

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF AMBERLEY CASTLE.

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EAST of the Arun and north of the Downs the Upper greensand formation makes a fertile strip of land between the upland pastures of the Downs and the alluvial Brooks, towards which it ends in a miniature cliff between ten and thirty feet high. On the edge of this cliff, at the western end of the village of Amberley, stands the castle, or, to be more precise, the fortified manor house, which is the subject of this paper.

I am acquainted with two¹ authorities for the architectural history of the castle. Dallaway² devotes to it three pages with a ground plan and an engraving. His work deserves the respect to which all pioneer work is entitled, and some of his mistakes are of a kind to which a pioneer is very liable. Thus his assertion that the Chapel lay north of the Hall leads me to suspect that he was caught by the fool's mate of the student of domestic architecture—the assumption that the Gothic style was confined to sacred buildings. Some of his assertions, made without reference to authority, look like a record of the local traditions, which they are now used to confirm. Besides these, his work is marred by some rather gross blunders, the more to be regretted as they reappear from time to time in modern popular works, whose authors have used him as an authority. Thus his assertion that the projection to the north of

¹ The sections on Amberley in Horsfield's *History of Sussex* and in Elwes and Robinson's *Castles and Mansions of Western Sussex* do not appear to embody the results of any original research.

² *History of Western Sussex*, Vol. II., pp. 197-200. My references to Dallaway are to these pages.



REMAINS OF GREAT HALL FROM WEST.

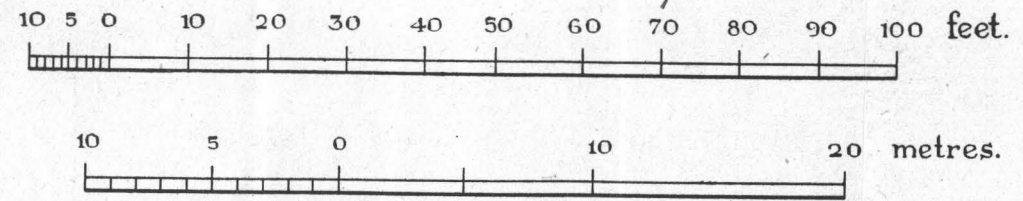
Showing the principal doorway of Hall and remains of side window.

Amberley Castle

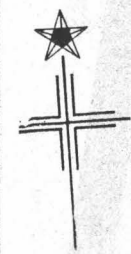
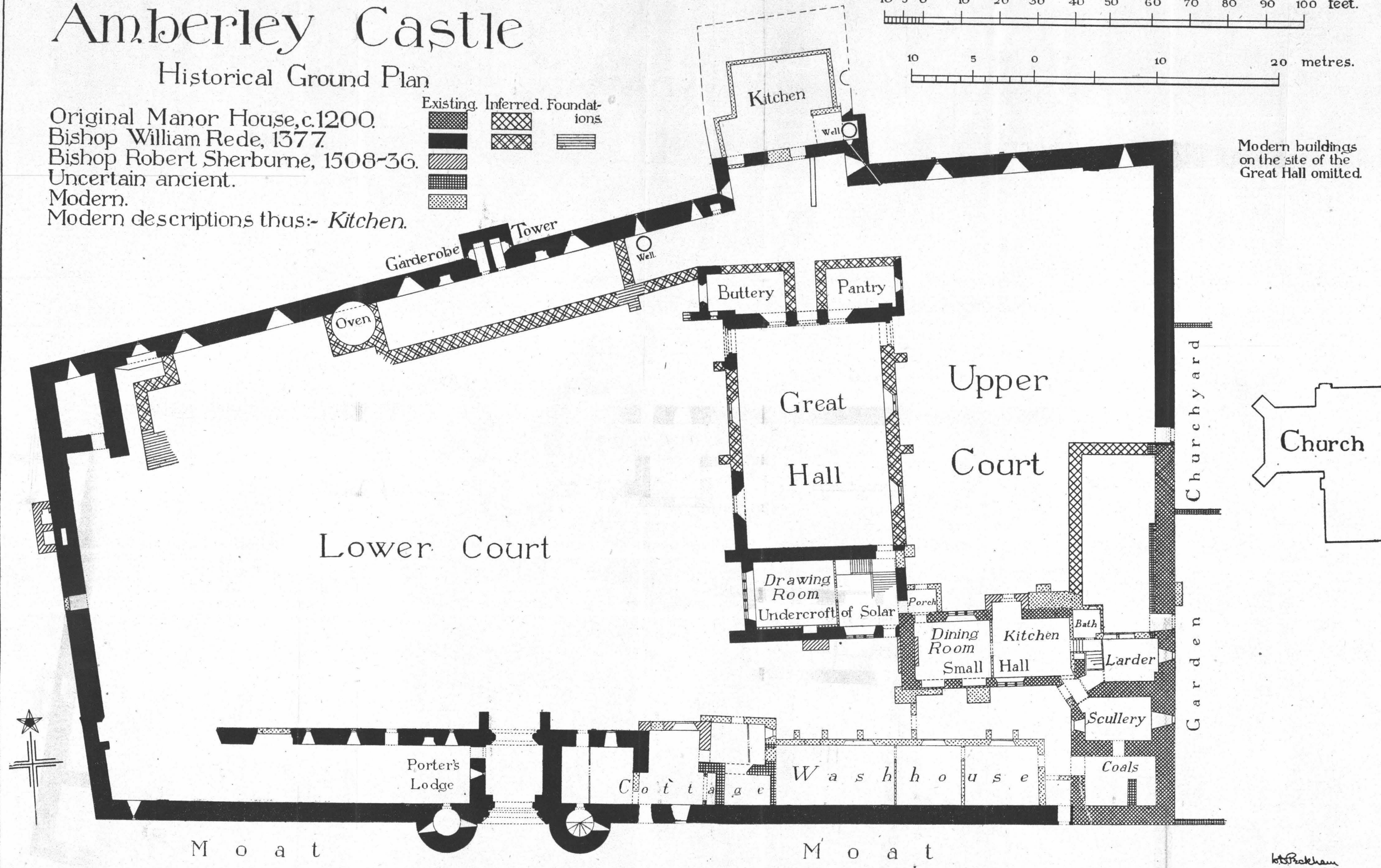
Historical Ground Plan

Original Manor House, c.1200.
 Bishop William Rede, 1377.
 Bishop Robert Sherburne, 1508-36.
 Uncertain ancient.
 Modern.
 Modern descriptions thus:- *Kitchen.*

Existing.	Inferred.	Foundations.



Modern buildings on the site of the Great Hall omitted.



W. P. R. mens. & del.
 July 1920-Feb. 1921.

the castle was semi-circular is utterly at variance with the existing masonry, which is still in much the same condition as it was in the eighteenth century, to judge from drawings. His statement that the Licence to crenellate was issued in 1379 is at variance with his quoted authority, the Patent Rolls. And he has perpetrated a wonderful blunder in combining two entries from the Parish Register into one.³ I note other corrections in the course of this paper. His plan must, I fear, be dismissed as worthless.

In 1865 the Sussex Archaeological Society met at Amberley, and in Vol. XVII. of the *Collections*⁴ is embodied the very full account then given by the Rev. G. A. Clarkson of the antiquities of the parish of which he was for so many years vicar. Having studied this paper with some care—it is the groundwork of my own—I feel I have a right to criticize it. When I consider the incompleteness of some references, and the total absence of others,⁵ the small witticisms, pleasant enough doubtless when the paper was delivered orally, but painfully inept when read in cold blood over fifty years after, and above all the disjointed style and the casual allusions where I have yearned for plain straightforward statements of fact or opinion, I am tempted to call this paper a model of what such a paper should not be. But when I consider the array of facts given and the industry which must have been lavished in collecting them from varied sources, I revoke my former judgment and content myself by qualifying a verdict of praise with a regret that Clarkson's skill in presenting facts was not equal to his diligence in collecting them.

And in one respect he has been too modest. His letterpress would lead the reader to infer that his plan

³ "Elizabeth the ladie Goring widdow was buried the 28th of Decemb. 1647."

"Frey Lewknor the elder was burryed on tuesdaie the 26 of September 1654."

Cf. Dallaway, II., p. 199, *note b*.

⁴ Pp. 185-239.

⁵ The quotation on p. 227 is a flagrant instance of an omitted reference.

is the roughest of sketches, whereas it is very reasonably accurate, far surpassing that of Dallaway.⁶ Its main error lies in not placing the fragment of ruin north of the present farm house (the lower end of William Rede's Great Hall) in its true alignment. The error is obvious to anyone who has identified this piece of wall, and is liable unduly to discredit the value of the plan.

And there is one authority which, for all his industry, Clarkson strangely ignored—the evidence of the Castle itself. In the ivy-covered and ruinous condition in which it was at the time it was certainly not so easy to study as now, but Clarkson's neglect of it is probably due less to the risk of falling stones than to the archaeological methods of his day, which preferred the muniment room to the open air, and were almost uninfluenced by the comparative method. If I have erred, it is probably in the other direction, in placing too much reliance on stone, and too little on parchment.

It is a thankless task to criticise my predecessors' work, but archaeology would stand still if it was not done, and I do not grudge to a successor, after maybe another half century, the right of criticism which I have claimed for myself.

Besides the two works quoted I have examined various original documents⁷ and other works, references to which will be given in the course of this paper, and also several eighteenth century drawings of the Castle:

Buck's view, dated 1737, the exterior from the south west.

Two views in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1795 (Vol. 65, p. 13). These are views of the exterior from the south-east and north-west respectively.

Two sepia drawings dated apparently 1780 (the date

⁶ I should be most unwilling to claim complete accuracy for my own plan. My measurements were, however, taken to the nearest half inch, and the plan originally made on a scale of sixteen feet to the inch. I have taken diagonals freely, though I have in places been hampered by the presence of hedges and trees.

