Churches, Castles and Landscape in the Frankish East

Author: Denys Pringle
Hardback: xii, 350 pages
Publisher: Ashgate Publishing, 2013
ISBN: 978-1-4094-5497-7
Price: £95.00 (website price £85.50)

This is the second compilation of Denys Pringle’s works to appear in Ashgate’s Variorum Collected Studies series, the first being Fortification and Settlement in Crusader Palestine (2000). The earliest publication first appeared in 1982, the latest in 2010. Although the prices of the individual volumes are beyond most people’s pockets, the series is invaluable in bringing together papers from disparate sources. The contents examine ‘various aspects of the material evidence for Latin settlement in Syria and Palestine in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, focusing in particular on the remains of churches and castles, and their relationship to topography and the landscape.’ Scholarship will always be indebted to Pringle, Professor in the School of History, Archaeology and Religion at Cardiff University, for the four volumes that were the product of the Crusader Churches Project, published by Cambridge University Press (1993-2009).

Of the sixteen chapters (I-XVI), ten cover castles, three of those being concerned with churches or chapels. The article ‘Perceptions of the castle in the Latin East’ (VI) will be familiar with most members as it was first published in Château Gaillard vol. 24. Pringle stresses that castles, the fortified centres of lordship, should not be studied separately from both other forms of settlement and contemporary medieval warfare, a point that is just as relevant with UK castle studies. Chapter VII, ‘A castle in the sand: mottes in the Crusader East’, is also taken from a volume of Château Gaillard, vol. 18, and examines in particular an account of a castle erected during the siege of Damietta in 1218-19, during the Fifth Crusade. The two contemporary descriptions portray a motte of sand and clay, with a wooden tower on the summit, and this choice of siegework may have been dictated as much by the European origins of the builders as by the lack of suitable building stone.

The remaining chapters are taken from publications which may be unknown to many CSG members, such as the journal Levant. The subject of Templar castles between Jaffa and Jerusalem forms Chapter VIII. The three castles, the remains of which are somewhat fragmentary, were all sited on the road that linked the two cities. Chapter IX examines the history of the fortification known as Ayla in the Crusader, Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. The small twelfth-century castle of Mirabel is examined in the following chapter, Mirabel probably starting life as a castellany before later becoming the centre of a lordship.

Chapter XI is a paper in Italian, looking at the castle of Belmonte. This is followed by a substantial article by Pringle and others on Qal‘at Jiddin in western Galilee, built by the Teutonic Order in the thirteenth century. Surrounded by later, Ottoman, work, the crusader castle consisted of two substantial square towers, at either end of a ridge, with a courtyard. Tower A, on the east side, may be the earlier of the two, and consisted of a main floor over a basement or ground floor, in which lay the entrance. The ‘second floor’ may have been the terraced roof of the Frankish tower. However, Tower B did have two floors over a twin barrel-vaulted basement or ground floor, the first floor also having twin barrel vaults.

Chapters XIII to XV are on castle chapels and churches, both in general and those to be seen at the castles of Tripoli and Sahyun. At the latter there are three chapels, Byzantine and Frankish, although all three Byzantine in origin (975-c. 1108), unless chapel ‘B’ was Armenian in origin, built for an Armenian garrison after 1108, when the castle of the Franks was begun.

Apart from four papers, the articles are printed with their original pagination, and asterisks in the margins denote additional information supplied at the end of the volume in the ‘Addenda and Corrigenda’.

For anyone studying the castles of the Middle East, both the lesser- and the well-known, this compendium serves a useful purpose.

John R. Kenyon
This publication represents the first appearance of the major royal castle of Scarborough in the English Heritage ‘red guide’ series. As such it contains, in comparison with its predecessors, all the typical features of the new series: more and better photography, clearer (and in some cases slightly more accurate) colour plans, entirely redrawn and much improved reconstruction drawings, a ‘Tour of the Castle’ with small plan headings for each section (to show where the visitor is on the site) which is easier to follow, more information on the recent history of the castle, and a fuller and updated bibliography. But the guidebook text by John Goodall is mostly a re-edited version of what he wrote for the previous edition of 2000 (several times reprinted since) and therefore cannot really be reviewed as a new contribution to the study of the site. In what follows I will try to summarise the qualities of this guide (in both its versions) while drawing fuller attention to the additions and changes to be found in the revised 2013 format.

The Contents are laid out in fairly familiar red guide form. After a short introduction outlining the general setting of the castle on its massive 16-acre headland, cut off from the landward side (the borough) by a curtain wall, natural scarp and ditch, the Tour takes up pages 4-21 and the History pages 23-40. There are one-page special features on The Collections - the site museum (8), Monarchs on the Move – royal itineration (19), and The German Shelling – of December 1914 (39). A drawn bird’s-eye view of the whole site is inside the front cover and site plans (one of the whole headland, the other a larger-scale phased plan of the surviving buildings) inside the back cover; also there are floor plans of the great tower (11) and a phased plan of the Roman signal station and medieval chapel located on the seaward side of the headland (21). There are detailed full-page reconstruction drawings of the 12th century great tower ‘in about 1200’ (12) and the main buildings of the whole castle ‘in about 1300’ (29) – also smaller ‘sketch reconstructions’ of the signal station and chapel (20, 22), as well as an impressionistic drawing of the fall of the great tower under bombardment during the siege of 1645 (33) taken from the 2000 edition.

All of this amounts to an impressive and well-designed presentation, making excellent use of the technical resources now available. John Goodall’s text also appears to full advantage in the Tour sections: covering the Barbican and Gate (4-5), the Master Gunner’s House – now display centre – and post-medieval artillery on the site (6-7), the Inner Bailey (9), Great Tower (10-13), Curtain Wall with domestic buildings (14-18), Roman Signal Station and Chapel of our Lady (20-21). There are additions to the 2000 text in the sections covering the guns and the site museum, and the later medieval rebuildings of the chapel, but otherwise just more subtle changes of emphasis. For instance, he is much more concise in arguing that the ‘uppermost storey of the (great) tower was probably filled by the roof structure’ rather than an additional floor of accommodation – presumably because this feature of high screen walls in 12th century towers is now so well established as not to need elaborate justification. An interesting new comment points out parallels between Scarborough (which, building in the 1160s, comes early in Henry II’s programme of royal great towers) and the East Anglian baronial castles of Bungay, Walden and Castle Hedingham, a suggestion which will not surprise readers of the same author’s The English Castle. Throughout, despite the inevitable brevity of the descriptions, one has the sense of a leading architectural historian reaching his own (convincing) conclusions about the surviving buildings and their interpretation. The text also gains a lot from the new (and first-class) reconstructions by Chris Jones-Jenkins, especially the one of the great tower. There is, though, no significant new information to report since 2000 from survey or excavation. The potential breakthrough of a resistivity survey which showed likely pre-1159 ranges of buildings within the later inner bailey, and hence a clue to the nature of the castle built by William le Gros earl of Yorkshire before
Scarborough was recovered by Henry II in 1155, was reported in 2000 and there is nothing added here.

In the History sections, we find the expected account of the main documented building phases (26-28) drawing on the pipe rolls and other royal accounts: Henry II’s great tower 1159-1169, John’s curtain wall, hall and chamber block 1202-1212, Henry III’s repairs and additions including the barbican 1243-1245. This is preceded by outline accounts of prehistoric finds, the late 4th century context of Roman coastal defences in Yorkshire, much expanded from 2000 (23-24), a largely new section on evidence for the pre-1066 origins of Scarborough as a settlement (26), and the career of William le Gros, first builder of Scarborough Castle in the reign of Stephen (26). It is followed by accounts of Scarborough in the later middle ages (28-31), the Tudor period (31-32), and the Civil War (32-35), before going on to its subsequent history as a prison, while the town below revived as a spa and holiday resort (36-38). A final military flourish came with the Jacobite threat in 1745, which led to the building of a barracks on the ruins of King John’s chamber block, and a covered staircase with musket loops leading down from the curtain wall to a battery just above the harbour. Damage done by shelling in 1914 (two German battle cruisers appeared without warning out of the fog on 16 December) dominates a final section on the modern history of the site (39-40). One slightly odd omission is the construction around 1900, with much use of explosives, of a sea wall and road (the ‘Marine Drive’) around the outside of the castle hill – arguably the biggest ever change to the setting of the castle. All the post-Civil War material is extended from that of 2000, but for the medieval period the important addition is a number of passages dealing with the history of Scarborough as a port and borough (25, 30-31), drawing on the contributions in D. Crouch and T. Pearson eds., Medieval Scarborough, 2001, and archaeological finds in the town. More light has been thrown, for instance, on how Henry II promoted the growth and privileges of the borough at the same time that he was rebuilding the castle.

The History part of the guide therefore provides a careful summary, updated from relevant studies since 2000. But there is not quite the same sense in these sections that the author is exercising his own judgement over the material, and some of it may be more debatable than it appears. Goodall’s ‘Viking Scarborough’ of 2000 thus becomes ‘Scarborough in Nordic Saga’ in 2013, in deference to M. Arnold’s article in Medieval Scarborough which cast doubt on the Scandinavian derivation of the name (‘Skardi’s stronghold’) and the reliability of later sagas as evidence of episodes like Harald Hardrada’s attack on the town in 1066. Yet though Arnold discusses an alternative ‘Anglo-Saxon theory of Scarborough’s origins’, there is nothing to rule out a Scandinavian settlement, given the regional influence of York and other local evidence (such as place names). Excavation, so far limited, may well find it, or indications of ‘multiple’ origins. A picture caption here: ‘the Viking origins of Scarborough may be no more than Victorian fantasy’, is ill judged. The new section on the later medieval borough fairly summarises what is now known of the town’s layout, and comments that it ‘looked for its prosperity to the sea’. But this glosses over the importance of Scarborough’s terrestrial hinterland: its relations with York and the rural economy and trading patterns developed by monastic houses from the 12th century onwards. This surely had an influence on the creation of the castle as well as the town (William le Gros was a monastic founder too). In the later medieval period a whole section is devoted to narrating the career of Edward II’s unpopular favourite Piers Gaveston, leading up to the fact that he was besieged in Scarborough Castle for a fortnight in 1312, but nothing is said of general royal policy towards the North-East, which was arguably of more enduring significance for its history. As one of a chain of coastal royal castles, it played a role in the supply of armies and the Scottish wars throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. In episodes of conflict, the regional dimension of internal politics predominated; for example within months of Gaveston’s capture and death, Edward II’s rival Thomas earl of Lancaster had begun building his own major coastal castle further north at Dunstanburgh.

