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Abstract

This PhD provides an original reassessment of the extent to which medieval Romance literature influenced late medieval English castles, and their landscape, architecture, structuration and design. Drawing a perspective from buildings archaeology, this research brings together multiple avenues of research within medieval studies, including medieval literature, chivalry, socio-political history and castle studies, in order to argue that Romance literature definitely did impact the medieval élite secular built environment, which, in previous studies, has remained mostly speculative or inconclusive. This Romantic influence is identified in broad, generalized architectural trends, as well as within unique features at individual sites. This research also addresses personal aspirations and self-associations underlying and motivating these Romantic influences within their socio-political and geographical contexts.
The first four chapters of this thesis explore topical themes of castle studies, medieval Romance literature and contemporary chivalric values to provide necessary background information and highlight the interrelated nature of these disparate aspects of medieval culture. Building upon the information from these foundation chapters, three case study chapters identify, assess and discuss specific examples of Romanticized medieval architecture that I have classified into three distinct subheadings: that within broad trends of Romanticized chivalric structuration, specific spaces and features in the surrounding castle landscape, and finally, through individualised instances with site-specific features. These case studies are followed by a discussion to contextualize and summarize the Romantic influences within medieval élite society and its built environment, as well as the lasting impacts of Romance and chivalry which have continued to shape English national identity.

From Romance into Reality:
Influences of Medieval Romance Literature on the Architecture and Design of Later Medieval English Castles and Élite Landscapes

Heidi Elyse Richards
This thesis is submitted for the qualification of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Archaeology
Durham University
2022

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List of Abbreviations

AM Annals Monastici.

BM Berkeley Manuscripts.

BPR Black Prince's Register.

CCR Calendar of Close Rolls.

CCW Calendar of Chancery Warrants.

CFR Calendar of Fine Rolls.

CIM Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous.

CLR Calendar of Liberate Rolls.

CPR Calendar of Patent Rolls.

HKW History of the King's Works.

HRB Historia Regum Britanniae.

IPM Inquest Post Mortem.

MA Monasticon Anglicanum.

TN Testa de Nevill.

VCH Victoria County Histories.

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Dedicated to Mom, Dad
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Explanation of Research Topic

The subject of this PhD is the influence of medieval Romance literature on late medieval English castles and their corresponding élite landscapes. This research defines 'late medieval' as post-1066, with a primary focus during the height of English castle construction, ranging from the twelfth to late fourteenth centuries. In this research context, 'Romance' refers to the medieval Romance literature tradition rather than the Romantic literary and artistic movement of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe. The relationship between castles and Romance literature lies in a crossroad of castle studies, with some enthusiastically detailing Romantic impact on the nobility and royal houses of the Middle Ages, while some feel that Romance and castles were two disparate cultural phenomena (Morris 1998; Giles 2015, pers comm; Brooks 2016, pers comm; Swallow 2019). Allusions to this Romantic impact on English castles, however, only rarely provide specific examples and supporting evidence for this presumed relationship. Furthermore, research that addresses connections between Romance and castles is more often concerned with castles' impact on the Romance literature, or allegorical and fictional structures within the Romances (Boland 1995; Whitehead 2003; Cornelius 2010). Apart from very few comprehensive studies of specific, individual sites (Munby et al. 2007; Gilchrist and Green 2015), this topic remains primarily anecdotal.

This thesis presented here takes a unique approach to exploring the effects of Romance literature as tangibly impacting English castles and their landscape spaces.

Previous debates in castle literature have largely focused on the castle as a defensive structure or a symbolic structure of status; on a solely architectural structure, disconnected from its surrounding landscape context. This thesis presents original research to bridge the gap between themes of Romance literature and élite secular structures, which is prevalent in archaeological, architectural and literary scholarship. This research is the first of its kind to examine and assess the extent to which Romance literature was influential for medieval English castle architecture by exploring a broad range of castles. It includes dedicated, original studies exploring both Romance and chivalry, their bilateral cultural influences, and resulting impacts within the élite built environment.

From mythological narratives incorporated into Classical architecture, to Mesoamerican temples constructed to represent deities and sacred geological features, and values symbolically emulated in American Utopian architecture (Robertson et al. 2006; Preucel 2010, p.177), intangible heritage has been designed into architecture spanning human history. The intangible heritage derived from medieval Romance literature and legend, however, has not yet been critically assessed as an English medieval élite trend in castle architecture and landscape design. The need for this avenue of research has been noted in castle studies, arguing that buildings and landscapes in Romance literature, or the medieval imagination, and those in reality "are inescapably entwined...and fuller exploitation of medieval literary evidence is crucial for addressing contemporary perceptions and experiences of these spaces and for a more balanced understanding of castles as cultural artefacts of the Middle Ages" (Creighton 2012, p.123).

1.2 Aims and Objectives

The aim of this thesis is to identify and assess ways in which ideals and characters from medieval Romance literature influenced the architecture and designs of later medieval English castles and their landscapes. This provides a body of original research, critically assessing the veracity and sustainability of previous anecdotal

'Romantic' and 'chivalric' allusions speckled throughout castle research (see table in *Figure 2.2*). Connections between Romantic ideals and contemporary ideals of the castle have been studied within medieval material culture (Wheatley 2001; Wheatley 2004), though this connection remains largely unexplored when considering actual architecture. My research broadens this emergent avenue within castle studies, reexamining previous anecdotal claims, and presenting new arguments, by using an original methodology for assessing the extent and impact of Romance translated into castle architecture and their surrounding landscape spaces. This research does not aim to find blueprints within Romance literature, exacting descriptions for historical architecture and landscape features; it intends, instead, to reveal ways in which Romance developed ideals to which members of the medieval élite aspired. These ideals became incorporated into castle structures and spaces in various forms, both subtly and overtly, directly alluding to Romances, as well as indirectly through broad, contemporary chivalric trends that developed out of late medieval Romance culture.

This body of research provides an original theoretical framework for exploring Romance's impact on castle life, ideologies, and material culture by:

- conducting a combined study of English castles, collectively assessing castles spanning the height of castle-building, from the Conquest through the mid-fourteenth century. In addition to examining castles in England, this research also includes castles constructed by English kings and barons outside of England, primarily in Normandy and Wales. Studies have previously focused on castles within a specific period, location or style, but this research uses the collective context of all castle subcategories to understand different architectural phases and their significance within medieval élite culture and society, and identifies the impacts from the courtly culture of Romance. This inclusive approach to castle research is justified by discussing etymologies and references in historical documentation that indicate contemporary perspectives of the castle, providing a more comprehensive understanding of topological similarities

and differences.

- assessing Romance literature's use and dissemination as material culture among the medieval élite, and providing an original, streamlined discussion of Romance, chivalry and courtesy, as well as their impacts on castles and castle life. This dedicated study of Romance offers new evidence for nostalgic architectural representations that claimed and displayed ancestral power, derived from fictional heroes.

- conducting a dedicated study of chivalry's development throughout the Middle Ages, unique in this application to castle-specific research, identifying Romance's impact on chivalric ideals and activities, which is of primary importance to this research. By outlining the evolution of chivalry's development through the Middle Ages in England, it becomes apparent that many values and ideals were derived or influenced by themes found within Romance narratives. This supports my argument that chivalry was an indirect route for Romance to impact castle architecture and structuration broadly across many contemporary castle sites.

- developing an entirely new and effective framework for studying castle architecture and landscapes, developed out of chivalric society's definition and use of their secular spaces. Original access analysis contributes new ideas of privacy, gender, pageantry and piety, as well as other values of chivalry incorporated into castle architecture and landscapes.

- presenting original case studies that identify and assess Romance's tangible and varied applications within castle life in broad trends as well as individualized emulations. These studies demonstrate a critical means of analysing and understanding castles as archaeological and architectural products of Romantic court culture.

1.3 Methodology and Theory

1.3.1 Methodology

Because this subject matter straddles so many separate disciplines and areas of expertise, it has been necessary to make very wide-ranging reviews of previous work in order to identify what can be done differently in bringing each of these themes together for a new methodological approach. Initially, I identified the few specific case studies of Romance research within castle studies, followed by a thorough assessment of the most prevalent Romances among the medieval élite between 1100-1350 in England, as well as contemporary chivalric history to identify its evolution through the later Middle Ages. Many studies within these different strands of research present circular arguments, with holes and assumptions that remain untested. Therefore, critical syntheses of previous works have been compiled into extensive literary reviews that developed into three background chapters featuring castles, Medieval Romance, and English chivalry.

As these topics are too often studied disparately, my methodology creates an original lens through which to study castles, Romance and chivalry together, as cultural constructs fundamentally rooted within the lineage of fictional heroes and narratives, and used to display English national identity. This new perspective of Romance's influence on various aspects of élite medieval culture provides the means of identifying Romantic influences directly and indirectly in castle architecture and design, in broad trends as well as specific, individualized instances, which I have divided into three categories that make up the case studies in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

The research behind the spreadsheet in *Figure 2.2* was the starting point for this thesis. This first data collection revealed a circular pattern of secondary scholarship largely referencing claims and ideas found in other secondary sources, which remain unsupported. This contributes to ambiguity and confusion in addressing 'Romantic' and 'chivalric' as terms for describing castle architecture. Conducting preliminary

research and recording claims of potential chivalric and Romantic influences served two main purposes: 1) leading to my selection of case study sites and 2) highlighting key influential and significant Romances, and their predecessors from folklore and legend, which became the focus of my archaeological study of Romance literature.

To investigate whether Romance literature was a source of cultural influence among the medieval aristocracy, I conducted a second original data collection to show individuals' Romance ownership, commissions and patronage, and also highlighted the more prolific Romances. This data was collected by tracing ownership through documentation such as wills, wardrobe accounts and other expenditure, as well as mentions of patrons and dedications within the Romances themselves. This table (*Figure 3.1*) displays the roles certain members of the élite had in propagating Romance culture and provides insight into their particular individual interests. The stories themselves became cultural artefacts through their dissemination and usage in tangible emulation and allusion in the material environment.

In addition to Romances, I examined the rolls series, chronicles and pseudo-histories for insight into élite uses of Romance. Whilst chronicles and pseudo-histories are typically disregarded for their lack of factual historiography, they are valuable artefacts demonstrating political biases and agendas, which can be read as a written form of heraldry, revealing contemporary ideals about chivalry, gender and prestige of linking oneself with fictional figures from Romance and legend (Taylor 1965; Johnson 1996, p.119-154). With such an expanse of time dividing modern society and the Middle Ages, it is difficult to identify influences of the imagination of a mason, poet, or architectural patron (Johnson 2002, p.29; Rollason 2016, p.166). Through historic documentation, one can "listen to the barely-audible voices" of the distant medieval nobility; and even factually inaccurate forms of historic documentation can help to build an understanding of the medieval mindset, revealing a "collective memory" of past events (Gaunt 1995, p.7, 199; Morris 2012, p.42).

My methods for carrying out this research include a combination of desk-based assessment and site visits, through which I studied floor plans and architectural

phases to create original access analysis diagrams. This revealed and evidenced broadly-applied trends of chivalric architecture, alongside and without forsaking practical or defensive architectural features and designs, which is discussed at length in Chapter Five.

Scholars have largely remained "reluctant" to explore Romantic influence as a trend in English castle studies (Swallow 2019, p.188; Paphitis 2014; Lewis 2020; Clark 2020), with discussions appearing primarily anecdotal and lacking a methodology for identifying trends in castle architecture, or in literary studies for analysing the significance of castle spaces in regards to their counterparts in Romance narratives. Some castles currently use fantasy and popular fiction to increase tourism, such as at Tintagel Castle, Warwick Castle and Alnwick Castle, which have become huge attractions for family entertainment. Though this castle experience is not historically factual, this interaction with intangible heritage does, in fact, ring true to medieval uses of Romance and Arthurian propaganda within many castle sites for cultivating visitor experiences. The medieval use and cultivated experience of popular fiction at castles is important to consider throughout this thesis, as it brings Romantic themes and fantasy into the reality of English cultural heritage and legitimizes the critical assessment of folklore and fantasy as part of the castle's historical narrative.

In light of this, my new methodology presents a comprehensive, multi-disciplinary research framework, with a perspective primarily rooted in buildings archaeology, for examining these intangible influences in a critical manner, and furthermore providing a means for identifying influences from Romance within castle architecture– both baronial and royal, and not limited to any particular geographic region. I have taken some inspiration from the methodology in *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor* (2007), combining archaeological excavation, primary documentation (historical records and chronicles) and the history of contemporary court culture to contextualize the impact of Romance within this point of history (Munby et al. 2007). This influenced my methodology by modelling the necessary combination of

material culture, historical documentation and intangible culture for supporting an otherwise highly-subjective argument.

As with the concept of space, medieval privacy and public life were defined and perceived differently from our modern understandings (Rees Jones 2013, p.246-261; Delman 2018). As perception of space and architecture is a subjective issue, based upon individual perspectives and lived experiences, modern approaches to thinking about space risk projecting ideas and conceptions onto medieval ways of thinking. Though our shared humanity unites us to past societies, we must not project present-day ideals onto past cultures and events (Graves 2000, p.14).

From on-site and literary-based research, I created original access analysis diagrams to outline and assess access and restrictions and intentionally-designed routes for interaction and visibility between members of the household and visitors. This is used in Chapter Five, based on site visits, original floor-plan assessments and previous access diagrams of palatial and tower sites in Richardson (2003) and Weikert (2018) to identify spatial patterns of gendered agency and chivalric space as it was perceived within contemporary society (Richardson 2003a,b; Weikert 2018). Access analysis can be problematic for directly identifying exact spatial and societal organization, and therefore, must be used as a tool to "explore broader ways of seeing" (Fairclough 1992, p.350; Mathieu 1999, p.126). By implementing a modified version of Hillier and Hanson's (1984) method of access analysis, I examine chivalric castle structuration and how people moved throughout their spaces and interacted with the castle as a stage for social performance and ritual (Hillier and Hanson 1984; Coldstream 2002, p.29-30; Arnold et al. 2006, p.5;Hansson 2006, p.449; Goodall 2011, p.21; Dixon 2016a, p.333-348; Weikert 2018, p.128). My access analysis reassesses access models according to my theory of chivalric agency and also provides an original emphasis on thresholds and liminal spaces, as well as outdoor spaces, considered to the same extent as other rooms and spaces in the castle (Creighton 2009a, p.14; Gertsman and Stevenson 2012, p.255). These diagrams help to identify and display the development of Romanticized chivalry and its core values as they

became incorporated into the physical structuration of castles.

1.3.2 Theory

My theoretical approach has been largely based upon Pam Graves's use of structuration theory in *The Form and Fabric of Belief* (2000), in which she references Barrett's (1988) theory that "the way in which the structuring principles of social institutions are both medium and outcome of their reproduction through human action" (Giddens 1984, p.25; Barrett 1988, p.8; Graves 1989, p.263; Graves 2000, p.12). Structuration here is used as a tool for studying the "archaeology of practice as a practice of archaeology," linking human actions to the production of ideological and physical structures alike in an ecclesiastical context (Hekman 1984; Graves 2000, p.14). This humanist approach explores past human interactions, practices and discourses, presented in connection with concrete archaeological evidence, to study subjective subject matter such as past agencies and valency as products of social context (Hekman 1984, p.334-346). This means of using concrete archaeological research in tandem with humanistic ideas of interactions and uses of space brings my largely-subjective argument for Romantic influence into a tangible plane of study.

This provided a model from which I developed the new idea of chivalric structuration as a tool for discussing and exploring spaces as dually formative and a product of chivalric interactions, values and medieval Romanticism, recalling Graves's (1989; 2000) idea of structuring principles as both medium and outcome of human action, necessitating physical spaces that defined chivalric activity. Applying Barrett's (1988) *Fields of Discourse* to this theoretical approach appropriates physical artefacts and architectural structures into this structuration theory, with structures simultaneously defined as the structure for, and product of, human interaction (Barrett 1988; Graves 2000, p.13). Architectural and landscape design provided performance spaces in which people enjoyed Arthurian role-playing, hunting, questing, feasting and celebrating (with themed costumes and elaborate decorations). Struc-

turation theory (Giddens 1984, p.25) combined with Romantic impacts on chivalric society reveals strong correlations between cultural ideologies and performance spaces, in which rules for societal interactions both required and defined space.

My theoretical approach has also taken influence from Goffman's (1978) discussion of self-presentation and constructing displays of self-associations as a means for defining and presenting oneself in the public eye, whether for personal interest, social status, power or political propaganda (Goffman 1978; Denton 1999, p.83-84). This use of imagery lies within the larger theory of semiotics in archaeology and material culture, as demonstrated in Chandler (2002) and Preucel (2010) (Chandler 2002, p.100; Preucel 2010, p.3-5). Cultural symbolism is an overarching theoretical aspect of the investigations, analyses and discussions throughout this thesis. Gendered symbolism is a further, more specified set of ideologies discussed at length in many sources (Hadley 1999; Gilchrist 1999; Johnson 2002; Gilchrist 2004, p.142-160; Gilchrist 2009, p.236-252; Skinner and Tyers 2018; Dempsey et al. 2019, p.772-788). In the context of this thesis, gendered symbolism applies meaning into spaces and architectural features, and it explores the archaeology of space as seen in contemporary literary metaphor and allegory.

'Space' is an ambiguous term that continues to challenge scholars and tourists alike, and, as such, must be defined within the context and perspective of this thesis. Henry Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1991) provides an intricate discourse on the meanings, perspectives and aspects of 'space', which can refer to anything from localized physical areas to the abstract nature of the space and time (Lefebvre 1991, p.130).

Early ideas of space regarded it as a "container for people and objects" that could be 'seen' in the sense that one could interact with the space in an almost tangible way; however, by the late fourteenth-century, the idea of space became much more abstract and diverse (Hansson 2006, p.436). Space is defined by its functions, features, furnishings and uses, which are usually fluid in nature, and meaning is created through common beliefs and moments of action, interaction and

agency within (Bachelard 1964, p.34; Graves 2000, p.14; Coulson 2003a, p.84; Webb 2007; Morgan 2017, p.215; Weikert 2018). "All human action takes place in space and time" (Graves 2000, p.12-13), and therefore, an analysis of the social relations, activities and interactions restricted and permitted by the castle's structuration provides insight into medieval élite use and perception of the spaces within their built environment (Hillier and Hanson 1984; Giddens 1984; Gilchrist 1999; Weikert 2014, p.96-120; Weikert 2018, p.127-140).

Uses and "practices of space", within castle structures and their "ritual landscapes" (Hanawalt and Kobialka 2000; McSheffrey 2004, p.986; Creighton 2009a, p.8), such as movement, display, visibility, pilgrimage and procession, make up the collective I define as 'chivalric liturgy'. These chivalric practices have been studied extensively elsewhere, though they are significant in this research on account of my argument that Romance was, at least in part, responsible for reforming values of chivalry between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries (Roffey 2008; Hanawalt and Kobialka 2000; Graves 2000; Coldstream 2012). Thresholds and liminal spaces, both physical and intangible, have also been discussed in previous architectural research (Webb 2007; Gertsman and Stevenson 2012; Weikert 2014, p.96-120; Weikert and Woodacre 2016; Dixon 2016a; Weikert 2018, p.127-140); and they feature here as transformative spaces, through which this 'chivalric liturgy' of movement, progression and interaction, all influenced by underlying themes and ideals in Romance, took place. These interactions and uses of space defined the space itself (Lefebvre 1991, p.213; Morgan 2017; Weikert and Woodacre 2021), and in situations where spaces were multi-functional or transitory, I discuss the importance of furnishings and decorations, such as beds, benches and tapestries, for defining and symbolising the active agents and authority within particular spaces that remained applied to spaces when the agent was absent.

1.4 Structure and Content

Chapters Two-Four form the groundwork of this thesis, as each contains a critical literature review to provide a background on the topic, defines the original perspective of this thesis, and highlights the relevant gaps within previous literature. Chapter Two examines how the term 'castle' in modern studies is variable, excluding or including other types of élite secular architecture such as towers, palaces or hall-houses. Identifying how 'castle' will be defined here is necessary to eliminate ambiguity within the thesis argument, deriving contemporary meaning of the 'castle' and 'palace' as they appear in primary documentation. This etymological study is expanded to cover the terms 'Romantic' and 'chivalric' as used to describe castles, as their anecdotal uses in pan-medieval and post-medieval studies lack clarity given that their significance and meanings shift dependant upon date and social context.

This chapter provides a critical synthesis of previous work within the field of castle studies, discussing arguments, debates and trends that have developed greatly since the discipline came into its own. Only having reviewed previous studies can the originality and need for the particular research approach taken here be established. The discussion also covers research on the castles of Romance literature, primarily metaphorical and allegorical, which reveal contemporary ideals about the castle as a literal and figurative structure. The classification 'English' has been applied to castles in both England and Wales, as the thesis focuses on castles constructed by Edward I during his Welsh Wars (1277-1283). The castles included in this study include royal and baronial sites, and are not limited to any particular geographic region; Romance and chivalry's impacts applied to this variety of sites is a major source of this study's originality. Castles in France are also discussed, focusing on prominent architectural phases that were constructed by kings of England. This will help to identify geographical influences and the emergence of the castle in England. The 'English' castle was not an Insular structure, as features were adapted from various cultures across medieval Europe. Byzantine, French and Spanish castle features

that were adapted in England are also mentioned, though this is not intended to be a broad study of European castles. Identifying the pan-European characteristics of the English castle is integral to understanding English kingship, as the castle was the 'outward face' of chivalry, used as a display of supra-Insular power spanning far beyond the English Channel (Saul 2011, p.viii).

Chapter Three follows with a discussion of medieval Romance literature, which is original in this context, as such dedicated research within the field of Romance literature has not been conducted with a perspective from archaeology or castle studies. It begins by providing a review of previous literary research and detailing Romance's historical and cultural context. It discusses this archaeological study of Romance as a cultural artefact, as opposed to literary studies that focus on text production, manuscripts and narrative construction, fields of expert study in themselves (Saunders 1993; Saunders 2004; Weiss 1992; Archibald et al. 2009; Crane 1986; Krueger 2000; Cooper 2004a). In this chapter, the use of French medieval Romance, dating from the eleventh through the early fourteenth century, is explained; this is contrary to specifically 'English' Romance, as it is argued that English Romance typically refers to 'Middle English', written for the growing bourgeois class and postdating my specified period of research. I discuss how the French Romances were targeted for a courtly audience whereas Middle English Romances had more humble or satirical subject matter. As with defining the 'castle', this research also necessitates defining 'Romantic', as "both academic and popular audiences" use 'Romance' to "constellate a number of sliding signifiers describing various affective states", including wonder, magic, irrationality, idealism, fantasy, the grotesque, imagination, mystery and nostalgia (Finke and Shictman 2014, p.299). Further original research is featured in the 'Genealogy of Romances' (*Figure 3.2*), which outlines the development of French medieval Romance by following a lineage of medieval Romance narratives categorized as the *Matter of Rome*, the *Matter of France* and the *Matter of Britain*, as well as their precursors and source material. This explores the development of Romance culture, heroes and themes in England, particularly noting

the fictional 'ancestry' of the Kings of Britain, originally believed to be factual, that consisted of heroes such as King Arthur and Uther Pendragon. This chapter discusses the development of Romance out of earlier Germanic Epics, troubadour lyrics and the Old French *chansons de geste*. Romance's primary difference from *chansons de geste* is a new authority and narrative-driving role of the 'lady', which translated into contemporary chivalric ideals of gender and space. The original data collection (*Figure 3.1*) of Romance patronage, ownership and dissemination supports the discussion of Romance's prevalence and popularity within courtly society. The history of King Arthur is also outlined, detailing the original appearance of Arthurian lore and its development into the Romance tradition and the micro-climate that grew out of Edward I's political ambitions.

Chapter Four explores chivalry, its history and evolution through the Middle Ages in England, analysing chivalry in its original form–a cavalry with values of martial prowess and tracing its medieval evolution prior to its highly romanticized form as a cultural construct of Victorian imagination (Girouard 1981). This chapter includes a synthesis of previous work to provide a review of the literature and show how chivalry is typically portrayed. Many studies muddle the ideals of chivalry, arguing either that it consisted of a knightly class who strove towards military prowess, or that it was displayed in the grand pageantry that evoked a fictitious 'golden age'. In which case, the former believe the latter to be wrong, and the latter often disregard the former. The idea that Romance significantly impacted late medieval chivalry is not new to this thesis and has been argued before (Cline 1945; Vale 1981; Alexander and Binski 1987; Barber and Barker 1989; Coss and Keen 2002; Keen 2005; Munby et al. 2007; Saul 2011). However, applying this connection to castle architecture and landscapes is new. This chapter provides a timeline of chivalric trends, showing how thegnly *comitatus* developed to encompass non-martial élite men and women, harbouring values found inside Romance narratives and not just on the battlefield, becoming more theatrical, though no less legitimate. Alongside the growth of Romance culture within courtly society, chivalry was developed to

include ideals of courtly love, gender, and appropriated metaphors specifically taken from Romance narratives (Kaeuper and Kennedy 2005, p.110), thus becoming a conduit for indirect Romantic influences in the élite built environment. The chivalric 'lady' became a narrative-driving character in Romances, and it is argued here that specifically female spaces began to appear in castle architecture in England, corresponding to this emergence of uniquely female chivalric values and agency. This argument is further supported when contrasted with ideals of Germanic *comitatus*, which can be deduced from Early Medieval wills, elegies and poetry (Garner 2011; Blair 2018; Blair 2019; Clark 2020). Later medieval handbooks written by contemporary practitioners are used to identify specific ideals and values of chivalry, which make reference to Romantic characters and ideals primarily regarding the chivalric 'lady' and courtly activities found in the French prose *Lancelot* (c.1210-1248) and *Perceforest* (c.1340) (Bryant 2011, p.5, 13; Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996, p.21-24; see Appendix A). This evolution of chivalry ties in with scholarly discussions of 'memory' and the medieval imagination, exploring the changes within chivalric values and the influences from other areas of medieval society (LeGoff 1985; Carruthers 2008; McKinstry 2012; Tally 2020).

This chapter further discusses the commonly-interchangeable uses of the terms 'courteous', 'courtly' and 'chivalric', differentiating between their specific characteristics, as this is necessary for identifying Romantic influence specifically within chivalric values. These terms are differentiated and defined using descriptions found in contemporary handbooks, casting an important light on Romance's role in chivalry's evolution from its eleventh-century origins into the idealistic theatrics of the post-medieval élite. The changing courtly climate under different English monarchs reveals that courtliness evolved to fit the aspirations of the king, distinguishing 'chivalric' from 'courtly'. Assessment of primary sources shows further differences in 'courtesy', as it is frequently used interchangeably with 'chivalric' or 'courtly' (as well as 'knightly' and 'courteous'). This chapter also covers chivalry's rocky relationship with the Church, and the Church's use of Romance as propaganda for

encouraging Crusade support and recruitment (VanderElst 2017; Barber and Barker 1989).

Building upon these discussions outlining Romance's influence on chivalric values and ancestral power, the primary case studies (Chapters Five, Six and Seven) assess these impacts within the built environment, divided into three categories: 1) indirect Romantic influence through broad trends of displaying chivalric values in castle architectural spaces; 2) castle landscape features related to the Romance landscape of 'the quest', also analysed in broad trends with specific examples; and 3) a critical look at four individual castle sites, applying this original methodology to identify and assess Romance's direct impact. The first two case study chapters present entirely original research by assessing Romantic influence across a broad range of castle sites and by including a targeted study of Romantic landscape spaces as an extension of the castle. The third case study applies my original methodology to assess both established and original suggestions of Arthurian impact at four individual sites: Pendragon Castle (Cumbria, formerly Westmorland), Tintagel Castle (Cornwall), Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd) and Warwick Castle (Warwickshire), and to determine the extent of Romance's influence.

The case study in Chapter Five analyses specific spaces in castle and palatial architecture, assessed critically alongside contemporary chivalric and Romantic values and trends. Using original access analysis diagrams, development of castle spaces and their significance ranging from the Early Middle Ages through the fourteenth century is demonstrated, pinpointing specific architectural spaces and features that align with contemporary developments in chivalry. My original 'chivalric structuration' theory is discussed, addressing chivalric values such as piety, privacy, regulations of gendered interaction and largesse, and their impact on movement and the use of space. This discussion details how these values were constructed as features and spaces within castle architecture, choreographing movement akin to a secular liturgy of chivalry–analysing how they acculturated their surroundings from a specific ideological point of view. Newly-Romanticized chivalric values of the 'lady' (specifically

different from the ordinary 'woman') necessitated structures for her privacy and to be viewed and set apart by features and spaces within the castle. This reassessment of sites reevaluates the concept of female seclusion and privacy imitated by Richardson (2003a), O'Keeffe (2013), and Webb (2007) by applying access analysis based on a more diverse selection of castle sites spanning the twelfth through fourteenth centuries. This diverse selection of castles helps to identify social stratigraphy contrasted with gender-centric access patterns. Assessing gendered space in regards to associated agency and authority rather than physical or permissible access eliminates the problematic designation of space as if hard lines were drawn to permit or restrict access based on gender. The medieval mind valued ideals above reality, therefore, spaces are defined and discussed as gendered or chivalric in terms of their contextual symbolic significance.

Values of heroic, ancestral nostalgia, as detailed by Wace and Geoffrey of Monmouth, and 'elegant prowess' also feature in discussions of impractical, or nonfunctional, martial architectural features and visual recollections of a fictitious and heroic ancestry constructed to legitimise power. The nuances of this study lie in my original access analysis diagrams, an original theory of chivalric structuration, and the broad application of Romance as an architectural trend, opposed to previous site-specific studies.

Chapter Six is comprised of the second case study, focusing on features and spaces in the landscape outside of the castle. Venturing from the bailey, through the demesne and out into the wilderness, this chapter's structure follows the route of the knight errant, exploring the spaces encountered in the Romance landscape translated symbolically and overtly into historic castle landscapes. This chapter also uses my 'chivalric structuration' theory to explore spaces in the landscape as they satisfy the demands of contemporary chivalric values, cultivated as a stage setting for Romantic displays and activities. Specific ideals of Romance and chivalry featured in this chapter include the hunt, the tournament, and displays of Romantic and otherworldly symbolism such as water features and elements of the élite privy

garden. Gendered features and spaces are also addressed here, as research continues to classify the garden as a primarily female space (McLean 1981a; Gilchrist 1999; Creighton 2009b; Dempsey 2018). Outdoor gendered spaces are analysed in regards to contemporary symbolism and connections with Romance, showing that various aspects of the garden were linked with female authority. The 'gaze' is also addressed here as a liminal space of power, as gazing structures such as windows were intended to be seen from afar (Creighton 2009b, p.12; Creighton 2010). Taking a new, female-centric medieval perspective, this study differs from typically post-medieval and masculine discourses (Johnson 1996, p.74). It is argued that designed viewsheds and the presence of structures for the lady 'to see and be seen from' (Weikert 2018; Weikert 2018; Roffey 2008; Graves 2000; Delman 2018) were intended to symbolise female power–even in her absence. This case study maintains the originality of chivalric structuration, arguing for the legitimacy of the 'designed' medieval landscape, particularly in regards to intentional 'wilderness' spaces, whilst strengthening the argument that castles should be studied within their landscape contexts (Creighton and Higham 2004; Creighton 2009a).

The third case study in Chapter Seven shifts the focus from broadly-applied Romantic and chivalric trends onto four individual castle sites. These sites, varying in degrees of structural ruin and tourism popularity, were selected based on suggestions of Romantic influence from previous works that have not been critically explored or supported (*Figure 2.2*). At an individual level, themes and "idealized perceptions" from Romance were incorporated into the élite built environment based upon individuals' motivations, personal interests, self-projections and political ambitions (Goffman 1978; Rollason 2016, p.166).

Pendragon Castle (Cumbria) is discussed first, legendarily constructed by Uther Pendragon. No evidence for its construction or name change from "the castle of Malrestang", as listed in the *Inquisitions Post Mortem* of Edward I (IPM, 1284), has hitherto been found. The next documentary mention of the castle names it as Pendragon in Roger Clifford's license to crenellate (CCW, 1309). This comprises the

extent of documentary evidence for Pendragon's architectural development prior to Anne Clifford's renovations in 1660 (Pembroke and Sackville-West 1923). This study draws information from Pendragon's wider socio-political and geographical contexts, primary documentation and site visits to construct a background of Pendragon's fourteenth-century Arthurian significance.

Tintagel Castle (Cornwall) is the second site assessed. Tourism has exploited the site's supposed connection with Arthurian Romance, appearing in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (HRB, c.1135) as a location of Merlin's magic and Arthur's conception. Richard the First Earl of Cornwall supposedly used this site as a display of self-association with King Arthur after trading three of his manors in Cornwall with Gervaise de Hornicote for Bossiny, which was contemporarily comprised of the village now known as Tintagel (CCW, 1236). Ralegh Radford's excavation reports (Radford 1935, 1942) suggested that the promontory of Tintagel contained an élite secular site predating Richard's thirteenth-century castle, though this argument has since been criticized, suggesting Richard's castle to be the earliest secular élite architectural phase, constructed for prestige during his campaign to become Holy Roman Emperor and one of Europe's wealthiest men (Ashe 1968; Alcock 1971; Batey et al. 2007; Batey 2016). Within this study, primary medieval documentation is used, together with previous excavation reports, to study Tintagel's structure, use and location compared with contemporary architectural trends and Richard's other castles, assessing the extent to which Arthurian motives influenced the construction and design of this castle. While Tintagel is already renowned for Arthurian associations in modern tourism, this reputation lacks support and critically-assessed evidence. This study's originality lies in the application of this new methodology, critically assessing the castle's context, historical land ownership, and architectural features; the findings justify previous theories and identify elements of Romantic chivalry.

Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd) has long held associations with Welsh legend and Constantine, in both popular tourism and castle scholarship (Taylor 1974, 1985;

Wheatley 2004, 2010), most notably in Arnold Taylor's (1974) discussion relating Caernarfon's banded masonry with the Theodosian Walls of Constantinople. Taylor (1974) and R.S. Loomis's (1947, 1953) arguments for Caernarfon's imperial and Arthurian connections, motivated by Edward I's 'Arthurian enthusiasm', have been over-zealously reiterated by Richard Morris (1998), lacking critical assessment, and more recently in Abigail Wheatley's (2010) discussion of influences from Welsh legend on Edward I's construction (Loomis 1947, 1970b; Taylor 1974; Morris 1998; Wheatley 2010). However, research has yet to produce conclusive assessments of this idea, remaining as largely undetermined supposition. Scholarship is divided on these ideas, with some questioning whether Theodosian wall emulations were too esoteric to be prestigious among society (Wheatley 2004, p.119-121) and other sources lacking assessment whilst reiterating Taylor's original theories (Williams and Kenyon 2010, p.129-139, 150-154). This case study reassesses previous theories about Caernarfon's banded masonry, situating it within chivalric *romanitas* and brought within the realm of Romance, connected through Arthur's Constantinian ancestry in medieval literature and legend. This tradition of legend was formative for Welsh culture and Caernarfon's geographical context, providing a perspective from which to explore legendary influences behind Caernarfon's construction and assess the extent to which Edward I's Welsh castles were a canvas for displaying his political Arthurian enthusiasm.

The final case study is Warwick Castle (Warwickshire), which has been transformed into a popular medieval tourist attraction. This study focuses on Guy's Tower in particular, assessing whether it was actually constructed as a nod to the early thirteenth-century Romance, *Gui de Warewic*, as claims suggest (Goodall 2011, p.298). In the narrative, Guy receives a divine calling from the top of the castle's tallest tower, which forms the basis of discussions on the motive for the construction of Guy's Tower (Mason 1984; Liu 2005; Beauchamp 2013a; Goodall 2011). Thomas Beauchamp (the elder), 11th Earl of Warwick's alleged self-associations with the Romance hero, Sir Guy, were displayed in various objects and forms, and these are used

to build a picture of his Romantic allusions in material culture and primary documentation (Stow 1977; Pickering and Bohn 1845; Dugdale 1693, 1656) to assess the idea of Romantic motivation in the construction of Guy's Tower. These case studies present original research and perspective to argue that Romance's footprint can be identified in various aspects of castle design, structuration, micro-architecture, location, architectural features, and in titles given to the castle and the spaces or structures within.

The final two chapters provide a discussion and conclusion, offering final ideas and summaries to set this research within its historic context between Early Medieval *comitatus* and post-medieval Arthurian theatrical celebrations. The *Matter of Britain* is confirmed in its formative place in English society and its roll in shaping English national identity. The conclusion addresses challenges encountered while conducting this research and avenues of potential future work branching off from this thesis. Finally, this thesis concludes by stating the extent to which we can identify Romance as influential for late medieval English castle architecture and landscapes.

Chapter 2

Castle Studies

2.1 Chapter Overview

Buildings are the largest artefacts that can tell us about the values of a society; the archaeology of buildings explores the 'multiplicity of narratives' that intersected within the built environment (Arnold et al. 2006, p.37-48). This research diverges from the majority of castle studies, as it applies an anthropological study of the medieval élite, their interactions with each other as well as their spaces, and how these interactions were choreographed by the castles' physical structuration. Pam Graves's (2000) similar approach applies a humanistic lens to ecclesiastical architecture, mapping the agency, movement and interaction within. This method applied to castles and their wider contexts develops a secular narrative of the agencies and "lived experiences" of élite society (Johnson et al. 2017, p.2-17). This study provides a more holistic understanding of castle culture's implementation of chivalric beauty and idealism into a physical and figurative space actually made of aristocratic corruption, though realism was subsidiary within the medieval imagination (Krautheimer 1942; Kuhnel 1987; Wheatley 2004, p.2; Lilley 2009).

This chapter introduces and supports a perspective on castles, in accordance with this new methodology, using a synthesis of previous work alongside original research to create a background for the English castle, highlighting original arguments and laying a foundation necessary for the later case studies. The first section provides

a literature review of the subject to develop a background of castle studies as a discipline, using the synthesis of previous research and debates to identify the gaps addressed by this thesis. The following sections provide an etymological study of the 'castle' using contemporary documentation to support a broad application of the term in élite secular architecture; and the etymological discussions of 'Romantic' and 'chivalric' detail their specific uses in this research and illuminate why these terms have been a source of ambiguity and confusion in castle studies literature.

I then discuss European architectural influences adopted and combined to develop the 'Englishness' of the English castle, bolstering the image of pan-European power desired by the English medieval kings. This discussion highlights original research that defines a new perspective on the 'Englishness' of the 'English' castle, bound up with the projection of the image of English kingship. It also identifies elements and features of the architecture which, it is argued, were consciously born out of courtly Romance culture as distinct from military, religious, and European influences.

2.2 Literature Review of Castle Studies: Development and Debate

2.2.1 Early Development

The discipline of castle studies has undergone significant development from its earliest beginnings in antiquarian writings such as John Aubrey's seminal chronological study of buildings (c.1670) (Piggott 1976, p.18). Architecture was not analysed and assessed in depth, beyond simple comparisons and classifications, until works of the later eighteenth and nineteenth century, such as Warton's discussion of English Gothic style (1763) and Rickman's classification system and assessment of architectural styles in 1817 (Piggott 1976, p.118).

Antiquarian studies were far from historically accurate, applying Arthurian place

names to sites of mystery or intrigue (Piggott 1976, p.114). Though Arthur's popularity as the image of chivalry became overshadowed by Saint George in the later Middle Ages, Arthurian interest remained. This is evidenced in Tudor theatrics that featured Arthurian and Romanticized chivalric elements, such as Henry VIII's participation in the Fields of Cloth of Gold (Calais) in 1520. This elaborate display featured pavilions, feasting and jousting in armour akin to the centuries-old Round Table tournaments (Girouard 1981, p.17). Henry VIII's self-portrait as Arthur on Winchester Castle's Round Table, which still hangs in the great hall, also boasts Tudor Arthurian prestige (*Figure 2.1* below).

Figure 2.1: (Photo credit: Richards 2022) Archaeological assessment, dendochronology and historical documentation assessment have suggested the table was built towards the end of the thirteenth century, and most likely painted during the reign of Henry VIII (Biddle and Badham 2000).

Elizabethan theatrics, particularly Leicester's display at Kenilworth Castle, in which the Lady of the Lake welcomed Queen Elizabeth for her visit in 1575, is a further sixteenth-century example of Romantic and Arthurian prestige, contemporary with the resurgence of locating the 'real', historical Arthur in Antiquarian landscape studies (Girouard 1981, p.17; Morris 2015, p.21).

The search for Arthurian geography predates early architectural studies. For example, John Leland's *Itinerary* (c.1542), details his attempt to locate Camelot, determining it to be the Iron Age hillfort at Cadbury (Somerset) (Green 1980; Ashe 1988, p.125; Proctor 2017, p.16), and Dugdale's record of the henge, called "King Arthur's Round Table", in Penrith (c.1665) (Piggott 1976, p.18). The abundance of Arthurian place names in the British landscape predated the eighteenth-century Romantic Movement and Victorian fictitious ideas of the 'Golden Age of Chivalry'. During the English Renaissance, the works of antiquarians, such as Camden, Dugdale, and Leland, reflected the lingering interest in the Classical and medieval roots of English history, linking their contemporary history and heritage with Antiquity, Biblical history, Romano-British mythology, Celtic legend, and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB* (Piggott 1976, p.18, 33-34, 86-87). Though Geoffrey's *HRB* (c.1135) was no longer revered as a factual historical account of English ancestry, English national identity was built upon heroes of England's fictitious past. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century antiquarian interest in Arthur, Romance and legend is reflected in works by contemporary authors and playwrights, such as Shakespeare and Spenser, nostalgic for an ancient 'Insular' British heritage-turned-fictitious golden age (Schwyzer 2004, p.4, 174). England's power and cultural affluence was displayed on the international stage, as I argue, by reaching back into an Arthurian, heroic past, unique to British heritage, as a means of promoting England as a supra-Insular power within the contemporary European context of development and progress.

Early Modern literature introduced early archaeological interest and practices disguised as the desire to commune with the dead, evoking mystery through unknowable secrets of the distant past (Hines 2004; Schwyzer 2007). Prior to the

eighteenth-century Romantic Movement, the seventeenth century saw an increased interest in relics, artefacts and architectural ruins, which brought the fictitious past into the tangible present (Schwyzer 2004, p.174; Schwyzer 2007, p.2). The Stuart and Restoration years were enriched with the emergence of antiquarianism, cartography and illustrated records, marking the early beginnings of buildings archaeology. Huge importance was placed on generating knowledge about historical architecture and heritage sites within the landscape, particularly in response to the destruction of tombs (including Arthur's 'tomb' at Glastonbury) and national monuments (Piggott 1976, p.57). Antiquarianism became viewed as a display of patriotism, as recording antiquities was deemed "essential to the continuum of British history" (Lindley 2007, p.138; Morris 2012, p.55). Within this social context, historical documentation became subject to verification of factual accuracy, rather than previous pseudo-historical embellished chronicles and records (Lindley 2007, p.138).

The eighteenth century saw the origins of architectural recording with illustrations and engravings that preserved contemporary architectural details and features by artists, primarily, the Buck brothers, who's contribution to early castle studies cannot be understated. During the Romantic Movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, many admired castles and ruins, in particular, for their 'Romantic' charm and evocative visual display. "Soldierly antiquarians," however, regarded castles as structures of military heritage (Piggott 1976, p.21; Creighton 2009a, p.8). Victorian Romanticized chivalry, evolved from the Romanticized chivalry of the fourteenth century, became formative for the development of the gentry's identity (Girouard 1981; Saul 2011, p.308). Creating the imagined, picturesque ideal of 'Arcadia', a pastoral utopia re-imagined out of the fictitious 'golden age' of Romanticized chivalry, came to define the idyllic Romantic movement of the eighteenth century (Piggott 1989; Thompson 1987, p.158-169; Leslie 1993, p.3; Turner 2003, p.207; Taylor 2008, p.237-250; Prinsloo 2015, p.257). In addition to seventeenth-century creations of distinct 'wilderness' landscape spaces, influenced by the medieval Romance landscape (further discussed in Chapter Six),

the eighteenth-century landscape was further Romanticized by incorporating ruins and constructing follies to create more picturesque views. Ruins and historic architecture were occasionally even modified to further Romanticize historic structures. For example, Finchale Priory (Durham) and Fountains Abbey (Yorkshire) were partially demolished to improve views from within these structures and enhance their idyllic image within their wider landscapes (Aston 2000, p.171; Graves 2020, pers comm). This trend was linked with the neoclassical designs of pleasure landscapes, which alluded back to medieval Romance's original Classical source materials of Ovid and Virgil (Johnson 1996, p.145 Archibald 2004, p.10-25).

Literary trends spanning the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century alluded to historic or mysterious places within the landscape, particularly in contemporary Arthurian stories and early gothic horror novels. The use of mysterious and Romantic landscapes and structures in popular contemporary literature reveals continued interest in the mysterious Romance 'wilderness', within wider society. This influenced modern conceptions of the ideal image of the castle, as settings were described with soaring towers, iron gates, drawbridges and armour-clad halls. Though works of fiction, these stories contributed to early castle studies, as they increased castle tourism and interest in historic buildings, as in response to Sir Walter Scott's *Kenilworth* (1821), for example (Girouard 1981, p.36; Morris 2015, p.51; Mileson 2018, p.388). Eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Romantic literature disseminated the image of the idyllic castle, mysterious ruins and Romantic 'wilderness' landscapes through popular culture to a wider audience. Poetry and stories, such as Scott's *Lady of the Lake* (1810), created a "fictionalized memory" within the landscape of reality that alluded to a distant and magical otherworld, as well as providing imaginary adventure and escapism by elaborating on legends and stories already infused within the contemporary landscape (Girouard 1981, p.35, 56-59).

Victorian literature continued to present the idealized castle, which remained formative for ideals of English élite society (Wheatley 2004, p.4). Chivalry became synonymous with ideals of medieval Romance literature in the nineteenth century, and

characters from Romance narratives were displayed as chivalric icons, nostalgic of "a lost spirit world" (Wood 2017, https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ancient/arthur). This demonstrated a resurgence of idealized ancestral power, bringing a sense of stability and permanence into portrayals of heroic national identity during times of great change.

Charles Mills's *History of the Crusades* (1828) and *History of Chivalry* (1825) were followed by others' chivalric "histories", with tales of troubadours and crusades (Girouard 1981, p.43), newly modified to align with contemporary values (Girouard 1981, p.180). Editions of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* (1485) were still in print by the mid-nineteenth century, and Tennyson's Arthurian volume of poetry, *The Epic* (1842) popularized Malory's subject matter into "household fairytale" literature (Girouard 1981, p.179).

Nineteenth-century Arthurian literature further impacted castle studies, as Victorians used this mysterious and otherworldly past as a gloss on castle studies and castle publicity. For example, Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* (1860) named the cave beneath Tintagel Castle after Merlin, which continues to draw tourism and contribute to the cultural heritage and popularity of the site (Ashe 1968, p.193; Barron 1999, p.256-259; Rouse and Rushton 2005, p.60; Batey 2016).

The practical applications of Victorian chivalry, which had developed into religious andro-centric propaganda for morality, were reflected in the newly-elvoved theories of architecture. Viollet-le-Duc's architectural studies (1860, 1875) were formative for modern perspectives on castle architecture, particularly evident in early twentieth-century castle studies, as he argued that a structure's design should reflect its functional purpose (Hearn 1990, p.9, 13; Constable 2003, p.6-8). This 'functional purpose', however, was based on one's contemporary perceived function, applied in his medieval building restorations intended to restore structures to their ideal forms even if not historically accurate (Hearn 1990, p.13; Hansson 2006, p.440). Regarding the medieval castle, this theory promoted a martial perspective, focusing on the castle's defensive features and their functionality (Viollet-le Duc 1860, p.31, 60; Viollet-

le Duc 1875; Constable 2003, p.9-10; Hansson 2006, p.442-443). In his commentary on Le-Duc's architectural theory, Hearn (1990) quotes Le-Duc's idea that "ornament is an indispensable aspect of architecture, but it should be integral with the structure and preferebly should serve a functional purpose" (Hearn 1990, p.13). Le-Duc's pioneering restorations of medieval architecture and his meticulously-drawn building records certainly contributed to the mid nineteenth-century development of architectonic restoration practices (Hearn 1990, p.13; Viollet-le Duc 1860). Early restoration practices, however, applied contemporary perceptions to reconstruct the building's imagined ideal state when "restor[ing] the edifices of a different age" (Viollet-le Duc 1858, p.14; Hearn 1990, p.13).

Continued post-medieval 'cult castle' constructions (see Appendix H) medievalized the English landscape simultaneously with archaic castle restoration, such as Alnwick Castle (c.1860), Cardiff Castle (c.1870), Arundel Castle (c.1880) and Paterson's reconstruction of Brancepeth Castle (c.1820). Paterson also restored Eglinton Castle (Ayreshire) in medieval fashion, which was the site of Lord Eglinton's theatrical chivalric tournament in 1839. This event was a recreation of medieval Round Table tournaments, though it bore closer resemblance to modern tourist events with themed foods and souvenirs for attendees to purchase (Girouard 1981, p.73, 96-102, 163). The outdoor events were ultimately ruined by rain, but the ball and feasting continued in true medieval fashion (Girouard 1981, p.100).

Castle studies and interest in Arthurian Romance have, in fact, consistently shared a strong connection, with Arthuriana deeply rooted in the development of castle studies as a discipline. This only subsided for a brief interval during the first half of the twentieth century, albeit with very few exceptions. The impact of the Great War consolidated architectural studies of castles, as a dedicated subject, focused primarily on martial architecture, with a secondary attention to domestic quarters. These studies focused on the castle as a standalone fortress, disassociated from its wider landscape context (Thompson 1987, p.1; Higham 2010, p.167; Creighton and Higham 2004, p.15). This militaristic and functional bias remained

the primary trend in castle research through the first half of the twentieth century, as seen in definitive works such as *The Castles of the Conquest* (1902) by JH Round, Ella Armatage's *Early Norman Castles* (1912), Hamilton Thompson's *Medieval Architecture in England During the Middle Ages* (1912), Ralegh Radford's excavations at Tintagel Castle (Cornwall) (1933-1936), Hugh Braun's *English Castles* (1936), and R.A. Brown's *English Castles* (1954).

The 1930s and 1960s saw a growing interest in the archaeology of the historical figure of Arthur, for example, Radford's archaeological excavations at Tintagel Castle and Glastonbury Abbey, and Alcock's excavation to locate Camelot at Cadbury (Radford 1968b; Rahtz 1968; Alcock 1971; Padel 1991a). Excavations in the 1990s revisited Tintagel and Glastonbury to reassess Radford's earlier excavations with new emphasis on local folkloric traditions (Batey et al. 2007; Barrowman et al. 2007). Only recently, however, have archaeological studies began to critically regard regional folklore to explore landscapes and architecture (Wheatley 2010; Paphitis 2014; Swallow 2019; Gilchrist 2020; Lewis 2020).

2.2.2 Martial Versus Status

The search for the particularity of castles, primarily focused on functionality, meant that other ideological aspects of medieval life and, therefore, connections with Romance, were put aside. Brown's (1954) claim that 1250-1350 designated the "Golden Age of English medieval military architecture" (Brown 1954, p.89) summarizes the early school of thought for early twentieth-century castle studies, placing the castle on a martial pedestal as the epitome of fortification, without addressing its role within a wider physical setting or its domestic features suitable as a home fit for a queen. Mid-century studies began a discourse on the inner domesticity of castles, gradually shifting towards the key debate in the history of castle studies: martial versus status (Brown 1955; Colvin et al. 1963a; Taylor 1974; Wood 1974).

One common theme within martial studies of castles has regarded the shape of

towers to argue for castle development alongside development of military technology. Early studies argued that round towers were introduced as a more defensive structural design, eliminating corners, and therefore, eliminated vulnerability to undermining during sieges (Armitage 1912, p.208; Thompson 1912, p.165; Colvin et al. 1963a, p.77; Warner 1972, p.53; Stalley 1999, p.65). However, developments in castle architecture did not follow a clearly-defined linear progression, contrary to implications in martial studies (Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.213; Gravett 2007, p.38, Creighton and Wright 2016, p.110).

The 1970s saw increased discussions of castles as highly-symbolic displays of status, taking the focus away from the previous all-martial perspective. Early glimpses of symbolic research perspective can be identified in Colvin's (1963) suggestion that Henry II's garden at Woodstock (Oxfordshire) may have been purposefully intended to recall King Marc's garden in *Tristan and Isolde* narratives (Colvin et al. 1963a, p.86). Studies like Arnold Taylor's (1974) idea that Caernarfon Castle's banded masonry was intended to evoke the Theodosian walls of Constantinople, and Charles Coulson's (1979) discourse on 'Structural Symbolism', became the new "orthodoxy" of castle scholarship (Platt 2007, p.83). Coulson's theories of symbolism particularly gained traction in the 1990s, identifiable with works such as Philip Dixon's psychological study, "The Castle as Theatre" (1990), which details Knaresborough Castle's (Yorkshire) restriction and choreography of movement and interaction, and David Stocker's "In the Shadow of the General's Armchair", which describes Bodiam Castle (Sussex) as an "old soldier's dream home" (Stocker 1992, p.416; Platt 2007, p.83; Dixon 2016a, p.333-348). Nigel Saul (1995) and Coulson's (1991) non-martial stance on Bodiam Castle, T.A. Heslop's (1991) "Nostalgia and Sophisticated Living", and Richard Morris's (1998) discussion of Edward I's 'Arthurian enthusiasms' built into his castles are also prominent studies that feature castles as symbolic structures (Saul 1995; Coulson 1991; Heslop 1991; Morris 1998).

Castle studies developed into its current form as a distinctive discipline by the publication of Thompson's *Decline of the Castle* (1987), which was followed by his

Rise of the Castle (1991). By the late twentieth century, the martial versus status debate had become more divided as different scholars began to take sides on the issue (Kenyon 1990; Mathieu 1999; Johnson 2002; Liddiard 2003, p.7; Liddiard 2005, p.7-10; Coulson 2003a; Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.105; Liddiard 2005; Platt 2007; Creighton 2009b; Creighton and Higham 2004; Goodall 2011). Coulson (2003), for example, noted that a non-military study of castles is advanced study, and furthermore, 'palace-castles' should be recognized as legitimate and authentic castles despite lacking defensive features (Coulson 2003a, p.91-92; Coulson 2016, p.21). Others remained hesitant to engage with symbolism-focused architectural studies, arguing for caution against obscuring or overshadowing ideas of practical architectural functionality (Liddiard and Williamson 2008; Platt 2007).

These research dialogues have been met with more recent rebuttals arguing that the debate is now outdated and hinders the wider understanding of the castle's architectural purpose and significance (Johnson 2002; Ashbee 2004; Morris 2008; Creighton 2009b, 2010; Wheatley 2010; Richardson 2011; Weikert 2018; Swallow 2019). Johnson calls the debate "stale" (Johnson 2002, p.177), Creighton refers to it as an "intellectual cul-de-sac" (Creighton 2012, p.151), and Liddiard agrees that a "reappraisal of the extant data set is critical for the health of castle studies" (Liddiard 2016, p.16; Creighton and Liddiard 2008, p.161-169). Ecclesiastical architectural symbolism has not been met with the same contention as that of secular structures, though it has facilitated academic discussions on symbolic and metaphorical architecture and the significance of spaces and sightlines that provide methodological insight for nuanced studies of castle structure and space (Roffey 2008; Barrett 1988; Gilchrist and Green 2015, p.320-336).

Current castle scholarship is less divided and reassesses pragmatic features of defense alongside aspects of architectural symbolism. It also includes discussions identifying footprints of intangible heritage and ideals of gender and social interaction to build a more holistic perspective on the castle's wider context (Creighton 2002; Coulson 2003a; Creighton and Higham 2004; Hansson 2006; Williams and

Kenyon 2010; Higham 2010; Creighton 2012, p.85, 147; Rollason 2016; Liddiard 2016; Creighton 2018, p.5-20; Swallow 2019, p.153-195). Studies of contemporary imagery of castles and Romantic themes and characters, as explored in Wheatley's (2004) *Idea of the Castle*, have been useful for the purposes of this research, showing how medieval contemporaries idealized and imagined the 'castle' and displayed important Romantic themes across wider society using "dramaturgical" and pictorial narratives (Johnson 1996, p.190; Wheatley 2001; Wheatley 2004).

Another recent turn in castle architectural studies focuses on styles and classifications of the medieval great hall (Jones and Meirion-Jones 1993; Dixon and Marshall 1993, 2003; O'Keeffe 2013, 2014; Gardiner 2015; Impey and McNeill 2016; Dempsey 2016; Gardiner and Hill 2018a,b). Though dated, Thompson's (1995) volume on the architecture of the hall remains an important source of research. His work introduced the idea of 'archaism', as well as the 'cult castle' into the vocabulary of English castle and hall design to describe archaic or outdated styles; both of which have been valuable in this research for assessing elements of chivalric design that feature in Chapter Five (Thompson 1995, p.99-101; Thompson 1991, p.171). In wider studies of individual castle sites, castles have increasingly become described as having chivalric or Romantic traits. Stemming from Coulson's (1979, 1982) publications on crenellations and symbolic defensive architecture, the chivalric castle became an idea perpetually used to describe evocative or grandiose architectural displays, though without further discussion to define chivalry and what distinguished defensive chivalric from elaborate chivalric architectural design. Chivalry is a massive, multifaceted and dynamic topic within medieval studies that includes many features aside from martial prowess, and it should, therefore, be outlined as such in relation to different features of castle architecture to more accurately define the 'chivalric castle'. Equally so, 'Romantic' has become used to evoke grandeur and mystery when describing castles, but these descriptions are most often brief and unexplained. Only very few studies provide discussions supported with actual themes and ideas from medieval Romance literature, and even still, Romances evolved and

changed drastically through the medieval period. Critical assessment of medieval Romance literature is necessary to determine its impact among the medieval élite and how it shifted through time within the context of the castle.

Figure 2.2: This spreadsheet below presents my preliminary data collection, demonstrating that the vast majority of claims relating to 'Romantic' or 'chivalric' castles are mostly circular and anecdotal. This data collection identified gaps in previous research and was also used to select sites for my case studies.

The highlighted blue rows indicate sources that have supported the claims in the first column.
Many more claims appear in the literature, discovered over the course of this research, but this data set shows that the vast majority lack primary support and indeed, lack clarity in the idea of what is 'Romantic'.

Some sources and sites are repeated in this spreadsheet, as this demonstrates frequency of certain castles within claims. Sources occasionally mention multiple sites, in which case the source may appear more than once.

Romantic' and 'Chivalric' Claims in Castle Studies

Site	Claimed Influence	Source	Source's Reference	Primary Support (if empty, no primary support is represented)
Warwick Castle (Warwickshire)	Earl of Warwick associated himself with Guy from the Romance (Guy's Tower)	Morris 1998 in Liddiard 2016, p.361	Morris in Omrod 1986, p.172-174	
Warwick Castle (Warwickshire)	Thomas Beauchamp had tapestries based on the Romance, Guy of Warwick. He named his son, Reinbrun, and Guy's Tower after the Romance to display associations with Guy from the Romance.	Goodall 2011a, p.297-298	Goodall 2011b, p.304-315	
Windsor Castle and St. George's Chapel (Berkshire)	Arthurian order of knights	Barker 1986; Munby et al 2007; Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996	Many critical academic sources, primary sources, medieval Romances, and archaeological excavation	*Lancelot* prose cycle, excavation, assessment of maps, Roman de Perceforest, chronicles, pipe rolls, patent rolls
Windsor Castle (Berkshire)	House for Arthurian Round Table	Munby, et al (2007): Archaeological Report: Appendix A, p156-177; Chronicle Sources: Appendix B, p180-189; Primary Building Accounts: Appendix C, p192-239	Many critical academic sources, primary sources, medieval Romances, and archaeological excavation	Excavation, assessment of maps, *Roman de Perceforest*, chronicles, pipe rolls, patent rolls
Dunstanburgh Castle (Northumberland)	The meres in front of the castle, combined with the sea behind, resembled the Isle of Avalon	Hislop 2013, p.47	*Similar suggestion in Oswald 2006 but not referenced in Heslop 2013	
Bodiam Castle (Sussex)	Defiensive features were impractical and intended for display	Johnson 2002, p.24	Coulson 1992	
Heavily-defensive features	The "more complete the array of military apparatus, the better it came to suit the literary Romance image".	Morris 1998 in Liddiard 2016, p.365	Thompson 1989	

Acton Burnell Castle (Shropshire), Stokesay Castle (Shropshire), Maxstoke Castle (Warwickshire) , etc.	Battlements and crenellations suited the Romantic image from *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*	Morris 1998 in Liddiard 2016 p.365; Johnson 2002, p.24	Coulson 1993	
Moats (ex: Bodiam Castle)	Provided the Romance image "of the castle across water" such as the views from Douloureuse Garde and Camelot in the Lancelot prose cycle.	Morris 1998 in Liddiard 2016, p.362	Cable 1971, p.71, 92	
Bishop's Palace of Wells (Somerset)	Intended to appear chivalric and militaristic for nearby Arthuran microclimate	Morris 1998 in Liddiard 2016, p.366-369	West in Detsicas 1981	
Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd)	Imperial affiliations with Constantine (imperial, mythical and Arthurian affiliations interlinked in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*)	Wheatley 2004, p.119, 147-148	Roberts in Bromwich 1991, p.97-116; Matthews 1982, p.180; Taylor 1963; Taylor 1986; Loomis 1947	HKW v.i; Langtoft Chronicle ed.Wright 1869
Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd)	Eagle Tower discussed as one of Edward I's "attributes of Arthurian enthusiasm...evoking the wonder and exitement of ....castles of romance".	Morris 1998, p.72	Whitaker 1984 and Loomis 1953	
Winchester Castle (Hampshire)	Winchester as Camelot, with Arthur's Round Table providing material existence to an Arthurian Legacy*	Biddle and Clayre 2006	Colvin et al 1963, v.ii, p.854-864	*Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* makes reference to Winchester as Camelot on account of the table though this is nearly two centuries after the round table was built (dendochronologically determined).
Winchester Castle (Hampshire)	Arthur's Round Table providing material existence to an Arthurian Legacy	Rouse and Rushton 2005, p.224	Unspecified	
Tintagel Castle (Cornwall)	Tintagel Castle was a direct recreation of literature	Creighton 2002, p.74	Doel et al 1998, p.95; Trezise 2000, p.63-64	
Tintagel Castle (Cornwall)	Tintagel was associated with Arthurian legend	Liddiard 2005, p.123, 145	Padel 1988	
Woodstock Palace (Oxfordshire)	Literary symbolism of gardens	Liddiard 2005, p.110-111	Landsberg 1995, p.13; Gilchrist 1999	
Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd)	Caernarfon shows Edward I's interest in Arthurian Romance (also connected with the Welsh *Mabinogion*) "an Arthurian castle in all but name"	Liddiard 2005, p.58	Morris 1998; Colvin et al 1963	

Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd)	Imagery based on Constantinople and imperial connections	Liddiard 2005, p.56-57	McNeill 1992; Thompson 1991	
Woodstock Palace (Oxfordshire)	Henry II's garden for Rosamund (Everswell) intentionally recalled the garden in the *Tristan* Romance	Aurell 2007, p.374	Colvin et al 1963, v.ii, p.1015	
Kenilworth Castle (Warwickshire)	Tiltyard widened for Arthurian-style jousting (Round Table tournament with "100 knights and their ladies")	Morris 1998, p.75; Johnson 2002, p.139	Taylor 1998; Loomis 1953, p.116-117	
Glastonbury Abbey (Somerset)	Arthurian interest in the site, supported by intentionally-antiquated window design	Glichrist and Green 2015	Graves, Caple, specialist feature analysis	Detailed excavation and assessment
Clarendon Palace (Wiltshire)	Chivalric gardens and hunting ground	James and Gerrard 2007	James and Robinson 1988	Various expenditure documents
Woodstock Palace (Oxfordshire)	The garden for Rosamund was intended to resemble the garden from the *Tristan* Romance	Bond and Tillier 1997, p.22-54	Unspecified	
Tintagel Castle (Cornwall)	Richard of Cornwall's self-association with Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of Arthur's conception (the castle as a "chivalric folley")	Keats-Rohan 2015, p.75	Goodall 2011, p.189	
Tintagel Castle (Cornwall)	Tintagel influenced Geoffrey of Monmouth and other romance writers of twelfth and thirteenth centuries.	Radford in Ashe 1971, p.63-64	Radford's excavations from the 1930s	
(General)	"Romantic" castles	Cormack p.160-171	Unspecified	
Hornby Castle (Yorkshire)	Decorative moat like Bodiam Castle (chivalric influences)	Matthews pers comm 2015	Excavation, assessment of maps	
Leeds Castle (Kent)	The "Gloriette at Leeds compares to a toy castle, and the delicacy of its pedestrian bridge (originally wooden) conjures up in the romantic imagination the episode of Lancelot balancing on the sword-bridge as he crosses the water to rescue Guinevere from Melegant's castle".	Morris 1998, p. 75	Harvey 1981, p.106	

White Tower (London), Lincoln Castle (Lincolnshire) and Colchester Castle (Essex)	William Conqueror emulated Constantine through architecture	Heslop 2012 p.163-175	Wider argument supported through critical academic sources, rather than referencing a specific claim	Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (trans. Miller, 1890) and *English Kalendars Before AD 1100* (printed by Henry Bradshaw Society)
Colchester Castle (Essex)	Colchster (Roman Camulodunum) likened to Camelot	Heslop 2012 p. 175	Unspecified	
Raglan Castle (Monmouthshire)	Domestic comforts built within, while outwardly appearing militaristic to display chivalric status	Friar 2007, p. 58	Unspecified	
Eltham Palace (London)	Great hall built for to entertain large numbers of people, displaying chivalry as Edward IV's construction was during the decline of the great hall	Friar 2007, p. 59	Unspecified	
Glastonbury Abbey (Somerset)	Arthurian interest in the site, supported by intentionally-antiquated window design	Glichrist and Green 2016	Graves, Caple, specialist feature analysis	Detailed excavation and assessment
Clarendon Palace (Wiltshire)	Chivalric gardens and hunting ground	James and Gerrard 2008	James and Robinson 1989	Various expenditure documents
Woodstock Palace (Oxfordshire)	The garden for Rosamund was intended to resemble the garden from the *Tristan* Romance	Bond and Tillier 1997, p.22-55	Unspecified	
Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd)	Arthurian castle in all but name	Morris 1998, p. 72	Loomis 1947	
Modena Cathedral (Sicily)	Archivolt displays images of Arthurian characters from the narrative of Guinevere's abduction.	Rouse and Rushton 2005, p.78	Unspecified	
General moat discussion	Moats evoked Arthurian imagery of castle across the water	Morris 1998, p.74	Details of the *Mort le Roi Artu* from the *Lancelot* prose in unspecified secondary reference	
General hall discussion	Halls reflected image of the Arthurian Grail hall	Morris 1998, p.79	Thompson 1989	

Westminster Palace (London), Clarendon Palace (Wiltshire), etc.	Access analysis showing chivalric and gendered access patterns	Richardson 2003	Steane 1993; Borenius 1943; James 1990	Henry III Calendar of Lib Rolls, vol. III and V
General 'chivalric' landscapes	Discussion of chivalric gardens with covered walkways, gendered spatial organization, and gendered features	Johnson 2002, p.8	Gilchrist 1999	
General 'chivalric' landscapes	Swans, water features, and their spatial layout in gardens "could allude to chivalry and courtly love", and were associated with female symbolism.	Johnson 2002, p.46-47	Gilchrist 1993; Everson 1998, p.33	
Chivalric trend	Suggestions that a "martial face in later medieval castles is pure make-belief and fantasies" (chivalry connected with romance)	Johnson 2002, p.31	Thompson 1987, p.71; Platt 1982	
Barnard Castle (Durham), Fotheringhay Castle (Northamptonshire), Kenilworth Castle (Warwickshire), Saltwood Castle (Kent)	Complex landscapes are sometimes confused for military design when actually for chivalric ceremony and processions	Johnson 2002, p.39-40	Unspecified/Emery 1994	
Caerleon (Monmouthshire), Caerwent Castle (Monmouthshire), Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd)	"Caer" castles associated with legend and Arthurian sites	Wheatley 2004, p.119	Loomis 1947	
Beaumaris Castle (Anglesey)	'Perfectly geometric architecture'	Johnson 2002, p. 96	Unspecified	
Wollaton House (Nottinghamshire), Burghley House (Lincolnshire), Bolsover Castle (Derbyshire)	Late medieval castles clearly referred to values of "chivalry"	Johnson 2002, p.122	Unspecified	
Queenborough Castle (Kent), Windsor Castle (Berkshire), Sheen/Richmond (London), Westminster Palace (London), White Tower (London), Gravesend (Kent), Rotherhithe (London), Hadleigh Castle (Essex)	"Chivalric" court traveled with Edward III between castles, where he adjusted the architecture.	Johnson 2002, p.128	Unspecified	

Colchester Castle (Essex)	Represents a link between the ancient past and medieval present and joined together aspirations of the Roman Empire and the chivalric architectural prestige of medieval nobility	Wheatley 2004, p.41	Rosser 1996, p.8	
Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd)	"Caernarfon expresses Welsh traditions of the Roman mandate for power through...Magnus Maximus" (narrative in the *Mabinogion*)	Wheatley 2004, p.140	Taylor 1986; Loomis 1947; Morris 1998	
Orford Castle (Suffolk)	The designer of the great tower was harking back to Arthurian myth or the New Testament	Dixon 2002, p.11	Heslop 1991	
White Tower (London)	The arches and window shapes recall imperial romanitas, as parallels lie with monumental buildings of Classical Rome or with tenth and eleventh-century Byzantine churches or the palace of Charlamegne at Aachen.	Dixon 2002, p.11	Heslop 1991	
Everswell at Woodstock Palace (Oxfordshire)	"Romance" gardens	Diamond in Ashe et al 2012	McLean 1981, p.100	
General trend	Romance's popularity created a literary culture	Saul 2011, p.39, 305	Youngs 2008	
Warwick Castle (Warwickshire)	*Gui de Warewic* was a foundation myth for the Earls of Warwick (Arthurian heritage)	Saul 2011, p.48	Ormrod in Morris 1986	
Windsor Castle (Berkshire)	Arthurian round house for Edward III's Round Table	Saul 2011, p. 104-105	Munby et al 2007	
Glastonbury (Somerset), Caerleon (Monmouthshire), Winchester Castle (Hampshire)	centralized areas for the cult of Arthur	Saul 2011, p. 105	Munby et al 2007 and Vale 1982	
General trend (ex: Warwick Castle)	The "architectural vocabulary of the castle made concrete the values of chivalric lordship. Its reperatory of towers and battlements evoked the traditions of knighthood, the lifestyle of the great and stories of Arthurian legend.	Saul 2011, p. 250	Unspecified	

Bodiam Castle (Sussex)	Bodiam was made to look grander and chivalric through French architectural styles and antiquated architectural features	Saul 2011, p. 252	Unspecified	
General trend	Parapets and crenellations strengthened the identity of castle with chivalry	Saul 2011, p. 256	Coulson 1979	
General trend	White walls, heavy machicolations and neat parkland landscape imbued the castle with romance.	Saul 2011, p.260	Knight 1999	
Tintagel Castle (Cornwall)	Links and associations with Arthurian legend were exploited wherever possible	Saul 2011, p.261	Unspecified	
General trend	castles were the architectural face of chivalry	Saul 2011, p.261	Unspecified	
Chivalric style impacted by Romance	Arthurian Romance as a source of instruction for chivalry	Saul 2011, p.269	Unspecified	
Chivalric activities in castles	Reading chivalric romances aloud after dinner played a key role in shaping the lord and his family's attitudes and beliefs	Saul 2011, p.324	Youngs 2005	
Romance impact on politics	Chivalric Romance helped shape political culture	Saul 2011, p. 324	Youngs 2005	
Chivalry impacted by Romance	Chivalry was based on Romance	Keen 1984, p.2-3, 5-6	Huizinga (reprint edition) 2020	
General trend based on Romance	Jousting desctiptions came from literature to reality	Keen 1984, p.87, 92	Harvey 1961; Thomas 1969	
General trend based on Romance	milder form of cobmat than melee based on Arthurian assemblies	Gies 1978, p. 4, 119	Unspecified	
Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd)	Legendary imperial architecture	Thompson 1991, p.156	Colvin et al 1963 v.i, p.369-370; Williams-Jones in Griffiths 1978	

General trend of nostalgia based on Romance	"Nostalgia...myth of the golden age...in addition to being romantic, it implies the patron's family made social debut long ago"	Coulson 1979, p.90	Unspecified	*not specified for this statement, though many are used elsewhere
General trend of chivalric nostalgia	Builders "saught to evoke the moeurs of chivalry and legends of the past"	Coulson 1979, p. 74	(quoted from Coulson 1979): Coulson "Castles in Med Society" (forthcoming) and RAI "Origins of the Castle in England" 1977; Taylor in Coulson et al 1963, v.i, p.370-371	
Dover Castle (Kent)	Arthur's Hall constructed by Henry III in 1230s	Brodie 2011	*unspecified, though did conduct survey and historical research	
Adela's chamber in Blois	Adela's chamber was full of literary references displayed in various forms.	Leyser 1995, p.241	*Salter in Pearsall and Zeeman 1988, p.12-14	*This secondary source incluldes citations from Baudri of Dol (Adela's poet)
Leeds Castle (Kent)	The gloriette set apart from the castle like in the chancon, *La Prise d'Orange*	Ashbee 2004, p.34	Kay 1996	
Chivalric trend of castle life	Chivalric tales and fabliaux recited in court were intended to instruct knights and men how to behave towards women.	Duby 1983, p.219	Unspecified	
General trend of Romantic influence	Tales and anecdotes (from chivalric literature and fabliaux) illustrated high society's dream on itself	Duby 1983, p.219	Unspecified	
Private quarters and gendered areas/female chambers	Influenced from common sense, courtly love, literature and chivalry	Duby 1983, p.228, 236	Unspecified/chronicles	
Linlithgow (West Lothian)	Castle of a "champion of chivalry"	Fawcett 1994, p.304, 306	Unspecified	*record of Round Table tournament from 1504, though no specific reference for "chivalric" construction
Linlithgow (West Lothian)	"A more castle-like appearance" (chivalric influence in architecture)	Fawcett 1994, p.306	Unspecified	

Chertsey Tiles (suggested use at Clarendon Palace)	*Tristan* floor tiles from mid thirteenth century	Binski 1987, p.36-37	Loomis 1938	
Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd)	"Throughout the later Middle Ages English castles were designed to evoke images of chivalry and literary romance." ....."Edward I projected himself as the new King Arthur"...	Binski 1987, p.63	Unspecified	
Colchester Castle (Essex)	Connection with King Coel (legend) his daughter, Helena, and her son Constantine. Architectural features imitated Roman style (Imperial connections connected with mythology and folklore)	Clarke, DT 1989	Unspecified	
Bodiam Castle (Sussex), Warwick Castle (Warwickshire), Warkworth Castle (Northumberland)	"Beautiful romantic architecture"	Lockheart 2016, p.21	Unspecified	
Warkworth Castle (Northumberland)	Art and architecture were "undoubtedly influenced by chivalry".	Lockheart 2016, p.20	Unspecified	
General discussion of martial architecture (ex. Caernarfon Castle)	"Castles of Chivalry"	Liddiard 2005, p.54	Unspecified	
Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd)	Reiterates argument that Caernarfon Castle suggested imagery of Rominatas mediated by the Welsh legend *The Dream of Macsen Whledig.*	Ashbee 2004, p.36	Heslop 1991; Colvin et al 1963, p.370; Morris 1998	
Gloriettes: specifically at Chepstow Castle, Corfe Castle and Leeds Castle	"...these meanings came not directly from travellers' tales of Eastern architecture, but from literature."	Ashbee 2004, p.34	*La Prise d'Orange* (trans.) Ferrante 1974; Harvey 1981	(patent rolls and liberate rolls used to help build argument in wider article)
Woodstock Palace (Oxfordshire)	Fountain in the garden at Woodstock was like the spring in *Tristan*	Rollason 2015, p.127	Unspecified	

Wallingford Castle (Oxfordshire)	Collection of Romance swords (specifically Gawain and Tristan's swords)	Keats-Rohan et al 2015, p.75-76	British Archaeological Report	
Wallingford Castle (Oxfordshire)	"The buildings may...have consciously invoked scenes from romance and conjured up notions of an idealized Camelot".	Keats-Rohan et al 2015, p.6	British Archaeological Report	
Clipstone Palace (Nottinghamshire)	Designed landscape similar to those depicted in Romances, with possible links to *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*	Mercian archaeological services (mercian-as.co.uk)	Unspecified	
Tintagel Castle (Cornwall)	Tintagel was influenced by Romance and myth	Rollason 2012	Unspecified	
Orford Castle (Suffolk)	Shapes of windows: "...their romantic role models were likely to be the heroes of antiquity or of Arthurian legend..."	Heslop 1991	Unspecified	
Hesdin Castle (garden) and many other examples*	"...a park and gardens which transported...guests into the world of romance"	Rollason 2015, p.127	Unspecified	
Windsor Castle (Berkshire)	*Percefrost* may have influenced the round building for Ed III's Round Table. His use of Sir Lionel was most likely inspired by *Perceforest,* as otherwise he was a minor Arthurian Romance character.	Munby et al 2007, p.100	Vale 1982, p.68-69; *Perceforest* (ed.) Roussineau 1987	
Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd), White Tower (London)	Caernarfon Castle and the White Tower's Water Gate were imperially influenced by Magnus Maximus (he was Constantine's father and also said to be the Welsh Macsen from the *Mabinogion's Dream of Macsen* from the Mabinogion)	Munby et al 2007, p.114	Wheatley 2004, "Chapter 4"; *Mabinogion* (trans). Jones and Jones 1974, p.80	
Richard of Sicily's table (Round Table)	Roger II of Sicily's round table made of silver, engraved with the mapping of the cosmos (made c.1154). Possibly reflecting the round table in Beroul's *Tristan*, which is described to turn like the world.	Munby et al 2007, p.71	Unspecified	*Research for this thesis has determined Beroul's *Tristan* to be later than the construction of this table (c.1170).
Colchester Castle (Essex), Orford Castle (Suffolk), Dover Castle (Kent)	Henry II's banded masonry reflects Roman and Imperial themes and connections	Munby et al 2007, p.113-114	Wheatley 2004	

For this thesis, a large data set of academic claims regarding Romantic or chivalric English castle architecture has been reviewed and examined, and is presented in this table (*Figure 2.2*). These claims have each been examined to determine whether the authors present supporting evidence or provide detailed discussions to explain Romance's connection to castle architecture. Upon analysis, this led to the conclusion that the vast majority of assumptions of Romantic or chivalric castle architecture are not backed up, with most contributing to circular arguments that lack substantiation. This new research presented here, uses a nuanced methodology to provide critical evidence from a combined study of Romance literature and chivalric history to define the 'Romantic' and 'chivalric' castle. This data has also been used in selecting sites for case studies and noting the most frequently-referenced medieval Romances and characters, as well as determining the extent to which critical assessments of Romance literature are lacking within castle studies. For example, modern claims relating Dunstanburgh Castle to the Isle of Avalon (Oswald and Ashbee 2006, p.11; Hislop 2013, p.41) should be reassessed, as Avalon became a theme in Romance literature after the construction of the castle and its 'otherworldly' setting within the meres. Bringing sound Romance scholarship within the remit of castle studies is necessary for developing the historical image of the Romantic, or chivalric, castle in Medieval England.

2.2.3 Castle Landscape Studies

Castle studies, from the 1970s, have made an effort to update the agenda, regarding the castle's wider landscape setting (Johnson 2002; O'Keeffe 2004; Ashbee 2004; Creighton 2009b; Higham 2010; Richardson 2011; White 2012; Creighton 2009a, p.6, 85; Creighton and Higham 2004). As Abigail Wheatley (2001) discusses, no artefact is produced in cultural isolation; and the same is true for castles (Wheatley 2001, p.4; Creighton 2012, p.21; Liddiard 2016, p.15). Real and fictitious castles of Romance existed in conjunction with their surrounding landscapes and contexts, and studying the castle as part of a wider picture gives a better idea of the cas-

tle's significance within its geographical and socio-political contexts (Hoskins 1955; Austin 1984; Coulson 2003a, p.3, 223-225; Constable 2003, p.17; Creighton and Higham 2004, p.5-18). This union of land and architecture opens an avenue for the landscape to be discussed as an extension of interior spaces comparable to an outdoor 'room', as "domestic planning was not only for the internal experience of built space" (Kuttner 1999; Creighton 2012, p.119).

For discussing gardens and water, and their specific features and characteristics, this research relies on literary Romance sources that provide insight to the significance of specific features in the landscape through allegorical, metaphorical, and narrative symbolisms showing contemporary ideas among élite society (Saunders 1993; Brewer and Gibson 1997; Kosso and Scott 2009; McAvoy 2018; Skinner and Tyers 2018). Gardens and demesnes have been the focus of much research, ranging from archaeological excavation (Oswald and Ashbee 2006; Keats-Rohan et al. 2015) to historical, documentary studies (McLean 1981b; Harvey 1981) to theoretical studies of allegory and symbolism (Gilchrist 1999; Dempsey et al. 2020; Johnson 2002; Skinner 2018; McAvoy 2018; Kelly 1995). These studies provide evidence for historical èlite landscape spaces and features that reflected symbolic landscape spaces and features found in Romance literature. Pietro dé Crescenzi's *Liber Ruralium Commodorum* (c.1305; Bauman 2002, p.99-110) shows that 'designed' can indeed be used to describe medieval landscapes and their spaces, listing specific garden details and features, techniques for allowing the most beneficial wind directions within, and instructions for cultivating architectural shelters and structures with vegetation.

Scholars such as Creighton (2009; 2010; 2012) and Higham (2004), encourage the study of 'chivalric' landscapes, though with caution, as the chivalric landscape is a problematic classification, used as a construct to echo a social code, itself created as a product of society. Within the landscape, we can identify spaces and features designed and constructed as extensions of the castle's domestic planning (Creighton 2012, p.122), used for enacting values of chivalric life, such as tiltyards for jousting, hunting parks, gardens, arbours, orchards and water features, which will be

examined in the landscape case study of Chapter Six. Intentional modification or manipulation of landscape features and structures, whilst not on the same scale as post-medieval Elizabethan or landscape gardens, can and should be described as 'designed'. Medieval landscape design ranged in scale from minutely-decorated outdoor 'rooms' to wildly untamed intentional wildernesses, cultivated to serve the purposes of the patron (Cummins 1988, p.2, 57; Johnson 2002, p.52-53; Ashbee 2004) and to provide a safe space set liminally between the rigid structure of the castle and societal pressures within and the unpredictability of the wilderness beyond. Viewsheds and access passages were intentionally created with the placement of trees, walls, benches, windows and walkways, choreographing the visitor's experience of the castle upon approach and ensuring expectation of grandeur once inside (Johnson 2002; Creighton and Higham 2004, p.6; Stokstad 2005, p.66; Creighton 2009b, p.15; Liddiard 2016, p.14; Dixon 2016a). This perspective opens the discussion of the medieval élite landscape as 'designed', contra those who consider the term only appropriate for discussion within post-medieval landscape studies (Johnson 1996; Creighton 2002, p.88; Creighton and Higham 2004, p.6, 11; Hansson 2006, p.438; Liddiard and Williamson 2008).

As "medieval literary sources inevitably drew on real-life examples,...parks, gardens and pleasure grounds too were sometimes manipulated with literary models in mind" (Creighton 2009a, p.12). Actual connections linking landscape features to their literary models, however, are lacking in castle landscape studies, with very few exceptions that provide specific supporting evidence (Munby et al. 2007; Jamieson 2019). The landscape of Romance featured in Saunders' (1993) *The Forest of Medieval Romance*, is described as an alternative courtly 'otherworld', the land of the unexpected and magical, where wishes materialise and "the ideal is possible" (Saunders 1993, p.145). In the Romance tradition, the forest, or wilderness, was seen as a dangerous yet exciting location in which one could expect a supernatural encounter or a meeting with destiny. The forest was marked by its unsafe and unpredictable wildness, and the garden became a liminal space between the wild and the castle,

enabling the secrecy of courtly love and incorporating features that carried the same symbolisms in the wild, but in a more protected and controlled environment (Barron 1987, p.8). The second case study presented here (Chapter Six) discusses how the élite constructed gardens and "wilderness" spaces within their landscapes, to enjoy the hunt, secret rendezvous, and engagement with nature, whilst remaining within the safety of cultivated landscapes (Cummins 1988, p.2; Taylor 2012; Matthews 2015). This provides a necessary analysis of the chivalric or Romantic landscape and its features and spaces, unique to this thesis, as targeted studies of Romantic landscape spaces typically take a literary Romance or metaphorical perspective lacking application into historical castle landscapes (Fleming 1986; Saunders 1993; Boland 1995; Cornelius 2010; Martin 2012; Spencer 2020).

As with castles, the organization of landscapes should also be exempt from the dichotomy of functional versus symbolic, as these categories "are not opposite, [but] rather two sides of the same coin, both connected to aristocratic spatial ideology" (Hansson 2006, p.443). Whilst the functionality of the castle and its features must not be ignored, contemporary idealistic and symbolic attributes, as well as socio-political and geographic climates, imbued deep significance within the élite built environment. We must remain vigilant as scholars, however, to remember that our understanding of castles and landscapes has been strongly influenced and tainted by our historically-distanced perspectives and that the inhabitants of the medieval landscape had far different experiences and ideas (Creighton and Higham 2004, p.6).

2.3 Defining the 'Castle': A Contextualizing Etymological Study

The castles studied in this thesis include structures regarded as palaces, fortifications and towers. This etymological discussion supports my selection of castles some would discredit as towers or palaces, showing that medieval conceptions of the castle did not qualify or disqualify 'castles' by architectural typology as in modern

castle studies. The word 'castle' is ambiguous and loaded, and can thus be interpreted differently depending upon personal opinion and between sources, due to its ever-changing and imprecise definitive criteria (Stean 2001, p.39-42; Creighton 2012, p.25-26; Johnson 2002, p.5). The castle was originally used as a primarily-defensive structure, as the initial use of the term 'castle' described a fortification (Aberg 1978; Coulson 1996; Bennett 1999; Blair 2018, p.204, 375). However, contemporary ideas of what classified a 'castle' had already begun to evolve shortly after the Conquest, progressing through the Middle Ages.

In post-Conquest England, castle contemporaries made sense of their architecture as both functional and ideological. Castles, having been described as "at once the best known and least understood of medieval buildings" (Brown 1989, p.1), served a variety of purposes and held significance for people, determined by their individual and collective perspectives. These medieval perspectives, affected by time and cultural change, require modern observers to suspend their preconceptions in order to develop a closer understanding of castles as regarded by their contemporary society (Graves 2000, p.12-14). The medieval castle had a versatile and colourful history within a complex and colourful society, fulfilling various roles as a home, holiday resort, fortress, court, and banqueting and concert venue, whilst always remaining a theatrical stage (Coulson 2003a, p.13).

These shifting ideals within medieval society invite a discourse of the castle as means of conveying specific messages or images within martial and non-martial society, as well as in political contexts, to display ideas of English identity across Europe. Our modern designations are ultimately inadequate for fully understanding a castle's medieval uses and purposes (Constable 2003, p.17; Dixon 1979), though acknowledging the complexity of castle spaces and structures is a start to opening the discussion. For clarity within this research, the term 'castle' designates a secular, élite structure or building, indiscriminate between castle subcategories such as pele towers, hall-houses, hunting lodges, donjons, palaces, or palace-castles, justified by contemporary documentation discussed below.

2.3.1 Etymology and Medieval Contexts of the Castle and the Palace

This discussion is critical at the outset, combining various castle typologies, as scholars and enthusiasts have specific ideas resulting in contention as to what qualifies as a 'castle'. Castle categories can be defined using medieval documentation, revealing disparity between modern typologies and original intentions and uses. Modern typologies for castles were not developed until centuries after the decline of castle-building, and terms such as 'keep', 'motte', 'donjon', and 'tower' do not reflect medieval contemporary ideas and perceptions of the castle (Creighton 2012, p.1).

Early Medieval timber halls were the central structure and most important space within Anglo-Saxon *burh* complexes (Thompson 1995, p.17). *Burhs*, or *burh-geats*, were élite fortified centers of residence in Early Medieval England (Williams 2003, p.28), though in 1051, the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* (Davis 1976, p.110; White 2012, p.187) references five structures in England uniquely listed as *castel*, derived from the Latin *castrum* or *castellum*, rather than the Old English derivative, *ceaster* (Williams 2003, p.23, 45, Stalley 1999, p.87-91). This non-Old English terminology of the *'welisce men'* ("foreigners") used in place of Old English contemporary fortification terms, such as *burh*, *geweorc*, *herebeorg* and *ceaster*, indicates nuances and differences in their contemporary perception (Williams 2003, p.23, Coulson 2003a, p.16, 61).

In its original form, the word 'palace' referred to a defended keep, as taken from the Germanic *palas* (Thompson 1987, p.86). This is different from the Carolingian *palatium*, which became *castrum* once fortified (Creighton 2012, p.53). Modern studies typically use 'palace' to designate an undefended, or less defensive, secular élite residential site that displays royal luxury. This becomes problematic in the case of Clarendon Palace (Wiltshire), for example, which hosted the major judicial Assize of Clarendon in 1166, during its architectural phase commonly considered a hunting lodge (James and Robinson 1988, p.2, 267; James and Gerrard 2007, p.1).

