

Buildings in Society: International Studies in the Historic Era

edited by

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Cover: Store Heddinge Church, Denmark, section (see pages 113–126).

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Creating a Choreographed Space: English Anglo-Norman Keeps in the Twelfth Century

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Abstract: Stone keeps signify a notable part of Anglo-Norman building campaigns, placing symbolic marks over the landscape and providing a structure for groups to congregate and live. In this paper, the technique of access analysis is applied to Anglo-Norman castle keeps of England ca 1100–1250. Results indicate a progression of spaces for keeps to be experienced in specific ways with routes culminating at spatially and socially high-level spaces. The research shows that applying spatial analysis to keeps demonstrates another social element to consider when studying these buildings, including highlighting the importance of gallery and mural spaces in castle keeps.

Keywords: Anglo-Norman Castles, Spatial Analysis, Castellology, Anglo-Norman England

Introduction

Castellology has long fluctuated between studies varying back and forth between militaristic and social interpretations, sometimes quite vigorous in their assertions against each other (cf. Platt 2007: 83–102; Creighton and Liddiard 2008: 161–9). Although historiographically-speaking the field has been more dominated by militaristic studies, alternative views of the castle have been placed in the field for decades, including Charles Coulson’s seminal works on the castle as a status symbol (1979: 73–90; 1994: 86–137; 1996: 171–207), which Colin Platt claims to have ‘hijacked’ the direction of castle studies (2007: 83).

Indeed within the last several decades the pendulum has swung back and forth, alternating between types of assessment and interpretation, and recently more rounded work has been appearing in the landscape of castle studies, assessing the buildings’ practical, military and social aspects in a more holistic manner (cf. Higham 2010: 1–13). The revisionism of Coulson’s work alongside the influence of scholars such as Roberta Gilchrist (1994), Matthew Johnson (2002), Robert Liddiard (2005) and Oliver Creighton (2009) has led to more assessment of castles based upon evidences such as distribution, landscape, architecture, textual references and other factors, currently being seen in research projects throughout the UK and perhaps reflective of emerging trends in castle studies (amongst others, Hulme 2007–8; Horrocks 2013; Cowan 2014; Swallow 2015). After many years of neglect of the human side of buildings in context, this more-rounded approach has also led to welcome and commensurate ideas not just about the buildings also the people within them: Kim Cowan, for example, concludes that the castle was, in contemporary eyes, a multifunctional

resource, not tied to one single idea of architecture (2014), whilst Richard Hulme has noted that ‘the story of castles is this history of those who lived in and built them.’ (2007–8: 223)

Amongst various other ways that castles have begun to be reassessed, spatial analysis remains relative neglected in favour of currently-popular landscape assessments. However, spatial studies of buildings have much to offer castle studies in terms of a social interpretation. Viewing buildings as an indication of their spatial meanings, not just the architectural meanings, can provide yet another window to see society and the people within these spaces. Nevertheless, studies in this direction are thus far limited to select works in various publication, utilizing a variety of methodologies. Arguably, Patrick Falkner’s early works exploring spatial aspects of domestic planning in medieval buildings have not yet found their wider audience (1958: 150–83; 1963: 215–35), although dynamic and progressive works have been advanced since the earlier years of study. Graham Fairclough advanced Falkner’s ideas, introducing Falkner’s spatial works to a new generation of castellologists (1992: 348–66). Leonie V. Hicks’ work in castle spaces in Normandy remains an important work in demonstrating the usefulness of spatial studies in castles (2009: 52–69), and Philip Dixon and Pamela Marshall’s assessment of the visual signals of space at Hedingham Castle also open important areas of spatial and visual works in castle studies (1993: 16–23).¹ Following Fairclough’s methodology, Philip Dixon’s work in functional analysis of eleventh- and twelfth-century keeps also provided a different way of viewing and interpreting the castle structure by considering the use of rooms (2008: 243–75). Charles Ryder has partially

¹ My thanks for Leonie Hicks for bringing this work to my attention.

combined functional and spatial analysis in considering newel stairs in castles (2011). Amanda Richardson's work in gender and space in palaces also demonstrates varying ways that space can be read with layering methodology to find even further social meanings to space (2003a: 131-65; 2003b: 373-84).

In fact, Richardson's work remains one of the few in medieval studies to utilize the methodology of access analysis, originally advanced by Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson (1985). This theory and methodology maintains that the ordering of space is the primary purpose of a building, and the building itself only a means to that end (Hillier and Hanson 1985: 1). Beyond this, an ordering of space is in essence an attempt to order the people within the space, and so buildings therefore convey social relationships through their interior structuring (Hillier and Hanson 1985: 1-18; 154-5). Therefore, all buildings demark relationships between visitors and inhabitants, and as these relationships change, the structures themselves are also altered (Hillier and Hanson 1985: 154-5; Whyte 2006: 153; Richardson 2013a; Richardson 2013b). These are the complexities that are lived spaces and societies: buildings controlled space, but agents altered their meanings. A building, or a place, is not solely the thing itself but represents 'a set of relations between things' (Lefebvre 1991: 81-2).

It is from this theoretical and disciplinary background that this chapter arises. Growing initially from a study of English domestic sites c. 900–c. 1200 (Weikert 2013; Weikert 2014: 96-120), this research views a selection of castle keeps in Anglo-Norman England through the lens of spatial analysis, demonstrating the pertinence and the dynamism of making societal interpretations from reading the space via access analysis. Examining the keeps via access analysis demonstrates the social importance of progress through the spaces of the keep in order to advance into high-status areas, showing the importance of the movement through the building to show or maintain one's own status as a part of a social, visual act. Beyond this, access analysis demonstrates the high-level social significance of gallery spaces in keeps as a place both to see and be seen as part of a visual display of status. Research that allows for the viewing of the society within these buildings, as well as the buildings themselves, greatly enhances our ability to conceptualize and contextualise the castle in Anglo-Norman England.

The Anglo-Norman keep in southern England

The 'traditional' Anglo-Norman keep is recognizable across the Anglo-Norman realm, with a concentration of sites in southern England in castles sites that were used, reused and adapted over a long period of time (Dixon 2008 identified 200 Anglo-Norman castle sites

in England and Normandy with 80 extant at the time of publication). Portchester Castle, for example, was utilized and altered in various ways from its initial late-eleventh century build as a castle through the Napoleonic wars, when the keep was used for prisoners of war (Cunliffe and Munby 1985; Cunliffe 1994). In general the keep consisted of a square tower of multiple storeys, built in several phases, containing sets of rooms on the interior. In some, but not all of these cases, the familiar stone keep was a replacement of a previous wooden tower, and though a motte was not always an element of these replacement towers, the keeps were usually sited in locations notable for their control or overlooking of communication and access routes, and indeed their defensible locations.

