

# CASTLE PLANNING IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

By P. A. FAULKNER

The form and content of any building is the expression of its designer's brief and that brief will, almost inevitably, contain conflicting elements. [Overshadowing the development of the medieval castle as a building is the conflict between its military and its domestic functions. The form taken at any particular time is bound to be a compromise between these two issues, which will not only vary in relative importance but will each one vary as techniques in their respective fields develop.] Although in this paper it is proposed to follow trends in domestic demands and observe their effect on the form of the castle, this aspect should not properly be treated in isolation and if little mention is made of the military element it must be remembered that this is, nevertheless, always present. It is proposed to analyse three individual 14th-century buildings as a means of determining these trends, but before doing so the position reached in the previous century must be summarised, first as to what may be established as the basic requirements for a household in terms of plan form and secondly as to how this was used to provide the accommodation demanded in the greater castles, thereby demonstrating something of the approach of the designers of that time to this particular problem.

Through the 13th century two common house plan forms dominate, the upper or twin hall type and the end hall or hall and chamber-block type.<sup>1</sup> The upper hall house, which tended to die out towards the end of the century, consists essentially of two identical floor plans, superimposed on each other, each containing a hall with an inner chamber attached at one end.<sup>2</sup> It may appear in more elaborate form with additional chambers attached to both hall and inner chamber while still retaining its twin nature providing for two households.<sup>3</sup> Of the two forms the hall and chamber-block plan is the more persistent. It was the basic form before the Conquest and, though temporarily swamped by the upper hall house, returned to increasing favour as the 13th century progressed. Its elements are a group or groups of chambers associated with a common hall. In its simplest form it appears as a ground floor hall with a two storey block of chambers at one end,<sup>4</sup> providing for a single household. A number of groups of such chambers, each self sufficient, allows a number of households to be associated with a common hall.<sup>5</sup> The chamber groups may vary from an elaborate suite of many rooms to a single chamber lodging.<sup>6</sup>

Throughout the following paper it is assumed that the occurrence of a plan form which may be identified with one or other of these two types establishes the provision of accommodation for an independent household.

<sup>1</sup> P. A. Faulkner, 'Domestic Planning from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries', *Arch. J.*, cxv (1958), 150 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Examples are Boothby Pagnell, Christchurch Castle hall and the guest-houses at Fountains Abbey.

<sup>3</sup> Kidwelly Castle hall and Harlech gatehouse.

<sup>4</sup> King John's House, Warrford, Infirmary's Lodging Peterborough Abbey.

<sup>5</sup> Ludlow Castle had three chamber-blocks attached to the great hall.

<sup>6</sup> The Lodgings in the S.E. tower at Goodrich etc.

In terms of the earlier middle ages a castle may be described as a collective defensive position in which the lord, his household and the households of his dependants might live in common safety. The form taken by the defences as such was dictated by military techniques and will not be discussed here. It is hoped to demonstrate that the form taken by the accommodation remained static through the 13th century in spite of considerable advances in the design of the defensive system by the examination of four castles in their 13th-century state, Corfe, Chepstow, Caerphilly, and Beaumaris.

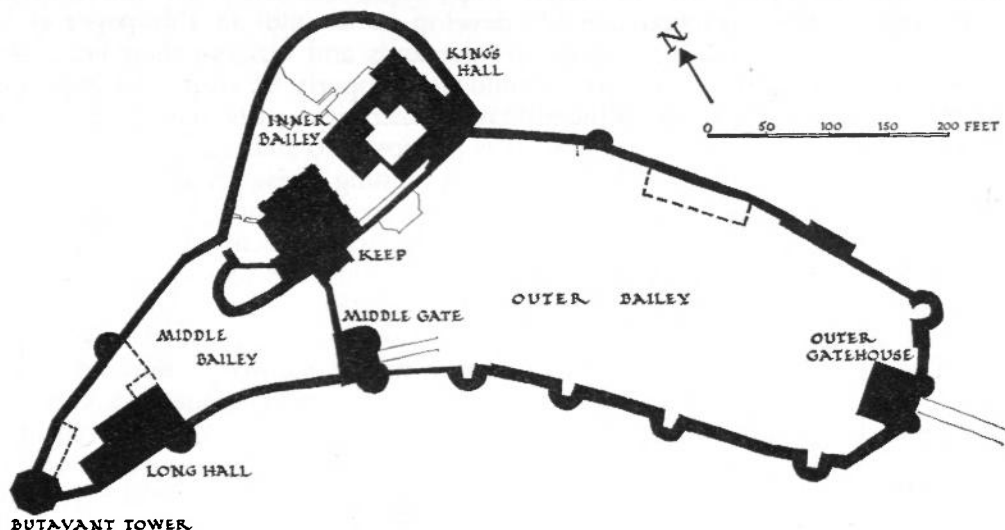


Fig. 1. Corfe Castle; the 13th-century buildings

Corfe presents a defensive system based on the keep and bailey principle. Within this, its domestic planning is based on a series of some six or seven loosely connected but unrelated residences (Fig. 1) all of the highest order; two in the King's Tower or keep, still in use as royal residences at this time,<sup>1</sup> and another in the embryo courtyard house built early in the century. The outer bailey appears to have contained only one permanent residential building, the gatehouse. The Middle Gate, standing in isolation, provided one, if not two, more while the western portion of the middle bailey is treated as a group residence with buildings incorporating the old Long Hall.<sup>2</sup> All these are residences in their own right of one or other of the basic forms already noted such as can be paralleled anywhere from the late 12th century onwards.

Chepstow (Fig. 2) like Corfe, is an existing castle being enlarged as a result of the increasing domestic demands of the 13th century rather than to achieve any improvement in military fortification. At the beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> Douglas Simpson, 'Development of Corfe Castle', *Dorset Nat. Hist. & Arch. Soc. Proc.*, LXXIII (1951).

<sup>2</sup> 'Excavations in the West Bailey at Corfe Castle', *Medieval Archaeology*, IV (1960), 29.

