# DOMESTIC PLANNING FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

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It is the object of this paper to examine some of the remaining structural evidence for a domestic planning typology over the period covered by the 12th to the 14th centuries. Complete and unaltered examples on which such a survey may be based are rare. If, however, it can be shown that, in a number of examples, a similarity of plan form exists, then such a group as a whole may be used to provide parallels.

Inevitably, in the planning of any building, the features associated with it or any part of it arise out of the function it was designed to perform. Conversely, if the form and associated features can be determined, they may provide a basis from which the purpose of the building and its various elements may be deduced. An overall analysis, therefore, of a type may be used to provide evidence of purpose, not only of individual buildings but of individual parts of these buildings from which, in turn, may be deduced the mode of living of those for whom the buildings were designed.

Two main types are here examined, the Upper Hall house and the End Hall house, firstly in order to establish them as types and secondly to analyse these types and to draw some conclusions as to the living conditions they represent.

#### NOTE ON THE PLANS

The author is indebted to those who permitted inspection of houses in private ownership and to the Ministry of Works and others for the use of original published and unpublished surveys. The plans illustrating this paper, while based on accurate ground plans, should be considered as sketch plans only. This applies particularly to those buildings where, being ruined, access to upper floors is impossible without scaffold.

A consistent system of lettering has been used throughout to identify the various chambers: In Upper Hall houses;

- A. Greater upper chamber.
- B. Lesser upper chamber.
- C. Greater lower chamberD. Lesser lower chamber Greater lower chamber.

#### In End Hall Houses;

- H. Hall.
- In the principal chamber block;
  - M. Great upper chamber.
  - N, P, etc. Extensions to the great upper chamber.
  - R, S, etc. Lower chambers.
  - T. Central passage.

In the second chamber block;

As above with a suffix, e.g. M<sub>1</sub>, N<sub>1</sub> etc.

### In all plans;

- G. Garderobe.
- F. Fireplace.

#### THE UPPER HALL HOUSE

The earliest form of dwelling house of a purely domestic character that remains and which forms a basic type already developed in the late 12th century is the Upper Hall house. Essentially, this form of plan is arranged on two floors each of which is provided with a greater and a lesser chamber. The residence within these limits appears to be self-contained, displaying similar features in similar positions to an extent that provides a strong argument for similarity of function in a wide variety of contexts. Selected examples are quoted in the following pages to illustrate the occurrence of the type in civil or manor houses, in castles or in abbeys. A considerable number of houses remain containing sufficient evidence to show that their planning conforms to the general type. They range in date from the early 12th to the late 13th century and, what is perhaps more remarkable, range in scale from the small manor house to episcopal or even royal palaces. The same form of residence using the same basic pattern as civil houses may be found erected within, or as part of, the castle layout. In the earlier stages of the development of castles the two functions of defensive strongpoint and residence appear to have been considered separately, an instance being the earlier hall in the middle bailey of Corfe Castle, Dorset, where there is evidence to show that this pre-dated the erection of the first stone curtain. It is possible that this was a general rule and that the inclusion of a residence no more defensible in itself than might have been such houses as Boothby Pagnell was accepted from the earliest phases of stone castle building. Similarly, independent buildings that conform to the planning usual in the type are found within a number of monastic layouts. They may serve as lodgings for abbot, prior or other officer or may be guest houses. That they conform to type provides evidence for their use as independent establishments. Not only does the form appear in independent structures but it may also be recognised incorporated as a principle in fortified manor houses, in the ranges of domestic buildings against the castle curtain wall, in the great gatehouses and in the tower keeps. There is a dual significance in the occurrence of the type in these varied settings: firstly the field from which parallels may be drawn is widened: secondly their recognition as separate individual dwellings implies that they were provided to serve separate and individual households.

#### I. Civil or Manor Houses

The manor house at BOOTHBY PAGNELL, Lincolnshire (Fig. 1, p. 153) is dated towards the end of the 12th century. Its component parts are simple. They consist of two chambers on the lower floor and two chambers on the upper floor. The larger upper chamber (A) is treated in such a way as to show it to have been the principal chamber of the house. It is reached by an external stair directly from the outside; it contains the only fireplace in the building; its windows are large and treated with some elaboration; it is, in fact, the focus of the plan. From this 'Hall' a rich door leads to the smaller first floor chamber (B) which, in turn, has a further door leading to yet another outside stair, possibly not original. Below, the two ground floor rooms are independent of one another. The larger is the richer of the two, being vaulted by a quadripartite vault, while the smaller has a barrel vault. Both rooms have direct access to the open.

At TEMPLE MANOR, Rochester, Kent, (Fig. 2, p. 153) is a 13th century example. Here, again, the upper floor is raised over a vaulted basement; the outside staircase gave

direct access to the larger upper chamber (A) which is treated in a more elaborate manner than the rest of the house. The wall arcading of this chamber provides a particularly rich example of domestic decoration of the period retaining traces of its original painted plaster wall finish. The smaller upper chamber (B) is less elaborate than the larger from which it was presumably divided by a wooden partition, through which must have been its only access. The lower floor, vaulted in three bays, now shows no evidence of a partition. This does not necessarily mean that one did not exist.

WEST DEAN RECTORY, Sussex, (Fig. 3, p. 153), is also dated in the 13th century. In this instance a slight variant appears in that the fall of the ground allows for the provision of a cellar below one end of the ground floor. Above this the house is of two stories. On the upper floor the two unequal chambers were divided by a wooden partition, the greater (A) is provided with two-light windows and has a wall fireplace. Access to the upper floor is by a vice leading to this room. The smaller chamber (B), which is lit by single-light windows, has no fireplace but is provided with a garderobe (G), now converted to a stair. Below, the plan is similar except that both chambers are lit by single-light windows. Access is into the greater chamber from which a stair to the upper floor rises. It is doubtful whether a fireplace or garderobe was provided in the greater and smaller chambers respectively.

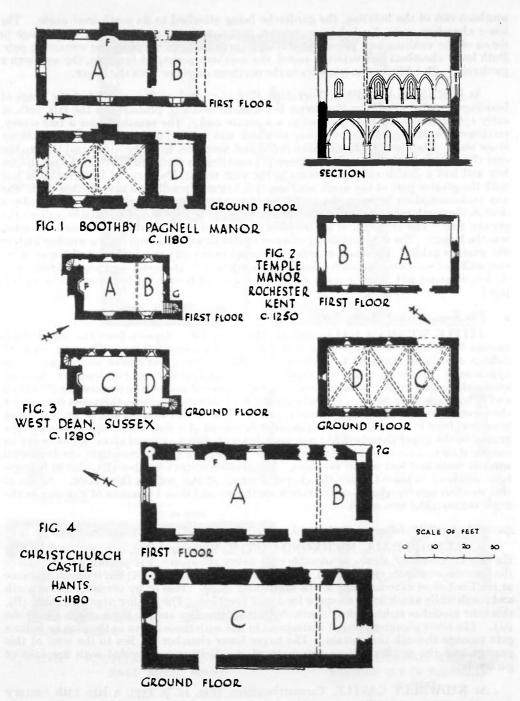
## 2. Residences within the Castle Perimeter

At CHRISTCHURCH, Hants. (Fig. 4, p. 153) the two storied plan is repeated. Both floors have two chambers, the existence of which can be inferred from the spacing of the fenestration, the wooden dividing partitions having left no trace. The greater first floor chamber (A) is lit by grouped two-light windows provided with window seats and there is a wall fireplace. Access is by an outside stair leading direct into this room. The smaller chamber on the upper floor (B) lit by loops only, has no fireplace and was only later provided with a garderobe. Below, both rooms were lit by loops, external access being provided into the larger chamber (C) from which a vice rises to the hall above.

The hall at GROSMONT, Monmouthshire, (Fig. 5, p. 155), is a remarkably exact parallel. An outside stair, the roof creasing of which is still visible on the wall, leads to the greater of the upper chambers (A), a room with windows on each of the three free walls. In the centre of one side wall lies the fireplace and a vice leads to the chamber below. The division between the upper chambers, which does not lie above the ground floor division, was of timber. The smaller chamber (B) contained one window on each of the free walls, probably a fireplace in the north-west wall and a garderobe in the west angle. The lower chambers are divided by a solid masonry wall and have independent access from the exterior as well as a door in the dividing wall. These chambers are similar in size but that to the south-east (C) contains a fireplace in the end wall and communicated by way of a vice in its angle to the larger upper chamber.

#### 3. Residences within the Monastic Perimeter

At FOUNTAINS ABBEY, Yorkshire, (Fig. 6, p. 155) the two guesthouses to the west of the western range provide, between them, sufficient evidence for the details of each. The eastern house takes the long rectangular form, the lower storey vaulted, the upper open to the roof. While there is insufficient evidence to show the detailed planning of the upper floor, the remaining features follow so closely the pattern already described that it is safe to assume a two-chamber layout with the larger (A) at the northern end and the smaller, (B), with its garderobe, at the southern. The windows remaining in the northern wall of the larger chamber are of two lights; no evidence remains for the form of the windows in the east or west walls. There was a wall fireplace, the base for which survives below, in the east wall. The west wall must have contained the door, reached by a stair on the site of the present stair. The smaller upper chamber (B) occupied one, or at the most, two bays at the



Figs. 1, Boothby Pagnell Manor, Lincs.; 2, Temple Manor, Rochester, Kent; 3, West Dean, Sussex; 4, Christchurch Castle, Hants.

southern end of the building, the garderobe being attached to its south-west angle. The lower chambers were divided by a wooden partition as is apparent from the change in detail of the vaulting and piers, the northern three being richer than the remaining pair. Both lower chambers had external access, the northern perhaps a fireplace, the southern a garderobe. In addition the windows to the northern chamber were the larger.