If 'castles' were the site of jurisdiction by definition, then Clarendon becomes a genre-breaking site, labeled as a palace, used as a castle, and considered a hunting lodge within modern studies. This applies to many other sites as well. Structures that modern sources classify as pele towers, such as Pendragon Castle (Cumbria), were specifically listed in contemporary documentation as castles (IPM 1284; Hyde 2010, p.511). Some sources refer to sites, such as the White Tower (London), as a fortress or seat of jurisdiction, whilst others use the term 'palace-castle' (Coulson 2016, p.19), though its various architectural phases in the thirteenth century alone reveal that it was indeed used as a palace, while visually qualifying as a great tower.

The terms 'castle' and 'palace' in historic documentation are also inconsistent and ambiguous across contemporary sources, further complicating the task of defining the castle. In the eleventh century, 'castle' or 'castrum', was synonymous with '*burh*' and 'fortification', and was also used to designate élite luxurious residences (Stalley 1999, p.87-91; Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.69-73). This provides some brief insight into contemporary ideas about castles and the qualifications for the use of this term. Sites were labelled as 'castles' after becoming castellated; however, castellation, crenellation and fortification are interchangeable terms (Brewer and Gibson 1997, p.121; Goodall 2011, p.3). Crenellations were constructed at many sites far beyond the Middle Ages and used in ecclesiastical and non-defensive architecture as well, though these structures were far removed from the medieval fortified 'castle'.

Further discrepancy exists in relation to the hall, great hall and hall-house. Their meanings were implied differently still on either sides of the Channel. Early hall-houses were constructed as domestic ranges above a first floor hall, which were early *donjons* or 'proto-keeps', classified as the 'Ardres Plan' (Bachrach 1979; Coulson 2003b, p.187; Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.69-73). The twelfth-century in England was the age of the Great Tower. After the Conquest, keeps or great towers were constructed in stone, following the 'Ardres Plan' (Stalley 1999, p.86-87), indicating stability and permanence. The hall was central to the interior structure,

typically on the first floor, and spaces were provided above for élite residence (Duby 1982, p.403; Thompson 1995, p.88). Halls were constructed within the keep for better defense before protective curtain walls became the trend in English castle architecture, as at Rochester Castle (Kent) for example (Thompson 1987, p.90). Separate ground floor halls were constructed at royal castles, as I argue in Chapter Five, as a significant means for evoking and claiming Insular ancestry and heritage as a justification of power (Davis 1976, p.110-112).

Separating hall and chamber blocks from first floor hall-houses could thus be seen as redundant, as these chamber blocks could also include first floor halls, as with Kenilworth Castle (Warwickshire) and Newcastle Castle (Northumberland). This is a contrary view to many scholars' discussions that focus on distinguishing hall-houses and hall-and-chamber-blocks (Dixon and Marshall 1993; Marshall 2002; O'Keeffe 2013; Dempsey 2016; Dixon and Lott 2016). At royal castles in England, separate ground floor halls were constructed near the keep, which also included a first floor hall, typically labeled as the 'king's hall' (Marshall 2002, p.28; Heslop and McAuley 2011, p.12). These separate English 'great halls' differ from their French *grande salle* counterparts, as the great hall was a multipurpose space for different social classes to participate in celebrations and displays of largesse, where lower classes dined in the same room as the élite, separated by a high table and dais. The *grande salle*, however, was reserved exclusively for the élite (Webb 2007, p.100; Ashbee 2016a).

Antechambers have been constructed with great halls, though this does not diminish the effect intended with the great hall as a separate structure from the keep. Halls in multi-storied structures that included chambers have been categorized as hall-houses, though this has recently become questioned and is open for reassessments, suggesting that domestic spaces were separated from work spaces, which included the workings of the court (Dempsey 2016). This separation seems problematic, however, as business was conducted in chambers in the later Middle Ages, and documentation frequently lists residential structures as *aula* and *camera*, which

indicates public, official space synonymously with private household space, from c.1100 (Colvin et al. 1963a, p.82; Blair 2003, p.309).

The terms 'hall' and 'court' have developed different meanings since the early Middle Ages. The English 'court' originally referred to the residence of the lord, and the hall was the meeting place where his retinue held council and carried out justice and administration (Thompson 1995, p.98). Anglo-Saxons used the hall as a symbol of heritage and continuity, though its significance shifted through the Middle Ages, alongside the development of uses ranging from feasting and sleeping, to ceremonies and administering justice (Munby et al. 2007, p.82). The term 'court' also evolved from the early medieval lord's residence, to the élite society who travelled and socialised with the king and his household. 'Courtly' and 'courteous', as terms used for 'chivalric', will be discussed in Chapter Four, specifying their differences to better define medieval 'chivalry'.

2.3.2 Memory and Medieval Idealization

As castles were increasingly intended and designed for continuous residence, the thirteenth century saw a shift in castle culture, emphasizing new values of comfort, display, and landscapes with parks and gardens (Woolgar 1999, p.47). Queens built their own chambers and, in the case of Eleanor of Provence, their own halls; and they oversaw the expansion of pleasure gardens at sites designed for defense. Great halls grew ever more antiquated and symbolic, and less defensive, through Edward I's Welsh and Scottish campaigns (1276-1284 and 1299-1306).

In *The Poet as Master Builder* (1993), Carruthers discusses how buildings of the imagination created and displayed fictions, with the 'master builder' trope accrediting the poet as creator of a fantasy 'otherworld', as well as the characters within; and these creations were commissioned to develop connections between patron and fantasy (Carruthers 1993, p.882; Whitaker 2016, p.390-400). Architecture of the imagination was already a method for displaying and constructing memory prior to the Middle Ages (Yates 1966; Whitehead 2003, p.221; Carruthers and Ziolkowski

2004; Lilley 2009), though these studies have discussed actual late medieval structures that actively recalled powerful ancestral heritage and piety through imagery, colour and geometry (Krautheimer 1942; Kelly 1978; LeGoff 1985, p.11, 79-80; Kuhnel 1987; Carruthers 2008; Lilley 2009, p.18; Karnes 2015, p.327-365; O'Keeffe 2018; Rollason 2016, p.387-390). Appropriating memory into physical structures is discussed throughout this thesis, in the form of 'nostalgic architecture', or 'archaism', as a means of attributing and emulating the power of heroic ancestry into one's built environment (Thompson 1995, p.80; Packard and Chen 2005). One prior example of this idea is Graves's (2015) assessment of the window glass at Glastonbury Abbey, incorporating older glass than its time, presumably constructed in relation to the emerging Cult of Arthur at Glastonbury at the end of the twelfth century (Graves 2015, p.320-336). Arthur's tomb at Glastonbury Abbey was also an example of created memory, as antiquarians regarded the site as physical proof of the real Arthur (Lindley 2007, p.139).

In the later Middle Ages, it can be argued, contemporaries held distinctive ideas as to how a proper castle should look, evidenced by forms of medieval imagery and documentation (Wheatley 2004; Whitehead 2003). Wheatley (2004) provides a discourse on medieval portrayals of idealistic castle imagery, detailing household decorations, seals, funerary brass and other examples of material culture decorated with castles stylised with idealistic towers, symmetry, crenellations and large curtain walls (Wheatley 2001, p.64; Wheatley 2004). The idealized castle within medieval society shows that crenellations had become far more than defensive, as they were increasingly added in impractical design to structures, both secular and religious, long after the Middle Ages (Coulson 1979; Thompson 1991, p.81). Robert Liddiard (2016) further defines the idealistic imagined castle:

"...[as displaying] hierarchy and order and serves as a specific literary device that allows heroes to show off supreme virtues in a fantasy world where constraints of normal existence do not apply...the walls are marble and studded with precious stones, they are well proportioned and designed, have tortuous approach, are well-lit,

and usually sumptuously decorated and warm..." (Liddiard 2016, p.15).

This description of jeweled walls reflects that of the New Jerusalem in John's Biblical vision (Revelation 21), as both paradise and complete protection. Though the ideal was once a strong hall with a glowing hearth, the cultural castle ideal had become fully redefined and well-established by the mid-fourteenth century, which can be identified in the description of Bertalik's castle, "Hautdesert", in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (c.1345). In the castle description (O'Donohuge 2006, p.24-24, lines 65-85), contemporary ideals of chivalry are reflected in the presence of strong white walls and shining white towers (Brewer and Gibson 1997, p.125; Krueger 2000, p.115-130). Defensive features were consistently built into late medieval 'cult castles' that postdated the height of castle-building, typically agreed-upon by scholars as the thirteenth century, with traditional imagery alluding to nostalgia for the imagined 'golden age of chivalry' (Coulson 1979, p.80; Girouard 1981, p.112; Keen 2005, p.239).

2.4 Defining 'Romantic' and 'Chivalric' as Architectural Descriptions

As with castle typologies, further clarity is also needed for descriptions such as 'chivalric' and 'Romantic', as further explanation and elaboration are typically absented (Liddiard 2005, p.54; Lockheart 2016, p.21; Friar 2007, p.70; see spreadsheet in *Figure 2.2*). Descriptors such as 'Romantic' and 'chivalric' evoke a sense of fantasy, mystery and wonder rather than actually pertaining to themes and ideals taken from Romance literature, and have been used primarily to describe pleasure gardens or elements of luxury without providing further explanation or literary reference (Colvin et al. 1963a, p.89; Platt 1982, p.50; Thompson 1987, p.9, 72; Stalley 1999, p.84; Liddiard 2016, p.159). These terms on their own tell us nothing of medieval perceptions of chivalry or the implications of 'Romance'. To provide an understanding of chivalry and Romance as characteristics of castle architecture, fur-

ther discussion is needed to specify the intentions behind these terms.

'Romance' is a loaded term with ambiguous meanings, often misused alongside 'chivalry' based on the Victorian imagination and patriarchy (Girouard 1981). John Aubrey (d.1697) first used the term 'Romantic' to describe the landscape (Piggott 1989, p.27), and contemporary society began to value architectural ruins, both religious and secular, for their 'Romantic' value (Piggott 1976, p.114, 121). Thompson's (1987, 1991) description of the 'Romantic period' of castles classifies sites into a particular genre, though this use of Romance is left undefined (Thompson 1987, p.4). As demonstrated above, allusions to medieval Romance, within castle studies, are typically oversimplified or misappropriated without considering developments to Romance narratives or their historical contexts (*Figure 2.2*). This reveals the disparity and lack of dedicated literary Romance scholarship within most castle research, which this thesis attempts to address. The primary exception remains *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor* (Munby et al. 2007), and few smaller studies, namely by Ashbee (2004), Creighton (2015) and Wheatley (2010). As mentioned, Romance research has been occasionally incorporated into studies of chivalry or in the context of fictitious architecture within Romance narratives, though these works do not make connections between Romance, its humanistic applications, and physical historic architecture (Boland 1995; Lando 1996; Reyerson and Powe 1984; Whitehead 2003; Cornelius 2010; McKinstry 2012; Leighton 2014; Waller 2014). When Romances are brought into castle studies, ideas are rarely supported with critical studies of documentary and archaeological evidence, and in the cases where supporting evidence and further discussion are present, these studies are limited to a specific individual site or Romance narrative as with Windsor Castle (Berkshire) (Munby et al. 2007) and Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd) (Wheatley 2010). Thompson (1997) demonstrates Romance's value as a form of material culture, used to provide modern readers with a description of medieval castle life and architecture from a contemporary, Middle English perspective (Thompson 1997, p.119; Bennett 1997, p.125).

With the cultural shift in chivalric society, ushered in by Romance and troubadour culture, a new structuration developed within the built environment. Creighton (2018) provides insightful details for 'chivalric' architecture, denoting embellishments on public façades, doorways and thresholds (Creighton 2018, p.355-370; Creighton 2019, p.187-218). Debate remains ongoing as to Bodiam Castle's (Sussex), intended architectural function as a fortress against the French (Coulson 1991; Saul 1995; Everson 1996; Johnson et al. 2017). Theories of Bodiam's impractical placements of arrow loops and its unsuitably shallow moat have suggested Bodiam was intended to boast the appearance of an ideal fortress (Johnson 2002, p.28-33). Bodiam's architectural style, similar to Edward I's quadrangular castles of the 1280s, was a century old by its construction date (1381) (Everson 1996). This intentional archaism will be discussed in Chapter Four as an example of 'chivalric architecture', not only for its defensive appearance (Coulson 1979; Coulson 1982; Stalley 1999, p.93), but also for its recollection of ancestry to legitimise power. Coulson (1982) discusses crenellations as a symbol of chivalry within architecture, as possessing symbolic importance regardless of martial functionality (Coulson 1982, p.92; Coulson 2016, p.217; Caviness 2019, p.180). The issue with these discussions of 'chivalric' architecture, however, is that they tend to focus on status, grandeur and spectacle or appearing defensive rather than specifically detailing the characteristics of chivalry these features were intended to evoke. Thompson (1987) writes that chivalry was "transmuted" into building architecture, but readers are left uncertain of these implications (Thompson 1987, p.72, 117). Further examples of these non-specific discussions can be found in works by Thompson (1992), Morris (1998), Liddiard (2016, p.159), Hislop (2011, p.47), Coulson (Coulson 2003a), Platt (1982, p.126-177), and many more listed in the spreadsheet above (*Figure 2.2*).

This discussion must remain careful to avoid overzealous claims of chivalric or Romantic castle design (White 2012, p.209; Sanford 2009). An example of this type is Morris's *Architecture of Arthurian Enthusiasm* (1998) based on Loomis's (1947 and 1953) discussions of Edward I's interest in Arthurian lore. While this hugely im-

pacted Edward I's political propaganda and even caused an Arthurian micro-climate in the late thirteenth century, excitement and secondary sources drive Morris's discussion without delving into further primary assessment. Further care must be taken to make assurances that this research does not intend to find blueprints for castles within Romance narratives, but instead, to explore influential Romantic themes and their impact on the evolution of chivalric culture and society, resulting in structural changes in the built environment.

2.5 The English Castle's 'non-Englishness': Continental and Ancestral Power

Castles in England descended from the Norman school of Romanesque architecture with other pan-European influences brought together to develop what is known as the 'English' castle (Stalley 1999, p.230; Gravett 2003, p.113; Creighton 2012, p.62). This 'English' style was built out of inherently non-English features, which I argue was to display English kingship as a pan-European rather than Insular power. This study of Continental castle architectural influences does not expand to detailing and reviewing castles throughout Europe, but rather, it focuses on specific supra-Insular features and attributes adapted into medieval English castle constructions. This combination of non-English architectural features, I argue, displayed the supra-Insular ambitions for power that was the face of English kingship. This discussion is an analysis of specific Continental attributes adapted into medieval English castles and their combined role in shaping English cultural identity.

England's piecemeal non-English castle influences were adopted from styles across Europe, primarily French, Iberian, Mediterranean, German and Byzantine (Thompson 1995, p.97; Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.103-130; Creighton 2012, p.23). Creighton (2012) suggests that England's "supra-national" outlook and transnational approach reflects English medieval socio-political ambitions as a transnational superpower (Creighton 2012, p.23). Until Edward III's reign ushered in English

Perpendicular architecture, 'English' castles consisted of non-English features. The 'Englishness' was the combination rather than the features themselves (Taylor 1978, p.285; Johnson 2002, p.46).

2.5.1 The Anglo-Saxon and Norman 'Castel' Hall

To begin discussing the development of the castle in England, the hall is an appropriate starting point, as it was the heart of castle life and central to the castle's architectural display (Thompson 1991, p.94; Thompson 1995, p.114). The hall, according to *Domesday*, was indicative of an élite residence, and eventually became ubiquitous with the 'castle' (Williams 2003, p.29). Two architectural strands produced the hall in later medieval England: Norman Romanesque architecture and insular, Anglo-Saxon timber halls (Thompson 1995, p.70; Stalley 1999, p.96). Architecturally separate 'great halls' (which I refer to interchangeably as ground floor great halls) were distinctively English, as they included a dais and permitted communal feasting between different classes. Their French counterparts were typically smaller, built into the keep, and only used by the élite (Thompson 1995, p.114, 135; Webb 2007, p.100).

Anglo-Saxon studies typically rely on poetry, elegies and riddles (primarily *The Wanderer*, *Beowulf* and *The Wife's Lament*) to study Early Medieval architectural spaces and structures, as the majority of domestic architecture does not survive in its original form (Thompson 1995, p.12; Webb 2007, p.100-107; Garner 2011; Blair 2018, p.137-138). Anglo-Saxon halls were perceived as the epitome of 'home', with communal fellowship, a warm fire and safety.

The few Norman halls, or 'proto-keeps', constructed in England prior to the Conquest, consisted of a first floor hall below the chamber, as described in the *'Ardres'* style discussed above. These halls were not constructed to the scale of those of the Anglo-Saxon timber hall complexes and did not appear to share in the extent of communal activities. They hosted feasting and gathering, as portrayed in the hall at Bosham (Sussex) in the Bayeux Tapestry (*Figure 5.4*). Prior to large

curtain walls, this style of architecture provided better defense of the hall space than having the hall open and vulnerable on the ground (Davis 1976, p.110; Bachrach 1983; Coulson 1984; Thompson 1995, p.91). This style did not permit the visual culture of moving between structures and spaces. Heslop and McAuley (2011, p.23) have proposed the idea that to be seen moving and progressing between structures in the castle was an important element of élite castle life, potentially marked in the linear and specifically oriented structures within the landscapes of Anglo-Saxon hall complexes, symbolising continuity and connecting them with 'ancestral', ancient landscape features (Hope-Taylor 1977; Hansson 2006, p.442; Moskvina 2017).

2.5.2 French Influences: the Motte-and-Bailey and the Great Tower

Castles were previously thought to be a product of Feudalism (Brown 1954, p.17; Thompson 1991, p.12), though research with a wider, pan-European scope has shown that castles were important in other non-Feudal societies (Creighton 2012, p.14). The castle did not develop from one single point of origin following a simplistic linear development (Creighton 2012, p.42). Stone castle architecture existed in France since the Carolingian development of defensive structures, when Charles the Bald allowed widespread fortification construction for protection against Viking raids in the mid-ninth century (Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.86; Stokstad 2005, p.2). Some argue that this transition in the ninth and tenth centuries marked the beginning of Feudalism and the 'disintegration' of the Carolingian Empire, as competing great lords, including Fulk Nerra (III) and Odo I and II Counts of Blois, constructed castles in stone (Liddiard 2003, p.1; Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.104-109). These early stone castles were constructed in Romanesque style, incorporating the reuse of Roman spolia and material heritage, perhaps attempting to fake historicity and strengthen familial power and land claims (Bachrach 1983; Bachrach 1984; Creighton 2012, p.83, 130).

Scholars generally agree that the motte-and-bailey was a Norman import brought

into England in, or shortly before 1066 (Richard's Castle, Herefordshire, being one of the pre-Conquest exceptions), with earlier origins introduced into Norman design by invading Norsemen (Thompson 1995, p.72; Creighton 2012, p.48; Blair 2018, p.374). Early Medieval Slavic fortifications, or *grody*, were incredibly similar in style to Norman timber motte-and-baileys, though their long-standing tradition predated Norman fortification by a millennia (Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.88).

Terms such as *grod*, *gorod* and *hrad*, as noted with *burh*, were used for northern fortifications, later becoming terms used for castles and towns (Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.89). These ancient fortifications took the form of timber structures atop artificial mounds, surrounded by palisaded baileys, which occasionally included moats (Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.89). Motte-and-Bailey castles in England may have resembled Anglo-Saxon *burhgeats*, though the Normans' use of their new sites as administrative centres of jurisdiction differed from the previous, native sites of lordship and defense (Renn 2003, p.10; Creighton 2012, p.18).

The eleventh century was an era of fortification and conquest, and castles became widespread across Europe (Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.104-105). The first floor hall, or proto-keep developed in France during the late tenth century, was brought into England after the Conquest as an alternative to ground floor halls (Thompson 1995, p.21, 48; Stalley 1999, p.99). The Angevin and Plantagenet kings spent a great deal of time on both sides of the Channel and constructed castles in both England and France. In discussing medieval Romance literature dissemination, Saunders (2004) states that cross-Channel traits existed through familial ties and royal houses that frequently traveled between England and France (Saunders 2004, p.5). As such, distinctions between the élite cultures in France and England became far less culturally diverse. From the early twelfth century, castles in England and France had become remarkably similar, as Henry I expanded building projects beyond England (Thompson 1991, p.40). An example of these similarities can be noted in the images below (*Figures 2.3* and *2.4*) showing Falaise Castle (Calvados, Normandy) and Castle Rising (Norfolk).

Figure 2.3: Chateau de Falaise, displaying the large square tower constructed by Henry I. (Image: public domain)

Other examples of cross-Channel similarities include the twin-towered gatehouse, made popular in England and France during the reign of Henry III, pilaster buttresses surrounding the great tower and flanking towers, which were Norman Romanesque features during the reign of Henry I (Thompson 1991, p.85; Stalley 1999, p.96; Coldstream 2016, p.47). Late fourteenth-century castles, such as Nunney Castle (Somerset) and Warwick Castle (Warwickshire), feature French-style round flanking towers topped with heavy use of machicolations (see *Figure 2.5*) (Warner 1972, p.4; Brown 2004, p.104; Liddiard 2005, p.59; Friar 2007, p.25).

Employing the knowledge and skills of master masons and builders from the Continent further perpetuated English supra-national power ambitions. Edward I employed many builders from Savoy for his building works, and the Savoyard, James of Saint George was master mason for many of Edward I's castles in Wales (Coldstream 2003, p.201-208; Coldstream 2010, p.37-45; Coldstream 2016, p.41-60).

Figure 2.4: Castle Rising, displaying keep constructed during the reign of Henry I (Image: public domain)

He would have been familiar with various Continental styles of castle architecture and expanded this knowledge further while on Crusade with Edward I (1270-1272). The manual labour of castle-building was provided by workers from different areas in England, as well as Continental Europe, adding further multi-cultural trends and construction techniques into English castles at the most basic level (Coldstream 2003, p.203). Scholars debate the level of input Edward I had in his castle designs, but based on medieval documentation and wider geo-political context in North Wales (Prestwich 1997, p.208), Edward I's knowledge and interest in Arthurian heritage attributed to different locations attests to his participation in planning his castles.

2.5.3 Iberian and Byzantine Influences: Defenses, Crenellations and Paradise

Byzantine castles in the Holy Land predated 'crusader castles' built by Western crusaders, though they tend to be grouped together as one category encompassing

Figure 2.5: Warwick Castle, displaying French-style flanking towers and machicolations (Friar 2007, p.25)

'Crusade castles' (Kennedy 1994; Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.103; Nicolle 2008; Petre 2010). This causes issue when separating out influences in English and French castles taken from pre-existing Byzantine castles as opposed to Western castles constructed during the crusades.

Byzantine castles were renowned for their advanced defensive features, stronger than architecture known to Western crusaders. These powerful castles gave influence to English castles, resulting in some of England's most iconic castle features including: arrowslits, portcullises, murder holes, gatehouses and drawbridges. Polygonal towers were most likely inspired from Eastern architecture, and concentric walls were built into English castles as experienced whilst on Crusade (Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.267; Stokstad 2005, p.25-27, 37).

Spaces and features of luxury were also gleaned from Byzantine and Muslim architecture, found in Spain and Sicily as well with connections through Muslim culture and architecture. Elements of élite privacy and paradise gardens had a major impact on English castles, through Castilian alliances and Norman connections in Sicily (Davis 1976, p.122; Thomas 2003; Ashbee 2004, p.36). Gloriettes, water

features, trees, walls and liminal connections bridging the interior and exterior of castle spaces had roots in Muslim and Eastern designs, influenced by the Qu'ran and Biblical descriptions of Paradise and the Garden of Eden (Kuttner 1999; Redford 2000; Farmer 2013b, p.102; Ashbee 2004). This discussion will be expanded in Chapter Six, noting multi-cultural influences in castle landscape spaces in order to differentiate influences taken from Romance literary culture.

Crenellations were symbolic in chivalric culture, used in secular and religious imagery and architecture as an icon of English identity (Coulson 1982, 1979). Crenellated walls and towers were originally features of Muslim, Iberian and Byzantine castle architecture centuries before the castle existed in England (Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.101-117, Stokstad 2005, p.57). Crenellations became a defining feature of the English castle, and expanded into other late and post-medieval élite architecture, microarchitecture, churches, cathedrals and follies (Coulson 1979, Thompson 1987, p.23). During the Middle Ages, crenellations were applied widely to élite architecture and microarchitecture in non-functional and inaccessible designs. English kings were portrayed in manuscripts and seals surrounded by crenellated artistic borders, and stained glass perpetuated this image in religious chivalric imagery (Graves 2020; Wheatley 2001, p.15-16). This widespread use in architecture and imagery was unique to England, far surpassing other countries, as non-English architectural trends did not employ or retain a similar level of use (Coulson 2016, p.218).

2.6 Anglo-Normanism and the Anglo-Norman Castle

This section provides a more contentious discussion of terminology, as 'Anglo-Norman' has become a widely-used term in castle studies, as well as a sub-category of medieval literature, language and culture (for example Crane 1986; Liddiard 2003; Impey and McNeill 2016; Weiss 2004). This discussion requires research into deeper

issues of settlement patterns and culture to be fully supported, though this lies far beyond the scope of this thesis. It is important, however, that a discussion of the Anglo-Norman sub-category of medieval studies is included, as many would claim this as the culture from which the English castle and Romance literature originated.

'Anglo-Norman' as a classification is problematic, as various studies that distinguish this as a specific period or style do not provide specific dates and qualifications attributed to being 'Anglo-Norman' (Williams 2003; Liddiard 2003). Scholars of medieval literature debate over the differences and distinguishing characteristics that discern Anglo-Norman from Old French (Crane 1986; Weiss 2004). This becomes quickly confused, as elaborated in the following chapter on Romance literature, when sources refer to 'Anglo-Norman' literature as 'Insular' even though much of it was written in France or by French authors. Some scholars suggest 'Anglo-Norman' as the language of courtly literature, whilst others argue that members of courtly society in England and France scoffed at Anglo-Norman, preferring Old French as the élite vernacular of castle life in England (Weiss 2004; Crane 1986; Legge 1963; Saunders 2004; Galloway 2011; Bartlett 2000; Roig-Marin 2019; Treharne 2011, p.217-236). Linguistically, Anglo-Norman does not appear to have a legitimate claim to any classification apart from slight derivations in dialect from Old French, and as all languages have slight regional variations, this on its own does not qualify an entirely new language. Clanchy (1990) supports this argument further in arguing that "Anglo-Normandy" never existed as a homogeneous country or concept (Clanchy 2013, p.213-214). Trotter and Treharne (2013) contrarily argue that Anglo-Norman contained distinct idiosyncrasies as part of a multi-lingual culture unfamiliar to modern standards (Trotter 2013, p.219). Multi-culturalism defines contact periods not unique to the Conquest of 1066, and the Normans were themselves a blended, merged people group who spoke Old French rather than explicitly 'Norman'.

The Normans adapted native heritage and architectural styles in the places they conquered; and no differentiation is specified distinguishing Norman architecture, which would have been built by Insular laborers, from Anglo-Norman architec-

ture which would have also been overseen by élite Normans with Insular laborers. Clanchy (2013) argues further that contemporary castle-builders would have perceived themselves as either French or Anglo-Saxon rather than Anglo-Norman (Clanchy 2013). Intermarriage was common in the aftermath of the Conquest, blurring lines between 'English' and 'Norman' society; and history was recorded from this blended perspective, as chroniclers such as Orderic Vitalis (d.1142) and William of Malmesbury (d.1143) were themselves half-English (Davis 1976, p.122-124). Rather than supporting the argument for 'Anglo-Norman' classification, the opposite seems more accurate, as Normans in England had ceased perceiving themselves as Normans and adopted Anglo-Saxon heritage, evident in etymology and architecture (Davis 1976, p.131, Gravett and Nicolle 2006, Le Saux 2005, p.11). The Normans were paradoxical, in that their potential was reached with the Conquest, which turned them effectively English (Davis 1976, p.122-123). They were culturally-flexible, defining their identity from conquered societies, in England (1066), as well as in Ireland (c.1169-1171) and Sicily (c.1061-1072); and though they brought initial Norman culture into these regions, they adapted English, Irish, and Byzantine style and heritage rather than remaining inherently Norman (Davis 1976, p.93; Creighton 2012, p.100; Blair 2019).

'Anglo-Norman' used as a descriptor applied to architecture causes confusion rather than clarity, as the beginning and endpoints are incredibly vague, with varying dates that often contradict between sources. The earliest castles in England were brought across the Channel from Norman relations, followed by castles of the Conquest, qualifying them as 'Norman' rather than 'Anglo-Norman', as Edward I's castles in Wales are considered English. Liddiard (2003) describes the Anglo-Norman period as lasting from the Conquest through the twelfth century, though the kings of England in the later thirteenth century were still the Angevins (Liddiard 2003, p.15). His edited volume, *Anglo-Norman Castles*, also includes chapters about pre-Conquest and thirteenth-century castles, outside the boundaries of the specified Anglo-Norman period (Williams 2003, p.93; Blair 2003, p.307-328; Eales

2003, p.72). King Stephen was William the Conqueror's grandson and the last Norman king, though some sources end the era of Norman kingship with Henry I (1135), inadvertently excluding castles constructed during the reigns of Stephen and Henry II. These castles typically feature in martial castle discussions, though research has shown these castles had already begun to contain elements of domesticity and luxury (Creighton 2002, p.12, Creighton and Higham 2004), with some sites containing pleasure landscapes and spectacle, such as Henry I's (c.1130) parks and menagerie at Woodstock (Oxfordshire) (White 2012, p.47). Henry II built extensive private gardens at Woodstock, reputedly for his mistress, Rosamond Clifford, and his huge expenditure on domestic quarters included expansion and creation of gardens, parks and great halls (Brown 1962, p.203). His household was renowned for its literary court that hosted prolific poets, troubadours and writers such as Peter of Blois, Walter Map, Giraldus Cambrensis, Roger de Hoveden, Richard of Ely, and Wace himself (Green 1980, p.101).

Castles were living, ever-changing structures, continually rebuilt, slighted or refurbished, and incorporated influences from continental Europe. Having a term to designate castles built in England during and directly following the the Conquest is beneficial, though I question the heavy reliance on 'Anglo-Norman' rather than simply 'Norman' and identify the need for a clearly-defined endpoint to 'Norman' castle construction.

2.7 Castles and the Medieval Imagination

This section diverts from actual castles of history and turns to a discussion of the medieval mind, idealized castles, architectural metaphor and contemporary medieval castle perception. Until the rise of nationalism in the fourteenth century, the kings of England projected themselves as 'supra-national' or pan-European rulers, creating and displaying an image surpassing that of Insular power (Taylor 1978; Creighton 2012, p.20). Castle architecture was one means of this self-promotion, as one could bring together styles and features from the wider Continent and Holy Land to create

a metaphorical display of the patron's ambitions and authority.

This phenomenon has been similarly discussed, though under the guise of 'memory' as a medieval craft of constructing or recollecting one's past (Carruthers and Ziolkowski 2004; McKinstry 2015). When translated into architecture, it could be displayed in imagery or style connecting the site and patrons with an imaginary, ideal past or 'golden age'. In this research, I discuss the tools used to create this memory as nostalgia or archaism. In an attempt to construct medieval 'memory', contemporaries relied upon crafts to bring these ideals into society. This research presents an original argument here for architectural archaism and nostalgia as methods for medieval memory recollection. In many cases, this memory requires translating, and this is the case for structural metaphors and allusions as well as documentation (Carruthers and Ziolkowski 2004). As discussed in studies by Krautheimer (1942), Whitehead (2003), Lilley (2009) and Kuhnel (1987), the medieval mind did not require architectural allusions and metaphors to appear exact. To the modern eye, specific architectural references may not be initially obvious or physically appear to resemble its inspiration from our distanced perspective. To better understand the memory constructed within castles, modern audiences must view castles in light of the medieval imagination rather than modern preconceptions (Coulson 2003a, p.91). Medieval culture placed higher value on idealism than realism, not only in architectural allusions but also in idealized values of chivalry, discussed at length in Chapter Four. The medieval mind had a different attitude toward representation than that of the modern mind (Krautheimer 1942, p.7-8). This "indifference towards precise imitation of architectural shapes and patterns" would appear to the modern viewer as inaccurate or unrealistic when medieval intentions for replication were not based on exact numerical or geometric precision; for example, circular and octagonal architecture interchangeably used to represent the Earthly Jerusalem (Krautheimer 1942, p.8-10). The precision of geometry and numbers built into architecture coexisting with the appearance of inconsistency (Wheatley 2004, p.64) reflected the medieval mindset of interpretations in reality appearing different from the imagined ideal.

As Jerusalem was the "supreme exemplary city for the Middle Ages" (Khunel 1987, p.127), symbolic of the covenant between God and His people, Khunel (1987), Wheatley (2004) and Lilley (2009) have argued that idealized imagery of Jerusalem may have influenced designs of medieval symmetry and order (Wheatley 2004, p.63-65; Kuhnel 1987, p.127). Constantine was accredited with restoring Jerusalem on Earth, linking it with Christianity rather than Judaism (Kuhnel 1987, p.84). Medieval piety was central to chivalry and heroic values, as well as architectural design and town layouts, connecting God as the divine geometer and 'architect' of the universe with the built environment, linking the divine and cosmati to castles and towns (Lilley 2009, p.37, 72, 94; Barber 2017; Rollason 2018). Order and symmetry could be built into medieval urban environments, town layouts, gardens and water features, though they may be viewed as haphazard to modern onlookers. This symmetry was also intentionally displayed and exaggerated in manuscript illuminations, linking the divine with medieval life, even if not an accurate reflection of the real environment. Chapter Five discusses further ways that chivalrous piety was structured into castle architecture, creating a secular liturgy in non-religious settings. Symbolism of the cosmos was linked with the aristocracy as an important image used by the English kings for appearing aligned with the Divine ruler of the universe, further enhancing their self-portrayals as a supra-national power.

Medieval society implemented their own 'medievalization' into their heritage and material culture, in which they adapted narratives of the ancient past into Romance themes, making them consistent with medieval chivalric values (Dickson 2015, p.214). Medieval imagination created idealized versions of figures, such as Alexander, King Arthur and Saint George, and by the thirteenth century, portrayed each as their idea of a chivalric Romance hero regardless of historical or previous legendary source material (Fellows 1993, p.14; Coldstream 2012, p.154; Bridges 2018). These historic figures-turned-Romance heroes became mascots of idealistic chivalric propaganda and entertainment, exemplifying and shaping chivalric values and Romance culture within the royal courts (Cline 1945, p.204-211; Ashe 1968, p.77;

Alcock 1971, p.193; Rouse and Rushton 2005, p.13). Alexander was converted into a Christian hero, Saint George was turned from a fourth-century martyr into a gallant armoured knight on horseback, and Arthur became the king of Christendom with the world-renowned court of chivalry. This was a Romanticizing movement to claim and display 'ancestors' while placing otherwise detached legendary heroes within the context of medieval English élite society.

This medievalization was translated into architecture as a means of legitimising and displaying one's power and as a visual connection to heritage within the local geography. Architectural emulations of folkloric ideals were not unique to medieval England and had been trending for centuries prior to the Middle Ages. One does not need to search very far to find examples of Classical architecture riddled with symbolism and allusions to both real and mythological heroes, such as the Parthenon, Diocletian's palace or Hadrian's villa at Tivoli (Rollason 2016, p.23). Architecture is a valuable source of material culture, displaying power, political ambitions and identity (Brown 1954, p.138; Liddiard 2003, p.15). Heroic identity has also been linked to castle sites through intentional proximity to previous or ancient power structures and geographical associations with fabled heroes (Hansson 2006, p.442; Heslop 2012). One example of this I discuss in Chapter Five, is the construction of native-style timber halls after the Conquest, legitimising authority through adopting the familiar heritage. Reuse of architectural fabric was another means of establishing and strengthening political power, as in William the Conqueror's self-projection as the new Constantine through his reuse of Roman ruins at Colchester Castle (Essex) (Heslop 2012, p.163-175).

Abigail Wheatley (2004) has extensively discussed how medieval contemporaries idealized their castles, displayed in material culture, imagery and design, heavily influenced by symmetry, crenellated walls and large towers. These stylised images provide insight into how castle contemporaries thought about their constructs, revealing specific features and qualities that characterised the ideal castle (Dixon and Lott 1993, p.99; Wheatley 2004; Goodall 2011, p.3). Visual metaphors of the Ro-

man Empire took both secular and religious form, yet the religious connections in this sense supported the visual of ideal chivalry. For instance, medieval architectural imitations of the *Anastasis* in Jerusalem represented connections to the Roman Empire, religious piety and heroic ancestry (Krautheimer 1942, p.1-38). The tradition of linking geometry with cosmogony dates from antiquity and has been found in Roman surveyor's manuals and Plato's mythological and geometrical cosmology, further emphasising English kings' display of *romanitas* (Lilley 2009, p.86).

As discussed in the next chapter, Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote that Arthur was the grandson of Constantine the Great, intertwining heroes from legend and Romance with historic Roman and British figures to create his pseudo-historical ancestry of the kings of England. His *HRB* (c.1135) was received by contemporaries as a factually-historical narrative of ancestry, and contemporaries constructed and designed this 'memory' with allusions to this 'heritage' in idealized material displays of chivalry, divine-appointed power, and self-projections as the new King Arthur or the next Constantine (Heslop 2012, p.163-175), ordained within the geometric constructs of the built environment.

2.8 Conclusion

Roger Stalley (1999) states that "it is rarely possible to uncover the personal factors that lay behind the choice or designs or indeed the selection of specific master masons" and that architectural design was the product of accident, chance encounter, whim, local geology and family connections (Stalley 1999, p.230-231). Furthermore, Matthew Johnson (2002) continues that one can never know what Sir John Dallyngridge had in mind when designing Bodiam Castle just as one will never truly know what was in Chaucer's mind when writing *Canterbury Tales* (c.1390) (Johnson 2002, p.29, 46). However, by piecing together wide-angled, contextual history surrounding Chaucer's work and his personal history and biases, scholars of his work could gain an understanding of his perspective and intention–this is the same approach necessary for this study of castle designs and the contexts of their patrons.

Though a complete understanding of motivations for medieval castle and landscape design is not possible with such distance in history, castle studies will certainly benefit from this assessment of Romance's influence within a "range of complex and interrelated motives" that affected the medieval English élite (Creighton 2002, p.69).

Creighton (2012) states that "construction in the medieval imagination and in reality are usually separate" but the two are actually "inescapably intertwined" (Creighton 2012, p.12, 123). Johnson (2002) also writes that symbolism and architectural function should not be separated (Johnson 2002, p.68). The medieval emphasis of geographical symmetry and order within architectural design (Lilley 2009), though not necessarily apparent to the modern onlooker (Krautheimer 1942), supports my argument that the medieval mind valued imagery of the ideal rather than reality, which is crucial to the overarching theme of this thesis. This perspective of imperfect precision with architectural allusion, memory, and architectural metaphor has been discussed before (McKinstry 2012; Carruthers 2008; Whitehead 2003; Lilley 2009; Wheatley 2004), although these factors have never been combined in a dedicated study of medieval English castle architecture, with architectural allusions and metaphors as a tool for constructing memory. Perhaps the intention of medieval memory construction was to develop specific ways in which they wanted to be remembered in the future. This effect was achieved, as the golden age of medieval chivalry, propagated through Romance, has never quite disappeared from the imagination–continuing to reflect a far different reality.

This background chapter has discussed the evolution of castle studies and the development of the castle in England, noting its non-Insular architectural influences and use as a display for pan-European power of English kingship, which has demonstrated relevant gaps within the research that are addressed by this thesis. Furthermore, this chapter has laid the groundwork for discussing impacts from intangible heritage incorporated into the built environment and the importance of architectural metaphor. The progression of history was revealed through underlying propagation of Arthurian and legendary idealism, and whether intentionally or not,

has remained at the heart of English national identity through the castle's continued image as the icon of an imagined chivalric golden age (Sweet 2004, p.181, 228).

The following chapters further disentangle Romance's influence from other aspects of chivalric society so as to identify its effects upon castle design amidst other competing influences.

Chapter 3

Romance Literature in Context

3.1 Using Romance for Archaeological Research: A Literature Review

At its most basic level, the term 'Romance' refers to a story written in the vernacular rather than Latin (Gaunt 2000, p.45; Lacy 2000, p.167-182). In the context of this research, 'Romantic' is used to specifically describe features, themes, or ideas within medieval Romance literature or in reality, constructed to intentionally resemble their Romantic archetypes. Sources in archaeology and castle studies occasionally reference Romance literature; however, some agree that research generally remains hesitant to combine detailed Romance literary studies with archaeology (Creighton 2012, p.123; Swallow 2019), with the primary exception of *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor* (Munby et al. 2007). Romance was a hugely influential and esteemed source of entertainment in élite society, and excluding this source of intangible heritage from studies of material culture and the built environment misses part of the castle's story, as spaces were defined by people and their actions therein– themselves taking inspiration from Romance, its narrative themes and characters.

The field of Medieval Romance literature is a wide and diverse discipline, with research spanning manuscript production, medieval handwriting and ink pigmentation, patronage, narrative structures and allegorical themes (Salter 1988; Kennedy

1986; Barron 1987; Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996; Krueger 2000; Archibald et al. 2009; Saunders 2004, 2005; Weiss 2009; Saunders et al. 2010; Crane 1986; McKinstry 2015). As mentioned, this primarily buildings-archaeology thesis does not require a specialised study of manuscripts, as this is an intricately-specialised subject in its own right. I do, however, bring a contextual study of medieval Romance literature into the field of castle studies to argue the impact Romance had on élite society and its built environment. Previous castle studies reference Romances but do not include an intricate knowledge of Romance literature allowing for comprehensive assessments of Romantic society within its built spaces. The following sections in this chapter provide a literary review and synthesis of previous Romance research to construct a brief background of Romance's history and context, in medieval English and French society, specifically from the perspective of archaeological research. This background information distinguishes different genres of Romance, source materials, narratives, and addresses influential themes and characters from particularly prominent Romances. This chapter also includes a discussion on King Arthur, exploring the shift from a legendary Romano-British war hero to the king of Camelot in Romance literature, and how his character fits into the 'ancestry' of English kings emulated to legitimize power. This creates a foundation and perspective to support key arguments in the case studies below. Original research is presented in the form of a 'genealogy' of Romance literature (noting specific characters and themes) to map folkloric and pseudo-historical connections within the Romance canon. Original research is also presented in my data collection, tabulated to highlight key Romances, their ownership, patrons, composition dates, dedications and dissemination, attesting to their extent and influence in élite society. Assessing Romance's societal impact in this way is critical for discussing Romance's impact on chivalry and its indirect impact on the built environment through Romanticized chivalric values.

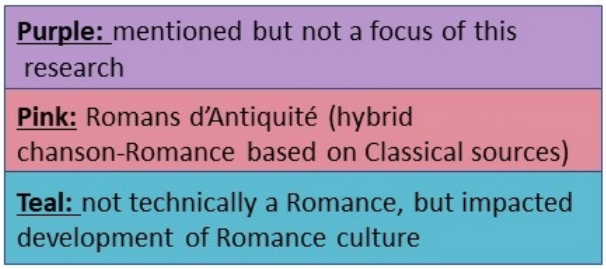


Figure 3.1: The spreadsheet below is a colour coded data collection of evidence, compiled to analyse and demonstrate Romance's use and circulation among the medieval élite.

Romance Ownership and Dissemination

This table is not a complete list of Romances, but rather, a compilation of Romances used in this research and placed within their elite context, showing heavy propagation among medieval court circles (primarily Henry II, Henry III and Edward I.

Title of Romance Narrative	Original Author	Date and Contemporary Court	Baronial or Royal Ownership and Use	Influences of the Narrative	Sources and Acceptable Translations
Heroides, Amores and Metamorphoses	Ovid	c. 8 AD (Caesar Augustus)	Eleanor of Aquitaine owned Ovid's works, evidenced in primary sources and listed in her commissions	Basis of Cappelinus's *De Amore,* and Romances list them as source material.	Kibler 2005; Kelly 1937 p3-19
The Anead	Virgil	c. 44 BC (Caesar Augustus)	Aneas was written into the early ancestry of English kings in Geoffrey's *Historia. Virgil's works were also* popular among the upper elite and owned by Eleanor of Aquitaine (the "national epic of Rome")	Virgil's works were Classical source material for Romance and used by Geoffrey of Monmouth.	Swabey 2004
Chanson de Roland	Unknown	c. 1100, suggested dates range from eleventh century through mid-twelfth century (William Rufus, Henry I or Stephen)	Presumably commissioned by Abbot Sugar to strengthen the Capetian dynasty.	This was a key narrative in the chansons de geste, influential during the advent of Romance culture.	California Tech University (library.caltech.edu)
Prophetia Merlini	Geoffrey of Monmouth	c. 1130 (Henry I or Stephen)	Geoffrey wrote for an elite audience, including Henry II's court and specifically, Henry's uncle, Robert of Gloucester according to dedications listed in his works.	Used by Gerald of Wales and provided source material for the Merlin tradition in later Romance narratives. Influential for Edward I's Round Table tournament at Nevyn, as well as the design of the red dragon on the Welsh flag.	Introduction and Trans. Thorpe 1966; Loomis 1947
Vita Merlini (Life of Merlin)	Geoffrey of Monmouth	c. 1130 (Henry I or Stephen)	Was used and adapted by royal and elite families for heraldry. This also developed elements of Edward I's propaganda, particularly regarding Arthurian land ownership in Scotland and earlier Welsh source material.	Used for source material by Gerald of Wales, Wace and Layamon, and also provided source material for the Merlin tradition in later Romance narratives.	Leob Classical Library 1986
Historia Regum Britanniae	Geoffrey of Monmouth	c. 1135-1138 (Stephen)	Geoffrey dedicated it to Robert of Gloucester (uncle and educator of Henry II). This 'ancestry' was passed down and influential for later generations.	Used by Edward I and Richard of Cornwall for political propaganda. Used as the basis for Wace's *Brut* and subsequent development of Arthurian Romance.	Saunders 1993/2010; Ed. and Trans. Wright 1966
Brut and L'Estoire des Englais	Gaimer	c. 1135-1140 (Stephen)	Ralph and Constance Fitzgilbert commissioned a version of the Brut after borrowing a copy from a Walter Espec that originally belonged to Robert of Gloucester. This traces ownership and use to Henry II through his uncle.	Presumably, this 'copy' was actaully Geoffrey's *Historia,* dedicated and given to Robert, as Gaimer's *L'Estoire des Englais* and *Brut* (Brutus lineage) pre-date Wace's *Brut*	Weiss in Saunders 2004, p22-44; Davis 1976, p128

Roman de Brut	Wace	c. 1150 (Henry II)	Eleanor of Aquitaine was presented with copy from Henry II, who commissioned Wace. Inspired Edward I's propaganda in building the Round Table for c.1291 ceremony at Winchester Castle.	First to mention Arthur's Round Table. Was used as the basis of Layamon's Middle English *Brut* Chronicle, which inspired several fringe chronicles commissioned and adapted for individual families (ex. Wigmore Chronicle).	Weiss in Saunders 2004, p28; Barron in Saunders 2004, p69; McCash 2008, p45-57
Roman de Thebes	***Romans d'Antiquité*** (unspecified courtly clerk)	c. 1155 (Henry II)	Composed in close courtly circle of Henry II	The combination of battle scenes with amorous relations (semi-epic Romance narrative) shows influence taken from Virgil's *Anead* and influenced the development of the Romance genre.	Clogan 1990, 55-70; Ker 1957
Roman d' Eneas	***Romans d'Antiquité*** (author unknown)	c. 1156 (Henry II)	Also based on Virgil's *Anead*, and was popular in court	Inspired ideas of the ideal chivalric lady. Inspired Heinrich von Veldeke's German translation, *Eneide* (c.1170-1185), the earliest German Romance and originally believed factual.	Ker 1957; Dobozy 1989, p81
Roman de Troie	***Romans d'Antiquité*** Benoit de Sainte-Maurie	c. 1160 (Henry II)	This creates a courtly narrative from elite-owned Classical source materials already familiar and popular in English and French courts.	Likely commissioned and owned by Eleanor of Aquitaine after experiencing the Second Crusade. The work was influenced by the *Anead,* and Troy was already a prolific literary topic, propagated by Geoffrey of Monmouth's (supposedly-factual) *Historia,* in which Brutus was the grandson of Aneas and founded London as the 'New Troy'.	Introduction and Trans. Thorpe 1966; Jeffreys 1980, p455
Floire et Blancheflor	(aristocratic version) unknown	c. 1147-1160 (Stephen or Henry II)	Mahaut (Countess of Artois in early 14th century) had material evidence of appreciation and ownership, such as her ivory caskets decorated with Romance literature scenes, including imagery from Floire et Blancheflor.	Recalled within other Romances. Contributed to the continuation of Romance culture and ownership among the elite.	Saunders 2010; Fellows 1993; Carns 2011, p121-155
Lai de Guigemar	Marie de France	c. 1160 (Henry II)	Known in the court of Henry II, contemporary of Chretian de Troyes, and was well-educated and elite-born. This particular lais was presumed to be dedicated to Henry II.	Propagated the motif of the lady enclosed in the Romance garden and the Ovidian style of love-relationship.	Smith 2008, p97; Delman 2018; Ed. and Trans. Waters 2018
Erec et Enide (Erec)	Chretian de Troyes	c. 1165 (Henry II)	Chretian was commissioned by the court of Henry II, including patrons Marie du Champagne and Count Philip of Flanders (patrons listed in Chretian's Romance prefaces and introductions)	Inspired chivalric values and other medieval Romance narratives.	Trans. Kibler 2005, p37-122

Tristan (courtly version)	Thomas d'Angleterre (Thomas of Britain)	c. 1170 (Henry II)	Henry III owned a copy, and Edward I took copy on Crusade. Edward I received Romances from his mother, Eleanor of Provence. Humphrey de Bohun passed books of Tristan and Arthur in his will, alongside gifts of silver, and he was also a patron of Gerald of Wales. ("to my daughter…my book called Tristram…and a book called Arthur de Britaigne")	Provided source material for Marie de France's lais, and he was part of the same court society with the same patrons. Tristan became embedded within narratives of Arthur's court and became reputed as one of Arthur's most chivalrous knights. Thomas's version (incomplete in manuscripts) directly influenced Gottfried von Strassbourg's version, which remains the most complete version.	Bigelow ed. Bohun Wills 1896, p631-649; Munby et al 2007, p75; Weiss in Saunders 2004, p28; Labarge 1965, p178; Calendar of Liberate Rolls PRO I, p228
Cliges	Chretian de Troyes	c. 1175 (Henry II)	Chretian was commissioned within the court of Henry II, as well as Marie du Champagne and Count Philip of Flanders, as mentioned in his Romance prefaces.	Influenced values of chivalry and courtly love, as well as symbolic significance applied to aspects of the tournament.	Trans. Kibler 2005, p123-206; Archibald 2016
Lai de Lanval	Marie de France	c. 1175 (Henry II)	Known in the court of Henry II, contemporary of Chretian de Troyes, and was well-educated and elite-born. Her elite patrons listed in lais' introductions.	Promoted ideals of chivalry and courtly love. Suggested connections between the eagle statues atop Caernarfon Castle's Eagle Tower, the golden eagle statue atop the fairy pavilion in *Lanval*, and the jeweled eagle statue in the *Roman de Thebes*.	Trans. Gantz 1976; Trans. Waters 2018; Wheatley 2004
Le Chevalier de la Charrette (Lancelot)	Chretian de Troyes	c. 1174-1781 (Henry II)	Edward III played the game of Cradoc from the Lancelot Romance, which used a cape to identify adulterer. Was commissioned by Marie de Champagne, daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine and associated with the same courtly circles.	Used as a mimetic tool for chivalry and honour, along with *Tristan*, and provided examples for courtly love. *Lancelot* influlenced the later prose *Vulgate Cycle* that became one of the most prominent canons of medieval Romance literature, and is referenced within contemporary handbooks of chivalry.	Trans. Kibler 2005, p207-294; Ed. and Trans. Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996, p91, 131
Le Chevalier au Lion (Yvain)	Chretian de Troyes	c. 1175-1781 (Henry II)	King John had 'Tristan' and 'Gawain's' literary-named swords at Wallingford Castle, which were used in coronations from 1207	Propagated Romantic ideals of chivalry and courtly love. Includes and propagated symbolism from earlier Celtic folklore and legend.	Barber 2017, Society of Antiquaries Lecture Series; Trans. Kibler 2005, p295-380; Ditmas 2012, p91-104
Le Conte du Graal (Perceval)	Chretian de Troyes	c. 1179-1190 (Henry II or Richard I)	Chretian was commissioned by the court of Henry II, including patrons Marie du Champagne and Count Philip of Flanders (patrons listed in Chretian's Romance prefaces and introductions)	Left unfinished at Chretian's death, and was taken up by contemporary, Robert de Boron (see below) who made the grail a Christian symbol, overriding Chretian's narrative elements that were contradictory to the church. Widely circulated and copied throughout Europe during the Middle Ages.	Trans. Kibler 2005, p381-494; Barron 1987

Le Roman de Toute Chevalerie (Romance of Alexander the Great)	Thomas of Kent	c. 1175-1200 (Henry II, Richard I or John)	Eleanor of Provence requested a copy and had imagery from it painted around a chamber at Clarendon and Nottingham.	This Medievalized, Romanticized and Christianized the figure of Alexander the Great, adapted into the Nine Worthies.	Robinson and James 1988, p108; Borenius 1943; Whatley 2013, p175 - 198
Roman du Chevalier du Cygne (Swan Knight)	Wolfram added the Swan knight, Lohengrin, into his *Parzival* (c. 1270), a German version and continuation of Chretian's *Percival.*	c. 1192 (Richard I)	Thomas Beauchamp, the twelfth Earl of Warwick, had Cup of the Swan Knight listed in his will, along with the Romance hero, Guy's, 'relics'. This was attested in Dugdale's (1656) *Antiquities of Warwickshire,* and illustrated in the *Rous Roll* (c.1483).	From the thirteenth century, Lohengrin was written into the Arthurian Romance canon as an ancestor of Guy, Tristan, and Godfrey de Bouillon, which connected the narrative of the Swan Knight to the Old French crusade cycle and the *Roman d'Antioch* (*Rous Roll* image of Thomas Beauchamp, c. 1483, see discussion in Chapter Seven)	Dugdale (digitised internet archive) 1656, p323; Beauchamp 2013, p45-50; Mason 1984, p25-40
Trilogy: Merlin, Joseph d'Arimathie, and Percival (the *Roman du Graal*)	Robert de Boron	c. 1190-1200 (Richard I or John)	Contemporary of Chretian de Troyes, and therefore, known among courtly society in England and France. He took over the unfinished Grail narrative of Chretian, but added Joseph of Arimathea and Christian element to the Grail--Chretian's grail was just a mysterious magical cup. A copy was passed to Richard II.	Robert de Boron was first to mention 'sword in the stone' motif and made the Grail a religious symbol of miraculous power.	Bryant 2001; Hackney 2009; Griffin 1965
Roman d'Antioch (chanson d'Antioch)	Unknown	Earlier than 1243, but uncertain (possibly Henry II, Richard I or John)	Eleanor of Provence requested a copy and wanted it painted around chambers at Clarendon, the White Tower, Westminster and others, though not all were completed.	Narrative included parts of the Roman du Cygne narrative, as the Swan Knight was canonically an ancestor of Godfrey de Bouillon (featured in relics held at Warwick and Wallingford).	James and Robinson 1988, p16-17, 108; Close Rolls 1247-1251, p283, 454, 464; Borenius 1943
Gui de Warwic (Old French)	Unknown	Original, 'Anglo-Norman' or Old French version: c. 1210 (Henry II); translated to Middle English: c. 1300 (Edward I)	'Guy of Warwick's' relics from Romance were kept at Warwick Castle, as listed in Thomas Beauchamp's will.	Influenced the Arthurian Warwick symbolism, originally dated to Thomas Beauchamp (12th Earl of Warwick) showing the bear and ragged staff. Thomas Beauchamp named his son Reinbrun after Guy's son in the Romance, and it has been suggested that the Romance inspired construction of Guy's Tower (see Chapter Seven)	Saunders 1993 and 2010; Wiggins (PhD thesis) 2000; Zupitza 1966; Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* 1656, 323; Beauchamp 2013, p45-50; Goodall 2011

Lancelot du Lac (prose Vulgate Cycle)	Unknown (multiple authors)	c. 1210-1240 (Henry III)	Edward III owned a copy and other romances inherited from Isabella, who taught and gifted Romances to him. These include a compilation book entitled *Deeds of Arthur and Tristan.*	Heavily influenced Chivalry handbooks and impacted the Romantic reformation of chivalry; Geoffroi de Charney uses examples from this in his *Book of Chivalry* to develop ideals of the lady and activities to be performed in court.	Munby et al 2007, 75-76; Keuper and Kennedy 1996
Roman de la Rose	Guillame de Lorris and Jean de Meun	c.1240 and c.1270 (Henry III)	John Conyers commissioned a copy for his library in Hornby Castle (example of elite ownership in late fourteenth century). Miniatures in elite manuscripts and contemporary art and material culture depict the garden in the *Roman de la Rose*.	Propagated ideals of courtly love and allegorical garden symbolism	Krueger et al 2000; Ed. Dunn and Trans. Robbins 1962; Matthews 2015
Mabinogion	Welsh legend and folklore	Manuscripts date through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though the legends are much older	Apparent use in Edward I's political propaganda in Wales, with events and allusions specifically targeting Mabinogion Arthurian sources rather than Chretian's French Romances (see discussions in Chapter Four and Seven).	Narratives are far older, yet very closely related to Chretian's. For example, *Owain*'s interaction with a magic spring or fountain resembles *Yvain*'s use of a magic stream in the Romance. Maxen Whledig from the Mabinogion's *Dream of Maxen,* became the figure of Magnus Maximus (father of Constantine the Great), who allegedly lived at Segontium near Caernarfon.	Ed. and Trans. Gantz 1976; Loomis 1947; Wheatley in Williams and Kenyon 2010, p129-139
Le Roman de Perceforest (prehistory of King Arthur's Britain)	Unknown	c. 1330 (Edward III)	Presumed patronage by Edward III's father-in-law (William I of Hainault) and impacted activities in Bergundian courts	Argued as the influence for Edward III's round structure at Windsor	Munby et al 2007; Introduction and Trans. Bryant 2011
Book of Chivalry	Geoffroi de Charney	c. 1350 (Edward III)	Edward III would have been familiar with Charney from battles in France	Propagated ideals of Romanticized chivalry (particularly in France and England) through the late Middle Ages.	Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight	"Gawain Poet"/"Pearl Poet" (Unknown)	late 1300s; c. 1380 (Richard II)	Beyond the scope of this research	Includes many symbolic spaces and themes from earlier Romance narratives	Thompson in Brewer and Gibson 1997, p119-130; Trans. O'Donoghue 2006
Melusine	Jean D'Arras: based on earlier Gallo-Roman and Celtic folklore	c. 1395-1400 (England: Richard II or Henry IV; France: Charles VI)	Commissioned by Jean Duc de Berry	Demonstrates Celtic female/water and mermaid/selkie symbolism (Melusine's tower in France--post-medieval name)	Colquitt 2016; British Library online European Studies Blog 2015
Shrewsbury Book (fifteen romances, including the Golden Legend)	Talbot presumably compiled works	compiled: 1444 (Henry VI)	Presented to Margaret of Anjou as a wedding present after her marriage to Henry VI	Golden Legend propagated the Romanticized idea of St George	British Library website and image for Talbot Shrewsbury Book

The table above lists important sources of medieval literature for this research, with colours differentiating their categories. Blue designates texts important for the Romance tradition, but are themselves not classified as Romances. Pink highlights influential chansons and *Romans de Antiquité*, that feature characters and heroes from Classical narratives and the Trojan War. Purple highlights texts frequently mentioned in secondary sources of research and which impacted medieval life from the late fourteenth century, though they postdate the primary focus of this research.

This literary research started with generalized studies of medieval Romance literature, followed by more targeted critique and contextual discussions of Romances featured in historical studies of the aristocracy from within the time period specified here, as well as canonical texts. This chapter also required more specific topical studies of chivalric ideals and narrative elements and symbolism, such as allegorical spaces like the Castle of Jealousy in the *Roman de la Rose* (c.1230). Previous studies of Romance spaces, allegorical space, landscapes of Romance and 'imaginary' architecture, rarely translate into studies of spaces and structures in reality. When spaces of Romance and reality are combined as a single research topic, the most common idea traces realism adapted into Romance rather than the converse. This highlights a gap in previous research and a key aspect of the originality in the subject of this thesis.

This research features Old French, or 'courtly', versions of Romances, primarily dating from the twelfth and early thirteenth century. 'Cult castles' remained in construction far beyond the end of the fourteenth century (such as Pendennis Castle, Cornwall c.1540 and Castell Coch, Cardiff c.1875, and more examples listed in Appendix H), but this thesis specifically aims to identify Romance's influence during the advent and height of stone castle construction in England (late twelfth through the thirteenth century), during chivalry's Romantic reformation into a more inclusive court-wide societal trend predating the rise of the manor house. Therefore, I do not focus on Middle English Romances, as they generally gained popularity after chivalry's development into a Romanticized court-wide system of display and values.

To better identify how Romance changed castle life and architecture, I focus on the transitional period of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in England, when Romance appears, court life becomes luxuriously domesticated, and the English castle comes into its prominence. This is in order to investigate differences before and after Romance gained popularity within the English courts. Malory, Chaucer and the anonymous '*Gawain* poet' (discussed below) targeted a wider audience, including the growing lesser-nobility and bourgeois classes, catering to newly-emerging socio-political ideas and concerns that postdate the 'rise of the castle' and the Romantic reformation of chivalry, which I argue, lies in the mid-twelfth century (see timeline in Appendix G).

My sources for the Romances themselves are those most canonical editions referenced in literary studies and recommended in undergraduate courses, and my archaeological perspective does not require other specific modern editions for narrative familiarity (Saunders 2017; Saunders 1993; Krueger 2000). Translations specific to the Old French narratives were critical for this research though, as Middle English Romances were more satirical of the élite and targeted at a wider audience than their more élite Old French predecessors. For example, many versions of the *Tristan* Romance circulated during the Middle ages, but I only use a translation of Gottfried von Strassbourg's *Tristan* (c.1210), as it remains the most complete adaptation, based upon Thomas of Britain's Old French 'courtly' manuscript (c.1160), which is largely fragmentary (Hatto 1978). Old French Romances, sourced from legend and Troubadour lyrics, were contemporary with the twelfth- and thirteenth-century development of castles and chivalry, and are therefore included in this discussion with these more antiquated source materials.

3.1.1 Arthurian Studies

Arthurian Studies is a hybrid discipline, with research covering the Celtic Arthur of legend, the British war hero of the Dark Ages, the king of French Romance, and Arthurian-associated landscapes connected to local folkloric traditions (Alcock

1969; Palmer 1981; Padel 1991b; Padel 2000b; Barron 2001; Barker et al. 2001; Rouse and Rushton 2005; Burgess and Pratt 2006; Bromwich et al. 2008; Armstrong 2012; Paphitis 2014; Archibald and Johnson 2016). R.S. Loomis could arguably be considered the father of modern Arthurian scholarship, with prolific research spanning the first half of the twentieth century and remaining consistently referenced in current literature for his seminal work (Loomis 1927; Loomis 1928; Loomis and Loomis 1938; Loomis 1939; Loomis 1947; Loomis 1949; Loomis 1953; Loomis 1970b).

Arthurian scholars suggest that Arthur's earliest appearances were as 'Arturus' in the sixth-century *Easter Annals* (c.518) followed by the British war hero, 'Ambrosious', in Gildas's *De Excidio* (c.540). This has caused some confusion and debate, however, as Gildas's description of 'Ambrosius', rather than 'Arthur', as the hero of the Battle of Badon supports critical theories that Ambrosius and Arthur were the same person (Lewis 1932, p.247-248; Saklatvala 1967, p.115; Loomis 1970a, p.199; Alcock 1971, p.5, 9, 41; Gransden 1974, p.5; Noble 1992, p.159-178; Proctor 2017, p.19). Nennius's ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* (c.830) (Brutus in Part 12 and Arthur in Part 50) has also been listed as source material for Arthurian accounts in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Brittanie* (c.1135) that caused Arthurian popularity and propaganda to soar, as the *HRB* was originally regarded by contemporary audiences as factual ancestry (discussed below). These early depictions of Arthur portrayed him as a legendary, skilled soldier who helped lead the British in victory against the Saxons at Badon and was ultimately killed at the Battle of Camlan (Ashe 1968; Alcock 1971, p.5-10; Barron 1999, p.5, 14, 16). Archaeological investigations have been carried out in attempt to locate 'Camelot', the most notable of which has been Alcock's (1967) excavation at Cadbury Hill-fort in Somerset (Alcock 1971, p.77; Alcock 1972). As Camelot did not appear in Arthurian lore until Chrétian's *Lancelot* (c.1175, line 44, Kibler trans. 2005, p.207) (Alcock 1971, p.163), six centuries after the historical Arthur allegedly lived, locating Camelot within the British landscape is problematic. Alcock's archaeological investigations use 'Camelot' to imply a high-status settlement or garrison

rather than the Arthur's court in Romance (Loomis 1928; Loomis 1931; Alcock 1971; Padel 1991b, p.229-248), but this does not account for the historical Arthur's Roman past and earlier Romances that locate his court at Caerleon. Not until the French works of Chrétian de Troyes (c.1165-1190) and his court contemporary, Marie de France (c.1170-1180), did Arthur become the exemplary chivalric king of Romance; though, in these contexts, Arthur's knights began to overshadow him as the narratives followed their quests, leaving Arthur at court (Barron 1987, p.265, 267; Barron 1999; Swabey 2004; Chrétian de Troyes 2005d; Chrétian de Troyes 2005f; Chrétian de Troyes 2005c; Burgess and Pratt 2006). In these narratives, Arthur travels between castles and courts, which include Caerleon (Gwent) and Carmarthen (Carmarthenshire), and he even holds a court in the woods while hunting in *Érec and Enide*. Caerleon-on-Usk (Gwent) is Arthur's court in Welsh tradition, though this is different still in the Welsh *Mabinogion* narratives, in which 'Celliwig' (Cernyw: 'Cornwall') is the primary location for Arthur's court (Bromwich 1986, p.12; Padel 2000a, p.79; Green 2007, p.70; Bromwich et al. 2008, p.230). Other studies have attempted to decipher the location for this and other Arthurian places, with general opinion suggesting West Cornwall, by using etymological history and localized folkloric traditions (Padel 1988; Padel 2000a, p.102-106; Greene 2018, http://www.arthuriana.co.uk/historicity/arthurappendix.html).

Over one-hundred and sixty Arthurian placenames and historical references connect Arthurian legend to the British landscape, reaching from the most northerly regions of Scotland, down to the Isles of Scilly (Ashe 1968, p.21; Ashe 1988; Proctor 2017, p.19; Tether et al. 2017). Examples of this are Arthur's Round Table near Penrith (Cumbria), Cadbury (Somerset) and Glastonbury's Arthurian "micro-climate" following the 'discovery' of Arthur and Guinevere's burial site (Morris 1998, p.63-81; Barrett 1988). In the case of Glastonbury, this 'micro-climate' in the late thirteenth century was influential on the nearby architecture, prompting additions of chivalric detail in response to Edward I's 1278 ceremonial 'funeral' for Arthur (Loomis 1953, p.275-288; Morris 1998, p.63-81). Folkloric and Arthurian geographies are emerging

as an avenue of landscape archaeological research, however, whilst supporting the legitimacy of intangible heritage-based archaeological studies, this typically focuses on Dark Age myths and legends as opposed to Romance landscapes and ventures far beyond the scope of this thesis (Rouse and Rushton 2009; Paphitis 2014; Greene 2018; Swallow 2019, p.195).

Arthur's medieval popularity was not limited to England, Wales and France, as examples of Arthurian enthusiasm are found in material culture, architecture and records of ceremony across the wider Continent and into Cyprus and Acre before the end of the twelfth century (Loomis 1938, p.221-330; Loomis and Loomis 1938; Barker 1986, p.72; Alexander and Binski 1987, p.311; Broadhurst 1996, p.67-69; Warren 2000, p.103; Echard 2011; Allaire and Psaki 2014). The first Round Table tournament, as far as research has shown, was held in Cyprus in 1223 for the knighting of the Lord of Beirut's eldest sons, Balian and Baldwin (Bromwich et al. 2008, p.276, see data in *Figure 4.4*). Two of the primary figures for Arthur's medieval propagation were Edward I and Edward III (Loomis 1947; Loomis 1953; Vale 1988; Morris 1998; Munby et al. 2007; Barber 2013; Barber 2017); and, earlier, Eleanor of Aquitaine's Romance-commissioning court and troubadour grandfather (William IX Duke of Aquitaine) and son (the future King Richard I) were largely responsible for original Romance and lyric composition and dissemination (Swabey 2004, p.53; Aurell 2007; Cockerill 2019, p.112-117). Troubadours played a significant role in disseminating Arthurian and Romance narratives across the Continent during the Crusade.

By the time Chrétian composed his verse Romances in the mid-twelfth century, Arthur already held pre-existing power in literary and legendary culture. This renown of Arthur's is the cultural setting of the Romance tradition in which his knights feature, venturing out from his court on their quests. For these mid-twelfth-century Romances, through to the thirteenth century, Arthur's Romance court symbolised a time of stability and peace and was a homing point for his knights and other characters who sought to experience his largesse and honour (Kibler and Palmer

2014; Archibald et al. 2009; Saunders 2017). While Arthur gained great renown outside of England, as both chivalric example and source of entertainment, the English uniquely claimed Arthur as a heroic predecessor and ancestor (Barron 1999, p.95), a 'founding father' of sorts for English national identity and heritage, and a legitimizing figure of power in English royal lineage that also included Arthur's 'supposed' grandfather Constantine the Great and Constantine's father, Magnus Maximus, according to the British pseudo-ancestral histories (Thorpe trans. 1966; Geoffrey of Monmouth 1966, p.114-133; Loomis 1947, p.525).

Many Romances became interconnected with Arthurian lore, even when they themselves were not 'Arthurian' or derived from Arthurian legend. Some Romances and love lyrics referenced Arthurian knights or Arthur himself as examples of chivalry, and Arthurian Romances referred to other tales, such as Chrétian's allusions to *Tristan* in his *Érec and Enide* and *Cligés* (Chrétian de Troyes 2005c, p.28; Chrétian de Troyes 2005b, p.198). Later thirteenth-century Romances recreated Tristan as one of Arthur's knights, and the Romance hero, Guy of Warwick, became the son-in-law of Arthurian knight, Rohaud (Richmond 1996; Wiggins and Field 2007; Goodall 2011, p.298). Inter-referenced Classical, Romance, and even Biblical heroes were brought together in a pantheon of intangible heritage and ancestry. By the fourteenth century, Arthur's popularity had grown and developed into various other Romance narratives. His image was emulated in material culture, specifically as one of the 'Nine Worthies', in which he was visually linked with Biblical and historic figures of England's formative heritage. An Arthurian micro-culture was palpable in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Gerald of Wales, a scholar at the court of Henry II, documented the location of Arthur's tomb at Glastonbury in his *De Instructione Principis* (c.1191), allegedly disclosed to him by Henry II (Watson 2018, https://research reading ac uk/glastonburyabbeyarchaeology/digital/arthurs-tomb-c-1331/king-arthur-at-glastonbury/). The 'discovery' of Arthur's bones at the Abbey by Abbot Sully in 1191 coincided with Richard I's gifting of 'Excalibur' to the king of Sicily, which strengthened and legitimised the power of the English Crown,

and brought visitors and pilgrims, providing income for Glastonbury Abbey after the fire in 1184 (Padel 1991a, p.245-256; Rouse and Rushton 2005, p.70; Gilchrist and Green 2015, p.9-11). Edward I used Arthur's burial at Glastonbury as propaganda for his own personal and political ambitions (Loomis 1953, p.114-127). Eleanor of Castile enjoyed Arthurian Romances, and Edward I was raised to appreciate Romances by Henry III and Eleanor of Provence. Arthur was viewed politically as a messianic figure for the British, specifically the Welsh at this time, and Edward I exploited his 'Arthurian lineage' from Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace's pesudo-ancestries, as well as the *Mabinogion*, to justify his conquest of power in Wales and Scotland (see Appendix F; Stones 1965, p.98; Loomis 1953, p.114-127; Green 1980, p.136; Morris 1998, p.59-61; Liddiard 2016, p.62). In 1278, Edward I hosted a grand ceremony to rebury Arthur's bones at Glastonbury, displaying that Arthur was the once, but not future king of Britain, with Edward I as the rightful successor and future king in his stead. This was an extravagant display, and he even carried in Arthurian 'relics' which were placed at Arthur's tomb, echoing the role of heir in heraldic and royal funeral processions (Loomis 1953, p.122-123; Barron 1999, p.49-51; Sanford 2009, p.33; Barber 2017).

In 1485, Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* finally combined Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace's ancestral material with Arthurian Romance, linking the historical war hero figure with the Romance king (Barron 1999, p.48). Although some details were altered, Malory provides the most complete story of Arthur as king, hero, and distinctively, a central figure throughout the narrative (Moll 2003, p.41; Barron 1999, p.50). During the late fourteenth and fifteenth century, people stopped thinking of Arthur as a realistic ancestral hero, and more a source of entertainment, which caused his political weight and authority to "retreat into the land of faerie" (Barron 1999, p.57). Courts continued to allude to Arthur (see also Chapters Two and Four) as an important fictional figurehead of English chivalry, however, and Arthurian costumes and theatrics remained a source of royal entertainment through the nineteenth century (Girouard 1981, p.113).

3.1.2 Anglo-Norman, French and Middle English Romance

As a newly-emergent genre in the twelfth century, Romance rapidly gained popularity in élite societies throughout the wider Continent, linked on both sides of the Channel through close political and familial ties (Salter 1988, p.10; Crane 1986; Bartlett 2000, p.102; Saunders 2004, p.6; Saunders 2005; Huscroft 2005, p.82; Saunders et al. 2010, p.13). Many 'French' Romances were produced in England or for 'English' patrons, connected through the courts of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. Discrepancies exist between discussions in Romance studies, contesting the differences and similarities between the definitive characteristics of 'Anglo-Norman', 'Insular', 'Norman' and 'Old French' Romances. Continuing from the discussion in Chapter Two, 'Anglo-Norman' as a classification adds confusion in literary studies. Some categorize French courtly Romances as Anglo-Norman, claiming this was the preferred vernacular of Henry II (Salter 1988, p.20-21; Weiss 2004, p.28), while others argue that Old French and Occitan were the traditional, preferred Romance languages, with Anglo-Norman regarded in the Angevin courts as "sub-par" (Legge 1963, p.27-31; Crane 1986, p.23, 136-137). Anglo-Norman could technically be Insular if composed in England, though Insular is typically used to designate later Middle English Romances that rejected the "exclusivity and high refinement" of the French *courtoisie* (Crane 1986, p.221-222). The Insular Romances such as *King Horn* and *Bevis of Hampton*, featured protagonists of humble birth, which certainly does not equate with French Romances of the Court (Clanchy 2013; Dannenbaum 1981-1982; Weiss 2004, p.26-44; Crane 1986, p.139, 216). This issue of classifying Romances as 'Anglo-Norman' becomes even further muddled and contradictory, as some claim that Angevin courts were responsible for disseminating Insular 'ancestral Romances', such as the Romance of *Gui de Warewic* (c.1204) and other narratives within the collective *Matter of Britain* (Barron 2001, p.171; Crane 1986, p.3-5, 11, 16, 21-23, 83; Weiss 2004, p.26-44; Bromwich et al. 2008, p.226). A further example of this is Thomas of Britain's *Tristan* (c.1160), which is known as the courtly version, although his name suggests this Romance could be classified as Insular.

These examples demonstrate the complexity of Anglo-Norman classification, which requires specialist linguistic assessment.

Normans wrote and commissioned pseudo-histories and Romantic ancestries, legitimizing their succession of power in England (Davis 1976, p.49-50). Slight dialectical and thematic differences within and between these texts are subtle and difficult to disentangle, leading some to argue that they should not be categorized based on their origination on one side of the Channel or the other (Saunders 2017; Saunders 2004, p.11; Echard 2017, p.47-53). For clarity, I discuss Romances classified by composition date, patronage and audience into two simplified categories: French, relating to the courtly, earlier Romances written in Old French, Occitan or 'Anglo-Norman', roughly dating from the twelfth through thirteenth centuries; and English, referring to those written in Middle English in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, targeted for a wider, less élite audience. Both French and Middle English Romances are "indeed nostalgic, in that they draw material from distant history" (Crane 1986, p.222-223).

3.2 Background and 'Genealogy' of Narratives, Themes and Characters

This section follows a 'genealogy' of Romance literature to organize background information and to outline, or map, the inter-connectivity between medieval literary genres and legend, revealing how disparate figures from history and fiction became the founding fathers of England. The early twelfth century ushered in the production of pseudo-histories fabricated out of legendary source material, classical narratives and myth, and Early Medieval chronicles, which legitimised power of the English kings through legendary and heroic 'ancestries' (Geoffrey of Monmouth 1966; Weiss 2002; Dalton 2007, p.32; Jankulak 2010, p.18-24; *Figure 3.2*). These were received in contemporary society as factual, and furthermore, they perpetuated a trend of adapting Christian themes, or 'medievalizing' these older pre-Christian and Celtic

sources (Loomis 1970a, p.140-143; Barron 1987, p.21, 44).

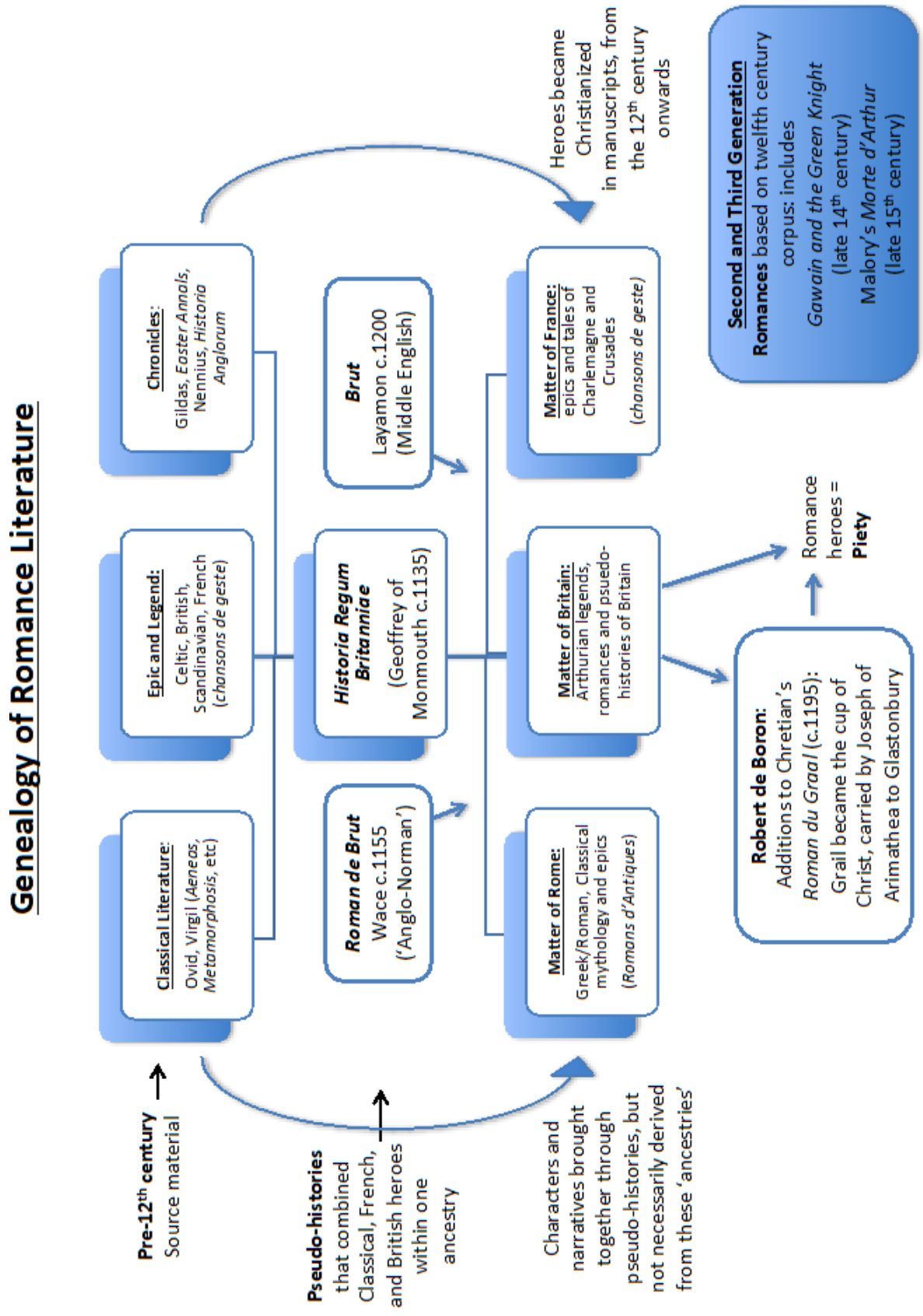


Figure 3.2: Original diagram created as a 'genealogy' to show Romance's source material.

This genealogy of Romances provides a visual to assist the following discussion, arranged in a timeline of Romance's influence and development. This chart does not take into account the later thirteenth and fourteenth-century Romances, including the thirteenth-century prose *Lancelot* proper (Vulgate Cycle) or the fourteenth-century *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and *Perceforest*, which combines the 'Matters' of Britain and Rome to provide a "prehistory of Arthur's Britain" (Bryant 2011, p.1-15). In accordance with the above diagram, I would classify these as third and fourth-generation Romances, as they grew out of adaptations (or 'second-generation' versions) of the original twelfth-century Romances. Malory's late fifteenth-century Arthurian canon, the *Morte d'Arthur* (printed 1485), would be considered a fifth-generation here, as it combines Arthurian traditions from early legend, chronicles, pseudo-histories, and three centuries of earlier Arthurian Romance (Bryan 1999, p.viii-ix). This 'genealogy' continues through into the Modern period, as seen in Tennyson's mid-nineteenth-century adaptation of Malory, *The Epic*, which was a popular household collection of Arthurian poems (Girouard 1981, p.179) and twentieth-century fan-fiction novels, for example (contextualized in Appendix G). The following is not simply a synthesis of previous research on different aspects of historic literary trends, but rather, an original timeline and guide to the inter-connectivity of important narrative themes and characters, supporting my later arguments for Romantic influence where previous sources have only noted Roman or mythological influence. This discussion also specifies important influences from the pseudo-histories of Wace and Geoffrey of Monmouth that bridged Classical literary trends and early chronicles with themes that developed into the corpus of medieval Romance, which I later argue to be influential for élite society and its built environment.

3.2.1 Classical Source Material

Classical literature is an enormous field of study, and this section barely skims the surface. It is important, however, to briefly mention Classical influences in discussing the development of medieval Romance. The medieval élite were educated in

Classical literature, and Classical themes were prominent in literature and legend (Barron 1987, p.11-15; Bartlett 2000, p.517). Classical source material, such as tales of Alexander the Great, Aeneas and the Trojan War, influenced legends and pseudo-histories, such as those by Geoffrey of Monmouth and Robert Wace (Archibald 2004, p.10-25). According to Gildas's *De Excidio* (c.540), Nennius's *Historia Brittonum* (c.838), and Geoffrey of Monmouth's timeline in the *HRB* (c.1135), England was originally 'Roman', with the founding ancestral heroes descending from Magnus Maximus and his son, Constantine, who Geoffrey writes to be Arthur's grandfather, as well as the fabled Aeneas and Brutus, founder of London, or "New Troy" (Jankulak 2010, p.38; Geoffrey of Monmouth 1966, p.130-147; Sims-Williams 1983; Ward 1972). Virgil's *Aeneid* (c.20 BCE) and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (c.8 CE) in particular were central to the canon of medieval literature as entertainment, source material, and, like other Greek Romances, educational curriculum used for learning Latin (Taylor 1911, p.37). Many monks regarded Classical literature as a "source of sinful pleasure", apart from when using them for education (Taylor 1911, p.47). For example, Capella's early fifth-century *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* was a highly-regarded text in the medieval quadrivium as a valuable source of geography, astronomy, literature and Latin (Taylor 1911, p.47-50; Graves 2020). In the sixth century, Isidore of Seville and Fortunatus were among those influential in combining pre-Christian, or pagan themes with Christianized Germanic themes to appeal to Early Medieval audiences in England (Taylor 1911, p.295-301; Saunders 2004). This became a trend of appropriating Classical narratives for use and enjoyment in the context of the Middle Ages. Benoit Saint-Maure's *Roman de Troie* (c.1165) is just one example of a Classical narrative brought into a Christianised framework via the earlier intermediary works that introduced the co-existence of Christian and pagan themes within a narrative (Taylor 1911, p.300-301).

Classical works were directly influential for Romance literature. Ovid was the most popular Classical writer among the medieval élite, greatly impacting French Romances, and particularly enjoyed by Eleanor of Aquitaine (Chrètian de Troyes

2005, p.7; Swabey 2004, p.53). As a prolific patron of the Romance tradition, Eleanor commissioned court poet Chrétian de Troyes (and allegedly Marie de France) who specifically referenced Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Art of Love*, as well as the *Roman d'Eneas* and the character of Alexander, as sources of inspiration in his prologue to *Cligés* (Chrétian de Troyes 2005a, p.9-12, 123-129).

Classical ideologies of the forest and landscape provided source material for Romance landscapes, cultivating the idea of the forest as an otherworldly landscape of uncertainty, magic, disorder and "ungoverned passion" (Saunders 1993, p.26, 34). Romances of Antiquity, or *Romans d'antiquité*, such as the *Roman de Troie* (c.1160), *Roman de Thebes* (c.1150) and the *Roman d'Eneas* (c.1160), were contemporary twelfth-century adaptations of Classical heroic tales and characters that included narratives of Alexander the Great, Aeneas and Brutus, the Trojan War, and were popular literary contemporaries of Wace's *Roman de Brut* (Archibald 2004, p.10-25; Barron 2004, p.65-84; Crane 1986, p.158; see *Figure 3.1*). Decadence and sexual desire were much more prominent in the third and fourth-century Greek Romances than in their medieval counterparts, and though they featured amorous relationships, as in the medieval Romance tradition, chance drove the plot rather than the knight's character-growth for the sake of chivalry and his lady (Taylor 1911, p.41-43).

Literary traditions preceding Romance were also developed from Classical sources and are pertinent. Anglo-Saxon poetry preserved the "original flavour" of Tacitus's *Germania* (c.98) (Alexander 1983, p.74). In this work, Tacitus explains that the ancient lais, the *Carmin Antiqua*, were the means by which historical and legendary traditions were passed throughout the ages (Alexander 1983, p.74). The *Germania* provided ancient source material for Germanic heroic lais and Anglo-Saxon verse poetry, from which scholars have been able to outline Germanic values and the continued importance of memory and ancestry in Early Medieval society (Alexander 1983, p.74; Brodeur 1963, p.23-31).

3.2.2 Old English Epic Poetry and Legend

Many of the same allegories, symbols, magical and otherworldly elements found in later Romances have roots in Old English traditions of legend and epic poetry. This source material was passed down through Old English narratives, and sustained through the Middle Ages. These works highlight different perspectives in contemporary ideas towards women's roles and physical spaces in architecture, which will feature as supporting evidence in forthcoming chapters.

Old English poetry combined earlier Germanic, Scandinavian and Saxon heroic traditions that primarily featured androcentric martial themes and narratives, emphasizing loyalty and homosocial fellowship (Godden and Lapidge 1991, p.251-272). Poetry predated prose, which did not appear until at least the eleventh century, and was melodic, intended for performance and occasionally accompanied by the harp (Ker 1957, p.35-38; Wrenn 1967, p.246-247). As mentioned in Chapter Two regarding Anglo-Saxon architectural studies, Anglo-Saxon literary studies also commonly refer to *Beowulf* or *The Battle of Malden* for discussing thegnly, Germanic *comitatus*, as they display the warrior ideal of "suicidal loyalty" in fighting for one's lord and demonstrate Early Medieval values of ancestral power and heritage (Harris 2003, p.113-115; Garner 2011). Roberta Frank (1991) has discussed Old English poetry's idealization of *comitatus*, displaying an ideal veneer rather than actual life (Frank 1991, p.88-106). As I discuss in relation to later medieval chivalry, this poetic idealization helps us examine important contemporary values and aspirations rather than historic events and ordinary behaviour.

Discussions of Beowulf's character describe him as a "typical Germanic hero", developed out of influences from history, legend and folklore, fighting the powers of evil within a subject suitable for a Christianized audience (Alexander 1983, p.107-108, 246-247; Saunders et al. 2010, p.16). *Beowulf* can be used to supplement archaeological research in providing details of armour, weaponry and tools for daily life, uses of space, as well as intangible ideals of heritage and community from the characters' perspective (Wrenn 1967, p.107; Brenner 2017; Clark 2020). Through

this type of literary evidence, we can also see the importance of memory and symbolism, as well as the value placed on objects and spaces in daily life (Garner 2011, p.122, 147; Blair 2018, p.374; Blair 2019). Lori Ann Garner (2011) uses Old English literature to study Anglo-Saxon architecture, filling in the gaps between crop marks and post-holes to provide a discourse on material culture with humanistic perspectives otherwise unattainable.

Some examples of this can be identified in *Beowulf*, and *The Wanderer*, which have provided ethnographic details of culture in studies of Early Medieval literature (Brenner 2017; Clark 2020; Godden and Lapidge 1991, p.88-100). For instance, water is used to symbolise magical boundaries between normal life and the unpredictable or supernatural otherworld. Water is also used to symbolise female power, both as alluring/gentle and untamed/dangerous (Kosso and Scott 2009, p.24-37; Colquitt 2016; Spencer 2020). The hall is also portrayed in these narratives as the centre of life and society, the space for celebration, fellowship and community, and the safety and warmth of home (Webb 2007, p.115; Weikert 2018; Garner 2011, p.163).

