Lancaster Castle. A view of the Keep and Debtor's Wing attached to the south face of the keep overlooking the central courtyard or 'Castle Yard'. View taken from the roof of the Gatehouse. The building of this wing necessitated the removal of the original long external flight of stairs that led up to the entrance in the SW corner.

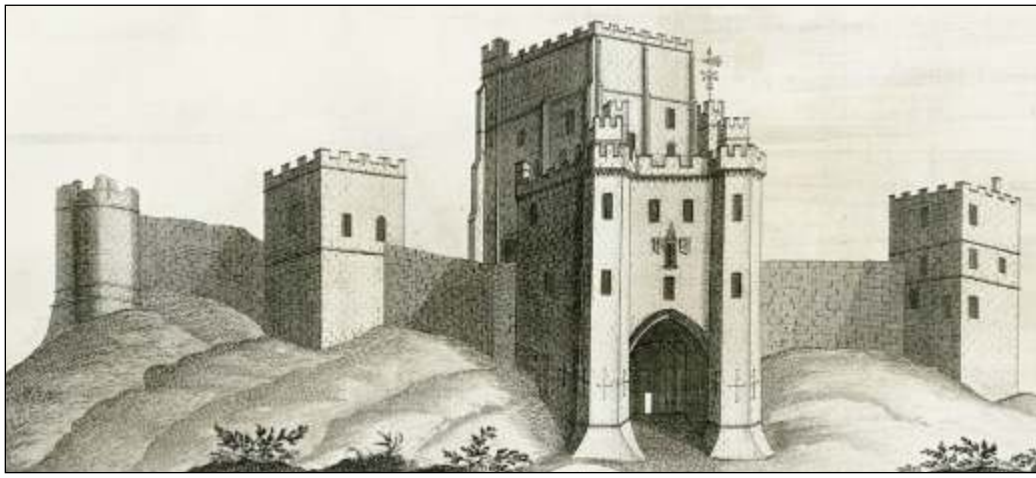


Fig. 1. Samuel & Nathaniel Buck, 1727. Lancaster Castle from the south-east. L-R: Adrian's Tower, Dungeon Tower (now lost), Keep, Gatehouse, Well Tower. For Keep detail see fig. 5.

Lancaster Castle and The Norman-Romanesque Tower

Abstract:

As reported in CSG Journal 26, HM Prisons Lancaster finally closed its doors in 2011, allowing the Duchy of Lancaster to consider how best this great historic monument could be re-used, made financially viable and presented to the public. Much interest has followed.

The medieval buildings of the castle - the Keep or Great Tower, Adrian's Tower, Well Tower, and Great Gatehouse will in future be available for further study and analysis. For many years the Norman Great Tower has been off-limits to the public. Our knowledge of its form and plan has relied on antiquarian descriptions, notably Cox, in his 1896 paper. Cox suggested, without any documentary evidence, that the keep was constructed by Roger of Poitou before he was banished from the country by Henry I in 1102.

While Hugh Braun (1947/8) considered that Lancaster's keep design suggested an 'early date' and classified it as a two-storey hall-keep, later castellologists have doubted that the keep could have been built as early as the 11th century. D. J. Cathcart King (1983) commented that 'the suggestion that the keep was built in the 11th century has nothing to recommend it; the castle itself is not likely to be as old as this'. The late greatly respected local historian John Champness (d. 2012) recorded, in his well-illustrated castle guidebook, 1993, that the general consensus among castellologists at the time was that the keep should be dated to the mid-twelfth century.

The gradual opening up of the tower is allowing the history, architectural analysis and evolution of the building to be revisited. John Goodall (2011) offered the view that 'it was probably in the reign of William Rufus (1087-1100) that work began on a great tower in Lancaster, then the most northerly centre of royal power'. This was followed up by his article in Country Life (2013) where a possibility is discussed that the keep may have begun or continued, just after Roger the Poitevan's exclusion from the country in 1102.

The following paper is an architectural survey of the external and internal features of the keep as they apply to the 11th and 12th centuries, preceded by a selective historiographical account of earlier antiquarian studies. It is as much a visual account as a descriptive one, but any final conclusions are hampered and have to be qualified by the remaining modern institutional apparatus and fittings that still conceal much of the fabric and only its removal will allow for a full and correct analysis. The conclusion so far proposed is that this is a great tower of the late 11th century.

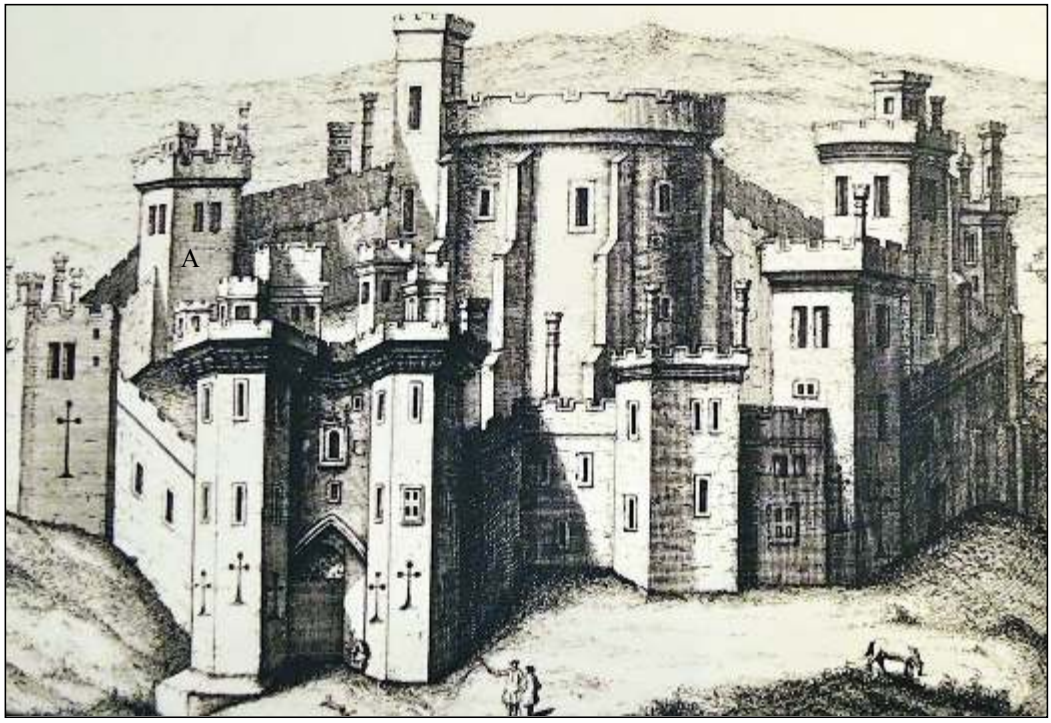


Fig. 2. Lancaster Castle from the S-E. 1562. (detail). Keep centre. Well Tower in front, then clockwise: Gatehouse c. 1402-1420, Dungeon Tower (now lost), Adrian's Tower, c. 1210, (marked A) and the c. 1402-30 staircase turret added to the C11/early C12 keep. The original drawing is from the National Archive, ref MFC 1/207 (DL 31/112). This engraving is redrawn from the original by George Vertue, 1734, from Vetusta Monumenta Vol. I. Pl. 41. Reproduced by kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Lancaster, with its castle and monastery was visited by **John Leland** (1503-1553), as recorded in his *Itinerary.* This was in 1539 during his journey from Wales to Cumbria.[1] He notes that: 'Lancaster Castle is strongly built on a hill and kept in good repair'.… 'the town has one parish church, formerly an alien priory which was suppressed by Henry V and given to Syon Abbey. The old wall which surrounds the priory extends almost to Lune Bridge'…. 'I found no evidence that that the town had ever been walled'. John Leland would have seen the castle in the way it was surveyed a little later in 1562. This date marks the earliest known illustration of the castle and it was drawn up as part of a survey of Duchy castles in the north of England, carried out for Queen Elizabeth I (fig. 2).[2] A number of towers shown on the survey have since been lost. The Dungeon Tower (demolished 1818) was replaced by the Female Penitentiary in 1821, and various towers to the south-east (right) of the keep were also replaced *c*.1800-1820s, including the introduction of the King's Evidence Tower and Keeper's House. The drawing, in the Duchy archive, requires and would reward greater scrutiny, as whilst the images of the various towers appear stylized and the perspective can be awkward, the detail is proving to be accurate. For example, what appears to be the third bay of the keep's south face is actually the first bay of the east façade. It includes a probable circular window which is no longer present. As will be illustrated later, there do appear to be fragments of a curving architrave embedded in the masonry which could well be the remnants of this window.

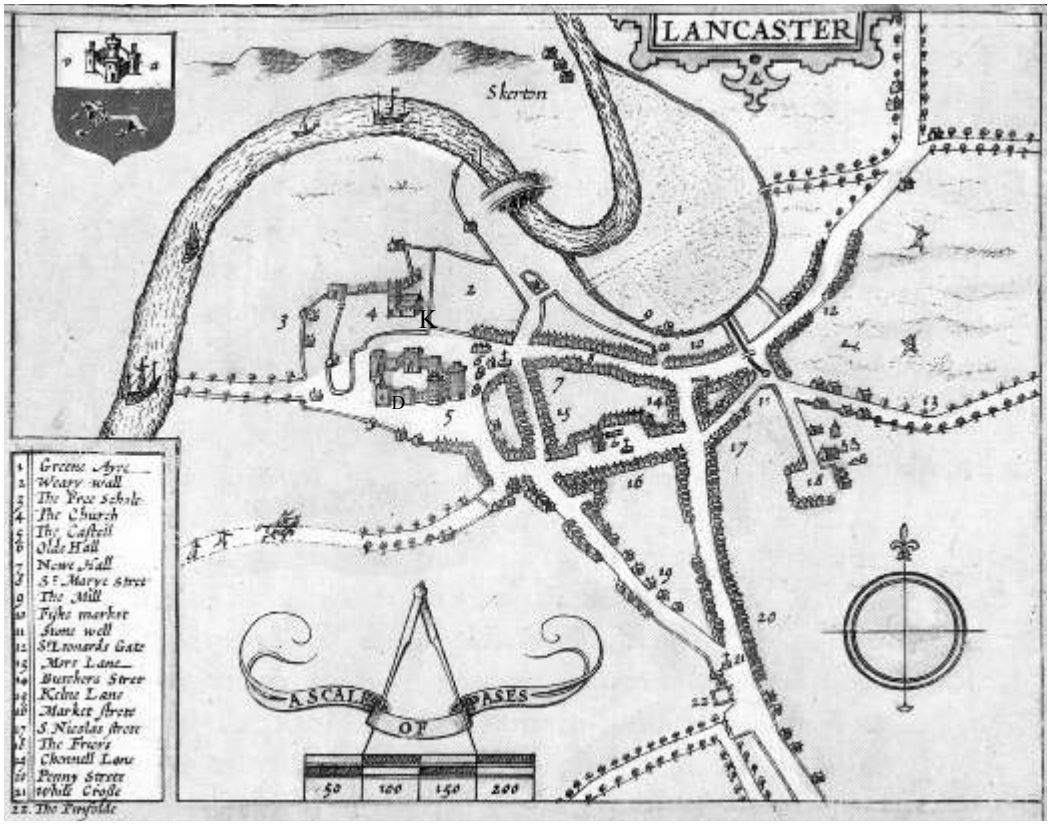


Fig. 3. Lancaster from Speed's 1611-12 map of the County Palatine. From 'The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine'. The Priory Church (4) and the castle (5) stood on the western edge of the town.

