Kenilworth castle as it may have been at the time of the great siege of 1266

James Petre

Kenilworth castle as it may have been at the time of the great siege of 1266

James Petre

The siege of Kenilworth in 1266 was arguably the greatest siege in British medieval military history. If the desultory blockade of Harlech in the 1460s can be discounted, the siege of 1266 was the longest - and indisputably, involved the greatest resources deployed against any castle in Britain in the medieval period. Surprisingly perhaps, there was no attempt at a full treatment of the siege until B. L. Wild's article in the *English Heritage Historical Review* in 2010.[1] That account included Richard Lea's reconstruction drawing of how the castle may have appeared in 1420, a drawing which earlier featured in the current (second edition) 'red guide' by Richard K. Morris.[2] In that latter publication, the image carried a rider that the reconstruction of the outer work, known as 'The Brays', was entirely conjectural, inasmuch as little is now left other than the earthworks. The image is a very fine piece of artwork and is no doubt largely correct in all its other details. It was, however, of Kenilworth a century and a half after 1266. A depiction of how Kenilworth may have appeared in 1266, courtesy of a ground plan, was provided in my contribution to *Castles. A History and Guide*, published in 1980.[3] Subsequent research and reflection have made it clear that that plan needs correction. Colour reconstruction drawings, by Ivan Lapper, displayed on site and included in Derek Renn's guidebook of 1991, showed the castle as it might have been in Norman times, after King John's works, after John of Gaunt's alterations and finally in Tudor times. The second of these represented a view of what the castle may have looked like at the time of the siege, but certain features are imagined, although not recorded as such.[4] Richard K. Morris's first 'red guide' edition of 2006, also included a number of colour reconstruction drawings. One of these envisaged the castle in 1266 but is plainly inaccurate in a number of its details, particularly in its representation of 'The Brays'.[5] It is perhaps significant that these images were dropped for the second edition. The present, short paper that follows provides a synthesis of previous observations and offers a new ground plan for the castle in 1266.

Previous commentaries

Prominent historians who have written about the events of the thirteenth century, have put forward Simon de Montfort as a prime mover in the major enhancements which enabled the castle to resist so spectacularly in 1266.[6] They fastened upon a reference in the *Flores Historiarum*, which remarked that Simon had strengthened the castle with buildings, repairs and many novel machines. ('*Kenylwrthie…, quod quidem comes Legecestriae mirabili structura atque reparatione firmaverat ac machinis multimodis,…*'). In that it is now thought that this entry in the chronicle is from a period when it was written at Pershore Abbey in Worcestershire, the scribe was near enough to have had local knowledge. Simon's work may also be suggested in the slightly earlier *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris written at St. Albans.[7] The eminent editors of the *History of the King's Works* suggested that Simon may have constructed the elaborate water defences, a notion earlier put forward in the *Victoria County History*, but in reality, there is nothing to say that he did.[8] Simon was first granted custody of the castle in 1244: in 1253 the grant was made for life. The castle appears to have become his military headquarters so in theory he could have contributed significantly to its development but as Wild has remarked, it seems unlikely that Simon would have spent large sums on what was, after all, a royal castle of which he was the mere custodian. For much of the time, Simon was 'constantly on the edge of financial embarrassment'. Whether this difficulty was exacerbated by expenditure on Kenilworth or precluded heavy expenditure on it, is impossible to know. Simon's income improved somewhat, first in 1253 and then again in 1255, so if he did spend any money on the castle, it would have been from then and indeed the reference in the *Flores*, given above, is under the year 1264. Even then, however, it appears that his 'budget' could never have stretched to the accomplishment of truly major works, so whatever Simon did commission, it seems unlikely that it was on a grand scale.[9]

Architectural historians, on the other hand, have generally agreed that it was King John who was the principal progenitor of the fortifications. This is reflected in the 'official' guidebooks issued by the successive agencies of the State entrusted with the keeping of the castle. In the 1960s, Baillie Reynolds considered that John built the outer bailey curtain, though felt the Brays was created by Henry III.[10] Next, in 1973, Derek Renn also assigned the outer bailey curtain to John, though gave only a thirteenth-century date for the development of Mortimer's Tower and the raising of the level of the water defences.[11] In the more detailed writings of M. W. Thompson of 1977 and 1991, not only was the outer curtain built by John, but so too was the fortified causeway later known as the Tiltyard and the raising of the water levels.

