

Living in an Early Tudor
Castle: Households,
Display, and Space,
1485-1547

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We may call Eurydice forth from the world of the dead, but we cannot make her answer; and when we turn to look at her we glimpse her only for a moment, before she slips from our grasp and flees. As all historians know, the past is a great darkness, and filled with echoes. Voices may reach us from it; but what they say to us is imbued with the obscurity of the matrix out of which they come; and try as we may, we cannot always decipher them precisely in the clearer light of our own day.¹

¹ Margaret Atwood, *The Handmaid's Tale* (London: Virago 1987), p. 324.

Abstract

This thesis examines castles in the early Tudor period between 1485 and 1547, considering these buildings as case studies for English and Welsh daily life, rather than as purely military or symbolic structures. The four buildings and their owners investigated here are: Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire and Sir Rhys ap Thomas, Cowdray Castle, West Sussex and Sir William Fitzwilliam, Hedingham Castle, Essex and John de Vere, thirteenth earl of Oxford, and finally, Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire and Edward Stafford, third duke of Buckingham. Evaluating these four sites in combination with their owners broadens the current scholarship and provides an opportunity to assess the households, spatial arrangements, organisation and display of early Tudor castles. In conjunction, this thesis applies a new methodology that incorporates an interdisciplinary approach in order to investigate and analyse a more rounded set of evidence. The innovative methodology incorporates archaeology, building remains, access analysis maps, and written records to construct a more holistic picture of the castle's function and role in everyday life.

The first half of the thesis explores the relationship between the lord, the castle, and the regional landscape and community. It establishes that the castle cannot be examined in isolation; instead these aspects need to be incorporated into castle studies in order to provide a clearer picture. The first part forms a vital precursor to the examination of the interaction that happened within the castle itself, which forms the second part of this thesis. The spatial arrangements and the households of each of the four case studies are comparatively examined in order to determine the movement of the household, guests, and the lord through the castle. Each of the chapters reveals similarities between the sites, their layout, and the daily life that took place within them. This furnishes a rich seam of information that contributes to scholarship on the early Tudor period, bringing to the forefront of the discussion the focus on people and place.

Table of Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	3
<i>Abstract</i>	5
<i>List of Figures</i>	9
<i>List of Tables</i>	10
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	11
<i>Introduction</i>	12
<i>The Field of Castle Studies</i>	12
<i>The Scope and Methodological Approach</i>	16
Documentary Material.....	18
Archaeological Evidence.....	20
Space Syntax Theory and Access Maps	21
<i>Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire and Sir Rhys ap Thomas (1449-1525)</i>	26
<i>Cowdray Castle, West Sussex and Sir William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton (1490-1542)</i>	30
<i>Hedingham Castle, Essex and John de Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford (1442-1513)</i>	34
<i>Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire and Edward Stafford, Third Duke of Buckingham (1478-1521)</i>	38
The Aim and Scope of the Thesis	42
1. Regional Authority and Influence in the Early Tudor Period: The Castle as a Central Fixture in the Region	48
1.1 Introduction	48
1.2 The Ownership of Land in the Regions.....	51
1.3 Representing the King in the Regions	65
1.4 Administrative Duties in the Castle.....	70
1.5 Influence in and on the Regional Communities	72
1.6 Conclusion.....	75
2. The Purpose and Use of the Elite Landscape: The Parks, the Gardens, and the Orchards of an Early Tudor Castle	78
2.1 Introduction	78
2.2 Entertainment and Recreation in the Landscape	81
2.2.1 Hunting as a Sport and Pastime	82

2.2.2	Gambling, Tennis, Archery, and Tournaments	89
2.3	The Landscape as a Food Source and Income Producer	93
2.4	Enclosing the Landscape: Control and Status	99
2.5	Controlling Access of the Interior and Exterior of the Estate	102
2.6	Conclusion.....	106
3.	<i>Perpetuating Memory in the Regions: The Architecture, Heraldry, Patronage, and Monuments of the Early Tudor Nobility.....</i>	108
3.1	Introduction	108
3.2	Personal and Royal Heraldry.....	110
3.3	Patronage to Religious Institutions.....	121
3.4	Conclusion.....	129
4.	<i>The Movement, Membership, and Service of the Household.....</i>	133
4.1	Introduction	133
4.2	The Hierarchy and Membership of the Household	135
4.2.1	Servants	138
4.2.2	Administrators and Estate Officials	144
4.2.3	The Retinue	148
4.2.4	Lawyers	149
4.2.5	Chaplains and Household Chapel Staff	151
4.2.6	The Riding Household	153
4.3	Meals in the Noble Household	157
4.3.1	The Kitchens	157
4.3.2	Spaces for Consuming the Meal	161
4.4	Conclusion.....	167
5.	<i>Early Tudor Hospitality: The Castle as a Centre of Generosity, Display, and Entertainment.....</i>	170
5.1	Introduction	170
5.1.1	What was Early Tudor Hospitality?.....	170
5.1.2	Hospitality as a Form of Gift-Giving.....	173
5.2	The Guests	176
5.2.1	The Reception of a Guest: The Formalities	177
5.3	The Entertainment: Music and Food	180
5.3.1	Music.....	180
5.3.2	Food	185

5.4	The Extraordinary Days: Religious Feasts	190
5.5	Guest Accommodation and Lodgings	192
5.6	Conclusion.....	196
6.	<i>Privacy and Private Places in and around the Castle.....</i>	198
6.1	Introduction	198
6.1.1	Definitions: Past and Present	198
6.1.2	The Use of Privacy in Scholarship: Medieval and Early Modern	201
6.2	<i>The Layout and Design of the Castle in Association with Privacy and Display</i>	203
6.3	<i>The Arrangement of Sleeping Chambers for the Elite</i>	207
6.4	The Arrangement of Sleeping Chambers for the Household	212
6.5	Gendered Privacy and Space: Closets and Latrines	220
6.5.1	The Closet: Reading, Writing, and Privacy	221
6.5.2	The Latrine: Privacy and Bodily Functions	224
6.6	Detecting Privacy in the Landscape	227
6.7	Conclusion.....	229
	<i>Conclusion.....</i>	232
	<i>Bibliography.....</i>	240
	Unpublished Primary Sources.....	240
	Printed Primary Sources.....	244
	Secondary Sources	252
	Unpublished Theses	299

List of Figures

Figure 1: Front of Carew Castle.....	27
Figure 2: Entrance to the great hall at Carew.....	28
Figure 3: Elizabethan Range at Carew (photo by Jeffrey L. Thomas).....	29
Figure 4: Plan of Carew Castle. Plan adapted from Adrian Pettifer, <i>Welsh Castles</i> (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), p. 156.	30
Figure 5: Gatehouse of Cowdray.	31
Figure 6: Eastern Range, windows from the great hall.....	32
Figure 7: Kitchen Tower at Cowdray.....	33
Figure 8: Ground Floor plan of Cowdray Castle (c. 1535), plan adapted from St John Hope, <i>Cowdray and Easebourne</i> , p. 92.	33
Figure 9: Great Tower at Hedingham Castle.	35
Figure 10: Tudor Bridge at Hedingham, only surviving fifteenth-century feature.....	36
Figure 11: Survey of Hedingham Castle in 1592 (ERO, D/DML MI).	38
Figure 12: Inner Gatehouse with the Lord's Tower to the right.....	40
Figure 13: Range containing the lord and lady's apartments overlooking the privy garden.	41
Figure 14: Plan of Thornbury Castle (c. 1521). Plan adapted from Anthony Emery, <i>Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales, 1300-1500</i> , 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996-2006), III, p. 185.....	42
Figure 15: Map of East Anglia showing John de Vere's estates. Map adapted from Ross, <i>John de Vere</i> , p. 90-1.	57
Figure 16: Map of Edward Stafford's estates at his death in 1521. Map made from list of properties found in Harris, <i>Edward Stafford</i> , pp. 236-9.	62
Figure 17: Raised walkway leading to Cowdray Castle.	105
Figure 18: Tomb of Sir Rhys ap Thomas and his wife, Janet daughter of Thomas Matthew of Radyr, in St Peter's Church, Carmarthen.....	113
Figure 19: Tudor shields above the entrance porch to the great hall at Carew Castle..	114
Figure 20: Iconography above the porch to the great hall at Cowdray Castle.....	117
Figure 21: Ceiling of the great hall porch at Cowdray (photo taken by Nigel Sadler). 117	
Figure 22: Drawn detail of the fan vault in the porch of the great hall at Cowdray Castle. From William V. Crake, 'The Porch at Cowdray, with some Account of its Builder', <i>Sussex Archaeology Collection</i> , 54 (1911), 113-129 (p. 125).	118
Figure 23: Thornbury Castle and St Mary's Church from above (photo from Historic England project 'Britain from Above', see http://www.britainfromabove.org.uk/image/eaw006840).....	127
Figure 24: Access Map depicting the kitchen range at Thornbury Castle (c. 1521).....	160
Figure 25: Late Fifteenth Century Table Layout in a Hall, see Woolgar, <i>The Great Household</i> , p. 162.	166
Figure 26: Diagram of table layout and entrances in the great chamber at Thornbury Castle c. 1507. Diagram created from the information given in the Household Book of Edward Stafford for the year 1507-8. Table configuration is adapted from London, College of Arms MS M8, f. 65v	189
Figure 27: Map of Hedingham Castle in 1592, each arrow indicates one quadrant. Map from ERO, D/DML MI. Arrows added by author.	194
Figure 28: The main chambers and structures placed into a hierarchical table. The most private is located at the top and the least private at the bottom.	207
Figure 29: Lordly Apartments at Thornbury (c. 1521).	209

Figure 30: Access Map depicting the kitchen (north) range at Thornbury Castle (c. 1521).	215
Figure 31: Key to Access Analysis Maps.	214
Figure 32: Access Analysis Map of Hedingham Castle (c. 1500).	216
Figure 33: Access Analysis Map of Thornbury Castle (c. 1520).....	217
Figure 34: Access Analysis Map of Carew Castle (c. 1500).	218
Figure 35: Access Analysis Map of Cowdray Castle (c. 1530).	219

List of Tables

Table 1: Depicts the hierarchy of the members of the household by department. The Table was created from information in Girouard, <i>Life in a Country House</i> , pp. 22-7; Eadie, <i>A New Approach</i> , p. 149.	137
Table 2: The Number of Household Members present at meals at Thornbury Castle in 1507-8. From SRO D1721/1/5; Woolgar, <i>The Great Household</i> , p. 17.	141
Table 3: People present at mealtimes while Edward Stafford was travelling in 1507-8. Table created from SRO D1721/1/5; Woolgar, <i>The Noble Household</i> , p. 17.	155

List of Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
CChR	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i>
CIPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogues Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> , 3 vols (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1898-1955)
CFR	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls</i>
Complete Peerage	George E. Cokayne, <i>The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom</i> , 10 vols (London: St Catherine, 1910-1998)
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
ERO	Essex Record Office
Household Books	<i>Household Books of John, Duke of Norfolk and Thomas, Earl of Surrey</i> [recte John, earl of Oxford], <i>temp. 1481-1490</i> , ed. by John Payne Collier (London: William Nicols, 1844)
HO	<i>A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household made in divers reigns, from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary. Also receipts in ancient cookery</i> , ed. by Anon (London: J. Nichols, 1790)
Leland, Itinerary	John Leland, <i>The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543</i> , ed. by Lucy T. Smith, 5 vols (London: G. Bell, 1906-1910)
LP, Henry VIII	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII</i> , ed. by John S. Brewer, Robert Henry Brodie, and James Gairdner, 21 vols (London: Longman, 1862-1910)
NRO	Norfolk Record Office, Norwich
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
Parliament Rolls	<i>Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275-1504</i> , general editor Christopher Given-Wilson, 17 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005).
PL	<i>The Paston Letters</i> , ed. by John Gairdner, 6 vols (London: Chatto and Windus, 1904)
PLP	<i>Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century</i> , ed. by Norma Davis, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971-6)
SRO	Staffordshire Record Office
TNA	The National Archives
WSRO	West Sussex Record Office

Introduction

In 1577 Raphael Holinshed published a history of the British Isles in two volumes entitled *The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. His history is an important work for many reasons, but directly related to this thesis is his near-contemporary observations of many key aspects of Tudor society. One such section was on castles, for which Holinshed begins:

There haue beene in times past great sotre of castels and places of defense within the realme of England, of which some were builded by the Britons, manie by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, but most of all by the barons of the realme [...].²

While Holinshed is correct in his assertion that many of the castles in England were built by the ‘barons of the realme’, it is a rather limiting and casual statement. What is less clear in Holinshed’s statement is the unintentional link between the castles and those who built them. Buildings and those who occupy them are intrinsically linked. People influenced the layout, chamber arrangements, and construction of the residence in which they lived. Following this, the aim of the present thesis is to gain an understanding of the social context of daily life in early Tudor castles owned by the aristocracy, how the castle facilitated a microcosm of society, and how the castle and its owner interacted with the surrounding landscape, people, and other buildings. The question this study will address, in short, is: what was the castle’s role in the everyday life of the lord, his household, and the regional society?

The Field of Castle Studies

People and places have not been a key feature in much of the research concerning castles.³ Instead, the military history approach, prevalent throughout the twentieth century, studied and classified castles according to their various systems of defence arguing that the driving force behind castle development was the changing political

² Raphael Holinshed, *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles, Comprising the Description and Historie of England, Ireland, and Scotland* (London: John Harison, 1587), p. 194.

³ For some notable exceptions, although all article-length, see Robert Liddiard, ‘English Castle-Building’, in *Princely Rank in Late Medieval Europe: Trodden Paths and Promising Avenues*, ed. by Thorsten Huthwelker, Jörg Peltzer and Maximilian Wemhöner (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2011), pp. 199-226; John Goodall, ‘The Lodgings of Henry Percy, 4th Earl of Northumberland (circa 1449-1489), Warkworth Castle, Northumberland’, in *Architecture, Liturgy and Identity: Liber Amicorum Paul Corssey*, ed. by Zoë Opačić (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 61-6; Rachel Swallow, ‘Gateways to Power: The Castles of Ranulf III of Chester and Llywelyn the Great of Gwynedd’, *Archaeological Journal*, 171 (2014), 289-311.

condition or the changing methods of warfare.⁴ One consequence of the military dominance in scholarship was the focus on the rise and fall paradigm, which brought with it the idea that the castle became obsolete by the end of the fourteenth century due to the increased use of gunpowder weaponry. The accepted historical narrative dictates that the epoch of the castle peaked in the early fourteenth century after which it entered into a decline by the end of the fourteenth century, a decline that was accelerated both by the development of the cannon and an increasingly centralised state. As *The Oxford Companion to Archaeology* states:

from the mid-fourteenth century, there was a change in the character of castles; they became a cult, a source of pleasure in their own right [...] This step was hastened by the invention of firearms in the fourteenth century and the discovery of the angle bastion in the early sixteenth century, which really made a fortified private residence no longer feasible.⁵

This rise and fall approach not only represents castles as an essentially military structure, but the whole history of the castle is understood in terms of an evolutionary struggle between the defender and the attacker for technological superiority in war.⁶ Therefore, castles of post-fourteenth-century England and Wales have been largely ignored in scholarship as much of the research on residential settings in the early Tudor period has focused on the Tudor manor.⁷

⁴ See for example, William D. Simpson, ‘Bastard Feudalism’ and the Later Castles’, *Antiquaries Journal*, 26 (1946), 145-71; John G. Edwards, ‘The Normans and the Welsh March’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 42 (1957), 155-77; Frank M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166. Being the Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term 1929*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961); Richard V.H. Burne, ‘The Evolution of the English Castle: With Special Reference to the Castles of North Wales’, *Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural, Archaeological and Historic Society*, 50 (1963), 15-26; R. Allen Brown, *English Castles*, 3rd edn (London: Batsford, 1977); Michael Prestwich, ‘English Castles in the Reign of Edward II’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 8 (1982), 159-78; Michael W. Thompson, *The Decline of the Castle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

⁵ Michael W. Thompson, ‘Castles of Medieval Europe’, in *The Oxford Companion to Archaeology*, ed. by Brian M. Fagan and Charlotte Beck (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 416-8 (p. 418).

⁶ For some recent examples, see Stuart Prior, *A Few Well-Positioned Castles: The Norman Art of War* (Stroud: Tempus, 2006); there is an edited volume solely on Edward I’s castles in the north of Wales, see *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales: The Proceedings of a Conference held at Bangor University, 7-9 September 2007*, ed. by Diane M. Williams and John R. Kenyon (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010).

⁷ One notable exception to this is John A. Goodall, *The English Castle, 1066-1650* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), although the primary focus for Goodall is architecture. For scholarship on the Tudor country home, see Maurice Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics, 1490-1550* (London: George Philip, 1987); Malcolm Airs, *The Tudor*

Beginning in the late 1980s, scholars began to challenge the military purpose of the castle, in particular, the military features of Bodiam Castle in East Sussex. Numerous articles were published from the late 1980s through the 2000s that argued that Bodiam was a symbol of lordship and authority, and that it was not feasibly martial in design.⁸ Around the same time, Philip Dixon and Pamela Marshall began to construct the idea of the *donjon* in England as a ceremonial structure as opposed to a building used as a last refuge in a siege.⁹ They highlighted and put forth the idea of the castle complex as a theatre, arguing that castles were theatrical in that they served as a stage for many different players, including the lord and the guest. Following these revisionist views, recent scholarship has sought to develop upon the idea of the castle as a multi-faceted structure. This has resulted in the development of three main aspects in castle studies: the landscape, the architecture, and the archaeology.

Each strand of scholarship – landscape, architecture, and archaeology – has, in the past, been studied as separate entities. Landscape archaeology has recently gained momentum in the field of castle studies.¹⁰ Currently, scholars are debating the term ‘designed landscapes’ and its use when describing medieval elite landscapes.¹¹

and Jacobean Country House: A Building History (Stroud: Sutton, 1995); Paula Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden: Architecture and Landscape in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

⁸ D.J. Turner, ‘Bodiam Castle: True Castle or Old Soldier’s Dream House?’, in *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by W. Mark Ormond (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), pp. 267-77; Charles Coulson, ‘Bodiam Castle: Truth and Tradition’, *Fortress*, 10 (1991), 3-15; Paul Everson, ‘Bodiam Castle, East Sussex: Castle and its Designed Landscape’, *Château Gaillard*, 17 (1996), 79-84; Robert Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066-1500* (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2005).

⁹ Philip Dixon, ‘The Donjon of Knaresborough: The Castle as Theatre’, *Château Gaillard*, 14 (1990), 121-39; ‘Design in Castle-Building: The Controlling of Access to the Lord’, *Château Gaillard*, 18 (1996), 47-56; Pamela Marshall, ‘The Ceremonial Function of the Donjon in the Twelfth Century’, *Château Gaillard*, 20 (2002), 141-51; Philip Dixon and Pamela Marshall, ‘The Great Tower in the Twelfth Century: The Case of Norham Castle’, *Archaeological Journal*, 150 (2003), 410-32; Pamela Marshall, *Magna Turris: A Study of the Development, Planning and Use of Social Space in Donjons of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries Located in the Geographical Territories of the Norman and Angevin Kings of England* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Nottingham, 2006).

¹⁰ For landscape archaeology, see Oliver Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes* (London: Continuum, 2002); Robert Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066-1500* (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2005); Oliver Creighton and Jessica P. Freeman, ‘Castles and the Medieval Landscape’, in *Medieval Devon and Cornwall: Shaping an Ancient Countryside* (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2006), pp. 104-22; Oliver Creighton, *Designs upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009); Oliver Creighton and Terence Barry, ‘Seigneurial and Elite Sites in the Medieval Landscape’, in *Medieval and Rural Settlement: Britain and Ireland, AD 800-1600*, ed. by Neil Christie and Paul Stamper (Bollington: Windgather, 2011), pp. 63-80.

¹¹ See section 2.1.

Although the focus is on the landscape, scholars such as Robert Liddiard and to a lesser extent Oliver Creighton, have begun to interconnect the study of the landscape with that of the architecture. While the study of castle architecture has mostly focused form rather than function often neglecting the landscape. The architecture is the most developed of these aspects and has known a remarkable and constant growth from its origin in the studies of antiquaries.¹² Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, publications on architecture of castles have remained limited to individual case studies or county studies, rarely comparing architectural features across a large area.¹³ This is until a recent study by John Goodall, who examined castle architecture from the Norman Conquest to 1650 in England.¹⁴ Such a huge undertaking does have its limitations; in particular, certain periods are examined more thoroughly, while the historical and social context is less prevalent throughout. Goodall's study does testify that discussing castles in a wider context can lead to broader conclusions about castle architecture over a long period of time and a wide geographical area. The third and final strand is archaeology. Christopher Tilley's *A Phenomenology of Landscape* argued that it is a useful technique to discover more about historical people and how they interacted with architecture and landscape.¹⁵ This entails studying buildings as structures of consciousness that are to be experienced from the first-person point of view and within the remit of castle studies it is argued this provides a better understanding of the relationship between the building and the landscape. More recently, Matthew Johnson has incorporated phenomenology

¹² See, for example, John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535-1543*, ed. by Lucy Toulmin Smith, 5 vols (London: Bell, 1906-1910).

¹³ The vast majority of individual case studies are article-length and are primarily considered with a historical and architectural description of the castle, for instance, see Michael Fradley, 'Space and Structure at Caernarfon Castle', *Medieval Archaeology*, 50 (2006), 165-78; Jeremy Ashbee, 'The Medieval Buildings and Topography of Rochester Castle', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rochester*, ed. by Tim Ayers and Tim W.T. Tatton-Brown (Leeds: Maney, 2006), pp. 250-64; Rachel McGuicken, 'Castle in Context: Redefining the Significance of Beeston Castle, Cheshire', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, 81 (2007), 65-82; Anthony Chapman, 'The Gatehouse of Pevensey Castle', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 145 (2007), 97-118; Paul S. Barnwell, 'The Power of Peak Castle: Cultural Contexts and Changing Perceptions', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 160 (2007), 20-38; Shaun Richardson, 'A Room with a View? Looking Outwards from Late Medieval Harewood', *Archaeological Journal*, 167 (2010), 14-54; Andrew Parkyn and Tom E. McNeill, 'Regional Power and the Profits of War: The East Range of Warwick Castle', *Archaeological Journal*, 169 (2013), 480-518.

¹⁴ Goodall, *The English Castle*.

¹⁵ Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape* (1994).

within castle studies.¹⁶ Phenomenology has been critiqued for its subjectivity. People experience different things even in the same space, the twenty-first-century experience of a building cannot claim to be similar to that of a fifteenth century lord.

Thus far scholarship has rarely incorporated more than one of these key historiographical areas discussed above.¹⁷ As such, scholarship has yet to develop a methodology that examines multiple functions of a castle, instead of just one. This has left the field of castle studies with separate disciplines like landscape history, architecture, and archaeology, rather than an all-encompassing study. As mentioned previously, the scholarship rarely integrates the people and the places together, and instead treats them as separate entities, except in those studies that focus on individual castles, providing depth, yet omitting breadth. It is the intention of this thesis to provide a study that examines the castle on a multitude of levels, including landscape history, architecture, and archaeology, while at the same time incorporating those who lived and worked in the castle. The combination of the different layers of examination allows for a more in depth analysis of how the castle functioned in daily life in early Tudor society.

The Scope and Methodological Approach

The four case studies that have been investigated here are: Carew Castle, in Pembrokeshire and Sir Rhys ap Thomas; Cowdray Castle in West Sussex and Sir William Fitzwilliam; Hedingham Castle in Essex and John de Vere, thirteenth earl of Oxford; and Thornbury Castle in Gloucestershire and Edward Stafford, third duke of Buckingham. Each of these case studies needed to fit into five criteria. First, each site

¹⁶ For the building archaeological approach, see Matthew Johnson, 'The Englishman's Home and its Study', in *The Social Archaeology of Houses*, ed. by Ross Samson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 245-57; Matthew Johnson, *Housing Culture: Traditional Architecture in an English Landscape* (London: University College London Press, 1993). Some examples include Tim Ingold, 'The Temporality of the Landscape', *World Archaeology*, 25 (1993), 152-74; Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths, and Monuments* (Oxford: Berg, 1994); Matthew Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate: Medieval to Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2002); Matthew Johnson, 'What do Medieval Buildings Mean?', *History and Theory*, 52 (2013), 380-99.

¹⁷ One such example is Gillian Eadie, *A New Approach to Identifying Functions in Castles: A Study of Tower Houses in Ireland* (unpublished PhD thesis: Queen's University, Belfast, 2009). The work of Kate Giles has comprehensively used the social, political, and religious context with the analysis of building archaeology, see Kate Giles and Jonathon Clark, 'The Archaeology of the Guild Buildings of Shakespeare's Stratford-upon-Avon', in *The Guild and Guild Buildings of Shakespeare's Stratford: Society, Religion, School and Stage*, ed. by M.R. Mulryne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 135-70; 'St Mary's Guildhall, Boston, Leicestershire: The Archaeology of a Medieval 'Public' Building', *Medieval Archaeology*, 55 (2011), 226-56.

and owner needed to be within the chronological period. The chronological scope of this thesis is the time frame between the years 1485 and 1547. As the historiographical survey established above, castle scholarship rarely ventures past the fourteenth century. By asserting that the castle was still a central part of the noble lifestyle, the chronology will push the traditional boundary of the Middle Ages.¹⁸ This study examines the reigns of Henry VII (1485-1509) and Henry VIII (1509-1547) in hopes that the confines of castle studies are brought into the Tudor period establishing that the traditionally viewed medieval structures were built and occupied after the fourteenth century. Secondly, the location of the site had to be in the southern part of England or Wales. The benefit of a larger geographical area is the identification of similarities and differences leading to wider implications of early Tudor castles more generally. Third, each of the case studies needed to be the main seat of residence, or *caput*, of the owner; this meant that the owner chose to reside in the castle for the majority of any given year.¹⁹ This established the importance of that residence in the lord's network of estates. Fourth, the source material needed to be available for consultation.²⁰ Each of the four case studies contributed in different ways to the source material, but all of the sites needed to have excavation reports. Lastly, the owners of each of the castles needed to vary in social status and in wealth, while at the same time a balance was sought between owners under Henry VII and under Henry VIII. Therefore, two owners – Sir Rhys and Fitzwilliam – did not come from a long family history of high status and wealth, but their political careers were excelled by the kings they served. De Vere and Stafford on the other hand, came from well-established families in England; they inherited a large number of estates and did not necessarily rely on the king for their careers and status.

¹⁸ On the end of the Middle Ages, see for example, John L. Watts, 'Introduction: History, the Fifteenth Century and the Renaissance', in *The End of the Middle Ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. by John L. Watts (Sutton: Stroud, 1998), pp. 8-15; David Grummitt, *Henry VII, 1457-1509: The First Tudor King: Monarchy at the End of the Middle Ages* (Burford: Davenant Press, 2009).

¹⁹ The Paston Letters were used to determine that Hedingham was John de Vere's *caput*; the household accounts of Edward Stafford testified to his presence at Thornbury for the majority of the years they survive; Carew was the grandest property owned by Sir Rhys and the evidence from the Letters Patent demonstrate that it was Sir Rhys's main seat; and the Tudor State Papers bear witness to Sir William Fitzwilliam's inhabitation at Cowdray for the majority of his career. For Hedingham, see *PL*, VI, pp. 92-3, 106, 122, 128-9, 135-6, 138, 142-3, 165. For Thornbury, see *SRO*, D1721/1/5 (the *Household Book* for the year 1507-8). For Carew see *TNA*, E36/151 (the valor of estates from the attainder's survey in 1532). For Cowdray see, for example, *TNA*, SP1/98, f. 12; SP3/3, f. 73; SP1/135, f. 61; SP1/138, f. 196; *BL*, Cotton Cleopatra E/IV, f. 209; *TNA*, SP1/144, f. 167; SP1/150, f. 120; SP1/205, f. 116 (all written from Cowdray).

²⁰ A more detailed discussion of the different types of sources is below.

The choice to examine only one generation of castle owners in each case study was deliberate. One of the aims of this thesis is to provide the social context of everyday life in an early Tudor castle, and in order to achieve this, a single owner was felt most appropriate. This allowed for an in depth analysis of that owner's needs, desires, career, loyalties, and rivalries, which added to the social context of the castle and its function in society and provided a micro-study of the early Tudor castle. This micro-study of each of the castles and owners in turn, granted an easier comparison between the four sites and people. The chronology, the use of case studies, and the examination of one generation of castle owner all form part of the methodological approach and aided in the identification of functions at each of the castles. This type of approach has not yet been implemented in scholarship on English and Welsh castles.

Indeed, scholarly interest has turned to an attempt to consolidate a methodology that would incorporate multiple functions of a castle. To date, no comprehensive scholarly monograph on early Tudor castles has been produced. The existing article-length studies focusing on individual castles have been restricted in their range and by their narrow scope of analysis on a single castle. Thus, three aspects inspired and drove forward the compilation of this work: the call for an interdisciplinary approach by other scholars, the need to open up debate on a period of time that has remained neglected in castle studies, and the importance of such buildings in the understanding of the interactions in society. In order to do this, an interdisciplinary methodology is paramount. Studying the castles of the early Tudor period necessitates engagement with several distinct types of source material to furnish information on the social context surrounding each of the four different case studies. Below is a brief outline of the key primary sources referred to throughout the thesis, dividing them into three categories of documentary evidence, building archaeological evidence, and the use and subsequent interpretation of space syntax theory of the structure in order to produce access maps. Assessing the available evidence in this manner will avoid repetition in subsequent chapters and will enable later case studies to proceed unhindered by tangential discussion of their primary material.

Documentary Material

The documentary material examined in this thesis provides a wide range of information pertaining to the castle, the landscape, and the owner. The sources that deal directly with the castle and the landscape are the attainder's survey of Edward Stafford, third

duke of Buckingham in 1521 and Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd, Sir Rhys ap Thomas's grandson and heir, in 1532. Both surveys were commissioned by the crown, as all lands owned by a traitor were forfeit to the king. The surveys describe the layout of the castles, the repairs that were needed, the arrangement of the chambers in some of the ranges, and the number of parks associated with the castle as well as any gardens and orchards. As attainders' surveys were commissioned immediately after one was found guilty of treason, they are principally useful in that they provide contemporary details of the castle and landscape. This is valuable, particularly for Carew, as the Elizabethan owner, Sir John Perrot, completely rebuilt the northern range, and the survey details the range before the late-sixteenth-century reconstruction.

The second source of material that is drawn on throughout this thesis is the household accounts for John de Vere, thirteenth earl of Oxford and Edward Stafford. The household accounts, although not directly describing the castle, they do state when the household and lord were present at the castle, and we can, therefore, analyse what was purchased for the household while staying at the residence. Both household accounts reveal the payment to members of the regional communities surrounding the *caput*, providing evidence as to who was part of the household and, at times, where they came from. For Thornbury Castle, a *Household Book* survives that details who was present at dinner (*prandium*) and supper (*cena*), including the name of high-status guests, the number of servants that accompanied them, and the social status of all those eating on the lord's expense as well as what was served. These accounts can aid in determining who was in the household, who visited the residence, and what the household spent money on, all of this information helps to broaden the picture of the residence and its relationship with the household, the region, and the lord.

The final two collections that have been drawn on are the Paston Letters and Tudor State Papers. The Paston Letters date to the fifteenth century and pertain only to John de Vere, as the Pastons were a gentry family from East Anglia. The large number of letters that survive provide a glimpse into the daily routines of the gentry and those who they interacted with, including John de Vere and John Paston (d. 1504). Paston was a member of de Vere's household and was delegated many administrative duties that can be witnessed in the letters. The Tudor State Papers date from the start of Henry VIII's reign and similar to the Paston Letters, they detail political and administrative duties concerning those closest to the king and provide information for Stafford, Sir

Rhys, and Fitzwilliam. Both of these are used to determine the role that the king played in everyday administrative duties in the regions.

Each of the document categories are approached differently as each come from a distinct genre. The attainders' surveys were written specifically for the king and it is impossible to know whether he wanted the commissioners to pay particularly close attention to a certain feature on the properties. For example, the Thornbury survey provides more detail on the landscape than the Carew survey. While the household accounts were for record-keeping and economic purposes, they also recorded Stafford and de Vere's generosity for posterity.²¹ Finally, the Paston Letters and the Tudor State Papers are political in nature, and although do not reveal a great deal about the castles themselves; they do contain information about the owners and their duties to the king and the regions, including where the duties took place. The knowledge of the different types of documents has been a key component in my approach to, and use, of these sources.

Archaeological Evidence

I have surveyed all four sites to piece together the early Tudor architecture, spatial arrangements, as well as to challenge the previous plans of past scholars.

Archaeological excavations have been undertaken at all four sites, although some are more extensive than others. At Hedingham, the excavations were carried out in the late nineteenth century by Lewis Majendie.²² The excavations found the brick foundations dating from the late fifteenth century. The layout of the buildings, as reported by Majendie, confirms the 1592 map of Hedingham Castle (see Figure 4). An investigation led by Robert Liddiard in the early 2000s reported a small tower in one of the adjacent parks called the 'Newe Parke'.²³ Excavations at Carew Castle, supervised by David Austin, have been more recent.²⁴ These reports have provided information regarding the

²¹ Carole Rawcliffe, 'A Tudor Nobleman as Archivist: The Papers of Edward, Third Duke of Buckingham', *Journal of Society of Archivists*, 5 (1976), 294-300.

²² Lewis A. Majendie, 'Notes on Hedingham Castle, and the Family of De Vere, Earls of Oxford', *Essex Archaeological Society Transactions*, 1 (1858), 75-80; Lewis A. Majendie, 'On the Plan of Hedingham Castle, as Disclosed by Recent Excavations, and Compared with a Survey Made in 1592', *Essex Archaeological Society Transactions*, 4 (1869), 240-243.

²³ Robert Liddiard and Fiona Wells, 'The Little Park at Castle Hedingham, Essex: A Possible Late Medieval Pleasure Ground', *Garden History*, 36 (2008), 85-93.

²⁴ *Carew Castle Archaeological Project 1992 Season Interim Report*, ed. by David Austin (Lampeter: University of Wales, Lampeter, 1993); *Carew Castle Archaeological Project 1993 Season Interim Report*, ed. by David Austin (Lampeter: University of Wales, Lampeter, 1995);

dating of the ornamentation and decoration including three very ornate oriel windows dated to the early sixteenth century while Sir Rhys was occupying the site.²⁵ They contain data on the landscape surrounding Carew, where parish boundaries and foundations of several walled parks adjacent to Carew were uncovered.²⁶ Thornbury has had several excavations on the site, due mostly to the fact that it is now a luxury hotel, and as a listed building, it needs a survey completed when the hotel wishes to make a change to the site.²⁷ Although these excavations are not extensive, like those of Carew, they have identified an early Anglo-Saxon, or even post-Roman settlement demonstrating the long history of the site as a place of residence.²⁸ Similarly at Cowdray Castle, an Anglo-Saxon graveyard has been found beneath an early Norman structure adjacent to the early Tudor castle.²⁹ The archaeological reports do help to shed light on the settlement patterns before the early Tudor renovations as well as confirm the dating of foundations, brick work, and ornamental features.

Space Syntax Theory and Access Maps

Space syntax theory have long been deployed in a wide range of research with a substantial historical component. By facilitating the comparative study of building form through time, space syntax research has opened a number of possibilities for exploring the relationship between domestic space and social activity. Space syntax theory hinges on access analysis that was pioneered by Bob Hillier and Julianne Hanson in the mid-

Carew Castle Archaeological Project 1994 Season Interim Report, ed. by David Austin (Lampeter: University of Wales, Lampeter, 1995).

²⁵ *Carew Archaeological Project 1992*, pp. 17-8.

²⁶ *Carew Archaeological Project 1994*, pp. 30-2.

²⁷ Most of these reports have not been officially published. *Interim Report Bristol and Avon Archaeology*, ed. by Rob Iles (Bristol & Avon Archaeological Society, 1982); *A Report on the Trial Excavation in the Privy Gardens, Thornbury Castle*, ed. by Richard Bell (Bath Archaeological Trust, 1992); *Thornbury Castle: Structural Analysis and Archaeological Investigations in the Outer Court*, ed. by Kirsty Rodwell (Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery, 2002); *Avon Extensive Urban Survey Archaeological Assessment Report: Thornbury*, ed. by Emily La Trobe-Bateman (English Heritage, 1996); *Park Farm Thornbury, South Gloucestershire*, ed. by Nathan Blick (Cirencester: Cotswold Archaeology, 2010).

²⁸ *Avon Extensive Urban Survey Archaeological Assessment*, p. 9.

²⁹ *Eastbourne: Historic Character Assessment Report*, ed. by Roland Harris (East Sussex County Council, 2008), pp. 12-3. Other reports include, *Midhurst: Historic Character Assessment Report*, ed. by Roland Harris (English Heritage, 2010); *Tree-Ring Analysis of Oak Timbers from Conduit House, Cowdray*, ed. by Martin Bridge (Oxford, 2006); John Magilton, 'Excavations at St Ann's Hill, 1994', in *Midhurst*, ed. by John Magilton and Spencer Thomas (Chichester: Chichester District Archaeology, 2001), pp. 26-48; Bill Woodburn and Neil Guy, 'St Ann's Castle', *Castle Studies Group Journal*, 19 (2006), 28-30.

1980s.³⁰ They proposed that the accessibility of each room in a building had a social meaning, equating changing patterns of access with shifts in social arrangements, developing the ‘access analysis diagram’ to measure permeability. They considered the least accessible rooms as the ‘deepest’ with the depth measured by the number of rooms or areas to be traversed in order to access them. The access analysis maps or diagrams depict a graphical representation of the relationship between spaces in the built environment. These maps highlight the number of transitional points one has to navigate in order to reach a particular area. Theoretically, space syntax asserts that the built environment of past societies – the chambers, houses, and settlements – provide material evidence pertaining to the way people, both individually and collectively, construct their spatial arrangements. The debate about the nature of the relationship between people, their environment, and the spaces they occupied has attracted contributions from sociologists, anthropologists, architects, environmental scientists, and archaeologists.³¹

Despite the different disciplines and approaches to the built environment and the people within it, most theories about the relationship of human beings to their constructed environment share the idea that there is something to be learnt about individuals or groups from the way that people construct, organise, and furnish their physical living spaces. Space syntax is the collective name given to an analytical approach and a conceptual framework that together identify, compare, and interpret patterns of spatial configuration. The theoretical basis for space syntax falls generally within a structuralist approach that, in its broadest sense can be defined as the belief that there exist underlying rules or laws that, though unspoken, give meaning to people’s

³⁰ Bob Hillier and Julianne Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Bob Hillier, *Space is the Machine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Julianne Hanson, *Decoding Homes and Houses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

³¹ Other key texts include: Claude Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (London: Allen Lane, 1963); Edward T. Hall, ‘The Anthropology of Space’, *Architectural Review*, 140 (1966), 8-35; Amos Rapoport, *House Form and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1969); Pierre Bourdieu, ‘The Berber House’, in *Rules and Meanings*, ed. by Mary Douglas (Harmondsworth: Penguin Education, 1973); James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Books, 1977); Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Susan Kent, *Analyzing Activity Areas: An Ethnoarchaeological Study of the Use of Space* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984); Michael P. Pearson and Colin Richards, ‘Ordering the World: Perceptions of Architecture, Space and Time’, in *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space*, ed. by Michael P. Parker and Colin Richards (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 1-37.

myths, concepts, and cultural behaviour. Space syntax takes as its starting point that the existence of human beings as physical objects occupies a finite area of space. As such, they have no choice but to occupy a particular piece of space and to move from one point in space to another in order to do anything. This theory is based on three assumptions: that people use space both consciously and reflexively; that the way spaces are linked together affects how people move through and use those spaces; and that such movement and use, in turn, in some way affects the behaviour of the people living within those spaces.³²

The basic unit of analysis, particularly in the current study, is the transitional spaces, defined as space linking two, or more, chambers or areas together. The arrangement of these spaces produces the ‘configurational descriptions [... which ...] deal with the way in which a system of spaces is related together to form a pattern, rather than with the more localised properties of any particular space’.³³ The configurational descriptions are reached in four stages: the identification of transitional space, whether it is a corridor, staircase, or a door; the insertion of the links joining those spaces; the representation of the linked spaces visually through a justified access graph or map; and finally, the analysis of these graphs in order to ascertain the movement through space. The access maps utilised in this thesis indicate the pattern of access and permeability within the four case studies, by expressing its layout as a visual representation of the structure and its chambers. The maps have been compiled through the analysis of excavation reports of the sites, building surveys, and attainders’ surveys, which indicate where a chamber was situated within the overall plan of the castle. As other scholars have rightly pointed out ‘in medieval domestic planning of the scale under consideration [i.e. castles] that the most remote apartment shall be reserved for the most select occupant and that difficulty of persona access shall be a mark of rank’.³⁴ In other words, the chambers associated with the highest ranking inhabitant, in this case the lord, would be situated in the deepest space.

As the central assumption of space syntax is that spatial organisation is a function of the form of social structure, it has recently come under criticism. Kate Giles has argued that when social organisation is identified from the principles of space, it is

³² Hillier, *Space is the Machine*, esp. pp. 1-38.

³³ Hanson, *Decoding Homes*, pp. 22-3.

³⁴ Peter Faulkner, ‘Castle Planning in the Fourteenth Century’, *Archaeological Journal*, 120 (1963), 215-35 (p. 228). Also see Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 122-3.

treated as a totally independent form of discourse. Instead, Giles argues that ‘space is not simply a container for human action, but is active in the construction and maintenance of social relations and power structures’.³⁵ That is, the access analysis maps only depict a small aspect of spatial organisation and the built environment is far more complex than a diagram. To partially compensate for this, the present thesis explores iconographic analysis of the secular and domestic architecture. This technique has been used by Roberta Gilchrist to study the cloister orientation in medieval nunneries.³⁶ The method is based on the premise that geometrical forms were reproduced in order to signal a particular conceptual content. The original construction of a building would have been influenced by the symbolic content intended by the designer, as something that accompanied the particular form chosen for the structure.³⁷ The interpretation of the structure’s architecture as a whole and iconography, such as heraldry, is a key component for the understanding of a building and those who inhabited it. This is supplemented by the examination of metaphors prevalent in early Tudor culture. This idea, often referred to as *habitus*, is the idea that spatial organisation can be viewed as part of a wider understanding of the way in which architecture can be used to structure individual and communal identities in society.³⁸

There is also the possibility that when using such a structuralist method that the user may conflate modern experiences of architecture with that of visitors to these buildings in the past. The access analysis maps that are below begin with the outer most areas, in all four cases this was outside the gatehouse, continuing to the ‘deepest’ areas of the castles, bedchambers and closets in most cases. As a result, the maps depict the visitor’s route through the castle and not of someone already in a specific chamber. Further to this, the maps are more likely to depict a servant’s route through the castle than a lord’s route as the household servants travelled throughout the castle while the lord, for example, did not, or very rarely, travelled into the kitchen facilities. These critiques must be kept in mind when assessing the potential analysis from the maps; however, they do still provide data that would otherwise be missed if castle plans were only consulted.

³⁵ Katherine Giles, *An Archaeology of Social Identity: Guildhalls in York, c.1350-1630* (Oxford: BAR, 2000), p. 7.

³⁶ Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 128.

³⁷ R. Krautheimer, ‘Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1941), 1-33 (p. 9).

³⁸ Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology*, p. 100-1.

Some of the archaeological excavations, as discussed above, took place many years ago, which renders the interpretation of rooms and areas difficult. In such cases, it was necessary to appeal to common sense and knowledge of social and cultural norms of the early Tudor period concerning points of access and chamber assignment. However, it must be stressed that space syntax and the resulting access analysis maps have brought to light many changes and continuities in the early Tudor castle layout. The access analysis maps allow for a visual description of the spatial arrangements, and thus, provide the opportunity to conceptualise and discuss the role of space and its relation to life in the built environment that does not solely rely on one form of evidence.

While each castle is different and the construction of it depended upon many factors, including finances, available building material, the landscape, and previously built structures, the spatial design of the castle was of fundamental importance, influencing movement and the arrangement of chambers. Thus the capacity to reconstruct a castle's layout as it was in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries has widely felt impacts for the broader study of residential settings, permitting scholars to engage in detailed analysis of structures that may not survive in their entirety. Access analysis maps enable a more holistic approach than is possible when relying solely on historical documents or archaeological evidence. Before a castle's spatial layout can be reconstructed, however, the surviving building remains and the landscape must be surveyed. This can then be used alongside contemporary maps and excavation findings. A castle's approximate arrangement of chambers can be subsequently refined through the use of space syntax theory and a combination of different source types. Determining the layout of the castle allows for the access analysis maps to be created by using the data collected from all the different sources to extrapolate the composition of the castle design.

The complex nature of the access analysis maps will inevitably produce problems, often arising from inconsistencies in historical documentation. To compensate for this, the evaluation of source material is conducted and addressed. Furthermore, assess different sources' treatment of the same structure or landscape often requires a degree of interpretation, rendering the final representation of the castle a composite of the data collected and examined through the theoretical framework of space syntax. The documents do not tell us exactly when building renovations took place, but the dating of bricks, stone, and other features in the archaeological reports

provides a date range. On the other hand, archaeological data cannot produce direct evidence to the people who inhabited the castle at a certain point in time, but it might present a more general picture of daily life and the documents might provide more details relating to specific individuals. The access maps add a further element to the information gathered from documents and archaeology, as they are able to spatially place certain activities or specific individuals within a certain area of the residence. These different types of sources are interwoven to address change, continuity, ambiguity, and to reduce dependence on single analogues or sources of evidence.³⁹ Overall, the use of a range of sources provides for a more complete view of the castles and their owners, while it must be admitted that the different sources do have their limitations by using a range of material, these hindrances are avoided. The following sections recount the architectural history of each site and detail the records related to the individual case studies that will subsequently be comparatively analysed.

Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire and Sir Rhys ap Thomas (1449-1525)

Sir Rhys purchased Carew Castle shortly after the Battle of Bosworth, but the early history of the site establishes that it had a long history of occupation as an elite residence in medieval Wales. The famous Carew Cross was found located within the castle ground indicating a pre-Norman Conquest usage of the site.⁴⁰ The cross bears an inscription to Maredudd ap Edwin, King of Deheubarth (south-west Wales) from 1033 until 1035 when he was killed by the sons of Conan ap Seissylt. Additionally, the place-name of Carew is old Welsh in origin and means either ‘fort on a hill’ (*gaer rhiw*), or ‘the fortifications’ (*caerau*).⁴¹ The combination of the cross and place-name indicates a pre-Norman significance, and a probably royal context within the site itself.⁴² The early history of the stone castle is dubious. David J. Cathcart King suggests that Gerald of Windsor, the constable of Pembroke was the founder of the castle and lordship of

³⁹ Other studies that use such range of sources, see Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology*; Giles, *Archaeology of Social Identity*.

⁴⁰ It has convincingly been argued that the cross has always been on or near the location it is today: *Carew Castle Archaeological Project 1992*, p. 6.

⁴¹ Bertie G. Charles, *The Place-Names of Pembrokeshire* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1992), pp. 476-7. Although the latter (*caerau* – or the fortifications) is more likely due to the plurality of defensive ditches revealed in the archaeological excavations.

⁴² Although no early ringwork, or mound and stockade fortress can be seen the archaeological evidence points toward a presence of a late Roman or an early post-Roman settlement on the site. Pottery from both periods was found. *Carew Castle Archaeology Project 1992*, p. 8.

Carew.⁴³ The castle appears to stay in Gerald's family, who adopt the name de Carew in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.⁴⁴ They continue to build up the stone structure renovating and replacing the older parts when they become more distinguished.



Figure 1: Front of Carew Castle

Sir Rhys ap Thomas purchased the property from Sir Edmund Carew (1464-1513) sometime around 1500.⁴⁵ Sir Rhys did have an ancestral seat at Newton; however, it was not sufficient or splendid enough for his newly claimed authority. Instead, he purchased Carew which embodied a long history, with Welsh and English royal significance. Sir Rhys could be considered a “new man” under Henry VII, as he did not come from a long line of nobility. As such, he proclaimed his history and authority whenever he could; from his coat of arms copied from his alleged ancestor Urian of Rhegerd, to the tournament he held at Carew in 1506 to celebrate St George's

⁴³ David J. Cathcart King and John C. Perks, ‘Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire’, *Archaeological Journal*, 119 (1964), 20-307 (p. 270).

⁴⁴ For a more detailed account of the history of Carew's owners, see King and Perks, ‘Carew Castle’, pp. 271-300

⁴⁵ It is claimed that in order to finance his retinue for the king's expedition to France in 1513, Sir Edmund Carew mortgaged his rich estates, including Carew Castle, to Rhys, and that after Edmund was fatally shot while sitting in his tent outside Therouanne at the onset of the siege, his estates passed to Rhys. However, it is clear that Sir Rhys was already lord of Carew before he and Edmund set out for France, according to the *Life of Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, the knight held celebrations to mark the anniversary of his election into the Order of the Garter in 1506, and as early as 1497 he was acting as patron of St Mary's parish church there. Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle of the Union of the Two Nobile and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and York*, ed. by Henry Ellis (London: Longman, 1809), p. 538; *LP, Henry VIII*, I, pt. 2, pp. 1055-75 (nos. 2391, 2392); Audrey M. Thorstad, ‘St George, his pilgrimage to St Davids’: A Pembrokeshire Tournament in 1506’, *Pembrokeshire History Society*, 23 (2014), 7-18.

Day and the Carew Cross which he seemed to keep within the castle ground throughout his ownership.

Carew Castle is planned around one main courtyard, or inner ward (see Figure 4). Sir Rhys ap Thomas did renovate the property in the late fifteenth century. Most of the renovations were cosmetic and were most likely finished before the five-day tournament celebrating St George's Day took place in 1506.⁴⁶ The renovation work essentially embellished the structure by inserting new larger and more ornate windows and doors, re-facing the whole of the courtyard, the outer facade of the lesser hall and its apartments (see Figure 1). He also enhanced the ceremonial entrance to the great hall by adding a large porch decorated with heraldry and entirely replacing the two gatehouses in the outer and middle wards (see Figure 2 below).⁴⁷



Figure 2: Entrance to the great hall at Carew.

It is difficult to tell how much renovation was done on the lordly apartments located in the northern range, because it was completely torn down and rebuilt by

⁴⁶ For more information on the tournament and the sources related to the tournament, see Thorstad, 'St George, his pilgrimage to St Davids', pp. 7-18.

⁴⁷ King and Perks, 'Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire', pp. 270-307; Ronald F. Walker, 'Carew Castle', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 105 (1956), 81-95.

Carew's Elizabethan owner, Sir John Perrot. Moreover, the southern range is completely destroyed. As mentioned above, there is an attainder's survey for Carew dated to 1532, less than ten years after Sir Rhys's death, the survey states that the 'sowthside of the castelle' was occupied by 'a Towre buylded square contenyng in length xxxiii [33] ffote and in breadth xxviii [28] ffote, wherein is buylded a larder house, a kechyn above the same, with half a lofte over and a weye ledyng in to the batilements and at oone Corner a little turret'.⁴⁸ According to the survey, the southern range held the kitchens and related household departments. It was noted by King and Perks that Sir Rhys also lowered the height of the battlements.⁴⁹ Indeed, the survey of 1532 noted, 'the walking place by the battlements [the wall walks] ledyd and at the Northend a high turret to viewe the countrie'.⁵⁰ By lowering the battlements below eye level it would have enabled the visitor, or Sir Rhys himself, a better view of the countryside and Mill Pond. The idea of viewing the countryside from windows and atop towers will be discussed further in Chapter Two and Chapter Six.⁵¹



Figure 3: Elizabethan Range at Carew (photo by Jeffrey L. Thomas).

⁴⁸ TNA, E36/151, f. 4.

⁴⁹ King and Perks, 'Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire', p. 300.

⁵⁰ TNA, E36/151, f. 4. It is difficult to know what the commissioner meant by country. They might have simply been referring to the landscape surrounding Carew. The word country could mean a range of different areas, from the whole of the kingdom to the rural countryside, with other localities or groupings of people in between. These areas did not necessarily have political or parish borders, but they all had the feeling of belongings, loyalty and obligation. Therefore, the commissioner might have been referring to Sir Rhys's affinity. However, it is hard to speculate any further. For a detailed analysis on the term 'country' in late medieval England, see Matthew L. Holford, 'Pro Patriotis: 'Country', 'Countrymen' and Local Solidarities in Late Medieval England', *Parergon*, 23:1 (2006), 47-70; Christine Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Gentry, 1401-1499* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 250-260.

⁵¹ A more detailed discussion of this can be found in sections 2.4 and 2.5.

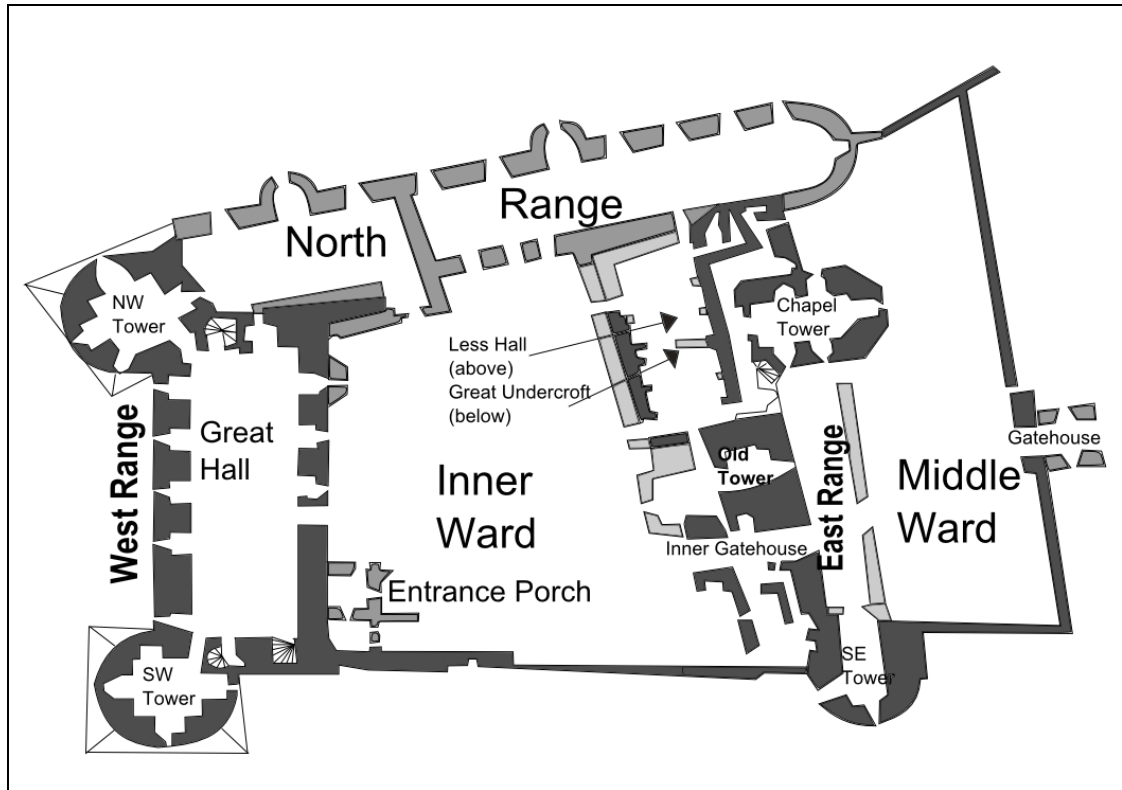


Figure 4: Plan of Carew Castle. Plan adapted from Adrian Pettifer, *Welsh Castles* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), p. 156.

Cowdray Castle, West Sussex and Sir William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton (1490-1542)

Like Sir Rhys, Sir William Fitzwilliam purchased his *caput* of Cowdray Castle.⁵² The early history of Cowdray is almost non-existent. It is not mentioned by name in the *Domesday Book*, although William St John Hope argues that it is possible the manor falls under the reference to Todham.⁵³ The early twelfth-century residence stood on St Ann's Hill, where the foundations of a hall, chapel, and other buildings were found, enclosed by a wall.⁵⁴ The residence of Cowdray is not mentioned until the late thirteenth century in the Letters Patent.⁵⁵ By 1439, the manor had moved from St Ann's Hill to where the castle is now located, as a charter of 1439 granted Anne, Sir John Bohun's wife, the whole manor of Cowdray, Midhurst, Easebourne, and Fernhurst with all its members and appurtenances, and with all liberties, franchises, warrens, parks, and other

⁵² Sometimes referred to as Cowdray House.

⁵³ St John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne*, p. 1.

⁵⁴ St Anne's Hill was excavated in 1991 and 1997-8 and found evidence of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery as well as prehistoric activity. John Magilton, 'Excavations at St Ann's Hill, 1994', in *Midhurst*, ed. by John Magilton and Spencer Thomas (Chichester: Chichester District Archaeology, 2001). For a full description of St Ann's Hill, see St John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne*, pp. 2-4.

⁵⁵ St John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne*, p. 8

rights.⁵⁶ The property appears to pass down the Bohun line until Mary Bohun married Sir David Owen in 1492. Cowdray was passed to Sir David upon the death of Mary before 1500. The structure appears to have been torn down by Sir David in the early 1520s, and was purchased by William Fitzwilliam in 1525, who began to rebuild it.⁵⁷ Fitzwilliam had two parts to his building programme. First, in 1535-39 he completed the basic structure and plan of Cowdray; he added a gatehouse and a hall. Second, in 1539-42 he made additions and alterations. These were probably done sometime after he was created earl of Southampton in 1537. It seems likely that Fitzwilliam also made minor alterations to Cowdray as his career excelled, particularly in the 1530s.



Figure 5: Gatehouse of Cowdray.

Cowdray is laid out in courtyard plan (Figure 8), and recent archaeological excavations have confirmed an earlier, possibly thirteenth-century, manor house or castle on the site.⁵⁸ The eastern range houses the great hall, chapel, kitchen and

⁵⁶ TNA, Ancient Deeds, B 8916.

⁵⁷ Full transcription of the indenture is given in William W.H. St John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory in the County of Sussex* (London: Country Life, 1919), p. 17, no. 2.

⁵⁸ Eighteenth-century watercolours can be seen of the courtyard which looked to have a fountain in the centre. BL, Add MS 5675, f. 12 (no. 18), f.13 (no. 19). Cowdray reflects an awareness of local architectural fashion. Brick, for example, was used invisibly to bulk out the fabric, and the architectural features are articulated in a lighter stone than the walls. Both features are paralleled in the surviving fragment of Warblington Castle, Hampshire built after 1517 by Margaret, Countess of Salisbury. John Goodall, 'The Rescue of a Romantic Ruin', *Country Life* (June 2009), 80-85 (p. 83). Cowdray was awarded a large grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund to restore the property and open it back up to the public; with part of the grant money the archaeology consultants Oxford Archaeology were hired. Their reports have not yet been published, but some information on the findings can be found on the Cowdray website,

household departments, and in the north-eastern corner it led to the lordly apartments. The great hall has two-storey high oriel windows that frame the three-storey high gatehouse (Figure 5). The western range was primarily taken up by the gatehouse, the porter's lodge to the north and other accommodation to the southern part of the range. Although the northern range is standing only to the foundations, it is believed to be the guest accommodation, as will be shown in Chapters Five and Six.⁵⁹



Figure 6: Eastern Range, windows from the great hall.

<<http://www.cowdray.co.uk/historic-cowdray/history/conservation-facts/>> [accessed 11 April 2015].

⁵⁹ The detailed analysis can be found in sections 5.5.



Figure 7: Kitchen Tower at Cowdray

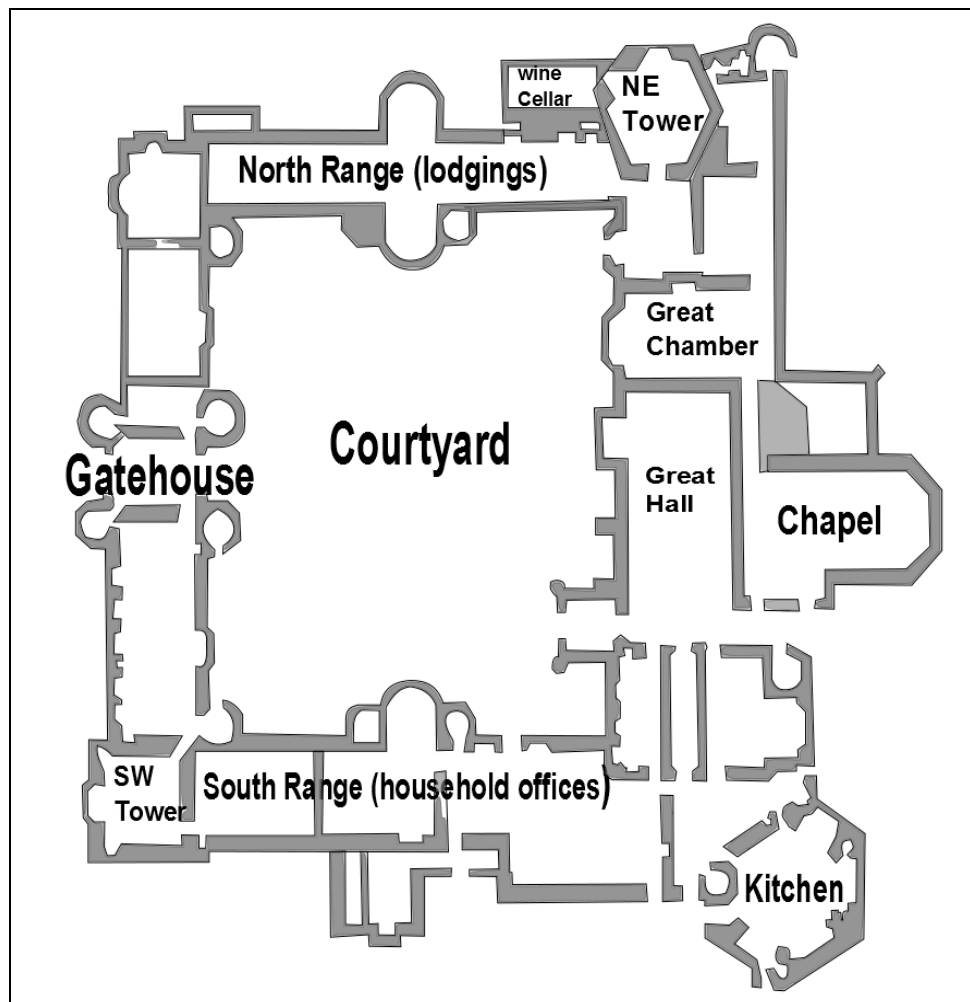


Figure 8: Ground Floor plan of Cowdray Castle (c. 1535), plan adapted from St John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne*, p. 92.

Hedingham Castle, Essex and John de Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford (1442-1513)

When John de Vere, thirteenth earl of Oxford decided to renovate and reside at Hedingham Castle, he was adding to a long history of occupation. The historical landscape around Hedingham Castle dates back to, at least, the Anglo-Saxon period. Archaeological evidence indicates there was a village adjacent to the estate of the castle.⁶⁰ The estate evidence is dated to shortly before the Norman Conquest and the ringwork at Hedingham, which has been traditionally attributed to Aubrey de Vere in the early eleventh century.⁶¹ A closer examination of the site, landscape features, and archaeological evidence might indicate a pre-Conquest date of the site. In the first case, the mound and outer bailey were built on a partially artificial hill with the ground sloping away on all sides except the east, where a ravine acts as a natural barrier. Secondly, the site is located on a spur of land overlooking the northern bank of the River Colne, thus giving it a position to control access and easily navigate along the valley. As such, it would not be surprising given it is the highest point in the immediate area, and thus was the ideal site to defend from, control access to, and provide a powerful symbol of authority to the adjacent settlement, possibly suggesting that the ringworks were previously occupied by the Anglo-Saxons, and perhaps not built entirely by Aubrey de Vere.

The Hedingham estate was given to Aubrey de Vere (I) shortly after the Norman Conquest. As was common he received a “package” of twenty-nine estates previously owned by an Anglo-Saxon lord of the East Anglia region.⁶² This chain of ownership highlights the regional continuity from the pre-Conquest to the post, at least in the arrangement of estate structure. The Norman great tower, or *donjon*, that today remains the focal point of Hedingham can chiefly be attributed to Aubrey de Vere (II) who started the building work c.1130-1140 with the forebuilding added shortly afterwards.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Castle Hedingham, Historic Towns Assessment Report* (Essex County Council: English Heritage, 1999), p. 7. Hedingham Castle is located to the north-east of the village Castle Hedingham.

⁶¹ Philip Dixon and Pamela Marshall, ‘The Great Tower at Hedingham Castle: a Reassessment’, in *Anglo-Norman Castles*, ed. by Robert Liddiard (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), pp. 297-306.

⁶² *Domesday Book: Essex*, ed. by Alexander Rumble, Judy Plaister and Veronica Sankaran (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), no. 35.

⁶³ Dixon and Marshall, ‘The Great Tower at Hedingham Castle’, pp. 297-306; Dixon, ‘The Controlling of Access to the Lord’, pp. 47-56; John H. St. John Hope, ‘The Cross Shaft at Castle Hedingham’, *Essex Archaeology and History*, 11 (1979), 1-5. The forebuilding was a common feature of Norman *donjons*. Unfortunately, at Hedingham the forebuilding is nearly to its foundations; however, one can be seen at Rochester about seventy miles south.

The rebuilding of the timber castle in stone was primarily a symbol of Aubrey's (II) advancing administrative career and status. By 1121 he was sheriff of Essex, and later in that decade, of London and Middlesex as well as royal chamberlain.⁶⁴ In 1133 Henry I bestowed the hereditary office of master chamberlain of England on Aubrey (II) which remained in the family until 1703.⁶⁵ From the architectural dating of the *donjon* it would seem de Vere waited until his career had peaked before he transformed his timber motte and bailey into a stone great tower. This might indicate the timber to stone transition, previously thought of as quickly sweeping across England soon after 1066, and was a subtler transition.



Figure 9: Great Tower at Hedingham Castle.

⁶⁴ RaGena C. DeAragon, 'Vere, Aubrey (II) de (d. 1141)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007
<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28203>> [accessed 22 Oct 2012].

⁶⁵ John Le Patourel, *Normandy and England, 1066-1144* (Reading: University of Reading Press, 1971), pp. 11-12 (no. 25); Judith A. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 19. The last earl of Oxford died in 1703 without an heir.



Figure 10: Tudor Bridge at Hedingham, only surviving fifteenth-century feature.

The Hedingham estate had ancient familial ties to John de Vere, thirteenth earl of Oxford. Many of de Vere's actions before he was imprisoned by Edward IV in Hammes Castle, Calais show a deep intimacy he felt toward his family.⁶⁶ The first recorded action Oxford took after becoming earl in 1464 was the reburial of his father who was executed by Edward IV.⁶⁷ In the same year, he was also able to secure in Parliament a repeal of the act of 1399 by the Lancastrian king, Henry IV, who revived the attainder of 1388 of his ancestor Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland.⁶⁸ It could,

⁶⁶ For more information on Oxford's years before Henry Tudor, see James Ross, *John de Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford (1442-1513): 'The Foremost Man of the Kingdom'* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), pp. 13-69.

⁶⁷ Although this should not be taken as uncommon in the fifteenth century and happened on a royal scale, for example: Richard II by Henry V and Henry VI by Richard III.

⁶⁸ *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275-1504*, ed. by Christopher Given-Wilson, 16 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), XIII, pp. 204-7; Carole Scofield, 'Early Life of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford', *English Historical Review*, 34 (1914), 228-245 (pp. 229-30).

perhaps, be suggested when John de Vere renovated Hedingham, one of the oldest estates he owned and originally built by the first earl of Oxford, because he was motivated by ancestral awareness. Hedingham was a manifestation of his family's lineage. He was making a bold statement on the East Anglian landscape: his family was not going anywhere.

