

[61] I can cite written evidence for two only. At Pickering, Yorkshire, the shell was disused by the fifteenth-century, but at Pleshey, Essex, where the motte is exceptionally large, there was a hall in the shell and it was actively occupied in the fifteenth century (D.L. 29/74/1477-80 in the Public Record Office.)

[62] See *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, LVII (1960), 85-92.

NOTE

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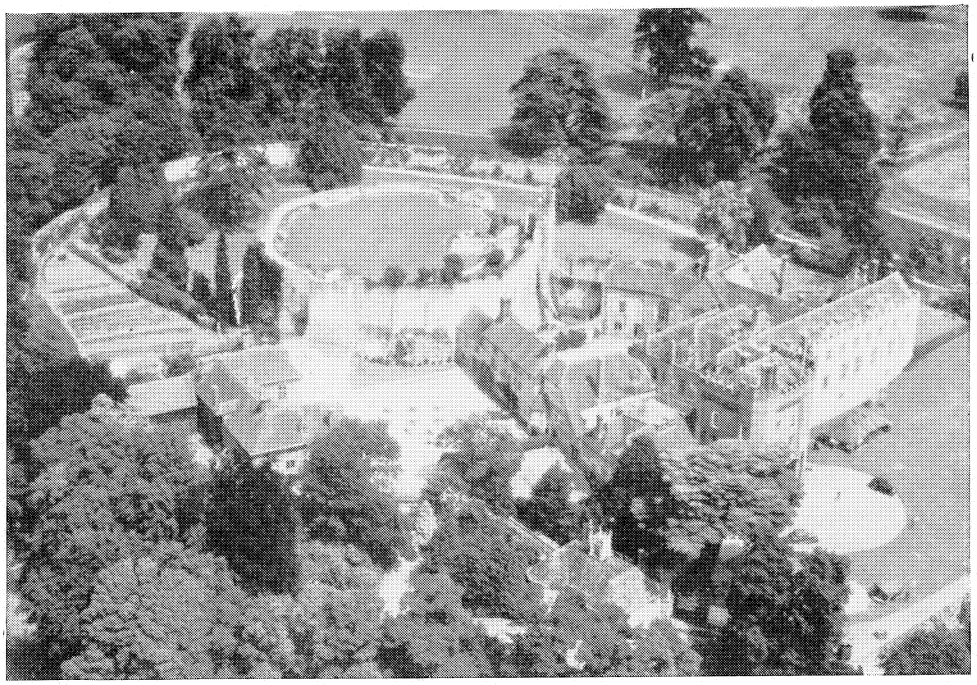

A

B

FARNHAM CASTLE KEEP

A. Aerial view of the keep from the south-west (p. 81)
B. View of square foundation in the keep from the south (p. 81)

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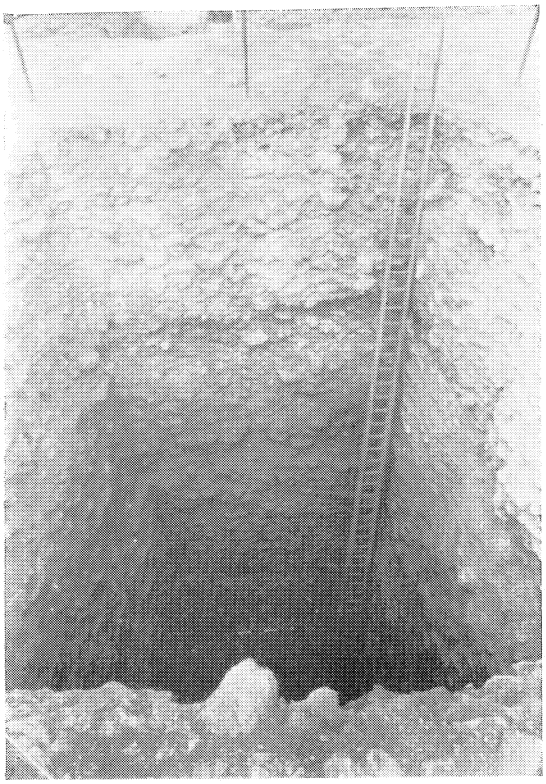