Finally and (for this reviewer tentatively) a doubt remains about one aspect of the actual building on the site. Early in the text (5) Goodall remarks that the curtain wall ‘from at least the early 13th century, encircled the entire headland. Only the part overlooking the town remains’. This is never alluded to again, though the reconstruction (19), presumably following the text, duly shows a wall, crenellated but otherwise featureless, all round the promontory. The main evidence for this that I can find seems to come from late medieval surveys of dereliction, alleging that great lengths of wall had fallen down (one is cited in the guide at 21, though only to doubt its reliability – of course custodians frequently
book review - scarborough & rochester castles - eh guidebooks

wrote such reports to cover themselves). By contrast, the fuller survey of 1538, with many measurements, mentions walls only on the town side of the site, and to the north where one would also expect to find them (because the cliff there fell to lower ground rather than directly into the sea). The 1538 text says explicitly that from the end of the landward curtain wall ‘the Castell is a hundreth and xl (rods – notionally 770 yards) all upon the se Clyff without wall tower or turret. And there is three placys in the same that men may clyme up which may be amended and made unsawtable by estimation wyth xls’. There have been many cliff falls around this perimeter even in recent times, taking away for example part of the Roman signal station, but it must remain open to doubt that, if it had existed, such an extensive medieval enclosure could have disappeared so completely, leaving no trace except where it was recorded in 1538 and subsequently, unless perhaps the token ‘wall’ was very flimsy. A full study of all the documents and the dimensions they give, might resolve the issue.

Overall, this is an impressive addition to the series and a big step forward in the presentation of an important site. Differences of opinion over interpretation will naturally remain, but the new guide is also reliable and accurate throughout. The only token factual correction I can offer is that the picture (34) of ‘the Parliamentarian general Lord Fairfax’ who led an army to Scarborough in 1644 is actually that of his son, the Commander-in-Chief Sir Thomas Fairfax who inherited his father’s title in 1648.

Rochester Castle

English Heritage Guidebook
Author: Jeremy Ashbee
ISBN 978 1-84802-092- 4
Price: £3.99

This new production fills a gap in the ‘red guide’ series, and also in the presentation of the important site of Rochester, with its early 12th century great tower of exceptional scale and complexity. The site as a whole has a longer-term significance for royal policies towards Kent and the South-East, and for relations between kings and archbishops of Canterbury. It was also the setting of two major sieges, conducted in 1215 by King John and in 1264 by Simon de Montfort, which confirmed the strategic value of its site overlooking the Medway crossing on the road from London to Canterbury and Dover, and also raise interesting broader questions about the military value of castles in such conflicts.

A generation ago, anyone who wanted information about the two greatest royal castles in south-east England could turn to R. Allen Brown’s comprehensive guides: Dover (1966) and Rochester (1969), probably the most thorough publications of their kind ever produced by the old Ministry of Works for castle sites. The Rochester one was reissued by English Heritage as a second edition in 1986, now with a larger number of black-and-white photographs and a colour cover, but an almost unaltered text (of well over 15,000 words, by my reckoning!).

Already in 1987, English Heritage had apparently decided that this was too much for the average visitor, and supplied a parallel guide by Graham Port (1987) with vastly improved photography (though remarkably no proper site plan at all), but a text which aimed at not much more than summarising Brown’s version in popular style, and sometimes failed even to do that accurately. 25 years on, this well-informed and up-to-date guide is therefore much needed.

Meanwhile, in all this time a lot of research has been done on Rochester castle (as well as the city, cathedral and broader historical context) though there are still significant gaps in what is known. These are particularly obvious in relation to archaeology and modern survey of the surviving fabric. The most important study here remains the excavation by Colin Flight and A.C. Harrison (1976) which showed inter alia that the first castle (earthwork banks underlying and predating the earliest stone walls of c.1090 built by Bishop Gundulf) was on the same site as the present one, inside the Roman city wall. This at once ended long-running speculation that Boley Hill (the neighbouring feature outside the Roman wall) was the original location, followed by an unexplained early shift of site. It even persuaded Allen Brown to change his mind (not easy, as those who have tried it can testify) and abandon the ‘Boley Hill’ theory: he had taken over from Ella Armitage, in a 1986 amendment to his guidebook. But since then there has only been a mass of small-scale work: watching briefs, test pits around pipe laying and so on, much of it very well done, but none capable of supporting wider conclusions, leaving a vacuum which has sometimes been filled with renewed speculation (e.g. that there was originally a ‘motte’ within the castle, an implausible idea for which there is still no serious evidence). Opinion has now moved to seeing Boley Hill as an outer bailey (there was certainly a second gate on this side of the main castle) rather than the primary site or a siege work (of 1215?), but this too is not yet proved by investigation on the ground.
The most important recent studies have therefore relied heavily on the documents. Apart from interesting articles by Ifor Rowlands (‘King John, Stephen Langton and Rochester Castle, 1213-15’) in 1989 and Derek Renn (‘Refortification at Rochester in the 1220s’) in 2004, there are two papers given at the BAA conference in Rochester in 2002, by John Goodall on ‘The Medieval Buildings and Topography’ of the castle, and an extended research report by Richard Peats and Paul Drury produced in 2009 following extensive consultations over a site Conservation Plan (this was never printed, but has been accessible via the Medway Council website). The ‘Plan’ considered all sorts of ambitious schemes, including re-flooring the keep, but in the event led only to agreement on enhanced monitoring of the deterioration which is undoubtedly occurring in the structure.

Moving on to the guide itself, both its text and illustration are of very high quality, but focussed primarily on describing and explaining the surviving structures rather than exploring wider problems. This is entirely reasonable; a guidebook with limited space is hardly the place to discuss things we do not know, or the uncertainties of the evidence. But it does mean that some aspects of the site and its history get rather cursory treatment. As usual the Tour of the castle comes first on pages 3-23, followed by the History on pages 24-40. There are full-page inset features on Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester (9), Medieval Castle Life at Rochester (18) and Rochester: the Crown and the Church (32-33). There is a bird’s-eye view of the modern site inside the front cover and colour plans inside the back cover: one of the whole site (though without period phasing, which is unusual in red guides) and floor plans of the keep with a section drawing looking east (back to Allen Brown if you want all four sections!). A superb reconstruction drawing of the keep as originally built, about 1140, by Chris Jones-Jenkins (7) is a big advance on anything similar done before.

The Tour part of the text begins with the Exterior and Setting of the castle (3-4) and then a full account of the Keep (4-17), moving from floor to floor and well integrated with expertly-chosen modern and earlier photographs. Mostly this follows John Goodall’s reconstruction, e.g. on the original existence of large internal arches, and probably ‘throne niches’ at the east end of the great chambers on the two upper floors (14-16), and on the evidence for the collapse of the south-east turret caused by mining in 1215 and subsequent rebuilding. But the author also has his own views, expressing mild scepticism towards Goodall’s suggestion that the keep was built with so many floors and chambers because it contained dual accommodation, for both the king and the archbishop of Canterbury: ‘it is difficult to imagine two such magnificent households … occupying the building at the same time without causing chaos’ and ‘more likely … it would have been the king, rather than the archbishop, who held court in the hall of the keep’ (16). This is all well-put, but what is not said is that such issues can only be discussed in general terms, since there has been no modern survey of the building as a whole and many internal spaces such as mural chambers are inaccessible. There follows an account of the surviving eastern curtain wall and its two 14th century towers, one incorporating earlier masonry (19), the early 13th century Drum Tower opposite the rebuilt south-east corner of the keep (20), and Boley Hill, ‘now recognised as an outer enclosure of the medieval castle’ (20). Finally there are sections on The Riverside, where on the exterior of the enclosure masonry from the Roman city wall, Gundulf’s 11th century curtain and later additions can all be seen tiered above modern reinforcement (20-21), and the Bailey, where there is a general discussion of the buildings which once occupied this space, including the putative cross-wall which divided it (22-23). Only where the 13th century chamber block, and its windows, were incorporated in the surviving curtain wall is there much to see of any of this. Again, the uncertainties emphasized in Jeremy Ashbee’s own earlier work, and the sense of just how much remains to be discovered about the castle by excavation, are slightly soft-pedalled here (though some more information is incorporated into the Medieval Castle Life page and the later History).

