# Tintagel Castle, Cornwall
# Assessment of associative historical values

Cornwall Archaeological Unit

Report No: 2017R013

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| **Report author** | **Adam Sharpe BA MCIfA** |
| **Checked by** | **Jacky Nowakowski BA FSA MCIfA** |
| **Approved by** | **Jacky Nowakowski BA FSA MCIfA** |

**Cornwall Archaeological Unit**
Cornwall Council
Fal Building, County Hall, Treyew Road, Truro, Cornwall, TR1 3AY
Tel: (01872) 323603
Email: enquiries@cau.org.uk Web: www.cau.org.uk

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Help with the research was provided by Jacky Nowakowski, who also managed this project at CAU.

Information on the history of the legend of Tristan and Isolde was drawn from the relevant Wikipedia page.

The views and recommendations expressed in this report are those of Cornwall Archaeological Unit and are presented in good faith on the basis of professional judgement and on information currently available.

## Freedom of Information Act

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Cover illustration

An extract from John William Waterhouse's *Tristan and Isolde with the potion.* Image in the public domain

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## Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| CAU | Cornwall Archaeological Unit |
| CIfA | Chartered Institute for Archaeologists |
| EH | English Heritage |
| HER | Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly Historic Environment Record |
| NGR | National Grid Reference |
| OD | Ordnance Datum – height above mean sea level at Newlyn |
| OS | Ordnance Survey |
| RCM | Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro |

# 1 Summary

Cornwall Archaeological Unit was commissioned by Reuben Briggs, National Project Manager, Estates Department, English Heritage, to undertake an assessment of the associative historical values of Tintagel Castle in order to help inform the potential impacts of the construction of a new footbridge linking the mainland and island elements of the site.

The archaeological and historical evidence show that Tintagel Castle was formerly the location of an early medieval high status site and international trading port and subsequently a medieval castle (of deliberately theatrical appearance) constructed by Earl Richard of Cornwall. Thanks to Geoffrey of Monmouth, Sir Thomas Malory and the 19th century Romantic Movement (amongst others), Tintagel Castle has become popularly identified as the birthplace of the legendary post-Roman leader King Arthur, something on which the local economy relies almost wholly. In the process, an association between the site and the parallel legend of Tristan and Isolde has become almost entirely eclipsed.

Tintagel Castle is one of those sites where exponents of the Sublime showed people how to relate to dramatic natural landscapes; the view of the Castle and Haven painted by J.M.W. Turner in 1815 in which the Castle is seen perched on towering cliffs established a way of experiencing the site in which its legendary associations are reinforced by the dramatic landscape in which it is sited, and which has been copied ever since. Literature, poetry and musical compositions relating to Tintagel also resulted from the Victorian revival of interest in Arthuriana.

Tintagel has particularly strong associative values. These vary considerably between the groups who relate to this site, and there are probably as many versions of the Tintagel experience as there are visitors. Every visitor to Tintagel brings to it their own particular understanding of its associations. English Heritage is working to interpret the site in ways which set out the varied values of the site but do not give preference to any single understanding of its importance.

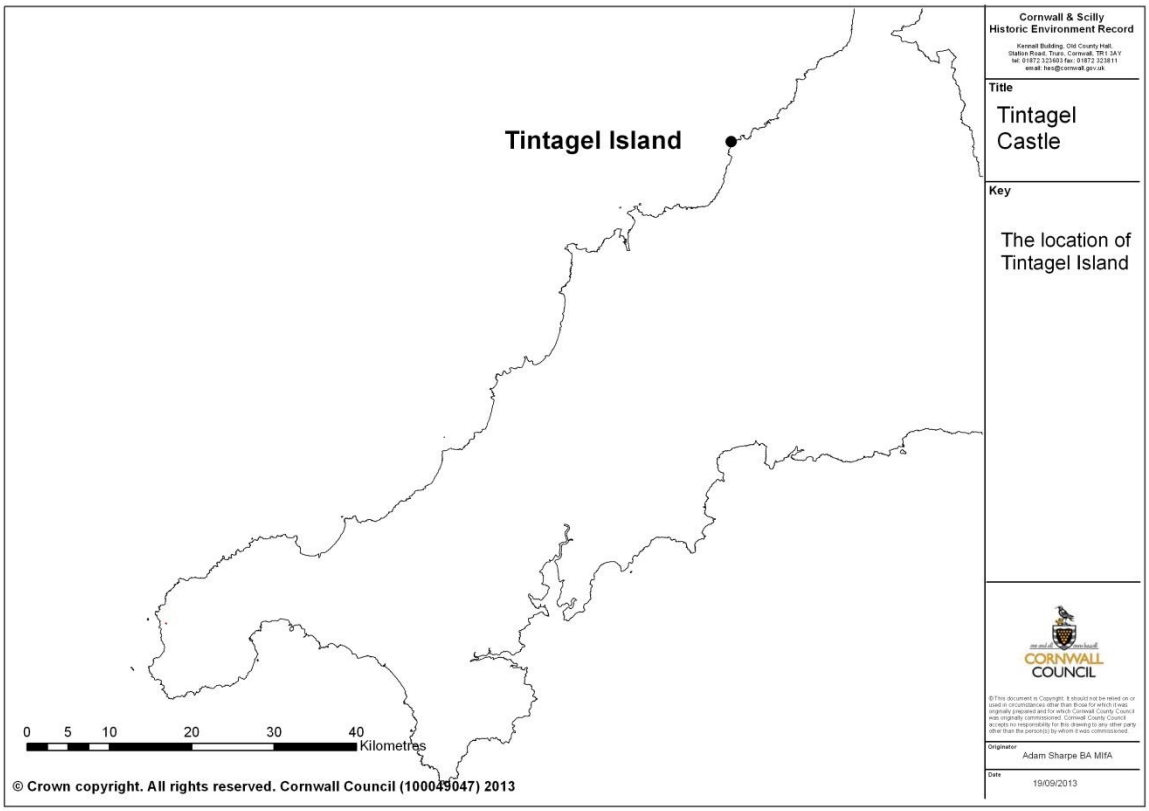


*Fig 1. The location of Tintagel Castle, Cornwall.*

*Fig 2. Land of Legends? An aerial view of Tintagel Castle and Island. Image F77-034 ©Cornwall Council.*

# 2 Introduction

## 2.1 Project background

Cornwall Archaeological Unit was contacted by Reuben Briggs, National Project Manager, Estates Department, English Heritage, with a request to undertake an assessment of the associative historical values of Tintagel Castle in order to help to inform the potential impacts of the construction of a new footbridge linking the mainland and island elements of the site.

The new footbridge will require both Scheduled Monument Consent and planning permission. This study is intended to help to inform the English Heritage proposal submission.

Specifically, English Heritage requested that CAU '*produce a clearer and more explicit expression of the significance of the associative historical values of the site. The associative historical values at Tintagel are closely related to the 'wild' and 'natural' aesthetic values which are also related to the association of Tintagel to other important heritage elements such as literature, the visual arts, music, film and photography'*.

Historic England '*currently feel this aspect of the site's significance could be better explored within the submission as a whole, although it is incidentally referenced via the excellent collection of visual images of the site drawn together in the CAU assessment, and there are parts of this assessment which begin to express the links between the site's evidential, legendary, literary, artistic and romantic associations, and the degree to which they contribute to its significance'*.

CAU were also requested to '*compile a catalogue of Tintagel's appearances in literature, arts, music, film and photography, and pick out (briefly) how these refer to historical or mythic elements of the Tintagel story and/or refer to the 'wild' landscape character*'.

## 2.2 Aims

The principal aim of the study is to gain a better understanding of Tintagel Castle's associative historical values, to show how these interplay with its aesthetic values and to provide English Heritage with a catalogue of sources from which this might be drawn. The primary objective is to produce a written and illustrated report meeting this aim. A second objective is to produce an entry to the Historic England OASIS/ADS-Online national database of archaeological projects.

## 2.3 Methods

Desk-based research was carried out to inform the assessment of associative historical values. The following were rapidly considered:

- Historical maps;
- Historic and modern photographs, postcards, paintings, etchings, engravings, tapestries, stained glass and other images of the site, its immediate context and the legends associated with it;
- Literary and poetic references to Tintagel and the myths and legends which have accreted to it;
- Historical and archaeological accounts of Tintagel;
- Travel writing and guidebooks relating to Tintagel;
- Tintagel in film, television and radio programmes;
- Works of music inspired by or referencing Tintagel.

# 3 Location and setting

See Figures 1 and 2.

The medieval elements of Tintagel Castle are centred at SX 05078 89020 on the island and SX 05161 88937 on the mainland. Apparently early medieval archaeological sites have been shown through survey (RCHM(E) 1985 and Bowden and Jamieson 2016) and excavation to be located over most of the island and to underlie parts of the medieval castle on the mainland (Hartgroves and Walker 1988).

The two ends of the new footbridge are proposed at SX 05135 88957 at the northern end of the Lower Ward of Tintagel Castle on the mainland (to the west of the current steps) and SX 05090 89004 at the southern end of the Inner Ward on the Island, this being immediately adjacent to the south-western corner of the remains of the medieval Great Hall. The proposed bridge will span the narrow neck of land (the isthmus) which formerly connected the island and mainland at high level.

# 4 Context

The immediate landscape context for the Castle consists of the adjacent Haven and West Cove (Fig 2), the adjoining sections of the north Cornish coast and the nearby settlements of Trevena, Trebarwith Strand, Bosinney and Boscastle.

Historically, Tintagel Castle had a wider administrative context, being likely to have been a high status seat of power and international trading point during the post-Roman period, that is between the 5th and 7th centuries AD. During the 13th century a probably symbolic stronghold was constructed on the headland by Richard, nominal Count of Poitou and King of Germany, the second son of King John. Richard had been given Cornwall as his 16th birthday present by his brother, King Henry III, making him High Sheriff of Cornwall. Richard subsequently acquired land at Tintagel, sometimes styling himself Richard de Tintagel, Earl of Cornwall. The construction of the castle on Tintagel headland *circa* 1233 was almost certainly undertaken to deliberately reference the folkloric importance of Tintagel as the seat of a king of Cornwall in order to legitimise his status with the Cornish (Padel 1988). His principal seat was at Wallingford Castle (Oxfordshire) and he seems to have visited Tintagel only rarely.

Culturally, Tintagel is associated with two legends. The first is that of Tristan (Tristram, Trystram or Tristrem), Isolde (Iseult, Yseult or Ysonde) and King Mark. The story of these star-crossed lovers has complex and contested origins which are explored below, but became attached to Tintagel, which from the medieval period became identified as the site of King Mark's court and seat of power.

The second relates to events in the life of the legendary post-Roman leader, King Arthur, notably as the place of his conception. The connection between Tintagel and Arthur appears to have first been made by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *circa* 1136 *Historia Regium Brittaniae*. The two legends subsequently intermingled, and from the medieval period onwards Tintagel became internationally identified as a key site within the Arthurian landscape, one of the small number of places within Britain which can actually be visited.

The power of the legends and their association with Tintagel was further enhanced during the 19th century by culturally influential artists, poets and writers, who established Tintagel as a location exemplifying a dramatic combination of the 'wild' and the 'natural' with the legendary, a powerful cocktail of cultural associations which continues to draw visitors to the site to the present day and which strongly informs their visits.

# 5 Designations

## 5.1 National

Tintagel Castle passed into the Guardianship of the State, being cared for by the Office of Works (and its successors, now the English Heritage Trust) in 1929 and was Scheduled in 1981 (Monument N$^{o}$ 1014793). The Scheduling covers the whole of the Island and the adjoining section of the mainland.

Tintagel Island and the adjoining coast is within a Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI).

Tintagel Island and the adjoining coast fall within the Cornwall Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB).

## 5.2 Regional/county

Tintagel Castle was identified in the now-superseded Cornwall Structure Plan as falling within areas identified as an Area of Great Historic Value (AGHV) and an Area of Great Scientific Value (AGSV).