Of these sites, a number remain in southern England that retain the majority of their Anglo-Norman form, despite their numerous post-Anglo-Norman alterations. These sites include Rochester (Kent), Portchester (Hampshire) and Dover (Kent) Castles and London's White Tower, all of which will be examined here, alongside the keep at Conisbrough Castle (South Yorkshire), the latter providing a different architectural form of castle keep that also benefits from spatial and access analysis. In addition to this, the royal castles of Rochester, Portchester, Dover and the White Tower in comparison to a baronial castle of Conisbrough can also provide an interesting lens for analysis. The sites have been analysed through a combination of desk-based assessments of archaeological sources, access analysis and site visits.

Methodology: access analysis

In determining the social value of buildings' space, Hillier and Hanson proposed a methodology which divorced the spaces from their physical structures and instead studied the space itself in order to show intangible aspects of the buildings such as exclusivity, access and transit routes, investment, power and internal relationships, underlining the importance of the relationships between users of the spaces and the users themselves (Hillier and Hanson 1985 for all following information on reading access analysis).

In reading an access analysis diagram by this methodology, diagrams are read from the bottom to the top, starting at the crossed circle. The crossed circle represents the 'carrier space,' which is the space that contains the building or the premise. This is a flexible space and can be taken from any point; in the case of all the keeps below, the carrier space is simply the exterior of the keep, beginning at the point of the exterior stair entry, as opposed to the exterior of the whole castle complex.

Each circle in diagram represents a space of the building. Circles that are blank are considered useable spaces; in modern terms, spaces like bedrooms, kitchens, etc. Circles that are filled in are transitional spaces, e.g. places like stairs, hallways that exist to channel a person between other spaces. Each line represents a point of access between the two spaces.

Spaces represented on 'ringed' routes on the diagrams are called distributed spaces. These are spaces meant to be occupied by both inhabitants and visitors of the building, though with implications of control that can be read from the spaces as there may be checkpoints or controls between the spaces. Spaces on 'trees,' e.g. on dead-end lines, are nondistributed spaces and are the space of the inhabitants of the building alone.

Access analysis also indicates levels of prestige and privacy. Areas on nondistributed spaces are read as more 'private' than distributed ones. Additionally, the higher a space is from the carrier space, the more difficult it is to access, indicating the possible level of prestige to the space although the circumstance of rooms such as garderobes, which almost invariably appear at top levels of access analysis, require further study (unfortunately outside the scope of this paper) in this light of this framework. Access analysis also recognizes positions of power, generally speaking the useable space that is the highest distributed space. In addition, '[axes] of honour' (Fairclough 1992: 354) can be perceived in straight-line paths leading to prestige spaces.

The White Tower

Perhaps the most famous of the castles in England, the White Tower was first raised by William the Conqueror and subsequently finished in its Norman form by his son, William Rufus. The building in this period, in two distinct phases, ran from c. 1075 to 1100 (Impey 2008: 1).

According to recent analysis of the building afforded by the movement of the collection of the Royal Armouries in the late 1990s, the tower was entered via external steps directly into the entry floor west room, which in turn offered double access points to the east room. From this point one could enter the lower level chapel and, beyond this, the sacristy, or take the newel stair in the northeast corner either up or down one floor to the ground-level store and service rooms. Going up into the next level room, one was shepherded through a passage directly into the western room. From the western room, a series of access points led to two newels stairs in the southwest and northwest corners, into a passage leading to the upper chapel, or into the eastern room, where access to the chapel was additionally offered.

From all of the newels on three sides of the Tower, access was given to a series of mural passages, including one that led to the gallery above that chapel that was outfitted with Romanesque windows 'indicative of the importance attached to this route at an early date' (Harris 2008: 84).

Based upon an architectural analysis of the White Tower c. 1100 (Brown 1978; Impey 2008; Harris 2008), before the build of the forebuilding (Impey 2008: 5), the White Tower contains a very clear 'axis of honour' which ends in the space of the first floor chapel, the chapel mural gallery or the western mural spaces. However, these spaces, all on interior distributed rings, were only accessible if one first reached the stairs and were granted access beyond the point of the eastern room of the entrance floor. In other words, whilst access was restricted quite possibly beyond the large entrance room to begin with, access beyond this space was largely distributed through a series of newels and murals, and potentially received a great amount of footfall. The distributed spaces include immense permeability between the two upper rooms and the chapel, demonstrating a certain amount of permissible flow between the rooms. Although position of power

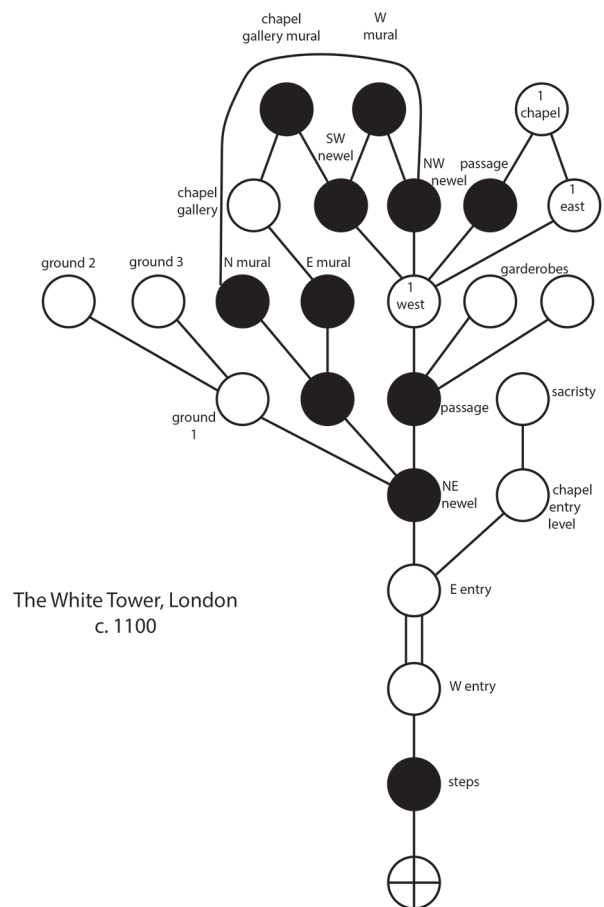


Figure 1: Access analysis, White Tower. Image by the author.

can be read in the upper chapel, it is worth noting that the chapel gallery as well as the eastern room of the upper floor are a single level below the chapel, also on distributed space, as is the mural gallery provided with decorated Romanesque windows leading into the chapel gallery. Clearly these spaces are intended for viewing and presentation, with a particular passage provided for high-status people to make an entrance at the chapel gallery: a visual impact allowed for by the multiple systems of access. Visually speaking, the gaze of the occupants could function in both directions here: those in the chapel could be passive recipients of the gaze of those above them in the gallery, but also could one could also display themselves within the gallery space, recipients of a gaze from below. In both spaces, one could be viewed or be the viewer, and as both are in relative positions of power, this function of being viewed or being the viewer would depend on the circumstance and the persons involved, as well as other factors such as different times of day or year. Both scenarios of being viewed or being the viewer are possible, demonstrating again the flexibility of spaces.

