

PACHENESHAM, LEATHERHEAD

The excavation of the medieval moated site known as 'The Mounts'

by the late ANTHONY LOWTHER

with a contribution by the late A T RUBY

(edited by DEREK RENN)

Abstract

The synthesised report on a pioneer excavation of a medieval manorial site in mid-Surrey is finally published. The occupation seems to have lasted from *c* AD 1200 to about AD 1350, the main hall being altered and later rebuilt. Finds included a possible fragment of chain mail and a chimney-pot and finial in the form of a mounted man blowing a horn.

Preface

Between 1946 and 1953 the newly-formed Leatherhead and District Local History Society organised the excavation of a medieval manorial site near the town of Leatherhead. It was one of the first manors to be extensively excavated in Britain and it attracted much attention at the time, including a leading article in *The Times*. But although interim reports were published annually, no final account was ever put together. The successive directors of the excavations were busy men: A W G Lowther was also Honorary Secretary of the Surrey Archaeological Society and A T Ruby a senior civil servant. Lowther once told the present writer that he had promised another excavator precedence in publication; we are still waiting for that report, too.

Lowther bequeathed most of his estate to the Society of Antiquaries of London, who deposited all Surrey material (including that from this site) with the Surrey Archaeological Society. Since Ruby was dead, the present writer undertook the task of putting the material from the site into a form suitable for publication by the Surrey Archaeological Society, as Lowther had always wished.

This report could not have been completed without the enthusiastic help of John Blair and John Harvey (history of the manor), the late Norman Davey (building mortars), Donald Harden and Stephen Poulter (glass), Juliet Jewell and G S Cowles (animal and bird bones), Mary Rice-Oxley, the late Gerald Dunning, Dennis Turner and Ray Varley (pottery), F G Dimes and M Owen (petrography) and S E Ellis (honestones), Martin O'Connell and Jac Cowie (preparation of the figures). I have also to thank the anonymous referees for their pertinent questions, even if some of them have had to remain unanswered. Although we may have benefitted from recent discoveries, this would have been a far more valuable report had it been written thirty years ago by the excavators themselves.

Introduction

Few original records of the excavation appear to have survived. A number of photographs, some section drawings and trench plans were found among Lowther's papers, but the references to the excavations in his correspondence were seldom informative. The finds themselves were usually marked with a trench and level number; some were sufficiently distinctive to be identified with those mentioned in the interim reports, which can now be collated as a whole.

References in the historical section are to published records only. Manuscript sources referred to by the authors cited have not been checked.

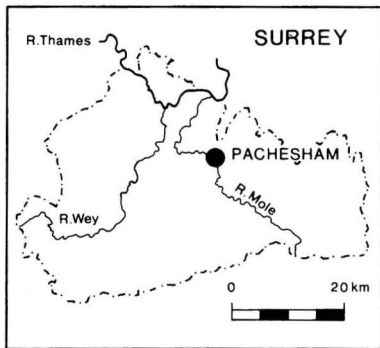


Fig 2a. Pachenesham: Location map

KEY to Fig 2b

A Pachesham Farm
B Rowhurst
C Randalls Farm
D Little Randalls
E Randalls

1 Strouds, 2 Allings Land, 3 Pachesham Green, 4 Dovehouse Close, 5 Park Fields, 6 Further Guttersbridge, 7 Hither Guttersbridge, 8 Wyers or Otters Close, 9 Hither Mount, 10 Mount, 11 Wyers or Otters Mead, 12

Coppice, 13 Hillar's or Barnfield, 14 Spring Field, 15 Hillar's Pond, 16 Hilly Park, 17 Bottom Park, 18 Land or Lawn Mead, 19 Orchard Meadow, 20 Youngs Close, 21 (Old) Gardens, 22 Lord's Park, 23 Birch Coppice, 24 Birch Coppice Field, 25 Chalk Close, 26 Copse, 27 Allcrofts, 28 Upper Goslings, 29 Lower Goslings, 30 The Butts, 31 The Hills, 32 Swines Field, 33 Kitchen Mead, 34 Mill or Floodgate Meadow, 35 Great Roydons Mead, 36 Stoney Croft, 37 Hunts, 38 Bull Rydens, 39 Sloes Hill

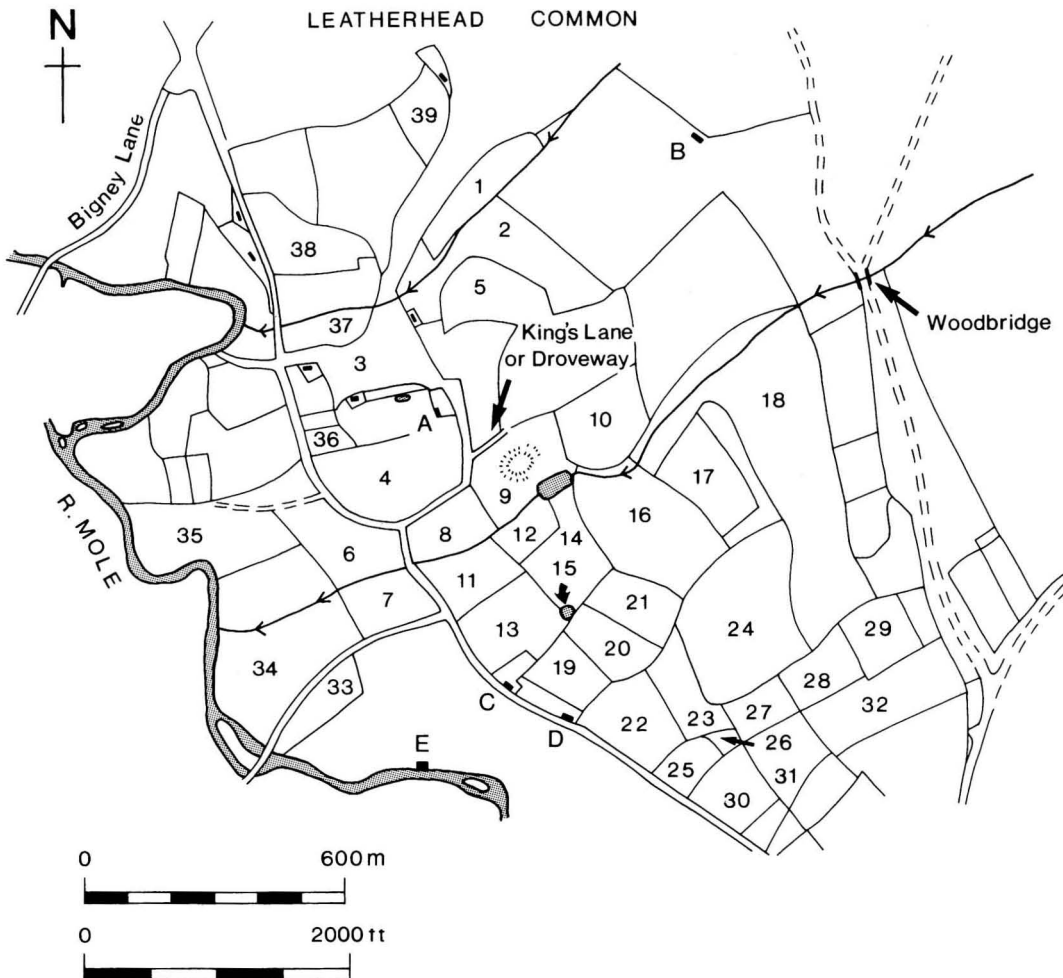


Fig 2b. Field names, drawn by Martin O'Connell, after John H Harvey

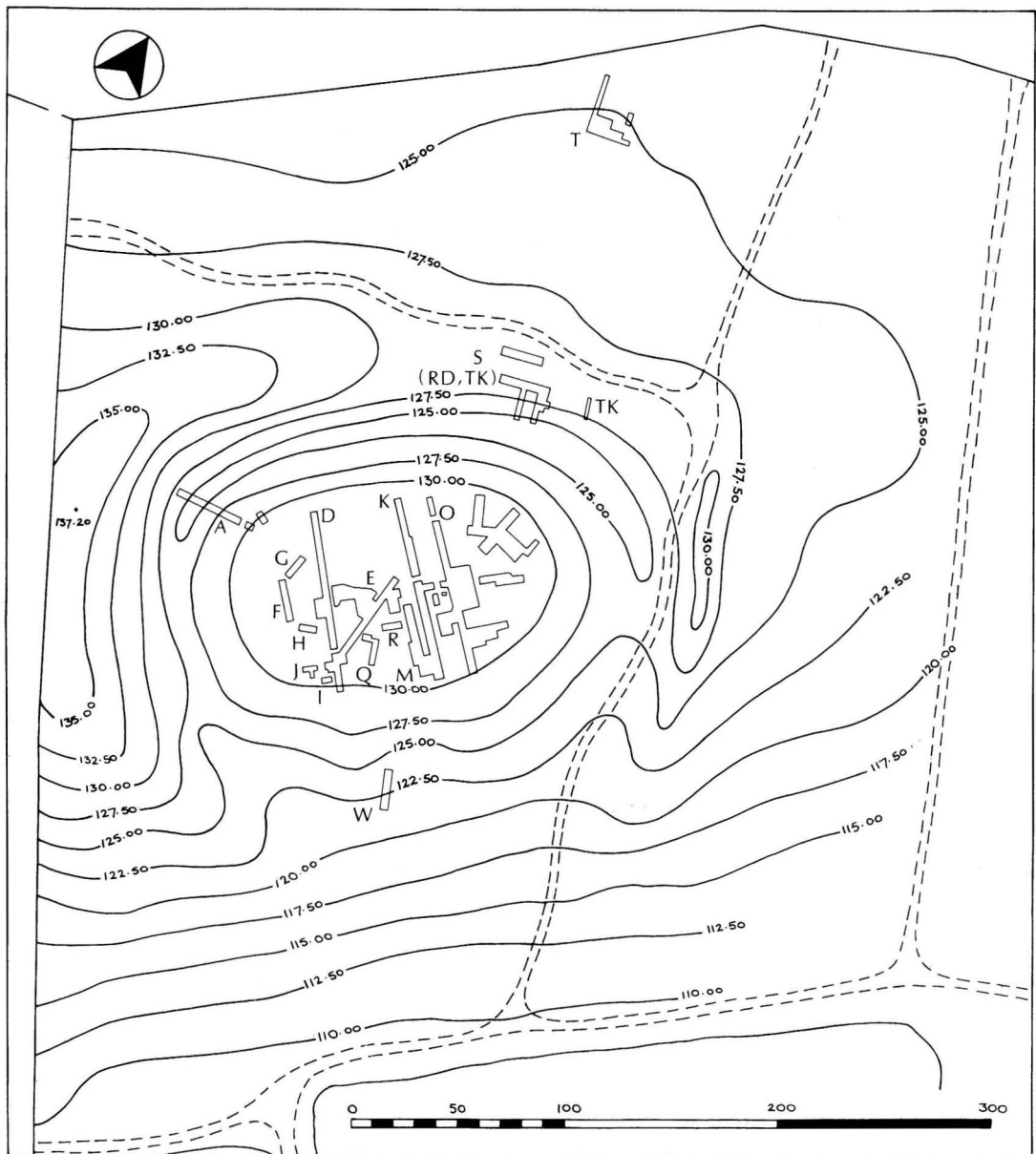


Fig 3. Pachenesham: Contour plan showing position of trenches, from survey by R F Elliott (scale in feet)

ORGANISATION

The work was carried out under the direction of A W G Lowther (1947–49) and A T Ruby (1950–53), with the permission of the landowners (T and H Prewett) and of the Office of Works (now DoE) since the site was scheduled as an ancient monument. Help was received from the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London, the Surrey Archaeological Society, and the then clerk and surveyor of the Leatherhead Urban District Council (Messrs Ede and Davis). Individual helpers included the Misses Boxall, B I Smith and Webb and Messrs R G Austin, F B Benger, F M Blake, A L Boxall, F G Carruthers, R F Elliott, J C Ellis, S E D Fortescue, C E Hanscombe, J P C Kent, S G Nash and K Waite, and Mr and Mrs Mangus of New York.

THE SITE (TQ 154 578)

'The Mounts' lies about a mile (1.5km) north-west of the centre of Leatherhead, in a small patch of dense woodland adjoining Pachesham Farm, on a low spur of London Clay rising north to Horns Hill, at a height of about 130 feet (40m) above mean sea level.

It comprises an oval enclosure of about $\frac{1}{3}$ of an acre (0.15ha) surrounded by a large and impressive ditch except to the south, where the ground falls away to the Rye Brook here flowing south-west into the river Mole. Until 1948–49 the Brook was dammed to form a fishpond south-east of the enclosure. The ditch shelves up from the north in order to retain water and there is a substantial crescentic bank on the counterscarp west of the moat and a lesser bank on the opposite eastern side (fig 3).

History

The medieval parish of Leatherhead comprised two principal manors, Pachenesham and Thorncroft. Each manor was roughly diamond-shaped, their points overlapping along the High Street — Bridge Street axis of Leatherhead town. Thorncroft, the more southerly manor, seems to have remained largely intact during the middle ages, apart from the subinfeudation of a large block of land represented by the modern Bocketts Farm (Blair 1977a and *passim*) but Pachenesham was subdivided from early times (Harvey 1947; 1948).

THE 11TH CENTURY

The church of Leret with 40 acres worth 20s was held by Osbert de Ow of the royal manor of Ewell in 1086 (*DB* 1,30) and Blair has suggested (1976a) that this was a Saxon 'old minster', then in the last stages of decay, sited somewhere west of Pachesham Farm. A letter from Ruby to Lowther dated 15 August 1948 reports a 'chapel' rumoured near the sewage works; the small field east of the works (fig 1, the small enclosure P, next to Eighteen Acres), is a rather odd exclusion from the manor. The holding was subsequently represented by a 20s rent held by Merton Priory *c* 1242 and described a century later as part of the manor of Pachenesham, north of Guttersbridge including the barn, cowhouse and gatehouse of the curial buildings. Blair believes the present Leatherhead parish church to have originated as the manorial chapel of Thorncroft.

In 1086, Thorncroft (valued at 110s) was held by Richard fitzGilbert, lord of Clare (*DB* 1,35); it remained a Clare possession until 1266–70 when it was given to Merton College, Oxford.

The history of Pachenesham was more complex: Domesday Book (1,31) says

'Hugh holds Pachesham from the bishop [of Bayeux]. Aelmar held it in the reign of King Edward. Then it answered for 4 hides, now for 3 virgates. Land for . . . 2 ploughs in demesne, 11 villeins, 8 bordars with 2 ploughs, 4 slaves; 2 half-mills at 12s; 5 acres of meadow, woodland for 3 pigs. Value TRE 40s, later 20s now 70s.

'Ranulf holds 1 hide from the bishop. Leofric held it from Earl Harold and could go where

he would. Now the land answers for 1 virgate; 2 villeins with $\frac{1}{2}$ plough. TRE 20s, later 12s; now 10s.

'Baynard holds 1 hide from the bishop, which Aelmar held from Earl Harold and could go where he would. Then it answered for 1 hide, now for 1 virgate. 1 plough in demesne, 1 bordar, $\frac{1}{2}$ mill at 6s. TRE 20s, later 10s now 24s.'

Presumably all these holdings escheated to the crown after the bishop (Odo of Bayeux) rebelled against William Rufus in 1088, and they disappear from the records for nearly a century.

THE 12TH CENTURY

In 1155–61, Hugh [or Henry] of St Omer held 100s of land in Leddrede (PR 2–7 Henry II; *RBE* 2, 666), probably a temporary grant at the troubled start of the reign of Henry II. The land concerned might have been either Thorncroft or the several parts of Pachenesham, since collectively each had been worth 110s or so previously.

Gilbert de Clare, lord (inter alia) of Thorncroft, had died in 1152 but his heir was not immediately recognised as such (GEC; Altschul 1965). The earliest reference to a settlement (*villata*) of Leatherhead occurs in 1198/9 (PR 10 Richard I).

THE 13TH CENTURY TO 1286

A 10s rent of land in Leatherhead can be traced from 1197 to 1204 in the hands of William de Es and then of Eustace de Es until at least 1230 (PR 9 Richard I to 14 Henry III). By 1237 Mathew Besill had succeeded Eustace; one reference states that Mathew held it after Master Urri the Engineer, but this seems to be a conflation of two successive Pipe Roll entries (*BF* 617; PR 14 Henry III). From Mathew it passed to John de Bokes and thence to Eustace de Hacche, of whom more anon.

This was probably one of the two smaller Domesday holdings; the major Pachenesham holding seems to have been granted out by King John in 1201 to Brian *hostarius* for the annual render of a Norway falcon (*Rot Chart* 24). *Hostarius* is usually translated as 'door-keeper', but the render may indicate that Brian was a falconer (*austur*).

Brian joined the rebel barons but died a loyal subject of Henry III in 1219. The falcon render can be traced to 1235 under Brian and his heirs and then by Philip de Thorp (*BF* 278; *RLC* 329; Ruby 1955, 8). The value is described variously at 70s plus or minus 2d — in 1292 it was put at 10s by King Richard to William de Es and 60s 2d by King John.

The 70s 2d value for two holdings passed from Walter de Thorp to Eustace de Hacche about 1286 when he purchased the manor, still with the falcon render (Harvey 1948, 8, citing PRO J1 1/192).

In 1248 Leatherhead was granted a weekly market and annual fair. Three sergeancies are mentioned in 1235 (perhaps attaching to the three holdings) of providing a prison, a pound and a bench for the county court (Manning and Bray 2, 665).

EUSTACE DE HACCHE

Much is known about this man, probably the most important owner of the manor. He first appears in 1275 in Ireland when he appointed John de Hacche the younger as his attorney; in 1293 Eustace appointed his brother William, who was sheriff of Louth, constable of Drogheda castle and later keeper of the castle of Athlone (Ruby 1949, 8; *CPR*, Ed I, 1, 44, 85, 91; *CFR*, 1, 424).

Between 1276 and 1279 Eustace married Avice, widow of Thomas Trimenell and held half of Moreton Morehull, Warwickshire, in consequence. In 1279 he accompanied Edward I overseas and in the following year was pardoned for poaching in Sherwood (Dugdale 1730, 493; *CPR*, Ed I, 1, 307).

In 1281, Eustace obtained the manor of Westhacche, near Wardour in Wiltshire, from Ellen de Westhacche, paying her 8 marks a year and permitting her to reside there for the rent of one clove (*CCR*, 2, 13).

