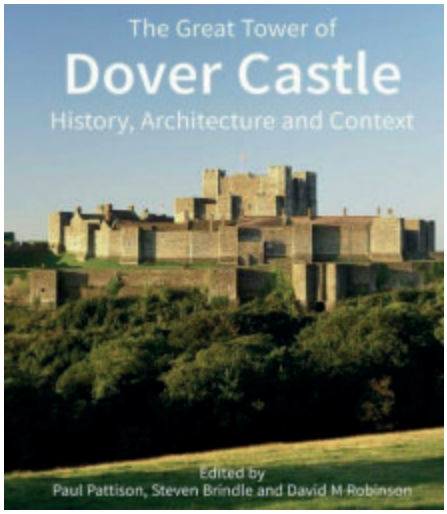

The Great Tower of Dover Castle: History, Architecture and Context

Editors: Pattison, P., Brindle, S. and Robinson, D.
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Reviewer: Neil Ludlow

The great tower at Dover Castle has seen over eight centuries of unbroken use since it was built by King Henry II and is one of the oldest continually-roofed secular structures in Britain. It has been adapted to perform such diverse services as prison, barracks, gun emplacement and tourist attraction. But, despite an extensive documentary record which includes a comprehensive suite of building accounts, and a named master-mason – Maurice 'the engineer' – it remains an enigma. Why was it built? How was it used? How did it relate to the contemporary inner ward? These questions were central to a bold attempt, in 2008, to physically recreate its fittings and fixtures as they may have appeared under King Henry – an 'evocation' in the editors' chosen phrasing – which opened the following year. The project was accompanied by a systematic research programme, the results of which were presented at a conference in September 2009 and form the basis of this long-awaited monograph.

Dover's great tower is one of Britain's most complex rectangular donjons, and while equipped from the first with latrines, a well, cisterns and, it is thought, a bread oven – as well as two well-appointed chapels – it is remarkable for the apparent absence of any original fireplaces. Nevertheless, it is now presented as a residential building, with a hall and chamber for the king at second-floor entrance level, overlying a similar suite for an important guest or royal family member, with a kitchen, brewhouse and bakehouse on the ground floor. Two mural chambers on the first floor are fitted out as services. However, the contributors happily concede that this interpretation is not without problems, and that we cannot be certain that the tower was used in anything like this manner.

The monograph is laid out in four broad subject divisions. Historical contexts for Henry II's work are followed by chapters dealing with the inner ward, the great tower itself, and post-medieval developments. Chapter 1, by the three editors, is a brief overview, with a summary history and description of the castle, a potted historiography, and short résumés of the succeeding chapters giving a taste of what's to come. King Henry spent more at Dover than any other building project: £6,440 is recorded in the Pipe Rolls, over 90% of it expended between 1179 and 1188 in one of the most expensive single castle-building campaigns in Britain. While there can be no serious doubt that the great tower and inner curtain are represented, there is some disagreement between the contributors over the building sequence, the extent of Henry's work on the outer curtain wall, and whether the great tower was complete on his death in 1189. It is also uncertain whether the inner ward represents a pre-existing enclosure, or contained any other buildings before the reign of King John.

Why did Henry II make such a massive investment – transforming Dover into what was, at the time, 'the greatest castle in the Latin West'? What significance did the castle hold for him? What role was it intended to perform? These are the questions addressed by the next

four chapters. In Chapter 2, John Gillingham examines the pattern of Henry's spending in relation to his rivalry with the counts of Flanders and Boulogne, and the burgeoning Becket cult. As John Goodall had observed, the lion's share of the expenditure followed swiftly on from the French king Louis's pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1179. Noting that the king had co-opted the cult – and made good propaganda out of it, particularly after his defeat of the Scottish king in 1174 – Gillingham views the Dover works as an exploitation of the cult, rather than a reaction against it, creating a space where high-ranking pilgrims could be received as soon as they arrived in Britain. Chapter 3, by Nicholas Vincent, is heavily informed by the author's own work editing the letters and charters of Henry II, a much-anticipated resource that was published to great acclaim last year (Vincent 2020). Vincent uses charter evidence to examine Henry II's relationship with Kent – a county without royal demesne. He concludes that Dover occupied a liminal place in Henry's world which, however, made it ideal for treaties and affairs of diplomacy, and suggests the castle could host large, high-status gatherings by the 1150s at least. He also looks at the surrounding infrastructure, noting that Dover became one of only two ports in the kingdom through which foreigners could enter.

In Chapter 4, Lindy Grant builds on her 1994 study which highlighted Henry II's role, hitherto somewhat overlooked, as a major architectural patron (Grant 1994). He was a generous benefactor of religious houses in his French territories where he began a major campaign of castle-building, in 1161-2, which led the way in terms of innovative design. Like Brindle and Dixon later on, Grant observes that Henry was fully conversant with the cylindrical donjon on his French estates, and suggests the spirit of *Romanitas* may lie behind both square and rounded forms. Richard Eales's Chapter 5 looks at Dover Castle in its regional context, and in the aftermath of the Becket crisis. Like a number of the other contributors, he questions whether its traditional association with coastal defence is relevant to the late twelfth century, suggesting that it looks towards Kent and Britain rather than the Continent and the Channel (from which the great tower is not the most prominent feature of the castle). Kent was a county of archiepiscopal estates in which Crown policy had long been dominated by shifting power-sharing relationships with Canterbury. Eales concludes that Henry II's Dover work was intended as a display of royal power in post-Becket Kent, in a celebration of Henry's rule and in response to the cult.

The remainder of the volume concentrates primarily on the castle as a physical entity. The suggestion that it began as an iron age hillfort is treated with some caution by the contributors, but there is overall agreement that the early castle and its royal accommodation were centred, like the Anglo-Saxon *burh*, around the church of St Mary de Castro, if perhaps with two focal points including an area to the north.

Documentary sources for building works in the inner ward, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, are discussed in the late Christopher Phillpotts's Chapter 6. Henry II's recorded programme at the castle breaks down into three components: work on the outer curtain in 1179-81 (*muri circa castellum*), building the great tower in 1182-88, while the inner curtain was under construction from 1185-6 onwards (*cingula circa turrim*). Neither the nature nor extent of work on the outer curtain is clear: while the great tower was usable by 1185, Phillpotts regards it as unfinished on Henry's death and feels that the £568 spent by Richard I, in 1189-90, went towards its completion, but it is suggested elsewhere that this sum went towards the outer curtain. The latter was completed by King John, under whom spending resumed in 1206. His work included new residential buildings, almost certainly within the inner ward, including the hall recorded in 1214. Henry III expanded this accommodation in the 1230s-40s adding a new hall, kitchen and

chamber, while services, a larder, bakehouse, exchequer and stables are among the buildings that occupied the inner ward in later accounts. Identifying usage of the great tower from the sources is however difficult: only a store-room ('*dispense*') can reliably be identified within it, and Phillpotts points out that there is no record of the great tower being used residentially in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Chapter 7, by Kevin Booth, describes the results of intermittent recording of the inner curtain wall and towers between 1994 and 2000. Construction, materials and detail are like those in the great tower, but very different from the outer curtain to the northeast despite the latter's similar square towers. Where original loops survive they can be double, as at Carrickfergus, Limerick, Framlingham and elsewhere. The gatehouses are considered in detail, and Booth regards the southern of the two as the original main entry facing the pre-existing focus of the castle. The two barbicans, as they exist, are clearly additional to the curtain, but perhaps not much later. Stuart Rigold's 1960s excavations in the southern barbican revealed a square tower that may relate to this earlier focus, but it is acknowledged throughout that his findings are difficult to interpret. Analysis of the inner ward continues in Chapter 8, by Thomas Cromwell, based on selective archaeological trenching since the late 1950s, and the author's own excavations in 2008. Cromwell allows that the inner ward may have been a pre-existing enclosure, and that evidence for timber buildings from before John's reign may lie undiscovered: a cut feature underlay the 1180s deposits. Nevertheless, ground surfaces appear to have been truncated in preparation for the great tower, which occupies a rubble and mortar raft foundation above a clay levelling deposit. Earth was piled around the foot of the tower, but there is some disagreement between contributors regarding its extent and whether it can be regarded as a 'pseudo-motte'. The trenches also revealed that Henry III's new hall (known as 'Arthur's Hall' since the fourteenth century) overlay a masonry structure on a different alignment, but it is uncertain whether it predates King John's building works.

In Chapter 9, Allan Brodie deviates from the consensus, suggesting the great tower cannot have been residential and that it was only when domestic accommodation was begun, by King John, that Dover could be used 'as an occasional royal palace as well as a place of ceremony'. By the 1240s, this accommodation followed the pattern seen at Henry III's other residences – a hall with a porch, chambers for king and queen, chapels etc. – ranged along the east side of the inner ward, and connected by a series of covered pentices (shown in a drawing of *c.* 1570). On the south side, the later medieval 'Old Armoury', and early seventeenth-century Duke of Suffolk's Palace, may occupy the site of earlier buildings. Brodie also discusses the medieval 'Arthur's Lesser Hall' on the west side.

Chapters 10 and 11 will, for many readers, be the centrepiece of the volume. Kevin Booth's phased fabric survey of the great tower comes first. Detailed recording, beginning in 1997, identified 12 main building phases. The first relates to construction in the 1180s, with evidence of a break, at second-floor passage level, followed by work of lesser quality and possibly hurried; Booth shrewdly observes that, by this time, the end purpose of the building may not have been quite as clear as it was when commissioned a decade before. He also points out that its mural chambers reduced loading on the foundation – perhaps a central consideration. Confirmation of the tower's roof structure, originally countersunk beneath passage level, was one of the main results of the survey, along with the identification of an appearance doorway. Like Brindle and Dixon in the following chapter, Booth thinks it likely that the misaligned forebuilding was deliberate, giving the impression of a further line of defence when seen from the main, northward approaches to the castle. During Phase 2 massive timber wall-posts, felled in 1255-75,

were inserted in the eastern first-floor room. The tower was converted for residential use around 1480, when the interiors were re-ordered into formal hall/chamber layouts and fireplaces inserted. Documented post-medieval work leaves little trace until the mid-late eighteenth century when the tower was converted into barracks: most of the present fenestration belongs to these phases, when the present brick vaults were inserted over the second-floor rooms. A succession of less intrusive works followed, including the present crenellations added in the 1930s.

In Chapter 11, Steven Brindle and Philip Dixon review the structural evidence, and through comparative analysis offer their thoughts on intended use of the great tower, and how it may have differed from actual use. The suggestion that, until 1480, the tower may have been heated by open hearths and braziers is countered by the observation that the windows in the mural chambers were too low and narrow to have vented smoke. This militates against their use as bedchambers, while open hearths would surely be unworkable in the main rooms at first-floor level. But although on the one hand the authors suggest that intended use was limited to short, 'choreographed' ceremonial occasions, a role as royal residence is simultaneously claimed. They continue by debating whether Henry II's apartments lay at second-floor level, or on the more private first floor where associated mural chambers are tentatively identified as guest accommodation or services. Nevertheless, they acknowledge that, in the absence of fireplaces and drains, use of the ground floor for cooking is conjectural. Like Lindy Grant, they also look at the tower's geometry relative to contemporary developments, observing that the square form – the last in a royal castle – is a clear reference to the donjons built by King Henry's forebears. However, their association of the cylindrical donjon principally with the Capetian Crown and the House of Blois is being increasingly challenged, with the recognition that nearly half of those built in France before 1204 were the work of the Angevin kings, and their vassals, beginning in the early 1160s (see Ludlow 2019, 210-13).

Gordon Higgott's Chapter 12 discusses the early post-medieval alterations to the great tower, beginning with its conversion to a heated, residential building in *c*. 1480. As constable, the Duke of Buckingham spent over £3,600 on the great tower in 1624-5, going towards internal panelling, plaster ceilings and a 'great rustic door' at the forebuilding entrance. Higgott feels this work, all now lost, was intended to provide the Duke with a suitable HQ as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. Dover subsequently ceased to be used as a royal residence. In Chapter 13, Paul Pattison provides a contextual framework for the developments and alterations of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. The castle was remodelled as a barracks, artillery fortress and ordnance store, and the great tower was subject to extensive works masking much of its medieval identity. The inner ward buildings were also remodelled. Military use continued well into the twentieth century and is discussed by Jonathan Coad in Chapter 14, alongside the castle's emerging identity as a monument and visitor attraction. Chapter 15 is a review by Brindle and Pattison of the 'evocation' project, and the rationale that underpins it.

Was the great tower intended to be residential? It is noted throughout that communicating doorways, at both levels, did not follow conventional hall-and-chamber arrangements until relocated *c*. 1480. None of the main floors is suggested to have been flagged, without which neither hearths nor braziers are entirely realistic propositions, though it is possible that the wall-posts permitted late thirteenth-century flagging in the upper eastern room. And even if the tower was reserved for ceremonial use only, what kind of ceremonies were intended? A recurrent theme regards the tower as a place of welcome for great foreign visitors. But can it really be described as the architecture of welcome? The great tower is not a place of

comfort – it's a deliberate statement of severity and austerity, in which only the chapels show any degree of architectural embellishment. Rather than a processional entrance, the forebuilding presents a series of obstacles, physical (like the drawbridge) as well as psychological. We may need to think some distance outside the box, and perhaps consider the entire building in terms of performative space.

The general consensus is that Henry II's Dover works are linked to the Becket cult. Could the great tower have been intended as an arena for choreographed acts of penitence? Phillpotts suggests the route through the forebuilding was based around the cult, culminating at the upper chapel (though its St Thomas dedication is not recorded until 1287), and all contributors point out the similarities between detail in the chapels and contemporary work at Canterbury Cathedral. The passage through the lower chapel may be linked to the symbolic lowering of the drawbridge, as pieces of penitential theatre. Meanwhile the raised second-floor entry – within which an individual would be prominently displayed (or exposed), back-lit and unable to see into the gloomy second-floor room – might also be regarded through the medium of penitence. A large raised recess at the opposite end of this room has been interpreted as a 'watching area' for favoured guests, but would overlook the suggested king's high table in a breach of medieval protocol: things might however look different if it is viewed as a performative space for the penitent – or his proxy. The narrow, single-file passage leading to the upper chapel, and the cell which adjoins it (which, as is noted, is 'not a typical royal pew'), could both be seen as symbolic and penitential. Is it possible that water from the second-floor well – accessed from the main second-floor entry – may also have formed part of the performance in a ritual, perhaps 'redemptive' way? Use of a well at this level would otherwise be time-consuming and inefficient (as noted by Brindle and Dixon), particularly relative to a ground-floor kitchen and brewhouse. The appearance doorway might represent a stage for the climax of this performance, or its aftermath.

So was the design intended to present high-ranking pilgrims, foreign and domestic, with a spectacle in which Henry II's piety and remorse were displayed, in the promotion of a cult from which he had already made outstandingly successful propaganda? Was it perhaps meant to be complete for the twentieth anniversary of Becket's martyrdom in December 1190? Plans that were overtaken by events in France and finally derailed by Henry's death? Pamela Marshall has observed that 'huge amounts of money' might be spent on donjons that were used 'only once, or even not at all' (Marshall 2016, 171).

Nevertheless permanent occupation lower down the social scale is indicated by the ground-floor entry and its triple drawbars (as noted by Brindle and Dixon); perhaps these 'caretakers' bedded down next to the bread oven (a reference to occupation by the constable himself in 1348-9 however coincides, perhaps significantly, with the Black Death). The tower's security implies that it was intended to house something valuable. Was it, like many of its sisters, a treasury/archive store? Or might the valuables have been associated with the Becket cult?