Women are visible in Old English poetry and riddles, though their plot-driving agency and chivalry-inspiring character is unique to the Romance tradition (Alexander 1983, p.141-162; Spiegel 1993, p.104). Early narrative themes of heterosexual love were present in pre-Romance, Old English traditions, as in the tenth-century *Appolonius of Tyre* (Archibald 2004, p.21; Alexander 1983, p.256) and the sexual influences of Grendel's mother in *Beowulf*, though these relations are not the driving force behind the protagonist's quest for chivalric honour. In Early Medieval epic and legend, the narrative-driving forces remained within the bonds of male fellowship, through camaraderie in battle and preserving the community and prestige of their great-hall culture and society. The *Exeter Book*'s "Riddle Fifteen" and the elegy, "The Wife's Lament", are studied for their perspective of women, as they both exhibit female narrative voices (Alexander 1983, p.175; Saunders et al. 2010, p.61; Clark 2020).

The woman (the narrator) in *Riddle Fifteen* is portrayed as a protective mother, in a 'womb-like' setting comparable to a fox's den, in which to keep her children safe (Clark 2020). The narrator of *The Wife's Lament* shows the negative connotations associated with solitude in contemporary society, which were primarily negative, as a space of dreariness and loneliness, vulnerability and isolation (Parker (trans.; Webb 2007, p.121; Williams 2008, p.62; Weikert 2018; Weikert 2020). These provide literary evidence for contemporary '*comitatus*' ideas about the Anglo-Saxon woman within élite thegnly society as defined in relation to her children and her husband–as wife and mother.

Dream allegory was present before the Conquest, such as the *Dream of the Rood*, renowned as one of the "greatest religious poems in English literature,"(Swanton 1970, p.vi) comparable to the thirteenth-century allegorical poem, the *Roman de la Rose* (Alexander 1983, p.134-135; Orton 2000, p.53-54; Krueger 2017a). Prose was originally written for utilitarian, every-day purposes, and contrarily, poetry was far more fantastical and used for entertaining (Alexander 1983, p.252-235). The epic poem was a popular form of entertainment but gradually faded with the emergence of court poets and post-Conquest chivalric tales (Ker 1957, p.141-143).

3.2.3 Old French Epic and *Chansons de Geste*

When discussing medieval French literature, discussions of contemporary literature on both sides of the Channel should be combined, as they shared source materials, patrons, familial associations; and French Romance was hugely-formative for English medieval élite culture (Thompson 1991, p.40; Saunders 2004, p.3, 41-46; Saunders 2017). Old English literary studies incorporate information from a huge range of dates before the Conquest, which includes Old Norse and Old English literature. Studies of Early Medieval French literature, however, begin with the Old French Epic tradition starting in the eleventh century, disproportionately overshadowed by studies of Early Medieval Insular literature (Kelly 1992, p.314; Ker 1957, p.107-111). Therefore, the earliest French works to be discussed in this research

date from the Conquest period. Beginning with eleventh century, Old French epics formed the 'First Crusade Cycle' of literature, known as the *Chansons de Geste*, which focused primarily on martial prowess and included themes of adventure, success, and growth within the collective community as a whole, as opposed to the growth of the individual valued in Romance (Kelly 1992, p.314). These works featured Charlemagne, Roland and other Carolingian heroes, comprising what became known as the *Matter of France* (Taylor 1911, p.39; Ker 1957, p.118; Archibald 2004, p.10-44; Weiss 2004, p.26-40; Radulescu and Rushton 2009).

Twelfth-century France saw an explosion in literary culture as the courts of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine (as well as her daughters and extended relations) commissioned and propagated troubadour culture, court poetry and the emergent genre of Romance (Kelly 1937; Benton 1961; Brodeur 1963, p.261; Ashe 1968, p.9; Stokstad 2005, p.11-13; Broadhurst 1996, p.53-84; Swabey 2004, p.53; Short 2007, p.335-361; Aurell 2007, p.363). *Chansons* eventually became overshadowed towards the thirteenth century as the popularity of Romance flourished (Kelly 1992, p.317).

3.2.4 Welsh Source Material and the *Mabinogion*

Welsh poetry and legend were major sources of influence for Early Medieval poetry and folkloric heritage, pseudo-histories that transformed fictional heroes into powerful ancestors, and the Romances that inspired the medieval élite. Our knowledge of medieval Welsh literature comes from five different manuscript collections: the *Black Book of Camarthen*, the *Book of Aneirin*, the *Book of Taliesin*, the *White Book of Rhydderch*, and the *Red Book of Hergest* (Gantz 1976, p.3-7; Bromwich 1986, p.127-130; Padel 2000a, p.14-15; Bromwich et al. 2008, p.7). The *Black Book of Camarthen* is considered the earliest source of Welsh Arthurian poetry, which included early poems of 'Myrdden', who was influential for Geoffrey of Monmouth's Merlin character (Loomis 1928, p.18-23; Thorpe trans. Geoffrey of Monmouth 1966, p.4; Faletra 2000, p.60-63; Padel 2006, p.37-66; Bromwich et al. 2008, p.7, 38;).

The *Book of Aneirin* and the *Book of Taliesin* have been called 'fountainheads'

of early Welsh poetry dating from the sixth century (Cavanaugh 1980, p.390). The *White Book of Rhydderch* contains secular prose and religious texts, including the Welsh Charlemagne cycle and the Welsh *Bevis of Hampton*, which became a popular Middle English Romance (Padel 2000a, p.14-15; Crane 1986, p.23; Weiss et al. 2000, p.70-79; Bromwich et al. 2008, p.9-10). The *Mabinogion* contains early Arthurian legend and is the source material for many Arthurian characters and themes that reappear later in French Romances, localized folkloric traditions and political ambitions of Edward I (Gameson 1998, p.391; Wheatley 2004, p.114). Its stories far predate its surviving manuscripts that only provide a portion of the original Arthurian material (Gantz 1976, p.21; Bromwich et al. 2008, p.61). The *Mabinogion* is generally thought to have circulated orally long before its earliest composition in the thirteenth century (Bromwich et al. 2008, p.15-19, Gantz 1976, p.3). The *White Book of Rhydderch* and manuscript collection, *Peniarth 6* (c. 1225-1275), hold its remaining manuscripts (Bromwich 1986, p.127; Sullivan 1996, p.42-44; Gantz 1976, p.21). The *Red Book of Hergest* also contains more complete versions of some poems from the *Mabinogion's* four branches, but these are much later, dating from c.1400 (Gantz 1976, p.29).

While distinct and distant from Chrétian's Arthurian Romances, the *Mabinogion* contains many similarities, particularly in the names of characters originally gleaned from Bréton and Welsh sources. Examples of this are Owein who became Yvain, Bedwyr who became Bedevere, and Cai who became Kay (Gantz 1976, p.192-193; Padel 2000a, p.280-287). The similarities between this Welsh material and later Romance reaches far beyond character names. The narratives of some are particularly similar to their Romance counterparts. For example, the Welsh *Owein* narrative, also known as the *Countess of the Fountain*, contains very similar symbolism, detail, and plot points to Chrétian's *Yvain*, or *The Knight with the Lion* (Bromwich et al. 2008, p.75-82).

Early Welsh poetry, presumed to date from c.1100, was influential for the mid twelfth-century pseudo-histories, chronicles and Romances; however, by the time

these early poems were compiled into manuscript form in the early thirteenth century, the literature they inspired had already begun to influence further revisions of the Welsh poems from which they originated (Gantz 1976, p.21; Padel 2000a, p.14-15; Bromwich et al. 2008, p.76). When studying influences from one medium to another, their development frequently appears bilateral. This illustrates the subtlety in determining Romance's impact on its contemporary audience and vice versa, requiring rigorous research into dates of origin, production, commission and reception that can often differ.

3.2.5 Geoffrey of Monmouth and the *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c.1135)

Geoffrey of Monmouth developed his *Historia* from early Classical sources, primarily from Ovid and Virgil, Early Medieval chronicles, the *Easter Annals*, legends, the writings of Gildas and Nennius, and potentially writings of William of Malmesbury (c.1125) (Thorpe trans. Geoffrey of Monmouth 1966, p.23; Barron 1987, p.37; Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.94; Bromwich et al. 2008, p.15). Geoffrey also claimed that he derived some material from a mysterious book brought to him by Walter the Archdeacon, though this source no longer exists (Loomis 1970a, p.208-209; Bromwich et al. 2008, p.109). Nennius was the first to mention Arthur and Vortigern, featured in Geoffrey's *HRB* (Padel 2000a), though, as mentioned, Arthur's character is posited by Arthurian scholars to be that of Ambrosius from Gildas's *De Excidio* (c.540) (Ashe 1968, p.72; Sims-Williams 1983, p.130). The *HRB* follows the lineage of the kings of Britain from the Trojan hero, Aeneas and his grandson, Brutus, the 'founder' of "New Troy" (London) (Geoffrey of Monmouth 1966). This lineage continues through the sixth century, blending actual historical figures with fictitious and Classical figures, ending with King Cadwallader (Bartlett 2000, p.632). Regardless of its fictitious elements, this pseudo-historical work was regarded by contemporary audiences through the fourteenth century as factual, and was used in political propaganda and self-projections as a source of prestige and to justify and

legitimise 'inherited' ancestral power (Thorpe trans. Geoffrey of Monmouth 1966, p.17; Krueger 2000, p.28). The *HRB* was a tool used to celebrate British ancestral foundations in England and to display the unification of Wales, as it was brought under English rule (Padel 2000a, p.72).

Arthurian tales were already in circulation throughout Europe before Geoffrey's *HRB*, as early as 1100, if not before (Loomis 1936, p.223; Short 2007, p.360; Bromwich et al. 2008, p.276), evidenced in the relief imagery on an archivolt at Modena Cathedral (Sicily) (Stokstad 1991, p.324-326; Pearson and Richards 1997, p.166). This relief displays one of the hitherto earliest-recorded depictions of Guinevere's abduction narrative and shows Lancelot rescuing her from Melegant's tower (Salter 1988, p.21; Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.95).

Figure 3.3: Archivolt Relief at Modena Cathedral, Sicily (Source: public domain)

The legacy of Geoffrey's work most-importantly brought Roman and British historical and legendary figures together, inextricably linking them within one ancestral narrative that became the foundation for medieval Romance characters and narratives (Pickens 2006, p.219-246). This is the critical foundation upon which I base my discussions of Classical figures from a Romantic context. Geoffrey's *HRB*

provides the link between the Nine Worthies of England and directly supports my argument that emulations of Roman, Greek, Biblical and legendary figures by the medieval élite were inspired by the Romance tradition, which had become the canon for the portrayal and perception of these characters.

Geoffrey's work was influential for later pseudo-histories and ancestries throughout the Middle Ages that incorporated heroic and Romantic characters, including those by Wace, *Roman de Brut* (c.1155) and the *Roman de Rou* (c.1160), Layamon's early Middle English *Brut* (or *The Chronicle of Britain*) (c.1200) and John Rous' ancestry of the Earls of Warwick, the *Rous Roll* (c.1483). Geoffrey provides an "authoritative, scholarly background" for Arthur and Merlin's characters (Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.95; Padel 2006, p.37-66). His Merlin character, based on Myrddin from Camarthen, Nennius's warlord 'Merlin Ambrosius,' and Merlin Sylvestris, a wild man from the North (Scotland), features in the *Life of Merlin (Vita Merlini)* and *Prophesies of Merlin (Prophetia Merlini)*, which are commonly combined into versions of the *HRB*, and developed the modern concept of Merlin (Padel 2006, p.37-41; Jankulak 2010, p.78). Contrary to Hollywood and Disney portrayals, and even in Malory's fifteenth-century narrative, the Merlin of Romance tradition is not referred to as a 'wizard' and does not actually co-star in Arthur's court. As a young man, Merlin was a prophetic aid to King Vortigern, and, in his older years, Merlin helped Uther transform into the image of Gorlois of Cornwall, allowing access to Tintagel Castle and access to Gorlois' wife, Igerna, which resulted in Arthur's conception (Geoffrey of Monmouth 1966, p.205-207).

The prose *Lancelot* Vulgate Cycle features Merlin as a different figure altogether, aiding the Lady of the Lake with Lancelot's upbringing. In this context, Merlin was thought to be the son of a demon who impregnated his mother, and was thus feared for his potentially evil power, though he was still not a magical companion to Arthur (Kennedy 1980; Kennedy 1986). In the *HRB*, Arthur is portrayed as a warrior-king and British hero, as in earlier legends and chronicles (Rouse and Rushton 2005, p.67; Padel 2006, p.38; Bromwich et al. 2008; Archibald et al. 2009, p.11). It was not until

Chrétian de Troyes wrote his five Arthurian Romances decades later, that Arthur became the king of chivalry and Romance (Szkilnik and Pickens 2006, p.274-300).

3.2.6 Wace's *Roman de Brut*

In 1155, the Norman poet, Robert Wace, wrote the *Roman de Brut*, a vernacular translation of Geoffrey's *Historia* with added details, notably the Round Table (Noble 1992; Le Saux 2005). Some believe this work was commissioned by Henry II as a gift for Eleanor of Aquitaine, for which he rewarded Wace a prebend at Bayeux Abbey (Bromwich et al. 2008, p.96; Salter 1988, p.20-23; Weiss 2002, p.79-80, 151). The *Roman de Brut* is also a pseudo-history, or "pseudo-chronicle" (Barron 1987, p.9; Kelly 1992, p.315), though in Wace's work, Arthur has begun the transformation into a Romance king, and the Round Table and Excalibur are introduced from Breton and Insular British fable tradition(Barron 1999, p.23; Le Saux 2001b, p.129; Weiss 2002, p.81-83; Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.97; Bromwich et al. 2008, p.263). Whilst Geoffrey's *HRB* was fueled by a sense of national pride, Wace was a Norman with an outsider's perspective in writing British 'history' (Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.100). In the closing of his *Roman de Brut*, Wace writes:

Tuit sunt mue'e tuit changie'
Tuit sunt divers e forslignie'
De noblesce, d'onur, de murs
E da la vie as anceisurs.
(lines 12851-4, *Roman de Brut*, Le Saux 2005, p.111-112)

The translation of this passage by Francois Le Saux and Peter Damian-Grint (2005) reads:

They have completely changed and altered,
They are totally different and have degenerated
From the nobility, the honour, the customs
And the life of their ancestors.

(Le Saux 2005, p.112)

Such tone and perspective makes the use and propagation of this Romance very politically charged, and presumably used to legitimise Edward I's political propaganda, which will be discussed in following chapters. Edward I's uses of Arthurian propaganda were diverse, spanning ceremonies, building projects, land claims, and 'Arthurian' relics. His Round Table at Winchester Castle (Hampshire), still hanging in the Great Hall today, specifically references Wace's translation of the British ancestry, as he was first to add the Round Table into Arthur's narrative.

3.2.7 Layamon's *Brut*

Layamon's *Brut* (c.1210), written in Middle English in the thirteenth century, is the earliest English history of the British since the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* (Noble 1992, p.160-177; Bryan 1992; Barron 1999, p.33; Le Saux 2001a, p.93-99). This work also developed out of Geoffrey's *Historia* and Wace's *Roman de Brut*, while adding original details that further altered Arthur's story away from Welsh and French predecessors (Swabey 2004, p.11; Haines 2004, p.16). Written approximately twenty years after Chrétian's final Romance, *Percéval*, Layamon diverts Arthur's character further, despite his long-standing renown as a British hero, into a distinctively *English* hero with English roots, who fought for 'England' rather than 'Britain' (Barron 1999, p.32; Crane 1986, p.72).

England's connection to Arthur is unique from other supra-national interest, as he has been written into history as an English ancestor and forefather of culture and identity, rather than a source of entertainment or high-regard. Layamon and Wace's versions of the *Brut* were influential for a later prose *Brut*, chronicle written in French ('Anglo-Norman'), which scholars believe dates from 1272 (Brut, 1272; Pickens 2006, p.220). This was the earliest prose chronicle for the post-Conquest 'English', and at least thirteen other extended editions were commissioned and written before 1528. These later editions, written in English and Latin, continued to incorporate Brutus, Arthur and other elements of fantasy, though these later ver-

sions became more factual as the narratives progressed towards their most-recent histories (Matheson 1998, p.17). Different families commissioned versions of this chronicle, adding personal ancestral details to bolster their familial status, such as the Wigmore *Brut* chronicle from the fourteenth century, in which the Mortimers emphasised their claim to the English throne via the genealogy descending from Brutus and Arthur (Brut 2016, fols.48-63; Kennedy 1999, p.20). Queen Isabella of France (d.1358, wife of Edward II) bequeathed a vernacular French copy of the *Brut* to her son, Edward III, as listed in an inventory of books from her privy wardrobe upon her death (Vale 1982, p.170).

The style, content, and chivalric tone of this work suggests it was originally written for an upper-class, lay audience. In 1305, Guy Beauchamp, 10th Earl of Warwick, gave twenty-seven books to Bordesley Abbey, Worcestershire, the record of which included the listing: "Un Volum del Romaunce deu Brut, e del Roy Costentine," presumably a *Brut* chronicle with a lineage extending through the year 1272 (Stubbs 1882, p.216, 1.232-1.236). Another early version of the *Brut*, known as *Le Petit Bruit*, was an abridgement made in 1310 by Ralph de Bohun ('Rauf de Boun') for Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. Very little is known of this enigmatic author, though John Spence (2005) argues that this Ralph ('Rauf') was one of the Bohun earls of Hereford and a canon of Saint Paul's in London, with connections to the diocese of Lincoln (Spence 2005, p.56-76).

3.2.8 Troubadours and Love Lyrics

Troubadour lyrics were central to the formation and transmission of Romance narratives and ideals, as many of the early Romances were composed for the purpose of being heard aloud rather than for private reading (Crane 1986, p.40; Archibald and Huxtable 2016). Troubadour culture grew out of the southern French courts, with particular focus in the courts of Provence and Aquitaine, as Eleanor of Aquitaine's grandfather, William IX Duke of Aquitaine, was one of the first documented troubadours (Swabey 2004, p.58; Burns 2013, p.399-400). Eleanor's son, the future Richard I,

also enjoyed performing as a troubadour, though as a hobby rather than as a serious career (Swabey 2004, p.60). Eleanor of Aquitaine was a huge patron of troubadour culture, as well as Romance poetry, and minstrel galleries were constructed in England during Henry II's reign, enabling more to hear and experience entertainment elevated above the crowd (Rastall 1964, p.113-115; Woolgar 1999, p.71; Hilton 2008, p.95-98).

Troubadours were mostly active from the end of the eleventh century through the start of the fourteenth century, travelling between courts and gaining renown for their creativity and occasionally competing in 'tournaments of song' (Green 1980, p.103; Swabey 2004, p.56-60; Aurell 2018). Their use of vernacular language allowed the songs to reach a wider audience that included women and lesser knights (Swabey 2004, p.57), making Romance themes and narratives available for all of courtly society (Saul 2011, p.59). The range of social classes and audiences of Romance performances is "unknown and unknowable" due to the uncertainty of who was in attendance (Morgan and Thompson 2008, p.14). Lower social classes could have experienced performances, as they did not take place exclusively indoors. Troubadours frequently traveled with the king's household, and outdoor tournaments and festivities would have allowed many to hear performances, who would not have been present at court.

From the thirteenth century, troubadours began compiling songbooks, of which, a great deal of material remains extant (Rastall 1964, p.29-37; Swabey 2004, p.56). They created a variety of new song-poetry genres and stanzaic formulae, including the *pastorela*, in which a knight falls in love with a peasant girl, the *planhz*, somber laments, and the *devinalh*, which were songs about riddles (Swabey 2004, p.60-61). Current research suggests that troubadours were responsible for the transmission of Arthurian legend throughout Continental Europe while traveling on Crusade, as was the case with William IX of Aquitaine (Loomis 1936, p.225-226; Bromwich et al. 2008, p.276). The famous archivolt in Modena Cathedral (Sicily) (*Figure 3.3*) supports this theory, as it predates Geoffrey of Monmouth's Arthurian narrative

(c.1135) and Chrétian's earliest Romances (c.1150) (Bromwich et al. 2008, p.276). The Albigensian Crusade (c.1209-1229) dispossessed French barons, annexed lands and dismantled courts, dispersing Occitan troubadour culture into northern France and England, Spain, Italy, Sicily and Germany (Swabey 2004, p.66-67; Pickens and Busby 2006, p.220-227; Kelly 2006, p.135-185; Reeve and Wright 2007, p.lvii-lvix Poe 2011, p.69). Catalan troubadours in Spain began to favour northern French lyrical traditions, with the majority of compositions referencing Arthurian legend (Swabey 2004, p.67). By the fourteenth century, minstrels had lost claims to their literary life at court, although household records show that they remained in demand as professional musicians, but for smaller households (Green 1980, p.105).

Troubadours came from various social backgrounds (Duby 1980). Northern poet-musicians were specifically called 'trouvére' and composed in Norman French (*langue d'oil*) rather than Occitan of the southerly 'troubadours' (*'langue d'Oc'*) (Burns 2013, p.396-411). A different strand of court performers were the Occitan *joglars*, or Norman French *jongleurs*, who were professional court entertainers that incorporated more variety in performances than poetry and song (Swabey 2004, p.59). Court poetry reflected social and political differences between troubadour cultures in northern France and south of Poitiers, or 'Occatania' (Salter 1988, p.75-100; Swabey 2004, p.57). Differentiation in values and opinions expressed through individual compositions, obscuring values and opinions were expressed through individual compositions, as Romance poets incorporated personal ideals within their work. Different lyrical narratives featured themes of joyful living, peace, wealth, and longstanding chivalric values of martial prowess and honour, though about half of their repertoire consisted of love lyrics (Swabey 2004, p.57-63; Burgwinkle 2011, p.20-27).

Troubadours developed ideas of romantic love, helping to form the basis of 'courtly love' (*fin d'amours*). Romance and love became more prevalent in courts, and frequent comparisons were made between lovers and specific Romance characters, such as Tristan and Isolde (Swabey 2004, p.63, Loomis 1931, Loomis 1960,

Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.112, 118, Krueger 2000, p, Bartlett 2000, p.558-572). Part of the reason for courtly love's obscurity in modern scholarship is due to contradictory opinions of love and sex in troubadour lyrics and poetry, that reflected and propagated contemporary differences in opinion (Bumke 2000, p.384-388, VanderElst 2017, p.108). Many original troubadours, contrary to modern preconceptions of courtly love, opposed loose morals; for instance, Cercamon, an active performer from c.1130-1149 in the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine's father, did not approve of extra-conjugal sexual activities (Swabey 2004, p.61). Troubadour lyrics of *fin d'amours*, or 'pure love', detailed the source of moral goodness, attempting to distinguish between false love and true love (Swabey 2004, p.63). The contested nature of chivalric 'courtly love' is explored comprehensively in the following chapter in my discussion of Romanticized chivalric values.

Influence between Romance and reality was bilateral; life was influenced by Romance, and Romance influenced social ideals and aspirations. During the reign of Edward I, Arthurian Romance had become increasingly popular in English courts, which in turn became more chivalrous and Romantically-driven. The uses of Romance among the nobility ranged from courtly entertainment and escapism to tactics of war and political propaganda. These uses will be discussed at length below and recounted throughout this thesis to support my prevailing argument for Romances influence on élite society, Romanticized chivalric structuration, the built environment, and their interconnectivity.

3.2.9 Chrétian de Troyes: The 'Father' of Arthurian Romance

Chrétian's status in society remains a mystery to modern scholars, as he has been referred to as an ecclesiastic, low-level cleric, and a "trouvére, minstrel or jongleur" (Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.137). Chrétian's use of lineage and ancestral themes, continuing from Geoffrey of Monmouth's pseudo-ancestry, attest its continued importance within élite society, presumably among a similar audience to

Geoffrey's from a few decades earlier (Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.166). Though Arthur's popularity was infused in British heritage long before the twelfth-century Romance tradition, Chrétian was responsible for Arthur's Romance prestige, redefining Arthur's character into that which became the model for subsequent Arthurian narrative (Barron 1987, p.47; Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.393).

In Chrétian's Romances, he actually shifts the focus away from Arthur, following the narrative of the knight errant, depicting the quests of his individual knights (Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.135). Arthur's importance and greatness lies in his renown as king over the ultimate chivalric court throughout all 'Christendom'. Characters travel great distances to experience his reputable largesse, and his court marks the start and endpoints for the quests (Thorpe trans. Geoffrey of Monmouth 1966, p.9-27). In this sense, Arthur's court plays the role of the Hall from Early Medieval narratives, as the warm space of safety and fellowship.

Chrétian is also credited as the first to introduce the tournament as a popular theme in medieval Romance (Kibler trans. Chrètian de Troyes 2005, p.21). Martial prowess was a prominent topic in stories centuries before Chrétian's Romances, though his treatment of the tournament as a spectacle of pageantry was particularly influential for festivities during the reigns of Edward I and Edward III (Barber 1972; Morris 1998, p.68-72; Munby et al. 2007). Aside from efforts to reduce mortality rates, the response to Chrétian's Romances was influential for transformations in tournament culture between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries (Rosenberg 1995; Cline 1945, p.204-211). A prominent example of this is ladies' attendance at tournaments, specifically their influence and agency as motivating spectators, encouraging knightly valour (Barker 1986, p.15, 211; Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.169; Keen 2005, p.107-120; Morris 2015, p.19).

Chrétian's descriptions of castles and space provide a glimpse of ideal castle imagery, with towers, cut stone, keeps, mechanized portcullis and rocky promontory settings (Chrètian de Troyes 2005, p.18; Chrétian de Troyes 2005e). Much research on space and architecture in Romances already exists (Reyerson and Powe 1984;

Boland 1995; Whitehead 2003; Cornelius 2010; Whitaker 2016), though, as with Early Medieval architectural studies, one can use Romance architecture to infer important architectural ideals held within contemporary society. *Percéval* in particular emphasizes the setting of the Grail Castle on a promontory set above a river to set it apart as a place of supernatural importance. Within the Grail Castle, Percéval notices the many windows looking out over the river towards his approach, and many maidens positioned within the windows, in the dominant position of that particular viewshed. Outcrops, views and watery viewsheds were familiar to late medieval English architecture, as seen at Dunstanburgh Castle (Northumberland) and Bodiam Castle (Sussex), for example. The intriguing question, however, is the extent to which architectural spaces in Romance influenced their construction in reality. With influences developing bilaterally, the gap therefore exists in the recognition and identification of structures and spaces in reality that reflect those in Romance.

3.2.10 *Tristan* and Thomas of Britain

The *Tristan* narrative originally appeared in folkloric traditions in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, transforming and evolving with the progression of the Middle Ages (Loomis 1970a; Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.326; Bromwich et al. 2008, p.209). *Tristan*'s earliest sources remain anonymous and un-datable, though the earliest manuscripts were composed in the twelfth century by Norman poets, Thomas of Britain and Béroul (Padel 2000b, p.11-16; Bromwich et al. 2008, p.209). Tristan's character, a troubadour and King Marc's nephew, was not originally Arthurian, though as narratives evolved through the Middle Ages, he became associated with Arthur's court (Kay 1985, p.185-195; Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.335). Thomas's courtly version (c.1160), unlike Béroul's crass, less élite edition (c.1170), was written for the Angevin court, presumably as a gift for Eleanor of Aquitaine, as was Wace's *Roman de Brut* (Barron 1987, p.23; Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.325-333; Crane 1986, p.135-149; Weiss 2004, p.28-30; Cockerill 2019, p.114). Thomas's *Tristan* was stated as Gottfried von Strassbourg's primary source material for his Romance (c.1200),

which is used by modern scholars to complete the gaps in the fragmentary survival of Thomas's version (Hatto 1978; Kay 1985, p.187).

By the thirteenth century, the *Tristan* narrative was composed into a prose version, and his character had become one of the top three esteemed knights in Arthur's court, alongside Gawain and Lancelot (Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.326; Baumgartner 2006, p.337). Chrétian's Arthurian Romances were inspired by Tristan's earlier character, as *Cligés* and *Érec and Enide* make reference to Tristan's love for Isolde on multiple occasions (Chrètian de Troyes 2005, p.4, 9). The earliest prose edition of *Tristan* was written c.1230-1235, with inspiration derived from the newly-prosaic *Lancelot* proper, or *Lancelot du Lac*, which formed part of the Vulgate-Lancelot cycle (c.1210) (Hunt and Bromiley 2006, p.112-120; Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.325-326).

3.2.11 *Lancelot*: in Verse and Prose

The popularity of the *Lancelot-Grail*, *Lancelot* prose, or Vulgate cycle, stems from his reputation as Arthur's most revered knight in Chrétian's verse Romances of the late twelfth century. This cycle, however, marks the emergence of a new era in medieval Romance: the prose narrative (Kennedy 1980, p.3; Cooper 2004b, p.104-120). Within the context of the diagram in *Figure 3.2*, this collection of Romance narratives, along with the prose *Tristan* and Robert de Boron's additions to Chrétian's *Graal Quest*, would be considered a second or third-generation Romance, stemming from earlier, twelfth-century Romance tradition (Giffin 1965, p.499-503; Bryant ed. and trans. 2001). This cycle was a compilation of five volumes, of which Lancelot features in the third and fourth parts (Kennedy 1980, p.3-4). The adventure of the Holy Grail within this narrative is different from Chrétian's 'Grail Quest' in *Percéval*, though it no longer survives in all manuscript versions of the cycle. When included, the volumes are referred to as the *Graal* or *Grail* Cycle. The inclusion of the *Grail* quest determines whether the manuscript is "cyclic" or "non-cyclic", denoted by the various titles of this prose collection (Giffin 1965, p.503-507; Kennedy 1980, p.1-7; Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.274; Pickens and Busby 2006,

p.230-235).

The works within the *Lancelot* prose cycle overshadowed Chrétian's Romances in popularity (Kibler trans. Chrètian de Troyes 2005, p.22), influencing the fourteenth-century handbooks of chivalry, in which they were referenced as examples of Romantically-reformed values of chivalry (Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996, p.91, 131; Crane 1986, p.178). This profoundly impacted, in particular, courtly activities and ideals of the chivalric lady using the Lady of the Lake and Guinevere as examples. This will be explored fully in the following chapter. Eventually, the *Lancelot* prose cycle was itself overshadowed by the monumental compendium of Malory and Caxton in 1485, which brought together Arthurian narratives and traditions to form the basis of modern ideals of King Arthur (Cooper 2004a, p.105).

3.3 Discussion: Relevant Themes from Medieval Romance

The diagram below (*Figure 3.4*) was recreated based on Joseph Campbell's description of the "Hero's Journey" and is applicable to all types of heroic literature, which he covers in his *Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949). I have created and included this diagram to show that though Romance includes various sub-genres, plot points and general outlines stay the same (Campbell 2008). The unique characteristic of Romance, regardless of the sub-genre, is the character of the Lady who inspires the knight on his quest and is the primary narrative-driving force (Meale 1996, p.15; Krueger 2017b, p.451-466).

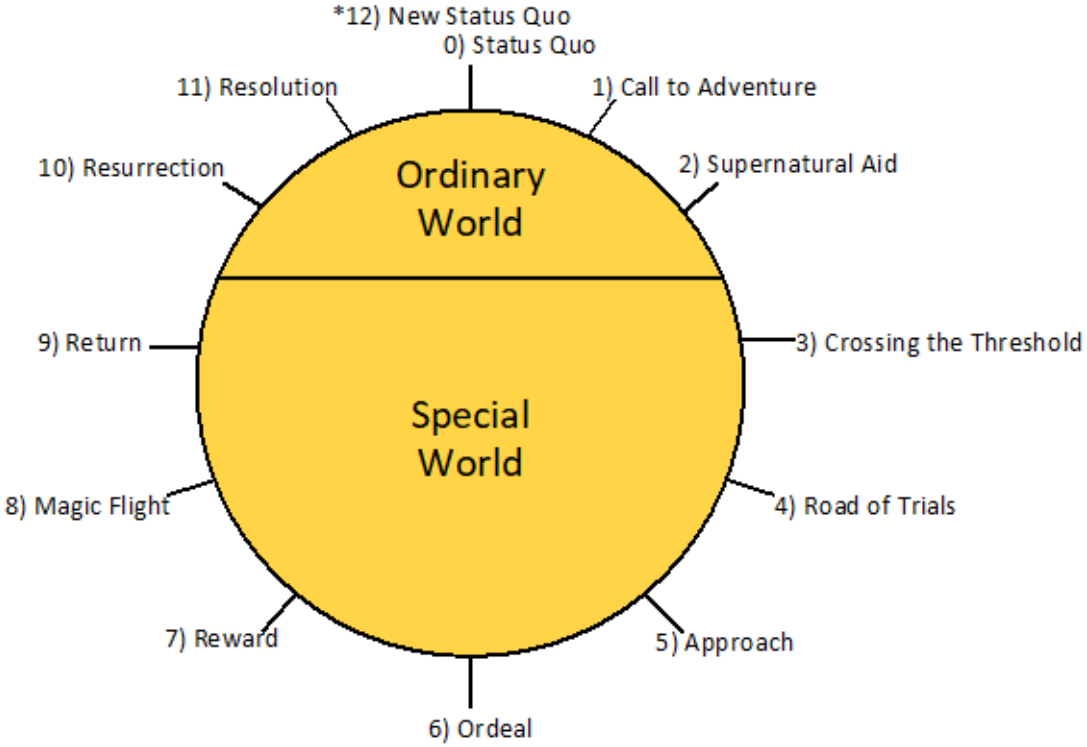


Figure 3.4: Simplified diagram based on Joseph Campbell's 'Hero's Journey', referred to as the 'monomyth', detailed in his *Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 1949 (3rd ed. 2008)

3.3.1 Sub-genres: Ancestral Romance and *Breton Lais*

The Romance genre includes different sub-categories, such as 'dynastic' or 'ancestral' Romance, folk Romance and the *Breton Lais*. Folk Romance is generally associated with Middle English Romances and feature protagonists with humble backgrounds, whilst ancestral Romances were written, usually upon commission, for a noble family. These noble families were primarily of Norman descent, and legendary ancestors "stabilized" their position once settled in England (Barron 1987, p.83; Salter 1988, p.6, 29; Krueger 2000, p.20; Crane 1986, p.13; Weiss 2004, p.24-40).

One of the key Romances discussed in Case Study Three (Chapter Seven), is *Guy of Warwick* (c.1235), originally *Gui de Warewic*. It was written for the Earls of Warwick as an ancestral Romance in the thirteenth century, and it remained pop-

ular with Thomas Beauchamp late into the late fourteenth century. In this story, Guy is portrayed as an English hero, which supports the Beauchamp's position in society. Thomas Beauchamp's fourteenth-century, French-style architectural features, discussed further in Chapter Seven, reflect further ambitions of supra-national prestige whilst legitimised by a strong lineage of legendary English heroes (Salter 1988, p.170; Beauchamp 2013b, p.45-50).

Breton Lais are much shorter than verse Romances, but they still include themes of love and adventure (Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.187). Marie de France, court contemporary of Chrétian de Troyes, is the most prominent author of the medieval lais, as many of the other extant manuscripts and narratives remain anonymous (Burgess and Busby 1986, p.206-207). Although Marie was from France, as self-identified, she wrote for English audiences (Spiegel 1993, p.200; Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.187). She is commonly associated with the court of Henry II, and she most likely derived source material from troubadour lyrics (Green 1980, p.111). Through intensive primary research, scholars have deduced Marie's identity and dated her lais and fables between 1160 and 1190 (Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.188). Marie's works included many similar characters and themes also featured in contemporary Romances, troubadour lyrics, and Early Medieval epic and legend (Green 1980, p.111). Some of these common themes include water symbolism and powerful female characters encountered by knights in the quest landscape of the wilderness (Barron 1987, p.23; Spiegel 2000, p.202).

3.3.2 The Court, the Wilderness and the Otherworld

While discussing characteristics of Romance literature, I will briefly mention spaces within the Romance landscape, as this will be revisited in the case study in Chapter Six. The landscape of the quest was the primary setting in Romance, as knights ventured out from the court. Venturing in the footsteps of Arthur's knights, traveling out from the safety of the Court, the Romance landscape leads out from the castle walls, into the Wilderness and magical 'otherworld'. In the

diagram based on Campbell's "Hero's Journey" (*Figure 3.4*), this is the realm of the "special world", in which most of the action takes place and is most formative for the knight's personal chivalric growth (Barron 1987, p.160, 187; Campbell 2008, p.23).

The Romance landscape was made of various settings and spaces such as gardens, rivers, other unfamiliar castles, tents, meadows, and forests, which usually indicated scrublands rather than 'woodlands'. The Romance, or quest, landscape was the space of supernatural encounters and finding one's destiny (Saunders 1993, p.91; Saul 2011, p.243; Campbell 2008). As I argue in my second case study, the medieval élite cultivated wilderness and symbolic spaces within their castle landscapes to provide a stage for the chivalric, Romance quest, the hunt, and the tournament, whilst remaining within the safety of the demesne.

Romances frequently use similar metaphors and symbols, which were usually already familiar from legend and myth (Saunders 1993, p.142), and I argue that courtly Romance culture appropriated these archaic symbols into status symbols to reference and construct prestige. As I argue in the following chapter's discussion of chivalry, ideals of the Lady and female agency went through drastic transformations due to the élite popularity of Romance themes. The chivalric lady's new power to influence chivalric greatness, and this duality with the perilous risk of her negative influence permeates symbolism in various forms. These female-associated binary opposites can be identified in many Romance symbols and spaces, such as trees which provided shade, rest, and privacy from the prying eyes of courtly society, as well as danger, vulnerability, and darkness (Saunders 1993, p.70). Tristan and Isolde, for example, met within the safety and privacy of an orchard, while Sir Launfal was sent into the woodland as an exile in danger. Water is another major symbol with female attributes, as it can be purifying, gentle, and healing; or contrarily, tempestuous, unpredictable, and deadly. Water can be identified as a symbolic boundary to set apart an important space, such as the river Lancelot crosses using the Sword Bridge to save Guinevere, or the rainstorm that pummels Yvain after he fills a magic bowl

with water from a stream, supernaturally setting him on the course of his quest.

3.4 The Élite Audience: Patronage, Ownership and Uses

The rise of humanism in the twelfth century sparked a rise in curiosity and openness about other cultures, whilst instilling an appreciation and emphasis on the individual's growth and emotion, diverging from the importance of communal growth in the Old French epic tradition (Swabey 2004, p.59; Webb 2007, p.215). Crusade travels provided the opportunity to see and experience distant lands, and exotic wonder fueled interest and excitement for Romances and troubadour narratives that described unfamiliar wildernesses (Ashbee 2004, p.36).

Between 1100 and 1400, a very small percentage of the population had ever held a book, making them valuable possessions and significant artefacts (Cavanaugh 1980, p.20-21; Morgan and Thompson 2008, p.14). Medieval Romance ownership records are far from complete due to the nature and survival of the manuscripts; however, the extant records provide an idea of Romance's importance and dissemination among élite society, as I have researched and tabulated (*Figure 3.1*).

We can infer the knowledge and appreciation of Romances among the élite based upon specifically-documented allusions to characters, such as costumes of Sir Lionel and the Swan Knight, and expenditure records for Romance murals and decorations within royal domestic spaces (Lib Rolls v.4, p.18; Cline 1945, p.207; Denholm-Young 1965, p.144-145; Munby et al. 2007, p.100). Many members of the aristocracy, including women, commissioned court poets, troubadours, and copies of Romances. Records show that copies of Romances were taken on travels to the Holy Land during the Crusades, such as Eleanor of Provence's specifically-mentioned French book of Romances that included the *Roman d'Antioch* and Edward I's copy of *Tristan* (Meale 1996, p.136-139; Howell 1998, p.7, 71, 82-83; Morris 1998, p.79). Books were gifted and dedicated to many members of the élite, some of which have been men-

tioned above, such as Wace's *Roman de Brut*, commissioned and gifted to Eleanor of Aquitaine by Henry II, and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB*, which was dedicated to Robert of Gloucester, half brother of Empress Matilda and uncle and tutor to the future Henry II (Thorpe ed. Geoffrey of Monmouth 1966, p.3; Thompson 1991, p.2; Salter 1988, p.24). Henry II would, therefore, have been familiar with Geoffrey's work from childhood, and later he and Eleanor of Aquitaine became quintessential figures in the development of Romance culture in France and England (Broadhurst 1996, p.53-55; Swabey 2004, p.117; Aurell 2007, p.362-394). Through courts in England and France, they were patrons to important Romance writers such as Marie de France and Wace (Bromwich et al. 2008, p.290). Marie de Champagne, daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine and her first husband, Louis VII of France, was a patron of Chrétian de Troyes; and it has been suggested that she provided source material for his *Lancelot* Romance, or *Knight of the Cart* (Chrètian de Troyes 2005, p.10). Marie also commissioned Andreas Cappelinus's *De Amoré* (c.1180), which scholars use as a primary source for descriptions of 'courtly love' (Green 1980, p.120-121). Henry II and Eleanor's courts have been referred to as 'Courts of Cupid', attesting to the proliferation of Romance propagation. Cappelinus's *De Amoré* has also been interpreted as evidence for actual 'courts of love' in which Eleanor and Marie allegedly presided over 'matters of love' with a jury of courtly ladies (Kelly 1937, p.3-19; Green 1980, p.101, 121; Salter 1988, p.19). However, these courts were fictional as far as existing primary documentation is concerned, at least to the extent they have been described in antiquarian sources (Bell 1855, p.109-111; Green 1980, p.122).

We can directly trace influences from Geoffrey's *HRB* into wider Romance narratives through book transference. For example, Robert of Gloucester loaned his copy to Walter Espec, who in turn passed it to Ralph FitzGilbert (Salter 1988, p.24). Ralph FitzGilbert and his wife, Constance, were the patrons of Geoffrey Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*, an early vernacular translation of the *HRB* from c.1140, predating Wace's *Roman de Brut* by nearly fifteen years (Dalton 2007). Although Henry

III's court did not have a reputation for chivalric greatness, Eleanor of Provence was a connoisseur of Romance literature (Howell 1998, p.7, 82-83). In 1250, Henry III ordered a French book of Romances for her that specifically contained the *Chanson d'Antioch*, scenes from which were subsequently painted within at least three of her chambers, including Westminster (London), Winchester (Hampshire), and Clarendon (Wiltshire); orders for an Antioch chamber at the White Tower (London) were in place but later cancelled (CCR Henry III, vol.6, p.283; Borenius 1943, p.40-50; Colvin et al. 1963b, p.128-129; Howell 1998, p.60). Eleanor also had scenes from the *Roman d'Alexandre* painted around chambers at Clarendon and Nottingham (Nottinghamshire) (James and Robinson 1988, p.74). Her chaplain, John of Howden, composed a version of his poem, *Rossignos* (c.1273), specifically for her, which included references made to a variety of Romance characters that included Hector, Troilus, Alexander, Gawain, Yvain, Percéval, Lancelot and Arthur (Salter 1988, p.76-77, 90; Howell 1998, p.83, 97-98; Le Saux 2008, p.329). Edward I inherited many Romances from Eleanor of Provence and his upbringing was enveloped within this Romantic courtly climate, presumably instilling in him an appreciation for the stories and ancestries combining legend, religion, Romance heroes, and his lineage (see table in *Figure 3.1* for sources).

Chroniclers during the reign of Edward I compared their king to Arthur and Alexander as a form of flattery and praise (see Langtoft's chronicle entries in Appendix D and the table in *Figure 3.1*). During Edward I's Round Table tournament in Nefyn (Gwynedd) in 1284, he was presented with 'Arthur's crown', and in preparation for the Round Table at Winchester to celebrate the marriage of his daughter, Margaret (c.1292), he commissioned the round table that still hangs in the great hall of Winchester Castle (Loomis 1953, p.117; Sargent 2011, p.161). The painted decoration, however, was added by Henry VIII (Biddle and Clayre 2006, p.44-45). Edward I took advantage of further Arthurian connections in his Scottish land claim. In 1301, he wrote to Pope Boniface (Appendix F) claiming land in Scotland on the basis that the land at one point belonged to his ancestor, Arthur (CCR 1301, p.118

in Appendix F; Loomis 1953, p.122; Stones 1965, p.95-101; Morgan and Thompson 2008, p.391).

Edward III was also known for hosting elaborate Round Table tournaments, and his wardrobe accounts provide records of Arthurian costumes for role-playing festivities (Vale 1982, p.63; Barber 2013, p.55-75; Munby et al. 2007, p.83-104). During his Round Table tournament of 1344, Edward III announced his plans for building a huge round structure to host three-hundred knights and a massive round table for gatherings of his Arthurian 'Order of the Round Table', which was arguably inspired by Romance, particularly the "encyclopedia of fourteenth-century chivalry", *Perceforest* (c.1340) (Munby et al. 2007, p.200; Bryant 2011, p.1; Barber 2013, p.55-75).

Romances were used as tools of political propaganda by the secular élite, and as crusade propaganda by the Church (VanderElst 2017, p.83). The *chansons de geste* originally idealized the model of holy knighthood, inspiring soldiers and knights to take up the Cross for the benefit of Christendom; however, Romance began to overshadow the *chansons* in popularity during the late twelfth century and early thirteenth century (Ker 1957, p.120-123; Barron 2004, p.65-84). As Romances became more popular and themes of courtly love became more prominent, the discord between this 'love of the flesh' and Christian doctrine had to be adapted for élite Romance culture and the power of the Church to co-exist, substituting the importance of service to a lady with service to the Virgin Mary and religious metaphors given to secular ideals (VanderElst 2017, p.112).

Although Romance themes and narratives diverged from the Church's values, religion was an important constant throughout the Romance genre. This will be discussed further in the context of the Church's relationship with chivalry and its Romanticized values and activities. The balance of archaic pagan themes with contemporary Christian values presented narratives with Christian protagonists that encounter and interact with magic and the supernatural (Chrètian de Troyes 2005, p.17; Burgess and Pratt 2006, p.171). Medieval audiences enjoyed the escapism

of magical themes, though this subsided by the end of the fourteenth century, as audiences had less tolerance for mythical narrative elements (Green 1980, p.111, 114). The importance of chivalry in society also shifted, as the idea of 'man's dying love' ceased to be a societal value, interpreted instead as a metaphorical code of polite behaviour, which was reflected in contemporary literary narratives (Green 1980, p.114; Girouard 1981, p.121).

3.5 Conclusion

During its height from the twelfth through mid-fourteenth century, Romance was a popular source of entertainment, escapism, chivalric example and political propaganda in England and the wider Continent (Ker 1957, p.102; Kelly 1992, p.317; Salter 1988, p.29; Crane 1986, p.135). This discussion has provided an original synthesis of court cultures and literature of the Angevins and Plantagenets to support the archaeological study of castle architecture presented here. Romance was a culture-defining form of entertainment, as well as an undercurrent of contemporary society, and its popularity has been commemorated in heraldry, art, costumes, and many other forms of élite self-projection and self-association. The next chapter draws upon this Romance background to further explore Romance emulations and depictions by the medieval élite and the Romantic reformation of chivalric life and values. This will help to identify Romance's direct impact as well as its indirect incorporation into the built environment on a broad scale as a cultural trend.

Chapter 4

The Romantic Reformation of English Chivalry

4.1 Defining Chivalry

Current popular ideas of chivalry feature princesses in towers, damsels, and knights in shining armour. The Victorians are somewhat to blame for propagating these heavily Romanticized chivalric ideals, though chivalry has never been a static ideology. Throughout the Middle Ages, ideas and values of chivalry were continually developed and shifted; as such, its definition requires addressing the phases of its evolution. Furthermore, it is important to discuss the meaning of 'chivalry' as an architectural description in modern research. With the ever-changing nature of chivalry, the idea of the 'chivalric' castle is inconsistent and unclear, typically lacking further discussion or definition (Thompson 1991, p.63; Morris 1998; Goodall 2011, p.298). Chivalry cannot, therefore, be defined as a single cultural phenomenon. It evolved on a macro-level throughout the progression of the Middle Ages (and beyond), and contemporary medieval perspectives also varied at a micro-level, dependant on social class and personal bias (Kay 2001, p.3; Crane 1986, p.178-179; Thorstad 2019, p.154).

The medieval evolution of chivalry is comparable to that of the medieval evo-

lution of contemporary ideas of the castle, in that its implications were dynamic among contemporary society, and its development is key to understanding the disparity between the andro-centric "chivalric" tournaments of William Marshall in comparison with the Kenilworth tournament of 1279 for which "one hundred knights and ladies" were in attendance. In discussing "chivalric" society and its built environment, sources frequently absent the development of chivalry from discussions that, nevertheless, attempt to address the incongruence between the absence of the lady in early twelfth-century documentation and later thirteenth-century activities (Creighton 2019, p.187-218; Wilkinson 2019, p.219-240). Furthermore, discussions that mention chivalric development through the Middle Ages continue to view it as an idealistic set of values for a professional warrior class (Kaeuper and Bohna 2009, p.274; Rous 2017, p.14). Discussions of chivalry, therefore, miss the important role Romance culture played in the development of chivalric life. Importantly, and unique to this thesis, Romance must be discussed as a cataylist in developing chivalry into a society-wide set of values and aspirations, moving from the mounted soldier, to all members of élite society.

In fitting with the previous two chapters, this chapter will also present a literature review and provide a synthesis of previous research, whilst constructing an original timeline of chivalry to highlight its Romantic reformation and impact on medieval structuration. From the tenth-century mounted soldier to the fourteenth-century chivalric lady, this discussion will explore ways that French and English chivalric life expanded to encompass 'lay-chivalric' society, or non-martial nobility (Hansson 2006), and became a conduit through which medieval Romance influenced medieval élite life and, therefore, its built environment.

4.1.1 Chivalry: A Multi-discipline Literature Review

Studies of chivalry span various avenues of medieval culture and society, including medieval households and lived experience, the Church, politics, and warfare, with varying discourses for different social classes and demographics (Labarge 1965;

Duby 1980; Prestwich 1981; Duby 1982; Vale 1982; Denton 1999; Keen 1999; Vale 2001; Labarge 2003; Kaeuper 2009; Johnson et al. 2017). Chivalry features in discussions from different fields of study, providing differing perspectives, such as chivalric literature (medieval Romance) (Boland 1995; Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996; Kennedy 1999; Kaeuper 1999), material culture (Binski 1986; Givens 1986; Alexander and Binski 1987; Perkins 2015), and specific activities such as the hunt, feast and tournament (Cline 1945; Denholm-Young 1965; Cummins 1988; Barber and Barker 1989; Sykes 2007; Sykes 2010; Coldstream 2012). Discussions of space and the built environment also occasionally feature to an extent in studies of chivalric life (Stocker 1992; Dixon 1998; Johnson 2002; Creighton 2009b; Creighton 2010), though the vast majority of sources are dedicated to the topic of chivalry itself, rather than its role within a wider context (Foss 1975; Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996; Bumke 2000; Keen 2005; Saul 2011; Aurell 2014; Kaeuper 2016). These studies occasionally mention the impact of Romance literature on chivalric values, but this is never applied to the built environment.

Chivalry transformed throughout the Middle Ages, and its evolution is a necessary aspect of its definition, as some believe that masculine martial honour is incomparable to the idyllic Arthurian chivalry of the Romances (Liddiard 2005, p.25; Morris 2016, p.69-74), when both ideologies defined chivalry at different times, as attested by contemporary chivalric handbooks written from the mid-twelfth century through the mid-fourteenth century by both religious and secular practitioners (Kaeuper and Kennedy 2005; Fallows 2013). Furthermore, courtly love was and remains one of the most contested subtopics of medieval chivalry (Bumke 2000, p.211). The term 'courtly love' is Victorian, and was originally referred to as *'fin d'amours'* in the Middle Ages. *Fin d'amours* was contentious among contemporary society, as troubadours, poets and members of the élite audience had differing opinions on morality and extra-conjugal romantic relationships (Kelly 1978; Duby 1982, p.41; Kay 1996; Kay 2001; Swabey 2004, p.80; VanderElst 2017, p.32, 76). Changes in ideals and attitudes towards gender, specifically women, are a major

aspect of Romance literature's influence on chivalric values, evidenced by changing and contrasting attitudes towards *'fin d'amours'*.

Victorians blended "courtesy" and Romanticized chivalry to develop a new idea of andro-centric chivalry that defined the English Victorian gentleman, as demonstrated, for example, by Digby's *Rules for the Gentlemen of England* (1882-1883) (Girouard 1981, p.56-59; Hadley 1999). The image of the armoured knight came to symbolise the struggle of morality and "temptations of the flesh" rather than struggles of warfare; and the self-conquest of these temptations was now the dragon to be slain–even if only an idyllic ambition rather than physical reality (Girouard 1981, p.146, 196-197, 258). Contemporary Pre-Raphaélite paintings displayed the lady as the knight's superior and the object of his blind service and complete obedience, though the wife replaced the role of the mistress to fit with contemporary values of purity and sexual morality (Girouard 1981, p.199-200; Woolgar 1999, p.77). The Victorian lady, however, was to assume a subordinate place in society by avoiding the "unladylike competition" with men, as this would "betray the roles of womanhood" (Girouard 1981, p.260-261). Contemporary chivalric propaganda for women could be found in the popular fashion and literary magazine, "La Belle Assembleé" (c.1800-1830), translated as "The Belle's Court and Fashionable Magazine", no doubt alluding to tales of Guinevere and Eleanor of Aquitaine's legendary Courts of Love detailed by Cappelinus in 1185 (Warton et al. 1871; Swabey 2004, p.57; Bell 1855). Rather than the powerful chivalric lady of medieval Romance literature, however, this female chivalric image most likely portrayed the delicate, weaker sex who needed rescuing, morally and physically. Nineteenth-century portrayals of Romanticized chivalry included chivalric tournament propaganda and references to medieval martial training, which likely assisted in developing the culture of Victorian English gentlemanly sports, such as Cricket (Girouard 1981, p.245-246). 'Chivalry' became used as a synonym for contemporary standards of being 'gentlemanly' or acting 'courteous', and Victorian culture appropriated the idea of chivalry into a practical system of morality with a theatrical and idealistic veneer borne out of Romance.

The tales of King Arthur were adapted and assimilated into contemporary society, and their 'gentlemanly' themes were used to teach boys how to become an English gentleman (see examples in Appendix H).

Figure 4.1: "The Spirit of Chivalry", likely intended to portray Queen Victoria, by Daniel Maclise 1845 (Girouard 1981, p.122). This image shows Chivalry as a lady, with chivalric traits such as gallantry, morality, piety and gentility anthropomorphised in the other figures standing around Chivalry in the centre.

Figure 4.2: Paintings of the 'Virtues of Chivalry' from the Palace of Westminster, c.1267, showing chivalry represented as female during the height of later medieval chivalric development (Plate II. Binski 1986)

Gender and the Chivalric Lady

As Romance's primary nuance was the authority of the chivalric lady, it is important to discuss gendered ideals and spaces within the built environment to assess the differences influenced by Romance. The study of gender often refers to studies

of femininity, or feminist studies, rather than gender as a whole (McLean 1981b, p.89; Gilchrist 1999, p.99-113; Fainstein and Servon 2005, p.12; Saul 2011, p.282; Raguin and Stanbury 2005; Bennett and Karras 2013, p.402). Feminist theory and gender have become increasingly popular in castle studies. Progressing from previous ideas of the castle as an andro-centric, martial space, research has begun to discuss the castle as a space of luxury, entertainment and female agency. Gilchrist (1999) suggests that segregation of sexes was a formality for representing differences in social order (Gilchrist 1999, p.101). Contemporary symbolism also reveals ideas of gender; for example, the enclosed garden embodies the contested nature of the lady by simultaneously representing the purity of Virgin Mary and the temptation of Eve (Gilchrist 1999, p.107, 120; Skinner and Tyers 2018).

While reiterating the importance of the nuanced ideals of the 'lady' in twelfth-century English chivalry, the frequent binary opposition of male and female in modern research is problematic. Modern feminist studies aimed to build image of the lady in castle life, attempting to find her voice and agency, as the lady is usually absented with male-dominated biases and agendas (Morewedge 1975; Stuard 1976; Baker and Hill 1978; Stuard 1989; Jewell 2007a, p.85, 101; Dempsey et al. 2019). Chivalry has even been defined specifically as "solidly masculine" and the "cultural expression of the rough world of the fighting man" (Saul 2011, p.270). However, addressing only that which is 'female' continues the narrative of binary opposition to that which is 'male'. Previous studies of burials and grave goods have also succumbed to the binary gendered labelling of artefacts, though these classifications of gender and demographics based on modern appropriations of gender have been challenged (Harke 1990; Gilchrist 2009, p.236).

Early medieval gendered and architectural studies are more inclusive of literary material as evidence, as legends and stories are used to construct an image of women inhabiting their spaces (Webb 2007, p.100-107; Garner 2011; Brenner 2017; Grant 2017). Conversely, architectural and archaeological feminist studies have become more prolific, though they largely ignore the chivalric lady in Romance in comparison

with the chivalric lady in reality (Murray 2003; Martin 2012). Very few studies compare late medieval women and their spaces to their Romance contemporaries (Leyser 1995; Thorstad 2015; Delman 2018), and these have yet to focus on women and spaces in the high middle ages, or golden age of the castle. Certain prominent medieval women and queens feature heavily in research, however, these biographical studies cannot be applied to the wider contemporary female population (Parsons 1994; Howell 1998; Hilton 2008; Cockerill 2014; Cockerill 2019).

Women have been largely absented from studies of Early Medieval élite society, typically portrayed in domestic unseen roles based upon grave goods and literature (Gilchrist 2009). Recent research has begun to expand our knowledge of Early Medieval gender roles (Weikert 2020), though Anglo Saxon women are mostly portrayed through a monastic lens as this was the primary educated, literary and visible demographic (Williams 2003; Leyser 1995). As such, secular Female space remains a contested mystery, further hindered by the lack of definitively male or female artefacts in the household and non-specific definitions in architecture (Richardson 2003b, p.107; Morgan 2017, p.21).

4.2 Evolution of Chivalric Culture

The emergence of chivalry is often associated with the beginning of feudalism, developing alongside castle culture in France. Feudalism was, however, outlived by English castle construction, and further still by chivalric ambitions. Chivalry did not keep a static form, and was ever-changing throughout the medieval period and beyond. The ensuing changes in chivalric values and ideals, both during and after the emergence of the love lyric and Romance narrative, are most apparent when compared with pre-Romance chivalry. Therefore, this discussion follows a timeline of chivalry's development, beginning the discussion of later medieval chivalry before the Norman Conquest, to highlight the impact of Romance literature as a cultural modifier well beyond its popularity as a source of élite entertainment.

4.2.1 From Thegnly *Comitatus* and French *Chevalierie* to Post-Conquest Romanticized Archaism

At the most basic level, chivalry originated as *chevalierie*, mounted soldiers with a code of honour. Calvary warfare can be dated back to the sixth century in Western Europe, though it was the martial standard during Charlemagne's rule (c.768-814) (Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.106; Saul 2011, p.14-15), with soldiers adhering to a code of conduct and honour that included rules for warfare and surrender (Davis 1976, p.32). Thegns across the Channel adhered to the Germanic *Comitatus* model, which centered around soldiers' fealty to their lord (Thompson 1995, p.17). Thegns were required to be wealthy, in order to maintain the expensive upkeep of horses, and also for maintaining their residences, which, by definition, included five hides of land with a kitchen, chapel, outbuildings, and most importantly, a hall surrounded by a burhgeat with a gatehouse or a fenced ringwork enclosure (Williams 2003, p.23-30; Garner 2011, p.83-85; Saul 2011, p.232).

This early, andro-centric form of chivalry is depicted in the *chansons de geste*, as well as Germanic epics, with heroism, honour and male fellowship as the primary driving forces (Ker 1957, p.117; Keen 2005, p.103-104; Saul 2011, p.263). Using chivalric and Romance literature as a mirror of élite society, homosocial relationships were featured as communal growth and common good was the ultimate goal (Spiegel 1993, p.104). Amorous relationships were extant in chivalric narratives, though the lady was not yet a narrative-driving figure, and the communal great hall society had yet to transition into an individualistic society, valuing personal character growth above that of the community (Ailes 2006, p.97-101).

4.2.2 The Twelfth-Century Emergence of English Chivalry

Through the twelfth century, troubadours and Romance in court grew in popularity. Knights from humble backgrounds were considered the lowest among the nobility (Chrétian de Troyes 2005e; Kaeuper 2016, p.221), though this Romantic,

knightly image of chivalry had begun to entice the most élite, who started the trend of emulating this Romantic knightly image (Duby 1980, p.175-177; Fainstein and Servon 2005, p.1-8). The Romantic reformation of chivalry had begun to bring about new ideas of gender, space, privacy, piety and strengthened values of archaism and ancestral power, which were adapted across élite society, by women and non-martial men alike (Graves 2000, p.12-15; Saul 2011, p.59).

This is not to argue, however, that élite women had been absent in political activities prior to this shift in Romanticized entertainment. Research has shown that women were prominent in society and often held substantial power. Though, apart from individual biographical works on figures such as Empress Matilda and Eleanor of Aquitaine, very little exists as to generalized studies of the female role in élite society, and further still, regarding women within the lesser nobility (Cockerill 2019; Morgan 2017; Dempsey et al. 2019). As Romance's primary distinguishing trait from the chansons de geste showed the lady in a central role of authority, with the potential to both heal and destroy. The twelfth century marked an era of change within chivalric society, as the Romance genre developed, idealizing the chivalric lady as an authoritative agent, different from the ordinary 'woman', to inspire male chivalric greatness on both sides of the Channel (Chrétian de Troyes 2005c; Munby et al. 2007, p.70; Saul 2011, p.263).

4.2.3 The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century: The Golden Age of Chivalry

This cultural change gradually shifted, becoming visible and tangible by the thirteenth century, as architecture began to reflect nuanced ideals of the lady through added features of privacy and power, as well as other chivalric values of piety, largesse and theatrical displays of pageantry and prowess. As evidenced by contemporary chivalric handbooks, the élite class adopted chivalry as its royal standard, and rules of chivalry applied to men and women in historical documentation as well as within the pages of Romance.

This 'lay-chivalry' marked the height of medieval chivalry, during which theatrical displays sought to recreate an 'Arthurian golden age' that never existed, using psuedo-historical Arthurian accounts and relics to legitimise power (Stones 1965, p.95; Barber 1972). By the middle of the thirteenth century, Arthurian Romance in particular, was widespread among court circles, and Romance had begun to define the image of kingship and queenship as seen in forms of art, portraiture and seals (Howell 1998, p.259; Saul 2011, p.43).

Pseudo-histories and Romances described Arthur as head of a court internationally renowned for its exemplary chivalry with displays of largesse, piety, honour prowess and stability, which was the image Edward I intended to model (Saul 2011, p.42; Burns 2013, p.398). Most importantly, Edward I wanted to create a supranational image as Arthur's heir, notably in his letter to the Pope, justifying his claim to land in Wales and Scotland (see Appendix F; Meirion-Jones 2012, p.298). Edward I took Eleanor of Castile to see 'Arthur's tomb' in Glastonbury (Jones 2012, p.298), and as a further means of displaying this inherited power, held a spectacular funeral for 'Arthur and Guinevere' (1278), which included a procession with Arthurian relics, allegedly including Arthur's crown, which he stored at Westminster Palace (London) (Loomis 1953, p.114, 117; Binski 1986, p.111).

Chivalry became a culture of ceremonial display (Saul 2011, p.53), and the English élite vied to fashion themselves as a pan-European power, unhindered by Insular conceptions, through displaying connections to their Romantic ancestors using their castles as a canvas (Stalley 1999, p.87; Creighton 2012, p.115). Literary culture and its influence linked politics with chivalric display, and political propaganda began alluding to Romance and legend, most notably, in Edward I's appropriation of "historical personages such as Arthur, Magnus Maximus, [Constantine,] and Brutus" in support of royal territorial claims (Binski 1986, p.97; Saul 2011, p.324; Appendix F).

I date this 'golden age' from the end of the twelfth century through the late fourteenth century, encompassing Henry II's literary courts, through Edward I's

use of Arthurian propaganda to support political ambitions, to Edward III's large Romantic role-playing ceremonies. During this time, the *Golden Legend* featuring Saint George, was also popular, and by the mid fourteenth century, Arthur was overshadowed as the figurehead of English chivalry by the English religious icon, Saint George, portrayed in art and imagery as a true Romance hero with horse and armour, defeating a dragon to save a damsel (Fellows 1993, p.83; Saul 2011, p.205; Coldstream 2012, p.159). While Henry II, Richard I, and Henry III all enjoyed Romance and incorporated Arthurian 'authentic' chivalry as their courtly standard, Arthur was used as an active symbol of English chivalry particularly during the reigns of Edward I and Edward III (Broadhurst 1996, p.14; Tyler 2017). Edward I's 'Arthurian enthusiasm' was apparent in his Romantic ceremonies that evoked the nostalgia of a psuedo-historical Arthurian 'golden age.' Edward III's chivalric micro-culture perpetuated nostalgia of this fabricated 'golden age', Romanticising Edward I's court, and later, post medieval chivalric displays emulated Edward III's court, idealizing it as the pinnacle of chivalry (Girouard 1981, p.113, see *Figure 4.3*).

Figure 4.3: Victoria and Albert's costumes of Edward III and Philippa for fancy dress ball in 1841 (drawn by Queen Victoria, Girouard 1981, p.113)

4.3 Distinguishing "Chivalry" from "Courtly" from "Courtesy"

Another key issue to discuss that rarely appears in studies of chivalry, is the interchangeable use of the terms 'chivalric', 'courtly', and 'courtesy.' Each has a specific meaning that should be clarified when discussing the intricacies of 'courtly' and 'chivalric' castle life. Specifically, 'chivalry' is central to the argument that Romance impacted castle society and its built environment. The meaning of 'courtly' as an adjective broadly refers to the court and its participants. This definition changes widely, however, when applied to various courts of medieval England. Each king had very individualized "court styles" and climates, and this took different forms dependant upon the individual king and corresponding sociopolitical context (Prestwich 1997, p.119; Burns 2013, p.399; Binski 1986, p.108-109).

Eleventh-century chivalry applied solely to the male knightly class, who ranked

below the élite in the social hierarchy. This implies that 'courtly' would not describe 'chivalric' society, and 'chivalrous' knights were therefore not 'courtly'. Peter Alfonsi of Henry I's court wrote his *Disciplina Clericalis* (c.1110) listing seven knightly virtues that included liberal arts and physical skills for martial training, geared specifically for 'milites' rather than 'nobilities' (Orme 2017, p.37). Fight books from the Middle Ages, such as "Talhauffer's Manuscript" (1459) provide further perspective on differences between early martial knighthood and 'courtly' culture, listing practical skills for combat and militarism far removed from the etiquette and idealistic values of courtesy and chivalric life (Kaeuper and Kennedy 2005; Fallows 2013; Orme 2017; Bernardazzi 2020). 'Knightly' is therefore a separate classification that differs from the designations of 'chivalric', 'courtly' and 'courteous', as knights referred specifically to male soldiers of a lower social strata. This distinction becomes blurred once the most élite and non-martial members of the upper nobility participate in knighting ceremonies, and to be knighted was an honour separate from that of the battlefield. Furthermore, knighthood on its own did not violate teachings of the Church, whilst the majority of chivalry's core activities and values were deemed sinful and worldly pleasures of the flesh, in direct contradiction with Christian teachings (Bumke 2000, p.221; Gilchrist 2009, p.237-239).

It is vital to this thesis to clearly state that only Romanticized chivalry applied to the court, once the most élite began to idealize the role of the humble knight featured in troubadour lyrics and Romance narratives (Saul 2011, p.36, 261, 305). During this shift (c.1180-1230), courtly society idealized chivalry in its Romanticized form, and eventually, chivalry was adopted court-wide, including ladies and non-martial men alike. The 'Order of Chivalry' was no longer an ambition exclusively for knights, attested by historic deeds where 'milites' was gradually used in place of 'nobilis', blurring distinctions between the knight and the castellan (Duby 1980, p.159; Crane 1986, p.180-181; Fallows 2013, p.78; Burns 2013, p.298). Therefore, 'courtly' lacks the automatic inclusion of Romantic ideals and qualities of Romantically-reformed 'chivalry'.

'Courtesy' and 'chivalry' are different still, as demonstrated in contemporary handbooks of chivalry in which practitioners referred to courtesy as a central quality of chivalry (Kaeuper and Kennedy 2005, p.131; Fallows 2013, p.71). The following subsections highlight historical documentation to support my argument that Romance changed the face of chivalry as a distinctive and idealistic aspect of élite life.

4.3.1 Handbooks of Chivalry

Medieval handbooks of chivalry are the primary evidence for the Romantic reformation of chivalry, as they mention specific details taken directly from Romance literature to provide examples of ideal chivalric behaviours and activities. John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (c.1159) marks the beginnings of chivalry's early evolution away from an exclusively-martial code of honour, as it details idealized knighthood from a non-martial perspective (Kaeuper and Kennedy 2005, p.3).

Ramon Llull's *The Book of the Order of Chivalry* was written in Catalan during the height of Arthurian and Romantic propaganda (c.1275) (Fallows 2013, p.1). Llull was a mathematician, philosopher and theologian, with the aim to canonize the guidelines of chivalry aligned with religious ideals from a civilian perspective rather than a military practitioner, demonstrating chivalry's applicability to non-martial society (Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996, p.5, 16). The central focus of his handbook detailed that the quest of self-discovery was the ultimate goal of Arthurian knights, showing that lay and clergymen alike, had begun to associate chivalric values with themes and characters from Romance (Jefferson 1991, p.52; Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996, p.67; Fallows 2013, p.2).

Geoffroi de Charney's *Book of Chivalry* (c.1351) offers a detailed glimpse into a secular perspective of chivalric ideals, as he was a knight in the Order of the Star, the French rival chivalric order to Edward III's Order of the Garter (Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996, p.51). His writing describes standards for questing, recounting one's adventures in court, and participating in tournaments, which were primarily theatri-

cal by this time (Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996, p.193; Coulson 2003a, p.112; Burns 2013, p.401). He also addresses undertaking deeds for the love of one's lady, as well as details for how ladies should present themselves taking examples from chivalric ladies in Romance narratives (quoted in full in Appendix A). The thirteenth-century Lancelot prose cycle was particularly influential for exemplifying the roles of the chivalric lady, focusing on attributes of Guinevere and the Lady of the Lake. Including ladies in chivalric handbooks attests to chivalry's application across élite society. Charney also reiterates the importance of Christian knighthood, promoting suffering as penance and merit, and he also includes ideal conduct towards others and details for a proper knighting ceremony (Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996, p.95, 121, 131-133, 167; Saul 2011, p.201).

4.3.2 Courtesy Books

Courtesy books written throughout the Middle Ages, contemporary with handbooks of chivalry, further demonstrate differences between chivalry and courtesy. Courtesy books, as did books of chivalry, ranged in date from the twelfth through the fifteenth century, beginning during the height of the troubadour movement (c.1159), and continued to be produced contemporaneously. Two prominent courtesy books were written by Grosseteste (c.1240) and Caxton (1477), and existing translations show that courtesy books were written to teach children manners, posture and social etiquitte (Gieben 1967, p.47-74; Oriel ms. lxxix, Gutenburg.org; Gilchrist 1999, p.177). Caxton's courtesy book was produced for the same society as John Astley's book of chivalry (c.1445), which was an English version of earlier French handbooks, indicating that chivalry and courtesy remained separate ideologies within contemporary cultures. More importantly, courtesy did not oppose church teachings as did ideals of chivalry (Kelly 1995). The opening segment from Caxton's book of courtesy (1477) below demonstrates the intention and use of courtesy books from a medieval perspective:

"Lytle childe, suthen youre tendre infancie

stondeth as yett vndir yndyfference,

to vice or vertu to moven or Applie,....

Vice or virtu to Folowe and ympresse

In mynde; and therefore, to stere and remeve

You from vice, and to vertu thou dresse,

That on to folow, and the other to eschewe,

I have devysed you this lytill newe

Instruccion according to youre age,

Playne in sentence, but playner in langage..."

(Caxton's *Book of Courtesy*, 1867 translation from the Oriel ms. lxxix, Gutenburg.org)

4.4 Aspects of the Lived Experience of Chivalry in Romantic Society

After outlining key stages in the evolution of medieval English chivalry, I turn the focus to specific aspects of Romanticized chivalric culture, providing the context of society and idealism for my subsequent case studies. This discussion of chivalry is unique, using my original ideas of 'chivalric structuration' and 'secular liturgy', for identifying Romance's footprint left in castle structures and spaces.

4.4.1 Gender and Individualism

As reflected in Romance literature's focus on individual growth above the common good and the powerful role of the chivalric lady, privacy within the castle structure became a necessary feature within both the physical and idealistic structuration of chivalric life. The development of private spaces increased through the end of the Middle Ages, with the emphasis shifting from large, open communal spaces to separate smaller chambers (Thompson 1987, p.153).

The Anglo Saxon riddle, *Riddle Fifteen*, and elegy, *The Wife's Lament*, are from

the perspective of a female voice, revealing early medieval perspectives of the woman defined in relation to her children and husband, as mother and wife, rather on her own accord as seen with post-Conquest queens and élite women (Clark 2020). Copious work has been published on Eleanor of Aquitaine, Eleanor of Provence, and Eleanor of Castile, showing power wielded by individual women within chivalric society. They are given a voice through research, though this does not reflect general livelihoods of aristocratic women, and are even further removed from lower class women, who's gender regulations were less rigid, and widows, who were given the most agency and freedom (Gilchrist 1999, p.143). Élite women prior to the Conquest and in its aftermath assumed roles of power, though chronicles and historic documentation did not start portraying women in roles of chivalric authority until Eleanor of Aquitaine and Marie de Champagne's literary patronage.

Leading into a discussion of new gender ideals regarding the 'chivalric lady', I argue for the inclusion of élite women within discussions of chivalric life, from which they are too-often absented. Chivalry remains often discussed in terms of masculinity and warfare, though chivalric handbooks prove otherwise. In documentary evidence as well as allegorical literary examples, the lady was a contested figure, at once represented by Eve the temptress and the Virgin Mary (Gilchrist 2004; Gilchrist 1988). Like many other medieval symbols, the idea of the female possessed dual capabilities to either encourage or tarnish the male lifelong pursuit, or quest, for chivalric greatness (Saul 2011, p.263, 275; Burns 2013, p.396-411).

The chivalric lady's authority over the knight errant and his chivalric repute, often in supernatural form, was a theme from Romance narratives, distinctive from earlier chivalric narratives (Chrétian de Troyes 2005f; Swabey 2004, p.70). This role of the powerful chivalric lady, human or supernatural, drove the Romance narratives and displayed a nuanced role in medieval chivalric life for the lady of the court (Burns 2013, p.406). By the thirteenth century in England, women were idealistically responsible for fulfilling chivalric deeds themselves, displaying loyalty to lovers (exhibiting courtly love), faithfulness and modesty "at all costs", and pass-

ing honour and valour into their knights and lovers (Barker 1986, p.103; Bryant 2011, p.3, 13, 15). It was virtuous for the lady to encourage the knight towards chivalric greatness, though this implicates her converse ability to ruin the knight's honour and chivalric repute (Saul 2011, p.268; Burns 2013, p.396; Bridges 2018, p.173; quotes from Charney's *Book of Chivalry* in Appendix A). With femininity as something to both protect and be protected from, masculinity was redefined socially and sexually (Gilchrist 2009, p.6). From this image of the lady in Romance, a female paradox emerged within chivalric ideals and symbolism. These paradoxical dualities will be discussed further in my case study discussions of symbolism, exploring their translation into castle architecture and landscape spaces.

Powerful male figures such as Robert the Bruce, William Wallace, and Arthur were depicted with traits considered to be masculine, such as large stature and loving a woman, which added to their chivalric honour (Hadley 1999, p.43). Winning the love of a woman was viewed as honourable in both Romance and reality (Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996, p.95). Charney (1345) wrote: "It is good for a man-at-arms to be in love; it teaches him to seek higher renown and to honour his lady" (Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996, p.110). A healthy balance was ideal though, as Chrétian's *Érec and Eneid* (c.1170) demonstrates (Chrétian de Troyes 2005c), when love becomes consuming, it can hinder one's valour and prowess, as Erec became ridiculed by the other knights at court (Chrétian de Troyes 2005c, p.58-64). The king's legitimacy as a ruler was also based on the queen's image of fidelity, as Guinevere's affair with Lancelot ultimately led to the downfall of Arthur's kingdom in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* (1485).

The Virtues of Chivalry, adorning the painted chamber in Westminster Palace, are personified as ladies crowned and wielding sword and shield within painted borders that resemble window tracery topped with crenellations (Binski 1986, p.86). Portraying women in these liminal 'spaces' of the decorative window beneath crenellations displays female chivalric power allegorically commanding martial power, whilst attesting to the symbolic and powerful role of women in chivalric society.

Female agency as the 'chivalric lady' was limited to élite society however, until the end of the fourteenth century and early fifteenth century, when Christine de Pizan's writings attest to the emergence of non royal female agency in matters of politics and war on account of noble spirit rather than birth (Goodman 1998; Schaus 2006; Saul 2011, p.330-331). Female valency grew through the early fifteenth century, when nine female worthies were added alongside the original male Nine Worthies; the female worthies varied by region though, and were not as fixed (Keen 2005, 118).

4.4.2 Courtly Love

Courtly love encompasses many chivalric values in itself at once, requiring love, loyalty, honour, privacy and secrecy. Debates within research perpetuate its medieval contested nature, complicating efforts to define it (Schaus et al. 2006, p.175; Bumke 2000, p.211; Saul 2011, p.236; Keen 1996; Keen 2005; Swabey 2004). This rich avenue of Romantic chivalry is important for analysing chivalric architecture, as it necessitated features of privacy and spaces of gendered authority and agency. As the chivalric lady was a nuanced, Romanticized aspect of later medieval chivalry in England, courtly love became a channel for her to encourage her lover towards greater chivalric effort and honour.

Courtly love, like the idea of the female, was based upon contradiction, regarded as dually "sublime and perverse", partially due to differing biases and views between secular ideals and the Church (Legge 1975; Kay 2001, p.260; Burns 2013, p.399). Chastity was celebrated paradoxically while adulterous love was glorified within the idea of *fin amours* (Swabey 2004, p.76). The adulterous literary ideal of courtly love clashed with the Church's Christian doctrine (Swabey 2004, p.77-78, 81; Saul 2011, p.266), revealing moral and secular disparities within chivalric society's idea of the lady and values of chastity and moral purity. However, remaining chaste without a sexual relationship caused her to be viewed as asexual and less desirable. Failure to uphold moral purity, becoming involved in an extramarital sexual relationship made the chivalric lady a "target for condemnation" and punishment (Swabey 2004,

p.79). Contrarily, historical examples of promiscuity, such as Eleanor of Aquitaine's indiscreet affairs, were not reflected in her chivalric legacy (Hilton 2008, p.110-111; Tyler 2017).

Scholars have made effort to disentangle these contested ideals of courtly love, arguing that being a good lover was the primary goal (Woolgar 1999, p.179; Bumke 2000, p.200-211; Cooper 2019). Marriages could be loveless or politically-motivated, with an aim of producing a legitimate heir rather than a loving relationship (Duby 1980, p.37), and thus, courtly love provided the means for chivalric nobles to remain honourable whilst fighting for the love of a lady. The secrecy and loyalty required in courtly love is described by the Lady of the Lake in the first section of the *Lancelot* prose cycle, and reiterated as an example of proper chivalric love in Charney's (1345) handbook (Kaeuper and Kennedy 2005, p.69, 119).

Historic post-medieval literature developed the idea that actual courts of love or "Courts of Cupid" (Warton et al. 1871) were held in Eleanor's courts, as well as those of her daughter, Marie de Champagne, in which ladies of the court presided over matters of romantic love and relationships (McCash 2008, p.15; Warton et al. 1871). These ideas were perpetuated by Andreas Cappelinus's treatise on amorous love and rules for courtly love, *De Amore* (c.1190), commissioned by Marie de Champagne and based upon the hugely-popular Classical works of Ovid and Virgil (McCash 2008, p.15; Swabey 2004, p.72). The existance of actual courts of this description remains doubtful, though Cappelinus's *De Amore* provides a portrayal of female authority in love and honour and reveals twelfth-century élite rules of love from the perspective of a British knight, possibly Lancelot or Tristan. His second and third books of the *De Amore* shifted to align with the Church, condemning the desires of the flesh, or "joys of Venus", as debilitating and anti-Christian, presumably in relation to his role as a cleric (Swabey 2004, p.72; VanderElst 2017, p.106). The Church eventually redefined this chivalric love, focusing on purity and love for Christ and the Virgin Mary rather than secular, physical love (VanderElst 2017, p.106).

4.4.3 The Tournament

The late medieval tournament was central to chivalric culture, as spaces, structures, costumes, and female character roles were created and adapted to model that of Romance. Though fatal melees still occurred, tournaments largely shifted into more controlled jousts and theatrical displays by the mid-thirteenth century. Special theatrical tournaments, called 'Round Tables', were held outdoors with feasting and Arthurian role-playing in nearby halls. These Round Tables are particularly important for this thesis, as their listing in primary documentation typically includes descriptions of theatrical and Romantic festivities and spectacle, far surpassing standard joust and tournament listings (Barker 1986, p.147-149; Kaeuper 2016, p.214-216). 'Round Tables' listed in historical documentation demonstrate that they were regarded differently from other jousts and tournaments by contemporaries, with some research zealously advocating for Arthurian connections by the name alone, describing them as little more than Arthurian reenactments (Coulson 2003a, p.112; Saul 2011, p.269).

I have tabulated several Round Table tournaments below, which are listed in historical documentation. The aim of this chart is to help identify Arthurian geographies, structures, costumes or theatrics that demonstrate an Arthurian standard of these specifically-named 'Round Table' tournaments. This table lists Round Tables hosted in England, and internationally, aiming to identify tournament locations based on localized folkloric traditions. This requires far more research beyond the scope of this thesis, but from this, we can see that Edward I's Round Tables were held in Arthurian-specific locations.

Figure 4.4: Data collection to compile Round Table tournaments, noting patrons, locations and any architecture necessary for the event.

Round Table Tournaments and Romantic Display

Event	Patron	Date	Location	Architecture	References	Notes and Extra Information
Round Table: "celebration of chivalry"	Monsignor de Baruth	1223	Cyprus	Unspecified, though grandeur is emphasized and would likely have incorporated feasting and theatrics with props and costumes	RS Loomis, 1953, 114; Phillippe de Novare 'Memoires', ed. C.Kohler 1913, 7; RS Loomis 1938, 8, 81	Earliest specified Round Table: Monsignor de Baruth knighted his two eldest sons in Cyprus: Messire Balian, Constable of Cyprus and Lord of Baruth; and Messire Bauduyn, Ceneschal of Cyprus. "This was the greatest and longest celebration of chivalry [known beyond the sea(?)]...and acted out the adventures of the Britains and th Round table and many types of games..."
Round Table	Unspecified	1235	Hesdin	Unspecified	RH Cline, 1945, 205; RH Cline, 1939, 36-37	Knights pledged themselves to the Crusade at the end of the tournament
Round Table	Unspecified	1252	Wallenden	Unspecified	RH Cline 1945, 206; M Paris, Chronica Majora, v, 318-319 (ed.) Luard 'Rolls Series'1872-1883	RH Cline quotes Matthew Paris "this was not the sport vulgarly called tournament but the chivalric sport of the round table"
Arthurian role-playing jousting tour	Knight, Ulrich von Lichtenstein	1240	Bavaria	Unspecified	RS Loomis, 1953, 114; RH Cline, 1945, 205	Toured and jousted with oncomers in character of Kunic Artus. Opponents could become knights of the Round Table if they could break 3 lances against him, as in the Romance tradition
Round Table	Edward I (uncertain)	1254	Spain	Unspecified	RS Loomis, 1953	Edward I's marriage to Eleanor. Wrong dates and skewed location information in primary sources (Chronicles of Alphonson X)
TaulesRedones	Unspecified	1269, 1286, 1290	Spain	Unspecified	RS Loomis, 1953, 114 (cites Loomis, 1938, 89-97, but this does not contain the information)	
Round Table	Robert II (Count of Artoise) and Marie de Brabant	1278	Castle of Ham-sur-Somme (contested)	Unspecified	RS Loomis, 1953, 114; RH Cline, 1945, 209; Bryant (ed.) 2020 (Sarrazin's *Romance of Le Hem*); Cline 1939	"Queen Guinevere was there with seven hundred knights, ladies and maidens"; also in attendence were Kay the seneschal, the Chevalier au Lyon (Knight with the Lion from Chre`tian's *Yvain,* played by Robert II), and other Arthurian knights.
Rotundam Tabulam	Edward I	1279 (1 August)	Warwick	Presumed to be the castle's great hall	Annales Monastici, iv, 477	This is typically understood to be part of the celebration that started at Kenilworth (1279), but the dates are over a month apart. *Warwick Round Table: during feast of St Peter the Apostle (1 August), and Kenilworth Round Table, which ended at Warwick, held the Thursday before Michaelmas (end of September).
Round Table	Roger Mortimer presided, and Edward I was in attendance	1279 (end of September: Thursday before Michaelmas)	Kenilworth Castle (and Warwick)	Brays earthwork enclosure and adjacent galleries	Thomas of Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, ed. Riley, 1863, i, 19; Morris 2016; Berkeley Manuscripts, ed. Smyth 1883, i, 147; Morris 2011	"100 knights and 100 ladies" present, Edward I knighted Mortimer's sons, and festivities traveled to Warwick on fourth day. The Wigmore Chronicle brought the Mortimers within the lineage of Arthur.

"Rotundam Tabulam celebrarunt"	Edward I	1284	Nevyn ('in Snoudonia')	Suggested as having been at Cae Iorwerth ('Edward's Field') or Cae Ymryson ('Tournament Field'). In the centre of Nevyn is Villa Iorwerth (according to c.1840 map), which needs further research.	Flores Historiarum III (c.1265-1326), 62 (ed.) LH Richards, 1890; Annales Monastici III (ed) Luard, 1890, 313; P Halsall, 1996; Loomis, 1947, 521-523; SG Smith in (eds.) Baker et al, 231; M Prestwich, 1988, 120; Creighton 2019, 214	Hosted to celebrate defeat of the Welsh, during which, Edward I recieved Arthur's crown. Also Edward II's birth was celebrated as the new Prince of Wales. This was in Snowdonia (Sinadoun/Sinadon), the Roman fort where Constantine lived.
Marriage Celebration (uncertain)	Edward I	1290	Winchester Castle	Large ground floor hall and large oak round table	M Biddle, 2000, 264–270; Creighton, 2019, 214	Dendochronology indicates oak for the table was felled within appropriate time span for this event, which if featuring a physical round table originally stood on the dias, would have indicated Arthurian influence for the event. Records of "earth-moving" for this event.
Rotundam Tabulam	Unspecified	1294	Bar-sur-Aube	Unspecified	Annales monastici III (ed.) Luard, 1890, 388-389	Marriage of Edward I's daughter, Eleanor, to Henry of Barr (presumed) John Duke of Brabant (Edward I's son-in-law) killed during the event
Round Table	Edward I	1299	Canterbury	Most likely held in Old Palace of Canterbury, which bosted a ground floor hall second in size to Westminster Palace hall.	RS Loomis, 1953, 121; Annales Monastici IV, 281 (1864); Prestwich, 1997, 521; Gervase of Canterbury, ii, 317 (ed.) Stubbs, 1879	Edward's 2nd Marriage to Margaret: resembled description of Arthur's coronation banquet from Geoffrey of Monmouth. Edward assumed the role of King Arthur. Round table not explicitly mentioned, but three days of theatrical jousting, feasting and celebrating resembles descriptions of Edward's other Round Tables.
Round Table	Edward I	1302	Falkirk	Potentially near Linlithgow Palace, earliest architectural phase by Edward I (under scholarly debate and needs more research to develop)	M Prestwich, 1988, 120; Creighton, 2019 p214; Camelann mentioned in twelfth-century *Roman de Brut*	Falkirk Round Table celebrated victory over William Wallace, hosted in Falkirk, near "Camelon" two years after, during a low period for the English. Camelon was previous Roman fort that later gained Arthurian associations like Camlann (Arthur's last battle). Tournament was the same year as Edward I's letter to the pope claiming Scottish land based on Arthurian ancestry.
Swan vowing and Edward II Knighted	Edward I and II	1306	Westminster Palace	Largest ground floor hall in England, symbolic value as one of the earliest, and became the capitol after Winchester	Loomis 1953; Boyce 2012; Sykes 2014, 165; Morris 1998	Bird vows were presumably unprecedented in England before Edward I's celebration in 1306. Taking vows and oaths on symbolic birds was a tradition only previously found in Romance (specifically *Roman d'Alexandre*).
Round Table	Edward III	1344	Windsor Castle	Large round structure in quadrangle (unfinished)	Munby et al, 2007 (wide discussion of archaeological excavation: p64, and primary documents throughout); Colvin et al 1963 I and II	Archaeological excavation located robber trenches of the large round building for the Arthurian knightly order. Wide and critical use of primary archival sources, *History of the King's Works,* the twelfth-century *Roman de Brut* and the fourteenth-century Romance, *Perceforest* feature throughout the book.

