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MEDIEVAL HAMBLEDON MANOR: CHAMBERS FOR BISHOPS AND THEIR STEWARDS

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ABSTRACT

Of the many grand residences that once belonged to the medieval bishops of Winchester, most have been completely destroyed or are, at best, ruinous. Only a very few retain upstanding buildings, still roofed and occupied. Of these, a stone-built range at Manor Farm, Hambledon is probably the least published and thus the least well known. Its form and function are discussed, drawing on the incomparable records of the bishopric of Winchester and recently secured tree-ring dates. Was it intended to accommodate the bishop, his steward or the farmer and did its form and function change over time? And what was the significance of the distinction between the bishop's chamber and the great chamber, a distinction recorded at several episcopal houses? There is also a brief discussion of the entire medieval manorial complex at Hambledon and its place within the network of medieval episcopal residences in the south of England.

INTRODUCTION

Hambledon village lies between rolling chalk downs some ten miles north of Portsmouth. The Manor Farm stands beside West Street and near the village centre (Fig. 1). Today it is a commercial farm, with nothing to distinguish it from many others in the area except for some unusually ancient buildings. In the Middle Ages, however, these buildings were part of a country residence of bishops of Winchester and the centre of a large manorial estate of over 9,000 acres (VCH Hants iii, 238–9). Moreover, Hambledon was but one of nearly 60 manors held by the medieval bishops, great lords whose lands and numerous residences

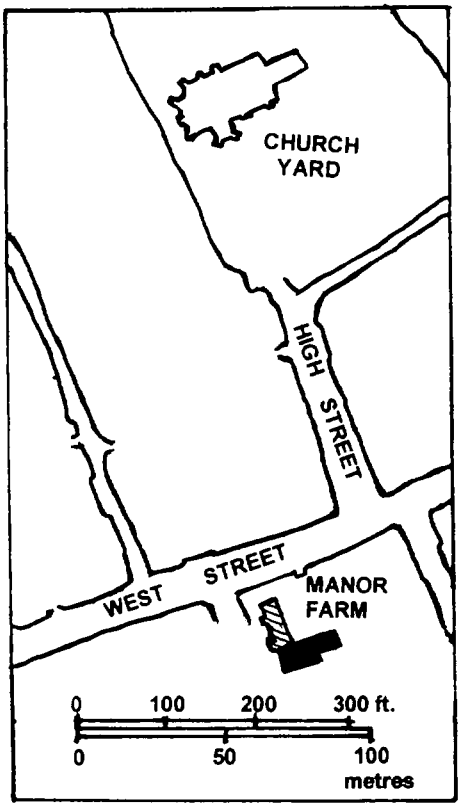

Fig. 1 Hambledon Manor Farm and the village centre, based on the Hambledon tithe map 1838–9 (HRO 46M69/PD2/1–2). The stone-built range is indicated in solid black; the timber-framed wing is hatched.

were spread across southern England (Page 1996, xii–xiii).

Although medieval Hambledon Manor was a large country house with many rooms and outbuildings, it was not one of the more important bishopric residences. The bishops stayed there from time to time until the mid-fourteenth century after which, they appear to have deserted it and resided in a few palatial houses. Nevertheless, unlike most former episcopal residences, Hambledon retains medieval domestic buildings that remain largely intact. These are rare survivals. Moreover, their history can be illuminated by the rich documentary sources of the bishopric, especially the pipe rolls and episcopal registers, thus adding to their wider significance.

It was C. Betton Roberts, a resident of Hambledon and a distinguished member of the Hampshire Field Club, who first recognized the importance of the stone-built range at Hambledon Manor Farm. He published a short article on it in 1942 and brought it to the attention of Margaret Wood, whose discussion of its date and function formed part of her seminal studies of English medieval houses published in the following decades (Betton Roberts 1942, 165–6; Wood 1950, 21–2; Wood 1965, 124–5). Apart from a brief note published in 1993 (Roberts 1993, 21–2) no further research was undertaken until 1998. Then the partial collapse of a wall prompted careful repair work, a survey by CKC Archaeology and the tree-ring dating of some historic timbers by the Oxford Dendrochronology Laboratory (HRO 134A02/53; Roberts 2003, 233).

THE MEDIEVAL BUILDINGS AT HAMBLEDON MANOR (see below: THE STEWARD'S OUTER CHAMBER)

There are three surviving historic buildings at Hambledon Manor Farm: two adjoining blocks forming a stone-built range aligned west-east and, abutting the north side of this range, a timber-framed wing (Figs 1 and 2). The stone-built blocks are mainly composed of flints (with some later patching in brick) but the original quoins and dressings are made of a chalky malmstone. There is no evidence of straight, vertical joints in the masonry between the two blocks, which thus appear to comprise a coherent and coeval range.

The western block is the larger and in the centre of its south wall are the remains of three adjacent doorways. Two retain their round-headed, chamfered arches but a third is only fragmentary (Fig. 3). Directly opposite the central doorway was a blocked doorway in the north wall. (This was photographed in 1928 and noted in 1942 but is no longer visible (Fig. 4; Betton Roberts 1942, 166)). These two opposed doorways strongly imply the former existence of a passage running north-south across the building (Fig. 2). Above is a large, first-floor chamber. Like other medieval chambers of high status, it would probably have been heated by a side stack whose position may be marked by the present chimney (Fig. 2).