Although Dover's inner curtain is compared throughout with that at Roger Bigod's Framlingham, I would like to have seen more made of its counterpart at royal Orford which is also square-towered and, as at Dover, is wrapped closely around the great tower. A third castle of King Henry's, at Lyons-la-Forêt (Eure, Normandy), had similar square mural towers and, like Orford, was a symmetrical enclosure (Fig. 1; Lepeuple 2007, 82); these defences were in existence by 1180 (Stapleton 1840, 73). The asymmetry of Dover's inner ward may therefore indicate that it was a pre-existing enclosure, as at Framlingham, raising questions of how it related to the remainder of the castle and the structures excavated by Rigold. Nevertheless, evidence for pre-1206 buildings in the inner ward is inconclusive.

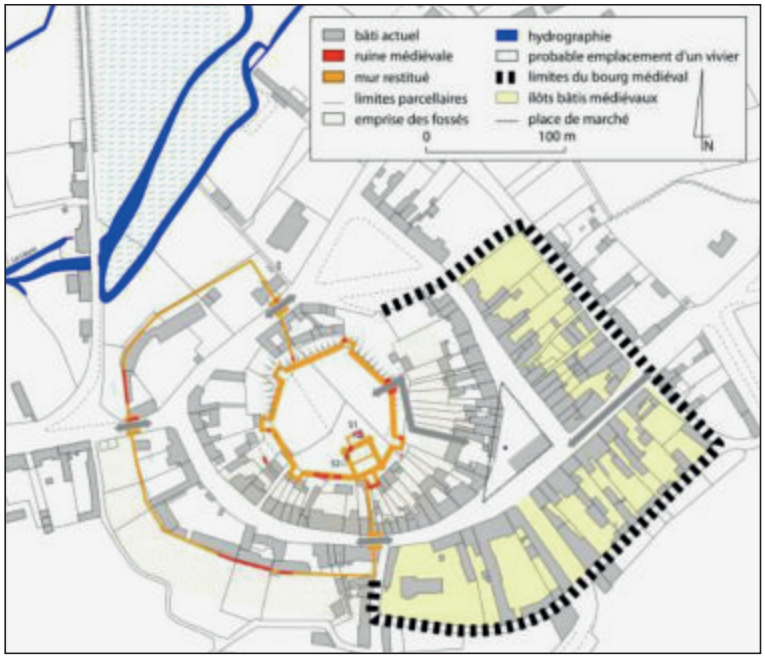

Fig. 1 – Plan of the castle at Lyons-la-Forêt, Eure (from Lepeuple 2007)

Brindle and Dixon suggest that Dover Castle's pre-existing royal accommodation, near St Mary de Castro, was used by King Henry on his visits to Dover during construction work. These buildings were apparently still standing in the late thirteenth century, so it is possible that they continued to serve the royal household until King John transformed the inner ward into a domestic space. Of necessity, and by the editors' own admission, much of the later work in the rest of the castle is treated somewhat cursorily, but I would have liked to see more made of the Middle Ward which occupies a crucial location between the inner ward and St Mary de Castro. Thirteenth-century in its present form, it may however have been central to the original castle and is therefore vital to our understanding of development under Henry II. [See pp. 131-143 ed.].

The difficulties inherent in bringing a multiple-authored work of this magnitude to publication are well-known, and occasionally evident: editing is not always consistent, while integration between text and illustrations is, at times, less than ideal. Nevertheless, this is a very satisfying monograph with contributions, and contributors, of the highest calibre.

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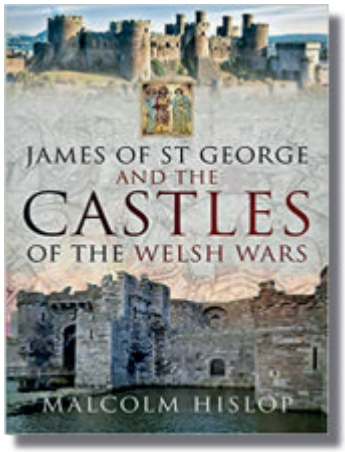

James of St George and the Castles of the Welsh Wars

Author: Malcolm Hislop
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Review by Jeremy Ashbee

This book is the most important publication on the north Wales castles of Edward I of the last ten years, and conceivably of the present century. Given the fame of these castles, and the vigour of current debates more generally about castle-building in Britain in the later 13th and early 14th centuries, it will be of interest and use to a wide constituency of castle-students, even those not directly engaged with the north Wales sites: castles in various regions of Wales and England, in Scotland and in Savoy are analysed and discussed. But the greatest benefit will be to those already familiar with the castles themselves, and with some of the historical and architectural discussions around them. These readers will find the book both informative and provocative.

The methodology and the main thesis of the book can be summarised very quickly. Through the marshalling of a large body of evidence, some of it historical, but mostly physical, recovered through close observation of the design and constructional details of various buildings, the author sets out to convince his audience that James of Saint George was an architect in its creative sense, and not merely a man of 'organisational aptitude'. He goes further: as an architect, 'James of St George was a man at the top of his profession.'

It may seem perverse to begin a review by stating what the book does not do, but this may colour the way in which some readers will respond to the author's conclusion, especially if they come to the book expecting the title figure, Master James of Saint George, to be its primary focus. Malcolm Hislop does not explicitly frame his discussion of Master James within an existing historiographical debate about him, though naturally he is fully aware of it, and on rare occasions, he does make oblique reference to it. This debate is now a century old, involving many scholars, some with formidable research skills and rhetorical powers, prominent among them W Douglas Simpson,[1] Arnold Joseph Taylor[2] and most recently Nicola Coldstream.[3] With varying emphases, these scholars have tried to clarify the extent to which James of Saint George may be described as the creative force behind the north Wales castles:- in the initial design concepts, in more detailed design, and in the oversight and management of their construction. While rarely a binary choice of 'either…or', these interpretations have tended to characterise Master James as principally an 'architect' in the sense of a creative designer, or as more of a 'project manager', expert in logistics and the mobilisation of a huge workforce covering different trades, but essentially executing concepts supplied to him by others. The contemporary documentary evidence for this question is very slight and susceptible of different interpretations, and for that reason, observation of the building fabric of the various castles, and comparisons between them and with other sites, unquestionably have an important role to play in working towards a solution.

Through the second half of the 20th century, the view of Master James as a 'designing architect'

predominated in scholarly discussion, supported in large part by the prodigious documentary and architectural researches of Arnold Taylor. In the 2000s, Nicola Coldstream presented a robust critique of the evidence on which this view was based and a challenge to the way that Taylor and subsequent commentators interpreted it. Most notably, she observed that the 'Savoyard' constructional elements that Taylor had identified in the north Wales castles, and attributed to Master James, were for the most part only minor details, and that the fundamental architectural concepts of these castles were absent from the castle-building tradition in Savoy during the years when Master James was presumably developing his expertise there. Coldstream especially highlighted the absence from Savoy of twin-towered gatehouses, but the argument could be extended to include other motifs: the scale of the north Wales castles, their regularity or symmetry, the use of formal concentric plans, likewise mark these castles as different – in Coldstream's view, qualitatively different – to anything built in Savoy. And coupled with the removal of the implication that important architectural concepts were introduced at Master James's hand to Britain from Savoy came a questioning of the idea that Master James held primacy among those involved in the Edwardian building project, at least in terms of the origination of architectural ideas. Other figures were suggested: English masters, such as Robert of Beverley, Walter of Hereford, Richard 'the engineer' of Chester,[4] the (anonymous) designer of Caerphilly Castle, and patrons within the royal circle, even including Edward I himself. Since the publication of Coldstream's initial article in 2003, there have been other contributions to the debate, including, from Daniel de Raemy in Switzerland, a spirited defence of Master James's abilities as a designer.[5]

Malcolm Hislop's book, though ostensibly about James of Saint George, stands largely outside this debate, which receives a very brief summary in the introduction, at which point the author already suggests his stance on the central questions. He returns to it in the conclusion, including the following: "Yet latterly, Master James's value to Edward has been seen in his organisational abilities, rather than his skill as an architect, and his contribution to design has been viewed as negligible rather than central. That his organisational aptitude was an important aspect in his achievement of his dominant position can be agreed, but the downplaying of his creative role goes too far, and is less easy to take seriously." These very short passages appear to be the only explicit references to the debate in the book. This reviewer, while relieved not to be facing a point-by-point critique of the various publications of Taylor, Coldstream and others, nonetheless found it frustrating that the arguments previously made about Master James, some of them pieces of polemic, some finely nuanced interpretations of evidence, are largely not discussed or answered here. Beyond question, the author has an invaluable contribution to make on the questions around James and about key buildings of the period, and he expresses the hope that he has done so. But since he has (briefly) given his answer without taking time and space to set out the question, it is by no means obvious that this has been successful. As he continues his conclusion, "it is to be hoped that in this and the foregoing chapters, the improbability of this observation [that James was an organiser, not a creative force] has been demonstrated." It is up to the reader to find the conclusion from the evidence that the author sets out: he does not draw an easy-to-follow map of the route. James of Saint George seems to swim in and out of view throughout the book, sometimes clearly visible, sometimes entirely out of sight and out of mind for long sections at a time.

But if it does not provide a simple tracking of Master James's career, the book does something else, and arguably of even greater interest and value: an exposition of the evidence for individual buildings. It is for this that anyone interested in castles of the period between 1260 and 1330 will find the book indispensable. Chapters Four, Six, Seven and Ten will be, for some, the heart of the book, covering the royal

castles of north Wales, including the buildings of the mid-1280s for which Master James is now largely famed: Conwy, Harlech, Caernarfon and Beaumaris (in Hislop's terminology, a castle of the second war rather than the 'third'). Hislop has brought to these buildings a scrutiny of their fabric and an interpretation more detailed and rigorous than anything that has previously appeared in the synthetic printed literature. For the first task, Hislop is a formidably attentive and perceptive observer: for the latter, he is also a scholar with most impressive powers of recall and synthesis (and on occasion, a good extractor of small details from other writers' footnotes, a crucially important skill for anyone trying to follow Arnold Taylor's research). What this produces, and for which this book will doubtless be valued, is a number of essays communicating the author's observations about the castles, many of them details that I had never seen or recognised in over 20 years of visiting the sites regularly. And the judgements that Hislop makes on this basis, will sometimes surprise, though often must be acknowledged and accepted. As he points out, the masonry of Conwy Castle is crude, plain and even slapdash, and much of the fabric of Beaumaris extremely so, for all that castle's sophistication in planning. (This last-mentioned observation could be considered something of a judgement on Master James, indisputably identified in contemporary documents as the master of the works at Beaumaris).

The fabric of Caernarfon Castle is recognised as a creation of much richer quality, 'built to a higher specification', and this is explained as a reflection of Caernarfon's intended status as the regional capital. Such a statement has not been made before in these terms. The iconography of *Romanitas*, underlying the banded masonry, polygonal towers and eagle statuary, has been much discussed by other writers, including Arnold Taylor, Abigail Wheatley[6] and Rachel Swallow.[7] This meaning-laden concept could feasibly have been realised in coursed rubble with the same constructional repertoire of ramped scaffolding, window and latrine forms as Conwy, Harlech and Beaumaris, but for some reason was not: the iconography provides only a partial explanation for why Caernarfon appears as it does. The status of the place could provide some of the reason for the unusually high quality of its construction. However, Hislop also accepts the possibility that different personnel were responsible for Caernarfon: he reopens the case that Walter of Hereford 'was involved in the project from the start and that much of the architectural character of the building is owed to him,' a view that Taylor had come to oppose vigorously.[8]

Hislop's excellent eye for architectural and constructional detail leads to some interesting conclusions. The interior of the chapel at Beaumaris is seen as a late addition to the castle, made under Nicholas de Derneford at some time after 1309. The first work at Caernarfon Castle contains a very early use of ogees, perhaps the earliest in Britain, pre-dating the Eleanor Crosses and St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster. The form of the drawbridges at Flint and Rhuddlan, with counterweight arms descending into narrow slots rather than an open pit, has similarities with those at the Tower of London but is otherwise absent from north Wales, and may be a signature of the engineer Bertram, perhaps in charge of the works at Flint before the arrival of James of Saint George around 1278.

One of the most salutary and exciting developments around the north Wales castles in recent years has been the perception of them not as a self-contained phenomenon (a formal 'group'), but as buildings within a context that is both wide and busy. A number of scholars have produced reappraisals of key British buildings of the late 13th and early 14th centuries, notably John Goodall and Neil Ludlow:- sites that in some cases can be shown to have influenced the designs of the Edwardian castles, and in others, arguably show influence radiating from them. Parts of this book naturally contribute to this discussion, though once again the emphasis is decidedly on the observations and interpre-

tations of Hislop himself rather than a recitation and critique of previous work. (A rare exception to this is his treatment of Criccieth Castle, where Hislop explicitly frames his interpretation around the different published phasing models by Bryan St John O'Neil and by C N Johns, with an inclusion in his bibliography of a further interpretation by Colin Gresham.) As with the castles of Edward I, Hislop's attention to detail brings rich new insights, notably in his descriptions of baronial castles such as Denbigh and Chirk, whose problematic relationships to Caernarfon and Beaumaris respectively are to some extent clarified here.

The reasoning behind the choice of regions and sites included in Hislop's review is not always obvious. It is no bad thing to range outside the canon of oft-cited comparative examples, as Hislop sometimes does in his chapter 11 on the influence of the royal works, discussing such sites as Bampton and Woodcroft. But some geographical areas receive summary treatment or none at all: nothing is said about Gascony, despite Master James's documented presence there with Edward I in the late 1280s,[9] nor (more seriously), Ireland. Here, questions of asserting colonial lordship had already seen the creation of fortified and planned towns, and in the castle of Roscommon, 'the earliest of the classic Edwardian castles of the late thirteenth century in the 'Celtic West''[10]; as another point of contact, Ireland had supplied, in William of Drygda/Drogheda, a master-mason skilful enough to be entrusted by James of St George with the completion of Harlech Castle. Savoy (within modern France, Switzerland and Italy), as Master James's acknowledged homeland and place of work before 1278, naturally does receive treatment, but only as nine pages in the concluding part of the book's introduction, and this discussion feels uncomfortably brief for a group of sites about which argument over their merits as architecture remains heated today in some quarters. The section can only allow discussion of one or two paragraphs for castles as potentially significant and complex as Yverdon and St Georges d'Esperanche. This reviewer is not sufficiently expert in Scottish castellology to comment on Hislop's treatment of Scotland, which receives a whole chapter, with specific discussion of sites including Kildrummy and its Harlech-esque gatehouse, Morton, Duffus, Bothwell (in which he follows Neil Ludlow in attributing the great tower to Aymer de Valence), and finally Caerlaverock.

Where does this leave the book and its readers? Unquestionably its central chapters offer a masterly synopsis of castle-building in various parts of Wales, England and Scotland in the final three decades of the 13th century and the first quarter of the 14th. The architectural corpus of castles appears in its full complexity and sophistication, and the place specifically of the Edwardian castles is set out within this national context, with similarities and differences identified and to some extent explained. This discussion takes the state of knowledge considerably further than the collected works of Arnold Taylor, or any other publication building on them. What is less clear is whether the question around James of Saint George can be considered settled. To some scholars focused on documentary evidence, it is doubtful that a definitive answer will ever exist: the number of relevant documents is too small, and their language too ambiguous. Hislop makes a strong case for the value of architectural comparisons as a more profitable source of evidence, though in places he is forced to acknowledge that crucial pieces have been lost (such as other buildings of Walter of Hereford, an alternative candidate for the first master at Caernarfon). The historical models that he creates from this evidence are often convincing, at least to the extent that architectural affinities give a sense of different castles having certain factors in common. Whether James of Saint George can be accepted as a significant one of those factors, and whether this decisively reveals him to have been a creative designer will be up to the reader: I myself believe that the debate still has some distance to run. But even if we conclude

that our understanding of Master James remains imperfect, the appreciation of the castles of the period is considerably advanced through a highly original piece of research, and for that, students of medieval castles have much in this book to praise and be grateful for.