This table also shows that Edward I's Round Tables were held in close proximity to, or at, large ground floor halls. This supports my continued argument that ground floor halls after the Conquest were viewed as displays of ancestral and legitimised power. I argue that this use of the English ground floor hall is unique to English heritage, as a visual recollection of ancestral power, with specific emphasis on Arthurian heritage. This was not only the case with Edward I's tournaments; one of the most well-known Round Table tournaments was held at Windsor Castle in 1344 by Edward III, which has been discussed extensively in *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor* (2007). It was for this tournament that Edward III had Arthurian costumes made, and during which, he announced construction plans for the large round structure to host his Order of the Round Table (Bradford 1995). This knightly order was made into the Order of the Garter by 1348 as the Romanticized English character of Saint George eclipsed Arthur (Munby et al. 2007, p.109; Coulson 2003a, p.250; Coldstream 2012). The Cult of Arthur could be glimpsed henceforth in pageantry displays and Romance entertainment, though the factual authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia had subsided into the genre of fiction and Saint George became the emblem of English chivalric warfare.

Figure 4.5: Miniature from the "Milimete Treatise" (c.1327) depicting Edward III receiving royal arms of England from St George, indicating divine approval (Christ Church Oxford, MS 92, fol.3). Note the contemporary, Anglicized figure of St George, far removed from that of a fourth-century Palastinian martyr. (Coss and Keen 2002, p.88)

4.4.4 Warfare, Identity and the Church

The Church's tentative relationship with chivalry and Romance literature was a continual balancing act through the Middle Ages. With the rising popularity

of Romance in the twelfth century, the Church instigated the idea of Christian knighthood (*Pax Dei* or 'Peace of God'), which encouraged knights to refrain from violence and stand for justice, protect the poor, helpless, noncombatants, and most importantly, the Church. This aimed to reduce conflict and contributed to the protection of the peasantry, the chief providers of Church finances (Saul 2011, p.199; Creighton and Wright 2016, p.36).

The Church's highly influential place in society and politics affected secular aspirations and ideologies, as a majority of literate society was monastic or members of the clergy. Religious control of secular life was already a force in the courtly culture of Chrétian de Troyes, and religious themes and piety were included into Romance narratives alongside pagan themes from earlier legends and source material (Chrètian de Troyes 2005; VanderElst 2017, p.73). Chrétian's Romances were formative for the entire corpus of Arthurian Romance that followed in his wake (Padel 2006; Archibald et al. 2009). In the Arthurian romances, the court of Arthur and his knights was renowned throughout all of 'Christendom' (Chrétian de Troyes 2005b; Chrétian de Troyes 2005f) as the most exemplary and chivalrous, and the creed of an Arthurian knight was aligned with Christian doctrine, striving to defend the poor and oppressed and promote justice for friend and foe alike (Fallows 2013, p.11). All good Romance knights attended Mass while questing and before slaying challengers, commended people to God, swore oaths by the saints, and they celebrated religious feast days. Arthur's court became even more religiously-inclined after Robert de Boron's additions to Chrétian's unfinished *Percéval* (or the *Grail Quest*), which became an allegory for one's personal spiritual journey (Saul 2011, p.199-202; Barron 1987, p.103), and the grail was transformed from a secular cup into the chalice of Christ's blood (Giffin 1965, p.507; O'Gorman 1978; Bryant 2011). Folktales and Romances also exemplified spiritual devotion as a way to fulfill chivalric duty (Tohar 2020), and Christian teachings of chastity and purity were used to promote good chivalry as well as to legitimize lineage. However, Romances were not generally approved by the Church, as magical elements echoed narrative roots

in pre-Christian traditions (Saul 2011, p.203).

Through the Middle Ages, the Church saw many of the themes in Romance and values of chivalry as the antithesis of Christian teaching (Saul 2011, p.72; Bumke 2000, p.211; Howell 1998, p.84-85). Courtly love and the tournament defined two of the prime aspects of chivalric life, according to knights in Romance narratives, though they were intrinsically at odds with Christian teachings. The Church opposed tournaments, viewing them as an experience of all seven deadly sins and a breeding ground for pride and vanity; and participation in tournaments was discouraged by the threat of being denied an ecclesiastical burial if killed during a tournament (Barker 1986, p.72-73; Kaeuper 2016, p.219; Saul 2011, p.265; Howell 1998, p.85). Though tournaments offered valuable martial practice for the androcentric, "testosterone-filled" early chivalric climate (Gilchrist 1999, p.128, 134), the monarchy began to support the Church's prohibition on account of high mortality rates and in 1130, tournaments were prohibited in England (Barker 1986, p.5; Coulson 2003a, p.250). Richard I later regulated tournaments in England by allowing them in few specified locations (which included: land between Stamford and Warinford, Warwick and Kenilworth, Salisbury and Wolton, Tickhill and Blyth, and Brackley and Mixbury) with a fee required to participate (VanderElst 2017, p.128; Barker 1986, p.11-12; Stean 2001, p.155-156; Denton 1999, p.95). The Church saw opportunity to monopolize on the appeal of Romance and used the tournament as propaganda to gain support for the Crusades and just warfare, which was promoted as a motif for self-reformation (VanderElst 2017, p.100; Barker 1986, p.11, 79). Knighthood became seen as a divine calling, and knighting ceremonies often took place in churches, as well as halls and battlefields, and required the knighted to hold vigil the night preceding the adubment ceremony (Loomis 1970a; Loomis 1939, p.79-97; Keen 2005, p.77). Biblical figures were also portrayed as secular Romance heroes, with Troy linked with the time of the Prophets (Papal letter in Appendix F; Binski 1986, p.111). Heroic characters, such as Alexander, were Christianized as part of their incorporation into the corpus of Romance, and Christian figures, such

as St George and Judas Maccabeus, were likewise secularized and made to appear as Romance heroes (Binski 1986, p.94-95; Bridges 2018, p.254).

As the Church coped with and contested élite Romance culture, they chose themes with which to agree, to manipulate, and to abhor. This was a delicate balance as Romance's influence surpassed idealism or media, as it was interwoven into the roots of England's heritage. The amalgamation of religious and Romantic ideals created a complex web of influence within the Romantic reforms of chivalric values (VanderElst 2017, p.107-111). This discussion is valuable to my argument of Romance's influence on chivalry, as dissecting the impact of religious doctrine within the culture of Romance helps to reveal the impact of Romance as a source of influence. This also reveals that religious motifs were grafted into Romantic symbolism, displaying the interwoven nature of religion and Romance within the powerful heritage of the English monarchy. Figures from the Bible were brought into secular Romance narratives and made into a "facet of the prevailing Arthurian climate" (Binski 1986, p.95). For example, the Painted Chamber in Westminster Palace displayed Biblical figures such as Judas Maccabeus and the Tree of Jesse which were interwoven within heroic ancestral origins from Romance narratives. The Nine Worthies is another medieval example of displayed connections between Romance, legend and Biblical heritage.

English chivalry was symbolised by Romantic figures that became Christianized such as Arthur and Alexander, as well as Christian figures who were reinterpreted as Romantic heroes. Saint George was a fourth-century Palestinian martyr, who, allegedly, appeared miraculously in 1098 to Crusaders in Antioch (Fellows 1993; Saul 2011, p.205). This began a rapid spread in his popularity as a saint throughout the Continent, after which Henry III had imagery of Saint George installed above the entrance to the Great Hall at Westminster Palace, in keeping with the style of Edward the Confessor's admiration of Saint George, and he also commissioned a hagiography of the life of Saint George (Saul 2011, p.206-207). Edward I's use of the red cross during his Welsh wars brought the Cult of Saint George into a martial

context, which was, thenceforth, firmly associated with English chivalry and martial identity (Saul 2011, p.206). Sacred and secular motifs used together show archaic interconnectivity between pre-Christian, mythological, Biblical and Romantic ideals and symbols of medieval culture. For example,the Romance trope of the lady with a dragon was also an apotropaic fertility symbol, as well as a feature in the Biblical book of Revelation (Jansen 2020; Revelation).

The medieval élite frequently portrayed their chivalric affiliations within imagery, art, and material culture. As miniatures displayed members of the élite and royal houses within idealized architectural borders and crenellations, religious figures were also depicted within the same 'architectural spaces' and borders, linking self-projections and affiliations with prominent Christian figures, using architectural features to present specific Romanticized chivalric ideals. Medieval seals were another means of depicting idealized chivalric imagery. Seals provided a format for projecting one's associations and ideals, seen in images of gallant horsemen, idealized architecture, allusions to the earthly Jerusalem, and crenellated walls, which depicted spatial harmony, symmetry and geometry of the cosmos (Creighton 2002, p.68; Wheatley 2004, p.70; Lilley 2009, p.15). This trend reveals architectural symbols used in religious and chivalric imagery and self-projections alike. The élite projected specific architectural imagery within their self-projections in individualised instances as well as in broad, chivalric trends. This was also translated into their actual built environment, which features in a case study of physical chivalric structuration in the following chapter. As secular activities were held in churches and displays of piety were imperitive in élite secular life, architectural spaces were connected in religious and secular use and design.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an important summation of my three primary areas of study brought together within this nuanced discourse of 'Romantically-reformed' chivalry. This view of chivalry includes all members of the élite, incorporating

chivalric roles and values for women and non-martial men as they aspired to evoke Romantic ideals. As intangible heritage, chivalry was defined within contemporary religious and secular contexts, with meaning applied by subjective participants (Jewell 2007a, p.14-22). Romance permeated medieval élite society through courtly entertainment, political propaganda, and fabricated ancestries–each influenced by Romance culture, and thus became definitive for English national identity, though primarily remaining an ideological "veneer" (Howell 1998, p.83; Keen 2005, p.3, 249-251; Spencer 2013, p.11).

Notably, this nuanced discussion of chivalry's evolution distinguishes 'chivalry' apart from 'courtesy', 'knightly' and 'courtliness'; and it demonstrates the Romantic reformation of chivalric values and ideals, which is central to this thesis. Separating influences from Romance and religion helps to show where they became grafted together and how imagery had the ability to symbolise both simultaneously within this Romanticized culture. Chivalry lived in reality was different than idealized aspirations of society, which presents a consistent image with previous discussions of the medieval mind, its contested symbolism, and disjointed ideals and emulations.

Chivalry's lived experience, as well as that of boundaries, space and gender, was transient, defined by unique combinations of fabricated memories and imagination, ultimately belonging to the perceiver (Gilchrist 1999, p.149; Duby 1982, p.239). Chivalric imagery displayed in decoration, art, microarchitecture and stained glass demonstrated trends of mythical thinking and ways people chose to construct their own pasts, heritage and ancestries, intentionally cultivating the Romantic memory of Medieval England (Binski 1986; Binski 1999; Denton 1999, p.93; Wheatley 2004; Munby et al. 2007, p.151; McKinstry 2012). From this perspective of chivalry, I will now move into three case studies, exploring how Romantic themes and values, through chivalric culture, influenced castle architecture and corresponding landscapes.

Chapter 5

Case Study 1: 'Chivalric' Structure and Structuration

5.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter looks at architectural features and spaces of the castle that make up the chivalric structuration, constructed in accordance with contemporary values of chivalry. The concept of 'chivalric structuration' is unique to this research and provides a vocabulary for discussing choreographed access patterns and interaction, psychological impact, intentional viewsheds, and secular 'lay' liturgies between structures and spaces within this new context of Romantically-reformed chivalry. The tangible chivalric structure of the castle developed out of the intangible structure of chivalry, whilst also designating space for chivalric activity, is discussed here as 'chivalric structuration' and is based on Giddens' theory of structuration to create an entirely new contextualized concept. Keeping in mind the impact of Romance on the evolution of chivalric ideals (Chapter Four), it reveals a generalized trend of Romantic influence within castle architecture. Identifying and discussing these particular spaces and features is the basis of this first case study, which begins with a discussion of medieval ideas of space, followed by a comparative study of original access analysis across a varied selection of baronial and royal 'castles' and 'palaces'.

Based upon previous chapter discussions of Romance's impact on chivalry and the contemporary socio-political environment, this chapter uses access analysis and an archaeological study of castle architecture to explore key elements of Romanticized chivalric life including ideals of the chivalric lady and gender, courtly love, privacy, piety and largesse built into the physical space. This study explores Romance's role in chivalric and architectural development and critically assesses the meaning of 'chivalric architecture' beyond symbolic designations of social hierarchy or defense. This chapter concludes with a discussion and summary of Romanticized chivalric values and their tangible emulations within castle architecture as spaces created unique to the particular society that created and enjoyed the genre of Romance.

5.2 Access Analysis: A Comparative Castle Study

Access analysis has been previously applied, within a secular medieval context, in limited studies, featuring either baronial towers or royal palaces (Weikert 2018; Weikert 2014; Richardson 2003a; Richardson 2003b; Gilchrist 1994). Weikert's (2014; 2018) work discusses the social stratigraphy built into the Norman keep, setting apart spaces for the most élite. Richardson's work (2003a; 2003b) explores high-status gendered spaces in palaces. Individually, these studies argue that: 1) élite spaces were set apart furthest away from public space, and 2) female spaces were tucked away further still, as a display of defense and privacy. The combination results in confirming that the previous, widespread image of the élite female consistently kept in the innermost spaces within the building complex, in the furthest space from primary entrances (Gilchrist 1999, p.100-105, 139-140). This is problematic, however, as both studies focus on different arguments within distinctly different structural categories: great towers in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, and royal palaces in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. This does not address, for example, élite female spaces within the baronial great tower in comparison with those of the royal palace.

The primary incentive for this access analysis study was to assess female spaces across the broad spectrum of medieval English castles, with the aim of identifying changes in gendered spaces in relation to the development of Romanticized chivalric culture. When assessed as a combined set, without separating palaces from towers, baronial from royal, the result is a different and much broader understanding of gendered and chivalric castle spaces than provided in previous studies. This chapter's comparative study of different types of medieval English 'castles' reassesses previous arguments, showing that this generalized and widely-circulated idea of female 'womb-like' space was not as widely-applied across castle sites as previously thought (Weikert 2018; Weikert 2014; Richardson 2003a; Richardson 2003b; Gilchrist 1999, p.139; Richardson 2006a; Richardson 2011; Richardson 2018; O'Keeffe 2001, p.77).

My secondary purpose of this access analysis study is to identify and portray the increase in architectural privacy as castle architecture developed through the Middle Ages, and also to provide an image of increased interior privacy within castles specifically designed to appear archaic. Combining various castle typologies in this access study prevents modern preconceptions segregating castles from palaces based on outward design, avoiding confusing the contemporary perspectives and uses of space within. Broadening the access analysis data set to include castles across the social range of chivalric society is also necessary for assessing chivalry's drastic evolution through the Middle Ages and its simultaneous impacts within the built environment, specifically visualising changes in access patterns and implementations of privacy.

In all instances discussed here, I have created original access diagrams based on my own interpretation of extant floorplans. In some instances, I used different floorplans combined from online archival sources to provide the most complete image of my selected sites. I also use English Heritage floorplans and those used in previous academic studies (such as Johnson et al 2017; Richardson 2003a), as they provide the greatest detail. Where I have used floorplans from previous studies, I developed new diagrams based on my own assessments. Access analysis can be

very useful, though it presents challenges and caveats, mainly due to ruinous or renovated architectural structures. For all castles assessed below, I have used archaeological reports to supplement floorplans, regarding structural layouts of the specified medieval phases. Access analysis can thus provide a visual representation of generalized architectural depth for certain known spaces, though the subtleties of different interpretations show that it cannot provide an exact record of contemporary life. I have interpreted spaces as those which are traversable–areas through which agents move to access the next space beyond adjacent thresholds. Thresholds themselves are not labeled here as individual spaces, however, stairways, corridors and porches are regarded as their own spaces as they are separated from adjacent spaces by thresholds. Where contemporary architectural phases are not visible or assessable, I use historical documentary descriptions to interpret where spaces would have existed.

It is my contention that, as élite values and activities developed, castle spaces and structures were modified in accordance with this idea of 'chivalric structuration' to both meet the needs of and shape courtly life. Progressing through the Middle Ages, one can identify differences in architectural trends by looking at castles set within their wider historical and social context. Access analysis diagrams of 'castle' architecture dating before and after the height of Romanticized chivalry (c.1270) provide a timeline of increased relative privacy, spanning the pre-Conquest great hall, the Norman great tower, the 'palatial' complexes of the later Middle Ages, and the antiquated "cult castles" (Thompson 1991, p.71) of the late fourteenth century. Without claiming that Romance was solely responsible for the transition of the Early Medieval hall complex into the late medieval royal palace, this study shows how chivalric structuration defined and was defined by Romanticized values and activities that developed during the height of Romantic courtly culture. These included ideas of privacy, female agency, interaction, pageantry and celebration, archaism, loyalty, piety and largesse, which became embedded into castle architecture as Romance gained popularity among contemporary élite society. This assessment

also examines transitional and liminal spaces for movement, procession, and architectural implementations of nostalgia as intentional constructs of memory (primarily in the form of ground floor great halls) evoking the Arthurian and heroic ancestry of the 'Kings of Britain' (Thorpe 1966 trans. Geoffrey of Monmouth *HRB* c.1135).

Taking methodological inspiration from Hillier and Hanson's seminal access study (1984) and Richardson's (2003) and Weikert's (2014) applications to medieval English élite architecture, this chapter produces original access diagrams and uniquely incorporates 'Anglo-Norman' towers and 'palatial' sites to analyse differences and similarities across baronial and royal fortifications and retreats, noting the medieval prioritization of ideals before physical reality as discussed in previous chapters (Krautheimer 1942; Hillier and Hanson 1984; Kuhnel 1987; Richardson 2003b; Lilley 2009; Weikert 2014). The symbol key below provides notation for spaces in the following access diagrams.

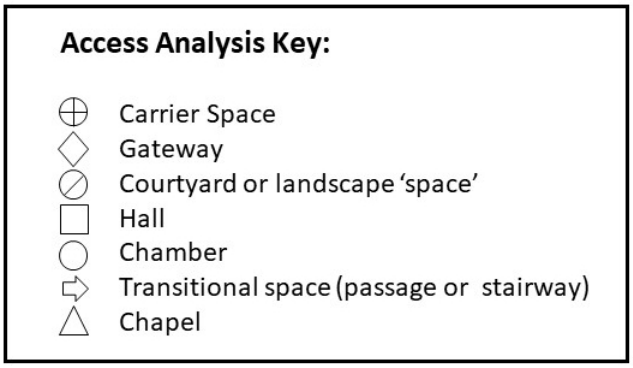


Figure 5.1: Created after Richardson 2003a (p.374), with original additions of transitional spaces marked with arrows, diamonds to denote gateways, and triangles to indicate chapels and religious spaces.

This study begins with pre-Conquest architecture in England to show differences in élite structures prior to the Romantic reformation of chivalry, with far less emphasis on privacy and spaces for the individual. Early Medieval élite complexes were generally constructed for ceremonial use rather than long-term domestic arrangements, and apart from royal sites, rural Anglo-Saxon settlements typically show signs of impermanence and instability (Blair 2018, p.73, 94, 141; Fernie 1983, p.29, 94; Thompson 1991, p.5). The Early Medieval great hall was the central, focal structure

of site and society, and presumably provided sleeping space for those in attendance (Webb 2007, p.50, 57). Individualistic privacy held negative connotations of vulnerability and isolation, as discussed previously, and the importance of fellowship and the hall's sense of community features in early chansons and epic poetry in which communal growth was the primary goal rather than individual character growth and success. Excavation reports and access diagrams have thus far remained unable to determine specific gendered spaces in pre-Conquest sites, and visible elements of privacy are scarce. However, Blair (2019) has suggested that Anglo-Saxon women must have had their own spaces in which to display valuable personal items, such as tapestries, listed in wills (Blair 2019). *Bryd-burhs* ('bride bowers') are also mentioned in Old English poetry (as in *Beowulf*, for example) though without gender specification (Webb 2007, p.57).

The excavation of Goltho's fortified manor (Lincolnshire) is a good example that provides useful insight into high-status, Early Medieval great hall society. Beresford's (1987) excavation report documented a sequence of structures dating from the ninth century that included Early Medieval houses, or bowers, and structures for production, indicating the site's continued use as a residence, and therefore, its powerful significance. Importantly, it also shows the evolution of the Late Saxon great hall, central to the manorial site, noting its development and eventual incorporation into Norman eleventh- and twelfth-century construction (Beresford and Geddes 1987, p.52; Blair 2003, p.310). For this access diagram (*Figure 5.2*), I have assessed Beresford's (1987) excavation records to determine the late ninth-century phase and its transition through the early eleventh century prior to the Conquest (Beresford and Geddes 1987, p.10-17).

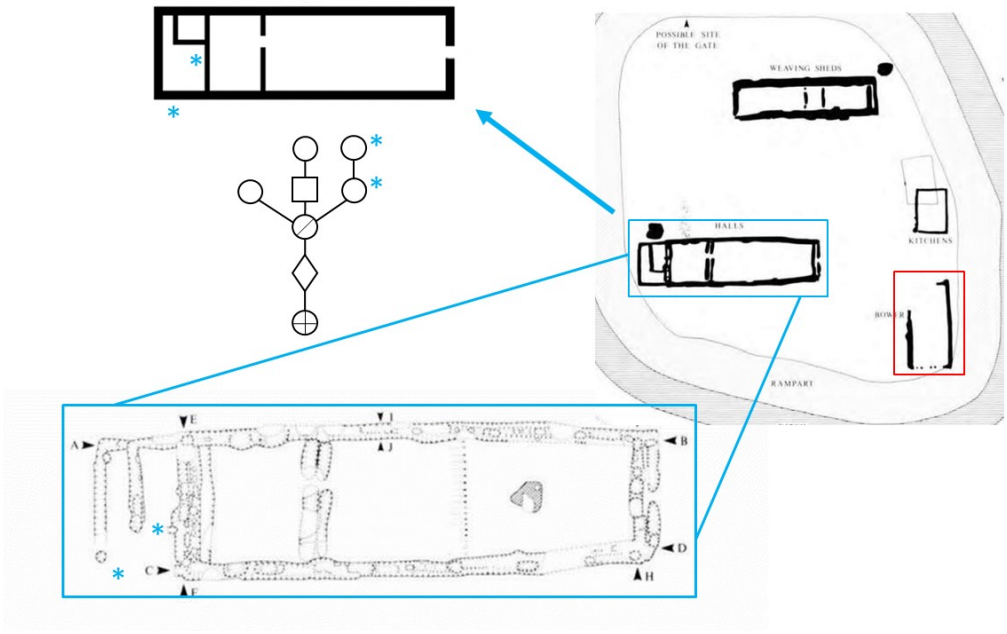
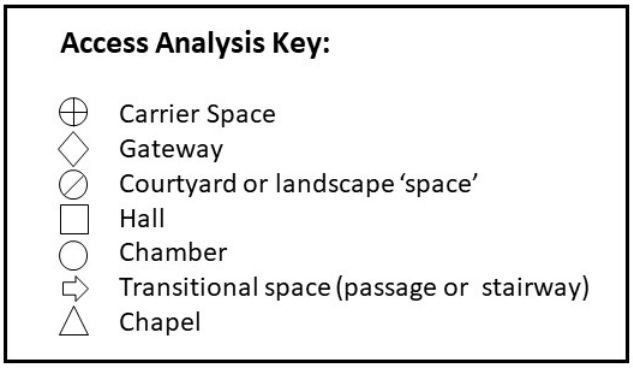


Figure 5.2: Goltho: 9th-10th century with original access diagram. The blue asterisks indicate the same space (Original floorplan images superimposed from Beresford 1987, p.32).



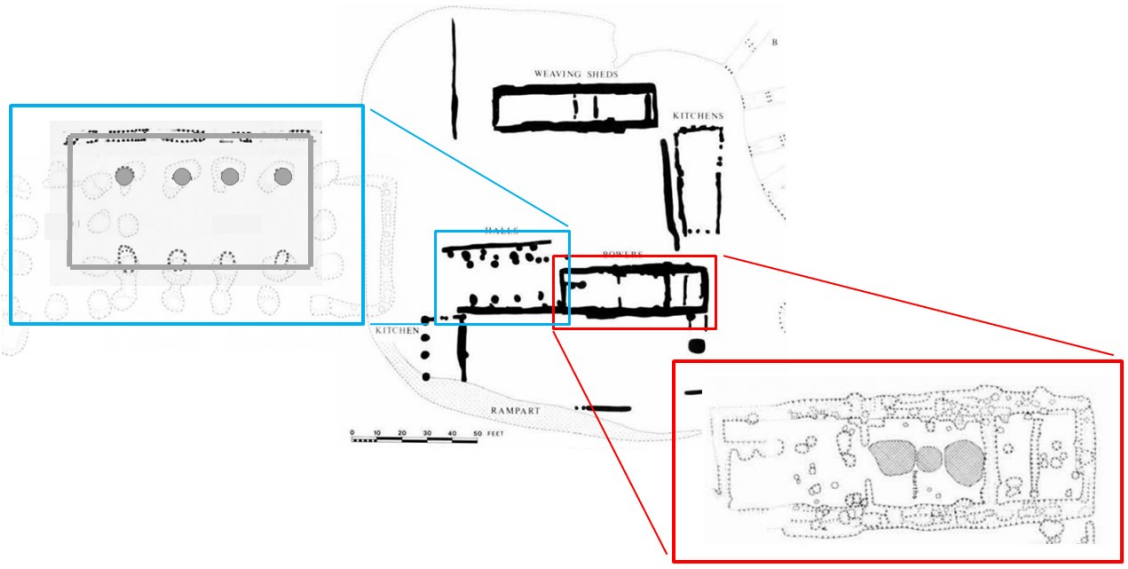


Figure 5.3: Goltho: late 10th with early 11th century arrangements of the hall and bower, superimposed with the earlier kitchen (Plan interpretation image and information from Beresford 1987, p.61, 68, 75, 80)

As constructed in contemporary style, Goltho's earlier long hall layout (*Figure 5.2*) attests to the lack of personal privacy and minimal physical architectural boundaries. As such, one can presume that space was designated through transient features within mostly open-plan domestic structures (Hillier and Hanson 1984, p.254). This image shows that beyond the gatehouse, direct access to the hall was only one architectural 'step' away. The blue asterisks in the image indicate previously unidentified doorways that could provide access to a separate chamber structure rather than a private, deep space inside the hall.

The later layout (*Figure 5.3*) includes the tenth-century aisled hall, with the early eleventh-century hall superimposed, showing the separate 'bower' at the rear (located at the western end), near the earlier structure I suggest to be a separate chamber. The earlier bower appears in the excavation drawing as a single open structure that becomes more complex over time. This drawing, however, is superimposed with a later and much larger kitchen. If this particular building did indeed contain bowers, they were presumably for service staff, as indicated by proximity to the kitchen. Furthermore, I suggest that this later hall could reveal an early hall

and chamber block layout, with service areas at a perpendicular angle adjacent to the ground floor hall and private chamber to the rear. When assessed in conjunction with contemporary literature (see Chapter Three), one can construct an idea of gender roles and areas within élite space, revealing the stark contrast to post-Conquest Norman castle design and twelfth-century chivalric design that evolved in sequence with medieval Romance culture. The most élite members of the Early Medieval household would have inhabited the private chamber, with female identity steeped in household duties as a mother and wife, though no physical structural indicators for this early model of *comitatus* remain.

Across the Channel, élite Carolingian sites boasted a far different standard of living centered around the household residence within settled societies (Appendix B). A brief assessment of structures across the Channel helps to distinguish Insular chivalric and architectural development from Carolingian and Norman cultural encounters. The key difference between contemporary Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian settlements was the great hall. Ninth-century capitulary estate listings from northern France, detailed in the *Brevium Exempla* (c.870), completely leave out any mention of communal, great hall-style space, which was the central feature and the heart of Anglo-Saxon society (Loyn and Percival 1975, p.99-107). Carolingian royal houses did include halls, as depicted in imagery of first floor hall-houses (for example, *Figure 5.4* below); however, the hall as a communal, society-wide space held particular significance as a standalone structure and symbol unique to English architecture.

Figure 5.4: Bosham (Sussex) from the Bayeux Tapestry (Image from Decaens and Dubois 2010, p.45)

The few pre-Conquest castles in England, such as Bosham (Sussex), correspond with Carolingian castle architecture constructed in the Ardres Plan, with living space for the family above a ground floor cellar. This style was utilized by Fulk Nerra in his castles, and developed into the proto-keep, or donjon, with halls and domestic chambers added on different levels above ground floor service spaces (Faulkner 1963; Bachrach 1979). Each site listed in the *Brevium Exempla* includes mention of a defensive palisade with a gatehouse, built of either stone or wood, small houses for workers, workshops, kitchens and stables, and the central house as the primary structure, with cellars and domestic space presumably structured in this same 'Ardres Plan' style (see Appendix B).

The first Norman castles in England, frequently listed as 'Anglo-Norman', were mostly timber, with minimal domestic elements that developed as stability increased. As discussed (Chapter Two), 'Anglo-Norman' as a castle typology is problematic for specifying dates and construction phases, in which case the following diagrams are discussed as 'Norman' to indicate great towers constructed by Norman kings in

England through the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. The majority of England's earliest stone castles were constructed during the reign of Henry I, incredibly similar in appearance and style to contemporary castles in France. This can be seen in the previous images of Castle Rising (Norfolk, c.1140) and Falaise Castle (Calvados, Normandy, early 12th century) (*Figures 2.3* and *2.4*), which share the early twelfth-century style of narrow pilaster buttresses, narrow corner turrets, and rooms primarily constructed within the central space of the tower, displayed in the vertical layout of the corresponding access diagrams below. Castles constructed during the reign of Henry II typically appear chunkier than the earliest stone towers constructed from the reign of Henry I, with thicker pilaster buttresses and wider corner turrets, in which separate corner chambers and more passages and stairways increased the complexity of their layouts. This distinction is visible from the exterior, which can be seen below in the images of Castle Rising's keep (Norfolk, c.1140) and Dover Castle's keep (Kent, c.1180) (*Figure 5.5*).

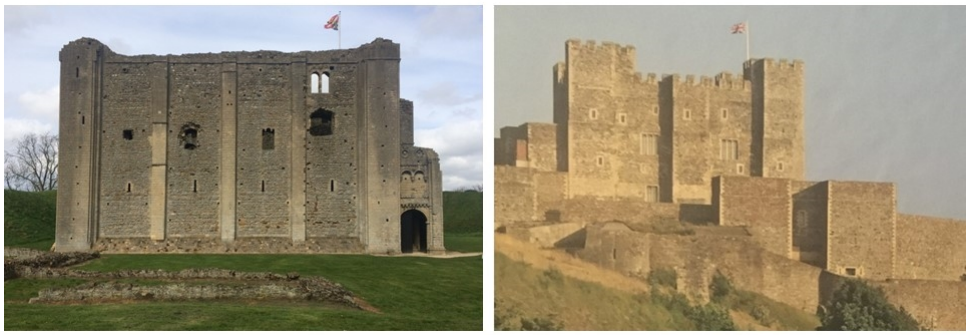


Figure 5.5: Castle Rising (Norfolk) (Photo: Richards 2022) and Dover Castle (Kent) (Image: McNeill et al 2016, front cover). Note difference between thin pilaster buttresses from early twelfth century and chunkier turrets from later twelfth century.

Great towers are generally described and understood in accordance with social hierarchy (Weikert 2014; Weikert 2018), as trends in research argue that the furthest spaces from public entrances were reserved for only the most élite (Richardson 2006a, p.111-112; O'Keeffe 2013, p.299; Rees Jones 2013, p.249; Gilchrist 1994, p.51-53).

In the three access diagrams below, the keeps' interior structures grow in complexity. Hedingham's architecture is consistent with keeps built during Henry I's reign, with chambers built upwards, similar to the Ardres Plan, above the storage

and service spaces on the ground floor. The tower halls were typically situated on the first or second floor, with the most élite household spaces or private chambers in the top floor with no identifiable gender-specific spaces. Hedingham was reputedly one of Queen Matilda's favourite places in which to stay, and thus, chambers above the first floor hall were presumably space allocated to her. Likewise, other castle keeps must have been enjoyed by queens and ladies, though designated with impermanent furnishings as spaces and boundaries, as the masonry was architecturally structured for social hierarchy (Dixon 1990; Gilchrist 1999, p.149, 151; Dixon and Marshall 2003 p.207-306; Weikert 2014; 2018; Dixon pers comm 2019).

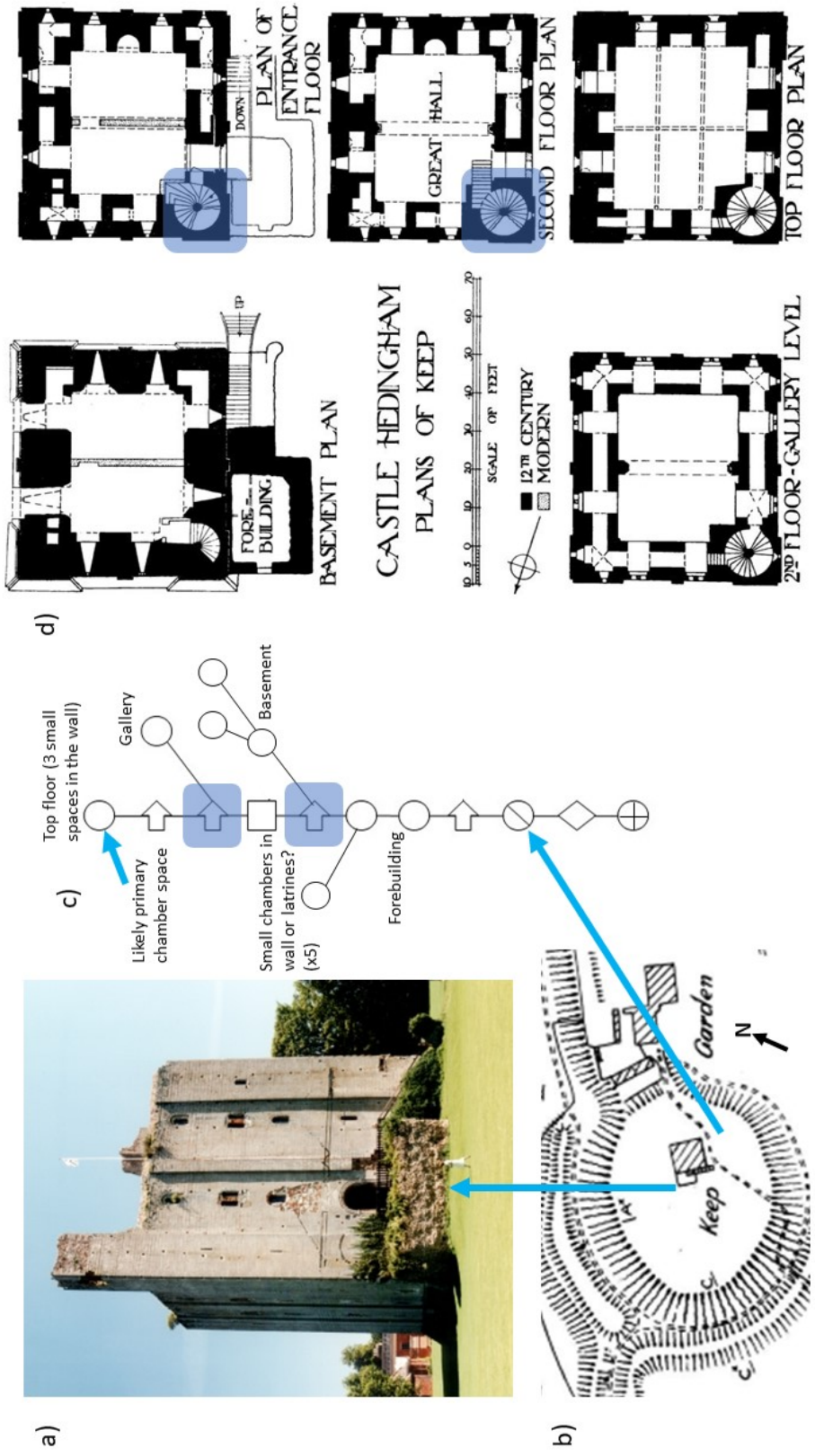
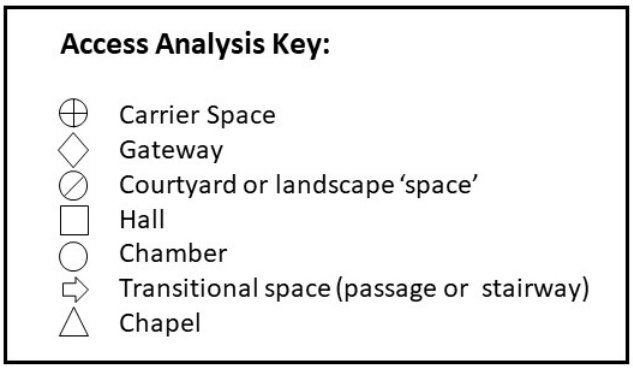


Figure 5.6: Access Analysis for Hedingham Castle (Essex) c.1130-1140. The only private chamber allocation is presumed to be on the top level, and there is no indication of gendered separation. Image sources: a)public domain; b)BHO "Inventory of Historical Monuments in Essex vol.1 1916, p.47-61; c)original access diagram; d)public domain



At Rochester, the earliest indication of gendered space exists from Henry III's residential apartments constructed whilst the keep was undergoing renovations (Ashbee 2012; Morris 2012 p.69-74). Otherwise, there is no architectural indication of structured privacy or access control typically associated with female élite chambers (Richardson 2006; O'keeffe 2013). The separate ground floor hall was part of Henry III's residential chamber block, but it was likely constructed earlier, contemporary with Henry II's ground floor hall constructions, as shown below in the diagram of Newcastle Castle (*Figure 5.8 d*).

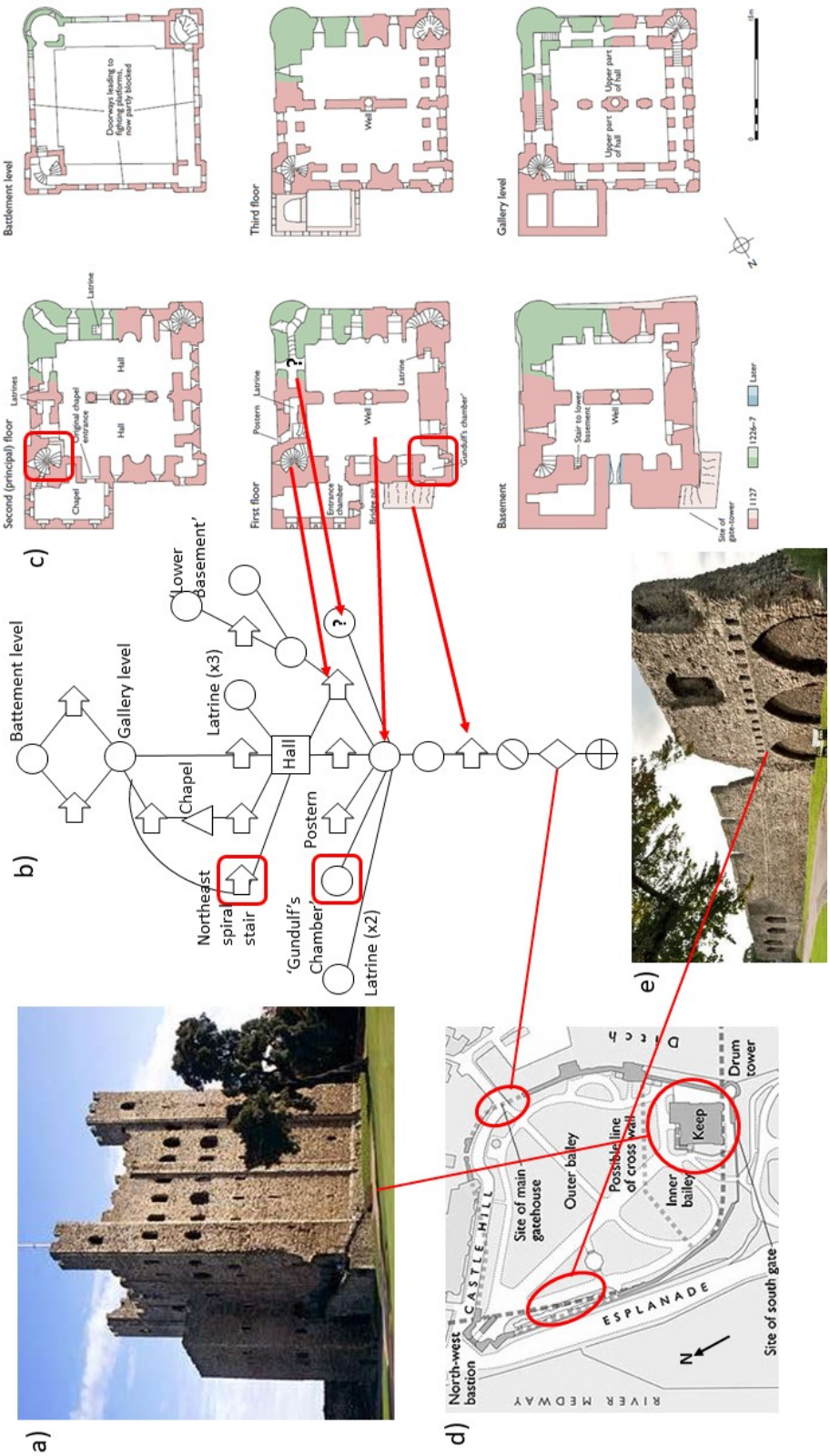
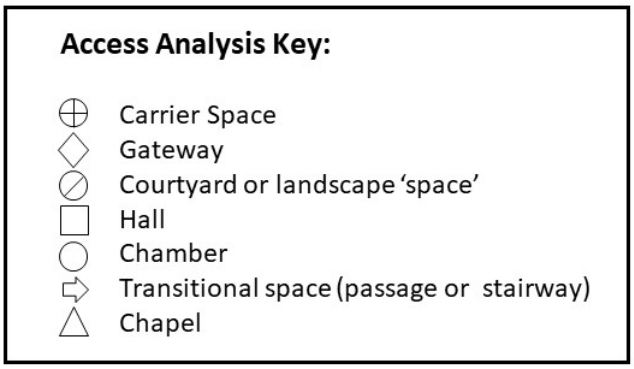


Figure 5.7: Access Analysis for Rochester Castle (Kent) c.1127. The floorplan (in image c) is from English Heritage. Henry III added a chamber block to include king and queen's chambers along the northwestern section of the curtain wall. Until then, the only domestic chambers were in the upper levels of the keep. Image sources: a)public domain; b)original access diagram; c,d,e)English Heritage



In the Newcastle access diagram below, the slight horizontal extension indicates chambers, stairways and passages added into the thicker walls in accordance with increased complexity of interior spatial organization. The suggested chambers for the queen's use in Henry II's architectural phase at Newcastle were five architectural steps from the suggested king's chamber, below the prison, and in a less private or defensible location (Graves and Heslop 2013; Heslop and McAuley 2011, p.68).

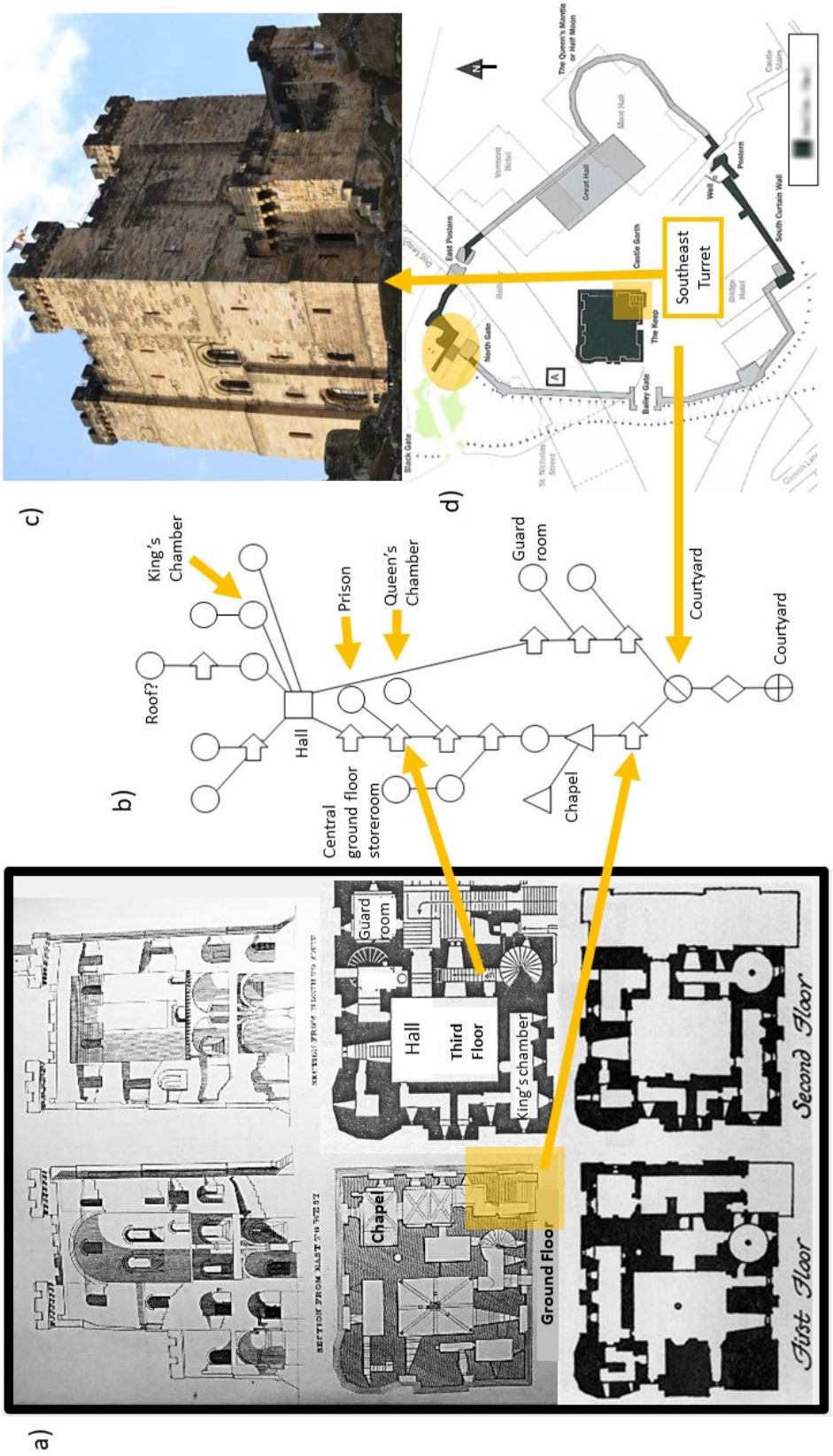
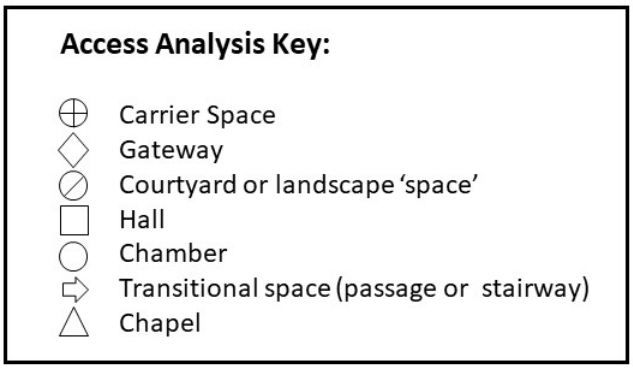


Figure 5.8: Access Analysis for Newcastle Castle (Northumberland) c.1177. The previously-supposed queen's chamber is in an anomalous location for current theories about female domestic castle spaces. Image sources: a)original image showing all floor levels created by combining online images from Longstaff 1860, Knowles 1926, and Mckenzie 1827; b)original access diagram; c)public domain; d)Heslop and McAuley 2011, p.68



Contemporaries were aware of spatial dynamics according to historical accounts of social interactions and architectural features (Hicks 2009, p.52-69). For example, the dais of the great hall reveals contemporary spatial designation, literally set in stone, setting apart the most affluent or important amongst the company. Interior layouts in twelfth-century keeps generally reflected social hierarchy rather than controlled access based on gender, though gendered spaces could have been intangible or transitory (Hillier and Hanson 1984, p.171).

The access diagram of Kenilworth Castle in the twelfth century (*Figure 5.10*) shows the keep as the primary structure within the castle garth, accompanied by a chapel and hall, with the élite top chamber intentionally designed with a view of the gatehouse (Johnson 2002, p.152). The English Heritage floorplan (*Figure 5.9*) does not list a separate ground floor hall, but according to the survey from 1563 (Molyneux 2008, p.46-61), the 'great chamber', or 'white hall', was labeled in the space of the orange and red area along the southern wall of the inner court (see *Figure 5.9*). Single chambers would not have been constructed outside the keep at this time due to heightened vulnerability, and the proximity to the 'kitchen' and visibility within the inner court suggest that this was the ground floor ceremonial great hall, positioned as Henry II's ground floor great hall was positioned at Newcastle Castle.

Kenilworth's twelfth-century Norman phase of the keep (*Figure 5.10*) lacks any physical evidence for specifically-female space. The previously-suggested location of a potential lady's chamber was in the basement, situated within the service space (Morris 2011, p.9). This is inconsistent with the standard model in which the lady's

space is said to be located highest or furthest from entrances and public space.

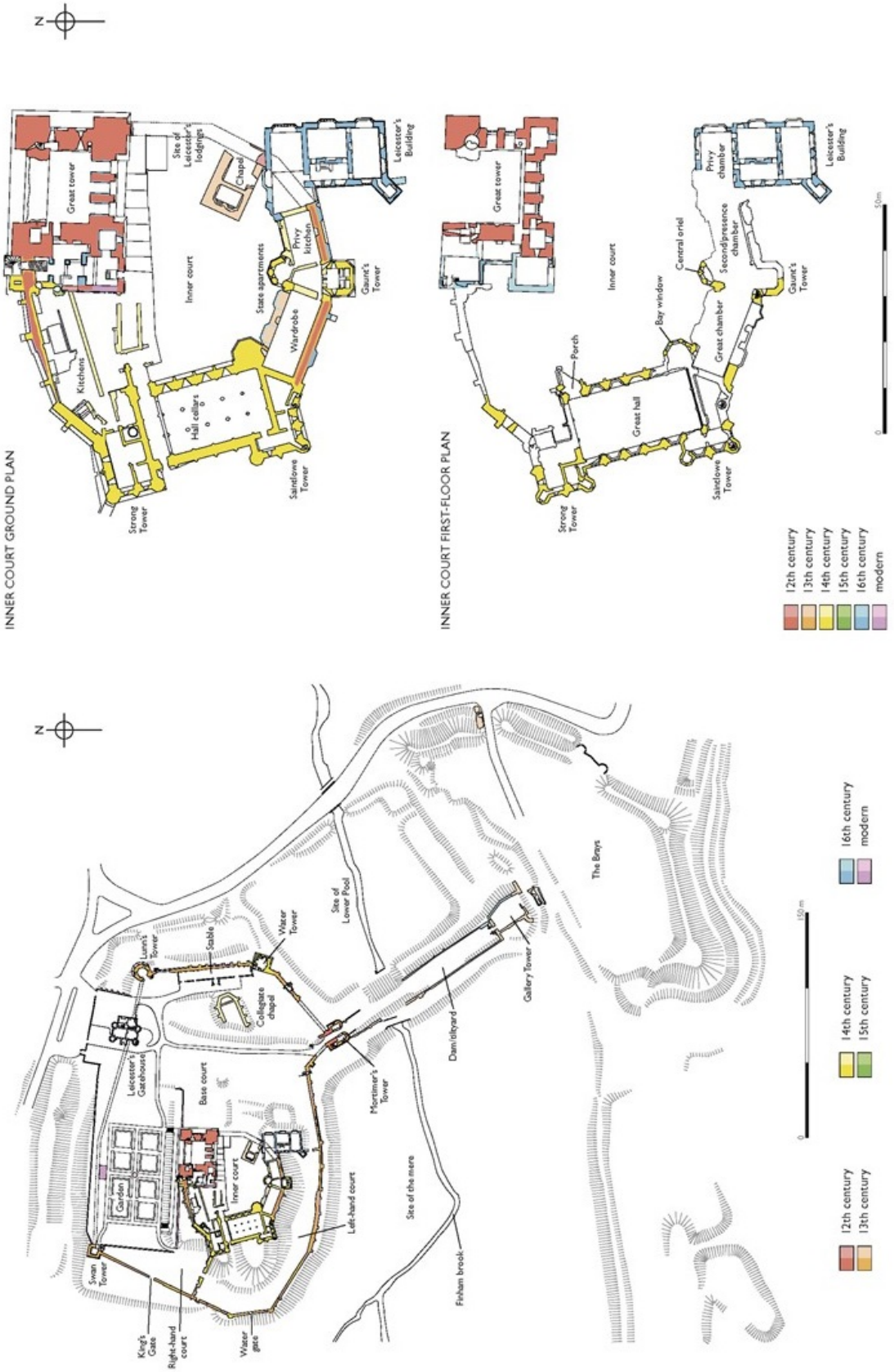


Figure 5.9: Plan of Kenilworth Castle from English Heritage Guidebook, Morris 2016, back interior cover image

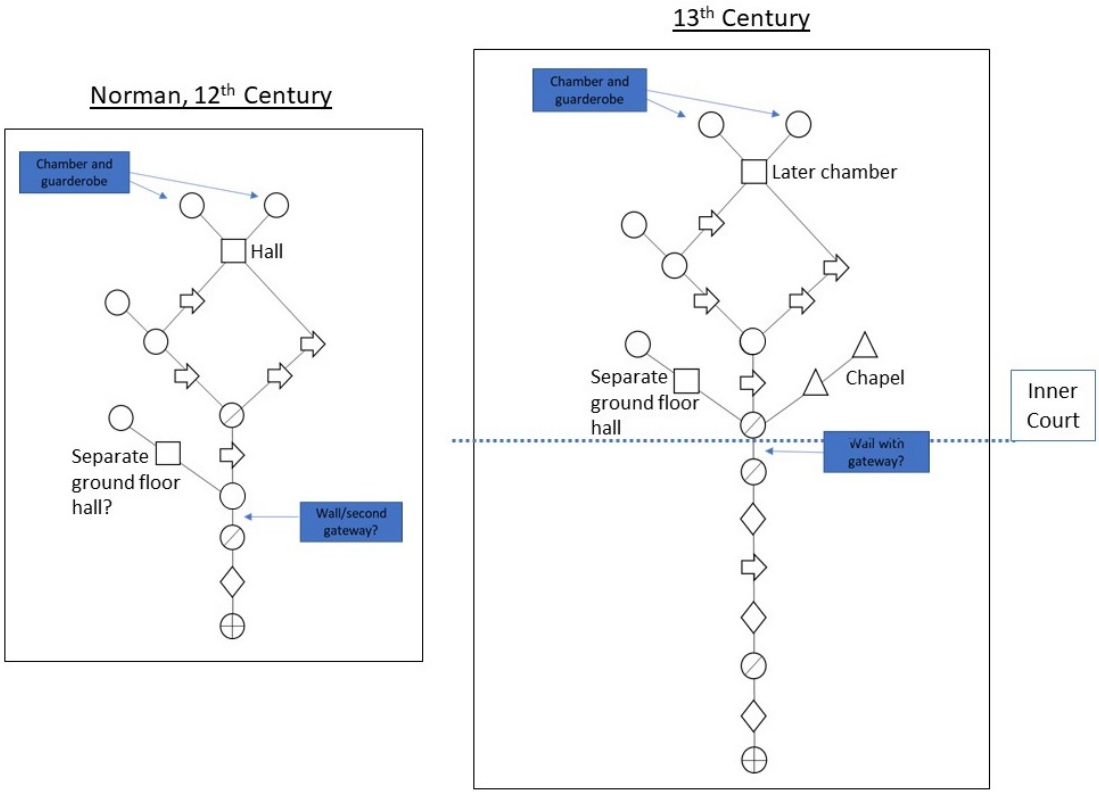
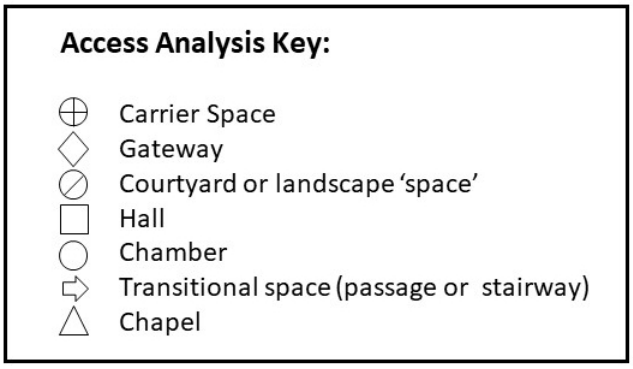


Figure 5.10: The thirteenth-century phase does not include access to curtain wall and flanking towers, but just remains within the inner ward.



The thirteenth-century access diagram for Kenilworth (*Figure 5.10*) shows a similar layout in the keep and ancillary buildings, but there is a distinct increase in spaces approaching and leading into the castle, similar to the exaggerated approach into the late thirteenth-century construction at Harlech Castle (Gwynedd). Three gatehouses were added, incrementally situated with courtyards between, and the causeway labeled as the 'tiltyard' provided a bridge across the mere. Large curtain walls and mural towers displayed increased defense, with the King's Gate as a

strategic postern gate beyond the walls of the inner court. Continuing the access assessment of Kenilworth through the fourteenth century, one can see the exaggerated approach into the primary entrance (*Figure 5.11*). The horizontal spread of the access diagram reveals a complex spatial layout similar to that of Bodiam Castle (Sussex) below (*Figure 5.14*), in which the majority of spaces reach an average depth of permeability, ending with similarly-structured private, non-communal chambers attesting to the household's growing trend towards individualism (Thompson 1995, p.181; Guy 2017, p.235-257). The exterior retains an archaic façade, though with an exaggerated entrance route and 'shallow' postern gate. Bodiam's architectural purpose has remained in speculation, as scholars argue that contrary to its heavily-militaristic appearance, its martial features were constructed impractically and archaically (Stocker 1992; Saul 1995; Johnson 2002; Coulson 2016, p.241-302; Johnson et al. 2017, p.25-30), repeatedly using Coulson's (1973; 1989) theory that defensive features symbolised chivalric status as a display of idealized martial prowess as justification (Coulson 1973; 1989; Saul 1995; Keevill 2000, p.125, 129; Goodall 2011 p.26). I argue that the large ground floor great hall with central hearth at Bodiam indicates intentional archaism, as a grand display of nostalgic architecture directly viewed and fully accessible upon entrance. This allusion to communal heritage contrasts with the numerous smaller chambers within the walls at equal depth, hiding the contemporary value of individualism.

Adding to the debates regarding Bodiam's martial architecture, my access diagram provides new, further evidence for non-functional defense as the postern gate leads directly into the courtyard via the entrance into the great hall in just three architectural steps. This use of access analysis has proved useful for assessing Bodiam specifically, by visualizing its interior layout that, considering its archaic exterior defensive features and ground floor hall, provides new insight into its intended, contested function.

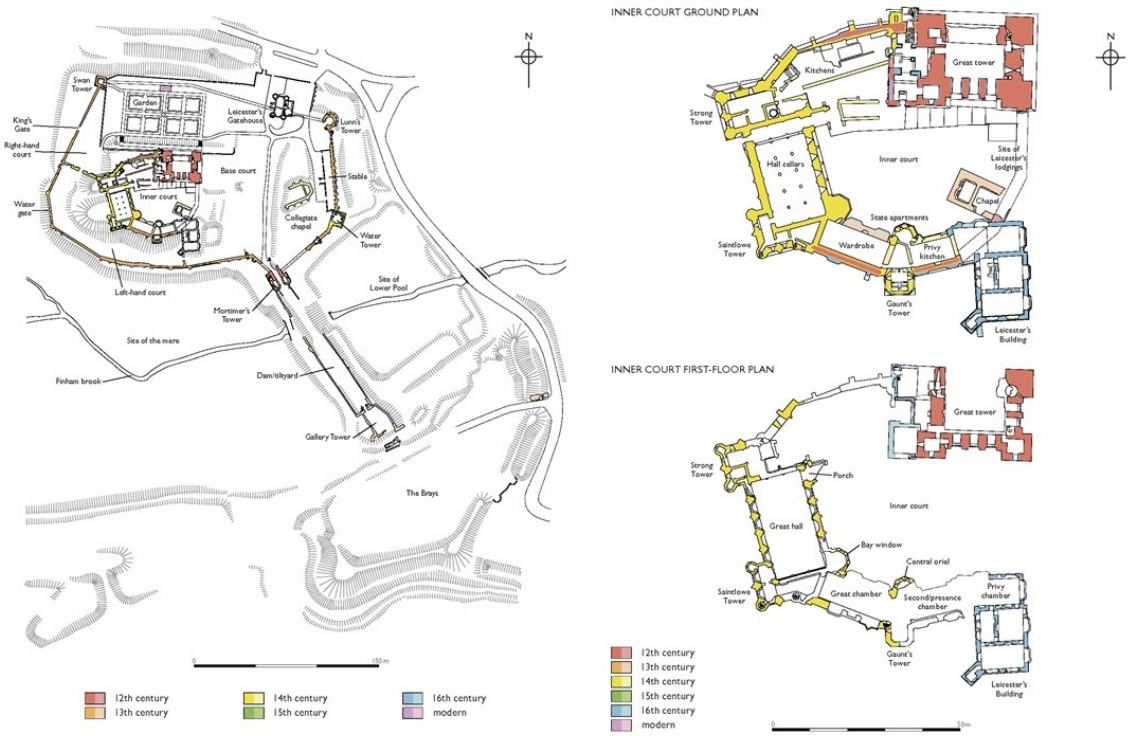
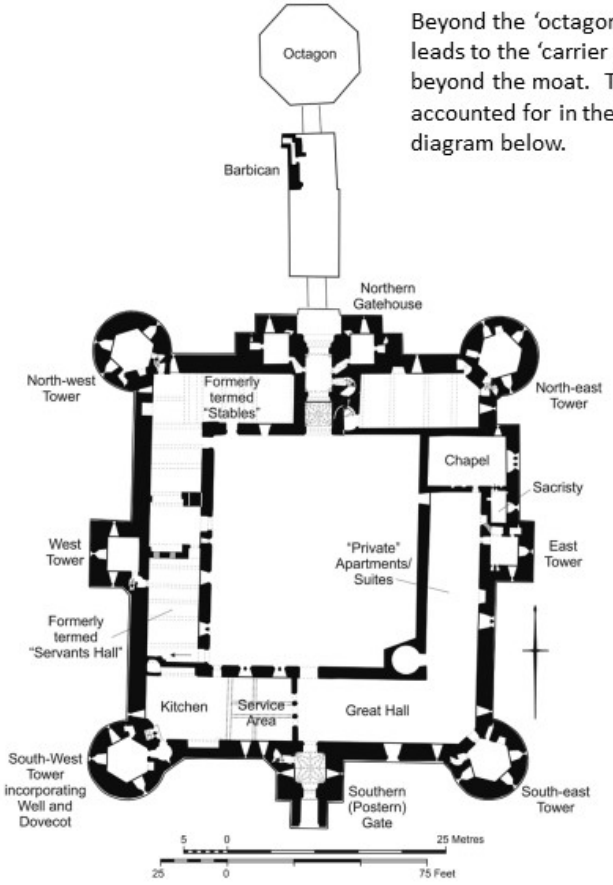
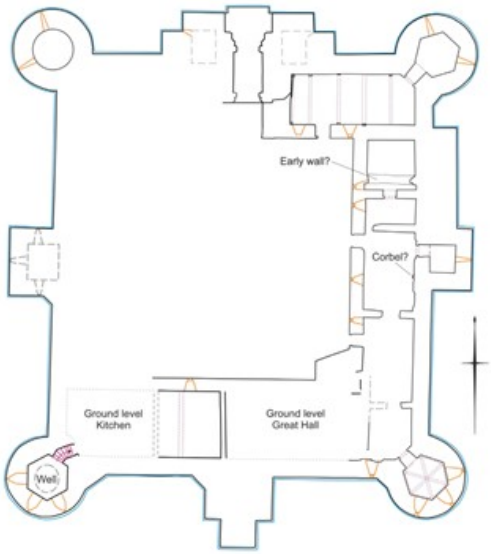


Figure 5.11: Access analysis for Kenilworth's fourteenth-century phase. Note increased entrance route.



Beyond the 'octagon', a bridge leads to the 'carrier space' beyond the moat. This is accounted for in the access diagram below.

Fig. 3.1: Simplified plan of Bodiam Castle with key elements designated.



Basement level plan

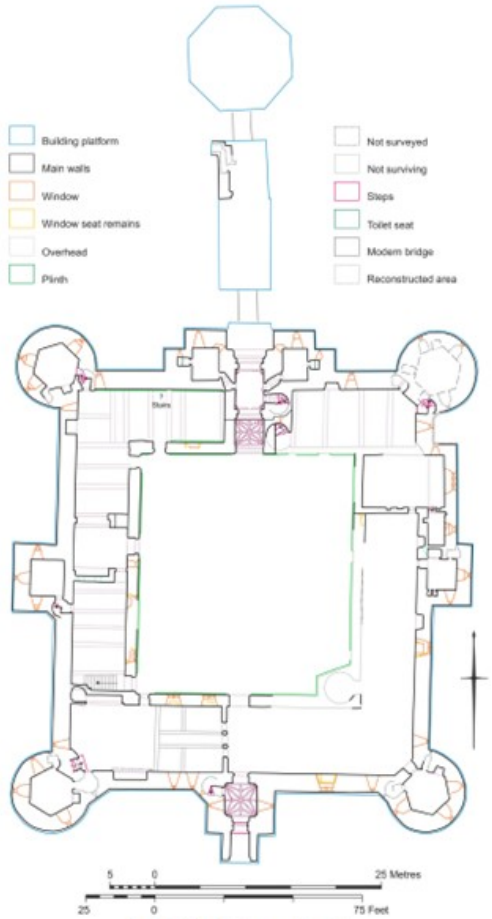


Fig. 3.5: Bodiam Castle, ground floor plan.

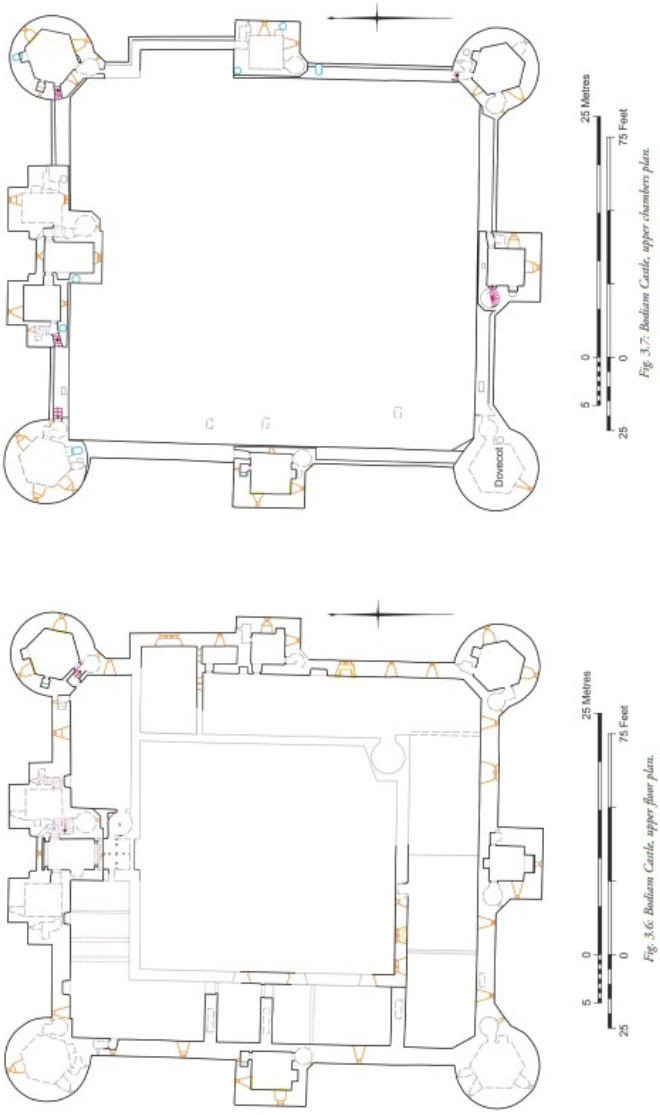


Figure 5.12: Five simplified plans of Bodiam Castle (Sussex), with smaller captions by the author and from original in Johnson et al 2017, p.25-28.

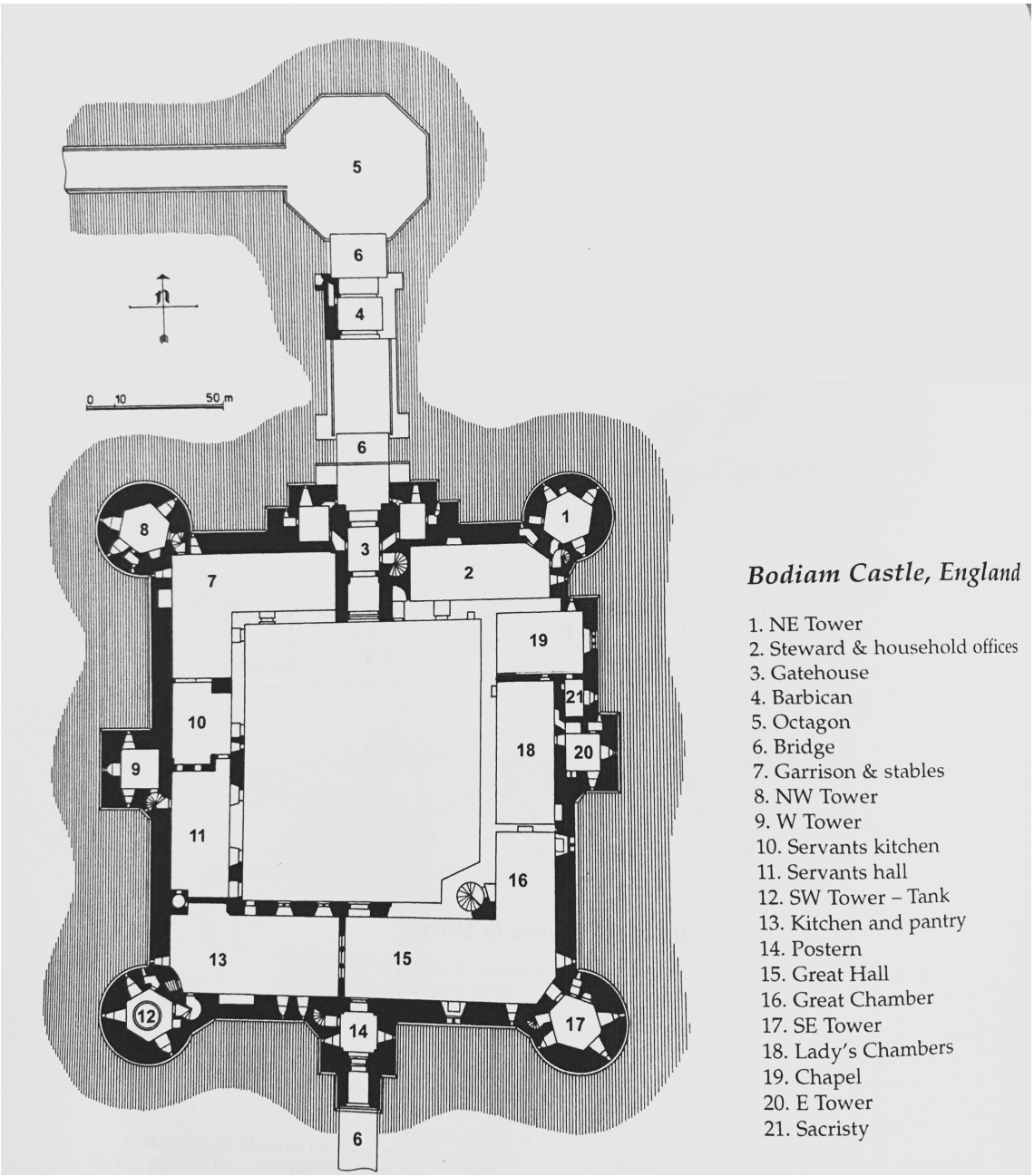


Figure 5.13: Bodiam Castle floorplan from Johnson et al 2017, p.29. This image is included to show the progression over the moat from the front for the access diagram.

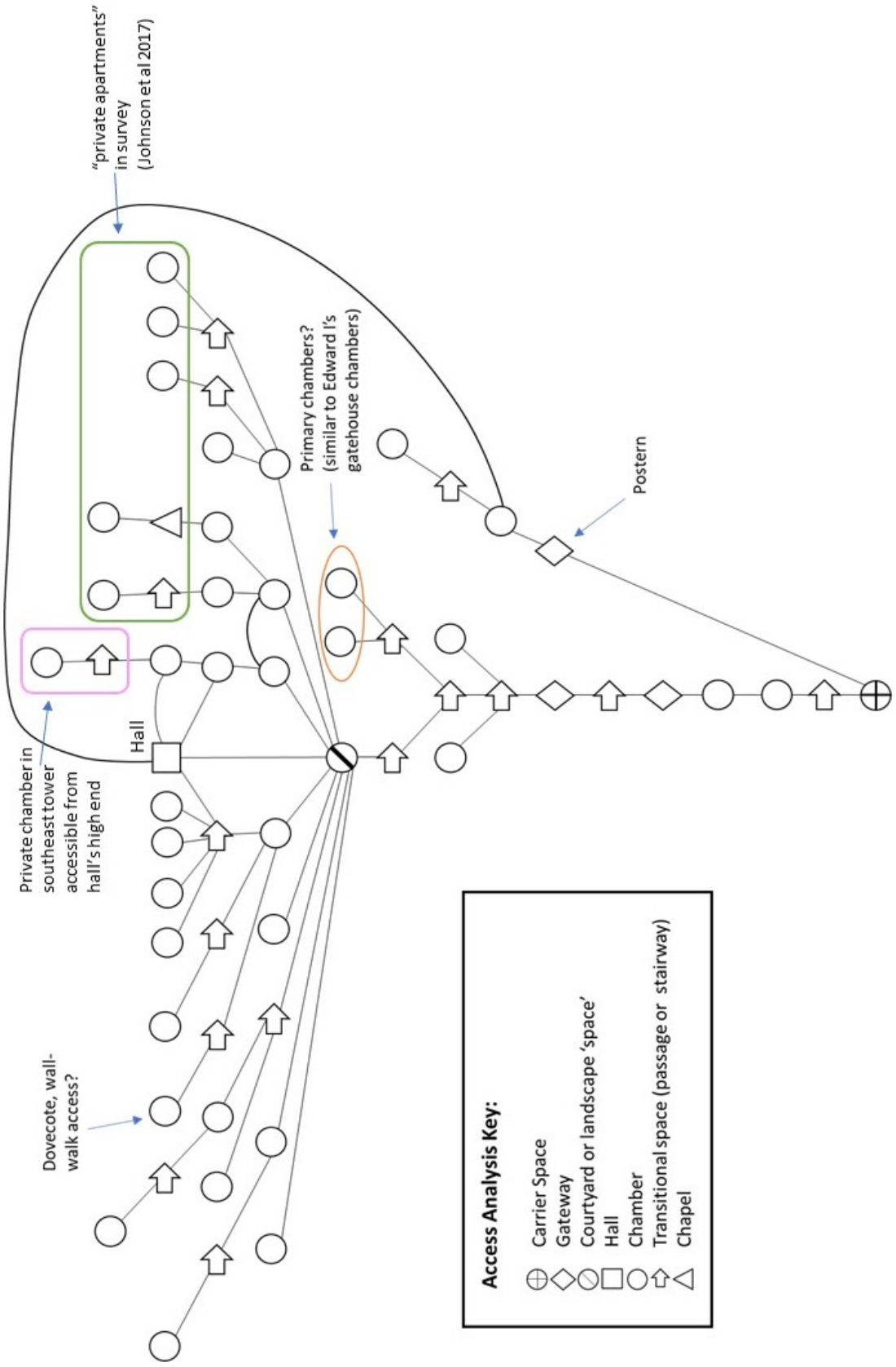


Figure 5.14: Bodiam was fully analysed for access diagram, as chambers are within the quadrangular walls. The western side of the plan has been labeled as primarily service spaces. The eastern wall contained 'private apartments' and the chapel. The most inaccessable space is the second floor chamber in the southeast turret, architecturally arranged like John of Gaunt's Great Chamber by his hall at Kenilworth, connected by a stairway from the high-end of the hall. Bodiam's hall is antiquated in comparison, on the ground floor. All previously labeled chamber spaces are at the same 'level' of accessibility as service spaces and the hall, as approached from the front entrance.

An aspect of the antiquated 'cult' castle in the fourteenth century was to appear conceptually defensive, using multiple access thresholds and architectural 'steps' leading into the entrance or gatehouse. The vulnerability of the postern gate, as in the example of Bodiam, reveals construction motives less defensive than previously thought (Saul 1995), with only two architectural steps into the symbolic heart of the castle complex, the great hall, contrasted with eleven architectural steps through the front entrance.

The schematic representation for Westminster Palace below (*Figure 5.15*), was developed from Matthew Johnson's (2007) floorplan based on Steane's original (Steane 1993, p.74; Johnson et al. 2017, p.2). Though developed over many centuries, four primary medieval construction phases are important for this thesis, highlighted in four different colours. As so much of the architecture is lost beneath recent construction or does not survive, I have omitted the access diagram for this site; however, the layout alone is useful for assessing its spaces in support of this research.

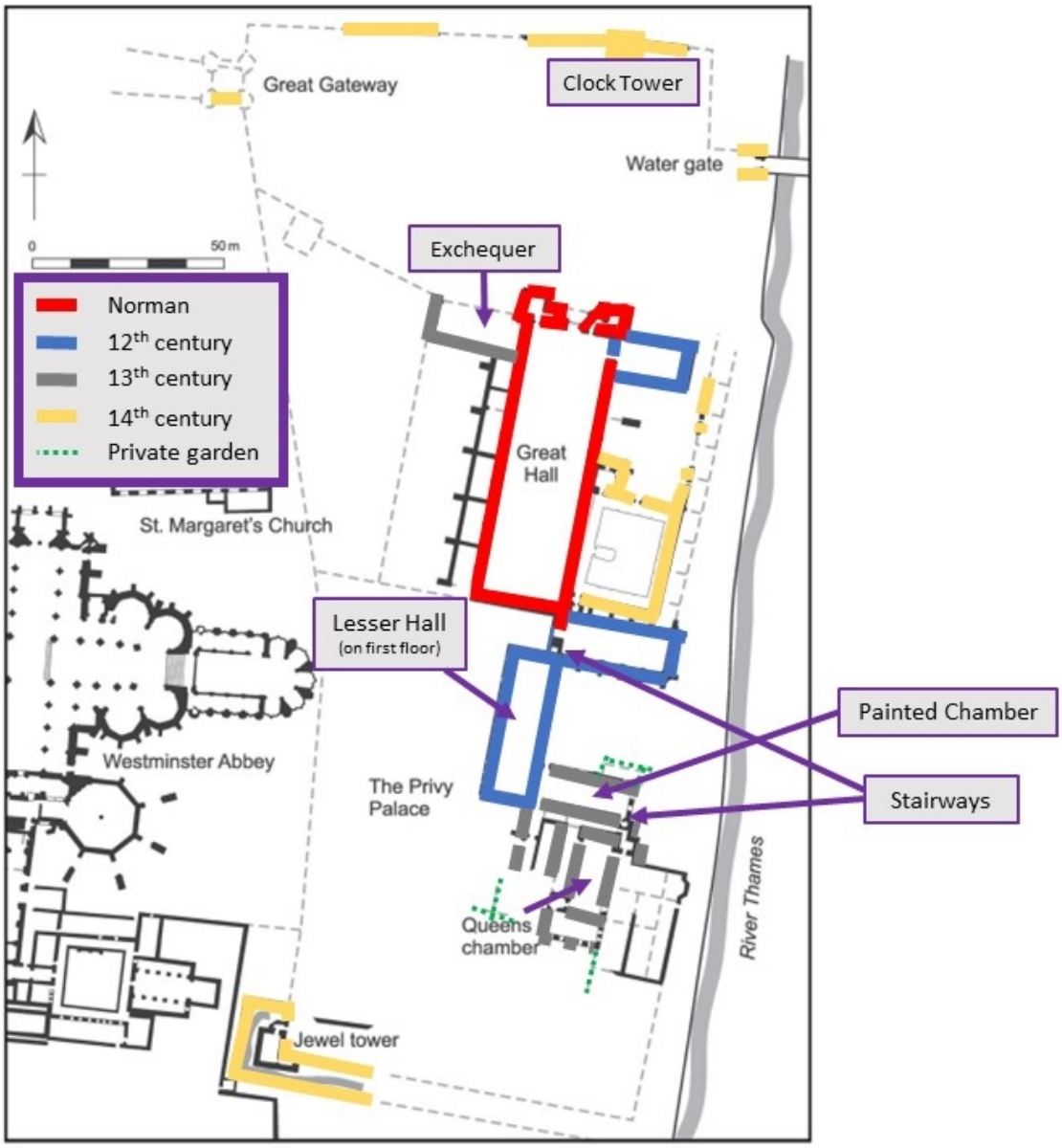


Figure 5.15: Plan from Johnson 2007, p.2, taken from original in 2007 from Steane 1993, p.74. The queen's chambers are placed furthest away from the front entrance (the Great Hall). This was the front entrance during Henry III's phase, as the curtain wall was added in the fourteenth century.

Beginning with William (Rufus) II's ground floor great hall, the Normans quickly adopted the Insular style of élite architecture. The smaller, first floor hall south of the great hall was added in the twelfth century, and the painted chamber and apartments for the queen were added in the thirteenth century. Though the queen's chambers were surrounded by gardens and located farthest from the main entrance into the great hall, they remained unprotected until the curtain wall and mural

towers were added in the fourteenth century. This is hugely significant for this study, as it reveals that female privacy was conceptually important as a visual rather than functional defense. This 'female privacy' is discussed further below in a small case study of Clarendon Palace.

5.3 Medieval Productions of Space and Privacy

As discussed, medieval conceptions of privacy and space were far removed from modern perspectives, and furthermore, they were perceived and used differently throughout the Middle Ages. In post-Conquest castle life, private space was reserved for members of the household rather than the individual, and it was an élite privilege, indicative of status rather than modesty (Duby and Ariès 1987; Woolgar 1999, p.50; Webb 2007, p.100-103; Weikert 2018, p.127-130; Delman 2018; Thorstad 2019, p.153). Contrarily, the Early Medieval great hall society regarded privacy as dangerous, imbued with negative connotations of solitude, isolation and vulnerability, which were the antithesis of communal hall culture (Webb 2007, p.xv, 217; Garner 2011, p.163; Horner 2001). Privacy was increased from the twelfth century (Hansson 2006, p.121-123), and as demonstrated in the access diagrams above, it became staged and constructed to visibly set one apart as a display of chivalry and status rather than to provide for increased domesticity or protection. As the most identifiable feature with high variability across castle sites, privacy features as the medium for which to explore Romanticized values of chivalry within the contemporary élite built environment, including ideals of gender, loyalty, piety and power.

5.3.1 Displaying Female Identity and Ideals through Privacy

Recent studies in archaeology and castle architecture have identified issues with earlier research, in which the lady is largely absented from discourses of élite castle life. The dichotomy of male-dominated public spaces and women kept in private

domestic spaces overgeneralizes a trend that undermines the lady's valency and authority in medieval élite society (Gilchrist 1999, p.144; Dempsey et al. 2019, p.772-788). In Chrétian's Romances (c.1150-1190), the chivalric lady embodied a new role as a valent, powerful figure, driving the narrative and encouraging the hero towards greater chivalric success. As chivalry was reformed to match values exemplified by Romance heroes and the newly-emergent chivalric 'lady', an importance was placed on features of visible privacy and gendered space not previously seen in earlier medieval architecture. Ladies became more than passive spectators at tournaments, in court, and in ceremonies, depicted as an extension of the knight, lord, or king and as agents of chivalry in their own right. This became constructed into the élite built environment as spaces and features were constructed to display privacy, visually setting them apart.

Determining female presence and activity within particular spaces by material culture has been problematic and contested, as academic studies show that artefacts were not as exclusively gender-specific as previously thought. Ladies hunted and accompanied their husbands on crusade, and thus could also be identified through material culture typically considered purely masculine (Cummins 1988, p.230; Harke 1990; Gilchrist 1999, p.111-144, 151; Gilchrist 2009, p.236; Morgan 2017, p.110-115). This is increasingly challenging in Early Medieval contexts where physical structural boundaries were largely invisibly or physically transient (Webb 2007, p.102; Hansson 2009, p.435-452; Morgan 2017, p.216).

With the majority of Early Medieval architectural evidence surviving through literary documentation alone, current research relies on literature and legend to contextualize ideas of architectural space (Webb 2007; Garner 2011; Weikert 2018). For instance, Diana Webb (2007) has discussed female space in relation to Icelandic sagas in which women are portrayed as talking privately in the "woman's area" of the "fire room" (Webb 2007, p.102). Women of higher social standing inhabit separate rooms in these narratives, though it remains unclear whether this indicates entirely separate female bowers and structures rather than allocated spaces

connected to the hall (Webb 2007, p.100-102). Indeed, later medieval literature attests to gender-specific architectural space, most notably chambers for ladies, in Romance (ex: Von Strassbourg's *Tristan*) and in historical documentation. Henry III's liberate rolls mention spaces for the queen specifically, such as the 'queen's aula' (CLR v.3 1246, p.80; Edward I, Survey 1272, p.152). Although spaces were specified in contemporary literature for queens and ladies, and access diagrams reveal controlled access patterns regulated through 'architectural steps' (Guy 2018), one cannot claim that male or guest access into female spaces was physically restricted. As previously argued (see Chapter Four discussion) women were not strictly confined to private spaces whilst the men acted within the public eye. Further issues lie in distinguishing physical permissible access, restricted access, and open access. Researchers disagree on the idea of gendered spaces within castle life, as no evidence suggests absolute physical access restrictions based on gender (Hillier and Hanson 1984, p.101; Fairclough 1992; Richardson 2003a; Grant 2017; Rollason 2018; Weikert 2018; Richardson 2018); and from the modern perspective, one cannot tell for certain whether access was physically restricted or permitted based upon gender. This has caused a hesitancy in labeling and discussing gendered physical spaces within academic research (Rollason 2018; Grant 2017).

I argue that gendered space must, therefore, be defined and identified by agency and authority associated with particular spaces rather than physicality. Features of a space can help to identify the intended authority and agency roles within. Tapestries and curtains could have designated transient 'private' spaces of female agency, and furnishings could also indicate 'spaces' of female authority, as beds retained symbolic connotations of female agency and equality. As discussed in Hollie Morgan's *Beds and Chambers in Medieval England* (2017), both sexes could cohabit the bedchamber, but the bed and the chamber are designated as 'female' spaces in accordance with contemporary documentation attesting to female authority and decision-making agency within these spaces, enabling ladies to speak to men as equals (Rees Jones 2013, p.258; Morgan 2017, p.107). The bed in particular was an

important space and symbol of gender equality and female agency (Morgan 2017). In typically-designated 'female' spaces, such as the garden (discussed at length in Chapter Six), many features symbolised female attributes or characteristics found in contemporary legend, Romance literature and Christian ideologies. Classifying and identifying female space using associated contemporary symbolism, documentation and agency removes the inconclusive and contested idea of physical access restriction based on gender, allowing new research to identify spaces of female agency and authority developed out of Romantic values of the chivalric lady.

The access analysis carried out here suggests that baronial castles after the Conquest retained hierarchical social structuration, though English royal castles began to reveal spaces for the queen and gendered structuration during Henry III's reign. Similar concepts of access filtering systems were included in Elizabethan *Harleian Regulations* (Gilchrist 1999, p.122; Schaus et al. 2006, p.29), in which access to certain spaces, primarily access to the body of the king, was controlled based upon male social status.

Ladies' chambers have not hitherto been identified in border castles or castles of the Anarchy period of the twelfth century, previously attributed to lack of social stability. However, Edward I's castles in Wales contest this idea of militarism and instability as the reasons for lacking female chambers, particularly at Caernarfon and Conwy Castle (Gwynedd). These castles have specifically been discussed as conquest fortresses, though they contained chambers specifically for Eleanor of Castile, positioned with the same architectural distance from entrances as Edward I's chambers as a display of equality and authority (see *Figure 7.19*). In addition, her adjacent gardens reveal the same or a similar spatial organization as that of palatial sites. The most overtly-powerful space of female authority was undoubtedly the queen's hall, appearing in primary documentation of the mid-thirteenth century. No research has hitherto explored queen's halls, beyond Stalley's (1999, p.97) brief comment that castles could have multiple halls for different households, and a slight mention in Parsons' (1977, p.30) list of spaces for Eleanor of Castile's household,

casting doubt that these 'halls' held any significance beyond that of another 'chamber'. Primary documents however, refer to queen's halls using the same vocabulary ("*aula*") as ground floor great halls and 'king's halls' on the first floor of the keep, distinguished from chambers (listed as "*camera*") (CLR vol.3, 1246, p.80; Stean 2001, p.74; Richardson 2003a, p.113). Interestingly, a scene in Chrétian's *Lancelot* mentions a lady who seduces Lancelot, who, "for her residence she had a number of fine rooms outfitted as well as a large and spacious hall" (Kibler trans. 2005 Chrétian, line 984, p.219). Henry III's renovations of Dover Castle (Kent) included two large halls that later came to be known as Arthur's Hall and Guinevere's Hall in the fourteenth century (Brodie 2011), potentially indicating a hall for Eleanor of Provence hitherto undocumented. The trend of queen's halls clearly reveals that contemporaries attributed similar meaning to these specific female spaces of authority. Queen's halls present ideas of female power and public authority not hitherto discussed or associated with English castle architecture. Earlier queens wielded authority, but the hall became a newly-visible and permanent symbol and space of power, hitherto only applied to ideas of male power and kingship. The queen's hall has important implications for future castle and gender studies, further exploring and developing the ideas of queenship and its physical evidence within architecture.