At first-floor level, access between the west block and the smaller, east block was by way of an original doorway with a round-headed arch (Fig. 5). At ground-floor level, however, the east block was entered from the outside through a round-headed, chamfered doorway, similar in size and form to those in the west block (Fig. 6). Internally, it is more revealing than the west block. The ground floor is lit by a narrow, rectangular window and offers limited headroom beneath large, transverse joists, one of which was dated by dendrochronology to 1244–49 (see below). In contrast, the chamber above has a lofty roof composed of three arch-braced trusses with butt purlins. Of especial interest are the cusped wind braces, unrecorded elsewhere in Hampshire but typical of decorative West Country carpentry (Figs 7 and 8). In this roof, a wall plate and principal rafter have been tree-ring dated to 1473–78 (Roberts 2003, 233), a result that led to the identification of the account for the rebuilding of the roof of the steward's outer chamber in 1476/7 (HRO 11M59/B1/205; see appendix A). It is possible that this chamber may once have been heated, for the bishopric pipe roll of 1476/7 records the repair of two chimneys, both apparently within the surviving stone-built range (HRO 11M59/B1/205).

A timber-framed wing measuring about 19 ft. 6 ins. in width and 55 ft. in length has been erected against the north wall of the west block. It is

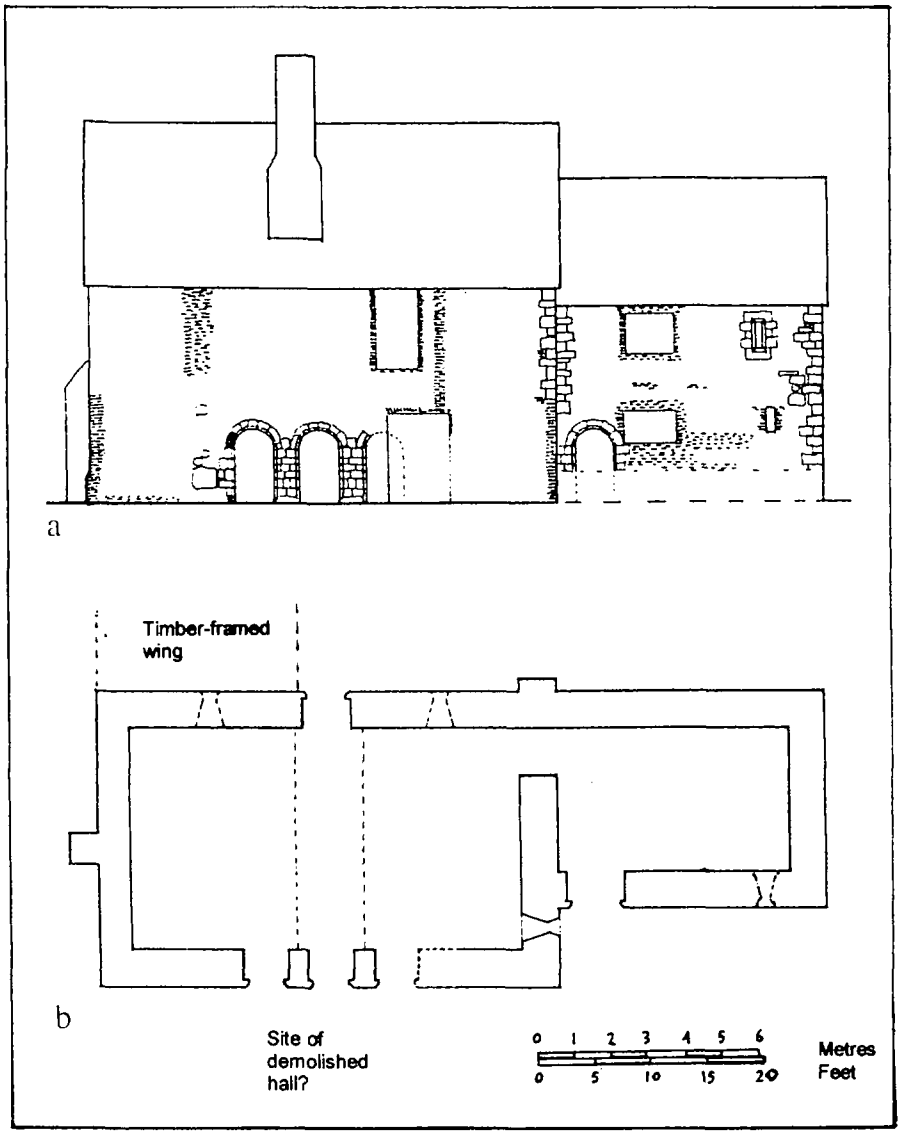

Fig. 2 (a) South elevation and (b) restored plan of the stone-built range at Hambledon Manor Farm (with north at the top of the plan). The dotted lines running north-south in the west block mark the suggested cross passage. The doorway at the north end of this passage and the small window immediately to its east were recorded by Betton Roberts but are no longer visible (Betton Roberts 1942, 165–6; Roberts 1993, 21; Fig. 4). The small window drawn to the west of this doorway is speculative, although such a balancing window is not improbable (Drawing by Bill Fergie after the author).

composed of three separately-framed sections (Fig. 9). The two outer sections, dating to *c.* 1600, sandwich an inner section with long curving braces suggestive of a fourteenth or fifteenth-century date. It is possible that this central section originally served as a detached service building or

Fig. 3 Two round-headed doorways with a jamb and springing of an arch for a third doorway (right) in the south elevation of the larger, western block. (Winchester Museums Service, PWCM 21509: © John Crook).

kitchen of a type that was not uncommon at that period (Roberts 2003, 156–8).