He sold the manor to his brother in 1293, but later recovered it and resold it to Thomas de Abberbury in 1308 (Pugh 1939, 16 n16, 53 n44; *Plac Abbrev*, 232).

From its inception in June 1283, Eustace was in administrative charge of the building of Caernarfon castle. He seems to have been in attendance on the queen, and moved on to Hereford the next year, when he was granted 10 oaks fit for timber from Clarendon park, and 4 bucks with 8 does to stock his park at Hacche (Colvin *et al* 1963, 1, 371; Edwards 1944, 44; *CCR* Ed I, 2, 264, 341).

Granted the wardship of William, heir of John de Hardreshall in 1284, Eustace married him off to his daughter Juliana (*CPR* Ed I, 2, 45). In 1286 Eustace bought Pachenesham from Peter de Wateville for £100, rendering one clove (perhaps that from Westhacche?) (Salzman 1908, 137, no 991). Peter had owed Eustace 8 marks in 1283 and 40 in 1282 (*CCR* Ed I, 2, 298, 366). Eustace is described as the mesne tenant of Walter de Thorp who held Pachenesham by the sergeanty of finding a prison, a pound and a bench for the county court where it was wont to be held (Harvey 1947, 10; 1948, 8).

In 1287/8, Eustace de Hacche made an agreement with his neighbour Sir John d'Abernon concerning the enclosure of 16 acres of Leatherhead common towards Kingston (Blair 1978a, 37) and in 1291 Eustace's grandson was born at Pachenesham (GEC, 6, 390).

King Edward I granted Eustace bucks from the forest of Gillingham in 1292, with 120 oaks 'to make anew his hall' (*CCR* Ed I, 2, 236, 276). Now Gillingham forest is within a few miles of Westhacche, so the gifts were probably intended for Eustace's hall and park there. But Eustace sold Westhacche the next year, and began to develop Pachenesham. In 1292/3 he was accused of enclosing 18 acres of heath in the *villa de Leddrede* and of blocking the royal road through the said acres to Ocshete and another royal way in a certain place called Were, between Leatherhead, Stoke and Kingston. Now 'Wyers' is the later name of the fields east of Guttersbridge (fig 2b) and the acreage mentioned corresponds with the fields just beyond the road junction (Harvey 1947; 1948). Eustace was also said to have made a warren at Pachenesham and to have seized horses and carts belonging to strangers in Kingston market to carry timber to his manor of Pachenesham (Harvey 1948, 8). Timber would only be carted a distance if it was substantial in size (and so difficult to come by) and this suggests — but does not prove — that the manorial buildings were being substantially extended, repaired or rebuilt.

In 1294, Eustace de Hacche went to Gascony twice, first accompanying the king's daughter and subsequently with the king's brother. He was governor of Portsmouth in 1294–97, and in 1298 lost a bay charger with a white hindfoot at the battle of Falkirk (Bémont 1906, 3, 208; *CPR* Ed I, 3, 65, 67, 68, 87, 125, 456).

It is a remarkable coincidence that Eustace lost a black horse with a white hindfoot two years later at the siege of Caerlaverock castle. His arms are on the roll of the siege

Baniere bel appareille
Jaune a crios rouge engreelie
La Eustache de Hache estiot

(Topham 1787, 174, 188, 192, 196; *CDS*, 2, 302). Eustace's armorial seal survives (Blair 1978a). From 1299 to 1302, Eustace was constable of Marlborough castle, and in 1301 he attested a diplomatic letter refusing the papal claim to Scotland. He was in attendance on the queen at Dumfermline in 1303 and in 1306 was summoned for the making of an aid for the knighting of the king's son. He was summoned to Parliament from 1297 until the muster of 8 July 1306, but was dead by 20 September 1306 (*CCR* Ed I, 4, 237, 286, 341, 510; Rymer 1816, 1.1, 926; *CDS*, 2, 379; PRO Ancient Correspondence SC1 45/134).

THE 14TH CENTURY

Brayley (4, 426) states that the manor was held in 1307 'by Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester. His sister and coheiress married Piers de Gaveston . . . who in the same year obtained . . . the manor of Pachenesham.' Now the elder Gilbert had died in 1295, leaving as heir the younger Gilbert born in 1291, who was therefore not of age in 1307. The widow remarried Ralph de Monthermer, who served in the Scottish campaigns from 1299 to 1314, and might well have been given custody of a fellow-soldier's holding, acting for his stepson.

Another Gilbert de Clare, a cousin, was a member of Edward I's household, but did not serve in the 1306 campaign and died in 1308 (Ruby 1952; Blair 1974; Altschul 1965). The widow died in 1307, so the younger Gilbert may then have been regarded as the 'earl'. Piers Gaveston, who married Gilbert's sister in 1307 was in fact granted Pachenesham in June 1308. Eustace de Hacche's widow was given Rodenstone, Northamptonshire, with a cash adjustment, Eustace (it was said) having granted Pachenesham to the king. Gaveston was granted free warren of all demesne lands in Pachenesham, and sold the manor to Robert Darcy in 1309 (*CFR*, 2, 22; *CCbR*, 3, 110; *CPR*, Ed II, 1, 70).

Both Gaveston and Darcy had deserted Edward I in 1306 but were in the service of Edward II between 1307 and 1313. Darcy had also been in Gascony with the king's brother, like Eustace, and he was granted free warren of all demesne lands in Pachenesham in 1311 and 1327, with a view of frankpledge in 1328. In the next year he took action against the vicar of Leatherhead for failing to serve St Margaret's chapel, and it was probably due to his vigorous local activity that the local market charter was renewed in 1331 (*CFR*, 1 (34 Edward I); *CPR*, Ed 1, 2; Bémont 1906; *CCbR*, 3, 183, 4, 27).

When Robert Darcy died in 1343, there was at Pachenesham a capital messuage worth nothing beyond outgoings, a pigeonhouse worth 2s a year, 200 waterlogged acres, 8 acres of meadow, 10 acres of wood and a watermill worth 13s 4d a year beyond outgoings (Harvey 1974, 10).

The bondsmen tenants also mentioned must have lived there rather than in the town of Leatherhead (Blair 1975b; 1981b; *CIM*, 3, 636; *CIPM*, 2, 110). Half of the manor was held of the prior of Merton as of his manor of Ewell by service of 20s, and the other half of the lord of Gotton, Robert de Northwude. Merton Priory held land in Pachenesham from c 1242 (Ruby 1958, 8; Caley 1810-34, 2, 48).

The manor passed to Darcy's son-in-law, John de Argentan (a tenant list of his time specifies that the Merton part included the barn, gatehouse and cowhouse on the north side of Guttersbridge) and in turn to his son-in-law Ivo fitzWarin who leased it to William Wymeldon in 1386. By 1393 the rents in kind remained unpaid, and fitzWarin sued Wymeldon, alleging that he had dug sand and clay and sold it and had taken down various houses within the manor and sold the timber. The houses specified were: a hall worth £40, two chambers, a chapel, two barns and two watermills each worth 20 marks, two byres and a hayhouse and dovehouse, each worth 10 marks and two stables each worth £10. FitzWarin also claimed that Wymeldon had cut down 30 oaks and 30 ash trees each worth 4s and, in the gardens, 20 pear trees and 30 apple trees each worth 2s; the damages were put at £300. However the jury found that Wymeldon had pulled down a stable and sold its timbers to the value of 17s 6d and had cut down three oaks worth 10d each. Judgement for three times the damage — one-hundredth of the claim — went to fitzWarin, but he was in mercy for the false claim of the rest of the damage. After fitzWarin's death in 1414, the inquest found there was a certain site and a pigeonhouse worth nothing beyond outgoings in the manor of Pachenesham (Harvey 1947, 10; 1948, 10; Blair 1975; 1976). The further descent of the manor need not concern us here.

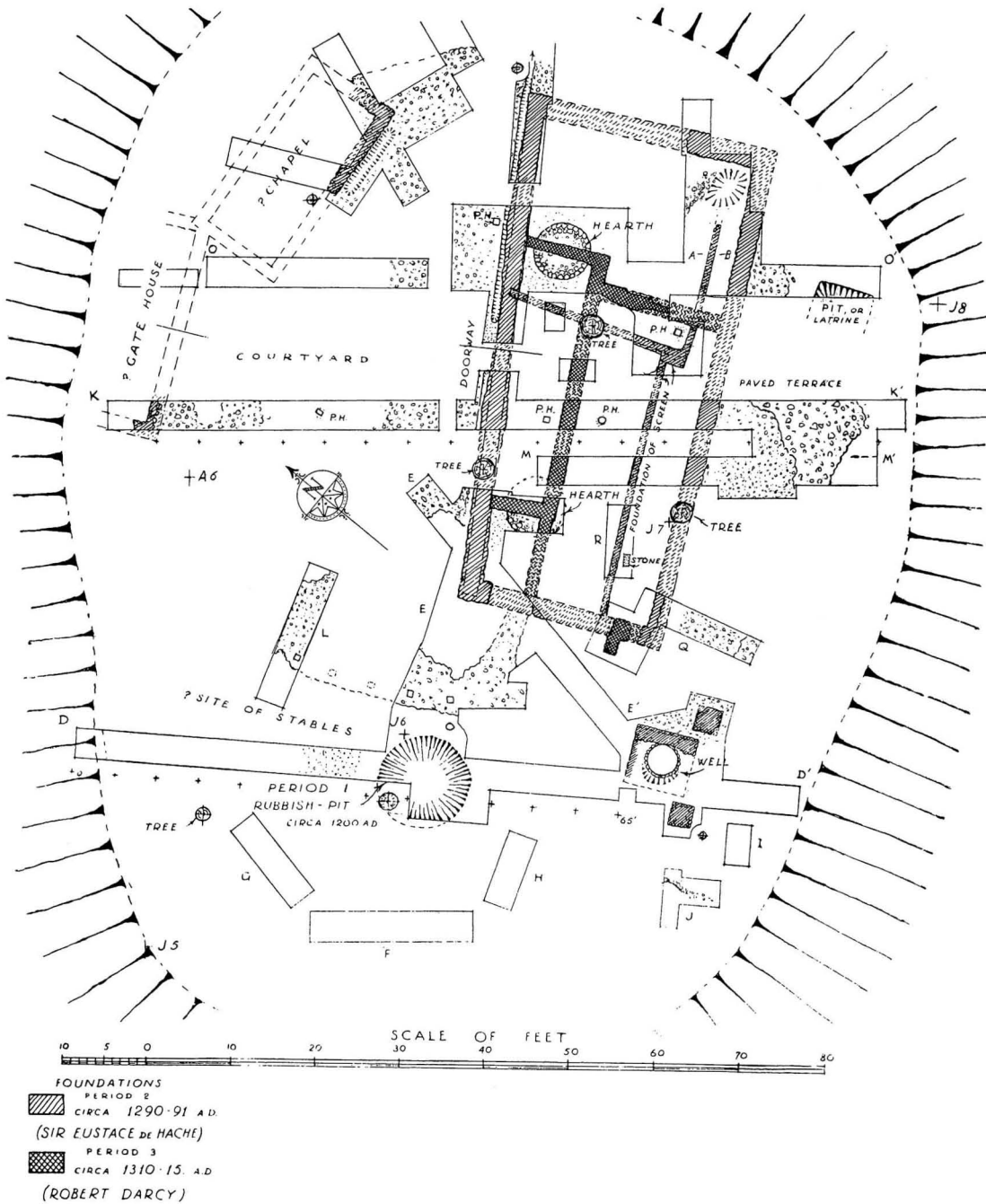


Fig 4. Pachenesham: Plan of excavations within the moated area

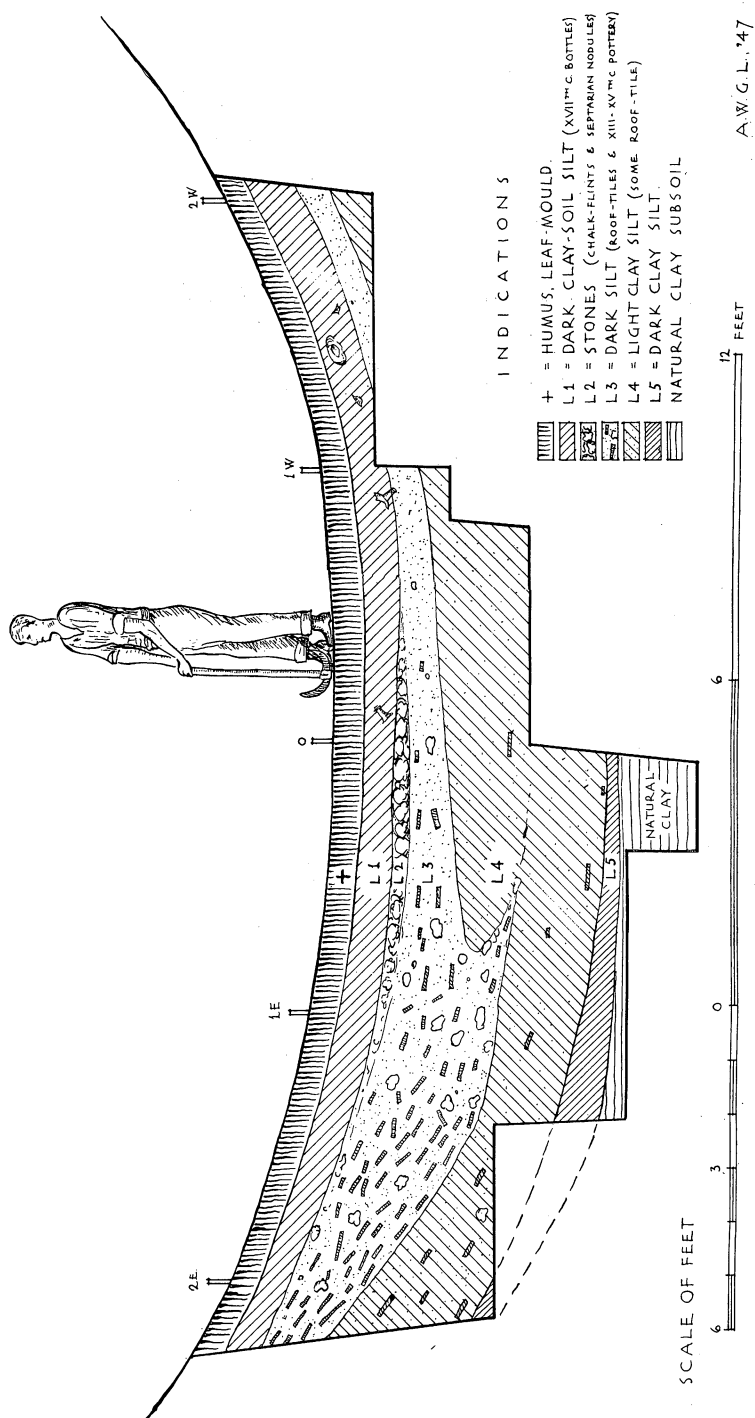


Fig 5. Pachenesham: Section of south face of trench A, published in 1st interim report

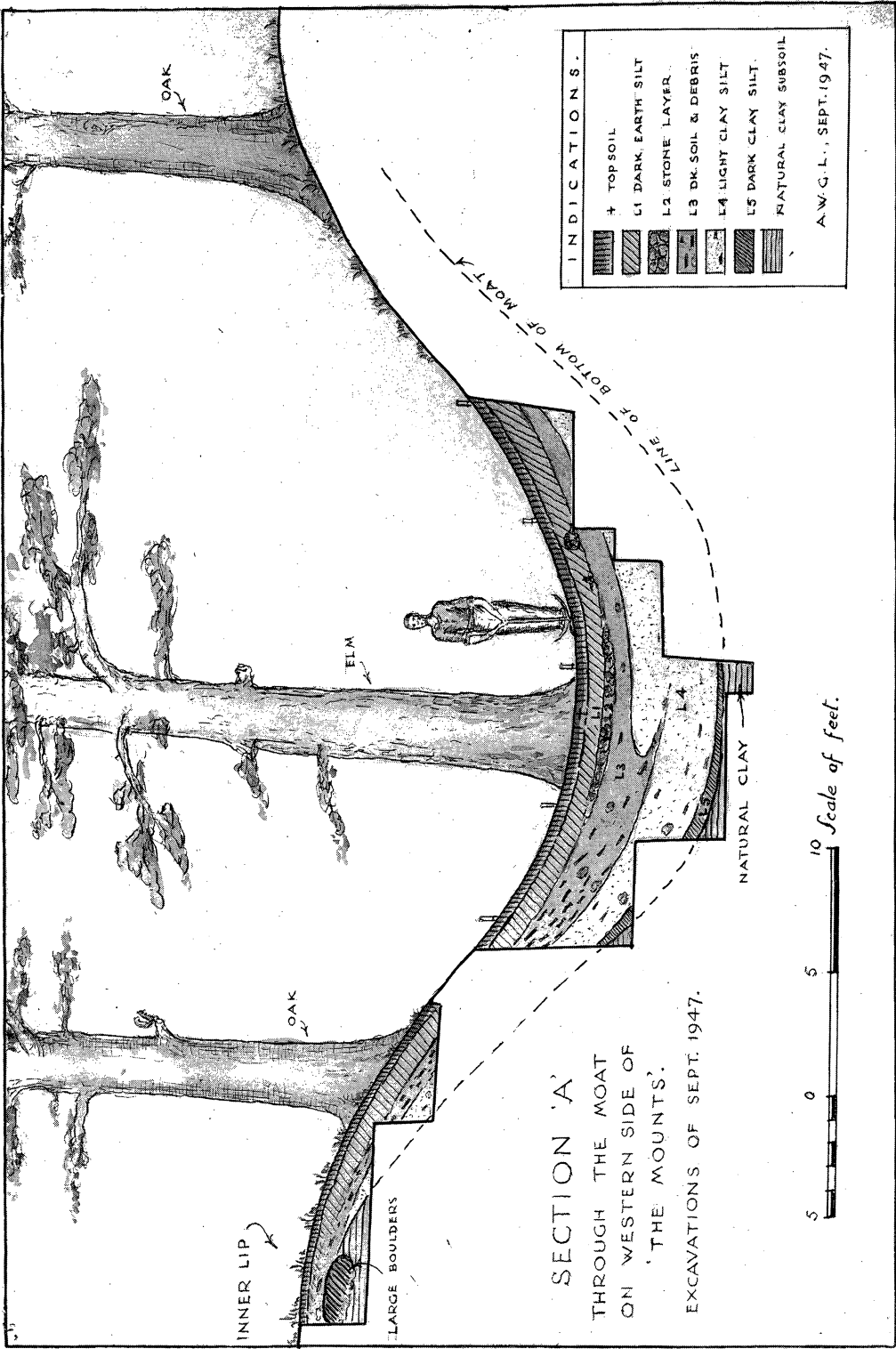


Fig 6. Pachenesham: Section A, through the moat on western side, not previously published