The History part of the guide is also a clear and well-informed summary, beginning with Rochester Before the Castle, the Roman and Anglo-Saxon inheritance (24), and the First Norman Castle, a likely immediate post-1066 earthwork cutting off ‘the south-western corner of the walled (Roman) city’ (25). The three medieval sieges of Rochester: 1088, when it was held on behalf of Odo of Bayeux during his rebellion against William I’s son William Rufus (25-26), 1215 (28-29) and 1264 (34), constitute highlights of the following narrative. Again there is the familiar chronological story of the rebels in 1215 fighting on ‘for several days’(?) behind the internal division of the keep after its partial collapse – this always irritates me because of nonsense written in the past (not here of course) implying even that great towers were built with spine walls deliber-
ately to facilitate such resistance! Realistically, the most that can have happened is that the defenders hung on briefly in hopes of negotiating for their lives, while the attackers refrained from risking theirs climbing up a huge pile of rubble, knowing that surrender was imminent anyway. They are interspersed with the usual sections on episodes of building: Bishop Gundulf’s Stone Castle of c.1090 (26-27), The Building of the Keep after 1127 (27) and The Works of King Henry III beginning with reconstruction in the 1220s (30-31).

The author then reiterates his own convincing argument that the castle as a royal residence never recovered from damage done in 1264 despite the repairs and additions to its defences of 1367-1383 ordered by Edward III and Richard II, outlining the record of subsequent decline (34-37). The bald statement (37) that ‘almost nothing is known of the castle in the 15th century’ might be contested: a prosopography of its constables and their deputies suggests that the office still had regional importance for instance, and at least some of them (such as Alexander Iden in 1455) were charged with spending specific sums on repairs and maintenance, though a conclusion of gradual decline still seems fair enough. The section on Rochester city and cathedral (32-33) is a valuable addition on the wider context of the castle, especially when taken with the comments on the strategic and economic importance of Rochester Bridge over the Medway (36-37) and the decade-long rebuilding which followed its collapse in 1381.

The modern history of the castle (37-40) is one of changing ownership, property leased out for other uses, and deterioration (a major fire sometime before the 1670s destroyed the floors and roofs of the keep), until what was left was taken over by Rochester Corporation as a public park in 1870, and passed into national guardianship only in 1965. It is spiced with an engaging anecdote from Samuel Pepys recording how on a visit to the castle in 1665 he commenced the seduction of ‘three pretty mayds’ he met there, only to be put off his stroke by the vertiginous view from the top of the keep, which ‘did fright me mightily, and hinder me of much pleasure which I would have made to myself in the company of these three, if it had not been for that’. To be fair, on another occasion Pepys, intellectually as well as sexually curious, hired a local guide to go over the ruins more thoroughly. In this section too, good use is made of early photographs.

Overall, this guide does an excellent job in introducing a complex and under-researched site. There are no errors at all I could see, beyond a couple of typos (Gundulf became bishop in 1077 rather than 1072 and Simon de Montfort died in 1265 and not 1264) and conclusions are also well-judged. Yet it remains possible that we will know much more about the castle and its setting in 10 or 20 years’ time (or when another guide is written) than we do now. Excavation could reveal the layout of buildings within the castle (including the cross-wall dividing the bailey documented in 1231) and perhaps more about the date and function of the enclosure on Boley Hill (an early outer bailey or a later addition?). Modern survey (and hopefully necessary restoration) could provide a renewed basis for the study of the great tower. On the historical side there is also much more to be said about the role of Rochester in medieval Kent: about the exceptional grant of 1127 by which King Henry I put the castle into the ‘perpetual custody’ of the archbishops of Canterbury with permission (obligation?) to build a great tower there, and even about the political contexts of the famous sieges. To take just one example, both Ashbee and Goodall build arguments on the ‘collaboration’ between kings and archbishops over Rochester after 1127, but are cautious about what this meant in practice. Allen Brown typically was more confident, that the archiepiscopal custody ‘lasted throughout the twelfth century’. Arguably though, it is most likely that the castle was taken back into royal hands on William of Corbeil’s death in 1136 (almost as soon as the keep was built) and only returned to the trusted administrator Hubert Walter (archbishop of Canterbury 1193-1205) for a few years after 1200, and then again 1213-15 to Stephen Langton until the outbreak of the civil war. Such debates are bound to continue, but for many this guide will serve well as a starting point.

Richard Eales
Wexford Castles
Landscape, Context, Settlement

Author: Billy Colfer.
ISBN 978-1859184936
Hb, pp. 272, size: 299 x 237 mm.
Price €49.00.

This book is the fourth in the much-lauded Irish Landscape Series and is the late Billy Colfer’s third offering in the series, following Wexford: a town and its landscape (2008) and The Hook Peninsula (2004). As with others in the series, this book is a coffee-table sized, quality production, lavishly illustrated with over 400 colour images. It is far from a standard coffee-table book; however, as the text stands up to scrutiny; providing a wealth of contextual information in terms of the history and landscape of County Wexford, into which the discussion of Wexford’s castellated architecture is placed.


The first four chapters set the scene for castle-building in the county. This begins with an assessment of environmental history, geology and soil-types in Chapter 1, whilst Chapter 2 provides a sweeping roundup of the county’s archaeological record, ending in the 12th century, prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion. Chapter 3 provides an introduction to the castle-building tradition of Europe, of which Wexford was soon to become a part, and Chapter 4 charts the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland which, of course, began in County Wexford in 1169. This chapter also sets the scene for several of the main themes of the book, firstly the degree to which ecclesiastical estates influenced the future development of the county and its landscape, and secondly, the circumstances leading to the eventual contraction of the colony to the southern baronies. Figure 12 on page 31 summarises 13th century land grants and shows that the concentration of the colony in the southern part of the county was clear even at this early date. Figure 15 on page 34 is also worthy of note, providing a summary of Anglo-Norman settlement in the county.

Chapter 5 is the first to be dedicated entirely to a discussion of the castles of the county. It begins with a discussion of earth and timber castles, such as those at Glascarrig, Old Ross and Dunamore, and their associated settlements. In his analysis of the distribution of these castles, Colfer tends to overstate their strategic military role. This is typified by Figure 18 on page 49 where ‘lines’ of defensive structures are shown running southeast to northwest across various parts of the county. Whilst Colfer does state that this arrangement could be a ‘fortuitous pattern resulting from the selection of sites within the manorial framework’ he expends much more energy describing what he terms ‘a double defensive line’. The chapter moves on to address the stone castles of the county with a detailed discussion of Ferns Castle forming the final few pages. It also introduces the county’s moated sites with the author seeing these as the settlement precursor to the later tower houses.

Chapters 6 and 7 deal with the latter half of the 13th century - 16th century, charting the contraction of the lordship into the southern baronies of Forth and Bargy, and also dealing with the difficult relationship between the colony and the native population. These were on the one hand, violently opposed, but
on the other, going through a period of acculturation and intermarriage which undoubtedly aligned the ambitions of many families. Chapter 7 discusses the creation of the Wexford Pale and the dissolution of the monasteries. Colfer details how this changed the face of South Wexford, which was particularly densely populated with monastic estates. These chapters also introduce the theme of the isolation of the lordship in South Wexford that would prove to be an interesting feature of its cultural and architectural development.

Chapter 8 begins with an assessment of the origins of the tower house which Colfer argues was the successor to the 14\textsuperscript{th} century fortified urban house and fortified church. He discusses the 1441 and 1453 acts granting subsidies and protection for the erection of castles in the Pill of Taghmon and then moves on to assess the builders of tower houses in the county. The tower house distribution map presented as Figure 13 on page 112 illustrates very well the concentration in the southern parts of the county. The chapter ends with a discussion of the relationship between moated sites and tower houses in the county. This is not a new idea; however, the evidence Colfer presents is convincing and raises the interesting proposition of continuity between the tower houses of this area and earlier settlement types. This is not something that is seen universally across the island and may be a particular circumstance of the history of the lordship in this county.

Chapters 9 to 13 focus on the architecture of fortified churches, tower houses and fortified hall houses, but all within the wider landscape scope of the book. These are detailed and informative chapters that at many points left me wishing that this book had been available when I was completing my PhD thesis. Again there are elements of overstating the defensive purpose of the tower house and the scale of warfare in Ireland, but putting this to one side the chapters contain several thought-provoking ideas. Colfer argues that the later fortified hall houses peculiar to South Wexford were born out of a general tendency to add halls to tower houses. Eventually, he argues, the tower house diminishes in importance and becomes the stair turret on the end of a hall. This is typified by Coolhull where a three storey hall block is serviced by a four-storey tower/turret at one end. These chapters are richly illustrated with detailed photographs and building plans.

The final two chapters deal with the end of castle-building in Wexford and the legacy of the Anglo-Norman involvement in the county. The author states that ‘County Wexford presents a concise microcosm of the ethnic and cultural duality which resonated from the colonisation by the English in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries’ (p. 227) and this is very much something that comes across throughout the whole book and in particular these last two chapters. Taking the landscape scale approach to both the history and architecture of the county certainly highlights the complex relationship that exists between the built and natural environment and this book weaves its way through both spheres with ease.

Overall an impressive work that is sure to become basic reading for anyone interested in the cultural complexities brought about by the Anglo-Norman colonisation of Ireland and its effects through the centuries. More than just a coffee-table book by far.

Gillian Eadie

Postscript:

On February 4\textsuperscript{th}, 2013 Dr Billy Colfer, noted historian, author and school-teacher, sadly died. A native of Slade, Mr. Colfer, 73, was noted for being an authority on Wexford history. A graduate of St. Patrick’s College, Drumcondra (1961), he later graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, where he completed his doctorate in research on medieval Wexford. He spent his teaching career in Wexford CBS Primary school where he was one of the most popular teachers to ever take charge of a classroom. He retired as a teacher in 1997. Dr. Colfer was a gentleman in every sense of the word.

He was a prolific writer whose articles documenting the history of Slade, Hook and Co. Wexford in general will remain a worthy testament to his enduring legacy as a person who was truly ‘one of a kind’. His articles of historical interest, written for some of the country’s leading publishers, remain valued among historical societies and many are archived as a definitive source material for future generations of researchers. He is survived by his wife, Noreen, sons, Paul, Donal, Eoin, Eamonn and Niall, brothers, George and John, grand-children, relatives, and very large circle of friends.