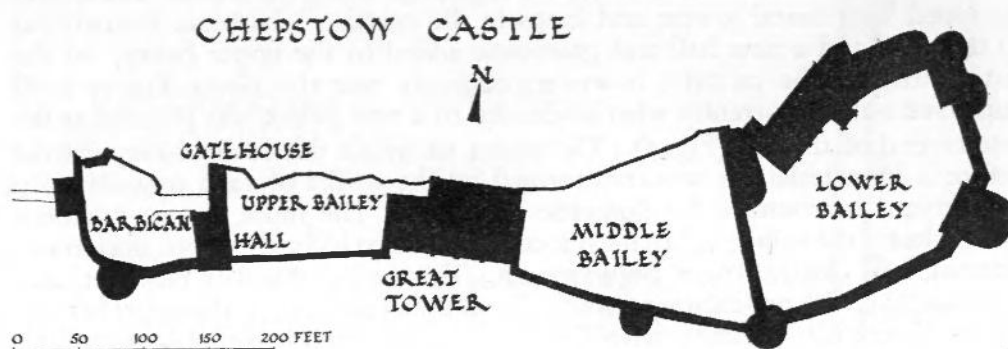


Fig. 2. Chepstow Castle

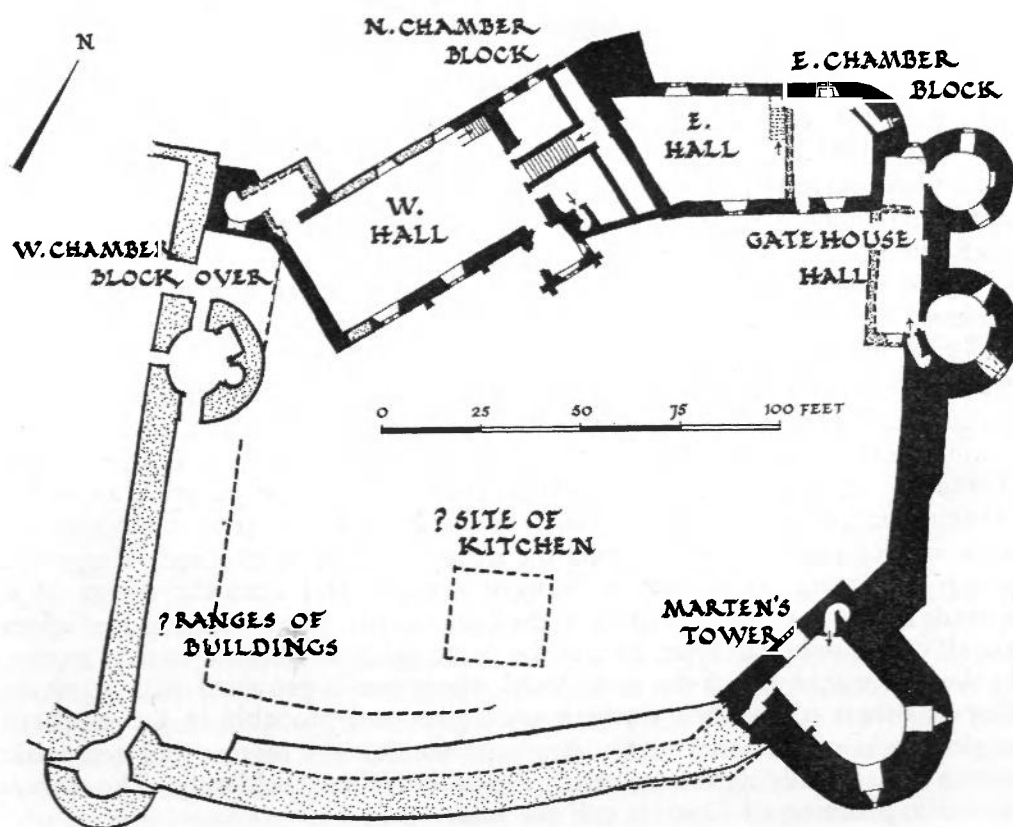


Fig. 3. Chepstow Castle; The Lower Bailey

century the defences had already been improved when the middle bailey was equipped with mural towers and loops in the curtain; a barbican thrown out to the west and a new hall and gatehouse added to the upper bailey. In the last quarter of the century, however, not only was the Great Tower itself improved but concurrently what amounted to a new palace was planned at the eastern end of the site (Fig. 3). The extent to which this lower bailey existed before is immaterial. It was transformed by the works of 1270 onwards into a courtyard surrounded by domestic buildings. The more secure northern side is clearly the principal. In itself it consists of two halls, the more important, western, hall clearly Roger Bigod's own. This had a chamber block at each end, one over the pre-existing gate to the middle bailey, the other over service rooms planned in common with the eastern hall which had its own chamber block next the gatehouse. This group undoubtedly looks forward in its planning to the following century but retains, however, its individuality as a block in the same way in which the slightly earlier adjoining gatehouse is planned as a separate entity incorporating a twin hall residence in the manner of Harlech.<sup>1</sup> Beyond, lies Marten's Tower, a further independent residence arranged over a working military lower floor. It has a private chapel and precautions are taken to defend it from both the bailey and the wall walk. The 13th-century arrangements along the south and west sides of the bailey cannot now be determined though there is some suggestion that a kitchen lay in this area, perhaps freestanding in the Ludlow manner.

These buildings at Chepstow, though largely planned as a single campaign, are still conceived as a series of entities placed around the curtain. They may not be so widely spaced as those at Corfe but there is, even so, no attempt at unification into a single building.

The more regular layout at Caerphilly (Fig. 4) appears at first sight to have achieved some measure of unity yet, here again, the conception is that of a series of independent residential points placed around a pattern of curtain walls which have now assumed a geometric form dictated by the latest military techniques. The residences, a principal and some eight others, are unrelated to one another except insofar as they form part of a common defensive system. Those in the inner ward are of the chamber-block type grouped around a common great hall. There are at least two suites. The western extends to the west side of the inner ward while the eastern includes the chapel, the whole group displaying some conflict between military and domestic design as it spreads across the inner curtain into the outer ward. The remaining residences are all of the twin hall type: two in the great gatehouse on the eastern works; in the east gatehouse of the inner ward where one is provided with a private chapel; others in the two western gatehouses and probably in the northern angle towers of the inner ward. Any advance that the regular and geometric layout of Caerphilly represents clearly lies in the military field only. The *staccato* domestic planning of Corfe is still the rule.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. J.*, cxv (1958), 158.

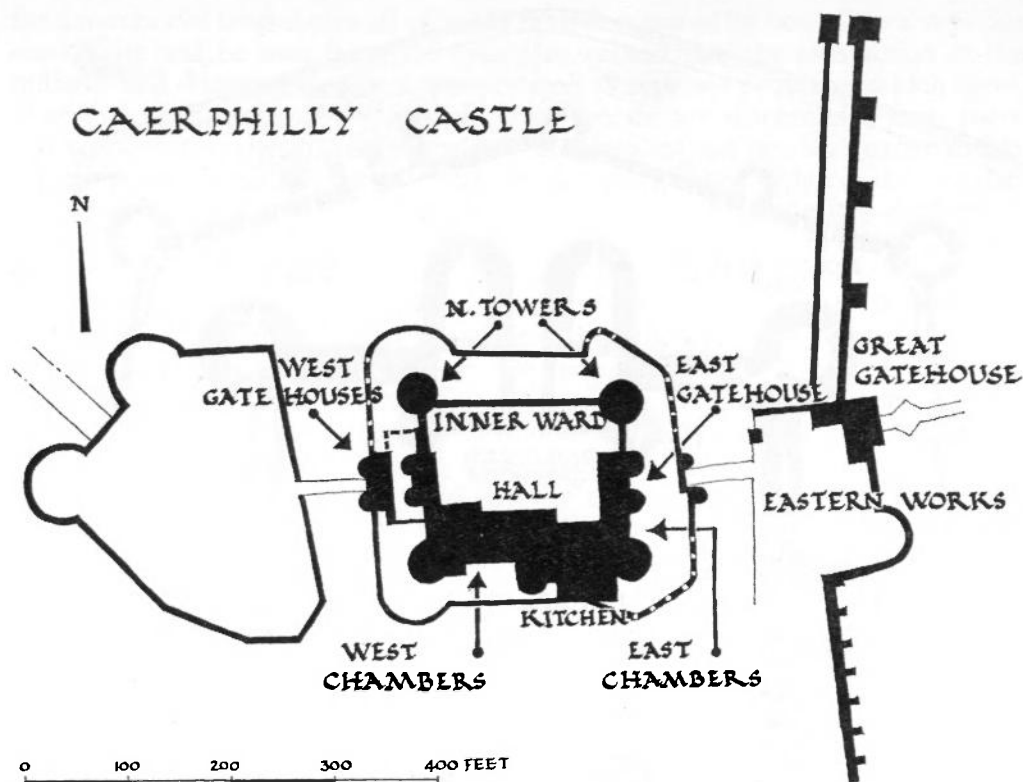


Fig. 4. Caerphilly Castle

Beaumaris exemplifies the classic concentric castle (Fig. 5). The circumstances under which the Edwardian castles were built — single overall royal control, nationwide resources and political pressure — were clearly such as to produce intensive technical development. What was achieved was the perfection of a type already in existence. As at Caerphilly, Beaumaris was planned to provide a series of residences, of which the principal was to have been of hall and chamber block type against the east side of the inner ward with chambers at either end incorporating the Rusticoker Tower to the north and others with access to the surviving private pews of the chapel to the south. In addition two great twin hall residences were planned in the northern and southern gatehouses, in size and elaboration the equals of that against the curtain. Further household units were accommodated in the upper floors of the north gate and, probably, of the Gate-next-the-Sea, while still more may have been intended against the west side of the inner ward. Even here the castle takes the form of a series of houses attached to a symmetrical defence system. It is the defences that are seen as a whole, not the accommodation within.