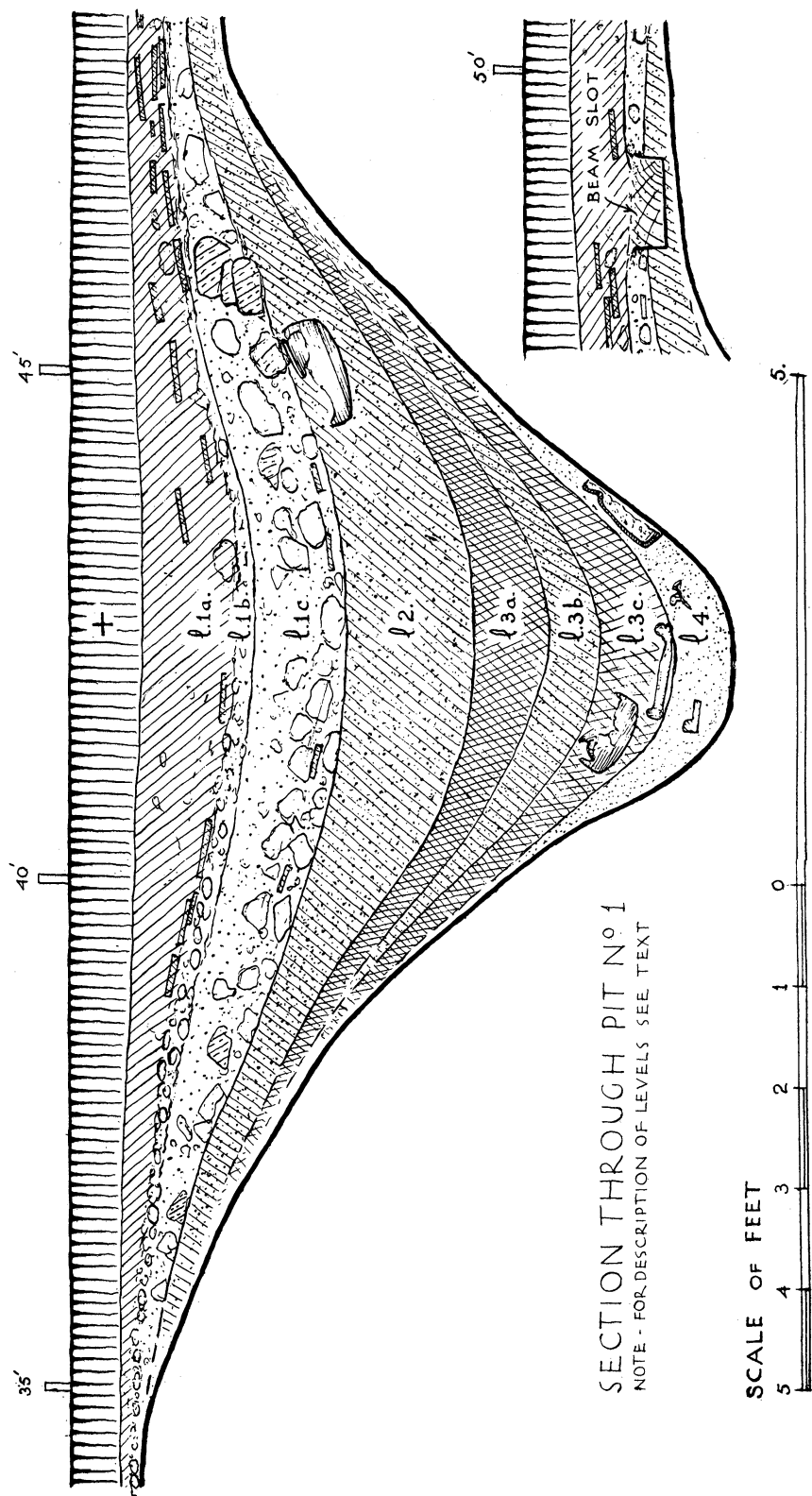


Fig. 7. Pachenesham: Section of part of Trench D, showing the pit (P)

Excavations

The account which follows is in the excavators' own words. Introductory remarks and matters of opinion rather than fact have been replaced by dots thus . . . and editorial additions (other than the subheadings) are placed within square brackets thus []. The full interim reports are easily available (for example, in the libraries of the Surrey Archaeological Society, the Leatherhead and District Local History Society and the Society of Antiquaries of London), and the editing here has been done to produce a coherent account without the problems of conflicting and changing interpretations which occur from year to year in all interim reports.

In the first interim report, the moat was considered to have been dug circa AD 1250 (Lowther 1947, 9), a date based on archaeological evidence, but a year later Lowther (1948, 5) stated categorically that it had been dug 'between 1286 and 1292, probably circa 1290'. All subsequent dating of the finds has revolved around this statement, for which there is no documentary evidence. The assumption will be discussed and tested in the final section of this report.

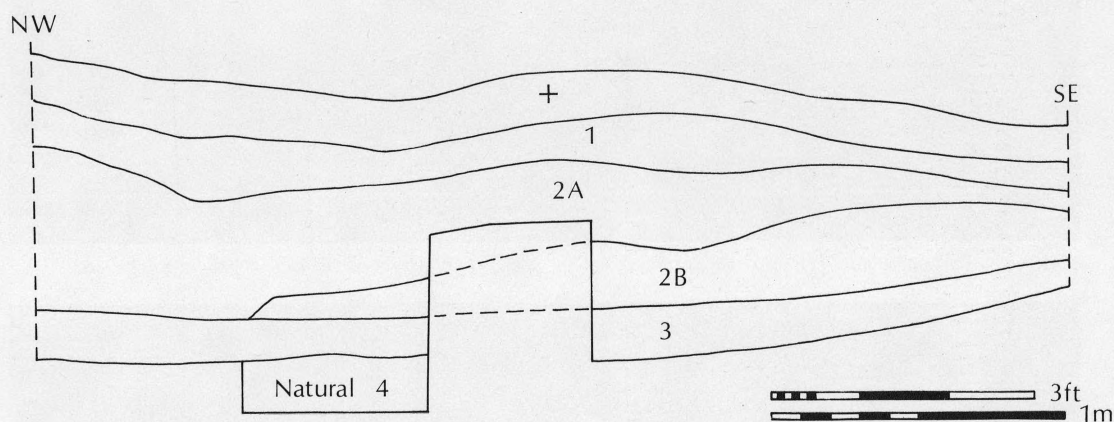


Fig 8. Pachenesham: Section of trench W, re-drawn from A T Ruby's notes

THE MOAT

[Excavations began in September 1947 following a contour survey of the site (fig 3)] . . . a point on the western side of the moated area was selected, and undergrowth and small trees were cleared from part of the site, forming a glade about 10 feet [3m] wide and extending across the moat, at right angles to it, and well beyond the inner lip. A trench [figs 3, 5, 6] 3ft 6in [1.03m] wide was then set out and, in case of a possible change in the weather, work commenced with the excavation of the lowermost part of the moat. At the point selected, the moat is still about 40 feet [*sic*:12m] in depth [but the maximum depth indicated in the sections appears to be as follows: — fig 5, 10ft; fig 6, 18ft; see also fig 3] and 70 feet [21m] in width, and there is an external bank rising some 15 feet [4.6m] above the level of the ground within the moat. (A similar, but lower, bank is present on the eastern side of the site) . . . The stratification in this part of the moat, as revealed by the section, is shown [figs 5, 6].

At the bottom, resting on the natural clay, was a layer of what is termed rapid silt (Level 5) since it consists of material washed down into the moat immediately after the latter had been dug. It contained no pottery or other finds. Above it (Level 4) was a thick deposit of silt, which was largely composed of clay from the sides of the moat (slipped from both the inner and outer



Plate 1. Pachenesham: View of Excavations, looking south. Foundation of N wall of hall in foreground.

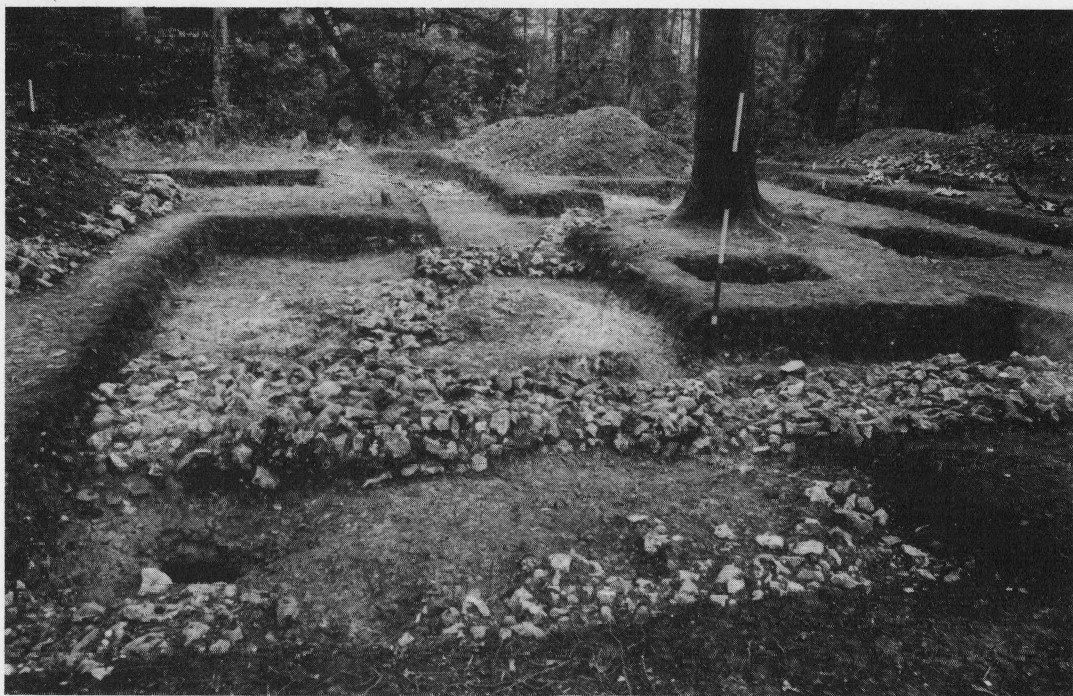


Plate 2. Pachenesham: N wall of hall with hearth and later foundations beyond; post hole and surface of courtyard in foreground.



Plate 3. Pachenesham: Front part of hall with hearth and later foundations crossing it, seen from east.



Plate 4. Pachenesham: Well with part of well-head wall to the right.



Plate 5. Pachenesham: Remains of screen within the hall, looking east.

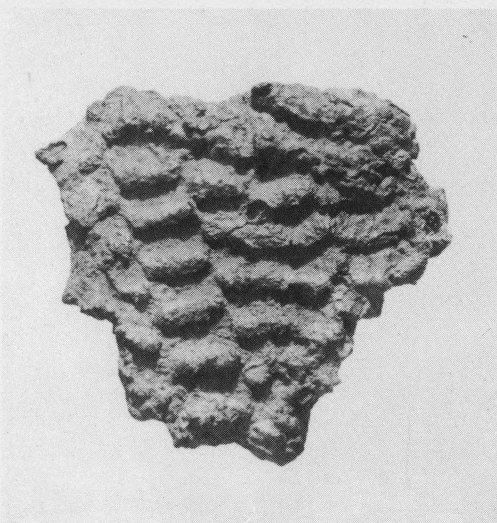


Plate 6. Pachenesham: Chain Mail

faces) but containing a certain amount of pieces of pottery and of roof-tiles, some of the latter being within a few inches of the bottom of the moat . . .

Level 3 a clayey silt, contained a large accumulation of roof-tiles, mixed with pottery, flints and some pieces of sandstone. The building material was thickest against the inner slope, from which direction it had clearly been derived. It was clear that the roof-tiles had cascaded down into the moat, and apparently off the roofs of buildings situated close to its lip. It seemed evident that the whole of this deposit had formed, when the buildings had been abandoned and allowed to fall into complete decay . . . With it was the broken fragment of an iron object [pl 6 no 4] . . . having, on one surface, a carefully wrought scale-like pattern. . .

Level 2 a tumbled layer of pieces of stone of a type natural to the London Clay, septarian nodules, was proved, as the work proceeded, to have been derived from large boulders, some of them measuring several feet in length, which occur as a natural formation just below the surface of the ground. Three of these huge boulders, or nodules, were exposed at the inner lip of the moat.

Level 1 dark clay and humus silt, formed long after the site had been entirely abandoned. In it were the pieces of several wine-flasks . . . [see M10] Some Roman tiles both roof and flue-tiles and building tiles were found with the medieval material. . . Probably circa AD 1250 the moat was dug, apparently surrounding structures which were already in existence on the summit of the hill . . . A handle of a green-glazed jug [not illustrated] is the latest find connected with the occupation. (From the top of Level 3, at a point just inside the lip of the moat).

[Lowther 1947, 7-8]

TRENCH D

[Work recommenced between 19 July and 21 August, 1948]

. . . A trench (D-D¹, 3ft 6in [1.07m] in width) was dug across the site from north to south, and disclosed approximately at the central point between the inner edges of the moat, a large rubbish-pit, or midden dating from the occupation prior to the digging of the moat (Pit P, figs 4, 7) . . . This pit measured about 12 feet [3.6m] in width at the top and 7 feet [2.1m] in depth . . . pottery was lying in it, in a number of distinctly stratified superimposed layers, containing also bones, oyster shells, charcoal, fragments from a kiln or oven [see M15:71] and several small finds of bronze, iron and stone.

Description of Levels in Rubbish Pit . . . [fig 7]

[Note Rubbish Pit (P) is sometimes referred to by Lowther as 'Pit No 1'; they are one and the same]

+ Topsoil (humus)

1.1a Soil and building debris (from final destruction . . .)

1.1b Gravel spread, and pottery, etc, of last occupation . . .

1.1c Building debris . . .

1.2 Brown soil, with bones, oyster shells, pottery etc . . .

1.3a, b and c Two layers of black soil, with much charcoal, bones, pottery, etc, separated by a layer of brown sandy soil . . .

1.4 Brown sandy soil (silt) with bones, pottery, etc . . .

The period at which this pit ceased to be used as a receptacle for the household refuse was indicated quite clearly by a thick layer of building debris (flints, stone, chalk-blocks, mortar and some broken roof-tiles) which had been shot into it to fill it up . . . Amongst this building debris was a considerable amount of Roman tile, which had clearly been used in the construction of the earliest of the manor-house buildings — how early this was has still to be ascertained. On one side of the pit, close to its southern lip, and at a level which showed it to be contemporary with the layer of filling-up debris, the cast or imprint of a large squared baulk

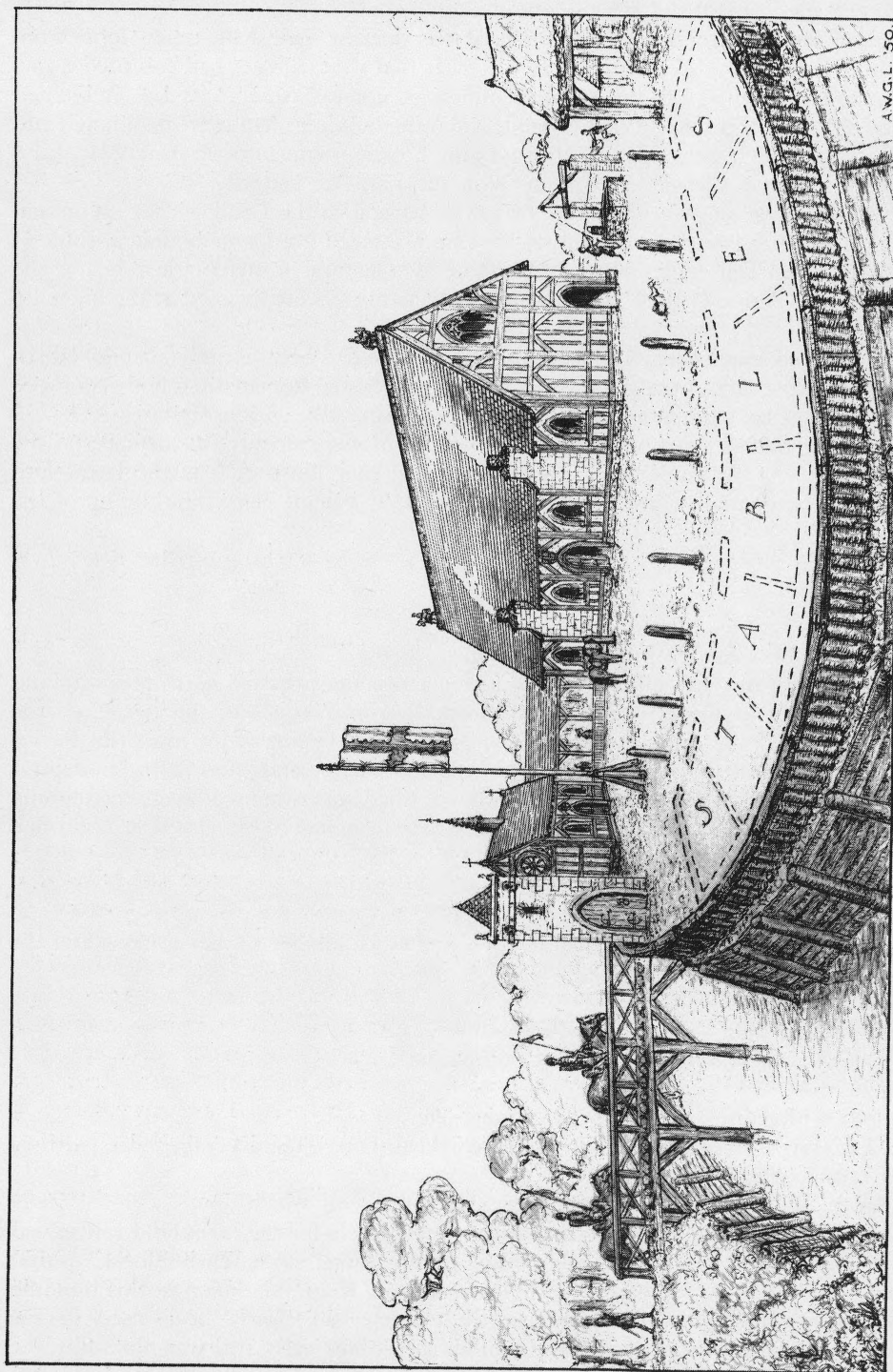


Fig 9. Pachenesham: A W G Lowther's reconstruction of the hall.

of timber was found . . . The remains of a spread of gravel extending over the debris layer and out towards the moat in a northward direction, suggest that this part of the site became a small gravelled court or yard, when the re-building took place. Some pottery . . . with a few worn fragments of earlier ware, lay on this gravel and in turn were covered by a thick layer of debris, mainly broken roof-tiles and amongst them were many two-inch iron nails of a special flat headless type, which had clearly been used to secure the battens to the rafters of the roof. This layer like the similar one found the previous year represents the final destruction of the buildings . . .

