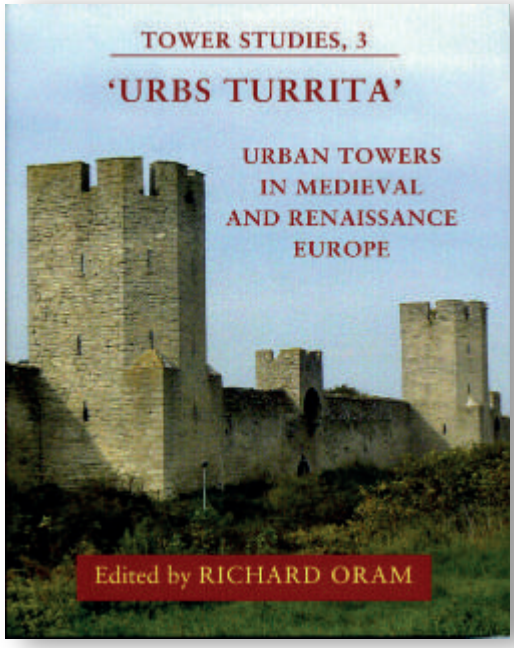



***Tower studies, 3; 'Urbs Turrita'***

***Richard Oram (ed.):***
***Publisher: Shaun Tyas***
***Hardback: 208 pages (xx + 188)***
***ISBN-10: 1907730664***
***ISBN-13: 978-1907730665***
***Published: April 2019***
***Price: £40.00***

"A defensive-residential tower, in all its variants, remained throughout the Middle Ages one of the main residential forms favoured by the feudal elite". These are the opening words of one of the papers in this volume (Lasek, Olszacki & Ratajczak) and they summarise perfectly the aims of this and the previous two volumes of *Tower Studies*. With the addition of the church towers, it is impossible to imagine a medieval landscape without towers. However, even when any enquiry is confined to secular towers, there are challenges, summarised above in the phrase "in all its variants". The first two conferences (published in the first, double volume of *Tower Studies*) focused on aspects of towers as lordly residences, mainly in the countryside. This third volume was based on a conference held in Krakow and in the Introduction the editor, Richard Oram, writes that it and the ten papers derived from it, "turns to the manifestation of towers in a specific context: the urban environment" and that they focus on the towers built by individual lords within towns, rather than towers erected by the town collectively. In fact, as every conference organiser knows, it is impossible to be so prescriptive, and so it proves with this volume.

It is only right to start with the four papers from the eastern countries. Malgorzata Chorowska presents the discovery of the foundations of a late-12th-century brick building from within the early castle enclosure of Wroclaw, in Silesia, incorporated in modern Poland. Although the remains are very fragmentary they can be described as of a 16-sided structure, 24m in diameter on the outside, 19m on the inside, with a central base. The foundations are deep and the angles were marked by pilasters; a separate plan of the excavated structure would have helped the reader here. Although it has been identified as chapel, she reconstructs it as a multi-floored secular tower, probably the principal residence in the castle at the time. David Merta and Marek Peska summarise the evidence for towers within the medieval city of Brno, now in the Czech Republic. Apart from church towers, there is one extant secular tower, with a further three shown in a 1645 view of the city. 14th-century documentary sources record other towers, located in plots owned by members of the aristocracy of the area around Brno, allowing them to argue that the wealth of the trading city attracted aristocrats who marked their residences with towers.

Two other papers discuss the towers of wider regions. Dominik Nowakowski summarises the information on the urban castles of Silesia (including Wroclaw) from the 12th to the 14th centuries. He starts by establishing the nexus of castles and towns in the region during the period and then tries to classify the castles according to the size of the towns associated with them, from the major royal sites, with large masonry castles to the small towns with earthwork castle; however, as with all such classifications, the boundaries between the types are obscure and the meaning of them unclear. The castles usually included towers, mostly of the tall, narrow *bergfried* type, built for display and refuge more than as lordly residences, which was accommodated in the hall/chamber building elsewhere in the enclosure. A fine example is at Bolkow, a Ducal castle with a massive round, beaked tower with very limited accommodation but beside a large residential block. Piotr Lasek, Tomas Olszacki and Tomasz Ratajczak follow this with an account of castles in Poland in the succeeding 14th and 15th centuries. Starting with the strong influence of the Emperors based in Bohemia, who brought in the idea of the castle with a more formalised courtyard, dominated by a major residential tower. This is well illustrated by the so-called Danish Tower at Krakow, built in the 1390s. It was used in 1424 to accommodate kings who had come to attend a royal wedding: Sigismund of Luxemburg in the lower storey, Erik VII of Denmark in the upper one. All four papers reflect the close ties between the Empire to the West and the Slav states to the East and the influences that are shown in their castles.

There is a fairly short paper by Barbara Bjodo on the famous towers in the city of San Gimignano, where she recapitulates the evidence that these are aristocratic towers built for display and mutual rivalry, rather than either for residence (they have neither a water supply nor fireplaces) or defence (again, no water and they have no defensive features). Taco Hermans reviews the evidence of urban towers from the Netherlands, where surviving examples are not common, except in Frisia where the towers are mostly rural, in villages or small towns. Surprisingly, perhaps, the number in the core area has not been firmly established in the literature but Hermans can give eighteen examples from nine towns. Details of the interior layout are few, but they seem to lack any serious defensive features. Only one, the Count's tower at Leiden, had a moat like the rural towers in the Netherlands, which leads Hermans to question whether the rest of the urban towers should be considered as not being true tower houses, but the absence of a moat is surely simply the product of a lack of space in a town?

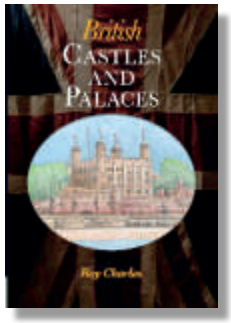
There are three papers from the British Isles. Ben Murtagh describes and discusses the walls of Waterford and their towers. He gives a well-argued and convincing account of new, stronger dating for the three successive walls of the city. The late-12th-century wall of the Hiberno-Norse city included a tower, the Irish builder of which made his peace with the incoming Anglo-Normans and survived into the new regime. The second wall dates to the 13th century and was built on a line a little beyond the first As the city flourished, a third line was constructed in the 15th century. All three lines incorporated towers. The 13th-century wall had a large round tower, Reginald's tower (often dated earlier) at its apex, which Murtagh suggests was meant to form part of a castle, which did not materialise. He describes how the various towers along the lines of the two successive walls saw multiple uses. At least one of the gate towers was used as a

gaol, while another was absorbed into an extended city mansion. Penny Dransart follows up her paper in the previous volume of *Tower Studies* by drawing attention to how a tower at the edge of the Episcopal precinct of Elgin was used for display. A curious depiction of the Trinity (as a triple head) is carved on a gable to watch over the people coming to the cathedral. Richard Oram takes three urban towers: Drumlanrig tower in Hawick, Maybole tower and McLellan's tower in Kirkcudbright. These were not merchants' towers, which are found more often in Ireland than Scotland, but examples of Scottish aristocrats building in towns near to their lands. As such, their plan, size and internal organisation show how their designs differed according to the priorities of the lords; the arguments would have been clearer if they had been accompanied by plans. The first two were adjuncts to the main (rural) centres of the lords' power and are simple towers, albeit with a fine oriel for the lord's chamber at Maybole. By contrast, McLellan built a large and elaborate tower, probably because the town was to be the centre of their power, rather than their landed estates.

One paper, by Radoslav Palonka on the towers built by the inhabitants of the Pueblo settlements of the Mesa Verda area in Utah /Colorado, stands out, both geographically and culturally. It shows how much more European medievalists can learn from their towers, as opposed to those from a society without a documented chronology, history or social structure on the one hand, or a programme of internal survey and analysis on the other. The author can only postulate their use, presumably as signal towers and refuges when we do not know if the towers were contemporary or used as residences.

The standard of production of the volumes is very high, with excellent photographs. While on page six a paragraph is repeated nearly word for word, the editor has had to face more serious problems, linked to the perennial problem of how far to alter the text of authors for whom English is not their native language and, in this volume he perhaps errs on the side of caution. We get as a result some strange words used: guerite turrets (rounds or bartizans), veduta (a painted townscape) or caminata-type buildings (equipped with a chimney?). The main one – and this is an appeal to Castle Studies Group members to provide an answer – is to find an accepted translation for the German 'palas': the large, rectangular block containing a first-floor hall and chamber ?

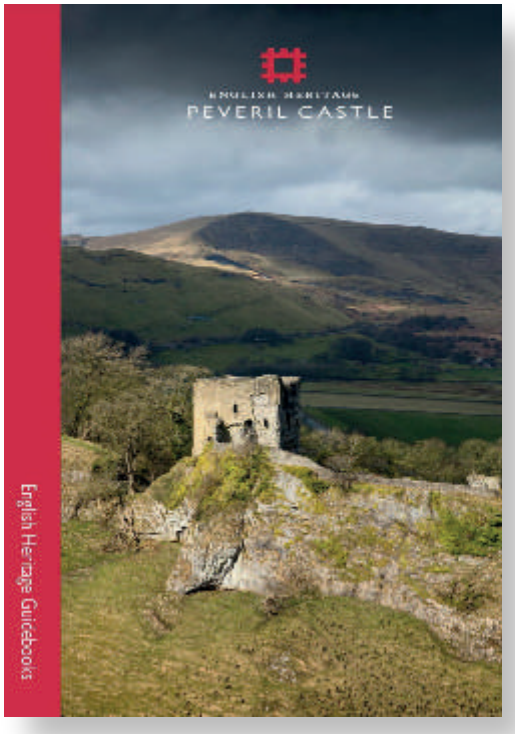
*Tom McNeill*




***British Castles and Palaces***

***Author: Roy Charles***
***Hardcover: 152 pages***
***Publisher: White on Black Publishing;***
***Published: July 2019***
***Language: English***
***ISBN13: 978-1999898168***

Publisher's description: 'British Castles and Palaces takes you on an epic tour of Britain's inspiring castles and palaces many of which still stand proud and can be visited today. Since around 280 AD, new invaders and established monarchs alike were prolific builders - symbols of power, wealth and fear. Britain's history can be detected in its majestic buildings bursting with fascinating tales when they have been attacked, burnt down and then rebuilt again. This very readable book uncovers the secrets of incredible stories of warfare, intrigue, romance and even murder with full colour illustrations. As is now the tradition with the White on Black brand, £1 from each sale will be donated to charity, in this case Crisis - The Homelessness Charity'.




***Peveril Castle***

***Author: Richard Eales***
***Publisher: English Heritage***
***Paperback: 32 pages***
***Published: Second edition 2018***
***ISBN: 9781910907313***
***Price: £4.00***

With little fanfare, English Heritage has revised and updated this guidebook and whilst the changes are mainly cosmetic (the page count has not increased) there are some welcome additions to the new guidebook.

Most noticeably, the illustrations have been changed or upgraded, mainly for the better (though we lose the wonderful LMS railway poster of 1924). The aerial sketch of the castle is replaced by a glorious aerial photograph (inside the front cover). However, we lose the sections through the keep from inside the back cover of the previous guide, being replaced rather disappointingly by a map of the Hope Valley. On the plus side though we do get a waymarked route to encourage visitors to take the precipitous path to visit the remains of the outer bailey, which itself receives more focus in the new guide (e.g. p. 9 - with plan and aerial photograph). The plans of the keep now appear on page 13 and have been squarely-oriented, and the 'Landscape' section has been expanded to a double page spread (pp. 10-11). Admittedly, more could have been made of the landscape context, but this is well covered by Barnwell's 2007 article, an important lacuna from the further reading section.

Pleasingly, we get more illustrations of finds from the castle such as a prick spur of 1150-1300 (p. 3, which is photographed from a better angle than in the first edition), a medieval book clasp and key (p 15) and arrow head and crossbow bolt (p. 19). We also get a reproduction of Elias Ashmole's sketch of the castle from *c*. 1622 showing the east gate arch intact (which was first reproduced in Kirke 1906). This gate dating to the second half of the 12th century was probably inserted to provide access from the town and it is unlikely that there was an east gate in the original castle. Similarly, Eales suggests that an 18th century sketch of the site from Cave Dale may depict the remains of the west gate (p. 30). This is certainly a possibility, and the remains of the bridge abutment were rediscovered at this point in the 1970s, perhaps that recorded as being repaired in the Pipe Roll in 1236. However, it is likely that the first gate was on the site of the keep itself, being replaced by a simple 'arched opening through the curtain' (White 1996, 245).

The dating of the site remains the same, with the assumption that Peverel's castle was of stone from the first (p. 4), though there is an acknowledgement that the herringbone masonry itself cannot be dated with any precision (p. 20). The reproduction

*Fig. 1. Peveril keep - latrine chute.*

*Fig.2. Chevron decorated stones.*

of the Victorian photograph of the keep *c*. 1897 (p.1) is of interest in its depiction of the massive buttress inserted at the eastern corner, probably being part of the Duchy of Lancaster's repairs in the 19th century which indicates the scale of the work involved.

The keep contains a number of features not highlighted by the guide. The first is that there appears to have been a change of plan regarding the garderobe as the exterior contains an extra corbel stone suggesting that a second chute was planned initially, but never constructed (fig. 1). Secondly, though admittedly now largely hidden by the timber walkway inside the keep, there are some interesting chevron-decorated stones from a mid-12th-century building (fig. 2): could these be reused from an early west gatehouse? These stones are not part of the original build and may represent those discovered in the 1950s (Himsworth 1956).