Jeremy Ashbee
August 2021

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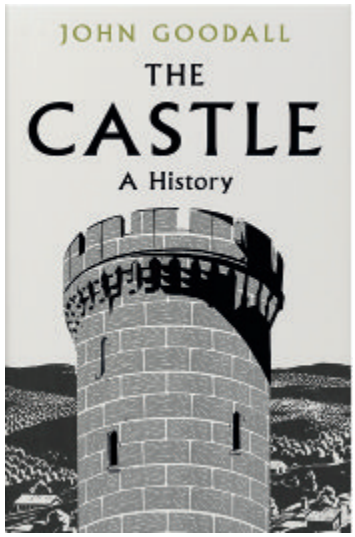


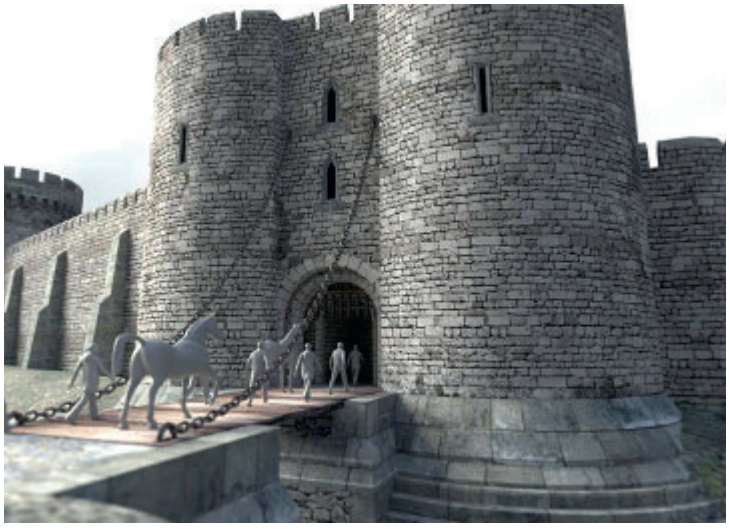
The Castle - A History

Author: John Goodall
Publisher: Yale University Press
Hb, 352pp, 75 b-w and colour illus.
ISBN: 9780300251906
Price: £16.99
Available: March 2022

The castle has long had a pivotal place in English life, associated with lordship, landholding, and military might, and today it remains a powerful symbol of history. But castles have never been merely impressive fortresses — they were hubs of life, activity, and imagination.

John Goodall weaves together the history of the English castle across the span of a millennium, from the eleventh to the twenty-first century, through the voices of those who witnessed it. Drawing on chronicles, poems, letters, and novels, including the work of figures like Gawain Poet, Walter Scott, Evelyn Waugh, and P. G. Wodehouse, Goodall explores the importance of the castle in our culture and society.

From the medieval period to Civil War engagements, right up to modern manifestations in Harry Potter, Goodall reveals that the castle has always been put to different uses, and to this day continues to serve as a source of inspiration.



Sheffield Castle 1927-2018

Authors: John Moreland, Dawn Hadley, 2020
Data copyright © Prof. John Moreland, Museums Sheffield, Prof. Dawn Hadley (University of York) unless otherwise stated'

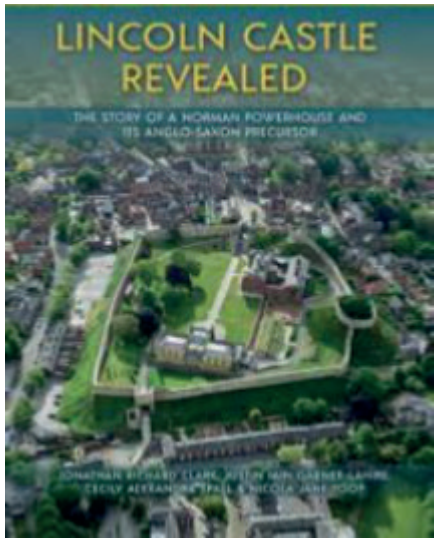
The text is freely downloadable via this link: https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/sheffieldcastle_uos_2020/downloads.cfm

In *Sheffield Castle: Archaeology, Archives, Regeneration, 1927-2018,* written by Professor John Moreland from the University of Sheffield's Department of Archaeology, Professor Dawn Hadley from the University of York's Department of Archaeology, Ashley Tuck and Milica Rajic from Wessex Archaeology, the castle's impressive history – largely unknown until now – is brought to light for the first time and is placed right alongside some of Britain's greatest castles.

Published by White Rose University Press, this is the first time that findings from all of the major excavations at the castle – conducted in the 1920s, 50s and 90s – have been published in one place. It also contains the results of the most recent excavations of Sheffield Castle led by Wessex Archaeology in 2018. This new, definitive account reveals that Sheffield Castle played a major role in local, national and international affairs in the medieval era. Importantly, the book is available as an Open Access monograph, free to read online or download. The archives on which the book is based are also freely available via the Archaeology Data Service. The team behind the book believe this material belongs to the people of the city and they are now able to share it not only with the local community but globally, bringing new audiences to this historical place.

Milica Rajic, Sheffield Castle project manager from Wessex Archaeology said: "Sheffield has been one of our most exciting projects over the past few years – it's rare to have the opportunity to uncover the history of a monument deeply ingrained in the city's identity. Through our excavations we have been able to offer a more coherent narrative for the castle, adding to a long history of investigation on the site, and finally reveal answers to some of the burning questions and long-held myths surrounding it."

Ashley Tuck, Sheffield Castle site director, added: "We now have evidence to support the presence of a motte, and we know that there was activity on the bank of the River Don in late-11th to 12th centuries. The best preserved remains from our 2018 excavation date from around the 13th century.



Lincoln Castle Revealed: The Story of a Norman Powerhouse and its Anglo-Saxon Precursor

Authors: Jonathan Clark; Justin Garner-Lahire Cecily Spall; Nicola Toop.
Publisher: Oxbow Books
HB, 272 pages, H280 x W240 (mm) Colour
ISBN: 9781789257359
Publication: July 2021 (Oxbow Books)
Price: £25.00

This book tells a revised story of the royal castle of Lincoln, how it was imposed on the late Anglo-Saxon town, and how it developed over the next 900 years in the hands of the English king or his aristocratic associates, leaving a surviving monument of three great towers, and two early gates. each with its own biography.

Led by Jonathan Clark and FAS Heritage, archaeologists, architectural historians and a large cohort of the general public have combined to produce an accessible account of the history of Lincoln Castle. Whilst the monograph is comprehensive, this summary overview will deal with castle's visible elements: The Lucy Tower (or shell keep), West and East Gate; Curtain walls; Cobb Hall, and the Observatory Tower; all covered in chapters 4-7. A more detailed review will be published next year.

Table of Contents:

The four chapters listed below are those that relate directly to the development of the castle fabric. Many other chapters relate to the Roman fortress and *colonia;* the gaol and prison development; finds and a digest of evidence; Anglo-Saxon burials and post-Roman pottery, much more. The overview on the next page concentrates on the core elements of the castle's upstanding architecture.

CHAPTER 4 - THE EARLY CASTLE AND THE LUCY TOWER

INTRODUCTION TO LINCOLN CASTLE
Lincoln and the Norman Conquest
THE EARLY CASTLE
The southern enclosure and the lost South Gate
THE LUCY TOWER
Countess Lucy – The pike mark – A study of the shell-keep – Inside the Lucy Tower – The lost chambers

CHAPTER 5 - THE CASTLE GATES and WALLS

INTRODUCTION
WEST GATE
West Gate barbican and tower
EAST GATE
THE MAGNA AULA OR GREAT HALL
THE CASTLE WALLS
East curtain wall – North & West curtain wall

CHAPTER 6 - THE OBSERVATORY TOWER

EAST RANGE
RANULF'S TOWER
Lincoln Castle and The Anarchy - Structure 9 and 10
THE GAOL TOWER
FEASTING AT LINCOLN CASTLE - THE 12TH-CENTURY MIDDEN
A commentary on the dice by Mark Hall - A commentary on the animal bones by Matilda Holmes

CHAPTER 7 – COBB HALL AND THE LAST FLOWERING OF LINCOLN CASTLE

Historical Introduction – From King John to Henry III
STRENGTHENING A FORTRESS
COBB HALL – A NEW TOWER
Martial – Official – Regal
ALL THE KING'S HORSES - THE CASTLE STABLES, MILL AND BREWHOUSE
COBB HALL AND LINCOLN CASTLE IN THE CIVIL WAR

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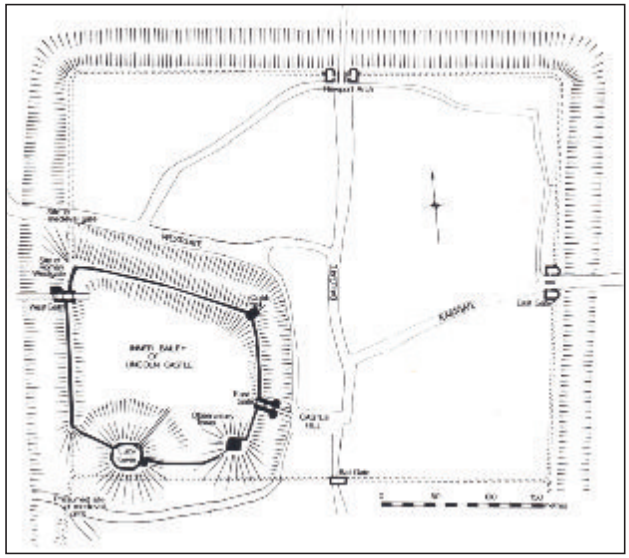
There will be a full review in the next edition of the Journal.



Lincoln. The Norman castle is set in the SW corner of the Upper Roman City and partially used the existing Roman West and South walls and ditches to form the inner bailey.

Lincoln. The Norman West Gate. S H Grimm. 1784. Exterior view from the west

The Castle Gates and walls. The east and West Gates (originally very similar). The historical context of the building of the Norman West and East gates belongs early in the history of the stone castle and is now believed to be Phase 2 (1080-1105). The masonry employed in both gates consists of large, well-squared blocks with 'oblique' diagonal axe tooling. This matches the surviving work of Remigius' cathedral in the West front for which there is a date bracket (1072-1092).

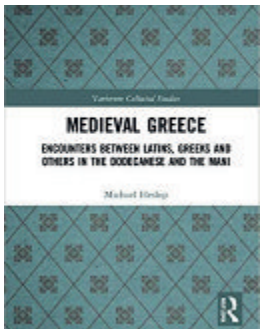
The Lincoln Lucy Tower shell keep c. 1138, viewed from the south.

The Phase 1 Lucy tower motte. It is now agreed that it was the first motte raised *c.* 1068-1080, and the stone shell keep which followed was probably completed by 1129-1138 by the time Countess Lucy died. A stone buried in the footings of an internal opening has a pike (of about 16 cms). The Latin word for 'pike' is *Lucius*, and is used as a symbol on the Lucy family shield. The CGI reconstruction of the south castle enclosure shows the shell keep as a single-storey building, with a window (where the SW door now is - see above), and a Roman gatetower in the SW corner. A further medieval gate pierces the wing wall between the shell keep and the west wall.

The Observatory Tower (Ranulf's). Now considered to be Phase 5, 1138-54. A rectangular stone tower with a motte built up around it.

Cobb Hall is now dated to c. 1233 (Phase 8) as part of the desire to strengthen the fortress after the Battle of Lincoln Fair. It is an curtain angle tower, but is marked by its array of graffiti and much space is devoted to assessing its significance.

Below: Lincoln. The Cobb Hall (tower) by Jean Claude Nattes, 1789, from the NE. Before the roof was removed



Medieval Greece: Encounters Between Latins, Greeks and Others in the Dodecanese and the Mani
(Variorum Collected Studies)
Author: Michael Heslop
Hb: 368 pp ISBN-10: 03677859076
ISBN-13: 978-00367859077
Publisher: Routledge
Published Nov. 30, 2020
Price: £120. with 20% off when entering code SMA02 for purchases on the Routledge website
Reviewer: James Petre

This volume, in the Variorum Collected Studies series, brings together the author's papers, given at various conferences and published in specialist learned society proceedings, notably *Crusades* and *The Military Orders*, along with one-off volumes. Their previous publication details are all given in the Contents list, commencing in 2008, going forward to 2020. The final, twelfth piece, is recorded as previously unpublished. The Contents catalogue gives the original page-range of these earlier publications but the pagination of the volume under review does not repeat these, article for article, as some earlier Variorums did.

So much for the structure of this book. Heslop is primarily concerned to explore and explain the systems by which the Hospitallers organised the defence of their maritime territories in the Dodecanese from 1309, when they first arrived, to 1522 when ultimately expelled by the Ottoman Turks. The Hospitallers, that is the knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, then the leading military order confronting the forces of Islam in the eastern Mediterranean, progressively needed more and more refined defences as the threats from those powers grew. Heslop traces how they developed something approaching an integrated and articulated arrangement based on castles and towers, taking one slice of the island string at a time. Accordingly, the earlier articles focus on first, southern Rhodes and separately on Rhodes town itself and northern Rhodes, while two other essays cover, first, the nearer string of islands to the north (Chalki, Symi, Nisyros and Tilos), then the farther string beyond (Leros, Kalymnos, Kos and the Turkish mainland fortress-town of Bodrum).

Heslop employs all the tools available, having dredged all the documentary sources to be found, previous archaeological surveys and the personal involvement of much 'walking the ground'. He provides relevant descriptions of the geography, paying particular attention to coastal lands where landing places rendered the islands vulnerable to attack. From there he provides a detailed account of the castles and towers that are to be traced, noting their pre-Hospitaller histories (Hellenic, Byzantine) so far as they are known or can be deduced from the remains. He analyses their locations with particular reference to sight-lines and inter-visibility to emphasise that a major function was to provide an early warning system of approaching seaborne danger. Heslop also goes to some trouble to recount arrangements made by the knights for the safety of the islands' Greek populations, recounting how those from specified villages were to seek refuge in specified castles. Here, as he notes, there are some peculiarities: that some villagers were to plod considerable distances to their appointed fortification passing nearer ones *en route*, seems odd. One wonders too how practical this can have been in the case of some refuge points given that some of these castles were, unsurprisingly, tricky to reach.