Thompson was a little less exact in assigning dates for Mortimer's Tower and the Gallery tower with its outworks including its southwest facing D-shaped tower. He did, however, assign these to the thirteenth century. So far as that D-shaped tower is concerned, his analogy with the design of the final development of Dover's Constable Tower could, of course, be used to suggest a date of the very early period of Henry III's reign. Thompson also assigned a thirteenth-century date to the three main towers on the outer curtain on the north and east, namely, the Swan Tower, Lunn's Tower and the Water Tower. He considered Lunn to be early thirteenth century and the Water Tower to be mid-thirteenth century, which would put both as in existence by 1266.[12] In Renn's colour guidebook, which appeared in the same year as Thompson's second edition in 1991, Renn too assigned the outer curtain to John and also gave a thirteenth century date to Mortimer's Tower.[13] As noted above, this guidebook included reconstruction drawings. These envisaged that by the end of King John's works, there were towers on the outer curtain where the Swan, Lunn's and the Water towers are located, two north curtain interval towers and a considerable gatehouse with a barbican straddling the north moat, where Leicester's building was erected in Elizabeth's reign. In addition, two cross walls were inserted be-

tween the inner and outer curtains to block off a section of the outer bailey and so provide some protection for a direct route shown as leading from the outer curtain Water Gate through a small entrance pierced into the inner curtain. Some of these details, such as the interval towers, can be accepted as accurate; others, particularly the cross walls, pose some difficulty and so warrant further discussion, provided below.[14]

The author of the current English Heritage guidebook to Kenilworth, Richard K. Morris, was clear that the extension of the Mere by raising the water level, and building Mortimer's Tower and the outer bailey curtain should be credited to King John. These works included Lunn's Tower but Morris noted that the Water Tower, in its present form at any rate, is better assigned to Thomas, 2nd earl of Lancaster in the early fourteenth century. Like Baillie Reynolds, Morris preferred to put the construction of 'the Brays' in Henry III's reign, suggesting that 'Simon might have been responsible'. Since he wrote this in the later edition of his 'Red Guide', he changed his view and thought it more probable that King John was responsible. Morris also acknowledged the existence of an entrance through the outer curtain on the north but understandably, given our lack of knowledge, declined to suggest quite where this may have been.[15]

Morris additionally mentioned that John's works 'probably' included a small barbican protecting the entrance into the inner bailey, a suggestion he received from John Goodall. As Morris subsequently noted, however, there is no hard evidence for this.[16] The arrangement which is now discernible for defending this inner bailey entrance, is a masonry causeway leading out from the inner curtain, over its erstwhile ditch, terminating in a splayed out platform. This in turn was defended by a drawbridge pit beyond which a narrow causeway continued. This is charted on Thompson's plans in his *Kenilworth Castle*, where he assigned it to the fourteenth century.[17] This drawbridge must surely have lain at the front of, and as a part of, a barbican complex. Given the military nature of these works, in origin their core could just as easily be earlier. Con-

sequently this is reflected in the attached ground plan, with '?', to denote that the barbican and drawbridge, *etc*, were possibly there in 1266.

In his *The English Castle* of 2011, John Goodall also credited King John with many of the outer defences: 'probably' the Tiltyard, Lunn's Tower and raising the level of the water defences. He considered that John may also have had built the outer curtain including Mortimer's Tower, and the Brays, but that these could equally be mid-thirteenth century. His account is as one with that of Morris in giving a *c*. 1310 date to the Water Tower but additionally he ascribed the Swan Tower to the fourteenth century.[18] Prior to Goodall's analysis, the Swan, or Swan's Nest Tower, was generally thought to be thirteenth century.[19]

Documentary evidence and an analogy for Mortimer's Gatehouse

Unfortunately, the documentary evidence for the period when, in all likelihood, the castle was transformed into a great fortress - that is at the beginning of the thirteenth century - is quite thin. We know that King John stayed at Kenilworth on a few occasions and expended over £1,100, mainly between 1210 and 1215, though we have no detail as to quite what was built. The record in the Exchequer's Pipe Rolls is incomplete so the King may in fact have spent considerably more money than we know.[20] The records of royal expenditure in Henry III's reign, which admittedly may also be incomplete, reflect works that are principally maintenance and repair and improvements to the royal apartments and chapel. These are not, however, extensive undertakings, which is perhaps hardly surprising for unlike his father, Henry does not appear to have favoured Kenilworth as a residence and rarely visited it. Still, it is worth looking at the detail of what Henry arranged, for among the records for his reign, are two entries in the Liberate Rolls, which are fairly explicit and they do refer to some works on the castle's defences.

