

The 12th-Century Bishop's Palace at Hereford

By JOHN BLAIR

THE CELEBRATED TIMBER aisled hall of the Bishop's Palace, Hereford, is reassessed in the light of contemporary stone halls and of new evidence for its original plan. Bishop William de Vere (1186-98) is identified as the most likely builder. In contrast to a previous interpretation of the Palace as a traditional building reflecting ancient forms, it is assigned to a group of sumptuous late 12th-century halls, products of a new fashion. Recently-discovered plans of c. 1840, in conjunction with other evidence, make possible a reconstruction of the complete original plan: a four-bay hall, a side porch, and an end chamber-block of three floors over a basement. A building demolished in the late 18th century is interpreted as a detached main chamber-block. The Palace complex was separated from the cathedral by a stone wall; its main front faced west to what may then have been the main N.-S. route through Hereford.

INTRODUCTION

The timber aisled hall of the Bishop's Palace, Hereford, has long been recognized as one of the most important medieval secular buildings remaining in England.¹ Papers in *Medieval Archaeology* and elsewhere have discussed its place in the evolution of carpentry techniques, of architectural style and of domestic planning. This addition to the hall's already extensive literature has three aims: first, to reassess its affinities with contemporary stone-built aisled halls and hypothetical timber prototypes; secondly, to present new evidence for the plan of the hall range; and thirdly, to reconstruct the overall layout of the late 12th-century Palace and its relationship to the cathedral and street-pattern.

I am very grateful to the Lord Bishop of Hereford for allowing me to visit the Palace; to Mr R. Shoesmith for providing copies of engravings and much information about the topography of Hereford; to Dr Richard Halsey for advice on stylistic parallels; and to Dr Julia Barrow, Mr Martin Biddle, Mr H. M. Colvin, Dr Richard Gem, Miss Emma Hall, Mr Beric Morley, Mr J. T. Smith and Mr J. W. Tonkin for various suggestions and information.

FORM, DATE AND PATRONAGE

Three bays of the timber arcades survive, in a fragmentary state, to arcade-plate level. The remains were published in 1960 by S. R. Jones and J. T. Smith,² and

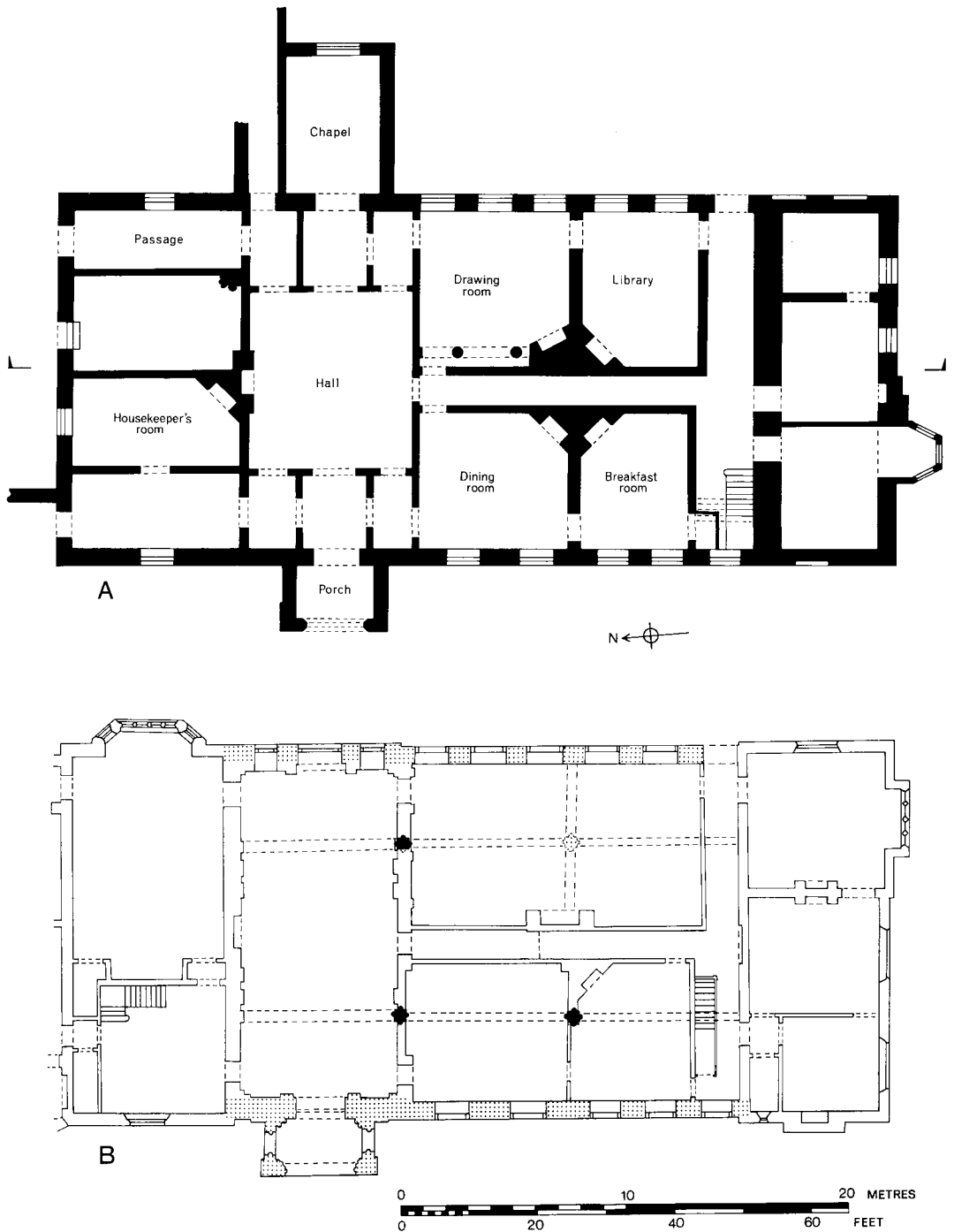


FIG. 1

- A. Philip Hardwick's plan of the Palace hall, c. 1840 (from Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Top.Gen.c.78 f.21; reproduced by permission of the Curators of the Bodleian Library)
- B. Plan of the same hall in 1931 (from R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire*, 1, plan in back pocket)

the reconstructed bay elevation in Figure 4 is based on their drawings. The arcades have massive timber posts, incorporating on all four sides colonettes with scalloped capitals. The arches are pairs of curved braces, face-pegged to the posts and plates and embellished with a band of nailhead ornament. The spandrels of the arcades were infilled with wattle-and-daub, and 'evidently the hall was intended to resemble as nearly as possible a masonry structure'.³ The colonettes on the outer faces of the posts would have supported small arches across the aisles, presumably with matching colonettes against the originally stone-built side walls.