Other books include: The County of Wexford; Promontory of Hook; The Hook Peninsula, County Wexford; Wexford A Town and Its Landscape.
**Newcastle & Northumberland - Roman and Medieval Architecture and Art**

(BAA Conference Transactions, Vol 36).

Jeremy Ashbee & Julian Luxford (eds.)

Pb: 280 pp; 32 colour plates

Publisher: Maney Publishing, (Leeds).

Published: June 2013

ISBN: Hb 978 1 907975 929, Pb 978 1 907975 936

Price: £36.00 (Pb) £80.00 (Hb).


This publication, in CSG Journal size, is the outcome of the British Archaeological Association Summer Conference, based in Newcastle upon Tyne in the Summer of 2010. There are 14 essays included, of which four articles relate directly to medieval castle studies in the Northumbria area; John Goodall: The Early Development of Alnwick Castle c. 1100-1400; Steven Brindle: Henry II, Anglo-Scots Relations and the Building of the Castle Keep, Newcastle upon Tyne; Frank Woodman: Women Behaving Badly: Warkworth Castle - Protection or Paranoia; Philip Dixon: Border Towers, a Cartographic Approach.

The publication is arranged chronologically, liberally illustrated throughout with black & white photographs, with the addition of 32 high quality colour plates, grouped together at the front following the Preface. The General Series editor is Alex Bovey.

**Alnwick Castle**

John Goodall’s welcome interest in Alnwick Castle follows his insightful commentary on Alnwick in *The English Castle* and a more general article in *Country Life* (March 2009). The paper (pp. 232-247) almost immediately proposes a radically new viewpoint concerning the castle’s early development in stone. John’s suggestion is that the current ‘Keep’ (the term used at Alnwick to describe the circular ring or cluster of 7 D-shaped or polygonal towers - with an open central courtyard - and now placed approximately in the centre of the whole castle complex) was an added feature imposed on the landscape much later in time than usually accepted. It assumes that the castle was originally without a motte or shell keep and developed from a simple enceinte or enclosure castle, probably to the east of the current ‘Keep’. This proposition explains the location/orientation of the Norman gatehouse (c. 1130s), that may have been the original principal entrance into the enceinte, not the ‘Keep’. This idea turns the long-established received wisdom concerning Alnwick’s development on its head. It contradicts all previous interpretations of Alnwick’s evolution. From the earliest writings of C H Hart-shorne (1850s), G T Clark, Hamilton Thompson, Derek Renn and all other commentators. In all these accounts, Alnwick starts its life as a classic low motte or shell keep and bailey perhaps adding a further bailey to the west, to form an irregular butterfly-style double-bailey castle similar to Windsor, or Arundel, but on a smaller scale.

A look at the Canaletto oil painting of 1747 defining its line of wall towers and topography (fig. 1), or the castle ground-plan (fig. 2) prior to the major interventions in the 18th and 19th centuries, would seem to suggest that this traditional interpretation is a very difficult one to dislodge, so Goodall is pretty brave to attempt this re-writing of Alnwick’s architectural history. To reiterate, his suggestion is that the ‘Keep’ complex was laid out anew, outside and adjacent to the earlier enclosure castle. To access one from the other, the Norman gatehouse was left in place, but its original ‘outer face’ became the interior face into the new courtyard formed by the ring of towers. In effect, the gate-passage has been reversed in its function. The argument to justify this reversal partly rests on the nature of the Romanesque decorative faces on the orders of the arches at both ends of the passage. The present, so-called ‘inner face’ is more richly ornamented and appears to rest on more substantial imposts, and hence, as the argument goes, logically this was
Fig. 1. ABOVE: Alnwick Castle from the north. Antonio Canaletto, 1747 (detail). Showing wing walls leading up to the ‘Keep’, clearly seen here as a central citadel on an eminence’. Image via The Lobkowicz Collections, Prague Castle, Czech Republic and Wikipaintings.org.

Fig. 2. BELOW: Alnwick Castle (fold-out) plan. From C H Hartshorne, 1865, A Guide to Alnwick Castle. The Norman gate-passage is shown in black as No. 4. (Assumes a first floor plan rather than the ground floor). The polygonal twin-towered gatehouse to the south of the Norman passage is also shown in black, suggesting a 1350s date. However the west Barbican/Gatehouse is highlighted as being 1309-15.
effectively encased in a mid-14th century shell above and around it. At the southern (Inner Bailey) end the gate-passage has been extended by the addition of the 1440-50s twin-towered polygonal spurred gatehouse (of which more later) and floors have been built/rebuilt above the passage. Both of the gate-passage interior walls have seemingly been thickened by infilling the recesses and the transverse vaulting ribs dying into these walls have been inserted all the way along. The springing and top of the south-facing side of the Romanesque arch at the southern end of the gate-passage is also now semi-entombed half-way along the passage. This arch, with one ‘order’ fewer, (at least visually) has pronounced jamb rebates allowing for an original inward-closing two-leaved gate, architecturally arguing for its correct original directional flow, form and orientation leading into the shell-keep courtyard; having said that, it’s only fair to mention that the inner wall thickening at the northern ‘inner’ end of the passage has also concealed a door rebate, making a definitive interpretation problematic.

If one examines comparable Norman gate-passages found elsewhere (e.g. Richmond, Prudhoe, Castle Rising, Lewes, Arundel, Egremont, Tickhill, Newark, Sherborne), the first problem is that there is no real precise match, especially in the degree of the ornamentation on the orders of the chamfered arches. In regard to the length or thickness of the imposts, there are also no rules that govern the orientation according to any hierarchy of impost thickness. Prudhoe’s outer bailey 1150s gatehouse arch has three orders at its inner end, facing the bailey, and only two facing the field in its outer face, for example. All this reviewer can say is that the Alnwick gate-passage was originally probably unvaulted or has been at least re-vaulted, and that the rebates for the doors at the southern end are at the correct end (as originally built) that allows for the interpretation for the shell-keep or levelled motte as being originally part of the castle’s layout, arguing for the status quo. However, the debate is interesting, valuable and welcomed.

The 14th century development of the castle is treated in some detail and more or less with the same chronological narrative as noted in The English Castle. This is the period (after 1309) when the Percys redeveloped the ‘Keep’ buildings, gates and wall towers. Thus the ‘Keep’ complex with its open interior courtyard is seen as not coming into existence until after this date. Whilst there is no documentary evidence, the single-towered Middle Gate appears to have been an early addition, perhaps c. 1310-15, (although no precise date is offered in the article, a comparison is made to Peverell’s Tower, Dover), followed by a rolling programme that included the twin-towered Inner Gatehouse c. 1340 and the Outer Gatehouse and Barbican to the west, approximately contemporaneous. Earlier writers, including Hartshorne and Clark, had placed the Barbican-Gatehouse and other towers into the 1309-15 era. But it is worth pointing out that Platt, (The Castle in Medieval England and Wales, p. 130) and Emery, (GMH Vol 1, p. 39, fn. 1) both suggest a 1340s-50s date. Coherent arguments are made to establish these dates based mainly on architectural or circumstantial evidence, along with the very reasonable suggestion that much of the 14th century architecture owes its direct origins to the Edwardian castles of north Wales, including the proliferation of the wall-top sculptural ‘defenders’. Goodall neatly and succinctly weaves into the narrative the necessary historical and political back-drop that prompted such changes.

Included in this analysis is a discussion of the stylistic diversity shown by the contemporary use of both rectangular and D-shaped towers along the circuits of both baileys. Reference is also made to the important historical sources of this pre-Adam/pre-Salvin era, i.e. the textual survey of 1567 and the Treswell drawings (five floor plans) of 1608. None of these are illustrated in the paper and the reader is referred to them as footnotes. It may have been more useful to have included some of these and at least a modern plan of the whole site. Whilst the article articulates Alnwick’s medieval architectural history well, it is hampered by the lack of plans that could have illustrated the putative changes both before and after the intervention of the Percys. Some confusion also arises here about the contextual meaning of the ‘Inner Bailey’. This is often referred to in the article as the courtyard space inside the ‘Keep’ complex, whereas most writers refer to the Inner Bailey as that enclosure that sits to the east, with the Outer Bailey the enclosure to the west (fig. 2). The space within the Keep is usually described simply as the ‘courtyard’, not a bailey. This confusion could have been avoided with the use of such illustrations and more precise explanation. (Whilst the Treswell drawings and bird’s eye view (fig. 5) were published by Hartshorne in 1857 - Illustrations of Alnwick, Prudhoe and Warkworth, a more accessible book containing some of these is Hartshorne’s History and Antiquities of Northumberland, Vol. II, [Feudal and Military Antiquities] 1858, pp. 143-185). The text of the 1567 Survey (by Clarkson) is also reproduced by Hartshorne in full - in Appendix XIII.
Fig. 3. Alnwick Castle. The Norman gate-passage looking south from the courtyard of the ‘Keep’. Showing: 1. The highly decorated chevron-carved face of the ‘Inner’ (Goodall’s suggested original Outer) Norman arch, c. 1130s. 2. The transverse ribbed vaulting, probably c. 1340s; 3. Thickened gate-passage interior walls. 4. The southern arch and jambs of the Norman ‘Outer’ (Goodall’s suggested original Inner) face. 5. The gate and arch of the 1340s twin-towered gatehouse with rooms either side. It is, of course, conceivable that both Norman arched faces have been disassembled, reversed, and reassembled at a much later date.
Fig. 4. Alnwick Castle. The Norman gate-passage looking north from the present Inner Bailey into the courtyard of the ‘Keep’. Showing: 1. The wooden gate of the 1340-50s twin towered gatehouse extension to the gate-passage 2. The ribbed vaulting, probably c. 1340s; 3. Jamb and decorative Norman arch that seems to have been re-set - there may be further ‘orders’ hidden by the present vaulting. It does appear that this was the gate arch. 4. Norman ‘Inner’ end of the gatehouse passage with strengthened interior walls and impost to rear arch.
Fig. 5. Alnwick Castle. East at the top. From the 1608 survey by Ralph Treswell, as illustrated in Hartshorne, 1858, indicating the possible original double-bailey format that pre-dated the Percy alterations, although John Goodall argues for a more radical interpretation of the origins of the ‘Keep’.
ABOVE: Fig. 6. Prudhoe Castle, Northumberland. Detail of the Norman (1150s?) gatehouse from the exterior leading into the bailey with its archway of two orders and chamfered string-course/ impost with inner rebate for the two-leaved gate. BELOW: Fig. 7. The arch and gate-passage from the interior showing the more detailed arch of three orders, but no rebate, string-course or imposts.
Newcastle upon Tyne Castle