There are a number of subtle tweaks to the history of the site: e.g. a recognition that the Forest of the Peak predated 1155 when the castle reverted to royal hands (p. 27) and a short extension to the mining history of the area taking it up to its decline in the 1850s (p. 21). There is more contextualisation of the de Ferrers family with a nice image of William Ferrers effigy († 1254, p. 24). We could have had a reproduction of the 16th-century survey of the Forest of the Peak preserved in the National Archives, which shows the castle as a huge fortress and possibly depicts one of the round towers on the south side.

All in all, there are enough changes in this new guide to keep the completest happy, whilst those that already own the first edition and prefer more substantive alterations may keep their money.

*David Mercer*

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***Orford Castle***

***Author:*** *Steven Brindle*
***Publisher:*** *English Heritage*
***Paperback:*** *40 pages*
***Published:*** *2018*
***ISBN:*** *9781910907306*
***Price:*** *£3.50*

The previous guide to Orford Castle came out in 2003 (Rhodes) so it is good to see this significant monument finally receive the 'red' guide treatment. At 40 pages, it advances on the length of its predecessor: the most noticeable gain is in the large number of illustrations, many reproduced here for the first time, including half a dozen admirable reconstructions by Bob Marshall (the artist behind the Windsor Castle reconstructions). That said, it is a shame that some detail is lost in the spine crease where illustrations extend across a double page spread. However, we gain an excellent view of Orford (p. 26) from a 1539 chart of the Coast of Suffolk (British Library Cotton Augustus I.i.f.58) along with a reproduction of John Norden's 1601 map of Orford (though the castle is too small to really make out any detail).

Orford has particular importance in a number of castle debates due to its unique design, early surviving documentation, and compact building history (summarised by Goodall, 2011, 126-30). Bearing this in mind, it is surprising that Brindle does not adequately address the vexed question of why Orford is polygonal, especially as he wrote the guide to the similar Conisbrough Castle. His conclusion that the 'shape of the castle keeps [built by Henry II] symbolizes royal power' (p. 13) is an oversimplification which does not address the differences between structures such as Berkeley, Gloucestershire, 1153-6 and Tickhill, Yorkshire, 1179-82. Goodall (2011, p. 130) has argued that the turrets reflect the lost towers of the bailey thereby creating "a double crown of fortifications" as can be seen in the John Norden drawing of 1601 (Brindle, p. 3 & cf. reconstruction on p. 4). Therefore an essentially round bailey contains within it a round tower mimicking the castle in miniature. This may allude to differences in status between bailey and tower. However, we also need to acknowledge the sophistication of the geometry of the great tower, which may reflect a wish for the architect (Ailnoth?) to demonstrate their cleverness (Heslop 1991). Possible symbolic allusions are not considered, such as the use of the number three (3 flanking towers, 3 window recesses), seven (each flanking tower is a seventh of the circumference) and thirteen corbels to roof the upper hall (see Heslop 1991 for discussion of these points). Brindle's notion that Henry was adopting architectural forms

associated with the counts of Blois and the kings of France will have to be reassessed in the light of Neil Ludlow's recent reinterpretation of Capetian influence on the Angevin kings (2019).

There are a number of other areas where the published interpretation may have to be revised, or amplified in the light of the most recent research. For instance, the idea that the whole garrison lived in the 'keep' (p. 16) is at odds with ideas about separation between households; there may be 'no evidence' for buildings in the bailey (p. 4), but it must be remembered that there has been extensive sand quarrying (see Henry Bright's painting of 1856) and some post-medieval landscaping which may have removed any such evidence. Secondly, where would the garrison have been housed in the event of a visit by the king? It is possible that some retainers could have lodged in the town. However whilst most bailey towers were open-backed, the two flanking the entrance and possibly the entrance itself were fully enclosed and may have housed individuals.

The idea that the large staircase at Orford (1.7m wide) 'presented the builders with a problem' (p. 22) is manifestly not the case: 11th-century Colchester has the widest Norman vaulted stair at 2.15m, and Neil Guy has documented numerous other examples of vaulted stairs all earlier than Orford (2012, 170). All vaulted staircases had multi-piece sectional steps and one-piece cut-slab steps are a later development (Guy, *pers com*). This is clearly an important ceremonial stair where defence was not a primary consideration. For what it is worth, the illustration in Rhodes (2003, 12) looking at the stair vault from below gives a clear view of how short sections of shuttering were used to support the vault during its construction.

*Patterns of the ceramic floor tiles ('wasters') (perhaps the earliest visible in England today), incorporated into the hearth of the baking chamber in the northern roof turret. Top: Image © David Mercer. Below: drawings taken from the EH Framlingham/Orford guidebook 1992, p. 31.*

One aspect of the castle that is worth flagging up is the use of vertical flues which rise through the wall to a chimney on the roof rather than having a smoke outlet through the wall (the kitchen flues vent in this way): in this respect Orford is using cutting edge technology, though Scarborough is just earlier at 1159-69. A related point is that the re-used floor tiles at the top of the tower are amongst the earliest in Britain and perhaps deserve their own illustration (see above).

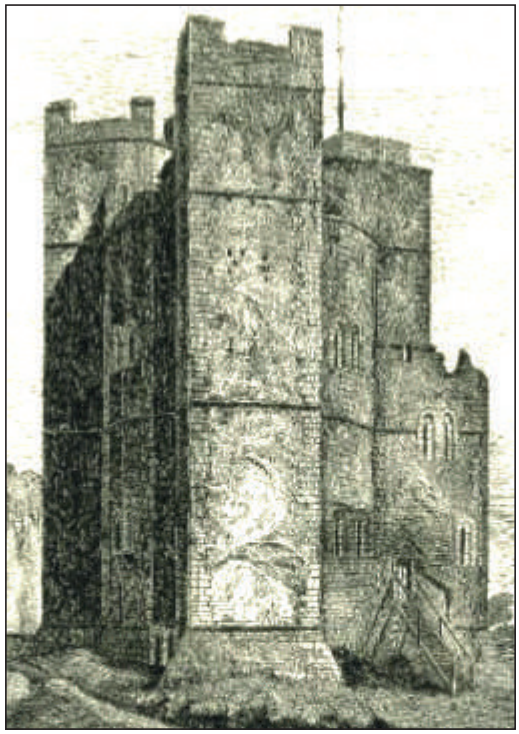
The new guide has little to advance our understanding of the structure from earlier accounts, though this is not to its detriment, especially as the castle has been exceptionally well-studied over the years. However, there is one crucial area which does see a number of changes in interpretation: this is

the 'upper hall'. That the room was ceiled with a timber dome has long been recognised and commentators have highlighted the importance of hemispherical domes in Byzantine architecture. The precise form of this ceiling is still open to speculation. However, Brindle notes that the "recesses" (chases) behind the corbels were designed to take curved timbers (p. 18), not the straight timbers shown in Heslop's earlier reconstruction (1991, fig. 7). This would result in a more aesthetically pleasing dome, without having an awkward kink. The angle of the chases in the wall suggest that the dome wasn't hemispherical (see the reconstruction on pp. 18-19 and section p. 8). It is pleasing that the fireplace is now shown without a hood (as correctly observed by Hartshorne 1842). There is also a modification to the interpretation of how this room was used: Brindle regards the space as the king's bedchamber, but converting to a living room for use by the sheriff or constable when the king was not in residence: it could also double as a reception room p. 18. This multiple use of space is an intriguing idea. However, it is unclear what evidence there is for 'royal' space being used by others. It is also not clear how the roof at the top of the tower would have been supported and connected to the cone-shaped roof of the upper 'hall'.

Occasionally the text used is difficult to follow or overly technical for the general reader e.g.: 'The keep is built mainly of local septaria; hard, irregular nodules of stone that occur within some sedimentary strata' […] (p. 6). However, on the whole the text is straightforward and easy to read.

The guide amplifies the history of the site, providing greater background detail to contextualise specific points, such as the castle's use as a signalling station. A worthy addition to the series.

*David Mercer*



*Orford Castle (cropped) Drawn & Etched by H. Davy, 1821, for the 'Suffolk Antiquities'. Part-wooden stairs on direct axis to the entrance. British Museum, Ref: 1853, 0112.2277. Reproduced with thanks.*

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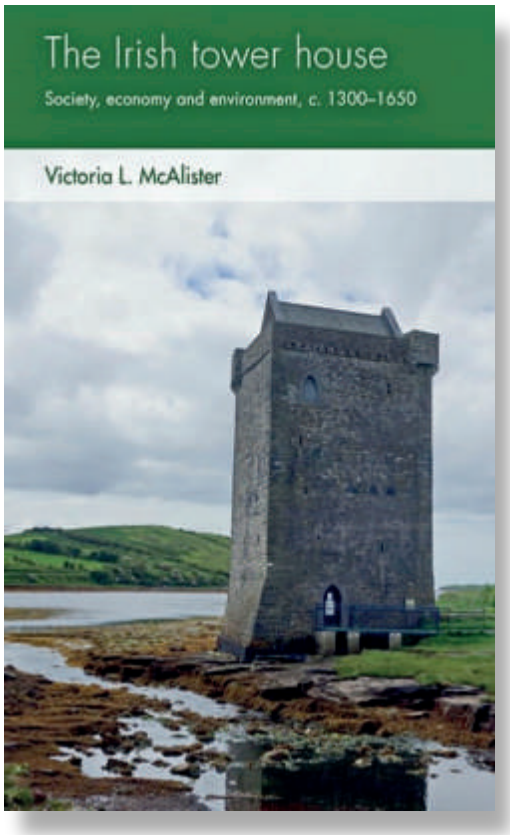



***The Irish Tower House - Society, economy and environment c.1300-1650***

***Author: Victoria L. McAlister***
***Publisher: Manchester University Press***
***Format: Hb. Pages 288***
***ISBN: 978-1-5261-2123-3***
***Published: May 2019***
***Price: £80.00***
***Current Amazon price £65.00***

That we have waited until 2019 for the arrival of the first serious, single-authored monograph dedicated to the Irish tower house is telling. Tower houses have been on the periphery of the main body of Irish castles scholarship, and, being late-medieval monuments, they are also peripheral to the study of the Irish Middle Ages; neither medieval, nor modern. Until now, published Irish castle studies has done these buildings, and their builders, a disservice. This book, boldly described by its author as 'not just a castle book', amply demonstrates that the tower house and its study is central to understanding Ireland in the late-medieval period and into the early-modern.

The volume is a work of synthesis as well as a presentation of the author's own thorough historical research. It brings together evidence regarding the context of tower houses that has, until now, languished in often unpublished regional or national studies, or that have been adjuncts to wider studies that take their focus elsewhere. Pulling these disparate strands of evidence into one place, the breadth of this study is impressive. Beginning with the immediate surroundings of the tower house, the author takes us on a journey from the somewhat familiar, through to increasingly unfamiliar territory, moving gradually outwards from the tower, over land and sea, to end with a discussion of Ireland's place in the increasingly global economy of the Tudor period. The author highlights the uniqueness of the tower house period in spanning this fascinating transitional period in Irish history, with its various internal and external pressures and, more importantly perhaps to the book's author, its various opportunities.

The detailed Introduction begins by setting out the main thrust of the author's arguments that are built upon across the book's following six chapters. It makes important statements regarding the focus of the book that is it worth repeating here. It is not a descriptive account of the architecture of Ireland's towers houses and the internal uses of space. It rejects typological approaches to study that mask the complex social patterns that led to construction. It rejects the oversimplified view of the proliferation of the tower house as a response to endemic violence, and lastly, it

does not look for the origin of the tower house, or its date. I would add that it also avoids detailed discussion of the political situation, preferring to avoid the idea that the tower house was a defensive response to an unsettled political situation. Having dispensed with the above distractions, the author is free to explore the three themes in the book's title; society, economy and environment.

Chapter 1 examines the buildings and settlements that would have existed around the tower house. It looks at the place of the tower house in relation to dispersed and nucleated settlement; arguing that vestiges of the manorial system can be seen into the late-medieval period, but that the reality of Ireland's settlement structure was likely to be somewhere in between the two. The author argues that differences across Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Irish areas have perhaps been overstated with the tower house itself demonstrating a commonality that would also have extended to the shared environment. She also argues convincingly for the nucleating effect of the tower house, which she suggests could have been supporting populations of around 100 people. Here the author presents the exciting prospect of tracing the impact that the tower house had on its surroundings, as opposed to virtually all previous studies that have looked at tower houses merely as responses to the existing situation.

Staying 'on land', Chapter 2 traces the evidence of the agrarian economy surrounding the tower house, providing a useful rebalancing of what the author views as an overstatement of the importance of pastoral agriculture at the time. The breadth of evidence used spans palynology, documentary studies, historical geography, a review of export products, and the high incidence of mills mentioned in 17th-century accounts associated with nearby tower houses. The documentary evidence cited tends to come from Anglo-Irish areas owing to differences in the production and preservation of historical accounts in the period, but still the author finds suggestive traces that the Gaelic-Irish economy was more engaged in agrarian production than scholars have cared to admit.

Having explored the land, Chapter 3 moves to the rivers. It looks at the various ways in which rivers could be exploited by tower house owners. A key argument put forward is that rivers were used for the exploitation of fish and for water mills. The author argues that riverine fish weirs could replace the function of elite fish ponds that are more commonly found in England. This ends with a discussion of maritime fishing and the tower house's role in exacting tolls on fishing vessels. This evidence has been presented in various regional studies before, but, bringing this evidence together with the author's own research, it is clear that this was a major source of income for coastal and estuarine tower houses. The usefulness of the tower house as a landscape marker that is socially understood as the place to pay the toll, together with their physical presence and 'threat' being geared towards exploiting this income source. What comes across strongly in this chapter is the enterprising nature of tower house owners. If we are correct that tower houses were built by a new rising gentry class, then it stands to reason that they would need to exploit very income source available to them from land, river and sea.