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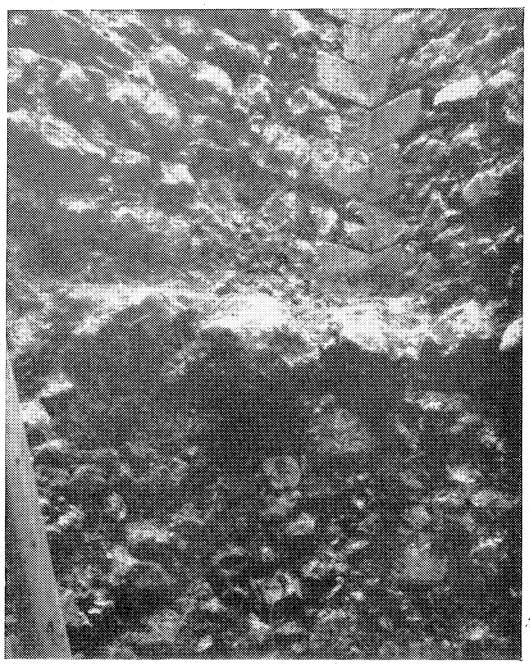

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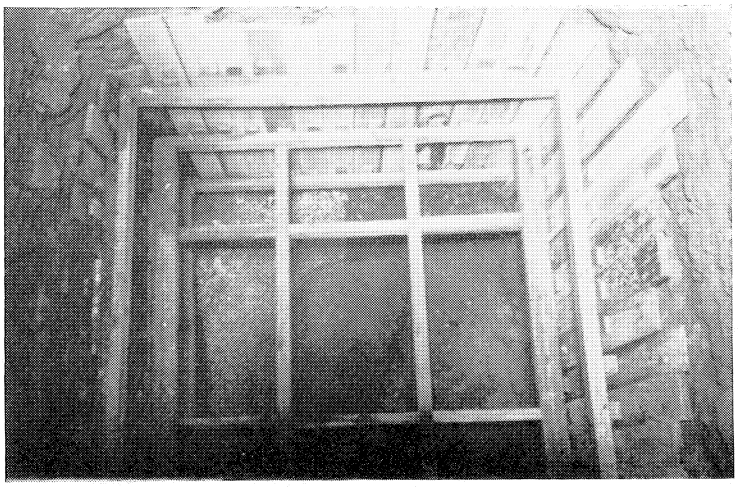

C

FARNHAM CASTLE KEEP

A. View down well-shaft in square foundation (p. 83)
B. Foundation course at bottom of well-shaft (p. 83)
C. Top of well cut through marl on left (p. 84)

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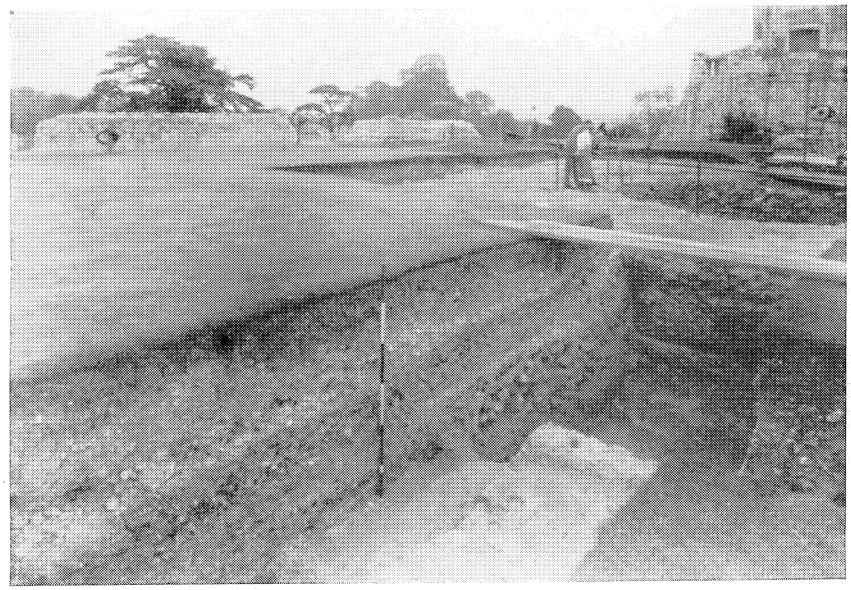