The castle was most likely semi-ruinous when John de Vere began his renovations in 1485. John Leland, the sixteenth-century antiquary, states that 'until the time of the Earl of Oxford (the one who came in with Henry VII), Henham [sic] castle was very dilapidated, so that, apart from the gatehouse and the massive keep, all the present buildings were the work of the former earl'.⁶⁹ Leland's account was confirmed by a late-nineteenth-century archaeological excavation that found the foundations of all of de Vere's buildings were of late-fifteenth-century brick work.⁷⁰ The extent of the building project can be seen in a map drawn in 1592 (Figure 4), the map depicts two tower blocks, new lodgings, household chapel, kitchens, and auxiliary buildings all placed within the inner bailey of the site with barns, stables, and a wood yard in the outer bailey. The castle forms a double courtyard plan, though the shape reflects its earlier use as a motte and bailey. Although the extent of de Vere's building was extensive, he must have finished the majority of the building work before 1498 when Henry VII came to stay at Hedingham on royal progress.⁷¹ As mentioned, the archaeological evidence dates the brick foundations that were uncovered to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, coinciding with the de Vere's renovations. Two brick towers, one adjoining the great hall were also discovered. One of the towers was almost the size of the Norman *donjon* with turrets at two angles, facing west.⁷² This might be the 'great brick tower' labelled on the 1592 map. The map also mentions the

⁶⁹ Verily Anderson, *The De Veres of Castle Hedingham* (Lavenham: Terence Dalton, 1993), p. 63. *John Leland's Itinerary: travels in Tudor England*, ed. by John Chandler (Stroud: Sutton, 1993), p. 447. As to why Leland calls Hedingham 'Henham' is unclear. However William Camden's *Britannia* states, 'In hunc sinum, praeter alia, Coln fluvius se immittit, qui in boreali agri parte e diversis fontibus coalescens allabitur Hedningham sive Hengham, vulgo Hieningham, elegans olim castrum et Oxoniae comitum antiquam habitationem.' William Camden, *Britannia*, ed. by Dana F. Sutton, hypertext critical edition (University of California, Irvine, 2004) <<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/>> [accessed 27 August 2012].

⁷⁰ Currently, the only structure still standing is the Norman great tower. All the fifteenth century buildings were torn down to build the seventeenth-century manor house located in the former outer bailey. Majendie, 'On the Plan of Hedingham Castle, as disclosed by recent excavations, and compared with a survey made in 1592', *Essex Archaeological Society Transactions*, 4 (1869), 240-243.

⁷¹ TNA E36/214, pp. 59-65.

⁷² Majendie, 'On the Plan of Hedingham Castle', pp. 240-243.

building material used stating that the ‘large Hall [is] built of brick, covered with tiles and having at the west end two bakehouses and two rooms over’.⁷³ As the map and archaeological evidence demonstrate Hedingham Castle was extensively renovated and added to by John de Vere. The castle was a symbol of de Vere’s lineage that dated back to the Norman Conquest.

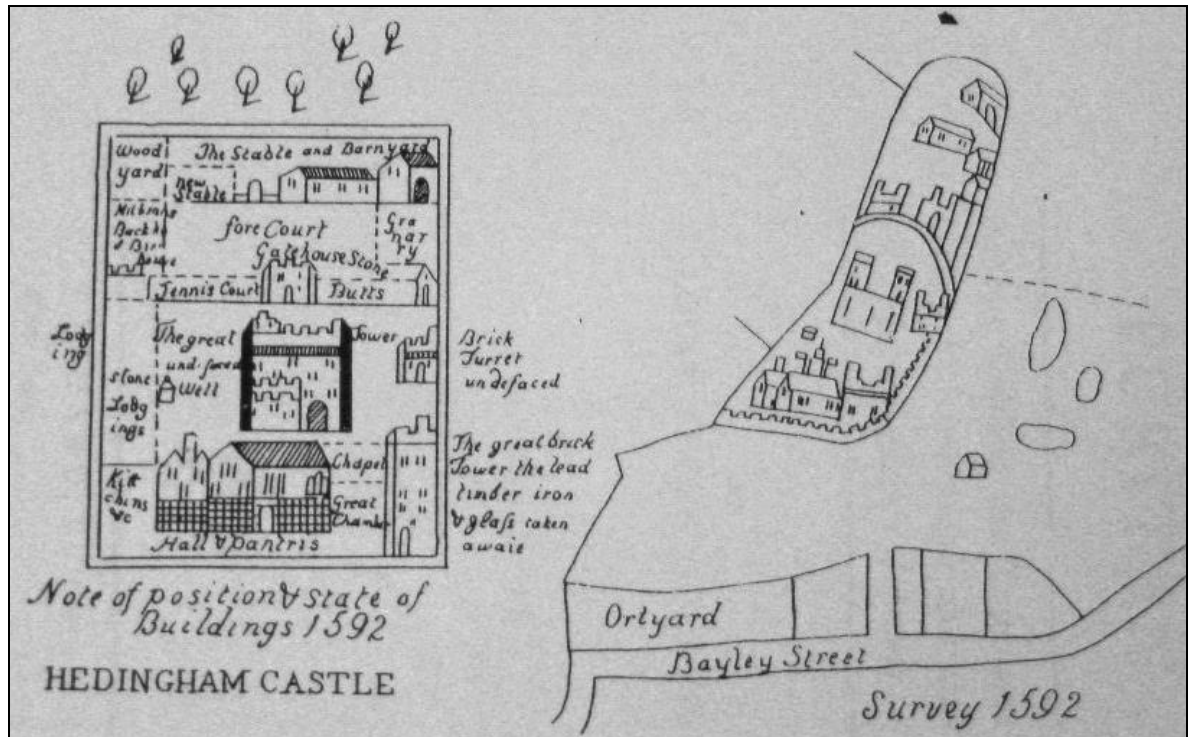


Figure 11: Survey of Hedingham Castle in 1592 (ERO, D/DML MI).

Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire and Edward Stafford, Third Duke of Buckingham (1478-1521)

Edward Stafford’s closeness to his family’s history was not as stark as John de Vere’s, but parallels can be seen in the two noblemen’s lives. Like the de Vere family, the Stafford’s journeyed to England with William I from Normandy. Ralph de Tonei, who accompanied William I, was granted more than one hundred confiscated manors. However, the new Norman king could not forget Ralph’s father had rebelled against him in Normandy and so his manors were scattered across the English countryside, ensuring de Tonei had difficulty clinching power in one particularly area.⁷⁴ The Hundred Years’ War proved to be a turning point for the Stafford family, when Ralph Stafford’s career excelled under Edward III, and in 1351 the king granted Ralph the

⁷³ Majendie, ‘Notes on Hedingham Castle’, p. 79.

⁷⁴ This might be the reason Edward Stafford had such trouble controlling his estates in the sixteenth century.

titled of earl of Stafford.⁷⁵ The Thornbury estate did not fall into Stafford hands until the Ralph's second marriage. The manor passed through inheritance to Margaret, the daughter of Hugh de Audley, earl of Gloucester, who had died in 1347. Margaret was taken by Ralph as his second wife and upon her death in 1348 he succeeded to her property, including Thornbury.⁷⁶

Before Edward Stafford built his castle a manor house stood on the site. The manor was frequently visited by Jasper Tudor in the fifteenth century when Edward Stafford was in his minority. This indicates Thornbury became the main seat of residence for the Stafford family in the mid-fourteenth century as it had become well-established enough to house Jasper Tudor.⁷⁷ Jasper Tudor, Henry VIII great uncle, had married the widow of Edward Stafford's father, Catherine Woodville. The extensive renovations by Stafford might have been making a statement about his high-status family and his royal connections. When Edward Stafford began his renovation programme in the early sixteenth century, he incorporated some of the main features of the old building. The hall, the chapel, and at least one range of guest accommodation were from a previous building.⁷⁸

Stafford began his renovations sometime around 1510 as he received a licence to crenellate under the Privy Seal from Henry VIII, this licence also gave him permission to impark 1000 acres of land around Thornbury.⁷⁹ The building and household accounts, however, indicate that Stafford began building at least a few years prior to 1510.⁸⁰ William Cholmley,⁸¹ for the period between Michaelmas 1507 and Michaelmas 1508, included four payments to Laurence Stubbs, the receiver for Gloucestershire, Hampshire and Wiltshire. Three of these were solely for the building and repairs to Thornbury: 20 marks on Tuesday, 28 March 1508, £14 on Saturday, 16 September, and £50 on the

⁷⁵ Carol Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham 1394-1521* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 7-8. For a family tree from the Conquest to the fifteenth century, see Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, p. 9; CChR, vol. 5, p. 124; TNA, C135/230/62.

⁷⁶ Alastair D.K. Hawkyard, 'Thornbury Castle', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 95 (1977), 51-8 (p. 51).

⁷⁷ The only parts that remain of the previous manor house are the chapel and hall which were incorporated into the castle. Very little archaeological excavations have been done on the building itself as it is now a hotel.

⁷⁸ The hall was finished in 1330 and the chapel was finished in 1435. It is thought that the guest accommodations were erected by Jasper Tudor as they bear the name 'Earl of Bedford's lodgings'. SRO, D641/1/2/116; D641/1/2/155; D641/1/2/162-3.

⁷⁹ *LP, Henry VIII*, I, pt. 1, p. 320 (no. 1157).

⁸⁰ TNA, C66/613, m. 5.

⁸¹ William Cholmley was Edward Stafford's household steward.

following Monday, while the fourth payment made on Saturday 17 June from £47, 14s, and 2¼d was for work at Keynsham Abbey as well as Thornbury.⁸²



Figure 12: Inner Gatehouse with the Lord's Tower to the right.

A significant portion of the stone work must have been completed by 1512 as oaks were felled in Marlwood Park, which were to be used within the castle.⁸³ Between 1512 and 1514 there is no surviving record on the specific construction that took place; however, we can assume building work was continuing because men were hired in 1514 from ‘divers places’.⁸⁴ The scaffolding was put up by Thomas Golde and others, some of the windows were fitted with hooks and catches while others were glazed by William Rede, and the floor of the wet larder was laid by John Edwardes and his companions, and those of the kitchen and ‘New Building’ were done by Walter Salter.⁸⁵ The ‘New Building’, so called in the attainder’s survey, connected the great hall to the lordly apartments and was completed in 1514 because that is the date on the chimney-stacks. By the following year, a wall was being built around Buckingham’s garden, and in 1516 a lock was fitted in the duke’s closet door.

⁸² TNA, SP1/22, ff. 65, 69, 83.

⁸³ SRO, D641/1/2/205.

⁸⁴ SRO, D641/1/2/205.

⁸⁵ SRO, D641/1/2/205; Hawkyard, ‘Thornbury Castle’, p. 53.



Figure 13: Range containing the lord and lady's apartments overlooking the privy garden.

The survey of 1521 gives a still image of the work finished on the castle at the duke's arrest. The design of Thornbury is a two courtyard plan (Figure 14).⁸⁶ The outer court opened directly on the countryside and had no openings on the ground floor except gunports and loopholes. The only entrance into the site was through a gatehouse with a portcullis and crenellations atop the walls. The outer courtyard held the stables and barns as well as a lodging range.⁸⁷

It seemed Stafford had long term plans for his residence at Thornbury. In addition to the natural watercourses in the area, traces of what is thought to be a sixteenth-century canal have been identified in the parish.⁸⁸ It appears that Stafford began an ambitious scheme to build a canal from Thornbury to the River Severn in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.⁸⁹ Diverting the watercourse allowed Stafford to provide an ample water supply to his castle and symbolise the power he held in the region at the same time. The extensive renovations by Edward Stafford, and the seemingly long-term plans for the surrounding landscape, demonstrate Stafford's desire to live at the castle almost permanently.

⁸⁶ See Faulkner, 'Domestic Planning', pp. 150-83; Faulkner, 'Castle Planning in the Fourteenth Century', pp. 130-146; Philip Dixon and Beryl Lott, 'The Courtyard and the Tower: Contexts and Symbols in the Development of Late Medieval Great Houses', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 146 (1993), 93-101.

⁸⁷ This court contained an area of about two and a half acres.

⁸⁸ *Avon Extensive Urban Areas Survey*, p. 11.

⁸⁹ *Avon Extensive Urban Areas Survey*, p. 11. The canal was never finished due to the execution of Edward Stafford.

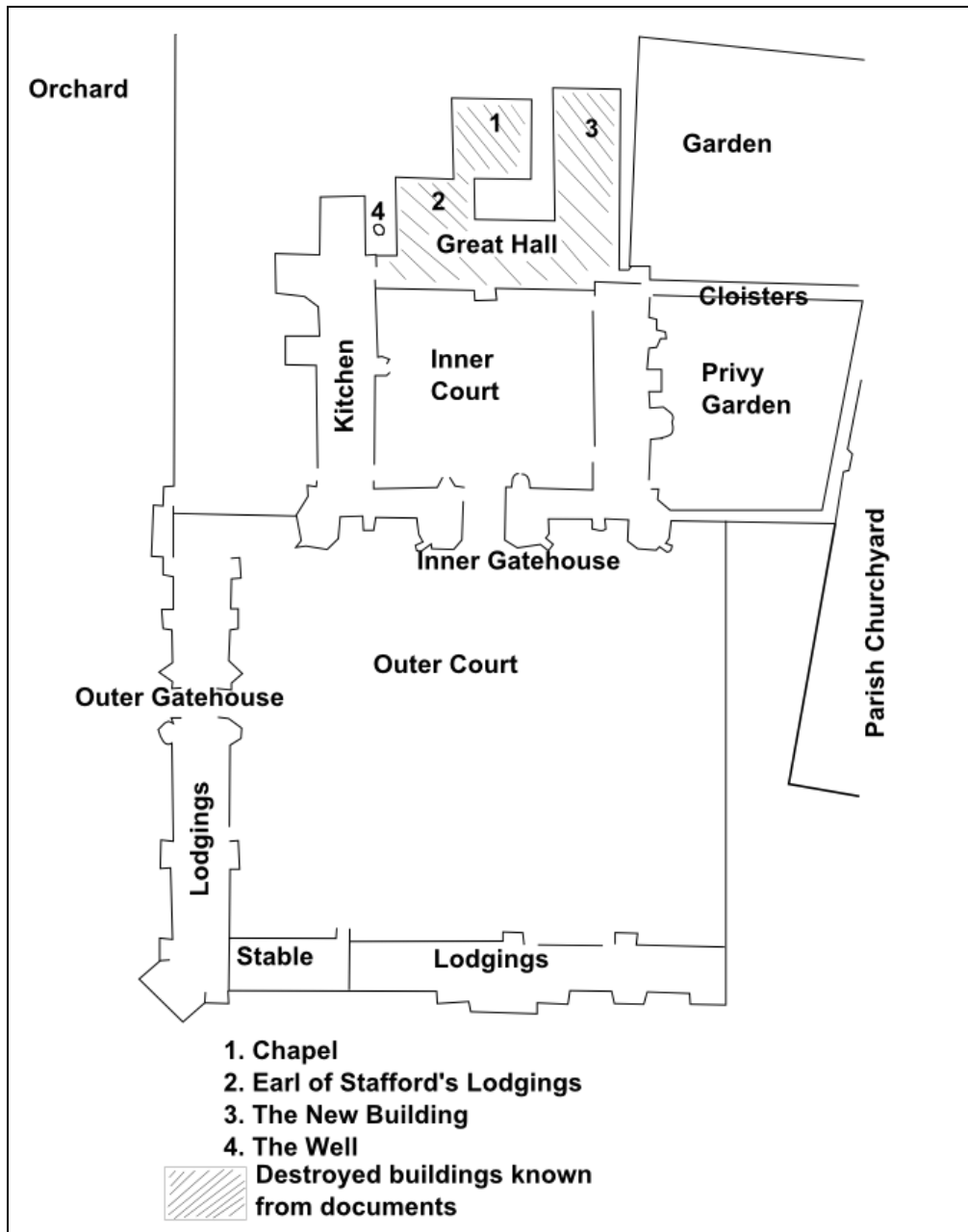


Figure 14: Plan of Thornbury Castle (c. 1521). Plan adapted from Anthony Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales, 1300-1500*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996-2006), III, p. 185.

The Aim and Scope of the Thesis

Having presented the limitations with scholarship, the scope and methodological approach of the current study, and the four case studies, it is important to discuss the boundaries and principal objectives of this thesis. There are two main aims of this thesis. Firstly, this thesis presents an interdisciplinary methodology that could be used not only for other studies on castles, but on domestic structures more generally. Secondly, by using this methodology, it will be shown that castles were a centrepiece in

the lives of many different types of people; it was not just an elite structure. It was the residence of manual labourers, cooks, maids, and other servants. As such, the castle can help us understand daily life and social interactions. Both of these aims will increase the awareness of what is currently a very limited number of studies regarding England and Wales' early Tudor castles and their social context. Only by examining possible functions of early Tudor castles can the discussion of their role in society be assessed. These functions and roles have been split into two parts within this thesis.

Part One: Display and Authority in the Region and Landscape

Part One examines the relationship and interaction between the castle, the lord, and the regional community. The first three chapters establish that the castle cannot be studied in isolation from the social context of the owner and the period of time. Moreover, it is important to establish the role of the castle in administration and politics of the region and, at times, the role in central government, which sets the foundations for the remaining chapters. Therefore, the first chapter examines the duties of the castle owner as a regional leader through their influence in local political appointments, such as Justice of the Peace and sheriffs, as someone who was delegated tasks and duties from the king, and as a central point for members of the local communities to gravitate towards. Central to all of these tasks, duties, and influence was the magnate's *caput*. Chapter One will situate the case studies within the wider framework of early Tudor politics, particularly focusing on the regions surrounding the main seat of residence. To assess the influence that the owners possessed in a particular region, the chapter will analyse the number and location of the other estates in relation to the *caput* as well as the royal grants given to the noblemen. This information helps to contextualise the administrative duties carried out at the castles, either delegated by the king or possessed by the magnate as the source of justice and power in a region. It will be argued that the castle was a centrepiece in local politics, a calling point to rally troops, to carry out arbitration, and to create a regional influence for the magnate. With the castle at the centre of a specific region, East Anglia and John de Vere, for example, the king was able to centralise the grants of land and offices enabling a single – and trusted – leader of the region.

Chapter Two will focus on the landscape around the castle itself, discussing the implications of a privileged landscape, its features, and its purpose for those residing at the castles. This chapter is structured around the uses of the landscape by the lord and his household: as a place for recreation, as a source of food, as a display of authority

through the action of enclosure, and as a source of access control over the visitor. It will be argued that each feature – from the fish ponds to the acres of deer parks – played its own role and had its own purpose for the lord, and yet all of these features were a display of wealth and worked together to create a whole elite landscape. Moreover, all of the features played a dual role; the orchards provided fresh fruit and vegetables while also presenting a prime location for walking and display of status and wealth. This chapter proposes that the landscape and architecture worked together to form a cohesive picture of elite culture at the time. Both of these aspects – the landscape and the architecture – were a stage on which many different performances were taking place, sometimes at the same time. The landscape was a part of the overall display and backdrop to an extravagant lifestyle and through the use of features reserved for the elite, such as fish ponds, deer parks, and private gardens, the landscape promoted to the observer the social status and wealth of the owner.

Chapter Three investigates how the lord used the castle and other surrounding structures, such as churches and monastic institutions, to perpetuate individual and familial memory, particularly focusing on architecture, heraldry, and burial monuments. The chapter argues that not only was the way in which the nobility commemorated themselves and their families important, but the location was just as crucial. The focus of this chapter is to establish how a nobleman used visual displays to perpetuate his or his family's memory for future generations, and what role the castle played in this commemoration. It will be argued that the regional bases discussed in Chapter One were usually the areas that the nobility chose to commemorate and perpetuate themselves and their family.

Part Two: Households, Daily Life, and Relations in the Castle

The three chapters in Part Two focus on the function of the castle on ordinary days and on activities that would occur on a regular basis. The household features heavily throughout the second part of this thesis and it demonstrates the importance of the household in the running of an early Tudor castle. Moreover, Chapter Four draws on the regional communities discussed in both Chapters One and Three as the lord often drew upon local members of the gentry to fill his household and council. Where possible the chapter investigates the careers of certain members of a household, demonstrating again that the regional influence wielded by a lord was important in the recruitment of servants, estate officials, and lawyers. It is argued that every aspect of the household was meant to be a visual display of wealth. This chapter also examines the

spatial arrangements of the household departments and areas devoted to the household in the castle. An importance is placed on bringing together the people and the space as this provides a more comprehensible picture of the early Tudor household and castle.

Chapter Five studies hospitality and visitors to the castle. This chapter draws largely on manner books and manuals from the period to discuss the formalities of both the guest and the host when a visitor arrived. The second half of the chapter focuses on the case studies to see if these formalities can be seen in practice. What can be discerned is that the important aspects of hospitality were focused mainly around entertainment, which could entail food and a type of performance musicians, a play, or tumblers. Again, this chapter also examines the people and space together, so it discusses where the guests might have stayed while visiting. Using Edward Stafford's *Household Book* it can be seen that there could be upwards of fifty guests on any given meal, so the castle would need extensive accommodation arrangements and available food for the visitors. It will be argued that all four of the case studies had specific accommodation blocks reserved for guests and high-status individuals demonstrating that the visitor was an important aspect of early Tudor society and a part of the performance in the castle.

Chapter Six of this study investigates privacy in the castle. Although privacy is largely associated with the elite at this time, this chapter will also locate privacy for lower-status individuals. In order to locate such a naturally elusive subject, the examination of specific spaces in the castle is conducted and the use of the access analysis maps is drawn on heavily. Specific spaces in the castle will be investigated, such as the closet and the latrine. Although both places allowed for privacy, they were very different. One was reserved for the elite while the other was used by all no matter the status. Additionally, specific daily activities will be examined, such as sleeping and eating, to determine whether these activities were considered private and who was afforded more or less privacy while doing them. It will be argued that in certain situations privacy was not based on status or gender, but instead it was determined on activity being done and the space in which it was performed.

In summary, the thesis explores the roles that castles played during the early Tudor period. This thesis demonstrates that the castle was not in decline by the fourteenth century and was instead flourishing as a centrepiece for the elite lifestyle. A key aspect of this study is the combination between place and people. Too often the built environment and the people within it are studied separate from each other, and by removing one from the other the picture that is seen is only part of the overall image. It

is only by putting everything and everyone back together that a whole and cohesive picture will emerge. Ultimately, this thesis shows that early Tudor castles and the surrounding community are far more connected and complex than previously argued and these interactions form part of the visual performance of an elite lifestyle.

Part One: Display and
Authority in the
Region and the
Landscape

1. Regional Authority and Influence in the Early Tudor Period: The Castle as a Central Fixture in the Region

1.1 Introduction

The kyngis counsel was wonned to be chosen off grete princes, and off the gretteste lords off the lande, both spirituelles and temporellis, and also off other men that were in grete auctorite and offices.⁹⁰

In the late-fifteenth century, John Fortescue wrote *The Governance of England*, a work that commented on the structure of common law and England's constitutional framework. As Fortescue points out in the passage above, the king chose his council from the 'gretteste' lords of the realm. Who were these great men? And from whence did their power and influence derive? Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century political writers, such as Thomas Starkey, placed the king at the centre of all power and influence. In his work entitled *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset*, written between 1529 and 1532, Starkey stated that the king was the heart of the state 'from the princes and rulers of the state cometh all laws, order and policy, all justice, virtue and honesty'.⁹¹ Starkey's work makes explicit that all political and administrative power and influence stemmed from the king. The majority of recent scholarship on early Tudor politics has followed Starkey's sixteenth-century assertion and focused on the centralised power base of the king, his policies, and those at court, rather than the relationship of the king, the nobility, and the regions.⁹² The following discussion emphasises the role of the magnate in the regions and not at court, specifically, the political activities undertaken while resident at his *caput*, or main seat of residence. The use of the words 'region' or

⁹⁰John Fortescue, *The Governance of England, Otherwise Called: The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy*, ed. by Charles Plummer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 145.

⁹¹Thomas Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the Commonweal: Humanist Politics and Religion in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 128.

⁹²For Henry VII, see Christine Carpenter, *The Wars of the Roses: Politics and the Constitution in England, c. 1437-1509* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 221-36; Paul R. Cavill, *The English Parliaments of Henry VII, 1485-1504* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Grummitt, *Henry VII, 1457-1509: the First Tudor King*; the special edition of *Historical Research* in 2009, which focused on Henry VII, ed. by Mark R. Horowitz. For Henry VIII, see David M. Loades, *Henry VIII: Court, Church and Conflict* (Kew: National Archives, 2007); David M. Loades, *The Tudors: The History of a Dynasty* (London: Continuum, 2012); Lisa Monnas, 'The Splendour of Royal Worship', in *The Inventory of King Henry VIII. Volume II, Textiles and Dress*, ed. by Maria Hayward and Philip Ward (London: Harvey Miller, 2012), 295-333; *Henry VIII and the Tudor Court: Art, Politics and Performance*, ed. by Thomas Betteridge and Suzannah Lipscomb (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

‘regional’ is not intended to make a case for the political, cultural, or social coherence of English or Welsh regions. Instead, their use is short-hand for a particular geographical area and not necessarily a specific county or counties.⁹³ The focus on the castle and its owner’s interaction with the regional community and landscape will be a prevalent theme throughout this thesis. The regions that will be focused on in this thesis revolve around the castles themselves. For John de Vere, thirteenth earl of Oxford it was the region of East Anglia that he held the most influence, for Sir Rhys ap Thomas it was the south-west of Wales, for Edward Stafford, third duke of Buckingham it was, or at least he attempted to control, the Welsh Marches, and finally, for Sir William Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton it was the area surrounding Surrey.

As mentioned above, the focus on the government at a national rather than local level has pervaded scholarship on the early Tudor period, which is not the case for earlier reigns of the fifteenth century, such as Edward IV. Indeed, James Ross has argued it is ‘commonplace among historians’ to argue that other fifteenth-century monarchs promoted noble rule in the regions.⁹⁴ With this focus on the regions, Ross has demonstrated that Edward IV’s policy was to promote a few great men to regional power.⁹⁵ However, very few historians argue the same for Henry VII’s and his son, Henry VIII’s, reigns. In fact, Henry VII’s most recent biographer, Sean Cunningham, has dedicated a whole chapter on the subject of noble power, the king, and the regions, but comes to the conclusion that ‘[s]ecurity through dominance seems to have been Henry’s pressing concern’, and thus minimising the role that the regions played in early Tudor politics.⁹⁶ The present chapter will challenge Cunningham’s conclusion.

⁹³ For a comprehensive discussion of a cohesive region (the north-east), see Anthony J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England During the Wars of the Roses: Lay Society, War and Politics, 1450-1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). For East Anglia, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County 1500-1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

⁹⁴ James Ross, ‘A Ruling Elite? The Higher Nobility in the Yorkist and Early Tudor Period’, in *The Yorkist Age: Proceedings of the 2011 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Hannes Kleineke and Christian Steer (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2013), 95-115 (p. 95).

⁹⁵ Ross, ‘A Ruling Elite?’, p. 95.

⁹⁶ Sean Cunningham, *Henry VII* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 192. Past scholarship on Henry VII’s relationship with the nobility has focused on Henry VII’s financial bonds as a way to control and dominate the nobility, see Jack R. Lander, ‘Bonds, Coercion and Fear: Henry VII and the Peerage’, in *Crown and Nobility, 1450-1509*, ed. by Jack R. Lander (London: Arnold, 1979), pp. 267-300; Thomas B. Pugh, ‘Henry VII and the English Nobility’, in *The Tudor Nobility*, ed. by George W. Bernard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 49-111; Mark R. Horowitz, ‘Policy and Prosecution in the Reign of Henry VII’, *Historical Research*, 82 (2009), 412-58; Sean Cunningham, ‘Loyalty and the Usurper: Recognizances, the Council and Allegiance under Henry VII’, *Historical Research*, 82 (2009), 459-81

Although Henry VII's focus was, indeed, on the security of the realm, he maintained control by establishing a single magnate in a specific region and enhancing the lord's power through royal favour in the form of offices and lands. The power and influence of a nobleman originated with the ownership and control of territory, especially focused in one particular area. For a nobleman his main seat of residence was a central feature on the early Tudor landscape and was the focus of the surrounding networks of tenants, lands, and estates which rendered rents, taxation, and services.

The number of regional studies on Henry VIII's reign is even fewer than that of his father's reign.⁹⁷ This might be a consequence of Mervyn James's argument that during the sixteenth century there was a fundamental shift in culture: from honour, lineage, and locality to obedience, civil society, and the nation.⁹⁸ That is a shift from a society focused on noble power in a decentralised state to a society focused on royal power in a centralised state. George Bernard has refuted James's argument stating that '[t]hose historians who believe that it was only in the Tudor century and especially in the reign of Henry VIII, that politics became court-centred have been misled by the sudden abundance of sources'.⁹⁹ Instead Bernard suggests historians should examine how central the court was to the careers of nobleman. Although in some cases the court is important in the bolstering of careers, as Bernard has suggested, this was not always the situation.

What becomes clear from the following chapter is that the majority of the leading regional peers were the owners of a substantial number of estates in a specific

⁹⁷ Regional studies usually come in the form of case studies of individual magnates, in which a small reference is made to their regional power structure, mainly focusing on their estates and wealth and not their influence in the local and national courts and appointments. For example, George W. Bernard, *The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility: A Study of the Fourth and Fifth Earls of Shrewsbury* (Brighton: Harvester, 1985), pp. 139-170; Michael K. Jones, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 93-136; Steven G. Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Powers: The Making of the British State* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), for Lord Darce's power centre see pp. 81-106, and for the earl of Kildare's see pp. 107-145; Edward M. Zevin, *The Life of Edward Stanley, Third Earl of Derby (1521-1572): Noble Power and the Tudor Monarchy* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellon, 2010), pp. 57-81. An exception to this is Roger Virgoe, 'The Recovery of the Howards in East Anglia, 1485-1529', in *Wealth and Power in Tudor England: Essays Presented to S.T. Bindoff*, ed. by Eric W. Ives, Robert J. Knecht, and John J. Scarisbrick (London: Athlone, 1978), pp. 1-20; and for a later period, see Alan Bryson, 'Edward VI's 'special men': Crown and Locality in mid-Tudor England', *Historical Research*, 82 (2008), 229-251.

⁹⁸ Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 308-413.

⁹⁹ George W. Bernard, 'The Continuing Power of the Tudor Nobility', in *Power and Politics in Tudor England*, ed. by George W. Bernard (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 20-37 (p. 22).

region, but it must be stressed that in no case was the crown simply recognising an already existing hegemony. The regional policy of the crown was to create a magnate without an equal through grants of huge tracts of land, multiple offices, and judicial privileges to one man or family. The defence of the realm and the maintenance of law and order were the early Tudor kings' two most important duties. Royal delegation of these responsibilities to regional aristocrats does emphasise the close identification of magnate power and royal authority. It thus provides a glimpse at Henry VII and Henry VIII's policies towards the powerful nobility and the regions they influenced, along with the result of these policies: powerful regional lords, who held and controlled the regions from a central point in the landscape, their *caput*.

1.2 The Ownership of Land in the Regions

Ownership of land in a concentrated region provided the owner with the basis of local influence and power. More importantly, it bestowed the owner with a means of income, other than patronage from the crown. It was, of course, possible for those without an abundance of land to wield influence through office-holding, manipulation of the law, and perceived power and influence at court, but such situations were usually temporary and difficult to pass on to an heir. This can be seen with Sir William Fitzwilliam's position in the realm. He did not own a vast landholding like that of John de Vere or Edward Stafford, or perhaps even Sir Rhys ap Thomas, but his authority and influence at court allowed him a small area from which he could execute power in the localities through local courts and appointments.¹⁰⁰ Normally, however, ownership of land in a specific region provided the landholder with the basis of local influence and power. As well as producing an income for the owner, it drew in neighbours and tenants into the network which surrounded the nobleman and his residence, and thus provided him with an affinity.¹⁰¹ In order to understand the role that the *caput* played in the regional influence of its owner, we must first establish the network of estates surrounding the main residence. This network usually reflected the authority of the nobleman and the locations of his estates indicate how far his influence could reach.

¹⁰⁰ Another early example is William, Lord Hastings, whose mediocre land holding was greatly supplemented by royal grants of land and office, which focused around the Midlands during the second half of Edward IV's reign. Theron Westervelt, 'The Changing Nature of Politics in the Localities in the Later Fifteenth Century: William Lord Hastings and his Indentured Retainers', *Midland History*, 26 (2001), 96-106; Ian Rowney, 'Government and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century: Staffordshire, 1439-1459', *Midland History*, 8 (1983), 49-69.

¹⁰¹ A collective term used to describe a lord's group of retainers.

John de Vere, thirteenth earl of Oxford had the potential to wield a huge amount of influence; however, as a result of the attainder issued in 1471, De Vere did not actually own any estates when he landed in Milford Haven with Henry Tudor in 1485. Immediately after Bosworth, he travelled to London with

grete suyt and labour [...] for matyers concerning hym sylf [...] ffor than such personys as had occupied his landys by gyfft of kyng Edward or by purchas were ffayn to restore it with alle such proffytis, as they had parceyvyed of the said landys by alle the tyme of his absence.¹⁰²

The situation was remedied during Henry VII's first parliament in 1485, when de Vere's attainder was reversed and he was restored to the estates that he had held in 1471, together with those of his mother, who had died in 1473.¹⁰³ As part of his mother's inheritance he received a section of the Scales lands, to which his mother was co-heiress after the death of the childless Elizabeth, daughter of the last Lord Scales.¹⁰⁴ After his mother's death, John de Vere became co-heir of the estates with William Tyndale.¹⁰⁵ The Scales estates were partitioned at an unknown date between 1486 and 1489, from which de Vere received the manors of Barkway, Rokey, and Newsells in Hertfordshire; Middleton, Hillington, 'Scaleshoo' (in Howe), Barton Bendish, Terrington Hall, and probably Wiggshall in Norfolk.¹⁰⁶

In addition to his inheritance, de Vere began purchasing estates to add to his landholdings. Soon after the lands were partitioned between de Vere and Tyndale, the thirteenth earl purchased three manors in Norfolk from Tyndale, Wolferton, Babingley, and Sandringham, which added to his growing landed wealth.¹⁰⁷ In the court of Common Pleas, in the term of 1488, the earl acquired the manors of Harwich and

¹⁰² *Great Chronicle of London*, ed. by Arthur H. Thomas and Isobel D. Thornley (London: Jones, 1938), p. 239.

¹⁰³ *Parliament Rolls*, XV, pp. 119-22.

¹⁰⁴ Countess Elizabeth, John de Vere's mother, was descended through her father from one of the two daughters of Robert, Lord Scales (d. 1369).

¹⁰⁵ Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 91. For a legal case relating to Tyndale's share of the estates and a detailed descent, see TNA, CP40/965, rots. 46-9.

¹⁰⁶ TNA, C142/28/68, 88; *CIMP, Henry VII*, I, pp. 15-17; Francis Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of Norfolk*, 11 vols (London: Baldwin, 1805-1810), IX, p. 184.

¹⁰⁷ TNA, PROB11/17, fol. 89; C142/28/88; Blomefield, *Topographical History of Norfolk*, IX, p. 184.

Dovercourt (Essex) from William Berkeley, earl of Nottingham.¹⁰⁸ He perhaps purchased these lands because they had formed part of Aubrey de Vere's lands as recorded in the *Domesday Book*, and it will be shown that de Vere was very conscious of his ancestry and very eager to promote it.¹⁰⁹ De Vere's receiver-general's account tells us that he gained the manor of Netherhall in Gestingthorpe by the 1488.¹¹⁰ He made a business arrangement with John Doreward in 1493, resulting in the acquisition of the manors of Great Yeldham, Toppesfield, Berwick, Scotneys, and the reversion of Tendring.¹¹¹ He also purchased the manor of Beaumont Berners, Essex from John Bouchier, Lord Berners in 1502, and the manor of Sheriffs in Colne Engaine, in the same county, in 1508 from one John Skylling.¹¹² Land in Purleigh and elsewhere in Essex comprising of one messuage, 1290 acres of land, and 40s rent from Edward, Lord Grey of Wilton was acquired by de Vere.¹¹³ His will notes that further land was bought, namely, the manors of Wetherfield and Burnells in Stansted.¹¹⁴ The purchase of eleven manors and five reversions in such a short period of time was unusual for a member of the higher nobility.¹¹⁵ Bruce McFarlane noted a few other examples of baronial families purchasing estates, but he argues that noble families were generally slow to add to their estates during the Middle Ages. Other noble families such as the Staffords purchased only three manors between the years 1383 and 1521.¹¹⁶ De Vere would have needed a considerable flow of cash to purchase this number of manors, especially with no evidence indicating he borrowed any money.

What is striking is the geographical positioning of his purchases which are all adjacent to a manor already owned by de Vere (see Figure 6). For example, Great Yeldham and Gestingthorpe border the Hedingham Castle estate, with Toppesfield (including Berwick and Scotneys) and Wetherfield only a couple miles further away.

¹⁰⁸ An act of parliament in 1504 ratifying an agreement of the division of Berkeley's lands reserved the rights of John de Vere to these two manors: TNA, E150/299/8; *Parliament Rolls*, XVI, pp. 338-44.

¹⁰⁹ See section 3.3.

¹¹⁰ TNA, E150/299/8.

¹¹¹ *CIPM Henry VII*, I, pp. 494-5.

¹¹² *Feet of Fine for Essex*, ed. by Richard E.G. Kirk, 6 vols (Colchester: Leopard's Head Press, 1899-1993), IV, p. 116.

¹¹³ TNA, E150/299/8; *Feet of Fine for Essex*, IV, p. 105; *CCR, 1500-1509*, p. 206. This property is sometimes called 'Gibbecrake' in Purleigh.

¹¹⁴ TNA, PROB11/17, fol. 89; E150/299.

¹¹⁵ Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 96.

¹¹⁶ The families noted are William, Lord Latimer (d. 1381) and Ralph, Lord Cromwell (d. 1456). K. Bruce McFarlane, *Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 84.

The manors of Beaumont and Great Bentley surrounded the purchased manor of Tendring; Harwich and Dovercourt border Little Oakley; Burnells was in the parish of Stansted, as were the manors of Stansted Moutnfichet and Bentfield Bury. Beaumont Berners and Colne Engaine lay adjacent to the manors of Beaumont and Earls Colne; and the land acquired in Purleigh was in an area that he already held estates.¹¹⁷ The ex-Scales manors that he purchased from Tyndale, aside from offering a secure title to the co-heir, also consolidated the de Vere holdings in Norfolk, lying no more than ten miles from his manors of East Winch, Middleton, Wiggshall, Hillington and Terrington.¹¹⁸ The multiple purchases in certain locations appear to be a long term plan for de Vere. It ultimately created an East Anglian monopoly for him. As he had no political or social rivals at the time, and the increase in land and wealth meant an increase in authority and influence.

In addition to de Vere's land holdings, the king's patronage, both of lands and offices, further enhanced his influence in East Anglia. The largest grant from the king related to Viscount Beaumont. William Beaumont, according to the Parliament Rolls, had neither 'sadnes and discretion to rule and kepe' his estates, and on 7 March 1488 de Vere was granted the 'rule, disposition and keeping of all his lands [...] and of all interest which the king has in said lands [...] to hold during the life of said Viscount'.¹¹⁹ Beaumont died in 1507, and a year later de Vere's first wife, Margaret, passed away.¹²⁰ Less than a year later, de Vere married Beaumont's wife, Elizabeth.¹²¹ Her dower comprised of two estates in Norfolk, five in Suffolk, one in Hertfordshire, and six in Sussex.¹²² These manors added further to the growing de Vere estates in the East Anglian region.

The king bestowed additional lands and office to de Vere, shortly after Bosworth. In 1486, he granted the manor of the More (Moor Park), in Hertfordshire.¹²³ This was followed by a grant, in tail male, of the manors of Framlingham, Kelsale,

¹¹⁷ TNA, E150/299/8; *Feet of Fine for Essex*, IV, p. 105.

¹¹⁸ Ross, *John de Vere*, pp. 95-6.

¹¹⁹ *CPR, 1485-94*, p. 222. The king's control of Beaumont's estates was enshrined by a parliamentary act in 1487, clarified in 1495: *Parliament Rolls*, XV, pp. 345-6; XVI, pp. 190-1.

¹²⁰ H. William Lever, 'The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth, Widow of John de Vere, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, 20 (1933), 7-16.

¹²¹ John Ward, 'Elizabeth Beaumont, Countess of Oxford (d. 1537): Her Life and Connections', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 17 (2003), 2-13.

¹²² *LP Henry VIII*, I, no. 289:13. Estates were located in counties outside of East Anglia: three manors in Lincolnshire, three in Leicestershire, one in Hampshire, two in Middlesex, lands in Westminster and St Giles, and six advowsons in four different counties.

¹²³ *CPR, 1485-94*, p. 63.

Hacheston, Peasehall, Walton, and the hundred of Loes, all located in Suffolk, and Willington in Bedfordshire, all previously held by John Howard, duke of Norfolk.¹²⁴ Lands previously held by Francis, Viscount Lovell, were granted at the same time and included the manors of Boreham, Walkefare and Powers in Little Waltham in Essex and Bushey in Hertfordshire, together with the ‘great inn called “Le Herber”’ in the parish of St Mary Bothowe, and five messuages in London, previously held by George, duke of Clarence.¹²⁵ The grants added to de Vere’s already large landholding, while at the same time, it weakening his potential rivals by parcelling off their families’ land.

Like de Vere’s purchases, most of the grants from the king focused around the East Anglian region. This might be due to the fact that upon Henry VII’s accession to the throne East Anglia had few political elites leaving de Vere as the sole source of control and local politics with his position being strengthened by the king’s support. The earls and dukes of Norfolk – Bigods, Mowbrays, and Howards – might have been de Vere’s biggest competition for land, power, wealth, and ultimately, influence in the region. They came from an ancient family, like the de Veres, and possessed a large part of the control in the region since the twelfth century.¹²⁶ However, the Howards chose the losing side at the Battle of Bosworth, where the duke of Norfolk, John Howard, was killed; soon after a bill of attainder was issued for his heir, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey. In May 1489, the king restored Howard to his earldom and sent him north to quell a rebellion in Yorkshire.¹²⁷ Henry VII never granted Howard royal patronage on the same level as de Vere, nor was it as concentrated in a singular area. As Steven Gunn has argued ‘Henry VII’s debt to Oxford was too great for a prudent rival to do anything other than accept the king’s will. When Henry VII wanted something done in Essex he wrote to John de Vere; when he visited the county [...] he visited John de Vere’.¹²⁸ With Henry’s support through patronage – offices and lands – the king cemented John de Vere as the sole authority in the region.

¹²⁴ TNA, C82/6, no. 21; C66/562, m. 19.

¹²⁵ *CPR, 1485-94*, p. 121; TNA, C82/7, no. 27. For a complete list of royal grants to de Vere, see Ross, *John de Vere*, pp. 97-102.

¹²⁶ *Complete Peerage*, IX, pp. 568-624.

¹²⁷ Oxford was granted Framlingham Castle, Sussex, the ancestral seat of the Howards after the attainder of the earl of Surrey. However, Oxford sold Framlingham back to Surrey in exchange for a life-annuity of 100 marks. Virgoe, ‘Recovery of the Howards in East Anglia’, pp. 1-20.

¹²⁸ Steven J. Gunn, ‘Henry Bouchier, the Earl of Essex, 1472-1540’, in *The Tudor Nobility*, ed. by George W. Bernard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 139-174.

De Vere was clearly the main source of patronage and justice for the gentry in the region of East Anglia, and therefore, the geographical location of his main seat of residence was very important. As the map shows (see Figure 15), Hedingham Castle is located almost in the centre of his estates, and it was a prime location for him to conduct administration for the region surrounding the castle. The map does not depict the extent of de Vere's influence as stewardships, wardships, and offices are not listed, but the breadth of his landed income can be seen to spread across the region of East Anglia. It is not, perhaps, surprising that de Vere renovated Hedingham Castle which was centrally located as well as his family's ancestral seat. With grants from Henry VII, de Vere was able to gain almost full autonomy, from other potential political rivals, in East Anglia. There was little royal interference and few magnates who would have been able to challenge de Vere's authority, making him a very powerful regional lord and making Hedingham a place for the regional community to gather for justice, administration, and patronage.

On the other side of the kingdom, Sir Rhys ap Thomas was accumulating a large number of royal grants and patronage in the south of Wales from Henry VII. Polydore Vergil, an Italian writer commissioned by Henry VII to record his reign, wrote of a request made by Sir Rhys to Henry Tudor before the Welsh knight agreed to aid the future king at the Battle of Bosworth. The chronicler states, 'Henry had promysyd to Richard Thomas [Sir Rhys ap Thomas] the perpetuall lyvetenantship of Wales, so that he wold come under his obedience, which afterward when he had obtanyd the kingdom he geve lyberally'.¹²⁹ Vergil's *Anglica Historia* was not the only chronicle of the time to pick up on Sir Rhys's request of the 'perpetuall lyvetenantship of Wales'.¹³⁰ Perhaps, Sir Rhys did request more power from Henry Tudor in return for his aid at the Battle of Bosworth. In any case, Henry VII did provide numerous grants to Sir Rhys throughout his reign, and they focused, like those of John de Vere, around Sir Rhys's region of power and influence: the south of Wales.

¹²⁹ Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, ed. by Denys Hay (London: Camden Society, 1950), p. 217.

¹³⁰ *Hall's Chronicle of the Union of the Two Nobile and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and York*, ed. by Henry Ellis (London: Longman, 1809), p. 411; *Holinshed's Chronicles*, ed. by Henry Ellis, 6 vols (London: Longman, 1808), III, p. 435; Richard Grafton, *History of England*, ed. by Henry Ellis, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1809), II, p. 542.

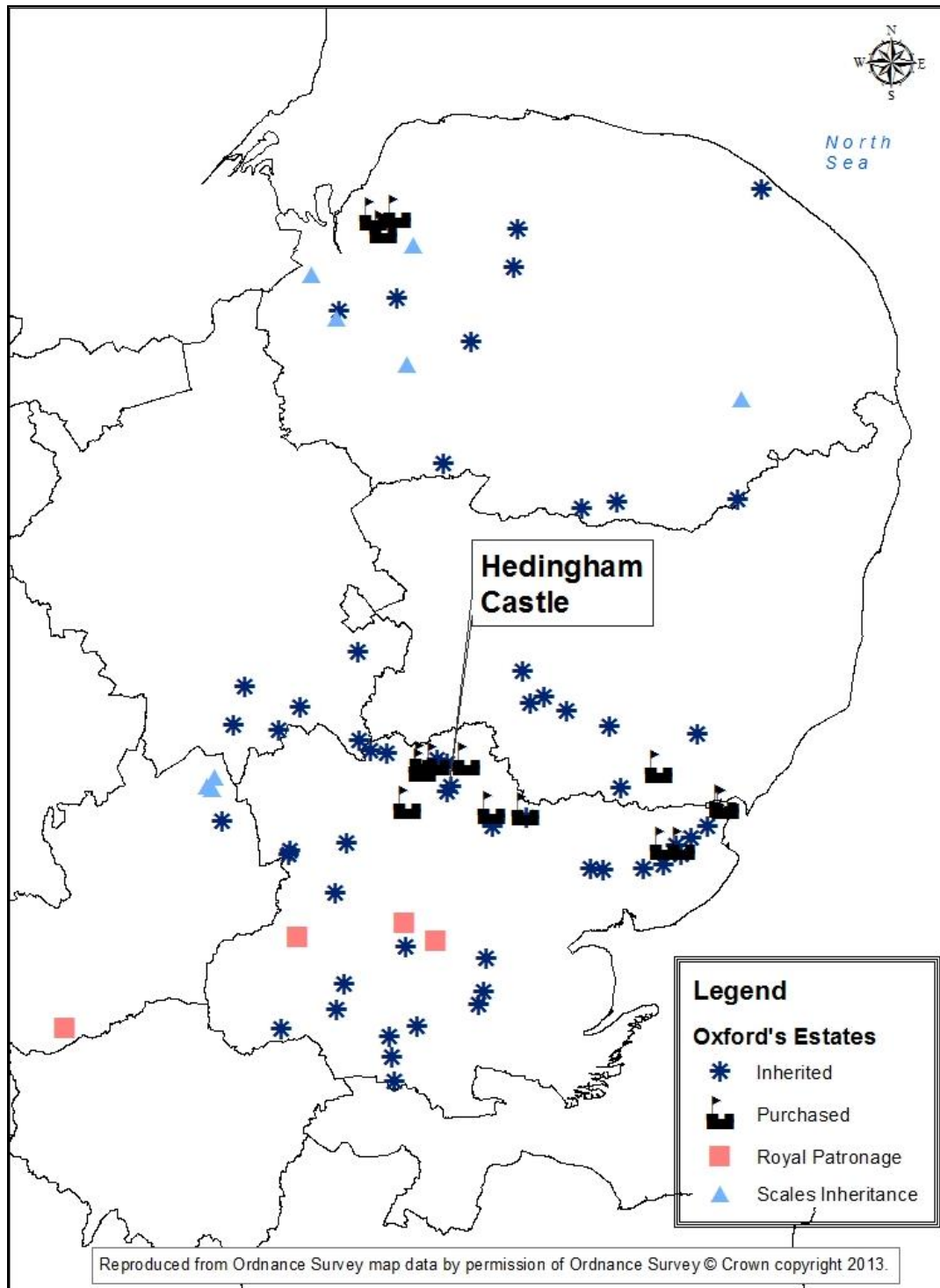


Figure 15: Map of East Anglia showing John de Vere's estates. Map adapted from Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 90-1.

In 1485, Sir Rhys was given the supreme authority at Brecon as the king's lieutenant and steward of the lordship and constable of Brecon castle.¹³¹ Later that year,

¹³¹ *CPR, 1485-94*, p. 24; TNA, SC6/Hen VII/1625, m. 2d ; Ralph A. Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas and His Family: A Study in the Wars of the Roses and Early Tudor Politics* (Cardiff: University of Wales, Press, 1993), p. 46.

he was appointed chamberlain of south Wales.¹³² This gave Sir Rhys the control of the wealth and resources of Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire, effectively giving him overall charge of the southern part of the principality of Wales. In the same grant, Sir Rhys became steward of the lordship of Builth which bordered Carmarthenshire and Brecon.¹³³ In 1495, as steward of both Brecon and Builth he joined the head of Prince Arthur's council in holding court at Brecon.¹³⁴ Although Sir Rhys was granted many offices in the south of Wales, it was not until the death of Jasper Tudor, the king's uncle, in 1495 that Sir Rhys was able to make a major advancement in influence and authority in Wales. A fortnight after Jasper's death, Sir Rhys was appointed as the Justiciar of South Wales in Jasper's place, thereby, formally giving him the authority to control the southern part of principality of Wales.¹³⁵ As Justiciar, Sir Rhys was responsible for the administration of the royal lands in Wales and acted as the king's vicegerent in the regions. He also had the authority to appoint a variety of officials in the principality.¹³⁶ Sir Rhys, with the help from the king, established himself as a regional authority, whose base at Carew was a fundamental part of his power.

Unlike de Vere and Sir Rhys's close relationship with Henry VII, Edward Stafford's relationship with Henry VIII was precarious.¹³⁷ Although Stafford was usually absent from day-to-day court politics, he was almost always involved in court ceremonies and celebrations. He filled the role of office of Lord High Steward at Henry VIII's coronation feast in 1509.¹³⁸ Later that year, he rode through London with the king after Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon.¹³⁹ The duke was also present at Henry VIII's meeting with Emperor Maximilian I in France in 1513.¹⁴⁰ In 1520, Edward

¹³² *CPR, 1485-94*, p. 65

¹³³ *CPR, 1485-94*, p. 65

¹³⁴ Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 46

¹³⁵ TNA, SC6/HenVIII/1862, m. 6; Ralph A. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages: The Structure and Personnel of Government* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1972), p. 162. For Sir Rhys holding great sessions in south Wales, see TNA, E36/214, f. 616 (1505).

¹³⁶ Ralph A. Griffiths, *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Hambledon, 1991), p. 162.

¹³⁷ For an account of Stafford's relationship with Henry VII and Henry VIII as well as with other peers, see Barbara Harris, *Edward Stafford, Third Duke of Buckingham, 1478-1521* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), pp. 149-79.

¹³⁸ *Great Chronicle of London*, p. 341.

¹³⁹ *Great Chronicle of London*, p. 339.

¹⁴⁰ Grafton, *History of England*, II, p. 260.

journeyed with the king to meet Francis I at the Field of Cloth of Gold.¹⁴¹ It is clear from Stafford's accounts that he spent an incredible amount of money in order to portray himself as a prominent figure in English politics to the outside world.

In reality, Stafford seldom played a part in the decision making at court. It is difficult to tell whether he chose not to be involved, or if the king was attempting to exclude him from the political scene. Although Stafford was on the king's council, he rarely attended the meetings.¹⁴² He sat with the council in the Star Chamber only five times between 1509 and 1516, although the court met regularly on fixed days during term time.¹⁴³ He only attended three parliaments during Henry VIII reign in 1510, 1512, and 1515.¹⁴⁴ In 1510 Stafford petitioned the king for recognition of his hereditary position as High Constable of England.¹⁴⁵ The office, which carried with it command of the armed forces and the right to hold a court to punish treason was a powerful one. Henry VIII refused to be coerced into giving Edward Stafford the post and responded to the ruling by allowing the constablership to lapse.¹⁴⁶ Unlike de Vere and Sir Rhys, Stafford received very few royal favours, perhaps due to the strained relationship with the king.

Stafford's unruly Welsh tenant base might have been one reason he was kept away from court. As a Welsh Marcher lord, he should have had supreme legal authority in the lordships of Brecon, Newport, Hay, Huntingdon, Catref Selyf, and Penkelly. In theory, he had the responsibility to appoint all legal officers and receive fines collected from criminals and wrongdoers.¹⁴⁷ In practice, the actual situation was much different. Both Henry VII and Henry VIII attempted to help Stafford gain control of the Welsh Marches with little success. It did not help matters that Stafford's efforts to raise his income involved the continual imposition of huge fines for redeeming the court

¹⁴¹ Stafford brought with him 5 chaplains, 10 gentlemen, 55 servants, and 30 horses. His wife attended the queen with 4 gentlewomen, 6 gentlemen, several servants, and 12 horses. *Rutland Papers: Original Documents Illustrative of the Courts and Times of Henry VII and Henry VIII*, ed. by William Jerdan (London: Nichols, 1842); p. 29; TNA, SP1/19 f.235.

¹⁴² *LP Henry VIII*, I, p. 379 (no. 697); *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, 5 vols (London: Longman, 1862-1954), II, p. 72.

¹⁴³ Harris, *Edward Stafford*, p. 168.

¹⁴⁴ *Calendar of the Journals of the House of Lords*, 2 vols (London: Goldsmiths Library, 1810-1830), I, pp. 4, 10, 18.

¹⁴⁵ See Harris, *Edward Stafford*, pp. 170-1.

¹⁴⁶ William Hudson, 'A Treatise of the Court of Star Chamber', in *Collectanea Juridica. Consisting of Tracts Relative to the Law and Constitution of England*, ed. by Francis Hargrave, 2 vols (London: Brooke, 1792), II, pp. 138-39; SRO, D1721/1/11, ff. 133-36; *Complete Peerage*, vol. 2, p. 390.

¹⁴⁷ Harris, *Edward Stafford*, p. 172.

sessions.¹⁴⁸ It appears from the records that Stafford's Welsh tenants were a problem from the onset of his majority in 1498. The situation was so dire that in 1504 Stafford and Henry VII entered an agreement.¹⁴⁹ This was an attempt, perhaps both by the king and by Stafford, to reform the administration of justice in the Welsh marches. The king's aim was to prevent the liberties of the lords from affording refuge to criminals; he was also endeavouring to secure the cooperation of the Marcher lords and their officials.¹⁵⁰

The agreement was not effective, and by 1516-17, the fines levied at the Great Sessions in Catref Selyf, Penkelly, and Alexanderstone soared to £7,195.¹⁵¹ The debt, which was never collected, represented fines for crimes or recognizances forfeited by people who failed to appear at all.¹⁵² When Stafford's estate officials arrived in Wales to collect the fines, they were met with force and a refusal to pay.¹⁵³ Henry VIII wrote to Stafford in June 1518 rebuking him for the disorder of the Welsh tenants.

We are now crediblie informed that in Lordshippes to you belonging within our saide marches few or no persons be put under anie such bondes but remain clerly at libertie contrarie to the usage accustomed which thinge is in *your default and negligence*. And by meane thereof many diverse murders, Rapes, Roberies, Riottes and other misdemeanours have bene of late and daile be committed and left clerlie unpunished within the same to the high displeasure of God, the disorder and transgression of our laws, the great hurte, damage and inquietnes of our subjects, and to our no litle displeasure and myscontentacon.¹⁵⁴

The letter went on to demand that Stafford should 'putt all manner of men under sufficient suertie of their good abering and their appearance in [...] court'.¹⁵⁵ Stafford was given until 31 August 1518 to remedy the situation and take bonds and sureties of

¹⁴⁸ Details on his income raising methods can be found in Harris, *Edward Stafford*, pp. 109-135.

¹⁴⁹ It is preserved in transcript in a volume of 'Stafford Family Evidences' compiled for the duke's son, Henry, Lord Stafford: BL, Add. MS 36542. The indenture is printed in full in, Thomas Pugh, 'The Indenture for the Marches between Henry VII and Edward Stafford (1477-1521), Duke of Buckingham', *English Historical Review*, 71 (1956), 436-441 (pp. 440-1).

¹⁵⁰ Pugh, 'The Indenture for the Marches', p. 437.

¹⁵¹ BL, Egerton Rolls, 2195.

¹⁵² BL, Egerton Rolls, 2195.

¹⁵³ An example of this can be seen in the prohibition of these forceful practices in TNA, Sta Cha 2/35/21, and printed in *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, 1415-1536: Select Documents*, ed. by Thomas B. Pugh (Cardiff: Wales University Press, 1963), pp. 135-38.

¹⁵⁴ BL, Add. MS 32091, f. 107, printed in Caroline A.J. Skeel, *The Council in the Marches of Wales: A Study in Local Government During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Rees, 1904), pp. 35-6. Emphasis added by author.

¹⁵⁵ BL, Add. MS 32091, fos. 107-9; *The Council in the Marches of Wales*, pp. 35-6. It is dated at Woodstock on 6 June and the year is not given, but the court was at Woodstock on 6 June 1518. *LP, Henry VIII*, II (pt. 2), pp. 1275, 1306, 1330 (nos. 4124, 4214, 4304).

all men between the ages of sixteen and seventy and to certify to the king that he had done so.¹⁵⁶ He was unable to do this, and on 26 November 1518, Stafford filed a bill in the Star Chamber against the tenants of Hay, accusing them of boycotting the Great Sessions, regular courts, and of committing various riots and misdemeanours. The inhabitants denied all charges.¹⁵⁷ It was then up to Cardinal Wolsey, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, Lord Bergavenny, the bishop of Durham, and Sir Thomas Lovell to settle ‘almaner variaunces, controversies and debates heretofor moved and nowe depending before the said lordes bitwene the duc of Buckingham and his tenautes of his severall lordships of Brecknock [and] Haye’.¹⁵⁸ The decree set by the Star Chamber ordered Stafford’s tenants to refrain from interfering when his officials tried to collect money or to enforce the law, and commanded them to attend the sessions and other courts ‘peseablye [...] without having or wering of any harness or wepon there’.¹⁵⁹ The decree also carefully regulated the convening of Great Sessions.¹⁶⁰ The Welsh lordships and tenants never fully remained under Stafford’s – or the king’s – control.

The close proximity of Thornbury to the Welsh border might indicate one reason that Stafford renovated the estate (see Figure 16). He clearly attempted to manage the situation in Wales, and perhaps envisaged that his Welsh tenants would visit Thornbury on occasion to pay homage or seek patronage. Those who visited the castle were met with high embattled walls, gun-loops, arrow-slits, and imposing towers, all these features were meant to impress and awe the observer. Thornbury was in a location that might provide Stafford a place to manage his tenants in Wales, but left him further away from London, where he might seek patronage from Henry VIII. It appears from the royal intervention that Henry VIII did attempt to help Stafford obtain control over his Welsh tenants, but in 1520, Stafford proposed to Henry that he visit his lordships in person stating,

whyche journey shalbe moche profitable unto us as well for the knowledge whyche shalbe gyvene by our tenents to my Lady at here fyrst commynge thither as forleveynge of our rents and farmes and

¹⁵⁶ Skeel, *The Council in the Marches of Wales*, p. 36.

¹⁵⁷ TNA, Sta Cha2/26/21; *The Marcher Lordships*, pp. 135-8.

¹⁵⁸ TNA, Sta Cha2/26/21; *The Marcher Lordships*, pp. 135-8.

¹⁵⁹ TNA, Sta Cha2/26/21; *The Marcher Lordships*, pp. 135-8.

¹⁶⁰ TNA, Sta Cha2/26/21; *The Marcher Lordships*, pp. 135-8.

lawfull casualtyse, whyche woll not be leved onlasse we be there present.¹⁶¹

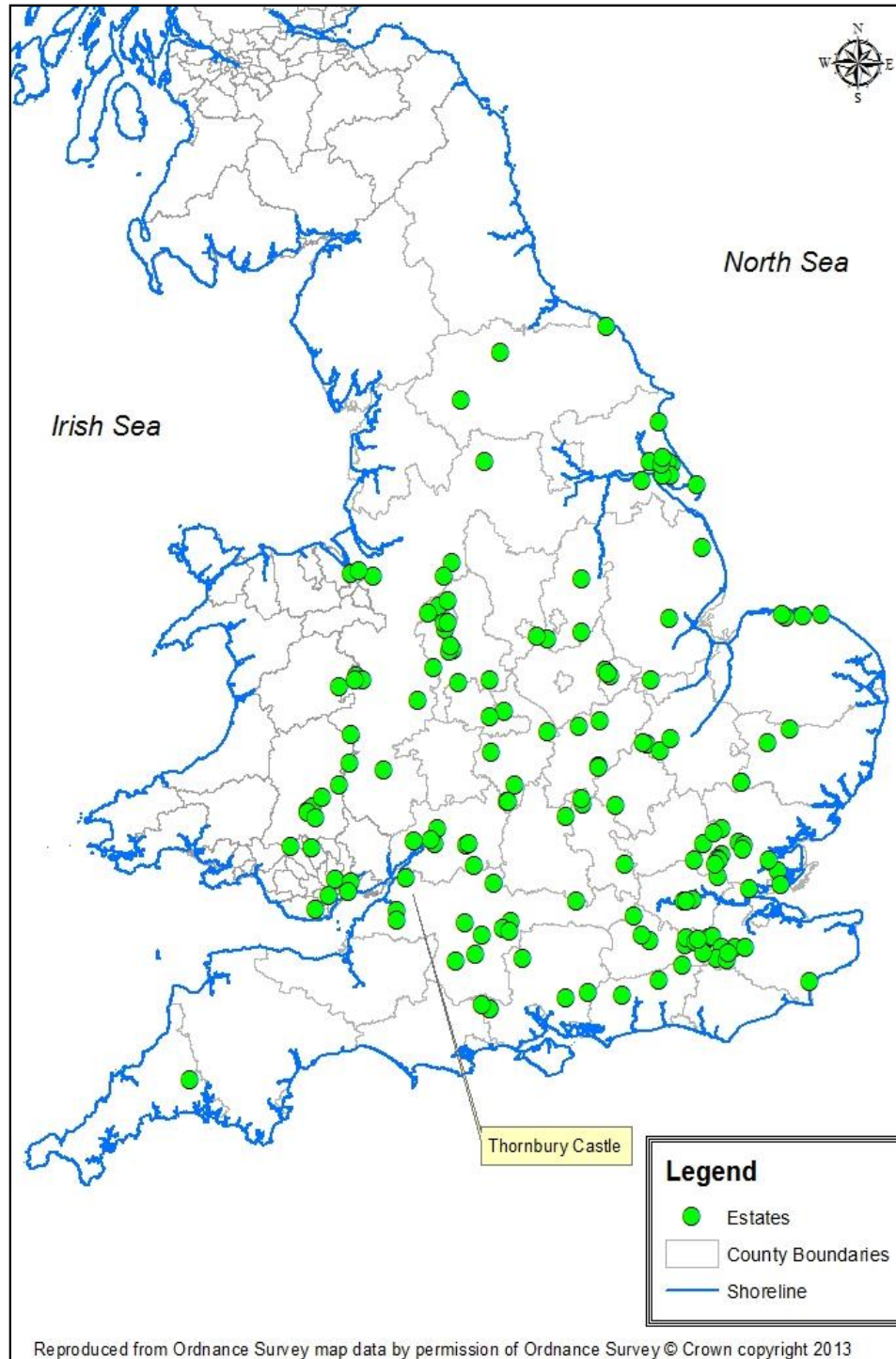


Figure 16: Map of Edward Stafford's estates at his death in 1521. Map made from list of properties found in Harris, *Edward Stafford*, pp. 236-9.

¹⁶¹ *Original Letters Illustrative of English History: Including Numerous Royal Letters from Autographs in the British Museum, and One or Two Other Collections*, ed. by Henry Ellis, 4 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1846), I, p. 226.

Stafford wrote to the king asking permission to take three to four hundred armed men with him on his Welsh visit. He was denied by Henry VIII, and the visit never happened. However, without the political autonomy afforded to Stafford, like that of de Vere, it was difficult for Stafford to become the sole leader and authority in the region. Stafford's attempt to control Wales only left him with a turbulent relationship with the king and without the influence he sought. Stafford's land holdings were vast, but they were not as concentrated as de Vere's or Sir Rhys's, therefore, the renovating of Thornbury did not have as much effect on the local community as, perhaps, Hedingham and Carew.

William Fitzwilliam's influence in the regions stemmed from a concentration of land in a small area to the south of London. Like John de Vere, Fitzwilliam benefited from a close relationship with the king whose grants helped secure the area. The first record of a royal grant to Fitzwilliam was for about four hundred acres of royal land in the Wonersh and Abyngworth districts of Surrey, formerly in the possession of the attainted Edmund Dudley.¹⁶² This grant was in 1511 and was followed closely by another grant in 1513 for the manors of Worplesden and Cleygate on a ten-year lease.¹⁶³ In 1518 he was granted a piece of land in Windsor forest called Potnall Park.¹⁶⁴ Fitzwilliam was also granted the monastery of Waverley, near to his Surrey estates, as an estate, after the Dissolution.¹⁶⁵ Fitzwilliam was involved in the affairs of the monastery as he had been chief commissioner for the Surrey commission which assessed tenths of spiritualities. His already owned estates in the Surrey included the manors of Waverlye, Wanborough, and Marwick and Monkenhook, Oxford Grange with lands in the Godalming and Witley districts, and Tongham Farm in Farnham. From his inquisition *post mortem* it appears that he also had estates in Surrey called Lynde place, near Chertsey, which he had bought from a John Lynde, and the manor of Downe or Downe Place, near Guildford.¹⁶⁶ Between the Guildford and Sussex border he had the manors of Shalford Bradstone and Alfold, which he had inherited from his mother.¹⁶⁷ After the Dissolution, the same grant which brought Waverley Abbey to Fitzwilliam

¹⁶² *LP Henry VII*, I, p. 399 (no.731: 55).

¹⁶³ *LP, Henry VIII*, I, p. 840 (no. 1836: 30).

¹⁶⁴ *LP, Henry VIII*, II, p. 1232 (no. 3971).

¹⁶⁵ *LP, Henry VIII*, VI, p. 431 (no. 1006).

¹⁶⁶ TNA, C142/70/29; *The Victoria History of the County of Surrey*, ed. by Henry E. Malden, 4 vols (Westminster: Constable, 1902-1914), II, p. 618.

¹⁶⁷ His mother inherited them from her mother, Isabel, wife of John Neville, Marquess Montagu. *Victoria County History, Surrey*, III, p. 109.

also gave him the small nunnery of Easebourne, which lay near Cowdray and was worth £50 a year and had one manor of Northing or Wrothing, and lands between Midhurst and the coast.¹⁶⁸ To this he added in 1541 the chapel of Midhurst with a manor of the same name, formerly in the possession of the Order of St John of Jerusalem.¹⁶⁹ In 1537 came further grants, among them two more West Sussex religious houses – Shulbred Abbey and Durford Priory – as well as some property of Boxgrove monastery, also a Sussex house.¹⁷⁰ He inherited from his mother a half share in the use of the Sussex monasteries of Bayham and Calceto with the manors of Bayham, Calceto, Selham, and West Bourne.¹⁷¹

In Hampshire, principally on the eastern side abutting on Surrey and Sussex, Fitzwilliam had a large number of estates. In the district around Alton and to the west thereof he had the manors of Neatham and Swarraton and land in Dumme and Ashe. These, with Boyatt manor, south of Winchester, and Dokenfield manor, now in Surrey, were Waverley Abbey properties. The 1537 grant brought him the former Durford manor of Buriton and the manor of Bedhampton. The manor of Warblington, Chalton had been in the possession of Margaret Pole and was granted to Fitzwilliam as chief steward of the lands seized on her attainder.¹⁷² He already possessed the manors of Eversley, in the north east, and Eastney, near Portsmouth, on a use inherited from his mother.¹⁷³ Although Fitzwilliam did not inherit the amount of landholding as Stafford or even de Vere, he did receive a large portion of patronage of Henry VIII, all concentrated in the south of England and very near to Portsmouth, where he later become Vice Admiral. Fitzwilliam's close relationship with Henry VIII and his influence in the politics of the southern part of England provided him an opportunity to increase his landed wealth through the accumulation of estates. His purchase of Cowdray reflected his growing income and allowed him to stay close to London, as well as the region around Surrey where the majority of his estates were located.