John Speed's map of Lancaster, 1611, (fig. 3) with its view from the south, offers more than a mere representational view of the castle and church. Recognizable are the following towers (clockwise direction): the large twin-towered gatehouse (above the figure 5), the Dungeon Tower (D) (now lost), Adrian's Tower, the square Keep (K), the Well tower. In 1698 **Celia Fiennes** made her 'Great Journey to Newcastle and to Cornwall' and part of that famous horseback journey is recorded below, in her words: 'The situation of Lancaster town is very good, the church neately built of stone, the castle which is just by, both on a great ascent from the rest of the town; on the castle tower (keep) walking quite round by the battlements I saw the whole town and river at a view…. There has been a monastery, the walls of part of it remain…. And a vault [or tunnel] that leads a great way under ground up as farre as the castle which is a good distance'.[3] The priory had been endowed or established as a Benedictine monastery in 1094 by Roger of Poitou.[4] The tunnel, at least at the castle end, no longer exists, but there are late-18th century references to two ancient doors being discovered somewhere in the vicinity of the Crown Hall, (perhaps a cellar under the demolished tower), when architect Thomas Harrison was undertaking his major alterations in the 1790s. One led in the direction of the Priory Church and this one they opened up and tried to walk along; after a short distance the passage had been blocked by a fall of earth. The other door led in the opposite direction, but was not opened - the whole lot was then built over.[5]

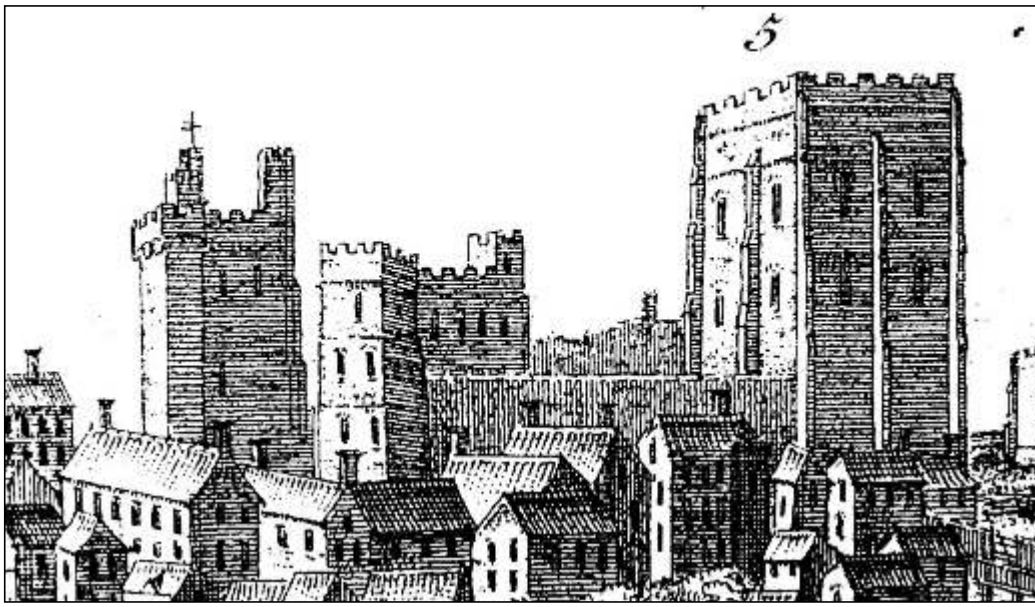


Fig. 4. Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 1728 (detail). View from the north. A slightly attenuated drawing of the keep. Its appears to show that at this time there was no curtain wall between the gatehouse and the Well Tower to its right). A stretch of straight modern curtain appears to join the Well Tower to the keep's NE corner.

In the **S & N Buck** views, the castle has still to recover completely from the damage caused during the Civil War (1642-45) (figs. 4, 5). The keep is drawn showing symmetrical fenestration at two levels with two lights per bay; probably the first level represents the principal floor with the round-headed lights, and the square lights above that probably the insertions for the second floor (or third storey) which was created from within the existing volume, in the late 14th or early 15th century. There appear to be no basement lights, at least on the north.

Fig. 5 is interesting for its illustration of the main entrance into the keep. This appears to be the first drawing to include it, although it is partly hidden by the gatehouse. Its portal is in the south-west corner of the keep, at first-floor level, and was approached by an external open flight of stairs or stepped ramp rising from the SE corner, similar to the White Tower, Norwich, Rochester and many other Norman great towers, although the White Tower was possibly initially of timber. It appears never to have had a forebuilding. The Buck drawing is too indistinct to draw any conclusions about specific mouldings and format, but assuming the keep to be late 11th century, it was probably similar to the first-floor entrance to Scolland's Hall at Richmond Castle, *c*. 1080s. The entrance at Lancaster is now blocked and the mouldings have been removed.

Three more detailed descriptions of the castle are recorded in the early and late 19th century: **Christopher Clark's** *Account of Lancaster*, 1807,[6] **John Britton's** *Beauties of England and Wales*, 1807 (Vol. 9),[7] and **E. W. Cox**, 1896, 'Lancaster castle' in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* Vol. 48.[8] Britton's description is significant and reads: 'Lancaster therefore, on account of its bold and elevated situation, was probably obtained from the Conqueror at the end of his reign, or from William Rufus soon after his accession, by Roger de Poitou, for this purpose. For, as early as the year 1094, we find this person granting the church of St. Mary

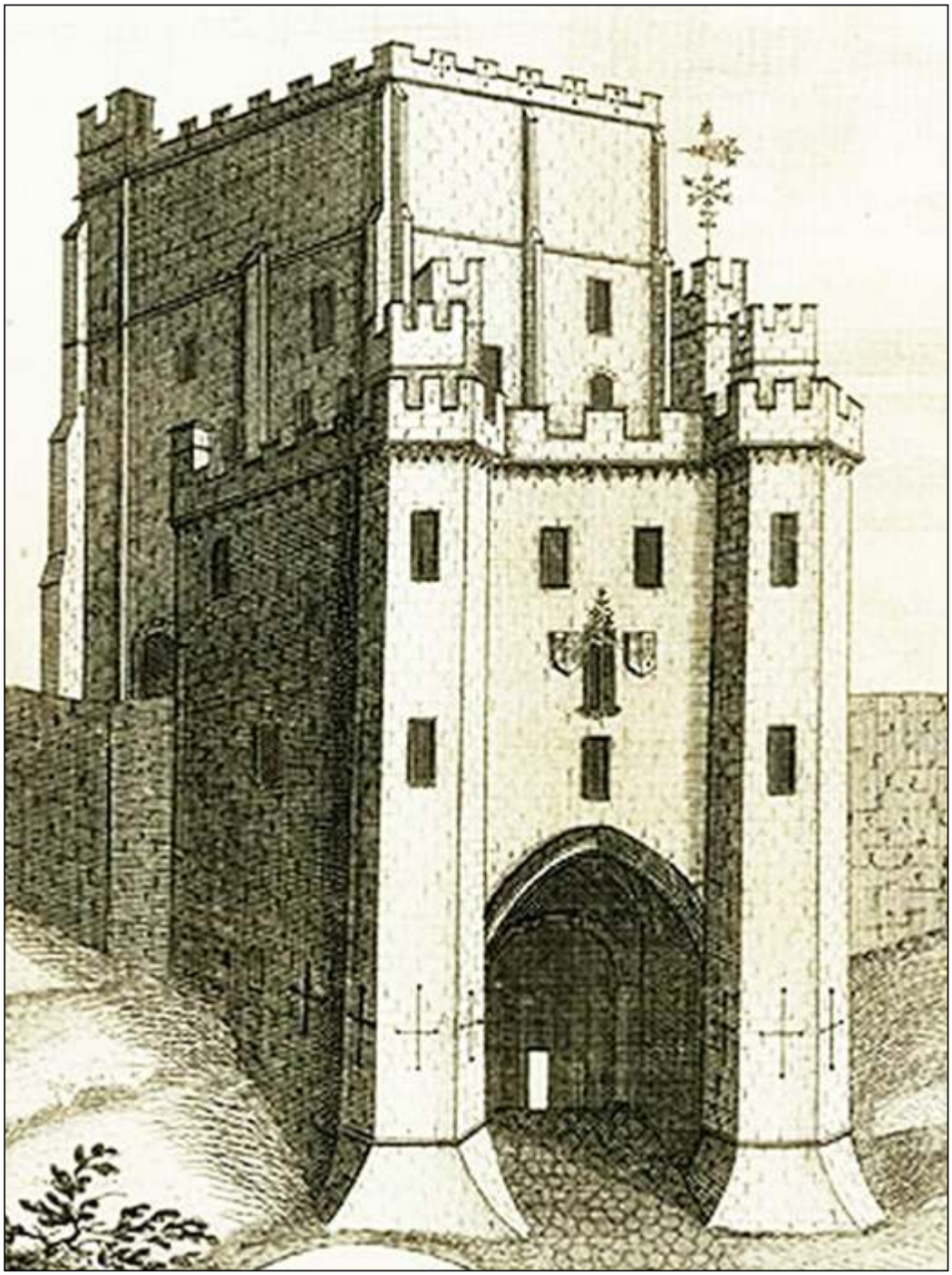


Fig. 5. Samuel & Nathaniel Buck, 1727, Lancaster Castle from the South-East, (detail). It shows the first-floor level round-headed keep entrance just to the left of the rear line of the gatehouse.

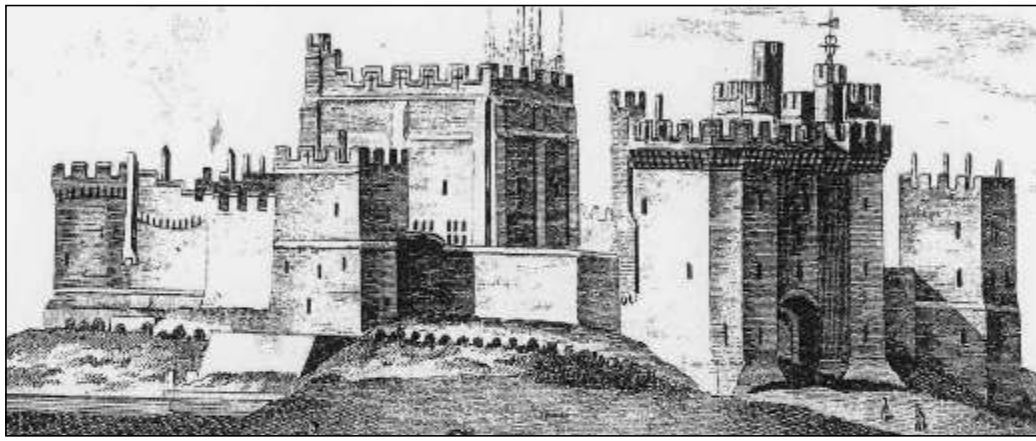


Fig. 6. Engraving from Mackreth's map of Lancaster published in 1778 (detail), showing the castle prior to the changes made commencing in the 1780s for extra prisoner accommodation. Anticlockwise from L-R: Adrian's Tower, Dungeon Tower (foreground), Keep with church tower behind, Gatehouse, Well Tower. Whilst again concealing the keep entrance, the drawing highlights two of the three large square multi-light, three-transomed windows (now blocked and hidden) inserted into the keep's south wall at first-floor level, perhaps in the 16th century when the great hall was used as the Shire Hall. These windows probably utilised three pre-existing Norman window embrasures.

[The Priory Church] in this place, then newly founded by him, to the Abbey of Sees, in Normandy, to which it continued as a cell until the alien priories were seized by Henry V, when it was granted once more to the Carthusian Abbey of Sion, in Middlesex, to which it continued to be a cell until the general dissolution of monasteries. The foundation of the Church and Castle were probably contemporary with each other. The Great Tower of the latter, still standing, displays the strong massive style of architecture of that period. Its walls are extremely thick, and the buttresses have narrow projections, whilst the lower windows have short round-headed arches, with single shaft columns on their sides'. John Britton appears to have been the first antiquarian writer to definitely ascribe the castle keep's foundation to the late 11th century, on account of its architectural features and its association with the priory (fig. 7).[9]

Edward Cox first read his paper in 1896 and is the first really informed detailed analysis of the whole castle. He lays to rest much of the previous erroneous interpretations - that of the various existing towers being of Roman or Anglo-Saxon origin and argues cogently for the keep being of 11th century origin, whilst still suggesting that the keep sits on a low mound of Saxon provenance - perhaps an interpretation overly influenced by G. T. Clark[10]. From pages 103-8 Cox describes the Norman work and the features of the keep: 'William the Conqueror confirmed Lancaster, then a vill of Halton, to Roger de Poitou, together with 188 manors between the Mersey and the Ribble'…He (Roger) is credited with the start or rebuilding of the castle. He was, in fact, the builder of the great keep, 80 ft square and 70 ft high'…'The building must have been erected prior to 1102, when Roger was banished for repeated rebellions'....'The great Norman keep is the only feature which has retained anything like its original appearance'…'The keep follows the usual pattern of the larger early Norman keeps. The walls are 10ft thick of the characteristic Norman masonry, the stones being short and set with wide joints of mortar of very good quality. At each face are two flat buttresses at the ends, and one in the centre of each wall. This

Fig. 7. Lancaster castle from the north-east. Detail from John Britton's 'The Beauties of England and Wales', Vol. 9 1807. Note the configuration of 'John of Gaunt's Chair' at the top of the keep.

great tower is erected on the mound of the Saxon enclosure, and probably constituted the whole of the earliest Norman masonry of the castle'…'The castle was, according to Norman precedent, divided by a central wall, and the original entrance was by a flight of external steps on the south side reaching to the first floor. The room above this is called the Quaker's Room' …'The northern half of the keep is now the chapel, a perfectly featureless modern apartment, occupying what was formerly the two lower floors of the keep. Some of the rear arches of the ancient windows remain, of which two, facing east, on each original floor remain open, being plain round-headed ones, with a shaft on each side. This half of the keep was unroofed after the Civil War, remaining a ruin till the end of last century'……'The angle turret with the newel staircase rises from the SW angle and is a late-Perpendicular addition. It rises 10 ft above the summit of the keep and is called John of Gaunt's chair…..of much later date than his time. The character of the keep is extremely plain. It is quite without ornament in its Norman portion, either external or internal and it owes it grandeur entirely to its simplicity and fine proportions'.

There is not much to disagree with in this description, although the windows Cox describes on the eastern façade of the keep (or 'facing east') show no trace of any internal shafts or columns, if that is what he means. Perhaps he really meant the north wall. Cox does not mention the exterior of the north wall with its two rare Romanesque round-headed windows on the first floor (figs. 20, 21) one of the few dateable features that remain, and one wonders whether he actually saw this façade at all. (They can only be seen in the small north hanging or 'Drop yard' closed off by an extension to the Male Felons prison, and surrounded by high walls which prevent any visibility from beyond the prison confines). The problem with Cox's account is that none of his statements are backed up, footnoted or cross-referenced and no primary sources are offered to add credibility to his assumptions. Many of his statements, whilst sounding reasonable, plausible and logical, are made as unsupported assertions. However, his paper has become highly influential, informing writers to this day, and his descriptions remain accurate; today the circumstantial evidence and remaining architectural features do argue for a late-11th century building period.