The cross-section of the hall was elucidated in 1973 by C. A. R. Radford, E. M. Jope and J. W. Tonkin,⁴ who showed that the main posts were originally higher, extending above the level of the arcade-plates. They suggested that the tall colonettes towards the nave supported great cross-arches, analogous to the 'diaphragm arches' of early Romanesque churches, which rose through a clerestory to tie-beams at a higher level. This convincing reconstruction (Figs. 2, c and 4) makes Hereford one of the only two known examples of the clerestoried timber hall.⁵

The architectural details (Pl. III, A)⁶ place the hall firmly in the late 12th-century West Midlands tradition. The arch moulding (a roll flanked by hollow-chamfers), and the capitals with their simple trumpet-scallops and square abaci, suggest a date of *c.* 1175–90.⁷ The spaced-out nailhead around the arches looks rather later but is paralleled by the north transept at Abbey Dore (Pl. III, B), which also has old-fashioned arch mouldings and square abaci and may date from the late 1180s.

Thus the stylistic evidence identifies the builder of the hall as either Bishop Robert Foliot (1173–86) or Bishop William de Vere (1186–98), with a preference for the early years of the latter. The known events of de Vere's life reinforce the attribution to him. He came to Hereford familiar with architectural fashions at court, for between 1177 and 1184 he had supervised Henry II's grandiose building project at Waltham Abbey.⁸ His epitaph proclaimed that he 'built many noble buildings';⁹ the retro-choir of Hereford Cathedral, vaulted on a central pier with a trumpet-scalloped capital, was probably his work.¹⁰ Gerald of Wales portrays him as a lavish host, entertaining at various times Archbishop Baldwin, Ranulf Glanvill, Prince Rhys of South Wales and some gluttonous monks from Abbey Dore (who are pictured dining in his hall).¹¹ It is easy to believe that this courtly, sophisticated bishop, with experience in the royal works, built himself a splendid new hall after his elevation to the see in 1186.

ARCHITECTURAL AND STRUCTURAL CONTEXT

The Hereford hall provides valuable clues to large-scale carpentry in early medieval England. The handful of known pre-1200 timber buildings, of which Hereford is the grandest, display ancient techniques which were soon to become obsolete. With comparable data elsewhere, the oddities noted at Hereford (face-pegging; halving and lapping in unexpected places; iron nails used to join major timbers) can now be assigned to a general tradition which preceded that of the framed wall and sillbeam.¹²

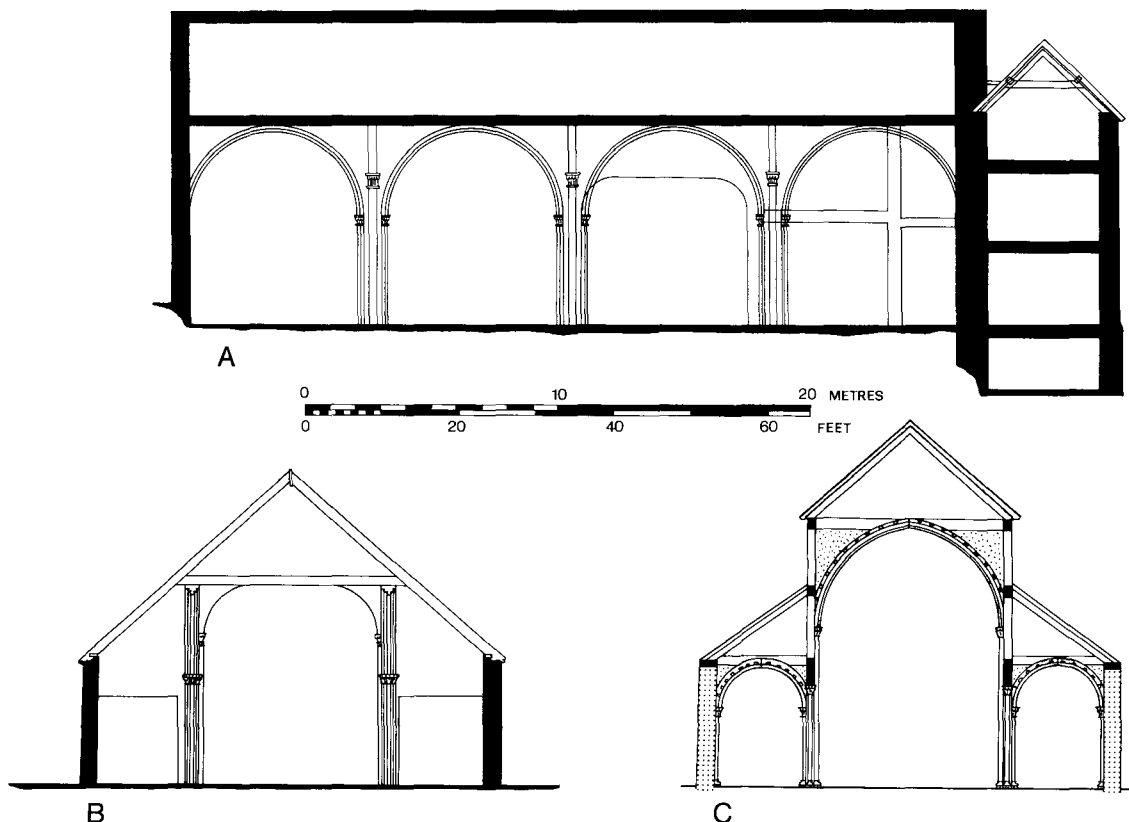


FIG. 2

- A. Hardwick's long section of the hall, c. 1840 (source as Fig. 1, A; reproduced by permission of the Curators of the Bodleian Library)
 B. Hardwick's cross-section of the hall, c. 1840 (source the same)
 C. Reconstruction of the original cross-section (based on Radford, Jope and Tonkin, op. cit. in note 4)

Some writers go further, and claim that the whole conception reflects a long tradition. Radford, Jope and Tonkin emphasize the clerestorey and 'diaphragm arches' as Mediterranean imports to northern Europe: 'It would indeed have been surprising if this form had not been adapted for some secular buildings and carried out in timber long before the 12th century. . . . The episcopal palace at Hereford at least provides surviving evidence for such a clerestoried hall in the 12th century. . . . [It] is in the great tradition of classical Mediterranean architecture, reintroduced into England under Norman influence.'¹³ Recently, F. W. Charles has argued for the excavated East Hall I at Cheddar (c. 1100–20) that 'a pointer to its style may well be the Romanesque hall of the Bishop's Palace at Hereford', on which his reconstruction is accordingly modelled.¹⁴

Such arguments imply that Hereford is a conservative building: last in a line of imposing clerestoried timber halls, not a reflection of recent developments in stone architecture. In so courtly a milieu this is scarcely convincing. Both Foliot and de

Vere, and especially the latter, would have been familiar with the recent works at Henry II's palaces and the palaces of their fellow-bishops, not to mention numerous clerestoried abbeys and cathedrals. The timber 'diaphragm arches' are really not evidence that the Hereford hall was in a separate line of descent from early prototypes. A large timber building needs tie-beams and braces; their adaptation to the Romanesque style produces such forms almost inevitably.