THE DATE AND ORIGINAL FUNCTION OF THE SURVIVING RANGE (see below: A POSSIBLE DETACHED KITCHEN)

Margaret Wood in her classic book on the English medieval house suggested a late-twelfth or early-thirteenth-century date for the stone-built range on the evidence of the round-headed, chamfered arches of its doorways (Wood 1965, 125). Typologically, however, a late-twelfth-century date is perhaps more likely and the bishopric pipe rolls, which run in almost unbroken sequence from 1208/9 onwards, contain no reference before 1250 to the erection of a building that could be construed as the surviving stone-built range. Consequently, a construction date before 1208 is

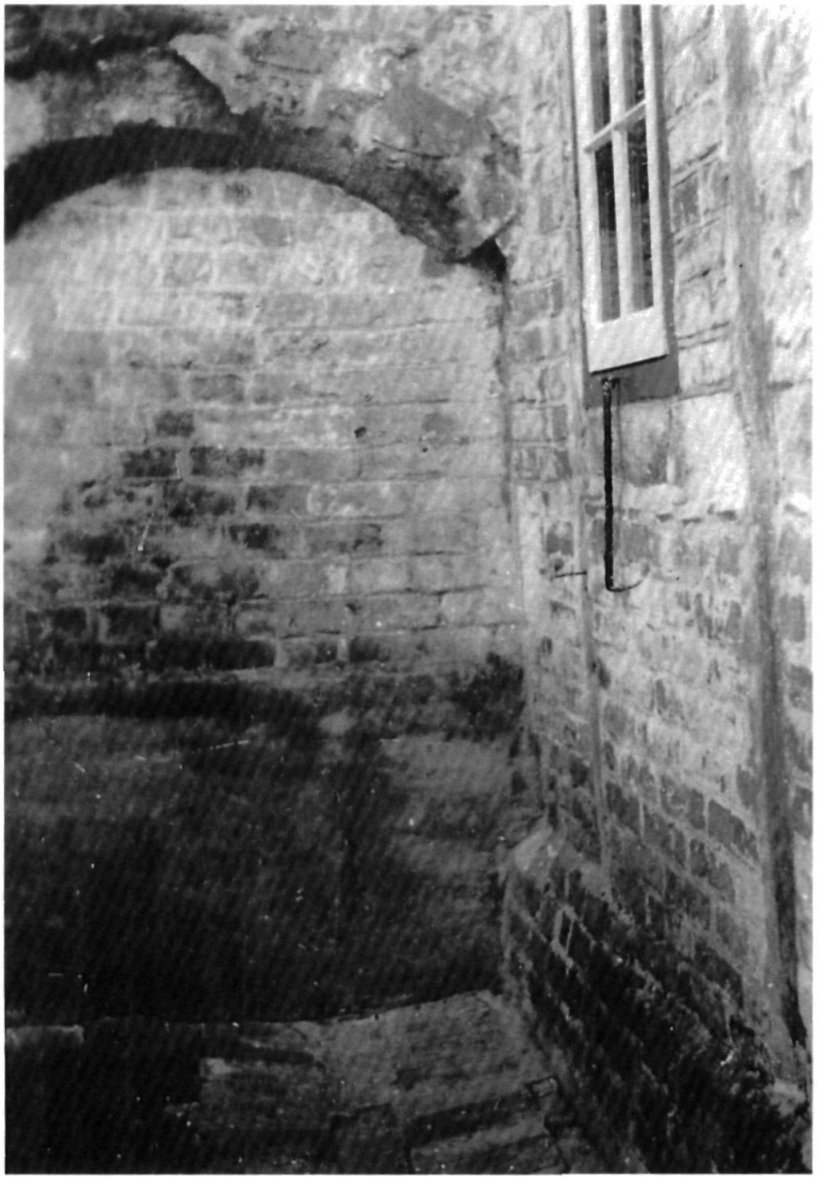

Fig. 4 The round-headed arch in the north elevation of the west block taken in 1928. It almost certainly marked the north end of a cross passage through the block but is no longer visible. (Winchester Museums Service, PWCM 21496).

probable and a date within the latter part of the episcopate of the great builder-bishop Henry de Blois (1129–71) cannot be ruled out.

Wood offered a generally convincing interpretation of the function of the stone-built range and of its place within the medieval manorial complex. She correctly noted that the three adjacent doorways in the south elevation of the west block were

Fig. 5 The first-floor room of the east block – formerly the steward's outer chamber – photographed *c.* 1940. The blocked doorway formerly led from the larger, west block. Note the pintles indicating that the door swung into this room, which was in this sense an outer chamber to the larger chamber in the west block. Note also the large transverse floor joists, one of which was dated to 1244–1249. (Winchester Museums Service, PWCM 21498).