At KIRKSTALL ABBEY, Yorkshire, (Fig. 7, p. 155), at the east end of the range of buildings running east from the dorter lies a small building, probably of the late 12th or early 13th century, initially planned as a separate unit. The remains show a two storey, rectangular building, the lower storey of which was vaulted and divided by a permanent stone wall. The lower chambers have individual entrances from the north and that to the east (D) a second entrance. The western (C) contained a corner fireplace in the north-east bay and had a double cupboard recess in the west wall. The form of fenestration is lost with the greater part of the south wall and it is not now possible to say whether there was any communication between the two compartments. The upper floor was entered by a door in the south-west angle of the larger chamber (A) at the head of an outside stair on the present site. The inflection of the fireplace to the west confirms that the western chamber was the larger. The only remaining window to this room is the large vesica window high in the western gable. The smaller eastern upper chamber (B) was lit by a tall lancet in its east wall and was provided with a door in its north wall. The south-east angle of this room no longer exists but there is some evidence at ground floor level for a garderobe at this point.

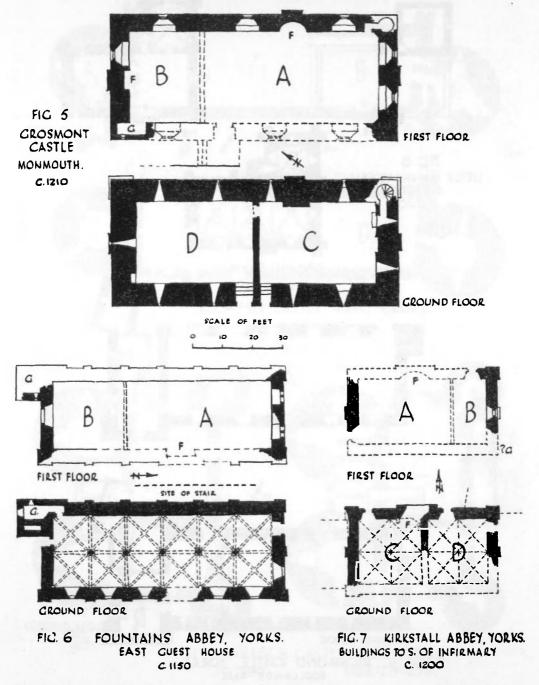
## 4. The Semi-fortified Manor House

LITTLE WENHAM HALL, Suffolk, (Fig. 8, p. 156), departs from the simple rectangular form, being 'L' shaped, and introduces a chapel into the plan. The concessions to defence are slight, confined to additional security in the ground floor doors and to the appearance. There are again four main chambers, two greater and two lesser, in this case arranged at right-angles to one another. Of the lower chambers the greater (C) is vaulted and lit by single-light loops. The only ground floor entrance was into this room from which the second, smaller, chamber (D) was reached. This is also vaulted and lit by three loop windows; from it internal access is provided by means of a vice to the upper floors. The greater of the upper chambers (A) was provided with direct external access by means of an outside stair to a door in the south-west angle. The room is lit by two-light windows with window seats and had a wall fireplace. The smaller upper chamber (B), also lit by two-light windows, is placed above the chapel, forming at this point a third floor. Access to this was through the chapel or directly from the ground floor by means of the vice in the angle between the two wings.

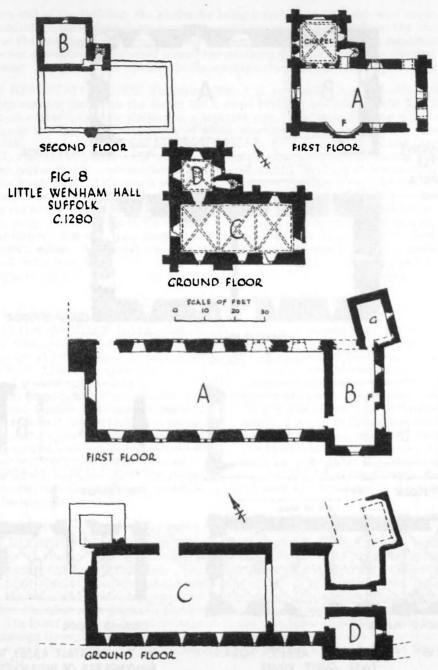
### 5a. The Castle Residence included within the Curtain Wall

SCOLLAND'S HALL, RICHMOND CASTLE, Yorkshire, (Fig. 9, p. 156), was built in the late 11th century, some considerable time before the keep. The planning conditions of the previous examples are repeated. The greater upper chamber (A) has its main entrance at the head of an external stair at the north-west angle. It is lit by windows in the north and south walls which leave no space for a wall fireplace. The smaller upper chamber (B), this time placed at right-angles, is provided with a fireplace and, to the north, a garderobe (G). The lower chambers do not correspond in size with those above as the plan includes a gate passage through the curtain. The larger lower chamber (C) lies to the west of this passage and the smaller (D) to the south of it. Neither is provided with fireplace or garderobe.

At KIDWELLY CASTLE, Carmarthenshire, (Fig. 10, p. 157), a late 13th century domestic range occupies the eastern side of the inner ward, its east wall forming the curtain at this point. The range is of two stories, each of which originally contained two chambers, one greater and one lesser. The greater upper chamber (A) was entered at its south-west

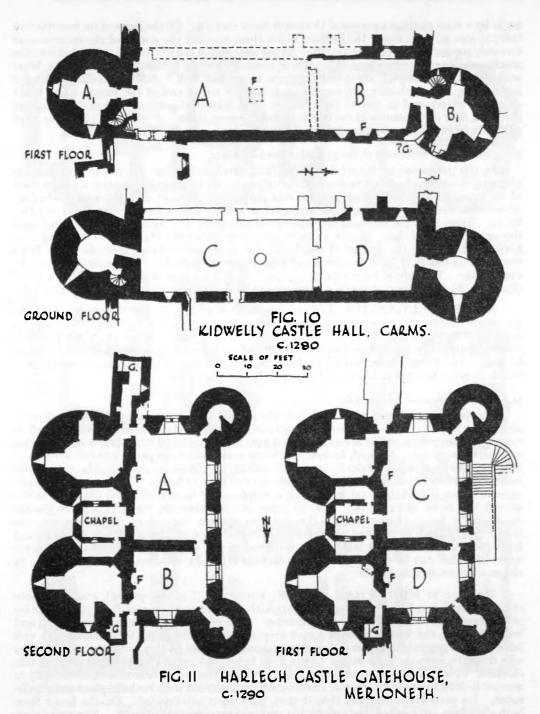


Figs. 5, Grosmont Castle, Monmouth.; 6, Fountains Abbey, Yorks.; 7, Kirkstall Abbey, Yorks.



FIC. 9 RICHMOND CASTLE, YORKS.
SCOLLANDS HALL
C.1080

Figs. 8, Little Wenham Hall, Suffolk; 9, Richmond Castle, Yorks.



Figs. 10, Hall at Kidwelly Castle, Carms.; 11, Gatehouse at Harlech Castle, Merioneth.

angle by a stair running up against the south inner curtain. Of the form of its fenestration there is now no evidence. In the floor below there remains the stump of the column that formerly supported the central hearth. At the west end of the north wall a door led into the smaller of the upper chambers (B). Three windows remain in this room, one in the West wall and two, flanking a hooded wall fireplace, in the east wall. Additional chambers were arranged in the north-east and south-east towers at either end of the range. The lower chambers correspond in size to those above, both have independent external access and there is a door in the centre of the dividing wall between them. Both lower chambers were probably lit by loops and were without fireplaces.

## 5b. The Castle Residence included within the Gatehouse

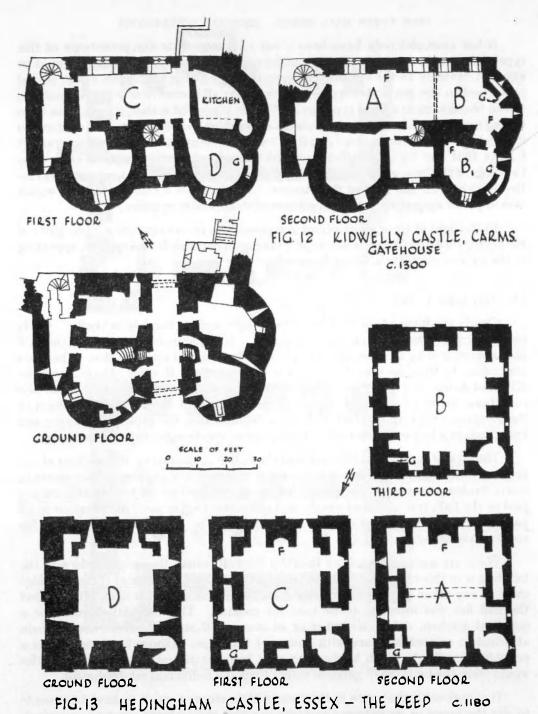
In the gatehouse at HARLECH CASTLE, Merioneth, (Fig. 11, p. 157) the original planning is undisturbed and to that extent of particular value in the general consideration of the type. The ground floor can, for this purpose, be ignored as being non-residential. Above that level the chambers are arranged, a greater and a lesser, on each of the two floors. Entry is to the larger of the lower floor chambers, (C), by an altered external stair through an original door, thence there is intercommunication through the dividing wall between the rooms, the smaller of which (D) has direct access to a garderobe (G). Both chambers on this floor have fireplaces and from the western angle of each a vice leads to the upper floor. This upper floor repeats the pattern of the lower, a greater (A) and a lesser chamber (B) with direct access to a garderobe from the latter.

At KIDWELLY CASTLE, Carmarthenshire, (Fig. 12, p. 159) the planning of the gatehouse follows the same pattern, a pattern clearly intended at BEAUMARIS, Anglesea, as well. The upper chambers were divided by a wooden partition, on the lower level the smaller chamber (D) is arranged within the drum tower and its usual position occupied by a kitchen. In all three cases extra chambers are provided within the drums, the addition of which do not affect the fundamental principles of the plan type.