De Vere and Stafford owned enough estates to become a leader in the localities, and yet their individual authority in the regions was vastly different. On one hand, de Vere inherited, purchased, and was granted land concentrated to one particular area. He

¹⁶⁸ *LP, Henry VIII*, XI, pp. 83-4 (no. 202: 37).

¹⁶⁹ *LP, Henry VIII*, XVI, pp. 456-7 (no. 947: 56).

¹⁷⁰ *LP, Henry VIII*, XII (pt. 2), p. 385 (no. 1098: 19).

¹⁷¹ TNA, SP1/65, p. 122; *LP, Henry VIII*, V, p. 14 (no. 47: 5).

¹⁷² *LP, Henry VIII*, XV, p. 473 (no. 942: 54).

¹⁷³ *The Victoria History of the County of Hampshire*, ed. by H. Arthur Doubleday and William Page, 5 vols (London: Constable, 1900-12), III, p. 195.

had no political rivals, and this was partly to do with Henry VII's favour towards de Vere. On the other hand, Stafford inherited estates across England and Wales and was considered a Welsh Marcher lord, but his authority in Wales was minimal. Henry VIII did not improve matters by excluding Stafford from court politics, showing him little to no royal favour, and reprimanding him when his Welsh tenants were not under his control. All of this diminished Stafford's political authority and influence in the region. That being said, Stafford did have a small regional following around Thornbury. Due to Stafford's grandiose lifestyle, he needed a large number of household staff, servants, and estate officials in order to function. His employment of local gentry in his household and council will be discussed in Chapter Four.¹⁷⁴

It was a slightly different situation for Fitzwilliam and Sir Rhys. Neither man came from the old aristocracy, nor did they inherit vast stretches of land and estates. They were men created by the king through royal favour and military service. This could only be done through a close relationship with the monarch. Sir Rhys was able to achieve regional influence and authority by a similar means as de Vere, albeit on a slower and smaller scale. Fitzwilliam relied on his geographical and political closeness to the king for his royal favour. Perhaps this demonstrates a major difference between the two Tudor kings. While Henry VII was willing to grant regional autonomy to those he trusted, Henry VIII preferred to grant royal favour to those who were closer to court.

1.3 Representing the King in the Regions

Influence through the ownership of land brought with it tasks delegated by the king, which were to be carried out in the region by the magnate. Upon Henry VII's ascension to the throne in 1485, he faced a problem. He had only one adult male in his immediate family, his uncle Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and later duke of Bedford. Therefore, the responsibilities of government fell, for the most part, solely on Henry Tudor's shoulders. His lack of family, and trust, meant the king had to rely on members of the higher nobility to bring loyalty and peace to the regions. Henry VII depended heavily on the most trusted councillors to defend the coastline, raise troops, and take bonds from local members of the gentry on his behalf. These tasks were delegated to de Vere and Sir Rhys by the king, to be carried out within their regions of authority: East Anglia and south Wales.

¹⁷⁴ Stafford's regional influence pertaining to household members is discussed in section 4.2.

The previous section (1.2) demonstrated that both John de Vere and Sir Rhys ap Thomas held areas of authority centred on their castles of Hedingham and Carew respectively. Therefore, it is not surprising that the orders from the king pertained to their regional power structures. For example, Henry VII expected John de Vere to raise troops from the city of Norwich for a royal campaign against the Scots. De Vere explicitly states he was granted the rule of the region, at least for a time:

For asmoche as the kyngoure souereigne lorde...entendyyng to make an army and vyage ryall both by sea and by londe towards the parties of Scottlond and for the accomplysshent of the same hath yeven me in commaundement in myn owen person with a certeyn nombre by his grace appointed at his wagies to geve hym attendanus and to accomplish my seid nombre of thenabitaunts of the counties whereof *his heighnesse be for tyme hath yeven me the rule and gouernauns* as wele of knyghtys, esquires, gentylnen, citizens and burgesys as of other able yomen with in the same.¹⁷⁵

This passage demonstrates that de Vere received his power from ‘the kyngoure souereigne lorde’ and shows that Henry VII expected the magnate to carry out order in East Anglia. The passage makes clear that the natural rule of those regions was in the hands of John de Vere, through the grace of the sovereign. De Vere was asserting his leadership at a time when royal authority was perhaps weak, and reminding Norwich of their duty to the royal campaign in the name of the king.

Not only was de Vere expected to raise troops for Henry VII, but he and Sir Rhys were expected to protect the coastline and subdue rebellions that broke out. In Wales, for example, the king called upon Sir Rhys to quell a rebellion started by Sir Thomas Vaughan at Brecon, Hay, and Tretower in mid-April 1486. With a substantial force of 140 men, Sir Rhys defended Brecon Castle for seven weeks, later drawing £48 to cover the expenses of ‘gounepouder’ bought for the castle’s protection.¹⁷⁶ Sir Rhys was able to respond to the threat quickly because of his central location at Carew. Three years later, when the French were involved in the politics of Ireland, and rumours were abroad of an impending descent from Ireland by Richard de la Pole, a pretender to Henry VII’s throne, Sir Rhys helped assemble a fleet of ships to protect the seas between Wales and Ireland while he was at his residence in Carew.¹⁷⁷ Sir Rhys’s central

¹⁷⁵ NRO, NCR, case 16d. 1491-1553, fol. 44. Emphasis added by author.

¹⁷⁶ TNA, SC6/HenVII/1651, m. 6; 1652, m. 2d.; BL, Egerton Roll 2192, m. 5.

¹⁷⁷ *A New History of Ireland II: Medieval Ireland, 1169-1534*, ed. by Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 662-73.

location in south-west Wales meant he was able to promote the king's power and royal authority quickly throughout the region when a rebellion threatened the throne.

Similarly, East Anglia, with its long coastline and close proximity to France and the Low Countries, was a vital region for the king to secure as quickly as possible. The Paston Letters demonstrate de Vere's influence and importance within the region, especially in keeping political stability. For instance, in May 1486, John de Vere's wife, Margaret, wrote to John Paston who was sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk to inform him that, after the failure of the rising instigated by Francis, Viscount Lovell and Humphrey Stafford, she was 'credibly enfourmed that [Lovell] is now of late resorted into the Yle of Ely to the entente by alle lykelyhod to fine the waies and meanes to grete him shipping and passage' and she encouraged Paston to keep watch on the ports and rivers for the fugitive.¹⁷⁸ De Vere seems to have been in the Midlands with the king when his wife wrote the letter, and it appears that Margaret was temporarily conducting and receiving the political information and rule of East Anglia at Hedingham, while de Vere was away. The following year, 1487, John de Vere wrote to Paston about the security of the region, perhaps feeling that Paston was not doing his job:

As for such tithynge as ye have sent hither, the Kyng had knowlech therof more than a sevyng-nyght passed. And for such names as ye have sent, supposing theym to be gone with the Lord Lovell, they be yitt in England for he is departing with xij personys and no more. At the Kynges coming to London I wold advise you to see his Highness.¹⁷⁹

This exchange between de Vere and Paston suggests that although de Vere was given the task of securing the coastline, he delegated it to members of the local gentry. De Vere was put in charge of the defence of the realm at a high level, which, in effect, meant that he co-ordinated efforts rather than performed individual tasks. This evidence that de Vere and Sir Rhys accomplished king's orders in their regions demonstrates that they were filling an important role, both in the 'stabilisation of traditionally volatile county societies', and in ensuring their loyalty and defence of the realm.¹⁸⁰ Henry VII

¹⁷⁸ *PL*, VI, pp. 92-3. For more information on the attempted rebellion, see Charles H. Williams, 'The Rebellion of Humphrey Stafford in 1486', *English Historical Review*, 43 (1928), 181-9.

¹⁷⁹ *PLP*, II, pp. 448-9; *PL*, VI, p. 93.

¹⁸⁰ Michael Bennett, *Lambert Simnel and the Battle of Stoke* (Gloucester: Sutton, 1987), pp. 58-9. These societies were not, according to Philippa Maddern's survey of East Anglia between 1422 and 1442, particularly violent, though obviously the magnate feuding of the later 1440s and 1450s temporarily changed this picture: Philippa Maddern, *Violence and Social Order: East Anglia 1422-1442* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex were, however,

had to rely on trusted members of the nobility, usually those who played large roles at Bosworth, to maintain and control the local communities. The king did this by granting royal favour to de Vere and Sir Rhys in very contained areas where their power was unrivalled by other peers.

Unlike Henry VII, his son, Henry VIII, did not need to rely so heavily on his nobility to keep the localities secure and loyal, but he did need them to raise troops for royal campaigns. As Stafford was one of the largest landowners in England, his ability to raise troops was substantial. In the French wars of 1513-14 Edward supplied 550 men for the king's army and served during the siege of Therouanne.¹⁸¹ On 13 August, Stafford joined the earl of Essex, the Marquess of Dorset, Lord Bergavenny, Lord Willoughby, and 6,000 men to prevent any attempt by the French to relieve the city, 'where they were all night in order of bataille, awaiting the rescue of the cite, but the Englishmen were ascryd [seen], and so the Frenchmen brake their purpose for that time: and so the Duke of Buckyngham and his companions returned to the campe'.¹⁸² Sir Rhys also provided his retinue for the French wars in 1513. The king paid Sir Rhys for 300 demi-lances as well as their transport from Dover to Carew.¹⁸³ Additionally, the account states that Sir Rhys had with him 2,468 Welsh footmen.¹⁸⁴ The captains are named and can be traced back to the south of Wales testifying that Sir Rhys's affinity comprised of men from around his *caput*.¹⁸⁵ On another occasion, in 1520, an Irish rebellion broke out forcing the king to send a small cavalry contingent, fifty strong, to Ireland to support the efforts of the new chief governor, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey. The close proximity between Sir Rhys's seat at Carew Castle and Ireland and the close relationship Sir Rhys shared with the Tudor monarchs was most likely the reason Henry VIII sent him and a small number of his men to aid in the efforts of suppressing the rebellion and asserting royal power. Evidence indicates that Sir Rhys's men met him at Carew Castle before their departure to Ireland, suggesting the castle was the central point within the region and a reflection of Sir Rhys's lordship and

wealthy counties and rather litigious, as any examination of the records of the courts of Common Pleas or King's Bench during the period will make abundantly clear.

¹⁸¹ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 203.

¹⁸² Grafton, *History of England*, II, p. 260

¹⁸³ *LP, Henry VIII*, I, p. 1099 (no. 2481: 1).

¹⁸⁴ *LP, Henry VIII*, I, p. 1099 (no. 2481: 3).

¹⁸⁵ Henry ap John, Thomas ab Owain, Dafydd ap John ap Thomas, Sir John Wogan: *LP, Henry VIII*, I, p. 528 (no. 1098); Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales*, I, pp. 169, 234, 266, 344-6, 352, 385.

authority.¹⁸⁶ The evidence from Sir Rhys and Edward Stafford confirm that Henry VIII needed the nobility to provide troops for campaigns and to act as military leaders in the field.

There is no evidence to suggest Fitzwilliam was relied on to raise troops for Henry VIII during any of the king's campaigns, but correspondences between Fitzwilliam and Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's chief minister, indicate that Fitzwilliam agreed to carry out orders from the king in the Sussex region from his seat at Cowdray. For example, in 1538 Fitzwilliam was put in charge of dispelling a rumour in Sussex that the king was going to collect 'horn money'.¹⁸⁷ It appears from the letter written by Fitzwilliam on 7 March 1538 to Cromwell, that Fitzwilliam was interrogating members of the local community at Cowdray to find the source of the rumours, he states, 'I trust to drive [Richard] Jakson to tell where he heard it [the rumour] or else cause his body to suffer pain. I trust the handling of these men will be a warning for Sussex, Surrey, and a great part of Ha[mpshire]'.¹⁸⁸ Later that year, Fitzwilliam was interrogating the Countess of Salisbury, Margaret Pole, about the actions of her son, Cardinal Pole.¹⁸⁹ From the letters between Fitzwilliam and Cromwell it appears that Margaret was forcibly moved to Cowdray after Fitzwilliam took an inventory of all her goods and servants at Warblington Castle, Hampshire.¹⁹⁰ Tasks delegated to Fitzwilliam indicate his favourable position with Henry VIII, and Cowdray acted as the political space in which these tasks were carried out. The grandness of the architecture symbolised Fitzwilliam's authority meant for those who stayed at the castle, whether it was of their own accord or not.

Locality and stability in the regions were ensured by the local lord, whose power and influence centred on their *caput*. By delegating tasks to trusted men, the king was acting efficiently and establishing political elites in the regions. The king secured these regions for people like John de Vere by granting offices and lands in a very specific area. In doing so, the king ensured the localities were under his control and tasks were carried out in his name. It guaranteed the autonomous lords in the regions were

¹⁸⁶ TNA, E101/61/2; E101/56/19; E101/60/30.

¹⁸⁷ A tax on horned animals. *LP Henry VIII*, XIII (pt. 1), p. 162 (no. 440).

¹⁸⁸ *LP Henry VIII*, XIII (pt. 1), p. 162 (no. 440).

¹⁸⁹ The questions and answers from the interrogation are: *LP Henry VIII*, XIII (pt. 2), p. 326 (no. 818).

¹⁹⁰ *LP Henry VIII*, XIII (pt. 2), pp. 346, 357 (nos. 838, 855); TNA, SP1/139, ff. 72, 105.

supported and trusted by the king, therefore, ensuring their loyalty as well as that of the localities.

1.4 Administrative Duties in the Castle

It can be difficult to locate where administrative duties were taking place within the castle, but it is important for the understanding of social interaction and noble displays of authority and wealth. When John de Vere was called upon by the king to ensure the loyalty of the local gentry in East Anglia, he formally required recognisances from members of the gentry on at least three different occasions at Hedingham Castle.¹⁹¹ Although little of the building work survives at Hedingham, it is possible to detect where these formal occasions might have taken place. As discussed in the Introduction, there was a commissioned survey of Hedingham Castle in 1592 before the property was sold.¹⁹² The map does not show any obvious building where local court was held, therefore, it might be suggested that de Vere, thirteenth earl of Oxford, held local court within the walls of his ancestral great tower in the centre of the inner bailey. The construction of the great tower provided no obvious accommodation within. Instead, there are two very large halls on the first and second floors of the tower. An external door to the great tower opens directly at first-floor level into the lower hall which is a single large room spanned by a plain arch to support the floor above. The absence of a cross wall here, thus not introducing an inner chamber, emphasises the public function of the room. Additionally, there are displays of social orientation, with its doors and latrine at the northern end, and a fireplace decorated with zigzag ornament, flanked by tall windows embrasures, at its southern end. The upper room, though its plan is almost identical to that of the lower room, is much grander. The ceiling height, before the insertion of the third floor, was almost twice as high as the lower hall (about 10 meters

¹⁹¹ *CPR, 1494-1509*, p. 287.

¹⁹² A survey was done in 1592 with map of surrounding landscape done by Israel Amyce: ERO, Chelmsford, D/DML MI. Amyce also made a survey of the manor of Earls Colne and Colne Priory in 1598, ERO, Chelmsford D/DPr 626 with map, and a copy of the map of the manor of Plemborowe, Hockley dating from 1579, ERO, T/M 378 with survey D/DWt M27. A later pictorial map was done when the estates were restored to the eighteenth earl of Oxford in 1609, see ERO, Chelmsford, D/DMh PI. This plan is illustrated in Majendie, 'The plan of Hedingham Castle', opposite p. 78, and Anderson, *The De Veres and Castle Hedingham*, p. 122; Anthony Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales, 1300-1500*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996-2000), II, p. 113. The image is reproduced in the Introduction, see section 'Hedingham Castle' (fig. 4).

[33 ft.] to the apex).¹⁹³ Its arch is moulded and its windows decorated with zigzag ornament similar to that of the fireplace. The grandeur of the upper floor would have presumably been for ceremonial purposes, intended for the earl, whose chair by the fireplace would come slowly into view as the visitor ascended the straight steps contrived at the end of the hall.

De Vere's use of the great tower might not have been the first time it was used for such ceremonial purposes. The function of the Anglo-Norman *donjon* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries has often been pinpointed as a military tool used by the conquering Normans to gain control in the countryside. However, a number of case studies have drawn attention to the military weakness of *donjons*.¹⁹⁴ Re-evaluation of the spatial use of these towers suggests the previous notion that Norman lords quickly built stone great towers in order to subdue and control the surrounding countryside was not necessarily the case. Primarily they were used as a power symbol within the landscape and a place for local politics and administration to be carried out, similar to Hedingham's use in the fifteenth century. Such tasks delegated to de Vere by the king reinforced his power over the region, demonstrating first hand to the local society that the power and security of the region lay with the thirteenth earl. The documentary evidence confirms that de Vere was undertaking administrative tasks at Hedingham Castle and the previous use of Norman great towers as places for administration might suggest that de Vere reused the tower in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The implication of de Vere conducting administrative and regional business at Hedingham Castle was meant to be felt through the whole of East Anglia. He was proclaiming his family's antiquity and invoking nostalgia for legends of the past on a local level and, perhaps, attempting to create a sense of continuity.

At Carew, a similar proclamation of lineage might have greeted a guest visiting on business. The lesser hall, located just opposite the great hall was said to be adorned with the armour of Sir Rhys's ancestors.¹⁹⁵ Although we do not have evidence that Sir

¹⁹³ Dixon and Marshall, 'The Great Tower at Hedingham Castle', pp. 297-306.

¹⁹⁴ Thomas A. Heslop, 'Orford Castle and Sophisticated Living', *Architectural History*, 34 (1991), 36-58; Dixon and Marshall, 'The Great Tower at Hedingham Castle', pp. 16-23; Charles Coulson, 'Peaceable Power in Norman Castles', in *Anglo-Norman Studies XXIII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2000*, ed. by John Gillingham (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), pp. 69-95; *The White Tower*, ed. by Edward Impey (Yale: Yale University Press, 2008); Liddiard, 'English Castle Building', pp. 199-226.

¹⁹⁵ Henry Rice, 'The Life of Rhys ap Thomas', in *Rhys ap Thomas and His Family: A Study of the Wars of the Roses and Early Tudor Politics*, ed. by Ralph A. Griffiths (Cardiff: University

Rhys administered local justice, we do have evidence that he was responsible for the gathering of troops in the south of Wales. The troops gathered and disbanded at Carew Castle, suggesting it was a central meeting point from which they began and ended their campaign.¹⁹⁶ For de Vere and Sir Rhys the architectural and visual display, to the visitor, political official, or member of their retinue, was to showcase the importance of their lineage. The use of visual elements helped the visitor to recognise their host, his connections, and loyalties almost immediately. However, it was more than this; it served as a reminder to the visitor of the nobleman's authority, and the way in which this authority manifested itself was through influence in the regions.

1.5 Influence in and on the Regional Communities

Influence came in many forms. In the regions, influence might pertain to the nomination or appointment of local law enforcement, such as county sheriffs and Justices of the Peace, it might also allow the magnate to settle local judicial disputes. As will be shown below, in order for a magnate to obtain such region influence they either needed royal favour or needed to be able to employ and attract a large number of the local community to their affinity. One way in which John de Vere influenced the local community around East Anglia was acting through the Justices of the Peace at quarter sessions, gaol deliveries, and commission hearings, in doing so, he offered a remedy through the medium of common law in East Anglia. As Carole Rawcliffe has argued, formal arbitration by a lord's council was 'quicker, cheaper, more effective and generally more acceptable than the traditional methods hitherto offered by the king's court'.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, de Vere's local, more affordable option seemed to be popular. One such example is an undated letter by de Vere to John Paston, in which he states that:

one Thomas Charllys of Norwiche late hathe presented unto me a bille of complanynte agaynste Symonde White gentlyman [...] shewing by the same such wrongis as the saide Symonde hathe done and daily dothe to the said Thomas, as by the saide bille, which I sende you with this, more

of Wales Press, 1993), pp. 135-270 (p. 252); more generally see Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House*, esp. ch. 4.

¹⁹⁶ *LP Henry VIII*, I, p. 528 (no. 1098); TNA, E101/61/2; E101/56/19; 60/30. This is discussed in more detail above.

¹⁹⁷ Carole Rawcliffe, 'The Great Lord as Peacekeeper: Arbitration by English Noblemen and their Councils in the Later Middle Ages', in *Law and Social Change in British History. Papers Presented to the Bristol Legal History Conference 14-17 July, 1981*, ed. by John A. Guy and Hugh G. Beale (London: Royal Historical Society, 1984), pp. 34-54 (p. 34); Edward Powell, 'Arbitration and the Law in England in the Late Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 33 (1983), 49-67.

playnely apperith [...] I therfor desire and pray you that ye woll do calle the saide parties byfore you, and [...] ye shall take suche direction as may acorde with righte and gode consciens, so the saide Thomas Charlis heraftur have no cause to resorte to me complaynyng'.¹⁹⁸

The letter suggests that Thomas Charles of Norwich sought arbitration from John de Vere. Although the letter does not detail what the dispute was about, de Vere was clearly the authority in such matters. Moreover, as we have seen previously, de Vere delegated the task of settling the dispute to John Paston, a trusted member of the local gentry and a county sheriff in East Anglia.

De Vere's council also fined those who owed debt, and in 1499 there was an increased amount of activity from John de Vere and his council, perhaps, trying to increase prosecution on legal matters.¹⁹⁹ Cases of debt were brought against William Taylor of Dovercourt, husbandman, for 10 marks, Robert Keel of Barton, Lincolnshire, Richard Morley of Barton, merchant of the staple of Calais, Thomas Bradley of Barton, yeoman, and John Fereby of Barton, chapman, collectively for £100.²⁰⁰ A few months later, cases were brought against Walter, Abbot of Langley and George Makworth of Empingham, Rutland, gentleman, for 100s, and against Richard Restwold, esquire, for £20.²⁰¹ In addition, de Vere brought a suit against Robert Neubery of St Albans, and two other Hertfordshire men for breaking into his park at the More and taking an unspecified number of onions.²⁰² Another suit against John Forde of Great Oakley, gentleman, for breaking into his park at Great Oakley, and taking hay to the value of 100s.²⁰³ The burst of activity in the records might just have been an outbreak of misdemeanours, but it also might suggest John de Vere was optimising his financial policy and his political authority.

Like John de Vere, Stafford had local influence around the region of Thornbury, which attracted members of the gentry seeking patronage and employment in Stafford's service.²⁰⁴ Members of Stafford's network were able to hold significant roles in

¹⁹⁸ *PL*, VI, p. 143. All of the surviving petitions are in the Paston Letters, although as petitions occurred on a regular basis and their informal nature means that most have not survived.

¹⁹⁹ Cracking down on those who owed debt was a normal activity for the court of the nobility, see Rawcliffe, 'The Great Lord as Peacekeeper', pp. 34-54; Powell, 'Arbitration and the Law', pp. 49-67.

²⁰⁰ TNA, CP40/950, rots. 171d., 507; CP40/951, rot5s. 63, 64d.

²⁰¹ TNA, CP40/950, rots. 171d, 507; Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 169.

²⁰² TNA, CP40/950, rots. 9d, 208.

²⁰³ TNA, CP40/950, rots. 9d, 208.

²⁰⁴ See section 4.2.

governing the surrounding counties. For example, twelve members of his affinity served on commissions of the peace, seven as sheriffs, and nine as Members of Parliament, six were servants to the crown, and hence potentially useful as contacts at court.²⁰⁵ Edward Stafford was appointed to ten different county commissions of peace between 1509 and 1511, all were counties in which he held substantial lands.²⁰⁶ Edward's affinity in county politics ensured his influence in the counties surrounding Thornbury, his main seat of power. His appointments with county commissions established a source of power outside Thornbury. Nevertheless, the castle was a major source of political power for Stafford, and it inevitably functioned as a gathering point for his kinsmen.

Many of these gentlemen aided Stafford in managing his large land holdings. There were 164 estate officials on his payroll receiving annual wages of £493 13s in 1520-21.²⁰⁷ The most important positions were the county stewardships, which he granted to men whose friendship he sought.²⁰⁸ Leading members of the gentry also held a wide variety of other positions within Stafford's estates, such as receivers, deputy stewards, park keepers, foresters, and bailiffs. A dozen sat on the itinerant commissions that supervised local officials, collected revenues, and tried to improve administration on the his properties.²⁰⁹ In addition to the prominent members of the gentry, he employed several gentlemen who held a standing influence within their communities, but were not involved in local politics and had no connection to court.²¹⁰ These men looked after his parks and forests in various counties, and to a lesser extent helped expedite payments of rents and other dues owed to him. It appears Thornbury was a local hub for members of the gentry to seek employment and patronage from Stafford.

²⁰⁵ For a list of those connected to John de Vere and were a part of his affinity, see the appendix in Ross, *John de Vere*, pp. 228-239.

²⁰⁶ 1509-1514 for Buckinghamshire; 1510-1514 for Gloucestershire; 1509-1514 for Herefordshire; 1509-1514 for Kent; 1510-1514 for Shropshire; 1509-1514 for Somerset; 1509-1514 Staffordshire; 1511-1514 for Surrey; 1509-1514 for Warwickshire; and 1511 for Yorkshire (North Riding). *LP Henry VIII*, I (pt. 1), pp. 1534, 1537, 1538-9, 1542-5, 1547.

²⁰⁷ TNA, E36/150; E36/181; *LP Henry VIII*, III, p. 1528 (no. 3695).

²⁰⁸ Such as Stafford's brother-in-law, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, was steward of the duke's property in the lordship of Holderness; one of the duke's son-in-law's father, Thomas Howard, second duke of Norfolk, of his lands in Suffolk and Essex; George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, of his estates in Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire; and another son-in-law's brother, Sir Edward Neville, of his Kent and Surrey properties. *LP Henry VIII*, III, p. 1528 (no. 3695); SRO, D641/1/2/83; TNA, SC6/HenVIII/5853, m. 5.

²⁰⁹ See Harris, *The Staffords*, appendix B for full list of knights and gentlemen serving the duke.

²¹⁰ See Harris, *The Staffords*, appendix C for full list of lesser gentry who held office for the duke.

As discussed above, the land owned by Fitzwilliam spread across the south of England, with the majority concentrated in Sussex and Surrey. Fitzwilliam relied on royal grants from the king to ensure the increase of his landed income, which allowed him to obtain an ample amount of cash in order to buy manors within the region. Although his estates did not number those of John de Vere, the effort to influence the local communities through the ownership of land and estates can be seen in both cases. Early in his political career, Fitzwilliam worked for Cardinal Wolsey. In 1515 he held the Guildford manorial court with Thomas Parr, and in 1518 he became Justice of the Peace for Surrey, where his estates were being built up.²¹¹ As no magnate lived in Surrey the local politics were run by a small group of higher gentry with Fitzwilliam being one of them. When Wolsey fell from grace, Fitzwilliam's career was not affected; instead he allied himself with Cromwell who was a Surrey Justice of the Peace by 1532. Justices of the Peace were an important part of the English local administration, and an appointment to the bench conferred power, or rather it recognised and confirmed existing power.

Influence in the regions was an important part of a nobleman's power source. The regions were where he found his affinity, the members of his household, and where he was able to control administration and politics. The control of administration did not always mean actually being involved in the administration, like Fitzwilliam was in Surrey as a Justice of the Peace, it could also be the control of who was involved. By influencing who was elected as a Member of Parliament or appointed Knight of the Shire or sheriff, the nobleman was promoting his own men who would, in turn, have the magnate's interests in mind. The patronage and support of the local magnate would ensure upward mobility to a local gentleman who would remember the magnate's support when making administrative and judicial decisions.

1.6 Conclusion

Noble power, based on landed estates and local influence, existed regardless of the crown's policy for the entirety of the Middle Ages. However, England, smaller and more centralised than France or other European monarchies, did not have the great

²¹¹ John Guy, 'Wolsey and the Tudor Polity' in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. by Steven J. Gunn and Phillip G. Lindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 54-75.

regional feudatories of France, such as the dukes of Burgundy.²¹² Yet under Henry VII, and perhaps before, the crown pursued a policy of promoting certain nobles in the regions of England and Wales, sometimes at the expense of the other peers or sometimes in the absence of competition, thus creating genuine regional authoritative figures. Once these magnates obtained power and influence in the regions they were expected to perform three main duties, broadly speaking: the suppression of sedition, the raising of troops for service, and the promotion or imposition of law and order. Like other aspects of life at this time, the relationship between the powerful magnate and the crown was a mutual one. In return for the nobleman's loyalty and his control over the regions, the crown, as seen under Henry VII and Henry VIII, rewarded the nobleman with lands, offices, stewardships, and other forms of income and responsibilities. This, in turn, allowed the nobleman to influence local political office holders, MPs, and even other royal officials. A similar mutually beneficial relationship will be seen in later chapters with the lord and those in his household. On a slightly different scale, Chapter Three, will demonstrate the patron-client relationship when examining the lord and the wider community. Again, the relationship helped both parties achieve different goals.

The relationship between crown and magnate can be seen most vividly under Henry VII who had a policy for promoting certain peers within his realm. The first Tudor king's most pressing concern was for security, which he delegated to regional lord whom he trusted. The limitations of royal government meant delegation of office, landed interest, and judicial authority to trustworthy subordinates could both increase the political security in a region and ensure its better government. As Steven Gunn has argued '[for] the royal interest to be able to rely on a single competent and trustworthy manager of local affairs in each area of the country, especially when such a person could build, in his exercise of delegated royal authority, on the [peer's] natural authority in local society'.²¹³ This can be seen in all the case studies. To a lesser extent Henry VIII relied on members of the nobility in the regions, but he needed them to raise troops and lead armies for him, instead of securing the loyalty of the regional communities, like his father. It is clear that royal patronage was by no means the only source of noble

²¹² For example, see Graeme Small, 'Centre and Periphery in late Medieval France: Tournai, 1384-1477', in *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. by Christopher Allmand (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 145-74.

²¹³ Steven J. Gunn, 'Off with their heads: The Tudor Nobility, 1485-1603' in *The House of Lords: A Thousand Years of British Tradition*, ed. by Robert Smith and John S. Moore (London: Smith's Peerage, 1994), pp. 52-65 (p. 63).

power, but it certainly helped. When all the available royal patronage was channelled to a single individual, combined with clear political delegation, it meant that the odds were stacked against even the most powerful of men.

All four of the men held some sort of influence within a region of England or Wales, and more importantly, the regions where they held the most amount of influence were in an area they held the most estates, usually in a concentrated area around their *caput*. Estates were not always enough to secure a region under a semi-autonomous lord. The king's support through royal grants of land and offices, was the most efficient way of gaining control which can be seen particularly well with John de Vere, and to a lesser extent, Fitzwilliam. Although Stafford did not have a large amount of royal support and patronage, the large number of estates and income helped him gain local influence. Sir Rhys and Fitzwilliam did not come from an old family like that of de Vere and Stafford, but both held political sway in a concentrated region where the majority of their estates were located. De Vere and Stafford had very different relationships with the monarchs they served, de Vere and Henry VII had a close relationship resulting in royal patronage and support in the East Anglian region, while Stafford and Henry VIII's relationship did not yield the patronage of the former relationship.

All four men chose a castle as their *caput*, and this was a bold statement directed at those in the surrounding landscape. Castles offered protection, employment, a source of justice and patronage, as well as being a base for the powerful elite. Any individual castle was suspended within a web of tenurial relationships and interplay, and ultimately, it was part of a hierarchy of other estates. At the top of this hierarchy was the *caput*, which would act as a personification of the owner's lordship. Architecturally – and symbolically – it demonstrated to the outside world the owner's lordly stance, privilege, and wealth. The intended audience for this proclamation was the local community in the region. It aided in supporting the leading magnates who were carrying out the king's orders, attracting clients for his affinity, both of which promoted and enhanced his regional influence.

2. The Purpose and Use of the Elite Landscape: The Parks, the Gardens, and the Orchards of an Early Tudor Castle

2.1 Introduction

Each side full, each house at court,
 Orchard, vineyard and white fortress;
 The master's rabbit warren;
 Ploughs and strong steeds of great frame;
 Near the court, even finer,
 The deer park within that field;
 Fresh green meadows and hayfields;
 Neatly enclosed rows of grain;
 Fine mill on a smooth-flowing stream;
 Dovecot a bright stone tower;
 A fish-pond, enclosed and deep,
 Where nets are cast when need be,
 Abounding, no argument,
 In pike and splendid whiting;
 His land a board where birds dwell,
 Peacocks, high stepping herons.²¹⁴

This passage from a late fourteenth-century poem by Welsh poet Iolo Goch describes an idealised demesne landscape. The passage suggests that the landscape features, the animals, and the agricultural buildings, were as much a part of the personification of lordship and noble power as the embattled curtain wall and the crenelated gatehouse. Yet scholarship has not always examined architecture and landscape together. Castle scholarship has tended to neglect the subject of the landscape surrounding castles.²¹⁵ While the founding fathers of landscape history and archaeology had no inclination to examine the castles that were built within the landscapes of their research, whilst simultaneously disregarding the notion of aesthetics by suggesting that parks demonstrated that medieval lords did not have 'even the slightest interest in the appearance of the countryside'.²¹⁶ Since the twentieth century the manipulation of

²¹⁴ *Medieval Welsh Poems*, ed. and trans. by Joseph P. Clancy (London: Four Courts, 2003), p. 250.

²¹⁵ Hugh Braun, *The English Castle* (London: Batsford, 1936); Brown, *English Castles*, pp. 89-105; Thompson, *The Decline of the Castle*; Colin Platt, *The Castle in Medieval England and Wales* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1982); Michael W. Thompson, *The Rise of the Castle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate*; Charles Coulson, *Castles in Medieval Society: Fortresses in England, France, and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Goodall, *The English Castle*.

²¹⁶ Tom Williamson and Liz Bellamy, *Property and the Landscape: A Social History of Landownership and the Landscape* (London: George Philip, 1987), p. 71. For other landscape studies that do not touch on the structures within the grounds, see Osbert G.S. Crawford,

medieval elite landscapes to create symbolic features has been debated by archaeologists and historians alike. Some studies have dealt with single case studies such as the multitude of work on Bodiam Castle in Sussex or Amanda's Richardson's study of Clarendon Palace and park.²¹⁷ Rarely, have studies examined the development of elite landscapes with a wider perspective of the architecture, for instance, Robert Liddiard's *Castles in Context* and Matthew Johnson's *Behind the Castle Gate: From Medieval to Renaissance*.²¹⁸ Oliver Creighton has argued for the existence of a designed landscape from as early as the twelfth century.²¹⁹ Many scholars, including Creighton and Liddiard, have begun to use the term 'designed landscapes' in which extensive areas of ground surrounding elite residences were consciously manipulated on elaborate aesthetic lines.

In the last few years, however, Robert Liddiard has retracted his stance on the term designed landscapes, adeptly arguing that '[m]odern researchers may have read into the medieval landscape rather more sophisticated modes and levels of design than ever really existed'.²²⁰ Instead, Liddiard along with Tom Williamson, have advised archaeologists and historians alike to be cautious when using this term as it evokes the notions of aesthetically designed parks and gardens of the eighteenth century.²²¹ Paul Everson has argued that while we have good evidence for 'carefully manipulated' landscape setting for elite medieval residences, these stand 'in contrast to the aesthetic

Archaeology in the Field (London: Phoenix House, 1953); William G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988). On a national scale: for England, see Leonard M. Cantor, *The English Medieval Landscape* (London: Croom Helm, 1982); *The Medieval Parks of England: A Geography* (Loughborough: Loughborough University of Technology, 1983). For case studies, see Leonard M. Cantor, 'The Medieval Parks of Leicestershire', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 46 (1970-1), 9-24; John Steane, *The Northamptonshire Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975); James Bond, 'Forests, Chases, Warrens and Parks in Medieval Wessex', in *The Medieval Landscape of Wessex*, ed. by Michael A. Aston and Carenza Lewis (Oxford: Oxbow, 1994), pp. 115-158.

²¹⁷ S.M. Oosthuizen and C.C. Taylor, 'John O'Gaunt's House', Bassingbourn, Cambridgeshire: a Fifteenth-Century Landscape', *Landscape History*, 22 (2000), 61-76; Amanda Richardson, *The Forest, Park and Palace of Clarendon, c.1200-c. 1650: Reconstructing an Actual, Conceptual and Documented Landscape* (Oxford: BAR, 2007); C.C. Taylor, Paul Everson, and R. Wilson-North, 'Bodiam Castle, Sussex', *Medieval Archaeology*, 34 (1990), 155-7.

²¹⁸ Matthew Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate: From Medieval to Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2002); Robert Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066-1500* (Bollington: Windgather, 2005).

²¹⁹ Oliver Creighton, *Designs Upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009).

²²⁰ Liddiard and Williamson, 'There by Design?', p. 520.

²²¹ Robert Liddiard and Tom Williamson, 'There by Design? Some Reflections on Medieval Elite Landscape' *Archaeological Journal*, 165 (2008), 520-35 (pp. 520-1).

content of parks and gardens of the eighteenth century and later', because it remains 'unclear that any [medieval examples] are purely or predominantly aesthetic'.²²² The passage that began this chapter by Iolo Goch's poem *Sycharth*, which describes the castle owned by Owain Glen Dwr in Clwyd is a long poem, in which many other aspects of the estate, including barns, enclosed fields and haystacks. These particular features were unlikely to have been designed in any way to enhance their appearance or visibility. This chapter will heed the counsel put forth by Liddiard and Williamson, and will not use the term designed landscapes.

Late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century parks were usually created far before the early Tudor period and therefore, were manipulated by owners for decades, if not centuries. This sort of manipulation of land over time cannot be compared to the designed landscapes surrounding eighteenth-century country homes such as Blenheim and Chatsworth. Consideration will be taken that while the landscape surrounding early Tudor castles may have been intended for aesthetic purposes, parks and gardens were also used for practical, economical, and recreational purposes. There is little doubt that the castle itself was intended to impress the observer, and that it was intentionally positioned within a landscape, controlled by water, fish production, and the seigniorial monopoly over milling, which were all proudly displayed throughout the landscape, as described by Goch in the poem that began this chapter. However, archaeological and documentary evidence does not seem to suggest that these elements were intentionally combined into any overall, predetermined, aesthetic scheme by the lord. Instead the modes of experiencing the castle and its landscape, which might have indicated more clearly an aesthetic project of some sophistication, have been asserted rather than established by scholars.²²³ Although the term 'designed landscapes' will not be used, this chapter does accept that the early Tudor aristocracy found parks, fishponds, mills, and the like, visually pleasing. This is not to say, however, that the form of the landscape was necessarily manipulated in a sophisticated and complex way for a purely aesthetic affect.

In order to investigate the landscape surrounding the castle, this chapter will be structured around the main uses of the parks, gardens, and orchards, found in documents, archaeology, and literature. There were other uses for the landscape, but the

²²² Paul Everson, "Delightfully surrounding with woods and ponds": Field Evidence for Medieval Gardens in England, in *There by Design: Field Archaeology in Parks and Gardens*, ed. by P. Patterson (Oxford: BAR, 1998), pp. 32-8 (p. 38).

²²³ Liddiard and Williamson, 'Designed Landscape', p. 525.

focus will be on the main uses of the landscape in early Tudor society, which can be placed into four separate, but intertwining categories: the use of the landscape for entertainment and recreational purposes; the use of the land as a food source and a possible income producer; the use and enclosure of land; and finally, the use of land to control access to the residence.²²⁴ Although the categories will be examined separately, the landscape has proven just as complex as the castle itself with many different intersecting and overlapping layers that work together to achieve a coherent picture. The landscape features focused on in the present chapter are parks, gardens, and orchards. These features have been identified and labelled as such from maps and documentary evidence, which emphasise the distinct nature of each of these features. Parks are considered the landscape surrounding the castle, they usually consisted of several hundred acres and were populated with deer, and there might have been the presence of other animals in the parks, which will be discussed below.²²⁵ The description of orchards focuses on the fruit trees, as a place for walking, and possibly a source of fresh fruit and vegetables for use in the household. The gardens discussed have a sense of privacy and reservation for the elite, while offering a place to walk through and sit in, and possibly providing herbs and vegetables for cooking.

2.2 Entertainment and Recreation in the Landscape

In the early modern period, those who took the time to consider the subject of recreation often did so by writing advice literature for the benefit of gentlemen and gentlewomen. Through these pamphlets, letters, diaries, and manuals Elaine McKay has traced the word ‘recreation’ from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.²²⁶ She argues that throughout the written evidence the authors all concern themselves with either describing or debating the merits of various modes of recreation. It appears likely that people living in the early modern period were aware not only of the pleasures of recreational pursuits, but also of how these fitted into their lives.²²⁷ McKay’s work has shown that there were six main words commonly used to describe their recreational activities: recreation, sport, refreshment, diversion, exercise, and entertain.²²⁸ All of

²²⁴ Privacy and the landscape will be discussed in section 6.6.

²²⁵ For more information on the use of the landscape for economic purposes, see section 2.3.

²²⁶ Elaine McKay, ‘For Refreshment and Preserving Health’: The Definition and Function of Recreation in Early Modern England’, *Historical Research*, 81 (2008), 52-74.

²²⁷ McKay, ‘Recreation in Early Modern England’, p. 56.

²²⁸ McKay, ‘Recreation in Early Modern England’, p. 56.

these terms, according to McKay, were also used in conjunction with the idea of recreating oneself. For example, in 1584 Thomas Cogan wrote of the benefit of physical recreation, ‘citing Valerius Maximus of Sce[v]ola, “that learned lawyer, who being wearied with law matters, was wont to recreate his minde with Tenise play”’.²²⁹ Activities that recreated one’s mind, body, and soul were an important part of life and as will be demonstrated in the following section many recreational activities took place within the landscape of residences.

Nicholas Cox’s *The Gentleman’s Recreation* (1671) put forward suggestions as to the most suitable forms of recreation pertaining to the reader’s physical, mental and moral wellbeing, and social standing. He suggested that hunting was a ‘manly recreation; because of all others it contributes most to the health and strength of the body, as well as to the clearness and vigour of the mind’, and it ‘inclines men to good acquaintance, and generous society’.²³⁰ James Cleland praised riding, shooting, tennis, and dancing as laudable pastimes for young noblemen, but denounced dicing and stage plays which ‘detract from virtue and add unto vice’.²³¹ Exploring such recreational activities as hunting, gambling, tennis, archery, and tournaments that took place in the landscape, this section will enable a broader understanding of the spaces in which the early Tudor nobility went to recreate themselves.

2.2.1 Hunting as a Sport and Pastime

In his work entitled *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531), Thomas Elyot dedicated a whole chapter to ‘exercises wherby shulde growe both recreation and profite’.²³² Elyot stated that hunting and hawking as ‘a passetyme, gyueth to a man good appetite to his souper. And at the leest waye withdraweth hym from other dalliance, or disportis dishonest, and to body and soule perchance pernicious’.²³³ Indeed, hunting had been an important aspect of elite sporting since ancient times, and during the early Tudor period

²²⁹ McKay, ‘Recreation in Early Modern England’, p. 62; Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (London: Anne Griffin, 1584), p. 18

²³⁰ Nicholas Cox, *The Gentlemen’s Recreation in Four Parts* (London: I. Dawks, 1671), p. 2.

²³¹ James Cleland, *The Institution of a Young Nobleman* (London: R. Bentley, 1683), p. 230. A valuable starting point for recreation is Marcia Vale, *The Gentleman’s Recreation: Accomplishments and Pastimes of the English Gentleman, 1580-1630* (Ipswich: Brewer, 1977).

²³² Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Book Named the Governour, 1531* (Menston: Scolar Press, 1970), fos. 62-74.

²³³ Elyot, *The Book Named the Governour*, fo. 74.

it was a privilege jealously guarded by the elite in the British Isles.²³⁴ Parks and forests were an honoured right, created by the crown through a writ of the Chancery.²³⁵ They were also required a royal licence, and ultimately derived from the royal prerogative of forests.²³⁶ By the later Middle Ages, the hunt had become highly ritualised by the elite as shown in Sir Thomas Chaloner's translation of Desiderius Erasmus's hunting scene in *The Praise of Folly*:

every poor man may cut out an ox or a sheep, whereas such venison may not be dismembered but of a gentleman, who barehanded and set on knees, with a knife prepared properly to that use (for every kind of knife is not allowable), also with certain gestures, cuts a sunder certain parts of the wildbeast, in a certain order very circumstantly.²³⁷

Although Erasmus's work is largely satirical, the exaggeration of the scene is still very important. Hunting was an elite activity, a sport that was not open for just anyone to join. Hunting was only lawful for the nobility and gentility in privileged places – forests and licensed parks – with lesser people merely assisting them as huntsmen and beaters. The sport was very well developed by the fifteenth century with its own rules,

²³⁴ Richard Almond, 'Medieval Hunting: Ruling Classes and the Community', *Medieval History*, 3 (1993), 147-55; Emma Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Aleksander Pluskowski, 'Who Ruled the Forest? An Inter-Disciplinary Approach towards Medieval Hunting Landscapes', in *Fauna and Flora in the Middle Ages: Studies of the Medieval Environment and its Impact on the Human Mind; Papers Delivered at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, in 2000, 2001 and 2002*, ed. by Sieglinde Hartmann (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2007), pp. 291-323; Stephen Miles, *Parks in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Amanda Richardson, 'Riding like Alexander, Hunting like Diana': Gendered Aspects of the Medieval Hunt and its Landscape Settings in England and France', *Gender and History*, 24 (2012), 253-270; Graeme J. White, *The Medieval English Landscape, 1000-1540* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012).

²³⁵ Forests were a very important aspect of medieval England, for more information on the history of forests and woodlands, see Leonard Cantor, 'Forests, Chases, Parks and Warrens', in *The English Medieval Landscape*, ed. by Leonard Cantor (London: Croom Helm, 1982), pp. 56-85; Raymond Grant, *The Royal Forests of England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1990); Christopher Dyer, 'Woodlands and Woodpasture in Western England', in *The English Rural Landscape*, ed. by Joan Thirsk (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 97-121; *Forests and Chases of England and Wales c. 1500-c. 1850: Towards a Survey and Analysis*, ed. by John Langton and Graham Jones (Oxford: St. John's College Research Centre, 2005); Oliver Rackham, *Woodlands* (London: Collins, 2006); Pluskowski, 'Who Ruled the Forest?', pp. 291-323; Dolly Jorgensen, 'The Roots of the English Royal Forest', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 32 (2010), 114-28; John Langton, 'Forests and Chases in Wales and the Welsh Marches: An Exploration of their Origins and Characteristics', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 37 (2011), 263-272.

²³⁶ Daniel Beaver, *Hunting and the Politics of Violence before the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 11

²³⁷ Desiderius Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*, trans. by Sir Thomas Chaloner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 54; Edward Berry *Shakespeare and the Hunt: A Cultural and Social Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 40.

terminology, and manuals.²³⁸ The hunter, moreover, had to know the habits of the beasts to be hunted, how to track them, how to signal to other hunters through horn blowing, and how to butcher the carcasses of the animals he killed, as mentioned in *The Praise of Folly*.

Hunting was important for the nobility both recreationally and socially.²³⁹ Socially, hunting provided the nobility with a common activity in which they could meet and entertain one another. The privilege of being able to hunt, and the common language of rules and words, made the activity an exclusive one that distinguished its participants from other people in society. In 1538, Sir William Fitzwilliam wrote to Thomas Cromwell that ‘with my hawks and dogs, I would visit my neighbours, my lords of Arundel and La Ware’, the letter goes on to show the visit was a social and professional meeting that included hunting.²⁴⁰ This occasion demonstrates how hunting aided in forging social bonds and alliances. Fitzwilliam had some court business to discuss with Arundel and La Ware as his letter to Cromwell suggests, but this business was done over the sport of hunting and hawking. Recreationally, hunting helped avoid idleness and thus sin. In the fifteenth century Edward, duke of York, using the words of Gaston Fébus, comments on this function of the hunt:

The first resouns is for the game causeth oft a man to eschewe [th]e vii deedly synnes. Secoundly men tyn tettir ryding, and more just and more vndyrstondyng, and more appert, and more esye and more vndirtakyng, and bettir knowing of all contrees and of all passages [...] and helthe of man and of his sowle for ho that fleeth [th]e vii dedly synnes [...] shal be saued, than a good huntere shal be saued, and in this world haue joye ynow, and of gladnesse and of solace [...].²⁴¹

²³⁸ Trevor Dodman, ‘Hunting to Teach: Class, Pedagogy, and Maleness in *The Master of Game* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*’, *Exemplaria*, 17 (2005), 413-444; Karen Elizabeth Gross, ‘Hunting, Heraldry, and the Fall in the *Boke of St. Albans* (1486)’, *Viator*, 38 (2007), 191-215; David Scott-MacNab, ‘An Autonomous and Unpublished Version of the *J.B. Treatise* in Exeter Cathedral MS 3533’, *Medium Ævum*, 76 (2007), 70-84; Susan Crane, ‘Ritual Aspects of the Hunt à Force’, in *Engaging with Nature: Essays on the Natural World in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Barbara A. Hanawalt and Lisa J. Kiser (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), pp. 62-84.

²³⁹ William P. Marvin, ‘Slaughter and Romance: Hunting Reserves in Late-Medieval England’, in *Medieval Crime and Social Control*, ed. by Barbara Hanawalt and David Wallace (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), pp. 224-52; Richard Almond and Anthony J. Pollard, ‘The Yeomanry of Robin Hood and Social Terminology in Fifteenth-Century England’, *Past and Present*, 170 (2001), 52-77; Richard Almond, *Medieval Hunting* (Stroud: Sutton, 2003), pp. 167-71.

²⁴⁰ TNA, SP1/136, f. 155.

²⁴¹ Edward, duke of York, *The Master of Game: The Oldest English Book on Hunting*, ed. by William A. and Florence N. Baillie-Grohman (London: Chatoo and Windus, 1909), p. 4.

The passage demonstrates how hunting was seen as a worthy pastime because it kept the hunter away from the seven deadly sins, thus keeping a man – and his soul – healthy.

Hunting could also facilitate friendships and bonding through the act of gift-giving. A letter from 1537 addressed to Lord Lisle from Sir William Fitzwilliam thanked him for the ‘wild swine’ which was ‘delivered at my house at Cowdrey’. In gratitude, Sir William sends ‘a buck for you to Sabbys keye’.²⁴² Gifts of venison were particularly evocative of status and presenting it as a gift was a special favour, whether from the king or from a member of the nobility, and the consumption was frequently reserved for special occasions. The gift of venison was similar to that of actually hunting in that it helped form social bonds and reinforce friendships. Thomas Howard, second duke of Norfolk gave away seventy-five bucks in the year 1515, according to the Framlingham Castle park game roll. It was a celebration year for Howard as his daughter got married, and the gift of a buck symbolised a renewal of alliances to his aristocratic friends, to institutions such as abbeys and priories, and to individuals such as Thomas Coke.²⁴³ Gift-giving was essential to forming networks with kings, neighbours, peers and associates, it forged friendship, sustained relationships between high and low status individuals, demonstrated gratitude for favour, and made a statement about patron-client relations. Linda Levy Peck has argued aptly that power relationship in early modern England operated within a system of both general exchange – the establishment of connection through the bonds represented by gift-giving, hospitality, and a broad understanding of patronage – and specific exchange involved in patron-client connection.²⁴⁴ Gift-giving was understood as the mark of affect, the demonstration of fidelity, and the public expression of honour in a system which

²⁴² TNA, SP3/3, f. 73.

²⁴³ The Park Game Roll is reproduced in John Cummings, *The Hound and Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988), pp. 260-265. For venison in the medieval diet, see Jean Birrell, ‘Deer and Deer Farming in Medieval England’, *Agricultural History Review*, 40 (1992), 112-26; Jean Birrell, ‘Procuring, Preparing, and Serving Venison in Late Medieval England’, in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. by Christopher Woolgar, Dale Serjeantson, and Tony Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 176-88.

²⁴⁴ Linda Levy Peck, ‘For a King Not to be Bountiful were a Fault’: Perspectives on Court Patronage in Early Stuart England’, *Journal of British Studies*, 25 (1986), 33-6. David Wootton has shown how a careful reading of Francis Bacon’s essays on friendship underline the important contrast between personal affinity and clientele in this culture: ‘Francis Bacon: Your Flexible Friend’, in *The World of the Favourite*, ed. by John H. Elliott and Lawrence W.B. Brockliss (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 185-204.

privileged personal relationships above all others.²⁴⁵ Nobles, councillors, gentlemen, and townsmen all expected to give, and in proper circumstances to receive a gift.

Household accounts testify to the purchase of hunting equipment and the payment to those who trained falcons and hawks. From the accounts, we know that John de Vere owned a boar spear, and in 1490 he certainly had a number of hawks as it is recorded that three falconers took a pair of hawks for training at a river for a fortnight.²⁴⁶ Edward Stafford received a pair of greyhounds as recorded in his household accounts of 1509, ‘3s. 4d., to a cordyner of Chepstow for bringing a brace of greyhounds’.²⁴⁷ On two other occasions that year it is recorded that Stafford received greyhounds as a gift.²⁴⁸ Moreover Stafford instructed the keepers of his parks ‘that ye doo [order] almoner of hawkes [...] to be saved for us and meane devised how they may be sent us from yere to yere’.²⁴⁹ And on 20 September 1508, Edward Stafford paid 6s and 8d to James Meyde, labelled ‘falconer’ in the accounts, for luring Stafford’s ‘lanards’,²⁵⁰ and a day later he paid Meyde 20d for presenting him with a quick hart.²⁵¹ Hunting was a way for the nobility to exchange gifts, socialise, and make friendships in a social environment that was reserved only for the elite to participate.

What did the hunt actually entail? The traditional idea of ‘the hunt’ or *par force* hunting on horseback and would potentially require many miles of open terrain.²⁵² It involved the selection, with the aid of a hound, of a single beast – preferably a hart – and its subsequent pursuit. A far more common form of hunting, as suggested by Amanda Richardson was the ‘bow and stable hunt’.²⁵³ In this form of hunting, the quarry was a large number of fallow deer and the hunter was usually an archer – or

²⁴⁵ Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 88.

²⁴⁶ TNA, PROB 11/17, ff. 82-90; William H. St. John Hope, ‘The Last Testament and Inventory of John de Veer, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford’, *Archaeologia*, 66 (1914-15), 310-348 (p. 323); *Household Books*, p. 508. Boar hunting was a common form of hunting for the nobility; see Almond, *Medieval*, pp. 61-89.

²⁴⁷ TNA, SP1/22, f. 65.

²⁴⁸ TNA, SP1/22, f. 65.

²⁴⁹ *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales*, p. 284. The instructions of 1504 are printed in total on pp. 281-86. The original SRO, D 641/1/5/4.

²⁵⁰ A type of hawk. *OED*.

²⁵¹ TNA, SP1/22, f. 65.

²⁵² This type of hunting is often referred to by French hunting manuals. Jane Roberts, *Royal Landscapes: The Gardens and Parks of Windsor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 73; John Cummings, ‘*Veneurs s’en vont en Paradis*: Medieval Hunting and the “Natural” Landscape’, in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe*, ed. by John Howe and Michael Wolfe (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2002), pp. 33-55 (p. 47).

²⁵³ Richardson, ‘Riding like Alexander, Hunting like Diana’, p. 257.

archers – who took up a position at a ‘stand’ located in a tree and took aim as the game was driven within range.²⁵⁴ The 1521 survey of Thornbury Castle estimated the total number of deer in the New Park at 700, in Marlwood Park at 300, and in Estewood Park at 100 fallow deer and fifty red deer.²⁵⁵ Clearly the parkland surrounding Thornbury was well populated with deer and was presumably used for hunting.

Watching the hunt take place was considered a form of recreation. This was usually done from a hunting lodge or tower situated within the park boundaries. One such private lodge was discovered in the last decade approximately 800 metres south-east of Hedingham Castle.²⁵⁶ Earthwork remains and documentary evidence lends some clue to its use within the park. The lodge is located in the ‘Little Park’ or ‘Newe Park’ so labelled on the late sixteenth-century maps commissioned by William Cecil, Lord Burghley who was interested in purchasing the estate from the seventeenth earl of Oxford, Edward de Vere.²⁵⁷ On the 1592 map the lodge is drawn with three closely grouped structures, the principal building appears to be a small house with a chimney, and the others a barn or storehouse.²⁵⁸ To the south of the buildings a single linear pond is depicted. From the documentary evidence it is clear that the pond was located in the Little Park during John de Vere’s residence at Hedingham, because in his household accounts for the year 1501 he paid a ‘Will[ia]m Wedyrby [...] for the stubbing and ryddyng all a long the pale off the long pond in the lyttyl park’.²⁵⁹ The area of the park is given at 201 acres and is drawn with a scattering of trees in small groups and rows; however, much of the park is free from trees, perhaps indicating open areas.²⁶⁰ Although further investigation needs to be undertaken to fully understand the nature of such ‘little parks’, Liddiard has asserted they seem to be ‘private areas either a short distance from,

²⁵⁴ This is the type of hunt familiar in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. by John A. Burrow (London: Penguin, 1987), pp. 53-2 (lines 1320-52). Also see Edward, Duke of York, *The Master of Game*, pp. 38-9; William Marvin, *Hunting Law and Ritual in Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2006), p. 1; Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk*, p. 53-56; Cummins, ‘Medieval Hunting and the “Natural” Landscape’, p. 47; Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, pp. 82-3.

²⁵⁵ TNA, E36/150, m. 19-20.

²⁵⁶ Liddiard and Wells, ‘The Little Park at Castle Hedingham, Essex’, pp. 85-93.

²⁵⁷ TNA, SP46/35, f. 28; TNA, CP25/2/135/1723/33/34ELIZIMICH, Item 74; C66/1392, mm. 30-31; C66/1387, mm. 18-19; CP25/2/135/1725/34ELIZIEASTER, Item 44.

²⁵⁸ ERO, D/DMh M1. Also see Liddiard and Wells, ‘The Little Park at Castle Hedingham’, p. 88, the map is reproduced in the text as Plate VIII.

²⁵⁹ *Household Accounts*, p. 507. The next few entries in the household accounts show John de Vere was constructing some sort of boundary within the Little Park as it states, ‘for the carriage off rayllys, postes, and pale unto the same park’.

²⁶⁰ See 1592 map ERO, D/DMh, M1.

or directly attached to, high-status residential buildings'.²⁶¹ Little parks closely resembled other larger deer parks surrounding elite buildings in that they were enclosed, and contained woodland, grazing and water features. However, their primary function might have been more closely related to a garden in as much as they were private and ornamental environments associated with recreation and pleasure.²⁶²

The tenurial history of the Hedingham estate suggests a date of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century creation of the 'little park'. Inquisitions *Post Mortem* from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries mention only two parks located on the estate.²⁶³ As the 'little park' is labelled on one of the 1592 maps as 'Newe Park', it suggests it post-dates the other two parks on the map labelled as Great Park and Castle Park.²⁶⁴ If the creation is of this date it would fit with the conclusion John de Vere, thirteenth earl of Oxford established the 'little park' as part of his wide sweeping renovations and additions to the site.

As mentioned above, the function of the lodge at Hedingham might be suggested as recreational. The archaeological investigation undertaken by Liddiard suggests the lodge was placed on an artificially created prominent terrace overlooking the pond, which he suggests was far from coincidental and the relationship between these two topographical features was for a visual affect.²⁶⁵ Comments by William Harrison in 1577 support the suggestion that at least part of the Hedingham estate was dedicated to recreation, 'but in diverse places where rich men dwelled sometime in good tenements there be now no houses at all but hopyards and sheds for poles or peradventure gardens, as we may see in Castle Hedingham and diverse other places'.²⁶⁶ As the site on which the castle itself sits was originally built as a motte and bailey castle there is little room for a garden to be placed within the castle walls such as at Thornbury and Cowdray castles. However, the 'little park' lays adjacent to the castle and it might be suggested the 'peradventure gardens' and 'hopyards' mentioned by William Harrison were within the 'little park'.

²⁶¹ Liddiard, 'The Little Park at Castle Hedingham', p. 89.

²⁶² Liddiard, 'The Little Park', p. 89; Stephen Moorhouse, 'The Medieval Parks of Yorkshire: Function, Contents, and Chronology', in *Medieval Park: New Perspectives*, ed. by Robert Liddiard (Macclesfield: Windgather, 2007), pp. 99-127.

²⁶³ TNA, C132/31/1; C133/76/7; C135/153/1; C135/222/45; ERO, D/DU 65/72.

²⁶⁴ ERO, D/DM, M1.

²⁶⁵ Liddiard, 'The Little Park', p. 90.

²⁶⁶ *A Description of England by William Harrison*, ed. by Lothrop Withington (London: Walter Scott, 1876), p. 20

Hunting could be a recreational activity, as many of the early modern writers testified to its benefits, it was a sport for socialising with peers, and it could even be a form of entertainment, particularly, if watching a hunt from a tower within the park. The parks surrounding Hedingham, Carew, Thornbury, and Cowdray were all near the residence. The castle acted as part of the experience of hunting as it was on display throughout the activity. The closeness of the residence to the park also meant that hunting lodges were not needed; the hunting party was already close to the comforts of the castle and could retire back to the residence after the hunt. Hunting in the shadow of an imposing residence reinforced the lord's status and authority to the hunting party. It was an opportunity for a nobleman to showcase his residence, parks, and skill to those in the hunting party or even watching the hunt from a tower.

2.2.2 Gambling, Tennis, Archery, and Tournaments

Gardens like parks would be used for entertainment activities. Thornbury Castle had two gardens within the castle walls; both were relatively large with the privy garden one-third acre and the garden to the east of the Duke of Bedford's lodgings three-quarters of an acre.²⁶⁷ Gardens by the sixteenth century were often very complex not only in the horticultural design, but also architecturally.²⁶⁸ The only description we have of the gardens at Thornbury reveals that they were a knotted design as Edward Stafford paid his gardener, John Wynde, 3*s* and 4*d* to 'finish his garden with knots'.²⁶⁹ The design most likely incorporated the Stafford knot as they are carved throughout the castle particularly around the privy garden walls. Indeed, gardens could be elaborate in design and lay out with architectural features, such as pavilions and covered walkways. In 1501 Henry VII renovated the gardens at Richmond Palace in preparation for the arrival of Catherine of Aragon to England. During the procession after the Anglo-Spanish marriage, a Lancaster herald made an extensive account of Richmond Palace and gardens. The passage below describes the privy garden located just below the king and queen's bedchambers, and it demonstrates the multipurpose of the gardens during the early Tudor period. The herald writes:

²⁶⁷ TNA, E36/150, f. 26; *LP Henry VIII*, III, p. 506 (no. 1286).

²⁶⁸ For more on garden buildings, see Paula Henderson, 'The Architecture of the Tudor Garden', *Garden History*, 27 (1999), 54-72.

²⁶⁹ TNA, SP1/22 f.65. John de Vere also paid a gardener named Richard Monden in the year 1501 according to his household accounts. However, little else is known about the garden or gardener at Hedingham. *Household Accounts*, p. 505.

under the King's windows, Queen's, and other estates, most fair and pleasant garden, with royal knots alleyed and herbed; many marvellous beasts, as lions, dragons, and such other of divers kind, properly fashioned and carved in the ground, right well sanded, and compassed in with lead; with many vines, seeds and strange fruit, right goodly beset, kept and nourished with much labour and diligence. In the longer end of this garden beth pleasant galleries and houses of pleasure to disport in, at chess, tables, dice, cards, bills, bowling alleys, butts for archers and goodly tennis plays, as well to sue the said plays and disports as to behold them so disporting.²⁷⁰

The multi-purpose of Tudor gardens can be seen in this passage.²⁷¹ The passage shows the aesthetically pleasing designs of the garden that made it the 'most fair and pleasant', as there were galleries and alleys to walk in and 'houses of pleasure' in which recreational activities might take place. The garden was meant to impress and entertain the visitor. The entertainment and recreational use of the garden was centred on games, such as chess, gambling, and cards. The privy garden at Thornbury is placed in a similar position as the garden described at Richmond above, just below Edward Stafford's and his wife, Lady Eleanor Percy's, apartment range.

The description of the gardens at Richmond mentions archery and tennis, both of which could be done for recreational purposes. Archery practice had many benefits in early Tudor England, as Roger Ascham, humanist scholar and educationalist, stated it was for personal development and national defence.²⁷² In the mid-fifteenth century archery was accepted and promoted by political writers such as Sir John Fortescue, as national defence depended upon the populace being 'much exercised in shooting'.²⁷³ As a nobleman and war veteran, John de Vere, would have likely been skilled at the longbow or crossbow and it is not surprising the map of Hedingham from 1592 shows de Vere turned the dry moat, which surrounded the inner bailey, into an archery range and tennis court.²⁷⁴ Steven Gunn has shown archery was a sociable activity with both

²⁷⁰ Francis Grose, *The Antiquarian Repertory*, 4 vols (London: E. Jeffery, 1807-09), II, book 3, p. 316.

²⁷¹ It can also be seen at Hampton Court Palace and archaeological evidence from Whitehall Palace which indicates Henry VIII's privy chamber overlooked a walled garden. Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life 1460-1547* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

²⁷² Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus, the Schole of Shootinge Conteyned in Two Bookes* (London: Edward Whytchurch, 1545), sig. DIIIV.

²⁷³ John Fortescue, *On the Laws and Governance of England*, ed. by Shelley Lockwood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 108.

²⁷⁴ ERO, D/DM, M1.

multiple participants and spectators in early Tudor society.²⁷⁵ The archery range at Hedingham could be seen from the Norman keep allowing for spectators indoors whilst the higher ground on either side of the range would allow for spectators parallel to the practice range. On the other side of the dry moat at Hedingham was a tennis court. One of the first purpose built tennis courts in England was at Richmond Palace built by Henry VII in 1492.²⁷⁶ An entry in John de Vere's receiver-general's account notes the payment of 9s to two men for the carrying of a certain quantity of 'sopeashes pro le Tennesplay'.²⁷⁷ From the eastern windows of the Norman keep both the tennis court and archery range would be visible, it might be suggested that the recreation of tennis was not only participating in the sport, but was watching and gambling like that of hunting.

Gambling did not always involve a spectator, but might involve dicing or chess as mentioned in the passage about Richmond, '[i]n the longer end of this garden beth pleasant galleries and houses of pleasure to disport in, at chess, tables, dice'.²⁷⁸ From Stafford's household accounts it appears he would play dice with anyone, from his servant named 'Chomley' who received 6s and 8d for winning against Stafford to 'my lord of Burgoyne, and at my lord Montaigne's, at dice' paying £15 to both of them after he lost.²⁷⁹ No indication as to where the gambling was taking place is mentioned in the records except at one point the accounts for the year 1519 state, 'in my new place with duke of Suffolk and the Frenchmen' who received between them £76, 1s and 2d for winning.²⁸⁰ The accounts indicate that Stafford was at Thornbury when the gambling took place, and it might even be suggested that like the gardens at Richmond, Thornbury had similar 'houses of pleasure' in which gambling and other recreational games might occur.

Cowdray Castle featured a sixty-five metre square garden. In the south-west corner of the garden, immediately above the river bank, stands a small, square, brick and stone garden pavilion with a pitched, tiled roof. The pavilion is thought to date from the sixteenth or seventeenth century.²⁸¹ In a map of 1712 a second matching pavilion is located 200 metres further east from the pavilion that survives today; this places a

²⁷⁵ Steven Gunn, 'Archery Practice in Early Tudor England', *Past and Present*, 209 (2010), 53-81 (p. 61).

²⁷⁶ Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, pp. 179, 182-90.

²⁷⁷ ERO, D/Dpr 139, m. 4.

²⁷⁸ Grose, *The Antiquarian Repertory*, II, book 3, p. 316.

²⁷⁹ TNA, SP1/22, f. 65.

²⁸⁰ TNA, SP1/22, f. 65.