The Hereford hall is in fact a careful, deliberate timber version of contemporary stone halls, and its architectural affinities are with these. Aisled and clerestoried monastic infirmaries, as at Canterbury, were built early in the 12th century, and it is possible that the Norman royal halls at Westminster, Winchester and Gloucester had stone arcades. But all secular examples for which there is clear evidence are somewhat later. The hall of Clarendon Palace (probably 1181-83) was of comparable scale to Hereford; at Woodstock the 'spacious church-like hall, with two fayre iles, with six pillars, white and large, parting either ile', may also have been Henry II's work.¹⁵ The hall of the Bishop's Palace at Old Sarum was probably the work of Bishop Jocelin (1142-84); it may have been clerestoried, and its stone piers 'seem to have been square in plan, with spiral shafts at the angles, and the arches to have had moulded orders with an ornamental hood-mould'.¹⁶ The closest extant parallel for Hereford is the hall of Oakham Castle, built by Walchelin de Ferrers during the 1180s.¹⁷ With the slightly later episcopal palaces at Bishop Auckland, Canterbury, Lincoln and Exeter, the whole group suggests a growing fashion for sumptuous halls among the lay and spiritual nobility of Henry II and his sons.

Even if secular stone halls on this scale had long been common in England (which is doubtful), there is no evidence that they were copied in timber. The other fragments of timber halls with Romanesque details, at Leicester, Farnham and Stansfield,¹⁸ are earlier than Hereford but still not before *c.* 1140-60; as N. W. Alcock shows in the next article, Leicester closely resembles Hereford in form and conception. Charles's reconstruction of the early 12th-century hall at Cheddar is at odds with the evidence of the post-holes, which indicate a much lower and simpler building.¹⁹ The Hereford palace represents the contemporary fashion of the Angevin court translated from stone into timber, and the temptation to extrapolate backwards from it should be resisted. The appearance of late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman halls is more likely to be perpetuated in the plainer, more 'vernacular' aisled halls and barns of the 13th century.²⁰

EVIDENCE FOR THE GROUND-PLAN OF THE PALACE

Alterations by Bishop Bisse (1713-21) and by successive 19th-century bishops have left the hall a mere fragment. As shown on the Royal Commission's plan of 1931, it now consists of three original bays sandwiched between Victorian wings (Fig. 1, B; Pl. III, c). There is no longer any indication of whether the hall continued in either direction or whether it had original annexes. The only serious attempt to reconstruct the ground plan is H. J. Powell's, published in 1963.²¹ Through inferences based mainly on Taylor's map of Hereford (1757), he concluded that 'the Bishop's hall was very like that at Oakham, a structure of four bays, with a kitchen

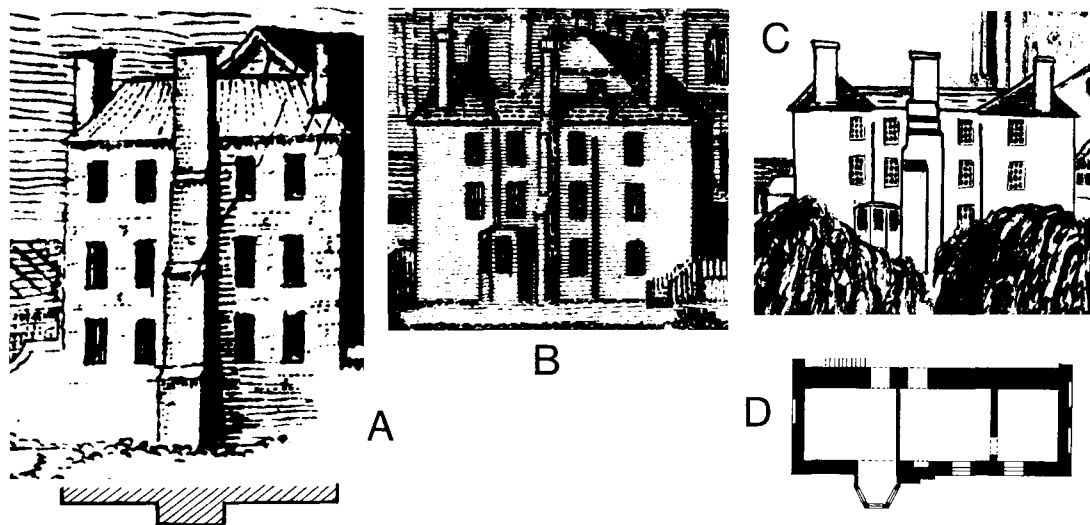


FIG. 3

The S. end of the hall range.

A. 1757 (from Pl. iv, A)

B. 1778 (from engraving by J. Ross (Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Gough Maps 11 f.3; reproduced by permission of the Curators of the Bodleian Library)

C. c. 1790 (from watercolour by S. Fisher, British Museum, Map Room, Royal Collection XV.96.m; reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum)

D. c. 1840 (from Philip Hardwick's plan, Fig. 1, A)

wing at the N. end and a solar with probably other chambers as well at the S. end'. A newly-discovered survey of c. 1840 confirms that Powell's deductions were, except for the kitchen, broadly correct: the original building did evidently comprise a four-bay hall with a chamber-block at its S. end (Fig. 4).