Steven Brindle’s analysis of Newcastle upon Tyne’s castle with its 1170s Henry II great tower has many merits. The paper introduces the subject with a detailed historical account of the troubled history of the disputed lands of Northumbria and the difficulties of the Anglo-Norman/Scots political relationships, key to understanding Henry II’s decision to strengthen the castle and build the keep from 1172-79. The documented history is a well worn path and Brindle follows the classic established account.

It is the description and analysis of the building - the keep - that allows Brindle to offer some new ideas about the function of various architectural features. His account of the building’s history relies substantially on two detailed surveys: A paper by Newcastle antiquary W. H. D. Longstaffe in 1860, ‘The New Castle upon Tyne’ (AA, 2nd series 4. pp. 45-139), which is the most detailed, and that by W. H. Knowles, ‘The Castle, Newcastle upon Tyne’ (AA, 4th series. 2 (1926) pp. 1-51). which is liberally illustrated with individual floor-plans, elevations and drawings. Neither have subsequently been surpassed in either detailed description or accuracy of plans; Brindle very usefully includes Longstaffe’s plan of the castle complex (Brindle’s fig. 2, p. 97 which) shows the whole medieval layout according to the then known archaeology. (W D Simpson - Exploring Castles - 1957, pp. 28-41 did include a detailed survey of the Newcastle keep, with some interesting and characteristic commentary on some of the more unusual and still unexplained elements of the keep. It utilises Knowle’s plans and sections of 1926. Whilst it offers a more militaristic explanation of various features, it remains useful and enlightening. This Simpson chapter is not well-known and could be beneficially added to any useful bibliography on the Newcastle keep referred to (see CSGJ 28 forthcoming).

The great merit of Brindle’s brief survey revolves around his own conjectural drawings that seek to clarify a number of unresolved problems. First he handles the problem of the missing lower section of the forebuilding and how it probably joined up to the wall-walk on the missing dividing wall that once separated the upper (inner) and lower (outer) baileys (Figs. 4 & 5, elevation and section from the south-east side, pp. 103-4). This lower part of the forebuilding is seen as having two entrances - east and west - the east entrance on axis with the missing main gate(house), probably of the 1160s, which led directly into the upper (inner) bailey. This main gate was demolished in the second decade of the 19th century, but Brindle illustrates it by means of a valuable but little known drawing dated 1810, made before the gate(house) was removed. (‘Bailey Gate of the New-Castle’, 1810, drawn by Jefferson). [Knowles also has a simplified sketch of this drawing in his 1926 survey].

Figs. 4 & 5 of the conjectural reconstruction also shows full height battlements and extended corner turrets. Again, this is conjectural, the argument for the heightened turrets being: ‘Finally, the [present reconstructed] turrets are diminutive, only rising slightly above the main level of the roof. The surviving turrets at Rochester, the White Tower, Hedingham and Dover are proportionally much higher. Given the Newcastle keep’s carefully considered design, it seems likely that its original turrets did, indeed, rise substantially higher’ (than those currently, added in the 19th century). There may be some slight evidence for original higher turrets, but the Scala drawings cannot be ignored’ (p. 107). (For a further discussion of Newcastle’s roof-top turrets see CSGJ 28, forthcoming which also argues, on balance, for higher original corner turrets).

Another long-standing puzzle has been not so much the original roof height, but more its constructional form in connection with a perimeter covered mural gallery at third floor - roof level. Evidence for the original roof is fairly clear. Wall scars showing a line of a roof at 53˚ pitch on both end walls, indicating that the roof was deeply countersunk. Openings at the gable ends - north and south would have probably looked down into the double-height main hall, but openings along the inside of the gallery (east-west that proceeds all the way round the third-floor level would have looked out internally over the roof, allowing physical access to the drainage channels which have now been located. Brindle (p.107) carefully elucidates how the roof structure may may have been formed, and his Fig. 6 illustrates a possible solution, based on the surviving 12th century roofs at Kemply church, Gloucestershire and Lisieux Cathedral, Normandy. However, apart from facilitating access to the roof and gutters, no suggestion is made of the gallery’s other functions - in the past it has been suggested that it may have been a very early interior fighting gallery, one stage below the roof-top crenellations. Brindle does remark, on more than one occasion that the north-west turret was built ‘for no apparent reason’, with a different (hexagonal) faceted shape to the others (pp. 100, 108). It is indeed unprecedented, but some suggestions for its angular form are offered (CSGJ 28).
Brindle highlights a number of other features of interest and comments briefly on them: the very steep stairs of the forebuilding that rise directly up to the second floor entrance - the only keep to do so apart from the later Dover keep, also by Maurice; the true function of the room at the top of the stairs that has been variously labelled a guardroom, waiting room or oratory. Brindle appears equivocal about the function of this room (Knowles viewed it as a guardroom, but see CSGJ 28 forthcoming); the unusual plumbing system that feeds water through lead pipes from the second-floor well-room to the basement and to a basin in the lobby on the first floor that leads to a door in the forebuilding, linking (probably by means of a bridge) to the wall-walk.

The latter arrangement is dwelt on at some length. ‘Why on earth did Henry II or his representatives want a water supply here, in a tiny lobby immediately above the main entrance?’ Traditionally writers (Knowles and W D Simpson) have previously stated that ‘the water was carried down by pipes in the cellar of the tower, and also into a cistern provided for the use of the lowest of the three towers of the fore-work’. But what was the water from this cistern or basin used for? Not drinking water surely. Whilst Brindle admits that ‘ultimately the matter remains obscure’, he does make some suggestions in his final section ‘An interpretation’ (pp. 108-9).

The suggestion about the water basin is part and parcel of understanding the probable symbolic and ceremonial importance of the keep (along with Carlisle’s keep) in the politics of the conflicts between Henry I, II and the Scottish Kings David I and Malcolm IV. The lobby that contained the cistern /basin led to a balcony-like space over the lost outer part of the fore-building, potentially a suitable place for formal public appearances. Its small size, Brindle argues, makes it impractical for everyday functional uses, and it could be linked to royal hand-washing ceremonies which formed an important part of 12th century Angevin court life. It is admitted however, that there is no known specific ceremonial context which would explain this feature. ‘Nevertheless, ritual and ceremony, in particular the ceremonies of homage and hospitality were the outward expressions of power-relationships in the 12th century and each major ceremony was carefully planned and eagerly watched. Faced with a feature as strange as this one, it seems natural to look in this direction for a solution’. Other singular features about the keep can also be viewed as adjuncts that reinforce the idea that Newcastle was designed, in a major part, to serve as a setting for ceremonial - the steep entrance route, and the deliberately dramatic lighting of the principal interior room on the second floor - all designed to enhance its ceremonial purpose.

Of course, the keep had ancillary functions. Brindle highlights its ample provision of prison cells; one in the basement and another off the second-floor hall in the north-west corner tower, each with their own latrines. Both are well-appointed. The first floor hall, with its self-contained suite, only slightly inferior to the King’s chamber above, may have been for the constable or the sheriffs of Northumberland, where they would exercise the king’s authority.

Over the course of the article, comparisons are made to other Norman keeps in the north of England, particularly Bamburgh and Carlisle. Brindle argues, like Goodall, that these were both probably the work of Henry I, with the design of Bamburgh, although much earlier, being more akin to Newcastle. Whilst neither Bamburgh and Carlisle originally had any forebuilding (having ground-floor entrances), a forebuilding was later added to Carlisle on its east face (since removed), and Brindle posits that this was probably the work of Henry II, to provide for a more impressive entrance (although there is no documentary evidence for this). Newcastle’s most direct antecedent was Henry II’s keep at Scarborough dated to 1157-69. Brindle sees Scarborough as prefiguring Newcastle, although it does have a relatively conventional first-floor entrance through a fore-building. Given Scarborough’s completion date of 1169, it is possible, as Brindle argues, that this was Master Maurice’s previous major project.

Steven Brindle’s analysis of the Newcastle keep is a refreshing and thoughtful study offering many new ideas and insights for how the fabric was originally stitched together and how it may have functioned as a royal seat of power. Much emphasis is placed on its probable symbolic and ceremonial use and he highlights the additional architectural features contrived by a master architect to enhance the powerful impact and overawing effects of form, mass and light in this magnificent building. There are a few defensive features - but they are mainly to do with draw-bars at basement level. There are no draw-bars in the forebuilding or inside the main highly decorative entrance portal. Any effective arrow-loops would have been at parapet and turret level, it seems these were removed at some undetermined time. A number of puzzles remain, but Steven Brindle has added extra clarity to the functions and power-politics played out in the royal Norman great towers of Henry II, although oddly, there are no documentary records that positively indicate Henry II ever visited Newcastle to see it.
Warkworth Castle

Frank Woodman’s ‘Women Behaving Badly. Warkworth Castle: Protection or Paranoia’ is an unusual paper. Like the curate’s egg there are some good ideas and arguably some not so good, rather shaky propositions, and the racy style of the text may upset a few curates used to a more cerebral approach in an academic paper.

