

CASTLE STUDIES
IN BRITAIN
SINCE 1945

John R. Kenyon

A commentary in support of a Ph.D by Published Works

School of History and Archaeology

Cardiff University

2010

UMI Number: U584452

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI U584452

Published by ProQuest LLC 2013. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Contents

Acknowledgements		3
Introduction		4
Chapter 1	Castle Studies before 1945	5
Chapter 2	Post-WW2 Castle Studies to the 1960s	7
Chapter 3	The Origins of the Castle Project, Castle Excavations and Fabric Analysis	9
Chapter 4	Castle Monographs	14
Chapter 5	Presentation and Interpretation	16
Chapter 6	Recent Developments in Castle Studies and the Future	17
Chapter 7	Summary of John R. Kenyon's Role in Castle Studies	19
General References		25
Appendix	Publications by John R. Kenyon on Castles and Artillery Fortifications Published 1976-1998	33

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Cardiff University for allowing me to pursue this route for a Ph.D., and to Professors Denys Pringle and Peter Coss for their assistance as supervisors. My thanks to my former tutor at Southampton University, Professor Colin Platt, for prompting me to undertake this work.

The National Museum of Wales has been a source of constant encouragement over the years, but a particular debt is owed to my former colleague, Dr Eurwyn Wiliam, formerly Deputy Director General of the Museum, for all his support over the years.

Castle studies have figured prominently in my life, intruding into the life of members of the family, and without the patience and encouragement of my wife, Chris, I would not have achieved what I have been able to.

Introduction

This commentary examines the development of castle studies in Britain since 1945, based on an examination of published works.

The first chapter outlines the development of castle studies before 1945. The remaining chapters chronicle briefly the important aspects of castle studies since then, detailed under various themes, which have been documented in my bibliographies and my general surveys from the late 1970s onwards, with a closing chapter on my role in the subject.

My involvement in the study of castles and later fortifications began in the closing days of 1969 when I began work in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London. It was not long before I discovered not only the wealth of material that had been written on castles, but that castle studies was treated as an academic subject, and a subject that had been growing in importance from the 1960s.

I was guided in my introduction to the subject by two men in particular: Dr Arnold Taylor, one of the Antiquaries' officers who had appointed me, and Dr Derek Renn. Renn, a government actuary by profession, spent much time in the Antiquaries' library every week, and became my unofficial mentor in castle studies. Taylor, whose heavy involvement with the Society of Antiquaries, combined with his role as Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, meant that his time was limited, looked kindly upon this enthusiastic amateur, especially in later years.

Having qualified as a professional librarian whilst at the Society of Antiquaries, I realized that I needed a degree, whether I remained as a librarian or branched out into archaeology. I therefore spent three years at the University of Southampton (1974-77), reading history and archaeology, and it was during that time that my first publication appeared, an article in the new journal *Fort*, linked to my work on a BA dissertation.

Work on the documentary aspects of early post-medieval fortification began while I was at the History Faculty Library in the University of Oxford (1977-79) and when I started at the National Museum of Wales (1979 onwards) - see Appendix - , but it was not long before castle studies became the main thrust of my studies.

Chapter 1

Castle Studies before 1945

The engineer and ironmaster, George Thomas Clark, is seen as the founding father of castle studies in Britain. His two-volume book, *Mediaeval Military Architecture in England* (Clark 1884), although primarily a collection of a large number of papers published in a range of different journals, particularly *Archaeological Journal* and *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, nevertheless is the first book to examine castles in detail. His earliest papers on castles, on three sites in Glamorgan, were published in 1835, and he continued to publish a number of papers after 1884 (James 1998; Kenyon 1998).

Clark's view that castle mottes were Anglo-Saxon in origin has tended to colour modern views of his contribution to castle studies. Nevertheless, his studies of masonry castles remain as relevant today as they were when first published, particularly where features visible in the nineteenth century have since been lost. The view that mottes were the remains of the first Norman castles was being expounded by a number of scholars in Clark's time and in the years immediately after his death in 1898. As early as 1848, Samuel Tymms read a paper on Clare Castle in Suffolk, published the following year, in which he stated 'The fact that keep-mounds being Norman is proved by their number in Normandy and by many authentic specimens in our own country' (Tymms 1849). It is worth noting, however, that Tymms went on to state that nearly thirty such castles remain in England and Wales, so clearly he was only interpreting those mottes on which the remains of keeps still stood.

Ella Armitage's book on early Norman castles (Armitage 1912) is still seen as the defining work that established that all mottes were Norman in origin, but this was a view being expressed some years earlier, including by Armitage. In the preface to her book, Armitage stresses that she makes no 'claim to have originated this theory.' (Armitage 1912, viii). Key papers covering Britain and Ireland were published by J. H. Round

(1894), being a review article on Clark's two-volume work, Goddard Orpen (1906; 1907), and George Neilson (1898) in a review article taking to task David Christison's *Early Fortifications in Scotland*. Another important paper by J. H. Round appeared in *Archaeologia* (1902-03). T. Davies Pryce, however, although accepting the work of Armitage and Round, did have doubts that all mottes were Norman in origin (Pryce 1905; 1906, 234).

Coupled with these papers is the work by two military men: Colonel W. L. Morgan (1899) on an earthwork in Gower and Major-General A. H. L. F. Pitt-Rivers (1882-83) on another, in Kent. These were amongst the earliest scientific excavations of earthwork castles, and both sites were regarded by their excavators as Norman in origin. These castles were not mottes, however, but ringworks, another form of castle also introduced by the Normans, and particularly prevalent along the south Wales March in the early twelfth century.

Although recent castle historians have been accused of elevating Armitage's work on mottes and Norman castles as being the seminal publication, to the detriment of others (Mercer 2006), there is no doubt that her work remains of great importance, and her field notebooks, held by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in Leeds, are of an outstanding quality. The various publications by Joan Counihan (1986; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1998), although part hagiography, and Ann Hamlin (2001) have served as a reminder how much is owed to Armitage.

In spite of G. T. Clark's book, a standard book on the history and development of military architecture had still to be written, but one duly appeared in the same year as Armitage's book, 1912. This was by A. Hamilton Thompson, and it remained the standard work until R. A. Brown's Batsford book of 1954, and remains worthy of consultation. Although it concentrated on the military architecture, it also contained a chapter devoted to the domestic architecture within castle walls.

For Scotland there is W. M. Mackenzie's book of his Rhind Lectures in Archaeology of 1925-26 (Mackenzie 1927), the first archaeological approach to castle studies in that country. However, one should not forget the five-volume survey of castles and domestic architecture published in the previous century by D. MacGibbon and T. Ross (1887-92).

Other books that should be noted are those by the historian Charles Oman and the architects Hugh Braun and Sidney Toy. Oman's book of 1926 is basically a summary of two expeditions, one to Wales and the Marches, the other to the West Country, and was published by the Great Western Railway. Braun's contribution was in Batsford's British heritage series, first published in 1936, which went into two further editions (1942-3, 1947-8). Toy's book was more wide ranging, covering fortification from prehistory to the early modern period (1939).

It was also from the early twentieth century that the Royal Commissions on Ancient Monuments in England, Scotland and Wales began to issue their inventories, although these surveys varied in quality.

Chapter 2

Post-WW2 Castle Studies to the 1960s

Besides the third edition of Braun's book mentioned above, Batsford continued to produce good books on castles, above all with R. Allen Brown's work of 1954, which appeared in a revised, paperback, edition in 1962, before a third edition was published in 1976, reissued by Boydell Press in 2004 with an introduction by Jonathan Coad. The 1976 edition remained the main overview on English castles in England and Wales, although other books were being written on the subject, such as W. D. Simpson's two Batsford books (1966, 1969). Castles and the beginnings of artillery fortifications were covered in a posthumous publication by Bryan O'Neil (1960).

In spite of the anti-militaristic route which some scholars have endeavoured to steer castle studies down, one has to remember that castles, whatever the reason for their construction and subsequent uses, were first and foremost fortresses. As such, Brown's book, with its emphasis on architectural, archaeological and documentary sources, remains a valid starting point for any student of the subject, in spite of the plethora of other books (see Chapter 5).

One of the reasons why *English Castles* was so good on the historical background, besides the fact that the author was a historian by training, was because Brown was involved in the History of the King's Works project, co-authoring with H. M. Colvin and A. J. Taylor the first two volumes, covering the Middle Ages, with Colvin as the general editor. These volumes (Colvin 1963) documented the English monarch's castles, palaces and other buildings through exchequer records and other documents in the Public Record Office (now The National Archives). Subsequent volumes took the castle story up to 1660, with considerable attention being paid to the artillery fortifications of the Tudor period (Colvin 1975, 1982).

An important part of the 1963 work was Taylor's study of the building of Edward I's castles in mid- and north Wales following the wars of 1277 and 1282-83. Some documentary research had been undertaken as a result of a number of the castles being taken into State care in the first half of the twentieth century, and guidebooks to them published, but it was Taylor who mastered the evidence in *King's Works* and a number of academic papers.