²⁸¹ St John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory*, p. 33-4.

pavilion on either side of the southern part of the garden. The enclosed garden walls stand at full height around five metres and there is evidence to suggest that it was crenelated, but they have now been levelled. It is hard to say what the garden pavilion was used for during the sixteenth century; however, they might have been similar to the ‘houses of pleasure’ at Richmond, a place to socialise, gamble, or recreate oneself.

As large open spaces, parks might be used for tournaments. Temporary pavilions were set up for the five-day tournament that was held at Carew Castle in 1506 to celebrate the first anniversary of Sir Rhys’s election into the Order of the Garter.²⁸² The sole surviving account of the tournament is contained in *The Life of Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, written in the first half of the seventeenth century.²⁸³ The account states, the men ‘of prime marke weare all lodged within the castle’ while the lower ranks were housed in ‘tentes and pavillions’ that were ‘pitched in the parke, neere to the castle, wherare they quartered all the time, everie man according to his qualities’.²⁸⁴ The park closest to the castle appeared to have hosted the guests whose rank did not allow them to reside within the castle. John Leland and the attainder’s survey from 1532 confirm the placement of the parks close to the castle. Leland comments that ‘cumming from [Lamphey] towarde Tinbighe I rode by a ruinus waulle of a parke sumtime longing to Syr Rhese, now voide of deer. In the parke is very little or no hye woode, but shrubbis and fyrris, like as is in the .ii. parkes about Carew, waullid with stones’.²⁸⁵ The 1993-5 archaeological excavations did confirm Leland’s report of a stone walled park along the limits of the deer park associated with Lamphey Palace.²⁸⁶ The attainder’s survey only mentions two walled parks belonging to the castle, one of the parks was close to the castle walls with a circumference of one mile, and the second had a circumference of two miles.²⁸⁷

²⁸² For more information on the 1506 tournament, see Thorstad, “St. George, his pilgrimage to St David’s”, pp. 7-18.

²⁸³ The *Life* was first published in its entirety in 1796 in the inaugural volume of *The Cambrian Register*. The original manuscript has disappeared; however, several extracts from the original do survive. The author of the *Life* was Sir Rhys’s direct descendant, Henry Rice (c. 1590-c. 1651). I have written about the problems with using this source, but also the value of its record for the tournament, see Thorstad ‘Tournament of 1506’, pp. 7-21.

²⁸⁴ Rice, ‘Life of Sir Rhys’, p. 249. For more information on guest accommodation, see section 5.5.

²⁸⁵ John Leland, *John Leland’s Itinerary: Travels in Tudor England*, ed. by John Chandler (Stroud: Sutton, 1988), pp. 115-6. For the two parks, enclosures and columbarium in 1555, see TNA, LR1/299 fol. 18-19.

²⁸⁶ *Carew Castle Archaeological Project 1994*, p. 33.

²⁸⁷ TNA, E36/151 fo. 7.

Carew Castle was clearly surrounded by parkland that Sir Rhys used for hunting and accommodating those who attended his festivities. The account suggests that the parks were used for the actual tournament as a temporary tiltyard was built, ‘he [Sir Rhys] went into the parke, where a tilt was made readie for the purpose’.²⁸⁸ The account of the tournament does not specify if the accommodation of the guests and the temporary tiltyard were in the same park or not; however, both the accommodation and the tiltyard would need a large open area suggesting the park in which they were built was not woodland. The account does tell us that ‘Sir Rice leads his noble guests into the parke a hunting, where they killed divers bucks, all which he bestowed among them towards the finishing out of the festival meeting’.²⁸⁹ It is clear that the parks surrounding Carew Castle had a variety of purposes and were used to entertain guests in the form of tournaments and hunting, while at the same time, it provided accommodation for lower status guests and perhaps the affinity of higher status guests who were accommodated in the castle. The park that held the temporary tiltyard needed to be cleared of trees this park might have resembled that of the ‘Little Park’ at Hedingham that is more of a pleasure ground than woodland landscape.

The recreational aspect of the landscape surrounding castles in the early Tudor period came in a variety of different forms and activities, but they were centred on the scenery, whether it was the scenery of the residence itself while hunting in a nearby park, or the scenes and smells of the garden while playing dice. The landscape as a space for entertainment and recreation was an important part of a nobleman’s lifestyle. It spoke of grandeur and largesse as well as wealth and status. The landscape facilitated the exchange of gift-giving, particularly in regards to hunting. The giving of venison, hunting equipment, and hounds was a way for the nobility to interact with one another. This interaction might lead to friendships and alliances. Parks, gardens, and orchards served as an arena in which the elite could display their abilities in a variety of activities from hunting to tournaments. The multifaceted nature of the landscape meant that it could be used for practical and resourceful purposes as well.

2.3 The Landscape as a Food Source and Income Producer

Besides recreation, the landscape could provide an economic benefit to the owner. Economic motivations, such as the control of pasture land and the selling of woods and

²⁸⁸ Rice, ‘Life of Rice ap Thomas’, p. 245.

²⁸⁹ Rice, ‘Life of Rice ap Thomas’, p. 257.

waste, have played instrumental roles in the study of parks. However, two very different strands of argument have developed about the significance of the agricultural and industrial activities that took place in parks, woodland, and forests. On one side of the debate, scholars highlight the ‘economic contribution’ of parks may have outweighed their ‘sporting value’.²⁹⁰ On the other side, it has been expressed that the landscape was an expense and a drain on the resources and argue that it was more about the display of wealth and status.²⁹¹ This section will demonstrate that the exploitation of parks could easily deplete the valuable resources, but if, like Stafford, the owner was careful, the economic value could benefit the lord’s coffers.

The enclosure of land by a lord was not an uncommon occurrence demonstrating the value of the enclosed land for the nobility.²⁹² Both Edward Stafford and Sir Rhys ap Thomas allegedly illegally enclosed land of their own tenants. Sir Rhys ap Thomas was accused of unscrupulous acquisition of properties for land by Elis Gruffydd, a Flintshire chronicler:

And indeed many men regarded his death [i.e. the execution of Rhys ap Gruffydd in 1531] as Divine retribution for the falsehoods of his ancestors, his grandfather and great grandfather, and for their oppression and wrongs. They had many a deep curse from the poor people who were neighbours, for depriving them of their houses, lands and riches...[N]o common people owned land within twenty miles from the dwelling of old Sir Rhys son of Thomas [Carew Castle], that if he desired such lands he would appropriate them without payment or thanks...²⁹³

Evidence from the *Life of Sir Rhys ap Thomas* seems to corroborate the assertion by the chronicler of the acquisition of land by Sir Rhys. It states that Sir Rhys bargained with his tenants making an arrangement whereby he ensured to supply horses and horsemen when the tenants were expected to turn out for knight’s service in exchange for ‘certain

²⁹⁰ Cantor, ‘Forests, Chases, Parks and Warrens’, p. 77.

²⁹¹ Christopher Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp. 114-6.

²⁹² Robert Ellickson, ‘Property in Land’, *Yale Law Journal*, 102 (1993), 1315-1400; Cora Weaver, ‘From Private Pursuit to Public Playground: The Enclosure of Malvern Chase’, *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 16 (1998), 207-19; John B. Weller, ‘A Fifteenth Century Enclosure: The Little Highfield in Minks Eleigh of 1450’, *Suffolk Review: Bulletin of the Suffolk Local History Council*, 40 (2003), 23-34; Edward Martin, ‘Where most inclosures be’: The Making of the East Anglian Landscape’, in *Landscape History After Hoskins, 2: Medieval Landscape*, ed. by Mark Gardiner and Stephen Rippon (Macclesfield: Windgather, 2007), pp. 122-136; Donald Leech, ‘By the evidence of this city’: Enclosing Land and Memory in Fifteenth-Century Coventry’, *Medieval History Journal*, 15 (2012), 171-196.

²⁹³ Francis Jones, ‘Sir Rhys ap Thomas: The Blood of the Raven’, *Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and Field Club*, 29 (1939), 29-33 (pp. 31-2).

patches of land within their estates'.²⁹⁴ It seems clear that Sir Rhys was eager to impark land owned by his tenants sometimes without regard to their welfare.²⁹⁵

Similarly, the inquiry of enclosure of 1517 found Stafford enclosed 172 acres of demesne and ninety-eight acres of land occupied by copyholders for his New Park in 1508.²⁹⁶ Seven years later he enlarged it by adding a further 116 acres of demesne and forty-seven of pasture land which again was occupied by customary tenants. At the same time he added 164 acres of demesne and sixteen acres of pasture to Marlwood Park.²⁹⁷ Tenants complained that twenty-eight tenures, parts of a further forty tenures as well as two freeholds had been taken into Stafford's parks to 'the utter undoing of your pouer compaynauts, the kyngs tenaunts'.²⁹⁸ The survey of 1521 discusses the plights of the tenants:

The late duke of Buckingham haith enclosed into the same [New] parke divers mennes lands aswell of freehoolde as copyhoode and neo recompense as yet is made for the same. And lately he haith also enclosed into the same park two fair tenements with barnes and other houses well buylded with stoon and slate with 500 acres of lande and as yet the tennents continue in the same. Wherein of necessities some redress muste be aither in amoving the said tenements from oute of the parke with convenient recompense or ells in taking ynne the pale as it stoode afore.²⁹⁹

The disgruntled tenants estimated that rents and farms worth £44 19s and 3d were decayed because of the enclosures done by Stafford. From the information provided by the enclosure inquiry in 1517 and the 1521 survey, we can see Stafford was enclosing pasture land from his tenants. Unfortunately, neither the inquiry nor survey mentioned what Stafford was using the pasture land for except that it became part of one of his parks.

Perhaps one reason for the need to enclose such large amounts of land was for the raising of livestock. This helped provide meat for large households. The 1521

²⁹⁴ Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 73; Rice, 'Life of Sir Rice ap Thomas', p. 191.

²⁹⁵ For more information on the effect of illegal enclosure, see Miles, *Parks in Medieval England*, pp. 158-179.

²⁹⁶ Isaac S. Leadam, 'The Inquisition of 1517: Inclosure and Evictions', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1892), 187-188.

²⁹⁷ Leadam, 'The Inquisition of 1517: Inclosure and Evictions', pp. 187-188.

²⁹⁸ TNA, SP1/22, f. 97. John Daunce was a leading civil servant and one of the outer circles of Henry VIII's councillors. He was appointed general surveyor in 1517. Since escheated lands were administered by the court of general survey, it is logical that the tenants petitioned him in this matter. Geoffrey R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), pp. 46, 51, 336.

²⁹⁹ TNA, E36/150, ff. 19-20.

survey states that the ‘Newe Park’ at Thornbury had ‘plenty of wood but many hegys trees herbs of thorne and great elms’, as well as ‘herbage ther is goodly and plentious’.³⁰⁰ The herbage within the new park might refer to either a garden of herbs or vegetables or low-growing plants used for grazing livestock. Either way the herbage most likely supplied seasoning or meat for Edward Stafford’s table. The household accounts and books of Stafford show the quantity of meat consumed by his household. For example, Christopher Woolgar has estimated that between the years 1503 and 1504, Edward Stafford and his household consumed 51,989 lbs of cattle (65.7 per cent of their diet), with sheep as the second largest animal eaten (25,679 lbs or 32.5 per cent of their diet).³⁰¹ The household accounts for Fitzwilliam indicate that livestock and ‘hydes and calveskyns’ were sold for profit at Cowdray. Ten oxen were sold to Henry Exall of Coventry for £9, 8s, ten ‘oxe hydes’ sold for 2s per hyde, and ‘v calveskynnes price le pece ijd’.³⁰² Both Stafford’s and Fitzwilliam’s household accounts show that meat was being consumed in large quantities and they could be sold for profit either as livestock or as hides.

Another source of food was fishponds. Hedingham and Thornbury castles had ponds within one of the parks near the castle site. On the 1592 map of Hedingham just south of the castle it appears there are five ponds of varying sizes all located very near to each other. At Thornbury, the New Park had ‘xiii proper poundes well waterd with a spring being enclosed with a pale’.³⁰³ Thirteen ponds within one park that the surveyors stated was four miles around seems to suggest fish production was taking place. Like many of the other landscape features within and around castles, freshwater ponds were privately owned and a guarded resource for the elite.³⁰⁴ It is not surprising that the ponds as mentioned as being enclosed with a pale as this is often the case as fishponds ‘were associated with the physical barriers that helped to separate the aristocracy from the rest of society’.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁰ TNA, E36/150, m. 19.

³⁰¹ Only 1,411 lbs of pig were eaten or 1.8 per cent of the diet. Christopher Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 134; SRO, D641/1/3/8. For numbers of household members, see section 4.2.

³⁰² TNA, E101/518/46.

³⁰³ TNA, E 36/150, m. 20.

³⁰⁴ Dyer, *Everyday Life*, pp. 101-2.

³⁰⁵ Dyer, *Everyday Life*, p. 110.

Salted and fresh fish were a key component in the elites' diet during Lent, and the latter would be given to guests as a prestigious course during meals.³⁰⁶ The most prominent species at this time were bream, roach, and carp.³⁰⁷ Fresh water fish were considered a delicacy even for the nobility of England as the construction and maintenance of fishponds was extremely expensive.³⁰⁸ The ponds themselves were a status symbol and the fish within them were highly prized. From 1462 onward, John Howard, later duke of Norfolk, recorded the stock of his own fish within the ponds around his manor.³⁰⁹ Howard's extensive recording of his fish demonstrates their importance for the fifteenth-century elite. They provided a fresh food source, a special dish for a high-status guest, and given as prized gifts.

Gardens and orchards were another source of food for the English nobility by producing fruit and vegetables. However, documents providing evidence that this actually happened are scarce. Most gardens and orchards were worked by members of the household and the produce was eaten directly ensuring that no outside labour was hired, and no sale or purchase was necessary, and therefore, leaving little to no traces in the historical records. The household accounts for Edward Stafford and John de Vere remain elusive, mentioning very little about the produce eaten at Thornbury or Hedingham. However, Stafford's household account for the year 1508 shows him paying, or tipping, 8*d* to three maidens of Kainsham for bringing him hawthorn berries from his orchard.³¹⁰ Later that year, the accounts record 5*s* was given to a servant who presented Stafford with vessel of salad oil suggesting he was eating an assortment of vegetables.³¹¹ The location of the orchard at Thornbury might provide a clue to its primary use. It was accessed through the kitchen and perhaps the new sixteenth-century lodgings which no longer survive. The orchard's close proximity to the kitchens might suggest it was primarily used to supply food for Stafford's table. The evidence from Stafford's household accounts as well as the location of the orchard seems to suggest he

³⁰⁶ Christopher K. Currie, 'Fishponds as Garden Features, c. 1550-1750', *Garden History*, 18 (1990), 22-46 (p. 23).

³⁰⁷ Dale Serjeantson and Christopher Woolgar, 'Fish Consumption in Medieval England', in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. by Chris Woolgar and Dale Serjeantson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 102-30 (pp. 125-6).

³⁰⁸ Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 120.

³⁰⁹ Charles F. Hickling, 'Prior More's Fishponds', *Medieval Archaeology*, 15 (1971), 118-123; Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 121.

³¹⁰ TNA, SP1/22, f. 65. For more information about tipping servants, see Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 26.

³¹¹ TNA, SP1/22, f. 65.

was using the orchard to supply fruit and possibly vegetables for his table. Evidence of Hedingham's orchard also shows that it just below the kitchen buildings, perhaps, suggesting a similar use.

By providing food for the lord's household, the landscape might have saved the lord some money, and it could have generated a small income. Marlwood Park at Thornbury, was said to contain both '[her]bage and pannage'³¹² which was 'good and competent plentiful and by estimacon will make yerely v. marks towards the kepars wages'.³¹³ Herbage was used to graze livestock such as sheep and cattle while pannage was used to graze pigs. The surveyors seem to suggest the herbage and pannage would help pay for the keeper of the park's wages on a yearly basis. It is hard to tell whether they were referring to the livestock that grazed on the herbage and pannage or the actual undergrowth and plants.³¹⁴ As there is no further detail given in surviving accounts, it can be concluded the livestock in the parks was at the very least saving Edward Stafford money on wages and food supply for his large household.

Furthermore, woodland areas inside the parkland were often used for securing supplies of timber, fuel, and fodder. These commodities were expensive to transport and not always readily available.³¹⁵ If the nobility were imparking land containing woodland it would suggest that the creation of parkland was partly to preserve and utilise wood-pasture as a useful resource.³¹⁶ In the valor of 1521, which accompanied the attainder's survey, Edward Stafford's woods were valued at £4,525.³¹⁷ It listed nine forests, twenty-eight manors or lordships that included woods, and twenty-four parks, many including woodland. Income from woodland came from two places: payments for rights of agistment, herbage and pannage in the forests, and profits from the sale of wood.

³¹² *Pannage*. *OED*.

³¹³ TNA, E36/150, m. 20.

³¹⁴ A similar statement is made in regards to Estewood Park at Thornbury, the surveyors state, 'the [her]bage of the same by estimacon besides keeping of the said 500 falowe der and fifty red dere will make yerely viii. towards the charge and fees to the kepere'. TNA, E36/150, m. 20.

³¹⁵ Royal gifts of timber for building and dead trees for fuel were very numerous, see David L. Farmer, 'Marketing the Produce of the Countryside, 1200-1500', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, ed. by Edward Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 324-430 (pp. 409-10); Christopher Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: The Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester, 680-1540* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 70; TNA, C133/22, n. 1; C133/118/17, n. 4; C134/97/4, n. 3.

³¹⁶ James Bond, *Somerset Parks and Gardens: A Landscape History* (Tiverton: Somerset Books, 1998), p. 29; *Monastic Landscapes* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), p. 179; Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, p. 204; Angus J.L. Winchester, 'Hill Farming Landscapes of Medieval and Northern England', in *Landscape: The Richest Historical Record* (Amesbury: Society for Landscape Studies, 2000), pp. 75-84 (pp. 82-3).

³¹⁷ TNA, E36/181

Another way woodland could help save money was by supplying timber for building work. Building accounts show oaks were felled in Marlwood in 1512 to be used in the building of Thornbury.³¹⁸ As oak was a highly prized timber it would suggest they were being used for a high-status chamber within the castle. Excess wood might also be sold for a small profit, and in 1500 and 1504, Edward Stafford sent commissioners to survey the woods in the lordships they visited to ascertain ‘what sale without distrucion might be made of the same and yn what yeris’.³¹⁹ Clearly, Stafford knew selling wood was profitable, but it required great care to not exhaust the resource. The profits earned by Stafford from his woodlands are hard to value as it changed every year and the records are incomplete. For example, in 1513 the yearly profit was £45, but in 1514 it was £347 and 17s.³²⁰ Underwood was the only constant for Stafford and each year he sold £13, 6s, and 8d worth to the lordship of Kimbolton.³²¹ In Fitzwilliam’s household account it states, ‘half bales of woad [...] sold’ for £74, 6s, and 2d.³²² He also sold 240 ‘lodes of ffyre wood’ for 100s, 4d to ‘dyverse persones’.³²³ The evidence from Thornbury and Cowdray should not be thought of as uncommon.³²⁴ By producing meat, fish, fruit and vegetables adjacent to the castle the lord was saving time and money with a readily available source of food or the selling of excess wood. The nobility were quick to enclose the land that surrounded their estates. From the numerous complaints and accusations against him, it appears Stafford was particularly eager to impark land. This suggests that land was of some use or importance to the nobility.

2.4 Enclosing the Landscape: Control and Status

As a result of the high status connotations that landscape features carry they were usually enclosed with some sort of barrier. This physical barrier was a manifestation of the social barrier between the aristocracy and those lower down the social scale. From the 1521 survey of Edward Stafford’s lands we know at least part of the orchard at Thornbury was enclosed as the survey states ‘the oter parte the said orcharde is

³¹⁸ SRO, D641/1/2/205.

³¹⁹ *Marcher Lordships*, p. 266.

³²⁰ SRO, D1721/1/6, ‘Book of Information’, f. 19.

³²¹ TNA, E36/150, f. 67.

³²² TNA, E101/518/46.

³²³ TNA, E101/518/46.

³²⁴ Other examples survive indicating this trend was not uncommon, see Milesen, *Parks in Medieval England*, pp. 72-81.

enclosed w[i]t[h] [...] pale' of hedges.³²⁵ Barriers such as pales or walls were a physical statement to those on the outside. Pales, whether built out of stone or hedges, would shield the outsiders from viewing what went on within. The orchard at Thornbury appears to have had inner boundaries as well as outer. The 1521 survey does not specifically mention the orchard was enclosed it does state 'from the said orchard are divers posterons [postern gates] [...] to goe and entre into a goodly parke'.³²⁶ A postern gate would suggest the orchard was enclosed although no surviving wall remains. This was not uncommon, a detached moated orchard complete with an entranceway embellished with martial-style architecture was an appurtenance to the bishop of Durham's manor house at Howden in Yorkshire, East Riding.³²⁷

The crenelated wall and enclosed garden for the nobility were important features of any early Tudor residence. In order to understand why areas within the residence such as the garden needed crenelated walls we must answer such questions as: who could see the wall from both the inside and outside? Who were the crenellations and high wall meant for? At Cowdray, the garden is located to the south of the castle itself and is not immediately connected to the main castle. However, the garden would have been seen from the south range which housed the household departments and the household staff accommodation above. The walled garden could also be seen from the southern garden pavilions which overlooked both the gardens to the north and the deer park and St Ann's Hill to the south.³²⁸ Likewise, at Thornbury the eastern garden wall would have been seen from the new range of lodgings built by Edward Stafford called the 'New Building' in the building accounts, located in the north-eastern area of the site. This would have housed the noble guests who were entertained at the castle. From the eastern windows the garden would have been visible for the guests' pleasure. The outer wall surrounding both the eastern and privy gardens abuts the parish churchyard of St Mary's. In 1514, Stafford received a licence to found a college next to the church of St Mary's, for one dean, a sub-dean, eight secular priests, four clerks, and eight choristers, in honour of 'the Blessed Virgin Mary; and mortmain licence for that college to acquire

³²⁵ TNA, E36/150, m. 19.

³²⁶ TNA, E36/150, m. 19.

³²⁷ Creighton, *Designs Upon the Land* p. 75; H.E. Jean Le Patourel, *The Moated Sites of Yorkshire* (London: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 1973), p. 113.

³²⁸ St Anne's Hill was excavated in 1991 and 1997-8 and found evidence of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery as well as prehistoric activity. John Magilton, 'Excavations at St Ann's Hill, 1994', in *Midhurst*, ed. by John Magilton and Spencer Thomas (Chichester: Chichester District Archaeology, 2001), pp. 26-48.

from him or other lands to the yearly value of 300l'.³²⁹ The crenelated walls at Thornbury and Cowdray were symbolic of the lord's authority and martial skill, while promoting the noble fashion of martial-style architecture.

Another way to enclose the landscape was through the use of trees.³³⁰ They provided a source of seclusion by shielding the residence from the outside world, while at the same time representing antiquity and past generations.³³¹ At least from the sixteenth century the owners of newly built properties incorporated 'ancient' trees into their landscape to evoke a certain maturity to their residence and a sense of the owner's social stability and status.³³² A later survey of Cowdray Park states that 'ancient oaks gave place to formal clumps of tress; the shady walks and recesses' and again 'a considerable space of ground which has been enclosed and laid out in walks surrounded by Yewes of great antiquity'.³³³ Although the surveys are from a much later date they might suggest Fitzwilliam either planted already mature trees in order to aggrandise his estate, or he planted new trees for the future owners of Cowdray so that by the eighteenth century the trees looked 'ancient'.

The legal enclosure of property was a sign of the privileges guarded by the nobility. Parks were usually enclosed using pales, hedges, walls, or ditches which marked the terrain used for hunting. The enclosure of parks was a way for the nobility

³²⁹ TNA, C53/200, m. 4; *LP Henry VIII*, I, p. 1365 (no. 3226: 3). There is no evidence to suggest the college was ever started before Edward Stafford's death.

³³⁰ Trees have long been associated with magical occurrences in literary works of the Middle Ages, see Oliver Rackham, 'The Medieval Countryside of England: Botany and Archaeology', in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses in Place in Western Europe*, ed. by John Howe and Michael Wolfe (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), pp. 13-32; Lindsay Diggelmann, 'Hewing the Ancient Elm: Anger, Arboricide, and Medieval Kingship', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 40 (2010), 249-272; Tamsin Rowe, 'Bless, O Lord, this fruit of the new trees': Liturgy and Nature in England in the Central Middle Ages', *Studies in Church History*, 46 (2010), 53-65; Sergey Ivanov, 'Three Colours of the Tree', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 59 (2012), 119-128.

³³¹ Creighton, *Designs Upon the Land*, pp. 75-6; Douglas Davies, 'The Evocative Symbolism of Trees', in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, ed. by Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 32-42 (p. 32-3).

³³² Oliver Rackham, 'Pre-existing Trees and Woods in Country-House Parks', *Landscapes*, 5 (2004), 1-15 (p. 5-9).

³³³ Although these surveys are of mid-eighteenth century date, a reference to the walkways at Cowdray Park is mentioned in an account of Queen Elizabeth I's stay at the castle. BL, Add. MS 5690, f. 25; James Dallaway, *A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex*, 2 vols (London: Bensley, 1815), I, p. 244; Elizabeth Heale, 'Contesting Terms: Loyal Catholicism and Lord Montague's Entertainment at Cowdray, 1591' in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. by Jayne E. Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 189-206.

to mark out their property, keep potential poachers away, and keep their deer population within the parks. A crenelated garden wall was most likely not for defensive purposes, instead it was meant to mark out the privilege of owning a private garden. Enclosure added a layer of privacy to the residence, particularly if there were multiple parks surrounding the residence, while a garden or orchard enclosure ensured that those within the landscape were separated from the rest of the property usually with the use of a wall.

2.5 Controlling Access to the Interior and Exterior of the Estate

Visual representation of power constructed by the nobility included the ability to control access through the landscape. This was often done through processional walkways and ceremonial entrances. Architectural historians such as Paula Henderson and Mark Girouard have explored the relationship between residences and access routes arguing that processional entrance ways were designed to showcase the most impressive features of a residence.³³⁴ Landscape archaeologists have recently started to explore a similar theory concerning medieval residences of the English elite, arguing that access routes to the residence and architectural design of the residence were meant to impress the visitor whilst giving full control to the lord. As previously mentioned in the Introduction, Bodiam Castle has most famously received the most attention from archaeologists and historians alike. Scholars have argued that Bodiam and its surrounding landscape were intentionally designed by the owner, Sir Edward Dallingridge, to impress the visitor with sights from all sides of the castle while directing the visitor around his designed landscape, which personified his lordship.³³⁵ Others have argued that Bodiam was built for the sole purpose of defence, usually citing the passage in the licence to crenellate ‘may construct and make thereby a castle for the defence of the adjacent country for resistance against our enemies [the French]’, and

³³⁴ Paula Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden: Architecture and Landscape in the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978).

³³⁵ Turner, ‘Bodiam, Sussex: True Castle or Old Soldier’s Dream House?’, pp. 267-77; Coulson, ‘Bodiam Castle: Truth and Tradition’, pp. 3-15; Charles Coulson, ‘Some Analysis of the Castle of Bodiam, East Sussex’, in *Medieval Knighthood, 4: Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference, 1990*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 51-107; Christopher Whittick, ‘Dallingridge’s Bay and Bodiam’s Castle Millpond: Elements of a Medieval Landscape’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 131 (1993), 119-23; Everson, ‘Bodiam Castle, East Sussex’, pp. 79-84.

therefore, the landscape was not intentionally designed for aesthetic purposes.³³⁶ The two extreme sides of the debate over Bodiam's "true purpose" are not helpful in the understanding of castles or the surrounding landscape. A more balanced approach must be taken in order to gain a better understanding of the landscape as a whole and its relationship with the architecture.

The routes by which these buildings were approached and the ways in which access to their gardens and settings were managed could convey an element of theatre.³³⁷ The elite landscapes which have been described in the previous sections were observed in active movement, by foot or saddle. Medieval literary and art-historical sources remind us that this type of visual engagement with the scenery represented a way of thinking about the landscape.³³⁸ Viewing the landscape is part of the chivalric setting recounted in the fourteenth-century poem, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, which Liddiard has suggested was emulated around late-medieval castles to provide the idealised setting.³³⁹ The almost cinematic passage describes the knight who approaches Sir Bertilak's castles which suddenly came upon him: occupying a knoll above an open glade, with woodland scenery framed a multi-towered structure that 'schemered and schon' behind a moat.³⁴⁰ The idea of looking upon the castle from afar is a well accustomed notion in castle studies, but what if we turned this notion around? Do the window placements and spatial arrangements within the castle suggest that they were designed to view the landscape from inside the castle?

Windows played an instrumental role in framing the visual experience of elite settings. In the early-fifteenth-century poem *The Kingis Quair*, describes the gardens and a small park as seen from the upper part of one of Windsor Castle's mural towers:

Now was there maid fast by the touris wall
A gardyn faire, and in the cornere set
Ane herbere grene, with wandis long and small
Railit about; and so with treis set
Was all the place, and hawthorn hegis knet,

³³⁶ TNA, C66/320 m. 22.

³³⁷ Faulkner, 'Castle Planning in the Fourteenth Century', pp. 130-46; Fairclough, 'Meaningful Constructions', pp. 348-66; King, 'The Organisation of Social Space in Late Medieval Manor Houses', pp. 104-24; Creighton, *Designs Upon the Land*, p. 167.

³³⁸ Laura L. Howes, 'Narrative Time and Literary Landscape in Middle English Poetry', in *Inventing Medieval Landscape: Senses of Place in Western Europe*, ed. by John Howe and Michael Wolfe (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), pp. 192-207 (p. 205).

³³⁹ Liddiard, *Landscapes of Lordship*, p. 118.

³⁴⁰ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 38 (lines 774-2); Ralph Elliott, 'Landscape and Geography', in *A Companion to the Gawain-Poet*, ed. by Derek Brewer and Jonathon Gibson (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), pp. 105-17 (p. 107).

That lyf was none, was walking there forby,
 That might within scarce ony wight aspye.
 So thik the bewis and the leues grene
 Beschadit all the aleyes that there were;
 And myddis of the herber might be sene
 The scharp, grene, suetë jenipere,
 Growing so faire with branchis here and there,
 That, as it semyt to a lyf without,
 The bewis spred the herbere all about.³⁴¹

From the poem the observer was provided with a window that had splendid views of the outside. Many of the outward facing windows at all four sites were accompanied by window seats. These would have provided spaces for activities needing plenty of light, such as reading and needlework; it would also have enabled, and indeed, encouraged occupants to contemplate the view beyond from a position of comfort. This is certainly the case in the Norman great tower at Hedingham Castle which was equipped with window seats on most of the windows around the great tower.³⁴²

As discussed above, Edward Stafford's apartments were located on the first floor level with large oriel windows overlooking the privy garden below. The castle design at Thornbury reflects Stafford's desire to establish a direct line of sight to his private garden. Similarly, the 'Little Park' at Hedingham Castle can be seen from the windows and roof terrace of the Norman keep as well as the lodging tower in the park. As described above, little parks can be equated to pleasure grounds and have semi-ornamental functions.³⁴³ They often enclosed vegetation and water in addition to garden features, and were stocked with animals carrying connotations of status that were admired and watched as well as hunted.³⁴⁴ The view went both ways: the Little Park and hunting lodge were visible from the Norman keep and the Norman keep was visible from the Little Park and hunting lodge. Both views were manifestations of lordly privilege and power by enabling a line of sight to the landscape and important structures.

³⁴¹ *The Kingis Quair of James Stewart*, ed. by Matthew P. McDiarmid (London: Heinemann, 1973), p. 84.

³⁴² It is difficult to determine if the window seats were original or were a later addition, perhaps by John de Vere.

³⁴³ Oliver Creighton, 'Room with a View: Framing Castle Landscapes', *Château Gaillard*, 24 (2010), 37-49 (p. 41).

³⁴⁴ Sylvia Landsberg, *The Medieval Garden*, 2nd edn. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp. 13-6.

An intriguing possibility is that other contrived views through windows and through the landscape itself, could reference symbols of past landholders as well as the features of lordship. Cowdray Castle is an example of this. Upon arrival to the estate, the visitor would walk or ride along a thin strip of raised ground, surrounded on either side by marsh land. On the right-hand side was the old Norman castle and Anglo-Saxon burial site of St Ann's Hill, on the left-hand side was the parkland owned by Sir William Fitzwilliam, and framed in the centre was the imposing gatehouse of Cowdray (Figure 17). The extended pathway leading to the gatehouse, although straight, takes the observer on a journey through the landscape, revealing the castle slowly. Water would have filled the marshes on either side of the pathway, which would have reflected the castle to the observer and enlarging the 3-storey gatehouse.



Figure 17: Raised walkway leading to Cowdray Castle.

Another place that provided panoramic views of the surrounding landscape was the rooftop terraces and wall-walks. This is noted in Chrétien de Troyes' *Perceval*:

His host the boatman and the knight
 went up around the spiral stair,
 beside the vaulted palace fair,
 until they reached the tower's summit
 and viewed the lands surrounding from it.
 The country round the citadael
 was lovelier than one can tell.³⁴⁵

After this vivid scene, Gawain goes on to admire the river, plains, and deer-filled forests below the tower. This passage reminds us that we should consider views as important to the functions and meanings of the residence. This can perhaps be seen in practice at Carew Castle. The royal survey of 1532 of all lands belonging to Sir Rhys's grandson

³⁴⁵ Chrétien de Troyes, *Perceval or the Story of the Grail*, ed. and trans. by Ruth Harwood (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), p. 213.

and heir, Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd, mentions ‘the walking places by the battlements [the wall-walks] ledyd and at the Northend a high turret to viewe the countrie’.³⁴⁶ This must have been some sort of rooftop terrace, perhaps even adapted from earlier wall-walks for the purpose of administering a panoramic view of the surrounding terrain. Views *from* the castle and *of* the castle evoked authority, wealth, status, and beauty.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has established that there was no template from which an elite landscape was created. Instead it was enclosed and built over a long period of time. The lords of the early Tudor period were usually adding features onto a pre-existing lordly landscape, in much the same way that they added to the previous structure on the estate. However, despite the clear individuality and even idiosyncrasy of these landscapes that reflects the personal circumstances of each aristocratic lord, some broad trends can nonetheless be identified in the changing ways that landscapes were created. One such observation is the fact that all aspects of the elite landscape were thought to be symbols of status, from the fish in the ponds to the enclosed kitchen gardens, and the access route a visitor would take to get to the gatehouse. That being said, elite landscapes were more than just the naked expression of power. They embodied deeper symbolic and political values that reflected the outlook of their owners. The landscape was not meant to be viewed from one point alone, but the idea of movement within and around the landscape was paramount, giving a viewpoint as flexible rather than fixed. The landscape was, therefore, not simply a place for recreation, or a financial asset, but it was intended as a stage for social displays. The audience for which such landscapes were aimed might range far beyond the lord and his family. They contained different meanings for social rivals within the elite and their households, as well as members of the lower classes who might experience them more sporadically or from afar.

Landscapes were as important as the architecture of the castles themselves. The purposes of features such as parks, gardens, and orchards were multifaceted and complex. They represented the needs of the early Tudor elite, in that they provided a stage on which many different performances were taking place. The interior and exterior of the castle displayed to the observer connotations of lordly privilege. Thornbury and Cowdray demonstrated that parks could provide an income for the

³⁴⁶ TNA, E36/151 fo. 4. Interestingly, the author seems to write ‘loko’ before it was crossed off and ‘turret to viewe the countrie’ was written instead.

owner, if he was careful not to over-exploit the resources. Similarly, orchards and fish ponds could contribute to the food sources available to an owner, while evoking elite privilege and the status of the lord. The simple fact that a lord owned parks, gardens, and orchards represented his wealth and status, and in most cases these features had other purposes, a more practical element.

The intertwining nature of the landscape means it can be difficult to discern between the different purposes of the parks and gardens. Hunting, for example, could be seen as both a recreational activity and a source of food for those at the castle. This complexity of the landscape means that it is often misunderstood because one purpose is fixated on, instead of the landscape as a whole. When the whole landscape is examined it becomes clear that the owner intended the land to be used for a variety of purposes to suit his needs, and above all, the landscape was a means of displaying status and wealth. None of the landscape features had a sole purpose, they were each designed with a number of different functions in mind, and all features were centred on the estate. The architecture was meant to be seen while performing activities within the landscape, and at the same time, those in the castle could gaze upon the landscape from the windows. Working together in such a way enabled the lord to display his status and wealth throughout his estate. It, moreover, demonstrates that the relationship between the landscape and architecture was far more complex than scholars had previous thought.

3. Perpetuating Memory in the Regions: The Architecture, Heraldry, Patronage, and Monuments of the Early Tudor Nobility

3.1 Introduction

If we wish to reach eternal life, even as we avoid the torments of Hell, then, while there is still time, while we are in this body, and have time to accomplish all these things by the light of life, we must do *now* what will profit us *forever*.³⁴⁷

Although the advice given above was directed at those who followed the Rule of Benedict, the lay communities in England and Wales were conscious of their preparation for death and the desire to be remembered long after they passed from this world to the next. For the elite, this commemoration was through family burials in a monastic house, and patronage to a religious institution, along with heraldic displays on architecture and tombs, and the commissioning of building work at parish churches or religious houses. The importance of memory for the early Tudor elite is testified to by the multitude of ways that a family or individual might attempt to commemorate themselves. This chapter will argue that this memory was deeply connected to the *caput* and the regional landscape surrounding the building.

It was often only the wealthy who could afford to commemorate their family, or be commemorated themselves, through the use of heraldry, architecture, monuments, and religious patronage. These visual displays and objects of commemoration and past memory have long been studied by antiquarians and scholars since the late fifteenth century, if not before.³⁴⁸ Not long after the English Reformation, the interest in medieval funerary sculpture began to grow, particularly attracting the attention of heralds who valued the monuments' elaborate armorial as evidence of family pedigrees and entitlement to bear arms.³⁴⁹ By the twentieth century historians had compiled

³⁴⁷ *The Rule of St Benedict in Latin and English*, ed. by Timothy Fry and Imogene Baker (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1980), p. 165. Emphasis done by author.

³⁴⁸ William Worcester (d. 1482) was one of the first to record monuments, tombs, and heraldic displays that he thought were noteworthy in England.

³⁴⁹ John Philipot (1588/9-1645), a Somerset herald, assembled a rich collection of notes from the churches of his native Kent. Slightly later, Elias Ashmole (1617-92), a Windsor herald, went on note-taking tours of churches of the Thames Valley. For Philipot, see British Library, MS Egerton 3310, printed in 'A Book of Church Notes by John Philipot, Somerset Herald', in *Kent Records: A Seventeenth Century Miscellany*, ed. by Irene J. Churchill (Ashford: Headley, 1960), pp. 68-114; For Ashmole, see Elias Ashmole, *The Antiquities of Berkshire* (London: Mears and Hooke, 1723).

numerous lists of monuments, which were used to create a detailed chronological classification based on stylistic developments.³⁵⁰ No attempt was made to place these visual displays within a wider social or religious background, until Nigel Saul sought to fill that gap in scholarship.³⁵¹ However, there still remains a divide between the medieval and early modern scholarship. Saul's work, like many others, stopped abruptly before the end of the fifteenth century, whilst research on early modern monuments and visual displays tend to begin after the Reformation, thus leaving the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century outside the scope of study.³⁵²

Moreover, the scholarship is across multiple – but separate – disciplines and fields. As a result, interdisciplinary discussions have been rare, leading to a disjointed set of research on the subject. Nevertheless, heraldry and ecclesiastical patronage embody the manifestations of a society deeply engrained in chivalry, the commemoration of ancient lineage, the display of wealth and power, and the concern with memory and commemoration. It was not just through political influence that the nobility interacted with the regional communities, as shown in Chapter One, being a patron for a local parish church or religious house enabled a nobleman to connect with, and make his mark on, the landscape outside of his estate. It reminded the people who

³⁵⁰ Lawrence Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 2 edn (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 45.

³⁵¹ Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

³⁵² For pre-Reformation, see Mark Downing, 'Medieval Military Effigies up to 1500 Remaining in Worcestershire', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 18 (2002), 133-209; Philip G. Lindley, 'The Later Medieval Monuments and Chantry Chapels', in *Tewkesbury Abbey: History, Art and Architecture* (Almeley: Logaston, 2003), pp. 161-82, 303-6; Sally Badham, 'Evidence for the Minor Funerary Monuments Industry, 1100-1500', in *Town and Country in the Middle Ages: Contrasts, Contacts and Interconnections, 1100-1500*, ed. by Kate Giles and Chris Dyer (Leeds: Maney, 2005), pp. 165-96; *Monumental Industry: the Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010); Helen E. Lunnon, 'I will have one porch of stone... over my grave': Medieval Parish Church Porches and their Function as Tomb Canopies', *Church Monuments*, 27 (2012), 53-65. For post-Reformation, see Claire Bartram, 'Some Tomb for a Remembrance': Representations of Piety in Post-Reformation Gentry Funeral Monuments', in *Pieties in Transition: Religious Practices and Experiences, c. 1400-1640*, ed. by Robert Lutton and Elizabeth Salter (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 129-44; Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Christian D. Liddy and Christian Steer, 'John Lord Lumley and the Creation and Commemoration of Lineage in Early Modern England', *Archaeological Journal*, 167 (2010), 197-227; Nigel Llewellyn, *East Sussex Church Monuments, 1530-1830* (Lewes: Sussex Record Society, 2011); Graham Bathe and Andrew Douglas, 'Forging Alliances: The Life of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, and his Commissioning of the Great Illuminated Roll Pedigree of the Seymours and Monumental Tombs in Wiltshire and Westminster', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 105 (2012), 182-218.

and where the authority in the region was derived. By exploring the variety of media used by the nobility to perpetuate and commemorate their families, this chapter will allow for a more holistic approach to memory and the desire to display familial ties, alliances, loyalties, and connections to the wider community.

3.2 Personal and Royal Heraldry

By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was a rise in awareness, knowledge, and recording of a family's lineage and ancestry.³⁵³ This knowledge and fascination helped facilitate a sense of identity amongst the nobility and gentry. Knowledge of their lineage usually focused around a place or name which may or may not take its origins from the family's hereditary residence. More importantly, it represented a pedigree which was best expressed through heraldry.³⁵⁴ Pride of family and ancestry began to grow as a sentiment that focused especially on patrimonial lineage, whilst the extension of literacy, education and book-collecting among the late medieval peerage aided the transmission of family history.³⁵⁵ For example in Wales, there was a long tradition from at least the ninth century of recording and lauding kings and princes in poetry.³⁵⁶ With the death of Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffydd in 1282 came the shift from poets lauding royalty to that of individuals and families of lesser status.³⁵⁷ The Welsh poets became the rememberers of lore, tradition and history, keepers of family conscious and self-

³⁵³ For example, see Liddy and Steer, 'John Lord Lumley and the Creation and Commemoration of Lineage', pp. 197-227.

³⁵⁴ Christine Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 245; Anthony Wagner, *English Genealogy*, 2 edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 118-25; Anthony Wagner, *Heralds of England: A History of the Office and College of Arms* (London: HMSO, 1967), chs 1 and 2. For examples of the connection of lineage and location, see Leland, *The Itinerary*, IV, pp. 159-61; Michael A. Hicks, *False, Fleeting, Perjur'd Clarence* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1980), pp. 19-20; Anotina Grandsen, *Historical Writing in England, c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1982), pp. 253, 311; Emma Mason, 'Legends of the Beauchamps' Ancestors: The Use of Baronial Propaganda in Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984), 25-40.

³⁵⁵ Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, pp. 135-142.

³⁵⁶ Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350-1064* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 364-380, 651-679; Helen Fulton, 'Fairs, Feast-Days and Carnival in Medieval Wales: Some Poetic Evidence', in *Urban Culture in Medieval Wales*, ed. by Helen Fulton (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), pp. 223-252; Catherine McKenna, 'Performing Penance and Poetic Performance in the Medieval Welsh Court', *Speculum*, 82 (2007), 70-96; Helen Fulton, 'Tenth-Century Wales and *Armes Prydein*', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 7 (2001), 5-18.

³⁵⁷ Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 136.

knowledge, and the publicists of the place of their patrons and their families in the wider scheme of society.³⁵⁸

Heraldry was yet another way to visually convey information and pronounce one's status in doing so. It was a way to exaggerate a vast lineage, whether fabricated or not. Genealogy was one of the organising principles of elite society as Stein explains:

In its way of creating a nexus of time, space and land based on the continuity of blood, genealogy is one of the series of strictly speaking imaginary constructions that come into being in both theological and secular realms of thought. Their common property is that they serve to provide a material embodiment for an ideal or symbolic entity [...] The family thus becomes over time an increasingly complex spatial network of alliances and land holdings [...] Far from being a mirror of social reality, genealogical narratives and origin stories are in this context strictly ideological narratives: they represent the unsystematic fragmentations and reconsolidations of power and territory through the physical images of substantial identity, permanent presence, and linear succession.³⁵⁹

Stein rightfully suggests that genealogy was, strictly speaking, an abstract phenomenon that presented itself through visual cues such as heraldry and tenurial networks. This is one reason why signs and symbols of heraldry were carefully placed for visual affect within a residence, carved in stone over entrances and on parapets, in plaster on walls or ceilings, in wood on panelling and screens, in stained glass windows, in stone, wood, or plaster over mantels.³⁶⁰ It was a visual way to propagate one's family through the reinforcement of antiquity as a symbol of status.

For the nobility, castles, and burial monuments were a perfect mode of transport for displaying their lineage and status. Tombs were used to display heraldry, and martial prowess in very much the same way as martial-style architecture of castles. Heraldry allowed a person to display their loyalties and alliances. Tudor royal heraldry and iconography within residences and on tombs became a common practice in the late fifteenth century. The use of Tudor heraldry quickly became symbols not only of the

³⁵⁸ Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 136; *A Guide to Welsh Literature*, ed. by Alfred O.H. Jarman and Gwilym R. Hughes, 2 vols (Swansea: C. Davies, 1979), II, chs. II, IV, XIV.

³⁵⁹ Robert M. Stein, 'Making History English: Cultural Identity and Historical Explanation in William of Malmsebury and Layamon's Brut', in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. by Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Giles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 97-115 (p. 106).

³⁶⁰ For example, the shields of the Kentish gentry ran round the great chamber of the circular castle of Queensborough, installed there in 1593 by Sir Edward Hoby, the constable of the castle. Mark Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture: Its Rise and Fall, 1540-1640* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 229.

pedigree claimed from the House of Lancaster through John of Gaunt and Edward III, thus giving the early Tudors a degree of legitimacy, but it came to symbolise the dynasty itself.³⁶¹ The symbols were neither complicated nor subtle, and according to Sydney Anglo that is why they were ‘especially effective’.³⁶² To display a Tudor symbol was to mark oneself as a supporter of the dynasty.³⁶³

One such example of the use of personal and royal heraldry is the effigy of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, which is sculpted in the liking of a fully armoured knight with the hands in a praying position at his chest (see Figure 18); the tomb and effigy depict Sir Rhys’s coat of arms of three ravens several times.³⁶⁴ His shield had a white background, a black chevron with three ravens and was the shield of Urian of Rheged, sixth-century king of Gower in Wales, prince of Murriffin Schot, lord of Kidwelly whom Sir Rhys was said – or claimed – he was a descendent of.³⁶⁵ Late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century poets lauded the connection between Sir Rhys and Urian.³⁶⁶ Sir Rhys’s alleged descendancy from Urian was an important aspect of the knight’s identity. His tomb is covered with his and Urian’s shield, including on his doublet, above his head, and around the sides of the monument. To show his support of the Tudor dynasty, around the sides of the monument are Tudor roses on decorative pinnacles. Additionally, there are repeated figures of a robed monk and a man holding his own head. The latter might point towards the cult of St Denis which was promoted over the previous centuries to be a cult of kingship.³⁶⁷ Although the link between Sir Rhys and his supposed royal

³⁶¹ For more information on the different symbols of the Tudor heraldry, see Sydney Anglo, *Images of the Tudor Kingship* (London: Seaby, 1992), pp. 34-6.

³⁶² Anglo, *Images of Kingship*, p. 35.

³⁶³ Anglo goes as far to say a ‘servant’ of the dynasty. Anglo, *Images of Kingship*, p. 35; David Starkey, ‘Ightham Mote: Politics and Architecture in Early Tudor England’, *Archaeologia*, 107 (1982), 153-63.

³⁶⁴ For changes in armour during the Middle Ages and post-medieval period, see Claude Blair, *European Armour c. 1066-c. 1700* (London: Batsford, 1958); Kelly DeVries, *A Cumulative Bibliography of Medieval History and Technology: Update 2004* (Leiden: Brill Press, 2005); Tobias E. Capwell, *The English Style: Armour Design in England, 1400-1500* (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Leeds, 2005). For more information about military effigies in the Middle Ages, see Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 207-237.

³⁶⁵ ‘Life of Sir Rhys’, p. 160.

³⁶⁶ Guto’r Glyn, *In praise of Sir Rhys ap Tomas of Abermarlais*, ed. and trans. by Dafydd Johnston <<http://www.gutorglyn.net/gutorglyn/index/>> [accessed on 25 February 2015], lines 33-4. The reference of ravens is to the coat of arms of Urian and Rhys ap Thomas, both having three ravens.

³⁶⁷ Although the royal patron saint was most common in France, see Marianne C. Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Late Middle Ages* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2008), p. 140.

ancestor, Urian Rheged, was distant at best, Sir Rhys might have been paying homage through the figure of St Denis to Urian. There is no doubt that Sir Rhys's tomb – through the use of heraldry – was a visual representation of his personal authority, his allegiance to the Tudor dynasty, and his vast and notable lineage. It was a visual reminder, to those who saw the effigy, of Sir Rhys's genealogy. Although the figure of St Denis might have been a personal commemoration to Urian by Sir Rhys, the tomb might have been meant to symbolise Sir Rhys's long and royal lineage for generations to come.



Figure 18: Tomb of Sir Rhys ap Thomas and his wife, Janet daughter of Thomas Matthew of Radyr, in St Peter's Church, Carmarthen.

It was not just Sir Rhys's tomb that proclaimed his allegiance; Carew Castle had symbols of Tudor loyalty. Emblazoned above the porch entrance to the great hall at

Carew Castle are the shields of Henry VII flanked on either side by Prince Arthur's coat of arms as the Prince of Wales and Catherine of Aragon's coat of arms (Figure 19). These shields appear to have a double meaning. Sir Rhys boasted of another royal connection, his distant relative Ednyfed Fynchan, who just happened to be an ancestor of Henry Tudor. The link between Ednyfed Fynchan and the new Tudor king enabled poets such as Lewys Glyn Cothi, Siancyn Fynglwyd, and Rhys Nanmore to publicise the direct blood relation between the house of Tudor and Sir Rhys's family.³⁶⁸ The common ancestor shared between these two men was an important connection to have under the new dynasty, and it helped to forge Sir Rhys's identity and loyalty to the new king. The proclamation of his royal connection to Henry Tudor might have led him to engrave the shields above the entrance porch to the great hall symbolising the royal connection while at the same time outwardly demonstrating his loyalty to the new Tudor king.



Figure 19: Tudor shields above the entrance porch to the great hall at Carew Castle.

³⁶⁸ *Poetical Works of Lewis Glyn Cothi, A Celebrated Bard*, ed. by John Jones (Oxford: Cymmrodorion, 1837), pp. 163-6; Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 83.

Sir Rhys appeared to have a deep connection to the king as well as his first born son, Prince Arthur. Not only did he have Arthur's shield carved into the great hall porch, but during excavations at Carew fragments of two ornamental dragon sculptures were found. From the surviving fragments, David Austin has suggested that the design appears to have been a three dimensional dragon (60-80 cm high) grasping a shield emblazoned with the three white feathers, which were a part of the coat of arms of the Prince of Wales.³⁶⁹ Arthur, as heir to the throne was the Prince of Wales, and he made a connection with Sir Rhys's family when his household was established in the Welsh Marches. Arthur's council, led by John Alcock, bishop of Worcester, was in operation from 1489, and his household servants were being appointed at the same time.³⁷⁰ By 1493 the council, household, and prince were established at Ludlow Castle, Shropshire, and thereafter, Arthur spent most of his time in the Welsh Marcher counties, thus giving Arthur a close connection to Wales.³⁷¹ Perhaps it was Gruffydd ap Rhys, Sir Rhys's son, who was closer to the prince than Sir Rhys himself. By the time of the prince's marriage to Catherine in 1501, Gruffydd ap Rhys was already a member of the prince's household, and during the wedding festivities he was made a Knight of the Bath. He was probably at Ludlow when Arthur died; he certainly bore the prince's banner immediately before his coffin during the funeral procession, and carried it during the requiem mass in Worcester Cathedral. When Gruffydd died prematurely in 1521 his tomb was placed close to that of the prince.³⁷² The prince's movements from the time he became the Prince of Wales until his death have been reconstructed, and it does not seem likely that he ever crossed the Welsh border.³⁷³ So it would appear unlikely that the shields above the great hall porch indicated a royal visit as there is no record of such a progress. However, it seems plausible to suggest that Sir Rhys envisaged that at some

³⁶⁹ *Carew Castle Archaeological Project 1993*, p. 14-6.

³⁷⁰ Steven J. Gunn, 'Prince Arthur's Preparation for Kingship', in *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales: Life, Death and Commemoration*, ed. by Steven J. Gunn and Linda Monckton (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 7-19 (p. 10); J. Beverley Smith, 'Crown and Community in the Principality of North Wales in the Reign of Henry Tudor', *Welsh History Review*, 3 (1966), 145-71 (pp. 160-1); *CPR, 1485-94*, pp. 292, 296, 311-12, 316.

³⁷¹ W. Rhys B. Robinson, 'Prince Arthur in the Marches of Wales, 1493-1502', *Studia Celtica*, 36 (2002), 89-97.

³⁷² John Morgan-Guy, 'Arthur, Harri Tudor and the Iconography of Loyalty in Wales', in *Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales: Life, Death and Commemoration*, ed. by Steven J. Gunn and Linda Monckton (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 50-63 (p. 52); Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 51; *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*, ed. by Gordon Kipling (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 83, 86, 92; Leland, *De Rebus Britannica Collectanea*, V, pp. 375, 377, 380.

³⁷³ Robinson, 'Prince Arthur in the Marches of Wales', pp. 89-97.

later date Arthur, accompanied by his new wife, Catherine of Aragon, would make a royal progress through Wales. Such a progress would have inevitably brought them to Carew Castle, in the company of Sir Rhys's own son, and when they arrived their shields, proudly displayed would have greeted them, proclaiming Sir Rhys's fidelity to the Tudor dynasty and their blood connection through the common ancestor of Ednyfed Fynchan.

Like Carew, Cowdray Castle has prominent Tudor iconography including shields on the gatehouse, great hall, and entrance porch. The first and most obvious decorative icon of the Tudor dynasty is that of the Tudor shield now positioned above the entrance porch to the great hall in the inner courtyard (Figure 20).³⁷⁴ Initially, the shield was above the entrance arch of the gatehouse. This position would have been a more outward facing and prominent place and one sure to be seen by every visitor entering the castle. The position above the arch of the gatehouse is now occupied by the coat of arms of the first Viscount Montague, the heir of Sir William Fitzwilliam and the owner of Cowdray from 1548-92. The likely scenario of events in the removal of the Tudor shield to its current location has been traced by Bridget Howard.³⁷⁵ Architectural evidence indicates the original placement of the coat of arms formed part of the lower section of an oriel window. During the English Civil War, Cowdray was occupied by Parliamentary troops between 1643 and 1660, and during this time the coat of arms was damaged. As the house was renovated during the eighteenth century, the damaged oriel window was replaced by a Georgian-style rectangular design. The Tudor shields were replaced with those of Montague's and the Tudor arms were transferred to their current position above the entrance porch to the great hall.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ For more on the iconography of kings, see Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, pp. 34-9, which considers the dynastic significance of the Tudor insignia. John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989) contributes to a wider understanding of the topic. More recently, Kevin Sharpe's *Selling the Tudor Monarchy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) discusses the relationship between authority and image. For the use of French royal symbolism by the English monarchs, see Hugh S. London, *Royal Beasts* (London: Heraldry Society, 1956), pp. 25-7; Thurley, *The Royal Palaces*, pp. 102-3.

³⁷⁵ Bridget Howard, 'Cowdray and the Iconography of Henry VIII', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 149 (2011), 173-84.

³⁷⁶ Howard, 'Iconography of Henry VIII', p. 180.



Figure 20: Iconography above the porch to the great hall at Cowdray Castle.



Figure 21: Ceiling of the great hall porch at Cowdray (photo taken by Nigel Sadler).

The iconography represents Henry VIII's shield, encircled by the Garter and supported by the lion of England and the dragon of Wales beneath a closed imperial crown. Also included in the carving, although badly eroded, are a vase of flowers which are most likely Tudor roses, Beaufort marguerites and Seymour hawthorn all of which are barely visible at the top right-hand side. On the top left-hand corner seems to be a ring, and beneath the shield are scattered pomegranates with two bound sheaves of

hawthorn leaves. Pomegranates, although Catherine of Aragon's personal badge, also represented fertility, something that Henry VIII was very concerned with. These details suggest the shield was carved around either the time Henry VIII married Jane Seymour in 1536 or after the birth of Henry's only legitimate son, Edward, in 1537. The carvings were deeply symbolic of the Tudor dynasty and particularly Henry VIII and his marriage to Jane Seymour.

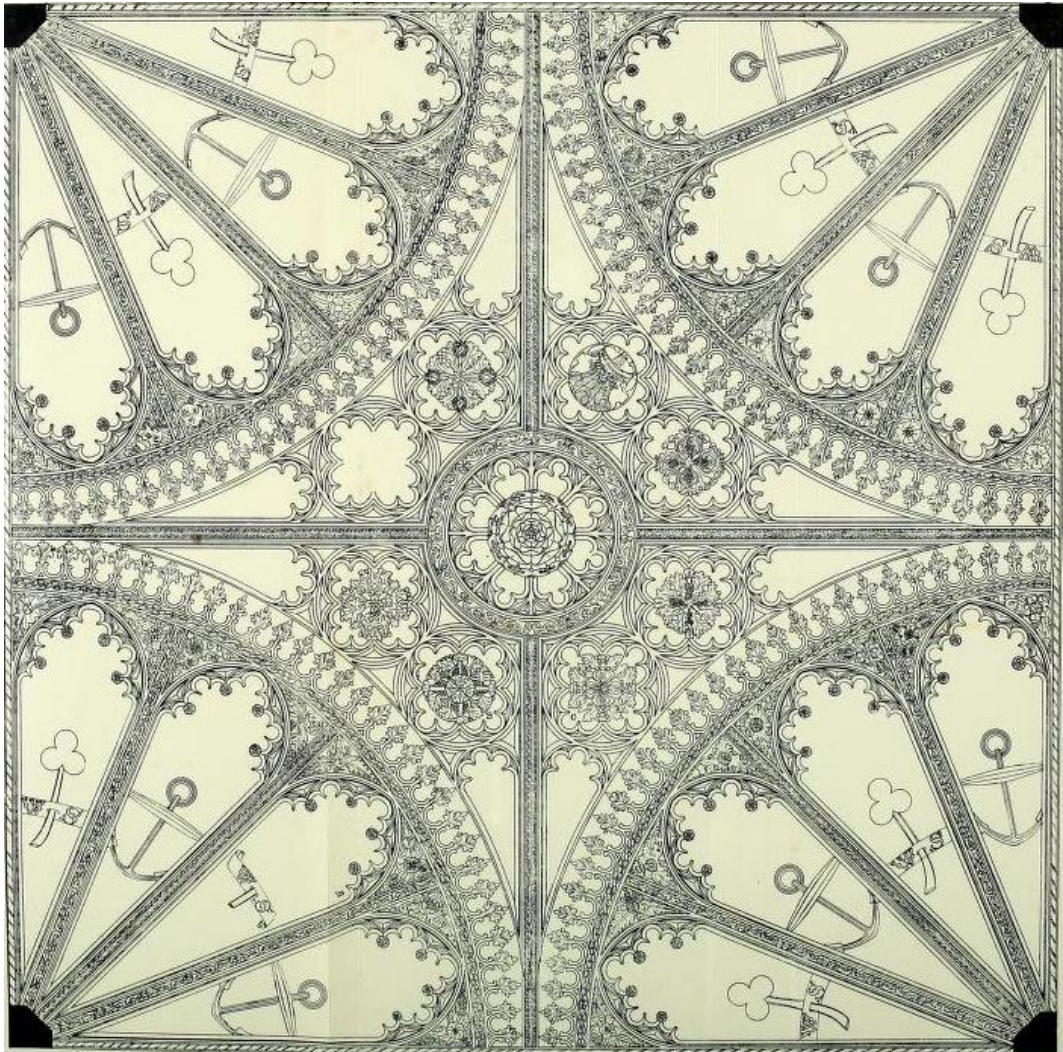


Figure 22: Drawn detail of the fan vault in the porch of the great hall at Cowdray Castle. From William V. Crake, 'The Porch at Cowdray, with some Account of its Builder', *Sussex Archaeology Collection*, 54 (1911), 113-129 (p. 125).

The porch of the great hall has very complex symbols representing connotations of Henry VIII as well as Fitzwilliam's title as earl of Southampton and Vice Admiral. The ceiling can be dated between October 1537 when Prince Edward was born and the king's visit to Cowdray in August 1538. As shown in Figures 21-22, at the centre of the ceiling design is a rose, surrounded by a ring of pomegranates, which symbolises fertility. Outside this, a circle of eight quatrefoils displays the emblems of the Tudors,

and in the spandrels are images of flowers, fruit, and more pomegranates. The symbols suggest a message of growth and fruition for the continuance of the dynasty. One of the quatrefoil in the south-west corner contains the traditional Prince of Wales's feathers and coronet. Another contains the commemoration of Jane Seymour, which can be seen in the display of her hawthorn flowers, and beneath it a rose growing on a hawthorn branch, a reference to Prince Edward. There are the marguerites of Lard Margaret Beaufort, Henry VII mother and mother of the Tudor line, with the forget-me-nots of her motto, *Souvent me Souvient*. The eight small fans in the corners of the vault are surrounded by diamond trefoil-crests, and the sixteen large fans which are each headed by three trefoils, carry tiny Tudor roses. Within these, Fitzwilliam declared his allegiance, while at the same time he was proclaiming his own status with stemmed trefoils supported by bars labelled WS: William Southampton. Alternating with these are anchors that have a twofold meaning. They represented Fitzwilliam's immovable loyalty to the dynasty and his position as Vice Admiral. The presence of both Tudor and personal iconography by Sir William might have been a deliberate effort to show the connection the two men had to one another. As much of the iconography symbolised the king, it also might have been an expression of gratitude to Henry VIII who made Sir William Fitzwilliam the earl of Southampton in 1536.³⁷⁷

Tudor iconography demonstrates that Sir Rhys and Fitzwilliam were unequivocally loyal to the new Tudor kings, but not every member of the nobility was as eager to display their loyalty and support for the new dynasty. Edward Stafford proudly displayed his own titles and claim to the English throne at Thornbury. Stafford declared descendancy from Edward III through John of Gaunt (in the Beaufort line) and Thomas of Woodstock. However, this claim rested on the recognition of the legitimacy of the Beauforts, who were born before Gaunt married their mother, Catherine Swynford.³⁷⁸ The family line of Beaufort was the same line on which the Tudor dynasty claimed the throne, and therefore, Stafford and the Tudor monarchs were distantly related. Barbara Harris has argued that Edward Stafford exposed Henry VIII in one way, 'as a potential claimant to the throne in the event that Henry left no male heir'.³⁷⁹ This very reason, Harris argues, was the cause for their turbulent relationship and

³⁷⁷ *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts, in the British Museum: With Indexes of Persons, Places, and Matters* (London: H.M.S.O., 1808), p. 78 (no. 249, 4)

³⁷⁸ For further information on Edward Stafford's claim to the throne, see Harris, *Edward Stafford*, p. 25-6.

³⁷⁹ Harris, *Edward Stafford*, p. 206.

ultimately, for Stafford's execution. Although there was more that led up to Stafford's execution than just rivalry, Stafford did not help matters by displaying his family's connections and lineage. Above the gatehouse at Thornbury reads:

This gate was begon the yere of oure Lorde God MCCCCXI the ii yere of the reyne of Kynge Henri the viii by me Edw' Duc of Bukkyngha', Erle of Herforde, Stafforde, and Northamto.³⁸⁰

Such a bold proclamation of status would alert anyone approaching the castle of who owned the structure and who they were connected to through marriage. Stafford even proclaimed his titles at the head of every account, stating 'the right high and mighty prynce, Edward duc of Bukyngham, erle of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton'.³⁸¹ While the inner gatehouse at Thornbury had the shield of the Staffords, a gold chevron with the four badges of the family: the golden knot, a silver swan, the blue-ermined mantle, and the spotted antelope.

Heraldry at this time was much more than a signalling device for the formal patriarchal code. It could express marriage alliances and royal connections and loyalties. This can be seen in the four badges above the inner gatehouse at Thornbury. The golden knot was the Stafford symbol and the silver swan was that of the Bohun family who married into the Stafford family in the fourteenth century and also gave the Stafford's their claim to the throne through the female line of Edward III.³⁸² The visitor was given the tools needed to interpret the genealogy of the castle owner, simply by entering the gatehouse. Displaying heraldry was intrinsically engrained into the elite culture at this time. Iconography helped to promote the individual owner of the castle to a wider audience, as well as promote his family, both past and present to the outside world. All of Edward Stafford's use of titles and iconography was meant to establish Stafford's authority and status. The message above the gatehouse at Thornbury demonstrated his power in the region to all who visited, particularly his tenants, but it was similarly a tool used to remember those of the past.³⁸³

The manifestation of loyalty through the use of shields and symbols indicates a desire to publicly proclaim loyalty, lineage, and royal connection. Sir Rhys ap Thomas and Sir William Fitzwilliam owed most of their successful careers to the king's whom they served. The shields could be viewed as loyalty as well as acknowledgement for the

³⁸⁰ This originally ended with the ducal motto, *Dorene savant*. Leland, *Itinerary*, IV, p. 106.

³⁸¹ See for example, SRO, D641/1/3/7; D641/1/3/8.

³⁸² Harris, *Edward Stafford*, pp. 22-6.

³⁸³ For Stafford's relationship with his tenants, see section 1.2.

generous patronage given to them which helped them obtain such lucrative careers. For Sir Rhys, the royal shields above his gatehouse did perhaps signal the common ancestor he shared with Henry Tudor. It was a source of perpetual memory for Sir Rhys, by displaying heraldry and symbols like the Tudor rose; the knight was attempting to help those in the future identify him as a loyal servant and relative to the Tudor line. Heraldry on tombs, clothing and around residences were all used in a similar way as the martial architecture of a castle. The Tudor heraldry and iconography at Carew and Cowdray placed the owners within a Tudor origin story, a grand narrative that was perpetuated by royals and nobles alike. All of these displays were outwardly presenting the collective knowledge and memory of one's genealogy and familial networks.

3.3 Patronage of Religious Institutions

Heraldry could outwardly proclaim the loyalties and connections of a lord, while patronage to a local religious institution could symbolise the wealth and status to those who attended mass. The relationship between castles, religious buildings, and space is a subject often overlooked by castle and ecclesiastical scholars alike who frequently allude to the relationship, but tend not explore further correlations.³⁸⁴ Castles and religious institutions were two very important structures in the life of a nobleman; because of this the secular and ecclesiastical landscapes were interconnected.³⁸⁵ Patronage to a local parish church was more than just an expression of wealth and piety. It was a way of continuing a family tradition usually established before the fifteenth century. The original castle owner would have established a patron-client relationship between the residence and the parish church or monastery. The connection between these two entities was about communitarianism in the Church as a whole, in the parish, in the religious guilds, and during mass, and it guaranteed the patron a place to be buried. Patronage by a lord was in the custom of gift-giving which continued up until

³⁸⁴ Richard Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London: Dent, 1989), pp. 250-74; Norman J. Pounds, *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales: A Social and Political History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 222-4; Richard Fawcett, 'Castle and Church in Scotland', *Château Gaillard*, 18 (1998), 87-92; Norman J. Pounds, 'The Chapel in the Castle', *Fortress: The Castle and Fortifications Quarterly*, 9 (1991), 12-20; Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, pp. 110-132.