A good number of the castles which Heslop describes are heavily ruined so little about their full forms may be deduced. He notes that

Stavros looking to the south

documentary and map sources refer to fortifications which cannot be found, perhaps having disappeared altogether while at the same time, he has located the odd castle with no recorded history whatever and indeed not previously noted by modern-day castle-hunters. The complexity is aggravated by some difficulties with assigned names. Heslop's detail, all formidably backed up by extensive footnotes, is comprehensive but perhaps what is really inspiring is the trouble he went to in getting to grips with these sites. Take, for example, his coverage of the island of Tilos. Here, on the north-west corner of the island, at a height of 400m, is Palaiokastro, 'probably the most dramatically sited Byzantine fortification in the Dodecanese'. Heslop notes that it has not been written up before, 'which is hardly surprising given its virtually inaccessible position.' (pp. 25-6). His heroics in scrambling up and over craggy terrain in pursuit of his quarry, are marvellously reflected in his words about accessing another Tilos castle – Stavros, otherwise 'tou Lambrou to kastro':

> Access is extremely difficult, requiring a trackless climb up a steep hill, and then a wind-buffeted, hands-and-knees crawl across a ridge, 50 metres long but only 2 metres wide, with a vertiginous disaster on either side. (The given footnote mentions Heslop's companions, some of whom 'feared to follow'!) [p. 28].

Equally impressive research and deduction, from various written sources, travellers' diaries, archaeology and again, close scrutiny of the ground itself, is the longest piece in the collection 'Villehardouin's castle of Grand Magne (Megali Maini)' which occupies pp. 226 – 285. For this adventure, Heslop moves from the Dodecanese to that middle prong of the south coast of the Peloponnese, the Mani, a wild and untamed area in the middle ages, renowned for its feuding clans, even now very much off the beaten track. Employing tactics which Sherlock Holmes would have commended, Heslop attempts to locate the site of this mid-thirteenth century castle, founded by that dynasty more famous for their work at the summit of Mystras, near the town which was once ancient Sparta. Heslop looks in

Byzantine Stavros from the north-east. Repaired by the Hospitallers. The wedge-shaped tower on the enceinte is very much a Byzantine trade-mark.

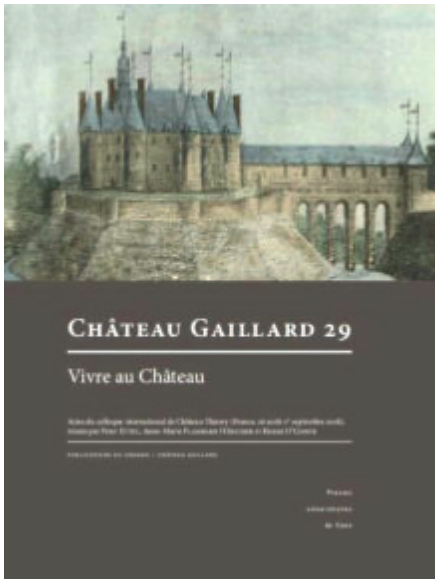
detail at each of the five candidates previously put forward as the site, provides a set of criteria for each to satisfy and finds each of the five wanting in differing respects. He then applies the same benchmarks to his own proffered site, Oitylo, and finds a fit. 'By my evidence, Oitylo is the place that ticks the most boxes, but I have not been able to prove conclusively as yet that it was Grand Magne. One day perhaps?' (p. 285). Heslop might perhaps have quoted the famous line 'when you have eliminated the impossible, whatever remains, however improbable, must be the truth' but here his case is far from improbable! His concluding *caveat* against certainty is the mark of a true scholar.

Other essays relate to a gazetteer of place-names in the countryside of Rhodes, the largely unpublished account of the visits of the Florentine cleric, Bonsignori, to Rhodes in 1498, and finally the only article in the collection in which Heslop collaborated with another, 'The Defences of Middle Byzantium in Greece (seventh-twelfth centuries) ..', in which Heslop's contribution is to revisit Kalymnos. The other section, by Nikos Kontogiannis, reflects that the study in question is challenging and, as is noted, may explain why even now, general surveys as distinct from specialist approaches or individual case analyses, seem still restricted to Foss and Winfield (1986) and Lawrence (1983).

My only reservation about Heslop's detailed profiles of defensive networks relates to the degree to which castles were needed as signal stations. No doubt they could and indeed did function as such but they could not have been constructed with this as a primary objective: it was perfectly possible to communicate from eminences without using castles. As Heslop notes, the remains of a bonfire pit above Stelies in Rhodes (p. 12, fn. 28) shows this. Heslop suggests that signal-posts, known as *vigla* (s), *viglai* (pl) may have been in fortified towers (p. 18, fns. 13,14) but equally they are just as likely to have been unprotected. This reservation perhaps is to be borne in mind when contemplating the numerous maps in the volume which show communication networks in which many links in the chains are *viglai*.

In conclusion, this is a marvellous collection of specialist studies of an archipelago with a dramatic history in the later middle ages. It is a work of great enthusiasm, delving literally, onto much untrodden ground. Serious castle-hunters who visit the Dodecanese must now have this erudite tome at hand so they can (try and) follow in Michael Heslop's pioneering footsteps.

James Petre



Château Gaillard 29 - Vivre au Château

P. Ettel, A.-M. Flambard Hericher, K. O'Conor (eds.)
approx. 440 pp., 220 x 280 mm
ISBN: 978-2-84133-998-3
Hardback
Published - January 2021
Price: EUR 42.45 excl. Tax
Direct from Brepols

'Living at the Château' was the theme of the Chateau-Thierry symposium, the 29th Château Gaillard symposium. This theme, chosen in conjunction with the problem of past and present research conducted in the region, has given them a large place. As for the castles spread throughout the European area, this symposium addressed in particular: the multiplication of the castral sites used by the same family according to the periods of the year or the diversity of activities and the distribution of places of life within the castle. Contrary to popular belief that the medieval castle represents the height of discomfort, it has been demonstrated that the layout of the place takes into account, from the moment of construction, the light or the prevailing winds. It also stressed the importance of the social hierarchy within the castle and the facilities that aim to preserve it, as well as the importance of women, their role and the specific places and functions that are specific to them: kitchen, garden, management. Finally, daily life has been evoked through everyday objects such as pottery for example, which leaves abundant archaeological traces, or through the layout of kitchens, or through consumer discharges or work-related waste. The forty-four contributors of this book come from representatives of the twelve participating countries and the numerous posters presented provided an update on the current excavations, in particular on the research carried out on the castles of the Hauts- de-France region.

Contributors covering British and Irish castle themes include:

Thomas Barrows: Castle Rushen and the Culture of Manx Castle-Building.

Karen Dempsey: Planting New Ideas: a Feminist Gaze on Medieval Castles

Thomas Finan: Living in Gaelic Castles: Inter-Disciplinary Advances in 13th-Century Irish Castle Studies

Frank J. Hall: Separating the Stronghouse: Redefining a Forgotten Phase of Irish Castle Construction.

John R. Kenyon: Middleham Castle, North Yorkshire, England: a Neville Dwelling in the Dales.

Robert Liddiard: Castles and Deer Parks in Anglo-Norman England

Pamela Marshall: The 15th-Century Great Tower at Tattershall Castle: Aspiration, Display and the Practicalities of Social Distinction.

Kare McManama-Kearin: In League with Nature: Striving for Comfort in Late Medieval Tower Houses in Ireland.

Ben Murtagh as Black Tom's "House" at Kilkenny Castle, Ireland.

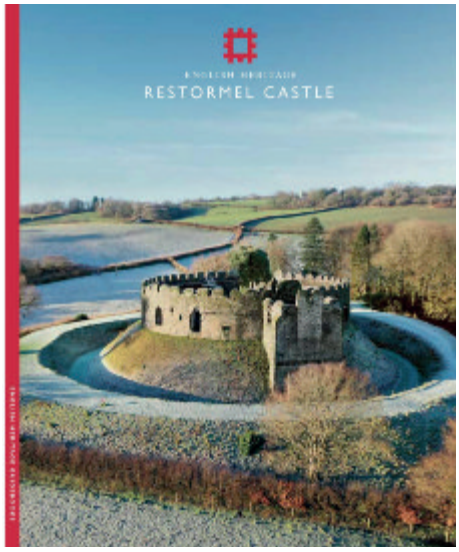
Rachel E. Swallow: Look for the Woman: a Fresh Interdisciplinary and Multi-Period Approach to Understanding Gender, Place and Space at Caernarfon Castle in Gwynedd, Wales.

Daniel Tietzsch-Tyler: Progressive Changes in Living Conditions in a Frontier Castle.

Therron Welstead: Castle Chapels: Privacy, Scores and Conspicuous Piety in England and Wales.

19th century view of Gainsborough Old Hall, Lincolnshire, drawn and engraved by S. Rhodes and W. Watkins, respectively, and published in Thomas Allen's 'History of Lincolnshire' (London & Lincoln: John Saunders, 1834-1836). A new guidebook is to be published by English Heritage in 2022 following refurbishment and a re-presentation to the public. It reopened in summer 2021.

A finely engraved and picturesque early 19th century view of Gainsborough Old Hall, Lincolnshire, drawn and engraved by John Claude Nattes (1765-1839) and W. Poole, respectively, and published in Bartholomew Howlett's 'A Selection of Views in the County of Lincoln' (London: W. Miller, 1801-1806).



Restormel Castle

Author: Jeremy Ashbee
Publisher: English Heritage
Pb: 48pp; fold-out covers with photograph and plans of inner ward; numerous other plans and photographs (including some 19th and early 20th century examples);
Illustrations: from medieval manuscripts and antiquarian sources
ISBN: 978 1 910907 48 1
Publication Date: November 2020
Price: £4.50
Reviewer: Robert Higham

Restormel castle, near Lostwithiel in Cornwall, is a most unusual site because its inner ward was laid out as an almost exact circle. Several other castles have plans that *appear* circular to the eye but are not actually so. This is particularly the case with some shell-keeps on top of mottes. Because at Restormel an earthwork abuts the lower part of the inner ward's external wall, with a sort of "motte-like" result, the site has in the past often been drawn into discussion of shell-keeps (a tradition going back to George Clark in the 19th century and, in the south-western context, Sidney Toy's 1933 article 'The round castles of Cornwall'). A parallel is to be found in the "motte-like" result at Lydford, Devon, where an earthwork abuts the lower part of the rectangular *donjon*. This building device gave the inner element of both sites an "elevated" appearance in a time-honoured style of castle design. The 13th-century rebuilding of both was by successive Earls of Cornwall, father and son: Lydford in Richard's time (to 1272) and Restormel in Edmund's (to 1300). This tells us about important influences on castle design such as traditional design elements with symbolic value, family ties and expression of power through building. As well as at Lydford, important building work took place in their period at Launceston, Trematon and Tintagel, their other Cornish castles.

Circularity was a rare characteristic of castle planning in masonry. Colin Platt discussed Castel del Monte (Apulia) built by the Emperor Frederick II (*The castle in Medieval England and Wales*, 1982). Denys Pringle drew attention to Rothesay (Bute) in its 13th-century re-built phase (*JBAA*, 151, 1998). Circularity occurs at a few sites in Holland (Higham & Guy, *Shell-Keeps Re-Visited,* Castle Studies Group, 2015, 40-41; for Restormel itself, see Appendix to Catalogue, 176-186). So the shape of Restormel's inner ward is one feature which makes the site very important; apparently created out of a ringwork castle of the 12th century belonging to the lords of Cardinham (Restormel, together with Lostwithiel, came to Earl Richard through their widowed heiress; some fabric of the gatehouse of the earlier castle survived the re-building by Earl Edmund). A further important feature is the degree of survival of the domestic buildings ranged against its inner face: hall, chambers, kitchen, chapel and so on, generally at first floor and overlying cellars beneath. An important historic document is the survey of 1337 (Restormel was part of the newly created Duchy of Cornwall, Earl Edmund having died without an heir and his estate having passed to the Crown) which described not only the (surviving) inner ward but also the outer ward (probably palisaded), since disappeared but originally containing hall, chapel, kitchen, chambers with cellars, bakehouse and stables. In fact, the site

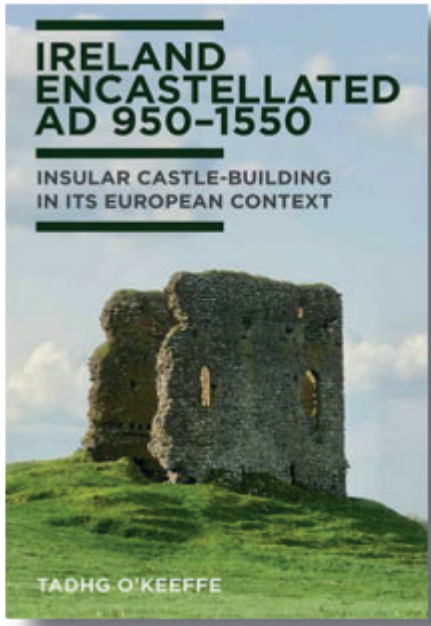
Left: Restormel (inner bailey) from the north. From F. Grose, 'Antiquities' Vol. 1. The chapel projection on the left. The image used in the guidebook is an attractive coloured image from the Society of Antiquaries from Grose's first edition and dated to c. 1770. (Francis Grose, the artist and Samuel Sparrow the engraver).

had two castles: an inner palatial residence and an outer focus of mundane life. Despite its gatehouse and crenellated wall, the inner ward was built for comfort and display; it strong form was, like its wall-abutting earthwork, symbolic and nostalgic. Another significant aspect is the adjacent park, which originated in the 12th century (Richard Earl of Cornwall had Restormel only from 1268) but which was enlarged so that by 1300, when Earl Edmund died, it was the largest deer park in Cornwall. It contained not only deer, but also woodland, pasture and meadows and mills. Views of it were afforded by the wall-walk (the lord's inner hall had its own staircase to it) and by the large outward-looking windows (the author wisely avoids calling the inner ward a "shell-keep" - the latter type, on mottes, generally having inward-looking windows). Conversely, the castle was impressively visible from *within* the park: the whole was, in current terminology, a "designed landscape" (see Oliver Creighton, *Designs on the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages*, 2009, 15-23) Another important feature is the castle's relationship with the wider settlement and economic context. The River Fowey, flowing close by, was navigable at this point in the middle ages, linking the castle with the port of Lostwithiel, whose borough was further developed by Earl Edmund, shifting his centre from Launceston (later silted up, Lostwithiel was succeeded by Fowey).

In the late 13th and 14th centuries, Restormel castle had an unusually (circular) planned (and now well-preserved) inner ward designed to afford maximum comfort for lords and guests; an outer ward with buildings serving staff and officials and lesser visitors; an extensive deer park; a role in local settlement evolution. The site was, as far as is discernible from record, very little visited by its lords, whether earls or dukes (though the Black Prince was assiduous in its maintenance). We are reminded of a recurrent paradox at the top end of the castle-building world: enormous investment by lords as against infrequent occupation by the lords themselves. As permanent and impressive places, however, such castles were daily reminders (to those who saw them) of who held power as well as centres through which some of the income of the powerful was channelled. In this particular place, income was crucial: Earl Edmund had the Cornish stannaries, whose administrative centre he developed at Lostwithiel.

The reader/visitor is helped by analysis of the medieval fabric (details cannot be dealt with in a review, though the location of the chapel in a projection from the inner ward's external wall - which compromised any defensibility it may have had – is worth noting). We are reminded of the castle's place in a longer chronology: there was a nearby Roman fort as well as a post-medieval history. It was noticed by antiquaries from William Worcester onwards; occupied in 1644, already ruinous, in the civil war; landscaped in the 18th century; the subject of artists and early photographers. The castle was given by the Duchy to the Office of Works in 1925, with conservation works commenced (the park remaining Duchy property). All this, and more, is treated in this new, highly readable and beautifully illustrated contribution to the English Heritage Guidebook series.