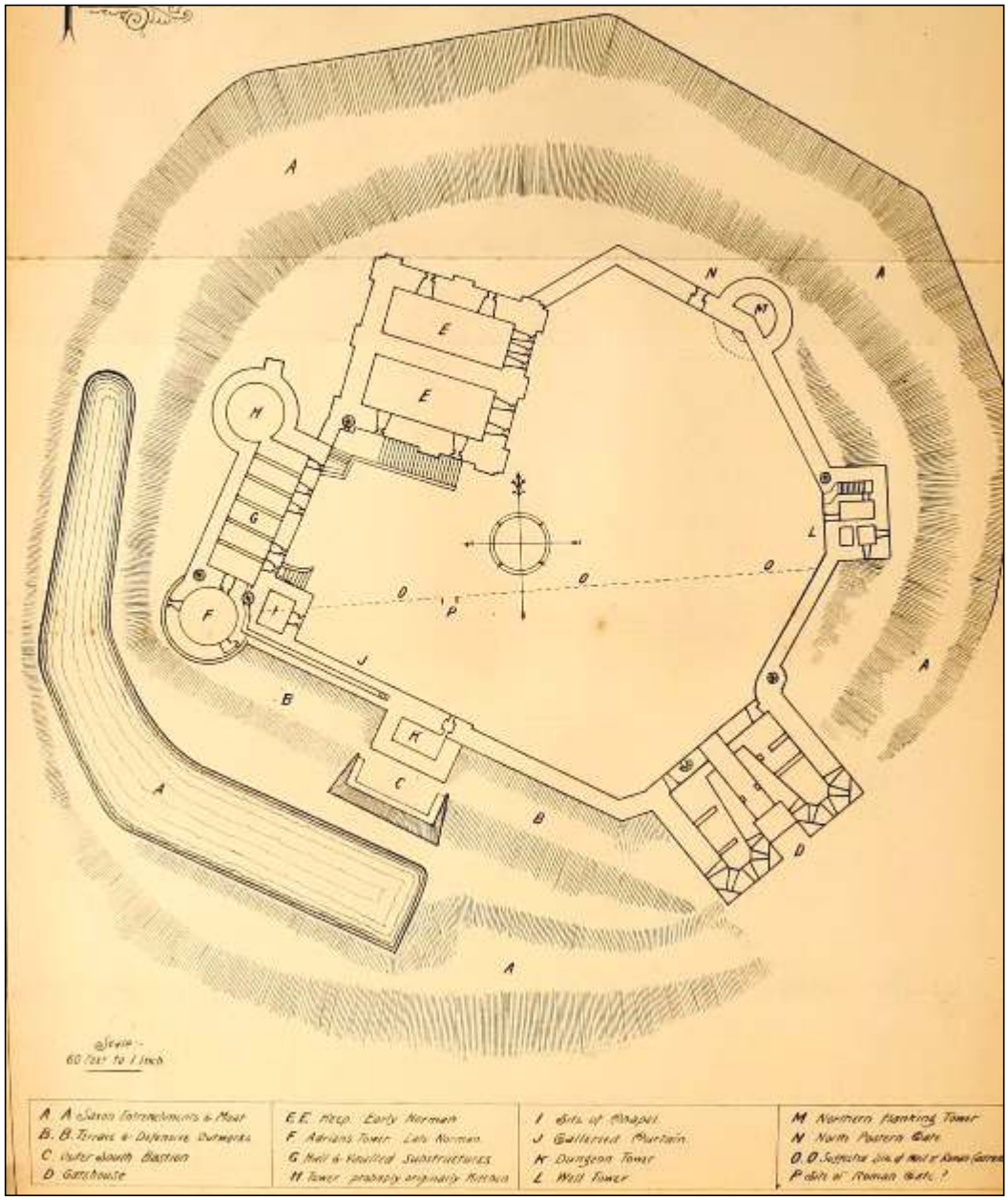


Fig. 8. The ground floor plan of the castle that is included in Cox's 1896 paper. It is unclear at what point in history this plan assumes. It is evidently drawn to represent a pre-1780 period as he shows the Dungeon Tower (K) and the putative Northern Flanking Tower (M). The three prison cells with their N-S cross wall at the western end of the south half of the keep are omitted, because he must have assumed them to be post-medieval. The abutment of the putative bailey wall up to the N-E corner of the keep does not show any signs of destruction, but a later prison wall in this position may mask the evidence (see fig. 36).

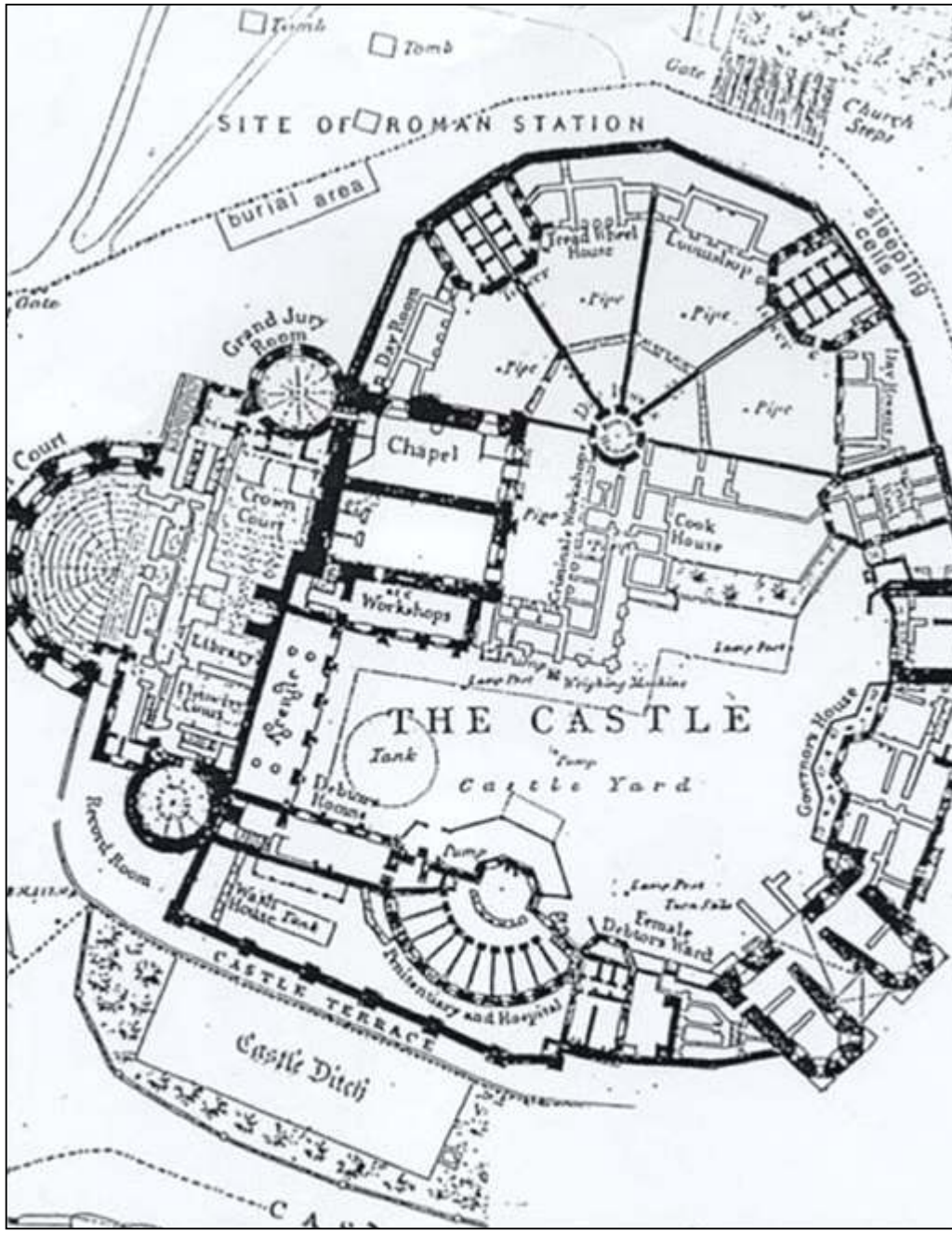


Fig. 9. Lancaster Castle c. 1822. The old Dungeon Tower to the south has been demolished to make way for the Female Penitentiary and Hospital, and a new prison cell tower has been erected on the north side of the Well Tower to house the 'King's Evidence' prisoners (men giving prosecution testimony). Plan also shows the 'Day Room' (since demolished) leading from the door in the keep chapel in the north wall, and the addition of the 'Governor's House, north of the gatehouse.

Fig. 10. Lancaster Castle from the north-west, Thomas Hearne, 1778. Watercolour. Hearne captured the west side of the keep before the building of the Crown Court. The semi-round tower with its continuous corbelling to the right - probably c. 1210 - was demolished in 1796 to make way for the Shire Hall, but the west wall beyond remains, as does Adrian's Tower at the very end. Hearne shows two distinctive Romanesque round-headed windows with shafts and capitals identical to those still in situ in the north wall, but such pictorial evidence needs to be treated with caution. Reproduced courtesy of Lancaster City Museums.

However, David Cathcart King (see *Abstract* p. 124) was not alone is having reservations about this early date. Colvin (1963)[11] was equally reluctant. Further back in time, **Edmund D'Auvergne** (1908, 1926) was quite strident in his opinions about the Norman origins of the castle.[12] In fact D'Auvergne is one of the few 20th century castellologists to write at any great length about Lancaster, this reluctance probably because as a working prison it could not be subjected to visits, surveys and archaeological investigations. Also, serious structural changes seemed to be outside the normal planning controls. D'Auvergne noted: 'I find it everywhere asserted that the keep of Lancaster Castle was built by Roger de Poitou about the year 1094. In the absence of any evidence to support the tradition, I feel unable to credit it. That the lord of one of the poorest and remotest regions of England should be able to construct a work, similar to which at that time there could have been but two others in the realm (London and Colchester) - both in royal possession - seems, on the face of it, highly improbable…..I venture with all due diffidence to suggest that the keep of Lancaster Castle was most probably built by King John during his possession of the honour between the years 1189 and 1194'. With the exception of D'Auvergne's quite late date, most 20th century writers have followed this mid-late 12th century line; exceptions have been Hugh Braun, ('It seems early in design', 1947/8),[13] Brian Davison, ('late 11th or early 12th century', 1979)[14] Plantagenet Somerset Fry ('early twelfth century',1980),[15] and John Goodall ('William Rufus', 2011).[16] Unusually, Sidney Toy makes no reference to Lancaster in any of his works.

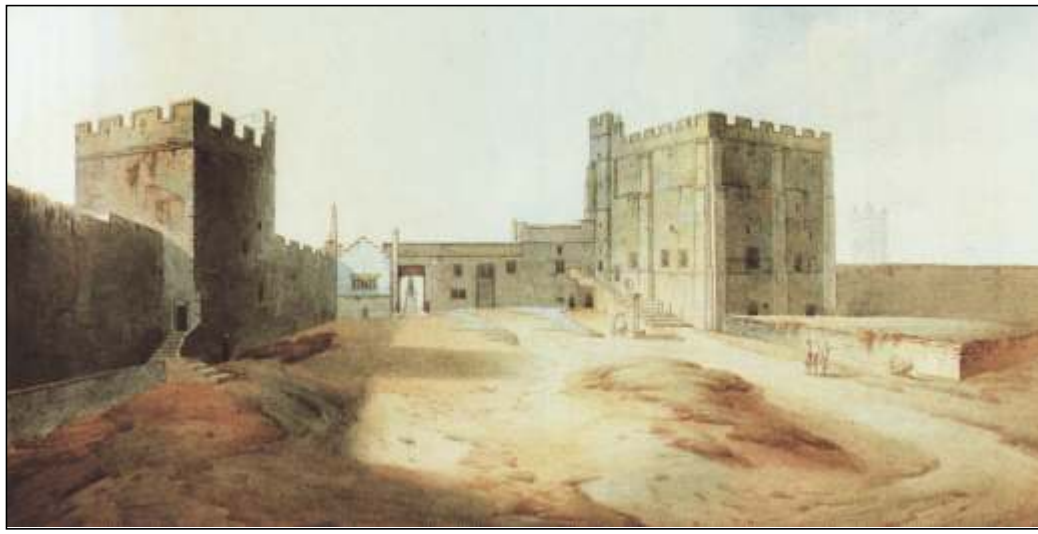


Fig. 11. Lancaster Castle from the Gatehouse - the south-east. By Robert Fairbairn (1765-1808) in c.1800 depicting the castle before the major rebuilding of the site as a state prison. (One of 12 paintings commissioned for a total of £500). Fairbairn did not physically see this view before work began, but copied it from somewhat unclear earlier drawings. Nonetheless, he depicts the keep with the inmate's bowling green in front, and a stepped ramp up to the main south entrance on the first floor - mainly lower than the string-course. To the left of the keep is the early C13 hall, with Adrian's Tower hidden behind the white gable end of a building in the SW corner that butts up to the tower. Reproduced courtesy of Lancaster City Museums.