# 6 Site history – the archaeological background

There is some ephemeral evidence for prehistoric activity at Tintagel. This includes a scatter of flints (including thumbnail scrapers and retouched blades) that have been picked up from the paths (Thomas and Thorpe 1988) and in the course of excavations at Site C (Harry and Morris 1997; Barrowman et al 2007) along with part of an (unprovenanced) Neolithic polished greenstone axe which has clear evidence of having been re-used as a whetstone (Thomas and Thorpe 1988). Most of the flints are typical of a Late Neolithic or Bronze Age assemblage. There is no suggestion though that these are anything more than chance finds and casual losses, archaeological investigations not having revealed any evidence for settlement on the headland occurring during this period. It has been suggested that the headland at Tintagel may have held some significance within in distant prehistory in that several 'cup-marked' stones have been recorded on exposed rock surfaces and these are often considered to be of late Neolithic or early Bronze Age date (Thomas 1988; 1993).

There is evidence that Tintagel was a relatively important place by the Roman period. Within its neighbourhood there are two inscribed Roman milestones that suggest a route passing near to Tintagel, while Roman coins and pottery (Oxford colour-coated Wares and native flanged bowls) have been found on or near the Island, suggesting a date *circa* AD 300 – 400. Radiocarbon dates obtained from the 1990s excavation of structures on the Lower Terrace, Site C, give a range *cal* AD 395-460 (Harry and Morris 1997; Barrowman *et al* 2007). It has been suggested that Tintagel was possibly the '*Durocornovio'* (fort of the Cornovii) of the *Ravenna Cosmography* (Thomas 1993, 84).

During the post-Roman period (from the 5$^{th}$ to early 7$^{th}$ centuries AD) the headland of Tintagel developed into a major fortified citadel (the neck of the headland being separated from the Mainland by the excavation of the 'Great Ditch'). It is suggested that this may point to the origin of the place-name, in Cornish '*dyn tagell*', meaning the fortress of the constriction or throat (Padel 1988).

The survey of the Island undertaken by RCHM(E) two years after the extensive fire there in 1983 (reinterpreted by Bowden and Jamieson 2016), together with excavations undertaken since the 1950s have revealed numerous buildings and structures related to the post-Roman period, the apparent density of settlement is remarkable and without parallel as it covers almost every available space on the headland, including the artificial terraces that had been cut into the precipitous slopes above the sea cliffs that surround most of the site. Associated with these buildings are artefacts, especially pottery, that reflect the importance of this site at this time. Large quantities of imported pottery (including storage vessels, fine table wares and coarsewares)

originating from North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean have been found along with Merovingian glass vessels traded from the Atlantic seaboard. This suggests that at Tintagel there had emerged a significant place with sufficient organisation and power to trade directly with the Byzantine Empire and subsequently with the Atlantic seaboard of Europe. The nature of the return trade is not known though there is some evidence from other sites that the distribution of tin was an important element of this (Thomas 1993; Harry and Morris 1997; Barrowman *et al* 2007; Dark 2000).

Subsequently the Island was abandoned (apart from a small chapel being built on the peak of the Island *c*1100) until the present castle was constructed by Richard, Earl of Cornwall during the mid-13th century to reinforce his claims to the legitimate control of Cornwall. Though the more substantial buildings on the Island, along with the garden and the tunnel, date from this period, the latter (and possibly also the chapel) may be features deliberately referencing the legend of Tristan and Isolde, the ceramic evidence dating from this period suggests that Earl Richard's occupation of Tintagel was sporadic. The site was used as a state prison in the 14th century, but the occupation of the site seems to have ceased by the 15th century. In the 16th century, two small gun houses were proposed by Sir Richard Grenville on the northern end of the Island (Fig 5) in response to a possible threat from the Spanish (it is uncertain if they were ever completed); the rest of the castle however was, in the later medieval and modern period, described as a picturesque ruin (Thomas 1993).

In the 19th century there was an attempt to mine the lead and silver lodes found on the Island as Wheal Heart and then as King Arthur's Mine and the haven developed as a harbour for servicing the local slate quarrying industry. In the 12th Century, Geoffrey of Monmouth had identified Tintagel Castle as the place of King Arthur's conception; this attribution was popularised by Tennyson, Swinburne and Hardy, and Tintagel became an increasingly popular and highly romanticised tourist destination, particularly following the connection of the main line railway to Cornwall and the construction of the Railway Hotel at Tintagel. The Reverend Byrn Kinsman, Vicar of Tintagel, taking on the title of the Constable of the Castle, oversaw the reconstruction of some elements of the monument, and a guide was employed to take visitors around the Castle. A series of formerly rather narrow and dangerous paths to, across, and up the cliff above the neck were re-cut to enable visitors to access the Island at this time. Eventually the isthmus became too narrow, unstable and dangerous to carry the path linking the Island to the Mainland and the first of a number of low-level footbridges was constructed. This was replaced by the present bridge in 1975 (Sharpe 2014; 2016a). Access to the castle remains difficult, however, and a new high level bridge is currently proposed.

Tintagel Castle is owned by the Duchy of Cornwall, but passed into the Guardianship of the State in 1929, being cared for by the Office of Works and its successors, now the English Heritage Trust. It was Scheduled in 1981. Archaeological investigations overseen by C.A. Ralegh Radford during the 1930s were followed by some landscaping, reconstruction and repair works. English Heritage commissioned small-scale research excavations at Site C and elsewhere from 1990 to 1999 (Barrowman et al 2007), whilst Cornwall Archaeological Unit and its successors have undertaken a number of watching briefs during safety, visitor management and other works within the Castle site from the mid-1980s to the present day (see Section 9.5, this report). Most recently in the summer of 2016 a series of excavations took place on the eastern and southern flanks of the Island as the first stage in the Tintagel Castle Archaeological Research Project (TCARP).

# 7 Assessment of associative historical values

The Historic England publication *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance for the sustainable management of the Historic Environment* (2008) states:

*'Historical value derives from the ways in which past people, events and aspects of life can be connected through a place to the present. It tends to be illustrative or associative.'*

*'Association with a notable family, person, event, or movement gives historical value a particular resonance. Being at the place where something momentous happened can increase and intensify understanding through linking historical accounts of events with the place where they happened – provided of course that the place still retains some semblance of its appearance at the time.'*

*'Many buildings and landscapes are associated with the development of other aspects of cultural heritage, such as literature, art, music or film. Recognition of such associative values tends in turn to inform people's responses to these places.'*

*'The historical value of places depends upon both sound identification and direct experience of fabric or landscape that has survived from the past, but is not as easily diminished by change or partial replacement as evidential value. The authenticity of a place indeed often lies in visible evidence of change as a result of people responding to changing circumstance. Historical values are harmed only to the extent that adaptation has obliterated or concealed them, although completeness does tend to strengthen illustrative value.'*

In relation to Aesthetic value, *Conservation Principles* states:

*'Aesthetic value derives from the ways in which people draw sensory and intellectual stimulation from a place.'*

Communal values are (in part) defined as:

*'Communal value derives from the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it … Social value is associated with places that people perceive as a source of identity … They tend to gain value through the resonance of past events in the present, providing reference points for a community's identity or sense of itself… Spiritual value … can reflect past or present-day perceptions of the spirit of place.'*

It is almost impossible to disentangle the associative historical values of Tintagel from its aesthetic and communal values given the way in which these have been inter-twined by artists and writers, particularly those of the Romantic Movement in the 19th century. The relationships between Tintagel's historical, aesthetic and communal values are also considered below.

## 7.1 Tristan and Isolde

### The legend

After defeating the Irish warrior Morholt, Tristan is sent to Ireland to bring back the fair Isolde, daughter of the King of Ireland, whom his uncle, King Mark of Cornwall, is to marry. En route they ingest a powerful love potion and fall madly in love (in some versions this is accidental, in others the potion is intended for Mark, but Isolde deliberately gives it to Tristan). Isolde marries Mark, but becomes Tristan's lover. Through trickery, Tristan and Isolde maintain a façade of innocence for a while but eventually King Mark learns of the affair, finds proof of their guilt and condemns them to death. Tristan escapes by leaping over a cliff from a chapel, rescues Isolde and they take shelter in the Forest of Morrois. The lovers are found by King Mark sleeping with a 'naked' (unsheathed) sword between them, but make peace with him.

Isolde returns to Mark and Tristan is sent into exile in Brittany where he marries Isolde of the White Hands, daughter of Hoel of Brittany. In some variants of the story Tristan is subsequently mortally wounded by Mark using a poisoned lance. Isolde (of Cornwall) is the only person who can heal him and Tristan sends word to Isolde, asking her to come to him. The returning messenger's ship is to display white sails if Isolde is on board, and black if she is not. Isolde comes to Tristan's aid, but Tristan's wife lies about the colour of the sails. Tristan dies of grief and Isolde subsequently expires over his corpse. A bramble grows from Tristan's grave into Isolde's. King Mark has the bramble cut down three times, but each time the two brambles grow back, intertwined, a symbol of Tristan and Isolde's eternal love.

**Origins of the legend**

There is considerable disagreement over the origins of the legend, which clearly incorporates a number of archetypes. One source which has been proposed is the very similar 11th century Persian story of Vis and Rāmin, it being suggested that this was brought to Europe during the Crusades; claims have also been made that the legend is also similar to Ovid's *Pyramis and Thisbe*. Another similar story is found in in early Irish literature in the text called *Tóraigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne* – 'The Pursuit of Diarmud and Gráinne' in which Fionn mac Cumhaill takes the place of King Mark, Diarmud that of Tristan, and Gráinne that of Isolde. Other close variants – the 9th century *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin* and the Ulster text *Clann Uisnigh* – 'Deirdre of the Sorrows' – suggest that the archetype of this story was deeply embedded in the culture of the western celts, though its characters varied from location to location. None of these early accounts links the legend to Cornwall.

Mark (as March ap Meichon) and Trystan are mentioned in the *Welsh Triads*, Drystan appears as an advisor to Arthur in the *Dream of Rhonabwy* in the *Mabinogion*, whilst both Mark and Trustan are mentioned in the 12th century *Hagiography of St Illtud*, suggesting a folk memory of these two figures in Celtic history. Iseult is mentioned in *Culhwch and Olwen* (which states that Arthur holds court at 'Celliwig' in Cornwall), this story again being part of the collection brought together as the *Mabinogion*.

**Evolution of the legend**

Two versions of the legend evolved during the medieval period. The 'courtly branch', incorporating chivalric tropes, is represented by versions produced by Thomas of Britain in 1173, Gottfried von Strasburg's *Tristan and Isolt* dating to 1211-1215 and that produced by Brother Robert for King Haakon Haakonson of Norway in 1227. The 'common branch', looking back to the early medieval period in style, is first represented by Beroul's *La Roman de Tristan* (1150-1190).

The legend continued to develop during the later medieval period in the 13th century French *Roman de Tristan en prose.* In Britain, *Sir Tristrem*, a poem in the courtly style, appeared around 1300, whilst Sir Thomas Malory produced *The Book of Sir Tristram de Lyones* - a shortened translation of the *Roman de Tristan en prose.* Elsewhere in Europe, versions of the story emerged in Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic, Dutch, Spanish, Czech, Italian and Belarusian.

In the modern period, the late 19th and early 20th centuries saw a renaissance of the legend in writings by those such as Sir Alfred Lord Tennyson (*Idylls of the King*), Matthew Arnold (*Tristram and Iseult*), Alfred Swinburne (*Tristram of Lyonesse)* and Thomas Hardy (*The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall)*. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch (Q) retold the Tristan myth in his unfinished *Castle Dor*, a work which was completed by Daphne du Maurier in 1962. Other modern writers who have retold the legend include Rosalind Miles, Rosemary Sutcliffe and Diana L. Paxton.

The legend of Tristan and Isolde has been interpreted in musical form, most notably in Richard Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, but also Messiaen's *Turangalia Symphony* and Werner Henze's *Tristan*.

The legend has been adapted to film on many occasions, the earliest examples being a 1909 French silent movie: *Tristan et Yseult*. The underlying story was retold by Jean Delannoy in 1943 as *'L'Éternel Retour,* as the 1972 avant-garde re-telling *Tristan et Iseult*, by a German director in 1981 as *Fire and Sword,* and in the same year by Francois Truffaut as *La Femme d'a côté.* In 1988 *In the Shadow of the Raven* set the story in Iceland, whilst the 1997 Bollywood musical *Pardes* transferred it to India. In 2006, Tony and Ridley Scott's *Tristan and Isolde* returned the setting to Cornwall, Ireland and Brittany and the action to the post-Roman period.

