

# The Seigneurial Residence in Normandy, 1125–1225: an Anglo-Norman Tradition?

By EDWARD IMPEY

*ENGLAND and Normandy shared a common (although not exclusive) tradition in the design of seigneurial houses between c. 1125 and 1225, typified by the housing of the hall and chambers in separate buildings, both built to an increasingly standardized pattern. The tradition as known in England is briefly defined and a selection of the Norman evidence presented and discussed in the light of it, identifying a common evolution during the 12th century but some differences in detail. It is then suggested that the pattern may have been particular to England and Normandy, and that it originated in an Anglo-Saxon tradition transplanted to Normandy after the Conquest. The Norman impact on domestic building in England is also briefly considered, with particular reference to the Continental storeyed house and its best-known manifestation, the residential tower.*

Several buildings indicating that the 12th-century seignury of England and Normandy shared at least one tradition in the design of their houses were presented in an article of 1993.<sup>1</sup> Since then much new evidence has come to light, and what follows is an attempt to describe the nature and development of the shared tradition which can now be identified, and to consider two questions it raises: was the tradition, strictly defined, peculiar to England and Normandy?; and if so, where did it originate?

## THE SEIGNEURIAL RESIDENCE IN NORMANDY, c. 1125–1225 (Fig. 1)

### THE 'HALL AND CHAMBER-BLOCK' MODEL

It has been accepted for some time that English buildings of the type once called 'first-floor halls' and 'ground-floor' or 'end-bay halls' were not alternatives, but routinely existed side by side, respectively housing the more private and more public quarters of the house. It has also been shown that by c. 1200, both the relative positioning of the two elements and their particular form were becoming increasingly standardized: the hall in the siting of its doorways, and the second

<sup>1</sup> E. Impey, 'Seigneurial domestic architecture in Normandy, 1050–1350', 82–120 in G. Meirion-Jones and M. Jones (eds), *Manorial Domestic Buildings in England and Northern France* (London, 1993) [= 1993(1)]. Since then some of the material presented here has been published in French (E. Impey, 'La Demeure seigneuriale en Normandie entre 1125 et 1225 et la tradition Anglo-Normande', 219–42 in M. Baylé and P. Bouet (eds), *L'Architecture normande au moyen âge*, 2 vols (Caen, 1997).

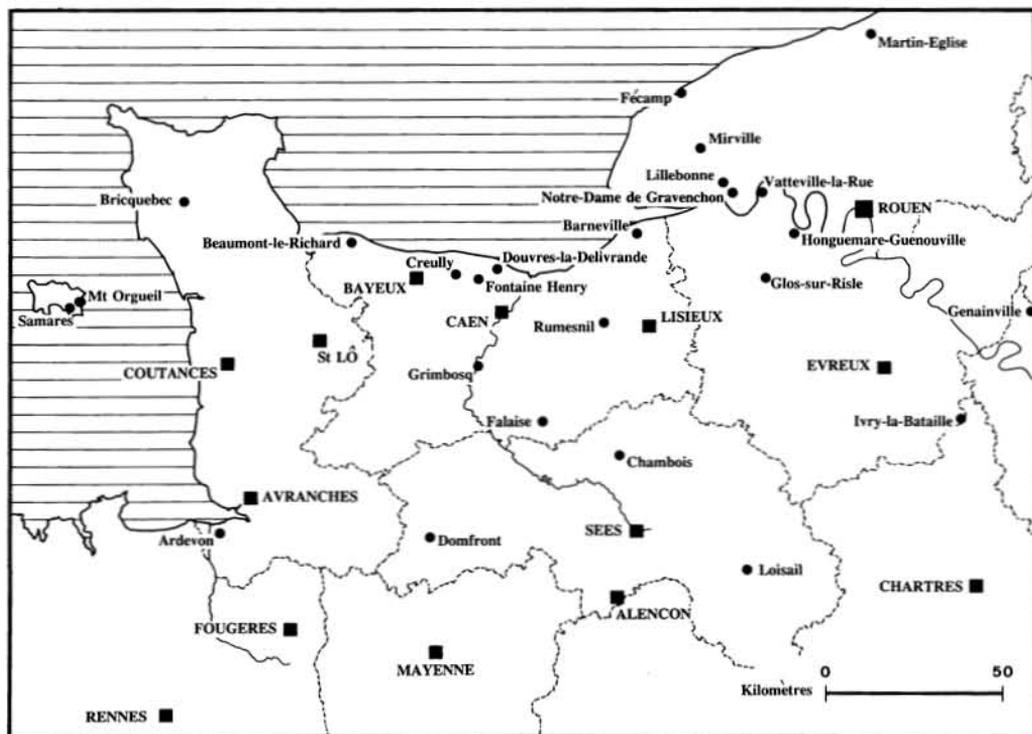


FIG. 1

Normandy. Map showing location of sites mentioned in the text.

building which can for convenience be called a 'chamber-block' by (among other features) the raising of its inhabited level over a basement.<sup>2</sup> As the 'hall and chamber-block' formula was not, of course, followed by all seigneurial builders of the period, the model must not be used to interpret every fragmentary remnant of 12th-century domestic architecture. Nor must it be assumed that the functional distinction between 'hall' and 'chamber' was in practice as rigid as the structural differences between typical examples might suggest; indeed some interchangeability, or degree of 'private' versus 'public' use is actually implied by the loose application of the words *aula* and *camera* in the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> But given these reservations, and although not universally accepted,<sup>4</sup> the model offers the most convincing interpretation of many 12th- and 13th-century English sites and

<sup>2</sup> W. J. Blair, 'Hall and chamber: English domestic planning 1000-1250', 1-21 in G. Meirion-Jones and M. Jones (eds), *Manorial Domestic Buildings in England and Northern France* (London, 1993).

<sup>3</sup> On this last point see J. Grenville, *Medieval Housing* (Leicester, 1997), 86-88.

<sup>4</sup> The principal critic of the model has been M. W. Thompson (see esp. *Medieval Bishops' Houses in England and Wales* (Aldershot, 1998), 125 and note 1). For further evidence and discussion of the model see E. Impey and R. Harris, 'Boothby Pagnell revisited', in G. Meirion-Jones et al. (eds), *The Seigneurial Residence in Europe* (forthcoming); see also the measured assessment of the model by Grenville (op. cit. in note 3, 66-78).

structures. As such, it is a valid basis for the interpretation of the structurally analogous buildings and complexes which have now been identified in Normandy.

#### THE 'HALL AND CHAMBER-BLOCK' IN NORMANDY

To date, fifteen Norman sites are known to retain at least fragments indicative of a 'hall and chamber-block' arrangement: although not abundant (when compared to those typical even of the period 1225–1350, still less those of 1450–1550) they cover a sufficient chronological, geographic and 'social' range to imply the dominance of the type in this period.

Of the most significant group — the four sites where elements of both buildings survive — the earliest is that at the château of Beaumont-le-Richard (Calvados), where the remains of a hall and a near-complete chamber-block, both of c. 1150, stand no more than 10 m apart (Figs. 2–4).<sup>5</sup> Of the hall, the most substantial fragments are the N. gable and an adjoining stretch of the western side-wall, the latter rising to about 6 m above the original floor level and pierced by a large window. Parallel and opposite to this, the existing external wall incorporates two cylindrical piers, complete with scalloped capitals, shown by the springing of an arch on the same axis to have carried an arcade. It can be deduced that this was of at least four bays, although the loss of the SW. gable wall leaves the possibility that there were one or two more. The building thus consisted, in essence, of a main part (or 'nave') 8.15 m wide adjoined by a single aisle facing the bailey.

The second building, known as La Chapelle, was modified to serve as such in about 1630, but the lack of any earlier ecclesiastical features, its north-south orientation and overall conformity to the typical 'chamber-block' form leaves little doubt as to its original function. Better preserved than the hall, for present purposes its structural analysis needs no more explanation than offered in figure 4, although it might be pointed out that the southern end of the internal blind arcading on the upper floor, coinciding with the 17th-century cross-wall, shows that there was an original partition in the same position. The decorative detail, both inside and out, is among the more lavish at any building of its type in England or Normandy.

At Creully, in the Bessin, 12 km E. of Bayeux, the single-aisled hall and the gigantic chamber-block adjoining its W. side extend along the western edge of the castle bailey, on a scarp overlooking the Seulles valley. Architectural detail suggests that the complex dates from c. 1160–1170, and can thus be attributed to Richard of Creully, son of Robert of Gloucester.<sup>6</sup> No single part of the ensemble is as perfect as La Chapelle at Beaumont, but the buildings are larger and grander, while the unusual nature of the 14th- and 17th-century modifications has allowed the preservation of features routinely destroyed elsewhere.

From the exterior, Romanesque fabric can only be identified on the S. front (Fig. 6), but here the profile of the entire elevation in its original form is clear

<sup>5</sup> For fuller description and additional drawings see E. Impey, *op. cit.* in note 1, 85–94 and E. Impey, *L'Architecture Seigneuriale en Basse Normandie 1050–1350. Rapport de Prospection Thématique, Saison, 1993 [= 1993(2)]*. Report prepared for the Ministère de la Culture, 22–34.

<sup>6</sup> For historical notes and a fuller description see E. Impey, *Le Château de Creully* (Cabourg, 1995).