This theme continues in Chapter 4 which looks at the relationship between tower houses and routes of transport and trade. It demonstrates that some tower houses are sited to 'control' riverine routeways, fords, bridges and road crossing points. The author

showing that the tolls we have seen exacted on fishing boats could equally be applied to trade making use of these routes. This leads neatly on to Chapter 5 and its discussion of urban tower houses. Here, the author engages more with the architecture of the tower houses as a source of evidence regarding their function, given the number of urban towers where it can be demonstrated that the ground floor was used as a warehouse/shop, or where associated free-standing warehouses have been found. Land pressure in towns probably dictated that the functions that could be spread across several buildings in the countryside had to be contained within one building in the town. The author also argues for an urban origin for tower houses in the urban towers documented in Irish towns from the late-13th century onwards.

Chapter 6 then takes the story beyond Irish shores, not to compare Irish tower houses with those found elsewhere in Europe, but to examine how the tower house and the economic activities of their builders facilitated Ireland's connections with the wider world. Through detailed analysis of port books, the author traces Irish imports and exports and identifies the networks that Ireland was engaged with. She ably demonstrates that the importation of luxury goods was largely driven by tower house owner demands, and that exported goods were produced, gathered, transported, traded and taxed along internal networks in which tower houses would have played a central role. Those goods, were generally raw materials and partly-worked goods, reflecting the continued medieval character of the Irish economy well into the late-medieval period. This, she argues, may help in explaining the continued popularity of medieval expressions of power in the architecture. Far from being backward, however, the author argues for a buoyant economy built by tower house owners and their enterprising exploitation of their local environment.

Enterprise, of course, requires opportunity, and it is here that the particular political circumstances of Ireland facilitated the tower house building boom. With the lack of centralised control, the opportunity for social mobility increases for those individuals keen enough to take advantage.

The author's concluding statements argue that the tower house is a tangible symbol of economic confidence that transcended ethnic divides. This is a conclusion that could not be reached without leaving aside the age-old argument of the tower house as a response to political instability and endemic petty violence. Here the author brings the study of late-medieval Ireland and its character into the light of a new dawn. It is exciting and commendable.

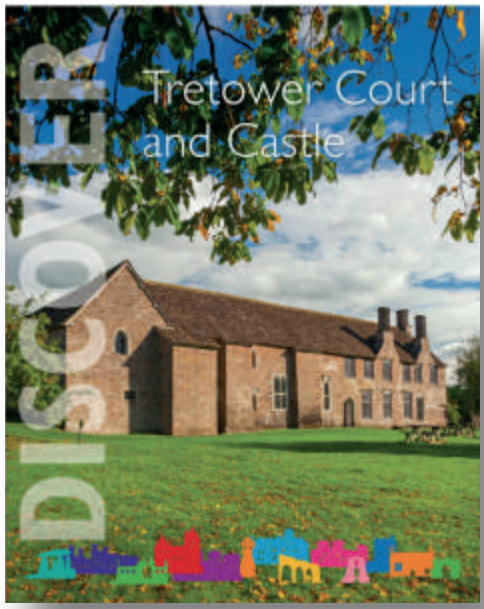
No research is without its problems, however, and in the study of Irish tower houses the two biggest problems are always the same; first is the lack of contemporary historical documents, and second is the necessity for a sampling strategy. This monograph is no different with respect to these two points. The first sees the author reliant either on scraps of information from contemporary accounts, or on extrapolation from the better-documented periods before the tower house building boom, and at its end.

The author is an adept historian, skilled at drawing evidence from a diverse range of sources and aware of the limitations of her evidence, but these limitations are not always fully expressed within the volume. The casual reader could be misled in places. Similar extrapolations are made regarding on site evidence, for example

where a post-medieval mill exists, the author assumes an earlier one in its place, without the necessary archaeological confirmation. The second issue, the sampling strategy, is perhaps the more worrying of the two. The author discusses this in her Introduction, stating that the study involved fieldwork at a sample of around 200 tower houses across the island. Her initial selection criterion was that the towers had to near complete, fair enough, but the remaining criteria used to 'prioritise' sites ring alarm bells. These include 'tower houses located in proximity to other medieval or natural features of interest', 'sites within half a kilometre of a major river or coast', and 'tower houses that were within half a kilometre of a medieval parish church, earlier castle site, deserted or current settlement, historical field system, or bridge'. This selective sample is then used throughout as part of the author's arguments for a preponderance of tower houses sited, for example, on riverine routes, near maritime landing places, near mills, churches etc. It would have been useful for the author to provide a distribution map and list of the sample sites used, to close down the unfortunate suggestion of a circular argument here.

These concerns do not, and should not, undermine the author's achievement. This book deserves its place as the first published monograph dedicated to the Irish tower house. We can have some hope that it will not be the last. Throughout the study, and particularly in the concluding statements, no fewer than fifteen routes for further research are suggested covering tower houses and the late-medieval Irish economy more generally. These will surely set an agenda for research in coming years.

*Gillian Scott*




***Tretower Court and Castle***

***Author: David Robinson***
***Publisher: Cadw***
***Paperback: 32 pages***
***Published: 2018***
***ISBN: 9781857605136***
***Price: £3.50***

It feels like we have waited a long time for this important site (which consists of two monuments: castle and court) to get an updated guidebook (the original Cadw guidebook has long been out of print). However, at only 20 pages it seems truncated when compared to other castles in the Cadw series (e.g. *Castle Coch*: 56 pp; *Criccieth Castle*: 36 pp; *Denbigh*: 35 pp; *Harlech*: 44 pp). This is pertinent as there are few places that show the development of a noble residence from earthwork castle to late- medieval house as clearly. Nevertheless, it is lengthy when compared to its 10 page pamphlet predecessor (Robinson 2010) and Robinson does a great job of conveying the relevant details of the monuments with great economy.

*Fig. 1. Tretower Court. The Great Hall. The ersatz painted cloth behind the high table.*

This full-colour edition is clearly an improvement on its predecessors. The first Cadw guide (a revised edition of the old 'Blue' guide first published by Ralegh Radford in 1938) was marred by its monochrome images (Radford & Robinson 1986). Therefore, it is nice to see that the wonderful reconstruction drawings have been ported over from the pamphlet guide with the addition of two not previously published (cut-away reconstructions of the west and north ranges in the late 1460's by Terry Ball from 1995, p. 13 & p. 17), though Chris Jones-Jenkins's cut-away reconstruction of the great tower in the mid-thirteenth century is reproduced at too small a scale to make out the details.

The difficulty of untangling the earlier 12th-century castle from the later additions is aided by Chris Jones-Jenkins's cut-away reconstruction of the two-storey chamber block and first-floor hall (p. 9). One aspect of the castle has been re-dated for the new guidebook in that the north wall of the castle kitchen has been reassigned to the period 1235-50.

The most detailed survey of the monuments is still Radford's article (1960). However, subsequently a programme of dendrochronological investigation has shown that the house was constructed *c*. 1450-80 (Emery, 2000, 669), rather than the 14th-century date Radford proposed. Robinson has accordingly jettisoned the 14th-century hall-house mess hall for the retainers (Radford 1960, 39), and the balcony running along the front of the west range (Radford 1960, 38-9). Robinson recognises the problems in interpreting this complex structure particularly regarding the function of the various rooms (p. 17), which is a welcome admission.

*Fig. 2. ABOVE: Tretower Court. The outstanding top-quality cusped, wind-braced roof.*

*Fig. 3. BELOW: Detail of a miniature showing Richard II dining with the Dukes of York, Gloucester and Ireland. This near contemporary illustration shows dining at the highest social level for comparison with Tretower. From: Recueil des croniques d'Engleterre, c. 1470-80. The British Library MS Royal 14 E IV f. 265v. Reproduced under Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal*

*Fig. 2. Tretower Court. The re-created medieval garden. The guidebook acknowledges that there couldn't have been a garden at this point in time due to the presence of standing buildings here.*

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of the house is Cadw's simulacrum of life in the 1460s hall. Robinson mentions that the replica furnishing and decoration was based upon careful research (p.14). However, the painted cloth behind the high table (fig. 1) seems out of keeping when compared to illustrations in illuminated manuscripts of the period (fig. 3). For this reason I am not convinced that such hyper-real "reproductions" add any real understanding of the medieval house and how it functioned, and at worst they detract from the genuine medieval glory that is the top-quality cusped, wind-braced roof (fig. 2). The recreation of the medieval garden is a different matter and reflects well when compared to the manuscript evidence (fig. 4). Moreover, the guidebook acknowledges that there couldn't have been a garden at this point due to the presence of standing buildings here (p. 19). The important changes in the dating of Tretower Court make previous guides obsolete, and whilst the changes at the castle are of lesser importance it is clear that Robinson has succeeded in bringing the monument up-to-date. It is worth pointing out that the guidebook can be downloaded in its entirety at: https://www.academia.edu/38907061/Tretower_Court_and_Castle_Cardiff_2018_

*David Mercer*

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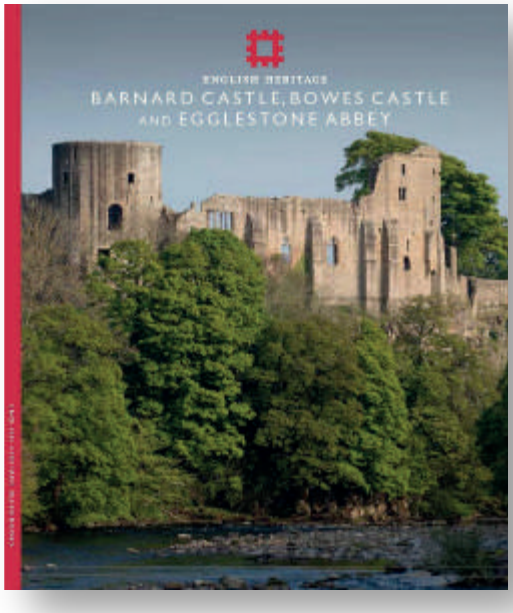


***Barnard Castle, Bowes Castle and Egglestone Abbey***

***Author: Malcolm Hislop***
***Publisher: English Heritage***
***Paperback: 56 pages***
***Published: 2019***
***ISBN: 9781910907382***
***Price: £3.50***

This new guidebook marks a welcome development in the red guide series in that the size completely changes to 19 x 22cms – so almost square (similar to the previous Katy Kenyon guide of 1999). This is definitely an improvement over the rectangular red guides (16 x 28.5cms) in regard to ease of handling on site and in sizing of images. However, the previous guide kept images on a single page which is preferable to printing across the spine crease with the resultant loss of detail in the gutter (4 images are compromised in this way in the new guide; the worst being the reconstruction pp. 18-19, which obliterates the view of the cutaway interior of the chamber block). A longer page count (56 pages over 36 from the previous guide) and narrower margins at the top, bottom and sides are to be welcomed in maximising the space of the guide. The new gloss laminate covers give the guide a high quality feel. The guide covers the same three sites as its predecessor, as stated in the title. For this review I will concentrate on the two castle sites.

Bowes Castle is clearly the lesser of the two castle sites – receiving a meagre three pages in the previous guide: therefore the eight pages in the new guide seems extensive by comparison. Nevertheless, in some respects, the published description does not do justice to this interesting site (see Mercer, this volume). Admittedly, lack of access to the upper levels impedes interpretation, so we are left to agree with Hislop that 'we can only speculate on the details' (p. 39). That being said, we do see a change in interpretation from the previous guide in that the first-floor is now divided into three rooms directly replicating the basement below, rather than the earlier hall and chamber. Instead of a site plan there is a three-dimensional drawing showing the two floors of the tower (p. 38). Unfortunately, the ground-floor arcade has been omitted from the basement illustration, which makes understanding of the text somewhat difficult (though this was not seen by the author prior to publication – Hislop, *pers. comm.*).

Previous commentators have suggested that the forebuilding could be protected by a drawbridge and portcullis (Kenyon, p. 35; *cf* Mesqui, Renn & Smals 2008, 290). However, this is not mentioned by Hislop and, indeed, there is now no evidence that was ever the case. An alternative reading of the structure was provided by Chris Constable (2003, 214-225), but again this is not discussed by Hislop due to a lack of space precluding any meaningful comment on his theories. If the description is sparse, we do at least get an extended history for the site. This now covers some four pages over

*Fig. 1. Barnard castle. The Constable Tower, (Outer Gatehouse), from the east.*

the single page previously. However, all-in-all, it is rather unremarkable and perhaps adds little to our understanding of the site, though the local tenants preventing the Earl of Richmond from collecting his customary rents is a nice anecdote (p. 42). It would be no loss to see the history trimmed and the extra space used to contextualise how the tower relates to its 12th-century milieu. The illustrations accompanying the text are uniformly excellent, with a good mix of antiquarian and modern sources. There are new reconstructions of Bowes and Barnard castles, and a good sequence showing the development of the latter site from the 12th to 14th centuries. However, we lose the 15th-century-reconstruction of the site by Terry Ball (Kenyon, 1999, 8), which is a shame as this shows the now lost pond in the Town Ward (discussed below). It is particularly nice to see the illumination of Ralph Neville and his sons wearing their livery collars of park palings with an escaping stag (p. 43). The reference is not given in the picture credits: Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 1158. f. 34v.). Similarly, it is pleasing to see the reproduction of so many archaeological finds from Barnard Castle, which aids the contextualisation of the social life of the castle (combs, die, whistle, condiment box, cooking pot, etc.). The illustration of the Mortham Tower (p. 2) is uncredited and there are now two views of this tower; perhaps there could have been a view of the Constable Tower instead (fig. 1)?