5.3.2 Displaying Power through Privacy

The "sophisticated control and manipulation of access" was an important means of expressing one's power and lordship (Creighton and Higham 2004, p.13). Public displays of privacy provided separation whilst drawing attention and allowing the most élite to 'see and be seen' (Weikert 2014, p.91-115). Displays of "conspicuous privacy" (Delman 2018), intended to draw attention, show that the idea of privacy was a conceptually important indicator of status or authority, and was evident in features designed to set the agent or user apart from casual or public spaces, as mentioned in the previous example of the dais.

Space-framing features such as galleries and window tracery enhanced visibil-

ity and designated space for people of importance. Visible separation between the most élite and the general population can also be identified through large decorative archivolts, tympanums, and chivalric doorways decorated with microarchitecture outlined and defined space and passageways that retained symbolic power even in the absence of the occupiers. For example, a red carpet in modern society retains the image and ideas of grandeur and exclusivity, separating celebrity from the general population. Bed canopies, baldachins and covered thrones provide further medieval examples of 'privacy' designating exclusive separation and power. Medieval architectural features of privacy and exclusivity were translated into imagery such as seals, miniatures and sculpture, designating status through illustrated spaces within decorative borders of microarchitecture.

Pentices in particular, designated processional space and movement. Heslop and McAuley (2011) discuss the value of visible movement between castle spaces, in particular, the keep and the hall at Newcastle Castle (Heslop and McAuley 2011, p.69-71; Graves and Heslop 2013, p.104-109). To be seen was a 'space' of power, as setting one apart demonstrates exclusivity. This was the purpose of galleries and pentices, and was also an aspect of separate ground floor halls, as travelling unnoticed within the keep's walls was a typical 'space' of service staff.

5.3.3 Displaying Piety with Privacy

Another aspect of chivalric privacy was the display of piety, which had become a defining trait for chivalric heroes of Romance. Piety became a necessary image to construct within élite secular architecture, as it was necessary for ideal chivalry. Separate spaces in churches were designed to allow people to be seen as separate and distinct (Graves 1989; Graves 2000); and this became true for secular architecture as well. Arthur and his knights displayed exemplary piety with Christian rituals and traditions, despite adulterous actions, and Alexander the Great was portrayed as a Christian hero rather than a pagan, despite being classified as one of the three pagans in the Nine Worthies (Barron 1987, p.23; Archibald et al. 2009; Bridges

2018).

For the king, private chapels located near the hall or his personal chambers displayed his personal piety (Colvin et al. 1963a, p.86-87); a direct architectural link to his primary spaces of authority and agency. Screens and galleries were incorporated into chapels so that the queen could attend mass without being seen (Keevill 2000, p.122-125; CLR Henry III Vol.3 1250, p.324). Furthermore, these features, as did her private chambers, themselves symbolised her presence and self, and likewise, her personal piety. Churches and chapels near the castle could also contain specific imagery associating the site with the king, but personal chapels within the castle physically conjured an image of the king or queen's piety, symbolising their person as well as a functional space for devotion (Coulson 2003a, p.382).

5.3.4 Displaying Fidelity and Loyalty with Privacy

Feudal loyalty remained important through the medieval period, but through the growing popularity of Romance culture, loyalty between a knight and his lady became a powerful symbol of chivalric honour and courtly love. The paradoxical nature of courtly love is made manifest in the simultaneous necessity of loyalty and the idealization of extramarital, secret love affairs. As the queen's fidelity symbolised the king's ability to rule, his legitimacy of power, and the integrity of the kingdom (Gilchrist 1999, p.110; Tyler 2017, p.18-19), I argue that the image of restricted access into the queen's spaces beyond the king's chambers, even if only conceptually restricted, helped to strengthen the image of the king's authority and integrity of the kingdom (Burns 2013, p.396-414). Whilst remaining connected architecturally to the king's chambers, her visible occupation of the deepest, most visibly-restricted spaces presented the image of control and loyalty necessary for the king's legitimized authority.

The image of the lady as a powerful figure in Romance literature helped sustain and create contested ideals of the lady as an embodiment of the duality of good and evil, fallen and redeemed, symbolised by Eve and the Virgin Mary (Gilchrist 1999,

p.111-114; Johnson 2002, p.46). The lady's power over the knight's chivalric honour was potentially dangerous, however, as earlier mythological and Celtic themes of supernatural dangers personified as female were carried into the Romance tradition. A disloyal queen symbolised the king's lack of control over his kingdom (Gilchrist 1999, p.114; Richardson 2003a, p.150; Griffiths 2013, p.459), which was defended by this architectural image of loyalty and control. Though Eleanor of Aquitaine had a reputation for sexual exploits, rumored to include Saladin himself, her self-projection as a chivalric queen and patron of Romance fulfilled the medieval ideal, for which appearing loyal and chaste was more important than actively abstaining from extramarital relations.

In discussing the allegorical significance of Geoffrey of Monmouth's narrative of Tintagel Castle, Susan Murray (2003) describes the narrow approach from the mainland onto the island in a narrow womb-like metaphor of Igerna's sexual vulnerability, and the castle itself is the violated female (Murray 2003, p.23-24). Visuals of sexual control would have been symbolically important for queens rather than noble ladies and may also may also be a reason for the absence of access-restricted spaces for ladies in baronial castles in comparison to royal sites with architecturally-deep apartments specifically for the queen.

Architectural displays of queens' privacy, particularly in the absence of defensive features, projected an image of fidelity and loyalty and also symbolised the king's legitimacy and power, thus presenting an ultimate architectural display of a chivalric king and kingdom.

5.3.5 Sub-Case Study 1: Privacy and Chivalric Female Identity at Clarendon Palace

Clarendon Palace (Wiltshire) was an important site in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as a seat of justice administration, a popular private retreat and hunting lodge. Henry II spent a great deal of money building and decorating at Clarendon, which became overshadowed during the reigns of Richard II and John. It later

reached its height with Henry III's massive renovations and constructions, which brought it into prominence once more (James and Robinson 1988, p.4-7, 16-22).

The two images below are based on Borenius's excavations from the 1950s and 1960s, with spaces classified according to Henry III's expenditure (documented throughout both studies listed here)(James and Gerrard 2007; James and Robinson 1988). Both diagrams were used simultaneously to develop the access diagram (*Figure 5.18*), which follows the approach from the the Western Gatehouse as the main entrance. The primary structure in this diagram is the ground floor hall, marked in red in *Figure 5.17*, which was constructed by Henry III at the physical centre of the site in direct access and view once inside the main courtyard.

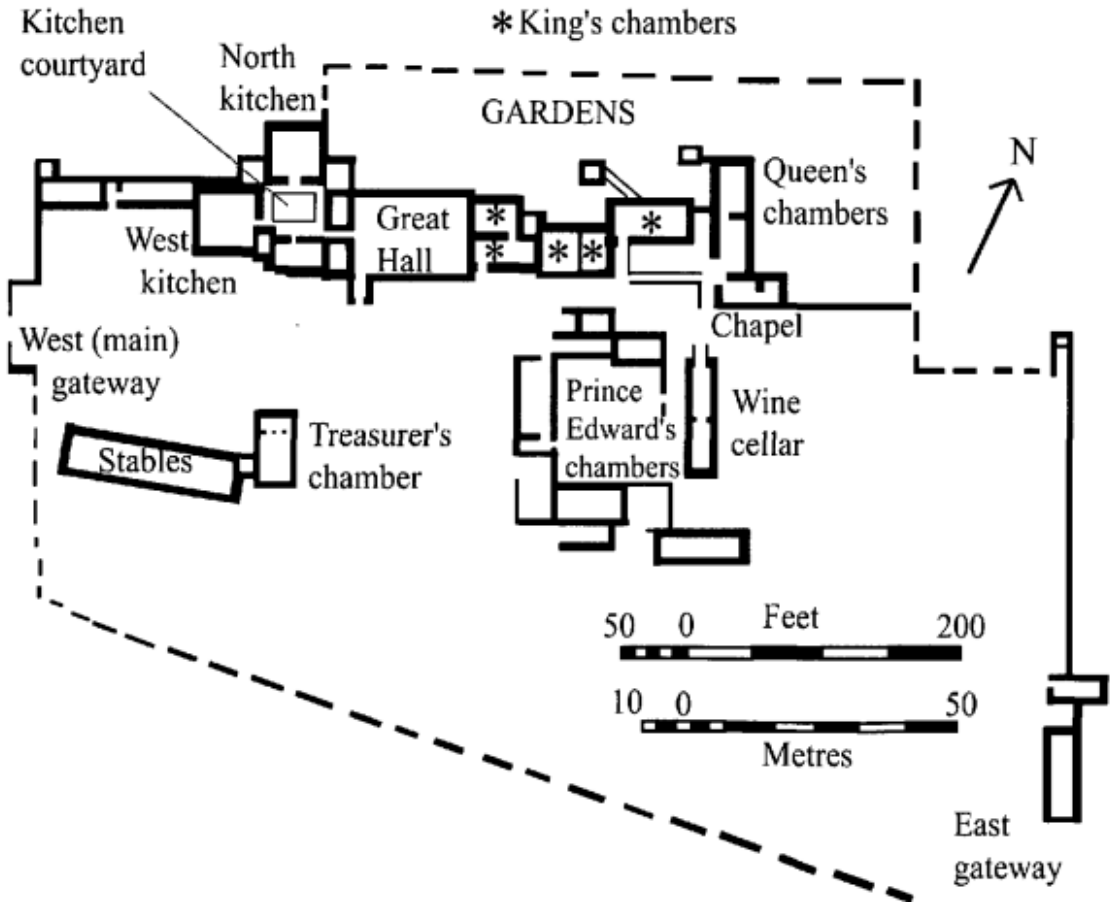
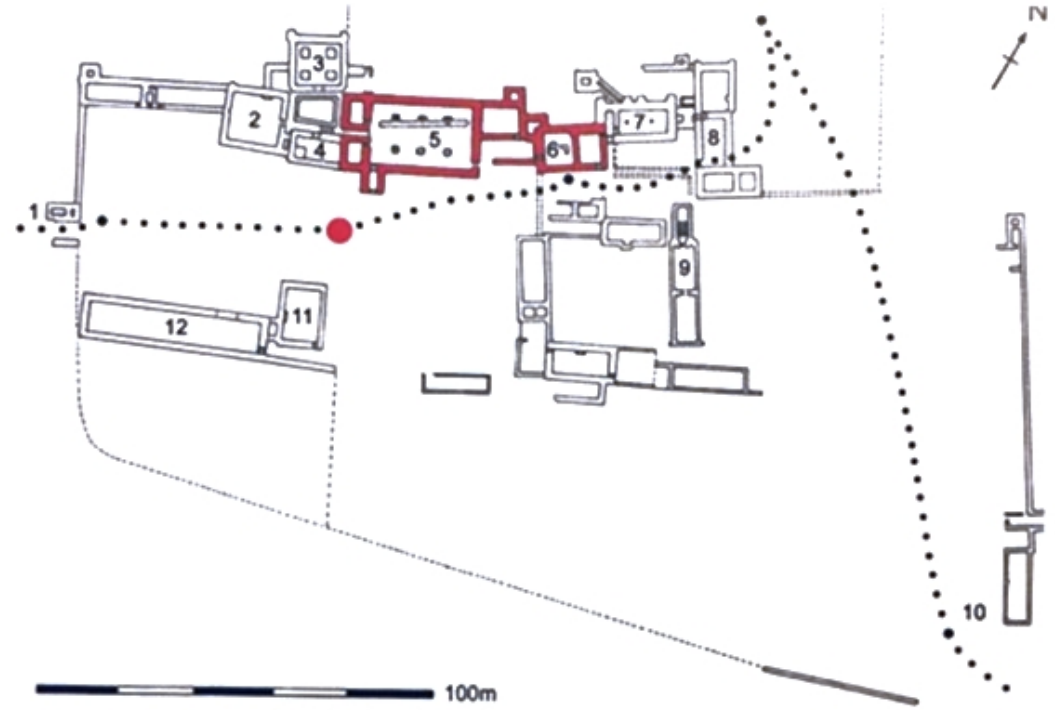


Figure 5.16: Labeled Clarendon Palace plan from Richardson 2003b, p.141, based on original in Steane 1993, p.107.



Key to plans:

1. *Western Gatehouse*
2. *West Kitchen*
3. *North Kitchen*
4. *Salsary*
5. *Great Hall*
6. *King's Chambers*
7. *Antioch Chamber*
8. *Queen's Chambers*
9. *Wine Cellar*
10. *Eastern perimeter area*
11. *'Old Hall'*
12. *Great Stable*

Figure 5.17: Different plan with more clarity for creating the access diagram (James 2010 p.18, based on Robinson and James 1988 p.21).

Access Analysis Key:

- Carrier Space
- Gateway
- Courtyard or landscape 'space'
- Hall
- Chamber
- Transitional space (passage or stairway)
- Chapel

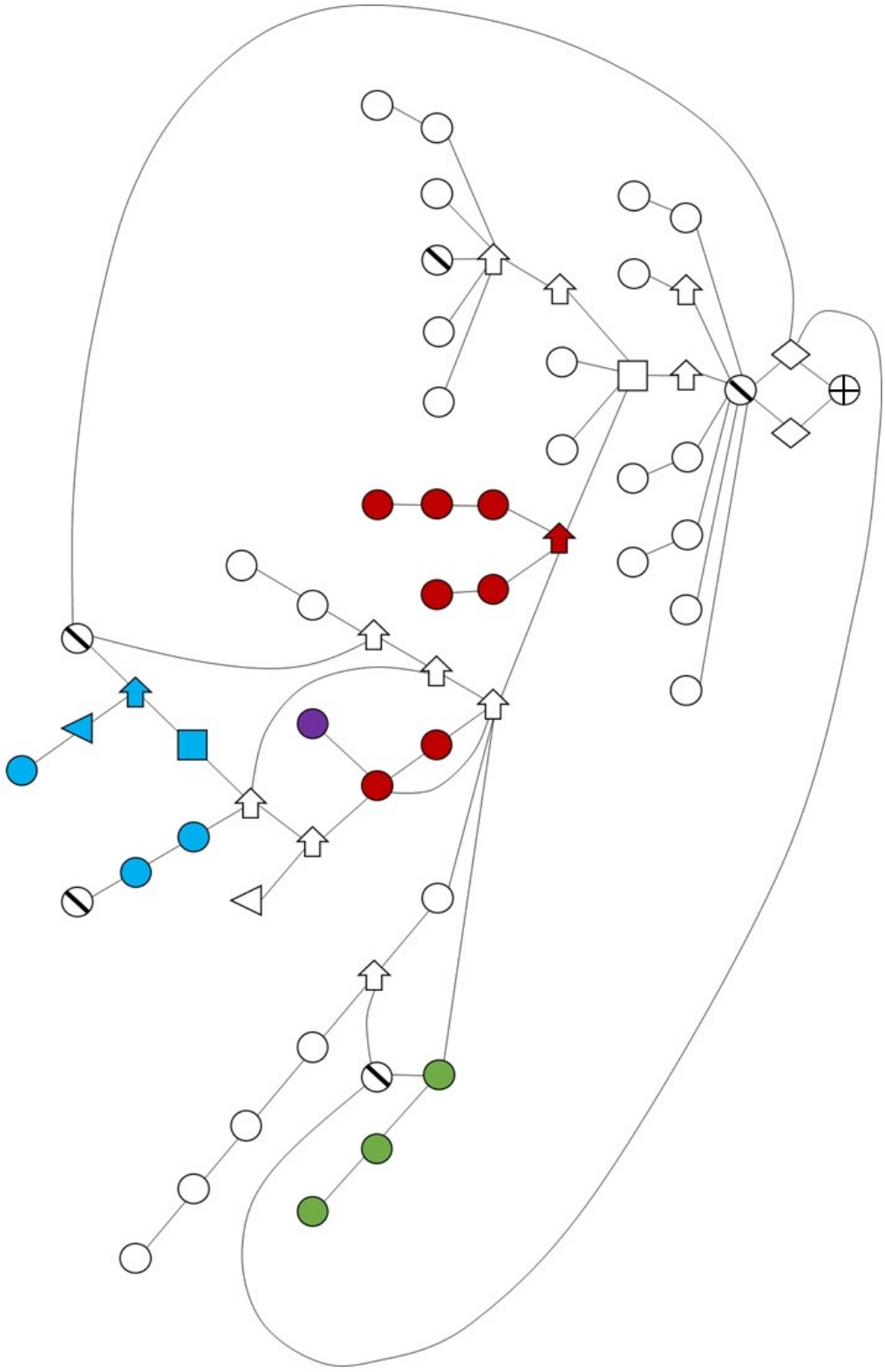


Figure 5.18: Access analysis for the 13th century plan of Clarendon Palace, under Henry III's constructions. Blue indicates queen's chambers, red indicates king's chambers, and green indicates Lord Edward's (future Edward I) chambers. The purple circle represents the Antioch chamber, located based on the study in Robinson and James 1988

Clarendon had no central keep, though the spacing between structures indicates an importance of ceremonial procession and visibility when traversing between structures, as Heslop and McAuley discuss in relation to Newcastle Castle (Heslop and McAuley 2011, p.68-71; Graves and Heslop 2013, p.104-109). With the contemporary importance of procession and visible movement between structures, the pentices specifically set apart space for the most élite to move between structures while standing out as a permanent symbol of power within a 'private' external passage separated from public open space.

Of great importance are the king's and queen's spaces, deeper architecturally than all other spaces (Richardson 2003a, p.141). Gendered spaces and residential apartments were expanded at several royal sites, with queen's chambers developed to include separate halls during Henry III's reign. Unfortunately only the ground floor level is visible in the foundation ruins, but if more information was available for the first floor level of Clarendon's structures, they would undoubtedly show further levels of architectural access control.

Henry III constructed other large ground floor aisled halls at royal castles, as well as extensive queen's chambers and queen's halls. This architectural trend added movement and processional visibility but with decreased defense. Significantly, these spaces were similarly constructed at important castles of administration during the mid-thirteenth century, thus incorporating less-defensive, palatial spatial patterns at key locations typically associated with the king's authority. With similar architectural patterns across thirteenth-century 'castles' and 'palaces,' these structures, typically separated in academic scholarship, should be studied together to better understand contemporary uses of medieval architecture. In the White Tower (London), referred to as a castle or fortress in modern literature, the queen's chambers and a queen's hall signify palatial structuration (Keevill 2000, p.13). At Westminster Palace, and Clarendon alike, private queen's chambers were more secluded in the thirteenth-century architectural phases than in the twelfth century, though the lack of walls and towers indicates that fortification and defense were not a priority

for queen's spaces. As discussed, no architectural or documentary evidence exists for élite female spaces at baronial castles. This suggests that these heavily-gendered spaces were only constructed at royal sites without emphasis on defensive features, and thus the segregation of queen's spaces from public spaces was an idealistic visual rather than an actual means of protection. As such, I argue that the idea of safety and privacy of female spaces that forms modern opinion of English castle domestic life, was primarily a façade for displaying the ideal of the chivalric lady and her power, as well as her vulnerability and sexual protection, simultaneously emulating the Romantic image of the lady set apart in a tower and the legitimacy of the king's authority.

The queen's hall at Clarendon is listed in Henry III's Liberate Rolls of 1250 (v.3, p.362) for the fitting of a marble mantle piece displaying images from the twelve months cycle. Queen's halls appear listed at other royal sites including Winchester (Hampshire), the White Tower (London), Havering (London), Guildford (Surrey), Ludgershall (Wiltshire), Gillingham (Dorset) and Woodstock (Oxfordshire) (CLR, vol.3, 1247, 1250 m.5; Colvin et al. 1963a, p.121; Salzman, p.164). Richardson's (2003) palatial access diagrams date some queen's halls to the mid-thirteenth century, remaining in use at least through Edward I's reign (Richardson 2003b, p.111). Queen's halls only appear at royal sites from the mid-thirteenth century and typically adhere to 'palatial' styles with large ground floor halls and separate queen's chambers tucked within garden spaces, as also seen at Kennington Palace (London) and Westminster Palace (London) (Steane 1993, p.74; Dawson 1976, p.115).

The presence of queen's halls brings medieval queenship ideals into consideration, as the hall represented a public space of chivalry and jurisdiction typically discussed as masculine and the antithesis of élite female space. Considering the specific dates of the queen's hall constructions, one must distinguish contemporary queenship roles and ideals from Henry III and Eleanor of Provence's individual relationship and power dynamic. Henry III was known to dote on Eleanor and provide for her large retinue of powerful relatives from Provence, Poitiers and Savoy (Leyser 1995, p.97;

Howell 1998, p.72-73), as evidenced in Henry III's Liberate Rolls:

"Liberate to the use of the king's beloved consort and queen 100 marks to pay the expenses of her household" (CLR v.3, 1251, p.364).

As kingship and court values evolved with the changing reigns, personal life and heritage developed contemporary ideas of kingship. As such, Eleanor of Provence's hall construction is an important indicator for queenship identity and definition of the mid-thirteenth century. Regarded in contrast with Early Medieval female identities founded upon marriage and motherhood, the queen's own personal hall and apartments at Clarendon Palace (*Figure 5.16* and *5.17*) spaced further from Lord Edward's chambers than Henry III's chambers indicates preeminent power in her own right aside from standard queenship roles of consort and producing legitimate heirs (see Chapters Three and Four; Jewell 2007b, p.83, 139; Hilton 2008; Oakley-Brown and Wilkinson 2009, p.17-20; Hamerow et al. 2011, p.1-4).

Eleanor of Provence was also responsible for the imagery added into the Antioch Chamber at Clarendon, which depicted painted images of Richard I and Saladin from the *Roman d'Antioch*, and records indicate that she specifically requested a volume of Romances that included the *Roman d'Antioch*, while she was on Crusade with Henry III in 1250 (Howell 1998, p.60, 213). She was a reputed connoisseur and patron of Arthurian Romances, which she passed to her son, the future Edward I, who later became renowned for his Arthurian emulations (Howell 1998, p.60, 72). Henry III's Liberate Rolls of 1251 state that Eleanor had the "story of Alexander" (*Roman d'Alexandre*) painted "about her chamber" at Clarendon (CLR vol.3, 1251, p.365; Colvin et al. 1963a, p.128), providing direct evidence for her admiration of Romances as well as her agency in appropriating them within her architectural spaces (Howell 1998, p.71). She also had Antioch Chambers and Alexander Chambers at Westminster Palace, Winchester Castle, Guildford Castle and Nottingham Castle. One was also planned but never decorated in the White Tower (Salzman, p.162; Howell 1998, p.60, 72).

5.4 Ground Floor Halls

The nature and use of the English great hall differed further from the *grande salle* in France, as great halls in England contained a dais for the high table, separating the space within one open-plan room between the higher and lower-status areas. The English great hall was a space for communal use, simultaneously inhabited used by different levels of society, which contrasted with the first floor *grande salle*, which was a more intimate space within the keep, only used by the élite (Wheatley 2004, p.2; Webb 2007, p.100; Richardson 2011, p.42; Saul 2011, p.viii, 255). The communal nature of the English great hall, therefore, allowed for Romanticized chivalric displays of largesse and charity akin to those in narratives of King Arthur's court. This research has found that the symbol and space of the ground floor great hall became like that of Arthur's court, embodying the Early Medieval idea of 'home', warmth and safety, from which knights ventured out into the dangers of the wilderness. This idea of the hall defined the heart of the English castle, developed from Insular roots, when most other attributes were adapted from other Continental architectural trends. These features included French-styled machicolations, Moorish, Iberian and Byzantine crenellations, Byzantine concentric walls, and the French donjon as "outward and visible" symbols of a "chivalric estate" (Wheatley 2004, p.2).

The first floor hall trend continued to be built in Norman keeps, or great towers, constructed in England alongside separate ground floor halls at royal castle sites. After the Conquest, the Normans appropriated the ground floor hall into their culture and conquest architecture, displaying a continuity of power to justify and legitimise their newly-claimed authority and adopted Insular heritage. This is further supported by contemporary Norman production of chronicles and Romances that glorified England's heroic past, showing further cultural appropriation to justify Norman authority in England (Crane 1986, p.15). In this Norman architectural assimilation, the ground floor great hall became the traditional English

castle structure, uniquely symbolic of Early Medieval English Insular heritage whilst other castle features were imported influences from the Continent brought together to create a pan-European display of power.

As mentioned, only a small collection of first floor 'Ardres' plan hall house castles was constructed in England before the Conquest, taking the form of Bosham (Sussex) depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry (Davis 1976, p.110; Thompson 1991, p.11; Thompson 1995, p.13). In France, and elsewhere across Continental Europe, ground floor halls were typically used as barns and lower-class markets (Thompson 1995, p.21-30, 101; Stean 2001, p.94-98). Thompson supports this with the *Life of Saint Louis* (c.1270), in which Joinville describes the local confused and skeptical reactions to Henry II's "English style" hall at Saumur (Maine-et-Loire), clearly showing the foreign concept of an élite ground floor hall (Thompson 1995, p.31). The Normans also adapted local architecture and archaism into their conquest structures in Sicily and Ireland, paradoxically growing in power by assimilating conquered native heritage traditions (Colvin et al. 1963a, p.44-45; Davis 1976, p.71-100; Coulson 2003a, p.225-227). This strategy was again implemented with Edward I's conquest of Wales, in his construction of a large timber hall at Conwy, located very near Llywelyn's hall (Wheatley 2010, p.127-131). William (Rufus) II's enormous ground floor hall at Westminster, unparalleled by any other contemporary or Anglo-Saxon hall, displayed his power as the successor of the Conqueror.

Lori Ann Garner's (2011) architectural study provides an interesting discussion of differences in hall cultures across both sides of the Channel by comparing Camelot and Hautdesert Castle from the late fourteenth-century *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Garner 2011, p.249-251). In the Romance narrative, Camelot is the location of feasting, warmth, family, wine ("*wynne*") and celebration, boasting the Germanic, Early Medieval image of great hall society. In contrast, Bertilak's castle, Hautdesert, contains a stark and isolated hall within the tower, more aligned "with Continental architectural practice" (Garner 2011, p.250). The unfamiliarity of Hautdesert's tower hall in the wilderness, contrasted with the jovial comfort of

Camelot's ground floor hall, depicts the English hall as an emblem of power and chivalry unmatched in foreign hall architecture. Prominent royal sites of English power, such as Dover Castle (Kent) and Winchester Castle (Hampshire), displayed this image distinguished from castle halls elsewhere, and therefore, developed the ground floor hall into a supra-Insular feature of English power and heritage (Davis 1976, p.91; Webb 2007, p.100; Garner 2011, p.249-251).

5.4.1 Largesse, Ceremony and Entertainment

As a uniquely English construct and symbol of heritage, the ground floor hall played a key role in shaping English castle culture and chivalry. As well as the symbolic heart of English castle life, the architecturally-separate ground floor great hall became one of the primary spaces for enacting chivalric displays. Whereas most chivalric activities remained within the top levels of society, the hall hosted ceremonial events where chivalry was experienced by individuals from all social classes. This happened through public demonstrations of largesse and piety, such as gift-giving and feasting, public acts of charity, and non-martial ceremony (Heslop and McAuley 2011, p.68-71; Coldstream 2012, p.153-171). The ground floor great hall was therefore embedded within the chivalric structuration–simultaneously defining activities while also defined by actions within. The hall hosted both religious and secular ceremonies and activities, such as religious feast days and Round Table tournament celebrations. Knighting ceremonies were highly religious rites of passage, which took place in great halls as well as in churches (see discussion in Chapter Four).

Henry II's connection with courts of Southern France through Eleanor of Aquitaine brought a culture of luxury into English courts (Swabey 2004, p.51-57). The great hall became a space in which to display one's cultural affluence with musical entertainment, troubadours and poets, architecturally visible in the construction of minstrel galleries. The hall architecture itself, with archivolts and decorative porches that created liminal, ceremonial passageways and thresholds, designated the hall

within as an important space set apart for pageantry and chivalric performance.

The movement within and around the great hall developed a secular liturgy, as aisles and the dais end navigated movement reminiscent of religious architecture leading towards the front altar. Furthermore, the service end of the hall generally near the main entrance, as seen with the cleansing purpose of the font by the church entrance, defined the space within as a progression of change. As one cleanses sins in the font, progressing towards the altar, the hall was a transformative space through which one progressed from the service end as an outside guest towards the dais and the symbolic body of the king.

The furnishings within the great hall were transient and lent definition to temporary uses, defined and redefined continually by participants and furnishings within (Hillier and Hanson 1984, p.94; Massey 2013, p.2; Weikert 2018). The dais, however, was permanent, standing as a physical and symbolic reminder of the authority and position of the king (Stean 2001, p.96; Dixon 2016b, p.333-348). Comparative support can again be identified in church architecture, in which several different spaces existed within one open room, defining and defined by liturgy, furnishings, access and sightlines within (Graves 2000, p.14-16; Raguin 2005, p.105-140; Roffey 2008). Processional routes linking the great hall with devotional spaces also added to the pious experience of the great hall.

5.4.2 'English' Archaism as Construction of Memory and Prowess

Prowess was an original defining value of chivalry, referring to one's military skill and honour on the battlefield, as well as honour and loyalty towards one's lord. The great hall was undoubtedly an architectural symbol of power and justice, and its vulnerable position away from the great tower would therefore require increased protection. First floor halls were arguably more defensive, but the spectacle of movement between spaces overshadowed defense in favour of the hall's separation from the keep, significantly at fortified royal sites such as Caernarfon, Dover

and Newcastle (Heslop and McAuley 2011, p.21; Gardiner and Hill 2018b, p.315-361). Intentional and ceremonial architectural vulnerability, particularly within the symbolic 'heart' of the castle, is a significant feature of castles reputed as mighty fortresses. As argued in relation to queen's spaces, the visual image and idealism of a space was more important than actual defense, allowing displays and activities of chivalric virtue.

Later medieval 'cult' castles continued to be constructed during the castle's 'decline', reflecting a chivalric golden age created out of a contemporary medieval 'Romantic' movement (Thompson 1991, p.171; Dixon and Lott 2016, p.61-78). Prowess continued to be architecturally displayed, with crenellations and great halls, as emblems of a fictionalized historic golden age of chivalry, which I suggest to be a medieval Romantic movement (Stocker 1992, p.415-420; Liddiard 2005, p.7-10; Coulson 2016, p.199-220). Crenellation defined fortification, as licenses to crenellate (or "fortify") were attained to fortify one's property by adding crenellations. Crenellations became standard features of 'unfortified' buildings, however, as they were added to bishop's palaces, churches, cathedrals, manor houses, and royal palaces, during and after the height of castle construction. Many of these added crenellations are impractical, inaccessible and decorative, and are clearly non-functional or defensive (Coulson 1982; Johnson 1996, p.131). As such, I argue that crenellation appropriation within specifically English architecture reached a scale incomparable elsewhere, particularly as a symbol of non-martial, Romanticized chivalry.

The eighteenth-century Romantic Movement, saw purposefully-created ruinous architecture that linked the contemporary present with the imagined, 'Arcadian' chivalric golden age (Piggott 1976; Girouard 1981, p.81; Aston 2000; Johnson 1996, p.114, 121; Taylor 2000). The construction of archaic-styled architecture in the Middle Ages was its own Romantic Movement, creating architectural visuals of ancestral power. These 'Romantic' movements themselves were certainly chivalric, as nostalgic displays were intended to construct connections with a heroic past and justified power through continuity of presence. This trend of justifying power through

ancestry was deeply rooted in the Romance genre, and earlier Epic and folkloric traditions. In the medieval English context, this heroic past, implemented into castle architecture with archaic architecturally separate halls, referred specifically to the heroic and legendary figures of Brutus, Aeneas, Uther Pendragon, and King Arthur (Thompson 1995, p.99; Creighton 2009b, p.71, 93; Creighton 2012, p.130; see Chapter Three).

The use of archaism as an architectural trend to create memory and display power is not unique to the later Middle Ages. Charlemagne and Charles the Bald both aspired to and were described in chronicles as the next Theodosius the Great (MacLean 2019; Fleiner 2020). William the Conqueror also portrayed himself as the "next Constantine" with the construction of his castle at Colchester (Essex) built atop the foundations of a Roman Temple of Claudius (Heslop 2012, p.163-175). Medieval *Romanitas* reflects earlier Classical emulations of the glories of Rome and connections with Troy. Virgil himself sought to connect himself and patron, Octavian, with the "glory of Rome" with his *Aeneid* (see Appendices D and E).

Settlements and structures built upon, aligned with, or near prehistoric sites of prestige and power, such as ruins or earthworks, have been identified and studied in English contexts dating from the early fifth century, through the later Middle Ages (Padel 1985; Turner 2003; Creighton 2012, p.73-83; Coulson 2016, p.241-302; Jamieson 2019, p.338-374). This intentional symbolic connection with archaic sites of power, creating memory through architectural archaism, carried over into material culture, with swords and ancestral relics serving as icons of ancestral power. A clear example of this as an emulation of Romance can be found in wills, such as Thomas Beauchamp's will, in which he lists the cup of the Swan Knight among his possessions (Chapter Seven). King John's Romantic sword collection included the swords of Tristan, Gawain and Lancelot; and Richard I gifted 'Excalibur' to the King of Sicily (Warren 2000, p.193; Barber 2017). Swords have been described as an embodiment of one's valour and heritage, as well as a living witness to land grants, weddings and knighting ceremonies. The hall, or other antiquated style of castle

construction, like the sword, was an active agent of ancestral power, and in the Middle Ages, this frequently included linking oneself with the fall of Troy (such as within personally-commissioned *Brut* Chronicles). This specific ancestry, beginning with Aeneas's grandson, Brutus, automatically linked one with Uther and Arthur, Gawain, Yvain, Tristan and the Swan Knight, as the ancestries of the 'Kings of Britain' contained heroic figures that developed into Romance characters, which in turn, developed further ancestral narratives (Chapter Three).

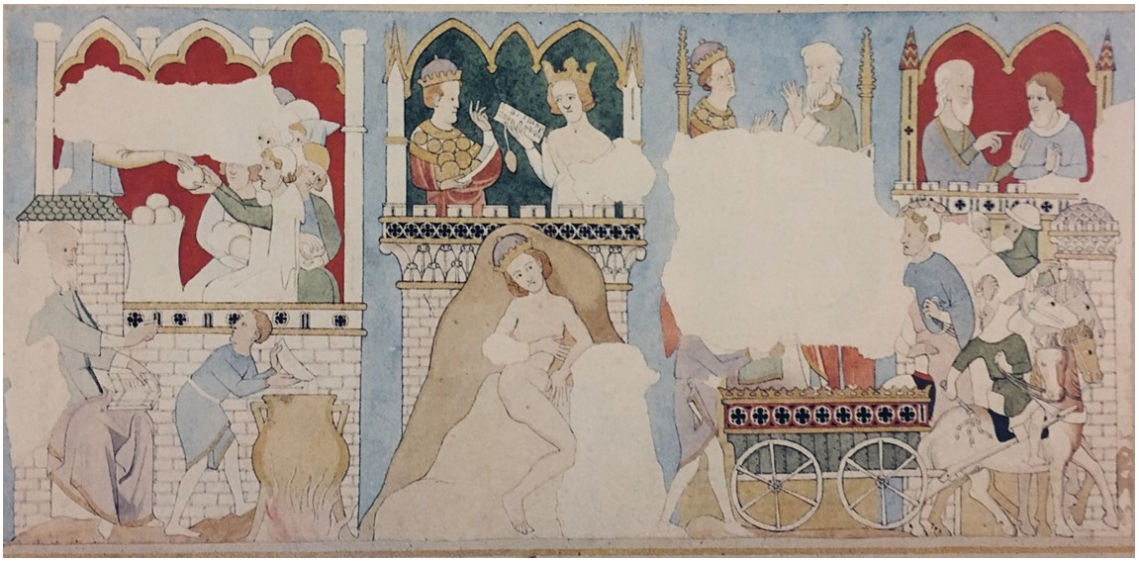


Figure 5.19: Binski 1986, plate XIII: 'Miracles of Elisha' showing Romanticized Biblical figures, adapted to appear as medieval idealizations.

5.4.3 Sub-Case Study 2: The Exchequer Hall at Caen Castle (Calvados, Normandy)

This small case study of the Exchequer Hall at Caen Castle may seem outside the scope of this thesis, but this site is significant as a statement of the ground floor hall's 'Englishness'. This demonstrates my methodology of using architectural analysis to show the ground floor hall's emergence as a royal symbol of English national identity. Caen has appeared in recent studies reassessing Henry I's great hall, known as the "Exchequer Hall" (Decaens and Dubois 2010, p.37; Impey and McNeill 2016, p.101-132). The "internal organization of the hall is subject matter of a controversy which is hard to resolve today" (Decaens and Dubois 2010, p.42-43).

Henry I's hall at Caen has previously been listed as a first floor hall, in fitting with contemporary French Carolingian styles in Normandy, as the windows appear to be at the first floor level when viewed from the exterior. In the masonry, a string course running along the first floor level has previously been suggested to also mark the floor level (Impey 1993, p.85). I argue for the reconsideration that this hall was actually an architectural symbol of unification between Henry I's courts on both sides of the Channel, constructed as an appropriation of the Insular ground floor hall heritage adopted after the Conquest.

Previous archaeological investigation located food remains in the ground floor of Caen's exchequer hall, and as such, it became recorded as service space for the ceremonial hall on the floor above. Impey and McNeill (2016) claim that the scarring in the masonry previously thought to indicate the floor level is actually a string course visible from inside the building as well as from the outside (Impey and McNeill 2016, p.110-112). According to previous research (Coulson 1979; Creighton 2019), the large decorative south doorway on the ground floor would mark the main entrance rather than leading into the kitchen or undercroft, if the ground level was indeed service space as previously suggested (Decaens and Dubois 2010, p.40-45). Early research suggested that this decorative doorway was originally on the level of the first floor windows and later moved to the ground floor, but there is no apparent evidence for an exterior staircase necessary for this contemporary style of entrance as at Lillibonne, for example (*Figure 5.21*).

Figure 5.20: Cotman's sketches of Exchequer Hall at Caen (c.1820), from his "Architectural Antiquities of Normandy" (Image sources: online access, public domain).

Though no longer existent, the drawing of Lillebonne's (Seine-Maritime, Normandy) aula below (Cotman c.1820), shows a similar exterior to that of Caen, with round windows at the first floor level. Lillebonne's élite access was via a wooden stairway into the first-floor doorway at the gable end (Decaens and Dubois 2010, p.43). The sketch of the ruined interior shows windows with built-in benches slightly above floor level. This is vital evidence for discerning the difference between Caen's ground floor hall and other contemporary first floor halls.

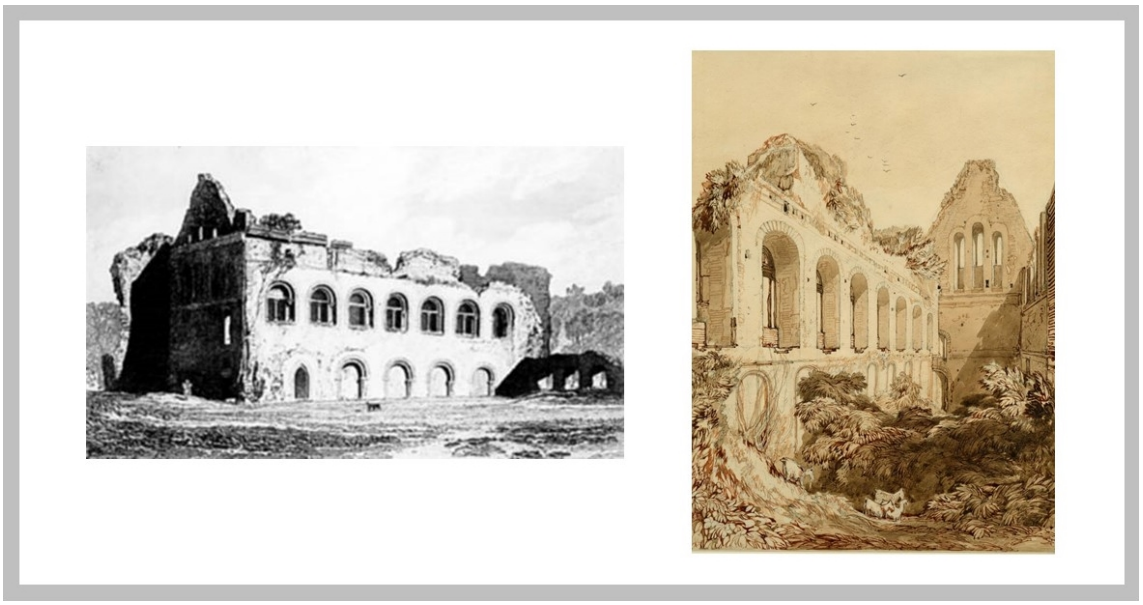


Figure 5.21: John Cotman's sketches of Lillebonne Castle's Hall from his "Architectural Antiquities of Normandy"(c.1820) (Image sources: Decaens and Dubois 2010, p.43; and online access, public domain). Note similarity in style to Bosham in *Figure 5.4*.

This similar style is also portrayed in the Bayeux Tapestry's depiction of Bosham (*Figure 5.4*). French castles were originally constructed to evade Viking attacks during Charlemagne's campaign in the mid-ninth century near Saxony (Loomis 1919, p.255-269; MacLean 2019; Davis 1976, p.53), and as such, first floor halls would have provided better protection (Thompson 1995, p.45). Three prominent Carolingian ground floor halls were constructed in the eighth century (at Aachen, Ingleheim, and Paderborn), though by the ninth century, structures typically consisted of two stories (Meckseper 2002, p.172-173). When the original princely hall (*salle d'apparat*) at Doué-la-Fontaine (Maine-et-Loire, Pays-de-la-Loire) was constructed, it anomalously took the form of a ground floor rectangular hall house with a thatched roof (c.900-940) (Duby and Ariès 1987, p.400; Meckseper 2002, p.173). Within fifty years of construction, however, it was made into a tower with the ground floor sealed off (Creighton 2012, p.66-67). Fulk Nerra's castle at Loches (Indre-et-Loire, Centre-Val de Loire) is an example of an early multi-storied proto-keep, comprising of a basement beneath a first floor hall (Bachrach 1979, p.531-549; Thompson 1991, p.40; Stalley 1999, p.89; Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004, p.109). The addition of cham-

bers above the hall in this style became the 'Ardres plan' brought into England at the Norman Conquest (Stalley 1999, p.86-87, see Chapter Two).

Caen's old *aula*, or original hall, from the phase of the *'Vieil Palais'* ('Old Palace'), has been labeled as a ground floor hall with paving stones as evidence of élite space (Decaens and Dubois 2010, p.36-37). This would suggest William I constructed the original ground floor hall. However, as shown below, the paving stones presumably belong to the same architectural phase as the wall hearth, in which case, this should be dated to the twelfth century at the earliest (Wood 1965, p.261).

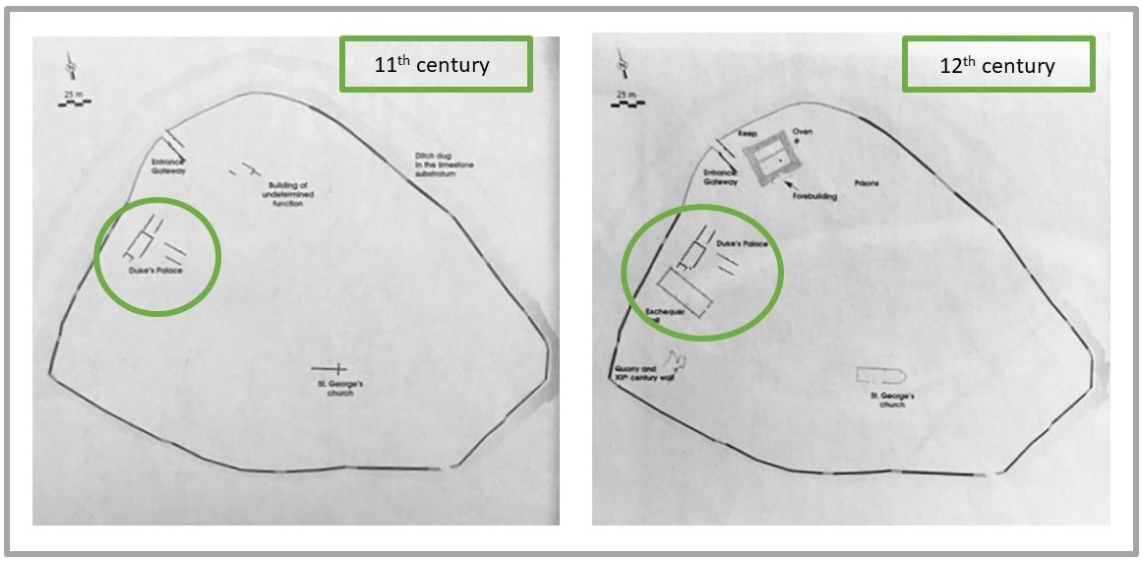


Figure 5.22: Caen Castle layout from Decaens and Doubois 2010, p.116 and 120.

Figure 5.23: Layout of Caen's Exchequer Hall near the Old Aula. Note wall hearth in Old Aula. (Decaens and Doubois 2010, p.36-37)

To conclude, Henry I's great hall at Caen, like that of William (Rufus) II's hall at Westminster Palace (*Figure 5.25*), was situated on the ground floor with higher windows at the first floor level, as shown below; internally English on the ground floor, whilst externally similar to contemporary first floor French halls. The absence of any windows at the ground floor level indicates that ground floor service space beneath a first floor hall is highly unlikely, and the large windows were constructed with splayed embrasures and stepped sills, designed to draw the light downwards into the lower level inside. The string course is telling as well, situated adjacently beneath the windowsills, as pictured in Cotman's sketch from 1820 (*Figure 5.20*), and the photograph below from 1944 (*Figure 5.24*), prior to the hall's architectural renovations. It would have been structurally impractical to have a first floor level at the height of the string course, as the windows would touch the floor, in which case, benches would have been more likely than stepped, splayed sills typically used in contexts intended to draw light downwards into a lower floor level.

Figure 5.24: Photograph of Caen's Exchequer Hall after WWII (1944), before renovations. (Decaens and Doubois 2010, p.45)

As with William (Rufus) II's massive ground floor hall at Westminster, Caen's great hall provides an important statement of power, but in this instance, constructed in Normandy. Henry I's ground floor hall at Caen would have been a powerful statement as one of the first examples constructed in France at the most élite level (Thompson 1995, p.38; Webb 2007, p.100).

Figure 5.25: Interior of Westminster hall in 18th century. (Image: public domain) Note interior splayed window sills, stepped downwards to draw the light down, 'presencing' it into the center of the space.

This targeted study of Caen's Exchequer Hall demonstrates the impact and importance of the ground floor hall as a symbol of English heritage, adopted by Norman invaders and appropriated into architecture, seen here as a unifying symbol of Henry I's courts and trans-Channel power. This new, original assessment of Caen's Exchequer Hall as a ground floor hall site, is a significant example of applied ancestral power and creation of memory through great hall architecture. This has demonstrated my methodology for assessing 'chivalric' architecture, and it has presented evidence for English hall heritage used within wider, supra-Insular Norman castle architecture as a symbol of pan-Continental power.

5.5 Contextualization and Conclusion

The above discussion and examples demonstrate how chivalry helped to form the physical structure of the castle and was itself simultaneously defined by castle spaces (Martin 2012, p.37). This chivalric structuration was an undercurrent of medieval élite religious practices, societal values and activities, and political displays that developed into English national identity. The access diagrams helped to distinguish French architectural influence from elements of Romantic and chivalric architectural influence. Originality is demonstrated here in the comparative nature of this access analysis, as I combined various baronial and royal secular sites from the twelfth through fourteenth centuries within the same study. This revealed that, contrary to previous studies, female spaces were not always distinctive and within the most private spaces of the castle, with the majority of identifiable female spaces belonging to queens at largely-undefended palatial sites, in which they were farthest visibly from the primary entrance but not the most private.

The above access analysis study presented the same challenges faced by all who study medieval material culture, insofar as full accounts have rarely survived the distance of time. However, it has proven useful for identifying issues with previous gendered studies, presenting a nuanced understanding of gendered spaces and privacy helpful for studying chivalry's impact on castle architecture, contemporary ideas about conspicuous privacy, and contemporary constructions that appear defensive but were not intended to be used for defense. Mapping access patterns, particularly within medieval architecture, is very much open to interpretation, leading to very different conclusions and therefore, unique access diagrams. By using previous studies as a loose guide, I reinterpreted previously-labelled spaces and chambers presumed for specific purposes from my unique perspective based on the contemporary values of chivalry and sociopolitical contexts. In particular, my identification of gendered space based on agency and authority rather than physicality has provided a completely original means of understanding spaces and contemporary uses

of space, eliminating the problematic nature of identifying gendered physical access without having access to tangible evidence.

This method of defining gendered space, by agency rather than physicality, is an entirely new idea offered by this thesis, providing a means of discussing gendered castle spaces and eliminating the problematic and controversial concept that physical access was entirely restricted to certain people and demographics. While still contentious as a topic in castle studies, gendered spaces have been presented here in several historical élite contexts, demonstrating symbolic and physical spaces that defined actions and agencies within (Nevett 1994). As shown in this case study, gendered spaces were far more complicated than previously suggested (Gilchrist 1999, p.91-111; O'Keeffe 2014; Grant 2017), and spaces themselves could adapt, depending on the participants within.

Furthermore, this study has shown the importance of ground floor halls, and the widespread use of archaic architectural features as a veneer of nostalgia for an ancestral heritage. This heritage in itself recalled Classical, Early Medieval and heroic figures who became important characters in the Romance genre, strengthening the power of the patron as popularity of these Romances increased. Romance inspired and changed the face of chivalry and élite society in England, and chivalry became a more comprehensive institution of idealized livelihood for élite society. This necessitated an appropriate built environment for enacting chivalric activities. By analysing the access patterns and features of these castles, this chapter has explored specific virtues and activities of Romantically-reformed chivalric life and detailed their place within the castle's architectural spaces.

This is the context in which one can argue that Romance altered castle life and architecture, indirectly, through its impact on chivalric ideals. The following chapter will follow a similar structure, identifying Romantic and chivalric spaces within the castle landscape by following the route of Arthur's knights as they ventured out from the safety of the court and encountered different exterior spaces in the Romance landscape on their quest.

Chapter 6

Case Study 2: Reinterpreting 'Designed' Castle Landscapes to Identify Romance *Spaces*

6.1 Introduction: The 'Designed' Medieval Romance Landscape

After analysing landscape research from a broad range of academic studies, this chapter builds upon synthesis of previous research to provide an original case study featuring the castle landscape as a series of spaces specifically corresponding to distinctive spaces within the landscapes of medieval Romance literature. This case study, furthermore, addresses the landscape in context with the castle, viewed as an extension of the architecture and its power.

The originality of my approach is in examining the castle landscape as a sequence of spaces, experienced and inhabited by the Romance knight during the quest. This perspective on the Romantic castle landscape is yet to be otherwise academically explored or developed beyond simplistic anecdotal references. This case study chapter aims to determine the extent of Romance's impact within the English castle landscape and how this was implemented. This chapter refers specifically to the

Romance formula outlined in Chrétian de Troyes' five original Arthurian Romances (see Chapter Three), as these were formative for the Arthurian Romance tradition and the landscape of the knight's quest. In moving outwards from the safety of the court, space by space, the knight passes through the bailey or castle garth, out into the demesne, and into the wilderness beyond; and the structure of this case study follows suit. Other castle landscape studies (Johnson 2002; Creighton 2002, 2009b; Richardson 2011; White 2012) discuss castle landscapes from an outside perspective, progressing inwards from the wider landscape into the innermost private spaces, to address the visitor's psychological and physical experience of the castle and its choreography set within its 'chivalric' landscape. This chapter takes an opposite approach, progressing outwards, to assess the extent to which the medieval castle landscape reflected the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Romance landscape, specifically exploring distinctive spaces and features in association with their Romance counterparts, in order to place their occupants "within" Romance itself. In this way, castle occupants were framed as Romance characters themselves. This new perspective puts the reader in the position of the knight errant embarking on a quest, contra to the visitor approaching the castle, to present a critical narrative of the English castle's landscape as a series of spaces, features and uses, reflective of the Romance landscape, Romantic symbolism and elements of chivalry. This alignment of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Romance landscape with the twelfth and thirteenth-century English castle landscape, supported with evidence from canonical texts and records, reveals the powerful role of Romance in the formation of the medieval élite landscape.

The 'designed' landscape has long held a place within post-medieval history, and whilst elements of design are apparent much earlier, the idea of 'designed' landscapes within the Middle Ages remains contested (Platt 1982, p.104; Cummins 1988, p.255; Johnson 1996, p.71; Johnson 2002, p.81; Liddiard and Williamson 2008, p.530-535; Richardson 2011; Creighton and Higham 2004; Creighton 2009b; Swallow 2021, p.130-149). Though medieval landscapes did not contain the same calibre of

design and precision as post-medieval landscape designs (Liddiard and Williamson 2008, p.532; Creighton 2019, p.190), the intentional manipulation and cultivation of spaces and features, specifically non-utilitarian élite, chivalric spaces, supports this argument that 'designed' does indeed describe medieval landscapes.

Distinctive landscape spaces are particularly apparent in the Romance tradition. For example, in the *Roman de la Rose* (c.1270), the protagonist journeys through landscape spaces and traverses boundaries, allegorical and physical, to reach the structure in the central *'maison'* within the enclosed garden (Pearsall 1986, p.235-251; Spencer 2020). Attributes and features of spaces in Romance literature both projected and influenced specific contemporary ideals that, themselves, contributed to the creation of spaces and features in historical English castle landscapes. Distinct spaces featured in this chapter, such as gardens and courtyards, have been the topic of previous studies, but this research is distinctive and original in addressing the spaces as a sequence, parallel to that in the landscape of Romance narratives (Beeler 1956; Braun 1985; Johnson 2002; Ashbee 2004; Creighton 2009b; Richardson 2011; Creighton 2009a; White 2012; Johnson et al. 2017; Richardson 2018). As much evidence no longer exists within the landscape, I use a combination of primary documentation and previous academic landscape archaeology publications.

Parallels can be identified between historical and Romance landscape spaces, but as in castle studies, most research has hitherto focused on either allegorical landscape spaces in literature or physical spaces through landscape archaeology, with the exception of Austin's (1984) discussion in which Balliol's hall at Barnard Castle (Durham) was located in accordance with hall placements in Romance narratives (Austin 1984, p.69-81). This research, therefore, aims to bridge the gap between the two, otherwise academically-disparate, subjects of real and imagined landscapes.

The diagram below illustrates the route of the Romance knight with the Romance landscape aligned with the historical castle landscape. The spaces featured in this progression outwards also provide the outline of this chapter. The separate landscape spaces depicted here (*Figure 6.1*), are locations for Romanticized chival-

ric activities, with symbolic features and occasionally intangible boundaries defined by the chivalric activities within. These spaces will be discussed in order, as traversed outward from the court into the wilderness, with each discussion highlighting specific Romanticized chivalric values, Romantic symbolism, and Romantic associations. When comparing the landscape spaces in the image below with the 'Hero's Journey' diagram from Chapter Three (*Figure 3.4*), the 'ordinary world' relates to the Court, and the 'special world' is the landscape of the quest, or in reality, the castle demesne.

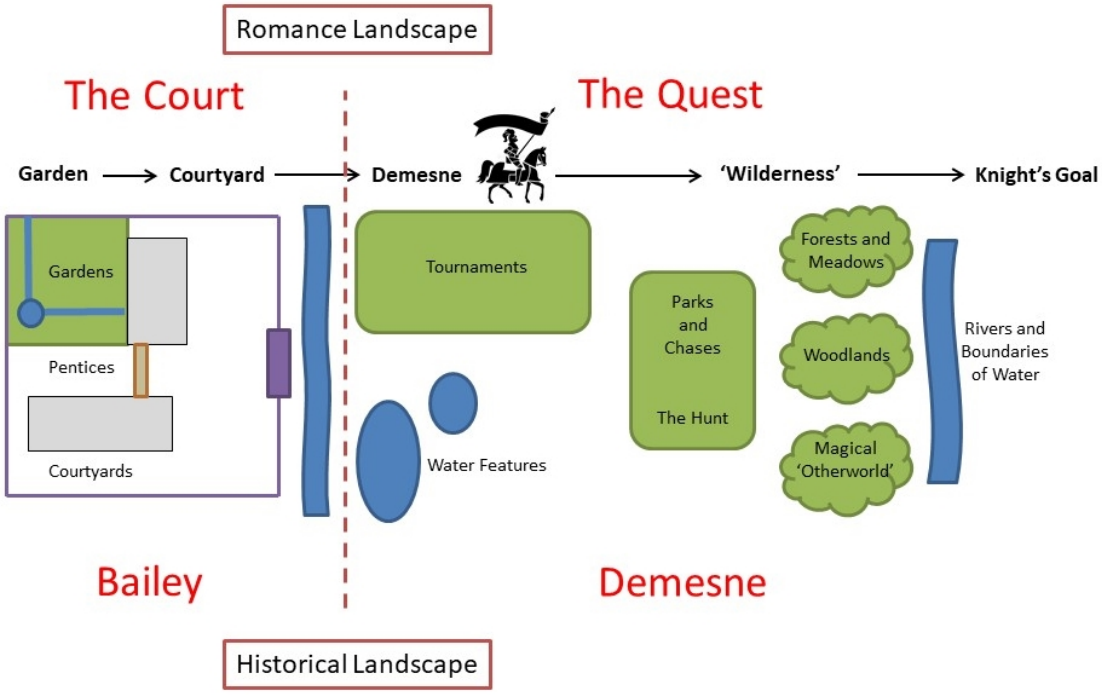


Figure 6.1: Original diagram (Richards 2022), outlining the progression of spaces in the Romance landscape traversed by the knight errant, alongside counterparts in the landscape of reality. This is also the outline of the chapter.

I begin by discussing the liminal connections between the castle and its landscape context. This discussion features windows as spaces of liminality (comparable to passages and doorways) through which the landscape can be experienced and provide approaching guests with a display of power, simultaneously inflicting them with a feeling of panopticon-esque vulnerability. This also introduces a new concept of the female 'gaze' and designed viewsheds, as a counter point to traditional discussions based on a perspective of male power. Following this, the discussion

moves outwards into the courtyard to explore the private pleasure garden, addressing intentionally-created Romanticized features within. Furnishings and 'architectural' features crafted out of vegetation were cultivated to bring interior elements outside, creating a further connection between the castle and its landscape (Rollason 2016, p.111). This will feature in comparison with examples from Romance of architectural and interior spaces experienced in the landscape. The segment on the garden concludes with a small case study of Woodstock Palace's (Oxfordshire) elaborate garden, Everswell, and its symbolic Romantic and chivalric spaces and features. I also use this new methodology to reassess previous suggestions of Henry II's Romantic emulations at Woodstock, which have, previously, contributed to circular arguments by others. Venturing out beyond the castle gate, I discuss the open space of the demesne, exploring spaces, both temporary and permanent, constructed within to enact the tournament and the hunt. This is followed by a discussion on cultivated 'wilderness' spaces, such as orchards and parks, in which to emulate the Romance landscape of the quest whilst remaining in the safety of the castle and its designed landscape. This section will conclude with a small case study of Kenilworth Castle's (Warwickshire) tournament space and *pleasaunce*.

6.2 The 'View' as a Liminal Connection between the Castle and its Landscape

Liminality is an overarching theme in English medieval élite culture, identifiable in contested symbolism and ideologies, or 'Cartesian dualisms' that defined many aspects of contemporary society. The analysis of liminality taken here derives from anthropological ideas of thresholds or passages, creating the abstract and physical spaces between (Van Gennep 1960; Turner 1974; Turner 1992). This has similarly been discussed in contemporary ideas of the female duality as healer/destroyer, simultaneously embodying both Eve and the Virgin Mary (Kay 2001; Dempsey et al. 2019; Aberth 2019, p.179-224).

Windows situated specifically to create intentional viewsheds of the surrounding landscape possessed liminal properties of being, at once, part of the castle architecture, while providing a space in which to experience the landscape (Howell 1998, p.72; Kuttner 1999; Creighton 2010, p.46). *Opus majus*, the concept of 'active vision', is described in religious contexts as contrived views that displayed the viewers' visual aspirations. One example is Marie d'Oignies's "sexually purifying", "anchoritic gaze" from her cell window, through squints used to focus her sightline on the altar (Gilchrist 1994; Shepherd 2019, p.205-217; Graves 2000, p.216; Sauer 2013; Roffey 2008).

In secular contexts, this is known as 'the gaze' (Shepherd 2019, p.210; Johnson 1996, p.142; Duby and Ariès 1987, p.315-316). As the gaze is usually discussed within post-medieval, secular contexts of male authority, its application to medieval ladies, discussed below, is an original aspect of this research. The gaze connected the castle with its surrounding landscape spaces, allowing the viewer to experience the castle architecture and areas within the landscape simultaneously, whether it be the garden, the approach, earthworks or ruins (both pre-existant and contrived) (King 1991, p.26; Redford 2000, p.323; Hansson 2006, p.86, 105, 133; Creighton 2009b, p.167; Rollason 2016, p.127).

Windows, as with arches or baldachins, could be used to frame, display, protect, and accentuate, setting apart holy or important secular figures or spaces. This can be identified in manuscript illuminations, seals, microarchitecture in sculpture and funerary monuments, in which minute architectural arches and tympanums assign importance to the 'space beyond' (within or beneath the arch) and the figures within (Gertsman and Stevenson 2012, p.205; Johnson 2002, p.40-41). Windows "permeate adjoining regions" of the inside and outside of the castle, liminally connecting the castle to its wider landscape through continuous views and the 'presencing' light within rooms (Giddens 1984, p.121; Graves 2020). Tracery created and framed spaces for casting light, presencing and directing it from outside, onto specific spaces or features of significance within (Giddens 1984, p.121; Brewer and Gibson 1997,

p.125-126). Window seats were liminally set between the interior and exterior, providing a permanent space to both symbolise and facilitate the 'gaze' (Creighton 2010, p.46). This medieval active view held dual significance for choreographing outdoor patterns of movement, a secular liturgy within the castle landscape, and for displaying power and authority to the viewer over the space within the viewshed.

Simultaneous, dual-habitation of the castle and landscape was a distinct feature of Romantically-reformed chivalric élite life. Romances feature pavilions and outdoor spaces inhabited as rooms, and Byzantine and Roman architecture incorporated private paradise gardens with streams of water that connected interior space with nature (Kuttner 1999; Redford 2000; Ashbee 2004). England's medieval adaptations of outdoor 'rooms' are examples of exoticism and Romantic chivalric influence, which is further discussed below.

6.2.1 The 'View' as a Space of Medieval Female Authority

This new perspective on the medieval female view adds new significance to the understanding of the medieval English castle landscape. Though typically discussed in the context of male authority, and furthermore, as a post-medieval phenomenon, thirteenth- and fourteenth-century studies of optical theory and embodied sight provide evidence for contemporary ideas of power applied through the active gaze (Gertsman and Stevenson 2012, p.235; Biernoff 2002; Lentes 2006, p.360-373). Thirteenth-century religious *Vitae* also provide evidence for windows used as 'spaces', specifically in which women operated and commanded spiritual authority (Shepherd 2019, p.205-217). The gaze therefore projected agency and authority into the space and features within that particular intentional viewshed, particularly symbolic of female authority (Duby and Ariès 1987, p.315-316; Shepherd 2019, p.205-217). Politicized male voice has largely been responsible for historical absences of female power and agency in documentation, however, archaic traditions of mythology and later Romance from the twelfth century include powerful women charcters, such as Medusa, Circe, and Diana, who resist the male gaze and inflict

their own (Casey 2013).

Secular Romance literature also attests to women embodying roles of authority through windows (Delman 2018). The Grail Castle in Chrétian's *Percéval* (the *Conte du Graal* or 'Grail Quest'), sits high atop a cliff, set apart by a river below. Maidens watch out the hall windows as Percéval approaches the castle, he being vulnerable and unaware of the magic within (Kibler trans. Chrétian de Troyes 2005e, line 4908, p.442). A garden also lies below the maidens' view, which is described as "*les pres et les vergiers floriz*", translated as "the green (or meadow) and flower gardens" (Webb 2007, p.185). This arrangement supports contemporary perceptions of the garden as a 'female' space, clearly placed within the ladies' visual jurisdiction (Gilchrist 1999, p.118). The river in this narrative scene is also significant as a physical boundary to symbolise the magical realm of the Grail Castle. Water held associations with transformation, magical boundaries, and the contested female duality long before the Romance tradition, which is discussed in depth below.

This chapter argues that the élite female view was designed as a means of "presencing" (Giddens 1984, p.121) her authority and agency within the spaces of the viewshed. In the context of élite pleasure gardens, typically discussed as female spaces based upon their proximity to the queens' domestic architectural spaces, this visual connection to her chambers, or other source of the intended view, directly associates her power with that space in a tangible way. For example, the queen's window positioned to face outwards over a privy garden, as in Henry III's works at Clarendon Palace (Wiltshire), places this garden within the authority or jurisdiction of the female 'active gaze' (CLR, vol.3, 1251; Salzman 1997, p.364).

Decorated windows were constructed from which to "see and be seen", as were wall-walks, and galleries as discussed in Chapter Five (Webb 2007; Weikert 2018). These features were visual metaphors, to elevate and set one apart within their landscape space (Johnson 2002, p.44-45; Liddiard 2005, p.51; Weikert 2018, p.135).

Archaeological excavation and survey within the last thirty years has assisted in locating previously-unidentified medieval gardens by re-analysing earthworks; and

this conversely resulted in re-identifying features as galleries and walkways intended for élite views (Creighton 2009b, p.96; Everson 1996). Excavations at Wallingford Castle (Oxfordshire), for example, identified an undocumented fishpond and swannery, discussed below as symbols of female power, in the space of the 'queen's arbor' (Fradley 2015, p.11; Creighton 2015). The 1990 reassessment of the Ludgershall Castle (Wiltshire) excavation revealed a private garden-walk accessed from within the castle, which had been previously identified as an outer rampart (Everson 2003, p.27-30; James and Gerrard 2007, p.63; Creighton 2009a, p.11). Similarly, an exclusive and private access to a viewing terrace was constructed along the domestic lodgings at the Bishop of Winchester's manor in Whitney (Oxfordshire), facilitating views accessed by only the most élite (Creighton 2009a, p.192).

In literary Romance studies, the window has been described "as a dangerous threshold" (Shepherd 2019, p.205-218) regarding Guinevere's vulnerability, as Lancelot breaks into her chamber window after arriving at Castle Gorre, in which Melegant is holding her captive. Conversely, I argue that the window remains a symbol of female empowerment, as Guinevere and Lancelot's courtly love empowers Lancelot to survive perilous challenges and finally to access her tower and chamber window. The image of the lady in a tower is a metaphorical beacon, encouraging and guiding the knight to attain his quest or goal. This scenario when Lancelot enters through Guinevere's window is the scene in which Lancelot and Guinevere are presumed to have an affair. Further analysis of the Romance narrative (Chrétian's *Lancelot*, or *Le Chevalier á la Charrette*), actually reveals Guinevere in a position of authority in this situation. Not only is her figurative image in the tower Lancelot's encouragement and motivation, as portrayed in the miniature illumination below (*Figure 6.2*), she also takes control of the situation and forces Lancelot to leave the tower before sunrise.

When roles are reversed with the male as the viewer, as seen in the image below of David looking down upon Bathsheba bathing in a private garden (*Figure 6.3*), the woman or female-associated space below the window becomes a symbol

Figure 6.2: Image of Lancelot crossing the sword bridge, from the *Lancelot du Lac* c.1310-1315, Morgan Library and Museum, New York, MS M.806, fol.166r

of sexual vulnerability. In this male voyeuristic scenario, the female space is made vulnerable, and idealized chivalric relational dynamics and interactions are broken down, symbolising intrusion and vulnerability to a theoretical extent comparable with rape. It is in this reversed that the window can be seen as a dangerous symbol of vulnerability for the lady, her agency, and her associated spaces.

6.3 Indoor Gardens, Outdoor Rooms

Previous studies of the garden in Classical, medieval and Byzantine gardens have described them as outdoor rooms used as central spaces for élite society (Ashbee 2004; Creighton 2009a; Creighton and Higham 2004; Creighton 2012; Kuttner 1999; Rollason 2016; Farmer 2013a; Farmer 2013b). These multi-sensory 'garden rooms' within Byzantine and Roman architecture featured both painted and real trees, structural as well as painted vistas and windows, and water trickling through these rooms to audibly bring nature within (Rollason 2016, p.102; Kuttner 1999, p.7-9,

Figure 6.3: David watching Bathsheba bathe, c.1356-1373, *Bohun Psalter*, Egerton MS 3277 f.53r British Library (Digitised Manuscripts)

11, 23, 30; Bauman 2002, p.117-127; Ansari and Schmidtke 2011). Mediterranean, Byzantine, and Islamic garden features were brought into England through French, Spanish and Sicilian influences. Islamic decorative green walls and ceilings spangled with gold stars alluded to Paradise gardens as described in the Qur'an and brought green space indoors (Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2004; Redford 2000; Farmer 2013b). Henry III's building records mention this green and gold spangled motif at his palatial sites, especially at locations like Clarendon Palace where the garden was such an important space, continuing the flow of outdoor garden space within his domestic structures (James and Robinson 1988; Steane 1993, p.150, 159; Salzman, p.160; Henry III Liberate Rolls vol.3, 1250, 1251; Binski 1986; Brewer and Gibson 1997,

p.181-190).

Further 'green' space was brought inside with foliage designs on column capitals and in microarchitecture designed with landscape imagery and vegetation (Givens 1986), which I argue reflected spaces of power in the magical otherworld of Romance. This micro-architectural reflection of nature and the wilderness echoes connections with pre-Christian, Celtic mythologies of the Green Man and supernatural 'wilderness' spaces.

Medieval documentation also reveals instances in which outdoor spaces were designed for use as interior spaces. Piero de Crescenzi's *Liber Ruralium Commodorum* (c.1305) intricately details designs and techniques for creating medieval outdoor spaces over twelve volumes, particularly focusing on the pleasure garden in volume eight (Bauman trans. Crescenzi 2002, p.100-103). This work is far under-referenced in castle studies, and though an Italian source, visual descriptions in this treatise are very similar to manuscript images from contemporary sources in England and France. For example, houses or 'maisons' were constructed within pleasure gardens, primarily in larger private gardens, and they provided outdoor space for banqueting and entertaining (Spencer 2020). In the early portion of the *Roman de la Rose* (c.1230), composed by Guillam de Lorris and based largely on Ovid's *Art of Love* ('Ars Amatoria,' c.2CE), the center of the allegorical garden contains a 'maison' or 'bower' made entirely of roses, known as the 'house of love' (Fleming 1986; Krueger 2017a). This 'maison' reflects Crescenzi's depiction of "garden houses" with "living columns" made by tying the branches of four separate trees together to form a roof (Bauman trans. Crescenzi 2002, p.102).

Crescenzi also writes that outdoor halls should be used during good weather, with aisles made of trees as "living columns" (Bauman trans. Crescenzi 2002, p.103). I argue that foliage column capitals would have provided a similar effect indoors, and would also evoke pre-Christian mythological heritage where power and transformation are found amongst trees. Another example of architectural features made of garden vegetation is detailed in Crescenzi's description of weaving small

trees together gradually as they grow to create a lattice which should be shaped into crenellations (Bauman trans. Crescenzi 2002, p.101).

Chrétian's *Cligés* (c.1177) and Marie de France's *Lanval* (c.1180) provide just two prime examples of Romance 'otherworld' settings in which primary supernatural female characters are encountered within 'architectural' settings. Cligés' final otherworldly joust takes place within a magical, yet perilous woodland garden, in which he must rescue a damsel; and Lanval's plot-driving encounter with the fairy maidens takes place in a woodland pavilion. A more prominent, but later fourteenth-century example, is the Green Chapel from the Middle English *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (c.1380).

Jeremy Ashbee (2004) has discussed the Byzantine and Islamic-influenced 'gloriette' as a cultural allusion in English construction intended to provide an interior space situated within nature for enjoyment and entertainment. Gloriettes, as defined within the twelfth-century Romance, *La Prise d'Orange*, were specifically garden towers of at least two stories for enabling views of the surrounding landscape (Ashbee 2004; Rollason 2016, p.109; Redford 2000, p.319). The context of the gloriette in England is subtle and understated, with medieval documentation evidencing only three: Leeds Castle (Kent), Chepstow Castle (Monmouthshire), and Corfe Castle (Dorset). Corfe's gloriette is the earliest in England, constructed in 1260-1261, and it appears first as the 'gloriette' in a survey in 1350 (Ashbee 2004, p.34). However, no architectural or geographical consistency provides a definitive style for English design or use (Ashbee 2004, p.37).

6.4 Inside the Élite Pleasure Garden: Features and Symbols

This section further explores the garden as a space of Romantic influence by focusing on features within and their symbolic associations with Romance, piety, chivalry and the chivalric lady.

6.4.1 Enclosure walls

Beginning with the garden enclosure, it is etymologically significant to note that concepts of 'enclosure' and cultivation were incorporated into many terms for 'garden' (Van Erp-Houtepen 1986, p.228-229; Duby and Ariès 1987, p.317; Gilchrist 1999, p.130; Webb 2007, p.50, 57, 175-176; Weikert 2014, p.176; Bauman trans. Crescenzi 2002, p.117-127). The term 'court' even derives from the French, 'cortis', referring to an enclosed yard (McLean 1981b, p.104). Garden walls were the primary boundary for protection, and also created a space of symbolic and conspicuous exclusive privacy, as important in exterior structures as they were within the castle (McLean 1981b, p.106; Webb 2007, p.177).

Garden walls were constructed with a range of materials, from simple fencing and hedges in lower-class utilitarian gardens, to stone walls, earthworks, and rows of trees at the most élite level (Crescenzi 2002, p.103; McLean 1981b, p.37; Webb 2007, p.177; Skinner and Tyers 2018, p.6). As discussed above, trees could be grafted together, intertwined, and pruned to create crenellations and merlons (Bauman trans. Crescenzi 2002, p.103). In theory, walls were carefully positioned and designed to be emotionally and physically beneficial, to direct healthy winds into the space whilst blocking harmful winds, and also to deter unwanted animals and provide for animals kept within (Crescenzi 2002, p.110). Walled, private gardens in Romance were common locations for trysting lovers, most notably in the *Tristan* narrative. Private garden enclosures provided the private space necessary for the lived experience of chivalry, and they also indicated spaces of élite authority and agency when viewed from a distance, particularly when positioned in close proximity to tower windows symbolic of the queen's authority.

6.4.2 Arbours and Benches: Outdoor Furnishings

The construction of benches, most frequently using turf, shows that people expected to spend large amounts of time relaxing in the garden (McLean 1981b, p.115;

Salzman, 1997, p.382; Guy 2018, p.235-257). Crescenzi (1305) described the importance of garden seats and techniques for their construction. Contemporary imagery depicts the most élite using garden seats (Bauman trans. Crescenzi 2002, p.117-127), and the king's works at Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd) and Rhuddlan Castle (Denbighshire) show that Edward I ordered seats to be constructed in the castle gardens specifically for the queen's use (Taylor 1974, p.66). At Caernarfon, they were specified to be placed around a fishpond near a swannary and within the queen's chamber view (Taylor 1974, p.66; McLean 1981b, p.98; Prestwich 1981, p.211).

Tunnels, arbours and particularly-pruned trees were also included in private élite gardens to provide the right amount of shade (Bauman trans. Crescenzi 2002, p.101-103). Branches could be twisted and designed so as to create mini-viewsheds, directing sight and privacy within the garden (McLean 1981b, p.104). Tunnels and arbours could have also acted as small pentices within the garden by adding distinct, exclusive areas of privacy. Henry III's liberate rolls (1236) list the addition of a window fitted into the queen's suite to provide a view into the courtyard that contained covered alleys and an "'erber" in the centre (Salzman, 1997, p.394-385; CLR Henry III 30, m17 and 34, m5). At Guildford Castle (Surrey), Henry III had a cloister of Purbeck columns within his garden, and covered alleys were constructed to surround his herb garden at Windsor Castle (Berkshire) (Colvin et al. 1963a, p.2, 5). 'Herber' commonly referred to small pleasure gardens rather than specifically herb gardens or 'herbariums'; and, as demonstrated in Henry III's Liberate Rolls (1236), 'erber could also describe a covered trellis within a pleasure garden (McLean 1981b, p.104).

Trees and Orchards

Trees were hugely significant in medieval religious and secular iconography. For example, Henry III's Painted Chamber in Westminster Palace featured images of the Tree of Life and the Tree of Jesse, linking Henry III's ancestry with King David (Binski 1986, p.89). Trees in Romance narratives marked locations for supernatural

encounters, meeting locations, and hiding places (Saunders 1993, p.74). Trees were important features in historical landscape spaces, primarily in gardens and orchards, as they provided necessary shade, health benefits, and nutrition; and they featured in the landscape of the hunt. Crescenzi (1305) details locations for incorporating specific trees, such as willows and elm planted atop earthworks to create walls, and he also lists trees to use and to avoid within specific areas of the garden (Bauman trans. Crescenzi 2002, p.101-105). Fruit trees in particular marked otherworldly boundaries in Romances, and they were often used in Biblical symbolism, as they were commonly grafted to cultivate varieties in produce (Saunders 1993, p.70; White 2012, p.32; Skinner and Tyers 2018). Apple trees carried special significance as a symbol of paradise within Celtic and Welsh legend, such as the magical Arthurian otherworld known as the Isle of Avalon (translated as 'Isle of Apples'); and ancient Christian traditions similarly associated apples with the 'Earthly Paradise' (Saunders 1993, p.134; Saunders 2004, p.10-25). The apple also held Marian symbolism, as Mary was the 'new Eve', redeemer of her original sin.

Orchards were both highly symbolic and useful, providing fruit and vegetables for the medieval household, as well as for creating a cultivated and tamed 'wilderness' space for outdoor entertainment and pleasure (Weikert 2014, p.177). Orchards commonly held associations with female desire in Romance narratives, but conversely, the wilderness was a space of uncertainty, punishment and danger (Skinner and Tyers 2018, p.94). One example of these symbolic connections is in the *Tristan* Romance. Tristan and Isolde secretly met within an orchard by King Marc's castle, in which Isolde maintained authority and evaded the prying eyes of the king (Hatto 1978). Exile in the wilderness was their ultimate punishment, however, showing that while offering privacy, the wilderness was ultimately a place of uncertainty away from the protection of the Court. The orchard became synonymous with the pleasure garden, as seen in references to *'vergier'* used interchangeably between both (Webb 2007, p.185). We can infer from this terminology that trees became heavily incorporated into gardens, and more significantly, I suggest that this reflects a desire to tame

and control personal 'wilderness' spaces far predating the seventeenth-century trend typically associated with early construction of personal wildernesses (Taylor 2012, p.237-251).

Flowers and Herbs

Garden flowers and herbs were specially selected for their beauty and pleasing fragrances (McLean 1981b, p.147). Élite pleasure gardens were distinct from utilitarian herb or kitchen gardens, though herbs were utilized in pleasure gardens to add fragrance, beauty and rejuvenating health benefits (McLean 1981b, p.30, 172; Crescenzi 2002, p.101; Skinner and Tyers 2018, p.21). The greenery of garden vegetation was important for its therapeutic colour, which was traditionally considered beneficial for the eyes (Pliney in Kuttner 1999, p.15-17; Woolgar 1999, p.112). Greenery was used in decorative schemes, as mentioned earlier with interior paintings, as well as wreaths, regalia and costumes (Kuttner 1999, p.11). In monastic settings, plants held devotional and spiritual associations, such as the lily and the rose that signified Christ and the "glory of the church", the Lily of the Valley and the Rose of Sharon, as well as the Virgin Mary (McLean 1981b, p.122-131; Weikert 2014, p.176).

The religious and secular symbolic significance of the rose long predated the English medieval garden by centuries. Hellenic love poetry, Roman mythology, and more specifically, Herodotus's account of King Midas's widely-renowned rose garden reveal the importance of the rose's symbolism in antiquity (Harvey 1981, p.11). Strabo, the Abbot of Reichenau and former student of Louis the Pious in Aachen, composed his poem *Hortulus* ('The Little Garden' c.838) detailing twenty-three plants used in gardens according to aroma and medicinal properties, with the rose considered the "flower of flowers" that "surpasses all in virtue and fragrance" (Webb 2007, p.175; Waters trans. Marie de France 2018, p.26). The rose symbolised sexualized female beauty and vulnerability, metaphorically portrayed in the plucking of the rose from the safety of its walled garden in the *Roman de la Rose* (Gilchrist 1999,

p.119; Webb 2007, p.177; McLean 1981b, p.127-131). The rose also symbolised the Virgin Mary's purity and the love of God, which demonstrates another contested female image in contrasting the idea of the Virgin Mary with that of physical, sexual attraction. The symbolism of the red and white rose is similar to the juxtaposition of the fighting dragons in the *Prophesies of Merlin* (Thorpe trans. Geoffrey of Monmouth *Prophetia* c.1135, 1966), was symbolic in pre-Christian and Celtic mythologies and legends. In interior decoration and design, the rose's symbolism was frequently displayed in tapestries, microarchitecture and wall paintings (Steane 1993, p.168; James and Gerrard 2007, p.67; Saunders 1993, p.81; VanderElst 2017, p.103).

A recent project based out of Swansea University has explored the enclosed garden as a heavily gendered and symbolic space associated with female agency and female health benefits (Skinner and Tyers 2018; McLean 1981b, p.147, 172). The contested nature of the garden made it simultaneously a space of healing and rejuvenation, and sensory and sensual private space for fulfilling desires. Female characters in Romances frequently harness 'supernatural' powers using garden vegetation, such as Fenice's sorceress 'nurse', who creates a potion using herbs and spices that ultimately allows Fenice and Cligés to escape together (Kibler trans. Chrétian de Troyes 2005b). The garden's potential to harbour illicit Romance or to encourage devotional practice is reflected in the duality of Eve and the Virgin Mary. Allegorical ideas of sewing seeds as a metaphor for childbirth, and medicinal properties of vegetation have also been discussed, further strengthening associations between the garden and the female condition (McLean 1981b, p.170; Gilchrist 2012, p.204; Orme 2017, p.177; Dempsey et al. 2019, p.772-780).

6.4.3 Swans and Chivalric Animals

Animals featured in medieval élite landscapes, and parks, gardens, and ponds were intentionally designed for keeping many different species. They were often ornamental and used in displays of chivalry, such as Henry III's displays of largesse in

which he provided deer for his guests to hunt (1239) (James and Gerrard 2007, p.61-62); and Edward I's spectacular swan feast at Westminster Palace (1306) (Prestwich 1981, p.551; Pluskowski 2007). Several species of exotic animals were kept, particularly in Henry I and King John's exotic menageries (Bond and Tillier 1987, p.64), though this early exoticism lies outside the parameters of this research.

One animal in particular that was central to chivalric life and symbolism was the swan. Swan symbolism can be traced far beyond the medieval period, as evidenced by burials with bodies placed upon swan wings in Mesolithic graves, (Price and Peterson 1987, p.112). Viking mythology used swan imagery to symbolise otherworldly liminality and the journey into the afterlife, which was similar to medieval funerary monuments and effigies, in which swans were emblems of otherworldly or divine, transformative power (Gilchrist 2012, p.73). Swans embodied the contested natures of water and the female–renowned for ferocity yet a symbol of love and gentility; and they metaphorically embodied chivalric prowess and gentility.

Gilchrist (1999) discusses the symbolic importance of including swans in one's landscape during the Middle Ages as a display of status and wealth as well as a symbol of love and the female allusions to high, romantic chivalry (Gilchrist 1999, p.117). This can be further argued to reflect Romanticized chivalric culture, as the legends of the Swan Knight predated the twelfth-century Romance, *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, propagating and developing contemporary ideas within society. Without claiming that the Arthurian Swan Knight was the influence for swan symbolism and significance in medieval élite culture, it is evident that the Swan Knight represents an archaic, long-standing undercurrent of ideals and associations displayed in the Romance. This Romance can therefore be seen as a mimetic influence for the continued circulation of swan symbolism.

Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, swan was a delicacy for the élite, and swanneries were status symbols, typically located on artificial islands (Creighton 2009b, p.105). Swan ownership was limited to the most wealthy, and feasting on swan was a powerful display of largesse (Sykes 2004). Edward I's Feast of Swans

(1306) at Westminster was a massive display of Romance tradition, during which, he took a public oath on the swan to avenge John Comyn's death and attack Robert the Bruce and knighted Edward II and 267 other soldiers (Bullock-Davies 1978; Prestwich 1981, p.331). Taking oaths upon birds, particularly revered or ornamental birds, was a tradition in Romances, such as in Chrétian's *Cligés*, and Alexander's peacock oath; and the Swan Knight became a popular role to enact during tournaments (Loomis 1970b, p.122-123; Morris 1998, p.70; Boyce 2012). One notable example is the Dunstable Tournament of 1309, over which, Roger de Tournay presided in costume as the Swan Knight (Denholm-Young 1965, p.44).

Figure 6.4: Dunstable Swan Jewel, Online access: Number 24458001, ©The Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 6.5: Miniature of the Swan Knight in a boat drawn by a swan, from *Poems and Romances* (the 'Talbot Shrewsbury book'), France (Rouen), c.1445, digitised online, Royal 15 E. vi, f. 273r.

The Swan Knight of the Romance tradition was disguised during tournaments, and ladies were forbidden from asking his name. Competing in tournaments while disguised was a theme in Romance literature that provides an avenue of much further study. The gold chain depicted with the Swan image, representing the Swan Knight, as well as the chain around the neck of Richard II's White Hart livery, has roots in Celtic folklore as a symbol for shapeshifting (Trigg 2014, p.481-482). Swans have also been associated with Valkyries and boats leading into the afterlife, resounding

with the Swan Knight, frequently depicted in a boat, pulled by a swan with a gold chain (Ashe et al. 2010, p.129; Bauman 2002, p.117-127).

6.4.4 Water: Features and Boundaries

In Romance narratives, and in historic documentation, water was a prolific motif in gardens and in the 'wilderness'. Water features could be naturally encompassed within cultivated landscape spaces, and they were frequently constructed as fountains or streams in gardens, moats, or rerouted rivers. Water held powerful supernatural connotations and was associated with contested female dualities as it could be peaceful and healing, yet tempestuous, dangerous and untamed (Gilchrist 1999, p.33, 61; Keevill 2000, p.135; Burns 2013, p.396, 413). Scott (2009) further explores these opposing traits embodied by water, including the dichotomies of clear and opaque, freely flowing or contained, cleansing and nurturing contrasted with harmful and destructive. From baptism and balm, to the perils of the sea and Grendel's mother's watery cave, archaic motifs aligned the feminine with the physical, symbolic and transformative power of water (Burns 2013, p.396; Kosso and Scott 2009, p.52-58). Celtic myth from pre-Christian heritage linked supernatural female characters with pools of water, wells, fountains, and springs, which the medieval audience would have associated with water's feminine, supernatural power in Romances, as well as in contemporary medical ideas of the female humors (Gilchrist 2012, p.114; Connell 2009, p.463-473). Water played complex and important roles in Romance, legend, and ancient mythology: from *Beowulf* to Malory, grails to oceans; and it held transformative power as a boundary into otherworldly, or 'dream' spaces (Spencer 2020; Saunders 1993, p.102). Water's transformative power has featured in liminal rites of passage, such as baptism to purify the spirit and ritualistic baths taken by aspiring knights on the eve of their adubment ceremony, or the Fountain of Youth (Archibald and Johnson 2016; Kosso and Scott 2009, p.413).

As spatial boundaries of the quest, water took a variety of forms including fog, rain, mist, hail, oceans, rivers, and fountains, which signified vulnerability and per-

ilous or transformative encounters and spaces (Lindquist 2015, p.167; Saunders 1993; Kosso and Scott 2009, p.413; Whitaker 2016, p.395). In the *Lancelot* prose cycle of the thirteenth century, the Lady of the Lake produces Excalibur from within the water; and Wace's *Roman de Rou* incorporates a magical spring guarded by a woman (Szkilnik and Pickens 2006; Kennedy 1986; Weiss 2002). Similarly, Chrétian's *Yvain* features a magic spring that triggers torrential storms (Kibler trans. Chrétian de Troyes 2005f). In Marie de France's *Lanval*, Sir Lanval finds fairy maidens at a spring in the wilderness whilst exiled, and in *Melusine*, the title character, herself, was a shapeshifting selkie (Colquitt 2016).

The Byzantine Church combined ideas of Old Persian 'pairidaeza'(paradise) and Classical garden designs to develop the 'paradise garden' (McLean 1981b, p.126; Van Erp-Houtepen 1986, p.228-229), which was defined by consistent incorporation of water features and enclosures providing a dual sense of protection and exclusion (Webb 2007, p.177). Islamic-styled axial streams irrigated the garden while symbolically invoking Eden as it was described in the Qu'ran, similar to the four streams that flowed out of Eden in the Biblical account of creation (Bible, Genesis 2:10-15; Quran, surah 55; Ansari and Schmidtke 2011; Farmer 2013b; Redford 2000, p.314). The axial stream was a prolific symbol for the Earthly Paradise in medieval Romance and religious iconography, reflecting the geometry of the cosmos which linked the landscape to God (Lilley 2009, p.100-101). In Antiquity, water features were abundant, as Classical gardens reflected water's association with the gods (Rollason 2016, p.102). Eleanor of Castile is attributed with introducing this style of decorative water feature into English gardens from her Moorish upbringing (Cockerill 2014, p.233; Gilchrist 1999, p.126; Stokstad 1986; Stokstad 2005, p.73; McLean 1981b, p.102; Ashbee 2004; Hilton 2008, p.9; Farmer 2013b), which would have also visually contributed to Edward I's ambitions to display supra-national power.