To sum up the position at the end of the 13th century, the castle, assuming that what was provided was, in fact, the requirement, demanded provision

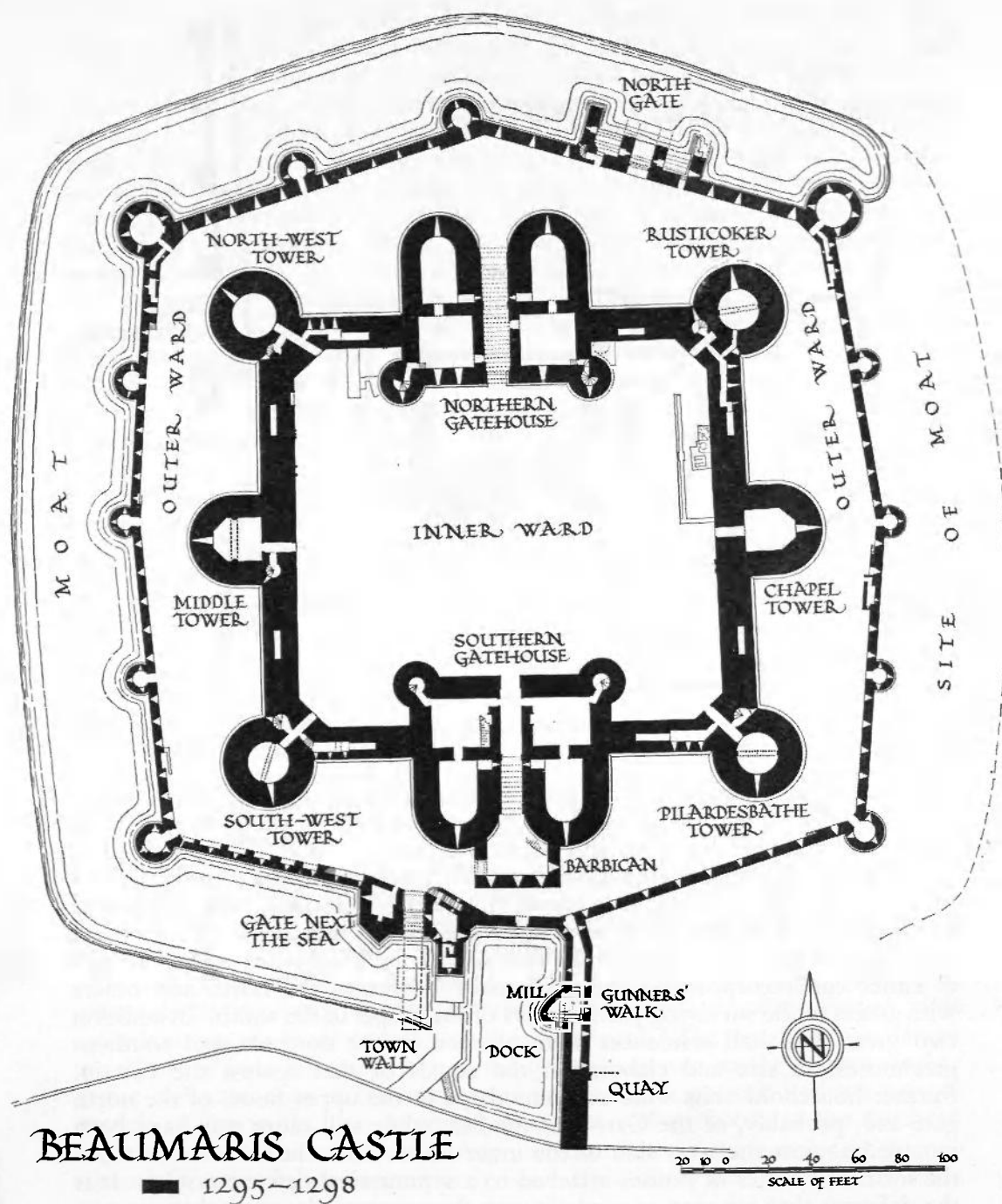


Fig. 5. Beaumaris Castle  
 (Crown Copyright)



for a number of households all of noble rank dominated by one of even superior station. It will be seen from the examples quoted that the satisfaction of the military and domestic demands were treated as separate problems which were, nevertheless, beginning to interact. Two trends are discernible; first, there was an increasing demand for permanent accommodation of a high order within the castle and secondly the defences, in becoming more ordered and regular, tended to concentrate the room available for domestic building into a relatively smaller space, generally quadrangular in form. The reconciliation of these conflicting demands of expansion and contraction was a problem that 13th-century designers failed to solve, or perhaps even to recognize. In any consideration of the treatment of this problem in the following century it must be remembered that it was not one that remained static.

It is hoped in the following studies of Goodrich and Bolton castles to analyse the accommodation provided in comparable buildings at the beginning and at the end of the 14th century and thus to demonstrate the elaboration of domestic demands over the period and the manner in which these were integrated into a single concept. Following this an attempt is made to use the principles so established to elucidate the planning of the late 14th-century castle at Bodiam.

#### GOODRICH CASTLE, HEREFORDSHIRE (Fig. 6)

Goodrich Castle, in its present form, was built by the Valence Earls of Pembroke in the opening years of the 14th century. As it stands it is the work of one period, the only substantial vestige of earlier building on the site being the small non-residential 12th-century keep and the only later work being confined to minor alterations.<sup>1</sup> To this extent, then, it can be said to be an unfettered design of its time, representing the up-to-date demands of its near-royal builder. Not only is the building of one date but it is sufficiently complete to enable us to appreciate the whole extent of the accommodation provided and to identify its component units. We appear to be faced with a single building more or less quadrangular. Closer examination, however, reveals the castle, not as a single dwelling but as a series closely planned into one whole, marking the first step beyond the stage reached at Beaumaris.

Of the buildings ranged round the central courtyard the keep, preserved at the rebuilding of the castle, does not appear to have been converted to any domestic use and is, therefore, with the prison beside it, omitted from this analysis. First must be noted the kitchen, between the keep and the south-west tower and connected to all other parts of the castle by pentices, and the chapel next to the gate; both of these stand on their own giving common service to the rest of the castle. In the latter the accommodation is grouped around three halls placed along the sides of the court, the Great Hall to the west, a north hall and an east hall. The four towers are occupied by chambers and service rooms, those in the north-east tower being arranged over the gate passage and chapel.

<sup>1</sup> A gallery was inserted in the chapel with a door to new first floor accommodation made between the N. hall and the gatehouse. A door was cut between the ante-room and the great hall.