The valuable nature of Taylor's contribution led to that section being produced as a book in its own right, with the original pagination (Taylor 1974). It was republished twelve years later (Taylor 1986), a year after most of Taylor's journal articles, many of them concerned with castles in Wales, had also been republished as a book (Taylor 1985).

A book comparable to Brown's study of English-built castles is Stewart Cruden's *The Scottish Castle* (1960), and like *English Castles* this has stood the test of time as a general overview of castles in that country, with revised editions appearing in 1963 and 1981. Like Taylor, Cruden had an intimate knowledge of the buildings through his role in the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments.

There was one other major book published in this period, and it covered all of Britain and Ireland. This was Derek Renn's *Norman Castles in Britain* (1968, second edition 1973). The core of this book is the gazetteer of all the castles with evidence for a Norman date (1066-1216), whether through the surviving architecture or the documentary sources. The gazetteer is preceded by a number of chapters covering such topics as castles of the Conquest and keeps in the later twelfth century, the first chapter being an examination of the evidence for castles in England and Normandy before 1066. With over seventy figures, and often with several plans on each one, and numerous plates, this book has remained as an important source for the study of Norman castles.

Chapter 3

The Origins of the Castle Project, Castle Excavations and Fabric Analysis

In 1967, following the third Château Gaillard conference, held appropriately at Battle in Sussex the previous year, the Royal Archaeological Institute initiated the Origins of the Castle in England project, spurred by the fact that 1966 marked the ninth centenary of the Norman Conquest. The project culminated in a series of papers in *Archaeological Journal* for 1977, which were re-issued in monograph form the following year (Saunders et al. 1978).

The project was to involve both archaeologists and historians and ‘set out to test pre-conceptions such as that derived from Mrs E. S. Armitage that the earliest Norman castles built in England were earth and timber fortifications of the motte and bailey type’ (Saunders et al. 1978, 1). The project was also to capitalise on Brian Davison’s work in Normandy on pre-1066 castles, and also to examine the form of the private *burh* of late Anglo-Saxon England. Although the various questions posed by the project were not all answered, largely due to a lack of funding, the work at a number of sites, such as Hastings and Baile Hill in York, enhanced our knowledge about the actual construction of these castle mottes.

The RAI’s project incorporated work that had already commenced, for example at Sulgrave, where a Norman castle ringwork appeared to overlie stone buildings of Saxon date. The main site brought into the ‘fold’ was Hen Domen, near Montgomery, identified as Earl Roger of Shrewsbury’s castle established in the 1070s, which remained occupied until late in the thirteenth century. Work had commenced in 1960 and was to run until 1992, the most systematic excavation ever undertaken of an earthwork castle in Britain. The RAI published the first report (Barker and Higham 1982), and in 2000 the University of Exeter, in association with the RAI, published the second and final volume (Higham

and Barker 2000). The meticulous excavation of the series of buildings in the bailey, the evidence for various phases of bridges across the motte ditch and also for a series of towers on the motte were the main results of this remarkable excavation.

Of course, the Hen Domen excavations were by no means the first on early Norman castles in the post-1945 years. Work on the motte at Abinger in Surrey in 1949 produced one of the first examples of excavation being able to substantiate the literary and pictorial evidence for timber towers on mottes (Hope-Taylor 1950, 1956), while on the motte at Totnes in Devon a clay-bonded foundation appeared to have supported a timber tower (Rigold 1954). In contrast, at Ascot Doilly in Oxfordshire excavation showed that the motte was in fact the buried remains of a Norman keep, around which a mound had been raised (Joep and Threlfall 1959).

Archaeology has also shown that the development of earth and timber castles was not necessarily straightforward. Brian Davison's work at Castle Neroche in Somerset showed that what looked like a typical motte-and-bailey represented a later phase of the castle. Originally a castle ringwork, perhaps within an earlier enclosure, the motte was added later, with the ringwork continuing to be occupied as the bailey (Davison 1971-72). A variant of this was discovered at Aldingham in Lancashire, where the motte was formed by infilling and heightening a ringwork (Davison 1969-70). Davison has since commented that as the motte at Neroche was largely built of sand, it must have been heavily revetted, so that to the outside it presented a wall of wood (Davison 2002). An earlier discovery of this method of construction was uncovered at South Mimms, Hertfordshire, in the 1960s (Kent 1968), and the full report of this important excavation should appear in the next year or two.

The remains of the castle of Goltho, Lincolnshire, were excavated from 1971 to 1974 by Guy Beresford (1987). The excavation revealed a remarkable sequence of buildings, as important for the pre-Conquest Saxon evidence as for the Norman castle. Although Beresford's phasing has been called into question (Everson 1988), with the Saxon 'manorial' complex being tenth century at the earliest, there is no escaping the fact

that the Normans imposed a small motte and bailey on the site, with the motte being later largely removed to form an enclosure in which sat a large timber hall. Both phases of the castle may date to the 'anarchy' period of the reign of King Stephen (1135-54).

At Cruggleton, Wigtown, and Castlehill of Strachan, Kincardineshire, the remains of structures were excavated on mottes. At Cruggleton there was an 'Abinger' style small tower along with a hall (Ewart 1985), while at Castlehill a timber hall was the main feature on the mound (Yeoman 1984).

Besides excavations of earthwork castles, a number of major excavations have been concerned with masonry castles, and once again it is only possible to outline a few of them. Much of the work was concerned with monuments in State care, undertaken as part of a programme of the conservation and preservation of existing remains. The excavations in most cases led to an enhancement of the public's interest and enjoyment of the sites, as well as for improving the academic knowledge of these monuments. The golden age of excavation of castles was in the 1970s and 1980s, and the majority of the reports, either as papers in academic journals or as monographs, are now published, but by no means all – for example, the work at Winchester's royal castle.

In England, later medieval buildings surrounding the Norman keep of Castle Rising in Norfolk were uncovered (Morley 1997), and at nearby Castle Acre a remarkable sequence of buildings, including a great tower or keep, was excavated (Coad and Streeten 1982). Ludgershall in Wiltshire, a royal castle or hunting lodge developed by King Henry III (1216-72), was excavated from 1964 to 1972, and although only part of the inner enclosure was worked on, a remarkable series of domestic buildings was uncovered, including a large hall, adjacent to the upstanding remains of the great tower (Ellis 2000). Earlier, Ellis had also compiled and edited the report of the 1968-85 excavations at Beeston Castle, Cheshire (Ellis 1993), work which concentrated in particular on the inner ward and around the outer entrance at the foot of the hill.

Two major stone castles in Yorkshire were the subject of detailed monographs, following excavations at Sandal (1964-73) and Pontefract (1982-86). The work undertaken at Sandal was remarkable, not just for the discovery of the finely dressed masonry remains of the keep on the motte, but also for the barbican and for the range of domestic buildings. The monograph was notable for its reports on the finds, especially the analysis of the pottery and the light that it shed on the domestic life of the castle (Mayes and Butler 1983). At Pontefract some of the best sequences and finds came from the period of the seventeenth-century Civil War, including the countermines dug during the sieges.

David Austin's report on the excavations at Barnard Castle, Co. Durham, from 1974 to 1981 appeared in 2007, although largely written by 1999. It is much more than an excavation report. It examines the castle within its landscape, and the narrative form of the text makes this report readily accessible to the non-archaeologist. Buried in the report there is much that is relevant to anyone examining the state of castle studies from the 1960s, and Austin's antipathy to castellologists, or at least gatherings of them, comes through most clearly (Austin 2007, 25). However, anyone studying the settlement of north-east England will need to consult Austin's work, as must anyone with an interest in the routes castle studies have taken in the late twentieth century, whether one agrees with the author's views or not; for example his comments on the small-scale 'interventions' made by the 'Ministry' on guardian sites.

Other excavations in England of note include those of the castles of Basing House, Hampshire (Allen and Anderson (1999), Guildford, Surrey (Poulton 2005), Carisbrooke on the Isle of Wight (Young 2000), and Launceston, Cornwall (Saunders 2006).

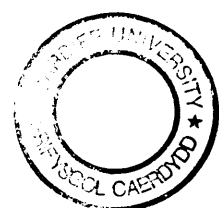
In Wales, the total excavation under Lawrence Butler of the last castle built by an independent prince of Wales, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (d. 1282), was undertaken from 1981 to 2002, reflecting the considerable amount of work that Cadw has carried out on the castles of the Welsh. The reports on Dolforwyn, Montgomeryshire, are appearing in

Archaeologia Cambrensis (Butler 1989, 1995), the same journal that published Jeremy Knight's reports of the excavations of nearby Montgomery Castle (Knight 1992, 1993, 1994). The work at another native Welsh castle, Dryslwyn in Carmarthenshire, largely concentrated on the inner ward, and like the Launceston volume, the report forms one of the monographs of the Society for Medieval Archaeology (Caple 2007).