Portchester Castle

The late eleventh century marked the abandonment of the pre-Conquest thegnly site inside the Roman walls at Portchester and the beginning of building a castle in the northwest corner of the enclosure. Most of the building works in the inner bailey did not take place until the reign of Henry I though it is probable that William Mauduit, a royal chamberlain and tenant-in-chief of several Hampshire estates (Morris various dates; Mason 2004), began building in the area of what would become the inner bailey by the Domesday reference to a 'halla' in 1086 (Golding 1989: 14), probably a ground floor hall and first floor chamber block which predated the slightly later keep.

The custodianship of Portchester exchanged hands several times in the twelfth century between the Mauduit and Pont de l'Arche families, with the king also directly holding the castle in a period in the early part of the century (Cunliffe and Munby 1985: 2). In 1189-92 the constablership of Portchester was purchased by the new bishop of Winchester, Godfrey de Lucy (Venables and Turner 2004). Regular references in the Pipe Rolls indicate that minor repair works were underway at Portchester in the late twelfth century, though the costs recorded do not indicate major building works by that time (Cunliffe and Munby 1985: 2-3).

The castle structures grew significantly in the twelfth century. These major works were clustered in the period of Pont de l'Arche and the restoration of the Mauduit chamberlainships in the middle of the century, c. 1130-70. In its fullest form in the twelfth century, the keep

was comprised of a ground floor with three floors and garret space above, with primary exterior access on the first floor via a set of forebuildings and interior access between the floors via a newel stair in the southwest corner and internal wooden steps.

Access to the keep was via an L-shaped stairwell to the first floor. From this stair one could have accessed either the first floor space of the north forebuilding, the chapel, or the south room of the keep itself. From the first floor south room access was given to a passage and latrines, the first floor north room and a newel stair in the southwest corner connecting the first floor with the ground and second floors. From this point access takes an interesting turn, as the spaces of the first and second floor north and south rooms seem to indicate an element of choreography to the interior spaces (Liddiard 2005: 51). The door jamb in the spine wall between the second floor north and south rooms indicate a primary directional flow from the room on the north to the room on the south; however, the only known contemporary access point set in stone to the second floor is in the newel stair on the *south* of the building. With no other access point to the second floor north room written in stone, it becomes necessary to envision an additional access point between the first and second floor north rooms, possibly similar to the wooden stair recreated in the current interpretation of Portchester Castle. Truss marks certainly are extant in the spine wall in the first floor north room to indicate this possibility.

The southwest newel also reached the third floor spaces: a south room well—lit by a pair of double light windows and a window seat on the west wall, and a north room with large window seats on the opposing east and west walls along with access to latrines. From the newel stair from the first floor, access was also given to the ground floor spaces of the keep and, further, the ground floor space of the chapel.

The highlight of the access analysis from c. 1130-70 is the large ring between the spaces of the first and second floors of the keep: 1 south, 1 north, 2 south and 2 north. The spaces seen which were meant to provide a place for interaction between visitors and inhabitants were limited to an interesting pattern of access through the first floor south of the keep and moving in a designed direction into the first floor north, second floor north and finally second floor south rooms. The design of access was here deliberately planned in these spaces, with an 'axis of honour' (Fairclough 1992: 354) culminating in the second floor north space though progress through the spaces might be expected into the second floor south room. The access analysis here indicates a controlled, designed way of accessing the first and second floor spaces of the keep due to the dual

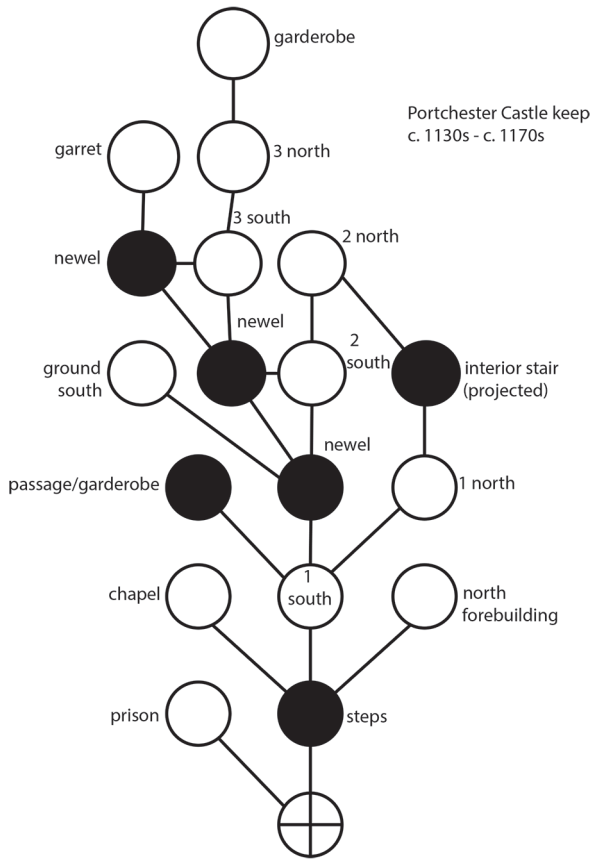


Figure 2: Access analysis, Portchester Castle keep. Image by the author.

systems of access between the floors. The well-lit third floor spaces alone retained a modicum of exclusivity.