The title is potentially misleading, but his thesis is an interesting contribution in general. Basically, Woodman is suggesting that by the late middle ages castles had become complex, large and prestigious residences, with a substantial complement of staff, from ‘lowly’ knights and foot-soldiers to ‘unwilling’ peasants. This posed particular problems for aristocratic families with unmarried daughters and often young rich widows. From c. 1300 a surprising number of highborn women fell victim to seduction (sometimes dressed up as abduction), apparently. The carefully laid plans of the new, up-and-coming aristocracy of 14th century England seemed especially vulnerable, and the aristocracy lost both daughters and widows. Woodman’s thesis argues that in the ‘inflexibly planned new [courtyard or compact block] castles of the later middle ages’ it is sometimes possible to ‘spot’ (through their planning and architectural expression), the precautions taken by sensible parents, and, it is argued, Warkworth, especially in connection with the planning of its 1380s keep or tower house, exemplifies this assertion. The paper proposes that the security of women, both as ‘under-age’ or ‘of-age’ daughters and young widows with jointures, became an urgent issue in the greater households of England, to the extent that many newly-built castle-residences show potential evidence of physical segregation of the sexes ‘to the point of virtual imprisonment’. Warkworth, it is argued, presents one of the best surviving examples of the period, not just for its state of preservation, but also the reading of the domestic ranges ‘that is plain to see’.

In regard to women ‘behaving badly’ a number of examples are given at the outset - women who did not follow the medieval script of what was expected of them: Joan of Acre (1272-1307); Elizabeth of Clare (1295-1360); Joan, Countess of Kent (1328-85); Elizabeth Plantagenet (1364-1426). All high-profile affairs that seemed to cause a huge amount of trouble at the highest levels in society, that had the potential to completely derail the carefully laid plans of aristocratic families in arranging advantageous, financially beneficial marriages. Daughters were seen as political and material assets to be manipulated rather than burdens.

The domestic arrangements at the Warkworth tower house are remarkably intact. The building is a classic example of the period in that it is strictly geometrical and comes under the Woodman category of being ‘inflexibly planned’. Once built, the rigid room arrangement, fitted in many layers like a Chinese box, is almost impossible to alter, offering no scope for the odd extension or even significant internal change. Hence its potential value in peering into its spatial plan to understand the medieval world of elite aristocratic living at a fixed point in time.

Hence there is considerable discussion of the integrated tight planning of Warkworth, with its strictly controllable access to its private living accommodation, and the prime focus of the discussion rests on the function of the two-tier chapel on the same floor and adjacent to the great hall with the altar across the way from the high-end table of the hall. The upper floor above the chapel was a kind of mezzanine floor, the east end of which was open, to view the altar below.

On p. 270, Woodman asks some interesting questions about this arrangement: Why does the chapel at main floor level have a direct access to the high table end of the hall? Why is there a private access route from the altar area into Percy’s great chamber? Was it possible for the family to ‘attend’ mass in any meaningful way suspended high above the altar with only a view of the celebrant’s pate, and then only if they hung over a railing? And finally, why does a space for attending mass require a fireplace and an en-suite latrine? These questions are directing the reader to consider that the room did not function as an oratory, or even one for collective family worship.

It is further suggested that only the women of the Percy family, earls of Northumberland, would have worshipped and taken mass unseen in this upper-tier ‘loft’ and the men of the household would have gathered in the chapel more publicly below, thus keeping daughters away from the eyes of potential lowly suitors. ‘What would make more sense of the whole arrangement of private rooms including the loft is that it was all conceived (by men) for the protection and security of women’ (with the implication that such protection and security was in the ultimate financial self-serving interests of men) (p. 273). Thus segregation occurs, (young) women hearing mass rather than seeing mass, and this explains, according to Woodman, contemporary illustrations where women are often depicted as sitting on the floor, sometimes with their backs to the altar reciting the rosary or reading approved texts, from, for example a ‘book of hours’. Women were viewed as valuable commodities, to be shielded from unwelcome, socially unequal atten-
tions at all costs. The general tenor of the arguments seems to be ‘lock up your daughters’ for fear of sexual predators within the ranks of household retainers, knights, servants, common soldiers and other hang-ers-on rather than a division purely driven by the perceived need for social/class segregation.

The chapel/oratory arrangement at Warkworth is the main, perhaps the sole, ‘readable’ architectural argu-ment for segregation. It would have been interesting see if any others areas of planning at Warkworth likewise suggested such protected gender isolation. Two other castles are presented briefly in the paper that might have had similar chapel/gender arrange-ments - Bolton and Bodiam. It would have strength-ened the author’s arguments to have looked around for a few more castle-residence examples to bolster the thesis, and not just limiting the ‘signs’ to three chapels (other clear examples of a two-tier chapel arrangement are found at Berkeley and at Raglan - see the Cadw Raglan guidebook, p. 41, but this may have been more of a short timber-framed balcony or gallery to the rear and above, and is referred to in primary texts as a ‘closet’). It also needs a few more wide-ranging examples - beyond the chapel - to make a decent thesis but it reminds this reviewer of some interesting thoughts Philip Davis had about Barnard Castle’s round tower, in last year’s CSG Journal 26, pp. 282-4, and Steven Brindle’s comments about Conisbrough’s keep in Château Gaillard. 25 (2010), pp. 61-73.

However, there are a number of doubtful assertions made in the paper, in the reviewer’s view, that are not footnoted with any additional supporting refer-ences. One area relates to the sexual mores of 15th century English society, a subject, offered in a de-tailed and arguably gratuitous way that is not necessarily relevant to the main thrust of the paper. Thus: ‘Men also faced the anxiety of the restrictions upon ‘lying with their wives’ imposed by the Church. While marital love was rare and considered ill-advised, men slept with their wives as much to ensure the legitimacy of their children as for the security of knowing where their spouses were….These draconi-an [Church] rules [on the prohibitions, why and wherefores of sexual relations] applied to married couples. The trouble for husbands was that it was difficult to apply them to unmarried people such as their offspring and to their wives and other men. Of course the opposite - sex between married men and other women, married or otherwise - was taken for granted, but husbands had the additional anxiety of keeping other men off their wives’…(p. 273). These kinds of comments, that can certainly be legitimate-ly argued elsewhere, seem out of place in this short paper, and this reviewer does not see this period of history energized by high octane male paranoia nor driven by such suggested levels of sexual promiscui-ty or solely governed by lust or humankind’s baser instincts. Perhaps the need for preserving social (or class) distinction was the driver here. Nonetheless, the basic premise, that architectural features offered clues to gendered spaces within castles suggesting imposed restricted movements (even virtual impris-onment?), is a valid one, and more research could and should be made in this general area. A comprehen-sive list could usefully be made of all integrated castle chapels of the period that might fit the criteria. Much of this may have already been done by writers such as Roberta Gilchrist and Sarah Kay. (See Bibli-oography, CSG Journal 26, p. 284).

A few other points to note: In fn 1, Woodman suggests that ‘Warkworth Castle has not received as much attention as it surely deserves’. This may be true regarding the 13th century defences and other buildings within the bailey to the south, but regarding the tower house he omits any reference to Mal-collm Hislop’s papers. (Hislop, M. J. B. 1991, ‘The date of the Warkworth Donjon’, in Archaeologia Aeliana (ser 5) Vol. 19 p. 79-92, and Hislop, 2007, John Lewyn of Durham: a medieval mason in prac-tice, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, Brit-ish Series, 438). Malcolm’s work, together with Emery, Goodall, Milner, and Fernie & Crossley, gives a good account of the Percy tower house. In his endnotes on Warkworth in GMH Vol 1, Emery makes reference to Hislop, so I am not sure how this was missed. The photographic reproduction in this paper is very poor, apart from fig. 1. Other images of the castle do not add anything to the general argument apart from fig. 4, and the space could have been better utilised by looking at relevant compara-tive images of Bodiam and Bolton.

Frank Woodman has presented a lively account of the fears, social pressures, ambitions and aspirations of elite families in the 14th and 15th centuries and how late-medieval residential properties might offer clues as to how ‘paranoid’ fathers tried to preserve the integrity of their daughters’ virtue before marrying them off to create advantageous financial and dynastic alliances. He also offers a most useful overview on the law and system of jointure that protected many widows. But today, one has to ad-mire the spirit of those independent women who occasionally sacrificed security and comfort for something far more meaningful and satisfying.

Neil Guy
Fortified houses of the Anglo-Scottish border

Philip Dixon’s paper on the fortified houses of the Anglo-Scottish border, illustrated by several maps and graphs, explores the underlying historical, social, and economic factors effecting the distribution of castles, tower houses and fortified farmhouses of the region from the mid 11th century to the Union of 1603. Considerable research is neatly summarized with clarity. What is produced is a paper that outlines the subtle variations in geography, finances, fluctuations in intensity of warfare in the area, and the expression of these in the buildings of the social elite.

The region was not one of continual warfare. The basic form of the border had been set from the early 11th century. Intermittent disputes between the English and Scottish Crowns did lead to periods of warfare, notably in the late 13th/early 14th centuries but there were also long periods of peace when wealthy manorial lords did build more domestic, hall houses in the area. The ‘warfare’ of the 16th century was in the form of numerous raids but these, too, varied in intensity with a peak of English raids into Scotland in the 1540s and Scottish raids into England in the 1580s, but with several decades between these dates when only a few annual raids occurred.