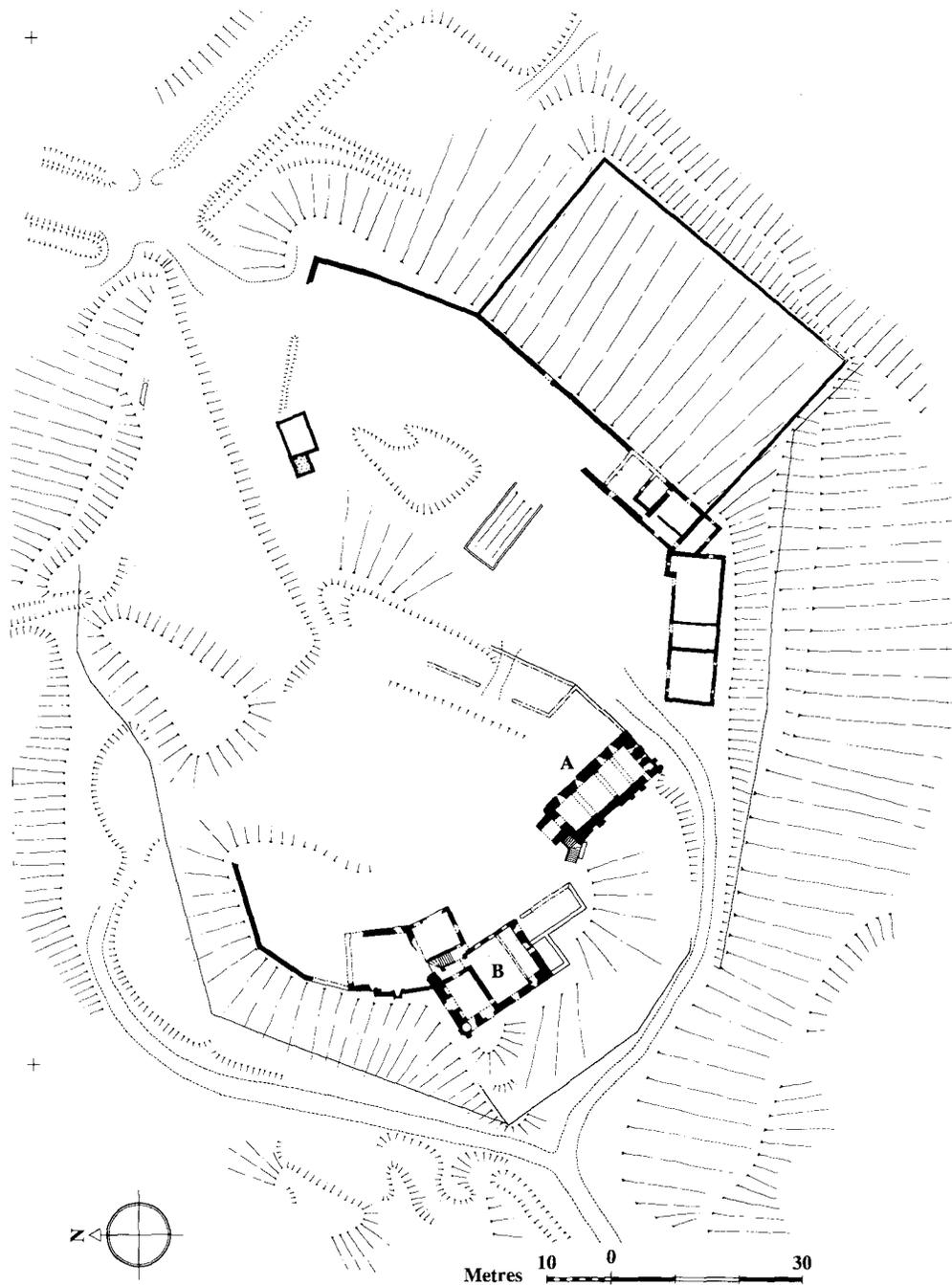


FIG. 2

Beaumont-le-Richard. Site plan showing the remains of the hall (B) and the chamber-block (A). The outline of the defences is suggested by sections of later wall and earthworks. *Surveyed and drawn E. A. I., 1992.*

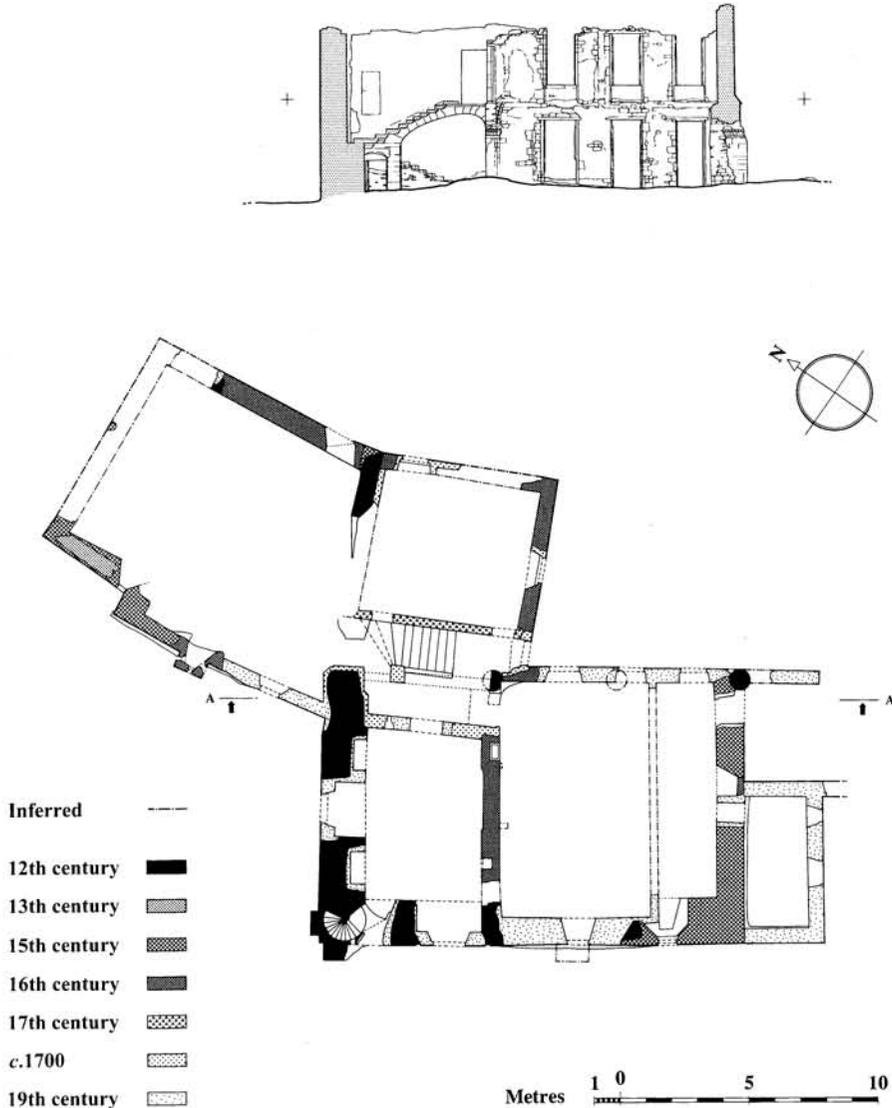


FIG. 3

Beaumont-le-Richard. Ground-floor plan (surveyed and drawn E. A. I., M. A. I., J.-P. C., 1991) and section (A-A) of the hall (surveyed and drawn E. A. I., 1993).

enough: a massive pilaster buttress marks the western end of the gable wall while the tower, built inside the corner of the building in the 15th century, carries a roof-crease (decorative on one side, functional on the other) marking the pitch of the roof — replaced by a terrace by 1818.<sup>7</sup> To the right of this, the wall standing on the

<sup>7</sup> As is shown by a watercolour of that date by J. S. Cotman, in the Norwich Castle Museum; for reproduction and notes see M. Rajni, *John Sell Cotman: Drawings of Normandy in the Norwich Castle Museum* (Norwich, 1975), 62–64.

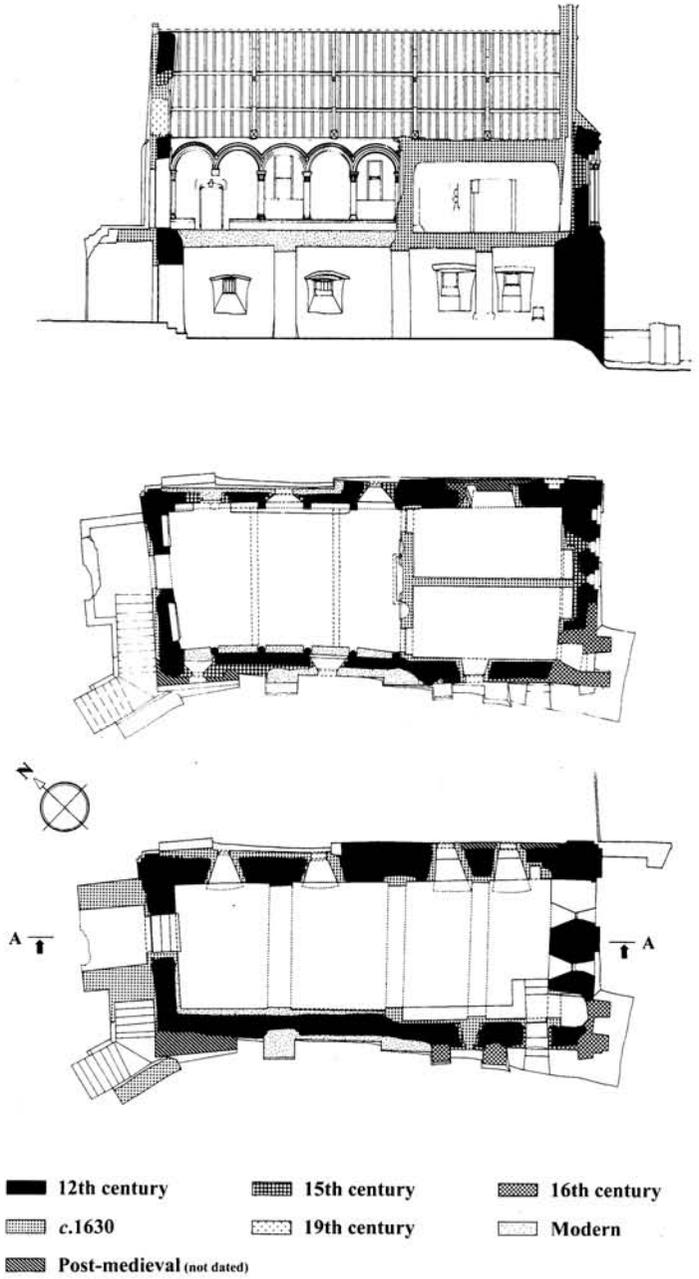


FIG. 4

Beaumont-le-Richard. Plans and section of the chamber-block. *Surveyed and drawn E. A. I., M. A. I., 1991-2.*