Some structural remains, consisting of the foundations of two walls, clearly of different periods, and a square pier or pillar, of flint and mortar rubble on a chalk foundation, were located . . . The wall foundations had been extensively robbed and among the debris a three-pronged iron agricultural fork was found [M11:1, illustrated in Lowther 1948] . . .

The small finds obtained this season included a spindlewhorl of chalk [pl 10:51, or 52] a small whetstone of micaceous schist [pl 10:53] the handles of some iron implements, horseshoe nails of an early medieval type [pl 9], pieces of a mortar made of Purbeck marble [fig 10:60] and a variety of other objects. A broken block of Purbeck marble has one face polished and retains part of a quarter-round moulding. Several of the broken blocks of sandstone, apparently from door and window openings of the earlier buildings, retain part of simple mouldings while others retain the marks of rough axe dressing. (The finding of some waste dressing chips of this same type of stone at the bottom of the rubbish-pit, confirms their belonging to the 11th or early 12th century buildings at the latest).

. . . Of outstanding importance . . . are two small pieces of a polychrome ware jug . . . (A third fragment of this jug has been identified since the above was written). [These sherds are not illustrated, they are too small to reproduce meaningfully]

. . . Pieces of a roof-finial of green-glazed white ware, found in Level 1, are of especial interest; sufficient pieces of it were found to show that it was fashioned in the form of a grotesque figure, apparently of a man holding or blowing a hunting horn [fig 12:76 see description on M15-16] . . .

[Lowther 1948, 5-8; see also Lowther 1949a; 1949b]

OTHER TRENCHES ON THE 'ISLAND'

Throughout July and August 1949. . . a series of trenches, stretching across the site from north to south and parallel with trench E of 1949 [*sic*] were dug successively eastwards and subsidiary trenches between and opening out from them as the work proceeded and the various structural remains came to light. [K,M,N,O, for possible location of N see p. 25]

As the plan on . . . [fig 4] shows, the greater part of the site was occupied by the Hall and by the paved courtyard on its north (entrance) side. The Hall measured 60ft [18m] in length x 25ft [7.6m] at the west end and 30ft [9m] at the east. The foundations for the outer walls consisted of a rubble-filled trench, 2ft to 2ft 6in [60cm to 75cm] in depth and of the same, varying, width at the top, clearly designed to take a timber building once carried on a sleeper-beam resting on this foundation and into which the main upright timbers were mortised. This foundation consisted not only of flints, but contained many pieces of broken blocks of dressed sandstone from the destruction of the earlier buildings.

Trenches dug at the back (south side) of the Hall disclosed a flint and gravel paved terrace extending to the now much denuded edge of the site.

This terrace now drops away steeply and much of the foundation of the south wall of the Hall has disappeared, though sufficient remained, especially at either end, to determine its position. The terrace, as sections dug through it showed, had originally been levelled up by the depositing of clay and debris on the southern lip of the natural hill, apparently at the time that the moat was dug. The gradual outward collapse of this material, which originally had been held in place by some revetment, accounts for the present steep slope of the terrace.

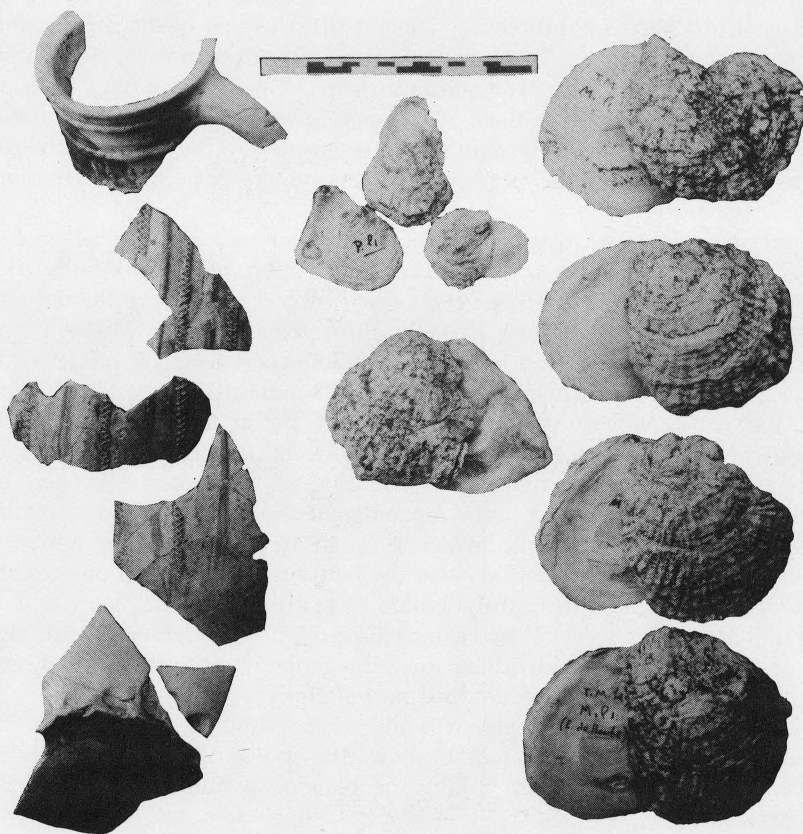


Plate 7. Pachenesham: Jug, 601

On the surface of this rear terrace were found a number of pieces of a particularly fine ornamental glazed and coloured jug . . . and just about a dozen very large oysters, quite the largest found at this site, and especially remarkable since the oysters . . . from everywhere else on the site have been remarkable for their small size and poor quality.

The paved court in front of the Hall on its north side had almost in its centre a post-hole of exceptional depth 3ft 9in [1.1m] from present surface, and about 3ft 3in [1m] from the original surface of the courtyard which had at this point been destroyed. A timber measuring 7 in x 4in [18cm x 10cm] had been in this hole and, judging by its depth, it must have been carried up for a considerable height above the ground. The most likely explanation for it is that it was for a flagstaff . . . It stands just clear of the line of the route between the entrance gateway, of which traces of the foundations were found, and the main entrance doorway to the Hall, the position of which was marked both by a deposit of chalk . . . and by the end of a gully which ran at the foot of the outer wall, to carry away rainwater drainage from the roof.

A post-hole just to the east of the entrance to the Hall, and about a foot [30cm] away from its front wall, had held a 10in x 12in [25 x 30cm] post . . . The only other features outside the Hall of which remains were found were:-

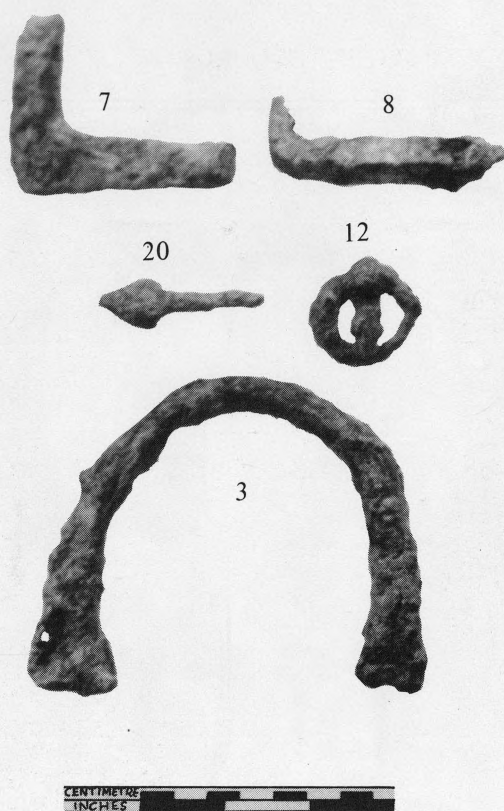


Plate 8. Pachenesham: Iron objects: 3, bar bent into semicircle; 7, 8, L-shaped bars; 12, buckle; 20, arrowhead.

- (a) the southeast corner and part of the south and east foundation of a small building [V] which from its east-west direction, is conjectured to have been the Chapel. A small gully for drainage existed on its south side and contained a large quantity of roof-tiles, some pottery, and (at its western end and where a door may be presumed) the remains of an iron nail with a large, ornamental head . . . [not illustrated]
- (b) a row of post-holes at the western edge of the courtyard in the area where the stable buildings, which are known to have existed, may be presumed to have stood [L-J]
- (c) a rectangular pit only partially excavated, since one of our largest soil-dumps covered its westward extension, in the rear of the Hall. This from the nature of the filling is presumed to have been connected with a latrine [O];
- (d) the well at the southwest corner of the site which is described later in this report.

The Hall as originally built had, as already stated, consisted of a timber, barn-like structure on a rubble foundation. Inside, and clearly to reduce the span of the roof, there had been a number of square and round posts, serving as pillars of which, since the whole of the area within the Hall was not excavated, only a few were found. A screen built of roof-tiles set with wide joints in mortar and probably originally plastered on both sides had divided up the Hall, forming a five foot [1.5m] wide passage along its southern side.

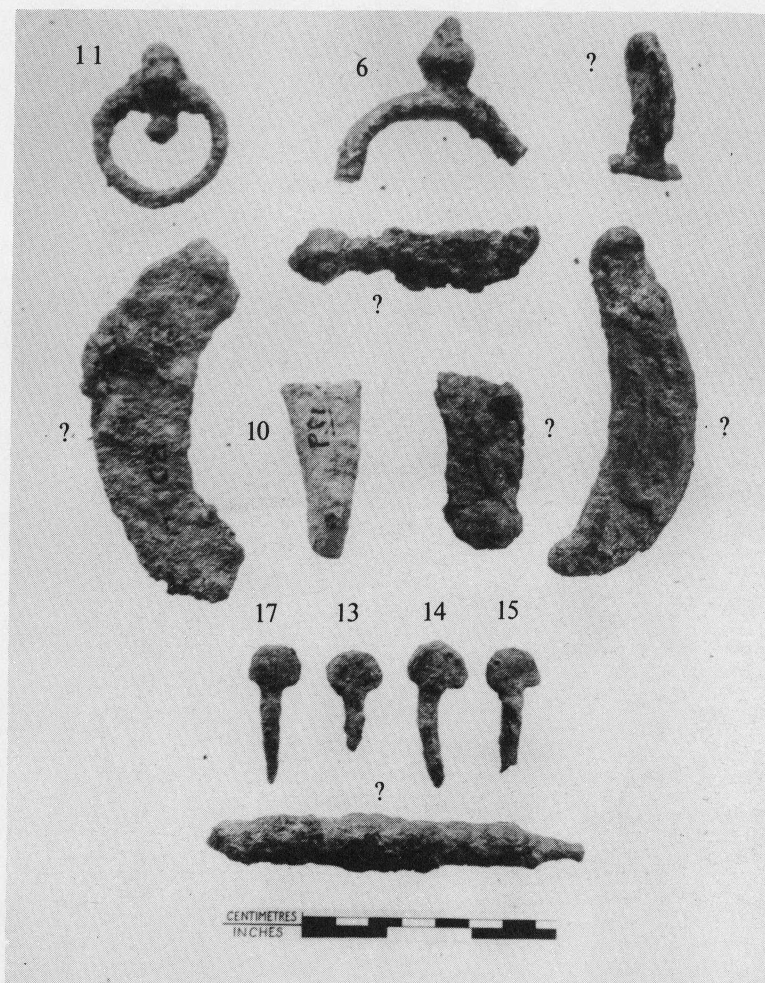


Plate 9. Pachenesham: Iron objects: 6, prick spur; 10, horseshoe fragment and other unidentifiable objects, including probable knives and cattle shoes.

In the eastern half it turned to the north, separating what can be taken to be the dais, or Lord's end of the Hall from the remainder, while it also formed a three foot [90cm] passage, possibly ending in a flight of steps, on the southern side.

Two circular open-hearths were found close to the north wall and on either side of the entrance doorway. One of these hearths, that in the dais compartment, was in good preservation although cut across by a later foundation; the other, the western one, had been mainly destroyed by the later walls. These hearths, circular and of 6ft 6in [2m] diameter, were formed of large flints, set in rings and bedded in clay and originally with a covering of clay, of which a part remained. A considerable amount of pottery . . . was found embedded in the hearth and had been fused and blistered by extreme heat. The clay had been fired to a bright red colour while the flints were calcined or fire-crackled and of a grey colour and in a condition such as is produced when flints are heated and while still hot soured with cold water (actual experiment has proved this to be the case) . . . Round the edge of the eastern hearth remained some of the floor, formed of a thick layer of mixed chalk and clay. Clearly if there was a raised timber dais in this area it was confined to the extreme eastern and southern part of this compartment and

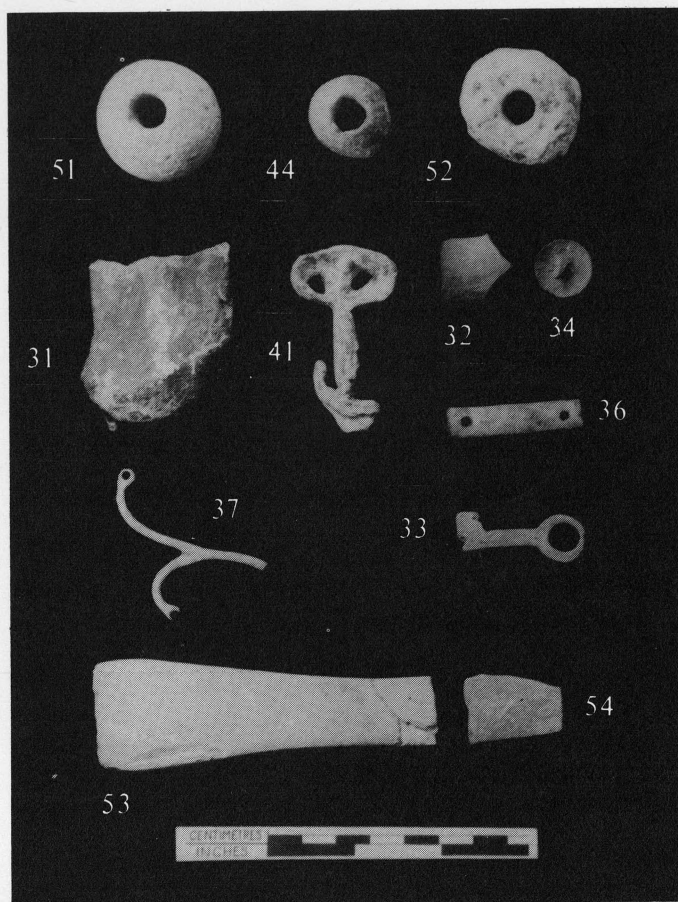


Plate 10. Pachenesham: Objects of copper alloy, lead and stone: 31, foot; 32, rim; 33, key; 34, stud; 36, perforated plate; 41 key-shaped lead object; 44, lead cone; 51–2 chalk spindle-whorls.

was not more than ten feet [3m] in width. Beside the remains of the western hearth was found a broken prick-spur of iron . . . [pl 9:6]. The closeness of these hearths to the inner face of the north wall makes it certain [?] that they were provided with large smoke-hoods and with flues attached to this wall . . . Returning again to the screens already described it should be mentioned that from their construction it seems likely that they were only 7 or 8 feet [2.1 or 2.4m] in height . . . [Lowther's suggested reconstruction, fig 9] . . . a large stone block found among the debris had one surface fire-blackened as though it had been employed for the wall adjoining one or other of the hearths.

. . . Probably shortly after 1310 AD, [?] certain extensive alterations were carried out within the Hall. Walls, whose flint rubble foundations were found, had been inserted in such a way as to divide the Hall up into four compartments and the two hearths and the screening . . . were then done away with. The largest of the new compartments, measuring 14ft x 35ft [4.3m x 10.7m] must have served as the new Hall, while the room at the east end was, presumably, for the Lord and his family. The two smaller compartments appear to have served as lobbies screening the entrance doorways . . .

The square, flint-masonry, pier and nearby depression filled with debris, found at the southwest corner of the site towards the close of work in 1948, were quite tentatively suggested



Plate 11. Pachenesham: Skillet 310, from the packing of the well-shaft

to have some connection with a well . . . Not only was the upper part of the well (of 3ft 6in [1.07m] internal diameter, and lined with flints set in mortar) discovered and cleared to a depth of five feet [1.5m], but a corresponding pier to that previously found was located and part of the partially collapsed flint walling which had formed the east side of a square well-head was discovered. It seems likely . . . that the two large masonry piers served to support a horizontal beam, on the centre part of which was pivoted a large counter-balanced beam which served in the process of raising water much in the same manner as that of the *shaduf* of ancient and present-day Egypt . . . The filling that was removed [from the well] consisted mainly of clay, and it had compacted to such an extent that it was extracted only with difficulty. . . Some useful evidence about the date of the well . . . was found in the form of the pieces of a large cooking-pot (nearly half of the entire vessel) as well as the handle and side of a skillet, which were found at the back of the well-lining where they had been rammed in when the flint-lining or steining was in the process of construction . . . The pot is of a type that is commonly labelled a store-jar, but in this case the marks of the flames of fires in which it had been set cover the base and extend up the sides. It is ornamented with applied strips of clay, or ribbon ornament, four of them being set vertically round the pot at intervals, one round the base of the neck, and another forming an overlapping scale pattern runs round the under edge of the base. It is of shell-gritted ware with a flat-topped rim and hollow neck, and was originally of a maximum diameter of about 18in [45cm] [fig 16:139].