Bob Higham (Exeter)



Ireland Encastellated, AD 950–1550 Insular castle-building in its European context

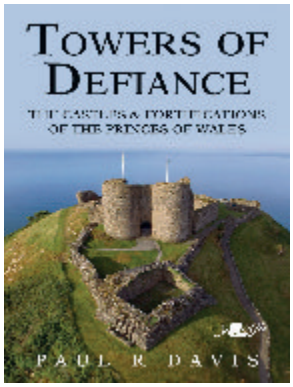
Hb: 240 pp.
Author: Tadhg O'Keeffe
Publisher: Four Courts Press
ISBN: 978-1-84682-863-8
Price: 40 Euros.
Published: February 2021

Despite an ever-expanding literature on Irish castles, the relationships between the castle-building tradition in Ireland and those of contemporary Europe have attracted very little attention among Irish scholars. This book seeks to remedy this by approaching the corpus of Irish castles as a non-Irish scholar might do. Is there a case for dating the first castles in Ireland to the later tenth century in line with the chronology of castle-building on the Continent? Are castles in Ireland typical of their periods by contemporary standards in England and France in particular? Are any castles in Ireland genuinely innovative or radical by those contemporary standards? What inferences about Ireland's place in medieval Europe can be drawn from the evidence of its castles and their forms?

Tadhg O'Keeffe is Full Professor of Archaeology, University College Dublin. His earlier books include Romanesque Ireland: architecture and ideology in the twelfth century (Dublin, 2003), Medieval Irish buildings, 1100–1600 (Dublin, 2015), and Tristernagh Priory, Co. Westmeath: colonial monasticism in medieval Ireland (Dublin, 2018).

This book should be required reading not only for archaeologists and historians of Ireland, but for anyone interested in castles and/or seigneurial power in the Middle Ages, no matter what their discipline or region of interest. O'Keeffe's insistence that encastellation in Ireland be defined broadly and understood as part of a Europe-wide phenomenon allows him to argue convincingly that the ideas, world views, and seigneurial residences of Ireland's lords and the masons they patronized were far from insular, and to show the ways in which these structures were participants – from as early as the tenth century and as late as the end of the Middle Ages – in a much wider European conversation about seigneurial power and its manifestations in the landscape. The book's crystal clear explanations of how to read and interpret castle architecture, its excellent plans and black-and-white illustrations, and its site by site descriptions also make it an ideal companion for anyone touring Irish castles.' Professor Robin Fleming, Boston College Graduate School of Arts and Sciences.

'Tadhg O'Keeffe writes with intellectual verve and immense knowledge, as well as very accessibly. This book is much bigger than its title: not just a comprehensive reassessment of Irish castle-building in a European context – though it is that – but a reassessment of many aspects of castle-building in England and France. It opens up a complex subject for newcomers, and transforms it for specialists. It will be a landmark for the next generation.' Professor John Blair, Queen's College, Faculty of History, University of Oxford



Towers of Defiance

Author: Paul R. Davis
Publisher : Y Lolfa
Pb : 378 pages; 130 colour photos; 30 reconstruction drawings; 7 maps
ISBN-10 : 191263130X
ISBN-13 : 978-1912631308
Price: £19.99
Published: June 2021

Paul Davis has been writing books about Welsh castles for nearly 40 years - since 1983's *Castles of Glamorgan*. *Towers of Defiance* is at least his tenth work. It follows on from earlier books on a similar theme: *Castles of the Welsh Princes* (1988), and a fully revised version under this title of 2007 (revised 2015) with a different publisher, Y Lolfa. Both of these contained gazetteers of between 50 and 60 Welsh-built castles. This new book is a product of those earlier iterations, that now explores even more fully the history and evolution of the Welsh castle during the time when the native rulers held power (*c.* 1066-1283). Here, the foremost difference is in the presentation of its enhanced number of castle entries, 30 redrawn and revised coloured reconstruction views and, for the first time, using Paul's comprehensive collection of 65 of his spectacular aerial photographs, taken as a fully qualified and CAA certified commercial drone operator.

The ***Historical Introduction*** (pp. 14-158) sets the scene and explains the ruling aristocracies need for castles, exploring the social and political struggles that characterised the age and the ways in which the rulers of early medieval Wales used castles and other defensive structures to enhance and maintain their status, not just as a reaction to the Norman invasion. Whilst it concentrates on the Princes of Gwynedd, Deheubarth, and Powys, those of the lesser dynasties are equally well covered. The main historical sources used are: *Brut y Tywysogion*, *Historia Gruffudd vab Kenan (or ap Cynan)*, and Gerald of Wales's *The Description of Wales & Journey through Wales*. By combining these strands of information garnered from historical sources with information gained from current archaeological excavation and architectural study, it is possible to construct a picture of the way in which the Welsh castle developed. The author does this admirably through his careful and thoughtful reconstructions - most of which have been revised, incorporating the results of further studies, both his own and professionals in the field.

The following ***Architectural Introduction*** (pp. 159-206) examines the structure of the castles, their design, layout and method of construction. There is a generous section that examines the early earthwork and timber castles attributed to the Welsh. This includes over 40 photographic aerial illustrations of ringworks, mottes and iron-age hill-forts and a discussion of the difficulty of determining origin and ownership - there are 298 mottes and 127 ringworks in Wales. The period is poorly documented from a Welsh point of view, but the first known motte constructed by the Welsh is considered to be Welshpool (Domen Castell) 1111; the first (and only?) ringwork: Llanrhystud (Caer Penrhos) 1149; the first stone castle: Cardigan, 1171. On p. 164 there is a table of the known Welsh earthwork sites - supported by documentary & chronicle evidence - that were built between 1111 & 1233 - 10 sites. These are all described in the main gazetteer section. Included are a further 30 earthworks that appear in the 'Lesser Castles sections' on pp. 263, 305, 332 and 352. However, there is no absolute certainty these are Welsh built - the sites are included because of historical considered opinion. There may be convincing reasons for accepting them as Welsh, but it is a matter of judgment, not established fact. This difficulty in identifying sites is often emphasised, particularly on pages 171-74.

A bird's-eye view of the rock of Carreg Cennen, from the west, the site of an ancient Welsh stronghold rebuilt by English settlers. From 'Castles of Defiance' p. 158.

© Paul Davis

The section on stone castles - the meat of this chapter for architectural historians - traces the evolution of the Welsh building campaigns which probably start with Castell y Bere (1221) and Criccieth (*c.* 1230). It outlines the distinctive characteristics of Welsh planning, towers and strongholds. Dolwyddelan, Dolbadarn and Bere perhaps exhibit these characteristics most strikingly in the 13th century. The chapter includes comparative plans of Welsh and English tower-keeps (193); Welsh and English gatehouses (201) and comparative plans of all the Welsh stone castles - 12 in total - this includes disputed Morgraig, and Caergwrle, which perhaps had some English help (204).

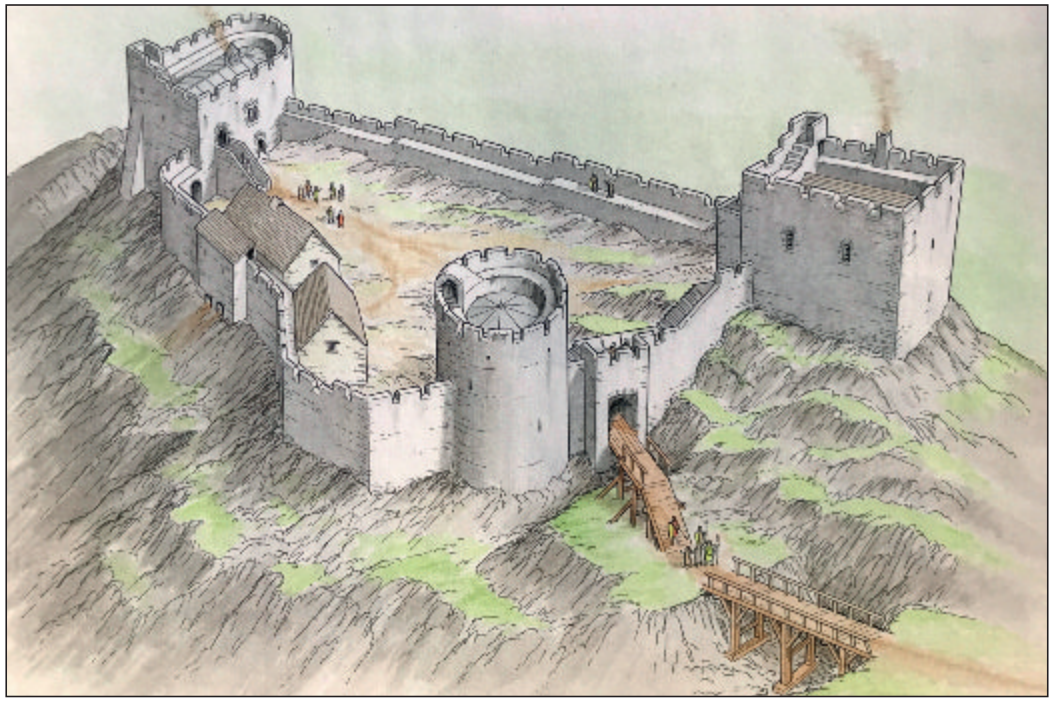
Finally the ***Gazetteer*** section (207-360) then looks at each of the 105 known and presumed Welsh fortifications, organised under the various royal dynasties of medieval Wales. Gwynedd (48 sites), Deheubarth (20 sites) Powys (17 sites) and lesser dynasties (20 sites). Each entry provides a historical and architectural summary of the site, including recent surveys, discoveries and the latest revised interpretations of well-known sites. The author also examines at site level the various architectural designs and layouts that created the distinctive form of the Welsh castle. New additions to this book are large colour-coded ground plans. The colour phasings are very clear - red (Phase 1) yellow (Phase 2) - and pink (Phase 3) all Welsh building campaigns. English work on the same castle - blue (Phase 3 or 4) post-medieval - green; White - Uncertain Date. These colours are consistent throughout the Gazetteer. There are a number of sites where the author has opted for different dates/phasing from those traditionally applied by Cadw in their own ground plans. Approximate dates are usually given in the text.

Illustrated here are two suggested development phases of Castell y Bere. This is perhaps the most controversial interpretation, which differs from Cadw, and it is uncertain if anyone has proposed this sequence of building before. But the phasing order (red, then yellow, finally pink) (see plan p. 225) is, arguably, supported by the stonework albeit very scrappy masonry. Other conjectured multi-phase reconstructions include Dryswlyn.

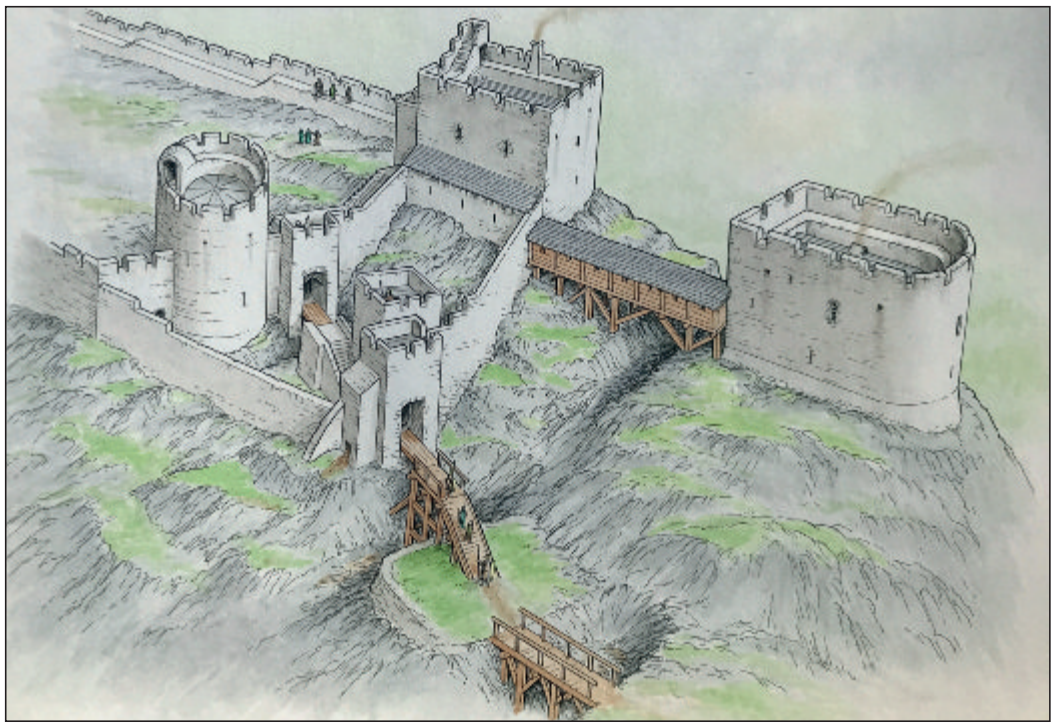
Also, the Criccieth plan (p. 232) is potentially rather controversial and differs to the usual Cadw plan, as the author considers that there is a possibility that the outer ward was built in two stages (yellow and blue). This view was considered by Colin Gresham (Gresham, C. A., 1973, 'The Development of Criccieth Castle' in *Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society* Vol. 34 pp. 14-22) and it is plausibly offered here; also see below.

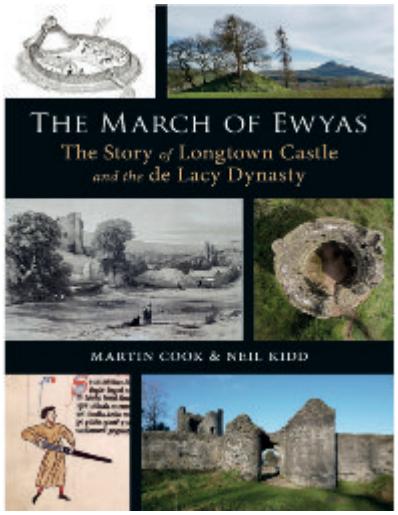
The treatment of some sites attracts greater pages than others. For example Castell y Bere and Dinas Brân (6 pp); Criccieth, Ewloe, Dinefwr (5 pp); Morgraig, Dolforwyn, Dolwyddelan (4-5 pp). Often it is because these sites have attracted recently published new ideas and revisions and the author notes, rehearses and discusses these as space allows. For example, David Stephenson has an article in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (*Arch. Cam*) 164 (2015) 245-253 'A reconsideration of the siting, function and dating of Ewloe castle'. In the same volume Hugh Brodie wrote about 'Apsidal and D-Shaped Towers of the Princes of Gwynedd' (*Arch. Cam*) 164, 231-243. In 2020 David Hopewell published his full excavation report on Carndochan (*Arch. Cam*) 169, 177-207; The origins of Morgraig have frequently invoked controversy, and its origin remains unresolved. The dating of the Criccieth twin-towered gatehouse also comes under scrutiny in Malcolm Hislop's new book *James of St George and the castles of the Welsh Wars,* 28-31. (reviewed elsewhere in this Journal).