Studies of Norman great towers in Britain, Normandy and the Loire valley over the last 20 years have tended to more clearly understand, recognise and articulate the technical, engineering and aesthetic achievements and abilities of the Normans in castle and great tower design, and offer a more nuanced understanding of the symbolism and multi-functional role of their stone-built *donjons*. In the same period a number of these buildings have been dated earlier than previously accepted (e.g. Loches (*c*. 1030), Chepstow (1070-80), Corfe (1080-1105), Norwich, (1095-1115), and in England there has been a greater focus on more accurately determining their formal qualities, origins, affinities and family groups. (Goodall, 2011, pp. 77-84, 109-119). Lancaster has generally been omitted in these discussions (for example, see Philip Dixon, in 'The influence of the White Tower on the Great Towers of the Twelfth Century', 2008),[17] simply because of its previous inaccessibility. Many of the castles built after William I and William Rufus, those in the early years of Henry I (1100-35) have also tended to be reassessed and some brought forward. For example, Gloucester by 1112; Portchester 1120s, (Rigold, DoE guidebook, 1965);[18] Bristol, Bamburgh, Carlisle and Kenilworth are now dated to the 1120s (Dixon, Goodall). For a comprehensive, detailed and up-to-date list with references see Hulme, 2012-13.[19] In *CSGJ* ***24*** (p. 194) Lancaster was tentatively dated to the 1120s (Guy) and Goodall (*Country Life*, 2013) persuasively suggests that work on the great tower may have begun before or soon after 1102.[20] The previous consensus was *c.* 1150. Having had an opportunity to visit Lancaster's great tower in February and March 2014 on behalf of the CSG, a revised and enhanced description of the keep follows, with a discussion of where Lancaster might sit in the pantheon of Norman/Angevin great towers built between the 1070s - White Tower, London - and the last known English Angevin square great tower - Brougham,[21] Cumbria - possibly *c.* 1210-20.

Fig. 12. Aerial view of Lancaster Castle and Priory Church from the east. Courtesy of Lancaster City Museums.

Roger de Poitou (or the 'Poitevin')

Cathcart King neatly sums up the history: 'early history unsatisfactory'. However, more is now known about Roger of Poitou, who has, through recent research come out of the shadows.[22] He was born in Normandy in the 1060s and died before 1140.[23] He was an Anglo-Norman aristocrat, the third son of the powerful Roger of Montgomery, cousin of William the Conqueror, 1st Earl of Shrewsbury and Mabel de Bellême. Roger possessed large holdings in both England, and through his marriage, in Poitou. The appellation 'the Poitevin' arose from his marriage to Almodis, an heiress from Poitou. By 1086 Roger had acquired a great lordship in England with lands in Salfordshire, Essex, Suffolk, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Hampshire and North Yorkshire.[24] The current estimate from an analysis of the Domesday Book is that his lordships and landholdings extended to 632 places across the country, and it is possible that the '*castellatu Rogerii pictaviensis*' of Domesday Book refers to the stone castle at Lancaster including the great tower.[25] The principal part of the Lordship was in what was '*inter Mersam et Ripam'*, the lands 'between the Mersey and the Ribble'[26] which are now part of an area divided into Lancashire, Merseyside, and Greater Manchester. This later became known as the Honour of Lancaster, although the title 'Earl of Lancaster' was not established until 1267. After 1090, he assumed the title Lord of Bowland (1092-94 only). Before 1086, he had married Almodis, daughter of Count Aldebert II of La Marche in Poitou, sister and presumptive heiress of count Boso III who was childless and unmarried. Around 1091 Roger's brother-in-law Boso died, but Roger was apparently preoccupied with English affairs, and his

Fig. 13. The C11 Château Baronnial Chauvigny, Poitiers. A keep approx 21 metres square/trapezoidal,a similar footprint to Lancaster, but with 4 pilasters per face. one of 16 square keeps in the Poitou area many of which are C11. See Chatelain (1974), p. 165 & Mesqui (1997), pp. 120-1.

wife's uncle Odo became Count of La Marche. In 1092 Roger was gifted, by William Rufus, a large part of what is now north Lancashire in recognition of his support and loyalty. These grants gave Roger effective control of all the lands north of the Ribble to the River Lune, which formed a natural border between the secure Norman lands in England and the strongly contested Scottish frontier lands in Cumberland. Due to long established lines of communication across Morecambe Bay, Roger also assumed authority over the regions of Furness and Cartmel. This expansion of Roger's lands followed his support for William Rufus' invasion of Cumbria in 1092, where Dolfin of Dunbar was driven out and the Anglo-Scottish border was established just north of Carlisle. Thus Roger, throughout the 1080-1090s, became a man of great wealth and considerable influence. It was well within the means at his disposal to build and finance a great tower at Lancaster provided he had the backing and royal patronage of either William I or William Rufus,[27] as at this time no baron would have considered building such a significant and prestigious monument without the king's direct involvement and encouragement. It is estimated that the keep would have taken about five years to build, assuming there were no enforced breaks during the construction process. There are no documentary records that record any expenditure, but that is not unusual in this period. In 1094 Roger de Poitou established a Benedictine priory, dedicated to St Mary, as a cell of the Abbey of Saint Martin of Sées in Normandy and it was common practice to build an adjacent castle at the same time.[28] There is no Norman fabric left in the church so it is impossible to make any comparisons. Renn, 1968,[29] suggested a stylistic link to Château Baronnial, Chauvigny (fig. 13). Another possibility is the 11th century La Roche Posay, both in Poitou.

Fig. 14. Detail of fig. 11. The keep from the south-east prior to the 1790s building campaign.

The great tower's external features:

The tower is 80 ft (24m) x 80 ft & 70 ft (21m) in height (lower, perhaps 80 x 80 x 55 ft (17m) originally before the added 15th century top storey).[30] There remain traces of the original lower height battlements in the discolouration of the stone work, particularly on the east façade (fig. 15, and *CSGJ* **26**, pp. 210-11). A photogrammetric survey (figs. PS. 1-3) of the façades seems to indicate three or four building seasons or breaks, marked by the use of different sized or different quarried stones. Blackened sandstone infill identifies the location of two widely spaced crenellations between each pilaster before heightening by one storey (post *c*. 1400).

The keep is a double-pile building with a central east-west 5 ft (1.5m) width spine wall dividing the spaces north and south equally. The present two parallel E-W slate roofs are hipped and countersunk below the height of the wall-walk. The outer walls (N & W) are 10 ft (3m) thick. The first-floor level is marked by a light string-course that runs through the pilaster-buttresses with a more emphatic string-course about 5 ft higher at windowsill level. The original building height is defined by an inward offset higher up where the original walls and pilasters terminated before the top storey was added.

The four central pilaster buttresses divide each elevation into two equal bays, although not every pilaster is of the same width. The four x two corner pilaster-buttresses do not clasp (or wrap around) the building's corners - they simply meet to leave a 90 degree nook or re-entrant angle at the corners (fig. 14), a type A corner - see André Chatelain 1973, p. 32). These type 'A' corners (or *contreforts*) appear, arguably, to be the earliest Norman type (e.g. Langeais, Beaugency, La Roche-Posay, Caen, *c*. 1050s, Chepstow *c*. 1070-80, Corfe *c*. 1090-1110, then Guildford *c*. 1130, Hedingham, 1140 etc. Norwich *c*. 1090-1110 is type (B), Portchester *c*.1120 (C). Corner types A, B, C continued coterminously. The two south-east corner buttresses (as seen from the main courtyard) have a third mini-pilaster-buttress or fillet filling the nook or re-entrant angle up to the first floor only (a feature noticed and delineated by Fairbairn, fig. 14). This may have been the case at each corner but the other corners, SW, NW and NE at ground level are buried under later masonry or abutting walls. This fillet or secondary corner pilaster is a very unusual feature in England; it is seen at the Exchequer Hall at Caen (1050s, but here it is a slightly different variant) and other Normandy *donjons,* e.g. Nogent-le-Rotrou.

There are no corner turrets as such, and no corners rise higher than the wall-top crenellations (apart from the added 'John of Gaunt's chair' 1400s cap house and flag tower). This is similar to only a few other castles in Britain, mostly in the early 1070-1130 phase - Chepstow, Corfe, Norwich, Castle Rising, Norham (1st phase) and probably Portchester (which was later heightened). There are no ground-level splayed-plinth or battered bases on any façade. All wall surfaces descend directly to the ground with a minimal height plinth with

Fig. 15. The S (left) and E façades. The lower half of the S elevation is embedded into the 3-storey Debtor's Wing.

no batter. This also noted at Chepstow, (N) side, Norwich, all round, but not Corfe, Portchester, Guildford, or Kenilworth, where the pilaster-buttresses die into a broad sloping plinth).

The elevations are generally of wide-jointed loose-coursed squared ashlars at principal / first-floor level and above, but at basement level the stonework of the wall-face consists of larger, more randomly coursed stones, some even approaching mini-boulder size. This is probably in a conscious emulation of the classical Roman practice of gradation of masonry - from bold 'rusticated' type blocks on the ground floor - suggesting power and solidity to smoother ashlar faces on the higher storeys. This vocabulary also explicitly indicates a more mundane purpose as a storage area (*cf.* Norwich as originally built - see Heslop, 1994).[31] By contrast the pilaster-buttresses are smoother, close-jointed and more carefully cut from ground level up. They are deep - 24 ins. from the wall face at the ground-floor level.

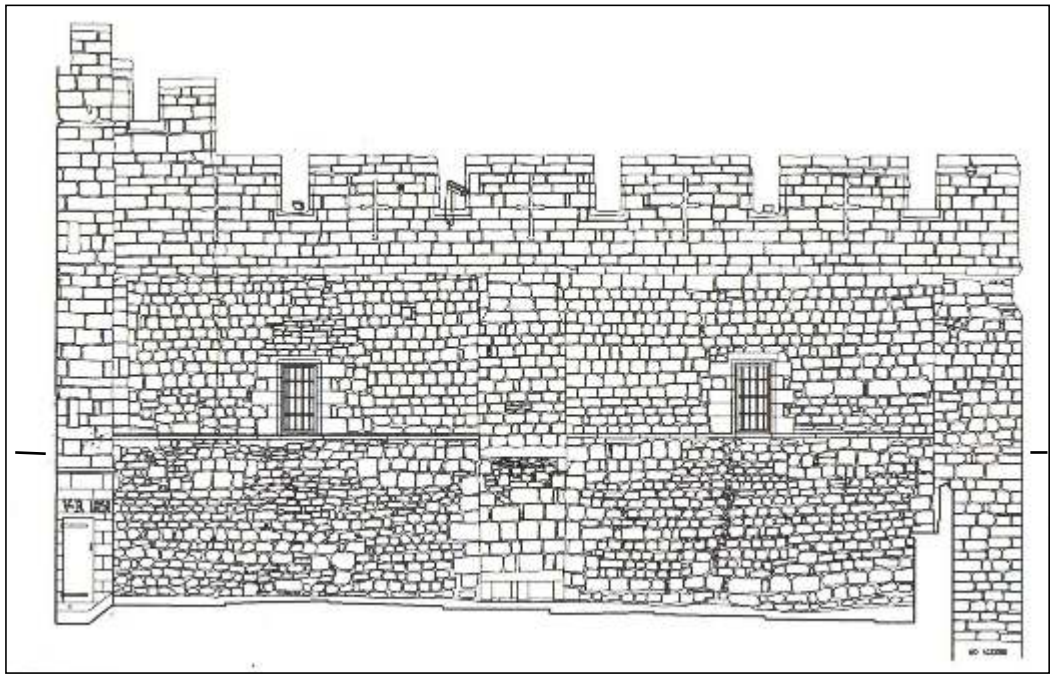
South elevation - facing the castle yard:

The original entrance was on the principal first-floor level in the SW corner, (Buck fig. 5, Fairbairn fig. 11) although this is no longer externally visible because of the building of the Debtor's Wing alongside the whole length of the lower south wall in 1796. Within the corridors of the Debtor's Wing - which abut the south wall - there are no obvious traces of any medieval masonry indicating a forebuilding in the typical assumed location adjacent to the medieval entrance. Nor are there any obvious remaining traces of the presumed flight of medieval steps and ramp shown in Fairbairn that run from east to west. There was an independent south entrance to basement level under an (now lost) arch supporting the stepped ramp up to the first floor entrance[32] (*cf.* Corfe, Norwich), and traces of this survive (figs. 53-55).

The three original Norman windows of the great hall to the south were replaced by large square multi-light transomed windows probably in the late-16th or 17th century. (Fairbairn, fig. 14 and Mackreth, fig. 6). In turn, these large square windows have been blocked up, hidden from view by the Debtor's Wing. Traces of the Norman inner arches to the windows in the Great Hall remain (see fig. 52). Second and third floor windows that are visible are similar in size and style to those on the other façades. The third floor windows do not appear in the Buck views (1728) or Mackreth (1778), but do appear in the Fairbairn (1790s).

Spiral Stair

The present inserted 15th-century spiral stair to roof wall-walk level is built into the enlarged S-W corner. It starts to rise and is only accessible from the area of the west wall wall-



PS. 1. ***The south elevation*** *down as far as the roof of the Debtor's Wing. Building pattern similar to the east elevation with infilled merlons below the offset, which the rectangular windows sit above. Reproduced courtesy of and © The Duchy of Lancaster.*

PS.1a. The south elevation. From a 1927 Francis Frith postcard, clearly showing differences in stone texture.