The two sets of instructions are both for 1241. The first is dated 16 February at Woodstock.[21] By this, the sheriff of Warwickshire was ordered to wainscote, whiten and paint the chap-

el, to make a striped, wooden wall to separate the chancel from the chapel, to make two wooden seats, suitably painted and a third painted seat for the chapel in the tower. The porch of the tower had fallen down so was to be rebuilt and the great chamber needed a new roof. The gaol with a '*bretaschia*' in which the king's bells hung, was to be repaired; all gutters were to be repaired where necessary and finally '*the wall which threatens to fall into the fish-stew, to be pulled down and rebuilt.*'

The second order, dated 11 September and issued from Kenilworth itself, is perhaps even more interesting and worth quoting in full.[22] Clearly the king himself was on hand and was taking a personal interest in what needed doing, although as usual in his case, the focus remained largely on decorative and domestic aspects of architectural improvements. Both orders were promptly carried out and paid for, as reflected in the details which are repeated in the Pipe Rolls for 1241-2.[23]

> To the sheriff of Warwickshire, *Contrabreve* to cause the queen's chamber in the castle of Kenilworth to be wainscoted, whitened and lined (*lineari*), and the windows broken and made larger; to have the fireplaces (*caminos*) of the king's and queen's chambers repaired; a privy chamber by the queen's chamber and the castle wall to be repaired; two gates of the castle to be likewise repaired; a new wall to be built between the inner and outer wall of the castle, a new porch with a finial (*crappa*) to be made before the queen's chamber, and a window to be made on the north side of the castle chapel, and a swing-bridge (*pontem torneicium*), the cost to be credited by view.

As noted above, Thompson drew an analogy with Dover's Constable Tower as regards Kenilworth's D-shaped tower in the complex of the 'Gallery Tower' protecting the outer defences of its Causeway-Tiltyard. Analogy with Dover is perhaps rather more valuable with regard to Mortimer's Gatehouse. At some point, this twelfth century simple gateway was transformed into an elaborate twin-towered gatehouse with double doors, portcullises, side

chambers with arrow slits and at least one upper storey. Its towers are elongated D-shaped (or U-shaped) to the field, a style of gatehouse that of course became *de rigueur* in the thirteenth century. But when might it have been built? At Dover it appears to be agreed that the formidable elongated D-shaped/U-shaped, twin towered gatehouse on the north of its outer curtain was created by John, together with considerable stretches of curtain wall on either side. Interestingly, the record of John's expenditure at Dover is almost identical to what we have for Kenilworth. It too is incomplete and we may reckon that at both, that king's expenditure was considerably greater.[24] It seems acceptable therefore, to consider that John commissioned a powerful elongated D-shaped/U-shaped, twin-towered main gatehouse at Kenilworth just as he did at Dover. It is fair to acknowledge that John's gatehouse at Dover is decidedly larger than Mortimer's at Kenilworth but of course, at Dover the gatehouse was pivotal in its first line of defence, which was not the case with Mortimer's at Kenilworth, assuming the Causeway and Brays then lay beyond. If Mortimer's Gatehouse may indeed be ascribed to John's reign, and irrespective of its different scale compared to Dover, it is arguable that Mortimer's is among the very first such gatehouses that we have.

Establishing a date for Mortimer's Gatehouse is perhaps a key in reaching a conclusion on when the castle attained its greatest degree of fortification. It is inconceivable that Mortimer's would be developed without a final completion of the main outer, curtain wall with angle towers where necessary. It may also be argued that the Gateway's central role in articulating with the outer defences of the Causeway/Tiltyard and 'the Brays' complex, suggests that all were completed, or at any rate started, as one grand, overall arrangement. As noted above, earlier commentators have ascribed these outworks either to John or to his son, Henry. Either way, those cited above appear to be agreed that all these main dimensions of the fortifications were in place by 1266. If one or more towers, certainly the Water Tower, as it is now, may be of a fourteenth-century build, it would seem very probable that there were earlier towers in the same locations.