⁷ Unless it is clear from the context that I am quoting at second hand it is to be understood that I have examined the original.

has been partly trimmed out) in the possession of Mr. L. F. Salzman. One represents the gateway from the north, the other is a view looking east in the lower court.

Grimm's four drawings in the Burrell MSS.,⁸ dated 1788, one of the gateway and wall to the west of it from the north, one of the Upper Court looking west, one exterior view from the north and one of the Lower Court looking south-west.

None of these drawings call for any particular remark, their testimony is unanimous that, with one exception, no change of any importance has taken place in the Castle during the last two centuries.

In 1908 the late Duke of Norfolk undertook a thorough restoration of the curtain wall. This restoration, which took five years to complete, evoked considerable outcry from a certain section of the community on account of the removal of ivy which it involved. But it appears eminently satisfactory as a measure directed to the preservation of ancient walls. The Duke, I am told, took a personal interest in the work, and was particularly careful to satisfy himself that the new work followed, as far as possible, the lines of the old. Unfortunately, however, no record seems to have been kept of the precise state of the buildings before restoration,⁹ from which I might have been able to draw inferences. A plan, on a scale of sixteen feet to one inch, was made for restoration purposes. This I have examined, and shall refer to as the Arundel Plan. I made my own plan independently.

The history of the Manor of Amberley goes back to the days of St. Wilfrid himself, and the proximity of Church and Manor House suggest that they represent the very positions of their earliest predecessors. But the earliest traceable architectural history of the Castle does not begin till some time after the Conquest, at which date it seems likely that the Manor House was of the handiest local building material—wood. There

⁸ British Museum, MSS. Add. 5674, f. 6 and 7.

⁹ The question of whether the two windows in the eastern curtain were open or closed, reverted to later, is a case in point.

seems, however, no reason to doubt that at the close of the twelfth century, or beginning of the thirteenth, a stone manor house stood here, of which the greater part remains to this day. At the west end of the north wall of the Queens' Room wing¹⁰ are the remains of a Transitional-Norman doorway; the shafts and capitals are preserved as are the springing of the arches, from the latter it would seem to have been a pointed arch. The bases were below the level of the present pavement, and the arch has been cut away to give room for a rectangular doorway.¹¹ In the same wall, slightly farther east, above the Dining Room window, is a blocked lancet on the level of the present first floor. The rere arch of this is pointed, the outer appears, so far as can be made out in the present state of the wall, to be round. In the south wall of the Queens' Room wing the only feature which can claim so high an antiquity is the doorway leading into the Kitchen. This is round-arched, but owing to the absence of any ornament it would be unsafe to place much reliance on its evidence, if unsupported.

In the East wing, over the westward window of the Scullery, is a two-light window with pointed arches. Instead of a mullion it has a slender shaft with the typical thirteenth century water-base and a square abacus to the capital, both pointing to a date very near that of the Dining Room door.¹² Further south in the same wall, originally lighting the room over the coal cellar, is a single-light window of the square-head

¹⁰ I shall refer to the central part of the present farm house (marked Small Hall on plan) as the Queens' Room wing. Similarly the part containing the Larder, Scullery and Coal Cellar I shall refer to as the East wing, and to the western part of the farm house (Undercroft of Solar on plan) as the Court Room wing. (The Court Baron of the Manor was held in the present Drawing Room within the memory of man.) North of this wing lie recent buildings, now disused, or used only as cellars, which I have omitted from my principal plan.

¹¹ The arch was already mutilated in 1865 (*S.A.C.*, XVII., 228) and possibly far earlier.

¹² This window is clearly seen in the photograph (57) in *Old Cottages and Farmhouses in Kent and Sussex*. Also in the very accurately drawn pen-and-ink sketch on p. 87 of *Highways and Byways in Sussex*. Clarkson, obsessed with his documentary evidence, attributed it to William Rede. *S.A.C.*, XVII., 226.

trefoil type. And in the second floor over this a similar window is visible on the outside, this has been blocked by the insertion of a fireplace of Bishop Sherburne's time. In the present east curtain wall of the castle between the two doorways, and outside the present limits of the house, are two windows of two lights each, which appear to be of the same date, very early in the Gothic style.¹³ The mullions, most of the arched heads of the lights, and the whole of the splays, date from the restoration, but the enclosing arches are ancient, as are two of the outer halves of the heads of the lights. There was no authority for restoring the mullion as it is, and a capital now in the Gateway Tower may have been that of a central shaft of one of these windows. It resembles that of the two-light windows on the west side of the east wing, but instead of having a square abacus it has one of a modified octagonal form, the diagonal faces being shorter than the others. This compromise form of abacus occurs in Bishop Seffrid's work in the Cathedral.

I conclude that it is these two-light windows which Dallaway, and Clarkson after him,¹⁴ described as Norman, the moulding of the outer arch resembling Norman rather than Early English work.

Besides these architectural features, all pointing to the survival of the greater part of a house which was standing long before William Rede's day, there is one other significant fact, that the ancient masonry within the limits imposed by these features (and including the west wall of the Queens' Room wing) is rubble, whereas the ancient masonry of William Rede's time is all ashlar.

I am only aware of one scrap of evidence which can be produced against this theory, the statement in the *Catalogus*,¹⁵ repeated in the inscription on Sher-

¹³ These were first floor windows, and as such are not shown on my plan.

¹⁴ *S.A.C.*, XVII., 228.

¹⁵ The copy of the *Catalogus* in Liber E (f. 169) is in one hand down to and including William de Lenne, continued in a second hand to Richard Fitzjames inclusive, that in Liber Y (f. 176, v.) is all in one hand as far as Fitzjames. The inference is very strong that both copies of the entry relating to William Rede only date from Sherburne's time.

burne's painting of the Bishops in the Cathedral, that William Rede built the Castle *a fundamentis*. But a sweeping statement of this kind, made by a mediaeval, must always be taken with caution, and cannot, in this case, be allowed to upset the clear internal evidence of the building.¹⁶

In default of more complete evidence this work cannot be ascribed with certainty to any one bishop, the more so as the Amberley mason may then have been, as he certainly was later, conservative in his style. But the resemblance to the work at Chichester which was carried out as part of the restoration after the fire of 1187 suggests that the Bishop, warned by the recent destruction of the Palace there, took the precaution to replace a wood-built house at Amberley by one of stone. It is also possible that work on the stone house had begun before the fire, and was interrupted by the more urgent demand for repairs in the cathedral city.¹⁷

There would seem no doubt that the Queens' Room wing was the Great Hall of this original house, the now mutilated doorway, and possibly another corresponding to it, opening into the lower end of it, while the south Kitchen door, which originally opened outwards,¹⁸ may have given access to the solars. Part of the wall of the upper end is shown on the plan, and possibly more survives under the floor of the present bathroom, which is several steps above kitchen floor level. Of the arrangement of the solars I can add nothing to what can be gathered from my plan, except that the first floor walls correspond pretty closely with those of the ground floor, while the second floor buildings over the larder and scullery seem to be of a much later date. As to the arrangement of the destroyed portion of this solar there is no evidence beyond the two-light

¹⁶ The curious and somewhat complex arrangement of the Castle, as it stood in Rede's time, might alone have suggested that it incorporated an earlier building, even had no earlier features survived.

¹⁷ Mr. P. M. Johnston tells me that the tool-marks on certain stones suggest a stone building considerably earlier than any feature now existing.

¹⁸ The old hinge hooks are still in position.

windows already referred to. The great size of the solars is very remarkable.

There would seem to have been no permanent kitchen building, cooking must have been done, either in the open air, or at the lower end of the hall. I can identify no well as belonging to this house; the present well at the eastern end of the washhouse does not seem well placed for it, and I can get no data as to its antiquity.

There is an isolated statement in an early nineteenth century work¹⁹ that John de Langton (Bishop 1305-1337) built here, but no ancient authority for this statement is quoted. And Mr. P. M. Johnston tells me that he would date the lower end of the later Great Hall by internal evidence during the episcopate of Robert de Stratford (1337-1362). Personally I hold the view that until William Rede's time the Manor House of c. 1200 sufficed for the needs of the Bishops when they visited Amberley, save possibly for some redecorating and refitting and also for the erection, at a date which probably cannot be recovered, of a chapel.

With regard to the later Great Hall, dating from evidence of style, can never be considered conclusive, as Echingham Church and Wadham Chapel, Oxford, witness. There is, of course, nothing to have prevented a Bishop adding a second and larger Great Hall before the house was fortified, but I think it is in the last degree improbable that he, with plenty of level ground to choose from, should have placed his kitchen where the ancient kitchen was. It is true that the kitchen of the mediaeval Great House was generally placed centrally on the axial line, with the entrance to its passage between the Buttery and Pantry doors, as it is in fact placed at Amberley,²⁰ but this gave way to exigencies of site. Where it was more convenient the kitchen and servery were placed on one side, as at

¹⁹ Winkle's *Cathedrals*, 1838, Vol. II., 27.

²⁰ Besides the evidence apparent from the plan, I may mention that the traces of hinge hooks point to the central door at the lower end of Hall having been in one piece. A buttery or pantry would have had a hatch.

Winchester College or, to take a later example, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, or even in an altogether exceptional position like 'Bishop Sherburne's kitchen' at Chichester. The actual position of the Amberley kitchen on an artificial platform, though explicable if it is contemporary with the crenellation, is clear evidence against an earlier date.

On the other hand, the two traceried windows in the north curtain wall, which is clearly no earlier than William Rede's time, contain Decorated and not Perpendicular tracery, and are therefore evidence that the Amberley mason, or his employer, was conservative in his ideas. The man who used the old-fashioned reticulated tracery in his window-heads may equally well have used an old-fashioned moulding on his doorway, and the combination may have induced Winkle's authority to refer the work to John de Langton.