More than half the guide is devoted to Barnard castle and it is clear that Hislop has done an excellent job of synthesising the information at his disposal: no mean feat when we consider Austin's 706-page monograph on the site (2007). The dating of the site has been revised: it is now recognised as having an 11th-century origin (p. 3), rather than *c.* 1109-25 (Austin 1988, 14). However, the form of this primary castle is unclear: Hislop suggests that a 'second ditched and banked enclosure' probably accompanied the original ringwork (p. 3 – following Austin 2007, 186 fig. 5.4), but later states that it was "confined [solely] to the area inner ward" (p. 24). However, a further possibility is that the Town Ward was enclosed at an early date due to the pond located at this point, which could have been used to water the horses. The round tower is pushed back to *c.* 1200 (p. 19 – though the plan has it as 1200-30). However, the Thomas Hearne engraving (p. 11 and below) shows that the tower had a two-light Norman window with tympanum, which would not be out of place in the earlier period of *c.* 1180-1200, as the lights have rounded heads (reconstructed in Austin 2007, 172), rather than the pointed examples seen at Pembroke (*c.* 1201 – for an extended discussion of this point, see Hislop 2018). The Great Chamber is now coeval with the Round Tower (rather than *c.* 1130-80), and the Great Hall is

*Fig. 2. Barnard Castle. Brackenbury Tower. Pyramidal chamfer stop, ground floor.*

suggested as being a Beauchamp rebuilding after 1329 (p. 28) – though whether it incorporates walling from the earlier 13th-century stone hall is uncertain.

Austin makes it clear that dating can only be approximate. Similarly, questions will always remain over function: was the round tower primarily defensive or residential? We can see how these points coalesce in consideration of the Brackenbury Tower. This remarkable structure is atypical of other 12th-century mural towers and Austin refers to it as being like a small keep (2007, 147). Its well-appointed basement with latrine, fireplace, wall cupboards and window loop opening through the curtain wall all suggest a use by a clerk, rather than as a simple store for ordnance. The barrel-vault appears 12th century in date, However, the pyramidal chamfer stops on the doors to the garderobe and stairs suggest a later date (fig. 2). Could it have been refurbished in the 14th century? Also it is worth mentioning that the survey of 1538 suggests that it was originally of three storeys.

Hislop has extended the site's history, with much contextualising detail: the Balliol's, their power in the North, the creation of the College, the 'Hermit' of Barnard castle and the town bridge. It is very gratifying to see depictions of the little medieval bridge chapel prior to its destruction in the 19th century (p. 11, p. 22 & p. 34).

This guide is beautifully produced and well worth the bargain price of £3.50 for the illustrations alone. However, Hislop is to be congratulated for producing an authoritative text, giving a good overview of both castles, and in particular in summarising a complex site like Barnard in what is a readable account. It is a pleasure to see a proper phased plan reproduced at the end of the guide, as this was absent from the previous guide. It is to be hoped that English Heritage continue with this new format for their future guidebooks.

*David Mercer*

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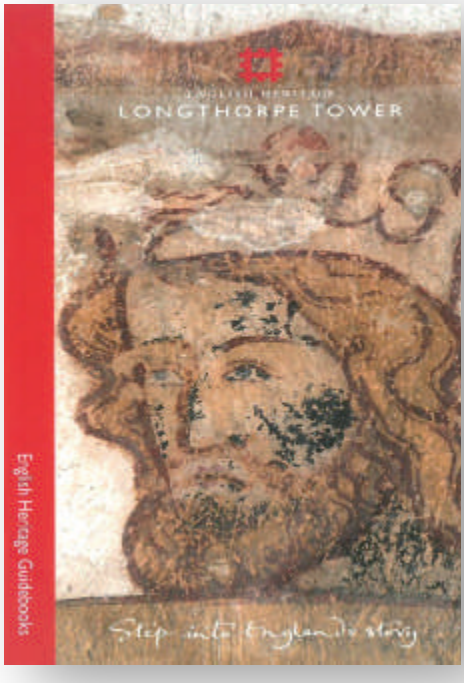
*ABOVE: Thomas Hearne, (1744-1817). Castle and Bridge, Barnard Castle, (watercolour) dated 1777 - 1779, (Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle).*

*BELOW: An aquatint by an unknown artist, but of similar date. A careful examination of the Round Tower window in both drawings shows the two-light window with tympanum above still in place. The central pier of the bridge shows the medieval chapel (removed in 1830).*

*Courtesy of rareoldprints.com, Ref P/4042*




## *Longthorpe Tower*

***Author: Edward Impey***
***Publisher: English Heritage***
***Paperback: 24 pages***
***Published: 2014***
***ISBN: 9781848022935***
***Price: £3.00***

This fantastic little guide from 2014 passed me by on its release, which is a shame as it has much to recommend it and currently seems to be out of print. Whilst not a fortified building in the strictest sense, the addition of a tower to a manor house should be of interest to all CSG members, however 'symbolic' it may have been (p. 20). Certainly, this 40-foot 'solar tower' was a very visible display of the power and enhanced social status of its builder, Robert Thorpe. Impey gives a good overview of the place of the tower in medieval architecture and the historical allusions that came with it: it may well have conferred prestige, but it failed to provide security as the property was burgled and Thorpe was relieved of the huge sum of £300 as an interesting court case of 1327 attests (p. 22).

The chief glory of the structure is its important 14th-century domestic wall paintings, the most complete scheme of this date to have survived. They go some way to showing what must have been common in contemporary castles, and not merely those of the highest rank. It is for these paintings that the tower was gifted to the nation in 1947 (F. J. E. Raby, Inspector of Ancient Monuments) [English Heritage file: 1946; AA43248/3]; Impey states 1948, p. 24). The first site guide (1964) was prepared by the art historian, Edward Clive Rouse (FSA), who uncovered and conserved the wall paintings. This guide with its five monochrome images (and subsequent reissue by English Heritage in 1987), does not do justice to the paintings, so the colour images in this guide are a revelation and a significant advance on anything published hitherto. Rouse's academic account of these paintings (1955) is difficult for the general reader to access, so this discussion of the paintings and their meanings are an invaluable resource. Impey succeeds in contextualising the paintings in a concise and well-written text, referencing the artistic parallels and their significance.

The guide does not have a further reading section, but instead, readers are referred to visit the English Heritage website pages on Longthorpe Tower, which contain further information on the site (https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/longthorpe-tower/history/). However, the details between the two are not always consistent: 'The existing entrance, provided with a timber stair for public access in 1948, was created in the 17th century by enlarging an original window opening' (website); *cf*: 'The doorway was created out of a lancet window some time between about 1906 and 1945' (Impey p. 1).

*Fig. 1. Longthorpe Tower from the north-east.*

It is difficult for the modern visitor to appreciate that the tower is attached to a medieval hall, as the access is now made through a former window embrasure, and the adjoining house is hidden by foliage (fig 1). Needless to say this is summarised and covered by the guide and illustrated by a combination of reconstruction drawings and antiquarian views. The building of the tower is attributed to the period 1290-1300 (p. 20), this would make the 'shouldered' heads of the windows on the second floor amongst the earliest use of the Caernarfon arch in a non-royal context (see Guy's discussion above, pp. 118-22). It is possible that building work was still ongoing in the early 14th century as there is little evidence to say that the windows have been inserted.

It is to be hoped that the guide will be back in print shortly; however it is interesting to note that the paintings have been undergoing conservation by students from the Courtauld Institute of Art this year: (https://courtauld.ac.uk/longthorpe-tower), and so there may be further publications that derive from this work. The conservation project is further discussed in a short video produced by English Heritage: (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GRn0_W6KeIk). Hopefully, this will encourage members to make the trip to Peterborough to see the building for themselves. Furthermore, the site may still have copies of the guidebook left on sale.

*David Mercer*

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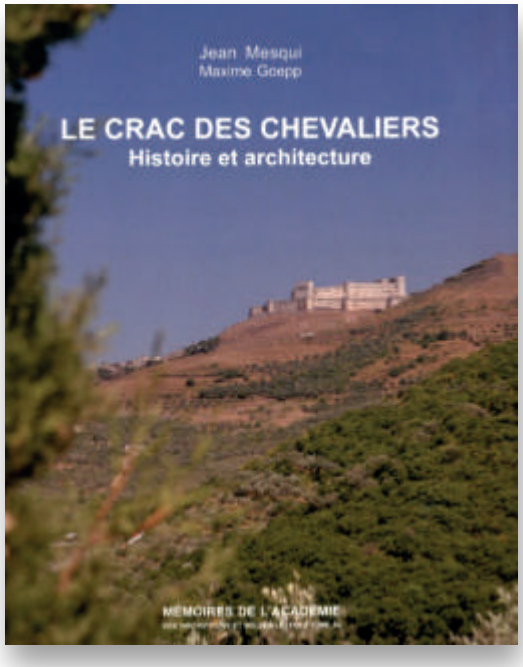



## *Le Crac des Chevaliers: Histoire et architecture*

***Authors: Jean Mesqui and Maxime Goepp***
***Publisher: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris)***
***Published: December 2018***
***Language: French***
***462 pages; 882 illustrations, mainly colour***
***Paperback***
***ISBN: 978-2-87754-375-0***
***Price: Euros 40***
***Amazon UK price £34.42***

Its recapture, by Syrian government forces in 2014, has secured the safety (for now) of Krak des Chevaliers, the most emblematic of all Crusader castles and a World Heritage Site since 2006. Held by rebel forces for two years, it sustained shell-damage – proving its continued value as a strategic site, and the contingency of world heritage status. Repairs are however well-advanced and study continues under the aegis of the Syrian government.

Krak's iconic status has generated a metanarrative, and an industry, of its own. It has entered popular culture like few other castles, appearing as the definitive medieval fortification in 'Minecraft' and other video games. Western interest began as early as 1812 and has continued more-or-less unbroken to the present, making it one of the most intensively studied castles in the world. So what does this volume add?

In essence, it is a masterly synthesis of the two main recent studies, by Thomas Biller *et al.* (published 2006) and John Zimmer *et al*. (2011), and the earlier investigations by Paul Deschamps (1934). It also takes in many other studies, including the pioneering work of Guillaume Rey (1871). Its authors have a long association with Krak and the castles of the Middle East. Jean Mesqui needs no introduction to Anglophone readers, with a long list of publications including his magnificent two-volume *Châteaux et Enceintes de la France Médiévale*; Maxime Goepp specialises in Crusader archaeology on which he has published extensively. Both are supremely well-qualified for the task.

The book is divided into three main sections, all generously illustrated. It begins with a history, including an account of conservation work undertaken since the nineteenth century which draws on material, previously unpublished, from the archives of the French Mandate in Syria (1922-48). The lion's share – fully three-quarters of the text – is taken up by a scrupulously detailed description of the remains. The book closes with an analytical and comparative discussion which, for many *CSGJ* readers, will be a leading feature. There is an index (if perhaps rather brief) and an extensive bibliography, as well as generous notes and references in the text.

The layout is lucidity itself. The description follows the physical division of the castle into nine well-defined sectors: the inner ward, the four outer enclosures, the three zones of the eastern access ramp, and the triangular earthen outwork to the south. The authors identify three Hospitaller building campaigns, undertaken in five phases, of which Phases 1-3 (development of the inner ward and outworks), and Phase 4 (addition of concentric defences on the west side), are the most important. The rational layout, and the profuse, well-labelled illustrations – including extensive use of digital 3D modelling – mean that no great proficiency in French is required.

The authors present a complex building history of incremental growth, as a succession of individual enclosures. They contend that the present structure was begun after the earthquake of 1170, retaining nothing from the earlier castle of *c*. 1142 which had in turn been built on the site of a Kurdish fortress. In this, they follow Biller but differ from earlier accounts, based on Deschamps, which regard the inner ward as 1140s work. Here, it is instead assigned to a single campaign in the 1170s, though its irregular plan – similar to Margat, but unlike geometric Belvoir and others – is thought to respect the earlier layout, which was itself dictated by site constraints. Its six square towers included a donjon, and a twin-towered gatehouse with a portcullis. Otherwise, the continuous ranges of vaulted buildings around the courtyard were more-or-less communal, and open to each other, reflecting Krak's role as a 'castle-monastery'. Dormitories, a refectory, kitchen, and chapter house are tentatively identified, as well as a chancery and steward's lodging; not all of these attributions follow Biller's. Construction is in the bossed ashlar typical of the Middle East.

A case is made for a low concentric wall around the foot of the inner curtain, to which a large latrine turret was added in Phase 2 (1180s-90s). The massive 'hall-esplanade', which fills the entire southern half of the inner ward, is contemporary; so too are the four outer enclosures to the south, east and northeast, which embrace the germinal wet ditch/cistern, eastern stable, and the beginnings of the complex entrance ramp from the documented civil settlement to the northeast.

Phase 3 began after the earthquake of 1202 and continued until the 1220s. The inner ward was transformed by the addition of a monumental glacis on the vulnerable south front, and the rebuilding of the upper parts of its three towers in a rounded form. Taken together, this pioneering ensemble was unparalleled in either the Near East or Europe. Integral with the defences were two apartments for senior knights, and perhaps a new refectory, while the donjon's status was reaffirmed with a castellan's lodging at the summit. Additions were made to the eastern ramp including its polygonal 'Lions' gate-tower, correspondingly battered, and probably its middle gate. The southern stable was built, and the wet ditch/cistern received stone lining; the earthen southern outwork may be contemporary. Facework is not bossed, except in the Lions Gate.