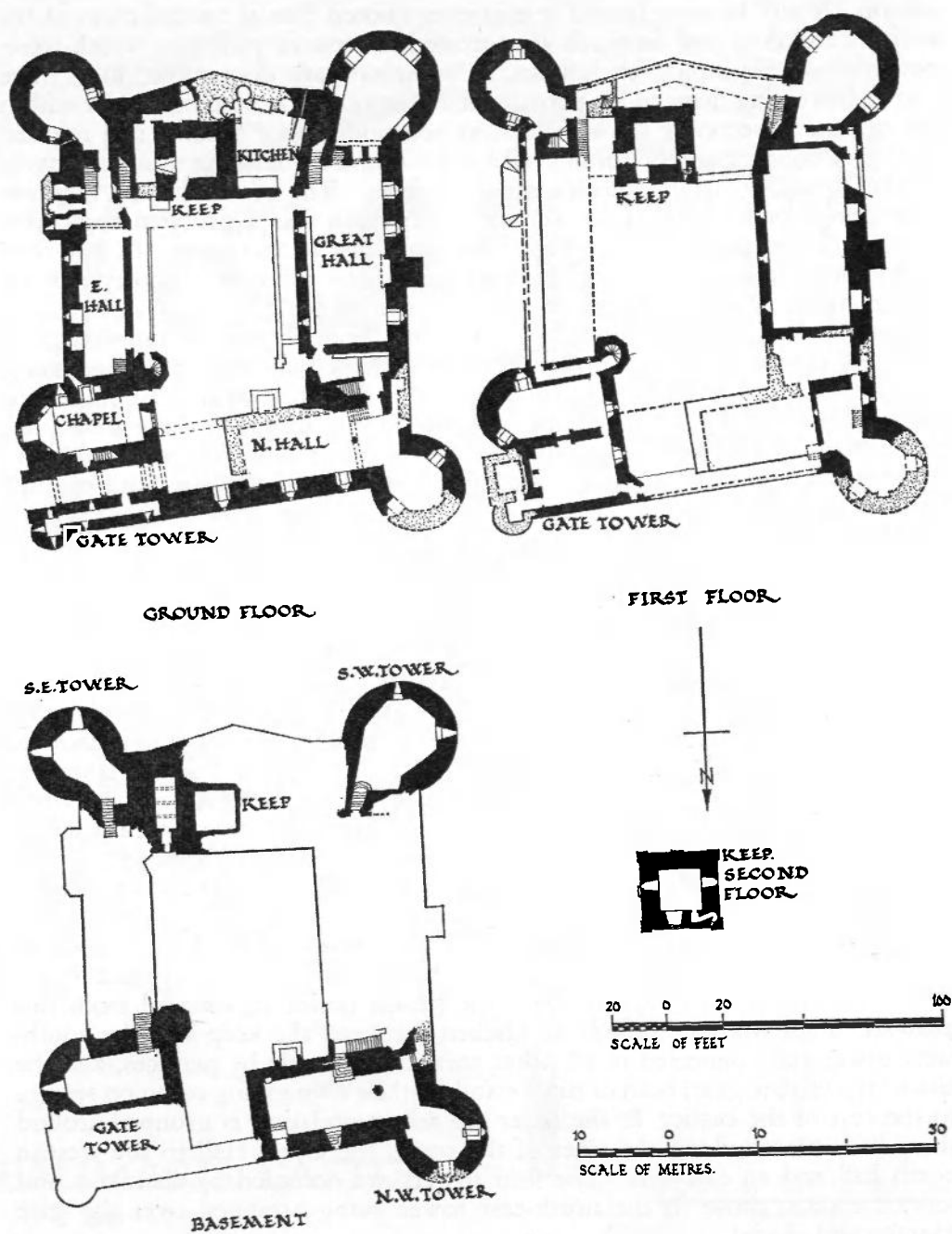


Fig. 6. Goodrich Castle



The three halls each form the basis of a hall and chamber-block group. The great hall is served by the chambers in the south-west tower. Two doors in the south wall imply the existence of two rooms at hall level in the tower and the absence of garderobe or fireplace suggests that they were service rooms. A third door in this wall leads to a cellar below while the stair at the south-east angle rises to the door of the great chamber at first floor level with a fireplace in the south wall and a garderobe in the passage through the north wall.

The north hall and the north-west tower form a further group. The hall is entered at its south-west angle through an ante-room which adjoins the great hall. The connecting door is later. Along the south side of this ante-room is a bench. At hall level, partly in the north-west tower, is a chamber with a fireplace, above which is the great chamber, also with a fireplace, which was reached by a stair descending into the western end of the hall. This chamber extends over the west end of the hall in a manner curiously reminiscent of the Great Tower at Chepstow; *en suite* with it is an inner chamber over the ante-room with a garderobe to the west.

A stair in the ante-room leads to the lower north hall similar in size to that above. This has no fireplace and, significantly, there is access, defended by portcullis and drawbar, direct into the outer bailey.<sup>1</sup> The hall is provided with a chamber in the north-west tower and has a garderobe.

On the east side of the court an octagonal turret contains the stair leading to the chambers over the gatehouse. This is essentially a two-chamber lodging with a larger outer chamber or hall and an inner chamber beyond, both with fireplaces, the latter with a garderobe. The two small chambers over the outer gate are ruined beyond recognition. In assessing the importance of this lodging it is worth remembering that the outer chamber is only slightly smaller than the hall of the Harlech gatehouse.

South of the chapel, the east hall departs somewhat from the pattern so far noted in that it has an entrance at either end and is separated from its chambers in the S.E. tower by a lobby out of which opens what can only be described as a battery of three garderobes. Leading from this lobby are two doors, one to the ground floor of the south-east tower, a chamber with walldrain and fireplace, the other to the chamber below. From the adjacent pentice a stair leads to the first floor tower chamber also with walldrain and fireplace. At the northern end of the east hall a stair descends to a cellar below the chapel.

It remains to be seen to what extent this division into units can be used to interpret the accommodation provided by the early 14th-century planners of Goodrich. In an attempt to determine the most likely occupant of each an obvious criterion is the degree of luxury displayed and the measure of that must be the amenities provided. Of the furnishing and manner of decoration of the rooms, nothing, of course, survives. All that is left are the permanent architectural features; the doors, windows and fireplaces. In some buildings

<sup>1</sup> Extensive remains of the stables have recently been uncovered in the outer bailey W. of the great hall.

there is a clear gradation in the detail of these features and it is reasonable to suppose that the richer the foliage, the more elaborate the moulding, the finer the ashlar, the higher the degree of the occupant.<sup>1</sup> There is no such gradation at Goodrich, the detail in all the lodgings and chambers is similar and it is of a high standard, elegant though restrained. It can only be assumed that such uniformity of standard implies parity of rank amongst the occupants. This point must be made, for it implies that here is no accommodation for men-at-arms or common soldiers but only for those comparable in degree to the owner. A second criterion is the scale or amount of accommodation provided in each of the units and the individual interpretation of those units. This can, perhaps, best be done diagrammatically.

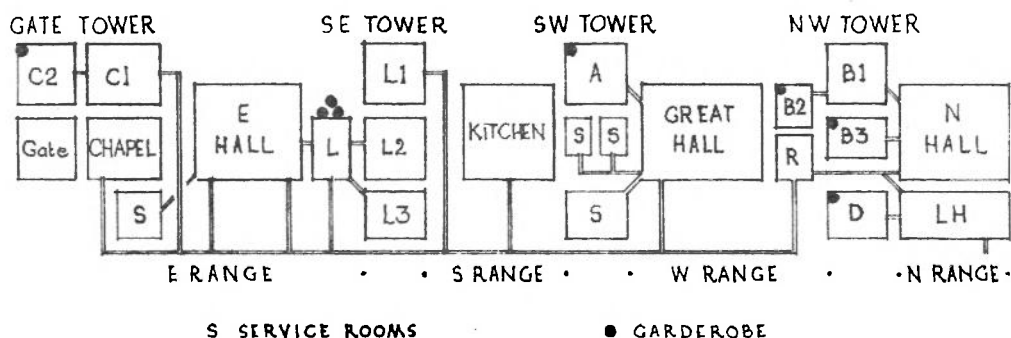


Fig. 7. Goodrich Castle: planning diagram

In the illustration (Fig. 7) the 'boxes' each represent a room and the connecting lines the circulation between them. [By virtue of their position and treatment the Great Hall and North Hall with their respective chamber blocks are clearly the most important. It is suggested that, of these, the North Hall is designed as a residence for the owner while the Great Hall, with its single great chamber (A), is reserved for the principal guest. If, as seems probable, the Great Hall is already at this time regarded as something of a status symbol<sup>2</sup> it is understandable that its occupant would be one worthy of the highest compliment who could be served in state but who would not regard the castle as a permanent home. On the other hand the private suite of great and inner chambers (B1 and B2) attached to the north hall allows for a household with additional accommodation in the lower chamber (B3) for a noble dependant; if, indeed, this hall was that of the owner it would serve as a court hall and would appropriately have a waiting room attached. In the ante-room (R) this is provided, equipped with a bench and interposed between the hall and the entrance from the court; a similar arrangement exists at Conway.<sup>3</sup> Also connected with the ante-room is the lower hall (LH). Of a lower standard

<sup>1</sup> Particularly stressed at Ludlow in the E. chamber-block.

<sup>2</sup> At Conway there was no connection between the royal apartments and the great hall.

<sup>3</sup> At Windsor a stone bench was provided in the cloister outside the King's chamber (R. A. Brown, *English Medieval Castles*).

of finish this would be suitable for the squires attached to the owner's household, with its inner chamber (D) reserved for the chief among them. There are noticeably no stables in the inner bailey and quick access to those in the outer bailey may well have been part of the designer's brief and explain the postern at this point.]