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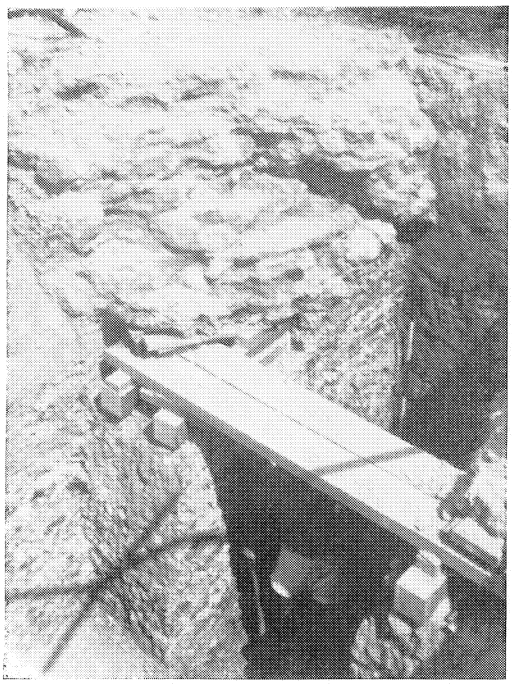

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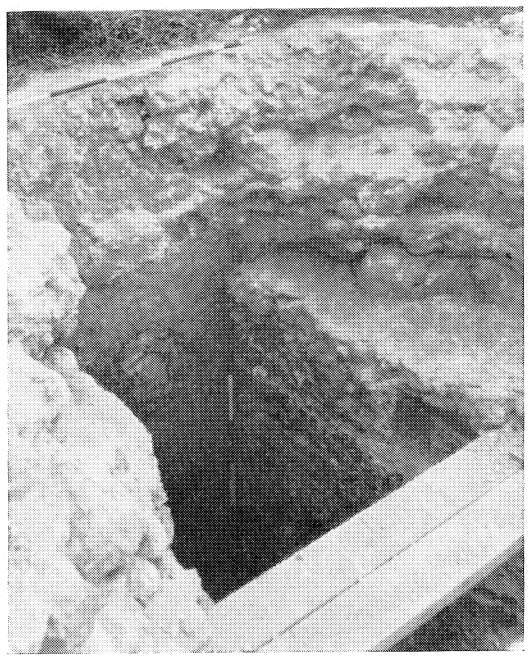

C

FARNHAM CASTLE KEEP

A. Section against flange on N. side of foundation (p. 83)
B and C. Masonry of flange cut away to reveal joint with foundation on E. (B) and W. (C) side of trench (p. 83)

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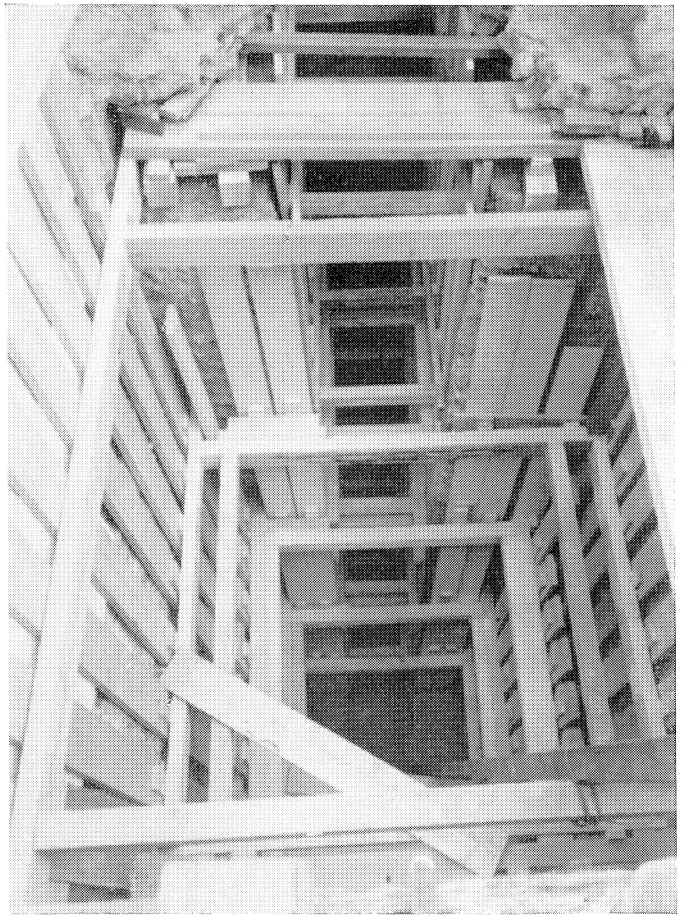