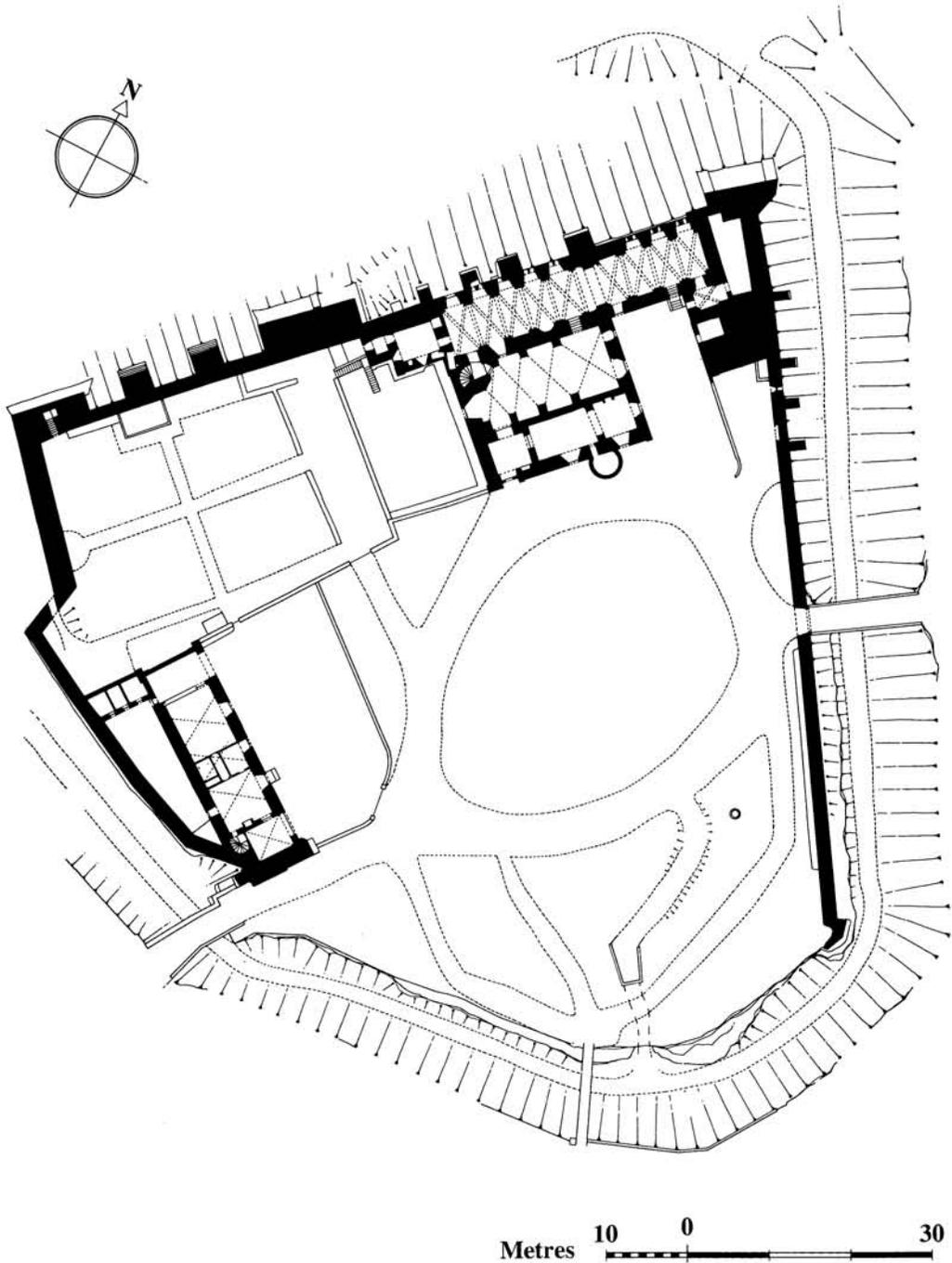


FIG. 5

Creully. Site plan, showing, on the W. side of the bailey, the 12th-century domestic buildings and later accretions. The existing ramparts are largely post-medieval. *Surveyed and drawn E. A. I., 1993.*

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FIG. 6

Creully. The château from the SE. A 12th-century single-aisled hall with chamber-block adjoining, much altered in the Middle Ages and since but essentially complete. Photo: Linda Grant, Courtauld Institute.

arcade — appearing end-on in this elevation — largely survives, and retains one complete clerestory window towards its N. end. Below and to the right the masonry incorporates the end-wall of the aisle; although the pitch of the roof is not clear, its upper limit is marked by a string course.

Inside, the capitals and springing of three arcade piers have been recently exposed within the thickness of the blocking-wall (Fig. 7), in addition to a series of ground-floor windows and the main doorway from the bailey.

The second building consists today of a vaulted basement, with interior dimensions 32 m by 6 m, and projects for 14.6 m beyond the N. end of the hall, its last bay being flanked on the courtyard side by a small vaulted protrusion (Fig. 8). Until c. 1950 the five quadripartite vaulting bays to the S. and the remaining four to the N. (slightly different) were divided by an original cross-wall. The interior is lit by eight west-facing windows, and retains a semi-circular recess in the E. wall which may have been an original fireplace. Since at least 1818 the undercroft has carried, like the hall, an open-air terrace, but features such as the blind arcading

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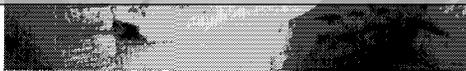
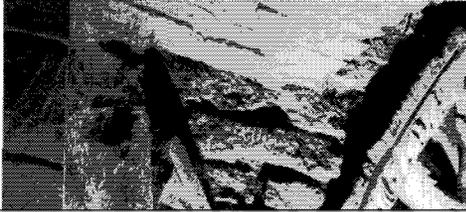


FIG. 7

Creully. Pier and capital, showing the springing of two arches of the arcade between the main part and aisle of the hall. Note the variety in ornament. *Photo: Linda Grant, Courtauld Institute.*

facing the terrace on the outer wall of the hall show that there was formerly an upper floor, divided by a cross-wall standing on the one below. A small vice in the intervening wall thickness may have linked it directly to the hall, but the main entrance was probably associated with the vaulted cellar at the other end, the base either of a landing or a first-floor porch.

Equally important are the domestic buildings which survive in the bailey of the castle at Bricquebec (Manche), a possession of the Bertrand family from the 10th century until 1348.<sup>8</sup> In this case the single-aisled hall, datable on the basis of style and sculptural detail to c. 1190, survives almost complete. As at Beaumont, the shell of the building has been preserved by the flooring-over and subdivision of the interior in the later Middle Ages; the arcade, exposed by the demolition of the aisle and blocked to form the new north front (Fig. 11), can also be glimpsed in the first-floor bedrooms. The main vessel was lit by three windows in the S. wall (modified c. 1300) and a pair in each gable (Fig. 12); whether there was a clerestory over the aisle remains unclear. The W. end of the hall communicates with a two-storey construction of the same build, 6 m wide internally and formerly projecting into the bailey by at least the width of the aisle. The ground floor, linked to the hall by a doorway close to the aisle (Figs. 12, 13), and lit by loop-windows in its W. wall, was probably a service-room. Above this was a chamber, decorated with blind arcading and adjoined by a latrine in the thickness of the S. wall. The chamber was reached by an impressive doorway overlooking the body of the hall (Fig. 12), approached by a stone stair, as also in the near-contemporary English halls at Oakham Castle (Rutland) and Warnford (Hants.). A spiral staircase in the thickness of the wall led from the chamber either to a parapet walk or a gallery across the width of hall — possibly both.

The second building lies to the NE. (Fig. 10), positioned so that a doorway at first-floor level could have opened into the aisle of the hall. Represented only by its half-sunken undercroft, its original form is a matter of conjecture: clearly a domestic building, its identification as a chamber-block relies on its position at the upper end of the hall and in the raising of the main floor over a basement, conforming to the pattern outlined above. Although it has no easily datable detail, it is necessarily earlier than the vault of c. 1350, which blocks the original windows.

The last in the sequence survives in the commune of Barneville-la-Bertran near Honfleur (Figs. 13–15).<sup>9</sup> Here a chamber-block of standard type dating from c. 1200–1225, substantially intact, is abutted at right-angles by a contemporary hall, once probably linked via a surviving doorway to a service block at the far end. The overall width of the hall is shown by wall-scars on the E. gable to have been no more than 9.20 m, but a set of vertical, horizontal and diagonal slots in the stonework of the W. gable (respectively intended to house a wall post, a tiebeam and a brace), show that it had two timber arcades (Fig. 14, B–B): given the length of the building (13 m) there were probably two bays. Consisting, therefore, of a double-aisled hall and a chamber-block of standard type, the complex is remarkable for the use of the formula at a site of relatively minor status, its double-aisled construction and its timber arcades.

The only pre-1225 hall surviving in isolation known to the present author is the Echiquier at Caen, which, although half destroyed in 1944, has since been

<sup>8</sup> For historical notes see C. Barbe, *L'Honneur des Bertran 1060–1350*, Thèse de Maîtrise, Université de Caen, (c. 1980).

<sup>9</sup> The building was first interpreted along these lines by M. Marcel Dupuis.

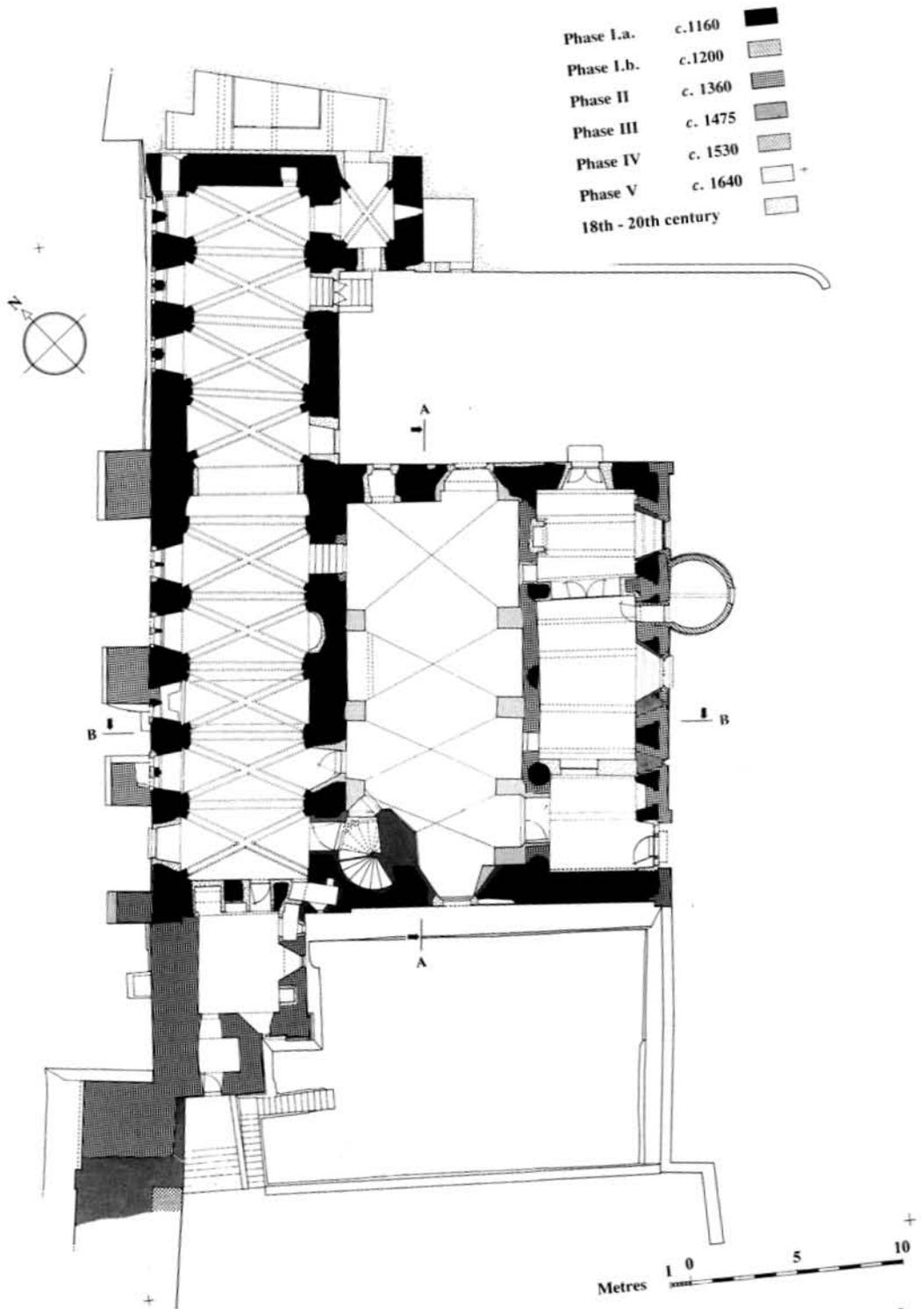


FIG. 8  
 Creully. Ground-floor plan of the domestic buildings, showing provisional phasing. Surveyed and drawn E. A. I., 1992.