There are two points to note in relation to the lodging (C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub>) in the gate tower. First it has no hall and second it occupies the traditional position over the gate for the constable or permanent custodian of the castle.<sup>1</sup> It would fit this purpose well, for such an official would not need a hall for ceremonial and even in the lord's absence the courts would presumably continue to be held in the lord's hall. The compactness of this lodging and the command it gives over the gate make this allocation more than probable in which case it would have been the only permanently occupied portion of the castle.

It has already been remarked that the east hall does not conform to the normal hall and chamber-block pattern. The hall and the chambers in the south-east tower (L<sub>1</sub>, 2 and 3) each have individual access and the garderobes that serve them are grouped in the common lobby (L). Here would seem to be a plan for communal living on a scale comparable to that of the owner. Such a set of conditions would meet the requirements of those of noble rank who came to the castle, not so much in their own right but in the train of either principal guest or owner; living together in their own hall but each, or each set, provided with their own lodging. The kitchen and chapel, be it noted, would serve all halls *via* the pentice.

To sum up, we can say that the castle was called upon to provide permanent accommodation for the owner and his squires, for a state guest and those who travelled in his train and for a permanent constable or sheriff. We can, in addition get some idea of the accommodation that satisfied such persons and see that the castle was equipped to serve as the headquarters of a civil lordship. All this is superimposed upon its essential military form, skilfully combined into a single building clearly seen as a whole. Skilful as it is, however, it would seem that the designer saw it still as a series of units placed one against the other. Unified, perhaps, to a greater degree than had been the case hitherto but not to the extent that was to be achieved later in the century when the requirements of even more elaborate domestic ritual could be fully integrated with military necessities into a single conception. There can be few buildings where this achievement can be better studied than at Bolton Castle in Yorkshire.

#### BOLTON CASTLE, YORKSHIRE (Fig. 8)

[Bolton castle was built on a fresh site in the last quarter of the 14th century by Richard, Lord Scrope. The contractor for half the building, at least, is known to have been John Lewin.<sup>2</sup> Its advantages as a subject of study lie, not only in its completeness, but in the fact that it must, being self contained, of necessity include within one building all the permanent accommodation

<sup>1</sup> Constable's Tower is the gatehouse tower at Dover.

<sup>2</sup> L. F. Salzman, *Building in England* (1952), 454.

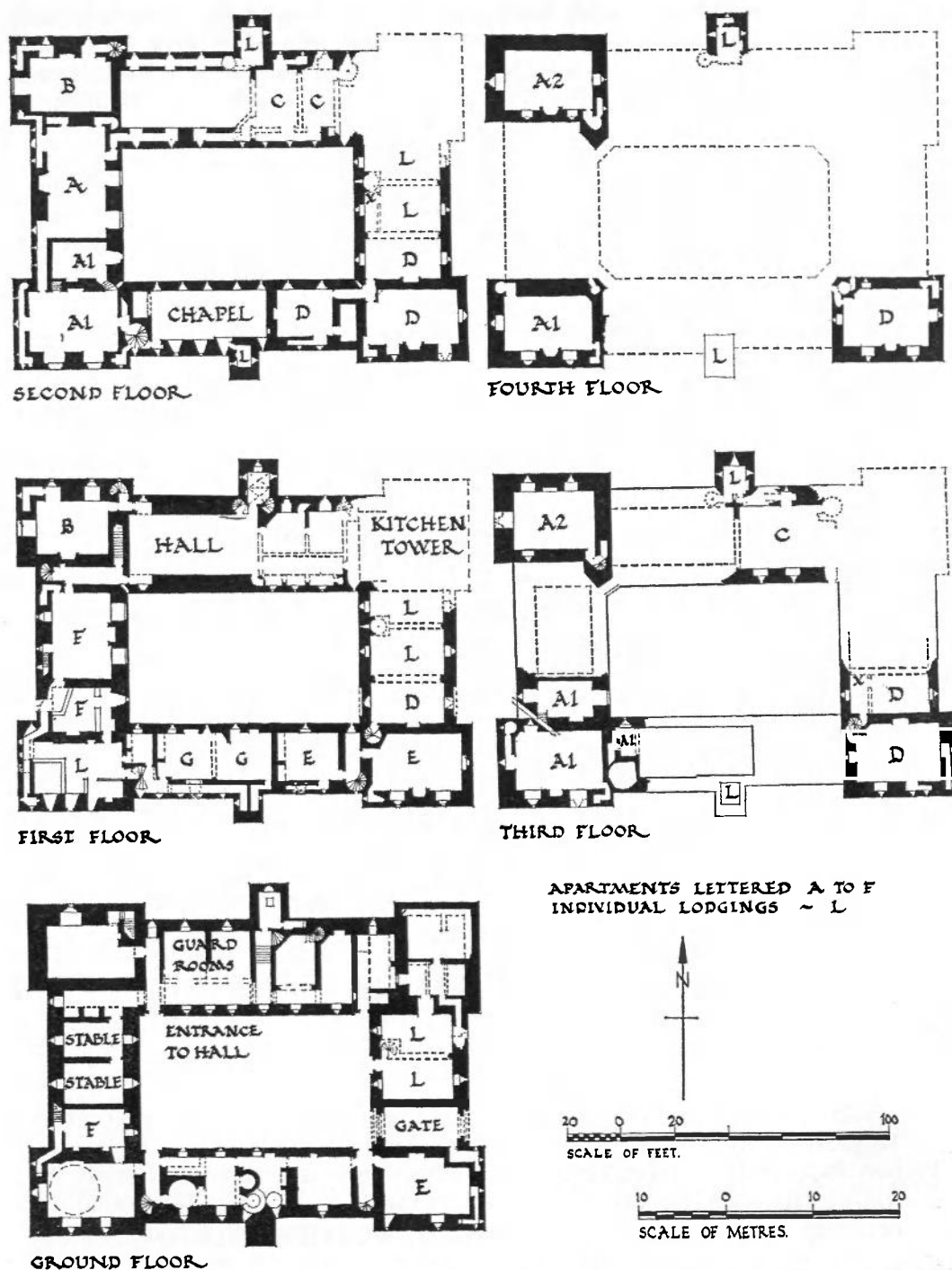


Fig. 8. Bolton Castle

demanding, not only the halls and chambers but stables, mills, stores and kitchens. Stark and uncompromising in exterior appearance, the castle contains within every luxury known to the time. It is quadrangular, generally three storied with five storied angle towers, one of which, the kitchen tower, has collapsed.

To some extent the quadrangular courtyard form of Bolton may be seen as a direct development from the inner bailey at Goodrich, while the germ was already apparent at Chepstow.

Once again it is noticeable that the major rooms show little variation from a uniformly high standard from which it may be concluded that accommodation within the castle was reserved for those of comparatively high rank; those of lesser rank can, perhaps, be identified with the inhabitants of the villages around, only called upon to serve within the castle when it was occupied.

On analysis, the accommodation within the walls can be broken down into no less than eight major household units and some twelve lesser lodgings all integrated into one unified conception. The greater part of this accommodation is arranged above the ground floor which is, in the main, reserved for service rooms. Of the suites of living rooms and lodgings, the principal are arranged in the western range though focussed on the great hall in the north range which is, in turn, balanced in the south range by the chapel. The plan provides for a series of hall and chamber groups on the one hand and of individual lodgings on the other, a division that, more marked here than at Goodrich, was hardly to be found in the 13th-century castle, but one that was to develop in the following centuries.

The planning of the greater apartments at Bolton is related to the great hall, the entrance to which, and indeed to all the principal apartments, is in the north-west angle of the court through a not particularly imposing door. At this point the visitor and his horse and party, the visitor along a wide right-angled corridor, flanked by guardrooms, to the stair leading to the hall. This is entered at first floor level through a vaulted lobby at the north-east angle. The route is marked with some architectural distinction.