**Associations with Tintagel**

The Tristan Stone, a 2.7m high standing stone or menhir near Fowey on the south Cornish coast, bears a mid-6th century AD two line inscription interpreted as reading *DRVSTANVS HIC AICIT CVNOMORI FLILIVS* – that is 'Drustan lies here, son of Cunomorus'. The 16th century antiquarian John Leland claimed that there was originally

a third line which read *CVM DOMINA OUSILLA* 'with the lady Ousilla'. Ousilla is a Latinisation of the Cornish female name 'Eselt' (that is, Isolde). Beroul claimed that Trista and Iseult were buried in Tintagel churchyard.

It thus seems probable that Drustan/Tristan (whose name derives from the Brythonic for 'bold'), Eselt/Isolde ('beautiful' or 'fair') and Cunomorus/Mark ('seadog') were aristocratic mid-6th century individuals. It is also quite possible, given the way that post-Roman Tintagel is now interpreted from archaeological evidence as a high status site, possibly one of the residences of a local ruler, that these individuals had associations with the site, and that this might have been remembered in local folklore.

Given the apparently Welsh and Breton origins of the legend it is not unsurprising that the apparently earliest versions do not associate it with Tintagel, though later versions do link it to Cornwall and specifically to Tintagel. However, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of Kings of Britain* linked some elements of the Arthurian legend to Tintagel and at some point during the medieval period Tristan became identified as a knight in Arthur's retinue and thus associated with Tintagel Castle. It may be this merging of legends, some elements of which are shared (in particular the royal love triangle) resulted in the folk memory of Cunomorus, Drustan and Eselte being associated with the pan-Celtic myth of the star-crossed lovers and the King and for this story to have been linked in turn to Tintagel.

Whilst the reason why Earl Richard chose Tintagel for the site of his castle are now accepted as essentially political, and that it was more a showpiece than a defensible structure, archaeologists are now beginning to speculate that some of the other contemporary features found on the Island refer to the Tristram and Isolde legend, and were used as elements of an outdoor 'stage set' used in the theatrical retelling of the legend to Earl Richard's court and to important status visitors. Such chivalric theatricals were known of during the 12th century and features which may well fall into this category include the Garden, the Tunnel (as stand-in for a cave in the legend) and the Chapel (see Rose 1994).

**Influences on the public perception of Tintagel**

It has been said that it is difficult for a place to be associated with two powerful and separate legends, especially two which share similar motifs (including Tintagel, kingship, an adulterous royal love triangle and magic). By the post-medieval period the link between King Arthur and Tintagel had become dominant, whilst the associations between Tintagel and story of Tristan and Isolde seems to have waned, to the point where this is now almost forgotten in the public imagination. This has to a degree been rebalanced in the recently-installed English Heritage interpretative material at Tintagel Castle, which re-introduces the Tristan and Isolde legend to the story of the site. Despite the long-standing association of this legend with Tintagel, the association of Tintagel with King Arthur is now so deeply embedded in the wider public consciousness and in the commercial culture of Trevena (Tintagel), that the Tristan and Isolde legend currently only contributes to a small degree to the associative historical value of Tintagel Castle.

## 7.2 King Arthur

**The legend**

Unlike that relating to Tristan and Isolde, the story of King Arthur became and has remained a strong legend in international folklore.

In the version told by Geoffrey of Monmouth in 1138 in *The History of the Kings of Britain*, Arthur was the son of Uther Pendragon, King of Britain. Merlin, Uther's magician, transforms Uther into the appearance of his enemy, Gorlois of Cornwall. This allows him to gain entry to Tintagel Castle when Gorlois is absent, enabling him to sleep with Gorlois' wife Igerna (Ygraine, Ygerna). As a result she conceives Arthur. When Uther dies, Arthur succeeds him at the age of fifteen and fights a series of successful battles to take control of the whole of Britain, in the process defeating the Picts, Scots and Irish. His empire expands following his conquest of Iceland and the

Orkney Islands and then the kingdoms of Norway, Denmark and Gaul, where he confronts the Romans, defeating the emperor Lucius Tiberius. However, at the height of his powers and on the point of marching on Rome, Arthur hears that his nephew Mordredus (Mordred), whom he left in charge of Britain, has seized his throne and married his wife Guenhuuara (Guinevere).

Arthur returns to Britain, defeating and killing Mordredus at Camlann in Cornwall but is mortally wounded during the battle. He hands his crown to his kinsman Constantine and is taken to the Isle of Avalon to recuperate, never to be seen again.

**Origins of the legend**

The earliest references to Arthur appear in Welsh and Breton sources where he takes three forms. The first is as a peerless warrior who defends Britain from the Saxons, but also from dragons, giants, witches and monsters; the second is as a folkloric figure, the leader of a band of superhuman warriors who lived in wild places in the landscape; the third is as an heroic figure with a close connection to *Annwn:* the Welsh underworld. Early Welsh poetic references to Arthur include the 6th century *Y Gododdin,* poems attributed to the 6th century poet Taliesin, the poem *Pa gur yv y porthaur?* (What man is the gatekeeper?), in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (which places Arthur's court at 'Celliwig' in Cornwall) and particularly in the prose tale *Culhwch and Olwen (*dating to *circa* 1100) subsequently included in the *Mabinogion,* in which Arthur was referred to as *Penteyrnedd yr Yns hon*, that is 'Chief of the Lords of this Island'. By the time that William of Malmesbury wrote *De Gestis Reglum Anglorum* in the early 12th century, a belief had begun to be held that this former great king of Britain was not actually dead, but was merely sleeping, and would at some point rise again and return to save his people.

**Evolution of the legend**

Geoffrey of Monmouth would have been aware of some of the early sources, as well as the battles listed as having been fought by Arthur, 'Dux Bellorum', against the Saxons listed in Nennius' 9th century *Historia Brittonum*, and of the battle of Camlann mentioned in the originally 10th century *Annales Cambriae* as having taken place in 537 AD. He very likely incorporated parts of other legends then in circulation to create his national history.

Geoffrey's *History of the Kings of Britain* was widely circulated and became very influential in the development of the legend of Arthur, but Arthur and other characters associated with him had already appeared within European literature by the 12th century, particularly in France, and around 1160 the Norman poet Robert Wace, drawing on the Breton oral tradition, expanded Geoffrey's work in his *Roman de Brut*, promoting a transformation of Arthur from a Celtic chief to the epitome of French and English chivalry. Within the Romance tradition Arthur morphed from a ferocious warlord into a *roi fainéant* (a do-nothing king), whilst other stories began to accrete around him, including those relating to Lancelot and Guinevere, Percival, Galahad, Gawain and Tristan. Influential amongst these are the stories written by Chrétien de Troyes which included that about the adulterous relationship between Lancelot and Guinevere, and *Perceval,* which introduced the story of the quest for the Holy Grail to the Arthurian canon. From the 13th century the stories tended to be in prose rather than in poetry, the role played by Merlin was expanded, Mordred became the result of an incestuous relationship between Arthur and his sister (Morgan le Fay), Camelot became firmly established as the site of Arthur's court and chivalric values and motifs appeared more frequently.

The development of the medieval Arthurian romance culminated during the 15th century with Thomas Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur*, which drew on many earlier accounts of the legend and included tales of knights, courtly love, wizards and the hunt for the Holy Grail. This was one of the earliest printed books in English, being published by William Caxton in 1485, and became a best seller. Almost all subsequent works of Arthuriana derive from Malory, whose book was to remain in print for the following century and a half.

However interest in King Arthur waned in the 17th century and it was not until 150 years later in the 19th century that an interest in the legend, in medieval romances and in the chivalric ideals they contained took place. In 1816, Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* was reprinted for the first time since 1634. Both Wordsworth and Tennyson became interested in aspects of the Arthurian myths, and when Tennyson published his *Idylls of the King* in 1859, it sold 10,000 copies in the first week. This work influenced William Morris and the Pre-Raphaelite movement in particular.

In the United States, Sidney Lanier's *The Boy's King* Arthur, published in 1880, reached wide audiences and inspired Mark Twain's 1889 *A Connecticut Yankee at the Court of King Arthur*. The Arthurian myth was revisited during the 20th century in the form of T.H. White's 1958 *The Once and Future King* and Marion Bradley's 1982 *The Mists of Avalon*. *The Once and Future King* was adapted as the 1960 musical *Camelot* and then the 1963 animation *The Sword in the Stone*. *Camelot* was re-made as a film in 1967, whilst the 1974 *Lancelot du Lac*, 1975 *Monty Python and the Holy Grail,* 1978 *Perceval le Gallois*, and 1981 *Excalibur* also drew on the Arthurian stories.

A rather more authentically 5th century Arthur appeared in three television series: *Arthur of the Britons* (1972-3), *The Legend of King Arthur* (1979) and *Camelot* (2011), as well as in two relatively recent feature films: *King Arthur* (2004) and *The Last Legion* (2007).

**Associations with Tintagel**

Prior to the 12th century, Arthur was a figure of Celtic folktales. As a war-leader his activities seem from these sources to have been concentrated in the north of England and the Scottish borders, and he seems not to have had any connection to Cornwall. In Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of England*, Arthur's only association with Tintagel Castle is that he was conceived there. In later versions, he was also born there and was smuggled out by Merlin following his birth, to be brought up in Uther Pendragon's household. In some of these tales Arthur returns to Tintagel at various points during his life.

However, most of the rest of the action in Arthur's story takes place elsewhere – at Uther Pendragon's (unidentified) castle, at Camelot (an unspecified location, though historically Camelford in Cornwallwas the suggested location), and on a series of battlefields mentioned by the monk Nennius where he supposedly fought the Saxons and Angles:

- *'at the river called Glein'*, tentatively identified as either the river Glen in Lincolnshire or that in Northumberland;
- *'on the river Dubglas in the region of Linnuis'*. Linnuis could be *Lindum* – the Roman fort of Drumquhassle n the Lennox area of Scotland, *Lindum* – the former name for Lincoln, or could refer to the Lake District, so a location near Wigan has been suggested, but other southern locations include near Netley in Hampshire or near Ilchester in Somerset.
- *'In the Caledonian Forest'* – probably the *Coed Calyddon* which stretched from the Solway to the Highlands, locations as diverse as Dumfriesshire, Penrith (Cumbria) and Glasgow all having been proposed.
- '*In Guinnon Fort'* – sites proposed include the Roman fort of *Vinovium* at Binchester, *Caer Guidn* (Lands End), the Isle of Wight, Caerwent and Winchester.
- *'The City of the Legion'* – Caerleon, Chester and York are possibilities.
- *'On the bank of the river called Tribruit'* – probably *Tryfwyd*, possibly the River Frew at Stirling, the River Ribble in Lancashire, The River Severn at Gloucester or the River Eden at Carlisle.
- *'On the hill called Agned'* – quite likely the rock of Edinburgh Castle, though Brent Knoll (Somerset), Ribchester (Lancashire) and Cirencester (Gloucestershire) have been suggested, as has Leintwardine in Lincolnshire.
- *'On Badon Hill'*. This is where the legend says that the Saxon advance into Britain was finally halted. Given the importance of this battle there are many claimants for the site. These include Bowden Hill (Lothian), Dumbarton Rock

(Strathclyde), Mynydd Baeden (Glamorgan), Little Solway Hill (Somerset) and Brent Knoll (Somerset). Alternatives include one of the many Badburys to be found in Britain, including those in Devon, Dorset, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire. One of the more likely candidates is in the area around Bath, with Bathampton Down a strong contender.

- *'The Strife of Camlann in which Arthur and Medraut perished'*. This final momentous battle has been identified as occurring at Queen or West Camel on the River Cam (Somerset), Slaughterbridge on the River Camel (Cornwall), Camelon (Stirlingshire) or Salisbury Plain (Wiltshire). Other alternatives include Goring Gap (Berkshire/Oxfordshire), Cadnam (The New Forest), the Roman fort of Camboglanna on Hadrian's Wall, or (in Wales) one of the two Camlan valleys in South Merionethshire or the River Gamlan in South Dunoding.

Informed sources suggest that these battles, if they took place at all, were fought by other early medieval warlords, but by the 9th century had been absorbed into a growing Arthurian canon.