Phase 4 was incremental. It began in the 1230s when the inner ward southwest tower was heightened as a high-status, private apartment with a conjoined hall/chamber – as at Margat and indeed Barnard Castle – but on two levels; the work shows carved detail of a refinement hitherto unknown at Krak. The eastern ramp received further defences including a square outer gate-tower and a second square tower, both largely rebuilt under the Mamluks.

The western outer curtain, which is so prominent in the favoured views of the castle, was erected *c*. 1250 and recorded in an inscription to its patron, Brother Nicolas Lorgne. Krak thus became a concentric fortification, though the wall may follow the line of an earlier, flimsier defence. It is studded with D-shaped towers, some of them originally open-backed, and features the systematic use of box-machicolations. Around the same time, the glacis was continued around the west side of the inner ward – but no further, suggesting it was never finished.

The last Hospitaller phase (Phase 5) ended with the loss of the castle in 1271. The west outer curtain had been extended around the northern side, with a postern, to join the northeastern enclosure which was extended outwards. Like the newly-added southeastern enclosure, it shows multiple levels of vaulted galleries and box-machicolations. The so-called Great Hall, probably a combined chapter-house and 'common room', features sumptuous detail with French *comparanda* dateable to 1250-70.

In addition are four Mamluk phases, from 1271 into the fourteenth century. The eastern ramp was vaulted and square towers rebuilt or added to it. The northern postern was rebuilt, while a round and a square tower were added to the outer south curtain where the gatehouse received a D-shaped entrance tower; continuous, roofed galleries, corbelled out beneath parapet level, characterise this work. Other works were a response to cultural demands, like the *hammam* (Turkish bathhouse), the ceremonial *dīwān*, and the ritual *miḥrāb* and *minbar*.

Some of this new dating will be known to readers familiar with the work of Biller *et al*., and indeed Mesqui's previous studies, and is a substantial revision of the sequence given by, for example, Hugh Kennedy in his *Crusader Castles* (1994). There have nevertheless been a number of amendments, particularly regarding the extent of Mamluk work. Zimmer *et al*. present a rather different storyline, which is treated with great caution by the authors and Thomas Biller.

As one might expect from Jean Mesqui, we are treated to an authoritative discussion of Krak's practical and defensive attributes in relation to other castles in Europe and the Middle East. It is, however, a touch cursory and another 4-5 pages of comparative analysis would have been welcome, and would have balanced the text.

The authors argue that Krak, like Margat, embodies an over-riding Western culture. European models for their rounded towers are favoured, the authors calling into question the suggested early twelfth-century dating of Armenian round towers. The square interiors at Krak and Margat are compared with Coudray-Salbart (1230s), to which Helmsley's northwest tower may be added. It is implied – though not overtly stated – that Krak's two spiral stairs, from the 1190s and 1230s, also result from Western influence.

Islamic influence may nevertheless be suggested by Krak's massive glacis which is compared with the citadel at Aleppo, from *c*. 1190-1215. Unusually, however, it is pierced for archery and contains a mural passage, and in this may be comparable with the looped basal passages in France, at Domfront (*c*.1200) and Saint-Gobain (1225-50), which are discussed by Mesqui elsewhere. The Phase 2 latrine turret is viewed alongside the quasi-detached 'Albarrana towers' seen in Muslim Spain, although the latrine outfalls are similar to the contemporary machicolation slots at

*Le Crac des Chevaliers, Syria, 1936*

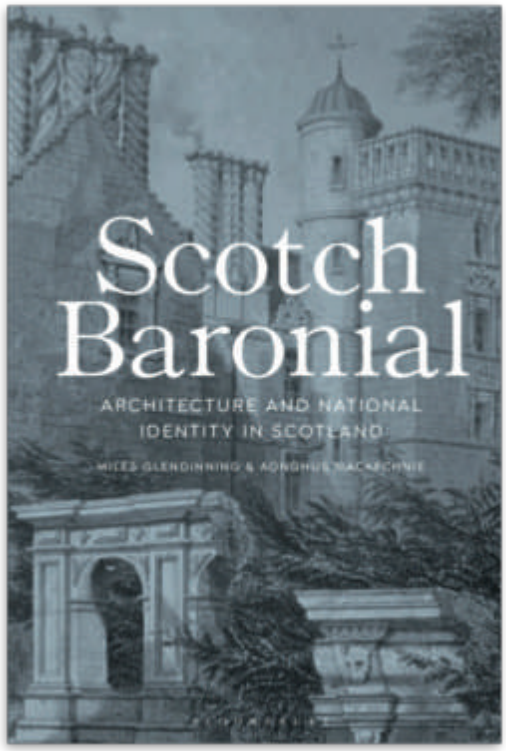
Château Gaillard and Niort. Box-machicolation is however clearly derived from Ayyubid models beginning around 1200. The Lions Tower and eastern ramp are regarded as variants on the Muslim bent-entrance which, at Krak, is used in its purest form in the Mamluk southern gate-tower.

Twelfth-century work is without arrowloops. Later loops, in both Hospitaller and Mamluk work, can be with or without niched embrasures, and are generally plain slits: basal oillets do not appear until the mid-thirteenth century. There are no cross-loops, either Hospitaller or Mamluk. An extensive discussion of water-management includes its catchment, through a variety of methods, and its storage, while a Hospitaller precursor to the Mamluk aqueduct is speculated. The authors also balance some of the wilder figures for garrison size: an average complement of 50-100 is suggested.

Criticisms are minor. I would like to have seen a phase plan of the entire site, and a few overall sections, preferably towards the front of the book. However the numerous area plans, sections, and cutaways largely make up for this and enable the reader to build up an effective three-dimensional picture of the castle in its various phases. There is some overlap, and inconsistency, between building campaigns and phases, and other slight discrepancies between text, illustrations and captions, but in general these are all easily resolved. The sheer quantity of the illustrations means some are rather small, while the colour coding in the phase plans can be difficult to distinguish – a perennial problem.

The study conclusively shows that the medieval archaeology of the Middle East cannot be viewed in isolation and, as intellectual property, belongs to no one polity – it is intimately linked to developments in Europe, as well as other parts of the Islamic world. And the work undertaken at Krak since 2014 proves that international funding and co-operation still play a crucial role in our continuing understanding of the region. However, the possibility of further military conflict is ever-present. Krak's long-term security is to be profoundly wished for.

*Neil Ludlow*




## *Scotch Baronial: Architecture and National Identity in Scotland*

***Miles Glendinning and Aonghus MacKechnie***
***HB: 297 pages, 91 black & white illus.***
***Publisher: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019***
***Language: English***
***ISBN: 978-1-4742-8347-2***
***Price: £66.00***

In many respects an amplified sequel to the multi-authored *Scotland's Castle Culture*,[1] this is an ambitious and wide-ranging but closely argued and well referenced account of the complex interplay, over more than eight centuries, between castellated architecture in its original and revival forms and changing concepts of national identity in Scotland. In a clear overall framework the authors distinguish between what they label a first and a second 'Castle Age' which they separate around 1750. The first era is divided into four chapters over 80 pages, of which only 16 relate to the centuries prior to the Union of the Crowns in 1603. By contrast, the second era, which brings the theme down to the present day, is divided into no less than six chapters over 159 pages of narrative.

To most castellologists this structural imbalance appears to be perversely uneven, but it is deliberate. It allows the authors full scope to emphasise how, in a pan-British and European context, Scotland was unusual in its long adherence to castellated forms in the 17th century, precocious in its adoption of generic castle revival styles from the mid-18th century onwards, and for much of the 19th century came to be dominated by versions of its own 'Old Scotch' baronial heritage. Variations on this revival style became a national archetype, especially at the hands of architects like David Bryce (1803-76), and it is this High Victorian climax which gives the work its title of 'Scotch Baronial', a label which is appropriate to that era but appears quirkily anachronistic to most modern eyes and moves uncertainly in and out of inverted commas.

Whilst castellated architecture – and attitudes towards it – form the core themes of the book, they are set, fugue-like, within a complex, contrapuntal framework of ever-shifting political, social and cultural (especially literary) strands and the changing affiliations of building patrons. In 1603, the political background moves from a Stewart-ruled kingdom which had managed to retain its independence over the course of three hundred years of intermittent warfare to a Stuart monarchy which oversaw a dynastic union of Magna Britannia in a manner which led to fractious divisions, did comparatively little for their native Scotland and finally fell apart in 1689. Reconstruction

*Abbotsford House, the Scottish Borders home of writer and poet Sir Walter Scott, built in the 1820s, by William Atkinson.*

and rehabilitation followed after 1746, marked by Scotland's distinctive and increasingly disproportionate contribution to Hanoverian and Victorian British Imperialism, a long era which in turn was followed by 20th-century phases of disaffection and nationalism.

Significant literary strands which placed Scotland and Scottish revival castles precociously at the heart of Romantic Europe included the cult of Ossian, promoted by the poet, James MacPherson (1736-96), and works by the prolific novelist, Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), whose Border residence of Abbotsford House, his very own 'conundrum castle', marked an important stage on the socio-architectural and cultural journey towards High Victorian 'Scotch Baronial'. The climactic decades in the third quarter of the 19th century saw an abundance of derivative castellated styles across a wide range of domestic, public, urban and ecclesiastical building-types and monuments, an intense phase underpinned and spread by the published artistry of Robert Billings (1813-74) whose fine, three-volume *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* (1845-52), became ready-made pattern-books for the fashionable architectural idiom.

From around 1880, 'Baronialism' mutated into what the authors describe as 'Traditionalism', which still drew, albeit in a less ornate and less fussily-turreted manner, on bold Scottish tower-house forms with much emphasis on harling or raw rubble. Distinguished architectural exponents of this genre included Rowand Anderson (1834-1921), Robert Lorimer (1864-1929) and Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928), while a monumental five-volume survey on *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1887-92) by architects David MacGibbon (1831-1902) and Thomas Ross (1839-1930) again provided a highly effective scholarly and illustrative framework and accompaniment to contemporary designs.

With a few notable exceptions, such as the Scottish National War Memorial, Edinburgh Castle (Lorimer & Matthew, 1924-7), Broughton Place, Peeblesshire (Basil Spence, 1935-8), and the Scandic Crown Hotel, High Street, Edinburgh (Ian Begg, 1988), castellation was much less conspicuous in the Modern and Postmodern architectural eras in Scotland, when humbler urban vernacular forms were increasingly identified with the spirit of national community. However, castle restoration came back strongly into vogue in the 1970s and 1980s, aided by a sympathetic government and its

grant-awarding agencies. Whilst no longer at its dramatic 1980s peak, the conservation and rehabilitation of castles have since remained significant, and, not infrequently, contentious items on the Scottish built heritage agenda.

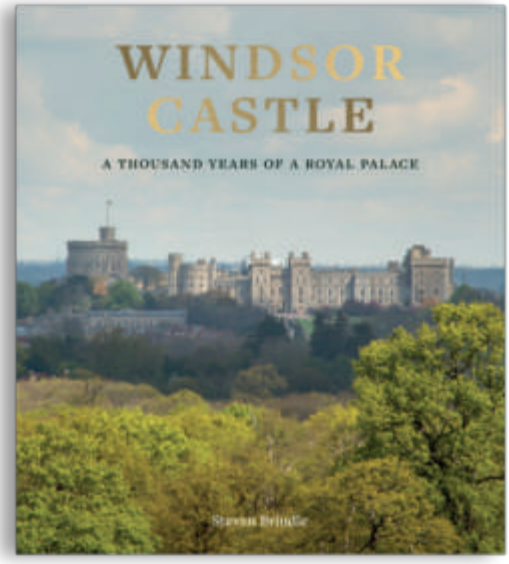
The authors are to be congratulated on maintaining an appropriate balance and pace across such a broad chronological span and such an intricately interwoven set of themes. They have judiciously avoided an overall polemical tone, which is no easy task, given the past and present polarisation of political unionism and nationalism. The range and depth of research, reflected in no less than 30 pages of endnotes, are impressive, and clearly display a first-hand familiarity with the broad sweep of Scottish architectural history, not perhaps unexpected given that the authors have two general text-books on the subject to their credit.[2] However, it has also to be said that, while often engaging, the writing style is equally often of a thesis-like density and intensity, where names of patrons, designers and buildings are presented in a manner which verges on the kaleidoscopic. Many such passages make considerable assumptions about the reader's knowledge of the geography and architecture of Scotland, demands which would have been readily met by the inclusion of a summary gazetteer and at least one map. By the same token, the book's value as a work of reference would have been easily and considerably enhanced if the endnotes had been synthesised into a bibliography, as was promised in the publisher's online blurb, and if rather more than four out of the 91 illustrations contained plans.

Overall, the strengths of 'Scotch Baronial' reside in the accounts of late and revival castles and of Scottish architectural identities in the four centuries since 1603. These are spread across nine chapters and bring to the surface much new, interesting and thought-provoking material, especially for the 17th and 19th centuries. By contrast, the first four centuries of the stone castle in Scotland down to 1603 receive much more compressed treatment in a 16-page introductory chapter. Here, alongside relevant literary texts and other architectural symbols, castellation is highlighted as one of the significant physical manifestations of sturdy 'martial independence'. On pages 9-10 it is boldly asserted that Scotland's 'castellated architecture that was employed for almost all secular buildings and even some churches … [represented] trenchantly militarized protonationalism [that was] intentionally contrasted with the contemporary architecture of England.….'. With all due respect to the authors, these points remain moot, and the reader must decide whether the case that is then briefly made stacks up, either as a balanced summary of the various forms, functions and possible ranges of meanings of Scottish castellated architecture in the medieval and early modern periods, or as a convincing explanation of the foundations of Scotland's later castle culture.