Rochester Castle

The keep at Rochester Castle was raised after c. 1127, when the castle was granted by King Henry I to William de Corbeil, archbishop of Canterbury, and his successors (John of Worcester ed. Thorpe 1848-9: ii:85; Gervase of Canterbury ed. Stubbs 1880: 382). Though there was a castle already on site, it was noted that ‘...castellum quod est in civitate Roffensi, ubi idom archiepiscopo [William de Corbeil] turrin egregiam aedificavit.’ (Gervase of Canterbury ed. Stubbs 1880: 382) The ‘turrin egregiam’ is logically and generally assumed to be the keep at Rochester Castle (Brown 1986: 9; Barlow 2004; Port 2008: 32). The castle remained in the hands of the archbishops of Canterbury throughout the twelfth century, though the king was responsible for its maintenance and upkeep (Brown 1986: 9) and at times maintained a closer hold on it, such as during the civil war in the mid-twelfth century when William of Ypres maintained custodianship of the castle when Robert of Gloucester was imprisoned there (Clark 1884: 442; Eales 2004).

Rochester Castle keep is currently a shell of a building but contains enough remaining systems of access, demonstrated in door jambs, to result in an access analysis. The keep, the ‘most outstanding feature’ (Brown 1986: 32) at the castle, has a basement at ground floor level and three floors above it. The third floor windows still carry architectural ornamentation, whilst the second floor carried a gallery surrounding its upper level. As with Portchester, a spine wall divides the space into two rooms at each level, with a well embedded in the centre of this wall. On the second floor, the ‘principal floor’ (Brown 1986: 25, 41-2), this spine wall is transformed into an arcade with richly decorated scalloped capitals and chevron decoration.

Access analysis at Rochester shows the same interior ringed circuit as at Portchester, but a slightly more complicated one with the culmination both in the gallery of the second floor and or the second floor south room. There is also a demonstration of the permeability of the first floor north and south rooms, which exist both on a ring consisting of the two spaces alongside

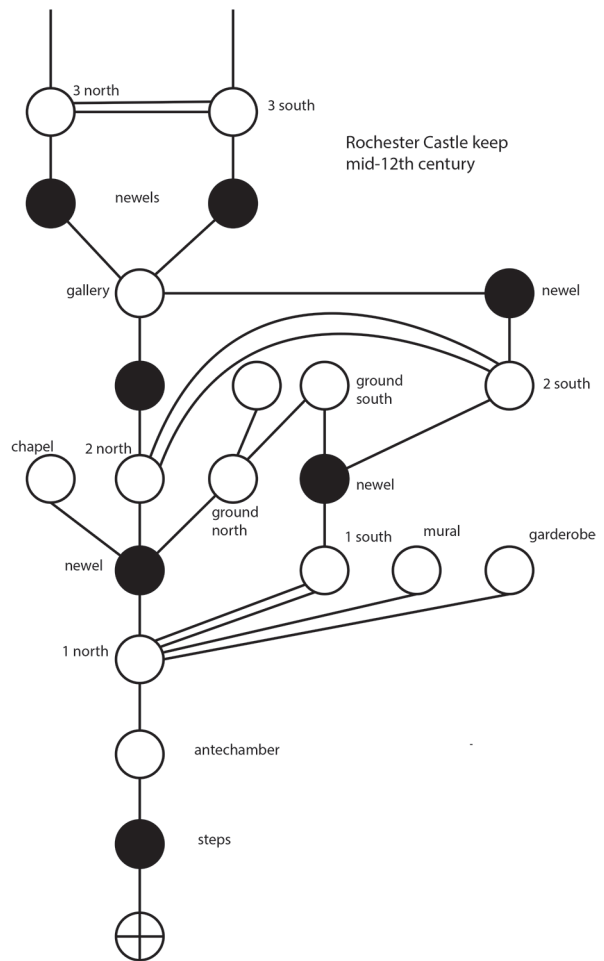


Figure 3: Access analysis, Rochester Castle keep. Image by the author.

ground floor rooms but additionally on a ring includes the prestigious upper gallery and second floor south room. The ring between the first floor and ground floor spaces demonstrates a service access between the storage spaces on the ground floor and the more prestigious spaces in the upper floors. The position of power, however, is occupied by the gallery above the second floor; this was clearly a space to see and be seen in a progression through the keep's spaces. More on gallery spaces throughout keeps will be discussed below.

Dover Castle

The keep at Dover Castle was raised by Henry II in the 1180s at great expense, and represents the latest, largest, most expensive and most elaborate of the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman keeps (Brown 1985: 26; Brindle 2012: 12). This site had previously seen Iron Age settlement, a Roman lighthouse and the Anglo-Saxon church of St Mary in Castro and burh, referred to in the Worcester Chronicle for 1052 as a 'castelle' (Cubbin 1996: 70). Whatever this particular structure, it is not the building we see today rising over the white cliffs, though there was clearly a long tradition of settlement, both social and martial, at the site. Indeed the construction of Dover Castle in the 1180s represented a conscious reference to the past, intended as an 'ancestral statement' in which Henry II looked to the tower-keeps of his grandfather, Henry I (Brindle 2012: 12).

Representative of this elaborate space, Dover Castle represents the most complicated space of the keeps in this chapter due to the system of access that places the primary exterior entry on the second floor, followed by a dual system of internal access via two newel stairs on opposing corners reaching all levels of the keep. In addition to this there are a number of mural rooms embedded in the walls at all levels, sometimes leading to other spaces and, at times, dead ends.

In analysis, the complication of the plan is reflected in the extraordinary number of distributed spaces to the keep, even when allowing for the small loops that take place via the systems of newel stairs and landings. Only latrines, the occasional mural room, the ground floor spaces and the spaces of the upper and lower chapels appear on nondistributed spaces. Although the space is complicated by its internal arrangements, a clear 'axis of honour' (Fairclough 1992: 354) can be perceived exactly where it might be expected: in the long series of entry spaces up the spaces of the forebuilding, including a crucial point where the physical access would be either explicitly restricted or allowed via the drawbridge. This 'axis of honour' culminates in a series of distributed spaces between the second floor main

rooms as well as in the mural spaces off both rooms, providing larger and smaller spaces for the purposes of ceremony, display and business. The use of spaces vastly depended on the business at hand, and despite modern naming of rooms the actual use of the space would depend on the user, not the observer; these uses could also easily be shifted by a simple shifting of furniture or décor (Quiney 1999: 24-46). In this case at Dover, the high prestige and high traffic spaces of the second floor rooms would be shifting spaces filled with selected guests of high status as well as the servants accessing the spaces via the system of spiral stairs.