FIG. 9

Creully. Transverse section (section line marked B-B, Fig. 8), facing S. The roof-crease on the polygonal tower (15th century) marks the pitch of the 12th-century roof over the main body of the hall, originally open from floor to rafters (the existing vaults being insertions of c. 1640). To the left was an aisle, opening out through the arcade, of which one capital and the springing of an arch is shown. The vault to the far right, formerly carrying the seigneurial chambers in the position of the existing terrace, is original. *Surveyed and drawn E. A. I., 1993.*

restored to what must approximate its 12th-century form (Fig. 16). Traditionally and plausibly attributed to Henry I, this is known from excavation to have been built onto a complex of earlier residential buildings — including one which may be interpreted as a chamber-block.<sup>10</sup> Measuring 30.7 m by 11.02 on the inside, it has a richly ornamented original entrance at its S. end and is lit by six single-light windows on each side and another in the S. gable. Although assumed by M. de Bouard, in line with the ‘first-floor hall’ model, to have had two floors in its original form,<sup>11</sup> this is clearly not the case: not only is there no archival or structural evidence of original ground-floor windows or of a doorway to the floor above, it is fundamentally similar to a series of 12th-century unaisled halls in England —

<sup>10</sup> See M. de Bouard, *Le Château de Caen*, (Caen, 1979) 63, and E. Impey, op. cit. in note 1, 84–85.

<sup>11</sup> de Bouard, op.cit. in note 10, 70–72.

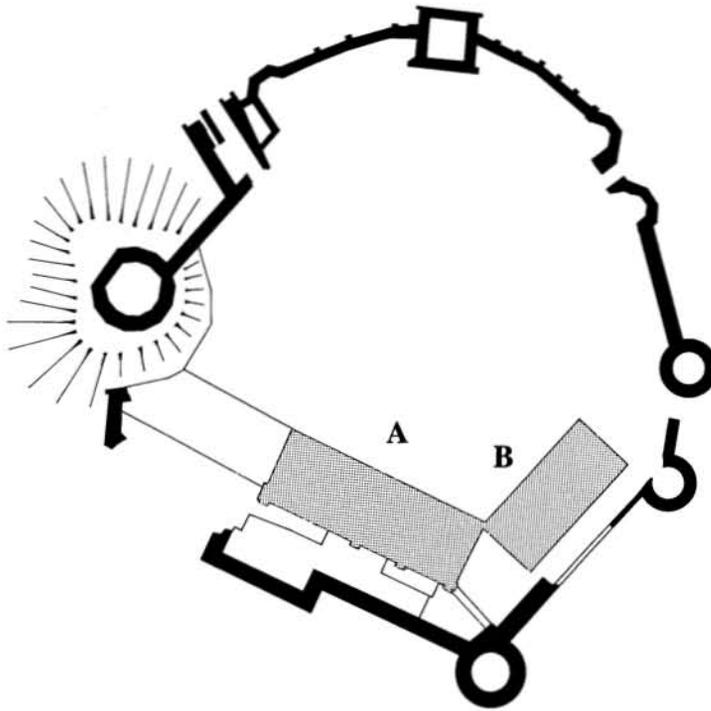


FIG. 10

Bricquebec. Site plan, showing the 14th-century *donjon*, the ramparts (mixed periods), the hall (B) and the chamber-block (A). Adapted from Du Moncel, Th., *Album de la Revue Archéologique du Département de la Manche*, Valognes 1843, fig.1.

notably at Monks Horton, Dover Priory, Minster Court (Kent), Sherborne Old Castle, and Old Sarum (Wilts.).<sup>12</sup> The romanesque timber arcades re-used in the 13th-century manor-house at Rumesnil (Calvados)<sup>13</sup> very probably represent an aisled hall of the pre-1225 period, but only excavation could determine its site and form.

As in England, chamber-blocks surviving in isolation are more numerous, owing to the comparative ease with which they could later be adapted. The

<sup>12</sup> For further detail on this point see E. Impey, *op. cit.* in note 1, note 17. This view is also held by Jean Mesqui, *Châteaux et Encintes de la France Médiévale*, 2 Vols (Paris 1991, 1993), 81–82.

<sup>13</sup> E. Impey, 'Le Manoir de Rumesnil, faussement appelé 'La Grange aux Dîmes': un Hall médiéval à bas-côté au centre de Normandie', *Bull. Soc. Antiq. Normandie*, LXI (1998), 119–144.

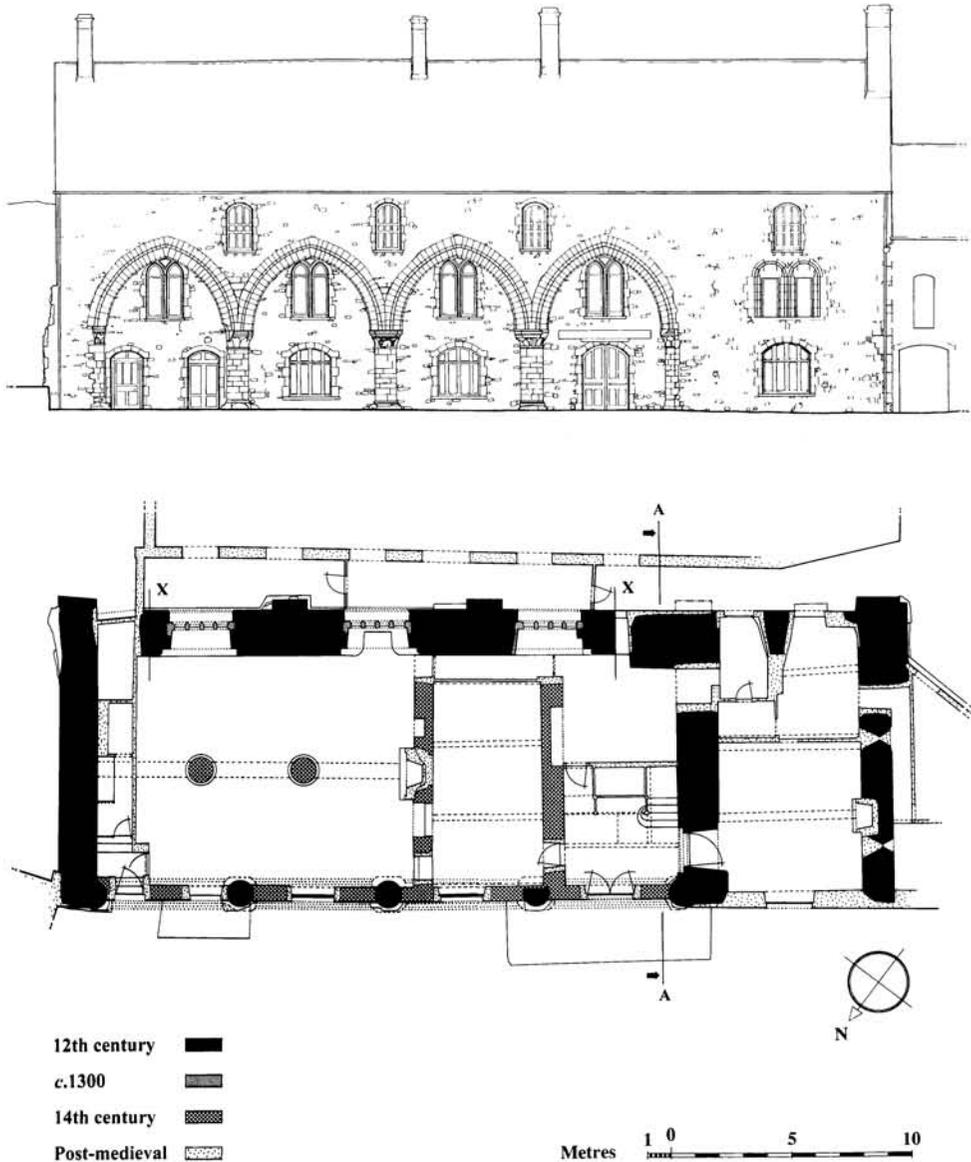


FIG. 11

Bricquebec. Plan of the hall at ground-floor level and N. elevation. *Surveyed and drawn E. A. I., 1992, 1994.*

earliest, recently revealed by excavation<sup>14</sup> and tentatively identified below as a chamber-block on the basis of its plan, stood to the west of the keep at Domfront (Orne). Roughly contemporary may be the fragmentary structure at Vatteville-la-

<sup>14</sup> A. Nissen-Jaubert, 'Domfront (château): la chapelle Sainte-Catherine', *Bilan Scientifique de la Région de Basse-Normandie, Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles, Service Régional de L'Archéologie* (Caen, 1993), 68–69.

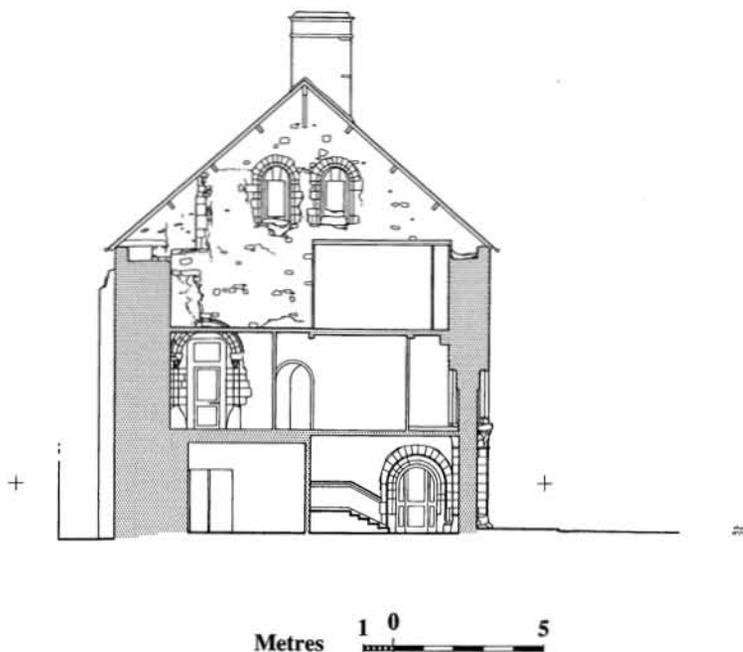


FIG. 12

Bricquebec. Transverse section of the hall (section line marked A-A on Fig. 11. Facing W.). Surveyed and drawn E. A. I., 1994.

Rue (Calvados), although its identification is not conclusive. The next in the sequence — in the Vexin Normand — survives at the priory of Jumièges at Genainville (Seine et Oise) of c. 1140,<sup>15</sup> followed by the remarkable building (later used as a synagogue) of which the undercroft survives below the courtyard of the Palais de Justice in Rouen;<sup>16</sup> a near-identical and contemporary structure was discovered in the 1930s near the former Cour des Comptes, likewise built on an open site within the city.<sup>17</sup> The virtually complete structure at Loissail (Orne), in a straightforward manorial context, dating from c. 1180, is followed by the more ambitious example at Fontaine Henry, Calvados (c. 1200).<sup>18</sup> The most important of the remainder, all dating from the first two decades of the 13th century, can be

<sup>15</sup> E. Impey, *The Origins and Development of Non-Conventual Monastic Dependencies in England and Normandy 1000-1350*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford (1990), II, 50-62.

<sup>16</sup> D. Pitte, and P. Cailleux, 'Le bâtiment hébraïque de la cour du Palais de justice à Rouen', *Archéol. Médiévale*, xxii (Chronique), 423-24; 'Architecture civile en pierre à Rouen du XIe au XIIIe siècle', *Archéol. Médiévale*, xxiv (1994), 251-99, esp. 288.