1. Audrey Dakin, Miles Glendinning and Aonghus MacKechnie (eds), *Scotland's Castle Culture* (John Donald, Edinburgh, 2011), which was based on a 2009 conference under that title co-sponsored by Edinburgh College of Art and The Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland.

2. Miles Glendinning, Ranald MacInnes and Aonghus MacKechnie, *A History of Scottish Architecture from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Edinburgh, 1997); Miles Glendinning and Aonghus MacKechnie, *Scottish Architecture* (London, 2004).

*Geoffrey Stell*




## *Windsor Castle Revealed: a Review*

*John R. Kenyon*

***Windsor Castle:***
***A Thousand Years of a Royal Palace***

***Editor: Steven Brindle***
***Publisher: Royal Collection Trust***
***Hardback: xii, 542 pages***
***Illustrations: 376 illustrations + 12 unnumbered in preliminary pages, 6 plans at end***
***ISBN: 978-1-909741-24-9***
***Publication date: 2018***
***Price: £95* through the Royal Collection (on-site or online); otherwise £125**

In 1973, Michael Port wrote: 'Windsor Castle today is to all intents and purposes a nineteenth-century creation, and it stands as the image of what the early nineteenth century thought a castle should be' (Crook and Port 1973, 392). This statement is understandable if one stands in the park to the south of the castle on a fine day and look up to the castle. The view is dominated by the works undertaken for King George IV (r. 1820-30) and his brother and successor, King William IV (r. 1830-37), with the heightened medieval Round Tower to the west and the apartments and the George IV Gate to the east, albeit incorporating medieval fabric such as the Edward III or Devil's Tower, originally built in the reign of King Henry III (r. 1216-72). Members of the CSG will know, of course, that the idea that Windsor Castle today is a nineteenth-century creation is a fallacy, in spite of the refacing of medieval towers and other works, and what this superb book, of which Steven Brindle is the editor and a major contributor, does is to guide the reader in an understanding of the medieval and later fabric.

### Previous work on Windsor in the Twentieth Century: a selection

The first guidebook to the castle, regarded as the oldest and largest inhabited castle in the world, appeared in 1749, at a period when the royal family barely visited the castle, and Windsor became popular for tourists interested in taking in the buildings and the terraces and parkland. Then in the early twentieth century, one of the greatest studies of an individual monument was published. To quote John Goodall (2011, xvi), 'St John Hope's voluminous three-volume history of Windsor castle, published by *Country Life*, remains one of the most lavish and impressive monographs ever compiled by one man on one building.' Although later studies have refined aspects of the architectural development as well as dating, the work remains of supreme importance, and will remain so. The study was commissioned originally by Queen Victoria, a commission continued under the two succeeding monarchs. Originally Victoria and Albert envisaged the work to be undertaken by J. H. Parker and G. T. Clark, but the death of the Prince Consort in 1861 threw the project into abeyance (Hope 1913, xvii). Hope was then commissioned by King Edward VII, material having been passed to Hope shortly before the death of Queen Victoria.

The first volume or part covers the history of the castle, the second with the architectural description. The folder contains six large sheets of two sets of plans, one plan showing the castle as it was at the end of the eighteenth century, and its companion depicting Windsor in the early twentieth century. The phases are printed in colour for ease of interpretation, in the same way that Hope had done for his earlier study of Ludlow Castle, a method that did not become common in other castle surveys until the later twentieth century. There are two other sheets in the folder, one being William Hawthorne's 'platts' of the Queen Elizabeth Gallery held in what is now The National Archives, the other John Norden's early seventeenth-century plan of the castle in the Royal Collection.

The folio format of *Windsor Castle* does not make for ease of use, but that is a minor point, for Hope's work is the most thorough of a number of monographs on individual castles, due of course to the size of the castle and the extent of its documentation. One has to use the medieval records cited by Hope with care, however, as the author did not always interpret the date of the medieval records correctly, such as in the fifth chapter apparently.

Amongst the more recent studies on Windsor, a number stand out. One of the British Archaeological Association's annual conferences was based at Royal Holloway and was devoted to Windsor. As one has come to expect from the BAA conferences, there were several outstanding papers, but of immense value was Christopher Wilson's magisterial study of the royal lodgings of King Edward III (Keen and Scarff 2002, 15-94). Staying with the fourteenth century, Nigel Saul edited a collection of papers on St George's Chapel that were given at a conference in the Vicar's Hall at the castle in 2002. The volume also includes Brindle and Stephen Priestley's account of the building campaigns of King Edward III and Julian Munby on that king's carpentry works.

In 2006, as part of Time Team's Big Royal Dig at three sites, the upper ward at Windsor was chosen, hoping that the work would shed some light on the 'House of the Round Table' built in 1344, dismantled in the 1350s. A study of this and the festival held in the upper ward duly appeared (Munby, Barber and Brown 2007).

The great fire in the north-east corner of the upper ward in November 1992 was the third such disaster, the others happening in 1295 and 1853. The five-year project to conserve, restore and build was an impressive operation, amazingly undertaken within the time and budget planned. A detailed account was written by Adam Nicolson (1997) and in the same year English Heritage published a booklet summarizing the new light that had been shed on the development of the castle. Of note was the late medieval kitchen roof, that had been revealed, dating from 1489. Work had already been undertaken in the castle, on the Round Tower in 1989-92 to correct subsidence (Brindle and Kerr 1997).

Ever since the first guidebook in the eighteenth century, there have been popular publications. For example, we have the official guidebook written by John Martin Robinson (2004) and the same author's official illustrated history (2001), as well as the souvenir guidebook by Jonathan Marsden (2012). Two new publications in 2019 by Pamela Hartshorne were a popular souvenir guide for tourists and a 202-page history of the castle (Hartshorne 2019a & 2019b).

**Brindle's Windsor**

For those whose interest in the castle is purely in the medieval development, possibly the majority of CSG members, the first thirteen chapters cover the centuries from Anglo-Saxon Old Windsor through to the death of King Richard III (1485), with the remaining nineteen taking the history and development through to the present day. However, I would recommend that this book should be read from cover to cover, irrespective of special interests, in order to gain a complete understanding of Windsor. Nevertheless, I shall concentrate mainly on the pre-Tudor aspects of the castle.

Windsor Castle's origin was a superbly positioned fortress overlooking the Thames valley, established in the first years of the reign of King William I (r. 1066-87). It was one of William's younger sons, King Henry I (r. 1100-35), who made the castle a royal residence, a role that continues to this day, of course, although at times the monarch of the day may only have visited but rarely. It is suggested that the castle as first built consisted of the motte with a small bailey on the west, a bailey that was to become the middle ward. Fig. 2.4 is a reconstruction of how the first castle may have looked – a vast motte with miniscule bailey. The possibility of a second bailey is mentioned, the area now occupied by the upper ward that may have been created by Henry I (together with the lower ward), and the reviewer's gut feeling is that the Conqueror's castle had a bailey on either side of the motte.

So, although there is limited archaeological and documentary evidence for the castle in the first half of the twelfth century, it appears that with the accession of King Henry II (r. 1154-89) the layout of the castle was as it is now, with a motte and three wards, with a hall and chamber block in the lower one and the king's houses in the upper, in the position of today's state apartments. It is worth noting that the examples of fine Romanesque sculpture to be found in the moat garden, once thought to have come from Reading Abbey, have now been interpreted as having been part of the buildings in the upper ward (Figs 5.3 & 5.4).

It is in the reign of the first Plantagenet king, Henry II, that the defences became architecture, with masonry curtain walls, gates and open-backed square towers replacing all the timber structures in the middle and upper wards, but only part of the lower ward, and including the building of the first shell keep (the origins of the Round Tower today date to the 1220s). The conjectural reconstruction of the siege of 1216 (Fig. 4.5) paints a vivid picture of how the castle may have looked at the end of King John's reign (1199-1216).

During the minority of King Henry III (r. 1216-72) there occurred the spectacular development of the defences of two royal castles following the unsuccessful sieges by the French and their English allies in 1216. The head of the government of the day during the early years of the minority was the justiciar and noted castle builder, Hubert de Burgh. The castles are Dover (Coad 2007) and Windsor. The works at Windsor in the period from about 1216 to 1240, but mainly undertaken in the 1220s, saw the completion of the defensive circuit that we see today, although with additions and alterations in the following centuries.

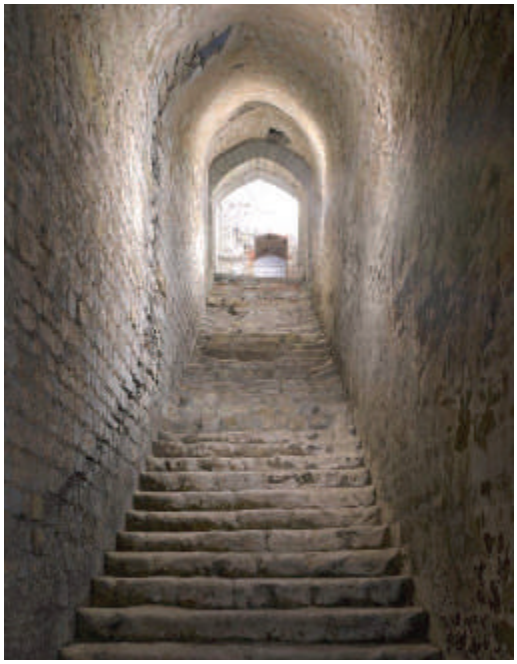
The new works involved a new Round Tower on the motte, roofed in 1225, and then, running from the south-west corner of the upper ward, was a curtain wall studded with D-shaped mural towers of various sizes, a feature of the curtains being the bands of different coloured masonry. From the point

*Windsor - Curfew Tower, c. 1227-30. The vaulted basement. Royal Collection Trust / © HM Queen Elizabeth II 2019 and St George's Chapel, Windsor, © The Dean and Canons of Windsor.*

of viewing of a medieval survival, one of the finest unaltered features is the vaulted ground-floor chamber of the Curfew Tower; medieval vaulting also survives in the Devil's or Edward III tower. It is unfortunate that we have lost the twin-towered gatehouse to the lower ward, with its barbican added in 1249-50, for the site is now occupied by the current gatehouse, the Henry VIII Gate, built in the early sixteenth century (1514-17 (p. 54) or 1510-11 (p. 156)), although no documentation survives.

A feature of Hubert de Burgh's work at Dover included the rebuilding of damaged towers (Norfolk Towers), with a new tower (St John's) beyond and tunnels linking the main part of the castle to a new outwork or spur. It was not until the reviewer delved into Hope's book that he became aware of the great sally port or postern adjacent to the Curfew Tower that has survived virtually unaltered since constructed in the 1220s. This was not the only such sally port, for Brindle describes and illustrates other examples. At the south-east corner of the upper ward are two more, the South Bowe and East Bowe, the term 'bowe' stemming from the Latin *bova* or vault, and documents record other examples. The Curfew and South Bowe sally ports must be amongst the finest examples of this type of defence, if not the finest. Although one cannot be certain of the primary function of all posterns/sally ports – were some at Helmsley in North Yorkshire provided primarily to provide access to maintain the banks and ditches? – it is quite clear de Burgh's works at Windsor and Dover were all part of the refortification of these castles.

The importance of Windsor as a royal residence in the thirteenth century led to far more than improvement to the defences, particularly from the time that Henry III's minority ended, in the 1230s. It was from this period that the castle became the main royal residence outside London, and in Henry's reign it was the home of his children, including the future King Edward I. Large-scale improvements were made to the royal apartments on the north side of the upper ward, and also to existing buildings in the lower ward. So, the household had accommodation in the lower ward, including chambers for the monarch and his wife, with the more private royal lodgings in the upper ward, whilst dividing the two was the Round Tower, no doubt the residence of the constable, with attendant services. Of the royal castles, more was spent at Windsor (over £15,000) than any other castle, with the Tower of London and Winchester coming next, with some £9,600 expended on each.



*The steps leading down from the Curfew Tower towards the sallyport; © Royal Collection Trust / © HM Queen Elizabeth II 2019 and St George's Chapel, Windsor, © The Dean and Canons of Windsor.*

Arguably the greatest glory at Windsor is the St George's Chapel and its associated College. The beginnings of a royal chapel can be found in Henry's reign, with a new chapel planned from 1240. The chapel was rebuilt in the 1490s and it is now the Albert Memorial Chapel. Nevertheless, part of the north walls of Henry's chapel survives, as does part of the west front (see Brindle, figs 7.6, 7.7 & 7.11, with 7.8 a Victorian drawing of some of the painted masonry from the chapel). Fig. 7.12 is a conjectural reconstruction of how the castle may have looked in the mid to later thirteenth century. 'Conjectural' indeed, but knowing the thought that must has gone into such a reconstruction, it must give a very good idea just how awe-inspiring Windsor would have been in the thirteenth century. It was over two centuries later that the St George's Chapel we see today dominating the lower ward was begun, from the 1470s with King Edward IV (r. 1461-70, 1471-83) on the throne. However, it was not to be completed until the reigns of the first two Tudors. Before this, it was King Edward III (r. 1327-77) who undertook major architectural projects, the works in the 1350s in the lower ward associated with the refounding of the chapel of St George, originally dedicated to St Edward, and the associated College, as well as the establishment of the Order of the Garter in 1348. Collegiate lodgings were built against the southern curtain wall, running down from the Henry III Tower. To the north of the chapel lay cloisters and lodgings for the canons, and one of the architectural gems is the Aerary Porch built in 1353-54 with its blind tracery panelling and beautiful vault, the main entrance to the College originally (studied in detail by John Goodall in Saul 2005, 165-202).