Bishop Bisse's epitaph ascribes to him 'the rebuilding of the palace practically from its foundations'. This is an exaggeration: he reconstructed the medieval walls in brick, but left the arcades. Jones's guide of 1858 notes that 'the building itself was much improved by Bishop Huntingford (1815-33), also by Dr Musgrave, late of this see'.²² Musgrave's alterations were carried out under the architect Philip Hardwick, who exhibited drawings of 'the bishop's palace at Hereford, with proposed alterations' to the Royal Academy in 1840.²³ Dean Merewether later recalled that in the autumn of 1840 he 'was walking with Mr Hardwick, the eminent Architect employed by the the Bishop of the diocese, in preparing plans for the alterations contemplated at the palace'.²⁴

Addressing the R.I.B.A. in 1847, John Clayton decribed the building thus: 'The original dimensions of this hall were 110 feet by 55 feet. It was divided into a centre and two side divisions by two ranges of columns, which likewise divide it longitudinally into five compartments. The two end compartments or bays of the roof have been removed, but the three centre ones, extending across the entire building, remain.'²⁵ Twenty years later, F. T. Havergal added as a commentary: 'The first bay

occupied the space now taken up by the lobby and dining-room; the second bay by the porch and modern hall; the third and fourth bays by the libraries and drawing-room; and the fifth bay by the new buildings erected by Bishop Musgrave *circa* 1846'.²⁶ Musgrave's work, dated on the rainwater-heads, was in fact completed in 1841 — still only five years before Clayton made his survey and prepared 'three large drawings' in August 1846.²⁷

Recent though the changes were, neither Clayton nor Havergal seems to have appreciated that until 1840 the first and fifth bays had been substantially medieval. This fact is demonstrated by Hardwick's survey drawings, now in William Twopenny's scrapbook in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.²⁸ Twopenny's accompanying note, 'This Timber Hall was discovered on making the alterations under Philip Hardwick RA who gave me these details', explains why the drawings were unknown to Clayton, Havergal and later writers. The drawings, reproduced here from tracings, comprise a ground-floor plan (Fig. 1, A), an outline long section (Fig. 2, A), an outline cross section (Fig. 2, B), and sketched details of the capitals and pier mouldings. Correlation with the Royal Commission's plan (Fig. 1, B) suggests that the survey is highly accurate.

Hardwick's long section (Fig. 2, A) shows the surviving three bays of the arcades with, northwards, a fourth on the site of the present Victorian wing. Almost certainly, this was the original N. end of the range. A fifth hall bay the same length as the others would have impinged on the 11th-century episcopal chapel (Fig. 5); even a shorter adjunct would have left a narrow, awkwardly tapering gap between the slightly different alignments of the two buildings.

Hardwick's plan shows a porch in almost, though not exactly, the position of the present porch on the W. front. This is Victorian (Pl. III, c), but Clayton's statements that 'the Porch, which still forms the principal entrance to the residence, is the only portion of the original stonework that now remains', and that Bishop Musgrave 'restored the entrance porch in a praiseworthy manner',²⁹ suggest that its predecessor was genuinely Romanesque. The halls at Old Sarum and Canterbury had porches in a similar position, near the centre of a side wall,³⁰ and there seems no reason to doubt that the Hereford porch was original.

At the S. end, Hardwick's plan and section show a storied bay of three floors over a basement, in series with the hall and separated from it by a wall some 1.25 m thick. The basement was below-ground on three sides, but at ground level to the south where the Palace garden is terraced towards the R. Wye. The vignette of the cathedral and Palace in the margin of Taylor's map of 1757 (Fig. 3, A; Pl. IV, A) shows a broad, shallow buttress or buttress-chimney, stepped in four stages, in the centre of the S. wall. Soon afterwards this seems to have been reduced in depth and partly cut away; it appears thus on James Ross's engravings of 1778, S. Fisher's watercolour of *c.* 1790, and Philip Hardwick's plan (Fig. 3, B, C and D). The buttress cannot, therefore, have been a neo-Gothic pastiche. To judge from Taylor's engraving, it resembled the early stepped buttresses, still shallow and pilaster-like, which occur on some large buildings of *c.* 1180–1220; King John's house at Cranborne (1207–08) is a useful parallel.³¹ Since the buttress was so consistent with the hall in scale and date, it strongly suggests that the chamber-block was original (Fig. 4).³² There is no