### 5c. The Residential Tower Keep

The planning of such tower keeps as HEDINGHAM, Essex, (Fig. 13, p. 159) demonstrates the fact that some of these buildings can be considered as fortified houses as well as military strongpoints. The accommodation provided consists of four chambers of varying size and importance. Instead, however, of being arranged in the pattern of two above and two below all four are set vertically above one another. The two lower chambers correspond to the two ground floor chambers of the more normal form of house. The entrance is to the upper of these (C) which is provided with a fireplace and from it access is obtained to the second, and lower, chamber (D). Of the upper pair of chambers, one, (A), is given greater emphasis by being allowed to rise through two storeys, the other, (B), being but one storey high. Both are treated with some care in the shape and form of their windows and both have fireplaces. The lack of the external access usually provided to the greater upper chamber can be explained by the practical difficulty of arranging a stair to rise to this not inconsiderable height.

The keep at MIDDLEHAM CASTLE, Yorkshire, (Fig. 14, p. 161), conforms more closely to the house form, being on two floors with two chambers on each floor placed side by side instead of in the normal end to end manner. The upper floor contains a greater (A) and lesser chamber, the former without a wall fireplace but standing on a vault that might well have taken a central floor hearth. External access is direct to this chamber from which a vice drops to form the only access to the floor below. A small chapel is attached to this chamber which also has, unusually, a garderobe. The lesser western chamber (B) is accessible only through the greater chamber and is provided with both fireplace and garderobes. Its proportion suggests that it may have been sub-divided. On the lower floor both chambers are vaulted, the greater (C) with a central row of columns. As a concession to defence access is only from the south-east vice. Neither lower chamber has a garderobe but the smaller (D) may have possessed a fireplace.



Figs. 12, Gatehouse at Kidwelly Castle, Carms.; 13, The Keep, Hedingham Castle, Essex.



#### THE UPPER HALL HOUSE. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

A few examples only have been given to demonstrate the persistence of this type of plan and with a view to its establishment as a basic plan form. It would be idle and contrary to the existing evidence to suggest that all houses of the period conformed to this particular type or, indeed, that all houses of any period could be shown to conform to a rigid typology. What is suggested is that, a basic plan form having been established, it is a reasonable assumption that buildings that conform to it in general will do so in some detail. Once that assumption has been accepted it follows that the form and therefore function of corresponding parts of various buildings of the type will be similar. The alternatives are coincidence or unimaginative imitation on the part of the planner. The latter is a charge that few would care to prefer against the medieval planner of either castle or abbey.

In the light of these assumptions it is possible to re-examine the various parts of the Upper Hall form of house as a type, drawing on parallels from examples appearing in the various contexts already discussed.

# THE GREATER UPPER CHAMBER

Clearly the focus of the building is the greater upper chamber or 'hall'. Of its use as a living room there can be little doubt. It is commonly situated on the first floor approached by an external staircase, usually on one of its long sides. There are exceptions to this, such as King John's Hunting Box, Romsey, Hants., and the Kirkstall house, but the exceptions are few and may be dictated by special site conditions, or, in a residential keep, by considerations of defence. The position of the entrance varies, from which it may be deduced that the principle of upper and lower ends of a hall was either not yet accepted or was thought to be unnecessary.

The lack of functional orientation of the hall is confirmed by the position of the fireplace which generally takes the form of a wall fireplace situated in the centre of one of the long sides of the chamber. No accent is placed by the fenestration on any part of the hall, it is arranged simply and efficiently to give good illumination to all parts of the room with windows as large as may be consistent with reasonable comfort and warmth.

There are instances, such as Boothby Pagnell, where the only fireplace in the building is in this chamber. This, coupled with the fact that few of these buildings show in any other rooms features clearly suggestive of a kitchen may indicate that the hall fire was intended to be used for cooking. The alternative would be a detached kitchen, either of timber or of stone. Of stone kitchens none remain attached to or contemporary with houses of this type. (Kidwelly Gatehouse is a possible exception). Such kitchens as exist in monastic establishments or castles would serve the brethren or garrison rather than any individual establishment.

It is noticeable that even in these cases little attempt seems to have been made to site the house or its entrance in a manner that would make service convenient. Of timber kitchens little can be said except the fact that none survive above ground.

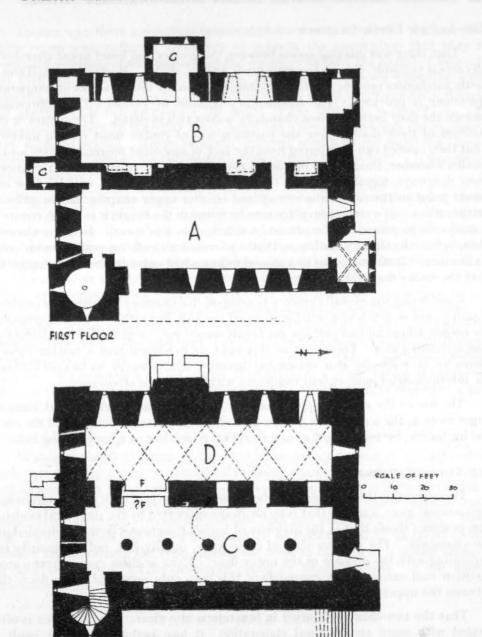


FIG. 14 MIDDLEHAM CASTLE, YORKS - THE KEEP C.1170

GROUND FLOOR

Fig. 14. The Keep, Middleham Castle, Yorks.

### THE LESSER UPPER CHAMBER

That there was internal access between the greater and lesser upper chambers in all cases is probable, though the evidence is, in fact, slight. Boothby Pagnell and the castle gatehouses provide unaltered examples and in the former a door of comparative splendour is provided. The fragmentary remains of Bennet's Hall, Shrewsbury include the door between these chambers, a door rich in detail. The nature or even position of these doors where the partition was of timber must remain unknown. That they existed can be inferred from the lack of any other means of access into the smaller chamber, though this in itself is not an invariable rule<sup>1</sup>. The elaboration of these doorways, together with the common use of large windows with window seats would point to the use of the second and smaller upper chamber as the principal private room. If a second fireplace is to be found in the house, it is in this room. If a garderobe is provided it is primarily attached to this room. It is the chamber, then, before all others in the house, that is provided with all the available comforts of civilisation. Instances occur of a second independent entry to this room, suggesting that the owner desired private access.

Considering the overall evidence bearing on this chamber it is more reasonable to regard it, not so much as a retiring room off the hall, but rather the living quarter of the owner, where he and perhaps his family would eat, sleep, live and entertain the distinguished guest. Looked at in this light its extension into a further room or rooms as at Kidwelly is a reasonable luxury<sup>2</sup>, not, however, to be confused with the interlocking of independent residences within the same structure.

The use of the smaller upper chamber as the private quarter would leave the larger room as the scene of the greater part of the under cover daily life of the owner and his family, better thought of as a reception room than as a banquetting hall.

#### THE LOWER CHAMBERS

There remains the lower floor of the house. This is generally considered to have been storage space, a theory that is by no means supported by the structural evidence. This evidence shows that in the majority of houses the ground floor was divided into two chambers. The relative sizes of these vary, usually but not necessarily corresponding with the division of the upper floor. Even in those cases where a stone partition wall exists on the ground floor this may only serve the lower floor, that between the upper chambers being of timber.

That the two chambers varied in function is also clear. One chamber is often treated with more architectural elaboration; it has, perhaps, a richer vault or contains slightly larger windows. It may be supplied with a fireplace. It is unusual for both rooms to have external access but the larger chamber has, on occasion, additional access to the chamber above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Alternative access to the lesser upper chamber is provided at Boothby Pagnell (Fig. 1) and probably at Christchurch (Fig. 4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Compare with Ludlow Castle later in this paper.

To sum up; there are certain recurrent features associated with the lower floor which occur with sufficient frequency to support the assumption that they are essentially products of the function of the rooms. To take the chamber below the hall first: this may contain a fireplace, have larger windows than the other, generally contains an external door and may have direct communication with the hall above. It is not necessarily the larger of the two, but is usually so. The remaining chamber, on the other hand, rarely has a fireplace and does not necessarily have external access. Where separate external access is not provided there is communication between the two lower chambers; there may be both. If a garderobe exists on the lower floor, it is entered from this smaller room.

The precise purpose of these rooms is difficult to determine although it is clear from the features with which they are associated it was not storage. On a lower scale they appear, if anything, to reproduce the chambers above and it is possible that, in fact, their uses were similar. The key lies, perhaps, in the parallel provided by the gatehouse dwellings. Here, paradoxically, within the castle defences security considerations do not govern the treatment of the lower floor which appears as a replica of the floor above, providing with it a dual residence which may for convenience be allocated to family and household on the upper and lower levels respectively. There appears to be no reason why this layout should not apply to all houses of this type. The argument that the lower floors were reserved for storage is based mainly on their small windows. It is possible that these small windows represent, not so much a higher degree of security, as a lower degree of luxury and that the two-light glazed or shuttered windows of the upper floor represent a more sophisticated standard than their stark remains would indicate.

#### DATING LIMITS

Within the general limits of the type there do not appear to be any regional variations; on the contrary, remarkably similar examples exist in widely varying regions and under widely varying conditions. As to date it is difficult to give an early limit for the appearance of this type of house. The most common dating ranges over the period covered by the late 12th and early 13th centuries. Before this, few examples of any sort of house can be produced; so that, as far as existing remains are concerned, the type appears suddenly in full flower, a strong argument for its importation as a fully developed plan type from elsewhere. A late limiting date must lie, exceptionally, in the early 14th century.

#### THE END HALL HOUSE

Covering somewhat the same period as the upper hall house but with a tendency to a later average date is a second fundamental plan form that may be called the end hall type. The most striking characteristic of this form is the domination by a ground floor hall of both plan and elevation. This type of house shows a development through the period from the late 12th century, when it first appears, to the 14th

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  The Bishop's Palace at St. David's and the unfinished gatehouse at Beaumaris date from just before the turn of the 14th century.

century, the limiting date now under consideration. Its basic form is that of a structurally independent hall with a domestic block attached to one end. The type is, perhaps of greater importance than the upper hall type, as from it stems the main stream of subsequent English domestic planning.