Associated with the great hall and placed at its ends are groups of chambers, (B) to the west and (C) over the service rooms to the east. The hall in this case serves more than its usual two chamber blocks for beyond the door in the south-west angle is a lobby reminiscent of the Goodrich ante-room leading to a further hall (A) on the second floor only slightly smaller than the great hall. The second, third and fourth floor plans show this inner hall to have, yet again, two chamber blocks (A1 and A2) attached to it.

On examining the southern and larger of the groups (A1), it is seen that the large second floor chamber, occupying the south-west tower, has separate access to the chapel stair and to the private pew, and that, with its four attendant chambers, it forms yet another hall and double chamber-block group — the third in the series. A fourth (F) lies below on the first and ground floors below the inner hall (A).

These groups in the western and part of the northern range form the extent of the principal accommodation. The eastern and part of the southern range are given over to lodgings as opposed to suites which, themselves, fall

into three groups—first the single-chamber lodgings, marked (L) on plan, six in the east wing and three in each of the north and south turrets; second the multiple chamber lodgings, of which there are two: (G) of two chambers and (D) of six chambers. Thirdly there is the suite marked (E), with a hall on the first floor of the south-east tower, a high room with clerestory lighting, a kitchen to the west of it and, below, a chamber on the ground floor. In its independence this hall appears to parallel the isolated eastern hall at Goodrich.

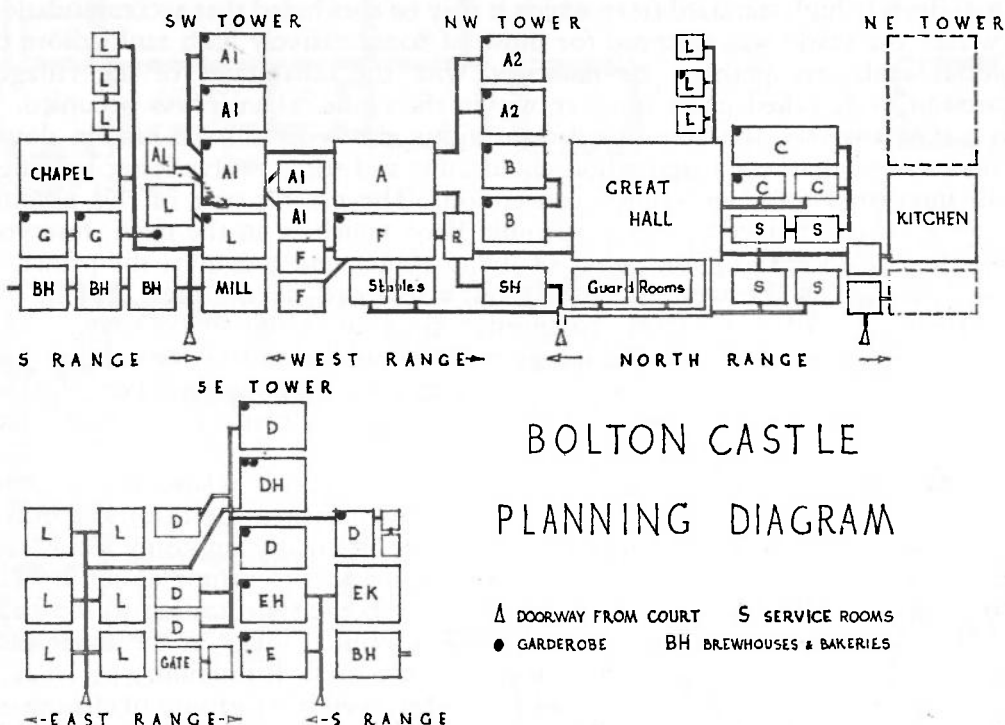


Fig. 9. Bolton Castle: planning diagram

A detailed diagrammatic analysis of these apartments follows; the left hand half of the diagram (Fig. 9) shows the layout of the great suites.

It would seem axiomatic in medieval domestic planning of the scale under consideration that the most remote apartment shall be reserved for the most select occupant and that difficulty of personal access shall be a mark of rank. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the innermost set of chambers, those centred on the second floor great chamber in the south-west tower, should house the most important person. The group (A<sub>1</sub>) is arranged with two pairs of inner chambers, one above and one to the right both leading off the great chamber to which is also attached a private pew overlooking the chapel. It is suggested that this group is designed to accommodate the principal guest and his household or households with, so to speak, a king's and queen's



side. The whole group forms a complex chamber-block to the main inner hall (A). This is balanced at the nominal lower end of the hall by a suite of two chambers (A2) in the north-west tower comparable to those in the south-west. It was traditional up to this time for the owner's suite to be placed over the lower block of hall and chamber-block houses, as, for example, in the Bishop's Palace at Wells. These rooms, some of the finest in the castle, could reasonably be allocated to Lord Scrope's own household, sharing the privacy of the inner hall, to which only the privileged would have access, with his principal guest.

Below this inner hall is another unit of hall and block of two chambers (F), to which access is only to be had through the lobby or ante-room (R), and, attached to the upper end of the great hall a suite (B) of great and inner chamber in the north-west tower. Either of these would provide accommodation for a person of high rank, one, indeed, so exalted as to merit a private hall. The suite (C) attached to the lower end of the great hall has characteristics that require more consideration. It occupies the traditional owner's position and has dual access to the great hall and service rooms. It is marked, in fact, as being the apartment of one who is intimately connected with the owner and who is interested in the economy of the castle. This would suggest the permanent residence of Lord Scrope's High Steward.

On the ground floor of the north-west tower is an isolated chamber or hall of some size (SH). With connections to the lobby or ante-room above and to the entrance passage and stables, it provides an exact parallel with the lower north hall at Goodrich and, perhaps, served the same purpose, providing accommodation for the squires of those who occupied the great suites in the western range.

It has already been noted that the accommodation falls into two main divisions, the households and the individual lodgings. Of the latter, twelve are single-chamber lodgings. The north and south turrets both contain a set of three small lodgings (L), each group with access to a common garderobe, the northern suggesting accommodation for pages or those whose duties required them to be in attendance in the great hall with which the lodgings are associated.

The southern group are similarly associated with the chapel. In 1399 Scrope founded a chantry of six priests at Bolton. Doubtless these chambers, with two men to each, were their lodgings.

Of the group of six single-chamber lodgings (L) in the east range little need be said beyond noting the systematic manner of their planning and that each chamber is provided with independent access from the court.

The chambers in the south-east tower appear to have been designed to meet a special case. Here are six chambers (D) radiating from a central great chamber or hall (DH) which is significantly provided with two garderobes. Three of these chambers are arranged over the gate, two larger ones in the south-east tower and one thrown out on its own in the south range. This last is commonly known as the Auditor's chamber. It has attached to it two small rooms, one of which appears to have been designed as a strong-room which makes the allocation reasonable, more particularly if the whole group is considered as serving as the offices and accommodation for the administrative staff of the

lordship (perhaps the bailiffs of the outlying manors) with the upper chamber in the south-east tower reserved for the bailiff of Bolton itself or principal officer of rank. This suggestion is strengthened if, again, the increase of pomp and circumstance of an establishment such as Lord Scrope's be considered, for it will be seen that there has been promotion throughout; the bailiff occupies the normal position of the constable over the castle gate, the constable or high steward has been promoted to the owner's position at the low end of the hall while the lord himself occupies new quarters at the low end of the private inner hall.

The suggestion has already been made that the hall in the south-east tower (EH) served the same purpose as did the east hall at Goodrich in providing for those who used neither the lord's hall nor the inner hall. The provision of a separate kitchen (EK) implies that it is a hall that would be in use when the lord is absent and consequently the great hall and its kitchen out of use, its position near the permanent quarters of the administrative staff being thus logical.