It should be acknowledged, however, that in 2008, Nicholas Molyneux considered that the Tiltyard was only developed by Robert Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, in 1549-53 and accordingly suggested that the Mere was not raised to its final level until that time.[25] Yet the consensus remains that the castle achieved its greatest degree of fortification, in a unique combination of walls, towers, earthworks and water defences, by 1266.

The outer curtain

On the northern, outer curtain, we know from the Hollar plan published in 1656, that there were at least two interval towers: one in the centre of the curtain and a smaller one to the west, mid-way to the Swan Tower. The central tower is shown on Hollar's view as polygonal to the field. This is known from excavation to have been rectangular internally and to have contained a small, pedestrian postern gate with a bridge across the ditch outside.[26] A survey of the castle was drawn up in 1563 which recorded a 'fair gatehouse of stone with a portcullis, going into the town, much in decay'.[27] Was this the postern or a larger and quite distinct entrance nearby? The phraseology of the survey suggests the latter but it has caused some confusion to earlier commentators. Derek Renn, for instance, considered that Leicester's Gatehouse, built in 1571-2, replaced the postern, although that interpretation is not followed in Lapper's depiction in Renn's 1991 guidebook.[28] In all likelihood, the main, north gatehouse was indeed on the later site of Leicester's Gatehouse, and this was distinct from the pedestrian postern in a neighbouring tower. Analogy with Dover is again worthy of note as there, its main entry point on its north (the Norfolk Towers) is quite close to a lesser entry on its northeast (the FitzWilliam Gate). So this juxtaposition of main gate and immediately adjacent postern is quite feasible. East of the later Leicester's Gatehouse is a heavily buttressed causeway across the moat, probably marking the site of the northern dam made necessary by the difference in water levels on the east and west sides of the castle.[29] It seems plausible that such a dam could be associated with the gateway and that this argues in favour of locating the original, main, northern entrance where Leicester created his elaborate entrance arrangement.[30]

The eastern arm of the northern curtain terminated at Lunn's Tower which, as already noted, was probably built during King John's programme of works. As then constructed, it was endowed with five, fish-tailed arrow-loops at ground floor level. It appears to have been subsequently modified, most probably during the tenure of Thomas, earl of Lancaster around 1310-20, when an external stair turret was added, giving access to the two upper floors and a wall walk running off to the south. The top floor was designed to be a residential chamber; at some point, the first floor was adapted to serve as another chamber.[31]

On the east curtain, there was a sally port just south of Lunn's Tower, excavated by Archaeology Warwickshire in 2009. It has a lancet arch and quite possibly pre-dates 1266. In the later middle ages, it was converted into a culvert, probably serving the Constable's house which adjoined and included Lunn's Tower, and is documented by *c*. 1400.[32] This eastern, outer curtain between Lunn's Tower and the Water Tower is heavily buttressed. As noted above, it now appears to be agreed that the present Water Tower dates from the early fourteenth century.[33] It does, however, seem probable that there was a tower at this point in 1266.

Proceeding clockwise, immediately west of Mortimer's Tower-Gatehouse (discussed above), a small entrance through the curtain wall is now clearly seen but its age is uncertain. It is possible that the steps and exit there today belong to the creation of a route to a viewpoint here for nineteenth-century visitors.[34] Like the eastern, outer curtain, the southern curtain is heavily buttressed from the outside. Part of this curtain is furnished with a number of embrasures containing arrow loops and is probably part of the rebuilding ordered in 1241.[35]

Hollar's plan shows a sally port on the western curtain, leading down to the Mere which Thompson repeated.[36] This was in fact the 'Water Gate' which is probably no later than the fourteenth century. Whether an entrance existed in 1266, however, is hard to say: Richard Morris though not. Excavations have suggested a possible quay on the south-west side of the Gallery Tower complex so it is possible that boats first used this point of access across the Mere and that the Water Gate was only created in association with the grand works of John of Gaunt.[37] North of the Water Gate is the 'King's Gate'. Baillie Reynolds thought it existed in the medieval period, and J. H. Drew also felt that it could be old, noting that it was blocked at some point and later reopened. It is now agreed, however, that it is a post-medieval construction.[38]

Finally, there is the matter of possible cross walls mentioned above as depicted in Renn's guidebook of 1991. In Thompson's ground plan, the western wall is shown as fourteenth century and the stump of what may have been a southern wall is shown as thirteenth century but in Morris's modern 'red guide', both these are shown as fourteenth century. It would have made no sense to have had one without the other, so they must be considered as a pair. If their purpose was to guard, in some measure, that section of the outer bailey containing a possible route from the Water Gate into the inner bailey, then these features would all be contemporary. Could one or both of these cross walls be the new wall ordered in Henry III's instructions of September, 1241? Inasmuch as we know of no other walls between the inner and outer curtains, it may be that the cross walls and therefore the Water Gate were all *in situ* by 1266. (The uncertainty of this is reflected by '?' shown against these features on the ground plan).