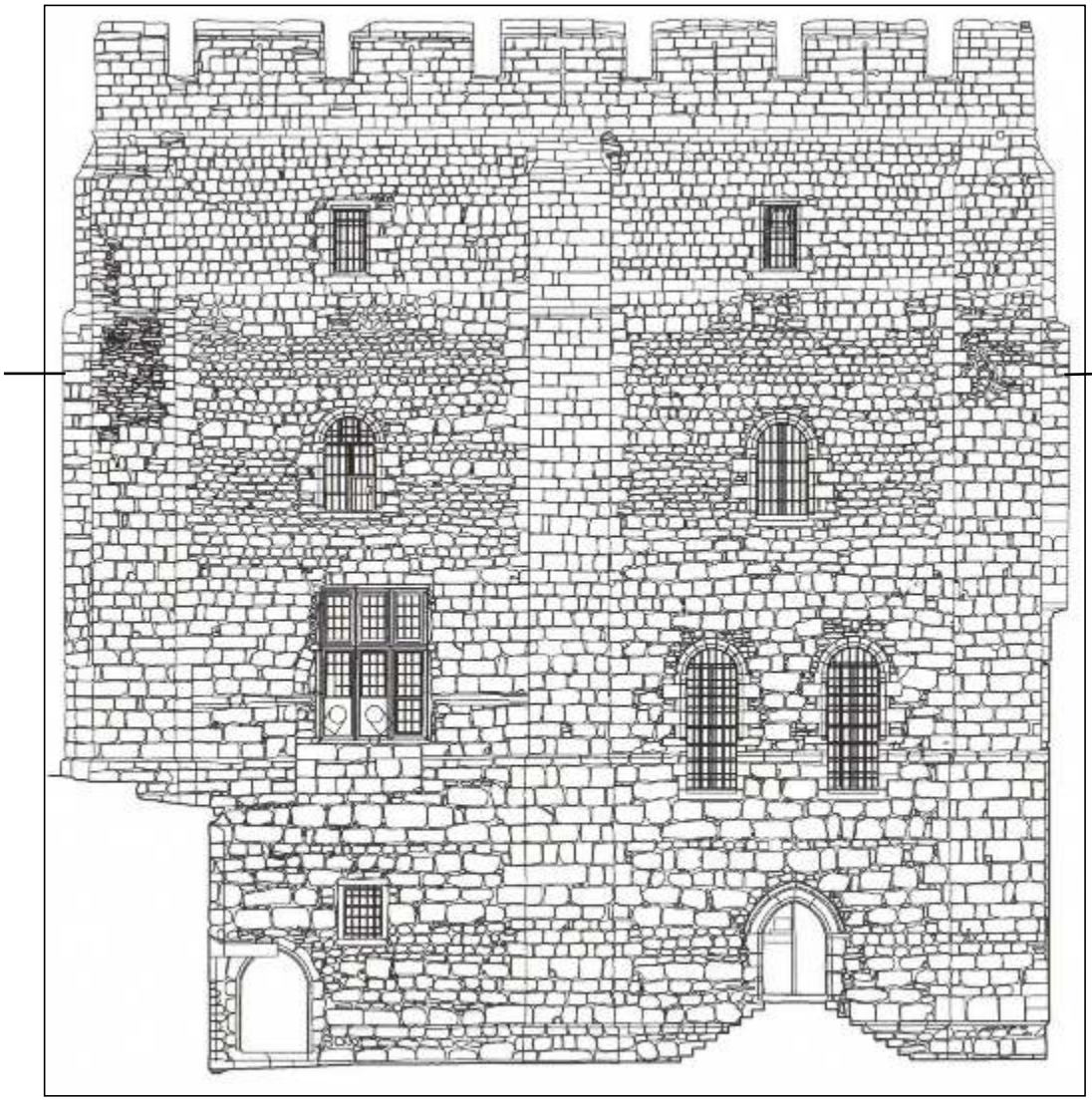
Fig. 16. The entrance to the spiral stair in the SW corner. Constructed / inserted in 1851 to accommodate the visit of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.

Fig. 17. The central pilaster in the south façade, terminated by corbels above the roof-line of the attached Debtor's Wing.

walk and is probably *c*. 1400-30. It ascends from the inserted second floor level, with which it communicates, bypassing the inserted (1950s) third floor on the way to the roof. The spiral stairs are of the fine ashlar cut-slab type – tread 36 in. wide/ 9 in. high and match in style those in the gatehouse. Above the door into the staircase is the inscription and date 'VR 1851' (fig. 16).[33] The central pilaster now terminates above the roof-line of the Debtor's Wing (fig. 17). It was probably removed lower down to facilitate the construction of the Debtor's Wing corridors abutting the south wall.

East façade - facing the Well Tower:

There are a few fragments of a curving architrave embedded in the east façade just to the left of the large, square, multi-light window with the two panes of glass missing (they used to contain the air extraction ducting). These may represent the architrave of a circular window, possibly that drawn on the 1562 Duchy survey plan of the castle (fig. 2), the earliest known drawing of the castle. In the third bay of the representation of the keep there is a circular window illustrated. This third bay is actually the southern half of the east elevation, not the south façade. Circular windows within secular buildings are rare. There is the example of Chepstow (two round windows at the west gable end of the hall, (*c*. 1070-80) and another in the small chapel next to Scolland's Hall at Richmond, *c*. 1070s. A smaller example appears in the chapel in the circular keep at Conisbrough (*c*. 1180s). In France there are striking examples of circular windows in the early round *donjon* of Neaufles-St-Martin (Eure, Upper Normandy). The details of this



PS. 2. ***The east elevation****. The photogrammetric survey suggests three main building campaigns to get to the initial full height of the Norman keep - marked by the level of smaller stones with the ghosted outlines of crenellations just below the rectangular windows. The final upper level is probably the heightening of the castle in the early C15. On the south side (left) the outlines of a curving architrave can be detected on the outside of the large C16/C17 mullioned and transomed window. This architrave may be the remnant of the circular window, but it does seem to be placed low in comparison to the 1562 Duchy drawing. Alternatively it may be the arch of a larger (two-light?) window, or even an 'appearance door', the lower half of which has been infilled, and which rises from the same level as the two lower northern windows. All the other four arched window mouldings look post 1800. The jambs and arches probably re-using existing, but smaller embrasures. Reproduced courtesy of and © The Duchy of Lancaster.*

Fig. 18. The inserted east façade C13 door into the southern half of the basement.

Fig. 19. The east façade raised door entrance into the northern half of the basement.

architrave fragment are interesting. They consist of two roll moulding orders; the first, outer, is gently hollowed or concave, the second, projects, and are unlike the other four architraves as noted below. Alternatively, the architrave fragments may represent part of a round-headed opening that may have been an 'appearance door' a proposition supported by stone infill below the large square window (PS. 2), as seen at Corfe, Norwich and elsewhere.[34]

There are four substantial round-headed single-light windows on the east elevation (figs. 19, PS. 2). Three on the northern half and one to the south. The lower two on the northern half (fig. 19) have been subsequently lengthened and lowered, and the string-course modified around them accordingly. As to when these were added to the east elevation the matter is problematic. All four appear contemporary - they have the same stone type, mouldings and construction features. The 1790s Fairbairn view (fig. 14) does not show them, apart from one similar window, in the northern half (above to the left). Buck, Mackreth and Britton also do not include them. It is possible that the one shown by Fairbairn was used as a template to reproduce the others, and then it itself was replaced so that all four correspond exactly. The mouldings are in a neo-Norman style with roll-mouldings, cushion capitals, engaged shafts and bases, and close inspection shows considerable weather wear. However the pictorial evidence suggests these window mouldings are post-1800, and have probably re-used the narrower embrasures of earlier medieval periods (both Norman and 15th century) to create additional light to the first and second floors, especially when the northern half of the keep was brought back into use in the 19th century.

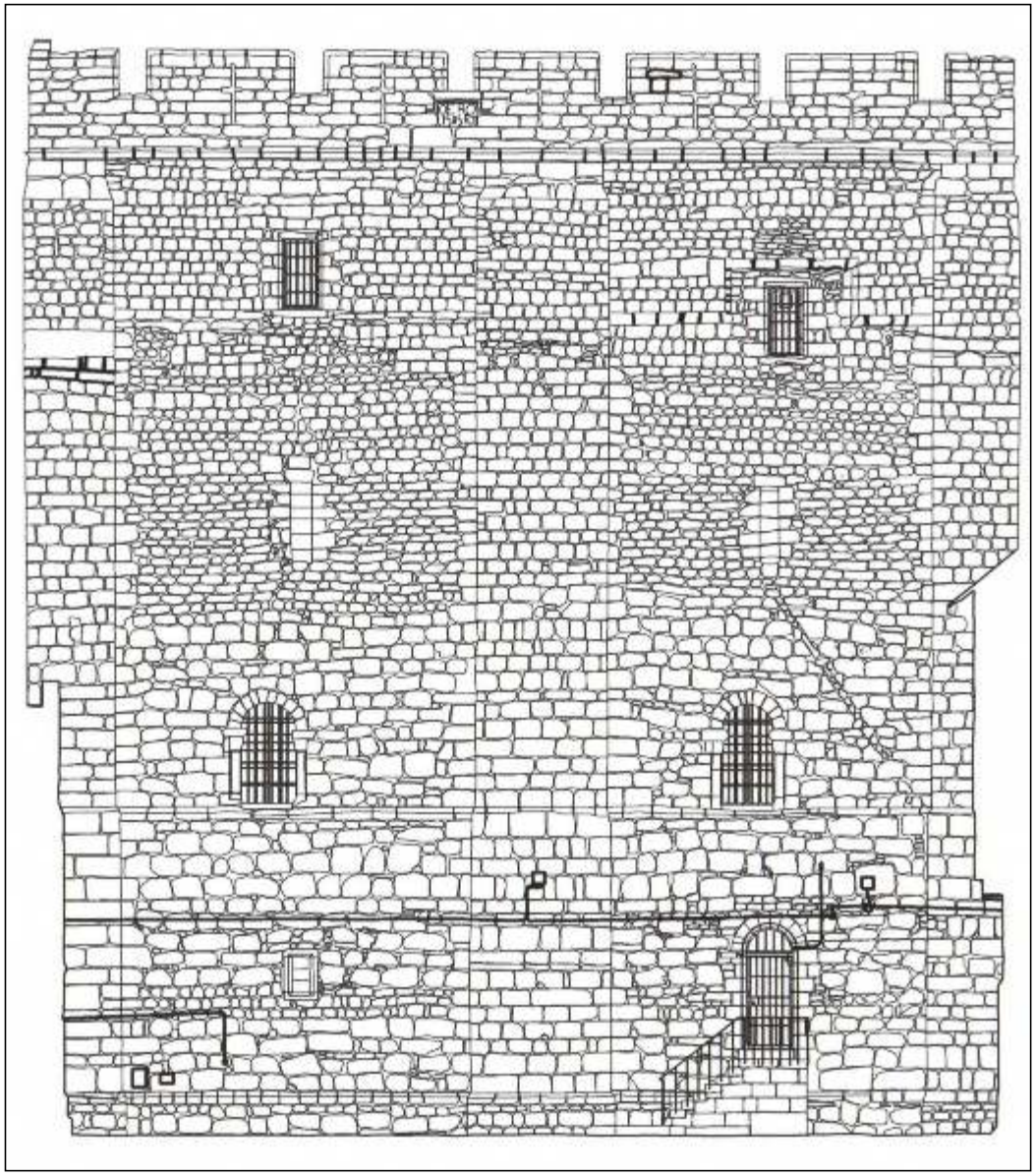
The two pointed-arch doors at the basement level of the east façade appear to be insertions (figs. 18, 19). That on the left (south) under the great hall, is probably early 13th century, and that on the north, now higher, requiring steps, could be as late as the 19th century, gaining entry into the vast room that later served as a chapel and more recently as a gymnasium. The central pilaster-buttress (fig. 19) is 7 ft width x 2 ft deep. For other east façade details and illustrations see *CSGJ* **26** p. 208.

Fig. 20. The north façade - bay toward the east. The broad central pilaster probably contains a fireplace and flue. The fireplace was probably just below the string course and a rectangular vent (boxed) can be seen in the western angle. The subsidiary horizontal levelling course about 5 ft below the string course marks the inner floor level.