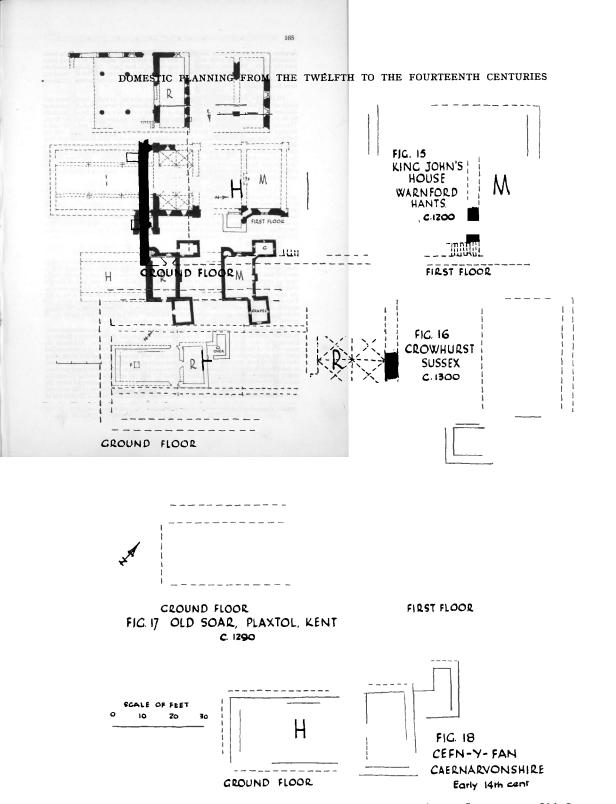
Up to the end of the 14th century and, in general for a century after that, the hall, aisled or aisleless, remains a constant feature; a large chamber, open to the roof, considerably exceeding in size the remaining chambers. It is in the attached domestic block that variation and development takes place. This block may, perhaps, in itself, be considered as a development of the upper hall house, now divorced from its hall. In its simplest form it does, in fact, consist of a two storey block with two chambers below and one above. An attempt to analyse these chambers will be made later in this paper. The first variant on this basic plan is the addition of a similar block at the free end of the hall, or more accurately, the servicing of two such domestic blocks by one common hall. Through the period, rarely before the late 13th century, a significant change occurred when the lower floor of the block was pierced by a service passage giving access from kitchen to hall, later leading to the addition of, first, the cross screen passage and, finally, to a separate servery.

In the following examples the basic type is illustrated in secular houses and in residences in castles and abbeys. Further examples illustrate some of the variants, the introduction of the service passage, the multiplication of the domestic block and its isolation. The basic type is also shown incorporated in and adapted to the special circumstances of a larger layout.

## 7. The End Hall House. Basic Civil Type

The building known as KING JOHN'S HOUSE, Warnford, Hants. (Fig. 15, p. 165), provides an almost perfect example of the type. The house consists of a three bay aisled hall (H) at ground level with a two storey block of the same width at the west end. Access to the hall is through its south side wall next the chamber block. An opening is placed in the centre aisle of the hall close to the respond of the south colonnade. The upper end chamber (M) was entered from the hall through a door in its north aisle, the door being placed below chamber floor level with steps leading from hall to chamber extending both east and west of the wall. This arrangement is also found at Chepstow Castle and in the Great Guesthouse at Kirkstall Abbey. The west wall remains to a sufficient height to show that it did not contain a fireplace at its centre. It is probable that the wall fireplace to this, the principal chamber, was placed in the centre of the east wall and its flue incorporated in the west gable of the hall. The western block is arranged so that its lower floor level is rather below that of the hall. The lower chamber (R) or chambers was entered down steps set in the thickness of the west wall of the hall from the door already noted. Beyond a line of four loops in the west wall, no other original features remain in the lower chamber. No access, other than that from the hall, is now visible.

The fragmentary remains of the manor house at CROWHURST, Sussex, (Fig. 16, p. 165) retains enough to show it to have been of the same form as the last example. The hall (H) has disappeared except for its two storey vaulted porch which shows the entrance to have been on its north side at the chamber end. The extent of the hall as shown is assumed, its width would indicate that it was aisled. The north hall wall contained at least one door into the chamber block at ground floor level. The upper chamber of the end block, (M), was of sufficient importance to contain in its east wall a two-light window. If there were a



Figs. 15, King John's House, Warnford, Hants.; 16, Crowhurst, Sussex; 17, Old Soar, Plaxtol, Kent.; 18, Cefn-y-fan, Caernarvonshire.

fireplace it must have been in the south wall as no offset for a breast occurs in the lower remaining portion of the north wall. A door at its south-east angle led to a small room over the porch. The lower chamber (R) was vaulted in four bays. Single-light windows remain in its east and west walls. No trace of a division remains, but the four vaulting bays suggest that it formed either one or two apartments. A central passage would not have been possible.

OLD SOAR MANOR, Kent, (Fig. 17, p. 165), has also lost its hall. Its existence and rough size are indicated by the corbels of its arcade remaining on the west wall of the existing chamber block. From the north-east angle of the hall a vice, in a similar relative position to the stair at Warnford, leads to the upper chamber (M) of the two-storey chamber block. This contains a single apartment having two-light windows in each of its end walls and a fireplace in the centre of one of the long walls, in this case the external east wall. Off the northern angle is a garderobe (G), a comparatively large chamber with an undercroft that does not appear to have had a similar purpose. To the south-east of the building is a chapel approached from the upper chamber. This is extraneous to the domestic purpose of the house and does not, therefore, affect the general planning principles. The lower floor of the chamber block contains a single chamber (R) (whether divided or not there is no evidence to prove) with access to the hall and external access. There is a further chamber with external access placed beneath the chapel.

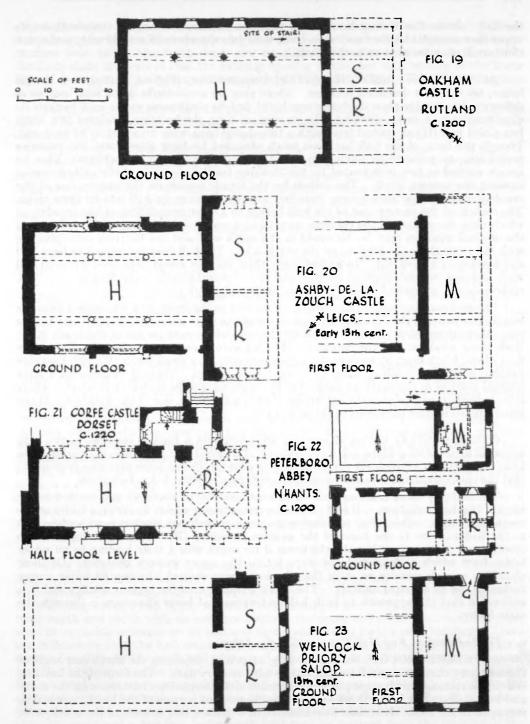
At CEFN-Y-FAN, Caernarvonshire, (Fig. 18, p. 165), the site of a 14th century house has been excavated. The plan shows a hall (H), aisleless, with central hearth placed to the west end and with traces of bench seating around the walls. It was entered by opposing doors through its north and south walls at the east end of the hall. No details exist as to the form taken by the upper floor of the chamber block but the existence of a garderobe attached to the northern angle can be inferred from the presence of a pit at this point. The lower floor of this block consisted of one chamber, (R), entered by a door in the centre of the dividing wall between hall and chamber block.

# 8. The Independent End Hall House within the Castle

The Hall at OAKHAM, Rutland, (Fig. 19, p. 167), provides an early example of an independent castle residence making no concessions to defence. The hall itself (H) is aisled in four bays. It was entered towards its east end from the south and provided with a range of ample two-light windows in its north and south walls. The east wall of the hall originally rose clear of the cross roof of the chamber block and contained a circular window, the upper half of which has been incorporated in the modern window now in its place. Two doors in the east wall of the hall led to the lower floor of the two-storey east block, the upper floor of which was reached by a door in the north aisle. The offset to carry the landing of the stair to this door remains in the angle of the aisle. There is a third door below this at ground level, perhaps leading from the lower level to a store below the stair.

There are no visible remains above ground of the east block. It is possible, however, to deduce something of its form. If one considers the parallel of the Bishop's Palace at Lincoln (Fig. 29, p. 173) the evidence for this form is reasonably conclusive. At Lincoln the main arcade of the aisled hall is carried across the end block in the form of a stone arched truss that supports the transverse roof, the dividing wall between hall and end block rising clear above to form the gable end of the hall and containing, formerly at Lincoln and altered at Oakham, a window. The present end buttresses at Oakham are, in their lower portions, clearly insertions, whilst higher up they are bonded into the wall, the bonding continuing above the top of the existing buttresses. This bonding is what might be expected where the spandrils of an arched truss meet the end wall of the hall. The buttresses at the west end show no such evidence and may be assumed to be the original buttresses of the free end of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Trans. Caernarvon Hist. Soc. (1954). A. H. A. Hogg.



Figs. 19, Oakham Castle, Rutland; 20, Ashby-de-la-Zouch Castle, Leics.; 21, Corfe Castle, Dorset; 22, Peterborough Abbey, Northants.; 23, Wenlock Priory, Salop.

the hall. From this it may be deduced that the eastern block again contained, on its upper floor a single chamber and on its lower floor two chambers (R and S) with, perhaps, a third small chamber or store to the north.

At ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH CASTLE, Leicestershire, (Fig. 20, p. 167), is a similar house, set within a defended position. There may be some doubt as to what degree of defence existed at the time the house was built<sup>1</sup>, but its continuous use as such justifies its classification as a castle dwelling. In its original form the building consisted of a three bay aisled hall (H) at ground level with a two-storey cross-wing attached to its west end. Though the form of the hall has been much obscured by later alterations, the evidence would seem to point to its having an initial form similar to that at Oakham. That an arcade existed at first is indicated by the toothing for the spandrils of the arched trusses crossing the western block. The corbels for the arcade remain on the eastern face of the dividing wall. From them sprang three bay arcades dividing the hall into its three aisles. The corbels at the eastern end of the hall belong to a later remodelling of the arcades, at which time the centres of the columns were altered and their springing raised. Traces of the original windows may be discerned in the south wall and one buttress corresponding with the original arcade survives on the north side. The hall does not appear to have had any window in its free end. In its first state, then, the hall would have been an aisled hall with opposing entrance doors at the west end and a central hearth. The details of the west corbels suggest an earliest date of sometime in the early 13th century.