The early 11th and 12th century castles are not numerous. The density by area of earthwork castles in the area is below the average for England, although this writer was surprised to see Dixon suggest East Anglia as an area of high castle density, since this area actually has an even lower density. The data for populations does not exist and the castle density per capita in the area, not discussed by Dixon, is likely to be fairly high although nowhere near comparable with the Welsh marches. The castles and larger tower houses built before 1415 all lie in the rich farmlands of the Solway Firth, Northumberland coastal plain and the broad valleys of the Tweed and South Tyne.

The smaller tower houses, (Dixon avoids the term ‘pele tower’), of the 15th and 16th centuries have a slightly wider distribution and some were being built in dales of the Cheviot Hills. Having outlined the earlier history of fortified houses in the region Dixon moves on the major part of his paper, which is the situation in the 16th and 17th centuries. A terminological issue for Dixon is the ‘bastle’. The Monument Protection Programme defined these as ‘a two-storeyed, roughly built, defensible farmhouse with the main living area on the first floor and storerooms or an animal shelter below’. Dixon calls these fairly rude houses ‘pele-houses’ reserving bastle for larger two and three storey rectangular buildings, without the animal shelter aspect of 16th century date and coming from the tower house tradition. Bastles follow the distribution of tower houses, being mainly in low lying areas with considerable arable farming while pele-houses are strongly concentrated in the dales of the Cheviot Hills and North Pennines in areas of livestock pastoralism.

Dixon states ‘The period from c. 1550 to c. 1580 is likely to have been a critical period for the building of towers and probably many of the bastles, by members of the wealthier classes in Border society, since they were profiting in the main by theft and rentals from the less wealthy farmers in the region. He goes on to argue that pele-houses are, from the first decade of the 17th century, built after the worst periods of raiding had finished and made an affordable and worthwhile expense as this highland area became increasing crown land with farmstead rentals dropping to exceptionally low real levels as the Crown failed to exact rents.

A chart of the distribution of wealth in the uplands based on a couple of hundred inventories reminds us that although pele-houses can seem crude, particularly to those of us who study grand castles, the pele-house builders were still within the top 30% of society leaving goods worth at least four times as much as the bottom 50%.

Originally given as a half-hour talk at the 2010 conference of the British Archaeological Association, one is left feeling that, to work within such a restrictive time limit, much of the intense research has been left on the cutting room floor. I suspect the director’s cut would be more satisfying.

It would be of considerable value for there to be a definitive work on bastles and pele-houses based on Dixon’s research. The current terminology is misleading, historically inaccurate and has lead to a confused thing called a ‘bastle derivative’ which is starting to produce some perplexing listing reports for 17th century buildings in the area. Buildings of quite different social status, different dates and, possibly, of different building traditions are currently lumped together. This paper highlights those differences. However, Dixon, by grouping tower houses under one label, does a similar thing for earlier buildings where this writer sees differences between the baronial tower houses and the gentry status pele towers.

Philip Davis
The royal castles of Denmark during the 14th century: An Analysis of the Major Royal Castles with Special Regard to Their Functions & Strategic Importance

Author: Vivian Etting
ISBN-10: 8776021386
Hardcover: 217 pages (English)

Despite the close connections between Scandinavia and Britain, anyone interested in the castles of the Danish kingdom who could not read the local language was restricted to the short papers published from time to time in Château Gaillard. The English summary to Rikke Agnete Olsen’s Borge i Danmark, dating from 1996, was the only available overview. Now, like long-awaited buses, two English language volumes have come along: an English edition of Olsen’s book, and Vivian Etting’s excellent study.

Many books promise much in their title, and deliver rather less. The opposite is the case here. In all three elements of the title this study goes well beyond the apparent limits. First, the evolution of castles in the kingdom is explained first, before arriving at the 14th century. That time is chosen as the apogee of castle construction from the medieval period. Secondly, the limitation to “royal” castles is not very restrictive, as unlike elsewhere, in this period, royal castle-building was dominant. Thirdly, the geographical limit is actually not so limited, because the kingdom of Denmark included Scania, now the southern part of Sweden, and disputed territories in Sleswig and Holstein on the German border, the castles of which were visited during the 2012 Château Gaillard colloque.

Etting’s book is also an exemplar of how to combine documentary with archaeological evidence. The castles were directly connected with exercising control of land, and were often the result – or subject – of (endemic) conflict, so the surviving written records (Danish and north German) can be culled for insights. As to archaeology, Denmark was fortunate (?) in having some amateur antiquaries from the early nineteenth century onwards who investigated the royal castles, although it was another hundred years before anything systematic was started. Archaeology operating to acceptable standards began in the 1960s and this book is able to draw on some excellent monographs by such as Olsen, Stiesdahl and Hertz, and by local museums. Before Etting, however, there was no comprehensive general study.

It was the murder of Erik V in 1286 that initiated a prolonged factional struggle involving the high nobility and Church, struggles between royal offspring, and nearby rulers (the kings of Norway and Sweden, the Hanseatic League, the Teutonic Knights and the dukes of Holstein) became involved. Following the accession of Valdemar IV (Atterdag) (1340-75) the kingdom was briefly restored to stability, but his aggressive policies provoked an alliance of many enemies who defeated him. He was followed by Olaf, king of Denmark and Norway, then by Olaf’s mother Margrete, then the Pomeranian Erik VII. Confused? Well, Etting summarises the chaotic history clearly. Among the key steps taken by Margrete was a ban on all private castle building (1396).

Etting does justice to the various functions of the castles: centres of administration, of tax collection, of accommodation for the royal family, as well as a defensive function. They were leased to noblemen who were responsible for their functions, but remained crown property. Etting summarises the evidence for what they did, and who lived and worked in them. The castles played a significant role in the incessant conflicts, and Etting places individual castles in the military history of the region, and discusses issues such as the costs of warfare, although (reflecting the poverty of local sources?) the beautifully reproduced illustrations are from west Europe-
Book review - The royal castles of Denmark / New Books - 2013-14

The chronicle accounts confirm however that the same military methods were in use in Scandinavia as elsewhere in Europe. As to the castles themselves: many of the noble castles are now to be found (if at all) as undistinguished mounds scarcely rising above the surrounding countryside: the main construction material was timber. Etting gives a fine summary of excavated sites. A few, such as the impressive cross-shaped Gjorslev (dating from c. 1400, and built by Queen Margrete’s chancellor), were of stone or brick. Elsewhere, king Valdemar’s struggle to assert his rule had led to numerous confiscations – of lands and castles – from rebellious nobles.

A fascinating chapter compares Danish castles with those of the rest of northern Europe and therefore, incidentally, provides details of major constructions in Sweden and Finland, but of course the heart of the book is the study of the Danish sites. Etting looks across the sites at the features of structures, the great towers, halls and palaces, domestic buildings, outer defences, moats and ditches, inner and outer baileys, and evidence of construction techniques. Castles covered by the study, of which substantial standing remains survive to visit, include Helsingborg (Kärnan tower. Now in Sweden), Hammershus (a magnificent castle on the island of Bornholm), the tower at Korsør, Nyborg, Vordingborg, Riberhus and Ålholm. The Kärnan tower stands close to the circular foundations of a twelfth century predecessor, and is 15 metres square with walls 4.5 metres thick, the exterior being of brick. With a nineteenth century addition, it is now 35 metres high, but even the lower original had seven stories. Etting shows that it dates from 1315. At Vordingborg, much of the large brick enclosure remains, rebuilt by Valdemar, enclosed in a 35 metre wide moat, with a 730 metre curtain wall, and several wall towers of which the best preserved is the impressive Gåsetårnet (Goose tower) which can be visited. It is 26 metres high with a diameter of 10.5 metres. The best surviving castle is undoubtedly Hammershus on Bornholm, founded in 1260. It has multiple baileys, perched on a seaside cliff, with a quadrangular great tower in the middle, covering the gate into the inner bailey. It had four floors.

The book is superbly illustrated with photographs, coloured maps, charts and diagrams and plans of the many castle sites where nothing significant or contemporary now survives above ground. Highly recommended, not just for those interested in the title, but for anyone interested in European medieval castles.

Peter Purton.

How to Read Castles

Author: Malcolm Hislop
Paperback: 256 pages
Publisher: Bloomsbury Visual Arts
Release date: 24 Oct 2013
Language: English
ISBN-10: 1472521617

How to Read Castles is a travel-sized primer that takes a strictly visual approach to castle architecture. It is also a practical visitor’s guide to recognizing and interpreting the motifs and messages embedded in the very stones of some of the most remarkable fortifications ever built in Europe and Asia.

Focusing on the period from the 10th to the 16th century, and crusading across the globe from a Welsh motte-and-bailey to a Japanese hirajiro, this is both an architectural reference and visitor guide showing the reader how to read the stories embedded in every castle’s stones.

Castles once dominated the landscape as seats of power and symbols of wealth and status, providing a means of control over borders, passes, routes and rivers. Armed with this book, you will be able to unpick their histories and see how they shaped the land around them.

A full review will follow in the Bulletin/Journal.
Castles of Northwest Greece: From the Early Byzantine Period to the Eve of the First World War

Author: Alan Brooks
Paperback: 332 pages
Publisher: Aetos Press (May 2013)
Price: £19.95

Northwest Greece has always been relatively isolated from the rest of the Greek mainland and, with the exception of small pockets of intense development on the coast, is still little visited by foreign tourists. Modern guidebooks of necessity concentrate on the few important classical and Hellenistic sites with only passing reference to medieval and later fortifications. Yet these monuments bear witness to the complex later history of the region when Norman, Italian, Angevin, Serbian, Venetian, Turkish and Albanian invaders competed for control. This book is intended to redress this imbalance by providing a detailed guide to a selection of the castles and forts of the area dating from the early Byzantine period to the eve of the First World War. A practical guide book for serious travellers that also offers a detailed description and history of 35 castles and fortifications. Well illustrated with photos and plans drawn by the author; bibliography and index.