Avalon, the place to which Arthur was taken to recover from his wounds and where he passed into the otherworld, is popularly associated with Glastonbury, which has made much of its association with the legend since 1191 when the bones of King Arthur and Queen Guinevere were fortuitously discovered there. Finally, local legends say that the place where Excalibur was returned to the water spirits on Arthur's death was Dozmary Pool on Bodmin Moor. It seems likely that as the Anglo-Saxons increasingly controlled England, the places where incidents in the legend were thought to have taken place had been re-located into parts of Britain where Celtic languages remained spoken. Once Geoffrey of Monmouth had identified Tintagel as Arthur's birthplace, it was probably inevitable that other nearby locations in Cornwall would be associated with events in his life and death.

Clearly there are problems for those wishing to visit sites associated with the Arthurian myths, as of the list of places which are popularly associated with his life and deeds, only Tintagel Castle, Glastonbury Abbey and Dozmary Pool physically exist. One cannot visit an imaginary place, and it is unsurprising, therefore, that the association between Tintagel and King Arthur became so popular, despite the site playing so slight a role in the legend as a whole. The dramatic landscape setting of the ruins of Earl Richard's castle is likely to have played no small part in this.

**Influences on the public perception of Tintagel**

For almost all visitors to Tintagel, the site is inextricably bound up with the legend of King Arthur. Indeed, in the absence of this legend and the 200,000 or so visitors who visit the Castle annually, Tintagel would still be called Trevena and would be no more than an unremarkable (though considerably more authentic) north Cornish coastal hamlet.

The principal catalyst for change was the Reverend Richard Byrn Kinsman (Thomas 1993). After taking up his post as Vicar of Tintagel in 1852, he appointed himself Constable of the Castle, inventing spectacular red and gold robes which he wore when guiding visitors round the site; he also greatly improved access to the Island section of the Castle. The King Arthur's Arms in Trevena had been re-branded by 1844 and in the late 1880s the King Arthur Hotel had been was built on the nearby cliffs. By the end of the century the settlement of Trevena had changed its name to Tintagel.

In Frederick Izant's guidebook of 1899, Izant noted that '*although the coast views and marine outlook [were] certainly very beautiful … what really awakens the enthusiasm of the stream of tourists who visit Tintagel are the historical and poetical associations which cling to the mighty headland, where … are to be found the last vestiges of an ancient castle, which time-honoured tradition connects with the life of King Arthur.*'

The legend of King Arthur now sustains almost every commercial establishment in Trevena/Tintagel and its wider hinterland (for example St. Nectan's Glen). However, since the 1930s English Heritage and its predecessors have attempted to tell another,

more authentic story of Tintagel Castle – at first interpreting the ruins on the Island as those of a Celtic monastery, and more recently as an early medieval royal stronghold and trading port. Visitors continue to arrive in their droves, exploring what the hamlet and the castle have to offer. Most do not find quite what they had expected, but few fail to be impressed by the site.

## 7.3 Artistic depictions of Tintagel: notions of the Sublime and the influence of the Romantic movement

See Section 9.6.

Prior to the early 19th century, Tintagel had been depicted in a small number of images, most notably those produced by John Norden in 1584, by Sir Richard Grenville in 1583 and by Nathaniel Buck in 1734 (see Figs 3 to 7). All are characteristic of the periods during which they were produced and accompanied topographical descriptions of sites of interest in Cornwall

Norden's illustration (Fig 3) is part map, part schematic depiction. Key features are labelled on it: *Betwene 1 and 2 a draw bridge decaid; Betwene 11 and 3 the descent; Betwene 3 and 2 the ascent; 3 the Istmos; 4 buildings fallen into ye Sea; 5 the old chappell; 6 a spring of fresh water; 7 the Iron gate; 8 a vaulte thorow ye rock; 9 a gate guarded with Iron at the entrance into the frest buyling on Land Side; 10 the mayn building on the land side; 11 the ruined buyldng on the Ilande* [sic]. Sheep and what may be rabbits are depicted grazing on the Island, where a gentleman with a cane, accompanied by his dog, stands. Another figure is shown climbing up from the Neck to the Lower Ward. The engraving *Tintagel, a Borowe* dating to 1604 is clearly derived from this image.

Grenville's 1583 Map (Fig 4) is more map than view, though is similar to Norden's in many ways. Important features on both the mainland and island are labelled, including the Barbican, Lower and Upper Wards, the former site of the drawbridge, the Great Hall, Chapel, Iron Gate, Chapel, Well and Garden, together with the sites of two small gun batteries (rampiers) which may never have been completed.

Nathaniel Buck's 1734 engraving of Tintagel Castle (*The North view of Tintagel Castle in the County of Cornwall*) was one of a series depicting the sights and significant buildings of Cornwall. More naturalistic in its treatment of the scene, the engraving was dedicated to Edmund Prideaux Esquire (a wealthy local landowner).

J.M.W. Turner visited Devon and Cornwall in 1811, and included Tintagel in his itinerary. He produced thirteen sketches of Tintagel and its surroundings during his visit (these are curated in the Tate Gallery), some of which he worked up into paintings in the following years. These proved particularly influential in the development of the way that Tintagel was to be seen from that day on. Of particular significance is his 1815 watercolour showing Tintagel Castle from the Haven with a stone lifting derrick in the foreground. An intaglio print based on this view (Fig 8) was produced in 1818 as part of Turner's *Picturesque Views on the Southern Coast of England*, the accompanying text describing how '*the rocks in this part of the coast rise to a great height, and present objects of awful contemplation*'. The composition and treatment used by Turner employs dramatic contrast between shadow and light, making for an atmospheric scene in which the human figures working the derrick are dwarfed by the landscape, whilst the ruins of Tintagel Castle are imbued by a ghostly, pale light. The approach taken by Turner accords exactly with Edmund Burke's theory of the Sublime – an experience in which human beings interact with *'a greatness beyond all possibility of calculation, measurement or imitation'.* The sublime is defined by him as *'an artistic effect productive of the strongest emotion the mind is capable of feeing.' 'Whatever is in any sort terrible or is conversant about terrible objects or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the sublime.'*

As well as identifying Tintagel Island as one of Britain's particularly dramatic locations and one worthy of being visited by serious artists, Turner also identified a key view of

Tintagel Castle from Black Rock on the north-eastern side of the Haven, looking up at the Castle on top of the Island, and incorporating one of the slate handling derricks in the foreground. It was a clever choice, combining a viewpoint which exaggerates the height of the Island, includes the ghostly white ruins of the castle on its skyline, an atmospheric skyscape and seascape. The incorporation of the slate handling derrick allowed human figures to be included in the view. These are dwarfed by the scenery around them and the powerful natural forces at work in this location. Tintagel is depicted as an epic and dramatic location.

A somewhat similar view had been adopted by Thomas Rowlandson a little over a decade before (in 1798, Fig 22); his watercolour incorporated a rescue from a shipwreck, but lacks the power of Turner's vision. The Castle is not a conspicuous feature in his view.

Other artists who subsequently adopted an almost identical viewpoint of Tintagel Castle to that painted by Turner include Samuel Palmer (1848-9), Thomas Hart (1860s), the American landscape artist William Trost Richards (1866), G.H. Jenkins (1875), John Mogford (mid-1800s), Alfred Leyman (late C19th) and Thomas Moran (1910). The view also appeared in many engravings including Varall after Creswick (1840), Finden after Harding (1842), Cook after Turner (1855) and Kien after Dixon (1892) (see Figs 9 to 20). It continues to be a popular viewpoint to the present day as can be seen in paintings by, for example, Susan Isaac, Ray Wirick, Ian Scott Massie, William McTaggart and Simon Stafford (see Figs 28 to 31).

However, perhaps more influentially, re-using Turner's viewpoint became almost *de rigeur* for 19th and early 20th century postcard photographers, who often strove to reproduce it exactly, though some examples incorporated hand tinting to accentuate the atmospheric qualities of the scene (Figs 32 to 35). Once the derricks had been dismantled following the decline of the local slate trade, an alternative but similar view from Barras Gug was much used, indeed almost no other viewpoint of Tintagel Island and Castle was employed thereafter, the principal exceptions being a view of the northern curtain wall and gateway from the Great Hall and a view back from the island to the Upper and Lower Wards of the castle.

Painters and photographers who depict other views of Tintagel Island are remarkably thin on the ground, and the impression is given by, for instance, Kurt Jackson (Fig 25), that his choice of viewpoint and the absence of the Castle in his view was a quite deliberate break with established tradition and an attempt to show that there are other ways of seeing Tintagel (in this case from the terrace of the Cornishman inn). William Trost Richards also produced some additional views of Tintagel and the surrounding coast (for example Fig 27), but this is not surprising as, being a marine and landscape artist, he is likely to have been inspired by the dramatic qualities of the local coastline.

Another group of views of Tintagel are those which illustrate elements of the Tristan and Arthurian myths, for instance those produced by John William Waterhouse (cover image) and William Hatherell (Fig 23) in a pre-Raphaelite style, and the decidedly odd classically-inspired image of Tintagel produced by Harold Hitchcock (Fig 24). Where Tintagel Castle appears in these images, it is in a highly stylised form.

One other form of representative art relating to Tintagel and its legends takes the form of modern, semi-naturalistic, often naive and frequently 'mystic' recreations of Arthurian scenes using backdrops formed by local landmarks such as Tintagel Island or Merlin's Cave. With these can be grouped the mass-manufactured statuettes of Arthurian figures or demons, faeries and witches which can be purchased in local shops. Of both of these, the less said the better. They impinge very little on the values of Tintagel to most visitors, except perhaps, to muddle the Arthurian legend by melding it with Neo-Celticism and New Age mysticism (as also occurs at Glastonbury), and see below.

**Influences on the public perception of Tintagel**

At the beginning of the 19th century Turner established a powerful vision of how Tintagel Castle should be seen and what it exemplified. His 1811 views of this site potently combine the rugged natural landscape of the north Cornish coastline, the ever-changing sea, spectacular lighting effects and dramatic ruins. The tiny scale of the figures in the foreground made it clear how viewers should react emotionally to such a combination.

We are now much more used to wild landscapes than those who lived in the early 19th century, but most visitors still perceive the coast at Tintagel as 'rugged' and 'dramatic', and this clearly enhances their experience of Tintagel Castle. It is a place which should have legends attached to it, and though the castle (when viewed from close up) might be somewhat less spectacular than visitors might expect, it is a location which they probably feel deserves to be associated with King Arthur and the deep 'Celtic' past. Will this change when the new footbridge is in place and the arduous ascent of the cliff-edge steps is no longer required? Will Tintagel become a tamer place as a result or will the spectacular journey over the slender bridge arching high across the gap between mainland and island enhance the drama of a visit to Tintagel Castle?

In constructing the new footbridge English Heritage intends reinstating a high-level physical and visual linkage between the two halves of the castle which has been missing from the Tintagel landscape since *circa* 1550. There has been a bridge across this gap for many decades now, albeit at a lower level, and this features as part of the landscape of Tintagel Castle in most artistic views of the island (for example see Figs 28-31) and does not detract from the drama of the scene. Painted in the early decades of the 19th century, Harding's view of the scene included a rainbow spanning the gap between the two halves of the castle at high level, suggesting that he felt that this gap should be the stage for a further dramatic component (see Fig 10 for the engraving produced in 1842 by Finden from his original). Given the design of the proposed bridge, which will form a high and slender arc linking the mainland and the island, this new feature may well enhance, rather than detract from the drama of Tintagel.

## 7.4 Tintagel in works of literature

See Sections 9.1 and 9.2.

The Tristan legend has inspired many works of poetry and prose from at least as early as 1200 to the present day, whilst those inspired by the now international Arthurian myth are almost countless and have appeared in a huge number of languages. Collectively, these have ensured the strong association in the public mind of Tintagel as a place of legendary associations.