As to the date at which the chapel was built there is, as I say, no evidence,²¹ but it seems fairly probable that there was a chapel here before William Rede's time, although the earliest notice of it of which I am aware is in the Register of Robert Rede,²² the earliest Register, be it noted, which has come down to our time. The custom of every priest saying Mass daily, granted reasonable facilities, is, I believe, of very ancient date, and the Bishops had probably provided themselves with accommodation other than the Parish Church before the end of the fourteenth century.

The transformation of Amberley from a small unfortified house to a Castle was the work of William Rede, who occupied the See from 1368 to 1385. The 'licentia crenellandi,' dated Dec. 10, 1377, is entered in the Patent Rolls,²³ but gives no information beyond the bare facts. This should fix the earliest date of the building beyond question; it seems to me very unlikely that a Bishop in the Home Counties would dare

²¹ I reserve discussion as to its probable site till later.

²² *S.R.S.*, XI., 339. April 18, 1400.

²³ 1 Richard II., part 2, m. 19. ". . . Willelmo Episcopo Cicestrensi, quod ipse manerium suum de Ambrele muro de petra et calce firmare et kernellare . . . possit." The rest is verbiage.

fortify first and ask leave afterwards under that 'decus Anglorum, flos regum preteritorum' the third Edward. There is, however, a tradition that he began work under that King, which is, I believe, based on Camden's statement²⁴ that "William Read, Bishop of Chichester, in the reign of Edward the third, built a castle for his successors" at Amberley, fortified possibly by an unwillingness to admit that any but Perpendicular windows were made in the reign of Richard II. I consider that Camden's statement, which was possibly only meant to be approximate, cannot be taken against the explicit date of the Licence.

From Rede's will, dated 1-3 August, 1382,²⁵ it appears that building operations were still going on then.

More important than the precise date are the two allied questions which have a bearing on the crenellation, why Amberley, of all the manors, was chosen, and why, of all the line of mediaeval bishops, it was Rede who fortified it. It would have been natural enough for one of the great statesman-prelates, "such," in the words of the Son of Sirach, "as did bear rule in their kingdoms, men renowned for their power, leaders of the people by their counsels, and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people,"²⁶ like Ralph Neville, or even for a restless Modernist like Pecock, to have built a castle; that Rede, the ex-don, the most learned man who held the see of Chichester during the Middle Ages, should have been commemorated in the Catalogus both for his learning and for his castle-building, is almost as grotesque as if the Licence to crenellate had been granted to St. Richard himself.

Clarkson²⁷ appears to suggest as possible motives, besides fear of social aggression, a taste for building,²⁸

²⁴ Britannia. Edition 1637, 308 D.

²⁵ Lambeth MSS., Reg. Courtenay, f. 212.

²⁶ *Ecclesiasticus* xliv., 3, 4.

²⁷ *S.A.C.*, XVII., 194.

²⁸ But we do not know that Rede had done any previous building. The Merton College Library is not his work (Stephens' *Memorials of Chichester*, p. 119). Nor have I been able to trace evidence that he was a friend of William of Wykeham, and the phrase used of him in his will hardly suggests intimacy.

a dread of ennui, and a desire for shelter from the Amberley winter weather. The last three motives seem to me inadequate,²⁹ with the first I shall deal later.

Protection from French raids on the south coast, which were one of the incidents, generally unrecorded, of the Hundred Years War, has been suggested as a motive. But it is ruled out by the position of Amberley. The man who passed over Selsey and Cakeham, not to speak of south coast manors further east, and fortified a manor some eight miles from the sea as the crow flies, protected moreover by Arundel Castle, was not in fear of French raids.

Another possible theory is that Amberley was fortified to serve as a strategic pivot of a second line of defence in case of a regular French invasion, possibly as part of a general scheme for providing for such a line. With our after knowledge that, in the event, no such invasion took place, we are apt to forget that its possibility would be taken account of by a professional soldier. The age of Rede was also that of men like Sir John Hawkwood, who took the art of war seriously. Actually an invasion of England was contemplated by the French in 1386 and 1387. That the desirability of Amberley as a strong point was in the minds of the military advisers of the Crown, to whom Rede's application for licence may have been referred, is a safe inference; that Rede was induced to build the Castle from this motive does not seem by any means so certain.

For the poor tactical value of the building in face of regular siege operations is fairly apparent from the plan, and still more so on an examination of the building itself, particularly if it is compared with the contemporary work at Bodiam. The north face is remarkably strong, before the Brooks were drained they would have been difficult, if not impossible, ground for heavy siege engines, and the elevation given by the greensand cliff rendered it pretty secure from the attentions of the

²⁹ Clarkson had not, like Rede, houses at Aldingbourne or in the Manhood to which he could remove to avoid an Amberley winter.

sniping archer.³⁰ Further, this wall is bastioned by the great projection of the Kitchen and by the lesser one of the Garderobe tower, both of which have loopholes for enfilading attacks on the north wall. But the west face is less satisfactory. It contained a gate, but it had absolutely no method of enfilading the sapper or the battering ram, while the elevation of the cliff on this side is much less.³¹

The south side is partly protected by a dry moat which can never have held water. The bottom of it is far above the highest flood level of to-day. But on this side again the absence of bastions is noticeable. The two small drum towers flanking the gate give some means of raking the face of the wall, less from window slits in the towers than from the battlements. But the protection of the gate itself is curiously inadequate. There never seems to have been a drawbridge, at any rate there are no signs of one now, no holes, for instance, for chains whereby it could have been lifted, nor traces of a pivot.³² Nor indeed would a drawbridge have been much use if the moat was dry. The portcullis and two-leaved gate must have been adequate so far as they went,³³ but the threshold is commanded by nothing but a ground floor window slit in the western of the two flanking turrets, useful doubtless for a porter to examine a casual 'masterless man' who sought entrance after the gate had been closed, but hopelessly inadequate against an attack by horse, foot and artillery. There are no machicolations either over the gateway or elsewhere. And the vaulted entrance which, by the addition of a second gate and a few holes

³⁰ The openings on the north face of the Garderobe tower are too narrow to allow of a time-honoured method of escalade.

³¹ It may be argued, and I think with some justice, that subsidiary gates, like those at Amberley, could be closed by masonry when the castle was mobilized. But even so there would always be the weakness of a fresh piece of masonry between two straight joints.

³² During the restoration excavations were made in the hope of finding such traces, but without success.

³³ The grooves for the portcullis are quite clear, as are also the great rings let into the wall of the gateway chamber by which it could be raised and lowered. In the illustration in Dallaway one leaf of the gate is still shown as existing.

in the vaulting, might have been made a death trap for men who had forced the outer gate, lacks any such provision.

The eastern wall is worst of all. It contains two gateways,³⁴ there is no trace of a moat and no bastion whatever; the eastward windows of the original house, even if blocked by Rede,³⁵ were a further source of weakness, and, worse still, the whole side is commanded by the thirteenth century church tower.

It is easy to picture the small alterations by which a Sir Edward Dalyngruge could, even if hampered by the proximity of the church, have rendered the castle infinitely more fitted to stand a siege, the use of the corner towers as bastions, for instance, and the provision of those defensive dispositions at the gateway whose absence has been noted.

The inference is strong that the Bishop, or some other man of peace, laid down the principal lines of the building, and the conditions which guided him are apparent. The east wall of the existing house was continued northward to the edge of the cliff, this it followed till it reached what was probably in those days part water course part track down the cliff into the Cowbrook, similar to the tracks which exist further eastward to-day, it then followed the edge of this track till it met the line of the southernmost wall of the existing house prolonged considerably to form the present south curtain wall. The only feature not accounted for by this is the Kitchen; this might easily have been placed east or west of the Buttery and Pantry block, but seems to have been thrown out from tactical considerations, possibly to command what would otherwise have been dead ground at the foot of the cliff east or west of the castle. The facing of it below primitive

³⁴ The whole of the stonework of the southern of these is modern. The original which it has replaced may not have dated from Rede's time.

³⁵ I cannot ascertain for certain whether they were blocked before the restoration. My local informants disagreed on the point. From the absence of any ancient stonework in the splays, and Dallaway's and Clarkson's references to Norman work on the *outer* face of the wall, it would appear that they were.

floor level is of ashlar, though in a very decayed state,³⁶ possibly some projection of the cliff was used as a core on which to build up a partly artificial platform for the kitchen.

It is of course possible that the professional soldier of the day assumed that "any fool knew how to lay out a castle ground plan," and that the professorial Bishop who knew more about epicycles than about siege trains thought that 'a castle' was a castle, and that all that was necessary was to provide thick outer walls and a portcullis. Such misunderstandings have happened in centuries nearer our time than the fourteenth.

But there is another possible explanation, namely, that Rede was not concerned with defence against an external enemy, but against a peasant revolt, such as actually took place in his time.³⁷ This theory will, to a fair extent, account for the weaknesses of design, many of which are of far less importance if the castle was only designed to hold out against a mob of ill-armed peasants. It will also account for the fact that the castle never seems to have been designed to house a large garrison, to judge by what we can recover both of the oven capacity and of the garderobe accommodation. If Rede's knowledge of siege warfare was small, his experience both as Bursar of Merton and as Provost of Wingham³⁸ would replace experience in the then equivalent of the Q Branch of the Staff. Amberley too was a manor which might well have called for such a precaution. The manors in the Manhood lay off the road which a Jacquerie might be expected to take, and a ship would be a possible refuge from a local revolt. Chichester, with its Roman walls, was fairly close to Aldingbourne, whereas Arundel, though not far off Amberley, lay on the other side of a

³⁶ This, of course, affects the accuracy of my measurements.

³⁷ I propose in another paper to discuss the question of how far Rede foresaw the Peasant Revolt. I will here content myself by saying that there is other evidence, besides the fortification of Amberley, which points in the same direction.