North façade - facing the 'Drop Yard'

Two extremely rare survivals are the original Norman-Romanesque windows that remain *in situ* on the northern half of the principal first floor, giving light to the 'inner hall' or 'withdrawing chamber', and are centrally placed in each bay between pilaster-buttresses. The mouldings consist of nook-shaft jambs with squat monolithic detached column shafts, circular bases and plain cushion capitals to each side supporting chamfered imposts and a semi-circular arch above (figs. 20-24, PS. 2). Typically, the string-course acts as a sill. The crucially important Thomas Hearne watercolour, (1778) of the west façade, of which the lower half is now totally subsumed into the Crown Court, shows two arched (probably single-light) windows, centrally placed per bay, similar to those on the north façade and one can speculate that this configuration also once applied to the south façade lighting the great hall, (although in this case there were three windows, one in the west bay and two in the east) (fig. 10).[35] The apparent closeness of the windows to the ground might be due to later ditch in-filling but this is problematic, as Cox's plan works against this idea (fig. 8). From a defensive point of view windows this low would be inappropriate unless there was a curtain wall in front. There is no evidence for this. The Hearne painting also suggests that there was a corbelled-out box-latrine in the western bay of the north façade at top-floor level. This was probably a 15th century insertion. The central 11 ft-wide pilaster-buttress partly conceals a small rectangular smoke outlet on the west side (but not on the east), from a putative fireplace located in the north 'inner hall', solar or 'withdrawing chamber' on the interior side of the same pilaster (fig. 20). This merits investigating internally.

Fig. 21. The north façade - bay toward the west. The basement (ground-floor) round-headed door is a relatively modern intervention. Above there is a blocked rectangular narrow second-floor window and an inserted third-floor grilled window which possibly replaced a corbelled out garderobe. The scars in the stonework that run gable-like from below the blocked window to the string-course are the marks of a C19 building's gable-end roof (the Day-Room) that once stood in the courtyard.



PS. 3. ***The north elevation****. The photogrammetric survey confirms there were at least three main building campaigns to get to the initial full height of the Norman keep - marked by the level of smaller stones with the ghosted outlines of crenellations and merlons just below the rectangular windows. The upper level is probably the heightening of the castle in the C15. The top crenellated battlements were reworked in 1585, as the date is noted. cf. fig 2, which figure does not show any of the C15 decorative/symbolic 'arrow loops'. The stonework suggests the keep was built in a hurry. There is no clear indication that the west corner of the façade (right) was joined to a section of the perimeter curtain wall as suggested by Cox and indicated in fig. 8. Reproduced courtesy of and © The Duchy of Lancaster.*

Fig. 22. The north façade - east bay window detail.

Fig. 23. The north façade window in the east bay.

Fig. 24. The north façade window in the west bay.

Comparative Romanesque windows / portals and other openings

No other direct secular comparisons can be made with these windows for the simple reason that all other extant 11th and early 12th century English castles of this era (Chepstow, Richmond, the White Tower, Colchester, Corfe, Norwich, Canterbury) are without their original exterior mouldings.[36] One could perhaps usefully compare the Lancaster windows to those presently on the south façade of the White Tower toward the east, chapel end, and around the chapel apse (*c*. 1080), although those in place today are pseudo-Romanesque added by Anthony Salvin *c*. 1864, replacing window surrounds added by William Mills in the 1630s. There are no clear drawings of the pre-1630s form known to exist, so the Salvin remodelling with single lights is conjectural.[37] The stocky shafts and cushion capitals at Lancaster bear broad stylistic comparison to those forms in the crypts of Canterbury Cathedral 1070s; Rochester Cathedral 1077; Worcester Cathedral 1080s. The windows, as currently presented, also appear similar to the Exchequer Hall at Caen (figs. 25-6) (*c*. 1050), to those conjecturally reconstructed at William Rufus' Westminster Hall, (*c*. 1090), and the internal window reveals and doors at Norwich. Dating the north façade first-floor windows (figs. 20-24) on the basis of architectural style alone is an insufficiently accurate method in this case because there are no extant secular windows that exist in the same format elsewhere. Also the 60 year date-range for simple cushion capitals leaves any precise dating open. It may be helpful to look at other Norman-Romanesque structures within a similar date range and combination of architectural elements, such as gatehouses, first-floor hall portals and inner-arch window embrasures to see what general formulations were fashionable during the period 1070-1130. Examples below (figs. 29-35) are taken from Richmond (1070-80s), Corfe 1080s-1110 (second-floor internal opening described as an 'appearance doorway'); Colchester 1080s-1120 (portal) *cf.* Newark 1130s; Portchester *c*. 1120s-30 (external and internal window splays), Newark, *c.* 1130, and a few crypt columns with monolithic shafts and simple cushion capitals from various cathedrals and abbeys of the 1070s-1100 period.

The use of simple cushion capitals for windows, crypts etc, ultimately derived from the classical Doric order, ideally suits the more utilitarian aspects of functional architectural components, compared to grand entrances, more suited to the hierarchy of formal display, where 'Corinthian' voluted capitals are more frequently used. Cushion capitals are found as early as 1068 (Exeter castle gatehouse), the White Tower (St.

Fig. 25. Caen Castle, 1050s. Exchequer Hall. West elevation. Single window detail.

Fig. 26. Caen Castle, 1050s. Exchequer Hall. West elevation. Part of the elevation that consists of a total of six lights.

Fig. 27. Canterbury Cathedral, crypt, 1070s. Cushion capitals.

Fig. 28. Worcester Cathedral, crypt, 1080s. Cushion capitals.

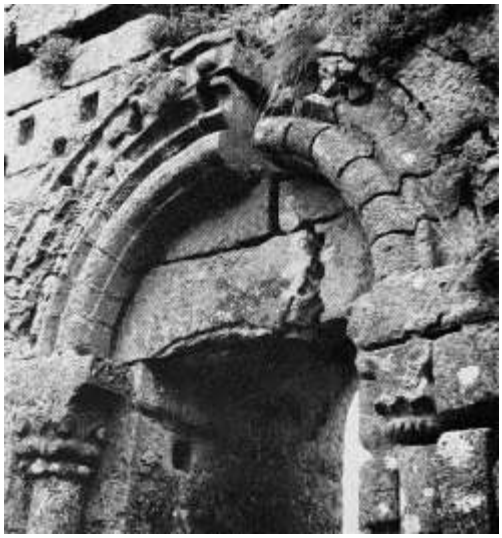


Fig. 29. Corfe Castle. Top floor south-facing window probably converted into an 'appearance doorway'. Paired voluted Corinthian capitals.

Fig. 30. Colchester Castle. Principal entrance, early C12. (cf. Newark, fig. 32, below). Outer capital voluted Corinthian. Emphatic angle rolls.

Fig. 31. Portchester Castle. Great Hall of the keep. c. 1120-30. Cushion capitals and attached shafts. The current EH guide reconstructs this as a two-light window with central colonette.

Fig. 32. Newark Castle, c. 1130s. First floor gatehouse keep. Window light. (Compare Colchester - above). Triple scalloped capitals with slender colonettes. Outer shafts/capitals missing.

Fig. 33 - Richmond Castle. Entrance portal, bailey side; detail of the two orders of engaged shafts with cushion (right) and 'Corinthian' capitals (left).

Fig. 34 - Richmond. Entrance to Scolland's Hall; simplified Corinthian capital (left) with (missing) detached monolithic shaft.

John's Chapel), 1070s,[38] and they remain ubiquitous throughout Norman England until the second quarter of the twelfth century, by which time they had generally been overtaken by multiple scalloped capitals (examples of both these types at Hedingham (*c*. 1130-1140). Also note the keep entrance at Richmond, with detached shafts, possibly as late as *c.* 1150s).[39]

Single or two-light windows ?

At Lancaster the windows look very early - probably 11th century - and the way the impost blocks extend outwards beyond the shafts is reminiscent of Anglo-Saxon church doors and chancel arches. Fig. 22, the close-up, shows the side-wall of the embrasure (where the modern window-grilles are embedded) which appears post-medieval. Throughout the NormanAngevin period many (but not all) lights were smaller than the relieving over-arch, and were defined by a *bifora* or two-light opening, with central column or colonette, set back from the arch; e.g. the south two-light windows at Richmond's Scolland's Hall. At Lancaster this inset, if there was one, seems to have gone, but it does raise the question of whether these were originally two-light windows, which were more common in 'feature' windows. A further reason for suggesting this as a possibility is that the arched opening looks rather square, and generally Norman architecture seemed to express preferences for more rectangular windows. The 11th century church of Notre-Dame sur L'eau at Domfront, Normandy, has some similarities to Lancaster's windows and how they might have appeared, in either configuration.[40]

Fig. 35 - Norwich Castle - keep interior - blocked internal doorway.

Fig. 36. The north (left) and west façades of the keep from outside the (later) castle walls. Grand Jury room in front with Crown Court behind, both c. 1790-1800 by Harrison in a neo-Gothic style.

West façade facing the Priory church:

The lower half of this elevation is now hidden by the Crown Court and Grand Jury Room of *c*. 1800 which butts up against it (fig. 36). Hence it is not obvious that the two Romanesque windows (drawn identically by Hearne (fig. 10) to the two existing moulded windows in the north façade) were definitely in place here originally, although Hearne is usually known for his accurate draughtsmanship However, the trace one of their inner splays or embrasures is visible on the inside of the keep's west wall. The Romanesque mouldings might even remain *in situ*, buried and embedded in brick and plaster when the east wall of the courtroom was added. The central pilaster on the west façade is now missing, but it does appear on the Hearne painting. There are very small traces of stonework left in the wall where the tip of the pilaster was chamfered off. This is certain proof of its original existence, and it was probably removed when the Crown Court was built. An examination of the inner courtroom wall shows no evidence of what might be buried or embedded behind it.

Fig. 37. The enlarged basement embrasure facing east to the right of the C13 entrance.

Fig. 38. A blocked embrasure in the basement facing south along the line of the original steps.

Keep - Internal Spaces - General

Due to the institutional uses of the rooms within the keep until quite recently, the walls of each floor's chambers are covered with layers of plaster, wood and plasterboard, and until these can be removed, the walls will not reveal their secrets, especially any roofing marks or lead flashing crease marks indicating roof type, levels, and rainwater discharge. There is also evidence of two inserted floor levels.

Basement/Undercroft south of the cross wall

The basement/undercroft is now entered from a 13th century pointed-arch door without drip mould, but with a quarter-round roll moulding in the south bay of the east wall (fig. 18). The small window to its right has been created by widening a narrow 11th or early 12th century light embrasure (fig. 37). One other blocked splay of a narrow light follows the line of the south wall above or below the original flight of steps (fig. 38). The south side of the undercroft up to the central spine cross-wall is filled with modern plant and machinery and divided into various modern brick-built cells.

The oak-timbered braced bridging beam

Cutting through these modern plant rooms in the southern part of the undercroft is an east-west oak-timbered braced support that took the weight of the floor of the great hall above and supported the north-south joists that rested on it (figs. 39-42). This 13 ft high support is currently being dendro-dated but appears at first glance to be of Tudor origin, re-using timbers and replacing something similar when the keep was built. The spine bridge has a line of three stout posts running down the centre of the room supporting a bridging beam made of a number of large timbers scarfed together (*cf.* Chepstow and Richmond). Oddly the beam at the east end does not fit into a wall socket but hangs in space (fig. 37). There may have been a similar arrangement in the northern half of the keep, but here the keep was roofless for 150 years after the Civil War and all the original floors and joists have gone. The north half of the keep was, until recently, a gymnasium and previously a chapel with a high 19th century mezzanine-level balcony inserted in the




Figs. 39-42. Various views of the timber spine bridging beam that runs through various brick built rooms used to house modern plant and services. There are three posts in place. Other posts might have been removed when the prison cells were built at the west end. The beam at the east oddly ends abruptly without being secured into a wall socket (fig. 37).

Figs. 43, 44, 45. The three prison cells at the west end of the basement/undercroft. 43, left. South corner. 44. Right: Middle cell door (dendro dated to c. 1550), 45. Below: Middle and north cell with west-east spine wall beyond. The wall which the 3 cell doors pierce supports the 'screen wall' above at first floor level.

Fig. 46. The north half of the keep looking west. The mezzanine sits at approximately first floor level.

western end which allows access to the Romanesque window on the principal first floor in the north wall (fig. 24). The undercroft is divided equally by a single east-west, central stone-built cross-wall running through two floors, later heightened. As it was heightened fireplaces and flues were built into the upper part. The spine cross-wall divides the floor space at first-floor level into a parallel 'hall' and 'chamber' configuration often described as a typical 'hall keep' (Thompson, 1991). Room sizes north and south of the spine wall are approximately equal in size and there may have been a door through the spine wall at the east 'high' end. This needs further investigation. Access today to the south-side first-floor hall is through a modern open dog-leg stair at the east end of the south undercroft. No internal spiral stair access to the first floor level could be traced, but this is not unusual in early keeps (*cf*. Corfe).

Basement/Undercroft – north of cross-wall

This present three-storey-height floor-less space is entered via a raised pointed-arch door with drip mould at the head of double steps. The door architrave could be in a historicist style and be as late as 19th century (fig. 19). High above this entrance in the east façade are two round-headed windows that have been lengthened by lowering their sills, and the corresponding string-course re-moulded around these lower extensions. The exterior window mouldings look 19th century in a 'pseudo-Norman' style, but the embrasures behind the windows seem original. Only one window of this size /position is apparently included by Fairbairn (fig. 14). These windows probably partly illuminated the first-floor 'withdrawing chamber' or 'inner hall' (figs. 46, 47). Until the internal walls are cleared of plaster the original floor levels and potential functions of the rooms cannot be securely determined.

Fig. 47. The northern half of the keep looking east towards the original/added basement entrance. All the original floors are lost. The floor above the neo-gothic ceiling is an insertion, c. 1800, as all the floors and roof on the north side of keep were lost after the Civil War.

