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From the Conquest to the End of the Thirteenth Century

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The Oxford bookseller and publisher John Henry Parker (1806–84), a supporter of the Tractarian movement and a friend of Cardinal Newman, was also a historian of architecture, whose two-volume *Glossary of Terms Used in Grecian, Roman, Italian, and Gothic Architecture* is also reissued in this series. In 1851, he published a volume on English domestic architecture from the Norman Conquest to 1300 by the antiquary Thomas Hudson Turner (1815–52), and on Turner's death he completed the second volume, on the fourteenth century, himself. Both volumes are highly illustrated with line drawings and plans. Volume 1, after an introductory chapter about pre-Conquest buildings, discusses architectural plans, features, building materials and techniques of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and gives examples of surviving buildings, from grand to modest, all over England, as well as reproducing documents throwing light on the painting and decoration of medieval buildings.

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# Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England

VOLUME 1:

FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE END  
OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THOMAS HUDSON TURNER



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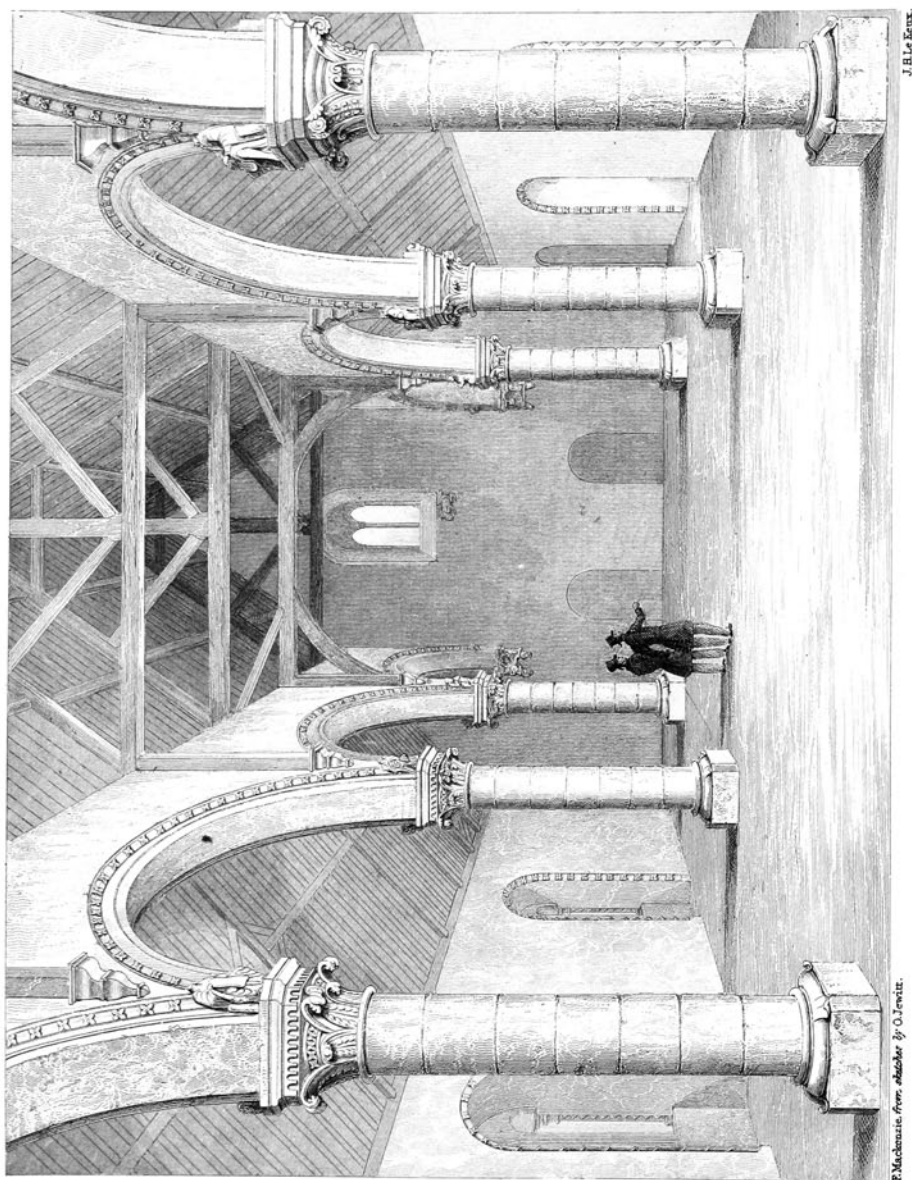
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HALL OF OAKENHAM CASTLE  
(FROM THE SOUTH WEST).