The western wing was of two storeys. Entrance to the lower floor was gained from the hall by two doors in the dividing wall indicating at least two main chambers (R and S), the only other discernible features of which are the twin windows in the north and south walls. Both these windows and the doors into the hall were subsequently altered. The upper floor of this block may, by analogy, be assumed to contain a single room (M) with the ridge running north and south spanned by stone arched trusses. There is evidence of a large original window in the northern gable, but the remaining walls are uninformative. There is no indication as to where the garderobe, if any, was placed, nor of the fireplace. If the latter existed it must have been in the west wall.

CORFE CASTLE, Dorset, (Fig. 21, p. 167), provides a further example in the very beautiful little building to the north of the keep. Though at first sight differing considerably from the previous examples it can be shown to conform to the same planning principles; that the entire structure is raised on an undercroft may be regarded as fortuitous.

The hall (H) was a four bay hall with an open roof lit on its north and south sides by elegant two-light windows. It had only one external entry which was from a lobby at the south-west angle. This lobby contains in its northern wall two similar doors leading, one to the hall and one to the lower of the western chambers (R). It was, in itself, of two storeys and contained within the thickness if its south wall a stair leading to an upper lobby from which a short flight of steps led to the upper western chamber. Of these chambers enough remains to show that the lower was vaulted; having an upper storey makes its use as a chapel unlikely. The whole building is of the highest quality and it is noticeable that the approach to both hall and upper and lower chambers is through the same lobby.

## 9. The Independent End Hall House within the Abbey

At PETERBOROUGH, Northants. (Fig. 22, p. 167), adjoining the north-east angle of the infirmary chapel is a small lodging of late 12th century date. The form of the building is a simple rectangle with angle pilaster buttresses and intermediate buttresses on the north and west walls. The hall (H), which occupies the western portion of the block, now ceiled, was open to the roof. It retains its six two-light windows, two to each of the north, west

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This point is discussed by T. L. Jones, M.O.W. Guide to Ashby-de-la-Zouch Castle (1953).

and south walls. Entrance was from the north near the west end of the north wall. There does not appear to have been an opposing door in the south wall, where there is at present a modern door, unless the south door were considerably smaller than that to the north. Similarly there is no proof that the existing opening in the east wall leading to the lower floor of the chamber block occupies the place of an original opening. The existing fireplace in the east wall is not original.

The two-storey chamber block at the east end of the building is of the same width as the hall. The upper chamber (M) was entered by means of a door in its north wall, now converted to a window. The stair by which this door was reached ran along the north wall of the hall. It was doubtless of wood as the intermediate buttress at this point is terminated just below landing level. Toothing for the lower steps is visible at plinth level in the hall wall. The openings in the upper chamber are all modern, the chamber, itself, being now subdivided. One jamb of its wall fireplace remains in the west wall just to the north of the present fireplace. The lower chamber (R) was entered also through its north wall by a door immediately below the entrance to the upper room. Apart from the jamb of a window in the east wall all the remaining openings in this chamber are modern.

At WENLOCK PRIORY, Shropshire, (Fig. 23, p. 167), to the south of the frater and actually adjoining the rere-dorter is the chamber block of a similar house slightly later in date and on a considerably greater scale. This, too, is in a remarkable state of preservation. Its purpose as abbot's lodging or guest house may remain in doubt, but its plan is clear. The aisled hall (H) is missing and its limits will only be determined by excavation. The former east wall of the hall retains traces of its roof line and the corbels of the arcades. Below the roof line this wall is rubble masonry, above it is finished in ashlar, indicating an internal plaster finish.

The two storied eastern block has on its upper floor a single chamber (M), lit by square headed two-light windows, the original inner roll-moulded wood lintels of which remain in good condition. In the centre of the west wall is a fireplace with heavy moulded corbels originally supporting a stone or plaster hood. In its north wall is a door leading to the rere-dorter of the abbey, thus providing garderobe accommodation for this chamber. In the east wall is a further doorway, formerly leading to an external stair-case, the only visible means of access to the chamber. The lower floor of the block was divided into two chambers (R and S) reached from the hall by two grouped doorways in the west wall and having a further door to the open in its south-west angle. The door in the north wall is modern and may or may not have replaced one of earlier date. All the windows on this floor are single light with detail similar to those above. It is clear that the original layout of the building was that of an aisled hall with a two-storey block at one end, the upper floor of which formed one room of some elaboration while the lower contained two chambers more pedestrian in character.

Work by the Ministry of Works has revealed at HAUGHMOND ABBEY, Shropshire, (Fig. 24, p. 171), the foundations of a building which appears to form the second in a series of successive and increasingly large abbot's lodgings. It is partly overlaid by its successor, the surviving abbot's hall to the south of the infirmary court. The plan shows a hall (H) lying north and south with an entrance towards the north end of its west wall. If there were an opposing entrance on its east side this is obliterated by the later building. There are indications that the hall was aisled in timber and that it was heated by means of a central hearth. At the south end of the hall a door, the moulded jamb of which remains, leads to the lower chamber (R) of the two-storey end block. This chamber shows evidence for two single-light windows in its south wall and for none in the east wall. In the southeast angle was a garderobe. That this block had the usual upper storey is clear from indications in the masonry of the south west buttress of the later building. That the upper chamber contained a fireplace in its south wall may be inferred from the remains of the base of the projecting breast in the south wall of the lower chamber. Its position in the

centre of the wall would indicate a single chamber as at Wenlock. Access to the upper chamber was from the east by means of an outside stair whose foundations remain at this point; this is confirmed by the lack of a window in the east wall at ground floor level.

At MONK BRETTON PRIORY, Yorkshire, (Fig. 25, p. 171), are the foundations of a further independent dwelling. The remains lie to the south-east of the frater and show the house, which may be guest house or lodging, to consist of a hall, (H), probably aisled, to the north with a two-storey chamber block to the south. Access to the hall appears to have been from both east and west at the north end. Access from the hall to the lower floor of the chamber block is indeterminate.

The end block consists of a single chamber (R) on the ground floor with at least one entrance in the east wall. The upper chamber was provided with a fireplace in the centre of its south wall and doubtless had access to the garderobe block (G) to the south-east.

### 10. The Multiplication of the Chamber Block

The great guest house at KIRKSTALL ABBEY, Yorkshire, (Fig. 26, p. 171) in its initial form provides an example of the addition of a further chamber block to the basic plan of hall and end block. The aisled hall (H) lies north and south with a later inserted passage across its north end; the original entry was probably through the east wall at this point. Heating was by means of a central hearth which remains in situ.

The northern block was entered in its lower storey, (R), through its southern wall from the hall. No division into chambers at this level survives and there appears to have been no fireplace. There is, however, access to a garderobe at the west end. The upper floor consisted of a single chamber reached by a stair in the west aisle of the hall as at Oakham Castle; the door at the head of this stair survives together with part of a window in the west wall. In the same wall access was provided to the garderobe block. In the centre of the north wall of this chamber was a wall fireplace the base of which appears below.

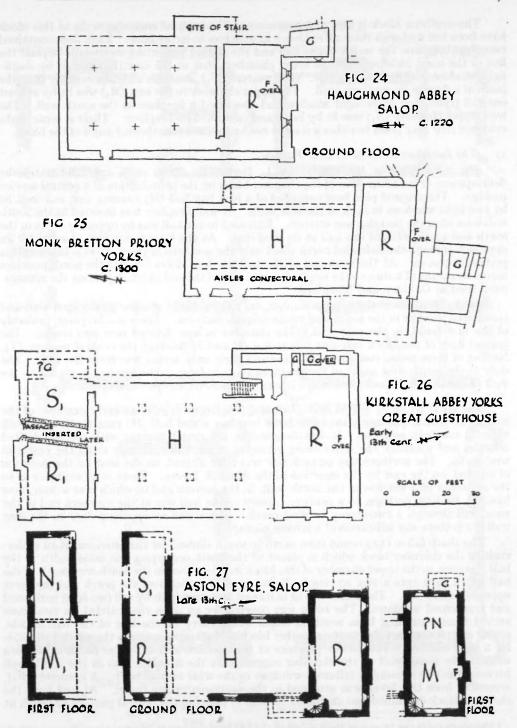
The southern block was similar in layout. The ground floor, later divided to form a passage to the kitchen, contained a single chamber  $(R_1 \text{ and } S_1)$  with a fireplace (F) in its south wall. The western end of the chamber is somewhat indeterminate but may well have included access to a garderobe. Again, internal access was provided by a door leading from the west aisle of the hall. The upper chamber, of which there are no standing remains, may be inferred to have had a fireplace in its southern wall and access to a garderobe to the west. There is no evidence as to the original means of entry to this chamber.

The 13th century manor house at ASTON EYRE, Shropshire, (Fig. 27, p. 171)<sup>1</sup>, is a further example of a hall serving more than one chamber block. The hall (H), aisleless, lies north and south with attached two-storey blocks at either end. That to the north appears to be of greater importance. The hall is of four bays with large two-light windows. Entry was by a door in the west wall at its south end. A modern opening has destroyed any evidence there might have been for an opposing doorway in the east wall.