Considering this historical and mythical role of water in medieval culture, I argue that the inclusion of water features into secular pleasure gardens would have created

Figure 6.6: (Lilley 2009, p.110-111) Cross axis resembling those found in the parasidical axial streams from Eden and Moorish fountains. Furthermore-resembling the order of the garter symbol.

allusions to widely-familiar ideas from the Romance tradition, and earlier Celtic legend, in which water embodied the symbolic dualism of female power. Castle views from within and from the outside across water features, such as motes, meres and ponds, acted like watery boundaries in Romance such as the river surrounding the grail castle or the perilous river over which Lancelot crosses the sword bridge (*Figure 6.2*). Pre-existing water features within the landscape could be brought into the castle's jurisdiction through methods of design such as by constructing views or access routes, or rerouting nearby rivers (Johnson 2002, p.42; Creighton 2009b, p.87). Water features in the landscape provided habitats for swans (Creighton 2009b; Wheatley 2010; Ashbee 2005) and allowed for specifically-placed bridges and garden walkways and causeways, creating intentional viewsheds, traversable spaces of liminality, and setting space, typically associated with the lady, apart through metaphorical associations with otherworldly boundaries (Edward I's gloriette at Leeds Castle, Kent, for example)(Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996, p.70; Connell 2009, p.463-478; Ashbee 2004; Gilchrist 1999, p.128).

Water in castle landscapes could make structures seem almost dream-like or further away, as has been suggested regarding the construction of the meres at Dunstanburgh Castle (Northumberland) (Oswald and Ashbee 2006, p.17; Creighton 2009b, p.77; Johnson 2002, p.113; Hansson 2006, p.130; Keevill 2000, p.162). Con-

versely, water could be used to make the castle appear larger, as suggested regarding the moat at Bodiam Castle (Sussex) (Coulson 1992; Johnson et al. 2017), which, I argue metaphorically mimicked the lady's ability to magnify her lover's chivalric greatness.

6.4.5 Within the Romanticized Chivalric Female Garden

As the previous chapter defined gendered space by agency and authority applied to specific spaces, this discussion continues to define the garden as a female space based upon medieval evidence of female authority. Reaching as far back as the Garden of Eden, the garden has been portrayed as a space of female agency and authority, and reiterating the connection between the garden and the lady is not new, but it is valuable for the purposes of this research to contextualize previous ideas within this context of Romantic chivalry constructed into the castle landscape. As Morgan (2017) argued that the bedchamber represented female authority, a similar methodology can be applied to outdoor spaces to discuss contemporary associations and symbolism, primarily in relation to the pleasure garden.

Romance literature provides copious examples of female characters holding positions of authority in garden settings. For example, three primary female Romance characters, Isolde, Guinevere and the Rose from *Roman de la Rose*, present the garden as a space of female authority from the twelfth through the fourteenth century. In Thomas of Britain's twelfth-century, courtly version of *Tristan*, the first version to be penned, Isolde held power over Tristan as well as King Marc whilst in the garden. Within the garden, as well as in her bedchamber, she is able to deceive King Marc in his pursuit of the truth. In Marie de France's *Lanval* (c.1170), Guenivere makes sexual advances towards Sir Lanval in the garden, after viewing him from the window above. The Roman de la Rose was one of the most prolific gardens in Medieval Romance literature, in which the main character, the Rose, drives the narrative and the protagonist's journey, and is responsible for his testing and character growth.

When socialising in the garden, women were described in masculine terms such

as 'company' and 'fellowship', even in the company of men, showing authority and social equality (Delman, 2018). Garden spaces, both real and metaphorical, or imagined, were central for creating and maintaining female relationships, as the hall has been portrayed to embody ideas of male fellowship. This is not to argue that the hall was exclusively for men or that the garden was exclusively for women, as Henry II's and Henry III's expense records list the "king's garden", which in CLR 23 (1239) were adjacent to Henry III's chambers (Salzman, 1997, p.382), and Eleanor of Provence constructed at least six "queen's halls" (see Chapter Five) (James and Robinson 1988; Salzman, 1952, ed. 1997; Colvin et al. 1963b).

Gardens were enjoyed by both men and women, and in religious contexts, tending the garden was the "purest and most divine" aspiration for man, as this became Adam's "Christian occupation" in Eden (Mclean 1981 p.13; James and Gerrard 2007 p.61; Robinson and James 1988). Ecclesiastical gardens were spaces for meditation and prayer, and were tended as an act of pursuing God, as Adam worked to recreate the paradise he once shared with God (Webb 2001, p.181; McLean 1981 p.33). Contemporary documents indicate, however, that secular gardens were to be tended by women as an act of demonstrating female authority within the space. Not upholding this standard could appear unchivalrous, as Edward II was ridiculed for enjoying working in the garden and "doing the work of a lady" (Richardson 2006b, p.84).

Queens' gardens were uniquely placed away from primary public or court spaces, adjacent to, and with private access from her chambers, such as the private staircase constructed from the queen's chamber into the "architecturally-sensitive garden" at Guildford Castle (Surrey) (CLR vol.4, 1252, p.239). Conversely, the kings' gardens were near his chambers, with close proximity to the great hall, as shown in the layout of Clarendon Palace above (*Figure 5.17*) (Cockerill 2014, p.167; McLean 1981b, p.102).

Critical assessment of site layouts has revealed that at sites where the queen's chambers were the most architecturally-impermeable spaces (see Chapter Five), pri-

vacy and architectural steps were largely delegated to symbolically-defensive landscape features such as gardens or earthworks, as these sites were typically palatial and unfortified. As shown in the layout of Clarendon Palace *(Figure 5.17)* and Kennington Palace below *(Figure 6.8)*, spatial separation of queens' domestic chambers through garden spaces visually situated her image and agency in a separate realm, symbolically further from public communal spaces than architectural steps demonstrated through access analysis. Contemporary garden associations would recognize the symbolic significance of these landscape boundaries, reflecting otherworldly boundaries of female power propagated throughout the Romance genre. The king's body represented the "sanctity of kingship", and the queen's fidelity represented the "integrity of the kingdom" (Gilchrist 1999, p.142-144; Murray 2003, p.19). As royal fidelity was not always a reality, I argue that this visually-displayed privacy through gardens was more important than architectural depth and physical permeability.

6.4.6 Sub-Case Study 1: The Royal Garden at Woodstock Palace (Oxfordshire)

The purpose of this small case study is to reassess these previous suggestions that Henry II's private pleasaunce, Everswell, within Woodstock's garden, was designed as an allusion to the garden in the *Tristan* Romance (McLean 1981b, p.101; James 2018, p.393; VCH Oxford v.12, p.441-444, Cossley 1990 p.435-439; Colvin et al. 1963b, p.86). Scholars through the past sixty years have provided anecdotal suggestions and circular arguments supporting the theory that Henry II constructed the water features and the nearby bower for his mistress, Rosamund Clifford, with the intent to resemble Isolde's garden, yet this remains unassessed and lacking evidence. Addressing the wider context of Henry II's court and Romance culture presents this garden within the new methodology outlined above, and provides hitherto unrecognized clues towards his intentions for this space.

Woodstock Palace (Oxfordshire) became a popular royal residence during Henry I's reign, when it became the earliest documented post-Conquest royal landscape

designed for pleasure. Henry I constructed walls within the forest at Woodstock in which to keep his menagerie of exotic animals, though most of the site lies beneath the early eighteenth-century manor of Blenheim Palace (Rollason 2016; McLean 1981b; Harvey 1981; Creighton 2009b, p.147; Bond and Tillier 1987, p.12; James 1990; Colvin 1986, p.11, 18-20). Applying clues from Romance provides a new avenue of information that has been previously untapped. At the outset, one must align Thomas of Britain's courtly version of the Romance within the timeline of Henry II's works at Woodstock. Henry II's spring at Everswell was constructed between 1165-1166 (Webb 2007, p.184), and Thomas's *Tristan* was composed between 1155-1160 for Henry II's court (Legge 1963, p.49; Legge 1975). The garden in the *Tristan* narrative featured trees and a stream in close proximity to Isolde's chamber. This stream played a critical role in the Romance narrative, as Tristan carved encrypted messages into sticks, which he placed into the stream that flowed with the current towards Isolde's chamber, as shown in the image *(Figure 6.7)* below (Webb 2007, p.184).

By 1165, decorative garden water features had yet to gain momentum as a secular trend in English gardens, as they are typically attributed to thirteenth-century Moorish influences (Taylor 1978; Saul 2011; Gilchrist 1999; Harvey 1981; Hilton 2008, p.190-203). Henry II's garden at Woodstock ('Everswell') did include other preeminent features, including a labyrinth of trees and hedgerows with locked doors, boasting early structures of privacy and intentional design hitherto unseen in medieval élite gardens and landscapes for entertainment and luxury (McLean 1981b, p.101). At Everswell, contextual clues show that trees were already a feature of this garden, which are a characteristic feature of Tristan and Isolde's garden–an orchard, in which the trees added privacy for eluding King Marc (Hatto trans. Strassbourg 1974).

Henry III's expenses provide more information about the garden at Woodstock. "Everswell" reveived its name in the thirteenth century, which later became known as "Rosamund's Well" (Webb 2007, p.184). Rosamund's Bower is referenced in

Figure 6.7: Late thirteenth-century image from Gottfried von Strassbourg's *Tristan*, based upon Thomas of Britain's courtly version. Source: Facsimilie Finder Online, collection from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliotek, image 22.

Henry III's expenditure in 1251 (Mclean 1981, p.101; Salzman 1997, p.358; CLR 1249, v.3). Naming this garden chamber after the king's mistress, rather than the queen, within fifty years of Henry II's reign, shows that history quickly associated this space with the affairs of Henry and Rosamund and that the values of courtly love had emerged in favour of the secret lover over the spouse. Henry III spent a large sum on landscape renovations at Woodstock, significantly enhancing its image as a private "garden retreat". He constructed more chambers around the spring, and in 1250, he ordered the construction of high walls "around the garden of the queen so that no one may be able to enter (CLR vol.3, 1250, p.292); line 6518 in Cligés (Kibler trans. Chrétian 2005, p.201) also mentions an "orchard surrounded by high walls connected to the tower". Presumably, this new provision of walls suggests an earlier lack of walls, apart from hedgerows. Henry III also constructed a "pleasant herbary near the king's fishpond" specifically for the queen's enjoyment and trellises

and pathways around the water and other "pretty garden" (Webb 2007, p.184; CLR 1250; McLean 1981b, p.121; Rollason 2016, p.107). Henry III's works at Woodstock also show that he ordered one-hundred pear tree saplings to be planted, creating an orchard more in the style of Isolde's garden, and he also ordered the queen's chamber and her chapel in 1249, revealing early evidence of purely decorative crenellations (McLean 1981b, p.101; CCR v.3 1245-1251; Salzman 1997, p.244,332).

Comparatively, the female chambers at Kennington Palace (London) *(Figure 6.8)* below, were situated away from the primary domestic structures, nestled within the privacy and luxury of a pleasure garden; a space recognizable for symbolic associations of female agency (Dawson 1976, p.27; Creighton 2009b, p.177). This is another clear example of gardens constructed in association with female architectural spaces (Dawson 1976, p.27). In contrast to the queen's spaces, the king's chambers at Kennington were located outside the privy garden walls, attached to the "great garden", with views of the chapel and hall–spaces traditionally associated with justice, piety and male chivalric agency. Creighton (2009) argues that gardens attached to female architectural spaces were more exclusive and private than the chambers themselves, as garden features were added for further seclusion (Creighton 2009a, p.176; Salzman 1997, p.324; Dawson 1976, p.27).

By using a combination of archaeological excavation, medieval expenditure reports, building contracts, and the Black Prince's Register, Dawson was able to identify the queen's chamber at Kennington Palace (London), where no structures have survived (Dawson 1976, p.10-11; Creighton 2009b, p.177). This layout shows that the Queen's chamber was separated from the nearest entrance into the curtain walls by two garden spaces, and was adjacent to the "great pond" (Dawson 1976, p.30). This setting was powerfully evocative of the Romance landscape, set apart as an 'otherworldly' space with strong female association, overtly resembling Marie de France's twelfth-century *Guigemar*, which features the lady's chamber secluded within a private garden (Delman 2018). This chamber was also composed of two floor levels, and taking into account its separate location within private gardens, I

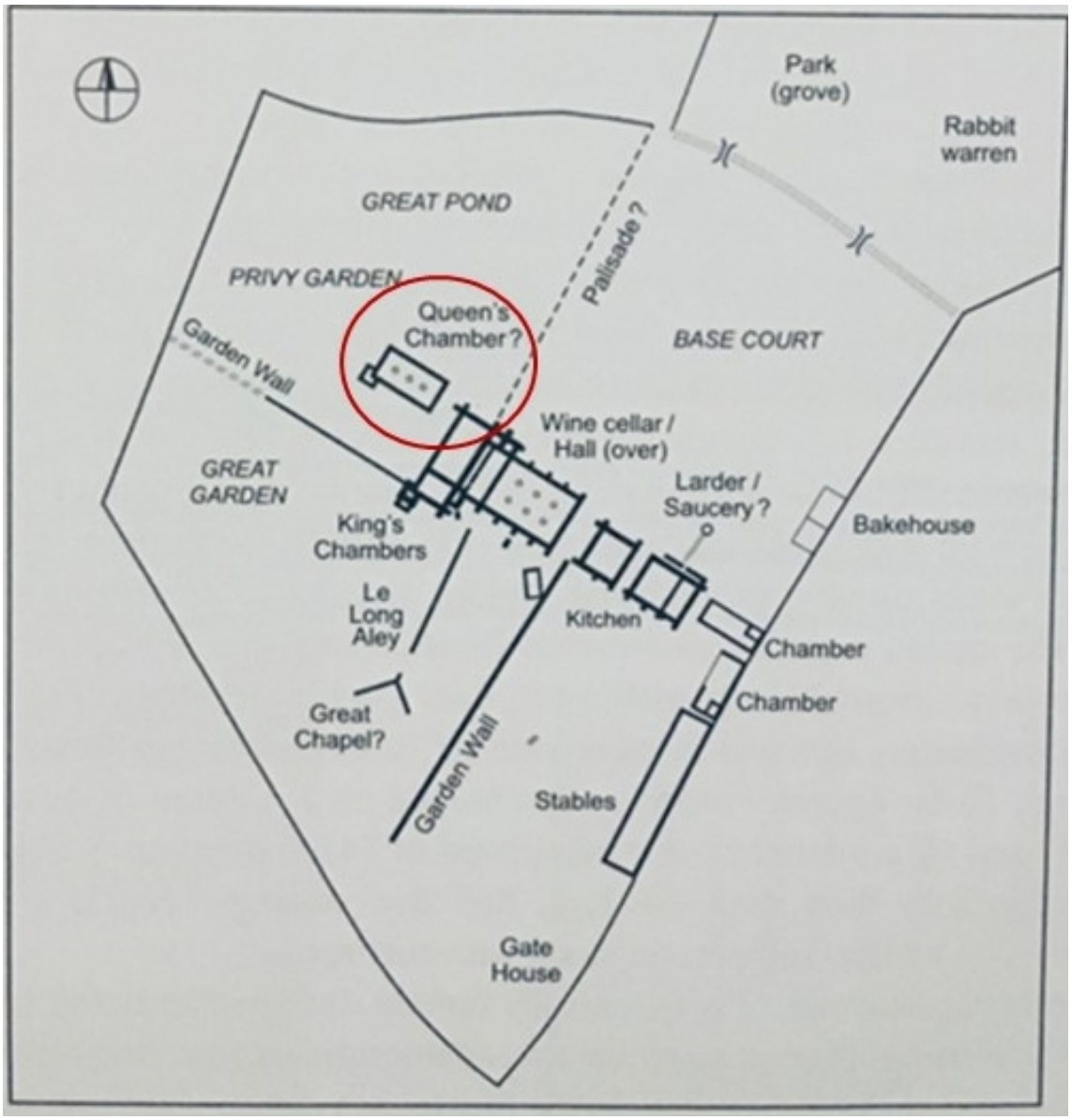


Figure 6.8: Kennington Palace floorplan showing layout with separate queen's chambers in garden. (Image from Creighton 2009a, p.177)

would suggest it was a gloriette in all but name.

A special chamber was present at Clarendon Palace as well, noted in Henry III's liberate rolls (1251) as "the new chamber in the park" (CLR vol.3, p.6). Upon analysis and comparisons of these palatial sites, I argue that this was part of an early-mid thirteenth-century trend of English gloriette construction. Jeremy Ashbee's study of the gloriette references literary architectural features in the early twelfth-century chanson, *La Prise d'Orange* (c.1120) (Ashbee, 2004; Burgwinkle 2011). This chanson predated the Romance genre and was part of an earlier courtly literary culture,

from which élite Romance culture grew. The cultural influences that associated Isolde's chamber and female authority with the stream by her chamber produced many other Romantic narratives in which powerful chivalric ladies and supernatural female characters possess authority and magical power in secluded gardens, and particularly, at water features. The palatial structures constructed shortly after these French Romances can be interpreted as products of this Romance culture, with the gloriette as a space of otherworldly or supernatural, female power.

6.5 The Demesne: Venturing Outward 'Beyond the Castle Gate'

Progressing out beyond the castle walls, parks, woodlands and meadows within the wider castle landscape were cultivated as a collection of distinctive spaces, brought together within a 'ritual landscape' that defined and hosted chivalric activities (James 2018, p.393; Richardson 2011; Creighton 2009a; Keen 2005, p.82; Saul 2011; Cummins 1988; Creighton 2019, p.14). For the purposes of this chapter, and, in accordance with the outline chart in *Figure 6.1*, the landscape outside the castle gate beyond the visual 'protection' of castle walls, represents the space of the Romance quest. In historical castle landscapes, this space refers to the demesne, in which the élite constructed spaces to perform chivalric activities and emulate the spaces of Romance. The actual wilderness, beyond the castle landscape, or demesne, does not feature in this discussion as the focus of this thesis remains within the boundary of the castle's associated landscape spaces.

6.5.1 The Hunt and the Quest: the 'Forest' and the 'Wilderness'

The Romantic wilderness was yet another contested, marginal space that provided a refuge for lovers, but was also imbued with perilous uncertainty. According to Romance and myth, while journeying through the wilderness, the line between

good and evil became blurred (Barron 1987, p.93; Saunders 1993, p.95-96, 145-146, 205). The forest became synonymous with the 'wilderness' according to Romance tradition, and was the space within the Romance landscape for the hunt and the quest to take place (Saunders 1993). The forest of Romance was an 'alternate courtly world' in which one experienced a variety of terrains; and it was the realm of uncertainty, the supernatural, and encounters with fate. This tradition is rooted in earlier Classical models of the forest, or wilderness, which were the primary narrative spaces of transformative power, as portrayed in Virgil's *Aeneid* (Saunders 1993, p.35, 102-103).

The seventeenth century is credited with cultivating personal 'wildernesses' within post-medieval élite gardens (Taylor 2012). Wilderness cultivation can be identified centuries earlier, however, as spaces were created within the castle demesne or reappropriated into it by enclosing preexisting woodlands (Stokstad 2005, p.72; Cummins 1988, p.130). This would have provided space to safely and privately experience the thrill and prestige of the hunt and the 'unpredictable' within the bounds of the castle grounds (Saunders 1993, p.6; Crane 2012; Everson 2003; Skinner and Tyers 2018; Richardson 2011).

Steane (1993) has discussed archaeological evidence for landscape features intentionally adapted for the hunt (Steane 1993, p.148). The medieval hunt echoed the thrill of the quest and was a recurring theme in Romance narratives, such as the hunt for the white hart in Chrétian's Romance, *Érec and Enide* (c.1170) (Kibler trans. 2005 Chrétian de Troyes 2005c). In the Arthurian tradition, the knight who caught the white stag won a kiss from the most beautiful lady at court (Kibler 2005), associating the capture of the White Hart with sexual prowess and success. The hunt was a "performance space in which aristocracy mime[d] its own myth of itself", enacting their idealized game of "cultural display" (Johnson 2002, p.42, 51-52; Crane 2008, p.63-84). The infrastructure of hunting parks is well-attested archaeologically in the earthworks and other features of Clarendon's deer park (James and Gerrard 2007). During the fourteenth century, deer parks became more popular than forests for

hunting, and while these enclosed spaces were not physically private like gardens, they would have been visibly set apart to maintain an élite image and provided enclosure for animals (Stokestad 2005, p.75; Richardson 2011, p.42; Cummins 1988, p.57). Queens were known to enjoy hunting, primarily in deer parks, and female associations with fallow deer and hawks were metaphors for contemporary ideals of sexuality and being in nature (Saul 2011, p.269; Bumke 2000, p.221; Richardson 2011, p.48; Sykes 2015; Sykes 2004; Saunders 1993, p.71).

Orchards and streams were individually and collectively significant, as they were symbolic spaces for fairies, witches and other supernatural female Romance figures. These spaces were added into contrived 'wildernesses', and on a smaller scale, added into gardens, as discussed above, to create small 'forests' and otherworldly settings in which one could sit and relax. These features associated the wider wilderness with female power. Shapeshifters were often female characters, such as selkies and nymphs, found in water within the wilderness. Shapeshifting animals were prevalent in Romance rooted in earlier Old English epic and Celtic tradition. For example, swans were symbolic of shapeshifting supernatural women, Scandinavian Valkyries for example, and the illusive White Hart of Richard II, depicted with crown and gold chain, is suggestive of a shapeshifter. This white shapeshifter with crown and gold chain is also seen in the Dunstable Jewel swan brooch, and the Buckingham coat of arms. The gold chain itself symbolised marriage in the Arthurian tradition, and was also another symbol of shapeshifters. A later edition of the *Brut* produced in c.1420 describes the Smithfield Tournament of 1390, in which ladies led knights on horseback into the tournament with gold chains; most certainly a powerful image of the ladies' transformative power over the knights, particularly symbolic, as they also displayed the livery of Richard II (Beswick 2020, p.66).

6.5.2 Tournaments, Trysts and Temporary Structures

Temporary structures offered privacy and space to enjoy indoor comforts out in the landscape. These spaces held strong associations with sexuality, passion and

pleasure, as pavilions and tents in the wilderness were settings for supernatural female characters in many Romances, harbouring secret, illicit love affairs, hidden from the prying eyes of the Court (Burgess and Busby (ed. and trans.; Hatto 1978; Saunders 1993, p.95; Orme 1994, p.197).

One temporary outdoor structure noted frequently in historical documentation is the 'tryst'. Though typically associated with secretive meetings between lovers, the Old French 'tryst' or 'triste' was a specific location used as a meeting point during the hunt. Over time, 'tryst' became used to mean 'trust' or 'confidence'; more specifically within feudal society, it was used to indicate 'loyalty' to one's lord (Mistanoja 1962, p.211-216). If the ideals of courtly love are broken down into individual attributes (see Chapter Four), the word 'tryst' can be applied to each one. Courtly love valued loyalty above all, and secrecy if necessary, as courtly love was often extramarital (Bumke 2000, p.221; Duby 1980, p.87; Saul 2011, p.243; Keen 2005, p.182). Loyalty in the Romance tradition was vital between lovers, with the lover remaining ultimately loyal to his lady above his lord. 'Triste', or 'trust', would have defined this aspect of courtly love, as defined by Mistanoja (1962). Secret rendezvous between lovers required private spaces in which to meet and hide away, and in Romances, such as *Tristan* (c.1160), spaces designated within the landscape were used as meeting points whilst pursuing one's lover, as 'trysts' were used during the hunt. Linguistic and language scholars have not been able to identify a pattern for the evolution of this word, but when brought together within the context of Romance, these seemingly-disparate terms embody the confidentiality, privacy, trust, and loyalty that defined courtly love.

Tournaments were typically settings for temporary structures, as they featured props and structures for theatrical displays and spectators. Large wooden or canvas castles were constructed for tournaments, indicating an attempt to recreate an idealized image of a fictitious or Romantic castle within the landscape of the tournament (Coldstream 2012, p.159). Wooden castles and architectural sets were also constructed for theatrical displays that accompanied tournaments, such as the

thirteenth-century example of Roger of Aragon's 'mock castle' from which he would ride out into the jousting list (Munby et al. 2007, p.97-98; Barber 2005, p.97-98; Creighton 2019, p.198).

Tournament sites have generally received little attention due to minimal lasting evidence and uncertainty over locations. Creighton (2019) has suggested that place-names provide valuable clues for tournament locations when otherwise unidentified or unspecified, such as "Cae Ymryson" ("tournament field") near Nevyn (Gwynedd) (Creighton 2019, p.213-215). Jousting paddocks and tiltyards were constructed as part of a post-medieval trend of landscape 'aristocratization' and nostalgia (Vale 2001, p.185-196; Mileson 2005; Mileson 2018; Creighton 2019, p.212-216). Earlier tournaments, particularly in the thirteenth century, were set liminally between the safety of the castle walls and the 'wilderness' beyond; the *locus amoenus* ('the pleasant place') and the *locus eremus* ('the desolate place' or 'wild place') (Skinner and Tyers 2018, p.62; Creighton 2019, p.214). In some instances, more exclusive tournaments were held in deer parks, bringing them into a tamed 'wilderness' setting within the safety and visual privacy of enclosure (Creighton 2019, p.213-214; Lindquist 2015, p.163-175). This reflects the tournament in Chrétian's *Cligés* (c.1176), in which Cligés enters a magical 'otherworldly' orchard to 'break lances' against a supernatural antagonist and rescue his lady (Chrétian de Troyes 2005b, p.189-201.

Medieval documentary evidence for galleries, allures and views to set female spectators apart and above, reinforces the Romanticized chivalric image of the lady as a necessity for inspiring knightly honour and prowess (Cline 1945, p.204-211; McLean 1981b, p.93; Gertsman and Stevenson 2012, p.156; Coldstream 2012). Tournament enclosures and galleries took different forms based on their situation within the landscape. Tournaments were occasionally held in deer parks, to which access was restricted, in which case temporary structures would have been created for the occasion. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth (c.1135), city walls could also serve as grandstands for spectators in urban settings (Thorpe trans. Geoffrey of Monmouth

1966, p.135). Though these would have been made of stone, physical architectural evidence of their use for tournament spectators was transient. Alternatively, earthworks provided elevated enclosures from which to view the tournament, as seen at Kenilworth Castle in the section below.

6.5.3 Sub-Case Study 2: The Round Table at Kenilworth Castle (Warwickshire)

In Luard's (1866) edition of the *Annales Monastici III*, Peter Langtoft describes Mortimer's Round Table at Kenilworth (1279) as "a most famous gathering, at the most profuse yet vain expense, which knights ware wont to call by the name of round table in the common tongue" (Barber 2007, p.95). This event was renowned through the Middle Ages for its display of pageantry with large feast and celebration and "one-hundred knights and ladies" in attendance (Loomis 1953, p.117). As discussed in Chapter Four, medieval contemporaries referred to Round Tables differently from other tournaments, documenting far more detail of grandeur and elaborate theatrics with Round Tables (see table in *Figure 4.4*; Vale 2001, p.155; Barber 2007). Some modern scholars have argued, however, that the Round Table was not actually associated with Arthur, but was instead, used to describe a joust encircled by a round timber enclosure, or "strong enclosure of timber" (Barker 1986, p.181). This has become a circular argument that casts doubt on the fully-Arthurian influences that developed the Round Table tournament.

Looking at the English Heritage plan of Kenilworth Castle (2015) in *Figure 6.9* below, the earthworks known as The Brays, have remained a source of scholarly confusion (Morris 2015). It remains uncertain whether these earthworks were a thirteenth-century product of the Barons' War (1266), or whether they were archaic and reappropriated into Kenilworth's landscape and approach into the inner ward in the later thirteenth century (Hansson 2006, p.105, 133; Creighton 2009b, p.167; Morris 2015, p.21). Before The Brays were incorporated into the castle's entrance, they were already within the intentional view of the élite chamber at the uppermost

level of the keep (see access diagram in Chapter Five, *Figure 5.10*). Notably, the gatehouses have been dated to the late thirteenth century, extending the approach into the inner ward from the original Mortimer Tower beyond The Brays and tiltyard to add an elaborate system of gatehouse passages before entering the inner ward towards the ceremonial, ground floor great hall on the left (see Chapter Four). The Gallery Tower has been thought to correspond with the sixteenth-century phase of building works (Molyneux 2008; Goldring 2007), but this layout shows that the earliest phase of the Gallery Tower is part of the thirteenth-century gatehouse sequence that brings The Brays into the approach.

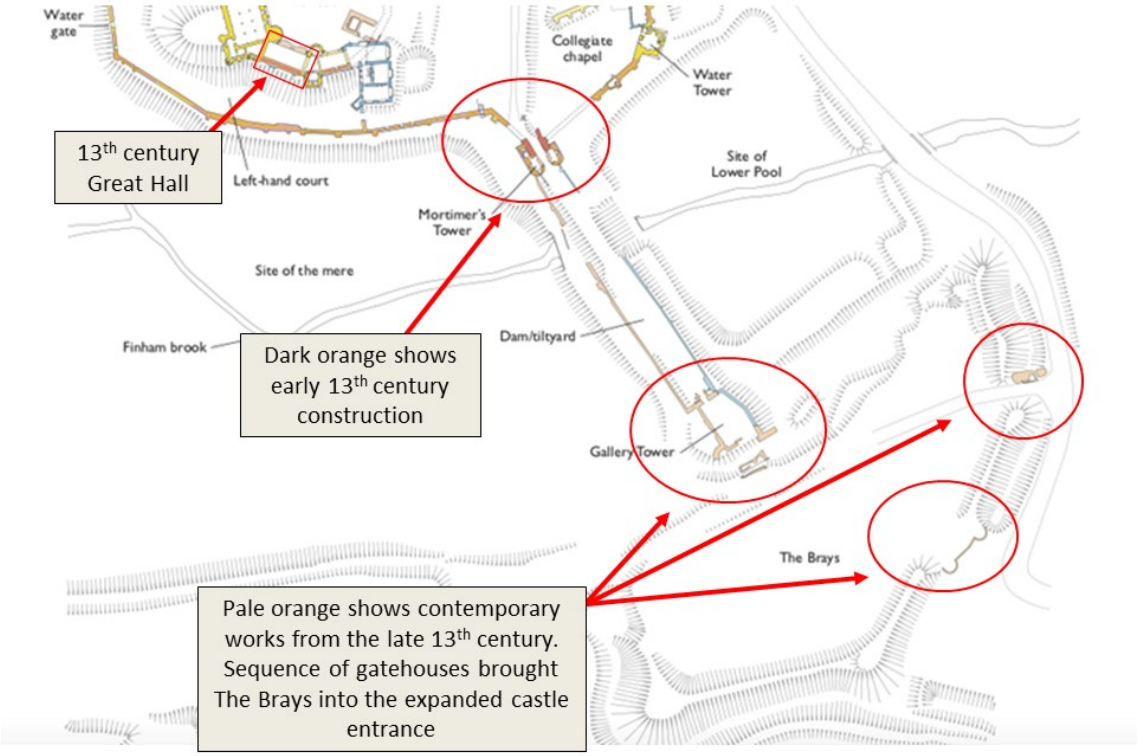


Figure 6.9: Original Kenilworth Castle plan by English Heritage (Morris 2015). Annotated by the author to indicate specific features for the use of the landscape.

Returning to the Round Table tournament of 1279, examination of the original Latin record of this event reveals no mention of timber. Furthermore, the term used for "enclosure" refers to earthworks: "*fortissima clausura per girum valletis fuit*". (BM vol.1, p,147; Stansfield 2018). This detail is highly significant, as the previ-

ous translation referenced a circular timber jousting enclosure which has remained hitherto uncontested and supports arguments that Round Table tournaments were not necessarily Arthurian in nature. The earthworks mentioned in the Latin source clearly aligns with the idea that The Brays were the location of the Round Table of 1279.

The creation of earthworks was not uncommon for large medieval tournaments. Documentation shows evidence for "earth-moving" to make a ditched enclosure for the Round Table of 1290 at Winchester, for which Edward I spent 13s. 4d. (Biddle 2000, p.264-270). Matthew Paris also confirms these earthworks as the site of Kenilworth's Round Table of 1279, located in a direct processional route from the wider landscape, into the inner courtyard and the early ground floor hall, now labeled the 'great chamber' (*Figures 6.9 and 5.9*). As such, the Gallery Tower could have provided the gallery space for the 1279 tournament, constructed in stone for the most élite, such as Eleanor of Castile, who was recorded to be in attendance (Loomis 1953, p.121). The Gallery Tower was named as such prior to the sixteenth-century tiltyard construction (1563 survey in Goldring 2007) and it can be seen marked in orange in *Figure 6.9*, contemporary with the thirteenth-century building phase (Morris 2015, p.118).

This study has shown that the sequence of thirteenth-century gatehouses, and more specifically, the Gallery Tower, was constructed to create views of earthworks within Kenilworth's pleasaunce landscape and to provide gallery space for the tournament of 1279, which was situated within the symbolic nostalgic power of the earthworks. Furthermore, and most importantly, this study has shown that reassessment of the original Latin sources contradicts the current circular arguments that round timber enclosure, rather than Arthur, was the reason for the Round Table's name. This original study provides significant evidence for this thesis by showing direct evidence of architectural construction and landscape features for an event which was a direct reference to Arthurian Romance.

6.6 Contextualization and Conclusion

Whilst consolidating research from a wide range of landscape studies, this case study offers a new framing of the castle landscape as a series of spaces reflecting those of the Romance quest. This chapter has also demonstrated that medieval élite landscapes were intentionally managed, cultivated and manipulated to create specific visuals and experiences imbued with Romantic significance. This reassessment of previous academic sources, anecdotal claims and medieval documents, presents an original argument that the medieval landscape was indeed 'designed', and furthermore, that these designs were inspired out of the contemporary undercurrent of Romance literature and Romanticized chivalry.

As discussed, the garden provided a green space for quiet withdrawal and reflection, and it was also a space for hosting and entertaining, in which to be seen and admired (Skinner and Tyers 2018, p.5-6; Taylor 2012, p.244). Gardens were intimate and multi-functional, liminal spaces that provided escape from the strict regulations and structure of courtly society, whilst functioning as an outdoor room, offering protection from the wilderness beyond in a controlled setting. Chivalry and Romance's appropriation from the medieval mindset into physical spaces extended out, beyond the castle walls to develop an ideal landscape that, whilst maintaining practical or defensive elements, could harbour contemporary, powerful symbolism from Romantic and legendary themes. Therefore, there was no one version of the chivalric landscape, as "the chivalric landscape was...[a] construction of the mind,...simultaneously rooted in experiences and the real world" (Foss 1975, p.242-245; Creighton 2019, p.198, 217-218). Female characters test, train and empower the knight errant, traditionally outside the realm of the natural world and safety of the court (discussed in Chapter Three). Through Romance narratives, female characters consistently symbolise growth and transformation, danger and the supernatural; and her power (discussed in Chapter Four), as evidenced in medieval documentation and contemporary landscape use, became associated with these mul-

tivalent landscape spaces spanning terrains and features encountered in Romance, in the medieval imagination, and in landscapes of reality. This idea of female power developed from Romance and became incorporated into landscape spaces with active views as part of chivalric structuration.

As in the previous discussion of the chivalric structuration in architectural design (Chapter Five), landscape spaces were placed and structured to orchestrate movement patterns and interactions, as well as to define spatial uses. The spaces and features discussed in this chapter were theatrical sets for enacting chivalry, each significant within the Romance landscape encountered by Arthur's knights as they progressed from the safety of the Court and out into the wild realm of the quest. Spaces cannot be fully appreciated or experienced exclusively, however, as other spaces help to define and place them in specific context. As in Chapter Five, doorways and thresholds defined spaces within and beyond, and the same can be identified in landscape boundaries and thresholds. Experienced together through activities, views and movement, chivalric performance and interaction simultaneously required and defined space as part of a wider chivalric sequence (Gilchrist 1994; Webb 2007, p.192; Gertsman and Stevenson 2012, p.5-6).

Enclosed pleasure gardens, were liminally set between the architectural and figurative structure of the 'Court', and the untamed uncertainty of the quest landscape beyond–also used as a liminal setting where Romance and reality merged. Allegorical liminal spaces have been continually associated with the female, their contested duality, and also mental and physical permeability and vulnerability (Shepherd 2019, p.210; see Chapters Four and Five).

Temporary structures and features in gardens and constructed for the tournament and hunt, were used symbiotically, with each contributing to the perception and interaction of the others. Views in particular, enhanced and connected different outdoor spaces within the castle landscape and also provided connection to the architecture. Views of woodlands, parks, and the 'wilderness' beyond, set the gardens within their Romantic context, safe from the distant 'otherworld'. Tournament

galleries allowed spectators to view the tournament simultaneously within the architectural setting of the nearby castle or hall, which itself, defined the space in which the tournament was situated. Views of earthworks and archaic castle architecture provided nostalgic backdrops of chivalric and ancestral power harnessed within the jurisdiction of the viewshed (Redford 2000, p.323; Creighton 2009a, p.12).

The image of the castle within its landscape presented the ultimate symbol of chivalry, and, as this research argues, its features and spaces were products of a culture deeply steeped in Romantic idealism. Whilst this chapter has synthesized a range of work from secondary sources, this research is wholly original and nuanced in its contextualization of garden and landscape spaces and features as part of a Romanticized chivalric structuration, extended from the castle architecture, connected through a Romantic symbiosis that defined the chivalric experience.

Chapter 7

Case Study 3: Assessing Individualized Romantic Influence at Four Castle Sites

7.1 Introduction to Selected Sites

The previous two case study chapters have examined various spaces and features within and surrounding the castle, primarily discussing their connections with Romance indirectly through reformed chivalric ideals. This final case study focuses on four unique sites, baronial and royal, that range from tourist destinations to fairly-unknown ruins. These four original site assessments build upon the knowledge presented in the early foundational chapters and previous two case studies, using this entirely new methodology to determine the extent to which they were impacted by specific elements of Romance and generalized trends of Romanticized chivalry.

The four sites selected for this case study have previously been suggested, in academic research and popular tourism, to have been influenced in varying degrees by medieval Romance, particularly Arthurian themes and characters. Suggestions of Romantic influence have been used to increase tourism and sprinkle elements of

fantasy into discussions of castle symbolism in academic research. These claims have largely become circular arguments and remain unproven whilst generally accepted, as demonstrated in my spreadsheet in *Figure 2.2*, from which these sites have been selected. I have determined that the following four sites, within a long list of others, present the greatest potential and need for building original studies and reassessing previous academic discussions, in keeping within the time frame of this doctoral research.

This chapter first looks at Tintagel Castle (Cornwall), made popular through Arthurian legend surrounding the site. Though this site has been excavated and featured in many academic studies, this case study aims to reassess previous academic discussions within this new methodology, by more deeply addressing land ownership and by applying extensive knowledge of Romance literature to the site's wider context. Pendragon Castle (Cumbria) is studied next, selected for its obvious link with Arthur and Uther Pendragon's surname, though previous research and architectural evidence are both scarce. This site is now a simple ruin of what appears to be a small tower atop a low motte, situated rurally between Appleby and the border of North Yorkshire in what was once known as Mallerstang, Westmorland. The third castle studied here is Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd). Though located in Wales, its architecture represents one of the greatest fortifications of English conquest constructed by Edward I. Caernarfon Castle is another site frequently featured in academic castle studies, though it is ripe for reassessment. Previous studies have featured its banded masonry and polygonal towers as an allusion to the glories of Constantinople and its proximity to Segontium and connections with Magnus Maximus and Macsen Wledig of the *Mabinogion*, though Edward I's wider Arthurianism is absent from previous discussions. Furthermore, the connections between Romantic, legendary, and Classical heroes have yet to be provided here, linking influences from Roman legend with those of contemporary Romance, which can only be identified through applying background research from the development of medieval Romance literature. This case study chapter is made complete with

the fourth and final site assessment of Warwick Castle (Warwickshire). This site, owned by Merlin Entertainments, is a family amusement site that hosts regular jousting reenactments and medieval heritage displays. As the Romantic hero, Guy of Warwick, is associated with Guy de Beauchamp, 10th Earl of Warwick, the line between Romance and reality is easily blurred. Thomas Beauchamp, the 12th Earl of Warwick's self-associations with the Romance hero, Guy, have been discussed but never to the extent of assessing this impact on the castle within the wider medieval context of Romance culture.

7.2 Tintagel Castle (Cornwall)

Though ruinous, Tintagel Castle is one of the most well-known castles in England, reputed for its Arthurian status as a site of Romantic lore and scenic clifftop setting. Its surge in popularity began after the discovery of the "*Artognou*" slate stone during the 1998 excavation (Batey et al 1999), which was misinterpreted to refer to King Arthur (Padel 1988, p.62; Thomas 1998; Jones 1998; Green 2018). Recent additions, such as a cliff-side carving of Merlin's head, statue of Arthur holding Excalibur, and the competition to design a new bridge connecting the island with the mainland (2016), have increased its publicity, as well as 'Disneyfication' contention and concerns over the preservation of historical integrity within academic castle studies.

Tintagel's renown among tourists and scholars alike may at first dismiss this study as redundant; however, this reassessment of current evidence, specifically regarding its thirteenth-century construction, will provide further support and new information about the castle's wider context and influences rooted in Romance.

Figure 7.1: Tintagel Castle ruins, showing the view to the island from the north-west (Photo: Richards 2022)

7.2.1 Literary and Archaeological Background

Tintagel (the castle in particular) first appears as an Arthurian site in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB* (c.1135) as the site of Arthur's conception (https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/tintagel-castle/history-and-legend/). The narrative begins at a feast, during which, Uther Pendragon becomes obsessed with Ygerna, wife of Gorlois, the Duke of Tintagel Castle. Desperate to be with Ygerna, Uther is assisted by Merlin's magic to take on the appearance of Gorlois whilst the real lord of Tintagel is away in battle. Uther is then able to trick the guards and enter the narrow passage into the castle, sleep with Ygerna, impregnating her with the future King Arthur. Geoffrey describes Tintagel Castle as being situated on the edge of a cliff by the sea, with a rocky entrance to the headland narrow enough for only three knights to hold the castle against an attacking army (Thorpe trans. Geoffrey

of Monmouth 1966, p.131).

The other narrative associated with Tintagel is the *Tristan* Romance (Thomas 1993). As stated in Chapter Three, this research uses Thomas of Britain's twelfth-century, courtly version, which was the source material for Gottfried von Strassbourg's version (c.1207) that exists in a much more complete state. In this narrative, Tristan is the nephew of King Marc, who lives near Tintagel at Castle Dor, and was already a figure from "pan-Celtic folklore" (Thomas 1993, p.86). Tristan is sent to Ireland to collect Isolde, who is to become Marc's new bride. However, to ease Isolde's reluctance and anxiety, her mother prepares a love potion that will allow Isolde to fall in love with the much older King Marc. While on the journey back to Cornwall, Tristan and Isolde accidentally consume the potion, causing them to fall completely and permanently in love. Following suit, they plan to be together secretly, arranging a love affair that would not arouse King Marc's suspicions (Hunt and Bromiley 2006; Hatto 1978).

Most current discussions around Tintagel's associations with Romance are built around the thirteenth-century (c.1233) castle constructed by Richard of Cornwall, suggesting he derived inspiration for the construction from Arthurian Romance. These theories are primarily founded upon the discovery of the 'Arthur' slate (1998), combined with Tintagel's setting in Monmouth's *HRB* and early *Tristan* narratives, though this topic has remained outside the parameter of academic scholarship since Radford's excavations in the 1930's. Geoffrey of Monmouth's accurate descriptions and references to Tintagel indicate his familiarity with the area prior to 1135 (Ditmas 1973, p.512, 520. The archaeological excavations and surveys of the 1930s and 1990s located remains of an Early Medieval settlement, dating from the fourth through the sixth centuries (Radford 1968a; Thomas 1993, p.87). Until the seventeenth century, "Tintagel" only referred to the island itself, and which was a trading post in the sixth century, as determined from the unprecedented amount of Mediterranean pottery and glass from the latter excavation (Batey et al 1999). This has been determined based on the unprecedented amount of Mediterranean pottery and glass indicative

of wealth centralization (Batey et al 1999; Thomas 1993, p.87).

Radford's excavation (1933-1939) identified the Early Medieval settlement, but also claimed that there was a later medieval structure on the island dating from the twelfth century, prior to Richard of Cornwall's thirteenth-century castle (Padel 1988, p.61-66). This created a source of contention, as the presence of an earlier castle would invalidate the claims that Richard constructed Tintagel as a vanity project of Arthurian prestige. Radford believed he had discovered an earlier post-Conquest castle on Tintagel's headland built by Reginald de Dunstanville in c.1140-1190 (Radford 1968a, p.77).

Other theories for a twelfth-century castle on the island are based on the Cartulary Charter of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, stating that Richard of Cornwall gained the Island of Tintagel as well as Richard's castle:

...Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Gervasius de Tyntagel dedi et concessi et quietum clamavi de me et heredibus meis inperpetuum domino Ricardo comiti Pictavie et Cornubie fratri domini Henrici regis Anglie totam insulam meam de Tyntagel et castellum Ricardi cum libero introitu et exitu per medium terre mee exterius... (TNA E36/57 fol.44v.c.1233)

This theory has since been continuously challenged, as scholars counter that "Richard's castle" could either refer to Tintagel Castle after it was already constructed and after Richard had already acquired the land, or that Richard could have constructed the castle prior to his ownership of the land (Alcock 1971, p.57-79; Padel 1988; Ashbee 2016). The 1990s excavation deemed Radford's idea of the presence of an older castle inaccurate, reporting that the island was abandoned in the seventh century and rebuilt in 1232 when Henry III's younger brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, obtained the land (Magna Britannia vol. 3; Cadell and Davies 1814). However, there remains the issue of Richard's castle listed in the land transfer from the above document, which the aforementioned theories attempt to avoid. To address this issue further, one must examine Tintagel's land ownership with a wider lens.

7.2.2 Land Ownership and the Quest for 'Richard's Castle'

Richard of Cornwall traded Gervaise de Hornicote the three manors, Winington, Merthen, and Trematon, for the Island of Tintagel and the mainland known as Bossiny (Ashbee 2016b).

...Noveritis me dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta pea confirmasse prop me et heredibus meis domino Ricardo comiti Pictavensi et Cornubie et heredibus suis totum manerium meum de Boscynny cum ombibus pertinentibus suis absque ullo retenemento ad opus mei vel heredum meorum in excambium maneriorum de Wymeltunum Merthni et Tamertonum tenendum et habendum sibi et heredibus suis libere et quiete iure hereditario inperpetuum. Ita quod ego nec heredes mei aliquod ius in predicto manerio de Bosciny vel eius pertinentiis decento vendicare poterimus... (TNA E36/57 fol.17v. c. 1236)

Modern sources remain inconclusive in locating these particular geographical areas and their contemporary values at the time of Richard and Gervaise's land exchange. OJ Padel interpreted folio 17 (E36/57) as "the three manors of Winington, Merthen, and Tamerton" (Padel 1988, p.12), but sources remain confused as to the original meaning of this manorial listing. The *Testa de Nevill* (1235-1236, Cornwall) does not mention Merthen, however, stating that Gervase de Tintagel held the manors "Wyniynton" and "Tamerton" (TN p.437) and also mentioning that Gervaise had previously been recorded to owe fees in "Hornicote et Tintagel" (TN p.436). In researching the medieval Winnington, it appears in Domesday Book as a manor of "Wineton" within the hundred of "Wineton", (shown below, *Figure 7.2*) a large area in southern Cornwall and part of the king's demesne lands at the time of the Domesday survey (VCH vol.8, p.59). Merthen was originally part of Winnington, suggesting that rather than trading three manors, Richard traded two manors, one of which was Merthen located in the hundred of Winnington. Merthen's original inclusion within Winnington is also likely the reason for Merthen's absence in the *Testa de Nevill* record of Gervaise's land.

Three locations appeared for 'Tamerton' during my investigation into its medieval value. Tamerton (North) appears as half of a manor, divided across the eastern border of Devon. This is unlikely to be the correct location, as this northerly site is modern; furthermore, it originally included Hornicote, which was already owned by Gervaise. The Domesday map (VCH v.8 p.62, shown below), identified Tamerton as 'Trematon' which appears in the Domesday survey with a castle already constructed situated on Cornwall's northeastern border. This second site is presumably also incorrect, as Richard of Cornwall did not own this specific manor until he purchased it in 1270 (Trematon 1997). I argue that in fact, the correct Tamerton was likely situated near the Tamar Valley in Falmouth, also within the original hundred of 'Wineton'. This land was part of the king's demesne, granted to Richard when he was appointed Earl of Cornwall (Denholm-Young 1947, p.22).

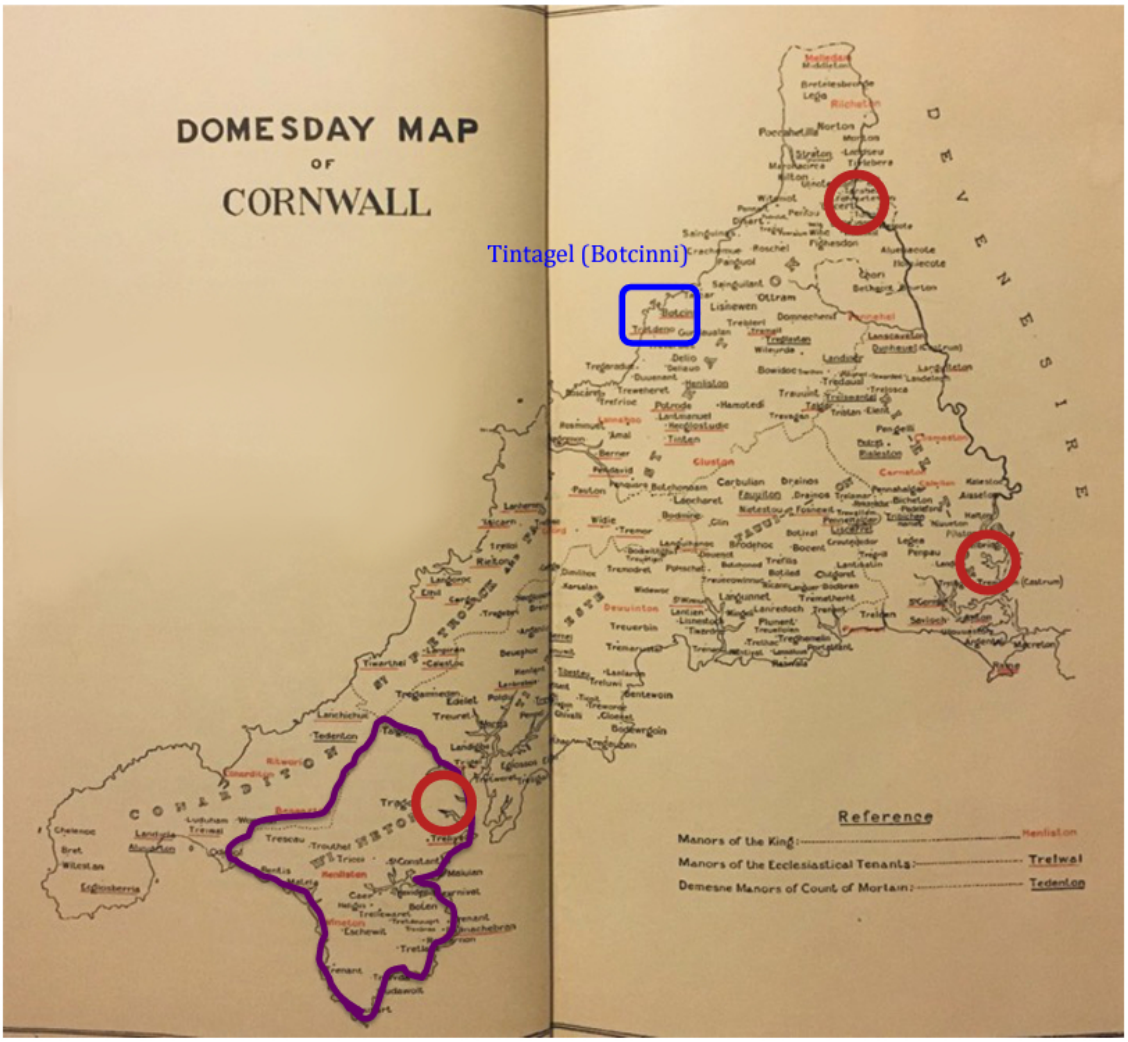


Figure 7.2: Domesday map of Cornwall from VCH vol.8, p.62. Site of Tintagel highlighted in blue, with possibilities for Richard of Cornwall's manors indicated.

Another issue I found in examining these two records, is that they actually describe two different transactions. Folio 44 (E36/57) lists a specific transaction, stating that Richard of Cornwall paid forty marks sterling for the island of Tintagel and Richard's Castle, and allowed Richard free passage in and out of Gervaise's surrounding headland, Bossiney. (According to the National Archives Currency Converter, 40 marks in 1270 was equivalent to £19,097.12 in 2017, which are the earliest and latest dates the converter allows. This is likely equivalent to much more in 2022.) Folio 17 states that Richard traded the manors of Winnington Merthen and Tamerton for Bossiney, indicating he no longer needed free passage between

the island and mainland. One can presume that Richard bought the island and constructed the castle before owning Bossiney, as evidenced by his earlier need for free passage onto Tintagel Island. The only structure listed at Tintagel in Folio 44 is Richard's castle (disregarding the Early Medieval foundations). The listing of 'Bossiney and all that pertained to it' in Folio 17 could potentially refer to Bossiney Castle rather than a castle on the island. While Richard did not own Bossiney in the listing with Richard's castle (Folio 44), Richard FitzTurold was a tenant of Robert, the Count of Mortain's lands in Cornwall shortly after the Conquest. This Richard may have indeed constructed a castle to defend this newly-conquered land from the local discontented Cornish population (Cornwall hundreds in VCH vol.8). One of Richard FitzTurold's daughters in fact, later owned Bossiney by marriage (VCH vol.8, p.45).

As the only officially documented 'Richard's Castle' is in Herefordshire, Richard's castle in Cornwall was most likely a colloquial name. LidAR data revealed no earthworks indicating a prehistoric hillfort, and there are no mentions of this 'Richard's castle' in the Domesday survey or in the Cornwall Victoria County History Red Book series. There was, however, a timber motte-and-bailey castle, known as Bossiney Castle, constructed in the late eleventh century. This structure would have been closest in geographical proximity to Tintagel Island at the time of the documents listed above. As Folio 44 states, "...my [Gervaise de Hornicote] entire island of Tintagel and Richard's Castle...", which I would argue, makes the island and the castle appear separately.

Furthermore, I argue that the theory suggesting Richard of Cornwall constructed the castle on Tintagel prior to his land ownership is unlikely as Gervaise de Hornicote's family name was also referred to as "de Tyntagel" after Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB*, presumably laying claim to the island as the family home of pseudo-historical lesser nobility. This brings forth an entirely new point of interest pertaining to Richard FitzTurold's Cornish lands, which were combined into Cardinham, with the caput at Penhellam (VCH, vol.8 p.31-35). Béroul's version of the *Tristan*

Romance (c.1200) was commissioned by the Cardinham family, and in this narrative, King Marc lived on Tintagel Island (Thomas 1993, p.126). This provides an unexpected and unexplored connection between the island of Tintagel and the *Tristan* Romance through Richard FitzTurold, which is unfortunately outside the remit of this thesis.

7.2.3 Richard of Cornwall's wider Arthurian Prestige and Castle Design

I have yet to locate Richard of Cornwall's expenditure for Tintagel Castle. I have examined archaeological reports and architectural analyses of Richard's other primary castles in Cornwall, Restormel and Launceston, as well as his favoured castle, Wallingford (Berkshire), aiming to identify outlying details and differences with Tintagel Castle's use, location, and structure. Restormel was only granted to Richard four years prior to his death, indicating that his son, Edmund, was responsible for the majority of building works, creating it into the large hunting *pleasaunce* that dominates the castle's historical narrative (Cathcart King 1983, p.75-76; Creighton 2010, p.47; Ashbee 2016a).

Launceston was Richard's primary caput in Cornwall and was massively strengthened and rebuilt under his ownership. According to excavations that took place between 1961 and 1982, Richard built the tower inside the shell keep and rebuilt the hall as well as a lesser great hall and kitchen within the bailey. According to dendochronology, the previous timber hall was allegedly constructed by 1025 and is mentioned in *Domesday* under the authority of Robert, Count of Mortain (Williams 2008). Richard's great hall at Launceston appears to have been a ground floor hall, which is significant within contemporary English chivalric design, similar to the halls constructed by his older brother, Henry III. Richard's castles were constructed out of his ambitions and renown as one of the most wealthy men in Europe as well as King of the Romans and Holy Roman Emperor (1256 and 1258) (Hilpert 1980, p.185-198). As such, his construction of ground floor halls demonstrates their significance, par-

ticularly when considering their élite construction solely at sites of English power. Some speculate that the architecture of Richard's predecessor as Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, impacted Richard's design of Launceston's round tower within the previous shell keep, with possible influences from Castel del Monte (Apulia), for example (Hilpert 1980, p.187-190; Rollason 2015, p.137). Richard also constructed a large garrison and dramatically strengthened towers around the bailey, revealing an even greater disparity between the simplicity of Tintagel and Richard's seat of authority.

Richard's supposed favourite castle, Wallingford, was shrouded in preexisting Romantic prestige dating from Chrétian de Troyes's twelfth-century depictions of it as a prominent Arthurian tournament site (Creighton 2013, p.160; Keats-Rohan et al. 2015). According to ancestral Romance, *Gui de Warewic*, composed in the early thirteenth century for the Earls of Warwick, Guy was actually from Wallingford Castle and gained the title 'of Warwick' through marriage to Felice, daughter of Rhonmer of Warwick Castle (Mason 1984; Liu 2005; Beauchamp 2013a). According to the ancestral chronicle, the *Rous Roll* (1459), Guy's ancestor was the Arthurian Swan Knight from the *Roman au Cygni* (*Figure 6.5*). According to the Romance tradition, the Swan Knight was one of the fiercest warrior heroes, and depending on the sources, he was said to be an ancestor of Godfrey de Bouillon, hero of the First Crusade and King of Jerusalem. Hartmann's German canon of Arthurian Romance writes that the Swan Knight, Lohengrin, was the son of Parzival (from the French, Percival of Chrétian's *Perceval*). Wallingford's Romance tradition is made richer, as the archaeological report (2015) lists interior medieval wall paintings depicting imagery of Lancelot. King John owned a collection of swords from Romance, including Gawain's and Tristan's swords; and "Cortana", the sword of Tristan, was kept at Wallingford Castle (CPR 1207; Ditmas 1966a, p.91; Loomis 1970a; Keats-Rohan et al. 2015; Barber 2017). This sword is also known as the 'Mercy Sword' because the tip has been removed, which, according to legend, Tristan broke in the skull of a giant (Warren 2000, p.75). This sword has a long history of being used in English

monarch coronations, in which this sword from 'Romance' plays an active role in ordaining English power. This centralization of English royal power was entirely based on Romance and fictional relics, predating Richard's ownership.

Richard's situation within the contemporary movement of Romantic prestige would have ensured his awareness and use of Romantic pseudo-ancestries within his architectural displays. His ambition and power would have driven his architectural design as the ultimate displays of his affiliations and heritage, largely identified in his use of ground floor halls as part of his projection of his power across Europe and beyond. Furthermore, his status as King of the Romans and Holy Roman Emperor connected him to Byzantium and Godfrey de Bouillon, the Swan Knight, Lohengrin, Constantine and Charlemagne. For Henry III's plans for power in Sicily, already connected to Norman ancestry, it was imperative to have an English political sympathizer as King of the Romans. Richard's coronation at Aachen would have only bolstered his place in the heroic lineage in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB*, and would have driven his attempts to create a domain from which to project himself using his building designs.

7.2.4 A New Reassessment of Tintagel Castle's Use and Design

Through my research of excavation and architectural surveys, I interpret the thirteenth-century construction of Tintagel Castle as minimalistic and archaic, distinguished from Richard's other castles. The great hall was the primary structure within the castle site, which scholars have determined to be a ground floor, archaic hall with central hearth (Batey 2016, p.11). Based on my analysis of ground floor halls as a display of chivalric archaism (Chapter Five), this hall at Tintagel was a significant display of power derived from a mythological ancestry. With no garrison, few ancillary buildings with minimal interior spatial differentiation, and only two chambers (in the gatehouse and near the kitchen) presumably for the gatekeeper and kitchen staff, I argue that the site could hardly have been defensive. As stated,

the Black Prince's survey reveals there was no garrison (BPR, vol 2, 1351, p.174), and the only defensive aspect of the castle was the gatehouse on the mainland. Beyond the gatehouse, the narrow bridge leading to the inner ward of the castle on the island reflects Geoffrey of Monmouth's description of security at Tintagel and the narrow cliff bridge, which could be defended by just three knights (Ditmas 1973, p.510-524; Reeves and Wright 2007, p.186).

The ground floor hall was outdated and used within lower social strata within wider contemporary European architecture. The English would have recognized style as an emblem of ancestry and heroic heritage, an ancestry that included Alfred the Great, Arthur, Uther, Constantine, Brutus, and even Aeneas. English castle contemporaries would have understood ground floor halls as a location for ceremonial activities, feasting, and displays of largesse and pageantry beyond that of the keep hall (or 'king's hall'); and this would have transferred across the Channel via élite familial and court connections. If guests were to feast at the hall on Tintagel Island, as in the Early Medieval halls of legend, accommodation could have potentially been available at Bossiney Castle or other lodging on the mainland that included the chambers and stables necessary for hosting a ceremonial gathering. This does not eliminate the possibility of timber or canvas structures erected at Tintagel Castle, though evidence for this has yet to be found. The lack of domestic space is actually true to Tintagel's depiction in the *Historia*, as no chambers are mentioned at the site.

In the end...he [Uther] took Merlin's drugs, and was changed into the likeness of Gorlois...Then they set off for Tintagel and came to the Castle in the twilight. The moment the guard was told that his leader was approaching, he opened the gates and the men were let in...The King spent that night with Ygerna and satisfied his desire.

(Thorpe trans. Geoffrey of Monmouth *HRB* 1966, p.207)

Figure 7.3: View to the North of Tintagel Castle, showing the ruins of the hall. (Photo: Richards 2022)

Figure 7.4: Illustrated representation of Tintagel Castle's hall from the thirteenth century (English Heritage Guidebook, Batey 2016)

Figure 7.5: Interpretation of Richard of Cornwall's Construction (up to 1260) (English Heritage Guidebook, Batey 2016, interior cover)

Figure 7.6: Layout of Tintagel Castle's 'Inner Ward'. Orange marks Richard's earliest construction (English Heritage Guidebook, Batey 2016, interior cover).

Other editions refer to Merlin's potion as "herbs" rather than "drugs" and call Tintagel a stronghold, but they otherwise remain unchanged (Geoffrey of Monmouth 1966, p.131). Geoffrey of Monmouth would have been familiar with the Early Medieval castle as well as the emergence of the great tower, newly built after the Conquest. By not specifying a tower or chambers, I argue that he was invoking the ancestral, historic structures of power. Based on its design and location, Tintagel Castle was certainly distinguished as an otherworldly (and impractical) landscape of legend, further secluded symbolically with access into the hall across a boundary of the sea (see magical water boundaries discussion, Chapter Six), which itself was brought within the castle walls when the gatehouse was constructed on the mainland.

The construction date of Tintagel Castle's 'garden' is far more speculative, as is the nearby foundation of the chapel. The garden (*Figure 7.7*) is a rectangular structure atop the highest point of the island, most vulnerable to the clifftop wind. Archaeological excavation has identified faunal remains of trees and various flower-

ing vegetation within the foundations of the ruined walls (Batey 1999). It remains unknown whether the garden wall would have been tall enough to block the wind, but the well nearby would have provided irrigation. Also unknown is the garden's intended use in the Early Medieval settlement. It could have been used for subsistence farming, though due to its small size and the island's use for trade rather than settlement, this remains unknown.

Figure 7.7: The ruins of the garden on Tintagel's headland. (Photo: Richards 2022)

Ashbee (2016) suggests that medieval Romantic associations with *Tristan* at Tintagel could have influenced the construction of a garden on the island (Batey 2016, p.20), as the garden was Tristan and Isolde's primary trysting location in the Romance narrative. According to the Romance, the garden at King Marc's garden was described as an orchard with a stream running near the ladies' chamber (Hatto

1978). The current of this stream was used to float secret messages (markings on twigs) between the lovers (*Figure 6.7*, see Chapter Six). The well at Tintagel provided the pool mentioned in the Romance, if the Romance was indeed an influence for the garden, but the stream remains unaccounted for.

7.2.5 Summary of Tintagel's Assessment

Richard of Cornwall was one of the wealthiest men in Europe, Earl of Cornwall, younger brother to the king, elected Holy Roman Emperor and King of the Germans in 1257 (Hilpert 1980). He constructed and expanded several castles, particularly in his duchy of Cornwall, of which Tintagel remains the most well-known. His seal was nearly identical to that of Henry III, projecting his image as an equal to the king, and displaying his unique status not attained by other members of the English nobility (Binski 1999, p.77).

Figure 7.8: Right: Great Seal of Henry III. (Image from British Museum 549300001 Recto: From Spencer's 'New History of England' c.1793.) Left: Seal of Richard of Cornwall (Batey 2016, p.1, 33). Note the similarity with which Richard presents himself in comparison to the king.

The simplistic and antiquated architecture of Tintagel Castle is a stark contrast to the contemporary image of wealth and power Richard strove to create for himself. Tintagel was neither suitable for hosting guests in private chambers nor for defense, as there was no provision of a stable or garrison. Like other temporary constructs for tournaments and pageantry, Tintagel appears only suited for occasional ceremony. set in a space reputed for its role in Romance and earlier legend. To this extent, I

suggest that Tintagel could be considered as a folly of medieval Romanticism.

My assessment of Tintagel Castle has provided a wider contextual understanding, far beyond the previous extent of discussions suggesting potential links to Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'Arthur' narrative or Tristan and Isolde's garden. The nuance of this case study is original in its assessment of Tintagel's use and reputation in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries rather than its Romanticized past and post-medieval popularity in the works of Tennyson. Also noteworthy here is the inclusion of Bossiney, typically absented from discussions of Tintagel's Romantic connections. The architectural investigation presented here assesses Tintagel's defensive capabilities, as well as its domestic provisions, determining its anomalous lack of both. The different sections of this study brought together show how suggestions of Tintagel's Arthurian associations can be taken beyond speculation, revealing an impractical and outdated, archaic structure that was constructed within a European context of power.

7.3 Pendragon Castle (Cumberland)

Pendragon Castle survives in a ruinous state adjacent to the River Eden in the Vale of Mallerstang (approximately five miles south of Kirkby Stephen). It is the least-known site of the four presented in this chapter, and barely exists in medieval documentation or modern academic research. The county of Westmorland existed from the thirteenth century (c.1226) until it became part of Cumbria in 1975 (RCHME 1993, p.162), and I would argue that Pendragon remains largely unknown due to the change of land ownership between the English barony and the Strathclyde Welsh prior to its designation within 'Westmorland'. The primary factors in selecting this unassuming site as a case study were to construct an entirely original, comprehensive narrative of Pendragon's historical context and to identify Robert Clifford's intentions behind changing the castle's name from 'the castle at Malrestang' to 'Pendragon' in 1309 (CCW 1309, p.219), although it remained one of the lesser Clifford estates.

Figure 7.9: Photographs of Pendragon Castle, facing north (top) and north-west (bottom) (Photo: Richards 2022)

7.3.1 Pendragon Castle in Historical Documentation

Because of the castle's Arthurian name, local legend has developed its own foundation myths and folklore around the site, creating an Arthurian past based upon events that happened elsewhere according to much older Arthurian narratives. The foremost example of this is Uther's murder, when Hengist's men poisioned the well at the castle where Uther and his men were staying. Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace and Layamon all set this narrative at Verulamium (modern-day St. Albans) (Geoffrey of Monmouth 1966; Weiss 2002). Another local legend is a rhyme telling of Uther's attempt to divide the River Eden at the site of Pendragon Castle, presumably of post-medieval origin. This likely refers to a fail attempt to fill the dry mote with water by situating it so near to the bank of the river. So little is known about the history of the site, most colloquial descriptions of the castle simply relate its construction to myths of Uther Pendragon. Until 1309, there does not seem to be any other Arthurian connection with the area. 'Merry Carlisle' was King Arthur's court in Malory's fifteenth-century *Mort d'Arthur*, and the neolithic ringwork near Penrith called "King Arthur's Round Table" lies approximately twenty miles northwest, but it remains uncertain if this name was given before the sixteenth century (Piggott 1976, p.56). In this case, the castle's name has skewed the historical narrative, for which much historic documentation is absent and has become supplemented by local legend.

Until the Barony of Appleby and the upper Eden Valley were seized by William (Rufus) II, they were part of Strathclyde (Domesday Book Online: online access through British History Online). Kendal (Kentdale) originally belonged to the Earl of Northumbria, but the Baronies of Appleby and Kendal were combined into the single unit of Westmorland in approximately 1226 (RCHME 1993; cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk; Youngs 1991). Though efforts are underway, there is currently no Victoria County History (Red Book series) for Westmorland (Fiona Edmunds pers comm 2019, Lancashire University VCH Director). According to the HER monument report (November 2019), and the RCHME Archaeological Survey Re-

port (1993), comparatively little excavation or research has been undertaken at the site of Pendragon Castle (Mitcham YDAS excavation report; Johnson 2020). The RCHME survey (1993) provides minimal detail of the surrounding landscape, potential earthworks, and the architecture of the tower. The only archaeological excavation around the site was lead by the YDAS in 2019, centered around the lime kiln in an adjacent field; and previous survey work has been for conservation of the standing structures rather than investigative (RCHME survey 1993; Binney 1995). At the time of writing, the finds from this lime kiln excavation were still being processed, though excavation did yield small sherds of presumably mid-fourteenth century and fragments of charcoal that have since been dated to the late twelfth-early thirteenth century (Mitchem pers comm 2019; https://www.yorkshiredales.org.uk/pendragon-lime-kiln-excavation-part-2-the-final-results/ Johnson 2020, p.4). The Portable Antiquities Scheme has no significant finds from Pendragon's history either, as a Spanish silver coin from c.1500 found by a member of the public in 1987 is the only artifact on record. Archaeological excavation would be hugely beneficial at the actual site of the castle to help fill in and supplement the many gaps in Pendragon's historical narrative.

The extant documentary evidence for Pendragon Castle in the Middle Ages is incredibly scarce, and I have hitherto only located two occurrences in which it is referenced prior to its license to crenellate in 1309. The first mention in 1228 lists Robert Vetripont as the "*constabulario de Malverstang quod castrum de Malvestang*", appointed by King John (CPR m6, p.176). It is mentioned again in Edward I's Inquest Post Mortem of 1284 upon the death of Roger Clifford (IPM 1284, file 39: BHO online access). This inquest lists Roger Cliford's lands gained through his marriage to Isabella Vieupont, co-heiress of Westmorland with her sister Idonea, upon the death of their father Robert de Vetripont. Idonea and her husband, Roger de Leybourne, left no heirs, and as such, Robert Clifford, son of Isabella and Roger, became sole inheritor. Thus the Clifford estate was moved from Clifford Castle (Hereford) to Westmorland (Vivienne 1973). Robert eventually became appointed

Sheriff of Westmorland and remained (mostly) within the inner circle of Edward I's retinue (Prestwich). Mallerstang is mentioned once more in 1308, though it appears as "manor of...Mallerstang" (CPR 1308, vol.1, p.134).

Apart from two Scottish attacks (1341 and 1541) listed in two authoritative sources in 1883 and 1913 (Nicholls and Curwin 1883; RCHME 1993), Pendragon's history remains otherwise unknown and undocumented until Lady Anne Clifford's restorations in the seventeenth century. Her massive restoration project, beginning in 1660, built Pendragon back up to its former glory, remaining one of her favourite residences until her death in 1675, after which, it was left for ruin (Clifford 1922; Binney et al 1993). The survey report from 1993 questions the accuracy of earlier authoritative sources, however, suggesting a misinterpretation of a stone inscription, in which case, the castle was only attacked and burned once in 1341. This would align with Leland's notes (c.1539), in which he described the castle as already ruinous prior to 1541 (King 1991, p.75).

7.3.2 Pendragon Castle's Historical, Social and Geographical Contexts

The castle's lack of early written and archaeological evidence causes difficulty in discerning its construction and early history. According to the architectural and archaeological surveys (1990; 1993; 1995), the castle is believed to be of late twelfth-century construction. This information has been generally accepted, as propagated by the Gatehouse Gazetteer (online) and HER report (1995). According to Symeon of Durham (Historia), the land of Cumbria, containing Carlisle and Appleby was given to Ivo Taillebois by William (Rufus) II, who seized the land from Dolfin of Strathclyde in c.1086 (Sharpe 2006). By c.1106 after Ivo's death, Ranulf de Meschin was appointed the guardian of the Northern border, and according to some, is believed to have constructed the first castle in Mallerstang (Sharpe 2006).

When the Vale of Mallerstang was listed as "Malrestang Forest" under the authority of Hugh de Moreville (d.1162), no other structures were listed within or

around the area of Mallerstang Forest, described as "scrubland" rather than actual woodland (Nicholls 1883: BHO). Moreville is considered to be responsible for the castle's construction in stone in the late twelfth century (Nichols 1883). Constable (2003) suggests that towers in northern England constructed before 1155 must have been constructed under the Scottish Crown (Constable 2003, p.151), which could potentially account for the lack of records documenting the construction and early history of the castle. This seems unlikely, however, as King John's appointment of Robert de Vetripont as Sheriff of Westmorland (1204) mentions the manors of Appleby and Brough, and their "appurtenances" (History and Antiquities of Counties of Westmorland. vol.1, p.464). This suggests that no structures of royal significance, and certainly no stone towers, had been previously constructed within this area. The "appurtenances" could indicate small structures including a possible timber castle in Mallerstang without specifically referencing it, though this would indicate any existing structure was of little significance.

Alternatively, I argue that the stone castle in Mallerstang was likely constructed by Robert de Vetripont very early in the thirteenth century, after his appointment as Sheriff of Westmorland by King John in 1204, gaining control of the manors of Appleby and Brough and their "appurtenances" . The castle's first specific appearance in documentation is not until 1228 (Patent Rolls RCHME), and as such, the date of construction can be pinpointed between 1204 and 1228. This Robert de Vetripont was the great grandfather of Idonea (married Roger de Leybourne) and Isabella Vetripont (married Roger Clifford) who each inherited half of the Westmorland estates, leaving Robert Clifford as the sole heir in 1284 (IPM 1284). This document provides the second and final mention of the castle at Mallerstang until the license to crenellate in 1309, in which it is listed officially as Pendragon Castle (CCW 1309).

The extent of the castle bailey has been assumed to lie within the seventeenth-century walls constructed by Anne Clifford. Its surrounding geographical context remains fairly remote, with only two small villages, Castlethwait and Outhgill, within

a mile radius. I researched Pendragon's geographical context attempting to locate ancillary structures, or any documentation regarding its twelfth-, thirteenth- or fourteenth-century history, but although many Scandinavian placenames last from Westmorland's Viking history, these two villages only appear in post-medieval sources, absented from maps in 1340, 1486, and 1576, and likely originating within the context of Anne Clifford's restoration and development. This lead me to infer that Pendragon must have been the only extant structure in the Forest of Mallerstang prior to the seventeenth century (HER 1995).

Figure 7.10: Gough Map, with Pendragon circled. c.1325-1350. Note difference in representation of Pendragon compared with other 'castle' sites.

The above image of Pendragon in the Gough Map (c.1395) shows that no other

sites of significance existed around Pendragon Castle before the map's creation. Furthermore, the icon for Pendragon is that of a house rather than a castle in comparison with other nearby castles, such as Appleby and Brougham (indicated on map, *Figure 7.10*), for example. This suggests its contemporary perception was different to that of a castle, regardless of its title.

On the 16th of July, 1309, Robert Clifford attained a license to crenellate his castles Pendragon and Brougham simultaneously:

> *"Mandate to make letters granting Robert...that he may crenellate his castles of Brougham and Pendragon, co. Westmorland."* (CCW 1309, p.291)

Brougham Castle appears depicted by a crenellated tower, though Pendragon is identified as a small gabled building without a crenellated tower. Crenellations here do not simply illustrate the architectural style, but rather show the intentions of use rather than appearance. This is demonstrated by the heavy crenellations of Hadrian's Wall (see *Figure 7.10*), which was ruinous by 1340.

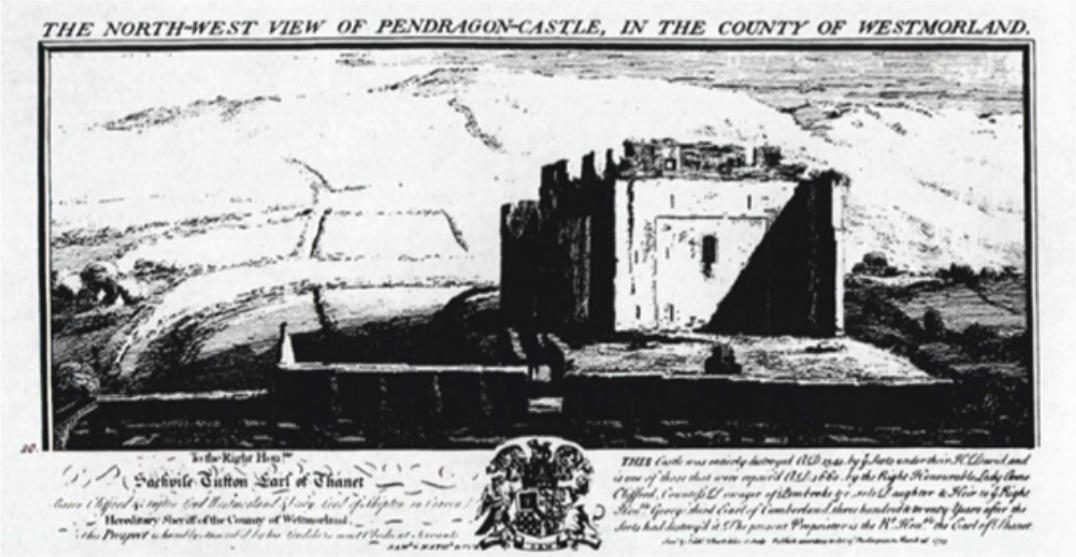


Figure 7.11: Buck Brothers sketch of Pendragon from 1739 (Binney et al 1993, p.239)

Figure 7.12: Buck Brothers Sketch of Brougham Castle for comparison (Source: public domain).

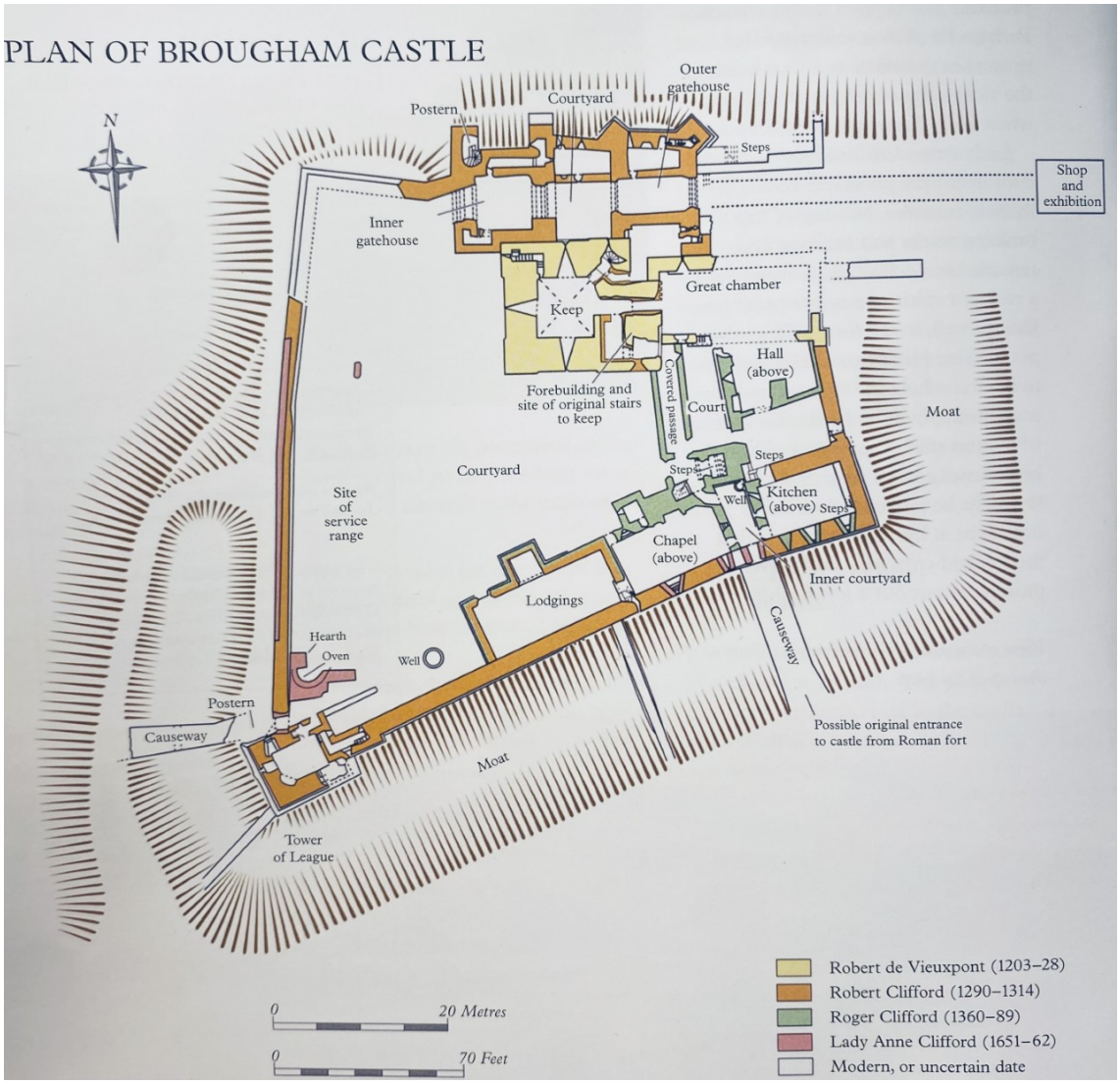


Figure 7.13: Layout of Brougham Castle, showing Robert Clifford's construction which far surpasses any construct at Pendragon (plan by English Heritage)

7.3.3 The British Rheged in Cumbria and the *Book of Taliesin*

Previous mentions of Pendragon Castle remain focused on the seventeenth-century renovations or simply its name change in 1309. As the documented historical narrative for this castle is nearly non-existent, I introduce the Welsh legendary connections to the area, particularly through Clifford's Marcher upbringing, providing an entirely new and much stronger connection between the Eden Valley and the

Pendragon title than previously realised.

Cumbria is closely tied with Wales in its Arthurian history, with the Rheged chiefdom inhabiting the land in its Early Medieval history and an ancestry of combined real and fictitious historical figures. Growing up on the Welsh border at Clifford Castle, Robert Clifford would have been familiar with the legends and stories from the Welsh *Book of Taliesin* as well as the *Mabinogion*, both of which far predate their written manuscript editions.

According to legend, Ambrosius, Uther's older brother, was actually referred to as simply "Pendragon", the name adopted by Uther after Ambrosius's death (Thorpe trans. Geoffrey of Monmouth *HRB* 1966, p.205-223). Geoffrey of Monmouth altered Ambrosius Aurelianus's character and name to create Ambrosius "Pendragon" as a relation to Uther (Rous and Rushton 2005 p.75). Ambrosius Aurelianus was a warrior mentioned by Gildas, and a figure who Arthurian scholars believe referred to a historical figure of Arthur (Henley and Byron Smith 2020; see Chapter Three). In Geoffrey's *HRB*, Merlin gives the name Pendragon to Uther, meaning 'chief dragon' or 'chief warrior' after witnessing a comet in the shape of a dragon's head (Bruce 1995). Afterwards, Uther had a golden dragon's head cast, which he carried on a pole into battle (*Vita Merlini* in Thorpe trans. 1966).

The *Book of Taliesin* mentions Urien, chief of the Rheged, who lived in the north-west of England, in the area later known as Cumberland, which was based around a central region in the Eden Valley (Mallerstang). According to legend, Urien was the brother of King Lot of Lothian, and they were married to Morgan le Fey and Morgause, both Arthur's half-sisters according to different sources. Their sons, Gawain and Owein (Yvain, in Chrétian's French Romances), become two of Arthur's most favoured knights of the Round Table (Bromwich 1986). In this particular Welsh legendary tradition, Urien's marriage to Morgan le Fey brought him within close relation to Uther Pendragon. Within this context, the link between Mallerstang and the title of Pendragon Castle could reference the etymological origin of Pendragon as "chief of the Britons", and Mallerstang was the central heart of the British Kingdom

of Rheged.

7.3.4 Pendragon as a Nostalgic, Medieval Folly Amidst the 'Cult of Arthur'

Robert Clifford was within the inner circle of Edward I's Cult of Arthur, Marshall of England, present at Edward's death in 1307, and charged with the task of mentoring the young Edward II in the first years of his reign (Prestwich 1997, p.302). In 1300, Robert Clifford renovated Brougham Castle, suggested as preparation for hosting Edward I there later that year (Prestwich 1988; RCHME 1993; Rees 1973). Documentation details Brougham's architectural development into a much larger, fortified castle. Construction also took place at Pendragon simultaneously (Brougham RCHME), and according to the survey of Brougham's architectural phases, both Brougham and Pendragon shared a similar design of a simple tower with three floors. These towers, similar to the Ardres Plan of early hall-houses (Chapter Two), consisted of ground floors with loop windows, a primary hall or chamber on the first floor, and another chamber on the second floor above (Clifford 1922). Though no records of Robert Clifford's renovations at Pendragon have been found, Anne Clifford's diary details her restorations that retained Pendragon's style similar to its original structure (although it was left ruinous after 1341 and described as such in 1539, Nichols 1883). The Buck Brothers' engraving from 1739, shown below (*Figure 7.11*), depicts Pendragon as a simple square Norman keep, though abandoned after Anne Clifford's death (1675) and left not fully intact (Binney 1993; RCHME).

These post-medieval sources in context suggest that Robert Clifford's renovations and building works maintained a nostalgic, archaic style of motte-and-bailey, featuring a small donjon with a guarderobe tower added for convenience and comfort (Binney 1993). Brougham continued to be expanded as a large quadrangular fortification in the contemporary style of Edward I's castles in Wales, whilst Pendragon remained relatively small, gaining some ancillary buildings, but otherwise

maintaining its appearance as a Norman tower.

As both sites were owned by Robert Clifford, and considering the simultaneous building works and the relative geographic closeness, I would argue that the renovations in 1300 were both driven by the visit of Edward I. Within this context, Pendragon was likely visited by Edward I and Robert Clifford, whether for hunting or as a small retreat, during this visit.

In considering the wider context surrounding Edward I's visit and Pendragon's renovations, Mallerstang's place within Edward's Cult of Arthur becomes apparent. In 1299, Edward I was victorious at Falkirk, where a Round Table was held the previous year. In 1298, Robert Clifford was also named the First Baron de Clifford and appointed as governor of Nottingham Castle by Edward I. The siege of Caerlaverock took place in 1300, and between 1299 and 1301, Edward I's correspondence with the pope attempted to claim overlordship in Scotland based upon Arthurian inheritance (Appendix F). Robert Clifford was one of Edward I's closest barons who signed the "Baron's Letter" in response to the pope's denial of Edward's claim. This Arthurian propaganda reached a peak in 1300, at the time of Robert Clifford and Edward I's time in Westmorland. Within this political setting, Pendragon Castle resembles an archaic retreat during the height of Edward I's Arthurian-based politics in Scotland.

7.3.5 Summary of Pendragon's Assessment

Pendragon Castle was not a necessary stronghold on the Stainmore Pass, and unlike Appleby and Brougham, Pendragon was not necessary for connecting Carlisle with York and other important sites further south (Brougham RCHME). In 1323, Edward II's Fine Rolls mention the "castle of Pendragun and the chase of Malrestang" (RCHME Binney 1993), indicating a change in the status of Pendragon's surrounding landscape. Previously the "forest of Malrestang", its new designation as a chase reveals a shift in importance and cultivation of the site after crenellation.

As Pendragon's surrounding landscape became designated as a chase, it seems likely that the site had become a hunting retreat by 1323. The archaic tower re-

mained significant, as Roger Clifford remained in close social proximity to the king. His power and position among the élite would surely have driven his architectural motivations, ensuring his architecture was impressive. Pendragon's continued minimalist structure, within its improved hunting landscape projects the appearance of a medievalized archaic folly. It was certainly equal to a folly during Anne Clifford's ownership and antiquated refurbishments, used and enjoyed for its archaic simplicity (Clifford 1922).