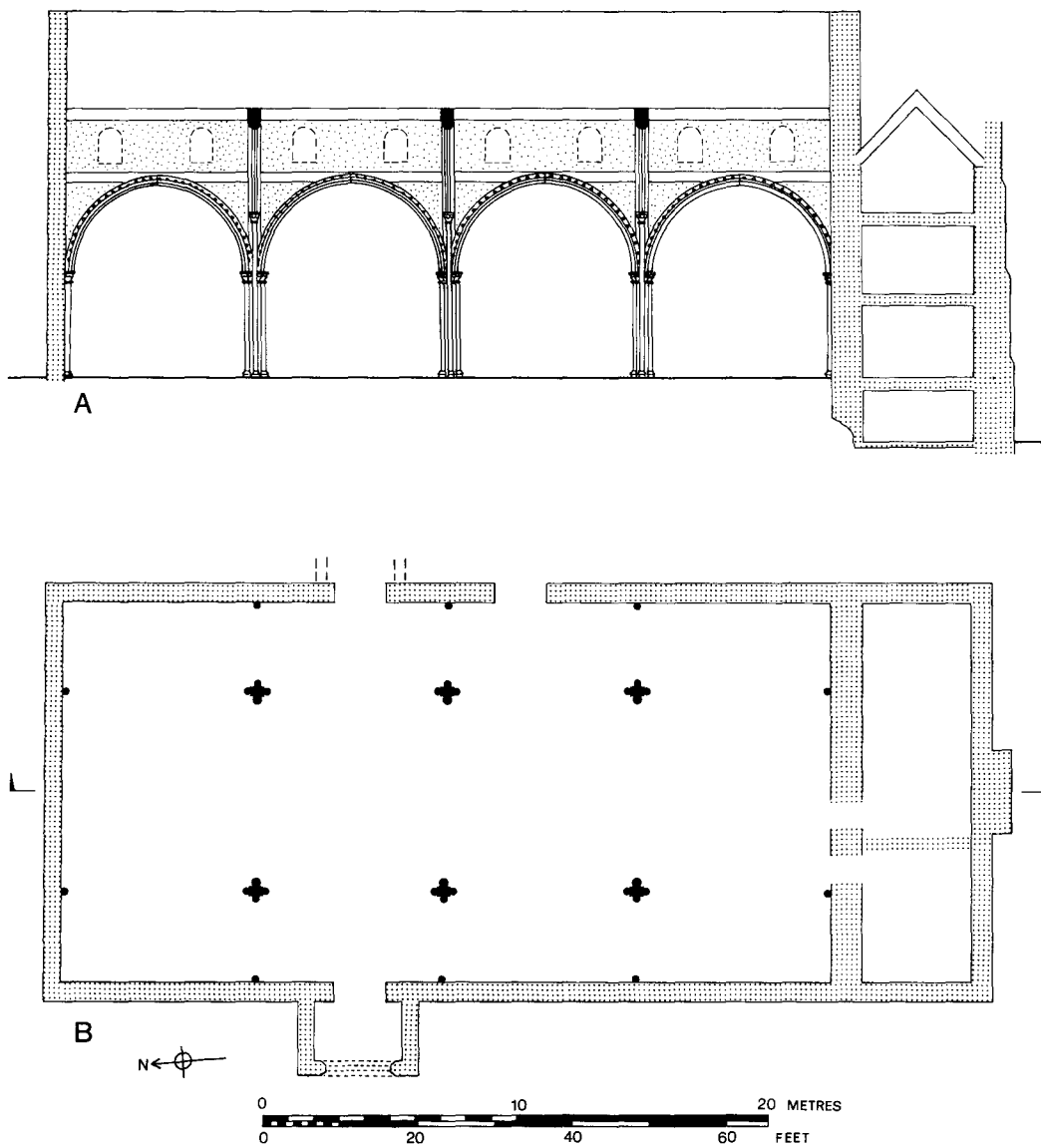


FIG. 4

Reconstructed plan and long section of the hall range as originally built, based on the surviving evidence, Philip Hardwick's survey, and topographical prints and drawings

evidence for internal arrangements, though if the two ground-floor doorways from the hall were original, they may reflect a division into two service rooms.

Taylor's map of 1757 (Pl. iv, B, transcribed Fig. 5) shows a large building, aligned N.-S., a little to the east of the hall, to which it was linked by a passage. It appears indistinctly in the views of Taylor (Pl. iv, A), Ross and Fisher, but was probably demolished in 1798 when the W. end of the passage was rebuilt as a chapel.³³ The passage would have entered the hall opposite the porch; Ross also shows a pointed doorway in the hall wall immediately S. of this entrance. If, as is possible, the N. bay of the hall was remodelled in the later Middle Ages as services with a cross-passage on the line of the porch, the detached building might be interpreted as a kitchen entered from the passage. On the other hand, Price mentions 'a Mansion-house contiguous [to the medieval Palace chapel] belonging to the Chaplains',³⁴ which can only refer to this building and suggests that it was recognizably ancient and domestic. It is worth suggesting that this was in fact a detached chamber-block, containing the bishop's great chamber on its first floor. It would be surprising if Hereford did not have one of the stone *camerae* (usually misnamed 'first-floor halls') which were standard elements in bishops' palaces, and indeed in all aristocratic houses, of the late 12th century.³⁵ The form and scale of the range as planned by Taylor, and the passage linking it to the hall, would be consistent with this hypothesis. Excavation may yet provide the answer, since if this view is correct the filled-in undercroft must remain under the Palace lawn.

In the light of this, the range at the S. end of the hall is best seen as a subsidiary chamber-block over proto-services, not as a precursor of the standard late medieval solar wing. It was too narrow to contain a grand chamber, and resembled the storied end bays of other halls (Wolvesey at Winchester, Oakham, Bishop Auckland, Warneford, Lincoln) at least some of which were also accompanied by detached main chamber-blocks.³⁶ These halls pre-date the general adoption of the cross-passage, but Lincoln (c. 1200-20) has standard service rooms occupying the ground floor of the end chamber-block. Naturally enough, this provision of chambers over early versions of the service end is a feature of great households needing extensive accommodation. Hereford, with its prodigious three storeys over a basement, is, after Wolvesey, the grandest now known: a testimony to the wealth and status of the 12th-century see.

THE PALACE IN RELATION TO THE CATHEDRAL AND TOWN

The Palace precinct (Fig. 5) lies immediately south of the cathedral. In the 18th century its boundaries were well-defined: west by the main gate and the bishop's prison, south by the R. Wye, and east by the College of Vicars Choral.³⁷ This College was built in 1473 on land given by the bishop and formerly occupied by canons' houses;³⁸ the irregular alignment of its W. range may reflect the E. boundary of the Palace garden. Apart from this, there is no reason to think that the cathedral and Palace boundaries had changed greatly since the earlier Middle Ages.

North of the hall, which is aligned roughly N.-S., there stood until the 1730s the two-tier episcopal chapel built by Bishop Robert Losinga (1079-95).³⁹ The chapel