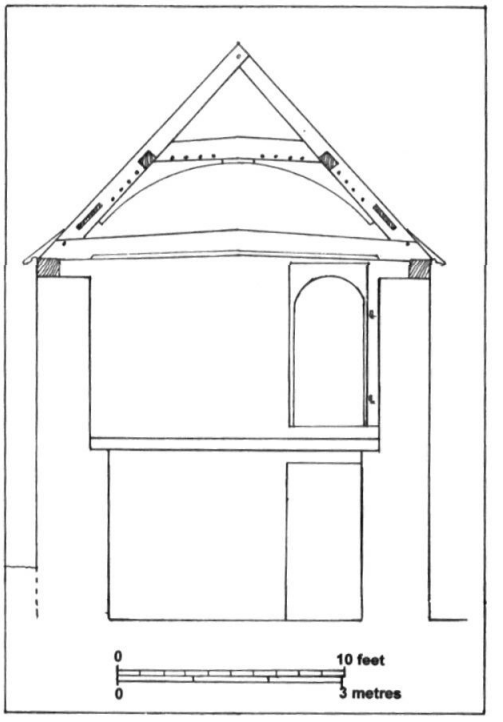

Fig. 6 Cross section of the east block showing the arch-braced collar and butt purlins. To the right of the first-floor chamber is the original doorway that gave access to the chamber over the west block. The doorway directly below has no early features and is probably a later creation.

standard features at the low end of large medieval halls and that, consequently, a hall must once have adjoined this elevation. Without an archaeological excavation or a geophysical survey, however, little can usefully be said about the form of the demolished hall, except that it was almost certainly timber-framed for, when it was rebuilt in 1226/7, the cost was only 112s. 9d. (£5.63) (HRO 11M59/B1/13). Wood suggested that it was aisled (Wood 1950, 21 n.) and this may be correct, for a vertical scar, now patched with bricks, in the southern face of the west block may represent a slot to receive an arcade post (Fig. 2).

Wood argued that the three adjacent doorways in the larger western block led to service rooms (Wood 1965, 124–5; Figs 2 and 3). Such service rooms are conventionally called a buttery and pantry – the latter recorded at Hambledon in 1340/1 (HRO 11M59/B1/93). Wood was surely right in believing that the two outer blocked doorways led to service rooms but she did not notice that the central doorway on the south elevation was directly opposite a similar doorway on

Fig. 7 The south-east elevation in 1993: just visible (bottom centre) is the round-headed arch at the west corner of the east block. This was destroyed when part of the wall collapsed in 1998 but has since been reconstructed. Note the post-medieval framing in the rebuilt gable of the larger block. (Photo: the author).

the north. Thus she failed to draw the obvious inference that there was once a central passage leading between these opposed doorways. She could have further noted that such a passage from the low end of a hall at the south of the west block might be expected lead to a kitchen on the north side. As there are no scars on the north elevation of the west block to indicate that such a kitchen was attached to it, a detached kitchen is more likely. Indeed, detached kitchens were common in larger medieval houses and one is still discernible at the former rectory, now called The Old House, at Wonston in central Hampshire (Roberts 2003, 156; see Appendix B).

That both blocks in the stone-built range were floored *ab initio* is attested by two original ground-floor windows and by quoins for a larger first-floor window in the north elevation of the west block and by original windows in both ground-floor and first-floor of the east block. Thus Wood convincingly described the large first-floor room in the west block as a solar, or high-status chamber (Wood 1965, 124–5). On the other hand, her suggestion that the first-floor chamber in the east block may have been a chapel must be seriously questioned (Wood 1950, 21–2). Its interior contains no piscina or other physical sign of devotional use. Moreover, a tree-ring date and documentary evidence (discussed below) show beyond doubt that it was the steward's outer chamber in 1476/7 and that the chapel was elsewhere within the manorial complex. Nevertheless, the doorway at first-floor level between the west and east blocks certainly shows that the two chambers comprised a high-status suite. Moreover, in a medieval context, the term 'outer chamber' generally denotes the first room in the suite, a room that would in turn allow access to a

Fig. 8 Part of the roof of 1476/7 in the east block photographed in *c.* 1940. The cusped wind braces have not been found elsewhere in Hampshire. (Winchester Museums Service, PWCM 21500).

more private 'inner chamber' – in this case, the larger solar over the west block. Such use of space and terminology was standard in high-status medieval suites (Roberts 2003, 144); but for whom was this suite intended and did its function change over time?

THE CHANGING FUNCTION OF THE FIRST-FLOOR CHAMBERS

The large first-floor chamber in the west block has been preserved for more than 800 years and is still, in 2004, a principal bedroom. Thus it may be