The north block is of two storeys, both of which are entered by a door in the south-east angle of the block. This door, now without the hall, seems formerly to have been enclosed in a porch or oriel on the east side of the northern bay of the hall. If the latter it is an unusually early example of such a feature. The ground floor of the block is formed of a single chamber (R) lit by loops in its north and east walls. In its south-east angle is the vice leading to the upper floor. The fenestration of this floor may indicate that the area was divided into two rooms, if so, the eastern portion (M) was the more important being lit by a fine two-light window in its east gable and having two single-light windows flanking a wall fireplace in the north wall. The western portion (N) is lit by two single light windows in the south and west walls and has, in the north-west angle, a door formerly leading to a garderobe (G) projecting beyond the main block at this point.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The plan of Aston Eyre is not an accurate survey, being based on sketch notes only.



Figs. 24, Haughmond Abbey, Salop.; 25, Monk Bretton Priory, Yorks.; 26, Great Guest house at Kirkstall Abbey, Yorks.; 27, Aston Eyre, Salop.

The southern block is also of two storeys. The internal enclosing walls of this block have been lost and with them all evidence as to access to either floor. Each floor contained two chambers, one the width of the hall and the second projecting westwards beyond the line of the main building. Of the lower chambers that to the east  $(R_1)$  was lit by single-light windows and had no fireplace. The western,  $(S_1)$ , contains no features other than the jamb of a door in its southern wall. The upper chamber to the east  $(M_1)$  was lit by at least one tall transomed single-light window and contained a fireplace in the south wall. The west upper chamber  $(N_1)$  was lit by loops and contained no fireplace. There is some slight evidence that may point to either a stair or garderobe in the north-west angle of the block.

## 11. The Introduction of the Central Passage

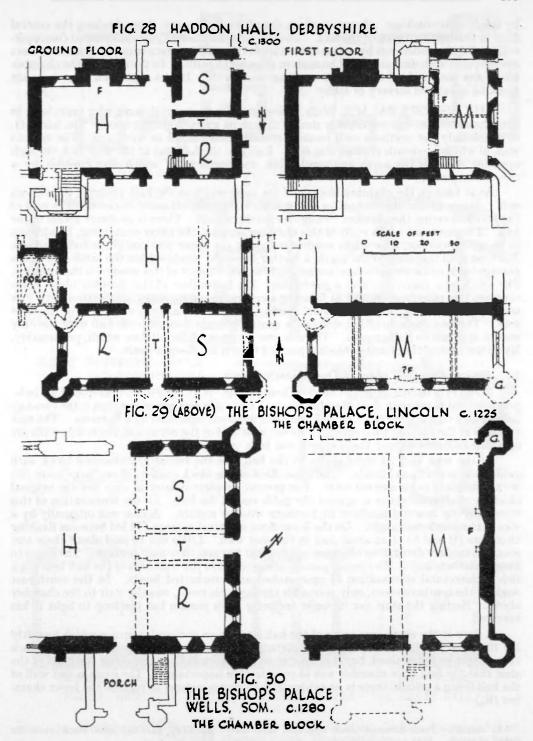
The initial plan at HADDON HALL, Derbyshire, (Fig. 28, p. 173), illustrates the development of the lower floor of the chamber block by the introduction of a central service passage. The original plan here consisted of a four bay hall (H) running east and west lit by two-light windows in each of the side walls. A wall fireplace was inserted in the south wall soon after the building was erected. Entrance to the hall was by opposing doors in the north and south walls of the hall at its west end. As the layout was first planned for an approach through the defended north court only the southern of these doors is fitted with a portcullis groove. At the west end of the hall are four doors; that to the north provides access by means of a stair to the upper chamber (M) of the end block, repeating the arrangement used at Oakham and Warnford.

Of the windows in the upper chamber, only the blocked window in the west wall and the altered window in the south wall retain original features. There is a fireplace, probably of the first build, in the east wall. The chamber is now divided into two rooms. The ground floor of the block contains two rooms (R and S) flanking the central passage (T). Neither of these rooms contains a fireplace and their only access was from the hall. The door in the south-west angle of the southern room is later. The kitchen is placed to the west of the chamber block from which it was separated by an open court.

The OLD BISHOP'S PALACE, Lincoln, (Fig. 29, p. 173), is an early example of the use of the central passage plan. The large four-bay aisled hall (H) runs north and south with its northern end free. It was designed in the grand manner with marble shafted columns and windows, the latter being arranged in pairs in each bay along the east and west walls. The northern bay on each side was later altered, on the west by the insertion of an oriel, on the east by the insertion of the Alnwick Tower. There is no evidence as to the existence of a window in the north wall, in the eastern end of which was a door, now blocked, leading, perhaps, to a pentice. Entry to the hall was at the southern end of the west wall through a two-storey vaulted porch. There was no opposing door in the east wall nor is there any indication of a screens passage.

The sharp fall in the ground from north to south allowed for the provision of an undercroft to the chamber block which is placed to the south occupying the same width as the hall. Access to the upper chamber of this block was by a door in the south-west angle of the hall which gave onto a vice serving both the upper chamber over the porch and the great upper chamber (M). This latter was lit in its east and west walls by tall two-light mullioned and transomed windows. The room was covered by an open roof carried on two stone arched trusses running from north to south which carry on the line of the hall arcade, giving a typical cross ridge to the chamber block and allowing space in the south hall gable for a high window. The former presence of this window and the large patch of modern work in the south wall of the chamber suggest that the fireplace was in the south wall between the two remaining (altered) windows in the wide central bay¹. A garderobe (G), accessible from this level, was arranged in the south-east angle turret. At hall level the chamber block contained two chambers (R and S) flanking the central passage (T) each lit

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The south gable can be seen in Buck's view of the Old Palace where the central pinnacle may, in fact, be the flue.



Figs. 28, Haddon Hall, Derbyshire; 29, The Bishop's Palace, Lincoln; 30, The Bishop's Palace, Wells, Somerset.

by single-light windows. Access to these chambers was by two doors flanking the central door in the southern wall of the hall. The western chamber (R) had additional communication with the undercroft by means of the vice in the south-western turret. Both chambers are provided with dual cupboard recesses in their north walls. To the south of the chamber block was the kitchen, also raised upon an undercroft. It was separated from the main block by a vaulted servery or lobby.

THE BISHOP'S PALACE, Wells, Somerset, (Fig. 30, p. 173)¹, some fifty years later in date than Lincoln, was remarkably similar though on an even greater scale. The hall (H), of which only the northern wall remains standing, was aisled in five bays. The eastern wall, of which no details remain, was free. Entry to the hall was at the west end, through opposing doors in the north and south walls, the northern of which was covered by a two-storey porch.

As at Lincoln the chamber block is of the same width as the hall, covering its western end. Access to the upper chamber (M) was by a staircase arranged in the western wall of the porch, entering the chamber through its northern wall. There is no direct access to the hall. The west and north walls of this chamber survive, the latter containing, in addition to the entrance door, a two-light window matching the upper portions of the hall windows. The west wall contains, to the north, a further two-light window from the jamb of which a passage leads to a stair in the north-west angle turret. South of this window is the fireplace. The south-west turret contains a garderobe. The lower floor of the chamber block again contains two chambers (R and S) flanking a central passage. Each is provided with four single-light windows, that to the south having, in addition, a cupboard recess in the west wall. The two doors on either side of the central passage door into the hall were the only means of access to these rooms. There is now no trace of the kitchen which, presumably, lay to the west of the chamber block separated from it by an open court.

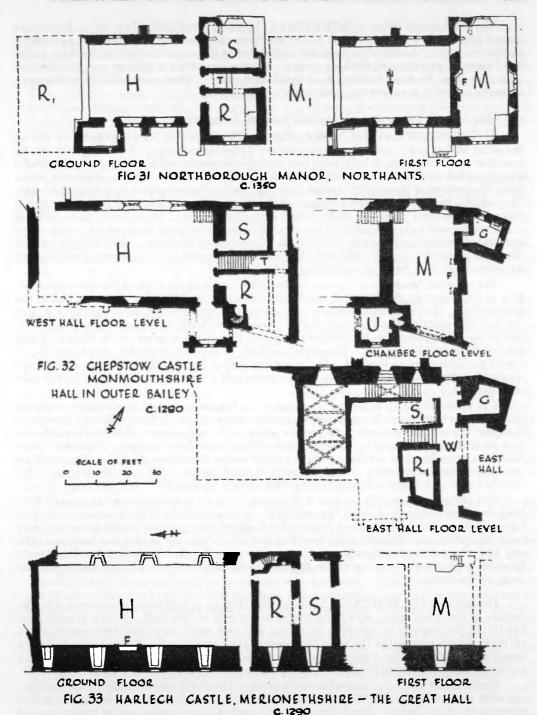
## 12. Central Passage Type with Dual Chamber Block

NORTHBOROUGH MANOR, Northants., (Fig. 31, p. 175) is an example of an independent civil house with dual chamber block. The main element of the plan is the two-bay hall (H), lit on the flank walls by tall two-light windows separated by a buttress. The east end wall of the hall has been rebuilt. At the west end of the north and south side walls are opposing entrance doors; the northern was later covered by a porch.

At the west end, at right angles to the hall, lies the two-storey chamber block with gable ends to north and south. The upper floor of this block consists of one large room (M) with a fireplace in its eastern wall. The present fireplace is later in date but the original chimney shaft rises above it against the gable end of the hall. Of the fenestration of this room only the internal jambs of its northern window remain. Access was originally by a vice in the south-east angle. On the lower floor a central passage (T) led between flanking chambers (R and S) to an axial door in the west wall. Little can be said about these two rooms as modern decoration obscures any original features they may contain. The doors to these chambers and to the central passage are grouped in the west wall of the hall beneath a rich architectural composition of ogee arched and crocketted hoods. In the south-east angle of the southern room, only accessible through this room, was the stair to the chamber above. Neither the stair nor its inner enclosing walls remain but the loop to light it has survived.

A door in the north-east angle of the hall leads to an enclosed staircase which formerly led to the upper chamber  $(M_1)$  of the eastern chamber block. The extent of this block cannot now be determined, but it is clear from the treatment of the door at the head of the stair that the first floor chamber was of considerable importance. The eastern end wall of the hall being a rebuild there is no evidence as to access or form as regards the lower chamber  $(R_1)$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E. Buckle. Proc. Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. XXXIV, 54. See also Buck view for detail of porch. 1733.