³⁸⁵ This can be seen most apparent in medieval cities where the castle and cathedral lie adjacent, as at Durham, Old Sarum in Wiltshire and Rochester in Kent. This was not an English phenomenon; Jacques Le Maho has shown that almost 50 per cent of all eleventh- and twelfth-century earthwork castles in the Grand Caux Peninsula, Normandy, lie within 500 metres of a church, with a clear implication of linked histories. See 'Histoire de l'art et archéologie', *Annales de Normandie*, 31 (1981), 437-448.

the Dissolution, with religious houses receiving bequests ranging from smaller, personal, usually religious items, to sums of money or rent, or even parcels of land.³⁸⁶ Architectural features within the parish church which relate to the patronage might include tombs, heraldry, and chantry chapels.³⁸⁷ By physically and financially associating a private residence with a place of worship, the church founder or patron received spiritual benefit as well as social status from his action.³⁸⁸

The importance of giving to the Church was intertwined with connotations of piety, influence, and prestige. Bequests were about the remembrance and commemoration of a certain individual or family, and this connected to the cultural memory pertaining to a specific location. For example, the de Vere family had a long standing patron-beneficiary relationship with the priory of Earls Colne, which was located a short distance from Hedingham Castle.³⁸⁹ The de Veres founded it, endowed it, and save in a few exceptional cases were buried in its precincts during the whole period of its existence.³⁹⁰ The priory's founder was Aubrey de Vere in the twelfth century, and ties between the family and the convent appear to have remained close during the following centuries.³⁹¹ The first record of a patronal burial in the priory after 1300 relates to that of Alice, widow of Robert de Vere, who was buried at Earls Colne in 1312.³⁹² Further members of the family who sought burial in the priory during the

³⁸⁶ Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons, England and Wales, c. 1300-1540* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), p. 66.

³⁸⁷ John Hunwicke, 'Status and Display in Early Tudor Devon', *The Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and the Arts*, 139 (2007), 199-237.

³⁸⁸ It was not just castle that were often physically and financially associated with ecclesiastical space. For instance, at Raunds in Northamptonshire, excavation has revealed the manorial site and adjacent proprietary church to have lain perpendicular to one another within linked embanked and ditched enclosures on higher ground than the rest of the settlement. Thomas Saunders, 'The Feudal Construction of Space: Power and Domination in the Nucleated Village', in *The Social Archaeology of Houses*, ed. by Ross Samson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 181-96 (pp. 187-8).

³⁸⁹ They are less than ten miles apart.

³⁹⁰ The few occasions when an earl of Oxford was not buried within Earls Colne was due to treason, most notably John de Vere's father, John de Vere in 1462. Carol Scofield, 'The Early Life of John de Vere, thirteenth earl of Oxford', *EHR*, 29 (1914), 228-245. The inventory gives us a detailed view of the priory at the Dissolution, see F.H. Fairweather, 'Colne Priory, Essex, and the Burials of the Earls of Oxford', *Archaeologia*, 87 (1937), 275-295. This article has a description of the inventory and details on the de Vere monuments in the priory at the time of the Dissolution including John de Vere and his wife's alabaster tomb located in the Lady Chapel. The tomb was destroyed c. 1730. Fairweather, 'Colne Priory', plate LX.

³⁹¹ David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971), p. 64.

³⁹² *Testamenta Vetusta*, ed. by Nicholas H. Nicolas, 2 vols (London: Nicolas, 1836-1902), II, p. 62.

fourteenth century include Robert de Vere (d. 1331), John de Vere (d. 1350), and John de Vere (will dated 1359) and his family.³⁹³ Ten instances of burial of a member of the de Vere family have been identified for the fourteenth century, three for the fifteenth century and four for the sixteenth century.³⁹⁴ The decision by the de Vere family seems to be a conscious choice to continue a family tradition. The de Veres held the patronage of several other monasteries most of which were located in Essex.³⁹⁵ As the family continued to be buried in Earls Colne it would seem to suggest that a positive relationship and a sense of loyalty between the de Veres and Earls Colne stayed intact until the Dissolution.

The perpetual memory of the de Veres can be seen in their relationship with Earls Colne Priory. It became a family mausoleum displaying the long-established tradition of the family as patrons. The importance of the Earls Colne Priory to John de Vere, thirteenth earl of Oxford can be seen most extensively in his will of 1513 which requests prayers for his soul as well as the souls of all his ancestors. To Earls Colne, his chosen burial place, he made an elaborate donation, including chalices, a reliquary, and candlesticks:

to the Prior and Covent of Colne Priory... Item ij. Aulter clothes of Whit damaske embrowderid and myn Armes in diverse partes of the same with a frontlet of the same wrought in the stole paly with many Werkes And a pece of rede clothe of golde of tissue at every ende thereof. Item a Cope of Clothe of Bawdkyn White orfreid with blewe clothe of gold Item ij. Copis of Crymsen Velwett powdrid with ffire yronges thorfreis powdrid with aungelles and molettes.³⁹⁶

It is important to note the personal nature of the bequest to Earls Colne. This provides an insight into the intimate relationship between John de Vere and Earls Colne, by the sixteenth century it was the family's mausoleum. Although the list of gifts for Earls Colne is long, it was not exceptional at this time. Of all the bequests in de Vere's will, Earls Colne received the largest number of gifts. The personal nature of the bequests

³⁹³ *Testamenta Vetusta*, II, p. 87; John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London: W. Tooke, 1631), p. 372.

³⁹⁴ Weever, *Funerall Monuments*, p. 372; *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 192;

³⁹⁵ The Black Friars of Cambridge, the Black Friars of Oxford, the White Friars of Lynn, the abbey of St Osyth (Essex), Woburn (Bedfordshire), Medmenham (Buckinghamshire), the nunneries of Swaffham Bulbeck (Cambridgeshire), Castle Hedingham (Essex), Blackborough (Norfolk) and Ickleton (Cambridgeshire), the priories of Hatfield Broadoak, Thremhall, Blackmore (Essex), Bromehill, Hempton (Norfolk), and Royston (Hertfordshire), the abbeys of St John's Colchester and Syon (Middlesex), the nunnery of Bruisyard (Suffolk), and the Charterhouses at Sheen and London. St. John Hope, 'Last Testament', pp. 311-13.

³⁹⁶ St. John Hope, 'The Last Testament', pp. 311-12.

demonstrates several aspects. First, de Vere's desire to continue a long-established tradition began by his ancestors; second, this tradition was a very personal one; and third, that his will and bequests in it were thoroughly thought out.

John de Vere's will is not unique.³⁹⁷ One of the motives for such bequests to religious houses or parish churches was the fear of purgatory. By donating money or goods posthumously it could speed up the sinner's progress through purgatory. The most common way was to pay for *post mortem* masses; these were almost universally requested in wills of the nobility and gentry. The more institutions that could be donated to, the more prayers for the soul would receive after death. Patronage and bequests were a form of insurance for one's soul, and the more people who were praying the less time one would spend in purgatory. Support for the parish church where the nobility resided was an important aspect of this coalescence of the needs of this world and the next. The connection between place, patronage, and location went deeper than this. The grants of the nobility, including benefactions to religious houses, education, roads, bridges, and the parish churches of secondary residences, can normally be closely connected to the distribution of their estates.³⁹⁸ As this implies, the pattern of donations closely mirrored the position of a family within the hierarchy of society. For the greater the nobility, the more widespread the lands and estates, which, in turn, meant they generally distributed their generosity over a wider geographical area, and thus received more prayers for their souls.

Patronage to a religious institution might lead to a place of burial, which was a very important decision for the laity.³⁹⁹ The central concern was for the welfare of their souls after death, and they recognised that fundamental to the salvation of their souls were the prayers of the religious community. To be interred into a family monastery had the added benefit of a personal connection with the members of the religious house and therefore, they could direct a higher level of prayer and be reassured of the maintenance

³⁹⁷ For other examples of this see, Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries*, pp. 73-4.

³⁹⁸ For examples see, Christine Carpenter, 'Religion', in *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Raluca Radulescu and Alison Truelove (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 134-150.

³⁹⁹ On medieval burials, see Brian Golding, 'Burials and Benefactions: An Aspect of Monastic Patronage in Thirteenth-Century England', in *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by W. Mark Ormrod (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), pp. 64-75; Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550* (London: Routledge, 1997); Katie Heard, 'Death and Representation in the Fifteenth Century: The Wilcote Chantry Chapel at North Leigh', *Journal for the British Archaeological Association*, 154 (2000), 134-149; Nigel Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and their Monuments, 1300-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

of their soul. The place of burial had three important connotations. First of all, there was the personal connection. The patron of a religious institution, who chose to be buried in that house, had the security of being familiar with it and its community and with the nature of the services. The patron would expect and depend upon a high level of prayers to be maintained, and for his soul to be well looked after.⁴⁰⁰ Second, was the issue of status. Patrons could potentially build a grand mausoleum. This was significant, as burial within the family monastery or church was an expression of a person's importance, wealth, and status. The position and place of the tomb was an important factor as well. John de Vere requested to be buried in one of the most favoured positions within a church: 'tofore the Highe Aulter of our Lady Chapell in the Priory of Colne in the Countie of Essex in a tombe whiche I have made and ordeyned'.⁴⁰¹ Only those of utmost importance were buried close to an altar. Each altar had a relic within so it was about the closeness to a holy object that made burial by any altar a prized place. John de Vere's burial in the Lady Chapel in Earls Colne Priory testified to his high status both as a member of the nobility and as their patron.⁴⁰² Finally, the place of burial was a means of continuing a collective family memory and a form of commemoration. This meant future generations would know of the family's generous patronage.

Perpetuating familial memories could on occasion have political uses, as shown in the *Dialogue at the Grave of Dame Jehan of Acres*. This is mid-fifteenth century poem, probably written by Osbern Bokenham, an Augustinian friar at Clare priory.⁴⁰³ The dialogue between the friar and a layman took place in the priory church at the tomb of Joan of Acre, daughter of Edward I, and wife of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester (d. 1295). The poem traces the descent of the lords of the honour of Clare from the time when the priory was founded in 1248. It comprises of a genealogy, not completely accurate, together with references to benefactions to the priory, as in this stanza about Elizabeth de Burgh (d. 1327):

Who was hir husbonde? – Sir John of Burgh
 Eire of the Ulstris: so conjoynd be
 Ulstris armes and Gloucestris thurgh and thurgh,
 As sheweth our wyndowes in housis thre,

⁴⁰⁰ Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries*, p. 112.

⁴⁰¹ Hope, 'The Last Will Testament', p. 310.

⁴⁰² Many high status patrons had a large amount of influence over the happenings at the religious institution. For another example, see Janet Burton, *Kirkham Priory from Foundation to Dissolution* (York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1995).

⁴⁰³ William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols (London: Bohn, 1846), VI, pp. 1600-1602.

Dortur, Chapter-hous, and fraitour which she
 Made out the grounde, both planncher and wall.
 And who the rofe? – She allone did al.⁴⁰⁴

This poem describes the donations of a fourteenth-century patron over a century after it happened, showing the continued memory of de Burgh through her patronage to Clare Priory. The remembrance of her patronage after she had died was just as important as her burial site amongst several generations of de Clare patrons. The nobility desired their location of burial and their tomb to be seen as they evoked the memory of the dead. For John de Vere, like other noblemen at this time, his burial in the ancestral mausoleum represented a link to the past, a continuation of a collective family memory, and a denotation of status and wealth.

Other religious space might be established by a member of the nobility in order to create a family tradition. For example, in 1514 when Edward Stafford received a licence to build and establish a college of secular priests connected to the parish church of St Mary's which abutted the castle wall at Thornbury (see Figure 23). A college was a form of chantry, so the purpose of foundations of this sort was to provide perpetual post-obit intercession for the souls of the deceased and their kin.⁴⁰⁵ Since the twelfth century, if not before, the belief that the regular celebration of mass could shorten the sufferings of the soul in purgatory was common, and increasingly gained favour among the laity.⁴⁰⁶ Accordingly, it became the practice for those who could afford it to endow masses for their benefit. The establishment of colleges gained popularity after Edward III's grandiose foundation of the college of St George at Windsor Castle.⁴⁰⁷ In the late

⁴⁰⁴ The manuscript of the poem is now in the College of Arms, and is described by Anthony R. Wagner, *A Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms* (Oxford: Charles Batey, 1950), pp. 98-9.

⁴⁰⁵ Rachel Dressler, 'Sculptural Representation and Spatial Appropriation in a Medieval Chantry Chapel', in *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces*, ed. by Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), pp. 217-236; Clive Burgess, 'Chuntries in the Parish, or "Through the Looking-Glass"', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 164 (2011), 100-129; Antje Fehrmann, 'Politics and Posterity: English Royal Chantry Provision, 1232-1509', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 164 (2011), 74-99.

⁴⁰⁶ Brian P. McGuire, 'Purgatory, the Communion of Saints, and Medieval Change', *Viator*, 20 (1989), 61-84; Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), esp. pp. 70-122; Christian Steer, 'Royal and Noble Commemoration in the Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, c. 1240-1540', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2008 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Caroline M. Barron and Clive Burgess (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), pp. 117-142.

⁴⁰⁷ According to the statutes of 30 November 1352, the clerical establishment was to consist of a warden and 12 other canons, 13 priest vicars, 4 clerks, 6 choristers, 26 poor knights, and a

Middle Ages a shift seems to have occurred, from founding monasteries to founding collegiate churches, hospitals, and chantries.⁴⁰⁸ One of the primary reasons for this was the flexibility of the college to satisfy the needs of the elite. The establishment of a secular college, with its exclusive association with the founder's family, provided an unparalleled opportunity for demonstrations of dynastic power, status, and piety, with carefully coordinated displays of tombs, armorials and insignia.⁴⁰⁹



Figure 23: Thornbury Castle and St Mary's Church from above (photo from Historic England project 'Britain from Above', see <http://www.britainfromabove.org.uk/image/eaw006840>).

As mentioned, St Mary's Church is situated a short distance to the north of the town of Thornbury and is directly next to the castle, abutting the garden wall.⁴¹⁰ Figure 23 shows Thornbury Castle on the left with St Mary's Church on the left. The Stafford family had a long history of financially supporting the church, particularly for architectural renovations. Hugh de Stafford, second earl of Stafford rebuilt the south

verger. Anne K.B. Roberts, *St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, 1348-1416: A Study in Early Collegiate Administration* (Windsor: Oxley, 1947), pp. 6-7.

⁴⁰⁸ Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England*, p. 46. For medieval chantries, see George H. Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, 2nd edn. (London, 1963); Katherine L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); Clive Burgess, 'For the Increase of Divine Service': Chantries in the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985), 48-65; Richard Rex and C.D.C Armstrong, 'Henry VIII's Ecclesiastical and Collegiate Foundations', *Historical Research*, 75 (2002), 390-407; Simon Roffey, *The Medieval Chantry Chapel: An Archaeology* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007).

⁴⁰⁹ Martin Heale, 'Colleges and Monasteries in Late Medieval England', in *The Late Medieval English College and its Context*, ed. by Clive Burgess and Martin Heale (York: York Medieval Press, 2008), pp. 67-88 (p. 81). See also John Goodall, 'The Architecture of Ancestry at the Collegiate Church of St Andrew's Wingfield, Suffolk', in *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 1997 Harlaxton Symposium Studies*, ed. by Richard Eales (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), pp. 156-71.

⁴¹⁰ *Avon Extensive Urban Survey*, p. 14.

aisle in the fourteenth century between 1373, when he succeeded his title and 1386, when he died.⁴¹¹ The church was substantially rebuilt at the end of the fifteenth century or beginning of the sixteenth.⁴¹² Although there is no evidence to place Edward Stafford as a key donor of the building programme the fact that he was renovating Thornbury might suggest he made a financial donation to the church at the same time.

The chantry that Stafford received a licence to establish was to be closely connected to the parish church of St Mary's. The licence was for one dean, a sub-dean, eight secular priests, four clerks, and eight choristers, in honour of 'the Blessed Virgin Mary; and mortmain licence for that college to acquire from him or other lands to the yearly value of 300*l*'.⁴¹³ This was a substantial endowment, indeed, if we compare this to John, third Lord Cobham, a man of baronial standing who founded a college in Cobham village in 1367 with the value of £40 per annum.⁴¹⁴ The large number of people that Stafford wanted to endow in his college most likely meant he would have had to build a completely new building adjacent to St Mary's Church, as Lord Cobham did. Unfortunately, there is no evidence to suggest Stafford began building the college before his execution in 1521. One of the primary functions of a college was to pray for the founder and his ancestors. In most cases, the founder and his family would commission to be buried in the connecting church. In Stafford's situation, it would have been St Mary's Church; however, with the execution of Stafford we cannot be certain of his burial plans.

By physically and spatially linking the castle with a place of worship, the church founder or patron received a spiritual benefit as well as social status from his action. Seigneurial influence over a church could be heightened where the lord held the advowson, allowing personal appointment of a favoured priest.⁴¹⁵ Moreover, through rentals, incumbency payments and other customary dues, the church could actually act as a long-term financial investment for the lord. The foundation of a new college of priests next to Thornbury Castle might suggest Edward Stafford was attempting to accomplish a similar outcome as the de Vere family whose tradition of burial in the Earls Colne Priory a short distance from Hedingham Castle.

⁴¹¹ *Avon Extensive Urban Survey*, pp. 14-5.

⁴¹² *Avon Extensive Urban Survey*, p. 15.

⁴¹³ TNA, C53/200, m. 4; *LP Henry VIII*, I, p. 1365 (no. 3226: 3).

⁴¹⁴ Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory*, p. 44; *CPR 1364-77*, p. 387.

⁴¹⁵ Creighton, *Castles and Landscape*, pp. 114-5.

Earls Colne and St Mary's Church belonged to a standard fifteenth and sixteenth century commemorative discourse amongst the upper echelons of society. To have an elaborate tomb, often with a richly-endowed chantry attached, within a secular or monastic church serving as the family mausoleum and located within its regional powerbase, was *de rigueur* for the elite.⁴¹⁶ For long-established families, tombs promoted and celebrated lineage; for new inheritors of ancient titles the migration to the buildings containing the tombs of their predecessors enabled them to demonstrate continuity with the past. Intertwined with the promotion of one's family through patronage to a religious institution was the idea of memory. The deep link between the de Veres and Earls Colne helped to perpetuate the memory of the de Veres through the regional landscape. Moreover, patronage for building work provided the patron with a physical and visual display of his wealth, while providing the religious institution with a newly built structure.

3.4 Conclusion

Memory and the commemoration of the dead were important considerations of lay communities. The religious buildings – the architecture, the tombs, the stained glass windows – were physical reminders of the secular patrons for a particular religious institution. The building itself preserved the collective memory of the patron and his family, and to a lesser extent the local community and aided in the posthumous fate of the soul. The extent to which lay patrons donated to religious institution testifies to not only their deep devotion to the Catholic faith, but also their desire to live on through visual displays, which were reminders for future generations. Commemoration in the form of heraldry, tombs, and religious patronage can tell us about the kind of image that was constructed for that particular person or family. Indeed, part of the purpose of the visual imagery in religious institutions was to tell the future how the past visualised itself, ranging from social ideals to religious doctrine.

Patronage to a local church or religious house was part of the desire of individuals to outwardly display their wealth and authority. Patronage acted as a modern day insurance policy for the soul after death. Lavish tombs and large bequests to a church or religious house by an individual would serve as a reminder of those deceased, especially if they were covered in heraldry, reminding them of the deceased's loyalties,

⁴¹⁶ Joel T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: The Social Function of Aristocratic Benevolence, 1307-1485* (London: Routledge, 1972), especially ch. 5.

alliances, and their patronage to the religious house. The place of burial within an institution was also important. The desire by John de Vere to be buried within his family's mausoleum and his request to be close to the Lady Chapel meant that he had an improved chance to be remembered by future generations of church goers. The tomb itself was meant to symbolise a number of different aspects of life. Two of which appear to be juxtaposed: that of the commemoration of the family and that of a sign of selfhood. This chapter has shown that familial commemoration and memory could be promoted, particularly, by heraldry. Yet, a burial monument was designed, usually by the person who was to be buried within it, and it depicted very personal images and words. The tomb of Sir Rhys, for example, has many devices that are hard to identify or recognise as of particular importance to the knight, but they still appear on his tomb showing they were of some importance to him. A similar juxtaposition can be seen at the castles as well. Castles were meant to promote the authority and lordship of the current owner and, at times, it was displaying the loyalty to the king and a collective familial memory for future generations.

Understanding how the castle and its owner interacted with the wider communities of people outside his *caput* is important for the broader interpretation of region's cohesion. The evidence presented in this chapter depicted the early Tudor nobility as a group of individuals who, collectively, displayed their familial history to the outside world, perhaps as much for their own individual memories as for perpetuating the memory of their forbearers to future generations. The connection to the region makes the location of commemoration an important aspect of patronage. The location of posthumous patronage and chosen burial location were not selected at random, but were the deliberate choice of the deceased before death. Those who could afford it were commemorated in more than one place. What can be seen through wills and chantry foundation grants is that established families such as the de Veres and the Staffords, desired to commemorate their personal and their families' achievements in close proximity to their *capita*. As Chapter One demonstrated, the nobility were most influential around their chief residence. It is not a coincidence that their region of influence was, in most cases, their chosen burial location. It was where they held the most land, had the most connections and strongest network of supporters, and where their legacy would be remembered. The location of commemoration is very closely linked with genealogy or the collective memory of a family. The knowledge of familial

and tenorial networks were established through family ties, marriages, and most importantly, through genealogy.

Patronage and bequests were as much about the past as they were about the future, and one way to ensure that future generations remembered and commemorated a family was to (re)build part of the existing church or religious institution. When Stafford was slowly draining his coffers by renovating Thornbury, he applied for a grant to build and found a chantry chapel. This chapel was to commemorate Stafford as well as his whole family, and the location of this was to be immediately outside his castle walls. Again, this speaks of the location of commemoration being an important factor in patronage, demonstrating that building work was a part of the commemoration process as well. The actual building of the chantry, by Stafford, would be standing beyond his death and it would serve as a visual reminder for future generations. Both castle and church architecture was a visual reinforcement of authority and wealth possessed by the nobleman as well as a reminder of achievements and connections to the local communities around the *caput*.

Part Two:
Households, Daily
Life, and Social
Relations in the
Castle

4. The Movement, Membership, and Service of the Household

4.1 Introduction

Thus the diligences of dyuerse office y haue shewed to the alone,
 The which science may be shewed & doon by a syngeler persone;
 But the dignyte of a prince requirethe vche office must haue oon
 To be rewlere in his rome a seruand hym waytynge on.
 Moore-ower hit requirethe euerich of them in office to haue perfite
 science, For dowl and drede doynge his souereyn displicence,
 Hym to attende, and his gestis to plese in place where they ar presence,
 That his souereyn through his seruice may make grete congaudence.⁴¹⁷

John Russell was a mid-fifteenth-century Usher of the Chamber and Marshal of the Hall for Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. In his handbook for the household, entitled *The Boke of Nurture*, he describes the duties and responsibilities of all household servants to uphold ‘the dignyte of a prince’ by serving the lord and his guests. Indeed, the different departments of the household were like the many part of a machine that worked together to keep the residence of the lord running smoothly. The household was an essential part of the noble lifestyle and provided a backdrop for many aspects of life from the development of politics and the conduct of government, to literature and drama, music, the arts and architecture, and personal relationships. It was conducted in such a way as to express formally lordship, status, and wealth. This was part of a society in which display, lavish hospitality, prestige, and social competition were all important and such distinctions came to be carefully weighed, nuances closely considered, and the overwhelming detail of ceremony recorded for posterity.

The household’s complex nature has made it the subject of research since, at least, the eighteenth century. The focus of the nineteenth-century writers was publishing household accounts that survived. For example, between 1770 and 1905, the Household Book of the earl of Northumberland from 1512, was published four different times.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁷ BL, Harley MS 4011, f. 188b. Reproduced in *Early English Meals and Manners: John Russell’s Boke of Nurture, Wynkyn de Worde’s Boke of keruyng, The boke of curtasye, R. Weste’s Booke of demeanor, Seager’s Schoole of virtue, the babes book, Aristotle’s A B C Urbanitatis, Stans puer ad mensam*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London: Humphrey Milford, 1868), p. 79.

⁴¹⁸ Henry Percy, *The Regulations and Establishments of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland: at his Castles of Wresill and Leginfield in Yorkshire* (London: Westminster Press, 1770); (London: William Pickering, 1827); (London: A. Brown, 1905). Two separate editions were printed in 1827. Many other edited publication came out related to the household: Thomas Amyot, ‘Transcript of Two Rolls, Containing an Inventory of

More recently, in the early 2000s, Vanessa Harding, Matthew Davies, and Richard Smith ran a research project entitled ‘People in Place: Households and Housing in Early Modern London, 1550-1720’. The project culminated in several publications that led the way for early modern urban households.⁴¹⁹ Gender historians have begun to examine women’s roles in the medieval and early modern households.⁴²⁰ Jeremy Goldberg has examined the material culture and spatial arrangements within households in England and skilfully argues that we can only begin to understand space and its relation with society – on many different levels – by using an interdisciplinary methodology.⁴²¹ Finally, a strand of household research that is drawn on heavily throughout this chapter is food and the household. The importance of food, especially within elite households has only recently been in the main stream of research thanks to scholars such as Mark

the Effects Formerly belonging to Sir John Fastolfe’, *Archaeologia*, 21 (1827), 232-80; Andrew Boorde, *The Fyrst boke of the introduction of knowledge...A dietary of helth*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London: Trübner, 1870); ‘Inventory of the Good and Chattels belonging to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, and seized at his castle at Pleshy, co. Essex, 21 Richard II (1397); with their values, as shown in the escheator’s accounts’, ed. by Viscount Dillon and William H. St John Hope, *Archaeological Journal*, 54 (1897), 275-308; *Account of the Executors of Richard Bishop of London 1303, and of the executors of Thomas Bishop of Exeter 1310*, ed. by William H. Hale and Henry T. Ellacombe (London: Camden Society, 1874); *Household Books of John, Duke of Norfolk and Thomas, Earl of Surrey, temp. 1481-90, from the original manuscripts in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, London*, ed. by John P. Collier (London: Roxburghe Club, 1844); *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household Made in divers reigns, from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary. Also receipts in ancient cookery*, ed. Anon (London: J. Nichols, 1790); *Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. by Beriah Botfield (London: William Nichols, 1841).

⁴¹⁹ Vanessa Harding, Philip Baker, *People in Place: Families, Households and Housing in Early Modern London* (London: IHR, 2008); Mark Merry and Philip Baker, ‘For the house herself and one servant’: Family and Household in Late Seventeenth-Century London’, *London Journal*, 34 (2009), 205-32; Vanessa Harding, ‘Houses and Households in Cheapside c. 1500-1550’, in *London and Beyond: Essays in Honour of Derek Keene*, ed. by Matthew Davies and James A. Galloway (London: University of London Press, 2012), pp. 135-54.

⁴²⁰ Peter Fleming, *Family and Household in Medieval England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000); Alexandra Shepard, ‘Family and Household’, in *The Elizabethan World*, ed. by Susan Doran and Norman Jones (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 352-71.

⁴²¹ For spatial arrangements and the household, see Jeremy P. Goldberg, ‘The Fashioning of Bourgeois Domesticity in Later Medieval England: A Material Perspective’, in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, ed. by Maryanne Kowaleski and Jeremy P. Goldberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 124-44; Vanessa Harding and Phillip Baker, *People in Place: Families, Households and Housing in Early Modern London* (London: University of London Press, 2008); Jane Fenlon, ‘Moving towards the Formal House: Room Usage in Early Modern Ireland’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 111 (2011), 141-68; Jeremy P. Goldberg, ‘Space and Gender in the Later Medieval England House’, *Viator*, 42 (2011), 205-32.

Dawson, Christopher Woolgar, and Peter Brears.⁴²² Christopher Woolgar's most recently monograph, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, examined the basic characteristics of the household – size, membership, economics, and social context – in order to place the previous individual studies, alluded to above, in perspective.⁴²³ Woolgar's work has been instrumental for scholars of the household in the understanding of the ordinary and everyday as compared to the extraordinary. The current chapter will build on the social context set out by Woolgar by adding an interdisciplinary lens through which to examine the four case studies of the thesis. By examining who was in the early Tudor household and where they lived, worked, and served, this chapter will provide a glimpse into the everyday workings and functions of the castle in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The added layer of spatial analysis means this chapter moves beyond recent studies of the household by examining the space meant for the household. As these spaces were such an important part of the household itself, it was felt that it needed to be added to the definition in order to make it a more holistic concept:

Household

- a. The inhabitants of a house considered collectively; a domestic establishment, including any servants, attendants, guests, etc. and the space in which they lived, worked, and served in.

The space in which the household moved around is crucial in the understanding of the mechanics of the maintenance and structure of the residence, which is why it has been incorporated into the definition. Before discussing the space in which the people worked and lived, the structure and membership of the household must be examined.

4.2 The Hierarchy and Membership of the Household

Membership of the household was organised into a hierarchical structure based on the location that responsibilities and duties were performed in (see Table 1). The number of individuals in the household and resident at the castle fluctuated, due, in part, to the

⁴²² *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. by Christopher Woolgar, Dale Serjeanton, and Tony Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Mark Dawson, 'Food and Drink in Nottinghamshire Households, c. 1540-1640', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*, 112 (2008), 159-76; Mark Dawson, 'Plenti and Grase': *Food and Drink in a Sixteenth-Century Household* (Totnes: Prospect, 2008); Peter Brears, *Cooking and Dining in Medieval England* (Totnes: Prospect, 2008); Christopher Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food in Late Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2011), 6-18; Peter Brears, *All the King's Cooks: The Tudor Kitchens of Henry VIII at Hampton Court Palace* (London: Souvenir, 2011).

⁴²³ Woolgar, *The Great Household*.

lord's advisers and councillors who might not stay permanently at the residence for the whole year. Different layers of the household would always be changing, for example, guests were considered part of the household and while some guests stayed at the residence for long periods of time, others were coming and going depending of their travel arrangements.⁴²⁴ Other layers, such as the kitchen staff, would be permanent residents at the castle and were usually accommodated above the kitchen range. Household staff classified as servants were usually a more permanent layer of the household as they would have daily responsibilities pertaining to the functioning and running of the life at the castle. A standard household would usually consist of the lord's family, councillors, chaplains, personal attendants, domestic servants, visiting estate officials and tenants, members of the local gentry, artisans in temporary employment, travelling minstrels, and guests.

Mark Girouard argues that late medieval households were not only pyramidal in organisation, 'they were power blocks as solid as pyramids in the front which they presented to the world and the weight which they gave to their members'.⁴²⁵ Each person in the pyramid had a specific role to play and together the household formed a hierarchy in the shape of a pyramid. Table 1 demonstrates the pyramid of individuals, each with their own task in the specific departments.

⁴²⁴ For a more detailed synopsis of guests, see section 5.2.

⁴²⁵ Girouard, *Life in Country House*, p. 16.

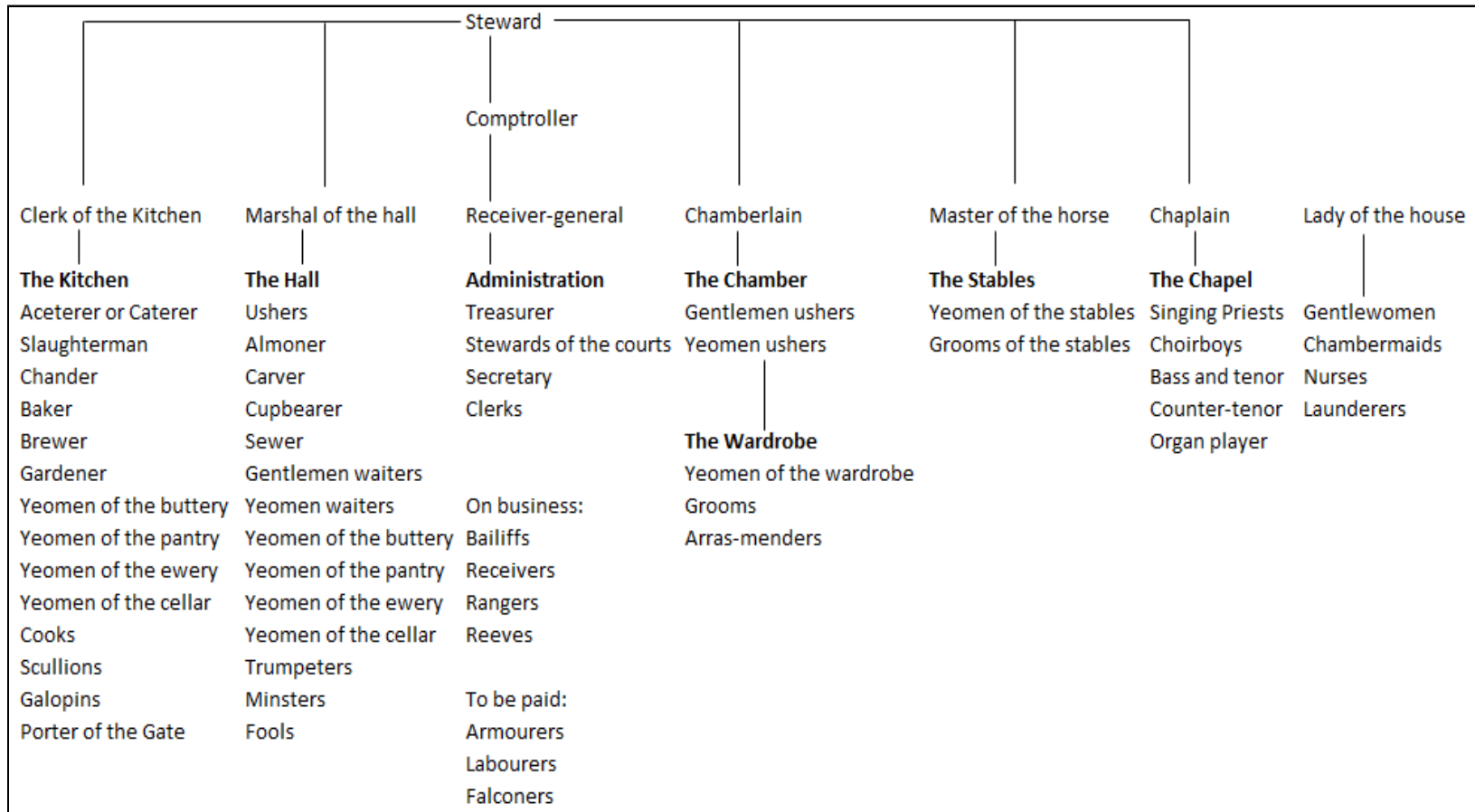


Table 1: Depicts the hierarchy of the members of the household by department. The Table was created from information in Girouard, *Life in a Country House*, pp. 22-7; Eadie, *A New Approach*, p. 149.

4.2.1 Servants

It is important to break down the household into different groups of people, as each part had a different responsibility and duty. The following categories, starting with servants, will examine the household from the bottom up. Not all the offices represented on Table 1 above will be discussed as extensive work has previously been done.⁴²⁶ The discussion that follows will focus on the individual members from the households of Hedingham, Carew, Thornbury, and Cowdray. The largest portion of membership in the household was that of the domestic servants, and this did not necessarily mean a labourer. They did tend to be permanent fixtures whose duties revolved around the maintenance of daily life.⁴²⁷ Servants usually originated from the regions around the main seat of residence, while others had family connections, or were from the households of spouses.⁴²⁸

Although they were not permanent residents in the household, accounts do indicate that local labourers were hired on an as needed-basis. In John Howard, later duke of Norfolk's household accounts from the late fifteenth century, a carpenter, 'yonge Copdoke', was employed in October 1465 for a period of twelve months, and he received meat, drink, and a gown, along with a 36s and 8d payment, but he was to find himself bedding.⁴²⁹ Although he was able to eat on the lord's expense and was even provided with a gown, presumably livery, he was not given a specific place to sleep at the residence with the rest of the household. Similarly, John de Vere hired several men for temporary periods of time. For example, he hired a Robert Bukton to repair the door to the stable on 1 April 1491, for which he got paid 8d.⁴³⁰ Later that year, a Benett Myllens, of Sudbury, was paid 20d for 'mendyng of the ledde on the new towre, and the

⁴²⁶ For a synopsis of the different departments pertaining to food, see Peter Brears, *Cooking and Dining in Medieval England* (Totnes: Prospect, 2008).

⁴²⁷ For more statistics on servants in the household, see Roger C. Richardson, *Household Servants in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 63-95.

⁴²⁸ For prosopographies of servants, see Margaret Aston, *Thomas Arundel: A Study of Church Life in the Reign of Richard II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 217-61; Kate Mertes, *The English Noble Household 1250-1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (London: Blackwell, 1988), pp. 52-74; Jennifer C. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 52-7.

⁴²⁹ He appears to be related to two other carpenters working for Howard at the time. Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 37; *Household Book of John Howard*, p. xxxix, xli-xlii; *The Household Books of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, 1462-71, 1481-1483*, ed. by Anne Crawford (Stroud: Sutton, 1992), p. 470.

⁴³⁰ *Household Book of John de Vere*, p. 505.

led of the dongen'.⁴³¹ Although the accounts for later years do not survive for either nobleman, we might assume they hired craftsmen such as carpenters on an as-needed basis.

Payment such as the one given to the carpenter by John Howard was not uncommon; in fact, there were five different types of payment a servant might receive for their employment. First, many were eligible for wages, or a daily cash payment. Second, there were allowances for food, fuel, and other commodities, together with accommodation or lodgings and transport. The third form was a stipend which was issued typically on a quarterly basis, in addition to any daily payments given. Fourth, servants were given livery which was cloth of a quality appropriate to their rank, sometimes made up into clothing, and sometimes with shoes.⁴³² Lastly, servants received perks: payments or goods given to them on a customary basis.⁴³³ It was not uncommon for servants to receive more than one form of payment. There were, of course, other benefits to servants of a household. From some of the traceable careers, it appears that many royal servants began in households of the nobility, making the patronage of a lord very valuable when attempting to scale the social ladder.⁴³⁴

As one might expect, the wealthier a lord was the larger his household. This can be seen in the comparison between the twelfth and thirteenth earls of Oxford, both named John de Vere. The thirteenth earl's household was more than doubled that of his father's, the twelfth earl. In 1431-2 payments for the wages, food, and other expenses incurred by the steward of the household totalled just over £340 over a twelve-month period.⁴³⁵ Similarly, the thirteenth earl paid the same expenses – wages, food, and other expenses of the steward – for the year of 1507 that totalled £1,498.⁴³⁶ This total was about sixty per cent of the thirteenth earl's annual landed income from his estates. In 1431-2 there were fifty-one waged servants that cost the twelfth earl £76 and 10s.⁴³⁷ In 1507-8 there were a total of 124 servants, whose wages ran to just over £213 for the

⁴³¹ *Household Book of John de Vere*, p. 515.

⁴³² For more on livery, see Matthew Ward, 'The Livery Collar: Politics and Identity During the Fifteenth Century', in *Exploring the Evidence: Commemoration, Administration and the Economy*, ed. by Linda S. Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2014), pp. 41-61.

⁴³³ Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 31.

⁴³⁴ This will be discussed in more detail below, see section 4.2.2.

⁴³⁵ The 1431-2 account is printed in *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, ed. by Christopher Woolgar, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992-3); the total expenses are in vol. II, p. 548.

⁴³⁶ Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 182.

⁴³⁷ *Household Accounts*, ed. by Woolgar, II, p. 537

thirteenth earl.⁴³⁸ This is comparable to William Fitzwilliam's account for a quarter of the year which totalled £82, 11s, and 6d (approximately £328, 44s, and 24d for the year).⁴³⁹ The records for both earls of Oxford are far from complete; however, it can be seen that the number of household staff increased under the thirteenth earl in the later fifteenth century. This might indicate a number of different possibilities. First, the thirteenth earl – as argued in Chapter One – received almost complete autonomy in East Anglia from Henry VII who favoured him with patronage, thus increasing his income. The twelfth earl, although still a high ranking nobleman in the realm, did not fare as well as some during the Wars of the Roses and was beheaded by Edward IV. Second, the increase in the number of household members for the thirteenth earl of Oxford might indicate an overall rise in the number of household members across England and Wales around the end of the fifteenth century, as both Henry Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland, and Edward Stafford had similar numbers to that of John de Vere.

The number of servants employed by the thirteenth earl (124 servants) was about average for his status. He was recently widowed in 1507, so the numbers did not include his wife's household. Comparatively, Stafford's brother-in-law, the fifth earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy, had a household of 166 members.⁴⁴⁰ Edward Stafford's household was one of the largest during the early sixteenth century, and included, on average, just over 200 people (see Table 2). The numbers have been averaged from his Household Book, which listed all those present at dinner (*prandium*) and supper (*cena*) by social rank, allowing for a breakdown of those eating on Stafford's expense. The Household Book does not survive for a complete year, so the average was taken while Stafford was in residence at Thornbury from 6 November 1507 to 27 January 1508 and again from 28 February 1508 to 22 March 1508. The gap from the end of January to the end of February was the period of time when Stafford was travelling to London and back.⁴⁴¹ From the table, it appears that the number of gentle servants, yeomen, and grooms stayed relatively stable, only shifting a few degrees between dinner and supper. The guest numbers changed the most between the two meals. The average jumps by almost ten between dinner and supper. It is difficult to know why there is such a large

⁴³⁸ Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 182.

⁴³⁹ TNA, E101/518/46. The account specifically states, 'wages of servants with certeyn keperes of the fforest'. This might indicate that park keepers were usually paid separately from everyone else.

⁴⁴⁰ Edward Barrington De Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy* (Dublin: Trinity College Library, 1976), p. 324.

⁴⁴¹ For more details on Stafford's trip to London and his travelling household, see section 4.2.6.

discrepancy between the two meals, but one reason might be that guests were all travelling during the day and arrive in time for the later meal.

Table 2: The Number of Household Members present at meals at Thornbury Castle in 1507-8. From SRO D1721/1/5; Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 17.

<i>Place/meal</i>	Gentle servants	Yeomen	Grooms	Visitors	Total
Thornbury: dinner <i>(prandium)</i>	53	58	46	69	216
Thornbury: supper <i>(cena)</i>	52	60	45	78	235

Even those servants who were not directly involved in the preparation of the food still played a part in dining. Servants who were responsible for the duties of the chamber were under the authority of the chamberlain, who chose, controlled, punished, and dismissed all the chamber servants. The chamberlain was also responsible for keeping all aspects of the chamber in order to the lord's standards, including that of the furnishing, beds, tables, security, and reception.⁴⁴² The gentlemen ushers of the chamber were next in line to the chamberlain, with at least one or two present at every meal. Each usher kept order in the chamber, recorded the quantities of food, drink, fuel, and lighting used during the meal time, reported these numbers back to the counting house, and trained all the chamber's servants in their duties, particularly for serving food. The ushers were also responsible for allocating lodgings of appropriate quality for all guests and their place for meals.⁴⁴³ The kitchen was headed by the clerk of the kitchens and in a large household had a group of people assigned to each main sub-department. For example, a group of bakers for the bake house, a group of brewers for the brew house, and so on. Some of the groups under the kitchen department are also listed under the hall, which was headed by the marshal of the hall (Table 1), such as the yeomen of the buttery, pantry, and cellar. This is because their duties extended to both the kitchens and the hall. The minstrels, trumpeters, and fools were also considered to be under the command of the marshal of the hall. The administration side of the household was headed by the receiver-general and below him was the treasurer, secretary, clerks, and

⁴⁴² *Early English Meals and Manners*, p. 188; BL Sloane MS 1986.

⁴⁴³ *Early English Meals and Manners*, p. 188.

any officials away on business or not resident at the castle. The master of the horse was in charge of the stables and barns, and he had both yeomen and grooms of the stables underneath him. Each person in the many different departments had a role to play in the movement and workings of the noble household.

Those members closer to the top of the household pyramid were, at times, able to form long lasting and close relationships with the lord. This bond was a relationship that mutually benefitted both lord and servant, with each party obliged with a duty to serve the other. The servant was to serve the lord in his daily routine, while the lord not only paid his servants' wages and provided food, accommodation, and clothing, among other items. Although records for the twelfth and thirteenth earls of Oxford are far from complete, when comparing both sets of household accounts some family names are repeated for both the twelfth and thirteenth earls, perhaps showing commonality and even a sense of loyalty to a family. For example, the twelfth earl employed one Edward Tyrell who appeared to be working in the local judicial courts.⁴⁴⁴ Two different families with the surname of Tyrell were employed by the thirteenth earl of Oxford, a Thomas Tyrell served as controller of the thirteenth earl's household from at least 1493 to 1495, and he was associated with the de Vere's property settlements, being appointed as an attorney in the great of estates to Earls Colne priory in 1492.⁴⁴⁵ The twelfth earl also had a feoffee named John Smyth from Gestingthorpe, a very small area adjacent to Hedingham Castle.⁴⁴⁶ The thirteenth earl employed two separate families with the surname of Smyth, a Henry and a Robert.⁴⁴⁷ Although it is difficult to conclude that these might in fact be the same families, both the Tyrell families employed by the thirteenth earl also had sons who were employed by the thirteenth earl towards the end of his life. Certainly, in these castles families stayed employed in the same household over several generations. Connections such as these demonstrate that friendships and loyalties could stem from membership in a household.

The relationship between the lord and the servant was a reciprocal bond, a patron client relationship. Indeed, the privileged position held by some servants can be

⁴⁴⁴ *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, II, p. 523.

⁴⁴⁵ Sir Robert Tyrell (and later his son, Robert) and Sir Thomas Tyrell (and later his son, Thomas). Both sons are referred to as 'the younger' in the household accounts. *Household Books*, p. 493, 520; TNA, PROB 11/17, fol. 1; *CCR, 1485-1500*, p. 226; Ross, *John de Vere*, pp. 198-9.

⁴⁴⁶ *Household Account from Medieval England*, II, p. 527.

⁴⁴⁷ For Robert Smyth: ERO, D/DPr 139, m. 2; *Household Books*, p. 495; *CIPM Henry VII*, I, p. 391. For Henry Smyth: ERO, D/DPr 139, m. 4; *Household Book*, p. 510.

seen in wills. All the servants of Edward, duke of York (d. 1415), who had been with him for a year prior to his death, were to be paid their stipends for the following term. Margaret, countess of Richmond (d. 1509), left instructions to her executors to pay all her household servants for six months after her death, in addition to keeping her household together for at least three months, well-supplied with food and drink as usual.⁴⁴⁸ In John de Vere's will there were just over one hundred men granted single rewards, while some household members received life annuities. Of the hundred men given one payment, ninety-three are named in the will, and of these forty-five were paid in the household account.⁴⁴⁹

Although most servants in the household were male, the lady of the house would employ a small number of maids for herself.⁴⁵⁰ The Duchess of Clarence, c. 1468 had a total of 144 individuals including a baroness, and a gentlewoman, with a further five gentlewomen and five servants, together with two chamberers.⁴⁵¹ Edward Stafford's wife, Lady Eleanor Percy, had eighty-six servants assigned to her person.⁴⁵² In John de Vere's will only three women were named and granted rewards: Margaret Ryder, Elizabeth Wingfield, and Margaret Harleston. These three women might have entered de Vere's household with the marriage of his second wife sometime between November 1508 and April 1509.⁴⁵³ Margaret Harleston might be the same woman who married Thomas Darcy and whose son, Roger Darcy of Chiche was esquire of the body of Henry VII. This might explain the connection to de Vere, as de Vere and Henry VII were close companions.⁴⁵⁴ It appears that Margaret Ryder's son, John Ryder became a Member of Parliament, and that her husband, Nicholas Ryder was also a servant of John de Vere in 1490.⁴⁵⁵ She is also identified in the will of de Vere's widow, Elizabeth

⁴⁴⁸ *A Collection of all the wills now known to be extant of the Kings and Queens of England*, ed. by John Nicholls (London: Nichols, 1780), pp. 219-20, 330, 364-5.

⁴⁴⁹ Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 183.

⁴⁵⁰ A recent study of gentry wills in the period 1460 to 1530 has shown that twice as many male household servants as female received bequests, see Peter Fleming, 'Household Servants of the Yorkist and Early Tudor Gentry' in *Early Tudor England: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), pp. 19-36 (p. 25).

⁴⁵¹ *HO*, pp. 100-1.

⁴⁵² Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, pp. 88-9.

⁴⁵³ Hope, 'Last Testament', p. 319.

⁴⁵⁴ TNA, PROB11/8/289. An esquire of the body was a personal attendant to the king and very privileged position as one would receive direct access to the monarch.

⁴⁵⁵ *Household Books*, p. 507; *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1509-1558*, ed. by Stanley T. Bindoff (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1982), pp. 240-1.

Scrope, for her 'true and faithful service'.⁴⁵⁶ Elizabeth Wingfield may be the sister of Ursula Knightley (née de Vere), daughter of Sir George de Vere (d. 1503) and his wife, Margaret Stafford, and sister of John de Vere (1499-1526), fourteenth earl of Oxford.⁴⁵⁷ Although little is known about the female servants in the household, it is clear that noble women had large entourages within the residential complex and friendships could be formed between the servant and those they served.

Servants were an essential part of the household and made up the bulk of the lower parts of the pyramid (Table 1). That being said, John de Vere's will depicts the intimate relationships that could be formed over years of service. De Vere's household demonstrated that familial connections were an important aspect of recruitment for the lord. Sons could follow their fathers in employment in the same household indicating a level of loyalty to a lord or lady

4.2.2 Administrators and Estate Officials

Administrators and officials within the household might encompass a number of different positions. In this thesis, they will be categorised as those dealing with the business of the estate and financial management, including those members who were permanent such as the steward and those who would travel around the lord's many properties, keeping order, and collecting rents, such as the receiver-general. As will be shown, these members of the household were usually higher ranking gentry of the local regions, and they moved through the social ranks with the aid of the lord's patronage. For example, Henry Smith was the controller of John de Vere's household between at least 1488 and 1491 and was later appointed to the office of controller and clerk of the king's works at Windsor.⁴⁵⁸ Robert Tyrell, who held the same office of controller

⁴⁵⁶ Elizabeth leaves 100 marks in ready money, '2 salts of silver and gilt with a cover and a Garter in the midst of them, weight 26 ounces; item, 2 of my best featherbed not before bequeathed; item, 4 pair of my best sheets, 2 bolsters, 2 pillows, one long, and 2 mattresses, 2 counterpoints, the one having the pictures of Saint John the Baptist, Saint Peter and Saint Giles of counterfeit arras, used to be laid upon my bed, the other like unto the same of counterfeit arras; item, 2 pair of fustians; item, all my tappets of tapestry of damask-work, the ground green, with the Garter and my Lord's arms in them, used to be hanged in my chamber; item, 2 brass pots of 3 gallons, 2 small pans of brass, and one garnish of counterfeit vessel largest of petwer'. TNA, PROB 11/27, ff. 84-6.

⁴⁵⁷ TNA, PROB 11/42a, ff. 7-9. For de Vere's family tree, see Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 24

⁴⁵⁸ *Household Books*, p. 510; *CPR, 1485-1494*, p. 330; *CPR, 1494-1509*, p. 200.

between at least 1493 and 1495, was knighted in de Vere's service at the Battle of Blackheath.⁴⁵⁹

As administrative officials were usually held in high esteem by the lord, they were given more responsibilities and tasks to undertake. One such task was record keeping. John de Vere had at least four or five posts in his household dedicated to keeping a record of expenditure within the household itself. As previously mentioned, Henry Smith was the controller, one of the senior financial officials, who kept a record of the expenditure of the household. Philip Lewis was the steward of the household, or the cofferer, which entailed duties outside of the household itself.⁴⁶⁰ The steward of the household was responsible for household policy and discipline. There were three other officials in the household administration, as the account for de Vere's funeral mentions their offices, but not the names of the men who held the posts.⁴⁶¹ Stafford was also a very avid record keeper. He had his steward compile a Book of Information, which detailed articles and instructions he sent to his estate officials.⁴⁶² These instructions were about keeping records for each individual tenant, manor, or farm, as well as his policies on estate management.⁴⁶³ All records that the estate officials made concerning tenants and rents were to be copied with the originals sent directly to Stafford.⁴⁶⁴ A partial list of manuscripts in Stafford's possession shortly before he died was transcribed by his son, Henry, Lord Stafford and now forms part of a book of evidences relating to the family's Welsh Marcher lordships.⁴⁶⁵ It describes in some detail the contents of six large chests, most of which are clearly stated to have been kept at Thornbury at least until November 1520. Each chest had a corresponding letter. There is

⁴⁵⁹ TNA, CP40/1002, rots. 510, 510d.

⁴⁶⁰ He appears to be running different aspects of de Vere's household accounts, and it is therefore, unclear actually what his role was in the administrative framework of the household. Philip Lewis was the son of Sir Lewis John and Alice, daughter of Aubrey de Vere, tenth earl of Oxford, and uncle of Sir Richard Fitzlewis. He was also lieutenant of Dover Castle by 1481. *CCR, 1468-76*, pp. 399-400; *CPR, 1476-1485*, p. 283. *Household Accounts*, p. 510.

⁴⁶¹ Mertes, *English Noble Households*, pp. 22-3; Woolgar, *Great Households*, p. 18; Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 217.

⁴⁶² For further information about Stafford's desire to keep records, see Carole Rawcliffe, 'A Tudor Nobleman as Archivist: The Papers of Edward, Third Duke of Buckingham', *Journal of Society of Archivists*, 5 (1976), 294-300.

⁴⁶³ Some articles reproduced in *Marcher Lordships*, pp. 262-75, 281-86. The original Book of Information compiled in 1515-16: SRO, D 1721/1/6. The Book of Information compiled in 1518-19: Westminster Abbey, MS 5470.

⁴⁶⁴ *Marcher Lordships*, pp. 262-75, 281-86.

⁴⁶⁵ BL, Add. MS 36542, fo. 132.

evidence to suggest that Stafford had evolved a simple, but effective, system of letters and numbers to facilitate the storage and production of his papers.⁴⁶⁶

Nicole Crossley-Holland has argued that a steward would require a counting-house in which to work as he was responsible for keeping the household accounts and recording the income and expenditure of the household.⁴⁶⁷ At Thornbury, records would have been kept in the muniments room in the residence. A large two-storey chamber has been identified in the Lord's Tower, which also housed the closets of Stafford and Lady Eleanor. It might be suggested the counting room for the household steward was near, or even in, the muniments room as both kept and stored records. This is certainly the case at Thornbury, where the steward's lodgings were directly connected to the muniments room through a corridor and staircase. Peter Brears describes a counting house at Warkworth castle as 'set just within the entrance' and provided an inner office which was well lit and contained a wall cupboard, fireplace, latrine chamber and sink; and an outer office containing record cupboards via a trapdoor to a strongroom below.⁴⁶⁸

As mentioned, many of the more senior officials in the household were drawn from the local gentry communities. For example, John Paston was John de Vere's deputy in the admiralty, John Radcliffe, his deputy as constable of the Tower, succeeded by Sir Thomas Lovell.⁴⁶⁹ De Vere's own administration provided an opportunity for similar posts closer to Hedingham Castle. Sir Richard Fitzlewis, John Paston, Thomas Heigham, Richard Churchyard, John Josselyn, and Clement Heigham, for instance, all held posts within the central administration at Hedingham.⁴⁷⁰ The office of parker at Earls Colne was held by John Tey between 1496 and 1501, and Thomas Tyrell, junior, between 1508 and 1510.⁴⁷¹ Farming a manor near de Vere's residence at Hedingham proved to be a stepping stone into his household: Robert Tyrell, for example, was a farmer of Downham in 1488-9 and 1499-1500 and later became

⁴⁶⁶ BL, Add. MS 36542, fo. 132. For more details on Stafford's record-keeping system, see Rawcliffe, 'A Tudor Nobleman as Archivist', pp. 294-300.

⁴⁶⁷ Nicole Crossley-Holland, *Living and Dining in Medieval Paris: the Household of a Fourteenth-Century Knight* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), p. 16.

⁴⁶⁸ Brears, *Cooking and Dining*, pp. 18-9.

⁴⁶⁹ *Select Cases in the Exchequer Chamber before all the Justices of England*, ed. by M. Hemmant, 2 vols (London: Selden Society, 1945-8), II, p. 120; TNA, KB145/9/1. For Lovell, see TNA, KB8/2, mm. 1d, 3d.

⁴⁷⁰ See Ross, *John de Vere*, pp. 196, 230.

⁴⁷¹ ERO, D/DPr 124, mm. 4-6, mm. 4, 5; 133; 134.

controller of de Vere's household.⁴⁷² Likewise, Edward Stafford attracted members of the local communities who were looking for employment and patronage. Of the forty-five members of Stafford's council and staff identified by Barbara Harris, twenty-six were gentlemen.⁴⁷³ Like the top officials in de Vere's household, many of the senior councillors and officials in Stafford's household moved on to other jobs. Thomas Bridges began as the clerk of the wardrobe and by Stafford's execution he was master of the wardrobe.⁴⁷⁴ Thomas Cade was the receiver-general for Stafford's household and after Stafford's death he became the steward of Cardinal Wolsey's household.⁴⁷⁵

The majority of estate officials moved around collecting rents from a large area or county where the lord held manors. The large expanse of Stafford estates meant that he employed a large body of officials who kept his estates running smoothly and his income steady. These officials included advisors, a chancellor, treasurer, auditor, cofferer, comptroller, steward, almoner, keeper of the wardrobe, secretary, master of the works, and chaplain. Stafford inherited a large and impressive administrative structure from his father.⁴⁷⁶ His lands were divided into nine groups: the general circuit, which included property in Warwick, Nottingham, Rutland, Northampton, Huntingdon, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Cornwall and London; the Stafford inheritance in Stafford, Chester, and Shropshire; the Gloucester receivership of lands in Gloucester, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Somerset; the Kent and Surrey receivership; the lordship of Holderness in York; the lordship of Caus in the Welsh marches; the marcher lordship of Newport; the receivership of the Welsh lordships of Brecon, Hay, and Huntingdon; and finally, the Welsh receivership of Cantref Selyf, Penkelly, and Alexanderstone. Each of these groups of estates was headed by a receiver who collected the money due from individual manors and carried it to Stafford's cofferer at Thornbury.⁴⁷⁷ Most of Stafford's residences had a steward, a bailiff, and a reeve, who were responsible for the account submitted at the end of each year to

⁴⁷² ERO, D/DPr 139, mm. 1-3; ERO, D/DBm M501, m. 3d. For more examples, see Ross, *John de Vere*, pp. 186-7.

⁴⁷³ Harris, *Edward Stafford*, app. B (pp. 224-8).

⁴⁷⁴ SRO, D641/1/3/9; TNA, E36/220, m. 22.

⁴⁷⁵ SRO, D641/1/2/89; Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, p. 229.

⁴⁷⁶ The administrative structure on Stafford's estates was similar to the set-up of those great estates, lay and ecclesiastical, in the later medieval period. See Joel T. Rosenthal, 'The Estates and Finances of Richard, Duke of York (1411-1460)', in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 2 (1965), pp. 115-204 (pp. 122, 161-72); John Hatcher, *Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall, 1300-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), ch. 2.

⁴⁷⁷ The receiver for the general circuit was called the receiver-general.

Stafford. Each park and forest also had a keeper, and constables and porters for each castle. All in all, Stafford's payroll included 164 estate officials receiving annual wages of £493 13s in an average year.⁴⁷⁸ Although these officials can be considered part of the household, they were rarely in residence at Thornbury, usually living on or very near to the property they looked after.

Estate officials were not permanent residents at Thornbury; however, they did travel to the castle in order to turn over the cash they had received from manors and tenants. In 1508, for instance, Stafford extended his hospitality at the feast of the Epiphany to the receivers of Newport and of Kent and Surrey, and to the bailiffs of Hatfield Broadoak, Oakham, Naseby, and Rothwell.⁴⁷⁹ In 1520-21 the cofferer's receipts were unusually high during the holiday months of December and January, suggesting that estate administrators stayed with Stafford over the Christmas period to deliver the rents they had collected.⁴⁸⁰ Although estate officials and managers were not permanent residents they played a paramount role in the life of the lord, by providing the actual income from the land, maintaining the numerous estates, parks, and other properties, and by ensuring everything ran smoothly when the lord was away from the property.

4.2.3 The Retinue

As there was no standing army at the time, the nobility were expected to serve and provide troops when the king went on campaigns.⁴⁸¹ Under Henry VII, John de Vere had to muster his troops on at least six different occasions (twice in 1487, 1489, 1492, and twice in 1497).⁴⁸² Evidence from lists of knights made after the Battle of Stoke demonstrate that de Vere had military men in his household as seven of his household members were knighted, and Edmund Bedingfield was made a banneret, and after Blackheath, four more household members were made bannerets, and a further seven

⁴⁷⁸ TNA, E36/150; E36/181; *LP, Henry VIII*, III (pt. 2), pp. 1530-1 (no. 3695).

⁴⁷⁹ Gage, *Archaeologia*, 25 (1834), p. 321.

⁴⁸⁰ TNA, E36/220.

⁴⁸¹ James R. Hooker, 'Notes on the Organization and Supply of the Tudor Military under Henry VII', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 23 (1959), 19-31; Glenn Foard and Anne Curry, *Bosworth 1485: A Battlefield Rediscovered* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), pp. 19-44; Alexander Hodgkins, *Rebellion and Warfare in the Tudor State: Military Organisation, Weaponry, and Field Tactics in Mid-Sixteenth Century England*, (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Leeds, 2013).

⁴⁸² Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 193.

were knighted.⁴⁸³ Of the men knighted after both battles, two of their careers can be traced: Robert Drury was a trained lawyer and aided de Vere in arbitration lawsuits on his council; and Richard Churchyard was an administrator in the de Vere household, showing that some of the military men had other duties in the household.⁴⁸⁴ De Vere employed men from his household and the wider resource of East Anglia to fight on royal campaigns. For example, the household books for 1487 show forces were raised in July. One list contains men raised under the heading ‘[t]hese personys folwyng shall brynge the personys folwyng, at the charges of the Kyng and my Lord’.⁴⁸⁵ This list contains men who were amongst de Vere’s closest associates as well as some men who cannot otherwise be connected to him. It lists men from Essex, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, though not Norfolk, and Ross argues that this list probably cannot ‘be taken to represent the earl’s entire military following’.⁴⁸⁶ As we have seen in Chapter One, Sir Rhys and Stafford both supplied troops under Henry VIII for his French campaigns.⁴⁸⁷ All three men relied on the local communities to go on campaign, and although not all were members of the lord’s household they still played a part in the lord’s authority in the region by participating in campaigns under his command.

4.2.4 Lawyers

One position that appears to have that increased in number during the early Tudor period was that of lawyers. Of the fifty-eight advisors and household servants known by name in Edward Stafford’s household, twenty-six, or about forty-five per cent, were of gentle birth or rose into the gentry. Of these more than half were either lawyers or clergymen; nine of the lawyers were members of the Inns of Court, and thirteen of the clerks had attended a university.⁴⁸⁸ Many of the lawyers employed by Stafford were

⁴⁸³ At Stoke: Carew, Fitzlewis, Paston, Broughton, Thomas Tyrell, and possibly also William Sandes, who may have fought under Oxford’s banner, and whose son was later in the earl’s service, and Thomas Lovell, though he may have fought in the king’s retinue: *The Herald’s Memoir 1486-1490: Court Ceremony, Royal Progress and Rebellion*, ed. by Emma Cavell (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009), pp. 119-20; Walter C. Metcalfe, *A Book of Knights, Knights of Bath and Knights Bachelor* (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1885), pp. 13-15. At Blackheath: the bannerets were Thomas Lovell, Fitzlewis, Broughton, and Thomas Tyrell, the knights were Robert Lovell, Robert Tyrell, Drury, Henry Tey, Payton, Grene, and Roger Wentworth: *Book of Knight*, pp. 27-9.

⁴⁸⁴ For more information on the role of members of the gentry in noble household, see Rawcliffe and Flower, ‘English Nobleman and their Advisers’, pp. 157-77.

⁴⁸⁵ *Household Books*, p. 494.

⁴⁸⁶ Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 194.

⁴⁸⁷ For troops in French and Irish campaigns, see section 1.3.

⁴⁸⁸ Harris, *Edward Stafford*, appendix A.

highly qualified and rose to the top of their professions such as John Scott, Richard Brooke, and Christopher Hales.⁴⁸⁹ Others such as Thomas Jubbes, who became a Member of Parliament for Bristol, and Robert Turberville, who was a Hertfordshire landowner and Member of Parliament, were important on a local level.⁴⁹⁰ Stafford even employed Edmund Dudley, prior to Henry VII, who employing Dudley as one of his most influential advisers.⁴⁹¹ In addition to these men, Stafford hired other lawyers, such as John Cowper, to represent him in specific courts or to serve as justices on the itinerant commissions he sent into Wales.⁴⁹² Both Walter Luke and John Skilling started in Stafford's cohort of lawyers; afterwards Luke rose to be a justice of the court of the King's Bench and Skilling became a master of the bench at the Inner Temple.⁴⁹³ Stafford might have needed a substantial number of lawyers on his payroll because he appeared in a large number of court cases. In his lifetime, he instituted 128 lawsuits in the courts of common pleas and King's Bench.⁴⁹⁴

Lawyers bolstered the lordship of John de Vere, who oversaw local disputes and controlled regional administration as seen in Chapter One.⁴⁹⁵ Unlike Stafford though, de Vere used his own lawyers to arbitrate local lawsuits between members of the East Anglian community. For example, de Vere was asked to arbitrate in a dispute between Sir James Tyrell and Thomas Lucas concerning the ownership of a Suffolk manor. By 8 January 1501, de Vere and his council of lawyers came to a decision that Sir George Vere, Sir Robert Broughton, Sir Richard Fitzlewis, Sir Robert Lovell, John Mordaunt, and Thomas Frowky were to be enfeoffed of the manor in question to the use of Tyrell who was to have the manor as long as he paid Lucas 650 marks.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁸⁹ SRO, D1721/1/1; TNA, SC6/Henry VII/1076; *LP, Henry VIII*, III (pt. 2), p. 631 (no. 1532); *The Marcher Lordships*, pp. 296-97; TNA, SC6/Henry VII/5808; *The House of Commons 1509-1558*, I, p. 274, 503.

⁴⁹⁰ TNA, SP1/29, f. 183; *Marcher Lordships*, p. 297.

⁴⁹¹ Dudley was one of Stafford's councillors by 1498-99 and was one of Stafford's feoffee in 1501, see Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, p. 228.

⁴⁹² Sir Andrew Windsor, who rose to be keeper of Henry VIII's great wardrobe; John Kingsmill, a member of the court of common pleas; John Yaxley, a serjeant-at-law; Richard Littleton, a member of the Inner Temple from an important Shropshire family; and William Huntley and Walter Rowdon, two Gloucestershire landowners and members of the Inns of Court, all served Stafford on itinerant commissions.

⁴⁹³ *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple: From the Fifteenth Century to the Year 1944*, ed. by Henry F. MacGeagh (London: Butterworth, 1949), p. 2-3.

⁴⁹⁴ Rawcliffe, *The Staffords*, pp. 164-5.

⁴⁹⁵ See section 1.3.

⁴⁹⁶ BL, Add. Charter, 16570.

Highly educated and trained lawyers began to replace the more militarily trained men as prominent figures in de Vere's household. Men such as Humphrey Wingfield, William Ayloff, John Aspelon, John Josselyn, John Danyell, and William Oakley emerged into a prominent position within de Vere's household. Josselyn, Danyell, and Oakley were the highest paid members of his household outside de Vere's family, all being in receipt of £10 per annum, and all of these men were prominent in his last major set of enfeoffments.⁴⁹⁷ Stafford and de Vere's employment of lawyers testifies to the changing nature of the household and the desire for a more educated council, it might also reflect a changing need of the nobility from a military to a more council based household.

4.2.5 Chaplains and Household Chapel Staff

Feast days and ceremonies revolved around the religious calendar, and clerks were as much a part of the household staff as estate administrators and servants.⁴⁹⁸ They performed secular tasks such as writing letters, keeping records and accounts as well as religious tasks, and the household chapel was their domain. Chapels would stage sacred and secular plays, concerts within the context of the noble household banquets, and religious festivals. Household accounts demonstrate that keeping a full household chapel was an expensive undertaking; most elite households kept at least one priest. John de Vere and Edward Stafford could, however, afford to keep a full chapel.⁴⁹⁹ The number of men and boys employed in a resident chapel varied, and John de Vere mentions vague payments in the household accounts, so it is difficult to ascertain from them the exact number of chapel employees, but he did retain at least twelve children and two adults.⁵⁰⁰ The fifth earl of Northumberland had nine gentlemen of his chapel – a master of the children, two tenors, four countertenors, one to read (or sing) the epistle, two for the organ, and six children.⁵⁰¹ These men and boys would be expected to perform plays such as the 'Play of the Nativity upon Cristynmes-Day', and the 'Play befor his Lordship upon Shroftewsdays', which were performed for Northumberland.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁷ Ross, *John de Vere*, pp. 231,234, 239; Rawcliffe and Flower, 'Noblemen and their Advisors', pp. 165-6.