Fig. 48. The Norman 'Great Hall', looking west. Taken in 1995 when the Great Hall was in prison use as a prison sewing workshop. Reproduced courtesy of English Heritage Archive, ref: aa95_05579.© Crown copyright.

Fig. 49. The Norman 'Great Hall', with later additions, looking west. The N-S screen wall is built over the vaulted 3-cell prison block below in the undercroft. The original hall entrance door behind the wall to the left in the SW corner. The Inserted ceiling / floor with exposed joists probably post-c 1400.

Fig. 50. The first arch of the screen wall in the SW corner of the hall.

Fig. 51. The SW corner of the hall showing layers of concrete reinforcing below the spiral stair.

Principal first floor - 'great hall' to south

This was a 'double-height' first-floor hall running up through two storeys, typical of all Norman hall-keeps as originally configured. The whole structure of the original great tower appears to have been a rather squat building of only two floors including the undercroft (i.e. two floors, but a three-storey height building marked by string-courses and offsets). A third floor appears to have been inserted within the great hall roof space, perhaps between *c*. 1360-1430 with inserted stone corbels and full-width timber cross-beams with arched bracing (thus creating a three-floor/three-storey building by the early 15th century) (figs. 48 - 50). This has effectively lowered the height of the hall. This was later followed by a new roof structure *c*. 1800 (Harrison) and an additional fourth floor squeezed into the new roof space in a later period, probably in the 20th century. There are no traces of any spiral-staircase structures, hence there is no internal access from the first floor at all up or down. In fact the stair is missing. There may have been a vice-stair in the thickness of the SW corner at one time, but it needs further investigation. The *c*. 1400-30 spiral stair extension above, created by bulking out the SW corner, appears to be resting today, in part, on stone reinforcing supports bridging the corner (figs. 47, 48), engineering work by Harrison in connection with the creation of the Debtor's Wing and its corridors and staircases.

The west end of the hall has a kind of stone 'screen' wall running N-S concealing from view the original SW entrance (fig. 46).[41] The lower half of this wall is covered with 20th century plasterboard and service fittings with a modern central door. Above this are three pointed arches to the 'screen' wall made from ashlar blocks but with no apparent mouldings (figs. 48-50). The arches may have been punched through the wall in the late 18th century by Harrison. The whole arrangement looks far from medieval but requires further investigation, as does the timber mezzanine floor behind it that resembles a kind of 'min-

Fig. 52. The hall looking toward the south wall. There are three blocked window embrasures. Two either side of the section of wall with the radiator on the outside of which was the south central pilaster-buttress. The third window embrasure is further to the east (left). This central wall mass may conceal a fireplace, which requires further investigation.

strel's gallery', also probably by Harrison. This dividing screen wall, which creates a N-S passageway behind it leading from the original SW entrance, is supported by the basement vaults and wall of the prison-cell block which aligns and is on axis with the N-S cell wall doors (figs 40-42). The prison cells and their roof vaults are *c*. 16th century,[42] so the screen wall in the great hall is probably 17th century or later, with Harrison perhaps heightening the wall to create a substructure to support rooms above. The original first-floor round-headed portal (Buck, fig. 5) giving entry into the Great Hall was in the SW corner, but subsequent alterations mean there are no traces of any medieval features (figs. 53-55).

Accessed from one of the lower corridors in the Debtor's Wing below the first-floor entrance is the original south entry into the basement. This is much modified. This portal has been partially blocked to create a smaller late-18th century door which leads into a small brick-lined storeroom created out of the vaulted passageway through the thickness of the wall (8 ft 6 in.). At the far end a brick wall blocks further entry into the basement. A trace of the original arch is seen from within the small room. Externally it is devoid of any mouldings (figs. 56-58).

At basement and first-floor level, no Norman-era garderobes were found. No mural chambers or passages were found. No garderobe outlet chutes were noted externally. There are no signs of any facilities for an integrated kitchen or well-shaft. The basic shells of these vast rooms are now plain and austere to the extreme. Palatial in size and volume but non-palatial in detail or embellishment. The logical place for these ancillary spaces would be with-

Fig. 53. Looking south from within the first floor passageway towards the original SW entrance.

Fig. 54. The SW entrance, now altered out of all recognition, from the south.

Fig. 55. Both the principal SW entrance and possible original basement entrance below from the Debtors's Wing corridor and staircase.

Fig. 56. The possible original basement entrance, reduced both in width and height.

Fig 57. The modern door inserted into the portal that leads to the room enclosed by the wall thickness at basement level.

Fig 58. From inside the room possibly showing the original arch or at least following its trace.

in the wall thickness of either the west (most likely) or north walls, as these two walls once constituted the effective curtain walls as part of the castle's defensive *enceinte* with cut ditches beyond, similar to the arrangement at Portchester. If these domestic service features were in the west wall, all traces would have been obliterated or concealed when the Crown Court was added by *c*.1800.

First floor - presumed 'withdrawing chamber' or 'inner hall' and 'privy chamber' to north side

The northern part of the keep has no floor at this level except the inserted mezzanine balcony at the west end (figs. 43-44). This mezzanine is accessed from the southern half though a door in the spine cross-wall and up a short flight of steps. The door has a pointed arch similar in height and profile to the pointed arches of the three-arched screen wall noted above (figs. 59, 60). This is probably the work of Harrison (*c*. 1800) in a pseudo-gothic style. The mezzanine allows access to the Romanesque window at the west end of the north wall. Due to the absence of flooring, it is not possible gain access to the Romanesque window in the east end of this 'inner hall' chamber (fig. 47). The present lack of any obvious signs of domestic services begs the question about keep use or function, and it is interesting to note that King John built a new hall and more luxurious accommodation block to the south of the keep in *c*. 1210.

Function of the Great Tower: Residential, Ceremonial or both?

Cox mentioned that the keep owes it grandeur entirely to its 'simplicity and its fine proportions'. Assuming, for one moment, that the keep was built for a dual formal and domestic/residential purpose, fit for a king, and not purely for ceremony, display, and receptions, the north chamber(s) would have functioned as a more private retiring 'solar' or withdrawing room. One would also expect this large space (internally 60 ft E-W x 15 ft N-S) to be subdivided, perhaps partitioned with a stud wall, to form a smaller, more private space at the

Fig. 59. Door from the south side of the keep through the cross-wall to the north side - west wall to the left - with trace of pointed arch.

Fig. 60. Same door looking to the south side of the keep through the cross-wall from the north side, with fuller opening.

western end, acting as a bedchamber with access to a garderobe. Most residential hall-keeps met this usual planning and circulation criteria. Early cross-walled examples of great towers existed at Corfe, Norwich, Canterbury, Rochester, Portchester, Carlisle, and Bamburgh; in France: Falaise, Domfront, and Arques; all examples between 1090 and 1130s yet all with individual variations of plan. A potential obstacle to this assumption - that the northern half was simply the private 'residential' side of the keep - is the placement of the (as yet putative) fireplace, which is central to the whole space and which would make a sub-division problematic. Plus the fact that usually the residential, 'solar' side of the tower was normally to the south aspect. This was not always possible due to geography of the site and the situation of pre-existing buildings, but it was the usual preferred option.

Another aspect of early great tower development was the process of transition, detected at the turn of the 11th century, from its primary function - a building that was exclusively built or used for display, ceremony and prestige, formal meetings and entertainment in great state - to a more mixed, flexible use, including integrated kitchens, chapels, and residential suites for family and guests. Philip Dixon (2009) noted: 'Work on the great towers, once they had been begun in the 1070s, proceeded slowly, and it has been shown above that in each case except perhaps Canterbury, the towers display a clear building break after the first few years of construction. In some cases (Colchester, Norwich) this was followed by a reworking of the design. It seems that the patrons of these great towers were losing interest in their [original] designed purpose: at the least their priorities were elsewhere. The date of this pause at Norwich is perhaps the last years of the 11th century, and the resumption of the building programme here seems due to the direct interest of Henry I, who was responsible for the completion of the earlier works, and the building of new *donjons*, which are discussed below. But these new keeps increasingly turned away from the 'hall in a fortress' concept which we find in the earlier buildings, and introduced a degree of sub-

Fig. 61. Reinstated second floor of the keep, north side. This floor is probably an addition by Harrison of the late C18. Looking east. Spine wall to the right. Original floor lost during/after the Civil War.

division and domestic accommodation. This is perhaps the point at which the direct line of the White Tower and its relatives dies out, in the unfinished hulks of these great buildings at the end of the 11th century. But what they symbolised, their massive authority, remained an important reference point for the builders of the next generation, and so formed a potent element in the expression of power in the 12th century'.[43]

Dixon is suggesting there was a change of emphasis in the practical role and function of the great tower, perhaps initiated by Henry 1 after 1100, and it appears to the writer that Lancaster was just such a building caught in this period of change, erected in this time of functional transition. Lancaster was a building of palatial stature, probably initiated and encouraged under the patronage of William I or William Rufus - perhaps partly financed by Roger himself - and completed at the latest in the early years of Henry I.

Second, third floors and roof-scape

These floors are both late-medieval and post-medieval insertions. Aspects of these rooms are illustrated in the following pages but detailed analysis will be dealt with in later papers. The second-floor chambers (*c*. 1360s - 1430s) (figs. 61-63) were probably offices used in connection with the administration of running the Duchy estates and the third floor was created in the 1950s, used as prison inmate classrooms from the same date (fig. 64).

Lancaster Castle Revealed - Part 2

A paper will be published in a future CSG Journal covering the other medieval towers and chambers. This will include buildings along the west side of the castle (Adrian's Tower, first-floor hall and the (lost) half-round tower, all 13th century), the Well Tower, and the 15th century Great Gatehouse with its portcullis and lifting mechanism still substantially in place.

ABOVE: Fig. 62. Inserted, rather featureless, C15 second floor of the keep, south side, above the Great Hall. Looking east. Spine wall to the left with through door to north side. Blocked window to the right.

ABOVE: Fig. 64. Inserted third (top) floor of the keep, north side. Looking west. Spine wall to the left with through door to south side.

BELOW LEFT: Fig. 65. Entrance to spiral stairs from the second floor. BELOW RIGHT: Fig. 66. Door recess within the spiral staircase from the second floor (which bypasses the third floor).

Fig. 67. Above: Priory church of St Mary to the north of the castle. Below left: Fig. 68. The cut-slab spiral stairs from the second floor rising to the roof-top. Below right: Fig. 69. 'John of Gaunt's Chair'. The C15 staircase cap-house/flag tower at roof-top level, later modified. The Gatehouse cap-house is very similar.

Fig. 70. Above: Rooftop merlons and embrasures, looking north. The 'arrow loops' could be Elizabethan. Below: Fig. 71. The central valley gutter supported by the E-W spine wall with central smoke stack. The roofs were added by Harrison c. 1780-1800.

Suggestions for further investigation:

It is hoped that over the next few months as any further stripping out continues and before any new works begin, the Duchy will be able to examine, amongst other parts of the prison building's fabric, the following areas of the keep that are, potentially, of great interest to castellologists, and that will help to complete a thorough analysis that this great building deserves:

- Examine the evidence for a fireplace in the position of the central pilaster on the north wall, first-floor level and smoke vent(s) on the east and west side of the pilaster to the exterior. Also possible is a fireplace central to the south wall in the great hall.
- Evidence for a blocked door at first-floor level from the south 'great hall' to the north 'withdrawing' chamber, which should be at the east end above the position of the modern dog-leg stair.
- Dendro-dating the braced arches & floor cross-beams above the great hall and compare with the the dating of the beams and roof trusses in the gatehouse.
- Evidence for two blocked up Norman window embrasures in the west wall (to confirm Hearne's 1778 painting). Easiest point of access for one is the west section of wall behind the timber panelled cladding at the back of the mezzanine floor in the north chamber.
- There is a blocked passageway from the west end of the north chamber at basement level into the space below the Grand Jury Room. Can this be opened up to see if there are the remains of a Norman window embrasure here? i.e. an embrasure that has been widened and opened up to make a passageway.
- Evidence for signs of any angled ridge gable roof-lines in the interior faces of the east and west walls - probably at second floor level. Either chiseled out grooves for affixing lead flashing, or ingrained smoke stains.
- Signs of any domestic services - especially latrine shafts etc along the west wall or in the west/north corner of the north chamber.
- Evidence for the putative northern curtain wall abutting the keep in the north-east corner (as per Cox's fig. 8).

Acknowledgements

Grateful thanks are due to the following people who have assisted or facilitated our visits: CSG member Peter Burton, to whom should be credited the majority of the images used.

Colin Penny, Lancaster Museums Service, who readily responded to various emailed questions and also for discussions about the 1562 Duchy drawing whilst on site.

Maintenance Manager Alan Box, Julie Townsend and Chief Executive Nathan Thompson, all at the Duchy of Lancaster who facilitated and hosted the visits.

Peter de Figueiredo (peter@defigueiredo.co.uk) - Historic Buildings Advisor, who led the SAH-GB Study Day at the castle in April.

Peter Iles - Specialist Advisory Services, Lancashire County Council, for reading through the draft, and for making a number of help suggestions. (peter.iles@lancashire.gov.uk).

Richard Hulme for his consideration and thoughts on the Romanesque windows.

John Kenyon, Derek Renn and Philip Dixon for reading through the drafts and general helpful comments.