<sup>17</sup> G. Lanfry, 'La découverte d'une salle basse à Rouen, près de l'ancienne Cour des Comptes', *Bull. De la Comm. Antiquités Seine Inférieure* (1939), 155-56; for a discussion of manorial-type complexes in an urban context see R. Harris, *The Origins and Development of English Medieval Townhouses Operating on Two Storeys*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford (1994), 10-42.

<sup>18</sup> E. Impey, op. cit. in note 5, 80-91 and 73-79.



Barneville-la-Bertran. View of the house from the SE. The early 13th-century chamber-block stands to the right; the multi-period structure to the left incorporates the remains of a double-aisled hall with timber arcades.  
*Photo E. A. I., 1994.*

listed as follows: Ardevon (Manche),<sup>19</sup> Douvres la Delivrande (Calvados),<sup>20</sup> Glos-sur-Risle (Eure), Martin-Eglise (Seine-Maritime) and Honguemare-Guenouville (Seine-Maritime; perhaps c. 1240).<sup>21</sup> To these these might be added some possible examples from Guernsey and Jersey, including the romanesque 'Great Hall' and the later Chapel of St George at Mont Orgeuil and the 'chapel' at Samares Manor (Jersey).<sup>22</sup>

The importance of the 'hall and chamber-block' tradition in Normandy in the pre-1225 period is confirmed by its persistence and continued development, in the face of an increasingly dominant alternative, throughout the following century. A direct derivative survives, for example, at Rumesnil (Calvados),<sup>23</sup> while the vast open hall at Le Neubourg (Eure)<sup>24</sup> must have been part of a comparable complex; standing remains of a double-aisled ground-floor hall of c. 1300 (Fig. 18) and chamber-block of c. 1220 (Fig. 19) both survive at the episcopal manor at Douvres-la-Delivrande (Calvados).<sup>25</sup> Still later structures, clearly derived from the same pattern, have also been identified.<sup>26</sup> It is also worth noting in this context that the

<sup>19</sup> E. Impey, 'Le prieuré d'Ardevon: aperçu historique et architectural', *Bull. Soc. Amis Mont-Saint-Michel*, xcvi (1991), 24-51.

<sup>20</sup> E. Impey, *op. cit.* in note 5, 58-66.

<sup>21</sup> Recorded by the author 1993-94.

<sup>22</sup> For plans and descriptions see J. McCormack, *Channel Island Churches* (Chichester, 1987), figs. 99 and 107.

<sup>23</sup> E. Impey, *op. cit.* in note 13.

<sup>24</sup> Main dimensions and S. elevation recorded by the author, 1994.

<sup>25</sup> Clarified by fieldwork in 1994. The hall measured 14.35 m by 19.45 m, and had two arcades of four bays.

<sup>26</sup> M. J.-C. Bans, *pers. comm.*

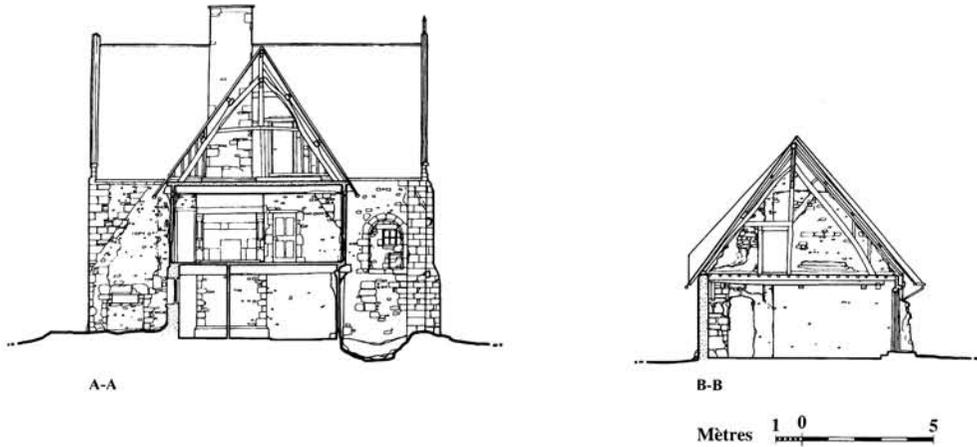


FIG. 14

Barneville-la-Bertran. Transverse sections showing the inner faces of the E. (A-A) and W. (B-B) gables of the hall wing. On the E. gable note the crease of the hall roof, the doorway to the first-floor chamber and the crease for its porch; on the W. gable (above and to the right of the first floor opening) the slots remain which once housed an end-aisle post, a diagonal brace and the tie-beam they carried. *Surveyed and drawn E. A. I., 1995.*

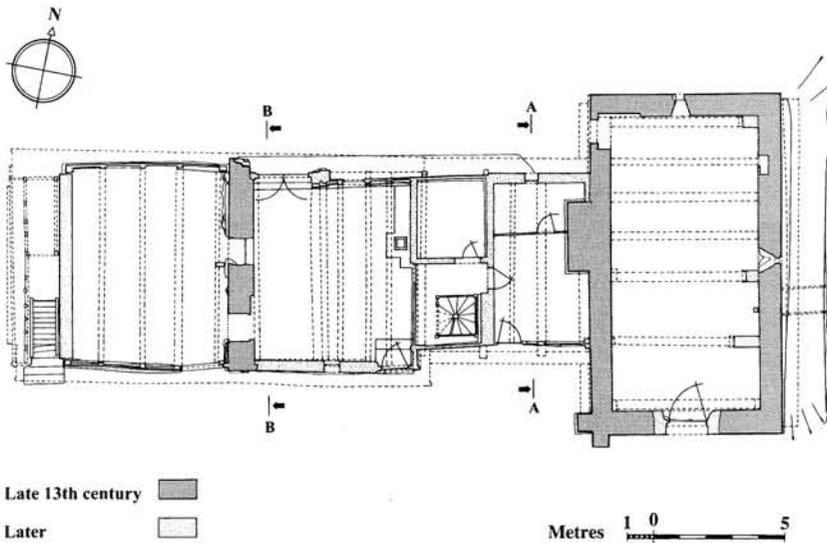


FIG. 15

Barneville-la-Bertran. Ground-floor plan, showing the site and remnants of the hall to the left and the chamber-block to the right. *Surveyed and drawn E. A. I., 1995.*

buildings at Creully and Bricquebec remained substantially unaltered until c. 1360 and those at Beaumont until the following century.

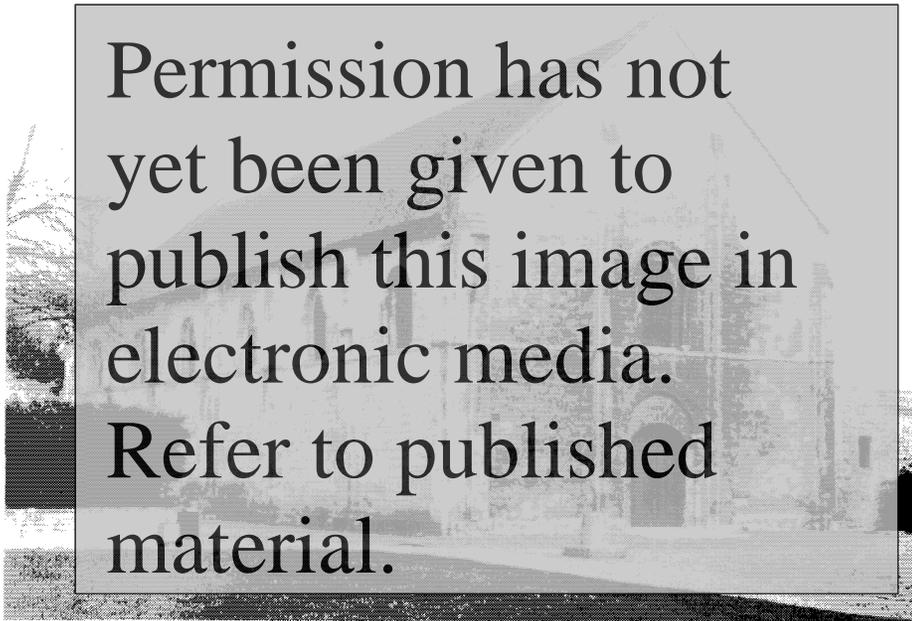


FIG. 16

The Echiquier at Caen. A ground-floor hall dating from reign of Henry I.  
*Photo E. A. I. 1994.*

#### ANALYSIS OF THE NORMAN EVIDENCE

Present evidence would not in itself allow the evolution of the 'hall and chamber-block' ensemble as found in Normandy to be worked out in any detail, but certain developments, parallel to those in England, can be observed. Most obvious are changes in the relative siting of the hall and the chamber-block. At Caen, the earliest of the known sample, the hall is haphazardly associated with the complex of earlier buildings, including the possible chamber-block. At Beaumont-le-Richard the buildings are on approximately the same alignment, an arrangement ancestral to the linking of the two buildings longitudinally, as at Stamford Castle (Lincs.),<sup>27</sup> but which never became widespread. The arrangement at Creully is still more idiosyncratic not least as, although contiguous, the main link between the hall and chamber-block was still external. Nevertheless, both arrangements display an appreciation that for aesthetic and practical reasons hall and chamber-block should form a coherent structural unit.

The complexes of c. 1190 and 1220 at Bricquebec and Barneville-la-Bertran, however, are more directly ancestral to the arrangement which became increasingly common in the 13th century, at least in England, whereby the chamber-block was placed at right-angles across the upper end of the hall, frequently mirrored by

<sup>27</sup> C. Mahany, 'Excavations at Stamford Castle, 1971-6', *Château Gaillard*, 8, 223-45.