³⁸ Brodrick, *Memorials of Merton College*, 211.

river worse bridged then than now.³⁹ It is possible, too, that the men of Amberley were more turbulent than those of the coast country; and in this context it is worth noting that during Wat Tyler's revolt the name of Arundel appears as that of a possible centre of disaffection.⁴⁰

Before discussing Rede's work in detail it will be well to follow out the subsequent history of the Castle. There exists in the Charter Rolls⁴¹ a second licence to crenellate, granted to Adam Moleyns on Oct. 28, 1447. This is a kind of omnibus charter allowing the Bishop among other things to fortify any of his twelve manors named therein (including the Broyle). The Bishop probably did not contemplate any fortification at the moment, but thought that such a licence might come in useful some day. No work exists at Amberley which can be connected with it. Nor does the reference in the Patent Rolls of Henry V.⁴² to the prison at Amberley add anything to our knowledge of its architectural history.

The next alteration, a small one, appears to have been the insertion of larger windows in several places. The best preserved of these is that in the present Drawing Room; this is a five-light window under a segmental arch. The two side lights have arched heads, the arches being two-centred drop arches, un-cusped. The original heads of the middle lights are doubtful, the head of the central part of the window having been squared. A three-light window with similarly arched lights now lights the entrance and main staircase, and another the kitchen. This last is only the lower half of a transomed window existing

³⁹ Houghton Bridge appears to have been built in the fifteenth century (*S.A.C.*, XVII., p. 215 *note*). The old Custumal of Amberley provides that one of the tenants shall maintain the ferry. Episcopal MSS., Liber P, f. 54, v.

⁴⁰ The list, put into the mouth of one of the peasant leaders, is a curious one:—"Essex, Suffolk, Cambridge, Bedford, Warwick, Reading, Lancashire, Arundel, Guildford, Coventry, Lynne, Lincoln, York, and Durham." Kent is presumably not mentioned because the Kentish insurgents were already on the spot. Froissart (Johnes' translation, 1804), Vol. II., chap. cxxxviii.

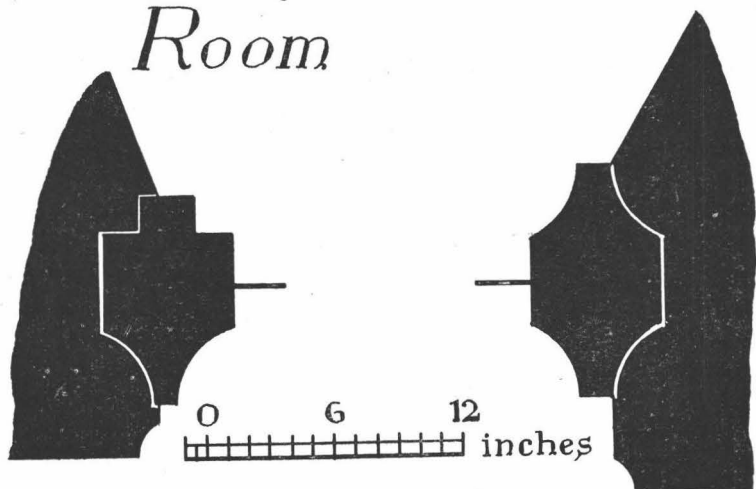
⁴¹ 25-26 Henry VI., m. 14.

⁴² 2 Henry V., Part I, m. 19.

before this wing was divided into two storeys, a small upper floor window was made later in its blocked head, and this in its turn is now blocked. Fragments of a similar window now form the larder window in the cottage,⁴³ and other fragments exist in the gateway tower. The mullion section of these gives no indication of date. The window of the present kitchen must be

Mullion Sections

Drawing Room *Kitchen*



earlier than the cutting up of the Queens' Room wing into two floors, while the absence of cusps in a mullioned window suggests late date; I would suggest, though with some hesitation, that these windows may be early work of Sherburne's, or possibly of his predecessor Fitzjames (1503-06), a bishop who appears to have had a taste for building, though he was too short a time at Chichester to have left much mark on the buildings of

⁴³ This is the small window in the east wall of the cottage north of the wash-house wall. The sill was made for a window of more than one light.

the See.⁴⁴ They are hardly likely to be Storey's work, as he admits in his will that he leaves the buildings of the See in a bad state of repair.⁴⁵

An oft-quoted passage from the Book of Donations gives the amount spent by Sherburne on the property of the See.⁴⁶ It will be noticed that in spite of this large expense his work makes very little show on the plan of Amberley, probably for two reasons. First, Amberley was already the largest and probably the most up-to-date of the Bishops' residences, and Sherburne preferred to spend money on other manors, such as Cakeham. Secondly, his work was rather that of decorating and adapting to the standard of his time than rebuilding, work which may make a vast difference to the comfort of a house but very little to its historical ground-plan. At Amberley his principal work, besides new windows and fireplaces, seems to have been the throwing out of a bay window northward from the earlier Hall and the division of the latter into two floors,⁴⁷ the upper of which contained the famous paintings of the Queens after which it is named. He also constructed what is now the middle bay of the north front of the cottage, rearranged, in a manner by no means clear, the first floor wardrobe on the west curtain wall, and made certain rather mysterious arrangements on the inner side of the east curtain wall.⁴⁸

With Sherburne the line of mediaeval prelates may be said to come to an end, and probably he was the last bishop to reside at Amberley, which was henceforth

⁴⁴ Stephens' *Memorials of Chichester*, p. 183.

⁴⁵ Will of Edward, Bishop of Chichester, Dec. 8, 1502. P.C.C. Blamyr 21.

⁴⁶ £3,717 £s. Part of this must have gone in making good Storey's dilapidations.

⁴⁷ He did the same thing in the case of the later Hall at Chichester. (*S.A.C.*, LII., p. 17.)

⁴⁸ Just south of the present doorway leading to the church were formerly a row of brickwork arches. Another arch, fourcentred, sprang from the present buttress across to another about six feet north of it. The latter is shown in the drawing in *Highways and Byways in Sussex*, p. 89, the former are alluded to by Clarkson (*S.A.C.*, XVII., p. 228). They are shown on the Arundel plan, but the restoration has swept them away, and it is with no certainty that I attribute them to Sherburne.

leased.⁴⁹ The cessation of residence of the Bishops is therefore not originally due to the inroads made by Elizabeth on episcopal incomes, though this must have tended to perpetuate a state of affairs which ended, in the nineteenth century, with the final alienation from the Church of Ceadwalla's gift to St. Wilfrid.

The next stage in the architectural history of the Castle is marked by the Civil War. The precise history of events at Amberley is a matter of controversy. Dallaway says that "the Castle was plundered and dismantled by Waller's soldiers," Frey Lewkenor then holding the lease. He evidently had no more authority for this than local tradition, as he continues: "No authentic account is extant of the exact time and manner in which this destruction took place." Clarkson,⁵⁰ who follows him in stating that Frey Lewkenor held the lease, understands him to assert that the Castle was besieged, and damaged in the course of the siege, a meaning which Dallaway's words do not necessarily convey. Luckily Clarkson himself furnishes some valuable facts which help towards a reconstruction of the history of the Castle.⁵¹

For Frey Lewkenor's tenancy of the Castle we have no authority but Dallaway's statement. Buck, on the other hand, in the letterpress of his engraving of Amberley, composed less than a century after the Civil War, states that "the ancient family of the Gorings had it, and sold their right to James Butler, Esq., whose son and heir, James Butler, Esq., sold his A.D. 1683." While this cannot be literally exact—Butler purchased from the Parliamentary commission, and not from the last leaseholder—it suggests that by

⁴⁹ The lease quoted by Dallaway (without reference) by George Day to Thomas Day, dated 1548, is the earliest lease of the Castle of which I have any knowledge. Had Dallaway referred to the printed edition of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* he would have found that his alleged lease to Sir W. Shelley and Sir W. Goring in 1535 was one of a fishery in Amberley water and not of the Castle.

⁵⁰ *S.A.C.*, XVII., 217.

⁵¹ For the events of the Civil War I have not referred to the originals of the authorities quoted by Clarkson.

the account which Buck received the Gorings immediately preceded the Butlers as occupants of the Castle.⁵² And there is direct confirmation in the contemporary document quoted by Clarkson wherein John Goring definitely speaks of the Castle as his.⁵³ In default of more precise evidence, therefore, we may assume that John Goring held the lease.

He was also the most active Royalist in Amberley, he was 'a great obstructor of the payment of all Parliament taxes,' and tried to persuade 'the inhabitants of the parish to bring their goods into Amberley Castle,' presumably with the double purpose of victualling it against a siege and of committing the owners of the goods definitely to the Royalist side.⁵⁴ In the end it was necessary to get soldiers over from Arundel to distrain for John Goring's taxes.⁵⁵

It is a safe inference from these facts, and from a knowledge of human nature, to suppose that the soldiers from Arundel did not content themselves with exacting the Parliament taxes to the uttermost farthing, but proceeded to give an exhibition of 'frightfulness' by wrecking the house of a noted 'malignant,' who, failing the support of the great mass of the villagers, was not in a position to make a serious resistance, and probably made none.⁵⁶

The internal evidence, if it does not actually support this view, at any rate does not contradict it. Not a scrap of the present roofing in the Castle is, so far as I can judge, original. The whole of the Great Hall roof

⁵² The only reference to this period in the Burrell MSS. (Add. 5687, 10-13) is a quotation of Buck's letterpress. Dallaway seems to have ignored his favourite authority.

⁵³ *S.A.C.*, XVII., 220.

⁵⁴ *S.A.C.*, XVII., 220.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Even if Dallaway's statement that Frey Lewkenor was the leaseholder be accepted, the probabilities are little altered. The Lewkenor family were known for 'malignancy,' and their castle could not escape notice; the men who came over to collect John Goring's taxes are most likely to have remained to wreck Frey Lewkenor's house. Frey Lewkenor cannot have been other than a Royalist and a close friend of John Goring, or the latter would not have called the Castle 'his,' and proposed to use it as a centre of Royalist resistance.

has perished,⁵⁷ so, it would seem, has that of the later solar. Inside the present roof, on the south side of the upper wall of the Great Hall is a horizontal course which appears to have been a weathermoulding of the original roof, but which does not give sufficient data to determine the original design. And the Queens' Room wing has pretty certainly been reroofed; on the north side several courses at the top of the wall appear to have been rebuilt, while on the south side the eaves come very close to the head of a two-light cinquefoiled window over the south kitchen door, and actually cut into the head of a (blocked) window at the south west corner. The present roof appears to be that existing at the time of the Briscoes, whose wall painting fits the present gables, and the period of the Commonwealth seems the most probable with which to associate a reconstruction of the roof in which it was thought fit to lower the height of the walls slightly.