Equally important at Dover, and echoing the spaces at Rochester, are the mural spaces, rooms built into the thickness of the outer walls, above the second floor. On access analysis, these spaces are most directly accessed via the dual newel stairs but equally are accessible through the second floor spaces. These mural spaces, although not itself on the 'axis of honour,' is of an equal level of height as the second floor main rooms and again on distributed space, likely to receive a certain amount of footfall. Its physical location overlooking the second floor is also telling. Although the majority of the mural space does not have a direct view over the two main second floor rooms, instead accessing mural rooms in the walls (Brindle 2012: 16, 20-1), there are at least two viewing points from the mural providing a more gallery-esque view over both main rooms. These viewing points over the high end of both rooms provided a space to literally overlook the business and happenings in these rooms, a height advantage allowing viewing access to the whole of the rooms (barring any moveable furnishings that could be used to create internal spaces), and also a place to be seen by those in the room below. Additional mural spaces in these walls at this level would allow for enclosed spaces both spatially and physically private: with no thoroughfare through them, these were dead ends and entry would have only been by those with reason to be in them.

Changing forms: Conisbrough Castle (South Yorkshire)

The noted circular, buttressed keep at Conisbrough Castle represents a variant from the rectangular towers discussed above. Conisbrough was built by Hamelin de Warren, earl of Surrey and half-brother of Henry II, in the 1170s-80s (Keefe 2004; Brindle and Sadraei 2015: 3, 6, 27-8), roughly contemporaneously to Henry's building at Dover. Hamelin, though a staunch supporter of his half-brother, seemed to be somewhat out of the inner circle of the royal court, and instead fostered the de Warren holdings, acquired by his marriage to the heiress Isabel de Warenne. His focus on his Yorkshire estates, such as at Conisbrough, has been seen as 'an opportunity to leave his own fresh mark in a family of

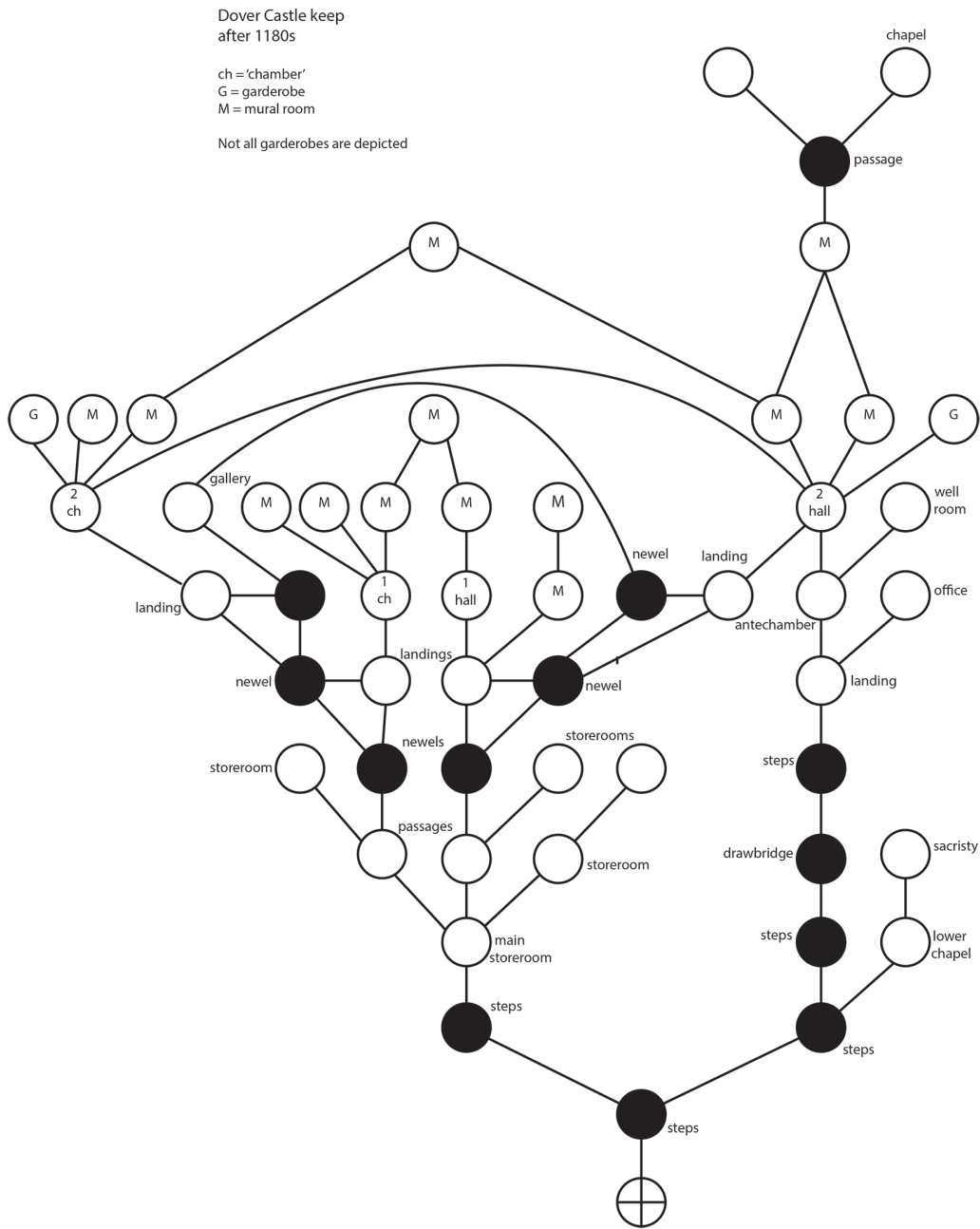


Figure 4: Access analysis, Dover Castle keep. Image by the author.

prodigious builders' as well as part of an attraction to 'the thriving northern economy.' (Keefe 2004) Indeed the fresh multimedia interpretation at the 'statement castle' (Heritage Lottery Fund 2014) touts the royal connections, drawing a parallel between Hamelin's Conisbrough and Henry II's Orford Castle. Brindle and Sadraei also specifically link the form to those of the castles of the counts of Blois and the kings of France (Brindle and Sanraei 2015: 11), highlighting Hamelin's continental connections and social ambitions.

This keep consists of a first floor entry to vestibule and entrance chamber beyond (1st floor room on the

diagram), where the well was accessed, and storage on a ground floor room below, reached from the entrance chamber. Stairs imbedded in the wall wind to a small barrel-vaulted landing before entering a doorway to the second floor 'great chamber' (2nd floor room on the diagram). This room contained a large decorated fireplace, a seated alcove window in the thick walls (overlooking the estate's mills and deer park), a small font and access to a garderobe. Access beyond this room is from stairs directly opposite the entry; stairs again imbedded into the wall reach another small barrel-vaulted landing and then the third-floor 'bedchamber' (3rd floor room). This room too contained a decorated

fireplace and seated window alcove (this, overlooking the town of Conisbrough and the eighth-century church of St Peter), access to a garderobe, a small font, a chapel and a small sacristy off the chapel. Access beyond this room, to the rooftop, is again via stairs opposite the entry. The roof area contained walks and the tops of the thick buttresses, some of which housed water cisterns, baking ovens and a dovecot (Johnson 1984: 180).