⁴⁹⁸ Edward Stafford had nineteen clerks, that we know of, in household at various times, see Harris, *Edward Stafford*, pp. 217-232.

⁴⁹⁹ *Household Accounts*, p. 518.

⁵⁰⁰ *Household Accounts*, p. 518.

⁵⁰¹ *Northumberland Household Book*, pp. 322-3.

⁵⁰² *Northumberland Household Book*, pp. 256-8.

In addition to performing plays, the household chapel was expected to provide religious and secular concerts outside the chapel. Membership into the household chapel was as much about religious tasks as it was about secular.

Although the case studies do not provide any evidence for private confessors, by the late Middle Ages they had become a popular aspect of elite lay piety.⁵⁰³ It is clear from John de Vere's will that he was still heavily involved in the local parish church and religious communities because of his donations. Similarly, Edward Stafford built a private walkway connecting his apartment range to the parish church of St Mary's, and thus physically connected himself to the church. Stafford did invite the Abbot of Kingswood to preach at his household chapel over the Christmas period, but it seems unlikely that he was a private confessor as they tended to be friars and Kingswood Abbey was Cistercian. With that being said, it was not uncommon for the lord to pay for a preacher to come to the residence. Indeed, frequently employed, but not a permanent resident at Thornbury was Dr Mandeville, prior of the Black Friars in Bristol, who came to preach at Thornbury on a regular basis.⁵⁰⁴ Visiting preachers had a dual-purpose, they were seen as a symbol of piety by the lord and it also displayed to the outside world that Stafford and his household were receiving a higher degree of religious instruction. Stafford, as lord, was obliged to provide religious entertainment and service to his household.

The actual space of the household chapel in which religious services, plays, and other forms of entertainment took place became more elaborate in ceremony over time. Cowdray's chapel is almost a separate, outwardly facing building from the rest of the east range of the castle.⁵⁰⁵ It is a three-sided apse, and the remaining plaster decorations on the wall mark it as the chapel. St John Hope suggested that the bay window was added to an original small square headed chapel. However, the tracery is similar to that of the connecting hall, the windows of which have the same hood string-course which is believed to date from 1520-30.⁵⁰⁶ A similarly designed chapel – a three-sided apse – is

⁵⁰³ Peter D. Clarke, 'New Evidence of Noble and Gentry Piety in Fifteenth-Century England and Wales', *Journal of Medieval History*, 38 (2008), 23-35; Colin Richmond, 'Religion and the Fifteenth-Century English Gentlemen', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Barrie Dobson (Gloucester: Sutton, 1984), pp. 193-208; Richmond, 'The English Gentry and Religion c. 1500', in *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England*, ed. by C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), pp. 121-50.

⁵⁰⁴ TNA, SP1/22, ff. 70d, 73, 78d; E36/220, mm. 6, 18, 24.

⁵⁰⁵ The chapel measured 50 ft long and 24 ft wide, extended to 30 ft under the organ gallery.

⁵⁰⁶ Bill Woodburn and Neil Guy, 'Cowdray', *Castle Studies Group Journal*, 19 (2005-6), 31-47 (p. 37); St. John Hope, *Cowdray*, p. 78.

located at the Vyne, Hampshire dating from 1518-27, so stylistically the layout and design could have been built in the early years of renovations.⁵⁰⁷ At Hedingham, the chapel appears to be connected to the great chamber with access to the great hall through a corridor (see Figure 10).⁵⁰⁸ At Thornbury, the chapel was very elaborate. It was entered from one side of the hall and was a building large enough to contain stalls for twenty-two ‘priests, clerks and queristers’.⁵⁰⁹ The main floor of the chapel had a large space for worshipers. Above it were two private rooms, where Stafford and his wife could sit when they worshiped in the chapel. At first it might appear that the locations of the great hall and chapel so close to one another was a juxtaposition, but the chapel – and those employed within – served a similar function to that of the great hall. Both spaces were meant for entertainment as well as nourishment, one for physical sustenance and the other for spiritual.

4.2.6 The Riding Household

The household can be broken down into two separate parts: the resident household, or the full and permanent establishment; and the riding or foreign household, which accompanied the lord when he travelled and was usually smaller than the resident household.⁵¹⁰ From the household book of the earl of Northumberland, we know there were four sections, or riding parties, to a travelling household. Firstly, there was a party of five who were to ride ahead of the rest of the household in order to prepare the lodgings. They were ‘to act as harbingers for servants’: one yeoman usher of the chamber, one clerk of the kitchen, one yeoman of the hall; and to ‘keep the lord’s chamber’ there was to be one groom of the chamber, as well as one yeoman or groom cook. The second party was to accompany the lord’s baggage train. This party was made up of one yeoman or groom porter for keeping the gates, one groom

⁵⁰⁷ Woodburn and Guy, ‘Cowdray’, *CSGJ*, p. 38; Margaret Wood, *The English Medieval House* (London: Ferndale, 1965), p. 242.

⁵⁰⁸ It has been suggested that Hedingham possessed two other chapels: one in the keep and a free standing chapel. There might be an indication in John de Vere’s will of 1513 that Hedingham did indeed have more than one chapel as it lists a vast amount of chapel good he bequeaths to religious houses founded by his family. Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 212; Mertes, *English Noble Households*, p. 47. The nineteenth-century editor of his will even comments on the amount of good de Vere had in his possession under the label ‘stuff of my chapell’, see Hope, ‘Last Testament’, pp. 311-13.

⁵⁰⁹ Simpson, ‘Bastard Feudalism’ and Later Castles’, p. 168. The exact layout of the great hall and chapel access can be seen at Cowdray Castle.

⁵¹⁰ Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 15.

sumpter⁵¹¹ with the baggage for the bed; one groom sumpter for the baggage with the coffer. The third party was immediately before the lord. This party was made up of one yeoman of the cellar; marshal(s) of the hall; one officer of arms; all other gentlemen; one gentleman usher of the chamber; one sewer for the lord; one carver for the lord; one cupbearer for the lord; and one chaplain for the lord. The fourth and final party was the party attending and following the lord, those in this party were yeoman of the robes, yeoman of the horse, yeoman of the chamber; yeoman of the pantry; yeoman of the buttery; yeomen waiters; groom of the chamber; groom of the ewery; clerk of the signet; clerk of the foreign expenses; groom of the wardrobe; groom of the stirrup; and all other yeomen to rise behind the lord.⁵¹² The different parties, the precision, and the tasks assigned to each group demonstrate the formal and complex nature of the household even while travelling. The lord had all the comfort and status display while away as he did at his main residence.

On Stafford's trip to London in the beginning of 1501, his household account testifies to the fact that he purchased items along the journey.⁵¹³ For example, Laurence Baker supplied fuel for Stafford's chamber and kitchen, Baker hired out pewter dishes, his wife lent napery and washed it; and casual labour was hired for the kitchen.⁵¹⁴ Stafford also hired cloth and tableware for his hall while away.⁵¹⁵ It would also appear that Stafford either brought animals with him or had animals available at his London residences as he hired a butcher and slaughterhouse in Southwark to turn his animals into fresh beef and mutton.⁵¹⁶ On his way to London, his household accounts record that he bought two hogsheads of wine, spices, 200 oranges, and fifty quinces as well as a pair of shoes, a pair of slippers, and a pair of saddle bags, presumably for Stafford's own use while away from Thornbury.⁵¹⁷ Once Stafford was in London he used the

⁵¹¹ A sumpter was someone who drove the pack-horses and was in charge of the baggage train. *OED*.

⁵¹² *Northumberland Household Book*, pp. 150-2.

⁵¹³ He stayed at Barnes, which was one of his residences in London and it was fully furnished from Stafford's wardrobe, so he didn't bring many household items with him from Thornbury. For a detailed account of Stafford's trip to London in 1501, see Audrey M. Thorstad, 'There and Back Again: The Journey of a Sixteenth-Century Traveling Household', in *Elite and Royal Households in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Theresa Earenfight (Leiden: Brill, 2015), forthcoming.

⁵¹⁴ TNA, E101/546/18, ff. 2r, 8r, 16v, 78-9.

⁵¹⁵ *Household Accounts of Medieval England*, II, p. 528.

⁵¹⁶ TNA, E101/546/18, ff. 42r, 67r.

⁵¹⁷ TNA, E101/546/18, ff. 51r, 115r.

River Thames as a means of travelling between his residences at Barnes and Richmond.⁵¹⁸

Table 3: People present at mealtimes while Edward Stafford was travelling in 1507-8.
Table created from SRO D1721/1/5; Woolgar, *The Noble Household*, p. 17.

<i>Place/Meal</i>	Gentle servants	Yeoman	Grooms	Visitors	Total
London dinner (<i>prandium</i>):	23	22	20	25	65
London supper (<i>cena</i>):	18	17	14	15	49

Stafford had a substantially smaller household on his 1508 trip to London than his normal household, as shown in Table 3. From those recorded in the Household Book, the average attendance at a meal was fifty-seven people, including guests at any given meal while in London.⁵¹⁹ Stafford's travelling household was slightly larger than most. For example, the travelling household of the earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy, was thirty-six individuals in c. 1511-12.⁵²⁰

The route that Stafford and his travelling household took from Thornbury to London (and back) can be traced through his household book. The first night of his journey, 28 January 1508, Stafford stopped in 'Chipnam' about thirty miles from Thornbury Castle. Only dinner (*prandium*) is recorded to have been eaten with twenty gentlemen, nine yeomen, and twenty-nine grooms (total: 58).⁵²¹ He only stayed one night in 'Chipnam', because on the 29 January he is recorded to have eaten dinner at 'Marleborough' with the same number of gentlemen, yeomen, and grooms. It appears that Stafford did not actually stay in 'Marleborough', but travelled to 'Newbury' that same day, where he ate supper (*cena*). The following day, 30 January, he ate dinner in 'Newbury' and arrived in 'Reading' for supper where he stayed the night. From 'Reading', Stafford travelled to 'Colbroke'⁵²² where he ate lunch did not stay, but instead travelled to 'Brainford'⁵²³ on the 31 January. He ate supper that night and dinner

⁵¹⁸ Stafford's other estates are shown on Figure 7.

⁵¹⁹ SRO, D641/1/3/8.

⁵²⁰ *Northumberland Household Books*, pp. 150-2, 291-6.

⁵²¹ SRO, D1721/1/5, f. 61. For a more detailed description of Stafford's travels, see Thorstad, 'The Journey of a Sixteenth-Century Traveling Household', forthcoming.

⁵²² Colbroke might refer to Colnbrook about twenty-five miles from Reading.

⁵²³ Brainford might refer to Brentford about five miles from Richmond.

the following day where he was joined by ‘Lord Fitzwatir’⁵²⁴ and ‘Lord Rouland’.⁵²⁵ From ‘Brainford’ he travelled to ‘Richmond’ and stayed until 3 February. The Household Book then states he went back to ‘Brainford’ for dinner, stayed the night, and travelled to a residence in London.⁵²⁶ His first supper in London was on 4 February, where he was joined by a large entourage and a large number of guests. The book records that thirty-five gentlemen, thirty-eight yeomen, and twenty-seven grooms (total: 100) were in Stafford’s entourage, while he was joined by some fifteen guests who had with them some twenty-five servants. He then travelled, the next day, back to Richmond with only a small party (seven gentlemen, one yeoman, and no grooms), and stayed at Richmond for two days. This trip back to Richmond with a small number of household members might indicate a hunting trip to use the deer parks around Richmond.⁵²⁷ Stafford then travelled back to London where he stayed until the 13 February. His journey back to Thornbury followed the exact same route.⁵²⁸

The accounts for de Vere are not as extensive as Stafford’s, but he too had a substantially smaller household when he was away from Hedingham. The household accounts show a drop in expenditure in late July 1507 by approximately 40 per cent.⁵²⁹ This decrease in spending occurred at the same time that de Vere joined Henry VII at Cambridge, suggesting he only brought a small number of people with him, and it appears to be about forty to fifty, a similar number of people as Stafford.⁵³⁰

In summary, the membership of the household encompassed a wide range of people with different social statuses and occupations. Each individual had a role to play in the maintenance of the residence and the upkeep of the lord or lady’s lifestyle, income, and estates. The different and mostly separate departments meant that

⁵²⁴ This might refer to Robert Radcliffe, first earl of Sussex and tenth Baron Fitzwalter (1483-1542). See David Grummitt, ‘Radcliffe, Robert, first earl of Sussex (1482/3-1542)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk/view/article/22991>> [accessed 14 April 2015].

⁵²⁵ I have been unable to identify a ‘Lord Rouland’.

⁵²⁶ The document does not specify which residence.

⁵²⁷ John Cloake, *Palaces and Parks of Richmond and Kew: Volume 1, the Palaces of Shene and Richmond* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1995).

⁵²⁸ SRO, D1721/1/5, ff. 61-88. On average Stafford and his household entourage travels fifteen to twenty miles per day, although the closer they travelled to London the shorter the mileage.

⁵²⁹ Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 195.

⁵³⁰ John de Vere’s average expenses on meat and fish were in the region of 100-120 shillings a week. In the earl’s absence from Wivenhoe, the controller of the household paid only 60s in the week covering 25-31 July, and 83s in the following week, towards the end of which de Vere returned. Clearly the expenses of the travelling household were not the controller’s responsibility and another official would have accounted for them. Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 195.

household staff had a specific role to play and certain duties to undertake; everyone knew their position in the hierarchy of the household. Those who were able to form a bond with the lord gained a patron-client relationship that could provide them with monetary funds after the lord's death.

4.3 Meals in the Noble Household

The section above (4.2) demonstrated that almost all the departments in the household dealt with food in some way. This is not surprising given that dining might take up about a third of the day and preparing and cooking the meal might take the full day. As such, the examination of the spaces for preparing food and dining during meals provides an example of the household in action. This was an opportunity for the lord to display his magnificence to those staying at or visiting the castle. Meals maintained, emphasised, and reinforced the social and cultural hierarchies present in the noble household and provided a visual display of status. The space provided to the household members dedicated to meals was very important, as the spatial arrangements were deliberately placed in the layout of the overall structure.

4.3.1 The Kitchens

Table 1 depicts the different departments within the household, each with their separate responsibilities. Those pertaining to the kitchens were the pantry, the buttery, the kitchen, the cellar, the larder (sometimes with a separate wet and dry office), the spicery, the saucer, and the scullery. As mentioned above, each department employed its own staff. The head of each of the household departments would acquire items through a range of different media: from local markets, fairs, and shops in large towns to growing vegetables and fruit and raising livestock as shown in Chapter Two.⁵³¹ Although household accounts testify to the purchase of much of the food and drink consumed by those at the residence, it was not uncommon by the later fourteenth century for a home farm to be retained by the lord, in order to supply some of the household's needs without purchase.⁵³² As discussed in Chapter Two, these farms might provide corn, especially wheat for bread and mainly barley or oats for malt. They might

⁵³¹ Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England*, pp. 257-81; TNA, E101/505/27, m. 5r; BL, Add. MS 34213, ff. 5v, 6v, 7v, 9v, 11r.

⁵³² Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 111.

even provide some meat from livestock, and perhaps fresh fish if a fishpond was nearby.⁵³³

With many of the household offices directly or indirectly associated with food, the space where the kitchen offices were located in the residence greatly depended on the size of the household, the date of construction, and the space available on the site. For larger household, such as the four being studied here, the kitchens were as separate as possible from the living arrangements. At Cowdray, the kitchens were contained in a tower block, which was not directly attached to the great hall. So although the risk of a fire spreading to the other ranges was less likely, it also meant the food travelled outside (only metres) before entering the great hall (see Figures 7 and 8). At Thornbury, (see Figures 14 and 24) the service buildings, including the wet and dry larders, boiling house, bakehouse, kitchen, privy kitchen, cellars, pantry, scullery, and buttery – each had their own and separate chambers – and were all located in the northern range. Thornbury's kitchen range had access to the kitchen court which housed some sort of kitchen gardens and the orchards. Access to the hall from the kitchens was through a hallway that went past the buttery and pantry, through a screen and into the lower end of the hall. In order to get to Stafford and Lady Eleanor's great chamber, the prepared food would either: go from the kitchen to the dry larder, outside, through the inner court, then enter Lady Eleanor's great chamber. Or one could travel through the hallway, past the buttery and pantry, along the corridor outside the great hall, up a flight of stairs, through the antechamber and into the great chamber (see Figure 24). The distance that the food needed to travel was significant; however, both the kitchen range and the elite apartments had direct access to the courtyard suggesting that it was the quickest route for the food to take.

The great hall was an important space for all those in the castle. Spatially, the great hall was located in the centre of the castle complex. It linked the household space of the kitchens with the elite space of the lordly apartments. In doing this, it physically connected the members of the household with the lord. Everyone who was a resident of the castle would gather in the great hall for meals. The placement of the great hall in the middle of the kitchens and apartments is also where it is placed in the table of the hierarchy of privacy (see Figure 28).⁵³⁴ The great hall was architecturally and ideally positioned in between the more private area of the apartments and the less private area

⁵³³ Fishponds as discussed in more detail in section 2.3.

⁵³⁴ Privacy is discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

of the kitchen. As shown in the access maps (see Figures 32-35), the service areas were off the lower end of the hall at all four sites. The hall was, therefore, not merely a room, but part of a hierarchy of space with places for the lord, and for his servants and guests to interact according to their status. Although service buildings and rooms were not the most grandiose chambers in a castle, they played an important role in the ceremony of serving and preparing food, as well as dining. As mentioned above, the door at the lower end of the hall usually led into the buttery and pantry, which were equally-sized rooms. Beyond the buttery and pantry was the kitchen, along with the other related areas such as the wet and dry larders, and the bakehouse (see Figure 24). Understanding the importance and spatial placements of the service chambers and structures will aid the concept of privacy for Chapter Six, because the service buildings were located in a relationship with the other parts of the house and, in particular, had entrances which were visible from the semi-public area pertaining to the great hall.

The fifteenth century also witnessed a shift in the kitchen, and other related offices, from separate rooms into a larger consolidated area. This has been linked to the improvement and development of cooking technologies.⁵³⁵ At Gainsborough Old Hall, Lincolnshire, for example, the central area was a large square room. At one side a deep wide boiling hearth was flanked by a small separate boiling house, its furnace fired from the main hearth. This was considered the ‘wet side’ side of the kitchen area. At the opposite ‘dry side’ of the room lay the wider, narrower roasting hearth, with niches for the seats for the spit-turners on each side. Pastry ovens were located on this side of the kitchen as well. Through a large entryway was the buttery and pantry with a passage between these two offices which led through the screens into the great hall.⁵³⁶ The whole layout at Gainsborough almost mirrors the surviving building fragments at Thornbury. The complexities of the kitchen testify to the complicated and intertwining arrangement of these chambers, demonstrating a great deal of planning went into the structure to ensure movement between spaces was fluid making a clear distinction between kitchen and higher status areas.

⁵³⁵ Brears, *Cooking and Dining*, pp. 173-201.

⁵³⁶ Brears, *Cooking and Dining*, pp. 194-5; Phillip G. Lindley, *Gainsborough Old Hall* (Lincoln: Society of Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, 1991), p. 40.

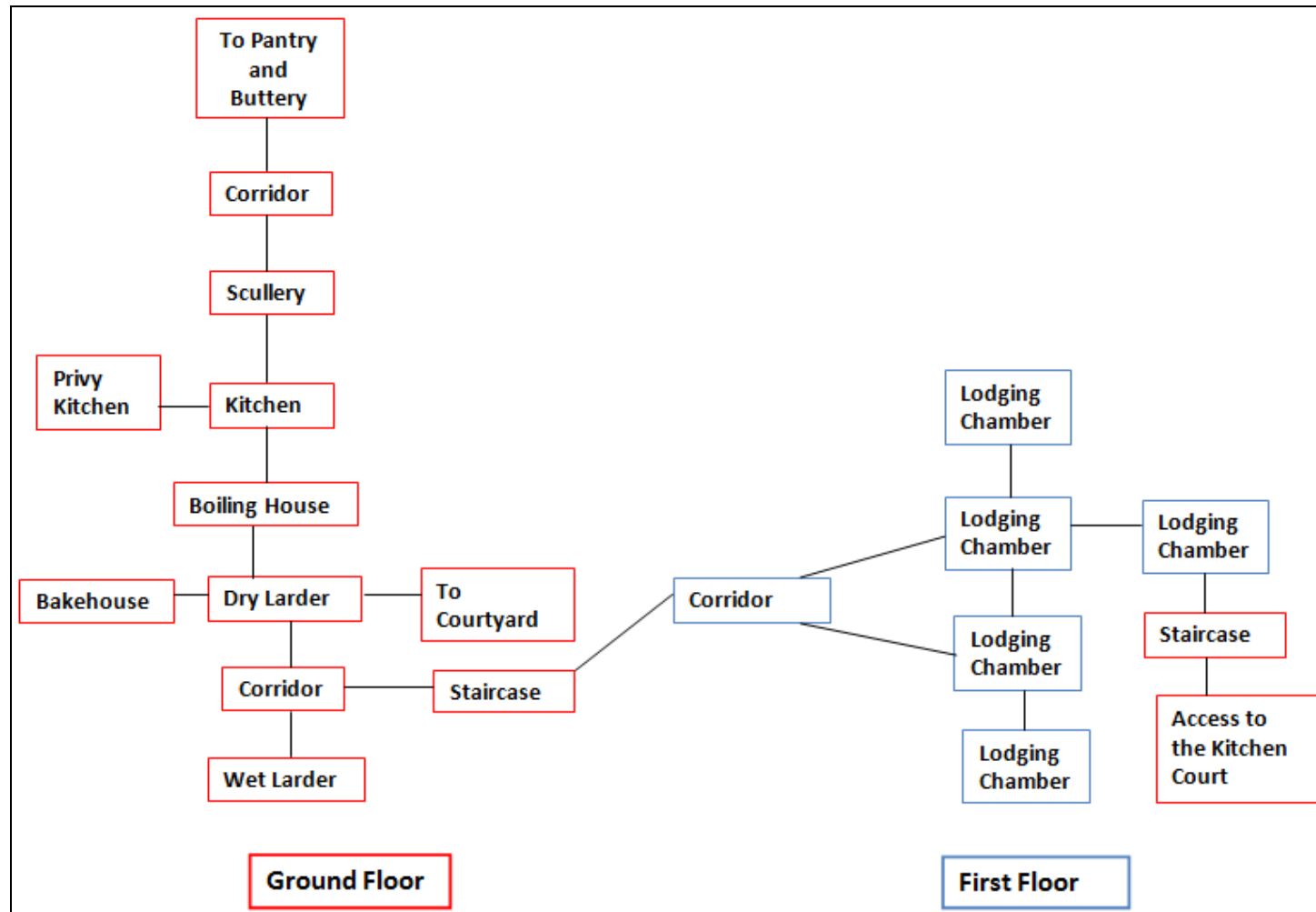


Figure 24: Access Map depicting the kitchen range at Thornbury Castle (c. 1521).

Brewhouses, kitchens, and bakehouses required an immense amount of water. The water supply at all four sites testifies to this. At Cowdray there was a separate conduit building that supplied water to the kitchens, while at Hedingham and Thornbury the wells were located directly outside the kitchen areas. When Stafford travelled to London with his household water must have been carried from a separate location as he employed Simon Egge, called the ‘waterberer’ in the accounts. Simon was paid at the rate of 1d per five tankards he carried for the use in the kitchens.⁵³⁷ No other mention of such a job is recorded in the accounts while Stafford is at residence at Thornbury. This is most likely due to the position of the well directly outside the kitchen, bakehouse, buttery, and pantry. The location of the brewhouse is unknown; however, it would seem likely to be located on the outer part of the courtyard to the north-east of the kitchens, next to the well for easier access to water. All of the arrangements for water supply and fire hazards in the kitchen affected the layout of residence substantially. At Thornbury the kitchens, buttery, pantry, and other offices pertaining to the preparation and distribution of food were on the north and north-east ranges of the inner courtyard. The great hall is situated between the kitchen and other offices and the great chamber and Stafford’s living quarters, and this is the case at the other sites as well. The preparation space given to those in the household responsible for cooking the meal was strategically placed away from the elite apartments and high-status lodgings, due in part to avoid the spread of fire, but it also was an added layer of seclusion for high-status residents.⁵³⁸

4.3.2 Spaces for Consuming the Meal

Spaces reserved for the consumption of food were areas where both the elite and non-elite gathered together. Studies on the origins and development of the hall have demonstrated the central role it played in the household.⁵³⁹ Its importance is, perhaps,

⁵³⁷ Barbara F. Harvey, ‘The Aristocratic Consumer in England in the Long Thirteenth Century’ in *Thirteenth-Century England VI*, ed. by Michael Prestwich, Richard H. Britnell, and Robin Frame (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 17-37 (p. 28).

⁵³⁸ This will be discussed in more detail in the final chapter.

⁵³⁹ Matthew M. Reeve, ‘Gothic Architecture and the Civilizing Process: the Great Hall in thirteenth-century England’, in *New Approaches to Medieval Architecture*, ed. by Rob Bork, William W. Clark, and Abby McGethee (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 93-109; Anthony Quiney, ‘Hall or Chamber? That is the question. The Use of Rooms in post-Conquest Houses’, *Architectural History: Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain*, 42 (1999), 24-46; C. Anne Wilson, ‘From Medieval Great Hall to Country-House Dining-Room: the Furniture and Setting of the Social Meal’, in *The Appetite and the Eye. Visual Aspects of Food and its Presentation within their Historic Context*, ed. by C. Anne Wilson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), pp. 28-55; Nathaniel W. Alcock and Richard J. Buckley,

self-evident by the construction and reconstruction of late medieval great halls. Meals in the great hall were as much about consuming food as performing a ceremonial ritual with well-established social rules.⁵⁴⁰ The growth of the household through the later Middle Ages caused a need for more space and at all four sites the great hall was expanded.⁵⁴¹ At Hedingham Castle the massive renovation and rebuilding programme by John de Vere saw the great hall built eighty-three feet long by thirty-seven feet wide.⁵⁴² Sir Rhys renovated both the smaller hall and the great hall at Carew. According to the royal commissioner's survey in 1532 the 'ffirst the haule there containing in length 55 ffote & in breadth 26 ffote w(i)th 13 steps ffrom the ground to the haule'.⁵⁴³ In the west part of the castle, 'grete haule there contaying in length w(i)thin 81 ffote & in breadth 30 ffote & of either side the haule is a chym(n)ey & in the middist a harth of stone & 15 ffote in breadth at the upper end of the haule is tiled with Fflanders tile which said haule is covered with lede'.⁵⁴⁴ Cowdray's great hall, newly rebuilt in the early sixteenth century, boasted of a length of sixty feet by twenty-eight feet with sixty feet from the originally paved marble floor to the apex of the great steep-pitched hammer-beam roof.⁵⁴⁵ It appears the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century was a time for remodelling the space within the residence to accommodate the growing size of households whilst making the great hall grander at the same time.

Although grandiose in size and architecture, the furnishing in the hall were usually minimalistic, in order to make the reuse of space easily. A mid-fifteenth-century text outlines the role of the marshal who was, every morning, supposed to see that the hall was clean and in order, that the stools, trestles, and forms used for meals were to be put away at other times, that all hangings were shaken out or beaten with rods, if need be, and that there were no dogs lying around the hall from morning to night.⁵⁴⁶ The

'Leicester Castle: the Great Hall', *Medieval Archaeology*, 31 (1987), 73-9; Jane Greenville, *Medieval Housing* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997), pp. 148-56.

⁵⁴⁰ Brears, *Cooking and Dining*, pp. 458-82.

⁵⁴¹ For the growth of the household, see Woolgar, *The Great Household*, pp. 8-29.

⁵⁴² *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, 4 vols (London: HMSO, 1916-23), I, pp. 51-7; Majendie, 'The Plan of Hedingham Castle', p. 79.

⁵⁴³ TNA, E36/151, fol. 4

⁵⁴⁴ TNA, E36/151, fol. 4.

⁵⁴⁵ Woodburn and Guy, 'Cowdray Castle', pp. 31-47.

⁵⁴⁶ TNA, E101/512/17, m. 2d. It is hard to know whose dogs these were or what kind of dogs they were, but dogs within a large household were not uncommon. Some dogs appear to be favoured pets, while most were for hunting. Henry VIII expected courtiers and servants to keep their dogs in kennels out of court, except by the king or queen's special command and with the exception of 'some few small spaniels for ladyes or others', so that 'the house may be sweete,

tables were most likely moveable, made of wood, and might have been simply a board laid across trestles.⁵⁴⁷ John de Vere purchased table clothes for his great hall which might suggest a decorative element in the furnishings. Of course, on feast days a special cloth was used to cover the table.⁵⁴⁸ The dishware that the food would be served in most likely came from local craftsmen. For example, John de Vere purchased 234 cups from local craftsmen in Colne and Hatfield Peverel near Hedingham Castle in the early sixteenth century, showing that the hiring of local craftsmen for single temporary jobs was not uncommon.⁵⁴⁹

The architecture of and around the great hall was important as well. The great halls at Thornbury, Cowdray, and Carew all have large windows on the inner facade. At all three sites, the great hall was located on the opposite side to the gatehouse, suggesting that the placement of the windows inward facing towards the gatehouse was to showcase the imposing architecture. At Carew, Sir Rhys even added a very large window, not facing outwards towards the picturesque Carew River, but inwards towards the inner gatehouse and lesser hall. The two-storey high oriel windows at Cowdray face the imposing three-storey gatehouse hindering the view of anything else beyond, instead of facing outward towards the parkland. The site on which Hedingham is located prevented a courtyard design as the Norman great tower was located directly in the centre of the inner bailey. However, John de Vere built his great hall directly to the west of the Norman tower with windows, most likely, facing and overlooking the focal point of the site: the great tower. The position of the windows within the great hall was just another way for the lord to proclaim his status through the visual display of architecture and the symbolic nature of the gatehouse as a sign of authority, status, and security.

It was not only the architecture that displayed the status of the lord. The meal for the household was another way to show social distinction and hierarchy. People of differing ranks sat at different tables, and ate different food. At Thornbury, tables were set up in both the great hall and the great chamber. A table called the Knights' Board was probably set up in the great chamber to accommodate any knights, gentlemen, and

wholesome, cleane and well furnished, as to a prince's honour and estate doth apperteyne'. A *Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household*, pp. 90, 150; *The Household of Edward IV: the Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478*, ed. by Alec R. Myers (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), p. 169.

⁵⁴⁷ Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 147.

⁵⁴⁸ *Household Books*, p. 513; *Manners and Meals*, pp. 131-2.

⁵⁴⁹ *Household Accounts of Medieval England*, II, p. 532.

gentlewomen who were present (Figure 25).⁵⁵⁰ Everyone else ate in the great hall, where the treasurer, marshal, and clerk of the kitchen each headed a table. Everyone not invited to eat with the lord in the great chamber would be seated in the great hall which was usually entered from several doorways at one end, and in the case of Thornbury, it was shielded by a screen. It was usually the case that the pantry and buttery were located together at one end of the hall, with a doorway to each, and a third doorway giving access to the kitchens. The most common table layout for a great hall is shown in Figure 25. The gentle members of the household and guests were seated all together; and the grooms were seated together at the lower end of the room.⁵⁵¹ Guests with ranks close to that of the lord might dine with the lord and his family in the great chamber. The fifteenth-century *Boke of Nurture*, by John Russell gives some indication of the social hierarchy present when sitting people for meals when he states:

Pope, Emperowre, king or cardynalle,
 Prince with goldyn rode Royalle,
 Archbischope, vayng to the palle,
 Duke, all these of dygnyte owght not
 kepe the hall.⁵⁵²

The *Boke of Nurture* continues to list people by social rank, the list was meant to instruct the Marshall of the Hall who was responsible for seating everyone in the great hall. The list continues, with an extraordinarily fine gradation of the social order, placing wives in relation to husbands, prelates in comparison with one another, former officeholders below the current occupants, and so on. It would be difficult to find a more powerful evocation of what was meant by magnificence and order in the fifteenth century than this list of minutiae of seating plans per table. By the fifteenth century, it becomes clear that the lord, along with his highest ranking guests, would not have eaten in the great hall, and instead they would have dined in a smaller great chamber or private dining chamber.

It would appear that the great chamber at all four sites was accessed directly from the great hall. At Thornbury the kitchens are on the north range leading to the east range which contained the buttery, pantry, and great hall which led to the south range, through an antechamber, which led to the great chamber (see Figure 28). There is yet

⁵⁵⁰ SRO, D1721/1/5, or see excerpts of the household book in Gage, *Archaeologia*, 25 (1834), 318-41. Stafford also had a private dining room, but there is no evidence to indicate that he ate there.

⁵⁵¹ TNA, E101/505/26.

⁵⁵² *Early English Meals and Manners*, p. 72.

another room leading off the great chamber was a private dining chamber, slightly smaller than the great chamber. This was not uncommon in royal and large noble households after the fourteenth century.⁵⁵³ The great chamber, Peter Brears suggests, was for more ‘public use’ while the lord’s dining chamber was more private.⁵⁵⁴ The lord’s dining chamber was of the highest status and could only accommodate a handful of invited guests of high rank to join the lord, the great chamber was the next highest status room during mealtimes, possibly catering to those guests who did not fit in the lord’s private dining room, while the great hall was equipped to accommodate everyone else in the household. If the lord decided to eat in the great chamber, which he did on occasion, he would replace the people sat at the high table, thus shifting everyone down a place in the great chamber and great hall. The table formation in the great hall (see Figure 25) would allow the highest ranking person in attendance to seat at the high table. This distinction seen in table formations (see Figures 25 and 26), testifies to the scale to which the display of wealth and status was adhered to during this period. Each table had an assigned rank or group of individuals with the tables at the upper end of the hall for those of the highest rank in the household descending down to the tables at the lower end of the hall. Meals were served with the intention of impressing everyone in attendance, but perhaps, particularly, the guests staying at the residence, who will be discussed in Chapter Five.

⁵⁵³ For more examples of residences with two separate chambers, see Brears, *Cooking and Dining*, pp. 439-464.

⁵⁵⁴ Brears, *Cooking and Dining*, p. 441.

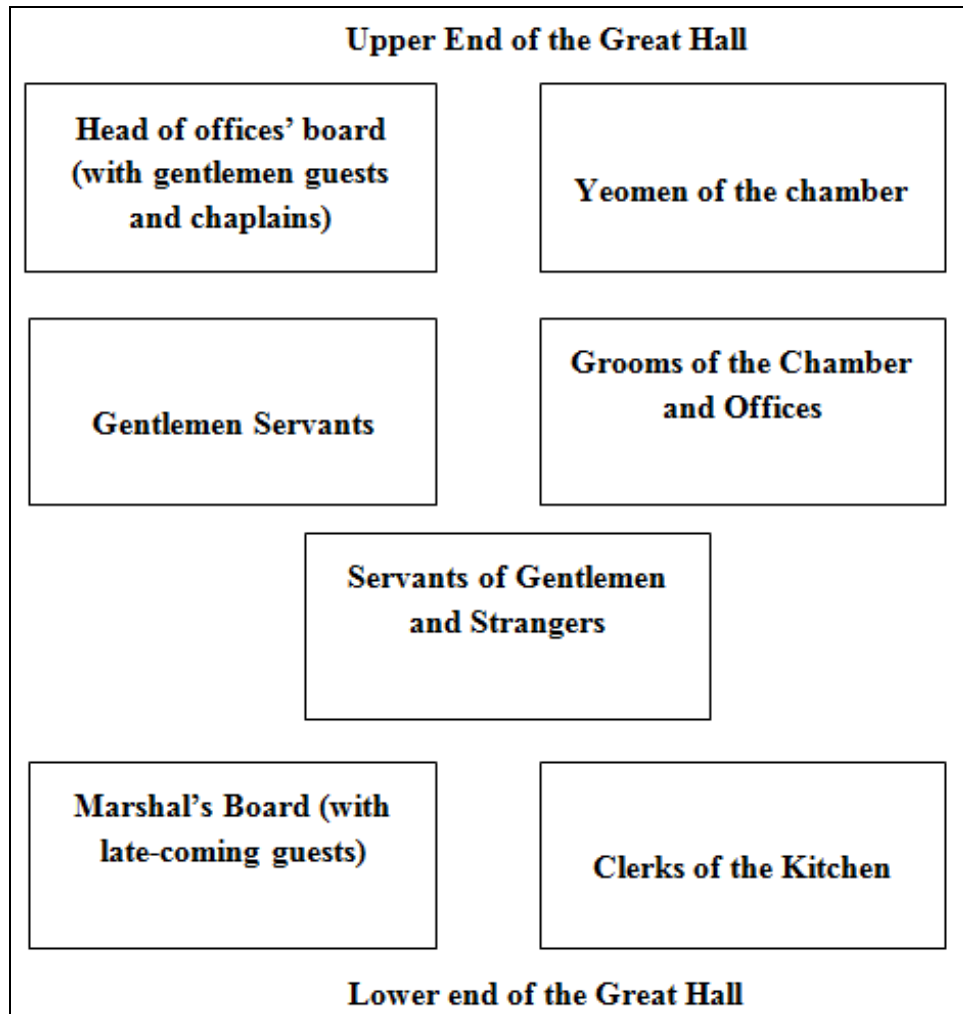


Figure 25: Late Fifteenth Century Table Layout in a Hall, see Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 162.

The earl of Northumberland's Household Book details who was to be on duty during each of the meals. During dinner there was to be the lord's gentleman usher, carver, sewer, cupbearer, gentleman waiter, two yeomen of the chamber, the lady's yeoman of the chamber, four groom waiters, two grooms of the chamber, one child of the chamber, one yeoman of the pantry, one groom of the buttery, and one groom of the ewery.⁵⁵⁵ At supper those on duty are listed as the lady's gentleman usher, carver, sewer, cupbearer, gentleman waiter, yeoman usher, yeoman of the horse, yeoman of the chamber, three yeomen waiters, both the lord and lady's groom of the chamber, yeoman of the bed, yeoman of the buttery, and yeoman of the pantry. If there was a further evening meal the servants on duty would be the lord's and lady's gentlemen ushers,

⁵⁵⁵ For more details on children and training in the household, see Brears, *Cooking and Dining*, pp. 446-8; Woolgar, pp. 16, 97, 100; Merridee L. Bailey, *Socialising the Child in Late Medieval England, c. 1400-1600* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2012).

carvers, sewers, cupbearers, two gentlemen waiters, the lady's yeoman usher, the yeoman of the robes, the yeoman of the horses, three yeomen of the chambers, two minstrels, yeomen waiters, one footman waiter, three of the lord's grooms of the chamber, the lady's groom of the chamber, and one child groom of the chamber.⁵⁵⁶ The number of servants needed for each meal was extensive with each servant having a specific duty to carry out. The number of servants was a physical display of the wealth and status of the lord and his family.

The serving and seating during mealtime was a formal procedure, one taken with great care and ritual. John Russell's fifteenth-century manual provides all of the vocabulary, knowledge, and training needed for various roles within the household.⁵⁵⁷ The spaces that were designated for the consuming of meals were just as grand as the food itself. The architecture was meant to impress the guests and proclaim the magnificence of the lord. As dining was a daily activity it encompassed a large number of people in the household, and it was an opportunity for the lord to showcase his status and wealth to those present at the meal, and as will be shown in Chapter Five, serving food was an essential part of hospitality. Every aspect of the meal had a strict social guideline to follow prescribed by the social hierarchy of the household and society. The food served, the seating arrangements, and the order of service was all done according to the social hierarchy.

4.4 Conclusion

The noble household of the early Tudor period and certainly of other periods as well, was one of opulence, magnificence, and visual display. Everyday activities, such as eating, were performed in a ritualised manner adhering to a set of social conventions and hierarchies. At the most basic level, the household performed tasks needed on a daily basis: preparing and cooking meals, buying and supplying food for these meals, cleaning, setting up the table, and caring for the animals, but these tasks were to be done in a manner fitting to the lord's rank. The very servants in the household were part of the lord's opulent lifestyle, as stated in the passage at the beginning of this chapter from John Russell's *Boke of Nurture*. Russell has a long list covering questions of precedence, questions which did not feature in the description of duties a century

⁵⁵⁶ *Northumberland Household Books*, pp. 299-306.

⁵⁵⁷ BL, Sloane MS 2027, 1351, reproduced in *Early English Meals and Manners*, pp. 1-83.

earlier. Precedence emphasised social distance in a more compact environment, as well as elements of display in ornament.

Households were more than just a display of status and wealth; they represented human interaction on a daily basis involving a variety of different social status and backgrounds. This relationship was based on a mutual obligation from both parties, and as seen in John de Vere's will these relationships could stem into friendships, or in the very least, an appreciative bond. This reciprocal relationship will be discussed further in the next chapter with regards to the host and the guest. The interaction and connection between lord and household member was a strong one. The bond can be seen on all levels of the household, from the manual labourers to the highest officials on the lord's council; the relationship that formed was at its core an employer-employee relationship, and yet, each side knew of the benefits that could follow if the bond was a successful one.

The regional communities provided the lord with a pool of potential household members, and it is clear from the careers that can be traced that the lord was, indeed, doing just that. The regional communities surrounding the castle have been a continual theme throughout this thesis, and they appeared to help facilitate the display of lordship and authority through their own loyalty to the local lord. Furthermore, the women in the household, usually attending to the lady, tended to have familial connections already in the household. Estate officials who were responsible for estates further afield almost always originated and lived close to the estate, park, or property, which they were maintaining. The social spectrum of people involved with a noble household was as wide as the social stratification of early Tudor society, and yet the stability of such a large and complex structure meant that everyone knew their positions, their duties and responsibilities. The household had many different functions, duties, and responsibilities, but at times, it is difficult to separate the workings of the household. Perhaps this is because it was meant to function as a machine that contained many different parts, all working together in order for the life at residence to run smoothly.

The spatial arrangements of the household offices reflected the social hierarchy, as seen at Thornbury, where the steward had his own bedchamber because he was at the top of the household, while the kitchen staff were given a large open space above the kitchens to reside. The layout of the entire castle complex reflected the interaction between the different people visiting, living, or working at the residence. The great hall and the chapel located, at all four sites, in between the kitchens and the elite apartments,

echoed their role in daily life. These spaces were, in the broadest sense, a meeting place where everyone at the castle would come together to either eat or pray. There were practical considerations taken into account as well, for instance, by placing the kitchens in a completely separate range on the opposite end of the courtyard from the elite apartments, the fear of a fire reaching the bedchambers of the lord and lady was minimised. By placing the great hall next to the kitchens it allowed for a quick transfer of food from the place of preparation to the serving of the dishes.

Food was one of the main occupations of the household. This can be seen in the complex and immense operational space dedicated to the storage, preparation, and consuming of food. Each castle had, at least, an entire range for the preparation of meals with each different kitchen office having their own space. Almost all of the members of the household dealt with the meals in some way, from the kitchen staff who prepared it, to those in charge of the great hall, and even those employed for the household chapel who might entertain in the great hall. Through the different interactions in the residence from religious to political to service, dining was one activity that brought everyone together, potentially interacting with one another. While the lord did not always dine in the great hall, his presence in the great chamber was still a part of the display of status and the hierarchy of space. The great chamber was reserved for only a relatively small number of invited diners, who had an opportunity to sit near the lord and possibly get an audience with him. The act of dining, wherever it took place, was part of the performance of daily life at an early Tudor residence.

5. Early Tudor Hospitality: The Castle as a Centre of Generosity, Display, and Entertainment

5.1 Introduction

Every mans proper Mansion house and home, being *the theatre of his Hospitality*, the seat of self-fruition, the Comfortablest part of his own life, the Noblest of his sons inheritance, a kind of private principedom.⁵⁵⁸

Castles offered a lavish backdrop for the act of hospitality, or a theatre, as Henry Wotton describes above, and hints that hospitality was a kind of performance by the host and the guest. This performance was an essential part of the noble lifestyle; it spoke of generosity, wealth, and openness to guests. It was centred on the household whose primary elements were food, entertainment, and accommodation which were given liberally. Before examining the formalities, rituals, and spaces of hospitality in the early Tudor period, it is important to define what hospitality meant in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

5.1.1 What was Early Tudor Hospitality?

Hospitality was an important Christian virtue described by Christ in Matthew 25, 34-46. Because of this it was associated with monastic duty as recorded in Chapter 53 of the *Regula Benedicti*.⁵⁵⁹ It continued to play a prominent role in medieval society. Hospitality was about generosity, display and ritual, and therefore there was a set of formalities expected of the host, which can be seen in the fourteenth-century poem, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. In the beginning of the poem, the Green Knight rides into the great hall at Camelot, '[t]his hathel heldes him in and the halle entres, /

⁵⁵⁸ Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (London: Longman, 1903), p. 82. Emphasis added by author.

⁵⁵⁹ For work on hospitality in a monastic setting, see Emilia M. Jamroziak, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction in Cistercian Houses in Northern Europe', *Parergon*, 27 (2010), 37-58; David Morrison, 'Hospitality for Wealthy People at Worcester Cathedral Priory in the Late Medieval Period', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 22 (2010), 87-95; Julie Kerr, 'The Symbolic Significance of Hospitality', in *Self-Representation of Medieval Religious Communities: The British Isles in Context*, ed. by Anne Müller and Karen Stöber (Berlin: Lit, 2009), pp. 125-42; Julie Kerr, 'Cistercian Hospitality in the Later Middle Ages', in *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 25-39; Julie Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England, c. 1070-c. 1250* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007). For the Christian virtue of hospitality, see Matthew 10:42 has been cited by writer of the early seventeenth-century, 'a cup of cold water given in His name, shal...be left unrewarded'. See Richard Curteys, *The Care of a Christian Conscience* (London: Simon Stafford, 1600); Samuel Garey, *A Newe Yeares Gift for the Suole* (London: William Sansby, 1615).

Drivande to the high dece, dutte he no wothe'.⁵⁶⁰ Even though the Green Knight was not following the proper procedures of a guest to dismount and disarm at the gatehouse, King Arthur offers him hospitality: 'And sayd, "Wye, welcom iwis to this place. / The hed of this hostel Arthur I hat. / Light lovely adoun and leng, I the pray / And whatso thy wille is we schal wit after"'.⁵⁶¹ King Arthur was the embodiment of the perfect host, courtly, liberal, and generous, even to those who did not follow the traditional customs as a guest. A generous host, as the fourteenth-century Dominican, John Bromyard, stressed offered food and accommodation to all sorts of men.⁵⁶² This idea of hosting many sorts of men was still presented in the late seventeenth century when George Wheeler stated that it was 'a Liberal Entertainment of all sorts of Men, at ones House, whether Neighbours or Strangers, with kindness, especially with Meat, Drink and Lodgings'.⁵⁶³ Hospitality throughout most of the Middle Ages and into the post-medieval period was centred on the host and what the host provided for the guest no matter who they were or where they came from. The definition of hospitality used in this chapter follows along these same lines; it is important to define entertainment as well, as it formed a large part of hospitality at the time:

Hospitality

- a. The act or practice of being hospitable; the reception and entertainment of guests, visitors, or strangers, with liberality and goodwill.

Entertainment

- a. The action of receiving a guest. Also, the action of treating as a guest, of providing for the wants of a guest.

First and most significant is the emphasis on the duty of the host to receive all comers, regardless of social status or acquaintance. Secondly, hospitality is perceived as a household activity, emanating from the *domus* and concerned with the dispensing of those goods best afforded by it, namely, food, drink, and accommodation, as well as appropriate entertainment which could consist of anything from minstrels to a religious play or a feast.

⁵⁶⁰ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 23 (lines 221-2). Also see Marije Pots, 'The Function of Food and Dinner in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Utrecht, 2005).

⁵⁶¹ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 23-4 (lines 252-5).

⁵⁶² John Bromyard, *Summa Predicantium*, 2 vols (Basel: Johan Amerbach, unknown publication date), I, cap. 5, 362.

⁵⁶³ George Wheeler, *The Protestant Monastery: Or Christian Economics* (London, 1698), p. 173.

The subject of hospitality in past societies has only started to become a topic of historical research in its own right in the last few decades, particularly in a domestic setting.⁵⁶⁴ Historians have recognised the role of hospitality in the early modern period as one in displaying and articulating the authority and power of the elite.⁵⁶⁵ The act of hospitality was bound to honour and reputation, and therefore, it was wise for a nobleman 'to use his establishment [his residence and household] as a stage on which his virtues were displayed'.⁵⁶⁶ According to William Vaughan at the end of the sixteenth century, '[m]agnificence is a virtue that consisteth in sumptuous and great expenses [...] so that [...] it is peculiar to Noblemen'.⁵⁶⁷ Magnificence marked out the king and his leading subjects and was something both parties were conscious of displaying and establishing to the outside world, and the best way to do that was through the visual reinforcement of superiority.

The recording of household ordinances and regulations seems to increase in the fifteenth century, although records do survive for early periods.⁵⁶⁸ In the fifteenth century, Edward IV's *Liber Niger* is dominated by a concern for the splendour of the

⁵⁶⁴ Julia R. Lupton, 'Making Room, Affording Hospitality: Environments of Entertainment in *Romeo and Juliet*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 43 (2013), 145-172; John D. Hunt, 'Theatres of Hospitality: The Forms and Uses of Private Landscapes and Public Gardens', in *The Pleasure Garden: From Vauxhall to Coney Island*, ed. by Jonathon Conlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), pp. 253-257; Kjaer, 'Food, Drink, and Ritualised Communication', pp. 75-89; Kerr, 'The Symbolic Significance of Hospitality', pp. 125-42; Kimberly Skelton, 'Redefining Hospitality: The Leisured World of the 1650s English Country House', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 68 (2009), 496-513; Felicity Heal, 'Hospitality and Honour in Early Modern England', *Food and Foodways*, 1 (1987), 321-50; W. Rhys B. Robinson, 'Patronage and Hospitality in Early Tudor Wales: the Role of Henry, Earl of Worcester, 1526-49', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 51 (1978), 20-36.

⁵⁶⁵ Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*; Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 203-14; Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 282-9; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), ch. 7.

⁵⁶⁶ Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p. 23. It can also be seen in literature from the fourteenth century such as *The Book of Chyvalry* through literature on the seventeenth century such as the *Institucion of a Gentleman*.

⁵⁶⁷ William Vaughan, *The Golden Grove, Moralized in Three Books* (London: Simon Stafford, 1600), I, ch. 53.

⁵⁶⁸ See Frédérique Lachaud, 'Order and Disorder at Court: The Ordinances for the Royal Household in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *Höfe und Hofordnungen 1200-1600. 5. Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen veranstaltet gemeinsam mit dem Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris und dem Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen. Sigmaringen, 5. bis 8. Oktober 1996*, ed. by Holger Kruse and Werner Paravacini (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1999), pp. 103-16.

royal appearance and the actions of the household.⁵⁶⁹ The precision with which the *Liber Niger* describes the establishment appropriate to various social ranks is intended not only to reinforce hierarchy but to offer a model ‘if the kinges hyghnesse please to kepe a lesse household than the foresayde grete summe sheweth here’.⁵⁷⁰ The household ordinances regulated the behaviour of noble establishments which indicates the importance of social performance in their insistence on ritualized behaviour. The earl of Northumberland and brother-in-law to Edward Stafford, Henry Percy, kept a Household Book which survives for the year 1512.⁵⁷¹ The book sought to combine the ostentation required of such a great noble with the precision of record-keeping. From the extensive amount of records that survive for Stafford and his household it might be that he, like Percy, was careful to keep records for posterity.⁵⁷² The visual display of wealth and status identified the king and noblemen as higher up in the social hierarchy and the household provided a stage on which this hegemony could be most effectively asserted.⁵⁷³

The quintessential idea of public displays of wealth and status has been a common theme throughout this thesis, and it can be seen in all four case studies that the understanding of socialising, entertainment including food, the household, and the host’s role will lead to a wider knowledge of hospitality. By examining hospitality through the framework of gift-giving, this chapter will provide a nuanced approach to early Tudor generosity. Liberally providing food, drink, entertainment, and accommodation to guests was a favour that had a hidden agenda of a return gift of some kind in the future. Fundamentally, the forms of self-definition for the early Tudor nobility depended as much on the influence exercised over men as on wealth as the basis of authority, both of which were displayed through the hospitality to others.

5.1.2 Hospitality as a Form of Gift-Giving

Hospitality was mutually beneficial for the parties involved, the host and the guest, which is why it is helpful to examine it through the lens of gift-giving. The virtues and dangers of gift-exchange were well circulated in the Tudor period, with a reoccurring

⁵⁶⁹ *The Household of Edward IV*, ed. by Alec R. Myers (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), p. 86.

⁵⁷⁰ *Household of Edward IV*, pp. 89, 198-210.

⁵⁷¹ *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household*.

⁵⁷² Rawcliffe, ‘A Tudor Nobleman as Archivist’, pp. 294-300.

⁵⁷³ Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p. 24.

proverb stating: ‘one favour begets another’.⁵⁷⁴ This is echoed in a piece of advice given by Peter Idely to his son:

And yet gentilnes and curtesie wolde
If love shold be hadde in contynauce
To geve ageyn and not to withholde
This wold be called to Remembraunce;
For who with love woll make aliaunce,
He must nedis yelde gyfte for gyfte,
And thenne is friendship evenly shifte.⁵⁷⁵

The giving of a gift, according to Idely, could cultivate friendships and alliance. In a similar way, the act of hospitality was a gift given with self-interest concealed behind generosity. This is not to deny the importance of the transaction: properly conducted with the affirmation of approved and accepted symbols, with the return gift delayed, could possess great power, especially for those involved in the transaction.⁵⁷⁶

Hospitality carried mutual responsibilities and might also be mutually beneficial, affording both guest and host the opportunity to demonstrate their courtliness and to foster good relations, and for the host to exhibit his generosity and largesse of spirit. The potential cost of receiving guests and the likelihood that hospitality was at this time becoming increasingly burdensome may have heightened the importance of promoting a courteous and warm welcome. Hospitality was essentially a form of gift-giving. This exchange continued through the Tudor period and can clearly be seen in George Gascoigne’s play of welcome performed at Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester’s great entertainment of Elizabeth I at Kenilworth Castle in 1575. In the play, a savage man, representing the untamed force of nature, engages in a dialogue with Eccho, a more civilised man. The burden of their exchange is praise of Dudley’s hospitality, ending

⁵⁷⁴ Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1950). This idea dates back to ancient times, but was picked up on by Erasmus and others, see *The “Adages” of Erasmus: A Study with Translations*, ed. by Margaret Mann Phillips (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 83. Erasmus states, ‘*Gratia gratiam parit*. The same thought is simply expressed by Sophocles in the *Oedipus Coloneus*: ‘A favour favour brings’. Again in the *Ajax Mastigophoros*: ‘Always one favour begets another’.

⁵⁷⁵ *Peter Idely’s Instructions to his Son*, ed. by Charlotte D’Evelyn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 100.

⁵⁷⁶ For more on the theory of gift-giving and exchange, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 6; Arnould-Jan Bijsterveld, *Do ut des: Gift Giving, Memoria and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

with a none-too-subtle hint that he remains available to marry the queen.⁵⁷⁷ More importantly, for this study, the passage offers a remarkable insight into contemporary ideas and understanding of gifts:

Savage man:	Gifts? What? Sent from the Gods? Gifts as presents from above? Or pleasures of provision as tokens of true love?
Eccho:	True love.
Savage man:	And who gave all those gifts? I pray thee (Eccho) say? Was it not he? Who (but of late) This building here did lay?
Eccho:	Dudley.
Savage man:	O Dudley, so me thought; He gave him selfe and all, a worthy gift to be received, and so I trust it shall.
Eccho:	It shall. ⁵⁷⁸

Gifts are first described as showered from above, a divine generosity displayed to man. In practice, however, most gifts, particularly the ones being referred to in the play, are revealed as the product of earthly relationships, the largesse of the earl lavished upon his queen and guest. It is important that the offerings were public and highly visible, but there was an element of being intimately personal as well. Meanwhile, the obligation that the gift constructs is an inescapable debt to be paid by the recipient. Gifts and hospitality served to enhance bonds between individuals and families, to express loyalty and deference, to display charity, and to demonstrate power.

⁵⁷⁷ On the bold language used by Gascoigne, see Helen Cooper, 'Location and Meaning Masque, Morality and Royal Entertainment', in *The Court Masque*, ed. by David Lindley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp. 141-3.

⁵⁷⁸ George Gascoigne, 'The Princely Pleasures', in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. by Elizabeth Goldring, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), II, p. 301. For more on the Kenilworth festivities, see Elizabeth Goldring, 'Portraiture, Patronage and the Progresses: Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, and the Kenilworth Festivities of 1575', in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Elizabeth I*, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 163-88.

Much in the same way as gift-giving, the process of hospitality was dependent on the proper understanding between the transacting parties. The symbols and rituals associated with hospitality formed part of the formalities that needed to be accomplished by both the host and the guest. Moreover, the setting, or where the hospitality actual took place, was just as important as the performance of generosity. The play quoted above was performed at the newly renovated Kenilworth Castle. The symbolic nature of the castle and its architecture provided the host with a lavish stage on which to perform the act of hospitality. It reinforced his authority and wealth on a grand scale. The audience for the performance of hospitality was the guest who played an important part in the performance and who had their own set of formalities and rituals to adhere to. The formalities made hospitality into a ritualised ceremony with everyone playing their own part.

5.2 *The Guests*

Guests formed a key part of the make-up of the household. Their presence at the residence could be for a number of reasons such as a social visit, on business, or travelling further afield. There were two types of guests, one of which was that of the permanent or semi-permanent resident, or ‘sojourner’, who used the household, often with the lord’s formal agreement, as a hotel, in the modern sense of the word. Those who did were often somehow related to the head of the household. Due to the often prolonged stay at the residence of a ‘sojourner’, the lord could impose a charge or tariff. This practice is apparent from the fifteenth century onwards. For instance, semi-permanent guests of dame Milicent Fastolf at Caister Castle from 1430-1 were two gentlewomen and their servants. Margaret Braunch was also resident throughout the year at a charge 20*d* per week; her maid, Christiana Cook, was resident for four weeks at a weekly rate of 14*d*.⁵⁷⁹ In addition there was a bill for twenty meals for guests of Braunch who had visited, charged at two pence a meal, a modest total of £4, 14*s*, and 8*d*, which allowed Margaret to live in some style without maintaining any significant establishment of her own.⁵⁸⁰ From Stafford’s Household Book we know that in 1507-8, between 44 per cent and 50 per cent of those present at meals were not resident members of Stafford’s household. When Stafford travelled to London, as discussed in section 4.2.6, meals had a smaller portion of visitors at between 31 per cent and 38 per

⁵⁷⁹ *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, I, p. 62.

⁵⁸⁰ *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, I, p. 62.

cent (see Table 3).⁵⁸¹ When he was at Thornbury, more guests came to supper than to dinner, and when in London, dinner was more popular (see Table 2). The greatest number of diners at Thornbury was at the Epiphany in 1508 where 519 people were at dinner (319 of them guests) and 400 at supper of which 279 were guests.⁵⁸² It is clear from the number of guests at any given meal that they played a huge role in the household and daily life at the castle; therefore, it is paramount that an understanding of the etiquette and formalities associated with the role of the guests are investigated.

5.2.1 The Reception of a Guest: The Formalities

The way in which guests were welcomed by their host was a significant part of the performance of hospitality. The procedures for receiving guests properly with formality and the manner books of the early Tudor period suggest that there was a clear idea of how this should be done. The guest's first impressions would have played an important role in shaping the visitor's overall perception of the visit and might determine the course of their future relationship with the host or those they met while visiting. Hospitality had a beneficial effect on the host's reputation since it provided an opportunity for him to demonstrate largesse and courtesy which might in turn bring praise and respect. In most literature concerning hospitality written around the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was generally agreed that hospitality was dispensed by the individual household and that the initiative in entertainment lay with the lord, in his role as host.⁵⁸³ Most prescriptive literature, therefore, addresses itself to the head of the household, counselling him on appropriate modes of conduct and reminding him of his duties.

There was literature addressed to the guest, for example, *The Boke of Curtasye*, a fourteenth-century poem, addresses the visitor to a residence with step-by-step instructions in order to help the guest meet expected formalities. The first of which states 'when thou comes to a lordis gate, the porter thou shalle fynde ther-ate; take hym thow shalt thy wepyn tho, and aske hym leue in to go to speke with lorde, lady, squyer, or grome'.⁵⁸⁴ The guest must disarm upon arrival at the gate of a residence and request

⁵⁸¹ Compiled from John Gage, 'Extracts from the Household Book of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham', *Archaeologia*, 25 (1834), 318-41 (pp. 320-7)

⁵⁸² Gage, 'Extracts from the Household Book', pp. 320-7.

⁵⁸³ See, for example, *The Babees Book*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London: N. Trubner, 1868).

⁵⁸⁴ 'The Boke of Curtasye', in *The Babees Book*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London: N. Trubner, 1868), lines 5-8. (fol. 12)

permission to enter through the gateway. The instructions continue that if the lord of the residence is of lower status than that of guest, then the lord will come to the guest, but if the lord is of a higher status than the guest, the roles are reversed, and the porter will direct the guest to the lord. Following this, the guest would enter the great hall where he would ‘do of thy hode, thy gloues also’.⁵⁸⁵ The formalities given in the poem appear to show that as the guest moved closer to the lord, and perhaps out of respect for the host, he or she was to slowly remove markers of status such as weapons and items of clothing. It goes on to give advice on good manners during meal time, such as ‘let neuer thy cheke be made to grete with morselle of rede that thou shalle ete; an apys mow men sayne he makes, that brede and flesshe in hys cheke bakes’.⁵⁸⁶ As a guest there was a strict procedure to follow when entering another’s home. The removal of weapons, gloves, and hood was a sign of respect to the host and the household, and it demonstrated that the guest had the knowledge of the proper manners while visiting.

Moreover, it makes explicit the chain of command within the household; once the guest enters the great hall they should greet ‘the stuard, countroller, and tresurere’, and then bow to the gentlemen on each side of the hall, both on the right and left side.⁵⁸⁷ The poem makes no mention of the lord or his family within the great hall, and this might suggest that by the fourteenth century the lord had already moved into the great chamber for meals. Guests were instructed to greet the high ranking members of the household and bow to the gentlemen in the great hall. This advice was not status specific and makes clear that *any* guest who enters the hall when a meal had already been served was to follow these directions. This suggests that guests, although not completely stripped of their social status, obtained a different status as visitors in the household. Everyone, including the guest, had a specific role to play in the performance of the household.

The image presented in *The Boke of Curtasye* is essentially a static one: the great feast at which all are seated, the living embodiment of that part of the chain of being that was relevant to the English elite. The hierarchical system could be presented dynamically as the guest moved from gate to hall to chamber and was escorted to their lodgings, and eventually took leave of the host. The social order can most vividly be seen when the guest arrived to the gate, particularly when the visitor was of higher rank

⁵⁸⁵ ‘The Boke of Curtasye’, line 16. (fol. 12).

⁵⁸⁶ ‘The Boke of Curtasye’, lines 57-60 (fol. 13).

⁵⁸⁷ ‘The Boke of Curtasye’, lines 20-6 (fol. 12).

than the host, in a ritual of inversion designed to show that the hierarchical principle was retained intact, despite the natural authority of the householder over his own social territory. Although the patterns of greeting and eating described in the *Boke* show the greatest concern for the enactment of social drama, every stage of the guest's stay was governed by the same principles. The essence of these gestures lay in their public acknowledgement of the demands of the honour code, in the continual reaffirmation of the hierarchy, and in the contribution of the host to the maintenance of proper social order.

Not all guests were known to the lord, and an untitled and anonymous late fifteenth-century treatise explains what was to be done if a stranger of rank arrived at the gate at lunch or supper time.⁵⁸⁸ The porter was to go straight to the head officers and, if the guest was of sufficient standing, they would go to the gate to receive him, bringing him through the hall to a chamber that had been prepared as soon as his arrival was known. At his entry into the hall, the marshal and ushers were to greet him, the usher taking his servants to drink at the bar of the buttery and showing them where their master's chamber was located. The heads of each household department then went back to their dinner, the guest being conducted to his chamber by a gentleman usher. Bread, beer, and wine were then taken to the chamber and the guest's meal was prepared, unless the head of the household asked him to come to dine with him. This was the usual practice if the second course had not been served at that stage and the guest was not of a status greater than the lord. Different arrangements were made if he was of greater rank, or the guest was a woman, requiring two of the chief gentlewomen to attend her as well as the head officers of the household.⁵⁸⁹

The poetry and etiquette texts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries suggest that the host who willingly welcomed his visitor and demonstrated courtesy as well as generosity would secure the goodwill of the guest and enhance his own reputation. The texts, however, tend to overlook the more onerous nature of hospitality. The entertainment of guests could be expensive and inconvenient, particularly if the visitor arrived with an entourage and required provision for a number of servants and horses, and perhaps other animals too.⁵⁹⁰ Attempts to control the cost of hospitality meant that

⁵⁸⁸ BL, MS Harley 6815, ff. 35-36.

⁵⁸⁹ BL, MS Harley 6815, ff. 35-36.

⁵⁹⁰ For example, when Hulcot and his wife visited Bishop Mitford on New Year's Eve in 1406, they brought with them five greyhounds, who consumed twenty-six loaves of bread. See *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, I, p. 316.

by at least the fifteenth century charging long-term guests a fee for room and board was not uncommon. The formalities detailed above demonstrate the complex and ritualised nature of receiving a guest. There was evidently a clear concept of how these proceedings ought to be conducted, although it is difficult to know the extent to which this was implemented. The expectation of the guest hinged on the fact that generosity was highly favoured and almost a requirement for the early Tudor nobility. According to the literature pertaining to hospitality, the host, in theory, should be completely open handed. The rest of the chapter will investigate if this was the case in practice.

5.3 The Entertainment: Music and Food

Entertainment was an integral part of hospitality. The household had its own operational rituals, set up to control space, enhance dramatic effects, and pageantry, ceremony, and magnificence in general. These ranged from trumpets to mark the arrival of food or an individual, or singing, to the use of lighting.⁵⁹¹ At York, in the archbishop's household in the first part of the fifteenth century, it was the custom for ministers from the church to sing as the assay was taken of each course and after the concluding grace.⁵⁹² There were also literary and musical entertainments, which filled or succeeded the long hours devoted to eating, to which members of the household or visiting minstrels contributed.⁵⁹³ The entertainment of guests would come in many different guises, and allowed a chance for the guest to encounter and talk with the lord and host. The reception of a guest, whether staying for a long period of time or just one night, was part of the culture of the early Tudor nobility with its grandeur and set of social rituals. Feasting and the entertaining of guests was part of the opulent lifestyle that Tudor noblemen relished. The current section (5.3) will investigate two main displays of hospitality: music and meals. Musical entertainment and the formalities of dining demonstrate the orderliness and hierarchical structure of meals, which was meant to visually place everyone on the social ladder, while at the same time showcasing the generosity and magnificence of the host.

5.3.1 Music

‘Do come’, he seyde, ‘my mynstrales,

⁵⁹¹ BL, MS Harley 6815, ff. 36v-37r.

⁵⁹² Leland, *De rebus Britannicis collectanea*, VI, pp. 9-10, 13.

⁵⁹³ Andrew Wathey, *Music in the Royal and Noble Households in Late Medieval England: Studies of Sources and Patronage* (New York: Garland, 1989), p. 5.

And geestours for to tellen tales,
 Anon in myn armyng
 Of romances that been roiales,
 Of popes and of cardinals
 And eek of love-likyng'.⁵⁹⁴

Chaucer's description of Sir Thopas, surrounded by a variety of minstrels commanding a vast repertoire of songs and stories, is a satiric, yet a fairly accurate representation of the late medieval patrons who recognized the value of minstrels as versatile professional entertainers. Wealthy noblemen even retained minstrels as part of the permanent household. Music as a form of entertainment was an important part of the noble household and hospitality.⁵⁹⁵ The majority of records concerning minstrels or musicians come from royal records.⁵⁹⁶ Henry VII employed four players, described unequivocally as 'lusores regis, alias in lingua Anglicana, les players of the Kyngs enterluds'.⁵⁹⁷ From the household accounts, noblemen of the early Tudor period were also great patronages to musicians. In 1482, Sir John Howard rewarded 'my Lord of Essex men, plaiers' and four 'pleyers of my lord of Gloucestres'.⁵⁹⁸ Noblemen rewarded and, at times, employed players, minstrels and musicians on a regular basis, particularly during feast times such as Christmas.