In 1648 Parliament sold the freehold to James Butler, a London merchant, who appears to have decided to set up as a country gentleman. Whether the present roof dates from his time or no, it is to him that I would assign the present fine front staircase with its dog gates and twisted balusters, the back staircase of similar design, and a third staircase, now sadly damaged, which leads into the upper floor of the south-east corner tower.

At the Restoration, the Church lands were simply resumed by their original owners. Practically Amberley can have been little affected, the Butlers evidently being granted a lease.⁵⁸ They in their turn, sold their leasehold interest in 1683.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ See below, p. 42.

⁵⁸ This is inferred. Clarkson (XVII., 222) quotes the Burrell MSS. for a twenty-one years lease in 1682. This tallies exactly with the expiry of a former lease, if we suppose it to have been made for a like term in 1661. Church property was only resumed by its original owners after the dissolution of the Convention Parliament in December, 1660.

⁵⁹ James Butler the elder bought the freehold for £3341. James Butler the younger sold the leasehold for £4800. No inference as to the state of the building when the Butlers came in can be drawn from this. Other factors apart, the estate market was in a very different condition in 1683 from what it was in 1648.

To the Briscoes, the new purchasers, may probably be attributed the so-called King Charles room,⁶⁰ and also the present dining room window. This is designed to match the older windows, from the hood moulding and from the jambs, which are not so well designed as those of the older windows, it is clearly of a later date than they. The two rooms now used as cellars may also date from this period. They are certainly of a later date than the principal staircase, as a window, now blocked, was evidently opened to light the staircase when Bishop William Rede's floor was cut away to admit it, the space into which this window opened must then have been open air. The larger cellar has an upper storey, of the floor of which only the joists remain.

As I have already said, the eighteenth century drawings show the building substantively as it now is.

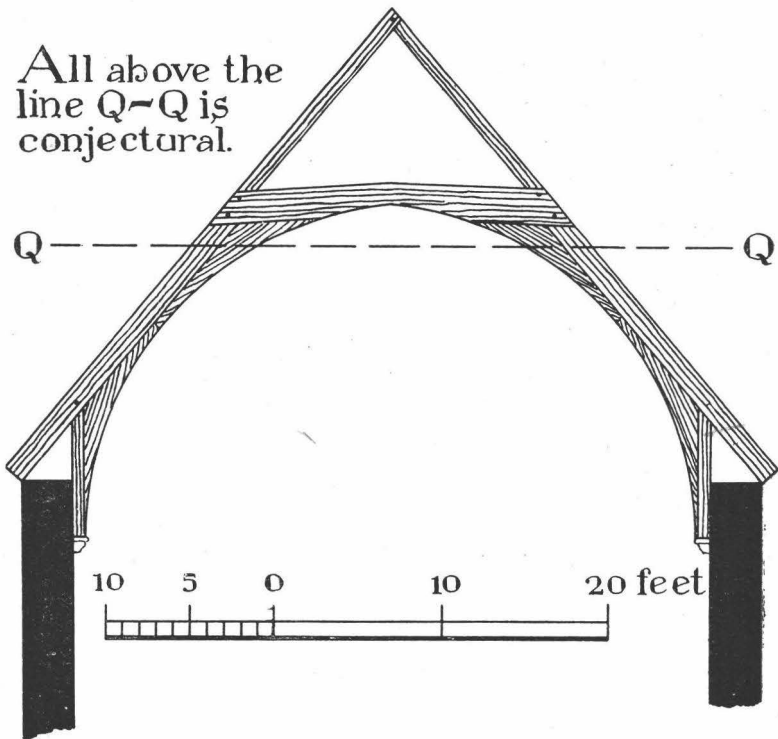
The Castle, as Rede left it, consisted of two courts, or three if there was then, as there is now, a wall dividing the court south of the Queens' Room wing from the principal or lower court. The centre of the whole building was the Great Hall, a building measuring 57 feet by 37 feet 6 inches internal measures, a ratio of 65.7 to 100 or very nearly two to three. It would appear to have been roofed in three bays, of which that at the lower end was half the breadth of the others.⁶¹ No timber of the framing of this roof survives, but the two corbels which carried the roof truss at the lower end are in excellent preservation. The position of one, at least, of those at the upper end can also be made out, as well as the mark left on this gable wall by the principal and an arched brace. From this it appears that the roof was the favourite fourteenth century type with

⁶⁰ I have found no confirmation for the story of King Charles' visit. His arms, and those of Katherine of Braganza, are painted on the east wall of the Queens' Room, though now difficult to see, being over the ceiling of the modern bedroom which has been cut off from it. They may be a memento of the King's visit, they may equally be the origin of the legend of it. Some popular accounts of the Castle improve the story by dating the visit during Charles' flight across Sussex in 1651, regardless of history.

⁶¹ Cf. the similar arrangement at Sutton Courtney.

a collar about half-way up the principals and an arched brace connecting the collar, the principals and the wall pieces. The upper bays being nearly 24 feet broad, it is likely that there was an intermediate principal and

Roof of Great Hall



collar.⁶² The fragment of wall at the upper end of the west side is perceptibly out of plumb, hence the modern buttressing, this suggests that the intermediate principal, either from faulty construction or from failure of

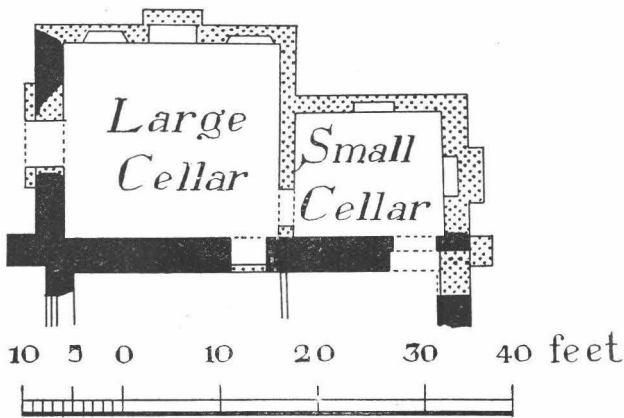
⁶² There can have been no wall piece, as the level of the roof corbels is well below that of the window head.

the collar, pushed this part of the wall out. The thrust of the main trusses was doubtless met by buttresses.⁶³

There are no data to determine whether this hall was warmed by a fireplace or a central hearth, nor as to whether there was a bay window at the upper end of the east side.

The window recesses clearly came down to floor level, as the quoins on one side of the splay may still be seen in the large cellar, the level of the window sill and the

Present state of Great Hall (upper end) (Hatching as on large plan)



pattern of the tracery cannot be determined in the existing state of the building. As the windows were closed by shutters they were probably of two lights.

Of the east doorway to the screens only the north jamb and the spring of the arch survive, the west

⁶³ The dimensions of the buttresses shown on my plan are inferred from part of the wall of the south-east corner of the Pantry, which appears to have been designed to match them, the depth thus inferred corresponds with the depth of the existing buttress at the south-west corner of Hall.

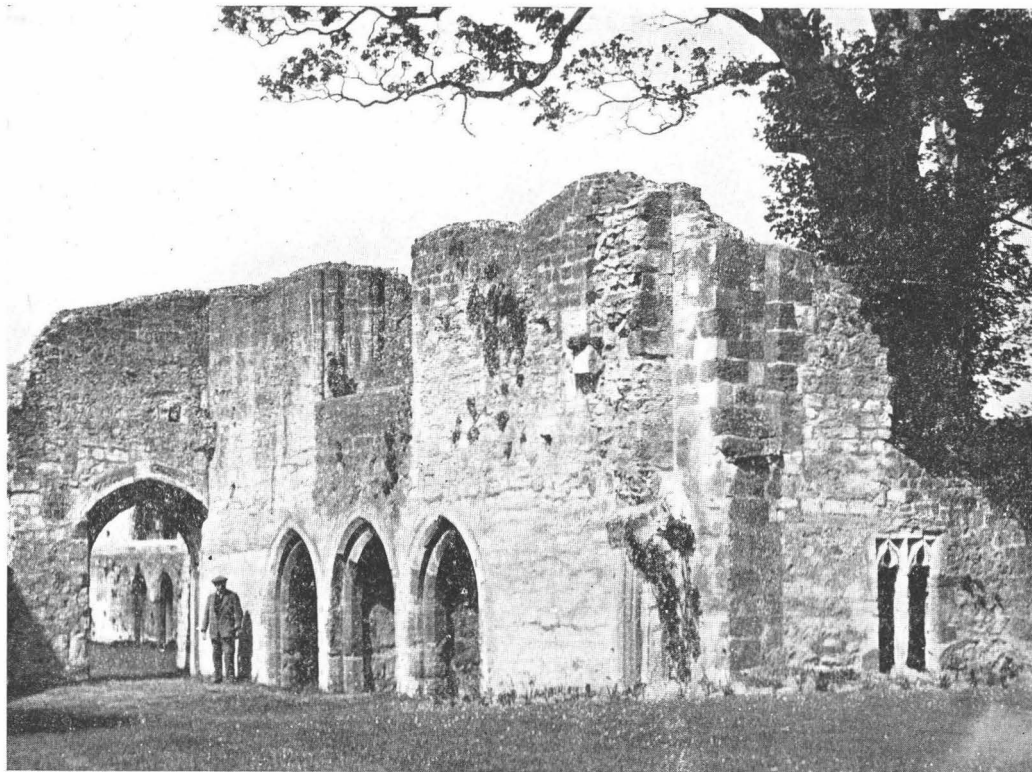
doorway however is perfect. I am uncertain whether this was protected by a porch. Foundations of the continuation of the south wall of the Buttery exist below ground, and were excavated as far as a (later) surface drain, the end of these foundations suggested that this had been a buttress. But there seems no particular need for a rather deep buttress here, nor is there any projection to the corresponding corner of the Pantry. The bonding south of the Hall doorway, shown on plan as the angle of a buttress, may have been the bonding of the other wall of the porch. There is no trace of a weathermould above the Hall doorway, nor does the wall seem to have been rebuilt there, but in an engraving of the Lower Court looking east⁶⁴ a gabled weathermoulding is distinctly shown.