'The Brays'

The Brays constitute a roughly crescent-shaped earthwork forming the southern element of the fortifications. Morris was surely correct in considering that its name comes from the French *braie* indicating a military outwork defended by palisades (*cf* the later use of this term in *faussebraye*, which in the era of gunpowder artillery fortification indicated a continuous rampart and parapet placed in the ditch in front of the main rampart).[39] It is now thought certain that the Brays were bordered by a dry ditch rather than a water-filled one.[40] There is nothing to say that the embankment supported masonry defences. There are, however, the remains of an odd masonry structure on the outer side of the embankment on the south-east. This is the connected pair of round fronted, bastions now seen from a bend in the road coming from the modern town. Its stonework seems similar to that of Mortimer's

Kenilworth castle as it may have been at the time of the great siege of 1266
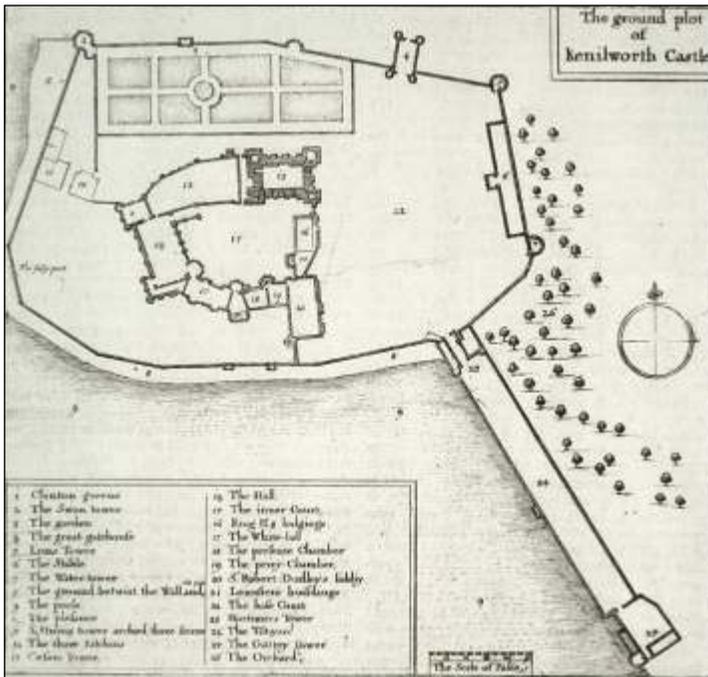
The ground plot
of
Kenilworth Castle

2-- The Swan Tower

7-- The Water Tower

23- Mortimer's Tower

24- The Tiltyard

25- The Gallery Tower

Tower. What exactly was this? In previous analyses, it has been seen as a gateway and more recently as a pair of connected viewing platforms created for the tournaments held within the Brays. Certainly the bastion-like circular *termini* and the extensive stone platform lying between might have served as a gateway arrangement, the outer elements of which have been lost. If so, it would bear comparison with the entrance to the hornwork, known as the Western Island, at Caerphilly, begun in 1268 and, it seems, partly modelled on Kenilworth. The alternative proposition - that it served as a grand stand from which to view tournaments - is not convincing. It appears to be far too substantial a work for such a purpose, and the absence of other, similar, stone-built structures around the Brays' embankments, are factors which imply that it had a different purpose. Further to the east, there is a large masonry structure projecting forward from the bank and blocking the ditch. It is faced with well-dressed stonework and may have served as a dam to hold back water from the north. As with the dam beyond the north curtain, this may perhaps be associated with a contemporary entrance. Accordingly, the plan below shows possible entrances - marked '?' - both at this point and between the bastions to south-west.[41]