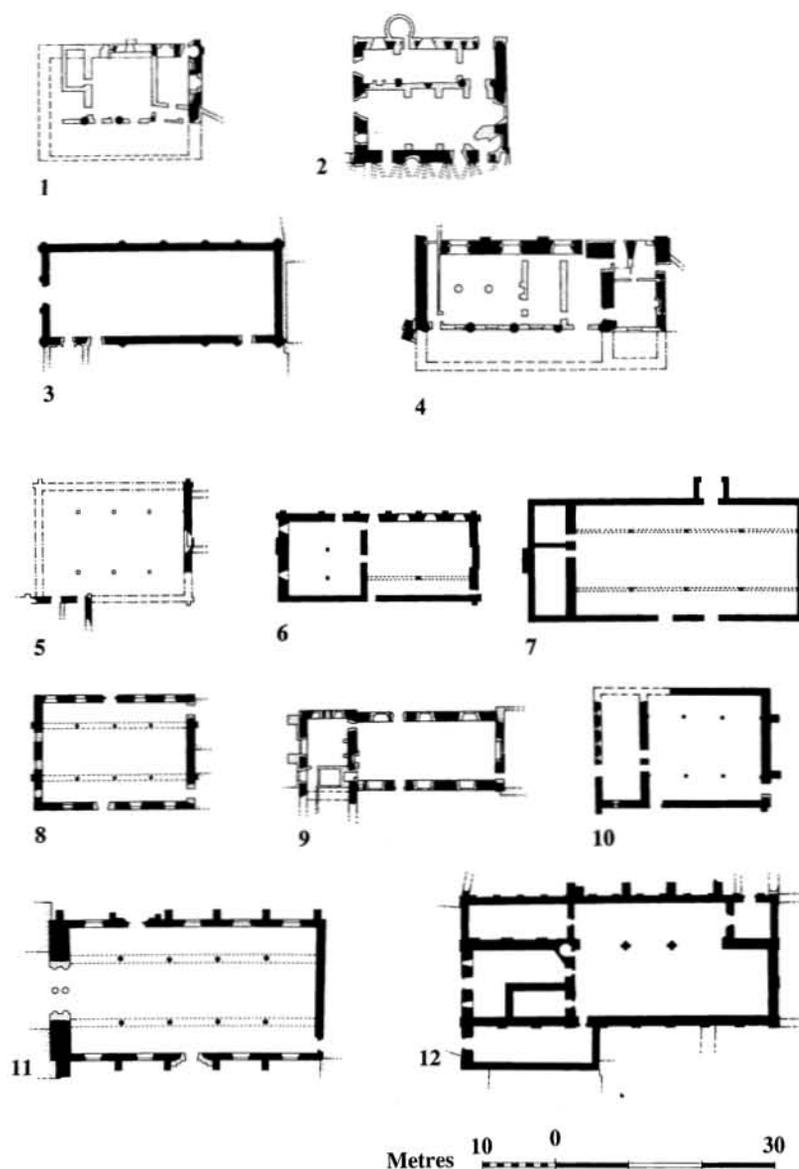
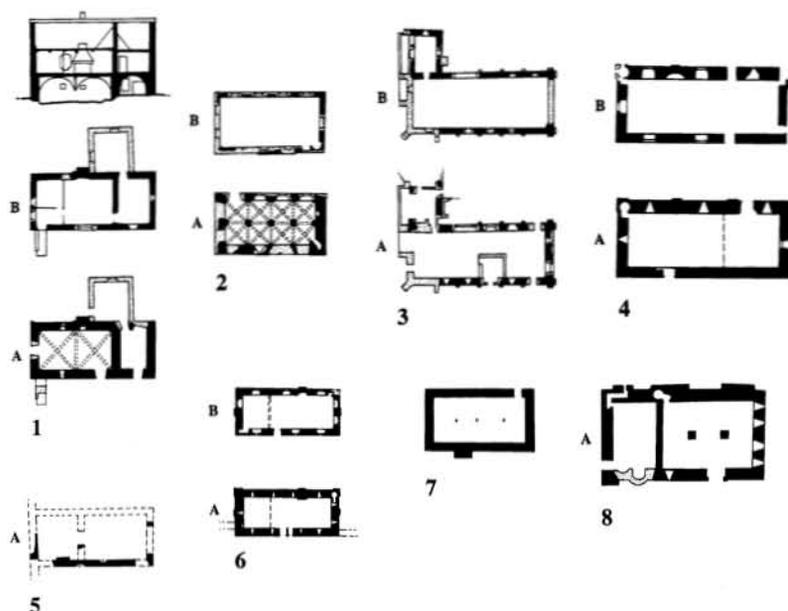


FIG. 17

Selected ground-floor halls in England and Normandy. Simplified plans, shown at the same scale.

KEY: Medieval fabric of/extant at/date given: solid black standing or excavated; broken line inferred. Later fabric: stippled

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) Beaumont-le-Richard (Calvados), c. 1150. E. A. I., 1993, E. A. I., 1994 (1)                   | (7) Hereford, c. 1190. Reconstruction. After Blair, 1987                            |
| (2) Creully (Calvados), c. 1160. E. A. I., 1992, E. A. I., 1993                                   | (8) Oakham Castle (Rutland), c. 1190. After VCH <i>Rutland</i>                      |
| (3) Caen (Calvados), c. 1125. As rebuilt after 1944. After L. Froidevaux, 1972                    | (9) Minster-in-Thanel (Kent), c. 1150. Adapted from Kipps, 1929                     |
| (4) Bricquebec (Manche), c. 1190. E. A. I., 1991, 1993(1)   | (10) Warnford (Hants.), c. 1200. After VCH <i>Hants</i>                             |
| (5) Douvres-la-Delivrande (Calvados), c. 1300. E. A. I., 1993(2), and further work E. A. I., 1994 | (11) Winchester, castle (Hants.), 1222-35. After VCH <i>Hants</i>                   |
| (6) Rumesnil (Calvados), c. 1260. Reconstruction. E. A. I., 1993(1), E. A. I., 1998               | (12) Winchester, Wolvesey Palace, 'east hall' as rebuilt 1135-8. After Biddle, 1986 |

FIG. 18 (*above and facing*)

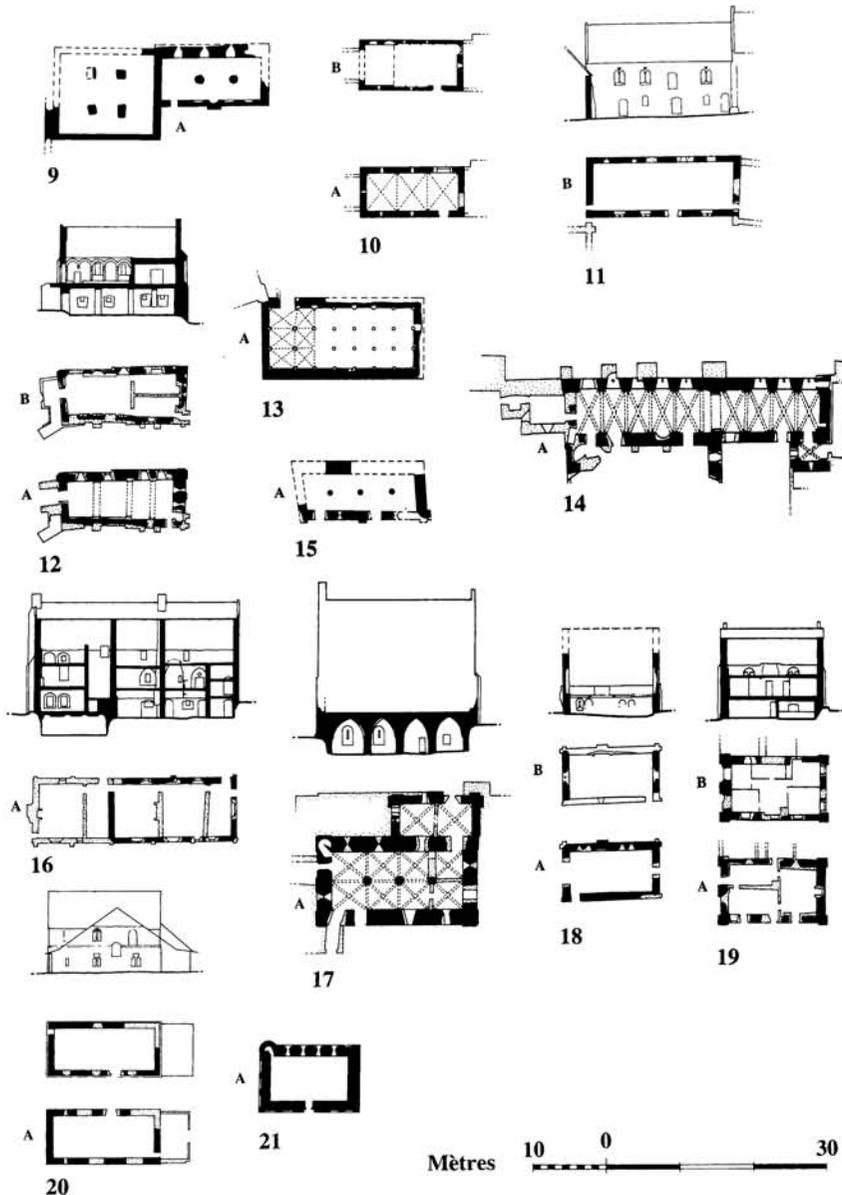
Selected chamber-blocks in England and Normandy. Simplified plans, with some sections and elevations, shown to the same scale (same as Fig. 17).

KEY: A denotes ground floor or undercroft: B denotes 1st floor. All sectioned walls etc. in black. Otherwise, as for Fig. 17.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) Boothby Pagnell (Lincs.), c. 1180. E. A. I. and Harris, forthcoming. | (5) Cogges (Oxfordshire), 1150-80. After Blair, 1982.       |
| (2) Burton Agnes (Yorks.), c. 1170. After Wood, 1963.                    | (6) Grosmont (Monmouthshire), 1201-4. After Knight, 1980.   |
| (3) Cambridge, Merton Hall, c. 1200. After RCHM <i>Cambridgeshire</i> .  | (7) Jacobstow (Cornwall), 1180-1200. After Beresford, 1974. |
| (4) Christchurch (Dorset), c. 1160. After Wood, 1964.                    | (8) Eynsford (Kent). After Rigold, 1971.                    |

a second chamber raised over the services at the opposite end. At Bricquebec, although the siting of the buildings was partly dictated by the line of the curtain wall, they are closer to the right-angled arrangement than the axial; crucially, the entrance to the chamber was in its side-wall and not, as at Beaumont-le-Richard, in its gable end. Equally significant is the placing of another chamber, smaller but clearly important, over the services; as this structure projected into the courtyard and had a roof at right angles to that of the hall, it forms one of the earliest true known cross-wings. At Barneville-la-Bertran, the 13th-century chamber-block is placed across the upper end of the hall in what was to become the standard manner, although, curiously, it was linked to the body of the hall only by an external stair. Whether there was a second chamber over the services at the other end of the hall is unclear.

When we come to consider developments in the design of each element, there are, again, similarities to those observed in England. At the Echiquier, the main external doorway is in the gable, an arrangement which it shares, for example,



- (9) Stamford (Lincolnshire), as in late 12th century (showing hall also). After Mahany, 1977.  
 (10) Strood (Kent), c. 1220. After Rigold, 1962.  
 (11) Ardevon (Manche), c. 1220. E. A. I., 1991.  
 (12) Beaumont-le-Richard (Calvados), c. 1140-50. E. A. I., 1993.  
 (13) Bricquebec (Manche), c. 1190. E. A. I., 1993(2), 1997.  
 (14) Creully (Calvados), c. 1160. E. A. I., 1995.  
 (15) Domfront (Orne), c. 1110. After Nissen-Jaubert, 1994.  
 (16) Douvres-la-Delivrande (Calvados), c. 1220. E. A. I., 1993(2).  
 (17) Fontaine Henry (Calvados), c. 1200. E. A. I., 1993(2).  
 (18) Glos-sur-Risle (Eure), c. 1220. Surveyed E. A. I., 1993.  
 (19) Loissail (Orne), c. 1180. E. A. I., 1993(2).  
 (20) Martin-Eglise (Seine-Maritime). Surveyed E. A. I., 1994.  
 (21) Rouen, 'La synagogue'. After Pitte, 1994.

with the 11th-century hall at Westminster.<sup>28</sup> At Beaumont-le-Richard the position of the main external doorway is unknown, but at Creully it was placed at the extreme S. end of the aisle. A necessary prerequisite for the evolution of the cross-passage, this suggests that it may have had a plan of the highly evolved type of which Oakham Castle (Fig. 17) is the earliest near-complete example in England, whereby the main door was up against a gable wall pierced by service doorways. At Bricquebec and Barneville, although the main external entrance has been lost along with the aisle, a service door in each case survives.