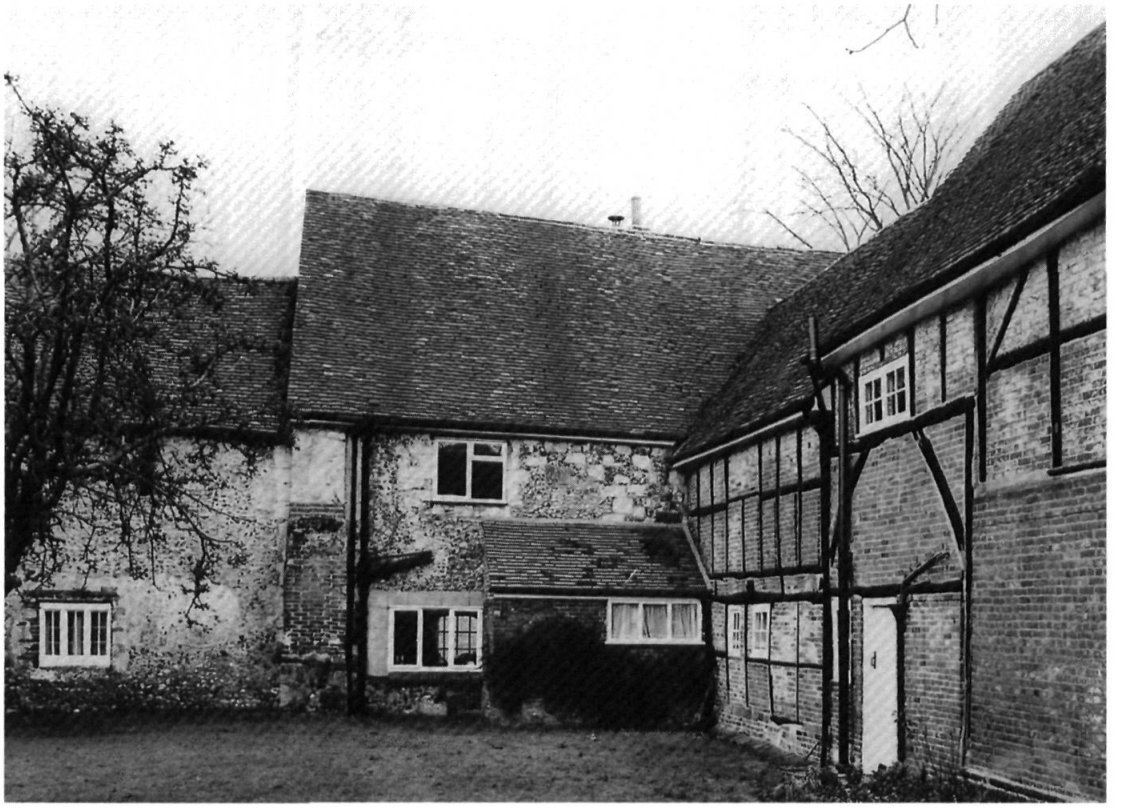

Fig. 9 Part of the north elevation of the stone-built range is on the left of this picture taken in 1984. A modern single-storey extension and adjacent window obscure the evidence for an original doorway and narrow rectangular window (see Figs 2 and 4). The timber-framed wing on the right comprises a 14th- or 15th-century bay sandwiched between two sections dating to *c.* 1600. This earlier bay may originally have served as a detached service room or kitchen. (Winchester Museums Service, PWCM 21510: © John Crook).

thought that it was intended for the bishop's use. It was not, however, *called* the bishop's or lord's chamber; a fact confirmed by the pipe roll of 1345/6, which records the payment of a carpenter at Hambledon to mend the partition between the lord's chamber and the chapel (HRO 11M59/B1/98). A carpenter could not possibly have constructed the very thick and original stone wall that separates the two first-floor chambers in the surviving stone-built range. Thus they cannot represent the lord's chamber and the chapel. In fact, the surviving chamber in the west block must surely be 'the chamber at the north end of the hall', which was distinguished from 'the bishop's chamber' at Hambledon in 1378/9 (HRO 11M59/B1/131). It must also be 'the chamber over the pantry' distinguished from 'the lord's chamber' in 1334/5 and very probably 'the great chamber' distinguished from 'the lord's chamber' in 1361/2 (HRO 11M59/B1/87; /114).

It was not uncommon in medieval episcopal residences for the bishop's chamber (*camera episcopi* or *camera domini*) to be set apart from another important chamber that was often at the other end of the hall. Certainly, this separation had been made by the early-fourteenth century at Overton

(Hants) where, in 1306/7, there was a lord's chamber but also a chamber over the pantry and buttery (HRO 11M59/B1/62). At Bishop's Waltham (Hants), the lord's chamber was distinguished from the chamber at the hall door in 1338/9 (pers. com. John Hare) and, at Bishop's Sutton (Hants) in 1360/1, there was a lord's chamber and also a chamber at the south end of the hall (HRO 11M59/B1/113). Finally, in *c.* 1400 at Highclere (Hants), there was a north chamber at one end of the hall and a lord's chamber at the other (Phillpotts 2000, 115–129).

Whether a chamber at one end of the hall was effectively a great chamber (*magna camera*) by another name is not clear. At East Meon (Hants), the bishop's chamber and chapel were at the south end of the hall but the chamber at the north end was not called the 'great chamber' until it had been rebuilt in 1395–97 (Roberts 1993, 472). Before then, in 1309/10 for example, it had been called the chamber over the pantry and buttery (HRO 11M59/B1/65). Similarly, at the bishop's London house at Southwark, a distinction between the lord's chamber and the great chamber was not recorded until 1356/57 when a separate chamber block was built for the bishop (Carlin 1985, 37).

If distinguishing the names and relative positions of 'lord's chamber' and 'great chamber' is fairly straightforward, determining their separate functions is not. A national survey argues that, by the fourteenth century, the term 'great chamber' had come to mean a room of state where the lord could entertain in elaborate formality (Girouard 1978, 40–53) but the medieval bishopric records shed, at best, oblique light on this question. However, the term 'great chamber' must imply a room in which a number of people can be entertained. It must also, in a sense, have been the bishop's chamber, for in normal circumstances who would have been a greater personage in a bishopric manor than the bishop himself? Indeed, at East Meon in 1440/41, the terms' 'great chamber' and 'lord's great chamber' seem to have been used interchangeably (Roberts 1993, 472). But would the bishop have used his chamber and his great chamber in different ways? It has been suggested that by the fourteenth century, at the latest, a great ecclesiastical dignitary such as a bishop required two sets of chambers: a great chamber for his state apartments and a set of living rooms for his private use (Evans 1949, 114). Similarly, at the great episcopal house at Bishop's Waltham (Hants), a distinction has been drawn between the bishop's great or audience chamber and his private chamber (Hare 1988, 226). If this distinction holds good, it may explain why at both Hambledon and East Meon (Roberts 1993, 456–81) the great chamber has survived while the bishop's private chamber and chapel have not. The relative spaciousness of the former made it more adaptable to later needs than the latter. Moreover, when the bishop ceased to visit, his private suite ceased to have a use.