There is a singular circumstance connected with the three doorways in the lower end of Hall; their hoodmoulds have all been carefully cut away, giving them a curiously bald and unsatisfactory appearance.⁶⁵ The only possible motive I can offer for this alteration, which was evidently deliberate, is that the Hall may have been wainscotted, possibly by Sherburne, and the hoodmoulds cut away to bring the wainscot right up to the arches. The sill of a window of three lights, formerly glazed, exists above these doorways.

The doorway leading from the upper end of Hall still exists, though its height has been much reduced by the insertion of the present stairs. Its blocked head is traceable on the landing and, more clearly, by anyone venturesome enough to get above the ceiling of the small cellar. At right angles to this was another doorway, now blocked, half the arch of which is also traceable on the landing. This led, I imagine, to a straight staircase, which in its turn led up to an existing doorway in the Queens' Room, immediately over the Transitional doorway below. As the Queens' Room wing was then only one-storeyed there must have been

⁶⁴ 'From a drawing by T. Higham for the *Excursions through Sussex*, November, 1821.'

⁶⁵ They are shown in this condition in Grimm's drawing.



LOWER END OF GREAT HALL FROM EAST.

Showing design of Hall buttresses and absence of hoodmoulds over doorways in North wall.

a gallery here. From this a doorway, still existing but mutilated, led into the solar of the Great Hall, presumably designed by Rede as his own private room. I do not know how this was lighted, the south wall of the Court Room wing is plastered outside, not to mention Sherburne's chimney; the present window that lights the stairhead appears to be more recent, as is another, now blocked but visible on the inside. The windows of the bedroom over the Drawing Room are modern, but may well be the successors of more ancient ones.

One of the remarkable features of Rede's plan is the incorporation of the former Great Hall.

In this arrangement of two halls, which existed elsewhere, as at Westminster⁶⁶ and at Kenilworth, we have, I suspect, the beginning of the process which ended in the abandonment of the Great Hall and its disappearance from the design of the English house.

At Amberley this beginning may have been more or less accidental; it was desirable, when the total area of the house was being so enormously extended, to provide greater hall accommodation, but it was subsequently copied at Chichester, where no such change in size took place.⁶⁷ Another possible explanation of the need for enlarged hall accommodation may be found in the Custumal of the Manor of Amberley.⁶⁸ This provides that certain tenants, such as the smith, were entitled to dine at the lord's expense when the lord was resident.⁶⁹ Thus the number dining in hall may have varied from a few servants when the Bishop

⁶⁶ On 30 April, 1379, William Rede delivered a certain schedule to Richard Earl of Arundel at Westminster, 'in minori aula.' Episcopal MSS., Liber P, f. 125.

⁶⁷ *S.A.C.*, LII, 16. The dimensions of the earlier hall at Chichester were 45 feet by 20 feet, those of the later 55 feet by 20 feet. Those of the small Hall at Amberley were 41 feet 6 inches by 14 feet 9 inches.

⁶⁸ Episcopal MSS., Liber P, f. 51-63.

⁶⁹ "Benedictus faber . . . habebit prandium suum quamdiu episcopus fuerit in villa," Liber P, f. 55, v. I am also indebted to the Custumal for an early reference to a charwoman. "Emma . . . mundabit aulam et cameras domini contra adventum suum et quotiens necessarium fuerit dum dominus fuerit in villa. Et queret ij fasciculos cirporum (rushes) ad spargendum in thalamis." *Ibid.*, f. 57 r.

was elsewhere to a considerable number when the regular inhabitants were reinforced, not merely by the Bishop, his retinue and casual visitors, such as ordination candidates, but also by customary tenants. The small hall alone may have been used in the slack season; during the Bishop's stay the large hall alone may have been used, or studious men such as William Rede may have preferred to flee the sound of South Saxon patois and discuss the Great Schism or *Primum Mobile* with brother clerics in the smaller hall, where the predominance of Latin would remind him of old days at Merton.⁷⁰

It is not clear to what use Sherburne put the lower storey of the small hall, as divided by him. His doorway into the Upper Court, a brick four-centred arch, is still visible in the north doorway of the present kitchen, though an inner round-headed order has since been inserted. The room has evidently been used as a kitchen since the Great Hall and offices fell into ruin, and addition after addition has been made where the kitchen range now is. To disentangle their history would call for drastic methods not at present feasible.

The upper floor of the Queens' Room wing was evidently the principal reception room from the days when Sherburne adorned it with portraits of Cassandra and Tomyris to those when Sir John Briscoe added the arms of King Charles II. and Queen Catherine of Braganza. The presumed staircase already alluded to would have given easy and convenient access from the Hall. Of the East wing as it was in Rede's time little can be said. There are several window slits which appear to date from his time, including one ground

⁷⁰ High Table company was beginning to dine out of Hall in Rede's time. Langland, his contemporary, refers to the practice, of which he disapproves:—

Elyng is the halle . uche daye in the wyke
 There the lord ne the lady . liketh noughte to sytte.
 Now hath uch riche a reule . to eten bi hymselfe
 In a privie parloure . for pore mennes sake,
 Or in a chambre with a chymneye . and leve the chief halle,
 That was made for meles . men to eten inne;
 And al to spare to spille . that spende shal an other.

Piers Plowman (E. E. T. S., 1869), Text B, Passus X, 94.

floor one, now blocked and only visible from the outside, and a first floor one over the door into the garden. But it seems not unlikely that Rede blocked the two older windows in the east curtain wall and reduced the size of this wing to something near its present dimensions.

East of this wing is a delightful little walled garden, which I please myself by imagining, without the least authority, to be at least as old as the sixteenth century, and wherein I love to picture Sherburne walking and discussing that New Learning that would have astonished William Rede.

There is no internal evidence to show what building, if any, stood against the east curtain wall north of the East wing. There are now no windows and no signs of an upper floor, except in the north-east tower, which evidently conformed to the type of the others. Beyond the north wall of the churchyard the ground falls steeply and the floor level in the tower was some distance above ground level outside.

But for the building on the north side of the Upper Court there is some evidence. It was evidently one-storied, there being no trace of support for the joists of an upper floor, nor any upper windows. Close to the two loops in the curtain wall are two stone water spouts. The inner ends of these are below the present ground level, and excavation suggests that they must have been below primitive floor level. And a curious stone pipe leads through from the kitchen to the western end of this part of the curtain wall. The lower part of the kitchen end of this has been mutilated to form a niche, the stones which compose the pipe are visible where they cross the head of the loop,⁷¹ and the southern end clears the wall by an inch or two. There is a slight downwards inclination towards this end. Taking this with the proximity of the other end to one

⁷¹ Clarkson noted this and compared it to "the under part of a staircase." The existence of the pipe he does not seem to have discovered, though one end at least must have been visible, if not both. (*S.A.C.*, XVII., p. 227.) A better instance of his failure to study internal evidence could hardly be quoted. It is worth noting that in this loop both the hooks and the 'rides' or straps of the original shutter hinges are preserved.

of the ancient wells, I can only conclude that this pipe was meant to carry water and that the building into which it led was a scullery.⁷² A brewhouse is another possible identification, but the spouts to carry off waste water favour the former identification.

Further, this building seems to have communicated with the building which I have, quite independently, identified as the Pantry. There can be no doubt that the two side doorways at the lower end of Great Hall led to the Buttery and Pantry, and of the two I identify the western as the Buttery owing to its greater size. Beer was bulkier to store than bread, and in those cases that I am aware of where there is ancient identification (*e.g.* Haddon and Buckhurst), the buttery is the larger of the two. The door in question would allow pewter and trenchers to be passed through to the scullery independently of any traffic to and from the Kitchen, etc., while the waterpipe would avoid carrying buckets of water through the Kitchen door.

The projecting building to the north can, I think, be confidently identified as the Kitchen, both from its position and from the presence in it, not only of the well already mentioned and of a stone spout close by, but also of traces, on the west side, of what may have been the tiled back of a fireplace. In the retaining wall north of the well and at Brook level is a fragment of what may have been a second well, but this is not traceable as high as the floor level of the Kitchen. The modern wall marked on the Kitchen site is simply a low parapet wall built to prevent the unwary falling over the edge. Before the restoration the opening giving access to the Kitchen was considerably broader, most of the stonework of the present doorway being new. Part of the eastern jamb, however, is ancient.

The exact attribution of the space lying south of the Kitchen and north of the Buttery and Pantry is doubtful. Part of it was presumably Servery, into which the second door from the Kitchen may have opened.

⁷² In the King's house, at least, the scullery was a separately organized office by this time. See *Calendar, Patent Rolls*, 12 Edward II., Part 1, m. 20.

Or there may have been another wall here similar to that marked on plan east of the Kitchen door,⁷³ and the space enclosed west of this may have been a larder. One might also look for Butler's and Pantler's lodgings here; there was no upper storey to either Buttery or Pantry, to judge from the lower end wall of Hall.