The achievement of Bolton is its clear conception as a single building integrating into one whole the many and varied demands of a great and defendable mansion. Its value to us lies in its expression of these demands which in themselves reflect the manner in which its inhabitants lived and the use to which they put such a building. While the comparison between Goodrich and Bolton is not necessarily valid, it may, nevertheless, serve as a pointer to some of the changes taking place over the span of the century. The most obvious is the great increase in the numbers accommodated in buildings of nearly the same ground area — Goodrich, in fact, being slightly the larger. Secondly there is an increased elaboration of the plan representing a more elaborate mode of life; thirdly, doubtless arising out of the last, a more marked differential scale of accommodation which has resulted in the growth of the individual lodging, and lastly, the decrease in the size of the hall, now clearly a formal apartment.

At the end of the 14th century the integrated planning of Bolton was by no means an isolated phenomenon. It is, though, remarkable in the completeness which enables us to analyse its workings and come to a better understanding of some of its less complete contemporaries. One such is Bodiam Castle in Sussex.

#### BODIAM CASTLE, SUSSEX (Fig. 10)

Built by Sir Edward Dalyngrigge under a licence dated 1385, Bodiam had a very definite military rôle to play; it is, nevertheless, in the terms of the licence, 'a house fortified'. To whatever extent its external appearance may be due to the influence of the romantic poets or to the military engineers its plan form is similar to that at Bolton. It is quadrangular with intermediate turrets on the long sides and angle towers. It differs in that greater care is taken to achieve architectural symmetry. Generally the buildings are only two storied rising to three in the turrets. The spaciousness of the court and the generous fenestration give its interior a far more open and domestic character than that of Bolton.]

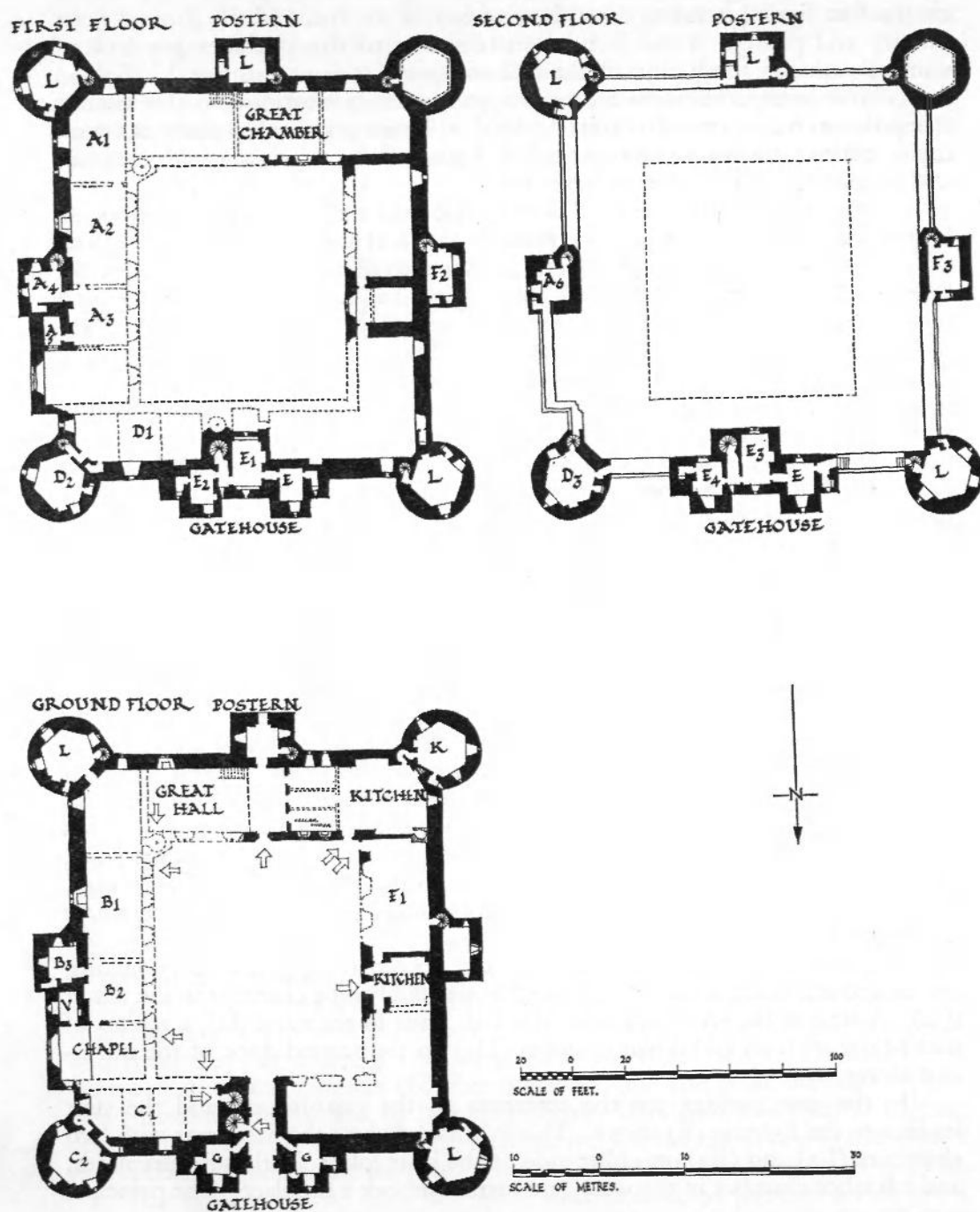


Fig. 1c. Bodiam Castle

The south range contains the ground floor great hall with its great chamber on the first floor extending over the first bay of the hall and the ground floor buttery and pantry. There is no sign of access to this chamber but lack of windows on the south side of the hall suggest a stair at this point.<sup>1</sup> Below, the central passage between the service rooms leads westward to the kitchen rising through two stories. From the kitchen access is gained to the south-west tower which contains a basement cellar, a ground floor lodging with fireplace and garderobe and, above, a dovecote.

The entrance to the great hall is roughly on the axis of the court. Opposite, in the south wall of the hall, is the postern gate and above this, accessible from the gate passage, two single-chamber lodgings each with fireplace and garderobe. Forming an eastern chamber block to the great hall and reached only through the large ground floor room in the south-east angle of the court, the south-east tower contains three single-chamber lodgings, one on each floor.

The eastern range is planned as a third and more elaborate chamber-block attached to the great hall. In this it resembles the western range at Bolton which occupies the same relative position to its great hall. On the ground floor of this range is a suite consisting of a hall (B<sub>1</sub>), beyond which is a great chamber (B<sub>2</sub>) with an inner chamber (B<sub>3</sub>). Above is the principal suite. The inner wall of the courtyard is missing here, only its foundations and those of a stair in the south-east angle of the court remain. Lack of any other renders it certain that a stair in this position gave access to the upper suite, while comparison with Bolton and other examples suggests that the stair would lead from the upper end of the hall to the outer chamber of the suite (A<sub>1</sub>). There being no evidence for a fireplace in this room, and the fact that the suite beyond is complete without it, would argue that the room was an ante-room or audience chamber in the manner already demonstrated at both Goodrich and Bolton. The remaining chambers continue the usual sequence of an inner hall (A<sub>2</sub>), marked by the only crenellated fireplace in the castle, a great chamber (A<sub>3</sub>), an inner chamber (A<sub>4</sub>) with garderobe in the east tower, with a third chamber (A<sub>6</sub>) above. Bolton again provides a parallel in the way in which a private pew (A<sub>5</sub>) is attached to the great chamber of this, the principal suite, overlooking the chapel which occupies the northern end of the east range. The main body of the chapel is entered from the courtyard, serving the whole of the castle.

The northern range, from the north-east tower to the gatehouse, contains, on the ground floor, a hall of considerable size (C<sub>1</sub>) and a chamber in the tower (C<sub>2</sub>). A stair at the western end of this hall leads to the suite (D), a replica of that below with an additional chamber (D<sub>3</sub>) on the second floor of the north-east tower.