There were a handful of different types of minstrels and musicians. The heraldic minstrels, who included trumpeters, drummers, and waits, were employed primarily to

⁵⁹⁴ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. by Jill Mann (London: Penguin, 2005), lines 845-50.

⁵⁹⁵ David Skinner, 'Princes, Ambassadors and Lost Choirbooks of Early Tudor England', *Early Music*, 40 (2012), 363-378; Andrew Taylor, *The Sons and Travels of a Tudor Minstrel: Richard Sheale of Tamworth* (York: York Medieval Press, 2012); Martin Wiggins, *Drama and the Transfer of Power in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Linda P. Austern, 'For Musicke is the Handmaid of the Lord': Women, Psalms, and Domestic Music-Making in Early Modern England', in *Psalms in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Linda P. Austern, Kari B. McBride, David L. Orvis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 77-114; Christopher W. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); George Shuffelton, 'Is there a Minstrel in the House? Domestic Entertainment in Late Medieval England', *Philological Quarterly*, 87 (2008), 51-76; Sally Harper, 'Musicke by voice and instrument': Patrons and Players in Late Medieval and Early Modern Wales', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 13 (2007), 58-73; Susan L. Anderson, *Music and Power at the English Court, 1575-1624* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of Leeds, 2006).

⁵⁹⁶ *CPR, 1446-52*, pp. 505, 512; *CPR, 1452-61*, p. 278; *CPR, 1467-77*, pp. 53-4; *CCR, 1461-68*, p. 339; *CPR, 1461-67*, p. 221.

⁵⁹⁷ They received a regular salary of five marks a year, and when they were not required at court they went on tour like other minstrels. *Issues of the Exchequer*, ed. by Fredrick Devon (London: John Murray, 1837), p. 516; Edmund K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1903), II, p. 187.

⁵⁹⁸ Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, II, Appendix E, p. 256.

make loud, impressive sound, designed to command silence and to accentuate the arrival of an influential person or the presentation of a significant event. For presentational purposes heraldic minstrels used auditory spectacles to impress the audience with the social superiority of nobles and noble actions. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the number of heraldic minstrels retained by the nobility increased dramatically.⁵⁹⁹ Edward IV's regulations stipulated that the king should retain two trumpeters, the same number attached to a noble patron during the reign of Edward I; but by the accession of Henry VII the number of trumpeters attending a noble patron tended to be six or more. The fourth earl of Northumberland retained two trumpeters, whereas his son employed six.⁶⁰⁰

Music in early Tudor Wales was very much a hybrid genre taking inspiration from the new fashions at the Tudor court and combining it with their own musical traditions.⁶⁰¹ Two sixteenth-century manuscript lists associated with the residence of Lleweni, near Denbigh in north Wales, show this dichotomy of old and new.⁶⁰² The household was engaged with the latest English popular melodies and dances as well as with masques and other entertainments, while at the same time, the family patronised traditional Welsh *cerdd dant* for harp and crwth, 'with its distinctive sound, style, and aesthetic'.⁶⁰³ *Cerdd dant* emerged when it partnered with *cywydd*, a form of vernacular poetry.⁶⁰⁴ The poets were given the task to compile genealogies and relate family history, and a large number of 'praise poems' survive in honour of specific individuals or families, such as Sir Rhys ap Thomas, as discussed in Chapter Three.

The vast majority of minstrels in Tudor Wales were professional entertainers, who were without a permanent residence and sought patronage by travelling the Welsh countryside.⁶⁰⁵ Sir Rhys's household acted as a magnet for the Welsh minstrels seeking patronage. Carew, where Sir Rhys spent the majority of his time, was often compared to

⁵⁹⁹ See Suzanne R. Westfall, *Patrons and Performance: Early Tudor Household Revels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), especially ch. 2.

⁶⁰⁰ Myers, *The Household Book of Edward IV*, p. 132; *Northumberland Household Book*, p. 254.

⁶⁰¹ Susan Harper, 'Music in the Welsh Household, c.1580-1620', *The Welsh History Review*, 21 (2003), 621-45.

⁶⁰² A transcription of both lists appears in Ifor Williams, 'Cerddorion a Cherddau yn Lleweni, Nadolig 1595', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 8 (1937), 8-10. Harper, 'Music in the Welsh Household', pp. 621-45.

⁶⁰³ Harper, 'Music in the Welsh Household', p. 622.

⁶⁰⁴ Harper, 'Music in the Welsh Household', p. 622.

⁶⁰⁵ Richard Suggett, 'Vagabonds and minstrels in sixteenth-century Wales', in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500-1850*, ed. by Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 138-172.

King Arthur's castle by poets and musicians.⁶⁰⁶ Tudur Aled who was one of the most highly esteemed poets of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Wales wrote frequently of Carew which epitomized the knightly qualities of Sir Rhys and his achievements under the Tudors.⁶⁰⁷ Poets who were not fortunate enough to gain patronage from Sir Rhys often attempted to glorify him in hopes of gaining recognition. This was usually done with praise-poetry.⁶⁰⁸ By lauding the accomplishments of the Welsh knight, poets such as Dafydd Llwyd of Mathafarn, hoped to flatter Sir Rhys and become a favoured member of his cohort of poets at Carew Castle.⁶⁰⁹

The audience who would have heard the poets and musicians at Carew would have listened to themes that emphasised Sir Rhys's pride of family: the intoning of his descent, on his father's side, from Nicholas and Elidir in the fourteenth century, and on his mother's side, from the more distinguished line of Ednyfed Fychan, seneschal of princes in the mid-thirteenth century and the progenitor in Cardiganshire of the servant and commander of English kings, Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd (d. 1356), a century later.⁶¹⁰ As mentioned in Chapter Three, the link between Ednyfed Fychan and Sir Rhys allowed poets, writing after 1485, to publicise the blood connection between the new royal house of Tudor and the family of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, both of who claimed Ednyfed as an ancestor.⁶¹¹ More immediate, perhaps, was the stress put on Sir Rhys's own accomplishments and generosity: his success at the Battle of Bosworth (it was claimed he struck the death blow to Richard III), his election to the Order of the Garter, and his close relationship with Henry VII.⁶¹² Other battles that the poets claimed were successful because of Sir Rhys's bravery and martial ability included his role at Blackheath in 1497, in Boulogne in 1492, and Calais and Th erouanne in 1513.⁶¹³ Clearly, Sir Rhys ap Thomas was ideal for wandering Welsh minstrels and praise poetry was a way to gain patronage from the knight. The known poets and minstrels who did gain reward from Sir Rhys were all Welsh, suggesting that entertainers in Wales were a

⁶⁰⁶ Griffiths, *Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 82.

⁶⁰⁷ *Gwaith Tudur Aled*, ed. by Thomas G. Jones, 2 vols (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1926), I, pp. 38-44; Griffiths, *Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 85.

⁶⁰⁸ Eurys I. Rowlands, 'The Continuing Traditions', in *A Guide to Welsh Literature*, ed. by Alfred O.H. Jarman and Gwilym R. Hughes (Swansea: C. Davies, 1979), II, pp. 317-8; Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 82.

⁶⁰⁹ Lewis, 'The Literary Tradition', p. 512.

⁶¹⁰ For information of Sir Rhys's lineage, see section 3.2.

⁶¹¹ *Poetical Works of Lewis Glyn Cothi*, ed. by John Jones and W. Davies (Oxford: Cymmrodorion, 1837), pp. 163-6; Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 83.

⁶¹² Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, p. 83.

⁶¹³ Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas*, pp. 82-4.

closed group of men. The small community of Welsh performers confirms Richard Suggett's suggestion that very few English entertainers appear 'to have wandered the Welsh countryside' while '[s]ome Welsh minstrels travelled in England but they were probably not numerous'.⁶¹⁴ With the poets and musicians in such a small community it is not hard to see why Sir Rhys's fame and impressive lineage was largely kept within the Welsh community.

Household accounts for John de Vere and Edward Stafford – although incomplete – do show rewards for musicians, players, and minstrels either being heard while visiting someone else or having these entertainers at their residence. The household accounts for John de Vere demonstrate just how much he appreciated music as a form of entertainment. In 1507, he made payments for the services of two minstrels of Prince Henry in January, four minstrels of the king in May, two minstrels of Lord Scrope and one of Lord Darcy in June, three of the earl of Arundel on 20 September, two of the Prince's in October and six in December.⁶¹⁵ De Vere's chapel was so well established and successful that it appeared at the royal court in May 1506, the only noble chapel choir to do so.⁶¹⁶ There were ten or twelve boys in his chapel in 1490, under the guidance of one Richard Wood and accounts show similar numbers for 1507.⁶¹⁷ In 1490 the accounts show de Vere paid 26*s* and 8*d* 'for the payment of the minstrels at the fest of All Halown'.⁶¹⁸ Moreover, there is an entry in the household accounts which states, '[i]tem payd to my Lord Barones' taberett' a payment of 40*d*.⁶¹⁹ The entry is not clear whether de Vere bought the drum or, more likely, he was rewarding the drummer. De Vere then rewards 'the players of Lanam' 40*s*.⁶²⁰ Judging from the small number of accounts that survive for the earl, musicians and players

⁶¹⁴ Richard Suggett, 'Vagabonds and Minstrels in Sixteenth-Century Wales' in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500-1850*, ed. by Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 138-72 (p. 145).

⁶¹⁵ Ross, *John de Vere*, p. 217.

⁶¹⁶ Sydney Anglo, 'Court Festivals of Henry VII', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 43 (1960), 12-45 (p. 41). For the role of the chapel in entertainment as well as the choir, see Suzanne R. Westfall, 'The Chapel: Theatrical Performance in Early Tudor Great Households', *English Literary Renaissance*, 18 (1988), 171-93.

⁶¹⁷ Richard Bowers, 'Early Tudor Courtly Song: An Evaluation of the Fayrfax Book', and Fiona Kisby, 'Courtiers in the Community: The Musicians of the Royal Household Chapel in Early Tudor Westminster', both in *The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Benjamin Thompson (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), pp. 188-212, 229-60. For Wood and the choir boys see *Household Accounts*, pp. 511-12.

⁶¹⁸ *Household Books*, p. 510.

⁶¹⁹ *Household Books*, p. 519. A 'taberett' is a small drum.

⁶²⁰ *Household Books*, p. 519.

visited him frequently throughout the year. These travelling entertainers would have been a welcome and popular form of entertainment for any guest.

In Edward Stafford's Household Book, on 25 November 1507, under the dinner section 'ij trumpettes' were listed among the guests and it is repeated under the supper section.⁶²¹ Presumably the trumpeters who attended both meals were a form of entertainment for the other guests in attendance as well as Edward Stafford's family and household. He, like Sir Rhys, welcomed itinerant entertainers who made their way to Thornbury. The accounts for 1508 show rewards to the minstrels of the king, earl of Oxford, the earl of Arundel, and Lord Dacre, to Esgate, to a Welsh harpist and a group of anonymous minstrels.⁶²² For Edward Stafford, the largest most extravagant feast held at Thornbury was the feast of the Epiphany.⁶²³ In attendance, as recorded in the Household Book, were two minstrels, six trumpeters, four waits from Bristol, and four players sent by Henry Percy, the earl of Northumberland.⁶²⁴

Household accounts and surviving Welsh poetry demonstrate that music was a very important part of the entertainment and hospitality in early Tudor England and Wales. It would seem at least some households employed players – of some kind – permanently within their residence such as John de Vere and his chapel choir. Surviving poetry and household accounts for Sir Rhys ap Thomas and Edward Stafford suggest that patronising travelling minstrels was common. The household book of Stafford also suggested that the clients of the patronage would entertain during meals whilst the players for Sir Rhys were eager to flatter the knight into perhaps providing them with more patronage. Entertainment was a crucial part of hospitality, it offered the host a chance to showcase his own minstrels or musicians, or display his generosity by paying a travelling minstrel, and the very fact that a travelling minstrel sought patronage with the host displayed his good reputation.

5.3.2 Food

Music was only part of the entertainment provided for the guest, as the food and dining allowed the host to display his generosity and hospitality. An Italian visitor to England during this period commented, 'they take great pleasure in having a quantity of excellent victuals, and also in remaining a long time at the table [...] they think no

⁶²¹ SRO, D1721/1/5, f. 7.

⁶²² TNA, SP1/22, ff. 66-88.

⁶²³ The entertainment at the religious feasts will be discussed in section 5.4.

⁶²⁴ SRO, D1721/1/5, ff. 58-9.

greater love can be conferred, or received, than to invite others to eat with them, or to be invited themselves'.⁶²⁵ Dining was an opportunity for the lord to display his wealth through lavish entertaining as shown above as well as through fine food. It was a chance for the host to demonstrate his generosity in the number of courses, the amount of fresh fish, and the variety of meat. The host of a feast was able to showcase his residence and great hall. Seating was based on social status with the most important diners sat at the high table at one end of the hall facing down towards the other guests.⁶²⁶ As shown in Chapter Four, the mid-fifteenth-century *Boke of Nurture*, written by John Russell, gave great detail about precedence on where certain people were supposed to be seated.⁶²⁷ The seating arrangements determined what a guest was given to eat. The closer one sat to the lord at the high table the more expensive and extravagant the food. The fascination with drawing social distinction spatially and physically was most obvious at meals.⁶²⁸ People of different ranks ate at different tables, and seating at each table was carefully arranged. In Stafford's household, tables were set up in both the great hall and the great chamber; this was not uncommon for nobility with large households and residences during this period. Stafford and his family ate in the great chamber along with a select number of guests.⁶²⁹ As shown in Chapter Four (see Figure 25), the Knights' Board was set-up in the great chamber for any knights, gentlemen and gentlewomen who were present. Everyone else ate in the great hall where the treasurer, marshal, and clerk of the kitchen each headed their own table.

The hierarchical structure of society was present through the order of serving food, the amount of food available to an individual, and the type of food served. A treatise of the second half of the fifteenth century describes the order of service for an earl's household, with the earl eating in the great chamber and everyone else in the great

⁶²⁵ *A Relation, or Rather a True Account of the Island of England...About the year 1500*, ed. by Charlotte A. Sneyd, *Camden Society*, 37 (1968), pp. 21-2.

⁶²⁶ Alison Sim, *Food and Feast in Tudor England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), p. 4.

⁶²⁷ John Russell, *Early English Meals and Manners: The Book of Nurture*, ed. by Furnivall (London: Humphrey Milford, 1868), pp. 69-73.

⁶²⁸ Regulations were passed 31 May 1517 pertaining to the sumptuary laws covering food. The regulation stated that a cardinal may have nine dishes served at one meal; a duke, archbishop, marquis, earl or bishop could have seven; lords 'under the degree of an earl', mayors of the city of London, knights of the Garter and abbots could have six; and so on down the hierarchy until those with an income of between £40 and £100 a year could have three dishes. See, *Statutes of the Realm*, ed. by Alexander Luders and John Raithby, 9 vols (London: Eyre & Strahan, 1810-1828), pp. 543-81 (26 Henry VIII).

⁶²⁹ SRO, D1721/1/5; Gage, 'Extracts', pp. 318-41. Stafford also had a private dining room, but there is no evidence indicating when he ate there instead of the great chamber.

hall (see Figures 25 and 26 for table arrangements).⁶³⁰ Once the meal was ready, the gentleman usher, with the gentlemen waiters, went to the earl to inform him the food was ready to be served. The lord then washed and grace was said by the almoner. Next, the lord sat in his chair at the table along with those who were seated at the ‘reward’ on stools. The gentlewomen and gentlemen ushers were then seated at the second table called the Knights’ Board. This table was served by yeomen of the chamber who, in turn, were seated at another table, probably outside the great chamber in the great hall, along with the chamberers and ladies’ gentlewomen, served by grooms of the chamber. After the meal, the dismantling of the tables took place in the reverse order. After the tables were dismantled, the musicians began to play and the dancing started.⁶³¹ A similar procedure was in order in Henry Percy, the earl of Northumberland’s Household Book in the early sixteenth century. At the high table were seated the earl of Northumberland and his wife, and seated at the reward was Percy’s son and heir. Percy’s other two sons served the high table.⁶³² The household book continues giving an exact number of people that should sit at each table within the great chamber and the great hall.

The diagram below (Figure 26) depicts the seating arrangements of those invited to dine in the great chamber at Thornbury Castle. As a result of the exclusivity of the great chamber, as opposed to the great hall, it provided the guests a more private dining experience and the ability to sit closer to the lord and other high-status guests.⁶³³ This had many advantages: a guest might be able to discuss employment, local administrative business, seek out an alliance or friendship, and gain favour or patronage. It is important to note the entrances located on either side of the great chamber. Directly behind the high table was a door leading from Stafford’s dining chamber – a smaller room used for private dining – while on the opposite end was a door leading from a corridor to the great hall. Symbolically, the doors marked out the status of those in the chamber, as the lord would enter a completely separate entrance to that of his guests, even if they were high-status. The exclusivity of this entrance established the lord as the highest-status person in the room as well as the host.

⁶³⁰ BL, MS Harley 6815, ff. 29-36.

⁶³¹ A similar pattern for the serving of the meal is repeated in the great hall. The procession entailed above is from: BL, MS Harley 6815, ff. 29-36. Also see Woolgar, *Households*, pp. 160-1.

⁶³² *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Percy*, pp. 349-353.

⁶³³ For the private nature of the great chamber, see section 6.3.

Meals and entertainment within a fifteenth- and sixteenth-century residence were one of visual opulence and stimulation. The space of mealtime, whether it was the great hall or the great chamber, was intended to impress the observer and use outward cues in order to emphasise social status. The dining chamber a person sat in, the table where they sat, and even the food they ate were all displays of a person's place in the social hierarchy of Tudor England and Wales. It seems clear from the accounts of John de Vere and Edward Stafford as well as the surviving poetry from Sir Rhys's household that the amount of money spent on food, entertainment, and everyday spectacle was a vast quantity, and therefore, it was a very important aspect of a nobleman's life. Francesco Chierigato wrote a letter to Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua in 1517, describing the court festivities under Henry VIII : '[i]n short, the wealth and civilisation of the world are here; and those who call the English barbarians appear to me to render themselves such. I here perceive very elegant manners, extreme decorum, and very great politeness'.⁶³⁴ The nobility in Tudor England and Wales wanted to demonstrate their sophistication and place on the social hierarchy at all times and the best way to do this was through visual representations, particularly in everyday events such as dining. Clearly, dining was one of the more important tasks and activities involved with hospitality. Meals were a chance to form friendships and alliances between the host and guest

⁶³⁴ *Calendar of State Papers Venice*, ed. by Rawdon Brown, 8 vols (London: Longman, 1864-1947) II, p. 918.

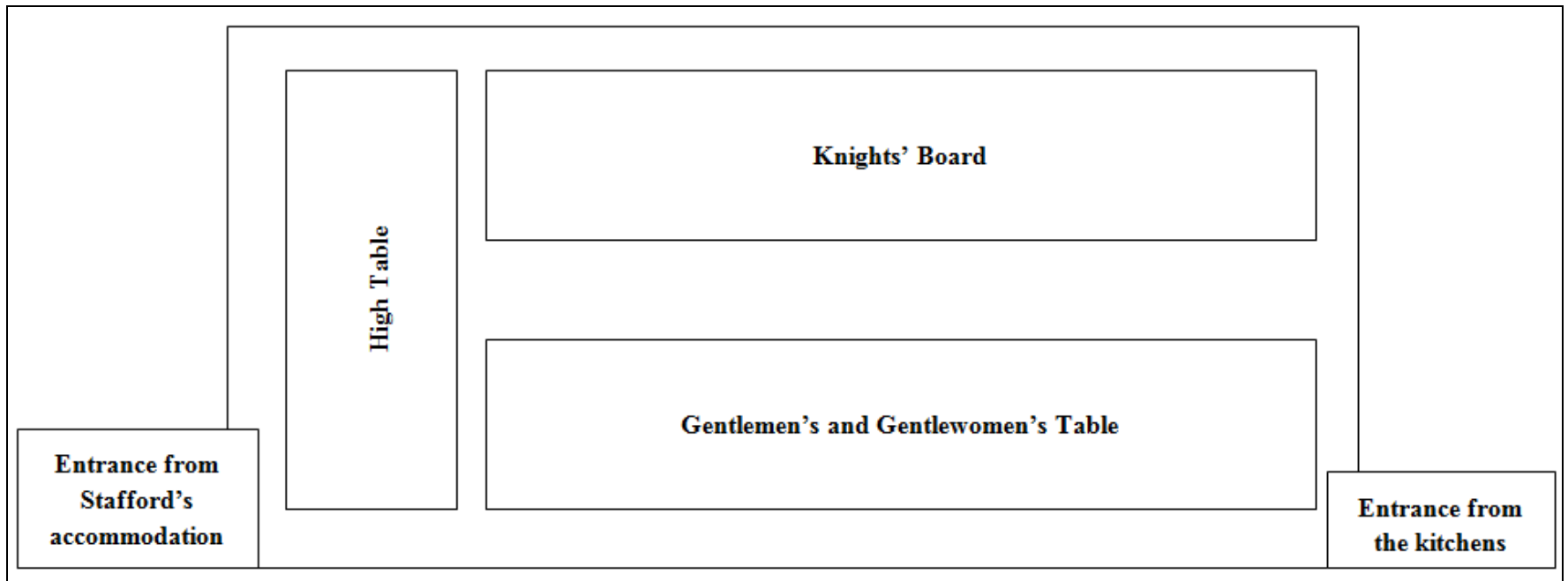


Figure 26: Diagram of table layout and entrances in the great chamber at Thornbury Castle c. 1507. Diagram created from the information given in the Household Book of Edward Stafford for the year 1507-8. Table configuration is adapted from London, College of Arms MS M8, f. 65v

5.4 *The Extraordinary Days: Religious Feasts*

Special occasions tended to boast of a disregard for household expenditure, in order to impress his guests, be a generous host, and live up to the largesse that was so fundamental to the elite. The Northumberland Household Book isolates the principal feasts of the year when the lord can expect ‘great repaire of Straungers’.⁶³⁵ The book mentions Easter, St George’s Day, Whitsun, All Hallows Eve, and Christmas as the principal feast days.⁶³⁶ Indeed, the household accounts testify to the large number of guests. On Christmas Day, Edward Stafford received 182 guests at dinner and 176 at supper, while on the Epiphany feast he welcomed 319 guests to dinner and 279 to supper.⁶³⁷ These numbers are similar to those recorded in the Howard Household Book for 1 January 1527 when the duke of Norfolk, Thomas Howard, fed 580 people, including his own household, at Framlingham Castle and 399 people were fed on Twelfth Night that same year.⁶³⁸ Stafford and Howard were of the highest nobility in England at the time. The act of hospitality was not limited to the upper elite. Lesser men still felt an obligation to follow the style of their wealthier peers. Sir William Paget did not celebrate every day of the Christmas season, but on three occasions during the Twelve Days in 1550-1 he had between twenty and forty guests at special meals.⁶³⁹

The evidence is sorely lacking when it comes to details on who these guests actually were. Some of those at the festivities at Thornbury are described as ‘of the town’ or ‘of the county’; however, it is not clear whether they arrived unbidden.⁶⁴⁰ Felicity Heal’s examination of household accounts from the nobility and gentry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries details that in all probability most guests were invited collectively if not individually.⁶⁴¹ Religious feasts were designed for tenants and local members of the gentry to be given temporary access to the lord’s generosity. This can be seen over the Christmas period, when Thornbury hosted a large number of estate officials from as far afield as Yorkshire.⁶⁴² While tenants were the prime beneficiaries of noble and gentle entertainment during the Twelve Days, there does seem to have

⁶³⁵ *Regulations...Henry Percy*, p. 71.

⁶³⁶ *Regulations...Henry Percy*, p. 71.

⁶³⁷ SRO, D1721/1/5, ff. 58-9. For Stafford’s regular household numbers, see Table 2.

⁶³⁸ Gage, ‘Extracts from Buckingham Household Accounts’, pp. 318-21; Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p. 70-1.

⁶³⁹ London Metropolitan Archives, Acc. 446/4/13, ff. 23-31.

⁶⁴⁰ SRO, D1721/1/5, f. 58.

⁶⁴¹ Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, pp. 71-4.

⁶⁴² Gage, *Archaeologia*, 25 (1834), p. 321.

been a general tendency to extend a welcome to any neighbours, poor or prosperous who might have a relationship with the residence.⁶⁴³ The image of neighbours gathering for a feast is particularly important because it operated neither at the level of hospitality as peer group conviviality, nor hospitality as pure charity. This kind of hospitality performed an integrative function for the household; it bound the lord to the community and the community to the lord, by acts of beneficence. As a leader in the region, this was an important exchange, and can easily be seen as a form of gift-giving with each party expecting a beneficial relationship from the interaction and exchange.

The amount of food needed to feed such a large number of guests must have been costly. On the feast of the Epiphany in 1508, at Thornbury, the quantity of food served was recorded as 678 loaves of bread, eight gallons and six piches of wine, 259 flagons of beer, thirty-six rounds of beef, twelve sheep, two calves, four pigs, one dried ling, two salted cod, two hard fish, one salt sturgeon, three swans, six geese, six suckling pigs, ten capons, one lamb, two peacocks, two herons, twenty-two rabbits, eighteen chickens, nine mallards, twenty-three widgeons, eighteenth teals, sixteen woodcocks, twenty snipes, nine dozen large birds, six dozen small birds, three dozen larks, nine quail, half fresh salmon, one fresh cod, four dogfish, two tench, seven small breams, half fresh conger, twenty-one small roaches, six large fresh eels, ten small whittings, eighteen flounders, one hundred lampreys, three plaice, four hundred eggs, twenty-four dishes of butter, fifteen flagons of milk, three flagons of cream, two gallons of frumenty, and two hundred oysters.⁶⁴⁴ The quantity and variety of food was meant to impress those who were present. The fresh fish were of particular importance as it was a food of high status and would have most likely been served to guests of a certain social standing.⁶⁴⁵

Like the food provided, the entertainment on special occasions was more extravagant than on ordinary days. The household accounts for John de Vere show he paid for gowns to be made for the children of his chapel at Hedingham for the pageant

⁶⁴³ See Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p. 76.

⁶⁴⁴ SRO, D1721/1/5, ff. 58-9.

⁶⁴⁵ This can be seen in the gift-giving exchange of fresh fish. See Christopher Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food in Medieval Europe: Ritualised Constructions of Hierarchy, Identity and Community', *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2011), 6-18 (pp. 11-2); Dale Serjeanston and Christopher Woolgar, 'Fish Consumption in Medieval England', in *Food in Medieval England*, ed. by Christopher Woolgar, Dale Serjeanston, and Tony Waldron (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 102-30; Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England*, pp. 101-11.

to celebrate the feast of St Michael and Christmas.⁶⁴⁶ At Thornbury, it is recorded that there were four players from Wrepill Castle, the seat of Stafford's brother-in-law, the earl of Northumberland, two minstrels, six trumpeters, and four 'waits' from Bristol.⁶⁴⁷ During the religious ceremonies at Thornbury for the Epiphany, Edward Stafford brought in the Abbot of Kingswood with eighteen singing men and nine boys as choristers.⁶⁴⁸ The household chapel was also expected to provide religious and secular concerts outside of the chapel itself, as discussed in Chapter Four. For instance, at the Twelfth Night celebration, described in the Northumberland Household Book, the 'hoole chappell' was directed to 'sing wassail', a carol celebrating the service of the wassail drink at the evening banquet.⁶⁴⁹ Religious feasts were an opportunity for the lord – as host – to present his generosity and wealth while at the same time demonstrating his piety, as hospitality was a Christian virtue. These aspects of a noble lifestyle aided a lord into gaining a generous and lordly reputation with his peers.

5.5 Guest Accommodation and Lodgings

Felicity Heal has pioneered the way for the study of hospitality in the domestic sphere during the early modern period. The accommodation provided for guests has often been a forgotten aspect of hospitality studies, both monastic and domestic. Spatially, these lodgings are significant in the layout and design of the castle. At Thornbury the first and larger courtyard was surrounded by lodgings for the household and possibly lower-status guests, as well as the stables and barn. Although the range of lodgings situated in the outer courtyard at Thornbury could house a large number of people, Stafford's household was one of the largest of its time, and it might be suggested that the lodgings were solely for his household staff. The inner courtyard contained a range from west to east which housed the wet and dry larders, privy bakehouse, boiling-house, great kitchen and privy kitchen, with lodgings for kitchen staff above. On the east side was the great hall, together with its 'houses of office' such as the scullery, pantry, and buttery.⁶⁵⁰ At the south end of the hall, and adjoining the eastern garden, was a group of

⁶⁴⁶ *Household Accounts of John de Vere*, p. 517.

⁶⁴⁷ SRO, D1721/1/5, ff. 58-9.

⁶⁴⁸ For the Epiphany, see SRO, D1721/1/5, ff. 58-9.

⁶⁴⁹ *Northumberland Household Book*, pp. 342-3.

⁶⁵⁰ TNA, E 36/150 f. 19.

thirteen living-rooms, called the Earl of Bedford's lodgings.⁶⁵¹ These chambers were designed and positioned like that of Stafford's own apartments, secluded from the great hall.⁶⁵² There were three additional rooms, possibly used for lodgings that were connected to the lord's tower and overlooked the eastern garden abutting the garden wall that separated the eastern and privy gardens.⁶⁵³

Piecing together the accommodation ranges at both Cowdray and Hedingham castles is more difficult as they no longer survive and there is little documentary or archaeological evidence.⁶⁵⁴ The map from 1592 of Hedingham does give some indication of at least where the guest accommodation was located and the material it was made from. Hedingham Castle did have two courtyards that were built on the older motte and bailey system, and from the 1592 map there appear to be four quadrants (Figure 27). The top quadrant, labelled 1 on the map, contained the stable, barn, and wood yard. The second quadrant, or forecourt, contained the granary, gatehouse, tennis court, and archery range. The third quadrant contained the enormous Norman great tower and to the left of the great tower in the map is shown 'stone lodgings'. The fourth and final quadrant contained the kitchens and associated buildings as well as a 'great brick tower' which is to the right of the chapel, great chamber, and the great hall which all appear to be connected.⁶⁵⁵ Although the stone lodgings in the third quadrant and the 'great brick tower' in the fourth do not survive it might be suggested that the stone lodgings were comparable to the outer courtyard at Thornbury and were used to house members of de Vere's household whilst the brick tower was comparable to the Earl of Bedford's lodgings and was used to accommodate guests. The illustrator of the map was not concerned with how the stone lodgings looked as he did not bother to draw them. However, the brick tower appears to be a smaller version of the Norman great tower, and would, therefore, be more refined than that of the stone lodgings, providing noble guests an accommodation according to their rank. It appears from the map that the brick accommodation tower was linked to both the chapel and the great chamber. The tower also seems to be entered from a door on the ground floor. This is a similar spatial design to Thornbury. A comparable structure was built by Ralph, Lord Cromwell at Tattershall

⁶⁵¹ For the probable explanation of this name, see Augustus Pugin, *Gothic Architecture Selected from Various Ancient Edifices in England*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1895), vol. II, p. 32.

⁶⁵² Stafford's apartment will be discussed in more detail in the final chapter.

⁶⁵³ These chambers are now destroyed.

⁶⁵⁴ Foundations remain above ground at Cowdray indicating the ground floor layout; however, at Hedingham nothing survives.

⁶⁵⁵ ERO, D/DML MI.

Castle in Lincolnshire in the mid to late fifteenth century, which had a lodging tower that consisted of a series of lodging rooms for guests stacked one on top of the other and each with its own latrine.⁶⁵⁶

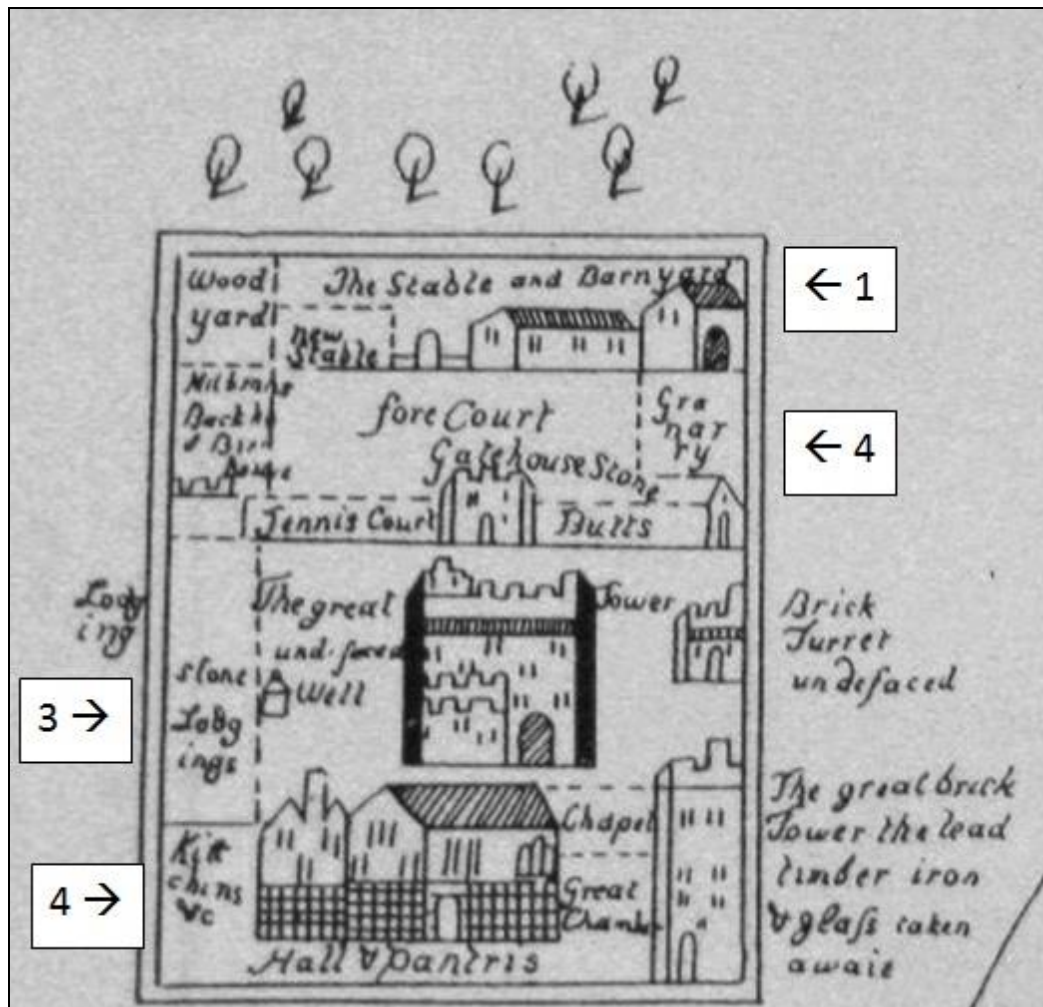


Figure 27: Map of Hedingham Castle in 1592, each arrow indicates one quadrant. Map from ERO, D/DML MI. Arrows added by author.

Understanding the layout of the accommodation arrangements at Cowdray is more complicated because archaeological excavations have yet to be undertaken in that area and the structure remains only to its foundations. A ground floor plan by Sir William St John Hope proposed that rooms lined the ground floor in the eastern front facade with the porter's lodge on the ground floor to the north of the gatehouse entrance.⁶⁵⁷ St John Hope's plan indicates six rooms, including the porter's lodge in the eastern range of the castle on the ground floor. The eastern range was three storeys high and, therefore, would have included possibly eighteen rooms with the most prestigious rooms placed in

⁶⁵⁶ Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate*, pp. 60-1.

⁶⁵⁷ St John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory in the County of Sussex*, p. 32.

the northern and southern towers of the east range as the towers looked outward with floor to ceiling windows. Although the north and south ranges were completely destroyed in an eighteenth-century fire, St John Hope has argued that the north range contained several identical chambers with a latrine block connected. This was most likely for guest accommodation. The southern range, although ornamented in design, is connected directly to the kitchen tower and provided access to the kitchen gardens, so it seems likely that at least part, if not all of the southern range was for the household offices.

The north range of Carew Castle was completely demolished and rebuilt by Sir John Perrot around 1588, and we have no detailed account of what the north range contained during Sir Rhys's time, but we can piece together an element from the 1532 survey.⁶⁵⁸ The survey states, the north side of the castle was 'a storey containing in length 60 feet and in breadth 25 feet, wherein is contained two low chambers and a chapel over them and a way leading to the battlements thereof, with a little turret in the top'.⁶⁵⁹ It continues, 'there is a gatehouse builded four square chamber over the same, and a way in to the battlements'.⁶⁶⁰ The survey suggests that there were at least three chambers and a chapel in the north range before Perrot's long gallery was built. The remains of the castle enable us to speculate on the possible location of other accommodation. The grand staircase located in the east range leads off on the first floor, on the left is the lesser hall, and on the right a first floor chamber. The second floor connects the Old Tower (containing the latrines) to the east and north ranges. The third floor contains two spacious chambers, one on each side of the staircase. Due to the current ruinous state of the south and east ranges the exact number of chambers built is difficult to ascertain. The *Life* does give us some evidence that Carew castle had a large number of rooms available. The author gives a list of men who stayed in the castle for the 1506 St George's Day tournament:

Sir Griffith Rice, one of the Knights of the Bath to Prince Arthur, then came Sir Thomes Parrott, and Sir William Wogan...Arnold Butler, Richard Griffith, and John Morgan, old beaten souldiers, and verie expert commaunders; after them followed Griffith Dunn...Sir Edward Howard, High Admiral, knighted in Brittany, for his good service against the French. From Brecknockshire there came Vaughan of Tre-towre...Jenkin

⁶⁵⁸ See TNA, E36/151.

⁶⁵⁹ TNA, E36/151 fo. 4.

⁶⁶⁰ TNA, E36/151 fo. 4.

Mansell...Sir William Herbert of Colebrooke...Robert Salisburie...these men of prime marke weare lodged within the castle.⁶⁶¹

The long list of men housed within the castle might suggest the north range contained several more chambers available to accommodate guests. The accommodation provided for a guest was usually within the inner courtyard, if the castle was on a two courtyard plan, and it would be expected that they were built close to the great hall. This allowed for easy access to the great hall, where most guests would receive their meals, socialise, and gather. Accommodation for guests was an essential part of hospitality, and as all four sites appear to have relatively large spaces for the lodging of guests it seems that the idea of hospitality went into the planning of a castle.

5.6 Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter Henry Wotton was quoted describing how a nobleman's residence was the 'theatre of his Hospitality'.⁶⁶² The examination of the castles in this chapter has shown that hospitality encompassed a wide range of expectations and areas, from accommodation to food to lively entertainment, all at the lord's expense. Hospitality was not just about a guests' expectation, however, it was also about the pride of the host. The effort of the lord to provide hospitality to his peers was to showcase his lavish residence and his opulent taste in food and entertainment, but it seemed to be part of the elite ethos. The Tudor nobility desired to portray themselves as living in splendour and opulence, with a large household and endless generosity. Hospitality in Tudor England and Wales was a familiar concept to the nobility and one that benefited their status and reputation.

The literature and household books depict hospitality as a performance. Indeed, the architecture and landscape was then the backdrop of this performance and was meant to display the lord's wealth and status as well as his openness and generosity. Members of the household were an integral part of hospitality: they prepared and served the food, they attended to newly arriving guests, and made sure everyone followed protocol when it came to seating arrangements and placements at the tables. The guests played a dual role in this performance. Not only were they audience members, but they were also main players. Hospitality was meant to showcase the best that the lord had to offer and in that sense the guest was an observer of the daily life at the residence. And

⁶⁶¹ Rice, *Life*, p. 247-9.

⁶⁶² Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 82.

yet, the guest and host relationship was one of mutual reciprocity. The host provided all the essential needs that the guest might have and in return, the host expected a similar gift in the future.

The guest-host relationship is a feature of any society that seeks interaction with strangers, but in a society particularly concerned with demonstrating to the observer of their seemingly endless generosity to guests and lavish entertainment with a variety of minstrels and musicians, like that of early Tudor England and Wales, specific rules and norms emerge defining the parameters of proper behaviour. This relationship reflected the distinctive nature of guests who should be openly welcomed into the residence even if they break the set formalities, like when King Arthur welcomed the Green Knight to his castle even though the knight broke all the social conventions that a guest should adhere to. Hosting was part of a code that obliged the landed elite to represent themselves as given to largess, and their households as open suppliers. Elements of this culture of honour, with its concern for reputation and display of generosity, can be seen in all aspects of hospitality even to the giving of alms to the poor. However, this largess and seeming openness has to be understood in context, and to be recognized as having limitations. The generosity and welcoming of the great household was constrained by carefully established conventions about hierarchy, deference, and place. In theory, the openness of the host should have extended to everyone, including the poor. In practice, it is sometimes difficult to know the extent to which a lord was giving to the poor, especially if it was the leftovers from the meal.

Gift-giving in early Tudor society usually culminated in an exchange of material objects, but gift-giving might be articulated through the exchange social gestures. In the framework of gift-exchange, the relationship between host and guest becomes far more complex. It was an intertwining and intimate relationship one entered into upon arriving at another's home. It was, like that of the lord and his household, a mutually beneficial one. Hospitality fostered friendships, alliances, and loyalties amongst the elite of early Tudor England and Wales.

6. Privacy and Private Places in and around the Castle

6.1 Introduction

We should reserve a store-house for our selves [...] altogether ours, and wholly free, wherein we may hoard up and establish our true libertie, and principall retreat and solitarinesse, wherein we must go alone to our selves, take out ordinarie entertainment, and so privately that no acquaintance or communication of any strange thing may therein find place.⁶⁶³

As this quotation from Michael, Lord Montaigne, in the mid-sixteenth century, suggests, privacy was a personal desire. The privacy that Montaigne was referring to was seclusion or a retreat from the outside world, a place where one can go and be wholly alone. Such a space might be difficult to find in a residence, as it might come in many different forms, sizes, and could even be a multipurpose chamber. By examining the spatial arrangements coupled with the interpretation of space syntax theory for the four case studies, spaces begin to emerge that might be considered private, or in the very least heavily restricted.⁶⁶⁴ Some of these spaces pertain to activities, such as the latrine, while others pertain to a certain individual, the closet of Edward Stafford, for example. Therefore, an instrumental part of this chapter is the investigation of both private activities *and* private spaces.

6.1.1 Definitions: Past and Present

It is important to grasp the history and development of the terms private and public. The word private comes from the Latin words *privatus*, meaning ‘withdrawn from public life’ and *privus*, meaning ‘single or individual’, whilst the Latin word for public, *publicas*, has connotations of being shared in common or available for all to use.⁶⁶⁵ Public, as opposed to private, seems to suggest an open visibility. During the Middle Ages, *privatus* began to be associated with the monastic life. Georges Duby, in his multi-volume work on the private life, cites a letter to the Abbey of Saint-Gall in which a donor stipulates, ‘*Filius meus privitatem habeat inter illis fratribus*’, that is, he, the writer’s son, will enjoy the privileges belonging to the members of the closed, isolated

⁶⁶³ *The Essayes of Michael Lord of Montaigne (1603)*, trans. by John Florio (London: George Routledge, 1854), pp. 110-111

⁶⁶⁴ Please see the ‘Introduction’ for details on space syntax theory.

⁶⁶⁵ Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, *A History of Private Life: Volume Two, Revelations of the Medieval World* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1988), p. 4. For more on the classical use of the words, see, Ariès and Duby, *Private Life II*, pp. 4-8.

monastic community, separated by the walls of a monastery from public society.⁶⁶⁶ Although within the monastery one might not experience what we might consider ‘domestic privacy’, the secluded lifestyle – away from the public community – was seen as a private life. It was seclusion on a group level from the outside world.⁶⁶⁷ Monastic privacy resonates with domestic privacy, in the sense that both the religious community and the individual were seeking solitude from the outside world through architectural barriers, such as walls and gatehouses.

These architectural barriers can still be seen in modern homes; however, the modern interpretation of privacy is vastly different than the early Tudor notion. In order to understand and locate private spaces – and public spaces for that matter – in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century residences, we must first begin to analyse the use of these terms during the period which we are studying. Our modern understanding of the word private is rather complex and encompasses a range of different social aspects, which are outlined below:

Private

- a. For or belonging to one particular person or group only.
(Of thought, feelings, etc.) Not to be shared or revealed.
(Of a person) Not choosing to share their thoughts and feelings.
(Of place) Secluded.
- b. Alone and undisturbed by others.
- c. Not connected with one’s work of official position.
(Of service or industry) Provided by an individual or commercial company rather than the state.
- d. Of or relating to a system of education or medical treatment conducted outside the state system and charging fees.⁶⁶⁸

Public

- a. Of, concerning, or open to the people as a whole.
Involved in the affairs of the community, especially in government or entertainment: a public figure.
- b. Done, perceived or existing in open view.

⁶⁶⁶ ‘My son will have this *privitas* among the brothers of the monastery’. Cited in Ariès and Duby, *Private Life II*, p. 5.

⁶⁶⁷ Julie Ann Smith, ‘*Clausura Districta*: Conceiving Space and Community for Dominican Nuns in the Thirteenth Century’, *Parergon*, 27 (2010), 13-36.

⁶⁶⁸ Definition taken from the *OED*.

- c. Of or provided by the state, rather than an independent commercial company.⁶⁶⁹

The entanglements of the modern understanding of privacy may, at times, cloud our analysis of past privacy. It should be noted that our modern definitions of privacy do not relate to a degree of privacy within the home. Rather they relate to space, emotion, politics, business, and the physical state, while public concerns the observation of others and an openness and availability to all. The definitions used in this chapter will adhere and allude to varying degrees of privacy, strictly related to the domestic setting:

Private

- a. Secluded; controlled access in and out through the use of architectural features, such as doors, corridors, and stairs.
- b. An area that cannot be overlooked by others.

Privacy

- a. A state or place in which one is not observed, disturbed, or interrupted by those who are unwelcome.

The definitions supplied for this chapter concerning privacy in the past take into consideration a barrier between the public and private spheres through the use of architecture, like walls that would physically separate someone from the rest of the populace, or public community. There was, of course, public property that was held by the community, for example, woods, meadows, roads, and so on and there was private property, in the sense, it was not, technically, open to everyone, like a residence. That being said, Chapter Five, demonstrated that hospitality involved offering food, drink, and accommodation to a variety of people making the residence relatively open to guests. Nevertheless, the castle was still a controlled area and access could be denied.

The idea of a scale of areas that are not fixed as either public or private is an important one for the current analysis and will be discussed in more detail below. The notion of seclusion is relative, there are varying degrees of privacy, since one moves gradually from the most external, like the gatehouse, to the most internal, like a bedchamber. Privacy had several meanings and guises depending on the period and location with which one is dealing. For instance, a wish for isolation in a time we associate with ‘Sentimentalists’ and ‘Romantics’ of the nineteenth century is undoubtedly related to a different understanding of the concept of privacy than that

⁶⁶⁹ Definition taken from the *OED*.

possessed by a twelfth-century reclusive monk.⁶⁷⁰ Indeed, the meanings of privacy differ synchronically as well as diachronically. The meaning and definition of privacy in the early Tudor period differ dramatically from the modern day and its meaning was different depending on an individual's status and cultural background. There were even multiple reasons for seeking privacy, relating to feelings of shame, religious doctrine, to political power, or perhaps even psychological need. Privacy can refer to the separation of men and women or the retreat of the nuclear family from the great hall to the great chamber, the isolation of a specific social class, or even the withdrawal of an individual. For these very reasons, this chapter will explore privacy on an individual and collective basis within the early Tudor residences, focusing both on the space where one might find privacy and the activities that might require privacy to undertake.

6.1.2 The Use of Privacy in Scholarship: Medieval and Early Modern

Literature addressing privacy is wide ranging, oftentimes complex, and the author usually operates from their personal and culturally-specific definition of privacy. Studying how privacy was experienced by people in the past has proved to be remarkably complicated, aptly described by one scholar as 'a thorny issue'.⁶⁷¹ Past scholarship has been asking the wrong questions. Instead of enquiring *when* privacy originated, we should be asking *how* we can locate privacy in the past. Asking *when* instead of *how* has resulted in scholarship focusing on a linear approach to privacy, assuming that the notion or ideas of privacy progressed as time moved closer to the modern period.

Orest Ranum, studying Samuel Pepy's house in London, argues 'no matter how rich or how poor, how young or how old, human beings create around them a space that is uniquely theirs...[t]he amount of private space may be very small, but there is some privacy and sense of recognition of that privacy by others'.⁶⁷² Ranum argues for an almost primordial need for privacy. In contrast, other scholars have regarded a need for privacy as a fundamentally modern phenomenon. Joanna Brück argues that the dichotomy public-private was invented in the post-Enlightenment period.⁶⁷³ Another

⁶⁷⁰ Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (New York: Metheun, 1986).

⁶⁷¹ Kristen B. Neuschel, 'Noble Households in the 16th Century: Material Settings and Human Communities', *French Historical Studies*, 15 (1988), 596-622 (p. 620).

⁶⁷² Ranum, 1982-1983, p. 259.

⁶⁷³ Joanna Brück, 'Ritual and Rationality: Some Problems of Interpretation in European Archaeology', *European Journal of Archaeology*, 2 (1999), 313-44.

school identifies privacy's origins when the workplace became separated from the home. Ariès and Duby argued this separation took place in the nineteenth-century bourgeois domesticity, but more recently, scholars have pushed the separation further back: for Neuschel it took place in the sixteenth century, Rybczynski traces it to seventeenth-century Holland, and Friedman in seventeenth-century England.⁶⁷⁴

Matthew Johnson ascribes two transitions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the increased desire for privacy. First the move out of the great hall by the elite family, and second, the advent of the individual in a time when Protestant faith preached of a removal of the priest as an intermediary and when an inward facing faith was encouraged.⁶⁷⁵ Malcolm Airs views the change in the relationship between the landowner and the peasantry in the sixteenth century as one of the main reasons for a development of more private spaces within the home. He argues that when peasants started to pay rent instead of farming the demesne, the landlord-peasant relationship became less personal. As a result, the manor house developed from an economic centre into a structure centred around more private spaces.⁶⁷⁶ Nicholas Cooper applies Norbert Elias's theory on the civilisation process which, he argues, started in the Middle Ages and progressed at least until the early twentieth century.⁶⁷⁷ Cooper argues that when defence became organised by the state, personal power was no longer obtained through violence but rather through individual, personal distinctions, and manners. Thus, when civilised manners became internalized a need for privacy was born.⁶⁷⁸

Privacy specifically related to castle studies has been a topic of recent intrigue. Following Peter Faulkner's seminal work on domestic accommodation in English castles, Matthew Johnson has opened a wider social context of castle life examining

⁶⁷⁴ P. Ariès and Georges Duby, *A History of the Private Life III. Passions of the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989); A.T. Friedman, *House and Household in Elizabethan England: Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); K.B. Neuschel, 'Noble Households in the 16th Century: Material Settings and Human Communities', *French Historical Studies*, 15 (1988), 596-622.

⁶⁷⁵ Matthew Johnson, *Housing Culture: Traditional Architecture in an English Landscape* (London: University College London Press, 1993), pp. 173-6

⁶⁷⁶ Malcolm Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House: A Building History* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), p.4.

⁶⁷⁷ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

⁶⁷⁸ Nicholas Cooper, 'The Gentry House in the Age of Transition', in *The Age of Transition: The Archaeology of English Culture, 1400-1600* (Oxford: Oxford, 1997), pp. 115-26 (p. 120).

through the lens of phenomenology.⁶⁷⁹ Roberta Gilchrist has probed the private spaces for women in fourteenth-century English castles, arguing against the predominantly male structure had little to no space for women.⁶⁸⁰ Despite the major interest in privacy, rarely does a study of privacy approach privacy as a non-linear process.⁶⁸¹ This chapter will argue that rather than a linear approach, studies needs to take into consideration the cultural, social, and, if possible, personal behaviours and contexts of the subjects being studied. Privacy has different meanings depending on the space, the status, and the individual. This, then, makes one space neither wholly public nor wholly private at any given time. Spaces morphed and changed depending on the person, who has often been neglected in studies on privacy and architecture.⁶⁸² Although approaching privacy as organic has pitfalls, it is important to begin to move away from the linear approach into a more individualistic approach. By analysing privacy in this particular way, chambers are placed in a hierarchy of spaces in the castle, ultimately creating a hierarchical structure, from the most private to the least private. The public-private dichotomy tends to classify a space as *either* private or not, but by breaking away from this narrow approach the hierarchy of privacy enables us to study a space as more or less private compared to the other spaces within the residence.

6.2 The Layout and Design of the Castle in Association with Privacy and Display

There was no set architectural proto-type for castles during any period of time, although there was, as Matthew Johnson has argued, common spatial ordering.⁶⁸³ This ordering is closely linked with two orders present within society during the Middle Ages: first, the formation and structuring of different genders and social ranks; and second, the ordering of architectural detail and decoration and material culture in the wider sense.⁶⁸⁴ This

⁶⁷⁹ Matthew Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate: From Medieval to Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2002).

⁶⁸⁰ Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past* (London: Routledge, 1999).

⁶⁸¹ Hanneke Ronnes hints at the non-linear process, but focuses most on the culturally-specific definition of privacy used by scholars. See Hanneke Ronnes, 'A Solitary Place of Retreat': Renaissance Privacy and Irish Architecture', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 8 (2004), 101-17.

⁶⁸² Ariès and Duby, *Private Life II*, p. 509; Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childbirth to Deathbed* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), pp. xxiv-xxv; Rafaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 139-42; Girouard, *Life in an English Country house*, p. 285.

⁶⁸³ Johnson, *Behind the Gate*, pp. 68-9.

⁶⁸⁴ Johnson, *Behind the Gate*, pp. 68-9.

view takes into account social regularities that cannot be detected through archaeological, architectural, or documentary evidence and follows the space syntax theory discussed in the Introduction. That is to say, a visitor to the castle would have an implicit understanding of the arrangement of the structure in front of him or her, and with it an understanding of the appropriate behaviour expected: when to stop, when to turn, which areas were accessible to their rank. Although this might not appear, at first, to be directly related to privacy, the outside observer played a role in the display of privacy. As Diana Webb argues:

privacy on the one hand, self-advertisement and conformity to fashion or some ideal scale of values on the other. The provision of separate sleeping accommodation would depend not merely on the availability of space and money, but on the belief that it was desirable, perhaps even necessary to the family's reputation.⁶⁸⁵

When privacy was on display, it boasted of wealth, status, and privilege to those who could not afford such an extravagance. For example, the privy garden at Thornbury can be glimpsed from the Earl of Bedford's lodging range that was most likely for guests. A peek over the wall would hint to the visitor that Stafford and Lady Eleanor enjoyed their own private garden that was only accessed from their apartments. The following discussion on privacy will demonstrate that there were two types of privacy: that which was on display and that which was sought by an individual and had connotations of modern privacy and seclusion. In order to understand both types, an understanding of the castle complex and hierarchy of space must be examined.

Any visitor to the countryside will notice the use of gates to mark entrances to fields, farms, and residences of all shapes and sizes. The continued use of gates from before and after the Middle Ages illustrates the regulatory function of gates as important in a small farm to a large walled city. They were used to control access both in and out of a place. The gatehouses of elite structures, such as castles, provided security, regulation of entry, and accommodation for the porter. Gatehouses came in all shapes, forms, and building material, but they all had one thing in common: they were the first layer of controlled access a visitor would pass through in order to get an audience with the lord. They transformed the residence from a public and open area into an enclosed and more private space. Without the gatehouse, access into the courtyard would not

⁶⁸⁵ Diana Webb, *Privacy and Solitude in the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), p. 108.

have been controlled, secured, and restricted. The physical barrier of the gatehouse was only part of the layer of control. Chapter Five demonstrated that the porter's responsibilities extended to the formalities of welcoming a guest, and it fell to the porter to permit or deny entry to a visitor.

Before reaching the gatehouse, the guest had to ride or walk under the view of imposing and embattled towers, arrow slits and gun ports, and through a landscape that proclaimed the status of the owner. The visitor would know instantly whose castle it was and their connections, loyalties, and alliances, through the use of heraldry and other symbols as shown in Chapter Three.⁶⁸⁶ Once the visitor entered the courtyard the full extent of the castle was revealed. The enclosed courtyard was central to the hierarchical ordering of space; it unified different elements of the household whilst preserving distinctions between them, and also enabled surveillance and control over the movement of the household members and visitors.⁶⁸⁷

The centrality of the courtyard can be seen in the access maps (Figures 32-35); they allowed access to other parts of the castle structure. Courtyards allowed the visitor to orientate themselves, at Thornbury and Hedingham, they would be surrounded by stables, barns, and lodging ranges. Only by accessing the inner courtyard would the visitor be able to see the household offices, the great hall, and the elite apartments. At Carew and Cowdray, the visitor would have been confronted with the magnificent porch and great hall directly in front of them. Ornamentation and decoration in the courtyard was meant to impress the observer; the two-storey tall windows of the great hall at Cowdray would have hinted at the splendour that awaited the guest. The placement of the great hall opposite that of the gatehouse meant it was the visual focus of the courtyard and demonstrates its importance. The hall had many functions, it served as place of dining, to serve and receive justice, pay homage, receive livery or other patronage from the lord, and all functions were focused around the social hierarchy of the early Tudor period and were all ceremonial in nature. Heraldry, as discussed in Chapter Three, played a large role; the porches at Carew and Cowdray have royal heraldic symbols on them. They inform the visitor of the owner's loyalties, connections, and his status. The great hall would have been hung with elaborate tapestries or even

⁶⁸⁶ For more details and examples of this, see section 3.2.

⁶⁸⁷ King, 'Organisation of Social Space', p. 113; Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry, 1480-1680*, pp. 55-76; Johnson, *Behind the Gate*, pp. 71-78.

paintings, all of these were meant to invoke a sense of hierarchy and place within society.⁶⁸⁸

If the visitor was of high enough status they might receive an invitation by the lord or lady to go through the upper end of the hall into a suite of rooms beyond. In larger residences the first few rooms entered after the hall made up a larger cohort of chambers called the apartments. These rooms can be considered more private than the hall as only invited guests and certain servants were allowed to enter. These rooms provided the owner a place to negotiate and broker political affairs and ties.⁶⁸⁹ Each chamber in the apartment, in turn, is higher on the hierarchy of privacy as invitations were needed to enter and access was strictly controlled. By constructing a sequence of chambers, the lord was creating a more secluded and controlled atmosphere for himself while at the same time he was displaying to the visitor his wealth and status through architectural barriers and limited and restricted access. The table below (Figure 28) depicts a very simplified version of the sequence in the hierarchy of privacy. The most private room, as shown on the table, was the closet and the least private area was the outer courtyard.⁶⁹⁰ The list was created by analysing several factors including the visual access through windows or openings, the physical access by an individual, the spatial arrangement of chambers in relation to one another, and finally, the social conventions in the early Tudor period, such as invitations needed to access certain rooms within the castle, like the bedchamber. All of these factors were examined in order to make a general hierarchy of a castle which is laid out in a courtyard design.

⁶⁸⁸ There is some indication that Cowdray's great hall was hung with painting of Henry VIII's French Wars, of which Fitzwilliam was a part of. See *Printed Description of some Ancient Historical Paintings preserved at Cowdray in Sussex; representing, I. The March of King Henry VIII from Calais towards Boulogne; II The Encampment of the English Forces at Marquison; and III. A View of the Siege of Boulogne; in the Year 1544* in WSRO, COWDRAY/5131.

⁶⁸⁹ Johnson, *Behind the Gate*, p. 80.

⁶⁹⁰ Both of these areas will be discussed in more detail below, see sections 6.5.1 and 6.6.

Closet	
Latrine	
Privy Gardens	
Bedchambers of the elite	
Private dining chamber	
Great chamber	
Guest lodgings (high status)	
Household Chapel	
Great Hall	
Lodgings for the household staff	
Kitchen and other household areas	
Inner courtyard	
Barn/stables	
Outer courtyard	

Figure 28: The main chambers and structures placed into a hierarchical table. The most private is located at the top and the least private at the bottom.

6.3 *The Arrangement of Sleeping Chambers for the Elite*

Scholars such as Philippe Planel insist that privacy did not exist in regards to sleeping arrangements during the Middle Ages and for most of society this might have been the case.⁶⁹¹ However, this view tends to place our modern notions of privacy on the idea of private arrangements of earlier periods of time. Sleeping arrangements in the bedchambers of the elite during the early Tudor period were not the seclusion we tend to seek today. However, sleeping was still one of the most private activities that took place within a residence, particularly for the high status residents.⁶⁹² In all four case studies the lord had his own bedchamber, which was heavily restricted through the use of corridors and staircases. At Cowdray and Thornbury the bedchamber was a part of a

⁶⁹¹ Philippe Planel, *Locks and Lavatories: the Architecture of Privacy* (London: English Heritage, 2000), pp. 16-7. For sleeping as a bodily function, see Lawrence Wright, *Warm and Snug: The History of the Bed* (London: Routledge 1962); Sasha Handley, 'Sociable Sleeping in Early Modern England, 1660-1760', *History*, 98 (2013), 79-104. For monastic dormitories, see Virginia Jansen, 'Architecture and Community in Medieval Monastic Dormitories', in *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture 5*, ed. by Meredith Parson Lillich (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1998), pp. 59-94.

⁶⁹²For guest accommodation, see section 5.5.

sequence of rooms that made up the lordly apartments: the great chamber, dining chamber, bedchamber, and closet. This chain of chambers added a layer of privacy to each of the rooms as someone progressed through them. In order to access any of them an invitation was needed, presumably from the lord.

Who, then, would have had access to these chambers, and does this make it less private? In John Russell's *Boke of Nurture*, the advice is given to the chamberlain that 'the chamberlain must then undress him [the lord] at the end of the day [...] and when he is in bed [...] drive out the dog and the cat [...] *take no leave of your lord*, but bow low to him and retire'.⁶⁹³ Again, a gradation of privacy can be applied to the bedchamber, perhaps, as one of the most private areas within a residence, and yet, the lord was still accompanied by certain servants. Gillian Eadie argues that 'the lord would not be concerned by the presence of others in his bedchamber, if this was the normal arrangement of things', and it did not make the bedchamber any less private.⁶⁹⁴ The idea of servants that were always present would not fit our notions of privacy, but it was normal for a high status lord to be able to call upon his chamberlain or steward at any time during the night. The presence of a small number of servants is far more private than lower status sleeping accommodation which might provide one large room for the whole family to sleep.

Figure 29 depicts the access map of Thornbury's southern range which housed the apartments of Stafford and Lady Eleanor as well as the muniments rooms above. In the middle, on the first floor, is Stafford's apartment while on the left of the map is Lady Eleanor's identically sized apartment. The sequence of rooms for both Stafford and Lady Eleanor architecturally and spatially remove them from the other, less private areas in the castle. Both great chambers could be accessed from the great hall by walking through a corridor up or down a staircase (depending on whose great chamber was being accessed), and through another long corridor. Although both Stafford's and his wife's bedchambers were nearest the inner gatehouse, and therefore, closest to the entrance of the castle, they were the most private and deepest spaces in the castle.

⁶⁹³ *Early English Meals and Manners*, pp. 66-7. Italics added by author for emphasis.

⁶⁹⁴ Eadie, *New Approach*, p. 131.

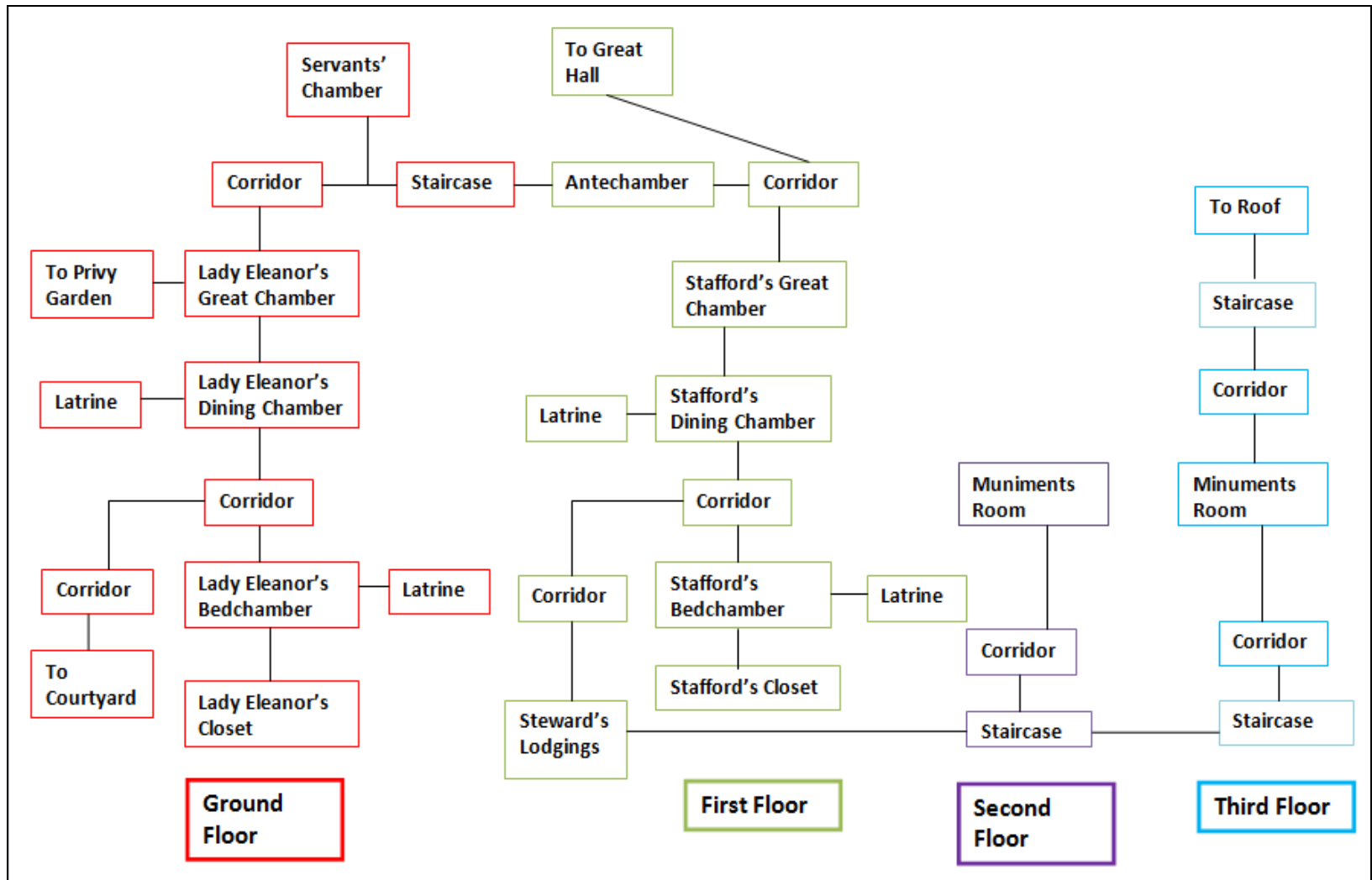


Figure 29: Lordly Apartments at Thornbury (c. 1521).

The access map for Hedingham Castle (Figure 32) is slightly different from the other case studies as the Norman great tower stands in the centre of the courtyard. As such, it breaks up the openness of the courtyard, and, due to the lack of structural remains it is hard to denote sleeping arrangements. However, the great hall and great chamber have been identified laying to the west of the great tower. Excavations have found a large tower block to the south of the great chamber, connected with a corridor. By following the spatial syntax of the other case studies, the tower block, or in the very least, the chambers connected to the great chamber, should be the lordly apartments. It was suggested in Chapter Five that the guest accommodations were located in a brick tower located in the inner bailey, this tower block was most likely for higher status guests. Another key to locating the high-status apartments in the castle complex pertains to the material used to build the lodgings. The tower blocks that are suggested to be the lordly apartments and accommodation for high-status guests were built of brick, and according to the excavation reports they were stout towers built in a similar fashion to that of the Norman great tower.⁶⁹⁵ The brick towers differ substantially to the stone lodging range to the north of the Norman great tower. This range was isolated from the rest of the structures in the courtyard and could only be accessed through the courtyard. This appears to be similar at Thornbury and Cowdray, where the lodgings of either guests or high-status household members would be accessed through the courtyard and separate from the rest of the castle layout.