The whole range of buildings against the north curtain wall west of the Hall was two-storeyed, the windows that lit the upper floor still existing. First in order occur two garderobes, one on each floor. They are said to have a shoot passing through the wall, like those visible in the Garderobe Tower, but the great accumulation of earth against the outside of the wall here has covered up the opening of this. Next occur two window slits on the ground floor, close to the second of which is a well, now covered in with concrete. In the upper floor is one window slit. The well was presumably the general household well from which Emma, or rather her successors, drew water to swill down the Hall floor. The quoin stones of the present north-west angle of the Buttery are all modern, and the fragment of foundation excavated here points towards this corner, with which it presumably bonded.

The use of the next building of the range is very clear. The order of the ground floor is:—Loophole, fireplace, garderobe, garderobe, fireplace, loophole; that on the upper floor is the same, save that instead of the loops there are handsome two-light windows, which were formerly glazed. Clearly therefore we are dealing with four 'lodgings' or bedrooms, each with its fireplace and garderobe, intended for the use of the Bishop's suite, or for guests. I suppose that access to the upper pair was gained by a straight staircase, such as prevails in Oxford to-day, and has done for centuries.⁷⁴ The

⁷³ This scrap of wall is given on the authority of the Arundel plan; nothing now remains above ground. A corresponding wall on the west side would have disappeared when the opening to the kitchen site was enlarged.

⁷⁴ Mr. Salzman's drawing shows a stair turret at the corner east of the small garderobe and north of the buttery. There is no evidence for this to-day and I suspect the artist elaborated it from a part of the wall standing higher than the rest, and shown in Grimm's drawing.

garderobes are in a very perfect condition. Above the projection formed by them, which I have termed the Garderobe Tower, and at battlement level, was a small guardhouse, with a fireplace and garderobe, intended, I presume, for a watchman.

Beyond these lodgings is a broad shallow niche in the wall; this appears to be the remains of a circular domed structure of about twelve feet in diameter, internal measure. This I suggest was the Castle oven,⁷⁵ and consequently the building in which it stood was the Bakehouse. The proved existence of a flue in this part of the curtain would confirm this identification; I have detected what may be the blocked opening of this flue just west of the niche itself, this would be quite consistent with the oven standing in the north-east corner of the Bakehouse, with its door, and consequently flue, on its west side.

The last loop in this wall, next to the north-west tower, differs in design from the others, and examination convinces me that here was a common garderobe for servants. The grooves for the woodwork of the seat and front are still visible in the stonework, and the shoot is also preserved, though the outside of it is now covered with earth. An iron ring in the soffit of the arch may have served for the suspension of a cresset at night. The passage leading to this garderobe is traceable, most of one side of the footing being visible, while the other is covered by turf. Whether the bakehouse extended as far as this, or whether another room, possibly the brewhouse, was interposed, I cannot say, the use of the upper storey of this part being also unknown. It was only lighted by one small window in the north wall; there is, of course, no evidence as to its lighting towards the south.

The foundation excavated in this corner is somewhat of a problem. It seems too thick to be the foundation of an ordinary wall. Were it a little thicker I should suggest that there was a spiral staircase in

⁷⁵ The oven at Herstmonceux was of the same diameter. See plan facing *S.A.C.*, IV., 170.

this corner. The room on the first floor of the tower has a doorway set diagonally in this corner of the tower, as well as doorways leading to the rooms which lay east and south of it, and this would accord well with a staircase, but it is hard to see how it could have been arranged.

The upper floor of the buildings against the west curtain wall seems also to have contained lodgings, three fireplaces and a garderobe shoot of William Rede's time existing in the walls. Later, probably in Sherburne's time, the latter was altered and a projection was made, presumably to contain a new garderobe.⁷⁶ From here as far as the gateway tower the upper floor, at any rate, contained the 'chambers of state,' as Dallaway calls them. One window of the Sherburne period survives, while there were at least two others in the curtain wall and one on the ground floor looking into the lower court, shown in Grimm's drawing.

The ground floor on the western side of the Lower Court was, I suggest, a stable. Within a perimeter of this kind it is natural to look for a stable somewhere, and this seems the most likely place. The wash-house site seems too near the private apartments, while any identification in the Upper Court is open to the objection that it involves bringing horses in, and carting dung out, either through the Hall passage or through the churchyard.

A fair idea of what Rede's inner walls looked like may be gained from the existing fragment on the south of the Lower Court. Here was evidently some sort of living or store room, beyond which, and next to the Great Gateway, was the Porter's Lodge. The interior of the turret which opens out of this never contained a staircase at ground level, though there are marks of stairs, presumably of wood, leading from the first floor to the room over the gateway. Below them was a

⁷⁶ The projection does not bond with the curtain wall. The northern half has an outlet at ground level, the southern has not, but communicates with the bottom of the original shoot. Buck's drawing misrepresents this projection as a buttress.



INNER SIDE OF WEST CURTAIN WALL.
Showing remains of domestic buildings in upper storey.

small inner room of the Porter's Lodge. Below this again was a sort of dry well whose use is not clear. I suggest that it would have made a handy lock-up, in which to place the obstreperous tramp till other order could be taken for him. It is also possible that it was a garberobe, but considering the attention given to sewage disposal elsewhere in the Castle this seems unlikely.⁷⁷

I have already discussed the gateway from a military point of view, and would only add here that it is noteworthy as an early instance of the use of the four-centred arch elsewhere than in vaulting ribs. The room over the gateway calls for no particular remark.

The western bay of the cottage is clearly of Rede's building. On examination it can be seen that the windows in both storeys were of the same type as those west of the gateway, though the outer openings have been enlarged. This bay was originally roofed with a lean-to roof, as was the building west of the gate, the weathermoulds being visible on each side of the gateway tower.

The north front of the next bay, now containing the principal living room of the cottage,⁷⁸ is clearly a later addition; it will be seen on the plan how Rede's thick wall breaks back, the new work makes a straight joint with the old, and the masonry is different. The line of the wall in Rede's day may safely be inferred from the existence of a wall in the cellar which, if continued upwards, would cut this room in two, continuing the line of the wall shortly to be mentioned. In the south wall of this bay are two modern openings, a window and a door, the latter being simply a hole riven through the fourteenth century masonry.

The north face of the next bay is later still, the old

⁷⁷ I have already touched on the small number of garderobes (Bodiam had 28). I have examined the walls for traces of others and have found none.

⁷⁸ In my plan of the cottage I have omitted some light modern partitions, fixed cupboards, etc., which are of no interest from an archaeological point of view, and are an unmitigated nuisance when surveying. I had the good fortune to be able to survey the cottage when it was standing empty.

exterior wall being that shown on the plan as of uncertain date. This is pierced by a now amorphous opening, which appears to have been enlarged from a doorway set askew. In the first floor this wall contained another opening equally set askew, but in the other direction, now partly blocked, partly used as a window looking south over a lighting area. The purpose of these openings is an interesting problem which probably cannot be solved without pulling the building about.

In the east wall of the cottage a blocked doorway is clearly traceable, more clearly in the present cottage larder than in the wash-house, where only one jamb can be made out. But it seems most likely that it opened inwards to the present wash-house. The latter, as it stands, presents no feature of archaeological interest; the curtain wall here seems to have been largely rebuilt in recent times,⁷⁹ and against it there stands a collection of coppers and other impedimenta⁸⁰ which cover any ancient feature which may still exist.

It may have been noticed that in this survey no mention has yet been made of the site or remains of a Chapel, although, as I have already said, there is direct evidence that one existed in the fifteenth century, and a certain probability that it was older than William Rede's time. The latest notice is that in the Amberley Parish Register, dated 1577.⁸¹ The total disappearance of any scrap of building which might be identified as a Chapel may, I think, be accounted for by the probability that the Parliamentary soldiers were particularly thorough in wrecking this monument of superstition. Most likely it was little used after Sherburne's time, save for stray occasions like the christening recorded, and James Butler would hardly have dared to rebuild Jericho, even had he wished to. He probably used its materials for repairs elsewhere. It is primarily by a process of exhaustion that I place it

⁷⁹ Cf. *Castles and Mansions in Western Sussex*. "External walls . . . still exist on all sides except the south," p. 8.

⁸⁰ These are not marked on my plan.

⁸¹ Baptism of Edward Ernley, Dec. 5, 1577.

here. We know that there was a Chapel, we know, from a document to be quoted later, that it lay along the curtain wall. The east and west curtains may be ruled out at once, as they involve wrong orientation.⁸² The west curtain is further excluded by the fact that the first floor remains point to domestic buildings, while canon law forbade a consecrated place having living rooms over it. No part of the existing farm house can be identified as the Chapel. The water-works exclude the building north of the Upper Court, those north of the Lower Court can all be fairly identified except the upper floor at each end. Those who are prepared to believe that William Rede, having a large choice of sites, built his chapel remote from his own quarters and with a latrine under it or in close proximity to the altar may take their choice of these sites, but I think that probabilities are against them. There is also this further consideration, that the Chapel would presumably have had large glazed windows on both sides, had defensive considerations allowed it. But the only windows, other than loops or narrow slits, in the north curtain, are clearly those of lodgings. The remains of the south of the Lower Court are enough to enable me to say positively that they are not those of a Chapel, and the irregular nature of the original plan of the present cottage precludes its having been the Chapel. The wash-house site, on the other hand, would be a very suitable one. It would be handy to the Bishop's private rooms, and at the same time accessible to servants and others without their having to go through the Upper Court, which could thus be kept more private, a sort of Dons' quadrangle, as it would be at Oxford. This site would also be consistent with the existence of a chapel before William Rede's day, from its close proximity to the earlier manor house. On internal evidence alone, therefore, we may

⁸² There are a few cases in England where mediaeval churches and chapels are wrongly oriented, generally owing to exigences of site. No such exigences exist here, and in view of the strong tradition in favour of orientation it would require very precise evidence to convince me that the Amberley chapel lay otherwise than east and west.

presume that the wash-house, or part of it, stands on the site, and possibly the foundations, of the mediaeval chapel, and that the blocked door in the cottage larder was its west door.⁸³

But there exists also a document which, at first sight, would seem capable of setting the question at rest. There is an entry in one of the miscellaneous volumes of the Chichester Episcopal MSS., originally compiled by order of William Rede,⁸⁴ which runs as follows:—

Ambitus castelli Amberlee a turri orientali eiusdem respiciente austrum usque ad vestibulum capelle eiusdem continet in longitudine cc xlvi virgatas et di. Unde capella eiusdem continet virgatas xxvi di. Item deambulatorium xxxij.