Whether or not Tristan and Isolde, Arthur or Merlin feature in the small number of modern novels set in and around Tintagel, they are a persistent and resonating presence. Literary Tintagel tends to be a place where legends have soaked deep into the rocks and where unexpected things can happen, particularly when characters visit locations such as the Castle or Merlin's Cave. Examples of 20th century fiction inspired by Tintagel include Beatrice Chase' *Lady Agatha: a romance of Tintagel* (1922), Amanda James' *Summer in Tintagel* (2016), the 1947 children's story *Mystery at Tintagel*, Jill Lamede's children's book *Tales of the Tintagel Dragon* (2003), the sci-fi novel *Tintagel* by Paul H Cook (2000), M K Hume's *The Tintagel Cycle* (2015), or Fay Sampson's *Daughter of Tintagel* (1995) and others in her Tintagel cycle, retelling the story of Morgana le Fay.

Poetic oeuvres inspired by Tintagel and its myths include those by Letitia Elizabeth Langdon's *A Legend of Tintagel Castle* (1833), the Rev Robert Stephen Hawker (*The Quest of the Sangraal: Chant the First* (1864), Swinburne's *Autumn in Cornwall* in *Songs of Four Seasons*, and his *Tristram of Lyonesse* (1882), Walter S. Hinchman's *Tintagel and other verses* (1910), B.W.N. Roden's *Tintadgel* [sic] (1902), and Henry Reed's *Tintagel* (1946). Tintagel continues to inspire contemporary poets such as Stan Walker, J.S. Morgane and Linda Mace Michalik.

## 7.5 Tintagel and its legends as an inspiration for works of music

See Sections 9.7 and 9.8.

In this context, it is impossible not to mention Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, whose second act takes place at Tintagel, whilst Messaien and Henze also wrote pieces referencing the legend. Tintagel the place has also inspired works of music, in particular Arnold Bax's 1917 tone poem *Tintagel*, and is also considered to have been part of the inspiration behind Elgar's Second Symphony following his 1911 visit to Tintagel to spend time with Alice Stuart Wortley. Tintagel also inspired Denis Wright's 1956 *Tintagel Suite* for brass instruments, the jazz saxophonist John Surman's *Tintagel* on his 1990 recording *The Road to St. Ives* and Bronsheim's 1998 modern classical composition *Tintagel Castle.*

None of these modern works have lyrics, nor are they now particularly well known or (with the exception of Bax's *Tintagel*) often performed, and thus it is probably fair to say that whilst the legends and the place have inspired some works of musical composition, they have not, in return, influenced the aesthetic and associative values of Tintagel.

## 7.6 Tintagel on film and television and on the radio

See Sections 9.10 to 9.13.

Whilst the legends of King Arthur and that of Tristan and Isolde underpin a substantial number of films and television programmes, Tintagel itself has featured only infrequently in these formats, and has tended to provide little more than a suitably wild Cornish backdrop for productions such as the 1979 Hammer Films *Dracula* or the earlier *Knights of the Round Table* (1953). The local coastline has featured to some degree in other productions including *Malachi's Cove* (1974), *Oscar and Lucinda* (1996), *Saving Grace* (TV 2002), *Doc Martin* (TV 2004), *White Fire* (2007) and *Magpie* (2013).

Although some of these productions reference Tintagel and its legends, none have particularly contributed to the ways in which Tintagel is experienced and valued.

A number of recent feature films such as *Excalibur* (1981), *King Arthur* (2004), *Camelot* (2011) or *King Arthur – Legend of the Sword* (2017) take their storylines from the Arthurian legend, and in turn reinforce the myth. Tintagel, if it appears at all in these productions, tends to be a CGI construct having no similarities whatsoever to the Cornish site. Whilst *Tristan and Isolde* (2006) was notionally set during the early medieval period, stylistically the film is very much of its time, filmed as an 'action romance' (strapline 'Love conquers all'), and changes the end of the story to enable a set-piece battle to be included. As depicted 'Castle Tantallon' (Tintagel Castle) is more Scots Baronial than early medieval Cornish. Outdoor locations in the film were in Ireland and Prague. In summary, whilst these films draw on motifs associated with the 'Celtic' west and reference the 'Dark Ages', their buildings and interiors tend to be 'Hollywood Medieval'. For the modern visitor to Tintagel, such films are likely to influence expectations fairly strongly.

Tintagel has also featured in a number of television documentaries, most focussing on its Arthurian associations and on the architecture and history of the castle, some focussing on emerging archaeological evidence, though all too often prefaced with an Arthurian strapline. Examples include *Down to* Earth (1992), Time *Team* (2000), *König Artus – Die Suche nach dem heligen Gral* (2000), *Arthur: King of the Britons* (2002), *Britain's Finest: Castles* (2003), *Extreme Archaeology* (2003), *Coast* (2005) and *The Great British Countryside* (2011). In 2016, a summary of the first season of the Tintagel Castle Archaeological Research Project (TCARP) appeared on the BBC4 series *Digging for Britain*.

BBC radio has featured discussions about Tintagel since 1930, when Cornish historian Charles Henderson gave a talk on *Tintagel Castle and the Legend of King Arthur* and Margaret Riley talked on *King Arthur in Fact and Fiction*. These were followed by Geoffrey Grigson in 1936 (*King Arthur and Tristan in the West)*, Ratcliff in 1939

(*Tristran of Cornwall*) and Ralegh Radford (*The Historical Arthur*) and Brian Patten in 1955 (*Tintagel on Trial*).

Perhaps the oddest reference to Tintagel on the radio was Spike Milligan's 1956 Goon Show broadcast *The Spectre of Tintagel*, in which Neddie Seagoon discovers his Arthurian roots and goes in search of treasure in deepest Cornwall. The musical soundtrack included Arnold Bax's *Tintagel*.

Other radio broadcasts are listed in the compendious *Radio Camelot: Arthurian Legends on the BBC 1922-2005* produced by Simpson in 2008.

## 7.7 Tintagel in the words of travel and topographic writers

See Section 9.3.

Tintagel Castle was visited by William de Worcestre in 1478 and was described by John Leland following his visit to Cornwall circa 1540 to collect historical evidence for King Arthur in order to support Plantagenet claims of direct descent from him, writing of Tintagel '*The Residew of the Buildings of the castel be sore weather beten and in ruine, but it hath been a large thinge.'* Holinshed (published 1577) and William Camden (1586), both mentioned the ruins of Tintagel Castle (Holinshead being the first to identify them as the remains of King Arthur's Castle), and it was also described by Richard Carew (1602), John Norden (1610) and William Hals (1685).

By the early 18th century the Arthurian legend had become firmly attached to Tintagel, though Daniel Defoe (who visited the site 1724-6) was evidently not convinced by this, writing: *Tintagel Castle lies upon this coast a little farther, a mark of great antiquity, and every writer has mentioned it; but as antiquity is not my work, I leave the ruins of Tintagel to those that search into antiquity; little or nothing, that I could hear is to be seen at it; and as for the story of King Arthur being both born and killed there, 'tis a piece of tradition, only an oral history, and not any authority to be produced for it.'*

A century later, Tintagel's association with King Arthur had become almost universally accepted, though some visitors to the site seem to have been less than impressed by what they found. Ayton and Daniell (1814) commented '*… we came to Tintagell* [sic] *Head, a spot more than commonly interesting, not only from the grandeur of its local scenery, but its connection with names and events of our remotest history. … On the top … are the ruins of a castle, once the residence of the earliest kings and dukes of Cornwall, and illustrious as the birthplace of the far-famed king Arthur. Lord Bacon observes of this prince, that there is truth enough in his history to make him famous, besides that which is fabulous; determining, I suppose, that all is true, except what is outrageously impossible. All authorities decide that he was born at Tintagell castle, and I see no reason for questioning the fact, provided that we admit that he was born at all. … The ruins which are now visible at Tintagell are very inconsiderable, consisting merely of some scattered fragments of a garreted wall, and some foundations of buildings, sufficiently defaced to set even conjecture at defiance … I am still willing to believe, with Cornish historians, that Arthur was lord of Tintagell. The wildness of the situation associates admirably with the fanciful pageantry of romance, and on the battlements of the fortress, or on the summit of a rock, the giant form of the chivalrous Arthur may be stationed with effect. … Our survey of the trumpery remains of the castle ill repaid us for the toil and danger to which we had been exposed, and we had the further mortification of not being able to conceal from ourselves, that the finest view of Tintagell is from its base. … I should advise all visitors to Tintagell to content themselves with … imagining a castle for King Arthur, for I can assure them that, though they may sacrifice their lives by attempting to reach the summit of the promontory, they can see nothing there but the rubbish of an old wall, out of which imagination will be infinitely more puzzled to construct a castle than out of the rocks below*.'

Cyrus Redding's Illustrated Itinerary of the County of Cornwall dating from 1842 reveals that Tintagel was by then firmly on the tourist map '*… Bosinney … is now solely visited for its relation to the castle, the reputed birth-place of King Arthur. … [It] can only be visited by a very perilous descent, and then an ascent up the cliff from below*

*equally dangerous, for a single slide of the foot is certain destruction. … The ruins on the island consist only of broken and shattered walls. … Such is all that remains of the reputed birth-place of him whose exploits and good sword, 'Excalibur' have been said and sung, from age to age.' … It is difficult at first, it must be acknowledged, looking at the ruinous state of Tintagel castle, the dark slate rocks upon which they stand, and the sterility of the surrounding countryside, to reconcile the 'antique pomp and pageantry' of the hero and his knights of the round table with such a scene.'*

Some Victorian writers such as the redoubtable Dinah Craik (1884) recognised the need for the site to be interpreted if the visitor was to make any sense of it, remarking '*even to the learned archaeologist, Tintagel is a great mystery out of which the imaginative mind may evolve almost anything it likes*'.

However, as soon as the main line railway connection between Cornwall and the rest of Britain had been made following the construction of the Royal Albert Bridge across the Tamar in 1859, Tintagel began to be specifically promoted as a tourist destination. Coach tours from nearby railway stations were organised, tea rooms were established, pubs (and even Trevena itself) were re-branded and boarding houses opened. In 1852 the Reverend Kinsman had taken it upon himself to make access to the Castle far safer than had previously been the case and to appoint a guide (at first himself and then between 1869 and 1939, Florence Nightingale Richards). The King Arthur Hotel opened for business in 1899 and in the 1920s Frederick Thomas Glasscock, the millionaire manufacturer of Monk and Glass custard, converted Trevena Hall into the 'King Arthur Great Halls of Chivalry'.

Typical of the guidebooks issued in the later part of the 19th century and during the early 20th century was that issued by Ward Lock for the area around Newquay, which contains a chapter named '*King Arthur's Country*'. In the 1927 edition (a reprint, the first version being produced in 1898), Ward Lock were recommending motor coach excursions from Camelford or Bude railway stations to Tintagel stating '*The neighbourhood is closely associated with the Arthurian legends, and therefore of the deepest interest to visitors with a taste for literature and history.'* The guide specifically associated Camelford with Camelot, Slaughterbridge with the location of Arthur's last battle, King Arthur's Grave was located as being at Worthyvale and a route to Dozmary Pool (where the sword Excalibur was returned to the water spirits) was described. Camelford was recommended as a suitable spot from which to explore the countryside around it.

However Trevena had yet to fully develop its tourist infrastructure: *'A long winding street, a miscellaneous collection of quite unattractive houses, bare and bleak scenery, are not exactly the features of the Tintagel of our imaginations. Of course the Castle itself … is the real object of the pilgrimage.'*

*'Having ascended the zig-zag path and steps, and unlocked the heavy door, we are within what is left of the Castle. However fragmentary, these ancient remains, so romantically situated, are decidedly awe-inspiring. The tremendous cliffs, the ruins, the glamour of poetry and romance, combine to make an indelible impression.*

*It can never be authoritatively stated when and by whom the Castle was built. From the appearance of the ruins, one is inclined to credit, without question, the antiquity assigned to Tintagel by the poets.'*

Lewis Hind (1909) was equally unimpressed with Trevena '*The approach to Tintagel is not inviting; one sees a bare and ugly village meandering along the brow of the hill, but it was plain that I was in King Arthur's country. A placard on the side of a house advertised ''King Arthur's boots''...'* However, he also made clear that Tintagel had become '*the most popular place in the Duchy. Many visitors carry with them a copy of Tennyson's Idylls of the King, some Malory's Morte Darthur* [sic], *a few prefer a volume of Hawker's poems, containing the Quest of the Sangraal …*' '*The ruins are of no importance, but it is a fine experience to wander over the grass-grown mass of rock, to watch the sea roaring against the cliffs, and to reflect on the dignity that the romance of history has given to this region.'*

Folliot-Stokes (1912) had a more typical visitor's response to the scene at Tintagel '*King Arthur himself must have often gazed over the wrinkled sea, and at the great fissure that divides this amazing stronghold in twain … our eyes are caught by the dark orifice of Merlin's Cave at the base of the cliff; and, as if touched by that old enchanter's wand, we see again, through the mists of time, that brotherhood of valiant knights and the fair women whom they loved, their home that old Dundagil, whose ruined walls now confront us … it is a dream-compelling spot.*' Perhaps sadly, most modern visitors are much more prosaic than Folliott-Stokes, though they remain open to being impressed by the site and are not failed by it.