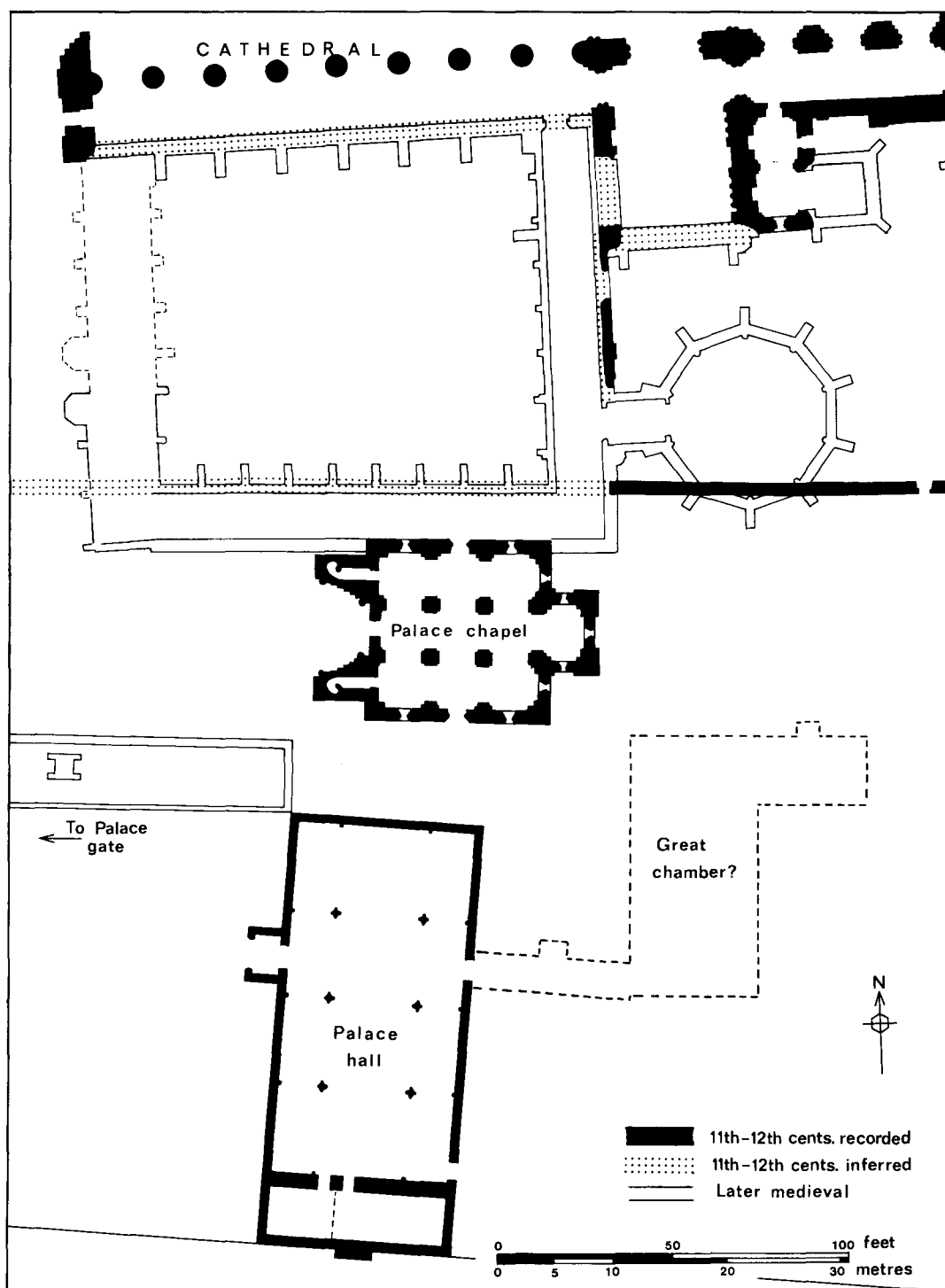


FIG. 5
Interpretative plan of the medieval Palace buildings

had an imposing W. front, roughly in line with the W. side of the hall with its porch. To the east, the main chamber-block (if this is what it was) and its passage formed with the other two buildings a small inner courtyard (Figs. 5 and 7).

When the cathedral cloister was built in the early 15th century, the outer wall of its S. walk incorporated the N. wall of the chapel, linking the Palace to the cathedral. But the cathedral and chapel are differently aligned, a fact which explains the irregular plan of the cloister fitted in between them. Previously they had been separated by a wall, partly still standing and partly traced as a footing under the later chapter-house, which conformed to the chapel alignment and contained a 12th-or 13th-century doorway.⁴⁰ Its line, projected westwards, coincides with that of the S. garth wall (Fig. 5). This suggests that the S. walk of the later cloister occupies what had been an open space between the chapel and this early precinct boundary.

Thus the bishop's *curia*, cut off from the cathedral, centred on three large free-standing buildings: the hall, chapel and chamber-block. This arrangement was not necessarily older than the 12th century. On the one hand, Robert Losinga's chapel could have been aligned with the Anglo-Saxon cathedral or even connected to it; on

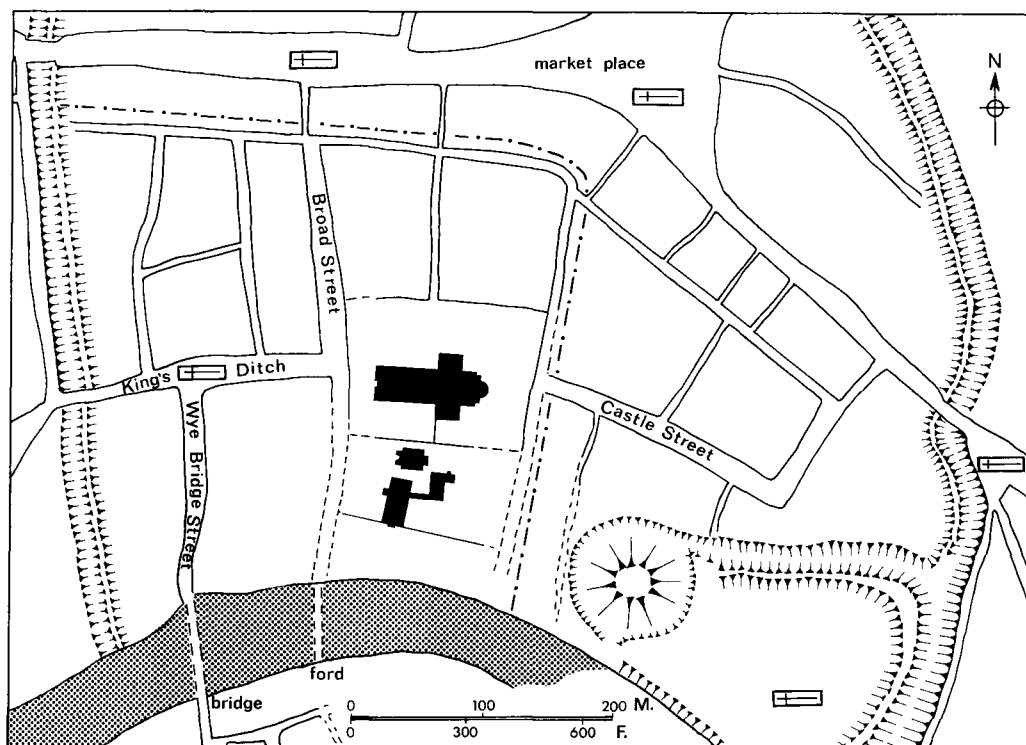


FIG. 6

The cathedral and Palace in relation to the street-pattern of late 12th-century Hereford. The line of alternate dots and dashes marks the inferred perimeter of the primary burh. (Based on M. D. Lobel (ed.), *Historic Towns*, 1, Hereford map 4, and data in R. Shoesmith, *Hereford City Excavations: 2* (C.B.A. Res. Rep. 46, 1982))