At this time the Round Tower was renovated with four two-storeyed timber-framed structures, with hall, chamber and services, including a kitchen, and there was also a clock. In the upper ward Edward III transformed the royal accommodation in the first half of the 1360s. A new gatehouse, the so-called Norman Gate, was built in the later 1350s, providing access to the upper ward from the middle. In the upper ward itself, with its great central courtyard, the royal lodgings on the north side of the ward had two gatehouses, hall, chapel and, of course, separate great chambers for the king and queen, as well as more intimate royal chambers. The kitchen range occupied the north-east corner, with the kitchen itself, restored after the 1992 fire (see fig. 32.14), larder, bakehouse, as well as its own courtyard with a well. Then there were the ranges of lodgings that ran along the east and south sides of the ward, thus creating one of the greatest palaces in the whole of Europe.

All this vast and expensive undertaking (over £50,000) was made at the time of Edward's costly wars in France, with successes at Crécy (1346) and Poitiers (1356), and as Brindle suggests, all this expense must have been offset in part by ransoms paid following the victories and capture of both French royalty and nobility.

Although the architecture of Windsor Castle is the purpose of this book, the castle's setting is not neglected, in keeping with one of the themes of castle studies today. Chapter 8, by Brindle, examines the landscape in which the castle sat in the century following the 1230s, and there is further information regarding the later Middle Ages in chapter 12. The castle was situated in the north-east corner of a large area under Forest Law, covering Surrey, much of Hampshire, and parts of Wiltshire and of course Berkshire. The origin of today's Great Park lies with Henry III's order of 1244-46, incorporating the Norman park recorded in Domesday. A new manor house was also built, situated about five miles south of the castle, and the house and creation of the park cost over £1,000; part of the park pale still survives. The park was enlarged in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, towards the castle, and Edward III added a park on the west side of the Great Park. In 1466 Edward IV created the 'Little Park' adjacent to the upper ward of the castle.

The remaining nineteen chapters take the castle, including the Chapel and College of St George, through the five centuries to modern times. Two aspects stand out, namely Wyatville's transformation of the castle and the work that was undertaken following the fire in 1992. However, the Civil War of the 1640s provides an interlude in the castle's life as a royal home, for it was occupied by Parliament in October 1642 by twelve companies of dragoons under the command of Colonel John Venn (Brindle is incorrect in stating that Venn was one of the 'five members' that the king had tried to arrest in 1642 – the five were Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hesilrige and Strode).

It was below the castle that the New Model(led) Army was assembled after its formation under Thomas Sir Fairfax, and Windsor remained a centre for the army, and for a short period housed the king after he had been handed over to Parliament by the Scots in the summer of 1647, and then again at the end of 1648, before his trial in January the following year. The castle housed other prisoners, and fig. 18.4 depicts the graffiti carved in the first-floor room of the Norman Gate, with the names of Laugharne, Bowen and Stradling, gentlemen of south Wales. Rowland Laugharne had once been a parliamentarian leader but had fought against the New Model Army in the second civil war of 1648. During the Commonwealth Windsor remained a garrisoned castle and munitions store.

The occupation of the castle by Parliament meant that St George's did not fare well, furniture and fittings being taken or destroyed, and the College's Dean and Canons left Windsor, in spite of the House of Lords attempt to allow them to remain. Nevertheless, the Chapel was maintained during the Commonwealth, and of course King Charles was buried there in 1649 after a vault containing the remains of Henry III and Jane Seymour had been uncovered.

There is more to come on Windsor, notably the detailed archaeological reports of the work on the Round Tower and the upper ward. At the time of writing (early 2019), Historic England has just issued a publication in its research series by Alison Locker, a preliminary report on nearly 14,000 fish remains from the Round Tower and upper ward work (Locker 2018), the remains predominantly dating to the fourteenth century.

Dr Steven Brindle and his ten contributors deserve high praise for their contributions, but especially Steven, who not only edited the collection but is the author of eleven of the medieval chapters, as well as some of the later ones. The book is profusely illustrated and to a high quality, with several reconstructions of what the castle and individual rooms may have looked like, and several plans help the reader to navigate their way around the castle. Particularly useful are the plans in several chapters that outline in blue buildings new in the phase being discussed, with pre-existing structures outlined in grey.

There is an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources, and Jane Roberts, formerly of the Royal Library and a contributor, checked 'every footnote, primary source and bibliographical reference' (pp. 495-524). No book should be without an index, especially one this size, and at the time of writing it has yet to let me down! Some may query some aspects of the double-page reconstruction of how the 1216 siege may have looked, and other minor points, but to compile a volume such as this, with such a vast wealth of material to draw on, is an amazing achievement. *Windsor Castle* may have had a long gestation period, following the fire of 1992, but it is hard to think of another publisher who could have achieved what the Royal Collection Trust has done. The reviewer now has to decide what books to dispose of in order to make room for it (it has been sitting on a table since receiving it), particularly as he also acquired St John Hope's work of 1913 at around the same time!

### *Acknowledgments*

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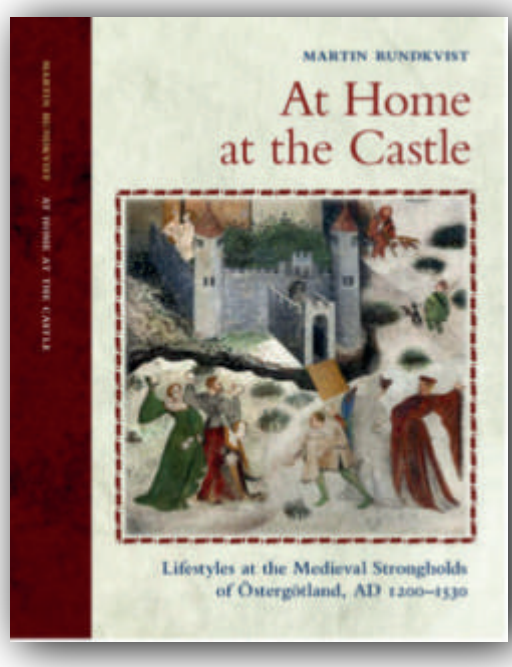


***At Home at the Castle. Lifestyles at the Medieval Strongholds of Östergötland, AD 1200–1530.***

***Author: Martin Rundkvist,***
***Publisher: Länsstyrelsen Östergötland,***
***ISBN 978-91-7488-477-7.***
***Price: (Freely downloadable via Academia)***

Research about medieval castles is quite rare in Sweden today. Scholarly studies of medieval castles in Sweden had its first peak in the early 1900s, when the field was dominated by art historians mainly interested in the architecture of castles. Even if archaeological studies were made, an architectural approach dominated the field until the 1980s, when castles became true archaeological objects. Studies from a more economic and functional point of view became dominant, where the relations between the castle and the surrounding hinterland were in focus. While art historians and archaeologists often had their focus on an individual castle, Swedish historians mainly studied castles from a political point of view, interested in their political functions within the medieval state formation process.

Most research about castles done today concerns archaeology, often as small, research-based investigations, with the aim of solving a specific research question on a specific castle. Most books and articles published about medieval castles in Sweden are also written in Swedish, making them difficult to access for an international audience. Martin Rundkvist's book on medieval castles in the region of Östergötland in mid-Sweden is an exception, partly since it concerns the castles of an entire region of medieval Sweden, and partly since it is published in English. The book presents archaeological studies of a number of medieval castles in Östergötland. The book is beautifully produced, richly illustrated, with hard covers, on 137 pages and divided into thirteen chapters followed by a bibliography, as well as by two forewords, one by the author and the other by the publisher - The County Administrative Board of Östergötland.

In chapter 1, the purpose of the book is stated to be a study of the lifestyle in the medieval fortified places in Östergötland. By "lifestyle", Rundkvist refers to the activities that people performed and the social roles they thereby played. A castle is, in Rundkvist's perspective, a place defined by either having a tower or a curtain wall of stone, an earthen wall, a moat, or consisting of (at least) a stone house on a smaller island that can be defended. With this definition, Rundkvist finds 25 castles in Östergötland, of which eight are selected for more detailed studies. These eight sites have been the subject of archaeological investigations, either previously, or by the author himself. The selected castles are associated with

either the Swedish crown, the bishop of Linköping or various families from the high nobility. It is clear that Rundkvist primarily sees castles as places associated with stone architecture and military functions. Rundkvist thus connects to a rather traditional view of these monuments, despite the fact that much castle research in recent years has emphasised other aspects of the medieval castles.

In a very short section of research history in chapter 1, Rundkvist argues that previous research on castles in Sweden suffers from having had too much focus on architectural remains. Too little attention has, according to the author, been paid to the artefacts found in castles. This is where the author wants his book to fill a gap. The presentation of the history of castle research in Sweden is however extremely limited in scope, and does not cover the topic at all. Many works that you would expect to find in this section are missing. Above all, Christian Lovén's dissertation about castles and fortifications in medieval Sweden (1996) is not mentioned in this part. Other studies, such as Otto Rydbeck's study of the medieval castle in Skanör (1935) or Peter Carelli's study about Krapperup (2003), which both thoroughly analyse artefact material, something that Rundkvist calls for, are also left out.

Chapter 2 discusses the landscape context of the castles, and their location in relation to elements such as water, agricultural areas, churches, markets and towns. The discussion is relatively short and superficial in nature. Here much more knowledge could have been obtained if the reasoning had been made more detailed. Chapter 3 describes the activities that took place in the studied castles. The source material is partly two written sources, Greger Mattson's accounting book from Stegeborg from about 1490 and the accounts of Hans Brask's from Linköping Castle, from about 1510, together with the finds that have emerged in the excavations. The activities discussed range from everyday activities, such as brewing beer and baking bread, cooking, keeping animals, playing games and hunting, to arranging weddings. The problem that many objects can have had multiple functions is not discussed. Since the artefacts from all the castles in this chapter are discussed in a kind of common context, it is not clear if there were castles with specialised functions, or if the functions of the castles changed over time. It should also be pointed out that the artefact material from the castles in question usually consists of very few objects, which obviously raises questions of representativeness.

Chapters 4-11 describe in detail the eight castles that constitute the author's main case studies. It is a little strange that this presentation comes after the previous analysis of the activities in chapter 3, which after all is an analysis and summary of what is now presented in chapters 4-11. A number of older studies and excavations are summarised, together with the results of the excavations conducted by the author himself. It is worthwhile that Rundkvist, for example, works out the complex chronological relationship between the neighbouring castles Stegeborg and Skällvik, and activates a lot of source material from excavations in the early 1900s. Despite often having shortcomings regarding documentation and excavation methodology, older excavations make up the bulk of the archaeological material from medieval castles in Sweden. Rundkvist shows that this material is actually usable.

While chapter 12 gives a very brief account of what happened when and how the castles were abandoned, chapter 13 gives a summary of the book's results. One

important point that is highlighted is the discussion about the "wandering castle". Both at Munkeboda and Stegeborg / Skällvik, it is possible to see how castles chronologically relieved each other as a link in a chain. This is a very exciting discussion and it is a pity that the author does not develop it further. Another conclusion is that life in the castles seems to have been rather constant throughout the Middle Ages. Perhaps this conclusion is rather a consequence of the selected methodology in chapter 3. Another method might have given a different result. At the same time, however, it is very gratifying that someone attacks medieval castles in this archaeological way and shows the value of systematically excavating in a number of castles and then discussing them in a regional context.

Since the book is written in English, I assume that Rundkvist aims for an international readership of castle scholars. However, in order to be truly valuable for an international audience, in my opinion, a more in-depth research history and a more thorough analysis would have been required. Something as basic as a map showing the location of Östergötland in a European context, or even a Swedish context, is for example missing. Rundkvist is often very concise in his reasoning and as a reader one wonders several times why he does not discuss some issues more deeply. Although this reviewer may have some objections, the book nevertheless gives insights into the lifestyle in some medieval castles in a Swedish province in a way that is accessible for an international reader.

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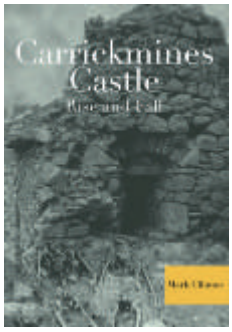



### *Carrickmines Castle*

***Author: Mark Clinton***
***Publisher: Wordwell Books (Ireland)***
***ISBN: 978-1-9164922-7-1***
***Published: October 2019***

Theobald Walsh of Carrickmines had not intended to defend his castle. The commander of the besieging forces, Sir Simon Harcourt, had not planned to attack it. Yet, in March 1642, the castle was destroyed and hundreds of occupants massacred. How did this come to pass? Ranging across the areas of Shanganagh, Kilgobbin and Balally in south County Dublin, and Old Court and Killincarrig in County Wicklow, Mark Clinton explores this fascinating story of family, feuds and, ultimately, ruin.

### *Forthcoming in 2020:*
### *James of St George and the Castles of the Welsh Wars*

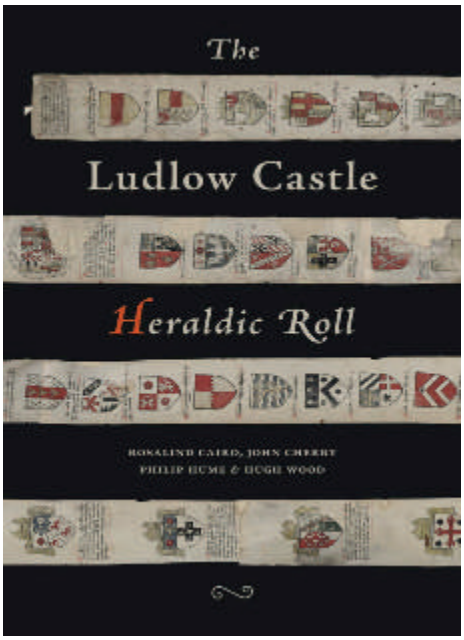
***Author: Malcolm Hislop***
***Publisher: Pen and Sword, Barnsley***
***c. 250-300 pages.***
***12 chapters, 175 illustrations including 39 castle plans, which should all be at the same scale. To be published in the autumn of 2020.***

In addition to being about the royal and baronial castles in late 13th-century Wales, there are also chapters on the castles of the northern Welsh princes and those of the Edwardian period in Scotland.