Two thirteenth-century castles exist within 200 metres of each other at Caerlaverock, Dumfriesshire. In 1998-99 the original castle, which lasted only about fifty years, was totally excavated, showing that this stronghold developed from a strong earth and timber moated site to a stone castle with mural towers (Brann 2004). Its successor was the superb triangular stone castle to its north, and the study of the two sites presents a detailed picture of castle development in the thirteenth century.

The excavations at Edinburgh Castle in 1988-91, part of a major development programme at the castle, not only shed further light on the post-medieval fortress, but also the medieval castle itself, as well as the prehistory of this site (Driscoll and Yeoman 1997). Two projects at the castle-cum-bishop's palace of Spynie in Moray covered both excavations as well as the analysis of the substantial above-ground remains (Lewis and Pringle 2002). The marrying of the findings into one report enables the reader to fully understand the development of this castle, one that dates largely to the fourteenth century through to the early sixteenth century. There are other reports worth noting : that on the castle of Dundonald, Ayrshire, where that rarity in Scotland, the twin-towered gatehouse, was uncovered – not just one, but two (Ewart and Pringle 2004); Threave Castle in Galloway where the extent of the artillery defences was revealed (Good and Tabraham 1981); and the later castle of Caerlaverock, Dumfriesshire, the work here being noteworthy for the sequence of timber bridges uncovered, dating from the late thirteenth century through to the later sixteenth century (MacIvor and Gallagher 1999).

Other castles in Britain have seen major studies of their documentary history and architectural development, two of the finest reports being on Carlisle in Cumberland (McCarthy, Summerson and Annis 1990) and Brougham in Westmorland (Summerson,



Trueman and Harrison 1998). These represent definitive studies of these castles, where even the pictorial history of them is included in the appendices. There are also the collections of essays on the castles of Ludlow in Shropshire and Chepstow, Monmouthshire (Shoesmith and Johnson 2006; Turner and Johnson 2006), and a book on the town of Usk in Monmouthshire includes two chapters on the castle (Knight and Johnson 2008).

Over the years there have been numerous books on the Tower of London. Two recent monographs cover two aspects of this stronghold, not the castle as a whole. The first is the report on the excavations in the west moat, undertaken prior to the possible re-flooding of this area. What was unexpected was to uncover the remains of Henry III's barbican tower, which was constructed in 1240, but collapsed within a year (Keevill 2004); this had possibly led to a twin-towered gatehouse, the site of which is now occupied by the Beauchamp Tower. Historic Royal Palaces' work on the White Tower has been brought to publication (Impey 2008). The project on the White Tower was made possible by the removal of the collections of the Royal Armouries to Leeds, coupled with major work on the exterior of the south front. A team of scholars has analysed all aspects of the White Tower through to the modern period, but the volume also includes an important section on the context and significance of the Tower, chapters by Edward Impey on the ancestry of the building, based on his fieldwork in France, and Philip Dixon on the influence of the Tower on others in the twelfth century being of particular importance.

Philip Dixon has also undertaken a major reassessment of two great towers, one twelfth century (Hedingham, Essex), the other fourteenth century (Knaresborough, Yorkshire). Both might be seen more as castles as theatre than purely military strongholds. Hedingham, a three-storey tower with the external appearance of having a further storey, and possibly without any defences at its entrance, may well have been built to celebrate the creation of the third Aubrey de Vere as earl of Oxford, providing him with a building commensurate with his new status, and one in which important ceremonies could be held in his presence (Dixon and Marshall 1993).

Knaresborough's great tower was built by King Edward II from 1307 to 1312 for his favourite, Piers Gaveston, for the astonishing sum of more than £2000. It was designed to assert the king's waning authority in the north of England through his support of Gaveston. The route taken by visitors to the main room in the tower was *via* a vaulted entrance passage, through a waiting room, well lit, furnished with seating and possibly even a fireplace. The route then led into the large audience chamber, where Gaveston would be seated on a dais at the opposite end to the entrance, below a large traceried window, and next to a fireplace (Dixon 1990; and see also Goodall 2008).

One other great tower that has benefited from treatment by an architectural historian is Orford in Suffolk, begun in 1165. Here T. A. Heslop (1991) also moved well away from the defensive interpretation of this tower and the old view that its polygonal, turreted shape marked the transition from rectangular keeps to the rounded variety that are prevalent in south Wales. According to Heslop, here we may see Henry II putting his stamp in an area dominated by the Bigod family, by erecting a stone tower that was in its time one of the best appointed in terms of the facilities provided for those living in it.

Chapter 4

Castle Monographs

There have been numerous general monographs on castles in Britain, some good, some bad, and the number of titles covering castles of a particular county or areas seem never ending, as can be seen from consulting the bibliography (Kenyon 2008). There is only space here to consider the more notable offerings on castles as a whole, although it would be wrong not to highlight the work of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, with its two-volume survey of the castles of Glamorgan (RCAHMW 1991, 2000), nor omit reference to the Scottish Commission's work on Argyll, the multi-volume survey containing numerous entries on castles – for references see Kenyon (2008, 447-58).

Anyone wanting a general introduction to castles in England and Wales, with a list of sites arranged county by county, together with primary and secondary references, can do no better than consult David Cathcart King's magisterial two-volume work (King 1983). Space did not permit King to include all his introductory chapters, so Professor Leslie Alcock managed to persuade Croom Helm to publish them (1988), although some pages were inadvertently omitted at the end of chapter 13, to appear later in the paperback edition (1991). King's 1988 book is a much neglected work, for it is one that should be read by all castle students. It kills off various myths once and for all, such as the Middle Eastern influence on British castle architecture, and flies some kites, such as the alleged role of the Welsh gentry as motte builders in the later Middle Ages. Many scholars emphasize today that the keep should be seen more for its high quality accommodation and status, as seen in the previous chapter, but King, one of the band of scholars who are accused of seeing castles purely as military buildings, was arguing many years ago that these great towers should be seen more as houses, defence being secondary.

One of the most important books to be published is Robert Higham and Philip Barker's *Timber Castles*, which first appeared in 1992 in Batsford's fine tradition of castle monographs, and soon went out of print. The demand for it was such that it was reprinted by University of Exeter Press in 2004, with a new preface. Although Higham and Barker concentrate on earth-and-timber castles such as mottes and ringworks, leading on from their work on Hen Domen, the use of timber for buildings within masonry castles is not neglected.

General overviews of castle architecture include those by Tom McNeill (1992, 2006), Colin Platt (1982) and Michael Thompson (1987, 1991). Thompson's *Rise of the Castle* is particularly useful for its coverage of the hall, for it is on that aspect that the author had intended to devote a book. He also has chapters on Germany and France that are important contributions, and stresses the function of the great tower in Germany as more symbolic than residential.

However, there has been a growing tendency for castle studies to move away from what has been seen as the purely military interpretation, although for modern scholars to think that this has always been the only approach does great disservice to the work of previous scholars. One of the earliest critics of the military school of thought in castle studies was David Stocker, who wrote a trenchant review article on four recent publications (Stocker 1992). Charles Coulson's excellent book, although written in a way that does not make for easy reading, is much in the same vein, a number of scholars being at the receiving end of some hard comment (Coulson 2003). Nevertheless, it is an important attempt to redress what has been seen as an imbalance between the military and non-military aspects of castle studies, such as domestic and aesthetic approaches. However, there are other books where other aspects of the role of castles has been considered, such as Norman Pounds's examination of the social and political background, and the emphasis that the castle history must be studied as part of medieval lordship as a whole (1990). This is the one book that Stocker, in his review article, considered took the research agenda for castle studies forward, for example in posing the question whether castle guard could dictate the castle plan, and examining the role of the castle and its

local community. Pounds's work is an important piece of historical writing, but one that largely ignored recent archaeological work.

Castles of the later Middle Ages were considered by Matthew Johnson in a thought-provoking book (2002), trying to move scholarship away from both the military and social display aspects, and emphasising the castle in its landscape and its role in ceremony. The theme of landscape, but much more besides, runs through two major contributions to castles studies, books that warrant a wide readership, beyond the field of castle studies. The origins of this field of research can be traced back to a seminal paper by David Austin (1984). The first book is Oliver Creighton's *Castles and Landscapes* (2002), where the impact of lordly authority on both town and countryside is assessed. Robert Liddiard's *Castles in Context* (2005) is the second book, in which the author re-evaluates the role of castles and their settings. The book draws together much that has appeared in print in learned journals or aired at conferences, but this is the first attempt to bring the 'new thinking' of the role of castles to a wider audience. Of the two books it is Liddiard's which is the more readable, but worth noting is his recent joint paper in which he and Tom Williamson try and rein in the wilder interpretations of the medieval castle in its designed landscape (Liddiard and Williamson 2008).