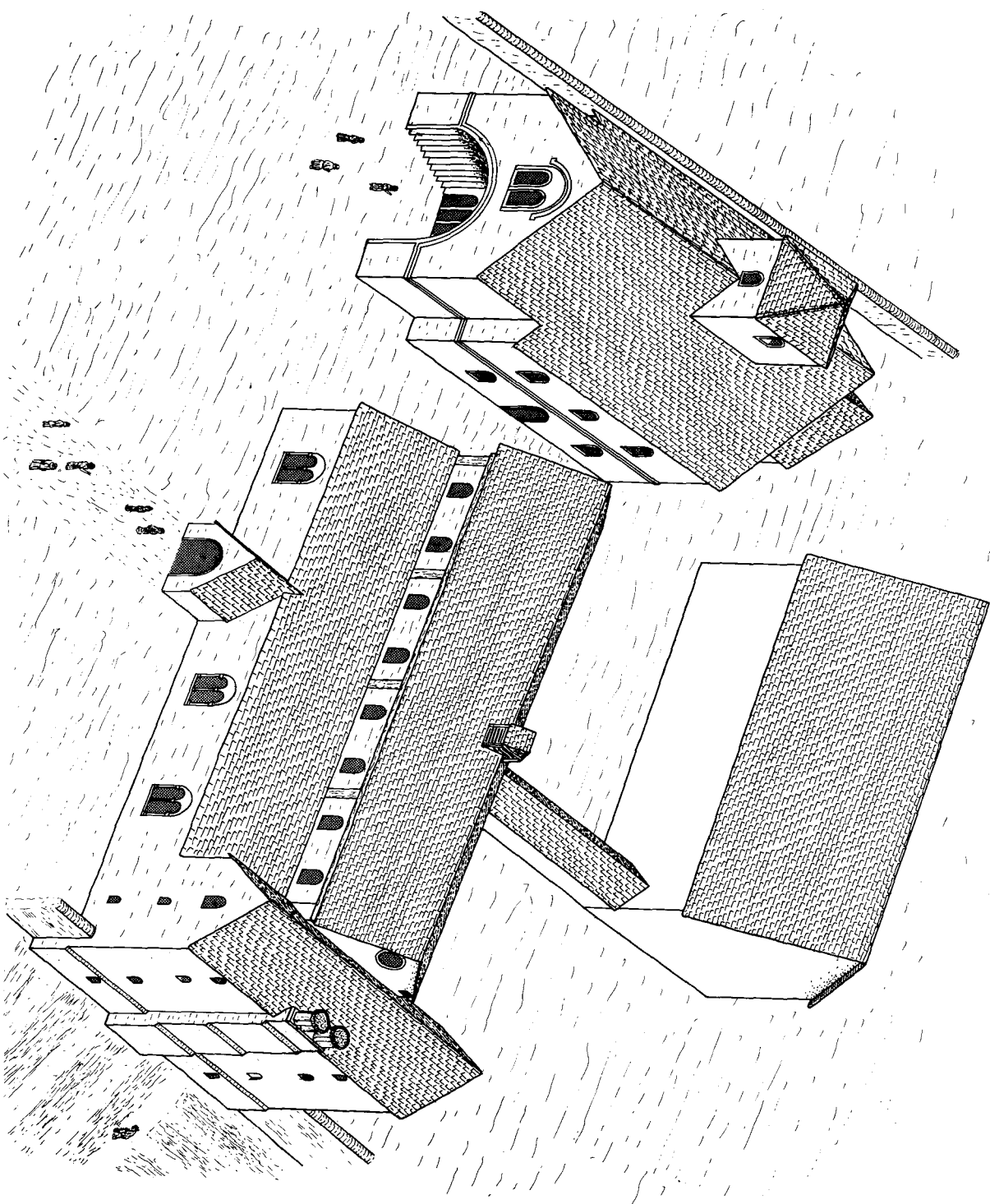


FIG. 7

Impression of the Palace from the south-west at the end of the 12th century. (Hall windows and chimney-pots are conjectural)

the other, the analogies of Durham, Wolvesey and Canterbury suggest the possibility that it was originally attached to an 11th-century palace with the main rooms at first-floor level. The layout of the buildings by de Vere's time is, however, reasonably clear.

Finally, it is worth considering the place of the cathedral and Palace in the topography of early medieval Hereford (Fig. 6).⁴¹ The street-pattern and recent excavations indicate an 8th- or 9th-century rectilinear burh, to which an eastern extension was added in the 9th century. By the late 12th century a large marketplace had developed on the N. periphery of the defended circuit, and a new rampart had been built to enclose this larger area. The cathedral and Palace precincts occupied the SE. quarter of the original burh, an area which may have been assigned for this purpose from the outset. The Norman cathedral and its graveyard overlay the central W.-E. thoroughfare, which would originally have connected King's Ditch to Castle Street. Before this happened, the Anglo-Saxon cathedral must have occupied a constricted site similar in size to the Palace grounds.

The main S. road from Hereford runs across the Wye Bridge. A bridge seems to have existed here by the early 12th century,⁴² but it makes better topographical sense to postulate Broad Street and Palace Ford as the N.-S. axis of the original burh.⁴³ This early route could well have remained important into the 12th and 13th centuries, though by the 15th century the line of Broad Street south of King's Ditch had been obliterated by the Palace gatehouse and prison. The earlier road-pattern may have influenced the layout of the Palace buildings. The chapel and hall both faced west to the main road, across an outer court (Fig. 7); the gap between them led to an inner court, closed on its E. side by the bishop's chamber-block.

The Hereford hall has aroused such interest largely because it has been seen as archaic, perpetuating older traditions of timber design. In fact it is chiefly important as one of the grandest domestic buildings of its own day. Architecturally, it is thoroughly up-to-date for the 1190s. In its planning, it marks an important stage in the transition from the typical 12th-century manor-house, compartmentalized into separate buildings, to the standard late medieval plan with hall, chambers and services integrated under one roof.

NOTES

¹ The first comments by architectural historians date from the 1840s (below, notes 25-29), but J. Price, *An Historical Account of the City of Hereford* (Hereford, 1796), 132, notes that 'the fabric, as appears by its structure, was modelled a great while ago'.

² 'The Great Hall of the Bishop's Palace at Hereford', *Medieval Archaeol.*, iv (1960), 69-80.

³ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁴ 'The Great Hall of the Bishop's Palace at Hereford', *Medieval Archaeol.*, xvii (1973), 78-86.

⁵ The other is at Leicester: see N. W. Alcock in the next article. At Hereford the groove in the upper surface of the arcade-plate does not, as claimed *op. cit.* in note 4, 81, preclude clerestory windows: it is common for such grooves to be continuous even when the wattle panels above are punctuated by openings.

⁶ Jones and Smith, *op. cit.* in note 2, pls. xii and xiii.

⁷ Related works are St David's Cathedral (begun c. 1180, in progress 1189), and Gloucestershire and Worcestershire churches including Bredon and Slimbridge.

⁸ H. M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works*, 1 (London, 1963), 88-89.

⁹ L. Toulmin Smith (ed.), *Leland's Itinerary*, v (London, 1910), 184: '*Gul. Ver episcopus, ut patet ex eius epitaphio, multa egregia construxit aedificia*'.