What can be observed of the development of the chamber-blocks clearly also conforms to the English pattern. The stone structures at Domfront and at Vatteville-la-Rue of c. 1120, if correctly identified, represent the classic 'chamber-block' in its simplest two-storey form,<sup>29</sup> while the building at Beaumont-le-Richard represents the same form in its maturity, not only with the habitable part raised over a storage room — in this case barrel-vaulted — but divided into two unequal parts, exactly as found in the archetypal English buildings at Boothby Pagnell (Lincs.), Christchurch (Dorset)<sup>30</sup> and Strood Temple (Kent) (Fig. 18).<sup>31</sup> It is worth noting that, although merely a decorative feature, blind arcading at the latter is employed in a strikingly similar way to that at Beaumont-le-Richard. The chamber building at Creully, where only the lower part survives, seems to have conformed to a similar model, complete with a cross-wall at both levels. A refinement here, however, is the extra vaulted cell that may have carried a first-floor porch — also probably the explanation for a near-identical feature at Fontaine Henry, dating from c. 1200. In common with the 'synagogue' in Rouen, the two floors at Fontaine Henry were linked by a spiral stair in the thickness of the wall: similar arrangements exist in England at Burton Agnes (Yorks.)<sup>32</sup> and Christchurch Castle. The later examples, including the late 12th-century 'Auditoire' at Loissail, are, as in England, rather simpler, in general having only one first-floor room, perhaps in response to a routine inclusion of a secondary chamber over the services.

In general terms, some features of the Norman buildings suggest that Norman practice, at least in structural terms, was in advance of that in England: in particular it is worth noting that the stone-arcaded halls at Beaumont-le-Richard and Creully date from a generation before the nearest equivalents in England something that might be attributed to the tradition of stone arcading in ecclesiastical architecture evident since c. 1000 and which by at least 1200 had extended to barns.<sup>33</sup> In addition, the building at Domfront, if indeed it was a chamber-block, is the earliest example in the Anglo-Norman world to display what was later to become such a typical ground plan.

<sup>28</sup> H. M. Colvin, *History of the King's Works: The Middle Ages* (London, 1963), 1, 46.

<sup>29</sup> For Domfront see A. Nissen-Jaubert, 'Le Château de Domfront au Moyen Age: approche archéologique et historique', 147–62 in B. Fajal (ed.), *Autour du Château médiéval*, Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne, Mémoires et Documents No. 1 (Alençon, 1998); for Vatteville-la-Rue, see A.-M. Flambard Héricher, 'La Cuisine du logis seigneurial du "Vieux Château" de Vatteville-la-Rue (Seine-Maritime)', 131–46 in Fajal (ed.), *op. cit.*

<sup>30</sup> M. E. Wood, *The English Mediaeval House* (London, 1964), 17–19.

<sup>31</sup> S. Rigold, *Temple Manor, Strood* (HMSO, 1962).

<sup>32</sup> M. E. Wood, *Burton Agnes Old Manor House* (HMSO, 1956).

<sup>33</sup> The earliest example being perhaps the magnificent seven-bayed construction in the grounds of Saint-Wandrille (Seine-Maritime).

## AN ANGLO-NORMAN TRADITION?

That the hall and chamber-block tradition was common to both England and Normandy in the century or so after 1125 raises the question of whether it was in any sense peculiar to these regions. We know that apartments differentiated in the Middle Ages and identified today as 'halls' and 'chambers' were common to seigneurial residences over most of western Europe, but was there in fact any difference in the Anglo-Norman structural response to these requirements, or did it conform perhaps with slight regional variation to a much more widespread tradition?

If we look at seigneurial buildings outside Normandy, we find, of course, much common ground. The *grandes salles* (known or extant) at the châteaux of Angers (Maine-et-Loire) (11th century) and Blois (Loir-et-Cher) (13th century), at the Palais de la Cité in Paris (c. 1300) or at Montargis (Loiret) (c. 1300) have generally been accepted as close equivalents<sup>34</sup> to those at Caen or Westminster. To a large extent this is correct: we know that not only were they used for the exercise of justice, but also that they were the setting for formal meals staged much as in England, and that certainly in France the practice persisted throughout the Middle Ages. But if we look at the plan of these rooms in more detail, there are telling differences notably in the absence not only of the 'Anglo-Norman' layout of the service and access routes but of a consistent alternative. More importantly, the later examples cited represent a tradition in the organization of seigneurial houses, observable and probably dominant in France and Germany from the 12th century onwards, in which there was no single 'communal' hall, but separate halls provided for the upper and lower households superimposed within the same structure. Important early examples include the bishops' palace at Paris, put up by Maurice of Sully after 1160 and known from pre-Revolutionary records,<sup>35</sup> while a Romanesque structure of the same form is also implied by the two-level chapel at Laon (Aisne). A variation of the same 'storeyed-house' pattern is found in Germany, as for example in the 12th-century domestic buildings at Münzenberg (Hesse)<sup>36</sup> and the Wartburg (Saxony).<sup>37</sup>

The common use of the 'storeyed-house' formula on the Continent outside Normandy does not, of course, rule out the parallel use of practices much more like those of England and the Duchy. But although it is dangerous to argue that a certain form of structure, as with any artefact or practice, did not exist in a certain area in a certain period, the Continental use of anything akin to the 'hall and chamber-block formula' outside Normandy is, it seems, extremely rare: moreover, those domestic buildings in neighbouring areas which do more than superficially recall the Anglo-Norman pattern can be attributed to Angevin builders to whom it

<sup>34</sup> With reference to the last three, see Colvin, *op. cit.* in note 28, 44 (fig. 9).

<sup>35</sup> E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1858-68), VIII, 14-16 and 70-71.

<sup>36</sup> B. Jost, 'The castle at Münzenberg (Hesse), and its relationship to later twelfth-century castles', in G. Meirion-Jones et al. (eds), *The Seigneurial Residence in Europe* (forthcoming).

<sup>37</sup> K. M. Swoboda, *Römische und Romanische Paläste: Eine architekturgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Vienna, 3rd ed., 1969); S. Asche, *Die Wartburg: Geschichte und Gestalt* (Berlin, 1962).

was familiar. For example, the superb double-aisled 'grenier' at Angers<sup>38</sup> by the late Middle Ages in use as a store-building but surely, in origin, domestic dates from the generation after 1154 and can be attributed to the patronage of Henry II.<sup>39</sup> The Sieur de Joinville's description of the building at Saumur (Maine et Loire) used by St Louis in 1241 suggests that it was an aisled hall, but attributes it to 'the great Henry II'; the 'grande salle' of the palace of l'Ombrière at Bordeaux (Gironde), known from detailed 18th-century plans<sup>40</sup> to have consisted of a nave and single aisle with a four-bay arcade between, is, once again, almost certainly also of Angevin origin. The same can be said of the palace of the counts of Maine at Le Mans (Sarthe), known from a plan of c. 1750<sup>41</sup> (which contained a gigantic double-aisled hall of seven bays), reminiscent in its close-set posts of archaic English halls such as Henry I's construction at Cheddar (Somerset),<sup>42</sup> and also of later examples such as Leicester Castle,<sup>43</sup> and Cheddar as rebuilt by King John.<sup>44</sup> The Anglo-Norman plan of the famous hall at Poitiers (Vienne), complete with paired service doors opposite the dais end, built at the end of the 12th century by Eleanor of Aquitaine,<sup>45</sup> can be similarly explained. Thus, in the period c. 1125–1225, present evidence suggests that the strictly defined 'hall and chamber-block formula' was particular to the Anglo-Norman builder.

### THE ORIGINS OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN TRADITION

If a specifically Anglo-Norman tradition did exist in the 12th century, an explanation is required. Among the possibilities are the following:

1. that the tradition represents an ancient 'pan-European' custom extinct everywhere by the 12th century except in Normandy;
2. that the tradition evolved independently in England and Normandy before the Conquest;
3. that the tradition emerged in Normandy and was transferred to England after the Conquest;
4. that the tradition had its origins in England and was transferred to Normandy after the Conquest.

The first hypothesis, although plausible, is not supported by any specific evidence, while the second is inherently difficult to test. With regard to the third, although excavation in Normandy has revealed pre-Conquest structures belonging

<sup>38</sup> A. Mussat, 'L'Hôpital Saint-Jean à Angers', *Congrès Archéol. de France*, cxxxii (1964), 79 and 85.

<sup>39</sup> *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. M. de Wailly (Paris, 1878), 54. On the interpretation of this passage see M. W. Thompson, *The Rise of the Castle* (Cambridge, 1991), 44–46.

<sup>40</sup> Archives communales de Bordeaux, XU/8; J. Gardelles, *Les Châteaux du moyen âge dans la France sud-ouest* (Geneva, 1972), 105–07 and fig. 26, pl. ix.

<sup>41</sup> Archives Départementales de la Sarthe, cat.no. 187; R. Triger, 'L'hôtel de ville du Mans' (1471–1898 *Revue Historique et archéologique du Maine* 43, 1898, 113–88, 133; A. Renoux, *Palais médiévaux: 25 ans d'archéologie* (Le Mans, 1994), 53–57.

<sup>42</sup> P. A. Rahtz, *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar* (Oxford, 1979).

<sup>43</sup> N. Alcock and R. Buckley, 'Leicester Castle: The Great Hall', *Medieval Archaeol.*, xxxi (1987), 73–79.

<sup>44</sup> Rahtz, op. cit. in note 42.

<sup>45</sup> For plan (as later modified) see Viollet-le-Duc, op. cit. in note 35, vii, 10.

to the 'Germano-Nordic' vernacular tradition,<sup>46</sup> and complexes of the 'hall and chamber' type dating from the Merovingian, Carolingian or early 'Ducal' period may await discovery, nothing (with the possible exception of the curious timber buildings excavated at Grimbosq (Calvados))<sup>47</sup> yet heralds the Anglo-Norman pattern as defined above. Nor can this be said of the more ambitious complexes, such as those represented by the enigmatic 'Palais de Guillaume' at Lillebonne (Seine-Maritime), the fragments excavated in the castle at Caen, or dwellings contained in or including towers, such as Duke Richard I's (943–97) at Bayeux and Rouen, or the partially surviving examples at Ivry-la-Bataille (Eure) (c. 1000) and Avranches (Manche) (c. 1050?).<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, bearing in mind that its first identifiable appearance in Normandy dates only from the 1120s, the pattern could still be assumed to have originated in Normandy after the Conquest, were it not evident in England well before 1066. The evidence for this is to be found in both literary and archaeological sources, recently summarized and analysed by Blair.<sup>49</sup> The functional prerequisite — the distinction between hall and chamber — is implied as early as the 9th century, notably in King Alfred's own works and in his biography by Asser, in which, for example, he writes 'de aulis et cambris regalibus', 'marvellously constructed of stone and wood'.<sup>50</sup> Structural evidence, revealed by excavation at Mucking (Essex)<sup>51</sup> and Cowdery's Down (Hants.),<sup>52</sup> suggests that the distinction was being made as early as the mid-Saxon period; houses at both sites have subdivisions, at one end of hall-like structures, which can be interpreted as chambers.<sup>53</sup> Examples dating from after c. 1000, however, display characteristics more blatantly ancestral to the Anglo-Norman pattern in its mature form, in which hall and chamber are housed in distinct structures — a development that in timber building was probably regarded as a refinement. Examples include Sulgrave (Northants.),<sup>54</sup> but the clearest example is probably that of Goltho (Lincs.),

<sup>46</sup> J. Le Maho, *La Motte seigneuriale de Mirville (XIe–XIIIe siècles)* (Rouen, 1984), esp. figs 17 and 24; A. Renoux, *Fécamp: Du Palais Ducal au Palais de Dieu* (Paris, 1991), 1.