Figs. 31, Northborough Manor, Northants.; 32, Chepstow Castle, Monmouthshire; 33, The Hall, Harlech Castle, Merionethshire.

The great guest house at KIRKSTALL ABBEY, Yorkshire, (Fig. 26, p. 171), in its second phase, when the lower floor of the southern chamber block was altered, provides a further example. A central passage was introduced at this stage converting this floor to the usual form of passage and flanking rooms. At the same time a kitchen was constructed separated from the main building by a small open court. There is insufficient evidence to show the means of access to the eastern lower chamber.

## 13. The End Hall Plan incorporated as a principle in an extensive layout

At CHEPSTOW CASTLE, Monmouthshire, (Fig. 32, p. 175), forming the north side of the outer bailey, is a range of late 13th century domestic buildings. On analysis it can be seen that these buildings, in fact, form two separate residences of the end hall type, skilfully integrated but nevertheless providing, in each case, the accommodation usual in such plans. Only the western of these is illustrated as being clearly of more importance than the other. The hall (H) forms the westernmost part of the range and is of three/four bays lit by richly decorated two-light windows in its north and south walls. These walls have suffered considerably and only one window remains unaltered, the jamb of a second in the south wall and of another in the north wall provide the remaining evidence. The hall was entered through the south wall at its east end, the door being covered by a two-storey porch having its outer door, since built up, on its west side.

The chamber block lies to the east of the hall, separating the halls of the two residences. It is of three storeys, the upper of which forms the principal chamber (M) attached to the western hall. Access to this chamber is by means of a stair rising against the north wall of the hall and entering the chamber, slightly below floor level, at its north-west angle. It was lit by two windows in its northern wall and by a large window, since truncated and altered, in its southern gable. The chamber block, as in other examples already quoted, is roofed at rightangles to the hall. In the eastern wall of the principal chamber was a large hooded fireplace and at the north end of the same wall a door led to an elaborate garderobe chamber (G).

The floor below, at hall level, contains two chambers (R and S) flanking a central passage, their three doors being grouped together in the east wall of the hall. The northern chamber, (S) contains a single-light window and a cupboard recess. That to the south (R) now lacks its east wall and is lit on its south side by a modern window. Neither of these chambers has a fireplace nor have they any other access than from the hall. The southern has, in its south-west angle, a vice leading to a small chamber (U) over the porch. This chamber is provided with a fireplace and is thus clearly residential.

The central passage (T), in fact a staircase, leads to a cross passage at ground floor level, one floor below the level of the west hall. At this level the central passage is flanked by two further chambers ( $R_1$  and  $S_1$ ) accessible from the cross passage, which lie immediately below the pantry and buttery of the west hall and which form the pantry and buttery of the east hall whose domestic chambers are arranged on two floors at its east end. This device provides a common service entry for the two halls, doubtless served by a kitchen in the court to the south.

The hall at HARLECH CASTLE, Merioneth, (Fig. 33, p. 175) forms, on its west side, the curtain of the inner ward, occupying the northern half of this wall. It is a ground floor hall (H) of four bays lit by windows on its east and west sides; only the latter remain above sill level, deeply recessed in the great thickness of the curtain wall. Entry to the hall is by opposing doorways at the southern end, that in the west wall being more in the nature of a postern leading to the middle ward. A fireplace is provided in the west wall.

The chamber block is arranged in two storeys at the southern end under a roof continuous with that of the hall. The upper chamber (M) projected some nine feet into the hall covering the doors below. Doubtless the north wall of this chamber was of timber carried on a beam spanning the hall with, perhaps, intermediate posts. The only surviving window to this chamber is that in the west wall; there was no window to the south. The eastern

wall is now missing. Entry was by means of a stair worked in the east wall of the range, which was thickened at this point for the purpose, the stair rising from a door in the southeast angle of the hall. To the west of this door, in the south wall of the hall, is a further door giving on to a chamber (R), probably a servery, under the remaining portion of the upper chamber. This contains a window in its west wall and wide openings on to an entry (S) to the south. To the south again was the kitchen. There may be some doubt as to whether this southernmost chamber is, in fact, a kitchen, in which case the lower chamber of the chamber block is more likely to have been domestic in purpose, a possibility strengthened by the provision of window seats in the west window.

### 14. The Extension of the Chamber Block

The extension and elaboration of the chamber block in a special case is illustrated by the domestic layout at LUDLOW CASTLE, Shropshire, (Fig. 34, p. 179), where the early 14th century hall served, in effect, three chamber blocks. The hall (H), with the whole of the residential rooms, is raised on an undercroft or basement which for the purpose of an analysis of its planning may be ignored. It is a four bay hall with an additional narrow bay over the site of the central hearth, lit on the south side with tall transomed two-light windows and on the north, or curtain wall, side by similar single-light windows. Entry was at the west end of the south wall up a broad stair from the inner ward. This entry was covered by a now vanished porch.

The chamber blocks are arranged to west and east of the hall, the western being slightly earlier in date. (The range actually takes the form of the arc of a circle but for convenience is assumed to run east and west). The western block contains, at hall level, a single chamber (R), the northern end of which may have been originally divided off by some form of passage, though this would make lighting difficult. It was entered from the hall at its north-east angle and from the porch at its south-east angle and was lit by two windows in the south wall. A fireplace is provided in the east wall and, in the west wall, a door leads to a large garderobe chamber (G). A vice in the north-west angle of the hall leads to the chamber above this. This chamber (M) is similarly provided with a fireplace in its east wall and a garderobe to the north-west. Two-light windows were provided in the south and west walls and a door in the south-east angle led to a chamber over the porch. The same vice continues up to a further chamber (P), smaller than the others, arranged in an added storey over the earlier curtain tower. This chamber, which is treated with considerable architectural care, is lit on its north and east walls and is provided on the south with a hooded wall fireplace. In its west wall a door leads to a garderobe (G).

The eastern portion of the range consisted of two closely integrated chamber blocks, the planning of which, though similar to that of the western block, shows greater confidence and architectural skill. Of these two blocks only the western remains substantially complete, the eastern having been drastically altered in subsequent rebuilds. The lower chamber of the surviving block (R<sub>1</sub>) was entered from the hall at its north-west angle by an angle passage, since altered, in the thickness of the curtain wall; it was lit on its north, south, and west walls and on the east had a fine hooded wall fireplace. This fireplace, and indeed all the details of this block, are of a high standard, foliage and figure carving being used freely in decoration. In the north-east angle a door leads to an inner chamber (S<sub>1</sub>) which, in turn, gives on to the garderobe  $(G_1)$ . The upper chamber  $(M_1)$  is similar to that below, though richer in detail. Reached by a door in the north-east angle, arranged on two floors, are two inner chambers, the lower  $(N_1)$  with a garderobe attached. Both have fireplaces. high quality detail found in the larger chambers is continued in these rooms, the top room (P<sub>1</sub>) being lit by tall, single-light, transomed windows. The original means of access to the great upper chamber (M<sub>1</sub>) is obscure. It was later reached by a stair rising on the north wall of the hall, itself replaced in turn by a downward extension of the vice in the northwest angle. It is possible that the first entrance was by a stair in the now mutilated southeast angle of the block though there is now but slight evidence for this beyond the existence of wall-passages at this point.

Of the third and eastern chamber block only the western wall and its garderobes survive. These are sufficient to show that it took roughly the same form as its neighbour. On the lower floor there was a large fireplace similar in size to those in the adjacent block in the west wall. Only the corbelling to the hearth of this remains, the fireplace having been later reduced in size. The garderobe with its inner room  $(S_2)$  is a replica of that immediately to the west. In the west wall of the main chamber is a door leading to the lower chamber of the adjoining block. It is significant that this door is provided with a drawbar hole to ensure effective segregation of the two chambers. The upper chamber also probably contained a fireplace in its west wall; that now in position is, however, later. In this case the garderobe is reached direct from the chamber without the intervention of an inner room nor is there a further chamber above. There is a possibility that this accommodation was provided in the next mural tower to the east. Again, a strong door was provided between this chamber and that to the west.

### 15. The Chamber Block in Isolation

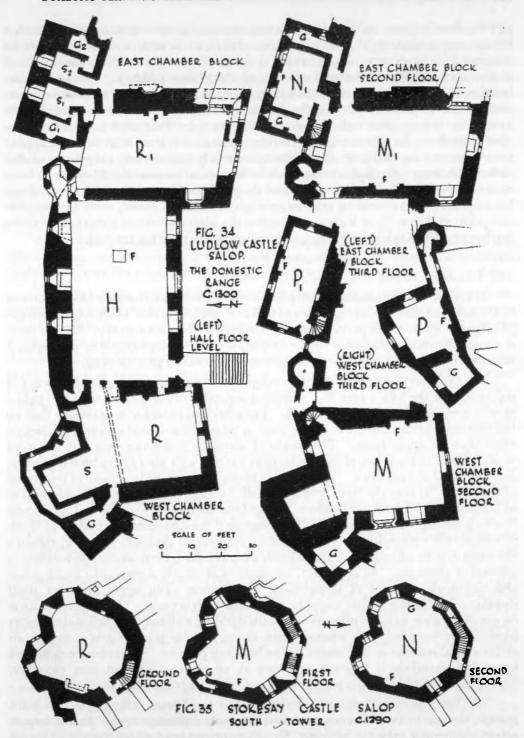
In the example, Ludlow Castle, quoted above, a single hall is shown serving three chamber blocks arranged in close juxtaposition to the common hall. Actual contact with the hall is not always maintained and isolated chamber blocks result particularly where defensive planning renders it convenient to use mural towers for the dual purpose of residence and defence. An example, in this case more domestic than military, is the south tower at STOKESAY CASTLE, Shropshire, (Fig. 35, p. 179). The tower is arranged on three storeys. Entry is direct into the ground floor chamber (R), an irregular room, originally provided with neither fireplace nor garderobe. A stair in the thickness of the north wall leads up to the first floor chamber (M) which is similar in outline to that below. It has additional windows on the north wall and a door, the present entrance. The windows in this chamber are taller than those below and fitted with window seats. In the east wall is a fireplace and, to the south of that, a garderobe. A lobby on the north side of this chamber leads to a further wall stair that rises to the upper chamber (N) on the second floor. This upper chamber is almost a replica of that below. Its windows, two of which are two-light, have window seats; there is a fireplace in the east wall and a garderobe, in this instance in the west wall.