Differing from the other keeps examined in this chapter, Conisbrough distinguishes itself not only by its circular form but, more importantly, by its single system of access throughout the keep. A single stairwell connects all the floors to each other, as opposed to dual systems of access, and so unusually, a person needing access to an upper floor or required to exit a space would have to cross the room in order to go either up or down (Brindle and Sadraei 2015: 8): up via the next stairwell,

or down via the way the person would have just come. This system of access also results in an access analysis that is unsurprisingly filled with trees rather than rings; almost all areas in the keep are in a line through a single route, accessed through one another, resulting in higher and higher spaces on the access analysis, and allegedly more private space the further travelled from the exterior.

In this circumstance, adding the architectural elements of the keep, where they remain, in the consideration of the access analysis allows for a much more nuanced interpretation than ‘the higher spaces were more private.’ The viewsheds from these high-status rooms can indicate use or prestige. In addition to this, all of the door jambs in both the second-floor ‘great chamber’ and the third-floor ‘bedchamber’ indicate a primary directional flow *out* of the space, not *into* the space. This can add much to consider about the practical and symbolic use to these spaces.

First, the viewsheds from these two high-status rooms display very different viewpoints. The window-seat alcove on the second floor would have looked out over the estate’s deer park and mill. Both imply the owner’s ability to control resources as well as those who would use the resource (Holt 1988: 36-53; Lucas 2011: 329-30); in the case of the deer park, Hamelin himself and his high-status guests; for the mill, those from the surrounding area who would need to grind their grain. Both features, embedded within the landscape, are marks designating the estate as one with great social status (Holt 1988: 37-8; Gardiner 2007: 172; Creighton 2009: 57). Creating this view from the ‘great chamber’ allowed a viewing of the estate’s property, assets and inherent elite status, possibly a pointed reminder to those in the room who might be conducting business at a high or a low level. The window-seat alcove on the third floor provided a view of the village on Conisbrough and its church of St Peter’s. The church and village are both on a hill opposite the castle, with a small valley between them physically separating the high keep from the church on a high point in the village. Each, in essence, had a vantage point of the other. St Peter’s was in existence as early as the eighth century and has been suggested as a minster church (Hey 2003); the pre-Conquest Conisbrough indeed held a large soke through the course of the eleventh century (Hadley 2000: 141-2, 143). Hamelin and the church were seemingly unconnected, and in many ways the cross-vantage points of the two important buildings echoes that in many English towns, with the secular and sacred authorities reminding the other of their existence through the proximity and views of each other via the churches or cathedrals and the castles or manor houses. Certainly this view as well would have reminded the occupants of the third-floor ‘bedchamber’ of their duties to the church and village,

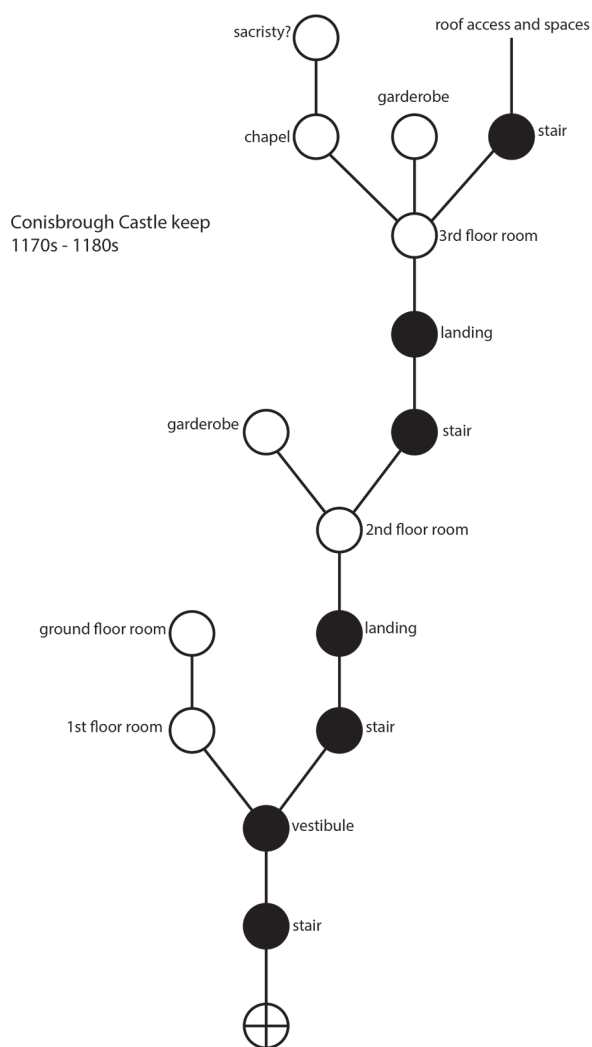


Figure 5: Access analysis, Conisbrough Castle keep. Image by the author.

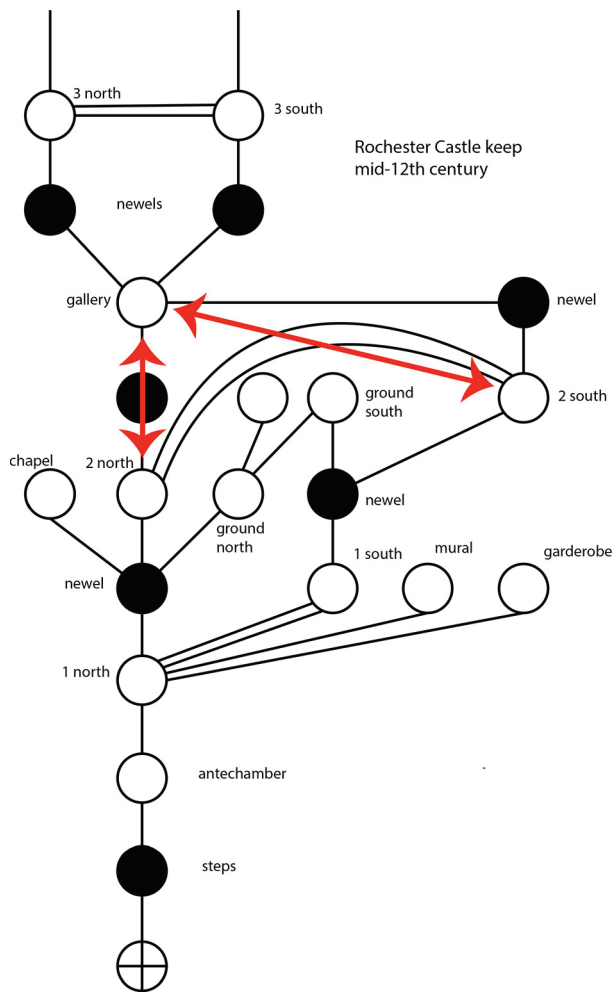


Figure 6: Access analysis of Rochester Castle with viewsheds from the gallery illustrated with arrows. Image by the author.

and on a more personal level reminded them of their obligations to the church, spiritual and physical.