Chapter 5

Presentation and Interpretation

The creation in the 1980s of Cadw, originally subtitled Welsh Historic Monuments, English Heritage and Historic Scotland out of the old Department of the Environment and its various earlier guises, was to lead to the transformation of the interpretation of monuments in State care, particularly with regard to guidebooks, but also other means of on-site explanatory features, such as audio tours and interpretation panels. Local authorities and bodies such as the National Trust have also had to improve their interpretation of the monuments in their care, but it is on the State aspect that this brief chapter will concentrate, with an examination of guidebook literature.

Cadw was quick to plan a new series of guidebooks from 1984, with the first appearing in 1985, in an A5 format. Some had totally new text, such as those for Chepstow and Kidwelly, whilst those on the Edwardian castles of north Wales, written by Arnold Taylor, were regarded as sacrosanct (until 2007, with a new edition of Conwy), apart from some minor amendments and improvements. The Cadw guides were profusely illustrated from the start, although largely with monochrome photographs, and reconstruction drawings, arguably the hallmark of the series, were also included from the beginning. By 1988, many of the illustrations tended to be in colour, and nearly all by 1990. In the later 1990s, the guidebooks appeared in a larger format, with a further change in 2002. The key features of this award-winning series are the high quality and range of the illustrations and the fact that the text remains true to the standard of scholarship achieved in many of the old 'Ministry blue guides'.

It took English Heritage some years to come anywhere near the standards set by Cadw, but this they have done through their 'red' guides, the first of which appeared in 2005, in two formats, standard and narrow. In terms of textual detail and the illustrations, Historic Scotland does not come close to the guidebooks of its sister bodies, but then their

guides are not designed to do so. Changes made more recently have seen more attractive covers, the greater use of colour, and with improved illustrations, except for the general plans, and they continue to be written by recognized authorities in the field of castle studies.

Chapter 6

Recent Developments in Castle Studies and the Future

Castle studies remain a vibrant discipline, made all the more so with the active participation of architectural historians who may be more at home in other aspects of medieval architecture. The setting of castles within the medieval landscape, whether in towns and cities or in the countryside, has been a feature of books mentioned in the last paragraph of Chapter 4. Integrating castle studies with other branches of research can only lead to a greater maturity of the subject within medieval archaeology and history, and lead the non-castle specialist to be less dismissive of those working in this field, so that the recent constant criticism of the military aspect will fade.

Licences to crenellate have been much studied recently, and different theories advanced as to whether they reflect a rise in status on the behalf of an individual, or the need to create a measure of protection in years of internal and external strife. The status theory has been proposed by Charles Coulson, whilst Philip Davis has produced invaluable analyses of the licences. This has enabled Colin Platt to relate various peak times in the issuing of the licences to times of unrest and economic turmoil. A useful summary of the debate has been summarized recently with all the relevant references (Platt 2009; 2009-10). Although Platt's critics have declared the debate over, his various points have yet to be answered constructively.

The reinterpretation of various monuments, or aspects of them, continues to be a feature of castle studies. A good example of this can be seen with the study of the castles of Edward I in north Wales. A conference in 2007, the proceedings of which have been published recently (Williams and Kenyon 2010), summarized recent work by both Nicola Coldstream and Abigail Wheatley that challenged two long-held ideas. The first was that Master James of St George was the designer of the royal works in north Wales, as opposed to the administrator of the building campaigns (Coldstream 2010), and that

Constantinople's Theodosian walls influenced the design of Caernarfon Castle's polygonal and banded masonry towers, whereas Wheatley, and others, have proposed sources within Britain, such as York's Roman defences (Wheatley 2010).

Although an agenda has been proposed for the future direction of castles studies in general (Creighton 2009, and see below), the study of the architecture and internal arrangement of individual or groups of monuments must, and surely will, continue, much as outlined in the previous paragraph. Some thought could be given by leading practitioners and the Castle Studies Group's Committee to suggest in what direction such studies should take, with the Castle Studies Group revisiting its original aims. .

In spite of the biennial publication of the *Château Gaillard* proceedings, there is still a need for greater awareness of current work in Europe. There are occasional castle 'periodicals' that cover other places in Europe, such as *Castellologica Bohemica* and *Castella Maris Baltici*, but these are northern Europe, and even *Château Gaillard* has a similar bias, with work in the Mediterranean countries making only a limited appearance. However, the content of these conferences could be more helpful, with fewer papers on individual sites or small geographical areas. Where better to set an agenda than at *Château Gaillard*? Oliver Creighton attempted to do this for archaeology in England at the 2006 conference (Creighton 2008), highlighting some directions for the future, such as a greater emphasis placed on environmental analysis from excavations, and an examination of the poetic and literary evidence. The literary aspect of castles is one of the themes in the recent assessment of the impact of the castles of Edward I (Foster Evans 2010), and clearly Welsh poetry is a great resource, and one that is becoming more available to non-Welsh speakers.

John Goodall's forthcoming book for Yale University Press (*English Castle Architecture, 1066-1640*) may well bring fresh thought and light to castle studies, and reinvigorate the subject. A 'taster' in the Bangor proceedings (Goodall 2010) emphasizes that those who see the King Edward's own castles in north Wales as the peak in castle

building neglect the contemporary baronial ones at their peril, as they 'rank amongst the most intriguing architectural creations of the late thirteenth century.'

Chapter 7

Summary of John R. Kenyon's Role in Castle Studies

Bibliographies

Even before my first publication appeared (see Appendix), I had been working for a number of years on the first of my bibliographies. Realising that my time at the Society of Antiquaries was drawing to a close, I began to compile a card index, based on sources in the Antiquaries and elsewhere, of references to everything that had been written on castles, town defences and artillery fortifications in the United Kingdom. I took 1945 as the starting point, rather than some point in the nineteenth century, due to pressure of time. Originally, this was not designed for publication, but it was suggested that this would be the way to proceed, in order to benefit those working in these fields, especially with the increasing interest in artillery defences. The Royal Archaeological Institute was the first publisher to be approached, in connection with its new, but short lived, monograph series, but when this fell through, Dr Henry Cleere, then Director of the Council for British Archaeology, offered to include the bibliography in the CBA's research report series.

The first volume appeared in 1978, and two others followed (Kenyon 1983, 1990). An afterthought in the first volume, suggested by a referee, was an introductory overview of the subject. Although this had to be kept short, the introductions in the two subsequent volumes were longer, and included Ireland, assistance to study sources in Dublin on several occasions coming from the British Academy, the National Museum of Wales and the Royal Irish Academy.

After 1990 it was planned to produce a cumulative volume, to include post-1990 material, as well as corrections and additions to the previous CBA research reports. This duly appeared in 2008 (see [26], below), and was published by Shaun Tyas. It covered publications up to 2006, with an appendix listing some 2007 material, and contained over 670 pages of references, amounting to 99.99%, in the compiler's opinion, of all the key publications. Two new features in the bibliography were an index of authors and an index of sites. The indexes take into account the need to be able to search under an author's name, whilst the index of sites is of particular value for those unfamiliar with the arrangement by the historic counties, and not just those working on the Continent.

An introductory overview of the subject was not included in the 2008 bibliography for three reasons: another volume would have been needed to do justice to fortification studies; the introductions to the three CBA volumes still stand; and the Castle Studies Group has published, and still is publishing, each summer my annual castle literature review and bibliography. Originally material was simply listed in the CSG's newsletter, but now A5 booklets, of around thirty pages, and arranged thematically, are issued separately, to enable castle students at home and on the Continent to keep up to date with the books, guidebooks and articles that have been published in the previous twelve months (see [1, 2, 7, 9, 14, 16, 19, 20, 23, 27, 30]).

Monograph

An examination of the various bibliographies shows just how much excavation there has been of castle sites, particularly in the closing decades of the twentieth century. The wealth of information that was revealed was brought together in my *Medieval Fortifications*, originally published in 1990 by Leicester University Press, reissued in 1996, and then again more recently in 2005 (see [18]).

The book was divided into four parts, the first two being the main sections. Part 1, in four chapters, covered defences, namely earth-and-timber castles, keeps, gateways and

mural towers, with a final chapter on barbicans and bridges. Part 2 examined the domestic side of castle life, through buildings such as halls, kitchens, and water supply. The ninth chapter, on the archaeology of castle life, brought together aspects of castle studies scattered across diverse publications. Sections included the evidence for castle building, such as limekilns, household objects, costume, pastimes, and food and diet.

Part 3 covered town defences, often the poor relation of castle studies, with the final part taking the castle into the post-medieval period, through to the Civil War of the 1640s, concluding with ideas for the future direction of castle studies.

Although several of the excavations from which information was taken for the book have since been fully published, *Medieval Fortifications* remains invaluable to researchers seeking information on particular aspects of medieval archaeology in general, as well as castle studies. It continues to be cited in excavation reports and in more general books and papers on castle studies.