This site has scope far beyond the study provided here, though continuing this research would last well beyond the remit of time allocated for this thesis. Research into Scottish records during the reign of David, during Moreville's ownership of the site, could potentially provide some information missing in English documentation (Constable 2003 p.189). Future archaeological excavation of the motte and within the tower itself would provide the greatest understanding of the medieval castle life at Pendragon and its role as a fourteenth-century Arthurian retreat. Further soil sampling and landscape archaeology could also prove beneficial, particularly within the potential "ponds" (RCHME Binney 1993) in the bailey. Further archaeological analysis at nearby related sites such as Brough, Appleby and Brougham could also prove beneficial for exploring sites that were renovated, owned and frequented by the same owners, baronial family and their élite guests.

7.4 Caernarfon Castle (Gwynedd)

Caernarfon Castle has long been the subject of academic discussions in which its architectural features and location have been affiliated with Constantine and Welsh legend (Wheatley 2004; 2010; Taylor 1974; Loomis 1947; 1953; Morris 1998). This case study aims to reassess previous arguments relating Caernarfon's architecture to these intangible influences, while also introducing significant new information from the wider context surrounding Caernarfon's construction. Combined with my reassessment of previous arguments, my new addition of wider contextual information and Arthurian Romance provide a new perspective of the extent to which Romance

impacted Edward I's construction of Caernarfon Castle.

7.4.1 Background and Previous Work

It has been argued that Edward I's construction was intended to establish the "old city of the Emperor Constantine", known as Arfon, within the centre of his "new order" in the ancient "centre of Gwynedd" (Taylor 1986, p.77). The original castle, *"gaer in Arfon"* was earth and timber, built by Hugh of Chester during the reign of William (Rufus) II, with the Roman fort, *Segontium*, approximately seven-hundred yards away (Taylor 1986, p.78). According to Nennius, Segontium was the site of Constantine's tomb, and was also presumed to be where Constantine's father, the Roman Emperor (AD 383-388) Magnus Maximus lived (Kenyon 1990; Loomis 1947; Wheatley 2010; Ashbee 2010). Maximus featured prominently in the Welsh *Mabinogion* as Macsen Wledig (Kenyon and Williams 2010; Wheatley 2004, p.112-115). Edward I began construction at Caernarfon Castle in 1283 after the alleged remains of Maximus were found at Segontium. Edward's claim to Caernarfon was made even stronger when Roman coins were found at the start of construction, which were interpreted as the seeds of gold planted by Constantine, documented by Nennius (Loomis 1947; Wheatley 2004, p.81; Morris trans. Nennius 1980, p.14). Imperial connections are also linked to Caernarfon's Eagle Tower, adding to the other features of Caernarfon's *Romanitas*.

According to Taylor (1986), Edward's construction at Arfon was a statement claiming his "reconquest" of Wales, particularly within Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's central territory of Gwynedd, as the location of Caernarfon was not just newly-acquired land, but was known to be one of the four cornerstones of Welsh dominion of the Princes of Gwynedd (Swallow 2019, p.159-160; Prydydd y Moch poet 1215). Arthurian heritage was powerful in Welsh folklore and heritage, and Edward I's "usurpation" of the long-standing Arthurian heritage in Wales by appearing to adopt, or "absorb Wales and its legendary past" (Wheatley 2010, p.137) through architecture, as discussed in relation to Norman conquest architecture, is another

avenue of influence offered for Caernarfon's construction.

The bulk of this study will feature the primary arguments for Caernarfon's architectural design, its Imperial influences and Arthurian connections offered in previous academic research. For each of these topics, I provide a new reassessment based on the information discussed thus far and my new methodology to gain a wider and more thorough understanding of Edward I's motivations and influences behind Caernarfon Castle and his Welsh propaganda. This is followed by an original discussion of Caernarfon's structuration to assess gendered spaces and features of archaism, identifying palatial uses of architecture typically identified as a fortress.

Previous Research and New Reassessments: Banded Polygonal Towers

Roman architecture heavily influenced Byzantine architecture, and Roman and Byzantine elements are both identifiable in medieval English architecture, particularly that of Edward I (Stokestad 2003, p.39). The dominant idea in most discussions of Caernarfon Castle is the combination of banded masonry and polygonal towers, claimed to be symbolic of the polygonal and banded masonry in the fifth-century Theodosian Walls of Constantinople, providing a dramatic display of "Christian imperialism" (Wheatly 2010 p.129; Coldstream 2016, p.56; Swallow 2019, p.160; Platt 1980, p.73; Taylor 1963; Taylor 1985, p.26; Thompson 1999, p.125; Kenyon 2010, p.153). The style of masonry applied at Caernarfon is not incorporated into any of Edward I's other castles in Wales, and thus remains an intriguing mystery.

Critics have countered this idea, arguing that an architectural reference to Constantinople would have been too esoteric, suggesting instead, a more generic overtone of *Romanitas* rather than a specific reference to Theodosian Walls (Wheatley 2010, p.130; Wheatley 2004, p.112; Liddiard 2010, p.194). Noble visitors and crusaders would likely have been able to make these connections though, and would have been Edward I's target audience. Carolingian and French predecessors of the English castle used architectural allusions to the Roman Empire to display false historicity as well (Creighton 2012, p.83), though the impact this would have on the native

Welsh remains an important question.

I suggest that evidence for Edward's architectural influences is in his well-documented implementation of Byzantine concentric architecture (Stokestad 2005, p.98), of which the earliest example was the Theodosian Walls. The circular and D-shaped towers at Edward I's other Welsh castles have been cause for debate in scholarship, as the polygonal design is directly reminiscent of Byzantine architecture, though the majority of towers along the Theodosian Walls are actually square rather than polygonal (Fradley 2006, p.165-178).

Figure 7.14: Caernarfon Castle (Image: public domain)

Figure 7.15: Octagonal tower at the Theodosian Wall, Istanbul, Turkey (site of Constantinople) Note pink hues in the masonry banding (LizCoughlan, Stock Photo, February 2015)

Polygonal towers can be found at other sites in England (Conisborough Castle and Orford Castle), as can banded masonry (Dover Castle and The White Tower). The White Tower's bands run vertically, while Dover's match Caernarfon's thick horizontal bands towards the bottom half of the walls. The key feature in Edward I's architecture at Caernarfon seems to be the intention of standing out from other castles in Wales and England with the combination of banded masonry and polygonal tower design. This reassessment adds to previous discussions that Caernarfon's masonry is made more unique by the pink hue in the stone banding, which can be seen in the image above (*Figure 7.14*). Other towers with banded masonry are consistently shades of grey. The pink and white bands of Caernarfon are more similar to Roman architecture and the masonry in the Theodosian Walls, as Romanesque banding was made of alternating bands of brick and stone or cement for maximum wall strength (Stokestad 2003 p.1, 39). Caernarfon manages to recall Romanesque masonry using pink limestone rather than brick. Other towers across the Chan-

nel incorporate banded masonry, such as the large drum towers at Angers (Platt 1980, p.50), and seems to to be a trend implemented by both Christian and Muslim castle-builders (Stokestad 2003, p.39).

Figure 7.16: Banded Masonry at Angers Castle, Maine-et-Loire, walls from the 13th century. (Image: https://www.anjou-loire-valley.co.uk/diffusio/visit)

Previous Research and New Reassessments: The Eagle Tower

The eagle as an image of kingship reaches far back into the history of the Roman Empire. As such, Caernarfon's Eagle Tower, topped with three eagle statues, has been discussed as a connection with Roman symbolism. Another theory is the connection of the eagle imagery with that of the *Dream of Macsen* from the Welsh *Mabinogion* (Taylor 1974; Wheatley 2010; Morris 1998). The incorporation of eagle symbolism in addition to the banded masonry and polygonal towers appears at the first instance, to be a direct allusion to Roman architecture and power. These ideas have scope to be explored further, and in fact, must be discussed further in order to claim that the *Mabinogion* was an inspiration for constructing the Eagle Tower. From the start, issues with the Eagle Tower's medieval implications arise as Peers (1933) claims that its name only appears as the Eagle Tower from the sixteenth century. This was the only tower to have retained its name since the

sixteenth century survey, as Caernarfon's towers were continually renamed after their construction (Taylor 1986; Peers 1933, p.5, 24). The tower was rumored as the birthplace of Edward II ("of Caernarfon"), however construction of the tower had not been completed by his birth in 1284 (Peers 1933, p.5). By 1316, the Eagle Tower was only comprised of three floors and a temporary roof, still lacking its three turrets and iconic eagle statues (E101/486). Later the same year, the tower was referred to as the "Great Tower", which Taylor (1963) indicates was in its completed phase with four floor levels and three turrets, each topped with an eagle statue, in 1322 (Taylor 1963).

Further discussion of the eagles at Caernarfon have been in relation to Edward I's close alliances with Savoy and Castile, with the three-turreted tower on the Castilian arms, and the eagle representing the House of Savoy and its Roman lineage (Cox 1974; Taylor 1963, p.23).

Edward I's connections with Savoy run deep at Caernarfon, from the significant number of Savoyard builders employed to construct his Welsh castles, to the master mason, James of St George, to the appointed justicar and Edward I's close friend, Otto von Grandison (Prestwich 1997, p.209; Coldstream 2010; Taylor 1983; Keen 2005). A certain "Stephen" was even employed as a Savoyard painter to decorate the royal chamber at Rhuddlan Castle (Prestwich 1997, p.209). Before Edward I, James of St George was previously employed by the Counts Peter II and Philip of Savoy (CADW), and would have been very familiar with Continental uses of banded castle masonry. Taylor (1986) has suggested that the Eagle Tower was originally constructed with Otto von Grandison in mind (Taylor 1986, p.79). The turrets and eagles were completed by Edward II after the death of Edward I, though they may have been a part of Edward I and James of St George's original plans for Caernarfon's design (Ashbee 2010). It remains uncertain, though, as Edward II clearly had his own intentions for design and self-fashioning, indicated by adding the statue of himself above the King's Gate (Taylor 1984; Prestwich 1982). Edward I did, in fact, design the first seal of the new Township of Caernarfon in 1284 to

depict an eagle splayed above a leopard (Pears 1933, p.63), almost certainly alluding to Segontium and 'Arfon's' Roman past as well as the House of Savoy.

Another connection to the eagle that does not appear in current castle studies is the "Honour of the Eagle" granted to Edward I by Henry III, and passed to Edward II and Edward III, remaining with the Crown until 1373 (Peers 1933, p24; VCH Shropshire). I have found documents for property repairs at a windmill in Willingdon and Pevensey Castle, suggesting this refers to the "Rape of Pevensey, Sussex" ("John de Vynterselle, bailiff of the honour of the eagle"). To be bailiff over Willingdon and Pevensey would indicate jurisdiction over the Rape of Pevensey. The connection with "eagle" in the title has been suggested as a reference to the third bailiff of the Rape of Pevensey appointed by Henry I, Gilbert de l'Aigle. Though indeed a connection to eagle symbolism, this seems doubtful as a motivation for the design of Caernarfon's Eagle Tower.

Previous Research and New Reassessments: Usurping Arthurian Ancestry

The entire geographical area of Gwynedd is steeped in Arthurian legend, already centuries old by the time of Edward I's conquest (c.1284). This rich tradition of legend provided a great deal of source material for Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace, and Chrétian de Troyes, as Romance arose out of Southern France (Taylor 1974, p.2; *Castilarium Anglicanum*). Wheatley (2010) and Loomis (1947) explore how the nearby ruinous Roman fort, Segontium, impacted legend and Romance. Segontium's spelling variations date as far back as Nennius's writings in the ninth century, gradually shifting into "Sinadon" and "Snauedun", closely resembling Snowdonia, a central region of intrigue and adventure in Romance and legend (Wheatley 2010, p.136). Segontium has been called the "old Caernarfon", and was the centre of Gwynedd (Taylor 1963, p.77). The author of *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* (twelfth century), documented that Hugh of Chester built many castles and palaces during the reign of William (Rufus) II, noting that the castle, Arfon, was constructed in

the "old city of Emperor Constantine" (Taylor 1963, p.77). Taylor has argued that Edward I used this to support his claim of "reconquest" rather than "new gain" (Taylor 1963, p.78), using his Roman and Arthurian heritage here (Swallow 2019, p.158) as he tried to do in Scotland in 1301 (Appendix F).

Snowdonia is listed specifically as the location of Edward I's Round Table of 1284, at Nevyn, held in celebration of Edward II's birth and his Welsh victory. Edward I's connection with Nevyn has remained unclear and unexplored, as sources tend to assume it was just an important port town (Williams 1871; Wheatley 2001; Remfry 2016, p.48-51). As was his custom with other political ceremonies, Edward I would have carefully selected the location for its value far beyond trade. In addition to previous research of Arthurian heritage at Caernarfon, I add Nevyn to the discussion as an area of Arthurian significance within close geographical proximity to Caernarfon, along with the wider region of northwest Wales. I have found that Nevyn's significance becomes apparent through Gerald's claim that Merlin's prophesies were originally found in Nevyn, prior to their documentation by Geoffrey of Monmouth (Howell 1998, p.259). The *Prophetia Merlini* (c.1130) was Geoffrey of Monmouth's earliest work, and is typically included in editions of his *Vitae Merlini* and *Historia Regum Britanniae* (Padel 2000; 1991; Thorpe 1966).

Gerald of Wales's pseudo-historical works followed in the footsteps of Geoffrey of Monmouth in the mid-twelfth century. His work was largely accepted among his contemporary audience, as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB* was still very popular and revered as historically factual (Radice and Thorpe 1978, p.76). Most significantly, I suggest that Merlin's prophesy of the duelling dragons would have been important for legitimising Edward I's authority in Wales. In this narrative, King Vortigern summons the young Merlin for his prophetic abilities to explain why his tower continues to collapse during construction on the hill, Dinas Emrys (hillfort in central Gwynedd). Merlin explains that beneath the hill are two fighting dragons, a red dragon symbolising the British people and white dragon symbolising invaders. Merlin prophesies the red dragon's ultimate victory, interpreted as Welsh power

over invaders. The red dragon has remained a symbol of the Welsh, depicted on the Welsh flag, and this dragon was presumably the emblem from which the title Pendragon was formed. As Pen means "head" or "chief", and the dragon symbolised the British, Pendragon would translate to Chief of the British.

After Vortigern's death, Dinas Emrys passed to Ambrosius Aurelianus, Uther's brother, known as Emrys Wledig in the Welsh tradition. As such, Ambrosius and Dinas Emrys were closely linked in Welsh legend. Wledig is also the surname of Macsen in the *Mabinogion's* "Dream of Macsen Wledig". "Macsen" was the Welsh version of "Magnus Maximus", the father of Constantine the Great, who resided at Segontium. The skeleton of Magnus Maximus was allegedly found at Segontium, which influenced Edward I's construction of Caernarfon Castle (Loomis 1947). At Edward I's request, this skeleton was reburied, again publicizing his connections with Arthurian figures through burial ceremonies (Taylor 1986, p.78; Loomis 1947; Colvin et al 1963, p.70).

From the medieval Welsh perspective, Edward I had found and buried the skeleton of Macsen Wledig, Arthur's great grandfather, and constructed a castle atop Constantine's seat of power after English victory. Whilst the castle was under construction, Edward I's Round Table tournament at Nevyn exploited his legitimacy as the leader of the British recalling Merlin's prophesies. Furthermore, it was during this Round Table that Edward's knights identified themselves as Arthurian knights from Romances (Swallow 2019, p.165; Martin 2019), and received the powerful relic of Arthur's crown (*"diadema Britanniae"*) (Vale 1982, p.19; Warren 2000, p.39), thereby creating his own version of Arthur's court, of which he held the crown. Edward II's birth at Caernarfon would have been a further display of inheritance of power over the Welsh, as Edward I situated his lineage at the seat of Arthur's grandfathers.

Edward's victory over the Welsh was recorded by Lokwijk Van Velthem as a narrative in which Edward I descended into a cave that contained Arthur's bones when the fighting had stopped (Prestwich 1997, p.121). Though fictional, this chronicle

narrative further exploits Edward's usurpation of Arthur's power, specifically using contemporary themes of power transference, received by a power far beyond that of Llywelyn as Prince of Wales. This deep connection between imperial Segontium and Edward I's Arthurian ancestry (Wheatley 2010; Putter 2000) are too frequently absented from discussions and studies of Caernarfon Castle, with the focus instead remaining on the banded masonry and polygonal towers. It is only through this new, wider context of Roman and Arthurian connection, and through studying Welsh legend's impact on medieval Romance, that one can begin to see Caernarfon as, ultimately, a Romantic symbol of power.

7.4.2 Applying Architectural Analysis to Identify Queens' Spaces and Appropriated Nostalgia

My access analysis in Chapter Five showed that female chambers and spaces were not as often constructed in the deepest castle spaces as previous academic sources have suggested (Chapter Five), and instead, were primarily found in less defensive palatial structures for the queen. This contradicts our current defining concept of female castle space altogether. As such, Edward I's fortifications, or "castles of war" (Taylor 1974, p.17) in Wales are unprecedented in their incorporation of queens' chambers. The provision of queen's spaces within a 'fortress' reveals important information about queenship, queens' identity and gender roles, and also the use and intentions of Caernarfon's structuration beyond its martial exterior, which appears to be highly domestic, contrary to previous theories that domesticity was added into castles during political stability long after periods of conquest (see Chapter Two).

Ashbee's study of domestic chambers in Edward I's Welsh castles (2010) has revealed that the queen's chambers were constructed adjacent to, and in similar fashion to Edward I's own chambers, and neither were connected to the hall (Ashbee 2010, p.83). Further difference from previous, mid thirteenth-century domestic spaces, these residential chambers were internally compartmented rather than single structures, separate within the curtain walls. This was likely for increased defense.

At Caernarfon and Conwy, domestic chambers were inside barbicans or gatehouses directly opposite the primary entrance gatehouses (Ashbee 2010; Taylor 1986).

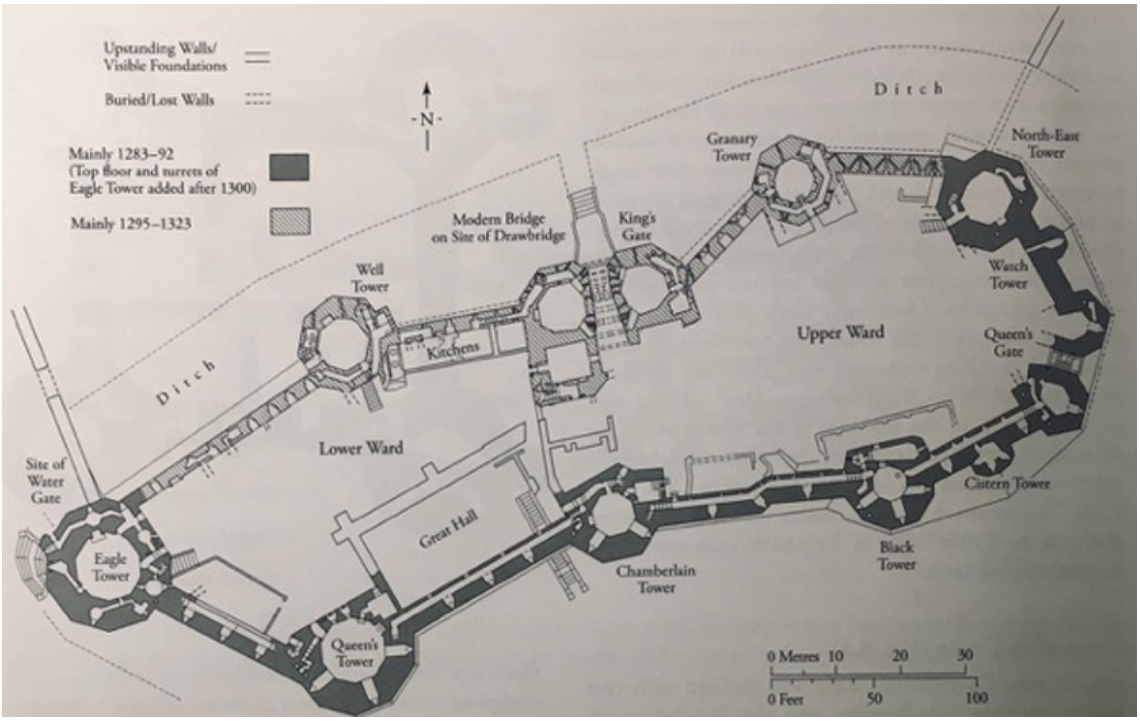


Figure 7.17: Caernarfon Castle from Ashbee 2010 in Williams and Kenyon 2010, p.78.

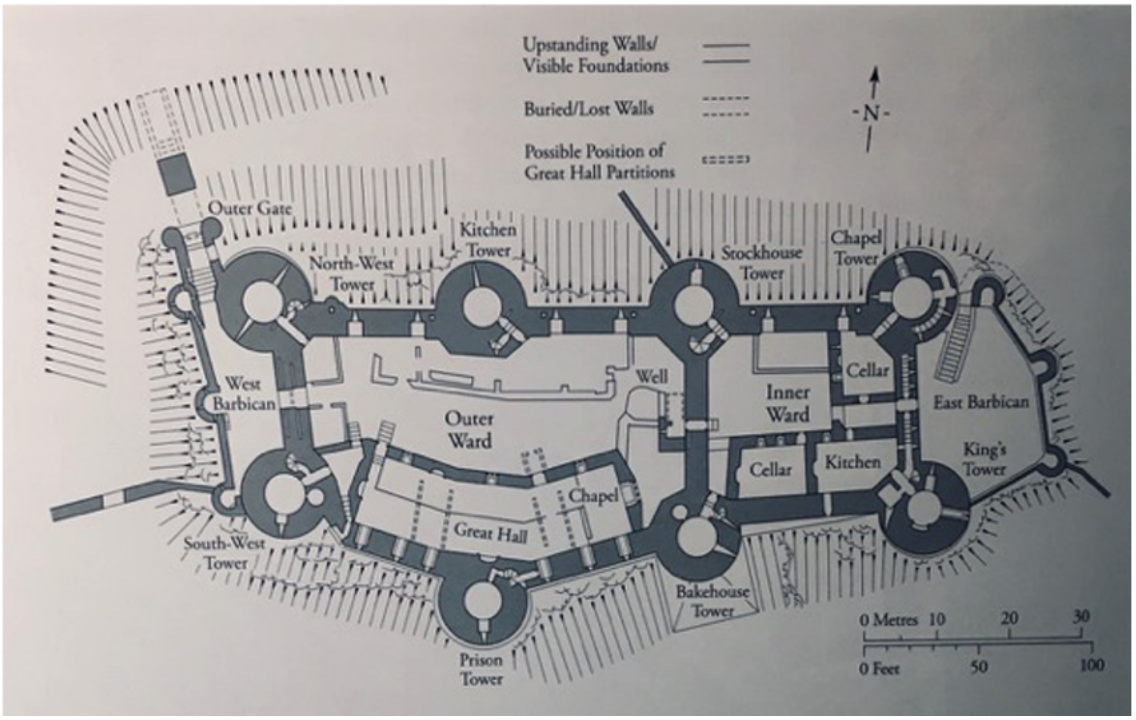


Figure 7.18: Conwy Castle from Ashbee 2010 in Williams and Kenyon 2010, p.76.

Caernarfon Castle was built around the old motte, which was within the "Upper Ward" with the residential chambers, and the Lower Ward contained the Great Hall, shown in the image above (*Figure 7.17*). The Queen's Gate was also in this Upper Ward and included the postern gate, opposite the main entrance through the King's Gate, which was situated directly between the Upper and Lower Wards through secured thresholds (Taylor 1974; Peers 1933, p.5). Conwy Castle's arrangement is similar to Caernarfon's, as the Western Ward contained the Great Hall and larger foundations for public ancillary buildings, whilst the Eastern Ward contained smaller chambers and household spaces (shown in *Figure 7.18*). Similar ground floor great halls were constructed in the public, Western and Lower, wards at Conwy and Caernarfon, both with steps leading into a below-ground cellar, located beside daises. The king and queen's chambers, in the private Eastern and Upper wards, are thought to be on the first floor, attached to the eastern gate, overlooking a garden beyond the gate. This spatial arrangement directly reflects the queen's spaces overlooking gardens at earlier, mid thirteenth-century palatial sites (see Chapter

Five). A garden was also designed at Rhuddlan Castle, with a fishpond surrounded by seats, further attesting to Edward I's chivalric and gendered architecture within his conquest architecture (Prestwich 1997, p.211; Colvin et al 1963, p.324).

The garden at Conwy was cultivated by Castillian and Savoyard gardeners, showing further allied connections within Edward I's Welsh castles (Taylor 1986). This garden space was outside the walls of the Eastern Ward, but directly accessible from the queen's chamber above. Separate walls and the moat maintained defense for the garden, again, similar to Caernarfon, where a large garden was directly beyond the postern gate. Caernarfon's garden was isolated between moat and the king's mill pool, resembling an island nestled between the back of the town walls and the River Seiont. The garden is labeled as the "Prince's Garden" in ground plans, and the nearest gate was called the "Gate towards the Prince's Garden" in 1343 (Taylor 1986, p.88; Swallow 2019, p.157). This gate, containing residential chambers, was not actually labeled as the Queen's Gate until the seventeenth century, as a document in 1620 lists it as the "Pike Tower" (Taylor 1986, p.88; Swallow 2019, p.157; BHO E101/486/29).

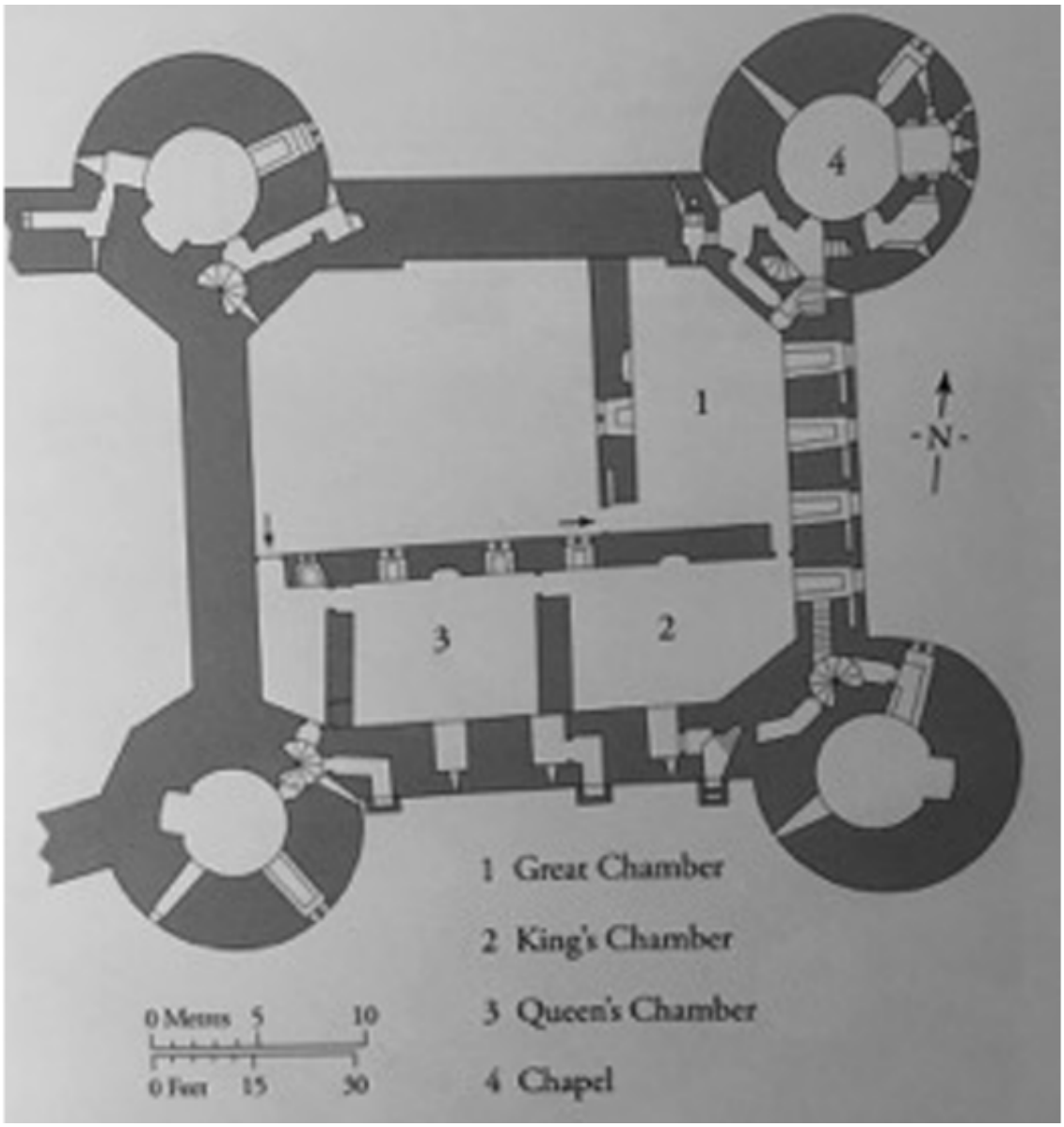


Figure 7.19: King and Queen's presumed chambers at Conwy (Ashbee 2010, p.77)

A swan nest was added at Caernarfon into the king's mill pool in 1304-1305 (Taylor 1986, p.92; E101/486/16), and whilst swanneries were standard in royal landscapes, the contemporary Romantic popularity of the *Swan Knight*, as well as Edward I's Swan Feast in 1306, brings his swanneries into a more Romantic perspective.

This layout at Caernarfon and Conwy is different than both Harlech Castle and Beaumaris Castle, of concentric quadrangular design, where the king and queen's residential chambers, as well as separate halls, were located in the only gatehouses,

which were main entrances and presumably more vulnerable than other more interior spaces within the castle. This is shown in the image below, which also resembles the structural layout of Bodiam Castle from a century later (*Figures 5.12* and *5.13* in Chapter Five).

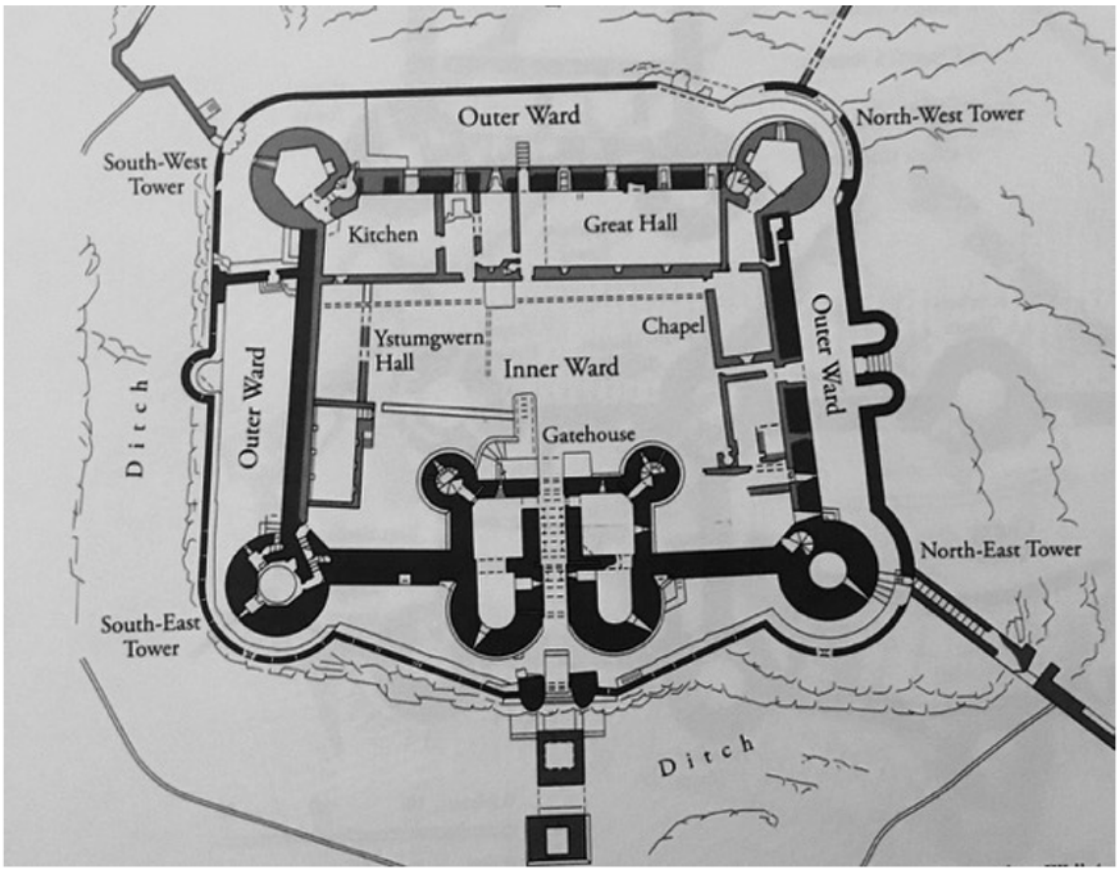


Figure 7.20: Layout of Harlech Castle, from Williams and Kenyon 2010, p.45.

Unlike the queen's halls and queen's chambers labelled directly as such in earlier expenditure reports, the queen had no apparent personal connection to the Queen's Tower (unlike the Queen's Gate), which was near the great hall in the public Lower Ward.

Taylor (1984) and Coldstream (2009) present conflicting views regarding whether such similarities are attributed to having the same builder, or whether the castle patrons, in this case, Edward I and Eleanor of Castile, determined their architectural

designs (Coldstream 2009; Swallow 2019, p.158). I argue that the palatial design should be attributed to Edward I, as it was certainly by his motives that timber halls were constructed at both of these sites. These halls reflected those of the Welsh princes, and would have created Caernarfon and Conwy into reappropriated Welsh palaces. Furthermore, I suggest that detailed future study of the irregular shapes of Caernarfon and Conwy would be beneficial for further understanding Edward I's use of these sites as Welsh palaces. Edward I's castles in Wales are known for their concentric designs, but the most renowned castles in Conwy and Caernarfon take the irregular shapes seen in native Welsh designs (*Figure 7.21* below).

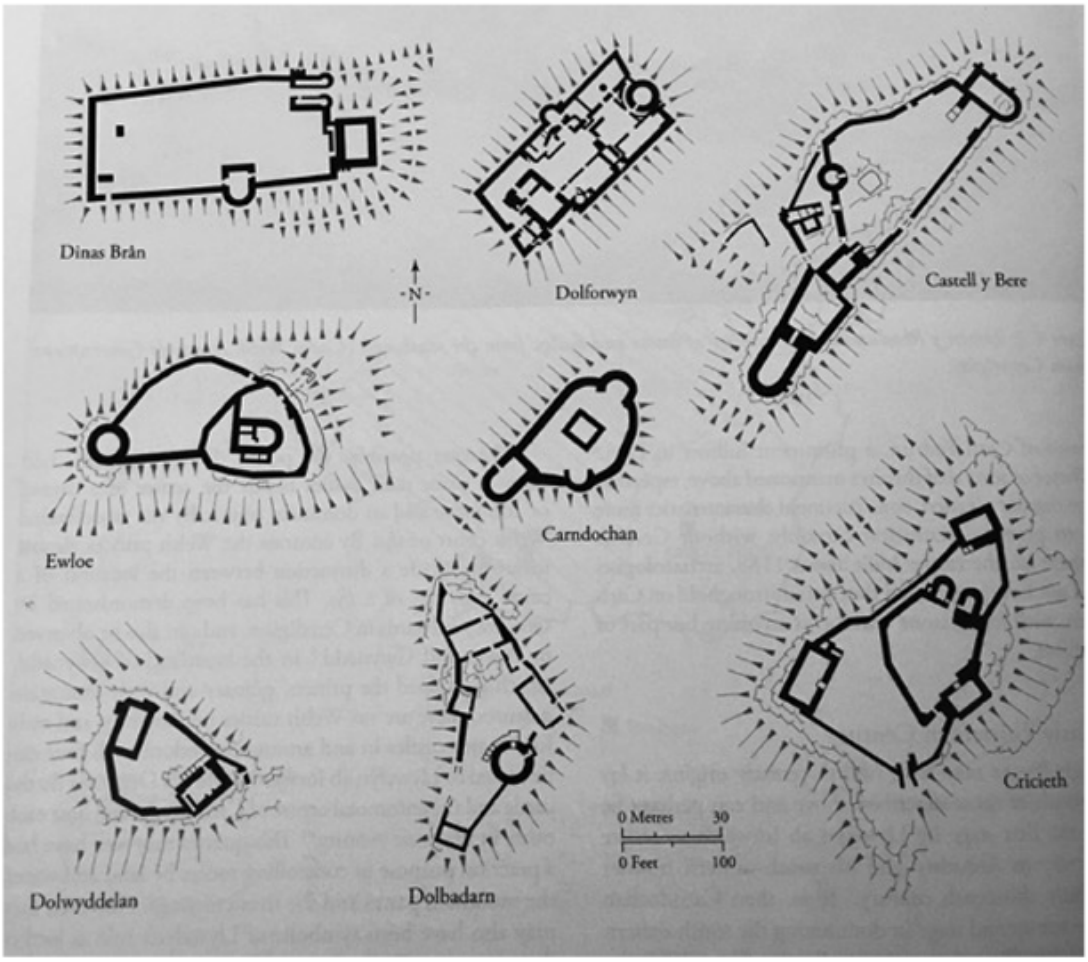


Figure 7.21: Welsh castle layouts (Williams and Kenyon 2010, p.30) Note similarity to Caernarfon, and difference with concentric castles such as Harlech

Archaeological and architectural survey has shown, based on roof scarring, that Caernarfon (like Conwy) was constructed with a large ground floor hall (Fradley 2006; Mathieu 1999). This is significant, as architecturally separate ground floor halls were more vulnerable within the castle walls than first floor or tower halls and were primarily used for display (Chapter Five). This would seem an enigmatic design for a "castle of war" (Taylor 1986, p.75). According to research on the hearth (Wood 1965, p.147), a separate ground floor hall with central hearth would have been a century outdated by the 1280s. Conwy Castle had three halls, according to Edward I's expenditure (Taylor 1986, p.54-56). One hall was allocated to the justicar, Otto von Grandison, then we see details of the king's hall and the "aula

principis", or Prince's Hall. The Prince's Hall was in fact, Llywelyn's timber hall which had been located along the southern town wall, indicated in the image below (Steane 2003, p.56).

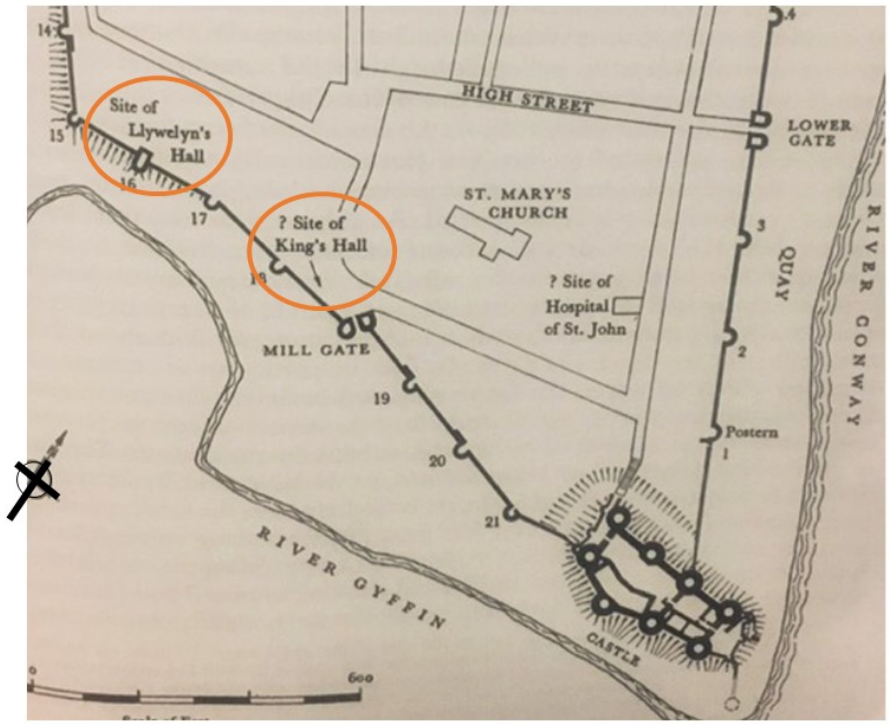


Figure 7.22: Conwy's Town Walls, showing the King's Hall and Llywelyn's Hall; indicated along the southern wall (Steane 2003, p.56).

The Prince's Hall listed in Edward I's expenditure reveals that Edward had taken Llywelyn's hall into his own construction. Later reference to the Prince's Hall states that Edward II had it moved to Caernarfon (Prestwich 1981, p.321), where we also see listings of a hall for Otto von Grandison, the Welsh princes, and the king. All of these halls were located within the town, beyond the castle's curtain walls at both Caernarfon and Conwy. Edward I's construction of individual halls outside of the castle walls displayed his connections with Savoy and Otto von Grandison, and more importantly, displayed the successful English conquest of Wales by taking Llywelyn's

hall symbolic of his authority. Edward I's display of reappropriated architecture and architectural style echos that of the earlier Norman Conquest in England, further defining the English castle by adaptions of cultural nostalgia.

7.4.3 Summary of Caernarfon's Assessment

Though the site of Caernarfon Castle has been extensively researched over the last seventy years (Loomis 1947; Swallow 2021), this case study has brought new perspectives into the narrative, connecting Caernarfon within its wider geographical context, steeped in archaic legend. The works of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and doubtless earlier sources, have intertwined imperial legend with Arthurian lineage, culminating in Edward I's exotic architectural display at Caernarfon in what was Constantine's seat of power and a cornerstone for the Welsh princes. Edward I's appropriation of propaganda in the wider region of Gwynedd was targeted at an audience heavily driven by legend and heritage. As a product of Romanticized chivalric culture himself, Edward I relied on the ancestral stories and Romances instilled in him from a young age by his mother, Eleanor of Provence (Chapter Five).

By the time Edward I constructed Caernarfon Castle, the Roman connections and symbolism in the area would have been perceived as part of the ancestry of Arthur (Wheatley 2010; Paphitis 2014; Swallow 2019). This has been discussed in relation to the Nine Worthies symbolism with Arthur, Alexander, and Constantine grouped to form part of English heroic national identity. Other studies have mentioned the combined heritage of Constantine and Arthur, merging imperial and Romantic influence, though this is only discussed in accordance with Edward I's larger motivations within the region rather than how this was translated into his castle design. This study has produced an original structural assessment of gendered spaces and landscape spaces within the castle's architecture to discuss the intentions within the castle beyond its fortified and banded walls. Further originality and significance lies in my discussion of Edward I's reuse of Llywelyn's timber halls, and his own ground floor halls, constructed to display usurped authority.

I have added Nevyn and the Round Table tournament into this discussion, as it was a significant display of specifically Arthurian power, intended to show the Welsh that Edward I was indeed Arthur's heir. Furthermore, the selection of Nevyn is imperative, though not discussed in previous work, as the prophesies of Merlin were, according to Gerald of Wales, found there specifically. The prophesy of the two dragons, in particular, held great significance for Edward I, in demonstrating Welsh defeat within their own history. As a contemporary of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace, his word would have been believed, especially among the Welsh audience who already perceived Arthur as a messianic figure. In assessing Caernarfon Castle's wider geographical and political context, the site is identifiable as one of immense Chivalric and legendary power, combining pan-European architectural styles and historical allusions broadly recognized beyond England as a centre of power made stronger through its renowned legendary traditions.

7.5 Warwick Castle (Warwickshire)

Warwick Castle has drawn intrigue historically through its connections with legend and Romance, and its display of idealistic castle features and towers (Goodall 2011, p.297). This popularity has increased in recent history through its transformation into a medieval tourist destination by Merlin Entertainment, though much of the medieval fabric has been covered by eighteenth and nineteenth-century architecture. This site has been selected for this case study based on its distinct name association with the medieval Romance, as well as other academic suggestions that the Earls of Warwick intentionally associated themselves with the Romance (Thompson 1987, p.77; Ditmas 1966c; Liu 2005; Goodall 2011, p.298-291). This study aims to explore features of the castle and its wider socio-geographical context to discover visible, tangible, and direct connections to the Romance constructed after it was written. The following sections provide brief background information on the Romance itself, followed by an assessment of previous research on the castle, a discussion of the deep connections between the Beauchamp ancestry and fictional characters, and finally,

an assessment of tangible emulations of these Romantic connections and the extent to which the Romance can be identified within the castle's architecture.

7.5.1 Previous Research and the Romance of *Gui de Warewic*

It has become generally accepted that the Earls of Warwick share connections with the French Romance, *Gui de Warewick*, later anglicised into *Guy of Warwick*. This connection is not widely known, however, and seems primarily assumed because of the title. Scholarship remains inconclusive as to the date of the earliest "Anglo-Norman" *Gui de Warewick* Romance, with possible suggestions ranging in date from the late twelfth century through the first half of the thirteenth century (Goodall 2011, p.297-298). The Romance has been categorized as an "ancestral Romance", written to politically and socially bolster the earldom of Warwick, in celebration of the union of Margery d'Oilly of Wallingford and Henry de Newburgh of Warwick (c.1200) (Crane 1984, p.15-16). Contrary opinion argues instead that the manuscript's absence of specified patronage, vague settings and errors in lineage "suggest that these Romances were designed and written for a wider audience than a single family" (Keats-rohan et al 2015, p.75; Crane 1984, p.17).

In the narrative, the protagonist, Guy, is the son of the steward of Wallingford Castle, originally brought to Warwick as a cupbearer for Earl Rohaud of Warwick. He falls deeply in love with the earl's daughter, Felice, who agrees to marry him only once he has proven himself. Upon his return to the castle, Felice refuses him again, with the condition that he prove himself to be the best knight of all, which led to his adventures through Europe and Holy Land. During this 'quest', he is offered brides for his victories, which he refuses, and upon his return to England, he rescues Northumberland from the Dun Cow (Wiggins and Field 2007). He finally arrives back at Warwick and marries Felice. After just two weeks, during which she conceives their son, Rheinbrun, Guy realizes that he spent too many years seeking his lady rather than God's divine calling. He then sets off on a pilgrimage of atonement, during which he saves Constantinople from the Saracen giant warrior

and saves England from the Pagans by defeating the Danish giant, Colebrand. He finally returns to Warwick disguised as a pilgrim, receiving food from Felice without revealing his identity. He secludes himself as a hermit in a nearby cave, and after a vision of his imminent death, he summons Felice with a ring to prove his identity, and she dies only a few days later (Ailes 2007).

In this Romance, one can identify key elements from each of Chrétian's Arthurian Romances. Like *Yvain*, Guy also rescues a lion from a dragon, who becomes a loyal companion. In *Percéval*, Gawain receives a ring to take as a message to a damsel's lover in the court of King Arthur, thereby identifying Gawain as her messenger. The ring is in fact a theme in many Romances by which characters reveal their identity. This is certainly the case in *Tristan*, as well as a way for Yvain to prove his loyalty as Lady Laudine's lover, and magic rings are used early in the narrative to hide Yvain's identity, making him invisible (Chrétian de Troyes 2005f, p.309). In Chrétian's *Erec*, Erec's need to save his honourable reputation for becoming too absorbed by love for his lady is similar to Guy's divine calling, and *Lancelot* and the *Swan Knight* also disguise their identity to prove their honour in tournaments. *Cligés* must prove himself and his chivalry across the Continent before gaining admittance into Arthur's court, during which he demonstrates fidelity and loyalty, as is the driving factor in *Guy's* narrative (Kibler 2005; Ailes 2007).

Guy was incorporated into the Arthurian corpus of knights, comprised of both Romantic and legendary figures, and his character was famed on account of his story at the intersection of history and Romance. Like Arthur, this blurred boundary between history and fiction boosted Guy's renown above that of other knights (Griffith 2007). For this, he was valued as a hero of English national identity, essential to England's cultural heritage. Whilst Guy was renowned as a hero of Romance in the East and across Europe, he reached his highest esteem in England. Guy's supranational ambition for honour and the Crusades, his adventures align precisely with the powerful image envisioned by the English élite, especially Edward I, as well as the Church. The Romance's hagiographic quality and Guy's exemplary chivalry

boosted the Romance to a standard parallel with '*vitae*' manuscripts (Griffith 2007; Ailes 2007, p.26).

7.5.2 The Legendary Beauchamp 'Ancestry'

Guy of Warwick was a strong, exemplary icon of English national identity and chivalric ambition. Whilst the extent of his influence is insurmountable, historic documentation allows us to explore ways the Romance, and connections with other Romance characters, shaped the 'ancestry' and self-associations of the Earls of Warwick. The "Rous Roll" (c.1443) remains a primary historical source for the ancestry and earldom of Warwick. The author, John Rous (d.1491), was appointed chantry priest at the chapel at Guy's Cliffe, and he allegedly composed this pseudo-genealogical roll shortly after accepting the position (Liu 2005, p.159). As with Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, Rous used historical and pseudo-histories as source material, including the works of Gildas, Gerald of Wales, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, Bede, and the *Domesday Book* (Liu 2005, p.158). Rous traces the Warwick earldom back to Guthelyne, the 'original' King of Britain, who named Warwick "Caerleon", where, according to legend, Arthur was crowned king (Dugdale 1656; Stow 1977; Padel 2000a; Bromwich et al 1991).

Rous's credibility was strengthened among contemporaries through his use of historical people blended within fictional characters. His impressive, yet blatantly false claims, provide valuable insight into contemporary perceptions and values and the creation of 'memory'. This is yet another example of the medieval importance of the ideal over the actual (Warren 2000, p.73). Rous's roll includes brief mentions of many Romantic and legendary heroes, such as Robin Hood and Little John, Alexander, and Arthur. Other figures such as Edward the Confessor and Constantine were real people who attained legendary qualities as their fame developed through history and into the Romance genre. Constantine, according to the Rous Roll, was responsible for changing the name of 'Caerleon' to 'Cairumbre', which later became 'Cayr Gwayr' and finally, 'Warwyk' (Pickering and Bohn 1845).

Gwayr is listed in the roll after Constantine, as a third cousin of Arthur, and a prince of royal blood. It is Gwayr who according to legend, defeated a giant with a tree branch, depicted in the Warwickshire bear and ragged staff emblem. The bear takes its origin from Arthal ('Arthgallus') of the roll, as according to Rous, Arth was Welsh for bear. Padel (1988) discusses the *Vita Merlini's* reference to Arthur as the "Bear of Cornwall" who would bring relief, though Rous writes that Arthal was the "earl of the city of Corvayre now called Warwick" (Padel 1988, p.63; Rous Roll, entry 7; Warren 2000, p.35). Other more central figures within the Romance canon are claimed to be members of the Warwick ancestry, such as Eneas ('Aeneas'), the ancestor of Godfrey de Bouillon (King of Jerusalem), who was also related to Rohaadus, the Swan Knight, also referred to as Lohengrin in other Romance traditions (Mason 1984, p.34).

The Swan Knight's relation is listed in the Rous Roll (*Figure 7.23*) connected through Wilelmus, Earl of Warwick. Wilelmus married Maud, a niece of Alice, who was daughter of Godfrey de Bouillon and second wife of Henry I. Though a distant relation, the connection is flaunted in the Warwick ownership of the Swan Knight's cup, made from a melted chain that allowed his sibling to change back into a human (see chain and shapeshifting discussion in Chapter Six). This cup is listed in the will of Thomas Beauchamp, and is also depicted in Thomas's entry (number 47) in the Rous Roll shown below. Rohaud, the Earl of Warwick (Felice's father) in the Romance, is also listed in the Rous Roll, followed by Guy of Warwick, himself, hero of the Romance, who is given two entries to describe his chivalry and transformation into a pilgrim and warrior for God (Liu 2005, p.153).

William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656), remains the other vital source of history for the Earls of Warwick, followed by the *Historia Vitae et Regni Richardi Secundi*, to a lesser extent, for a later medieval political history of the Beauchamps (Mason 1984). Dugdale relies on the Rous Roll for a huge amount of source material in his discussions of the history of Warwickshire, the earldom of Warwick, building projects as far as documentation allows, and wills. The VCH for

Warwickshire (vol. 8), also discusses the Warwick legendary heritage by using Rous and Dugdale for source materials.

Figure 7.23: Images 46 and 47 from the Rous Roll: Image S-42-23 from The Heraldry Society. The actual manuscript of the Rous Roll (c.1484) is held in the British Library, MS 48976. Image 46 (left) is of Guy Beauchamp, 10th Earl of Warwick, standing above the executed Piers Gaveston. Image 47 (right) shows his son, Thomas, portrayed with silver cup of the Swan Knight and the Arthurian symbol of the bear.

7.5.3 Warwick Emulations of Romance

The previous section outlined connections to Romance and figures of legend listed in historical documentation, which I use for the remainder of this case study to identify Romantic influences in Warwick Castle's tangible material culture and architecture. The following sections explore the means used in displaying and appropriating these 'ancestral' connections. The first discussion features Guy's Tower, the primary symbol of the castle's relation to the Romance in other academic sources.

This is followed by an assessment of Guy's Cliffe ('Gycliffe') as an important heritage site near the castle, presumed to be associated with the Romance (Goodall 2011b, p.304-317). The final two subsections will discuss relics and symbolism the Beauchamps used to propagate their legendary reputation.

Figure 7.24: Warwick Castle, with Guy's Tower on the Right and Caesar's Tower on the Left (Image: public domain)

Guy's Tower

Guy's Tower was selected for this case study, as many sources automatically discuss this tower as an assumed element of Thomas Beauchamp's Romantic appro-

priation (as 11th Earl of Warwick), simply based on the tower's name (Mason 1984, p.34; Goodall 2011, p.298). In my assessment of this architectural feature, I found that the tower is never researched in other academic discussions due to the absence of extant documentary evidence for the tower's fourteenth-century construction. Neither Rous nor Dugdale refer to 'Guy's Tower', which would seem uncharacteristic of Rous's work to miss an opportunity for flaunting a Romantic connection. As Dugdale also excludes the name 'Guy's Tower', I suggest that this title is applied later than 1656. This is similar to Kenilworth's Swan Tower, as it was constructed in the fourteenth century, but only received its name from the Early Modern period at the very earliest (Molyneux 2008, p.47-61). Arthur and Guinevere's halls at Dover Castle and the Eagle Tower at Caernarfon are other examples of features and spaces that predate their Romantic titles.

As such, contextual evidence can help in exploring the extent to which Guy's Tower was a Romantic emulation, as this provides an idea of the architectural patrons' intentions. Rous states that Thomas Beauchamp ("the elder") the Eleventh Earl of Warwick, (d.1369) built the tower shown with part of the curtain wall in Image 47 of the Rous Roll (*Figure 7.23* above). The VCH discusses the disparity of Dugdale and Rous's accounts in that Dugdale's assessment of the now lost bailiff's account for the tower's completion in 1393-1394 lists expenditure too minimal to account for the tower's complete construction (Stephens 1969, p.456). Thomas 'the elder' is however, attributed to constructing Caesar's Tower, the barbican, and the gatehouse (Beauchamp 2013a). Goodall (2011) states that according to the Romance, Guy receives his divine calling to pilgrimage from the tallest tower at Warwick (Goodall 2011, p.298). Most sources have left this detail out of their research on the structure of the castle, though it is noteworthy that the fourteenth century saw a trend of constructing lofty towers and more spectacular halls, as we can see at Kenilworth and Windsor Castles (Thompson 1995, p.78). Warwick Castle retained its archaic ground floor hall (Stephens 1969, p.470; Parkyn and McNeill 2012), whilst two new lofty towers were added at the vulnerable corners of the curtain

walls (Platt 1982, p.147). These two towers were defensive, yet highly decorative, and they retained interior residential chambers that housed the earl's retinue (Platt 2007, p.147). The polygonal and parapeted styles were similar in design to French towers, which would have become familiar to Thomas Beauchamp while fighting in France with Edward III (Platt 2007, p.146; Taylor 1991, p.176).

The setting of Guy's divine calling atop the tallest tower adds a deeper element to this analysis as a gendered space of power. Castle towers have been described as symbols of imminence and spaces for displaying conspicuous privacy, as well as the setting of the 'view' for overlooking designed landscapes (Chapter Six). Guy's Romance adds this new aspect of the tower as a sacred, powerful space of male piety, which I associate with Biblical descriptions of men experiencing God in private, such as Moses receiving the Commandments from God at the top of Mount Sinai (Exodus 19:1-25) or Peter, James and John atop the 'Mount of Transfiguration' (Matthew 17). As a defensive structure, this is also a symbol of male martial power, as well as a space of authority and social hierarchy within the interior chambers (Chapter Five). Guy displays the idea of the tower as a private yet conspicuous space, set apart to receive a message from God. A monument erected to commemorate this special divine calling would certainly fit within this image of Guy's renowned piety and within the socio-political context of the Beauchamp earls.

The above image (*Figure 7.23*) of Thomas Beauchamp, the elder, is generally assumed to be holding a miniature of Guy's Tower, as the figure clearly represents a large polygonal tower attributed to his patronage (Rous Roll image 47). The VCH makes the assumption that this is indeed Guy's Tower from the shape of the image, but I propose the possibility that the tower may actually be an image of Caesar's Tower. This tower in the Rous Roll is described as the northeast tower, and in the layout of the castle, Caesar's Tower is located in the northeast part of the castle's walls, while Guy's Tower is more precisely to the north (*Figure 7.25*). The image in the Rous Roll shows three sides with a smaller turret atop the parapet. Although Caesar's Tower is more of a quatrefoil shape with rounded edges, it has the double

parapet that I have yet to find evidence for on Guy's Tower (Parkyn and McNeill 2012). The three exterior façades in the image, though not depicted here as rounded, fit more accurately with the quatrefoil design of Caesar's Tower, as Guy's Tower has twelve sides. I also add that Rous's inclusion of the completed image with Thomas ("the elder") shows that the top would have been completed prior to his death in 1365.

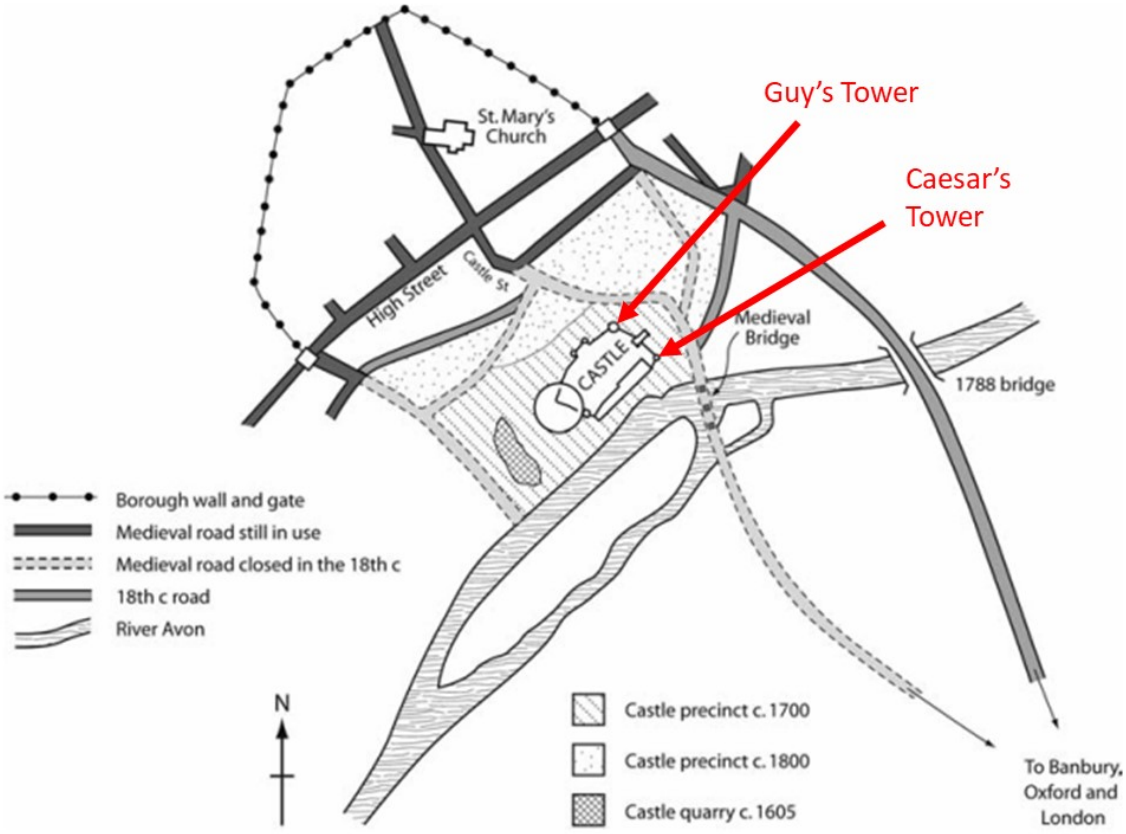


Figure 7.25: Note the castle layout from McNeill 2012. The widest round tower at the north corner of the curtain wall is Guy's Tower, and Caesar's Tower is depicted much smaller, in the northeast corner, directly opposite the motte.

The now-lost bailiff's record from 1393 is mentioned in Dugdale's account and therefore would have been readily accessible to Rous when creating his roll just fifty years after the record was produced. Dugdale describes a tower constructed "next the dungeon", which hitherto has been attributed to the Watergate Tower,

as it is nearest the motte upon which the great tower once stood (MA 1693, p.456). However, the basement of Caesar's Tower was reputedly the dungeon that held prisoners from Poitiers (Stephens 1969, p.463). This lost record would have provided vital information for distinguishing the towers of Warwick Castle, though I propose the possibility that the towers have been mislabeled through lost documentation.

'Gycliffe'

Thomas Beauchamp ("the elder") was the first of the Warwick earls known to associate himself with Guy from the Romance (Goodall 2011, p.297; Goodall 2011b; Monkton and Morris 2011, p.304-317). Rous states that Thomas ("the younger"), the Twelfth Earl of Warwick, built Guy's Cliffe (naming it "Guycliffe" after Sir Guy), the mansion under the chapel at Guy's Cliff (Goodall 2011b, p.98). It is necessary here to determine whether he named this after Guy, his grandfather, his brother, also named Guy, or the Romance hero. Thomas ("the younger") was named after his godfather, Thomas of Lancaster, who stood staunchly against the reign of his cousin, Edward II.

Thomas's ("the younger") older brother was named Guy, the namesake of his grandfather or the Romance is unclear. Guy died before inheriting the earldom, which was then passed to Thomas. Influence for Guy's namesake becomes clearer when noting that Thomas's younger brother was named Rhenbrun, Guy of Warwick's son from the Romance (Beauchamp 2013a, p.47). This begins to show the impact the Romance had on the self-fashioning of the earls of Warwick.

Goodall (2011) discusses a large statue carved out of the rock at Guy's Cliffe, now housed in the castle, which was potentially carved at the same time Thomas constructed the 'mansion' under the chapel at Guy's Cliffe (Goodall 2011a, p.299). This statue is of a knight rather than a pilgrim, which could be Thomas's appropriation of chivalrous piety by placing the knightly image within the cliffside hermitage. Alternatively, Guy may have been portrayed as a knight, as he remained a 'soldier' of God after his divine calling. The hermitage's attribution to Thomas ("the younger")

is uncertain, as the VCH record lists a hermitage located at the site from centuries earlier–potentially built for a hermit supported by a Norman castle (Stephens 1969, p.460). English Heritage's building survey (2012) of Guy's Cliffe lists an "icehouse" under the chapel, likely used by the manor house nearby "Guy's Cliffe", which was built in the eighteenth century and expanded in the nineteenth century. This space could potentially be Early Medieval, and the record states that the lancet windows appear to be thirteenth-century (Listing WA 2232, Warwickshire co. Trust).

In light of Rous and Dugdale's statements that Thomas built "Guycliffe, the mansion under the chapel" (Goodall 2011b, p.99), I argue that this chamber was Thomas's tomb constructed for the Romance hero, Sir Guy, of which, the location has hitherto remained unknown. Its location, physically under the chapel, predating the icehouse for the manor house, poses a convincing new theory. The etymology for fourteenth-century "mansion" originates from the French "maison", meaning the dwelling of a lord, and has also been used to refer to a stop or stage of a journey, and in Middle English, it referred to a space set apart, or dwelling (etymonline.co.uk). While this is far from conclusive, it provides an introduction to new ideas for future studies of the Beauchamp's enthusiasm for Sir Guy of Warwick.

Relics and Heirlooms

Studies of Warwick Castle mention possessions such as tapestries and decorated household items that display imagery from the Romance, and 'relics' that were believed to belong to Guy of the Romance were kept at the castle; however, they have yet to provide arguments for actual connections between the earls of Warwick, the Romance (and its wider Romantic social context), and their built environment.

Thomas Beauchamp's will, in the Chancery Inquest Miscellaneous (CIM v.6, 1392-1399), lists his possessions that included tapestries depicting narratives from the *Guy of Warwick* Romance and of Alexander the Great, also listing ownership of these Romances. Other tapestries in his will included more religious narratives of John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene (CCW vol.6 1392-1399). Martin (2012), like

Weikert (2018), discusses the fluidity of space as defined by its function, purposes and uses. These tapestries defined spaces within Warwick Castle as areas in which one could be enveloped in Romance and piety, both directly linked with the ancestry of the earls of Warwick. This document also lists relics of Sir Guy from the Romance, such as his armour and sword, each bequeathed to members of Thomas's family (MA 1693, p.469; Ditmas 1966b). In reference to the earlier mention of the importance and personification of swords, this possession of Guy's sword from the Romance, not only symbolises a powerful connection to the Romance, but takes on the symbolism of Guy's esteemed actions and piety. Dugdale (MA 1693, p.469) and the VCH for Warwickshire both record that Guy's relics were displayed for tourists from the seventeenth through eighteenth century, and ribs of both the Dun Cow and Guy's horse were on display until the nineteenth century (Liu 2005, p.159). The other interesting item listed in this inquest, specific to this thesis, is the Swan goblet, created to be an ancestral treasure, direct from the Romance. In the *Roman au Cygni*, the Swan Knight's six other siblings are transformed into swans, each with a gold chain that allows them to return to human form. Their father has one chain melted to make a cup, prohibiting one of his children from turning back into a man. This cup was made into an heirloom and used by Rous himself, as stated in his roll, and was later bequeathed to Richard Beauchamp. The importance of this cup is attested in the multiplicity of its record, as mentioned in the fourteenth-century *Ricardi Secundi*, in the fifteenth-century Rous Roll, and again in Dugdale's seventeenth-century accounts (MA 1693, p.457-463; CIM, vol.6, 1392-1399).

Romance Symbolism in Microarchitecture: The Bear and Ragged Staff

The medieval emblem of the Warwick earldom, still used as a symbol of Warwickshire, is the bear and ragged staff (*Figure 7.26*). The origins of this symbolism are said to be "lost in the distant past" (chivalricheraldry.co.uk), though their origins have been described in the Rous Roll's (c.1484) legends of Arthal ("the bear") and Gwayr, who used the branch to slay a giant. The earliest iconogra-

phy of the 'bear and ragged staff' symbolism used together is in decorrations on Thomas Beauchamp's ("the younger") bed, carved and gilded with silver and gold (Beauchamp 2013). This is further attested as it does not appear in the Caerlaverock Roll (1301) (Denholm-Young 1965, p.44). The contemporary *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi* (1377-1402) outlines the legend-made-historic connections between the knights of the Round Table and the symbols of the bear and ragged staff before Rous's account. Thomas Beauchamp built new chambers in which to carry out government work, and the inclusion of this symbolism on his bed would have been a powerful emblem of chivalric and heroic ancestry, decorating the most symbolically intimate and personal space in the castle, situated in the same location in which he conducted governmental affairs.

Figure 7.26: Entrance to the Beauchamp Chapel in the Collegiate Church of St. Mary's, Warwick, displaying the 'Bear and Ragged Staff' emblem (Tourist image from 2009, ourwarwickshire.org)

Richard Beauchamp founded the chantry chapel at the Chapel of St Mary Magdalene near the hermitage at Guy's Cliffe in 1423, which was rebuilt in the later fifteenth century. Richard's entrance into this chapel, containing Beauchamp tombs and effigies, boasts carvings of the bear and ragged staff symbol above the archway,

bringing secular Romance symbolism into a sacred space, significantly appropriating the secular Romantic and pious into the same chivalric climate. The placement of this Romantic imagery above the archway is important, specifically regarding my previous discussions of tympanums and archways used to define spaces beyond (Chapter Five), as well as Weikert's (2018) discussion of thresholds as spaces of liminality used to 'set apart', and also Creighton's (2018) discussions of chivalric entrances displaying importance and determining the people who would enter through the threshold. From this combined perspective, one can identify this use of Romantic imagery as a means of defining and applying meaning to the Beauchamp chapel within–setting it apart to make visitors aware of these connections to their Romantic past (as outlined in the Rous Roll and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB*). As Guy's narrative in the Romance was driven by his sense of divine calling, this emphasis on the microarchitecture in the specifically-religious space of the chapel is fitting.

Figure 7.27: Note green spangled baldachin, architectural canopy. Shrewsbury Book image of St George displayed as a contemporary Romance hero: Royal MS 15 EVI, 1444-1445

This emerging late medieval popularity of divine calling within Romance narratives fits within the wider socio-political movement towards religious chivalric icons, such as Edward III's creation of the Order of the Garter at St George's Chapel, of which, Thomas Beauchamp ("the elder") was a founding member. Guy of Warwick's slaying of the dragon of Northumberland has been depicted in chronicles and antiquarian sources (MA 1696; *Ricardi Secundi*) as a knight in fourteenth-century armour trampling the dragon underfoot (*Figure 7.27* below). This is the exact image traditionally used to depict Saint George's defeat of the dragon, as described in the *Golden Legend* (c.1260, later than Sir Guy's Romance).

The Coventry Society has found that when Coventry began to lag behind other cities in "pilgrimage stakes" in the fourteenth century, religious elders boasted that Saint George was born in Coventry, transforming it into an attractive pilgrim destination (Goodall 2011b). With contemporaries, Sir Guy and Saint George (transformed from fourth-century pilgrim into fourteenth-century Romance hero), Warwickshire became a centre of exemplary chivalric renown, symbolised by the image of a national hero and champion of God represented as a dragon-slayer.

7.5.4 Summary of Warwick's Assessment

This study of Warwick Castle provides a depth of analysis in these particular areas that hitherto, has not been undertaken. Though the 'paper trail' of documentation ends before the construction and naming of Guy's Tower is reached, I have used a wider contextual analysis of Beauchamp Romantic propaganda, their 'relics' and 'ancestries' to demonstrate the breadth of fictional characters associated with their ancestry. From this, I have been able to discuss Guy's Tower, the Beauchamp's intentional associations with Sir Guy from the Romance, and the Romantic origin of the bear and ragged staff symbol, which have until now, remained speculative and avoided in academic research. This symbol is canonically Romantic, and has been used to decorate architectural features, defining Beauchamp spaces by their displayed Romantic heritage. This has primarily been discussed in this study through the spaces of the Beauchamp Chapel and Thomas Beauchamp's ("the younger") bed, though a transitory space. With this study, I have also suggested the potential location for a tomb Thomas Beauchamp constructed for Sir Guy (of the Romance) beneath the chapel at Guycliffe. I have interpreted the 'mansion' under the chapel as a small room, or tomb, architecturally beneath the chapel floor rather than a large stately house ('mansion') geographically beneath the chapel or the cliff itself. This has never before featured in any academic study, and is certainly indicative of a much richer Romance tradition at Warwick than previously speculated.

Future research looking into Guy of Warwick's Romantic and legendary influence at Wallingford Castle would also be beneficial, as Wallingford was the location of many tournaments in Romance literature. It was also Sir Guy's childhood home, where his father was the steward, and therefore, closer connected to Guy's (10th earl) ancestry than Warwick Castle. Apart from Richard of Cornwall's ownership (1248-1272), Wallingford remained a property of the Crown, constructed to palatial standards and used as such, based upon the placement of domestic chambers and gardens (Keats-Rohan et al. 2015). King John's collection of Romantic swords, including Tristan and Gawain's swords, kept at Wallingford attests to its value

by the monarchy as a site of Romantic heritage (Barber 2017). In accordance to my previous discussions in Chapters Five and Six, Wallingford's architectural and landscape spaces indicate its prestigious place among the most élite as a site to display Romantic symbolism and associations. With three halls (a ground floor hall built by Henry III in 1220), a whitewashed great tower, and a swannery and benches for guests in the 'queen's arbour', I have found through conducting research for this chapter, that Wallingford Castle includes many of the features studied in this thesis, and as such, would be valuable for future research. Wallingford's Romantic associations with Guy of Warwick continue out from the castle, into 'Bear Lane' and 'Swan Lane'. Both Warwick and Wallingford each have "Red" and "Green" rooms listed in floor plans, also attesting to further connections in patronage.

7.6 King Arthur Pendragon: Symbol of Baronial Opposition to Edward II

Not until combining these sites into this case study chapter did I grasp the magnitude of Edward I's Cult of Arthur. Upon completing the assessments of all four sites, significant Arthurian connections came to light between Pendragon and Warwick as part of a wider trend, their contemporary owners having been members of Edward I's retinue with key roles in the baronial uprising against Edward II. As stated earlier, Arthurian 'cults' have reappeared at different times in English history, in which Arthur is used as a unifying symbol of power during times of unrest. Arthur was a symbol of civilization itself, and Merlin's vigil for Arthur's return parallels medieval desires for societal and political stability.

The image below (*Figure 7.28*) maps connections between the rebel barons who were close to Edward I and opposed to Edward II. This chart shows the inter-connectivity and uses of Arthurian symbolism as a figurehead during this time of unrest, which I date from early evidence of baronial unrest in 1309, until Thomas of Lancaster's death in 1322.

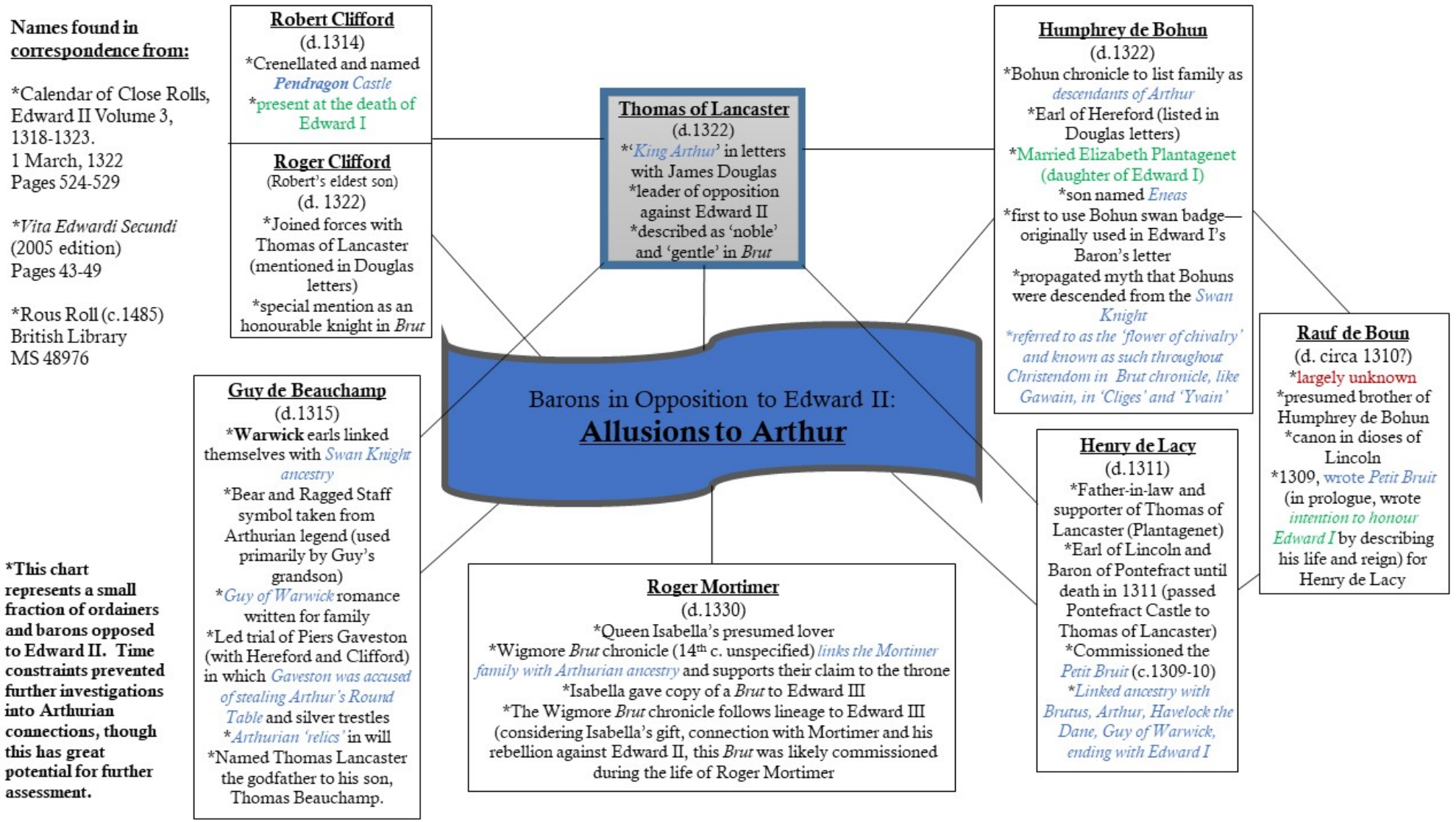


Figure 7.28: (Original diagram by Richards, 2022) This chart provides a visualisation of connections between key barons in opposition to Edward II, listing common uses of Arthurian propaganda between 1309 and 1322.

In May of 1306, Edward I hosted the Feast of Swans at Westminster, during which he knighted Edward II along with two-hundred and sixty-six other men. Edward I also took an oath on the swan during this feast, vowing that he would avenge Robert the Bruce's murder of John Comyn (Prestwich 1997; Sykes 2004). This ceremony reflected ceremonial vows taken on ornamental birds in Romance literature (Boyce 2012). Robert Clifford was one of the barons present at Edward I's deathbed, and he was tasked with mentoring the young Edward II (Prestwich 1991, p.288). Clifford was also involved in organizing Edward II's coronation ceremony in 1308, at which fourteen halls were constructed (Thompson 1995, p.92), though there is no indication of what form these halls took.

Baronial unrest begins to taint Edward II's new reign, and within the year, Edward II takes Nottingham Castle from Clifford, dismissing him as Marshal (Denholm-Young 1965, p.133), to which he had previously been appointed by Edward I. It has been suggested that this was part of Edward II's attempt to focus his strength at the increasingly tense northern boarder (Denholm-Young 1947), but I argue that it played into the wider context of baronial unrest.

It is only after baronial unrest begins in 1309, that Arthurian emulations are prominently used by the barons. The Dunstable Tournament takes place in Spring of 1309, with Robert de Tony presiding over the 'Knights of the Commune', listed in the Dunstable Roll as the Swan Knight (Denholm-Young 1965, p.44, 50, 108). This presumably was connected to the design of the Dunstable Jewel, an enamelled swan brooch with gold chain, in c.1400. Just a few months later, in July of 1309, Clifford is granted the license to crenellate Pendragon Castle, the first instance this new name is documented. Though it was not a site of great importance along the Stainmore Pass, the request for crenellation simultaneously with Brougham Castle would have made granting this license difficult for Edward II to refuse. Both castles had been recently renovated, and Brougham was a newly enlarged and strengthened castle, necessary for Scottish defense. Henry III's thirteenth-century halls at Dover Castle were named Arthur and Guinevere's Halls in the fourteenth-century, and

though the exact date is unknown, we begin to see a trend of Arthurian names at élite architecture from the early fourteenth century.

Clifford and Guy Beauchamp were both close members of Edward I's retinue during his Scottish campaign, and both were present at the execution of Piers Gaveston. Guy Beauchamp was first in his lineage to be named after Sir Guy of the Romance. This Guy Beauchamp was integral in the capture and execution of Piers Gaveston (1312), for which, according to the Rous Roll, he had been accused of stealing and selling the silver round table and its trestles that belonged to King Arthur, taking them from Winchester, out of the country (Pickering and Bohn 1845, entry 46, 47; Mason 1984, p.33; Liu 2005, p.154;). This table, like Excalibur given by Richard I to the king of Sicily, was a national treasure of England's heritage. By locating the Round Table at Winchester, the Early Medieval capital of King Aethelstan, continuity was added to this ancient city of power.

A treasonous letter to James Douglas was signed by a "King Arthur", plotting an uprising against Edward II. This has previously been attributed to Thomas of Lancaster, and upon further assessment of the original letters (presented fully in Appendix C), published by Edward II to condemn the barons involved, and using the context of Pontefract, Lancaster's castle mentioned the letter as a meeting location, as well as Edward II's direct accusation of Lancaster's leadership, I confirm this "King Arthur" was most likely Thomas of Lancaster.

This new wave of Arthurianism shifted from Edward I's political Cult of Arthur, into a baronial stance against Edward II, likely alluding to their chivalric golden age during the reign of Edward I, which became tinged with weakness and Edward II's anti-chivalric rule. With Arthurianism and Romance still popular among the nobility, the symbol of Arthur continued into the reign of Edward III. Through the symbol of Saint George, chivalry shifted into the form of pious champion knights for God, uniting those previously against Edward II within the Order of the Garter, boosting morale and reviving symbolism from the golden age of chivalry and English conquest–with Romance's impact in architecture and design leaving a tangible

footprint of heroic heritage.

7.7 Conclusions and Summary

The four sites discussed in this case study do not intend to represent the entirety of Romantically-influenced castles, but hopefully, this new methodology demonstrated across such varied sites will help to expand research within the field of castle studies.

By extending Tintagel Castle's research beyond that of previous academic discussions, I have revealed it as a highly regarded 'castle' nearly isolated on a promontory, consisting of an archaic ground floor hall, kitchen, gatehouse, and minimal chambers, that would seemingly contradict the style of one of Europe's most élite. This reassessment of Tintagel's presupposed Romantic influences has developed and strengthened the arguments for Richard of Cornwall's impractical, yet ceremonial construction, making the intangible pseudo-heritage of Monmouth's *HRB* a tangible exclusive destination.

Pendragon Castle provides an explicit Arthurian reference just two years after the death of Edward I, the main proprietor of the Cult of Arthur. Whilst other castles owned by the Clifford family were named for their geographic location or familial association, Pendragon was deliberately changed from the "castle at Malrestang" to reference the fictional high chief of the Britons. Despite its small, antiquated structure, Pendragon stood in honour of a chivalric past as part of a unifying symbol within the wider baronial stand against Edward II.

Previous research on Caernarfon Castle has provided various avenues of mythical speculation in relation to its banded masonry and polygonal towers, but in considering its wider geographical setting, Edward I's associations with legend that drove his political agenda, as well as Caernarfon's Romanticized chivalric structuration, the castle is shown in an impressive new light. In this reassessment, I have used the heritage of legend in Gwynedd to connect emulations of Roman imperialism with figures and themes of medieval Romance, producing a nuanced and much broader

view of Edward I's use of Arthur to legitimise his power over Wales.

Warwick Castle demonstrates a site thoroughly intertwined with Romance and ancestral history applied by the Warwick earls. Though Guy's Tower was possibly not named for the Romance hero, Sir Guy, at the time of its construction, many other Romantic and legendary associations have come to light through relics, designs, iconography, and microarchitecture, demonstrating the wide impact of Romance within the barony, the monarchy, and wider national identity.

With this chapter and the previous two chapters demonstrating both direct and indirect routes of Romantic influence, I have demonstrated the validity and scope of archaeological research paired with Romance studies, bridging the gap between fact and fiction through applying wider contextual evidence.

Chapter 8

Discussion: Synthesis of Findings and their Medieval Élite Context

8.1 Readdressing the Research Question

The overarching aim of this thesis has been to identify and assess ways in which ideals and characters from medieval Romance literature may have influenced the architecture and designs of later medieval English castles and their landscapes. At the start of this research, I thought that I would locate distinct features and designs within Romance narratives that in turn, influenced the architecture and landscape spaces of English castles, and thereby, assess the extent to which one could claim that the castle was indeed influenced by medieval Romance literature. What I have found is more subtle, yet far more significant. Throughout this PhD, I have discovered a variety of themes and characters from Romance emulated into castle spaces by various means, directly and indirectly, as part of a wider underlying trend of self-projection and development of national identity. Each chapter has incorporated individual discussions, which are brought together below.

My methodology has been largely influenced by Munby, Barber, and Brown (2007) in their assessment of Edward III's Arthurian round structure at Windsor Castle, in which they constructed a wider picture of the Romantic context surround-

ing Edward III and his political aims. By taking the general theoretical framework of this study, I built a methodology that provides a means of studying Romantic influences on a wider scale. This work is the first of its kind, dedicated to identifying Romance, as a source of intangible heritage, constructed into the tangible built environment of castle life. Whilst many have briefly suggested possible influences of Romance and chivalry within castle architecture, this subject has hitherto remained contested on the grounds that proving historical motivations is impossible. Moreover, the frequent uses of 'Romantic' and 'chivalric' as terms to describe castles is not standardized and varies between evocative and practical defense, depending on the source. Through discussing Romance's impact on medieval life, I have been able to identify its role in chivalry's evolution, which ultimately defined castle space–as space is defined by actions within. This has also necessitated thorough definitions of 'Romantic' and 'chivalric' in the context of this thesis. Therefore, this research has provided a streamlined discussion of Romance and chivalry through which I have analysed their impacts within castle life, physically displayed in architecture and design, in both direct individualized instances as well as within a broadly-applied generalized trend of chivalric structuration.

8.2 Summary of Research Goals and Structure

At the outset, wide reading within the field of castle studies helped to identify gaps in academic and lay sources surrounding claims to Romantic castles and chivalric architecture. This was collected as an initial data set and provided valuable information for developing the structure of this thesis and selecting sites for case studies.

Chapter Two contextualized the field of castle studies and outlined its development as an independent discipline, providing a literature review of relevant previous academic studies. This chapter identified previous debates and trends in defining and studying the castle, as a military fortress, to a symbol of status, to its significance within the wider landscape. I discussed the problems with describing a castle

as 'Romantic' or 'chivalric', and I also argued that castles and palaces should be studied in the same context, without separation into modern classifications. This is argued on the basis that medieval documentation demonstrates contemporary perceptions of castles were far more complex, without defined categorizations, and interchangeably used terms, far removed from modern designations and approaches to castles, to the extent of hindering our current understanding.

Chapter Three is a dedicated, vigorous analysis of medieval Romance literature and its development, as well as its ownership and impact within the medieval élite. Through this chapter study, it was necessary to prove that Romance literature was indeed owned and valued among medieval society's most élite. This chapter demonstrates not only Romance's ownership, it proves that Romances were commissioned, disseminated, and emulated, as royalty and nobility alike fashioned themselves in accordance with specific characters and themes in Romance. This chapter in itself is significant to the field of castle studies, as this research is nuanced in combining a dedicated study of Romance literature into discussions of castle architecture and buildings archaeology. This depth of Romance specialization has yet to be applied into castle research apart from Richard Barber's contributions of expertise regarding Arthurian influences on Edward I and Edward III. This chapter provides an original and highly significant 'genealogy' of Romance literature, mapping the source material for twelfth through fourteenth-century Romances, showing the connections between legend, myth, chronicle, and Romance, which is critical for analysing Classical, Roman and early legendary traditions within the umbrella of 'Romantic influence'. This study of Romance also addresses previous literary studies of castles within Romance narratives, creating a wider gap between the 'castles of Romance' and 'Romantic castles'. This chapter addresses the figure of Arthur in history, legend, and Romance, highlighting differences and influences within élite culture. This discussion is important for distinguishing 'Arthurian' features from 'Romantic', as Arthurian originally referred to narratives of Arthur and his knights. This expands through different editions and versions, as later Romances combined Arthur and

his knights with other Romance heroes and narratives, such as Tristan and Guy of Warwick, through familial relations. This study is integral to exploring the vast impacts of Romance (and earlier related source materials) within the development of chivalry, élite culture, kingship and national identity, which was displayed in the related built environment.

Chapter Four is a comprehensive study of chivalry and its development, contextualized within the ever-changing medieval élite cultural climate. This research surveys the different phases of chivalry, from Early Medieval French *chevalierie* and Saxon *comitatus*, tracing its evolution through the fourteenth century, by which, its ideologies expanded to include ladies and non-martial men (original timeline for context in Appendix G). As space is discussed and defined in regards to activities within, it was necessary to provide a dynamic discussion of chivalric values and activities, specifically highlighting influences from Romance literature and contemporary Romance culture. This provides important background information for analysing 'chivalric' architecture as a generalized trend of implementing Romantic influence indirectly into architecture. This chapter is unique, in that it differentiates between chivalry, courtesy, knightly, and courtly, as terms which are typically used interchangeably, though carry significant implications when discussing Romantically-reformed chivalry and the ensuing role of the chivalric lady. I have constructed this image of chivalry by studying manuals and handbooks written directly by medieval practitioners, which I use, in a unique approach, to define space within the castle. During the fourteenth century, the figure of Arthur was overshadowed by Saint George as the new figurehead of chivalry in England, and Arthur became a symbol for a medievalized Romantic movement, akin to that of the eighteenth century and its ideals of an imagined golden age.