In addition to the views offered from these spaces, access to both of the second- and third- floor spaces were, by social necessity, somewhat limited, but the practical aspect of doors which opened outwards, into the landing spaces, might require doormen in these small spaces in order for the guests to be announced and received. This emphasises the importance of the access point between the second and third floor spaces, where a person would control access both up into the third-floor space as well as down from the third-floor space. Both roles were crucial: the third-floor space was a more selective space for visitors, so this person would have been careful in his allowing of entrances. However the second-floor space would have been a space for business and other delicate procedures, and the doorman would have needed to limit access from the third-floor space at times inappropriate for

a sudden entrance. These roles would have been even more selective in their timing when considering that the roof spaces, with wall-walks, cisterns and baking ovens, was too only accessed via the spaces of the keep.

Second, the door jambs opening outwards from both the second- and third-floor rooms indicate a symbolic privacy to the space as well as a spatial one. Doors which open outwards not only physically open the space, they also do not physical intrude on the space, unlike doors that enter inwards. The doors particularly in the landing spaces of the second-and third-floor rooms likely could have remained blocked and open during key points of the day when entrance was less fraught with issues of privacy. But when closed, not only is the space physically cut off from the rest of the keep, creating (in essence) a self-contained unit, the door frame appearing on the interior of the room symbolically implies a closed-off space, a space that is to be exited, not to be entered. These rooms were symbolically enclosed spaces.

Conclusions

Keeps signify a strong part of an Anglo-Norman building campaign, placing symbolic marks over a landscape experiencing a shift in power and authority. These buildings were also, quite simply, places in which groups of people would congregate and live. Though traditionally militarized in their interpretations, castles can be simply another type of domestic housing culture seen in the Anglo-Norman realm in the central Middle Ages, as well as a space meant for choreography and display of people and power. Castle keeps also represent a shifting of space, moving from the mostly one-storeyed, horizontal domestic spaces seen previously to multi-storeyed vertical spaces containing similar social spaces within one building (Weikert 2013, though also see Liddiard 2005; Shapland 2008 and Shapland 2012).

The varying patterns at all of these keep spaces, particularly the keeps with multiple forms of interior access, represent choreographed spaces (Liddiard 2005: 51). The keeps contain clear progressions through spaces indicating routes through the keep for the high-status visitors to the places. At all keeps save Conisbrough, whose construction gave its spaces a differing meaning, visitors would process through a series of transitional, ceremonial and distributed spaces, culminating their visit in a physically high and socially high status space such as the second floor rooms at Dover and Portchester, or the gallery spaces at Rochester, the White Tower and also possibly Dover. These keeps contained multiple systems of access to the rooms, quite reasonably to aid in the defence of the spaces or allow service access, but also allowing for access on circular routes, creating spaces with

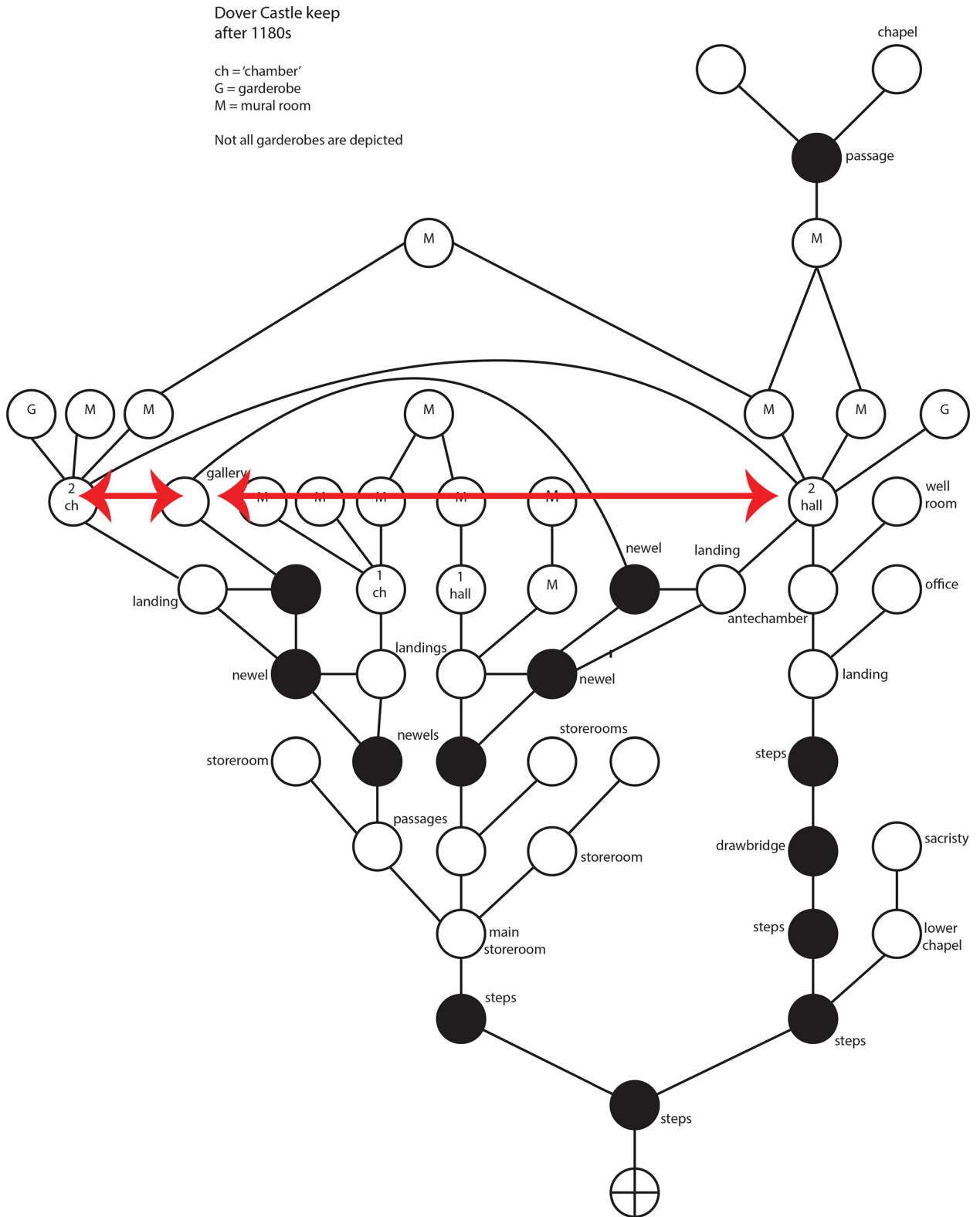


Figure 7: Access analysis of Dover Castle with viewsheds from the gallery illustrated with arrows. Image by the author.