If at first, travel writers reported on Tintagel as an antiquarian curiosity, though a dramatic one, by the 16th century Tintagel Castle was beginning to be referred to as 'King Arthur's Castle' and by the early 18th century visitors were certainly being drawn to the site by its legend and its spectacular topography. By the early 19th century King Arthur's Castle was well and truly on the visitor map, though it is clear that little had been done to establish much in the way of visitor facilities, and a visit to the Island remained somewhat hazardous. After the late 1850s, however, Tintagel was actively promoted as an Arthurian site. The boost to the local economy must have been considerable and the association has been assiduously maintained ever since. Even following the interpretation of parts of the site as a 'Celtic' monastic settlement by C.A. Ralegh Radford during the late 1930s, and their subsequent re-interpretation as elements of a high status early medieval settlement during the 1980s, Tintagel Castle's association with King Arthur remained dominant amongst visitors.

## 7.8 Tintagel, modern tourism, New Ageism and Neo-Celticism

*'Welcome to our shop set up in 2010 in Tintagel, the Mystical/Magickal capital of Cornwall. Tintagel is steeped in tales of Arthurian knights, round tables and dragons and is abundant in mystical energy. Lying on a bed of quartz crystal and several powerful ley lines it is the perfect place to rejuvenate your spiritual side.'* (Lunaorbis website).

As mentioned above, Trevena/Tintagel is now almost wholly given over to the promotion of the Arthurian legend and its commercial exploitation. If something's name can have 'Arthur's' put in front of it, be sure that it will. Unless of course it is a New Age establishment, when 'willow', 'crystal' or 'healing' or the like will be found above the door. Some shops hedge their bets and sell both Arthuriana and Neo-Celtic or Neo-Pagan offerings.

The overall impression when strolling through Trevena is that this is a very unusual place indeed, as almost nothing but the Spar Shop and the local chippie seem to be at all normal, and to walk through the village from one of the many car parks along the main street is to rapidly become immersed in a place unlike any that many visitors will have previously experienced. The stage is set for the visit to Tintagel Castle.

The steep steps up to the Castle's Island Ward remain challenging for almost all visitors, though a far easier climb than that which faced Victorian and earlier visitors. It is clear from the faces of those making the ascent to the castle doorway that this is an adventure and that they will soon stand within Arthur's castle. What do they find when they finally make it to the top of the steps and step through Kinsman's gothic doorway?

Sadly, Arthur has left the building. What they are visiting is, they quickly discover, a medieval folly, beyond whose northern walls lies a somewhat bleak and windy semi-detached chunk of the north Cornish coast whose low early medieval earthworks and scattered ruins are not really what they came to see. Although some elements of the new interpretation scheme reference the legends associated with the site, Tintagel Castle has, by and large, been de-Arthurised. Time to take the Landover journey back up to Trevena where myths still flourish and both Excaliburs and Excaliburgers can be purchased.

## 7.9 Tintagel Castle: communal values

Relevant to the remit of this study are Tintagel Castle's communal values, defined in Historic England's 'Conservation Values' as those which *'derive from the meanings of a place for the people who relate to it …'* In considering these it is clear that there exist a number of contrasting and probably irreconcilable values attached to Tintagel Castle. One the one hand there are those held by local businesses and by the wider tourist economy of Cornwall. The strong association between Tintagel and King Arthur is very good for business, attracting hundreds of thousands of local, national and international visitors to this locality and making Tintagel Castle one of the most visited heritage attractions in Britain. For visitors to Tintagel, the Castle is a key location relating to a long-established and much-cherished legend, and is thus perceived as a site which is part of the national (rather than the Cornish) story.

Tintagel Castle is seen by Cornish nationalists as a site where Cornish heritage is (and has long been) appropriated by the English, and it has become something of an identity battleground as a result (Deacon 2016). As a case in point, in 2016 the organisation Kernow Matters To Us which was set up to campaign on matters affecting Cornwall and the Cornish objected to the new interpretative scheme for Tintagel Castle site, claiming that it would have a negative impact on the site. On the other hand New Age groups perceive Tintagel (like Glastonbury) as a key spiritual node within the broader landscape of Britain. Finally Tintagel Castle is valued by the archaeological community as a highly significant early medieval site. For this group the strong association between the site and King Arthur is both archaic and potentially damaging, interfering with the potential for scientifically-informed interpretation.

These various values inevitably co-exist somewhat uncomfortably, and English Heritage finds itself in the awkward position of trying to manage the site without appearing to overtly value any one significance over the others, between which there is little overlap.

# 8 Discussion

Tintagel is today strongly associated in the public imagination with the legend of King Arthur and has become a mecca for visitors in search of the legend.

The circumstances which led to this situation are by no means straightforward, as it resulted from the creation of a national myth from a collection of legends and folktales by a Welsh medieval cleric of probably Breton descent; the desire of a medieval king's son to legitimise himself as the ruler of Cornwall; the writing of a chivalric romance by an imprisoned fifteenth century knight and landowner; the influences of an early 19th century artistic movement which had its roots in the Grand Tour which had exposed travellers to dramatic and spectacular landscapes; restrictions on foreign travel during the Napoleonic Wars and the search by the Romantics for stimulating landscapes in Britain; the eclectic interests of one of Britain's most popular Poets Laureate (Swinburne) whose early attempts at writing poetry on an Arthurian theme were so badly received that he stopped publishing for ten years; the appointment of a mid-19th century vicar of Tintagel who had a strong interest in antiquarianism; the revival of interest in medieval ideas of chivalry and honourable behaviour during the Victorian period; hugely-increased public mobility as a result of the 19th century development of the national railway network; the development of Cornwall's tourist economy following the decline of its traditional industries, the particular obsessions of a Victorian custard millionaire, and the development of modern mysticism in an age when belief in established religion is in national decline.

So successful has been this combination of factors in building a national legend and associating it with this headland on the north Cornish coast that it is now impossible to think of Tintagel without King Arthur. It has become the basis of a strong brand which has benefitted the local economy for a century and half. If one searches on line using the terms 'Tintagel' and 'Legend', 196,000 results are returned. On the first ten pages of the results all but one of the 100 links refers to King Arthur.

In contrast, the legend of Tristan and Isolde (which might have had a rather better claim to an historical association with Tintagel) has become totally eclipsed and all but forgotten, though English Heritage have reintroduced the link between the story and Tintagel as part of its recent reinterpretation of the site. The new interpretation also explains how Tintagel became so strongly associated with the legend of King Arthur.

The overwhelming and apparently virtually unassailable association between Tintagel Castle and the Arthurian mythos and the relatively inconspicuous nature of the early medieval archaeological remains on the Island have made it difficult for archaeologists and custodians to interpret large parts of the site as representing a significant high status post-Roman settlement, or to explain that the standing remains are those of Earl Richard's medieval folly, and not King Arthur's castle.

English Heritage's recently-installed interpretation clearly explains these important aspects of the development of the site, but problematically, this is not the story of Tintagel told by virtually every establishment in the nearby village, in popular publications, in film or on-line.

So strong and enduring is the association between Tintagel and Arthur that almost all visitors to Tintagel over the centuries will have assumed that they were exploring King Arthur's Castle. Which Arthur and which Tintagel they expected to find has, of course, changed over time. If post-medieval visitors experienced Tintagel in the context of the writings of Malory and depictions of late medieval courtly life, and those in the 19th century were guided by the ways in which it was described in the poetry of Tennyson or depicted by Turner and the Romantic painters, modern visitors' understanding of the culture of the post-Roman period and the way Tintagel would have looked at the time will have been substantially informed by representations in recent blockbuster movies.

Tintagel has thus been repeatedly reinterpreted over centuries. And just as there have been many King Arthurs, there are also many Tintagels – every visitor experiences and values it according to what they bring to it and what they take away from their visit.

'*Tintagel is a great mystery out of which the imaginative mind may evolve almost anything it likes*'.

Dinah Maria Mullock Craik 1884

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Nicholas Pearson Associates 2016, *NPA10762 – Drawing 106 Island Landscape Works, Drawing 107 Mainland Landscape Works and Landscape Works figures 300916LR*

Ramboll UK 2013, *Tintagel Castle Bridge options appraisal: Stage 1 report – March 2013*

Ramboll UK 2013, *Tintagel Castle bridge geotechnical evaluation: desk study and site visit report*

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Sharpe, A. 2014, *Tintagel, Cornwall: archaeological impact assessment of proposed new access arrangements to the Island*, CAU report 2014R061 to English Heritage

Sharpe, A. 2016a, *Tintagel, Cornwall: archaeological impact assessment of proposed new access arrangements to the Island*, revised CAU report 2016R064 to English Heritage

Sharpe, A. 2016b, *Tintagel Castle, Cornwall: archaeological impact assessment of proposed geotechnical investigations*, CAU report 2016R030 to English Heritage

Smith, R. 2016, *Archaeological evaluation trenching and watching brief during geotechnical investigations at Tintagel Castle, Cornwall*, CAU report 2016R060 to English Heritage

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Thorpe, C. 2004, *Extreme Archaeology: an excavation at Tintagel, Cornwall: archaeological* finds report, Cornwall Archaeological Unit report 2004R012

Thorpe C. 2007, *The Iron Gate, Tintagel Castle, Cornwall: fence replacement works, archaeological watching brief*, Historic Environment Service (Projects) report 2007R007

Thorpe, C. 2008, *The Information Hut, Tintagel Castle, Cornwall, paving works: archaeological watching brief*, Historic Environment Service (Projects) report 2008R012

Thorpe, C. 2013, 'Tintagel Castle: recent work', *Cornish Archaeology,* **52**, 247-256

Thorpe, C. 2014, *Tintagel Island trial pits, Tintagel Castle, Cornwall, Scheduled Monument 1014793: archaeological watching brief,* HE Projects report 2014R030

## 9.6 The visual arts

Master of Charles Du Maine, *The Burial of Tristan and Isolde in the Church of Tintagel,* C15th illustrated manuscript

Thomas Rowlandson, *Rescue from a shipwreck near Tintagel* (1798)

JMW Turner Sketchbooks 1811, watercolour 1815, engravings after Turner's painting of the Haven and Island 1818, 1855.

Samuel Prout (1816)

Samuel Palmer (1848-9)

William Hatherell (1855-1928)

John Mogford (1821-1885)

Thomas Hart (1860s)

John William Inchbold (1860s).

William Trost Richards (A landscape and seascape artist from Philadelphia, USA, who painted several naturalistic views of Tintagel on a visit to Cornwall in 1866).