Although Carew's layout, particularly of the eastern range, has been largely renovated during the late sixteenth century, the access analysis map still gives a hint as to where the lordly accommodation was located. There are two possible locations: the first is off the north-western tower, possibly below the Elizabethan gallery. A second set of apartments, most likely those of Sir Rhys, can be found next to the lesser hall through a corridor and up a flight of stairs. These locations for accommodation seem due to the simple fact that there is nowhere else available. All other rooms have been identified either through the archaeological surveys, performed separately by David Austin and myself, or the 1532 attainder's survey of Carew, which gives insights into the building before the Elizabethan long gallery was added.⁶⁹⁶ It would appear that the lordly apartments were located off the lesser hall because of the controlled access to the

⁶⁹⁵ Majendie, 'Hedingham Castle', pp. 240-43; 'Notes on Hedingham Castle', pp. 75-80.

⁶⁹⁶ TNA, E36/151.

chambers through the use of a corridor and a flight of stairs. The apartments were conveniently located near the household chapel allowing for a private path into the chapel for Sir Rhys. The other set of accommodation, located off the north-west tower and the great hall, is in a similar location to that of the guest accommodation at Thornbury. Both are located off the great hall, but not directly connected allowing for some privacy and seclusion. They are both placed far away from the kitchens and service area, again perhaps revealing their high-status nature.

Cowdray, though it was the residence built latest of the case studies, is similar in layout to the other sites. The lordly apartments have the same chamber system as Thornbury with the great chamber, the dining chamber, the bedchamber, and a closet leading off the bedchamber. However, there is one subtle difference at Cowdray. There is a spiral-stair turret from the bedchamber leading upwards to a roof terrace and downwards and outside to the park. The lordly accommodation is accessed directly from the great hall with a flight of stairs and a corridor. Another range of accommodation is located in the western range of the building. This range of accommodation, first identified by St John Hope, was more open than the accommodation at Thornbury and Carew as it was accessed directly from the courtyard. There are a few hints that this was indeed the high-status accommodation for guests or possibly even high ranking household staff, as each room was equipped with its own individual latrine built on the outer part of the range facing outwards to the west. Although the accommodation is reached through the courtyard, the upper floor accommodation had a physical barrier of a spiral-stair turret for an extra layer of privacy. Therefore, it might be suggested that the upper-floor was for more high-status guests or household officials while the lower floor was for lower-status guests or household staff. Like the accommodation at all the other sites, it is not attached to the lordly accommodation in any way, even though they are next to one another. This lack of attachment gave both sets of accommodation more controlled access with fewer points of entry.

The arrangement of sleeping chambers for the lord, his family, and those of high status – guests and household officials – can be seen to be strategically placed within the castle layout. Most of the lordly apartments and chamber had physical barriers that one would have to pass through in order to enter, for example, multiple corridors and stairs. By building an added architectural layer, the chamber was becoming a more

private and secluded space. On top of this, most visitors would have need to gain permission from the lord in order to enter the great chamber and dining room, thus adding a further barrier a visitor would need to overcome in order to get access to the lord's apartments or chambers.

6.4 The Arrangement of Sleeping Chambers for the Household

It is difficult to determine where the members of the household slept within the castle as it rarely leaves architectural traces. What did the rooms look like? Was there a fireplace? And how many slept in a room? These questions are very difficult to answer. As Gillian Eadie has argued, perhaps some instruction can be found in the example given in the late fourteenth-century poem *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. After Gawain enters the castle of the Green Knight he is directed to the hall where he meets his host and is fed on the best food available.⁶⁹⁷ The use of the fireplace and central hearth is paramount in the tale, since it is at these locations that Gawain spends most of his days and evening.⁶⁹⁸ In total there are seven references to the fireplace and the central hearth through this portion of the poem. In contrast to this, the description of Gawain's bedchamber, although lavish in its furnishings, contains no reference to a fireplace or heating of any sort.⁶⁹⁹ This might indicate that it was acceptable not to have fires in the sleeping chambers for people other than the lord. The poetic evidence matches up with Eadie's analysis of heated and unheated rooms in Irish tower houses indicating that fireplaces were not perhaps an essential feature for many chambers. With that being said, the outer courtyard at Thornbury contains a whole range dedicated to sleeping accommodation, although it is difficult to know for whom, each chamber is identical in size and form with a latrine and fireplace.

Chris Woolgar has argued that accommodation for servants was moving away from communal space in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁷⁰⁰ However, Roger North writing at the end of the seventeenth century, states:

As for servants I know it is usual to clutter them all into a kitchen, partly to save fire, and partly for want of room. But that is not consistent with good economy, because not only the waste of meat and drink from the petulance of idle fellows who will be sponging but it also hinders the

⁶⁹⁷ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 39-41 (lines 820-900); Eadie, 'New Approaches', p. 324.

⁶⁹⁸ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 39-72 (lines 810-1997).

⁶⁹⁹ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 40 (lines 852-9).

⁷⁰⁰ Woolgar, *The Noble Household*, p. 68.

passage and management of the servants assigned to the kitchen employments.⁷⁰¹

According to North the concept of communal sleeping arrangements for servants was still a familiar practice, suggesting the move towards separate accommodation for servants was a more gradual process. Edward Stafford's household accounts for 1501 he purchased straw for his servants' beds.⁷⁰² Although this tantalising piece of evidence does not tell us where these straw beds might be within the residence, the layout of the outer court of Thornbury has a whole range which is dedicated to accommodation. All the rooms are almost identical with most containing a fireplace and a latrine. The northern range in the inner courtyard has the kitchen offices (Figures 30), as well as five large chambers above the kitchens. These were presumably for household staff.

In John Russell's *Boke of Nurture*, we are told the master of the wardrobe was responsible for helping the lord prepare for bed. Russell's last rule for the 'wardrober' was 'looke that ye haue the bason for chamber & also the urnalle redy at alle howres when he wille clepe or calle'.⁷⁰³ As discussed in the previous section, the steward, slept in the same room, or at least within a very short distance of his lord, in case of a nightly toilet break. This is certainly the case at Thornbury, where the gatehouse has two separate apartments for high status members of the household. The apartment on the northern side of the gatehouse was that of the porter, who enjoyed a three chambered apartment. The southern side of the gatehouse contained a two chambered apartment for the steward of the household. Each of the apartments has its own latrine and fireplace. The steward's apartment was also connected directly to the southern range which held Edward Stafford's and Eleanor Percy's apartments via corridor and a staircase (see Figure 30). The steward at this time was second in command to the lord and was in an intimate relationship with his master.⁷⁰⁴ This relationship is structurally expressed at Thornbury by the turret staircase which connected the steward's lodgings with that of the ducal apartments. Similarly, there was a chamber whose door leads directly to the

⁷⁰¹ Gladys S. Thomson, *Life in a Noble Household, 1641-1700* (London: J. Cape, 1937), p. 24; Gladys S. Thomson, *The Russells in Bloomsbury, 1669-1771* (London: J. Cape, 1940), pp. 230-32; Stone, *An Open Elite?*, p. 307; Roger North, *Of Building. Roger North's Writings on Architecture*, ed. by Howard Colvin and John Newman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 138, 89-90; Isaac Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture* (London: Baldwin, 1768), p. 347.

⁷⁰² TNA, E101/546/18, ff. 35r, 38v.

⁷⁰³ BL, Harley, MS 4011, fol. 185b.

⁷⁰⁴ This is well shown in Viscount Montagu's Household Book at Cowdray, 1595; Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory*, pp. 119-34.

staircase to Eleanor Percy's great chamber and bedchamber, perhaps this was a chamber dedicated to Lady Eleanor's maids.

Like the porter and steward, other household officials had their own chambers. In 1491, at Hedingham Castle, work had begun on Sir Thomas Tyrell's chamber suggesting that he was a prominent member of de Vere's household. In 1486 Tyrell was a feoffee for de Vere, and was then knighted after the battle of Stoke where he fought in the earl's retinue. He fought again for de Vere two years later at the Battle of Blackheath, after which he was made a banneret. Tyrell was paid an annuity in de Vere's will totalling £6, 13s, and 4d.⁷⁰⁵ In Tyrell's own will he makes reference to legal advice being given to him by the 'councill of my Lorde of Oxinforde'.⁷⁰⁶ So it appears that although we do not know exactly what role Tyrell played in de Vere's household, he was important enough and in attendance at Hedingham often enough, to receive his own chamber. The exclusivity of these chambers assigned to an individual person reflects their position in the household. We can see from the access maps that some private activities were based on status, such as sleeping. The bedchamber of the lord and lady were secluded within the castle layout, so although there might be several people sleeping in the chamber, sleeping was a private activity for the elite. However, sleeping for those lower down the social ladder, such as, the kitchen staff, it was more of a communal affair; at Thornbury they all slept above the kitchen offices. The privacy of sleeping in one's own chamber was not just for the nobility; those of high enough status in the household were given their own lodgings.

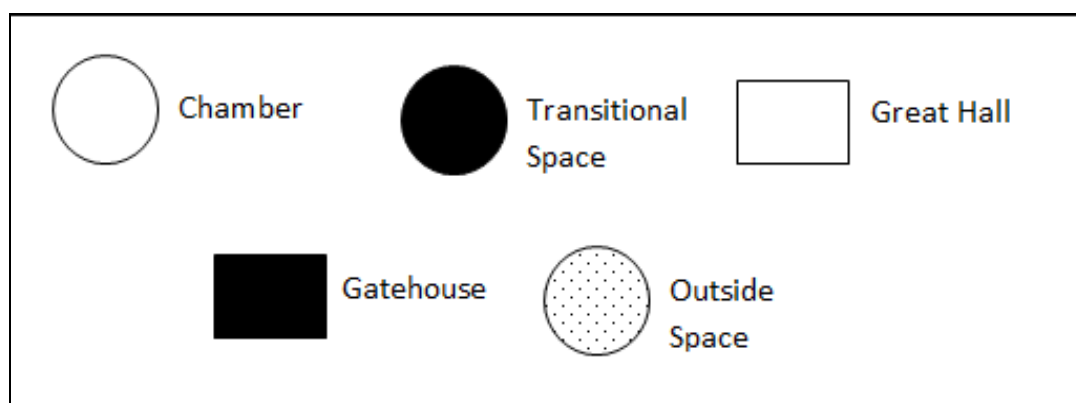


Figure 30: Key to Access Analysis Maps.

⁷⁰⁵ TNA, PROB 11/17, fol. 1.

⁷⁰⁶ TNA, PROB 11/17, fol. 1; E150/64/2; 299/6; 963/6; *Household Books*, p. 493.

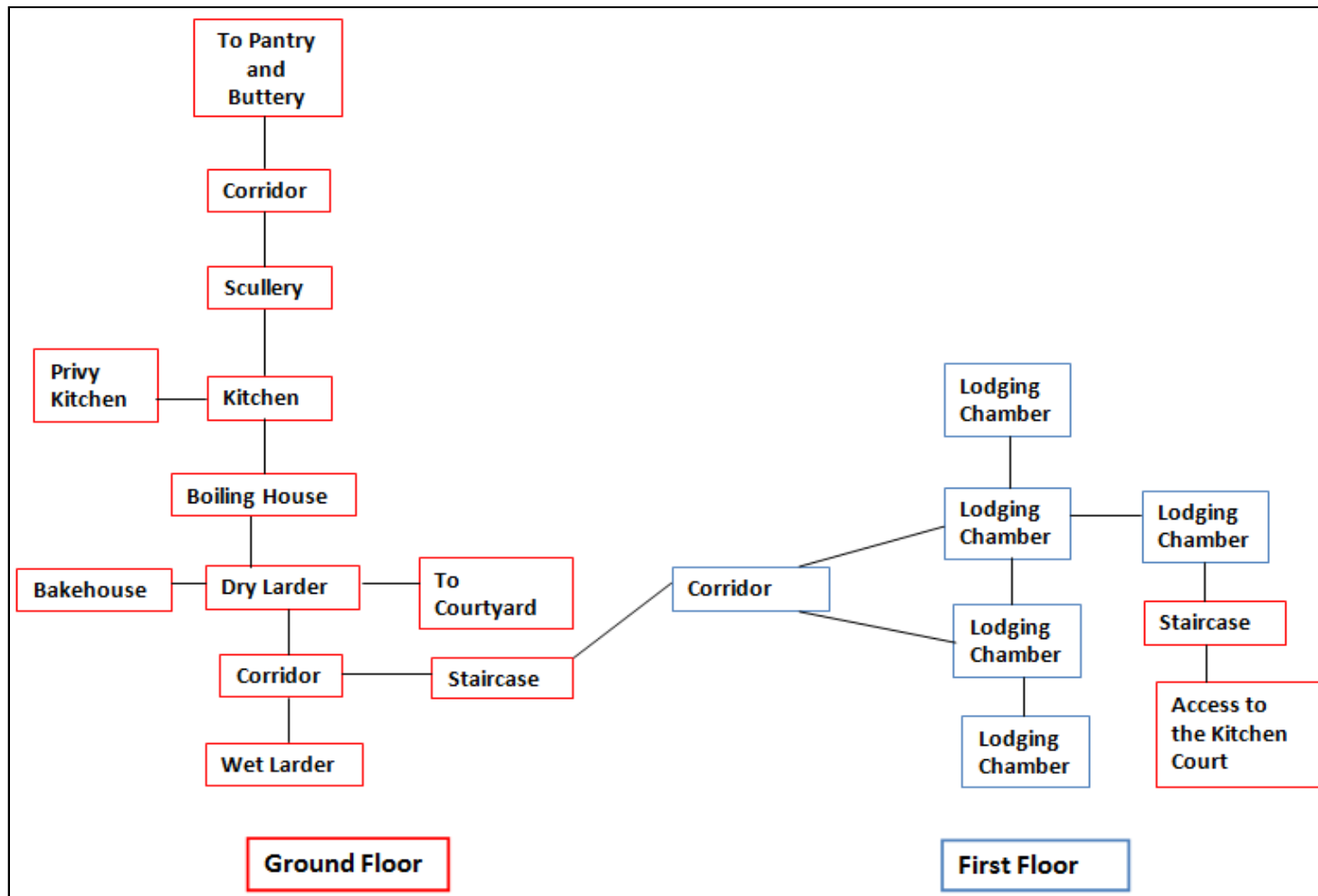


Figure 31: Access Map depicting the kitchen (north) range at Thornbury Castle (c. 1521).

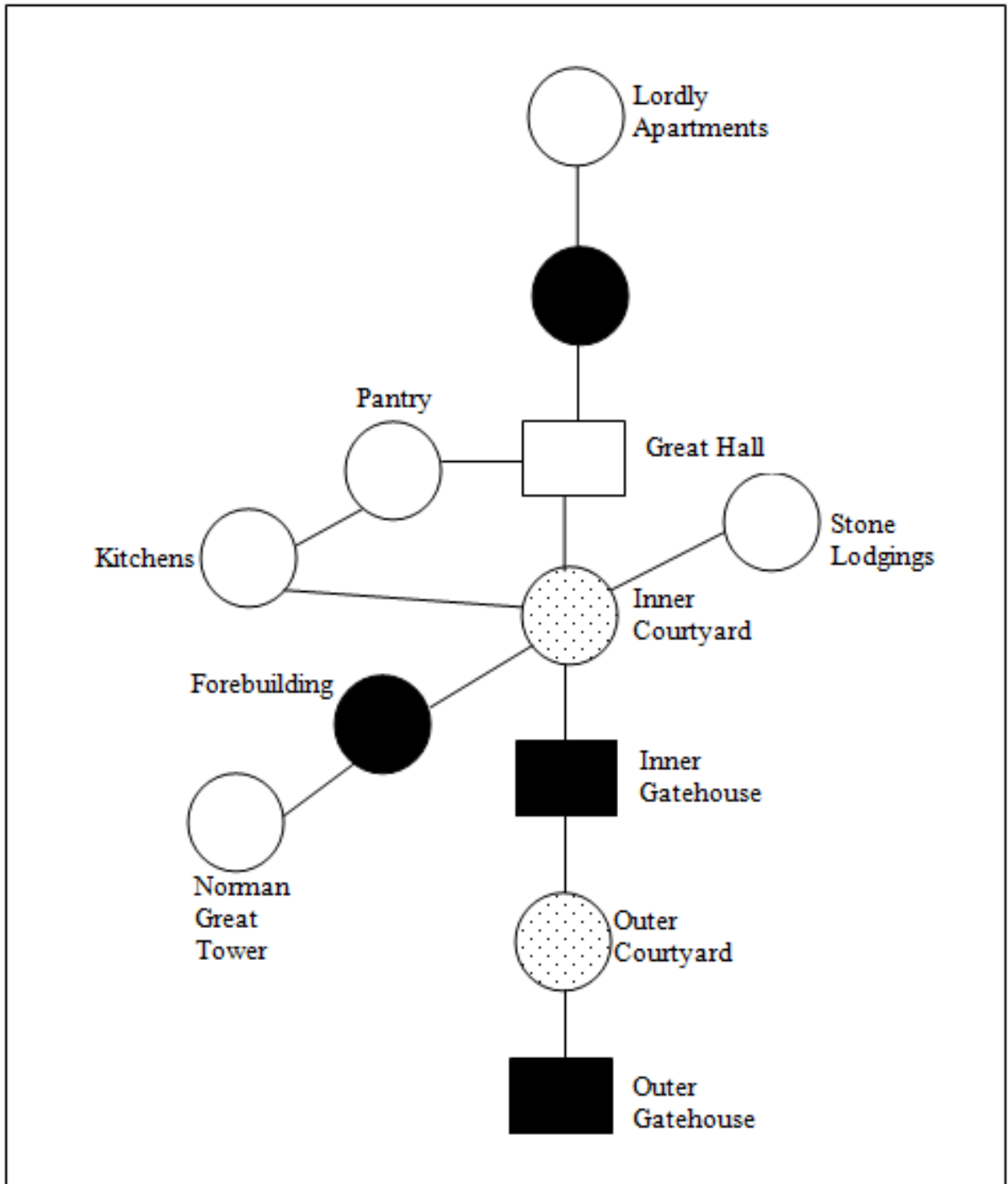


Figure 32: Access Analysis Map of Hedingham Castle (c. 1500).

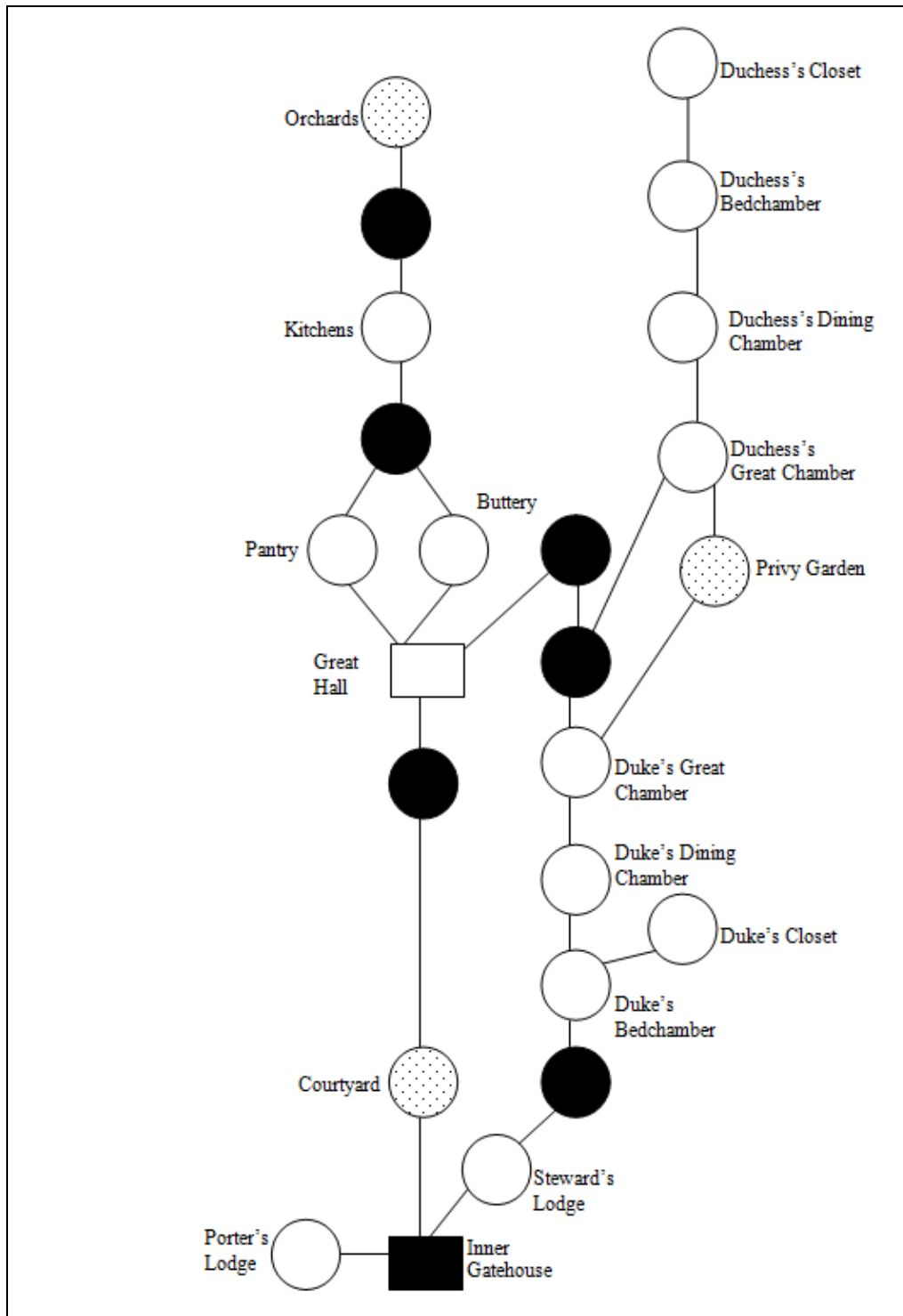


Figure 33: Access Analysis Map of Thornbury Castle (c. 1520).

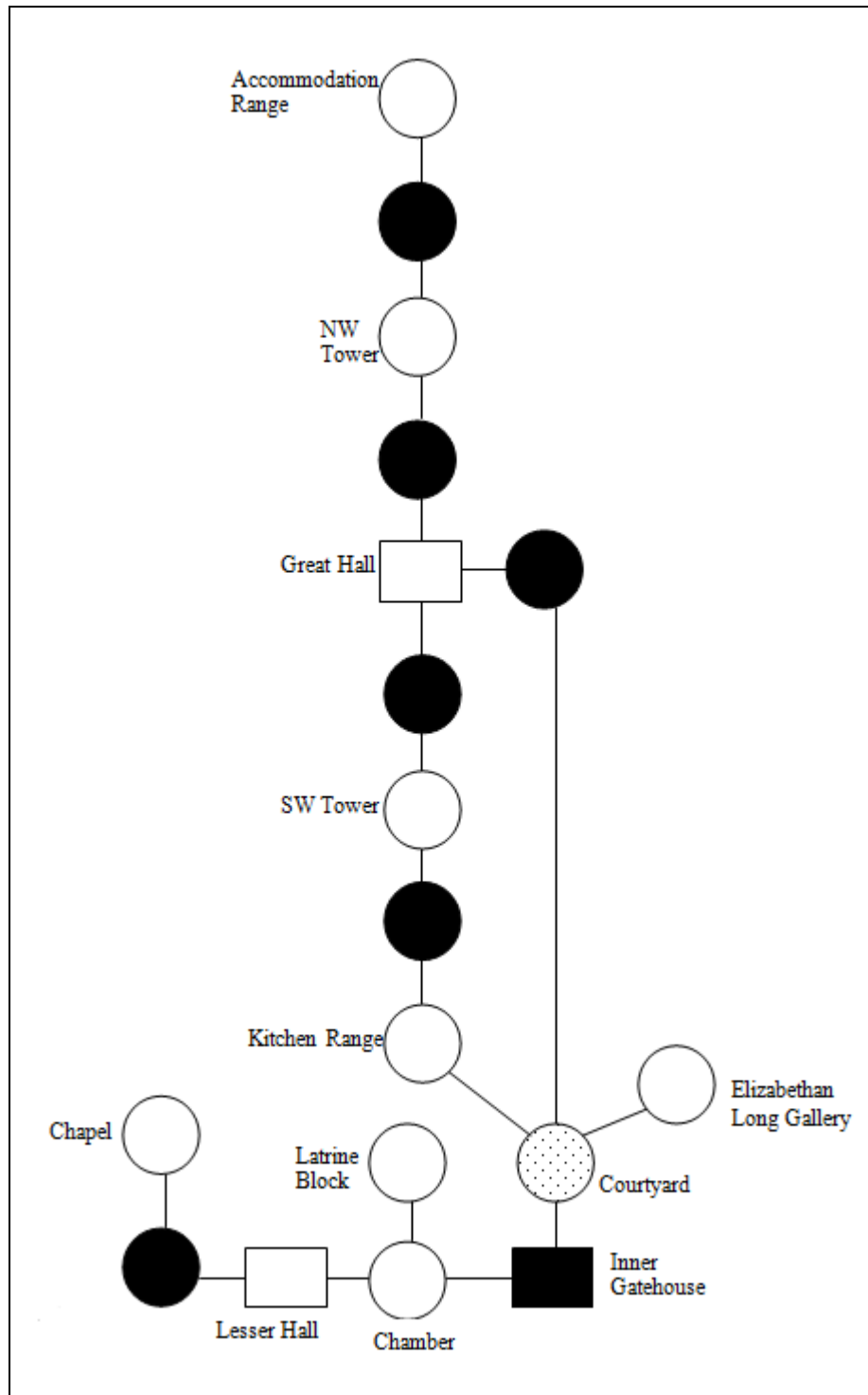


Figure 34: Access Analysis Map of Carew Castle (c. 1500).

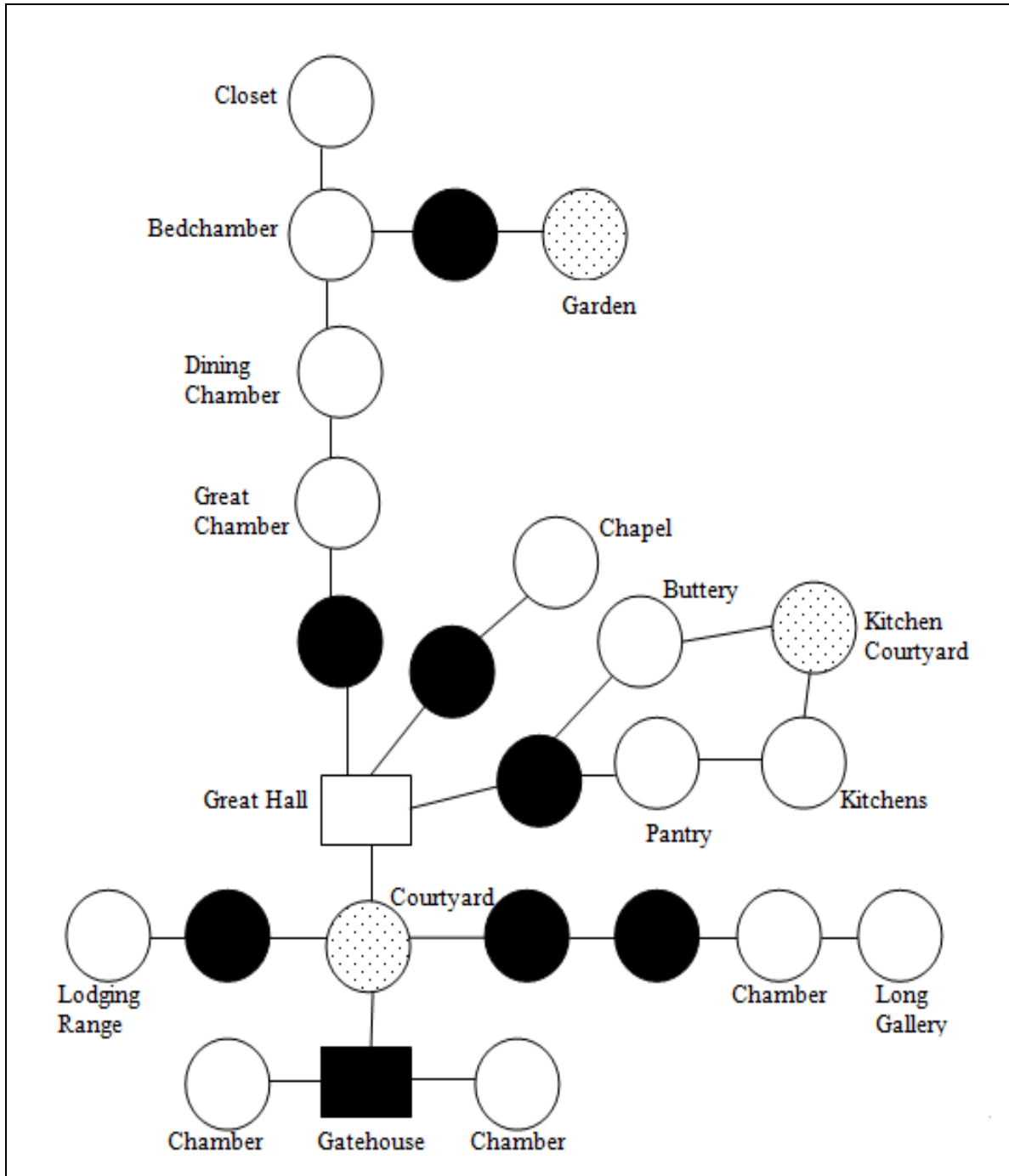


Figure 35: Access Analysis Map of Cowdray Castle (c. 1530).

6.5 Gendered Privacy and Space: Closets and Latrines

The relationship between men and women within the built environment has only recently started to be considered. In Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski's 1988 collection of essays on medieval women and power it was not considered at all.⁷⁰⁷ It was not studied extensively until Roberta Gilchrist persuasively demonstrated the distinctive contribution that the study of buildings added to our understanding of the construction of gender identities.⁷⁰⁸ Gilchrist's assertion led to a debate about the extent to which spaces were gendered. Barbara Hanawalt, for instance, has suggested that space was 'very gendered' in the Middle Ages with specific female activities being confined to certain areas.⁷⁰⁹ The recurring motif in spatial studies of gender is the physical distancing of men and women. Spatial oppositions of public/private, culture/nature and male/female have been evoked to portray the emergence of an inferior, female domestic domain, strictly delineated from the more prestigious, male public domain.⁷¹⁰ By contrast, Jeremy Goldberg has argued that spatial distinctions were less gendered before the second half of the fifteenth century when craft workshops became 'increasingly masculinised and mercantile households increasingly feminised' as social practices changed in the later Middle Ages.⁷¹¹

The difficulty with detecting the relationship between gender and space is in distinguishing spaces that were specifically designed for, or used by, one sex rather than the

⁷⁰⁷ *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988).

⁷⁰⁸ Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*.

⁷⁰⁹ Barbara Hanawalt, 'At the Margins of Women's Space in Medieval Europe', in *'Of Good and Ill Repute': Gender and Social Control in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Barbara Hanawalt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 70-87.

⁷¹⁰ Michelle Z. Rosaldo, 'Woman, Culture and Society: A Theoretical Overview', in *Woman, Culture and Society*, ed. by Michelle Z. Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 14-42; Sherry B. Ortner, 'Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?', in *Woman, Culture and Society*, ed. by Michelle Z. Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 67-88; Henrietta L. Moore, *Feminism and Anthropology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), pp. 21-4. Recently, Roberta Gilchrist has demonstrated this argument is deeply flawed; see *Gender and Archaeology*, p. 111.

⁷¹¹ P. Jeremy Goldberg, 'Household and the Organisation of Labour in Late Medieval Towns: Some English Evidence', in *The Household in Late Medieval Cities, Italy and Northwestern Europe Compared*, ed. by Myriam Carlier and Tim Soens (Louvain: Garant Uitgevers, 2001), pp. 59-70 (p. 60).

other.⁷¹² Space was the basis for the formation of gender identities, which were constantly contested and reconstructed. The gendering of spaces pertains to several different aspects, including the location of activities by men and women, and how the spaces for these activities were used. People experienced and gave meaning to space in complex ways; gender intersected with other categories of social identity such as age and social and marital status.⁷¹³ Spaces had different meanings depending on gender and rank.

Studies have remained largely silent on the gendering of the physical spaces of the castle, and have ventured little on the location of the female household.⁷¹⁴ At Thornbury Castle, the high-status apartment for Lady Eleanor had an almost identical floor plan to her husband's apartment, which was located directly above on the first floor. Scholars have argued that the location of the lady's apartments was in the inner most part of the residence.⁷¹⁵ However, the location of Lady Eleanor's apartments demonstrates this was not always the case. Instead, they were on the ground floor with the same amount of access as the lord's apartments have, with access from the great hall range and the courtyard, as well as access to the privy garden and St Mary's Church. Although there is a lack of evidence to indicate where separate gender activities might have been taking place, the female high-status apartments provided the same amount privacy as the male apartments. In this instance, privacy and private activities were a high status privilege and not necessarily a gendered one.

6.5.1 The Closet: Reading, Writing, and Privacy

There is one space that one might consider gendered simply because it was a space reserved for total seclusion: the closet. Unlike the hallway or corridor, which were used to disclose rooms and allowed people inside these rooms a certain level of privacy, and unlike the bedroom frequently housing not just one but a number of people, the closet was designed as a space where one could be entirely alone. Edward Stafford and Lady Eleanor Percy each had their own closet at Thornbury (see Figure 30). Lady Eleanor's closet was on the ground

⁷¹² Jane Greenville, 'Houses and Households in Late Medieval England: An Archaeological Perspective', in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 309-28.

⁷¹³ See Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007).

⁷¹⁴ For example, Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 144-6.

⁷¹⁵ See, Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology*, pp. 124.

floor and Stafford's was on the first floor, both were accessed from their bedchambers. The closet in the apartment range was the last rooms in a sequence of four rooms on each floor level. Interestingly, at Thornbury in the apartment range each room can be accessed either by going through the rooms in order (i.e. walking from the great chamber to the dining chamber to the bedchamber to the closet), or access was provided through a corridor that ran on the inner side of the wall, giving access to each of the rooms in turn, except the closet which could only be accessed from the bedchamber. The household accounts for Stafford detail that in 1516 a lock was fitted for his closet door, but no mention is made of Lady Eleanor's closet.⁷¹⁶ The highly controlled access to the closet via the bedroom and the evidence that Stafford fitted a lock to the door, demonstrates the private nature of the room. As Angel Day wrote in 1592:

Wee do call the most secret place in the house appropriate unto our owne priuate studies, and wherein wee repose and deliberate by déepe consideration of all our weightiest affaires, a Closet, in true intendment and meaning, a place where our dealings of importance are shut up, a roome proper and peculiar onely to our selues. And whereas into each other place of the house, it is ordinary for euery néere attendant about vs to haue accesse: in this place we do solitarie and alone shutte vp our selues, of this we kéepe the key our selues, and the vse thereof alone do onely appropriate vnto our selues.⁷¹⁷

This passage demonstrates the late sixteenth-century understanding of the closet. It was a private space, a space where one could be alone, and do a multitude of different activities from contemplation and reading to dealing with business matters.

An earlier mention of the closet from the late fourteenth century, also suggests the closet might be used for reading, or at the very least, keeping important and valuable items locked away. In 1395, after waiting some weeks for an audience, Jean Froissart was ushered into King Richard II's outer chamber, where he presented the king with a collection of his poems:

Than the kynge desired to se my booke that I had brought for hym. So he sawe it in his chambre, for I had layde it there redy on his bedde. Whanne the kynge opened it, it pleased hym well, for it was fayre enluynded and written, and couered with crimson veluet, with ten botons of syluer and gylte, and Roses of gold, in the myddes with two great clapses gylte, rychely

⁷¹⁶ Hawkyard, 'Thornbury Castle', p. 53.

⁷¹⁷ Angel Day, *The English Secretorie* (London: Richard Jones, 1592), p. 109.

wrought. Than the kyng demaunded me wherof it treated, and I shewed hym howe it treated of maters of loue; wherof the kynge was gladde and loked in it, and reed in many places, for he coulde speke and rede frenche very well. And he tooke it to a kynght of his chambre, namyed syr Rycharde Creadon, to beare it in to his secrete chambre.⁷¹⁸

The presentation of the book was a symbolic exchange of the poet's cultural and the prince's social prestige. At the same time, Froissart's account shows the book functioning in a number of ways: as a luxury commodity and visual delight, as an occasion for public reading and discussion, and as a personal chamber book, to be read alone or with select intimates. As Paul Saenger has shown, silent reading, which became common among clerics in the twelfth century and gradually spread to the laity, permitted a new intimacy in reading, linking it with devotional practice and the development of religious individualism.⁷¹⁹ Although reading was not always a solitary activity, it appears the closet could be used for solitary secular and religious reading of text. John de Vere's second wife, Elizabeth Scrope's will indicates she was an active patron of books. She bequeathed three books, including 'a boke of golde of the valew of Cs. with the picture of the Crucyfix and the Salutacion of our ladye, to be newly made' to Lady Anne de Vere and 'a boke of gold having dyvers leffys of golde with the Salutacion of our Lady at the begynnyng' to the Countess of Salisbury, both sisters of John de Vere (d. 1562), her nephew, godson, and later sixteenth earl of Oxford.⁷²⁰ These personal books that she bequeathed to her family members might have been stored in her closet for safe keeping and private reading.

There is further evidence to suggest closets were used for reading and writing. An incomplete inventory of Sir William More's items at Loseley Hall, Surrey in August 1556 included the belongings in his closet including various maps, a writing slate, a perpetual calendar, a calculating board and a purse of counters, an inkstand, coffer, sets of weights and balances, a globe, scissors, seals, compasses, pens, a hammer, a penknife, a foot-rule,

⁷¹⁸ *The Thirde and Fourthe Boke of Sir Johan Froyssart*, trans. by John Bouchier, Lord Berner (London, 1525; repr. London: MacMillan, 1904), 255v-256r.

⁷¹⁹ Paul Saenger, 'Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 367-414; Saenger, 'Books of Hours and the Reading Habit of the Later Middle Ages', *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 9 (1985), 239-69.

⁷²⁰ Lewer, 'Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth', pp. 9-16. The will is also printed by Nicholas Harris Nicolas in *Testamenta Vetusta*, but with several omissions.

and a vast selection of texts in English, French, Italian, and Latin.⁷²¹ More's closet was a chamber for performing many different activities, demonstrating the fluid nature of the room as well as the functionality of it. Writing and reading indeed do appear to fit with the location of Stafford's closet, which was directly below the muniments room at Thornbury (see Figure 30). This layout would enable Stafford easy access to past records and for storing new ones. Ultimately, the closet could be a place for quiet reading, writing, for doing private business, perhaps even with another individual, for contemplating and thinking; the closet was a room of requirements.

6.5.2 The Latrine: Privacy and Bodily Functions

Another room that was built for private activity was the latrine. Latrines were spaces which were used on a daily basis, probably more than once, and their location within the castle reflects this, as well as demonstrates their convenience and who might have been using them. Latrines were usually fairly standard, and were commonly very small spaces fitted with one or more slit-lights, a wall cupboard and a door that closed from the inside.⁷²² The doorways and arches were usually not decorated or ornamented. The standard form alongside the lack of decorations, gives the impression that these spaces were viewed solely for their functionality, requiring no ceremony, or status display.

At Hedingham, the latrines in the Norman great tower located on the northern side of the building. As has been argued in Chapter One, the Norman great tower was reused to hold local court and conduct administration in the late fifteenth century by John de Vere. Therefore, we should assume these were not the only latrines located on the Hedingham site. The great brick tower, so labelled on the map of 1592, was most likely the accommodation block used by John de Vere and his family and high status guests. The locations of the accommodation block, along with the other lodgings labelled on the map, are on the outer perimeter of the site. As the archaeological excavations did not find any evidence of a drainage system or pits for latrines, it might be assumed that the latrines in the lordly apartments were located on the southern side of the tower to allow proper

⁷²¹ 'Extracts from the Private Account Book of Sir William More', ed. by John Evans, *Archaeologia*, 36 (1855), 290-93.

⁷²² Gillian Eadie, 'Detecting Privacy and Private Space in the Irish Tower House', *Château Gaillard*, 24 (2010), 69-75; Eadie, *New Approaches*, p. 330.

drainage off the main area of the site. Likewise, the latrines in the lodgings would have been located on the northern side, again, to allow for drainage off the main area of the castle. This scenario would have been similar to that at Cowdray Castle. The northern range, which was the main accommodation range, had a latrine block in the north-western tower. This drained into a brick-lined pit at the base, which was connected to a drainage system, ultimately ending outside the castle walls. The north range also had a building that projected six feet out from the range and was about twenty feet long.⁷²³ This building had a brick-lined pit at the bottom and a row of latrines on each floor, with the pit flushed by a branch of the main drain or sewer that traversed the whole of the north side of the castle. These latrines served all the chambers located within the accommodation range.⁷²⁴

Latrines used by certain individuals can be seen in their placement in the layout of the castle. Porters, for example, had very important responsibilities, as previously discussed; therefore, it was important that they stayed in the gatehouse while on duty. This might be one reason why most porters' lodges were equipped with their own latrine. For instance, at Cowdray, a latrine was located in the south-western turret of the gatehouse on the first floor; the latrine drained into a pit at the base of the turret which was connected to the northern drainage system in the castle.⁷²⁵ The steward's chambers at Thornbury has evidence to suggest there was a private latrine reserved only for the steward as it could only be accessed through the steward's bedchamber. Again, the personal nature of these latrines was a reflection on their position in the household and the importance of their responsibilities.

Due to the long hours in the kitchens, the household area was equipped with a latrine. At Cowdray, the room at the top of the kitchen tower had a narrow doorway that led to a latrine chamber.⁷²⁶ The southern range that accommodated the household offices had

⁷²³ St John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory*, p. 69.

⁷²⁴ St John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory*, p. 69. The projecting building can be seen in a drawing by Samuel Grimm in 1781 (BL, Add. MS Burrell, 5675, fol. 17), or reproduced by St John Hope as Plate X.

⁷²⁵ The ruined nature of the interior of the gatehouse is too damaged to ascertain if there was more than one latrine in the gatehouse, but it appears that all the chambers in the turrets were identical. Although St John Hope does argue that there was a latrine located in north-western turret as well, but it is too difficult to tell for certain. St John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory*, p. 67.

⁷²⁶ St John Hope argues that the top room was not part of the original build by Sir William Fitzwilliam, but later added by Sir Anthony Browne. St John Hope, *Cowdray*, p. 83.

its own latrine block.⁷²⁷ Beneath this range was a brick-lined pit which was seventeen feet long and five feet wide, and had on the west side two wide round-headed arches opening from an arched brick drain outside. This drain ran southwards, and has another opening into it on the north from alongside the foot of the main wall of the range. The latrine pit seems to have had a doorway in its south end at the ground level outside with a step in front for cleaning.⁷²⁸

The location of latrines within the residence suggests they were thoughtfully placed for the convenience of those who were staying at the castle, particularly the owners. The lack of latrines near the great hall is striking, but it appears from the evidence presented that latrines were generally associated with chambers and sleeping quarters, and this suggests that the chambers in the lordly apartments and those used by household members such as the gatehouse chamber for the porter, were viewed as very different from the great hall, in terms of privacy. At Cowdray it is very clear that latrines were private areas, and it appears that certain people were assigned to use certain latrines in the castle. For example, the latrine located in the kitchen tower was most likely used by members of the household, particularly those working in the kitchens. As there was only one latrine located in the tower all the kitchen staff had to use it. The latrines located in the south block were used by those in the household offices such as the steward, yeoman, and other higher ranking members of the household while on duty. Although each department did not have its own latrine there were several available for use and therefore these might be considered more private than the communal toilet in the kitchen block. The latrine in the gatehouse was specifically for the porter, making it exclusive. On the other hand, the latrine off the great chamber at Cowdray and Thornbury might have been semi-communal and used by those who were invited by the lord or lady to accompany them into the great chamber. The most private latrines at Cowdray and Thornbury were located in the elite apartments of the lord and lady with each chamber having its own latrine.

⁷²⁷ According to St John Hope the latrine tower measured about twelve feet by seventeen feet. *Cowdray*, p. 84.

⁷²⁸ St John Hope, *Cowdray*, p. 84.

The hierarchy of privacy extended to even the most private activity: bodily functions.⁷²⁹ Sight, smell, and sound appear to be part of the privacy issues and by architecturally removing the latrine from its surroundings – through corridors, staircases, and doorways – the person in the chamber was separated from the chambers and people around them. In most cases the door to the latrine closed from the inside and was lockable, giving the person in the latrine full control of their individual privacy and the ability to completely hinder another from entering. Privacy afforded to the owner of a closet was, to a certain extent, different. The closet was a high-status area, where the latrine was not. At Thornbury the closet was only accessed through the bedchamber, which in itself was heavily restricted through cultural norms and constraints. It would seem at least pertaining to the spaces and activities discussed here that privacy was both reliant on status and not. Everyone, no matter gender or status, was given privacy while in the latrine, but not everyone was able to retreat into a closet in order to seclude themselves from the world; that privilege was only available for those who could afford to build one.

6.6 Detecting Privacy in the Landscape

Chapter Two focused on the use of the landscape around the castle and only touched on the landscape as a place for privacy, while this chapter has primarily focused on privacy inside the residence. However, places such as gardens and parks did offer an opportunity for privacy. Mary Crane has suggested that privacy before the eighteenth century was ‘readily attainable only outdoors’.⁷³⁰ Scholars have failed to note the distinction between indoors and outdoors was defined less absolutely in the early modern period, as private gardens offered spaces that seemed to be domestic spaces with benches and alleys to walk in.⁷³¹ Privacy could be associated with both large, relatively open landscape such as forests, fields and parks, and in gardens. Parks functioned for isolation and solitude and offered a space far away from prying eyes, while gardens located close to the residence and

⁷²⁹ For daily life and bodily functions, see Geherad Jaritz, ‘Daily Life in Medieval Literature’, *Medium Aevum*, 2 (1984), 6-23; ‘Methodological Aspects of the History of Everyday Life in the Late Middle Ages’, *Medium Aevum*, 30 (1994), 22-7; ‘History of Everyday Life in the Middle Ages’, *History and Computing*, 11 (1999), 103-14.

⁷³⁰ Mary T. Crane, ‘Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces in Early Modern England’, *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 9 (2009), 4-22 (p. 5).

⁷³¹ Crane, ‘Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Space’, p. 5.

containing enclosed spaces such as bowers, arbours, and covered walks blurred the distinction between inside and outside space. These private gardens seemed to function as a kind of outdoor extension of the house, often offering more of an opportunity for solitude and privacy than the interior.⁷³² Orest Ranum suggested that:

with the help of fifteenth-century paintings, wood engravings, and tapestries we can not only describe the walled garden but almost smell its flowers and breathe its salubrious air. Low wooden enclosures, walls of espaliered fruit trees, or woven wicker fences enclosed beds of flowers...Fountains and pools, narrow lanes, and trellises covered with roses...the ideal place for an amorous, courtly, or religious encounter.⁷³³

Gardens were a place for privacy and seclusion and provided a multisensory experience. As we have seen in Chapter Two, Thornbury had a privy garden which could only be accessed from Stafford and Lady Eleanor's apartments. The privy garden could only be accessed and overlooked by the elite apartments. It is highly unlikely that members of the household were allowed to access the garden unless given permission by Stafford or Lady Eleanor. This restricted access made the privy garden at Thornbury a very private space. The eastern garden at Thornbury was larger than the privy garden and directly adjacent to the Earl of Bedford's lodgings, which have been argued to contain the high-status guest accommodation. Providing potential guests with their own garden was indeed a symbol of high status, and as argued in Chapter Two, the landscape features could provide recreational and entertainment opportunities for guests.

Both gardens at Thornbury were enclosed with 'high walls imbattled'.⁷³⁴ There is also mention of galleries, the 1521 royal survey of Thornbury states, 'the otter parte of the said gallery being of stone enbatilled and the ynner parte of tymbre coverd w[i]t[h] slate'.⁷³⁵ Similarly, the two parks at Carew Castle were walled. John Leland commented that, 'cumming from [Lamphey Palace] towarde Tinbighe I rode by a ruinus waulle of a parke sumtime longing to Syr Rhese, now voide of deer. In the parke is very little or no hye woode, but shrubbis and fyrris, like as is in the .ii. parkes about Carew, waullid with

⁷³² Crane, 'Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Space', p. 8;

⁷³³ Orest Ranum, 'Refuges of Intimacy', in *A History of Private Life III: Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. by Roger Chartier, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 207-263 (p. 212).

⁷³⁴ TNA, E36/150, m. 19

⁷³⁵ TNA, E36/150, m. 19

stones'.⁷³⁶ The archaeological excavation did confirm Leland's report of a stone walled park along the limits of the deer park associated with Lamphey Palace.⁷³⁷ The 1532 royal survey of the Carew estate also mentions two walled parks, one adjacent to the castle itself with a circumference of one mile and the second park further away from the castle with a circumference of two miles.⁷³⁸ The battlements atop the surrounding garden wall should not be thought of as Edward Stafford's or Sir Rhys ap Thomas's fear or anticipation of attack, but as their proclamation of noble status and authority.

Contrary to the privacy afforded in the gardens, the courtyards were a relatively open space, both in terms of access and visibility. Courtyards were a transitional space with people of all social statuses using it to move from one range to another. There was no strict control of access to the courtyard, in the same sense as there was to a garden or park. The porter controlled access to the gatehouse which one inevitably had to enter before the courtyard, and if the residence was built around a two courtyard design, such as Thornbury and Hedingham castles, the inner courtyard was more private than the outer courtyard. As Chapter Two demonstrated that the landscape was multifunctional providing a space for movement between areas and a quiet area for the elite. As with the residence itself, the landscape had spaces for privacy and seclusion, like the privy garden, and allowed for openness and fluidity, like the courtyard.

6.7 Conclusion

Power and wealth do contribute to privacy in so far as such issues determined who could and who could not afford a house furnished with such private areas as a closet. For those who could, the closet functioned as a private sanctuary, only associated with power in circumstances when an extraordinarily high-profile person either invited or denied someone access to his or her closet. Likewise, the sequence of rooms that comprised the lordly apartments should be seen as more private than the great hall as the access was controlled by the number of antechambers and waiting rooms. The apartments had the added restriction that the individual whose apartment it was controlled access. The location and

⁷³⁶ John Leland, *Itinerary*, pp. 115-6. For the two parks, enclosures and columbarium in 1555, see TNA, LR1/299 fol. 18-19.

⁷³⁷ *Carew Castle Archaeological Project 1994*, p. 33.

⁷³⁸ TNA, E 36/151 fo. 6.

spatial arrangements of chambers, including those associated with the service end of the castle, was a vital element in the privacy, or seclusion, of certain people. The seclusion of those working at the service side of the residence was different from the seclusion afforded to the lord. Residences built around a courtyard plan were able to put the lord and his family on one side of the courtyard with the services on the other. This provided seclusion for both the kitchen staff and servants and for the lord and other high-status guests or residents. The secluded area such as the closet was, not surprisingly, a high-status area. However, private space can be found in some of the least private of areas, such as the latrine in the kitchen block at Cowdray. It would appear everyone, no matter what their status or gender, was granted privacy in the latrine. The location of other areas such as the porter's lodgings demonstrates the importance of his responsibilities, because of the porter's control of access through the gatehouse there were no "public" areas within the castle. The courtyard might be viewed as the least private area because not only was it an open area from which many other areas could access it, the courtyard could be viewed from the inner windows located on all the ranges; privacy was about seclusion as well as observation.

Previous scholarship has argued that there was a connection between privacy and wealth. This chapter has shown to a certain extent this was the case. The fact that privacy was a privilege and could only be obtained by those who could afford it meant that the elite could display their privacy to the outside world by using platforms such as a private gallery in the household chapel. All four sites had private galleries situated above the household chapel. This would have given private access to the lord and his family, but all the household staff below would have been aware of the private gallery above. Galleries would allow those sitting in them the ability for a better view, perhaps over the rood screen to allow for a view of the elevation of the host, the holiest of actions during a mass. The juxtaposition of public and private, particularly seen in the private gallery of the household chapel, was a very important aspect of a privacy life during the early Tudor period. The elite desired to display their wealth through visual media and by its very nature privacy is not an open aspect of life and yet, there are traces of the private life on public display throughout the castles. The public nature of privacy is not found in all aspects of a private

life. Personal privacy has varying degrees of seclusion and a distinct lack of openness found in the private gallery in the household chapel.

Approaching privacy through an interdisciplinary lens has revealed privacy in many spaces previously neglected by scholarship. Due to the degrees and variations in the private life of the early Tudor elite, the hierarchy of privacy combined with the use of access maps was thought to be the best approach to detecting past notions and ideas of privacy.

Although Figure 28 is a simplified version of the hierarchy of privacy, it demonstrates that personal privacy in the latrine was allowed for almost everyone, no matter what their status. Bodily functions, particularly when using the latrine, were seen as a very private activity. They were private enough that most surviving latrines in the case studies usually have a corridor and a door to physically remove them from other chambers. It does appear, however, that certain latrines were assigned to certain sections, or areas, within the castle complex. For example, at Cowdray the latrine in the kitchen tower would have been used by kitchen staff and not the lord, whilst the latrine off the lord's great chamber would have been used by the lord, and possibly his guests and not any of the household staff. The number of people allowed to use a latrine might also make them more or less private.

Privacy in the early Tudor period signified a multifaceted idea that varies both diachronically and synchronically. In order to understand privacy it is important to appreciate the various shades of privacy that were distinguished in the early Tudor period. A finely graded system of more or less public or private was in place, which did not follow a binary opposition between public and private. The 'public-private' represented a continuum rather than a dichotomy. The example of Froissart seeking audience with the king in his bedchamber demonstrates this spectrum. The king's bedchamber was strictly controlled, Froissart had waited weeks for an audience, but there was an even more private chamber where the king kept the book. This secret chamber was off limits to Froissart making it more private than the bedchamber. Although the great chamber, and perhaps even the dining chamber, was used to host guests for meals, this does not mean that there was no privacy. After all, considering the sliding scale from private to public, this was a space that was more private than many of the other chambers in the castle, which in themselves were again relatively private since only a few people had access to the castle.

Conclusion

This thesis posed the question, what role did the castle play in the daily life of the lord, the household, and in the regional community? Ultimately, the aim of this thesis was to gain a more holistic understanding of the link between people and place: how did this connection facilitate movement, spatial arrangements, privacy, and everyday activities such as sleeping or eating? In order to investigate such a question, four early Tudor castles and owners were explored as the heart of a lavish lifestyle. By examining castles together with their inhabitants, this thesis presented a new format and methodological approach to castle studies. The approach focuses on the activities that took place in the castle and the surrounding landscape through the analysis of archaeological data, documentary evidence, building surveys, and literature, which all contributed to the compilation of the access analysis maps and was viewed through the theoretical framework of space syntax. The investigation of one generation of castle owners, compared to previous scholarship that examined a long period of time, allowed for specific individuals and social contexts to be studied. The application of the methodology to four castles in the south of England and Wales has demonstrated that there were similar features and provisions of the activities despite the differences in location and that it is a successful method to analyse domestic space. The early Tudor period has traditionally been seen as the waning of the Middle Ages, and in this light, the castle has been viewed as entering into a phase of decline by the fifteenth century. Therefore, this thesis has deconstructed the idea of the castle as a strictly medieval structure by bridging the traditional chronological divide between the Middle Ages and the early modern period.

Additionally, this thesis has brought to light the transitional period between the late medieval and early modern period and the features that are distinctively medieval, such as the courtyard layout, and distinctively early modern, such as the muniments room and the closet. These features are unique for this specific period of time. Each of the four case studies emphasises the early Tudor period as a time of much change happening in the domestic sphere, while at the same time there was a challenge to sustain the medieval past. The nobility evoked the chivalric honour culture associated with the medieval period through martial architecture, large great halls, heraldic displays, and authoritative symbols like imposing gatehouses. Early modern features boast of a sense of privacy, record-

keeping, and even a change in the collective idea of the nobility. At the core, closets were a symbol of wealth, but there was a changing idea of privacy too. Those who could afford a closet were able to lock away valuables, perform business, and seek solitude like never before. This is visually displayed in the access maps with the closet the deepest chamber in the whole structure. Muniments rooms increased in residences when the nobility became more interested in saving records for future generations. This is not to say that documents were not kept for posterity before the early modern period, but it became a much more popular practice, particularly with the nobility and gentry. The early Tudor period witnessed a transition in the signs and symbols of wealth to include features of a property that had not previously been there a few decades earlier. At the same time, symbols of wealth displayed by lords since the Norman Conquest were still prevalent within the residence. The transitional period between the late medieval and early modern is an important time as it reflects many of the changes and continuities happening throughout society.

The interconnectivity between people and place was a key concept throughout this thesis. The use of four sites and four owners provided specific information about the inhabitants of the castle at a certain period of time. The connection between the lord and the castle can be found in almost every aspect of daily life, from lavish events like feasting and entertaining, to more mundane activities like using the latrine. The layout reflected the owner's desire for more private areas, while considering practical implications like the spreading of a fire from the kitchens. Incorporated in the design of the castle was the landscape, as shown in Chapter Two, with the architecture and the landscape flowing from one to the other. The gardens were just as ornate and lavish as the interior of the elite apartments. Landscape features surrounding the castle were just as important as the architecture of the castle. They both boasted of wealth, status, and the privilege of the owner to the observer. The design of the castle was carefully built and manipulated to adhere to certain social conventions, while at the same time outwardly displaying the authority and status of the owner. In this respect, the architecture and archaeology were that of continuity with the medieval past. The imposing gatehouses, the crenelated turrets, and even the use of latrines, instead of chamber pots, were continuations from the Middle Ages. It is too far to say that the early Tudor lords were attempting to evoke a medieval past,

because they were, in fact, still living within its parameters. This can be seen in the great care taken for landscape features, the martial-style architecture, the displays of heraldry, among other things.

Historians have argued that the development of capitalism was one reason for the decline in lord and tenant relationships, as mentioned in Chapter Six with relation to privacy.⁷³⁹ However, throughout this thesis it was shown that the lord was constantly interacting with the outside world, from the landscape, to the parish churches and local monasteries, and even the local communities. It became clear that the castle was not in isolation from the surrounding landscape or community. Instead, it was a fundamental element in a network of patronage, estates, and landscapes, which were all linked to the owner in some way. . Politically, the castle was the space where leaders could exercise power, and the *caput* acted as a foundation from which their power was derived. Economically, the castle was the space in which a very expensive lifestyle took place, it was a space for the exchange of payment and services, the collection of rents and taxes, and a space where financial records were recorded and stored for future reference. Socially, it was a constant space for activity. The castle was a continual flow of people, from the kitchen staff preparing and serving the meals to the arrival and departure of guests, from entertainers in the great hall to hunting in the parks.

Due to the castle's central role in almost every aspect of life, they were a base from which the lord's authority could penetrate into the regional communities. Authority could lead to the establishing of a lasting memory of a particular individual or family. Lords used many different strategies in order to perpetuate their individual or familial memory within the community, but it tended to come in the form of some sort of visual display. By using visual cues to remind the community it allowed for the message to reach a wider and less literate audience. By establishing a legacy in the region of the *caput*, the lord was creating and maintaining a personal link to that specific area. The complexities of the landscape surrounding the castle demonstrate the multi-faceted nature of the castle itself, and, again, the link between place and people. Although scholarship has for the most part focused on the elite purposes of the landscape, such as hunting, the landscape provided a place for the household to grow fresh vegetables, fruits, and herbs, it was a place for livestock to graze,

⁷³⁹ See section 6.1.2.

and it could provide building materials for the castle or to be sold for profit. Part One demonstrated that castles cannot be studied in isolation, and instead, they need to be examined through a much wider social, geographical, and political context. The connection between the lord, the castle, and the regional communities reflects the importance of examining the castle through all levels of society and not just the elite.

Interactions with the local community could also take place within the castle itself. This study established that people of varying social statuses, backgrounds, and occupations were present at the castle and moved through its spaces differently. The household had many different and seemingly separate parts that worked together in order to make daily life run more smoothly. The movement of individual household members was helped or hindered by the layout of the castle. Certain chambers were heavily restricted through architectural barriers, such as staircases, corridors, and doors, while other areas were almost completely open, like the courtyard. Movement from one space to another in the castle can be viewed through the space syntax theory, through this theoretical lens the buildings start to play a larger role in the daily lives of those living in the residence. Staircases and corridors were used to distance one area from another, while the separation of chambers by restricting access, or denying access completely, has shown that the castle was not an open or semi-public area. Instead it had a graduation of access or privacy present throughout the structure. This exposed that the structure affected the interaction between people and place as well as the interaction between different people.

The grandeur of the architecture, the ritual of the household, and even the layout of the castle was meant to impress the observer, who might be a high-status guest, the lord's peer, a local labourer, or even the king on royal progress. An observer would first witness the landscape that surrounded the castle. The parks and woodland embodied the elite privilege of imparkment and hunting, while shrouding the castle in a parkland scene. The imposing gatehouse and crenelated walls were a manifestation of the noble lifestyle pertaining to warfare. Campaigning was still expected from the nobility, as shown in Chapter One, with all four men, at some point, raising troops and fighting for the king. Where the observer went and what they might have seen was an important part of the display of the castle, and helps to piece together the intention of the lord. For example, at Carew and Cowdray castles, the royal heraldry was displayed in very prominent positions.

Henry VII's coat of arms, flanked on either side by Prince Arthur's and Catherine of Aragon's were positioned above the entrance porch to the great hall. The great hall was a gathering space, an area where the household and the lord came together to perform the same activity: dining. The heraldry was a manifestation of Sir Rhys's loyalty, connection, and closeness to the Tudor king and his family, and the placement of these shields above the entrance porch were displayed for everyone to see. Similarly, at Cowdray, as shown in Chapter Three, Sir William Fitzwilliam positioned a sculpted relief that symbolised Henry VIII, his new wife, Lady Jane Seymour, and their son Edward. Heraldry boasts of a visual culture that was rooted in displaying personal credentials to the outside world. Visual displays were carefully placed within the castle in areas with high footfall.

In contrast, the elite apartments at all four sites had limited access and were some of the deepest chambers in the layout. That being said, this was an element of privacy on display for the observer. This is not to deny that some spaces in the apartment were meant for private activity, like the closet, but the great chamber and the dining chamber were meant to showcase the owner's wealth and ability to have both these spaces. The elite apartments were meant for the lord and his family, but it included trusted servants, especially the steward, porter, and any of the lady's female maids. Understanding who had access and who did not is the key to the interpretation of the private lives of the elite in the early Tudor period. Since in this view the ubiquitous presence of servants does not impinge upon the privacy of the owner and their family, but adds to it with the sense of intimacy and privilege that goes along with it. In most cases, privacy was a privilege for the elite and because of this, privacy displayed the ability to own a residence that allowed for spaces that were secluded. In that sense, the privacy of the apartments was on display for those who were restricted access or who were not allowed to enter all chambers in the sequence of the apartment.

The castle design offered the lord an opportunity to display noble privilege and the elite lifestyle. The courtyard plan, of which all four castles conformed to, allowed for a high-status area and a lower-status or household area within the plan. They tended to be on opposite sides of the courtyard from one another with the great hall and gatehouse flanking either side. The courtyard design meant that the great hall was central, as it was where servants on the household range would join the more elite residents from the

apartment range. The great hall was neither high status nor low-status it was a central space with people of all different statuses converged. As the centrepiece in early Tudor residences, great halls were shown not to be in decline in the fifteenth century, as argued by Matthew Johnson and Mark Girouard. Instead the great hall was still a space for dining, meeting, and gathering together for the household and the lord. Moreover, reflected in the castle architecture and layout was the hierarchical structure of the household. In the two courtyard plan of Thornbury, this is most obvious. The outer court was surrounded by barns, stables, and a lodging range, and this could be considered the lower end of the castle complex. It was made of rough stone, unlike the inner courtyard ranges built of fine cut ashlar. It is unclear what the lodging range would be used for, but as was argued in Chapter Five, it seems likely that it housed some of the household staff and lower-status guests and their servants. Not only the layout of Thornbury depicted the social hierarchy, but the building material did as well. A clear distinction could be made between the high and low status areas simply by looking at the structure.

Mutually beneficial relationships were a key feature in the early Tudor period, and these relationships often had foundations at the castle. These exchanges were used to cultivate the friendships and alliances that advancement depended upon. These give-and-take relationships came in many different forms: lord and household member; lord and religious institution; and lord and guest, to name a few. Throughout the thesis, it was shown that the castle was the space in which many of these relationships formed and flourished. The parks were used for the elite to go hunting, an activity that could bring with it a discussion of loyalties between peers. Venison was shown to be a gift that brought with it connotations of privilege and status, while at the same time maintaining or improving a friendship. The employment of an individual into the household was a bond made with the lord. Household members were expected to be loyal to the lord and his family and serve the family's needs, in return the staff member received payment, accommodation, and food on the lord's expense. Through the castle's display of status, wealth, and authority the nobleman was able to broker alliances and relationships with peers, members of the gentry, among others.

This analysis has served to highlight the benefits of implementing an interdisciplinary methodology to increase our understanding of the function of early Tudor

castles within society and has been successful in focusing on activities and purpose rather than form. One possible restriction that was highlighted in the Introduction was the lack of conformity in the source material across the case studies. However, the thesis has shown that the range of material has advantages. It allowed for a more rounded analysis and presented a more holistic image of an early Tudor castle by providing detailed information on a number of different activities and people at each of the sites. Using this methodology in the future would be a fruitful endeavour, particularly if many different types of sources were available. Bringing this method across to the study of other building types, the same type of issues with sources and the complexities of multi-period sites could pose a problem. Having a clear understanding of how the building was laid out at each phase of rebuilding and which features were changed, retained, or added would be paramount. The benefits of using this methodology over a long period of time would enable an examination of how the use and function changed over time and thus the lifestyles of those living in the residence. It could show where money was spent as families gained more prosperity and would therefore give a good indication of the importance of certain activities or spaces and how these are affected by the constraints of cost and status.

This study has focused on the nobility of southern England and Wales; John de Vere and Edward Stafford were from established families with long-standing titles, while Sir Rhys ap Thomas and Sir William Fitzwilliam came from gentry families whose careers excelled due, in part, to their close relationship with the king. Therefore, one avenue of future study might include members of the gentry whose residences were often smaller than the four sites included presently. The analysis of access and permeability within smaller houses of the gentry might indicate the importance of certain features that might have been harder to detect at larger more complex sites. Furthermore, a comparison between the early modern castle and the country house would be a fruitful endeavour. By mapping each of the structures using the access analysis, it might indicate similarities in layout that cannot be detected using other means. That being said, this thesis has enhanced the understanding of the Tudor castle and its place in the context of early modern England and Wales, while at the same time increased the knowledge of daily life for the Tudor elite. It has provided an innovative approach to castle studies and the study of the nobility more broadly, by examining them in a multi-faceted light. It has, moreover, dismantled much of the past

scholarship that categorised castles as military structures, through the presentation of the different functions in early Tudor society. It has been shown that noblemen deliberately renovated and rebuilt castles as their *capita*. The implications of the findings and conclusions presented in this thesis do not just pertain to castle studies, but it shows that the study of castles can be done in a social historical context. In this way, it has been shown that the social interactions taking place at castles were not solely between the elite, making the castle more than an elite structure. It was the residence for a multitude of different types of people and should be thought of in this way.

The thesis began with the assertion that the buildings and people are intrinsically linked and in order to understand the building we must have knowledge of the people who inhabited it. The residence was at the heart of the noble lifestyle, and in the four case studies examined here, the core was a castle. The function of the castle in the early Tudor period was one of complexities. It was an agent that displayed the authority, the status, the wealth, and the martial prowess of its owner. It could house hundreds of people from the lord and his family, to members of the household, and guests. It was a space for friendships to be fostered through activities like hunting or dining, it had private spaces and open spaces. Castles were as much a part of the daily life as the food at supper. If we go back to Raphael Holinshed who began this thesis, he states

much lesse then haue I aduentured to search out and know the estates of those houses, and what *magnificent behaiour is to be seene within them* [...] yet are they so curious, neat, and commodious as any of them, both for conueiance of offices and lodgings, and excellencie of situation.⁷⁴⁰

Holinshed, again, makes the connection, perhaps unintentionally, between the people and the place, and as shown throughout this thesis there was certainly ‘magnificent behaiour’ that took place within these structures. Castles were a nucleus of a grand performance, a space full of movement, interaction, and most importantly, a space full of life.

⁷⁴⁰ Holinshed, *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles*, p. 195. Emphasis added by author.

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