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SOME ACCOUNT  
OF  
**D o m e s t i c   A r c h i t e c t u r e**  
IN  
ENGLAND,

FROM  
THE CONQUEST TO THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY,

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS OF EXISTING REMAINS  
FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS.

BY  
T. HUDSON TURNER.

OXFORD,  
JOHN HENRY PARKER;  
AND 377, STRAND, LONDON.

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## P R E F A C E.

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IT occurred long since to the author, that our national records might be made available to illustrate the history of architecture in England. Strongly impressed with this opinion, he began, sixteen years ago, to note down every fact bearing on the subject which offered in the course of daily reference to those records for professional objects. It is in respect only of the information thus accumulated, that he can claim any credit for the present work; and he trusts that before it is concluded the value of these ancient documents, as unerring guides in the investigation of the history of art in this country, from the close of the twelfth century, will be fully established.

A similar work was undertaken and announced some years since by Mr. R. C. Hussey, but the numerous and continually increasing professional engagements of that gentleman compelled him to resign the undertaking. The drawings and engravings prepared for his work have, therefore, with his consent, been incorporated in the present. Many of these are from the valuable original sketches of W. Twopeny, Esq.; others from those of Edward Blore, Esq., R.A., who very liberally allowed the use of any of his drawings. Several drawings have been obligingly communicated by Alexander Nesbitt, Esq., who also placed his notes at the author's disposal.

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#### PREFACE.

The author gladly takes this opportunity to acknowledge the valuable assistance he has received from his friend Mr. J. H. Parker of Oxford, whose knowledge of architectural detail has largely contributed to the descriptions of the various examples of ancient Domestic Architecture given in the following pages. The notices of French remains were prepared by Mr. Parker during a tour in the west of France, in the summer of 1850, in company with M. G. Bouet, the artist of Caen, from whose drawings the engravings are taken. M. Viollet Le-Duc of Paris, and M. de Caumont of Caen, have also given much valuable assistance. He has also to thank Mr. O. Jewitt for many useful notes and suggestions.

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## INTRODUCTION.

As the following account of the progress of domestic architecture in England commences only with the twelfth century, some notice of the subject during earlier periods may be reasonably expected; yet almost all that can be said of it anterior to that century must be founded chiefly on conjecture.

Neither the language nor the civilization of the Romans appear to have made any great impression on the ancient population of England, and when the forces of the empire were finally withdrawn the nation relapsed into its primitive barbarism. The feeble school of native workmen who had been instructed in some few of the arts in which their southern conquerors excelled, never produced any thing better than rude imitations of the models by which they wrought. The works of the Roman settlers themselves, to judge by those which have survived, were of a coarse and debased character. Most of the sculptures, mosaics, bronzes, and pottery which belong to the period of the Roman occupation of Britain, and are presumed to be the work of Roman colonists, are inferior in character and execution to remains of the same period which have been discovered in Gaul and other provinces of the empire<sup>a</sup>. Nor is this

<sup>a</sup> The finer bronzes, and other works of art, which have been found in this country, are supposed to have been imported. Such for instance as the en-

amelled-bronze figure discovered in Sussex, and presented, by Lord Ashburnham, to the British Museum.