¹⁰ R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire*, 1 (1931), pl. 119.

¹¹ J. S. Brewer (ed.), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, I (Rolls Ser. 21a, 1861), 57–58; IV (Rolls Ser. 21d, 1873), 210. I am grateful to Dr Julia Barrow for the view that the first passage conflates two separate incidents: Baldwin's visit to Hereford on his recruiting expedition, and a conference between Glanvill and Rhys. See J. S. Barrow, 'The Bishops of Hereford and their *Acta*, 1163–1210' (unpub. Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1982), 41; idem, 'A twelfth-century Bishop and literary patron: William de Vere', *Viator*, XVIII (1987), 175–89.

¹² Jones and Smith, op. cit. in note 2, 72–75; C. A. Hewett, *English Historic Carpentry* (Chichester, 1980), 39–41. Cf. G. Beresford in *Vernacular Architecture*, XIII (1982), 43.

¹³ Radford, Jope and Tonkin, op. cit. in note 4, 82–83, 86.

¹⁴ F. W. B. Charles, 'Post-Construction and the Rafter Roof', *Vernacular Architecture*, XII (1981), 13, 19.

¹⁵ Colvin (ed.), op. cit. in note 8, 910–13, 1010.

¹⁶ W. Hawley in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, XXVII (1914–15), 233. The dating preferred here is that of H. de S. Shortt, *Old Sarum* (H.M.S.O., 1963), 18, not that of Hawley or of R.C.H.M., *Salisbury*, I (1980), 21–22, both of which ascribe the hall to Jocelin's predecessor Roger. The adjoining chamber-block is proved to be early 12th-century by its relationship with the curtain wall, but the hall is not necessarily contemporary, and indeed appears to overlie the footings of a primary building.

¹⁷ V.C.H., *Rutland*, II, 8–10; T. H. McK. Clough, *Oakham Castle: a Guide and History* (1981).

¹⁸ Leicester: *Archaeol. J.*, XC (1933), 365, 368, and this volume, below, 73–79; Farnham: Hewett, op. cit. in note 12, 38–39. Stansfield: drawing in *The Graphic*, 20 Nov. 1926, 867. For later Exeter palace hall, see 'Medieval Britain and Ireland in 1986', below, entry no. 32.

Vernacular Architecture, XIII (1982), 39–47.

²⁰ See especially J. M. Fletcher, 'The Bishop of Winchester's Medieval Manor-House at Harwell, Berks.', *Archaeol. J.*, CXXXVI (1979), 182–87.

²¹ H. J. Powell, 'The Bishop's Palace, Hereford', *Trans. Woolhope Nat. Field Club*, XXXVII (1961–63), 320–24.

²² J. Jones jnr., *Hereford, Cathedral and City* (Hereford, 1858), 79.

²³ *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, MDCCCXL* (London, [1840]), No. 1029.

²⁴ J. Merewether, *Restoration of the Cathedral Church of Hereford* (London, 1842), 6. The *Dictionary of National Biography* is evidently wrong in dating Hardwick's work to 1833.

²⁵ F. T. Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses, and other Antiquarian Memorials of Hereford* (Edinburgh, 1869), 137.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 135.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 135. These drawings cannot now be traced.

²⁸ MS Top. Gen. c. 78 f. 21.

²⁹ Havergal, op. cit. in note 25, 138, 136.

³⁰ Hawley, op. cit. in note 16 for Old Sarum; T. Tatton-Brown in *Medieval Archaeol.*, XXVII (1983), 187 for Canterbury. This porch position seems characteristic of halls which pre-date the development of the cross-passages.

³¹ R.C.H.M., *Dorset*, V (1975), pls. 42–43. Other late 12th-century buttresses of this kind are on the E. end of St Cross, Winchester, the W. front of Malmesbury Abbey and the nave of Oxford Cathedral.

³² A dump of tufa blocks c. 0.3 × 0.15 × 0.15 m was found immediately south of the Palace in 1985: see R. Shoesmith, *Bishop's Palace Gardens: Interim Report* (Hereford Archaeological Unit, 1986). They probably derive from the demolition of the end chamber-block, and are further evidence that it was medieval.

³³ R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire*, I (1931), 116.

³⁴ Price, op. cit. in note 1, 136.

³⁵ In the present writer's opinion, the storied buildings commonly called 'first-floor halls' are in fact chamber-blocks, which would originally have accompanied free-standing ground-floor halls. The bishops' 'second halls' at Lincoln and Wells can be interpreted in this light; another has lately been excavated at Canterbury, earlier than, but co-existing with, the great early 13th-century hall (*ex inf.* T. Tatton-Brown).

³⁶ Oakham: V.C.H. *Rutland*, II, 8–10. Bishop Auckland: from information kindly supplied by Miss Jane Cunningham (the complex arrangements here, which deserve further study, may have included one of the earliest cross-passages). Warneford: M. E. Wood, *Thirteenth-Century Domestic Architecture in England*, *Archaeol. J.*, CV suppl. (1950), 27–29. Lincoln: T. Ambrose, *The Bishop's Palace Lincoln* (Lincolnshire Museums Information Sheet, *Archaeol. Ser.* 18, 1980).

³⁷ See plan in R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire*, I (1931), back pocket; M. D. Lobel (ed.), *Historic Towns*, I (1969), Hereford map 4.

³⁸ *Cat. Pat. Rolls* 1467–77, 365.

³⁹ N. Drinkwater, 'Hereford Cathedral: the Bishop's Chapel of St Katherine and St Mary Magdalene', *Archaeol. J.*, CXI (1954), 129–37; R. Gem, 'The Bishop's Chapel at Hereford: the Roles of Patron and Craftsman', in S. Macready and F. H. Thompson (eds.), *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque* (Soc. Antiq. Occasional Papers N.S. VIII, 1986), 87–96.

⁴⁰ R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire*, I (1931), 114 and plan in back pocket.

⁴¹ For the evidence on which these paragraphs are based see R. Shoesmith, *Hereford City Excavations: 2: Excavations on and Close to the Defences* (C.B.A. Res. Rep. 46, 1982), 74–95.

⁴² A. H. Lamont, 'Fords and Ferries of the Wye', *Trans. Woolhope Nat. Field Club*, XXIV (1921–23), 82.

⁴³ The sharp kink between St Martin's Street and Chain Causey looks like the result of a diversion of the southern approach from Palace Ford to Wye Bridge: see Lobel, op. cit. in note 37, Hereford map 2.