### *Lincoln Castle Revealed*

**Authors: Clark, J. R., Garner-Lahire, J. I., Spall, C. A. and Toop, N. J.**

The definitive Lincoln castle monograph Lincoln County Council. Due early in 2020.




***The Ludlow Castle Heraldic Roll***

***Authors: Rosalind Caird, John Cherry, Philip Hume, Hugh Wood***
***Paperback: 256 pages***
***Publisher: Logaston Press (Oct. 2019)***
***Language: English***
***ISBN-10: 191083937X***
***ISBN-13: 978-1910839379***
***Price: £12.95***

## A note from the Mortimer Society

In 1574, Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of the Council of Wales and the Marches, set up, in the round chapel in Ludlow castle, a display of the coats of arms of people associated with the castle's history. These included former owners of the castle from the 11th century down to Queen Elizabeth I and previous Presidents of the Council. The display also included the coats of arms of all 22 Members of the Council appointed by Queen Elizabeth in 1570. A couple of years later, Sir Henry arranged for a record of these shields to be made on a roll of parchment and this has survived and has recently come to light. Despite some fading and rodent damage the roll is generally in very good condition. It is clearly of great significance to anyone interested in the history of Ludlow and the Marches. The inclusion of the arms of Earls of March and the Yorkists makes it of special interest, too, to the Mortimer History Society. Among the arms displayed are Roger Mortimer, 1st Earl of March, and Joan de Geneville; Edmund Mortimer, 3rd Earl of March, and Philippa, Countess of Ulster; Richard, Duke of York and Cecily Neville; Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville; Henry VII and Elizabeth of York and Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn.

We first heard of the existence of the roll in 2015 and discovered that it was for sale. A Roll Group was immediately set up to secure it for Ludlow and to look at the best way of displaying and making use of it. Six of the nine members of this group are members of MHS: Jason O'Keefe (MHS Chairman), Philip Hume (MHS Secretary), Hugh Wood (MHS Membership Secretary and Roll Group Secretary), John Cherry (Roll Group Chairman), Tony Mahalski (Roll Group Treasurer) and Rosalind Caird (Roll Group Archivist). In order to gain charity status

for the group, we have been taken under the wing of the Friends of Ludlow Museum who will become the formal owners of the roll.

**Background:** In 1473 King Edward IV set up a Council to assist his son, Edward, to carry out his role as Prince of Wales. Edward and his brother Richard were educated at Ludlow Castle and so this became the home of what developed into the Council of Wales and the Marches. The Council was a form of regional government which implemented policy and administered justice across a wide area of Wales and the English border counties for two hundred years. The Council was led by a Lord President and the most significant of these was Sir Henry Sidney KG who was President for 26 years during the reign of Elizabeth I from 1560 to 1586. In 1573-4 Sir Henry arranged for the coats of arms of many people associated with Ludlow Castle to be displayed in the chapel in the inner bailey as part of a major refurbishment and modernisation of the castle. Several years later he commissioned this roll as, apparently, a record of the coats of arms in the chapel.

**Description of the Roll:** The roll is made up of seven pieces of parchment, stitched together to form a single document just 4 inches wide but 15 feet long. It lists and displays the coats of arms of 11 previous owners of the castle from Walter de Lacy in the 11th century and the Mortimer earls of March down through Richard, Duke of York and Edward IV to the Tudor monarchs, finishing with Elizabeth I. It also includes the arms of Sir Henry himself and 8 previous Lords President of the Council of the Marches as well as those of all 22 members of the Council who were appointed by Queen Elizabeth in 1570.

**Evidence for the Shields in the Chapel and the Purpose of the Roll:** In the British Library there is a contemporary account of the placing of the shields in the chapel, written by Robert Commander, chaplain to Sir Henry Sidney and the Council in his common-place book (BL ref Egerton 2642).He lists the shields and dates their placement in the chapel as between 23rd January and 1st February 1574. These and other coats of arms remained in place for many years and were sketched and described in the 18th century by the antiquarian William Mytton (1693-1746). His work was transcribed and annotated by R. H. Clive in his book '*Documents relating to the History of Ludlow*' (1841). The evidence that the roll was created as a record of the coats of arms placed in the chapel by Sir Henry Sidney comes from the text on the roll itself. At the start of the roll is the following statement: 'Thys armes folowynge be ye Fyrste owners of Ludlowe Castell as hit dothe apere by the awncyent Recorde of the same as they were And ar set fourthe by the Apoyntment of ye Ryght honerable the lorde presidence Syr Henri Sydney knyght of the noble ordere & lorde deputte of Ierland and on of her ma(jesties) moste honerable prevey Counsell'.

Later the text specifically mentions the positioning of the shields in the chapel:

'On the lefte hand the Cha[pel Sir henry Sydney] the Ryght honerable the lorde [president and] all the names and Armes of those m[embers] of the Counsell of the marches of walles as were plased and apoynted by her hygh[nes] Instruction renewed the xii th yere of her magistis most prossperous Raygne and the xxvii th daye of maye anno domini 1570 and there is a similar entry referring to the shields on the right hand side of the chapel'.

**Authenticity:** The roll was inspected in 2003 by Thomas Woodcock, now Garter King of Arms who wrote a short description of it. He considered the roll to be genuine and said that he believed that it was created by a provincial arms painter as the art work

is not up to London standards. At this time it was in the possession of the dealer mentioned below. A copy of his letter to this dealer is available for inspection.

**The Condition of the Roll:** Much of the roll appears to be in good condition. The colours on most of the shields are still very bright and the text is clear and readable and the parchment quite clean with little staining. A few of the shields are badly faded and significant damage was caused at some time by rodents. This damage has been expertly repaired at some point. Liz Bowerman, Senior Conservator at Herefordshire Archives and Record Centre inspected the roll and found that, while the existing repairs to the rodent damage are still in very good condition, the pigments of the text and particularly those of the shields are no longer adhering well to the parchment. Without conservation the roll would deteriorate if placed on permanent display.

**The Acquisition of the Roll:** Hugh Wood, a Ludlow resident and amateur historian, first heard about the roll from Miles Wynn Cato, a Ludlow art dealer in October 2015. It was in the possession of a London dealer, Marion Gettleson of Delehar, Portobello Road, London. She is unable to provide any information on the previous history of the roll before it came into her possession in the 1990s. Recognising the significance of the roll to the history of Ludlow, a committee was formed under the chairmanship of John Cherry, previously Keeper of Medieval and Modern Europe at the British Museum. The London dealer then agreed to allow the roll to come to Ludlow, on loan, so that others would have the chance to see it and so that we could have it assessed by a conservator. It arrived in Ludlow in March 2016 and was put on public display for a few hours to give local people an opportunity to see it. It was then sent to Herefordshire Archive and Records Centre for assessment by a conservator. The dealer was asking £2,800 for the roll. We checked the appropriateness of this price with an independent expert in London who confirmed it as reasonable. In May 2016 the roll was purchased for the sum of £2,650 with a loan from the Ludlow Civic Society. This was seen as a temporary measure to secure the roll while efforts were made to raise the necessary funds to buy it.

**The Friends of Ludlow Museum:** In October 2016, the Roll Group became part of the Friends of Ludlow Museum. This has given the Group charitable status ahead of an appeal for funds from the public and grant-giving bodies. Of the 9 members of the Roll Group, 6 are members of the Mortimer History Society including the Chairman, Treasurer and Secretary.

**Summary:**

- The roll is over 15 ft long and 4 ins wide
- It was commissioned by Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of the Council of Wales and the Marches
- It contains 42 coats of arms - 11 of owners of the castle between 1085 and 1570 - 9 of Presidents of the Council of Wales and the Marches from 1478 to 1570 -22 of members of the Council in 1570
- It was completed about 1576
- It has been verified as authentic by Thomas Woodcock, Garter King of Arms
- The Mortimer Society have purchased the roll with a loan from Ludlow Civic Society.
- The roll is too fragile to put on display but they have received a reasonable quotation from the National Library of Wales to make two or more high-quality facsimile copies and one of these will be on permanent display in Ludlow. See:

*http://mortimerhistorysociety.org.uk/images/HeraldicRoll/theludlowcastleroll1.pdf*


***Excavations at Oxford Castle 1999-2009***

***Authors: Julian Munby; Andrew Norton; Daniel Poore; Anne Dodd***
***Publisher: Oxford University School of Archaeology***
***Series: Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph Volume: 44***
***HB 520pp; Language: English***
***Published: September 2019***
***Price: £25.00***
***Available from Oxbow Books***

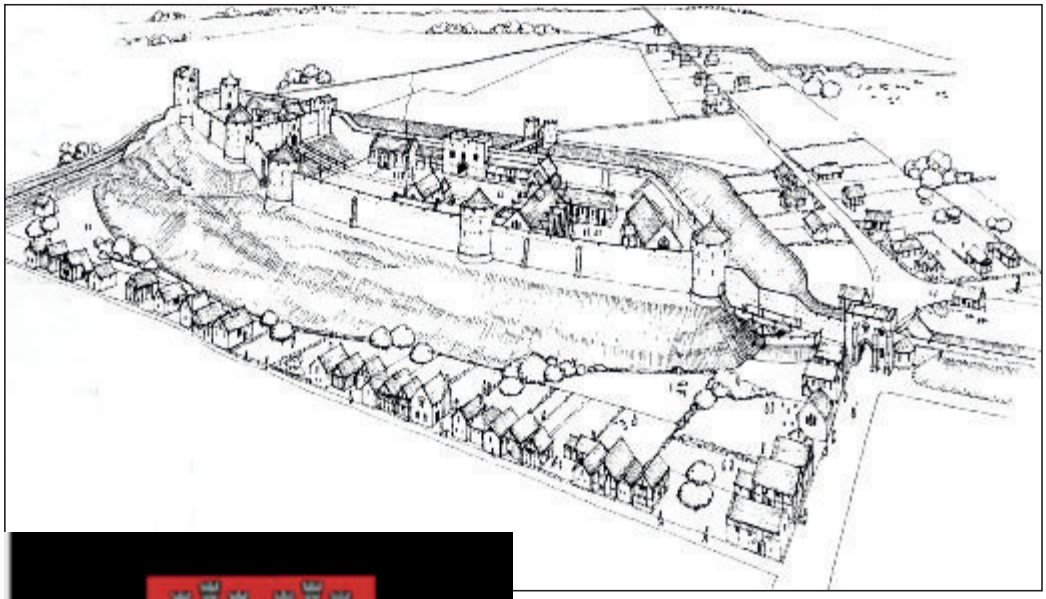
Oxford Castle was built in 1071 at the west end of the thriving late-Saxon town. Although it was never a castle of the first rank as a royal or seigneurial stronghold, it was an active county castle throughout the medieval period. Largely abandoned by the late 16th century, it continued to serve as the county gaol; new gaol buildings reflecting contemporary ideas on prison reform were constructed in the 18th century, and again in the 19th century when Oxford Prison adopted the 'separate system'. The closure of the prison in 1996, and the subsequent redevelopment of the site, provided the opportunity for archaeological investigation between 1999 and 2009.

This volume reports and discusses the results of the excavations, building recording, documentary research, and the specialist finds and environmental analyses. The most substantial results relate to the late Saxon town and its rampart, and to the construction of the Norman motte and bailey castle and its defensive rampart and ditches. More limited information was obtained for the castle in its later medieval form and for its brief refortification during the Parliamentary occupation of Oxford in the Civil War.

Numerous human burials found at the site are reported, including an important group of early post-medieval prisoners who had been dissected (or 'anatomised'). A number of innovative later prison buildings surviving at the site are described and discussed, and the evidence for the castle chapel of St George and the date and function of the associated St George's Tower are considered in detail.

[See also pp 39-49, where the highlights of the CSG's visit to Oxford Castle in April 2019 are recorded. Details included the early Norman chapel undercroft with its unusual pier capital decoration, the motte with its unique underground rib-vaulted well-shaft, and the late-Saxon / early Norman (staircase) three-storey tower. Our thanks go to the staff at the castle and to Julian Munby for helping to facilitate this visit and for speaking to the group on site. Other members made a perambulation around Oxford's medieval walls under the guidance of Dr. Peter Purton].

The publication will be reviewed in the next Journal *CSGJ* 34.



*Above: Winchester Castle as reconstructed by Henry III (1216-72). Perspective reconstruction by John Reynolds, looking south-west. From 'The Castle, Winchester Great Hall and Round Table', Martin Biddle and Beatrice Clayre, Hampshire County Council, 2000.*

Winchester Excavations Committee

### *Winchester Castle Monograph WS6i*

The Winchester Excavations Committee and Research Unit has moved after 22 years in our office in Summertown, North Oxford. Our old building is being developed (knocked down and rebuilt as something else!) so we had to find ourselves a new home. At the beginning of June, we moved to new offices in Kidlington.

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**In Advanced Preparation:**

WS 3.i Prehistoric and Roman Winchester

WS 4.i The Anglo-Saxon Minsters

**WS 6.i Winchester Castle: Fortress, Palace, Garrison and County Seat (Martin Biddle & Beatrice Clayre)**

WS 10 Environment, Agriculture, and Gardens of Early Winchester.

**In preparation:**

WS 6.ii Wolvesey Palace