The book is well end-noted along with a section on 'References and further reading'. Perhaps one booklet absent from the list is Richard Avent's very fine '*Castles of the Princes of Gwynedd*', 1983 (and subsequently by his follow up 'Castles of the Welsh Princes', *Château Gaillard* 16 (1994), 11-19). Back in 1988, the author - in his first venture into this subject, commented: 'finally the reader is strongly recommended to consult Richard Avent's *Castles of the Princes of Gwynedd*, the inspiration behind the present book'. Paul Davis's *Castles of Defiance* will likewise be an inspiration to all castellologists today. All should find great pleasure in browsing his outstanding aerial views, and in studying the delightful, well-crafted, instructive, and considered bird's-eye view reconstructions. *NG*



Above: Castell y Bere, Merioneth. C. 1221, from the SW. The possible appearance of the castle in the first phase of construction. Below: A later phase of Welsh construction, with a second apsidal tower and enhanced gateway defences. Both illustrations are from 'Castles of Defiance' p. 226





March of Ewyas: The story of Longtown Castle and the de Lacy dynasty

Authors: Martin Cook and Neil Kidd
Publisher: Logaston Press
Pb: 254 pp.
ISBN: 978-1-910839-47-8
Price: £12.95
Published: January 2021
Reviewed by Dan Tietzsch-Tyler

This book is one of a series on castles of the Welsh Borders published by Logaston Press in recent years, beginning with Ludlow in 2000, Chepstow in 2006, Usk in 2008 and Goodrich in 2013. Each of these provides an in-depth analysis of the latest thinking on the architecture and archaeology of the particular castle, set in the wider context of its associated history, including its post-medieval decline and antiquarian and modern revival. As such these books have proved to be an invaluable asset to those involved in castle research in Britain and Ireland. This writer, then, expected much from another book in the series, this time on Longtown Castle.

The front and back covers of the book feature eight images: a photograph of the nearby motte of Ponthendre and a generic reconstruction of a motte and bailey castle; four images of Longtown Castle - two photographs, an Antiquarian drawing and a new reconstruction drawing; a reconstruction drawing illustrating the development of the site; and a contemporary drawing of Hugh de Lacy. Yet of twenty chapters only three relate specifically to Longtown castle and one to the motte and bailey castle at Ponthendre. Two further chapters cover the archaeological excavations carried out in 2016 and 2017 at both places. The bulk of the book's 20 chapters relate the long history of part of the borderlands of southeast Wales, the titular medieval March of Ewyas.

The book is popularly-written and an easy read, described from the beginning as an 'historical whodunnit', that sets itself eight questions to answer through community archaeological excavation and related historical research, something the authors consider achieved by its conclusion.

Those CSG members who attended the 2016 conference in Hereford should recall Longtown Castle as the first stop of the first full day. Its outstanding feature is a cylindrical Great Tower (the older term 'keep' is used throughout the book) with three symmetrically spaced half-round buttresses, two essentially solid and one, mostly lost now, that contained a spiral stair. The tower sits on top of a motte situated at the northwestern apex of a roughly triangular inner bailey which is entered via a narrow gate passage set between two solid D-shaped turrets in its nearly complete southern curtain wall. These masonry remains themselves occupy the northwest corner of a large rectangular space known as Castle Green, enclosed by a high bank and the vestiges of an external ditch.

Chapter 2 in the book very briefly describes the masonry castle remains, while Chapter 3 asks why Longtown should have a cylindrical Great Tower. Here the authors take an early but not the first swipe at academic historians, dismissing the widely-held notion that round towers might be superior to square or

rectangular towers. They also dismiss the notion that Rochester's square corners contributed to the partial collapse of its Great Tower in 1215, based on a 2009 unpublished report, cited in the chapter notes but not in the bibliography.

Chapter 1 in the book describes very briefly the motte and bailey castle at Ponthendre, 1.25km south of Longtown Castle, with some generic discussion of motte and bailey castles as a whole. Two short seasons of excavation at Ponthendre together with the parallel excavations at Longtown are the subject of Chapter 4. The excavations at Ponthendre found no evidence that the motte and bailey was ever completed with any timber structures, but that it was probably abandoned unfinished.

The excavations at Longtown were confined to the eastern side of Castle Green. These were more productive. Significantly, they provided the first evidence of Roman occupation and thus appear to confirm the popular view that the Green was originally a small Roman fort. Excavation of the enclosing bank discovered three phases: an early bank constructed of turf blocks, probably Roman, that was raised significantly with earth and clay at some later date, here thought to be the 1050s. Later a further third of a metre was added to its height. However, once again, there was no evidence of a timber palisade or timber revetment on the enlarged bank.

Chapter 5 analyses and interprets the excavation results, again rather dismissively of previous research suggestions when considering Ponthendre. A trench in the southeast corner of Castle Green is interesting. The authors interpret the older of two deposits of dumped building material separated by a layer of twelfth-century occupational debris found there to represent a reduction in height of the original motte to accommodate the masonry Great Tower.

This, the authors conclude, dates the Great Tower to sometime before the end of the twelfth century, contrary to the general opinion of academic castellologists that it was probably built by Walter II de Lacy around 1220 (Ludlow 2018, 249; Guy 2016, 29; Hislop 2016, 125). In Chapter 19 the authors discuss who might possibly have built the castle. After interrogating and dismissing the usual suspects, particularly Hugh II de Lacy and Walter II de Lacy (lords also of Meath in Ireland), the authors conclude that the most likely candidate is the little-known Gilbert de Lacy, father of Hugh II, who abandoned the de Lacy estates in 1158 to join the Templars, meeting his death on crusade around 1163. This dates the masonry castle and its Great Tower to the 1150s, half a century before the 'archetypical' British cylindrical Great Tower was begun at Pembroke and much earlier than almost all previous historical opinion.

However, there is a trend towards earlier dates for cylindrical Great towers in these islands, and for their close cousins, polygonal Great Towers (also generally dated in Britain and Ireland to after 1200), dates closer to mid-twelfth-century as is common in France. Chris Caple has suggested that the masonry castle at Nevern in Pembrokeshire, which also has a cylindrical Great Tower capping an earlier motte, was probably built in the 1150s by Rhys ap Gruffudd, (Caple 2016, 384-7). New research at the Snodhill Castle, 11km north of Longtown, suggests that its unusually asymmetrical polygonal Great Tower built on an earlier motte may date from the 1160s (Crook 2021), about the same time as Henry II began the first of his polygonal Great Towers at Orford.

Chapters 6 to 17 tell the story of the March of Ewyas, from prehistoric times (6), through Roman occupation (7), the Dark Ages (8), Welsh, Viking and Anglo-Saxon skirmishes (9) and the Norman conquest (10), before running through the de Lacy lords in turn (11-16) and since (17). The de Lacy chapters tell in an easily digestible manner the medieval history of the southern Welsh March, somewhat greater than Ewyas Lacy, up to the demise of the de Lacy dynasty in

1241. Much of it echoes the published work of Colin Veach, referenced in the notes and included in the bibliography (Veach 2014).

For this reviewer, of the wide-ranging pre-de Lacy chapters, only those dealing with the Roman and the Anglo-Saxon periods held any interest. The story of the 1st century Roman campaign in southeast Wales is told from the point of view of the establishment of the Roman fort at Longtown and the Roman roads around it. One could question some of the authors' conclusions. Why would the small campaign fort be placed across the Roman highway between the important centres of Abergavenny and Clifford and not alongside it so as not to obstruct passing traffic, as was the case with so many smaller Roman forts in the north of England?

More importantly, if Stone Street, the Roman road from Kenchester (Roman Magnis) to Abergavenny, still identifiable between the rivers Wye and Dore northeast of Longtown, did not have to cross both the Escley Brook and the River Monnow to reach Longtown fort, but instead crossed just the Monnow less than a mile further downstream, it might explain why the decision to start a castle at Ponthendre – to oversee this important river crossing into Welsh territory – before relocating it to the more secure partly-preserved Roman fort safely protected within the confluence of two rivers (the Monnow and Olchon Brook).

Another niggle is over the authors' assertion that the enhanced embankment of the old Roman fort was the work in 1055 of earl Harold Godwinson of Wessex, later the ill-fated King Harold. That year Harold was sent by Edward the Confessor to meet an invasion from Wales into Herefordshire. Part of Harold's army camped in Wales west of the River Dore and the authors make a case that the enhanced bank around Castle Green was the work of Harold's forces. While this is quite possible, if unprovable, this writer cannot see why the bank and ditch are not Norman work, defining the first large bailey associated with the motte at its northwest corner.

Additionally, the authors refer to the inner bailey's south curtain with the twin-turreted gateway as inserted into a larger walled bailey occupying the west half of Castle Green. A detailed survey map from 1931 suggests instead that the turn at the east end of the curtain is a primary angle, and that the small remnant of curtain further south, at a different angle from the rest of the east curtain, is secondary. An alternative story might be that when the Great Tower was erected on the motte a small triangular masonry bailey was also created, much as was the case at nearby Snodhill in the late 11th century (Crook 2021). At some later date, when Castle Green became too large for requirements a much smaller outer bailey was created to the south of the inner bailey, and the road which exists to this day was only then cut through the defensive bank east of the castle to link more directly settlements to the north and the south.

The book is well illustrated throughout, including with simple reconstruction drawings and with many maps. Arguably there are too many maps and not always with the information on them that they seem to illustrate. Too often this reviewer found himself paging back and forth to find a map with the information he wanted.

Dan Tietzsch-Tyler

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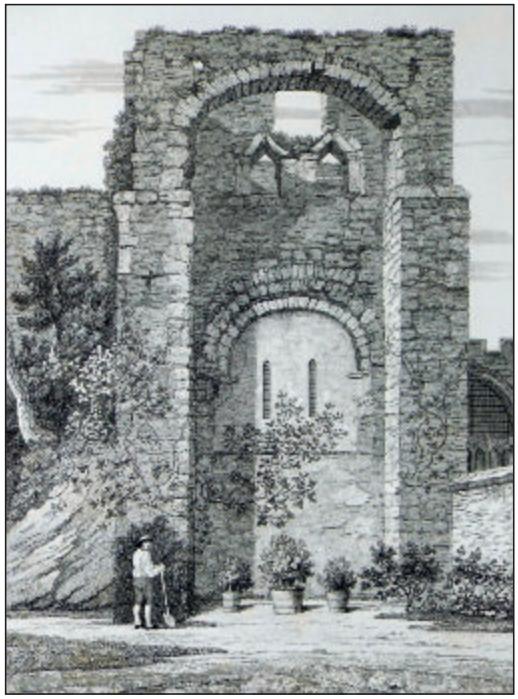
ROUGEMONT, EXETER:
A MEDIEVAL CASTLE IN ITS
URBAN CONTEXT
EXCAVATION AND BUILDING RECORDING
AT EXETER CASTLE , 1985-2016

Stuart Blaylock and Robert Higham

Rougemont Castle - Front cover - a bird's eye view from the northwest in 2010. Detail of the Inner Bailey, (courtesy of Roger D. Smith ABIPP).



'Remains of Exeter Castle' by Letitia Byrne after J. Farington, 1822. From Lysons and Lysons. Pl. 20.

The celebrated Norman 1070 gateway / barbican viewed from the south. The gate arch is now blocked.

Rougemont, Exeter: a medieval castle in its urban context. Excavation and building recording at Exeter castle, 1985–2016.

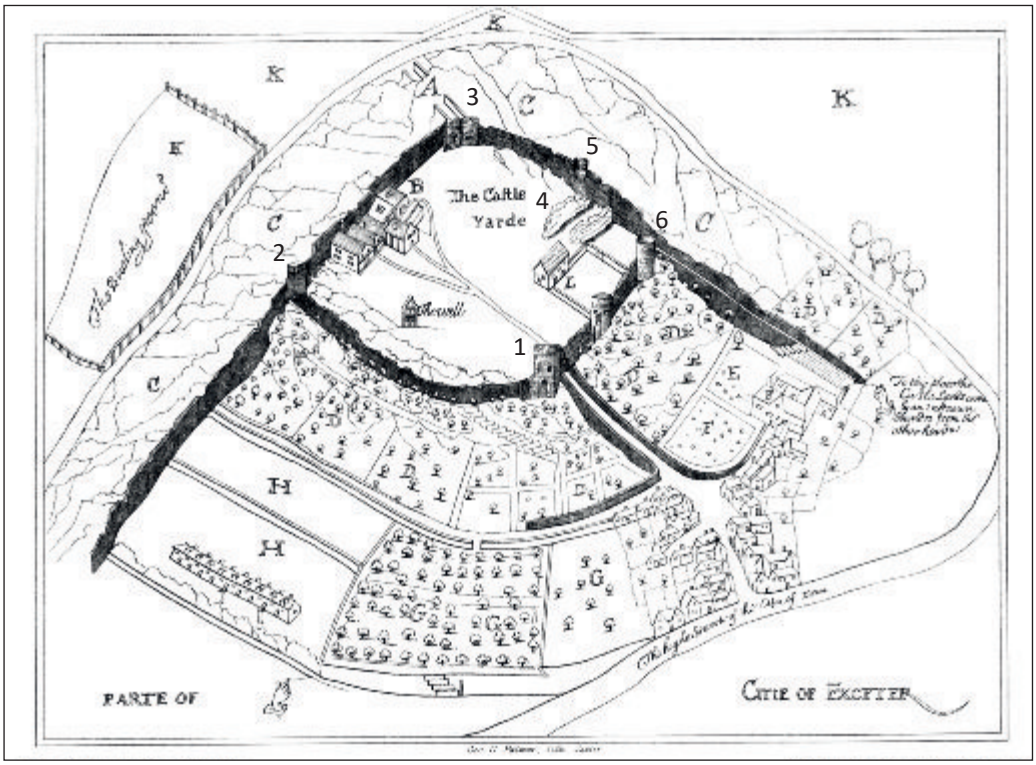
Authors: Stuart Blaylock & Robert Higham
Publisher: Devon Archaeological Society Monograph 2, supported by Exeter City Council and Historic England.
Hbk & Pb, A4 size. 194 pp
Published: September 2021
Price: £22.00 + p&p / £15.00 + p&p
Reviewer: Neil Guy

The softback volume is sold @ £15 plus £3.20 p&p = £18.20, reduced to CSG members to £15. Hardback is £22 plus p&p = £25.20, reduced to CSG members to £22. Those members wishing to buy should contact: publicationsofficer@devonarchaeologicalsociety.org.uk

'Exeter, as a historic town, has undergone three major disasters in the course of the last 70 years. The first was the German bombing in May 1942 when some 38 acres of the built up area suffered total destruction or serious damage. The other two were self-inflicted: further destruction and dismal rebuilding in the course of regeneration in the 1950s, and a further bout of destruction of historic buildings and street plan in the 1970s and 1980s in the course of inner city redevelopment. As a result, one may find individual buildings and some areas of great interest, but what was once one of the country's major historic towns is now only a gathering of fragments'.[1] The castle was left relatively unscathed in the 20th century .

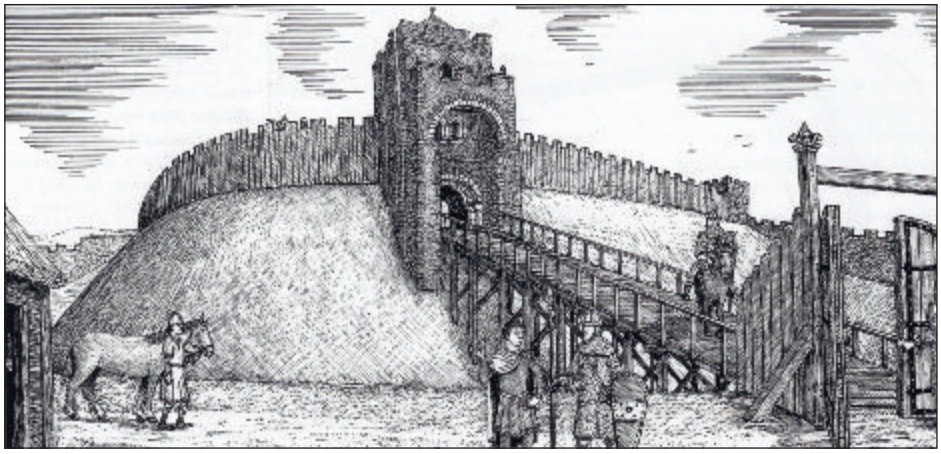
For the last 35 years Exeter castle has been the focus of multiple episodes of archaeological survey and recording, under the initiatives, research and field work of Stuart Blaylock, Robert Higham and many other professional colleagues, individuals and bodies (see Acknowledgements p. xvii). The monograph, in an enviably clear format, now pulls together the different strands of the site's evolution within a single narrative. It illuminates not only the castle's Norman and later medieval phases, but also its much-debated Anglo-Saxon 'pre-castle' sequence and elements of its post-medieval afterlife.