THE BISHOP AND THE STEWARD

By the standards of the day, the first-floor suite in the stone-built range at Hambledon afforded fairly spacious accommodation in the thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries when the bishop and high-ranking guests stayed at Hambledon from time to time. King Henry III came there in 1231/2 (HRO 11M59/B1/14) and the first surviving bishop's register records a visit by Bishop John de Pontoise in 1284 (Deedes 1915–24 ii, 840). Thereafter, the published registers record occasional episcopal visits: one by Henry Woodlock (1305–16), four during the episcopates of John de Sandale and Rigaud de Asserio (1316–23) and two by William Edington (1346–66) (Goodman 1940–1; Baigent 1897; Hockey 1986–7). Then, no more episcopal visits are noted in the published sources. There are none in the register for William of Wykeham's episcopate (1367–1404) (Kirby 1896–90), although it should be admitted that registers only record visits when episcopal business was transacted and not visits for other purposes. For William Waynflete's episcopate (1447–86), however, all available sources have been thoroughly searched and no record of an episcopal visit to Hambledon has been found (Davis 1993, 159–74).

Throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, the dignitary who came to Hambledon most frequently was the bishop's steward, whose

biannual visits to hold courts and to oversee the manor are recorded year after year in the bishopric pipe rolls. However, although a steward's room makes its first appearance at Highclere in 1270/1 (Phillpotts 2000, 117) and is recorded at Bitterne in 1340/1 (HRO 11M59/B1/93), no reference has been found to a steward's room at Hambledon before 1400. Hambledon was a minor residence and it was apparently not thought necessary to have a special room set aside for him during this period. As a man of some standing, however, he would have expected to stay in the best chamber, provided it was not already occupied by the bishop himself or by a superior guest. Such an arrangement is implied at the bishop's residence at Fareham (Hants) in 1342/3 when another chamber had to be prepared for the steward because the lord's chamber was already occupied, apparently by the Earl of Derby (HRO 11M59/B1/95). Such displacement by someone of superior rank was a conventional practice in great medieval households (Girouard 1978, 64).

The lord's chamber at Hambledon is often mentioned in the pipe rolls before 1400 while the steward's room is not. Significantly, the reverse is true after 1450. In fact, during Waynflete's episcopate (1447–86), no reference has been found in the pipe rolls to the lord's chamber at Hambledon. Instead, when the roof of the smaller block was replaced in 1476/7, it was called 'the steward's outer chamber' (*camera exterior' senesc'*). Such a transfer of nomenclature is not very surprising, given that the steward rather than the bishop was now the main – or perhaps only –person of superior rank to use the room. Indeed, the published episcopal itineraries show that, in earlier centuries, the bishops were prepared to lodge in a number of relatively small residences, such as Hambledon (Deedes 1915–24; Goodman 1940–1; Baigent 1897; Hockey 1986–7; Kirby 1896–90). By the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, however, they stayed almost exclusively in a few large and luxurious palaces – such as Wolvesey and Bishop's Waltham, which were then called 'a palace' and 'a mansion' in the pipe rolls (Davis 1993, 159–74; Biddle 1986; Hare 1988; 11M59/B1/234). Consequently, the smaller residences dwindled into minor administrative centres, unfrequented by the bishop and great personages, except for the stewards on their twice-yearly visits (Roberts 2003, 203). A similar trend in the late Middle Ages towards the use of fewer but grander episcopal residences has been found in the see of Bath and Wells (pers. com. Naomi Payne).

THE STEWARD AND THE FARMER

The steward's outer chamber at Hambledon was refurbished in 1476/7 at a cost of £8 5s. 8d. (£8.26): a figure that does not take account of the cost of the timber, which had to be felled and transported. Why should the bishop have spent a significant amount of money on improving a chamber which, apparently, he no longer used? Was it for the benefit of the lessee of the manorial farm who probably lived there permanently, or for the steward who came only occasionally? Although the chamber was almost certainly at the disposal of the lessee for long periods between manor courts, it is much more likely that the refurbishment was carried out for the benefit of the steward, as indeed the name 'steward's chamber' suggests. Moreover, when Robert Ringe the tiler worked on the roof of the steward's chamber in 1472/3, it was specifically recorded that this was in preparation for the steward's visit (HRO 11M59/B1/202).

As a man of some consequence, the bishop's steward would have expected a fine suite of rooms to be placed at his disposal. For example, the steward from 1305 to 1324 was Sir Ralph de Bereford who came from a prominent legal family. Apart from his bishopric duties, he was one of the two keepers of alien houses in Hampshire, later acted as justice by delegation from the king's bench and was a landowner in Oxfordshire (Baigent 1997, lxii, 335, 624; VCH Hants ii, 218 and iii, 69; DNB; pers. com. Michael Hicks). Later in the same century, Sir Reginald Bray, who was granted the office of steward of bishopric estates in 1487, was a kinsman of the future Lord Sandys of the Vyne. He was also lord of several manors on the Isle of Wight and had interests in the mainland manors of Chalton, Freefolk, and Flood in Havant

(Greatrex 1978, 442; VCH Hants, iii, 105, 124; iv, 283; v, 187, 219, 220, 223).