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surprising if it be remembered that the Roman troops who occupied the British islands were chiefly foreign auxiliaries, and that neither the climate nor the wealth of the country were such as to induce any extensive settlement of the more polished subjects of the Cæsars. A few merchants who had come from Belgium and Gaul, a few veterans who had become colonists, a few of the chief native inhabitants who had received the honour of citizenship and some tincture of southern civilization, together with the army, formed all that could be strictly termed the Roman, in contradistinction to the aboriginal, population.

Much progress in the arts was incompatible with such a state of society, and the science of architecture above all was not likely to be exercised with great effect. The fortifications of the Romans in this country were, it is true, on that grand and massive scale which everywhere marked their military defences, as enduring remains amply shew; but the temples and public edifices of the Romano-British cities, although constructed on the unvarying conventional principles which distinguished the best examples of Latian art, were inferior in size and splendour to those of any other province of the empire. Under these circumstances it is improbable that domestic architecture, which even in Italy had not attained a great degree of excellence before the last days of the Republic, should have been carried to any considerable pitch of refinement or magnificence by the Roman settlers in England.

We know, however, from remains of domestic habitations of Roman times which have been discovered in this country, that the villas and town houses of the Roman colonists were generally built upon the same plan which prevailed in Italy. In this respect the Roman practice was as un-

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changing as the Chinese; the same principles of construction were observed on the banks of the Severn and the Thames, as on those of the Tiber or the Po. It is very probable that in England the influence of climate may have modified some of the details of the Roman house: although well adapted to the climate of Italy the open *atrium*, with a rain-cistern, or *impluvium* in its centre, was not equally suited to the damp atmosphere of Britain, and here therefore that apartment may have been covered in, although its proportions relatively to the rest of the house were preserved<sup>b</sup>.

The various parts of a Roman house have been so frequently described, that it is unnecessary in this place to enter into any great detail respecting them. It may be observed, however, that until the discovery of the remains of Pompeii the general arrangement of the apartments was imperfectly understood, notwithstanding the letters of Cicero and Pliny, and the instructions of Vitruvius. Judging from those remains, aided by the writers just named, an *ordinary* Roman house does not appear to have been either a comfortable or a well-arranged building. The size of the *cubicula*, or bedchambers, was usually sacrificed to the *atrium*, and they were therefore of comparatively small dimensions; they derived their light internally from that apartment, and rarely from windows in the external wall; at least such was the plan adopted in Italy: but, if, as has been suggested, the *atrium* was entirely roofed, in buildings constructed in this country, external windows may have been more common. On this point unfortunately we have no evidence; the remains of Roman buildings dis-

<sup>b</sup> No *impluvium* was found in the remarkable ruins at Bignor, in Sussex. *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. pp. 203—218.

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covered in England scarcely enable us to trace their ground-plan, much less to give any opinion as to their elevations, with the exception of the materials composing the walls and roofs.

The *atrium* was generally the only sitting room for the family, and was ordinarily the kitchen also<sup>c</sup>. Thus the chief features of the ordinary Roman house were a large hall, attached to which were one or more small chambers for sleeping. To these the bath remains to be added, for even in the smallest buildings of which the vestiges have been laid bare, a hypocaust has usually been found: the presence of this apparatus does not, it is true, actually prove that it was attached to a bath, but the fair inference is that such was generally the case. The skill displayed by the Romans in the arrangement of the flues, connected with the hypocaust, by which their apartments were heated, scarcely prepares us to believe that they were unacquainted with the use of chimneys; yet the balance of opinion among the best modern writers on the subject is in favour of such a conclusion<sup>d</sup>.

According to the taste and wealth of the owner, a house may have had more rooms or have been constructed on a greater scale, and even with an upper story, but it has too long been the fashion to assume that every villa was built according to the descriptions of Cicero and Pliny; to imagine that those numerous apartments which were necessary to the convenience or fastidiousness of the wealthy ordinarily formed parts of the house of every

<sup>c</sup> Hence in middle-age Latinity *atrium* came to signify a kitchen. See Du Cange, *sub voce*.

<sup>d</sup> The authorities in favour of chimneys are collected by Becker, *Gallus*, Sc. ii. Excurs. i. Two open fire-places were dis-

covered in the villa at Bignor: "no part of any chimney or funnel by which the smoke might have been conveyed away, remained." Mr. Lysons in *Archæologia*, ut supra.