Chapter Five is the first case study, in which I examine Romance's indirect influences through the conduit of Romanticized chivalry. The aim of this study was to identify broad, generalized trends of influence in castle architecture and spatial organization that developed in response to the Romantic reformation of chivalric

values. With space defined by actions, chivalric activities defined and necessitated a specifically-structured built environment. Chivalric actions were themselves defined by physical boundaries and spaces, which continued to develop in response to chivalric necessity. This is the basis for my original theory of 'chivalric structuration'. Chivalric structuration provides the vocabulary for systematically analysing architecture in accordance with chivalry's development of activities and ideals. In this chapter, I explored the idea of privacy and its contextual development. Through an original study of access analysis, I explored different chivalric values identifiable in spatial organization and features of privacy, specifically constructed in relation to Romanticized ideals of female agency. Access analysis revealed access patterns in movement within and between structures, which I develop as an original theory of secular 'chivalric liturgy'. This is explored in a smaller, sub-case study, in which I created access diagrams to analyse female spaces and spatial organization at Clarendon Palace. Another chivalric idea developed in this study is that of nostalgic architecture, or archaism, as a means of claiming and displaying ancestral power. This is discussed in terms of 'cult castle' architecture that displays antiquated exterior designs whilst utilizing interior space in accordance with contemporary emphasis on increased individuality (see Appendix H). A specific feature of architectural archaism is the ground floor hall, which was anomalous across the Channel, appropriated into Norman castle architecture to legitimise their usurped power. This is further assessed in another sub-case study of the Exchequer Hall at Caen in Normandy, in which I contest its previous interpretations as a first floor hall. Through Henry I's original design of interior window sills, I argue that this was an early ground floor hall constructed to display the English king's continuity of power, and thereby emblemizing the ground floor hall as a definitive feature of the English castle.

Chapter Six takes the same generalized approach of analysing chivalric spaces within this chivalric structuration, extending outward beyond the castle walls. In this study, I address landscape 'spaces' as extensions of the castle architecture to

provide a new interpretation and assessment of the landscape as a set of spaces, each designed and used for specific purposes and for determining activities within. This study follows a nuanced linear progression of landscape spaces, progressing outwards, contrary to other castle landscape studies' discussions of 'the approach', following in the footsteps of the knight errant from the Romance tradition and featuring spaces encountered on the Quest. Beginning with the more abstract 'space' of the view, specifically the 'female gaze', liminally situated between the interior and exterior, I move outwards into the castle courtyard and garden. These spatial analyses address symbolic features and specific attributes, as well as their uses within the context of this Romantic perspective. Moving outwards from the safety of the Court (according to Romance narratives), I progress out into the castle demesné, analysed in comparison to the Romance landscape of the quest, in which spaces were designed for chivalric activities, such as tournaments and hunting. Beyond the castle walls, yet remaining within the castle demesné, the élite created their own 'wilderness' spaces, in which they could enjoy the thrill of the quest (or the hunt), whilst remaining within the safety of the castle's land. This discussion explores water as an otherworldly boundary and symbol of supernatural female power in Romance and its construction in the historical castle landscape to potentially evoke symbolism and magical boundaries popularized in Romance and legend. Two sub-case studies in this chapter feature the garden at Woodstock Palace, addressing previous claims of Romantic influence, and the earthworks known as The Brays at Kenilworth Castle. The study of Woodstock assesses the extent to which its garden was designed to emulate the garden in the *Tristan* narrative, as previously claimed in other sources; and the study of Kenilworth's Brays features a reassessment of primary documentation of the Round Table tournament in 1279, noting features constructed within the landscape specifically for this Arthurian display of chivalry.

Chapter Seven assesses four distinct castle sites, contrary to the generalized trends of the previous two case studies, to determine the extent of Romantic influence emulated as individual instances. Each of these sites is assessed, or reassessed, using

evidence from medieval documentation, architectural assessment, and archaeological evidence. I have based the site discussions within a wider geographical and socio-political context within the framework of this new methodology. The first site is Tintagel Castle, for which I reassessed previous academic research claiming that Richard of Cornwall's castle at Tintagel was influenced by a much older Arthurian tradition relating the site to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *HRB*. In this study, I reassessed the legitimacy of previous claims, used to create evocative charm and drive tourism, and analysed primary documentation, ultimately determining Tintagel Castle to be a medieval folly–an archaic, non-defensive structure signifying Arthurian heritage. The second site in this study is Pendragon Castle, which is barely mentioned in medieval documentation. Through looking at the appointed sheriffs of Westmorland and the owners of the nearby Appleby Castle, namely Robert Clifford, I was able to construct a wider context for the castle, determining it to also appear as a medieval folly for Edward I's enjoyment, later named after Arthur as part of a unifying symbol of alliance in opposition to Edward II. The third study features Caernarfon Castle, and whilst a frequent topic in academic research, I reassess previous theories about Constantinian connections displayed in its banded masonry, polygonal towers, and Eagle Tower. I bring alternative research ideas within the castle's analysis, such as the eagle as a display of Savoyard alliance, and I connect Welsh Arthurian figures from legend with Roman figures from Segontium. Additionally, I address Edward I's Round Table at Nevyn, providing an original theory adding to its significance, as the site where Gerald of Wales allegedly found the Prophesies of Merlin. My further discussion of the castle is entirely new, including a structural analysis of the queen's spaces in comparison to previous chapter discussions, and Edward I's construction of ground floor timber halls at Caernarfon to display the castle as a palace of the new Welsh princes, the capital of Gwynedd as a region heavily founded upon myth and legend exploited by Edward I. Warwick Castle is the last case study in this chapter, in which I attempt to assess Guy's Tower in particular as a construction of Thomas Beauchamp's self-identification with Sir Guy of the Romance. This led

into a wider, original exploration of Gycliffe chapel, and Thomas Beauchamp's (the younger) relics from Romance heroes listed in his will. The Rous Roll documents the lineage of the Earls of Warwick, featuring several characters from legend and Romance, out of which the iconic symbol emerged, depicting the bear and ragged staff. This symbol combines two distinct Romantic references and has been used to decorate microarchitecture and define the Beauchamp ancestry as one filled with legendary heroism.

8.3 Contextualizing Key Findings and their Significance

This section, presents the new findings of this research in regards to the original research question, determining the extent to which castles were Romantically influenced. The entirety of this thesis demonstrates that Romance played a vital role in the development of English heritage and identity, with legendary heroes of pseudo-historical ancestry written into the Romance tradition, made popular and disseminated throughout élite society, and emulated into the built environment as a means of prestigious self-association. To address the original research question: the extent to which one can claim that Romance impacted the architecture and landscapes of medieval English castles is definite and varied, deeply and widely incorporated into English castles in both distinctive and subtle ways.

The following sub-sections detail the key findings from this research, contextualized within previous ideas and approaches, in order to demonstrate their significance.

Romantically-Reformed Chivalry and Chivalric Structuration

The idea of Romantically-reformed chivalry has been briefly mentioned in wider discussions of historical chivalric life (Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996; Saul 2011, p.243), though its application within castle studies is unique to this thesis. Its combination with a dedicated study of Romance is also original, producing a more accurate

discussion of how Romance did in fact impact chivalric values and ideals. Chivalry is often addressed in other disciplines, castle studies included, as a static overarching term for either martial prowess or as an ungrounded evocative description of the ornate. In much the same way, Romance is typically generalized as a catch-all term for describing the fantasy-like or otherworldly, without deeper understanding of what actually defines 'Romantic'. This causes confusion in discussing the Romantic castle as well as the chivalric castle, which frequently appear interchangeably with other terms such as courtly, courteous, and knightly–each categorising distinctive attributes of chivalric life. Knights were originally lesser nobility, but the prestige of associating oneself with Romance heroes brought the 'chivalric knight' of Romance into the ambitions of the most élite, including the king and queen. This developed to include non-martial men as well as soldiers. Furthermore, the chivalric lady developed out of the Romance genre's use of female characters as powerful, supernatural, and inspirational for the knight's chivalric honour. Thus, the chivalric lady gained responsibilities and ideologies within the remit of chivalry. This developed further chivalric ideas of courtly love and non-martial values.

In applying detailed, vigorous studies of medieval Romance and chivalry, I have found specific ways that Romance definitely impacted chivalric development, and should therefore be applied when studying the built environment of chivalrous society.

Chivalric Structuration is an entirely new theory presented here, based upon Giddens's Structuration Theory, providing a vocabulary for analysing spaces defined by chivalric activity and also determining and defining the chivalric activities within. This lens of Romantically-reformed chivalry provides another avenue for identifying Romance's indirect impact on castle architecture.

The Chivalric Lady and Queen's Spaces

Preconceived ideas of castles have inhibited our understanding of them. By applying modern typologies and categorizing architectural styles from modern ideas,

we have applied modern definitions onto castles that etymology proves were historically perceived in different ways. As such, 'castles' are frequently divided into studies of 'real' castles or fortifications, separate from 'palaces' or more domestic sites of implied luxury. I have instead combined all subcategories into my study of castle architecture: including towers, hunting retreats, palaces, and fortifications. As such, I conducted access analysis across a range of castle sites, indiscriminately analysing baronial and royal, ranging from the Late Saxon period to the fourteenth century, aiming to identify trends developed alongside or in response to the growing popularity of Romance culture.

Through my new, combined study of access analysis, I have found that Romance's impact on the development of non-martial values and the idea of the chivalric lady, ushered in new prestige and necessity for features of privacy to be displayed. This has led me to conclude that Romanticized chivalric values and ideals of the lady necessitated spaces for her new agency and authority.

This female authority found in Romance and earlier Celtic legendary traditions, was symbolised in features of privacy. Contrary to previous access analysis studies, I have found that female privacy only occurs in royal castles used as palaces. Furthermore, these palatial sites display fewer defensive features, determining my argument that privacy was conceptual rather than functional for defense, symbolic of the lady's power to encourage or ruin one's chivalric honour. This aligns with previous theories that the queen's fidelity symbolised the king's legitimacy and power. Further examples of Romanticized chivalric ideology are also apparent in features and access routes displaying piety and authority, as explored in Chapter Five, though this is primarily discussed in relation to the lady's authority as a direct imprint of Romantic influence.

In summary, spaces for displaying privacy and piety, and queen's spaces, visually secluded yet accessible, are part of the chivalric structuration of Romanticized chivalry, reflecting indirect but evident Romantic impact.

Designing the Romance Landscape of the Quest

The castle landscape has become an increasingly prominent area in castle studies over the past twenty years, during which it has been studied as an important feature of the castle for context and setting. This research is the first to consider the castle landscape in regards to its counterpart in Romance literature. In doing this, I have followed the progression of the Romantic knight errant as they leave the safety of the Court, and venture out into the space of the quest, the wilderness, the supernatural, and the unknown. This spatial analysis of the castle landscape is the first of its kind to follow this route, offering a new way of exploring the castle landscape, as a series of distinct spaces progressing from the 'court' into the 'wilderness'. Furthermore, the pleasure garden, the created wilderness, water, and tournament spaces have featured in many previous studies as outlined in Chapter Six, though this discussion is original in categorizing these as separate and distinct spaces with related symbolism and features reflecting those in Romance, in analysing them as a progression in the order of the quest landscape, and in assessing them as part of the castle's chivalric structuration within the previously-outlined Romantic culture of élite society.

Through this method of analysis, I have found that landscape spaces and their designs reveal intentions that fit within the wider élite context, incorporating symbolic attributes and features, and used in ways reflecting themes in Romance. This has provided a new means of furthering the castle landscape agenda, allowing further understanding of intentions, which I argue, developed out of influences from Romance and contemporary Romance court culture.

This research has specifically found that tournament grounds, particularly for Round Table tournaments, and temporary structures in proximity to great halls was determined by Arthurian prestige for incorporating Romantically-related activities such as theatrical feasting and role playing.

This study has developed the idea of water and its uses and symbolism related to female power, magical boundaries, and transformative power. In this, I have

determined that the Romantic and archaic legendary associations between water features and female power, and also its associations with otherworldly boundaries, were prevalent within castle society. Beyond constructing fountains, shallow meres and shallow moats for enjoyment or display, I argue that their constructions can be determined as Romantically influenced on the basis of their patrons' emulations of Romance elsewhere.

Regarding my reassessments of the previously-suggested Romantic associations with the gardens at Woodstock and Tintagel, I determine that Romantic influence was likely behind the design at Woodstock but not at Tintagel. Thomas of Britain's *Tristan* narrative was produced out of Henry II's court and was in close connection with Henry II's palace landscapes. I would argue further that the generalized Romantic tradition from the earlier Arthurian narratives of Chrétian and Marie de France, in which the motif of a Fairy pavilion, or of meeting a lady in a tent in the wilderness, were influential in Henry II's design. This location was a realm separate from the court, within a heavily symbolised location in a small 'wilderness' that included a labyrinth, and was separated from the real world by a watery boundary. The Romantic connections with the quest landscape are undeniable. Tintagel's garden, however, was far more remote and vulnerable to the elements. Though walled, its size, and proximity to the well and rest of the castle do not fit with other Romantic garden settings. The 'magical' or pleasurable quality of Tintagel's landscape is the entire castle's setting rather than just that of the garden, and as such, a gloriette or special designed view would not be intended. Tintagel's lack of chambers also contributes to my reasoning that having a garden for recreation or leisure was doubtful. Instead, I argue that the entire island was a destination itself, and the hall was used for ceremonial entertainment. I do not believe that the garden played a significant role in chivalric activity.

The Space of Liminality and Creating the Romantic Otherworld

The medieval imagination existed in a realm where reality and idealism meet, where interpretations or ideals may not appear accurate or realistic from a modern perspective. This defining trait of the medieval mind cultivated contested ideas, aligning seemingly disparate representations and symbolism. This was the context for idealistic chivalric values and ambitions to coexist within the contemporary corruption in reality, in which idealism was more valued than accuracy in both physical architecture and intangible culture.

My access analysis and discussion of chivalric structuration within and around the castle has developed an idea of liminality itself as a space, echoing that of the Romantic otherworld. The medieval mind proliferated contested dualities, such as the nature of the lady and female power, the paradoxical nature of water, and extramarital lovers' fidelity. Chivalry's idealism and reality were not always aligned, and structures of privacy were intended for displaying a visual message of power. It is this space between where the medieval mind operated. Previous research has suggested the misalignment of medieval ideals and their emulations in reality, arguing that to the medieval mind, resemblance was not necessary for portrayal, such as Krautheimer's (1942) discussion of medieval representations of the earthly Jerusalem. The Romantic 'otherworld' was itself was made of boundaries, such as water and supernatural realms, and the knight's chivalric honour grew through crossing these boundaries. The line between reality and the otherworld of Romance and myth was blurred through constructions of gloriettes and chambers in gardens, presencing oneself in an otherworldly setting. Windows allowed one to be inside and through their gaze, be outside simultaneously. At Mass, the time to come and the time of the present were conjoined, and Arthur was the once and future king. Medieval English ideals and power were suspended between ancestral memory and the future (Warren 2000, p.244).

In this research, I have found specific features of traversable and inhabitable spaces of liminality, intended to connect spaces, define them, and provide chivalric

space in which to be within the 'between'.

Physical thresholds and doorways defined the space beyond and indicated who the space was for. This has been discussed in other academic research relating to 'chivalric' elaborate doorways designating élite use, but I have applied new Romantic significance specifically in my discussion of the doorway to the Beauchamp Chapel at St Mary's Church (Warwick) defined by the 'bear and ragged staff' iconography, for example.

I have developed the idea that window embrasures, gates, archivolts, tympanums, and their counterparts in microarchitecture designated importance and visually set apart those within from outside generic space. I argue that pentices similarly distinguished 'private' or secluded space for the movement of those in power, such as the large pentice at Clarendon that connected Eleanor of Provence's chambers with those of Henry III and Lord Edward (Edward I), visually separated within the wider courtyard. This would have stood as a symbol of their power even in their physical absence. The importance of being seen moving between castle structures has been previously discussed in other studies (Heslop and McAuley 2011, p.15), and I add that beyond practical uses as a sheltered walkway, pentices provided permanent visuals of the 'space' traversed by the most élite and displayed a visual of this 'private' exclusivity.

Furthermore, I argue that baldachins (like tympanums and archivolts) above thrones, bed canopies, microarchitecture on screens and above quire seats and organs in churches, architecturally outlined important space to symbolise exclusivity and privacy, and therefore power. Statues beneath microarchitectural archways around doors are also displays of this, indicating the status of those represented. Mary was the symbolic doorway through which Christ entered the world, placing huge importance on the threshold as well as those within (Gertsman and Stevenson 2012). I would also argue that emphasized archivolts served to visually deepen thresholds, increasing the liminal space to be traversed and further setting apart the space within. Crenellations surrounding images of kings similarly conjured intended

messages of power, and tangentially, halos and crowns played a similar role in imagery to encompass and designate power (both divine and secular). Likewise, hearth mantles and window tracery have been previously discussed as frames to highlight and even display sources of fire and sunlight, which were both symbolically powerful, associated with ideas of transformation (Dixon 2016a; Dempsey 2019).

Another new idea specific to this research is in relation to ground floor hall thresholds. The experience for those élite entering the ground floor hall would have seemed misaligned with contemporary architectural spaces. When the Continental and wider architectural trend was to ascend up to their designated ceremonial entrance, the stairs also part of the liminal experience, having an entrance into ceremonial space on the ground would have physically placed them in an archaic metaphorical space. This would have looked and felt antiquated and reflected experiences of an imagined golden age.

The findings and arguments discussed here are not necessarily Romantic, unless explicitly designed with Arthurian imagery, such as the archivolt at Modena Cathedral and the entrance to the Beauchamp Chapel (*Figures 3.3* and *7.26*).

However, the symbolic and transformative aspect of boundaries, like that of water specifically, was propagated from the older traditions of legend and romance. Female authority was also applied to windows through prolific motifs in the Romance tradition. Such ideals and imagery would have assuredly carried meaning into reality, conjuring Romantic ideas and symbolism in the minds of society by evoking prevalent themes from Romance culture.

The Medieval Romantic Movement and the Craft of Memory

The craft of memory, creating one's history and self-projection, is a huge area of research and has been discussed at length in previous academic studies linked to literary traditions. However, this has not hitherto been applied to castle architecture and landscape spaces. In my extensive studies of chivalry and chivalric structuration, I have discussed archaism and nostalgia incorporated into castle architecture, which

has also featured in architectural and archaeological studies, though has not been specifically attributed to creations of memory. Intentionally archaic features have been discussed as propaganda and as a Norman tactic for legitimising authority, but this largely remains a separate theory from that of Romance's influence on castle architecture.

England's history incorporates a long tradition of powerful figures aligning themselves with past heroes, Roman and legendary, combined into Romantic source material by Geoffrey of Monmouth. The *Matter of Britain* is the collection of these figures and their narratives combined, telling of the British heroic heritage. Charlemagne portrayed himself as a descendant of Theodosius and Constantine (Fleiner 2020), and Edward I was portrayed as the next Justinian and Arthur. I have found that the key element of this Romantic influence is in the combination of Romance heroes and Classical figures within the same ancestry through Geoffrey of Monmouth and his Early Medieval source materials.

I have therefore found that the appropriation of archaic architectural trends and features is a form of Romanticism. The Norman use of earlier architecture in England was a display of their adoption of the native heritage, which included Arthur, Uther, and Constantine long before Geoffrey of Monmouth combined Roman heritage with Arthurian. This has been discussed largely in relation to the ground floor hall, but can be seen in William the Conqueror's construction of Colchester Castle atop the Roman ruins of the Temple of Claudius. I have therefore found architectural nostalgia to be a direct appropriation of Romance through heroic pseudo-ancestral connections. As such, nostalgic architecture is a form of memory creation, displaying one's continuity of power and ancestral affiliations. Furthermore, later medieval 'cult castles' projected this same memory, though with more influence from Romance, constructed to reflect an imagined golden age of chivalry, of which Arthur was the personification. This continued in different iterations through different periods of history, (as outlined in Appendices G and H) showing that Romantic emulations were prominent in the development of national identity then and now.

I argue that these medieval Romantic emulations were profound, and like the Romantic Movement of the eighteenth century, medieval contemporaries sought to evoke an imagined golden age found in myth, which was recalled in architecture. I have also shown that intentional archaism in medieval contemporary architecture, specifically at Pendragon Castle and Tintagel Castle, were perceived much the same way as follies were in the eighteenth century. Medieval Romanticism is an entirely new perspective on the crafting of memory, nostalgic architectural trends, and on the Norman development of power. This creation of Romantic memory has been made tangible and brought within the remit of castle studies through this thesis.

Romantic Nostalgia and the True English Style

This leads to another original argument, as I have found that whilst the medieval English style of castle architecture was developed out of various supra-national features, the archaic ground floor hall remained the true feature of the English castle. Before English Gothic, or Perpendicular, the Continental features that made up the English castle were, as I argue, a display of power much the same as the Norman constructions of native ground floor Saxon halls. This English display of pan-Continental power was a defining trend of English kingship and castle architecture (Thompson 1991, p.89; Creighton and Wright 2016, p.288), though the one true insular 'English' feature was the ground floor hall. This tradition is deeply rooted in legendary ancestry and Romance heroes later made into the collective 'Nine Worthies' which included real and fictional figures.

As such, I argue that the English ground floor great hall, and wider applications of architectural nostalgia, were displays of a heritage made of Romance heroes, and therefore were intended to reflect the court in legend and Romance. The élite built environment can thus be viewed as the materialization of chivalric identities and values, translating ideologies from intangible into tangible, Romance culture into material culture.

Edward I's Arthurian Enthusiasm Reassessed and the Second Cult of Arthur

Edward I's "Arthurian Enthusiasm" has featured in previous academic studies, though until now, its emulation into architecture has not been thoroughly assessed. These case studies have refined the narrative of Edward I's Romantic allusions and Arthurian propaganda, supporting their tangible applications through critical contextual analysis. My case studies have identified instances of direct Arthurian emulations listed below:

Upon reanalysis of previous research, I have determined that Tintagel Castle was a direct recreation of a mythical site of Romantic prestige by Richard of Cornwall, intentionally emulating a specific site of Arthurian lore, only used for ceremonial purposes.

Upon my analysis, I have concluded that the intentional nostalgic features of Pendragon Castle demonstrate its likely use as a preeminent folly. This was further demonstrated by its Arthurian name in 1309 as part of a wider trend of Arthurian symbolism within the barony. Deep analysis of Robert Clifford's heritage led me to discover the idea that the *Book of Taliesin* and the Kingdom of Rheged in Cumbria likely influenced the proliferation of Arthurian legend in the northwest of England.

My reassessment of Caernarfon Castle has brought to light connections between Roman and Welsh Arthurian emulations, through which, I argue that the site was a palace to symbolise Edward I's Arthurian lineage and power at the original princely capital of Gwynedd (which includes Nevyn, Segontium, and Dinas Emrys), a land built upon deep traditions of Arthurian legend.

My assessment of Warwick Castle revealed an earldom not just associated with *Guy of Warwick*, but who claimed an ancestry with a web of heroes from legend and Romance. This is further supported in heirlooms and 'relics' in wills, names of descendants, and likely even a tomb constructed for the Romance hero, Sir Guy near Warwick Castle at Gycliffe.

Analysing Kenilworth Castle's landscape and primary documentation has also

revealed that The Brays were earthworks used (and potentially created for) the Arthurian Round Table tournament of 1279, with likely viewing galleries along the tiltyard. Woodstock Palace also reveals evidence, that when assessed through a lens of Romance literary spaces and symbolism, reveals copious similarities that, I argue, were intended to create a Romantic 'otherworld', separated from reality.

These studies combined, revealed contemporary emulations of Arthur by previous members of Edward I's retinue. Through their social and familial connections to each other (*Figure 7.28*) and their leader, Thomas of Lancaster, I have argued that Pendragon Castle's name by Robert Clifford and Guy de Beauchamp's (alleged) Arthurian accusations at Gaveston's trial were part of a wider use of the figure of Arthur as a chivalric figurehead of the baronial opposition to Edward II. I have concluded through analysis of primary documentation that Thomas of Lancaster's pseudonym for secret treasonous correspondence was indeed 'King Arthur', and that this baronial uprising from 1309-1322 was defined by a second wave of Edward I's posthumous Cult of Arthur.

8.4 Concluding Summary

Medieval English culture was an entanglement of values of the Church and of the Court. The specific courts discussed in this thesis between the late twelfth century and early fourteenth century each propagated Romantic ideals or propaganda, to different extents. This impacted and shaped the ideals of chivalry and courtly society's chivalric ambitions, extending beyond that of the mounted soldier to encompass all of élite society. These courtly micro-cultures developed what I have referred to as Romantic culture, out of which the secular built environment emerged in accordance with chivalric structuration. Therefore, Romance impacted English castle architecture indirectly through the later middle ages.

This thesis has also discussed many instances of the medieval élite's individualized commissions and emulations with specific Romances and legendary heroes. Some of these examples were documented, such as Eleanor of Provence's 'Alexan-

der Chambers', though the majority do not provide explicit documentary evidence. In these cases, I have shown that with analysis of contemporary Romance literature, chivalric values, architectural trends, and the wider context of the specified patron, it is possible to build a framework for identifying intentional elements of direct Romantic influence in castle architecture and landscape spaces.

This adds an exciting new aspect to the castle's historical narrative for the modern experience of these sites. Contention has met elements of Romanticism and fantasy employed at castle sites, as they are seen as 'disneyfication' and take away from the historical integrity of the site. This research has shown that Romance and the magic otherworld were purposefully invoked in the Middle Ages to create intentional castle experiences and cultivate contemporary perceptions, and therefore, Romanticism through the ages can be interpreted as a historically-accurate use of the castle and its architecture and surrounding landscape.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

From soaring towers and drawbridges across moats, to private pleasure gardens with giggling damsels and lute music, I began this thesis hoping to confirm my suspicions that the idea of the Romantic castle was related to the historical castle of reality. What followed was a far more broad and subtle, yet much more significant body of research that has provided numerous original contributions to castle studies and uncovered many ideas that have scope for further research. Though many fleeting comments in castle studies invoke the idea of the castle of Romance, the progression of this thesis presents a vigorously researched and realistic idea of the Romantic castle. The Romantic landscape has also been described in comparison with the historic castle landscape to identify a progression of distinct spaces comparable to those encountered by the knight errant on his quest. Moreover, Romanticized chivalry is a new avenue for understanding the ideals of the medieval élite, expanded from soldiers of the lesser nobility to include women and the most élite, encouraged by Arthurian and heroic prestige, the thrill of magic and the supernatural, and the newfound power of the chivalric lady.

To reiterate, this thesis has taken a perspective from buildings archaeology to research influences from medieval Romance literature on the architecture and surrounding landscape of English castles, dating from the early twelfth century to the early-mid fourteenth century. Though this time period is frequently classified as 'high medieval', I have classified post-Conquest castles as 'late medieval'. This ar-

chaeological study of Romance literature has not required a dedicated specialist study on manuscripts or composition, but has focused instead on the Romances as material culture, contextualizing related narratives, characters and themes. The *Matters of France*, *Britain* and *Rome* converged into interwoven character relationships through fictitious royal lineages and heroic ancestries, which have been written into the pseudo-historical lineage of the kings of Britain. These 'ancestral' figures provided source material for the ensuing medieval Romance genre, and directly associated the English monarchy and nobility with a fictitious, Romantic past. This was constructed into the built environment as a display of heroic associations and as an association with the personification of exemplary chivalry. Outlined below are several points of original contribution that emerged whilst undertaking this research.

9.1 Original Contributions to Research

My primary original contribution to the field of castle studies is my new methodology, which provides a means of analysing Romantic ideals that influenced the medieval élite. This methodology is an original theoretical framework for exploring the study of Romance's impact on castle life, ideologies, and material culture. By using Romance literature in this archaeological study, I have demonstrated the legitimacy and benefit of Romance's application in archaeology, of which scholars remain divided (Paphitis 2014; Swallow 2019).

Another original aspect of this research is my focus on castles from the 'formative' period, during the height of castle construction in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Castle studies typically attribute 'chivalric' castles to the reigns of Edward III and Richard II, but this work uses the development of chivalry in England to analyse the development of the English castle.

This has developed a new narrative of chivalric influence, as Romanticized chivalry can be used to gauge Romantic influences within the contemporary court society. Romanticized chivalry allows researchers to study medieval culture more fully, as chivalry is too frequently idealized as a static sense of martial honour for male sol-

diers. In reality, chivalry was a dynamic, ever-changing and hugely impactful set of ideals which became applied across élite society.

Following from this, my dedicated study of chivalry's development throughout the Middle Ages is unique in its application to castle-specific research. This work has shown the value of using contemporary chivalric trends to examine corresponding spaces in the castle, as space is defined by activity within. Medieval studies that are not focused on chivalry generally apply the term as an overarching catch-all for either élite courtly society or andro-centric martial honour. This misses the significant developmental changes in chivalric ideals, which provide useful insight to the aspirations of contemporary society. Of primary interest to this research is Romance's impact on chivalric values specifically, as these changes affected the built environment. This original critical assessment of Romance's impact on chivalry, specifically applied to castle architecture, has helped to build concrete arguments for chivalry's visible signature or footprint within the castle's architecture and landscape spaces.

My application of Romantically-reformed chivalric ideals as a means of analysing architecture provides further originality in my theory of 'chivalric structuration', based on Giddens's Structuration Theory. This provides an entirely new and effective framework for studying space and design in castle architecture and associated landscapes, which simultaneously highlights specific activities impacted by the influx of Romance culture and its ideologies. Through this method of analysis, the built environment can be studied as a cultural product of Romantically-reformed chivalry.

My original access analysis applied over a range of castle styles and architectural phases reveals contemporary intentions for and uses of space within, such as Bodiam Castle, which displays an archaic exterior but contemporary organization of interior space.

This access study has significantly impacted the current idea of female spaces in the castle, previously thought to be the deepest and most private within the

architecture. What my research has found contradicts this, providing an alternate theory that baronial female spaces have not left traces in their castles, but queen's spaces are the most private in sites they used as palaces. The spatial arrangement of structures and visuals of privacy seem to be applied similarly at 'palaces' and castles, revealing similar intentions for design and use. For instance, the spatial alignment at Clarendon Palace, Kennington Palace and Westminster Palace are similar to the arrangement of queen's spaces at Winchester Castle. An intriguing caveat to this, however, is that while these queen's spaces are the furthest away from visitor approaches and public spaces, the sites themselves lack defensive structures, rendering these private spaces vulnerable from the back. As such, my access analysis has found that privacy for female spaces was added as a visual concept rather than for practical defense. Female authority and spatial usage is a significant idea in this thesis, as my analysis reflects the contemporary emergence of the 'chivalric lady' (or damsel), who only appears in Romance, wielding authority over the knight and his chivalric renown.

Another original aspect of this access study is my approach to studying female space by agency and authority rather than physical access. As permitted physical access and access restrictions cannot be studied as an absolute, identifying space by the associated authority within eliminates the problematic nature of absolute physical access, which has retained a contested nature in castle studies. This new means of identifying space by female authority is far more consistent and identifiable through contemporary imagery, material culture and symbolism. Also, this presents the space as an image of power without requiring the agent's physical presence, which provides an avenue for identifying Romantic impact, as female agency and ideologies change alongside the development of Romance culture and chivalry.

Queen's halls present an entirely new avenue of research. I identified queen's halls, likely constructed during the reign of Henry III, in at least six palatial and castle sites. No research exists on these spaces, yet they provide a significant new opportunity to study thirteenth-century female authority. I originally questioned

the documentary translations, but upon examination of the primary sources, these spaces are referenced in the same manner as king's halls and great halls.

The female gaze is an original contribution of this research, as the 'gaze', or the 'view' is typically discussed from a post-medieval male perspective (Martin 2007). My application of the female gaze as a space, presencing her authority within the landscape is a valuable new addition to castle and landscape research.

Upon identifying the visual importance of movement between castle structures within the site, I developed an original idea of 'chivalric secular liturgy', which provides a new vocabulary for discussing secular procession and ceremonial movement as part of castle activity.

I have introduced a nuanced way to study the castle landscape, as a sequence of spaces extending outwards from the castle's architectural spaces. This offers new avenues of research to further the landscape agenda, identifying contemporary uses of space that reflect those in the Romance tradition. In this study, I have also justified the medieval landscape as 'designed', as alterations and constructs were intentionally placed within the landscape for specific chivalric purposes.

Through analysing castle spaces and visuals of privacy, I have discussed the use of pentices, like baldachins and windows, using fenestration (Creighton 2010) as a means of defining important space and presencing one's power. This is reflected in manuscript imagery, seals and stained glass, with personal affiliations displayed through the microarchitectural 'frames' in which they are set.

I have also introduced the idea that a medieval Romantic Movement predated that of the eighteenth century. Though a long tradition of emulating literary and legendary heroes predates the Middle Ages, the late medieval movement of constructing 'cult castles' and hosting chivalric theatrical tournament displays was specifically intended to reflect an imagined medieval 'golden age'. The courtly culture of Edward I propagated the Cult of Arthur, presenting an image of idealized chivalric kingship and power. The later medieval construction of archaic castles and theatrical displays reflected these centuries-earlier displays of Romantic chivalry. With the

progression of time, 'medievalization' became muddled with 'Romanticization', and by the eighteenth century, Romanticism reflected an imagined medieval age, personified by King Arthur. I have argued for, and introduced this medieval Romantic movement, providing a new avenue of research for later medieval recollections of Romance by appearing more archaic-'medieval'.

My study of nostalgic architecture has pushed beyond the bounds of 'war or status', applying the construction of memory, heritage and self identity. The form of the ground floor great hall certainly evoked Romantic settings of Arthur's ancestral court and became a definitive icon for English national identity. Through discussing Henry I's ground floor Exchequer Hall at Caen, I have identified an early trend of supra-nationally appropriating this 'English' native style to symbolise continuity of English power.

9.2 Research Challenges and Shortcomings

In studying Medieval England, the standard issue of gaps in primary documentation has been an obstacle for much of this research. To supplement this, I have needed to construct wider contextual narratives using other sources of evidence. In the extant records, the original writer's skill in using grammatically correct Latin or French, and the addition of regional dialects, have impacted antiquarian and modern translations. This has, in some cases, confused the historical record, such as in the definition and discussion of Round Table tournaments (Chapter Six) or medieval applications of architectural terms (Chapter Five). This has also caused confusion in my research of Romance literature, for example, in Geoffrey of Monmouth's mention of Constantine, which occasionally does not refer to Constantine the Great. Medieval contemporaries would likely be familiar with these other characters in the narrative, though history has blurred distinctions which have not stood the test of time.

Incomplete architectural records have also been a hindrance in this thesis, as later constructions and deterioration have affected the ability to determine exact archi-

tectural layout of castles. As such, my access analysis diagrams, like other previous access studies, can only remain an estimated interpretation. This is still incredibly beneficial for architectural research, as wider investigation of any extant evidence, such as floorplans, antiquarian drawings and diagrams, primary expenditure documentation, and even personal sources such as Anne Clifford's diary, provides a specialist level of familiarity with the site in question and helps to construct an educated interpretation of interior spatial layout.

Another challenge faced by all medieval scholars is that of perspective and time. Morris (2012) has compared studying the Middle Ages to listening to voices barely audible, and Brooks (2016) has related it to the use of a flickering candle instead of a bright light overhead. The difficulty lies in retaining what is already known, whilst setting aside preconceived ideas of what is inferred. One can never understand fully the mindset of those in history, and piecing together an accurate contextual narrative can never provide absolute certainty.

9.3 Future Research Potential

This thesis has identified many possibilities for new avenues of research. Some are discussed below, whilst others only need brief mention.

One area of future research has been mentioned above, relating to queen's halls. This is a primary area I am personally excited to pursue further, as no other research has addressed the topic.

Another new issue that requires further analysis is the Kenilworth Round Table of 1279, which traveled to and ended at Warwick. In researching the primary documentation for this event, I discovered another entry for a Round Table at Warwick, which I believe has previously been associated with the one event that began at Kenilworth, and has therefore not been listed as its own event. In analysing the original wording rather than the translation, I found that the dates provided for these events are in fact, over a month apart.

As intangible folkloric and Romantic influences are newly emerging as legitimate

sources of archaeological evidence, further related research on castle spaces and distinct landscape spaces would provide new insight into medieval élite culture.

This thesis has also identified the new theory that Edward II's baronial opposition was unified under the image of Arthur. As this was discovered during the latter phase of my research, a more comprehensive exploration of the barons who followed Thomas of Lancaster would be an interesting and exciting area of study. Compiling an index of Arthurian names, decorations, elements of propaganda, and contemporary architectural work at castles could potentially reveal a much larger picture of this second Cult of Arthur.

While researching spaces of the hunt constructed into the landscape, I found that 'trysts' were temporary structures used as meeting locations for hunting parties. Though no other discussions have addressed the etymological connection with the amorous 'tryst' as a secret meeting space for lovers, there is great potential for exploring implications of the sexual symbolism of the hunt and this potential connection with secret amorous meeting locations.

As I have discussed in regards to pentices, thresholds and baldachins, windows provide an area of further research potential, as a 'space' representing the authority of the 'viewer'. Previous research has suggested the transformative power of light, and carrying this further, one could also explore the use of the window embrasure as a frame for light, as the mantle and wall hearth framed the light of the fire.

Pendragon Castle holds great potential as a site of untapped archaeological excavation, or test pitting at the very least. The only archaeological excavation at the site, as I have discussed, was the 2018 community dig at the lime kiln in an adjacent field. With such sparse documentation prior to the seventeenth century, archaeological excavation around the tower and surrounding the small motte could provide a wealth of information.

Further research of whitewashing at castles with banded masonry would provide interesting insight to contemporary perspectives of multi-coloured stonework. The White Tower, with vertical masonry bands, was whitewashed, as was Dover, which

has grey bands around the keep. This poses questions as to the purpose of masonry banding, if they were covered in limewash. Taylor (1986) has listed the use of limewash at Conwy Castle, though nothing has been found to suggest whitewashing at Caernarfon, which is unlike other structures of the Welsh princes (Butler 2010, p.30). This could reveal Caernarfon as an even more powerful and distinctive site.

One other area of interest for future research is the immediately post-medieval Arthuriana, dating from the end of the fourteenth century through the sixteenth century. I have mentioned that late medieval Romanticism reflected an imagined golden age by emulating 'medievalized' styles and imagery. This late and post-medieval Romantic movement has yet to be discussed from this perspective and provides a new theory of an earlier Romantic Movement centuries before that of the eighteenth century.

9.4 In Conclusion...

The tradition of using grand architectural projects to symbolise messages, ideals and fictional, intangible themes has been present throughout human history (Robertson et al. 2006). Examples of this are vast and diverse, from Classical friezes displaying mythological narratives, to Mesoamerican temples intended to symbolise deities and sacred geological features (Geller 2006, p.37-48), and ruinous architecture purposefully ruined to evoke the mysteries of an Arcadian past (Piggott 1976; Aston 2000; Taylor 2000). The medieval intentional chivalric experience of castles, the Romantic movement of the eighteenth century, and modern-day tourism share a similar goal in evoking the wonder and mysteries of a legendary and imagined golden age.

As medieval contemporaries exploited Romantic connections within their architecture, modern Romantic allusions and cultivated experiences appear surprisingly integral and accurate within the castle's historic narrative. This research provides a valuable new avenue for promoting public engagement and conservation, whilst preserving the site's historical integrity with allusions to Camelot. Castle contem-

poraries enjoyed Arthurian theatrics and invoked their mythical predecessors within their built environment, and in telling this Romantic story of castles, their history is further enriched. Lines between myth and history become blurred, fact and popular opinion are occasionally indecipherable, and stories rooted in fantasy can have tangible and powerful cultural significance. Formative stories of local history may lie far beyond the truth but possibly too deeply entrenched in cultural heritage to disentangle the facts from contemporary perceptions and identities. Myths tells us of the past, even when based on fiction, revealing how people described and understood their histories in the ways available to them. The appropriation of Romance heroes and narratives into English history and heritage is vital for better understanding medieval élite culture, their built environment, and English national identity.

Castles were the architectural face of chivalry (Saul 2011, p.261). In the context of chivalry's Romantic development, the idea of the 'chivalric' castle encompasses Romantic impact. Their lived experiences depended on designs of access and visibility within (Martin 2012, p.38), and this thesis's theory of chivalric structuration offers a framework for methodically analysing this indirect Romantic influence. The lived experience is deeply entrenched within the structuration of and integral for defining the space of one's built environment (Hodder and Orton 1976). Contemporary medieval uses of Romantic connections in their ancestry and built environment present opportunities to identify direct emulations and allusions of Romantic themes and characters. This is the extent to which one can claim that medieval English castle architecture and landscape spaces were indeed influenced by medieval Romance literature.

Appendix A

Quotes from Charney's *Livre de Chevalerie* (c.1351)

Geoffroi de Charney, a member of the French Order of the Star, was a commanding officer in the service of the Duke of Normandy (the future King Jean II) against Edward III. His high ranking and vast military career during the first half of the fourteenth century, place him directly within what later generations refer to as the 'golden age of chivalry'. Below are quotations from Kaeuper and Kennedy's 1996 translation, which reveal female agency and chivalric roles of the lady, showing that chivalry was applied court-wide. The information provided also shows influence from Romance in the contemporary ideals of chivalry. Where not explicitly obvious, many subtle references in the French wording allude to the vernacular prose *Lancelot*, discussed by the translators (Kaeuper and Kennedy 1996, p.21-25, 67-74).

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Deeds Undertaken for Love of a Lady: Section 12, Line 10 "Such...men at arms may nevertheless be so fortunate as to encounter such good adventures that their deeds of prowess and achievements in a number of places and fields of battle are held to be of great account. And they should be praised and honoured, and so also shall the noble ladies who have inspired them and through whom they have made their name. And one should indeed honour, serve, and truly love these noble ladies and others whom I hold to be ladies who inspire men to great achievement, and it is thanks to such ladies that men become good knights and men at arms. Hence all good men at arms are rightly bound to protect and defend the honour of all ladies against all those who would threaten it by word or deed."

Love an Inspiration for Honourable Deeds: Section 19, Line 188 "These above-mentioned good men at arms whom you are so eager to resemble have further lessons to give you, for although the practice of arms is hard, stressful and perilous to endure, it seems to them that strength of purpose and cheerfulness

of heart makes it possible to bear all these things gladly and confidently, and all this painful effort seems nothing to them, for they can think of all that can keep them happy in mind and body, provided there are honourable deeds to be done when they should do them. And these people should live loyally and joyfully, and, among other things, love a lady truly and honourably, for it is the right position to be in for those who desire to achieve honour. But make sure that the love and the loving are such that just as dearly as each of you should cherish your own honour and good standing, so should you guard the honour of your lady above all else and keep secret the love itself and all the benefit and the honourable rewards you derive from it; you should, therefore, never boast of the love nor show such outward signs of it in your behaviour that would draw the attention of others. The reason for this is that when such a relationship becomes known, no good is, in the end, likely to come of it; great difficulties may arise which then bring serious trouble. The greatest pleasure to be derived from love is not to be found in saying 'I love so and so', nor in behaving in such a way that everyone will say: 'That man is the lover of that lady.' And there are many who say that they would not want to love Queen Guinevere if they did not declare it openly or if it were not known. Such men would prefer it to be said by everyone that they were the accepted lovers of ladies, even if this were not true, than to love and meet with a favourable response, were this to be kept secret. And this is ill done, for there is more perfect joy in being secretly in the company of one's lady than one could have in a whole year, were it to be known and perceived by many. And we should know for certain that the most secret love is the most lasting and the truest, and that is the kind of love for which one should aim."

The Lady Who Sees Her Knight Honoured: Section 20, Line 1

"Which one of two young ladies should have the greater joy in her lover when they are both as a feast in a great company and they are aware of each other's situation? Is it the one who loves the good knight, and she sees her lover come into the hall where all are at table and she sees him honoured, saluted, and celebrated by all manner of people and brought to favourable attention before ladies and damsels, knights and squires, and she observes the great renown and the glory attributed to him by everyone? All of this makes the noble lady rejoice greatly within herself at the fact that she has set her mind and heart on loving and helping to make such a good knight or good man at arms. And when she also sees and understands that, in addition to the true love for one another which they share, he is in addition loved, esteemed, and honoured by all, this makes her so glad and happy for the great worth to be found in the man who loves her, that she considers her time to have been well spent. And if one of the other ladies loves the miserable wretch who, for no good reason, is unwilling to bear arms, she will see him come into that very hall and perceive and understand that no one pays him any attention or shows him honour or notices him, and few know who he is, and those who do think nothing of him, and he remains hidden behind everyone else, for no one brings him forward. Indeed, if there is such a lady, she must feel very uneasy and disconsolate when she sees that she has devoted time and thought to loving and admiring a man whom no one admires or honours, and that they never hear a word said of any great deed that he ever achieved. Ah God! What small comfort and solace is there for those ladies who

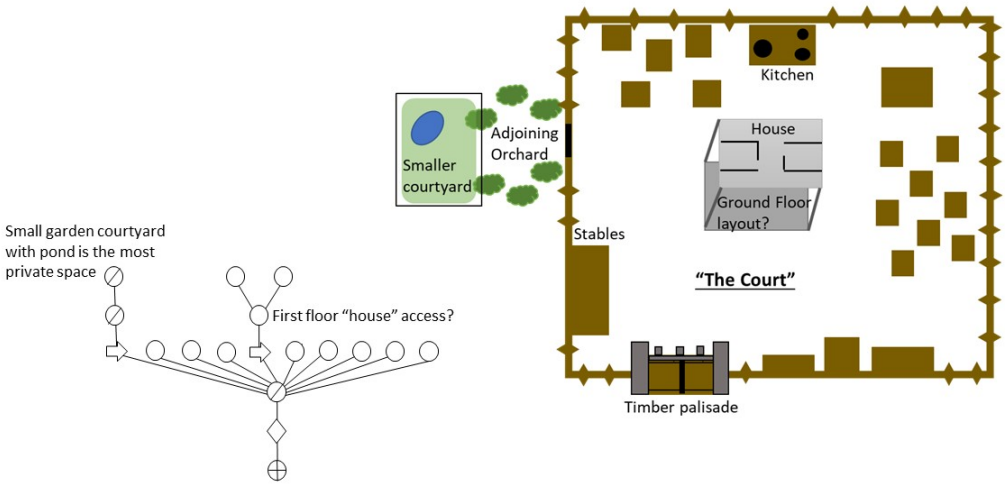
see their lovers held in such little honour, with no excuse except lack of will! How do such people dare to love when they do not know nor do they want to know about the worthy deeds that they should know about and ought to perform, especially those who for good reason should undertake them? And indeed this love can be worth nothing, nor can it last for long without the ladies wanting to have no more of it and withdrawing, and the miserable wretches, though well justified shame, dare not protest, nor insist that their ladies should not treat them thus; instead they themselves retreat, and they have to do so in great shame and discomfort, not can they put forward any arguments to persuade their ladies to behave differently. Therefore men should love secretly, protect, serve, and honour all those ladies and damsels who inspire knights, men at arms, and squires to undertake worthy deeds that bring them honour and increase their renown. And these noble ladies should, as is their duty, love and honour these worthy men at arms who, in order to deserve their noble love and their benevolence, expose themselves to so much physical danger as the vocation of arms requires from those who aim to reach and achieve that high honour through which they hope to deserve to win the love of their ladies. And the advice of these noble ladies is as follows: 'Love loyally if you want to be loved.' Thus you should love loyally and live joyfully and act honourably and in good hope, for these activities of love and of arms should be engaged in with the true and pure gaiety of the heart which brings the will to achieve honour."

What Young Ladies Should Wear: Section 43, Line 1 "As for the...noble ladies, damsels, and other women of high rank, it can indeed be said that for those of them who are in a position to do so, it is fitting to wear fine circlets, coronetals, pearls, precious stones, rings, embroidery, to be beautifully dressed, their heads and bodies well adorned according to what is right and fitting for each person to do; it is much more suitable for them to wear find adornments than men, for young damsels sometimes achieve better marriages when they are seen in rich apparel which suits them. And those who are married aught to maintain as high a standard of dress as they can, the better to please their husband and to appear in appropriate fashion among other noble ladies and damsels."

Appendix B

Carolingian Estate Listings in Northern France, in the *Brevium Exempla* c.830

(Lyons 1975, p.102-103)



The image above is an original schematic plan interpreted from the second estate entry listed below. After interpreting a potential layout, I created an access diagram with a starting point just outside the palisade. Based on the estate descriptions, the ground floor great hall was absent, and the primary structure takes the form of a hall house used by the most élite. Furthermore, these descriptions indicate hierarchy within the architecture, which is generally absented in Anglo Saxon structural layouts.

Lyons's (1975) compilation of documents from the reign of Charlemagne includes three élite estate listings from Northern France, which I have used to contrast Early Medieval French settlement patterns with contemporary great hall society in England. Two of the estate listings have been copied in part below:

First Estate Listed: "...on the crown estate of Asnapius, a royal house, well built of stone, with three chambers; the whole house surrounded by galleries with 11 rooms for women; underneath, one cellar; two porches, 17 other houses inside the courtyard built of wood, with as many rooms and with the other amenities all in good order, one stable, one kitchen, one bakehouse, two barns, three haylofts. A courtyard with a strong palisade a stone gateway with a gallery above from which to make distributions. A smaller courtyard similarly enclosed with a palisade, well ordered and planted with various kinds of trees....."

Second Estate Listed: ...on the crown estate...a royal house, well-built of stone outside and wood inside, with two chambers and two galleries, eight other houses inside the courtyard, built of wood; a well-built women's workshop with a store room; one stable; a kitchen and bakehouse combined; five barns, three graneries. A courtyard enclosed with a palisade and added spikes with a wooden gateway. The gateway has a gallery above it. A smaller courtyard likewise enclosed with a palisade. An orchard adjoining it, full of trees of various kinds. Inside, one fishpond stocked with fish, one garden in good order...."

Appendix C

Primary Documents Pertaining to the Baronial Opposition to Edward II

Official orders from Edward II regarding baronial uprising
(Presented in full as they appear in the primary source. James Douglas's correspondence with Thomas of Lancaster, as 'King Arthur', is included)

"Close Rolls, Edward II, March 1322": Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward II: v.iii, 1318-1323, ed. H C Maxwell Lyte (Online access: British History Online p.524-529, originally published by Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London 1895.)

March 1.

Coventry.

To the barons, bailiffs, and men of the port of Wynchelse. Order to prepare as many of their ships as possible, and to cause them to be provided with armed men and victuals, and to cause them to be sent to the water of Humbre with all speed, to set out in the king's service against the Scotch rebels and certain rebellious magnates of this realm. They are enjoined to bear in mind how the king began what he has now done in part by their counsel lately given to the king on the water, when they promised that they would go by water in the king's assistance whenever he went by land. They are ordered to certify the king of their proceedings herein by their letters and by the bearer hereof. By K.
Vacated, because the writ was restored.

March 3.

Merevale Abbey.

To the sheriff of Somerset and Dorset. Order to cause proclamation to be made that all adherents of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, except those who were with the king's contrariants in the marches of Wales and the siege of the castle of Tykehill, may come in safety to the king to seek his grace without incurring imprisonment, disinheritance, or loss of goods and chattels, provided that they come to the king immediately after the proclamation. By K.
[Parl. Writs.]

March 1.

Coventry.

To W. archbishop of Canterbury. The archbishop knows how certain magnates of the realm have for a long time disturbed the king and his realm, proclaiming that they did all these things for the honour and profit of the king, and have now taken to arms and gone to the north and have leagued themselves against the king with Thomas, earl of Lancaster, and it appears plainly in a transcript sent to the king of certain letters that have been found in the north, a copy of which transcript is enclosed herewith, that [although] the said rebels asserted they had done these things for the king's honour and the profit of the realm, they have conspired for the king's shame and the disinheritance and the destruction of his realm and people, and that they are hastening a confederacy made by them with the Scotch rebels, contrary to their allegiance; wherefore the king is journeying with horses and arms to the north, where the said rebels now are awaiting the Scots. The king orders the archbishop to cause the copy aforesaid to be read and published in the cathedral and collegiate churches and other places and in public convocations in his diocese as often as he shall see fit, and to send a copy thereof to all his suffragans, ordering them to publish the same. By K.

To W. archbishop of York. Like order, substituting for the above letters found in the north, 'certain letters in the archbishop's possession, a copy whereof he has sent to the king.'

To the sheriff of Lincoln. Order to cause the copy of the aforesaid transcript to be read and published, enjoining all to aid the king in this matter. By K.

The like to all the sheriffs of England.

Enrolment of letters of Thomas Randolf, earl of Moref, lord of Annandale (Waude Demand) and Man, supplying the place of the king of Scotland, dated at Corbrigg, on Friday after St. Hilary, 1321, granting safeconduct to Sir Richard le Chapeleyn of Toppeclif and a companion and their grooms to come to speak with him. French.

[Fœdera.]

Enrolment of letters of James, lord of Duglas, dated at Etlebredehelys, Sunday the feast of St. Nicholas, 1321, granting safe-conduct to the said Richard, a companion, and their grooms to come to Jedd[ewurth]. French.[Fœdera.]

Enrolment of letters of Thomas Randolf, earl of Morref, lord of Annan dale (de Wau de Anand), and of Man, lieutenant of the king of Scotland, dated at Caveris, 16 February, in the 16th year of the reign of the king of Scotland, granting safe-conduct to Sir John de Moubray and Sir Roger de Clifford and to forty horsemen, their horses, equipments, and grooms to come to him in Scotland. French.[Fœdera.]

Transcript of a letter close under the seal of Sir James de Duglas entitled at the tail **'to King Arthur'**: 'Greeting, as to himself. Sir, know that the bearer hereof came to the place where he expected to have found us on 7 February, but he did not find us there, so that an answer could not be given to him concerning his affairs before the 17 of the same month for a certain reason of which he can tell, and we send you the letter of conduct by him, and concerning the place where the conference may be best held, as appears to us, the bearer hereof can inform you, and if it please you to come to the said place or elsewhere that pleases you, certify us six days beforehand. To God, that he may guard you.' French. [Fœdera.]

Transcript of a letter close sealed with the seal of James de Duglas, entitled in the tail 'to Sir Ralph de Nevill': 'Greeting. Sir, for certain matters touching us, [I] pray you to send me Richard de Thurlewall in such haste as you can [as] he has conduct, and if he cannot come, send me another certain man whom you can to settle what shall be done in the matters touching us. Sir, adieu.' French. [Fœdera.]

'Sir Know that the conference that has been between us is now in train (a la fin) for performance, because the earl of Her[ford], Sir Roger Dammory, Sir Hugh Daudele, Sir Bartholomew de Badelesmere, Sir Roger de Clifford, Sir John Giffard, Sir Henry Tyeys, Sir Thomas Mauduyt, Sir John de Wylyngton, and I (et moi) and all the others are come to Pountfreyt, and they are ready to make surety to you that if you complete the matters spoken of in the conference, to wit to come to our aid and go with us in England and Wales, we on the other hand pray you to assign us day and place where we can meet you and complete the matters faithfully, and live and die with us in our quarrel, and we pray you to cause us to have safe-conduct for 30 horsemen to come into your parts.' French. [Fœdera.]

Appendix D

The Chronicle of Peter Langtoft of Bridlington, for the years 1297-1307

(ed. Wright, Rolls Series, 1866-1888, II, p.265-383 [French], trans. Rothwell 1975, p.230-265)

Three Excerpts from Peter Langtoft's Chronicle

Of the Union of England and Scotland

Ah, God! How often Merlin said truth
In his prophesies, if you read them!
Now are the two waters united in one,
Which have been separated by great mountains;
And one realm made of two different kingdoms
Which used to be governed by two kings.
Now are the islanders all joined together,
And Albany reunited to the royalties
Of which king Edward is proclaimed lord.
Cornwall and Wales are in his power,
And Ireland the great at his will.
There is neither king nor prince of all the countries
Except king Edward, who has thus united them;
Arthur had never the fiefs so fully.
Henceforward there is nothing to do but provide his expedition
Against the king of France, to conquer his inheritances,
And then bear the cross where Jesus Christ was born.
...

An Example of the Noble King Sir Arthur

In ancient histories we find written
What kings and what kingdoms king Arthur conquered,
And how he shared largely his gain.
There was not a king under him who contradicted him,
Earl, duke, or baron, who ever failed him
In war or in battle, but each followed him.
The king sir Edward has given too little;
Whereby at his departure, when he put to sea
Against the king of France, the affront was shown him
That not one of his earls undertook the expedition.
The commonalty of Scotland hears the news,
Each on his own part rejoices over it...
...

Of the Death of the Illustrious King Edward

O Lord Almighty, whom the Christian adores,
Every earthly creature is thy work,
In making the world was formed the law,
That man, woman, and beast must die by nature.
Belinus and Brennius, Britons in their pride,
Took Rome by force, and put a truce upon it;
King Arthur afterwards, without wound and without blemish,
Conquered all France, and took possession as his own.
Gawain and Angusele, of his nourishing,
In wars and battles used to follow Arthur.
One must well, among kings who have reigned since that time,
Speak of king Edward and of his memory
As of the most renowned combatant on steed.
Since the time of Adam never was any time
That prince for nobility, or baron for splendour,
Or merchant for wealth, or clerk for learning,
By art or by genius could escape death.
Of chivalry, after king Arthur,
Was king Edward the flower of Christendom.
He was so handsome and great, so powerful in arms,
That of him may one speak as long as the world lasts.
For he had no equal as a knight in armour
For vigour and valour, neither present nor future.
We have of him news dolorous and hard;

Death has taken him, alas! henceforth who will do
justice
Upon John of Badenagh, except him who has the care,
Edward the son of Edward, king of the tenure
Which is held by vow to destroy king Robin.
...

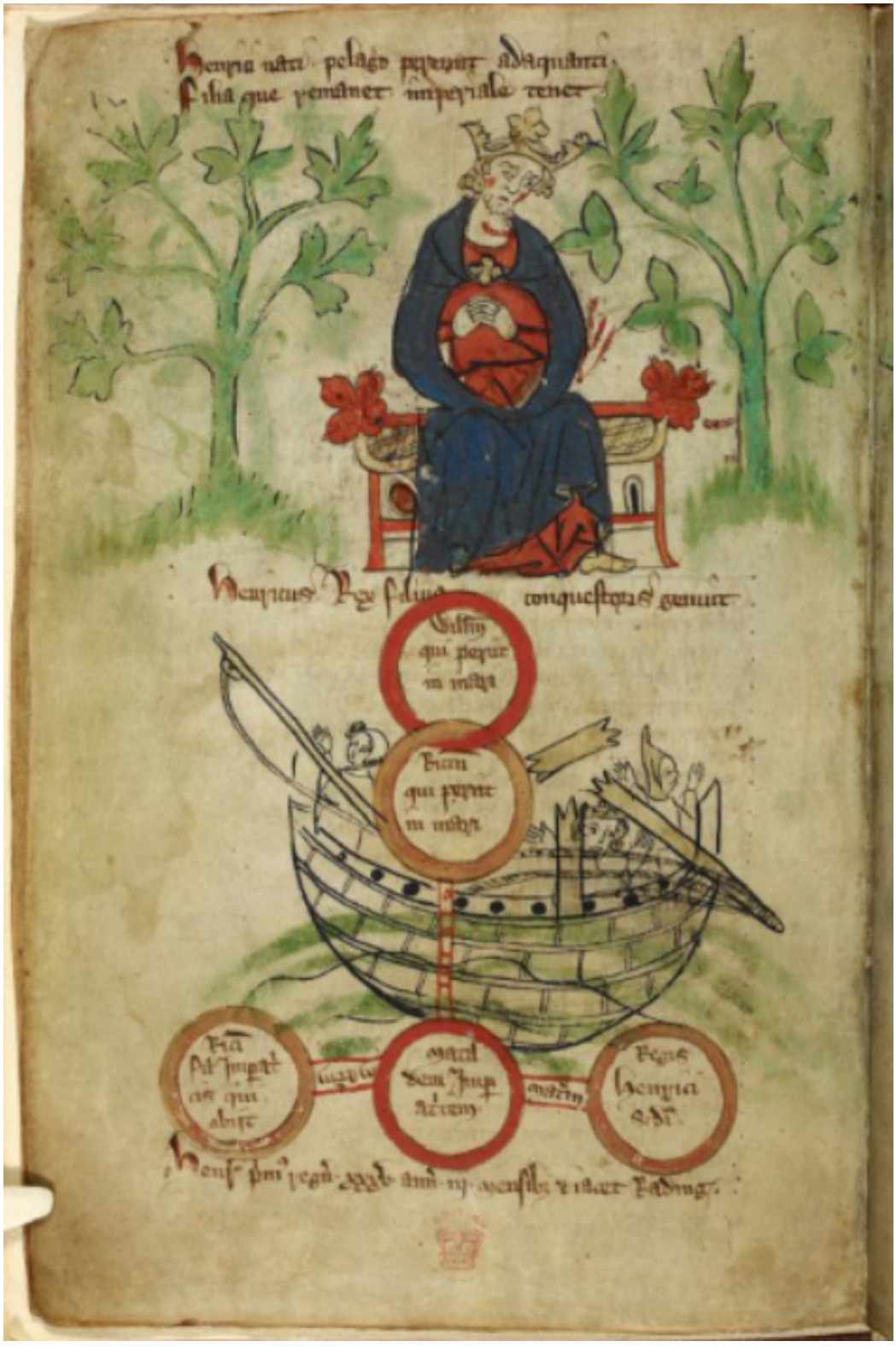
Appendix E

Illuminated Manuscript Images from Peter Langtoft's *Chronicle of England* 1307-1327

British Library: ms. Royal 20 A ii (online access) The following images display 'Arthurian' heritage of Edward I and the un-chivalric rule of Edward II. The *Chronicle of England* was composed in Anglo-Norman verse c.1307, and it was the third most popular account of English history after Wace's *Brut* and Layamon's prose *Brut Chronicle*. Langtoft's *Chronicle* contains three books, in which the first details the Creation, the Fall of Troy, and the foundation of Britain by Brutus. The second book contains the history of Saxon and Norman kings, dated through the reign of Henry III. The third book is entirely dedicated to Edward I's reign. These images are from a manuscript composed in Northern England during the reign of Edward II. This particular image was altered after his death in 1327 to read: "I am called the tumbledown king, and all the world mocks me." The socio-political context of this manuscript, especially the graffiti on Edward II's image, fits into the Arthurian micro-climate created by the barons who opposed Edward II's rule (as discussed in Chapter Seven).
(https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/TourHistoryGeneal)

Folio 3r: This image shows the death of King Vortigern, predecessor of Constantine's sons, Ambrosius Pendragon and Uther. This narrative also appears in Monmouth's *HRB*. The foreground presumably depicts Ambrosius after usurping the Crown.

Folio 4r: This image shows King Arthur, depicted with Excalibur and his shield emblazoned with an image of the Virgin Mary, as described in Nennius's *Historia Brittonum* and Monmouth's *HRB*. This is different from typical French portrayals, in which Arthur's arms show the three crowns of Alexander the Great. Thirty crowns under Arthur's feet in this image symbolize his conquered kingdoms.



Folio 6v: The top portion of this image shows Henry I on his throne, mourning the death of his sons in the wreck of the White Ship in 1120, shown in the bottom portion. The lineage continues with Empress Matilda and Henry II.

Folio 10r: This image shows Edward II receiving the Crown. This image was originally followed by a poem in Latin, which was erased and replaced with a lament in French verse that reads, "I'em m'apele rois abatu. Et tut le secle me veet gabant" (I am called the tumbledown king, and all the world mocks me).

Appendix F

Edward I's 1301 Letter to Pope Boniface VIII

Scottish Land Claim Based on 'Arthurian' Inheritance

(This letter is Edward's reply to the 1299 Papal Bull denying an earlier Scottish land claim by his barons)

Close Rolls (C54), 118, ms.10d, 9d (C), also printed in *Chron. Ed. I and II,* I, 112-120 (L)
(Stones 1965, p.192-219)

Letter sent to the court of Rome concerning the king's rights in the realm of Scotland

To the most Holy Father in Christ, Lord Boniface, by divine providence the supreme pontiff of the Holy Roman and Universal Church, Edward, by grace of the same providence king of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine offers his humblest devotion to the blessed saints. What follows we send to you not to be altogether extrajudicially, in order to set the mind of your Holiness at rest. The All-Highest, to whom all hearts are open, will testify how it is graven upon the predecessors and progenitors, the kings of England, by right of lordship and dominion, possessed, from the most ancient times, the suzerainty of the realm of Scotland and its kings in temporal matters, and the things annexe thereto, and that they received from the self-same kings, and from such magnates of the realm as they so desired, liege homage and oaths of fealty. We, continuing in the possession of that very right and dominion, have received the same acknowledgements in our time, both from the king of Scotland and from the magnates of that realm; and indeed such prerogatives of right and dominion did the kings of England enjoy over the realm of Scotland and its kings, that they have even granted to their faithful folk the realm itself, removed its kings for just causes, and constituted [others?] to rule in their place under themselves. Beyond doubt these matters have been familiar from times long past and still are, though perchance it has been suggested otherwise to your Holiness' earls by foes of peace and sons of rebellion, whose elaborate and empty fabrications your wisdom, we trust, will treat with contempt.

Thus in the days of Eli and of Samuel the prophet, after the destruction of the city of Troy, a certain valiant and illustrious man in the Trojan race called Brutus, landed with many noble Trojans, upon a certain island called, at that time, Albion. It was then inhabited by giants, and after he had defeated and slain them, by his own might and that of his followers, he called it after his own name, Britain, and his people Britains, and built a city which he called Trinovant, now known as London. Afterwards, he divided his realm among his three sons, that is he gave to his first, Locrine, that part of Britain now called England, to the second, Albanact, that part then known as Albany, after the name of Albanact, but now as Scotland, and to Camber, his youngest son, the part then known by his son's name as Cambria and now called Wales, the royal dignity being reserved for Locrine, the eldest. Two years after the death of Brutus there landed in Albany a certain king of the Huns called Humber, and he slew Albanact, the brother of Locrine. Hearing this, Locrine, the king of the Britons, pursued him, and he fled and was drowned in the river which from his name is called Humber, and thus Albany reverted to Locrine. Again, Dunwal, king of the Britains, slew Stater, king of Scotland, who rebelled against him, and received his land in surrender. Again, the two sons of Dunwal, Belin and Brenn, divided between themselves their father's realm, so that the senior, Belin, should possess the crown of the island with Britain, Wales, and Cornwall, and Brenn, who was to rule under him, should receive Scotland, for the custom of Troy demanded that the dignity of the inheritance should go to the first born. Again, Arthur, king of the Britains, a prince most renowned, subjected to himself a rebellious Scotland, destroyed Angusel by name. Afterwards, when King Arthur held a most famous feast at Caerleon, there were present there all the kings subject to him, and among them Angusel, king of Scotland, who manifested the service due for the realm of Scotland by nearing the sword of King Arthur before him; and in succession all the kings of Scotland have been subject to all the kings the Britains. Succeeding kings of England enjoyed both monarchy and dominion in the island, and subsequently Edward, known as the elder, son of Alfred, king of England, had subject and subordinate to him, as lord superior, the kings of the Scots, the Cumbrians, and the Strathclyde Welsh. Athelstan, king of England, established Constantine, king of the Scots, to rule under him, saying 'it is a greater cause for pride to make a king than to be one', and it is worthy to be remembered that this same Athelstan, on the intersession of St John of Beverley, who formerly archbishop of York, overcame, the Scots who were in rebellion against him. Devoutly giving thanks to God, he besought Him in prayer that by the intervention of the blessed John he would show him some manifest sign, by which men present and to come could recognise that the Scots were rightly subjected to the realm of England. When he saw some overhanging crags at a place near Dunbar, in Scotland, he drew his sword from its scabbard and smote upon the rock, which at the blow of the sword, by reason of God's providence, was so hollowed out that the measure of an ell can be fitten in the length of it, and it may still be seen as a manifest record of this event. The deed is recited in the church of Beverley, every week throughout the year, as a miracle for the praise and honour of St John, when the life of St John is read, and there exist to the present day a solemn commemoration of it, both in England and in Scotland.

Again, Constantine, king of Scots, and Eugenius, king of the Cumbrians, came to Athelstan, king of England, after a certain dispute had taken place between them, and surrendered themselves, with their realms, to Athelstan, and as a result of this

act Athelstan himself stood godfather to the son of Constantine. Again, the Scots submitted themselves without warfare to Eadred, king of England and swore the fealty due to King Eadred as lord, a certain Eric being installed as king over the Scots. Again, when Edgar, king of England, caused Kenneth, king of Scots, Malcolm, king of the Cumbrians, Mack, king of many islands, and five other sub-kings, namely Dufnal, Siferth, Hywel, Jacob and Juchil, to crown him upon the River Dee, as he sat in the prow of the ship he is said to have observed that his successors should rejoice in being kings of England, for they enjoyed so great a prerogative of honour in having subject to them such powerful kings. After this Edgar there succeeded in order, as kings of England, the holy Edward the martyr, Ethelred his brother, Edmund called Ironside son of Ethelred, and Canute, who in their time peaceably held the realm of Scotland in subjection, with this exception, that in the fifteenth year of his reign, Canute with little trouble conquered a rebellious Scotland, under Malcolm, its king, after leading an expedition thither, and Malcolm was subjected to him. Harold, son of Canute, and Hardicanute his brother, succeeded one after the other as kings of England, and they, during their reigns, peaceably had the realm of Scotland subject to themselves. Again, St Edward, king of England, granted the realm of Scotland to Malcolm, son of the king of the Cumbrians, to be held of himself.

Furthermore, William, styled the Bastard, king of England, a kinsman of the said Edward, received homage from Malcolm, king of the Scots, as from a vassal subject to him. Again Malcolm, king of the Scots, was made subject to William Rufus, king of England, by an oath of fealty. Again, this King William, for just causes, removed Donald from the realm of Scotland, and in his place appointed Duncan, son of Malcolm, as king of Scotland, and received from him an oath of fealty.

(This narrative continues for several pages, outlining the lineage of the kings of England and oaths of fealty sworn to them by the kings of Scotland.)

...This John [Balliol], king of Scotland, having rendered to us the due and accustomed homage, and the oath of fealty, came into our parliaments at our command and was present in them as our subject, like the others of our realm, and abided by our pleasure and commands, as those of his lord, the superior of Scotland, being obedient and subject to us in all things, until he and the prelates, earls, barons, nobles, communities and other chief inhabitants of the same realm, by preconceived and prearranged malice, and by treachery deliberately planned, contrary to the obligation of their homage and the oath of fealty, and wickedly embarking upon the crime of treason, entered into plots, confederations, conspiracies and alliances for the disinheritance of ourselves, our heirs, and our realm. Therefore, when these things had come to our ears by a trustworthy account, which was consonant with the common rumour, we wishing to guard against the dangers which might well arise in future from these and other things, to us, our realm, and the inhabitants of our realm, journeyed (for the protection of our kingdom), to the boundary between the two realms, repeatedly asking John, then the king of Scotland, to come to us, at specified places on the border, to give security upon these and other things, in order to guard the well-being, the tranquility, and the peace of either kingdom, and to hearken to other matters which were to be explained to him by ourselves and our council, and to receive justice in these matters, and others connected with them. He

contumaciously spurned our commands, and continued in his perfidy, and aroused himself to a warlike action, turning himself in hostile manner upon us and our realm and its people, in company with the bishops, prelates, clerks, earls and barons of the realm of Scotland, and also with others hired from without. Proceeding to hostile attacks and incursions, he invaded our realm, and both he and his followers plundered and laid waste by fire certain villages of our realm of England, slew our men, and when some of our sailors had been slain by his people, he caused the ships of our men in the realm of England to be burned, and forthwith he renounced homage and fealty to us, both on his own behalf and for the other inhabitants of his realm in words of formal defiance. After assembling a great army, he and his men made a hostile invasion of our counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland in our realm of England, and indulged in slaughter of our people without number and in a merciless burning of monasteries, churches and villages; on all sides they unpeopled the land, slaying children in the cradle and women lying in childbed with brutal and inhuman savagery and, in the school where they were to the number of about two hundred, by blocking the doors of the school and setting it on fire. We perceived that these numerous losses, insults, crimes and injuries were being treacherously inflicted on us, causing us to be disinherited, and the people of our realm to be destroyed; and being unwilling, because of the oath which binds us to maintain the rights of our crown, to endure any longer such execrable, detestable and unspeakable villainies, or to let our rights disappear without resistance, for this John, and our subjects, the people of Scotland, had furnished themselves with no justification in law, since the realm of Scotland, which from most ancient times, as is said above, has been feudally subject to us and our progenitors, and for the reasons explained, committed to us, we at length declared war against them, according to the laws and customs of our realm, and by the counsel of our nobles and magnates. We mobilised the resources of our power against John and the Scottish people, as the law allowed us, and proceeded against as notoriously contumacious traitors, and as our open enemies. So the realm of Scotland was subjected by right of ownership to our power, and John, king of Scotland, publicly admitting before s and the magnates of our realm the above treasons and crimes, rendered into our hand freely, completely, and absolutely the realm of Scotland, so far as he had *de facto* possession of it.

Upon this, the prelates, earls, barons, nobles, and communities of the realm of Scotland, whom we received into our royal peace, offered homage and fealty to us as the immediate and proper lord of the realm of Scotland, and the towns, villages, castles, and fortresses of the realm, and all other places belonging to the realm, were surrendered to us, and by virtue of our right we appointed our officials and ministers to govern the realm of Scotland. And since we are acknowledged to be in possession of that realm, by right of full dominion, we cannot and must not fail to suppress the insolence of our rebel subjects, if such there be, by our royal majesty, as may be just, and as may seem appropriate. Since, indeed, from what has been said already, and from other evidence, it is perfectly clear and well-known that the realm of Scotland belongs to us of full right, by reason of property and of possession, and that we have not done and have not dared to do anything, as indeed we could not do, in writing or in action, by which any prejudice may be implied to our right, we humbly beseech your Holiness to weigh all this with careful meditation, and to condescend to keep it all in mind when making your decision, setting no store, if

you please, by the adverse assertions which come to you on this subject from our enemies, but, on the contrary, retaining our welfare and our royal rights, if it so please you, in your fatherly regard. May the Most High preserve you, to rule his Holy Church through many years of prosperity.

Kempsey, 7 May 1301, the twenty-ninth year of our reign.

Appendix G

Timeline of Chivalry's Development

This timeline contextualizes the development of chivalry alongside that of Medieval Romance literature. This original diagram was created by Richards (2022), and all sources are referenced in relevant discussions within the body of this thesis. It is important to note that this timeline is approximate and does not aim to provide a complete history or list of literary publications. This is purely for contextualizing Romantic and chivalric development, from the andro-centric Early Medieval thegnly *comitatus* and French *chevalierie*, into the Romantically-reformed, later medieval court-wide Chivalry, and into the Victorian educational metaphor for the polite English gentleman, carried through into the Modern Era. This shows how chivalry and Romance developed and remain woven within the fabric of English society.

Timeline of Chivalry's Evolution and Romantic Context

Late Saxon Period **900-1066**

-The Hall was the heart of settlement and community
-Halls stood as monuments of dynastic power and remembrance
-Intangible influences were formed out of mixture of Pagan, Christian, Romanesque, Celtic, Frankish and Scandinavian cultures
-Thegnliness adhered to Germanic code (*comitatus*) of conduct and loyalty to one's lord
-Comitatus defined space and identity.
-The woman was defined in relation to her husband or children and tasked with caring for the household. The man's household was indicative of his strength.
-King's wives were not always crowned and remain largely absented from documentation
-Early proto-keeps placed hall above ground floor, with chambers above.

-*Beowulf*
-*The Wanderer*
-*The Wife's Lament*
-*Riddle 15*

Norman Conquest and Assimilation **1066**

-Timber motte-and-bailey castles constructed in strategic locations during and after Conquest.
-William (Rufus) II constructed massive hall at Westminster
-Norman use of cavalry brought *chevalierie* into England.
-They valued horses, weapons, and gift-giving
-Keep construction in England and France in a similar style, displaying power continuity.
-Ground floor halls were constructed as a new Norman architectural style, legitimising power over newly-conquered land.

-Chronicles and Romances written by Normans glorified England's heroic past and legitimized Norman authority as they appropriated native architectural trends.

-Modena archivolt designed with early depiction of Guinevere's abduction narrative from the *Life of Gildas* (c.1110) Narrative presumably travelled through troubadours on Crusade

1135

-Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*History of the Kings of Britain*)
-Wace's *Roman de Brut*

Later Middle Ages

-Castles exhibited developments in their architecture as Romance culture gained popularity
-Eleanor of Aquitaine brought Romance culture from France into the courts of England
-Tournaments were primarily melees, eventually banned for the high mortality rate. Round Table Tournaments emerged in the early thirteenth century.
-The Church used tournaments as a means of recruiting support for crusades.

-John of Salisbury (c.1159) documented ideals for knighthood in his *Policraticus*
-The majority of 'courtly' Romances were composed during this period, from c.1160-c.1300
- Chretian de Troyes
-Cappelinus's *De Amore*, depicting Eleanor of Aquitaine and Marie de Champagne's Courts of Love
-Elite women were connoisseurs and patrons of Romance

1230

-Chivalry became an ambition for the entire elite society, when it was previously limited to knights (lower on the social hierarchy) This could only be attributed to the popularity of Romance knights and the chivalric renown of Arthur's court
-Henry III and Eleanor of Provence constructed ceremonial ground floor halls at palatial sites, and Eleanor even constructed her own queen's halls, Alexander chambers and Antioch chambers. She was also known as a commissioner of Romance

-The Albigensian Crusade dispersed Troubadours and spread Occitan love lyrics and Romance narratives into northern regions of France, Spain and England.
-Poetry commissioned specifically for members of the Royal houses, connecting individuals to Romance figures

1250

-Ramon Llull's *Book of the Order of Chivalry*

1300

-Middle English Romance (Insular) becomes more prolific, with protagonists of humbler birth (for example: *King Horn* and *Bevis of Hampton*)

-Edward I appropriated Crusader-style concentric walls in his castle constructions

-Conquest of Wales using Arthurian propaganda

-Ground floor halls continued to be built at castles, overshadowing the tower halls

-Scottish wars using Arthurian propaganda

-Edward II coronation

1308

-Dunstable Tournament and Swan Knight rise in popularity

-Baronial unrest, and ordainers conspired against Edward II's non-chivalric rule using varied Arthurian emulations in their sociopolitical activities

-Geoffrey of Monmouth's pseudo-ancestry was no longer regarded as factual

-Piers Gaveston executed and accused of stealing Arthur's Round Table as a crime of national importance

1327

-Edward III becomes king

-Constructs round building at Windsor Castle

-Hosts spectacular Round Table tournament and creates the Order of the Garter.

-Geoffoi de Charney's *Book of Chivalry*

-Cult castles are constructed reflecting those of the previous two centuries

-The figurehead of Arthur becomes eclipsed by Saint George, as the English were in competition with the figure of St. Denis

-Romance aimed at the growing bourgeois class and becomes more satirical of the most elite.

-*Canterbury Tales*

Decline of the Middle Ages

1380

-More emphasis on private spaces in castles, as household dynamics became more private and individualized.

-*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*

-Exterior castle displays were constructed in antiquated styles using turrets and crenellations, as this had become the ideal image of the chivalric English castle. ("cult castles")

-*Brut* Chronicles continued to be produced by individual families.

-Examples of this are Bodiam, Tattershall, Brancepeth, Pickering, Cooling and Wardour

-Lesser nobility began to construct ground floor halls, such as those at Oakham and Stokesay Castle and John Pulteney's archaic hall with central hearth and dais at Penshurst (revealing true English style during enmity with France)

-White Hart livery badge of Richard II. Interestingly, portrayed like that of the Swan Knight with crown and gold chain (representative of shape shifters in Celtic folklore)

1400

-Henry V had timber and canvas castles constructed in archaic design and painted to look like marble, for grand occasions, which were used as gateways for processions

-Christine de Pizan's *City of Ladies* published: a fighting manual and treatise on knightly virtues that defined a true lady by her noble spirit rather than noble birth (reveals increase of female literacy and education)

-Henry V created the "Cult of Errantry" as a patriotic movement, regarding the true knight as true nobility, charged with defending justice and moral virtue.

-Henry VI had his image included into the Eighteen Worthies as "Le Chevalire Erant"
-Upon marriage to Margaret of Anjou, the Talbot Shrewsbury Book was presented to her, representing their combined claim to England and France. This book of Romances featured the Golden Legend (Romanticized narrative of St. George), a genealogical tree and treatises.
-French king, Charles VII dressed at Sir Gawain for Arthurian tournaments.

Tudor Period (Post-Medieval)

1450

-After Yorkist victory in 1461, chivalry was redefined for political agenda modelled upon Classical influences.
-Chivalric and Romantic role-playing theatrics and jousting displays.
-Henry VII named firstborn son Arthur, who was born at Winchester, the Early Medieval centre of government where Edward I's round table was on display in the great hall.

-John Astley's chivalric manual that included an English translation of Charney's earlier handbook

-Caxton's *Book of Courtesy*, contemporary with Astley's chivalric manual, showing that courtesy and chivalry were still regarded as different ideologies

1485

-Malory's Morte d'Arthur. This revolutionized Arthurian literature by combining several narratives and traditions

-Henry VIII commissioned the Winchester round table to be painted in its current design with alternating green and white sections, names of Arthur's knights, and his own self-portrait in the position of King Arthur under a throne with baldachin.

1500

-Henry VIII also commissioned architectural projects in antiquated castle styles.
-Dissolution of the monasteries
-Elizabethan pageantry displays continued, with Arthurian costumes. Chivalry was infused with elements of fantasy as it aimed to emulate the Romantic golden age of the past rather than a past historic chivalric era.
-Elizabethan gardens became popular with symmetry and geometric designs

-Spencer's *The Fairy Queen*

-the works of Shakespeare

Early Modern Period

1600

-Reformation and English Civil War
-The Stuart and Restoration years were enriched with emergence of antiquarianism and emphasis on generating knowledge of historic sites and architecture.
-Tomb destruction spurred the recording of monuments
-Lady Anne Clifford reused Romance and archaism in her structural and landscape designs, evoking 'Arcadia' through castle reconstructions and renovations, as well as 'wilderness spaces' and ornamental gardens
-Vanbrugh's constructions of large stately homes that boasted large towers and machicolation styles from centuries earlier.

1700

-The Enlightenment

-Sir Walter Scott's works of medievalized fantasy based on Romance and a fictional medieval England. (ex: *The Lady of the Lake, Ivenhoe*)

-Romantic Movement

1810

-King George III and IV continued to construct and expand castles to look like contemporary idealizations of the medieval castle (Kew and Windsor, for example)
-Many other castles were newly-built and renovated to boast idealized barbicans, towers and crenellations.
-Chivalry shifted into an ideal for men, focused on Christianized virtues of purity and self-conquest of temptations of the flesh. Temptations were "dragons" to be slain and women were to be treated accordingly.

-Chivalric "histories" that told of troubadours and crusades, led into a resurgence of Romance popularity

Victorian Period **1830**

-Castle tourism was boosted through contemporary production of Arthurian and medievalized literature
-The famous Eglinton Tournament, and other theatrical tournaments enacted spectacular Arthurian displays.
-Victoria and Albert dressed as Queen Philippa and Edward III for a fancy-dress ball, and regarded the mid fourteenth century as the golden age of chivalry.
-Victoria's image was painted into chivalric subject matter, and she was portrayed as the 'Spirit of Chivalry'
-Chivalry and Romance literature became synonymous, and Romance themes became symbols of chivalry
-Victorian chivalry became the foundation for boys' education intended for development into the English Gentleman.

-Tennyson's *The Epic* was Arthurian fairy tale poetry, which brought Arthurian themes into ordinary family households

-editions of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* still in print

-Victorian Arthurian stories were nostalgic for a Romanticized ancestry, showing that during times of great change, power was again derived from the sense of stability and continuity of ancestral ties.

Modern Period **1900**

-The Alliance of Honour was founded in 1903 to encourage men of all ages and walks of life, religious and secular, to live purely and honourably.
-Early castle studies was primarily focused on martial defense.
-Arthurian propaganda was used to gain support for World War I and World War II

-Boy scout handbooks were like the new chivalry manuals, instructing boys on how to interact with others and be honourable through Romantic Arthurian examples.

-CS Lewis and JRR Tolkien's novels incorporated elements from Old English legend and medieval Romance (for example, *That Hideous Strength* features elements of the *Brut* Romance and chronicles)

-The 1930s-1970s saw an increase in archaeological interest in locating Arthurian sites in the landscape
-Fairy tales based on the medieval Romance tradition remain firmly embedded in today's society, through film and literature
-Glastonbury Tor remains a secular pilgrimage site
-The continued royal pageantry of the Order of the Garter and imagery of St George keeps Edward III's Romantic, theatrical chivalric order at the forefront of English iconography.
-Castles grow in popularity and tourism as Arthurian, Romantic and fantastical elements, events and scenery are added at heritage sites.
-Romance themes and characters remain firmly tucked within English national identity and its heritage developed through the centuries based on Romantic ideologies and their influence on chivalric values.

1950

-Lord of the Rings

-A Kid in King Arthur's Court
-Game of Thrones
-Spamalot
-Quest for Camelot
-Sword and the Stone

(The list continues, and will continue on as the imagined chivalric golden age continues to inspire and enchant audiences.)

Appendix H

Post-Medieval 'Cult Castles' and Arthurian Allusions

Following from the chivalric timeline in Appendix G, this section presents a small collection of images that show post-Medieval idealizations of the castle in architecture and design, as well as Romantic metaphors and allusions to Arthur, dating into the Modern Period. The imagined 'ideal' castle remained formative for English national identity, and Arthurian themes and Romanticized imagery of St. George were heavily used as examples of morality and conduct in childhood education.

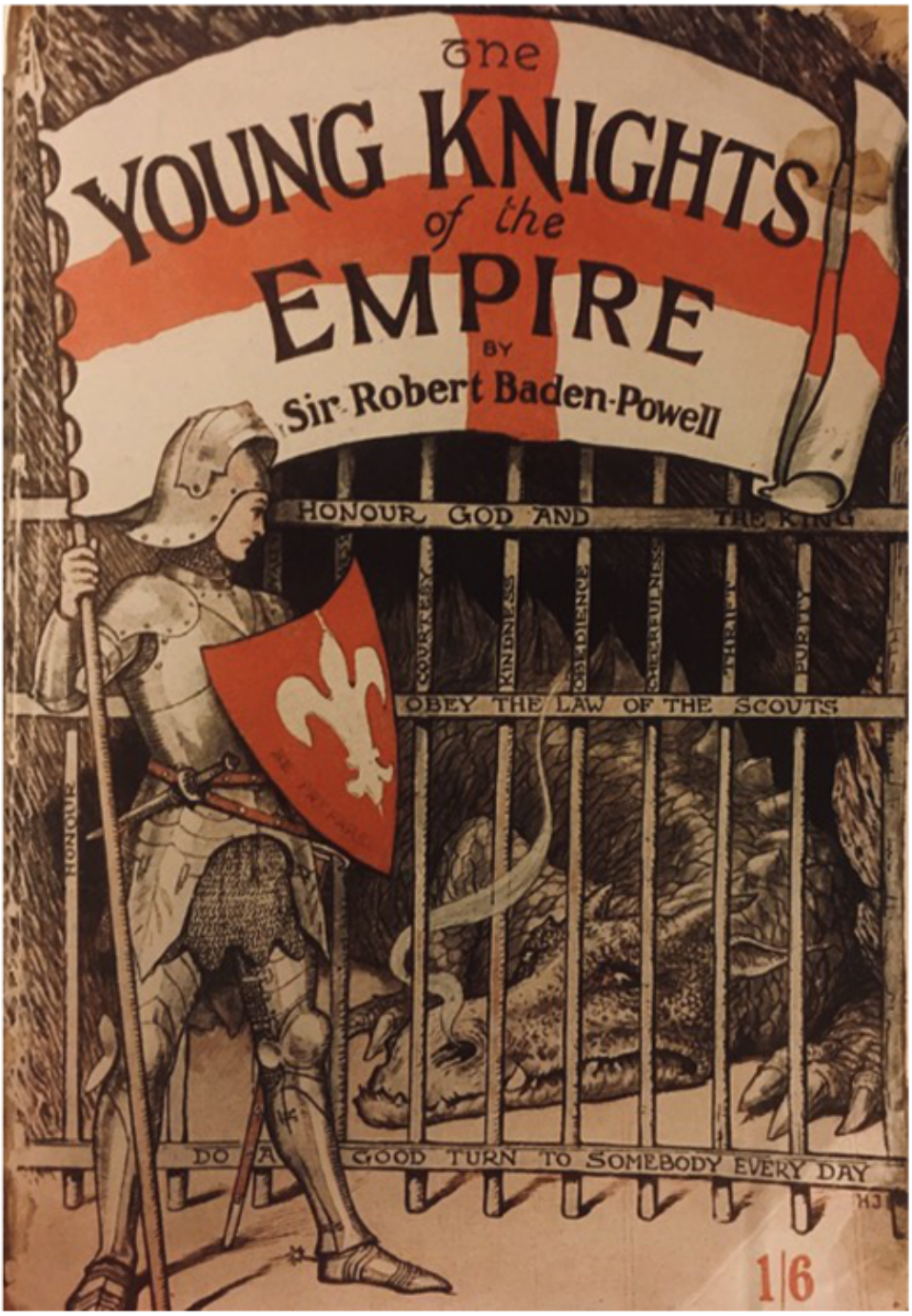
King George III's (c.1810) 'cult castle' at Kew, London (Girouard 1981, p.129)

Idealised castle mantelpiece at Cardiff Castle, 1875 (Girouard 1981, p.129)

Portrait of Lord Eglinton in medieval armour, commissioned for the Eglinton Tournament of 1839 (Girouard 1981, p.94)

Image depicting the Eglinton Tournament of 1839 (Girouard 1981, p.91)

Imagery from an early twentieth-century boy scout handbook, showing Romantic idealism used in childhood education (Girouard 1981, p.276)



Imagery from an early twentieth-century boy scout handbook, showing Romantic idealism used in childhood education. Boys were encouraged to slay the metaphorical 'dragon' of sexual temptation. (Girouard 1981, p.277)

World War I postcard, showing the image of St. George as Romantic propaganda (Girouard 1981, p.293)

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