high prestige as well as high footfall. Features such as fireplaces, strategically placed windows and window seats to allow both light and views, and decorative stonework add to the layers of analysis. Visual signals such as in the remaining stonework at such as at Conisbrough and Rochester and in the moveable goods such as currently interpreted at Dover (Brindle 2012: 18-19) would further indicate the social meaning of these high-status spaces.

These keeps indicate that they were meant to be progressed through and experienced in particular ways (Dixon and Marshall 1993: 19-23; Liddiard 2005: 52). Other keeps in southern England may show the same results, and we may plausibly project these interpretations on keeps with similar forms: Canterbury Castle, for example, does not have enough standing fabric to do a full analysis of the spaces, but the remaining fabric with indications of similar spine walls and multiple points of newel stair access through the floors would indicate a progression through spaces as do the other keeps here studied (Renn 1982: 70-88). This is not a particularly English phenomenon, and similar results should also be expected at keeps with similar forms throughout the Anglo-Norman realm, such as at Falaise and Caen in Normandy, Carrickfergus in Northern Ireland, and the castelli Adrano, Paternó and Motta Sant'Anastasia, Sicily, to name but a few examples.

Another aspect of the social meanings of space that access analysis brings to light is the previously little-considered gallery space: in some keeps it functions as a high status, visually meaningful place important for display and interaction. At the White Tower, Rochester and possibly Dover, both the availability of, and access to, gallery spaces overlooking the main high status rooms indicate visually and spatially important high-status spaces that have been neglected in modern scholarship, possibly because of the reduced physicality of these spaces compared to great rooms that demand the attention of the scholar when considering the building's physicality as opposed to its spaces. But spatial and access analysis, removing the physicality of the spaces, provides new meaning to galleries. As opposed to being a marginalized space, this space provided visual impact from both its own space and from the space below. At the White Tower, Rochester and possibly Dover, it was possible to be a spectator to high-status people from both above and below. Those in these rooms with an overlooking gallery, during important moments of display or even mere presence, were the subject of a gaze of an audience from above, and so creating a particular image or message for the audience. These moments could include the regular matters of state, of ceremony or feasting (or of liturgical importance, as in the case of the White Tower's chapel gallery), crown-wearing, or the reception of other high-

ranking nobles or foreign emissaries. After all, why make a display if no one can see it? Such displays 'had to be witnessed in a quasi-public manner' else the display was meaningless (Hicks 2009: 59). Galleries provided potentially high-trafficked spaces for an audience to a display enacted below. Conversely, the positioning of the galleries also afforded an opportunity to be viewed from below; the openings in the gallery provided a frame in which one could be positioned for ideal viewing. The passageway at the White Tower into the chapel gallery, richly provided with decorated windows, gave a comfortably high-status passage through which one could make their way from the large room below to make a grand entrance at the chapel gallery level. This also is especially apparent in the remains at Dover, where the large arched openings above the second floor rooms in the 'gable' ends of the countersunk roof are ideally positioned at the hierarchical high end of the rooms, as well as large enough for a visual tableau to be framed and presented to an audience below. Indeed the interpretation of the 'king's hall' notes the planning as a 'setting for ceremonies,' including this overlooking opening, but fails to take in account that fact that, from this vantage point, one could not only *see* but *be seen*.

The example of gallery spaces can also be suggested in other castles regardless if the access analysis is similar or not. Canterbury, again, would be a likely space with an access analysis that echoes Portchester, Rochester, Dover and the White Tower, but beyond that the mural gallery spaces interpreted by Renn would place this symbolic space at this keep as well (1982: 80). An access analysis of Hedingham Castle, with its one system of newel stairs between the spaces and a 'great hall' space that was not divided by a cross-wall, more resembles that of Conisbrough with its continued upward motion. Crucially, again this space presents a gallery above the second floor 'great hall,' and one that includes large, regular arched openings overlooking the floor below it. Dixon has also considered the galleries at Norwich, overlooking the hall, chamber and chapel, as 'conceived as an extension to the royal apartments, rather than an intrusion into it.' (2008: 249)

The social meaning of the gallery space can be extrapolated in many directions. The first and clearest is that this was a potentially high-status space, meant for those who were allowed past various checkpoints in order to reach it. Secondly these galleries offered a visual impact in that those in the space were either meant to see or be seen, and of course, possibly both at the same time. Whilst this upper floor space would make a visual impact on those below if used for a visual statement by those such as the king or the lord of the castle, equally this space could be intended for those attempting to display their own access to authority by a display of their very self in these spaces. In other

words, a courtier displaying himself at this level shows the ability to access high-status, important spaces, and doubly impact his own social authority by being seen in a gallery above a king. Finally, and overall, this space played an important part of the viewsheds in upper levels of castle keeps in terms of displaying and maintaining social cache and authority. These spaces should be recognized as important ones in a society that maintained social authority by display, and the greater importance of the gallery recognized throughout keeps.

Overall, spatial and access analysis demonstrates that keep spaces were 'specifically engineered' (Liddiard 2005: 52) for social purposes, not only military ones; they were 'the product of a complex of the needs of ceremony and display.' (Dixon 2008: 275) There is still much to learn about society from these buildings, and much that remains unexplored in the role that spatial planning and structuring played in the structuring of society. In utilizing spatial analysis on Anglo-Norman keeps, one can see spatial indications of social authority by means of seclusion, viewsheds and display, including a crucial notion of the gallery space as an important ceremonial or display space. Thus by applying ideas of spatial theory and analysis, these buildings demonstrate that there are still ways to think about, and learn about, castles and society in the Anglo-Norman world.

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