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Roman who could afford to possess a suburban retreat. We may reasonably assume that such was not the case on the continent, and the description here given is submitted as generally accurate with respect to the numerous rural habitations which at the beginning of the fifth century were scattered over Britain, from the hills of Perthshire to the coast of Kent. If the Roman villa was in any part of the country distinguished by greater splendour, it was in the milder climate of the south-western counties, where ground-plans have been traced, on sunny slopes, of edifices which seem to have been built with long porticos, almost rivalling that of Pliny at Laurentinum, and paved with mosaics almost equal to those of Italy<sup>e</sup>.

Of domestic habitations within towns during the Roman dominion in this country, we know very little; to some of them what has been said of the country residences is, of course, applicable, so far as general arrangement is concerned. Ground not being so valuable as in Rome and other cities of the continent, we may conclude the houses were generally built without an upper story, a contrivance which appears to have been originally suggested by the difficulty of accommodating an increased population within a limited area. Of the meaner class of houses, as shops for instance, we are left to form an idea from an inspection of the remains of such buildings at Pompeii.

The Roman method of building in England appears to have been fully as substantial as that observed in Italy; wherever the remains of their edifices are laid bare by the

<sup>e</sup> The supposed *cryptoporticus* at Big-nor was of the entire length of two hundred and twenty-seven feet. The mosaics found there, attributed by Mr.

Lysons to the age of Titus, were superior in design and execution to any other examples known to exist in this country. *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. pp. 203—208.

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plough, or by excavating, the foundations are invariably of the most solid materials ; concrete, stone and tile. Some of the best quarries known at the present day were known and worked in the fourth century of our æra, and not merely for constructions in their immediate vicinity. The great roads constructed by the Romans throughout this island rendered the transport of materials from distant points more easy than it was, probably, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when those roads had fallen into decay ; and the geologist now often recognises in the ruins of Roman villas situated in districts not devoid of quarries, stone of a superior quality, which must have been brought by land or water fifty or a hundred miles. The edifices of the towns they founded were equally well built, and endured through the succeeding periods of British anarchy, Saxon conquest, and Danish spoliation. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the ruins of Verulamium furnished materials for the construction of the church and abbey of St. Alban's ; and recent discoveries prove that source to be not yet exhausted. When the Saxon power was at its zenith, massive buildings of Roman days, yet standing in the chief towns of England, were significantly distinguished in the Saxon dialect from constructions of a later date ; as the quarter called the Aldwark in York, and the suburb called the Southwark at London.

We may reasonably assume that when the Romans finally abandoned England as a colony, every building throughout the country, except the huts of the native peasantry and labourers, exhibited in a greater or less degree the peculiar features of their style of architecture. Nor does there appear to be any good reason for supposing that this condition of things was immediately



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changed. Their retirement was not sudden but gradual; and the state of the continent was not such as to induce the emigration of any great numbers of the Romano-British population, although they found themselves deprived of the protection of the forces of the empire. The history of the period between the withdrawal of the Roman legions and the arrival of the Saxons is, however, a mass of fable and contradictions, amidst which we search in vain for glimpses of truth; one fact alone is certain, that it was a period of internal discord, and, therefore, unfavourable either to the progress or the preservation of the arts. Yet it cannot be doubted that when the Saxons landed in England they found its population dwelling in towns still possessing all the chief features of Roman construction, both civil and military. Those features could not have been immediately and wholly effaced, destructive as was the struggle which took place before the supremacy of the new comers was established. Whatever was destroyed was destroyed in warfare, that ended it would be puerile to suppose that the Saxons pulled down every thing that remained for the sake of rebuilding after their own fashion.