The skillet is of hard buff-coloured ware with a tubular handle and with traces of a crude

yellow glaze on the inside of the base. The outside is blackened by fire [pl 11]. Other finds. . . were not numerous but some are of particular interest. Of bronze are the foot of a large cauldron of cast bronze and a small fragment from the rim of a cup or chalice of turned bronze [pl 10:31, 32]. Also, from below the paving of the south terrace, a bronze key and a piece of gilt bronze with traces of some ornamentation executed with a fine punch [pl 10:33, 36]. Two spindle whorls, one of stone and the other of lead [pl 10:44, 51]; several whetstones, of micaceous schist, quartzite, and a sandstone [pl 10]; a number of horseshoe nails and several pieces of horseshoes (none complete) [pl 9]; a tanged arrowhead of iron [pl 8:20].

[Lowther 1949c, 4–7; see also Lowther 1954]

THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE MOAT

[Finally a 3ft (90cm) wide trench was cut through the south side of the moat in August 1953. This was never published, but a plan and section in pencil was found among Lowther's papers, apparently drawn by A T Ruby. I have inserted its position on fig 3, as W and redrawn the section in fig 8. The layers were described thus:]

[+ Humus]

1. Dark clayey earth, chalk particles, a little debris and pottery fragments.
2. Lighter earth, much tile and debris, chalk lumps, a little pottery — very compact at northwest end.
3. Dark earth containing an occasional small lump of chalk in centre of north western half, a number of tile pieces lying along the bottom throughout.
4. Natural clay — a little darker than the layers beneath. Sterile.

[The problems of this section need further investigation.]

The Finds

Only a few of the finds were described in the interim reports in sufficient detail for certain identification. Many objects included in Lowther's photographs cannot now be traced. The objects themselves (apart from most of the smaller pottery sherds) are marked with a trench letter and level number, and sometimes with the year of excavation and name of the site. Section drawings survive of the trenches through the moat, A and W (figs 5, 6, 8) the first trench on the 'island' D–D' (fig 7) which cut through rubbish pit P, and of the track, TK 2 (not published) and road RD 1, 4, 5, (not published) outside the moat.

From these sections it seems that layers were numbered downwards from the surface after a 'plus' of topsoil or humus. Over much of the site for which we have no sections, there seem to have been only two layers, each of a foot or less in thickness, to judge from the photographs. Nearly all the trenches are lettered on the plans (figs 3, 4) except for trench N. The sequence of lettering suggests that it was one of those at the east end of the hall, probably the separate unlettered one exposing the north-east angle. Then NO and OP would be the extensions from the main trench 0–0'.

In the catalogue (Microfiche), all the illustrated finds are numbered serially according to material, each group commencing with a new number. Thus iron objects are numbers 1 to 20, copper alloy 31–38, lead 41–44, stone 51–62, brick and tile 71–77 and building stone 81–83. Pottery has three-figure numbers according to ware; shell filled 101–146, reduced flint-gritted 201–202, reduced sandy 301–340, fine red 401–407, Saintonge 501–503, and copies of French wares 601–615.

Table 1 indicates the location of finds mentioned in the text and catalogue.

Attention has been drawn to the most significant finds throughout the body of Lowther's text.

Table 1: Index of Trenches and Layers with Illustrated Finds

A 3	4, 302
A 4	73
D 1	54, 83, 116, 139, 307, 310, 339
E 1	1, 33, 503
E 2	622
J 1	141
K 1	8, 12, 36, 42, 57, 142, 321, 331, 334, 340, 601, 614, 615
K 2	16, 20, 129, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 143, 316, 327, 331, 401
L 2	130
M 1	134, 332
M 2	3, 31, 44, 128, 132
N 1	7, 11, 41, 61, 62, 321, 324, 325, 401, 402
NO 1	403
N 2	9, 13, 14, 18, 115, 119, 121, 122, 123, 138, 140, 141, 301, 319, 320, 328, 336
OP 1	38, 56, 58, 313, 315, 334, 401, 404, 405, 406, 407, 613
P 1	10, 43, 51, 53, 75, 76, 201, 202, 302, 304, 305, 306, 326, 329, 332, 337, 401, 501, 502, 611
P 1a	15
P 1b	17, 51, 53, 73
P 1c	60
P 2	37, 52, 81, 111, 112, 117, 118, 120, 144, 146, 309, 314, 317, 318, 323
P 3	72, 114, 126
P 3a	2, 5, 102, 107, 124, 125, 127
P 4	101, 103, 105, 106, 108, 109, 110, 145, 306
R 1	73
R 4	35
R 6	19
V 1	32, 34
V 2	308
Z 2	6
Unstratified	104, 311, 312, 330, 335, 338, 612 and Roman glass i and ii

Discussion and Conclusions

LOWTHER'S DATING

After cutting his first trench (A), Lowther concluded that the moat had been dug *c* 1250 and that the main occupation had been *c* 1300. He dated the pottery to 'ranging from *c* 1150 to 1300' in layer 4 and 'from the 12th century to *c* 1350' in layer 3. He referred to Early Iron Age 'pot-boilers' (fire-crackled flints) and Roman tiles as suggesting earlier occupation, but pointed out that the Roman villa at Ashted, only 2km away, had been robbed of building materials in early medieval times. Lowther mentioned 11th century pottery and, in layer 3, a green-glazed jug handle just inside the inner lip of the moat, dating the glass wine-flasks to about 1650. Finally, he claimed that the position in the cutting of some of the roof-tiles indicated tiled 'pre-moat' buildings (Lowther 1947, 8–9).

It is rather disturbing to find two versions of his drawing of the section of this trench (figs 5, 6). That not previously published (fig 6) does show the stratification at the top of the slope,

otherwise simply described (p 13) but the measurements of the various layers are substantially different. Both drawings show a secondary slumping of material from the counterscarp at the right-hand end of the section.

The next year (1948), the cutting D-D' across the rubbish pit (P) produced pottery from c 1150 (possibly earlier) to 1350, according to Lowther. He dated the pottery in layer P4 to the 12th century, in layers P3a, b and c to the 12th and 13th centuries, in layer 2 to c 1280, layer 1c to c 1290, layer 1b to c 1290–1350, and pottery lying on the gravelled yard to about 1300–1350. Lowther went so far as to claim that two sherds of polychrome Saintonge ware (501–3) 'found in a level belonging to de Haache's (*sic*) period' were from a jug brought back from Eustace de Hacche's visit to Gascony in 1294, saying

'... we can be certain, not only of the name of its owner, but also of the exact year in which it reached the spot where it was found. (A third fragment of this jug has been identified since the above was written)'. He contradicted his previous statement about the roofing tiles, now saying they were first employed in the rebuilding of c 1290. He mentioned that re-used sandstone blocks with axe-dressing or simple mouldings had been found, also that 'some waste 'dressing' chips of the same type of stone from the bottom of the rubbish-pit confirms their belonging to the 11th or early 12th century buildings at latest' (Lowther 1948, 6–8).

In 1949, 'pieces of a particularly fine ornamental and glazed jug, dating to about 1280–90' (pl 7:601) were found on the terrace south of the main building and pottery 'of types in use late in the 13th century' was found embedded (in a fused and blistered state) in the circular hearths. The pottery from the back of the well lining was also dated to about 1280–90. Lowther went on to say that 'the earliest occupation of the site when the first buildings (those with stone and flint walls) were erected dates about 1200 AD and it is to that period that the rubbish pit found in 1948 belongs . . . none of [the pottery] need be earlier than 1200, though much of it is little different from the pottery in use at other sites during the 12th century . . . pottery in the upper parts of the rubbish pit (but beneath the layer of building debris with which it was finally filled) can be dated 1280–90 . . . pottery found in 1949 includes much glazed ware of the first half of the 14th century . . .'

(Lowther 1949c, 4–8)

His large-scale plan of the excavations of 1948 and 1949 which accompanied this third interim report shows nothing dated to his period 1 (presumably dating around 1200), other than the rubbish pit (P), but shows period 2 'c 1290–91 AD' and period 3 'c 1310–15 AD' (fig 4).

DISCUSSION OF LOWTHER'S DATING

In his second interim report, no doubt referring to the stratification found in pit P, Lowther referred to 'so much pottery and in such a sequence of stratified levels'. Unfortunately much of the pottery was not marked with its context, and very few sherds indeed can be placed accurately within their correct layer; it would be invaluable if we could distinguish even typologically between layers 3a, 3b and 3c which clearly represent different phases (3b possibly being a period of desertion), yet many of the marked sherds simply have 'L.3' on them. Lowther's final dating revolved round his conviction that the moat was cut (and the hall rebuilt) about 1290, and the identification of layers A4 and Plc with that date (his period 2).

Given the known documentary evidence, the grant of the manor by King John in 1201, its purchase by a developing landlord in 1286 and a similarly active successor in 1309 who died in 1343, Lowther's hypothesis is plausible but not proven. Let us look first at the surviving small finds, and then at the remains of the buildings he excavated.

To date medieval pottery to a single year — or even to a single decade — is still a foolhardy thing to do. De Hacche certainly went to Gascony in 1294, but so did Robert Darcy in that year, perhaps in 1297 and certainly in 1308 (and John d'Argentan in 1351 and later) (Ruby 1952). The tiny sherds are probably residual, and are only marked P1, although Lowther's

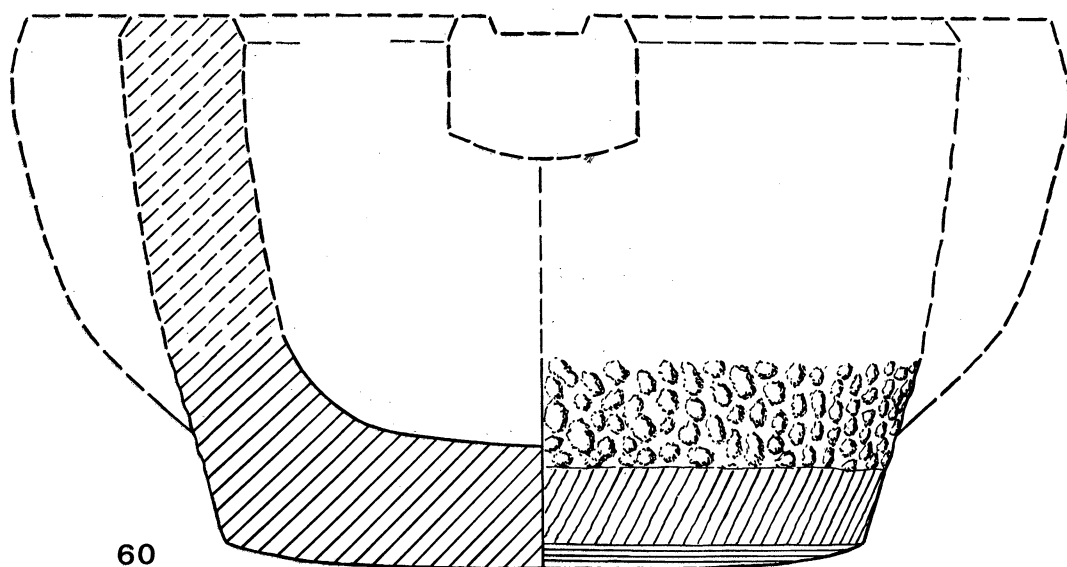


Fig 10. Pachenesham: Reconstruction of purbeck marble mortar, (60) drawn by G C Dunning

description suggests that they came from Plb or possibly Plc. The 'Clare' sherd (fig 17: 337) comes from that same Pl; it is tempting to relate it to Gilbert de Clare's short-lived possession of Pachenesham in 1307/8 (p 8) but, apart from the doubts as to the facts, the manors adjoining Pachenesham (Fetcham, Randalls or Pachenesham Parva and Stoke d'Abernon) were held of the Clares. (For other Clare estates in north-west Surrey, see Thorn 1972 fig 2). As Thorn (1978) points out, such jugs are unlikely to have been made after the Clare estates were divided between four sisters in 1317, although the youngest was known as 'de Clare', until her death in 1360.

The ornamental jug from the terrace (601) can be identified from a photograph (pl 7); it was a copy of those made in the Seine valley near Paris in the middle or late 13th century (Barton 1966) but it cannot be tightly dated to 1280–90. Neither can the pots from the backfilling behind the lining of the well: 139 (fig 6), is a cooking-pot version of the large storage jars dated to the late 13th century by Dunning (LMMC 219–21) but such decorated jars go back to the Saxon period (Hurst 1978) and the pan fragment 310 (pl 11) is a similarly long-lived type, even if here the ware (and in the latter case, the glaze) do suggest a 12th–13th century date. I have been unable to identify for certain the jug handle from A3 dated about 1350 by Lowther.

Bearing in mind this lack of close dating (and none of the finds other than the pottery are of any greater help here) and the lack of detailed contexts, I must go on to point out that a number of sherds with common fracture-lines came from different layers and different trenches, and the following links can be established from the pottery listed on microfiche M2–9.

Let us now look at the wares represented in each layer.

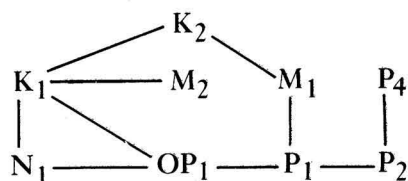


Table 2: Pottery Wares

TRENCH/ LAYER	a	b	I				II		III		IV	V		VI	VII
			c	d	e	f	a	b	c	d		a	b		
A 3							*		*						
D 1				*			*		*	*					
E 1					*		*		*					*	
E 2					*			*							
F 1							*								
G 1					*										
J 1					*										
K 1					*		*	*	*	*		*	*		*
K 2					*		*	*	*		*				
M 1					*		*		*				*		
M 2					*				*						
N 1			*					*	*		*				
N 2				*	*		*	*	*		*				
NO 1							*		*		*				
OP 1							*	*	*		*				*
P 1			*		*		*	*	*		*	*		*	*
P 2			*		*	*		*				*			
P 3			*	*	*				*						
P 3a		*			*	*									
P 3b															
P 4	*	*	*	*		*	*								
TK													*		
V 2							*								

Wares

I Shell-tempered wares

- a Hand-smoothed, black surface, large shell inclusions
- b Hand-smoothed, leathery brown surface
- c Hand-smoothed, corky surface, grey interior
- d Fine leathery dark buff surface, grey core
- e Spalled red surface, grey core
- f Leathery, orange surface with buff core

II Flint-gritted wares with reduced, grey, surface

III Sandy wares

- a White oxidised core
- b Grey, reduced, core, orange surfaces
- c Buff ware
- d Cream slipped wares

- IV Brick-red evenly fired sandy ware, grey reduced core
- V Other white-slipped material
 - a Red-brown sandy
 - b Brown glaze over coarser ware
- VI Polychrome (Saintonge) ware
- VII Copies of French wares

1200 seems rather a late *terminus ante quem* for so much shell-tempered pottery (ware I) which appears all over the site, particularly in the lower layers. The gilt-bronze strip (pl 10:36) and the axe-dressed stonework (much of it tooled diagonally) are more common in 12th than 13th century contexts too.

The contents of the rubbish pit (P) present some problems. Fragments of dressed stone come from all levels, and two joining jug sherds from P1 and P4, if I read their marking aright. Fragments of crested tiles come from both P1 and P2, that is, below the 'rebuilding' layer as well as above (or in) it. The shell-tempered ware with spalled red surfaces and grey core (ware Ie) comes from all levels too, but the dark leathery-surfaced variant appears in P3 and P4 only, suggesting that this is the earlier form. Elsewhere in north Surrey shell-tempered wares die out by the early part of the 13th century (M2). Hard grey flint-gritted wares (ware II) are rare at Pachenesham, coming from P1 only; Holling (1971, 66) claimed that they ceased at Guildford by the mid-13th century, so they may only have had a limited vogue here.

Smooth sandy wares (III) occur all over the site in nearly every level; they include types found at the kiln-sites of Ashted and Earlswood, both dated around 1300 (M5). A finer red ware (IV) occurs mainly in the upper layers, as do the white-slipped wares (V) imitating better pottery, but that high-class ware is elusive here. We seem to have a Saintonge jug (perhaps two) but only local copies of Seine valley jugs (VI), despite the dozen oysters.

To sum up, Lowther's date range of 1200 to 1350 might be extended back into the 12th century, but not much (if at all) into the late 14th century. It is impossible to pin down the date of the building debris layer closely, although the almost complete lack of shelly ware in or above it should put it before 1300. Some of the debris is Norman-looking, and as Lowther at one time obviously thought, it may have been a 12th rather than a 13th century house which was rebuilt. The corollary is that the rebuilding might have been rather earlier in the 13th century than has been hitherto suggested.

At the other end of the date bracket, the capital message at Pachenesham was worth nothing beyond outgoings in 1343, yet its owner had been a vigorous landlord (p 8). It would appear from the Wymeldon action that the hall had come down before 1386, probably through neglect by tenants. It could have been derelict by 1350.

THE EXCAVATED BUILDINGS

So the archaeological evidence does not entitle us to state categorically that the main building excavated in 1949 was the hall 'made anew' around 1292 by Eustace de Hacche (which might have been at Westhacche anyway). Lowther's interpretation of its plan and a Period 2 reconstruction are shown in fig 9.

It must have been quite a modest building, comparable in size with Alsted in Merstham (Ketteringham 1976), Brooklands in Weybridge (Hanworth & Tomalin 1977) and Joydens in Bexley (Tester & Caiger 1958). Brooklands was post-built and Joydens had lighter sleeper-walls than Pachenesham; Alsted was a re-forming of a stone hall-block, but all these three seem to have been modest sub-manors, not the caput of a royal household knight who had been overseeing the building of Caernarfon castle only a few years previously (p 7).

The long walls of the main building here are not parallel, which must have caused problems in constructing the roof-trusses — perhaps the ridge was sloped upward from the south-west.