Henry George White (the C19th village schoolmaster and a prolific amateur painter (nd))

G.H. Jenkins (1875)

Susan Isaac (late C20th)

Trevor Chamberlain (late C20th)

Simeon Stafford (late C20th)

Bernth Uhno (late C20th New Age artist)

Kurt Jackson (late C20th)

## 9.7 Music inspired by Tintagel

Edward Elgar - *Second Symphony in E flat major* (1911, partly inspired by a visit to Alice Stuart Wortley at Tintagel *circa* 1910)

Arnold Bax – Tintagel (1917)

Wright, Denis – *Tintagel Suite* (1956)

Lerner and Loewe – *Camelot* (1960) (musical)

John Surman – 'Tintagel' on *The Road to St. Ives* (1990) (atmospheric modern jazz, https://vimeo.com/65858054)

Medwyn Goodall – *Tintagel, Castle of Arthur* (1995) (new age/dance/electronic)

Kerst, - *The Garden (*track 2 – *Tintagel)* (2012)

## 9.8 Music inspired by the legends

Purcell (lyrics by Dryden) – *King Arthur or the British Worthy* (1684)

Richard Wagner – *Lohengrin* (1848) and *Parsifal* (1882)

Richard Wagner - *Tristan und Isolde* (1859)

Chausson – *Le Roi Artus* (1886-1895)

Sir Arthur Sullivan – *King Arthur* (incidental music for J. Comyns Carr's play of this name) (1895)

Isaac Albeniz – *Merlin* (1898)

Elgar – *King Arthur (*1923)

Elinor Remick Warren – *The legend of King Arthur* (1939-40)

Oliver Messaien - *Turangalia Symphony* (1949)

Hans Werner Henze – *Tristan* (1974)

Harrison Birtwistle – *Gawain* (1991)

## 9.9 Theatre and Ballet

Hardy, Thomas 1923, *The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall at Tintagel in Lyonesse*

Ashton (libretto), Bax (score) and Beaton (set designs) 1952, *Picnic at Tintagel* (ballet re-telling the legend of Tristan and Isolde, and set at Tintagel Castle in 1916)

## 9.10 Tintagel on film

Pathe http://www.britishpathe.com/video/tintagel-issue-title-going-places (1937)

*Knights of the Round* Table (1953) – mock-historical tales filmed near the castle, released in 1954

*Malachi's Cove* (1974): mostly filmed at Trebarwith

*Dracula* (1979): used the exterior of the Camelot Castle Hotel

*King Arthur and his Country: Southern England* (1955)

*Oscar and Lucinda* (1996)

*White Fire* (2007)

*Magpie* (2013)

## 9.11 Films and television programmes inspired by the legends

*Tristan et Iseult* (1909)

*L'Éternel Retour* (1943)

*The Sword in the Stone* (1963)

*Camelot* (1967)

*Tristan et Iseult* (1972)

*Lancelot du Lac* (1974)

*Arthur of the Britons* (1972-3, TV)

*Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (1975)

*Perceval le Gallois* (1978)

*Fire and Sword* (1981)

*La Femme d'a côté* (1981)

*Excalibur* (1981)

*In the Shadow of the Raven* (1988)

*In the Shadow of the Raven* (1997)

*Pardes* (1997)

*King Arthur* (2004)

*Tristan and Isolde* (2006)

*Camelot* (2011)

*King Arthur: Legend of the Sword* (2017)

## 9.12 Tintagel on television

*The Nightmare Man* (1981) Sci-Fi
*Lamb* (1980s)
Ngiao Marsh's *Alleyn Mysteries* (1990)
*Down to Earth*, Tintagel Churchyard excavation (C4 1991)
*Sphinx – Geheimnisse der Geschichte* (German series) (1998)
*König Artus – Die Suche nach dem heligen Gral* (2000)
*Time Team – The Real King* Arthur (2000)
*Arthur: King of the Britons* (2002)
*Saving Grace* (2002)
*Britain's Finest: Castles*, Series 1, Episode 4 (2003)
*Doc Martin* (2004)
*Extreme Archaeology: The Tintagel Connection*, Series 1, Episode 5 (2004)
*Coast*, Series 1, Episode 2 – Exmouth to Bristol (2005)
*The Last Legion* (2007)
*My Favourite Place - Charlotte Uhlenbroek's Tintagel Castle* (2008)
Japanese TV programme featuring Tintagel (2010)
*The Great British Countryside*, Episode 1 of 4 (2011)
*Countryfile*, 11 February (2013)
*The Hungry Sailors*, Episode 15 (2012)
*Secrets from the Sky*, (ITV 2014)
*Coast*: The Great Guide Series (2016)
*Digging for Britain*, Episode 1 (2017)

## 9.13 Tintagel on the radio

Henderson, Charles 1930*, Tintagel Castle and the Legend of King Arthur*, BBC radio broadcast
Riley, Margaret E. 1930, *Early Romances of the West of England: King Arthur in Fact and Fiction*, BBC radio broadcast
Grigson, Geoffrey 1936, *King Arthur and Tristan in the West*, BBC radio broadcast
Ratcliff, N. 1939, *Tristran of Cornwall*, BBC radio broadcast
Uttley, Alison 1947, *King Arthur's Tree*, BBC Radio broadcast
Ralegh Radford, C.A., 1955, *The Historical Arthur*, BBC radio broadcast
Milligan, Spike and Stephens, L., 1956, *The Spectre of Tintagel*, BBC radio broadcast
Patten, Brian 1995, *Tintagel on Trial* (mythmaking in Tintagel), BBC radio broadcast
Michael Fairfax, Amanda White and the pupils of Tintagel Primary School 2007, *Tintagel's Giant*
Simpson, R. 2008, *Radio Camelot: Arthurian Legends on the BBC 1922-2005*
Service, Tom, *Music-making in Cornwall* (featured Arnold Bax and Tintagel)
Russell, Miles and Mizen, Spencer 2016, *History Explorer: Tintagel Castle and the legend of King Arthur* 2016

## 9.14 Websites

A selection of relevant websites:
http://d.lib.rochester.edu/camelot-project
http://www.tintagelweb.co.uk/
www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/**tintagel**-castle/
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/**Tintagel**

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/**Tintagel_Castle**

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/**Tristan_and_Iseult**

http://www.timelessmyths.com/arthurian/tristan.html

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/**King_Arthur**

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/**Tristan**

www.**kingarthurs**knights.com/knights/**tristan**.asp

http://bestoflegends.org/kingarthur/tristan.html

www.getty**images**.com/**photos**/**tristan-and-isolde**

https://uk.pinterest.com/dreamingly/camelot-and-**king-arthur**/

https://www.google.co.uk/search?hl=en&site=imghp&tbm=isch&source=hp&biw=1920&bih=973&q=Tristan+quilt&oq=Tristan+quilt&gs_l=img.12..0j0i24k1.1231.3905.0.6529.13.11.0.0.0.0.549.2163.2-1j0j2j2.5.0....0...1ac.1.64.img..8.5.2158...0i30k1j0i8i30k1.KADgOyQwGbQ&safe=active#safe=active&hl=en&tbm=isch&q=tristan+and+isolde+paintings

https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2004/jul/18/unitedkingdom.kingofnewyork.observerescapesection

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Locations_associated_with_Arthurian_legend

http://www.medievalhistories.com/tintagel-new-visitor-experience/

# 10 Project archive

The CAU project number is **146661**

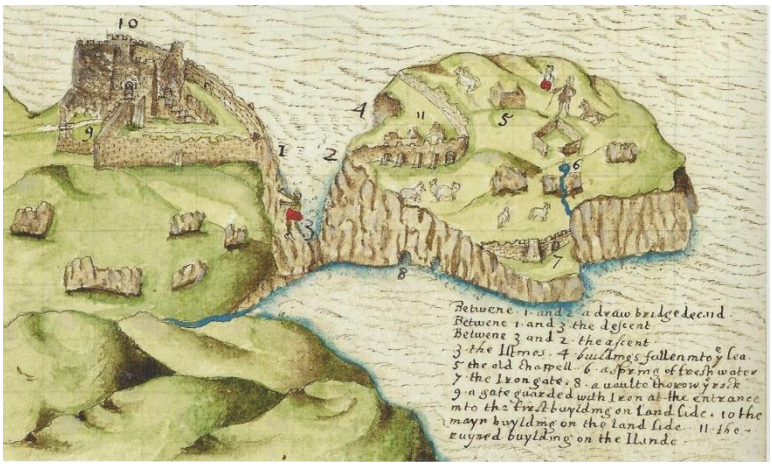
The project's documentary, digital, photographic and drawn archive is maintained by Cornwall Archaeological Unit

Electronic data is stored in the following locations:

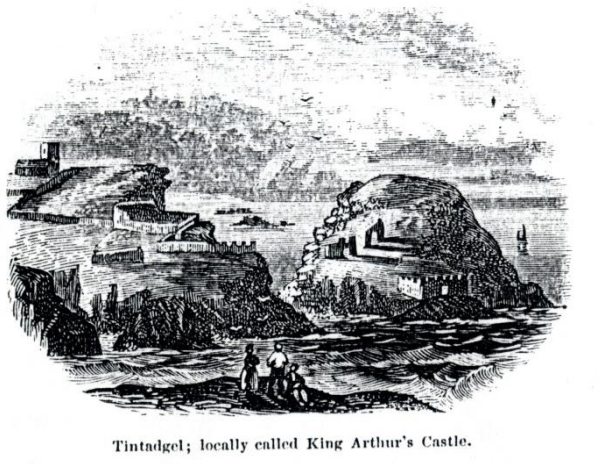
Project admin: \\Sites\Sites T\Tintagel Castle associative historic values assessment

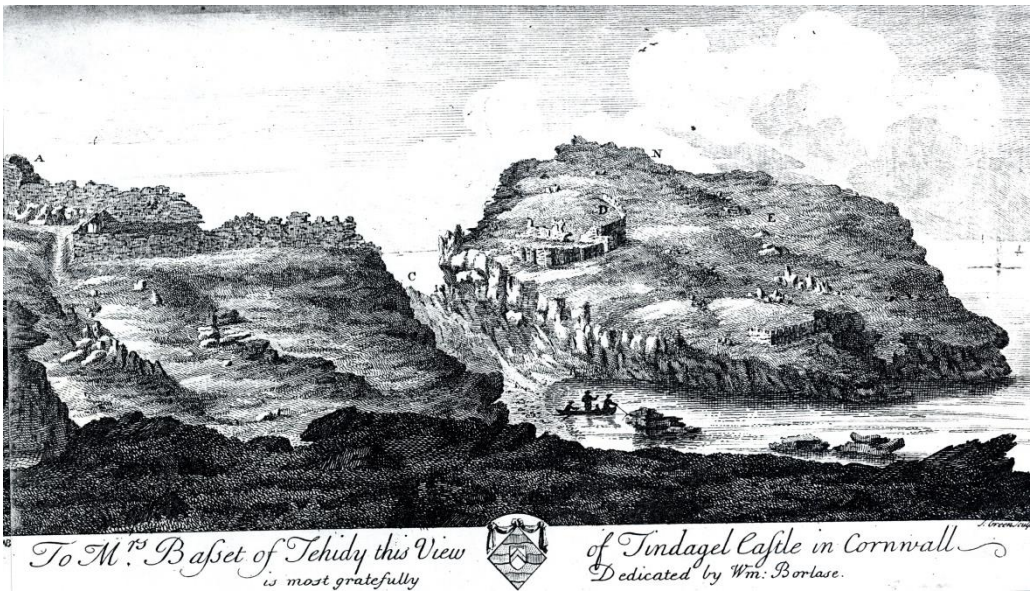
Images: \\Historic Environment (Images)\SITES.Q-T\Tintagel Castle associative historic values assessment

Historic England/ADS OASIS online reference: cornwall2-277175

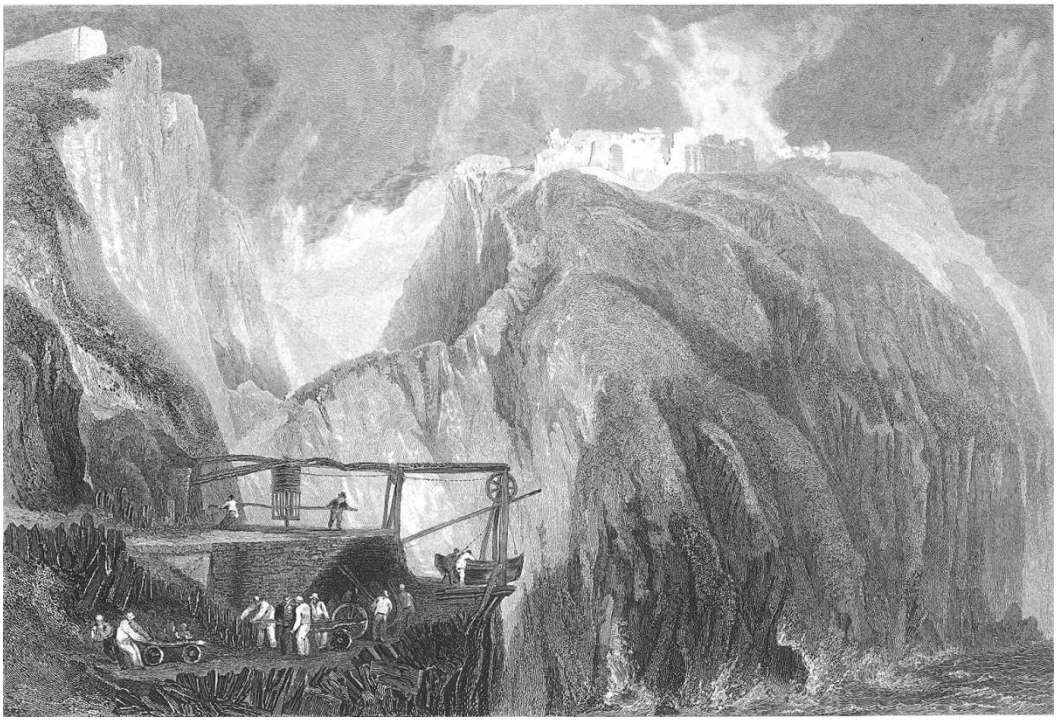







*Figs 3 to 7. Early depictions of Tintagel Castle. John Norden, Richard Grenville, after Norden, Undated etching, William Borlase.*