Guidebooks

One of the significant results of the creation of Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments in 1984 was the increasing emphasis on the interpretation of sites in State care – see also Chapter 5. One aspect of this was the initiation of a new series of guidebooks, and I was involved in this from the beginning, with Kidwelly Castle. The award-winning Cadw guidebooks are regarded as the benchmark against which other series can be compared. The new editions incorporated much new research, both documentary and through the re-examination of the fabric.

Since 1999, my guide to three castles in the Vale of Glamorgan has been published (co-authored by the late C. J. Spurgeon) ([5]), covering Coity, Ogmere and Newcastle Bridgend, and there have been later editions to those to Kidwelly and Raglan ([8 + 24] and [15]). That to Kidwelly saw a complete re-interpretation of the phasing of

the great gatehouse due to Cadw-funded research by Stephen Priestley on Kidwelly's documentation. The gatehouse, originally seen as being early fourteenth-century in date, now firmly sits in the period of around 1390 to 1422, two phases being identified within that date bracket (see also [12]).

County Surveys

As one of the literary executors of the estate of David Cathcart King, a doyen of castle studies, particularly in Wales, I took on the responsibility of preparing for publication his surveys of the castles of the counties of Merioneth and Pembroke.

The drafts of these chapters to the medieval volumes of the county histories had been prepared many years before King's death in 1989. A combination of recent work and the need to shorten considerably his work on Pembrokeshire meant that I had to rewrite the chapter, trying to keep as much of King's style as possible ([10]). The Merioneth contribution ([6]) was more satisfying, as it did not have to be shortened, and it was possible to keep King's historical introduction with some revision, but the descriptions of each site were rewritten, as so much work had been done on both the English and the Welsh castles in that county, especially the latter, with the work of Richard Avent.

The second volume of the Gwent County History covers the Middle Ages, and the architectural development of the masonry castles in that county forms one of the chapters ([28]).

The millennium special issue of the *Carmarthenshire Antiquary* included a paper on castle studies in that county over the previous three decades, where the work of Cadw on Dryslwyn and Dinefwr castles, as well as Laugharne, were notable highlights ([4]).

The Buildings of Wales Series of Yale University Press

The 'Pevsner' series on England was completed in the 1970s, and other counties were being studied, with the first Welsh volumes appearing in 1979 and 1986. An overview of the castles of Pembrokeshire was included in that volume ([17]), with a similar section in the volume on Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire, together with the entry on Kidwelly Castle ([22]). I had more involvement in the Gwynedd volume ([29]), where, besides the introduction to the castles, I wrote all the castle entries, from Caernarfon and Conwy down to the earthwork sites. I am currently involved in the second edition of the Powys volume.

Collections of Essays

The Logaston Press, a publisher based in the Welsh Marches, has produced a number of fine architectural history books on ecclesiastical and secular buildings, such as Tewkesbury Abbey and Chepstow Castle. In 2000 Logaston published a volume on one of the most important castles in England, Ludlow – important because of the long history and development of the castle's architecture, as well as through its later political role as the seat of government of the Welsh Marches. One of the unusual features of the castle is Mortimer's Tower, both a mural tower and a gatehouse, and an analysis of this structure appeared in the book, with Peter Curnow as co-author ([3]). The book is already in its second, extended, edition (2006).

In 1998, at the annual conference of the Castle Studies Group, held in Maynooth, Co. Kildare, Dr Kieran O'Connor suggested to the writer that the time was ripe for a volume highlighting recent research on castles in Ireland and Wales, a volume that would form a Festschrift in honour of Jeremy Knight, who recently had retired from his post as an Inspector of Ancient Monuments at Cadw. O'Connor and I drew up the list of contributors and edited the volume, published by Four Courts Press in Dublin in 2003

([11]), my contribution being the recent reinterpretation of Kidwelly Castle ([12]), bringing this to a greater audience.

Also in 2003, Boydell Press published *Anglo-Norman Castles*. The editor, Robert Liddiard, brought together a number of papers that he considered significant in castle studies, and my examination of castle warfare, which first appeared in an issue of *Château Gaillard*, was made more widely available ([13]).

The Festschrift in honour of the Irish archaeologist, David Sweetman, was published by Wordwell in 2007. The compilation of this book provided me with the opportunity to outline the examples of the important work that has been undertaken in castle studies in Ireland, seen from a British standpoint ([25]).

An important conference was organized in 2007 by Bangor University, Cadw and the Castle Studies Group on the Edwardian castles in Wales, building on the seminal work of Arnold Taylor, reviewing recent work such as Master James of St George's precise role in the King's Works, and developing a more holistic understanding of the castles, including their impact on Welsh society. The conference proceedings were published in January 2010, edited by D. M. Williams and myself [31], and it included my paper examining Taylor's work in Wales [32].

Although not the author of any of the contributions, mention should be made of the publication of the British Archaeological Association's Cardiff conference held in 2004, of which I was joint editor ([21]).

A 55,000-word book on the medieval castles of Wales is currently in production with the University of Wales Press, and is due for publication in October 2010.

Publications on Castles

(omitting reviews)

Publications 1999-2010 [in date order]

- [1] *Castle Studies: Recent Publications – 12*. Castle Studies Group, 1999. [37 pages]. .
- [2] *Castle Studies: Recent Publications – 13*. Castle Studies Group, 2000. [30 pages].
- [3] ‘Mortimer’s Tower’, (with P. E. Curnow], in R. Shoesmith and A. Johnson (eds), *Ludlow Castle: its History and Buildings*. Almeley: Logaston Press, 2000, 195-200.
- [4] ‘Recent castle studies and Carmarthenshire’, *Carmarthenshire Antiquary* 36 (2000), 47-57.
- [5] *Coity Castle, Ogmore Castle, Newcastle (Bridgend)* (with C. J. Spurgeon). Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, 2001. [52 pages].
- [6] ‘The castles: a study in military architecture’ (with the late D. J. C. King), in J. B. Smith and Ll. B. Smith (eds), *History of Merioneth. 2. The Middle Ages*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001, 386-421.
- [7] *Castle Studies: Recent Publications – 14*. Castle Studies Group, 2001. [28 pages].
- [8] *Kidwelly Castle*, 3rd edition (fully revised). Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, 2002. [48 pages].
- [9] *Castle Studies: Recent Publications – 15*. Castle Studies Group, 2002. [23 pages].
- [10] [with the late D. J. C. King], ‘The castles of Pembrokeshire’, in R. F. Walker (ed.), *Pembrokeshire County History. 2. Medieval Pembrokeshire, 522-47*. Haverfordwest: Pembrokeshire Historical Society, 2002.

- [11] *The Medieval Castle in Ireland and Wales: Essays in Honour of Jeremy Knight*. Edited by John R. Kenyon and Kieran O'Connor. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003. [261 pages].
- [12] 'Kidwelly Castle, Carmarthenshire: the reinterpretation of a monument; in *ibid.*, 176-81.
- [13] 'Fluctuating frontiers: Normanno-Welsh castle warfare c. 1075 to 1240', in R. Liddiard (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Castles*, 247-57. Woodbridge, 2003.
- [14] *Castle Studies: Recent Publications – 16*. Castle Studies Group, 2003. [39 pages].
- [15] *Raglan Castle*. Revised edition. Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, 2003. [56 pages].
- [16] *Castle Studies: Recent Publications – 17*. Castle Studies Group, 2004. [28 pages].
- [17] Contributor to T. Lloyd, J. Orbach and R. Scourfield, *Pembrokeshire (The Buildings of Wales)*. London: Yale University Press, 2004. ['Castles', pp. 46-50].
- [18] *Medieval Fortifications*. London: Continuum, 2005. (First published 1990). (Continuum Studies in Medieval History). [[xviii, 233pages].
- [19] *Castle Studies: Recent Publications – 18*. Castle Studies Group, 2005. [32 pages].
- [20] *Castle Studies: Recent Publications – 19*. Castle Studies Group, 2006. [30 pages].
- [21] *Cardiff: Art and Architecture in the Medieval Diocese of Llandaff*. Joint editor with D. M. Williams. Leeds: Maney Publishing and the British Archaeological Association, 2006 (Conference Transactions; 29). [xv, 214 pages].
- [22] Contributor to T. Lloyd, J. Orbach and R. Scourfield, *Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire (The Buildings of Wales)*. London: Yale University Press, 2006. ['Castles', pp. 30-35; 'Kidwelly Castle', pp. 204-12].