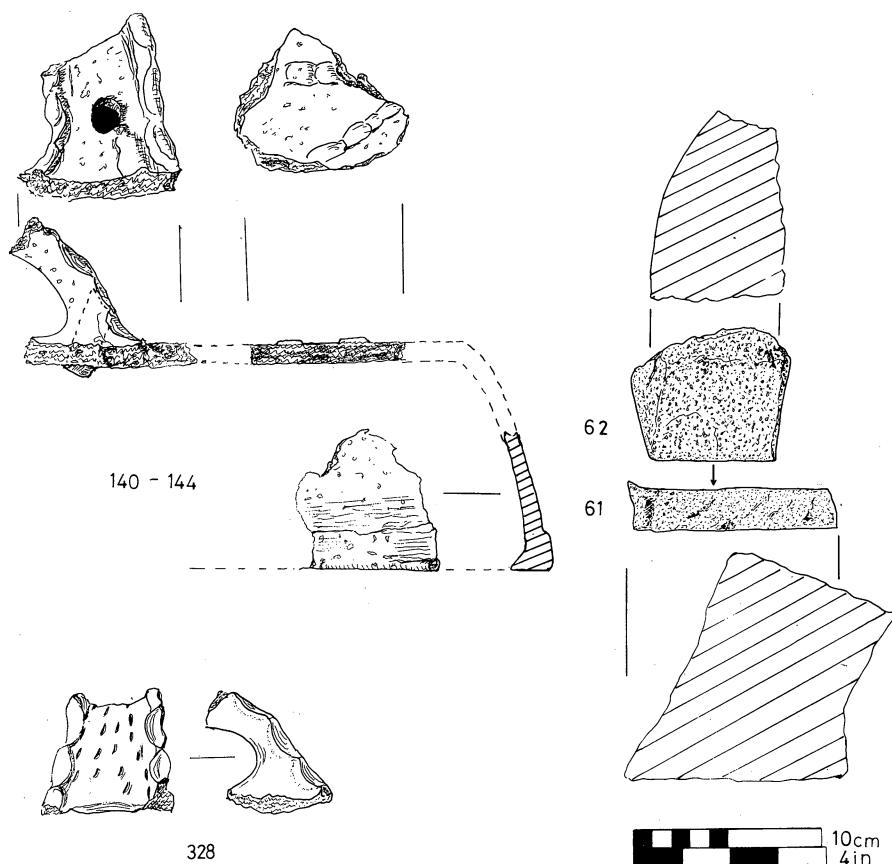


Fig 11. Pachenesham: Medieval pottery: curfew, 140 - 44; handle, 328; Niedermendig lava quernstone fragments, 61-2

Lowther suggested that the postholes inside were for 'pillars to reduce the span of the roofs'. The three postholes excavated might divide the building into four aisles each about 2m wide, but would have involved a forest of timbers inside the building. Again, there is a gutter only along the north wall, interrupted by a gap for the entrance (presumably draining in both directions away from it). Assuming a pitched roof, why was there no corresponding drain on the south side? Perhaps the evidence had been removed by the gravel terrace — the plan does indicate gaps in the gravel except near point O'. A single roof-slope would be unusual, to say the least.

The two free-standing hearths within near the north wall are unusual also. Placed on each side of the entrance, they would have been subject to eddying air currents. Lowther postulated smoke-hoods (and wall chimney-stacks in his reconstruction) but there is no evidence for any stouter foundation here, which would have been required to support a stone stack on a half-timbered wall. However, a chimney-pot was recovered from nearby (fig 12:77) and the clay slabs (M15:71) if not from a kiln might have formed part of a chimney-breast. Both hearths may not have been used at the same time of course. There is documentary evidence for two chimneys or fireplaces in the chamber of the hunting lodge built for King Edward I in 1284/5 in what is now Alice Holt forest (Colvin *et al* 1963, II, 1017) and the 1321 contract for a hall at

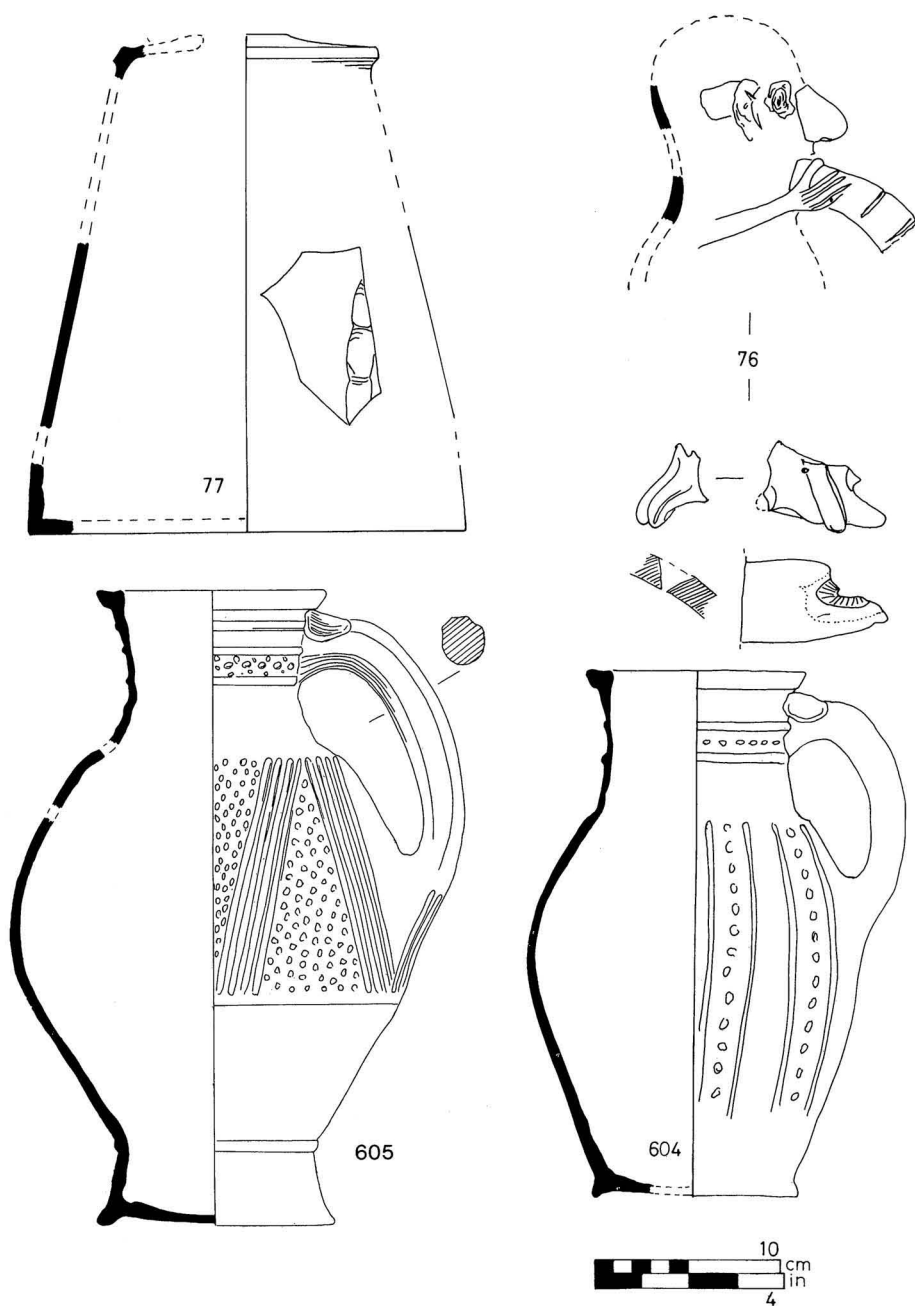


Fig 12. Pachenesham: Roof finial, 76; chimney pot, 77; Jugs, 604, 605. from sketches by G C Dunning