Summa virgatarum utriusque lvij di.

Et sic residuum dicti ambitus continet c iiij^{xx} xvi virgatas.

This is written in a very distinct formal hand with very few contractions, and there can be no doubt as to readings. It is written at the head of the leaf with nothing following it either on the recto or verso. The verso of the previous leaf contains certain regulations for the appointment of a warden of commons at Amberley,⁸⁵ the recto of the leaf following contains regulations concerning the Steward and other officers of the Bishopric. All three entries, as well as others in the volume, are in the same hand, which is that of the scribe who wrote at least one of Bishop Sherburne's manuscripts, the volume now marked Q. The entry of the memorandum in Liber P is, therefore, not earlier than the sixteenth century.⁸⁶

⁸³ As will be seen from the plan, the fragment of wall of uncertain date is set rather more crooked than the mediaeval builder usually permitted himself to build. This, and the sudden set-back of the frontage, suggest that Rede incorporated earlier work. It may have been some westward annexe to the chapel, the plan is hardly consistent with its having been part of the chapel itself.

⁸⁴ Liber P, f. 101 r. Quoted, without reference, by Clarkson, *S.A.C.*, XVII., p. 227. The evidence of handwriting is clear against the date he assigns to it.

⁸⁵ Referred to by Clarkson, *S.A.C.*, XVII., p. 188.

⁸⁶ This does not, of course, preclude the possibility of the memorandum having been drafted earlier.

I subjoin a translation which is practically the same as Clarkson's, only premising that *unde* at the beginning of the second sentence may equally well be translated *thence* or *whereof*, and that the punctuation, or absence of punctuation, is that of the original:—

The circuit of the castle of Amberley from the eastern tower of the same looking south to the vestry of the chapel of the same contains in length 246½ virgates. Whereof the chapel of the same contains 26½ virgates. Also the covered walk 32. The sum of the virgates of both 58½. And so the residue of the said circuit contains 196 virgates.

This memorandum contains almost as many problems as it does words, and I have at times been tempted to imitate Clarkson, and give up the riddle in despair. However, I offer a solution, and will ask no more, and no less, of anyone who rejects it than that he should offer a better.

The word *ambitus* can, I think, only mean the exterior perimeter. And the word *virgata* is expressly used as a measure of length. It would seem a simple process, therefore, to measure the perimeter and thence to calculate the length of the "virgate" used. My measurements give the total length of the perimeter, above footings, as an inch short of 990 statute feet.⁸⁷

87.	ft. in.
East curtain wall	178 0
South curtain to east drum of gateway	144 1
Round east drum	25 0*
From drum to drum across gateway —	18 5
Round west drum	25 0
South curtain thence to south east corner	81 6*
West curtain	118 7
North curtain to corner of kitchen, taken round garderobe tower	194 1*
Round kitchen	125 9
North curtain thence to north-east tower	79 6*
Total	989 11

The figures marked with an asterisk are measurements taken otherwise than directly, they are generally calculated from the interior measurements, plus the thickness of the wall.

The projection of the garderobe on the west wall and of the (modern) buttress on the east wall have not been taken into account.

But there is an unfortunate ambiguity in the wording of the memorandum. Five measurements are given; these are:—

‘Ambitus’	246½
‘Capella’	26½
‘Deambulatorium’	32
‘Summa’	58½
‘Residuum’	196

‘Summa’ is clear; it purports to be, and is, the sum of ‘Capella’ and ‘Deambulatorium.’ But is the total perimeter ‘Ambitus’ plus ‘Summa’ plus ‘Residuum,’ 501 virgates; or is it ‘Ambitus’ plus ‘Residuum,’ 442½ virgates; or is it ‘Ambitus’ alone, 246½ virgates? None of these interpretations is perfectly consistent with the text, for if the total perimeter is 246½ virgates only the scribe has made his ‘residuum’ too long by eight virgates, while the words *et sic* seem to imply that the ‘residuum’ was calculated from the figures actually before the scribe, and consequently tell against either of the other interpretations. *Unde* will suit either theory according to whether it represents ‘thence’ or ‘whereof.’

Solvitur ambulando. Mercifully there can be little doubt as to the initial point. ‘The eastern tower’ alone would be ambiguous, the north-east or south-east towers having equal claim to the title.⁸⁸ But when we are told to ‘look south’ thence there can hardly be any other initial point than the extreme north-east corner of the building, nor any direction of measurement but with the sun.

I. Assuming the total perimeter to be 501 virgates, the virgate works out at 1·976, or, for practical purposes 2, feet. 246½ virgates, or 443 feet along the perimeter we should meet with the vestry of the Chapel, which should then extend for 26½ virgates, or 53 feet, along the perimeter. This would place the vestry on the west curtain just where the bonding of

⁸⁸ The building at the south-east corner can hardly be called a tower now. But the west wall of the rest of the East wing has certainly been raised, and the wall of this corner building possibly lowered.

the north wall of the south-west tower is. 53 feet further lands us in the middle of the garderobe on the west curtain wall, a chapel site already discussed and, for reasons given, absolutely rejected. If the covered walk came immediately next, it would have to go, not only through the north-west tower, but also through the servants' garderobe.

II. Assuming the total perimeter to be $442\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, the virgate works out at 2·212 feet, which is nowhere near a round number. $246\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, or $545\frac{1}{4}$ feet along the perimeter should be the vestry, from which the chapel would extend $26\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, or $58\frac{1}{2}$ feet one way or the other. $545\frac{1}{4}$ feet along the perimeter, or $73\frac{1}{4}$ feet north of the south-west corner, again takes us exactly to the western garderobe, and the objections given in the former paragraph apply equally here.

III. It may have been noticed that I have so far been construing the memorandum as though there was a comma after *austrum* and the sense was “(That part of) the perimeter . . . (which extends) as far as the Chapel contains $246\frac{1}{2}$ virgates.” But if it is read with commas after *Amberlee* and after the word *eiusdem* on each of the first two occasions when it occurs, it can be made to fit exactly with the existing building, at the expense of the scribe's reputation as an arithmetician. To compensate for this the words *Et sic* now present no difficulty. By this interpretation the total perimeter is $246\frac{1}{2}$ virgates, and the virgate is 4·02, or in round numbers 4, feet. It then appears that an unspecified portion of the perimeter, $26\frac{1}{2}$ virgates or 104 feet long, is occupied by the chapel, and another unspecified portion, 32 virgates or 128 feet long, is occupied by the covered walk. But there is also an indication of the position of the Chapel, for we are told that the vestry is south of the initial point.⁸⁹ It will agree with this if the vestry be identified with the

⁸⁹ . . . *respicente austrum usque ad vestibulum* . . .

present coal cellar. And 104 feet measured from the south-east corner along the southern curtain wall takes us exactly to the west wall of the wash-house, which I have already suggested, on other grounds, as a possible west wall of the Chapel. It will, however, be noticed that the measurement in question is not, strictly speaking, the amount of perimeter occupied by the Chapel, but the amount occupied by the long side of a block of buildings consisting of the chapel, the vestry, and possibly a short cloister connecting them.

The covered walk, on this hypothesis, is not next to the Chapel but is mentioned as another important feature lying along the curtain. We should then look for some length of the curtain wall 32 virgates or 128 feet long, where the remains are not incompatible with this identification. The ground floor of the buildings against the west curtain at first sight seems possible, but is too short, its total length being only 118 feet 7 inches. The other possible place is along the east curtain north of the present house, and the distance from the north-east corner of the castle to the south jamb of the garden door is within a foot of the right length.

On the facts given, my hypothesis with regard to the Chapel and covered walk is as follows:—A chapel existed south of the old manor house before Rede's time, this and some building west of it were included in his fortified perimeter. Having now room enough and to spare he assigned the ground floor of the south-east tower as a vestry, *i.e.* as a place where vestments and treasure might be kept, these having been previously kept either in the Chapel itself or in a vestry attached to it, which was demolished or modified by the fortification. The northern half of the solar of the original manor house was also pulled down, as it was necessary to block some of its windows and rooms were now available elsewhere. On the east side of the Upper Court, which was the private court of the Bishop, was constructed a covered walk, over a small part of

the southern end of which the upper storey of the house overlapped.⁹⁰

To discuss the possibilities of increasing our knowledge by more extensive excavation or by examination of the present farm-house, which cries aloud for sympathetic and careful restoration, would unduly prolong an already long paper, and I will therefore close by expressing my thanks to the trustees of the present Duke of Norfolk for giving me leave to survey and excavate; to Mr. J. T. Sambrook, the present tenant of the Castle, for confirming that leave and for the interest he has taken in the work; to Mr. L. F. Salzman for doing the greater part of the work of excavation; to the Rev. H. Rickard, Vicar, for granting me free access to the Parish Registers; to Mr. J. T. Heveningham, formerly Clerk of the Works of the Arundel estate, for much useful information concerning the Restoration; to Mr. G. A. Tyacke, Deputy Registrar to the Bishop, for allowing me access to the Episcopal MSS., and to all those inhabitants of Amberley who furnished me with local information.

⁹⁰ Hence the window over the garden door. This theory will account for the absence of a solid ancient wall to bound the east wing of the present farmhouse to the north. There would be little risk of fire in case of an attack from the church tower, a low cloister ten feet broad being much less mark for incendiary missiles than most of the lean-to buildings which existed elsewhere.

[Since this paper was in type, the drought of 1921 has revealed the foundation of the south wall of what was undoubtedly a western porch to the Great Hall. This foundation measures about 10 ft. by 2 ft. 9 in. My plan, therefore, needs correction accordingly.]