- [23] *Castle Studies: Recent Publications – 20*. Castle Studies Group, 2007. [30 pages].
- [24] *Kidwelly Castle*, 4th edition (revised). Cardiff: Cadw, 2007. [48 pages].
- [25] 'Irish castle studies: a view from across the sea', in C. Manning (ed.), *From Ringforts to Fortified Houses: Studies on Castles and other Monuments in Honour of David Sweetman*, 123-30. Bray: Wordwell, 2007.
- [26] *Castles, Town Defences and Artillery Fortifications in the United Kingdom and Ireland: a Bibliography 1945-2006*. Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2008. [xi, 740 pages].
- [27] *Castle Studies: Recent Publications – 21*. Castle Studies Group, 2008. [32 pages].
- [28] 'Masonry castles and castle-building', in R. A. Griffiths, T. Hopkins and R. Howell (eds), *The Gwent County History. 2. The Age of the Marcher Lords, c. 1070-1536*, 89-114. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008.
- [29] The castle sections in *The Buildings of Wales: Gwynedd*. London: Yale University Press, 2009. ['Castles', pp. 25-34; 'Beaumaris Castle', pp. 97-105; 'Caernarfon Castle', pp. 288-302; 'Conwy Castle and Town Walls', pp. 322-36; Criccieth Castle, pp. 346-49; Dolwyddelan Castle, pp. 364-66; Harlech Castle, pp. 607-14; and other castle sites, such as Dolbadarn, + town walls].
- [30] *Castle Studies: Recent Publications – 22*. Castle Studies Group, 2009. [30 pages].
- [31] *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales: the Proceedings of a Conference held at Bangor University, 7-9 September 2007*. Joint editor with D. M. Williams. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010. [xi, 211 pages].
- [32] 'Arnold Taylor's contribution to the study of the Edwardian castles in Wales', in *ibid.*, 150-54.

General References

Allen, D. and Anderson, S. 1999. *Basing House, Hampshire: Excavations 1978-1991*.
[S. l.].

Armitage, E. 1912. *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles*. London.

Austin, D. 1984. 'The castle and the landscape', *Landscape History* 6, 69-81.

Austin, D. 2007. *Acts of Perception: a Study of Barnard Castle in Teesdale*.
2 vols. [Durham].

Barker, P. and Higham, R. 1982. *Hen Domen, Montgomery: a Timber Castle on
the English-Welsh border*. London.

Beresford, G. 1987. *Goltho: the development of an early medieval manor c 850-1150*.
London.

Brann, M. 2004. *Excavations at Caerlaverock Old Castle, Dumfries and Galloway
1998-9*. [S. l.].

Braun, H. 1936. *The English Castle*. London.

Braun, H. 1942-3. *The English Castle*. 2nd edition, revised. London.

Braun, H. 1947-8. *The English Castle*. 3rd edition, revised. London.

Brown, R. A. 1954. *English Medieval Castles*. London.

Brown, R. A. 1962. *English Castles*. Revised edition. London.

- Brown, R. A. 1976. *English Castles*. 3rd edition. London.
- Brown, R. A. 2004. *Allen Brown's English Castles*. Introduction by J. Coad. Woodbridge.
- Butler, L. 1989. 'Dolforwyn Castle, Montgomery, Powys. First report: the excavations 1981-1986', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 138, 78-98.
- Butler, L. 1995. 'Dolforwyn Castle, Montgomery, Powys. Second report: the excavations 1987-1994', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 144, 133-203.
- Caple, C. 2007. *Excavations at Dryslwyn Castle 1980-95*. London.
- Clark, G. T. 1884. *Mediaeval Military Architecture in England*. London.
- Coad, J. G. and Streeten, A. D. F. 1982. 'Excavations at Castle Acre Castle, Norfolk, 1972-77: country house and castle of the Norman earls of Surrey', *Archaeological Journal* 139, 138-301.
- Coldstream, N. 2010. 'James of St George', in D. M. Williams and J. R. Kenyon (eds), *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales: the Proceedings of a Conference held at Bangor University, 7-9 September 2007*, 37-45. Oxford.
- Colvin, H. M. (gen. ed.) 1963. *The History of the King's Works. 1-2. The Middle Ages*. London.
- Colvin, H. M. (gen. ed.) 1975. *The History of the King's Works. 3. 1485-1660 (part 1)*. London.
- Colvin, H. M. (gen. ed.) 1982. *The History of the King's Works. 4. 1485-1660*

(part 2). London.

Coulson, C. L. H. 2003. *Castles in Medieval Society*. Oxford.

Counihan, J. 1986. 'Mrs Ella Armitage, John Horace Round, G. T. Clark and early Norman castles', in R. A. Brown (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies 8: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1985*, 73-87. Woodbridge.

Counihan J. 1989. 'The growth of castle studies in England and the Continent since 1850', in R. A. Brown (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies 11: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1988*, 77-85. Woodbridge.

Counihan, J. 1990. 'Ella Armitage, castle studies pioneer', *Fortress* 6, 51-59.

Counihan, J. 1991. 'Mottes, Norman or not!', *Fortress* 11, 53-60.

Counihan, J. 1998. 'Mrs Ella Armitage and Irish archaeology', in C. Harper-Bill (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies 20: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1997*, 59-67. Woodbridge.

Creighton, O. H. 2002. *Castles and Landscapes*. London.

Creighton, O. 2008. 'Castle studies and archaeology in England: towards a research framework for the future', *Château Gaillard* 23, 79-90.

Creighton, O. 2009. 'Castle studies and the European medieval landscape: traditions, Trends and future research directions', *Landscape History* 30:2, 5-20.

Cruden, S. 1960. *The Scottish Castle*. Edinburgh.

Cruden, S. 1963. *The Scottish Castle*. Revised edition. Edinburgh.

- Cruden, S. 1981. *The Scottish Castle*. 3rd edition. Edinburgh.
- Davison, B. K. 1969-70. 'Aldingham', *Current Archaeology* 2 (1969-70), 23-24.
- Davison, B. K. 1971-72. 'Castle Neroche: an abandoned Norman fortress in south Somerset', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society* 116, 16-58.
- Davison, B. K. 2002. 'Castle Neroche reconsidered', *CBA Archaeology South West* 8, 12-15.
- Dixon, P. 1990. 'The donjon of Knaresborough: the castle as theatre', *Château Gaillard* 14, 121-39.
- Dixon, P. and Marshall, P. 1993. 'The great tower at Hedingham Castle: a reassessment', *Fortress* 18, 16-23.
- Driscoll, S. T. and Yeoman, P. A. 1997. *Excavations within Edinburgh Castle in 1988-91*. Edinburgh.
- Ellis, P. 1993. *Beeston Castle, Cheshire: a Report on the Excavations 1965-85 by Laurence Keen and Peter Hough*. London.
- Ellis, P. (ed.) 2000. *Ludgershall Castle, Wiltshire: a report on the excavations by Peter Addyman, 1964-1972*. Devizes.
- Everson, P. 1988. 'What's in a name? 'Goltho', Goltho and Bullington', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 23 (1988), 93-99.
- Ewart, G. 1985. *Cruggleton Castle: Report of Excavations 1978-81*. Dumfries.

- Ewart, G. and Pringle, D. 2004. 'There is a castles in the west': Dundonald Castle excavations 1986-93', *Scottish Archaeological Journal* 26, whole issue.
- Foster Evans, D. 2010. 'Tŵr dewr gwncwerwr' ('A brave conqueror's tower'): Welsh poetic responses to the Edwardian castles', in D. M. Williams and J. R. Kenyon (eds), *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales: the Proceedings of a Conference held at Bangor University, 7-9 September 2007*, 121-28. Oxford.
- Good, G. L. and Tabraham, C. J. 1981. 'Excavations at Threave Castle, Galloway, 1974-78', *Medieval Archaeology* 25, 90-140.
- Goodall, J. 2008. 'A royal gift', *Country Life* 202.3, 72-75.
- Goodall, J. A. A. 2010. 'The baronial castles of the Welsh conquest', in D. M. Williams and J. R. Kenyon (eds), *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales: the Proceedings of a Conference held at Bangor University, 7-9 September 2007*, 155-65. Oxford.
- Hamlin, A. 2001. 'Ella Armitage, early pioneer of castle studies (1841-1931)', in A. Hamlin, *Pioneers of the Past*, 1-4. Cambridge.
- Heslop, T. A. 1991. 'Orford Castle: nostalgia and sophisticated living', *Architectural History* 34, 36-58.
- Higham, R. and Barker, P. 1992. *Timber Castles*. London.
- Higham, R. and Barker, P. 2000. *Hen Domen, Montgomery: a Timber Castle on the English-Welsh border. A Final Report*. Exeter.

- Hope-Taylor, B. 1950. 'The excavation of a motte at Abinger, Surrey', *Archaeological Journal* 107, 15-43.
- Hope-Taylor, W. 1956. 'The Norman motte at Abinger, Surrey, and its wooden Castle', in R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford (ed.), *Recent Archaeological Excavations in Britain*, 223-49. London.
- Impey, E. (ed.) 2008. *The White Tower*. London.
- James, B. Ll. 1998. 'A bibliography of G. T. Clark's writings', in B. Ll. James (ed.), *G. T. Clark: Scholar Ironmaster in the Victorian Age*, 219-30. Cardiff.
- Johnson, M. 2002. *Behind the Castle Gate: from Medieval to Renaissance*. London.
- Jope, E. M. and Threlfall, R. I. 1959. 'The twelfth-century castle at Ascot Doilly, Oxfordshire', *Antiquaries Journal* 39, 219-73.
- Keevill, G. 2004. *The Tower of London Moat: Archaeological Excavations 1995-9*. Oxford.
- Kent, J. P. C. 1968. 'Excavations at the motte and bailey of South Mimms, Herts., 1960-1967', *Barnet and District Local History Society Bulletin*, 16, whole issue.
- Kenyon, J. R. 1976. 'Early artillery fortifications in England and Wales', *Fort* 1, 22-25.
- Kenyon, J. R. 1978. *Castles, Town Defences, and Artillery Fortifications in Britain: a Bibliography 1945-74*. London.
- Kenyon, J. R. 1983. *Castles, Town Defences, and Artillery Fortifications in Britain and Ireland: a Bibliography*, vol. 2. London.