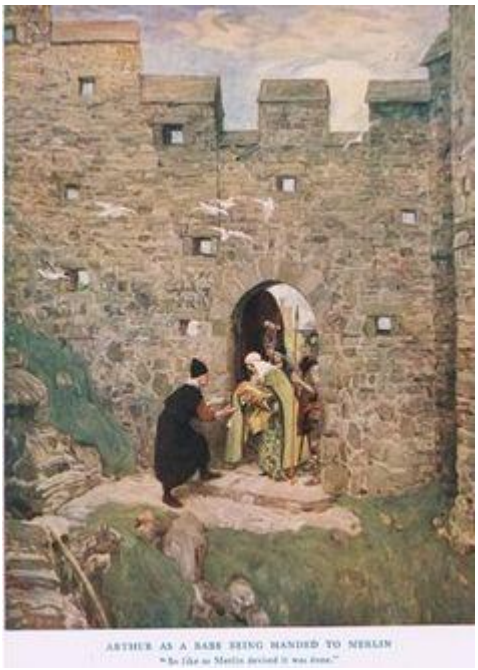



*Figs 8 to 12. Establishing the key view of Tintagel Castle and Haven. Cook after Turner, Samuel Palmer, Finden after Harding, John Mogford, Thomas Hart.*


*Figs 13 to 17. Views of Tintagel Castle and Haven utilising Turner's viewpoint. William Trost Richards, Alfred Leyman, Late C19th engraving, Thomas Moran, Lydekker after Prout.*

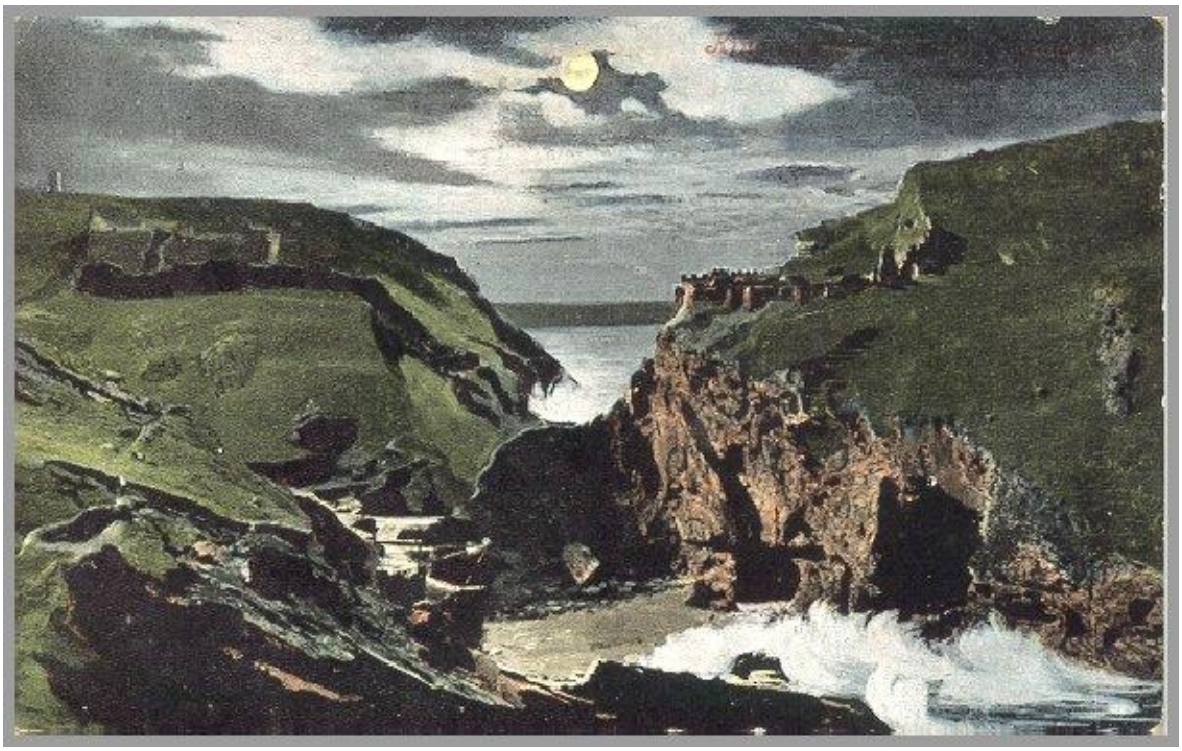

*Figs 18 to 20. Views of Tintagel Castle and Haven. John Jenkins, William Trost Richards, Varrall after Creswick.*


*Figs 21 and 22. Alternative views of Tintagel Castle and Haven. William Trost Richards, Thomas Rowlandson.*




*Figs 23 to 27. Alternative views of Tintagel. William Hatherell, Harold Hitchcock, Kurt Jackson, Bernth Uhno, William Trost Richards.*

*Figs 28 to 31. Modern paintings of Tintagel Castle and Island which utilise Turner's viewpoint. Susan Isaac, Simon Stafford, Ian Scott Massie, Ray Wirick.*




*Figs 32 and 33. Hand tinted 19th century postcards of Tintagel. Charles Thomas Collection.*

*Figs 34 and 35. Typical 19th century photographs of Tintagel Castle and Haven. Charles Thomas Collection.*

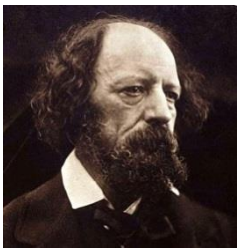




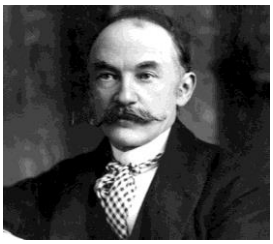


The Rev Bryn Kinsman, Vicar of Tintagel 1852-94.

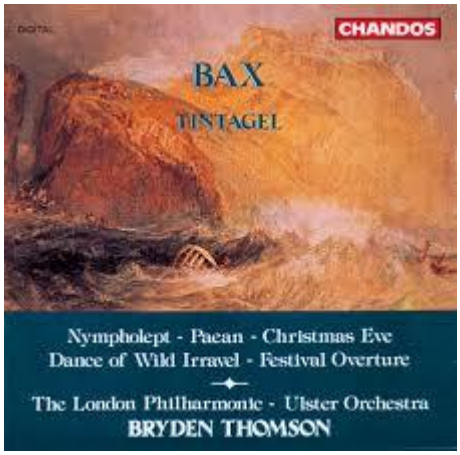
No image available.



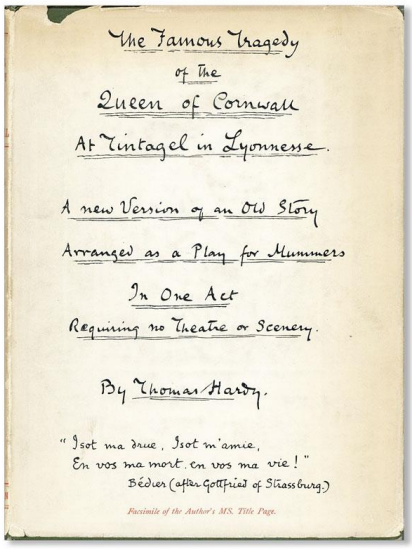





*Figs 36 to 52. Influences on the historical associative and aesthetic values of Tintagel Castle. From top left: Tristan and Isolde, Earl Richard of Cornwall, King Arthur, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Thomas Malory, Daniel Defoe, J.M.W. Turner, The Reverend Byrn Kinsman, Alfred Lord Tennyson, Algernon Swinburne, Matthew Arnold, Parson Stephen Hawker, Thomas Hardy, Arnold Bax, Glasscock's Custard, A.C. Ralegh Radford, Professor Charles Thomas.*





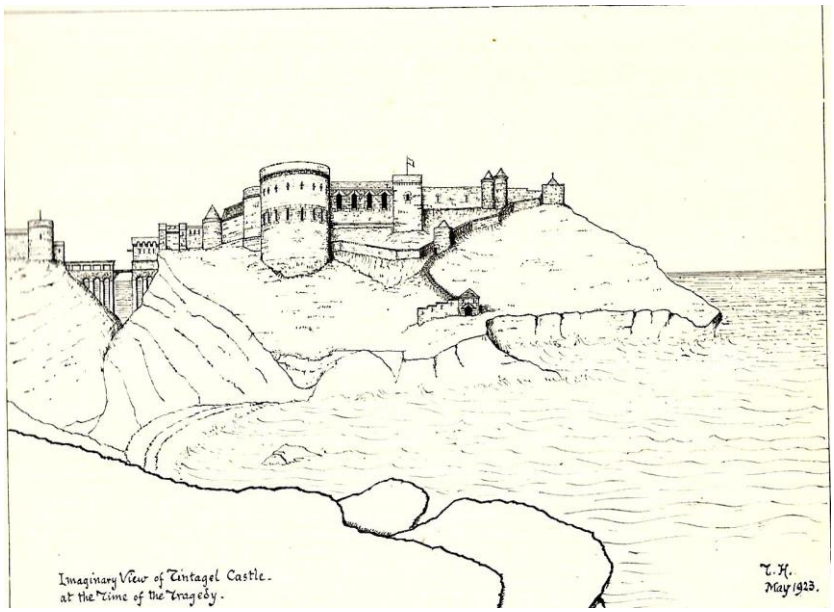

The Famous Tragedy
of the
Queen of Cornwall
At Tintagel in Lyonnesse.

A new Version of an Old Story
Arranged as a Play for Mummers
In One Act
Requiring no Theatre or Scenery.

By Thomas Hardy.

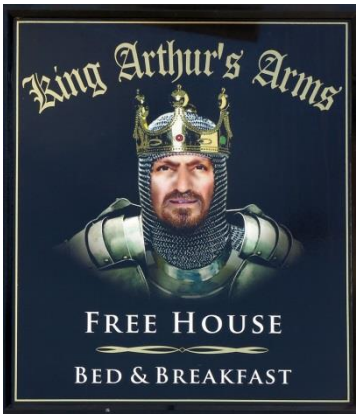
"Ysot ma drue, Ysot m'amie,
En vos ma mort, en vos ma vie!"
Bédier (after Gottfried of Strassburg)

*Facsimile of the Author's MS. Title Page.*


Imaginary View of Tintagel Castle
at the Time of the Tragedy.

T. H.
May 1923.

*Figs 53 to 55. The covers of two recordings of Arnold Bax's Tintagel', utilising images by Turner and Palmer; The cover of Thomas Hardy's hand-written copy of 'The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall at Lyonesse'; Hardy's reconstruction of Tintagel Castle which accompanied the play.*


*Figs 56 to 63. Miscellaneous images from Tintagel: The statue of Gallos, Merlin's Face, The interior of King Arthur' Great Hall, The King Arthur's Castle Hotel, now the Camelot Hotel, King Arthur's Carpark, the King Arthur's Arms signboard, the Seal of the Parish of Tintagel, the Artognou Stone.*

**Cornwall Archaeological Unit**

Fal Building, County Hall, Treyew Road, Truro, Cornwall,
TR1 3AY

(01872) 323603
enquiries@cau.org.uk
www.cau.org.uk