[1] Andrew Saunders: '*Exploring England's Heritage: Devon and Cornwall*, 1981 (London, HMSO, published in association with English Heritage) p. 28.



A 19th century facsimile of John Norden's plan of Exeter - Rougemont castle in 1617. The original coloured version is in the British Library: (BL Add. 6027, ff.80v-81). A copy of Norden's original survey plan is reproduced in the monograph (Fig. 9). It shows the remains of a possible lost tower/chamber block (4) NE of the chapel 'L'.

There is great clarity in the logical presentation of the wealth of accumulated material available and this is especially well illustrated in **Chapters Two and Three,** discussing the origins of the castle, documentary evidence for the castle's structures and selected cartographic and pictorial sources. The latter includes over 28 high resolution antiquarian images / plans of the castle, dating from 1600 (BL Add MS 5027A, fo. 70) to the Victorian era, presented chronologically. Some of the early manuscript plans are held by the British Library, but many more are only found from local sources (not usually found with online researching) and are of outstanding value in understanding the location, topography and form of original features of the castle, many of which are now lost or reduced. For example, whilst the celebrated south gatetower is rightly discussed at length (Fabric Recording of the Castle Gatehouse, 1985 - Chapter 6, pp. 57-66), today, the equivalent northern gatehouse (3) has completely disappeared. However early prints describe and illustrate it as a significant gateway entrance bearing comparison in size and strength with the south gate suggesting a similar context to that of Lincoln castle (figs. 6, 9, 12, 14, 15, 18, 25, 26). This gate was also blocked up and a sally port introduced beside it, before its destruction in the 1770s along with an adjacent stretch of city wall, when the new courthouses were built. The popular view of Rougemont castle, perhaps conditioned by well-known antiquarian prints such as F. Grose/ S. Sparrow (artist/engraver), 1784 (fig. 19), and Francis Jukes (engraver, after W. Davey artist), 1794 (fig. 22), is limited to the surviving 1070s south gateway, and suggests that there is not much more to see. That is far from the case now, but even so, the areas directly within the Inner Bailey, now operating commercially, appear to be equally inaccessible, as it was previously when the law courts were formally functioning.



Rougemont c. 1090-1100. Reconstruction drawing of the Inner Bailey and gate. Richard Parker, Exeter Archaeology (2004). Onsite display panel. The gateway roofline is conjectural. From fig. 58.

Chapter 6 - Fabric Recording of the Gatehouse, 1985.

The gatetower (1) (preferred here rather than gatehouse) has a claim to be the earliest secular standing building in the city, and possibly the earliest piece of Norman castle architecture in England. Cherry & Pevsner describe it as 'the best preserved early Norman gatehouse keep in the country.[2]

The reader is presented with a detailed description and analysis of the 1070s gatetower, although when built it was evidently without any latrines or fireplaces - which remains the case today. So while there were possibly three or even four floors it remains uncertain whether the wall sockets were for joists/floor beams or were putlog holes; there are therefore doubts about them being viable habitable chambers. The first 'floor' - is very low and is without any light (Fig. 49). It is clear that the gate-passage was always unvaulted. The writers readily acknowledge that 'the evidence for internal floor levels is confusing', and note (p. 62) a suggestion by Dr. David Mercer that one chamber might represent a belfry, and the beam sockets might have supported a bellframe (forthcoming).

There is a good photograph of surviving Norman billet ornament on the abacus of the second floor window embrasure (the windows with the Anglo-Saxon style triangular heads) (fig. 53). Like the cushion capitals below, both are motifs of undoubted Norman inspiration - neither of which figure in pre-conquest architecture (Fernie 2000, 211, 278-9). A suggestion is made that the 'blend of architectural styles was allowed as a deliberate expedient to give the native population some visible emblem in the structure which represented their new source of royal government'.

Each chapter concludes with a summary 'Discussion' where the subject of the chapter is opened up to ideas about origins, parallels, dating, affinities, and continental influences. This chapter concludes with a useful page illustrating 10 vignettes of early Norman gatetowers / gatehouses within the UK (p. 65). The discussion is distilled down to three possible 'roots' for its turriform design: that it derives from English antecedents; possibly in the form of tower gatehouses to Saxon private burhs or perhaps church towers with galleries; or from Norman antecedents (in Normandy) (discussed pp. 12, 66, 67 Château Ganne; Arques-la-Bataille); or that this was a development in the aftermath of 1068. The options encapsulate a core problem when studying the Norman conquest. To visualise the probable original configuration, Richard Parker has produced excellent pen-and-ink reconstruction drawings of the gatetower (and other elements of the castle (Figs. 57, 58, 111) and is shown above.

[2]B. Cherry and N. Pevsner, 1989, *The Buildings of England, Devon*, 399. The monograph has been very careful not to use the word 'keep' throughout, but simply a gatehouse (or gatetower).

Athelstan's Tower, from the S now approached from outside the bailey. The photo shows the C19 stair turret abutting the Norman square curtain tower behind it.

Athelstan's Tower from the NW, from outside the Roman city wall, showing two of the three central pilasters, which are usually diagnostic of dating.

Athelstan's Tower, 1992. Chapter 7

Athelstan's Tower is a solid masonry tower at the north-western corner of the castle where the curtain wall of the Inner Bailey meets the city wall (see '2' on the Norden view). It extends or projects out from the curtain wall and appears to post-date the early Norman timber palisade (p. 71). The view above shows a 19th-century stair turret added on the south side - the turret suitably built in a fashion that complements the Norman square tower behind it. The path leading to it is actually outside the inner bailey curtain, but still inside the city wall (figs. 59-62). The name is misleading as no Saxon work is present. The writers consider that the tower dates to the early 12th century perhaps coeval with or built just after the stone wall was added to the bank of the inner bailey (which is now thought to pre-date Stephen's siege of 1136). Surveys and detailed stone-for stone elevations were compiled.

A modern passage was cut through the solid masonry of the tower giving access to the outside of the north curtain. Central pilaster buttresses on the W, N and E continue to below the plinth for three or four courses before dying into the battered base (above right) (Figs. 62, 63). The solid construction implies that the tower was intended to be used solely for the defence of the inner bailey.

In the 'Discussion' section, (p. 77) it is noted that the large rectangular base probably survives from an earlier structure that may not have been continued or there was a change of plan. The style of the present Norman tower has similarities with late-11th- and early-12th-century buildings seen elsewhere in Exeter, especially with its use of pilasters. Interestingly two other semi-circular towers or bastions, John's Tower and the Eastern Angle Tower on the eastern side of the castle enclosure (marked 5 and 6 respectively on the Norden plan) are dateable to the late 12th or early 13th century and also include external pilasters - a quite late feature for this format (but *cf*. Kenilworth - Lunn's Tower - a work by King John c. 1200). It is felt that the most likely date for the main core of Athelstan's tower falls into the early - mid 12th century. The battlements are 19th century additions or rebuilds.

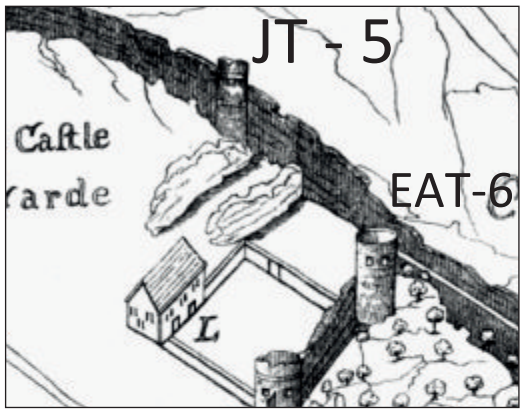
The section of curtain wall on the exterior of the north side of the Inner Bailey, where the Norman castle utilised the pre-existing city wall and added extra height. Seen embedded in the wall are Roman foundations, overlaid by Anglo-Saxon walling, which included crenellations. See monograph Figs. 65, 68-69.

The Roman and Anglo-Saxon evidence

This concerns Chapter 8, 'Fabric Recording of the City Wall in Northenhay Gardens on the NW side of the castle, culminating in 1993-4' (the curtain wall east and west of Athelstan's Tower (Figs. 65-67). Considerable Roman masonry remains in place, including the wall plinth and masonry extending to near the original wall top, about 5m about the plinth. These walls also include Saxon layers, including a crenellated parapet, (in white Triassic sandstone) and, in fact a total of six accretive layers are identifiable (p. 83, and Figs. 70-72). Many of these layers are also observed to the west of Athelstan's tower (fig. 66), especially from Northenhay Gardens. All these features are publicly accessible. The development of the city wall and castle, as viewed from the SE is helpfully reconstructed schematically in Fig. 69.

All this accumulative survey work, going back to the work of Ian Burrow in the 1970s, has finally led to the full realisation that the wall is preserved to its full height in many places and there is much more Roman work extant than hitherto considered. A second discovery is the identification of the phase of work in white Triassic sandstone in which a crenellated parapet can be seen on top of the Roman fabric. Built to a constant, consistent level on both sides of Athelstan's Tower, but infilled by later Norman work on the NE side of the tower. The span of the work, the fact that it predates the Norman heightening of the curtain and the distinct character of the masonry, combine to suggest the work represents a pre-Conquest parapet added to the top of the Roman wall after a period of dilapidation - a very rare survival. The Exeter Saxon parapet is probably unique in England. The authors note that there are some early crenellations at Canterbury, fossilized when a church was built over them, but dating is less certain.

Contexts for the Exeter crenellations and parapet could be by Alfred between 880-892, or equally under Athelstan (925-39) who is said by William of Malmesbury to have constructed a wall of squared stones at Exeter. A detailed discussion of this period is outlined in Chapter 11.



Detail from the 1617 Norden plan - Inner Bailey - east - showing curtain wall towers / bastions. Below JT-5 are the unexplained (Norden) footings of a tower?

John's Tower and Eastern Angle Tower - Chp 9

John's Tower (JT - 5) (pp. 100-101, Fig. 82) is mid-way along the the north-east inside of the Inner Bailey. It appears more of a semi-circular bastion constructed sometime in the first half of the 13th century (p. 100, fig 82) but was probably originally a fully round tower two or three storeys. It was converted into a gazebo in the late 18th or 19th century. No archaeological recording has been done in recent times. HKW gives the name of three towers that were ruinous in the 1270s (Goundevyle, Peruele and Penne de Or Towers) but these cannot be linked to specific towers. It can be seen externally along the walk on the east side of Northenhay Gardens. Research has not found any connection with King John. Externally it is defined by a series of shallow pilaster buttresses. Further work is required to see if this was originally open-backed and has been cut down in height.

The Eastern Angle Tower (EAT - 6) appears similar (pp. 94-97 Fig. 79) but is solid to current wall-walk height. The bastion belongs wholly to the castle's defence facing the Outer Bailey, rather than to outside the city wall. Externally it can only be seen clearly (in the winter) from the grounds of adjacent Bradninch Hall. It cannot be accessed as it lies within the curtilage of the 1770s court houses, buildings now privatised, functioning as a hospitality, wedding and conference venue with some apartment rentals. The courts moved out in 2004.

General Discussion - Chapter 11

Exeter castle is a classic example of an 'urban castle' - that is - a Norman castle planted into an already ancient town; it bears comparison to Chester, Lancaster, York, Lincoln, and perhaps Winchester. In addition to carefully defining and explaining the archaeology of Norman developments, a powerful overarching theme threaded through the entire monograph is the emphasis placed on its active Saxon prehistory.

This final chapter deals with the matter in some depth, and at some length, arguing lucidly for the castle area of Rougemont (the Norman name for the raised ground in the NE corner of the city), having a pre-Conquest life, suggesting through various strands of evidence, some material and some inferred, for a (putative) 'pre-Norman royal enclave'. Evidence includes Saxon graveyard burials and the authors even mulled over the idea of 'whether the gatehouse could be a transformation of the tower of a late-Saxon church whose other elements were demolished when the castle was built'. But they discounted the idea of the gatetower being a 'transformed church tower' as it appears to be a unitary construction and the forward 'wings' leading to the high-arched barbican would make little sense on a church.

A telling comment is made: 'Curiously, it may be that the recent excavation(s) have to some extent vindicated ideas held by Victorian and earlier scholars (pp 141-2) who did not have hard evidence in their support for Saxon origins but who employed a sort of lateral thinking with which 20th-century scholarship dispensed'.

The authors close their remarks by suggesting two dimensions that are deserving of comparative treatment at the national level. First, all single tower gateways found in castles and town walls would bear further analysis to establish their inspirations, common features and differences. There is much to be gleaned about their defensive qualities and their more social functions. Second, the data from all Norman urban castles where pre-castle occupation is known, should be analysed (ideally further excavated) to test the hypotheses suggested (here) for Exeter and else-

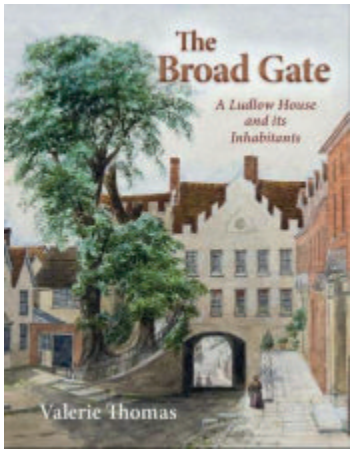
Above: John's Tower (JT-5) or bastion mid-way along the north-eastern curtain now converted into a Georgian gazebo. The gazebo interior is not accessible. Taken from Northernhay Gardens. The remains of the Norman earthworks are piled up against the base of these city walls. Monograph Fig. 74 p. 91.

Below: The Eastern Angle Tower from the grounds of Bradninch Hall, looking north, from monograph Fig. 79. p 97.

where. The relative importance of legacy and conquest, of continuity and cataclysm are crucial to any such analysis.

One of the keys to the excellence of this monograph is the diligence and continuity of the authors and other personnel involved, working together and living with this project for some 40 years. Such close continuity of research and accumulated knowledge has created a coherent narrative allowing ideas and free- (lateral) thinking to mellow, mature and be consolidated. This unbroken, expert and consistent professional joint endeavour now bears fruit. It allows the authors to write with authority. Another key is their undogmatic approach - offering the readers different lines of open-minded possibilities for resolving dates, origins, affinities and being prepared to be honest about past oversights, which time and further research has now clarified.