- Kenyon, J. R. 1990. *Castles, Town Defences, and Artillery Fortifications in Britain and Ireland: a Bibliography*, vol. 3. London.
- Kenyon, J. R. 1998. 'Castle studies and G. T. Clark, with particular reference to Wales and the Marches', in B. Ll. James (ed.), *G. T. Clark: Scholar Ironmaster in the Victorian Age*, 83-102. Cardiff.
- Kenyon, J. R. 2008. *Castles, Town Defences and Artillery Fortifications in the United Kingdom and Ireland: a Bibliography 1945-2006*. Donington.
- King, D. J. C. 1983. *Castellarium Anglicanum*. 2 vols. Millwood, N.Y.
- King, D. J. C. 1988. *The Castle in England and Wales: an Interpretive History*. Beckenham. (Revised paperback edition, London 1991).
- Knight, J. K. 1992. 'Excavations at Montgomery Castle. Part I. The documentary Evidence, structures and excavated features', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 141, 97-180.
- Knight, J. K. 1993. 'Excavations at Montgomery Castle. Part II. The finds', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 142, 182-242.
- Knight, J. K. 1994. 'Excavations at Montgomery Castle. Part III. The finds, other than Metalwork', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 143, 139-203.
- Knight, J. K. and Johnson, A. (eds). 2008. *Usk Castle, Priory and Town*. Almeley.
- Leask, H. G. 1951. *Irish Castles and Castellated Houses*. 2nd edition, revised reprint. Dundalk.
- Lewis, J. and Pringle, D. 2002. *Spynie Palace and the Bishops of Moray: History*,

Architecture and Archaeology. Edinburgh.

Liddiard, R. 2005. *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, Q066-1500*. Macclesfield.

Liddiard, R. and Williamson, T. 2008. 'There by design? Some reflections on medieval elite landscapes', *Archaeological Journal* 165, 520-35.

McCarthy, M. R., Summerson, H. R. T. and Annis, R. G. 1990. *Carlisle Castle: a Survey and Documentary History*. London.

MacGibbon, D. and Ross, T. 1887-92. *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*. 5 vols. Edinburgh.

MacIvor, I. and Gallagher, D. 1999. 'Excavations at Caerlaverock Castle, 1955-66', *Archaeological Journal* 156, 143-225.

Mackenzie, W. M. 1927. *The Medieval Castle in Scotland*. London.

McNeill, T. 1992. *English Heritage Book of Castles*. London.

McNeill, T. 2006. *Castles*. London

Mayes, P. and Butler, L. 1983. *Sandal Castle Excavations 1964-1973: a Detailed Archaeological Report*. Wakefield.

Mercer, D. 2006. 'The trouble with paradigms. A historiographical study on the development of ideas in the discipline of castle studies', *Archaeological Dialogues* 13:1, 93-109.

Morgan, W. L. 1899. 'Excavations at the Old Castle Camp, Bishopston, Gower',

Archaeologia Cambrensis 5 ser. 16, 249-58.

Morley, B. M. and Gurney, D. 1997. *Castle Rising, Norfolk*. Dereham.

Neilson, G. 1898. 'The motes in Norman Scotland', *The Scottish Review* 32, 209-38.

Oman, C. 1926. *Castles*. London.

O'Neil, B. H. St J. 1960. *Castles and Cannon: a Study of Early Artillery Fortifications in England*. Oxford.

Orpen, G. H. 1906, 'Mote and bretesche building in Ireland', *English Historical Review* 21, 417-44.

Orpen, G. H. 1907. 'Motes and Norman castles in Ireland', *English Historical Review* 22, 440-67.

Pitt Rivers, A. H. L. F. 1882-83. 'Excavations at Caesar's Camp near Folkestone, conducted in June and July, 1878', *Archaeologia* 47, 429-65.

Platt, C. 1982. *The Castle in Medieval England and Wales*. London.

Platt, C. 2009. 'On re-thinking licences to crenellate and the moated site', *Society for Medieval Archaeology Newsletter* 42, 17-18.

Platt, C. 2009-10. 'Patterns in licences to crenellate', *Castle Studies Group Journal* 23, 232-33.

Poulton, R. 2005. *A Medieval Royal Complex at Guildford: Excavations at the Castle and Palace*. Guildford.

- Pounds, N. J. G. 1990. *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales: a Social and Political History*. Cambridge.
- Pryce, T. D. 1905. 'The alleged Norman origin of 'castles' in Britain', *English Historical Review* 20, 703-11.
- Pryce, T. D. 1906. 'Earthworks of the moated mound type', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* N. Ser. 12, 231-68.
- RCAHMW 1991. *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan. 3. 1a: Medieval Secular Monuments. The Early Castles from the Norman Conquest to 1217*. London.
- RCAHMW 2000. *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan. 3. 1b: Medieval Secular Monuments. The Later Castles from 1217 to the Present*. Aberystwyth.
- Renn, D. 1968. *Norman Castles in Britain*. London.
- Renn, D. 1973. *Norman Castles in Britain*. 2nd edition. London.
- Rigold, S. E. 1954. 'Totnes castle: recent excavation by the Ancient Monuments Department, Ministry of Works', *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art* 86, 228-56.
- Roberts, I. 2002. *Pontefract Castle: Archaeological Excavations 1982-86*. Leeds.
- Round, J. H. 1894. 'Mediaeval military architecture in England', *Quarterly Review* 179, 27-57.
- Round, J. H. 1902-03. 'The castles of the Conquest', *Archaeologia* 58, 313-40.

- Saunders, A. D. 2006. *Excavations at Launceston Castle, Cornwall*. London.
- Saunders, A. D. et al. 1978. *Five Castle Excavations: Reports on the Institute's Research Project into the Origins of the Castle in England*. London.
- Shoesmith, R. and Johnson, A. (eds). 2000. *Ludlow Castle: its History & Buildings*. Extended edition. Almeley.
- Simpson, W. D. 1966. *Castles in Britain*. London.
- Simpson, W. D. 1969. *Castles in England and Wales*. London.
- Stocker, D. 1992. 'The shadow of the general's armchair', *Archaeological Journal* 149, 415-20.
- Summerson, H., Trueman, M. and Harrison, S. 1998. *Brougham Castle, Cumbria: a Survey and Documentary History*. Kendal.
- Taylor, A. J. 1974. *The King's Works in Wales 1277-1330*. London.
- Taylor, A. J. 1985. *Studies in Castles and Castle-building*. London.
- Taylor, A. J. 1986. *The Welsh Castles of Edward I*. London.
- Thompson, A. H. 1912. *Military Architecture in England during the Middle Ages*. Oxford.
- Thompson, M. W. 1987. *The Decline of the Castle*. Cambridge.
- Thompson, M. W. 1991. *The Rise of the Castle*. Cambridge.

- Toy, S. 1939. *Castles: a Short History of Fortification from 1600 B.C. to A.D. 1600*. London.
- Turner, R. and Johnson, A. (eds). 2006. *Chepstow Castle: its History & Buildings*. Almeley.
- Tymms, S. 1849. 'Clare Castle', *Proceedings of the Bury & Suffolk Archaeological Institute* 1:3, 61-66.
- Wheatley, A. 2010. 'Caernarfon Castle and its mythology', in D. M. Williams and J. R. Kenyon (eds), *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales: the Proceedings of a Conference held at Bangor University, 7-9 September 2007*, 129-39. Oxford.
- Williams, D. M. and Kenyon, J. R. 2010. *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales: the Proceedings of a Conference held at Bangor University, 7-9 September 2007*. Oxford.
- Yeoman, P. A. 1984. 'Excavations at Castlehill of Strachan, 1980-81', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 114, 315-64.
- Young, C. J. 2000. *Excavations at Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight, 1921-1996*. Salisbury.

Appendix

Publications by John R. Kenyon on Castles and Artillery Fortifications 1976-1998 (omitting reviews)

Highlights from the list below

In order to recognize publicly the work of David Cathcart King in the field of castle studies, notably in Wales and the Welsh Marches, and the publication of his magisterial two-volume *Castellarium Anglicanum* in 1983, I suggested a Festschrift to Richard Avent, who became my co-editor. Castles in Wales and the Marches was the theme, and a number of scholars in Britain contributed, and the University of Wales Press published the volume in 1987.