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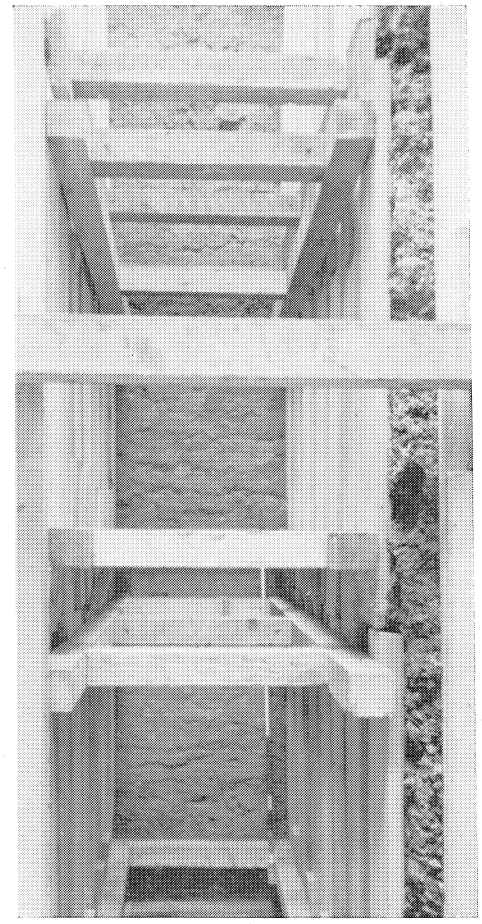

B

FARNHAM CASTLE KEEP

A. Shaft down N. side of foundation, the narrower part behind being beneath the flange (p. 83)
B. Mortared outer face of foundation on N. side (p. 83)

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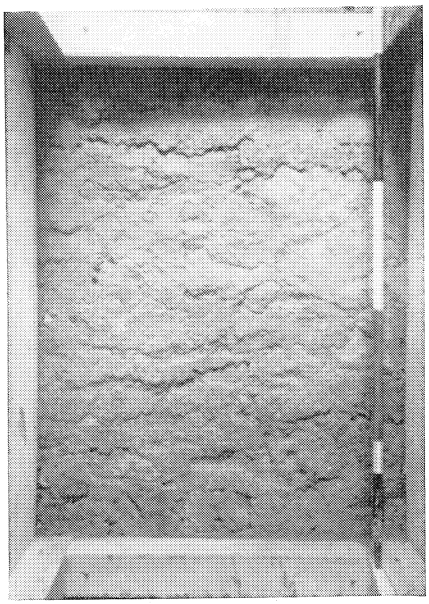

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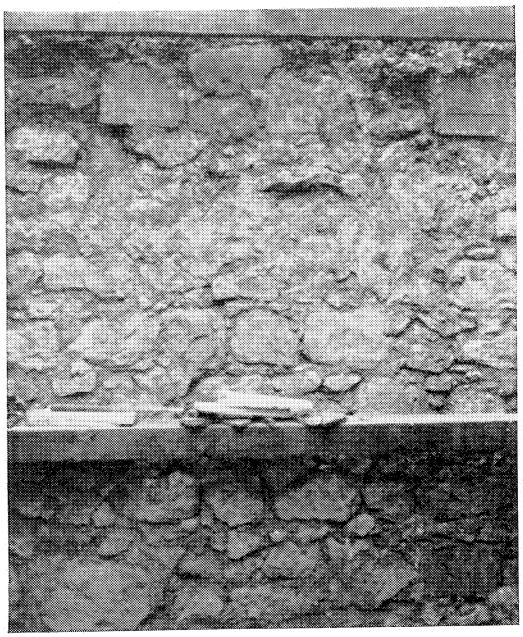

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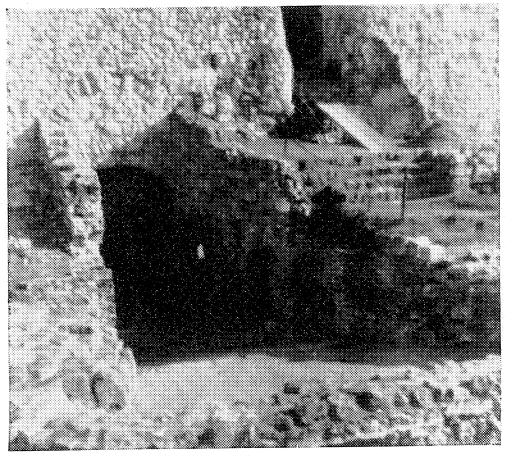

D

FARNHAM CASTLE KEEP

A. Close-up view of part of outer face of foundation showing mortar (p. 83)
B. View of inner face of shell (p. 85)
C. Close-up view of inner face of shell showing re-used stone (p. 85)
D. Entry passage into keep (p. 86)

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