Here the question arises, how, or in what style, the Saxons were likely to replace the habitations they destroyed. If we turn to the Sagas, and other early records of the history and manners of the northern races, we find that the dwellings of their kings and chiefs in the countries adjacent to the Baltic consisted only of two apartments, and that sovereigns and their counsellors are described as sleeping in the same room. The habitations of the mass of the people were wooden huts, rarely containing more than one room, in the centre of which the fire was kindled. Such was the style of domestic architecture which the

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Saxons would bring with them to this country; and in that fashion most of their houses were built down to the latest period of their dominion. To this method there was nothing repugnant in houses erected on the Roman plan which they found on their arrival, and we may be pretty certain that wherever in town or country such houses existed in a habitable state, or capable of being made habitable, however rudely, they were occupied by the invaders<sup>f</sup>. The Saxon chieftain would find better accommodation in a large Roman house, with its spacious atrium, than he had been wont to enjoy, and in its essential features the plan of the edifice did not vary from that of the rude habitation of his fatherland; there was still the hall for feasting his numerous retainers, and more chambers for other domestic purposes.

It is sufficiently obvious that buildings either wholly or partially of Roman construction must have gradually diminished in number during the continual wars of the Saxon period; and it is next to certain that most domestic edifices built during the same time were chiefly of wood, a material which could be more readily obtained and more easily converted than stone. The quarries which had supplied the Roman builders ceased to be worked; the mechanical skill of the new conquerors was scanty, and had it been greater the difficulty and cost of carrying were obstacles not easily surmounted. The Saxon thegave built his "hall" from the woods on his demesne, by the

<sup>f</sup> Mr. Kemble, in his "Saxons in England," is of opinion that the Saxons avoided Roman towns. No doubt they formed many new rural settlements, but the same convenience of situation which led the Romans to fix on the sites

of London and York, of Gloucester and Chester, proved equally attractive to their successors in power. The advantage of water communication would equally influence Roman and Saxon.

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labour of his bondmen<sup>g</sup>; it was thatched with reeds or straw, or roofed with wooden shingles. In plan it was little more than its name implied, a capacious apartment which in the day-time was adapted to the patriarchal hospitality of the owner, and formed, at night, a sort of stable for his servants<sup>h</sup>, to whose rude accommodation their master's was not much superior in a small adjoining chamber. There was, as yet, but a slight perception of the decencies of life. The fire was kindled in the centre of the hall; the smoke made its way out through an opening in the roof immediately above the hearth, or by the door, windows or eaves of the thatch. The lord and his "hearth-men," a significant appellation given to the most familiar retainers<sup>i</sup>, sat by the same fire at which their repast was cooked, and at night retired to share the same dormitory, which served also as a council chamber. These hearth-companions of the Saxon kings and nobles have been compared by writers of considerable erudition, to the counts of the palace of the Frank sovereigns, and no doubt some analogy existed between the customs of all the northern races which supplanted the Roman power. So late as the

<sup>g</sup> See in the Venedotian code, art. 16; "nine buildings which the villains of the king are to erect for him: a hall, a chamber, a buttery, a stable, a dog-house, a barn, a kiln, a privy, and a dormitory." *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, p. 37. See also for the worth of the hall, p. 142.

<sup>h</sup> Persons of higher rank also slept in the hall. "A multitude of warriors watched the hall, as they before had often

<sup>i</sup> *Bëowulf*, l. 4353.

dreah æfter dome  
nealles druncne slog  
heorth-ge-neatas.

done; they bared the bench-planks; it was spread all over with beds and bolsters; some one of the beer-servants, ready and fated to die, bent to his palace rest." *Bëowulf*, translated by J. M. Kemble, vol. ii. p. 51. Compare the regulations of the king's hall in the *Welsh Laws*, "The king's hall is to be apportioned into three parts," &c. *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, p. 688.

he acted according to justice,  
nor drunken struck  
his hearth companions.

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fourteenth century it was the custom of a king of France to distinguish those courtiers and counsellors whom he particularly favoured, by inviting one or more of them to share his bed, or to sleep in the same room.