A particular aspect of my early studies was on early artillery fortifications, especially of the later Middle Ages, culminating in a paper in *Archaeological Journal* for 1981. Before moving to Wales I worked in the University of Oxford. That area of England is not particularly well blessed with castles, and I began to continue to work on early artillery fortifications, a combination of the forts of Henry VIII and those medieval castles that underwent preparations to meet various threats from the Continent and from Scotland.

Of the publications in this field listed below, I would highlight the following:

- The examination of Wark Castle, published in 1977. Little remains of this castle, but the early Tudor documentary evidence shows that this important medieval stronghold on the river Tweed, on the border with Scotland, was modernized to become an important artillery fortress.

- The discovery that two of William Stukeley's drawings in the Society of Antiquaries of London depicted the long lost earth bulwarks built at the same time as, and in between, the Henrician forts of Walmer, Deal and Sandown in Kent. This note published 1978 gave for the first time an indication of the form of the more ephemeral defences of Henry VIII in 1539/40.
- The survey made in 1559 of the defences of the Isle of Wight, published in 1979. This survey gives a clear indication of the state of some of the Henrician forts built in the 1540s, what needed to be done to bring them back up to readiness, and also included outline plans of the forts, also including more ephemeral works of which no plans had been thought to have existed.
- The transcription of the very full inventory of all the royal forts and castles taken after the death of King Henry VIII, published in 1982. The inventory describes in great detail the contents for the forts and castles, including those in English possessions in France, from great ordnance down to bows and arrows, and often indicates where the armaments were mounted.
- Various papers on the surveys and inventories of the south coast forts made in 1623, held in the British Library, published from 1981, revealing the poor state of most of the forts, with details of what works were needed, and their cost.
- A detailed account of a discovery made by a colleague in what is now The National Archives of a survey made of English forts by Dutch engineers in the early seventeenth century, which included drawings of small forts of which no image had been known before. This was published in 1983. The Dutch survey may relate to that detailed in the above paragraph, as some limited translation has revealed very similar, if not identical, suggestions for reparations needed.

It was possible to feed some of this work into the fourth volume of *The History of the King's Works* (1982), through the general editorship of H. M. Colvin.

- Other work has included reinterpretations of prints and drawings of Welsh castles, namely Caerleon/Abergavenny (1983-85) and Morlais (1985).
- The wealth of evidence for castle warfare in Wales through to the early thirteenth century was reviewed for one of the biennial Château Gaillard European castle conferences, and published in 1996.
- Notes and a paper on Raglan Castle (1982 x 2; 1987; 1996).
- Contributor to the volume marking the centenary of the death of G. T. Clark (1998).

The Publications 1976-98 (in date order)

‘Early artillery fortifications in England and Wales’, *Fort* 1 (1976), 22-25. [see also under 1993].

‘Artillery and the defences of Southampton circa 1360-1660’, *Fort* 3 (1977), 8-14. [ditto].

Early gunports: a gazetteer’, *Fort* 4 (1977), 4-6. [see also under 1995].

‘Wark Castle and its artillery defences in the reign of Henry VIII’, *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 11 (1977), 50-60.

Castles, town defences, and artillery fortifications in Britain: a bibliography, 1945-74.

London: Council for British Archaeology (Research report; 25), 1978.

‘St Andrew’s Castle, Hampshire, in 1623’, *Fort* 6 (1978), 24-25.

‘A note on two original drawings by William Stukeley depicting ‘The three castles which keep the Downs’’, *Antiquaries Journal* 58 (1978), 162-64.

‘An aspect of the 1559 survey of the Isle of Wight: The State of the Quenes Ma’ties Fortresses and Castelles’, *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 13 (1979), 61-77.

‘James Fergusson, a critic of early Victorian military architecture’, *Fort* 8 (1980), 47-54.

‘The defences of Southsea Castle and Portsmouth in 1623’, *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 37 (1981), 13-21.

‘Early artillery fortifications in England and Wales: a preliminary survey and reappraisal’, *Archaeological Journal* 138 (1981), 205-40.

Ordnance and the king's fortifications in 1547-48: Society of Antiquaries MS 129, folios 250-374r', *Archaeologia* 107 (1982), 165-213.

'The Civil War earthworks around Raglan Castle, Gwent: an aerial view', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 131 (1982), 139-42.

'A cannon shot mould from Raglan Castle, Gwent', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 131 (1982), 142-43.

Castles, town defences, and artillery fortifications in Britain and Ireland: a bibliography, vol. 2. London: Council for British Archaeology (Research report; 53), 1983.

'Ordnance and the king's fleet in 1548', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 12.1 (1983), 63-65.

'The state of the fortifications in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight in 1623', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 39 (1983), 137-43.

'Terminology and early artillery fortification', *Fort* 11 (1983), 31-34.

'A hitherto unknown early seventeenth century survey of the coastal forts of southern England: a preliminary outline', *Fort* 11 (1983), 35-56.

'Abergavenny Castle: a reinterpretation of Thomas Cooke's painting 'The Castle and Mount', Caerleon, 1785', *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 5.1-2 (1983-84), 62-63.

'Morlais Castle as viewed by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 134 (1985), 235-57

Kidwelly Castle. Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, 1986.

Castles in Wales and the Marches: essays in honour of D. J. Cathcart King, edited by J. R. Kenyon and R. Avent. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1987.

'The gunloops at Raglan Castle, Gwent', in *ibid*, 161-72.

'The published works of David James Cathcart King', in *ibid*, 217-21.

'Castle-studies: recent publications', *Castle Studies Group Newsletter* 1 (1987), 3-5.

Raglan Castle. Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, 1988.

'The state of the fortifications in the West Country in 1623', *Fort* 16 (1988), 45-52.

'Castle-studies: recent publications', *Castle Studies Group Newsletter* 2 (1988), 7-10.

'Castle-studies: recent publications', *Castle Studies Group Newsletter* 3 (1989), 15-18.

Castles, town defences, and artillery fortifications in Britain and Ireland: a bibliography, vol. 3. London: Council for British Archaeology (Research report; 72), 1990.

Kidwelly Castle. 2nd edition. Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, 1990.

Medieval fortifications. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990.

'Castle-studies: recent publications', *Castle Studies Group Newsletter* 4 (1990), 13-19.

Medieval fortifications. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991, paperback, with corrections and revised preface.

'Castle studies: recent publications', *Castle Studies Group Newsletter* 5 (1991), 10-17.

'David Cathcart King and castles in Wales and the Marches', *Fortress* 8 (1991), 44-50.

'Castle studies: recent publications', *Castle Studies Group Newsletter* 6 (1992-3), 11-17.

'Early artillery fortifications in England and Wales', *Fort* 1 (1976; new revised edition, 1993), 33-36.

'Artillery and the defences of Southampton circa 1360-1660', *Fort* 3 (1977; new revised edition, 1993), 21-30.

'Castle studies: recent publications', *Castle Studies Group Newsletter* 7 (1993-4), 10-19.

Raglan Castle. Revised edition. Cardiff: Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, 1994.

'Coastal artillery fortification in England in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries', in A. Curry and M. Hughes (eds), *Arms, armies and fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, 145-49. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994.

(With M. W. Thompson), 'The origin of the word 'keep'', *Medieval Archaeology* 38 (1994), 175-76.

'Castle studies: recent publications - 8', *Castle Studies Group Newsletter* 8 (1994-5), 19-31.

'Early gunports: a gazetteer', *Fort* 4 (1977); new revised edition, 1995), 75-85.

'Castle studies: recent publications - 9', *Castle Studies Group Newsletter* 9 (1995-6), 9-25.

(with the late D. J. C. King) 'Military architecture and fortification. III. Western. 1. Medieval, c. 500-c. 1450', in J. Turner (ed.), *The dictionary of art*, vol. 21. London: Macmillan, 1996, 561-65.

'Fluctuating frontiers: Normanno-Welsh castle warfare c. 1075 to 1240', *Château Gaillard* 17 (1996), 119-26.

'Raglan Castle: a reconsideration of an aspect of the Herbert period c. 1460-69', *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 12 (1996), 52-55.

'Castle studies: recent publications - 10', *Castle Studies Group Newsletter* 10 (1996-7), 17-35.

'Country houses behind castle walls', *British Archaeology* 22 (1997), 8-9.

'Early castle studies and the Association', *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 13 (1997), 22-25.

Castle studies: recent publications - 11, *Castle Studies Group Newsletter Supplement* (1997-8).

'Castles, education and interpretation: a personal view', *Castle Studies Group Newsletter* 11 (1997-8), 12-15.

'Castle studies and G. T. Clark, with particular reference to Wales and the Marches', in B. Ll. James (ed.), *G. T. Clark, scholar ironmaster in the Victorian age*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998, 83-102.