NG

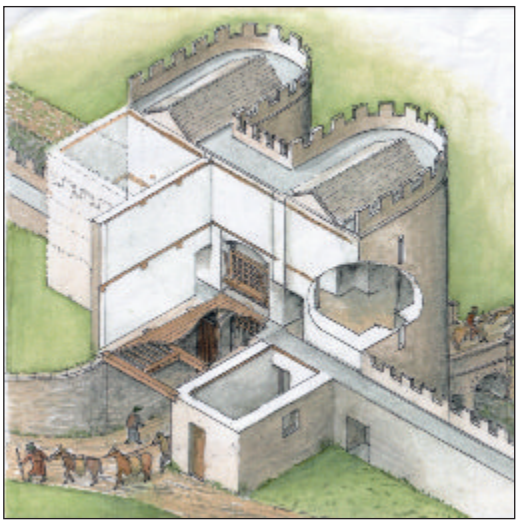


The Broad Gate: A Ludlow House and its Inhabitants
Author: Valerie Thomas
Publisher: Left Field Editions
HB, pp 248
ISBN-10 : 1527266966
ISBN-13 : 978-1527266964
Date: November 2020
Price: £25.00

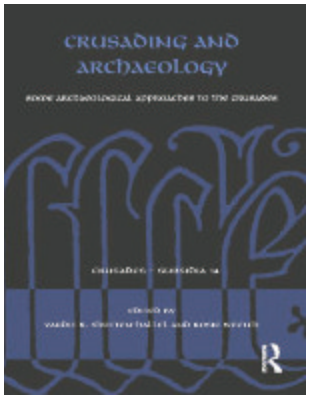
This lavish and well-written book is a mixture of architectural, social and family history, covering three hundred years. The Broad Gate is a Georgian Gothick house, well-known to visitors to Ludlow as it crosses the foot of Broad Street. It is built onto the back of the last remaining medieval gatehouse in the town wall. The author traces the lives of the professional families who lived in the house from around 1700 to the end of the twentieth century, and whose ambitions and connections in the surrounding area shaped the house we see today.

It is not a forensic analysis of the architecture and historical events in the medieval period, but confirms the general dating of the gatehouse to c. 1300 and focuses on how the interiors were used - jail, brewhouse etc and how they changed and were updated with successive owners. The book is generously illustrated with high-quality delightful, and rarely seen images, antiquarian paintings, old postcards and internal views of the unspoilt classical Georgian rooms. Floor plans are included showing how various families expanded into attached properties.

The Broad Gate, Ludlow. Artist's impression (Peter Brears) of how the gate may have appeared in the late 13th/ early 14th century. View from the south. © Valerie Thomas.



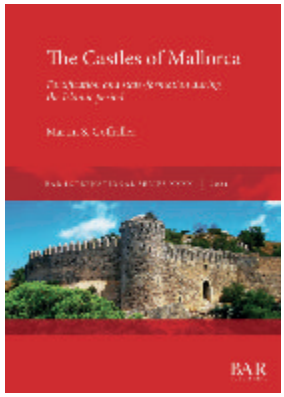
The Broad Gate, Ludlow. Artist's impression (Peter Brears) of the gatehouse, including later extensions, and a cut-away section showing the portcullis arrangement. View from the northwest. © Valerie Thomas.



Crusading and Archaeology: Some Archaeological Approaches to the Crusades

Editors Vardit R. Shotten-Hallel, Rosie Weetch
Routledge (Taylor & Francis)
ISBN 9781138308220
HB. 432 Pages 12 Colour & 148 B/W Illustrations
Published November 4, 2020 by Routledge
Price Hb: £120.00. Ebook: 33.29

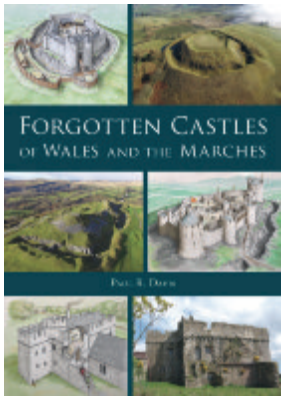
Between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, the social and cultural worlds of medieval Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean were transformed by the religious impetus of the crusades. Today we bear witness to these transformations in the material and environmental record revealed by new archaeological excavations and reappraisals of museum collections. This volume highlights new archaeological knowledge being developed by scholars working in the fields of history, archaeology, numismatics, and architecture to demonstrate its potential to change our understanding of the crusades. The 16 chapters deploy a contemporary scientific approach to archaeology of the crusades to give an up-to-date account into the diverse range of research. They explore five key themes: the implications of scientific methods, new excavations and surveys, architectural analyses, sigillography, and the application of social interpretations. Together these chapters provide a new way of approaching the study of the crusades, and demonstrate the value of taking a holistic view that utilises the full diverse range of evidence available to us.



The Castles of Mallorca: Fortification and state-formation during the Islamic period

Author: Martin S. Goffriller
BAR Publishing (S3024)
Paperback: 219 pages
ISBN: 9781407357607
Published 2021
Price £51.00

This research presents a study in the dynamics of territorial control of the island of Mallorca from ca. 902-1300 AD, with the aim of providing the first holistic and systematic study of the known Islamic fortresses of this island and determining the reasons which account for the lack of the so-called hisn/qarya complex there. The scientific focus of this project explores the effects that island contexts may have had on the identity-forming processes of their population and how these in turn affect the socio-political makeup of these 'bounded' polities. More specifically, in the case of Mallorca the core of this study is devoted to the relation between the hinterland fortifications of the Islamic period and the island's capital city Madīna Mayūrqa, concluding that due to the relative isolation of Mallorca's segmentary communities from their mainland analogues they evolved a distinctive meta-identity which gradually supplanted their traditional tribal allegiances and redefined their relation with the state and political authority in general. Discussed at length are also the mechanisms of territorial and administrative integration of Islamic Mayūrqa into the feudal structures of the Kingdom of Aragon in the aftermath of the Catalan conquest of 1229.

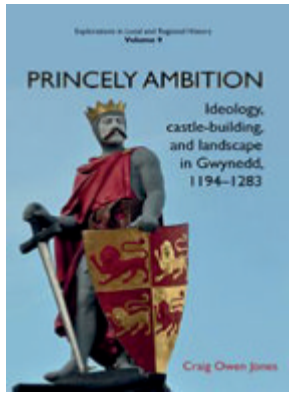


Forgotten Castles of Wales & the Marches

Author: Paul R. Davis
Publisher: Logaston Press
Paperback | 208 pages | 242 x 171 mm | Revised & extended edition
colour illustrations
ISBN 978-1-910839-52-2
Published October/November 2021.
Price: £15.00

Wales is a land of castles. The best known are probably those built in the thirteenth century under King Edward I to defeat the native princes, but the most numerous lie across the south of the country and along the border with England, in the region known as the Welsh Marches. These areas were fought over in centuries of conflict, from the initial Norman invasion through to the Glyndŵr Rebellion and into the Civil Wars that erupted between King and Parliament.

The remains of many castles are well cared for by Cadw or English Heritage, but a far from insignificant number are virtually forgotten, solitary on their isolated hillsides, buried in sand dunes, or hidden in overgrown woodland. This book considers over 60 such castles in detail: the reasons why they were built, the story of the people who ordered their construction, the architectural development of the buildings, the causes of their eventual decay and directions to help the reader find what remains to be seen. The stories that bring these forgotten castles to life are enhanced by photographs and reconstruction drawings

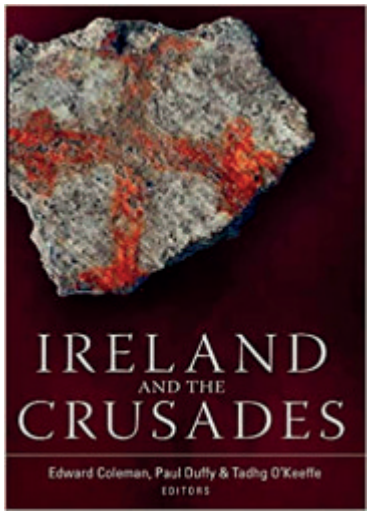


Princely Ambition: Ideology, castle-building and landscape in Gwynedd, 1194–1283

Author: Craig Owen Jones
Publisher: University of Hertfordshire Press
Pb: 256 pp
Price: £16.99
To be published: Feb 2022

While the Edwardian castles of Conwy, Beaumaris, Harlech and Caernarfon are rightly hailed as outstanding examples of castle architecture, the castles of the native Welsh princes are far more enigmatic. Where some dominate their surroundings as completely as any castle of Edward I, others are concealed in the depths of forests, or tucked away in the corners of valleys, their relationship with the landscape of which they are a part far more difficult to discern than their English counterparts. This ground-breaking book seeks to analyse the castle-building activities of the native princes of Wales in the thirteenth century. Whereas early castles were built to delimit territory and as an expression of Llywelyn I ab Iorwerth's will to power following his violent assumption of the throne of Gwynedd in the 1190s, by the time of his grandson Llywelyn II ap Gruffudd's later reign in the 1260s and 1270s, the castles' prestige value had been superseded in importance by an understanding of the need to make the polity he created - the Principality of Wales - defensible.

See: https://www.herts.ac.uk/uhpress/books-content/princely-ambition



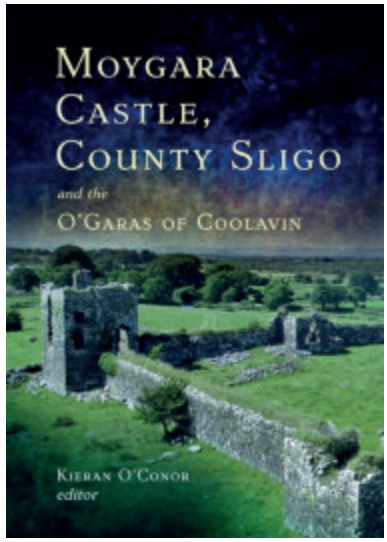
Ireland and the crusades

Edward Coleman, Paul Duffy & Tadhg O'Keeffe, editors
Publisher: Four Courts Press
256 pp, colour ills.
Hb ISBN 978-1-84682-861-4
To be published April 2022
€55 / £50 / $74.50

The crusades – a broad term encompassing a disparate series of military expeditions, with the avowed intent of preserving/expanding Christianity and the heterodoxy of the Roman Church – were a quintessential phenomenon of moral and religious life in medieval Europe. Traditionally, Ireland's connection with the crusades has been seen to be slight. In recent years, however, new research has begun to replace this view with a more nuanced picture. This is an interdisciplinary volume of essays from leading scholars working in this field, which re-examines Ireland's connection to the crusading movement in its many forms.

Contributors include:Jean Michel-Picard; Maeve Callan; Ciaran McDonnell; Helen J. Nicholson; Dave Swift; Kathyrn Hurlock; Emer Purcell.

Edward Coleman, lecturer and assistant professor in the School of History, UCD. Paul Duffy, senior archaeologist with IAC Archaeology. Tadhg O'Keeffe, full professor in the School of Archaeology, UCD.



Moygara Castle, County Sligo and the O'Garas of Coolavin

Editor: Kieran O'Conor
Publisher:
Hb |224 pp | large format |colour illus.
ISBN: 978-1-84682-797-6
Available: July 2022
Price: Euros 40.50.

Moygara Castle, with its four towers, gatehouse and high curtain walls, is one of the most impressive masonry-built monuments in north Connacht. Constructed in the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century by the O'Garas, the castle functioned as a centre of their lordship of Coolavin.

This study of Moygara Castle marshals various fields of expertise – history, archaeology, architecture, geography, genealogy, geophysical survey and DNA analysis – to provide much-needed information about life in later-medieval Gaelic Ireland.

Contributors include Anne Connon, Phyl Foley, Rory Sherlock, Paul M. Kerrigan, Kevin Barton, Kieran O'Conor, Maura O'Gara-O'Riordan, Máire Ní Chearbhaill.

Kieran O'Conor is senior lecturer in the School of Geography and Archaeology, National University of Ireland, Galway.

Tattershall Castle and the newly-built personality of Ralph Lord Cromwell

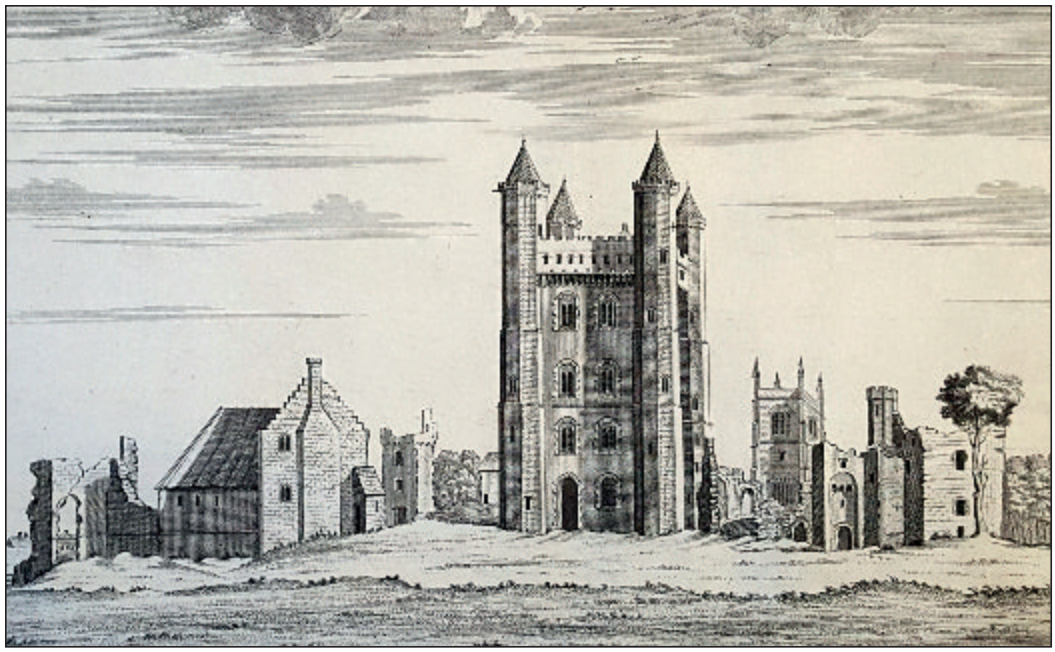
James Wright FSA

This is the title of a stimulating 32 page essay in the latest edition of the Society of Antiquaries annual journal - *The Antiquaries Journal 2021*. It is a byproduct of James' PhD on Tattershall.

In the course of researching for his doctoral thesis James surveyed much of Tattershall's remaining buildings and studied antiquarian plans drawings and documentation including existing household accounts that go back to the 1430s. The essay is supplemental to the PhD material and can be accessed via CambridgeCore:
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003581520000505

'Tattershall Castle (Lincolnshire, UK) was built for the Lord Treasurer of England, Ralph Cromwell, in the mid-fifteenth century. Cromwell was a skilled politician who rose from relative obscurity via royal service; however, he never attained high social rank and made significant enemies in the royal council. He is noted to have been a prickly and self-righteous individual who wore his new-found status in society with towering pride. The architecture of Cromwell's major building project at Tattershall offers clues towards his personality. Architectural details – grouped and repeated motifs such as ancient family armorials, the Treasurer's purse and the truculent motto 'Have I not right?' – may reveal fault lines and anxieties about Ralph's relative place in society as he struggled for political survival'.

The essay (and PhD) neatly parallels and complements the paper on Tattershall by Pamela Marshall (*Château Gaillard* 29, pp 263-271 - 'The 15th Century Great Tower at Tattershall Castle: Aspiration, Display and the Practicalities of Social Distinction'). The CG29 paper was developed by a CSG Zoom-webinar by Pamela on April 28th.



Tattershall from the west. William Millicent, 1727. (Slightly cropped). From the Coleraine Collection at the Society of Antiquaries of London. Reproduced with thanks. All the similarly-dated views are usually from the east. This rare view gives new insights into the then existing buildings, particularly around the kitchen/well-house block. See CSGJ33 p. 148 for further details. Originally published in Christina Gascoigne's 'Castles of Britain' as a two-page spread Title Page. (Thames & Hudson, 1975).