In the late Middle Ages, government was a function of property, wealth and social status. Authority could not be entrusted to those who did not have the trappings of wealth (Lander 1980, 47–9). Thus, to carry credibility as authority figures and as important representatives of the bishop, stewards not only had to be gentlemen but also needed to be accommodated as gentlemen. Such accommodation generally required a suite of at least two rooms: a principal chamber and a more private withdrawing room (Woolgar 1999, 65; Thurley 1993, 128–9): in effect, the arrangement that survives at Hambledon.

From the late-fifteenth century onwards, the entertainment of these important officials and their followers was a duty generally written into the leases of manor farms. When William Flesshmonger leased Hambledon manor for 20 years in 1492, he undertook to provide hay and litter for the horses of the steward, the supervisor of lands, the bailiff, clerk and others accompanying them when they came to hold the biannual courts (Greatrex 1978, 475). Later, in 1631, a lease of the bishopric manor of Overton required the farmer to provide food, drink and lodging for the bishop's steward, overseer, clerk and attendants up to a number of twenty persons, as well as hay and stabling for their horses (HRO 11M59/E2/155642, 76–78).

THE MEDIEVAL MANORIAL COMPLEX

The bishopric pipe rolls of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries present a picture of Hambledon manor during a period when it was still frequented by the bishops. The core of the manorial complex was formed by the hall, with the surviving range at its north end and the bishop's chamber and chapel probably at its south end. There were also several service buildings: including the kitchen and pantry already discussed, the chamber next to the kitchen, a dairy, a bakehouse, a 'salsary' and a great cellar (Page 1996, 299; HRO 11M59/B1/112; /85; /87; /97). Superior servants were accommodated in the bailiff's chamber, the clerks' chamber, the knights' chamber and the chamber over the porch (Page 1996, 299; HRO 11M59/B1/87; /95). Near the kitchen in 1253/4 were the small stables but, in 1342/3, there were also the great stables and a stable for carthorses that had been damaged by the king's men (HRO 11M59/B1/25; /95). Other agricultural buildings that were probably within the complex included a barn and a byre (Page 1996, 299).

The fifteenth century saw few recorded additions to this manorial complex as it dwindled from an episcopal residence to a farmhouse with superior accommodation for the steward. The surviving first-floor suite of *c.* 1200 must now have seemed antiquated, but it was not rebuilt. When the roof of the steward's outer chamber was renewed in 1476/7 the stone walls, doors and windows were not substantially altered. This minimal refurbishment contrasts sharply with the radical treatment of such major episcopal residences as the palace of Bishop's Waltham. Much-visited by bishops in the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this palace was improved by a large-scale rebuilding of the core structures and the creation of a fine lodging range to meet the rising expectations of servants and guests of gentle birth (Hare 1988). No comparable work is recorded at Hambledon during that period.

THE TREE-RING DATES

The earliest timber to be dated in the former outer chamber of the steward was a single floor joist that was ascribed a felling date-range of 1244–1249. This result strongly implies that the joist was first used in that date-range or within a few years thereafter (Roberts 2003, ix–x, 233). However, can this one joist date the whole floor and is the joist *in situ*?

This question cannot be definitively resolved without further dendrochronological sampling. In the mean time, it can be said that most of the joists in this floor are of similar scantling and colour so that they could well be all of one date. Moreover, the original doorway linking the two first-floor chambers (Fig. 6) is sufficient proof that the steward's outer chamber was always meant to have a floor. This being so, why should not the present

floor joists be the original joists *in situ,* a conclusion that would advance the supposed building date of the surviving range from late-twelfth century to 1244–9 or a few years later?

In response to this question, there is no reference in the pipe rolls of 1244 to 1254 to new building works at Hambledon, except in the rolls for 1252–4. These record payment for the carpentry of a new kitchen with a solar (*coquine cum solar'*) (11M59/B1/24; 25). This phrase seems to imply a not uncommon form of detached service building that contained not only an open hearth for cooking but also an area with a first floor for storage (Martin and Martin 1997, 85–91; Martin and Martin 2001, 20–33). As the rolls of 1252–4 state that a carpenter built the kitchen-solar at Hambledon, it clearly cannot be the same as the steward's outer chamber of 1476/7, which is stone-built. Nevertheless, the solar attached to the kitchen of 1252–4, being a first-floor room requiring floorboards and joists, would seem to be a likely source for the joist with a felling date-range of 1244–9, although another unrecorded source is, of course, possible.

If the kitchen-solar is indeed source of the joist now in the steward's outer chamber, how it got there is not known. It is possible that the 'new kitchen' recorded in the pipe rolls of 1252–4 was demolished in 1409/10. At this later date, the pipe roll records the demolition of an 'old kitchen' and the salvaging of its timbers to create yet another new kitchen (Page 1999, 285). Perhaps timbers from this kitchen were reused a second time in the steward's outer chamber, either when it was refurbished in 1476/7 or at some other time.

In contrast, the felling date-range of 1473–78 for the roof of the chamber in the east block presents no such problems. It accords perfectly with a building account for the steward's outer chamber in the pipe roll of 1476–77 and with timber-felling recorded in a manorial account roll for the preceding year (see below).

APPENDIX A: THE STEWARD'S OUTER CHAMBER

(The *custus domorum* entry for Hambledon Manor in the Winchester pipe roll of 1476/77 (HRO 11M59/B1/205)).

Introduction

As was noted above, the sum of £8 5s. 8d. cannot represent the full cost of work on the steward's outer chamber. The timber for the roof probably came from the bishop's own woods and would thus not have been entered in the accounts but the bishop would have had to bear the cost of felling, converting and transporting the timber. Although the pipe rolls for the preceding and following years (1475/6 and 1477/8) do not survive, the manorial account rolls for those years do (HRO 11M59/B2/22/34 and 36) and the account roll for 1475/6 records the felling of timber and some building work. It is likely this felling was undertaken to supply the new roof of the steward's outer chamber but this is not stated and neither account roll mentions the chamber.