It appears reasonable to accept that 'The Brays' were in place by 1266. Close inspection of this outlying part of the castle, which now girdles the castle car park, shows that it was an impressive fortification in its own right. For a large part of its circumference, it is defended by two high ramparts, one behind the other, each with its own ditch confronting the field. Most likely the ramparts were crowned by a palisade. The *Victoria County History* noted that, in addition to the peculiar masonry, double-bastioned structure discussed above, the ramparts included four circular mounds, the summit of the largest being 40 feet in diameter, and proposed that these were platforms for artillery such as mangonels.[42] Even if these prominences had been designed to be tournament viewpoints, they could obviously have been adapted as artillery emplacements in time of need. Consequently, capturing merely this outlying element of the castle must have been a massive problem in 1266. Kenilworth was, in all its many attributes, tremendously strongly fortified: among the two or three most formidable castles then in existence in England. As is well known, it was not taken by assault in that epic siege despite everything that was thrown against it.

Kenilworth Castle in 1266

Illustration by Cecily Marshall (cecilyamarshall@gmail.com).
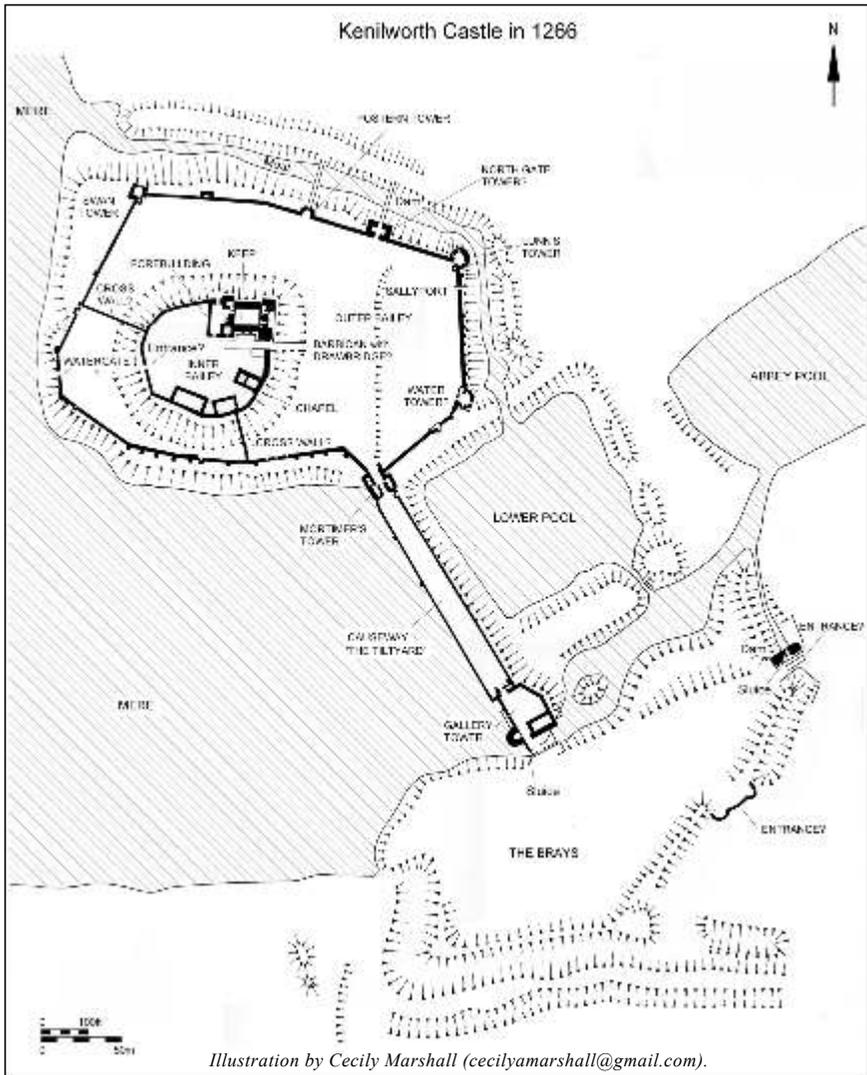
Remains of the The Brays bastions; the more southerly 'entrance?' marked on the plan.

Kenilworth castle as it may have been at the time of the great siege of 1266

Notes

1. B. L. Wild, 'The Siege of Kenilworth Castle, 1266', *English Heritage Historical Review*, 5, 2010, pp. 12-23.

2. R. K. Morris, *Kenilworth Castle*, English Heritage, 2nd (revised) ed. (London, 2010). I am indebted to the late Dr. Morris for his correspondence with me on certain points of detail as reflected in subsequent footnotes.