It is hoped that a site visit to Lancaster Castle to look at the keep and various other parts (gatehouse etc) can be arranged for March or April 2015.

Notes

[1] Chandler, John*, John Leland's Itinerary (Travels in Tudor England),* Alan Sutton, Stroud, 1993, pp. 263-4. See also Toulmin-Smith, Lucy (ed.), 1909, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543* (London, Bell and Sons), Vol. 4, p. 11.

[2] The original survey drawing is in the National Archive, ref: MFC 1/207 (DL 31/112), but does not reproduce well. Fig. 2 is the George Vertue reworked engraved copy that was published in *Vetusta Monumenta* Vol. II, 1789, although the plate was separately printed before that in 1753.

[3] Fiennes, Celia, *Through England on a Side-Saddle,* Penguin Books, 2009. This is an abbreviated selection of journeys that was originally published in full as *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, The Cresset Press, 1947.

[4] Fleury, C, *Time-Honoured Lancaster,* 1891, p. 4.

[5] Pers comm, Colin Penny, Museum Manager, Lancaster Castle.

[6] Clark, Christopher, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Town of Lancaster, collected from the Best Authorities,* Lancaster, 1807.

[7] Britton, John, *The Beauties of England and Wales; or, Delineations, topographical, historical, and descriptive, of each county,* London, 1807, pp. 50-63, esp. 51-3.

[8] Cox, E. W., 1896, 'Lancaster castle' in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* Vol. **48**, pp. 95-122.

[9] See also: Camden, William, 1607, *Britannia;* 1818, *The Gentleman's Magazine* Part 2 p. 176; 1829, *The Gentleman's Magazine* Part 1 p. 492; Higgin, E., 1849, 'Memoranda relating to Lancaster Castle' in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* Vol. **1**, pp. 95-102; James D. Mackenzie, 1897, *The Castles of England*, vol. 2, pp. 194-6; Fishwick, H., 1901, 'The Old Castles of Lancashire.' *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* Vol. **19** pp. 53-9; Roper, William (ed), 1907, *Materials for the history of Lancaster, pt. 2* (Chetham Society new series **62**) pp. 209-51; A. H. Thompson, 1912, *Military Architecture in England,* pp. 104, 145, 246, 279, 327-8.

[10] But that is not to say that there may have been a Norman motte on the site, now built over.

[11] Colvin, H. M. (ed.), *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. II, HMSO, London, 1963, pp. 692-3.

[12] D'Auvergne, E. B., *The English Castles*, T. Werner Laurie, London, 1926, pp. 87-92.

[13] Braun, Hugh, *The English Castle*, Batsford, London, 3rd ed., 1947-8, pp. 38-9.

[14] Davison, B. K, *The Observer's Book of Castles*, Frederick Warne, London, 1979, p. 162.

[15] Fry, P. S., *The David & Charles Book of Castles*, David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1980, p. 250.

[16] Goodall, John., *The English Castle*, Yale U.P., New Haven & London, 2011, p. 113.

[17] Dixon, Philip, 'The Influence of the White Tower on the Great Towers of the Twelfth Century', in Impey, Edward, (ed.), *The White Tower,* Yale, New Haven & London, 2008, pp. 243-75.

[18] Portchester shows some close affinities to Lancaster. Originally it was the square, squat two storey type of keep (basement and principal first floor), on the same alignment, and same situation in one corner of a Roman military camp, with two of its sides (N & W) acting as the castle *enceinte*. It is smaller than Lancaster (56 ft square outer diameter. and 40 ft square inner diameter with 8 ft thick walls), but a similar internal division with an E-W spine wall. There is a round-backed fireplace in the centre of the north (Inner) hall in the wall thickness created by the central pilaster-buttress. Triangular smoke holes vent through the pilaster. Portchester appears more advanced, or resolved than Lancaster, with its well in the SE corner, spiral staircase from the basement in the SW corner, mural passage in the W wall leading to a NW corner latrine and a further latrine in the NE corner. Rigold labels the two first-floor chambers as 'outer hall' and 'inner hall'. Rigold, S., *Portchester Castle*, Dept. of Environment, HMSO, 1965, pp. 22-25; see also *Portchester Castle*, Munby, J. T., English Heritage, London, 1990, and Goodall, J, *Portchester Castle*, English Heritage, London, 2008.

[19] Hulme, Richard, 'A Hundred Years of Castle Studies: the Enduring Influence of Ella Armitage', in *CSG Journal **26***, 2012-13, pp. 237-42.

[20] Goodall, John, *Country Life*, February 20th, 2013, pp. 61-64.

[21] See *CSG Journal* **27**, 2013-14, p. 143.

[22] Chandler, Victoria (1989). 'The Last of the Montgomerys: Roger the Poitevin and Arnulf', in *Historical Research, Vol* **62**: pp. 1-14.

[23] Mason, J. F. A. 'Montgomery, Roger de, first earl of Shrewsbury (*d.* 1094)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, OUP, 2004.

[24] Roger of Poitou is associated with 632 places after the Conquest. For a full list see: *Open Domesday.*

[25] Ellis, Sir Henry, Domesday Book., 1833. Under the head of " *Terra Rogerii Pictaviensis*," we read ". in Bernulfesuuic Gamel. xu. car. ad gld. Bereng de todeni. tenuit S3 m° e in *castellatu Rogerii Pictauensis* **….** *p. 221.* This has sometimes been interpreted as meaning Clitheroe castle, but is more likely to be Lancaster.

[26] Morris, John (ed.) (1978). *Domesday Book: Cheshire*. Phillimore & Co. pp. R 1:1–45.

[27] After the royal settlement at Carlisle in 1092, Rufus would have wanted castles on the routes from the south, e.g. Brough on the route across the Pennines, and Lancaster would have been another. He may have thought Lancaster a much safer place to have a 'formal' base, since there was the risk in the early years that Carlisle might be lost. Also, his relations with Roger cooled after 1094 (a failure by Roger on campaign in Normandy) which might also have led to greater royal involvement. But probably the building process, like many, had a hiatus or two; Rufus' death, Roger being banished in 1102, so it could have been completed in the early years of Henry I's reign.

[28] The Foundation Charter in the British Library; ref Harleian M/S 3764 fii. This is a C15 copy of the original. The chartulary of Sées recites three charters of Roger granting Lancaster church and other portions of his English possessions to the abbey; two of these are ascribed to 1094, the third is undated; All three differ in some important respects. That without a date was the definitive charter of foundation, for it alone appears in the register of the priory. The others may have been granted by Roger while in Normandy in 1094, but the names of its witnesses show that this was drawn up in the north of England, probably at Lancaster. It cannot be much later in date. See: 'Alien house: The priory of Lancaster', *A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 2* (1908), pp. 167-173. URL: http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk /report.aspx? Compid =38367 . Date accessed: 09 March 2014.

[29] Renn, D. F., *Norman Castles in Britain*, John Baker, Humanities Press, 1973, pp. 37, 220. See also Mesqui, J, *Châteaux Forts et fortifications en France*, Flammarion, 1997. pp. 120-21.

[30] The footprint of Lancaster, 6460 sq. ft. (600 sq. m) is similar to Castle Acre (demolished, but foundations and footings remain), one of a number of so-called square thin-walled Norman 'Proto-Keeps', mostly dated to the end of the 11th century. These also include Bletchingley and Wolvesey Palace at Winchester, although Wolvesey may be later (1130s). These have walls of about 1.5 to 2 metres. Whilst Lancaster is not thin-walled as those quoted above, it fits into the move toward squareness seen in the 1080s and 90s. Each of the above also had central spine walls creating approx. equal-width chambers. See Thompson, M. W., 'Keep or Country House? Thin-Walled Norman Proto-Keeps', in *Fortress* **12**. 1992. These comments are further developed by Thompson in *The Medieval Hall,* Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1995.

[31] Heslop, T. A., *Norwich Castle Keep, Romanesque Architecture and Social Context*, Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1994.

[32] The flight of steps or stepped ramp, illustrated by Fairbairn, appears to the writer more 14th or 15th century than Norman, and might have replaced earlier Norman entrance stairs in an unrecorded building period by John of Gaunt or Henry IV. They might have been influenced by the Great Entrance stair approach to Gaunt's Great Hall of the 1370s at Kenilworth Castle.

[33] The visit of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert to Lancaster prison is well documented. The carved inscription above the spiral staircase doorway from the wall walk (at 2nd floor level) has 'VR 1851' in commemoration. The door was inserted to allow Queen Victoria to visit the castle in the same year, with Prince Albert, and get to the roof top without going through the rooms in the keep. All the concrete supports underneath the staircase may relate to the same period, and the writer suspects that there was originally a spiral below this (probably Norman and quite narrow). Concrete was well established as a building material by this time. See Charles Edward Quarme, *A Narrative of the Visit of Queen Victoria to Lancaster in 1851.*

[34] For a discussion of 'Appearance windows/ doorways' see Pamela Marshall, 'Making an Appearance: some thoughts on the phenomenon of multiple doorways and large upper openings in Romanesque *donjons* in western France and Britain' in, *Château Gaillard* **25** (2012), pp. 233-41. Examples include Chepstow, Corfe, Norwich, Richmond (the donjon), Castle Rising and Dover. Other possibilities include Newcastle upon Tyne.

[35] Thomas Hearne RA. (1744-1817). By 1770 Hearne had established himself as the leading topographical artist of his generation. With Sir George Beaumont, he toured the Lake District (1777) and Scotland (1778); over fifty drawings from these tours appeared in the series

Antiquities of Great Britain (published by William Byrne between 1786 and 1806), and these north country sketches provided Hearne with picturesque painting subjects for years after. His degree of accuracy is judged by comparative analysis with other castles (e.g. Egremont, Lumley, Carlisle, Cockermouth). Whilst a 'Romantic' painter, and natural scenery and people are introduced imaginatively to a composition, architectural work appears sound. That is not to say that, in this instance, he may have 'moved' the north elevation windows to this position for dramatic effect. Turner was known to do similar.

[36] The earliest exterior window mouldings that can usefully be used for comparisons is (1) Portchester *c*. 1120-30 (one partially damaged light on the south elevation - fig. 31). Whilst the current (2011) EH guidebook has a reconstruction drawing showing them as two-light (p. 31) and curve projections/calculations confirm this. Both exterior and interior mouldings have cushion capitals. (2) Rochester, *c*. 1127-35 has two small two-light windows still *in situ* (forebuilding and chapel), but the third-floor lights were thought to be large single lights (EH guidebook, 1969, R Allen Brown, p. 31). (3). Castle Hedingham, *c*. 1130-40 has the finest intact set of window mouldings from the C12. It has single lights on the 3rd floor analogous to Rochester, but in this case, the windows are above the roof-line to give the impression of 4 storeys. In all these examples, including Richmond, the column shafts are part of the series of mouldings that include the nook and jambs. Lancaster is unique in employing unattached monolithic columns for windows.

[37] A close-up of the Salvin reconstruction is illustrated on p. 212, in Chapter 5, 'The White Tower, 1855-2000', by Anna Keay & Roland Harris, in *The White Tower*', Yale, 2008.

[38] Crook, John 'St. John's Chapel', in Impey, Edward (ed.), *The White Tower*, Yale, 2008, pp. 95-123.

[39] Fernie, Eric, 2000, *The Architecture of Norman England,* OUP, Oxford, pp. 68-72, considers the Great Tower at Richmond to be the 2nd quarter of the C12 rather than 3rd quarter.

[40] On the south wall of the chancel is a single-light window, not monolithic, but, arch decoration aside, the form is not dissimilar. (The arch decoration looks very like that on the arch over the main entrance door to Chepstow's great tower). On the church tower the bell openings are similar to two light windows, the two openings set within an overarch framed by an unmoulded arch and shafts with simple carved capitals and quite robust imposts. There is also a round window in the east wall of the south transept. Notre-Dame sur L'eau is mentioned by Chatelain in connection to its '*contreforts*', and is generally thought to have been built by Henry I, but as lord of Domfront (from around 1093/4). So the church may well have been started before 1100.

[41] This is not a screen or screens passage in the medieval sense. The dating of the N-S wall in the undercroft supporting the screen wall in the great hall needs investigating. Screens passages are late-medieval, and were not introduced into great halls until the very end of the C13, and much more typically into the late-C14. There were no services beyond this sub-division, so its acts more like an entrance lobby. There is no longer any natural light coming into the lobby due to the building up of the Crown Court against the west wall which might suggest the screen wall predates the *c*. 1800 work. The earliest extant wooden screens are *c.* 1470s (e.g. Haddon Hall). Masonry screens passages are extremely rare. The only one known to the writer was the one at Raby Castle (Baron's Hall) (*CSGJ* **26** p. 32) which is probably late C14. See Margaret Wood's *The English Mediaeval House,* 1965, reprinted by Ferndale, 1981, pp. 143-44. If the prison cells are mid-C16, the screen above cannot predate this.

[42] The doors have been dendro-dated to *c*. 1550s.

[43] Dixon, Philip, '*The Great Tower at Dover - A discussion and analysis of the history and development of the great tower during the 12th century with emphasis on the design function of these buildings*. Unpublished draft paper, 2009. See also the Dixon contribution in the Dover Castle monograph edited by Stephen Brindle & Paul Pattison: *The Great Tower of Dover Castle* (forthcoming).