Hall and Chambers: Oakham Castle Reconsidered

Author: Nick Hill, in The Antiquaries Journal / Volume 93 / September 2013, pp. 163-216.
Publisher: The Society of Antiquaries of London
Also available online as a downloadable pdf. via Cambridge Journals (£20.00).
http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=ANT

The late twelfth-century aisled hall at Oakham Castle, Rutland, is well known as the earliest and most complete building of its type in England. This study, based on detailed fabric analysis and little-known excavations of the 1950s, puts forward a new theory for the building's development. It is proposed that the original hall had attached lean-to buildings at both gable ends, probably built of timber, housing services and other lesser rooms. Like other early halls, the principal chamber at Oakham took the form of a free-standing chamber block, some of whose features have been later incorporated in the surviving hall, including its great east window. Tree-ring dating has shown that, although the roof was rebuilt around 1737, many original timbers survive from the 1180s. A comparative study of other early halls is made, to set Oakham into its wider Anglo-Norman context.
New Books/Journals - 2013-14

**Transforming Townscapes. From Burh to Borough: The Archaeology of Wallingford, AD 800–1400**

Authors: Neil Christie and Oliver Creighton, with Matt Edgeworth and Helena Hamerow & others
Publisher: Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 35, 490 pp, 30 colour pls, 315 b&w illus, Hb.
Published: November 2013
ISSN: 0583-9106. ISBN: 978-1-909662-09-4
Normal price: £45
Discount price (2013): £30 (plus £3.75 p&p)

This volume details both the project fieldwork (comprising excavations, test-pitting and extensive geophysical and other surveys), and data from developer-led interventions and other previously unpublished excavations in the town's historic core. It highlights in particular the strong community-led approach of the project, with a highly successful blend of academics, professional archaeologists and locals helping to bring much more of the town’s heritage to light. The volume traces the pre-town archaeology of Wallingford - from late Iron Age landscape to early Saxon cemetery - and then analyses the town's physical and social evolution from Saxon *burh* to chartered borough, and assesses its defences, castle, churches, housing, markets, material culture, coinage, communications and hinterland. Core questions running through the volume relate to the roles of the river Thames and of royal power in shaping Wallingford’s fortunes and identity and in explaining the town’s severe and early decline.

To order a copy at a reduced price, please send a cheque for £33.75 per volume, payable to the ‘The Society for Medieval Archaeology’ to: Dr Neil Christie, School of Archaeology & Ancient History, University of Leicester, Leicester LE1 7RH, UK.

**Regional Power and the Profits of War: the East Range of Warwick Castle**

Authors: Andrew Parkyn and Tom McNeill

Warwick Castle is an important example of fourteenth-century castle-building but has seen little detailed survey or publication. This article complements Richard Morris’ account from 1986 of the south range, which originally contained the great hall and Earl’s chamber suite; it publishes and analyses three elaborate towers in the east range: the gatehouse and two at either end [Guy’s Tower and the Beauchamp Tower] which include detailed floor by floor plans. These provided suites of rooms for guests and the principal members of the Earl’s household as well as a magnificent approach and entrance front. The building shows the motives and ambitions of the Third Beauchamp Earl both as a practical design and as a centre from which to assert his power in the county and court.

The author was greatly benefited from having unrestricted access to the gatehouse and towers at a time when the interiors of each floor were bare; before Merlin Entertainments utilised many of the rooms for a range of castle-related ‘experiences’. As a consequence some of the key rooms have now been (soft) remodelled, with windows blacked out and public access restricted so that the viewing of interior structures is not possible.
Seats of Power During the Hundred Years’ War - An Architectural Study from 1337 to 1483

Author: Anthony Emery

This study considers the residences of the crowned heads and the royal ducal families of the countries involved in the Hundred Years’ War between England and France. Though they were the leading protagonists and therefore responsible for the course of the war, do their residences reflect an entirely defensive purpose, a social function, or the personality of their builders?

The war is usually ascribed to the period from 1337 to 1453 but this study has been extended by a further thirty years as the political and architectural repercussions of the war continued to be felt in England and even more so in France until the deaths of Edward IV and Louis XI.

During its course, the war extended to other parts of Europe. This particularly applied during the fourteenth century when it involved the duchy of Flanders and the states of Aragon, Castile, Portugal, and the papacy at Avignon. Scotland and Flanders continued to participate during the fifteenth century. The residences of their rulers are therefore of equal relevance and significance to those of France and England.

With a subject of such broad span, this study has concentrated on 60 properties extending from the castles at Windsor and Kenilworth to those at Sau-mur and Rambures, and from the palaces at Avignon and Seville to the manor-houses at Germolles and Launay. A number of subsidiary or associated properties are also considered in more broad-based sections.

Castle and house studies are currently in a state of flux arising from recent re-interpretations and revisionism, as well as the appreciation of the complex and differing roles of such residences in the political, social, and cultural circumstances of the time. These contrasts can be symbolised by comparing the starkness of Tarascon Castle with the contemporary decorative retreat of the duke of Berry at Me-hun-sur-Yevre. Few castles and palaces in Europe are alike, despite the common background of the war. What this overview considers are the differences in layout, style, and purpose including ceremonial needs and social control of some of the most commanding residences of the later middle ages.

This study is intended to be no more than an introductory overview, but as many students have a limited knowledge of the political background of the later middle ages, each region and its residences are prefaced by supporting historical and architectural surveys to help position the properties against the contemporary military, financial, and aesthetic backgrounds.

The text has been completed, the plans have been prepared, the illustrations are being assembled, and publication has been scheduled for 2015.
**Wigmore Castle, North Herefordshire: excavations 1996 and 1998**

Author: Stephanie Rátkai  
Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 34  
Published: Dec 2013  
Publisher: The Society for Medieval Archaeology  
250 pp, over 250 b & w illustrations, with CD.  
Price £30.

Excavations at Wigmore Castle were carried out in 1996 and 1998 as a precursor to repair and consolidation of the castle by English Heritage. The castle had remained the honorial *caput* of the Mortimer family from the late 11th century through to 1425, an unusually long tenure amongst Marcher lordships. The Mortimer family became increasingly important players in the history of England.

Evidence of the earliest castle was found during the excavations, including part of a substantial 12th-century timber building, part of which had been used as a kitchen. Here remains of a sequence of hearths, cooking pots and food remains were found. The construction of defences in stone probably began in the 12th century. The effect of conflict on the castle was indicated by the presence of ballista balls, arrowheads, a possible crannequin and fragments of plate armour.

A possible period of neglect occurred in the later 14th century but by the 15th century the castle was the scene of renewed activity including the rebuilding of the curtain wall. Dietary evidence and some of the artefacts indicate that there was high-status occupation, in which hunting played an important role that continued throughout the 15th century. By the 16th century the castle fabric was beginning to fall into disrepair and evidence of repairs and modifications were noted. Nevertheless, high-status occupation continued and the castle remained to play an important role as a secondary seat of the Council of the Marches. However, by the early 17th century decline at the castle appears to have been terminal. The castle was now owned by the Harley family and it is they who are credited with the pre-emptive slighting of the castle during the Civil War. Pottery, clay pipe and other artefacts which can definitely be ascribed to the Civil War are few. An oxshoe found in the latest deposits may well be associated with the removal of fallen stone for building elsewhere. Thereafter the castle appears to have been little visited and almost total ruination had set in by the early 18th century. In 1995 the castle was taken into English Heritage Guardianship and has been consolidated and restored as a romantic ruin.

**Dennis Turner’s Unfinished Work**

Further to our obituary notice for Dennis Turner (pp. 336-7), work is at hand to continue and conclude a number of unfinished texts and see them to completion. Geoffrey Stell and David Caldwell are working on bringing Dennis’s unfinished ‘Excavations at Achanduin, Lismore, 1970-5’ to publication. The intention is to offer it as a paper to the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, thus complementing the historical account which was published in PSAS, volume 128 (1998), 645-62.

The excavation archive and the bulk of Dennis’s research papers on Scottish, especially West Highland, subjects will be lodged with RCAHMS (the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland) in Edinburgh. Other Scottish papers, including one on Castle Sween, that were in gestation and apparently in near-final form at the time of Dennis's death are also going to be presented for publication.

Over many years Dennis had developed an interest in all aspects of the ‘tower-house’. This led him to draft out various (unfinished) papers, including short papers on: ‘Towers in Tuscany, Regensburg and France’; ‘Towers in Georgia and Yemen’; and a longer article ‘Tower houses and their Relatives: Some Thoughts’. The latter paper combines a wide range of countries and some disparate ideas - Marker Towers, Urban Towers; Muniment Towers; Hall v Chamber; Solar and Chamber Towers etc. It is the task of the CSG Journal editor to put this together, update the references and bring it to publication in the Journal, probably in the 2014-15 edition.

The Introduction will state, in Dennis’s words: ‘Across Europe, the tower is recognised as the dominant physical expression of lordship in the late medieval and early modern periods. Most research on towers has been focussed on their architectural origins and stylistic developments but more recent studies have addressed their place within aristocratic society more widely. The aim of this essay is to examine the place of the tower in its wider physical, cultural and social landscapes; the economic and social structures within and around the tower; and planning and function of the buildings’.

The CSG hope that these initiatives, including Derek Renn’s input to finalise Blechingley, will prove a fitting memorial to the contribution that Dennis made to British and European castle studies.

*Niela Guy*