3. J. Petre, 'Defence and Attack', in *Castles. A History and Guide*, (special consultant) Professor R. Allen Brown, (Poole, 1980), pp. 80-97 at p. 97.

4. D. F. Renn, *Kenilworth Castle*, English Heritage, (1991), pp. 20-1. Any recital of reconstruction drawings should mention the late Alan Sorrell's pioneering depiction of Kenilworth as it may have been in 1575 which is remarkably accurate in many details. See A. Sorrell, *Living History* (London 1965), p. 67.

5. R. K. Morris, *Kenilworth Castle*, English Heritage, (London, 2006), pp. 40-1.

6. F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward* (Oxford, 1947), 2, p. 531; D. Carpenter, *The Battles of Lewes and Evesham 1264/65* (Keele, 1987), p. 12; J. R. Madicott, *Simon de Montfort*, (Cambridge, 1994), p. 109.

7. *Flores Historiarum*, 2, 1067-1264, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1890), p. 489; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 5, 1248-1259, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1880), p. 697; D.A. Carpenter, 'The Pershore *Flores Historiarum*: An Unrecognised Chronicle from the Period of Reform and Rebellion in England, 1258-65', in *The English Historical Review* [*EHR*], CXXVII, 2012, pp. 1343-1366.

8. *Victoria County History*, [*VCH*], Warwickshire, 1, 2nd ed., ed. W. Page, (London 1908), pp. 379-82; *History of the King's Works*, [*HKW*], 2, *The Middle Ages*, eds. R. Allen Brown, H. M. Colvin and A. J. Taylor (London, 1963), p. 683.

9. J. R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp. 33, 39, 47, 55-6, 65, 74-5. 122-3; B. L. Wild, 'The Siege…', pp. 14-16. The quotation is from Maddicott, p. 74.

10. P. K. Baillie Reynolds, *Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire*, Ministry of Public Building and Works, HMSO, (reprinted 1969), pp. 1, 6, 9.

11. D. F. Renn, *Kenilworth Castle*, Department of the Environment, HMSO, (London, 1973), pp. 12, 37- 40.

12. M. W. Thompson, *Kenilworth Castle*, Department of the Environment, HMSO, (London, 1977), pp. 6, 13, 16, 17, 24; 2nd ed. English Heritage, HMSO, (1991), pp. 5, 18-19, 21, 25-6, 28.

13. D.F. Renn, *Kenilworth Castle*, English Heritage, (1991), pp. 3, 23.

14. *ibid*., p. 20.

15. R. K. Morris, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (2010), pp. 5-6, 26, 29, 39, 44 and correspondence.

16. R. K. Morris, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (2010), p. 39 and correspondence.

17. M. W. Thompson, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed. (1991), pp. 9, 18-19.

18. J. Goodall, *The English Castle 1066-1650*, (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2011), pp. 99, 159, 248-9.

19. M. W. Thompson, *Kenilworth Castle*, (1977) ground plan, and 2nd ed., (1991), p. 18; R. K. Morris, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (2010), ground plan.

20. *VCH*, 2, ed. W. Page, (London 1908), p. 426; *HKW*, 2, p. 683; M. W. Thompson, *Kenilworth Castle*, (London, 1977), p. 4.

21. *Calendar of Liberate Rolls* [*CLR*], *Henry III*, vol. 2*, 1240-45* (London, HMSO, 1930), pp. 32-3, alluded to, but with very little detail, in *HKW*, 2, p. 683. See *HKW* for some information and references to the records attesting earlier work and expenditure in Henry's reign.

22. *CLR*, 2, *1240-45*, p. 71, also mentioned, though with little detail, in *HKW*, 2, p. 683.

23. For Henry III's enthusiasm for decoration, comfort and sanitation, see for example, M. Wade Labarge, *A Baronial Household of the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1965), pp. 20-25, 33. For payment for carrying out the works: *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the twenty-sixth year of the reign of King Henry III A.D. 1241-1242*, ed. H.L. Cannon, Yale University Press and Oxford University Press, (New Haven and London, 1918), p. 177.