<sup>47</sup> J. Decaens, 'La Motte d'Olivet à Grimbosq (Calvados): résidence seigneuriale du XIe siècle', *Archéol. Médiévale*, xi (1981), 167–201, esp. fig. 1. The excavator, however, interprets the larger building as a two-storeyed structure.

<sup>48</sup> For the tower at Bayeux see A. Renoux, 'Châteaux et résidences fortifiées des Ducs de Normandie aux X et XI siècles' in *Actes du 11ème Congrès International d'Archéologie médiévale tenu à Caen, October 1987*, pp. 113–24, p. 121; Rouen is mentioned by Robert of Torigny and attributed by him to Richard I (*The Chronicle of Robert of Torigny*, ed. R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I* (Rolls Series, LXXXII, 1886), iv, 106); for Ivry-la-Bataille see E. Impey, 'The *Turris famosa* at Ivry-la-Bataille, Normandy', in G. Meirion-Jones et al (eds), *The Seigneurial Residence in Europe* (forthcoming); for Avranches, see E. Le Héricher, *Avranchin monumental et historique* (Avranches, 1845), 1, 11–12 and E.-A. Pigeon, *Le Diocèse d'Avranches: sa topographie et ses châteaux* (Coutances, 1888). The building suffered a major collapse in 1888 and was demolished immediately afterwards, but a set of photographs of 1888 and surviving remains, both recently identified by David Nicolas, give a good idea of its form and appearance. The building at Lillebonne was destroyed c. 1840, but is known from drawings. See in particular J. S. Cotman and T. H. Turner, *Architectural Antiquities of Normandy* (London, 1822), II, pl. lxix, opp. p. 75.

<sup>49</sup> Blair, *op. cit.* in note 2, 2–4.

<sup>50</sup> Asser's *Life of Alfred*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (Rolls Series, 1904), 77–78, cited by Blair, *op. cit.* in note 2; Colvin, *op. cit.* in note 28, 8.

<sup>51</sup> H. Hamerow, *Excavations at Mucking 2: The Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (English Heritage Research Report 21, London, 1993).

<sup>52</sup> M. Millett and S. James, 'Excavations at Cowdery's Down, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1978–1979', *Archaeol. J.*, cxl (1983), 151–279.

<sup>53</sup> This evidence is also of interest in that it refutes the possibility that the common ground shown between England and Normandy in the 12th century might be due to a Scandinavian influence.

<sup>54</sup> B. K. Davison, 'Excavations at Sulgrave, Northamptonshire, 1960–1976', *Archaeol. J.*, cxxxiv (1977), 105–14.

excavated in the 1970s. Here the Period V dwelling (extant c. 1000–80) consisted of a timber-built single-aisled hall measuring approximately 16 m by 10 m externally, accompanied by a separate building just over a metre from its E. end with dimensions of 7.5 m by 9 m, interpreted by the excavator and others as a 'bower' or chamber.<sup>55</sup> At Deddington (Oxon.), a stone chamber-block and timber hall seem to have existed side by side by the 1050s.<sup>56</sup>

An implication, supported once again by an examination of other Continental evidence, is thus that the 'hall and chamber-block' pattern had its origins in a specifically Anglo-Saxon practice,<sup>57</sup> taking on an 'Anglo-Norman' dimension through its transportation across the channel after 1066. This raises the question of why, when in the fields of ecclesiastical and military architecture Norman practice superseded the English, did the Normans adopt an alien pattern when it came to their houses? The answer may lie in the relative degree to which coherent traditions in these various fields had been developed before the Conquest: by 1066, Anglo-Saxon church buildings had rarely achieved great distinction or great size, but in Normandy, thanks to links with a long-established Continental tradition, they had done both, and the Normans can have felt that they had little to learn from their new subjects. In the field of domestic architecture, however, the Duke and his followers were confronted with a stock of palatial complexes perhaps every bit as impressive, in their way, as anything which they can be shown to have possessed in Normandy, among which were those at Winchester, Westminster and Kingsholm (Glos.). The Winchester royal hall proved inadequate during the reign of Henry I, but that at Kingsholm, just to the north of Gloucester, survived well into the reign of Henry III, while it has been argued that William Rufus's prodigious hall at Westminster replaced an Anglo-Saxon timber structure of comparable dimensions.<sup>58</sup> The same impression could as easily have been encountered by those lower down the social scale. As the Norman seigneurie seem to have had no coherent tradition of their own in purely residential building, the highly evolved Anglo-Saxon pattern may have had an immediate appeal.

#### ALTERNATIVES TO THE HALL AND CHAMBER-BLOCK PATTERN IN NORMANDY, 1125–1225

The hall and chamber-block pattern was not, of course, the only or necessarily the dominant arrangement employed by Norman seigneurial builders in any period. The form of the Phase VIII building excavated at Mirville (Calvados) alone shows, not surprisingly, that the use of 'Germano-Nordic' vernacular building techniques persisted at least beyond 1100 (even if the planning could have conformed to the Anglo-Norman pattern); in addition, the Continental 'storeyed

<sup>55</sup> G. Beresford, *Goltho: The Development of an Early Medieval Manor, c. 850–1150* (London, 1987), esp. fig. 75 and pp. 71–84.

<sup>56</sup> The late Martyn Jope, pers. comm.; see also R. J. Ivens, 'Deddington castle and Odo of Bayeux', *Oxoniensia*, XLIX (1984), 101–19.

<sup>57</sup> S. James et al., 'An early medieval building tradition', *Archaeol. J.*, CXXI (1984), 182–215.

<sup>58</sup> Colvin, *op. cit.* in note 28, 42–47.

house', in its purely domestic form, was already being introduced into Normandy from France proper by c. 1210.<sup>59</sup> To these, the 'Anglo-Norman' formula probably represented a straightforward alternative, but its relationship to its most prominent 'rival' the defensible residential tower, i.e. buildings usually referred to as *donjons* is more interesting. If, as had almost certainly been the case at Ivry-la-Bataille and Rouen, the larger 12th-century towers such as those at Falaise (Calvados), Caen and Alençon (Orne) at least had the capacity to serve as entire residences, they could clearly also offer a straightforward alternative to the arrangement adopted at Beaumont-le-Richard, Bricquebec and Creully, or implied at Fontaine Henry. But the fact that few residential towers contained the entire residence led, in practice, to some blurring of the distinction: mid-12th-century Norman tower residences such as at Brionne (Eure), which contained only one or two habitable rooms, may effectively have functioned as defensible chamber-blocks, and been accompanied by other residential buildings, even if not necessarily by a hall of 'Anglo-Norman' form. Such hybrid arrangements may in some cases have remained in use throughout the Middle Ages, but by the end of the 12th century, at sites where all the main accommodation was within a tower, their residential role may frequently have been supplanted by a more practical hall and chamber-block complex in the bailey. Certainly this is suggested by the English experience, and to some extent by archaeological evidence at Domfront and Falaise,<sup>60</sup> and may have occurred at Caen, where Henry I built both the Echiquier and a gigantic keep, as early as the 1120s.

### CONTINENTAL INFLUENCES ON ENGLAND

The possibility that the 12th-century Norman seignury may have adopted an English model for the building of their houses does not, of course, mean that pre-Conquest Continental practices were not also transferred to England: both Continental planning and Continental building techniques were to have a major impact on English domestic architecture after 1066.

The most obvious building type to be introduced was the keep or *donjon*, its first manifestation in its mature form being either the White Tower or Colchester (Essex). But the *donjon* was also accompanied by other variations of the Continental storeyed house, now identifiable as such and not as 'prototype' keeps, thanks to the realization that the mature four-square *donjon* was not a post-Conquest development, but had existed in Normandy since about 1000. Examples of such buildings include the curious tower at Chepstow (Gwent) and the double-pile building on the motte at Castle Acre (Norfolk).<sup>61</sup> The same broad interpretation can be applied to other 'unorthodox' buildings, including, for example, the gigantic 'west hall' built

<sup>59</sup> E. Impey, 'Le Manoir de Chauvincourt (Eure): une résidence seigneuriale du XIIIe siècle', *Bull. Monumental*, 157 (1999), 63–70.

<sup>60</sup> E. Impey, *op. cit.* in note 5, 64–68.

<sup>61</sup> J. G. Coad and A. D. F. Streeten, 'Excavations at Castle Acre, Norfolk, 1972–1977', *Archaeol. J.*, cxxxix (1982), 138–301.

by Bishop William Giffard (1107–29) at Wolvesey Palace, Winchester,<sup>62</sup> and perhaps also Le Puiset's 'double hall' at Durham, which have much more in common with the French and German palaces mentioned above than anything in the 'hall and chamber-block' tradition.<sup>63</sup>

The parallel use of the alien storeyed house and the 'hall and chamber-block' formula in England produced results and compromises similar to those observable or implied in Normandy. The use as such of the residential tower incorporating all essential accommodation was particularly short-lived: by or during the early 13th century almost every major example can be shown to have been accompanied by a hall and chamber-block complex in the bailey. With the notable exception of Henry II's deliberately impressive but already archaic keeps at Dover and Newcastle, related post-1150 structures can rarely be interpreted as entire houses — a phenomenon anticipated at the episcopal palaces such as Wolvesey and Sherborne (Dorset),<sup>64</sup> where the 'keeps' are effectively turriform chamber-blocks associated with a vast residential complex.

With regard to structural innovation, the most obvious impact of the Conquest was the increasingly widespread and competent use of masonry, not just to reproduce Continental forms, but to give new stature and permanence to complexes of the adopted 'hall and chamber' type.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it appears that mainstream seigneurial domestic architecture in Normandy in the period 1125–1225 was essentially similar to that in England: the typical ensemble consisted of a two-storey residential block associated with a detached communal hall, usually open from floor to rafters and at ground-floor level, each element developing a remarkably consistent design. The apparent absence of this specific response to the needs of a seigneurial household elsewhere on the Continent may justify the label 'Anglo-Norman'. The explanation for this peculiarity may lie in its basis in an insular tradition evolved in Anglo-Saxon England, transported to Normandy only after 1066. At the same time an earlier tradition of building storeyed houses persisted — most obviously in the form of the *donjon* — and was transferred, in more than one guise, to England.

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<sup>62</sup> M. Biddle, *Wolvesey Palace* (HMSO, 1990).

<sup>63</sup> The plan of Giffard's building at Wolvesey (the 'west hall') has an obvious similarity with that of the Wartburg and other German palaces where main rooms at two or more levels are fronted by an open corridor, and suggests an interesting interpretation for this unusual building. Le Puiset's north range at Durham could perhaps also be interpreted in this way.

<sup>64</sup> See P. White, *Sherborne Old Castle* (HMSO, 1971).

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