During the greater part of the Saxon period houses in towns appear to have been generally constructed of wood\* or mud, with thatched roofs. We have no better authorities on this point than the manuscripts containing the miracles wrought by various saints in those ages. It is true that perhaps few of these writings are older than the tenth century, many were certainly composed about that time; but the notices they afford of contemporary domestic buildings must be taken as correct, and we may infer that the edifices described were then very much what they had been for several centuries, mean in size, generally without an upper floor, and mostly containing but one room. The treatise of Lantfred, a monk of Winchester, on the miracles of St. Swithun, seems to have been compiled between the years 950 and 1000; it refers principally to events which occurred at Winchester, and furnishes us with some means of forming an idea of the aspect of that ancient capital of the most powerful Saxon state. The houses of the persons to whom the saint appeared in visions, are often called huts, (*tuguria*,) in one case, the dwelling of an honest smith is said to have had an old roof or thatch<sup>1</sup>; another dwelling is termed a "little house" (*domicula*). Offending slaves, whom their owners had manacled, reserving them for further punishment, see their masters leave home, and so take the opportunity to

\* Thus in the Colloquium of Ælfric, the tree-wright, or carpenter, replies to the querist "that he makes *houses* and *bowls*."

<sup>1</sup> "Sanctus vates—tugurium obsoleti deserens tegetis." MS. Reg. 15 C. 7, fol. 7 b.

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escape, which they could not well do unless they had been in the same room. Almost every allusion to houses contained in this work proves their small dimensions. We may thus understand how Winchester could contain the numerous population it is said to have had in Saxon times. Its streets consisted of low huts, closely packed together: at the time of the survey taken in the reign of Henry I. those streets were sixteen in number; in the fifteenth century, nine of them were in a ruinous and deserted state, having, in all probability, never been any better than in Saxon times—rows of wooden and mud hovels. Much stress has been laid upon the supposed opulence of Winchester from the number of goldsmiths enumerated in the survey alluded to; but there is very little in the point. The goldsmiths in those days worked, but did not generally trade, in the precious metals: and there is no reason to suppose they had better dwellings than any other class of artificers in early times. The goldsmiths of Paris worked and dwelt in booths on the Pont-au-Change, and the Pont-Nôtre-Dame, as late as the fourteenth century.

The houses of London in Saxon times could not have been superior to those of Winchester; a statement made by the chief inhabitants of that city in the twelfth century, expressly declares that down to the reign of Stephen the houses were built of wood and covered with thatch. At length the frequent recurrence of disastrous fires compelled the citizens to employ, where possible, more enduring materials, but London, nevertheless, continued to be a town mainly of wood and plaster, almost to the period of the great conflagration in the seventeenth century.

From these facts it may be justly inferred that throughout the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period, domestic habita-

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tions were generally constructed on a very small scale, and were adapted only to afford one of the great necessities of life, protection from the weather. Style in architecture there could have been none, properly speaking: one house may have differed from another in being higher or lower, a square or a parallelogram; but there the difference ceased: all must have been alike rude internally and externally; faintly lighted, badly ventilated, and wanting in every appliance for comfort and decency. It is not improbable, however, that the house of an Anglo-Saxon thegne may have exhibited some coarse decorative features. The partiality of the northern races to carving, particularly, in the ornamentation of their war-galleys, is well known. Those vessels were sculptured at the prow with representations of the animals or reptiles, fabulous or real, after which they were named, and were besides resplendent with paint and gilding. The history of art amply shews that wherever the first principles of decoration have been introduced among a people, their application soon becomes general: the same conventional and mythic forms which adorned the sea-boat of the Saxon, appeared on the slab or cross, which marked his burial-place, and on the ornaments and vessels of brass, or more precious metals, which he wore on his person or used at table; and similar designs may have been rudely painted, or more rudely carved both within and without his dwelling. The introduction of painting is commonly said, on the authority of Bede, to have taken place in the seventh century; but his words may be understood to refer only to the northern parts of the kingdom<sup>m</sup>: indeed,

<sup>m</sup> If, indeed, they imply more than opera hist. minora Ven. Bedæ, Lond. that Benedict brought pictures already finished. See Vit. S. Benedicti inter 1841. p. 145.