#### THE END HALL PLAN. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The essential feature that distinguishes this type of house is the division, both in plan and structure, into Hall and Chamber Block and, in the case of the independent house, the architectural domination by the former. Before any attempt at interpretation of the evidence the features associated with the type are summarised.

# THE HALL

In general the hall is placed on actual or nominal ground level. It may or may not be aisled and the provision of arcades to support the roof appears to have no significance other than its use as a structural expedient to overcome the difficulty inherent in wide span timber roofs. Heating is usually by means of a central floor hearth; though this is far from being a rule. Fireplaces occur in side walls in many examples though rarely in an end wall. The abbot's house at Croxden Abbey is exceptional in this respect. Entry to the hall is invariably through a side wall, generally at the end of the wall nearest the principal chamber block. Opposing doors are introduced wherever possible, though they do not appear to have been considered essential. In the period under consideration no distinction seems to have been made between 'high' and 'low' ends of the hall. While there is evidence



Figs. 34, Ludlow Castle, Salop.; 35, Stokesay Castle, Salop.

at King John's House at Warnford of a dais none of the other examples here quoted retains any indication of such a feature. There is, in fact, a certain amount of evidence to the contrary. None existed in the small example at Cefn-y-fan nor did it at the more magnificent hall at Ludlow or at Haughmond Abbey. The lack of distinction between the ends of the hall is emphasised by the variety of position occupied by the fireplace, which may be central (either wall or floor hearth) or slightly away from the entrance end. In none of the examples illustrated is there any convincing evidence for a contemporary screens passage, a feature that does not appear to be in general use until at least the late 14th or early 15th century in spite of isolated earlier instances. The hall windows call for no special comment. They are as large as is convenient and reflect the fashion of the particular period to which they belong. No emphasis in the form of oriel or enlarged window is found, with the possible exception of Aston Eyre Manor, until after the 14th century, a fact that provides further negative evidence for a lack of social orientation within the hall.

#### THE CHAMBER BLOCK

It is clear that a complete residence is achieved with one chamber block attached to the hall and that the arrangement of hall and single chamber block forms the basic plan for the whole of the period from the late 12th to the 14th century. Where there is a multiplication of chamber blocks each embodies the same planning principles, a situation that persists until the introduction of the central passage plan.

The chamber block is invariably arranged on two main storeys, usually roofed at rightangles to the hall, a plan that permits a separate roof to the hall with free gables in which windows may be introduced. The principal chamber is generally that on the first floor often referred to as the solar, a term whose literal meaning implies no more than an upper room. The means of access to this room vary but the most usual point of entry is one of the angles next the hall up a stair rising from a position near the hall entrance door. Within these limits there is a wide variety of treatment of this stair. It may rise from within the hall, a straight stair against the side wall as at Chepstow, Warnford and Oakham, it may take the form of a vice as at Lincoln and Norwich Bishop's Palaces and Northborough or it may be semi-external as at Wells or completely external as at Haughmond. Its general position, however, remains the same and in all cases it is remarkably unimpressive, even where the building is palatial in character. It is, in fact, a private stair clearly designed to avoid pomp and ceremony, a point of considerable significance. The upper chamber itself displays all the features that might be associated with luxury. The large fireplace is on one of the long walls, as often as not on the dividing wall between hall and chamber block. The windows, with window seats, are as large as possible and in as rich an architectural manner as the status of the building permits. A garderobe is almost invariable, certainly if any are provided at all there is one off this chamber. Throughout the whole of the period the upper chamber retains this character.

The lower floor presents a wider variety of treatment, falling into two main groups, the one or two chamber type and the central passage type. In the former access is generally from the hall only, though examples exist where there is no access

from the hall¹ or where additional doors are provided in an external wall². The windows to these chambers are small and there is rarely a fireplace except in the greater houses, such as Ludlow, where the lower room is provided with both fireplace and garderobe. It is not until the beginning of the 14th century that there is a general introduction of the central passage type. In this the lower floor plan takes the form of an axial passage through the chamber block flanked by two similar chambers. The doors to these rooms and to the passage are grouped together to form an architectural composition in the end wall of the hall only later to be obscured behind a screen. The features now associated with these chambers change; rarely is there any separate external access and never either fireplace or garderobe. The upper floor of the chamber block remains, however, unaltered and where more than one such block is attached to a hall the central passage is introduced only in one block, that containing the principal upper chamber.

Where kitchens remain, and this is only in the greater examples, they are to one side or to one end in the case of the central passage type. An attempt is generally made to separate the kitchen from the main block by an open court<sup>3</sup>.

It remains to be seen whether it is possible to formulate some conception of the manner in which these houses were occupied. In the upper hall type of house the principal chamber or 'hall' is an integral part of the structure as a whole. In the end hall type a striking separation takes place, so striking that it is difficult to avoid the suggestion that the change is not only structural but functional. In the examples given the hall is shown serving one, two or three chamber blocks and the chamber block is shown in isolation. From this it may be deduced that, as a residence, the chamber block is self sufficient and that the hall is, to some extent, extra-residential in purpose. The evidence suggests that this purpose was two-fold: first that the hall should, in its size and magnificence, reflect the social status of its owner; secondly that it should be large enough to accommodate an assembly of courtiers, tenants or others who might have business with the owner or his family and that it should, in a manor house, be an adequate chamber for the purposes of the manor or other court. In palaces and castles, where the owner was of high rank, the function of the hall would tend to be more and more that of a ceremonial chamber. It is difficult, indeed, to think of the great halls of Winchester and Wells or Lincoln as living rooms but easy to imagine them as a background to the pomp and state so dear to the medieval nobility. Lower in the social scale the function of the hall would tend to be more homely though it must be remembered that the surviving examples from which the evidence is gathered are all of 'manor house' or higher status in which a hall of 'public' character would still be needed4. Once this conception of the character of the hall is accepted the ability of one hall to serve numerous chamber blocks within a larger complex is readily understood, for, while a whole castle or manor would

Archaeology, 1, 161) and Ludlow Castle, (Fig. 34), etc. End kitchens remain at Lincoln Old Palace (Fig. 29), and Haddon Hall (Fig. 28).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> No direct access is provided from hall to lower chamber at Corfe (Fig. 21), Kirkham prior's hall, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Additional external access to the lower chamber is provided at Wenlock Priory (Fig. 23) and Peterborough (Fig. 22).

Side kitchens existed at Northolt, (Medieval

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For an example of the use of the Hall as a court house see M. W. Thompson, M.O.W. Guide to Pickering Castle, Yorks. 1958.

provide accommodation for more than one household, its ceremonial or manorial function would be relevant only to the owner himself and he alone would have need of the hall. That the hall was used on occasion for large scale entertainment is almost certain for it must have been the growth of this custom that led to the introduction of the central service passage from the kitchen. It is not, however, until after the 14th century that special provision is made generally in the design of the hall for the high table lit by its oriel; up to which time the owner would normally feed himself and his guests in his private apartment, the use of the hall as a banquetting chamber being the exception rather than the rule.

The self sufficiency of the chamber block as a residence has already been suggested. Of the chambers comprising this block the upper chamber is clearly the most important and may be assumed to have been the owner's private living quarter, being treated architecturally as a smaller edition of the hall with the addition of that domestic essential, the garderobe. The relation of this chamber to the hall is epitomised in the form of access. Its essentially private nature stresses the functional independence of the two main elements of the plan. The only logical deduction possible from a consideration of the setting of this upper room within the plan, particularly with regard to its means of access and lack of intercommunication with other chambers, is that this isolated single chamber fulfilled the whole needs of the owner's living quarters. That such a single chamber was considered adequate lodging is clear from the example of the Bishop's palace at Wells where the scale of the hall is such as to make its use as a living room unlikely and where there is no direct access from hall to upper chamber. The principle of single chamber lodging of high quality was accepted in castle planning as, for example, in the south-east tower at Goodrich Castle, Hereford, where three chambers are arranged on so many floors each with separate external access and each treated with architectural detail of a similar standard to that used in the upper chamber attached to the hall.

Any extension of amenities is provided *en suite* with the upper chamber. In the example quoted of Ludlow castle the upper chamber almost partakes of the nature of a hall on its own with further rooms of increasing privacy accessible from it, each inner room having its own fireplace and garderobe as though it were itself an 'upper chamber'. These suites of rooms clearly form planned units and should, perhaps, be considered as an ideal expression of the functions more normally compressed into one chamber.

Where the lower floor of the chamber block consists of a single room, its purpose was doubtless similar to that of the chamber above, a self-contained living quarter. The same argument would appear to apply to the two chamber layout, specially where one is provided with garderobe or fireplace. Where neither of these is present it is still not safe to assume that the purpose of the rooms was only that of storage. In the central passage plan the allocation of the flanking chambers for the traditional purpose of buttery and pantry appears to be more logical, though even here the Chepstow Castle plan raises doubts, where the southern flanking chamber has a room over the porch arranged *en suite* with it, clearly designed as a living room. It is possible that the true interpretation of these lower chambers is that they performed a

dual function and that accommodation was provided not only for the buttery but also for the butler.

To sum up, the end hall house consisted in its simplest form of two elements, the chamber block or house proper which catered for the owner and his immediate household, and the hall, a chamber whose purpose has no modern counterpart, being essentially a product of the medieval pattern of life. Domestically, the manor house or castle is seen as an integrated group accommodating a principal and dependant households each consisting of more than one family. In the monastic context the guesthouse fits as easily into this conception, while for abbot or prior the single household plan is equally suitable.