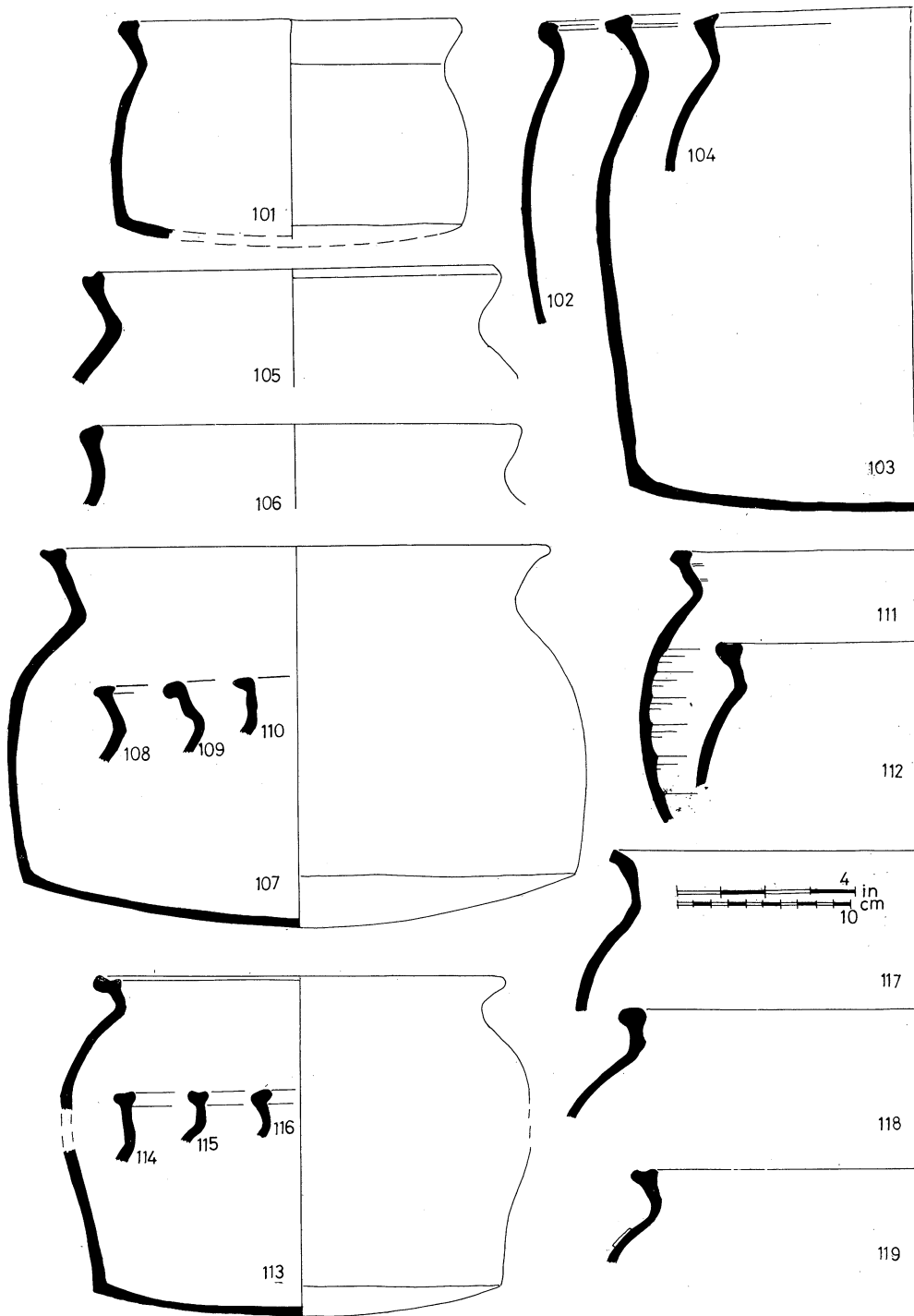


Fig 13. Pachenesham: Medieval pottery, 101-119

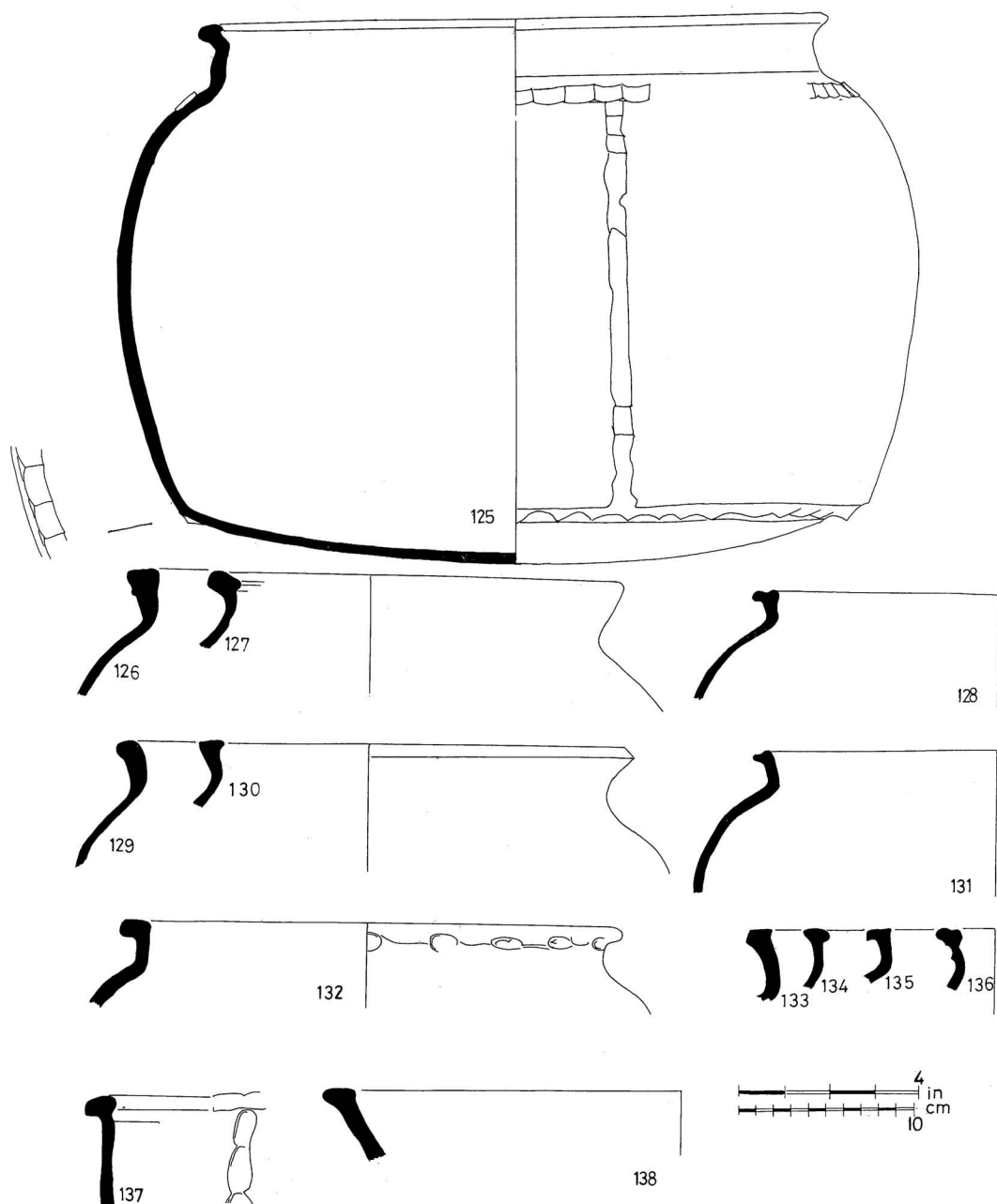


Fig 14. Pachenesham: Medieval pottery, 125-38

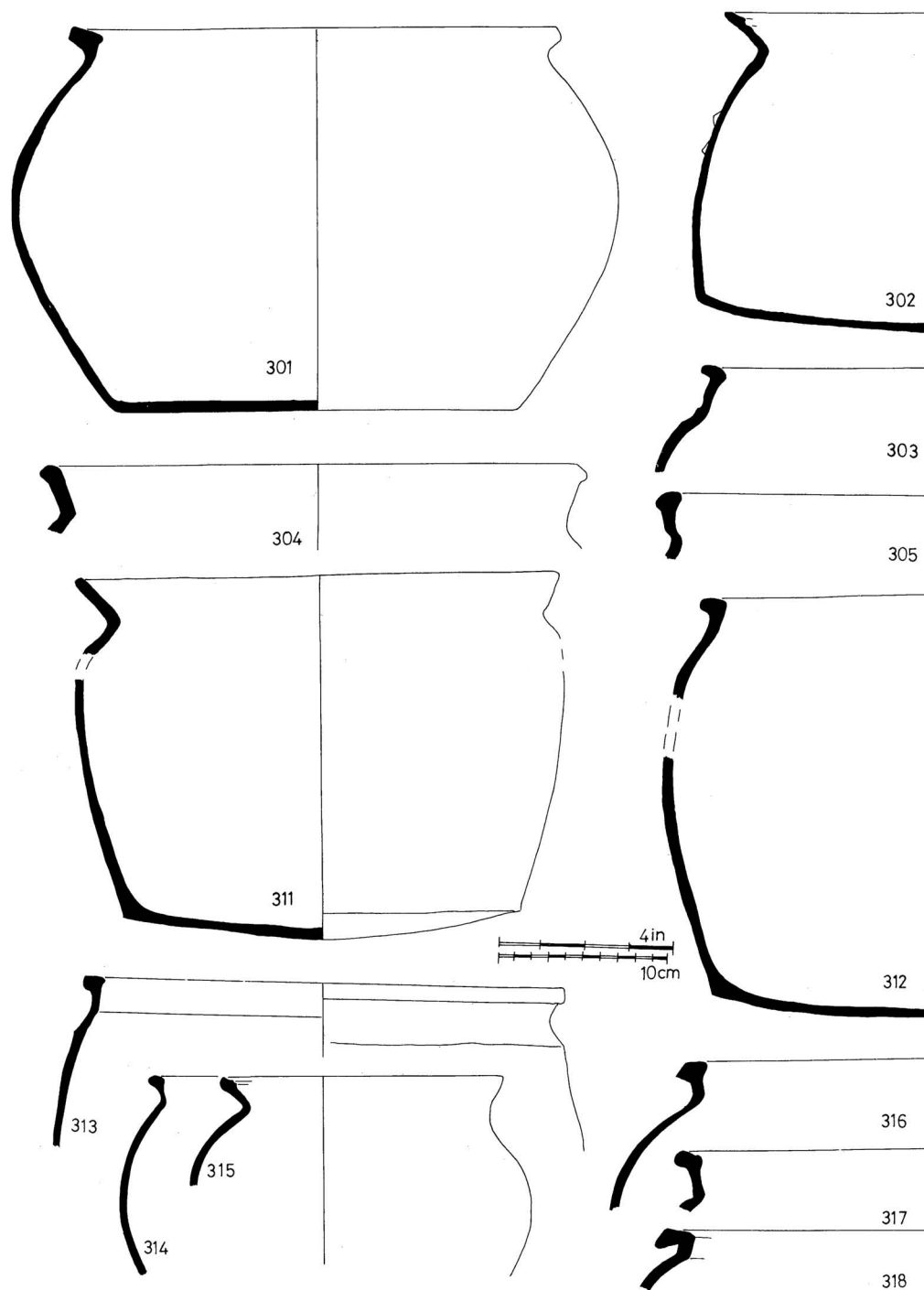


Fig 15. Pachenesham: Medieval pottery, 301–305, 311–18

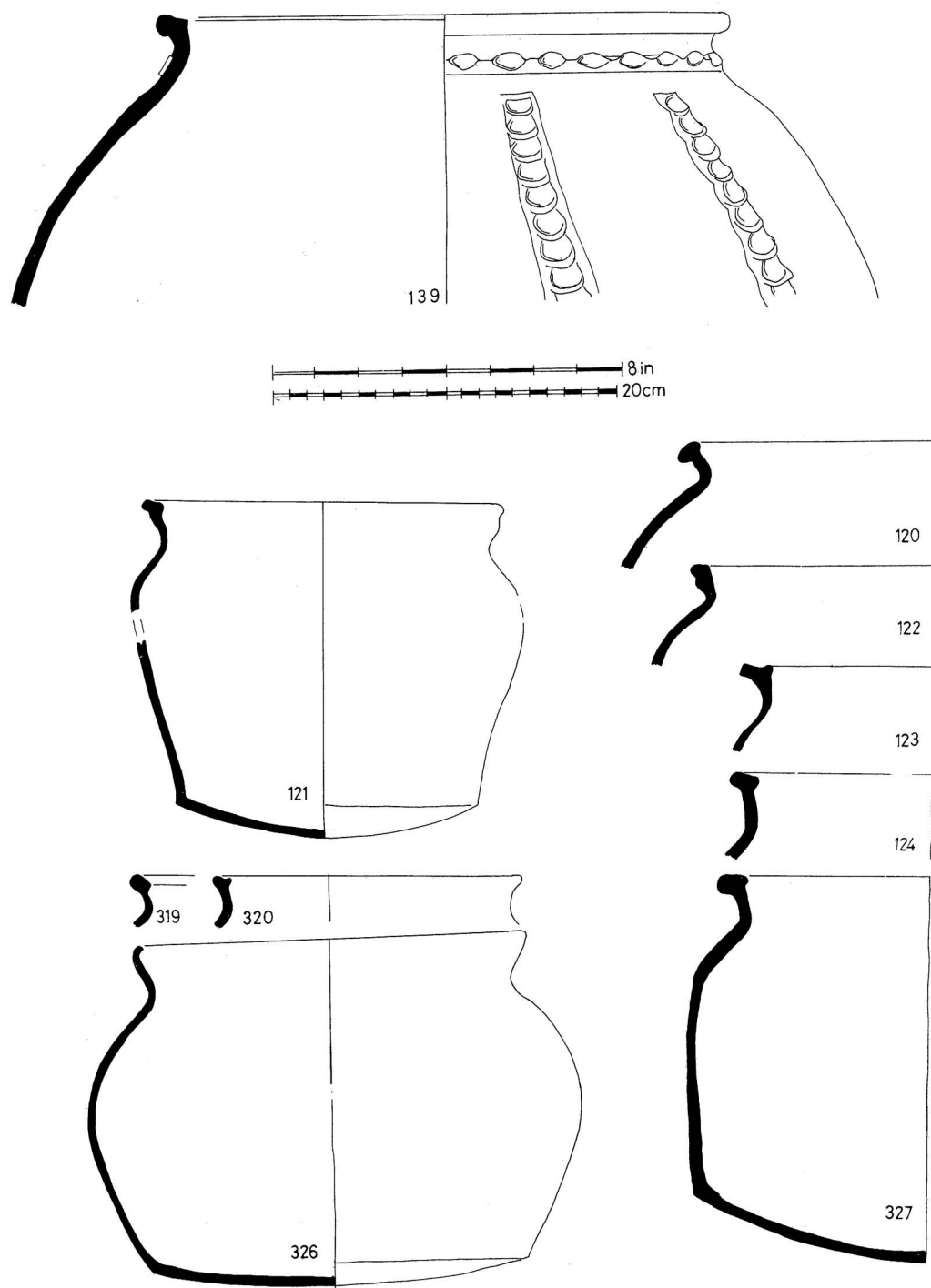


Fig 16. Pachenesham: Medieval pottery, 120–24, 139, 319–20, 326–27.

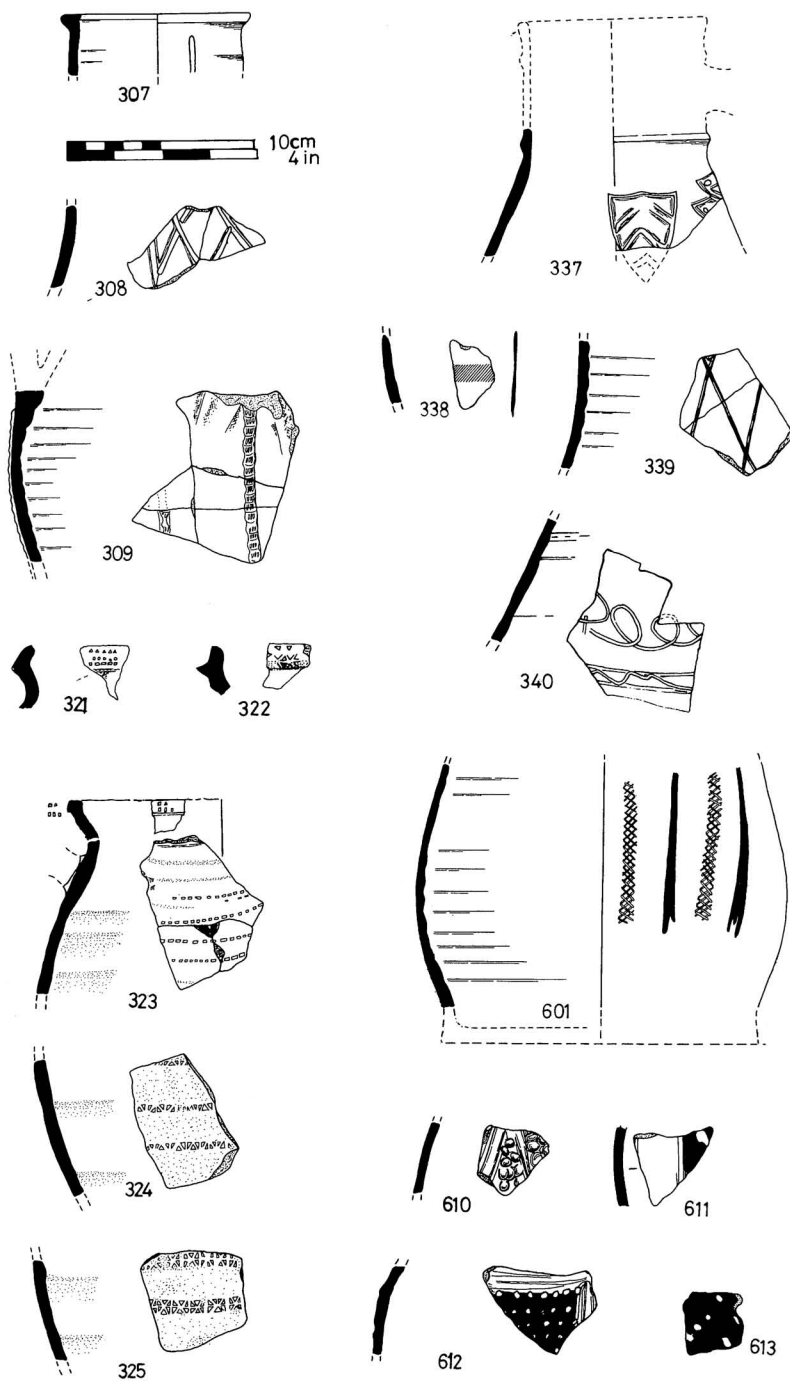


Fig 17. Pachenesham: Medieval pottery, 307-9, 321-5, 337-40, 601, 610-13

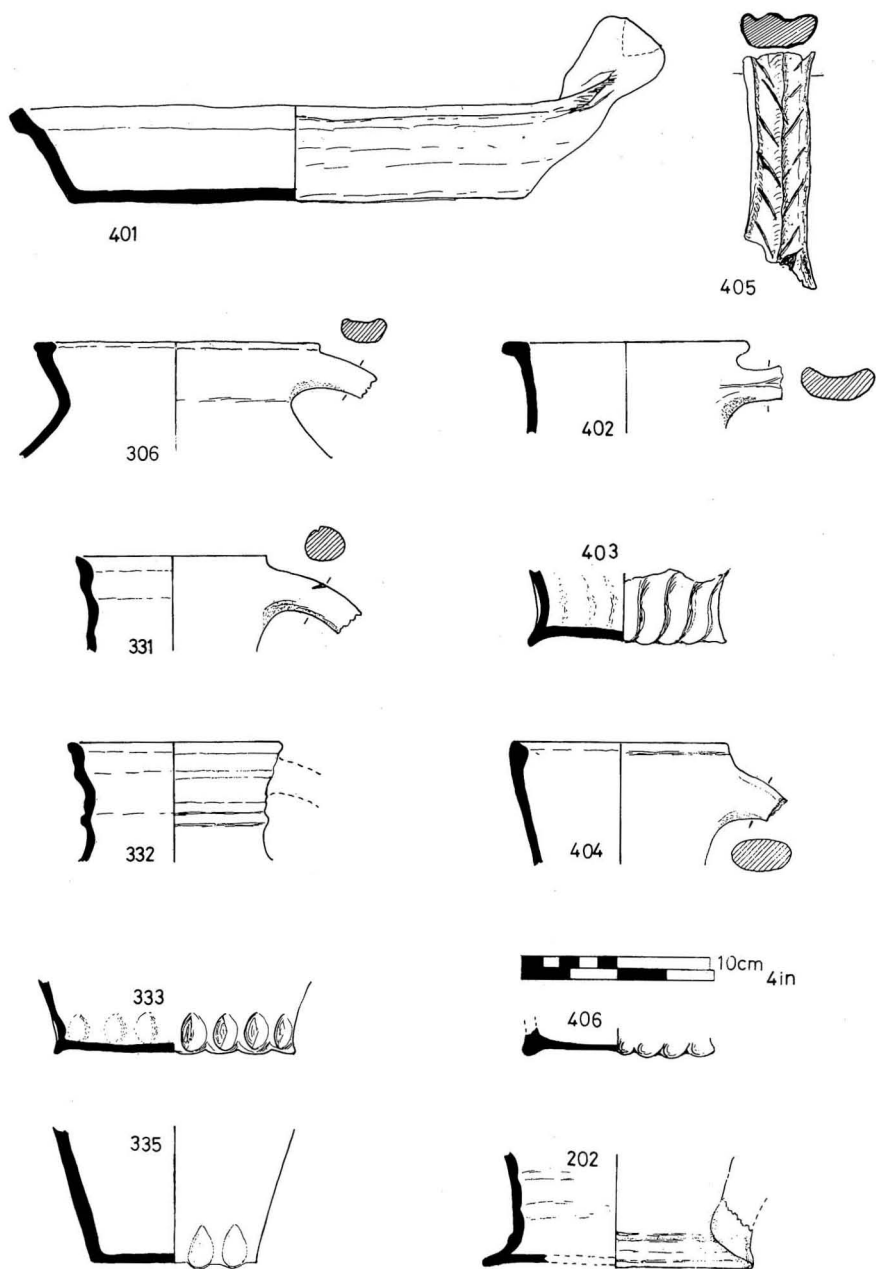


Fig 18. Pachenesham: Medieval pottery, 202, 306, 331-3, 335, 401-6

Hamsey, Sussex specified two fireplaces, one in the side wall and the other behind the dais (Salzman 1967, 100, 426). Both of these buildings were stone-walled, not timber on sleepers, although the hall of the former was timber-framed.

Since the external 'service area' must always have been north or west of the main building, a reversal of plan between 'high' and 'low' ends of the hall seems to be ruled out. The Hamsey contract just mentioned suggests an alternative, that at least one of the hearths was added when the open hall (?) was subdivided into two unequal parts (hall and chamber?) by the very thin walls shaded diagonally as Period 2 on Lowther's plan. The only evidence for them being a later insertion is the way they are shown overlying (or cut into?) the northern outer wall. Lowther described these walls as built of roof tiles set in mortar and likely to have been only a little over 2m high. The longest of them, parallel to the southern outer wall, may have formed a corridor on the line of a previous timber aisle, but the alignment of the others is idiosyncratic and the 'knuckle' where they meet is lightly marked as if they were successively overlapped.

In Lowther's Period 3 the hearths were used as foundations for substantial further walls, to produce a rectangular hall in the south-west part of the building, with a large chamber protruding north from its east end and two oblong narrow rooms filling the re-entrant. (I will deal with the odd projection at the south end of the west wall later). Where the entrance to the new hall was sited is not clear. Perhaps one of the two substantial trees shown on the plan marks a break in the foundations; the return of the west end of the northern outer wall appears from the published plan to end in a jamb, but again there are doubts about this (see below). Lowther contrasted the lifestyles of a soldier like de Hacche, and, one might add, a frequent absentee on royal business, with that of a civilian like Darcy in order to explain the alterations. But at least one other hypothesis could be put forward, namely that the new walls might have been inserted in a conversion of a simple 'hall and chamber' house into one with two unequal cross-wings flanking a central hall. One of similar size is recorded at Addington c 1280 (Blair 1978b) and a larger one of similar date survives at Little Chesterford (RCHM Essex I, 174-5). Granted that neither of the north-south walls runs straight back, the problems of the revised roofing need to be argued. This 'modernization' could be de Hacche's 'making anew' rather than the work of a later generation.

To be even more heretical, is it conceivable that the sequence should be reversed, and Period 3 in fact preceded Period 2? Remember that we are only dealing with rubble sleeper-wall foundations abutting (?) in two places. The hearths might belong to an earlier phase than either set of walls: the eastern hearth alternatively might have served two back-to-back fires, and the western one may not have been a hearth — or at least not such a large one — after all. So, instead of a subdivision, there might have been an enlargement of a small rectangular hall. At Alsted an early 13th century stone hall was re-orientated later in the same century to form parts of a timber framed hall and chamber, with a narrow aisle to the hall. It is a great pity that we do not have a detailed record of which parts of the foundations at Pachenesham contained re-used ashlar.

There are further complications west of the main building. Fig 19 (the notation of the periods, *a* and *b* is mine), is based on hitherto unpublished working drawings by Lowther and R F Elliott, which show very little evidence for the west wall sketched in by Lowther on fig 4, but do demonstrate heavy foundations on a different alignment, and these, with the odd stone in trench R, do align with the beam-slot (only about 3 feet or, say, 1 metre long) which Lowther drew in section (fig 7) and regarded as a stop for carts filling in the rubbish pit (P). Now a cart would hardly have been necessary or convenient to move so small a quantity of rubbish presumably a short distance; the timber was not at right angles to the pit and hardly long enough to stop a pair of wheels. Lowther's interpretation of the postholes north of the main building as a flagstaff and hitching-post might be disproved by further excavation showing them to belong to a more complex arrangement. The postholes around the north-west corner of the main building seem to be too far away from the edge of the platform to have

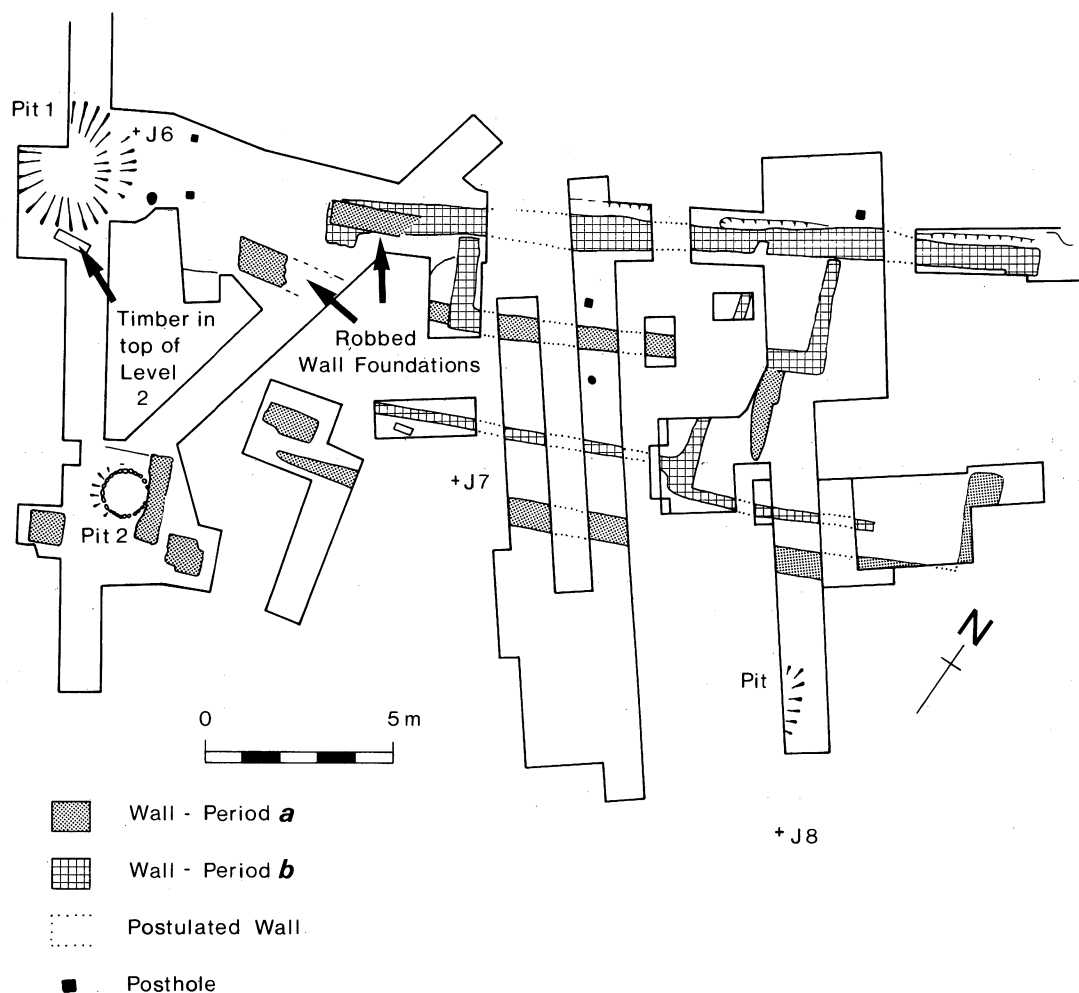


Fig 19. Pachenesham: Tracing from unpublished working drawings by A W G Lowther and R F Elliott

marked the limit of stables. It is a great pity that so few finds are recorded from trenches F, G and H.