The carpenter for this work was Thomas Porter, alias Dory, but unfortunately nothing further can be discovered about him (Harvey 1987). The cusped wind braces, which are otherwise unknown in Hampshire but typical of west Midlands work may be a clue as to his origin. The cost of 950 feet of boards, probably floorboards, is noted and the absence of any reference to the cost of floor joists adds weight to the view that old joists were being reused. The reference to 'Reryng' or rearing of the roof shows that the three roof trusses were framed on the ground and then lifted up and raised into position.

The slates would have come by sea to Fareham and were almost certainly quarried in Devon. The stone for mending chimneys and repairing walls came partly from Langrish, about six miles north-east of Hambledon, where there was a malmstone quarry. The rest came by sea to Fareham from quarries in the Isle of Wight.

Most of the terms are self-explanatory but it should be noted that a simple pin hinge comprised a pin or hook that turned in an eyed piece called a twist (Salzman 1967, 295–7). The four hooks and twists recorded in the account probably imply two window shutters.

Translation

Building costs

And in payment for 6,000 slates [*sclattis*] bought at

Fareham, price 2s. 6d. per 1,000; 15s.
And in payment for the carriage of 2,000 slates carried from Fareham, giving for the carriage 12d.
And in payment for the carriage of 4,000 slates carried from Fareham to the manor of East Meon and the said 4,000 carried again from Meon to the manor of Hambledon to cover the steward's outer chamber: *viz*, 4 cartloads, giving for the carriage from Fareham to the manor of East Meon for a distance of 9 miles and from Meon to Hambledon, taken together [*uno cum al'*]; 6s.
And in the wages of Richard Pender making 1,400 laths altogether [*in gross'*]; 2s. 4d.
And in 100 bags of fivepenny nails bought; 5d.
And in 100 bags of fourpenny nails bought; 4d.
And in 3 hurdles bought for the scaffolding [*le Schafhold*] with keys [*clavis*] bought for the same; 8½ d.
And in the wages of John Helyer tiler with his servant, covering the southern half of the steward's chamber for 16 days, taking between them 10d a day; 13s. 4d.
And in one labourer to serve the said John Helyer for 10 days, taking 5d. a day; 4s. 2d.
And in 5 pots of sand bought, price 4d. a pot; 20d.
And in the wages of Thomas Here tiler and his servant covering the other half of the said chamber for 22 days, taking between them 10d. a day; 18s. 4d.
And in buying 4 hooks and 4 twists of iron from William Smyth for the window[s] of the said chamber, 12d.
And in the wages of William Mason and his [servant] mending 2 chimneys for 6 days, taking between them 10d. a day; 5s.
And in buying 2 cartloads of stone from Langrish [*Langrestone*], price 16d. a cartload; 2s. 8d.
And in payment for the said carriage, viz, 2 cartloads, giving 18d. per cart; 3s.
And in payment of the said William with his 2 servants repairing the stone wall of the steward's outer chamber for 9 days, taking between them 14d. a day; 10s. 6d.
And in 500 laths bought, price 4½d the hundred; 22½d.
And in 3 bushels of tile-pins [*tilepynnys*] bought of Andrew Hervy, price 4d. a bushel; 12d.
And in 2 bushels of tile-pins bought at Petersfield from Richard Reder, price 5d a bushel.; 10d.
And in the wages of Thomas Porter, alias Dory, carpenter, hired to make the roof of the steward's outer chamber for 28 days, taking 6d. a day; 14s.
And in the wages of 2 labourers with the said Thomas for the said work for 30 days, taking between them 10d. a day; 25s.
And in 950 feet of boards, giving per 100, 12d.; 9s. 6d.
And in the wages of 1 labourer for 6 days with the said Thomas at the rearing of the roof ([*e Reryng*] for 6 days, taking 4d. a day; 2s.
And in payment for the carriage of 2 cartloads of stone from the Isle of Wight, from Fareham and thence to East Meon, giving per carriage, 20d.; 3s. 4d.
Sum total £8 5s. 8d., of which in arrears 114s. 10d.

APPENDIX B: A POSSIBLE DETACHED KITCHEN

The suggestion that the passage through the west block led to a detached kitchen has been questioned in the light of a reference to the erection of a 'palisade between the hall and kitchen' in 1301/2 (HRO 134A02/53; Page 1996, 299). This seems to imply that the hall and kitchen faced each other across open ground. Several possible solutions to this apparent paradox present themselves. The simplest is that the passage led to a building, probably a service building, other than a kitchen. Other alternatives are that there were two kitchens, as at the neighbouring episcopal house at East Meon where both a great kitchen and bailiff's kitchen were noted in 1268/9 and 1300/1 (HRO 11M59/B1/33 and 57) or that, in the century between the construction of the western block and 1301/2, the site of the kitchen had changed. The kitchen was certainly rebuilt in 1252–4 (HRO 11M59/B1/23) and, in 1409/10, it was recorded that it was not only rebuilt but also 'newly situated', perhaps implying a new site (Page 1999, 285). Finally, the words 'kitchen' and 'hall' in the pipe roll may refer to a kitchen court and to the court around the hall and that it was these courts that were separated by a fence (John Hare pers. com.).

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