In the gate passage are the entrances to the guardrooms and the stair leading to the lodging (E) above. This is in two floors; the first floor with two chambers (E<sub>1</sub>) and (E<sub>2</sub>) on either side of the stair lobby, both with fireplaces, and a further chamber in the west gate turret without a fireplace. The principal

<sup>1</sup> The face of this wall was rebuilt in the course of the 1920 restorations and any evidence that might have existed for this stair destroyed.

rooms of this lodging are on the second floor where the passage between the chambers (E<sub>3</sub>) and (E<sub>4</sub>) is treated with a ribbed vault and foliage corbels, the only example of such enrichment in the castle.

The layout of the north-west angle is obscure on both floors though the tower itself has an individual lodging on the ground floor and a stair leading to two others above, each with fireplace and garderobe. The remainder of the west range is occupied by a small kitchen rising through two stories with a

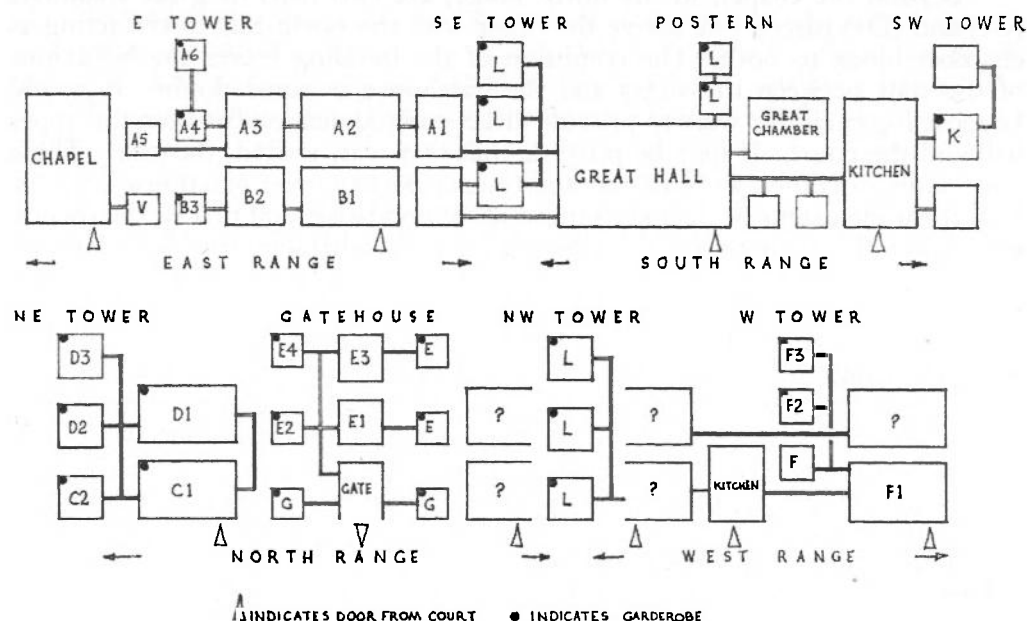


Fig. 11. Bodiam Castle: planning diagram

first floor gallery across its east side; between this and the main kitchen is a hall (F<sub>1</sub>) on the ground floor with attached chambers (F<sub>2</sub>) and (F<sub>3</sub>) in the west tower and above it a further similar hall, with tall two-light mullion and transome windows to the court, accessible only from the gallery across the kitchen. The loss of so much of the courtyard wall and of the internal partitions leaves a considerable amount of the planning to conjecture. The diagrammatic analysis which follows will, it is hoped, justify the assumptions made. From the diagram (Fig. 11) which continues the conventions already used, the great hall is seen to fall naturally into its place as the focus of the plan and as the centre of a hall and multiple chamber block layout. The great chamber appears as a formal apartment not, by late 14th-century standards, equipped as a living apartment. It can only, therefore, have served for the entertainment of guests rather than for their accommodation — a foretaste of the drawing room to come.

The great suite (A) does not split, as at Bolton, to provide lavish guest accommodation, so that it may be taken to have been reserved for Sir Edward Dalyngrigge himself, who, even so, required an ante-room before his inner

hall and a private pew overlooking the chapel. If, on the parallel of Bolton, this area is taken as being earmarked for the use of the owner and his principal guests it will be noted that the guest accommodation varies in content, for here we have, in addition to the household suites (A) and (B), three individual lodgings (L). Though still suitable for guests of rank their presence, in the lower standard that it implies, may reflect the difference in status between the guests of Sir Edward and those of the Lord of Bolton.

Beyond the chapel, in the north range, are two halls or great chambers (C<sub>1</sub>) and (D<sub>1</sub>) placed one above the other with the north-east tower acting as chamber block to both. The condition of the building leaves the behaviour of the stair between the suites and the gatehouse in some doubt. It would be more logical if this were to provide direct communication between the upper hall and the court. It may be possible that that was, indeed, the case. These two suites, together with all the apartments between the gatehouse and the hall, form the extent of the major guest accommodation and that of the owner, embracing the owner's own household, a great chamber for formal entertainment, three further household suites, one of primary importance, and three individual lodgings. The lodgings in this context are illustrative of the growing tendency, already noted, towards the abandonment of the household suite for guests of rank.

The six chambers in the upper floors of the gatehouse clearly form a single unit which might be considered as forming a twin upper hall house were they not of so late a date. As it is they must be looked on as a multiple-chamber unit no doubt serving their traditional purpose in providing accommodation for the constable of the castle.

Reverting to the group associated with the great hall there are three further single lodgings to be noted, two in the south or postern tower which, on the analogy of Bolton, may be assigned to the pages and one in the south-west tower with cross communication between the kitchen and service rooms which would probably house the steward.

The condition of the castle renders detailed reconstruction of the west range difficult. A broad comparison with Bolton, however, may serve to lead to some general conclusions as to the purpose of these apartments. It was argued that the same relative area at Bolton was reserved for the administrative staff of the lordship. A feature there was the provision of a hall and kitchen, which, it was suggested, was for the use of those who would not sit at the lord's table and who, in any case, would need to be catered for when he was not in residence. Such a hall and kitchen exist here at Bodiam and could serve the same purpose. In this case it would be reasonable to make a tentative allocation of the suite of chambers in the west tower to the chief bailiff and of the individual lodgings in the north-west tower to those of the outlying manors. Beyond this it is difficult to be more explicit.

#### CONCLUSIONS

In their similarities, Bodiam and Bolton are expressions of the same approach to the planning of a great castle-residence and as such belong to the



same class, both bearing the hallmark of the late 14th-century planner, the ability to produce an integrated plan which solves the domestic and military problem in a single architectural conception. That this was no sudden development but a gradual growth out of the problems of the 13th century has been demonstrated by the comparison between Goodrich and Bolton. The choice of these particular buildings is arbitrary. No claim is made that they are unique; on the contrary, each is claimed to be typical of the trends of its own period.

Of the conclusions that may be reached from their study, some must be stressed in particular. First, the device, which persists through the whole medieval period up to the mid 15th century of division into households. The great house or castle, for from this point of view they are the same, is not a single house but a series of houses finally integrated into one building but still a series of houses. The surviving contract for Bolton refers to the apartments as houses, even making the distinction between these and the individual lodgings or chambers: '*tous les meson et chambres avanditz...*', all the houses and lodgings aforesaid are to have doors, fireplaces, privies and other necessities included in the work. Secondly, the multiplication of halls is a natural corollary of the first point. In Goodrich, in Bolton and in Bodiam the lord's hall is in each case separated from the great hall: in Goodrich in the north range, in Bolton in the west range on the second floor and in Bodiam in the east range on the first floor. Thirdly, the separation of the castle into two main divisions: one part for use when the lord was in residence, which must have been rare enough, another for the administration of the lordship, probably permanently occupied. No special provision, other than the guardrooms, was considered necessary for the small permanent complement of purely military personnel<sup>1</sup> for it must be remembered that, in time of war or strife, just as the castle itself was dual purpose so were its inhabitants; both the lord and his bailiff were knights and just as a bishop could be a chancellor or a prior a politician, so could a soldier be a steward and a castle a house.

<sup>1</sup> The permanent garrison at Pembroke was only two mounted sergeants-at-arms and ten footmen. The guardrooms would be adequate for these (*Liberate Rolls*, 37 Henry III, 26 May).