Also, the mortared flint foundations beside the well-shaft are remarkably large, about 3 feet (0.9m) each way, and would have needed a 14 foot (4.2m) long cross-beam if they did support a 'shaduf'. *A priori* such an elaborate water-raising method, although used for irrigation work, seems unnecessary for a site with a small human population but the system does seem to have been used in medieval Norfolk at least (Ranworth court roll 1283-4, in *puteo mundando sub trebuchett*. I owe this reference to Mrs Jean le Patourel). The masonry beside the well-pipe is shown on the working drawings as a fallen column; may not this have been correct? The column(s) need not have been for a 'shaduf' but have formed part of a building. The well was filled with solid clay as far down as the excavators penetrated. This is one area for further excavation, pending which one might suggest that there was a stone structure south-west of the main building excavated, with an upper floor carried partly on piers. Wells inside basements

are not unknown, and the association with stone columns brings the hall of Eynsford castle (Rigold 1971) to mind.

Lowther's reconstruction (fig 9) is entirely imaginary regarding the chapel and gatehouse, in the light of the limited amount of excavation. In particular the fragments ascribed to the latter are very close to the edge of the platform and may represent no more than a bridge abutment; the documents (p 8) suggest that the gatehouse may have been into an outer courtyard. Lowther shows the banks of the moat as timber-revetted, but mentions no evidence for this; the septaria boulders may have formed a natural layer, but they could easily have been collected up to form a rough curtain wall round the edge of the platform.

GENERAL LAYOUT

The use of a naturally sloping site above a stream for a medieval manor house defended by curving ditches can be seen elsewhere (eg at Castle Hill, Chessington (TQ 190 634) a few kilometres north-east of Pachenesham), and it is arguable whether such sites are earlier than the more common angular moats on level low-lying ground. Generally, The Mounts may be compared with the hunting-lodge built for Edward I at Woolmer in Alice Holt forest (SU 797 429) in 1284/5 (Colvin *et al* 1963, II, 1017; Lyne-1978) and the layout of the buildings, with a moated platform (the spoil forming outer embankments) covered by a cobbled yard with a gatehouse on one side and a hall and chapel the other, can be paralleled at Writtle (Rahtz 1969, fig 3). At Pachenesham, clearly the outer banks being higher than the platform within indicates that there was at least one building here before the moat was dug. The excavators were very enterprising in exploring the approach track and medieval road beyond, but rightly did not draw many conclusions from their results (Ruby 1950, 6-8; 1951, 4-6; Lowther 1951). The substantial amount of investigation of the minor medieval road and the trackway (also metalled) to the manorial site deserve to be recognised as pioneer work. Although many ancient roads have been traced by surface fieldwork both before and since 1950, excavation elsewhere (outside towns) has been almost entirely confined to Roman roads.

EDITOR'S APOLOGIA

I fully realize that I have raised a number of fundamental questions about the excavation in this editing of the work of thirty years ago. If I have been critical, this is due to the benefit of hindsight and others' work. I remain a sincere admirer of the work of Lowther and Ruby (who preceded me as chairmen of the Leatherhead and District Local History Society) and who may be said to have pioneered the excavation of medieval sites in central Surrey. As John Blair has recently demonstrated, there is still much to be discovered at Pachenesham, even without the further excavation which might resolve some of the questions and alternative hypotheses posed above.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations used in the text

- BF* Liber feodorum, The book of fees, commonly called *Testa de Nevill*, 1920–31 (HMSO)
BMQ *British Museum Quarterly*
CCR Calendar of the close rolls preserved in the Public Record Office (HMSO)
CCbR Calendar of the charter rolls preserved in the Public Record Office (HMSO)
CDS Bain, J (ed), 1881–4 *Calendar of documents relating to Scotland, 1108–1307*
CFR Calendar of the fine rolls preserved in the Public Record Office (HMSO)
CIPM Calendar of inquisitions post mortem
CIM Calendar of inquisitions miscellaneous
CLR Calendar of the liberate rolls
CPR Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public Record Office (HMSO)
CRR Curia regis rolls preserved in the Public Record Office (HMSO)
DB *Domesday Book* (Record Commission, 1783)
GEC Cokayne, G E, 1910 *The Complete Peerage*
LMC *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, 1940
Plac Abbrev Rose, G & Illingworth, W (ed), 1881, *Abbreviatio Placitorum. Richard I — Edward II* (Record Commission)
PR Hunter, J (ed), 1844 *The great rolls of the Pipe for the second, third and fourth years of the reign of King Henry the second 1155–58* (Record Commission); *The great rolls of the Pipe . . . 1159–* Pipe Roll Society, publications
PRO Public Record Office, London
RBE Hall, H (ed), 1896, *Red Book of the Exchequer* (Rolls series)
RCHM Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Essex, I (1916)
RCR Palgrave, F (ed), 1835 *Rotuli curiae regis* (Record Commission)
RLC Hardy, T D (ed), 1833–4 *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in turri Londinensi asservati* (Record Commission)
RLP Hardy, T D (ed), 1835 *Rotuli litterarum patentium in turri Londinensi asservati* (Record Commission)
Rot Chart Hardy, T D (ed), 1837 *Rotuli chartarum in turri Londinensi asservati* (Record Commission)

Other Works cited in the text

- Adams, B N, 1969 A report on the pottery, in Bryant & Steane, 1969.
- Altschul, M, 1965 *A baronial family in Medieval England: the Clares 1217-1314*
- Barton, K J, 1963 The medieval pottery of the Saintonge, *Archaeol J*, **120**, 201-14
- , 1965 Medieval pottery at Rouen, *Archaeol J*, **122**, 73-85
- , 1966 The medieval pottery of Paris, *Medieval Archaeol*, **10**, 59-73
- , 1977 Medieval earthenwares in north-east France, *Medieval Archaeol*, **21**, 47-67
- , & Brears, PDC, 1976 A medieval pottery kiln at Bentley, Hants, *Proc Hampshire Fld Club Archaeol Soc*, **32**, 71-5
- Bémont, C. 1906 *Rôles gascons*, 3
- Beresford, G T M, 1975 *The Medieval Clay-land Village: Excavations at Goltbo and Barton Blount*, Soc Medieval Archaeol Monograph Ser, **6**
- Biddle, M, Barfield, L & Millard, A, 1961 The excavation of the manor of the More, Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, *Archaeol J*, **116**, 136-99
- Blair, W J, 1974 The early manorial records of Leatherhead, Part 1, Three rentals of Pachenesham Parva, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **3.8**, 218-43
- , 1975a The early manorial records of Leatherhead, Part 2, A rental and two court rolls of Pachenesham Parva, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **3.9**, 268-89
- , 1975b The early manorial records of Leatherhead, Part 3, Two extents and a tenant list of Pachenesham Magna, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **3.9**, 290-7
- , 1976a The origins of Leatherhead parish church, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **3.10**, 323-9
- , 1976b *Discovering early Leatherhead — a preliminary survey*, Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc Occasional Paper, **1**
- , 1977a A military holding in 12th century Leatherhead, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **4.1**, 3-12
- , 1977b The early manorial records of Leatherhead, Part 5, Five court rolls of Pachenesham Magna, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **4.1**, 12-18
- , 1978a Medieval deeds of the Leatherhead district, Part 1, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **4.2**, 30-8
- , 1978b A late 13th century survey of buildings on estates of Southwark priory, *Antiq J*, **58**, 353-4
- , 1979 Medieval deeds of the Leatherhead district, Part 2, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **4.3**, 58-62
- , 1981a *The early town of Leatherhead*, Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc Occasional Paper, **3**
- , 1981b A small medieval cragloft house at Leatherhead, Surrey, *Antiq J*, **61**, 328-34
- Booth, A, 1970 Note with a drawing of a curfew handle from the Bentley kiln, *Farnham Mus Soc Newsletter*, **2.8**, 7
- Brayley, E W, 1841-50 *A topographical history of Surrey* (5 vols)
- Bryant, G F & Steane, J M 1969 Excavations at the deserted medieval settlement at Lyveden — a second interim report, *J Northampton Mus*, **5**, 1-50
- , & —, 1971 Excavations at the deserted medieval settlement at Lyveden — a third interim report, *J Northampton Mus*, **9**, 1-94
- Butler, L A S, 1974 Medieval finds from Castell-y-Bere, Merioneth, *Archeol Cambrensis*, **123**, 78-112
- Caley, J (ed), 1810-34 *Valor ecclesiasticus temp Henr VIII auctoritate regia institutus* (Record Commission)
- Chatwin, P B, 1955 Brandon Castle, Warwickshire, *Trans Birmingham Warwickshire Archaeol Soc*, **73**, 63-83
- Cole, H (ed), 1844 Documents illustrative of English history in 13th and 14th centuries (Record Commission)
- Colvin, H M, Brown, R A & Taylor, A J, 1963 *The History of the King's Works: The Middle Ages* (2 vols)
- Dugdale, W (revised Thomas, W), 1730 *The antiquities of Warwickshire illustrated*
- Dunning, G C, 1934 Inventory of medieval polychrome pottery found in England and Scotland, *Archaeologia*, **83** (1933), 126-34
- , 1941 Polychrome pottery from Stonar, *Archaeol Cantiana*, **54**, 56-61.
- , 1944 Report on imported French pottery from Criccieth castle, Caernarvonshire, *Archaeol Cambrensis*, **98**, 44-6
- , 1952 Medieval pottery from the Motte at Abinger, Surrey, *Archaeol J*, **107** (1950), 33-41
- , 1961 Medieval chimney pots, in *Studies in Building History* (ed E M Jope), 78-93
- , 1968 The trade in medieval pottery around the North Sea, *Rotterdam Papers*, **1**, 35-58
- , 1970 Roof-fittings in pottery (ventilator-finial and chimney-pot) from excavations in St John's Street, Bedford, *Bedfordshire Archaeol J*, **5**, 85-90
- , 1974 The horse and knight roof finial, with a discussion of knight finials and roof finials in England and on the Continent, *Bedfordshire Archaeol J*, **9**, 112-22
- , 1977 Mortars, in Clarke, H & Carter, A, *Excavations in Medieval Kings Lynn, 1963-70*, Soc Medieval Archaeol Monograph Ser, **7**, 320-47
- Edwards, J G, 1944 Edward I's castle-building in Wales, *Proc Brit Acad*, **32**, 17-81
- Ellis, S E, 1969 The petrography and provenance of Anglo-Saxon and medieval English honestones, with notes on some other honestones, *Bull Brit Mus (Natur Hist)* **2.3**, 135-86
- Frere, S S, 1941 A medieval pottery at Ashted, SyAC, **47**, 58-66
- Goodall, I H, 1977 Medieval iron objects, in Hanworth & Tomalin 1977, 73-5
- Hanworth, R & Tomalin, D J, 1977 *Brooklands, Weybridge, the excavation of an Iron Age and Medieval site 1964-5 and 1970-1*, Res Vol SyAS, **4**

- Harvey, J H, 1947 The Mounts, Patchesham — a historical note, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **1.1**, 9–11
 —, 1948 The Mounts, Patchesham, further historical notes, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **1.2**, 8–10
 Holden, E W, 1963 Excavations at the deserted medieval village of Hangleton, Part 1, *Sussex Archaeol Collect*, **101**, 112–44
 Holling, F W, 1971 A preliminary note on the pottery industry of the Hampshire — Surrey border, *SyAC*, **68**, 57–88
 Hume, I N, 1961 The glass wine bottle in colonial Virginia, *J Glass Stud*, **3**, 90–117
 Hurst, J G, 1961 Excavations in the kitchen area, Northolt Manor, *Medieval Archaeol*, **5** (1962), 211–98
 —, 1963 A 13th century firecover, in Holden 1963, 135–8
 —, 1976 The pottery, in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (ed D M Wilson), 283–348
 —, J G & D G, 1964 Excavations at the deserted medieval village of Hangleton, Part 2, *Sussex Archaeol Collect*, **102**, 94–142
 Jope, E M, 1953 Late Saxon pits under Oxford castle mound: Excavations in 1952, *Oxoniensia*, **17/18**, 77–111
 —, & Pantin, W A, 1958 The Clarendon hotel, Oxford, *Oxoniensia*, **23**, 1–129
 —, & Threlfall, R I, 1959 The 12th century castle at Ascot d'Oilly, Oxfordshire: its history and excavation, *Antiq J*, **39**, 219–73
 Kennett, D H, 1969 The firecover from Brafield-on-the-Green, *J Northampton Mus*, **6**, 52–3
 Ketteringham, L L, 1976 *Alsted, excavation of a 13th-14th century sub-manor house with its ironworks in Netherne Wood, Merstham, Surrey*, Res Vol SyAS, **2**
 Leeds, E T, 1941 Sealed bottles in Oxford, *Oxoniensia*, **6**, 44–55
 Lowther, A W G, 1947 The Mounts, Patchesham. Interim report on the excavations during September 1947, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **1.1**, 6–9
 —, 1948 The Mounts, Patchesham (manor of Pachenesham Magna). Second interim report on the excavations (19 July — 21 August), *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **1.2**, 5–8
 —, 1949a The Manor of Patchesham Magna near Leatherhead, Surrey, *Archaeol Newsletter*, **21**, 11–12
 —, 1949b Surrey Archaeological Society Report for 1948, *SyAC*, **51**, xi–xii
 —, 1949c Third interim report (1949) on the excavation at The Mounts, Patchesham (Manor of Pachenesham Magna), *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **1.3**, 4–8
 —, 1951 Surrey Archaeological Society Report for 1950, *SyAC*, **52**, 102
 —, 1954 Surrey Archaeological Society Report for 1949, *SyAC*, **53**, x–xi
 —, & Ruby A T, 1955 Report on the investigation of the moated site in Greatlee Wood, Effingham, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **1.9**, 4–17
 Lyne, M, 1978 Excavations at Alice Holt, *Current Archaeol*, **64**, 148–51
 Manning, O & Bray, W, 1804–14 *The History and antiquities of the county of Surrey* (3 vols)
 Nevill, R, 1889 *Old cottages and domestic architecture in south-west Surrey*
 Oakley, G E & Hall, A D, 1979 Spindle-whorls, in *St Peters street Northampton* (ed J H Williams), 286–9
 Pitt-Rivers, A H L-F, 1893 Excavations at Caesar's Camp near Folkestone, conducted in June and July, 1878, *Archaeologia*, **47**, 429–65
 Pugh, R B (ed), 1939 Abstracts of feet of fines relating to Wiltshire for the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, *Wiltshire Archaeol Natur Hist Soc, Records Banch*, **1**
 Rackham, B, 1948 *Medieval English pottery*
 Rahtz, P A, 1960 *Pleshey Castle — first interim report*, Essex Archaeol Soc
 —, 1969 *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle, Essex, 1955–57*, Soc Medieval Archaeol Monograph Ser, **3**
 Renn, D F, 1968 Some unusual pottery from the Ashted kiln, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **3.2**, 58–9
 Rigold, S E, 1971 Eynsford Castle and its excavation, *Archaeol Cantiana*, **85**, 109–71
 —, & Fleming A J, 1973 Eynsford castle, the moat and bridge, *Archaeol Cantiana*, **88**, 87–116
 Roberts, C (ed), 1835 *Excerpta e rotulis finium in turri Londinensi asservatis* (Record Commission)
 Ruby, A T, 1949 The story of Eustace de Hacche; notes on the life of the rebuilder of Pachenesham manor house, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **1.3**, 8–13
 —, 1950 Fourth interim report on the excavations (May–September 1950) at The Mounts, Randalls road, Leatherhead, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **1.4**, 5–8
 —, 1951 Further interim report on excavations at The Mounts, Randalls road, Leatherhead, 1951, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **1.5**, 4–6
 —, 1952 The owners of Pachenesham in the 14th century, *Proc Leatherhead Dist Local Hist Soc*, **1.6**, 15–19
 —, 1955 The manor of Pachenesham, Leatherhead, *SyAC*, **55**, 7–17
 Rymer, T (ed), 1816 *Foedera, conventiones, litterae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates*, new edition (4 vols) (Record Commission)
 Salzmann, L F (comp), 1908 An abstract of feet of fines from 34 Henry III to 35 Edward I, *Sussex Record Soc*, **7**
 —, 1967 *Building in England down to 1540*
 Steane, J M, 1967 Excavations at Lyveden, 1965–67, *J Northampton Mus*, **2**, 1–37
 —, & Bryant, G F, 1975 Excavations at the deserted medieval settlement at Lyveden, *J Northampton Mus*, **12**, 1–160
 Tester, P J & Caiger, J E L, 1958 Medieval buildings in the Joyden's Wood square earthwork, *Archaeol Cantiana*, **72**, 18–40

- Thorn J, & Thorn D, 1972 Heraldic jugs of forgotten potters, *London Archaeol*, **1.16**, 372-7
- , & Orton C, 1978 Pottery from the medieval pit and well at 201-211 Borough High Street, *Southwark Excavations 1972-74* (eds J Bird *et al*) London Middlesex Archaeol Soc & Surrey Archaeol Soc Joint Publication; **1**, 128-47
- The Times* 24 August, 1948, 31 August, 1949; see also *The Sphere* 11 September, 1948, *The Children's Newspaper*, 18 September 1948, *Dorking and Leatherhead Advertiser*, 27 August and 17 December, 1948, 26 August 1949 and 15 December 1950, *Surrey Advertiser and County Times*, 28 August 1948 and 27 August 1949
- Topham, J, 1787 *Liber quotidianus contrarotulatoris garderobae*, 28 Edward I, AD 1299-1300 (Soc Antiquaries of London)
- Turner, D J, 1967 Excavations near Merton priory, 1962-1963, *SyAC*, **64**, 35-70
- , 1974 Medieval pottery kiln at Bushfield Shaw, Earlswood, *SyAC*, **70**, 47-55
- , 1977, Moated site near Moat farm, Hookwood, Charlwood, *SyAC*, **71**, 57-87
- Warner Allen, H, 1961 *A History of wine*
- Webster, P A, 1975 Pottery report, in Steane & Bryant 1975, 60-95
- Wills, G, undated Bottles from 1720, *Guinness, Signature*, **10**
- Wood, M E, 1950 *13th century domestic architecture in England* *Archaeol J*, **105** Suppl, 19-21