24. R. Allen Brown, 'Royal Castle-Building in England, 1154-1216', *EHR*, LXX, 1955, p. 394; *HKW*, 2, pp. 632-3, 683; R. Allen Brown, *Dover Castle*, 2nd ed., (Department of the Environment, HMSO, London, 1974), p. 14 and (English Heritage, HMSO, 1985), pp. 11-12.

25. N. A. D. Molyneux, 'Kenilworth Castle in 1563', *English Heritage Historical Review*, 3, 2008, pp. 46-61 at p. 50.

26. M. W. Thompson, 'Kenilworth Castle since 1962' in *Medieval Archaeology, Journal of the Society for Medieval Archaeology*, 13, (1969), pp. 218-20, esp. p. 219, and plate xxxivb; M. W. Thompson, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (1991), pp. 22, 24, 31-3.

27. R. K. Morris, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (2010), p. 26.

28. P. K. Baillie Reynolds, *Kenilworth Castle* , p. 10; D. F. Renn, *Kenilworth Castle*, (1973), p. 27 and (1991), p. 12; Nicholas A. D. Molyneux, 'Kenilworth Castle in 1563', p. 53; R. K. Morris, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (2010), p. 43.

29. M. W. Thompson, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (1991), p. 22.

30. Correspondence with R. K. Morris.

31. D. F. Renn, *Kenilworth Castle*, (1973), pp. 37-8; M. W. Thompson, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (1991), pp. 20-1; R. K. Morris, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (2010), p. 29; N. Guy, 'The Rise of the Anti-clockwise Newel Stair', in *The Castle Studies Group Journal*, no. 25, (2011-12), pp. 146, 148. I am grateful to Neil for his correspondence regarding this tower and generally for thoughts exchanged on a site visit on 18 January 2015. I am also grateful to the journal's anonymous reviewer of this article for observations on crucial matters, particularly as regards Simon de Montfort's possible role in fortifying the castle and on the matter of Dover's Norfolk towers as a comparison with Kenilworth's Mortimer's gatehouse.

32. Correspondence with R. K. Morris.

33. See notes 15 and 18 above and especially R. K. Morris, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (2010), p. 29. R.K. Morris, 'Sidelights on the Fourteenth-Century Architecture at Kenilworth Castle', in L. M. Monckton & R. K. Morris (eds.), *Coventry: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology,* British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, XXXIII (Leeds, 2011), pp. 347-9. See too N. Guy, 'The Rise of the Anti-clockwise Newel Stair', p. 147.

34. M. W. Thompson, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (1991), p. 24; correspondence with R. K. Morris.

35. See note 21 above.

36. M. W. Thompson, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (1991), p. 24.

37. Correspondence with R. K. Morris.

38. Baillie Reynolds, *Kenilworth Castle*, p. 10; J. H. Drew, 'Kenilworth Castle. A discussion of its entrances', *Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society Transactions 1967-70,* 84, pp. 148-58. See p. 152; M. W. Thompson, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (1991), p. 24; R. K. Morris, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (2010), ground plan; correspondence with R. K. Morris.

39. Q. Hughes, *Military Architecture. The Art of Defence from Earliest Times to the Atlantic Wall*, 2nd ed. (Liphook, 1991), p. 244; R.K. Morris, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (2010), p. 5.

40. R. K. Morris, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (2010), image on p. 43, drawing on the work of David Brock a summary of which appears in *Kenilworth History*, the annual publication of the Kenilworth Historical and Archaeological Society (2009), pp. 18-19. This supersedes M. W. Thompson's opinion that the ditch contained water, as stated in his *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (1991), p. 25 and as seemingly accepted in R. K. Morris's 1st ed, (2006), p. 40.

41. Baillie Reynolds, *Kenilworth Castle*, p. 6 for whom the odd structure with its circular *termini* on the embankment was an entrance; M. W. Thompson, 'Kenilworth Castle since 1962' p. 218; J. H. Drew, 'Kenilworth Castle…', pp. 150-3, 157, for whom these *termini* were viewing platforms but *temp.* Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and so post medieval; D. F. Renn, *Kenilworth Castle*, (1973), p. 40 and (1991), p. 15; M. W. Thompson, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (1991), pp. 4, 26; R. K. Morris, *Kenilworth Castle*, 2nd ed., (2010), p. 42, image on p. 43, ground plan and correspondence.

42. *VCH*, 1, p. 382.